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MEN IN GOVERNMENT:
THE PATRICIATE OF LEIDEN, 1550-1600

A Dissertation Presented

By

STERLING ANDRE LAMET

Submitted to the Graduate School of the
University of Massachusetts in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

February 1979

History



Sterling André Lamet

1979

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MEN IN GOVERNMENT:
THE PATRICIATE OF LEIDEN, 1550-1600

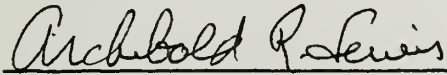
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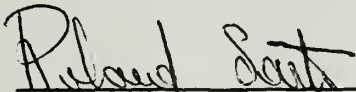
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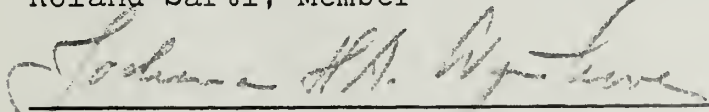
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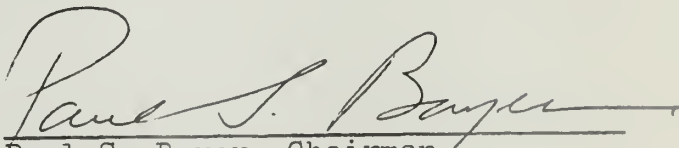
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For
Maryélise

Preface

Since the emergence of the written word, men have been producing biographical accounts of their own lives and those of others. Through these works it has been possible to learn much about both the individuals in question and the societies in which they lived. Nevertheless, as our concern with the workings of society as a whole has deepened, it has become clear that many of the methods of biographers can be fruitfully applied to the study of a group with some common characteristics.¹ In this way we may gain insight into units in society larger than the individual and approach some understanding of groups as well as persons.

Much attention has recently been paid in historical research to the importance of social and economic groups in early modern European life. Although different in nature and scope, the work of William Bouwsma and Natalie Zemon Davis has addressed the role of professional and occupational specialities in sixteenth century society.² Others, like Lawrence Stone in his The Crisis of the Aristocracy, have tried to define and describe more completely entire segments of particular societies.³ Still others have adopted the comparative approach by examining similar social groups in separate geographic areas, as in Peter Burke's Venice and Amsterdam which deals with the political elites of two great maritime cities.⁴

In this study we will be primarily concerned with a collective biography of 185 men who served in the city government of Leiden during the second half of the sixteenth century. These men comprised a closely knit body which made the major political decisions in the

city, controlled the patronage and maintained a great influence over Leiden's economic life. Their leadership and involvements in town affairs guided Leiden, with varying degrees of success and failure, through economic depression, religious unrest and political revolt into a period of urban revitalization and prosperity.

Before proceeding to the collective biography of these city officials, however, some background necessary for the understanding of the group will be provided. This will be done in the three chapters comprising Part I. In Chapter I we will look at the city as an environment. Chapter II will provide a survey of those developments which shaped the second half of the sixteenth century in Leiden and in many ways influenced these 185 town officials. Finally, in Chapter III the workings of the city government and the make-up of our group, the vroedschap, will be discussed in detail.

In Part II we will analyze in depth the most important characteristics of the group: their family interrelationships, education, economic background, occupation, politics and religion. Up to this time the few studies of this group in other Dutch cities have been concerned mainly with genealogy. Furthermore, they have not examined the vroedschap prior to the Dutch Revolt.⁵ In contrast, this study will be using genealogical information as a tool to understand these men in a broader context, not as an end in itself, and will begin with the members of the city government in 1550 and carry on through to 1600.

By combining traditional historical method with computer analysis of a wide variety of data, I have been able to derive information and answer questions which earlier students could have done only

with great difficulty. Data from tax registers, marriage contracts, wills, real-estate records and other materials were collected, coded and processed through the Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS). Office-holding data was processed with the aid of a specially written Fortran program devised by Mr. Nicholas Chrisman of the Harvard University Center for Computer Graphics. The two programs were made compatible so that the results of each might be compared. Such a procedure led to a much clearer portrait of Leiden's late sixteenth century vroedschap, especially with regard to socio-economic activities.⁶

Within Part II, Chapters IV and V will be concerned with the private lives and careers of vroedschap members. In Chapter IV we will look at the family interrelationships and education of members of the group. Chapter V is an extended analysis of the group's socio-economic characteristics. Chapter VI treats the public careers of town officials by examining their office-holding duties and responsibilities. In dealing with the nature of politics and religion among members of the vroedschap, Chapter VII will examine the impact of these areas on both the public and private lives of men in Leiden government.

Finally, the concluding remarks will summarize the various themes treated in this study by presenting the biographical sketches of two men who were members of the group at different times during the second half of the sixteenth century. By comparing the life of a councilman from the mid-sixteenth century with one from the late sixteenth century, it is possible to distinguish clearly the development of the group as a whole during this turbulent period of Leiden's history.

The translation of Dutch terms and concepts in the text will be handled in the following manner. The first mention of an important term will be followed by its Dutch equivalent in parenthesis. Thereafter, if the word is used often, both English and Dutch forms will be used depending on readability. Otherwise, the English will be used exclusively. The most frequent use of alternate Dutch and English will be the names of particular offices, although commonly cited buildings may also fall into this category. Alderman for schepen and the Church of St. Pieter for the Pieterskerk are examples of this.

With regard to the handling of Dutch personal names, which were not standardized in the sixteenth century, the following policy will be observed. In the text I have adopted a standard spelling for each individual in the group. This will be adhered to even though an individual's name could appear in several ways in the documents. When material containing a name is quoted the spelling as it appears in the original will be retained. If the form in which it appears might cause confusion with another individual, the standardized name will appear after it in brackets. Since fixed names (instead of patronyms) were only beginning to be used in our period, not all group members were identified by family names. The individuals who adopted a family name instead of simply using their father's first name as their last, did not use it all the time. In cases where a family name was used regularly, that name has been utilized as the standard manner of reference to that individual. When a family name was not used, I have cited the individual in the way he most commonly referred to himself

in the documents. Occasionally, research has demonstrated that an individual was a member of a particular family even though he did not use that family name to identify himself. In these cases the family name will appear in parenthesis after his patronym. In addition, all family names have been capitalized to make them distinct from patronyms and easily recognizable in the text. An example of each of these name classifications follows. Willem Jan Reyersz. van HEEMSKERCK referred to himself exactly that way most of the time. He began using HEEMSKERCK as a family name, although his father, Jan Reyersz., did not. However, because Jan Reyersz. was a member of the HEEMSKERCK family, his name will appear as Jan Reyersz. (van HEEMSKERCK) in the text. Another member of the council, Oliphier Philipsz., retained his patronymic designation all his life. Since I have not been able to link him with any family name, I have retained his way of referring to himself in this study.

The original idea for this dissertation came from research done for Professor Miriam U. Chrisman in her seminar on Early Modern European Social History. Part of that research was concerned with the comparative careers of Leiden University professors in the late sixteenth century. The application of ideas and techniques used in that investigation to other social groups ultimately led me to the following study. Initially conceived as a work which compared the town councilmen from a number of Dutch cities, my first visit to the Gemeentearchief Leiden in 1973 convinced me that the original topic was too broad and that the wealth of materials available at Leiden allowed for a much more detailed study of one town council.

With constant encouragement from Professor Chrisman, then on the other side of the Atlantic, the research into the lives of Leiden's vroedschap members gradually took shape during 1973-1974. She has continued to provide invaluable guidance throughout the course of my research and writing. The personnel of the Leiden town archive were exceptionally helpful to me during my stay in Holland. Always willing to be of assistance, Drs. B. N. Leverland and Mr. C. J. Pelle were especially kind in making suggestions. The advice of Professor J. J. Woltjer of Leiden University that I look into materials such as the Morgenboeken of Rujnland was also very much appreciated. Conversations with Christopher Grayson both in and out of the archives were stimulating and useful in a variety of areas, particularly with regard to the role of the civic guard in Leiden. I would also like to express my thanks to the Netherlands-America Foundation for the small grant with which they provided me to help with my research. Upon my return to the United States Professor Jochanan Wijnhoven of the Department of Religion at Smith College was good enough to criticize my work and offer some very helpful suggestions.

Because we met while studying the same field in graduate school, my wife, Maryélise, and I are fond of saying that we met in the sixteenth century and decided to stay there. The results of that decision are embodied in the following dissertation. She was a constant sounding board for the ideas that went into this study and offered more than a little help with points of interpretation and organization. After all, it is not every student of early modern Europe who can call across the room to ask for advice about paleography.

Also, without the generosity of my cousins, the Gerretsen family of The Hague, living in Holland during those months of research would have been much less comfortable and pleasant.

FOOTNOTES--PREFACE

¹The generic term used to describe this technique is collective or group biography, sometimes known as prosopography. For an introduction and critique of this historical genre see Lawrence Stone, "Prosopography" in Historical Studies Today, ed. by Felix Gilbert and Stephen R. Graubard (New York: W. W. Norton and Company, 1972), pp. 107-140.

²William J. Bouwsma, "Lawyers in Early Modern Culture," American Historical Review, LXXVIII (1973), pp. 303-327 and Natalie Zemon Davis, "Strikes and Salvation at Lyon," Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte, LVI (1965), pp. 48-64.

³Lawrence Stone, The Crisis of the Aristocracy 1558-1641 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1965).

⁴Peter Burke, Venice and Amsterdam, A Study of Seventeenth Century Elites (London: Temple Smith, 1974).

⁵The most detailed investigation of a group of vroedschap members is Johan E. Elias, De vroedschap van Amsterdam, 1578-1795 (2 vols.; Amsterdam: N. Israel, 1963). This is a reprint of the original 1903-1905 Haarlem edition. In the introduction to this work Elias made some valuable contributions to the social history of the Amsterdam vroedschap. A revised version of these remarks was published separately as Geschiedenis van het Amsterdamsche Regentenpatriciaat (The Hague, 1923). Elias, nevertheless, viewed his main work as an historical source to be used by other scholars. Much emphasis is thus laid upon the exhaustive genealogical details which he unearthed. A second work of this nature is M^r E. A. Engelbrecht's De vroedschap van Rotterdam 1572-1795, Bronnen voor de Geschiedenis van Rotterdam, Vol. V (Rotterdam: Gemeentelijke Archiefdienst Rotterdam, 1973). This work was compiled from the notes of W. J. L. Poelmans who had intended to publish such a volume before his death. Although both these studies include information about men whose families had been longtime residents of Amsterdam and Rotterdam, the actual vroedschap members discussed are only those who held office after the cities joined the Netherlands Revolt.

⁶See Appendix E for a complete discussion of the computer analysis. It has been placed there because Chapter V is the first place where major analysis by computer begins.

ABSTRACT

Men in Government:

The Patriciate of Leiden, 1550-1600

(February 1979)

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Directed by: Professor Miriam U. Chrisman

The study attempts to describe and assess the essential characteristics of Leiden's urban ruling elite in the second half of the sixteenth century. The lives and careers of the 185 major office-holders during this period are examined, showing the socio-economic composition of the group and also following its evolution into the Regents of the seventeenth century. In looking at Leiden's urban ruling body both before and after the outbreak of the Dutch Revolt, this study provides a focus absent in other works on the subject.

Chapter I deals with Leiden as an urban environment at the middle of the sixteenth century and describes the setting in which city officer-holders lived. The city's primary dependence on the cloth industry and the effects of its decline on the city as a whole are considered.

Chapter II examines the important events which affected Leiden during the second half of the sixteenth century. The iconoclasm of 1566, the Spanish siege of 1574, the founding of the University in 1575 and the revival of the textile industry in the 1580's and 1590's are all viewed in light of their significance for Leiden's councilmen and magistrates.

Chapter III considers the structure of city government in Leiden. The functions and responsibilities of particular offices as well as the workings of the government are described. The meaning of civic office for sixteenth-century Dutch councilmen is also discussed.

Chapter IV begins the detailed examination of the 185 men in Leiden government. Concerned with the nature of family ties and the level of education among group members, this chapter reveals a number of striking points. First, while a fifty percent turnover in family representation in the vroedschap and gerecht occurred every ten years, this rate of change was offset by the continued representation of a number of prominent families for longer periods. Genealogical information illustrates a closely knit group of interrelated families who dominated the city government. Very few group members had a university education. While most were literate and probably attended either the Latin School or a bijschool, only those whose choice of profession required it went on for university level training. This began to change gradually in the late sixteenth century as more and more group members sent their sons to university.

Chapter V is concerned with the occupational characteristics of the group and its socio-economic position in the city. Dominated by the textile trades and brewers both before and after 1572, the late sixteenth century saw a rise in service-related occupations among group members, indicating a shift in the direction of higher social status. Members of the council and magistracy were among the wealthy of Leiden, although not necessarily the richest in terms of real property.

Chapter VI explores the public careers of the 185. Office-holding patterns are explored, but it is argued that although most vroedschap members prepared for higher public office through the holding of lesser posts, no formal apprenticeship system existed.

Chapter VII discusses the political allegiance of group members as well as their attitude toward religion, finding that in both cases there was a tendency toward conservatism. Although the vroedschap members accepted the principles of the Dutch Revolt, maintenance of law and order was their primary concern. Hardly religious radicals, the members of the Leiden city government were reluctant to embrace Reformed Protestantism. They tended to become lukewarm adherents to the "new Reformed religion" while attempting to extend their secular authority in church affairs. The Conclusion examines the lives of two representative group members in order to compare the characteristics of city officials at the beginning and at the end of the period considered.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AAG, Bijdragen	<u>Afdeling Agrarische Geschiedenis,</u> <u>Bijdragen</u>
AC	Archief van de Curatoren der Leidsche Universiteit
AG	Archief van de Gilden, Beurzen en Rederijerskamers
AH Rijnland	Archief van het Hoogheemraadschap van Rijnland
AK	Archief van de Kerken
ALU	Archief van Leiden Universiteit
ARA	Algemeen Rijksarchief
ASF	Archief van Senaat en Faculteiten beneven het Archief van de Academische Vierschaar der Leidsche Universiteit
ASH	Archief van de Staten van Holland
BGBH	<u>Bijdragen voor de geschiedenis van</u> <u>het Bisdome van Haarlem</u>
BLO	Bibliotheek Leiden en Omgeving
Blok, GHS	Petrus Johannes Blok, <u>Geschiedenis</u> <u>eener Hollandsche Stad</u> , 4 vols. (’s-Gravenhage: Martinus Nijhoff, 1910-1918).
BMHG	<u>Bijdragen en Mededeelingen van het</u> <u>Historisch Genootschap</u>
BVGO	<u>Bijdragen voor Vaderlandsche</u> <u>Geschiedenis en Oudheidkunde</u>
GAL	Gemeentearchief Leiden
JCBG	<u>Jaarboek van het Centraal Bureau</u> <u>voor Genealogie</u>
Kerkenraad	Archief van de Kerkenraad

Leiden '74

Leiden '74, leven in oorlogstijd in
de tweede helft van de 16de eeuw

LJ

Leidse Jaarboekje (Jaarboekje voor
Geschiedenis en Oudheidkunde
van Leiden en Rijnland)

NL

De Nederlandsche Leeuw

NNBW

Nieuw Nederlandsch Biografische
Wooedenboek

RA

Rechterlijke Archief van Leiden

SA, I

Archief der Secretarie voor 1574

SA, II

Archief der Secretarie na 1574

TR

Tijdschrift voor Rechtsgeschiedenis

TG

Tijdschrift voor Geschiedenis

WA

Weekskamer Archief

PART I

LIFE AND INSTITUTIONS IN LEIDEN, 1550-1600

C H A P T E R I

LEIDEN IN THE MID-SIXTEENTH CENTURY

To the mid-sixteenth-century traveler the silhouette of the city of Leiden rose sharply behind the green carpeting of the surrounding polderland. From whichever direction the traveler approached, the image was basically the same. Arriving from Amsterdam to the north via the Haarlemermeer, from the North Sea dunes to the west or from The Hague or Delft to the south the level countryside was broken by the Pieterskerk and the Hooglandsekerk rising skyward against the horizon. As one got closer the occasional windmill perched atop the city walls also contributed to an impression of height. At close range the separation of Leiden as an entity distinct from her rural surroundings was confirmed by her formidable brick walls.

In 1550 our traveler might choose to enter the city walls by any one of several access points. These entries, which were located at traditional points of traffic flow, had over time been provided with gates guarded by a town employee known as a poortier. By the mid-sixteenth century there were five such gates; two on the east, two on the west and one on the south. Conveniently, they serviced both water and land traffic, as roads into the city had grown up paralleling the major waterways. On the east the Zijlpoort was located where both the Old Rijn and a major road to Leiderdorp came together. The second

branch of the Rijn, known as the New Rijn, entered Leiden near the Hoogewoerdsepoort, which connected the city with the outside world via a more southerly road in the direction of Leiderdorp. On the south the Coepoort provided access to the city for those arriving via the Vliet and what is now Herenstraat. On the west where the Rijn departs Leiden, the Rijnsburgerpoort on the north side of the waterway and the Wittepoort on the south side of the river gave entry into the town. Both gates were also links with land traffic from the west. The smaller waterway on Leiden's north side, known as the Mare, had no gate associated with it in the sixteenth century.¹

The area closest to Leiden, known as the freedom of the city (stadsvrijheid), came under her legal jurisdiction. Acting as a defensive zone for the urban world, this area was filled with orchards and gardens.² Beyond the stadsvrijheid the generally flat landscape was interrupted only by an occasional building, such as the monastery of Engelandal in Leiderdorp or the castle Bosschuysen. Sheep and cows dotted the green polderland much as they do today, and the numerous drainage ditches provided a sense of ordered division to the countryside.

Crossing the singel or moat into the city the traveler made the sharp transition from rural to urban environment. The world he entered was vastly different from the one through which he had just passed. Long streets of tightly packed houses with large buildings such as the Pieterskerk and the city hall dominating their neighborhoods created an atmosphere of density. There were, however, also undeveloped areas

within the walls. The city's most recent territorial expansion had taken place in 1403, and by the mid-sixteenth century the new land brought in at that time had not all been occupied with buildings. Gradually, the old farm complexes and gardens began to disappear, but not until the end of the century would Leiden face a shortage of land and open space within its walled perimeter.³ The overall physical appearance of Leiden had changed very little for over a century. In fact, an inhabitant of the Burgundian period would have found much that was recognizable in 1550.

On market days the bustling pace of activity within Leiden contrasted sharply with everyday life in the villages outside the city.⁴ Merchants, civil servants, a host of specialized craftsmen and members of various religious orders, all engaged in their diverse business, contributed to the sense of bustling activity. Booths displaying a wide variety of goods and produce lined the canals behind the city hall, attracting buyers from all over the town as well as the surrounding countryside. While never a major center of commerce, Leiden, nonetheless, did fill an important role as the most significant marketplace in the Rijnland.

The characteristic feature of most Holland towns has always been the presence of water, and in this respect Leiden, then as now, is no exception. In 1550 in addition to the natural waterways of the Rijn, the Vliet and the Mare, all of which were variously utilized for commerce and industry, Leiden possessed a complex system of canals that largely determined her physical appearance. The canals with their many bridges were a feature of Dutch city planning that always fascinated foreign

visitors. The Florentine ambassador to the Netherlands, Ludovico Guicciardini, counted thirty-one canals and 145 bridges during his visit to Leiden in the mid-sixteenth century and remarked that they seemed to divide the town into a series of tiny islands.⁵

It was not always so. The twelfth century settlement consisted of little more than a small fortress atop some high ground between the Old and New Rijn with some wooden dwellings clustered around it.⁶ Subsequent expansion first took place early in the thirteenth century when Broad Street (Breestraat) was constructed along an extension of the dike next to the New Rijn. During three other expansions in the course of the fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries, Leiden took on the characteristics of a true Dutch water town or grachtenstad built upon reclaimed land. Because these later three extensions demanded efficient planning, and adequate control of water levels, Leiden obtained its numerous canals. The major ones, including the singel, were all dug in this period.⁷

As in most water towns, little space was allotted to wide thoroughfares or sizable market places. The canals served commerce and communication, with businesses and residences constructed close to the water's edge.⁸ Traffic, however, was not entirely by water. A number of streets were built to accommodate vehicles and pedestrians, and at intervals smaller lanes cut through closely spaced buildings to connect parallel canals.⁹

Lining the waterways in the sixteenth century were a mixture of wooden, half-timbered and brick structures side by side. In the interest

of fire prevention Leiden had taken steps in the fifteenth century to reduce the number of wooden buildings, but many still existed. After 1450 the city had subsidized roof repair, and the use of slate and tile roofing materials was encouraged. By the mid-sixteenth century the grey of the slate and the red of the tile was more visible than thatch.¹⁰ Very few sixteenth century Leiden buildings were large, since the ground could not support massive structures. Certain buildings, such as the Pieterskerk and Hooglandsekerk which appeared to tower over their neighborhoods from outside the city, seemed less imposing at close range. Indeed, inside the city the predominant architectural impression was one of understatement and unpretentious modesty.

Leiden lacked a well-defined city center. There was no central square around which public buildings and mercantile affairs might focus. Instead, the entire medieval core of the city served this purpose. In the Middle Ages Leiden consisted of four quarters, whose common meeting point was the Blue Stone (Blauwe Steen) located at the crossroads of her two oldest streets, now Breestraat and Marsmansteeg. Until 1463 this site remained the place of important legal proclamations and executions. Each quarter derived its name from a principal building once located within it. The Hospital Quarter (Gasthuis-vierendeel) took its name from St. Catherine's Hospital, the earliest institution of poor-relief in the city. The Meat Market Quarter (Vleeshuis-vierendeel) received its name because the Meat Hall (Vleeshuis or Vleeshal), where meat was sold under city supervision until 1415, was located in this area. The Wool House Quarter (Wolhuis-vierendeel)

was named for the building where wool was sold under the controlling eyes of the city government before 1429. The fourth quarter, the Cloth House Quarter (Wanthuis-vierendeel) received its name from an even older cloth hall.¹¹

While these four quarters remained the central core of the city with nearly all government services and many economic activities concentrated in them, they soon became too small for the expanding community. By the fifteenth century there were already twenty-two subdivisions known as bonnen, each with four bonmeesters, who combined the duties of local fire wardens and snow removal supervisors.¹² Each bon was further subdivided into neighborhoods (gebuurten), over which the bon exercised control. During the fifteenth century there were twenty-seven such gebuurten. The suggestive and sometimes descriptive names of these various sections were usually taken, like the original vierendeelen, from important buildings or from an activity carried on in the district. The gebuurte known as Stone Fortress (Steynenburch) for instance, was named after the Gravensteen which housed the law courts and the jail; Compostelle, after the canal of St. Jacob (St. Jacobsgracht), the Red Sea (Roode Zee), probably after the dying of cloth which colored the nearby canals; and a rather open area, the Wild Veluwe, after one of the most untamed regions in Gelderland.¹³

As in other preindustrial cities, particular economic activities were not necessarily concentrated in one area of the town, but rather were scattered throughout the various bonnen. Nevertheless, certain sections of Leiden were likely to house more practitioners of one economic specialty for reasons of water supply or transport availability.

Breweries, for instance, tended to be located along the New Rijn in the bon known as Hoogewoerd, or along the Mare in Marendorp. The tanning trades were also located in Marendorp where it was convenient to use the city walls for spreading out the hides. Practitioners of the cloth trades, such as weaving and fulling were widely distributed through the various neighborhoods, but in the areas known as Nieuweland, Rapenburg, Gansoord and Niclaasgracht they were more numerous.¹⁴

Because of the success of the cloth industry at Leiden, the city's population increased rapidly in the later Middle Ages. At the beginning of the fifteenth century she was the largest town in Holland with a population exceeding ten thousand.¹⁵ N. W. Posthumus has argued that in 1498 the population was about 12,000.¹⁶ This is not out of line with the Informacie of 1514, an inquiry for tax purposes, in which parish priests furnished a figure of about 9,500 communicants.¹⁷ At the time of the siege of Leiden by the Spanish (1574) an emergency census was taken for the purpose of rationing food and supplies. This head-count, which was not an entirely accurate census of the resident population because of the number of refugees it included and the number of exiles it omitted, places the number of people within the city walls at 12,644.¹⁸ Seven years later a remarkably accurate census was taken, apparently without a specific goal in mind. This census, known as the Volkstelling of 1581, gives a figure of 12,144.¹⁹ While allowances must be made for fluctuations due to economic conditions, the siege and natural disasters in the vicinity, all these figures are surprisingly consistent. In the first half of the sixteenth century the population of Leiden had apparently achieved a relative degree of

stability. This is in contrast to other Dutch cities like Amsterdam and Rotterdam which grew rapidly during this period.²⁰

The traveler entering Leiden would have noted with interest the changes in his physical environment and would have also been struck by the diverse social composition of the town. The different social groups, the varied types of people within the city walls created a heterogeneity unknown in the surrounding countryside. While one might encounter the residence of a nobleman or a religious institution in the country, the Rijnland was characterized by a rather uniform agricultural and village society of peasants. In Leiden, on the other hand, noblemen, particians, priests, civil servants, cloth workers and artisans met each other frequently, if not daily.

The traditional description of medieval and early modern European society in terms of three estates is not representative of the social reality. During the sixteenth century there were four major groups in Dutch society: the nobility, the clergy, the rural peasantry and the urban population. Each of these groups, in turn, was comprised of persons of varying degrees of wealth and prestige. The prosperous aristocrat of pan-European reputation and the struggling nobleman working closely with his peasants in the field, had little more in common than the affluent and powerful bishop and his distant subordinate, the parish priest, or the patrician merchant and the poverty stricken fuller. Thus, it is important to see the horizontal as well as the vertical unities in a society. This is particularly true in cities where wealth and prestige cut across traditional lines, bringing nobles

and patricians into closer contact with each other than with other members of their own status groups. Keeping this in mind, we will now look at the three elements which made up the society of Leiden. The peasantry are more or less excluded by definition though undoubtedly peasants played a role in Leiden's life as laborers, entering the city on a daily basis.

Clearly, the least important element in Leiden's society was the nobility. There were still a few noble families who retained houses in Leiden, but their presence had diminished since the days of the Hoeks and Kabeljauws.²¹ Some of the nobility had relatives or descendants active in Leiden affairs, and a number of prominent Leiden citizens had married into noble kin networks, but generally, noble influence was weak.²²

The clergy were somewhat more prominent, partially because of their conspicuous institutional presence. Despite the visibility of the Church both in and around Leiden, the religious were less numerous than they had been in the fifteenth century. Some evidence of their numerical decline can be gleaned from an examination of the various foundations of the Leiden area.

Located in the bishopric of Utrecht, Leiden was divided into three parishes: St. Pieter's, St. Pancras' and the parish of Our Dear Lady. St. Pieter's, the oldest, was also the largest and was presided over by the Commander of the Order of German Lords. St. Pancras' was the second in size and since 1366 had the status of a collegiate church. The smallest parish was that of Our Dear Lady. Originally

carved out of land belonging to Oegstgeest, it never achieved the importance of its two larger neighbors.²³ In addition to priests, each parish had a number of chaplains who maintained and conducted services before the various altars of the gilds, brotherhoods and sisterhoods. The Church of St. Pieter had seventeen such altars, the Church of St. Pancras, also known as the Hooglandsekerk, eighteen and the Church of Our Dear Lady only nine.²⁴ The actual number of religious is difficult to determine, although one early fifteenth century statistic derived from a record of city wine distribution on a feast day records seventy secular clergy resident in the three parishes.²⁵

Existing alongside these institutions of the secular clergy were the numerous monastic and lay religious foundations. Leiden had only one monastery within its walls, the Cellebroeders, a community of lay brothers charged with the care and burial of those struck down by the plague and the nursing of the insane. The exact year of their establishment is unknown, but in 1421 the Cellebroeders obtained permission from the city to have their own chapel and churchyard. They remained in existence until their dissolution after the coming of Protestantism.²⁶

Two other monasteries were present in the immediate vicinity of Leiden. A branch of the Observant Franciscans, known as the Minderbroeders, was located near the Hoogewoerdsepoort and an Augustinian monastery, Engelendal, was located near the Leiderdorp ferry to the east. The Minderbroeders foundation was established in 1445, at its height having no more than twenty brothers.²⁷ Engelendal was founded in 1396 and soon attained a relatively large size. The Augustinian

brothers, who occupied themselves with copying and illuminating manuscripts, were quite prosperous, although how many there were is unknown.²⁸

Another sizable monastery, known as either Lopsen or Hieronymusdal, had been associated with Windesheim in the fifteenth century. By 1526, however, it had been dissolved. Subsequent to its demise the property was purchased by the city and came to be part of St. Catherine's Hospital.²⁹

Convents for women, while smaller than the monasteries, were legion. The city itself had eleven, and three more existed just outside the walls. In addition, there were three houses of beguines accommodating a large number of women. The convents ranged from institutions for the very rich, like the Sisters of Marienpoel, to those for the extremely poor, such as St. Cecilia's Convent. Varying degrees of adherence to the rules were observed and, as in other cities, numerous complaints were lodged against the female convents during the sixteenth century. Not the least of these was the objection to their apparent attempts to extend their property holdings within the city in the early part of the century.³⁰

Gradually, the number of monks and nuns in Leiden declined from at least 534 in 1514, to 450 in 1525, to 300 in 1542. By 1556 those in orders had shrunk to no more than 150.³¹ Clearly, monastic vocations were no longer the attraction they had been earlier. All the convents and monasteries complained of hard times financially. In conjunction with monetary woes the Church was suffering a decline in prestige

which led to a neglect of traditional religious and church-related practices by the laity.³² The difficulties of the Church affected Leiden both spiritually and economically. Religious institutions, especially the wealthier convents, employed many persons as servants. The Church was also directly involved in such activities as brewing and cloth production, especially spinning, playing an active part in the economy of the city. Thus, spiritual decline became closely linked to the spiral of economic contraction which gripped the city by the middle of the sixteenth century.³³

Having considered the roles of the first two elements in the society of mid-sixteenth century Leiden, we must now turn to the group which comprised the great majority of people in the city. This amorphous multitude of burgers and others living permanently or temporarily in Leiden was a mixture of social types and economic levels from the very rich to the very poor. It included men and women whose diverse backgrounds and experiences meant that they had little more in common than their Leiden citizenship. For example, the wealthy rentier patrician, the goldsmith, the civil servant, the brewer and the cloth merchant were all members of this group. The weaver, the fisherman, the canal digger and the spinster also belonged to it, as did the lawyer and the bookbinder. A more diverse set of social and economic types could hardly have been brought together within the same corporate group. Yet, in contrast to the clergy or the nobility, the individuals included in this group all considered themselves first of all Leiden citizens.

Attempts to rank or classify the variety of social and economic types within this large category are complicated by the fact that among

such occupations as the weavers and the fullers there were the prosperous as well as the poor. Using Posthumus' statistics for 1498, which are also valid for the early part of the sixteenth century, one notices the incidence of poverty as well as economic ease among weavers. Of the total of sixty weavers for whom data is available nineteen had capital valued between 100-499 pond, twenty-seven had capital amounting to less than 100 pond and thirteen were classed as paupers or without property.³⁴ A similar set of statistics is available for the fullers. Out of 136 fullers, forty-seven had capital between 100-499 pond, forty-eight were assessed below 100 pond, thirty-eight were paupers.³⁵ In neither example are the statistics pyramid-shaped, as both the wealthy and the middle group outnumber the paupers.

The status of an individual within the community was not necessarily determined by his economic position. The importance of the city secretary (secretaris), for instance, far exceeded the place he occupied in the economic hierarchy. Jacob de MILDE (? - 1564), who was originally Leiden's legal advisor and from 1553 to 1564 combined these duties with the office of secretaris, was not particularly wealthy according to the Tenth Penny Tax register of 1559. His influence and stature in Leiden society and government stemmed from the official duties he performed and because of the social circle in which he moved.³⁶

The ranking of all the groups in Leiden society is beyond the scope of this introductory chapter. Our purpose has been simply to indicate the diversity and complexity of social types present in mid-sixteenth century Leiden. The social groups were clearly related to the economic activities of the city, which are our next concern.

By 1550 the economy of the city had experienced a gradual contraction for thirty or forty years. Foreign visitors, like Guicciardini, were still impressed by the superficial image of well-being, but ever since the early years of the century Leiden's principal economic activity, the cloth industry, had been steadily declining. Because the cloth industry had played such a dominant role, its decay created general economic malaise. Since no other trade or manufacturing activity emerged to take the place of textile production, the city's difficulties were accentuated. Some of this was the result of innate conservatism. While other cities tried to attract new industries, the Leiden authorities remained convinced that such industries, especially those using raw materials important to textile production, would threaten traditional cloth manufacturing. When a group of cap makers requested permission in 1529 to establish themselves in Leiden, the town council rejected the request for fear that the cap makers would deprive the cloth industry of some of its prime wool.³⁷

Leiden's early sixteenth century economic problems were partially related to her medieval evolution. In the high Middle Ages she was the favorite city of several Counts of Holland, including Floris V (1256-1296) who was born there. These rulers encouraged the city's growth. By the fifteenth century Leiden had become the largest urban center in Holland, but unifacted industrial development and geographical location made it difficult for her to diversify economically. Her cloth industry had developed as the great draperie of the Flemish cities declined so that Leiden cloth achieved European-wide distribution. Since she was not located on the sea or on a major river, Leiden was not well-situated

to become a large commercial center like Amsterdam or Dordrecht. She was therefore unable to adapt her economy in the direction of the carrying-trade, thereby having the ability to distribute her own manufactured goods. Indeed, merchandise and supplies entering or leaving the city were increasingly carried by non-Leiden transport, and by 1556 Leiden shippers and bargemen played almost no role in this carrying-trade.³⁸

While Leiden could never hope to achieve importance as a northern European center of trade, her location on several inland water routes established her as the principal city of the Rijnland. Leiden's influence in nearly every other area of economic activity except cloth was significant only on this regional level.³⁹ In order to provide the region with important goods and services, a variety of activities were carried on in addition to cloth manufacturing. There were the needed specialists in the food and drink trades, shoemakers, clothiers and a host of building crafts, such as carpenters, roofers and masons.⁴⁰ Brick-making was of particular importance in the area around Leiden, for the clay and sandy soils of the region encouraged the establishment of kilns near the source of raw materials. The Rijn River then provided a ready link to markets within the region.⁴¹ Recent research has also demonstrated the existence of a small, but well-established tapestry weaving industry in Leiden.⁴²

Each one of these crafts (ambachten) had its own gild organization which resembled in most respects that of other European gilds. Masters, journeymen and apprentices were strictly regulated by ordinances

established to maintain standards, reduce causes of friction and prevent conflicts of interest. Like those in the rest of Holland, Leiden guilds remained purely economic organizations. This distinguished them sharply from the guilds of Gent and Bruges in the southern Netherlands, where craft organizations achieved a large amount of political importance and were actually involved in city affairs. The subordinate political role of Leiden guilds was an outgrowth of strict controls and restrictions placed upon them in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries by the Counts of Holland. The city supported and reinforced this subordinate role. One or more sworn representatives (ghesworen) appointed by the town were assigned to each guild as overseers or supervisors. These men were chosen annually from competent and trustworthy members of the guilds to ensure that regulations were enforced. Such control meant that it was difficult for dissatisfied craft guilds to wield significant political influence.⁴³

Leiden's strict supervision of the city guilds closely resembled the way in which other parts of the economy were regulated as well. Precise standards for the production of manufactured items and exact price levels for many goods were controlled by the town. Although such regulatory standards existed for other trades, such as brewing and baking, they have been most completely preserved in records of the cloth industry.

Four salaried evaluators, known as wardens (wardijnen) were appointed annually to ensure that each stage of cloth manufacture, from the arrival of the wool to the completion of a piece of cloth, was

carried out according to the specifications of the drapery ordinances. The principle duties of the wardens were to inspect the quality of the wool, see to its initial distribution to individual producers (drapeniers) and examine the cloth on the drying racks.⁴⁴ Control of other phases of production, such as visitation of weavers shops and supervision of the dying process, was carried out largely by the wardens' various assistants.⁴⁵

Nearly every step of the cloth manufacturing process was carefully watched, and yet, during the first half of the sixteenth century, violations of regulatory standards continued to increase, especially faulty dying and the use of coarser thread which lowered the quality of the fabric.⁴⁶ Continued abuses were partially a result of the increasing difficulty of procuring sufficient quantities of fine English wool. After the death of Charles the Bold (1477) the Calais staple gradually ceased to be a major source of wool for Holland. By about 1530 inferior Spanish wool, supplied through Bruges and Antwerp, became Leiden's main source of raw material. Yet the discovery of this alternative source of supply was unable to offset the additional problem of the shrinkage of traditional Baltic markets engendered by the decline of the Hanse. Furthermore, Amsterdam merchants, who were the main distributors of Leiden cloth in northern Europe, were periodically faced with the hazards stemming from the wars of the King of Denmark and the difficulties with the Sound Toll.⁴⁷ Rising wool prices in general, the fact that Leiden drapeniers were taxed more heavily than their counterparts elsewhere and the increasing demand for lighter fabrics, such as serge and baize, spelled disaster for many tradition-bound Leiden cloth manufacturers.⁴⁸

Both broad European-wide and local factors influenced the cloth industry. Similarly, other areas of the Leiden economy were affected by problems of a northern European scope as well as those whose source was regional. Periodic shortages of grain in the early sixteenth century and the beginnings of a gradual inflation created crises in the supply of basic food stuffs. Natural disasters added to her difficulties as a flood inundated the Rinjnlant in 1532 causing considerable damage to the countryside. Scarcity of food during 1521-1522, 1531-1532 and 1545-1546 earned these periods the name "years of hunger."⁴⁹

Financial difficulties also plagued Leiden in the first half of the sixteenth century. The increased monetary requests of Charles V (1500-1558), then involved in his costly wars with France, a rising number of poor and a shrinking tax base all aggravated the city's worsening economic condition. The tax structure of the city was unable to absorb the extra demands placed upon it by these developments.

An examination of Leiden's tax structure illustrates some of the difficulties in which the town found itself. As in other Dutch cities of the period, Leiden citizens were taxed by two authorities: their own local government and the Count of Holland. Local Leiden revenues were derived from a large variety of sources. Included among them were fees for city services, such as the weigh-house, stalls in the market and fishing permits for the canals; the citizenship payment known as the poortgeld; and the pondgeld or recht van exue, which was a four per cent tax on property inherited from non-citizens. Also,

the city derived a small income from the rental and occasional sale of public-owned buildings and a percentage of the fines imposed by the city courts.

More important as sources of town revenue were the excises levied on essential commodities, such as flour, fish, meat and beer. The excises were the source of numerous complaints and long disputes over the years, and frequently, those who leased the right to collect them were the targets of abuse by the populace. Another focus of discontent was the rather widespread early sixteenth century practice of granting personal exemptions to particular excises. This latter custom tended to increase economic divisions and inequalities. By 1530 the city government attempted to curtail the practice, although certain officials retained it as a bonus to their salaries. The clergy and the monasteries, another group who were either exempt or subject to a reduced rate, also occasionally became the object of harassment and anger.⁵⁰

Dissatisfaction with the excises caused the movement of a number of trades into the countryside beyond the town's jurisdiction. Leiden, like other towns which experienced flights from taxation, tried to prevent this simultaneous loss of revenue and increase in competition in several ways. Privileges designed to discourage the establishment of taverns, bakeries, breweries and mills within a certain distance of the city were purchased from Charles V.⁵¹ Interestingly, Leiden not only attempted to prohibit these businesses from being established, but also to discourage Leiden citizens from patronizing them.⁵² When these attempts proved inadequate, Leiden embarked on a policy of

absorbing adjacent territory into her official boundaries. The move to purchase a certain amount of control over Zoeterwoude in 1541 and 1545 was temporarily frustrated, but Leiderdorp was absorbed in 1582.⁵³

Another source of city funds was the sale of annuities (lijfrenten) and redeemable rents (losrenten). The concept underlying this locally administered insurance program was that an individual could pay the town a certain sum and in return be guaranteed a specified annual rate of interest. In the case of a lijfrente the interest ceased to be paid when the person for whom it was originally taken out died. In the case of a losrente the interest period expired when the document was redeemed. Although their sale was a valuable means of obtaining ready cash, the payment of interest on lijfrenten and losrenten became a substantial burden on the city treasury and helped to damage Leiden's financial reputation. Constantly in debt during the early sixteenth century, Leiden sold more lijfrenten to pay the interest in older ones, thus spiralling even further into debt.⁵⁴ Finally, after 1525 measures were taken to terminate old lijfrenten or reduce the rate of interest on recently issued ones. While the individuals who relied on the lijfrenten and losrenten for security were the victims in these cases, such actions resulted in the city being able to pay Charles V's supplications.⁵⁵

Other forms of taxation administered by the town included various property taxes, hearth taxes, forced loans and special collections. Since these assessments were normally based on wealth or ownership of property, the city kept periodically up-dated registers evaluating the holdings of its inhabitants. Certain of these levies, such as the

hearth and domicile taxes, were preferred by the town because under their provisions the clergy and non-resident property owners were not exempt. These kinds of taxes were also used to raise the city's quota or contribution to the supplications.

Since the Hapsburgs did not possess the authority to arbitrarily demand extraordinary revenue from the cities of the Netherlands, they were required to issue requests when such funds were needed. During the wars with France in the 1540's and 1550's these supplications by Charles V and later those of his son, Philip II (1527-1598) became increasingly annoying to the Dutch. By their refusal to grant the entire amount of a supplication, the Dutch heightened political tensions with Spanish authorities on several occasions.⁵⁶ From the point of view of Charles V and Philip II, the need for tax reform to reduce such impudence on the part of the Dutch was imperative.⁵⁷

Intimately related to Leiden's financial instability and troubled cloth industry was the problem of her poor. During the first half of the sixteenth century poverty increased markedly as textile work became scarce and moderate inflation afflicted the city.⁵⁸ The immediate reaction of the town government to this state of affairs was to regulate begging more stringently. Mandatory registration and limitations on where individuals might beg proved insufficient to eliminate the problem, and thus mendicants were forbidden to remain inside the city for more than one day and one night. The need for such legislation was not unique to Leiden. Nevertheless, that the problem was particularly severe may be seen from the fact that in 1531 Leiden enacted a special

poor tax and in 1545 one estimate puts the number receiving a weekly distribution of bread at between 5,000 and 6,000.⁵⁹

Distribution of alms to the poor had always been a responsibility of the Church, but over the years a number of institutions for poor relief, similar to those of other Dutch cities, had grown up to care for the needy in more comprehensive ways. Each of the three parishes in Leiden had its own hospital. The earliest, St. Catherine's Hospital, was founded before 1276. This was followed by the establishment of the Women's Hospital prior to 1395 and St. Elisabeth's Hospital in 1418. Originally intended as a haven for poor travelers, St. Catherine's Hospital gradually took on the character of a nursing home. In old age one deposited one's belongings or estate with the hospital and in return was provided with food, clothing, some medical care and all expenses related to burial.⁶⁰ The Vrouwen Hospital was somewhat smaller than St. Catherine's and was founded originally as both a home for pensioners and workhouse.⁶¹ St. Elisabeth's, which was even smaller, was established as a hospital for poor sick women.⁶²

The institution known as the Holy Ghost (Heilige Geest) carried the major responsibility for distributing alms and bread to the poor. Originally concerned only with the affairs of St. Pieter's parish, it gradually assumed similar duties in the other parishes as the city expanded.⁶³ Eventually, the supervisors of the Holy Ghost (Heilige Geestmeesters) purchased a house on the Hooglandsekerkgracht where they could store their supplies and administer their account books and other records. It was a natural step to let others live in the unused portions of the house. At first, only the caretakers and staff of the

Holy Ghost resided in the building, but after 1452 orphans and foundlings, over whom the Heilige Geestmeesters were guardians, also came to live there. Instead of boarding out these youngsters as they had done in previous years, the Holy Ghost found it more expedient and less expensive to have them live in what became Leiden's first orphanage (weeshuis).⁶⁴ Slowly, a system of care evolved that provided for each orphan until he or she reached the age of majority. A governor or governors were assigned to manage the child's material possessions, and orphans were either sent to school or apprenticed to learn a trade.⁶⁵ The appointment of guardians and the management of orphans' financial affairs and estates had traditionally been the responsibility of the mayors. After the fortifications supervisors (vestmeesters) had accepted these duties for five years to lighten the work load of the mayors, a new office known as weesmeester was established in 1450 to supervise these aspects of orphan guardianship. The actual care of poor foundlings and waifs, however, remained in the hands of the Holy Ghost.⁶⁶

Other equally specialized hospitals and welfare institutions came into being during the Middle Ages. Among them were the Leprosarium (Leprooshuis), located just outside the Witte Poort, and numerous small private establishments for the elderly known as hofjes, which were scattered throughout the city. The silent poor, that is those who did not beg and who were called the huiszittenarmen or the poor that remain at home, were provided assistance through a separate institution also administered by Leiden officials. As early as the fifteenth century two city doctors and one mid-wife (in the sixteenth century two) received

municipal salaries to provide the basic services of visiting and caring for the old or infirm and attending births.⁶⁷

As in other Dutch cities the tendency toward centralized civil control of poor-relief and public health had begun in the fifteenth century. As early as 1481 Leiden began to support the poor in times of extreme hunger, a practice which was repeated when the situation required it. Until the mid-sixteenth century, however, this direct support took the form of new regulations or the raising of money through special poor taxes, as occurred in 1531. A turning point came in 1552 when, for the first time, money was taken directly from the city treasury without regard to its source.⁶⁸

Gradually, the amount of city control increased until Leiden's entire system of assistance was almost totally city-run. It is true that religious institutions sometimes distributed bread or money, and priests said masses in the chapels of the various charitable institutions and hospitals, but in general, Leiden's welfare system was characterized by few connections with the guilds, spiritual brotherhoods or monasteries.⁶⁹

The extent to which this is true may be seen in the management and regulation of the city's welfare institutions. Each institution had its own board of governors appointed by the town magistracy and responsible to it. No sale, exchange or contract could be made without permission of the magistrates. This strict rule was applied to the admission of pensioners to the hospitals, the issuance of lijfrentes and anything concerned with the saying of masses.⁷⁰ The only institutions not controlled in this way were the hofjes. These were indirectly

administered by the board of governors of St. Catherine's Hospital and the supervisors of the silent poor of both St. Pieter's and St. Pancras' parishes.⁷¹

Each charitable organization had, in the course of its existence, built up a complex system of revenue bearing properties and incomes from testamentary gifts and bequests. The administration of these properties and investments required constant attention from the various boards of governors. Because some of the properties were located within the city or on its periphery, and the financial matters involved estates subject to Leiden's legal jurisdiction, the town government was extremely interested in maintaining authority over their disposition. The exercise of such firm control of poor-relief by the town was important because it tempered the still latent rivalry between separately-run charitable institutions when funds from one were required to assist another.⁷²

The educational institutions within the city were also strictly regulated by the town. The entire educational system of Leiden consisted of the main Latin School, known variously as the Latijnse or Groote School, and numerous small private institutions called additional schools (bijscholen). The Latin School was directed by a rector who was a town appointee. In addition to his regular teaching duties and his obligations as choir master of the Church of St. Pieter, the rector was also charged with supervision of the bijscholen, which were not strongly approved of by the city government.⁷³ In the sixteenth century these bijscholen were run mostly by priests, and the apprehension that

they were not sufficiently under the control of the town council accounted for them being suspect. Subjects taught in the bijtscholen were basic skills, such as reading and writing in the vernaculars (Dutch, German and French) and simple arithmetic. Such subjects were seen as useful to a wide variety of people. Unless specifically authorized by the magistracy the teaching of Latin was prohibited in these small private schools. It was feared both that private Latin instruction might increase the chances of heresy and that it would offer competition to the Latin School. Interestingly, despite the fact that after 1518 the rector of the Latin School collected a fine from the parents of each pupil who attended one of these schools, attendance at the bijtscholen continued because they fulfilled a practical need not met by the Latin School.⁷⁴

Although the Latin School itself was officially endorsed by the town government, it never achieved the size or renown of similar institutions in Deventer or Alkmaar.⁷⁵ In 1535 the number of students was approximately 100 in summer and sixty in winter.⁷⁶ The curriculum of the school was essentially the medieval trivium and quadrivium modified only slightly by the influence of humanism among the schoolmasters.⁷⁷ Particular care was taken when choosing a new rector or schoolmaster, but because of the city's deteriorating economy, Leiden was unable to attract well-known teachers. In 1556 a decision was made to allocate additional funds to support the school. These efforts, however, were to little avail. As economic conditions became worse the budget of the Latin School was reduced by half in 1568 forcing it into deep decline.⁷⁸

While the physical appearance of Leiden's public buildings, shops and houses did not immediately betray the reality of economic decay in the mid-sixteenth century, the number of poor and the empty cloth drying racks, near the Coepoort were clear signs that all was not well. The cloth industry, which affected nearly every other activity in Leiden was moribund. While Leiden was about to turn a corner, economically this was not obvious to the citizens and inhabitants in 1550. The atmosphere in Leiden was one of apprehension and anxiety that the city's future would be controlled by external events beyond the control of the council and citizenry.

FOOTNOTES--CHAPTER I

¹See Appendix A: Map of Leiden and environs. A comprehensive work on the physical appearance of the city and its evolution is Hugo van Oerle, Leiden binnen en buiten de stadsvesten (2 vols.; Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1975). For a discussion of the landscape and waterways of Leiden and vicinity see Volume I, pages 8-33. Descriptions of the various city entry gates can be found in the same volume on pages 266-273.

²The stadsvrijheid was actually made up of several small areas extending out from the city's entry gates. These areas were normally referred to individually, such as the stadsvrijheid outside the Rijnsburgerpoort, the stadsvrijheid outside the Witte Poort, and so forth. Legal jurisdiction in these areas was virtually identical with that inside the walls of the city. Gradually in the course of the sixteenth century, however, Leiden was granted certain legal rights within larger circumferences of her walls, thereby extending her jurisdiction further into the countryside. Having to do with defense and economic competition from the nearby country folk, these legal rights are discussed in Oerle, Leiden binnen en buiten de stadsvesten, I, pp. 222-231.

³Petrus Johannes Blok, Geschiedenis eener Hollandsche Stad, Vol. II: Eene Hollandsche stad onder de Bourgondisch-Oostenrijksche heerschappij ('s-Gravenhage: Martinus Nijhoff, 1912), p. 10.

⁴The normal weekly market day in Leiden was Saturday. Other special market days existed throughout the year and included the market for leather and hides which occurred three times a year, the thread market every Wednesday and Saturday, the special markets related to religious holidays such as Ascension. A more complete list of the markets in Leiden can be found in Jan Jansz. Orlers, Beschryvinge der Stadt Leyden, inhoudende 't Begin/den voortgang/ende wasdom derselver: de stichtinge vande kercken, Cloosteren, Gasthuysen, ende andere Publicque Gestichten/etc. desgelijcx de oprechtinge vande Academie, ende Collegien Theologie mitsgaders Verhael van alle de Belegeringen, ende Aenslagen, die deselve Stadt zedert den Jar 1203. geleden heeft/totte laetste strenge Belegeringe ende Verlossinghe/ ghefallen inden Jaere 1574. In desen tweeden Druk, boven vele vermeerderingen, vergroot met een derde deel inhoudende den staet ende Regeringe der Stadt Leyden (2nd ed.; Leyden: Voor Andries Jansz. Cloeting tot Delf ende Abraham Commelijn tot Leyden, 1641), pp. 265-274.

⁵Blok, GHS, II, p. 5 citing Ludovico Guicciardini's Descrittione di tutti i Paesi Bassi.

⁶ Petrus Johannes Blok, Geschiedenis eener Hollandsche Stad, Vol. I: Eene Hollandsche stad in de middeleeuwen ('s-Gravenhage: Martinus Nijhoff, 1910), pp. 11-12. For a detailed description of early Leiden see Oerle, Leiden binnen en buiten de stadsvesten, pp. 42-116.

⁷ Gerald Burke, The Making of Dutch Towns: A Study in Urban Development from the Tenth to the Seventeenth Centuries (London: Cleaver-Hume Press Ltd, 1956), pp. 64 and 72-73.

⁸ Gemeentearchief Leiden, Prentverzameling No. 236^a (Map of Leiden from Guicciardini) and Burke, The Making of Dutch Towns, p. 65. Hereafter the Gemeentearchief Leiden will be cited as GAL.

⁹ Burke, The Making of Dutch Towns, p. 66.

¹⁰ Blok, GHS, II, p. 3.

¹¹ Blok, GHS, I, pp. 49-62. An early seventeenth century and therefore near-contemporary description of these quarters can be found in Orlers, Beschryvinge der Stadt Leyden.

¹² Blok, GHS, II, p. 7 citing Orlers, Beschryvinge der Stadt Leyden, p. 60. In the Population Register for the Census of 1581 (GAL, Secretariearchief na 1575, No. 1074: Beschryvinge van alle de poorter ende innewoonders deser Stad Leyden, gedaen in de maent Septembris 1581), however, mention of only seventeen bonnen occurs. Also, according to the Oud-Belastingboek of 1601 (GAL, Secretariearchief na 1575, Nos. 6754-6763) the city was divided into twenty bonnen. See further F. Daelemans, "Leiden 1581, Een socio-demografisch onderzoek," Afdeling Agrarische Geschiedenis, Bijdragen, XIX (1975), p. 173. Precise locations of some of the early bonnen can be found in Oerle, Leiden binnen en buiten de stadsvesten, I, pp. 81-83.

Leiden's archival series known as the Secretariearchief, i.e. documents pertaining to city politics, finance and administration, is divided into two parts: before and after 1575. This year is the date when the printed inventory (J. C. Overvoorde and J. W. Verburgt, Archief der Secretarie van de stad Leiden 1253-1575, Inventaris en Regesten. Leiden: Boekdrukkerij van J. J. Groen, 1937) ends. Henceforth I will follow the custom of referring to the Secretariearchief before 1575 as SA, I and the Secretariearchief after 1575 as SA, II.

¹³ Blok, GHS, II, p. 8 and Oerle, Leiden binnen en buiten de stadsvesten, I p. 84.

¹⁴Oerle, Leiden binnen en buiten de stadsvesten, II, Sociographic Maps Numbers 7a, 7b, 11a, 11b, 13a, 13b, 15, 18a and 18b.

¹⁵Burke, The Making of Dutch Towns, p. 73.

¹⁶Nicolas Wilhelmus Posthumus, Geschiedenis van de Leidsche Lakenindustrie, Vol. I: De Middeleeuwen ('s-Gravenhage: Martinus Nijhoff, 1908) p. 373.

¹⁷Informacie up den Staet Faculteyt ende Gelegenheyt van de steden ende dorpen van Hollant ende Vrieslant om daernae te reguleren de nyeuwe schiltaele gedaen in den jaere MDXIV (1514), comp. by Robert Fruin (Leiden: A. W. Sijthoff voor de Maatschappij der Nederlandsche Letterkunde, 1866), p. 244.

¹⁸Nicolaas Wilhelmus Posthumus, Geschiedenis van de Leidsche Lakenindustrie, Vol. II: De Nieuwe Tijd ('s-Gravenhage: Martinus Nijhoff, 1939), p. 7. See also W. S. Unger, "Hoeveel inwoners had Leiden tijdens het beleg in 1574?," Bijdragen voor Vaderlandsche Geschiedenis en Oudheidkunde, 5th series, II (1914), pp. 86-92. The entire 1574 census is printed in J. van Vloten, Nalezing, aanteekeningen en bijlagen op Leidens beleg en ontzet (Leiden, 1867), pp. 57-95.

¹⁹Posthumus, Lakenindustrie, II, p. 20. Daelemans in his "Leiden 1581," p. 147 gives a figure of 11,899 for the total population of Leiden. Since his analysis is the most recent and is based upon comparing the census with contemporary tax registers to establish accuracy, it would be logical to think that the lower figure is more precise. Daelemans does not, however, state whether or not he has eliminated some census entries from his calculations.

²⁰Jan de Vries, The Dutch Rural Economy in the Golden Age 1500-1700, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1974), p. 89: Graph 3.2 entitled "Urban Population of Holland 1514-1795."

²¹One example of a nobleman retaining property in Leiden was that of Gerrit van Lochorst, who appeared in the register of the Tenth Penny for 1543 as "Gerrit van Lochorst, Ridder." Lochorst was assessed thirty-six pond for property in the bon Over 't hof. See Algemene Rijksarchief, Archief van de Staten van Holland voor 1572, Inventaris No. 275: Quohier van den 10den Penning van 1543, folio 16vso. Hereafter Algemene Rijksarchief will be cited as ARA.

²²The noble family van der DOES of Noordwijk is a case in point. Jacob Hendriksz. van der DOES, son of an early sixteenth century sheriff of Leiden and Advisor (Raadt) to the Prince of Orange, was

active in Leiden alongside his noble cousin Johan Dirksz. van der DOES, Lord of Noordwijk, during the 1570's. See GAL, Bibliotheek Leiden en Omgeving, No. 5381P1: Genealogie van de Adelyke Familie van der Does. Another such example was Jan Jacobsz. van Duvenvoorde (1547-1610), Lord of Warmond, who was also active in Leiden during this period. See R. E. O. Ekkart, "Sleutelfiguren," Leiden '74, leven in oorlogstijd in de tweede helft van de 16de eeuw (Leiden: n.p., 1974), p. 204. Also, the sheriff of Leiden during the mid-sixteenth century, Claes Jansz. van BERENDRECHT (1514-1569), married twice, each time to the daughter of a noble family. See GAL, SA, II, No. 1041: Boom van Geslachte van die van Bakenesse, unfoliated and GAL, Rechterlijke Archief, No. 76 B-2, unfoliated, dated May 23, 1564. Hereafter Bibliotheek Leiden en Omgeving will be cited as BLO and Rechterlijke Archief as RA.

²³Informacie 1514, p. 244. During 1514 the parish priests provided the government with the number of communicants in each parish. St. Pieter's had 5,000, St. Pancras had 4,000 and the parish of Our Dear Lady only 550.

²⁴L. Knappert, De Opkomst van het Protestantisme in eene Noord-Nederlandsche stad (Leiden: S. C. van Doesburgen, 1908), pp. 31-32.

²⁵Blok, GHS, I, pp. 283-284.

²⁶Oerle, Leiden binnen en buiten de stadsvesten, p. 202.

²⁷Ibid., p. 154.

²⁸Ibid., p. 243.

²⁹Ibid., p. 216.

³⁰Blok, GHS, II, pp. 161-162. This is interesting in light of the fact that many of Leiden's religious institutions claimed they were poor and unable to pay their tax assessments.

³¹See Chapter II, pp. 46-47.

³²Blok, GHS, II, p. 161. See Chapter II, p. 47 on the decline of Church's prestige.

³³Posthumus, Lakenindustrie, I, pp. 287-290.

³⁴Ibid., p. 305. Posthumus' figures are derived from a 1498 tax of one per cent on the capital of all Leiden citizens. For a complete breakdown of occupations according to capital evaluation see Bijlage XIIa-XIIIf at the end of this volume of Posthumus' Lakenindustrie.

³⁵Ibid., p. 332.

³⁶De MILDE's total assessment of 1559 was thirty pond, ten stuivers according to GAL, SA I, No. 992: Tenth Penny 1559, folio 80. This certainly indicates a comfortable standard of living, but if compared to the assessment of ninety pond of Willem Jan Reyersz. van HEEMSKERCK (1527-1592) cannot be considered indicative of great wealth. HEEMSKERCK's^c assessment appears on folio 12vso of the above reference. Both HEEMSKERCK and Jacop Jansz. van der GRAFT (? - 1566), whose assessment was even higher at 128 pond (folios 2,4,7vso,10vso and 11), were De MILDE's associates in the town government. His official duties are outlined in a 1565 statute concerning his successor and can be found in GAL, SA I, No. 388: Aflezingboek, folios 260-263vso.

³⁷Posthumus, Lakenindustrie, I, pp. 113-114 citing a 1529 Resolution of the town council.

³⁸Blok, GHS, II, p. 238.

³⁹Although the term Rijnland actually refers to the administrative water district of the same name, it is used here more generally to indicate the area of Leiden's commercial importance. For a discussion of the economic relationship between Leiden and the Rijnland see T. S. Jansma, "Het economisch overwicht van de laatmiddeleeuwse stad t.a.v. haar agrarisch ommeland, in het bijzonder toegelicht met de verhouding tussen Leiden en Rijnland," Leidse Jaarboekje, LVIII (1966), pp. 93-108.

⁴⁰Posthumus, Lakenindustrie, I, Bijlage XIIa-XIIIf.

⁴¹Oerle, Leiden binnen en buiten de stadsvesten, pp. 236-237. See also J. G. van Dillen, Van Rijkdom en Regenten, Handboek tot de economische en sociale geschiedenis van Nederland tijdens de Republiek ('s-Gravenhage: Martinus Nijhoff, 1970), pp. 209-211.

⁴²Jeremy Bangs, Documentary Studies in Leiden Arts and Crafts 1475-1575. Proefschrift Leiden 1976.

⁴³Blok, GHS, I, pp. 176-179.

⁴⁴Posthumus, Lakenindustrie, I, pp. 153-154.

⁴⁵ Ibid., pp. 155-160.

⁴⁶ Ibid., pp. 68-70.

⁴⁷ Blok, GHS, II, pp. 225-227; Posthumus, Lakenindustrie, I, p. 405.

⁴⁸ Posthumus, Lakenindustrie, I, pp. 405-406; Posthumus, Lakenindustrie, II, p. 2. Reactions to these developments and a discussion of the decline of the old drapery at Leiden are considered in Chapter II, pp. 38-39 and p. 67.

⁴⁹ Blok, GHS, II, p. 253; Christina Ligtenberg, De Armeezorg te Leiden tot het einde van de 16e eeuw ('s-Gravenhage: Martinus Nijhoff, 1908), p. 295; S. J. Fockema Andreae, Schets van Zuid-Hollandse Watersneden in vroeger tijd, Zuid-Hollandse Studien, Vol. III (Voorburg: Drukkerij Die Haghe, 1953), p. 13; M. K. Elisabeth Gottschalk, Stormvloeden en riviersoverstromingen (2 vols.; Assen: Van Gorcum, 1971-1974), II, p. 503.

⁵⁰ Blok, GHS, II, pp. 131-132.

⁵¹ Nicolaas Wilhemus Posthumus, "Een zestiende eeuwse enquête naar de buitenneringen rondom de stad Leiden," Bijdragen en Mededeelingen van het Historisch Genootschap, XXXIII (1912), pp. 3-8. For a discussion of this problem in Holland see E. C. G. Brunner, De order op de buitennering van 1531 (Amsterdam: 1921).

⁵² Blok, GHS, II, p. 132.

⁵³ Oerle, Leiden binnen en buiten de stadsvesten, pp. 243-245; De Vries, Dutch Rural Economy, p. 48; Petrus Johannes Blok, Geschiedenis eener Hollandsche stad, Vol. III: Eene Hollandsche stad onder de Republiek ('s-Gravenhage: Martinus Nijhoff, 1916), p. 3.

The manor of Zoeterwoude was not incorporated into Leiden's legal jurisdiction until 1610.

⁵⁴ Blok, GHS, II, p. 137. For a general consideration of lijffrenten and losrenten in this period see Dirk Houtzager, Hollands lijf-en losrenteleningen voor 1672 (Schiedam: H. A. M. Roelants, 1950).

⁵⁵ Ibid., p. 138. The supplications (beden) were periodic requests for money by the Counts of Holland, in this case the title being held by the Hapsburgs as a result of the Burgundian settlement. See also

A. J. C. Vrankrijker, Geschiedenis van de Belastingen (Bussum: Fibula-van Dishoeck, 1969), pp. 6-8.

⁵⁶Vrankrijker, Geschiedenis van de Belastingen, pp. 31-32.

⁵⁷Ibid., p. 32; See also Blok, GHS, II, pp.36-39.

⁵⁸Posthumus, Lakenindustrie, I, p. 374; Posthumus, Lakenindustrie, II, pp. 188-189.

⁵⁹Ligtenberg, Armezorg te Leiden, p. 295; Blok, GHS, II, p. 254 note 8. The population of the city in these years was in the neighborhood of 11,000. The poor represented by the figure 5,000-6,000 undoubtedly included some who were not Leiden citizens. Two other estimates of the poor in Leiden exist for the sixteenth century. One, contained in a loose sheet of paper inserted in the town council resolutions for 1529 and cited by Posthumus, Lakenindustrie, I, p. 390, gives the number of Leiden poor (excluding strangers) as 1,832. The other figure is from the Informacie 1514, p. 243 where the mayors of Leiden claimed that approximately one-third of the population was unable to contribute to a tax because of their poverty.

⁶⁰Ligtenberg, Armezorg te Leiden, p. 65.

⁶¹Ibid., p. 97.

⁶²Ibid., p. 106.

⁶³Ibid., p. 203.

⁶⁴Ibid., p. 174.

⁶⁵Ibid., pp. 184-185.

⁶⁶Blok, GHS, II, p. 262.

⁶⁷Ligtenberg, Armezorg te Leiden, p. 292; Blok, GHS, II, p. 121. According to GAL, SA I, No. 395; Vroedschapsboek G, folio 25vso, in 1555 the city surgeons Cornelis Jansz. and Simon Pietersz. both received fifty gulden of forty groot as annual salaries. According to GAL, SA I, No. 385: Vroedschapsboek G, folio 53, mid-wife Marytgen Adriaensdr. received eighteen gulden during the same year. By way of comparison, the rector of the Latin School in 1561 earned 100 gulden as his salary, while his two assistants earned fifty-four and forty-six gulden respectively, according to GAL, SA I, No. 395; Vroedschapsboek G, folio 125.

⁶⁸Ligtenberg, Armezorg te Leiden, p. 14.

⁶⁹Ibid., p. 10.

⁷⁰Ibid., p. 284.

⁷¹Ibid., p. 284.

⁷²Ibid., pp. 14 and 17.

⁷³L. Knappert, "Uit de geschiedenis der Groote of Latijnsche School te Leiden," LJ, I (1904), pp. 103, 123 and 127.

⁷⁴Ibid., pp. 127 and 132.

⁷⁵Ibid., p. 137.

⁷⁶L. Knappert, "Uit de geschiedenis der Groote of Latijnsche School te Leiden II," LJ, II (1905), p. 19.

⁷⁷Knappert, "Latijnsche School I," pp. 132 and 137.

⁷⁸Ibid., p. 137.

CHAPTER II

THE REFORMATION AND THE DUTCH REVOLT IN LEIDEN, 1550-1600

When representatives from Leiden journeyed to Brussels to attend the abdication ceremony of Charles V in 1555, their own city was facing an uncertain future. The origins of Leiden's economic difficulties, already reviewed, were related to the broader changes in the European economy evolving since the mid-fifteenth century. The decreasing availability of fine English wool on the continent and the shrinking of Leiden's traditional Baltic markets as a result of the Hanse's decline are two examples of these changes. While these were beyond the control of local Leiden merchants and manufacturers, their effects were several. Both skilled craftsmen and unskilled laborers left for other centers while increasing poverty among those who remained further reduced the city's tax base. A moderate inflation (Holland had only begun to feel the results of silver importation from the New World) was shrinking everyone's guilder, and the wars of Charles V were draining off needed domestic revenue.

Increasing dissatisfaction with the religious and political policies of the Hapsburg rulers, drew Leiden, like other Dutch cities, into a conflict with Spain. As a result, Leiden suffered religious unrest and a long and arduous siege by the Spanish, both of which contributed to the difficult conditions in the 1560's and 1570's. With

the success of the Dutch Revolt all this changed. Leiden became the seat of a leading European university and experienced the revival of her textile industry, so that by the early seventeenth century the city was once again a flourishing economic community. While still embroiled in religious controversy and confronted by large-scale immigration and a concomitant housing shortage in these years, the city emerged strengthened by its ordeal. In contrast to its position fifty years earlier, the Leiden of 1600 was a city in the forefront of early modern Dutch economic and cultural development.

This chapter will focus on the event which took place between 1550 and 1600, since they shaped the world of the men who governed Leiden in this period. Because the Dutch Revolt and its aftermath are well described in the standard historical sources, this chapter will merely provide a brief outline of the major economic, religious and political events at Leiden. While, for the sake of clarity, it is sometimes necessary to treat these areas separately, their basic interrelatedness is always understood. The city fathers, after all, were called upon to deal with economic, religious and political developments which could in no way be clearly confined to one category.

Economically, Leiden was faced in the 1550's and 1560's with the shrinking of her formerly prosperous cloth industry. Between 1520 and 1530 from 20,983 to 28,987 pieces of cloth were manufactured annually. After 1530 production declined steadily, so that by 1573 only 1,086 pieces of cloth were produced by Leiden drapeniers.¹ Just how much the decline had affected craftsmen may be seen by the drop in the number of individuals practicing old drapery occupations during the

first three quarters of the sixteenth century. According to the Informacie of 1514, in that year there were about 200 looms operating in Leiden. Since Leiden weavers rarely had more than one loom, it is possible to approximate the number of old drapery weavers at almost the same number. By 1581 there were only twelve. Similarly, the number of fullers fell from upwards of 136 in 1498 to around sixty in 1514. By 1581 there remained only nineteen master fullers of old drapery cloth and two journeymen. Likewise, the number of drapeniers, which had been close to 175 in 1514, was reduced to eighty-eight in 1552 and ultimately to thirty-four in 1581.² Since the manufacture of cloth was Leiden's primary claim to economic importance, the impact of problems experienced in that sector of her economy was naturally transferred to other aspects of city life.

It was a byword that in the mid-sixteenth century Leiden had as many beggars as the rest of Holland.³ If this was an exaggeration, it also illustrated the awareness of the growing instability of life and rising poverty present in Leiden during this period. Regulations governing begging were common everywhere in the sixteenth century, but between the 1540's and 1560's the Leiden city fathers increased their exhortations against it and enacted stronger legislation to curb its further growth. After continued reiteration of earlier regulations concerning the privileges and behavior of beggars within the city, the magistracy announced in late 1544 that all the poor who had come to Leiden after May 1st would have to leave immediately. A similar regulation was repeated twice during 1566 and again in 1567. In

addition, a series of statutes, enacted in 1565, were designed to prevent beggars from trooping through the streets in groups, from pulling the clothes of and screaming at passers-by, from going to local taverns to drink and from boldly knocking on the doors of potential alms-givers. They were reenacted in November 1566 and again in December 1568.⁴ The constant need to repeat such regulations illustrates the ineffectiveness of the measures.

The presence of large numbers of poor in Leiden was really only a symptom of the economic difficulties afflicting the city and its region. During the mid-sixteenth century the northern Netherlands became increasingly dependant on imported grain. The continual growth of the population meant that during the middle and later years of the century regional grain production, which up until that time had been the major source of supply, was no longer sufficient. Holland, with its concentration of urban centers, was forced to look to the Baltic for a greater quantity of grain. This increased dependence accentuated the severity of grain shortages which occurred several times in the second half of the century. Any interruption in the arrival of northern wheat, rye or barley at Amsterdam caused an automatic shortage and rapidly rising prices. The problem of scarcity was aggravated by the actions of speculators and hoarders who, at the first sign of shortage, began to store large quantities of grain to drive up the price. Inevitably, this had an impact on the cost and availability of bread and beer, two major staples of Dutch diet in this period.⁵

Two particularly severe periods of grain shortage for the Netherlands were the winters of 1556-1557 and 1565-1566. When it

appeared that government regulation would be necessary to ensure a sufficient supply of grain through the winters, action was taken by the Council of Holland (Raad) in 1556 and by Philip II in 1565. The cities of Holland were instructed to purchase and store enough corn to forestall famine. In 1556, however, authorities in Leiden had already anticipated the need for such a move. During August the town council approved a request by the supervisors of the non-begging poor (huiszittenmeesters) of St. Pieter's parish to buy fifteen to sixteen lasts of rye for the poor.⁶ In November 1556, again prior to the order of the Raad of Holland, the mayors of Leiden bought forty lasts of rye, which they intended to sell to the poor at a reasonable price.⁷ In December, following the laying in of grain according to instructions from the Raad, the town council approved the purchase of twenty additional lasts of rye.⁸ Prices continued to rise, and in February 1557 yet another purchase of sixteen to twenty lasts of rye was ordered by the town council. When it appeared that there would be little chance of grain from the Baltic later that spring, the town council decided to lay in more rye from diminishing regional stocks and the supplies of speculators. Throughout the winter and spring prices rose precipitously, and the money needed for each subsequent purchase was obtained from the wine and beer excises, special collections, selling of land investments by the huiszittenmeesters of St. Pieter's parish and only in a last resort from the city treasury itself.⁹ When grain from the Baltic again became available, prices dropped as quickly as they had risen, easing the crisis.

A similar crisis in 1565 led to the adoption of like precautionary measures. Having become convinced of the importance of purchasing grain in quantity, the city fathers saw the need to have their own warehouse in which to keep their grain reserves. This second crisis over grain contributed to the political and religious tensions, which would ultimately lead to the outbreak of the Dutch Revolt.¹⁰

Periodic interruptions in the supply of Baltic wheat and rye and the violent fluctuations in grain prices which accompanied them were both areas in which Leiden's problems were related to the larger difficulties of the European economy. Similarly, creeping inflation, affecting most important foodstuffs and commodities, had by the mid-sixteenth century become a problem throughout much of Europe. Comparing the prices of twenty different articles at Leiden, Posthumus estimated that prices tripled between 1520 and 1580. For one-third of the prices studied the rate of inflation was 400 per cent.¹¹ Leiden weavers and fullers, as well as other craftsmen, were well aware that something was happening to their purchasing power. Continued complaints and protests for higher wages during these years constantly cited high prices as the major reason for the remonstrations. In 1545 the magistracy granted the weavers only part of their wage demands and as a result, many left the city.¹² In 1559-1561 the fullers were similarly disappointed in their requests for higher wages.¹³

In analyzing these complaints, one must consider that in comparison to other parts of Europe the northern Netherlands was particularly resistant to the extreme erosion of purchasing power

which took place in these years.¹⁴ This is not to minimize the effect of rising prices and shortages of necessary commodities on certain economic strata. Throughout the sixteenth century the artisanal classes lived on a very thin margin. They recognized that their precarious position on the brink of poverty could easily be upset by almost any economic change.¹⁵

While economic problems were of major concern to Leiden, the city was also confronted by crises on other fronts. Among them was increasing religious discontent which would erupt in violence in the 1560's. While Leiden was not the major center of religious unrest in Holland, there had been some Anabaptist activity as early as the 1530's. Occasionally in the 1540's followers of David Joris (1501-1556), Mennonites or Batenburgers were discovered and condemned within the city. As a result of renewed efforts on the part of the government in Brussels to rid the Netherlands of heretics, a number of Anabaptists were martyred at Leiden in 1552. Generally, however, the number of these sectarians was so small that they had little lasting influence on the town.¹⁶

The late 1550's witnessed further Protestant influence in Leiden. In 1559 Petrus Bloccius (c1520-1590), an early Dutch sympathizer with the Reform, came to teach at the Leiden Latin School. Bloccius was appointed conrector under rector Jan Maartensz. Sareye. Both men remained at the Latin School until 1561 when they were removed and replaced by three priests. The reasons for this action are unclear, although they may have involved a suspicion of Protestant teaching on the part of Bloccius with complicity from his superior. Following

their removal, Bloccius and Sareye received permission from the magistracy to conduct a bijschool for boys over seven years of age, a privilege that would have been difficult to obtain had there been deep suspicion of their motives.¹⁷ The bijschool limited the subjects they could teach, but clearly, these men were not viewed as dangerous heretics in the mold of either the earlier Anabaptists or later extreme Calvinists.

Bloccius' theological position aligned him closely with Erasmus (1469?-1536) and Sebastien Castellio (1515-1563), never approaching the dogmatism of Calvin (1509-1564) and Theodore Beza (1519-1605). His writings show that he was highly critical of the Roman Catholic Church order, and that his theological ideas were relatively radical. His chief work, More than Two Hundred Heresies, Blasphemies and New Teachings Which Have Come from the Mass, was first published in 1567, but may have begun to be written before Bloccius left Leiden in 1564. He recognized only the authority of Jesus Christ, believed that unbaptised children might be saved and considered baptism as forgiveness of sin and entry into a new life. He believed that the Lord's Supper was a memorial to Christ's death and that a mystical union had no place in it. Bloccius' correspondence linked him with well-known humanists and reformed-minded thinkers of the day. He corresponded with Hadrianus Junius and was a friend of Georgius Sylvanus and Ysbrand Balck. In addition, he had contact with the brother-in-law of Renier Cant, a leader of the Amsterdam Reform.¹⁸

Although Bloccius only lived in Leiden for the five years between 1559 and 1564, he was active both in writing and teaching during this

period. In 1562 he published three works, The Complaint of Jesus Christ, Of Papal Discord and A Stinging and Written Instruction of that Baptism and Communion of Christ Jesus. While engaged in the writing of such polemical tracts, it is unlikely that he did not communicate some of his ideas to his students and colleagues. Indeed, his teaching at the Latin School is reported to have been evangelical, and at disputations he often substituted biblical material for the usual classical or scholastic references and allusions.¹⁹ Bloccius undoubtedly influenced a circle of young Leiden citizens growing up in the late 1550's and early 1560's.

In these same years the Netherlands began to be influenced by the arrival of the Calvinists, whose coming was to have such a profound influence on Dutch life. In 1559 the treaty of Cateau-Cambresis ended the conflict between Charles V and France, opening the French border once again to large scale trade with the Netherlands. The lifting of travel restrictions soon led to a significant influx of Calvinists into the southern Netherlands.²⁰ Further removed from the French border, the county of Holland was less touched by the religious disturbances which accompanied this immigration than Flanders or Brabant. Nevertheless, isolated instances of religious unrest cropped up in Holland soon after contact with France was restored.

In March of 1563, for instance, the rich Cistercian abbey of Leeuwenhorst, a convent for noble nuns located between Rijsburg and Noordwijk, was plundered by a crowd which included Leiden citizens. Arriving by boat, an armed mob described as "knaves and rabble" forced its way into the abbey, destroyed property and harrassed the nuns. This

incident occurred shortly after the establishment of special night watches in Leiden during December 1562 and February 1563, indicating the presence of unrest in the city.²¹ While it is difficult to link these incidents with the arrival of Calvinists in the area, there is some evidence that a Reformed community existed at Leiden in this period.²²

The growing religious unrest in the Netherlands was accompanied by a corresponding decline of monastic institutions and a deterioration of religious observance among the ordinary laity. In contrast to the rich abbey of Leeuwenhorst, most Leiden monasteries and convents were no longer wealthy and were steadily declining in numbers of resident monks and nuns. In 1526 the monastery of Lopsen was forced to close on account of financial trouble. In 1555 a number of Leiden religious institutions requested that they be granted exemption from the order to replace their thatched roofs with slate on grounds of poverty. In 1555 the Gray Sisters and the Sisters of Nazareth complained that they were unable to pay a head tax. About the same time St. Catherine's Convent and the Convent of St. Barbara informed the town that they had experienced "more than their share of injury," citing "expensive times" as the reason for their difficulties.²³ At the same time the monasteries found it increasingly hard to attract new members. The decline of the conventual population has already been discussed. Essentially, the monasteries and convents lost sixty-two per cent of their membership in the forty-two year period between 1514 and 1556.²⁴

For their part the laity began to neglect traditional rituals and customs. In 1556 the sexton of the Church of Our Dear Lady informed

the town council that religious confraternities had ceased to celebrate their festivals in the church, and therefore, he was unable to raise the sum associated with the leasing of his office. During the same meeting a similar complaint was voiced by the sexton of the Church of St. Pancras. Several years later the sexton of the Pieterskerk and his assistant told the town council that services had declined, that candles were no longer burned over graves in the church and that paying to have the holy sacrament brought to the sick was being neglected. In 1563 the town council was informed that those desiring to have a mass said were increasingly going outside the city to the Franciscans who charged less than the priests of the Church of St. Pancras.²⁵ Undoubtedly, the state of the Leiden economy as well as the deterioration of religious life were factors in these developments.

External events fuelled the flames of both religious and secular dissatisfaction in the Netherlands during these years. The Tridentine reform of the Church, particularly the reorganization of the hierarchy specified in the Concordat of 1559, led to a protest both within and outside the Church. The reform removed the Netherlands' Church from the archbishoprics of Cologne, Reims and Trier and created an entirely separate ecclesiastical organization. Three new archbishoprics were established to oversee fifteen subordinate bishoprics. The impact of this on the established church hierarchy may be seen from the situation in the northern Netherlands. Traditionally under the archbishop of Cologne, almost the entire north fell within the jurisdiction of the Bishop of Utrecht. Following the proposals of the Concordat of 1559 and the instructions set forth in the papal bulls describing the reform,

the north was to be divided between the Archbishopric of Utrecht and the Archbishopric of Mechelen. Utrecht would have five bishops, Mechelen six. Clearly, with ten times as many bishops, the Church's presence would be felt much more acutely than before.

Implementation of this episcopal reform began in 1561 and threatened the prerogatives and traditional practices of many groups in Netherlands society. Naturally, those higher ecclesiastics whose positions might have been eliminated or altered were apprehensive about any change. Priests and canons who would in future be answerable to unfamiliar religious authorities were also reluctant to adapt to the new situation. The nobility who had long controlled major church offices and benefices were resentful of the new proposals. In Utrecht, for example, a number of noble families had gradually come to control nearly all the diaconates and archdiaconates which, in turn, had absorbed many of the powers originally belonging to the bishop of Utrecht himself. The introduction of new church officials unresponsive to this state of affairs would have greatly reduced the influence of these noble families in church matters. City patricians possessed similar prerogatives on a local level. These patricians sometimes endowed or were patrons of vicaries and prebends of local churches, and often their relatives occupied the posts or received the salaries.²⁶ Their resistance was also natural.

Once the new bishoprics were established, the relationship between Spain and the Netherlands deteriorated rapidly. Led by William of Orange (1533-1584), the high nobility made the first attempts to resist further Spanish plans for reform. They sought to influence the Regent, Margaret of Parma (1528-1586), and to rid the country of Cardinal

Antoine Perronet de Granvelle (1517-1586) who exercised the effective power in the Netherlands. The nobility demanded that the Council of State, which they dominated, be granted full authority in the Netherlands and that religious persecution be stopped. These requests were rejected by Philip II. He was determined to enforce plans for religious as well as political centralization. Philip's intransigence intensified the determination of the nobles to resist. This time, however, it was the lower nobility who acted.

Coming together in early 1566, the lower nobility formed a Confederation and drafted a petition to Philip II firmly asking that he change his religious policy toward the Netherlands. The Inquisition, in particular, was anathema to them as it infringed on local legal jurisdictions. Redrafted in final form, this petition was presented to Margaret of Parma on April 5, 1566. Realizing the seriousness of her position, Margaret promised to intercede with Philip II.²⁷

After Philip firmly committed himself to pursuing his unpopular religious policy, Protestant activities had increased, especially in the southern Netherlands. The north experienced a similar reaction to Spanish policy, and in March 1566 eleven Leiden citizens, "all fugitives of forbidden sects and opinions" at the time, were condemned by representatives of the Spanish Inquisition.²⁸ Public Protestant services took place in Flanders during May 1566, and by July services were being held in Holland.²⁹ Paulus Aertsz. BUYS (1531-1594) served as legal advisor to Leiden and thus witnessed the growing political tension in The Hague when he was there representing the council. Fearing unrest from the increased religious fervor, he addressed the town council of

Leiden, extolling the virtues of moderation. In the same speech BUYS also criticized the central government in Brussels for usurping the city's privileges.³⁰ BUYS epitomizes the ambivalence of public officials at this time, who saw popular unrest and Spanish abuses as equally responsible for the reigning atmosphere of tension.

Concurrent with increasing religious troubles and growing political resistance, the economy of the Netherlands took a sharp turn for the worse in the winter of 1565-1566. The towns felt the recession most severely. Certain urban centers like Antwerp, which had been experiencing a high level of employment and a relative degree of prosperity, were no longer able to maintain continued economic growth. Other towns, such as Leiden in Holland, Gent in Flanders and Louvain in Brabant, were already in serious economic trouble, and the recession only aggravated their difficulties. The worsening economic scene had the effect of unifying two normally antagonistic groups: the wealthy burgers and the lowly artisans and laborers. Both had been affected by the recession, both now lent their support to the Revolt, whose banner had initially been carried by the nobility.³¹

In August 1566 the first serious outbreak of violence occurred in Flanders. It began on August 10th in the area of Hondeschoote and Armentières spreading on the 15th to Ypres, the 18th to Oudenaarde, the 20th to Antwerp and on the 22nd to Gent and 's-Hertogenbosch. Set in motion by the exhortations of Protestant hedge-preachers to frustrated craftsmen and industrial workers, the violence took the form of image breaking. In some areas the outburst was largely spontaneous, while in others there is evidence of leadership by subversives.³²

Disturbed by recent reports of religious unrest from Flanders and Brabant, on August 22nd the Leiden town council voiced its apprehension that some people in and around the city "appeared to be very inclined to similar innovations and other disturbances."³³ Two days later an outbreak of iconoclasm took place at Delft, and on August 25th the first public Reformed sermon in the vicinity of Leiden occurred at Oegstgeest.³⁴ Aware that there might be trouble, the Leiden magistrates called a meeting the same day to deliberate possible strategy. During the discussion the sexton of the St. Pieterskerk interrupted the meeting to announce that people were causing a disturbance in the church. The mayors and two legal advisors hurried to the Pieterskerk where they found two men who had damaged some images and hung up red blankets--the sign of the Revolt. The men were removed from the church and arrested. In the evening the magistrates met with the town militia (schutterij) to request their support in maintaining order in the city. The schutters promised their complete loyalty and assistance, but to little avail, as the next day, August 26th, a throng of people trooped from church to church and then to the monasteries breaking images and plundering the buildings. The destruction was not limited to images, and although a number of valuable works of art by Lucas van Leyden (1498-1533) and Cornelis Engelbrechtsz. (1468-1533) were saved, the damage was considerable. That the motives of the iconoclasts involved more than the mere sacking of churches may be seen from their invasion of the Chapter House of the Church of St. Pancreas, where they broke into the chests preserving privileges, charters, records of bequests and letters of foundation.³⁵

The presence of Jacob Oem van Wyngaerden, a signer of the Compromise of April 5th and partisan of the Reformed, in the vicinity of Leiden at this time lends credence to the view that the iconoclasm was not spontaneous. Witnesses before representatives of Spanish authority later testified that they had seen Wyngaerden near Leiden wearing a red cloak. One witness stated that he observed him leading the Reformed preacher Joriaen [Jurriaen Epeszoon] to the Franciscan monastery outside the Hoogewoerdsepoort, and another maintained that Wyngaerden was aware of weapons stored in the monastery.³⁶

By Tuesday, August 27th the iconoclastic outburst appeared to have run its course, leaving in its wake a sense of uncertainty, particularly among the city fathers. They had come to realize that they could not rely upon the schutters to enforce the demands of the central government in Brussels and therefore found themselves temporarily isolated and unable to control events in the town. Because the schutters, who might have allied themselves with the rioters, did not step in to take control when this power vacuum existed, the city government was able to reassert its authority and later attempt to pacify the central government in matters of civil unrest and heresy.³⁷

Through all of this the primary goal of the town government was to keep the lid on any disturbance that could potentially become a threat to its control. Although entirely Roman Catholic in 1566, the town council was nevertheless inclined to be cautious about their actions concerning the rioters.³⁸ Unwilling to risk the future possibility of unnecessary destruction of property, the town council agreed, after the initial outbreak of violence, to remove the remaining

images from the churches. In part, the council feared the presence in the city of "the scum of the people" whom they blamed for the earlier violence.³⁹ Partly, the council was uncertain as to the relationship between the iconoclasts and the schutters and was unsure of whether the latter were to be trusted. In an effort to demonstrate who had the upper hand, the town council ordered that a gallows be constructed as a symbol to the population.⁴⁰

Control of the town required custody of the keys to the city's entry gates. The magistrates insisted on controlling these keys in order to prevent "outside agitators," especially itinerant Protestant preachers, from entering the city. The schutters feared that the town council would take the highly unpopular step of inviting foreign troops to keep order in Leiden.⁴¹ A compromise was arranged, whereby the schutters conducted both the day and night watches, interrogated all strangers and searched entering wagons for weapons. As a sign of the magistrates' need to rely on them, the schutters were allowed partial supervision of the town gate keys. At the end of each day, however, the eldest mayor was to receive the keys from a captain of the schutters. The keys were then taken to the city hall where a detachment of militia guarded them until the following morning.⁴²

During the course of the three months which elapsed after the iconoclasm of August, the Reformed gained a greater foothold in the area just outside of Leiden. The Regent of the Netherlands, in an effort to prevent further plundering and to regain the allegiance of the nobility, had agreed to permit Protestant preaching in places where it had already been instituted.⁴³ There were two places in the

immediate vicinity of Leiden where this applied. The first was in the Voskuil on the Rijnsburg side near Endegeest, and the second was at the house of Dirk Koebel, just outside the Witte Poort on the Oude Vliet waterway. Emboldened by their success in these two places, Protestants, who numbered about 300 souls at this time, either requested or appropriated the Franciscan monastery in Leiderdorp, which had remained empty after the iconoclastic outburst. On September 19th following the sermon Protestant baptisms and marriages were performed there.⁴⁴

The town council, which remained predominantly Roman Catholic and concerned about reprisals from the central government through this period, was interested primarily in keeping order and viewed the spread of Protestantism as a threat. In an effort to work out a compromise between these two parties, both sides agreed to accept the assistance of William of Orange. The agreement, signed on January 25, 1567, established the legal existence of the Protestants outside of Leiden. There was still no question of Protestant services being permitted in the town.⁴⁵

The immediate result of this agreement was the building of the first Protestant church. It was a hastily constructed wooden structure located outside the Witte Poort on land involved in a disputed jurisdiction. The city fathers underscored the fact that the church was built on property which remained outside their effective control.⁴⁶ Beginning on February 2, 1567 services were held there for twelve weeks. After that the reaction to the coming of the Duke of Alva (1508-1582) had set in, and a general anxiety over Spanish reprisals for resistance to the central government in Brussels existed among

both the city fathers and the Protestants. City officials were concerned that their lack of severity in putting down religious violence would subject them to the accusation of actually permitting heresy. The Protestants began to fear for their lives and property. For these reasons the small wooden building, which had come to be known as the Beggars' Church after the name adopted by partisans of the Revolt, was torn down. The city sent representatives to Margaret of Parma to apologize for the iconoclasm and to assure her that the Roman Catholic religion had been totally restored. These representatives also requested that because of her poverty Leiden not be required to garrison troops within its walls.⁴⁷ In response to this request Leiden was not forced to garrison troops. As a precaution against future resistance, however, Leiden citizens, including the schutters, were disarmed, and government troops remained in the vicinity to maintain order.⁴⁸

Following the reestablishment of Spanish authority in 1567, those who were participants or suspected participants in violence or in the Protestant movement were condemned and forced into exile. Kolff has identified 103 individuals cited for heresy at Leiden by Spanish authorities.⁴⁹ Many of these had their property confiscated and publicly sold during January 1569.⁵⁰ There were more arrests in 1569, and in 1571 Spanish troops were periodically garrison in Leiden.⁵¹

Resentment of the Spanish remained strong in these years, but resistance waned to a low ebb. Complaints about infringement of privileges, which had annoyed many, dwindled as the heavy hand of

Alva's regime made itself felt. Resistance, however, was rekindled after April 1, 1572 when the Sea Beggars, without the full authorization of the Prince of Orange, took Den Brill in Zeeland and proceeded to "liberate" other towns in Holland. This success set into motion the events and stimulated the emotion needed to plunge Holland and Zeeland into open rebellion against Philip II. Forced into action by the deeds of the Sea Beggars, the Prince of Orange found himself the leader of what, in earnest, had become the Dutch Revolt. Hoorn went over to the side of Orange on June 18, 1572, Oudewater on the 19th, Gouda on the 21st, Dordrecht on the 25th, and on June 26th, 160 Sea Beggars entered Leiden.

The arrival of the Sea Beggars and the establishment of a foothold for the Revolt was the work of a small minority. The magistrates and town councilmen of the cities, Leiden included, were reluctant to support the Beggars and remained loyal to the Spanish king. The turmoil created by the Sea Beggars, however, made it possible for the Protestant exiles to begin trickling back to their homes. Many of these people and a few others in each town formed the core of the Beggars' support. In Leiden the returned exiles, supported by a large crowd, appeared before the city hall to demand that the mayors prohibit the Spanish from entering the town. This occurred on June 23, 1572, and many citizens who felt that such an action would draw Leiden into the rebellion fled. Despite this pronounced antipathy toward the Spanish, the majority of citizens displayed little open enthusiasm for the Beggars, of whom they had also heard disturbing reports. A few Leiden leaders had been in contact with the contingent

of Beggars under Dirk Sonoy (d. 1597) at Gouda as early as the 21st of June, but the Leiden city magistrates had refused to let the Beggars in when they appeared before the town. The magistrates admitted the Beggars against their better judgment after several days of vacillation. Four days later, on June 30th, their worst fears were realized when the town experienced some plundering, although this time the churches and monasteries were spared. This time it was mainly the properties of the wealthy that bore the brunt of the destruction, indicating that the motive for the plundering was primarily secular.⁵²

Protestants returning from Germany and England announced their support for the Beggars, and by July 7th all churches in Leiden were closed. The Reformed gained control of the Church of Our Dear Lady where the first in-city Protestant service was held on the 20th of July. The magistrates attempted to maintain Roman Catholic services in the other two parishes, but the Beggars initiated an iconoclastic outburst in which Leiden citizens participated, and after that Protestants were in possession of both the Church of St. Pieter and the Church of St. Pancras.⁵³

Following these events many of the clerics and laymen who remained firmly committed to either Roman Catholicism or Spain began to leave the city. The departure of numerous priests and other clergy, some of whom went to Amsterdam and Utrecht, deprived the still predominantly Roman Catholic citizenry of the sacraments and might have increased the drift toward Protestantism.⁵⁴ The total number of glippers, as these Roman Catholic religious and lay refugees came

to be known, is unclear but was probably upward of one hundred.⁵⁵

Many glippers remained in the vicinity of Leiden, and a few entered into active collaboration with the Spanish.⁵⁶

The reaction of the Duke of Alva to Holland's open defiance of Spain was predictably severe. Naarden and Zutphen were destroyed as object lessons to the Hollanders. During the winter of 1572-1573 Haarlem was besieged by Don Fradrique, Alva's son. Because of her proximity to the blockaded city, Leiden was a weapons collection point for the Beggars, and served as a base for their relief operations. Increasing numbers of Beggars in the city during December 1572 called for extra provisioning by Leiden authorities, and measures began to be taken to improve the city's defences as fear of the Spanish presence nearby became greater. Rijnland farmers were ordered to bring their dairy products to the city, all men between the ages of seventeen and seventy were armed, and after the defeat of Willem van Lumey, the flamboyant leader of the Beggars, near Haarlem on December 13th, all houses near Leiden's Rijnsburgerpoort were torn down as a precaution against attack. Bulwarks and city entry gates were strengthened and further provisioning was ordered in January 1573 and later. By April the possibility of a siege at Leiden seemed probable, and a three months' supply of corn was stored. On July 8, 1573 a force of 5,000, including a number of Leiden volunteers, left the city to relieve Haarlem. The expedition ended in failure, and Haarlem finally fell three days later on July 12th. The noose was inexorably tightening closely around Leiden.⁵⁷

The Spanish slowly began to move into the Rijnland and by the end of October had gained control of all the strategic points of defence around Leiden. They controlled the Haarlemmermeer and Leydermeer to the north, cut off traffic to the city via the Rijn River, and were in possession of The Hague and other cities to the south. Only in the direction of Gouda and Delft was it difficult for the Spanish to maintain Leiden's isolation. What became known as the siege of Leiden was actually a blockade by the Spanish to starve the city into submission.

The events of the siege of Leiden, because of their significance for both the Dutch Revolt and for local development, have been repeatedly described in great detail elsewhere.⁵⁸ The importance of the siege for this study lies in its impact on the city socially and economically, and on the membership of the town council. Individual events during the siege will be discussed as examples in Part II. Our concern here is the effect of the siege on Leiden's late sixteenth century development.

