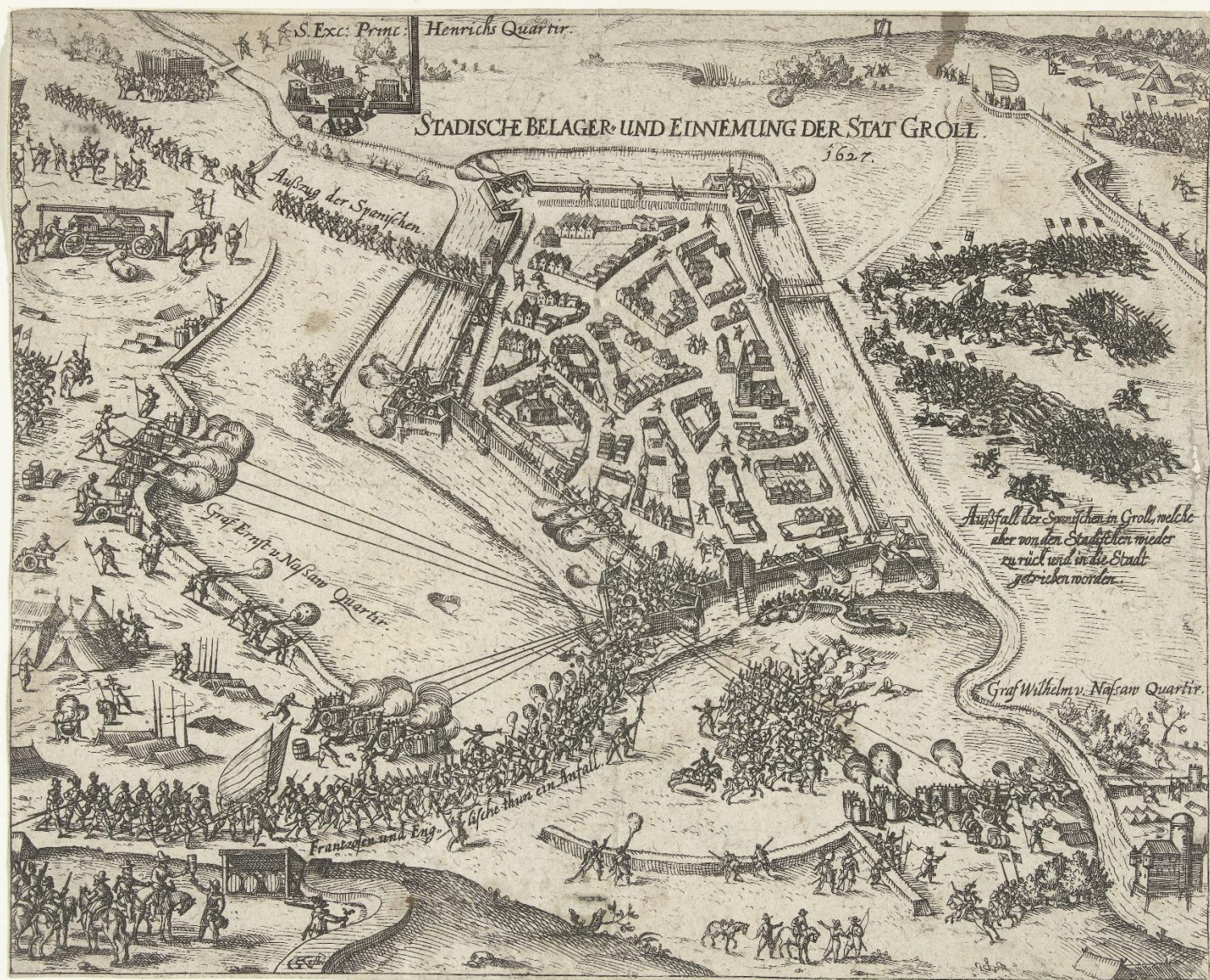


# Weeklies, writings, and whispers

News in Gelderland (1618-1648)





Weeklies, writings, and whispers: news in Gelderland (1618-1648)

Thesis Research Master Historical studies

22 September 2017

Illustration front page: Georg Keller, *Beleg van Grol door Frederik Hendrik, 1627*, etching, 19x23,7 cm, 1627. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum.

Marieke van Egeraat

S4102045

Research Master Historical studies

Radboud University Nijmegen

Supervisor: Joost Rosendaal

Second assessor: Jeroen Salman (UU)

## Contents

Preface	4
Chapter 1: Introduction	5
1.1 Early historiography	7
1.2 News: part of a multimedia system	9
1.3 News: international and local	11
1.4 Sources and approach	13
Chapter 2: Weeklies: <i>the Arnhemsche courante</i>	18
2.1 General remarks: characteristics of the <i>Arnhemsche courante</i>	18
2.2 Case study: the <i>Arnhemsche courante</i> in Gelderland	26
2.3 Conclusion	31
Chapter 3: Writings: news in personal correspondence	33
3.1 General remarks: news in personal letters	34
3.2 Case study: the news network of Arent de Bye	40
3.3 Conclusion	45
Chapter 4: Whispers: news in the life of David Beck	47
4.1 General remarks: daily business of news	48
4.2 Case study: three news events in Beck's diary	52
4.3 Conclusion	59
Chapter 5: Epilogue	61
5.1 Trustworthiness and social character of news	62
5.2 The bond with the news	64
5.3 News dynamics in Gelderland	65
Bibliography	67
Appendix 1: the <i>Arnhemsche courante</i> and its Amsterdam counterparts	74
Appendix 2: printed media in Arnhem	84
Appendix 3: correspondence in Gelderland	87
English summary	89

## Preface

Something new, again, observant reader, Alweer wat nieuws, Aan-dachtige Leser,  
faithful patriot: and still you haven't read the Getrouwe Patriot: en noch en heb 't ghy 't lest  
last. niet.<sup>1</sup>

The sentiments in this quote are just as relevant today as they were in the seventeenth century. How to make sense of the enormous amount of information that reaches us everyday. Where we fear the information overload that social media presents us, the people in the early modern period saw an enormous increase in printed news media that competed with older ways of communication, such as the written letter or rumours in the street. The question they constantly asked themselves is essentially the same as ours: what news is true? This thesis analyses how they answered this question and, in return, might give you, the reader, some implicit reflections upon how we ourselves evaluate news.

This is also the place to thank people for their contributions to my thesis. First of all, I would like to thank dr. Joost Rosendaal, my thesis supervisor, but aboveall my tutor during the research master. He inspired me after every conversation to push a little further to improve my research. Also, dr. Jeroen Salman, who agreed to be my second assessor, even though I am not even a student at his institution.

Arthur der Weduwen and Jan Hillgärtner, both PhD's at St. Andrews University, were so helpful to send me their work (in progress) on respectively Dutch and German newspapers in the seventeenth century. Without their generous sharing, this thesis would have lacked important analytical points. Especially Arthur, who was also so kind to send me his photos of the *Arnhemse courante*, deserves many thanks.

To write a thesis, requires numerous library hours, but also many lunch and coffee breaks. In these, I was always accompanied by my closest friends: Lidewij, Glyn, Fons, and Joost. The conversations about all our theses, but, more often, the welcome distractions about dinner choices and other trivial, yet important matters made sure that writing my thesis did not become an isolated and lonely experience, but one filled with laughter and fun. I am very grateful for their company.

Lastly, I want to thank my family, and especially my mother. I dedicate this thesis to her and her endless enthusiasm in guiding me towards where I wanted to be. She was always very proud of her own masterthesis, which had a remarkably similar topic.<sup>2</sup> I am happy the apple did not fall far from the tree.

---

<sup>1</sup> Jacobus Taurinus, *Wat vvonder-oudt-nieuws: dienende tot claer, ende on-vveder-leggelyck bewijs, hoe de remonstrantsche predicanten reysen en rotsen, om de iesviten, capvciinen, ende andere gheestelijcken by den vyandt, te besoecken: ende met wat courtosijen zy malcanderen ont-halen* (s.l., 1618). Royal Library (KB), The Hague, pamphlet 2531.

<sup>2</sup> My mother got the opportunity to rework her thesis into an article: E.F.M. Sassen, 'Republikeinse kroegpraatjes aan de Maas', *Holland* 19:4-5 (1987), 268-279.

# 1. Introduction

During the evening of July 11<sup>th</sup>, 1627<sup>3</sup>, David Beck, schoolteacher in Arnhem, returned home from a two-day trip to Nijmegen. In front of his house, he encountered some neighbours and two of his friends, one of which was Valentino Hackenberger (also named ‘rectoor’, because of his occupation as a Latin schoolmaster). All were talking about the recent events in the nearby located city of Groenlo (or Grol): Frederik Hendrik, prince of Orange, stadtholder of the Dutch Republic, started a siege of the city on the 9<sup>th</sup> of July to free it from Spanish control. Later, he would be given the name ‘stedendwinger’ (roughly translated: conqueror of cities), during the siege of Grol, however, the newly appointed stadtholder – he succeeded his brother in 1625 – still had to prove himself. Beck joined the conversation, maybe even added that that morning in Nijmegen, he saw ‘30 or 40 companies march through the city to the Maas river’.<sup>4</sup> After being briefed on the situation, Beck went to bed, probably exhausted from his trip.

The next day, Beck, together with the rectoor, went to Jan Jansz., printer and publisher in Arnhem and known for his newspaper. As a newspaperman Jansz. must have been well aware of the situation in Groenlo. Any news of the siege would be a welcome addition to his weekly publication. Maybe Beck and the rectoor told him what they knew, but they were probably less informed than Jansz. After their conversation, the rectoor and Beck went out of the city, enjoyed their free time while taking a hike, and returned through the Velperpoort. Groenlo was, however, still on their minds, especially when they encountered two military men at the gates. These military men told the men all they knew about ‘the prince’s army in front of Grol’.<sup>5</sup>

The siege lasted for almost a month. Beck did not lose interest during this period. On the contrary, he informed his brother and cousin in The Hague and Amsterdam about what he had heard about the siege. The 27<sup>th</sup> of July, he sent them both a letter with ‘tidings of Grol’.<sup>6</sup> A couple days later, the 30<sup>th</sup>, he and the rectoor again walked near the Velperpoort and encountered some men from the army. ‘This way [Beck and the rectoor] heard some news’.<sup>7</sup>

The 10<sup>th</sup> of August, Beck noted down in his diary: ‘On this day, the enemy pulled away from Grol, as people presumed’.<sup>8</sup> No less than four days later, the 14<sup>th</sup> of August, the victory was celebrated in Arnhem. Beck watched the cannons being fired, drank with his friends, and painted the town red. It was truly a celebratory day!

---

<sup>3</sup> All dates in this thesis are given in the Julian calendar (unless otherwise stated) which is the calendar used in Gelderland until 1700.

<sup>4</sup> Dutch: ‘30 of 40 compagnien door de stat naer de Mase toe marcheren’. Beck noted this down in his diary on the same day as his talk with his neighbours. In: David Beck, *Mijn voornaamste daden en ontmoetingen. Dagboek van David Beck Arnhem 1627-1628*, edition and introduction by Jeroen Blaak (Hilversum, 2014), 86.

<sup>5</sup> Dutch: ‘des prince leger voor Grol’. Beck, *Mijn voornaamste daden en ontmoetingen*, 87.

<sup>6</sup> Dutch: ‘met tijdingen van Grol’. Ibidem, 91.

<sup>7</sup> Dutch: ‘hoorden zoo wat nieuws’. Ibidem, 92.

<sup>8</sup> Dutch: ‘Op dito trock de vijant uijt Grol zoo men vermoeyde’. Ibidem, 95.

These fragments from the diary of David Beck reveal a great deal about the dynamics of news in the early seventeenth century. For one, the spoken word was very important for his first encounters with news. Beck found out about the siege via a conversation with his friends. Later, he obtained additional information when he talked to military men he met while walking near the Velperpoort (illustration 1.1). The spoken word may be important for first encounters, but the written word was used by Beck to inform people further away. When he briefed his family about the happenings in Groenlo, he used letters to get the word out. Printed news media did not play an important role in Beck's story, but were nonetheless important for giving the information a formal character. A printed ordinance, for example, was used to inform people of the conditions under which the enemy had to leave Groenlo.<sup>9</sup> Beck even saw this ordinance when he was commissioned to copy it in handwriting for 24 *stuivers*.<sup>10</sup>



Illustration 1.1: Velperpoort in Arnhem. Source: Anthonie Waterloo, *Velperpoort te Arnhem*, drawing, 30,5x52,3 cm., 1619-1690. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum.

This interplay of orally transmitted, written, and printed news media in the province of Gelderland – then called ‘furstendom Gelre en graafschap Zutphen’ (principality of Gelre and county of Zutphen), but for reasons of brevity called Gelderland in this thesis<sup>11</sup> – will be the subject of this research. Studies into news in the Dutch Republic have mostly focused on the dynamics of printed news in the province of Holland. The questions remain how other types of news media, such as the written and spoken word, were used and how news functioned within other contexts. Djoeko van Netten, historian at the University of Amsterdam, addresses these focus points in a recent article. After giving an overview (and simultaneously a review) of most recent publications dealing with pamphlets, she concludes that ‘the areas outside urbanised Holland and the times in between crises deserve more attention’.<sup>12</sup> This thesis joins this statement by focussing on news media in the province of Gelderland for the period 1618-1648. It adds to this the aim to include the spoken word and written news media into studies into the news.

<sup>9</sup> [Anoniem], *Articulen, gheacordeert by sijn Excell: aende Gouverneur vande Stadt van Grol, ende aende Capiteynen ende Krijts-volck die daer inne zijn* (Den Haag, 1627). KB, pamphlet 3740a.

<sup>10</sup> Beck, *Mijn voornaamste daden en ontmoetingen*, 96. It is not clear why he had to copy it in handwriting. This will be further discussed in chapter 4.

<sup>11</sup> The territory belonging to the province of Gelderland then differed from its territory now. For more information on the territory and governmental districts within the province, see: P.J. Meij et. al., *Geschiedenis van Gelderland, 1492-1795* (Zutphen, 1975), 97-131; M.V.T. Tenten, ‘Van Nederkwartieren tot provincie. De algemene geschiedenis van Gelderland van 1578 tot heden’, in: Johannes Stinner and Karl-Heinz Tekath, *Gelre – Geldern – Gelderland. Geschiedenis en cultuur van het hertogdom Gelre* (Geldern, 2001), 95-100.

<sup>12</sup> Djoeko van Netten, ‘Propaganda, public and pamphlets in the Dutch Golden Age – what else is new?’, *Jaarboek voor Nederlandse boekgeschiedenis* 22 (2015), 209 – 221; 221.

### 1.1 Early historiography

Research into news media in the early modern period (1500-1800) had, for a long time, strong national sentiments. Not only were (printed) news media seen as forerunners of news media nowadays, it was also a sport to secure the oldest newspaper for your own country.<sup>13</sup> Studies into Dutch news media in the early modern period suffered largely the same fate. Swedish historian Folke Dahl, who himself escaped such nationalistic view by focussing on bibliographical features of the newspaper, exposed these trends, when he stated that patriotism was ‘a characteristic of many newspaper historians, then and to-day’.<sup>14</sup> He wrote this in 1939. Ten years later, the situation had not changed. Henri Overhoff, a Dutch scholar, once again tried to prove the Dutch were in fact the first to publish a newspaper. He believed this because ‘The old-German ‘zeitungen’ so often reported from the Netherlands, it can be assumed that Dutch newspapers already existed’.<sup>15</sup> Such newspapers were never found, since the first surviving newspaper was published in 1609 in Strasbourg, then a German city. Researchers nowadays agree that this is, to date, the oldest newspaper.<sup>16</sup>

Early studies into news also had a strong teleological character. This is reflected in the sources the scholars investigated. Newspapers formed the most important source for studies into news, because the researchers believed these newspapers to be the precursors of newspapers in their own time.<sup>17</sup> Nineteenth century historian W.P. Sautijn Kluit, although very important for putting research into newspapers on the map in the Netherlands, showed this characteristic in his works. In the conclusion for his research into the newspaper of Harlem he stated: ‘In the past lies the present’.<sup>18</sup> After this statement, he goes on to show that the Harlem newspaper of the seventeenth century still existed in the nineteenth century, only better and more beautiful, but essentially the same. Because of this bias, other news media from the early modern period were overlooked in the first stages of research into news.

Pamphlets in the Dutch Republic, for example, were only occasionally the subject of research in the twentieth century. In 1956, Dutch historian P.A.M. Geurts devoted his dissertation to pamphlets published during the Dutch Revolt.<sup>19</sup> He observed that pamphlets could be used not only for their

---

<sup>13</sup> A typical example of such a nationalistic view is the research of George Chalmers. This eighteenth century Englishman wanted so much to secure the oldest newspaper for England that a simple forgery fooled him. The forgery was uncovered in the nineteenth century. Folke Dahl, *Amsterdam, earliest newspaper centre of western Europe* (Den Haag, 1939), 165.

<sup>14</sup> Dahl, *Amsterdam*, 165.

<sup>15</sup> Dutch: ‘Brenge de oud-Duitse ‘zeitungen’ zo vaak berichten uit Nederland, dan kan men veronderstellen dat er daarvoor reeds Nederlandsche ‘kranten’ waren’. Henri Overhoff, ‘Wanneer verscheen de eerste krant?’, *De Gids* 112 (1949), 209-220; 211.

<sup>16</sup> Joad Raymond, ‘International news and the seventeenth-century English newspaper’, in: Roeland Harms, Joad Raymond, and Jeroen Salman (ed.), *Not dead things: The dissemination of popular print in England and Wales, Italy, and the Low Countries, 1500-1820* (Leiden, 2013), 229-251; 229.

<sup>17</sup> Simon F. Davies and Puck Fletcher, ‘Introduction’, in: Simon F. Davies and Puck Fletcher (ed.), *News in early modern Europe: Currents and connections* (Leiden, 2014), 1-15; 8.

<sup>18</sup> Dutch: ‘In het verleden ligt het heden’. W.P. Sautijn Kluit, ‘De Haerlemsche Courant door Mr. W.P. Sautijn Kluit’, *Jaarboek van de Maatschappij der Nederlandse Letterkunde* (1873), 3-132; 130.

<sup>19</sup> P.A.M. Geurts, *De Nederlandse Opstand in de pamfletten, 1566-1584* (Nijmegen, 1956).

anecdotal value, but also to study propaganda by analysing style and language of these publications.<sup>20</sup> His colleague in Nijmegen, J.J. Poelhekke, used pamphlets in 1973 to analyse the viewpoints of different factions within the Dutch Republic around 1650.<sup>21</sup> Another decade later, Craig Harline put pamphlets centre stage when he published a monograph about them in 1987.<sup>22</sup> It is this work that really pointed out the news value of pamphlets.<sup>23</sup> But it was not until the beginning of the twenty-first century that studies into pamphlets really took off.<sup>24</sup> Since then, multiple works on the dynamics of pamphlets as news media were published.<sup>25</sup>

An even more substantial lack of attention can be seen in research into written news media. It has long been thought that the printing revolution of the fifteenth and sixteenth century caused the written word to be vanquished, or at least minimalized.<sup>26</sup> In recent years, this view has been debunked, resulting in a flood of publications about the coexistence of the written and printed word.<sup>27</sup> Research into news was also heavily influenced by the idea of the printing revolution. Manuscript newsletters, for example, were only seen as forerunners of the printed newspaper. These newsletters did not, however, lose their importance after the advance of the printed newspaper.<sup>28</sup>

The same accounts for orally transmitted news. This category is especially hard to capture in research, because of its fleeting nature. Recently, however, Una McIlvenna, lecturer in early modern literature at the University of Kent, advocated a more active incorporation of this kind of news, especially in the form of news songs.<sup>29</sup> Adam Fox, professor of social history at the University of Edinburgh, also revealed the importance of the spoken word. Although he did not focus on news and oral transmission, he did uncover the complexity of the relation between the spoken word and other media.<sup>30</sup>

These two early characteristics of research into news in the early modern period are challenged by two new movements in studies into news. Firstly, the teleological approach is contested by looking at news as part of a multimedia system. Research, in this way, avoids the pitfall of teleological thinking

---

<sup>20</sup> Geurts, *De Nederlandse Opstand*, 258.

<sup>21</sup> J.J. Poelhekke, *Geen blijder maer in tachtigh jaer. Verspreide studiën over de crisisperiode 1648-1651* (Zutphen, 1973), 35-61.

<sup>22</sup> Craig Harline, *Pamphlets, printing and political culture in the early Dutch Republic* (Dordrecht, 1987).

<sup>23</sup> Roeland Harms, *Pamfletten en publieke opinie: Massamedia in de zeventiende eeuw* (Amsterdam, 2011), 17.

<sup>24</sup> In 2005 a seminar about pamphlets was held, resulting in the following edited volume: José de Kruif, Marijke Meijer Drees, and Jeroen Salman (ed.), *Het lange leven van het pamflet* (Hilversum, 2006).

<sup>25</sup> Harms, *Pamfletten en publieke opinie*; Michel Reinders, *Gedrukte chaos. Populisme en moord in het Rampjaar 1672* (Amsterdam, 2010); Donald Haks, *Vaderland en vrede 1672-1713: publiciteit over de Nederlandse Republiek in oorlog* (Hilversum, 2013).

<sup>26</sup> This idea was most famously stated by: Elizabeth L. Eisenstein, *The printing press as an agent of change: Communications and cultural transformations in Early-Modern Europe* (Cambridge, 1979).

<sup>27</sup> For this perspective see: Asa Briggs and Peter Burke, *A social history of the media: From Gutenberg to the Internet* (Oxford, 2003).

<sup>28</sup> Davies and Fletcher, 'Introduction', 6.

<sup>29</sup> Una McIlvenna, 'When the news was sung: Ballads as news media in early modern Europe', *Media History* 22(3-4) (2016), 317-333; 333.

<sup>30</sup> Adam Fox, *Oral and literate culture in England 1500-1700* (Oxford, 2000), 5-10.



by focussing on the communication circuit as it existed in the early modern period itself. Secondly, the nationalistic approach is questioned by stressing the transnational dimensions of news, especially by focussing on how news travelled from one country to another.

### 1.2 News: part of a multimedia system

Although these three categories of news media (printed, written, and orally transmitted news) all have their own historiography, one publication they all have in common is that of Jürgen Habermas. His *Strukturwandel der Öffentlichkeit* (1962) (only translated into English in 1989) deals with the formation of the bourgeois public sphere at the end of the seventeenth and beginning of the eighteenth century. In this bourgeois public sphere, the government was absent. In contrast, before this sphere emerged, there was a 'representative publicness'. In this 'publicness', the representation of the king, nobles, and church was most important. They represented themselves during festivities, which 'served not so much the pleasure of the participants as the demonstration of grandeur'.<sup>31</sup> The citizens were passive during these activities. They could enjoy the grandeur of the king, but did not participate actively in the festivities. During the seventeenth century, these public festivities retreated to more private settings, mainly because of the loss of feudal networks.<sup>32</sup> This provided the possibility for the new bourgeois public sphere to develop.

The emergence of this bourgeois public sphere was directly linked to the emergence of a regular supply of independent news. Whereas in the representative publicness, news was only available to merchants and courtiers, at the end of the seventeenth century, news turned into a commodity for everyone.<sup>33</sup> News supply became one of the pillars on which the public sphere was built, mainly because reading news and talking about news helped form a public opinion. This public opinion is, according to Habermas, typical of the new bourgeois public sphere. In the previous centuries, citizens were passive spectators. Now, they became active players in politics, because of their involvement in the public sphere. News media were important in creating political awareness.<sup>34</sup>

The theory of Habermas had to endure a lot of criticism. In historical media studies specifically, scholars disagreed with the timing (regular news media existed before the eighteenth century<sup>35</sup>), openness (censorship in the bourgeois public sphere<sup>36</sup>), and geography (the public sphere did not only arise in England<sup>37</sup>) of the bourgeois public sphere. However, the idea that news media could have

---

<sup>31</sup> Jürgen Habermas, *The structural transformation of the public sphere: An inquiry into a category of bourgeois society* (Massachusetts, 1989), 10.

<sup>32</sup> Habermas, *The structural transformation of the public sphere*, 11.

<sup>33</sup> Ibidem, 16-17.

<sup>34</sup> Femke Deen, *Publiek debat en propaganda in Amsterdam tijdens de Nederlandse Opstand. Amsterdam 'Moorddam' (1566-1578)* (Amsterdam, 2015), 11.

<sup>35</sup> Briggs and Burke, *A social history of the media*, 60-61.

<sup>36</sup> Jan Bloemendal, Arjan van Dixhoorn, and Elsa Strietman (ed.), *Literary cultures and public opinion in the Low Countries, 1450-1650* (Leiden, 2011), 3.

<sup>37</sup> Judith Pollmann and Andrew Paul Spicer (ed.), *Public opinion and changing identities in the early modern Netherlands: Essays in honour of Alastair Duke* (Leiden, 2007), 1-3.

political effects still stands and gave an enormous impetus to media history in general. That is why the theory of Habermas is still a dominant paradigm in historical media studies.<sup>38</sup> This becomes apparent when looking at the titles of publications on news in the early modern period in the last decade. The concept ‘public opinion’ prominently features on most covers.<sup>39</sup>

One point of criticism on Habermas’ theory deserves more detail in light of the subject of this specific thesis: his emphasis on printed news media, especially the newspaper. Although he mentions coffeehouses as a place where people could discuss the news, it is primarily the newspaper itself that provided information. After another three decades of research since the English translation of *Strukturwandel der Öffentlichkeit*, this view no longer holds. It has become evident that the three types of news media, as discussed before, are intertwined.<sup>40</sup>

Robert Darnton opposes Habermas’ idea of the importance of the newspaper and, therefore, looks at the intertwinement of printed, written, and spoken news. This Harvard professor specializes in the book industry of eighteenth century France and is widely known for his attention to communication networks and the role of books and printed media in it. In 2000, he gave a lecture as president of the American Historical Association.<sup>41</sup> In this lecture, he focused on the multimedia system in Paris before the outbreak of the French revolution. The interaction of printed, written, and orally transmitted news is at the centre of this multimedia system. In a schematic overview (illustration 1.2), Darnton shows the difficulty of the multimedia system. All different layers are intertwined, making it impossible to trace a news story to its very beginning, or to pinpoint one type of news

medium as most important. Rather, Darnton argues, we should look at how news was shared, ‘not its origin but its amplification, the way it reached the public and ultimately took hold’.<sup>42</sup>

Femke Deen, researcher at the University of Amsterdam, recently followed Darnton in this idea. In her dissertation, she examined the choices for certain media by the different factions within

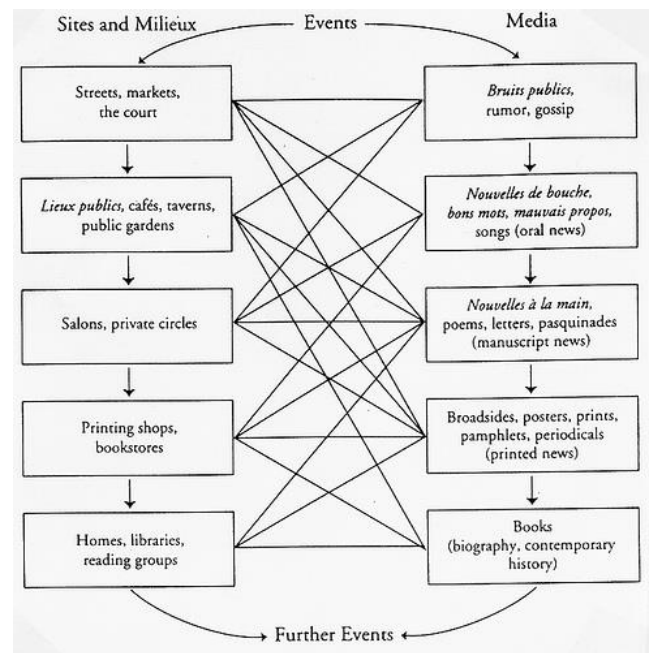


Illustration 1.2: schematic overview of the multimedia system in Paris. From: Robert Darnton, *The forbidden best-sellers of pre-revolutionary France* (New York, 1995), 189.

<sup>38</sup> Deen, *Publiek debat en propaganda in Amsterdam tijdens de Nederlandse Opstand*, 11.

<sup>39</sup> For example: Bloemendal, Van Dixhoorn, and Strietman, *Literary cultures and public opinion*; Deen, *Publiek debat en propaganda*; Harms, *Pamfletten en publieke opinie*; Joop Koopmans (ed.), *News and politics in early modern Europe (1500-1800)* (Leuven, 2005).

<sup>40</sup> Helmer Helmers and Michiel van Groesen, ‘Managing the news in early modern Europe, 1550-1800’, *Media History* 22:3-4 (2016), 261-266.

<sup>41</sup> The lecture was later published in *American Historical Review*: Robert Darnton, ‘An early information society: News and the media in Eighteenth-Century Paris’, *American Historical Review* 105 (2000), 1-35.

<sup>42</sup> Darnton, ‘An early information society’, 30.