The siege which was interrupted for a time between March 1574 and May 1574 when the Spanish troops withdrew to counter a rebel offensive in the eastern Netherlands, made the city the symbol of the Dutch Revolt. With the Spanish in possession of Haarlem, Alkmaar, The Hague, the smaller Holland towns of 's-Gravezande and Vlaardingen and several military positions, a successful defense of Leiden was crucial to the rebel cause. If Leiden fell, then almost certainly Holland would fall.

Many months of confinement and waiting gave rise to dissension, disease and starvation among those within the city. Efforts underway to relieve the town were complicated by the illness of William of Orange and what seemed like interminable disputes over money and the effects of cutting the dikes to flood out the Spanish. Finally, however, a sizable expedition of men and provisions was assembled to drive out the enemy and convey food to the starving Leidenaars. After much waiting and several postponements, a contingent of Beggars under Admiral Louis Boisot set off in a number of galleys and transport barges. Embarking at Rotterdam on September 10th the force, which was made up of French arquebusiers and Dutch pioneers as well as Beggars, encountered many obstacles as they inched toward Leiden. Not until the beginning of October did the right combination of wind and tide favor the attackers as they waded waste deep in the advancing waters of the broken dikes. The Spanish commander, Francisco de Valdez, recognized the difficulty of maintaining the blockade in the sodden polders. On the night of October 2, 1574 he gave the order to evacuate, and amidst surprise and jubilation, Boisot and the Beggars moved along the Vliet canal, arriving at the Koepoort gate in the early morning of October 3rd.⁵⁹

Leiden had been delivered. Although there had been no battle and virtually no bloodshed, the excitement of victory affected the entire region because it provided hope that the Revolt would turn in favor of the rebels. If Leiden represented Holland's hope of victory, she had not come through unscathed. The lack of destruction had preserved the physical nature of the city, though the lives of nearly

everyone were uprooted and disrupted. Many had died, and families were now separated by geography and by belief. Much of the surrounding Rijnland countryside was rendered unusable after its successful inundation. It was the task of those who survived the ordeal of the siege to reestablish a viable urban community both socially and economically.

The leadership of this task fell quite naturally to the city government. During the siege there had been a number of disputes between factions in the town government as to the efficacy of holding out. In the Netherlands generally, enthusiastic support for the Revolt was not as strong among the governing elites of the cities as it was among other elements in the population.⁶⁰ This was also true of Leiden, and consequently, William of Orange was most interested in ensuring that the significant victory was not jeopardized. In spite of protests from the Leiden town council and magistracy, he pushed through an ordinance reducing the membership in those bodies to individuals more in sympathy with his cause. The numbers of mayors and aldermen remained the same, but after October 14, 1574 the town council was made up of only sixteen individuals instead of the previous forty. While this reduction in membership lasted only until October 9, 1576 when the town council was returned to its former level of forty, it was the smaller council, ostensibly more favorable to the Revolt, that was responsible for picking up the pieces after the siege.⁶¹

An immediate problem for Leiden was the normalization of life in the Rijnland. Many inhabitants of the surrounding villages had

sought refuge in the city when the Spanish appeared in 1573. Now, following the destruction of both their homes and farmland, they would have to wait until a number of Rijnland polders again became habitable before taking up their previous lives. Of course, the refugees themselves were only part of the problem. The destruction also reduced agricultural production in the region, which adversely affected the Leiden economy.⁶²

Sections of the surrounding water district suffered destruction in the flood of All Souls Day 1570, but the real disruption of life began with the arrival of Spanish troops who occupied the area.⁶³ Realizing the danger of the city's position, decisions were made as early as November 20, 1572 to protect Leiden by leveling the surroundings. Among the first structures to fall were the monastery of Lopsen and the nunneries of St. Margaretha and St. Magdalena, all located within the vrijheid of the town outside the Rijnsburgerpoort. As danger from the Spanish appeared more likely, efforts were intensified to demolish all obstacles in the vicinity of the city. These included other religious institutions, a number of houses, barns, sheds, hedges, fences and trees. All salvagable building materials, stored hay and peat were brought into the city. Ultimately, the cleared area included everything within one-half hour's walk from the walls.⁶⁴

There are some records of destruction by the Spanish troops who blockaded Leiden. On one occasion, for instand, the Rijnland Dike-reeve (Dijkgraaf) Foy Jansz. van BROUCHOVEN noted the destruction of water mills by the enemy.⁶⁵ Certainly, the reputation and behavior of the Spanish soldiers elsewhere indicates that such activity was

probably widespread.⁶⁶

Much damage to the polders of the area was done by the military inundation of 1574. Although the water at its highest stage rose no more than one meter, large tracts of sodden land between Leidschendam and the Gouwsluis were temporarily rendered unfit for agriculture. Much of it lay abandoned until several years later when the land had sufficiently dried out. Fortunately, many roads and quays remained above the water level.⁶⁷ The extent of the damage may be seen from the example of Alphen aan den Rijn in 1575. In the summer of that year a register of all property holders in Alphen was compiled, probably for reasons of taxation or assessment. In addition to naming individual owners, the register lists the size and conditions of the separate lots. Remarkably, no less than 92.6 per cent of the evaluated land was described as desolaet (waste) or uncultivated. It had ceased to be a source of income for the owner.⁶⁸ If compared to conditions favorable to agriculture in the land survey of 1541 by Pieter Sluyter, and to the Morgentaelboek of Alphen for 1564, the magnitude of the destruction becomes apparent.⁶⁹ The polders located within the manor (ambacht) of Alphen were probably worse off than other Rijnland polders in 1575 because the land had been inundated a second time in connection with an attempted relief of Oudewater. Nevertheless, if this is taken into account, the consequences to other Rijnland areas within the region inundated in 1574 could not have been inconsiderable.

Repair of the major river dikes in Delfland and Schieland, the destruction of which had caused the flooding, was carried out by early 1575. With much difficulty and hesitation over the lingering

presence of Spanish troops and over financial problems, the repair of Rijnland dikes proceeded slowly. The officials of the water district (Hoogheemraadschap van Rijnland) heard complaints from local Rijnland officials (ambachtsbewaarders) as late as 1578 that much land still lay empty and unused and that impoverished inhabitants of the villages were unable to pay their taxes.⁷⁰ Only gradually did the countryside around Leiden return to normal.

The condition of the villages and surrounding polders forced many displaced inhabitants of these areas to seek refuge in Leiden. They increased the number of poor in the town and made more difficult resolution of problems relating to Leiden's contracting economy. As noted earlier, the city had experienced economic malaise for some time, but during the 1560's and 1570's Leiden came to resemble more and more the environment of a country town within the shell of the industrial city she had been. The siege only hastened this development.⁷¹

If, however, her recent difficulties accentuated her problems, they also laid the groundwork for her future revitalization. The first positive result of the siege was the establishment in early January 1575 of Leiden University. Founded to commemorate the siege and relief of the town, the university was seen by William of Orange, who initiated it, as an alternative to sending one's sons abroad for training in the liberal arts and professions.⁷² Certainly, the Prince viewed the new university as a Protestant intellectual center which would advance the goals of the Revolt.⁷³ However, the provisions of his initial proposal to the States of Holland, the founding charter

and the humanist curriculum of Guillaume Feuguerau were directed more broadly at creating a major European university.⁷⁴

The addition of a university to Leiden created a dimension of life that had not previously existed there. The city had never had a renowned Latin School like 's-Hertogenbosch or Deventer, and therefore the presence of a growing student population and the well-known professors whom the university was able to attract produced an intellectual community of considerable importance. By the early seventeenth century Leiden University had become one of the foremost centers of learning in Europe.⁷⁵

An important factor in the university's relationship with the town was the role of the city government in its affairs. From the very beginning the mayors were extremely active in university matters. The official board of governors, known as Curators, were appointed by the States of Holland, but because of local officials' assigned duties with regard to the university, the Leiden magistrates were very influential. The mayors were given the right to decide on the site and facilities of the school; they had great influence in the choice of professors; and the four mayors and two aldermen sat with the rector and four professors on the university tribunal.⁷⁶ Whenever the university as a body or a professor as an individual became involved in a public dispute, the city fathers were automatically drawn in. The dismissal of law professor Hugo Donellus (1527-1591), because it heightened political tensions in the Leicester affair of 1587, drew the Leiden magistrates into the affray. Donellus was accused of uttering seditious remarks against the States of Holland. Meeting together,

the mayors of Leiden and the Curators of the university decided to dismiss Donnellus without further consultation with the academic community, an action that precipitated a crisis between town and gown.⁷⁷ This was only one of many similar university-related incidents which had political and religious ramifications in the late sixteenth century. Despite the seemingly unending number of disputes that arose from the presence of the university, nearly everyone considered it an advantage to the town and viewed it with extreme pride.⁷⁸

Continually rising prices and the attention paid to poor relief are both evidence that Leiden's economic difficulties were not immediately reversed following the siege. Nevertheless, a turning point in the city's fortunes came in 1577 when permission was granted for a number of Flemish drapeniers, then resident in Colchester and Norwich, England, to settle in Leiden. Although their activities were at first carried out on a limited scale, their presence breathed new life into Leiden's textile industry. These Flemings manufactured the new lighter fabrics, such as serge and baize, thus exploiting the increasing popularity of the new cloths and taking advantage of the expanding markets they had created. The establishment of a few drapeniers producing the new cloth soon attracted others, especially from the southern Netherlands where the movement of Spanish troops made individual safety a problem and where economic depression gripped the cities.⁷⁹

After 1582, when a group of serge weavers from the Flemish town of Hondeschoote established themselves at Leiden, immigration began on a large scale and continued well into the seventeenth century.

Leiden was not alone in receiving new citizens from the war-town southern provinces, but accepted as many or more than other similar-sized cities in Holland.⁸⁰ The partial destruction of Hondeschoote in 1583 accounted for nearly half (92) of the 216 new citizens sworn in at Leiden in that year. 1586, following the shock of Antwerp's capture by the Spanish in 1585, saw another large wave of immigrants to Leiden.⁸¹ Thereafter, somewhat fewer new citizens were accepted during individual years, although immigration continued steadily.⁸²

The number of newly accepted citizens provides but a partial indication of Leiden's population increase after 1582. Only the new citizen was accounted for, and thus, the actual population growth over short periods remains vague. The size of Leiden's dramatic population increase in this period may be seen from a comparison of figures from 1581 and 1622. The jump from 12,144 inhabitants in 1581 to the 44,745 in 1622 amounts to an increase of 268.4 per cent. Both an increasing rural birth rate, which sent large numbers of country dwellers to the towns, and a large influx of foreign immigrants led to this steep rise.⁸³

Those cloth workers who migrated to Leiden aided the city in regaining its position as a leading European cloth manufacturing center. With the influence of the Hondeschootenaars prevailing, production of serge, baize, and the old drapery amounted to about 27,000 pieces of cloth in 1584. By 1594 that yearly manufacturing rate had risen to almost 50,000 pieces, a far cry from the lean mid-century years and even Leiden's earlier period of success.⁸⁴

If the influx of immigrants brought with it the promise of prosperity, it also brought problems. Late sixteenth-century Leiden experienced an extreme housing shortage and overcrowding, for which the town was not prepared. Greater population density and pollution from the cloth manufacturing process, especially dying and fulling, contributed to fouling of the canals and to unhygienic conditions. By the end of the century all the available open space within the city was used up. This necessitated planning and construction of additional streets and canals and incorporation of new extra-urban areas within the city.⁸⁵

Religious persecution as well as economic decline and political instability caused many refugees from the southern Netherlands and northern France to flee to Holland. Large numbers were Calvinists, and at Leiden they swelled the membership of the Reformed community. One need only peruse the lists of elders and deacons in the late 1580's and 1590's to assess their influence.⁸⁶ Through their brand of Calvinism, which tended to be more orthodox than that of the patriciate, they added support to the Reformed community in its controversies with the city government. Control of religious appointments and church supervision were issues which flared up several times during this period, bringing Leiden officials and the Reformed Church community into conflict. These arguments are notorious and are discussed at length in a number of historical sources.⁸⁷

Many changes had taken place in Leiden during the five decades since 1550. The small dwellings of weavers and fullers along the

Middelstegracht were crowded closer together obliterating much of the open space in that neighborhood. The cramped quarters in the cloth producing areas like Niclaasgracht and Marendorp contrasted sharply with the larger houses with their more elaborate facades that had begun to dominate the Rapenburg. No longer did the White Nuns and the monks of the Cellebroeders monastery walk the streets of the city. Their institutions had long since become property of the new University where recently lectures on engineering were given to supplement the traditional curriculum. The sons of German and Polish nobility now took rooms in the city during their student days. Walloon-French names like Rendre, Buqot and Lernous appeared more frequently in the tax registers and dominated a number of gild records.

The economy of Leiden percolated with energy at the beginning of the seventeenth century, bringing prosperity to a few great merchants with international connections like Daniel van der Meulen (1550-1648). At the other end of the spectrum the ordinary cloth worker lived in misery. In spite of their social and economic separation, however, these two groups of Leiden citizens and others in between were united each year by the commemoration of the siege of 1574. The traditional distribution of herring and white bread, which were among the supplies brought by the Sea Beggars, became a symbol of the shared experiences of all Leiden citizens. The city which had been in deep decline in 1550 and had borne the brunt of the religious and political turmoil of the 1560's and 1570's emerged by 1600 as a thriving urban center.

FOOTNOTES--CHAPTER II

¹Posthumus, Lakenindustrie, I, p. 371.

²Three sources provided these figures: Data from the Vermogensbelasting 1498, compiled by Posthumus in Lakenindustrie, I, pp. 301, 400-403 and Bijlage XIIIa-XIII f; the Informacie 1514, p. 245; and data from the Census of 1581 compiled by Posthumus and outlined in Lakenindustrie, II, p. 33. The figure for the number of drapeniers in Leiden in 1552 is from the list of signatures appended to an agreement with the Leiden magistracy, dated April 17, 1552. The phrase "Those of the drapery of this city" ("Die van der draperie dezer stede") appears at the top of the list of names. The document is printed in its entirety in Nicolaas Wilhelmus Posthumus, ed., Bronnen tot de geschiedenis van de Leidsche textielnijverheid, Deel II; 1481-1573, Rijksgeschiedkundige Publicatien, Vol. 14 ('s-Gravenhage: Martinus Nijhoff, 1911), No. 1118, pp. 552-556.

³Blok, GHS, II, p. 266.

⁴Ligtenberg, Armezorg te Leiden, pp. 290-292.

⁵De Vries, Dutch Rural Economy, pp. 169-170; C. Verlinden, J. Cr. J. Craeybeckx, and E. Scholliers, "Price and Wage Movements in Belgium in the Sixteenth Century," in Economy and Society in Early Modern Europe, Essays from Annales, ed. by Peter Burke, Harper Torchbooks (New York: Harper and Row, Publishers, 1972), pp. 60-67. Although the attention of Verlinden, Craeybeckx and Scholliers is focused on the southern Netherlands, the comparison of some of their information with data from elsewhere in the Netherlands leads them tentatively to believe the validity of their conclusions for the whole region.

⁶The relationship of the northern Netherlands' grain supply to the Baltic and the impact of other factors on the situation in 1557 is explored in detail by Astrid Friis, "An Inquiry into the Relations between Economic and Financial Factors in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries: The Two Crises in the Netherlands in 1557," Scandinavian Economic History Review, I (1953), pp. 193-241. Leiden's reaction is to be found in Ligtenberg, Armezorg te Leiden, p. 297. Presumably a collection was to be made to pay for the rye. For a definition of the responsibilities of the huiszittenmeesters see Chapter III, p. 97. One may get an idea of how much rye was actually purchased at this time by realizing that a last was a measurement of volume equivalent to about two modern tons.

⁷ Ligtenberg, Armezorg te Leiden, p. 297. The town council decided that a loaf of rye bread made from this grain was to cost two stuivers. At mid-century this was 40% of the daily earnings of a carpenter or mason. In 1550 these craftsmen received five stuivers a day. For a breakdown of what this would buy at this time see Blok, GHS, II, p. 286.

⁸ Ibid., p. 297.

⁹ Ibid., p. 298.

¹⁰ Ibid., p. 298.

¹¹ Posthumus, Lakenindustrie, II, p. 189.

¹² Posthumus, Lakenindustrie, I, p. 308.

¹³ Posthumus, Bronnen, II, pp. 576-610. See Chapter III, pp. for a full consideration of this incident.

¹⁴ De Vries, Dutch Rural Economy, pp. 182-183.

¹⁵ See E. Scholliers, De levensstandaard in de XVe en XVIe eeuw te Antwerpen (Antwerpen: Uitgeverij De Sikkel, 1960), pp. 177-181.

¹⁶ Knappert, Opkomst van Protestantisme, pp. 127; 202-203 and *passim*. for numbers of condemned.

¹⁷ Knappert, "Latijnsche School I," pp. 133-135. Bloccius is known to have resisted participating in religious processions, a duty that was part of his responsibilities at the Latin School. Also, Sareye remained a loyal Roman Catholic at this time, but in 1569 his two sons, Maarten and Abraham, were cited as heretics by the inquisition. See R. E. O. Ekkart, "Onderwijs in Leiden in de tweede helft van de zestiende eeuw," Leiden '74, pp. 146-147.

¹⁸ Knappert, Opkomst van Protestantisme, pp. 213-215.

¹⁹ Ibid., p. 214.

²⁰ Ibid., p. 208.

²¹Ibid., p. 218. The mob was described by GAL, SA, I, No. 388: Aflezingboek B, folio 249, dated March 21, 1563 as "knaves and rabble" ("boeven en rabbauwen").

²²Ibid., pp. 216-217. According to Knappert, mention of the presence of a Reformed community at Leiden in 1563 is to be found in Gerard Brandt, Historie van de Reformatie, I, p. 316. Brandt obtained his information from a source known as Memoriën van Reaal, which is now lost.

²³Ibid., pp. 208-209.

²⁴Ibid., p. 35.

²⁵Ibid., p. 209. Knappert cites various resolutions of the town council as evidence of these complaints about financial obligations by the sextons of the churches. For information on the alters referred to see Knappert, pp. 31-32.

²⁶Lodewijk J. Rogier, Geschiedenis van het Katholicisme in Noord-Nederland in de 16e en 17e eeuw, Elsevier pockets (5 vols.; 3rd ed. Amsterdam: Elsevier, 1964), I, pp. 186-195. Also, Knappert, Opkomst van Protestantisme, p.32 - notes vicaries and prebends were very common in Leiden churches.

²⁷Until envoys could return from Spain with Philip's answer to the petition, Margaret agreed to a temporary policy of moderation. For the opening events of the Dutch Revolt see Pieter Geyl, Geschiedenis van de Nederlandse Stam, Wereldbibliotheek (6 vols.; 3rd ed.; Amsterdam: Wereldbibliotheek, 1961), I, pp. 230-255. A lucid account of the background and issues surrounding the beginning of the Revolt can be found in J. W. Smit, "The Netherlands Revolution," in Preconditions of Revolution in Early Modern Europe, ed. by Robert Forster and Jack P. Greene, Johns Hopkins Paperback (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1972), pp. 19-54.

²⁸Knappert, Opkomst van Protestantisme, pp. 219-220.

²⁹A. C. Duke and D. H. A. Kolff, "The Time of Troubles in the County of Holland," Tijdschrift voor Geschiedenis, LXXXII (1969), pp. 319-320.

³⁰GAL, SA, I, No. 386: Vroedschapsboek H, folios 26-26vso, dated July 13, 1566.

³¹Smit, "The Netherlands Revolution," pp. 38-42.

³²Jan Romein and Annie Romein, De lage landen bij de zee, Phoenix Standaardwerken, Tweede Serie (4 vols.; 4th ed.; Zeist: Uitgeversmaatschappij W. De Haan, N.V., 1961), II, p. 14.

³³"tot gelycke nieuwicheyt ende andere oproerten schynen seer genegen te syn." Resolution of the town council, dated August 22, 1566 (GAL, S.A. I, No. 386: Vroedschapsboek H) cited by D. H. A. Kolff, "Libertatis Ergo, De beroerten binnen Leiden in de Jaren 1566 en 1567," LJ, LVIII (1966), p. 127.

³⁴Duke and Kolff, "Time of Troubles," p. 320.

³⁵Knappert, Opkomst van Protestantisme, pp. 225-230. The invasion of the Chapter House of the Church of St. Pancreas was ironic in that the Chapter was never very rich. For the details of the Chapter's finances see B. N. Leverland, "Het Kapittel van St. Pancras te Leiden," LJ, LVIII (1966), pp. 79-82. The Canons themselves, however, would have appeared very comfortable to an impoverished cloth worker. In the mid-sixteenth century the total annual income of a Leiden canon was somewhat more than 100 pond. This was double the annual salary received by the two city surgeons and yet less than the 150 pond given every year to the city legal advisor in this period. The role and motives of the participants in the iconoclasm have been the subject of a large number of historical studies. On the one hand, Marxists like Erich Kuttner whose study, Het Hongerjaar 1566 (Amsterdam: Boek -en Courantmij, 1949) focuses on Flanders, have seen the destruction as primarily the result of economic conditions and economic desires. On the other hand, J. Scheerder's little volume De beeldenstorm (Bussum: De Haan, 1974) which documents the iconoclasm in the entire Netherlands, asserts that it was primarily the Reformed abhorrence of images that caused the outburst. The work of Henk van Nierop and Michiel Wagenaar entitled Beeldenstorm en opstand in Amsterdam 1566-1567, De sociale opbouw en de ideologie van een maasabeweging, Werkschrift 6 (Amsterdam: Uitgegeven door Historisch Seminarium Universiteit van Amsterdam, 1973) has shown for one city that the 250 some identifiable participants in the iconoclastic uproar were motivated by a variety of reasons and reacted in widely differing ways. While hardly conclusive for the entire Netherlands, this study probably points in the right direction.

³⁶J. Kleintjens, "Bijdrage tot den beeldenstorm in Leiden, 1566," Bijdragen voor de geschiedenis van het Bisdom van Haarlem, XLVIII (1931), pp. 154-156. Testimony referred to in this article was taken at Leiden in 1568 by Arnold Sasbout, raadordinaris of the Hof van Holland, and John Baptist de Tassis, royal commissioner concerning the Troubles in Holland.

³⁷ The details of these developments are described in Kolff, "Libertatis Ergo," and an up till now unpulished article by Christopher Grayson, "The Civic Militia in the County of Holland 1560-1581" (typed manuscript).

³⁸ Even in the earlier period of Anabaptist activity in the 1530's and 1540's the Leiden magistrates were reluctant to persecute heretics on their own initiative. See Knappert, Opkomst van Protestantisme, p. 137 and passim. thereafter.

³⁹ "'tschuympsel van den volcke,'" from the resolution of the town council dated October 16, 1567, which is printed in W. Moll, De beeldenstorm te Leiden, pamphlet of documents collected by Rammelman Elsevier, no date. This group probably included such groups as the peat diggers and unemployed who were considered undesirables.

⁴⁰ Despite its construction the magistrates realized that the execution of heretics might provoke a worse riot than that which occurred in Rotterdam in 1558. See Grayson, "Civic Militia," p. 18.

⁴¹ The foreign troops in question belonged to Duke Eric of Brunswick then garrisoned in the nearby town of Woerden.

⁴² Grayson, "Civic Militia," p. 19.

⁴³ Knappert, Opkomst van Protestantisme, pp. 236-237. This was agreed to on August 23rd, but not announced at Leiden until August 31st.

⁴⁴ Ibid., p. 240.

⁴⁵ Ibid., pp. 243-246. There was still no question of Protestant services being permitted inside the town.

⁴⁶ Ibid., pp. 249-250.

⁴⁷ Ibid., pp. 252-253.

⁴⁸ Kolff, "Libertatis Ergo," p. 138.

⁴⁹ Ibid., pp. 142-144.

⁵⁰ Knappert, Opkomst van Protestantisme, p. 262.

⁵¹Ibid., p. 263.

⁵²J. C. Boogman, "De overgang van Gouda, Dordrecht, Leiden en Delft in de zomer van het jaar 1572," TG, LVII (1942), pp. 101-102.

⁵³The role of the Reformed in these events is treated by Rosemary L. Jones in "De Nederduits Gereformeerde Gemeente te Leiden in de jaren 1572-1576," LJ, LXVI (1974), pp. 126-140.

⁵⁴Ibid., p. 127. Leiden was not devoid of priests, however, as a number of them remained in the city despite the danger and the ridicule to which they were subjected.

⁵⁵W. A. Fasel, "De Leidse glippers," LJ, XLVIII (1956), p. 74. At the end of the article is a list of glippers derived from the ARA, Rekenkamer ter Auditie, Nos. 4565-4567, which are three accountings of confiscated property belonging to these fugitives.

⁵⁶Ibid., pp. 75 and 77.

⁵⁷Blok, GHS, III, pp. 44-46.

⁵⁸The siege of Leiden is treated quite extensively on account of its importance as a symbol for the rest of Holland. The most useful of these treatments are the following: The best short description despite its age is Robert Fruin, "Het beleg en ontzet van Leiden," in the author's Verspreide Geschriften II. This has appeared in English translation as R. Fruin, The Siege and Relief of Leyden in 1574, trans. by Elizabeth Trevelyan (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1927). Another very readable account appears as part of C. V. Wedgwood's, William the Silent, The Norton Library (New York: W. W. Norton and Company, Inc., 1968), pp. 141-148. A very useful treatment is "Leiden Belegerd en Ontzet," which is Chapter III of Blok, GHS, III. An extremely detailed account with original sources accompanying it is J. van Vloten, Leidens Belegering en Ontzet in 1573 en 1574 naar de oorspronkelijke stukken en bescheiden (Leiden: D. Noothoven van Goor, 1853). Van Vloten added more original sources to his original treatment in his Nalezing (Leiden, 1867). A very helpful chronology of events of the siege organized by Ingrid W. L. Moerman has recently appeared as "Korte Kroniek van Leiden en Omstreken, oktober 1573-oktober 1574," in Leiden '74. A near contemporary secondary source is Orlers, Beschryvinge der Stadt Leyden. . . and a number of eyewitness or contemporary accounts have been collected in De oude verhalen van het beleg en ontzet van Leyden, ed. by R. Fruin, J. E. H. Hooft van Iddekinge and W.J. C. Rammelman Elsevier ('s-Gravenhage: Martinus Nijhoff, 1874). Finally, military aspects of the siege and Leiden's

defences are outlined in detail in Hugo van Oerle's monumental Leiden binnen en buiten de stadsvesten.

⁵⁹R. Fruin, Siege and Relief of Leyden, pp. 102-140; Blok, GHS, III, pp. 60-62.

⁶⁰Boogman, "Overgang," pp. 110-111.

⁶¹Orlors, Beschryvinge der Stadt Leyden, pp. 588-589; Frans van Mieris, Handvesten, Privilegien, Octroyen, Rechten en Vrijheden der Stad Leyden (Leyden, 1759), pp. 151-153.

⁶²During the mid-years of the sixteenth century the vicinity of Leiden was very important agriculturally. Cattle raising and the dairy industry were widely practiced, and Leiderdorp was the largest center of market gardening in Holland. See Dillen, Van rijkdom en regenten, pp. 220 and 230 and Jansma, "Economisch overwicht van de laatmiddeleeuws stad," p. 106.

⁶³Fockema Andreae, Zuid-Hollandse watersnoden, pp. 14-15. Gottschalk remarks in Stormvloeden en riviersoverstromingen, II, p. 669 that despite widespread flooding little land was lost for a long period as a result of the All Saints Day Flood.

⁶⁴Oerle, Leiden binnen en buiten de stadsvesten, pp. 278-280.

⁶⁵G. 't Hart, "Rijnlands bestuur en waterstaat rondom het beleg en ontzet van Leiden (1570-1580), Leiden '74, p. 28.

⁶⁶Geoffrey Parker, The Army of Flanders and the Spanish Road, Cambridge University Press Paperback (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1975), pp. 87-88.

⁶⁷'t Hart, "Rijnlands bestuur en waterstaat," p. 21. See also S. J. Fockema Andreae, "De militaire inundatie van het vasteland van Holland in het jaar 1574," Tijdschrift van het Koninklijke Nederlandsche Aardrijkskundig Genootschap, Tweede Reeks, LXX (1953), nr 3, pp. 309-315 for a detailed account.

⁶⁸Nicolaas Wilhemus Posthumus, "Gegevens betreffende landbouw toestanden in Rijnland in het jaar 1575," BMHG, XXXV (1914), pp. 169-172.

⁶⁹Archief van het Hoogheemraadschap van Rijnland, No. 3663 (Morgenboek Alphen, 1541) and No. 3664 (Morgenboek Alphen, 1564). Hereafter the Hoogheemraadschap van Rijnland will be cited as AH Rijnland.

⁷⁰t Hart, "Rijnlands bestuur en waterstaat," pp. 29-30.

⁷¹Cloth production figures for the period illustrate this clearly. The low figure of 1,086 pieces of cloth manufactured in 1573 appears high when compared to the meagre 251 pieces produced the following year. The increase to 552 cloths produced in 1575, while double the previous figure, was just over half those manufactured in 1573. Posthumus, Lakenindustrie, I, p. 407; Posthumus, Lakenindustrie, II, p. 9.

⁷²Louvain, the traditional place for Hollanders to educate their sons, was in the Spanish-held southern provinces and therefore inaccessible to Protestants and safety-conscious inhabitants of the rebellious north. For William the Silent's proposal to the States of Holland see P. C. Molhuysen, comp., Bronnen tot de Geschiedenis der Leidsche Universiteit, Eerste Deel, Rijks Geschiedkundige Publicatien, Vol. 20 ('s-Gravenhage: Martinus Nijhoff, 1913), p. 1*. Hereafter cited as Molhuysen, Bronnen, I.

⁷³J. J. Woltjer, Leiden in Verleden en Heden (Leiden: Universitaire Pers, 1965), p. 2.

⁷⁴These documents are contained in Molhuysen, Bronnen, I, pp. 1*, 8*, and 39*-43*.

⁷⁵The university was small in its earliest years, but by the 1580's more than one hundred new students enrolled annually. By the 1590's this annual enrollment of new students had increased to two hundred. Among the luminaries who came to Leiden to teach in these years were Joseph Scaliger (1540-1609), Justus Lipsius (1547-1606), Cornelis de Groot (1544-1610), Bonaventura Vulcanius (1538-1614) and Franciscus Junius (1545-1602) to name a few. See Guilielmus de Rieu, comp., Album Studiosorum Academiae Lugduno Batavae, 1575-1875, Accedunt Nomina Curatorum et Professorum ('s-Gravenhage: Martinus Nijhoff, 1875).

⁷⁶J. J. Woltjer, "De positie van Curatoren der Leidse Universiteit in de zestiende eeuw," Tijdschrift voor Rechtsgeschiedenis, XXXVIII (1970), pp. 487-488.

⁷⁷A complete discussion of the Leicester affair of 1587 can be found in W. Bisschop, Verhandeling over de woelingen der Leicestersche partij binnen Leiden, Verslag van den Jaar-cursus 1863-1864, n.p., pp. 23-36.

⁷⁸Ibid., p. 15; also Blok, GHS, III, pp. 222-227.

⁷⁹Posthumus, Lakenindustrie, II, pp. 7-15.

⁸⁰Ibid., p. 70. Between 1575 and 1619 Leiden accepted 3,654 new citizens, most of them from Brabant, Flanders, and northern France. Middelburg, lying closer to the Spanish-controlled frontier, accepted 4,994 for the same period, while Delft received 1,445 and Gouda only 919.

⁸¹Ibid., pp. 43-44. In 1586 a total of 166 immigrants became new citizens.

⁸²Ibid., pp. 40-104 provides a detailed analysis of the immigration phenomenon.

⁸³Ibid., pp. 153-155; De Vries, The Dutch Rural Economy, pp. 109-111.

⁸⁴Posthumus, Lakenindustrie, II, pp. 116 and 126. See footnote 73 of this chapter for cloth production figures for 1573-1575. In the early sixteenth century, before Leiden's fortunes began to seriously decline, production never rose above the high of 28,987 in 1521. See Posthumus, Lakenindustrie I, pp. 370-371.

⁸⁵Posthumus, Lakenindustrie II, pp. 157-159 statistically develops this situation in detail. For an elaborate consideration of Leiden's urban expansion in 1611 see Oerle, Leiden binnen en buiten de stadsvesten, pp. 350-360.

⁸⁶GAL, SA, I, No. 73: Dienstboek A: 1500-1589, passim. and SA, II, No. 202: Dienstboek A2: 1590-1600), passim.

⁸⁷Rosemary Jones, "Reformed Church and Civil Authorities in the United Provinces in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, as reflected in Dutch state and municipal archives," Journal of the Society of Archivists, IV (1970), pp. 109-123; C. M. Dozy, Kerk en Staat in het laatst der 16e en begin der 17e eeuw, a reprint of an article that appeared originally in Handelingen en Mededeelingen van de Maatschappij der Nederlandsche Letterkunde te Leiden, 1897-1898; and Carl Bangs, Arminius, A Study in the Dutch Reformation (New York: Abington Press, 1971), among others.

CHAPTER III

THE MECHANICS OF CITY GOVERNMENT

On July 23, 1587 during the regular session of the town council, the thirty-six year old dyer, Claes Govertsz. van der AER (1551-1596), was chosen to fill the vacancy left by the recently deceased surgeon, Mr Symon Jansz. van der MYE (1520-1587). Shortly after being informed of his appointment AER appeared before the sheriff (schout) to take the traditional oath of office.¹ By swearing to the customary oath AER accepted the burden of responsibility which accompanied admission to Leiden's ruling circle. That responsibility, however burdensome, also brought with it privilege, and if AER could expect to deliberate and make many important decisions during his tenure as town councillor, he could also expect to wear the robes and silver initials of office, which gave him a certain respect and prestige.

The entry of a Leiden citizen into the city's ruling elite was public recognition that the individual had attained both wealth and social prominence. A description of urban government in a Proclamation by the States of Holland and West Friesland issued in 1587 confirms this not only for Leiden, but also for the other towns of Holland: "'Most cities have a form of government, to wit a college or advisors or vroedschappen, composed of the most notable from the entire citizenry'."² The relationship between wealth and the

ability or right to govern was acknowledged by Jan Jansz. Orlers in his Beschryving der Stadt Leyden. According to Orlers, "the city of Leiden, like all the other cities of Holland and West Friesland, has been governed for many years by the College of the Groote Vroetschappe or Veertigen, consisting of forty persons chosen from the richest and most qualified citizens."³

While membership in Leiden's ruling circle emphasized the office-holder's sense of social distance from the ordinary citizen, the obligation of public office carried with it the notion of civic loyalty and pride. The sixteenth century city fathers were Leiden citizens like their fellow burgers. In many ways both groups' views of society were very similar. Both held a set of basic values which accepted fundamental social and economic differences between the various levels of society. Each constituent part of the city's social fabric was thought to have a special place in the whole, and the existence of social and economic inequalities among the parts was not seriously questioned by either the governors or the governed. With regard to material life, the houses of Leiden patricians were more spacious and better furnished than those of other burgers, but the contrast was not as great as between town dwellers and nobility elsewhere in Europe. The same was true of dress. Leiden patricians were not given to sartorial display, and therefore looked in daily life not unlike the humbler folk around them.⁴

The city fathers of Leiden were at the same time a part of and apart from the lives of their fellow citizens. Their role in city

government not only influenced the turn of events and people, but their own personal lives as well. The purpose of this chapter, therefore, is to describe the way in which Leiden's institutions of government were organized and how they functioned in order to provide further background for understanding the men who comprised them. A survey of the various offices, councils and committees will be followed by a discussion of daily routine, how issues were handled and what it meant to be an office-holder in sixteenth-century Leiden.

The structure of government does not always show the reality of influence or authority. It does, however, initially give in broad outline a means of understanding a system of political decision-making. Most descriptions of governmental structures usually place the various offices or institutions in a hierarchical framework. This fundamental ordering of offices according to political and jurisdictional importance will be followed insofar as practicable in describing the local government of Leiden.

One should bear in mind that the annual juggling of administrative and judicial posts at Leiden was meant to prevent the accumulation of power in the hands of a few. This necessitated, however, the existence of a network of informal personal relationships which encouraged stability and made the political process work despite frequent changes in personnel. This network of informal ties will be discussed in Chapter IV, but it is essential first to understand the formal structure.

The town council (vroedschap), numbering forty individuals, was the largest of the several municipal bodies or colleges charged

with supervising Leiden's governmental affairs. The others were the college of four mayors (burgemeesteren), who were concerned with political matters and defense; the college of eight aldermen (schepenen), which was responsible for administering justice; and the college of thirteen (gerecht), which made essentially local decisions not handled by the town council, registered city statutes and managed the daily functioning of town services. These colleges were often concerned with interrelated problems and possessed memberships which alternated or overlapped to a great extent. In fact, during the second half of the sixteenth century it was rare if a burgemeester or a member of the gerecht did not simultaneously hold a seat on the vroedschap. The methods of selecting members for these various bodies, either by cooption in the case of the vroedschap or by limiting appointments to a given circle, had the effect of increasing rather than lessening the concentration of power among a certain group. While the safeguards against this development were not entirely cancelled out by the elective process, the two customs certainly worked against one another.⁵

Ultimate political authority in Leiden rested with the vroedschap, and therefore, membership in that body counted for a great deal politically as well as socially. The sixteenth-century vroedschap was actually an amalgamation of two separate colleges: a reduced version of the older and larger medieval council, also known as the vroedschap, and the college of Forty or Veertig, established by Philip the Good (1396-1467) to select nominees for aldermen. Gradually, the memberships of the two councils coalesced, and by 1531 were no

longer separate in name. Eligibility for the town council was restricted to those over twenty-nine years of age who had been Leiden citizens for at least seven years. A further limitation on membership was that neither fathers and sons nor two brothers could serve on the council simultaneously. It is probable that this last restriction may have also applied to cousins as well.⁶

The vroedschap made all the important decisions with regard to taxation and appointed a number of other office-holders. It also possessed the authority to decide how Leiden would vote in the States of Holland and West Friesland. The council did not meet according to any regular schedule. Rather, it was called together whenever the burgemeesteren deemed it necessary. At times when important issues were pressing, the vroedschap gathered as frequently as several times a week. At other times bi-monthly meetings were not unknown. Regardless of how often or infrequently the vroedschap met, its far-reaching decision-making powers influenced nearly all aspects of Leiden's political, economic, social and religious life.⁷

The extent to which this was true becomes evident if one examines the annual process of selecting new candidates for office. Each year according to custom the vroedschap gathered on St. Martin's eve (10 November) to choose the four burgemeesteren and the two city treasurers (thesoriers). There were actually two important election days for the vroedschap in the course of the year. The second was a day or two prior to St. Jacob's Day (25 July). At that time, usually July 23rd, sixteen nominees for schepen were selected. Out of the

original sixteen, eight would be chosen by the Stadhouder of Holland or his representative, the President of the Provincial Raad, to serve an annual term which ran from July 25th to July 24th. The choice of candidates for these offices was extremely important. It was the burgemeesteren and schepenen who, in daily affairs, would be responsible for the maintenance of order, the initial decisions for political action and the efficiency of city services in a government where a large number of office-holders changed each year. Indeed, the importance of selecting suitable burgemeesteren and schepenen becomes more apparant when one realizes that it was they who chose the holders of the vast majority of secondary offices known as smalle diensten. Every year on St. Peter's Day (22 February) the gerecht, made up of the schout, burgemeesteren and schepenen, made or renewed nearly two hundred appointments to such offices as hospital overseer (gasthuismeester), supervisor of the non-begging poor (huiszittenmeester) and overseer of church finances (kerkmeester). After 1583 these appointments took place on the last of December, so that the term of office for most smalle diensten ran from January through the following December.⁸

The vroedschap's choice of mayors and aldermen clearly had an impact on most smalle diensten appointments. The town council also held appointing authority over the four orphanage directors (weesmeesteren) and local tax auditors (roijermeesteren), who examined city accounts annually. In addition, they chose the influential city legal advisor (pensionaris) and city secretary (secretaris), both of whom were appointed to long term contracts.

If one does not consider the informal network of familial and political ties that are a part of every political system, one is left with the distinct impression that the Leiden city government was in constant flux. The newly-chosen aldermen began their tenure in office in July, the mayors, treasurers, orphanage directors and supervisors of fortifications in November, followed by the multitude of smalle diensten at the beginning of the new year. This game of musical offices was not as chaotic in practice as it would seem at first glance. The rotation of important offices tended to be confined to a relatively small group of individuals, and the lesser posts renewable year after year among a similar though larger circle. A discussion of this and related aspects of public and private career development will follow in Chapters IV and VI.

Clearly, it was the vroedschap, whose members were chosen for life, that assured stability and continuity in Leiden's scheme of government. Only as older town councilmen died, became ill or infirm or left the city were they replaced. Since the method of selecting a new vroedschap was cooption, it was infrequent that an outsider was admitted to Leiden's ruling circle. Year after year therefore, the same group of men responded with a moderate assent or a recalcitrant nay to the central government's financial pleas. The vroedschap also approved the apportionment of taxes in Leiden itself, reviewed and decided on proposals to stimulate the city's economy and assumed responsibility for the resolution of important controversial issues. Although not involved in the day to day running of the town, the

vroedschap was consulted in all urgent and weighty business. The town council was the branch of local government that provided the permanent element in city affairs.⁹

While the primary responsibilities of the vroedschap were advisory and legislative, the sheriff (schout) and eight aldermen were concerned with judicial matters. The schout, also referred to occasionally as the chief law officer (hoofdofficier), was the representative of higher legal authority in Leiden. He was the local officer for the Count of Holland and as such was charged with the enforcement of all edicts, proclamations and ordinances that emanated from above. Because he and his several assistants or deputies constituted the town police force, the schout was responsible for enforcement of Leiden statutes (keuren) as well. According to Orlers, the duties of the sheriff consisted of apprehending criminals, examining them in the presence of the aldermen, administering any necessary oaths, indicting them, prosecuting them and finally carrying out the verdicts of the schepenen.¹⁰ After 1575 the schout also acted in a similar capacity for the University of Leiden, which had its own tribunal. In this latter role he was referred to as Promotor rather than schout.¹¹

The sheriff was a member of the Leiden tribunal known as the Vierschaar, which decided both criminal and civil cases, and whenever a verdict of the eight aldermen was tied, he cast the deciding vote. In addition, the Privilege of 1434 issued by Philip the Good permitted him to act as a voting member of the Vierschaar whenever one of the schepenen was absent.¹²

The influence of the schout, however, extended beyond the limits of judicial matters. Before the emergence of the office of burgemeester in the late thirteenth or early fourteenth century, the schout and schepenen had been responsible for the administration of Leiden government. The sheriff continued in the sixteenth century to exercise some authority over administrative affairs through his membership in the gerecht, over which he presided. This dual nature of responsibility, both judicial and administrative, made the schout an important force in city politics.¹³

Another factor that affected the role of the sheriff in Leiden was the allegiance he owed to the authorities in The Hague. This occasionally made for a conflict of loyalties when issues involving both Leiden and either the Stadhouder of Holland or the central government were at cross-purposes. On these occasions the individual who held the office of schout became extremely important. One such occasion occurred at the beginning of the Dutch Revolt, when for a variety of reasons, actions by the underlings of the Duke of Alva were seen by Leiden city officials as infringements of traditional privileges. In this instance the schout was lenient towards or in sympathy with the interests of the Leidenaars. During 1567 when the lives and property of known or suspected Leiden Protestants were in danger of retaliation by Alva's subordinates, the sheriff, Jan Claesz. van BERENDRECHT, in contravention of his duty to enforce the orders of higher authority, warned many of the accused in advance, allowing them time to escape.¹⁴

The suspicions of the vroedschap concerning the loyalty of the schout were aroused on more than one occasion at Leiden. In 1568 the same van Claesz. van BERENDRECHT was physically removed from the council chamber during a debate because of such suspicions, and in 1578, after his selection as sheriff, the right of Willem Jacobsz. van Ioo (1538-1589) to remain a member of the vroedschap was questioned.¹⁵

The vroedschap made every attempt to influence the choice of the schout. It was in the council's interest to make sure that he was a Leidenaar who, while the instrument of superior authority, was amenable to compromise. The ideal equilibrium between vroedschap and schout was rarely achieved, as the examples above illustrate. The situation in the second half of the sixteenth century, however, was far better than it had been earlier. During the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, the Count of Holland regularly sold the office of schout to the highest bidder, the primary concern of both parties being to profit from the exchange.¹⁶ After much difficulty with this manner of selection, especially during the conflict between the Hoeks and Kabeljauws, compounded by the inability of succeeding schouts to pay off the official debts of their predecessors, the city concluded an arrangement with Gerrit van Lochorst, the sheriff in 1535. By the terms of this arrangement all future income from the office of schout which was intended for the city would be administered by a reliable individual; the schout would not choose a temporary replacement or assistant without the approval of the burgemeesteren;

and all minor fines would accrue directly to the schout. In return, the city would additionally pay the sheriff an annual salary of fifty carolusguldens and exempt him from all excise taxes.¹⁷ Although this settlement did not entirely wipe out the problems between the schout and the vroedschap, it reduced them considerably. After the 1530's all newly chosen sheriffs were Leiden citizens and residents of the town.

By the late sixteenth century the changes resulting from the Revolt against Spain initiated another alteration in the method of selecting the schout. The States of Holland came to appoint the sheriff from three nominees suggested by the vroedschap. The newly chosen schout appeared before the Lords of the Chamber of Accounts for the Count's Domain (Heeren vande Reeckencamer vande Graefelickheydts Domeynen) to discuss the terms of the office-lease and to have his oath administered.¹⁸ The financial arrangements between the schout and the town also became further standardized in this period. The schout came to be responsible for reporting quarterly to the burgemeesteren the amount of fines he had collected and the share owed the city treasury. In addition, the city auditors (roiijermeesteren) were required to examine his official accounts annually.¹⁹

The office of schepen or alderman, like that of schout, was concerned largely with legal or judicial affairs. There were eight aldermen at Leiden, chosen annually by the Stadhouder or his representative from a list of sixteen nominees submitted by the vroedschap.²⁰ Candidates had to be at least twenty-eight years old, citizens of Leiden for seven years, and could not be nominated

simultaneously with a father, brother or brother-in-law.

An alderman's duties and responsibilities were many and varied, which meant that a person holding this office would find it difficult to devote a large amount of time to personal business. This is one reason why a schepen generally did not serve for more than two or three consecutive terms.²¹ Until the mid-sixteenth century the office was non-salaried, and remuneration came only from a portion of the fines imposed. A 1550 resolution of the vroedschap, however, established that each member of the gerecht, which included the schepenen, would receive two stuivers for attendance at the regular sessions.²² This, in effect, gave the aldermen a small salary, although it was not for their responsibilities as judges.

The multifarious activities of an alderman encompassed nearly all actions of a judicial nature in Leiden. A proclamation issued in 1587 by the States of Holland, applicable to Leiden as well as other cities, clearly defined the role of the schepenen with regard to justice: "'The College of Schepen sit in ordinary session for the administration of Justice in criminal as well as civil affairs, and have and exercise all high, middle and low jurisdiction.'"²³ The comprehensiveness of this proclamation was accurate as of the situation in 1587. As early as 1570, however, certain jurisdictions, such as coinage, violence and unlawful assembly, and matters relating to privileges and customs, were taken away from the schepenen and were judged in the first instance by the Hof van Holland.²⁴

Originally, criminal cases were judged only four times a year beginning on the Mondays after St. Pontiaan's Day (14 January), Low

Sunday (Sunday after Easter), St. Jacob's Day (25 July) and All Saints Day (1 November). After 1508 each Monday and Friday was also set aside for this purpose, provided either did not fall on a market day or before the coming of Protestantism, a holy day.²⁵ If any further time was needed for cases during the week, Wednesdays were allocated.

Much of an alderman's time was taken up with matters of a civil nature which were not necessarily involved with the hearing of cases. These included authorization for the sale of both personal property and real-estate, the making or witnessing of marriage contracts and wills, the acknowledgement of security bonds, and personal declarations. To take care of such matters, Leiden citizens had to appear before the aldermen in the Schepen-chamber of the city hall Mondays, Wednesdays, Thursdays and Fridays beginning at eight-thirty in the morning. To round out the week's activities, Saturday afternoons were given over to the hearing of cases concerning tax evasion and fraud, thus the schepenen were in session almost daily.²⁶

They had full powers of justice, including the right to impose the death penalty. This was rarely exercised, however, even during the period of Anabaptist activity. The usual punishment in severe cases was banishment, which since 1393 extended to both Holland and Zeeland. The length of an individual's term of exile might be arrived at by the rolling of dice.²⁷

Frequently, the schepenen imposed fines which were limited to the amount of 120 gulden in the most serious instances.²⁸ In many

other infractions individuals were sentenced to perform certain works of public service, such as placing a given number of bricks in the city fortifications.²⁹ During the first half of the sixteenth century when Roman Catholic ceremonies were still a normal part of the city's everyday life, moral infractions or instances of insubordination to one's superiors were punished by having the offender publicly participate in a religious procession. Contemporaries rationalized that this would have a humbling effect on the wrongdoer either by encouraging thoughtful penance or by exposing him to scornful remarks of his fellow citizens.³⁰

During the thirteenth century the daily administrative affairs of Leiden were in the hands of the schout and schepenen. Owing to the increasingly independent nature of the city and its developing economy, a further division of labor among city officials became necessary to manage the additional workload. About 1300 a college of four mayors, then known as the raad, emerged to assume a number of specific administrative duties. At first they were merely assistants to the schepenen. Gradually, however, their influence and responsibilities increased, and by the mid-fifteenth century they had taken the major functions of daily administration away from their former supervisors.³¹

In the sixteenth century the mayors were commonly known as burgemeesteren. They had come to be in charge of city policy with regard to all political matters, the administration and supervision of town finances and properties, the management of the urban welfare system and of city defenses. These wide-ranging responsibilities

naturally called for the delegation of authority, and the parceling out of tasks by the burgemeesteren began at an early date. The offices of the two city treasurers, the orphanage directors, and the fortifications supervisor (vestmeester) were all direct outgrowths of the expanding duties of the mayors.³²

During the late sixteenth century the burgemeesteren extended their authority even further. In 1582 Leiden acquired the village and lands of Leiderdorp, and as a result the mayors became administrators of the area with the title of lords of the manor (ambachtsheren).³³ When the town guard (schutterij) was reorganized in 1588, the burgemeesteren were appointed superintendents (deken), each one serving for three months of their yearly term.³⁴ After 1575, when Leiden University was founded, the mayors served with a number of curators appointed by the States of Holland as the board of trustees of the university.³⁵ Thus, all new areas of authority were immediately brought under their control.

Outside the city the burgemeesteren acted as the city's representatives at meetings of the States of Holland, the States-General, or at political gatherings where the opinion and vote of Leiden was necessary.³⁶ Usually one mayor attended these sessions, accompanied by the city's legal advisor (pensionaris), who would offer counsel concerning strategy and legal technicalities. If the assembly was an important one requiring delicate political maneuvering, the Leiden delegation would not be given the power to vote its minds. Instead, if a question arose that was not covered by its instructions

or the debate took an unexpected turn, it would have to return to Leiden to receive consent from the vroedschap to vote a particular way. In less consequential matters the burgemeester would be instructed to vote as he saw fit or to abide by the majority opinion.³⁷

The four mayors were chosen annually on St. Martin's eve (10 November) by the vroedschap. According to custom and to maintain a certain continuity with previous policy and practice, one of the four previous mayors remained in office for a second year. During his extended term this individual became known as the old mayor (oud-burgemeester) and as senior member of the college presided over all meetings. The office of mayor was an unsalaried post, although each burgemeester received his robes, reimbursement for travel expenses, and after 1550 two stuivers each time he was present at a meeting (presentiegeld).³⁸ In order to qualify for appointment as burgemeester, one had to be at least twenty-eight years old, a citizen of Leiden for seven years, and not have a father, brother or brother-in-law holding the office at the same time. These pre-requisites were similar to other major Leiden offices.

Acting in concert, the schout, schepenen, and burgemeesteren comprised the gerecht or magistracy, which was responsible for the handling of political matters, civil disputes, excise-tax fraud, policy regarding public works, and administration of the city's welfare system. The gerecht was also the appointing authority for all lower municipal offices. Thus, the issues confronting the magistracy were diverse to the point of defying logical description. The magistracy

handled everything from garbage disposal to sending special representatives to the States of Holland.³⁹ Random perusal of the daily record of the gerecht, preserved in the appropriately named Gerechtdagboeken, reflects the diversity of cases in a single day: a dispute between the convoymaster at Delfshaven and the haulers of Leiden goods at the Walcheren Ferry, a lawsuit between a bookseller and Leiden professor Bonaventura Vulcanius and the testimony of one Jan Moyt Adriaenszoon, bricklayer, who swore that he paid his weekgeld (weekly tax on all those exempt from guard duty) in 1579 to 1580.⁴⁰ Although many tasks were delegated to others, the gerecht, through its consideration of a variety of issues, was in daily contact with the local affairs of the city. While ultimate decision-making powers on important matters were always the prerogative of the vroedschap, it was the gerecht that most closely resembled the modern city council of today. The importance of membership in this small, annually shifting group of men will be discussed at length in Chapters IV and VI.

In the course of the sixteenth century the way in which a number of administrative and judicial procedures were handled changed, thus altering the role of both the mayors and the aldermen. Matters such as tax evasion, personal arguments, and property disputes came to be resolved by arbitrators from both offices. Usually, one burgemeester and two schepenen heard testimony and attempted to arrive at an acceptable decision. This group or college, known as the peacemakers (vredemakers), was established in 1598 to lighten the load of the already overworked Vierschaar. This development corresponds to

the disappearance of the Kenning, a less formal legal procedure, for dealing with these types of problems.⁴¹ The mayors and two aldermen were also required to investigate all fraud related to the collection of non-local taxes (Gemeenelandsmiddelen) at Leiden.⁴²

In compliance with the Proclamation of the States of Holland and West-Friesland, dated April 1, 1580, two aldermen were annually designated as supervisors of marital affairs (gecommitteerde tot de echtzaecken). Appointed by the gerecht, they were to insure that after the banns had been announced a legal marriage actually took place.⁴³

Another body composed of both burgemeesteren and schepenen was the Academische Vierschaar or tribunal of the university founded in 1575. Sitting with the Rector and four members of the Academic Senate, the four burgemeesteren and two schepenen judged both criminal and civil cases involving students. The schout also participated in this tribunal as prosecutor (see page 86).

The adaptation and reform of several administrative and judicial bodies at Leiden was the result not only of the increasing complexity of life in the city, but also of changes wrought by politics, the economy and altered social circumstances. In the late sixteenth century the recovery from the siege, the accomodation of religious rivalries, and the beginning of massive immigration by Flemings and Brabanters in the 1580's all had an impact on the institutions of government. If this impact was felt at the level of major offices, it was even more strongly felt at the level of the smalle diensten.

In various ways the hospital administrators, the overseers of alms distribution, the supervisors of church property and investments, the cloth inspectors and a host of others were all affected by the changes.

In all there were more than fifty smalle diensten in Leiden in the second half of the sixteenth century. During this period some of them disappeared or were absorbed by other offices, a few were adapted to changing needs, and a number arose to fill a void. Prior to the introduction of Protestantism, city supervisors of religious-related affairs, such as the kerkmeesters, huiszittenmeesters, and overseers of the money collected from the mass (getijdemeesters) were organized along parish lines with each parish having four of each of the above office-holders. Following a short period of confusion and recovery after the 1574 siege, these offices were consolidated so that for the entire city there were only four kerkmeesters and four huiszittenmeesters. The getijdemeesters were abolished.

In the case of the four Leiden hospitals, each of which had four gasthuismeesters and four hospital matrons (gasthuismoeders), the sixteenth century saw a slow consolidation of three, so that by 1592 there were only two sets of gasthuismeesters and gasthuismoeders. In 1583 a decision was made to combine the St. Elizabeth's Hospital with the Hospital of Our Lady. Then in 1592 the independent Leprosarium was united with these two, leaving only St. Catherine's Hospital, Leiden's oldest and largest, under separate management.⁴⁴

If these two examples suffice to illustrate the way in which certain offices were united to streamline Leiden's local administrative

structure, another should serve to correct the notion that it made any difference. Confronted by the revival of its important cloth industry and the problem of how to insure proper control of it, the city fathers followed the not unusual plan of creating new supervisory offices to inspect the various divisions of the burgeoning manufacture of lighter cloth. Gerecht-appointed representatives from the various guilds had long existed, but with the introduction of each new type of cloth produced at Leiden, a new group of inspectors was formed. Thus, by the end of the sixteenth century there were superintendents of the serge, baize and cange industries as well as their subordinates, the dekens, who assisted them.⁴⁵ All were chosen by the gerecht from lists of nominees submitted by the various cloth guilds.

There were a host of additional smalle diensten which came under the authority of the gerecht. Among them were the various quality control personnel for numerous other trades and crafts, the city surgeons (stadschirurgijn), the town midwives (vroedvrouwen), the sextons (kosteren) of the three parish churches, the several city hall pages and assistants (boden), the regular gate superintendents (poortiers), and many others. Many of these minor posts were salaried, and many were held by the same people year after year.

Two other important city officers were the secretaris and pensionaris. Both were very influential posts, the responsibilities of which increased considerably during the sixteenth century. The manner and efficiency of keeping city records or the advice given about the legal consequences of political decisions could easily

determine the course of events. Among the duties of the secretaris were the recording of debates and decisions of the vroedschap and gerecht, registration and preservation of city bond issues and annuities, the accurate tallying of financial accounts and the drawing up of new city statutes.⁴⁶

The pensionaris attended the meetings of the States of Holland and West-Friesland with the burgemeesteren and was charged with keeping accurate records of what transpired there. He was to explain the legal technicalities of various actions taken and insure that later the vroedschap was informed of both the actions of Leiden's delegation and the positions of the other voting groups. A considerable knowledge of the law was required for this post, and in the sixteenth century the pensionaris was always a lawyer.⁴⁷

The tasks of both these offices became so heavy that they were provided assistants to share the load. In 1596 the griffier, whose responsibility it was to keep minutes of the schepenen, was separated from the office of secretaris becoming an office in its own right, and in the early seventeenth century an assistant secretary (ondersecretaris) was appointed.⁴⁸ There had been two pensionarissen since at least 1551.⁴⁹ Both the secretaris and pensionaris were salaried offices, and both were appointed by the vroedschap for periods of specified length.

Another office which had become more than merely a minor post was orphanage director (weesmeester). During the period covered by this study two, three or four were appointed each year by the gerecht,

but unlike other gerecht-appointed officers who began their terms in January, the weesmeesters assumed their duties shortly after their election on St. Martin's eve (10 November).⁵⁰ Briefly, the task of the weesmeesters was the protection and administration of the estate and property of those children without one or both parents, the mentally retarded, and others unable to manage their affairs themselves. They exercised supervision over legal guardians with a view to preventing the mismanagement of the orphan's financial affairs.⁵¹ The increase in the numbers of poor in the first half of the century, the crises of the 1570's, and the influx of new population after the 1580's multiplied the responsibilities of the weesmeesters.⁵²

This discussion of Leiden's local governmental structure has centered primarily on a description of the sixteenth century offices and their respective functions. Intended only as a guide, the outline of the administrative and judicial network was derived mainly from near contemporary and later secondary sources. What follows is a consideration of the process of government based on empirical evidence from primary sources, such as minutes of the gerecht, deliberations of the vroedschap and court records.⁵³ Like the foregoing material it is hardly a complete analysis of the local administrative procedure. Rather, its purpose is to put in perspective how the sixteenth century city fathers spent their day, what sort of issues were important to them, and how such issues were handled.

Selecting appropriate and representative material for a short survey of this kind is obviously essential. The examples that follow do not touch on significant events in Leiden's development. They are

instead illustrations of the normal rather than the unusual. By discussing routine governmental procedures here, it will be possible later to more clearly distinguish the important changes which affected the vroedschap in the course of the late sixteenth century.

The focal point of city administration was, quite naturally, the town hall or stadhuis. Located on Breestraat, its large rooms and meeting halls housed nearly all the important activities of local government. The periodic meetings of the vroedschap took place there. The daily affairs of the gerecht and the judicial proceedings of the Vierschaar were also held there, as were the deliberations of the burgemeesteren. The cloth and butchers markets, both strictly regulated, were also housed in the city hall. City ordinances and information were announced from its steps, and executions were carried out at the "blue stone" (blauwe steen) in front of it. If a citizen needed a document witnessed, if he wished to arrange a marriage contract or wanted to prepare a bill of sale, he had to consult the appropriate office holder in the stadhuis. It was truly the center of a Leidenaar's legal, political and to a large extent economic life.

This was reflected by the Leiden fullers in the years 1559-1562 when they were not only feeling the pinch of inflation, but also the general shrinkage of the local cloth industry. Because the town regulated cloth manufacturing, it was to the gerecht that the fullers first turned to express their grievances and seek redress. Undoubtedly, the cloth merchants (drapeniers), for whom the fullers worked, were made aware of the mood and plight of their employees before the gerecht

was involved. However, the first legal step for the fullers was to approach those with the authority to regulate their activities and to request that something be done.

On November 3, 1559 the fullers of Leiden, both masters and journeymen, issued a deferential request to the gerecht, asking for a raise in the established wage which they were then receiving. Addressed to the schout, schepenen and burgemeesteren, it described the difficulties of the fullers in making ends meet, recounted the decline of the cloth industry, of which the gerecht was already painfully aware, and compared the situation in Leiden with that of Haarlem and Delft. The appeal of the document was to the sympathy of those who might act to relieve some of the misery. Ending upon a rather modern note, the fullers explained that they were adverse to being on the welfare because such dependence was purported to give rise to all base instincts. They hoped to receive an expeditious hearing before the gerecht, where their complaints could be aired in greater detail.⁵⁴

That they received their hearing is corroborated by the announcement of the same day (November 3rd) that the wages of the fullers were to be raised from twenty-five stuivers for each half-size cloth worked on to twenty-five stuivers two blanken.⁵⁵ This not very healthy increase and a similar one for master fullers dated January 2, 1560 were ordered after the gerecht had obtained the advice of the drapeniers and consulted with the inspectors (wardeins) of the cloth industry.⁵⁶ Like the present-day government official, the gerecht called for advice from a panel of experts. The experts and the

wardeins, whose task it was to oversee textile regulations, had an interest in not acceding too far to the request of the fullers. While this parallel with modern government must not be pressed too far, a certain similarity is suggested.

The fullers were cognizant that they had not achieved what they had hoped, because after another slight increase in the wages of master fullers during December 1560, their representatives (gesworen and homans) made another attempt to influence the gerecht in 1561. Lack of significant success at this point caused them to request that commissioners of the Hof van Holland step in to arbitrate the matter.

The Hof van Holland responded by summoning representatives chosen from the Leiden vroedschap who had the power to speak for all drapeniers. The summons was issued on June 27th, and the meeting with the Hof's lawyers was to take place the following Tuesday in The Hague.⁵⁷ On July 1st A. Sasbout and D. Boot, representing the Hof van Holland, recommended that the gerecht meet once again with the fullers. If they failed to reach an agreement, both sides were to report back to the Hof in three weeks to allow members of the Hof to consider the case.⁵⁸

The proposed reconciliation failed because after several weeks time, both sides reappeared in The Hague with witnesses and testimony on their respective points of view. Evidence presented to the Hof at the beginning of August included statements from fullers of other towns, such as Haarlem and Delft, testifying with regard to prices, wages, and the condition of the fullers trade in those cities.

Correspondingly, the drapeniers obtained support for their case in the same way. Reports were received by the Hof not only from those practicing the occupation of drapenier, but from city officials and others as well. All testimony was officially certified or notarized as true by the city from which it came.⁵⁹ The dossier which is comprised of the documents collected by the Hof contains two long summaries of each party's argument and evidence. According to the decision of the Hof, which with great deliberation considered the presentations of both sides, only the Leiden gerecht had the right to properly decide whether or not to raise the wages of the fullers. After all the effort which went into preparing each side's case, the Hof disclaimed any decision-making power in the matter and returned the case to the gerecht. However, after considering the admonition by the Hof to carefully weigh the allegations of both sides, the gerecht declared on November 29, 1561 that the wages of master fullers be raised by two stuivers to thirty and one-half stuivers. Essentially, this increase amounted to little more than a cost of living raise.⁶⁰

This lengthy issue between the fullers and the drapeniers via the gerecht is illustrative of more than the litigious nature of sixteenth-century man. It gives a view of the interplay between the ordinary Leiden citizen (poorter) and his local government and between the local authorities and their superiors at the Hof van Holland. The matter involved all the major Leiden administrative and judicial bodies in a number of capacities. The complaint about wages was first brought to the attention of the gerecht, that is schout,

schepenen and burgemeesteren, in its role as regulatory body for the cloth industry. The decisions of the gerecht with regard to the wage increases involved consultation with the drapeniers, who had not only a strong personal interest in keeping wages down, but also a significant representation in both the vroedschap and gerecht.⁶¹ Recommendations as to what course of action to pursue came from the gerecht's appointees, the wardeins, who as inspectors of the cloth industry regulations were supposedly closer or better informed about the needs and moods of the cloth workers. That the fullers thought that the gerecht was getting bad advice, is very clearly stated in their complaint of 1561.⁶² The reaction of at least one member of the gerecht to the fullers' gild representatives also indicates resentment between the parties. The reaction is recorded word for word in the complaint by the fullers. Replying to representatives of the fullers gild, the member of the gerecht states, "'you come here always, you rumormongers and trouble-makers, we never see anyone but you here, we think you have wages enough, and more than enough.'"⁶³

There is no evidence to indicate that tensions rose to the level which might precipitate altercations or violence. The subordinate position of guilds in the county of Holland, as compared to Flanders where guilds were politically powerful and active, prevented that. The role of schout and schepenen as judicial functionaries is therefore not a part of this series of events. Lacking local political clout, the fullers did have recourse to a hearing before the Hof van Holland. This they got. In choosing this course of action, the

fullers involved the burgemeesteren and the pensionaris in their traditional roles as representatives of the city to higher authority. Receipt of the fullers' request for a hearing occasioned the Raad van Holland to summon Leiden officials to discuss the matter. On June 30, 1561 burgemeester Gerrit Roeloftsz (van der MYE) (1521- ?) and pensionaris M^r Cornelis Jansz. van Veen (1519-1591) traveled to The Hague for this purpose.⁶⁴ A month later, on July 29, 1561, Leiden sent another burgemeester, Claes Adriaensz. (1519-?1569) with the pensionaris and a number of unnamed cloth merchants to appear before the commissioners of the Hof.⁶⁵ This action brought the vroedschap into the picture, for they were consulted about the choice of who was to represent the town on behalf of the cloth industry. This sharing of responsibilities with regard to a single incident would seem to indicate that a detailed knowledge of the affair was not limited to specific delegates. A little over a month later (August 6, 1561) the burgemeesteren ordered Jan Adriaensz. de WILDE as wardein and Quiryn Claesz. and Ewout Aerntsz. as deputies of the drapeniers to appear, apparently alone, before the Hof commissioners.⁶⁶

In the interim between the first meeting of the burgemeesteren with the commissioners in June 1561 and the August 1561 meeting with the wardein and drapeniers, neither side in the case was idle. Both had been accumulating evidence to present in their respective favors before the Hof. In so doing the schout and schepenen of Leiden were used in their capacities as the recorders and authenticators of testimony by experts and witnesses:

We, schout, and schepenen of the city of Leiden, do properly state that before the gerecht of the aforementioned city, rightly endorsed on the said date below, have appeared Pieter Mathijss., twenty-six years old, Pieter Corstenss. of Haerlem, twenty-four years old, Pieter Jansz., twenty-five years old, and Snell Dircxz., fuller from Hairlem, thirty-nine years old, and witnessed according to punishable oath, which each swore completely with raised hands and outstretched fingers as is customary, thus they, by request of the common fullers of this city, were legally brought here, as respectively and hereafter follows and is described. . .⁶⁷

The hearing of witnesses and documentation of personal declarations were standard procedure for the schout and schepenen. They were a part of all criminal and civil cases and disputes.

The final arguments presented before the Hof van Holland were by lawyers rather than by Leiden officials or gild members. The decision of the Hof to return the matter to the gerecht without officially recommending a course of action, at least publically, had the effect of negating any substantial victory the fullers might have hoped to attain. This case perhaps made more evident to the city fathers the economic difficulties of the common man, the artisans and journeymen. It did not, however, cause the gerecht to depart from its previous repetitious stance of granting only slight wage increases.

While this one incident does not explore the multiplicity of procedures used to manage the various aspects of a Dutch city, it does outline in a general way how a non-crisis issue was handled. Clearly, not all matters which first came to the attention of the gerecht were serious enough to draw in nearly every branch of the Leiden city government. Many, if not most, were delegated to one of

the smalle diensten, such as the huiszittenmeesteren or gasthuimeesters. Some were solved by individual colleges, such as the burgemeesteren alone or the schout and schepenen alone. This particular case does illustrate, however, that matters of some importance involved not just the consultation, but the participation of members from more than one administrative college of the city.

The minutes and deliberations of these various bodies provide interesting insight into the kind of issues which confronted the city in this period. The records of the burgemeesteren, preserved in the Burgemeestersdakboeken after 1587, and those of the gerecht in the Gerechtsdagboeken after 1567 are most intimately concerned with local affairs. Administration of local finances, annuities, complaints about city defenses, and affairs involving the areas of the surrounding Rijnland over which Leiden had control were most often handled by the mayors. The gerecht, on the other hand, dealt with a wider range of things, although the local focus is also evident. Most problems relating to the smalle diensten found their way into the minutes of the gerecht, if only because these lesser offices reported to it. Construction and public works projects, exemption from night watch, appointment of legal guardians, and the annual recording of those craftsmen who had taken their oaths to the city were among the matters which came before the gerecht. To a certain extent there was a degree of overlap between both the mayors and the gerecht. Occasionally, one college referred a problem to the other or a report was requested from the other body. This is another example of the interaction

between Leiden offices.

The role of local government changed in the period between 1550 and 1600. This occurred primarily because of the crises associated with the Dutch Revolt and the emergence of the Northern Netherlands as a separate political entity. The towns of Holland became more important than they had been in the past, and this consequently had an impact on local affairs. All spheres of local administration felt this shift to a certain extent, but the group most profoundly affected was the vroedschap. Evidence of the vroedschap's altered political role after the 1574 siege appears in the resolutions of that body. At best impersonal documents, they nevertheless give an impression of the types of issues which concerned the council members. There is a striking contrast between the resolutions before and after 1572-1574. Prior to the Dutch Revolt deliberations involved matters of local importance: brewers' complaints about the milling of grain, petitions regarding redress of grievances by cloth workers and so forth. Broader issues, such as taxes requested by Charles V (1500-1558) for his wars with France or problems with the Calais staple, were almost always placed in the context of Leiden's immediate interest. After the siege, with the evolution of the northern Netherlands into the Dutch Republic, the character of the deliberations changed. Little attention was paid to local matters, which were left to the mayors and the gerecht. Instead, "national" affairs were discussed, sometimes in great detail. The Netherlands' relationship with Portugal, Dutch reaction to the English defeat of the Spanish Armada, or discussion of the outfitting

of ships to act against Spain now occupied the vroedschap.⁶⁸ With the development of the Dutch Republic, the political elites of the cities were confronted by issues that had previously been handled at a distance, and Leiden was no exception. The necessity of dealing with "national" affairs, or at least problems beyond the scope of previous experience, transformed the vroedschap. It became, in the last third of the sixteenth century, the apprenticeship for and the stepping stone to "national" office in The Hague.

This leads quite naturally to yet another topic: the meaning of holding office in sixteenth-century Leiden. To have held office in the period under consideration was not any less of a complex matter than it is today, even though the systems were different. If one was born to a certain station in life, it was assumed one had the obligation or the duty of holding civic office, whichever way it was perceived. This was, of course, not unique to the Netherlands. Nevertheless, because of the number and importance of cities in the region, such responsibilities and the character of urban culture as a whole had a more important place in Dutch society than in countries such as France and England. As a citizen of means, the well-to-do burger was expected to participate in local affairs. Not everyone saw this as an advantage. The reluctance of some to engage in public life may be seen from the order of Charles V in 1543 that no one could henceforth avoid office by renouncing his citizenship.⁶⁹ The matter, as one might expect, was not solved by this declaration. The conflict between public duty and private desire continued to be a problem among officer holders in

sixteenth-century Leiden. Establishment in 1550 of presentiegeld, which was a monetary inducement to attend council meetings, is evidence of this. If an office-holder neglected his duties excessively for reasons other than illness, he was fined and issued a reprimand.⁷⁰ Occasionally not even this worked, for in 1587 Dirck Jacobsz. van der GRAFT (? -1593) who had claimed he was not able to attend meetings of the vroedschap on account of a leg injury, was seen walking through the streets.⁷¹

In the eyes of some then, office-holding, whether it was burgemeester, vroedschap or gasthuismeester, was a burden despite the prestige attached to it. If participating in city government was seen by some as a way to increase one's influence or business position, others saw it as extremely time-consuming. As in today's world, each sixteenth-century Leidenaar weighed that for himself. There were certainly those who relished political office and those who tried to avoid it. One of the former was Pieter Adriaensz. van der WERF (1529-1604), who was deeply distressed when he was kept out of office following the siege of 1574.⁷² On the other hand, Dirck Jacobsz. van MONTFOORT (? -1581) made it quite plain in 1575 that he was not interested in holding a seat on the vroedschap.⁷³

There were as many reasons for desiring office as for disdaining it. Among the former were certainly that one's family would benefit from the associations one made in city government and that one's business or trade would hopefully be better off. The city fathers were undoubtedly conscious that the political or economic policies that they might help to establish would contribute to their

own security if not prosperity. Jan Jansz. van BAERSDORP (1529-1608), for instance, was a grain merchant who played a significant role in the events of 1574 and later became not only one of Leiden's most important political leaders, but was active in "national" affairs as well. BAERSDORP's political success, culminating in a post as Raad of the Admiralty of Amsterdam, contributed in no small way to his family's prestige, both in Leiden and elsewhere.⁷⁴

Another advantage of holding public office was the potential economic rewards that might accompany it. Certainly, members of the vroedschap in 1577 were acutely aware of the necessity for economic revival. The traditional cloth manufacturing industry, known as the old drapery, had no more than six looms in operation and the devastating effects of the 1574 siege were being felt by everyone. By agreeing to allow a group of Flemish cloth workers, then resident in Colchester, England, establish themselves in Leiden, the vroedschap hoped to once again stimulate the city's economy. Undoubtedly, they saw a chance to improve their own lots in the process. Certainly, the indirect effect of such a move was known to near contemporaries.⁷⁵ The privileges granted to the new cloth workers, such as right to citizenship without the customary payment and exemption from certain other normal taxes for a given period, illustrates the intense desire on the part of vroedschap members to attract new economic growth to the town. If the move was successful, those in government could not help but benefit from it.⁷⁶

On the other hand, if there were advantages that accrued from holding civic office, the burdens of that responsibility increased

greatly during the sixteenth century. The decline of the old drapery, the political and religious crises in the 1560's and 1570's, and the returning prosperity of the last quarter of the century all contributed in some measure to this development. The enormous increase in record keeping is only one indication of the larger work load experienced by Leiden office-holders. Despite allowances for loss of documents relating to the early sixteenth century, the continual growth in sheer volume and detail of records kept at all levels of local Leiden government shows that there was simply more to do as the century wore on.

The addition of a second pensionaris by 1551, and an under-city secretary (ondersecretaris) in the early seventeenth century, testifies to the beginnings of this trend. The orphanage (weeskamer) and other public administrative bodies added more personnel in the late sixteenth century as they found it necessary. Also, the separation of the office of clerk (griffier) from that of secretaris in 1595 is further evidence of the process.⁷⁷ In many ways one is reminded of the increased demands placed upon modern local governments and bureaucracies. Rising population densities and industrial growth stretched the ability of local administrators to provide better public services, the physical growth of sixteenth and early seventeenth-century Leiden created specific problems. The geographic expansions of the city in 1604 and again in 1610 were needed to accomodate a population that had increased from a little over 12,000 in 1581 to almost 45,000 in 1622. The acute housing shortage forced the digging of new canals, the planning of new streets, reform of the welfare system, and the

assimilation of a student population and sizable Flemish, French and German minorities.⁷⁸ The increased professionalization of office-holders in the Leiden vroedschap, which almost of necessity occurred concurrently with these developments, will be explored in Chapter V.

Having discussed the offices of the city government and the way in which they functioned, it is necessary to precisely define who comprised the group to be analyzed in the following chapters. Up till now the group under scrutiny has been loosely characterized as the membership of the vroedschap. This is essentially true, although a number of individuals who were never town councilmen have been chosen for study.⁷⁹ I have selected all those men who held a major Leiden office between 1550 and 1600. Everyone who served as schout, burgemeester, schepen or vroedschap has been included. To these I added the men who were pensionaris and secretaris because of their political influence and socio-economic status. In the period under consideration there were a total of 185 individuals in these offices.⁸⁰

These 185 were the men whose words and deeds had political, economic and social meaning for Leiden in this period.⁸¹ They were the ruling elite of the city who clearly distinguished themselves from others. Service as a major public official meant that one had crossed an important social threshold. Evidence indicates that these men considered themselves apart from those who had not crossed that threshold. When a member of this office-holding group is mentioned in a document, regardless of whether or not he is acting in a public capacity, he is often identified as such. For example, in the

marriage agreement of Jan Florisz. van ADRICHEM (? -1572) executed before the schepenen on April 21, 1563 the groom is referred to as "Johan van Adrichem presently Burge [meester] of the aforesaid city of Leyden. . ."82 In another case the will of Adriaen Dirck Ottensz. (van MEERBRUCH) (? -1571), registered on March 19, 1567, designates Ottensz. as "Adryaen Dirck Ottenz s z[oon] our colleague in the gerecht. . ."83 Despite the inevitable political differences that cropped up, these men definitely had a consciousness of themselves as a group. They did form a cohesive segment of Leiden society whose impact on the town was very great. Because of their social, political and economic importance in the town, they can be studied in greater detail than other elements of Leiden society. For these reasons, the men comprising the offices of schout, burgemeester, schepen, vroedschap, pensionaris and secretaris constituted the ruling elite of the city and as such will be discussed in detail in subsequent chapters.

FOOTNOTES--CHAPTER III

¹GAL, SA I, No. 73: Dienstboek A, 1500-1589, folio 87.

²Verklaring by de Staten van Hollandt ende West-Vrieslandt, dated October 16, 1587, cited by Orlers, Beschryvinge der Stadt Leyden, p. 584: "'De Steden hebben meest al een form van Regeringhe, te weten een Collegie van Raeden of Vroetschappen, geconstitueert sijnde vande notabelste uyt de midden vande gantsche Burgerye.'"

³Orlers, Beschryvinge der Stadt Leyden, p. 580: "De Stadt Leyden ghelijck alle andere Steden van Hollant ende West Vrieslandt, is over veele Jaeren geregeert gheweest/ by het Collegie vande groote Vroetschappe ofte Veertigen, bestaende in Veertich Persoonen/ de welcke uyt de Ryckste ende gequalificeerste vande Burgheren vercooren werden."

⁴The generalizations presented in these paragraphs are derived from the reading of a variety of sources over a long period of time. Specific references which justify particular points will subsequently appear in the course of this study. For a comparative view of this discussion concerning the office-holder patrician's view of society and his fellow citizens see Sylvia L. Thrupp, The Merchant Class of Medieval London (1300-1500), Ann Arbor Paperbacks (Ann Arbor, Michigan: The University of Michigan Press, 1968), pp. 14-27. While Miss Thrupp's discussion centers on the late Middle Ages, many of the attitudes she talks about were still prevalent in the sixteenth century in England as well as on the continent.

⁵Kolff, "Libertatis Ergo," pp. 123-124 and pp. 129-130. Kolff sees the sixteenth century vroedschap as an increasingly closed group, although not simply because of the way in which new members were selected.

⁶Marijke Kok, "Het stadsbestuur van Leiden en de bestuurskringen tot de Bourgondisch tijd," (unpublished thesis [scriptie], 1966), p. 26. Also see J. Ringeling, "Het ontstaan van de Leidse vroedschap (unpublished thesis [scriptie], n.d.), p. 24. For the development of the late medieval vroedschap and the college of veertig compare Blok, GHS, II, pp. 107-116.

⁷Orlers, Beschryvinge der Stadt Leyden, pp. 585-587.

⁸Ibid., pp. 585-586, 610-611, 620-621, 636-638. See Appendix B for a breakdown of offices, terms of service, salaries, etc.

⁹Robert Feenstra, "Les Villes des Pays-Bas septentrionaux: Histoire des institutions administratives et judiciaires," Société Jean Bodin pour l'histoire comparative des institutions, Recueils VI, La Ville I (Bruxelles: 1954), pp. 626-627.

¹⁰Orlors, Beschryvinge der Stadt Leyden, p. 604. See also Blok, GHS, III, p. 172.

¹¹Ibid., pp. 606-607.

¹²Ibid., pp. 604-605. See also the introduction to the inventory of the local Leiden legal archives, Het oude rechterlijke archief van Leiden (n.p., n.d.), p. 2.

¹³Kok, "Het stadsbestuur van Leiden, p. 6. Also Blok, GHS, II, p. 93.

¹⁴Blok, GHS, II, p. 40; Knappert, Opkomst van Protestantisme, p. 259 citing as his authority Bor, Nederlandsche Oorlogen, Vol. I (Amsterdam, 1679), folio 230b. Compare the incident of February 28, 1568 when this same schout did this time actually apprehend and examine a number of Leiden citizens on the authority of the Duke of Alva. Although it appears as if BERENDRECHT only exiled these accused (which was tantamount to letting them get away), the vroedschap protested the schout's right to do this as against the privileges of the city. See GAL, SA I, No. 396: Vroedschapsboek H, folio 66vso, dated February 28, 1568.

¹⁵Blok, GHS, II, p. 96; GAL, SA II, No. 441: Vroedschapsboek J, folios 100-101vso, dated May 23, 1578.

¹⁶According to the Great Privilege, which was in effect from 1434 to 1494, the town had the choice of selling the office of schout themselves with the proceeds going to the Court, or of letting the Count lease the office to someone approved by the vroedschap. In the 1520's so much was charged for the office that it was difficult to find candidates who wanted it.

¹⁷Blok, GHS, II, pp. 94-96.

¹⁸Orlors, Beschryvinge der Stadt Leyden, pp. 603-604; Blok, GHS, III, p. 96.

¹⁹Blok, GHS, III, p. 172.

²⁰Orlors, Beschryvinge der Stadt Leyden, p. 619. This method of selection extended back to the Great Privilege of 1434 issued by Philip the Good. Originally, this Privilege designated that forty well-to-do citizens chosen by the gerecht and vroedschap would select sixteen qualified men as nominees for schepen. As the vroedschap and these separately selected Forty or Veertich came to be identical, it was the vroedschap that nominated the candidates.

²¹Most schepenen served only one term in a row. After their year was up, they would be chosen for other posts, returning to the office of schepen later in their careers. There were, however, a few individuals who served extended terms as aldermen. Dirck Willemsz. van der BURCH, for instance, served nine consecutive terms as schepen from St. Jacob's Day (25 July) 1564 to St. Jacob's Eve (24 July) 1573. In another case, Jan Huych Andriesz. (van THORENVLIT) (? -1559) served an almost consecutive fourteen year term as alderman from St. Jacob's Day 1544 to St. Jacob's Eve 1559. This long stint was interrupted only once (St. Jacob's Day 1548 to St. Jacob's Eve 1549) by a term as fortifications supervisor (vestmeester).

²²Blok, GHS, II, p. 98 citing a resolution of the vroedschap dated October 9, 1550. This, in effect, gave the schepenen a small salary depending on how many meetings they attended. It was not related to their judicial duties, however.

²³Orlors, Beschryvinge der Stadt Leyden, p. 623 quoting the Verclaringe vande Staten van Hollandt ende West-Vrieslandt, 16 October 1587: "'De Collegien vanden Schepenen vaceren ordinarie tot d'administratie vande Justitie, zo in alle Crimineele als Civiel saecken, ende hebben ende exerceren alle hoge, middelen ende laghe Iurisdictionen.'"

²⁴Oude rechterlijke archief, p. 2.

²⁵Knappert, Opkomst van Protestantisme, p. 19.

²⁶Orlors, Beschryvinge der Stadt Leyden, pp. 626-627.

²⁷Knappert, Opkomst van Protestantisme, p. 20. Capital punishment most frequently meant the loss of a limb, rather than death. With regard to banishment, if the convicted individual appealed this ruling, he had the right to appear or reside in The Hague during the appeal, even though The Hague lay within the County of Holland. He was not, however, permitted to re-enter the Rijnland. Knappert (p. 20, note 3) relates an incident whereby Jan Wouter Pieter Paddekensz. threw a six with dice in front of the city hall and was therefore banished from Leiden for six years.

²⁸Orlers, Beschryvinge der Stadt Leyden, p. 626.

²⁹One example of a verdict of this kind occurred in 1528 and involved two men who would later become members of the vroedschap. Oude Mees Garbrantsz. (van NIEROP) (? -1566), who would be elected vroedschap in 1534, and M^r Claes de WILDE (1505-1567), who would become vroedschap in 1547, were convicted along with a Bouwen Andriesz. for having improperly died cloth. Bouwen Andriesz. was sentenced to place 12,000 bricks in the city fortifications, and Garbrantsz. and De WILDE were each to place 6,000. (GAL, Rechterlijke Archief, No. 4: Correctieboek H, folio 2, dated July 8, 1528). Hereafter any reference to the Rechterlijke Archief will be cited as RA.

³⁰Knappert, Opkomst van Protestantisme, p. 20. Another sentence of this kind was the pilgrimage, although it was less frequently imposed during the sixteenth century.

³¹Kok, "Stadsbestuur van Leiden," pp. 10, 15, 27-28; Blok, GHS, I, p. 142.

³²Blok, GHS, II, pp. 100-105; Orlers, Beschryvinge der Stadt Leyden, pp. 613-614.

³³Orlers, Beschryvinge der Stadt Leyden, p. 614.

³⁴Blok, GHS, III, pp. 182-183. Also Orlers, Beschryvinge der Stadt Leyden, p. 614.

³⁵J. J. Woltjer, "Positie van de Curatoren," pp. 487-488.

³⁶Blok, GHS, III, p. 168.

³⁷H. G. Koenigsberger, "Powers of Deputies in Sixteenth Century Assemblies," in Album Helen Maud Cam, Studies Presented to the International Commission for the History of Representative and Parliamentary Institutions, XXIV (Louvain: Publications universitaires de Louvain, 1961), pp. 215 and 226-231.

³⁸Blok, GHS, II, pp. 99-100.

³⁹GAL, SA II, No. 9249: Gerechtsdagboek A², folios 74vso, 161.

⁴⁰Ibid., folio 130.

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It is probably not quite accurate to say that one is the direct result of the other. The Kenning was the official registration of a civil complaint by one party against another. Accusations were spelled out by both sides and acknowledged by the schepenen. Once this was done the suit could then be forwarded to the Vierschaar for investigation and ultimate verdict. The introduction of the college of Vredemakers reduced the two stages of this procedure to one by allowing the final decisions to be made by the burgemeester and two schepenen rather than passing the case along to the full college of aldermen. For a discussion of the Kenning procedure see M. D. Osinga and W. S. Gelinck, eds., Kenningboek der stad Leiden 1570/1580, 2e Stuk: 1574/1580, Werken der Vereeniging tot Uitgaaf der Bronnen van Oud-Vaderlandsche Recht, Tweede Reeks, No. 24 ('s-Gravenhage: Martinus Nijhoff, 1930), pp. VI-X; and Oude rechterlijke archief van Leiden, pp. 3-4.

42 Oude rechterlijke archief, pp. 3-4.

43 Ibid., pp. 3-4.

44 Ligtenberg, Armezorg te Leiden, pp. 105, 123, 156.

45 The evolution of the inspectors and officials concerned with the cloth industry are treated in detail by Posthumus, Lakenindustrie II, pp. 437-464; also see Orlers, Beschryvinge der Stadt Leyden, pp. 726-729.

46 Blok, GHS, p. 120; Blok, GHS, III, pp. 176-177; a full outline of the duties of the secretaris is found in GAL, No. 388: Aflezingsboek B, folio 147. This reference is undated but falls immediately before one dated April 13, 1565.

47 Blok, GHS, III, p. 176; a treatment of both secretaris and pensionaris when they were united as one office is F. W. N. Hugenhotz, "Clerc (Secretaris) en Pensionaris van de stad Leiden, Bijdrage tot de kennis van de stedelijke ambtnergaren in de late middeleeuwen," Tijdschrift voor Geschiedenis, LXVI (1953), pp. 220-234.

48 Blok, GHS, III, p. 178. While the ondersecretaris was a newly created office, most of the duties had been previously carried out by a clerk who was subordinate to the secretaris (Blok, GHS, II, p. 120; Orlers, Beschryvinge der Stadt Leyden, pp. 674-675). The main responsibilities of the ondersecretaris involved maintenance of the financial records of the city treasurers and tax-auditors.

49 Jacob de MILDE served as pensionaris from 1543 until 1564, and after 1553 he also fulfilled the duties of secretaris until 1564. In 1551, probably to assist de MILDE, Cornelis Jansz. van VEEN (1519-1591) was appointed pensionaris also. See GAL, SA I, No. 73: Dienstboek A 1500-1589, passim. and R. E. O. Ekkart, "Het gezin van Cornelis van Veen," Leiden '74, p. 95.

50 Blok, GHS, III, p. 175. In 1569 and earlier there were only two weesmeesters. Between 1570 and 1583 three were appointed, and after 1584 there were four.

51 Orlers, Beschryvinge der Stadt Leyden, pp. 677-678.

52 Blok, GHS, III, p. 175.

53 Most documents relating to the major example in the following pages have been collected in Posthumus, Bronnen, II, pp. 576-610.

54 Posthumus, Bronnen, II, pp. 577-578.

55 A blank was a silver coin made of blank, i.e. good, silver. Its value was reckoned at 3/4 stuiver according to H. Enno van Gelder, De Nederlandse Munten, Aula-boeken (5th ed., Utrecht/Antwerpen: Het Spectrum N.V., 1972), p. 258.

56 Posthumus, Bronnen, II, pp. 580-581.

57 Ibid., pp. 581, 587-588.

58 Ibid., p. 588.

59 Ibid., pp. 589-594.

60 Ibid., pp. 594-610.

61 In 1560 and 1561 at least thirty-three per cent of the vroedschap practiced cloth-related occupations, although none were fullers. At least eight were drapeniers. Based on available occupational data, only three or possibly four members of the gerecht in 1560 and 1561 practiced cloth-related trades. These men would naturally have had the ear of the other gerecht members and also came from the same social circles.

62

The wardeins were definitely closer to the daily activities of other cloth workers than the gerecht. These officials, however, were often either former or current drapeniers themselves and therefore likely to take sides against the fullers. Because they were appointed by the gerecht, their allegiance was not necessarily with those whom they supervised. The fullers were aware of this when they informed the gerecht that they were upset with the wardeins advice: "Nevertheless it appears, my lords, you are ill-informed by the advice of the wardeins. . ." ("Nocthans zot schijnt, dat Ghy, mijn heeren, qualijck geïnformeert zijnde by advijs van de wairdeyns. . .") (Posthumus, Bronnen II, p. 583.)

63

Ibid., p. 583. "'ghy coompt hyer altijt, ghy remoormeesters ende arroermaickers, wy en zyen hyer nyemant coomen dan uluyden, wy laeten on duyncken, alsdat ghy ghenouch tot u arbeytsloon hebt ende meer dan genoech."

64

Ibid., p. 581.

65

Ibid., p. 581.

66

Ibid., pp. 581-582.

67

Ibid., pp. 584-585. "Wy, schoudt ende schepenen der stede van Leyden, doen condt eenen yegelicken, dat up huyden, datum onderscreven, voor den gerechte der voors. stede gecomen ende gecompereert zijn Pieter Mathijss., oudt zes en twintich jaeren, Pieter Corstenss. van Haerlem, oudt vier en twintich jaeren, Pieter Jansz., oudt vijff en twintich jaeren, ende Snell Dircxz., volder van Hairlem, oudt negen en dertich jaeren, ende tuychden by hairen gestaeffden eeden, die zy elcx volcomelicken dairtoe deden mit upgeheven handen ende uuytgestrecte vingeren, als recht is, zoe zyluyden ten versoucke van tgemeen voldersambocht in Leyden rechtelicken dairtoe gebrocht wairen, hoe dat waerachtich is. . ."

68

Ample evidence of the change may be seen by comparing GAL, SA I, Nos. 384-386: Vroedschapsboeken A-H with GAL, SA II, Nos 441-444: Vroedschapsboeken J-N.

69

Orlers, Beschryvinge der Stadt Leyden, pp. 629-630.

70

Blok, GHS, II, p. 98.

71

GAL, SA II, No. 442: Vroedschapsboek K-L, folio 334, dated February 24, 1587.

⁷²Blok, GHS, III, p. 72; another source, Jona Willem te Water, Levensbijzonderheden van Pieter Adriaansz. van der Werff (Leyden: Haaken Comp., 1814), pp. 115-120 questions the validity of WERFF's protestation, but admits that he probably wanted to remain burgemeester.

⁷³GAL, SA II, No. 9248: Gerechtsdagboek A, folio 29vso, dated November 24, 1575.

⁷⁴BAERSDORP's children were active in Leiden politics, and benefited from his connections with political leaders of other cities. See GAL, SA II, No. 1140, Lv. B., folio 155 and No. 1148, Boek J, folios 5 and 90. Also see Johan E. Elias, De Vroedschap van Amsterdam 1578-1795, I, pp. 78 and 81.

⁷⁵In 1617 Anthonie de Hooch, who led a group that wanted to drain the Haarlemmermeer, described the advantages of such a move. Jan de Vries quotes de Hooch in The Dutch Rural Economy, p. 195: "'the area will be benefitted in the first place by the demand, and repercussions from it, for myriad amounts of laborers, i.e. husbandmen, dike workers, engineers, surveyors, carpenters, masons, smiths, and other sorts of people, who otherwise for lack of work, leave in large numbers each year for Flanders, Emderland [East Friesland], France, and elsewhere to seek work, to the detriment of the tax revenue and the population of the land causes many to go to other kingdoms to seek it, so that, as time goes on, whole families leave to live elsewhere.'" Certainly other late sixteenth century Hollanders were aware of the complexities of their economy, and in the case of Leiden, that the departure of many weavers and fullers for greener pastures was the city's economic loss.

⁷⁶N. W. Posthumus, Bronnen tot de Geschiedenis van de Leidsche Textielnijverheid, Deel III, Rijks Geschiedkundige Publicatien, No. 18 ('s-Gravenhage: Martinus Nijhoff, 1912), p. 514. One could hardly imagine that the gerecht did not include itself in the assertion that industry was sought "to the advancement of Leiden's citizens and inhabitants. . ." ("tot de vordernisse van hun borgeren ende innewoonderen. . .").

⁷⁷Orlors, Beschryvinge der Stadt Leyden, pp. 670-675.

⁷⁸Blok, GHS, III, p. 5; Daelemans, "Leiden 1581"; Posthumus, Lakenindustrie, II, pp. 1-104.

⁷⁹The four burgemeesters and eight schepenen were normally chosen from among the current town councilmen. The members of the vroedschap, therefore, accounted for nearly the entire group. There were individuals,

however, who were schepenen or burgemeesters but not vroedschap members. Willem Jan Reyersz. van HEEMSKERCK, for instance was burgemeester in 1564, almost a decade before he was admitted to the vroedschap. In another instance, Arnoult DUYCK (? - 1606) was schepen six times and burgemeester three, but was never a town councilman. With regard to the schout in such cases, there were times when an individual was identified as a vroedschap member and other times not. Claes Jansz. van BERENDRECHT (1514-1569), who held the office of schout from 1540 to 1566, was also considered a vroedschap member between 1544 and 1567 (See GAL, SA I, No. 384: Vroedschapsboek F, Part II, folio 11 and GAL, SA I, No. 396: Vroedschapsboek H, folio 45vso). By contrast Foy Jansz. van BROUCHOVEN resigned the office of schout in 1588 to replace his father on the vroedschap (See GAL, SA II, No. 443: Vroedschapsboek M, folio 40 and GAL, SA I, No. 73: Dienstboek A, folio 87 and *passim*). See p. 88 above.

80

Individuals who comprised the group of 185 are listed in Appendix C. Identification of the office-holders was accomplished by principally using two sets of primary sources. The first was the series of Resolutions of the Vroedschap, known as Vroedschapsboeken (GAL, SA I, Nos. 384-386 and GAL, SA II, Nos. 441-444), which list town councilmen attending each session of the vroedschap. In addition to the mere listing of names, the Vroedschapsboeken, contain entries which announce newly chosen town councilmen and the names of those who were replaced. These entries, along with summaries of vroedschap membership which appear now and then, allowed me to establish an accurate list of town councilmen for the period 1550-1600. The second primary source utilized was the series of municipal office-holding lists known as the Dienstboeken (GAL, SA I, No. 73-74 and GAL, SA II, No. 202) which name members of the gerecht, city treasurers, weesmeesters, pensionaris, secretaris and all the smalle diensten. Additionally, they also provide periodic lists of vroedschap members. Taking the names of public officials from both these archival series' and comparing them with other lists, such as those contained in Orlers, Beschryvinge der Stadt Leyden, pp. 593-598; 607-608; 617-618; 632-634; and 642-648; Namen van Vroedschappen 1358-1794 (GAL, BLO, No. 15034); G. Van Ryckhuysen, Wapenkaart behelzende alle de Wapens en Naamen van de Edele Groot Achtbaare Heeren Veertigen der Stad Leyden, geschikt naar den rang, waar in dezelve verkoozen zijn sedert den 21 July 1449 tot den 21 July 1758 (Leyden: De Pecker, 1758) (GAL, BLO, No. 15060) and other documents, I have identified 185 distinct individuals as Leiden's ruling elite in the second half of the sixteenth century.

81

There were others whose social and economic influence in Leiden would have been equally great, but who nevertheless were not members of the urban ruling clique. Jan Pietersz. Korver and Joost Buyc Zybrantsz. were both counted as among the richest men in the city in 1584, according to the Special Assessment of 1584 (GAL, SA II, No. 442, folio 212, dated July 14, 1584). Their economic and social wishes

would have been difficult for the city to overlook, and yet neither were ever major Leiden office-holders. See Posthumus, Lakenindustrie, II, p. 175.

82 "Johan van Adrichem Tegenwoordel [ijck] Burge[meester] der voors [eyt] stede van Leyden. . ." GAL, RA, No. 76B-2: Huwelijksvoorwaarden verleden voor 2 schepenen, 1504 of vroeger-1583, unfoliated, dated April 21, 1563.

83 "Adryaen Dirck Ottenz s z [oon] onsen medebroeder in den gerechte. . ." GAL, RA, No. 76A-2: Minuten en concepten van testamenten verleden voor schepenen van Leyden, 1543-1582, folio 282, dated March 19, 1567.

PART II

FROM TOWN COUNCILMEN TO REGENTS

A close study of sixteenth-century Leiden city officials is important in part because it adds to our understanding of the Regents. In the seventeenth century the Regents would emerge as the leaders of the northern Netherlands. They exerted not only far-reaching political power, but also wielded major economic and social influence. They were drawn from the urban patriciates, especially in the provinces of Holland and Zeeland where the cities were the focus of the Netherlands' growing prosperity. The Regents were frequently town councilmen and magistrates who had for almost a century formed an aristocratic group of relatively restricted membership. Their involvement in or close connection with business and trade made these men very different from the governing classes in other European countries. Their emergence in a position of strength in the seventeenth century was rooted in their sixteenth-century experience.

The importance of the Regents for the Dutch Golden Age can hardly be overemphasized. They were men who founded the Exchange Bank of Amsterdam, drained the Beemster region, and whose business acumen produced the lucrative East India trade. The De Witt family of Dordrecht, the Bickers of Amsterdam and the De la Courts of Leiden are examples of Regent families, whom Pieter Geyl has called ". . . the most remarkable social phenomenon in the Netherlands. . . ."

In the course of the seventeenth century the Regents retained their importance in government but came to play a less direct role in trade or business. Increasing wealth and leisure allowed them to assume the function of rentiers who lived off their investments. As this development occurred, the Regents gradually became more endogamous and took on attitudes and a life style which more closely resembled those of other European aristocrats.² At the same time they formed closer associations with guilds, the civic guards, the Reformed Church and some of the less important city offices, all of which had formerly been the domain of other groups in Dutch society.³ Thus, the Regents not only became more aristocratic, but also extended their political economic and religious influence, so that by the late seventeenth century they shared power with no one and were only occasionally challenged by the Stadholder.

In spite of recurrent political crises in 1618, 1650 and 1672, the burger oligarchs maintained their control. Yet, they were caught in the trap of the Dutch Republic's economic stagnation as the seventeenth century waned. By this time, Dutch ruling society had lost the flexibility and vitality of the previous century. The increasingly separate Regent class was not able to respond creatively to the difficulties which the eighteenth century would bring to the Netherlands.

While the details of these developments are interesting and important for the history of the Dutch Republic in the seventeenth century, they are too complex to be discussed at length here. The significance of the Regents for us is that they were a direct outgrowth of the sixteenth-century urban ruling elites, of which Leiden's vroedschap and gerecht is but one example. Prior to the Dutch Revolt

the patriciates of the towns, while very important, had not yet achieved the Regents' prominence in both politics and economic affairs. The developments of the second half of the sixteenth century, however, helped to carve a unique niche in seventeenth-century Dutch society for the burger oligarchs.

The focus of this study is the period of the Regents' formation. There are several studies of the Regents in the seventeenth century, such as Elias' De Vroedschap van Amsterdam and Engelbrechts' De Vroedschap van Rotterdam, but little work has been done on Dutch urban patriciates prior to 1572. The following chapters will provide new information on the social and economic composition of the Leiden vroedschap and magistracy between 1550 and 1600. In contrast to Chapters I, II and III which present the historical and organizational background of the group, the next chapter will introduce us to the men themselves.

Interfamilial ties have long been considered one of the leading social characteristics of the group. Town officials in one city were not only closely related to their colleagues, but also were connected to their counterparts in other towns by marriage or by long-standing relationships between different branches of the family.⁴ The Teylingen family of Amsterdam, for instance, not only married into other local patrician families such as the Cromhouts, but also had relatives who were active in the vroedschap of Alkmaar.⁵ Likewise, the Walenburchs of Rotterdam were closely tied to another local family, the Van der Aas, and had marriage links with Regent families in Schoonhoven and Delft.⁶

Far from being uncommon, these relationships within the circle of Regent families occurred frequently in the seventeenth century. Whether the patriciate of a particular town tended to marry more strictly within itself or was inclined to permit a higher rate of exogamy, varied from city to city. Amsterdam's patriciate, for example, was characterized by increasing endogamy in the late seventeenth century, while the patriciate of Zierikzee extended the range of marriage choices.⁷ Such trends, in addition to being influenced by fertility levels, were the result of social attitudes, economic aspirations and political factors. Marriage was frequently seen as promoting social cohesion as well as a means of acquiring economic and social advantage. In many cases, when representatives of two patrician families married, the match was planned as a means of maintaining local group solidarity.⁸ If the groom in such a marriage was from another town, the union was sometimes a means of providing the opportunity to participate in public life, which the nepotism regulations of his own city denied him.⁹

These familial links are important because they reflect a high concentration of political and economic power within a small group. Such power was not allowed out of the hands of a certain leadership network. The study of Leiden city officials permits us to see the development of this pattern, which was carried over to the Regents. It was not unique to the latter but had been characteristic of the urban patriciate since 1550.

The Regents of Leiden were an important part of this inter-

connecting web of familial relationships. Johan Meerman belonged to a branch of the prominent Meerman family of Delft which established itself at Leiden in 1622.¹⁰ The Leiden Regent Willem Paets was related by marriage to the family of Johan de Witt, one of the oldest patrician lines of Dordrecht.¹¹ Although numerous Leiden Regent families, such as the BAERSDORPs and the HEEMSKERCKs, had similar relationships in other cities, the two examples above are sufficient to show that Leiden's ruling elite was typical of the period.¹² Up till now our discussion has centered around the network of families which comprised the Regents of the seventeenth century. We must now examine the extent to which similar relationships existed in the second half of the sixteenth century.

FOOTNOTES--PART II

¹Geyl, Nederlandse Stam, II, p. 610. ". . . het merkwaardigste sociale verschijnsel in de Nederlanden. . ."

²For a description of this process, commonly known in Dutch historical literature as "aristocratization," see D. J. Roorda, "The Ruling Classes in Holland in the Seventeenth Century," in Britain and the Netherlands, Vol. II; Papers delivered to the Anglo-Dutch Historical Conference, 1962, ed. by J. S. Bromley and E. H. Kossman, Historische Studies uitgegeven vanwege het Instituut voor Geschiedenis der Rijks-universiteit te Utrecht, Vol. XX (Groningen: J. B. Wolters, 1964), pp. 109-131. For a demographic study testing the validity of "aristocratization" for the cities of Amsterdam, Zierikzee and Veere see H. van Dijk and D. J. Roorda, "Social Mobility under the Regents of the Republic" in Acta Historiae Neerlandicae, Studies on the History of the Netherlands, Vol. IX (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1976), pp. 76-102. Despite the general trend toward a closed social group, van Dijk and Roorda have discovered that at intervals there were times in the seventeenth century when new blood entered the Regents' circle of Amsterdam and Zierikzee. Yet, the Regents remained unique in that they never really severed their connections with trade.

³Roorda, "Ruling Classes in Holland," pp. 129-130. The recent volume by A. Th. van Deursen, Bavianen en Slijkgeuzen, Kerk en kerkvolk ten tijde van Maurits en Oldenbarnevelt (Assen: Van Gorcum & Comp. B.V., 1974), pp. 83-101 challenges the notion that in the early seventeenth century the Reformed Church consistories lay outside the sphere of the Regents. Van Deursen shows for a number of cities that in the period 1600-1620 many Regents actually served as elders and deacons.

⁴Dijk and Roorda, "Social Mobility under the Regents," p. 83. Graphs II-IV illustrate the percentage of town councilmen in Amsterdam and Zierikzee who married within their own patriciates and those who married into another town's patriciate.

⁵Elias, Vroedschap van Amsterdam, pp. 163-167. M^r Floris van Teylingen (1577-1624) was the son of Cornelis Florisz. Teylingen (? -1604), who had married the daughter of Amsterdam vroedschap member Adriaen Reynertsz. Cromhout (1516-1588). Floris was elected to the Alkmaar vroedschap in 1610 and remained in the office of burgemeester after the purge of Remonstrants from the vroedschap in 1618. Thereafter, there were members of the Teylingen family active in both the city governments of Alkmaar and Amsterdam.

⁶Engelbrecht, Vroedschap van Rotterdam, pp. 69-70. Pieter Adriaensz. van Walenburch (1557-1620) married the daughter of a wealthy Delft brewer. It was their daughter Sophia who in 1624 cemented the connection with Schoonhoven when she married the lawyer, M^r Adriaen de Lange, son of Laurens Adriaensz. de Lange, burgemeester of Schoonhoven. Another daughter Adriana, had married M^r Anthony Willemsz. van der Aa earlier in 1615. The van der Aa's were also closely connected to the Tetrode family of Leiden through the marriage of M^r Anthony's sister, Annitge, sr. to Dr. Cornelis van Tetrode, a seventeenth century Leiden burgemeester.

⁷Dijk and Roorda, "Social Mobility under the Regents," pp. 89-90. The very different demographic situations of Amsterdam and Zierikzee were responsible for these opposite trends.

⁸Ibid., p. 77.

⁹Ibid., p. 83.

¹⁰Blok, GHS, III, pp. 140-141. Meerman, who became a member of the Leiden vroedschap in 1653, was an intimate and discreet supporter of Johan de Witt.

¹¹Ibid., p. 141.

¹²Roorda, "Ruling Classes in Holland," pp. 118-119. During the seventeenth century, Leiden and other towns of similar size, such as Haarlem, Gouda and Dordrecht, had elites made up of a smaller number of families and therefore can be considered as more typical than Amsterdam which had a relatively large patriciate. It is nearly always wise to look at Amsterdam as the exception instead of the rule because in most contexts its size, economic basis and so forth, made it atypical for Holland and also for The Netherlands as a whole.

C H A P T E R I V

FAMILY TIES AND EDUCATION

A. Family Characteristics.

Urban patriciates emerged as a significant force in Holland in the late sixteenth century. While they had acted collectively to restrain Charles V in the early decades of the sixteenth century, they had little political role until the northern Netherlands broke away from Spain. Since there was neither an indigenous ruling family nor a strong nobility, the Dutch urban elites were the only groups with political experience who could naturally assume the governmental role.¹ The Leiden vroedschap and gerecht warrants analysis as an example of one of these urban elites, which consisted of a rather closed group of interconnected families. Not only were they closely related among themselves, but they were also closely linked to patricians in other cities.

A clear instance of these connections among several vroedschap families is revealed in the genealogy of the lawyer and Roman Catholic chronicler of the Dutch Revolt, M^r Frans Fransz. van DUSSELDORP.² DUSSELDORP's father was a member of the Leiden city council during the iconoclasm of 1566 and, in the second half of the sixteenth century, two other immediate members of the DUSSELDORP family were on the vroedschap. In the same period two female members of the DUSSELDORP family married men who became town councilmen, and eight

other vroedschap members were drawn into the DUSSELDORP circle by a marriage relationship.³ By filling out the DUSSELDORP genealogy more completely, H. A. Kolff claims to have discovered twenty-six members of the vroedschap who in some way touch the family.⁴ Examination of the BROUCHOVEN family tree shows a similar set of interconnected family groups.⁵

Late sixteenth-century Leiden vroedschap families also had relatives who were prominent members of other town governments. One branch of the GAEL family, which had five representatives in Leiden's ruling circle during the second half of the sixteenth century, came originally from Haarlem. Throughout this period the Leiden branch maintained close ties with relatives and others in Haarlem who occupied important public offices in that city. Huych Claesz. GAEL was a retail cloth merchant who came to Leiden in 1545 from Haarlem. He had a younger brother, Jan Claesz. GAEL who remained in the city of his birth and was a member of the Haarlem vroedschap in 1572 and then from 1576 until his death. Huych Claesz. GAEL became a member of the Leiden vroedschap in 1559, and after his death was followed in office by his eldest son, Claes Huygensz. GAEL. A second son, Laurens Huygensz. GAEL, succeeded his elder brother in the Leiden vroedschap and maintained the family's Haarlem connection by marrying Femmetje de Vriese, the daughter of a Haarlem burgemeester. Another son, Jacob Huygensz. GAEL, returned to Haarlem after his second marriage and was named to the vroedschap there in 1605.⁶ This does not exhaust the evidence of the

Gael family's intercity links but is ample proof that councilmen like those which characterized the Regents, already existed in the late sixteenth century. Other family groups, such as the HEEMSKERCKs who had members on the vroedschappen of both Leiden and Amsterdam, and the VEENS who married into the wealthy van Neck family of Amsterdam, provide further examples of this network.⁷

Indeed, the urban patriciate in Leiden is discernible as early as the late fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. The names ZWIETEN, PAETS and GRAFT, which are commonly found in the Leiden Dienstboeken of the sixteenth century also occur with some frequency in the office-holding lists of the late medieval period. That the patriciate of that period was rather small and closely related may be seen from both the genealogies and lists of office-holders in Marijke Kok's "Het Stadsbestuur van Leiden."⁸

In the following analysis a family group will consist of those individuals who are descended from a common male ancestor. Such a definition is broad enough to incorporate the relationships of cousins and nephews into the family, yet sufficiently restricted to exclude those males who married into the family group. In this way the linkages between separate family units may be distinguished. If, for instance, a town councilman had a brother whose son carried on the family membership in the vroedschap, all three of these men would be considered part of the same family. They are all traceable to a single male heir: the father of the town councilman and his brother. If, however, a daughter of the original town councilman married

another member of the vroedschap, that son-in-law was not considered part of the family group, even though he may have been in fact very close to his in-laws. Thus, it is those individuals related through a direct male line who will be considered as comprising separate families in the calculations and analysis to follow.⁹

Data pertaining to families and family connections was collected from a wide variety of sources while researching other matters relating to vroedschap members. Since the focus of this study is not primarily genealogical, a totally exhaustive search of archival materials for individual family trees was not undertaken. Instead, I have relied upon published genealogies, supplementing them with information from archival and other sources such as wills, marriage contracts and attestations to public sale which also contained useful genealogical data. These and references from other secondary sources provided a wealth of material about the family interrelationships of the Leiden elite.¹⁰

The computer analysis which forms a major part of this study has not been incorporated into this section on family connections. Because of the complexity of relationships involved and the difficulty of adapting the lack of fixed names to a standardized identification system for both individuals and families, a non-computerized analysis was found to be preferable and achieved similar results. Genealogical charts of different family groups in the Leiden vroedschap and magistracy are found in Appendix C: Part II.

The 185 office-holders studied represented 125 separate family

groups. Thus, there were an average of 1.48 office-holders per family. In actual fact, thirty-eight families had more than one member who was a major public official. Table 1. shows the number of office-holders per family more completely.

Table 1. Breakdown of Family Groups According to Number of Office-holders per Family

Number of families	Number of Office-holders per family	%
1	5	.8
5	4	4.0
5	3	6.4
24	2	19.2
<u>87</u>	1	<u>69.6</u>
125		100.0

For the period 1550 to 1600 most families had only one representative in a major office. Ten of these eighty-seven, however, had a second family member in office before 1550 or after 1600.¹¹ Even so, the figure of 69.6 per cent leaves the superficial impression that during the second half of the sixteenth century membership in the Leiden vroedschap and gerecht was relatively open, permitting the easy election of new men. This was not the case. An analysis of marriage contracts shows that vroedschap families were closely interconnected. Thus, the eighty-seven families with one member in office may have been

connected to others by extensive marriage networks.

For example, on July 2, 1553 Jacob Jansz. van der GRAFT and Joose Jacobsz. (de BYE), both of whom were members of the vroedschap, agreed to a marriage contract between GRAFT's son and Jacobsz. (de BYE)'s daughter. Also present to witness the agreement were relatives of the bride and groom. Two of Heyltgen de BYE's uncles from her mother's side, Adriaen Ysbrantsz. (van BREENEN) and Jacobs Ysbrantsz. (van BREENEN), represented her family. Adriaen Ysbrantsz. was currently serving as a member of the vroedschap, and Jacob, his brother, would occupy a seat on the council beginning in 1572.¹²

A similar agreement was signed on April 25, 1573 for the marriage contract between Neeltgen Jansdr., daughter of vroedschap member Jan Dirckss. van BROUCHOVEN, and Willem Dirckss., son of Maria Ysbrantsdr. Also present was Dirckss.'s stepfather, Pieter OOM Pieteresz. van OFWEGEN, who had recently become a council member. In addition, councilman Adriaen Ysbrantsz. (van BREENEN), Jacob Ysbrants. (van BREENEN) and Joost Jacobsz. de BYE, all noted as uncles of the groom, were there.¹³ Thus, the Ysbrantsz. (van BREENEN)s were related to two other vroedschap families.

At least fifty-five of the 125 families had similar inter-relationships among their fellow councilmen and magistrates. Among those families whose fragmentary genealogies show no such relationships, it is probable that in many cases they did exist, but that evidence of them was not forthcoming from the documents consulted.¹⁴ In other cases a family might enter the Leiden ruling elite through personal

and business connections with other vroedschap and gerecht families.

The wealthy Leiden brewer Ysnout Jansz. van der NES never became a councilman or magistrate himself but was able to arrange marriages with vroedschap families for two of his children. One of them, Jan Ysnoutsz. van der NES, who carried on the brewing interests of his father, eventually became a vroedschap member in 1587.¹⁵ In another instance, Andries Jansz. SCHOT, a Haarlem cloth merchant and manufacturer who became a Leiden citizen on May 14, 1566, undoubtedly owed much of his early acceptance in Leiden affairs to councilman and cloth merchant Huych Claesz. GAEL, who also originally hailed from Haarlem and posted bond when SCHOT attained citizenship. SCHOT was elected to the vroedschap not long after the minimum seven year residency requirement had elapsed.¹⁶ While it is impossible to quantify the significance of personal contacts and family connections for aspiring members of the vroedschap and gerecht, it is clear from these two examples that they were important.

During the second half of the sixteenth century, new families penetrated the ruling circle, and the vroedschap was periodically refreshed by the introduction of new blood. Political and religious crisis, which often provides the impetus for the admission of new men to a ruling clique, was responsible for a number of changes in the composition of the town council and magistracy during and after the crisis years of 1572-1574. Nevertheless, throughout the entire second half of the sixteenth century the vroedschap and gerecht remained a reasonably stable political body made up of a core of firmly established families and individuals.

Even the most cursory glance at the office-holding lists for this period reveals that a number of families, such as the PAETS, HEEMSKERCKs, GRAFTSs and BROUCHOVENS, always had prominent representatives on the vroedschap or gerecht. This is hardly surprising, since Leiden, like other Holland towns, selected new members of the council by cooption. Members of the gerecht were almost always chosen from currently serving councilmen. Out of the entire 185 individuals covered by this study, thirty-one were succeeded by a relative, usually a son. In turn, twenty-seven succeeded a relative, putting direct family succession at about thirty per cent. In addition, there were thirty individuals who had a relative, normally a father or an uncle, precede them in service, although they themselves were not selected to follow that relative directly in office.¹⁷

What this evidence implies is that among the more important families there was often an informal reservation of a place on the vroedschap or in the more transitional offices of the magistracy. This was reinforced by Leiden's nepotism regulations which prohibited fathers, sons and brothers from serving on the town council simultaneously. Political and economic influence, therefore, was not acquired in Leiden by packing the vroedschap with family members. Rather, the interests of important families were looked after by a perpetual representative on the council. The THORENVLIEts, the GAELs, the BROUCHOVENS always had someone on the council no matter which way the political, religious or economic wind blew.

In certain cases a council seat was reserved, as for the GRAFT family. Jacop Jansz. (van der GRAFT) entered the vroedschap in 1540. He served until his death in 1566 when he was succeeded by his son, Jan Jacopsz. van der GRAFT, who served until his death only two years later. Dirck Jacopsz. van der GRAFT, another son of Jacop Jansz., might have normally succeeded his brother Jan. Perhaps he was too young, or although there is no evidence to support this, perhaps he was a Protestant exile when his brother died. He was certainly active in the affairs of the Reformed Church later, having been chosen kerkmeester for 1582 and 1583. As soon as it was feasible, however, he was chosen as a member of the vroedschap. When the council was returned to its full membership of forty after the "purification" of 1574, Dirck Jacopsz. van der GRAFT was a member. That was 1576. He served officially until 1593 when he died. In 1591 Tyman Jansz. - van der GRAFT, Dirck's nephew, was chosen to be a councilman, probably because of Dirck's advanced age. There are numerous cases in the council minutes where individual vroedschap members request permission to leave office or at least cease to attend council meetings because of age or infirmity. Tyman carried on the Van der GRAFT slot on the council until 1618 when the city government underwent another purification. Presumably, Tyman was a Remonstrant because he did not continue as a vroedschap member at that time. He died in 1623.¹⁸

A second example of the transmission of council seats within a family is the THORENVLiet family. Jan Huych Andriesz. (van THORENVLiet), a vroedschap member from 1544 to 1559, was succeeded by his

brother, Cornelis Huygensz. (van THORENVLIET). Cornelis served until 1589 when his son, Andries Cornelisz. van THORENVLIET accepted the position as councilman. Andries was in turn followed by his brother, Vranck Cornelisz. van THORENVLIET, who retained the family seat until 1619.¹⁹ The family was continuously represented for seventy-five years.

Few individuals who served as councilmen prior to 1572, the year that Leiden went over to the Revolt, retained their seats after the Spanish siege of 1574. Individuals disappeared but the important ruling families maintained their representation through another person. Besides those already noted, familiar names like Van LEEUWEN, De BYE, BARREVELT and WASSENAER continued to appear on lists of office-holders. Sixty-nine families had representatives in the group before 1572. Of these, twenty-five (36%) continued to be represented after the crisis years 1572-1574. This seemingly low figure is placed in perspective when one realizes that various factors unrelated to the crisis years explain the disappearance of twenty-four (35%) of the sixty-nine families. Elimination of the male line, departure from the city and exemption because of old age are several reasons for lack of continued representation. Only seventeen (25%) of the total group of sixty-nine were actually eliminated for political or religious reasons.²⁰

If one examines the families represented in the gerecht, a similar set of figures emerges. Thirty-one per cent of the forty-two families having gerecht membership before 1572 continued to be

represented after the crisis years. The percentage of gerecht families eliminated for political or religious reasons is almost identical with that of the vroedschap: twenty-four per cent.²¹

Looking closely at the names of mayors and aldermen during the second half of the sixteenth century, one notices immediately the repeated service of individuals belonging to important families, such as BROUCHOVEN, Van der DOES, NOORDE, BARREVELT, BUYTEWECH and so forth. Yet, despite the apparent closed character of the gerecht as revealed by the repetitive presence of prominent family names, examination of gerecht membership between 1530 and 1600 shows a relatively open municipal body with considerable personnel change over time. Scrutiny of office-holding lists during four-year periods at the beginning of each decade reveal that not only did roughly half the gerecht membership change from year to year, but also about fifty per cent of the gerecht seats were replaced with new personnel every ten years.²² Since only rarely did two members of a family occupy positions in the gerecht at any one time, these figures also reflect family representation in the magistracy.²³

Using 1550-1553 as a typical four-year period, one observes the average retention of one-half to two-thirds of the gerecht from year to year. Of the thirteen members of the gerecht in 1551, eight had been in the magistracy during 1550. In 1552, nine out of thirteen had been gerecht members in 1551, and in 1553, six had previously held gerecht positions in 1552.²⁴

Similarly, of the twenty-two members of the gerecht from 1540-

1543, eleven were part of the magistracy between 1530-1533. Between 1550 and 1553 twelve families had been represented in the period 1540-1543. During the 1550's the family retention rate rises, and by the early 1560's, again measured by the first four years of the decade, sixty-eight per cent of gerecht members had been office-holders in the years 1550-1553. The holdover rate drops sharply in the 1570's to 41 per cent and then begins to rise again in the 1580's to 47 per cent, climbing slightly in the 1590's to 53 per cent before falling again to 47 per cent in the 1600's.²⁵

Throughout the period measured from 1530 to 1600 the rate hovers either slightly above or below the fifty per cent level, except during the decades of the 1550's and 1560's which show a marked increase. This greater retention rate in the years immediately preceding the outbreak of the Dutch Revolt indicates a tendency for the gerecht to become a slightly more closed body in this period. However, the drift toward a more restricted membership was broken by the turmoil of the early 1570's. Following the aftermath of the siege in 1574, the magistracy again returned to the earlier rate of personnel holdover it had experienced in the period 1530-1550.

Returning to a consideration of the entire group being studied, we must compare the data of the pre-1572 families with that of families represented only after 1574 when the turmoil of the crisis years had begun to subside. Because vroedschap members were chosen for life, the changes which took place in the composition of that body occurred only gradually. A year by year summary of personnel changes

in the town council would not, therefore, show as great an alteration in membership as did the previous figures on the gerecht. Nevertheless, each decade from 1540 to 1600 saw a replacement rate that is comparable to that of the gerecht. Nearly half of the vroedschap members were replaced every ten years. The exception is the period 1570-1579 when the turnover among councilmen was remarkably high owing to the political and religious unrest in those years.²⁶

Of the seventy-three families who had members in the group as a whole after October 14, 1574 when the fluctuations of the high crisis years ended, twenty-four (33%) were represented in the period prior to 1572. This corrolates well with both the thirty-six per cent holdover rate of families from before 1572 and the approximate thirty per cent rate for direct family succession. These figures indicate that between 1550 and 1600 about two-thirds of the families in the group either were old families who lost representation in this period or new families who had just gained a position in Leiden's ruling circle.

Only infrequently did those families entering Leiden's governing circle come from outside the city. A detailed search through the Poorterboeken, the lists of newly-inscribed Leiden citizens, yielded only twelve individuals who ultimately became group members.²⁷ Of these twelve, three became pensionarissen and one an assistant schout, offices which had no prior residency requirement. Jacob de MILDE, for instance, became a citizen ten years after he had begun his duties as pensionaris in 1543.²⁸ Similarly, Cornelis Jansz. van VEEN began as pensionaris

of Leiden in 1551, but only accepted citizenship in 1558.²⁹ That this was not necessarily standard practice, however, may be seen from the fact that Geryt Melisz. van HOOGEVEEN was made a citizen in July of 1564 at the same time he became pensionaris.³⁰

The flexibility accorded non-citizens who became legal advisors was not given to those new men who were admitted to the vroedschap. The eight who became councilmen were all citizens for at least the requisite seven years before they were allowed into the vroedschap. Pouwels Aertsz. VOS, who would later become pensionaris, was an exception to this. He was elected to the "purified" vroedschap on October 14, 1574, but because he was not a citizen, he was removed from the council a month later in November.³¹ VOS finally became a Leiden citizen on October 31, 1577.³²

The addition to the twelve men from outside Leiden who eventually became citizens, the Poorterboeken list three more individuals who could have been fathers of future councilmen. These were Wigger Jansz. who was admitted to citizenship on September 24, 1510 and may have been the father of councilmen Jan Wiggersz. (van DUYVELANDT), vroedschap member from 1563-1564, and Gerrit Wiggersz. van DUYVELANDT, vroedschap member during 1573-1564 and 1576-1585.³³ Florys Hobbensz. who became a citizen on November 18, 1510 was probably the father of Hobbe Florysz. (POTT), the goldsmith, who served as a member of the vroedschap between 1575 and 1587.³⁴ Also, Geryt Dircxz. KESSEL, a tavern-keeper (biertapper) who became a Leiden citizen on July 3, 1542, was the father of Dirck Gerritsz. KESSEL, the proprietor of the

tavern "In the Three Crowns" and vroedschap member from 1574 to 1579.³⁵

The new men who entered the council may be divided into two groups: those who became firmly established in the city and continued to have family members hold city office, and those who were not followed in office by family members. Of the total of twelve positively identifiable cases where a man from outside the town gained a seat in the vroedschap, seven later had a son or relative on the council. Both the GAEL and BROUCHOVEN families, for example, were immigrants and were extremely active in Leiden politics throughout the late sixteenth century. The HOOGEVEEN family is a similar case in point.³⁶ Among the men who gained a council seat but whose family members did not follow them in office were Andries Jansz. SCHOT, a cloth merchant from Haarlem, and Oliphier Philipsz., a cloth dresser (voorlakenreeder) and drapenier, from the Rijnland. The families that moved in and out of Leiden's late sixteenth-century ruling circle, therefore, did not come primarily from immigrant family groups, but rather from native Leiden families which managed to infiltrate the established clique either through marriage or perhaps through business influence.

B. The Training and Education of City Officials

While family and business relationships were undoubtedly of great importance in being admitted to the group, they were not the only criteria for selection. An individual's educational background and social bearing carried weight as well. In the extremely status-conscious society of the sixteenth century, it would have been impossible for someone to enter an elite such as the vroedschap without first having acquired the mental assumptions and a pattern of social behavior which could be shared with those already in the council. An individual's upbringing, his domestic circumstances and his education were important factors in determining the character of these common behavioral and mental patterns. The nature of a child's upbringing cannot be measured fully without written evidence in the form of diaries or letters by either parents or offspring. Similarly, it is quite difficult to create an overall picture of the domestic environment in which the patriciate grew up. Insofar as evidence on economic standing from tax and property records and indications of wealth from wills can illuminate this point, the available information will be discussed in Chapter V.

Insight into the pre-career formation of the members of Leiden's city government may be gained through a study of their early education and training. An analysis of the few extant records of educational practices and institutions in late sixteenth-century Leiden and the examination of matriculation lists of a number of European universities reveal a gradual shift in the attitude of group members toward education.

Concern for education was both a personal matter and an official duty for members of the Leiden city government. The literacy required for the performance of their public responsibilities and business activities, as well as the aspirations they had for their children, made the importance of education very real to vroedschap and gerecht officials. In addition, the provision for both educational facilities and teachers was the business of the council and magistracy. This lay the issue of education and educational policy in Leiden squarely before group members.

Town councilmen, mayors and aldermen were all literate men. Documents requiring authorization by magistrates, testimony from witnesses before the gerecht and reports to the council by vroedschap members all have signatures by city officials. Other tasks involved skills that went beyond simple reading and writing. The keeping of account books by the city treasurers, the supervision of church finances by the kerkmeesters and the management of orphans' estates by the heiligegeestmeesters and weesmeesters all required a competence in arithmetic and accounting. Even if the actual work of keeping the books was left to clerks or assistants, as it was later in the sixteenth century, the supervisory part of the task demanded knowledge in these areas. Although the pensionaris was always there to interpret legal concepts and positions, a familiarity with the law and privileges of the city was also necessary for most vroedschap members. This is not to say that most vroedschap members were educated in the law, only that their public duties demanded more than a casual acquaintance with it.

Of course, many of the skills which councilmen brought to their public duties were acquired during their occupational training. Symon Fransz. van MERWEN, who practiced the trade of surveyor, found his skills in that field extremely useful when the city planned and carried out various public works projects, including the territorial expansion of 1610.³⁷ Regulation of the cloth industry demanded familiarity with the various stages of textile production, a knowledge which many councilmen had from their own business experience.

Many of the occupations practiced by members of the vroedschap presupposed the basic level of literacy and arithmetic necessary to deal with problems of that business or craft. That these men possessed these skills is incontrovertible. A discussion of how they were obtained will shed light not only on the sort of education the councilmen received, but also on the value they placed upon it.

Most city officials probably received their basic education at the local Latin school or through one of the town's several private schools.³⁸ There are, unfortunately, no sixteenth century matriculation lists in the Archive of the Trivial Schools at Leiden. Nevertheless, it is likely, given the size of the Latin School and the number of smaller bijsscholen, that children of patrician families were among those attending.³⁹

The subjects of the trivium as well as elementary reading and writing of Latin were the exclusive territory of the Latin School. Thus, unless the parents of the child intended for the professions or the Church were willing to send him to another city or have him

tutored, the learning of Latin demanded attendance at the Latin School.⁴⁰ It is reasonable to assume that group members who ultimately became lawyers, such as meester Frans Jansz. TOL or meester Franck DUYCK, were pupils of Latin School teachers.

Students whose future occupations would not require Latin often attended the bijtscholen. In the mid-sixteenth century bijtscholen existed for the teaching of French, German and arithmetic.⁴¹ These skills, not obtainable at the Latin School, were of great practical value to men in the vroedschap. As merchants and manufacturers they needed arithmetic and an ability to handle complex matters of monetary exchange. As representatives of the Leiden cloth industry, they were often called upon to travel to the various wool staple towns, such as Calais, Bruges and Antwerp, where a knowledge of foreign languages aided in dealing with international merchants.

One must not, however, be too hasty in assuming that all members of the Leiden city council and magistracy obtained their education through the Latin School or bijtscholen. Jan Cornelisz. van HOUT, city secretary and a remarkable man of letters, attended neither. Yet, he became one of the most highly educated Netherlanders of the sixteenth century. Since his father, Cornelis Meesz. van Hout, was clerk of the orphan's court, he very likely learned to read and write at home. His association with many learned men, including the humanist Johan van der Does, fostered his interest and dedication to literature.⁴² Despite his intellectual inclination, van HOUT, like many of his fellow office-holders, did not attend a university.

Although evidence is scarce, vroedschap members did not neglect the practical side of their sons' training. In 1585, for instance, a cloth dresser named Dirck Jansz. from The Hague appeared before the gerecht to testify that Jacob Jacobsz. de HAES, the son of Jacob Allertsz. de HAES, a Leiden town councilman, had spent two years learning the cloth dressing trade from him.⁴³ It would appear also from the records of the goldsmith's gild that Claes Cornelisz. van NOORDE and Hobbe Florisz. (POTT), both members of the vroedschap, arranged for their sons to likewise receive training in that occupation through apprenticeship.⁴⁴ Both NOORDE and POTT held the offices of Dean (Deken) and Inspector (Keurmeester) of the goldsmith's gild at various times from the 1560's through the 1580's. During the 1590's and early 1600's, they had been replaced in these offices by their respective sons, Cornelis Claesz. van NOORDE and Floris Hobbensz.⁴⁵ The genealogies OOSTERLING, STEIN and REYGERSBURG in Appendix C show other instances in which a trade requiring training or apprenticeship was carried on in a family.⁴⁶

Returning to academic education, a detailed search through numerous university matriculation lists demonstrates that very few members of the group attended a university or obtained an academic degree. Only thirteen out of 135 were positively identified as having matriculated at universities commonly attended by Netherlanders in this period.⁴⁷ All thirteen enrolled in the faculties of law of their respective universities and ultimately became lawyers, a fact which indicates that among city officials higher academic training was not considered necessary unless one entered the legal profession.⁴⁸

There is ample evidence that members of vroedschap families who were not themselves actually councilmen did attend universities when it was necessary for their professional careers. Only two examples of many are Henricus Buytenwech and Gherardus Duyck, both Leiden citizens who were students at Louvain in the 1560's and later became lawyers.⁴⁹ This means that members of the city's elite placed value upon university education when it was necessary or useful to pursue specific professional goals, such as lawyer, scholar, theologian or doctor. When such training was not needed to fulfill a professional goal, as was the case with public office-holding, university education for its own sake was rare.

If one compares group members from before the crisis years 1572-1574 with those after that period, there is very little difference with regard to university education. Just as only seven pre-1572 individuals appear in the matriculation lists, only six of the post-1574 group were enrolled in the universities whose lists were checked. From these figures, it would appear that the attitude of group members toward higher academic training changed little either before or after the beginning of the Dutch Revolt.

A subtle change in attitude toward the general value of higher education, however, did occur in this period and can be seen from evidence in the Album Studiosorum of Leiden University. Between 1575 when the University was founded and 1600 twenty-four students belonging to vroedschap families matriculated.⁵⁰ Certainly, having a university in the town and the fact that matriculation obtained an exemption

from the beer excise contributed to the number of Leiden residents enrolling. Nevertheless, the decision of so many vroedschap families to send their sons to the University indicates a shift in attitude.

The clue here is the number of students who designated their faculty as Litterarum studiosus. Out of the twenty-four, sixteen matriculated as students in the Arts faculty, as opposed to four in the Law faculty and one in Theology. Three entries did not indicate a faculty connection. It is true that the Faculty of Arts was considered preparatory to entrance into the professional Faculties of Law, Medicine and Theology. Yet, in only three cases out of the sixteen Arts students is it possible to determine that the students continued on to study the professions.⁵¹ In the case of Cornelis Claesz. van NOORDE, mentioned earlier as active in the goldsmith's gild, it most certainly is clear that he did not. NOORDE was never a practicing lawyer, doctor or theologian, and therefore must have attended Leiden University to deepen his knowledge of subjects thought to be useful for the educated man of the day.⁵² By the time NOORDE succeeded his father in the vroedschap in 1614, the northern Netherlands was well on its way to the seventeenth-century Golden Age. As the horizons of Dutch business and trade expanded, so did the exigencies of politics. The emerging Dutch Republic demanded a wider, more wordly education for the patricians who ran it economically and politically. Because the towns were the backbone of Holland's government, this development also occurred on the local level, Cornelis Claesz. van NOORDE being an example already in our period.

The names of other vroedschap family members at Leiden also illustrate this development. Among the sons of more prominent councilmen attending the city's new university were Pieter Pietersz. van CORTEVELT, Jan van SANTHORST, Jacob van LOO, Tyman van VEEN and Jan van BANCKEN. All enrolled themselves in the category Litterarum studiosus.⁵³

While only a few members had a serious interest in literary or purely intellectual pursuits, those who did were deeply committed to them. Jan Cornelisz. van HOUT is, of course, the outstanding example in our period. His efforts on behalf of vernacular literature, in a day when humanist Latin works were considered the measure of intellectual achievement, and his introduction of the alexandrine meter into vernacular Dutch poetry remain lasting contributions to Dutch literature.⁵⁴

Van HOUT's friend and colleague, lawyer M^r Franck Jansz. DUYCK, also had a strong interest in intellectual activities. While DUYCK did not leave the quantity of literary production of HOUT, his interest in such pursuits is clearly evident from the epigram he wrote in HOUT's Album:

Treis genuit Batavia sidere vates
 Bifrontisque dedit nomen habere Dei
 Primus Hagensis erat, dictus tamen ille secunde
 Hunc sequeris priscorum a' mute Douza virum
 Tertius Houtenus Rhem justissima cura,
 Hic vbi Lugdunum nobile mactat aquis
 Sed primos Latiae celebrat facundia linguae
 Mancuproque tenet Musa Latina duos
 Tertius vt natus, nato mox Romula Musa
 (Namque vuum numero scibat abesse suo)
 Musa manum injectit, sed contra Cattias inquit:
 Hic meus ex Batavum jure futurus erit.⁵⁵

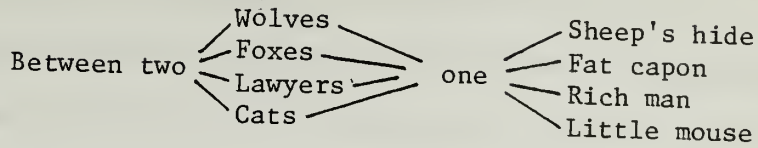
DUYCK himself was eulogized by humanist poet and Curator of Leiden University, Johan van der Does, in one of van der Does' own works. Although van der Does comments primarily on DUYCK's genius as a lawyer, the implication is that he possessed many qualities of the contemporary learned man:

O. Tria qui Charites, et ter tria Numina Musas
 LUGDUNUM princeps ausus es inuehere,
 Ad numeros cantusque tuos, Dux unice DVCA
 Et noua Paladiis verba praeire choris:
 Quaeris, quid de te subsellia nostra, quid autem
 LIPSIA de Scriptis iudicat vrna tuis?
 Quid? nisi se doctas nunc demum agnoscere DIVAS
 Emigrasse suae vallibus AONIAE;
 BOEOTAMque recens AVREM mutasse BATAVA,
 Auspiciis fretas die POETA tuis?
 Haec sunt, quae de te subsellia nostra; eademque
 LIPSIA de Scriptis iudicat VRNA tuis.
 Quid? satis hos nondum tibi FRANCO? etiam insuper illud
 Exspectas, promam iudicum ipse meum?
 Exspectas: at ego potiora filentia duco,
 Quam de te, aut GENIO dicere pauca tuo.
 Versiculis igitur geminis contenta, meorum
 Haec tibi votorum clausula testis erit:
 Haud alio capior satiari Nectare viuus,
 LAVDARI haud alio mortuus ore velim.⁵⁶

The fact that he earned the respect of the local literary leader Van der Does indicates that the two men had similar intellectual interests.

Jan Dirxsz. van BROUCHOVEN is another member of the vroedschap whose interest in learned matters has come down to us. BROUCHOVEN, like DUYCK, left no literary works. He was prone, however, to scribble notes in the margins of the documents with which he worked as Rentmeester of the Water District Rijnland. Some of these are more than merely practical reminders or notes to himself. In quality they may be ranked with the verses of the contemporary Chambers of Rhetoric rather than with the literary art of HOUT or Van der Does. The

following is but one example of BROUCHOVEN's abundantly scribbled output:



Tell me now all people of the world
Which of the four has the best life.⁵⁷

The inventory of books contained in BROUCHOVEN's library also demonstrates his interest in and respect for intellectual problems and questions, as well as his consuming curiosity concerning other areas such as geography and history. Out of the 198 entries, some of which represent multiple volumes or sets of books, BROUCHOVEN had a substantial number which concerned religion and the religious disputes of the day. In addition to several Bibles, BROUCHOVEN owned a number of works by men of contrasting religious persuasions. These included The Apocalypse and The House-book or The Five Decades, both by Heinrich Bullinger; Calvin's Institutes of the Christian Religion; two copies of the work of Johannes Sleidanus, the annalist of the German Reformation; the Christian Discipline by Caspar Coolhaes; the Paradoxes by Sebastian Franck; and a work entitled On the State of Religion in France.⁵⁸ BROUCHOVEN's library also contained a number of volumes by classical authors, such as Livy, Ovid, Virgil and Terence as well as an occasional book by a contemporary literary figure like Johan Van der Does' Poemata. BROUCHOVEN's interest in geography and history, particularly in the events of his own era, may be seen by the following titles: The Chronicle of Brabant, New Chronicle of Holland, The Triumph of Antwerp of the Year 1549, The

History of Peru, True History of America by Hans von Staden and Wagenaar's Mirror of Navigation of the Western Voyage.⁵⁹

These titles are evidence of BROUCHOVEN's widely-ranging interests and inquiring mind. He was able to pass along the respect he had for learning, knowledge and cultural sophistication to his children, Hendrick and Foy, both of whom were members of Leiden's city government. Hendrick's children were the recipients of books from their grandfather's estate and Foy's son, Jacob Foysz. van BROUCHOVEN, demonstrated that his interest in the arts was more than superficial when he performed in several plays by classical authors in 1595.⁶⁰

The only other lengthy inventory of books belonging to a group member which I have been able to trace is that of the schout Jan Claesz. van BERENDRECHT. BERENDRECHT's library consisted of over 140 volumes, the great majority of which were classical works or books of a literary nature. Representative examples include the works of Virgil, Pliny, Suetonius, Petrarch, Seneca, Aristophanes and Euripides.⁶¹

Despite the existence of other inventories of household items and personal effects belonging to vroedschap members, the lack of lengthy book lists among these inventories indicates that men such as BROUCHOVEN and BERENDRECHT were exceptions among their colleagues. The inventories of Joost Jacobsz. (de BYE) and Gerrit Wiggersz. van DUYVELANDT, for instance, contain only occasional evidence of interest in intellectual pursuits. The inventory of Joost Jacobsz. (de BYE) notes only thirteen books and several religious pictures which may

have had some instructional significance.⁶² The DUYVELANDT inventory contains no reference to books. The only indicator of items of an educational nature among DUYVELANDT's possessions are some old letters, three maps and several unidentified pictures.⁶³ While one would not want to generalize based on so few examples, it does seem likely that the average group member may have had a few books and maps about, but not necessarily a large library. Intense intellectual curiosity and literary production were really characteristic of only a very few among members of the town council and magistracy.

Possession of books and the writing of literature provide two ways of determining the personal interests and intellectual pursuits of group members. Another is their participation in Leiden's several Chambers of Rhetoric. The activities of these societies were certainly not on the same elevated plane as those of the circle of Van Hout and Van der Does. They were, however, important outlets in the lives of many citizens, including several vroedschap members.

The Chambers of Rhetoric were gild-like organizations dedicated to the reading, writing, recitation and performance of poetry and plays. Since the fifteenth century, membership in a Chamber of Rhetoric had become a respected avocation or social activity. Participation in these groups became widespread, especially during the sixteenth century, and while the quality of the literature produced by them was not always high, they encouraged literary experimentation with form and technique. Festivals of these groups were popular gatherings marked by elaborate banquets and pageants. In the sixteenth

century they were important elements of Dutch social life.⁶⁴

Late sixteenth-century Leiden had four Chambers of Rhetoric, each of which was known by the name of a flower but was often referred to by its motto. Records of Leiden's Chambers are scarce, but for at least two of them membership lists have been preserved. One list is from the Chamber commonly called "Pleasure is All." The other is from the Chamber known as the Red Acoleys. The 1561 list for the Chamber "Pleasure is All" mentions the names of four future vroedschap members: Oliphier Philipsz., Ghysbrecht Henridcxz. (van der DOES), Bouwen Jansz. cabinet maker and Pieter Adriaensz. van der WERFF.⁶⁵ There may have been a few councilmen or magistrates who belonged to another Chamber, The White Acoleys, in the 1550's and 1560's, but no official list survives. The only other extant membership list, that of the Red Acoleys from the year 1597, does not mention any vroedschap or gerecht member.⁶⁶

The Rhetoricians enjoyed their greatest popularity among the lower middle class. During the latter part of the century, the well-to-do and the literary men who formerly participated in Chamber activities ceased to do so. For example, HOUT who had initially worked with the Rhetoricians, became increasingly critical of them after the 1570's.⁶⁷ Similarly, the four vroedschap members whose names appeared on the 1561 list probably were not involved with these lower middle class groups in their later years when they were prestigious members of the city government.

Often attacked for an overemphasis on the superficial aspects of literary technique, the Chambers of Rhetoric were also negatively

associated in the minds of patricians with the Roman Catholic religion. After all, the Rhetorician's festivals and processions through the city had always taken place on traditional religious holidays, and their floats often had religious themes.

Another area of objection posed by town officials was the potential unrest which the processions might precipitate. After the introduction of Protestantism, the processions became less directly bound up with Roman Catholic feast days and took place on the occasion of fairs or the Rhetorician's own holidays. Town officials supported such activities because they provided a needed outlet for the masses, but they feared the civil disorder which did at times ensue.⁶⁸ The activities of the Chambers of Rhetoric during the iconoclasm of 1566 certainly confirmed the view that they were a threat to public order. Kolff asserts that the Rhetoricians bear as much guilt for the plundering at Leiden as those who actually participated in the destruction. They had already been suspected of heresy during 1564-1565, but the day before the 1566 iconoclasm they tied a rope across Breestraat and let a holy image dangle from it. Whenever anyone passed by, the Rhetoricians caused the image to nod as they called out, "there will be more coming."⁶⁹

Vroedschap and gerecht members were not only concerned about the possible implications of the quasi-literary activities of the Chambers of Rhetoric. More broadly, these men were responsible for the formulation of city policy regarding education in general. The vroedschap and gerecht were responsible for choosing the rector of

the Latin School and his teachers, for approving salaries of the school's personnel and for granting consent to those who wished to run private schools. In addition, they received complaints about the city's educational institutions and attempted to resolve the more serious problems. In the mid-sixteenth century the vroedschap attempted to stem the tide of parents sending their children to schools other than the Latin School.⁷⁰ The Latin School sought to offset the marked success which the private schools had recently been enjoying.⁷¹

During the middle years of the century, the council was particularly concerned with preventing the spread of unorthodox religious ideas by school teachers. In 1572 this problem was again addressed when Leiden citizen Jacob Jansz. requested permission to give German lessons. The gerecht granted his request provided he did not use any "reprobate or suspect books or otherwise scandalous and sinful doctrines."⁷²

The establishment of Leiden University brought with it additional interest in education among city officials. While much of the involvement of mayors and aldermen in University affairs was administrative or disciplinary, they could point with pride to an institution of higher education that was fast becoming one of the best in Europe. Sometimes mayors or members of the council themselves were sent to call a professor to the University.⁷³ Accounts of the city treasury also show that money was occasionally allocated for social gatherings at which both professors and city officials were present, demonstrating interaction between academic and town communities.⁷⁴

The presence in town of numerous renowned professors and learned men undoubtedly had an impact on the men in city government. Such luminaries as Joseph Scaliger (1540-1609), Justus Lipsius (1547-1606) and historian Paulus Merula (1558-1607) were all residents of Leiden in this period. Some daily contact between these men and city officials would have been inevitable in a town the size of Leiden, especially since a number were neighbors of councilmen and magistrates.

Councilman Huych Jansz. van ALCKEMADE lived one door from M^r Cornelis de Groot, professor of law and uncle of Hugo Grotius.⁷⁵ Christoph Plantin, who established a branch of his printing firm in the city, lived for a short time near the widow of councilmen Huych Claesz. GAEL, whose three sons became vroedschap members like their father.⁷⁶ Plantin also rented a house only one door from councilman Claes Ghysbrechtsz. van DORP. In still another example, Hugo Donellus, a professor of law, resided next door to M^r Cornelis Jansz. van VEEN, also a lawyer and former pensionaris of Leiden.⁷⁷ While members of the academic community did not always get along with city officials,⁷⁸ the presence of numerous scholars and teachers in Leiden could only have aroused an interest in intellectual pursuits and stimulated a concern for educational policy.

C. Conclusion

Sixteenth-century Leiden was governed by a body of men who came from a closely interrelated group of families. Among a large number of families, familial ties were close at any given moment, but the entry into and the departure from the group by individual family units was frequent. Every ten years about half of the families represented in the group had changed. Because of the crisis years at the outset of the Dutch Revolt, 1570-1580 showed the greatest change in family membership. During that decade two-thirds of the families changed.

This relative openness was offset somewhat by a smaller core of prominent families who continued to be represented throughout the period 1550-1600, and who continued to hold the highest positions of burgemeester and schepen or were extremely active in city politics. Also characteristic of group continuity was the absence of new citizens in the group. Only rarely was a recent resident of the city admitted to council membership.

The education of sixteenth-century Leiden councilmen and magistrates often included instruction in reading and writing, but rarely entailed university training unless the individual planned a legal career. Provision for apprenticeship training was part of the future councilman's education if he planned to follow a craft or trade. Lack of a university degree did not prevent some group members from becoming active in literary circles or from acquiring an interest in literature.

The two topics considered in this chapter, family inter-relationships and education, have dealt primarily with the private lives of the men in Leiden government. Because of the nature of the sources, the evidence presented here has been systematic, but in some cases anecdotal. The following chapter on occupation and economic activities will continue to consider the private lives of group members, but will look at more complete data derived from a computer analysis of these areas.

FOOTNOTES--CHAPTER IV

¹I. H. Gosses and N. Japikse, Handboek tot de staatkundige geschiedenis van Nederland, revised ed. by R. Post and N. Japikse (3rd ed.; 's-Gravenhage: Martinus Nijhoff, 1947), pp. 422-438; Roorda, "Ruling Classes in Holland," p. 115. For a discussion of this process as it relates to members of the Leiden vroedschap, see Chapter VII, pp. 298-302.

²See Appendix C, DUSSELDORP Genealogy, the main source of which is "Dusseldorp's Stamboom" from Franciscus Dusseldorp, Annales 1566-1616, extract ed. by Robert Fruin ('s-Gravenhage: Martinus Nijhoff, 1893).

³Ibid.

⁴Kolff, "Libertatis Ergo," pp. 122-123.

⁵See Appendix C: BROUCHOVEN genealogy.

⁶M. Thierry de Bye Dólleman, "De oorsprong van het geslacht Gael," Jaarboek van het Centraal Bureau voor Genaologie, XXIV (1970), pp. 57-61. Hereafter the journal is cited as JCBG. See also Appendix C: GAEL genealogy.

⁷Elias, Vroedschap van Amsterdam, I, pp. 30; 78-79. See also O. A. van der Meer, "Rondom het gezin van Jan Reyer Dirxsz. (van Heemskerck)" De Nederlandsche Leeuw, LXXVIII (1961), pp. 286-321. See also Ekkart, "Sleutelfiguren," p. 208; Ekkart, "Cornelis van Veen," p. 96. The HEEMSKERCKs not only had a branch of the family in Amsterdam, but also were related to other ruling families in Delft and Haarlem.

⁸Kok, "Stadsbestuur van Leiden," pp. 36-42 and Bijlagen I-III.

⁹Of course, the high incidence of remarriage complicated the separation of family groups somewhat. Often a widow or widower married into another family group with children. When this happened, I considered the children by another marriage to be members of the original family unit, although for the purposes of linking separate families together, these individuals have been included in the genealogical charts of both families. See Appendix C, *passim*.

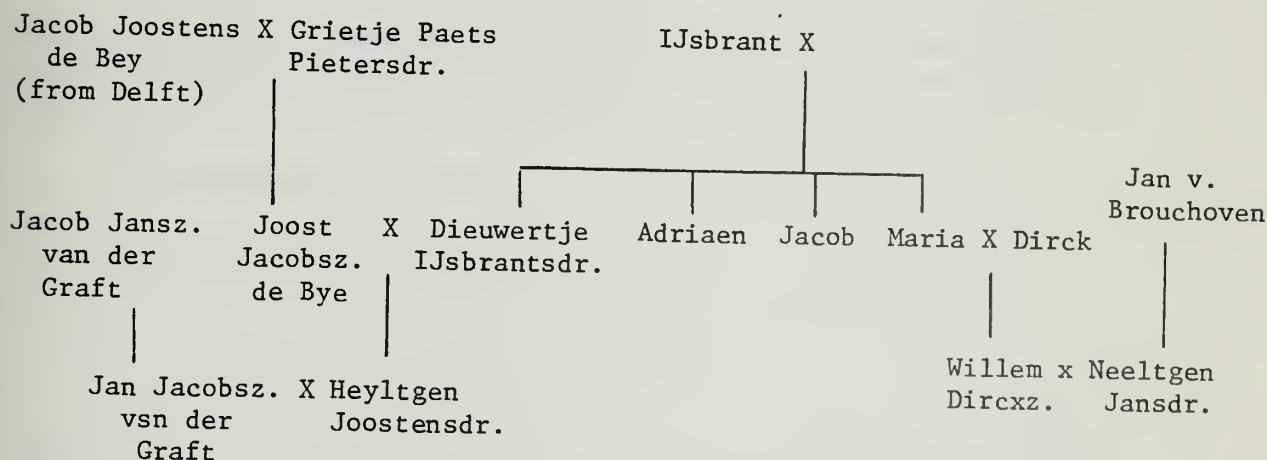
¹⁰Because an exhaustive genealogical investigation could not be accomplished for reasons of time and emphasis, it is likely that

additional links between individuals and families exist or are discoverable in the Leiden legal and notarial archives. In spite of this, however, the connections which have been established show both the extent to which the Leiden elite was interconnected with itself and the complexity of those relationships.

¹¹One example of this was Philips Gerardsz. LANTSCHOT, whose tenure on the vroedschap ran from 1587-1620. Lantschot's son, Gerard Philipsz. LANTSCHOT, succeeded him on the council. GAL, SA, II, No. 207: Dienstboek G, folio 314.

¹²GAL, RA, No. 76 B-2, unfoliated, dated July 2, 1553; SA, I, No. 384: Vroedschapsboek F (Part II), folio 19; SA, I, No. 396: Vroedschapsboek H, second unnumbered folio before folio 1.

¹³GAL, RA, No. 76 B-2, unfoliated, dated April 25, 1573. Another source, v. H. (?) in the periodical Navorscher, XLI (1891), pp. 596-597, was used to fill out the following chart. This is only a partial genealogy and should not be considered the complete set of relationships between these individuals.



¹⁴Additional connections would undoubtedly come to light, if further genealogical research were done in this area. Geryt Fransz. DOE, for instance, was a vroedschap member from 1541 until 1569. His father, Frans Gerritsz. DOE, was also a member of the vroedschap earlier in the century. Both men were well-to-do drapeniers who were, without doubt, related to other council members. Nevertheless, concrete evidence of these connections was not forthcoming from the extant conditions of marriage, wills or other documents examined.

¹⁵ GAL, RA, No. 76 B-2, unfoliated, dated December 2, 1562; RA, No. 76 B-2, unfoliated, dated October 12, 1577; SA, II, No. 442: Vroedschapsboek K-L, folio 348. The brewery of Ysnout Jansz. (van der NES) was located in Overmaren-Rijnzijde, and according to the 10th Penny of 1559 (SA, I, No. 992: Kohier van den 10en Penning, folio 68) was assessed at 96 ¹/₂, a very considerable sum.

¹⁶ GAL, SA, I, No. 22: Poorterboek D. (1532-1588), folio 62vso, dated May 14, 1566; Van Mieris, Handvesten, p. 152.

¹⁷ This data was obtained from the periodic references to newly-chosen councilmen and magistrates occurring frequently in the various resolutions of the vroedschap and in the dienstboeken.

¹⁸ GAL, SA, I, No. 384: Vroedschapsboek D, folio 77vso; SA, I, No. 386: Vroedschapsboek H, folio 39vso and folio avso before folio 1; SA, I, No. 73: Dienstboek A, folio 86vso; SA, II, No. 443: Vroedschapsboek M, folio 188; SA, II, No. 206: Dienstboek F.

¹⁹ GAL, SA, I, No. 384: Vroedschapsboek F, folio 15 of Part I; SA, I, No. 385: Vroedschapsboek G, folio 11vso; SA, II, No. 443: Vroedschapsboek M, folio 111; SA, II, No. 444: Vroedschapsboek N, folio 34; SA, II, No. 206: Dienstboek F, folio 218vso.

²⁰ See Appendix D: Table 2.

²¹ See Appendix D: Table 4.

²² See Appendix D: Table 5 and Graph 1.

²³ The only two cases of this during our period are the following: Symon Jan Reyersz. (van HEEMSKERCK) and Jonge Dirck Jan Reyersz. (van HEEMSKERCK) both held offices in the 1540's and 1550's. The DUYCK brothers, Franck and Arnoult, also held gerecht positions simultaneously in the 1590's.

²⁴ See Appendix D: Table 5 and Graph 1 for the gerecht replacement rate for 1550-1553.

²⁵ See Appendix D: Graph 1.

26

See Appendix D: Table 6. Again, since more than one member of a family was not permitted to hold a seat on the council at any one time, these figures represent families as well as individuals.

27

New Leiden citizens who became group members, including the dates of their admission to citizenship, are listed below:

Henrick Florisz. van WASSENAER	May 17, 1521	Poorterboek C, folio 153vso
Dirck Jacobsz. van MONTFOORT	June 3, 1538	Poorterboek D, folio 7
Jan Dircxz. van BROUCHOVEN	May 11, 1542	Poorterboek D, folio 15vso
Huych Claesz. GAEL	1545	Thierry-Dolleman, p. 57.
M ^r Jacob de MILDE	Feb. 20, 1553	Poorterboek D, folio 40vso
Allert Willemsz. van SASSENHEM	May 8, 1556	Poorterboek D, folio 44vso
M ^r Cornelis Jansz. v. VEEN	Mar. 8, 1558	Poorterboek D, folio 47
Oliphier Phipsz.	May 6, 1563	Poorterboek D, folio 58
M ^r Geryt Melisz. v. HOOGEVEEN	July 23, 1564	Poorterboek D, folio 60
Andries Jansz. SCHOT	May 14, 1566	Poorterboek D, folio 62
M ^r Pouwels Aertsz. VOS	Oct. 31, 1577	Poorterboek D, folio 76vso
Johan van LOURESLOOT	Mar. 16, 1587	Poorterboek D, folio 118vso

Five additional entries conceivably could also be men who became group members, but positive identification is impossible without corroborating evidence. These are:

- (1) Claes Lambrechtsz., who became a Leiden citizen on June 2, 1535 (GAL, SA, I, No. 22: Poorterboek D, folio 3), might be the same as Claes Lambrechtsz. (van SWIETEN) who was a vroedschap member from 1544-1570. Lambrechtsz. the vroedschap member was a brewer by trade, and although the occupation of Lambrechtsz. the inscribed in the Poorterboek is not noted, he received surety for his citizenship tax (poortgeld) from an Adriaen Jansz. who was a brewer. It is conceivable, therefore, that the two men were one and the same. By the time that Lambrechtsz. the new citizen would have been admitted to the vroedschap, if he was Lambrechtsz. the brewer and future councilman, he would have fulfilled the seven year residency requirement for election. This adds some substantiation to the two men being identical.
- (2) Meester Frans Adriaensz. organist from Delft acquired Leiden citizenship on October 18, 1541.
- (3) In the case of Bouwen Jansz., the journeyman weaver from Noertich (Noordwijk), who became a Leiden citizen on July 23, 1542, he may have been Bouwen Jansz. Keyser (van der MORSCH) a member of the vroedschap between 1576 and 1591, who was also a weaver or dyer.
- (4) Jacob Thomasz., a new Leiden citizen on July 27, 1557, might have been Jacob Thomasz. (van SWIETEN), a brewer and member of the vroedschap.
- (5) Finally, the Jan Dircxz. beertapper from Zoeterwoude, who became a Leiden citizen on July 15, 1542, may have been Jan Dircxz. (van RoodenBEEKE), also a brewer, who was a vroedschap member between 1569 and 1573.

28 De MILDE is already mentioned as pensionaris by the 10th Penny Tax Register of 1543 (ARA, Archief van de Staten van Holland, Inventaris No. 275: Quohier van den 10den Penning van 1543, folio 5). Apparently, he accepted Leiden citizenship when he also took on the duties of secretaris in 1553.

29 Ekkart, "Cornelis van Veen," p. 95, and GAL, SA, I, No. 22: Poorterboek D, folio 47. Ekkart mentions in his article that the VEEN family came to Leiden several generations before Cornelis.

30 GAL, SA, I, No. 22: Poorterboek D, folio 60. HOGVEEN was sworn in as a citizen but was given permission to remain living outside Leiden until All Souls Day, 1564.

31

GAL, SA, II, No. 9248: Gerechtsdagboek A, folio 8vso. Because of conflicting evidence regarding the November 1574 date, it is possible that VOS was not dismissed before October 9, 1576 when the old privileges regarding vroedschap selection were reestablished, and the council was again increased to forty. See GAL, SA, I, No. 73: Dienstboek A, folios 86-86vso. Another bit of confusing evidence is that relating to VOS' choice as a replacement for burgemeester Huych Claesz. GAEL on November 10, 1574. The office of burgemeester also required that the holder be a citizen. VOS was supposedly replaced as burgemeester on January 15, 1575.

32

GAL, SA, I, No. 22: Poorterboek D, folio 76vso.

33

GAL, SA, I, No. 21: Poorterboek C, folio 128vso. In making a judgement about hypothetical identifications, the criteria of who stood surety for the new citizen was taken as a clue. If the person who agreed to sponsor the new citizen was a member of the city government, or related to someone who was, it was likely that the person becoming a Leidenaar would have had a similar economic and social status. In addition to possible linkage through name, this information serves as another identification indicator.

34

GAL, SA, I, No. 21: Poorterboek C, folio 128vso.

35

GAL, SA, II, No. 22: Poorterboek D, folio 16vso.

36

See Appendix C: HOOGEVEEN genealogy.

37

Between 1577 and 1593 MERWEN held the posts of vestmeester and tresorier extraordinaris which involved him directly in the supervision of public works projects. See also E. Pelinck, "De functionarissen belast met de zorg voor de stadbouwwerken te Leiden (1575-1818)," LJ, LIX (1967), pp. 60-61. For examples of MERWEN's involvement see Oerle, Leiden binnen en buiten de stadsvesten, pp. 327 and 337-338.

38

J.C. H. de Pater, Jan van Hout, een levensbeeld uit de 16e eeuw ('s-Gravenhage: D. A. Daamen's Uitgeversmaatschappij, N.V., 1946), p. 12.

39

Although somewhat earlier than our period, a 1535 reference mentions the size of the Latin School as being about one hundred students during the winter and approximately sixty during the summer months. See Knappert, "Latijnsche School," II, p. 19.

40 H. W. Fortgens, Meesters, Scholieren en Grammatica, uit het middeleeuwse schoolwezen (Zwolle: Tjeenk Willink, 1956), p. 47. See also Ekkart, "Onderwijs in Leiden," p. 146.

41 GAL, SA, I, No. 385: Vroedschapsboek G, folios 53vso-54, dated November 9, 1556. In this instance, Peeter de Thonrisfour requested a salary from the town to teach the reading and writing of French. Interestingly, the rationale behind the request was to keep "...some rich and honorable good people, who would send their children outside this city to other places and countries to learn the french language..." from doing so ("...sommighe Rycke ende eerlicke goede luyden die hun kinderen buyten deser stede zoude seynden in andere plaetsen ende landen omme de voors. fransoissche tale te leeren..."). It is conceivable that some vroedschap members may have been among those inclined to send their children elsewhere to learn French. Precisely at the time of this request by Thonrisfour, future schout and vroedschap member Foy Jansz. van BROUCHOVEN, the son of councilman Jan Dircxz. van BROUCHOVEN, was being educated abroad. See S. J. Fockema Andreae, "Jan van Brouhoven," LJ, XXII (1929-1930), p. 95. In the case cited in GAL, SA, I, No. 1383: Gerechtsdagboek A, folio 25vso, dated February 17, 1569, the gerecht took the advice of the priest heer Cornelis Jansz. of the Church of Our Dear Lady and granted the request of Heynrick Pouwelsz., a newly admitted citizen, to hold German classes for young people in Leiden. See also Knappert, "Latijnsche School," I, p. 127 where he mentions the teaching of basic arithmetic calculations ("rekenen met legpenningen") in Leiden.

42 Pater, Jan van Hout, p. 111. "...van Hout, the son of the middle class, never went further than Leiden during his youth and later did not cross the boundaries of the Netherlands. He was not even able to attend the Latin School. He had to mould himself, but because of that his friendship with Dousa (van der Does) was of incalculable use for him" ("...van Hout, de burger-jongen, bracht het in zijn jeugd niet verder dan Leiden en kwam ook later niet buiten de grenzen der Nederlanden. De Latijnse School zelfs heeft hij nooit kunnen bezoeken. Hij heeft zich zelf moeten vormen, maar daarbij is de vriendschap met Douza voor hem van onberekenbaar nut geweest."). Ekkart in "Sleutel-figures," p. 202 asserts that Van Hout probably did attend the Latin School. That does not detract from the point that it was not necessary for a youth to attend a school to learn the basic elements of reading and writing. See p. 26 of Pater for a list of van Hout's other learned acquaintances.

43 GAL, RA, No. 79: Getuigenisboek B, folio 79vso, dated July 1, 1585. "Compareerde voor Schepenen Dirck Jansz. uyten Hage Laecken-bereyder Ende verclaerde by eede hem volcomelijk gestaeft dat by hem opgeteyckent es Jacob Jacobsz de haes zoon van Jacob Allertsz de haes

omme by hem comparent het ambacht van Laeckenbereyder te leren. Ende dat de zelve Jacob Jacobsz de Haes de tyt van twee Jaren lang zonder eenich gelt te winnen by hem gestaen ende ooc hem comparent ten vollen voldaan heeft. Actum j July 1585."

⁴⁴GAL, Archieven van de Gilden, No. 603:"Rekening van ontvangsten en uitgeven door deken en keurmeesters 1558-1804," deel I, unfoliated. This document follows the account for 1581. A list of goldsmith apprentices nominated after 1580 includes the names of two sons of Hobbe Florisz. These are Floris Hobbe zoon and Louweris Hobbe zoon. A total of thirty-one names appear on the list. Among the others that may be from vroedschap families are:

Pieter Dircxz. STEIN

Jan Gerritsz. van HOGEVEEN

Claes Jansz. van BANCKEN

The addition of two other names of men apprenticed to Floris Hobbe zoon and Louweris Hobbe zoon, the first two names on the list, indicates that the roster was compiled over a period of years.

⁴⁵Ibid.

⁴⁶See Appendix C: Genealogies.

⁴⁷The printed matriculation lists which yielded this information were the following: Acta nationis germanicae universitatis bononiensis ex archtypis tabularii malveziani, iussu instituti germanici savigniani ediderunt Ernestus Friedlander et Carolus Malagola (Berolini: typis etipensis Georgii Reimeri, 1887) together with Deutsche Studenten in Bologna (1289-1562), Biographischer Index zu den Acta nationis germanicae universitatis bononiensis, comp. by Gustav C. Knod im Auftrag der K. Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften (no city cited: R. v. Decker's Verlag, G. Schenck, Konigl. Hofbuchandler, 1899); Rieu, Album Studiosorum; Kuyk, J. "Lijst van Nederlanders, studenten te Orleans (1441-1602)," BMHG, xxxiv (1913), pp. 293-349; Les Livres des Procureurs de la Nation Germanique de l'Ancienne Université d'Orleans 1444-1602, ed by Cornelia M. Ridderikhoff with the collaboration of Hilde de Ridder-Symoens (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1971); Die Matrikel der Universität Heidelberg von 1386 bis 1662, ed. by Gustav Toepke (3 vols.; Heidelberg: Selbstverlag des herausgebers, 1884-1893); Die Matrikel der Universität Köln, ed. by Hermann Keussen (3 vols.; Bonn: Verlag von P. Hanstein, 1928-1931); Matricule de l'Université de Louvain, Vols. III and IV, ed. by A. Schillings (10 vols.; Bruxelles: Palais des Academies). A list of Leiden group members who attended these institutions is found in Appendix D.

⁴⁸There are several additional instances where it was impossible to positively identify a matriculated student as a group member. One

such example was Andreas Corneli, Leydensis, who enrolled at Louvain on June 20, 1560 (No. 78 under the Rectorship of Petri Moreli, which began in March 1560). See Matricule de l'Université de Louvain, Vol. IV, p. 602 which corresponds to folio 361 in the original manuscript. This student could very likely be Andries Cornelisz. van THORENVLIE (1544-1595) who became a vroedschap member in 1589. Enrolling at Louvain in 1560 would have made him sixteen years old, which was about right for his academic training. There is, however, no evidence that THORENVLIE was ever a lawyer and the Louvain matriculation list does not indicate which faculty he joined. In other cases, such as Claes Cornelisz. de WILDE, Frans Adriaensz., Symon Jansz., and Frans Fransz. van DUSSELDORP, the title meester often occurs before their names in the documents. This is often a clue that they may have had legal training, or in the case of Mr Symon Jansz., received a medical degree, but nowhere are these men to be found in the matriculation lists consulted. It is possible that the title meester might suggest a level of achievement in another occupation. DUSSELDORP, however, definitely became a lawyer (Fruin, ed., Dusseldorp's Annales, p. XII). Fruin's comment in this reference indicates that the title meester demonstrates his having studied and obtained a degree. Leiden tax registers and poorterboeken in the period 1550-1560 refer occasionally to a meester Frans Adriaensz. organist. This corresponds readily with the tenure in office of vroedschap member Mr Frans Adriaensz. who served from 1539 until his death in 1570. Whether or not vroedschap member Adriaensz. and the organist were one in the same is impossible to tell. If they were not, then perhaps the vroedschap member had some legal training in his student days. Further evidence that the two are not identical is the acceptance of Adriaensz. the organist as a Leiden citizen in 1541 after Adriaensz. the councilman began his lengthy term as an office-holder. Such an irregularity would have been against the seven year residency requirement for council positions. Methodologically, I have decided to count as university-trained only those men that can be positively identified as group members from the matriculation lists or those group members who were known to have practiced in the legal profession.

⁴⁹Matricule de l'Université de Louvain, Vol. IV, pp. 613 and 755. BUYTEWECH enrolled on February 16, 1562 and DUYCK on August 29, 1569.

⁵⁰See Appendix D; Table 8 for a list. There are very likely others whose identities, because of their patronymic names, cannot be easily verified.

⁵¹The two who became lawyers were Clemens Jansz. van BAERSDORP, a son of vroedschap member Jan Jansz. van BAERSDORP, and Jacob Foyosz. van BROUCHOVEN, son of vroedschap member, Foy Jansz. van BROUCHOVEN.

Both Clemens and Jacob were councilmen during the early seventeenth century. BAERSDORP matriculated at Leiden on February 13, 1587 (Album Studiosorum, p. 21) and BROUCHOVEN on November 2, 1589 (Album Studiosorum, p. 26). Jan van BANCHEM matriculated on November 9, 1591 (Album Studiosorum, p. 31).

In two of these three cases the titles of theses presented for graduation in the faculty of law are listed in the Catalogus van theses in de jaren 1595-1655 aan de Leidsche Academie verdedigd (Leiden: Bibliotheek der Rijksuniversiteit te Leiden, 1944), p. 5. "Baerdsorp (Clem.), Disp. de eo quod certo loco dari oportet. 13 Kalend. Augusti 1596. 4^o Lugd. Bat., ex officina Thom. Basson, 1596 pro Doct. " and "Banchem (Ioa. a), Conclusiones de pignoribus & hypothecis. 12 Iulij. Lugd. Bat. ex officina Ioa. Patii, 1607. 4^o pro Doct. ." Other sons of vroedschap members, namely from the families MERWEN, WARMONT and SCHOT, also have theses listed.

52 Van NOORDE matriculated on June 4, 1584 (Rieu, Album Studiosorum, p. 16).

53 See Appendix D: Table 8.

54 Reijnder P. Meijer, Literature of the Low Countries, A Short History of Dutch Literature in the Netherlands and Belgium (Assen: Van Gorcum, 1971), pp. 102-103.

55 Franck Duyck, "Epigramma in eudem," folio 34 vso in the Album of Jan van HOUT, Leiden Universiteitsbibliotheek, Microfilm Number 185pos. The original is located in the Leiden Lakenhal Museum (Collection Number 3385).

56 Johan van der Does, "Iani Dowsae FRANCONEM DVCAM Leidensem," in Iani Dousae a Noortwiick, Elegiarum Lib. II. Epigrammatum lib. Cum. I. Lipsi aliorumque ad eundem Carminibus (Lugduni Batavorum: Ex officina Plantiniana, Apud Franciscum Raphelengium, 1586), p. 72.

57 Fockema Andreae, "Jan van Brouhoven," pp. 94-95. Andreae gives an example of Brouhoven's verses:

"Tuschen twee	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Wolven Vossen Advocaten Catten 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> — — — — 	een	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Schaep vet Cappoen gheset Rijck man Muysken dan
---------------	---	--	-----	--

Segt mij nu alle die ter werelt leeft
Wye van vieren 't alre beste heeft"

58

GAL, Weeskamer Archief, No. 783: Boedel van Jan van Brouhoven, item i: Inventaris, dated February 2, 1590, unfoliated. Hereafter the Weeskamer Archief will be cited as WA. The titles mentioned in the text appear in the inventory in the following form:

Apocalipsis bullingeri in nederuyts
 Het huysbouck off de v decades henrici bullingeri
 Institutiones calvini in nederduyts
 Sleydanus in nederduyts
 Sleydanus in duyts
 Vande cristelycke discipleyne Coolhasi
 Paradoxa Sebastiani vranck
 Vanden stant der Religien In vranckryck

59

Ibid. Other titles noted in the text include:

Titus Livius in duytsch
 Methamorphosis Ovidij duyts
 De eerste vier boucken van Aeneas
 De zes Comedien terentij duyts
 Jani douze no dovicis poemata
 De Cronyck van brabant gedruet Anno Lxv
 Nieuwe Cronyck van hollant
 De Triumphe van antwerpen vanden Jaere xlix
 De historie van peru
 Warachtige historie van America door hans van staden
 Luytgen waegenaers spiegel vande zeevaert vande
 westersche reys

60

GAL, WA, No. 783, item k: Inventaris vande boucken den kinderen van henric van Brouhoven by blinde lotinge toegefallen inden boedel van zalige Jan van Brouhoven, unfoliated; H. J. Witkam, De dagelijkse zaken van de Universiteit van Leiden van 1581 tot 1596 (10 vols.; Leiden, 1960), I, pp. 4-5. Hereafter cited as Witkam, Dagelijkse Zaken. These unpublished, bound volumes are a useful index and source for Leiden University matters.

61

GAL, RA, No. 102: Boedel van Niclaes van Berendrecht, section titled "Boucken opde voors Jan van Berendrechts Camer gevonden hem toebehoorende," folios 52vso-57. Titles of those works mentioned in the text appear as follows:

Opera virgilij
 Plinius
 Plinij Libri duo de nat. histor.
 Suetonius
 Petrarchus de tranquillitate a _____ grece
 Seneca

Aristophanes grecus
Euripides Latine

Other categories of books occurring in this document are assorted philosophical works, grammars, mathematical and astronomical texts and maps. Examples of each of these groups include:

Dialectica Rami
Erasmi Copia
De const van Rethorique
De La Langue franchoise
Eeen bouck van geometryen
Jordani arithmetica
Gemma phrisius de principys astronome
Astrolabium Joannis Royas
Charta Abraham ortelij totus mundi
Charta Egypti
Charta americe

And of course, in accordance with BERENDRECHT's duties as schout, there are several legal texts cited in the inventory, such as:

Justitiones Juris
Praxis Joannis nulle Criminalium causarum
Ars notariatus

There is another lengthy list of books which belonged to Pieter Gerritsz. SMALING and Marytgen van Zyl, brother and sister-in-law of vroedschap member Dirck Gerritsz. SMALING. This may indicate that Dirck Gerritsz. SMALING also had an interest in books despite the fact that no such inventory is extant for him.

⁶²"Onroerend en roerend bezit van Joost Jacobsz. wantsnijder te Leiden, 1585," in H. A. Enno van Gelder, Gegevens betreffende roerend en onroerend bezit in de Nederlanden in de 16e eeuw, Vol. I, Rijks. Geschiedkundig Publicatiën, Vol. 140 ('s-Gravenhage: Martinus Nijhoff, 1972), p. 589. This document was taken from GAL, WA, No. 1958, item m.

⁶³GAL, WA, No. 1077: Boedel van Gerrit Wiggersz. van Duvelandt, folios 37vso, 43, 47vso and 48.

⁶⁴Meijer, Literature of the Low Countries, pp. 51-52. An idea of the nature and elaborate preparations for such festivals or celebrations may be obtained from the account of the 1596 Rhetorician's gathering at Leiden. See GAL, BLO, No. 72401: Rekening van de kosten van het rederijkers-feest te Leiden in 1596. The BLO also contains a collection of plays and readings put on by Leiden's Chambers of Rhetoric in the sixteenth century. The collection is small and undated, but it provides examples of the type of works performed in this period. See

GAL, BLO, No. 72421: Een bundel met rederijkstukken. The short table-play (taefel spel), No. 17 in this collection, is one such example. Performed by members of the Chamber known as the Witte Acoleyen, it was given on St. Jacob's Day, 1600 at a banquet of the schepenen. Three individuals assuming the identities of philosophical science, poetical invention and learned eloquence, sat around a table to hold an intellectual conversation concerning their respective attributes.

65

GAL, AG, No. 1467: Inventaris van de bezittingen van de rederijkerskamer "Geneucht is all," unfoliated, dated 1561. Ironically, this group which was known by the phrase "Pleasure is All" contained within its membership these four men who later became Protestant. During the 1560's the Chambers of Rhetoric were sometimes suspected of heretical leanings. The implications of the religious leanings of these groups will be touched upon in Chapter VII.

66

GAL, AG, No. 1469: Request van de rederijkers "De Acoleyns rot," dated October 9, 1597, unfoliated.

67

Although Van HOUT did not figure on the extant membership list, Blok, GHS, III, pp. 266-267 asserts that he was involved with the Chambers of Rhetoric in the mid-sixteenth century. R. van Luttervelt, "De optocht ter gelegenheid van de inwijding der Leidse universiteit," LJ, L (1958), p. 99 claims that van HOUT, in spite of his critical view of the Rhetoricians, maintained contact with them.

68

Ibid. City officials participated in more lofty processions, such as the one celebrating the foundation of Leiden University and the one for Prince Maurits' visit to Leiden in 1594. They did not take part in the activities of the Rhetoricians. A description of a procession in which city officials did participate is R. van Luttervelt, "Optocht," pp. 87-104, which involved the Rhetoricians as well.

69

Kolff, "Libertatis Ergo," p. 141. "'daer sal der noch meer comen'" is quoted by Kolff who cites as his source "Kerkelijke herinneringen door J. van Vloten, VI, verslag uit 1567" in Kerkhistorisch Archief, II (1859), p. 260.

70

GAL, SA, I, No. 395: Vroedschapsboek G, folio 45, dated June 26, 1556. "It is moreover stated that the Grote School is very much in decline and that the citizens and inhabitants send their children to school elsewhere or have them go to private schools." ("Is geopent by monde als voeren dat de grote schoele alhier zeer declineert ende dat de borgers ende Inwoonders haere kinderen elders ter schoel senden ofte In byschoelen laeten gaen. . ."). Having been so informed, the vroedschap allocated some money for "good learned schoolmasters"

("goed geleerde schoelmeesteren"), but after this initial attempt to improve the quality of education, which incidentally brought Bloccius to Leiden, the Latin School continued into a deep decline.

71

GAL, SA, I, No. 385: Vroedschapsboek G, folio 87vso, dated January 5, 1559.

72

GAL, SA, I, No. 1383: Gerechtsdagboek A, folios 91vso-92, dated February 2, 1572. ". . . gereprobeerde ofte suspecte boucke noch anderssins schandelick wesende en sonde mogen leeren. . . "

73

M^r Franck DUYCK, for example, was sent to Hamburg and Bremen in 1587 to ask two theologians, Pezelius and Mollerus, to come to Leiden as replacements for Johannes Holmannus (1523-1586), Professor of Theology who had just died. Witkam, Dagelijkse Zaken, I, pp. 17-18 citing Het Dachbouck van Jan van Hout (Archives of Leiden University, Archief van de Curatoren, No. 100, folio 37, dated Januaty 6, 1587).

74

One such event was held at the home of Cornelis Huygensz. GAEL in 1592. Witkam, Dagelijkse Zaken, III, p. 54, Number 770 citing Het Dachbouck van Jan van Hout, folio 222.

75

GAL, SA, II, No. 6798: Register Vetus, vermeldende de taxatie voor de huurwaarde en de wijziging van eigenaar, aangelegd door Jan van HOUT in 1585, met huurwaarde van 1584, 2 parts, Part I, folio 118.

76

Ibid., folio 47vso.

77

Ibid., folio 58vso.

78

Bisschop, Leceistersche Partij binnen Leiden, pp. 17, 20-21, 23-36. During mid-1586 tensions increased between certain factions within the University and the city government of Leiden when it was discovered that plans were afoot among a small group to transfer the University to Utrecht. In 1587 tensions were further aggravated when Professor of Law Hugo Donellus was accused of making inflammatory statements against the government. Donellus was promptly dismissed, but the ensuing wrangling over legal jurisdiction between town and gown contributed to a lack of cooperative spirit on both sides.

CHAPTER V

THE RIJKDOM: PRIVATE CAREERS OF PUBLIC MEN

Members of the Leiden city government were selected from the rijkdom or wealth of the city. Jan Jansz. Orlers, the early historian of Leiden, confirms this when he states that the vroedschap consisted of forty men "chosen from the richest and most qualified citizens."¹ This practice of electing the well-to-do to major public office was, of course, not limited to Leiden. It was the accepted custom in other Dutch cities as well. In Haarlem, for instance, the vroedschap and magistracy also consisted of "the richest, most notable, most upright and peaceable men. . ."²

How closely such official pronouncements corresponded to actual practice may be seen by examining a Leiden forced loan of 1584. Only the well-to-do were assessed, making this loan a useful yardstick of economic status. Of the 144 individuals named, forty-seven were members or former members of the city government, and another ten were widows of city officer-holders making a total of thirty-nine per cent. Since this figure does not account for city officials who, for various reasons, were no longer taxable or who had not yet achieved sufficient wealth to be considered rich, it is only partially indicative of the economic level of public office-holders. More meaningful is the following: of the forty town councilmen in office in 1584 when the forced loan was collected, twenty-six (65 per cent) were on the list, and fourteen (35 per cent) were not. Thus, in the mid-1580's nearly

two-thirds of Leiden's town councilmen were defined as rich or well-to-do by their contemporaries.³

This particular forced loan is unusual in that it ranks those individuals considered rich and well-to-do in four economic categories: the very richest, the richest, rich and medium-rich. This classification, albeit only roughly equivalent to actual economic worth, does give an indication of relative wealth for a significant number of city officials. The following table provides the numerical breakdown by category for all group members whose names appear on the list.

TABLE 9: NUMBER OF CITY OFFICIALS WHO APPEAR IN 1584 FORCED LOANS

	very richest	richest	rich	medium rich	total
City officials	6	19	19	3	47
Widows of city officials	1	4	5	0	10
totals	7 (18)	23 (43)	24 (61)	3 (22)	57 (107)

Numbers in parentheses indicate the total number of individuals named in the forced loan for that category

While the names of a number of city officials are absent from the forced loan, in the three highest categories (very richest, richest and rich) public office-holders make up nearly half of those listed in each group.

Among those councilmen named in the various groupings were the following: Jan Cornelisz. PAETS van Zanthorst, whose father Cornelis Jansz. PAETS was a member of the vroedschap before him, was considered

one of the very richest men in Leiden. Interestingly, in the category of the richest are two vroedschap members who had come to Leiden as young men and were therefore recent citizens. These were Andries Jansz. SCHOT, a cloth manufacturer from Haarlem, and Jan Dircxz. BROUCHOVEN from Brabant, who became rentmeester for the Hoogheemraadschap van Rijnland as well as a councilman. Among those classified as rich were the well-known painter IJssac Claesz van SWANENBURCH and cloth merchant Pieter Pieter Jorisz. van CORTEVELT, both of whom were very active in town affairs. Lastly, appearing on the list of only medium-rich is Pieter OOM Pietersz. van OFWEGEN, who represented Leiden so frequently at the meetings of the States of Holland.

While this 1584 forced loan is a measure of the economic standing for only part of the Leiden ruling elite, the sample is large enough to support Orlers, statement that city officials were indeed chosen from among Leiden's wealthy citizens. However, more evidence is needed to determine the role of councilmen and magistrates in the Leiden economy, and to assess their importance relative to other economic groups in the city. To obtain a more comprehensive and concrete economic picture of Leiden's city officials, this chapter will examine two areas in detail. First, a description and analysis of the occupations and business activities of individual members will establish the group in its proper economic context. Included here will be a comparison of the group with the occupational structure of Leiden as a whole. Second, an analysis of city tax records and records of property holdings both within and outside Leiden will provide the basis for a discussion of group members' precise socio-economic standing in the community.

A. Occupational Specialization and Economic Involvement

Leiden's town councilmen and magistrates were not consistent in mentioning their occupations when they signed their names. On occasion an individual would identify himself by adding his trade or profession to his name, but this was not necessarily a regular practice. Whether or not a person did so might depend upon how that person wished to be known at the time or whether another individual had the same name, in which case the use of the occupational designation was the distinguishing characteristic. An example of the latter was vroedschap member Jacop Claesz. whose patronymic name was extremely common. Although he belonged to one of the Van SWIETEN families in Leiden, he did not use this name to identify himself. Instead, since he was a wood merchant by trade, he commonly referred to himself as Jacop Claesz. houtkoper.⁴

Frequently, a councilman's or magistrate's occupation would be noted in a document written by someone else, such as a notary or clerk. An example of a reference of this type is the registration of the marriage contract for vroedschap member Dirck Jacobsz. van REYGERSBURGH, who appears in the document as Dirck Jacobsz. barley miller (gorter).⁵ Other sources of data on occupations are tax registers, census lists, declarations of public sale and testimony before the magistracy. All of these and a host of minor sources were used to determine the trades and professions of group members.⁶

An example of this procedure is the case of Quiryn Allertsz., a Leiden brewer, who was a councilman from 1542 until 1559. The name

of a Quiryn Allertsz., brewer, appears in the Tenth Penny tax register for 1543.⁷ The location of this man's property is in Marendorp, a quarter of the city with a high concentration of breweries, thus increasing the likelihood that this Allertsz. did indeed practice brewing as his occupation. Confirmation of the fact that this man was the same as vroedschap member Quiryn Allertsz. came when a reference was found in the city's office-holding lists, indicating that the brewer was also a public official.⁸

In some cases the determination of occupation is derived from a single, unmistakable reference to an individual's trade. One such reference is that of a Claes Jansz., oil presser, who was an administrator of St. Catherine's Hospital in 1557. Vroedschap member, Claes OOM Jansz., held this very same post for the eight years preceding 1557 and continued to hold it from 1558 to 1569.⁹ It is therefore quite clear that Claes OOM Jansz. and Claes Jansz., oil presser, were one in the same, and that Claes OOM Jansz. was an oil presser by trade.

In all, occupational data is available for 139 of the 185 individuals in the group. The various occupations were classified according to the system most recently used by Daelemans for the Leiden census of 1581. In addition to logically ordering the occupations of group members in a meaningful way, the adoption of Daelemans' system permits comparison of my data with information for the entire city.¹⁰

Leiden city officials were engaged in a wide variety of occupational specialties, including brick manufacturer, coppersmith,

dairy merchant, tavern proprietor, lawyer and others. The professions, trades and other activities represented came from all four major occupational classifications: (1) Agriculture, Fishing and Hunting, (2) Industry, (3) Economic Services and (4) Social Services. While town officials were drawn from all walks of economic life, industry accounted for 67.6 per cent of the 139 for whom occupational information is known.

Two major subdivisions dominate within this category: textile manufacturing and the food and drink trades. Together they make up 52.7 per cent of all individuals in the Industry category. If the eighteen merchants whose occupations involved the selling of cloth, food or drink are included here, even though they fall outside the Industry classification, 65.6 per cent of the vroedschap practiced occupations which touched cloth production and the food and drink trades.¹¹

The domination of the city government by men whose occupations were cloth-related or food-related corresponds readily to the economic specialization of Leiden as a whole. The prominence of the textile industry in the city's economy leads one to expect that the interests of this group would be well-represented among the city fathers, as indeed they were. After all, if one excludes service personnel such as maids and household servants, the textile trades were the largest economic group in Leiden.¹² Similarly, the food and drink trades were highly represented in the vroedschap and gerecht. They were also prominent in Leiden society as a whole, although less so

than the textile-related occupations.¹³

Interestingly, within each of the two dominant subdivisions, textile trades and food and drink occupations, there is a single occupational specialty which numerically overshadows all the others. In the textile-related field it is the drapeniers who are represented by twenty-two individuals. In the food and drink trades it is the brewers with twenty-seven individuals. The brewers are also the largest single occupation within the entire group of 139.¹⁴

Other occupational groups which had three or more representatives in the city government during the second half of the sixteenth century were the brick manufacturers, goldsmiths, oil pressers, wood merchants and lawyers. The largest of these groups was the lawyers who had eight representatives. Together the brick manufacturers and wood merchants, who comprised the construction trades, also accounted for eight individuals.

If occupations of councilmen and magistrates are compared to the overall spread of occupations in Leiden generally, some interesting facts become evident. The occupations represented in the vroedschap during 1581 are listed in Table 12. The number of councilmen who practiced each trade or profession is placed next to the total number active in that occupation in the city. In this way one may observe the percentage of men in particular occupations who were also public officials.

Table 12. clearly shows that members of the city government were sometimes among the very few who practiced a particular occupation. IJsac Claesz. van SWANENBURCH, for example, was one of

three painters (artists) in Leiden at this time. In another example, Jan Jansz. van BAERSDORP and Gerrit Wiggersz. van DUYVELANDT were two of the five grain merchants in the city. By virtue of their being one or two of an already very small number, these men must have exerted a substantial influence on their associates in their chosen field.

Conversely, in occupations which had numerous practitioners in Leiden, the influence of the few councilmen among them would have been much less. Jan Ghysbrechtsz. (van SWANENVELT), for instance, owned a large baking business, but was only one of forty-two bakers in the city. It is therefore unlikely that he exerted as much influence over his associates, some of whom were the owners of large baking concerns, as did his fellow councilmen BAERSDORP and SWANENBURCH over theirs.

Another way of looking at the occupations of vroedschap members is to group them according to large related fields of endeavor. One such group might include the occupations concerned with commerce and transportation, most of which are interrelated or have very much in common. If one tallies all the individuals in Leiden in 1581 known to be involved in occupations having to do with these areas, one arrives at the figure 446. Of this number, vroedschap members accounted for eight, all of them merchants of one sort or another. The twenty-nine vroedschap members who held office in 1581 and whose occupations are known made up .98 per cent of the total of 2,931 persons whose occupations were indicated in the 1581 census.¹⁵ The

eight merchant-vroedschap members were then 1.8 per cent of the 446 persons in the area of commerce and transportation. This represents somewhat more involvement by the vroedschap members than one might have expected.

A second area of related fields might include those concerned with metalworking. In 1581 there were 121 individuals involved in the metalworking trades and crafts. These were spread over a wide variety of specialties which included knife-makers, blacksmiths, tinsmiths and so forth. In this group there were three members of the vroedschap: one coppersmith and two goldsmiths. These three were 2.5 per cent of all in the metalworking trades. This level represents a higher percentage of vroedschap involvement than their overall share of the population (1.5 per cent) would lead one to expect.

While the distribution of these occupational specialties is interesting from a purely descriptive point of view, a more meaningful analysis may be obtained by looking at the evolution of the occupational types represented. If the entire group is divided into those who held office prior to 1572 when Leiden first joined the Dutch Revolt and those who only held office after 1572, occupational changes within the group can be seen. The characteristics of the councilmen and magistrates who were in office before the outbreak of the Dutch Revolt can be compared with those who were a part of the ruling circle later. This division of the entire group of 185 into two separate groups will be utilized frequently in succeeding chapters

when different aspects of the group's development will be discussed.