Amsterdam in the early years of the Dutch Revolt (1566-1578). She concluded that ‘both parties were consciously debating the question which media and which message could reach the inhabitants of Amsterdam in the best way’.<sup>43</sup> The decision to use rumours, handwritten letters, or printed pamphlets was made by looking at the (supposed) effectiveness of the media. Especially the more flexible media, the spoken and written word, lent themselves perfectly for local purposes, because these media could easily transform the message to the local circumstances. Letters from former fellow citizens who fled because they were afraid to be persecuted were most effective. These writers knew how to reach their audience, because they personally knew their audience. They were familiar with the city and its inhabitants and could efficiently use this information to reach the public. The receivers of these letters, furthermore, were friends or family with the writer and, therefore, more inclined to read the letter and possibly pass it on to others.<sup>44</sup> This familiarity of both sender and receiver assured that the message reached its target, in this case to persuade the citizens in Amsterdam for the protestant side.

Andrew Pettegree, professor at St. Andrews University, also examined this social bond between the news giver and the receiver, but came to a different conclusion. He stated in his most recent work that in the period before the invention of the newspaper (roughly the fifteenth and sixteenth century), it was the messenger of the news that made it trustworthy. Preferably, these messengers brought the news by word of mouth, because of the direct social contact with the receiver. With the growth of the news industry in the seventeenth century, this became more difficult. Pettegree even goes so far as to say that in the seventeenth century ‘this vital link – the personal integrity of those who passed on the news – was broken’.<sup>45</sup> This statement might be inspired by his focus on the emergence of the printed newspaper, since personal contact did not vanish in written or spoken news media. In fact, other scholars have pointed to the enduring importance of social connections for the trustworthiness of news media in the seventeenth century.<sup>46</sup> To further pursue Darnton’s idea that research should look at the way the news took hold of its audience, the social component of the different news media becomes increasingly important to examine, since scholars disagree to what extent this aspect mattered.

### 1.3 News: international and local

Nationalistic tendencies in the historiography of news are countered in recent publications by the focus on international aspects of news and its practice of crossing borders. The research into these transnational aspects of news so far focussed on how news travelled. Especially Joad Raymond, professor of Renaissance Studies at Queen Mary University of London, argues that news cannot be confined to national borders, but, rather, the researcher should follow news flows. In practice, this means

---

<sup>43</sup> Deen, *Publiek debat en propaganda in Amsterdam tijdens de Nederlandse Opstand*, 177-178.

<sup>44</sup> Ibidem, 113-117.

<sup>45</sup> Andrew Pettegree, *The invention of news: How the world came to know about itself* (London, 2014), 5.

<sup>46</sup> Lindsay O’Neill, ‘Dealing with newsmongers: News, trust, and letters in the British world, ca. 1670-1730’, *Huntington library quarterly* 76:2 (2013), 215-233

that Raymond stresses the importance of postal routes.<sup>47</sup> These make the spine of the news network, since all news travelled by post, whether the news was delivered in handwriting or in print.<sup>48</sup> Although this approach proves fruitful in many ways, it gives little opportunity to look at news from a more local, consumer perspective. Raymond even states that '[t]o write this history on anything less than a European scale is to ignore the phenomena that gave national news its shape', arguing that researching 'local manifestations' will only result in 'minor variations'.<sup>49</sup> Raymond seems to contradict himself, when he states that news 'was fundamentally international, but subject to the transformative influences of local culture'.<sup>50</sup>

To escape this contradiction, a new framework becomes necessary: *Histoire croisée*. This new perspective criticizes transnationalism on one important part: transnationalism does not escape the national tendencies which were visible in early historiography. It, still, heavily relies on national borders, since transnational movements are typically presented as the flow of ideas from one country to another:

Any description and any analysis presupposes a beginning and an end through which the process under study becomes intelligible and interpretable. In the case of transnational exchanges, these points of departure and arrival are generally located within the national societies and cultures that are in contact.<sup>51</sup>

So, although multiple countries are taken into the analysis, it also stresses the importance of the national borders between those countries.<sup>52</sup>

*Histoire croisée*, on the other hand, tries to look at the entanglement of historical reality. It does not want to get rid of the nationalistic frame, but it does problematise this frame and complement it with other frames, such as a regional frame or an international frame.<sup>53</sup> *Histoire croisée* 'breaks with a one-dimensional perspective that simplifies and homogenizes, in favour of a multidimensional approach that acknowledges plurality and the complex configurations that result from it'.<sup>54</sup> For research into news, this perspective can be extremely fruitful, since it provides the opportunity to research news from different angles: regional (or local), national, and international. The contradiction Raymond finds himself in, is solved by not considering the regional, national, and international perspective on news as mutually exclusive, but, rather, as different frames in which news functioned simultaneously.

---

<sup>47</sup> For a concise overview on the construction of postal routes, see: Paul Arblaster, *From Ghent to Aix: How they brought the news in the Habsburg Netherlands, 1550-1700* (Leiden, 2014), 35-43.

<sup>48</sup> Joad Raymond and Noah Moxham (ed.), *News networks in early modern Europe* (Leiden, 2016), 10-12.

<sup>49</sup> Raymond and Moxham, *News networks*, 15.

<sup>50</sup> Ibidem, 10.

<sup>51</sup> Michael Werner and Bénédicte Zimmermann, 'Beyond comparison: *Histoire croisée* and the challenge of reflexivity', *History and Theory* 45:1 (2006), 30-50; 34.

<sup>52</sup> Peter van Dam, 'Vervlochten geschiedenis: Hoe *histoire croisée* de natiestaat bedwingt', *Tijdschrift voor geschiedenis* 125:1 (2012), 97-109; 103.

<sup>53</sup> Werner and Zimmermann, 'Beyond comparison', 38-39.

<sup>54</sup> Ibidem, 38.



Furthermore, Raymond's focus on how news travelled, leaves out why news travelled in the first place and especially what news made its way to its final destination, the consumer. Professor of History at Harvard University, Ann Blair described the information overload that was present in the early modern period. Consumers had an enormous amount of information to choose from.<sup>55</sup> To understand their choices, the consumption of news should be examined more.<sup>56</sup> This is not only true for the consumers at the very end of a news flow, but also for the people that adapted news. Publishers of the newspaper, for example, chose what news to include in their weeklies.

The *histoire croisée* concept can be applied to patterns of consumption as well, since it is within these patterns that the interweaving of the different spatial frames becomes especially apparent. News consumers were generally interested in local, regional, national, and international news events and these different frames also interacted. Local interests could align with national news, but could just as well clash with it. Regional circumstances could fuel interest in events abroad and events abroad could determine the way of thinking about regional events. Next to Raymond's focus on distribution, it is research into consumption that can prove the transnational aspects of news.

#### 1.4 Sources and approach

This thesis adopts the ideas of a multimedia system and the *histoire croisée* approach by taking a closer look at news in the multimedia system of Gelderland from 1618 to 1648.<sup>57</sup> The province of Gelderland is chosen as a case study, because of its interesting position within the Dutch Republic. Here, the Dutch Revolt resumed in 1621 and many important battles and sieges were fought close to or even within the borders of Gelderland. The siege of Groenlo, the invasion of the Veluwe (1629) or the siege of Schenkenschans (1635 – 1636) were all important moments in the war against Spain and were mostly fought on the territory of Gelderland. At the same time, Gelderland offers an interesting case study because of its geographical position within Europe. In 1618, the Thirty Years' war took off in nowadays Germany. Gelderland bordered these areas directly, and so it makes sense that people and government in Gelderland looked closely at what happened in the neighbouring areas during the Thirty Years' war.

A last reason to choose Gelderland when it comes to investigating news, is its position between two major news centres, Amsterdam and Cologne. When the news travelled from Cologne to Amsterdam or vice versa, it almost always had to cross Gelderland.<sup>58</sup> Important rivers, such as the Waal

---

<sup>55</sup> Ann Blair, *Too much to know: managing scholarly information before the modern age* (New Haven, 2010), 13.

<sup>56</sup> Helmers and Van Groesen recognise this need for 'managing the news'. Helmers and Van Groesen, 'Managing the news in early modern Europe', 262.

<sup>57</sup> Helmer Helmers, researcher at the University of Amsterdam, is currently working on a project in which he studies the influences of the Thirty Years' war (1618-1648) on Dutch news culture and public opinion. His view on the formative power of the war on news can be read in: Helmer Helmers, 'Cartography, war correspondence and news publishing: The early career of Nicolaes van Geelkercken, 1610–1630', in: Raymond and Moxham, *News networks in early modern Europe*, 350-374.

<sup>58</sup> A study by J.C.W. le Jeune, a nineteenth-century historian, showed that an important postal route was set up between Cologne and Nijmegen in the first half of the seventeenth century. J.C.W. le Jeune, *Het brieven-*

and the Nederrijn, were used to make this transport easier.<sup>59</sup> It makes sense to think that Gelderland did not let the news pass by without doing something with it. It is more likely that Gelderland actively participated in the sharing of news, just as Cologne and Amsterdam did.

This specific period is chosen because of the many news events that happened during this time. In the Dutch Republic, 1618-1648 was a period of turmoil. Domestic issues such as the conflicts between the remonstrants and the contraremonstrants kept local and national politics busy and the continuation of the war with Spain from 1621 onwards made sure that the stadtholder and his army were always needed. Abroad, the situation was not any more peaceful, since in many places in Europe war and conflict were a daily reality. In nowadays Germany, the Thirty Years' war started in 1618 with the defenestration of Prague and the Bohemian Revolt. In France, the protestant stronghold of La Rochelle caused the king of France to take up his weapons against his own subjects. Because of all this turbulence, news media had a field day during this period.<sup>60</sup> For this thesis, it offers an interesting backdrop to study dynamics of news.

The location and time period are chosen because they can function as a compelling case study. This thesis is, however, aimed at finding more general dynamics of news. The research question this thesis wants to answer, is:

*How was what news shared in the period 1618-1648 in the region of Gelderland?*

The aim is not to establish specific qualities of news in Gelderland in this time period, but to determine patterns in the sharing of news in general.

The two parts of this question are influenced by the focus on the multimedia system on the one hand, and the *histoire croisée* approach on the other. How news was shared can be connected with the different types of news media (printed, written, or spoken). By demonstrating how different media were used to share news, this research wants to show the different characteristics of the different types of news media. The second question relates to what news was shared and should be seen as an adaption of the questions asked in the *histoire croisée* approach. This question wants to find out if the news that was shared was regional, national, and/or international and whether or not the consumption of these news items was influenced by local or international circumstances. By answering both questions, this thesis hopes to show some significant characteristics of the sharing of news in general.

---

*postwezen in de Republiek der Vereenigde Nederlanden* (Utrecht, 1851), 22-23. J.C. Overvoorde confirmed this in a later study: J.C. Overvoorde, *Geschiedenis van het postwezen in Nederland voor 1795* (Leiden, 1902), 479.

<sup>59</sup> Jan de Vries explored the way people could use transportations over rivers in the early modern period. He agrees to the importance of passenger transportation to better understand the economy in the Dutch Republic. Furthermore, according to De Vries, the first postal coach route (over land) only begun in 1660, showing once more the importance of river routes in postal networks in the early seventeenth century. For a map of possible river routes, see: Jan de Vries, *Barges and capitalism. Passenger transportation in the Dutch economy (1632-1839)* (Utrecht, 1981), 58 - 59.

<sup>60</sup> Pettegree, *The invention of news*, 179.

This research chooses to focus on ‘sharing’, because this term is more suitable for dealing with news than the traditional tripartite ‘production, distribution, consumption’ that is so often used when studying cultural phenomena.<sup>61</sup> All three are problematic when it comes to news. A newspaper, for example, did not really produce the news, since the news was already there. It did, however, rearticulate the information and distributed it to its readers. Just in the same way, the consumer of the newspaper also talked about it with his or her friends, and was, in this way, also a distributor of news. ‘Sharing’ covers all these aspects and underlines the intertwined nature of production, distribution, and consumption that is so typical of the way people dealt with news.

This brings up the problem of defining news, since this research will not include all kinds of gossip and hearsay in its analyses. It is notoriously difficult to define news, as Raymond and Moxham show in *News networks in early modern Europe* (2016). They begin their introduction with the question ‘what is news?’, but end up not giving a definition, but rather point to its ‘connective and dynamic’ nature.<sup>62</sup> Once again, they stress the importance of focussing on the interplay of news media to reconstruct news. Nowhere do they give an actual definition of news itself. Implicitly, Raymond and Moxham see news as new information on public events. They, thereby, exclude news with a personal or private nature, coming from family or friends for example.

The Oxford English Dictionary defines news as ‘newly received or noteworthy information, especially about recent events’. This, again, does not define the nature of the news. The events mentioned could be personal, political, religious, etc. Although it is interesting to look at news from so many different angles, the scope of this project requires a stricter definition and therefore focusses on news of public affairs. The words of Pettegree also add a justification for a stricter definition, stating that private news ‘was not generally what people thought of as news’, when people in the early modern period asked for news, ‘they meant news of great events’.<sup>63</sup> Pettegree might exaggerate here, since private news was definitely shared in letters and in gossip. It was, however, not the news that could be read in newspapers or (political) pamphlets. That is why this thesis analyses public news and leaves private news out of the picture.

Furthermore, in the early modern period, news did not have to be recent. Reports from battles that ended weeks earlier were still considered to be news. This not only depended on the distance news had to travel. News could also be a report that confirmed or denied other, earlier received, news. Since news was still unreliable, a second source confirming earlier sources could also be noteworthy.<sup>64</sup> This thesis, therefore, adopts the same view as Raymond, Moxham, and Pettegree (implicitly) hold, defining news as *newly received or noteworthy information on public affairs*.

---

<sup>61</sup> For an overview on how this tripartite became so important, see: J.J. Klok and W.W. Mijnhardt (ed.), *De productie, distributie en consumptie van cultuur* (Amsterdam, 1991), 5-11.

<sup>62</sup> Raymond and Moxham, *News networks in early modern Europe*, 3.

<sup>63</sup> Pettegree, *The invention of news*, 4.

<sup>64</sup> Raymond and Moxham, *News networks in early modern Europe*, 2.

Next to a restriction in the used definition, this thesis also limit itself by focussing on specific case studies. It will answer the question with the help of three case studies. Each case study will put one type of news medium centre stage, but, at the same time, keeps an eye out for the uses of the other two types of news media. Furthermore, each case study falls within the chosen region and time period, but by no means does this thesis have the illusion that the case studies will deal with all the available source material for the period 1618-1648 in Gelderland. It is merely a starting point, because these sources have so often been neglected.

The first case study (and chapter) will focus on the printed publication of the *Arnhemsche courante* (1619-1636) by Jansz. and Van Biesen.<sup>65</sup> As said, newspapers have long been on the agenda of the scholar interested in news. Nonetheless, the Arnhem newspaper did not receive much attention. It is, however, intriguing that a newspaper managed to survive this long in a provincial city. It, therefore, deserves to be analysed within the context of this thesis. Arthur der Weduwen, PhD-student at the University of St. Andrews, depicts the *Arnhemsche courante* as inferior to its Amsterdam counterparts.<sup>66</sup> The case study in this thesis will prove that this was not necessarily the case.

The second chapter will look at written correspondence of people from Gelderland in the period 1618-1648. Especially the correspondence of one individual, Arent de Bye (1600-1652), will reveal more about how news travelled within correspondence. Although research into written news did include the manuscript newsletter, the focus on personal correspondence is very new and promising. Research into news in personal correspondence allows the researcher to look beyond subscription-based news supply and focus on more informal networks of news exchange.

In the last case study, the focus will be on the interplay of all news media, since the diary of David Beck (written in Arnhem in 1627-1628) gives a unique glimpse into the handling of news in everyday life. With this diary, it is also possible to give more attention to the spoken word. Michiel van Groesen already briefly studied the diary and characterized Beck as a 'keen reader' who read the news whenever he could.<sup>67</sup> This was, however, only an introductory article and Van Groesen did not thoroughly examine the Arnhem diary for every mentioning of news. Furthermore, he focussed on the consumption of the newspaper specifically. The case study in this research will, therefore, analyse more carefully the consumption of news by Beck, including the spoken word and written news media.

The case studies will use newspapers, personal correspondence, and conversations as noted in the diary as key sources to understanding news. Pamphlets, songs, and manuscript newsletters have a supporting role in the different chapters, but are never put centre stage. This mainly has to do with the number of sources that are available for one news medium and if these sources make a coherent whole.

---

<sup>65</sup> Arthur der Weduwen collected data on all surviving issues of this newspaper in his bibliography of Dutch newspapers. I used this bibliography to trace these issues in archives and libraries in the Netherlands and Sweden. See: Arthur der Weduwen, *Dutch and Flemish newspapers of the seventeenth century, 1618-1700* (Leiden, 2017).

<sup>66</sup> Der Weduwen, *Dutch and Flemish newspapers*, 319.

<sup>67</sup> Michiel van Groesen, 'Reading newspapers in the Dutch Golden Age', *Media history* 22:3-4 (2016), 334-352.



There are, for example, many pamphlets published in Gelderland, but these are scattered throughout the years and belong to many different conflicts. The newspapers, letters, and rumours in this research are part of a coherent corpus, which makes them more suitable for establishing the characteristics of the news medium under investigation.

## 2. Weeklies: the *Arnhemsche courante*

In the first half of the seventeenth century, a new news medium made its appearance on the European news market: the newspaper. The oldest newspaper that survived was published in Strasbourg and its first remaining issue stems from 1609. Archival sources revealed that this newspaper was already published in 1605. The Dutch were not that far behind and the first surviving newspaper can be found in Amsterdam in 1618. The rest of the Dutch Republic was, however, not that fast. Only in the 50s and 60s of the seventeenth century did competition in this market really appear.<sup>68</sup> Before this, citizens in other cities than Amsterdam mostly bought one of the two Amsterdam newspapers: the *Courante uyt Italien ende Duytschlandt, &c* by Jan van Hilten or the *Tijdinghe uyt verscheyde quartieren* by Broer Jansz.

It is, therefore, remarkable that a provincial city such as Arnhem had its own newspaper: the *Arnhemsche courante*.<sup>69</sup> In 1619, the local government had asked the book printer Jan Jansz. to publish a newspaper. He answered positively to their request and the first surviving issue dates from 17 May 1621. Jansz. went on to publish the coranto until his death. In 1630, son-in-law Jacob van Biesen took over the print shop and continued the *Arnhemsche courante* till at least 1636, since the last surviving issue dates from 21 October 1636. It is, however, possible that the newspaper survived beyond 1636.<sup>70</sup>

In this chapter, the *Arnhemsche courante* will first be analysed on its own, looking at its sources, content, trustworthiness, and spread to establish dynamics within the newspaper itself. Secondly, the newspaper will be placed in the larger media landscape. This will be a case study to uncover the connection of the newspaper to the many other publications printed in Arnhem and the competitive dynamics within the newspaper market in Gelderland. This will clarify even better how the newspaper conveyed news to the reader and what other sources were needed to supplement this.

### 2.1 General remarks: characteristics of the *Arnhemsche courante*

The *Arnhemsche courante* was printed from 1619 onwards.<sup>71</sup> The first few years, the paper was published on a Monday. This changed in 1623 when Jansz. switched its publication to a Tuesday, thereby solving the problem of competition. Since the Amsterdam newspapers were published on a Saturday, publishing on a Tuesday made sure that the *Arnhemsche courante* could bring other and newer stories. The lay-out resembled the newspapers printed in Amsterdam with one half folio sheet printed on both sides. Although the newspaper did not carry a title, a supplement to the newspaper printed on

---

<sup>68</sup> Der Weduwen, *Dutch and Flemish newspapers of the seventeenth century, 1618-1700* (Leiden, 2017), 319. A notable exception is the publication of a newspaper in Utrecht in 1623. For more information on this newspaper, see: Arthur der Weduwen, 'Utrecht's first newspaper re-discovered. Adriaen Leenaertsz and the Nieuwe courante uyt Italien, Duytslandt ende Nederlant (1623)', *Quaerendo* 46 (2016), 1-19.

<sup>69</sup> For a first and very general survey into this newspaper, see: Joan Hemels, 'Arnhemmers en hun kranten. Persgeschiedenis aan de Rijn 1621-2001', *Arnhem de genoeglijkste* 24:2 (2004), 45-116; 51.

<sup>70</sup> Der Weduwen, *Dutch and Flemish newspapers*, 319-320.

<sup>71</sup> The newspaper was printed in the Gregorian calendar. This chapter, therefore, also adopts the Gregorian calendar instead of the Julian calendar.

the 5<sup>th</sup> of February, 1630, revealed that the newspaper was known as the *Arnhemsche courante*.<sup>72</sup> How this newspaper collected and reported the news will be the focus in this paragraph.

#### Sources of the newspaper

The news in the *Arnhemsche courante* came from all over Europe. There is, however, a remarkable difference between father and son-in-law. Jansz. mostly obtained his news from the (news) capitals of Europe: Cologne, Venice, Rome, Vienna, and Prague. Van Biesen, on the other hand, seemed to focus more on the German-speaking area. His top five places were: Cologne, Frankfurt am Main, Arnhem, Mainz, and Berlin. Although Van Biesen did receive news from Venice and Rome, it was much less frequent than his news from places in Germany. Vienna and Prague are not even on his list. A lot of smaller German cities are on Van Biesen's list, but did not make an appearance in the newspapers of Jansz., such as Hall and Hamm. The emphasis shifted from news from all over Europe to news from the direct neighbours.

This shift in focus might cause the news to be less diverse in the newspaper editions of Van Biesen, but the situation in Germany was covered in more detail. It also ensured that the news could be more recent. In the newspapers of Jansz. the average 'age' of a news report was a little more than 16 days, while in the newspapers of Van Biesen this number was minimized to 10 days on average.<sup>73</sup> In this way, Van Biesen brought his customers the news from Germany in a very quick way, and with the emphasis on the Thirty Years' war, he could report more details from smaller cities.

From whom did Jansz. and Van Biesen obtain their news? They both relied on contacts they had abroad.<sup>74</sup> These contacts sent them letters containing news they picked up in their cities. The sources for these letters could be either orally transmitted, written, or printed news. Frequently, Jansz. and Van Biesen reported that they obtained news that was heard on the streets. The issue of 27 May 1636, for example, explained that in Schwelm 'the call went around' that the Swedes had relieved a couple of nearby cities.<sup>75</sup> This was then noted down by the informant of Van Biesen and sent to Arnhem.

Written news was the most frequent source of the news items in the *Arnhemsche courante*.<sup>76</sup> Most of the times, the newspaper item began by saying 'letters from ... arrived, telling that ...'. Jansz. and Van Biesen received this information from their contacts abroad. Sometimes, however, it is not this letter that is referred to, but a letter of an actor in the news. The newspaper of 21 October 1636 copied

---

<sup>72</sup> Folke Dahl, *Dutch corantos 1618-1650: a bibliography* (Göteborg, 1946), 84.

<sup>73</sup> See attachment 1 for a more detailed overview of the speed of the news in the *Arnhemsche courante*.

<sup>74</sup> Ferry Reurink, 'Het uitgebreide netwerk van Jan Jansz, boekverkoper, uitgever en drukker te Arnhem', *Arnhems historisch tijdschrift* 33:3 (2013), 151-156.

<sup>75</sup> Dutch: 'Den roep gaet hier'. *Arnhemsche courante*, 27 May 1636. National Library of Sweden, Stockholm, Tidning Nederländerna Fol RAR.

<sup>76</sup> The dependence on letters of newspaper publishers is well illustrated by Nicholas Brownlees: Nicholas Brownlees, 'Newes also came by letters': Functions and features of epistolary news in English news publications of the seventeenth century', in: Raymond, Joad, and Noah Moxham (ed.), *News networks in early modern Europe* (Leiden, 2016), 394-419.

almost an entire letter. The one was sent by the protestant army official Johan Stalhanske on the 6<sup>th</sup> of October from Wittstock and reported on the victory he and his men had made on the empirical troops.<sup>77</sup>

Printed media could also be sources for the news in the newspaper. The issue of 27 March 1623, for example, reported on the Spanish law that prohibited the wearing of large collars.<sup>78</sup> This information came from a publication of the Spanish government which was issued in Madrid. The contact of Jansz. might have read the publication, but he could also have heard it, since it was read out loud by government officials.<sup>79</sup>

The news reports discussed so far all had their own heading with the place of origin and date clearly marked. There were, however, also news reports that did not have a heading and were grouped together in a section under a line (illustration 2.1).<sup>80</sup> These reports often contained news from nearby or news that was received in another way than the reports above the line.<sup>81</sup> Jansz. and Van Biesen might have had eyewitnesses that directly told them what happened, or it may have been the publishers themselves that were present when the news was happening. It could also be that the publishers obtained letters that, in first instance, were not meant for them.

In the issue of 27 March 1623, for example, Jansz. reported on the events in Nijmegen. In the week before, Jansz. had published news on conversations between the contra-remonstrant church and remonstrant ministers in Nijmegen. In this week's edition, he wanted to convey the happy ending of these conversations. The news that the ministers had vowed to preach the official doctrine of the reformed church in Nijmegen made it under the line, indicating that Jansz. received this news maybe by talking to an eyewitness or even witnessing it himself.

A lot of times, news under the line also referred to letters in which the information could be found. The issue of 21<sup>st</sup> of October, 1636, mentioned letters from Lyon. Most likely, these letters were not received by Van Biesen himself. It could be that someone else received them and showed

---

<sup>77</sup> *Arnhemsche courante*, 21 October 1636. National Library of Sweden, Stockholm, Tidning Nederländerna Fol RAR.

<sup>78</sup> *Arnhemsche courante*, 27 March 1623. Dahl, *Dutch corantos*.

<sup>79</sup> [Anoniem], *Placcaet des grootmachtichste coninckx van Spaengien don Philips de IV [...] tot redressement en welstant van alle digniteyten* (Amsterdam, 1623). KB, pamphlet 3421.

<sup>80</sup> A. Stolp, *De eerste couranten in Holland. Bijdrage tot de geschiedenis der geschreven nieuwstijdingen* (Amsterdam, 1938), 79-80. Dahl, *Dutch corantos*, 18.

<sup>81</sup> Otto Lankhorst, 'Newspapers in the Netherlands in the seventeenth century', in: Brendan Dooley and Sabrina A. Baron (ed.), *The politics of information in early modern Europe* (London, 2001), 151-159; 152.





them to Van Biesen, after which he decided to print it in his newspaper. Since these letters were not from one of his direct contacts, he printed it under the line.

In general, Jansz. and Van Biesen did not copy their news directly from the Amsterdam newspapers. An exception to this rule is the issue of the 6<sup>th</sup> of June, 1628. The *Arnhemsche courante* copied the *Courante uyt* of Van Hilten directly, taking over news from Paris and Bergen-op-Zoom. Jansz. did, however, make clear that the news he published was not received directly by him by putting it under a line. As far as it is possible to trace, the other issues of the *Arnhemsche courante* did not copy the newspapers from Amsterdam, but relied on their own news sources.

### Content of the newspaper

It is often said that the information in the newspapers of the seventeenth century was neutral and factual.<sup>82</sup> And indeed, at first this seems to be the case in the *Arnhemsche courante* as well. The reports only convey what happened and not so much why things happened or the position of the news within wider events. The news of Vienna in the issue of 27 March 1623, for example, reported that the abbot of the rich monastery Molck had died. How this was of any importance for the events surrounding Vienna is not disclosed. Apparently, the reader had to know that the abbot that died was Caspar Hofmann, that this monastery played an important role in the contra-reformation or that it had been unsuccessfully besieged in 1620 by protestant forces.<sup>83</sup>

Not only the reports demanded a high degree of prior knowledge, the headings alone asked for a lot of familiarity with topography in Europe.<sup>84</sup> Places like Rome and Paris will likely have sounded familiar, but cities such as Hamm or Wittstock must have been more obscure. The content of the reports might have revealed something about its location, but to put it in its proper context required information that the newspaper simply did not give.<sup>85</sup>

In some instances, the publisher did try to add meaning to the reports. 29 June 1632, for example, Van Biesen reported on the preparation of the army near Mainz to go on a campaign. He added that ‘people think [the campaign] will target Frankenthal and Heidelberg’.<sup>86</sup> Although Van Biesen tried to

---

<sup>82</sup> Michiel van Groesen, ‘(No) news from the Western front: The weekly press of the Low Countries and the making of Atlantic news’, *Sixteenth century journal* 44:3 (2013), 739-760; 748-752.

<sup>83</sup> Deutsche Biographie, ‘Caspar Hofmann, Benedictiner-Abt von Melk’, <<https://www.deutsche-biographie.de/sfz33244.html#adbcontent>> [visited on 16-08-2017].

<sup>84</sup> An interesting publication regarding this need for prior knowledge, is: Johann Hermann Knoop, *Kort onderwys, hoedanig men de couranten best lezen en gebruiken kan* (Leeuwarden, 1758). UB Leiden, 2361 G 19. This publication catered to the need of newspaper readers by giving instructions on how to read newspapers and what basic knowledge people should have. Although such publications did not survive for the seventeenth century, it is not unlikely that these were in fact present in those times as well.

<sup>85</sup> Because of this wide range of placenames, Joop Koopmans has argued that the newspaper also functioned as a medium that constructed an image of Europe. See: Joop W. Koopmans, ‘A sense of Europe: The making of this continent in early modern Dutch news media’, in: Raymond, Joad, and Noah Moxham (ed.), *News networks in early modern Europe* (Leiden, 2016), 597-615.