Ninety-four individuals held major public office in the years between 1550-1572, while there were 121 individuals in the group between 1572-1600.¹⁶ If both the pre-1572 group and the post-1572 group are divided according to production-oriented and service-oriented occupations, a pattern not previously discernible begins to emerge. The post-1572 group contained a greater variety of occupations, and the number of individuals associated with service-related occupations increases markedly. New to the group are dairy merchant, linen merchant, silk merchant, notary, surveyor, surgeon and so forth.¹⁷

An examination of the occupations of city officials at three intervals between 1550 and 1600 provides evidence of the gradual shift toward more service-related jobs. Of the forty vroedschap members in office in 1550, we have occupational data for thirty individuals. Twenty-two (73 per cent) of these practised production-related occupations, and eight (27 per cent) practised service-related occupations.¹⁸ By 1580 the gap between the production-related and service-related occupations narrowed slightly. Occupational data is also available for thirty of the forty vroedschap members from that year. This data illustrates that nineteen (63 per cent) practised production-related trades and ten (38 per cent) practised service-related occupations.¹⁹ Twenty years later the number of service-related occupations accounted for fourteen (45 per cent) of the thirty-one office-holders for whom we have data. Production-

related trades, on the other hand, were associated with only seventeen individuals (55 per cent) in 1600. Clearly, the late sixteenth century saw a change in the occupational activities of men who became public officials during that period. Because service-related occupations tend to imply higher social status than production-oriented occupations, the increase of the former indicates, I believe, the beginning of a subtle change in the type of person who became a member of the city government after the siege.²⁰

The later example of 1615 when service-related occupations outnumbered those related to production lends weight to this interpretation. In 1615 there were fifteen individuals who could be identified as having a service-related occupation. Nine practiced production-related trades. No occupation was listed for the remaining seventeen out of a total of forty-one who had seats on the vroedschap during that year. In their early years, it is likely that these seventeen did practice some occupation, in a large number of cases probably a service-related one. It is also conceivable that a number were the beneficiaries of the elevated status attained by their families and were less often identified by their occupation, if indeed they had one. Ten of the seventeen unknowns in 1615 were sons of former sixteenth-century vroedschap members who had been well-to-do in that period and may have been living off rents.²¹

The classification of vroedschap and gerecht members by occupation is helpful in grouping them according to economic categories. It does not tell the whole story of their collective economic lives. Missing from the previous occupational analysis is any indication of

whether individuals were large-scale entrepreneurs or small shopkeepers, whether they were involved in more than one business or trade, and whether or not their wealth came from sources other than their occupation. These and other similar questions will be discussed in the following pages so as to more fully describe their economic involvements and pursuits.

The types of sources which provided relevant economic information for this purpose included a wide variety of tax registers, personal financial records, gild documents, wills and a number of property inventories. Because these sources do not exist in long chronological series' or consistently for all group members, a collective statistical analysis is impractical. Nevertheless, information from these sources exists in a large number of cases, allowing for a discussion of the group's economic diversity. The necessarily anecdotal nature of the material to follow also permits a more detailed examination of individuals.

"Old" Mees Garbrantsz. (van NIEROP) began his career as a drapenier early in the sixteenth century when he was probably in his twenties.²² He is noted in the city treasurer's accounts for 1520 as having paid the wool excise on six thousand sheep's vellen.²³ Using Posthumus' estimate that it took the wool from twenty-one vellen to produce one standard-size Leiden cloth, Garbrantsz. (van NIEROP) probably manufactured about 286 pieces of cloth during 1520. If Posthumus is also correct that twenty years earlier the largest cloth manufacturers produced between 160-240 pieces of cloth annually, then Garbrantsz. (van NIEROP) was one of Leiden's most substantial drapeniers.²⁴

Garbrantsz. (van NIEROP) was not the only vroedschap member who was a large cloth manufacturer in this period. Another was Frans Gerritsz. GOEL, whose tenure on the city council ran from 1522 to 1558. Being about fifteen years older than Garbrantsz. (van NIEROP) he also got his start as a drapenier earlier. In 1510 GOEL paid the vel excise on 4,470 hides. Again, using the figure of twenty-one vellen to one Leiden cloth, GOEL produced 212.8 pieces of worsted that year.²⁵

Both GOEL and Garbrantsz. (van NIEROP) expanded their drapery businesses considerably in the subsequent three decades. Despite the fact that they do not appear as purchasers of vellen every year, the number of vellen which each of them bought increased markedly during the 1520's and 1530's. Three years after the 1510 purchase of 4,470 hides, GOEL bought 9,600 vellen. In 1516 the treasurer's accounts note him as the buyer of 19,200 sheep hides, and in 1527 he paid the vel excise on 33,720 hides.²⁶ Also, in 1527 GOEL supplemented this large quantity of English wool with 150 bales of Spanish wool, which had begun to be used at Leiden because of the difficulty in obtaining a sufficient supply of the former. In each of the three years cited, GOEL's manufacture of cloth increased from 457 pieces (1512) to 914 (1516) to 1,605 (1527).²⁷ Total production figures for Leiden during these years were 25,740 (1513), 27,626 (1516) and 22,550 (1527).²⁸ Because there were individuals in Leiden who produced only a few pieces of cloth per year, GOEL was clearly one of the city's largest cloth manufacturers.²⁹

Similar evidence of business expansion is available from the example of "Old" Mees Garbrantsz. (van NIEROP). Having begun by purchasing 6,000 vellen in 1521, by 1526 he had increased this to 18,456 vellen. In 1532 he reached the level of 43,624 vellen, and in 1542 he bought 73,728 vellen together with Dirck Fransz. GOEL, the son of the previously mentioned Frans Gerritsz. GOEL, and 24,992 vellen together with a Jan Heynoen.³⁰

While I have emphasized the size and drapery expansion of Frans Gerritsz. GOEL and "Old" Mees Garbrantsz. (van NIEROP) there were other vroedschap members who manufactured large quantities of cloth in these years. Among them were Mourwerijn Claesz. (van LEEUWEN) and Anthonis Fransz. (MUYS). Claesz. (van LEEUWEN) purchased 17,920 vellen with Willem Jacobsz. in 1543. Together these two men would have manufactured 853 standard size Leiden cloths that year. Also in 1543, Anthonis Fransz. (MUYS) paid the vel excise on 22,400 hides, which were sufficient for him to produce 1066 cloths.³¹

There are certain characteristics of the vel excise records which demand that caution be used when interpreting them. First, individual drapeniers do not appear annually in the records. This is unusual in that it is highly unlikely that someone would interrupt his business as regularly as the records indicate. In the case of city officials Garbrantsz. (van NIEROP) and GOEL there is a clear explanation for this. The omission of their names occurs only during the years when they held a public office which required them to abstain from practicing their occupation.³² They probably bought larger quantities of hides in the years when they were not in public

office or had others buy for them. The second characteristic requiring caution with the vel excise is the fact that some city officials known to be engaged in cloth production are entirely omitted from the records. Prominent drapenier and future vroedschap member Jan Adriaensz. de WILDE, for instance, appears on a 1552 list of Leiden citizens belonging to the cloth industry, but does not appear on any of the vel excise rosters.³³ A likely explanation in the case of de WILDE and others on the 1552 list is that most of them were among a younger generation of drapeniers. With the contraction of the cloth industry in the 1530's, and following many complaints against it by cloth manufacturers, the vel excise was discontinued in the 1540's. It may therefore only be used as a yardstick for the production levels of individual drapeniers during or prior to the 1540's.

While recognizing the limitations of the vel excise for a study concerned primarily with men of the second half of the sixteenth century, an examination of entries for individual drapeniers suggest some interesting developments in the early period of the cloth industry's decline. The decline in total annual cloth production which occurred rapidly after the 1530's has already been referred to in Chapter II.³⁴ At the same time it is known that the number of drapeniers and other cloth workers also declined in this period. For instance, the 175 drapeniers active in the city in 1514 had been reduced to eighty-eight by 1552.³⁵ Significantly, the cloth production level for a number of drapeniers, including vroedschap members Frans Gerritsz. GOEL, "Old" Mees Garbrantsz. (van NIEROP), Mourwerijn Claesz. (van LEEUWEN) and Anthonis Fransz. (MUYS), were extremely high during this same

period. Thus, as the total group of drapeniers in Leiden was becoming smaller and cloth production declined, the limited business in cloth manufacturing during the 1530's and 1540's was being concentrated in the hands of a few large producers, including a number of councilmen, magistrates and relatives of city officials.³⁶

Although the previously mentioned 1552 list of cloth manufacturers enables one to identify individual drapeniers active in that year, it cannot be used to estimate the size of a drapenier's business. Furthermore, the discontinuance of the vel excise in 1542 makes it difficult to determine the output of those who entered cloth manufacturing after that year. It is nevertheless useful to know which members of the vroedschap and gerecht are named in the 1552 list.

There are twelve in all, as listed below:

1. Sander Aelbrechtsz. (van QUACKENBOSCH)
2. Dirck Cornelisz. den OOSTERLING
3. Aernt Geryt Ewoutsz. (van DAM)
4. Claes OOM Jansz.
5. Huybrecht Aelwynsz. (van SWANENBURCH)
6. Willem Willem Bouwensz.
7. Quirynd Claes Garbrantsz. (van STRYEN)
8. Mees Aelwynsz. (van SWANENBURCH)
9. Mourwerijnd Claesz. (van LEEUWEN)
10. Jan Claesz. de GOEDE
11. Jan Adriaensz. de WILDE
12. jonge Garbrant Meesz. (van NIEROP)³⁷

Similarly, it is possible to determine a number of vroedschap members who were involved in cloth manufacturing during the period of recovery after the siege (1580-1595). These include men like:

Aelbrecht Gerytsz. van HOGVEEN
 Tyman Jansz, van der GRAFT
 Jasper Jansz. BANCHEM
 IJsbrant Dirckx. VISSCHER
 Jan van ZONNEVELT³⁸

While these men referred to themselves as lakenkopers or cloth merchants and were primarily engaged in commercial activity, they were the natural heirs to the declining drapenier element in the vroedschap.³⁹ The difficulty in determining the actual size of individual businesses remains a problem for these men as it was for their earlier counterparts. In this later period total cloth production figures are recorded for the less important old-style woolens and for the newly introduced lighter fabrics, but these cannot be broken down by individual. In general, however, Leiden cloth manufacturers were not large entrepreneurs in the era after the siege. For the most part they operated modest firms which only gradually grew into sizable companies.⁴⁰

Looking at the overall membership of councilmen and magistrates in the textile occupations of drapenier and lakenkoper, the scattered evidence indicates that these men were regularly the successful cloth manufacturers and merchants. They do not represent the smaller producers of cloth who formed the majority of those engaged in both occupations. Additional tax-related evidence to be discussed later in this chapter and the economic standing of councilmen and magistrates in the community lend support to this view. Indeed, whenever data regarding the size of firms run by vroedschap and gerecht members occurs in the documents, it demonstrates that these firms were nearly always among the more well-established or sizable enterprises in Leiden. Examples from the brewing industry and from brick-making illustrate that this is true regardless of the area of economic involvement.

Councilman Dirck Gerritsz. van HOGEVEEN, the son of former Leiden pensionaris Geryt Melisz. van HOGEVEEN, operated a large brewery in the neighborhood Niclaasgraft during the late sixteenth and early seventeenth century.⁴¹ Because of an investigation into fraud in the Leiden brewing industry in 1606, we know that HOGEVEEN produced eighty-eight brouwsels during that year. The source for this information also notes that HOGEVEEN's brouwsel (the amount of beer produced in one brewing) was equal to sixty-nine zaken. The zak was a common measure of volume in sixteenth-century Holland, and when converted to its modern metric equivalent, is equal to 79.9 liters. Thus, in 1606 HOGEVEEN brewed 485,153 liters of beer, or 5.2 per cent of the 9,384,505 liters produced that year by Leiden brewers.⁴² Although HOGEVEEN brewed only about one-third the amount of beer produced by the largest Leiden brewery, his nearly half a million liters was a very respectable quantity. It certainly indicates that he was a well-established brewer with a sizable firm.⁴³

While HOGEVEEN was the only vroedschap member who was an active brewer when the 1606 investigation was carried out, there were other brewers who later became councilmen or were members of vroedschap families. In addition to Frans Pietersz. de BYE, there were Cornelis Jacobsz. van ZWEETEN, Cornelis Pietersz. PAEDTS, Frans Pietersz. DUYST van der WERFF, and Marytgen Dircxdr. van HEUSSEN, all of whom were closely related to vroedschap families. Adriaen Claesz. van LEEUWEN, the son of vroedschap member Claes Adriaensz. van LEEUWEN, is noted on the 1606 list along with his uncle Frans Adriaensz. van

LEEUVEN. Adriaen Claesz. had probably taken over his father's brewery as the latter's active public life made it more difficult for him to manage his business. The uncle, Frans Adriaensz., actually succeeded his brother Claes as a member of the town council in 1621. Also, Marytgen DUYST Franssendr., the widow of renowned burgemeester Pieter Adriaensz. van der WERFF, carried on the brewing tradition of her Delft family by operating a small brewery after the death of her famous husband. With the exception of Martygen DUYST Franssendr., none of these brewers ran small businesses. Each controlled a substantial portion of the Leiden market.⁴⁴

An early document from the brewing industry confirms the productive capacities of the vroedschap brewers. Dated 1590 and titled Tbroubouck vande Brouwers beroerende haer brouwen ende overbrouwen, (The brew-book of the brewers concerning their brew and double-brew), this small booklet covers a thirteen week period known as "the third term" (tⁱⁱⁱ_j termyn").⁴⁵ From evidence in the previously discussed 1606 investigation of excise fraud, this period probably began about the middle of July.⁴⁶ In Tbroubouck individual brewers are listed on separate pages with the number of vaten or barrels they produced each week.⁴⁷ At the bottom of each page there is a sum of all thirteen weeks' beer production, along with some not altogether clear figures concerning the method by which the excise tax was calculated. Table 16 lists in order of largest to smallest the amount of beer produced by each Leiden brewer during the thirteen week period in 1590. While this data is not complete for all of 1590, it does give evidence that, like their successors

sixteen years later, these brewers, five of whom were vroedschap members, operated their businesses on a substantial scale.⁴⁸

The high productivity group members carried in their respective activities may also be seen in the case of Henrick Jansz. van BROUCHOVEN. BROUCHOVEN was schout from 1572 to 1576 and served as a member of the town council from 1576 to 1577. Prior to his term as schout, BROUCHOVEN was involved in the manufacture of bricks.⁴⁹

In the sixteenth century Holland bricks were an important building material both for city defenses and for housing. One of the principal centers of brick-making in the Netherlands at this time was along the Rijn river between Leiden and Gouda. The availability of higher quality clays made this region ideal for the industry.⁵⁰ Because of the proximity to raw materials and the ever increasing demand for bricks during the sixteenth century, it is not surprising that BROUCHOVEN was only one of a number of Leiden citizens engaged in large-scale brick manufacturing.

Fortunately, there is an extant record of BROUCHOVEN's brick production for the year 1571. It is contained in an account book of his debts for the years 1571-1576. Entitled "Notebook of All My Debts," this source enumerates both important and trivial financial transactions. Among the less significant entries are thirty stuivers for a foul-weather hat ("stormhoed") thirty-five stuivers for a container of herring ("kinnecken harincxs") and ten stuivers for a pound of gun-powder ("pond buscruyt").⁵¹

A series of important entries particularly relevant for us are BROUCHOVEN's 1571 transactions regarding the sale and shipment of

bricks. Although individual entries from this account book do not always specify the reason for a transaction, there are a sufficient number from 1571 to provide an impression of the scope BROUCHOVEN's brick business. There are a total of thirteen entries for that year which mention the sale of various types of brick. In eight of these the quantity sold by BROUCHOVEN is noted along with the price. A summary of these transactions appears in Appendix F: Table 17. By adding up the total number of bricks mentioned in these sales, it is possible to estimate BROUCHOVEN's minimum annual production at about 350,000 bricks for 1571. Manufacture of such a quantity undoubtedly required a kiln and business of respectable size.

While BROUCHOVEN manufactured bricks for use in Leiden, it appears from his accounts that most of what he produced was destined for export to nearby cities. 74 per cent of his known volume of sales went to a Barent Pietersz. of Amsterdam.⁵² Other purchasers from outside Leiden included a Pieter Fransz. bricklayer, also from Amsterdam; Dirck Backer, Geryt Jansz. Vos and the head carpenter of the Hof, all from The Hague: Engel Sieren from Rijswijk; and Henrick Jansz. from Wassenaer.⁵³ The total number of bricks sold to these parties amounted to 96 per cent of BROUCHOVEN's production as recorded in the 1571 accounts.⁵⁴ Hendrick Jansz. van BROUCHOVEN, therefore, was a brick manufacturer whose sizable business was directed primarily at the regional export market.

These few examples from the cloth industry, brewing and brick making are selective. They are based on the few surviving sources which provide this specific type of information and are limited to

businesses which produced goods in quantity. Information on the affairs of other occupations, such as the clientele of lawyers or the custom-made items of a cabinetmaker or a goldsmith, is very rare or non-existent for sixteenth-century Leiden. Such information as we have on the business involvements of vroedschap and gerecht members points to the fact that they ran large-scale operations. While their businesses were not necessarily the largest or most productive in the city, they were nevertheless among the most important in size and controlled a substantial part of their special local or export market. These manufacturing activities were not the only economic concerns of these men. Leiden councilmen and magistrates were involved in a wide variety of economic undertakings, sometimes in sequence, sometimes simultaneously. In many cases an occupation practised as a young man ceased to be the primary focus of an individual's energies later in life. On occasion, a public career began to impinge on private affairs. At times an inheritance produced an alternative source of income which allowed the vroedschap member to shift his area of economic interest. Success in one field in certain cases permitted the diversification of business activities. For a variety of reasons members of the vroedschap participated fully in the wide range of economic opportunities open to sixteenth century urban residents.

The following discussion will consider this diversity of interest among individual councilmen and magistrates through a series of examples drawn from available primary sources. As in previous analyses, lack of quantifiable information on a large number of

individuals prevents the use of overall comparative data. There are, however, sufficient details obtainable from wills, inventories of debts, the daily record of the gerecht and documentation of land ownership to establish an accurate impression of the range of economic activity of these men.

Examination of numerous individual cases shows that each person went about making a living and accumulating wealth and property in a different way. It would therefore be misleading to attempt to create a model for vroedschap and gerecht members. After all, different individuals began their private as well as public careers from different starting points. Councilman Jan Cornelisz. PAETS van Zanthorst, for example, was actually a rentier all his life, thanks to an inherited fortune. He naturally viewed his economic future differently than someone like the surveyor Symon Fransz. van MERWEN, whose relatively modest beginnings demanded that he pay attention to his financial stability as well as to his career.⁵⁵ Other factors, such as earning power, family size or the necessity of providing for marriage dowries, often influenced the way in which an individual approached his career. Not all of these influences can be accurately measured, but indications of how differently individuals confronted such matters may be drawn out of scattered sources.

Meester Frans Adriaensz. is one example of a vroedschap member whose economic activities were extremely diverse. Adriaensz. began his career as a lawyer, as the title Meester before his name indicates. Although there is no record of his having taken a law degree from a university, the list of legal texts that were found in

his room at his death confirm that he studied law.⁵⁶ Unfortunately, little else is known about his private legal career. He undoubtedly made use of his legal training during his long and prominent service as a member of the Leiden gerecht. He served twelve terms as an alderman and three as mayor.

Like Hendrick Jansz. van BROUCHOVEN, Adriaensz.'s major business interest was brick manufacturing. The notes of Rijnland surveyor Pieter Sluyter mention Adriaensz.'s kiln and land in Leiderdorp in 1543, indicating that he was already well-established in this field by that year.⁵⁷ Adriaensz. continued to be active in the local brick-making industry until his death about 1570. According to the executor of Adriaensz.'s estate, the vroedschap member still owned the brick kiln at that time, and indeed had expanded his Leiderdorp enterprise to include lime-burning.⁵⁸

Adriaensz. owned still more property which may have been used to supplement the income he obtained from his brick and lime factories. He rented out two small houses in the Leiden neighborhood Rapenburg, owned tracts of land in Oegstgeest and Zoeterwoude, and possessed an orchard in Leiderdorp.⁵⁹ While it is unclear to what purpose the land in Zoeterwoude was put, there is evidence that Adriaensz. used it himself, perhaps to have peat dug as fuel for his kilns. The possibility also exists, of course, that he leased some for agricultural use. Market-gardening was relatively common in the Leiderdorp/Zoeterwoude area during the mid-sixteenth century. It is certain that in 1539 he and his brother, Claes Adriaensz., purchased two lots of

garden land ("warmoesland") which together equalled one morgen (.85 hectare) in size.⁶⁰ Thus, M^r Frans Adriaensz. the lawyer, was involved in several business activities while pursuing his legal and public career.

Adriaensz. was not the only lawyer to be engaged in a number of economic enterprises. Cornelis Jansz. van VEEN was another. Following his legal studies, VEEN was appointed pensionaris of Leiden in 1551, eventually becoming a member of the vroedschap in 1566. He was also elected burgemeester twice, once in November 1565 and once in November 1569. Because of his loyalty to Catholicism, VEEN was forced to leave Leiden as a glipper in 1572, although he returned following the siege of 1574 to live very comfortably in his house in the neighborhood Over tHof near the Pieterskerk.⁶¹

As a result of the political and religious turmoil of the early 1570's, VEEN's active role as a public official was cut short, but it is likely that he continued to practise as a lawyer, at least to some extent, when he returned to Leiden after 1574.⁶² Following his reestablishment at Leiden, however, VEEN had extended his economic interests to include brick manufacturing.⁶³ Unlike M^r Frans Adriaensz. he did not acquire extensive properties in the surrounding Rijnland. Only in Oegstgeest did he own a little over one and a half morgen land (1.55 hectare).⁶⁴

Two other vroedschap members who began their careers as brewers also entered the expanding field of brick manufacturing. Cousins Cornelis Claes Lambrechtsz. van SWIETEN and Jacob Thomasz. (van SWIETEN) appear on the same 1587 list of steenblijvers as VEEN.⁶⁵

Also, Geryt Boeckelsz. BUYTEWECH provides an earlier example of a councilman-brewer who took up brick manufacturing.⁶⁶

While a number of councilmen and magistrates entered brick-making from other fields, that was not the only area chosen by men who wished to diversify economically. A common area selected was real estate. Especially in the last quarter of the sixteenth century Leiden's expanding population and growing economy encouraged a number of individuals to invest in the construction of new houses for arriving cloth workers.

In 1584, for instance, Willem Goverstz. van der AER, dyer and future vroedschap member, was engaged in constructing at least six new houses which he planned to rent or sell.⁶⁷ This real estate venture must have proven successful, for six years later AER requested that the gerecht give him permission to build additional houses.⁶⁸ Lourijs Andriesz. van SWAENSWYCK was another councilman who began to speculate in property and to build new houses in the city during the 1580's and 1590's. Although he began his career in the cloth industry, SWAENSWYCK also became involved in a wine-selling business, probably through the family of his wife's first husband.⁶⁹ By 1585, however, SWAENSWYCK had already entered a third area: real estate. In that year he was the owner of nine separate lots, each with a new cottage, located along the Middelste Raamsteeg in the bon Nieuwland.⁷⁰

SWAENSWYCK and AER were only two prominent examples of vroedschap members who entered the real estate market. An examination of the Register Vetus, Leiden's record of property ownership for the late sixteenth century, reveals extensive real-estate investment.

Of the seventy-two group members whose names appear in the Register Vetus, twenty-two were owners of four or more pieces of Leiden property. Twelve of these twenty-two were owners of six or more properties.⁷¹

In contrast to the minority who owned numerous properties, more than half of the total group of seventy-two had only one or two pieces of Leiden real estate.⁷² Most often one of these properties was the dwelling of the group member. If he owned a second, it was usually smaller than his own house and was rented. Occasionally, the second property was a workshop, shed or garden which the group member used himself.⁷³

Despite the evidence of the Register Vetus, large scale real-estate speculation was practised by only a few councilmen in the late sixteenth century. This remained true later in 1606 when only three vroedschap members were among those who owned the greatest number of houses in Leiden. According to the hearth tax of that year, thirty-four Leiden citizens owned more than ten houses. The three councilmen among them were Jan Cors (Kerstantsz.) van der MORSCH, the widow and heirs of the recently-deceased (1604) Pieter Adriaensz. van der WERFF and Claes Cornelisz. van NOORDE. MORSCH owned eleven houses in 1606, three more than he owned in 1585, according to the Register Vetus. The widow and heirs of van der WERFF jointly owned fifteen houses, five more than the famous burgemeester himself had owned in 1585. Councilman NOORDE owned sixteen houses in 1606, double the number he had had in 1585.⁷⁴

Property ownership by members of the vroedschap and gerecht

both inside and outside of Leiden will be discussed at length later in this chapter. Here the object is to illustrate the accumulation and sale of property as part of the private business careers of councilmen and magistrates. Later discussion will emphasize the relationship between property and the socio-economic position of group members in the community.

If real estate speculation was one way for a councilman to diversify himself economically, other options were open to him as well. One of these was the leasing of the right to collect excise taxes on commodities, such as corn, beer, salt, wine and the milling of grain. The leasing of excises, like major investment in real estate, was not practised by a large number of the group. In fact, only a distinct minority ever leased the rights on excises. In the period between 1574 and 1600 only four members of the vroedschap or gerecht appear in the annual lists of leasers of and bidders for the various excise taxes. These four were Jan Lucasz. van WASSENAER, Allert Willemsz. van SASSENHEM, Willem Cornelisz. TIBAUT and Lourijs Andriesz. van SWAENSWYCK.⁷⁵ SWAENSWYCK, whom we have already met as a real estate speculator, was the only frequent leaser of Leiden excises among the four. The extent to which he invested his money in this venture is outlined in Appendix F: Table 19.

A closer look at SWAENSWYCK's investment in excise taxes reveals the development of his business interests in the 1580's. During the late 1570's and early 1580's he regularly leased the collection rights to the beer excise, the corn excise and the milling tax. After 1582 he no longer leased either the beer or corn excise,

and by 1586 had ceased to invest his money in the right to collect the milling tax. Interestingly, this is the same period when he began to be heavily involved in the real-estate market. As we have seen, in 1585 SWAENSWYCK was the owner of ten houses in Leiden, nine of them newly constructed or still being built.⁷⁶ At the same time as his financial investments shifted from tax-farming to real estate, SWAENSWYCK was still actively involved in his original occupation in the cloth industry. This case graphically illustrates that while vroedschap and gerecht members may have had a primary occupation, they were often extraordinarily diverse in their financial investments and enterprises.

Consideration of these few examples has not exhausted the ways in which group members directed their economic energies. Often, those who held land in the Rijnland rented it to others, engaged in animal husbandry themselves or practised dairy farming.⁷⁷ When councilmen owned rich peatland outside the city, Leiden sometimes bought its fuel from them. Thus, members of the vroedschap functioned as fuel dealers, as in 1585 when Laurens Huygensz. GAEL, Claes Adriaensz. van LEEUWEN and Jan Dircxz. (van RODENBEEKE) each supplied the town with a substantial quantity of peat.⁷⁸ At his death in 1588, Jan Dircxz. van BROUCHOVEN was also involved in the sale of peat. The inventory of his estate lists several peat-camps (veencampen) amongst his other properties.⁷⁹

Up to this point, the discussion of group members' economic diversity has centered primarily on their business investments. There were, of course, other sources for their income and accumulated

wealth. Often, large amounts of money or land, or both, were given to an individual as part of a dowry or marriage arrangement. Such money or property was then used by the recipient to provide continued income or may have been sold to some financial advantage.

In this regard, Jacob Willemsz. van der BURCH was typical. At the time of his first marriage in 1550, he received the following settlement from the estates of his parents and his grandmother:

- (1) 600 Carolusgulden.
- (2) 10 hont land in Zoeterwoude on the Roemburger Wetering which yielded a rent of 19 Carolusgulden annually and was estimated at a value of 600 Carolusgulden.
- (3) 3 morgen land in the ambacht of Benthuisen and located in "t lange lant." Estimated at a value of 400 Carolusgulden, it yielded an annual rent of 16 Carolusgulden.
- (4) 1½ morgen land in Hazerswoude in "Alphen's Hoorn" on the Rijn dike. Estimated at a value of 200 Carolusgulden, it yielded a rent of 8½ Carolusgulden.
- (5) 1/7th of 55 Carolusgulden from a lease (erfpacht) on a house and 1/7th of 22 morgen land also in Zoeterwoude.⁸⁰

The total value of the money and land received by BURCH, excepting the value of Number 5 which is not given in the marriage conditions, comes to 1,807.8 Carolusgulden. Presumably, BURCH followed the usual custom and retained his new property, at least temporarily.⁸¹ Together the various properties in Benthuisen, Hazerswoude and Zoeterwoude would then have provided him with an annual income of at least 42½ Carolusgulden. If the 1/7th of the twenty-two morgen land in Zoeterwoude (Number 5), for which there is no rental information, also brought

BURCH income, the annual amount he received would have been higher yet. The above data pertains only to BURCH himself. If the dowry of his bride, Baertgen van der LAEN Willemsdr., is added, the couple's annual income from rents equalled a minimum of 78½ Carolusgulden, plus a number of pigs and some butter.⁸² In light of the fact that this rental income was probably but a small part of their total annual living, this is a considerable sum when compared to the 66 Carolusgulden earned by a carpenter or brick mason in 1550.⁸³

Another example of a future vroedschap member who received a substantial sum of money at his marriage was Allert Willemsz. van SASSENHEM. When SASSENHEM married Jannetgen Ghysbrechtsdr. in 1556, together they brought a total sum of 2500 Carolusgulden to the union. As in the case of BURCH, the sum was divided among properties, rents and goods. In contrast to the BURCH example, however, Jannetgen Ghysbrechtsdr. provided a larger share than SASSENHEM.⁸⁴

Allert Willemsz. himself contributed a total of 1000 Carolusgulden distributed in the following manner:

- (1) 100 Carolusgulden, a gift of money from his mother, Clemeynse Aelbrechtsdr.
- (2) 600 Carolusgulden, the estimated value of 16 hont land in Sassenhem on the Nieuwe Weg.
- (3) 200 Carolusgulden, the redemption value of a redeemable annuity (losrente) on the 20th penny. This annuity brought SASSENHEM an interest of 10 Carolusgulden per year.
- (4) 100 Carolusgulden, the redeemable value of a losrente which brought SASSENHEM annual interest of 6 Carolusgulden.⁸⁵

Of particular interest here are the losrenten which appear as items (3) and (4). They are examples of one of the most common means by which sixteenth-century men and women obtained supplementary income.

Annuities in this period were of two general kinds: the losrente and the lijfrente. The characteristics of both have already been discussed in Chapter I. Normally, the annual interest rate for both types of annuities varied between five and eight-and-a-half per cent during the period covered by this study. Therefore, unless the individual purchaser had either a large number of annuities or a large sum of money tied up in a few, they were unlikely to provide him with a major source of income. Also, despite the expression of annuities in terms of money-value, evidence exists that they were sometimes paid in kind.⁸⁶ Whatever the details of their disposition, their advantages and disadvantages, annuities were commonly used in this period by all but the poorest citizens to provide a certain fixed, though usually minimal income.

Among vroedschap and gerecht membership, ownership of annuities was almost universal. In nearly all cases where sufficiently detailed financial evidence exists, lijfrenten and losrenten are among commonly listed assets. Individuals like Gerrit Wiggersz. van DUYVELANDT had numerous losrenten and lijfrenten in varying amounts and with various conditions attached.⁸⁷ Other group members had only a few annuities. Councilmen and magistrates clearly preferred the losrente to the lijfrente because the former always outnumbers the latter in inventories of the recently deceased.⁸⁸

The previous discussions of occupational classification and diversity of business involvement and investment among Leiden's councilmen and magistrates have revealed a number of things. First, they have shown that between 1550 and 1600 Leiden public officials were most often engaged in textile-related occupations or brewing. While men in these occupations continued to dominate the vroedschap and gerecht throughout the second half of the sixteenth century, the types of occupations among all councilmen and magistrates began to shift from production-related to service-related careers.⁸⁹

Second, although group members were not necessarily Leiden's largest manufacturers or businessmen, they were among the city's highly successful citizens when scattered figures for production in certain economic activities are used as a guide. Third, and perhaps most importantly, the preceding discussions confirm that while group members may have had a principal occupation or means of income, their economic lives included many exceedingly divergent elements. That an individual may have had several areas of economic involvement either in turn or simultaneously was not at all unusual.

B. Socio-Economic Position in Leiden

Having opened this chapter with a brief discussion of group members' wealth and having subsequently examined the ways in which they obtained that wealth, we must now begin to consider how it reflected their position in Leiden society. There are, of course, many factors which determine the position of an individual in his community, among them his personal values, occupation, social status, wealth, life-style and so forth. Many, if not all, of these factors are inter-dependent and include social as well as economic elements. Social status, for instance, may be affected by an individual's wealth, his occupation or the way he lives. A person's level of wealth, on the other hand, may be determined not only by his occupation, but also by his personal values or his style of life. The very interconnectedness of these various factors often makes the problem of establishing the individual's socio-economic position more difficult.⁹⁰

Nevertheless, the task of the social historian is to wring from his sources a meaningful way to place individuals in their socio-economic context. When considering groups or societies of the sixteenth century, that task is made simultaneously easier and more difficult. Easier because many types of sources used by historians of later periods are extremely rare or do not exist. Therefore, to attempt to undertake the detailed analyses of the social historian of the nineteenth or twentieth century is fruitless. The absence of important kinds of materials or documents, however, forces the historian to rely exclusively upon sources that do not tell the whole story.

With this caveat it is important to stress that much can be gleaned from the types of sources available. Significant historical research of a socio-historical nature utilizing a variety of tax registers and assessments of owned and rented property has recently been done for the Netherlands.⁹¹ Several types of sources used in this kind of research are extant for sixteenth-century Leiden. These have yielded a large body of information not only on vroedschap and gerecht members, but also on Leiden society as a whole. Among these sources are the Tenth Penny of 1559, the 1585 Register Vetus and the Hearth Tax for 1606. While there are other similar taxes for the second half of the sixteenth century, these three were selected because they are nearly complete lists of property ownership and cover the period at almost equal intervals. Also, while it is true that the data from the separate taxes may be compared in only limited ways, the choice of these three allows nearly all group members to be included in the following analysis. With few exceptions, group members are listed in the appropriate tax register. An added advantage of these three is that two, the Register Vetus and the Hearth Tax of 1606, have already been analyzed for the city as a whole. I have made a similar analysis of the 1559 Tenth Penny, thus permitting comparison of Leiden city officials with the city in general.

An obvious problem of using property taxes as the sole measurement of economic standing is the nature of the taxes themselves. Individuals with occupations requiring substantial space or demanding a large capital outlay for equipment, such as brewing and weaving,

often appear higher on the economic ladder than others whose wealth may have been similar, despite the fact that it did not consist of property.⁹² Also, rentiers whose income-bearing properties were not necessarily within the boundaries of the taxed community might also appear lower on the economic scale than they should.

Nevertheless, despite these problems, such taxes still provide almost the only way of approaching the question of socio-economic standing. In order to take into account these problems as they apply to the Leiden taxes, I have decided to base my initial analysis of vroedschap and gerecht members on dwelling rather than on total owned property. This provides a more accurate measure of the individual's standard of living. Furthermore, the results may easily be compared to average figures for Leiden dwellings as a whole. This will be followed by a discussion of additional property owned by group members in Leiden and in the surrounding Rijnland.

The 1559 Tenth Penny was one of a series of annual taxes of ten percent on real property which were levied during the mid-sixteenth century. Introduced into Holland in 1542 by Charles V, the Tenth Penny became an established means of obtaining revenue until it was discontinued after 1572.⁹³ Because of the detailed method of recording individual assessments, particularly in the cities, the surviving registers of Tenth Penny taxes are extremely useful to the social historian. They provide a variety of information about property values and ownership, including how much an individual owned and used himself and how much he rented to others.

Instructions contained in the official Tenth Penny statutes as to what was taxable are usually quite specific. The municipal Leiden archives contains a copy of the 1557 States of Holland statute describing taxable property in detail. While this is not the document which corresponds to the 1559 collection of the Tenth Penny, it may be assumed that the two are relatively similar. In essence, the 1557 document states that all owned and rented property within the city limits was subject to the tax, and that the assessments were to be placed in a register.⁹⁴

The Leiden collectors for 1559 closely followed similar instructions. Individual pieces of property were set out in a register according to property location. As the register is a door to door record of separate houses and lots, and as owners and renters are both mentioned in the entries, a clear picture of individual property ownership is readily obtainable. The details of tax information for councilmen and magistrates as well as for the city appears in Appendix F: Tables 20, 21 and 22.

Of particular interest for the first stage of our analysis is the fact that, in most cases, the property used by an individual as a dwelling place is identified.⁹⁵ If taken as a standard measurement of a person's economic and social circumstances, the value of the dwelling is a useful tool for comparing not only individuals but also groups within the city. Care must be taken not to overemphasize the importance of this one indicator, but it does provide significant information about position in the socio-economic hierarchy.⁹⁶

The names of eighty-seven councilmen and magistrates appear in the 1559 Tenth Penny register.⁹⁷ By ranking the dwelling evaluations of these eighty-seven, it becomes strikingly apparent that 75.8 per cent lived in houses worth between eleven and forty pond.⁹⁸ Fifteen per cent of the eighty-seven lived in quarters valued higher than forty pond, while only 3.4 per cent lived in houses worth less than eleven pond. Dwelling evaluations for five individuals (5.7 per cent) are unknown. This profile for public officials is in marked contrast to the figures for the entire Leiden population. Whereas 90 per cent of all group members had houses worth over ten pond, only 25 per cent of all Leiden properties appearing in the 1559 register were valued above ten pond. Using another statistic to compare councilmen and magistrates with Leiden as a whole, the mean evaluation for group members is 31.02 pond, whereas the mean evaluation for all 1559 entries is 7.04 pond. This not unexpected result illustrates that Leiden public officials lived in houses worth well above the overall Leiden norm.⁹⁹

Examination of evaluations based on occupational groupings among councilmen does not produce any significant socio-economic hierarchy. The majority of public officials who fall into the median evaluation range of eleven to forty pond are a mixed lot. They include the various cloth industry occupations, such as the drapeniers and weavers, as well as the professions, such as lawyers and others. The only outstanding occupational category is the brewers who invariably appear at the top of both group and town evaluation ranks. All eight of those individuals with evaluations of seventy-one or higher were

brewers. The reason for this is that their breweries were usually attached to their houses or located next door and therefore were part of the brewer's evaluation. Of course, when someone's place of business or workshop was located in his dwelling, as it usually was, this method of evaluation was followed for other occupations as well. It is the size of the brewers' evaluations that make them stand out.

Of additional interest for us is the relationship between the total amount of property owned by city officials and that which was rented to others. This quite naturally varied greatly from one individual to another, and cannot be reduced to any overall pattern. Except for men, such as Adriaen Jansz. (van BARREVELT) or Cornelis Jansz. PAETS who entered the real estate market for profit, most group members rented out property on a limited scale. Data from the 1559 register indicates that one to three rented properties was the norm for group members having real estate to let.¹⁰⁰

More significant is the fact that 44.8 per cent of the eighty-seven did not rent out Leiden property. Of course, whether a group member rented property or not may have been influenced by many factors, not the least of which could have been inheritance of family real estate or the view that possession of some property guaranteed a certain measure of financial security. Little correlation exists, however, between the amount of rented property and either occupation or wealth. Owners of highly valued properties in Leiden often rented out only a small portion of their holdings or none at all, while others with a more modest accumulation of real estate rented a sub-

stantial part of theirs. Wealthy Geryt Aelbrechtsz. (van CRUYNINGEN), for instance, possessed only his brewery in the bon Gansoord, which was valued at seventy-five pond. He had no other property and therefore no rented houses.¹⁰¹ Another example is Huych Jansz. van ALCKEMADE whose total property in town was evaluated at sixty-six pond. Of this, he leased only one part, a house valued at ten pond, to Volckert Hillebrantsz.¹⁰² These two examples are in contrast to Cornelis Jacobsz. van NOORDE and Claes OOM Jansz., both of whom rented half of their total evaluated properties in Leiden.¹⁰³ In one other case, vroedschap member Cornelis Jansz. himself lived in a house in Gansoord which was valued at only ten pond, while he rented out numerous properties with a total value of eighty-five pond.¹⁰⁴

Just as the 1559 Tenth Penny shows that the economic position of group members was well above the Leiden average prior to the Dutch Revolt, the 1585 Register Vetus shows a similar situation in the period after the ordeal of 1572-1574. The Register Vetus is a useful source because it records the 1584 rental value (huurwaarde) for all Leiden properties. This makes it somewhat compatible with the 1559 Tenth Penny, in that both documents give estimates of property worth rather than simply the tax paid. By examining the dwellings of individual group members, one finds that 77.9 per cent of the seventy-two men recorded in the Vetus lived in houses valued between twenty-one and eighty gulden. By contrast, 8.3 per cent had homes with values higher than eighty gulden, and 12.5 per cent had dwellings evaluated at twenty gulden or less.¹⁰⁵ The 77.9 per cent falling between twenty-one and eighty gulden is almost identical to the 75

per cent in the 1559 Tenth Penny register who fell between eleven and forty pond. Since the monetary units known as the Hollandse pond and the gulden are equivalent in value, and since both the 1559 Tenth Penny and the Register Vetus record property evaluation, the dwelling evaluation level of the Vetus is exactly double that of the 1559 Tenth Penny. This indicates that inflation may account for the difference in value. Certainly, inflation amounting to 100 per cent over twenty-five years was not uncommon or unlikely in this period.¹⁰⁶

Confirmation that inflation was a major reason for the doubling of property values between 1559 and 1584 may be seen in the comparison of the overall mean evaluation level for the Tenth Penny and for the Register Vetus. The evaluation for a single piece of property in 1559 was 7.04 pond. In 1584 it was 13.2 gulden, almost double the 1559 amount.

As in the 1559 Tenth Penny, the highest 1584 dwelling evaluations for group members belong to the brewers. Four of the eight councilmen-brewers represented in the Register Vetus had evaluations of 100 gulden or higher. Drapeniers and other textile industry occupations remained in the median evaluation range in 1584, just as they were in 1559. With regard to total owned property in 1584, 34.7 per cent of the group included in the Vetus had evaluations of eighty-one gulden or higher. In 1559 this group was only 15 per cent of those recorded. While it is interesting that a larger percentage of these men seem to own more in 1584 than their counterparts did in 1559, a large measure of this increase is again accounted for by inflation. What is significant in 1584 is that 63.9 per cent have no rented property

in Leiden. This is 21.1 per cent higher than those not holding property in 1559 and suggests that fewer councilmen and magistrates were casually investing in city real estate.

Nevertheless, a number of group members continued to invest in Leiden properties during this period. Beginning in the late 1570's, the introduction of the new drapery encouraged the influx of skilled and unskilled textile workers in large numbers. This in turn stimulated the demand for more housing, which provided local investment opportunities for interested Leiden citizens including several group members. Willem Govertsz. van der AER and Lourijs Andriesz. van SWAENSWYCK have already been mentioned in this connection. Two additional councilmen who engaged in this type of activity were Hobbe Florisz. (POTT) and Sander Aelbrechtsz. (van QUACKENBOSCH).¹⁰⁷

One may extend the analysis of property ownership to the end of the century by using the 1606 Hearth Tax. However, because the tax was recorded differently than the two preceding ones we have considered, only a limited comparison with them is possible.¹⁰⁸ There are thirty-four group members whose names and properties are recorded in the Hearth Tax. While this is fewer than appear in the 1559 Tenth Penny or the Register Vetus, the data confirms that their relationship to the rest of Leiden in economic terms was similar to their predecessors of the 1550's and 1580's. For example, 85.3 per cent of the thirty-four councilmen and magistrates in the Hearth Tax register paid eleven or more gulden for the dwellings in the 1606 Verponding. By contrast, 85.5 per cent of the entire city paid ten or less gulden for their dwellings in the Verponding. Once again, members of the

vroedschap and gerecht were among the city's more well-to-do inhabitants.

Interestingly, 41.1 per cent of the thirty-four have no rented property in Leiden. Whereas the 1584 figure was 22 per cent higher, the 1559 figure of 44.8 per cent is roughly equivalent to that of 1606. Despite the fact that a higher percentage of group members had some rented property than twenty-two years earlier, there is evidence that these men were still not entering the Leiden real estate market on a large scale. For example, most individuals who took advantage of the opportunity to purchase the large amount of land newly incorporated into the city in 1611 were carpenters, masons or others in the building trades. Laurens Huygensz. GAEL is the only representative of the group to invest a large amount of money in the buying of new properties in this area.¹⁰⁹ That other group members whose economic position would have certainly enabled them to invest in such a venture did not do so indicates that their money or capital was directed elsewhere.

With the last point in mind, we must now begin to consider the extent to which Leiden city officials had property in the surrounding Rijnland. It has already been pointed out that individuals engaged in occupations such as brewing and brick manufacturing used peat from their own lands in the countryside. In order to determine whether or not similar practices were common among other members of Leiden's officialdom, and whether land was a frequently used form of investment, the number of councilmen and magistrates holding property in various Rijnland polders and ambachten needs to be determined.

Fortunately, there exists for the sixteenth century a series of registers known as the Morgenboeken, which record for each separate rural district not only the owners of individual pieces of property, but also the size of their properties.¹¹⁰ I have examined the Morgenboeken of all the areas of the Rijnland between Delfland and Schieland on the south to the Haarlemmermeer on the north, and from the North Sea on the west to Alphen on the east.¹¹¹ This geographic area, which comprises most of the region within the Waterdistrict Rijnland, is wide ranging enough to encompass the property holdings of many city officials.

A striking feature of the extra-Leiden land holding pattern of members of the town government was its variety rather than its uniformity. Property belonging to Leiden officials varied in size from around seventy square roeden (.14 hectare) to as much as a hundred morgen (85 hectare) or more and was scattered around many polders and ambachten.¹¹² The types of holdings were diverse. Some were peatlands, some were meadows and grazing lands, and some were only garden plots. Many holdings were leased to others who used the land for agriculture or operated small businesses on the property.

A sizable number of town officials held land outside Leiden. In fact, almost 60 per cent of the entire group of 185 men considered in this study owned property in the Rijnland at some time during their careers. In 1550, for instance, 64.3 per cent of those in office at that time had land in the surrounding countryside. In 1572, 63.8 per cent of those in office during that year were owners of Rijnland property. The percentage rises somewhat in 1584 to 85.7 per cent and

drops again to near 60 per cent in 1600.¹¹³ This relative stability in the extra-Leiden ownership of land is confirmed by the following figures:

- (1) Of the eighty-seven group members mentioned in the 1559 Tenth Penny, sixty (68.9%) owned Rijnland property.
- (2) Of the seventy-two noted in the Register Vetus (1585), fifty-six (77.7%) owned Rijnland property.
- (3) Of the thirty-four recorded in the Hearth Tax of 1606, twenty-three (67.6%) owned Rijnland property.¹¹⁴

Interestingly, there is no relationship between the size of an individual's Leiden holdings and his Rijnland property. Large-scale investment in one area did not preclude substantial investment in the other. Hobbe Florisz. (POTT), for instance, owned eight houses inside Leiden, while he had about ten and a half hectare in Sassenhen and almost seven hectare in Voorhout.¹¹⁵ Another example is Jan Cornelisz. PAETS van Zandhorst, who had ten houses in Leiden in 1584 and rented out fifty-four hectare in various Rijnland polders during the 1580's.¹¹⁶

Conversely, there were those who had almost no investment in Leiden or the Rijnland, and those whose investment in property was concentrated only in the city or only in the countryside. In the 1560's, for instance, drapenier Claes Cornelisz. VERGEYL owned only his Leiden house worth thirteen pond and two garden plots totalling .28 hectare in Leiderdorp.¹¹⁷ Jan Wiggersz. (van DUYVELANDT), on the other hand, had very little property in Leiden, but owned and rented out a total of thirty-six hectare in Katwijk, Leiderdorp and

Oegstgeest during the 1540's.¹¹⁸

The quality of land in the various Rijnland polders varied greatly not only between districts, but also within a single polder. It is therefore difficult to measure the value of individual pieces of Rijnland property owned by Leiden city officials. It is possible to say, however, that in general, the land in areas of intensive agricultural production, such as Leiderdorp, Zoeterwoude and coastal Noordwijk and Noordwijkerhout, were more valuable than the ill-drained land plagued by recurrent floodings, such as in Alckemade and Benthuisen. Areas located on the Rijn river, such as Hazerswoude and Alphen were important for commercial and industrial reasons and were therefore more valuable than the reedlands and wastes common to the Rijnland in the sixteenth century.¹¹⁹

Looking at the concentration of investment in certain areas one may establish which Rijnland districts were considered more valuable by Leiden town officials. Using the two most complete series of Morgenboeken for our period, i.e. the land surveys for the early 1540's and the series from the 1580's, Rijnland investment may also be assessed over time.¹²⁰ This examination shows that proximity to Leiden and the desirability of well-developed land nearby played a large role in city officials' attitude toward such investment. Far more councilmen and magistrates were owners of land in the ambachten nearer Leiden than further away. During the 1540's, for instance, Leiderdorp, Oegstgeest and Zoeterwoude, three districts closest to the city, each had ten or more city officials who owned property there. This is in contrast to more distant ambachten, such as

Oudshoorn, Alphen, Lisse and Katwijk, each of which only had one to three city officials as landholders in this period.¹²¹

This situation was also true forty years later when again Leiderdorp, Oegstgeest and Zoeterwoude were the most frequently chosen ambachten in which city officials invested. The ambacht of Esselijkerwoude must also be added to this group in the 1580's because it had attracted eleven city officials as landowners by 1584. The reason for the increase in town officials' ownership of property in Esselijkerwoude may be related to the availability of peat in the area. Four of the eleven city officials recorded in the Esselijkerwoude Morgenboek of 1584 were brewers whose businesses depended upon a large supply of peat.¹²² At least one of them, Claes Adriaensz. van LEEUWEN, owned seven morgen (5.95 hectare) and supplied the town of Leiden with 1,519 tonnen peat in November 1585, although of course that particular supply did not necessarily come from Esselijkerwoude. The other three owned sufficient land to permit peat digging by those to whom it was let.¹²³

Other ambachten also saw increases in the number of councilmen and magistrates who owned property within their boundaries. Alckemade, Alphen, Katwijk, Lisse and Oudshoorn each had between four to six city officials as landowners in the 1580's. This is compared to one to three in the 1540's. This increase correlates with the larger percentage of councilmen and magistrates who engaged in land investment during the 1580's.¹²⁴

If the increase in rural landownership in the Rijnland among city officials had continued, it might have been indicative of an

attitudinal change toward the value of such property. However, as Graph 2. shows, the incidence of investment in Rijnland districts tended to decrease again by 1600. It is therefore questionable that the late sixteenth century saw an increased desire among group members to own property in the countryside. What appears more likely to have happened after the surge of interest in the 1580's is that town officials began to invest in the increased number of drainage projects, in the revived cloth industry and in other business opportunities further afield. All of these potential areas demanded liquid capital rather than land. Further research is, of course necessary to substantiate this. Nevertheless, it is still possible to conclude that a stable 60 per cent of all councilmen and magistrates in the group of 185 consistently had some property in the rural areas around Leiden. Each owned what he could afford and what was pertinent to his needs, both in social and economic terms.

C. Conclusion

The previous discussion of city officials' socio-economic position in Leiden confirms the validity of Jan Jansz. Orlers' statement, quoted at the beginning of this chapter, that these men were indeed ". . . chosen from the richest and most qualified citizens." When compared with Leiden citizenry as a whole, members of the vroedschap and gerecht rank well above the average craftsman or cloth worker in almost every respect. Seen in this light, Leiden's public officials appear to be a homogeneous group drawn together by their economic security and social status. Economic stability and social superiority were, after all, considered prerequisites for municipal office during the sixteenth century.

While the entire group did then possess a certain homogeneity, one of its distinctive characteristics was also its diversity. Below the surface uniformity there existed a wide spectrum of economic and social differences within the group. When compared among themselves, men of modest life-style like Salomon Lenaertsz. van der WOERT contrast sharply with those who led more extravagant existences like Jan Cornelisz. PAETS van Zanthorst. Whereas WOERT lived without pretension in his house in Marendorp-rijnzijde, PAETS van Zanthorst inhabited one of Leiden's largest houses in the Gansoord. Although their election to the vroedschap indicates that both men had achieved a measure of importance in Leiden affairs, they were very different men. WOERT, the legal bureaucrat who was for a time the secretaris to the Water District Rijnland, did not fit into the mold of a PAETS

van Zanthorst, whose inherited wealth and relationship to the LODESTEYN family nearly made him part of the landed nobility.

Such differences among individuals are evident in a number of areas. Occupationally, the group was dominated by the brewers, drapeniers and cloth merchants throughout the second half of the sixteenth century. Yet, other occupational specialties were represented by a wide variety of trades and professions, each of which brought something different to his duties as a member of the town government. The background and training of a land surveyor was very different from that of a dairy merchant. Both were represented simultaneously on the vroedschap in the 1580's. Similarly, the cabinetmaker brought a different economic point of view to his public duties than the corn merchant, whose livelihood depended upon factors of little concern to the former.

Examples such as these graphically illustrate the diversity among members of the Leiden vroedschap and gerecht during this period. If considerable variation existed in wealth and occupation, it would follow that significant difference might also permeate other areas as well. The extent to which this was true with regard to politics and religion will be examined in Chapter VII. Before plunging into this topic, however, we must begin to look at the public lives and careers of these men.

FOOTNOTES--CHAPTER V

¹Orlors, Beschryvinge der Stadt Leyden, p. 580. ". . . de welcke uyt de Ryckste ende gequalificeerste vande Burgheren vercooren werden."

²Peter H. Trembath, "Haarlem in de 16e eeuw: Voorspel van een opstand," Jaarboek Haarlem (1974), p. 190 citing a document probably from M^r A. J. Enschedé, Inventaris van het Archief der Stad Haarlem, I, nr. 200. The footnote is absent, but the quoted document appears to refer to the one cited in Trembath's footnote 2, p. 261. ". . . van den rycxsten, notabelsten, reckelicxsten ende vredelicxsten van onser voirescrever stede. . ."

³GAL, SA, II, No. 442: Vroedschapsboek K-L, folio 212, dated July 13, 1584. This document is reproduced in Posthumus, Lakenindustrie, II, pp. 175-177.

⁴GAL, RA, No. 76B-1, unfoliated, dated November 19, 1549 where he signed his name as "Jacob claes z houtcoper."

⁵GAL, RA, No. 76B-2, unfoliated, dated August 10, 1561. REYGERSBURGH is named "dirck Jacobsz gorter" in this document.

⁶See E. A. Wrigley, ed., Identifying People in the Past (London: Edward Arnold, 1973) for the various facets of linking diverse references about individuals correctly.

⁷ARA, ASH, No. 275 (Leiden): Quohieren van de 10den penning van 1543, folios 59vso and 61 vso.

⁸GAL, SA, I, No. 74: Register van Smalle Diensten, unfoliated. See the year list for 1544 where Allertsz. is named as Heiligegeest-meester.

⁹Ibid., unfoliated, passim. Also, a 1552 list of those in cloth industry occupations appears in Posthumus, Bronnen, II, p. 555. Claes OOM Jansz. is named in this list, thereby indicating that he was also involved in cloth manufacturing. Dual occupations were not uncommon among these men during the mid-sixteenth century.

¹⁰The classification of occupations in pre industrial society is complex and fraught with ambiguity for a variety of reasons. Daelemans has adapted the occupational classification system devised for the Dutch

census of 1889 to fit the characteristics of the sixteenth century. Since I am discussing a group that was part of his overall survey of Leiden population in 1581, it seemed reasonable to retain his method of considering occupations. Daelemans' system as it applies to Leiden city officials is explained at the beginning of Appendix F. Other Dutch adaptations of this same 1889 occupational codification system include B. H. Slicher van Bath, Een samenleving onder spanning, Geschiedenis van het platteland in Overijssel (Assen: 1957; H. K. Roessingh, "Beroep en bedrijf op de Veluwe in het midden van de 18de eeuw, A.A.G., Bijdragen, XIII (1965), pp. 189-249; and A. M. van der Woude, Het Noordkwartier. Een regionaal historisch onderzoek in de demografische geschiedenis van westelijk Nederland van de late middeleeuwen tot het begin van de negentiende eeuw (3 vols.; Wageningen: Veenman, 1972). General analyses of socio-professional classifications systems as they pertain to early modern European societies may be found in J. Dupâquier, "Problèmes de la codification socio-professionnelle," L'histoire sociale. Sources et Méthodes. Colloque de l'Ecole Supérieure de Saint Cloud, 15-16 mai 1965 (Paris: 1967), pp. 157-181; E. Helin, "Les codes socio-professionnelle comme instruments d'analyse des populations antérieures à la révolution industrielle," Handelingen van het XLste congres, Mechelen, 3-6-IX-1970 (Mechelen: Koninklijke Kring voor Oudheidkunde, Letteren en Kunst van Mechelen, 1971), pp. 357-366.

¹¹ See Appendix F: Tables 10 and 11.

¹² In 1581 the textile trades were practised by a total of 566 individuals in Leiden. Only service personnel were more numerous with 636. The latter, however, were not the sort of occupations represented among the vroedschap and gerecht. See Posthumus, Lakenindustrie, II, pp. 23-28 and p. 32. I have used Posthumus here instead of Daelemans because the data contained in Posthumus' work enabled me to calculate the total number of individuals in a given occupation, whereas Daelemans' figures refer only to occupational groups, such as the building trades, etc. Ultimately, however, Daelemans' classification system is more useful in relating trades and skills to their modern counterparts.

¹³ Posthumus, Lakenindustrie, II, pp. 23-27. By combining the figures for occupations belonging to the Food and Drink Trades which Posthumus scattered through three of his categories (Oerproductie, Voedingsmiddelen and Handel en Verkeer), one arrives at the figure 331 as the number of individuals involved in these trades. 331 is under the 386 in Posthumus' second largest category, Trade and Transportation (Handel en Verkeer) after subtracting the misclassified Food and Drink occupations from it. Below is a table giving the major occupational categories as they appear in Posthumus and the number of individuals in each category. Figures are based on the census of 1581.

I. Primary Production (<u>Oerproductie</u>)	191
II. Earth Industries (<u>Aardewerk-Industrie</u>)	19
III. Clothing Industry (<u>Kleeding-Industrie</u>)	250
IV. Building Trades (<u>Bouwvakken</u>)	151
V. Wood Industries (<u>Hout-enz. Industrie</u>)	181
VI. Leather Industry (<u>Leer-Industrie</u>)	63
VII. Metal Industry (<u>Metaal-Industrie</u>)	121
VIII. Textile Industry (<u>Textiel-Industrie</u>)	566
IX. Lighting Trades (<u>Verlichting</u>)	16
X. Food-stuffs Industry (<u>Voedingsmiddelen-Industrie</u>)	143
XI. Printing Trades (<u>Grafische Vakken</u>)	7
XII. Trade and Transportation (<u>Handel en Verkeer</u>)	446
XIII. Remaining Hired Labor (<u>Overige Loonarbeid</u>)	636
XIV. Professions and Independent Occupations (<u>Vrij Beroepen</u>)	141

Daelemans, who is using the same data, admits only 118 individuals into his category of Food Industry (Voedingsnijverheid). One does not know exactly what occupations this means, as occupational specialties are not broken down individually. This figure of 118 falls below several of Daelemans' other categories, such as Agriculture (Landbouw) with 149, Leatherworking (Leer-bewerking) with 146 and Trade (Handel) with 141.

It is difficult to determine the reason for this great discrepancy because we do not know exactly how Daelemans reclassified individual occupations which occur in Posthumus. With regard to the ranking of occupational groups from highest to lowest, however, both sources are relatively similar. Food and Drink Trades are not ranked very far below textiles and trade in both systems.

¹⁴The reasons for the predominance of the drapeniers is clear. The textile industry was Leiden's principal economic activity. The high number of brewers is less easy to explain, although beer was, of course, the primary drink of everyone and needed to be produced in quantity. Leiden beer was brewed mostly for local consumption in this period. Indeed, excises and records of beer imported into Leiden indicate that, contrary to Posthumus' assertion, local brewers did not export their product. Compare Posthumus, Lakenindustrie, II, p. 31 and Oerle, Leiden binnen en buiten de stadsvesten, I, p. 442. Leiden Posthumus' own statistics (Lakenindustrie, II, p. 25) show that for 1581 Leiden had only twelve independent brewers and twenty-five journeymen. Of the twelve, six are identifiable as current or soon-to-be members of the vroedschap. These are Hendrick Egbertsz. van der HAL, Jan Jansz. (KNOTTER), Claes Adriaensz. van LEEUWEN, Cornelis Andriaensz. van BARREVELT, Willem Jan Reyersz. van HEEMSKERCK and Jacob Thomasz. (van SWIETEN). An additional member of the vroedschap, Cornelis Claes Lambrechtsz. van SWIETEN came from a brewer's family, but was noted in the 1581 census as a rentier. Finally, Jan Dircksz. (van RODENBEEKE), a brewer who had been a councilman in Leiden between 1569 and 1573, was still living in the city, according to the Register Vetus of 1585. No

mention is made of his operating a brewery at this time, however. Thus, fully half of the independent brewers in Leiden in 1581 were represented on the city council.

Already alluded to is the fact that Leiden did not export beer, at least to any significant extent. The brewing industry at Leiden was definitely unimportant if compared with that of Haarlem or Delft, cities which in 1514 had 112 and 98 operating breweries respectively. At about the same time Leiden had only sixteen. See A. Hallema and J. A. Emmens, Het bier en zijn brouwers, de geschiedenis van onze oudste volksdrank (Amsterdam: J. H. De Bussy, 1968), p. 54 and Posthumus, Lakenindustrie, I, Bijlage XII. The high concentration of brewers among city officials remains problematic, except that they were among the well-to-do.

¹⁵See Posthumus, Lakenindustrie, II, p. 28 and Table 2.

¹⁶The dividing point in selecting who belonged to each group was June 1572, the month when the Sea Beggars entered Leiden and the city may be considered to have accepted the Revolt. Any newly chosen member of the vroedschap or gerecht whose first election to office occurred after that date was included in the post-1572 group. If an individual held office only before that date he is included in the pre-1572 group. Individuals whose public service spans the dividing line are included in both groups. Actually the greatest turnover in offices during this period of crisis did not occur until November 1572 when thirteen new councilmen were elected to replace those who had fled with the arrival of the Beggars. For a detailed account of these events see Boogman, "Overgang." A list of the new appointees is found in GAL, SA, I, No. 386: Vroedschapsboek H, second unnumbered folio before folio 1. A list of all group members in chronological order of their appointment to the vroedschap is contained in Appendix G: Table 28.

¹⁷See Appendix F: Table 13.

¹⁸See Appendix F: Table 14.

¹⁹See Appendix F: Table 14. The year 1580 was selected for comparison with 1550 for the following reason. It falls several years after the return of the city government to its traditional form, the vroedschap having been reduced to only sixteen members from 1574-1576 by order of the Prince of Orange. The choice of 1580, therefore, insures that a certain stability within the offices had once again been attained and that any comparison with other years on either side of the 1574-1576 interim government would be valid.

²⁰See Appendix F: Table 14. The separation of occupations according to production-related and service-related fields is used by

Daelemans in his "Leiden 1581, een socio-demografisch onderzoek," but he does not imply that there is a higher social status associated with the service-related category. Another recent study which uses this type of socio-professional classification is Jean-Claude Perrot, Genèse d'une ville moderne, Caen au XVIII^e siècle, Vol. II (2 vols.; Paris: Mouton, 1975), pp. 974-978.

Occupation, of course, is not the sole determiner of an individual's social status in society. Other factors, such as wealth, family position, etc., are also important. Nevertheless a hierarchical order of occupations does exist in society and is correlated with class status. Within this framework service-related occupations are generally ranked above production-related fields. Two works which discuss the complexities of this kind of ranking are Egon Ernest Bergel, Social Stratification (New York: McGraw Hill Book Company, Inc., 1962) and Bernard Barber, Social Stratification, A Comparative Analysis of Structure and Process (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1957). For a consideration of the role of the various factors, including occupation, on the individual's social status in the early modern period see Henry Kamen, The Iron Century, Social Change in Europe 1550-1660 (New York: Praeger Publishers 1971), pp. 166-198.

²¹In the case of councilmen, the association of an individual with his occupation in official documents becomes less and less frequent as the sixteenth century merged with the seventeenth. Because the lack of a trade or profession often conveyed prestige or higher social status, it is probable that councilmen and magistrates began to omit previously common references to such activities when signing documents. Very likely, when others had occasion to identify such individuals in contracts or official papers, they too ceased using a person's occupation to distinguish him from others out of deference to that person. Those men who failed to note their occupations frequently engaged in business or other activities which today would be considered their occupation. In both the early modern period and today, such matters were normally financial in nature and involved the person in trade or business-management and therefore may be characterized as service-related.

²²By the time Oude Mees Garbrantsz. (van NIEROP) began serving on the vroedschap in 1534, he would have had to have been at least twenty-nine years old, which means that his birthdate was 1505 or before. More than likely, he was somewhat older than this because vroedschap members were not often chosen precisely at their twenty-ninth birthdays. Also, Garbrantsz. had already held the office of wardein in 1530, and such a position of responsibility would not necessarily be given to a "greenhorn." It is probable that Garbrantsz. was born around 1500 or slightly before. In any case, an early mention of him as being involved in the cloth industry is 1520 when he would have been in his twenties.

23

The vel of a sheep was the hide, from which the fleece had not yet been removed. This was the normal way wool was received by Leiden drapeniers in this period. See Posthumus, Bronnen, II, p. 309, No. 890 for data on the vel and wool excise for 1520-1521.

24

Posthumus, Lakenindustrie, I, pp. 275-276. In twenty years the situation had changed somewhat in that more cloth was actually produced, but there were also more drapeniers to manufacture it. In 1500, 23,393 standard size Leiden cloths were produced by about 127 drapeniers. In 1520, 26,440 pieces of cloth were manufactured by closer to 175 drapeniers. It is, of course, reasonable to assume that during this period of time some firms had ceased to exist while others arose to take their place. At the same time the balance or size of individual production levels may have also been altered, allowing more cloth to be manufactured by particular firms.

25

Posthumus, Bronnen, II, p. 266. No. 823.

26

Ibid., p. 271, No. 832; pp. 291-282, No. 847; and pp. 343-344, No. 938.

27

The last figure of 1,605 pieces of cloth does not include an allowance for the additional 150 bales of Spanish wool which GOEL purchased that year.

28

Posthumus, Lakenindustrie, I, p. 371. Other entries in the city treasurer's accounts indicate that large quantities of wool were sometimes purchased jointly by two or three drapeniers. There is no indication of this for GOEL, however.

29

Posthumus, Lakenindustrie, I, pp. 274-276. Indeed GOEL's purchase of vellen increased even more dramatically later. In 1528 he paid the excise on 57,690 vellen, and in 1536 he was assessed on the astronomical figure of 75,456 vellen. See Posthumus, Bronnen, II, pp. 352-353, No. 951 and p. 400, No. 1003.

30

Posthumus, Bronnen, II, p. 308, No. 890; p. 338, No. 930; pp. 370-371, No. 970; and pp. 505-506, No. 1047.

31

Ibid., p. 509. No. 1053. Anthonis Fransz. (MUYS) is also noted as a brewer in the 19th Penny Tax Register of 1559 (GAL, SA, I, No. 992; Kohier van den 10den Penning, folio 7vso).

Among the offices in this category were burgemeester and wardein, both of which GOEL held at intervals when he is absent from the vel excise records. See chart below which correlates the office-holding terms of Frans Gerritsz. GOEL with the incidence of his name in the vel excise records:

Office Held/Term	Years <u>Vel</u> Excise Paid
<u>wardein</u> /1519	1518 1519
<u>wardein</u> /1521	
<u>schepen</u> /July 1522-Jul. 1523	
<u>wardein</u> /1524	
<u>schepen</u> /July 1525-Jul. 1526	1525
<u>wardein</u> /1527	1526
<u>wardein</u> /1528	
<u>schepen</u> /July 1530-Jul. 1531	1529 1531 1532 1533 1534
<u>wardein</u> /1535	
<u>wardein</u> /1536	
<u>schepen</u> /July 1537-Jul. 1545	1537
<u>wardein</u> /1546	

Source for the above information is Posthumus, Bronnen, II, p. 290, No. 858; p. 292, No. 866; p. 300, No. 881; p. 309, No. 890; p. 314, No. 901; p. 317, No. 904; p. 322, No. 909; p. 328, No. 918; p. 338, No. 930; p. 343, No. 938; p. 348, No. 945; p. 332, No. 951; p. 358, No. 958; p. 371, No. 970; p. 380, No. 984; p. 384, No. 987; p. 392, No. 998; p. 400, No. 1003; p. 403, No. 1008; p. 408, No. 1014; p. 411, No. 1019; p. 416, No. 1028; and for the office-holding data GAL, SA, I, No. 73: Dienstboek 1500-1589, passim. and GAL, SA, I, No. 74: Register van Smalle Diensten, passim.

The two cases where GOEL's official duties precisely overlap with the years he paid the vel excise are years when he purchased a large number of vellen. In cases of other vroedschap members who are also drapeniers, such large purchases usually occur in conjunction with other drapeniers. Although this is not indicated in GOEL's case, it could offer an explanation of this seeming irregularity if the other party acted as the principal purchaser or acted as the legal means of avoiding conflict of interest.

The correlation of offices and payment of the vel excise is similar for Oude Mees Garbrantsz. (van NIEROP).

³³ Posthumus, Bronnen, II, p. 555, No. 1118.

³⁴ Posthumus, Lakenindustrie, I, p. 371; also see Chapter II, pp. 38-39.

³⁵ Posthumus, Lakenindustrie, I, p. 278; Posthumus, Bronnen, II, pp. 554-556, No. 1118.

³⁶ The fact that many Leiden drapeniers were always small producers some manufacturing only a few pieces of cloth annually, makes this development even more dramatic. See Posthumus, Lakenindustrie, I, p. 276.

³⁷ Posthumus, Bronnen II, pp. 554-556, No. 1118. In addition to those listed in the text there are individuals who can be identified as belonging to vroedschap families or are closely related to councilmen. These include: Aechte Goelen, the widow of Mees Garbrantsz.; Pieter Gerijtsz. DOE; Pieter Dirck Fransz. Goelen zoon; Ewout Aernt Gerijtszsz.; and Pieter Cornelisz. OESTERLING.

³⁸ Posthumus, Bronnen, III, pp. 538-539 n. 5. As in the 1552 list, this 1591 document also contains the names of men related to vroedschap families. These include: IJsbrant van der BOUCHORST, Joost van ZONNEVELT, Cors Govertsz. van der AER, Cornelis Pietersz. PAETS, Cornelis Cornelisz. de HAES, Jan Claesz. van DORP.

³⁹ As the Old Drapery continued to decline, fewer and fewer drapeniers came to be members of the city council. They were replaced by men who referred to themselves as lakenkopers or cloth merchants, who may have also had their own cloth manufacturing firms or invested in such firms. One example of this change was Andries Jansz. SCHOT who was clearly a drapenier in 1569, but who was referred to as a lakenkoper in the period of the textile industry's recovery following the 1574 siege. See GAL, SA, I, No. 1383: Gerechtsdagboek A, folio 27, dated March 17, 1569 and GAL, RA, No. 43, cited by J. D. Bangs, "De Tapijtwever Willem Andriesz. de Raet. . . " Leiden '74, p. 169, n. 4. The drapenier remained an important figure in the Leiden textile industry as a whole, although men who were called drapeniers were less and less members of the city council or the magistracy. In the 1580's and 1590's many Leiden drapeniers were newly-arrived Flemings or Walloons who had come to Leiden to manufacture the recently popular lighter fabrics. In addition to lacking the established position necessary to hold public office in Leiden, these men ran small to medium-sized businesses which hardly qualified them as the rijkdom of the city. These factors acted as barriers to their admission to the

government. It just may be that the term lakenkoper distinguished the native Leiden citizen from these recent immigrants and was adopted by the element that entered the city government in this period because of the status it conveyed. The implication of this is, of course, that the type of person selected as a member of the vroedschap had begun to change slightly by the end of the sixteenth century.

⁴⁰ Posthumus, Lakenindustrie, II, pp. 30-36 and 105-111.

⁴¹ GAL, SA, II, No. 4031: "Schoorstienbouck. . ." (Register of quohier van het schoorsteen of haardstedegeld 1606), folio 334vso. Dirck Gerritsz. van HOGEVEEN's elder brother, who preceded him as a member of the vroedschap was a highly successful cloth merchant and was mentioned as a lakenkoper in the 1591 list on page 195 of this chapter.

⁴² See Appendix F: Table 15 and GAL, SA, II, No. 4337: "Nopende tondervinden van de frauden ten opsichte van tstadt bierexchysen geplecht," folios 3-5. According to the dissertation of J. van Loenen, De Haarlemse brouwindustrie voor 1600 (Amsterdam: Universiteitspers, 1950) cited in Hallema and Emmens, Het bier en zijn brouwers, p. 36, the number of liters of beer each individual drank annually in sixteenth-century Haarlem rose from around 250 liters in 1475 to about 280 liters in 1600. Another authority, one H. Hoelen, also cited in Hallema and Emmens, gives a higher figure of 400 liters per person per year. Using the more conservative estimate of van Loenen, the total amount of beer consumed by Leiden's approximately 28,000 inhabitants of 1600 would have been between seven and eight million liters. The 1606 figure of over nine million liters produced by Leiden brewers, which was derived from the fraud investigation document, is therefore reasonable.

⁴³ In 1606 the largest Leiden brewer was Frans Pietersz. de BYE, who produced 1,669,910 liters of beer that year. He was the brother of vroedschap member IJsbrant Pietersz. de BYE and grandson of former vroedschap member Joost Jacobsz. (de BYE). Interestingly, Frans Pietersz.'s sister, Neeltje Pietersdr., was married to Dirck Gerritsz. van HOGEVEEN, thus demonstrating one example of familial connections among the Leiden brewing interests. Looking further at the BYE genealogy, Aeffje Pietersdr., the elder sister of Neeltje, was also married to brewer Jan IJsnoutsz. van der NES, who occupied a seat on the vroedschap and was many times a member of the gerecht. See v. H., "De Bije," De Navorscher, XLI (1891), pp. 596-597.

⁴⁴ GAL, SA, II, No. 4337, folios 3-5. See Appendix F: Table 16, contains the breakdown of beer production among vroedschap and vroedschap-related individuals.

⁴⁵GAL, AG, No. 179: Tbroubouck vande Brouwers beroerende haer brouwen ende overbrouwen, dated XV^c CX (1590). See Appendix F: Table 16.

⁴⁶GAL, SA, II, No. 4337, folio 28. See section under the year 1573 where the period of the third term is defined: "Ten welcken tyde in het iiij^e termyn beginnende mitten XXen July. . ."

⁴⁷A vat or barrel of beer is equal to 155.2 liters according to W. C. H. Staring, De binnen-en buitenlandse Maten, Gewichten en Munten van vroeger en tegenwoordig, bewerkt door R. W. van Wieringen (4th ed., Schoonhoven: Sc W.N. Van Nooten, 1902).

⁴⁸Several of the brewers in the 1590 Tbroubouck vande Brouwers. . . were still active in 1601, as the investigation of that year shows. These were Dirck Gerritsz. van HOGEVEEN, Frans Adriaensz. van LEEUWEN and Willem Willemsz. van OUWELANT Inde Lely. By 1606 Claes. van LEEUWEN, and the widow of Lambrecht Jacobsz. van SWIETEN continued as owner of the firm of her late husband. Those 1590 brewers who had either died or ceased to be active were Jan IJsnoutsz. van der NES, Heyndrick Gerritsz., Frans Fransz. van DUSSELDORP and Willem Jan Reyersz. van HEEMSKERCK. The number of brewers increased from nine in 1590 to fifteen in 1606. As one would also suspect, this also indicates an increase in beer production to meet the needs of a rapidly increasing population. Although one must allow for some differences in the sources, and for the fact that some imported beer was probably consumed in Leiden in these years, the 3,403,536 liters of beer brewed in the "third term" of 1590 is slightly more than 1/3 of Leiden's total production of 9,384,505 in 1606.

⁴⁹GAL, SA, I, No. 1772: "Memoriebouck van alle mijn schulden," folios 33-34, and passim.

⁵⁰Johanna Hollestelle, De steenbakkerij in de Nederlanden tot omstreeks 1560 (Assen: Van Gorcum & Comp. N.V., 1961), pp. 270-275.

⁵¹GAL, SA, I, No. 1772: "Memoriebouck van alle mijn schulden," folios 5vso and 6vso.

52 Ibid., folios 33-34. 255,400 bricks of various types were bought by Pietersz.

53 Ibid., folios 1-5.

54 BROUCHOVEN exported at least 331,900 bricks in 1571. This is 96% of the total number of exported bricks mentioned in the account, which is 244,900. These figures are minimum figures. Certain entries for both exports and local sales mention buyers but no quantity of bricks sold. See Appendix: Table 17.

55 Jan Cornelisz. PAETS van Zanthorst lived in one of the largest houses in Leiden and owned land in several Rijnland ambachten. MERWEN, on the other hand, was the son of organist Frans Jacobsz. and lived a more modest existence in the bon tVleeshuis. So far as I have been able to determine MERWEN did not own property in the Rijnland. Their respective property evaluations appear in Appendix F: Table 23.

56 GAL, WA, No. 276, untitled inventory, unfoliated. This inventory lists the contents of Mr Frans Adriaensz.'s estate, including the books in his room when he died. Among these volues were such legal works as:

Justitutionis Imperiales
Casus long barua
Liber Importiatus
Codex Justiniani
Digestum novum
Codex cum sommarys
Digestum vetus
Volume Juris

57 Ibid., item e, folio 3 of the unfoliated notes of surveyor Pieter Sluyter. Referring to the land between the Old Rijn river and the new Rijn river which was known as De Waard, Sluyter notes "Meester Frans Adriaensz, his brick kiln with the land on which it is located is 5½ morgen 266 roeden large" (meester frans adriaensz zijn steen plaets met dat land daer aen ende is groot v^s morgen ij^c lxvj roeden.")

58 Ibid., item a, folio 8vso. Adriaensz.'s nephew Daniel Jacobsz. houtkoper was the executor of his uncle's estate. In his accounts summarizing Adriaensz.'s property, Jacobsz. noted that in addition to the brick kiln (steenoven), his uncle had a "line kiln with the houses and sheds thereabouts." ("calchoven mit de huysinghe, enden getimmerten daeromtrent gelegen")

⁵⁹GAL, SA, I, No. 993: Kohier van den 10den penning 1564, folios 42,42vso, and 44; AH Rijnland, No. 6123: Morgenboek van Oegstgeest 1544, folios 21vso, 38; AH Rijnland, No. 8640: Morgenboek van Zoeterwoude 1564, folio 5; GAL, WA, No. 276, item a, folio 2.

⁶⁰GAL, WA, No. 276, item d: Bijlagen tot de rekening van 1576, unfoliated loose page, dated November 5, 1539. The two pieces of garden land ("warmoesland") were located in an area outside the Zijlpoort known as De Waard, next to the "hoop sonder maet."

⁶¹Ekkart, "Cornelis van Veen," pp. 95-100. See also GAL, SA, I, No. 73: Dienstboek A, passim. VEEN's level of comfortableness may be seen in his property ownership in Leiden. According to the Register Vetus, in 1584 his house had a rental value (huurwaarde) of forty gulden. He also owned three other houses valued at seventy gulden. The total of 110 gulden placed him in the wealthiest group of Leiden property owners.

⁶²There were in the late sixteenth century numerous Roman Catholic lawyers who practised before the courts of Holland. The more ardent ones were forced into exile only when the level of Protestant sympathy in the government made such a move necessary. See Robert Fruin's introduction in Dusseldorp, Annales, p. XII.

⁶³GAL, SA, II, No. 9248: Gerechtsdagboek A, folio 537, dated March 26, 1587. VEEN is noted as one of seven Leiden "steenplaetsers" in an agreement with the gerecht concerning the size and form of bricks to be produced.

⁶⁴AH Rijnland, No. 6124: Morgenboek van Oegstgeest 1580, folio 11vso. Exact size of the land is $1\frac{1}{2}$ morgen 2 hont.

⁶⁵GAL, SA, II, No. 9248: Gerechtsdagboek A, folio 537, dated March 26, 1587. Cornelis Claes Lambrechtsz. van SWIETEN is first mentioned as a brewer in the records of public sale (Acten van Transport Index), later as a rentier by the Census of 1581 and then as a steenplaetser by the 1604 Morgenboek van Oegstgeest (AH Rijnland, No. 9248), where his brick kiln was located. The extent of his land and property does not appear sufficient to have allowed him to sustain himself from them. It is likely that he had other income bearing investments.

Jacob Thomasz. (van SWIETEN), like his cousin, did not have a large amount of property and remained primarily a brewer.

⁶⁶ARA, ASH, No. 275 (Leiden): Quohieren van de 10den penning 1543, folio 21vso; GAL, SA, I, No. 424: Register van der buitengetimmerten 1521-1579, folio 795.

⁶⁷GAL, SA, II, No. 6789: Register Vetus, folios 165D, 165Dvso, 165E, and 165Evso. AER's new houses were located in the bon Nieuwland on Kijfhoekstraat. Nearby these six houses he had an additional eight pieces of property. Four were probably building lots similar to the land on which the six houses were constructed. One was labeled as an empty lot ("ledige plaats"). Two of the remaining three, which stood next to a small house and garden used by AER himself, were rented to others. These did not consist of all of AER's Leiden property. There was his own dwelling, another house which he leased to someone else and two cloth drying racks.

⁶⁸GAL, SA, II, No. 9250: Gerechtsdagboek B, folio 80. Aer explained to the gerecht that he had an English type drying rack next to the wall of the Short Drying-Rack Alley (Corte Raamsteeg). In place of this he offered to put up certain new cottages ("dat hy den Engelsche raem staende heeft tegens de muur vande Corte Raemsteeg. In plaetse van welcke hy presenteert zeeckere nieuwe huyskens te stellen.")

⁶⁹SWAENSWYCK is noted as the dyer of blue cloth (blauwverwer) in GAL, SA, II, No. 202: Dienstboek B, folios 108, 132vso, 165 and 201. He was active in the rapidly expanding New Drapery after the siege, as he was elected gouverneur of the serge drapery (saaidraperie) in 1584. He was also nominated for superintendent or gouverneur of the saaidraperie in 1597 and 1598, but he was not elected. The Acten van Transport records mention him as a wijntapper in connection with several transactions relating to his wife, Annetgen Dircxdr. VISSCHER who was the widow of wijntapper Adriaen Fransz.. Annetgen was the sister of cloth merchant and vroedschap member IJsbrant Dircxz. VISSCHER.

⁷⁰GAL, SA, II, No. 6789: Register Vetus, folios 160Avso and 160B. See map XVIII^b in W. Pleyte, Leiden voor 300 jaren en thans (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1874).

⁷¹I have not included in this list of seventy-two the widows of vroedschap members or their heirs, except in the two cases where the vroedschap member just died. These two cases are the widow of Joost Jacobsz. (de BYE) and the widow of Cornelis Jacobsz. van NOORDE. See Appendix F: Table 18.

⁷²Forty-six (64%) out of the seventy-two councilmen whose names appear in the Register Vetus had one or two Leiden properties.

⁷³In 1585, for instance, Philips Gerardsz. LANTSCHOT owned only his own house in Leiden. This was located on the Steenshuur and was given the comfortable rental-value of forty gulden in the Register Vetus. (GAL, SA, II, No. 6789, folio 85). Notary Salomon Lenaertsz.

van der WOERT, on the other hand, had two adjacent properties in the bon Marendorp. Located on the south side of the street Marendorp at the corner of the Kuipersteeg, one was his dwelling the other was rented (GAL, SA, II, No. 6789, folio 296vso). In another case, linen merchant Cornelis Gerritsz de HAES lived in a house called "de Haesberch" on the northwest side of the Marsmansteeg. His only other Leiden property was a garden within the city limits ("binnen de vrydomme") (GAL, SA, II, No. 6789, folios 59 and 179vso).

⁷⁴Posthumus, Lakenindustrie, II, p. 166 citing evidence from the Hearth Tax of 1606.

⁷⁵GAL, SA, II, Nos. 4187-4188: "Verhuyringh en Bestedingboeken." No. 4187 covers the period 1573-1590 and No. 4188 covers the decade 1590-1599. Jan Lucasz. van WASSENAER leased the corn excise for the first term of thirteen weeks in 1577 and bid unsuccessfully on the second two terms for the same year. Allert Willemsz. van SASSENHEM collected the excise on imported beer for 1582. Willem Cornelisz. TIBAUTL leased the salt excise for 1581, and Lourijs Andriesz. van SWAENSWYCK leased the beer, corn and milling excises many times and bid on the wine excise in 1577. See Appendix F: Table 19.

⁷⁶Compare data in Table 19 with information on pp. 25-26 of the text and Table 18. Some of SWAENSWYCK's new houses had not yet been assigned a rental value.

⁷⁷GAL, WA, No. 1077: Boedel van Gerrit Wiggersz. van DUYVELANDT, folios 3-15vso, dated January 5, 1587. DUYVELANDT's estate contains numerous examples of land use by the tenants who occupied the various lots in Oegstgeest, Voorschoten, Wassenaer, Valckenburch, Catwijck, Leiderdorp, Oudshoorn, Swammerdam and Bodegraven.

⁷⁸GAL, SA, II, No. 2956: Tresoriers rekening 1584-1585, folios 194vso, 195, 196vso, and 197. GAEL provided 1730 tonnen peat at 2 stuivers 8 p. and was paid 216 gulden 5 stuivers on October 12, 1585. LEEUWEN sold the town 1519 tonnen peat at the same rate and was paid 189 gulden 17 stuivers 8 p. on November 11, 1585. Dircxz. (van RODENBEEKE) provided 1737 tonnen peat at the same rate and was paid 217 gulden 2 stuivers 8 p. on November 18, 1585.

⁷⁹H.A. Enno van Gelder, ed., Gegevens betreffende roerend en onroerend bezit in de Nederlanden in de 16e eeuw, Vol. II, Rijks Geschiedkundig Publicatiën Vol. 141 ('s-Gravenhage: Martinus Nijhoff, 1973), p. 215 citing the Weeskamer Boedel of Jan van Brouhoven (GAL, WA, No. 783). BROUCHOVEN's several veencampen were located in Lisse.

⁸⁰GAL, RA, No. 76B-2; Huwelijkse Voorwaarden, unfoliated, dated January 11, 1550.

⁸¹Often dowry properties and gifts were seen as long-term investments. Although it is not possible to tell from the 1584 Morgenboek van Zoeterwoude if it is really the same property, BURCH still had Zoeterwoude land in that year.

⁸²GAL, RA, No. 76B-2; Huwelijkse Voorwaarden, unfoliated, dated January 11, 1550. Baertgen van der LAEN Willemsdr. brought to her marriage with BURCH the following: (1) A farm with eighteen morgen land in Leiderdorp, the rent of which was paid by the renter in pigs and butter; (2) sixteen gemeten one lyve and four roeden land with a vegetable garden and an orchard. The tenant paid an annual rent of 28 Carolusgulden; (3) five and a half gemeten land near the previous property. The tenant paid an annual rent of 8 Carolusgulden.

⁸³The equivalent of 78½ Carolusgulden at twenty stuivers per Carolusgulden is 1570 stuivers. See H. Enno van Gelder, De Nederlandse Munten, pp. 59-60, 261, 262. In 1550 the daily wage of a carpenter or bricklayer was five stuivers. See Blok, GHS, II, p. 286. By working the average number of allowable days (264) during the year, the carpenter or bricklayer could earn about 1320 stuivers or about 66 Carolusgulden. That is only 12.5 Carolusgulden less than BURCH's annual rents. See Scholliers, De Levenstandaard, pp. 84-89. and Herman van der Wee, The Growth of the Antwerp Market, I (3 vols.; The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1963), pp. 49-50.

⁸⁴GAL, RA, No. 76B-2; Huwelijkse Voorwaarden, unfoliated, dated January 25, 1556. Jannetgen Ghysbrechtsdr.'s share was split between a house and yard on Breestraat, estimated at 800 Carolusgulden and material goods ("huysraet ende inboel") estimated at 700 Carolusgulden, making her total contribution 1500 Carolusgulden.

⁸⁵Ibid.

⁸⁶Houtzager, Hollands Lijf-en losrenteleningen voor 1672, for a discussion of the details of this form of investment.

⁸⁷GAL, WA, No. 1077, folios 16-24vso.

⁸⁸The principal disadvantage of a lijfrente was that the interest ceased to be paid when the person on whom the annuity was originally taken out died. By contrast, interest continued to be paid on the losrente until its term had expired or until it was redeemed. The ability to redeem a rent was an advantage not enjoyed by the owner of the lijfrente.

89

Additional occupational data from the cloth industry confirms this trend among city government officials involved in that economic area. See Posthumus, Lakenindustrie, II, pp. 17 and 114.

90

See R. van Uytven, "Bronnen en methoden voor de studie van de vermogensgroepen in de steden (14e-16e eeuw)," in Handelingen van het XXVie Vlaams Filologencongres, Gent. 29-31 maart 1967 (n.p., n.d.), p. 391.

91

Two works of local significance are, of course, Posthumus' study of the textile industry and Daelemans', Leiden 1581. A very recent work of wider ranging importance and scope is Jan de Vries' The Dutch Rural Economy.

92

Uytven, "Bronnen en methoden," p. 390.

93

The organizing principle behind taxation in the Netherlands in this period was a quota system which was highly decentralized and fraught with variation. In Holland whenever the revenue asked for by the central government was announced, after much wrangling the States of Holland agreed to pay a certain amount. Portions of this amount were requested from each urban and rural community in the province. The amount to be paid to the central government often determined the tax levied on local communities. It may have been the Hundreth Penny (a one per cent tax), the Twentieth Penny (a five per cent tax) or the Tenth Penny (a ten per cent tax). The terms of the tax or what was to be assessed often varied from year to year. Also, local authorities frequently decided how they were going to provide the funds requested by the provincial States. Of all the taxes from the mid-sixteenth century, however, the Tenth Penny was the most regularly collected and the most standard in form. A survey of the historical development of taxation in the Netherlands is Vrankrijker, Geschiedenis van de Belestingen. Despite its marxist orientation H. Terdenge's, "Zur Geschichte der holländischen Steuern im 15. und 16. Jahrhundert," Vierteljahrschrift für Sozial-und Wirtschafts-geschichte, XVIII (1925), pp. 95-167 is also useful.

94

GAL, SA, I, No. 940: "Ordonnantie waerup men zal collecteren den thienden penninck. . ." Afschrift, zonder jaar (1557).

95

Ibid., article 4 states that the collectors shall tax ". . . all houses located in several cities of Holland or their vrijdom which are inhabited by the owners. . ." (" . . . alle huysen staende binnen eenighe steeden van hollandt ofte in die vrydom van dien ende byden eyghenaers bewoent werden. . ."). Based on whether or not an individual had only one piece of property or several, it was possible to distinguish the owner's dwelling in several ways. If only one piece of property

was recorded, this was almost certainly the person's home. If more than one was cited, the most expensively taxed was selected unless the tax register noted that the house was rented to someone else. Also, comparisons with other records of property ownership often confirmed the location of an individual's dwelling for the 1559 tax.

⁹⁶The concept of the individual's dwelling place as an economic and social indicator has been somewhat neglected in the recent avalanche of quantitative historical works. See both J. Hannes, "De woning als statussymbool, Een bespreking," Tijdschrift voor Geschiedenis, LXXXIV (1971), pp. 361-364, and L. de Saint Moulin, La construction et la propriété des maisons, expressions des structures sociales. Seraing depuis le début du XIX siècle, Pro Civitate Collection Historie, nr. 21 (Brussels, 1969).

In the sixteenth century when appearances, such as sumptuary legislation, defined one's place in society and determined how one was regarded by others, it is not unrealistic to see an individual's home as an extension of this, particularly with reference to such public figures as councilmen and magistrates.

⁹⁷In order to include as many group members as possible in this analysis, I have placed among these eighty-seven, nineteen councilmen who appear only in the Tenth Penny Register for 1564. The dwelling evaluations of these nineteen have been reduced in accordance with the differences between the 1559 and 1564 estimates of property worth. While evaluations of individual pieces of property were from 4-6 pond higher in 1564 than in 1559, the average on dwellings was 3 pond. I have therefore subtracted 3 pond from the dwelling evaluation of each of the nineteen from 1564. By doing this I have not distorted the results of the analysis in any way because, in almost all cases, the reduction did not alter the category in which the individuals are grouped.

⁹⁸The Hollandse pond is the monetary unit used in the register. One Hollandse pond equals one guilder.

⁹⁹See Appendix F: Tables 21 and 22.

¹⁰⁰See GAL, SA, I, No. 992: Kohier van den 10den penning 1559, *passim*.

¹⁰¹See Appendix F: Table 20.

¹⁰²See Appendix F: Table 20.

¹⁰³See Appendix F: Table 20.

104 See Appendix F: Table 20.

105 See Appendix F: Tables 23 and 24.

106 Posthumus, Lakenindustrie, II, p. 189.

107 See Appendix F: Tables 18 and 23 for a breakdown of house ownership according to the Register Vetus.

108 The Hearth Tax (Schoorsteengeld) was a graduated tax based on how much one contributed to the 1606 property tax known as the Verponding. The amount of each person's Verponding payment, which was based on property evaluation, is listed along with the number of chimneys and the amount contributed to the hearth tax. Since it is necessary to use the Verponding payment rather than an assessment figure, only a limited comparison with other taxes was possible. Posthumus has analyzed this tax for the entire city, and my figures are based upon his calculations in Lakenindustrie, II, 162-163.

109 GAEL bought six properties for 4,883 gulden and purchased another with brewer Sebastiaen de Roy for 550 gulden. The only other vroedschap member who purchased land in the newly-incorporated area was Adriaen Pietersz. van der WERFF, son of the famous burgemeester. WERFF is not one of our group, however, as he was chosen councilman only after the death of his father in 1604. See the list of purchasers of the 1611 expansion of the city in Oerle, Leiden binnen en buiten de stadsvesten, II, n.p. The list follows the map of the incorporated area.

110 One of these sources has already been cited in Chapter II with regard to the destruction of agricultural land after the inundation of 1574. See Chapter, II, p. 63.

111 See Appendix F: Maps 3 and 4.

112 The land in Zoeterwoude which belonged to silk merchant Claes Ghysbrechtesz. van DORP was surveyed at seventy square roeden (AH Rijnland, No. 8640: Morgenboek van Zoeterwoude 1585). DORP used the land as a garden. On the other hand, Geryt Boeckelsz. BUYTEWECH owned property in several districts during the 1540's. BUYTEWECH's land totaled 108½ morgen, 1 hont, 537 roeden (AH Rijnland, No. 3399: Morgenboek van Alckemade 1544; AH Rijnland, No. 4045: Morgenboek van Esselijkerwoude 1544; AH Rijnland, No. 4330: Morgenboek van Hazerswoude 1543; AH Rijnland, No. 5463: Morgenboek Leiderdorp 1543; AH Rijnland, No. 6000: Morgenboek van Noordwijk 1542; AH Rijnland, No. 8640: Morgenboek Zoeterwoude 1542.)

113 See Appendix F: Graph 2.

114 These figures have been included in Graph 2. See Appendix F.

115 GAL, SA, II, No. 6789: Register Vetus, folios 8, 73vso, 123vso, 124vso, 125, 295; AH Rijnland, No. 6715: Morgenboek van Sassenhem, 1588, folios 10vso, 11, 20, 21vso; AH Rijnland, No. 7782: Morgenboek van Voorhout, folio 47.

116 GAL, SA, II, No. 6789: Register Vetus, folios 248, 248vso, 249vso, 250; AH Rijnland, No. 5231: Morgenboek van Katwijk 1580, folio 2vso; AH Rijnland, No. 5629: Morgenboek van Lisse 1582, folio 14, 21, 22; AH Rijnland, No. 5464: Morgenboek van Leiderdorp 1584, folios 8, 15vso; AH Rijnland, No. 6001: Morgenboek van Noordwijk 1580, folios 9vso, 14vso, 15, 56vso.

117 GAL, SA, I, No. 993: Kohier van den 10den penning 1564, folio 166vso; AH Rijnland, No. 5464: Morgenboek van Leiderdorp 1568, folio 12.

118 GAL, SA, I, No. 992: Kohier van den 10den penning 1559, folio 39; AH Rijnland, No. 5230: Morgenboek van Katwijk 1544, folios 2, 19vso, 21vso, 22, 28, 28vso, 29; AH Rijnland, No. 5463: Morgenboek van Leiderdorp 1543, folio 2vso; AH Rijnland, No. 6123: Morgenboek van Oegstgeest 1544, folios 34, 34vso, 39vso, 40 and the meting of Pieter Sluyter dated same year, folio 1, 1vso, 4.

119 De Vries, Dutch Rural Economy, pp. 61-73.

120 The land surveys made by Pieter Sluyter and Symon Meeusz. van Eedame from 1541-1544, of which the morgenboeken are the result, were carried out sequentially in the various Rijnland districts. The entire survey took four years, and thus, certain ambachten were surveyed the first year, certain ones the second year and so forth without duplication until the survey was complete. The same procedure was followed in the 1580's.

121 See Appendix F: Table 27 and Map 3. (Rijnland Land Ownership).

122 These brewers were Hendrick Egbertsz. van der HAL, Frans Fransz. van DUSSELDORP, Claes Adriaensz. van LEEUWEN and Jan IJsnoutsz. van der NES. See AH Rijnland, No. 4046: Morgenboek van Esselijkerwoude 1585, unfoliated, and De Vries, Dutch Rural Economy, pp. 131-132 for information on the increase in peat digging.

123

One ton of peat equals 350 pond in weight. AH Rijnland, No. 4046: Morgenboek van Esselijkerwoude 1585, unfoliated, and GAL, SA, II, No. 2956: Tresoriers rekening 1584-1585, folio 196vso.

124

Compare Graph 2. of the percentage of vroedschap members who invested outside the city and Table 27. the number of city officials who invested in individual polders. While these two charts measure different things, they both are indicators of an economic trend in this period.

CHAPTER VI

MUNICIPAL OFFICIALS AND PUBLIC SERVICE

Town councilman Geryt Boeckelsz. BUYTEWECH began his active career as a Leiden public official in 1526 when he was made kerkmeester for St. Pieter's parish. In 1527 he was appointed Heiligegeestmeester, and in the succeeding forty-three years, until his death in 1569 he held numerous major and minor posts in the city government.

BUYTEWECH was one of the few Leiden city officials who held as many as twelve different posts in the course of their public lives. His tenure on the vroedschap between 1531 and 1569 spanned the thirty-eight years which saw the development of the Anabaptist movement, the severe decline of the Leiden cloth industry, the abdication of Charles V, the rise of Calvinist sympathy and the outbreak of the Dutch Revolt. Because of his longevity on the council and the multiplicity of other duties he performed during his years of public service, BUYTEWECH's extraordinary career provides a contrast to the careers of other vroedschap members whose office-holding patterns were more typical.¹

Far more common among BUYTEWECH's contemporaries was the councilman whose additional committee assignments involved only four or five different posts during his career. Adriaen Ysbrantsz. (van BREENEN), for example, entered the Leiden government as an administrator of the Leprosarium in 1543. After appointments as administrator for St.

Catherine's Hospital and getijde meester for St. Pieter's parish, Ysbrantsz. (van BREENEN) was elected to the vroedschap in 1548. During his twenty-three year tenure as a councilman, he also held the positions of Heiligegeestmeester and Kerkmeester of St. Pieter's parish.²

Despite the fact that they held a number of the same minor offices, the careers of BUYTEWECH and Ysbrantsz. (van BREENEN) were very different. BUYTEWECH, for instance, was a long-time member of the gerecht and therefore a major force in Leiden's political life. He was Oud-burgemeester seven times and was often recorded as a spokesman at the meetings of the vroedschap.³ Ysbrantsz. (van BREENEN), on the other hand, was never a burgemeester or schepen and was not recorded by the secretaris as having been the proponent of any significant proposals before the council. Further evidence supports the fact that Ysbrantsz. (van BREENEN)'s public career was by no means as active as BUYTEWECH's. At no time, for example, did Ysbrantsz. (van BREENEN) hold more than one minor office at a time. BUYTEWECH, however, normally held three or four minor posts simultaneously and during 1558 held as many as five in addition to his council position.⁴

While these facts illustrate the differences in office-holding patterns and political involvement between only two individuals, they are indicative of the variations found among the group of town councilmen in general. Among the group of 185 individuals studied, there were those whose active political role extended beyond the merely local level, and there were those who, by choice, elected to restrict their participation in Leiden government. There were those whose

expertise in certain areas benefitted the town through their regular appointment to related posts, and there were those whose public service was very disparate and irregular. The chief aim of this chapter is to explore some of these differences in depth and to explain the absence of a definite pattern of apprenticeship for admission to the group and to the higher offices within the government.

In looking at the group as a whole, 56 per cent of the 185 held five different offices or less during their careers. Restricting our examination to those who held major offices only prior to 1572, a slightly lower but similar percentage is forthcoming. Of the ninety-four men in office prior to 1572, 53 per cent were appointed to five jobs or less. Similarly, of the 121 holding office after 1572, 57 per cent held five positions or less during their careers.⁵ While these figures portray a rather stable picture of the office-holding pattern among Leiden councilmen and magistrates throughout the second half of the sixteenth century, a closer examination of entrance into and the manner of holding public office illustrates some interesting developments.

The common denominator among nearly all group members was a seat on the vroedschap. Most vroedschap members gained their positions on the council when they were in their thirties or early forties. This was true of 80 per cent of the sixty-eight men whose age at the time of their election is known.⁶ There were, of course, group members who succeeded a relative while they were still in their late twenties and also those who were prevented from entering the council until their fifties because a family member already sat on the vroedschap.⁷

Generally, however, entry into the town council was not the first step to public office for group members. Instead, tenure in a number of minor offices served to prepare the future vroedschap member for a councilman's responsibilities.

While there was no regular apprenticeship in particular offices which prepared individuals for service on the vroedschap, several posts served that purpose informally. Young men contemplating or destined for responsibility in town government were often first appointed ziekenhuismeester of the leprosarium known as St. Anthony's Chapel or chosen for the office of huiszittenmeester for one of the three parishes. The post of getijdemeester in each parish also served this function before it was eliminated by the introduction of Protestantism. Claes Willemsz. van WARMONT, for example, began his civic responsibilities in 1568 as an administrator of St. Anthony's Chapel before being elected to the town council in 1572.⁸ Similarly, Claes Cornelisz. de WILDE's first municipal office was that of ziekenhuismeester of St. Anthony's in 1530. Also, Mouwerijn Claesz. (van LEEUWEN), who became a vroedschap member in 1559, began his career in 1552 as Huiszittenmeester of St. Pieter's parish.⁹

There was great variety in the length of time an individual spent in minor offices before moving up to the vroedschap or gerecht. Adriaen Dirck Ottensz. (van MEERBRUCH) first entered the government as ziekenhuismeester of the leprosarium only months before being admitted to the vroedschap in January 1559. Yet, Claes OOM Jansz. spent thirteen years in two lesser positions before becoming a vroedschap member in 1558. After two terms as ziekenhuismeester of

the leprosarium in 1546 and 1547, he carried out the duties of the more important gasthuismeester of St Catherine's Hospital from 1548 to 1569. Midway through his tenure as hospital administrator he was chosen councilman.

Although in many cases the pattern of office-holding was to move from the less important to the more important posts, the reverse could also occur. Mouwerijn Claesz. (van LEEUWEN), who started his career as a huiszittenmeester and then accepted the more important responsibilities of wardein for the cloth industry and town councilman, later became ziekenhuismeester of St. Anthony's Chapel. His case and others show that selection and retention of office-holders in particular posts was determined by many factors. The need to fill each post every year, the experience of potential office-holders and a willingness on the part of nominees to accept the positions' responsibilities were important considerations for the gerecht, which was charged with most of the selecting. Although the factors are often difficult to measure, evidence indicates that they were important. The concern of the magistracy to appoint experienced candidates may be seen from several examples. Men like Mourwerijn Claesz. (van LEEUWEN) who held the office of wardein during the second half of the sixteenth century were nearly always drapeniers or practiced some other cloth-related occupation. The duties of a wardein were concerned with quality-control and demanded a familiarity with the techniques of Leiden cloth production. It was therefore reasonable that the gerecht chose wardeins whose knowledge of wool and fabrics minimized any additional training they might require. Drapeniers Huybrecht Aelwijnsz. (van

SWANENBURCH), Jan Adriaensz. de WILDE and Willem Aelbrechtsz. (van CAMPEN) were all well-suited for their respective duties as wardeins.

The skills of Symon Fransz. van MERWEN, a surveyor, mathematician, engineer and inventor, were also put to good use by the city. MERWEN fulfilled a number of duties during his public career including city treasurer of extraordinary funds (tresorier extraordinaris), fortifications officer (vestmeester) and game warden or natural resources officer (vroonmeester). One of his functions as treasurer of extraordinary funds was to oversee the financial management and technical progress of Leiden's public works. These involved his mathematical knowledge as well as his technical mastery of surveying and his engineering capabilities.¹⁰

Although experience in the cloth industry was useful for being a wardein and the tresorier extraordinaris and the vestmeester needed to have a knowledge of the building trades, there were office-holders whose occupational specialization did not match their role in town government. The administration of Leiden's various hospitals was one area where this was true. Men in these posts were frequently brewers, tallowchandlers, wood merchants and retail or wholesale cloth merchants among others. Supervision of Leiden's hospitals in this period required financial management skills and the ability to administer the income, rents and properties of these institutions. Familiarity and experience with these areas were acquired by the holders of such administrative posts less through their occupations than through the management of their own personal affairs. After all, the economic

position of Leiden city officials and the character of their investments demanded that they be knowledgeable in these fields.¹¹ This implies that individuals in these offices were not long-term bureaucratic professionals, but rather competent amateurs who administered many of the smalle diensten as part of their civic duty.

An examination of tenure in various offices confirms the above. Of the sixty-eight group members who held the office of gasthuismeester of St. Catherine's Hospital between 1530 and 1600, 57 per cent held the office for only one or two years at a time. The offices of kerkmeester, Heiligegeestmeester and weesmeester experienced similar changes in personnel during these years. Throughout the second half of the sixteenth century, however, there were a few individuals who held these positions for long consecutive periods. Willem Dircxz. (van der BURCH), for example, was gasthuismeester of St. Catherine's for the ten years between 1540 and 1549, and Jan Ghysbrechtsz. (van SWANENVELT) held it for seven consecutive annual terms from 1586 through 1592 as well as intermittently in the 1570's. Also, jonge Garbrant Meesz. (van NIEROP) held the office of Heiligegeestmeester for the ten years between 1558 and 1567, and Tyman Jansz. van der GRAFT held the same office, renamed meester van de arme wezen, for nineteen consecutive years beginning in 1604.¹² The social services of the city were run by continually fluctuating boards. A large number of men served in these offices for short terms, and a few dedicated professionals maintained personnel continuity over time. This was true in the period prior to 1572 as well as after.

Maintenance of continuity in office was related to long-term familial control of certain posts. In Chapter IV we have already seen that within the vroedschap itself about thirty per cent of the seats were controlled by the same families during the second half of the sixteenth century. The example of the GRAFTs is a clear illustration of this.¹³ The influence of particular family groups was frequently maintained in offices of the smalle diensten as well. For instance, the HEEMSKERCKs were prominent on the board of administrators of St. Catherine's Hospital from the late 1520's through the mid-1560's. While there were occasional years when no HEEMSKERCK was a member of the board, jonge Dirck Jan Reyersz. (van HEEMSKERCK), Symon Jan Reyersz. (van HEEMSKERCK) and Willem Jan Reyersz. van HEEMSKERCK each served for an extended time during this period.¹⁴ A member of another family, the OOMs, was also on the board of St. Catherine's for a lengthy period in these years. Claes OOM Jansz. held a seat as gasthuismeester for the twenty-two years between 1548 and 1570.¹⁵ These two families, the HEEMSKERCKs and the OOMs dominated the administration of St. Catherine's Hospital prior to the outbreak of the Dutch Revolt.

Other smalle diensten felt the influence of particular families. For example, St. Stevenshof, a home for aged poor men, had a GRAFT on its governing board for twenty-six years during the second half of the sixteenth century.¹⁶ The REYGERSBURGH family also maintained a long-term connection with this welfare institution.¹⁷ In the period prior to the Dutch Revolt when monasteries and convents were still functioning institutions, a member of the BUYTENDIJK family was nearly

always on the city boards which supervised these religious organizations. For twenty-five years, Geryt Boeckelsz. BUYTEWECH was one of four Fathers of the Observants (Vaders van de Observanten) who supervised the affairs of the Observant Franciscans in Leiden. Between 1557 and 1566 he was also on the board known as Vaders van de Jacopinissen, which scrutinized matters pertaining to the Dominican nuns in the city. Another vroedschap member, Geryt Roeloftsz. (van der MYE) also represented his family on these two administrative bodies during the 1550's and 1560's.¹⁸

While some councilmen held offices of the smalle diensten intermittently or for short durations, and others were long-term functionaries, all vroedschap members were expected to accept election or appointment to major and minor offices as part of their civic responsibility. The extent to which a councilman became involved in many different aspects of city government varied a great deal. We have already seen that Geryt Boeckelsz. BUYTEWECH was the holder of many different offices entailing a variety of responsibilities.¹⁹ Other vroedschap members tended to have only a moderate involvement beyond their responsibilities as councilmen. A few performed their council duties and held perhaps one or two additional posts during their careers. Individual circumstances were important in determining greater or lesser involvement in city affairs. Contrary to the general assumption, it was not the men with the most wealth and leisure who were consistently most active in town government. Jan Kernstantsz. van der MORSCH, for example, was one of Leiden's richest citizens according to the 1585 Register Vetus. MORSCH's municipal

officeholding responsibilities, however, were restricted to primarily his duties as councilman, his role as delegate for marital affairs (Gecommitteerde tot de echtzaken) and his tenure as deacon and elder of the Reformed Church.²⁰ Since MORSCH was an active coppersmith and a large-scale real-estate investor, it is likely that his economic involvements placed considerable demands on his time, limiting his participation in other matters. The period of MORSCH's tenure as deacon and elder of the Reformed Church was one of religious controversy in Leiden. His official duties in these particular offices were very time-consuming.

Dirck Jacobsz. van MONTFOORT was another exceptionally wealthy Leiden councilman whose official town government duties were also limited. A brick manufacturer, MONTFOORT also had property in Leiden valued at 124 gulden in 1584. In addition, he was closely connected to the nobility. Nevertheless, whatever leisure this position may have afforded him, his involvement in city offices was restricted to a five-year period as huishzittenmeester of St. Pieter's parish from 1539-1543, about six years as a vroedschap member between 1574-1580, one term as burgemeester in 1575 and two years as huishzittenmeester between 1577 and 1578 when that office's parish lines of division had been eliminated.²¹

Whereas wealthy Leiden councilmen like MORSCH and MONTFOORT limited their involvement in city government, other wealthy vroedschap members plunged into all kinds of civic offices. Pieter Adriaensz. van der WERFF, for instance, was not only a frequent burgemeester and schepen, but also accepted the duties of the following smalle diensten:

1. Ordinance Officer	1575, 1576
2. Deacon of the Reformed Church	1580
3. Supervisor of the Non-begging Poor	1581, 1582
4. Delegate to the Consistory	1582, 1583
5. Supervisor of Foundlings and Poor Orphans	Late 1583, 1584
6. Administrator of St. Elizabeth's and Our Dear Lady's Hospitals	1593
7. Administrator of St. Catherine's Hospital	1597, 1598
8. Supervisor of the Fulling Mill	1601, 1602, 1603 ²²

Jan IJsnoutsz. van der NES was another wealthy Leiden councilman who devoted himself to a public career involving numerous different offices. Like WERFF, he was a frequent member of the gerecht.

Additional offices among the smalle diensten which he held include:

1. Supervisor of the Non-Begging Poor	1573, 1575
2. Administrator of St. Elisabeth's and Our Dear Lady Hospitals	1584, 1585
3. Officer of Civic Militia	1586, 1587
4. Ordinance Officer	1588
5. Orphanage Director	1594, 1595 (part), 1597
6. Delegate to the Consistory	1598, 1599, 1600
7. Supervisor of the Fulling Mill	1601, 1602, 1603
8. Superintendent of the Cange Cloth	1603, 1604
9. Delegate to the Walloon Church	1611-1618
10. Administrator of St. Catherine's Hospital	1613, 1617-1619
11. Old Drapery Warden	1614 ²³

The careers of WERFF, NES, MORSCH, MONTFOORT and earlier of BUYTEWECH show that similarly wealthy individuals approached public service in very different ways. Their involvement in city affairs was extremely varied and depended not so much on any general pattern or pre-determined mode of career advancement as on individual circumstances, background and interest. It is clear, however, that a fair proportion of town councilmen had experienced the problems of welfare administration at close hand. The service of these men in smalle diensten illustrate

this very well. Second, since these examples are drawn from both before and after 1572, they demonstrate that careers in Leiden town government changed very little during the second half of the sixteenth century. There were, of course, changes in certain aspects of local government during this period, but these did not seem to affect the manner of selection for or the holding of municipal offices. Cooption remained the method of choosing councilmen, and the gerecht and smalle diensten continued to be nominated primarily from among currently serving vroedschap members. The political changes which affected the type of person who became a councilman in the late sixteenth century will be discussed in Chapter VII.

While the principal emphasis of the above discussion has been on the diversity of office-holding experience among group members, there was certainly more to an official's civic life than merely attending the meetings of a local municipal body. Once a member of the vroedschap, an individual did much more than pass resolutions. He served on committees having specialized functions, conducted investigations, held hearings, examined the accuracy of city accounts, approved important requests from both local and higher authorities and so forth. Election to the office of burgemeester usually necessitated attendance at the States of Holland. Officiating at ceremonial events was also part of the mayorial responsibility.

A common "additional duty" for a councilman was service on a special commission. In 1558 one such commission, comprised of members of both the vroedschap and gerecht, was assigned to study the advisability of producing new lighter fabrics (voerlakens) in Leiden. The

seven members of the commission, Jacob Jansz. van der GRAFT, Willem Aelbrechtsz. (van CAMPEN), Geryt Fransc. DOE from the gerecht and Claes Cornelisz. de WILDE, Oude Mees Garbrantsz. (van NIEROP), Willem Willem Bouwensz. and Claes OOM Jansz. from the vroedschap, apparently did not solve the problem because the same matter was again taken up in 1561 by another committee.²⁴ A different kind of commission was established later in the century to negotiate the purchase of Leiderdorp by Leiden. Instigated by the increasing concern over competitive industry outside the vrijdom of the city, the following vroedschap members were involved in negotiating the purchase in 1583: Jan Jansz. van BAERSDORP, Jan Dirckx. BROUCHOVEN, Pieter Adriaensz. van der WERFF, Claes Willemsz. van WARMONT, Claes Adriaensz. van LEEUWEN, Jan Cornelisz. van HOUT secretaris and Nicolaas van ZEYST pensionaris.²⁵

Not all commissions established by the vroedschap or gerecht were as large as the two above. They were sometimes comprised of only one or two individuals, as in the case of the committee created to look into the noise pollution of wind-powered oil mills. A 1595 request to build such a mill in or near Leiden, led the gerecht to study the effect of this type of mill on the city. Therefore, Cornelis Willemsz. (HASIUS) and Salomon Lenaertsz. van der WOERT were dispatched to investigate the situation at Haarlem where a number of wind-powered oil mills were already in operation. The Leiden pair interviewed a number of people, including the city secretaris and several living near the mills, and returned home to report that there was universal dissatisfaction with the noise level of the mills.²⁶

Other extra-duty assignments were often carried out singly. For example, Symon Fransz. van MERWEN was sent to Woudrichen in 1584 to investigate reports of untrustworthiness or incompetence among Leiden soldiers stationed there. MERWEN was instructed to find out who the "incompetent soldiers" ("onbequame soldaten") were and to replace them.²⁷

The above examples provide insight into the variety of tasks required of a Leiden city official. If these responsibilities were sometimes difficult or unpleasant, there were others which were filled with pomp and circumstance and which compensated for more routine matters. The abdication of Charles V in 1555, for instance, was an occasion accompanied by elaborate ceremony, banquets and festivity. While not entirely a celebration, the affair nevertheless had great historical significance and much prestige was associated with it. The three Leiden representatives who attended the event were burgemeester Gery Roeloftsz. (van der MYE), schepen M^r Frans Adriaensz. and pensionaris Cornelis Jansz. van VEEN. Because the abdication of Charles V also signaled the assumption of power by Philip II and the beginnings of the Netherlands' subsequent time of troubles, presence at the event must have seemed all the more important to Leiden's representatives in later years.²⁸

The previous discussion of office-holding and the variety of tasks undertaken by Leiden's public officials reveals that the city government was a confluence of individuals who brought to their jobs great diversity of background and experience. Individuals were placed in particular offices as a result of the needs of the city government

and to some extent based upon their occupational expertise or familial tradition. The careers of Leiden vroedschap members reveal no firmly rooted pattern of office-holding apprenticeship to the higher posts in city government during the second half of the sixteenth century. Interest in certain types of functions also undoubtedly influenced individuals to seek particular posts.

Election to the office of mayor predestined the holder to participation in county government in The Hague or possibly in Netherlands wide government in Brussels before the Revolt or in The Hague afterward. Yet, much of what the vroedschap or gerecht did was routine, involving issues of only local importance. Taxation, sale of property, zoning ordinances, all the basic matters which concern local officials today, were also the responsibility of Leiden councilmen and magistrates of the sixteenth century. While local matters dominated the vroedschap and gerecht throughout the second half of the sixteenth century, the political and religious crises of the Dutch Revolt drew Leiden into events of larger importance. The impact of these events affected the lives and the careers of city officials and produced fundamental changes in Leiden society. At the same time much remained the same. The following chapter will explore the delicate balance between continuity and change during and after the period of political and religious upheaval.

FOOTNOTES--CHAPTER VI

¹ BUYTEWECH's public career involved service in the following offices. Inclusive years of service appear after the name of the office held.

1. Churchwarden, St. Pieter's parish: 1526, 1535-36, 1538, 1542-43, 1545, 1549-50, 1553-54, 1561-65.
2. Supervisor of the Institution of the Holy Ghost: 1527-30.
3. Fortifications Officer: 1530-31, 1538, 1543, 1545, 1553-54.
4. Town Councilman: 1531-69.
5. Alderman: July 1531-July 1532, July 1538-July 1539, July 1545-July 1546.
6. Mayor: 1533, 1536-37, 1540-41, 1544, 1547-48, 1551-52, 1555-45, 1559-60, 1563-64.
7. Treasurer of ordinary funds: 1534-35, 1542, 1557-58.
8. Father of the Observant Franciscans: 1538-1562.
9. Churchwarden, parish of Our Dear Lady: 1540-41, 1556-69, 1561.
10. Supervisor of St. Stephen's: 1546-58.
11. Orphanage Director: 1549-50, 1562.
12. Father of the White Nuns of the Jacopenissen: 1557-66.

² Ysbrantsz. (van BREENEN)'s public career included service in the following offices:

1. Administrator of the Leprosarium (St. Anthony's Chapel): 1543-44.
2. Administrator of St. Catherine's Hospital: 1545, 1559.
3. Supervisor of Funds Raised during the Mass, St. Pieter's parish: 1547-49, 1555-56, 1561.
4. Town Councilman: end of 1548-1571.
5. Supervisor of the Institution of the Holy Ghost: 1550-51.
6. Churchwarden, St. Pieter's parish: 1562-1568.

³ BUYTEWECH was Oud-Burgemeester in 1537, 1541, 1548, 1552, 1556, 1560 and 1564. One example of BUYTEWECH's role as an active spokesman before the council is GAL, SA, I, No. 384: Vroedschapsboek D, folio 45vso, dated July 9, 1537. Following the usual list of vroedschap members in attendance, the session begins: "Was opened by geryt burgemeesters, who explained that on account of the great and difficult burdens of his Royal Majesty concerning the present war with France that presently a gathering will be held in Brussels by the representatives of the King in our government of the States of Holland and also by the other States of this country. . ." ("Is geopent by monde van geryt boeckels z buytewech ende oick by monde van heeren geryt van lochorst Ridder burgermeesteren how dat overmits de groote ende zware lasten vande K. M. aengaende de Jegenwoordige oirloge van vranckrycke tot bruessel Integenwoirdigicheyt vande M. vande coning Inne onse Regente byden staeten van hollant ende oick byden anderen staeten deser landen sekere dachvaert gehouden is. . .").

⁴See BUYTEWECH's career outline as it appears in footnote 1.

⁵See Appendix G: Table 29.

⁶See Appendix G: Table 30.

⁷See Chapter IV, pp. 140-142.. One example of an individual being forced to postpone his entry into the council was Willem Govertsz. van der AER. Willem's brother, Claes, held a seat until 1596, whereupon Willem was elected in 1600 when a vacancy appeared. At the time of his entrance into the vroedschap Willem Govertsz. van der AER was fifty-seven years old.

⁸GAL, SA, I, No. 74, unfoliated, years 1568 and 1572.

⁹Ibid., years 1530, 1552.

¹⁰Pelinck, "Functionarissen," p. 60.

¹¹See Chapter V. Skills obtained through the operation of certain businesses, especially commercial undertakings, would also have been useful for office-holders.

¹²See Appendix G: Table 31. The longest consecutive tenure in one office during this period was held by Cornelis Jansz. van VALCKENBURCH, who was Hospital Administrator for St. Elisabeth's and Our Dear Lady's Hospitals for forty-nine years. He began his duties in 1576 when St. Elisabeth's was an entity in itself. After its unification with the Hospital of Our Dear Lady in 1580, VALCKENBURCH remained a gasthuismeeester. He continued his duties until 1625.

¹³See Chapter IV, pp. 140-141 and GRAFT genealogy in Appendix C.

¹⁴See GAL, SA, I, No. 74, unfoliated, passim. and GAL, AG, No. 16a: Naamen der Meesteren en Regenten van de Catherinae en Ceciliae Gasthuizen binnen Leyden sedert het jaar 1400, voortgezet tot 1853, unfoliated.

¹⁵GAL, SA, I, No. 74, unfoliated, passim. The OOM connection with St. Catherine's was broken in the 1570's because of Claes OOM Jansz.'s exile as a glipper. However, it was renewed in 1602 when his son, Gerrit OOM Claesz. was made a member of the board. See GAL, SA, I, No. 16a, unfoliated. Prior to the accession of the OOM's to a position of influence in St. Catherine's, another family, the

BURCHs, had been prominent. Willem Dircxz. (van der BURCH), a tallow-chandler, was gasthuismeester between 1540 and 1549. Although I have found no familial link between the BURCHs and the OOMs, it does seem that the one passed its administrative function to the other.

¹⁶GAL, SA, I, No. 74, unfoliated, passim. Jacob Jansz. van der GRAFT held this office between 1550 and 1563 and Dirck Jacobsz. van der GRAFT held it from 1574 to 1585.

¹⁷GAL, SA, I, No. 74, unfoliated, passim. Dirck Jacobsz. van REYGERSBURCH, barley miller, was on this board from 1564-1581 and REYGERSBURCH's son appears in the lists for the early seventeenth century.

¹⁸GAL, SA, I, No. 74, unfoliated, passim. BUYTEWECH's interest in the various religious and welfare institutions shows up in his lengthy participation in offices pertaining to these organizations. Not only was he Father of the Observant Franciscans and Father of the White Nuns for the Jacopenissen, but he was also a Supervisor of St. Stevenshof. For two years (1557-1558) he was a member of all three supervisory boards simultaneously. He also participated sporadically in the affairs of the office of Orphanage Director.

¹⁹See pp. 250-251, p. 265 and No. 31 of Appendix C: Part I.

²⁰GAL, SA, I, No. 73, passim., GAL, SA, II, No. 202, passim. and GAL, SA, II, No. 6789, passim. See also Appendix V, Table 13. MORSCH was Deacon in 1581, 1582 and 1583; Aelmoesnier in 1585, 1586 and 1587 and Elder in 1589, 1593 and 1595.

²¹GAL, SA, I, No. 73, passim; GAL, SA, I, No. 74, passim.

²²GAL, SA, I, No. 73, passim; GAL, SA, I, No. 74, passim; and GAL, SA, II, No. 202, passim.

²³Ibid.

²⁴GAL, SA, I, No. 295: Vroedschapsboek G, folio 80, dated July 22, 1558; See also Posthumus, Bronnen, II, p. 574, No. 1143 and p. 609, No. 1173.

²⁵GAL, Archief van de Heerlijkheden en Vroonwateren, I, No. 103, unfoliated.

²⁶GAL, AG, No. 1189, n.d. (1595). For the complete translated text of Cornelis Willemsz. (HASIUS)'s report see Appendix G: Document 1.

²⁷GAL, SA, II, No. 9248: Gerechtsdagboek A, folio 305vso, dated October 16, 1584.

²⁸ARA, ASH, No. 11: Procuratie voor degeputeerde van de Staten van Holland om de afstand van Karel V bij te wonen en Philips II als landheer aan te nemen, dated October 13, 1555. See P. A. Meilink, Archieven van de Staten van Holland en de hen opgevolgde gewestelijke besturen ('s-Gravenhage: Algemene Landsdrukkerij, 1929), pp. 40 and 455.

CHAPTER VII

THE CHALLENGE OF RELIGIOUS AND POLITICAL CHANGE

When the events of 1566 had run their course and suspected heretics were forced to flee for their lives in 1567, Willem Jan Reyersz. van HEEMSKERCK was among them. HEEMSKERCK was a member of an old Leiden patrician family which had had representatives in the city government for generations. He had been burgemeester himself in 1564, but at the time of the image-breaking in 1566 his duties were those of orphanage director and administrator of St. Elisabeth's Hospital. His religious sympathies were apparently in question at least as early as 1564 when the inquisitor Lindanus accused him of non-adherence to Roman Catholicism. HEEMSKERCK's Protestant leanings were confirmed when, following the iconoclasm, he joined the notorious Beggar leader Hendrick van Brederode and then fled to Emden, Germany where other Dutch pro-Revolt Protestants had gathered.¹

While Willem Jan Reyersz. van HEEMSKERCK embraced Reformed Protestantism and supported the Dutch Revolt, his half-brother, Symon Jan Reyersz. (van HEEMSKERCK), remained a loyal Roman Catholic and a supporter of Spanish authority. Symon Jan Reyersz. (van HEEMSKERCK) was not indicted by the Duke of Alva's Council of Blood and retained his membership in the vroedschap until November 9, 1572 when a number of returned Protestant exiles replaced older, more conservative councilmen. Symon's place was taken by the Reformed weaver Pieter Pieter

Jorisz. van CORTEVELT. After leaving Leiden, Symon took up residence in Amsterdam, a city that did not declare for the Revolt until a year after his death in 1577.²

While the ultimate effect of this split in the HEEMSKERCK family was to establish them in the government of Amsterdam as well as Leiden, the initial causes of the split, i.e. the religious and political issues of the day, were disruptive and uprooting. The HEEMSKERCKs were only one of many vroedschap families whose experience would have been markedly different without the introduction of the "new Reformed religion" and the Dutch Revolt. Indeed, some were not so fortunate as the HEEMSKERCKs who managed to retain their influential position in Leiden. A number of important councilmen and magistrates who would have remained active in town government were eliminated as a result of events of the 1560's and 1570's. Still others who might have played inconspicuous roles rose to positions of importance in Leiden because of the tumultuous incidents of the period.

Because previous chapters have been primarily concerned with the social and economic characteristics of the group, only minimal attention has been paid to the effects of major political and religious events on the group. The HEEMSKERCK example illustrates that both individuals and town institutions were altered by the changes of the second half of the sixteenth century. Therefore, in this chapter the impact of significant developments on the membership of the vroedschap and gerecht will be considered. The iconoclasm of 1566, the siege of 1574, the foundation of the University in 1575 and the return to prosperity during the 1580's and 1590's all had an important effect

on the evolution of the group.

The events from the mid-1560's through the mid-1570's, and which produced the greatest changes in the group and in Leiden were closely related to the political-religious crises of these years. Thus, they need to be considered compositely rather than separately if a meaningful picture of Leiden's town officials is to be presented. The iconoclasm of 1566 and its aftermath altered the political climate in Leiden and prepared the way for the more significant changes in town government which occurred in the 1570's and after. The three great shocks of iconoclasm, the acceptance of the Revolt in 1572 and the siege of 1574 led to the introduction of new blood to the city government, which in turn produced perceptible political and religious change in the city. These latter, however, occurred gradually.

Since the first important incident of the Revolt to affect Leiden was in part religiously motivated, the religious orientation of the group prior to 1566 is important. When one reads the minutes of the municipal council or magistracy, there is little indication that religious issues were a concern of vroedschap and gerecht members. True, a number of Anabaptists were occasionally uncovered and condemned during the middle years of the sixteenth century, but the resolutions of the vroedschap, the books of testimony taken by schepenen (getuigenisboeken) and even the books of criminal sentences (crimineele vonnisboeken) give the impression that the council and magistracy were most concerned with economic problems. Matters having to do with taxation, with demands by various economic interest groups, and with personal requests by Leiden citizens took up far more of the city

government's time than religious issues.³ The occasional proclamation against harboring or assisting heretics indicates that concern for religious principles was present at Leiden.⁴ However, in the great majority of cases, references to the Church in municipal records pertain to the more routine affairs of administration of church institutions. Requests by various monasteries and convents for exemption from municipal taxes on grounds of poverty are by far the largest group of Church-related entries in the resolutions of the vroedschap.⁵

Because personal written evidence by group members' themselves is non-existent for the pre-Revolt period, diverse sources were used to piece together information on religious attitudes. Such sources include Church records, certain documentation on office-holding, contemporary accounts of the period and some secondary works which mention individuals. Even in these materials references to group members are not abundant, although enough were found to indicate that some councilmen had more interest in the Church than others.

For the period prior to the iconoclasm of 1566, one must assume an adherence to Roman Catholicism on the part of almost all Leiden town officials. While the degree of adherence may have varied greatly among individual group members, acceptance of Catholicism was not seriously questioned by councilmen and magistrates before 1566. Only in the case of Willem Jan Reyersz. van HEEMSKERCK was there a question as to whether his religious beliefs would interfere with his duties and responsibilities as burgemeester in 1564.⁶ Even during the active period of Anabaptism in the 1530's and 1540's, heresy among

municipal office-holders was not a problem. Only one man, Claes Cornelisz. de WILDE was falsely accused of "being contaminated by this new sect."⁷

If town officials were not themselves inclined to become Protestant prior to the outbreak of the Dutch Revolt, their judicial sentences against those who did were not always harsh according to the standards of the day. Their pronouncements against heretical teaching and the distribution of unorthodox religious literature were mitigated by the relatively light sentences which were prescribed where possible. Verdicts of banishment, the loss of a limb or participation in a religious procession were handed down when circumstances merited leniency. Of course, when positive proof of guilt was present or a confession had been obtained, the letter of the law, i.e. the death penalty, was carried out.⁸

Late 1552 was certainly a time when the letter of the law was enforced at Leiden. Six Anabaptists were convicted and burned on August 21st, and on November 24th three more followed. November 25th saw two others executed, and by year's end twenty-eight more had fled for their lives.⁹ It is unclear whether the schepenen who took office in July of 1552 were more assiduous in their efforts to combat heresy than their predecessors or whether the surfacing of so many Anabaptists in that year was a coincidence. Four of the schepenen chosen on St. Jacob's Day, 1552 had been aldermen the previous term. These were drapenier Frans Gerritsz. GOEL, weaver Jacob Jansz. van der GRAFT, Jan Huych Andriesz. (van THORENVLIIET) and brewer Willem Aelbrechtsz. (van CAMPEN). The new aldermen for 1552 were Claes Cornelisz. de WILDE,

Jan Frans Ghysbrechtsz., Claes Aelwyn Claeszsz. (VERHOOCH) and Quiryn Allertsz. Of these latter four, only Allertsz. had not been in the gerecht during the previous year (1551). The others had previously been burgemeesters from November 1550 to November 1551.¹⁰ As most of these men had held office in the gerecht before 1552, it is unlikely that the execution of eleven Anabaptists during the last five months of that year was related to more fervent religious convictions among them. This is confirmed, I believe, because during that period a Jan Claesz. bookbinder was convicted of singing Anabaptist hymns but was not sentenced to death. Instead, the gerecht banned him from the city for fifteen years and made him walk in a religious procession.¹¹ This would not have been done had the gerecht been primarily interested in rooting out all that smacked of unorthodoxy.

One should not suppose, however, that a few lenient court decisions mean that Leiden councilmen and magistrates were not followers of conventional Roman Catholicism in its Netherlandish form. There are early examples from our group that indicate the contrary. The father of schout Claes Jansz. van BERENDRECHT, for instance, was the patron of a Leiden memorietafel, i.e. a religious painting commemorating members of his family. His commissioning of this work by an unknown Leiden artist probably indicates that schout BERENDRECHT was raised in a home in which religious conventions appropriate to the family's station were customarily observed.¹² This is reinforced by the fact that not only was schout BERENDRECHT's brother Melchior the possessor of a living (vicarie) from the St. Anna altar in the Church of St. Pieter, but also in 1545 BERENDRECHT himself was appointed

guardian of a minor who held the vicaries of St. Pieter, St. Paul and St. Agatha also in the Church of St. Pieter.¹³

Other councilmen had relatives who were clergy, indicating a certain respect in the family for the religious way of life. An uncle of Jan Dirckxz. van BROUCHOVEN, for instance, was a canon in the Church of St. Pancras at Leiden, and two sons of Claes Jansz. de GOEDE were priests.¹⁴ Also, in these years preceding the Revolt, Leiden pensionaris Paulus Aertsz. BUYS had a sister who was a nun, an uncle who was a Franciscan monk and another uncle who was a canon in the Chapter of St. Joris at Amersfoort.¹⁵

Mention has already been made in Chapter VI of certain members of the vroedschap whose office-holding duties were very much church-related. In the period preceding the Dutch Revolt, Geryt Boeckelsz. BUYTEWECH, Geryt Roeloftsz. (van der MYE) and Cornelis Jacobsz. van NOORDE were among this group. It would have been difficult for these men to carry out their offices had they not been convinced believers in conventional Roman Catholicism. While the lack of personal written evidence makes it difficult to be more specific than this with regard to religious belief, these few examples provide proof that Leiden's municipal officials were hardly religious radicals prior to the Revolt.

In the period of the iconoclasm and its aftermath religion and politics become difficult to separate. Motivation or action in one area often implied the making of conscious choices in the other. Thus, the political realities of the late 1560's demanded that a person who had accepted Calvinism camouflage his spiritual stripes or

exile himself in the interest of his own safety. Documents, however, do not always make clear what was a religious choice and what was a political choice. It has therefore been necessary in the following discussion to interlace politics with religion and religion with politics in order to present a realistic view of town officials in this period.

The political tension which had been building between Spain and the Netherlands over what Netherlands felt was unnecessary interference in their domestic affairs found its first release in an ostensibly religious outburst in 1566. While there is no evidence to indicate that Leiden vroedschap and gerecht members actually participated in the violence of those August days, it is likely that a very small minority may have been sympathetic to the motives behind it. Willem Jan Reyersz. van HEEMSKERCK has already been cited as the only real Protestant among the group in this period. Other pre-Revolt councilmen, such as Dirck Gerritsz. SMALING and Cornelis Jacobsz. van NOORDE, may have had inclinations to support the discontented feelings of the iconoclasts but not their actions. Both SMALING and NOORDE remained members of the "purified" vroedschap after October 1574 when the council was reduced to those more in sympathy to the Revolt.¹⁶ Since NOORDE was involved in church-related activities, his presence in this rump reaffirms the subtlety of the distinction between the political and the religious in these events. NOORDE's continued presence was probably more politically motivated, although concrete evidence of this view is lacking. Nevertheless, it is safe to assume that during and after the beeldenstorm members

of the council remained loyal Roman Catholics.

After the short burst of Protestant enthusiasm following the iconoclasm, a religious and political reaction set in with the arrival of the Duke of Alva in the Netherlands. Determined to strictly enforce the religious will and policies of Philip II, Alva and his subordinates set out to identify and punish all those who had engaged in the beeldenstorm and to uncover any remaining heretics. Of the ninety-four male heretics cited at Leiden between 1566 and 1568, only two had previously been magistrates and only five would later become councilmen. HEEMSKERCK and Jan Cornelisz. PAETS were the individuals who had already been admitted to the ruling circle. Pieter Adriaensz. van der WERFF, Huych Jansz. van ALCKEMADE, Dirck Gerritsz. KESSEL, Jan Kerstantsz. van der MORSCH, and Oliphier Philipsz. would become members later.¹⁷ Another group member accused of lending his support to the disturbances was secretaris Jan Cornelisz. van HOUT.¹⁸

Circumstances forced these men into exile in Protestant Germany where they remained until active resistance to the Spanish surfaced again in the early 1570's, easing the dangers for heretics and political dissidents. During their exile, which included a time among the Netherlandish refugee community at Emden, WERFF and HEEMSKERCK willingly became envoys for the Prince of Orange who was attempting to muster foreign support for the Revolt.¹⁹ Leiden pensionaris Paulus Aertsz. BUYS and Huych Jansz. van ALCKEMADE were also actively engaged in furthering the cause of the Revolt in the years after the beeldenstorm.²⁰

After the surprise attack on Den Brill by the Sea-Beggars in April 1572 and subsequently when more and more towns in Holland and Zeeland

went over to the Revolt, the political climate changed quickly. The officials of most towns wished to maintain order, but as the Protestant element in these communities became more vocal, as many exiles returned, and as anti-Spanish feeling grew because of the political reprisals by Alva, their task became increasingly difficult. At Leiden we are unable to follow the reaction of the council to these events in detail because of the loss of the resolutions of the vroedschap for the years 1572-1577. Nevertheless, other sources provide insight into the changing political and religious atmosphere in the city.

The events of 1572 and 1573 described in Chapter II brought a new element into the vroedschap. This new element supplanted Catholic councilmen and magistrates who fled the city in the wake of increased support for the Revolt. When the Beggars were admitted to Leiden in July 1572, and when it appeared that the pro-Revolt faction had gained control of the town, a sizable number of citizens who remained loyal to Spain and Roman Catholicism began to leave the city. Many took up residence in the immediate vicinity of Leiden. Some moved to other cities, such as Utrecht, Amsterdam and Haarlem. Those who left were called glippers. Sixteen of eighty-one identifiable Leiden glippers were councilmen and magistrates.²¹ These men persevered in their religious and political convictions, and once outside the city a number of them assisted the Spanish in various ways. Among those councilmen who aided the Spanish were Jan Adriaensz. de WILDE, Cornelis Claesz. van der HOOGHE and Geryt Roeloftsz. (van der MYE). They were all signers of glipperbrieven, letters to the citizens of

Leiden which attempted to dissuade them from their treasonous acts and encourage a reconciliation with Spanish authority.²²

Those elected to the vroedschap in place of the "fugityven" introduced a new element in the city government. Whereas Protestants had been noticeably absent from the vroedschap in previous years, now they were a vocal minority on the council. For four of the thirteen newly selected councilmen chosen on November 9, 1572, there is evidence that they were Protestant.²³ It is likely that some of the others were also, as they retained their seats later in the century, although no church membership lists or baptismal records are available to prove it. The five more members appointed in 1573 were also definitely Protestant.²⁴ These new men played a decisive leadership role in the city government during these turbulent years, since all five were members of the gerecht during the siege of 1574.²⁵

Despite the fact that the new Protestant element exercised considerable authority in Leiden during this period of crisis, most vroedschap and gerecht members remained nominally true to Roman Catholicism. My research shows that not only was this true in the mid-1570's, but even later after Reformed Protestantism had been established as the official religion of the northern Netherlands councilmen and magistrates accepted the change only gradually. This requires more elaboration, which will be found in the detailed analysis of religious change among vroedschap and gerecht members in Section B of this chapter.

The siege of Leiden is hailed as a turning point in the success of the Revolt. The just claim of heroism and perseverance among Leiden

citizens after the fact of their victory over the Spanish obscures the nature of the event as seen by contemporaries. All the inhabitants of Leiden did not see the siege in the same light. There were continual disagreements among the besieged as to what the correct political and military moves ought to be. Factions existed within the city government which represented many shades of opinion. There were those who advocated surrender, those who simply despaired and those who demanded that everyone resist until the end. The three most famous heroes of the siege who represented the latter viewpoint were burgemeester Pieter Adriaensz. van der WERFF, secretaris Jan Cornelisz. van HOUT and humanist poet Johan van der Does, lord of Noordwijk, who became military governor of the city after the death of Dirk van Bronckhorst.²⁶ Since the city did, in fact, hold out against the Spanish, this triumvirate must have had a considerable following among town officials and Leiden citizens at large. Certainly their colleagues Huych Claesz. GAEL, Pieter Henricxz. van WASSENAER and Dirck Gerritsz. SMALING, who are commonly cited in siege-related documents as having been active in the defense of Leiden, were supporters of HOUT, WERFF and Does.²⁷

Support of the Revolt by other vroedschap members can be ascertained from the 1573 list of contributors to a mounted military unit. This mounted troop was originally established for the purpose of helping with forays against the Spanish, but later came to be used for night-watch along the city streets. Contributions of horses or money, which appear to have been voluntary, indicate support for the

city government's defensive posture against the Spanish. Of course, mere presence in Leiden at this time demonstrates some measure of pro-Revolt sympathy already, but active support of military action against the enemy confirms the position of these councilmen and magistrates. Nineteen vroedschap and gerecht members in office during 1573-1574 contributed horses or an equivalent amount of money to the mounted unit. An additional six who became members of the government after the 1574 siege were also contributors.²⁸

Conspicuously absent from the list, however, are Dirck Gerritsz. SMALING and Pieter Henricxz. van WASSENAER, both of whom are known to have been actively pro-Revolt.²⁹ They may have been supporting the defense of the city in other ways. At the same time, the list contains the names of Jan Jansz. van BAERSDORP and Cornelis Jansz. van NOORDE, who were reluctant to associate themselves with the ardent anti-Spanish faction headed by HOUT, WERFF and DOES.³⁰

There were, of course, loyalists on the council who, instead of fleeing like the glippers, remained in the city and were targets of those attempting to influence events from outside. In one dramatic incident, Claes Jansz. BRANDT and Jacob Thomasz. (Van SWIETEN) were removed from their seats on the vroedschap in 1573 for having knowledge of and receiving letters from pro-Spanish elements outside Leiden. Leiden glippers Cornelis Claesz. van der HOOGHE and Jan Claesz. van BERENDRECHT, both of whom had previously been members of the city government, were involved in attempts to obtain information about Leiden's military and defense secrets. Collaborating with these was Roman Catholic nobleman Johan Woutersz. van Methenes. In

testimony taken from Leiden linen weaver Joost Huygensz. concerning his knowledge of this affair in which his brother-in-law was an active participant, schepenen learned that HOOGHE and Methenes had sent letters to "some good Catholic men inside Leiden, who are true to the King."³¹ Aldermen also learned from Huygensz. that Jan Claesz. van BERENDRECHT had identified one of these "good Catholic men" as Claes Jansz. BRANDT.³²

Subsequently, this affair came to involve a number of other Leiden citizens, including Jacob Thomasz. (van SWIETEN) who was consulted about his possible participation. In their own testimony, both BRANDT and Thomasz. (van SWIETEN) admitted to having seen and read the letters but denied knowledge of the contents. Both councilmen claimed that they had no intention of taking part in any secret spying or plot, and other witnesses concur with this testimony. Be that as it may, both were imprisoned and removed from office.³³

This incident is a good illustration of the conflicts within in Leiden just preceding and during the siege. That the dossier of the case contains a plea for leniency for BRANDT and Thomasz. (van SWIETEN) signed by Willem the Silent indicates an attempt to reconcile opposing factions within the city.³⁴ However, when the Spanish closed in around the city in force, and as disease and lack of food became serious threats to survival, tensions between the two main opposing camps were hard to reconcile. On the one side, Pieter Adriaensz. van der WERFF urged perseverance against the Spanish. On the other Jan Jansz. van BAERSDORP refused to take the responsibility for starving his fellow citizens.³⁵

Ultimately, Leiden held out against the Spanish partly because of the leadership of WERFF, HOUT and DOES, partly because of the circumstances which permitted the relief of the city. Even success, however, failed to stir some councilmen and magistrates into wholehearted support of the Revolt. The fact that the Prince of Orange felt it necessary to order changes in the structure and personnel of the Leiden town government during October 1574 is itself evidence of this. Through the appointment of mayors and aldermen he could trust and by reducing the size of the vroedschap to twenty-eight individuals, Orange believed he could establish a more politically unified and sympathetic town government. The Leiden statute of October 14, 1574, which made the changes official, states Orange's intentions clearly:

Thus it is that his Excellency [William the Silent, Prince of Orange], having made complete inquiries, and noting the present state of the aforementioned city [Leiden], taking into account complaints and requests of some of the Government and Magistracy, in order that they now might be relieved from their office and service which for these people up till now had been a great burden, load and loss, as a result of the past time of troubles, and in particular during both sieges of the city, must now be relieved, in order that all evenness, security and good order in the forementioned city be maintained from now on. On recommendation of the council as well as himself [Orange] it has been found reasonable that the aforementioned renewal of the mayors, a treasurer and aldermen be unanimously and jointly done at this time, and that besides the changes in the four mayors and eight aldermen, the number of the Forty and vroedschap be brought i.e. reduced to sixteen qualified and competent persons, citizens or inhabitants of the aforementioned city. . .³⁶

Having summarized Orange's demand that the government of Leiden be altered to re-establish order and maintain harmony of purpose among the councilmen and magistrates, the act appointed the following individuals as members of the new government:

Burgemeesters

Willem Jan Reyersz. van HEEMSKERCK
Dirck Jacobsz. van MONTFOORT
Huych Claesz. GAEL
Willem Jacobsz. van LOO

Schepenen

Cornelis Adriaensz. van BARREVELT
Cornelis Huygensz. (van THORENVLIT)
Pieter Hendricxz. van WASSENAER
Pieter OOM Pieteresz. van Ofwegen
Pieter Pieter Jorsz. van CORTEVELT
Gerrit Wiggersz. van DUYVELANDT
Claes Ghysbrechtsz. van DORP
Claes Adriaensz. van LEEUWEN

Vroedschap

Cornelis Jacobsz. van NOORDE
Pieter Adriaensz. van der WERFF
Dirck Gerritsz. SMALING
Jan Jansz. brouwer (KNOTTER)
Ghysbrecht Hendricxz. (van der DOES)
Dirck Gerritsz. KESSEL
Bouwen PAETS Jansz.
Cornelis Willemsz. in 't Jopenvat (DEDEL)
M^r Pouwels Aertsz. VOS
Jan Cornelisz. PAETS van Zandhorst
Huych Jansz. van ALCKEMADE
Jacop Gerritsz. drapenier (van der MYE)
Andries Jansz. SCHOT
Cornelis Gerritsz. de HAES
Jan Lucasz. van WASSENAER
Oliphier Philipsz.³⁷

These men, whose religious and political viewpoint was inclined to be moderate, would not have been selected at this time were they firmly opposed to the Revolt.

While the reduction of the vroedschap may have prohibited some pro-Revolt councilmen from serving, failure to be selected after the siege implied a political or religious view that did not necessarily coincide with a

pro-Revolt faction in control. Those who had held office as councilmen or magistrates during the siege but were not returned to office on October 14, 1574 were:

- Sander Aelbrechtsz. (van QUACKENBOSCH)
- x Jan Jansz. van BAERSDORP
- Frans Fransz. van DUSSELDORP
- Pieter Cornelisz. (POTT)
- x Jan Ghysbrechtsz. (van SWANENVELT)
- Gysbert Dircxz. GOOL
- Pieter Jacobsz. de HAES
- x Symon Jansz. (van der MYE)
- Dirck Cornelisz. den OOSTERLING
- jonge Pieter Pietersz. PAETS
- Dirck Jacobsz. van REYGERSBURGH
- Dirck Dircxz. STIEN
- Huybrecht Aelwynsz. (van SWANENBURCH)
- x Cornelis Claes Lambrechtsz. van SWIETEN
- x Claes Willemsz. van WARMONT³⁸

The impact of the siege was not only military and material, it also affected the political and religious balance within the city.

The founding of the University of Leiden created another significant change in the institutional life of the city which had long-term effects on town officials. The establishment of the University on the Rapenburg added a new dimension to life in Leiden which had not existed before. From the very beginning the Curators of the University and Leiden magistrates found themselves at odds over many issues which involved their conflicting interests.³⁹ The magistrates were, of course, interested in maintaining control over institutions and matters that affected the town. At the same time, the faculties and administration of the University saw themselves as having a special status in the municipal framework, and although they acknowledged that a degree of cooperation was necessary, claimed a certain independence of city control.

The more important conflicts between Leiden magistrates and the University involved the major political and religious issues of the day. The city government was making attempts to extend its influence in many areas during the second half of the sixteenth century. This political goal entailed having a voice in the appointment of personnel for various institutions, the University included. As Leiden's various and notorious religious and political quarrels in this period were fueled by polemic from the University professors, it is understandable that Leiden magistrates wished to approve the hiring and dismissal of faculty.

The naming of the fiery Roman Catholic Thomas Sosius as professor of law in 1584 produced a stormy reaction from Leiden burgemeesters. His appointment, which had been encouraged by former Leiden pensionaris Paulus Aetrz. BUYS, was approved by the Curators without consultation with the mayors. The burgemeesters protested on grounds that the Curators had misused their authority. The Sosius appointment stirred up reaction from the Reformed element in Leiden, but it is unclear if this entered into the mayors protest. The Prince of Orange intervened, and as a result Sosius was maintained in his position as professor until 1593. Resentment of Paulus Aertsz. BUYS among city officials for his role in this affair continued long after the incident was settled.⁴⁰

In the case of Sosius, the magistracy, appears to have been against an avowed Roman Catholic. In two others, they took positions which were clearly against orthodox Calvinists. In 1581 Lambert Danaeus, a professor of theology who had recently come to Leiden from

Geneva, attempted to introduce church discipline on the Genevan model. The magistracy vehemently resisted this and even compared Danaeus' ideas to the Spanish inquisition.⁴¹

For Hugo Donellus, a professor of law who was dismissed without charges from his chair in 1587, the matter was more complex and largely political. Donellus had secretly been accused of making seditious statements against the States of Holland. He was an orthodox Calvinist whose opinions were shared by certain Reformed ministers and their followers who were supporters of the Earl of Leicester, then governor of the Netherlands. These ministers and their supporters were a threat to the Leiden government because of their conviction that temporal authority was subordinate to the Church in all matters. Donellus' personality did not endear him to the city fathers either. He was not one to remain silent when the situation dictated it, and it is likely that he did indeed make the statements of which he was accused.

While the case of Donellus also involved the issue of whether or not the Curators and burgemeesters had the right to dismiss a professor solely on their own authority without consultation with the faculty, the attempt to get rid of him was colored by additional factors. He had a history of complaining about his University salary and had supported the cause of Lambert Danaeus five years earlier. All of these diverse conditions contributed to the city government's animosity towards Donellus, and ultimately this led to his departure for a post at Altdorf in Germany.⁴²

The Leicester affair, of which the Donellus matter was a part,

grew into a major political crisis in 1586 when rumors began to circulate that a plan was afoot to move the University to Utrecht. Professor of theology, Adrianus Saravia, then Rector Magnificus, had repeatedly visited Utrecht in mid-1586 when the Leiden government became suspicious of his motives. Johan van der Does and former Leiden pensionaris Paulus Aertsz. BUYS, who were Curators of the University, and burgemeester Pieter Adriaensz. van der WERFF and secretaris Jan Cornelisz. van HOUT, representing the city government, lodged a formal protest with Leicester concerning the alleged move of the University. In June 1586, Leicester agreed not to transfer its location.⁴³

In April 1587 the Donellus incident contributed to the city government's antipathy toward Leicester and his followers. Donellus himself saw the Earl of Leicester as the savior of the Netherlands in matters religious and political. Leicester supported him in his cause against the University Curators and Leiden burgemeesters, which did little to reconcile the Leiden magistracy to either Leicester or his followers.⁴⁴

In October 1587 a plot by the Leicester party against the Leiden town government was discovered. The earlier incidents had already colored the views of the municipal officials and they were justified.⁴⁵ The details of the planned coup d'etat, which involved the forced occupation of the town hall and the holding of prominent Leiden citizens hostage in their homes, may be found in Bisschop.⁴⁶ The plotters approached vroedschap member Andries Jansz. SCHOT in hopes that he would be a willing collaborator in their attempt to firmly

establish Leicester politically in the Netherlands. SCHOT was asked to carry word of the proposed take-over to Leicester. SCHOT was chosen as a potential ally because he was a city official, was known to Leicester, had a reputation as an active Reformed Protestant and was well-to-do and therefore a respected member of the community. All of these attributes, the plotters felt, would make their cause attractive to Leicester himself.

The plotters, who included Reformed minister Christian van der Wouwer, elder Jacob Valmaer and vroedschap member Hobbe Florisz. (POTT) had misjudged their man. SCHOT revealed his initial meeting with Wouwer and Valmaer on October 10, 1587 to the town government. The first to be apprehended after this alert was Valmaer, who exposed the magnitude of the plan in his testimony. Other collaborators were implicated during the gerecht's investigation, and in January 1588 the ringleaders were condemned by schout Foy Jansz. van BROUCHOVEN.

According to Valmaer's testimony, Andries Jansz. SCHOT had initially been receptive to the suggestions of the plotters but had later backed out.⁴⁷ SCHOT, of course, in his own testimony gives no real indication of wavering on his part.⁴⁸ Hobbe Florisz. (POTT), SCHOTT's colleague in the vroedschap who was convicted of being an accomplice to the plot, states that SCHOT half-heartedly consented to make the trip to Leicester as Valmaer had asked.⁴⁹

The precise role of Hobbe Florisz. (POTT) as a collaborator is somewhat unclear, but he does appear to have taken part in a number of discussions involving the ringleaders.⁵⁰ Florisz. (POTT) escaped punishment from the gerecht by exiling himself to Alkmaar. His family

however, appears to have remained in Leiden.⁵¹

Whatever the involvement of SCHOT and Florisz. (POTT) in this affair, the Leicester party found little support among members of the Leiden city government. Followers of Leicester tended to be orthodox Reformed in their religion and politically in favor of limiting the authority of the towns, thus their views ran counter to the majority in power. Most municipal officials were religious moderates whose political opinions were inclined to be on the side of extending their supervision rather than restricting it. The issue of town control over organizations with an independent existence, such as the University or the Reformed Church, was the thread which ran through the heated controversies in Leiden's later sixteenth-century history, which made the city notorious.

The discussion of the University's impact on Leiden began with a consideration of two attempts by the city government to have its way in the selection and dismissal of professors. The Danaeus and Donellus incidents were related to the Leicester affair which, although it had wider importance, also involved the University through the subterfuge of professor Adrianus Saravia. In all these matters religious, political and personal factors intermingled, creating a tangle of influences and counterinfluences which are virtually inseparable. To attempt to isolate the flow of the various tributaries which came together in these developments without reference to the others would, however, distort the relationships which are necessary to understand the whole.

The Leiden city government's support and defense of the liberal

Reformed minister Caspar Coolhaes, a matter usually considered primarily in its religious context, is yet another demonstration of the melding of politics and personalities. Only one month after his call to Leiden in May, 1974, Coolhaes inveighed against the orthodox Calvinists at the first national synod at Dordrecht. At this same time he rejected the view that the magistracy was subordinate to the consistory in church matters.⁵² This position in particular endeared him to members of the Leiden government who wished to control, or at least approve, the appointment of ministers, elders and deacons. In the bitter struggle which occurred in late 1578 between the Leiden consistory and the town government over the naming of elders and deacons, Coolhaes and the government were mutually supportive. Resolution of the conflict came in 1579 when town officials acquired the right to name these church officers, of whom two-thirds were to be pre-selected by the consistory.⁵³

As members of the gerecht at the time of the dispute, the following individuals would have been most involved in the affair: Gerrit Wiggersz. van DUYVELANDT, Claes Huygenesz. GAEL, Dirck Gerritsz. SMALING, Jan Lucasz. van WASSENAER, burgemeesters, and Ghysbrecht Hendricxz. (van der Does), Claes Ghysbrechtsz. van DORP, Jacob Allertsz. de HAES, Willem Jan Reyersz. van HEEMSKERCK, Pieter Pieter Jorisz. van CORTEVELT, Pieter OOM Pieteresz. van Ofwegen, Cornelis Jacobsz. van NOORDE and Claes Willemsz. van WARMONT, schepenen. Of this group, only four were ever active in the Reformed Church, although the others had Protestant sympathies. Clearly, the number of individuals in the magistracy whose opinions might have been aligned

with the Reformed Church were few. Even the city officials who were members of the Reformed Church were inclined to place their allegiances on the side of the government. Willem Jan Reyersz. van HEEMSKERCK, for example, was the city representative to all meetings of the consistory in 1580, 1584, 1586 and 1588.⁵⁴

The destinies of the Leiden city government and Caspar Coolhaes were inextricably bound together. Hardly content to remain silent, Coolhaes repeatedly found himself involved in controversial issues. The Leiden government supported him through it all, even when it brought them into conflict with the States of Holland in 1581. Finally, Coolhaes was forbidden to preach and his books were suppressed. Eventually excommunicated, Leiden city officials agreed to continue his salary in spite of this action by the church.⁵⁵

While this discussion of the stormy career of Coolhaes and his relationship to the Leiden municipal government touches only briefly on one incident in the city's turbulent religious past, it draws attention to the connection between religion and politics in these years. Coolhaes was the mouthpiece and publicist for a view which he shared with members of the town government. Whereas his motivation was primarily religious, theirs was essentially political. Together, however, they formed a coalition against the movement which sought to place supervision of the Reformed Church at the end of the sixteenth century outside the purview of the city government.

In Leiden, as in other Dutch cities, the town had always had a

great deal of influence in church affairs. The attention paid by the city government to this aspect of their authority should be seen in this context. Prior to the Revolt municipal office-holders supervised the affairs of the Roman Catholic Church regularly. Kerkmeesters were responsible for managing the Church's properties in Leiden and their investments and rents outside the city. Permission from the city government was required before a large variety of business transactions could be undertaken by the Church. Also, the getijdemeesters who were town officials, supervised the money raised by the mass and by contributions to the Church. Social welfare, which was motivated in part by religious concern, had always been an important function of the city government in Leiden. The distribution of alms took place through the city institution known as the Heilige Geest, although this was not the sole means of charity.

In light of their traditional role in church matters, it was natural for city officials to expect that their responsibilities in this area would continue after the 1574 siege. The office of kerkmeester remained after the siege, although its lines of parish responsibility were abolished. The office of getijdemeester was done away with, its place being taken by the duties of elders and deacons, who were not actually city officials.

The Reformed Church began to develop its own network for poor-relief outside the framework of the city-run welfare system. From their perspective the council and magistracy saw these developments as encroachments on their authority and attempted to counter them. As the responsibility for collections and charities in the Reformed

Church lay with the elders and deacons, they quite naturally became the targets of the city's attack. The compromise worked out during the Coolhaes controversy reclaimed some of the supervisory authority the town government felt was slipping away.

The town saw the maintenance of Church property and the well-being of religious institutions as a community function. Church buildings, they believed, properly belonged to everyone in Leiden, not only to a select few. Indeed, during the 1580's and after, the Reformed were only a minority in Leiden. The government, therefore, saw it as their duty to oversee the smooth functioning of the churches and the welfare system.⁵⁶

Related to the religious problems confronting the city government in these years was the presence in Leiden of so many immigrants from the southern Netherlands. As the center of fighting in the Revolt shifted to the southern provinces, more and more inhabitants of Flanders, French Flanders and Brabant flocked to the north. The textile centers of these areas were disrupted, forcing many cloth workers to seek work elsewhere. Leiden had begun at the end of the 1570's to ease her citizenship restrictions for the admission of practicing tradesmen and unskilled laborers. As a result, large numbers of textile workers began to settle in Leiden. Many of these men and their families were Protestants who added to the ranks of the Leiden Reformed Church in the 1580's and 1590's. Their brand of Protestantism tended to be orthodox Calvinism, which was eschewed by members of the city government. The immigrants were supporters of men like minister Pieter Cornelisz. who vehemently opposed the

religious and political policies of the town. The leaders of the Leicester conspiracy also found hope of success among the newly-arrived men from Flanders and Brabant. The names of elders and deacons of the Reformed Church show how pervasive the influence of the immigrant group was in Leiden's Protestant community.⁵⁷

As most of these new inhabitants belonged to a social order lower than the members of the city government, they were often viewed negatively by town officials. Their association with orthodox Calvinism tended to lessen the respect of town officials for that brand of Reformed theology. In a society where great emphasis was placed upon status and position within a conventional social hierarchy, it is hardly surprising that this was so. To expect socially superior councilmen and magistrates to see eye to eye with their social inferiors in the consistory would have been unrealistic. These social differences contributed to the tensions between the Reformed Church and the Leiden city government in the late sixteenth century.⁵⁸

B. Evolution of the Group before and after the Siege.

In this chapter our attention has been focused until now on a number of developments which have indicated some of the important religious and political issues relevant to Leiden town officials. The roles of individual councilmen and magistrates were included selectively to illustrate the various responses which city officeholders made to these issues. We must now turn to a consideration of the group as a whole in order to see the general effects of these developments over time.

As in the previous chapters, the pivotal period of this discussion will remain the crisis years 1572-1574. Scrutiny of group membership on either side of these important years will highlight the evolution of Leiden's urban ruling body. Similarities and contrasts among town officials will, as before, be presented by individual examples.

Although the Dutch Revolt is often seen as a "conservative revolution" or an attempt to return to medieval traditions and privileges, because of the far-reaching consequences of the Revolt, it may also be viewed as quite modern.⁵⁹ Both sides agree, however, that a revolution did take place in the Netherlands. There is definite evidence of change in Leiden's political role after the siege of 1574 in the resolutions of the vroedschap. At best impersonal documents, they nevertheless give an impression of the types of issues which concerned council members. Examination of the extant resolutions reveals a striking contrast before and after 1572-1574. Prior to the Revolt council deliberations involved matters of primarily local importance, such as brewers' complaints about the milling of grain, petitions regarding the redress of grievances by cloth workers, the regulation of local industry and so forth.⁶⁰ Broader issues, such as taxes requested by Charles V for his wars with France or problems with the Calais staple, were not excluded from consideration by the vroedschap, but they were almost always placed in the context of Leiden's immediate interest.⁶¹ Rarely, however, were incidents of Netherlands-wide or international importance described.⁶²

After the siege, with the gradual evolution of the northern Netherlands as a separate political entity, the character of the deliberations changed. Little attention was paid to purely local matters except when they required vroedschap approval for action. Normally, local affairs were now left in the hands of the gerecht. Instead, the vroedschap considered national affairs, sometimes in great detail. The Leiden response to the Church order put forth at the national synod in 1586, the reaction to the defeat of the Spanish Armada or the consideration of policies relating to overseas trade were among the types of issues discussed.⁶³

In the case of the 1586 proposed church regulations, it is interesting to note that the entire document is reproduced in the minutes of the vroedschap. In the margins next to each article of the regulations the approval or recommendation of the council is inserted.⁶⁴ As the sixteenth century wore on, the verbatim inclusion of relevant documents or correspondence under discussion became more and more frequent. Often this practice is helpful in determining the council's precise position on particular issues. Generally, however, individual opinions, which would be extremely useful for this study, are missing from the minutes.

Nevertheless, individuals are sometimes mentioned in the resolutions. When the vroedschap first received word of the Spanish Armada's defeat in August 1588, the councilmen composed a letter expressing their concern for the necessity for a defense posture and maintenance of order in the Netherlands. They subsequently dis-

patched burgemeester Jacob Willemsz. van der BURCH and pensionaris Paulus Aertsz. VOS to the States of Holland with instructions to give any assistance possible in resolving the matters arising from the Spanish defeat.⁶⁵

Increasing attention was paid by the vroedschap to matters pertaining to foreign trade as well. The war with Spain to a certain extent disrupted the traditional trading pattern of the Netherlands with other countries. Since Holland and Zeeland were particularly involved in large scale international trade, it was necessary for both provincial and national governmental bodies to direct their attention to maintenance of foreign economic links. Also, as a result of the war, piracy was on the increase, a development which contributed to the instability of maritime trade.⁶⁶ Although Leiden was not an international trading center, her economic prosperity depended on the export of cloth from the reviving cloth industry. The peaceful regulation of trade with England, France and the Baltic was essential to the economy and to the Leiden vroedschap.⁶⁷

At the root of this widening interest on the part of the Leiden council in matters of national and international importance was the gradual emergence of a new center of political power and economic influence in the northern Netherlands. With the development of the Dutch Republic the political elites of the cities were confronted by issues that had previously been dealt with in Brussels. The Revolt had gotten rid of not only the Prince or sovereign, but had also eliminated the principal committees and officers of the central

government. Power and influence, therefore, flowed back to the provincial States and to the towns which dominated them.⁶⁸ When an issue needed to be decided after the Union of Utrecht (1579), the increased participation of local city officials was required by virtue of their newly acquired political role. The fact that each town could veto any legislation before the States meant that individual cities could, and did, in fact vote their own self-interest. It also meant that each matter under consideration had to be referred back to the towns whenever any major, and sometimes minor, changes were put forward, as often delegates were not given the freedom to vote their minds. This constant process of referral had the effect of promoting increased knowledge of national events and issues among the town councils. Thus, the discussion of important national affairs on the local level by men who, prior to the Revolt, were not called on as frequently to debate such matters brought about a change in the character of the vroedschap and the men who comprised it. The town council in the period of the Revolt became the training ground for the Regents of the seventeenth century.

When burgemeester Adriaen Jansz. (van BARREVELT) and schepen Jacob van der Does went to The Hague in August 1542 to represent Leiden at the States of Holland, they were actually performing the same function as burgemeesters Jacob Willemsz. van der BURCH, Lourijs Andriesz. van SWAENSWYCK and pensionaris Paulus Aertsz. VOS who were delegates to the States of Holland in June 1588. Both sets of delegates were to transmit decisions of the vroedschap to the

States. Both carried proposals which were concerned with matters of more than local significance.⁶⁹ The difference lies in the fact that the role of the States of Holland had changed. By 1588 it had become more influential in the affairs of the entire northern Netherlands than it had been four decades previously. As a result of internationally important events being brought closer to home by the Revolt, the responsibility of BURCH, SWAENSWYCK and VOS was greater. The maneuvers, discussions and responses at the States had to be concerned with a wide range of factors which, while not absent in 1542, were certainly more important for Leiden delegates in 1588.⁷⁰

Other Leiden examples demonstrate this changing role of town councilmen. Late sixteenth-century vroedschap members turn up more frequently as members of important national bodies. Jan Jansz. van BAERSDORP, for instance, became one of the first to sit on the prestigious Admiralty of Amsterdam, which had charge of naval affairs for that city and its region.⁷¹ He was succeeded in that post in 1599 by another Leiden vroedschap member, Laurens Huygensz. GAEL.⁷² Paulus Aertsz. BUYS, whose political career was both famous and notorious, became a national figure even before he left his post as Leiden pensionaris in 1572. BUYS served close to the Prince of Orange during the early years of the Revolt and became Raadpensionaris of Holland.⁷³ Other notables, such as Dirck Gerritsz. SMALING, Willem Jan Reyersz. van HEEMSKERCK, Franck Jansz. DUYCK, Foy Jansz. van BROUCHOVEN and Philips Gerardsz. LANTSCHOT were extremely active in the affairs of the States-General of the northern Netherlands.⁷⁴ Still other Leiden vroedschap members were occasionally sent on international missions

in the years after the siege. Gysbert Dircksz. GOOL, for instance, traveled to London in 1578 to obtain from Queen Elizabeth a special license to import wool from England. In the course of the negotiations the case received the attention of both Lord Burghley and the Earl of Leicester.⁷⁵ All of these examples illustrate the increasingly broad international focus of matters of interest to Leiden councilmen and magistrates.

Both before and after the siege the important envoys to the States and elsewhere tended to be the burgemeesters, the pensionaris or some other very notable person in the city government or town. Of course, ordinary vroedschap or gerecht members were sometimes chosen to carry out certain tasks because of their professional expertise, or the usual representatives were accompanied by those experts who could advise them. This was definitely the case in economic missions having to do with the cloth industry.⁷⁶ By and large, however, it was the notable among the gerecht who were called upon to act for the Leiden council. In 1578, for instance, Pieter Adriaensz. van der WERFF was appointed to membership in a commission set up by the States to consider the affairs of the province of Holland.⁷⁷ Another influential figure and one frequently consulted by Willem the Silent was Pieter OOM Pietersz. van Ofwegen.⁷⁸ Later in the century pensionaris Rombout HOGERBEETS, a highly-educated man and distinguished lawyer from Hoorn who later associated with such seventeenth-century men as Hugo Grotius, played a significant role in Leiden's political life as well as in that of Holland.⁷⁹

What differentiates these men from their pre-Revolt counterparts is the extent to which they had acquired the responsibility to decide matters of importance. While M^r Frans Adriaensz., Adriaen Jansz. (van BARREVELT) and Michiel Jansz. UYTREDER, among others, might attend the States-General in Brussels in 1558, their effective participation was restricted to the approval or disapproval of proposals which tended to be limited to financial matters. After the siege Leiden representatives acquired more authority in the affairs of Holland and the Netherlands nationally. The real power during this period lay in the hands of the provincial states, whose membership consistently included many of the Leiden delegates named in the preceding pages. No longer customarily limited to consideration of matters predetermined by the whims of the central government, the States of Holland raised all types of issues for discussion and action.

Separate from and less powerful than the States of Holland was the council known as the Gecommitteerde Raden, which considered issues and acted in place of the provincial States when it was not in session. Men like Arnoult Jansz. DUYCK and Laurens Huygensz. GAEL were members of this body in the 1590's.⁸⁰ Times had surely changed when Leiden councilmen and magistrates, along with other members of these bodies, were helping to make decisions affecting foreign policy, international trade, defense of the realm as well as regulating financial affairs and taxation.

While the scope of the political interests of the Leiden vroedschap members were broadened after 1572-1574, in religious matters the tug of tradition predominated. A good deal of research

since World War II has done much to overturn the older view that the northern Netherlands really became Protestant during the Revolt.⁸¹

J. C. Boogman has shown that for a variety of reasons the Calvinists, in alliance with the Beggars, were hardly welcomed with enthusiasm by the patrician rulers of several Holland towns in 1572.⁸² L. J.

Rogier has also clearly demonstrated the persistence of Roman Catholicism in most areas of the northern provinces.⁸³ The transformation of the northern Netherlands from a Roman Catholic region within the Hapsburg domain into a Calvinist, or at least Protestant, dominated nation was an arduous social process, which can only be said to have begun even nominally after 1618. One would expect the countryside to reluctantly depart from its traditional religious practices. But even in the cities, large Catholic or non-Protestant majorities existed in the early seventeenth century. In Rotterdam, for instance, the official Reformed Church counted only 357 members in 1612. If one accepted these as heads of households of seven members, as Rogier does--and that is probably too high an estimate, four to five is more like it--that amounts to a membership of about 2500, or a mere fifteen per cent of the population.⁸⁴

In most cities of Holland, the strength of the Calvinist element was restrained by the very group we are considering, the city officials. For after the acceptance of Protestantism in 1572, new members of the vroedschap were chosen from among many of the same families that ruled before 1572, families that had scarcely shown their enthusiasm for the "new Reformed religion" during the iconoclasm of 1566.⁸⁵ Leiden was no exception.

Members of the Leiden ruling elite were hardly religious radicals. In fact, religious moderation in the extreme dominates both before and after the 1570's. As noted earlier, there were no instances of Anabaptism among the ninety-four members who served before 1572, although one man, Claes Cornelisz. de WILDE was falsely accused of being a member of that sect.⁸⁶ In the same group, only two were sufficiently Protestant to have their property confiscated by the underlings of Alva in 1567.⁸⁷ The role of the magistracy in attempting to maintain order at the time of the 1566 iconoclastic uproar also indicates they were not ardent Calvinists. Indeed, when the chips were down during the siege, Johan van der Does, lord of Noordwijk, Protestant, humanist and military governor of the city in 1574, claimed that only seven members of the vroedschap were "trustworthy," i.e. in accordance with Protestantism and the Revolt.⁸⁸ Not exactly an overwhelming majority.

The new councilmen chosen after November 1572 to replace vroedschap members who were glippers were not unequivocally Protestant. Actually, only nine of the thirty-two chosen between the overgang in 1572 and the "purification" and reeducation of the traditional number of council members in October 1574, were Protestant or Protestant-inclined.⁸⁹ This increased the Protestant element within the vroedschap, but was still less than one-third of those chosen between 1572 and 1574.

Of the sixteen who fled between 1572 and 1574 because of their pro-Spanish opinions, seven, nearly half, returned to Leiden in the late 1570's, and several were again appointed to public office, although

not a major office. One of these was Jan Gerritsz. BUYTEWECH, who returned at least by 1578 when he became administrator of St. Stephen's almshouse. The following year he became one of the four weesmeesters, or orphanage directors, an office he held until his death.⁹⁰

One of the most difficult things about attributing religious position to men like these is that they did not themselves leave written evidence. After all, they were not theologians. Following Professor Rogier's admonition that to consider a vroedschap or a magistrate Protestant before 1619 without some corroborative evidence is dangerous, I established a number of tests based on available documentable material.⁹¹ Firstly, although there are no church membership lists for Leiden in this period, some records of marriages do exist for both the Reformed and non-Reformed. Because of the role of the Leiden vroedschap in the appointment of elders and deacons, the names of these individuals appear annually in the Dienstboeken, the lists of municipal office-holders provide a checklist of Protestants. Those who fled the city after 1572 as glippers because of their pro-Spanish allegiance can be assumed to be Roman Catholics.

Determination of doctrinal position is more difficult and much more tenuous, although there are several ways of getting at it for selected individuals. Some documents relating to the religious controversies that occurred in Leiden during the late sixteenth century occasionally reveal information about an individual's role

in those controversies. Also, two members of the vroedschap were annually delegated to attend the meetings of the consistory of the Reformed Church. Normally, they were members of the Reformed community, but if the town nominated them, one can be sure they were not hard-liners. After 1579 the town acquired the right to appoint one-third of the elders and deacons. Because the Dienstboeken specify whether they were nominated by the church or the town, the same holds true for them. If the town had anything to say about it, these men would not be extreme in their views. Those who were rather more redelijk or strict were few and therefore stand out in the controversies like the Leceister plot in 1587. At that time Hobbe Florisz. (POTT), goldsmith, member of the vroedschap and actively involved in the Reformed Church, was removed from the council and banished from Leiden for his role on behalf of the pro-Leceister faction and, by corollary, the extreme Calvinist minority in the city.⁹²

Of the 121 men who served after 1572, twenty-eight (about 23 per cent) retained a preference for a more traditional religious point-of-view. Balancing these were twenty-six (21 per cent) members of the group who became elders or deacons of the Reformed Church, a good indication of firm Calvinist sentiment. For the remainder in between it is hard to assert definitively in more than a few cases whether they were Protestant or Catholic. More than likely, they were lukewarm adherents to Protestantism. An example of this sort is Jan Cornelisz. PAETS van Zanthorst, a supporter of the Protestant cause at the time of the iconoclasm, who was banned by Alva's Council of Blood. Related by marriage to the BUYTEWECH family, which remained

Catholic, he rejected his "heresy" on his deathbed, according to Dusseldorp's Annales.⁹³ Whether the tale of his reconversion is valid is questionable, but his family, PAETS van Zanthorst, did return to the Roman Catholic fold in the seventeenth century for certain.⁹⁴

Another example of the lack of confessional consistency present in the Leiden vroedschap is that of Pieter Adriaensz van der WERFF, chamois-tanner, hero of the 1574 siege and deacon of the Reformed Church in 1580. In 1537 his father was beheaded in Haarlem for his Anabaptism, but there is no evidence to indicate that Pieter himself adopted that position as an adult. Van der WERFF was an exile to Emden after the iconoclasm of 1566 and returned to play a prominent role in Leiden until his death in 1604. Contrary to what one might expect from a deacon of the Reformed Church, one of Van der WERFF's sons was sent to a Roman Catholic schoolmaster in Leiden for his early education. Willem van Assendelft, canon of the chapter at Haarlem, arrived in Leiden in 1579 and held classes in a house on the Hooigracht until 1591. The children of Catholic families naturally would have attended the school, but according to documents in the Archive of the Senate and Faculties of the University, also attending were the children of "the foremost officials, citizens and inhabitants of Leiden."⁹⁵ The reason that Assendelft received those pupils instead of the Latin School probably had to do with the quality of training, but the fact that he received the tacit endorsement of the city fathers, who were required to grant all unofficial private schools permission to hold classes, is indicative of their lack of Protestant orthodoxy.⁹⁶

Still another example, Jan Jansz van BAERSDORP, a grain merchant, found himself deeply involved in the controversy over the status of the fiery Protestant preacher, Pieter Hackius. Always troublesome for the city officials, Hackius made some rather inopportune statements in 1586, which alienated the consistory and the membership of the Reformed Church. Hackius allegedly compared the synod of the Reformed Church to the Pope and asserted that both of them had the pox.⁹⁷ On another occasion Hackius preached that he would rather have the Spanish Inquisition than the Genevan discipline.⁹⁸ These were hardly the sort of statements that would have endeared him to his flock. Also noteworthy is the fact that BAERSDORP was one of the magistrates who encouraged Hackius and asserted that the vroedschap would stand by him.⁹⁹ A year later in 1587 BAERSDORP was accused of remarking that although he attended church services, if one cut open his heart, one would find a double catholic.¹⁰⁰ This accusation against BAERSDORP followed some rather far reaching complaints by the Reformed against the vroedschap, including the claim that "mostly Papists, or those who have fallen away from the established religion, have been appointed to the vroedschap and other offices of the state. . ."¹⁰¹ Despite its obvious rhetoric and probable exaggeration the assertion has a grain of truth to it. A statement attributed to Caspar Coolhaes also lends credence to the fact that vroedschap members were not necessarily enthusiastic supporters of the Reformed Church. In 1579 Coolhaes remarked that only five out of twenty-eight councilmen took communion in the

Reformed Church, although all of them attended services regularly.¹⁰²

These examples illustrate that although Reformed Protestants had become the official religion, it had failed to "win the hearts and minds" of many, particularly the upper levels of Leiden society, the town council and the magistracy. The continued existence of small groups of Anabaptists, Lutherans or "Martinisten" as they were called, did not serve to make the choices involved any clearer, especially since these groups were tacitly permitted to exist by the town council.¹⁰³ And of course, the Reformed community came to divide itself into Remonstrants and Contraremonstrants in the seventeenth century with members of the vroedschap taking sides in both camps.¹⁰⁴ During the period 1550-1600, however, members of the city government were neither supporters of the radical Reformation nor enthusiastic adherents of Reformed Protestantism after it became established. They remained what they had always been, religious moderates whose Erasmian Catholicism transformed itself into a lukewarm Protestantism in the late sixteenth century.

While not all areas of politics and religion as they relate to members of the Leiden city government have been touched upon in this chapter, the developments examined present a general portrait of the religious and political involvement and evolution of municipal officials in the second half of the sixteenth century. Deeply involved in the events which created the Dutch Republic, Leiden city officeholders experienced the growth of the Calvinist movement, the political separation from Spain and the war which accompanied it.

Different individuals responded to these events in different ways, some accepting the changes that inevitably were their result, others rejecting them. In political matters attitudes toward the Revolt were relatively consistent among vroedschap members, in that only thirteen actually left Leiden in the 1570's for reasons that involved questions of Spanish authority. Later, in the 1580's when all government officials were required to take an oath renouncing the Spanish king, no vroedschap member refused.¹⁰⁵

In religious matters responses from vroedschap members to the developments of the mid-sixteenth century were not so clearly defined. While nearly all had been Roman Catholics before the Revolt, most were Erasmian in their outlook and ill-disposed toward practices associated with religious fanaticism. Following the siege most members of the town government accepted Protestantism, but retained their former Erasmian outlook which implied a degree of toleration. In the theological wars waged at Leiden in the late sixteenth century, this placed the city government squarely in opposition to the more orthodox Calvinists who were so vocal in the town.

Gradually, however, these developments began to sort themselves out, and the character of vroedschap membership started to change. By the end of the sixteenth-century traits characteristic of the seventeenth-century Regents had become pronounced. A more sophisticated official had emerged whose awareness of national and international politics and economics had been altered by the events of the previous thirty years. The reasons for this change are many

and varied and involve much of what has been discussed in previous chapters. Therefore, the conclusion will draw together the various threads which have been treated separately and place the membership of the Leiden city government in its late sixteenth-century perspective.

FOOTNOTES--CHAPTER VII

1

Jacob Marcus, Sententien en indagingen van den Hertog van Alva, uitgesproken en geslagen in zynen Bloedraedt: Mitsgaders die van byzondere steden. . . van . . . 1567 tot 1572, Mitsgaders een Aenhangsel , , , (Amsterdam: n.p., 1735), p. 119 where his name appears as "guillaume Jan Reyersz parcy devant Bourgemaitre de la dite Ville et manant d'icelle Ville." See also Kolff, "Libertatis Ergo," pp. 132-133 and W. M. C. Regt, "Willem van Heemskerck," in P. C. Molhuysen and P. J. Blok, eds., Nieuw Nederlandsch Biografisch Woordenboek, IX (Leiden: A. W. Sijthoff's Uitgevers-Maatschappij, 1933), pp. 338-339.

2

Marcus, Sententien. . . , pp. 119-120; GAL, SA, I, No. 396: Vroedschapsbork H. unnumbered folio avso before folio 1; Namen van Vroedschappen hss; Elias, De vroedschap van Amsterdam, No. 27, p. 78. One of Symon Jan Reyersz. (van HEEMSKERCK)'s sons, Claes Symonsz. van HEEMSKERCK, accepted Protestantism before or at the time of the Alteratie (1578) and was chosen as a member of the Amsterdam city council.

3

For examples of these types of issues considered by the vroedschap see Chapter II, pp. 39-41 and p. 46. Also Chapter III, pp. 101-107.

4

GAL, SA, I, No. 388: Aflezingsboek B, folio 190vso, dated November 24, 1552.

5

GAL, SA, I, No. 385L Vroedschapsboek G, folios 8-8vso, 22vso-23, 27, 51vso, 79vso, 118; GAL, SA, I, No. 396: Vroedschapsboek H, folios 1vso, 75vso-76. Other references of this kind are scattered throughout these resolutions and those of the gerecht.

6

Kolff, "Libertatis Ergo," pp. 132-133.

7

Knappert, Opkomst van Protestantisme, pp. 177-178. Knappert gives no exact citation for this except that it comes from an order of the Hof van Holland. He does, however, give the quotation "'besmet te zijn van deze nyeuwe secte.'" Further evidence of this incident is contained in the city treasurer's accounts for 1542. See GAL, SA, I, Rekeningen van de Tresoriers, 1542, folios 30vso, 32vso and 35vso.

8

See Knappert, Opkomst van Protestantisme, pp. 182-200 and passim.

⁹ Ibid., pp. 191 and 197.

¹⁰ See Appendix F: Table 5.

¹¹ Knappert, Opkomst van Protestantisme, pp. 192-193.

¹² E. Pelinck, "Drie Hollandse memorietafels uit de 16e eeuw en hun stichters," JCBG, XIII (1959), pp. 101-102.

¹³ GAL, SA, I, Archief van de Kerken, No. 1365, unfoliated, dated April 2, 1545; GAL, SA, I, Archief van de Kerken, No. 1366, unfoliated. Any reference to the Archief van der Kerken will hereafter be cited as AK.

¹⁴ See Appendix C: BROUCHOVEN Genealogy, J. D. Frenay, "Aanteekeningen betreffende Leydsche Pastoors sedert 'De Hervorming' tot aan 'De Herstelling,' van 1557 tot 1857," reprinted from Bijdragen voor de geschiedenis van het Bisdom van Haarlem, no publication information, 1872, pp. 9-10 and 10-12. Available at GAL, BLO, No. 6625.

¹⁵ W. van Everdingen, Het leven van M^r Paulus Buys, Advocaat van den lande van Holland (Leiden: P. W. M. Trap, 1895), p. 8.

¹⁶ Van Mieris, Handvesten, pp. 151-153. Neither SMALING nor NOORDE condoned the violence and destruction of property which accompanied the 1566 unrest. SMALING was an alderman in 1566 and therefore among those officials particularly concerned with keeping order in the city. On the evening of August 25th he was among those who exhorted the schutters, in the interest of preventing further unrest, to remain loyal supporters of the town government. NOORDE was present on August 26th, 1566 when the vroedschap, out of fear of provoking additional disturbances, decided to proceed with caution. See Chapter II, pp. 51-54 and Knappert, Opkomst van Protestantisme, p. 227 and pp. 233-234.

¹⁷ Kolff, "Libertatis Ergo," pp. 142-144; Marcus, Sententien . . . , pp. 119-120; Knappert, Opkomst van Protestantisme, pp. 273-279. As noted in Chapter III, p. 87 Jan Claesz. van BERENDRECHT, who had succeeded his father as schout, felt sufficiently sympathetic to these men to warn them, allowing them to escape to safety. This incident is referred to in Water, Pieter Adriaensz. van der Werff, p. 33 who cites Bor, Nederlandsche Oorloghen, IV, p. 163. According to Water, "The Duke of Alva had hatched a plot in the spring of the year (1568) to take the non-Roman Catholics in many places by surprise on one night,

and to this end had sent his deputies everywhere. The Schout of Leiden, Jan van Berendrecht, was not ignorant of this and warned his fellow citizens against the threatening peril, and gave them favorable occasion to escape through a hasty flight." ("De Hertog van Alva had een' toeleg gesmeed, om, in de lente van dat jaar, de Onroomschen aan vele oorden tevens op eenen nacht te verrassen, en tot dit einde zond hij alomme zijne Gemagtigden. De Schout van Leyden, Jan van Berendrecht, hiervan niet onkundig, waarschuwde zijne medeburgers tegen het dreigende levensgevaar, en gaf hun de gunstige gelegenheid om hetzelfde door een verhaaste vlugt te ontkomen.").

18 J. Prinsen, "Jan van Hout, Nieuwe Vondsten," Oud-Holland, XLVI (1929), p. 248.

19 Water, Pieter Adriaensz. van der Werff, pp. 31-46. Water indicates that WERFF was in and out of the Netherlands all during 1571 on secret missions for the Prince of Orange. HEEMSKERCK was also a confidant of Orange during this period and along with WERFF was involved with financial matters pertaining to the Revolt. A. J. van der Aa, "Willem van HEEMSKERCK," in Biographisch Woordenboek der Nederlanden, ed. by K. J. R. Harderwijk and C. D. J. Schotel (Haarlem: J. J. van Brederode, 1852), p. 108.

20 Everdingen, Paulus Buys, pp. 8-13; GAL, SA, I, No. 1380: Collectie stukken betreffende Pieter Adriaensz. van der Werff, loose letter by the Prince of Orange mentioning the names of a number of his supporters. Huych Jansz. van ALCKEMADE is noted along with Willem Jan Reyersz. van HEEMSKERCK, Jan Cornelisz. PAETS van Zanthorst and Werff.

21 A list of known Leiden glippers appears at the end of Fasel, "De Leidse Glippers," pp. 79-86. Group members included in this list are noted below. Because Fasel's list was compiled from a number of sources, irregularities and errors in names are evident. In the one case where this applies to a Leiden municipal official the error was sufficiently clear to be corrected.

1. Jan Claesz. van BERENDRECHT. Fasel gives this man's name as Claes van Berendrecht, schout of Leiden. Claes died in 1569 and was replaced by his son Jan from 1569-1572. This is really Jan Claesz. Van BRENDRECHT.
2. Jan Gerytsz. BUYTEWECH
3. Claes Adriaensz. brouwer
4. Claes OOM Jansz. BUITENWECH. I have not found the BUYTEWECH connection mentioned by Fasel, but there can be no doubt of this individual's identity.

5. Dirk Jacobsz. VUYTGEEST
6. jonge Garbant Meesz. (van NIEROP)
7. Geryt Roeloftsz. (van der MYE)
8. Claes Jansz. de GOEDE
9. Cornelis Claesz. van der HOOGHE
10. Jan Dircxz. (van ROODENBEKE)
11. Jacob Symonsz. van LOO
12. Mees Aelwynsz. (van SWANENBURCH)
13. Reyer Jacobsz. (van OYEN)
14. Joost Maertensz. van SONNEVELT
15. M^r Cornelis Jansz. van VEEN
16. Jan Adriaensz. de WILDE

22 Jan Fruytiers, Corte Beschrijvinghe van de strenghe Belegheringe der Stadt Leyden in Robert Fruin, et. al., eds., De oude verhalen, pp. 11-12; Fasel, "De Leidse Glippers," p. 75.

23 These four were Jan Jansz. van BAERSDORP, Pieter Pieter Jorsiz. van CORTEVELT, Pieter OOM Pietersz. van Ofwegen and Willem Jan Reyersz. van HEEMSKERCK. CORTEVELT, OOM and HEEMSKERCK were active in Protestant church affairs as either elders or as representatives to the consistory from the city government. The case of BAERSDORP is ambiguous, but his longevity in both the vroedschap and in national politics meant that at least outwardly he needed to support Protestantism later in the century. The roots of his religious viewpoint certainly extend back to this period of the 1570's. For BAERSDORP's reaction to orthodox Calvinism see p. 308 of this chapter. Office-holding information on the other three may be found in GAL, SA, I, No. 73: Dienstboek A, passim.

24 This was Pieter Adriaensz. van der WERFF who became deacon of the Reformed Church in 1580.

25 GAL, SA, I, No. 73: Dienstboek A, years 1573-1574.

26 The role of each of these three is well-known. The best account is still Fruin, The Siege and Relief of Leyden.

27 See the various bijlagen in Vloten, Leidens Belegering en Ontzet, passim.

28 The vroedschap members in office during 1573-1574 who contributed to the mounted troop were:

Henrick Jansz. van BROUCHOVEN
 Cornelis Claes Lambrechtsz. van SWIETEN
 Cornelis Jacobsz. van NOORDE
 Pieter OOM Pietersz. van Ofwegen
 Ghysbrecht Hendricxz. (van der DOES)
 Oliphier Philipsz.
 Dirck Gerritsz. KESSEL
 Joost Willemsz. porsman (DEDEL)
 Huych Claesz. GAEL
 Jan Diricz. van BROUCHOVEN
 Frans Fransz. van DUSSELDORP
 Claes Ghysbrechtsz. van DORP
 Pieter Adriaensz. van der WERFF
 Jan Jansz. van BAERSDORP
 Willem Jan Reyersz. van HEEMSKERCK
 Cornelis Gerritsz. de HAES
 Cornelis Adriaensz. van BARREVELT
 Bouwen Jansz. PAETS

Those individuals who contributed to the mounted troop in 1573, but were not chosen to be vroedschap members until after the siege were:

Jan Cornelisz. PAETS van Zanthorst
 Dirck Jacobsz. van MONTFOORT
 Andries Jansz. SCHOT
 Jan Kerstantsz. van der MORSCH
 Huych Jansz. van ALCKEMADE

See Vloten, Nalezing, pp. 21-22.

29 Vloten, Leidens Belegering en Ontzet, pp. 21 and 108.

30 Vloten, Leidens Belegering en Ontzet, pp. 150 and 156.

31 GAL, SA, I, No. 1336: Stukken betreffende het geding tegen Lenaert Symonsz. Dou, Jacob Thomasz. brouwer en Claes Jansz. Brant. . . , document entitled "Informatie gedaen ten verzoucke van den officier der stede van Leyden, ter presentie van schepenen ondergeschreven," dated February 2, 1573. In this document Huygensz. remarks, as stated in the text, that letters were sent "aen somige goede Catholijkke luyden binnen Leyden, die den Coninck getrou zijn. . ."