<sup>86</sup> Dutch: ‘men meent dat het op Franckendael ende Heydelberch gelden zal’. *Arnhemsche courante*, 29 June 1632. Press Museum, Amsterdam, PM 1419.

explain what the meaning of the preparing army was, he presented the information rather tentatively. He understood his task as displaying what had happened. The meaning of what happened was second to this and remained less certain.

Although the news was indeed rather factual, it was certainly not neutral. This can be shown in two ways: the choice in what to report and small judgemental remarks in the reports itself. An example of the first is the newspaper of 15 August 1623. On the 6<sup>th</sup> of August, a battle between the troops of the protestant Swedes directed by Christian of Brunswick and the Spanish troops under the Count of Tilly took place. Although the Swedish army lost heavily, the report in the newspaper told otherwise.<sup>87</sup> Instead of reporting a great loss, Jansz. chose to focus on the weakened state of Spanish army and the equal losses on both the protestant and catholic side.<sup>88</sup> The exclusion of negative news about the protestant side reveals the newspaper's position: it was strongly associated with the protestant forces.<sup>89</sup>

Small remarks within the report also displayed the newspaper's loyalty. News from the enemy side was, for example, quite often followed by details on how their army pillaged villages and murdered innocent people. Reports from Schwelm, for example, conveyed that the troops of the emperor, the catholic side, caused Schwelm to be 'emaciated to the ground'.<sup>90</sup> Reports from the protestant side, on the other hand, did not mention the cruel actions of their armies, although they most certainly also ransacked villages and used violence on innocent people. In this way, the enemy or catholic side, was depicted as cruel.

A remarkable issue of the newspaper regarding neutrality is the supplement to the *Arnhemsche courante* that was printed on the 5<sup>th</sup> of February, 1630. This supplement consisted entirely of news from Arnhem and the character of the news differed completely from the normal news reports. Whereas the regular news displayed its subjectivity mostly through including and excluding certain news events, this supplement was very explicitly opinionated.

It started by conveying the news that the magistrate of Arnhem had ordered that the remonstrant assembly was forbidden. It went on by summarizing the actions of one specific minister of the church. This minister had been drunk many times before, had been in fights and had berated other important people. According to the publisher, he did not follow the rules laid out by God for servants of the church. The newspaper exclaimed: 'O times! How this will end for this pure friar only time will tell'.<sup>91</sup> The exclamation mark is already interesting, but the use of sarcasm ('pure friar') is especially intriguing, since sarcasm was not normally used in newspapers normally. This is no longer news, this is opinion.

---

<sup>87</sup> Parker even called this victory 'the most decisive of all the Catholic victories': Geoffrey Parker, *The Thirty Years' war* (London, 1984), 68.

<sup>88</sup> *Arnhemsche courante*, 15 August 1623. Dahl, *Dutch corantos*.

<sup>89</sup> Michiel van Groesen also showed this partiality for news from the Atlantic world in both an Amsterdam newspaper and an Antwerp newspaper: Van Groesen, '(No) news from the Western front'.

<sup>90</sup> Dutch: 'tot den grondt toe uytgemergelt'. *Arnhemsche courante*, 27 May 1636. National Library of Sweden, Stockholm, Tidning Nederländerna Fol RAR.

<sup>91</sup> Supplement to the *Arnhemsche courante*, 5 February 1630. University Library Amsterdam, Special Collections, OTM: Pfl. port. fol 1630.

How, then, to make sense of this sudden breach of style? Why did the newspaper abruptly change its factual tone to a dramatic account of what happened, followed by a passionate portrayal of an Arnhem minister?

The issue in which this opinionated report appeared was a supplement (in Dutch: *ampliatie*) of the weekly newspaper. This might explain the exclusive focus on events in Arnhem. It could well be that the publisher wanted to reach a larger public with the regular newspaper, but also did not want to lose its local clientele.<sup>92</sup> These local readers knew the facts surrounding the prohibition of practicing the remonstrant religion, since they lived in the city and, most likely, had heard about it by word of mouth. They, therefore, required an addition to the weekly newspaper which contained not only facts, but also interpretation. The publisher catered to their needs by printing this supplement, containing not only factual news, but also personal interpretation.<sup>93</sup>

Although this supplement is indeed very interesting, it remains the odd one out, since most issues of the *Arnhemsche courante* did not include such impassioned pleas. These reports are, however, also not neutral. They reflected a hidden ideology that leaned towards the protestant cause in the wider European conflicts and towards contra-remonstrant ideas in the Dutch Republic.<sup>94</sup>

#### Trustworthiness of the newspaper

Newspapers were not always considered as the most credible news media. A common thought was that news publishers did not publish because they wanted to convey the truest reports, but because they wanted to make money.<sup>95</sup> Therefore, the content of the newspaper was seen as unreliable. The publishers understood this line of thinking and tried to counter it by reporting on the source of information in the newspaper itself.

A first way of doing this was to mention the sources itself. Was the report based on rumours on the street or on printed news elsewhere? This way, the reader could make up his or her mind about the trustworthiness of the news item. Rumours were regarded as less truthful than letters, for example.

Another way was to implement multiple sources in one report. Especially important news events, such as the victory of a French regiment against imperial forces, required multiple sources to

---

<sup>92</sup> H.C. van Bommel suggested that this supplement was printed every week. He based this suggestion on the words of the Arnhem magistrate in their assignment to Jansz. They explicitly mentioned that Jansz. had to provide them with two newspapers. Other possible explanations for these words are that the newspaper was printed front and back or that the information in the newspaper came from the north of Europe and from the south. H.C. Bommel, 'De 'Arnhemsche Courante' in de eerste helft van de 17de eeuw', *Arnhem de genoeglijkste* 13:4 (1993), 190-196.

<sup>93</sup> This is further supported by the fact that the supplement was printed in the Julian calendar (used in Gelderland), whereas the normal issues adopted the Gregorian calendar (used in Holland).

<sup>94</sup> Helmer Helmers even stated in a lecture held at the symposium *The newspaper in the Golden Age* (11-12 May, 2017) that this joining together of the newspaper, the protestant cause and the policy of national government is at the origin of the printed newspaper in 1618. The task of the newspaper was to report on the protestant side in order to motivate the middle class to support the war by sending money and troops.

<sup>95</sup> O'Neill, 'Dealing with newsmongers', 215.

make sure that there was indeed a victory. On 15<sup>th</sup> of April, 1636, Van Biesen first noted down that news was sent from Frankfurt on the 4<sup>th</sup> of April that the imperial army was defeated. In a second report, also from Frankfurt but sent two days later, he wrote that ‘the defeat of the general Coloredo is confirmed by various letters’.<sup>96</sup> This way, the report became more credible, since it was confirmed by multiple sources.

A last way of increasing the credibility of a news report was by giving a qualification to the one who sent the letters. The issue of 29 June 1632 reported on the electorate of Trier that had deposed their ruler. Van Biesen added that ‘all this was confirmed by writing of other credible people, so I printed this without a doubt’.<sup>97</sup> Not only did other sources confirm the news, they were also credible, according to Van Biesen. He trusted them so much, he could print the news without even so much as a doubt. This personal validation gave the report a more trustworthy character.

### Spread of the newspaper

The spread of the newspaper is another issue that needs examining to establish how this newspaper tried to reach its audience. It seems obvious that the *Arnhemsche courante* was important for the news market in Arnhem and for Gelderland in general, but there is also evidence that the newspaper of Jansz. and Van Biesen was meant for an even wider audience, including Amsterdam. An advertisement in the *Arnhemsche courante* of the 27<sup>th</sup> of May, 1636, revealed that a book entitled *De Giff-Jagher* was published by Van Biesen and could be purchased in Arnhem as well as in Amsterdam. The advertisement gave the reader two places in Amsterdam to go to: Johannes Janssonius and Jan van Hilten. It is no coincidence that this Janssonius was also Van Biesen’s brother-in-law. His connections with the Amsterdam book market were very strong because of this family tie.

Another advertisement uncovered yet another market Van Biesen might have reached with his newspaper. This time, a bookseller from Dordrecht, Hendrick van Esch, placed an advertisement in the *Arnhemsche courante* of the 21<sup>st</sup> of October, 1636. Apparently, he thought it would be profitable to place an advertisement in this newspaper, hinting towards the idea that the *Arnhemsche courante* was also available in Dordrecht and its surroundings.

Another clue to determining the spread of the *Arnhemsche courante* can be found by looking at which calendar the newspaper adopted. In Gelderland, the Julian calendar was still used in the seventeenth century, while the province of Holland and Zeeland had shifted towards the Gregorian calendar already at the end of the sixteenth century. If Jansz. and Van Biesen published only for Gelderland, it would have been most logical to use the Julian calendar. This is, however, not the case.

---

<sup>96</sup> Dutch: ‘De nederlaghe van den Generael Coloredo wordt met verscheyden Brieven gheconfirmeert’. *Arnhemsche courante*, 15 April 1636. National Library of Sweden, Stockholm, Tidning Nederländerna Fol RAR.

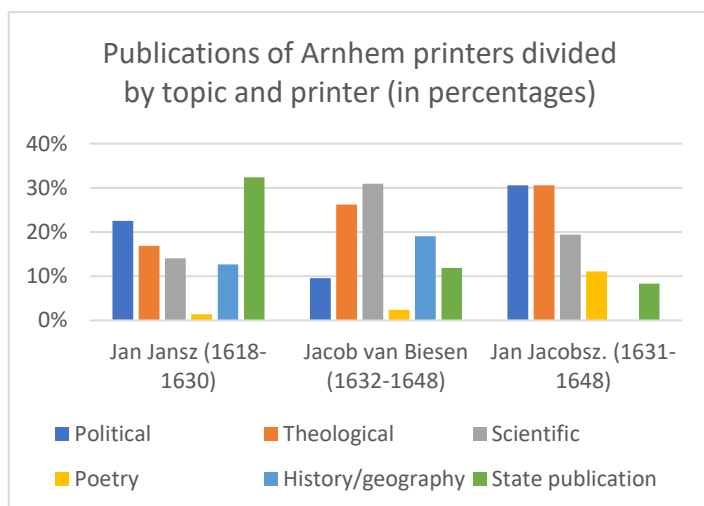
<sup>97</sup> Dutch: ‘werdt dit alles van andere gheloofwaardighe persoonen in t’ schrijve[n] van desen geconfirmeert, alzoo dat ick dit buyten allen twijffel sette’. *Arnhemsche courante*, 29 June 1632. Press Museum, Amsterdam, PM 1419.



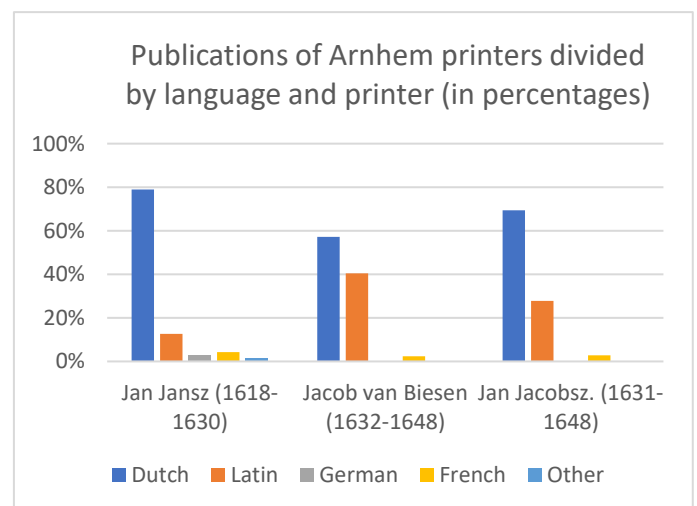
The *Arnhemsche courante* adopted the Gregorian calendar.<sup>98</sup> This further strengthens the idea that the newspaper could also be bought in other provinces in the Dutch Republic. The beforementioned supplementary issue of the *Arnhemsche courante* of the 5<sup>th</sup> of February, 1630, supports this. This edition explicitly mentioned adopting the Julian calendar. The information in this additional issue was only relevant for the inhabitants of Arnhem. It could well be that the publisher changed its calendar because he only intended to sell this supplement of the newspaper in Arnhem and its surroundings.

## 2.2 Case study: the *Arnhemsche courante* in Gelderland

Next to the newspaper, Jansz. and Van Biesen published and printed countless other books. Most of them are lost, but a few dozen are still known to us today. Furthermore, other newspapers were also available in Gelderland. These sources can give an idea on how the newspaper was complemented by other publications.<sup>99</sup> This analysis limits itself to publications that were most likely available on the market in Gelderland, because the *Arnhemsche courante* could definitely be purchased in that region. In this way, the dynamics between the newspaper and other printed media in one multimedia system can be illustrated.



Source: all data is drawn from the Short-Title Catalogue, Netherlands (STCN). For more information, see attachment 2.



Source: all data is drawn from the Short-Title Catalogue, Netherlands (STCN). For more information, see attachment 2.

<sup>98</sup> For Jan Jansz., this can be deduced from the fact that the death of stadtholder Maurits was reported to have happened on 23 April 1625. Maurits, indeed, died on that day in the Gregorian calendar. If the Julian calendar was used, Jansz. would have reported that he died on April 13th. Jacob van Biesen also published in the Gregorian calendar. He reported that the *Landdag* of Gelderland had ended on the 27th of May, 1636. The minutes of this *Landdag* were written in the Julian calendar and noted that the end of the *Landdag* took place on the 17th of May: Regionaal Archief Nijmegen (RAN), 1 Stadsbestuur Nijmegen 1196 - 1810, 3497.

<sup>99</sup> For this analysis, the Short-Title Catalogue, Netherlands (STCN) was used. It is important to realize that this database only contains publications that survived the wreckage of time. There are, for now, no other ways to analyze the publication strategy of Jansz. and Van Biesen, since they did not leave any sort of archive. This research will, therefore, depend on the data available in the STCN. For an interesting introduction to the idea of 'lost books', see: Andrew Pettegree, 'The legion of the lost. Recovering the lost books of early modern Europe', in: Flavia Bruni and Andrew Pettegree (ed.), *Lost Books. Reconstructing the print world of Pre-Industrial Europe* (Leiden, 2016), 1-27.

Especially Jansz, was a prolific printer who published many books on many different topics. As soon as Van Biesen took over, the profile and number of books seemed to change. Where Jansz. focussed on political and state publications, Van Biesen altered the course and printed mostly scientific and religious works. This is also reflected in the language in which both men printed their works. Although both preferred to publish Dutch works, there is a clear increase in Latin publications during Van Biesen's time.

This change might be explained by the third printer that is presented in the graphs: Jan Jacobsz. (active from 1631-1657). He was a former employee of Jansz., but began his own print-/bookshop in 1631 after the death of Jansz. He focussed on the political publications. It seems that these two printers, Van Biesen and Jacobsz., divided the topics between each other.

How, then, should it be explained that Van Biesen still published the *Arnhemsche courante*? The newspaper was often thought of as the 'newest' history, so instead of it being a political publication, the newspaper rather belonged to the historical publications. The link between cartography and geographical publications and news publishing is also frequently made.<sup>100</sup> Van Biesen clearly reigned on that field, since almost one-fifth of his publications was historical or geographical, whereas Jacobsz. published none in this category. It is not a coincidence that Van Biesen kept publishing the *Arnhemsche courante*.

The link between historical publications and the newspaper becomes especially clear when looking at one specific publication of Van Biesen. In 1632, he published two works on the history of the wars of Sweden by Barend Lampe.<sup>101</sup> These books dealt with the Swedish interference in the Thirty Years' war, a topic which was repeatedly reported in the *Arnhemsche courante*. In the two remaining editions of 1632 the Swedish king is an important factor in the war. Apparently, this new player had aroused so much attention that Van Biesen thought it wise to publish two works containing a more sufficient history of Sweden's involvement in the Thirty Years' war.

Clearly, Jansz. and Van Biesen catered to the need for more background information on the news they provided. In 1621, for instance, the newspaper edition of the 17<sup>th</sup> of May extensively wrote about the situation in Mansvelt in the Thirty Years' war. In that same year, Jansz. published a pamphlet containing letters which were intercepted by the count of Mansvelt.<sup>102</sup> In the newspaper, he could only publish a small amount of news, whereas the pamphlet offered Jansz. the opportunity to delve into the subjects that he deemed interesting or popular enough.

---

<sup>100</sup> Helmers, 'Cartography, war correspondence and news publishing', 357; Kate Loveman, *Samuel Pepys and his books. Reading, newsgathering, and sociability, 1660-1703* (Oxford, 2015), 17.

<sup>101</sup> Barend Lampe, *Sweedsche oorloghen dat sijn de gedenckwerdichste daedē, geschiet in Duytslādt* (Arnhem, 1632). KB, pamphlet 4190. Barend Lampe, *Het tweede deel vande Sweedsche oorloghen* (Arnhem, 1632), UB Leiden, THYSPF 3755.

<sup>102</sup> [Anoniem], *Copia van eenighe brieven, die hare keyserlijcke majesteyt, met eygener handt gheschreven heeft, in Italiaensche sprake, ende [...] na Spaengien ghezonden* (Arnhem, 1621). KB, pamphlet 3145.

Van Biesen also experimented with this strategy. He even mentioned a specific pamphlet in his own newspaper. On 29 June 1632, he reported on the change of heart of Hendrick van den Bergh. This former general in the Spanish army had altered his beliefs and now joined the protestant cause. Van Biesen ended his news report by mentioning the letters Van den Bergh had sent to Spain containing his change of heart, ‘which can also be wider read in the accompanying copies’.<sup>103</sup> The letters were indeed copied in pamphlets.<sup>104</sup> It might be that Van Biesen also published this pamphlet and added it to his newspaper.

Next to more background information, there is also a strong parallel between the information in the newspapers and more opinionated pamphlets. The siege of Schenkenschans (near Nijmegen) by stadtholder Frederik Hendrik on the 29<sup>th</sup> of April, 1636, was extensively reported in the *Arnhemsche courante*. The newspaper of the 15<sup>th</sup> of April, for example, devoted almost half of its lines to the developments near Schenkenschans. Two weeks later, victory was achieved which was then celebrated in the publication by Van Biesen of *Caille la Boco* written by the Deventer minister Jan van der Veen. This pamphlet presented the news, which was already reported by the newspaper, in a new light. He focussed on the losing side and especially on Ferdinand of Austria and his arrogance, displaying that pride comes before a fall.<sup>105</sup>

Not all publications can be linked with the newspaper, since Jansz. and Van Biesen also published more scientific or theological works. These books were, however, mostly written in Latin. The political and historical works were often written in Dutch. In this way, Jansz. and Van Biesen targeted two different markets: the scholarly world of mathematicians and theologians who could easily read Latin on the one hand and on the other the people more interested in worldly affairs and with a lesser or non-existent knowledge of Latin. The newspaper was meant for this last group, although the groups were, of course, not mutually exclusive. Apart from these two categories, Jansz. and Van Biesen also printed extensively for the government, whether it was the city magistrate or the provincial government. This provided yet another (and secure) way to make a living.

The publication of the *Arnhemsche courante* by Jansz. and Van Biesen was not something that stood apart from the rest of their activities as printers/publishers. By publishing their newspaper, they not only provided for an existing market, but also created a market for people interested in the backgrounds or opinion surrounding the news which gave the printers the opportunity to publish pamphlets and historical works. Together with their other publishing activities, such as their scientific and theological works and their work for different governments, Jansz. and Van Biesen were very important for the local book market.

---

<sup>103</sup> Dutch: ‘ghelijck uyt hier neffens gaende copien breder te lesen is’. *Arnhemsche courante*, 29 June 1632. Press Museum, Amsterdam, PM 1419.

<sup>104</sup> Hendrik van den Bergh, *Copie van sekeren brief, van [...] graef Heyndric vandē Bergh [...] op het subject van syn miscontentement* (z.p., 1632). KB, pamphlet 4222.

<sup>105</sup> Jan van der Veen, *Caille la boco, ofte Muyl-brandt, over de zege van Schenckeschans* (Arnhem, 1636). KB, pamphlet 4421.



In Arnhem, it is obvious that they were dominant players in the book market, especially concerning news and history subjects. Within the quarter of the Veluwe, it is also likely that the two publishers were most important, although publishers in the city of Harderwijk also competed for a spot. In 1648, Gelderland would get its own university in Harderwijk. Its publications from the years before the official opening already pointed to a highly scholarly atmosphere, since most were in Latin and dealt with theological topics.<sup>106</sup> Jansz. and Van Biesen were, however, still the most important publishers on political and historical topics.

The other two main cities of Gelderland, Nijmegen and Zutphen, could not even begin to compete with Arnhem. A short search in the Short-Title Catalogue, Netherlands (STCN), shows that Arnhem, Nijmegen, and Zutphen, together, published 143 books during the period 1618-1648. Out of these 143, 113 were printed in Arnhem. Although it is important to understand that the STCN presents a distorted picture, since it only includes books that are still available and are more than one page, it still gives a very clear image.<sup>107</sup> In this image, Arnhem stood out from the rest and can be given the title of publishing centre of Gelderland. It is, therefore, likely that publications by Jansz. and Van Biesen could easily compete with publications in the rest of Gelderland.

Newspapers were, however, not restricted to one specific province. It was already shown that the spread of the *Arnhemsche courante* probably did not stop when it reached the borders of Gelderland. The same counts for the newspapers printed in Amsterdam. Every week, twenty-six copies of the newspaper of Van Hilten were sent to a bookseller in Nijmegen.<sup>108</sup> The *Arnhemsche courante* had to compete with this and did so by moving the day of publication to Tuesday. In this way, the Arnhem newspaper could present new news that was not included in the Amsterdam newspapers.

An example will make this more comprehensible. The *Arnhemsche courante* of 29 June 1632 contained news from Frankfurt from the 22<sup>nd</sup> of June and from Aachen of the 25<sup>th</sup>. Van Hilten's *Courante uyt* from three days earlier, published on the 26<sup>th</sup> of June, also included news from these places: from Frankfurt news arrived on the 20<sup>th</sup> and from Aachen the 24<sup>th</sup>. People who read the Amsterdam newspaper could also read the Arnhem newspaper, since the reports in this newspaper were from a later date than the news in the *Courante uyt* and contained new or different information. From Aachen, for example, Van Hilten reported that the army of the governor of Maastricht was damaged by the French and Swedish armies. He did not mention, however, that the governor had joined other Spanish armies in Thienen and now marched towards Maastricht. Van Biesen reported this in his newspaper three days later. The reader could read both newspapers, since they complemented each other in their news reports.

---

<sup>106</sup> Data from the STCN reveals that 94 works were published in Harderwijk in the period 1618-1648. Out of these 94, 72 are in Latin.

<sup>107</sup> For more information on the problems of cataloguing broadsheets, see: Andrew Pettegree, 'Broadsheets: Single-sheet publishing in the first age of print. Typology and typography', in: Andrew Pettegree (ed.), *Broadsheets: Single-sheet publishing in the first age of print* (Leiden, 2017), 3-32; 5.

<sup>108</sup> Paul Begheyn, *Abraham Leyniers: een Nijmeegse boekverkoper uit de zeventiende eeuw* (Nijmegen, 1992), 18.

The *Arnhemsche courante* did not only complement the Amsterdam newspaper. It also delivered the news faster. Especially in Van Biesen's time, the Arnhem newspaper reached a speed of news (on average, reports were ten days old) that the Amsterdam newspapers could not or barely compete with. Even if only the news from Germany is taken into account, the Amsterdam newspapers still could not match the speed of news in Van Biesen's newspaper. The average age of a news report in the *Courante uyt* then becomes almost 13 days, and for the *Tijdinghe* it is even 15 days.<sup>109</sup> The average speed in Arnhem with Van Biesen as publisher, on the other hand, remained 10 days.

People in Gelderland that wanted to buy the newspaper for its most recent news, could rely on the *Arnhemsche courante* to cater to their needs. Furthermore, with Van Biesen's strong emphasis on the news from Germany, he chose a clear position within the news market that made him stand out from the rest. In this way, the *Arnhemsche courante* continued to be an important news medium within Gelderland, even with the competition from the two Amsterdam newspapers.

Not only the domestic news market in the Dutch Republic could be a threat to the *Arnhemsche courante*. The newspapers published just over the border in the Holy Roman Empire (nowadays, the region of North Rhine-Westphalia) might also be sold on the Dutch news market, especially in the neighbouring region of Gelderland. Newspapers that survived from this region, were published in Cologne (1620 onwards), Herford (1630), and Münster (1623).<sup>110</sup> Especially since these newspapers had a catholic or more neutral stance on the news, they could well be competition to the *Arnhemsche courante* with its protestant perspective. The Catholics in Gelderland might have chosen to read a German newspaper that was in line with their own religion instead of a Dutch paper affiliated with an opposing religion. But since no archival sources reveal anything about the spread of these German newspapers within Gelderland, it is difficult to present a clear picture. Nonetheless, the possibility of competition with newspapers from over the border is very likely, since newspapers frequently travelled abroad.<sup>111</sup>

In short, the *Arnhemsche courante* was an important news medium in Gelderland. It withstood competition from its Amsterdam and German counterparts and offered its clientele very recent and detailed news, especially on the situation in the Thirty Years' war. Next to the newspaper, the printers also focussed on providing extra information through pamphlets and works on history and geography. This way, the newspaper was connected to other publications. The basic information could be read in

---

<sup>109</sup> To analyse this, a sample was taken from both Amsterdam newspapers. Jan van Hilten's the *Courante uyt Italien ende Duytschlandt*, &c.: 16-10-1621, 13-03-1623, 21-05-1625, 02-09-1628, 28-12-1630, 21-02-1632, 14-04-1635, and 18-10-1636. Broer Jansz' *Tijdinghe uyt verscheyden Quartieren*: 15-03-1621, 26-08-1623, 17-05-1625, 30-09-1628, 16-10-1632, 16-06-1635, and 16-02-1636.

<sup>110</sup> Information on these newspapers was given to me by Jan Hillgärtner whose research focusses on bringing together information on all newspapers printed in Germany between 1605 and 1650. Jan Hillgärtner, *German Newspaper 1605-1650. A Bibliography* (Leiden, forthcoming 2019).

<sup>111</sup> It is known, for example, that the Harlem newspaper, the *Oprechte Haerlemse Courant*, was sent to Moscow to be translated there and reported to the Tsar. Ingrid Maier, 'Zeventiende-eeuwse Nederlandse couranten vertaald voor de Tsaar', *Tijdschrift voor Mediageschiedenis* 12:1 (2009), 27-49.

the Arnhem weekly, but for background information, context, and meaning, the consumers of the *Arnhemsche courante* had to buy other printed works or, as will be shown in the next chapters, had to rely on other types of news, such as hearsay and letters.

### 2.3 Conclusion

This chapter focussed on the publication of a newspaper in Arnhem, the *Arnhemsche courante*. This newspaper is the only known newspaper that was published outside of Amsterdam for a considerable amount of time (at least seventeen years) in the first half of the seventeenth century. It, therefore, deserved to be analysed in greater detail. In the introduction, it was already shown that Der Weduwen valued the *Arnhemsche courante* as inferior in comparison to the Amsterdam newspapers.<sup>112</sup> Further analysis showed that this was not necessarily the case.

The Arnhem newspaper brought recent and exclusive news to its readers which made it a valuable source for recent information, particularly news regarding the Thirty Years' war. Especially during Van Biesen's time as publisher, the *Arnhemsche courante* brought the news from Germany with great speed. Since the newspaper was also published three days later than its Amsterdam competitors, it could be sold separately or as a complement to the news in these weeklies.

The content of the news focussed on the events in the Thirty Years' war and the developments in the war against Spain. Both topics that were of a clear interest for the readers in Gelderland who directly experienced the consequences of both wars. Many of the battles in the Dutch Revolt were fought in or nearby Gelderland – the siege of Schenkenschans for example – and when protestant forces in the Thirty Years' war lost a battle, many soldiers fled to the Dutch Republic and ended up in Gelderland. This direct involvement caused the inhabitants of Gelderland, and readers of the *Arnhemsche courante*, to be especially interested in these affairs.

The publishers were, however, aware that they were viewed with suspicion when it came to bringing truthful news. People did not trust the newspaper, because they were afraid that it only sold news to make a living and not to convey the truest information. Jansz. and Van Biesen tried to take away this suspicion by reflecting upon their sources. Clearly stating how they gained their information, adding multiple sources, and giving their own validation to their news sources were possible ways to improve their credibility.

Since the newspaper was funded by the local government, it is no surprise that its view on the news matched with the official policy adopted by local, regional and national governments. It supported the Protestant Union by providing news on victories of this side of the war and minimizing the news on losses and defeats of the protestants. Framing the catholic side as cruel also helped in spreading this ideology. Within the Dutch Republic, the newspaper supported the officially accepted church doctrine of the contra-remonstrants.

---

<sup>112</sup> Der Weduwen, *Dutch and Flemish newspapers of the seventeenth century*, 319.

The *Arnhemsche courante* offered its readers detailed information, but did not always provide enough background knowledge to understand all this information. That is why it is important to know how the newspaper functioned within a multimedia system, such as the multimedia system in Gelderland. Jansz. and Van Biesen were very important in this news system, since they provided the majority of printed publications surrounding news. The newspaper fitted in perfectly with these publications. It is also possible that the publication of a newspaper ensured that people were interested in more news, since to understand the newspaper completely, readers had to consume other publications (such as pamphlets and historical works) as well. Jansz. and Van Biesen made sure that they were the ones who published these additional works and sometimes even added these pamphlets directly to the newspaper.

The newspaper started off as a news medium for the Arnhem magistrate, but, judging by the advertisement and choice of calendar, it soon became available for a wider audience than just the people in Gelderland. The publisher did not, however, forget about its local clientele. By publishing a supplement (which was likely meant only for local readers, determined from the content and the choice of calendar), they supplied the readers in Arnhem and its surroundings with exclusive news from their home town and even added interpretation and opinion, something that was not to be found in the normal newspaper.

### 3. Writings: news in personal correspondence

Within the historiography of news, printed news always took centre stage. In the last decades, increasingly more scholars of media history have been interested in written news, but mostly tend to approach the topic with the example of the printed news in the back of their heads. There are, for example, multiple articles discussing the importance of the newsletter, a written medium that most closely resembles the newspaper.<sup>113</sup> Both the newspaper and the newsletter were subscription based news media. Next to the fact that not all people could or wanted to pay for this subscription – especially the subscription to a newsletter was very expensive<sup>114</sup> –, these news media were also valued as less credible. Both the newspaper man and the writer of a newsletter depended on the money that these subscriptions provided to make a living. In the eyes of many contemporaries, this made them less trustworthy, since it did not matter to them if they provided their customers with the truth as long as they could support themselves and their family with the selling of newspapers or newsletters.<sup>115</sup>

Research into written news would benefit from taking a different perspective. No longer should written news be researched along the same lines as printed news. Instead, scholars should look at how news played an important role in personal letters and networks of correspondence. More attention should be paid to news that was not sold, but exchanged for free. The early modern period has often been described as a period of letter writing.<sup>116</sup> Not only states used letters to inform and instruct their officials, scholars also corresponded with each other in the republic of letters.<sup>117</sup> On top of that, in the course of the centuries, the common people exchanged letters increasingly.<sup>118</sup> The content of these letters differed, but news often made it into these written documents.

In these letters, information was transmitted from person to person. This information ranged from the latest rumour on the marriage of a family member to the most recent events in neighbouring countries. Indeed, almost all information sent by letters would fit a broad definition of news, including for example gossip and family news. And even the stricter definition of news, as adopted in this research, is visible in many letters sent in the early modern period. Handbooks written in the seventeenth century

---

<sup>113</sup> See, for example: Zsuzsa Barbarics and Renate Pieper, 'Handwritten newsletters as means of communication in early modern Europe', in: Francisco Bethencourt and Florike Egmond (ed.), *Cultural exchange in early modern Europe: Correspondence and cultural exchange in Europe, 1400-1700* (Cambridge, 2007), 53-79.

<sup>114</sup> Sabrina A. Baron, 'The guises of dissemination in early seventeenth-century England: news in manuscript and print', in: Brendan Dooley and Sabrina A. Baron (ed.), *The politics of information in early modern Europe* (London, 2001), 41-56; 48.

<sup>115</sup> O'Neill, 'Dealing with newsmongers', 215-216.

<sup>116</sup> Laura Sangha, 'Personal documents', in: Laura Sangha and Jonathan Willis, *Understanding early modern primary sources* (London, 2016), 107-128; 112.

<sup>117</sup> Henk Nellen examined the life of one member of the Republic of Letters, Ismael Boulliau. In his letters, Nellen discovered a keen appetite for news that was present among most scholars involved in the Republic of Letters: Henk Nellen, *Ismael Boulliau (1605-1694). Nieuwsjager en correspondent* (Nijmegen, 1980), 284-285.

<sup>118</sup> Gary Schneider, *The culture of epistolarity: Vernacular letters and letter writing in early modern England, 1500-1700* (Newark, 2005), 48.

on how to construct a letter often included how to convey (political) news in correspondence which points towards the increasing importance of news sent in letters.<sup>119</sup>

Letters could often be faster and more secure than printed news.<sup>120</sup> Next to these benefits, news in personal letters also had a social function. Like sending gifts,

the letter of news or intelligence, likewise, was another salient type of epistolary exchange in which coterie circulation and specific social connectedness were manifested: the transmission of news and intelligence among correspondents often had a distinct and relatively precise sociology of exchange.<sup>121</sup>

Sending news clearly had different reasons: to inform the correspondent, but also to establish a social relationship. It was part of the manners of sending letters to also include news. How this news was included, differed. It ranged from a few lines at the end of the letter to letters devoted entirely to the latest information.<sup>122</sup>

This chapter is divided into two parts.<sup>123</sup> In the first part, general characteristics of news in personal letters will be examined. The sources of the news, the social character, and the trustworthiness of news in letters will be analysed. In the second paragraph, these characteristics are combined when studying the correspondence of one particular individual. In this way, the news network of a seventeenth century regent can be uncovered and how letters played an important part in it.

### 3.1 General remarks: news in personal letters

News in letters could take up different forms. The letter could be completely filled with news, leaving no room for other remarks and information, but news could also be just a small fragment of the letter, ‘sandwiched between personal and business correspondence in letters to friends or relations’.<sup>124</sup> The news could be very personal when the sender included his or her own views on the news, but could also be rather factual and straightforward. To give a typology of news in letters is hardly achievable, since

---

<sup>119</sup> Henk Nellen, ‘Over doornen en distels. Het gebruik van brieven als een bron voor historisch onderzoek naar aanleiding van de biografie over Hugo Grotius’, *Tijdschrift voor Nederlandse Taal- en Letterkunde* 124 (2008), 187-200; 196-197.

<sup>120</sup> Nathan Perl-Rosenthal showed that John Adams, when a war between France and the United States was about to happen, relied more on his personal correspondence for information from France than on official diplomacy. This information was more trustworthy and faster than most official channels. Nathan Perl-Rosenthal, ‘Private letters and public diplomacy: The Adams network and the quasi-war, 1797-1798’, *Journal of the Early Republic* 31:2 (2011), 283-311.

<sup>121</sup> Schneider, *The culture of epistolarity*, 27.

<sup>122</sup> Ibidem, 46.

<sup>123</sup> For this analysis, 37 letters have been examined. They were found in archives of families in the archive of Gelderland. In the first part, 11 letters are used to demonstrate some general remarks of news in letters. In the second part, 26 letters have been analysed to construct the news network of one individual.

<sup>124</sup> Richard Cust, ‘News and politics in early seventeenth-century England’, *Past and present* 112:1 (1986), 60-90; 1.

the dividing lines between all possibilities is too thin to even be perceptible.<sup>125</sup> News in letters did, however, have some defining characteristics. These are dealt with in this paragraph.

#### Sources of the news

The sources for news in personal letters were diverse and could range from a simple rumour on the street to an official printed ordonnance. The letter from Alexander van der Capellen to his brother Hendrik illustrates the use of a wide spectrum of sources. On the 3<sup>rd</sup> of June, 1627, he wrote to him from The Hague that ‘there is nothing else here, but people whispering ...’.<sup>126</sup> Later on in the letter, he mentioned that the province of Holland had ‘published the writings’ to the cities in Holland containing ‘the placard against the Arminians’.<sup>127</sup> He ended his letter, saying that he had received reliable messages of the whereabouts of the king of Denmark. In this way, the spoken word, written media, and printed media were all used as sources for the message to his brother.

All types of news media could be used for the information in letters. There is, however, a difference between letters conveying international, political news and letters including more regional or local news. Where the first is mostly concentrated on written or printed sources, the latter often used the perception of the letter writer as its source of information. In this way, the letter became an eyewitness account. An example of a letter containing an eyewitness report is given by the letter sent on the 17<sup>th</sup> of September, 1629, by a gentleman called G. Cruyner to Hendrick Brantsen, who in 1635 would become burgomaster of Arnhem. Cruyner sent his ‘very favourable friend’ a report of what had happened in Hattem in the last couple of weeks: ‘We are in great trouble here for 8 or 9 weeks because of the invasion of the enemy in the Veluwe’.<sup>128</sup> Indeed, the Spanish troupes had invaded the Veluwe in hopes of relieving Den Bosch, which was under siege by the Dutch stadtholder. This tactic failed however, and when the army of the Republic conquered Wesel, the Spanish had to give up their hopes of conquering any cities in the Veluwe.<sup>129</sup> Cruyner also recognized the importance of the taking of Wesel when he wrote: ‘It were the good God’s design to swiftly and unexpectedly seize Wesel’.<sup>130</sup> In short, Cruyner

---

<sup>125</sup> Schneider, *The culture of epistolarity*, 47. Ian Atherton divides news in letters into personal letters, on the one hand, and newsletter on the other: Ian Atherton, ‘The itch grown a disease: manuscript transmission of news in the seventeenth century’, in: Joad Raymond (ed.), *News, newspapers, and society in early modern Britain* (London, 1999), 39-64.

<sup>126</sup> In Dutch: ‘hier is oock niet vee landers, als dat men mompelt’. Alexander van der Capellen to Hendrik van der Capellen, 3 June 1627. Gelders Archief (GA), 0467, Family Van der Capellen, 70, Letters received by and minutes of letters from Hendrik van der Capellen, 1620-1655.

<sup>127</sup> In Dutch: ‘gepubliceert t scryvens’ and ‘t’ placcaet tegens d’Armenianen’. Alexander van der Capellen to Hendrik van der Capellen, 3 June 1627. GA, 0467, 70.

<sup>128</sup> In Dutch: ‘Wij sijn alhijr 8 oft 9 weecken lanck door d’invasie des viants in veluwen’. G. Cruyner to Hendrick Brantsen, 17 September 1629. GA, Arnhem, 0452, Family Brantsen, 21, Letters received by Dr. Hendrick Brantsen, 1629, 1637 and without year.

<sup>129</sup> For more information on the invasion of the Veluwe in 1629, see: Meij, *Geschiedenis van Gelderland*, 186-190.

<sup>130</sup> In Dutch: ‘ten waere die goede Godt sijn dessein door het subtelijck ende gansen onverwacht innemen van Wesel’. G. Cruyner to Hendrick Brantsen, 17 September 1629. GA, 0452, 21.

saw most of the information in this letter in his direct surroundings and reported it, with some interpretation of his own hand, to his correspondent.

Although eyewitness reports included the latest and very detailed news on what had happened, the information in letters was often not considered new or recent. Letters had a different function, namely to evaluate the news.<sup>131</sup> Letters could, for example, confirm or oppose already known news and could also give a new perspective or interpretation of the news. Cruyner, in the beforementioned letter, confirmed that rumours on the street were true when he wrote: 'People are calling for a truce, which saddens true patriots, and this seems not to be a vain rumour', since the provinces were organising diets to discuss a possible truce.<sup>132</sup> In this way, he validated the rumours on the street.

A nice example of someone giving an interpretation of news is given by Alexander van der Capellen who sent his brother Hendrik a letter after Hendrik informed him from The Hague that stadtholder Frederik Hendrik had passed away. Hendrik already knew the factual news, but Alexander provided him with his own perspective:

The death of our dear prince has long been anticipated and expected because of the unchanging law of nature, but some will find it more damaging as others. The discord between the provinces and within the provinces itself need a head that keeps the limbs together, who behaves with authority within the existing limits and who offers a steady hand to hold the helm of ship that all sorts of winds will blow in all kinds of directions'.<sup>133</sup>

In this way, news in letters had a completely different function than news in newspapers. Letters gave the correspondents the opportunity to validate and evaluate the news.

#### Social character of news

Apart from sending letters as a way to inform people, letters also had a social function. Letters were seen as conversations that were held over greater distances.<sup>134</sup> Corresponding with someone made sure

---

<sup>131</sup> O'Neill, 'Dealing with newsmongers', 220.

<sup>132</sup> In Dutch: 'Men begint nu van alle canten sterck van trefees te roepen, twelck veele goede patrioten bedroeft, ende schijnt het selve gheen ijdel gheruchte te wesen'. G. Cruyner to Hendrick Brantsen, 17 September 1629. GA, 0452, 21.

<sup>133</sup> In Dutch: 'Het afsterven van onser goeder prints is wel voorsien van langer hant en[de] van[den] onveranderlijke wet der nature te verwachten geweest, maer sal schadelicker gevonden worden als het by sommighe wel opgenomen wordt. De verdeiltheden tussen de provintien en[de] in deselve onderlinghe hebben van nooden een hooft dat de leden by een houde, d'extravegeerende met autoriteyt binnen de limiten beduringe ende een goede handt biede aen t' roer van schip dat allerhande winden gins ende derwaerts geschapen sijn te drijven'. Alexander van der Capellen to Hendrik van der Capellen, 7 March 1647. GA, 0467, 70.

<sup>134</sup> Nellen, *Ismael Boulliau (1605-1694)*, 284. Schneider questions this assumption, pointing towards the many anxieties people had while writing letters. Schneider, *The culture of epistolarity*, 16.



that the social connection was maintained. Since news was often a topic in daily conversations, it also made its way into the letter.

News could, on top of this, also serve as more than just a topic of conversation. Just as it was common to send presents along with letters, news was also seen as something extra.<sup>135</sup> It was a non-physical good that could be sent along with the letter. This is especially noticeable, because news mainly made it into a separate part of the letter. It was not included in the main text, but had its own paragraph and sometimes only made it into the postscript. In this way, it was an addition to the letter.

The social nature of correspondence becomes very clear when one looks at the reciprocal nature of letter writing. Since letters were part of a conversation held over greater distances, a vital component of these conversations was that both parties participated. It was expected that both actively contributed to this conversation by sending news to each other.<sup>136</sup> The correspondence between the brothers Alexander and Hendrik van der Capellen offers a fine example of this reciprocity. Both gentlemen were members of the *Ridderschap* of Gelderland and both frequently visited The Hague as deputies for the province of Gelderland in the States-General.<sup>137</sup> Hardly ever were they visiting The Hague at the same time, making it necessary to inform one another of what happened in The Hague and what happened back in the Boedelhof (their residence) near Zutphen.

The beforementioned letters about the death of Frederik Hendrik are an example of this mutual exchange: Hendrik provided his brother with the most recent happenings in The Hague, Alexander answered by giving his own, more locally inspired, view on the news. He thought, for example, that with the passing of the stadtholder the peace negotiations in Münster would be in danger and that ‘Holland will distract itself, and the other provinces, having particular goals, will also take a different course’.<sup>138</sup> This would be especially troublesome for Alexander’s own province, Gelderland, since this province was ‘the weakest in power and being open on the side of the [Holy Roman] Empire would have a lot to suffer’.<sup>139</sup> In this way, both men contributed to the news story on the death of the stadtholder. One by providing factual news and the other by providing a new perspective.

#### Trustworthiness of news

A last characteristic of news in correspondence is its credibility. The personal nature of correspondence made sure that the news was seen as true, since neither party could benefit from sending false news. The

---

<sup>135</sup> Schneider, *The culture of epistolarity*, 152-160.

<sup>136</sup> Loveman, *Samuel Pepys and his books*. 81.

<sup>137</sup> For more information on the brothers, see: Biografisch Portaal, ‘Hendrik van der Capellen’, <<http://www.biografischportaal.nl/persoon/91247229>> [visited on 24-08-2017] and Biografisch Portaal, ‘Alexander van der Capellen’, <<http://www.biografischportaal.nl/persoon/09494919>> [visited on 24-08-2017].

<sup>138</sup> In Dutch: ‘Ick bewegh dat Hollant sich sal laten distraheeren, ende andre provintien bysondere oogenmercken hebbende oock een ander cours nemen’. Alexander van der Capellen to Hendrik van der Capellen, 7 March 1647. GA, 0467, 70.

<sup>139</sup> In Dutch: ‘als wesende de swackste in vermogen en[de] aende zyde van t Rijck open veel soude hebben te lyden’. Alexander van der Capellen to Hendrik van der Capellen, 7 March 1647. GA, 0467, 70.

newspaper or newsletter was sold whether or not the news was true and, in this way, the newsmonger still made money. In correspondence, on the other hand, sending false news could mean that the social bond between the correspondents was weakened. Especially in a period when status and friendship were important in providing jobs and security, people could not risk losing their connections by sending false news.<sup>140</sup> Compared to the word on the street, news in letters was also regarded as more valuable. Rumours and gossips of the masses could not compete with the news sent by direct eyewitnesses or by well-informed friends.

There were two ways for news in letters to gain credibility. Firstly, the status of the sender could make sure that the information was trustworthy.<sup>141</sup> The brothers Van der Capellen, for example, trusted each other to send accurate information, because they knew that the other had the same high status. This position made sure that they had access to the most relevant information and that they were connected to other men of equal status that could provide them with even more, and possibly wider ranging, news. Hendrik's awareness of the death of the stadtholder, for example, was only possible because he heard of his passing almost immediately in a meeting of the States-General.<sup>142</sup> He was well-informed because of his important position within the political heart of the Dutch Republic.

Another way to ensure that the news was accurate could be by looking at the connectedness of the correspondent. Well-connected people were often more aware of what had happened, because they could hear it from different contacts. On top of this, someone with many contacts could often check the news. He or she could wait for confirmation of the news by other contacts, making the news more valuable for its receiver.<sup>143</sup> This was the case with newsletter writers. Although they were not trusted, because they made money by selling news, they were often very well-connected. That is why important institutions and persons in the Dutch Republic, such as the States-General or the Frisian stadtholder William Frederick (1613 – 1664), still depended on a newsletter writer in Cologne, Hendrik van Bilderbeek (-1653).<sup>144</sup> In Gelderland, the magistrate of Nijmegen had a subscription to his newsletter, while the magistrate of Arnhem cancelled their subscription when they employed Jan Jansz. as their regular news provider.<sup>145</sup>

---

<sup>140</sup> O'Neill, 'Dealing with newsmongers', 231.

<sup>141</sup> Ibidem, 228.

<sup>142</sup> Hendrik van der Capellen to Alexander van der Capellen, 4 March 1647. As included in: Robert Jasper van der Capellen (ed.), *Gedenkschriften van jonkheer Alexander van der Capellen II* (Utrecht, 1778), 185.

<sup>143</sup> O'Neill, 'Dealing with newsmongers', 229.

<sup>144</sup> For more information on Hendrik van Bilderbeek, see: Stolp, *De eerste couranten in Holland*, chapter 6. For William Frederik's use of Bilderbeek's newsletters, see: Geert H. Janssen, 'Dutch clientelism and news networks in public and private spheres. The case of stadholder William Frederick (1613-1664)', in: Joop W. Koopmans (ed.), *News and politics in early modern Europe (1500-1800)* (Leuven, 2005), 151-166; 163-164.

<sup>145</sup> For Nijmegen, see: H.D.J. van Schevichaven, *Penscheitsen uit Nijmegen's verleden* (Arnhem, 1966), 241-248. For Arnhem, see: Maarten Schneider and Joan Hemels, *De Nederlandse krant 1618-1978: van 'nieuwstydninghe' tot dagblad* (fourth ed.: Baarn, 1979), 25.



### 3.2 Case study: the news network of Arent de Bye

Arent de Bye (1600-1652) was a regent in the small city of Zaltbommel. Zaltbommel was located at the Waal river in the west of Gelderland. It belonged to the quarter of Nijmegen. More than once, De Bye fulfilled the function of burgomaster in Zaltbommel and he was repeatedly sent to The Hague to be a deputy for the province of Gelderland. As such, De Bye was an important man, who was known for his knowledge of foreign affairs, but when he was living in Zaltbommel, was far removed from the places that mattered (Nijmegen or The Hague, in his case).<sup>146</sup> Therefore, De Bye was in need of a network that could send him the news from these places when he was not able to be there in person. He created such a network by corresponding with men of equal status and function. These men had the same access to news as he had and he could trust them to send him the most important news, since they knew what mattered to a regent in Gelderland. Together, they kept each other in the loop of the latest rumours, but also of the activities of neighbouring countries.<sup>147</sup>

In this network, four men were most important to De Bye: Johan van Benthem, Rutger Huygens (1586-1666), Adriaen van der Poll, and Arnold van Randwijck (1574-1641).<sup>148</sup> Huygens and Randwijck were both also deputies of Gelderland to the States-General and both repeatedly sent news from The Hague to De Bye when he was in Zaltbommel or Nijmegen. The letters of Van Benthem and Van der Poll, on the other hand, were almost always sent from Nijmegen to The Hague or Zaltbommel. They might have had an important position within the city of Nijmegen which made them so well-informed.

It is clear that De Bye kept in close contact with people from his own province to keep him in touch with what happened further away. Some letters even indicate that De Bye asked them directly to send him the most recent news. Huygens, for example, responded to De Bye's letter by saying:

I would not neglect my task of advising your honour of al that happens here during your absence. If your honour would like to send me work and resources, which I now require so that I can attend to my duty and affection to serve and correspond with your honour.<sup>149</sup>

---

<sup>146</sup> According to A.J. van der Aa, De Bye was the man to go to for questions about the peace negotiations in Münster. Biografisch Portaal, 'Arent de Bye', <<http://www.biografischportaal.nl/persoon/41670066>> [visited on 24-08-2017].

<sup>147</sup> This analysis is based upon eighteen letters sent by four different men. By no means, it aims to be conclusive or complete. It does, however, want to give an indication of the importance of news in letters in the network of De Bye.

<sup>148</sup> Unfortunately, Van der Poll and Van Benthem are not mentioned in any records. For more information on Rutger Huygens, see: Menno Potjer, 'Rutger Huygens (1586-1666), een vitale regent', in: Frank Keverling Buisman and Ingrid Jacobs (ed.), *Arnhem tot 1700* (Utrecht, 2008), 102-103. For more information on Arnold van Randwijck, see: Biografisch Portaal, 'Arnold van Randwyck', <<http://www.biografischportaal.nl/persoon/34697770>> [visited on 10-08-2017].

<sup>149</sup> In Dutch: 'ik en soude niet manqueren aen mijn devoir om U.E. the adviseren, tgene alhier passiert gedurende op residentij. Indien het U.E. belieft mij the addresseren werk en middelen om de brieven the bestellen, welk ik nue versoeke op dat ik mij wol acquitteren van mijn devise en affectij om U.E. the moge dienst doen & mitt U.E. the corresponderen'. Rutger Huygens to Arent de Bye, 5 November 1631. GA, 0632, Family Van der Steen, Van Ommeren, en Wayenstein, 76, Letters received by Dr. Aernt de Bye, 1627-1649 and without year.

It seems as if De Bye asked Huygens to keep him up to date and Huygens might even have gotten something in return, since he mentioned ‘work and resources’ to be send to him. Next to the necessary paper (not cheap in those days), it could well be that De Bye paid Huygens for his services. This seems not to be the case with the other correspondents, although in these letters it also looks like De Bye asked his correspondents for news directly. Van Benthem, for example, ended his letters with news, often starting new paragraphs (illustration 3.1). In one instance, he wrote ‘for new tidings, I do not know anything else to write to you, other than ...’.<sup>150</sup> Apparently, De Bye expected him to write news, since Van Benthem almost apologised for not being able to send him more news.

De Bye probably also sent news from his side to his correspondents. Huygens asked explicitly for information on the upcoming diet of Gelderland: ‘Your honour would please me by advising [me] of what happens at the Diet’, which will result in ‘an extraordinary friendship’.<sup>151</sup> He specifically mentioned that sending news to each other was a good way to establish a friendship. Van Randwijck also made a request for news from De Bye. He articulated it a little bit more tentatively, when he wrote about a rumour on the movements of the army in Gelderland, ‘of which I would like to learn the outcome’.<sup>152</sup> Here, too, the reciprocal nature of the correspondence becomes clear. Both parties expected to benefit from the correspondence, since neither could be at two places at ones.

One time, news reached De Bye through a letter of another correspondent. On the 19<sup>th</sup> of July, 1635, his brother-in-law, Jan Glummer, sent De Bye, residing in Zaltbommel, information on the siege of Schenkenschans from Arnhem.<sup>153</sup> A detailed report on the situation near the fortification followed. The information was partly of his own experience. The other part, he gathered from ‘a trustworthy person’ who had been near the action himself.<sup>154</sup> No news had come directly from the prince’s army, and so this was the best news he could send to his brother-in-law. The news in this letter was not accompanied by any other information. It is only the news that mattered at this point, making clear how important it was. The sender made no effort to make a conversation, but just wanted to quickly give an update on this vital situation in the east of Gelderland.

This is an exceptional situation, since in most cases news was part of a conversation.<sup>155</sup> How this conversation took place and how news played a part within it will be examined by looking at the news network of De Bye. A difference is made between the time when De Bye was in Zaltbommel and

---

<sup>150</sup> In Dutch: ‘Voor nieuwe tijdinghe weet ick U.E. niet anders te schrijven als ...’. Johan van Benthem to Arent de Bye, 28 May 1631. GA, 0632, 76.

<sup>151</sup> In Dutch: ‘U.E. believe mij eens te advisereren watt der op de Landach passeert’ and ‘ene sonderling vruntschap’. Rutger Huygens to Arent de Bye, 14 May 1628. GA, 0632, 76.

<sup>152</sup> In Dutch: ‘Daervan ick t’ gevolg verlang te vernemen’. Arnold van Randwijck to Arent de Bye, 7 September 1632. GA, 0632, 76.

<sup>153</sup> More information on Jan Glummer, see: Biografisch Portaal, ‘Jan Glummer’, <<http://www.biografischportaal.nl/persoon/28064520>> [visited on 10-08-2017].

<sup>154</sup> Dutch: ‘een geloofwaardig person’. J. Glummer to Arent de Bye, 19 July 1635. GA, 0632, 76.

<sup>155</sup> O’Neill, ‘Dealing with newsmongers’, 223.

when he was in The Hague, since it can be expected that the news differed in both circumstances. In Zaltbommel, De Bye was in need of news from The Hague and Nijmegen, since he was not around to hear it himself. Residing in The Hague, he was unaware of what happened in his own region and had to be informed by letters.

#### De Bye in Zaltbommel

Letters sent to De Bye in Zaltbommel either came from The Hague (seven letters) or from Nijmegen (four letters).<sup>156</sup> This brings the total up to eleven out of eighteen letters, a clear majority which suggests that De Bye was more in need of news when he was in the small city of Zaltbommel, and especially of news from The Hague. What kind of news they contain and how the news is delivered to De Bye differs.

The news from Nijmegen was solely brought to De Bye by Van der Poll and the letters mostly concentrated on governmental issues in the quarter of Nijmegen or in the province of Gelderland. Only in the last section of the letter did public news come into play. In one letter, news was not even included in the main text, but only appeared in a postscript. This is an interesting letter, especially because of the attachment that is mentioned. Van der Poll ended his letter by saying:

I attach to this the novellas of Bilderbeeck. Berck and Orsoij are under siege and Orsoij is under fire. The prince would be near Gelder, but this is still unsure to us. Alewijn recently saw five hundred ships gather together to, as people think, transport the army.<sup>157</sup>

The newsletter that Bilderbeek regularly sent to the magistrate of Nijmegen was, apparently, also sent to De Bye. It is not sure if De Bye had a subscription or if this happened only once. It is clear, however, that Van der Poll did not think the newsletter was enough, since he added his own news to it. News of a siege on nearby towns, news of the prince's movements and a remark of an eyewitness are all included in the postscript. The news in the newsletter probably dealt more with foreign affairs and Van der Poll thought it wise to also send his friend the latest update on the situation in the direct surroundings.

In another letter, sent on the 5<sup>th</sup> of August, 1635, Van der Poll narrated the latest news of the siege of Schenkenschans. Again, the news was included in the last part of the letter only. Most of his text was directed at opposing other news. He wrote, for example:

---

<sup>156</sup> At least seven letters, out of eighteen, were sent directly to Zaltbommel (or Bommel). Another two letters were most likely sent to Bommel, since they contain information from The Hague, but no address is given in these cases. Two letters were sent to Nijmegen, but since both came from The Hague, it makes sense to include them in the analysis of news from The Hague when De Bye was not in the city himself.

<sup>157</sup> In Dutch: 'Ick voege hier neffens de novelles van Bilderbeeck. Berck en Orsoij sijn belegert en wordt Orsoij all beschoten. De prins soude voor Gelder sijn dan is ons sulcx noch onseker. Alewijn heeft last vijffhondert schepen sien bij een te versamelen om, soo men meijnt, het leger aff te brengen'. Adriaen van der Poll to Arent de Bye, 6 November 1632. GA, 0632, 76.

[This] my secretary Klouk had told [me] he had heard, but it seems not to be true, just as it is not true that the enemy is making an entrenchment on the east side, but only constructed some light works, with which he defends the free pass in and out the fortification.<sup>158</sup>

The letters of Van der Poll were not only used to convey the latest news, but also to confirm or oppose already known news. As shown above, letters could possess this function because they were valued higher as printed news or simple rumour in the streets, especially in the upper classes.<sup>159</sup> De Bye wanted accurate information and trusted a man of equal standing more than the impersonal information in printed media or the gossip of the masses.