32 Ibid., ". . . ende hoorde hy affirmant Joost Huygensz. de voors. Berendrecht zeggen, dat de voorn. goede luyden waeren Claes Jansz. Brandt ende Jan Woutersz. Stien. . ."

33 GAL, SA, I, No. 1336: Stukken betreffende het geding tegen Lenaert Symonsz. Dou, Jacob Thomasz. brouwer en Claes Jansz. Brant. . . , Two affidavits by Thomasz. and Brandt taken by schepenen on February 2, 1573.

34 GAL, SA, I, No. 1336: Stukken betreffende het geding tegen Lenaert Symonsz. Dou, Jacob Thomasz. brouwer en Claes Jansz. Brant. . . , document signed by Willem the Silent, dated March 6, 1573.

35 Vloten, Leidens Belegering en Ontzet, pp. 157-158.

36 Mieris, Handvesten, p. 152. "Soo is 't, dat zyn Excellentie, op alles ten vollen hem geïnformeert hebbende, ende aemerckende den tegenwoordigen staet der voorsz. Stede, mede regaerdts genomen op te doleantie, ende versouck van eenighe van de Overicheyt, ende Magistraten, ten fyne zy luyden van heure officie, ende dienst, daer inne zy luyden tot heuren grooten laste, beswaernisse, ende quetse, tot noch toe waeren geweest, de voorleden beroerden tyt, ende bysondere in beyde der Stede belegeringhe, alsnu mochten worden verlicht, omme alle gelyckheyt, gerusticheyt, ende goede geregeltheyt in de regeringhe der voorsz. Stede, voortsaeen onderhouden te worden, by advys van de Raden, neffens hem wesende, goet ende raetsaem bevonden heeft, de voorschreven vernieuwinghe der Burgermeesteren, een Thesaurier, ende Schepenen eenpaerlycken, ende gesamentlycken voor desen tyt gedaen, ende oock 't getal der Veertich, ende Vroetschap, behalven den vier Burgermeesteren, ende acht Schepenen geredigeert, ende gebracht te werden tot zestien gequalificeerde, ende bequaeme personen, poorters, oft inwoonders der voorsz. Stede. . . "

37 Mieris, Hanvesten, p. 152.

38 GAL, SA, I, No. 94: Register van Smalle Diensten, passim. Those indicated with an x were eventually rechosen to be members of the vroedschap when the council was returned to its traditional size of forty in 1576. Other vroedschap who did not survive the siege for reasons other than political attrition were:

Joost Willemsz. porsman (DEDEL)
Yssac Symonsz. van der GRAFT
Quiryem Claes Garbrantsz. (van STRYEN)
Mourwerijn Claesz. (van LEEUWEN)
Claes Cornelisz. VERGEYL
Floris Jansz. TOL

39 Woltjer, "Positie van de Curatoren. . . ", p. 485.

40 Woltjer, "Positie van de Curatoren. . . ", p. 491; Kuyck, "Thomas ZOESIUS," in NNBW, III, p. 1520; Everdingen, "Paulus BUYS," pp. 166-167.

⁴¹Woltjer, "Positie van de Curatoren. . .", p. 489.

⁴²Bisschop, Leicestersche partij binnen Leiden, pp. 23-32. The burgemeesters involved in the Donellus question were Pieter Adriaensz. van der WERFF, Pieter OOM Pietersz. van Ofwegen, Claes Adriaensz. van LEEUWEN, and Jacob Allertsz. de HAES. Paulus Aetrz. BUYS was a Curator of the University in 1587 along with Johan van der Does and Abraham van Almonde.

⁴³Ibid., pp. 20-21.

⁴⁴Ibid., pp. 30 and 92-93.

⁴⁵In the actual plot Saravia had only a small role and Donellus played no part at all, except insofar as his views represented those of the Leicester party.

⁴⁶Bisschop, Leicestersche partij binnen Leiden, pp. 55. Those prominent Leiden citizens designated to be held hostage by the plotters were: Pieter Adriaensz. van der WERFF, Jan Cornelisz. van HOUT, Paulus Aertsz. BUYS, Jan Claesz. Roos, Dirck Jansz. Verbeek, Cornelis van Achthoven and M^r Adam the Stadswachtmeester.

⁴⁷Ibid., p. 107. Valmaer's testimony on this matter as taken in the presence of schout Foy Jansz. van BROUCHOVEN, burgemeesters Pieter Adriaensz. van der WERFF, Pieter OOM Pieteresz. van Ofwegen and the eight schepenen, two of whom (Pieter Pieter Jorisz. van CORTEVELT and Claes Willemsz. van WARMONT) attested to the authenticity of his confession, reads as follows: "VII [Valmaer] said that he and Advisor Meetkercke had communicated in order to send Andries Schot to his Excellency [Leicester]. . . and that the letter of credentie which would have to be sent along to the aforementioned Schot (who later was unwilling) by the aforementioned Meetkercke was even written and signed by the same, together (so he thought) with Christiaan van de Wouwe. . . " ("VII [Valmaer] Seyt dat hy mit den Raedsheer Meetkercke gecommuniceert heeft omme Andries Schot aen zyne Ex^cie te zeynden. . . ende dat by de voors. Meetkercke de brief van credentie die men de voors. Schot (die naderhant onwillich was) zoude hebben medegegeven, zelfs gescreven en geteykent was by den zelven, mitsgaders (zo hy vermeynt) by Chirisiaen. . .").

⁴⁸Ibid., p. 99. According to SCHOT, Valmaer discussed at length with him the position in which the supporters of Leicester found themselves. SCHOT then testified that "Finally the aforesaid Valmaer made the desired request that he the witness SCHOT on behalf of the community

ought to want to travel along to his Excellency Leicester and give a helping hand in this matter and lead the affair so that this city could be brought around like the cities of Dordrecht and Amsterdam, adding that Amsterdam was now in accord with his Excellency, and that the members of the civic guard of the same towns had magnificently convoyed his Excellency to Utrecht. To which, he the witness having heard, gave the answer that he in no way could do that without the foreknowledge and commission of the gerecht, saying with this to the aforementioned Valmaer that he definitely should come to speak to him again." ("Eyntelick heeft de voors. Valmaer op hem getuyge begeert en versocht dat hy van wegen de gemeente mede doude willen reysen aen zyn Ex^cie en de goede hand daer aen helpen houden en de seacken beleyden dat deze stadt zoude mogen werden gebracht gelyck de steden van Dordrecht en Amsterdam daer by vougende dat die van Amsterdam mit zyn Ex^cie nu waeren veraccordeert en dat die van de schutterye dezelve zyn Ex^cie tot uytrecht toe heerlicken hadden geconvoyeert Twelck by hem getuyge gehoord zijn gaff ter antwoorde dat hy sulcz geensints en soude connen doen dan mit voorweten en commissie van die van de gerechte, zeggen mitsdien de voors. Valmaer dat hy hem wel weder zoude comen spreken. . .")

⁴⁹ Ibid., p. 95. The Declaration of Hobbe Florisz. states: "likewise so asked Christiaen [van de Wouwe] if he, Andries Schot desired to make the trip and Andries Schot appeared half and half to consent, according to his (Hobbe Florisz.'s) thinking. . ." ("... van gelyckheyt zo heeft Christiaen noch geseyt, oft hy Andries Schot de reyse begeerde te doen ende Andries Schot scheen half en half te consenteren op syn beduncken").

⁵⁰ Ibid., pp. 99, 107, 118.

⁵¹ Bisschop. Leicestersche partij binnen Leiden, pp. 101, 140; AH Rijnland, No. 6715: Morgenboek van Sassenhem 1588 and 1592. Whereas his name appears in the Sassenhem Morgenboek of 1588 (i.e. record taken as of 1587) as "Hobbe Florisz. tot Leyden," his name appears in 1592 as "Hobbe Floriss tot Alcmaer." Both entires are the same piece of property. The sentence issued to Florisz. (POTT) in his absence is contained in the Crimineele Vonnisboek for 1587 (GAL, RA, No. 3, Deel II, folios 118-119vso). Although waterstained the readable part of the verdict demanded the following penalty: the cutting off of two fingers of the right hand, followed by death by beheading, after which quartering. The head and four parts of the body were then to be placed on the five city entry gates.

⁵² Blok, GHS, III, p. 80.

⁵³ Blok, GHS, III, pp. 82-83; Jones, "Nederduits Gereformeerde Gemeente," p. 135.

⁵⁴GAL, SA, I, No. 73: Dienstboek A, passim. The burgemeesters noted were those serving the term November 1578–November 1579, while the schepenen cited served the term July 1578–July 1579. Among the names appearing only Pieter OOM Pietersz. van Ofwegen ever served as an elder of the Reformed Church. He served as ouderling eight times and was among those nominated but not chosen an additional six times. His further participation in Church matters came as the city's delegate to the consistory, a post which he held fifteen times.

Two others mentioned in this group were also nominated to be elders at one time or another, but were not chosen. These were Willem Jan Reyersz. van HEEMSKERCK and Jacob Allertsz. de HAES. HEEMSKERCK and Pieter Pieter Jorisz. van CORTEVELT were both city delegates to the consistory.

⁵⁵Block, GHS, III, p. 86.

⁵⁶Deursen, Bavianen en Slijkgeuzen, pp. 21–24. Although referring especially to villages, Deursen's examples are sometimes drawn from cities, such as Alkmaar and even Leiden, making his generalizations applicable to towns as well, although to a lesser extent. Certainly, his assertion that Roman Catholics retained control of certain offices and smalle diensten may be seen in Leiden. Vroedschap member Jan Gerytsz. BUYTEWECH is one such example. See p. 305 of this chapter for further detail. Unlike Deursen's illustrations, however, Leiden Roman Catholics never really held church-related functions.

Various urban welfare systems were also undergoing changes in the sixteenth century. In many instances the trend was toward more secular control, and an attempt by Leiden to maintain what control had evolved before the Revolt was not surprising. See Lightenberg, Armezorg te Leiden, pp. 284–305, especially 292–305.

⁵⁷C. M. Dozy, "Kerk en Staat te Leiden in het laatst der 16e en het begin der 17e eeuw," Handelingen en Mededeelingen van de Maatschappij der Nederlandsche Letterkunde te Leiden (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1898), pp. 18–19; Blok, GHS, III, pp. 90 and 102; Jones, "Nederduits Gereformeerde Gemeente," p. 136.

⁵⁸Jones, "Nederduits Gereformeerde Gemeente," p. 139; Daelemans, "Leiden 1581," pp. 184 and 200–201. The average rental value (huurwaarde) of the houses belonging to individuals in the textile industry in 1584 was 10.1 gulden or 3.1 gulden below the average for the city. As most immigrants from the southern Netherlands were textile workers, it was reasonable to assume that very many fell into this category. A cloth worker, weaver or fuller who lived in a house worth only five or ten gulden would have very little in common socially with a councilman or magistrate whose dwelling might be worth anywhere from twenty to over a hundred gulden.

- ⁵⁹ The main lines of these points-of-view are surveyed in Gordon Griffiths, "The Revolutionary Character of the Revolt of the Netherlands," Comparative Studies in Society and History, II (1959-1960), pp. 452-469. For the side describing the Revolt as a "conservative revolution" see Johan Huizinga, Dutch Civilization in the Seventeenth Century, Harper Torchbooks (New York: Harper and Row, 1968), pp. 25-33. The "modernist" opinion may be found in various works by H. A. Enno van Gelder.
- ⁶⁰ GAL, SA, I, No. 384: Vroedschapsboek C, folios 21vso-22; GAL, SA, I, No. 384: Vroedschapsboek E, folios 23-23vso; GAL, SA, I, No. 386: Vroedschapsboek H, folios 12vso-14 and 16-18vso.
- ⁶¹ GAL, SA, I, No. 384: Vroedschapsboek C, folios 41vso-43, dated March 31, 1533; GAL, SA, I, No. 384: Vroedschapsboek D, folios 45vso-47, dated July 9, 1537.
- ⁶² GAL, SA, I, No. 384: Vroedschapsboek E, folios 21vso-23, dated June 28, 1542. One such rare occasion was a discussion of the build-up of troops by the King of France for a possible attack on the Netherlands.
- ⁶³ GAL, SA, II, No. 442: Vroedschapsboeken K-L, folios 341-342, dated August 30, 1586; GAL, SA, II, No. 443: Vroedschapsboek M, folios 43vso-44, dated August 10, 1588; and GAL, SA, II, No. 443: Vroedschapsboek M, folios 19, dated March 29, 1588 and folio 35, dated May 24, 1588.
- ⁶⁴ GAL, SA, II, No. 442: Vroedschapsboek K-L, folios 341-342.
- ⁶⁵ GAL, SA, II, No. 443: Vroedschapsboek M, folios 43vso-44.
- ⁶⁶ Dillen, Van Rijkdom en Regenten, pp. 14-15.
- ⁶⁷ GAL, SA, II, No. 443: Vroedschapsboek M, folio 35, dated May 24, 1588.
- ⁶⁸ Gosses and Japikse, Staatkundige Geschiedenis van Nederland, pp. 422-438.
- ⁶⁹ GAL, SA, I, No. 384: Vroedschapsboek E, folios 28-29vso, dated August 16, 1542; GAL, SA, II, No. 443: Vroedschapsboek M, folio 38vso, dated June 24, 1588. Both incidents deal with defense. The earlier one with an invasion by France and the other with the military situation at the strategically important city of Geertruidenberg.

70 Prior to the Revolt Holland was but one province among many in the Hapsburg Netherlands. By 1588 she was fast becoming the most important province in the newly emerging Republic.

71 N. Japikse, ed., Resolutiën der Staten-Generaal van 1576 tot 1609, Vol. IX, Rijksgeschiedkundig Publicatiën, Vol. 62 ('s-Gravenhage: Martinus Nijhoff, 1926), p. 531. BAERSDORP took his oath of office on September 27, 1596.

72 N. Japikse, ed., Resolutiën der Staten-Generaal van 1576 tot 1609, Vol. X, Rijksgeschiedkundig Publicatiën, Vol. 71 ('s-Gravenhage: Martinus Nijhoff, 1930), p. 684.

73 Everdingen, Paulus Buys, pp. 14-20.

74 Japikse, Resolutiën der Staten-Generaal, III, p. 3; VI, p. 290, list A; VIII, p. 155 and 367; IX, p. 2 and 359; X, p. 2, 3 and 378; XI, p. 2, and 362; XII, p. 2 and 328; XIII, p. 2 and 240.

75 H. J. Smit, Bronnen tot de Geschiedenis van de Handel met Engeland, Schotland en Ierland, II, tweede stuk, Rijksgeschiedkundig Publicatiën, Vol. 91 ('s-Gravenhage: Martinus Nijhoff, 1950), pp. 1179-1185. The initial request by delegates from Haarlem and Leiden begins thus: "In most humble wyse schewen unto Your Highnes Your Majesties poor suppliants, Cornelis Thomson of Haerlem in the countie of Holland and Gysbregh Dierixson [GOOL] of Leyden in the said countie, in the name as commissioners sent from the said townes, that, as . . . after which the case is stated .

Recommendations from influential men in the Court of Queen Elizabeth begins thus: "after our very hartie comendations, the bearers hereof, agents for the inhabitants of the towne of Haerlem and Leyden in the countie of Holland, come recomendid to Her Majestie by lettres from the prince of Orange for the obtaininge of Her Majesties lysence for the transportacion yearly during 4 yeares of certain quantities of sheepskines and sarplers of woll, as they themselves will more fullie declare unto you." Among those signing were "W. Burgley and R. Leicester."

The trip was unsuccessful because of objections from English wool merchants, according to vroedschap resolution of October 10, 1578 which asked Gysbert Dircksz. GOOL to present his request for reimbursement to the burgemeesters, gerecht and wardeins. See GAL, SA, II, No. 441: Vroedschapsboek J, folio 166, dated October 10, 1578.

76 One example of this occurred in 1567 when, after obtaining the advice of the wardeins, the gerecht delegated Dirck Cornelisz. den OOSTERLING, a drapenier, to travel to Bruges in order to buy 12,000 sheepskins. See GAL, SA, I, No. 1383: Gerechtsdagboek 1567-1574, folio 6, dated August 9, 1567.

⁷⁷G. D. H. Schotel, Het leven van Pieter Adriaansz. van der Werff (Leiden, 1874), p. 51.

⁷⁸Blok, GHS, III, p. 140.

⁷⁹F. Wijdenes Spaans, "Rombout Hogerbeets," in NNBW, IX, pp. 384-389. HOGERBEETS served as Leiden pensionaris on two separate occasions, from 1590-1596 and from 1617 until his removal as a Remonstrant in August, 1618. In between he served as Raad ordinaris in the Hoogen Raad of Holland. In 1611 he was a member of the diplomatic mission to the Kings of Denmark and Sweden and was one of the first subscribers to the impoldering of the Beemster region.

⁸⁰GAL, SA, II, No. 443: Vroedschapsboek M, folios 233vso-234, dated September 29, 1593.

⁸¹For a treatment of the historiography surrounding the various conceptions of the Revolt, including this area see J. W. Smit, "The Present Position of Studies Regarding the Revolt of the Netherlands," in J. S. Bromley and E. H. Kossmann, eds., Britain and the Netherlands, Papers delivered to the Oxford-Netherlands Historical Conference, Vol. I (London: Chatto and Windus, 1960), pp. 11-28.

⁸²Boogman, "Overgang," pp. 81-112. For Leiden, see especially pp. 99-104. Also see Chapter II, pp. 56-58.

⁸³Rogier, Katholicisme in Noord-Nederland, especially Vol. II.

⁸⁴Rogier, Katholicisme in Noord-Nederland, II, p. 381. One of the strongest centers of Calvinism was Dordrecht, and Rogier gives the membership of the Reformed community there as 570 in 1574. As heads of households of five members that means a total of 2850 or 19 per cent out of a population of about 15,000. The article by Alastair Duke and Rosemary Jones entitled, "Towards a Reformed Polity in Holland, 1572-1578," Tijdschrift voor Geschiedenis, LXXXIX (1976), p. 382 corrects the Reformed membership in 1574 to between 520 and 536 using the Kerkerdaadsarchief Dordrecht. Also see this article for other comparative material on Reformed populations. The recent article by A. M. van der Woude and G. J. Mentink, "La population de Rotterdam au XVIIe et au XVIIIe siècle," Population, XXI (1966), pp. 1165-1190 provides accurate population estimates plus a view of the diversity of religion in that city.

⁸⁵Kolff, "Libertatis Ergo," pp. 129-130.

⁸⁶See pp. 272-273 of this chapter.

⁸⁷Marcus, Sententien, pp. 119-120.

⁸⁸Fasel, "De Leidse Glippers," p. 71

⁸⁹GAL, SA, I, No. 386: Vroedschapsboek H, two unnumbered folios before folio 1 in the handwriting of Jan Cornelisz. van HOUT, who summarized vroedschap appointments from 1530-1574. Also, Jones, "Nederduits Gereformeerde Gemeente," p. 128.

⁹⁰Fasel, "De Leidse Glippers," p. 79; GAL, SA, I, No. 73: Dienstboek A, passim.; GAL, SA, II, Nos. 202-204: Dienstboeken B-D, passim. In the Dienstboeken, see the annual appointments for weesmeesters and the toesienders of St. Stephen's almshouse.

⁹¹Rogier, Geschiedenis van het Katholicisme, II, p. 367.

⁹²GAL, Rechterlijke Archief, No. 3, Crimineele Vonnisboek, Deel 2, 1584-1591, folios 118-119vso (somewhat waterstained) and W. Bisschop, Leicestersche partij binnen Leiden, pp. 95, 98, 99.

⁹³Marcus, Sententien..., p. 119 and Frans Fransz. van Dusseldorp, Annales, p. xviii and 130: "Johannes Paets, sub Albano ob hereim profugus, homo plane ineptus dives, qui moribundus etiam proprios concionatores suos praesentes irridebat."

⁹⁴Rogier, Geschiedenis van het Katholicisme, II, p. 369.

⁹⁵ALU, Archief van Senaat en Faculteiten, No. 282, 34vso, dated 9 januari 1588 quoted by P.A.M. Geurts, "M^r Willem van Assendelft, Kanunnik-Schoolmeester te Leiden (1579-1591) en het Privilegium Fori der Universiteit," Archief voor de Geschiedenis van de katholieke Kerk in Nederland, VI (1964), p. 10: See also P.A.M. Geurts, "Een zoon van Pieter Adriaensz van der Werf op een katholieke school?," LJ, LII (1959), pp. 95-98.

⁹⁶Knappert, "Uit de Geschiedenis der Groote Latijnse School," LJ, II (1905), pp. 25-27.

⁹⁷GAL, Archief van den Kerkenraad, No. 1, "De Boeck des Kerckenraets" 1584-1590, folio 18vso; "Item seyde den voirs Hackius dat hy hyer op den predicstoel hadde ghepredict dat het Synodus ghelyck het Pausdoem de pocken hadde." For BAERSDORP's involvement see folios 18-23.

98 Ibid., folio 19: Hackius states, "Ick hebt hyer wel opden predicstoel ghepredicht Liuer de spansche Inquisitie als de Geneefsche Discipline ende myne heeren [members of the magistracy] hebbent ghepresen."

99 GAL, Archief van de Kerkenraad, No. 45, no folios cited, dated "begin van dec. 1587"

100 Ibid., unfoliated, dated "begin van dec. 1587:" "Baersdorp zegt dat al gaat hy ter kerke, als men hem opensneed, men zou een dobbelkatholyk in zijn hart vinden."

101 Ibid.: "zij [the accusers] klagen dat, bij de laatste vernieuwing van de Regering 'meest Papisten, of afvallingen van de religie in de wet, in de vroetschap, en andere ampten des staats gesteld zijn..."

102 Alastair Duke and Rosemary L. Jones, "Towards a Reformed Polity in Holland 1572-1578," p. 385 citing Coolhaes' statement.

103 GAL, SA, II, No. 9249: Gerechtsdagboek A², folio 32vso, dated March 2, 1588; GAL, SA, II, No. 9250: Gerechtsdagboek B, folio 328vso, dated July 15, 1593. These are but two examples of the continued presence of Lutherans and Anabaptists in Leiden in this period.

104 Nine group members were retained in the change of government which occurred on October 23, 1618. Retention at this time is an indicator of Contraremonstrant sympathy. Those who continued to be members of the vroedschap were:

Claes Adriaensz. van LEEUWEN
Cornelis Jansz. van VALCKENBURCH
Henrick Egbertsz. van der HAL
Philips Gerardsz. LANTSCHOT
Jasper Jansz. van BANCHEM
Jacob PAETS
Vranck Cornelisz. van THORENVLIET
Geryt Lenaertsz. (van GROOTVELT)
Andries Jaspersz. van VESANEVELT

Those with sympathies in the Remonstrantcamp included such group members as:

Dirck Gerritsz. van HOGEVEEN
Jan IJsnoutsz. van der NES
Loth Huygensz. GAEL
Franck Jansz. DUYCK
Laurens Huygensz. GAEL
Tyman Jansz. van der GRAFT
Willem Cornelisz. TIBAULT (DEDEL)
Rombout HOGEBEETS
Nicolaes van ZEYST

See GAL, SA, II, No. 206: Dienstboek F, folios following folio 170 and folios 218-218vso. Also, Blok, GHS, III, pp. 99, 104 and 117.

¹⁰⁵ GAL, SA, II, No. 442: Vroedschapsboek K-L, folios 51-53. There were, however, relatives of vroedschap members who refused the oath. These were: Cornelis Huygensz. GAEL, Adriaen Willemsz. van WARMONT, Pieter Maertensz. ZWART and Dirck Joosten z van ZONNEVELT (?).

CONCLUSION

When Claes Cornelisz. de WILDE was born in 1505 the Protestant Reformation had not yet taken place in Germany. No one had even heard of Martin Luther, Anabaptism or John Calvin. Philip the Fair carried Hapsburg authority in the Netherlands, and Europe had known of the New World for little over a decade. People in Leiden could still remember the civil wars between the Hoeks and the Kabeljauws, and perceptions of the city's economic future were not at all clear.

As De WILDE grew to maturity, followed his career of cloth manufacturing and became one of Leiden's leading municipal officials, cracks appeared in his late medieval world. In Holland the rise of the Anabaptist movement was a symptom of growing dissatisfaction with the Roman Catholic Church. The interruption of traditional trading links with England contributed to increasing economic difficulties, particularly in industries affected by the wool trade. Similarly, political changes encouraged by Charles V, who had become ruler in the Netherlands, altered the former relationship between towns and the central government. Nevertheless, despite the visible signs that times were changing, the world into which De WILDE was born remained intact until his death in 1567.

Not so the world of Philip Gerardsz. LANTSCHOT who served on the Leiden vroedschap from 1587 to 1620. LANTSCHOT was twenty-seven when the iconoclasm of 1566 gave Leiden her first taste of religious and political rebellion. He was thirty-three when the Beggars appeared

before the city and forty-two when Holland renounced the King of Spain. His tenure as a town councilman occurred while Leiden was undergoing her late sixteenth century economic revival. Also, LANTSCHOT was deeply involved in national politics and was an elder of the Reformed Church during the infamous Arminian controversies of the early seventeenth century. He saw the unstable world he knew as a young man crumble about him in the 1560's and 1570's. Yet, he adapted his life to the new circumstances and came to play an active role in the young Dutch Republic. In this sense, his life, though it is not typical of all vroedschap members, is a microcosm of their experience in the years treated by this study.

The Leiden which LANTSCHOT knew in 1600, while it would have been physically recognizable to Claes Cornelisz. de WILDE, was very different from the earlier drapenier's environment. Gone were the monks and nuns who formerly walked the streets in numbers. The one chapter of canons in Leiden had long since ceased to say masses in the St. Pancras Church. True, the Pieterskerk would have looked familiar to De WILDE, but the Reformed services held there would have seemed strange to him.

Even the textile industry had changed. The wool worsted which De WILDE and his contemporaries had taken so much pride in had been reduced to an insignificant part of Leiden's overall cloth production. The city was now manufacturing a host of new fabrics, the production of which was prohibited in De WILDE's day. Methods and management of textile production had also changed. Relaxation of former restrictions by the city government, which of course remained in control

of the cloth industry, had the effect of making wage-earners out of former independent combers, spinners and so forth. As a result, capitalistic organization of the industry was strengthened and the entrepreneur who controlled the various stages of manufacture became more important.¹

De WILDE also would have felt that the city he once knew had been taken over by foreigners. The Flemings and Brabanters literally swarmed in Leiden. Although Holland had always been a relatively mobile society with frequent movement between cities, the late sixteenth century saw hundreds of immigrants, refugees and displaced persons enter many Dutch towns as a result of the war in the southern Netherlands. By the early seventeenth century, Leiden had become the second largest city in the region next to Amsterdam.

This familiar yet unfamiliar city, which he had helped to govern in the middle years of the sixteenth century, was the legacy of the councilmen and magistrates who followed De WILDE in office. Although the men in Leiden government remained essentially conservative throughout the second half of the sixteenth century, their actions and decisions were shaped by experiences that included political rebellion, religious unrest and economic bust and boom. Surprisingly, the majority of vroedschap and gerecht members retained a certain consistency in their outlook toward crucial issues of their day. While documents and correspondence pertaining to the vroedschap contain many references to freedom and liberty, the principal intention of these men from old Leiden patrician families was not to overthrow the existing hierarchical

social order. Rather the Netherlands Revolt and the religious reform which accompanied it was seen as a means of recapturing what had been altered over the years by the Spanish.

In fact, Leiden's municipal government remained very similar in form to its pre-Revolt model. While the authority of the burgemeesters increased and other minor offices were adapted to meet the needs of the day, the traditional structure and procedural matters remained the same.² The importance of familial continuity may also be seen as significant both before and after the Revolt. Life-membership encouraged the gradual evolution of the vroedschap. Even the higher than normal personnel turnover in the 1560's and 1570's did not upset the continued representation of numerous Leiden vroedschap families.

Another shared characteristic of pre-Revolt and post-Revolt vroedschap members is the close interrelationship among individuals. Although Leiden's nepotism regulations generally prevented the simultaneous holding of certain offices by fathers and brothers, marriage relationships broadly linked large numbers of councilmen and magistrates at any given time. Of course, this may be as attributable to social custom as much as to a conscious, though informal, policy on the part of group members to marry among themselves.

The role of education in the lives of vroedschap and gerecht members was also relatively consistent, although it had begun to change for town councilmen of the post-Revolt era. Few group members actually attended universities or traveled abroad regularly except for business or on official government missions. Yet, the sons of late sixteenth-century councilmen and magistrates increasingly continued their studies

at the university level, and a few examples point to the encouragement of foreign travel for educational reasons. The fact that professional and academic training began to be viewed as important for their sons indicates that the group's values concerning education had begun to change by 1600.

Occupations among vroedschap and gerecht members remained primarily related to textiles and to brewing throughout the period under scrutiny. Nevertheless, a comparison of types of occupations showed a drift toward service-related occupations in the late sixteenth century. The implication of this is, of course, that the type of individual who was elected to city office in that period tended to change in favor of those with a slightly higher social status.

The economic position of councilmen and magistrates also remained nearly the same both before and after the Revolt. Property-holding both inside the city and in the surrounding Rijnland was the accepted norm among town officials. The amount of property held or the extent to which an individual emphasized one form of investment over another varied from person to person. Sometimes Leiden real-estate was a councilman's primary asset. In other cases rural land-holding comprised more of an individual's property investment. On occasion the two were equally divided.

The favoring of real-estate over other forms of investment depended upon many things. Often it was family tradition or the result of marriage arrangements. Capital investment in one's own enterprise or in other business ventures demanded liquid assets that because of the nature of record keeping, sometimes concealed the true

wealth of individuals who seem to own little property. The purchase of large quantities of wool or the investment in the number of increasing land reclamation projects are examples of this. Group members did both.

If diversified investment in business enterprise illustrates the individualized approach which many group members took toward their private careers, the same holds true for their public careers. Among town officials, there were many different variations of public service which are not reducible to any set pattern of office-holding. Preparation for major offices occurred through the holding of smalle diensten prior to the elevation to councilman or magistrate.

Specialization within public service careers occurred in a relatively small number of cases. Only a very few office-holders became professionals by remaining in a single post for many years.

Finally, group members shifted from being semi-loyal Roman Catholic instruments of Spanish-controlled central authority to being luke-warm Protestant sympathizers determined to govern themselves as freely from outside influence as possible. Slowly after the break with Spain, councilmen and magistrates came to realize that the problems they had to confront as officials of an independent political entity were different from those they had been forced to deal with under Spain. This encouraged the emergence of the vroedschap member who needed to be able to discuss foreign policy as easily as town planning and zoning ordinances. Related to this shift, I believe, were the altered attitudes of late sixteenth-century councilmen toward education. University training helped to ease future councilmen

and magistrates into their new responsibilities, and allowed them to associate with those who might later be their colleagues in the States of Holland or the States-General.

Both the contrasts and similarities between the vroedschap member of the mid-sixteenth century and the vroedschap member from the late sixteenth century are very well illustrated by the lives of the two earlier examples of De WILDE and LANTSCHOT. De WILDE, who was but one of the many drapeniers in the Leiden vroedschap, began his public career like so many other future councilmen as a zieckenhuismeester of St. Athonis' Chapel, the leprosarium. After two terms he became gasthuismeester of St. Catherine's Hospital for five years from 1532 through 1536. The following year he served as kerkmeester of the Pieterskerk and then returned to be hospital administrator of St. Catherine's in 1538, 1539 and 1541. In July of 1541 he was chosen schepen and continued to serve in that capacity for four consecutive terms, after which he became burgemeester for two terms in 1546 and 1547. He was elected to the vroedschap in November 1547 in place of his father Cornelis Jansz. de WILDE who had just died. De WILDE continued to hold other minor posts in conjunction with his councilman's duties. He died in 1567.³

De WILDE's public career was much like those of his contemporaries. It included tenure in a number of different offices held for relatively short periods, although De WILDE's repeated service as wardein indicates that the city valued his expertise in the textile field.⁴ De WILDE was sent on several missions to other cities on behalf of the cloth industry, including Antwerp and Calais.⁵ He was also on the committee

which considered the advisability of producing more roughly-woven fabrics (voerlakens) at Leiden in 1558. Although the committee advised in favor of the move and production was begun on a very small scale, voerlakens did not prove to be the answer to the cloth industry's troubles in the 1550's.⁶ Among De WILDE's other municipal duties were service on the commission to call Paulus Aertsz. BUYS as Leiden pensionaris in 1561 and the purchase of additional grain (rogge) for city stores at the time of serious shortage in 1557.⁷

De WILDE was related to several other vroedschap families, including the DUSSELDORPs and WARMONTs. Because a distant relative gave political and religious support of Spain, however, the De WILDE family membership in the vroedschap seems to have ended in 1573.⁸ With regard to Claes Cornelisz. de WILDE's early educational training, I have found no record of his having attended a university, and certainly this was not expected of a drapenier. Curiously, however, he is occasionally referred to in documents as M^r Claes Cornelisz. de WILDE, which could conceivably imply the acquisition of a legal degree. It is also unlikely that he sent his son, Claes Claesz., a saltmaker (zoutzieder), to a university.⁹

De WILDE's economic position in Leiden was well-to-do but not extraordinarily wealthy. His total assessment of £36 in the Tenth Penny of 1559 is indicative of his solid social standing. Like many of his fellow councilmen, he entered the Leiden real-estate market in a limited way, although he seems to have had substantial holdings in the surrounding Rijnland at his death.¹⁰ It is certainly possible that de WILDE's capital was tied up in wool or other cloth-related

areas during his early years, but by 1552 he was not a practicing drapenier as his name is absent from a list of cloth manufacturers of that year.¹¹ Of course, his intermittent service as a wardein and as a member of the gerecht in the 1550's prohibited his continuing with his own business, but even during years when he did not hold such an office there is no evidence that he was an active drapenier.¹² His successful private and public careers would have naturally allowed him the prerogative not to practice his former occupation.¹³

De WILDE's religious viewpoint is difficult to pinpoint. Falsely accused of Anabaptism in 1542, his subsequent presence in the city government is clear evidence that he did not adopt the views of that sect. In fact, his long-term tenure as both Vader van de Jacopmisse and Vader van de Observanten points to his respect for Roman Catholicism. His death in 1567 shortly after the previous year's iconoclastic outburst prevented his involvement in subsequent events which would have demanded that he show his stripes.

Just as Claes Cornelisz. de WILDE possessed many of the characteristics of his fellow mid-century colleagues, Philips LANTSCHOT had a considerable number of the qualities associated with the proto-Regents of the late sixteenth century. As a merchant dealing in weet, a kind of blue dye, he represents the increase in the service-related occupational category in the vroedschap.¹⁴ His business activities were considerable enough for him to have international connections. Indeed, certain financial arrangements were made through his contacts regarding the calling of the renowned humanist and linguist Joseph Scaliger to teach at the University of Leiden.¹⁵

While his father M^r Gerard LANTSCHOT was a lawyer, there is no indication that Philips himself obtained a university degree. He did see the value of such an education, however, since his son, Gerard, attended Leiden University and acquired a degree in medicine.¹⁶ My research has not revealed significant familial relationships with other vroedschap families, although a few connections were inevitable. His family had, after all, been in Leiden since before the siege, although not in the city government.¹⁷ For the generation of Philips' children, family relationships reveal connections with two Regent families.¹⁸

In his religious convictions LANTSCHOT was a reasonably orthodox Calvinist. His election to the office of elder of the Reformed Church eleven different times between 1602 and 1615 is proof of this. That he was not extreme in his religious views, however, may be seen in his selection by the city to represent them at the consistory in 1609. His adherence to the theological position of the Synod of Dordt must have been fairly close, since he survived the purge of Remonstrants from the vroedschap which occurred in 1618.¹⁹

In politics LANTSCHOT was willing to accept the movement which drew Leiden into the Dutch Revolt. Yet, once the cord with Spain was severed he was not willing to substitute another, since he was chosen to replace Hobbe Florisz. (POTT), one of the Leicester conspirators whose ultimate goal was to make Queen Elizabeth sovereign in the Netherlands.²⁰ LANTSCHOT's views led him to see the Netherlands as an independent entity, and he worked to this end as Leiden's representative to the States of Holland and to the States-General.²¹ This tradition seems to have been carried on by his son, Gerard, who

succeeded his father in the Leiden vroedschap and later became a member of the Admiralty of Amsterdam.²²

When Philips Gerardsz. LANTSCHOT died on December 31, 1620, he left behind a world which would have bewildered Claes Cornelisz. de WILDE. In LANTSCHOT's lifetime the earth had more than quadrupled in size, and De WILDE could only have vaguely envisioned the lucrative East India trade which had begun to pour its goods into Europe via Dutch carriers. The Antwerp which De WILDE had known as the principal entrepôt of northern Europe was no longer. Amsterdam had replaced her as the international trading and banking center of the north. Leiden was once again sending her textiles across Europe and even to the Middle East. Leiden University, which had not existed during De WILDE's lifetime, was now one of Europe's important centers of learning. Gone were the open spaces inside the town which would have been readily recognizable to De WILDE. The orchards, the empty lots had long ago been filled with houses for textile workers. Houses that had been planned and constructed in Nieuwland, in Gansoord, in Rapenburg and in the extensions of the city to the north by LANTSCHOT's contemporaries.

While LANTSCHOT and De WILDE occupied similar social and economic positions in their respective contexts, and while their political experience on a local level would have entailed like duties with which both would have been familiar, by 1620 LANTSCHOT's world of seventeenth-century Regents had supplanted the world of Charles V known to De WILDE. The men in Leiden government who were contemporaries of both had helped to make that transition.

FOOTNOTES--CONCLUSION

¹Posthumus, Lakenindustrie, II, pp. 113-115.

²Blok, GHS, III, pp. 163-165 citing most often the work of Simon van Leeuwen's Bedenckingen.

³GAL, SA, I, No. 73: Dienstboek A, passim;; GAL, SA, I, No. 74: Register van smalle diensten, passim.

⁴De WILDE apparently overcame the fraudulent dying of cloth in 1528. He and two others, future fellow councilman Mees Garbrantsz. and Bouwen Andriesz., were sentenced to work on the city defenses for their misdeeds. See Chapter III, p. 11 and note 29.

⁵Posthumus, Bronnen, II, p. 506, No. 1047 citing Thesauriers-Rekening 1542, folio 34, dated June 31, 1542; Posthumus, Bronnen, II, p. 515, No. 1062 citing Vroedschapsboek A-F, folio 15, dated September 5, 1544.

⁶GAL, SA, I, No. 385: Vroedschapsboek G, folio 88, dated July 22, 1558; Posthumus, Lakenindustrie, II, pp. 5-6.

⁷GAL, SA, I, No. 385: Vroedschapsboek G, folio 127vso, dated November 10, 1561; GAL, SA, I, No. 385: Vroedschapsboek G, folio 70vso, dated October 26, 1557.

⁸Jan Adriaensz. de WILDE, who was also a drapenier, left the city as a glipper in 1573 and was one of several signers of glipperbrieven, letters sent to Leiden citizens encouraging them to surrender at the time of the 1574 siege. See Fruytiers, Corte Beschrijvinghe in Fruin, Oude verhalen, pp. 11-12.

⁹GAL, SA, I, No. 73: Dienstboek A, passim. See especially 1555 for the reference wardeyn where he appears as M^r. Also Posthumus, Bronnen, II, p. 506, No. 1047.

¹⁰GAL, SA, I, No. 992, folios 2, 53vso and 61vso; AH Rijnland, No. 3400: Alckemade, 1568; AH Rijnland, No. 5231: Morgenboek Katwijk, 1568; AH Rijnland, No. 8640: Morgenboek Zouterwoude, 1568; also the Acten van Transport index shows that De WILDE made a number of property transactions in the capacity of gasthuismeester but that his personal real-estate dealings during his later years were not extensive.

¹¹Posthumus, Bronnen, II, pp. 554-556, No. 1118.

¹²GAL, SA, I, No. 73: Dienstboek A, passim; GAL, SA, I, No. 74: Register van smalle diensten, passim.

¹³The substantial entries for his wife and heirs in the forced loans of 1572 and 1576 are some indication that he was indeed a very successful man. See GAL, SA, I, No. 941: Kohier van den omslag in den vorm van leening, geheven op last van den Prins van Oranje, als stadhouder van Holland, 1572, where the De WILDE entry is £100. See also GAL, SA, II, No. 3737: Rekening van de gecommmitteerde aangesteld bij resolutie dd. 12 Sept, 1581 tot vereffening van de vier leningen in 1572, 1573 en 1576 binnen Leiden gedaan. . . , folios 89vso and 113vso. De WILDE's son, Claes Claesz. zoudtzieder is cited as the heir of his mother Haesgen, widow of M^r Claes de Wilde in the accounting done by GAEL and Ysbrantsz. (folio 93vso). There he was assessed £260. In the second entry "Haesgen M^r Claes de Wilde wed^e erfgeⁿ met namen Gerrit Aerntsz. backer" is assessed 30 gulden in the loan of 1576 (folio 113vso).

¹⁴GAL, RA, No. 79: Getuigenisboek E, folio 326vso, dated February 17, 1594. At this time he testified for his colleague Ysbrant van der Bouchorst that both of them had been former partners in a dying business located on the Middelstegracht. He also testified to having been involved in various journeys for the firm during which he sold weet.

¹⁵Witkam, Dagelijkse zaken, III, pp. 108-109, No. 821; IV, pp. 52-54, No. 4168.

¹⁶GAL, SA, II, No. 1145: Boek K, folio 9, dated October 15, 1626.

¹⁷His father is noted as having been assessed 8 gulden in the Forced Loan for 1573 (GAL, SA, II, No. 3737, folio 126vso), indicating that M^r Gerrit Lantschot had been resident since prior to this time.

¹⁸GAL, SA, II, No. 1145: Boek G, folio 126, dated December 31, 1610; GAL, SA, II, No. 1145: Boek K, folio 9, dated October 15, 1626. LANTSCHOT's son, Gerard, married the widow of a former member of the Admiralty of Zeeland. His son Cornelis married Maria Henricxz. Diesen from Dordrecht.

¹⁹GAL, SA, II, Nos. 203-206: Dienstboeken C-F, passim. See entries for ouderlingen and especially the appointment list of those chosen to be members of the vroedschap on October 23, 1618 in Dienstboek F, folios 218.

²⁰GAL. SA, I, No. 73: Dienstboek A, folio 87, dated November 10, 1587.

²¹GAL, SA, II, No. 202: Dienstboek B, folios 135 and 150. Also, Japikse, Resolutiën der Staten Generaal, IX, pp. 2 and 359; X, p. 2.

²²"De Edelmogende Heeren Gecommitteerden Raden ter Admiraliteit te Amsterdam," Algemeen Nederlandsch Familieblad, No. 93, February 7, 1884, p. 5.

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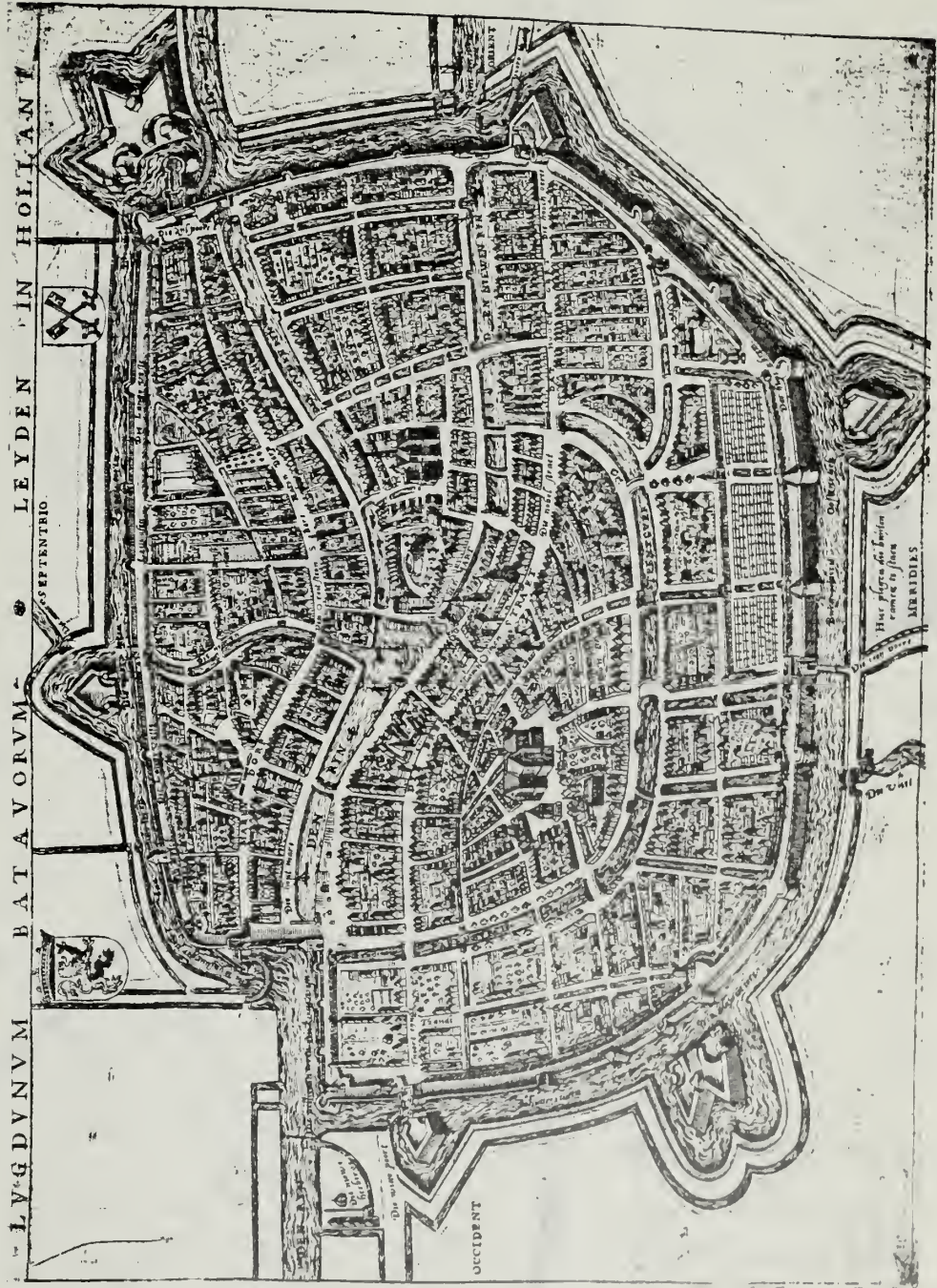
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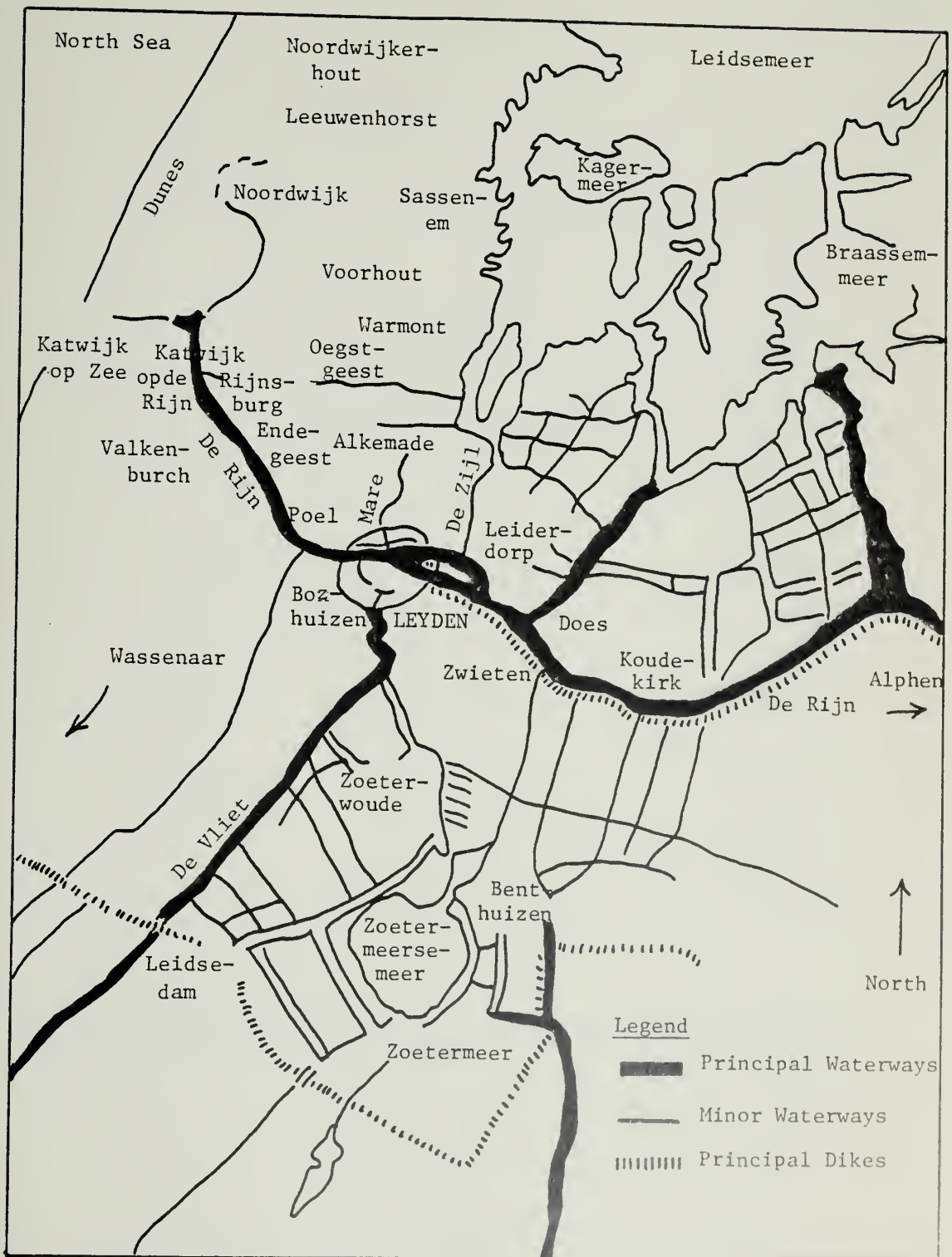
Appendix A

Maps

Map 1. Guicciardini's Sixteenth-Century Map of Leiden



Source: GAL, Prentverzameling 236^a.



APPENDIX B:
Leiden Municipal Offices
in the Late Sixteenth Century*

*Those offices in the following list are those regularly cited each year in the municipal Dienstboeken.

Name of Office	Number of Positions	Term of Office*	Date of Appointment	Appointing Authority	Salary	Remarks
Aalmoezenier (almoner)	8	1 yr	1 Jan.	Gerecht with Reformed Church ¹		From 1583 this was the name given to the huiszitten- meesters and the deacons of the Reformed Church.
Artillerymeester (artillery and ordnance officer)	2	1 yr	1 Jan.	Gerecht		Usually the out- going Captain or Hooftman of the Schutters
Bode mitter busse (Messenger with the box)	2	1 yr	1 Jan.	Gerecht	f 20 ²	City courier who delivered important documents in an official locked container
Bode mit de Roede (Messenger with the Rod) ³	4	1 yr	1 Jan.	Burgemeesters	f 20	Each mayor appoints one

*The major offices (mayor, alderman, etc.) and many of the smalle diensten (hospital administrator, churchwarden, etc.) changed personnel each year. Some of the less important posts, however, were held by the same individuals year after year, even though their term of office was only for one year and had to be renewed. One may assume that offices such as clocksteller, koster and the boden were among these latter types.

Bonneesters (Neighborhood organizer)	4 per bon	1 yr	1 Jan.	Gerecht	Duties include fire warden and snow re- moval supervisor
Burgemeester (Mayor)	4	1 yr	10 Nov.	Vroedschap	£ 50 ⁴ One mayor retains office for a 2nd year to maintain continuity. He be- comes known as the Oud-burgemeester (Old Mayor)
Chirurgijn (Surgeon)	2	1 yr	1 Jan.	Gerecht	14 Carolus gulden ⁵
Clerk van de Weeskamer (Clerk of the Orphan's Court)	1	1 yr	1 Jan.	Gerecht	60 gulden ⁶
Clocksteller (City Time-Keeper)	1	1 yr	1 Jan.	Gerecht	£ 30 ⁷
Clop van St. Pieters- kerk (Doorman of St. Pieterskerck)	1	1 yr	1 Jan.	Gerecht	
Clop op het Stadhuis (Doorman at the City Hall)	1	1 yr	1 Jan.	Gerecht	
Coornmeter (Corn measurer)	1	1 yr	1 Jan.	Gerecht	

Diaken ⁸ (Deacon of the Reformed Church)	4	1 yr	1 Jan.	Gerecht with Reformed Church	Appointed by the Gerecht from a list presented by the Consistory
Deken (Dean of the various gilds)		1 yr	1 Jan.	Gerecht	Chosen from a list of double the number of allowable nominees submitted by the gilds.
Deken van de Schutterij (Dean of the Civic Militia)		1 yr	1 Jan.		
Exuemeester (Administrator of the tax known as the Recht van Exue)	1	1 yr	17 Jan. ⁹	Gerecht	Office ceases to exist in 1540's.
Gasthuismeester van Onze Lieve Vrouwen Gasthuis (Hospital Admini- strator for the Hospital of Our Dear Lady)	4	1 yr	17 Jan.	Gerecht	ns Until 1583. Office united with Gasthuis- meester van St Elisabeths-gasthuis.
Gasthuismeester vsn St Elisabeths Gasthuis (Hospital Admini- strator of St Elisabeths Hospital)	4-5	1 yr	1 Jan.	Gerecht	ns

Casthuismeester van St Katrijnen Gasthuys (Hospital Admini- strator of St Catherine's Hospital)	4-5	1 yr	1 Jan.	Gerecht	ns
Gecommitteerde van de Echtzaken (Delegate for Marital Affairs)	2	1 yr	1 Jan.	Gerecht	Office established in 1583.
Gecommitterde tot de Kerkeraad (Delegate to the Consistory)	2	1 yr	1 Jan.	Gerecht	
Gecommitteerde tot de Waalſe Kerk (Delegate to the Walloon Church)	2	1 yr	1 Jan.	Gerecht	
Gesworen	1 yr	1 Jan.	Gerecht	Sworn individuals that supervised the activities of the various gilds. The following re- gularly had Ges- woren assigned to them: the harde dak, rederye, vleeshal, volambacht and weefambacht.	

Getijdeemeester van Onze Lieve Vrouw (Supervisor of funds raised during the mass at Church of Our Dear Lady)	4	1 yr	17 Jan.	Gerecht	Office ceases in 1572 when mass was abolished.
Getijdeemeester vsm St Pieterskerk (Supervisor of funds raised during the mass at St Pieters- Church)	4	1 yr	17 Jan.	Gerecht	Office abolished in 1572 when the mass was abolished.
Gouverneurs (Supervisors of the various types of cloths manufactured)		1 yr	First Mon. after 10 Nov.	Gerecht	Each type of cloth had its <u>gouverneur</u> assigned.
Heren van de Gebuurten (Neighborhood leaders)	1 per buurt				Chosen from among three nominees from each neighborhood. The <u>buurt</u> is a smaller subdivision of the <u>bon</u> .
Heilige Geestmeester (Supervisor of the Institution of the Holy Ghost)	4	1 yr	17 Jan.	Gerecht	Until 1577. See Meester van de Arme Wezen.

Hoofdman (Leader of the various gilds)	1 yr	Gerecht	Chosen from nominees presented by the gilds.
Hoofdman van de Schutterij (Officer of the Civic Militia)			
Huiszittenmeester (Supervisor for the Non-begging poor)	4 1 yr	Gerecht	ns From 1577. See Aalmoezenier.
Huiszittenmeester van St Pancras parochie (Supervisor for the Non-begging poor of St Pancras parish)	4 1 yr	Gerecht	ns Until 1576.
Huiszittenmeester van Onze Lieve Vrouwen parochie (Supervisor for the Non-begging poor of Our Dear Lady parish)	3 1 yr	Gerecht	ns Until 1577.
Huiszittenmeester van St Pieter's parochie (Supervisor for the Non-begging poor of St Pieter's parish)	4 1 yr	Gerecht	ns Until 1576.

Kerkmeester (Churchwarden)	4	1 yr	1 Jan.	Gerecht	ns	After 1575.
Kerkmeester van Onze Lieve Vrouwenkerk (Churchwarden for the Church of Our Dear Lady)	4	1 yr	17 Jan.	Gerecht	ns	Until 1574.
Kerkmeester van St Pancraskerk (Churchwarden of St Pancras Church)	4	1 yr	17 Jan.	Gerecht	ns	Until 1574.
Kerkmeester van St Pieterskerk (Churchwarden of St Pieter's Church)	4	1 yr	17 Jan.	Gerecht	ns	Until 1574.
Keurmeester van de Haring (Herring Inspector)	1					
Koster (Sexton)	2	as needed		Gerecht		One sexton for St. Pieterskerk and one for St. Pancraskerk.
Leprooshuismeester (Supervisor of the Leprosarium)	4	1 yr	1 Jan.	Gerecht		Prior to 1570 called Zieken= huismeester van Sint Anthonis Cappelle. Office united with Gasthuismeester of St Elisabeths Gasthuis in 1592.

Meester van de Arme Wezen (Supervisor of Foundlings and Poor Orphans)	4	1 yr	1 Jan.	Gerecht	New title of the older Heilige Geestmeester. Title adopted in 1577.
Meester van de Cellebroers (Supervisor for the Cellebroers Monastery)					
Die van de meester Kuipers de proefen (prouffen) van de kuipersknechts om meesters te worden ontfangen zullen (Master coopers who examine the work of journeymen coopers who wish to become masters)	3				
Meter van de Hoppe (Measurer of Hops)	1				Brewing industry controller
Moeder van de Heilige Geesthuis (Matron of the Home for Poor Orphans)	4	1 yr	1 Jan.	Gerecht	Later called <u>Weesmoeders</u>
Moeder van Onze Lieve Vrouwengasthuis (Matron of Our Dear Lady Hospital)	4	1 yr	1 Jan.	Gerecht	

Moeder van St Anthonis Cappelle (Matron of the Leprosarium)	4	1 yr	1 Jan.	Gerecht
Moeder van St Elisabeth Gasthuis (Matron of St Elisabeths Hospital)	4	1 yr	1 Jan.	Gerecht
Moeder van St Katrijnen Gasthuis (Matron of St Catherine's Hospital)	4	1 yr	1 Jan.	Gerecht
Onderkoster van St Pieterskerk (Sexton's assistant in St Pieter's Church)	1			
Ondersecretaris (Assistant City Secretary)	1			
Organist (City organist)	1			150 gulden ¹¹
Ouderling (Elder of the Reformed Church)	6-8			After 1579 the city appointed 2/3 of the Consistory
Pensionaris (Legal Advisor)	2			Vroedschap ƒ 300 ¹² Appointed to long- term contract as needed

Pestmeester (Public Health Official)				24.13 gulden ¹³	
Poortiers (City Gate Guards)	6	1 yr	1 Jan.	Gerecht	
Printers onder den touwen					
Prouffer van de lindewevers (Inspector of the linen weavers gild)	2	1 yr	1 Jan.	Gerecht	
Raamwachter (Cloth Drying-rack Guard)	3	1 yr	1 Jan.	Gerecht	
Rector van de Latijnse School (Rector of the Latin School)	1			Vroedschap	Appointed to con- tract of specified length longer than one year.
Roijermeester (Tax Auditor)	6	1 yr		Vroedschap	Chosen shortly be- fore each year's Thesaurier was ready to have the previous year's accounts examined.
Rundmeter (Beef Inspector)	1	1 yr	1 Jan.	Gerecht	
Schepen (Alderman)	8	1 yr	24 July	Stadholder or President of and Raad van Holland	Eight schepenen chosen from a list of sixteen provided by the vroedschap.

Scholarch (Superintendent of Schools)	4	1 yr	1 Jan.	Gerecht	
Schout (Sheriff)	1	Held until resig- nation or re- moval		Stadholder or his rep- resentative (before 1580's); States of Holland (after 1580's)	% of fines
Secretaris (City Secretary)	1			Vroedschap	500 Appointed to long- gulden ¹⁴ term contract.
Superintendent van de Gangeterije (Superintendent of the Cange Cloth Manufacture)		1 yr	1 Jan.	Gereche	
Superintendent van de Sayeterij (Superintendent of the Serge Cloth Manufacture)		1 yr	1 Jan.	Gerecht	
Telder va de Kuiper- shont (Counter of the Cooper's Hont?)	1	1 yr	1 Jan.	Gerecht	
Telder van de Barungshont (Counter of the ?)	1	1 yr	1 Jan.	Gerecht	

Thesaurier extraordinaris (Treasurer of extra-ordinary funds)	1	1 yr	10 Nov	Vroedschap	f40	Salary from Orlers, <u>Beschryvinge,</u> p. 613.
Thesaurier ordinaris (Treasurer of ordinary funds)	1	1 yr	10 Nov	Vroedschap	f40	Salary from Orlers, <u>Beschryvinge,</u> p. 613.
Toesiender van St Johansklooster (Supervisor of St Jan's Monastery)	2	1 yr	17 Jan	Gerecht		
Toesiender van St Stephensklooster (Supervisor of St. Stephen's Monastery)	3	1 yr	17 Jan.	Gerecht		Later this monastery becomes an almshouse, so the office con- tinues through the 16th century.
Die de Tonnen met Ijsere Banden meten zullen (Those who shall measure the barrels with iron hoops)	2	1 yr	1 Jan.	Gerecht		
Varkenbesienders (or Schouwers) (Hog Inspectors)	2	1 yr	1 Jan.	Gerecht		
Vestmeester (Fortifications officer)	1	1 yr	10 Nov.	Gerecht		

Vinders op de Vismarkt en Vleeshal (Finders at the Fish Market and Meat Market)	2	1 yr	1 Jan.	Gerecht	20 gulden and 10 gulden ¹⁵
Vroedschap (Town Councilman)	40	life	as needed	Vroedschap	
Vroedvrouw (City Midwife)	2				28 gulden ¹⁶
Vroomeester (Game Warden, Natural Resource Officer)	1	1 yr	1 Jan.	Gerecht	14 gulden ¹⁷
Waakers met de Klappen (Watchmen with the Rattles)	13				
Waranderers (Assistant Cloth Inspectors)					There were a number of these officers for each type of cloth manufactured.
Wardein (Old Drapery Warden)	4	1 yr	1 Jan.	Gerecht	ns
Weesmeester (Orphanage Director of Trustee)	4	1 yr	10 Nov	Gerecht	40 gulden ¹⁸

Wijnverlater	1				
Ziekenhuismeester van St Anthoniskapelle (Overseer for the Early Leprosarium)	4	1 yr	17 Jan.	Gerecht	This office be- comes the Leprooshuis- meester after 1569.
Zweep van St Pieterskerk	1				

FOOTNOTES--APPENDIX B

- ¹ The huiszittenmeesters, who made up four of the aalmoezeniers, were appointed by the gerecht. The deacons of the Reformed Church, who comprised the other four, were also selected by the gerecht from a list of nominees presented by the Reformed Church. See Blok, GHS, III, p. 327; Ligtenberg, Armezorg te Leiden, pp. 230-233; and Jones, "De Nederduits Gereformeerde Gemeente," p. 135.
- ² See Blok, GHS, I, p. 154 and Blok, GHS, III, p. 186. Salaries for the bodenmitter busse were increased to around £24 by the 1580's. See GAL SA, II, No. 2956, deel I: Tresoriersrekening 1584-1585, folios 83vso-84. Salaries are indicated where firm figures exist. The abbreviation ns is supplied where it is certain that the office had no salary connected to it. Where it is unknown whether there was any remuneration or not the space is left blank.
- ³ The roede or mace was the symbol of authority of the office of burgemeester.
- ⁴ Orlers, Beschryvinge der Stadt Leyden, p. 613.
- ⁵ Ligtenberg, Armezorg te Leiden, p. 293. This figure is for 1540. An additional stipend was allowable for a tabberd, i.e. the official robe of office. This salary was raised to £50 in 1555 where it remained into the 1580's. See GAL, SA, I, No. 395: Vroedschapsboek G, folio 25vso and GAL, SA, II, No. 2956: Tresoriersrekening 1584-1585, folios 85vso-89. By 1596 the salary of the city surgeon was raised to 75 gulden. See GAL, SA, II, No. 2964: Tresoriersrekening 1595-1596, folio 154.
- ⁶ GAL, SA, II, No. 3956, deel I: Tresoriersrekening 1584-85, folio 82. Remains at 60 gulden through 1596. See GAL, SA, II, No. 2964: Tresoriersrekening 1595-96, folio 151vso.
- ⁷ This figure is for 1564-1565. See GAL, SA, I, No. 637: Tresoriersrekening 1564-1565, folio 49 vso. In 1584-1585 the salary of the clocksteller is given as 180 gulden, but by that time the office also involved additional duties, such as huysbewaerder and byerman and nachtwachter opten toorn. See GAL, SA, II, No. 2956, deel I: Tresoriersrekening 1584-1585, folio 84vso. In 1596 the salary was again raised to 200 gulden. See GAL, SA, II, No. 2964: Tresoriersrekening 1595-1596, folio 153vso.
- ⁸ See the office of aalmoeziener above.

⁹ Most smalle diensten were originally appointed on January 17th, St. Pieter's Day. After 1583 this was changed to January 1st to correspond with the beginning of the New Year according to the recently introduced Gregorian Calendar. The offices cited with an appointment date of January 17th are those which ceased to exist before the change took place or were incorporated into other offices before 1583. For all those smalle diensten with an appointment date of January 1st, one may assume that they were appointed on St. Pieter's Day (17 January) before the 1583 change.

¹⁰ For the office "Gourverneurs van de Laeckenen/bayen ende doucken" the Tresoriersrekening 1595-1596 gives a salary of 60 gulden for two persons, i.e. 30 gulden per person. See GAL, SA, II, No. 2964: Tresoriersrekening 1595-1596, folio 156vso.

¹¹ This figure is for 1596. See GAL, SA, II, No. 2964: Tresoriersrekening 1595-1596, folio 152.

¹² This figure is for Paulus Aertsz. BUYS' salary in 1565. See GAL, SA, I, No. 637: Tresoriersrekening 1564-1565, folio 49. In 1585 Paulus VOS' salary was 400 gulden (GAL, SA, II, No. 2956, deel I: Tresoriersrekening 1584-1585, folios 80vso-81). In 1596 the salary of Rombout HOGERBEETS was reduced from its original 1200 gulden to 700 gulden because he had duties elsewhere.

¹³ This figure is for 1585. See GAL, SA, II, No. 2956, deel I: Tresoriersrekening 1584-1585, folios 89-89vso. By 1596 this salary was raised to 50 gulden. See GAL, SA, II, No. 2964: Tresoriersrekening 1595-1596, folio 154vso.

¹⁴ This figure is for 1585. See GAL, SA, II, No. 2956, deel I: Tresoriersrekening 1584-1585, folio 81. This amount was raised to 900 gulden by the 1590's. See GAL, SA, II, No. 2964: Tresoriersrekening 1595-1596, folio 150vso.

¹⁵ See GAL, SA, II, No. 2964: Tresoriersrekening 1595-1596, folio 155.

¹⁶ This figure is for 1566. See GAL, SA, I, No. 396: Vroedschapsboek H, folio 27vso-28. In 1596 a midwife's salary was 36 gulden. See GAL, SA, II, No. 2964: Tresoriersrekening 1595-1596, folio 155.

¹⁷ This figure is for the mid-1560's. See GAL, SA, I, No. 396: Vroedschapsboek H, folio 46.

¹⁸This figure is for 1585. See GAL, SA, II, No. 2956, deel I:
Tresoriersrekening 1584-1585, folio 8lvso.

Appendix C:

Group Members and Selected Genealogies

Part I: Basic Biographical Information and Career Sketch

Key To The Organization and Abbreviations

The entries below for each of the 185 members studied contain available information on birth and death dates, occupation, membership in the civic guard, glipper status and a survey of the individual's public career. For the purpose of brevity a series of abbreviations has been devised to indicate when certain offices were held. The key to these abbreviations appears below.

Because the annual term of service for all public offices did not begin at the same time, the following system for interpreting the year designations following the office abbreviations has been established. For the office of schepen (Sch) the years indicated are those in which the individual was chosen to be schepen. Thus, if the year 1555 follows the abbreviation Sch, this means that the public official was chosen schepen in July of 1555 and served in that capacity until July of 1556. Where the individual served several consecutive terms as schepen, this has been indicated by a year designation such as 1555-1557. This means that the individual was chosen in July 1555, was rechosen in July 1556 and in July 1557, and served his term of office until July of 1558.

For all other offices the year designations should be taken to mean that an individual served his term during the years mentioned. For instance, B: 1556 means that the individual was chosen burge-meester during November of 1555 and served his term of office from November 1555 to November 1556. B: 1556-1557 means that the individual served as burgemeester from November 1555 through November 1557.

Year designations for smalle diensten are the same as for burgemeester. However, reference should be made to Appendix B to determine if the annual term of office began after St. Martin's eve, January 1st or January 17th.

The order in which names of individuals appear in the following list is roughly alphabetical according to name or patronym. The order followed is the order in which names were coded for the computer. One idiosyncrasy that the English reader may find unusual is that of No. 120, Claesz. (van ROODENBURCH), Jan. Claes in Dutch is really Nicolaes and therefore appears in this list with the N's. It would be alphabetized this way in Dutch, and so is done that way here.

- Aalm (Aalmoezenier) - Almoner
- Art (Artillerymeester) - Artillery and Ordinance Officer
- AW (Meester van de Arme Wezen) Supervisor of Foundlings
and Poor Orphans
- B (Burgemeester) - Mayor
- D (Diacon) - Deacon of the Reformed Church
- Droog-h (Droogscheerdery-hoofman) - Officer in the
Cloth Shearer's Gild

- Exuemr (Exuemeester) - Administrator of the Tax known as the Recht van Exue
- G-olv (Gasthuismeester van Onze Lieve Vrouwen Gasthuis) Hospital Administrator for the Hospital of Our Dear Lady
- G-say (Gouverneur van de Sayeterij) - Governor of Serge Cloth Manufacture
- G-st el (Gasthuismeester van St Elisabeths Gasthuis) - Hospital Administrator of St Elisabeth's Hospital
- G-st K (Gasthuismeester van St Katrijnen Gasthuis) - Hospital Administrator of St Catherine's Hospital
- Gc-echt (Gecommitteerde van de echtzaken) - Delegate for Marital Affairs
- Gc-K (Gecommitteerde tot de Kerkeraad) - Delegate to the Consistory
- Gc-W (Gecommitteerde tot de Waalse Kerk) - Delegate to the Walloon Church
- Ges (Gesworen) - Sworn Representative of the Gilds
- Gt-olv (Getijdemeester van Onze Lieve Vrouw) - Supervisor for Funds raised during the Mass at the Church of Our Dear Lady
- Gt-p (Getijdemeester van St Pieterskerk) - Supervisor of Funds raised during the Mass at St Pieters Church
- HG (Heilige Geestmeester) - Supervisor of the Institution of the Holy Ghost
- Hzn (Huiszittenmeester) - Supervisor for the Non-Begging Poor
- Hzn-h (Huiszittenmeester van St Pancras Parochie) - Supervisor of the Non-Begging Poor for the Parish of St Pancras (Hooglandsekerk)
- Hzn-olv (Huiszittenmeester van Onze Lieve Vrouwen Parochie) - Supervisor of the Non-Begging Poor of Our Dear Lady Parish
- Hzn-p (Huiszittenmeester van St Pieter's Parochie) - Supervisor of the Non-Begging Poor of St. Pieter's Parish
- K (Kerkmeester) - Churchwarden
- K-h (Kerkmeester van St Pancraskerk) - Churchwarden of St. Pancreas Church (Hooglandsekerk)
- K-olv (Kerkmeester van Onze Lieve Vrouwenkerk) - Churchwarden of the Church of Our Dear Lady
- K-p (Kerkmeester van St Pieterskerk) - Churchwarden of St Pieter's Church
- K-W (Kerkeraad van de Waalse Kerk) - Member of the Consistory of the Walloon Church
- L (Leprooshuismeester) - Supervisor of the Leprosarium
- Mmr (Molenmeester van de Volmolen) - Supervisor of the Fulling Mill
- Mr-cell (Meester van de Cellebroers) - Supervisor of the Cellebroer Monastery

- O (Ouderling) - Elder of the Reformed Church
- P (Pensionaris) - Legal Advisor
- S (Schout) - Sheriff
- Sch (Schepen) - Alderman
- Schol (Scholarch) - Superintendent of Schools
- Sec (Secretaris) - City Secretary
- S-say (Superintendent van de Sayeterij) - Superintendent
of Serge Cloth Manufacture
- Thes-ex (Thesaurier extraordinaris) - Treasurer of
extraordinary funds
- Thes-o (Thesaurier ordinaris) - Treasurer of ordinary funds
- T-st a (Toesiender van St Anna) - Supervisor of St Anne's
Cloister
- T-st st (Toesiender van St Stephen) - Supervisor of St
Stephen's Monastery
- V (Vroedschap) - Town Councilman
- Vader-cell (Vader van de Cellebroeners) - Overseer of
the Cellebroer Monastery
- Vader-j (Vader van de Nonnen vande Jacopenisse) -
Overseer of the Nuns of the Jacopenisse
- Vader-o (Vader van de Observanten) - Overseer of the
Observant Franciscans
- Vestmr (Vestmeester) - Fortifications Officer
- Vroon (Vroonmeester) - Game Warden, Natural Resource
Officer
- Ward (Wardein) - Old Drapery Warden
- Weef (Weefambachte) - Weaver's trade
- Wees (Weesmeester) - Orphanage Director of Trustee
- Z-st anth (Ziekenhuismeester van St Anthoniskapelle) -
Overseer for the Early Leprosarium known as
St Anthony's Chapel

Group Members Studied

1. AER, Claes Govertsz. van der (c₁₅₅₁₋₁₅₉₆) dyer (blauwverwer) schutter
 V: 1587-1596
 Sch: 1594 (July 1594-July 1595)¹
 G-olv/st el: 1583-1589
 AW: 1590-1594
2. AER, Willem Govertsz. van der (c₁₅₄₃₋₁₆₁₇) dyer Prot.
 V: 1600-1617
 Sch: 1608, 1609
 L: 1584-1603
 AW: mid-1604-1605
3. Adriaensz., M^r Frans (? - c₁₅₇₀) brick manufacturer (steenbakker)
 V: 1539-c₁₅₇₀
 Sch: 1539, 1541, 1546, 1547, 1548, 1550, 1554, 1555,
 1557, 1561, 1562, 1566
 B: 1560, 1564, 1567
 K-p: 1538, 1541
 Gt-p: 1539, 1543-1545, 1552, 1561-1568
 Wees: 1561, 1568-1569
 HG: 1546, 1550, 1553-1554
 Exuemr: 1541-1542, 1546
4. Adriaensz., Claes (? - ?1569) brewer glipper
 V: 1539-1569
 Sch: 1530, 1531, 1534-1536, 1540
 B: 1542, 1545-1546, 1549-1550, 1553-1554, 1558, 1561,
 1565, 1568-1569
 Thes-o: 1538-1539, 1547-1548
 K-p: 1533-1534, 1538-1540, 1543-1544, 1551
 G-st K: 1529
 Wees: 1551-1552, 1555-1557, 1563-1564
 Vroon: 1544-1552
 Vestmr: 1529, 1533-1534, 1540, 1543-1544
5. ADRICHEM, Jan Florisz. van (? - 1572)
 V: 1551-1572
 Sch: 1551, 1553, 1559-1561, 1566
 B: 1563
 K-p: 1566-1567
 Gt-p: 1551, 1553, 1557-1558

6. Aelbrechtsz. (van QUACKENBOSCH), Sander (1529-1596) cloth manufacturer
 V: 1574
 G-st K: 1586-1596
 Hzn-h: 1574-1583
 Aelm: 1584-1585
 Ges-weef: 1569-1570
7. Aelbrechtsz. (van CRUYNINGEN), Geryt. (? - 1558) brewer
 V: 1540-1558
 Sch: 1543-1547, 1551, 1553-1555
 B: 1557
 Thes-o: 1549-1550
 K-h: 1543
 Wees: 1553
 Hzn-h: 1535-1542, 1551, 1553
 Mr-cell: 1530-1534
 Exuemr: 1550
8. Aelbrechtsz. (van CAMPEN), Willem. (1487-1559) cloth manufacturer
 V: 1542-1559
 Sch: 1550-1555, 1557-1558
 K-p: 1530-1531, 1534-1535, 1538-1550, 1557
 Gt-p: 152501529, 1532-1533, 1536-1537
 Ward: 1545
 Art: 1537-1550
 Exuemr: 1540, 1543-1545, 1547-1550
9. ALCKEMADE, Huych Jansz. van. (1527-1600) schutter
 V: 1574-1600
 G-st el: 1575
10. Allertsz., Quiryn. (? -1559) brewer
 V: 1542-1559
 Sch: 1544-1545, 1547, 1552-1555, 1558
 K-h: 1549-1552, 1557-1558
 G-olv: 1540
 HG: 1541-1544, 1547
 Hzn-h: 1539
 Mr-cell: 1535-1538
 Vroon: 1553-1556
 Vestmr: 1549-1552
11. Andriess., Jacop Adriaen. (?-1599) cloth industry?
 V: 1596-1599
 Ward: 1592-1595, 1598-1599

12. BAERSDORP, Jan Jansz. (de Oude). (1529-1608) grain merchant schutter
 V: 1572-1574, 1580-1608
 Sch: 1587, 1590
 B: 1574, 1581-1582, 1585-1586, 1589, 1592-1593,
 1596-1597, 1600
 Thes-o: 1594-1595
 K: 1580
 G-st K: 1587 (part only)
 G-olv/st el 1581-1582
 Z-st anth: 1567, 1570-1573, 1575-1576, 1578
 Wees: 1577-1580, 1583-1584
 Hzn: 1577
 Gc-K: 1601, 1603-1608
13. BAERSDORP, Jan Jansz. (de jonge). (? - 1614) rentier schutter
 V: 1608-1614
 Sch: 1597-1598, 1600-1601, 1604-1605
 B: 1603, 1607, 1610, 1613
 G-st K: 1599 (part only-1600 (part only)
 Schol: 1607
14. BANCKEN, Jan Jansz. van. (? -1573) dyer schutter
 V: 1572-1573
 Z-st anth: 1563
 Hzn-h: 1546-1552, 1554-1561
 Ward: 1552
15. BANCHEM, Jasper Jansz. van. (? - 1624) cloth merchant schutter
 V: 1589-1624
 Sch: 1596-1611, 1614, 1617-1618
 B: 1613, 1616
 Wees: 1614, 1617
 S-say: 1601-1610, 1612, 1618-1619
 Vroon: 1593-1624
 Droog-h: 1586-1587
16. (Van BARREVELT), Adriaen Jansz. (? - 1561) brewer
 V: 1533-1561
 Sch: 1534-1537, 1544, 1550-1551
 B: 1539, 1542, 1546, 1549, 1553, 1556
 Thes-o: 1540-1541, 1548-1549
 K-p: 1555
 K-h: 1540-1541, 1543-1544
 K-olv: 1535, 1542, 1546, 1549
 G-st K: 1550
 G-st el: 1554, 1556-1557
 Wees: 1557-1559
 HG: 1532-1533
 Hzn-h: 1525-1541
 Vader-o: 1539, 1541-1552, 1555
 T-st st: 1546-1549
 Vestmr: 1554

17. BARRVELT, Cornelis Adriaensz. van. (1515-1591) brewer schutter
 V: 1561-1591
 Sch: 1562-1564, 1568-1574, 1576-1577, 1584
 Gt-p: 1539-1540, 1542-1545, 1547
 K-h: 1551-1552, 1557-1562
 K-olv: 1564, 1568
 G-olv/st el: 1584 (part only)
 Hzn-p: 1541, 1546
 Hzn-h: 1548, 1550

18. BERENDRECHT, Jan Claesz. van. (?-before 1591) rentier glipper
 S: 1567-1572
 Art: 1558

19. BERENDRECHT, Nicolaes Jansz. van. (1514-1569) government service
 V: 1544-1567
 S: 1540-1567

20. BOSSCHUYSEN, Willem Jacopsz. (? -1561)
 V: 1558-1561
 Sch: 1558-1559
 K-p: 1558
 Gt-p: 1554-1556

21. BRANDT, Claes Jansz. (1533-before 1578) gluemaker
 V: 1572-1574
 Hzn-h: 1567-1574

22. (van BREENEN), Adriaen Ysbrantsz. (c1501-after 1573) retail cloth merchant and cloth shearer
 V: 1548-1571
 K-p: 1562-1568
 Gt-p: 1547-1549, 1555-1556, 1561
 G-st K: 1545, 1559
 Z-est anth: 1543-1544
 HG: 1550-1551

23. (Van BREENEN), Jacob Ysbrantsz. (? -c1574) cloth merchant (wholesale and retail)
 V: 1572-1573
 K-p: 1570-1572
 Z-st anth: 1551-1553, 1557-1566
 Art: 1551-1562, 1573
 Vestmr: 1573

24. BROUCHOVEN, Foy Jansz. van. (1542-1610) rentier
 V: 1588-1610
 S: 1574-1577, 1582-1588
 Sch: 1588, 1591-1595
 B: 1590, 1597, 1601, 1604, 1607, 1610
 O: 1598, 1606, 1608-1610
 Gc-K: 1589-1597, 1602, 1605
 T-st st: 1574, 1582
 Sec: 1569-1573
25. BROUCHOVEN, Hendrick Jansz. van. (? -1578) brick manufacturer
schutter
 V: 1576-1577
 S: 1573-1574
 Vader-cell: 1575
 T-st st: 1575-1576
26. BROUCHOVEN, Jan Dircxz. van. (1513-1588) schutter
 V: 1561-1573, 1582-1588
 B: 1572-1573, 1583
 K-p: 1571
 Gt-p: 1549-1557, 1561-1570
 HG: 1558-1560
27. BURCH, Dirck Willemsz. van der. (? -1572?) Oil presser
 V: 1558-1572
 Sch: 1564-1572
 K-p: 1558, 1562-1567
 Gt-p: 1546-1550, 1552-1554?, 1557, 1559-1560
 Wees: 1574-1575?
 Art: 1555-1557
28. BURCH, Jacop Willemsz. van der. (1527-1595) schutter
 V: 1579-1595
 Sch: 1580-1586, 1593
 B: 1588, 1592
 K: 1593
 Gt-p: 1567-1572
 G-st K: 1585 (part only)
 G-st el: 1579-1580
 Wees: 1589-1591
 Gc-K: 1591-1594
 Art: 1559-1564, 1576
29. (van der BURCH), Willem Dircxz. (? -1558) oil presser
 V: 1537-1538
 G-st K: 1540-1549
 HG: 1528-1539
 Vader-j: 1539-1542, 1545, 1549-1550
 Vader-cell: 1547

30. BUYS, Paulus Aerts. (153101594) lawyer
 P: 1561-1572
 Gt-p: 1564-1572
31. BUYTEWECH, Geryt Boeckelsz. (1496-1569) brewer/brick manufacturer
 V: 1531-1569
 Sch: 1531, 1538, 1545
 B: 1533, 1536-1537, 1540-1541, 1544, 1547-1548,
 1551-1552, 1555-1556, 1559-1560, 1563-1564
 Thes-o: 1534-1535, 1542, 1557-1558
 K-p: 1526, 1641, 1535-1536, 1648, 1542-1543, 1545,
 1549-1550, 1553-1554, 1561-1565
 K-olv: 1540-1541, 1556-1559, 1561
 Wees: 1549-1550, 1562
 HG: 1527-1530
 T-st st: 1546-1558
 Vestmr: 1530-1531, 1538, 1543, 1545, 1553-1554
32. BUYTEWECH, Jan Gerritsz. (1540-1608) brick manufacturer glipper
 V: 1569-1572
 B: 1569
 Thes-o: 1570
 K-h: 1566-1567
 G-st L: 1568, 1571, 1580
 G-olv/st el: 1581-1582
 Wees: 1578-1579
 T-st st: 1578-1579
 Vestmr: 1571
33. (De BYE), Joost Jacobsz. (? - 1585) cloth merchant (retail)
schutter
 V: 1548-1573
 Sch: 1556-1557, 1563
 B: 1552, 1559, 1562, 1565-1566, 1569-1570, 1573
 Thes-o: 1553-1554, 1561, 1566-1568
 K-p: 1551, 1555-1556
 G-st K: 1560, 1563-1567, 1571-1572, 1574-1583
 Wees: 1571-1572
 Hzn-p: 1544-1549
 Vestmr: 1551, 1555, 1560, 1563
34. BYE, IJsbrant Pietersz. de. (? - 1613)
 V: 1593-1613
 Sch: 1599-1603, 1605-1608, 1612
 G-st K: 1605
 G-olv/st el/Z-st anth: 1595-1599
 S-say: 1601, 1613

35. (DEDEL), Joost Willemsz. porsman (1510-1574) cloth manufacturer
 V: 1564-1574
 B: 1573
 Thes-o: 1574
 Hxn-p: 1560-1572
36. (DEDEL), Cornelis Willem Joostensz. (? -1574) glass engraver
 V: 1573 (part only)
 K-p: 1573-1574
37. DEYMAN, Jacop Jansz. (? -1553) clerk/government service
 V: 1524-1553
 Sch: 1525-1526, 1630
 Wees: 1528-1530
 Vader-cell: 1529-1531
 Exuemr: 1523, 1529
38. Dirxsz. (van RODENBEEKE), Jan. (- ?)- brewer glipper schutter
 V: 1569-1573
 Sch: 1571
 Thes-o: 1573
 Z-st anth: 1570-1571
 HG: 1566-1569
39. DOE, Geryt Fransz. (? - 1570) cloth manufacturer
 V: 1542-1569
 Sch: 1555-1559, 1561-1566
 K-h: 1561
 G-olv: 1539-1540
 G-st el: 1566-1570
 Hzn-h: 1541-1542, 1545-1546
 Mr-cell: 1533-1535, 1538
 Ward: 1541, 1543, 1546-1547, 1549, 1551, 1553-1554, 1561
 Vestmr: 1568-1570
40. DOES, Dirck Hendricksz. van der. (? -1573) rentier
 V: 1548-1569
 Sch: 1547-1548, 1554, 1557, 1560
 B: 1546, 1550, 1553, 1556, 1559, 1562, 1565
 K-p: 1547 (part only)
 Gt-p: 1542-1545, 1551-1552, 1554, 1557
41. (van der DOES), Gysbert Henricxz. (? -1579) shipbuilder schutter
 V: 1573-1575
 Sch: 1576-1578
 G-st K: 1573-1575
 Vestmr: 1574-1575
42. DOES, Pieter Jacobsz. van der. (1562-1599) military career
 S: 1589-1592

43. DORP, Claes Ghysbrechtsz. van. (1527-1595) silk merchant
 V: 1573-1595
 Sch: 1574, 1576-1583, 1592-1594
 G-olv/st el: 1585-1592

44. DUYCK, Arnoult. (? -1606) lawyer?
 Sch: 1590-1593, 1596, 1599
 B: 1602-1603, 1606
 G-st K: 1587-1590
 Schol: 1602, 1605-1606

45. DUYCK, Franck Jansz. (? - 1628) lawyer
 V: 1585-1618
 Sch: 1585-1587, 1595, 1602, 1614
 B: 1590, 1593-1594, 1600-1601, 1604-1605, 1608-1609,
 1612-1613, 1616-1617
 G-st K: 1585 (part only)
 Wees: 1595 (part only), 1618-1623, 1625-1628
 S-say: 1584, 1615
 Schol: 1608-1610

46. DUSSELDORP, Frans Fransz. (? -1593) brewer schutter
 V: 1573-1574
 K-h: 1559-1563
 G-olv: 1573, 1578
 Hzn-h: 1568-1570, 1575-1576
 G-st el: 1577

47. DUSSELDORP, Frans Jansz. (1531-1567)
 V: 1556-1567
 Sch: 1564
 B: 1566
 K-h: 1563

48. DUYVELANDT, Gerrit Wiggersz. van. (? -1585) grain merchant
 V: 1573-1573, 1576-1585
 Sch: 1574, 1576-1577, 1583
 B: 1579, 1582, 1585
 K-p: 1573-1574

49. (DUYVELANDT), Jan Wiggersz. (? - 1564)
 V: 1563-1564
 HG; 1552

50. Florysz. (POTT), Hobbe (? - ?) goldsmith
 V: 1575-1587
 Sch: 1585-1586
 K: 1576-1579, 1581-1583
 G-st K: 1587 (part only)
 G-olv/st el: 1584-1585
 Gc-K: 1585-1586
 Gc-w: 1585-1587

51. Florsiz. (POTT), Pieter Cornelis.
 V: 1574
 Hzn-h: 1569-1575

52. Fransz. (MUYS-DUSSELDORP), Anthonis (before 1507-1573) brewer
 V: 1537-1573
 K-p: 1551
 Z-st anth: 1536-1537
 Hzh-p: 1540
 Ward: 1548-1549, 1551-1552, 1558, 1560
 Ges-rederye: 1566-1572

53. GAEL, Huych Claesz. (1515-1577) cloth merchant (retail)
 V: 1559-1574
 Sch: 1559, 1565-1567, 1569
 B: 1574 (part only)
 K-p: 1569, 1572
 Gt-p: 1571
 G-st K: 1555
 Hzn-p: 1553-1554, 1556-1559
 Vestmr: 1561-1562

54. GAEL, Loth Huygensz. (1562-1626) cloth industry schutter
 S; 1596-1619

55. GAEL, Louris Huygensz. (sometimes called Laurens Huygensz. GAEL)
 (1549-1622) schutter
 V: 1580-1618
 B: 1596, 1599, 1611, 1614-1615, 1618
 Thes-o: 1580-1583, 1597-1598
 AW: 1594-1595
 O: 1616-1617, 1619
 T-st a: 1588-1592

56. GAEL, Claes Huygensz. (1547-1580/1581)
 V: 1576-1580
 B: 1576, 1579
 Thes-o: 1578
 G-st el: 1577
 Art: 1574

57. Gerytsz. (van DAM), Aernt (also cited as Aernt Geryt Ewoutsz.
 van DAM) cloth manufacturer
 V: 1554-1572
 K-p: 1551-1560, 1568-1571
 Gt-p: 1548, 1561-1566
 Hzn-p: 1541-1542
 Vader-cell: 1537-1538
 Ward: 1542-1543
 T-st st: 1549-1570

58. Gerytsz. in 't Hart, Adriaen. (1533-1608) merchant
 V: 1577-1508
 K-olv: 1572-1573
 G-st el: 1566-1571, 1576
 G-olv/st el: 1590-1592
 G-olv/st el/L: 1593-1602
 Hzn-p. 1575
 Hzn: 1578-1583
 AW: 1589
 Aalm: 1584-1588
 Art: 1577
59. Ghysbrechtsz. (van SWANENVELT), Jan. (1529-1608) baker/grain merchant schutter
 V: 1574, 1576-1608
 Sch: 1577, 1579, 1582, 1596
 B: 1593, 1598
 G-st K: 1576-1577, 1579, 1582, 1584, 1586-1592
 Hzn-p: 1574-1575
 AW: 1594-1596, 1599
60. Ghysbrechtsz., Jan Fransz. (? - 1558) brewer
 V: 1535-1558
 Sch: 1546, 1552, 1556
 B: 1545, 1548, 1551, 1554-1555
 Thes-o: 1543-1544, 1549-1550
 Gt-p: 1533-1535, 1546
 K-p: 1556
 G-st K: 1536, 1541-1542, 1552
 Wees: 1556
 HG: 1540
 Hzn-p: 1537-1539
 Ward: 1540-1541, 1546
 Vestmr: 1546
61. GOEDE, Jan Claes Cornelisz. de. (? -1557) cloth manufacturer
 V: before 1530-1557
 B: 1544
 K-o: 1532
 K-olv: 1525
 G-st K: 1527, 1535-1537
 Wees: 1531-1538, 1545-1554
 HG: 1528-1529
 Hzn-p: 1530-1531, 1533-1534, 1542-1543
 Vader-cell: 1530-1536, 1538-1540
62. GOEDE, Cornelis Claesz. de. (? -1556) cloth merchant (retail)
 V: 1542-1556
 Z-st anth: 1540, 1545
 HG: 1547-1548
 Hzn-p: 1549

63. GOEDE, Claes Jansz. de. (1515-1574) brewer (later oil presser?)
glipper
 V: 1557-1572
 Sch: 1559-1565, 1567-1569
 K-olv: 1566-1567
 G-st K: 1555, 1558
 G-olv: 1565, 1571-1572
64. GOEL, Frans Gerritsz. (1485-1558) brewer/cloth manufacturer
 V: 1522-1558
 Sch: 1522, 1525, 1530, 1537, 1544, 1548-1554
 B: 1547
 K-p: 1546, 1658
 K-h: 1527, 1539, 1533-1537
 K-olv: 1543-1545, 1547, 1550-1555
 Vader-o: 1536-1537
 Ward: 1519, 1521, 1524, 1527-1528, 1535-1536, 1546
65. GOOL, Gysbert Dirxsz. (c1543- after 1598) cloth industry
 V: 1574
 K: 1582
 G-st K: 1576-1580, 1583-1584
 L: 1581
 Hzn-h: 1569-1573
 Ward: 1585: 1589-1598
66. GOOL, Cornelis Dirxsz. (? - 1573) cloth dresser schutter
 V: 1569-1573
 Z-st anth: 1567, 1570, 1573
 Hzn-h: 1561-1564
 Ward: 1564-1565, 1567-1568, 1570-1573
67. GRAFT, Dirck Jacobsz. van der.
 V: 1576-1593
 K: 1582-1583
 T-st st: 1574-1585
68. GRAFT, Jacob Jansz. van der. (? -1566)
 V: 1540-1566
 Sch: 1540-1545, 1547, 1550-1552, 1559-1560, 1564
 B: 1549, 1554, 1557-1558, 1563
 Thes-o: 1555-1556, 1562
 K-p: 1536-1537, 1547, 1549, 1559
 Gt-p: 1534-1535
 K-olv: 1548
 G-st el: 1550-1552, 1561
 Wees: 1564
 Hzn-p: 1539-1540
 Vader-o: 1556-1540
 Ward: 1547, 1550
 Wroon: 1557-1559
 T-st st: 15501563
 Vestmr: 1537-1549, 1547, 1550, 1559
 Exuemr: 1547

69. GRAFT, Jan Jacobsz. van der. (? -1568) cloth merchant schutter
 V: 1566-1568
 Z-st anth: 1558-1568
 Hzn-p: 1557
70. GRAFT, Tyman Jansz. van der. (? -1623) cloth merchant (retail and wholesale) schutter
 V: 1591-1618
 G-st K: 1600
 L: 1586-1592
 AW: 1604-1623
71. GRAFT, IJssac Symonsz. van der. (? -1574)
 V: 1571-1574
 Gt-o: 1558
 K-olv: 1572
 G-st K: 1559
 HG: 1571
72. HAES, Jacob Allertsz. de. (? -1588)
 V: 1574-1588
 Sch: 1576-1579, 1582, 1585
 B: 1581, 1584, 1587
 K: 1575
 G-st K: 1584-1585, 1588 (part only)
 G-olv/st el: 1582, 1583 (part only)
 Z-st anth: 1574
 Wees: 1596 (part only)
 Gc-K: 1581, 1587, 1588 (part only)
 Gc-W: 1585
 K-W: 1585-1588
73. HAES, Cornelis Gerritsz. de. (1530-1603) Linen merchant schutter
 V: 1573-1603
 Sch: 1580-1581, 1583, 1587
 B: 1578
 Gt-olv: 1558-1559
 G-st K: 1585-1587 (part only), 1589-1593
 G-olv/st el: 1583 (part only)
 L: 1577
 HG: 1574-1575
 AW: 1584 (part only)
 Gc-echt: 1597-1599
74. HAES, Pieter Jacobsz. de. (? -1575)
 V: 1571-1574
 G-st K: 1570-1573