Where the news from Nijmegen mostly had to do with the movements of armies, the news from The Hague had a more (international) political nature. Van Randwijck and Huygens were the ones that sent these letters to De Bye and both were involved in politics in The Hague and, as such, knew what to write to him. Huygens, for example, mostly sent De Bye news on either political actions of other countries or on movements of the ambassadors. The 5<sup>th</sup> of November, 1631, Huygens wrote to De Bye about the events in England, France, and Germany. On top of that, he reported on the movements of the stadtholder.<sup>160</sup> In fact, this letter would almost qualify as a newsletter. The news was documented in different paragraphs, all beginning with the country of origin. In this way, the letter resembled a newsletter, apart from the fact that the different paragraphs were not underneath separate headings. Also, the letter still had a personal touch and does not seem to be copied and sent to multiple subscribers. It does, however, depict the urge for news and the conventions of how to send news.

Three days later, on the 8<sup>th</sup> of November, Huygens sent another letter to De Bye. This time, the letter did not have the look of a newsletter, but still conveyed news to its receiver. Included was another letter that was addressed to both gentlemen, Huygens and De Bye. Huygens already read it and passed it on to De Bye. This attachment included news on the movements of ambassadors. Huygens added other news as well, about the shortage of corn in the province of Holland and the peace between England and Spain. He concluded that ‘all the world tries to make peace [with Spain]’, excluding the Dutch Republic, but this ‘will almost force us to make a truce’.<sup>161</sup>

In short, when De Bye was residing in Zaltbommel, he was in need of news from Nijmegen as well as from The Hague. From Nijmegen, he obtained news about the movements of the armies,

---

<sup>158</sup> In Dutch: ‘hadde mijn den secretaries Klouk geseyt verstaen te hebben dan schijnt niet waer te sijn, gelijk all mede niet waer is dat den vijant aen die diestel[ijke] sijde een schanse maeckt, maer heeft alleen op gesmeten eenige lichte wercken, waer mede hij die vrije pass in ende uyt die schanse defendert’. Adriaen van der Poll to Arent de Bye, 5 August 1635. GA, 0632, 76.

<sup>159</sup> O’Neill, ‘Dealing with newsmongers’, 220; Brendan Dooley, ‘News and doubt in early modern culture: Or, are we having a public sphere yet?’, in: Brendan Dooley and Sabrina A. Baron, *The politics of information in early modern Europe* (London, 2001), 275-290.

<sup>160</sup> Rutger Huygens to Arent de Bye, 5 November 1631. GA, 0632, 76.

<sup>161</sup> In Dutch: ‘alle de werelt soecke peijs the maeken’ and ‘sall ons haest brengen dat wij trever sullen moeten maecken’. Rutger Huygens to Arent de Bye, 8 November 1631. GA, 0632, 76.

especially when these armies were close by. From The Hague, on the other hand, the news was more involved with international politics. De Bye was known to be fully up-to-date on the situation abroad, but to achieve this, he needed his network of correspondents to keep him informed.

### De Bye in The Hague

When De Bye was in The Hague, he was less in need of news than when he was in Zaltbommel. Here, he was in the midst of the political heart of the Dutch Republic and could see and hear most of the news himself. Still, De Bye received letters with news to inform him on the events in Nijmegen. Especially Van Benthem briefed him on the situation in Nijmegen.

The information in these letters was more of a regional nature than the letters from The Hague. Van Benthem informed De Bye on the latest issues in Nijmegen (the scarcity of meat) and on governmental decisions of the province (when to hold a diet).<sup>162</sup> Van Benthem made a difference between these topics and topics that he called 'new tidings'. On the 28<sup>th</sup> of May, 1631, he wrote a letter to De Bye containing mostly information on governmental issues. He ended his letter by writing:

For new tidings, I do not know anything else to write to your honour except that my lord Van Hemert travelled again through here to home yesterday evening, meaning to stay the past night in Loenen. What happens in the army in Flanders and here above, of this your honour would be better informed by the agents of state, them being better briefed than we.<sup>163</sup>

These new tidings were, according to Van Benthem, something different than the governmental topics discussed in the beginning of the letter. The difference is that where this information was directly relevant to De Bye, the new tidings were not. De Bye wanted to be informed on everything, including news items that did not seem to be relevant, but might gain in relevance in the future or were necessary to be up-to-date on the latest issues.

Another interesting feature of this letter is that Van Benthem knew his place in the news network of De Bye. He understood that the nature of the news he sent to De Bye was more regional, because De Bye had other contacts for (inter)national issues, such as the agents of state. Still, Van Benthem made sure to at least mention something about the movements of the army so De Bye could see he was informed and could send information when necessary.<sup>164</sup>

It is likely that rather than receiving news, De Bye, when residing in The Hague, was sending out news. Unfortunately, his letters did not survive which makes it impossible to conclude on this matter.

---

<sup>162</sup> Johan van Benthem to Arent de Bye, 8 May 1631. GA, 0632, 76.

<sup>163</sup> In Dutch: 'Voor nieuwe tijdinghe weet ick U.E. niet anders te schrijven als dat mijn heer van Hemert gisteren avont weders hierdoor naer huys gepasseert is, menende verleden nacht te Loenen te blijven. Wat int leger in Vlaenderen en[de] hier boven passeert, daarvan sullen U.E. door de heren Gecommitteerden aldaer sijn[de] beter bericht hebben als wij'. Johan van Benthem to Arent de Bye, 28 May 1631. GA, 0632, 76.

<sup>164</sup> O'Neill, 'Dealing with newsmongers', 226-227.



He was, however, in the midst of the action and could easily inform the people in his network on the things that he saw happening in The Hague or the international news that he heard on the street or read in newspapers.

### 3.3 Conclusion

This chapter focussed on letters as a medium to transfer news. Instead of looking at written news from the perspective of subscription-based news, this analysis chose to take the personal letter as its starting point. Since it was a common courtesy in the early modern period to include news in the correspondence, letters often contained information on the latest events. This information was included in all kinds of ways. Most times, the letters were a combination of personal content and news.

This became more evident when studying the news network of one individual, Arent de Bye. He made use of his social network to stay informed on matters far away and nearby. Most of all, he corresponded with men of equal status and with equal careers to establish or maintain friendships. Giving each other news was a way of exchanging non-physical goods. The reciprocal nature of letter writing made sure that both parties benefited from it. Also, because these men took turns in visiting The Hague, they made sure that both were informed, even when one was not in the place where news was gathered (such as The Hague or Nijmegen).

Within this news network, people had different functions. Whereas the correspondent residing in The Hague was bound to have more information on (inter)national affairs, the correspondent in Nijmegen knew more about the politics of the province or movements of the army. Correspondents were aware of this task and referred to it when writing their letters. Although they made clear that they knew of certain situations, they also knew that other people were probably better informed because of their position or location within the Dutch Republic.

Sources for the letters were mostly what was seen or heard on the street. Especially when letters contained eyewitness accounts, the information was based on direct involvement in the news event. Additional letters were also included in the correspondence as attachments. This could be a letter that was addressed to both the sender and the receiver of the letter, but it could also be a more anonymous newsletter that was sent as an addendum to the letter. Mostly, however, the information in these letters was based on rumours and hearsay. Phrases like ‘rumour told me that’ or ‘a trustworthy person told me’ often made their way into the written documents.

The information did not necessarily have to be new. Especially when letters offered an interpretation, the news was already known. It was the new perspective of the correspondent that made the news interesting. Furthermore, the letter could also confirm or deny previous reports. Because of its more reliable nature, letters were often used to validate news heard on the streets or even read in the newspapers. Particularly in the upper classes, the news on the streets or the reports in the printed newspapers were not seen as honest or true. It required a personal letter to make sure news was accurate.

In comparison to other news media, the letter was regarded as the best way to secure information. The newspaper was not trusted and could also not give more subversive news, because the publisher could easily be identified. Gossip on the street was known to be inadequate. Letters, on the other hand, could send all kinds of news, because they could escape censorship. They could cater to the needs of the recipient, because of their personal nature. They were often faster than printed news in travelling across distances. It is, therefore, no wonder that De Bye made frequent use of these letters to hear the latest news and, in return, kept his friends informed on all that happened.

#### 4. Whispers: news in the life of David Beck

The last two chapters focussed on a specific news medium: printed and written news. This chapter will devote itself to uncovering the interplay of these two types of news media together with the spoken word. The spoken word is, however, difficult to examine, because of its fleeting nature. Only in sources like diaries can scholars get close to the dynamics of orally transmitted media. Luckily, in recent years, a diary was discovered of a rather normal man living in the first half of the seventeenth century in Arnhem: the diary of David Beck over the years 1627-1628.<sup>165</sup> This diary can give a glimpse into how orally transmitted news functioned and how news was consumed. Precisely because of this opportunity, the diary is of vital importance for understanding all the different sides of the news industry in Gelderland.

David Beck is an interesting figure when looking at news consumption. He did not belong to the elites who had the luxury of being able to be sceptical about the news because they could afford to buy multiple news sources and, in addition, had their own channels through which they obtained news.<sup>166</sup> Likewise, he did not belong to the lower classes who could not afford to buy the newspaper or pamphlets themselves and had to fall back on hearsay and the sharing of news media.<sup>167</sup> Beck, being a French schoolmaster, was part of the middle-class who had something extra to spend, but also had to make choices in what he bought because money was still limited. In addition, Beck was not involved in the news industry. He did not need the news to make a living, so when Beck consumed news it was not because he had to, but because he wanted to.<sup>168</sup>

Beck's case reveals how an average, middle-class man dealt with news. He is, however, also an individual who read the news in his own way and was part of 'a myriad of individual readers'.<sup>169</sup> Still, the analysis of his news consumption can point towards specific functions of the news in someone's life. Since another diary of Beck that was written in The Hague in 1624 already revealed some of Beck's handling of the news, the diary from Arnhem can complement our knowledge.

Jeroen Blaak already analysed Beck's The Hague diary, especially concerning the reading activities of Beck.<sup>170</sup> Printed news was only one category of many in this analysis, such as French poetry and historical books. Beck often read the printed newspaper in The Hague when he visited his uncle,

---

<sup>165</sup> Beck's life is well known to historians nowadays, because of two diaries he kept: one in the Hague in 1624 and one in Arnhem in 1627-1628. The The Hague diary was transcribed and edited in 1993. The Arnhem diary, on the other hand, has only recently been discovered. The Archive of Gelderland (Gelders Archief) succeeded in buying the diary at an auction in 2011 and added it to their collection. Jeroen Blaak transcribed it and made an edition of it.

<sup>166</sup> Dooley, 'News and doubt in early modern culture'.

<sup>167</sup> Van Groesen, 'Reading newspapers in the Dutch Golden Age', 338.

<sup>168</sup> Ibidem, 339.

<sup>169</sup> Dooley, 'News and doubt', 275.

<sup>170</sup> Jeroen Blaak, *Geletterde levens. Dagelijks lezen en schrijven in de vroegmoderne tijd in Nederland 1624-1770* (Hilversum, 2004), 42-100.

Pieter van Palesteijn, or when he strolled outside the city with his brother Steven.<sup>171</sup> It seems that reading the news was more of a social activity, rather than a craving for the latest news, since he did not read the news the minute it came out. It could also be that he received the news in a different matter, for example orally or through letters. With another uncle, Adriaen van der Cruijse, he frequently talked about the political situation in the Dutch Republic and in Europe. His uncle was well informed because of his regular correspondence with postmasters in German cities.<sup>172</sup> News from these cities did not reach Beck through printed media, but by word of mouth. This chapter will show that in Arnhem, too, Beck's consumption of the news had a strong social character.

To analyse the news consumption in Beck's Arnhem diary, this chapter will firstly focus on how the three different types of news media (orally transmitted, written, and printed news) are used in the diary. This will reveal characteristics of each type and tell something about the nature of news in the life of Beck. Secondly, the chapter will take a closer look at three news events that are explicitly mentioned in the diary. In this part, the three types of news media will be analysed together to get to know something about the interplay between them.

#### 4.1 General remarks: daily business of news

Next to his responsibilities as a schoolmaster, Beck had an active social life. Every day, he walked in and around the town, greeted anyone he encountered, and chatted with his neighbours and friends. He also stayed in close contact with his brothers in Holland via letters and an occasional visit. Still, he had time to spend on his own hobbies, such as reading and writing poetry. It is difficult to determine what role news played in this rough outline of Beck's life, since he did not always mention in his diary when he talked about the news or received a letter containing news. That does not mean that news was not present in his conversations and writings, but to research it, this analysis needs to focus on the few times he did write down that he heard or read something new.

A clear indicator of dealing with news is when Beck mentioned that he read the newspaper. A total of eight times, he read the newspaper, according to his diary. One time, it was a newspaper sent by his uncle Adriaen van der Cruijse from The Hague. The other times, it was probably the newspaper of Jan Jansz., the *Arnhemsche courante*. It is not likely that Beck had a subscription to the newspaper, since he mostly read it when he visited friends. Especially the rector, Valentino Hackenberger, was a beloved friend with whom he read the corantos and talked about the news. The 23th of May, 1627, for example, he visited the rector 'in his garden, played and sang with him, joined with my voice, stayed his guest

---

<sup>171</sup> David Beck, *Spiegel van mijn leven*, edition and introduction by Sv.E. Veldhuizen (Hilversum, 1993), 72; Blaak, *Geletterde levens*, 88.

<sup>172</sup> Beck, *Spiegel van mijn leven*, 51.

and read the newspapers'.<sup>173</sup> Apparently, Beck had some catching up to do, since he read multiple editions. Other times, he borrowed the newspaper from the rector and read it at home.

Reading the newspaper was, thus, closely connected with visiting his friends, whether Beck read the newspaper together with his friends or borrowed it from them. Reading the newspaper fitted in with singing and talking, all social experiences. Other printed news media confirm this image. The 6<sup>th</sup> of March, 1627, Beck received letters from his brothers in The Hague, brought to him by cousin Van Ommeren. His cousin also handed him a pamphlet, *Copie vanden Brief by den E. Heere Niclaes van Reygersbergh*.<sup>174</sup> Beck did not read it right away, but waited till the 31<sup>st</sup> of August to read it. He even lent it to someone else, before he mentioned that he read it. On the 3<sup>th</sup> of May, he gave the pamphlet to Ulrich Bloeylants, the father of the woman Beck was courting. Again, the medium had a social function apart from its informative role.

Next to this pamphlet, Beck also referred to *gestrooide pasquillen* in his diary.<sup>175</sup> Four times, these libels were mentioned and all these times it was about the libels written 'against M. van Ommeren, Godschalck and the lords'.<sup>176</sup> The publications probably had the function to spread slander in (and around) the city of Arnhem, since all targets were important people locally. The two people that are explicitly mentioned, Maria van Ommeren and Godschalck, played a part in Beck's life. Van Ommeren was related to Beck and Godschalck was his minister and someone who he regularly met and talked to.

Beck was friends with the targeted people and he talked with them about the insults. On the 21<sup>st</sup> of November, 1627, Beck met with Arnoldus Altius, son of Godschalck. After they read the newspaper, they 'also had discussion about the circulated libels'.<sup>177</sup> In January, Beck also discussed with Maria van Ommeren about the scandalous publication. She let him read the libel 'made against her'.<sup>178</sup> Beck did not read the libels for their news value, since the publications probably contained rumours about his friends that he did not believe. Rather, it was his social duty to be aware of the accusations made against his companions, so he could refute them in their company.

Reading newspapers and pamphlets was, for Beck, a way to socialize: reading the newspaper was an activity that was done with friends; borrowing or lending out news media was another way that social relations could be maintained; knowing the information in publications made sure that one knew what to say and how to behave among friends. Letters provided another way to stay in contact with friends and family further away and were also an excellent medium to send out and receive news.

Beck corresponded mostly with his brothers, Steven and Hendrick, but also with friends, such as David de Moor. Most of his correspondents were located in Holland, but other cities in Gelderland

---

<sup>173</sup> Dutch: 'in zijn tuijn, dede hem speelen ende zingen, leender mijn stemme toe, bleef zijn gast ende lasser de couranten'. Beck, *Mijn voornaamste daden en ontmoetingen*, 70.

<sup>174</sup> [Anoniem], *Copie vanden Brief by den E. Heere Niclaes van Reygersbergh* (s.l., 1627). KB, pamphlet 3744a.

<sup>175</sup> Beck, *Mijn voornaamste daden en ontmoetingen*, 124. It is not clear whether these libels are printed or written.

<sup>176</sup> Dutch: 'tegen M. van Ommeren, Godschalck ende de heeren'. Ibidem, 121.

<sup>177</sup> Dutch: 'Hadde oock redenen van de gestrooijde pasquillen'. Ibidem, 124.

<sup>178</sup> Dutch: 'tegen haer gemaect'. Ibidem, 142.

were part of his network too, such as Zutphen and Nijmegen. In the letters to and from his family, it was mostly family news that was penned down. When, for example, Beck's nephew Stephanus was born his brother Hendrick informed him via a letter.<sup>179</sup> But letters could also be used to inform family and friends of what happened in the city or region. Unfortunately, Beck only noted this once: when he informed his brothers about the siege of Grol in the summer of 1627.

Letters were not only meant for the eyes of the receiver, but often were passed around or read to each other.<sup>180</sup> Beck, for example, frequently read the letters of his brothers to other family members living in Arnhem. Letters of friends were also regularly lent out to other friends. This way, information could spread further than only to the one receiver of the letter.

Beck also regularly corresponded with his friend David de Moor in Amsterdam. Both had a fascination with poetry and wrote poetry themselves. They frequently added poems to their letters, such as a Greek ABC-poem of De Moor to Beck on the 22<sup>nd</sup> of September, 1627.<sup>181</sup> That these poems also contained news items is proved by a manuscript with several poems of Beck. It is even highly likely that this manuscript was made by De Moor.<sup>182</sup> Most poems of Beck in the manuscript are from his time in The Hague. Only a couple were written during his time in Arnhem. One poem, in particular, was written at the end of April 1625, when Beck had just moved to Arnhem (illustration 4.1). The poem is titled

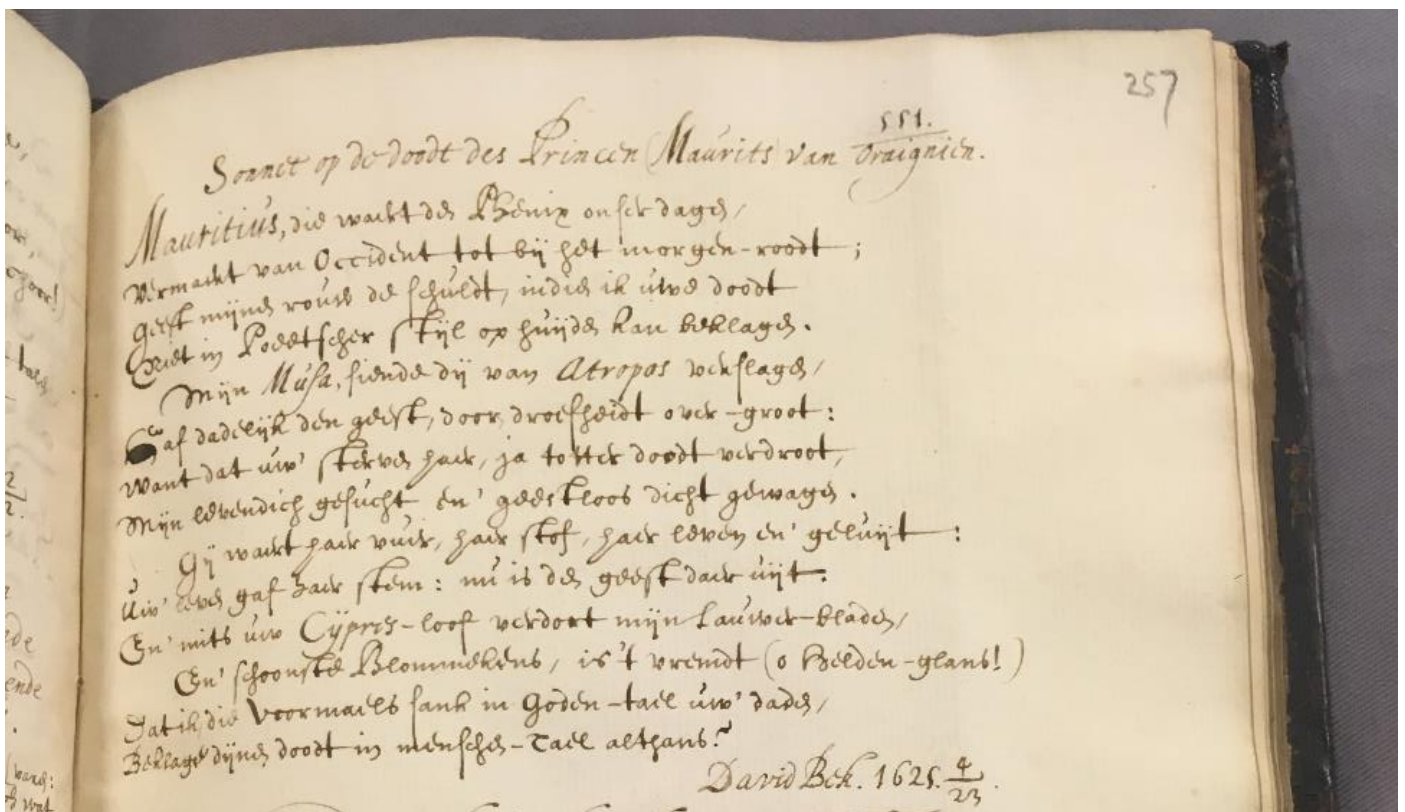


Illustration 4.1: KB, manuscript 74 G 12. Photo by the author.

<sup>179</sup> Beck *Mijn voornaamste daden en ontmoetingen*, 87.

<sup>180</sup> Deen, *Publiek debat en propaganda in Amsterdam tijdens de Nederlandse Opstand*, 123.

<sup>181</sup> Beck, *Mijn voornaamste daden en ontmoetingen*, 106.

<sup>182</sup> Blaak, *Geletterde levens*, 71.

‘Sonnet op de doodt des Princen Maurits van Oraignien’ (Sonnet on the death of Prince Maurits of Orange). In this poem, Beck expressed his grief over the death of stadtholder Maurits. He added a personal touch to a news event of national proportions.<sup>183</sup>

Written news, in the form of letters and written poetry, was used by Beck to inform family and friends, but, more frequently, it was used to convey more personal matters or personal views on the news. Writing allowed Beck to alter every message to the needs and wishes of the receiver. Printed news was fixed. The information was printed thousands of times in the same way. Written news, on the other hand, allowed for more flexibility and had, therefore, a more personal nature.

Next to writing poetry, Beck also tried his hand at composing songs. Singing with friends was a beloved activity and one that was frequently performed. Again, the nature of the songs is not known, but it is not too strange to think that sometimes Beck might have sung a news song. Most of the times, Beck noted down that he sang psalms, but now and then it becomes clear that he also sang more worldly rhymes. For example, when he sat down with his friend Calaminus and they ‘rimed some witticisms to laugh about’.<sup>184</sup> Others also taught Beck new songs. The 10<sup>th</sup> of February, 1627, cousin Jan Mannis and Beck sang a few psalms and afterwards Mannis ‘taught me the air on the shepherd song “Weest nymph gegroet”, which I wrote out at home by the stove’.<sup>185</sup> Beck found the song interesting enough to copy in handwriting, maybe to remember the song or to send it out to other friends and family.

The 26<sup>th</sup> of March, 1628, Beck even bought a harpsichord and in the weeks after he frequently played the new instrument. He decided to take lessons to improve his ability to play music. From now on, he not only wrote poetry, but also songs. For instance, when he wrote a new song on an existing melody on the 18<sup>th</sup> of August, 1628. The melody was titled *Ou luis tu soleil de mon ame?* and originally composed by the Frenchman Pierre Guédron. Beck had encountered the melody in one of his own books, the *Livre d’airs de différents auteurs mis en tablature de luth*, written by Gabriel Bataille.<sup>186</sup> The text he wrote dealt with his new love interest in the city of Arnhem. In this way, printed songs could assist in creating new songs that might be written down, but could also remain in the oral circuit without ever becoming more fixed by writing or printing. The information carried by the song remains concealed because of the fleeting nature of orally transmitted news.

The same accounts for the numerous conversations Beck held with friends, neighbours, and family. Every day he chatted with people and exchanged gossip about other people, but also more news worthy information. Unfortunately, his diary is rather concise about the content of these conversations. The 12<sup>th</sup> of September, 1628, for example, Beck heard a rumour about the daughter of the English king. What the rumour exactly entailed does not become clear. That the spoken word was, however, the most

---

<sup>183</sup> David Beck, Poem on the death of Maurits. KB, manuscript 74 G 12.

<sup>184</sup> Dutch: ‘rijmde enige drolligheden om te lachen’. Beck, *Mijn voornaamste daden en ontmoetingen*, 149.

<sup>185</sup> Dutch: ‘leerde mij het wijsken op het herderlietgen “Weest nymph gegroet”, dat ick thuijs in den stoof uijtschreef’. Ibidem, 43.

<sup>186</sup> For more information, see: Nederlandse Liederbank, <<http://www.liederenbank.nl/bronpresentatie.php?zoek=1001062&lan=nl>> [visited on 24-08-2017].

important way Beck obtained information on the news becomes clear from the fact that every time he mentioned news, he also had a conversation about it. Only a few times, Beck can be found alone while gaining knowledge about the news of the day.

Most of the times he was with other people while handling the news. On the 22<sup>nd</sup> of December, 1627, for example, Beck heard something new about the city of Emden while being shaved at the barbershop.<sup>187</sup> Beck also actively looked for meetings with people to talk with. Especially during the warmer months, Beck frequently walked around in the city, chatted with people he met and exchanged information. The market place, the different portals and also some landmarks in the lands around the city provided excellent spots to hear the latest gossips. Beck did not give any qualifications to these conversations, so it is not clear whether he thought of it as mere rumour or believed every word from friendly neighbours. He was probably interested in what they had to say, but relied on other sources for more reliable information.

Conversations with beloved friends or family members could offer this valuable information. He frequently returned to the rector or Calaminus to talk about news, to hear their perspectives and to share printed or written news media with them. The only problem with these friends was that they probably did not know much more than Beck, since they operated within the same city, with the same number of resources and largely the same contacts. Someone with more access to news was Rutger Huygens, who frequently visited The Hague as a deputy for Gelderland.<sup>188</sup> Everytime he arrived in Arnhem, Beck was quick to talk to him. The 22<sup>nd</sup> of January, 1627, Beck paid a visit to Everard Huygens, ‘whose brother Rutger just arrived from The Hague’.<sup>189</sup> When he was not around, his brother Everard or his mother Wilhelmina Tulleken were visited by Beck in the hopes of getting the latest information or used to send letters to Rutger Huygens.<sup>190</sup>

#### 4.2 Case study: three news events in Beck’s diary

Beck did not always write down that he read or heard something new, but when he did, he almost never noted down what it was that he heard. There are, however, three recurring subjects that are explicitly mentioned in the diary: the siege of Grol, the siege of La Rochelle, and the situation in Germany (especially the Palatinate and Cologne). These three news events are essential for analysing Beck’s consumption of news, since it allows us to look at the combination of the three types of news media. Whereas the previous paragraph focussed on the three types of news media separately, this paragraph will study the multimedia system in which the news media about these events functioned.

---

<sup>187</sup> Beck, *Mijn voornaamste daden en ontmoetingen*, 133.

<sup>188</sup> See footnote 151.

<sup>189</sup> In Dutch: ‘wiens broeder R. effen gecomen was uijt Den Hage’. Beck, *Mijn voornaamste daden en ontmoetingen*, 38.

<sup>190</sup> Ibidem, 43.



### The siege of Grol (July 10<sup>th</sup> till August 9<sup>th</sup>, 1627)

The siege of Grol took place in the nearby city of Groenlo (or Grol), which was still in Spanish hands. Stadtholder Frederik Hendrik wanted to end this situation by undertaking a siege of the city. Over the course of almost a month, his army dug trenches and blocked entrance to the city. The inhabitants of Grol defended their city bravely, but when it became clear that Hendrik van den Bergh, general in the Spanish army, could not make it in time to relief the city, it surrendered.

Meanwhile, Beck only lived a couple hours away from the battlefield. Six times during the siege, he noted down information on Grol. One day after the siege started, he first mentioned that he heard something about the battlefield. In the morning, he already saw soldiers leaving the city of Nijmegen to the Maas river. When he arrived back in Arnhem in the evening, his neighbours informed him on what they knew about the siege.<sup>191</sup> A day later, he again received information by word of mouth, but this time from an eyewitness, namely a soldier he met while taking a hike outside the Velperpoort. The days after, Grol is not mentioned, but the conversations Beck held with his friends most likely did incorporate the attacked city.

On the 25<sup>th</sup>, Beck again noted down that he heard something from Grol. This time, his cousin, Jan Mannis the elder, informed him on what happened at the nearby battlefield. This cousin was a soldier in the Prince's army, making him another eyewitness from who Beck obtained information. Later, the 30<sup>th</sup> of July, he again received information from soldiers near the Velperpoort.

Since Beck was so close to the siege, he received first-hand information, making him a source for news. This is confirmed by the two letters Beck sent out on the 27<sup>th</sup> of July. In the register of his correspondence, he explicitly noted down that he sent two letters to his brother Steven in The Hague and his cousin Pieter Beck in Amsterdam with 'tidings from Grol'.<sup>192</sup> The brother and cousin both lived in the two biggest news centres in the Dutch Republic and could easily obtain their information via de printed newspaper. The Amsterdam newspaper *Courante uyt Italien ende Duytsch-landt, &c* of the 28<sup>th</sup> of July<sup>193</sup>, for example, also held information from Zutphen from the 27<sup>th</sup> of July. The printed newspaper was as fast as the written news sent by Beck. The letters of Beck could, however, still complement the newspaper or give news that was seen as more trustworthy, since it is likely that Beck incorporated eyewitness accounts of family members involved in the war (such as the reports of cousin Jan Mannis the elder). He could also adjust the content to the specific needs of his family members, since the written letter offered more possibilities for flexibility.

For his own information, Beck did not depend on written or printed media about the siege of Grol. Only after the siege had ended, these types of media became more important. The account book of Beck reveals that Beck copied a regulation of Frederik Hendrik in handwriting. He earned 24 *stuivers*

---

<sup>191</sup> Beck. *Mijn voornaamste daden en ontmoetingen*, 86.

<sup>192</sup> Ibidem, 91.

<sup>193</sup> The date is converted to the Julian calendar. The original publishing date was the 7th of August, 1627. *Courante uyt Italien ende Duytsch-landt, &c*, 7 augustus 1627.

with it. In the regulation, the terms and conditions for the enemy in Grol were presented. It is not clear why Beck had to copy it in handwriting or for who. Interesting is that the one who ordered the copy wanted it in handwriting, rather than in print. Since Beck was well-known for his beautiful calligraphy, it could be that the one who ordered the copying wanted an especially beautiful copy of the otherwise plain pamphlet, or he or she wanted to incorporate the pamphlet in a manuscript and found it too difficult to bind the pamphlet into the manuscript. Either way, it shows the importance of the written word in times when prints were just as easily available.

Even more than half a year later, the siege of Groenlo was still on Beck's mind. On the fourth of March, 1628, he read Vondel's *Verovering van Grol* (1627). He was rather late with reading the laudatory poem, since it was already published in 1627. A lover of poetry himself, he probably still enjoyed the epic-like poem of Vondel. It may even have evoked the triumphant feelings during the night of celebration in Arnhem on the 14<sup>th</sup> of August, when Beck and his comrades celebrated the victory of stadtholder Frederik Hendrik.

In his diary, Beck reported on this celebratory night out. He went to see the canons being fired on the stronghold near the Rijnpoort, he danced with his friends in the streets, and only went to bed when it was already 2 o'clock in the night. The occasion also presented an excellent opportunity to sing, since singing was part of everyday life, especially during such sensational times as a victory of your army.<sup>194</sup> The only song about the siege of Grol that survived is anonymous and called *Een nieu Liedeken, opt Beleg van Grol*. This song can be found in *Geuzenliedboek* published in 1645, but was probably also distributed as a pamphlet in 1627 itself. Another song in the songbook was written about the siege of Den Bosch (1629) by Jacobus Revius, a Deventer minister. This song was definitely published as a pamphlet and enjoyed far spread distribution.<sup>195</sup> Since the songbook aimed to collect songs that were already printed, but not yet collected in a songbook, it is likely that this anonymous song was also known during the aftermath of the siege of Groenlo.<sup>196</sup>

Although the song did not include new facts on the siege, it did pose the event in a very clear frame. The anonymous writer turned it into a battle between the prince of Orange on the one side, and Hendrik van den Bergh on the other, between the Beggars (*Geuzen*) and the popish Catholics (*Papen*). Groenlo was caught in the middle. Although they did chose the side of the Spanish in first instance, they still had the chance to redeem themselves by choosing the side of the Beggars:

---

<sup>194</sup> Joke Spaans, 'A vile and scandalous ditty': popular song and public opinion in a seventeenth-century Dutch village conflict', in: Jan Bloemendal, Arjan van Dixhoorn, and Elsa Strietman (ed.), *Literary cultures and public opinion in the Low Countries, 1450-1650* (Leiden 2011), 251-266, 251; Hugh Dunthorne, 'Singing the news: the Dutch Revolt and English street ballads, c.1560-1660', *Dutch Crossing* 21:2 (2016), 54-72.

<sup>195</sup> Els Stronks, *Stichten of schitteren: De poëzie van zeventiende-eeuwse gereformeerde predikanten* (Houten, 1996), 179.

<sup>196</sup> Jacob Lievensz. van Rogge, *Een Nieu Geuse Liedt-Boeck, Waer in begrepen is den gheheelen handel der Nederlantsche Oorlogen, vanden Jare 1600. tot op het Jaer 1645* (Haarlem, 1645).

Om winnen dat	To win that
Stercke, kleyne gat,	Strong, little hole,
Voor ons niet beus,	For us not upset
Wat bekomen sal (ick hoop) den Geus.	Which will become (I hope) the Beggar.

When Frederik Hendrik won, the Catholics had to move out, while the Beggars moved in. Groenlo was no longer caught in the middle, but stood firmly at the side of the Beggars.

Wy roepen al haesop, haesop Papouw	We all shout go away, go away Papists
Het grollend' Grol is in ons behouw	The gambolling Grol is in our protection

Being sung across the country, the song made sure that it was clear at which side Groenlo was standing. It now belonged to the Dutch Republic.

Beck, as was already shown, enjoyed singing a lot and, also, had strong feelings against the Catholics, so this song was right up his alley. Together with the stories of eyewitnesses, Beck was well informed about the siege. He received most information through word of mouth. Letters were not used to receive information, but to distribute what he had heard to friends and family. Printed news only became important after the event had happened. The ratio strongly favoured orally transmitted news. This was different for the news about the siege of La Rochelle.

#### The siege of La Rochelle (September 1627 – October 1628)

The siege of this Huguenot city lasted remarkably longer than the siege of Grol. During these thirteen long months, the French army blocked all entrance to the Huguenot stronghold. The English failed in helping the city, causing the city to surrender after a spectacular siege of more than a year. The number of citizens in La Rochelle minimized from 20.000 at the beginning of the siege to a mere 5000 when they surrendered.

In his diary, Beck showed great interest in the events in La Rochelle. Nine times he explicitly mentioned that he talked or read about the siege of the city. Once, he explicitly stated that he obtained his information from the newspaper, probably of Jan Jansz. On the 7<sup>th</sup> of May, 1628 he noted down that he 'read in our home in the afternoon the newspaper, containing Rochelle's relief'.<sup>197</sup> Unfortunately, this newspaper did not survive, but it is possible to look at the content of the Amsterdam newspaper, since the content of both newspapers was similar most of the times.

The newspaper *Courante uyt Italien ende Duytsch-landt, &c* of Jan van Hilten reported on Saturday, the 3<sup>rd</sup> of May, that La Rochelle was relieved. English ships reached the coast of La Rochelle

---

<sup>197</sup> Dutch: 'Ick las t'onsent op den middag den courant, inhoudende Rochelles ontset'. Beck, *Mijn voornaamste daden en ontmoetingen*, 173.

providing the inhabitants with their basic needs, 'which would, to the contentment of many, relieve them'.<sup>198</sup> This corresponds entirely with the information Beck received. Since earlier editions of the Amsterdam newspaper did not mention anything about a possible relief of La Rochelle, it seems likely that this information was also available in the Arnhem coranto. The *Arnhemsche courante* probably printed the news on the next Tuesday, the 6<sup>th</sup> of May. In that case, Beck read it only one day after it was published by his local newspaper, making him a swift consumer of the news. Unfortunately for him, he apparently did not read the newspaper the next week, since Van Hilten published a rectification about La Rochelle: it were not English ships that made it to the coast of La Rochelle, but ships of the French enemy.<sup>199</sup>

Next to information obtained from newspapers, Beck also gained information through talking to his neighbours and friends. It is difficult to track their news sources, but since the siege was so far away, it can safely be said that they obtained their information either through printed news media, or by way of letters sent by family and friends.

An example of such a letter is provided by the letter sent by Arnold van Randwijck to his brother-in-law Barthold van Gent. Van Randwijck was extraordinary ambassador to London, where he, together with Adriaan Pauw, tried to convince the king of England of the neutrality of the Dutch Republic in the looming war between England and France.<sup>200</sup> In this position, he also picked up information about La Rochelle. On the 29<sup>th</sup> of February, 1628, he informed his relative of the events at the French city, saying that not only the Spanish ships, but also the French had left.<sup>201</sup> Since letters were frequently read by other people than their initial recipient, and these readers could spread the information even further by word of mouth, this information could reach a lot of people, maybe even Beck.

Beck was, however, not satisfied with only the latest rumour on the siege. He also wanted to know the reasons behind the siege. To this end, he read a pamphlet (either in Dutch or French) by the duke of Rohan, the leader of the French Huguenots.<sup>202</sup> In this pamphlet, the duke exposed the reasons why he thought it was justified to ask help from the king of England.

So, although orally transmitted news was still important for Beck's consumption of news, it was no longer the eyewitness report that reached Beck's ears. Rather, printed reports in newspapers and pamphlets, and information from letters that circulated in the city provided the news that Beck eventually heard or read.

---

<sup>198</sup> Dutch: 'mochte hier door deselve wel genoeghsaem ontset wesen'. *Courante uyt Italien ende Duytsch-landt*, &c, 13 mei 1628.

<sup>199</sup> *Courante uyt Italien ende Duytsch-landt*, &c, 20 mei 1628.

<sup>200</sup> Biografisch Portaal, 'Arnold van Randwyck', <<http://www.biografischportaal.nl/persoon/34697770>> [visited on 10-08-2017].

<sup>201</sup> Dutch: 'seyde, dat van Rochel nijt alleen die Spansche vlote werom naer Hispanien, maar oock die Fransche schepen vertrocken waren'. Gelders Archief (GA), Arnhem, 0609 Familie Van Randwijck 1, 413 Brief van A(rnold) van Randwijck uit Londen aan zijn zwager Bartolt van Gent, heer van Meynerswijck, over het beleg van La Rochelle, 1628.

<sup>202</sup> Henri, Duc de Rohan, *Manifeste van den hertogh van Rohan* (s.l., 1626). KB, pamphlet 3781.

### Situation in Cologne and the Palatinate

The last event Beck was explicitly interested in was the situation in nowadays Germany, especially in the Palatinate and Cologne. This differed from the other two news events, since it did not entail one city in one specific period, but an entire region during all the years in which Beck kept a diary. Since Beck did not keep up with all the news, his interest had to be sparked by something. In this case, it was mostly the (in)direct personal connection he had with the region that caused him to be interested.

Beck mentioned something about Germany eight times in his diary. Out of these eight times, six times he is with the family Calaminus. They fled from the Palatinate in 1626 and ended up in Arnhem, where the magistrate offered the father, Theodosius, the appointment as teacher at the Latin school, because of his knowledge of the Greek language. In April and May 1628, Theodosius undertook a trip back to their former home. During this trip, he stayed in contact with his wife, Anna, and with Beck through letters. On the third of May, for example, Anna received two letters: one for herself and one for Beck. When she gave the letter to Beck, she also allowed him to read hers. This way, Beck was completely aware of what Theodosius had sent.

News from the Palatinate could have a truly devastating effect on the consumers of the news. The 19<sup>th</sup> of October, 1628, Theodosius received news that his goods and his books were destroyed. Beck had to comfort him, since ‘Calamijn cried all day about his misfortune’<sup>203</sup>. When Beck returned later in the afternoon, Theodosius even laid down in bed, because of his distress. Beck felt sorry for him, and in general about the situation in Germany. When, the month before (7<sup>th</sup> September), a man and his son (both fled from the Palatinate) were staying at the family Calaminus, Beck donated 6 *stuivers* to the boy. Clearly, he empathized with the refugees. Maybe their situation rang a bell with Beck, since he also moved from his hometown to end up in the Dutch Republic.

This personal relationship with Germany also appeared earlier. On the 6<sup>th</sup> of April, 1627, Beck received a printed map of Cologne in the shop of Jan Jansz.<sup>204</sup> Whether Beck obtained the map because he wanted to situate the news of Cologne on the map, or for mere nostalgic reasons, being the place where he lived for his first eighteen years, does not become clear from the diary. An indication might be given by Beck’s The Hague diary that also dealt with a printed map of Cologne. On the 15<sup>th</sup> of April, 1624, he went to officer Mierop to look at two paintings of Cologne, ‘both old, but well crafted’.<sup>205</sup> It looks like Beck valued the paintings for their artisanship, and not for their news value.

A side note should be made about Beck’s interest in the situation in the Palatinate and Cologne, because his attention to this news event can almost exclusively be found in the year 1628. What changed that made him interested in this news event in that year? In 1628, Beck fell in love with Geertruijt Noot,

---

<sup>203</sup> Dutch: ‘Calamijn schreijde al den dag om zijn ongeluck’. Beck, *Mijn voornaamste daden en ontmoetingen*, 199.

<sup>204</sup> Whether or not Beck paid for the map does not become clear. He did not write down any expenses in his account book for a map of Jan Jansz..

<sup>205</sup> Beck, *Spiegel van mijn leven*, 77.

who happened to be the neighbour of the family Calaminus. From that moment on, Beck regularly visited Theodosius and his wife Anna. He hoped to see and talk to their neighbour in a chance to win her over and make her fall in love with him too. Anna also helped Beck in getting Geertruijt's attention, for example, by delivering letters sent by Beck to Geertruijt. A result of this courting ritual is that Beck became close friends with the family Calaminus. He began to share their interests, which included the situation in Germany. His interest in international affairs developed alongside the development of his local friendships.

The relationship between orally transmitted, written, and printed news changed. His personal contacts provided the news, which caused the news Beck received to be mostly of an oral or written nature. Printed news did not play an important role. Also, it becomes clear that the news touched Beck, whether through his friend Theodosius Calaminus or by refugees who reminded him of his own past wanderings.

#### *Gelderlants triumph-dicht* (1629)

The three locations in these examples (the Dutch Republic, La Rochelle, and the Palatinate) were joined together in one of the few printed pamphlets written by Beck. In *Gelderlants triumph-dicht* (1629), Beck included three poems celebrating the victory of Wesel by stadtholder Frederik Hendrik. This poem clearly shows how, for Beck, different geographical areas were connected because of their identical fight against catholic rulers. After he praised God for guiding the Dutch army to victory, he went on to say:

<p>In France, the Netherlands, Bohemia and the Palatinate:          Liberate your church, and move her misery to Rome,          Whos harsh and bloody yoke breaks many pious men          the neck.</p>	<p>In Vranckrijck, Nederlandt, Bohemen en de Palts:          Verlost uw' kerk, en schuift haer ongeluck op Romen,          Wiens hart en bloedig joc veel vromen breect den hals.<sup>206</sup></p>
---	---

The affairs at home inspired Beck to write a poem that included the three different geographical areas present in his diary. In this way, news from one area (the victory for the Dutch Republic) could align with the circumstances in other countries, as long as there was a personal bond that connected all three. In this case, the shared fight against catholic rule.

#### 4.3 Conclusion

This chapter focussed on the consumption of news in the Arnhem diary of David Beck in the years 1627-1628. As said in the introduction, Michiel van Groesen already briefly used this diary in a first introduction to the consumption of newspapers in the seventeenth century. He depicted Beck as a 'keen reader', who was 'interested in political news, and read the local coranto whenever he could, often at a

---

<sup>206</sup> David Beck, *Gelderlants trivmph-dicht: ofte Danck-segginge aen den Alderhoogsten, over de [...] verlossinge der stadt Wesel* (Arnhem, 1629). KB, pamphlet 3874.

friend's house or at home'.<sup>207</sup> Although his ideas about where Beck read the news are correct, I think Van Groesen presented a distorted picture when he characterized Beck as one that read the newspaper whenever he could. Rather, Beck chose to read the newspaper on specific news events in which he was particularly interested. His concern about La Rochelle, for example, is clearly reflected in the fact that he read the newspaper more than once to find out more about the siege of the protestant stronghold.

Most of the times, however, news was more of a social business for Beck. He read the newspaper together with friends and family, borrowed it and shared other publications he owned. Van Groesen already pointed out this social aspect of news, but only focussed on the newspaper, thereby leaving out the multiple other formats and media in which news could reach people. The analysis in this chapter made clear that not only the newspaper provided opportunities for social behaviour. Written news media also had a strong social component, whether the media consisted of letters to and from friends and family or written poetry containing perspectives on the news.

The social aspect becomes especially obvious when studying the orally received news in Beck's life. News was not something private, but was shared and talked about. In almost every instance in which Beck received news, conversations played a key role. Newspapers were read together and gave an incentive to talk about the events that were printed in the corantos. Poetry was shared by reading it to each other and songs were composed only to be sung together on later occasions.

News could also be emotional. The misfortunes of Theodosius in the Palatinate caused him and his wife great sorrow. The married couple shared their news with Beck, however painful it was, and he stepped in to comfort his friends. And when Beck received news of the death of stadtholder Maurits, who he highly admired, he returned to poetry to lay down his feelings. That poem was later sent to David de Moor who copied it into his own manuscript book.

Beck seemed to believe the things he heard or read without much hesitation. The relief of La Rochelle, for example, returned multiple times in his diary, but only once it was correct. He did not doubt everything he read, but rather, believed the news whenever it fitted in with his own preferences.<sup>208</sup> Unlike news consumers with more resources, Beck did not have the luxury to be too critical of his news sources. He did not make a strong distinction between subscription-based news and news from personal friends. His friends or family could not send him more reliable news, since they, like Beck, did not have access to more reliable news sources. Still, when Beck was himself near a news event, he used letters to inform relatives.

In his conversations, Beck had more reasons to differentiate between truthful news and rumour. News from his close friends, like the rector or Calaminus, were valuable to him and he returned to them frequently to talk about news. Neighbours or gossip in the barbershop, on the other hand, were probably seen as less valuable, although Beck did not note down any qualifications of this kind of news.

---

<sup>207</sup> Van Groesen, 'Reading newspapers in the Dutch Golden Age', 341.

<sup>208</sup> Deen also observed that rumours that fitted in with the listener's own beliefs were more likely to be accepted as truthful. Deen, *Publiek debat en propaganda in Amsterdam tijdens de Nederlandse Opstand*, 176.

His (indirect) contact with Rutger Huygens offers a third perspective. This contact proved very fruitful for obtaining news, since this regent frequently visited The Hague and had access to the latest information. News from him (or from people related to him) was very valuable to Beck.

News was always brought to Beck in a combination of printed, written and/or orally transmitted news media, but the ratio between these three differed in every occasion. Distance mattered for this ratio. Beck obtained his knowledge about the siege of Grol (only a day's ride away) from eyewitnesses who he met and talked to in his own city of Arnhem. The siege of La Rochelle, on the other hand, was far away. This time, printed and written media played a much more important role. Newspapers and pamphlets were the main source type to which Beck converted. Although conversations still played a key role, the sources behind these conversations were no longer eyewitnesses, but letters sent by family or printed media that Beck did not possess. The last case, the situation in the Palatinate, provides us with yet another interesting example. This time, the events happened far away, but since Beck knew people from this area personally, he still received a lot of his information via eyewitness accounts, such as the letters that Theodosius sent from the region itself.

His interest in the news did not depend on distance. He was interested in the local conflict between some libel writers and Maria van Ommeren, as well as in events that happened on the east coast of France. News from nearby, such as the death of Maurits, could affect him personally, but also information from further away, such as the misfortunes of Calaminus, could be cause for sorrow. Although distance did not play a role in what was interesting, Beck did always have a personal connection to the news. Either he heard something about the regions in which he was brought up, or he felt sympathetic to fellow religious comrades. The news travelled from one country to the next, but only the news with which Beck felt a personal connection made it into his diary. Sometimes this personal connection only existed because of his social network. His interest in the Palatinate is sparked by his relationship with the family Calaminus with whom he only came in close contact with because he was courting their neighbour.



## 5. Epilogue

The word was barely said, or we had heard	Het woort was nau geseeydt, of wy hebben vernomen
A long-moving messenger, from Munster he arrived:	Een wel bereden bood, van <i>Munster</i> af gekomen:
We quickly went to him, my friend what news is there?	Wy ylent na hem toe, myn vrunt wat goede maar?
As answer he exclaimed, the peace is truly there.	Tot antwoord riep hy dit, den <i>Vreed</i> is waerlijck klaar. <sup>209</sup>

In 1648, the peace treaty with Spain was signed and the war in the Dutch Republic was over after eighty years of conflict. News media brought the message with excitement and joy. The verses above were part of a play, celebrating the peace and demonstrating the prosperity the Dutch Republic would now get to know. It was a play written by a man from Nijmegen, Peter van Haps, and dedicated to Barthold van Gent, a deputy of Gelderland in the States-General and delegate to the peace negotiations. It is, therefore, an excellent ending point for this thesis. It shows very literally the intermingling of different media. In this case, the spoken word is presented as a first encounter with the ‘goede maar’ (good news), but within the context of a printed play. This thesis focussed on news media in Gelderland from 1618 to 1648. In this epilogue, the three case studies of this thesis will be brought together to shed light on more general trends in sharing news. This epilogue will first briefly sum up these three case studies. After which, three more general questions will be answered.

The first case study dealt with the newspaper in Arnhem. This newspaper, the *Arnhemsche courante*, was an important factor in the news industry in Gelderland. It was the only coranto printed in this region and contributed heavily to the multimedia system. It not only conveyed the latest news, but also provided opportunities for other (printed) media, since the news in the newspaper needed to be complemented by other media in order to completely understand it. Historical works and opinionated pamphlets benefitted from the publication of this weekly, because they supplied the reader with this additional information. Not unintendedly, the publisher of the *Arnhemsche courante* often printed these other publications.

The newspaper was not the only newspaper read in Gelderland. It had to endure competition from its Amsterdam counterparts, as well as from its equivalents in the neighbouring regions in Germany. It could face this competition, because of its speed and its specialisation. It brought detailed news from the Thirty Years’ war quicker than the newspapers published in Amsterdam. Its protestant signature might have caused the German newspapers, with their catholic focus, to be able to take away clientele. On the other hand, its ideological alignment with the regional and national government made sure that the newspaper could be published and was even supported by the Arnhem magistrate.

---

<sup>209</sup> Peter van Haps, *Hollants vree-tonneel of Bly-eynt speel* (Nijmegen, 1648). KB, pamphlet 5753.

The second case study focussed on written communication in Gelderland and the sharing of news within these letters. This chapter showed the importance of news in personal correspondence. The information in this medium was seen as more reliable than subscription-based news. For this reason, letters were also the medium most suitable to validate and evaluate the news. Letters held a personal interpretation or remarks on the truthfulness of rumours or information in printed media. Furthermore, when news had to travel great distances, correspondence was faster than print. This ensured that people in the early modern period often relied on correspondence to share news on recent events when they had to reach people that were not within walking distance.

Next to its informative role, the letter also had a strong social character. News played an important role within this social aspect of correspondence. It was seen as good manners to send the latest information to each other. The reciprocal nature of correspondence guaranteed that both parties benefitted from sending news. The correspondence network of Arent de Bye demonstrated that it were mostly men of equal standing that shared news with each other. These men had the same amount of access to news and knew what the other wanted to know. They could easily inform one another and build friendship at the same time.

The last chapter examined the role of news in the life of David Beck. In this way, the spoken word could be analysed within the multimedia system. This case study stressed the importance of orally transmitted news media within this system. Beck mostly encountered the news when talking with friends and family. Other media were also used to converse with friends. Letters were shared and newspapers read together.

Beck's case also shed light on how news was shared from different news events. The relation between the spoken word, written media, and printed media differed for each news event. Distance played an important role for this ratio. The spoken word was important for news events nearby, while information on events abroad was often included in the pamphlets and letters that Beck read. Sometimes, however, news events abroad strongly favoured letters and the spoken word. In that case, Beck knew people involved in the event personally and could obtain news by corresponding or talking with them.

### 5.1 Trustworthiness and social character of news

The first question that needs answering concerns the dynamics within the multimedia system. How was news shared? The newspaper has long been thought of as the most important medium, but the more recent focus on the multimedia system as a whole proved that that view no longer holds. It turns out that the newspaper was not seen as most important by contemporaries. Instead, they focussed on the trustworthiness of the written word or a conversation with a highly-regarded friend to obtain reliable news.

It also depended on who read the news to establish which type of news was seen as most important. While the elites, such as regent Arent de Bye, looked at the newspaper with suspicion, middle class men, like schoolmaster David Beck, did not distrust the newspaper to that extent. Rather, he

believed the newspaper when it matched with his own ideas. However, when Beck was himself close to a news event, he used letters to inform family and friends. This shows he prefers written media, especially when the letter contained more personal information such as the actions of a family member in the war.

Preference for a certain medium also depended on access to the news. De Bye could obtain his information from fellow regents who worked in The Hague and who could easily acquire the latest news to send him in letters. Beck, however, did not have contacts in those places and, therefore, could not obtain his information on (inter)national affairs from them. He frequently corresponded with his friends and family in The Hague and Amsterdam, but they could not send him more information than the newspapers could offer. He relied on the Arnhem weekly because he had no written or spoken alternative.

The trustworthiness of certain types of news media is linked to the social character of that medium. Letters and conversations had a strong social nature, because there was a personal bond between the one who gave the news and the one that received it. Printed news media could not depend on this personal bond. Beck read anonymous libels against his friends and not for a moment hesitated whether to doubt his friends or disregard the libels. The same accounts for subscription-based news, written or printed. The writer of the news did not have a personal bond with his or her clients, but wanted to make a living by selling them the latest information. This made them less trustworthy. The newspaper publishers were aware of these problems and tried to counter them by giving more information on their sources and adding personal validations to these sources.

The spoken word needs a closer examination in this respect. Although verbal communication about the news always had a social component to it, it did matter who talked with whom. Gossiping with the people in the neighbourhood could not rely on a good reputation, but a private conversation with a highly-regarded friend was likely to be seen as the most reliable method to obtain news. Beck depended for most of his news on two important friends: the rector and Calaminus. He thought highly of them and regarded the news they gave him as reliable. The same is true for letters: De Bye chose likeminded people to inform him.

Robert Darnton suggested that scholars should not look at which news medium was most important, but focus on the way news media took hold of their audience. The tendencies discussed in this paragraph show that, in general, the stronger the personal bond between sender and receiver of the news, the more likely it became that the news was seen as trustworthy. This means that news in correspondence or in private conversations could take hold of their consumer more easily than news in other media. However, when no access to reliable news was possible, one had to do with what could easily be purchased (printed news) or heard on the streets (rumours). The idea of Pettegree that in the seventeenth century ‘this vital link – the personal integrity of those who passed on the news – was broken’ might hold true for newspapers, although even these printed news media were aware of their

lack of credibility. The written and spoken word, however, still gained their credibility from the personal connection that was present between news giver and news receiver.

## 5.2 The bond with the news

An abundance of news in different media could reach contemporaries in the seventeenth century, but what news was of importance to which readers? It is no coincidence that the *Arnhemsche courante* altered its strategy by publishing mainly on the Thirty Years' war. This topic mattered most to their readers. Especially the movements of armies caught their attention. The letters of De Bye, too, showed the tendency to focus on international politics and battles of the armies. He was the man to go to for news on the peace negotiations in Münster. Alexander van der Capellen was afraid of the impact of certain military events in nowadays Germany. These men felt connected to the news from Germany, because they thought it could directly affect their own living situation.

Beck showed different motives to be interested in certain news events. For him, an emotional bond with the news was more important. He was also concerned with the situation in the Palatinate and in Cologne, but not because he was afraid it would influence his environment. Rather, he felt nostalgia when thinking about his place of birth and felt connected to the people in misery in the region where he grew up. Seeing Calaminus in tears because his possessions in the Palatinate were ruined, made Beck feel sorry for his friend. The emotional bond with the region made him interested.

The personal connection did not have to be a close one. News from further away and with no direct involvement of people Beck knew could also concern him. The siege of La Rochelle, for example, mattered to him dearly, but he did not have a friend or relative residing in that city. In this case, he felt a personal bond with his fellow religious comrades. The Huguenots in the besieged city could count on his sympathy and Beck wanted to know when they would finally be relieved. He paid close attention to the news from this region and noted it down every time he heard or read so much as a rumour about a possible relief.

Next to international news events, domestic affairs demanded most attention. Political life in The Hague or the movements of the troops of the stadtholder filled up large parts of newspaper and letter alike. The siege of Schenkenschans, for example, dominated in printed media and correspondence. The *Arnhemsche courante* reported on what happened, while De Bye was informed by his brother-in-law through an extensive eyewitness account in a letter.