75. HAL, Hendrick Egbertsz. van der. (? -1632) brewer schutter
 V: 1584-1632
 Sch: 1597-1606, 1608, 1616-1617
 B: 1610, 1615
 K: 1619-1627
 G-st K: 1611-1614, 1616
 Wees: 1608
 Hzn-h: 1574-1576
 Hzn: 1577-1583
 Aalm: 1584-1597
 S-say: 1617
76. (HASIUS), Cornelis Willemsz. (1549-1596) dairy merchant
 V: 1576-1597
 Sch: 1587-1591, 1594-1595
 G-st K: 1583-1584
 AW: 1576-1577
 D: 1581
77. (HASIUS), Cornelis Willemsz. (? -1557) cloth manufacturer
 V: 153401557
 Gt-p: 1541
 G-st K: 1543
78. (HEEMSKERCK), Jan Reyersz. (? -1553) brewer
 V: before 1530-1553
 Sch: 1516-1519, 1528, 1543-1543
 B: 1521, 1524, 1530, 1533-1534, 1537
 Thes-o: 1522, 1531-1532
 Wees: 1525, 1527-1528, 1535-1536, 1538-1542, 1545-1548
79. (HEEMSKERCK) jonge Dirck Jan Reyersz. (c1516-1558)
 V: 155301558
 Sch: 1534-1535, 1537, 1546, 1550
 B: 1539, 1542, 1545, 1548-1549, 1552-1553, 1556-1557
 K-p: 1544, 1546
 K-h: 1529, 1550, 1554-1555
 G-st K: 1530-1534, 1537, 1540
 Wees: 1543-1544, 1554-1555, 1558 (part only)
 Vader-j: 1543-1544
 Vestmr: 1537, 1546

80. (HEEMSKERCK) Symon Jan Reyersz. van. (? -1577) brewer
 V: 1558-1572
 Sch: 1548, 1553-1556
 B: 1550, 1558-1559, 1562-1563
 Thes-o: 1543-1544, 1551-1552
 K-p: 1553, 1560-1561
 Gt-p: 1536-1537
 G-st K: 1541-542, 1545-1546
 Wees: 1560-1561
 Hzn-p: 1538-1540
81. HEEMSKERCK, Willem Jan Reyersz. van. (1527-1592) brewer
 V: 1572-1592
 Sch: 1578, 1582, 1586, 1590
 B: 1564, 1573, 1575-1576, 1580-1581, 1584-1585, 1588-1589,
 1591 (part only)
 Thes-o: 1563
 K-h: 1556
 G-st K: 1557-1562, 1582
 G-olv: 1554-1555, 1565-1567
 Wees: 1565-1567, 1586
 Gc-K: 1580, 1584, 1586, 1588
 Gc-W: 1586-1587
 K-w: 1586-1587
82. HEUSSEN, Claes Steffensz. (? -1585)
 V: 1582-1585
 Sch: 1593-1584, 1585 (part only)
 G-st K: 1583
83. HOGERBEETS, Rombout (1561-1625) Lawyer
 P: 1592-1596, 1617-1619
 O: 1596
 Gc-W: 1593-1595, 1617
 K-W: 1593-1595
 Schol: 1619
84. HOGEVEEN, Aelbrecht Gerritsz. van. (1561-1595) cloth merchant
 V: 1592-1595
 L: 1595-1592
85. HOGEVEEN, Dirck Gerritsz. van. (? -1620)
 V: 1595-1620
 Sch: 1616
 B: 1618
 K: 1596 (part only)
 G-st K: 1597-1600
 G-olv/st el/L: 1601-1608
 Wees: 1609-1611, 1613-1616
 O: 1616-1617
 S-say: 1617

86. HOGVEEN, Geryt Melisz. van. (1524-1580) lawyer
P: 1564-1580
87. HOOGHE, Cornelis Claesz. van der. (? -1575) schutter glipper
V: 1567-1572
B: 1567-1568, 1571-1572
G-st K: 1569-1570
Wees: 1569-1570
Vader-o: 1568
88. HOUT, Jan Cornelisz. van (1542-1609) government service
Sec: 1564-1569, 1573-1609
Gc-W: 1589-1600, 1602, 1605-1609
T-W. van der Does: 1583
89. Jacobsz. (van CAMPEN), Andries (1538-1604) cloth merchant schutter
V: 1576-1604
Sch: 1584, 1586-1591
Thes-ex: 1594-1604
G-st K: 1586 (part only)
G-olv/st el: 1583 (part only)
Wees: 1593
Gc-K: 1601-1603
Ward: 1577-1580, 1582, 1584, 1586
90. Jansz. (KNOTTER), Jan. (1537-1601) brewer schutter
V: 1570-1600
Sch: 1572-1573, 1579, 1582, 1593-1594
B: 1576, 1581
G-st K: 1571-1572, 1575
HG: 1569-1570
AW: 1582
Wees: 1595
Hzn: 1579
Vestmr: 1579
T-w. van der Does: 1583
91. Jansz. (WTREDER), Jan (? - 1551) cloth preparer
V: before 1530-1551
92. Jansz. (WTREDER), Michiel (? - 1563) cloth preparer
V: 1551-1563
Sch: 1562
Z-st anth: 1531-1536
HG: 1537-1541, 1562

93. Jaspersz. van VESANEVELT, Andries (? -1634) baker schutter
 V: 1597-1634
 Sch: 1604, 1608-1618
 B: 1620-1621
 G-st K: (part only) 1605-1607
 Wees: 1622-1623, 1625-1633
 Aalm: 1584-1604, 1606
 D: 1583
 Gc-K: 1607-1610, 1620-1629
 S-say: 1610, 1613, 1615
94. Kerstantsz., Gysbrecht (? -1554)
 V: 1531-1554
 G-st K: 1525-1530
95. KESSEL, Dirck Gerritsz. (1536- ?) tavern proprietor
 V: 1574-1579
 G-st el: 1574
96. CORTEVELT, Pieter Pieter Jorisz. van (1527-1600) weaver schutter
 V: 1572-1600
 Sch: 1574, 1576-1581, 1582 (part only), 1583-1588,
 1592, 1594-1596
 S: 1588 (substitute)
 K: 1577-1578, 1590-1592, 1594
 K-olv: 1567, 1572-1573
 Gt-olv/st el: 1583 (part only)
 Gc-K: 1596
97. LANTSCHOT, Philips Gerardsz. (1539-1620) dyer/dye merchant schutter
 V: 1587-1620
 Sch: 1589-1591
 G-st K: 1587-1589, 1593-1596
 O: 1602-1607, 1611-1615
 Gc-K: 1608
98. LEEUWEN, Adriaen Adriaensz. van (? - ?) schutter
 V: 1579-1582
99. (gezegd van LEEUWEN), Claes Adriaensz. (1546-1621) brewer
 V: 1573-1621
 Sch: 1574, 1581, 1589, 1595
 B: 1577, 1580, 1583-1584, 1587-1588, 1591, 1594,
 1597-1598, 1601-1602, 1605-1606, 1609-1610,
 1613-1614
 Thes-o: 1579, 1592-1593, 1599-1600, 1603-1604, 1607-1608
 G-st K: 1586
 Z-st anth: 1572-74
 L: 1581
 G-st el: 1578
 Wees: 1589 (part only)
 AW: 1595 (part only)
 Vestmr: 1574, 1578

100. (Van LEEUWEN), Mourwerijn Claesz. (? - 1574) cloth manufacturer
 V: 1559-1574
 Sch: 1567, 1569-1573
 Z-st anth: 1562, 1565, 1568-1569
 Hzn-p: 1552-1559
 Ward: 1559-1560, 1562-1563, 1565-1566, 1569
101. Lenaertsz. (van GROOTVELT), Geryt (1534-1630)
 V: 1596-1630
 B: 1619, 1623-1624
 Thes-ex: 160501620 or after
 G-st K: 1593-1601
 G-olv/st el: 1590-1592
 O: 1617, 1620-1621
 Gc-K: 1609, 1619
102. LOURESLOOT, Johan van (1549-_c1602)
 S: 1591-?
103. LOO, Jacob Symonsz. van (? - ?) glipper
 V: 1561-1572
 Sch: 1561, 1563-1566, 1570
 B: 1568, 1572
 Thes-o: 1569
 K-p: 1570
 Vader-j: 1567-1568
 T-st st: 1565-1567
104. LOO, Willem Jacobsz. van (1538-1589) schutter
 V: 1572-1589
 Sch: 1572-1573, 1583-1585
 B: 1575
 S: 1578-1582
 Thes-o: 1576
 HG: 1568-1572
 AW: 1583
 Art: 1563-1564
 T-st st: 1564, 1568-1573, 1578
 Vestmr: 1577
105. MARINGUY, Robrecht Jorisz. de
 V: (part only) 1572-1573 (part only)
106. MERWEN, Symon Fransz. van (1548-1610) surveyor
 V: 1576-1610
 Sch: 1579, 1596-1599
 B: 1578
 Thes-ex: 1580-1593
 Vroon: 1580-1583
 Vestmr: 1576-1577, 1579

107. MILDE, Jacob de (? -1564) lawyer
 P: 1543-1564
 Sec: 1553-1564
 Gt-p: 1561-1563

108. MILDE, Willem Jacobsz. de (1545-1616)
 V: (part only) 1572-1573 (part only)
 G-st K: 1599-1610
 L: 1579-1592
 G-olv/st el/L: 1593-1595
 AW: 1596-1598
 Vestmr: 1573

109. MONTFOORT, Dirck Jacobsz. van (c 1510- c 1581) brick manufacturer
 V: 1574-1580
 Hzn-h: 1539-1543
 Hzn: 1577-1578

110. (van der MORSCH), Bouwen Jansz. Keyser (1527-1591) dyer
 V: 1576-1591
 K: 1575-1579, 1583-1589

111. MORSCH, Jan Kerstantsz. van der (1528-1606) coppersmith
 V: 1575-1606
 G-st K: 1575-1576
 AW: 1579
 Hzn: 1577-1578
 D: 1581-1583
 Aalm: 1585-1587
 O: 1589-1593, 1595
 Gc-echt: 1583-1600

112. Mourijnsz. van LEEUWENHORST (de GREBBER), Adriaen (1540-1619)
 coppersmith (later a linen merchant) schutter
 V: 1599-1618
 Sch: 1603-1604
 G-st K: 1601-1603
 S-say: 1604

113. (van der MYE), Geryt Roeloftsz. (1521- ?) glipper
 V: 1549-1572
 Sch: 1549-1551, 1556, 1563
 B: 1555, 1558, 1561, 1566-1567, 1570-1571
 Thes-o: 1553-1554, 1559-1560, 1569
 K-p: 1562-1568, 1572
 G-st K: 1545-1549
 Wees: 1561, 1563, 1565, 1568
 Vader-o: 1551-1568
 Vader-j: 1562-1568
 T-st st: 1559-1560
 Vestmr: 1548, 1556, 1572

114. (van der MYE) Symon Jansz. (1520-1587) surgeon schutter
 V: 1576-1587
 G-st el: 1578-1580
 Hzn-p: 1573-1576
 Hzn: 1577
 T-W. van der Does: 1583-1585
115. (van der MYEN), Gerrit Jacobsz. onder de Cloc (1529-1587)
 cloth manufacturer schutter
 V: 1572-1574
 G-olv: 1577
 Hzn-p: 1563-1576
 Ward: 1577-1579
116. (der MYEN), Jacob Gerritszoon (? - 1575) cloth manufacturer
 V: (part only) 1574-1575 (part only)
117. NES, Jan IJsnoutsz. van der (? -after 1618) brewer schutter
 V: 1587-1618
 Sch: 1588-1591, 1594, 1597, 1613
 B: 1593, 1596, 1599-1600, 1603-1604, 1607-1608,
 1611-1612, 1615-1616
 Thes-o: 1601-1602, 1605-1606, 1609-1610
 G-st K: 1613, 1617-1619
 G-olv/st el: 1584-1585
 Hzn-olv: 1573 (part only), 1575-1576
 Hzn: 1577
 Wees: 1594, (part only) 1595, 1597
 Gc-K: 1598-1600
 Gc-W: 1611-1618
 Art: 1588
 T-st st: 1573 (part only)
 Mmr: 1601-1603
118. (van NIEROP), Oude Mees Garbrantsz. (? -1566) dyer/bloth
 manufacturer
 V: 1534-1566
 K-p: 1545, 1548-1549, 1552
 Gt-p: 1541-1542
 Ward: 1530, 1533-1534, 1536-1537, 1539-1540, 1542-1543,
 1546, 1549-1550, 1552?-1553, 1555-1556
119. (van NIEROP), jonge Garbrant Meesz. (? - ?) cloth manufacturer
glipper schutter.
 V: 1566-1573
 Z-st anth: 1557
 HG: 1558-1567, 1570-1572
 AW: 1580-1581
 Hzn: 1579
 Ward: 1568, 1582, 1584-1599

120. Claesz. (van ROODENBURCH), Jan (1495 or 1500-_c1580) wood merchant
 V: 1561-1573
 G-st el: 1548-1574
 Hzn-olv: 1575
121. NOORDE, Cornelis Jacobsz. van (1513-1584)
 V: 1553-1584
 Sch: 1558, 1560-1562, 1567-1568, 1578-1581
 B: 1570-1571, 1574
 Thes-o: 1564-1565, 1570
 K-h: 1553-1558, 1566-1567
 G-st K: 1560
 G-olv: 1572
 G-st el: 1562
 Wees: 1573
 Hzn-h: 1543-1547, 1549-1552
 Vader-o: 1562, 1564-1568
 Vestmr: 1558, 1560, 1566-1567
122. NOORDE, Claes Cornelisz. van (1543-1613) goldsmith
 V: 1592-1613
 Sch: 1597-1604, 1607
 B: 1606, 1609, 1612
 Wees: 1610-1611
 AW: 1578-1597
123. OEM, Claes Jansz. (? - before 1580) oil presser glipper
 V: 1558-1572
 B: 1567, 1570
 Theo-s: 1564-1565, 1571-1572
 G-st K: 1548-1569
 Z-st anth: 1546-1547
124. OOSTERLING, Dirck Cornelisz. den (? -before 1577) cloth manufacturer
 V: (part only) 1573-1574
 G-st K: 1561-1562
 Z-st anth: 1554
125. Ottensz. (van MEERBRUCH), Adriaen Dirck (? - 1571) brewer
 V: 1559-1571
 Sch: 1565-1566, 1570
 B: 1569
 G-st K: 1568, 1570
 Z-st anth: end of 1558-1566
 Zestmr: 1563-1565, 1568, 1570

126. Ottensz. (van MEERBRUCH), Gillis Dirck (? - 1559) brewer
 V: 1550-1559
 Z-st anth: 1545-1548
 Vestmr: 1557-1559 (part only)
127. OY, Floris Willemsz. van (? -1570)
 V: 1545-1570
 Sch: 1539-1541, 1543, 1545
 K-h: 1543
 Exuemr: 1543-1545
128. (van OYEN), Reynier Jacobsz. (? - ?) wood merchant glipper
 V: 1569-1572
 Thes-o: 1571-1572
 G-st K: 1568-1570
 G-olv: 1580
 G-olv/st el: 1581
 L: 1582
129. OFWEGEN, Pieter OOM Pietersz. van (1528-1610) cloth merchant
 (retail) schutter
 V: 1572-1610
 Sch: 1572-1574, 1575?, 1578-1582, 1585, 1588, 1592,
 1595-1596
 B: 1577, 1584, 1587, 1590-1591, 1594
 K-p: 1573
 Gt-p: 1559-1560
 G-st K: 1578, 1586 (part only)
 Wees: 1585, 1588, (part only) 1589, 1592 (part only),
 1595 (part only)
 AW: 1583 (part only)
 O: 1592-1586, 1588-1590, 1595, 1597, 1604-1606
 Gc-K: 1580-1586, 1588-1590, 1595, 1597, 1604-1606
 S-say: 1584
 Vestmr: 1578
130. PAEDTS, Bouwen Jansz. (? - 1591) cabinetmaker
 V: 1573-1591
 Z-st anth: 1574
131. PAEDS, Jacob Cornelisz. (? -1622) brewer
 V: 1595-1622
 Sch: 1610-1612, 1614-1617
 G-st K: 1602
132. PAETS van Zandhorst, Jan Cornelisz. (? -1597) rentier
schutter
 V: 1574-1597
 Sch: 1557
 K-p: 1553-1557
 G-st K: 1577-1584

133. PAEDS, Cornelis Jansz. (? -1560)
 V: 1544-1560
 Sch: 1533-1534, 1538, 1542
134. PAEDTS, jonge Pieter Pietersz. (? - ?) cloth manufacturer
 schutter
 V: 1572-1574
 HG: 1568
135. PAEDTS, oude Pieter Pietersz. (? - ?1572) cloth manufacturer
 V: 1537-1572
 K-p: 1547
 Gt-p: 1532
 G-st K: 1548
 Z-st anth: 1561
 HG: 1549
136. Philipsz., Oliphier (? -1575) cloth dresser/cloth manufacturer
 schutter
 V: 1573-1575
 G-olv: 1573-1575
 Hzn-h: 1565-1567
 Vestmr: 1575
137. Pietersz. (van der ZYPE) Cornelis (? -1560)
 V: 1542-1560
 Sch: 1549
 K-h: 1539-1549, 1551-1560
 Hzn-h: 1531, 1534-1535, 1537-1538
138. POELGEEST, Cornelis Gerytsz. (? -1562)
 V: 1556-1562
 Sch: 1555-1561
 K-h: 1547-1551, 1554-1555
 G-olv: 1552-1553
139. Reyersz., Jan (? - ?) oil presser
 V: 1575?
140. REYGERSBURGH, Dirck Jacobsz. van (? - ?) barley miller
 V: 1567-1574
 K-p: 1568-1571
 T-st st: 1564-1581
 Vestmr: 1572
141. SASSENHEM, Allert Willemsz. van (? -1603)
 V: 1574-1603
 K: 1575-1581
 T-W. van der Does: 1584-1585

142. SCHAECK, Pieter Cornelisz. (1543- ?) cloth manufacturer
schutter
 V: 1589
 G-say: 1588-1589
143. SCHOT, Andries Jansz. (1531-1592) cloth manufacturer/cloth merchant schutter
 V: 1574-1592
 Sch: 1576
 G-st K: 1581
 Gc-K: 1588
 Gc-W: 1589-1592
 K-W: 1588-1592
144. SMALING, Dirck Gerritsz. (? -1583)
 V: 1560-1583
 Sch: 1560, 1566-1573, 1577, 1582
 B: 1575, 1579-1580
 G-st K: 1562-1567
 Wees: 1575, 1577. 1578 (part only), 1581-1582
 HG: 1559-1560
 Vestmr: 1564-1566
145. ZONNEVELT, Jan van (? -1613) cloth merchant
 V: 1597-1613
 O: 1603-1604
 Ward: 1602-1612
146. SONNEVELT, Joost Maertensz. van (? - ?) cloth dresser
schutter glipper
 V: 1562-1572
 Art: 1568-1569, 1571-1572
147. STIEN, Dirck Dircxz. (? -1576) oil presser
 V: 1573-1574
 G-st K: 1573-1574
 HG: 1563-1564. 1575-1578
148. (van STRYEN), Adriaen Pieter Garbrantsz. (? - ?)
 cloth manufacturer
 V: 1558-1572
 K-h: 1550
 Ward: 1544-1555, 1547-1548, 1551-1552, 1555, 1557-1558,
 1560, 1562, 1564, 1566-1567, 1570-1573

149. (van STRYEN), Quyrin Claes Garbrantsz. (? -1574)
 cloth manufacturer
 V: 1560-1574
 Sch: 1568, 1572
 Thes-ex: 1574
 Z-st anth: 1548-1550, 1553-1556, 1566
 Hzn-p: 1558-1563
 Ward: 1563-1564, 1566-1567, 1570-1572
150. SWAENSWYCK, Louris Andriesz. van (1547-1604) dyer/wine tapper
schutter
 V: 1579-1604
 Sch: 1585-1586, 1589, 1592-1593, 1602
 B: 1588, 1591, 1595, 1598, 1601, 1604 (part only)
 Wees: 1599-1600, 1602
 AW; 1592, 1597
 Gc-K: 1598-1600
 S-say: 1603
 Hzn-p: 1576
151. (van SWANENBURCH), Mees Aelwynsz. (1524-1596) cloth manufacturer
glipper
 V: 1564-1572
 Gt-p: 1558-1560, 1569-1570
 G-st el: 1571-1572
 HG: 1563
 Vader-cell: 1569-1570
 T-ST a: 1593-1594, 1596
152. (van SWAENENBURCH), Huybrecht Aelwynsz. (? -1592) cloth
 manufacturer
 V: 1572-1574
 Hzn-: 1560-1562, 1564, 1566-1573
 Ward: 1573, 1577-1578, 1580, 1582, 1584-1592
153. SWANENBURGH, IJssac Nicolai van (1538-1614) artist
 V: 1576-1614
 Sch: 1586-1595, 1598, 1601, 1604
 B: 1597, 1600, 1603, 1606-1607
 L: 1575-1580, 1582-1586
 G-olv/st el: 1581
 Wees: 1598, 1601, 1604, 1607-1608
 S-say: 1605
154. SWIETEN, Jacop Claesz. van (? - 1550) wood merchant
 V: 1527-1550
 Sch: 1536, 1548-1549
 B: 1535, 1540, 1543-1544, 1547
 Thes-o: 1533, 1538-1539, 1545-1546
 K-h: 1531-1533, 1536, 1638-1539, 1541-1542, 1546, 1548

G-st K: 1527
 HG: 1526
 Vestmr: 1529-1531, 1534, 1536, 1541-1543
 Vader-o: 1538-1550
 Vader-j: 1542, 1545

155. SWIETEN, Cornelis Claes Lambrechtsz. van (1543-1604) brewer/
 rentier/brick manufacturer schutter
 V: 1572-1574, 1588-1604
 Sch: 1602
 B: 1574
 K: 1584-1592
 G-olv: 1572-1580
 Wees: 1592-1602
 S-say: 1603
156. (van SWIETEN), Claes Lambrechtsz. (? -1570) brewer/grain
 merchant
 V: 1544-1570
 Sch: 1548, 1553, 1556
 B: 1561
 Thes-o: 1545-1546, 1551-1552, 1559-1560
 G-st K: 1538-1544, 1547-1548, 1553, 1556
 G-olv: 1536-1537, 1550
 G-st el: 1555
 HG: 1558
 Hzn-h: 1563
 Exuemr: 1546
 Vestmr: 1555
157. (van SWIETEN), Jacob Thomasz. (1540-1606) brewer schutter
 V: 1570-1573, 1585-1605
 B: 1585, 1589, 1592, 1595, 1604
 G-st K: 1572-1582
 G-olv: 1563-1566, 1568-1571
 Wees: 1573-1575, 1577-1584, 1586-1588, 1590-1592
 (part only), 1593-1594, 1596-1605
158. THORENVLIE, Andries Cornelisz. van (1544-1595)
 V: 1589-1595
 K: 1592-1595
 G-olv: 1575-1580
159. (van THORENVLIE), Jan Huych Andriesz. (? -1559)
 V: 1544-1559
 Sch: 1544-1547, 1549-1558
 G-st K: 1544
 Vestmr: 1549

160. (van THORENVLIET), Cornelis Huygensz. (? -1589)
 V: 1559-1589
 Sch: 1561-1563, 1568, 1574, 1576
 Thes-o: 1566
 K-p: 1560-1561, 1572
 K-h: 1547
 Hzn-h: 1540
161. THORENVLIET, Vranc Cornelisz. van (? -1619) schutter
 V: 1595-1619
 Sch: 1595-1600, 1603, 1606, 1609, 1615
 B: 1602, 1605, 1608, 1611, 1614, 1617-1618
 Wees: 1603, 1606, 1609, 1612 (part only), 1615
 S-say: 1604, 1607, 1616
162. TIBAUT, Willem Cornelisz. (? -1624) schutter
 V: 1591-1618
 Sch: 1597-1603, 1605-1607, 1611, 1614-1617
 K: 1594, 1596-1597
 Wees: 1605, 1609-1611, (part only) 1612-1614
163. TOL, Florys Jansz. van (1505-1574) lawyer
 V: 1544-1574
 Sch: 1564-1573
 K-h: 1564-1567
 G-st K: 1554
 Wees: 1574 (part only)
 Exuemr: 1548-1549, 1551-1552
 Vestmr: 1567
164. TRYSSENS, Gysbert Lodewycxz. (_c 1565- ?)
 S: 1594-1595
165. VALCKENBURCH, Cornelis Jansz. van (1546-1628) wood merchant
 V: 1576-1628
 G-st el: 1576-1580
 G-olv/st el: 1581-1592
 G-olv/st el/L: 1593-1596, 1598-1625
166. VEEN, Cornelis Jansz. van (1519-1591) lawyer glipper
 V: 1566-1573
 B: 1566, 1570
 Thes-o: 1567-1568
 Wees: 1571-1572
 Vader-o: 1566-1568
 P: 1551-1561

167. VERGEYL, Claes Cornelisz. (? -1574) cloth manufacturer
schutter
 V: 1569-1574
 Hzn-h: 1571-1573
 Ward: 1573
168. (VERHOOCH), Claes Aelwynsz. (? -1561)
 V: 1546-1561
 Sch: 1546-1649, 1552, 1558
 B: 1551, 1560
 Thes-o: 1555-1556, 1561
 K-p: 1539, 1545-1546, 1554, 1557
 Gt-p: 1537-1538
 G-st el: 1553, 1558-1560
 Vader-k: 1551-1561
 Vestmr: 1552
169. (VEROOCH), Claes Jan Claes Aelwynsz. (? -1562)
 V: 1545-1562
 Sch: 1549
170. (VEROOCH), Claes Reyersz. (1495-1569) cloth industry
 V: 1537-1569
 Sch: 1538
 B: 1543, 1548, 1552, 1555
 K-h: 1541, 1544, 1553, 1556
 G-olv: 1529-1530, 1532
 Ward: 1536-1537, 1540, 1542, 1544-1545, 1547, 1549-1550,
 1553-1554, 1556-1557, 1559
171. VISSCHER, IJsbrant Dircksz. (? -1620) cloth merchant schutter
 V: 1583-1620
 S-cang: 1601, 1603-1605
172. VOS, Pouwels Aertsz. (? -1598) lawyer
 V: 1574 (one month only)
 B: 1574 (one month only)
 P: 1592-1598
173. VUYTGEEST, Dirck Jacobsz. van (1528-after 1591) grain merchant
glipper
 V: 1567-1572
 Sch: 1567
 B: 1572
 G-st K: 1566-1567, 1569-1571
 Wees: 1570-1571

174. WARMONT, Claes Willemsz. van (1540-1609) dyer (blauwverwer)
 V: 1572-1574, 1576-1609
 Sch: 1578, 1581, 1587, 1591-1592, 1596, 1600
 B: 1576-1577, 1580, 1583, 1586, 1589-1590, 1594-1595,
 1598-1590, 1602, 1605, 1608
 K: 1581
 G-st K: 1584
 Z-st anth: 1568-1569, 1571-1573, 1575
 Wees: 1578, 1585, 1596, 1603-1604, 1606-1607
 S-say: 1601
175. (WARMONT), Willem Willem Bouwensz. (? - 1559)
 V: 1553-1559
 Thes-o: 1557-1558
 K-p: 1559
 Wees: 1559
 Hzn-p: 1545-1556
176. WASSENAER, Henrick Florisz. van (? -1569) cloth merchant
 (retail)
 V: 1547-1569
 Sch: 1559-1560, 1562-1563
 G-st K: 1550-1559
 G-st el: 1563-1564
 HG: 1540-1549, 1562, 1565-1567
 Veroon: 1560-1567
 Vestmr: 1547-1548, 1553, 1555, 1557, 1562
 Exuemr: 1551-1552
177. WASSENAER, Jan Lucasz. van (1535-1587) goldsmith schutter
 V: 1573-1587
 Sch: 1580, 1583-1584
 B: 1578-1579, 1582, 1586
 K: 1580
 G-st K: 1587 (part only)
 Hzn: 1577
 T-W. van der Does: 1583
178. WASSENAER, Pieter Henricxz. van (1532-1582) oxen grazier
 V: 1572-1582
 Sch: 1573-1574
 G-st el: 1576
 G-olv/st el: 1582
 HG: 1573
 Hzn: 1579-1581
 Vroon: 1576-1579
 Vestmr: 1576

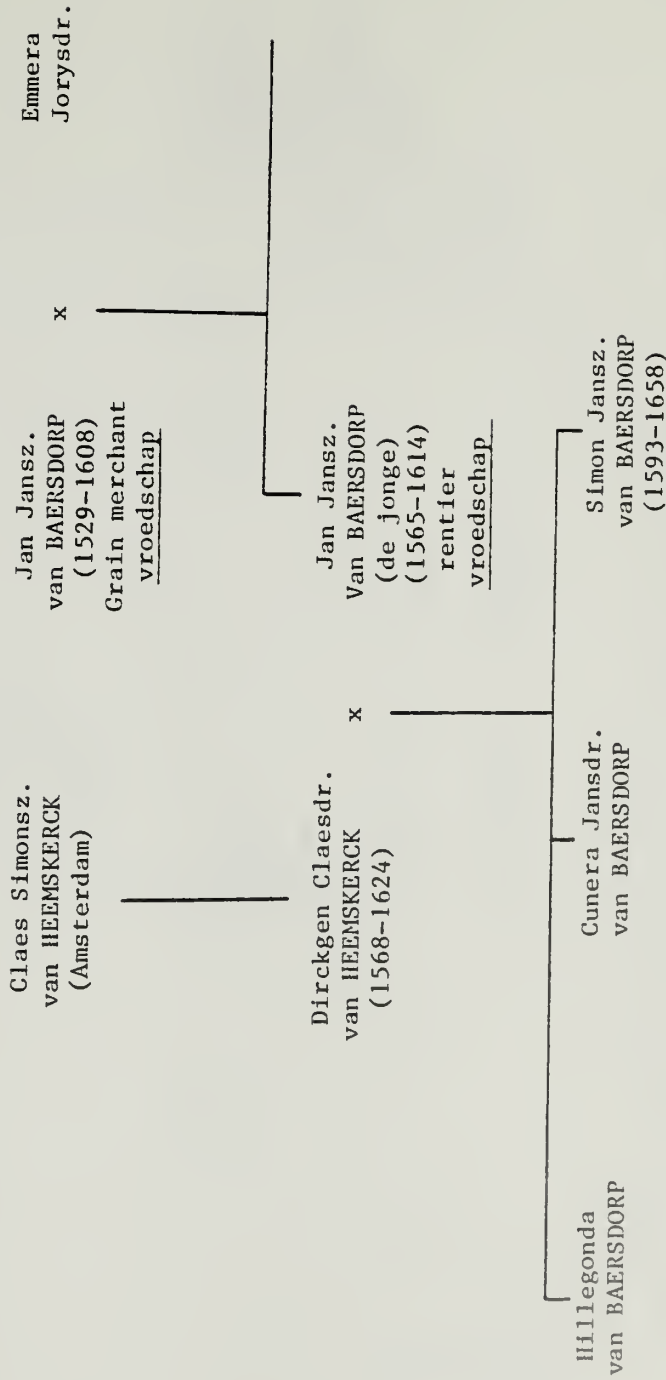
179. WERFF, Pieter Adriaensz. van der (1529-1604) chamois tanner
schutter
 V: 1573-1603
 Sch: 1580, 1584, 1588-1589, 1593
 B: 1574, 1577-1578, 1582-1583, 1586-1587, 1591-1592
 1595-1596, 1599
 G-st K: 1597-1598
 G-olv/st el/L: 1593
 HG: (part only) 1583-1584
 Hzn: 1581-1582
 D: 1580
 Gc-K: 1582-1583
 Art: 1575-1576
 Mmr: 1601-1603
180. WILDE, Jan Ariaensz. de (? -before 1588) cloth manufacturer
glipper
 V: 1557-1573
 B: 1568, 1571
 K-p: 1569
 G-st K: 1572
 Wees: 1573-1573
 HG: 1549-1557, 1561, 1564
 Vader-j: 1568
 Ward: 1557-1558, 1561-1562, 1546-1565, 1567, 1569-1570,
 1578-1580, 1582
 Vestmr: 1569
181. WILDE, Claes Cornelisz. de (1505-1567) cloth industry
 V: 1547-1567
 Sch: 1541-1544, 1548, 1552
 B: 1546-1547, 1550-1551, 1554, 1557, 1560-1561, 1564-1565
 Thes-o: 1562
 K-p: 1537, 1552
 G-st K: 1532-1536, 1538-1539, 1541, 1558, 1563-1567
 Z-st anth: 1530-1531
 Wees: 1566-1567
 Vader-o: 1548-1567
 Vader-j: 1546, 1548-1567
 Vader-cell: 1547
 Ward: 1539-1540, 1548, 1552, 1555-1556, 1558-1559, 1563
182. Willemsz. (van HOOCHSTRATEN), Huych (? -1561) brewer
 V: 1559-1561
 GOolv: 1552-1561
 Hzn-p: 1550-1551

183. Willemsz., Willem Jacop (/ -1551) cloth industry
V: 1520-1551
K-p: 1527-1530, 1532, 1547-1549
Gt-o: 1533-1535
G-st K: 1526, 1540, 1544
Hzn-p: 1541
Ward: 1529, 1541-1542, 1544-1545
184. WOERT, Salomon Lenaertsz. van der (1553-1615) notary
V: 1592-1615
185. ZEYST, Nicolaes van (1563-1617) lawyer
P: 1598-1617
Gc-W: 1605-1609, 1611, 1615-1617
Schol: 1598, 1602, 1605-1611, 1615, 1617
K-W: 1604

Part II: Selected Genealogies

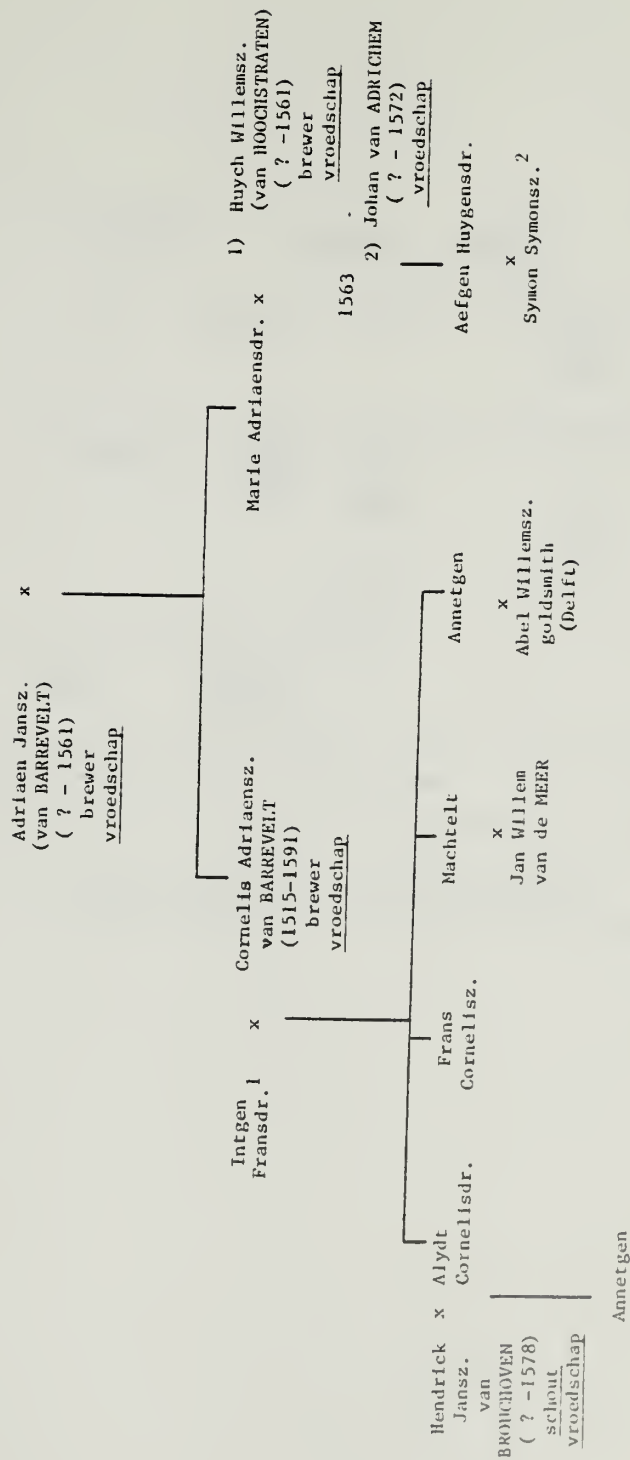
The genealogical charts contained in this section of Appendix C have been selected to include only those individuals and families which appear in the most significant references and examples in the text. This has been done for the necessary reasons of time and space. However, my research has allowed me to accumulate much additional information on most vroedschap families. For anyone interested in families or individuals whose genealogies do not appear in this section, this information is available upon request from the author.

BAERSDORP



Source: No author, NL, LV(1937), p. 224
 Elias, Vroedschap van Amsterdam, pp. 77-78.

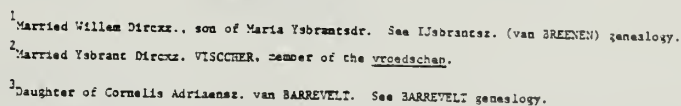
BARREVELT



¹Intgen Fransdr. is the daughter of Frans Glysbrechtsz., member of the beiden vroedschap in the early sixteenth century.

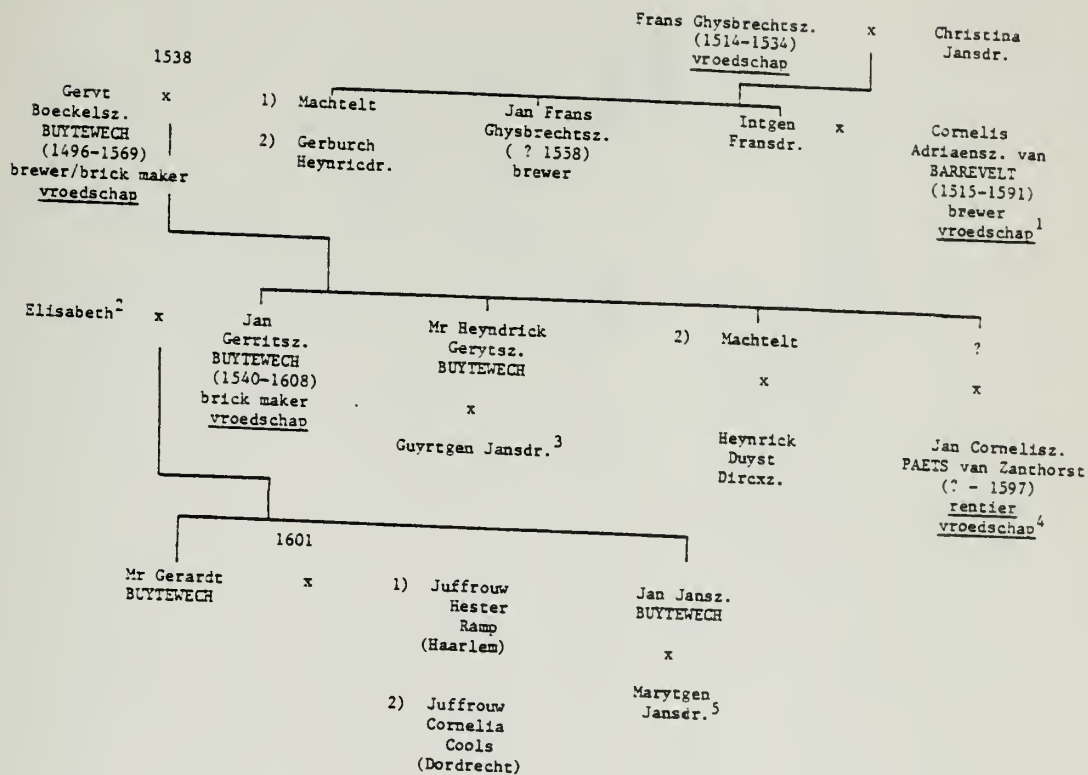
² Symons Symonsz. was the son of Symon Jan Meyersz. (van HEEMSKERCK). See HEEMSKERCK genealogy.

Sources: GAL, RA, No. 76 B-2, dated April 22, 1563 and August 18, 1569.
B.R. 1581, folio 266.
GAL, RA, No. 76 B-2, dated October 25, 1559.
Meer, "Rondom het gezin van Jan Reyer Dircxz."



- Sources: Fockema Andreae, "Jan van Brouchoven," LJ, XXII (1929-30), pp. 74-101.
GAL. WA, No. 783, item e: copy of the testament of Jan van Brouchoven.
GAL. WA, No. 420, item d.
GAL. RA, No. 76 B-2, unfoliated, items dated August 18, 1569; May 3, 1571; and April 15, 1573.

BUYTEWECH



¹ See BARREVELT genealogy.

² Daughter of Jacob Claes. (van SWIETEN), wood merchant, who served as a member of the vroedschap from 1527 to 1550. See SWIETEN I genealogy.

³ Daughter of Mr Jan Korver of Gouda and Lysbeth Symonsdr.

⁴ Jan PAETS van Zanthorst is mentioned as a brother-in-law of Jan Gerritsz. BUYTEWECH by GAL, RA, No. 76 B-2, Jan 26, 1566.

⁵ Daughter of Jan ? and Hillegont Cornelisdr.

Sources: DUSSELDORP genealogy in Fruin, ed., Annales 1566-1616.

GAL, RA, No. 76 B-1, June 27, 1538.

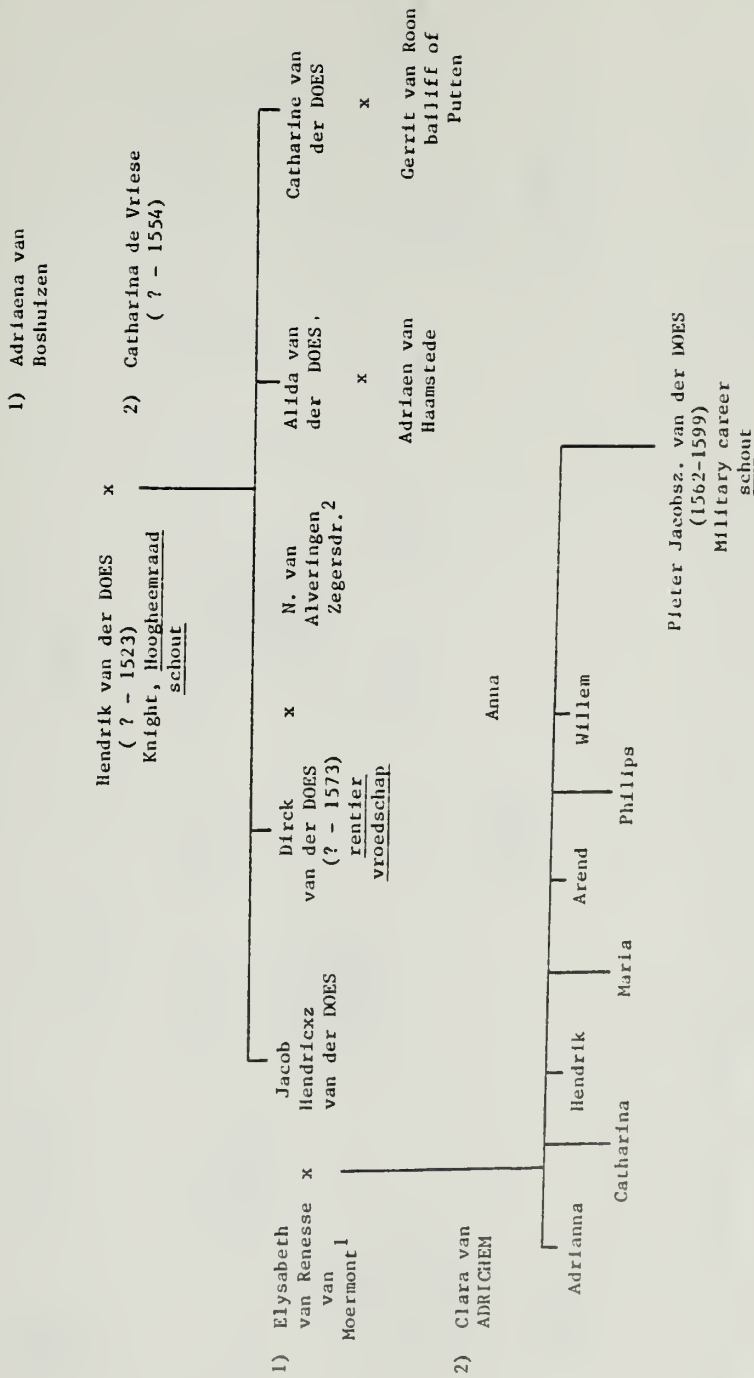
GAL, RA, No. 76 B-2, Jan 29, 1561.

GAL, RA, No. 76 B-2, Jan 25, 1561.

GAL, RA, No. 76 B-2, Jan 26, 1566.

GAL, RA, No. 88 (schependonktrouw der niet gereformeerde), Book A, folios 73vso and 112.

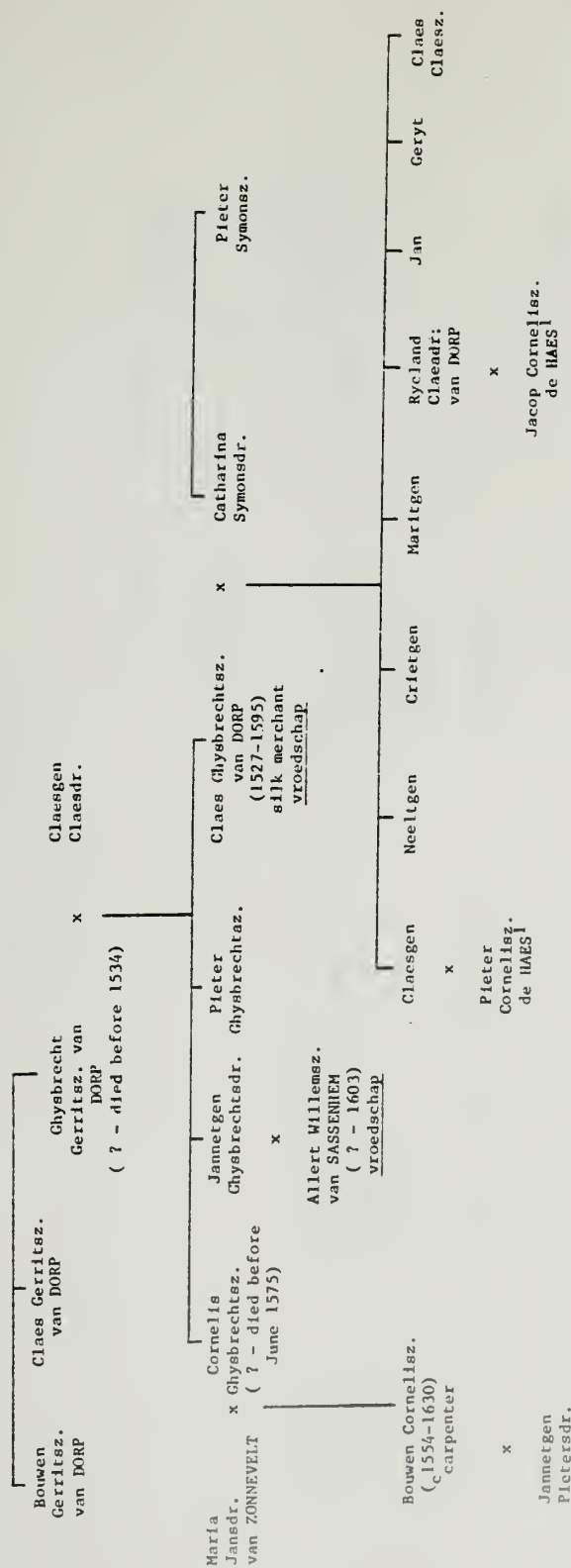
GAL, SA, II, No. 1139, Echtboek, Book A, folio 186vso.



¹ Elysabeth van Renesse van Moermont was the widow of Vincent van Walven.

² Zeger was the lord of Hofwegen.

DORP



¹ Pieter Cornelisz. de HAES and Jacop Cornelisz. de HAES are brothers. See HAES genealogy.

Sources: GAL, RA, No. 76 B-2, dated January 25, 1556, December 6, 1577, and October 7, 1580.
 B.R. 1581, folio 52vso.
 GAL, Archief van de Weeskamer, No. 1029: Boedel van Claes Claesz. van Dorp, stuk h, dated 1643.
 Nederlandsche Patrijtaal, XIV (1924), pp. 74-75.



GAEL

1) ?

1510

Claes Lottynsz.
GAEL.
(? -1537)
(Haarlem)

x 2) Alydt Pouwel
Janszdr.
(?-1555)

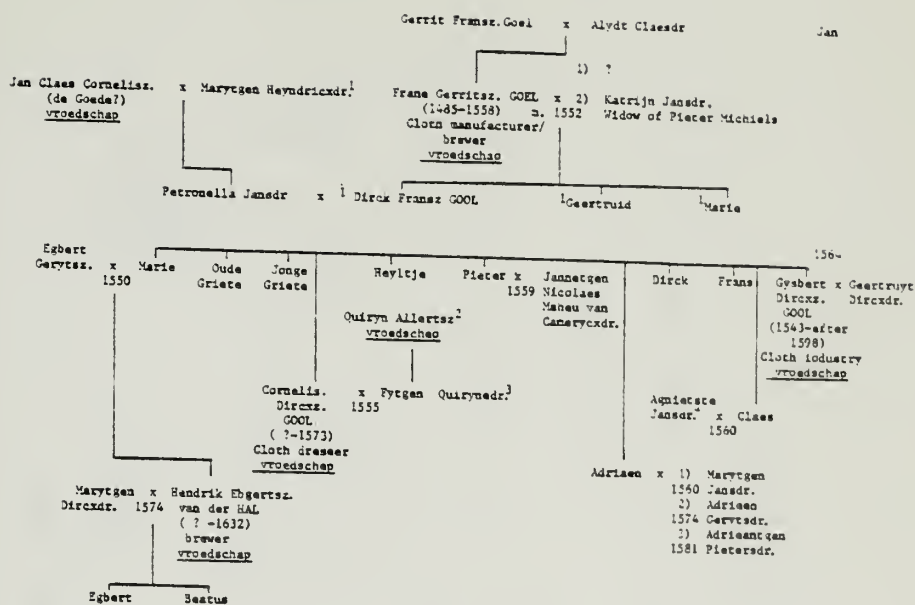
1) Dirckje Claes 2) Machtelt 2) Huych Claesz. 1) Swaenteje 2) Symon 2) Geertruyt 2) Mr. Loth
Lottensdr.* 1545 Laurensdr.
x 1529 Cloth merchant x (1515-1577) 2) Margriete 2) Maria 2) Jan
Thyman Jansz. vroedschap 1550 2) Maria
Cornelisdr.

1) Claes Huygensz. 1) Laurens (Louris) 1) Dirckje 2) Jacob 2) Jannetje 2) Loth Huygensz.
GAEL (1547-1581) Huygensz. GAEL (1549-1622) vroedschap (1562-1626)
vroedschap x 1581 2) Neeltje 2) Cornelis schout
Femmetje de Vriese (-1609) (Haarlem) x 1587
Belytge Adriaensdr.
van Hierop

*Dirckje Claes Lottensdr is the widow of Dirck Alairtsz.

Source: Dolléman, "Geslacht Gael," pp. 52-61. See this reference for much more information on other members of the GAEL family, particularly those remaining in Haarlem.

GOOL



¹ See J. E. Someren Brand.

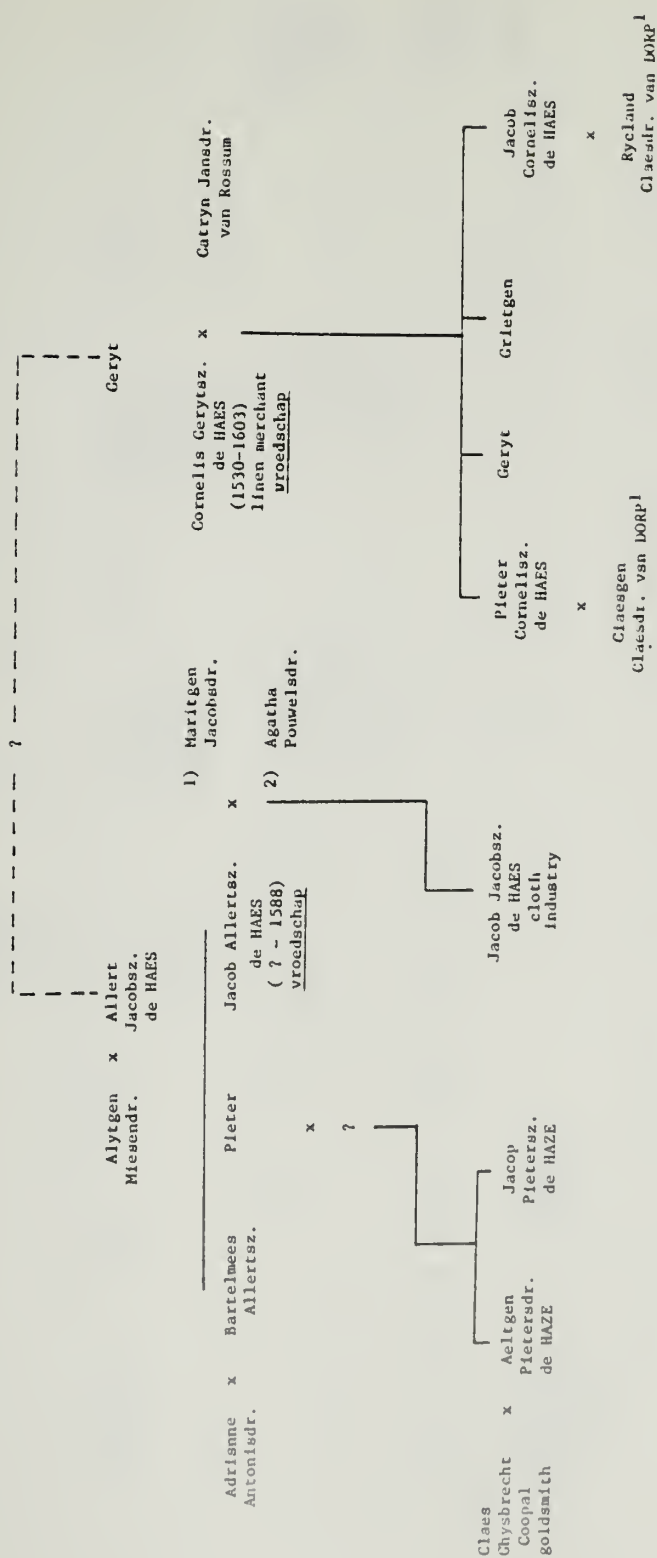
² See DUSSELDORF genealogy.

³ Her second marriage was to Dirck Dirckx. STIEN, also a member of the vroedschap.

⁴ She is the daughter of Jan Claes van Eyndt and Jan Lysbeth Pietersdr.

Sources: J. E. van Someren Brand, "Het geslacht Gool."
GAL, RA, No. 76 B-2, passim.
O.A. van der Meer, "Nadom het gezin van Jan Raver Dirckx."
Fruin, "Dusseldorp's Stamboom."
B.R. 1581.

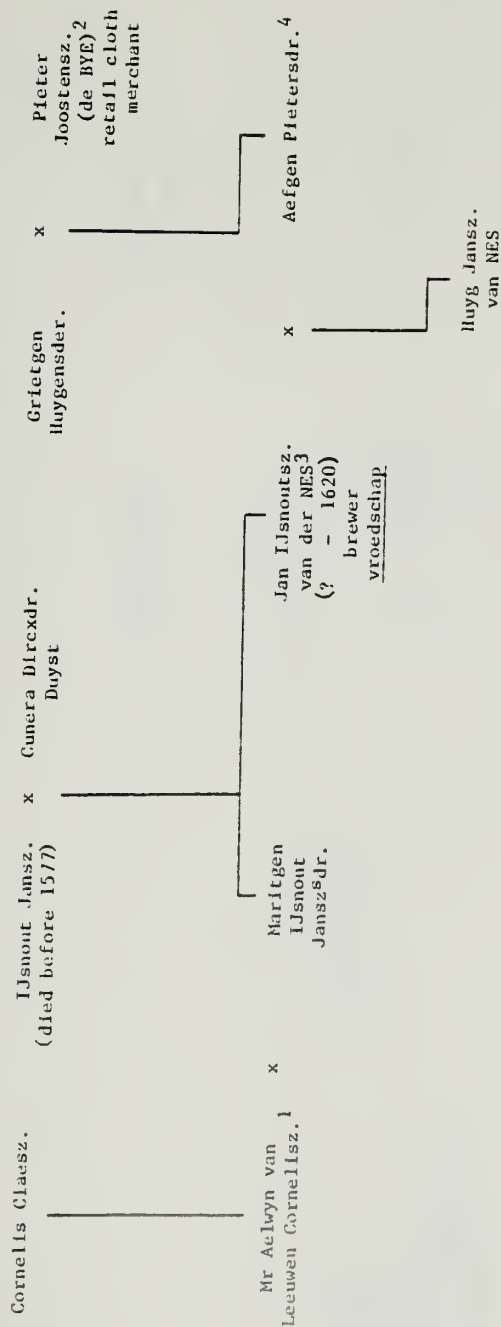
HAES



¹They are sisters. See DORP genealogy.

Sources: CAL, RA, No. 76 B-2, dated January 5, 1577; December 6, 1577; February 5, 1580; and October 7, 1580.
B.R. 1581, folios 53 and 154vso.
Acten van Transport Index
CAL, RA, No. 79: Getuigenisboek B, folio 79vso.

NES



¹ Other relatives of Mr Aelwyn van Leeuwen Cornelisz. include: Mees Aelwynsz. (van SWANENBURGH), his uncle; Mr Frans Adriaensz., his outd oom (?); and Claes Adriaensz., his groot vader (?). The last two entries crossed out in original reference. See appropriate genealogies.

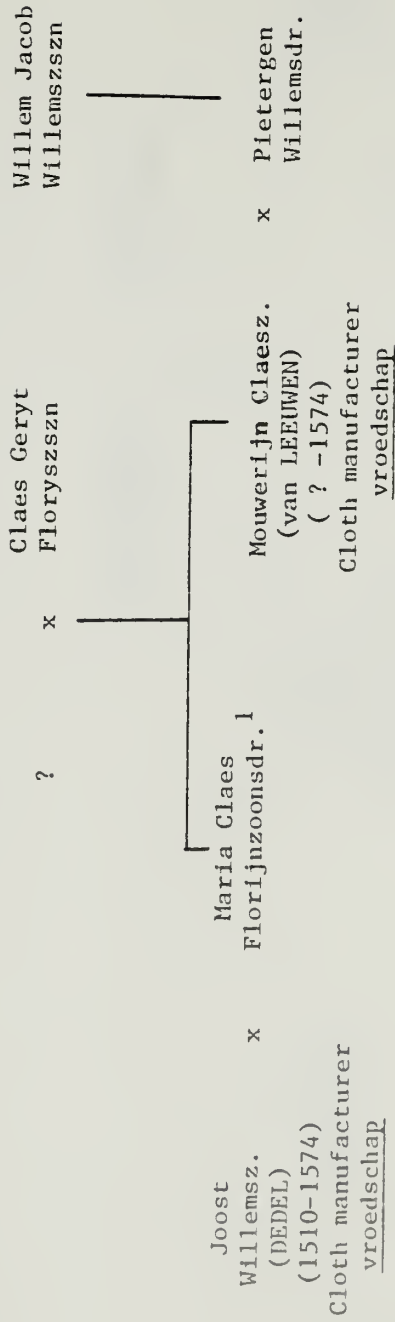
² See De BYE genealogy.

³ His brothers-in-law include: Claes Willemsz. van WARWONT, and Mr Symon van VEEN Advocaat for the Hof van Holland.

⁴ Her uncles include: Cornelis Adriaensz. van BARREVELT and Claes Lambrechtsz. (van SWIETEN). See These Genealogies. Also her brother-in-law is indicated as Claes Willemsz. van WARWONT.

Sources: B.R. 1581, folio 68; CAL, RA, No. 76 B-2, Oct 12, 1577 and Dec 2, 1562; Acten van Transport Index.

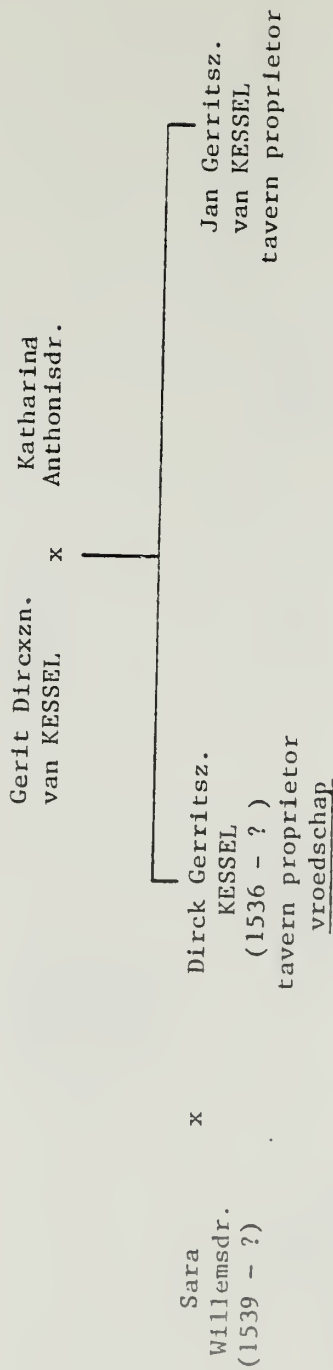
Claesz. (van LEEUWEN)



¹ She was the widow of Jacob Andriesz.

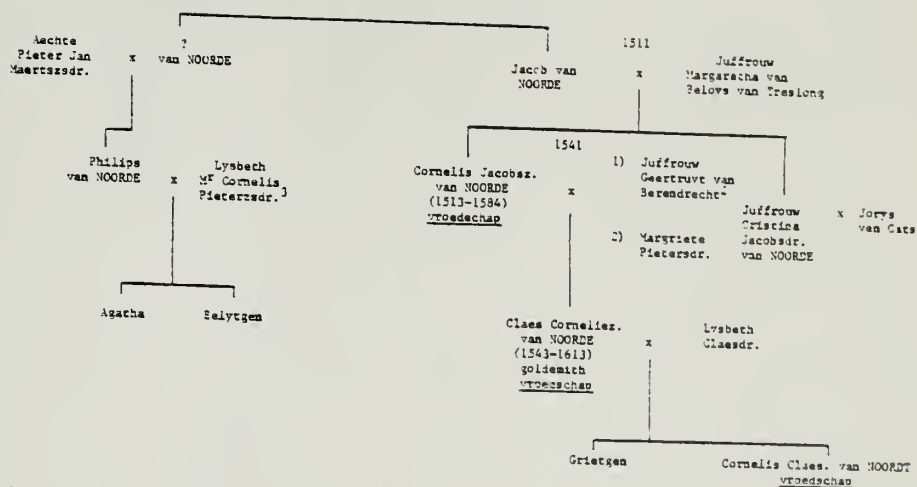
Sources: GAL, RA, No. 76 B-1, dated January 23, 1541 and October 29, 1541.

KESSEL



Sources: GAL, RA, No. 79: Getuigenisboek B, folio 220.
 Acten van Transport Index
 GAL, SA, I, No. 9
 Meilink, P.A., "Rekening van Dirck van Kessel door diensten aan den Prins
 van Oranje over de jaren, 1571-74," BMIG, (XLVII) 1926, p. 345.

NOORDE



¹ Aecht Pieter Jan Maertszdr. was previously married to Jacop Cornelisz gorter and subsequently married to Willem Simonsz. van OY.

² Geertruyt van Berendrecht is the daughter of Willem van OY.

³ Lysbeth's father M. Cornelis Pietersz. was a member of the Leiden vroedschap from 1542-1560.

Sources: GAL, RA, No. 76 B-1, dated October 11, 1541.
 GAL, RA, No. 76 B-1, dated February 18, 1511.
 GAL, RA, No. 76 B-2, dated October 4, 1550.
 B.R. 1581, folio 127.

- 1) Maritgen Ysbrantsdr.
(van BREENEN)¹

Pieter OOM Pietersz.
van Ofwegen

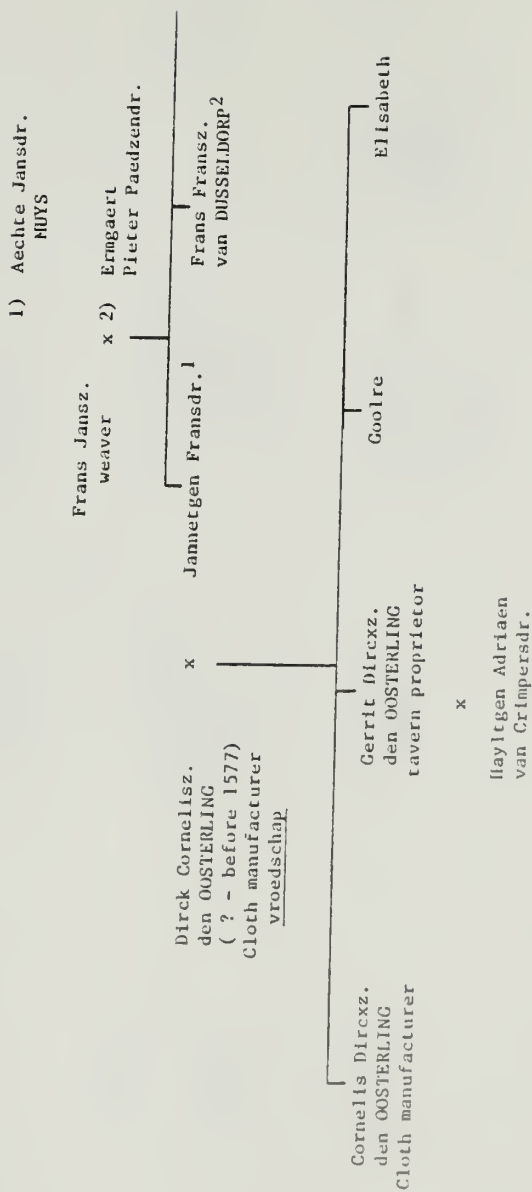
x

- 2) Katrynen Jacopsdr.
dr MILDE

¹See Ysbrantsz (van BREENEN) genealogy

Sources: B.R. 1581, folio 60vso.
Acten van Transpoort Index

OOSTERLING

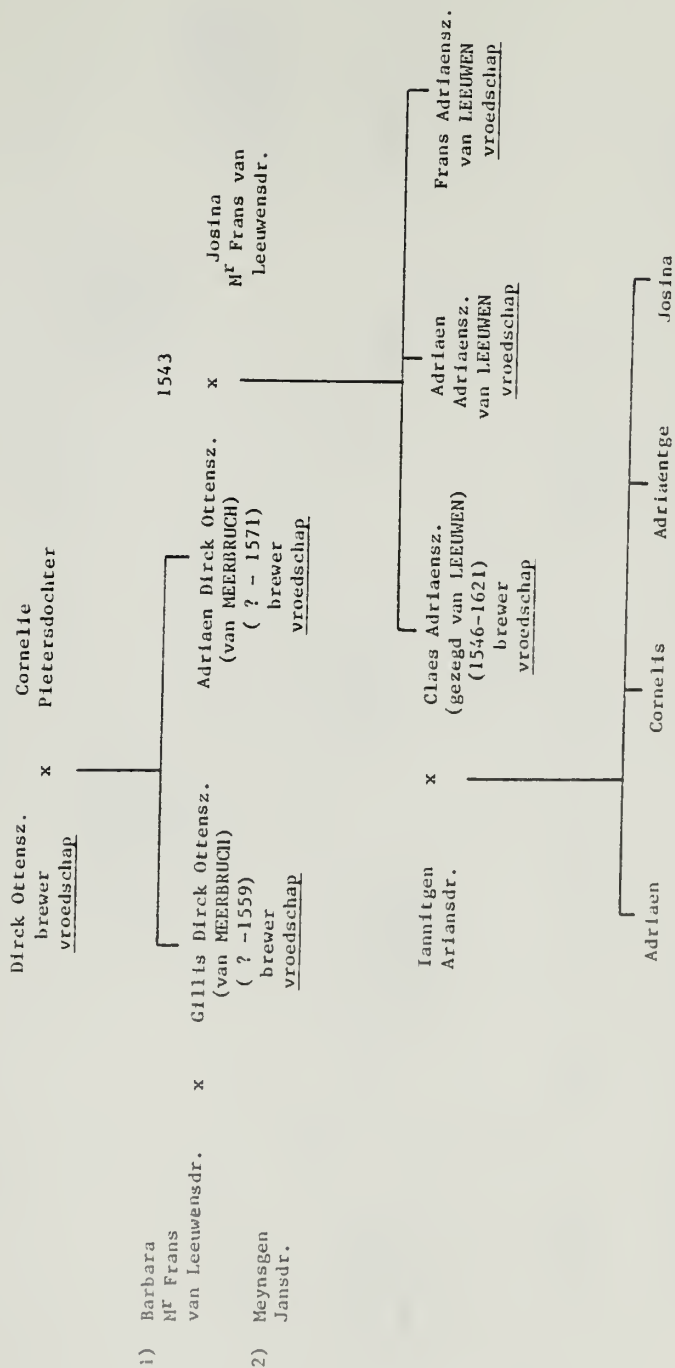


¹ Jannetgen's first marriage was to Geryt, son of Claes Jansz. van WEESP.

² See DUSSELDORP-MUYS genealogy.

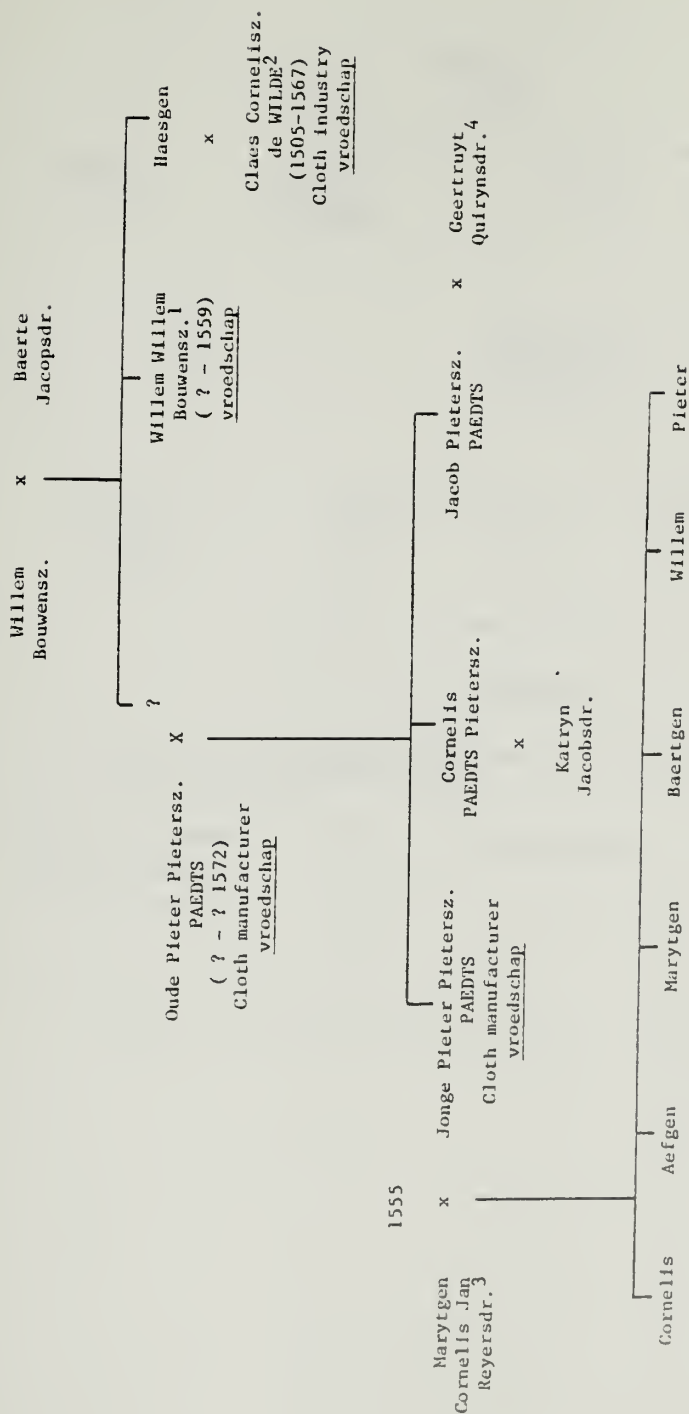
Sources: GAL., RA, No. 76 B-2, dated May 16, 1558 and June 2, 1568.

Ottensz. (MEERBRUCH/van LEEUWEN)



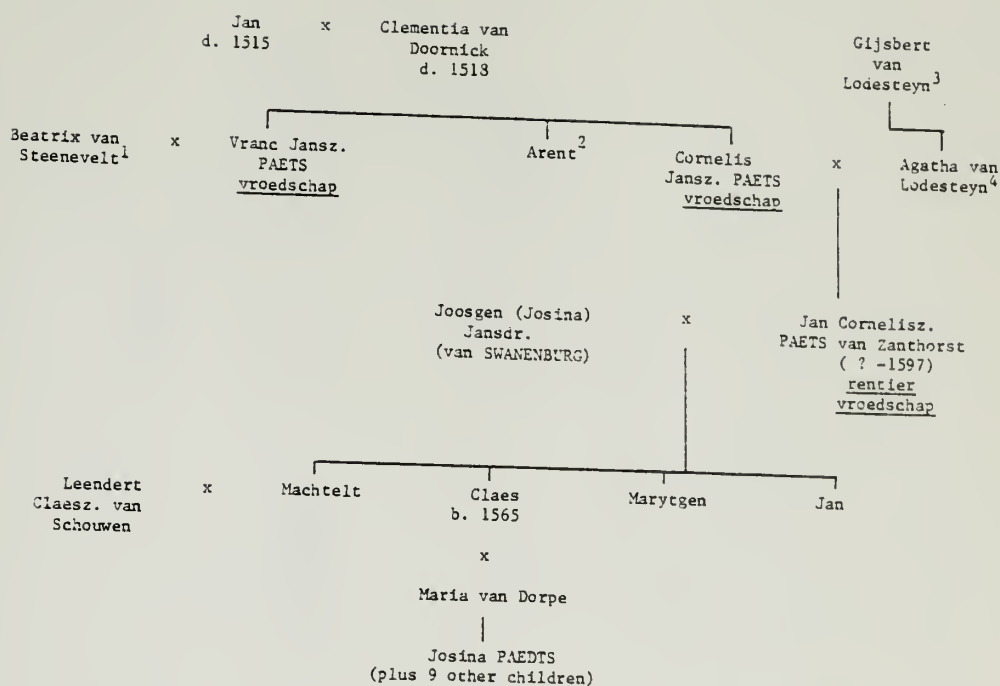
Sources: GAL, RA, No. 76 B-1, dated August 7, 1543.
 GAL, RA, No. 76 - B2, dated April 13, 1570.
 GAL, SA, II, No. 206: Dienstboek G, folio 314.
 B.R. 1581, folio 134 vso.
 Pelinok, "Twee Leidsche portretten."
 J. van Leeuwen, "De afstemming van het geslacht van leyden van Leeuwen," pp. 411-412.

PAEDTS

¹ See WARMONT genealogy.² See De WILDE genealogy.³ See HEENKERCK genealogy.⁴ Geertruyt is the brother of Allart Quirynsz. and brother-in-law of Cornelis Dirksz. COOL. See COOL genealogy.

Sources: GAL, RA, No. 76B-2 dated February 4, 155, December 16, 1559, and January 16, 1568.

PAETS van Zanthorst



¹ She married Jonge Dirck Jan Reyersz. (van HEEMSKERCK), who was a member of the vroedschap from 1553-1558. See HEEMSKERCK genealogy.

² Arent was a Carthusian monk.

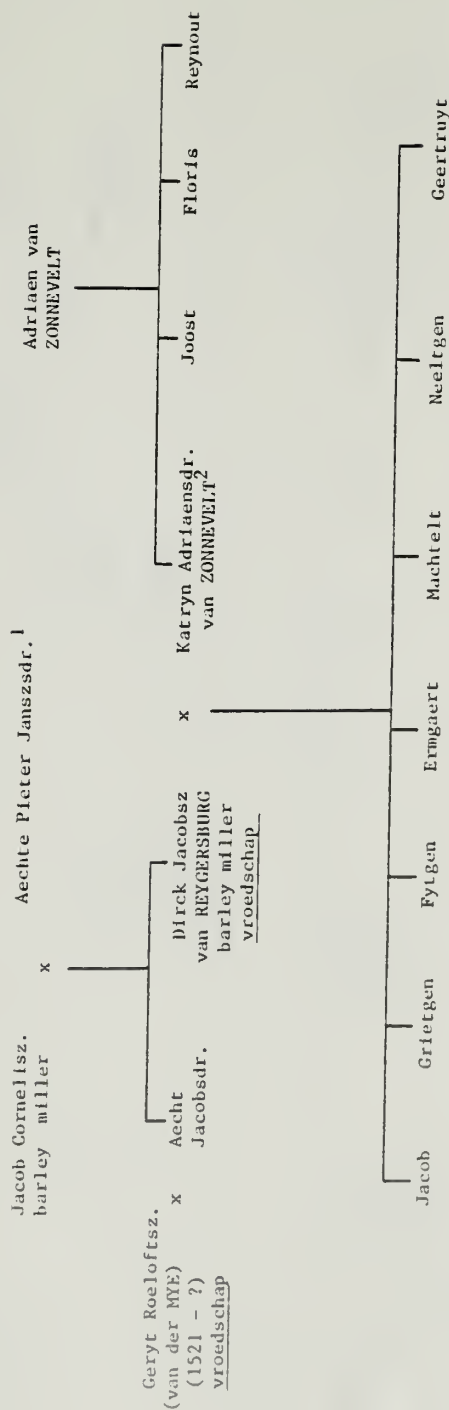
³ Gijsbert van Lodesteyn was a member of a Delft vroedschap family.

⁴ Vrouwe van Santhorst.

⁵ See BUYTEWECH genealogy.

Sources: B.R. 1581, folio 195.
Bijleveld, "Paedts (van Santhorst)", NL, LIX (1941), 150-152.

REYGERSBURG

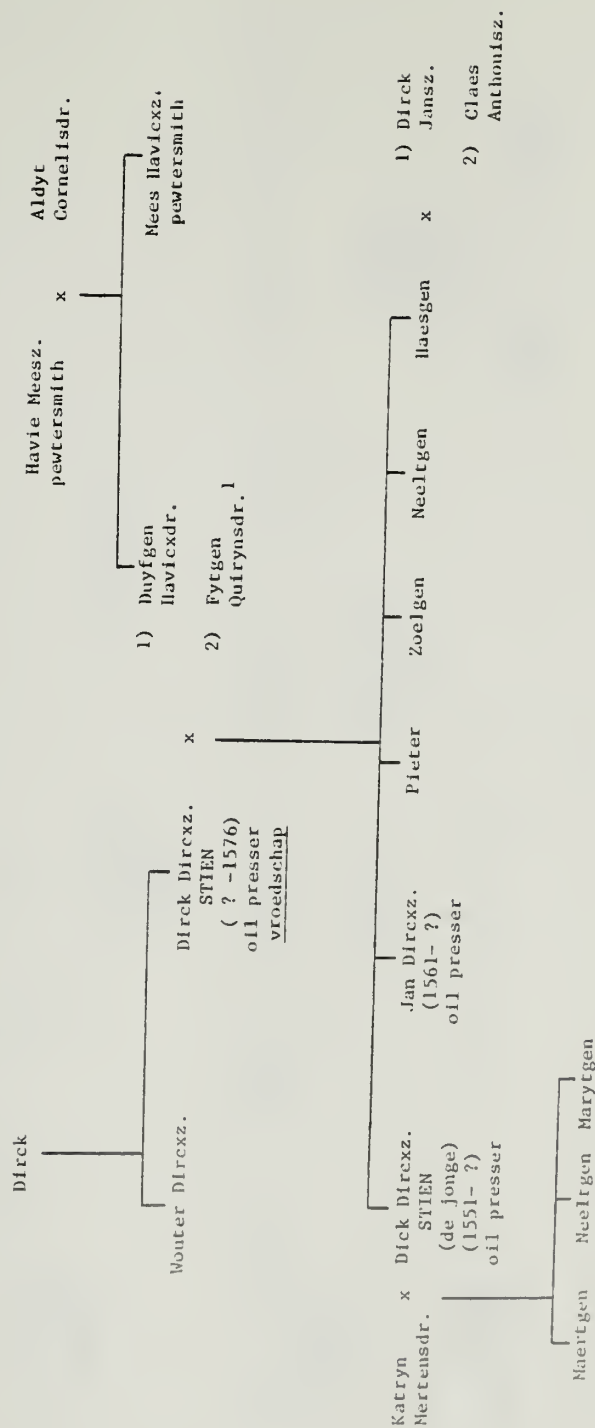


¹ Her third husband was Willem Simonsz. van OY. She is also the mother of Philips van NOORDE and the sister of Cornelis Pietersz., a member of the Leiden vroedschap.

² Her cousin is Jan DUYCK, the father of Leiden vroedschap member Franck Jansz. DUYCK.

Sources: GAL, RA, No. 76 B-1, dated November 17, 1542.
 GAL, RA, No. 76 B-2, dated August 10, 1561.
 B.R. 1581, folio 71.

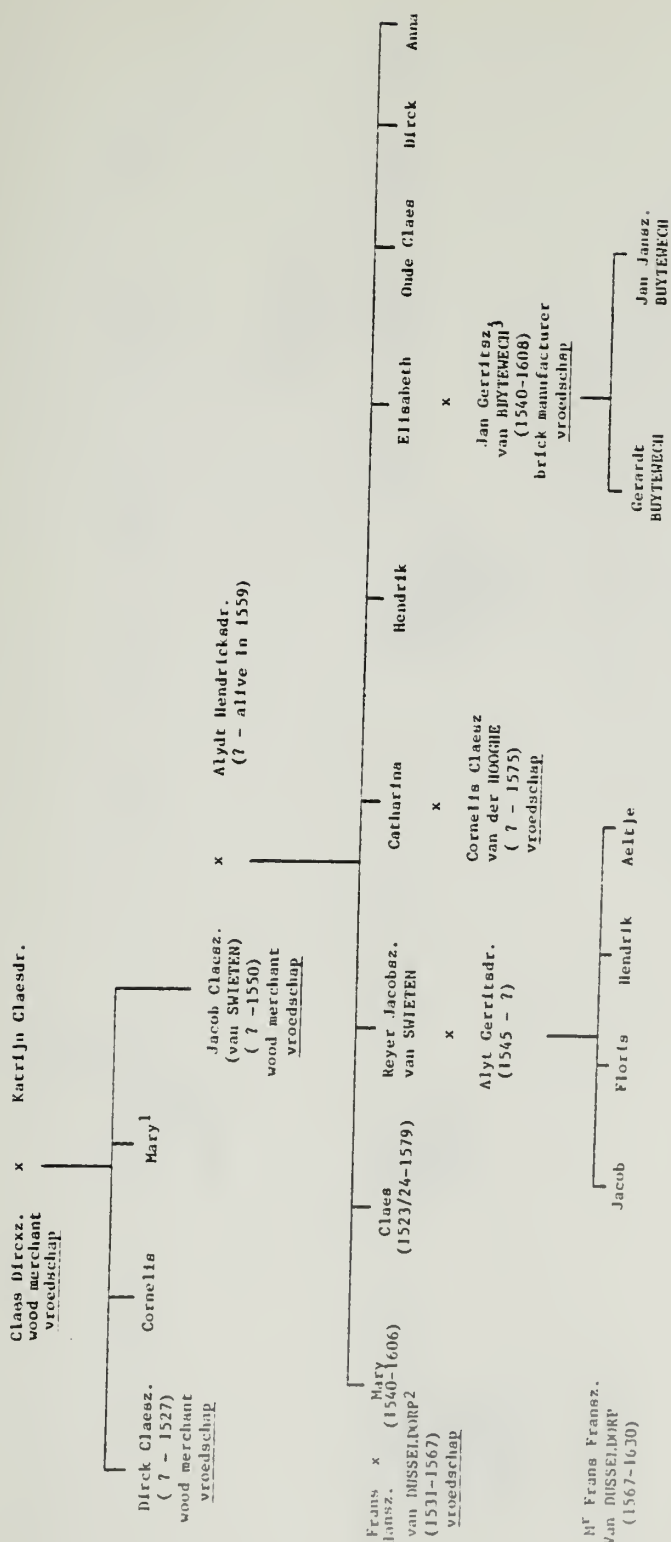
STIEN



¹ The widow of Cornelis Dirckx. COOL.

Sources: GAL, RA, No. 76 B-2, dated January 28, 1565; July 6, 1576; and November 7, 1570.
 GAL, RA, No. 79: Getuigenisboek B, folio 35vso and Getuigenisboek E, folio 22lvso.
 B.R. 1581, folios 123vso. and 155vso.
 Acten van Transpoort Index

SWIETEN I



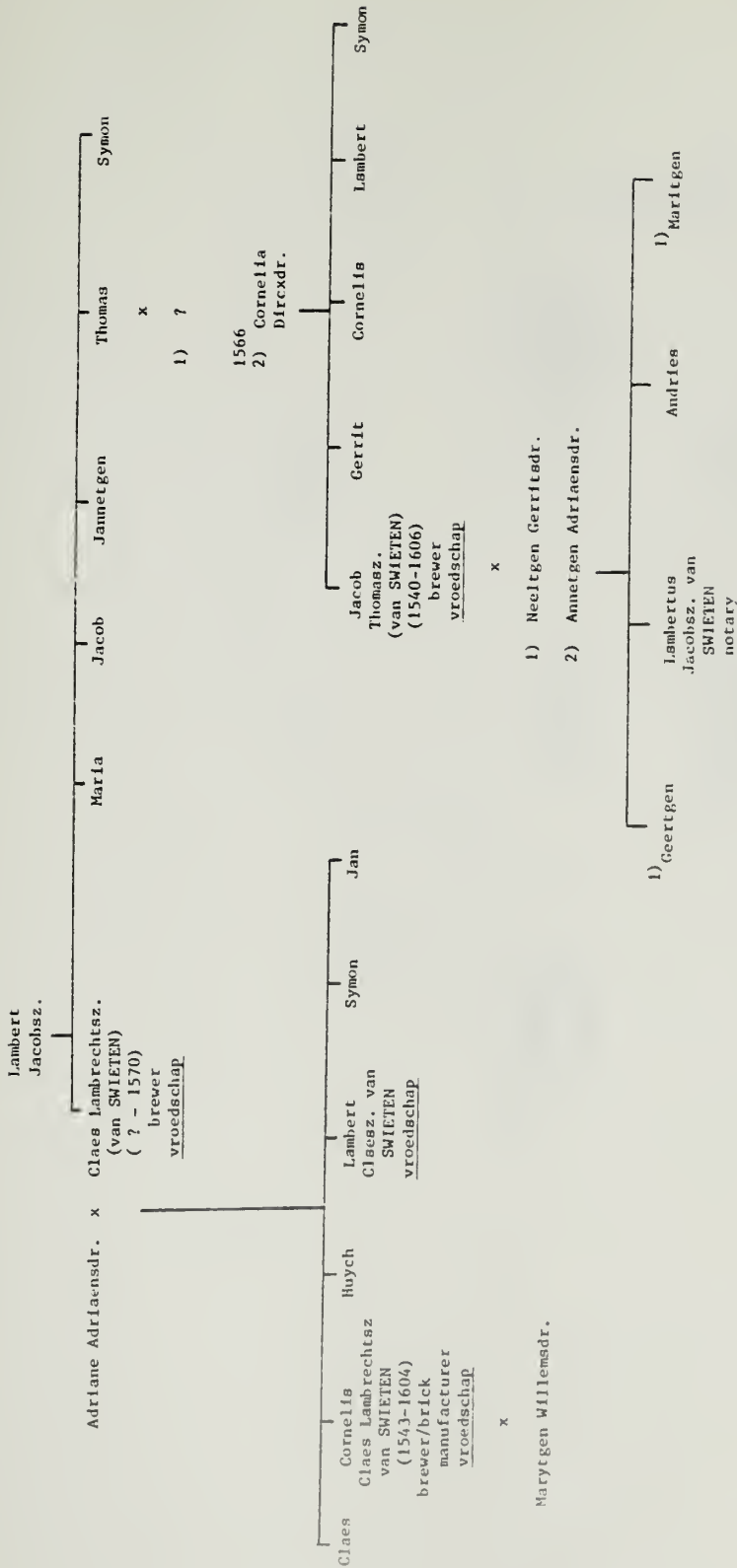
¹ She married Oude Dirck Jan Reyersz.

² See DUSSELDORP genealogy.

³ See BUYTEMECH genealogy.

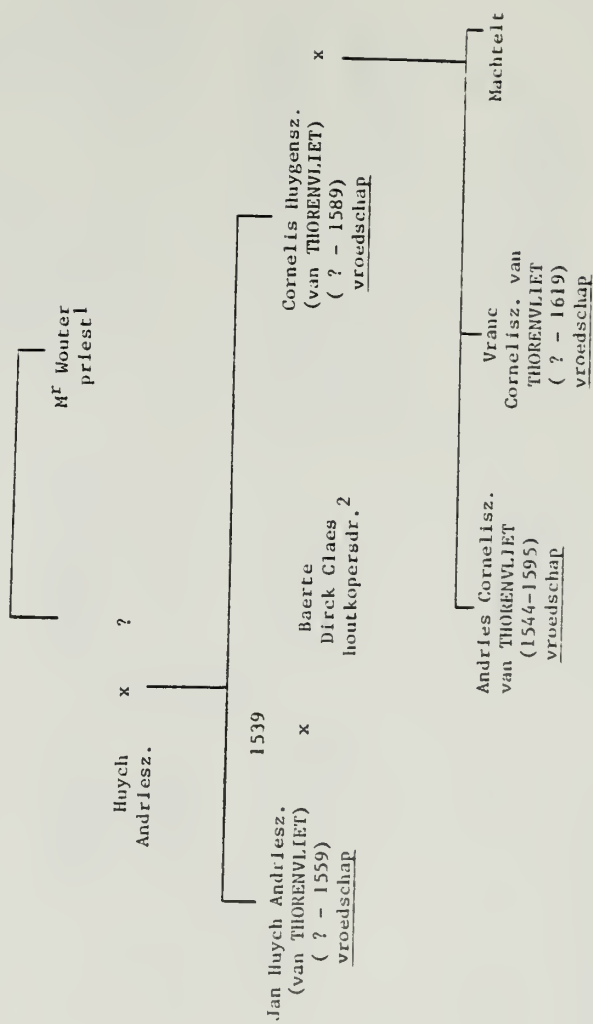
Sources: Fruin, "Dusseldorp Stadhoud.",
CAL., RA., No. 88, Schepen ondertrouwen der niet Gereformeed.
CAL., SA., II, No. 1179; Echthoek A, folio 186vao.

SWIETEN II



Sources: GAL, RA, No. B-2
Bijleveld, "Dr. Gerard van Swieten en zijn voorgelacht," NI, XLII (1924).

THORENVLIET

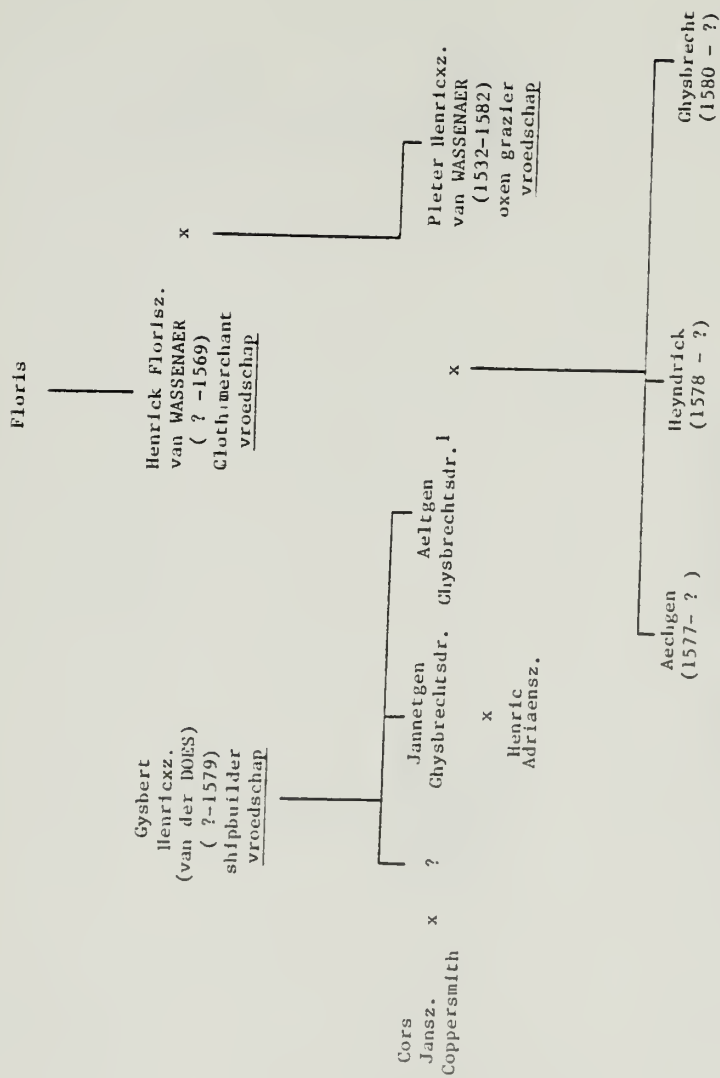


¹ Mr Wouter is the uncle of Jan Huych Andriesz.

² See DISSELHORP-HUYS genealogy

Sources: GAL, RA, No. 76 B-1, dated August 30, 1539.
B.R. 1581, folio 156vso.

WASSENAER I

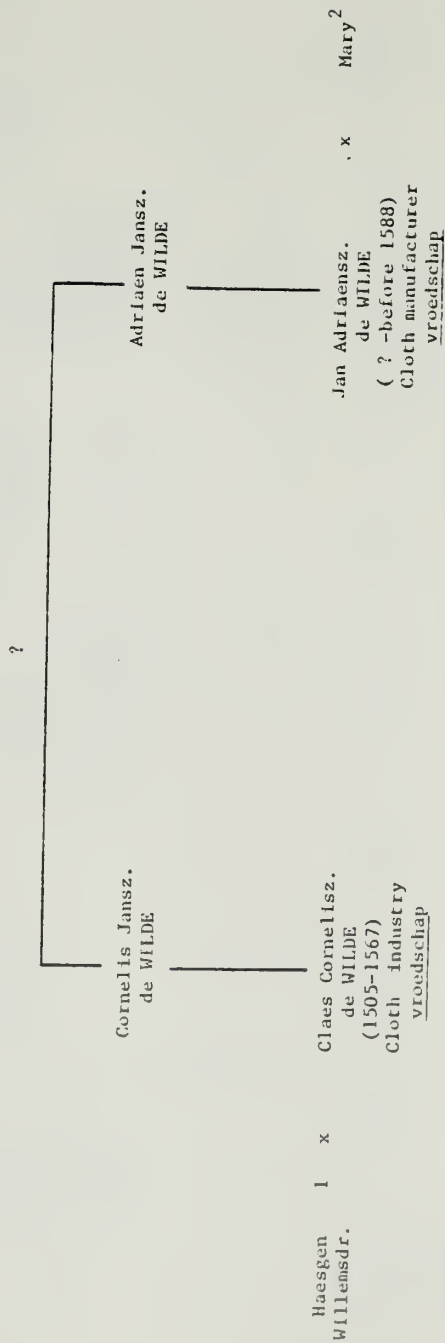


¹ Aeltgen Gysbrechtsdr. later remarried a Jan Jansz. van Eck.

Sources:

GAL, RA, No. 76 B-2, dated September 25, 1576 and June 27, 1579.
B.R. 1581, folio 35vso.
GAL, SA, II, No. 9249, folio 25vso.
Knappert, Opkomst van Protestantisme, p. 223.