The invasion of the Veluwe in 1629 likewise mattered for national developments, because it played an important role during the siege of Den Bosch. The Spanish troops tried to divert attention from Den Bosch in the hopes that the stadtholder would let go of the city in Brabant. The stadtholder did not, however, let himself get distracted and stayed put. The inhabitants of the Veluwe saw the importance of this action, but they were, at the same time, concerned with their own situation. When Wesel was conquered by Dutch troops, they could rejoice because the enemy had to retreat in order to prevent a blockage of their food supply. In this way, national and regional concerns could clash and

news media responded along the same lines. The letter of Cruyner to Hendrik Brantsen showed great concern with the situation in Gelderland, while the Amsterdam *Tijdinghe* of Broer Jansz. focussed mainly on the celebration in the prince's army near Den Bosch.<sup>210</sup> Beck added yet another perspective in his pamphlet on the victory of Wesel. The situation in the Veluwe made him reflect upon the identical struggles of protestants in France, Germany and the Dutch Republic alike. For him, the different frames did not clash, but supported each other.

Raymond already stressed the transnational tendencies in how news travelled. The added focus on transnational elements in the consumption of news once again proved that news was not confined to national borders, but crossed them frequently. It did so, because its consumers were just as interested in foreign affairs as they were in domestic events. The personal bond with the news ensured which news was read and which was discarded as unimportant. This bond could either be of a political nature, as is true in De Bye and Van der Capellen's cases, but it could also be an emotional connection, like in Beck's examples. The distance to the news or the country of origin was not the most important barrier the news had to cross. The news from the west coast of France or deep within the Holy Roman Empire was as important to its readers as the news from The Hague or a nearby battlefield. They were only interested, however, because of their own circumstances. In this way, transnational news flows were interwoven with the consumer's local, regional, and national situation.

### 5.3 News dynamics in Gelderland

This thesis focussed on the region of Gelderland to study dynamics of news and did this for good reasons. The province of Holland had long received almost all attention when it comes to news and it was, as Djoeke van Netten showcased, time to examine news dynamics in different contexts. Furthermore, the province of Gelderland offered an interesting case study, because of its location close to the German border and the many postal routes that flowed through Gelderland on their way to Amsterdam and The Hague. The similarities and differences between the news dynamics in Holland and Gelderland is a research topic worth pursuing and, although this study did not explicitly draw such a comparison, it still wants to offer some reflections on this matter.

An initial thought when comparing Holland and Gelderland would be that there were less news media in Gelderland and, as a result, people in this province were less informed.<sup>211</sup> This is an idea that heavily relies on the products of the printing press as most important news media. It is no surprise that cities in Gelderland could not compete with the enormous output of printed media in Amsterdam, but by no means does this mean that the inhabitants of Gelderland were less informed or interested in the news. This thesis proved the importance of correspondence for obtaining information and the people in

---

<sup>210</sup> *Tijdinghe uyt verscheyde quartieren*, 1 September 1629.

<sup>211</sup> Der Weduwen implies in his introduction to the *Arnhemsche courante* that news readers in Gelderland were less interested in current affairs, because they were 'far removed from the hubbub of Amsterdam, older news was good enough'. Der Weduwen, *Dutch and Flemish newspapers*, 319.

Gelderland could turn to letter writing just as well as people in Holland. Their dependence upon this form of communication might even have improved their ways of corresponding.

Most cities in Gelderland being located near important postal routes, the speed of correspondence was rather fast. The distance between The Hague and Zutphen (roughly 150 kilometres), for example, was crossed in three to five days.<sup>212</sup> News from Cologne reached Arnhem in about five days. News from Cologne to Amsterdam, on the other hand, took an average of seven days to arrive.<sup>213</sup> Although inhabitants in Gelderland had to wait longer on news from The Hague (compared to Amsterdam), the news from Cologne reached them earlier. It depends, therefore, on the perspective of the researcher to qualify Gelderland as slower than Holland. A national perspective, with a focus on Holland, confirms this image, but when the researcher adopts a broader viewpoint, it turns out Gelderland could sometimes be reached faster than Holland.

A second reflection concerns the content of the news. In the introduction, the idea was put forward that the news in Gelderland would focus on the Thirty Years' war. Indeed, the inhabitants of Gelderland were concerned with their situation, being located near the border with Germany. After the death of stadtholder Frederik Hendrik, Alexander van der Capellen feared a change of situation in the negotiations in Münster. He was especially afraid, because his province, Gelderland, was 'the weakest in power and being open on the side of the [Holy Roman] Empire would have a lot to suffer'.<sup>214</sup> The *Arnhemsche courante* provided almost all of its information from Germany. This also signals a high interest in the events of the war. It remains to be seen, however, if this anxiety was not (or to a lesser extent) visible in the news media in Holland. The hypothesis by Helmer Helmers that the newspapers in Amsterdam were established precisely because of the beginning of the Thirty Years' war hints to the idea that people in Holland were as interested in the matter as their counterparts in Gelderland. Whether or not, this interest was sparked by the same anxiety as Van der Capellen's fear for invasion is, however, open for debate.

---

<sup>212</sup> Hendrik van der Capellen noted down the date when he received a letter. When compared with the date of sending, this came down to an average speed of 4 days. See attachment 3.

<sup>213</sup> Based on the average speed of news in the newspapers. See attachment 1.

<sup>214</sup> In Dutch: 'als wesende de swackste in vermogen en[de] aende zyde van t Rijck open veel soude hebben te lyden'. Alexander van der Capellen to Hendrik van der Capellen, 7 March 1647. GA, 0467, 70.

## Bibliography

### Primary sources

#### - Published sources:

Beck, David, *Mijn voornaamste daden en ontmoetingen. Dagboek van David Beck Arnhem 1627-1628*, edition and introduction by Jeroen Blaak (Hilversum, 2014).

Beck, David, *Spiegel van mijn leven*, edition and introduction by Sv.E. Veldhuizen (Hilversum, 1993).

Dahl, Folke, *Dutch corantos 1618-1650: a bibliography* (Göteborg, 1946): *Arnhemsche courante* 17 May 1621, 27 March 1623, 18 July 1623, 15 August 1623, 29 April 1625, 12 May 1625.

Delpher, KB: this online database containing newspapers from 1618 onwards was used to analyse editions of the *Courante uyt* of Jan van Hilten and the *Tijdhinge van verscheyde quartieren* of Broer Jansz.

Capellen, Robert Jasper van der (ed.), *Gedenkschriften van jonkheer Alexander van der Capellen II* (Utrecht, 1778).

#### - Archival sources:

Royal Library (KB), The Hague:

[Anoniem], *Articulen, gheaccordeert by sijn Excell: aende Gouverneur vande Stadt van Grol, ende aende Capiteynen ende Krijns-volck die daer inne zijn* (Den Haag, 1627). KB, pamphlet 3740a.

[Anoniem], *Copie vanden Brief by den E. Heere Niclaes van Reygersbergh* (s.l., 1627). KB, pamphlet 3744a.

[Anoniem], *Placcaet des grootmachtichste coninckx van Spaengien don Philips de IV [...] tot redressement en welstant van alle digniteyten* (Amsterdam, 1623). KB, pamphlet 3421.

Beck, David, *Gelderlants trivmph-dicht: ofte Danck-segginge aen den Alderhoogsten, over de [...] verlossinge der stadt Wesel* (Arnhem, 1629). KB, pamphlet 3874.

Beck, David, Poem on the death of Maurits. KB, manuscript 74 G 12.

Bergh, Hendrik van den, *Copie van sekeren brief, van [...] graef Heyndric vandē Bergh [...] op het subject van syn miscontentement* (s.l., 1632). KB, pamphlet 4222.

Haps, Peter van, *Hollants vree-tonneel of Bly-eynt speel* (Nijmegen, 1648). KB, pamphlet 5753.

Lampe, Barend, *Sweedsche oorloghen dat sijn de gedenckwerdichste daedē, geschiet in Duytslād* (Arnhem, 1632). KB: pflt 4190.

Rogge, Jacob Lievensz. van, *Een Nieu Geuse Liedt-Boeck, Waer in begrepen is den gheheelen handel der Nederlantsche Oorlogen, vanden Jare 1600. tot op het Jaer 1645* (Haarlem, 1645). KB, 5 D 32:3.

Rohan, Henri, Duc de, *Manifeste van den hertogh van Rohan* (s.l., 1626). KB, pamphlet 3781.

Taurinus, Jacobus, *Wat vvonder-oudt-nieuws: dienende tot claer, ende on-vveder-leggelijck bewijs, hoe de remonstrantsche predicanten reysen en rotsen, om de iesviten, capvciinen, ende andere*

*gheestelijcken by den vyandt, te besoecken: ende met wat courtosijen zy malcanderen ont-halen* (s.l., 1618). KB, pamphlet 2531.

Veen, Jan van der, *Caille la boco, ofte Muyl-brandt, over de zege van Schenckeschans* (Arnhem, 1636). KB, pamphlet 4421.

University Library Leiden:

Knoop, Johann Hermann, *Kort onderwys, hoedanig men de couranten best lezen en gebruiken kan* (Leeuwarden, 1758). 2361 G 19.

Lampe, Barend, *Het tweede deel vande Sweedsche oorloghen* (Arnhem, 1632). THYSPF 3755.

Archive of Gelderland (GA), Arnhem:

GA, 0452, Family Brantsen, 21, Letters received by Dr. Hendrick Brantsen, 1629, 1637 and without year.

GA, 0467, Family Van der Capellen, 70, Letters received by and minutes of letters from Hendrik van der Capellen, 1620-1655.

GA, 0632, Family Van der Steen, Van Ommeren, en Wayenstein, 76, Letters received by Dr. Aernt de Bye, 1627-1649 and without year.

Regional Archive of Nijmegen (RAN), Nijmegen:

RAN, 1 Stadsbestuur Nijmegen 1196 - 1810, 3497.

University Library Amsterdam:

*Ampliatie van de Arnhemsche courante*, 5 February 1630. Special Collections, OTM: Pfl. port. fol 1630.

National Library of Sweden, Stockholm:

*Arnhemsche courante* 9 October 1635, 15 April 1636, 27 May 1636, 21 October 1636. Tidning Nederländerna Fol RAR.

Press Museum, Amsterdam:

*Arnhemsche courante* 29 June 1632, 14 September 1632. PM 1419.

Secondary literature

Arblaster, Paul, *From Ghent to Aix: How they brought the news in the Habsburg Netherlands, 1550-1700* (Leiden, 2014).

Atherton, Ian, 'The itch grown a disease: manuscript transmission of news in the seventeenth century', in: Joad Raymond (ed.), *News, newspapers, and society in early modern Britain* (London, 1999), 39-64.



- Barbarics, Zsuzsa, and Renate Pieper, 'Handwritten newsletters as means of communication in early modern Europe', in: Francisco Bethencourt and Florike Egmond (ed.), *Cultural exchange in early modern Europe: Correspondence and cultural exchange in Europe, 1400-1700* (Cambridge, 2007), 53-79.
- Baron, Sabrina A., 'The guises of dissemination in early seventeenth-century England: news in manuscript and print', in: Brendan Dooley and Sabrina A. Baron (ed.), *The politics of information in early modern Europe* (London, 2001), 41-56.
- Begheyn, Paul, *Abraham Leyniers: een Nijmeegse boekverkoper uit de zeventiende eeuw* (Nijmegen, 1992).
- Bemmel, H.C., 'De 'Arnhemsche Courante' in de eerste helft van de 17de eeuw', *Arnhem de genoeglijkste* 13:4 (1993), 190-196.
- Brownlees, Nicholas, '"Newes also came by letters': Functions and features of epistolary news in English news publications of the seventeenth century', in: Raymond, Joad, and Noah Moxham (ed.), *News networks in Early Modern Europe* (Leiden, 2016), 394-419.
- Blaak, Jeroen, *Geletterde levens. Dagelijks lezen en schrijven in de vroegmoderne tijd in Nederland 1624-1770* (Hilversum, 2004).
- Blair, Ann, *Too much to know: managing scholarly information before the modern age* (New Haven, 2010).
- Bloemendal, Jan, Arjan van Dixhoorn, and Elsa Strietman (ed.), *Literary cultures and public opinion in the Low Countries, 1450-1650* (Leiden, 2011).
- Briggs, Asa, and Peter Burke, *A social history of the media: From Gutenberg to the Internet* (Oxford, 2003).
- Cust, Richard, 'News and politics in early seventeenth-century England', *Past and present* 112:1 (1986), 60-90.
- Dahl, Folke, *Amsterdam, earliest newspaper centre of western Europe* (Den Haag, 1939).
- Dahl, Folke, *Dutch corantos 1618-1650: a bibliography* (Göteborg, 1946).
- Dam, Peter van, 'Vervlochten geschiedenis: Hoe *histoire croisée* de natiestaats bedwingt', *Tijdschrift voor geschiedenis* 125:1 (2012), 97-109.
- Darnton, Robert, 'An early information society: News and the media in Eighteenth-Century Paris', *American Historical Review* 105 (2000), 1-35.
- Darnton, Robert, *The forbidden best-sellers of pre-revolutionary France* (New York, 1995).
- Davies, Simon F., and Puck Fletcher, 'Introduction', in: Simon F. Davies and Puck Fletcher (ed.), *News in early modern Europe: Currents and connections* (Leiden, 2014), 1-15.
- Deen, Femke, *Publiek debat en propaganda in Amsterdam tijdens de Nederlandse Opstand. Amsterdam 'Moorddam' (1566-1578)* (Amsterdam, 2015).
- Dooley, Brendan, 'News and doubt in early modern culture: or, are we having a public sphere yet?', in: Brendan Dooley and Sabrina Baron (ed.), *The politics of information in Early Modern Europe*

- (London, 2001), 275-290.
- Dunthorne, Hugh, 'Singing the news: the Dutch Revolt and English street ballads, c.1560-1660', *Dutch Crossing* 21:2 (2016), 54-72.
- Eisenstein, Elizabeth L., *The printing press as an agent of change: Communications and cultural transformations in Early-Modern Europe* (Cambridge, 1979).
- Fox, Adam, *Oral and literate culture in England 1500–1700* (Oxford, 2000).
- Groesen, Michiel van, '(No) news from the Western front: The weekly press of the Low Countries and the making of Atlantic news', *Sixteenth century journal* 44:3 (2013), 739-760.
- Groesen, Michiel van, 'Reading newspapers in the Dutch Golden Age', *Media history* 22:3-4 (2016), 334-352.
- Habermas, Jürgen, *The structural transformation of the public sphere: An inquiry into a category of bourgeois society* (Massachusetts, 1989).
- Haks, Donald, *Vaderland en vrede 1672-1713: publiciteit over de Nederlandse Republiek in oorlog* (Hilversum, 2013).
- Harline, Craig, *Pamphlets, printing and political culture in the early Dutch Republic* (Dordrecht, 1987).
- Harms, Roeland, Joad Raymond and Jeroen Salman (ed.), *Not dead things. The dissemination of popular print in England and Wales, Italy, and the Low Countries, 1500-1820* (Leiden, 2013).
- Harms, Roeland, *Pamfletten en publieke opinie: Massamedia in de zeventiende eeuw* (Amsterdam, 2011).
- Helmers, Helmer, and Michiel van Groesen, 'Managing the news in Early Modern Europe, 1550-1800', *Media History* 22:3-4 (2016), 261-266.
- Helmers, Helmer, 'Cartography, war correspondence and news publishing: The early career of Nicolaes van Geelkercken, 1610-1630', in: Joad Raymond and Noah Moxham (ed.), *News networks in Early Modern Europe* (Leiden, 2016), 350-374.
- Hemels, Joan, 'Arnhemmers en hun kranten. Persgeschiedenis aan de Rijn 1621-2001', *Arnhem de genoeglijkste* 24:2 (2004), 45-116.
- Hillgärtner, Jan, *German Newspaper 1605-1650. A Bibliography* (Leiden, forthcoming 2019).
- Janssen, Geert H., 'Dutch clientelism and news networks in public and private spheres. The case of stadholder William Frederick (1613-1664)', in: Joop W. Koopmans (ed.), *News and politics in early modern Europe (1500-1800)* (Leuven, 2005), 151-166.
- Jeune, J.C.W. le, *Het brieven-postwezen in de Republiek der Vereenigde Nederlanden* (Utrecht, 1851).
- Kloek, J.J., and W.W. Mijnhardt (ed.), *De productie, distributie en consumptie van cultuur* (Amsterdam, 1991).
- Koopmans, Joop (ed.), *News and politics in Early Modern Europe (1500-1800)* (Leuven, 2005).
- Koopmans, Joop W. 'A sense of Europe: The making of this continent in early modern Dutch news media', in: Raymond, Joad, and Noah Moxham (ed.), *News networks in early modern Europe* (Leiden, 2016), 597-615.

- Kruij, José de, Marijke Meijer Drees, and Jeroen Salman (ed.), *Het lange leven van het pamflet* (Hilversum, 2006).
- Lankhorst, Otto, 'Newspapers in the Netherlands in the seventeenth century', in: Brendan Dooley and Sabrina A. Baron (ed.), *The politics of information in early modern Europe* (London, 2001), 151-159.
- Loveman, Kate, *Samuel Pepys and his books: reading, newsgathering, and sociability, 1660-1703* (Oxford, 2015).
- Maier, Ingrid, 'Zeventiende-eeuwse Nederlandse couranten vertaald voor de Tsaar', *Tijdschrift voor Mediageschiedenis* 12:1 (2009), 27-49.
- McIlvenna, Una, 'When the news was sung: Ballads as news media in Early Modern Europe', *Media History* 22(3-4) (2016), 317-333.
- Meij, P.J., et. al., *Geschiedenis van Gelderland, 1492-1795* (Zutphen, 1975).
- Nellen, Henk, *Ismael Boulliau (1605-1694). Nieuwsjager en correspondent* (Nijmegen, 1980).
- Nellen, Henk, 'Over doornen en distels. Het gebruik van brieven als een bron voor historisch onderzoek naar aanleiding van de biografie over Hugo Grotius', *Tijdschrift voor Nederlandse Taal- en Letterkunde* 124 (2008), 187-200.
- Netten, Djoeka van, 'Propaganda, public and pamphlets in the Dutch Golden Age – what else is new?', *Jaarboek voor Nederlandse boekgeschiedenis* 22 (2015), 209 – 221.
- O'Neill, Lindsay, 'Dealing with newsmongers: News, trust, and letters in the British world, ca. 1670-1730', *Huntington library quarterly* 76:2 (2013), 215-233.
- Overhoff, Henri, 'Wanneer verscheen de eerste krant?', *De Gids* 112 (1949), 209-220.
- Overvoorde, J.C., *Geschiedenis van het postwezen in Nederland voor 1795* (Leiden, 1902).
- Parker, Geoffrey, *The Thirty Years' war* (London, 1984).
- Perl-Rosenthal, Nathan, 'Private letters and public diplomacy: The Adams network and the quasi-war, 1797-1798', *Journal of the Early Republic* 31:2 (2011), 283-311.
- Pettegree, Andrew, 'Broadsheets: Single-sheet publishing in the first age of print. Typology and typography', in: Andrew Pettegree (ed.), *Broadsheets: Single-sheet publishing in the first age of print* (Leiden, 2017), 3-32.
- Pettegree, Andrew, *The invention of news: How the world came to know about itself* (Yale, 2014).
- Pettegree, Andrew, 'The legion of the lost. Recovering the lost books of Early Modern Europe', in: Flavia Bruni and Andrew Pettegree (ed.), *Lost Books. Reconstructing the print world of Pre-Industrial Europe* (Leiden, 2016), 1-27.
- Potjer, Menno, 'Rutger Huygens (1586-1666), een vitale regent', in: Frank Keverling Buisman and Ingrid Jacobs (ed.), *Arnhem tot 1700* (Utrecht, 2008), 102-103.
- Pollmann, Judith, and Andrew Paul Spicer (ed.), *Public opinion and changing identities in the early modern Netherlands: Essays in honour of Alastair Duke* (Leiden, 2007).
- Raymond, Joad, and Noah Moxham (ed.), *News networks in Early Modern Europe* (Leiden, 2016).

- Raymond, Joad, 'International news and the seventeenth-century English newspaper', in: Roeland Harms, Joad Raymond, and Jeroen Salman (ed.), *Not dead things: The dissemination of popular print in England and Wales, Italy, and the Low Countries, 1500-1820* (Leiden, 2013), 229-251.
- Reinders, Michel, *Gedrukte chaos. Populisme en moord in het Rampjaar 1672* (Amsterdam, 2010).
- Reurink, Ferry, 'Het uitgebreide netwerk van Jan Jansz, boekverkoper, uitgever en drukker te Arnhem', *Arnhems historisch tijdschrift* 33:3 (2013), 151-156.
- Sangha, Laura, 'Personal documents', in: Laura Sangha and Jonathan Wills (ed.), *Understanding early modern primary sources* (London, 2016), 107-128.
- Sassen, E.F.M., 'Republikeinse kroegpraatjes aan de Maas', *Holland* 19:4-5 (1987), 268-279.
- Sautijn Kluit, W.P., 'De Haerlemsche Courant door Mr. W.P. Sautijn Kluit', *Jaarboek van de Maatschappij der Nederlandse Letterkunde* (1873), 3-132.
- Schevichaven, H.D.J. van, *Penschetzen uit Nijmegen's verleden* (Arnhem, 1966).
- Schneider, Gary, *The culture of epistolarity: Vernacular letters and letter writing in early modern England, 1500-1700* (Newark, 2005).
- Schneider, Maarten, and Joan Hemels, *De Nederlandse krant 1618-1978: Van 'nieuwstydinghe' tot dagblad* (fourth ed.: Baarn, 1979).
- Spaans, Joke, '“A vile and scandalous ditty”: popular song and public opinion in a seventeenth-century Dutch village conflict', in: Jan Bloemendal, Arjan van Dixhoorn, and Elsa Strietman (ed.), *Literary cultures and public opinion in the Low Countries, 1450-1650* (Leiden 2011), 251-266.
- Stolp, A., *De eerste couranten in Holland. Bijdrage tot de geschiedenis der geschreven nieuwstijdingen* (Amsterdam, 1938).
- Stronks, Els, *Stichten of schitteren: De poëzie van zeventiende-eeuwse gereformeerde predikanten* (Houten, 1996).
- Tenten, M.V.T., 'Van Nederkwartieren tot provincie. De algemene geschiedenis van Gelderland van 1578 tot heden', in: Johannes Stinner and Karl-Heinz Tekath, *Gelre – Geldern – Gelderland. Geschiedenis en cultuur van het hertogdom Gelre* (Geldern, 2001), 95-100.
- Vries, Jan de, *Barges and capitalism. Passenger transportation in the Dutch economy (1632-1839)* (Utrecht, 1981).
- Weduwen, Arthur der, *Dutch and Flemish newspapers of the seventeenth century, 1618-1700* (Leiden, 2017).
- Weduwen, Arthur der, 'Utrecht's first newspaper re-discovered. Adriaen Leenaerts and the Nieuwe courante uyt Italien, Duytslandt ende Nederlant (1623)', *Quaerendo* 46 (2016), 1-19.
- Werner, Michael, and Bénédicte Zimmermann, 'Beyond comparison: *Histoire croisée* and the challenge of reflexivity', *History and Theory* 45:1 (2006), 30-50.

## Websites

Biografisch Portaal, 'Alexander van der Capellen',

<<http://www.biografischportaal.nl/persoon/09494919>> [visited on 24-08-2017].

Biografisch Portaal, 'Arent de Bye',

<<http://www.biografischportaal.nl/persoon/41670066>> [visited on 24-08-2017].

Biografisch Portaal, 'Arnold van Randwyck',

<<http://www.biografischportaal.nl/persoon/34697770>> [visited on 10-08-2017].

Biografisch Portaal, 'Hendrik van der Capellen',

<<http://www.biografischportaal.nl/persoon/91247229>> [visited on 24-08-2017]

Biografisch Portaal, 'Jan Glummer',

<<http://www.biografischportaal.nl/persoon/28064520>> [visited on 10-08-2017].

Deutsche Biographie, 'Caspar Hofmann, Benedictiner-Abt von Melk',

<<https://www.deutsche-biographie.de/sfz33244.html#adbcontent>> [visited on 16-08-2017].

Nederlandse Liederbank,

<<http://www.liederenbank.nl/bronpresentatie.php?zoek=1001062&lan=nl>> [visited on 24-08-2017].

Attachment 1: The *Arnhemsche courante* and its Amsterdam counterparts  
Comparison speed Jan Jansz. and Jacob van Biesen

Jan Jansz			
Date of publication	Place of sending	Date of sending	Difference in days
17 May 1621	Heilbrunn	15 May 1621	2
17 May 1621	Cologne	15 May 1621	2
17 May 1621	Amsterdam	without date	1
27 March 1623	Venice	16 February 1623	35
27 March 1623	Madrid	18 February 1623	33
27 March 1623	Breslau	20 February 1623	31
27 March 1623	Vienna	24 February 1623	27
27 March 1623	Prague	28 February 1623	28
27 March 1623	Isbrug	6 March 1623	21
27 March 1623	Regensburg	10 March 1623	17
27 March 1623	Spier	16 March 1623	11
27 March 1623	Frankfurt	18 March 1623	9
27 March 1623	Cologne	25 March 1623	2
27 March 1623	Nijmegen	without date	1
18 July 1623	Rome	14 June 1623	34
18 July 1623	Venice	18 June 1623	30
18 July 1623	Breslau	20 June 1623	28
18 July 1623	Vienna	22 June 1623	26
18 July 1623	Prague	26 June 1623	22
18 July 1623	Dresden	30 June 1623	18
18 July 1623	Frankfurt	10 July 1623	8
18 July 1623	Cologne	14 July 1623	4
18 July 1623	Groningen	16 July 1623	2
15 August 1623	Rome	18 July 1623	28
15 August 1623	Venice	22 July 1623	24
15 August 1623	Vienna	24 July 1623	22
15 August 1623	Prague	26 July 1623	20
15 August 1623	Leipzig	30 July 1623	16
15 August 1623	Frankfurt	1 August 1623	14
15 August 1623	Cologne	8 August 1623	7
15 August 1623	Bruxelles	9 August 1623	6
15 August 1623	Doesburg	10 August 1623	5
15 August 1623	Zutphen	12 August 1623	3
15 August 1623	Emmerik	14 August 1623	1
29 April 1625	Rome	29 March 1625	30
29 April 1625	Venice	2 April 1625	27
29 April 1625	Vienna	4 April 1625	25
29 April 1625	Lyon	7 April 1625	22
29 April 1625	Hamburg	11 April 1625	18
29 April 1625	Dordrecht	18 April 1625	11
12 May 1625	Rome	15 May 1625	27
12 May 1625	Venice	19 May 1625	23
12 May 1625	Vienna	6 May 1625	6
12 May 1625	Paris	7 May 1625	5
12 May 1625	Bremen	without date	
12 May 1625	Cologne	16 May 1625	Impossible date
12 May 1625	Dongen	without date	
12 May 1625	Dordrecht	without date	

12 May 1625	<i>Underneath line</i>	without date	
6 June 1628	Venice	without date	
6 June 1628	Prague	without date	
6 June 1628	Cologne	26 May 1628	11
6 June 1628	Paris	without date	
6 June 1628	Dordrecht	3 June 1628	3
6 June 1628	Bergen op Zoom	without date	
6 June 1628	Wesel	without date	
Average speed			16,2173913

**Jacob van Biesen**

<b>Date of publication</b>	<b>Place of sending</b>	<b>Date of sending</b>	<b>Difference in days</b>
5 February 1630	Arnhem	30 January 1630	6
29 June 1632	Koblenz	21 June 1632	8
29 June 1632	Ments	23 June 1632	6
29 June 1632	Frankfurt	22 June 1632	7
29 June 1632	Bronswijk	20 June 1632	9
29 June 1632	Cologne	25 June 1632	4
29 June 1632	Antwerp	25 June 1632	4
29 June 1632	Aachen	25 June 1632	4
29 June 1632	Maastricht	27 June 1632	2
14 September 1632	Frankfurt	5 September 1632	9
14 September 1632	Ments	7 September 1632	7
14 September 1632	Dusseldorf	9 September 1632	5
14 September 1632	Rees	11 September 163	3
14 September 1632	Maastricht	11 September 163	3
14 September 1632	<i>Underneath line</i>	without date	
9 October 1635	Constantinopel	4 September 1635	35
9 October 1635	Strasbourg	20 September 163	19
9 October 1635	Kruisnach	28 September 163	11
9 October 1635	Bonn	29 September 163	10
9 October 1635	Cologne	3 October 1635	6
9 October 1635	Kleef	6 October 1635	3
9 October 1635	from the army	7 October 1635	2
9 October 1635	Panderen	8 October 1635	1
15 April 1636	Paris	16 March 1636	30
15 April 1636	Leipzig	28 March 1636	18
15 April 1636	Frankfurt	4 April 1636	11
15 April 1636	Frankfurt	6 April 1636	9
15 April 1636	Cologne	10 April 1636	5
15 April 1636	Schenkenschans	14 April 1636	1
15 April 1636	Arnhem	15 April 1636	0
27 May 1636	Basel	8 May 1636	19
27 May 1636	Berlin	8 May 1636	19
27 May 1636	Hal	10 May 1636	17
27 May 1636	Den Ham	18 May 1636	9
27 May 1636	Swelm	19 May 1636	8
27 May 1636	Cologne	22 May 1636	5
27 May 1636	Arnhem	27 May 1636	0
27 May 1636	<i>Underneath line</i>	without date	
21 October 1636	Rome	25 September 163	26
21 October 1636	Venice	27 September 163	24
21 October 1636	Berlin	30 September 163	21
21 October 1636	Magdenburg	1 October 1636	20
21 October 1636	Wistock	6 October 1636	15
21 October 1636	Den Ham	12 October 1636	9
21 October 1636	Cologne	15 October 1636	6
21 October 1636	<i>Underneath line</i>	without date	



	Average speed	10,13953488
	News Germany	9,75862069

Frequency places

<b>Jan Jansz</b>		<b>Jacob van Biesen</b>	
<b>Place of sending</b>	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Place of sending</b>	<b>Frequency</b>
Cologne	6	Cologne	5
Venice	6	Frankfurt	4
Vienna	5	Arnhem	3
Prague	4	Ments	2
Rome	4	Maastricht	2
Frankfurt	3	Berlin	2
Dordrecht	3	Den Ham	2
Breslau	2	Venice	1
Paris	2	Rome	1
Heilbrunn	1	Leipzig	1
Amsterdam	1	Paris	1
Madrid	1	Koblenz	1
Isbrug	1	Bronswijk	1
Regensburg	1	Antwerp	1
Spier	1	Aachen	1
Nijmegen	1	Dusseldorf	1
Dresden	1	Rees	1
Groningen	1	Constantinopel	1
Leipzig	1	Strasbourg	1
Bruxelles	1	Kruisnach	1
Doesburg	1	Bonn	1
Zutphen	1	Kleef	1
Emmerik	1	Panderen	1
Lyon	1	Schenkenschans	1
Hamburg	1	Basel	1
Bremen	1	Hal	1
Dongen	1	Swelm	1
Bergen op Zoom	1	Magdenburg	1
Wesel	1	Wistock	1
Arnhem	0	Heilbrunn	0
Koblenz	0	Amsterdam	0
Ments	0	Madrid	0
Bronswijk	0	Breslau	0
Antwerp	0	Vienna	0
Aachen	0	Prague	0
Dusseldorf	0	Isbrug	0
Rees	0	Regensburg	0
Maastricht	0	Spier	0
Constantinopel	0	Nijmegen	0
Strasbourg	0	Dresden	0
Kruisnach	0	Groningen	0
Bonn	0	Bruxelles	0
Kleef	0	Doesburg	0
Panderen	0	Zutphen	0
Schenkenschans	0	Emmerik	0
Basel	0	Lyon	0
Berlin	0	Hamburg	0
Hal	0	Dordrecht	0
Den Ham	0	Bremen	0

Swelm	0 Dongen	0
Magdenburg	0 Bergen op Zoom	0
Wistock	0 Wesel	0

---

Comparison speed Amsterdam newspapers

**Courante uyt Italien, Duytslandt, etc.**

Publication date	Place of sending	Date of sending	Difference in days
16-10-1621	Rome	18-9-1621	28
16-10-1621	Venice	24-9-1621	22
16-10-1621	Thorn	20-9-1621	18
16-10-1621	Chur	25-9-1621	23
16-10-1621	Bunten	26-9-1621	24
16-10-1621	Neumarckt	2-10-1621	14
16-10-1621	Spier	5-10-1621	11
16-10-1621	Vienna	29-9-1621	17
16-10-1621	Vienna	30-9-1621	16
16-10-1621	Fanenspach	5-10-1621	11
16-10-1621	Opperpalts	6-10-1621	10
16-10-1621	Cologne	12-10-1621	4
13-03-1623	Rome	11-2-1623	30
13-03-1623	Lyon	12-2-1623	29
13-03-1623	Venice	17-2-1623	24
13-03-1623	Swiss	19-2-1623	22
13-03-1623	Vienna	22-2-1623	19
13-03-1623	Prague	25-2-1623	16
13-03-1623	Breslau	16-2-1623	25
13-03-1623	Erfurt	26-2-1623	15
13-03-1623	Regensburg	28-2-1623	13
13-03-1623	Regensburg	1-3-1623	12
21-06-1625	Venice	3-7-1625	12
21-06-1625	Vienna	4-5-1625	48
21-06-1625	Kleef	17-6-1625	4
21-06-1625	Rees	18-6-1625	3
21-06-1625	Geertruidenberg	19-6-1625	2
21-06-1625	Waalwijk	19-6-1625	2
2-9-1628	Rome	5-8-1628	28
2-9-1628	Venice	11-8-1628	22
2-9-1628	Vienna	12-8-1628	21
2-9-1628	Prague	14-8-1628	19
2-9-1628	Statijn	17-8-1628	16
2-9-1628	Nedersaksen	19-8-1628	14
2-9-1628	Hamburg	22-8-1628	11
2-9-1628	Hamburg	24-8-1628	9
2-9-1628	Roiianen	21-8-1628	12
2-9-1628	Embden	24-8-1628	9
2-9-1628	Bergen-op-Zoom	27-8-1628	6
28-12-1630	Venice	6-12-1630	22
28-12-1630	Bunten	6-12-1630	22
28-12-1630	Regensburg	11-12-1630	17
28-12-1630	Leipzig	10-12-1630	18
28-12-1630	Cologne	11-12-1630	17
28-12-1630	Pomeran	12-12-1630	16
28-12-1630	Antwerp	22-12-1630	6
21-02-1632	Vienna	23-1-1632	29
21-02-1632	Silezië	28-1-1632	24
21-02-1632	Strasbourg	2-2-1632	19

21-02-1632	Franken	3-2-1632	18
21-02-1632	Leipzig	7-2-1632	14
21-02-1632	Castel	10-2-1632	11
21-02-1632	Frankfurt	12-2-1632	9
21-02-1632	Frankfurt	15-2-1632	6
21-02-1632	Paris	6-2-1632	15
21-02-1632	Wesel	18-2-1632	3
21-02-1632	Antwerp	14-2-1632	7
21-02-1632	Bergen-op-Zoom	16-2-1632	5
14-04-1635	Venice	8-3-1635	37
14-04-1635	Elzas	20-3-1635	25
14-04-1635	Elzas	23-3-1635	22
14-04-1635	Gdansk	22-3-1635	23
14-04-1635	Swaben	26-3-1635	19
14-04-1635	Hesten	2-4-1635	12
14-04-1635	Dreesden	3-4-1635	11
14-04-1635	Bobenhuysen	3-4-1635	11
14-04-1635	Paris	4-4-1635	10
14-04-1635	Frankfurt	5-4-1635	9
14-04-1635	Maastricht	4-4-1635	10
14-04-1635	Cologne	7-4-1635	7
14-04-1635	Bergen-op-Zoom	9-4-1635	5
18-10-1636	Venice	26-9-1636	22
18-10-1636	Regensburg	30-9-1636	18
18-10-1636	Strasbourg	3-10-1636	15
18-10-1636	Witstock	6-10-1636	12
18-10-1636	Witstock	6-10-1636	12
18-10-1636	Hamburg	11-10-1636	7
18-10-1636	Munster	12-10-1636	6
18-10-1636	Heusden	13-10-1636	5
18-10-1636	Bergen-op-Zoom	14-10-1636	4
Average speed			15,2625
News Germany			12,825

**Tijdinghe uyt verscheide quartieren**

<b>Publication date</b>	<b>Place of sending</b>	<b>Date of sending</b>	<b>Difference in days</b>
15-03-1621	Venice	17-2-1621	26
15-03-1621	Vienna	24-2-1621	19
15-03-1621	Prague	25-2-1621	18
15-03-1621	Wels	23-2-1621	20
15-03-1621	Innsbruck	24-2-1621	19
15-03-1621	Worms	27-2-1621	16
15-03-1621	Strasbourg	1-3-1621	14
15-03-1621	Frankfurt	5-3-1621	10
15-03-1621	Eger	1-3-1621	14
15-03-1621	Augsburg	3-3-1621	12
26-08-1623	Rome	5-8-1623	21
26-08-1623	Venice	11-8-1623	15
26-08-1623	Chur	3-8-1623	23
26-08-1623	Vienna	9-8-1623	17
26-08-1623	Prague	12-8-1623	14
26-08-1623	Erfort	14-8-1623	12
26-08-1623	Eysenach	15-8-1623	11
26-08-1623	Lengsvelt	15-8-1623	11
26-08-1623	Cologne	22-8-1623	4
17-05-1625	Rome	26-4-1625	21
17-05-1625	Venice	2-5-1625	15
17-05-1625	Zwijts	29-4-1625	18
17-05-1625	Vienna	30-4-1625	17
17-05-1625	Prague	3-5-1625	14
17-05-1625	Cologne	12-5-1625	5
30-09-1628	Rome	18-8-1628	43
30-09-1628	Venice	1-9-1628	29
30-09-1628	Vienna	6-9-1628	24
30-09-1628	Cologne	23-9-1628	7
30-09-1628	Lubeck	10-9-1628	20
16-10-1632	Rodenburg	29-9-1632	17
16-10-1632	Wurtzburg	30-9-1632	16
16-10-1632	Frankfurt	5-10-1632	11
16-10-1632	Breslau	28-9-1632	18
16-10-1632	Cassel	30-9-1632	16
16-10-1632	Cologne	10-10-1632	6
16-06-1635	Vienna	19-5-1635	28
16-06-1635	Zwijts	12-5-1635	35
16-06-1635	Zwijts	20-5-1635	27
16-06-1635	Colmar	24-5-1635	23
16-06-1635	Duyringen	26-5-1635	21
16-06-1635	Colmar	28-5-1635	19
16-06-1635	Mainz	2-6-1635	14
16-06-1635	Cologne	9-6-1635	7
16-02-1636	Rome	10-1-1636	37
16-02-1636	Venice	15-1-1636	32
16-02-1636	Leipzig	15-1-1636	32
16-02-1636	Leipzig	16-1-1636	31
16-02-1636	Overlandt	20-1-1636	27

16-02-1636	Over-Beyeren	21-1-1636	26
16-02-1636	Voor-Elzas	26-1-1636	21
16-02-1636	Zwijts	25-1-1636	22
16-02-1636	Elzas	28-1-1636	19
16-02-1636	Paris	26-1-1636	21
16-02-1636	Aachen	11-2-1636	5
		Average speed	18,90909091
		News Germany	15,03703704

## Attachment 2: printed media in Arnhem

Title	Printer	Language	Theme	Year	Size
Ad loca difficiliora	Jan Jansz.	Latin	Theological	1618	4
Tractatus geometricus	Jan Jansz.	German	Scientific	1618	4
Placcaet	Jan Jansz.	Dutch	State publication	1618	4
Placcaet	Jan Jansz.	Dutch	State publication	1618	4
Placcaet	Jan Jansz.	Dutch	State publication	1618	4
Placcaet	Jan Jansz.	Dutch	State publication	1618	4
Placcaet	Jan Jansz.	Dutch	State publication	1618	4
Placcaet	Jan Jansz.	Dutch	State publication	1618	4
Pacificatie der ont-ruster gemoederen	Jan Jansz.	Dutch	Political	1618	4
Placcaet	Jan Jansz.	Dutch	State publication	1618	4
Placcaet	Jan Jansz.	Dutch	State publication	1618	4
Interpretum veterum	Jan Jansz.	Latin	Theological	1619	4
Oratie Davidis Parei	Jan Jansz.	Dutch	Theological	1619	4
De sectis iudaicis commentarii	Jan Jansz.	Latin	Theological	1619	4
Const-boecxken	Jan Jansz.	Dutch	Scientific	1619	4
Kercken-ordeninghe	Jan Jansz.	Dutch	State publication	1620	4
Ordonnantie van de Staten van Gelderland	Jan Jansz.	Dutch	State publication	1620	4
Regola delli cinque ordini	Jan Jansz.	Other	Scientific	1620	2
Kercken-ordeninghe	Jan Jansz.	Dutch	State publication	1620	4
Apophthegmata christiana	Jan Jansz.	Dutch	Theological	1619	4
Arithmetische practyck	Jan Jansz.	Dutch	Scientific	1620	8
Kercken-ordeninghe	Jan Jansz.	Dutch	State publication	1620	4
Kercken-ordeninghe	Jan Jansz.	Dutch	State publication	1620	4
Nova reperta geometrica	Jan Jansz.	Latin	Scientific	1620	4
Delitiae Italiae	Jan Jansz.	Dutch	History/geography	1620	8
Heroologia Anglica	Jan Jansz.	Latin	History/geography	1620	2
Niderlandischer Histori	Jan Jansz.	German	History/geography	1620	2
Kercken-ordeninghe	Jan Jansz.	Dutch	State publication	1620	4
Kercken-ordeninghe	Jan Jansz.	Dutch	State publication	1620	4
Memorien ofte Kort verhael	Jan Jansz.	Dutch	History/geography	1620	4
Perspective	Jan Jansz.	French	Scientific	1621	1
Perspective	Jan Jansz.	French	Scientific	1621	1
Perspective	Jan Jansz.	French	Scientific	1621	1
Gereformiert lantrecht	Jan Jansz.	Dutch	State publication	1621	4
Atlas minor	Jan Jansz.	Latin	History/geography	1621	4
Kerck-postille	Jan Jansz.	Dutch	Theological	1621	4
Discours	Jan Jansz.	Dutch	Political	1621	4
Deductie ofte beleydt	Jan Jansz.	Dutch	Political	1621	4
Gereformiert lantrecht	Jan Jansz.	Dutch	State publication	1621	4
Gereformiert lantrecht	Jan Jansz.	Dutch	State publication	1621	4
Oratie, welcke de koningh van Groot Brittannien	Jan Jansz.	Dutch	Political	1621	4
Oratie, welcke de koningh van Groot Brittannien	Jan Jansz.	Dutch	Political	1621	4
Copia van eenighe brieven	Jan Jansz.	Dutch	Political	1621	4
Oratie, welcke de koningh van Groot Brittannien	Jan Jansz.	Dutch	Political	1621	4
Voltolynsche tyrannye	Jan Jansz.	Dutch	Political	1621	4
Missive. Daer in kortelijck ende grondigh	Jan Jansz.	Dutch	Political	1621	4
Gereformiert lantrecht	Jan Jansz.	Dutch	State publication	1621	4
Gereformiert lantrecht	Jan Jansz.	Dutch	State publication	1621	4
Gereformiert lantrecht	Jan Jansz.	Dutch	State publication	1621	4
Supplicatie van t parlement	Jan Jansz.	Dutch	Political	1622	4



Supplicatie van t parlement	Jan Jansz. Dutch	Political	1622	4
Veterum interpretum	Jan Jansz. Latin	Theological	1622	4
Derde discours	Jan Jansz. Dutch	Political	1622	4
Beschryvinghe van Albrecht Durer	Jan Jansz. Dutch	Scientific	1622	2
Supplicatie van t parlement	Jan Jansz. Dutch	Political	1622	4
Opera omnia	Jan Jansz. Dutch	Theological	1623	2
Ordonnantien ende articulen	Jan Jansz. Dutch	State publication	1623	4
Belli civilis	Jan Jansz. Latin	History/geography	1623	2
Pest-ordonnantie	Jan Jansz. Dutch	State publication	1624	4
Memoryen ofte cort verhael	Jan Jansz. Dutch	History/geography	1624	2
Mosis trompet	Jan Jansz. Dutch	Political	1624	4
Uutmonsteringe	Jan Jansz. Dutch	Theological	1625	4
Treurspel, van David ende Absalon	Jan Jansz. Dutch	Poetry	1625	4
Commentarius in Gelriae	Jan Jansz. Latin	Scientific	1625	8
Voornaemste gheschiedenissen inde Nederlanden	Jan Jansz. Dutch	History/geography	1626	4
Copie vande ordonnantie ende placcaet	Jan Jansz. Dutch	Political	1627	4
Chronica Carionis van den beginne des werelts	Jan Jansz. Dutch	History/geography	1629	2
Gelderlants triumph-dicht	Jan Jansz. Dutch	Political	1629	4
Pathmos, ofte een uytlegginge	Jan Jansz. Dutch	Theological	1630	2
Itinearium	Jan Jansz. Dutch	Theological	1630	4
Harmonia evangelisatarum	Jan Jansz. Dutch	Theological	1630	4
In nuptias nobliss	Jacob van Latin	History/geography	1632	4
Het tweede deel vande Sweedsche oorloghen	Jacob van Dutch	History/geography	1632	4
Sweedsche oorloghen dat sijn	Jacob van Dutch	History/geography	1632	4
Oorspronck ende voortganck vande Nederlandtscl	Jacob van Dutch	History/geography	1633	2
Fonteyne des levens	Jacob van Dutch	Theological	1634	4
Suspiria poenitentis	Jacob van Latin	Theological	1635	12
Adversariorum	Jacob van Latin	Scientific	1635	4
Den wegh tot de godsaligheyt	Jacob van Dutch	Theological	1636	8
Mathematische vermakelyckheden	Jacob van Dutch	Scientific	1636	8
Caille la boco	Jacob van Dutch	Political	1636	4
Verhael van het overgaen van Schencke schans	Jacob van Dutch	Political	1636	4
Articulen, geeyscht aen sijne hoogheyt	Jacob van Dutch	Political	1637	4
Commentarius in Gelriae	Jacob van Latin	Scientific	1637	4
Darodilace ofte kus-hemel	Jacob van Dutch	Poetry	1637	16
Stadt-rechten van Zutphen	Jacob van Dutch	State publication	1638	4
Stadt-rechten van Zutphen	Jacob van Dutch	State publication	1638	4
Suspiria poenitentis	Jacob van Latin	Theological	1638	12
Antidotum	Jacob van Latin	Scientific	1638	12
Stadt-rechten van Zutphen	Jacob van Dutch	State publication	1638	4
De rebus dubiis	Jacob van Latin	Scientific	1638	4
Monosticha memorialia	Jacob van Latin	Theological	1638	16
Clivia, Iulia, Montia, Marchia, Ravensburgia	Jacob van Latin	History/geography	1638	2
Stadt-rechten van Zutphen	Jacob van Dutch	State publication	1638	4
Les derniers vœux	Jacob van French	Theological	1639	8
Dissertatio de scientia	Jacob van Latin	Theological	1639	2
Commentatoriorum	Jacob van Latin	Scientific	1639	4
Kercken-ordeninghe	Jacob van Dutch	State publication	1640	4
Wapenen ende korte beschryvinghe van de steden	Jacob van Dutch	History/geography	1640	2
Het eerste(-derde) deel	Jacob van Dutch	Scientific	1641	8
Consilia sive responsa	Jacob van Latin	Scientific	1642	4
Synopsis locorum legalium	Jacob van Latin	Scientific	1643	4

Commentatoriorum	Jacob van Latin	Scientific	1643	4
Conclusionum	Jacob van Latin	Scientific	1644	2
Het eerste(-derde) deel	Jacob van Dutch	Scientific	1644	8
Fonteyne des levens	Jacob van Dutch	Theological	1645	4
Elixer jesuiticum	Jacob van Latin	Theological	1645	12
Artyckelen	Jacob van Dutch	Political	1645	4
Fonteyne des levens	Jacob van Dutch	Theological	1646	4
De historie van des hovelincks soon	Jacob van Dutch	Theological	1646	4
Wapenkaart van de graven van Zeeland	Jacob van Dutch	History/geography	1647	4
Wapenkaart van de graven van Holland	Jacob van Dutch	History/geography	1647	4
Politicorum sive civilis	Jacob van Latin	Scientific	1647	12
Bruylofsdicht	Jan Jacobs Dutch	Poetry	1631	4
Hoghe-liet Salomons	Jan Jacobs Dutch	Poetry	1631	4
Van de verboghentheden der arminianisterye	Jan Jacobs Dutch	Political	1632	4
Gheluck en zegenwensch	Jan Jacobs Dutch	Political	1632	4
Journael ofte een korte beschrijvinghe	Jan Jacobs Dutch	Political	1632	4
Artyckelen geaccordeert	Jan Jacobs Dutch	Political	1632	4
Verklaringe van sijne excellentie	Jan Jacobs Dutch	Political	1632	4
Spiegel des menschelijcken levens	Jan Jacobs Dutch	Theological	1633	8
Artycilen	Jan Jacobs Dutch	Political	1633	4
Rase-bols chaos	Jan Jacobs Dutch	Political	1635	4
Rase-bols chaos	Jan Jacobs Dutch	Political	1635	4
De medicorum principum historia	Jan Jacobs Latin	Scientific	1636	8
Meditation over den catechismus der Nederlandt:	Jan Jacobs Dutch	Theological	1636	8
Immanuel, dat is:	Jan Jacobs Dutch	Theological	1637	4
Articulen	Jan Jacobs Dutch	Political	1637	4
Speculum veritatis, dat is:	Jan Jacobs Dutch	Theological	1637	4
Het ghesette exemplaer der godloosen	Jan Jacobs Dutch	Theological	1638	4
Handtboeck der chirurgie	Jan Jacobs Dutch	Scientific	1640	8
Noah ofte de historie der diluvie	Jan Jacobs Dutch	Theological	1640	4
In apocalypsin	Jan Jacobs Latin	Theological	1642	8
Declaratio	Jan Jacobs Dutch	Theological	1642	4
La piete des enfants	Jan Jacobs French	Theological	1642	8
Ordinantie van richter	Jan Jacobs Dutch	State publication	1642	4
Notitia iuris Belgici	Jan Jacobs Latin	Scientific	1642	8
Van de paerden	Jan Jacobs Dutch	State publication	1644	4
Van de wolle lakenen	Jan Jacobs Dutch	State publication	1644	4
Tuba Geldrica	Jan Jacobs Dutch	Political	1644	4
Centuria consiliorum	Jan Jacobs Latin	Scientific	1644	4
De peste libri quatuor	Jan Jacobs Latin	Scientific	1646	4
Ad consuetudines	Jan Jacobs Latin	Scientific	1646	12
Journael ofte kort discours	Jan Jacobs Dutch	Political	1647	4
Elogia principum	Jan Jacobs Latin	Poetry	1647	4
Amica ac fraterna	Jan Jacobs Latin	Theological	1647	4
Anatome dominicae passionis. Dat is	Jan Jacobs Dutch	Theological	1647	12
Ianua linguarum reserata aurea	Jan Jacobs Latin	Scientific	1648	8
Hymnus in pacem	Jan Jacobs Latin	Poetry	1648	4

The data in this database is based upon the data of the Short Title-Catalogue Netherlands (STCN). Except for the themes, the information is extracted from the STCN. The themes are chosen by me and are based upon the title of the work, the given themes in the STCN-database, the historical context, and the information on size and language. For purposes of clarity, I have chosen to only apply one theme to a publication.

### Attachment 3: correspondence in Gelderland

<b>Nr.</b>	<b>Sender</b>	<b>Receiver</b>	<b>Place of sending</b>
1	Cruyner, G.	Brantsen, Hendrick	Hattum
2	Unknown	Capellen, Alexander van der	Arnhem
3	Zuylen van Nyevelt, Frederik van	Capellen, Alexander van der	Utrecht
4	Zuylen van Nyevelt, Frederik van	Capellen, Alexander van der	Utrecht
5	Capellen, Alexander van der	Capellen, Hendrik van der	The Hague
6	Capellen, Alexander van der	Capellen, Hendrik van der	Utrecht
7	Capellen, Alexander van der	Capellen, Hendrik van der	Boedelhof
8	Capellen, Hendrik van der	Capellen, Alexander van der	The Hague
9	Capellen, Alexander van der	Capellen, Hendrik van der	Boedelhof
10	Benthem, H. van	Cock van Opijnen, Johan de	Tiel
11	Gendt, Bartolt van	Sevener, Willem van	Nijmegen
12	Randwijk, Arnold van	Bije, Arent de	The Hague
13	Poll, Adriaen van der	Bije, Arent de	Nijmegen
14	Glummer, Jan	Bije, Arent de	Arnhem
15	Poll, Adriaen van der	Bije, Arent de	Nijmegen
16	Benthem, Johan van	Bije, Arent de	Nijmegen
17	Randwijk, Arnold van	Bije, Arent de	Emmerik
18	Huygens, Rutger	Bije, Arent de	The Hague
19	Huygens, Rutger	Bije, Arent de	The Hague
20	Benthem, Johan van	Bije, Arent de	Nijmegen
21	Randwijk, Arnold van	Bije, Arent de	Arnhem
22	Poll, Adriaen van der	Bije, Arent de	Nijmegen
23	Lummer, G.	Bije, Arent de	Nijmegen
24	Wijnbergen, Johan van	Bije, Arent de	Unknown
25	Gent, van	Bije, Arent de	The Hague
26	Benthem, Johan van	Bije, Arent de	Nijmegen
27	Wijnbergen, Johan van	Bije, Arent de	Rijnberck
28	Grootvelt, Willem van	Bije, Arent de	Gorinchem
29	Vijgh, Joost & Wijngaarden, Johan	Bije, Arent de	Arnhem
30	Brantsen, Hendrick	Bije, Arent de	Arnhem
31	Poll, Adriaen van der	Bije, Arent de	Nijmegen
32	Poll, Adriaen van der	Bije, Arent de	The Hague
33	Randwijk, Arnold van	Bije, Arent de	The Hague
34	Poll, Adriaen van der	Bije, Arent de	Nijmegen
35	Huygens, Rutger	Bije, Arent de	The Hague
36	Benthem, Johan van	Bije, Arent de	Nijmegen
37	Huygens, Rutger	Bije, Arent de	The Hague

<b>Nr.</b>	<b>Place of receiving</b>	<b>Date (Julian calen</b>	<b>Date receive</b>	<b>News worthy?</b>
1	Unknown	1629; 17-09-1629		Yes
2	Unknown	1627; 31-03-1627		No
3	Unknown	1636; 05-10-1636		Yes
4	Unknown	1638; 20-10-1638		No
5	Zutphen	1627; 03-06-1627	05-06-1627	Yes
6	Zutphen	1637; 08-07-1637	11-07-1637	Yes
7	Arnhem (but sent to	1647; 15-02-1647	20-02-1647	Yes
8	Unknown	1647; 04-03-1647		Yes
9	The Hague	1647; 07-03-1647	14-03-1647	Yes
10	Bruxelles	1626; 01-05-1626		No
11	Unknown	1635; 25-01-1635		No
12	Bommel	1636; 01-01-1636		No
13	Unknown	1636; 27-03-1636		Yes
14	Bommel	1635; 19-07-1635		Yes
15	Bommel	1635; 05-08-1635		Yes
16	The Hague	1631; 28-05-1631		Yes
17	The Hague	1631; 20-05-1631		Yes
18	Unknown	1631; 05-11-1631		Yes
19	Bommel	1631; 08-11-1631		Yes
20	The Hague	1631; 08-05-1631		Yes
21	Vugt	1629; 31-08-1629		Yes
22	Bommel	1628; 28-11-1628		No
23	Bommel	1627; 29-05-1627		Yes
24	The Hague	1648; 02-04-1648		No
25	Unknown	1648; 02-01-1648		No
26	The Hague	1647; 15-09-1647		No
27	The Hague	1647; 12-06-1647		No
28	Bommel	1647; 31-05-1647		No
29	Bommel	1647; 08-07-1647		No
30	Bommel	1637; 20-01-1637		No
31	Bommel	1635; 25-11-1635		No
32	Bommel	1636; 01-01-1636		Yes
33	Nijmegen	1632; 07-09-1632		Yes
34	Bommel	1632; 06-11-1632		Yes
35	Unknown	1632; 17-05-1632		Yes
36	Den Bosch	1629; 07-08-1629		Yes
37	Nijmegen	1628; 14-05-1628		Yes

## English summary

This thesis looks at dynamics of news in the first half of the seventeenth century in the Dutch Republic by asking how and what news was shared. It steps out of earlier nationalistic and teleological research perspectives. It does so by substituting the teleological tendencies with a focus on printed, written, and orally transmitted news media. It also replaces nationalistic tendencies with a focus on regional, national, and international aspects of news.

This thesis uses sources from the province of Gelderland, because these are often neglected. Gelderland offers an interesting case study, because of its location: the Dutch Revolt was fought out on its terrain, the Thirty Years' war bordered it, and to get from Cologne to Amsterdam, two news centres, the news crossed Gelderland. The research confines itself to 1618-1648, because this period offers a fascinating backdrop. All over Europe conflict was a daily reality which caused an enormous output of news.

In three cases, news dynamics are analysed. The first focusses on the *Arnhemsche courante*, a newspaper published in Arnhem from 1619 to at least 1636. This newspaper reported mostly on the Dutch Revolt and the Thirty Years' war. The publishers were aware of the scepticism towards the truthfulness of newspapers and countered this by being more transparent about their sources.

The next chapter revolves around news in private correspondence of regents, especially of Arent de Bye. It turns out that the equal status of both correspondents and their social bond were important factors in giving the news a trustworthy character. For these regents, international politics were a very important news subject next to the movements of the stadtholder within the Dutch Republic.

The last chapter uses the diary of David Beck, a schoolmaster in Arnhem, to examine the combination of the spoken, written, and printed word. His diary makes clear that consuming news was foremost a social activity. Distance was not the most important barrier news had to cross. It was more important for Beck to have a personal connection to the news.

In conclusion, the social character of a news medium is important in establishing its trustworthiness. The higher this bond, the more likely it was that the news was perceived as trustworthy. The interest in news was sparked by local circumstances and personal connection to the news. It did not matter whether the news event happened nearby or far away.