De WILDE

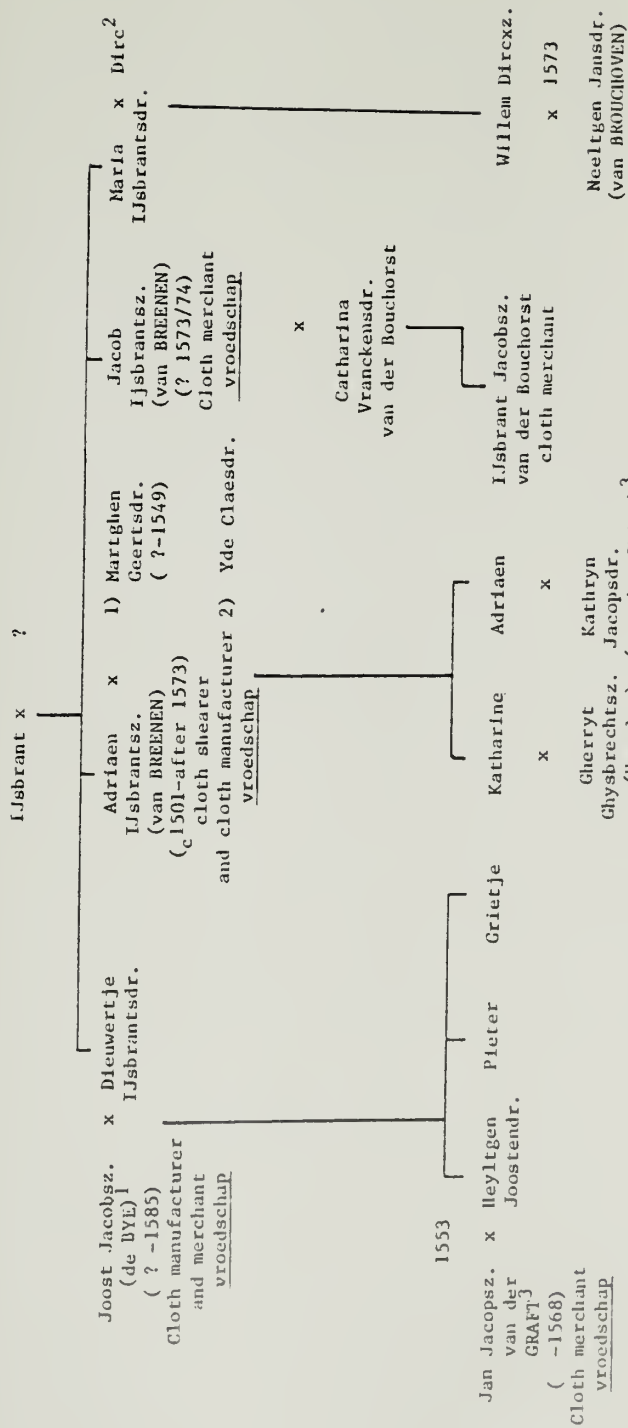


¹ Daughter of Willem Willem Bouwensz. See WARMONT genealogy.

² Daughter of Frans Jansz. and Aechte Jansdr. NUYS. See DUSSELDORP-MUYS genealogy.

Sources: Fruin, "Dusseldorp's Stamboom"
GAL, RA, No. 76 B-2; Huwelijkse Voorwaarden, unfoliated, dated September 19, 1578.

IJsbrantsz. (van BREENEN)

¹ See DYE genealogy.² Could this be Dirc Willemsz. VISSCHER whose son IJsbrant Dircxz. VISSCHER was a member of the vroedschap?³ See GRAFT genealogy.⁴ See BROUCHOVEN genealogy.

Sources: GAL, RA, No. 76 B-2: Huwelijckse Voorwaarden, unfoliated, items dated July 2, 1553, July 20, 1554 and July 22, 1559.

GAL, Acten van Transport Index.

GAL, WA, No. 1270: Boedel van Martghen Geertsdr.

APPENDIX D:
Tables, Graphs and Lists Pertaining to
Families and Education

Table 2. FAMILIES REPRESENTED IN THE VROEDSCHAP BEFORE 1572

Family names appear in chronological order according to date of entrance into the vroedschap. The names appear this way because of the difficulty of alphabetizing the mixture of fixed family names and patronyms when individuals belonging to the same family groups were known by both. The chronological order also allows for ready reference to the seniority of family groups in the council. Chronological listing includes both the offices of pensionaris and secretaris because they are group members, even though they are not officially vroedschap members.

Family Name	Duration of Tenure	Reason for Non-continuation
1 Willem Willem Jacopsz.	□	†?
2 GOOL	0	?
3 DEYMAN	*	
4 OY	□	†?
5 SWIETEN I	□	?
6 HEEMSKERCK	*	
7 GOEDE	0	∅
8 BUYTEWECH	0 ¹	∅
9 Claes Adriaensz. brouwer	□	†
10 BERENDRECHT	0	∅
11 SWIETEN II	*	
12 WTREDER	□	†
13 Kerstantsz.	□	†?
14 BARREVELT	*	
15 Garbrantsz. (van NIEROP)	0	∅
16 Ghysbrechtsz.	□	†?
17 HASIUS	*	
18 VERHOOCH I	□	†?
19 VERHOOCH II	□	†?
20 VERHOOCH III	0	∅
21 DUSSELDORP-MUYS	0 ¹	?
22 BURCH	*	
23 PAETS	0	?
24 Frans Adriaensz.	□	†
25 GRAFT	*	
26 Albrechtsz. (van CRUNINGEN)	□	†
27 DOE	□	†?
28 Pietersz. (van der ZYPE)	□	†?
29 Aelbrechtsz. (van CAMPEN)	□	†?
30 Allertsz.	□	?
31 De MILDE	0 ¹	
32 PAETS van Zanthorst	*	

33	TOL	o	
34	THORENVLiet	*	†
35	WASSENAER I	*	
36	VAN DER DOES	*	
37	BYE	*2	
38	Ysbrantsz. (van BREENEN)	*	Ø
39	Roeloftsz. (van der MYE)	0	
40	Ottensz. (van MEERBRUCH/ - van LEEUWEN)	*	Ø
41	VEEN	0	
42	ADRICHEM	0	Ø
43	WARMONT	*	†
44	NOORDE	*	
45	Ewoutsz. (van DAM)	0	Ø
46	POELGEEST	□	†
47	BOSSCHUYSEN	□	†
48	OEM	0	Ø
49	WILDE	0	Ø
50	GAEL	*	Ø
51	Claes. (van LEEUWEN)	0	†
52	HOOCHSTRATEN	□	†
53	SMALING	0	Ø
54	Claesz. (van ROODENBURCH)	0	Ø
55	BROUCHOVEN	*	
56	LOO	*	
57	BUYS	0	
58	SONNENVELT I	0	Ø
59	DUYVELANDT	*	
60	HOUT	*	
61	Aelwynsz. (van SWANENBURCH)	0	Ø
62	HOGEEVEN	*	
63	DEDEL	*	
64	VUYTGEEST	0	Ø
65	REYGERSBURGH	□	?
66	Jacobsz. (van OYEN)	0	Ø
67	VERGEYL	0	?
68	Dircxz. (van ROODENBEEKE)	0	Ø
69	Jansz. (KNOTTER)	*	

Summary * - 25 families □ - 19 families
0 - 24 families † and ? - 24 families
Ø - 17 families

Key to symbols: * Family retains representation after 1574
0 Family represented after 1572 but not after 1574
Ø Glipper Family (political or religious elimination)
□ Family ceases representation before 1572
? Unknown or Miscellaneous other reason for lack of
continued representation
† Family line dies out

Notes to Table:

¹In this case the family did not continue to be represented in major offices, such as councilman or alderman. They did, however, retain representation in the minor city offices. I have not counted them as being part of the group after 1574, as the group itself is comprised of only those who held major offices.

²The BYE family represents the only instance where a Glipper family continued to be part of the group after 1574.

Table 3: FAMILIES REPRESENTED IN THE VROEDSCHAP AFTER 1572

As in the previous table, families are listed in the chronological order of their entrance into the group. The number to the left of the name is the numerical ordering of all the families on the list. Families that no longer had representation in the group after 1574 are indicated by the sign 0, followed by the date (or its approximation) of their replacement. The numbers to the right of the family names show the chronological order of families represented only after 1574.

1	GOOL	0 (Not rechosen 1574)	
2	DEYMAN		1
3	HEEMSKERCK		2
4	GOEDE	0 (November 9, 1572)	
5	BUYTEWECH	0 (November 9, 1572)	
6	BERENDRECHT	0 (June 1572)	
7	SWIETEN II		3
8	BARREVELT		4
9	Garbrantsz. (v. NIEROP)	0 (May 1573)	
10	HASIU		5
11	VERHOOCH III	0 (November 9, 1572)	
12	DUSSELDORP-MUYS	0 (November 15, 1573)	
13	BURCH		6
14	PAETS	0 (Not rechosen 1574)	
15	GRAFT		7
16	MILDE	0 (November 10, 1573)	
17	PAETS van Zanthorst		8
18	TOL	0 (February 13, 1574)	
19	THORENVLIET		9
20	WASSENAER I		10
21	VAN DER DOES		11
22	BYE		12
23	Ysbrantsz. (v. BREENEN)		13
24	Roeloftsz. (v. d. MYE)	0 (November 9, 1572)	
25	Ottensz. (v. MEERCHBRUCH/ v. LEEUWEN)		14
26	VEEN	0 (May 1, 1573)	
27	ADRICHEM	0 (March 10, 1572)	
28	WARMONT		15
29	NOORDE		16
30	Ewoutsz. (van DAM)	0 (July 22, 1572)	
31	WILDE	0 (May 1, 1573)	
32	OEM	0 (November 9, 1572)	
33	GAEL		17
34	Claesz. (van LEEUWEN)	0 (March 28, 1574)	
35	SMALING		18
36	Claesz. (van ROODENBURCH)	0 (November 9, 1573)	

37	BROUCHOVEN			
38	LOO			19
39	BUYS			20
40	SONNEVELT I	0	(end 1572)	
41	DUYVELANDT	0	(November 9, 1572)	
42	HOUT			21
43	Aelwynsz. (v. SWANENBURCH)	0	(October 14, 1574)	22
44	HOGVEEN			
45	DEDEL			23
46	VUYTGEEST			24
47	REYGERSBURGH	0	(November 9, 1572)	
48	Jacobsz. (van OYEN)	0	(November 13, 1574)	
49	Dircxz. (van ROODENBEKE)	0	(November 9, 1572)	
50	Jansz. (KNOTTER)	0	(May 1, 1573)	
51	HAES			25
52	BAERSDORP			26
53	OOM (van OFWEGEN)			27
54	BANCKEN (BANCHEM)			28
55	BRANDT			29
56	CORTEVELT	9	(1572-1574 only)	
57	Maringuy	0	(1573-1574 only)	30
58	MYE			
59	WERFF			31
60	Henricxz. (van der DOES)			32
61	STIEN	0	(1573-1574 only)	33
62	Jansz. PAETS			
63	DORP			34
64	WASSENAER II			35
65	OOSTERLING	0	(1573-1574 only)	36
66	Philipsz.			
67	KESSEL			37
68	Ghysbrechtsz.			38
	(van SWANENVELT)			
69	Pieter Cornelis Florisz.			39
	(POTT)	0	(1574 only)	
70	Hobbe Florisz. (POTT)			40
71	Aelbrechtsz. (van			
	QUACKENBOSCH)			41
72	VOS			42
73	SCHOT			43
74	Jacopsz. (de MYEN)	0	(1572-1574 only)	
75	MONTFOORT			44
76	ALCKEMADE			45
77	SASSENHEM			46
78	Reyersz. (olieslager)	0	?	
79	MORSCH			47
80	Keyser (van der MORSCH)			48
81	Jacobsz. (van CAMPEN)			49
82	SWANENBURCH			50
83	VALCKENBURCH			51
84	MERWEN			52

85	Gerrytsz. in 't Hart	
86	Adriaensz. (van LEEUWEN)	53
87	SWAENSWYCK	54
88	HEUSSEN	55
89	VISSCHER	56
90	HAL	57
91	DUYCK	58
92	NES	59
93	AER	60
94	LANTSCHOT	61
95	SCHAECK	62
96	HOGERBEETS	63
97	LOURESLOOT	64
98	WOERT	65
99	TRYSENS	66
100	Cornelisz. PAEDS	67
101	Lenaertsz. (van GROOTVELT)	68
102	Jaspersz. (VESANEVELT)	69
103	Andriess.	70
104	Mourijnsz. (de GREBBER)	71
105	ZEYST	72
		73

Table 4: FAMILIES REPRESENTED IN THE GERECHT BEFORE 1572

	Family Name	Duration of Tenure	Reason for Non-continuation
1	GOOL	0	?
2	DEYMAN		?
3	OY	□	†?
4	SWIETEN I	□	?
5	HEEMSKERCK	* - x	
6	GOEDE	0	∅
7	BUYTEWECH	0	∅
8	Claes Adriaensz. brouwer	□	†
9	BERENDRECHT	0	∅
10	SWIETEN II	* - x	
11	WTREDER	□	†
12	BARREVELT	* - x	
13	Ghysbrechtsz.	□	†?
14	VERHOOGH I	□	†?
15	VERHOOGH II	□	†?
16	VERHOOGH III	0	∅
17	DUSSELDORP-MUYS	0	?
18	BURCH	* - x	
19	Frans Adriaensz.	□	†
20	GRAFT	*	
21	Albrechtsz. (v. CRUYNINGEN)		
22	Allertsz.	□	?
23	PAETS van Zanthorst	*	
24	TOL	0	†
25	THORENVLIT	* - x	
26	WASSENAER I	* - x	
27	VAN DER DOES	* - x	
28	BYE	* - x	∅
29	Roeloftsz. (van der MYE)	0	∅
30	Ottensz. (v. MEERBRUCH/ van LEEUWEN)	* - x	
31	VEEN	0	∅
32	ADRICHEM	0	†
33	NOORDE	* - x	
34	POELGEEST	□	†
35	BOSSCHUYSEN	□	†
36	OEM	0	∅
37	WILDE	0	∅
38	GAEL	* - x	
39	Claesz. (van LEEUWEN)	0	†
40	SMALING	* - x	
41	BROUCHOVEN	* - x	

Summary:	* - x	13 families	□	11 families
	0	14 families	† and ?	17 families
	Ø	10 families		

Key to the Symbols:

- * Family retains representation after 1574 in the vroedschap, but not in gerecht
- x Family retains representation in gerecht after 1574
- *-x Family retains representation in both vroedschap and gerecht after 1574
- 0 Family represented after 1572 but not after 1574
- Ø Glipper family (political or religious elimination from the group)
- Family ceases representation before 1572
- ? Unknown or miscellaneous reason for lack of continued representation

Family line dies out.

Table 5: GERECHT PERSONNEL RETENTION

Members of the <u>Gerecht</u>	Members of the <u>Gerecht</u>	Members of the <u>Gerecht</u>
1550	1551	1552
Nicolaes Jansz. van BERENDRECHT → Claes Adriaensz. brouwer Claes Cornelisz. de WILDE → Dirck van der DOES Symon Jan Reyersz. (HEENSKERCK) Frans Gerytsz. GOEL → Adriaen Jansz. (BARREVELT) → Jonge Dirck Jan Reyersz. (HEENSKERCK) Jacob Jansz. van der GRAFT → M ^r Frans Adriaensz. Jan Huych Andriesz z. (THORENVLIET) → Geryt Roeloftsz. (van der NYE) → Willem Aelbrechtsz. (van CAMPEN) → 8 retain representation (62%)	Nicolaes Jansz. van BERENDRECHT → Geryt Boeckelsz. BUYTEWECI → Claes Cornelisz. de WILDE → Jan Frans Ghysbrechtsz. Claes Aelwyn Claesz s. (VERHOOGH) → Frans Gerytsz. GOEL → Adriaen Jansz. (BARREVELT) Jan van ADRIEHEM Jacob Jansz. van der GRAFT → Geryt Aelbrechtsz. (v. CRUYNINGEN) Jan Huych Andriesz z. (THORENVLIET) → Geryt Roeloftsz. (van der NYE) Willem Aelbrechtsz. (van CAMPEN) → 8 retain representation (62%)	Nicolaes Jansz. van BERENDRECHT → Geryt Boeckelsz. BUYTEWECI Claes Reyer Claesz z. Jonge Dirck Jan Reyersz. (HEENSKERCK) Joost Jacobsz. de BYE Frans Gerytsz. GOEL → Claes Cornelisz. de WILDE Jan Frans Ghysbrechtsz. Jacob Jansz. van der GRAFT Claes Aelwyn Claesz z (VERHOOGH) Jan Huych Andriesz z (THORENVLIET) → Quiryn Allertsz. → Willem Aelbrechtsz. (van CAMPEN) → 6 retain representation (46%)
1553		
Nicolaes Jansz. van BERENDRECHT Claes Adriaensz. brouwer Adriaen Jansz. (BARREVELT) Jonge Dirck Jan Reyersz. (HEENSKERCK) Dirck van der DOES Frans Gerytsz. GOEL Claes Aelbrechtsz. (van SWIETEN) Symon Jan Reyersz. (HEENSKERCK) Geryt Aelbrechtsz. (van CRUYNINGEN) Jan Huych Andriesz z (THORENVLIET) Quiryn Allertsz. Willem Aelbrechtsz. (van CAMPEN)	Nicolaes Jansz. van BERENDRECHT → Geryt Boeckelsz. BUYTEWECI → Claes Cornelisz. de WILDE → Jan Frans Ghysbrechtsz. Claes Aelwyn Claesz s. (VERHOOGH) → Frans Gerytsz. GOEL → Adriaen Jansz. (BARREVELT) Jan van ADRIEHEM Jacob Jansz. van der GRAFT → Geryt Aelbrechtsz. (v. CRUYNINGEN) Jan Huych Andriesz z. (THORENVLIET) → Geryt Roeloftsz. (van der NYE) Willem Aelbrechtsz. (van CAMPEN) → 8 retain representation (62%)	Nicolaes Jansz. van BERENDRECHT → Geryt Boeckelsz. BUYTEWECI Claes Reyer Claesz z. Jonge Dirck Jan Reyersz. (HEENSKERCK) Joost Jacobsz. de BYE Frans Gerytsz. GOEL → Claes Cornelisz. de WILDE Jan Frans Ghysbrechtsz. Jacob Jansz. van der GRAFT Claes Aelwyn Claesz z (VERHOOGH) Jan Huych Andriesz z (THORENVLIET) → Quiryn Allertsz. → Willem Aelbrechtsz. (van CAMPEN) → 6 retain representation (46%)

Key: → Individual continues on in the gerecht
 ← Individual held a gerecht office during the previous year

Individuals occur in the lists in the following order: The first name is always the schout, followed by the four burgemeesters, followed by the eight schepenen. Utilizing this scheme, it was possible in most cases to match individuals who retained positions in the gerecht. For two men (de WILDE and VERHOOGH) who continued to be members of the gerecht from 1551-1552, this was not possible because of the ordering of the lists. Standard way of determining the membership of the gerecht in any given year was to choose the mayors who were chosen in November of the previous year and the aldermen selected in July of the year specified.

Graph 1: Personnel retention rate in the
Gerecht, 1530-1600

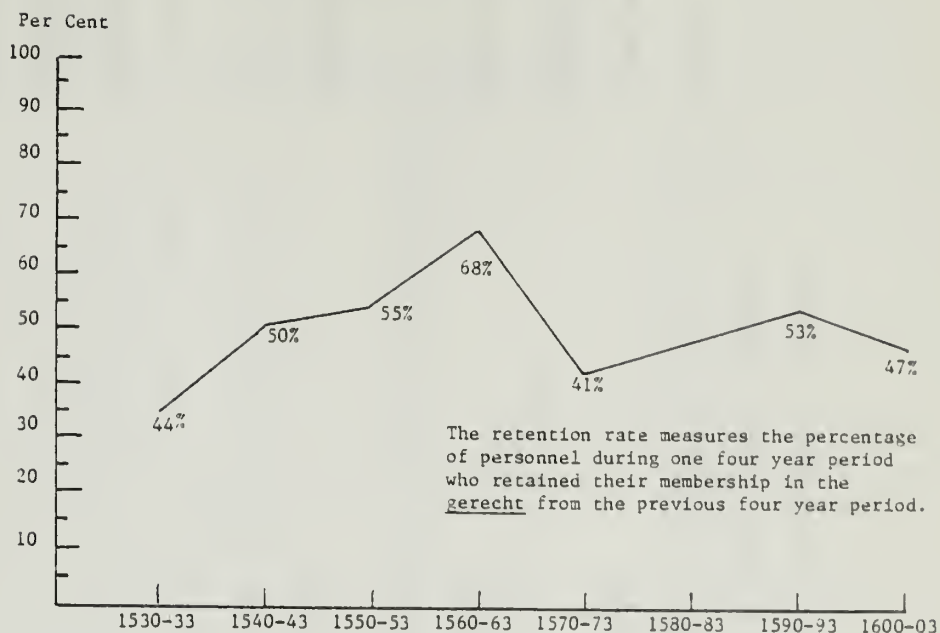


Table 6: REPLACEMENT OF VROEDSCHAP MEMBERS 1530-1600

The table below gives the number of newly-chosen town councilmen by decade. As the normal number of councilmen was always 40 (except in the period 1574-1576), the table shows that about half the council was replaced every ten years.

1530-1539:	13
1540-1549:	21
1550-1559:	20
1560-1569:	22
1570-1579:	64
1580-1589:	16
1590-1599:	15

Table 7: LIST OF GROUP MEMBERS WHO ATTENDED UNIVERSITIES:

Jacob de MILDE	inscribed at Louvain December 17, 1524	(<u>Matricule</u> , III, p. 736)
Floris Jansz. van TOL	inscribed at Louvain June 8, 1527	(<u>Matricule</u> , III, p. 777)
Floris van OY	inscribed at Louvain February 18, 1527	(<u>Matricule</u> , III, p. 770)
Cornelis Jansz. van VEEN	mentioned by Ekkart, "Cornelis van Veen," p. 95, as having completed legal studies	
Paulus Aertsz. BUYS	attended universities in Dole and Angers	(S. P. Haak, <u>NNBW</u> , p. 519)
Rombout van HOGERBEETS	attended Leiden	(Spaans, <u>NNBW</u> , IX, p. 385)
Cornelis Claesz. van der HOOGE (VERHOOCH)	Name always appears with title M ^r preceding it.	
Arnoult DUYCK	attended Leiden	(Album studiosorum, p. 3)
Franck DUYCK	attended Leiden and Orleans	(Album studiosorum, p. 3 and Kuyk, <u>NNBW</u> , III, p. 315)
jonge Jan Jansz, van BAERSDORP	attended Leiden	(Album studiosorum, p. 13)
Geryt Melisz. van HOGEEVEN	his position as <u>pensionaris</u> demanded legal training	
Paulus Aertsz. VOS	<u>pensionaris</u> demanded legal training	
Nicolaes van ZEYST	<u>pensionaris</u> demanded legal training	

Table 8: LIST OF STUDENTS MATRICULATED AT LEIDEN WHO ARE OR PROBABLY
ARE RELATED TO VROEDSCHAP FAMILIES

<u>Name</u>	<u>Matriculation Date</u>	<u>Album Studiosorum</u>	<u>page No.</u>
Jacobus van der My, Leydensis	16 March 1577	A.S., p. 1	
Hendricus Butwegius, Leidensis Juris studiosus	5 May 1578	A.S., p. 2.	
Nanno Paeds, Leidensis, Artium liberalum studiosus	5 May 1578	A.S., p. 2.	
Gerardus Oemius minor, Leidensis, Litterarum	1 Sept. 1578	A.S., p. 3.	
Gerardus Oemius major, Leidensis, Litterarum studiosus	9 Sept. 1578	A.S., p. 3.	
Johannes Wilhelmides ab Heemskerck	7 June 1578	A.S., p. 3.	
Petrus Cornelius van der Feen Leidensis Artium liberalum studiosus et Litterarum studiosus	2 July 1578	A.S., p. 3.	
Petrus ab Oy, Leidensis, Minister ecclesiae studiosus	4 June 1579	A.S., p. 5.	
Symon Isaacus, Leidensis Juris studiosus	30 March 1580	A.S., p. 6.	
Johannes Nicolaii Montfortius, Leidensis, Litterarum studiosus	23 Nov. 1580	A.S., p. 8.	He is a grand- son of Dirck Jacobsz van Montfoort
Gerardus Dukius, Leidensis, Juris studiosus	30 Sept. 1581	A.S., p. 11.	A brother of Franco and Arnoldus

Joannes a Santhorst, Leidensis, Litterarum studiosus	16 Jan 1584	A.S., p. 15.	
Wilhelmus Joannes a Veen, Leidensis	20 Feb 1584	A.S., p. 15.	A grandson of Cornelius van Veen
Petrus Corgveldius, Leidensis, Litterarum studiosus	21 Feb 1584	A.S., p. 16.	
Cornelius Hogeveenius, Leidensis, Juris studiosus	9 May 1584	A.S., p. 16.	
Cornelius Nicolai de Noorde, Leidensis, Litterarum studiosus	4 June 1584	A.S., p. 16.	
Petrus Petri a Courtevelt, Leidensis, Litterarum studiosus	6 March 1585	A.S., p. 17.	
Clemens Johannes a Beasdorp, Leidensis, Litterarum studiosus	13 Feb 1587	A.S., p. 21.	Son of Jan janx. van Barsdorp de
Jacobus a Loo, Leidensis, Litterarum studiosus	7 May 1588	A.S., p. 24.	
Gerardus Buyttewech, Leidensis, Litterarum studiosus	13 Feb. 1589	A.S., p. 25	
Jacobus Bruchoven, Leidensis, Litterarum studiosus	2 Nov 1589	A.S., p. 26.	
Timmanus a Veen, Leidensis, Litterarum studiosus	12 Feb 1591	A.S., p. 29.	
Joannes a Bancken, Leydeniss Litterarum studiosus	9 Nov 1591	A.S., p. 31.	
Cornelius de Noorden, Leidensis, Litterarum studiosus	16 Feb 1593	A.S., p.	This is a second reference to man enrolled 4 June 1584

Note: There may be others whose names are not readily distinguishable from the patronymics in the student lists.

Appendix E

Use of the Computer in this Study

Use of the Computer in this Study

The computer was a valuable tool in analyzing the men in Leiden government. It permitted the accumulation of a large amount of information of various kinds in one data bank, which was then used to determine the different socio-economic characteristics of the group as a whole as well as of smaller segments of the population studied. Two computer programs were utilized to do this. The Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS) allowed for the analysis of such categories of information as occupation, economic standing, religious and political affiliation and so forth. The second program, specially written in FORTRAN by Mr. Nicholas R. Chrisman of the Harvard University Center for Computer Graphics, permitted the examination of the idiosyncracies of Leiden's complex office-holding scheme. Certain information pertaining to subpopulations within the group was obtained by using both programs together. This was particularly helpful when comparing the characteristics of those who held office in specific periods. First, the office-holding program, known as GET OFF, would select the individuals in the group who held office in a particular year or over a period of time. Then the information to be processed was analyzed by means of SPSS. The data on individuals who were members of the group before and after the crisis years of 1572-1574 was obtained in this way.

Data was prepared for analysis by the two programs in the following manner. Each of the 185 individuals studied was considered as a separate unit or case, and the standardized information relating

to all individuals was punched onto computer cards by case. Thus, each vroedschap member was assigned an identification number and all the data (except office-holding information) pertaining to him was placed onto his three SPSS cards in a standard sequence. The possible variables on the three cards belonging to each individual were Identification Number, Birth Date, Death Date, Occupation, Religion, Education, Civic Guard Membership, Gild Membership, Citizenship Status, Full Name, Amount of Assessment for Various Property Taxes and Forced Loans, and Land Ownership in the Rijnland.

A separate deck of cards was punched for the office-holding data to be processed through the FORTRAN program. This data was also organized by individual case, and each councilman was assigned the same Identification Number as in the SPSS deck, thus making both programs easily compatible. In the FORTRAN deck, however, pieces of information were punched onto cards without regard to standard sequence of fields. This allowed for the chronological coding of office-holding information, thereby establishing each individual's public career development.

Once this process was complete, the manipulation of data was a relatively simple matter. By using both programs, information from one could be combined with information from the other. For example, this was useful in obtaining statistics on the age of individuals (SPSS available) occupying certain posts (GET OFF available). Knowledge of age of entry to different public offices was helpful in examining the career patterns of Leiden municipal officials. Also, various

statistics for tax information and property distribution (SPSS available) were analyzed by sub-populations of the group (GET OFF available).

APPENDIX F:
Socio-Economic Data

Occupational Classification System

The method of occupational classification used here is the same as that used by F. Daelemans in "Leiden 1581, Een socio-demografisch onderzoek." This system is based on the system used for the Dutch census of 1889 and divides the economic activities of Leiden citizens into four basic categories: (I) Agriculture, Hunting and Fishing, (II) Crafts and Industry, (III) Economic Services, (IV) Social Services. A fifth category (V) includes those who did not actually practice an occupation, such as rentiers, and those whose occupation is unknown. The logical principal behind this classification system is that it orders occupations by function in society rather than by simply listing all related activities together, although it does that in part as well. For example, all of those occupations concerned with the textile industry are not included in one category. Those having to do with the manufacture of cloth are included in (II) Crafts and Industry, while those involved in the selling and distribution of the finished product appear under (III) Economic Services.

This system also has the advantage of generally approximating a social hierarchy with basic economic activities having less prestige at the bottom and more sophisticated occupations associated with higher status at the top. While there are great differences in the status of individuals within each category, this system of occupational classification distinguishes the economic function of Leiden citizens in a very meaningful way.

Table 10. GENERAL OCCUPATIONAL BREAKDOWN OF THE GROUP

	Occupation	Number	Percent	
I Agriculture, Hunting, Fishing	Oxen Grazier (<u>Ossenweider</u>)	1	.7	} .7
	Brick Manufacturer (<u>Steenbakker</u>)	4	2.9	
	Cabinetmaker (<u>Kistenmaker</u>)	1	.7	
	Painter (<u>Schilder</u>)	1	.7	
	Glass Engraver (<u>Glasschrijver</u>)	1	.7	
	Chamois Tanner (<u>Zeemtouwer</u>)	1	.7	
	Coppersmith (<u>Koperslager</u>)	2	1.4	
	Goldsmith (<u>Goudsmid</u>)	3	2.2	
	Shipbuilder (<u>Scheepmaker</u>)	1	.7	
	Textile Industry (<u>Textielindustrie</u>) (further specifics unknown)	6	4.4	
II Crafts and Industry	Cloth Manufacturer (<u>Drapenier</u>)	22	15.8	} 67.6%
	Dyer (<u>Verwer</u>)	9	6.5	
	Weaver (<u>Wever</u>)	1	.7	
	Cloth Dresser (<u>Lakenreeder</u>)	2	1.4	
	Cloth Shearer (<u>Droogscheerder</u>)	2	1.4	
	Cloth Preparer (<u>Uytreder</u>)	2	1.4	
	Oil Presser (<u>Olieslager</u>)	5	3.7	
	Glumaker (<u>Lijsieder</u>)	1	.7	
	Baker (<u>Bakker</u>)	2	1.4	
	Brewer (<u>Brouwer</u>)	27	19.5	
	Barley Miller (<u>Gorter</u>)	1	.7	

	<u>Occupation</u>	<u>Number</u>	<u>Percent</u>	
III Economic Services	Dairy Merchant (<u>Boterkoper</u>)	1	.7	15.9%
	Grain Merchant (<u>Korenkoper</u>)	3	2.2	
	Wood Merchant (<u>Houtkoper</u>)	4	2.9	
	Cloth Seller, retail (<u>Wantsnijder</u>)	7	5.1	
	Cloth Merchant, wholesale (<u>Lakenkoper</u>)	3	2.2	
	Linen Merchant (<u>Lindelakenkoper</u>)	1	.7	
	Silk Merchant (<u>Zijdelakenkoper</u>)	1	.7	
	Merchant (<u>Coman</u>)	1	.7	
	Tavern Proprietor (<u>Waard</u>)	1	.7	
IV Social Services	Lawyer (<u>Advocaat</u>)	8	5.8	12.2%
	Surgeon (<u>Chirurgijn</u>)	1	.7	
	Clerk (<u>Clerck</u>)	2	1.4	
	Soldier (<u>Soldaat</u>)	1	.7	
	Notary (<u>Notaris</u>)	1	.7	
	Surveyor (<u>Landmeter</u>)	1	.7	
	Government Service (<u>Overheidsdienst</u>)	3	2.2	
	Rentier (<u>Rentier</u>)	5	3.6	
	SUB-TOTAL	139	100.0	
	Occupation Unknown	46	Not counted	
	TOTAL	185	100.0	

Table 11. BREAKDOWN OF THE CLOTH INDUSTRY AND
FOOD AND DRINK OCCUPATIONS

	<u>Occupation</u>	<u>Number Represented</u>	<u>Adjusted Frequency (%)</u>
Cloth Manufacturing	Textile Industry (occupation unspecified)	6	4.3
	Cloth Manufacturer	22	15.8
	Dyer	9	6.5
	Weaver	1	.7
	Cloth Dresser	2	1.4
	Cloth Shearer	2	1.4
	Cloth Preparer	2	1.4
		<u>44</u>	<u>31.2</u>
Cloth Sales	Cloth Seller (retail)	7	5.0
	Cloth Merchant	3	2.2
	Linen Merchant	1	.7
	Silk Merchant	1	.7
		<u>12</u>	<u>8.6</u>
	Totals	56	39.8

	<u>Occupation</u>	<u>Number Represented</u>	<u>Adjusted Frequency (%)</u>
Food Production	Baker	2	1.4
	Brewer	27	19.4
	Barley Miller	1	.7
		<u>30</u>	<u>21.5</u>
Food and Agricul- ture Sales	Oxen Grazier*	1	.7
	Dairy Merchant	1	.7
	Grain Merchant	3	2.2
	Tavern Proprietor	1	.7
		<u>6</u>	<u>4.3</u>
	Totals	36	25.8

*Included here because this occupation normally involved the sale of livestock.

Grant Total, Cloth/Food and Drink Production	74	52.7
Grant Total, Cloth/Food and Drink Production and Sales	92	65.6

Table 12. OCCUPATIONAL COMPARISON OF 1581 COUNCILMEN WITH OTHER
LEIDEN CITIZENS IN SIMILAR OCCUPATIONS FOR THE SAME YEAR.

<u>Occupation</u>	<u>Number of Councilmen</u>	<u>Total Leiden</u>
oxen grazier	1	1
cabinetmaker	1	4
painter	1	3
chamois tanner	1	13
coppersmith	1	8
goldsmith	2	11
cloth manufacturer	2	34
dyer	3	14
weaver	1	14
baker	1	42
brewer	4	37
dairy merchant	1	3
grain merchant	2	5
wood merchant	1	12
cloth seller (retail)	1	1
silk merchant	1	2
linen merchant	1	5
merchant	1	28
surgeon	1	8
land surveyor	1	1
rentier	1	?
unknown	11	?

Based on office-holding data from GAL, SA, II, No. 442: Vroedschapsboek K; SA, I, No. 73: Dienstboek A. Occupational data was derived from a variety of sources. Leiden totals are from Posthumus, Lakenindustrie, II, pp. 23-28.

Table 13. OCCUPATIONAL BREAKDOWN BEFORE AND AFTER 1572

<u>Occupations of Those Serving</u> <u>Before 1572</u>		<u>Occupations of Those Serving</u> <u>After 1572</u>	
II	Brick Maker (<u>Steenbakker</u>)	I	*Stockbreeder (<u>Ossenweider</u>)
	Cloth Industry (<u>Textielindustrie</u> , further specifics unknown)		Brick Maker (<u>Steenbakker</u>)
	Draper (<u>Drapenier</u>)		*Chest Maker (<u>Kistenmaker</u>)
	Dyer (<u>Verwer</u>)		*Painter (<u>Schilder</u>)
	Cloth Shearer (<u>Doogscheerder</u>)		*Glass Engraver (<u>Glasschrijver</u>)
	Cloth Dresser (<u>Lakenreeder</u>)		*Chamois Tanner (<u>Zeemtouwer</u>)
	Cloth Preparer (<u>Uvtreeder</u>)		*Coppersmith (<u>Coperslager</u>)
	Tallowchandler (<u>Olieslager</u>)		*Goldsmith (<u>Goudsmid</u>)
III	Brewer (<u>Brouwer</u>)		*Shipbuilder (<u>Scheepmaker</u>)
	Barley Miller (<u>Gorter</u>)		Cloth Industry (<u>Textielindustrie</u> , further specifics unknown)
	Corn Merchante (<u>Coorncoper</u>)	II	Draper (<u>Drapenier</u>)
	Wood Merchante (<u>Houtcoper</u>)		Dyer (<u>Verwer</u>)
IV	Cloth Merchant, Retail (<u>Wantsnyder</u>)		*Weaver (<u>Wever</u>)
	Cloth Merchant, Wholesale (<u>Lakencoper</u>)		Cloth Shearer (<u>Doogscheerder</u>)
			Cloth Dresser (<u>Lakenreeder</u>)
V	Lawyer (<u>Advocaat</u>)		Tallowchandler (<u>Olieslager</u>)
	Clerk (<u>Clerck</u>)		*Glue-maker (<u>Lijmsieder</u>)
	Government Service (<u>Overheidsdienst</u>)		*Baker (<u>Bakker</u>)
			Brewer (<u>Brouwer</u>)
			Barley Miller (<u>Gorter</u>)
			*Cheese and Butter Merchant (<u>Botercoper</u>)
			Corn Merchant (<u>Coorncoper</u>)
			Wood Merchant (<u>Houtcoper</u>)
			Cloth Merchant, retail (<u>Wantsnyder</u>)
		III	Cloth Merchant, wholesale (<u>Lakencoper</u>)
			*Linen Merchant (<u>Lindelakencoper</u>)
			*Silk Merchant (<u>Zydelakencoper</u>)
			*Merchant (<u>Coman</u>)
			*Tavernkeeper (<u>Waard</u>)
			Lawyer (<u>Advocaat</u>)
		IV	*Surgeon (<u>Chirurgijn</u>)
			Clerk (<u>Clerck</u>)
			*Military
			*Notary (<u>Notaris</u>)
			*Surveyor (<u>Landmeter</u>)
			Government Service (<u>Overheidsdienst</u>)
		V	Rentier (<u>Rentier</u>)

*Occupations new to the post-1572 group.

Table 14. Evolution of Production-related and Service-related occupations 1550-1600

Occupations of those serving in 1550			Occupations of those serving in 1600		
	Occupation	Number		Occupation	Number
II	Brick Maker (<i>Schmuckker</i>)	1	II	Painter (<i>Schilder</i>)	1
	Cloth Industry (Textile Industry, further unk)	2		Chamois Tanner (<i>Zaemtouwer</i>)	1
	Draper (<i>Drapsier</i>)	2		Copper Smith (<i>Copperslager</i>)	1
	Dyer (<i>Verwer</i>)	1		Goldsmith (<i>Goudsmid</i>)	1
	Cloth Preparer (<i>Weysser</i>)	1		Draper / <i>Drapsier</i>	1
	Tallowchandier (<i>Olieflesker</i>)	1		Dyer (<i>Verwer</i>)	2
	Brewer (<i>Brouwer</i>)	12		Baker (<i>Bakker</i>)	1
III	Wood Merchant (<i>Houtkoop</i>)	1	III	Brewer (<i>Brouwer</i>)	3
	Cloth Merchant, retail (<i>Wantsnijder</i>)	4		Corn Merchant (<i>Corncoper</i>)	2
	Lawyer (<i>Advocaat</i>)	1		Wood Merchant (<i>Houtkoop</i>)	1
IV	Government Service (<i>Overheidsdienaar</i>)	3		Cloth Merchant, retail (<i>Wantsnijder</i>)	2
	Rentier (<i>Rentier</i>)	1		Cloth Merchant, wholesale (<i>Lakenkoop</i>)	3
V	Occupation Unknown	9		Linen Merchant (<i>Lindelakenkoop</i>)	1
		40		Dye Merchant (<i>Koorman van Vee</i>)	1
				Merchant/peddler (<i>Coman</i>)	1
			IV	Lawyer (<i>Advocaat</i>)	1
				Notary (<i>Notaris</i>)	1
			V	Surveyor (<i>Landmeter</i>)	1
				Rentier (<i>Rentier</i>)	1
				Occupation Unknown	3
					40

Occupations of those serving in 1580		
	Occupation	Number
I	Oxen Grazier (<i>Ossenweider</i>)	1
	Brick Maker (<i>Schmuckker</i>)	1
	Cabinetmaker (<i>Kastmakers</i>)	1
	Painter (<i>Schilder</i>)	1
II	Chamois Tanner (<i>Zaemtouwer</i>)	1
	Coppersmith (<i>Copperslager</i>)	1
	Goldsmith (<i>Goudsmid</i>)	2
	Draper (<i>Drapsier</i>)	1
	Dyer (<i>Verwer</i>)	3
	Weaver (<i>Wever</i>)	1
	Baker (<i>Bakker</i>)	1
III	Brewer (<i>Brouwer</i>)	4
	Dairy Merchant (<i>Borckkoop</i>)	1
	Grain Merchant (<i>Corncoper</i>)	2
	Wood Merchant (<i>Houtkoop</i>)	1
	Cloth Seller, retail	1
	Cloth Merchant, wholesale	1
	Linen Merchant (<i>Lindelakenk.</i>)	1
IV	Silk Merchant (<i>Wydalakenk.</i>)	1
	Merchant (<i>Coman</i>)	1
	Surgeon (<i>Chirurgijn</i>)	1
	Surveyor (<i>Landmeter</i>)	1
V	Rentier (<i>Rentier</i>)	1
	Occupation Unknown	10
		40

Table 15. 1606 BEER PRODUCTION BY LEIDEN BREWERS

<u>Name</u>	<u>Number of Brouwsels</u>	<u>Size of Brouwsel</u>	<u>Metric Volume of Beer Brewed</u>
Frans Pietersz. de BYE	220	95 zaken	1,669,910 liters
Florys Reyersz.	150	80 zaken	958,000 liters
Frans Adriaensz. van LEEUWEN	141	80 zaken	901,272 liters
Marytgen van HEUSSEN Dircxdr. widow of Lambrecht Jacobsz. van ZWIETEN	138	80 zaken	882,096 liters
Frans Pietersz. DUYST van der WERFF	120	79.5 zaken	762,246 liters
Henric Reyersz.	114	65 zaken	592,059 liters
Adriaen Claesz. van LEEUWEN	90	80 zaken	575,280 liters
Cornelis Pietersz. PAEDTS	112	64 zaken	563,774 liters
Pieter Jansz. van der DOES	108	63 zaken	543,640 liters
Dirck Gerytsz. van HOGEVEEN	88	69 zaken	485,153 liters
Cornelis Jacobsz. van ZWIETEN	90	64 zaken	460,224 liters
Willem Willemsz. OUWELANT	76	64 zaken	388,634 liters
Geryt Jansz.	72	55 zaken	316,404 liters
Jan Dircxz. van OUDEWATER	48	64 zaken	235,543 liters
Marytgen DUYST Franssendr. widow of Pieter Adriaensz. van der WERFF	<u>6</u>	84 zaken	<u>40,270 liters</u>
Totals	1573		9,384,505 liters

1 zak equals 79.9 liters

Source: GAL, SA, II, No. 4337: Nopende tondervinden van de fraudulen ten opsichte van tstadt bierexchysen geplecht, dated 1606.

Table 16. BEER PRODUCED BY LEIDEN BREWERS
DURING THIRD TERM 1590

<u>Name</u>	<u>Number of Brouwsels</u>	<u>Quantity (in vaten)</u>	<u>Quantity (in liters)</u>
Frans Adriaensz. van LEEUWEN	49	3646.25	565,898 liters
Lambrecht Jacobsz. van ZWIETEN	50	3362.75	521,899 liters
Jan Ysnoutsz. van der NES	50	3329.75	516,777 liters
Willem Inde Lely	40	2700.75	419,156 liters
Heyndrick Gerritsz.	39	2690.00	417,488 liters
Claes Adriaensz. van LEEUWEN	23	1854.75	287,357 liters
Dirck Gerritsz. van HOGEVEEN	27	1845.75	286,460 liters
Frans Fransz. van DUYSSELDORP	25	1681.75	261,008 liters
Willem Jan Reyersz. van HEEMSKERCK	12	818.25	126,992 liters
Totals	315	21,930.00	3,403,535 liters

1 vat equals 155.2 liters

Source: GAL, AG, No. 279: Tbroubouck vande Brouwers beroerende haer
brouwen ende overbrouwen, dated 1590.

Table 17. 1571 Sale of Bricks by Hendrick Jansz. van BROUCHOVEN

<u>Buyer</u>	<u>Total Number of Bricks Purchased in 1571</u>
Jan Gerytsz. BUYTEWECH ¹	?*
Pieter Fransz. metselaer (Amsterdam)	64,500
Barent Pietersz. (Amsterdam)	255,400
Ariaen Pietersz. van der AER	4,000
Pieter de heemraitsbode	1,500
Dirck Backer vuyt de Haich	?*
Geryt Jansz. VOS in den Haich	3,000
Jan van BROUCHOVEN myn vader ²	?*
Cornelis Symonsz. metselaer	1,500
Engel Sieren tot Ryswyck	2,000
Den Opperthimmerman van tHof	6,000
Cornelis Ariensz. brouwer ³	6,000
Henrick Jansz. tot Wassenaer	1,000
Total	344,900+

¹ Jan Gerytsz. BUYTEWECH is a member of the city government

² Jan van BROUCHOVEN is Hendrick's father

³ Cornelis Ariensz. brouwer is vroedschap member Cornelis Adriaensz. van BARREVELT, who was also a brewer by trade.

*? indicates that a transaction occurred between BROUCHOVEN and this party, but that no other information was included in the account book entry.

<u>Bricks Exported 1571</u>			<u>Bricks Sold in Leiden 1571</u>	
	<u>Buyer</u>	<u>Quantity</u>	<u>Buyer</u>	<u>Quantity</u>
Amsterdam	Barent Pietersz.	255,400	Jan Gerytsz. BUYTEWECH	?
	Pieters Fransz.	64,500	Ariaen Pietersz. v.d. AER	4,000
The Hague	Geryt Jansz.	3,000	Pieter de heemraitsbode	1,500
	Dirck Backer	?	Jan van BROUCHOVEN	
	Den Opperthimmerman		Cornelis Symonsz.	
	van tHof	6,000	metselaer	1,500
Rijswijck	Engel Sieren	2,000	Cornelis Ariensz. brouwer	6,000
Wassenaar	Henrick Jansz.	1,000		
Total		331,900+ = 96% of 344,900 (BROUCHOVEN's total production)	Total	13,000+

Source: GAL, SA, I, No. 1772: "Memoriebouck van alle mijn schulden," dated 1571.

Table 18. NUMBER OF LEIDEN PROPERTIES
BELONGING TO GROUP MEMBERS 1585

<u>Name</u>	<u>Number of Owned Properties</u>	<u>Number of Rented Properties</u>	<u>New Houses</u>
Claes Govertsz. van der AER	2		
Willem Govertsz. van der AER	8		
Sander Aelbrechtsz. (van QUACKENBOSCH)	7	1	6
Huych Jansz. van ALCKEMADE	2	7	
Jan Jansz. van BAERSDORP	2		
Jasper Jansz. van BANCHEM	1		
Cornelis Adriaensz. van BARREVELT	8		
Foy Jansz. van BROUCHOVEN	3	7	
Jacob Willemsz. van der BURCH	6	?	
Paulus Aertsz. BUYS	7	4	
Joost Jacobsz. de BYE (widow of)	3		
Jan Dirckx. brouwer (van RODENBEEKE)	1		
Claes Ghysbrechtsz. van DORP	1		
Frans Fransz. van DUSSELDORP	5		
Gerrit Wiggersz. van DUYVELANDT	5	2	
Hobbe Florisz. (POTT)	8	4	
Loth Huygensz. GAEL	1	7	
Laurens Huygensz. GAEL	2		
Adriaen Gerytsz. in 't Hart	1	1	
Jan Ghysbrechtsz. (van SWANENVELT)	2		
Ghysbrecht Dirckx. GOOL	1		
Dirck Jacobsz. van der GRAFT	1		
Tyman Jansz. van der GRAFT	1		
Jacob Allertsz. de HAES	4		
Cornelis Gerritsz. de HAES	2		
Hendrick Egbertsz. van der HAL	2		
Cornelis Willemsz. botercoper (HASIUS)	1		
Willem Jan Reyersz. van HEEMSKERCK	5		
Dirck Gerritsz. van HOGEVEEN	2		
Jan van HOUT	2		
Andries Jacopsz. (van CAMPEN)	1		
Andries Jaspersz. van VESANEVELT	1		
Dirck Gerritsz. KESSEL	3		
Pieter Pieter Jorisz. van CORTEVELT	4	1	
Philips Gerardsz. LANTSCHOT	1	3	
Claes Adriaensz. van LEEUWEN	1		
Willem Jacobsz. van LOO	1		
Robrecht Maringuy	1		
Symon Fransz. van MERWEN	3		
Willem Jacobsz. de MILDE	1		
Dirck Jacobsz. van MONTFOORT	7	6	
Jan Kerstantsz. van der MORSCH	8	3	
Adriaen Mourijnsz. (de GREBBER)	1		
Symon Jansz. (van der MYE)	2	1	

Table 18. continued

<u>Name</u>	<u>Number of Owned Properties</u>	<u>Number of Rented Properties</u>	<u>New Houses</u>
Gerrit Jacobsz. onder de Cloc (van der MYE)	2	1	
Jan IJshoutsz. van der NES	1		
Jan Claesz. houtkoper (van ROODENBURCH)	3	2	
Cornelis Jacobsz. van NOORDE	1		
Claes Cornelisz. van NOORDE	8	5	
Reyer Jacobsz. houtkoper (van OYEN)	1		
Pieter OOM Pietersz. van OFWEGEN	1		
Bouwen Jansz. PAETS	1		
Jan Cornelisz. PAETS van Zanthorst	10	8	
jonge Pieter Pietersz. PAETS	3	1	
Dirck Jacobsz. van REYGERBURGH	2	1	
Allert Willemsz. van SASSENHEM	1		
Andries Jancz. SCHOT	3	2	
Adriaen Pieter Garbrantsz. (v. STRYEN)	1		
Lourijs Andriesz. van SWAENSWYCK	10		9
Mees Aelwynsz. (van SWANENBURCH)	1		
Huybrecht Aelwynsz. (van SWANENBURCH)	1		
Issac Nicolai van SWANENBURCH	1		
Cornelis Claesz. van SWIETEN	1		
Jacobs Thomasz. (van SWIETEN)	6		
Cornelis Huygensz. van THORENVLIET	4	2	
Willem Cornelisz. TYBAULT	2		
Cornelis Jansz. van VEEN	4	2	
IJsbrant Dirckz. VISSCHER	4	1	
Claes Willemsz. van WARMONT	2	1	
Jan Lucasz. van WASSENAER	1		
Pieter Adriaensz. van der WERFF	10	9	
Salomon Lenaertsz. van der WOERT	2	1	

Summary

- 21 (29%) own four or more properties
- 22 (31%) own two or more properties
- 29 (40%) own only one property
- 29 (40%) have rented property
- 3 (04%) have new houses without rental values assigned
but which were intended for rental.

Source: GAL, SA, II, No. 6789: Register Vetus, date 1585.

Table 19. Leasing of Excises by
Lourijs Andriesz. van SWAENSWYCK

<u>Year</u>	<u>Beer Excise</u>	<u>Corn Excise</u>	<u>Milling Excise</u>	<u>Wine Excise</u>
1577				X
1578	XX			
1579	X	XX		
1580	XX	XXX	X	
1581	XX	XXX		
1582	X	XX	X	
1583			XXXX	
1584			XX	
1585			XXX	

(after 1585 SWAENSWYCK's name no longer appears in the excise leasing records)

Key: X indicates that SWAENSWYCK either bid on an excise or was successful in acquiring the right to lease it. Excises were leased on a quarterly basis, and each X equals one quarter (*termijn*) when SWAENSWYCK was involved. Thus, in 1580 he leased the beer excise for two quarterly periods, the corn excise for three quarterly periods and the milling excise for one quarterly period.

Source: GAL, SA, II, No. 4187: "Verhuyringh en Bestedingboek"

Table 20. LEIDEN PROPERTY OWNERSHIP BY GROUP MEMBERS
1559

<u>Name</u>	<u>Dwelling Evaluation (in pond)</u>	<u>Total Owned Property (in pond)</u>	<u>Rented Property (in pond)</u>
Frans Adriaensz.*	32	51	17
Claes Adriaensz.	20	20	0
Jan Florisz. van ADRICHEM	32	32	0
Sander Aelbrechtsz. (van QUACKENBOSCH)	10	10	0
Geryt Aelbrechtsz. (van CRUYNINGEN)	75	75	0
Willem Aelbrechtsz. (van CAMPEN)	21	58	37
Huych Jansz. van ALCKEMADE*	29	66	10
Quiryn Allertsz.	18	42	25
Jan Jansz. van BAERSDORP	24	24	0
Jan Jansz. van BANCKEN	40	56	16
Adriaen Jansz. (van BARREVELT)	28	148	104
Cornelis Adriaensz. van BARREVELT	100	162	41
Nicolaes Jansz. van BERENDRECHT*	37	52	12
Willem van BOSSCHUYSEN	18	18	0
Adriaen IJsbrantsz. (van BREENEN)	35	89	18
Jacob IJsbrantsz. (van BREENEN)	26	26	0
Jan Dircxz. van BROUCHOVEN	24	24	0
Willem Dircxz. (van der BURCH)	25	33	8
Dirck Willemsz. (van der BURCH)	30	30	0
Geryt Boeckelsz. van BUYTEWECH	36	36	0
Joost Jacobsz. de BYE	36	81	45
Joost Willemsz. (DEDEL)	18	34	16
Cornelis Willem Joostensz. (DEDEL)	14	14	0
Jan Dircxz. brouwer (van RODENBEEKE)*	77	77	0
Geryt Fransz. DOE	46	46	0
Dirck Henricxz. van der DOES	30	39	9
Gysbert Henricxz. (van der DOES)	18	22	0
Claes Gerytsz. (Ghysbrechtsz) van DORP	32	71	23
Gerrit Wiggersz. van DUYVELANDT	18	64	46

r- indicates that property was rented from someone else.

*- indicates addition from 1564 Tenth Penny (GAL, SA, I, No. 993).

Jan Wiggersz. (van DUYVELANDT)	16	16	0
Anthonis Fransz. (MUYS)	60	60	0
Huych Claesz. GAEL*	27	27	0
Aernt Geryt Ewoutsz. (van DAM)	24	31	7
Jan Ghysbrechtsz. (van SWANENVELT)	28	45	17
Claes Jansz. de GOEDE*	27	71	41
Jacop Jansz. van der GRAFT	40	128	88
Jan Jacopsz. van der GRAFT	24	24	0
Yssac Symonsz. van der GRAFT*	30r	--	--
Cornelis Gerritsz. de HAES	33	37	4
Symon Jan Reyersz. (van HEEMSKERCK)*	80	100	20
Willem Jan Reyersz. van HEEMSKERCK	90	90	0
Dirck Gerritz. KESSEL*	13	13	0
Michiel Jansz.	12	43	31
Mourwerijn Claesz. (van LEEUWEN)	12	14	0
Jacob van LOO*	--	47	47
Jacob de MILDE	26	31	0
Dirck Jacobsz. van MONTFOORT	50	130	80
Geryt Roeloftsz. (van der MYE)	30	35	5
Symon Jansz. (van der MYE)	15	33	0
Geryt Jacobsz.	13?	--	--
jonge Garbrants Meesz. (van NIEROP)	60	60	0
oude Mees Garbrantsz. (van NIEROP)	24	24	0
Jan Claesz. houtkoper (van RODENBURCH)	?	64	20
Cornelis Jacobsz. van NOORDE	24	50	26
Claes OOM Jansz.	20	41	21
Dirck Cornelisz. den OOSTERLING*	23	23	0
Adriaen Dirck Ottensz.	60	60	0
Floris Willemsz. van OY*	?	25	25
Pieter OOM Pieteresz. van OFWEGEN*	31	31	0
Bouwen Jansz. PAETS	14	14	0
Cornelis Jansz. PAEDS	10	97	85
Jan Cornelisz. PAETS van Zanthorst	24	33	9
jonge Pieter Pietersz. PAETS	24r	46r	0
Oliphier Philipsz.*	17	17	0

Cornelis Pietersz.	36	69	33
Cornelis Gerytsz. van POELGEEST	15r	--	--
Dirck Jacobsz. van REYGERSBURGH	?	44	44
Dirck Gerritsz. SMALING*	16	16	0
Joost Maertensz. van SONNEVELT	24	27	3
Dirck Dircxz. STIEN	15	15	0
Adriaen Pieter Garbrantsz. (van STRYEN)	18	31	13
Quirynd Claes Garbrantsz. (van STRYEN)	?	24	24
Mees Aelwynsz. (van SWANENBURCH)	17	17	0
Huybrecht Aelwynsz. (van SWANENBURCH)	19	19	0
Claes Lambrechtsz. (van SWIETEN)*	32	176	132
Jacob Thomasz. (van SWIETEN)	84	84	0
Cornelis Huygensz. van THORENVLIT*	45	45	0
Florys Jansz. TOL	16	16	0
Cornelis Jansz. van VEEN	36	81	43
Claes Cornelisz. VERGEYL*	10	10	0
Dirck Jacobsz. VUYTGEEST	25	25	0
Henrick Florisz. van WASSENAER	18	26	0
Pieter Adriaensz. van der WERFF	17	24	7
Claes Cornelisz. de WILDE	24	37	13
Huych Willemsz. (van HOECHSTRATEN)	150	190	28
Allert Willemsz. van SASSENHEM	24	24	0
Jan Hugensz. (Huych Andriesz.) (van THORENVLIT)	40	50	10

TABLE 21. 1559 PROPERTY EVALUATION BREAKDOWN
FOR GROUP MEMBERS

Evaluations Level (in pond)	Dwelling	Total Owned Property	Rented Property	
101+	1	7	2	
96-100	1	1	0	
91-95	0	0	0	
86-90	1	2	1	
81-85	1	3	1	
76-80	2	1	1	
71-75	1	2	0	
66-70	0	2	0	
61-65	0	3	0	
56-60	3	5	0	
51-55	0	0	0	
46-50	2	6	1	
41-45	1	6	5	
36-40	8	4	2	
31-35	7	10	2	
26-30	11	5	2	
21-25	15	11	5	
16-20	16	8	6	
11-15	9	4	4	
6-10	3	2	9	
1-5	0	0	3	
0	0	1	39	44.8%
?	5	4	4	
	87	87	87	

Mean evaluation for Group Members = 31.02 pond

Source: GAL, SA, I, No. 992: Kohier van den 10de Penning, 1559.

Table 22. SUMMARY OF 1559 TENTH PENNY FOR LEIDEN

<u>Evaluation Level (in pond)</u>	<u>Number of Entries</u>	
101+	2	
96-100	2	
91-95	0	
86-90	1	
81-85	1	
76-80	1	
71-75	3	
66-70	3	
61-65	0	
56-60	6	
51-55	1	
46-50	8	
41-45	5	
36-40	17	
31-35	20	
26-30	43	
21-25	81	
16-20	183	
11-15	283	
6-10	838	} 75.9%
1-5	<u>1249</u>	
Total	2747	

$$\text{Mean evaluation} = \frac{\text{Total amount collected for property}}{\text{Number of Entries}}$$

$$\text{Mean Evaluation} = \frac{19,340 \text{ pond}}{2747} = 7.04 \text{ pond}$$

Source: GAL, SA, No. 992: Kohier van den 10den Penning 1559

Table 23. LEIDEN PROPERTY OWNERSHIP BY GROUP MEMBERS 1584

<u>Name</u>	<u>Dwelling Evaluation (in gulden)</u>	<u>Total Owned Property (in gulden)</u>	<u>Rented Property (in gulden)</u>
Claes Govertsz. van der AER	36	44	0
Willem Govertsz. van der AER	?	58	18
Sander Aelbrechtsz (van QUACKENBOSCH)	20*	40	40
Huych Jansz. van ALCKEMADE	15	55	0
Jan Jansz. van BAERSDORP	42	52	0
Jasper Jansz. van BANCHEM	28	28	0
Cornelis Adriaensz. van BARREVELT	20	72	52
Foy Jansz. van BROUCHOVEN	60	60	0
Jacob Willemsz. van der BURCH	5	75	39
Paulus Aertsz. BUYS	48	101	53
Joost Jacobsz. de BYE (widow of)	60	107	0
Jan Dirxsz. brouwer (van RODENBEEKE)	35	35	0
Claes Ghysbrechtsz. van DORP	42	42	0
Frans Fransz. van DUSSELDORP	85	111	26
Gerrit Wiggersz. van DUYVELANDT	40	90	42
Hobbe Florisz. (POTT)	40	122	76
Laurens Huygensz. GAEL	30	40	10
Loth Hygensz. GAEL	42	42	0
Adriaen Gerytsz. in 't Hart	35 ^r	23	0
Jan Ghysbrechtsz. van SWANENVELT	50	74	0
Gysbert Dirxsz. GOOL	40	40	0
Dirck Jacobsz. van der GRAFT	38	44	0
Tyman Jansz. van der GRAFT	46	46	0
Jacop Allertsz. de HASE	66	86	0
Cornelis Gerritsz. de HAES	44	44	0
Hendrick Egbertsz. van der HAL	40	50	0
Cornelis Willems. botercoper (HASIUS)	32	32	0
Willem Jan Reyersz. van HEEMSKERCK	122	148	0
Dirck Gerritsz. HOGVEEN	110	110	0
Jan Cornelisz. van HOUT	60	68	0
Andries Jacobsz. (van CAMPEN)	26	26	0
Andries Jaspersz. (van VESANEVELT)	40	40	0
Dirck Gerritsz. KESSEL	20	106	48
Pieter Pieter Jorisz. van CORTEVELT	22	78	56

r- indicates property rented from someone else.

Philips Gerardsz. LANTSCHOT	40	40	0
Claes Adriaensz. van LEEUWEN	100	100	0
Willem Jacobsz. van LOO	30	30	0
Robrecht Jorisz. MARINGUY	32	32	0
Symon Fransz. van MERWEN	32	32	0
Willem Jacobsz. de MILDE	36	36	0
Dirck Jacobsz. van MONTFOORT	70	124	54
Jan Kerstantsz. van der MORSCH	40	141	29
Adriaen Mourijnsz. (de GREBBER)	40	40	0
Symon Jansz. (van der MYE)	23	42	19
Gerrit Jacobsz. (van der MYE)	22	22	0
Jan IJsnoutsz. van der NES	105	105	0
Cornelis Jacobsz. van NOORDE (widow of)	36	36	0
Claes Cornelisz. van NOORDE	25	71	25
Reyer Jacobsz. (van OYEN)	44	44	0
Pieter OOM Pietersz. van OFWEGEN	35	35	0
Bouwen Jansz. PAETS	15	15	0
Jan Cornelisz. PAETS van Zanthorst	85	164	69
jonge Pieter Pietersz. PAETS	30	53	13
Dirck Jacobsz. van REYGERSBURGH	50	58	8
Allert Willemsz. van SASSENHEM	24	24	0
Andries Jansz. SCHOT	36	54	18
Joost Maertensz. van SONNEVELT	44	91	47
Adriaen Pieter Garbrantsz. (van STRYEN)	26	26	0
Lourijs Andriesz. van SWAENSWYCK	38	38	0
Mees Aelwynsz. (van SWANENBURCH)	12	12	0
Huybrecht Aelwynsz. (van SWANENBURCH)	33	33	0
Issac Nicolai van SWANENBURCH	36	36	0
Cornelis Claes Lambrechtsz. van SWIETEN	36	36	0
Jacob Thomasz. (van SWIETEN)	10	134	0
Cornelis Huygensz. van THORENVLIIET	34	84	42
Willem Cornelisz. TYBAULT	42	84	0
Cornelis Jansz. van VEEN	40	110	30
IJsbrant Dirxsz. VISSCHER	40	64	6
Claes Willemsz. van WARMONT	40	55	15
Jan Lucasz. van WASSENAER	38	38	0
Pieter Adriaensz. van der WERFF	32	84	12
Salomon Lenaertsz. van der WOERT	20	26	6

Table 24. 1584 PROPERTY EVALUATION BREAKDOWN FOR GROUP MEMBERS

Evaluation Level (in gulden)	<u>Dwelling</u>	<u>Total Owned Property</u>	<u>Rented Property</u>
101+	3	13	0
96-100	1	1	0
91-95	0	1	0
86-90	0	2	0
81-85	2	3	0
76-80	0	1	1
71-75	0	4	0
66-70	2	1	1
61-65	0	1	0
56-60	3	3	1
51-55	0	5	3
46-50	4	2	2
41-45	7	7	2
36-40	23	12	2
31-35	9	6	0
26-30	6	5	3
21-25	5	3	1
16-20	4	0	3
11-15	3	2	3
6-10	1	0	4
1-5	1	0	0
0	0	0	46
?	1	0	0
			63.9%
Total	72	72	72

Source: GAL, SA, II, No. 6789: Register Vetus

Table 25. LEIDEN PROPERTY OWNERSHIP BY GROUP MEMBERS 1606

<u>Name</u>	<u>Dwelling Assessment in Verponding (in gulden)</u>	<u>Total Owned Property Assessed in Verponding (in gulden)</u>	<u>Rented Property Assessed in Verponding (in gulden)</u>
Willem Govertsz. van der AER	21	37	15
jonge Jan Jansz. van BAERSDORP	20	20	0
Jan Jansz. van BAERSDORP	18	62	42
Jasper Jansz. van BANCHEM	11	11	0
Foy Jansz. van BROUCHOVEN	28	32	5
Jan Gerritsz. BUYTEWECH	27	27	0
IJsbrant Pietersz. de BYE	25	56	26
Jan Dircxz. brouwer (van RODENBEEKE)	38	38	0
Franck Jansz. DUYCK	?	6	6
Laurens Huygensz. GAEL	15	19	4
Loth Huygensz. GAEL	15	15	0
Adriaen Gerytsz. in 't Hart	14	14	0
Jan Ghysbrechtsz. van SWANENVELT	23	37	14
Tyman Jansz. van der GRAFT	20	20	0
Hendrick Egbertsz. van der HAL	19	19	0
Dirck Gerritsz. van HOGEVEEN	46	50	0
Andries Jaspersz. (van VESANEVELT)	17	34	17
Pieter Pieter Jorisz. van CORTEVELT	16	19	3
Philips Gerardsz. LANTSCHOT	21	33	13
Adriaen Adriaensz. van LEEUWEN	14	22	8
Willem Jacobsz. de MILDE	?	11	8
Jan Kerstantsz. van der MORSCH	?	40	40
Adriaen Mourijnsz. (de GREBBER)	16	26	0
Jan IJsnoutsz. van der NES	16	30	8
Claes Cornelisz. van NOORDE	12	29	11
Jan van ZONNEVELT	13	13	0
Isaac Nicolai van SWANENBURCH	14	14	0
Vranck Cornelisz. van THORENVLIT	15	29	14
Willem Cornelisz. TYBAULT	17	22	6
Cornelis Jansz. van VALCKENBURCH	14	14	0

IJsbrant Dircxz. VISSCHER	8	8	0
Claes Willemsz. van WARMONT	19	28	9
Salomon Lenaertsz. van der WOERT	13	15	3

Evaluations in gulden have been rounded off to the nearest whole gulden.

Source: GAL, SA, II, No. 4031: "Schoorstienbouck over de Stadt Leyden en de vrijheyt van Dien," Register of quohier van het schoorsteen of haardstedegeld 1606.

Table 26. 1606 PROPERTY EVALUATION BREAKDOWN FOR GROUP MEMBERS

Evaluation Level (in gulden)	Dwelling	Total Owned Property	Rented Property
61	0	1	0
56-60	0	1	0
50-55	0	1	0
46-50	1	0	0
41-45	0	0	1
36-40	1	5	2
31-35	0	3	0
26-30	2	6	1
21-25	4	2	0
16-20	10	5	2
11-15	11	13	4
6-10	1	2	6
1-5	1	0	4
0	0	0	14
?	3	0	0
	<u>34</u>	<u>34</u>	<u>34</u>
	85.3%		41.4%
	5.9%		
	8.8%		

In Leiden as a whole there were 4839 inhabited dwellings, 3394 (85.5%) of which paid ten gulden or less in the 1606 Verponding (See Posthumus, Lakenindustrie, II, 162).

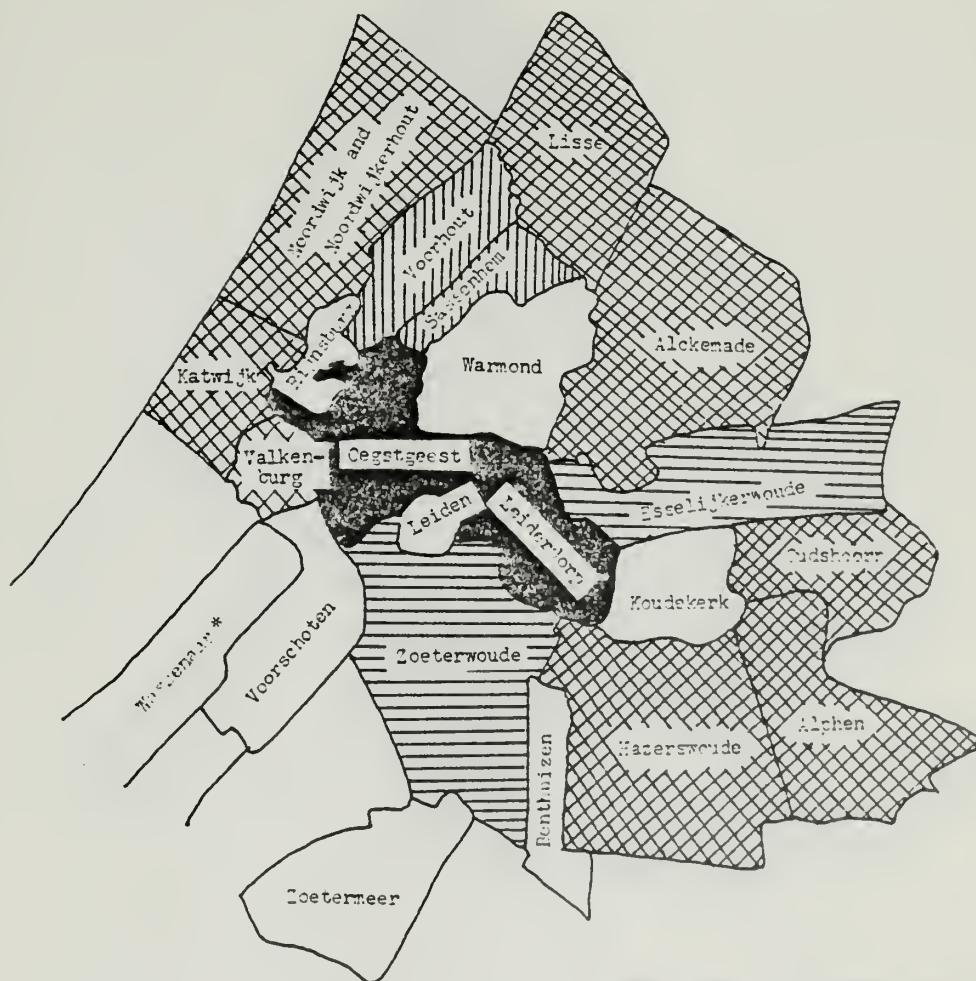
Source: GAL, SA, II, No. 4031: "Schoorstienbouck over de Stadt Leyden en de vrijheyt van Dien," Register of quohier van het schoorsteen of haardstedegeld 1606.

Table 27. LAND OWNERSHIP IN INDIVIDUAL RIJNLAND DISTRICTS BY GROUP MEMBERS 1543 and 1584

<u>Number of Group Members who Own Land</u>	<u>Districts in 1543</u>	<u>Districts in 1584</u>
19		Leiderdorp, Oegstgeest
16-18		
13-15	Zoeterwoude	
10-12	Leiderdorp, Oegstgeest	Esselijkerwoude, Zoeterwoude
7-9		
4-6	Hazerswoude, Noordwijk, Wassenaar	Alckemade, Alphen, Hazerswoude, Katwijk, Lisse, Noordwijk, Oudshoorn
1-3	Alckemade, Alphen, Esselijkerwoude, Katwijk, Koudekerk, Lisse, Oudshoorn, Sassenhem, Voorhout, Warmond	Sassenhem, Voorhout
0	Benthuizen, Rijnsburg, Zoetermeer	Bethuizen, Koudekerk, Rijnsburg, Warmond, Zoetermeer

Source: Various Morgenboeken from the above districts, (AH Rijnland).







Map 3. 1543 Land Ownership in the Rijnland by Group Members.



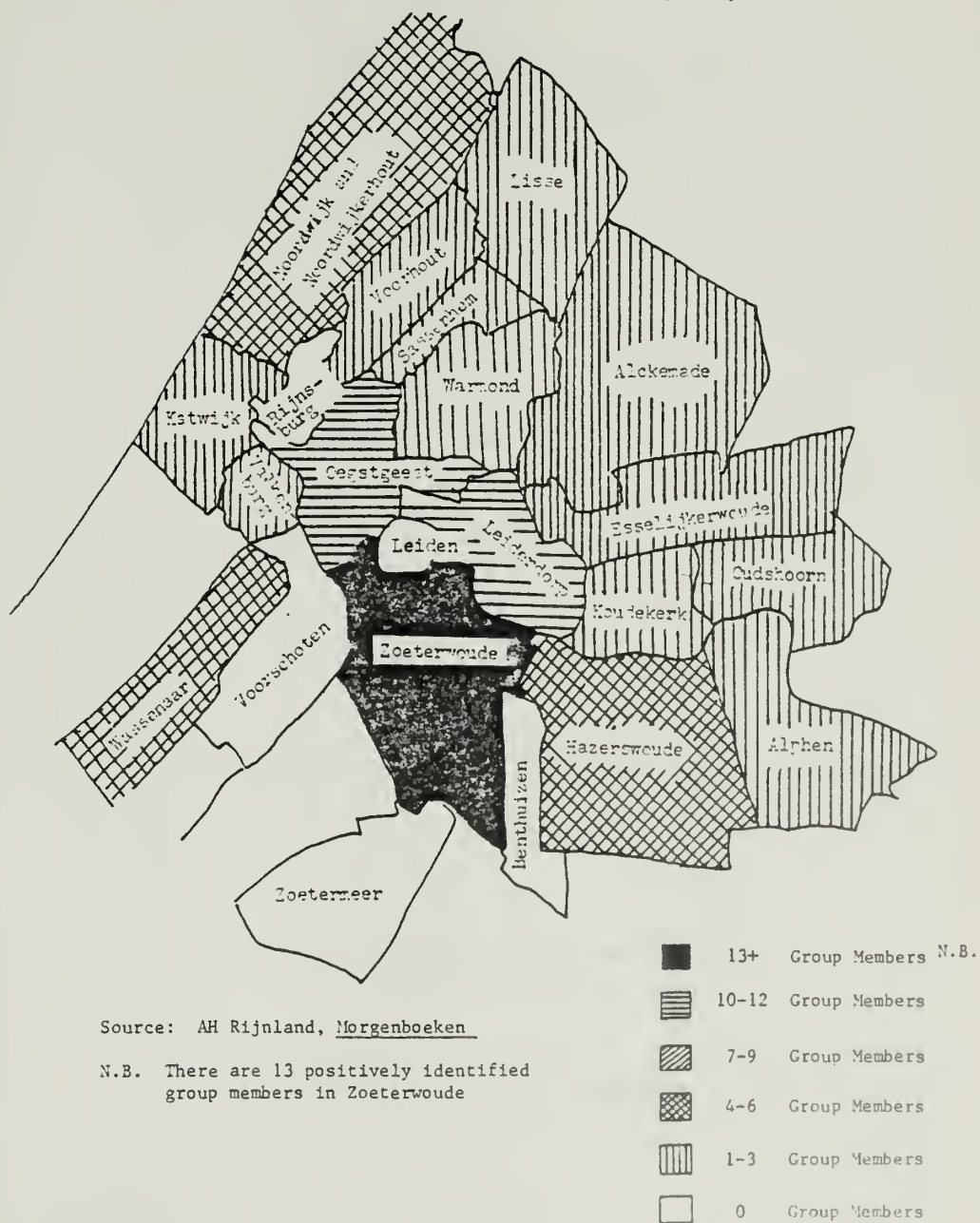
Source: AH Rijnland, Morgenboeken

N.B. There are 19 positively identified group members in both Oegstgeest and Leiderdorp

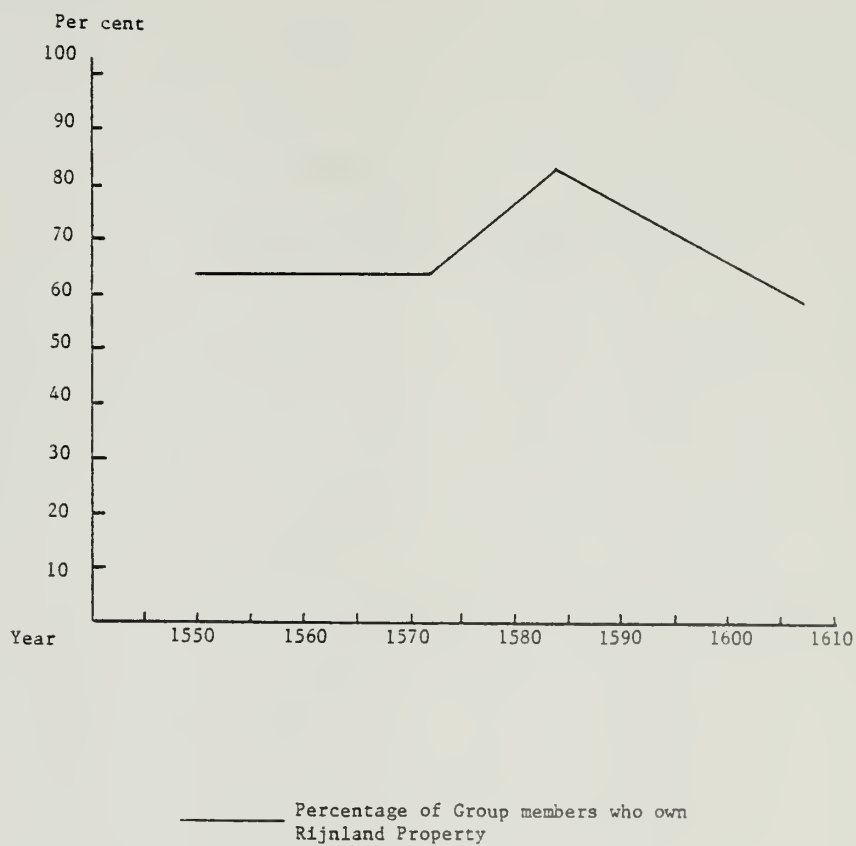
*No Morgenboek exists for Wassenaar during the 1580's.

	13+	Group Members N.B.
	10-12	Group Members
	7-9	Group Members
	4-6	Group Members
	1-3	Group Members
	0	Group Members

Map 4. 1584 Land Ownership in the Rijnland by Group Members



Graph 2. Evolution of Rijnland Property
Ownership Among Group Members
1550-1600



This graph is based on data from various Morgenboeken from the AH Rijnland.

Appendix G:
Public Career Information

Table 28: Members of the Vroedschap

(In order of selection and indicating length of service)

Willem Jacop Willemsz.	Aug 3, 1520 - Jul 23, 1551
Frans Gerritsz. GOEL	1552 - Feb 11, 1558
Jacop Jansz. DEYMAN	1524 - Apr 19, 1553
Jacop Claes. (van SWIETEN) houtcoper	Oct 1, 1527 - Jul 1, 1550
Jan Reyersz. (van HEEMSKERCK)	before 1530 - May 8, 1553
Jan Claes Cornelisz. de GOEDE	before 1530 - Oct 8, 1557
Claes Adriaensz. brouwer	1530 - Jul 19, 1569
Jan Jansz. WTREDER	Nov 26, 1530 - Nov 10, 1551
Ghysbrecht Kerstantsz.	Jan 1531 - Jul 6, 1554
Geryt Boeckelsz. van BUYTEWECH	Jul 17, 1531 - Jul 19, 1569
Adriaen Jansz. (van BARREVELT)	Jun 23, 1533 - Jul 23, 1561
Oude Mees Garbrantsz. (van NIEROP)	Feb 18, 1534 - Jul 18, 1566
Cornelis Willemsz. (HASIUS)	Jul 23, 1534 - Oct 8, 1557
Jan Frans Ghysbrechtsz.	1535 - Mar 14, 1558
Claes Reyersz. (VERHOOCH)	Apr 5, 1537 - Jul 23, 1569
Anthonis Fransz. (MUYS-DUSSELDORP)	Jul 23, 1537 - Nov 16, 1573
Willem Dircxz. (van der BURCH)	Aug 22, 1537 - Jul 22, 1558
Oude Pieter Pietersz. PAETS	Nov 10, 1537 - Jul 7, 1572
M ^r Frans Adriaensz.	Aug 16, 1539 - 1570
Jacob Jansz. van der GRAFT	Jul 23, 1540 - Dec 28, 1566
Geryt Aelbrechtsz. (van CRUYNINGEN)	Nov 10, 1540 - Nov 10, 1558
Geryt Fransz. DOE	Jul 28, 1541 - Jul 19, 1569
Claes Cornelisz. de GOEDE	Feb 22, 1542 - Nov 9, 1556
M ^r Cornelis Pietersz. (van der ZYPE)	Aug 3, 1542 - Mar 24, 1560
Willem Aelbrechtsz. (van CAMPEN)	Aug 6, 1542 - Jan 29, 1559
Quiryn Allertsz.	Aug 6, 1542 - Nov 10, 1559
Claes Jansz. van BERENDRECHT ¹	Mar 30, 1544 - Mar 19, 1567
Claes Lambrechtsz. (van SWIETEN)	May 3, 1544 - Apr 3, 1570
M ^r Florys Jansz. van TOL	Jul 23, 1544 - Feb 13, 1574
Jan Huych Andriesz. (van THORENVLIET)	Sep 5, 1544 - Nov 10, 1559
Cornelis Jansz. PAETS	Nov 10, 1544 - Oct 18, 1560
Florys Willemsz. van OY ²	Feb 5, 1545 - Sep 24, 1570
Claes Jan Claes Aelwynsz. (VERHOOCH)	Sep 30, 1545 - Nov 10, 1562
Claes Aelwynsz. (VERHOOCH)	Nov 10, 1546 - Jul 23, 1561
Henrick Florisz. van WASSENAER	Jul 14, 1547 - Jul 23, 1569
Claes Cornelisz. de WILDE	Nov 10, 1547 - Nov 10, 1567
Dirck Hendricksz. van der DOES	Jul 23, 1548 - 1569
Joost Jacobsz. (de BYE)	Jul 23, 1548 - Nov 10, 1573
Adriaen Ysbrantsz. (van BREENEN)	Nov 10, 1548 - Dec 15, 1571
Geryt Roeloftsz. (van der MYE)	Nov 10, 1549 - Nov 9, 1572
Gillis Dirck Ottensz. (van MEERBRUCH)	Jul 23, 1550 - Jan 5, 1559
Jan Florisz. van ADRICHEM	Jul 23, 1551 - Mar 10, 1572
Michiel Jansz. WTREDER	Nov 10, 1551 - Jul 23, 1564
Willem Willem Bouwensz. (WARMONT)	Apr 19, 1553 - Nov 10, 1559

Jonge Dirck Jan Reyersz. (van HEEMSKERCK) ³	May 8, 1553 - Feb 11, 1558
Corenlis Jacobsz. van NOORDE	May 8, 1553 - May 15, 1584
Aernt Geryt Ewoutsz. (van DAM)	Jul 6, 1554 - Jul 22, 1572
Cornelis Gerytsz. van POELGEEST	Nov 9, 1556 - 1562
Jan Andriaensz. de WILDE	Oct 8, 1557 - May 1, 1573
Claes Jansz. de GOEDE	Oct 8, 1557 - Nov 1, 1572
Willem Jacopsz. van BOSSCHUYSEN	Feb 11, 1558 - Jul 23, 1561
Symon Jan Reyersz. (van HEEMSKERCK)	Feb 11, 1558 - Nov 9, 1572
Claes Jansz. OEM	Mar 14, 1558 - Nov 9, 1572
Dirck Willemsz. van der BURCH	Jul 22, 1558 - 1572
Adriaen Pieter Garbrantsz. (van STRYEN)	Nov 10, 1558 - Nov 9, 1572
Adriaen Dirck Ottensz. (van MEERBRUCH)	Jan 5, 1559 - Jul 23, 1571
Huych Claesz. GAEL	Jan 29, 1559 - Nov 22, 1574
Cornelis Huygensz. (van THORENVLIEET)	Nov 10, 1559 - Nov 10, 1589
Mourwerijn Claesz. (van LEEUWEN)	Nov 10, 1559 - Mar 28, 1574
Huych Willemsz. (van HOOCHSTRATEN)	Nov 10, 1559 - Nov 7, 1561
Quyryn Claes Garbrantsz. (Van STRYEN)	Apr 8, 1560 - Jul 5, 1574
Dirck Gerritsz. SMALING	Oct 18, 1560 - Mar 21, 1583
Jan Claesz. (ROODENBURCH) houtcoper	Jul 23, 1561 - Nov 9, 1573
Cornelis Adriaensz. van BARREVELT	Jul 23, 1561 - Jul 23, 1591
Jan Dircxz. van BROUCHOVEN ⁴	Jul 23, 1561 - Dec 17, 1573
Jacob Symonsz. van LOO	Nov 7, 1561 - Nov 7, 1572
Frans Jansz. van DUSSELDORP	Jul 23, 1562 - Sep 9, 1567
Joost Maertensz. van ZONNEVELT	Nov 10, 1562 - Nov 9, 1572
Jan Wiggersz. (van DUYVELANDT)	Jul 23, 1563 - May 16, 1564
Mees Aelwynsz. (van SWANENBURCH)	May 16, 1564 - Nov 9, 1572
Joost Willemsz. (DEDEL) porsman	Nov 10, 1564 - May 16, 1574
M ^r Cornelis Jansz. van VEEN ⁵	Jul 18, 1566 - May 1, 1573
Jan Jacobsz. van der GRAFT	Dec 18, 1566 - Jul 23, 1568
M ^r Cornelis Claesz. van der HOOGHE	Mar 19, 1567 - Nov 9, 1572
Dirck Jacobsz. VUYTGEEST	Sep 9, 1567 - Nov 9, 1572
Dirck Jacobsz. van REYGERSBURGH	Nov 10, 1567 - Oct 14, 1574
Jonge Garbrant Meesz. (van NIEROP)	Jul 23, 1568 - May 1, 1573
Cornelis Dircxz. GOOL	Jul 19, 1569 - Nov 10, 1573
Jan Dircxz. (van RODENBEKE) brouwer	Jul 19, 1569 - May 1, 1573
Jan Gerytsz. BUYTEWECH	Jul 19, 1569 - Nov 9, 1572
Reynier Jacobsz. van OYEN	Jul 23, 1569 - Nov 9, 1572
Claes Cornelisz. VERGEYL	Jul 23, 1569 - Sep 7, 1574
Jacob Thomasz. (van SWIETEN) brouwer ⁶	Apr 30, 1570 - 1573
Jan Jansz. (KNOTTER) brouwer	Sep 24, 1570 - Mar 16, 1601
Pieter Jacobsz. de HAES	Jul 23, 1571 - Nov 9, 1572
IJssac Symonsz. van der GRAFT	Dec 15, 1571 - Feb 27, 1574
Claes Willemsz. van WARMONT ⁷	Mar 10, 1572 - Oct 14, 1574
Jacob Ysbrantsz. (van BREENEN)	Jul 7, 1572 - Nov 10, 1573
Gerrit Jacobsz. onder de Cloc (can der MYEN)	Jul 22, 1572 - Oct 14, 1574

Huybrecht Aelwynsz. (van SWANENBURCH)	Nov 9, 1572 - Oct 14, 1574
Jan Jansz. van BAERSDORP ⁸	Nov 9, 1572 - Oct 14, 1574
Jonge Pieter Pietersz. PAETS	Nov 9, 1572 - Oct 14, 1574
Pieter OOM Pieteresz. van Ofwegen	Nov 9, 1572 - Jul 23, 1610
Cornelis Claes Lambrechtsz. van SWIETEN ⁹	Nov 9, 1572 - Oct 14, 1574
Jan Jansz. van BANCKEN	Nov 9, 1572 - Dec 17, 1573
Claes Jansz. BRANDT	Nov 9, 1572 - 1573
Willem Jan Reyersz. van HEEMSKERCK	Nov 9, 1572 - Mar 9, 1592
Pieter Pieter Jorisz. van CORTEVELT	Nov 9, 1572 - Mar 27, 1600
Willem Jacobsz. van LOO	Nov 9, 1572 - Apr 11, 1589
Robrecht van MARINGUY	Nov 9, 1572 - May 1, 1573
Willem Jacobsz. de MILDE	Nov 9, 1572 - Nov 10, 1573
Pieter Hendricxz. van WASSENAER	Nov 9, 1572 - Nov 10, 1582
Gerrit Wiggersz. van DUYVELANDT	Mar 9, 1573 - Dec 16, 1585
Cornelis Gertitsz. de HAES	May 1, 1573 - Apr 28, 1603
Pieter Adriaensz. van der WERFF	May 1, 1573 - Feb 24, 1604
Gysbert Hendricxz. (van der DOES)	May 1, 1573 - Jul 20, 1575
M ^r Symon Jansz. (van der MYE) ¹⁰	May 1, 1573 - Oct 14, 1574
Dirck Dircxz. STIEN	May 11, 1574 - Oct 14, 1574
Bouwen Jansz. PAETS	Nov 10, 1573 - Dec 30, 1591
Claes Ghysbrechtz. van DORP ¹¹	Nov 10, 1573 - Feb 6, 1596
Claes Adriaensz. van LEEUWEN	Nov 10, 1573 - Apr 26, 1621
Jan Lucasz. van WASSENAER	Nov 10, 1573 - Jul 23, 1587
M ^r Frans Fransz. van DUSSELDORP	Nov 16, 1574 - Oct 14, 1574
Dirck Cornelisz. den OOSTERLING	Dec 17, 1573 - Oct 14, 1574
Oliphier Philipsz.	Dec 17, 1572 - Jul 2, 1575
Dirck Gerritsz. KESSEL	Feb 13, 1574 - Jul 20, 1579
Jan Ghybrechtsz. (van SWANENVELT)	Feb 27, 1574 - Nov 16, 1608
Gysbert Dircxz GOOL	Mar 28, 1574 - Oct 14, 1574
Cornelis Willem Joostensz. (DEDEL)	May 16, 1574 - Dec 24, 1574
Pieter Cornelis Florisz. (POTT)	Jul 5, 1574 - Oct 14, 1574
Sander Aelbrechtsz. (van QUACKENBOSCH)	Sep 7, 1574 - Oct 14, 1574
M ^r Paulus Aertsz. VOS	Oct 14, 1574 - Nov 22, 1574
Andries Jansz. SCHOT	Oct 14, 1574 - Jul 7, 1592
Jan Cornelisz. PAETS van Zanthorst	Oct 14, 1574 - Nov 10, 1597
Gerrit Jacobsz. (der MYEN) drapenier	Oct 14, 1574 - May 15, 1575
Huych Jansz. van ALCKEMADE	Oct 14, 1574 - Oct 30, 1600
Allert Willemsz. van SASSENHEM	Nov 22, 1574 - 1603
Jacob Allertsz. de HAES	Dec 24, 1574 - Mar 29, 1588
Jan Kerstantsz. van der MORSCH	May 15, 1575 - Aug 28, 1606
Jan Reyersz. olyslager	May 15, 1575 - ?
Hobbe Florisz. (POTT)	Jul 2, 1575 - Nov 10, 1587
Andries Jacobsz. (van CAMPEN)	Oct 9, 1576 - Oct 11, 1604
Cornelis Willemsz. (HASIUS)	Oct 9, 1576 - Feb 21, 1591
Dirck Jacobsz. van der GRAFT	Oct 9, 1576 - Nov 4, 1593
Cornelis Jansz. van VALCKENBURCH	Oct 9, 1576 - 1628
Hendrick Jansz. an BROUCHOVEN	Oct 9, 1576 - Jul 23, 1577
IJssac Nicolai van SWANENBURCH	Oct 9, 1576 - Jul 23, 1614

Claes Huygensz. GAEL	Oct 9, 1576 - May 5, 1580
M ^r Symon Jansz. (van der MYE) ¹⁰	Oct 9, 1576 - Jul 23, 1587
Bouwen Jansz. KEYSER	Oct 9, 1576 - Jul 23, 1591
Symon Jansz. van MERWEN	Oct 9, 1576 - Mar 29, 1610
Claes Willemsz. van WARMONT ⁷	Jul 23, 1577 - Jul 23, 1608
Adriaen Gerytsz. in 't Hart	Jul 23, 1577 - Jul 23, 1608
Jacob Willemsz. van der BURCH	1579 - Jul 2, 1595
Adriaen Adriaensz. van LEEUWEN	Jul 20, 1579 - Jan 15, 1582
Lourijs Andriesz. van SWAENSWYCK	Jul 20, 1579 - Apr 11, 1604
Laurens Huygensz. GAEL	May 5, 1580 - Oct 23, 1618
Jan Jansz. van BAERSDORP ⁸	Sep 8, 1580 - Oct 6, 1608
Claes Steffensz. van HEUSSEN	Jan 15, 1582 - Sep 5, 1585
Jan Dircxz. van BROUCHOVEN ⁴	Nov 10, 1582 - Jul 4, 1588
IJsbrant Dircxz. VISSCHER	Mar 21, 1583 - Mar 1, 1620
Hendrick Egbertsz. van der HAL	May 17, 1584 - Dec 24, 1632
M ^r Franck Jansz. DUYCK	Sep 4, 1585 - Oct 23, 1618
Jacob Thomasz. (van SWIETEN) brouwer ⁶	Dec 16, 1585 - Apr 7, 1606
Jan IJsnoutsz. van der NES	Jul 23, 1587 - Oct 23, 1618
Claes Govertsz. van der AER	Jul 23, 1587 - May 2, 1596
Philips Gerardsz. LANTSCHOT	Nov 10, 1587 - Feb 5, 1621
Cornelis Claes Lambrechtsz. van SWIETEN ⁹	Mar 29, 1588 - Oct 11, 1604
Foy Jansz. van BROUCHOVEN	Jul 4, 1588 - Mar 29, 1610
Pieter Cornelisz. SCHAECK	Apr 11, 1589 - Nov 10, 1589
Jasper Jansz. van BANCHEM	Nov 10, 1589 - Sep 9, 1624
Andries Cornelisz. van THORENVLIET	Nov 10, 1589 - Jul 3, 1595
Willem Cornelisz. TIBAUT	Jul 23, 1591 - Oct 23, 1618
Salomon Lenaertsz. van der WOERT	Dec 30, 1591 - 1615
Claes Cornelisz. van NOORDE	Mar 9, 1592 - Mar 4, 1614
Aelbrecht Gerritsz. van HOGEVEEN	Jul 7, 1592 - Apr 1, 1595
Tyman Jansz. van der GRAFT	Jul 23, 1593 - Oct 23, 1618
IJsbrant Pietersz. de BYE	Nov 4, 1593 - Apr 30, 1613
Dirck Gerritsz. van HOGEVEEN	Apr 1, 1595 - Oct 28, 1620
Jacob Cornelisz. PAEDS	Jul 3, 1595 - Nov 10, 1622
Vranc Cornelisz. van THORENVLIET	Jul 3, 1595 - Nov 10, 1619
Geryt Lenaertsz. (van GROOTVELT)	May 2, 1596 - 1630
Andries Jaspersz. van VESANEVELT	Nov 10, 1597 - Apr 21, 1634
Jacob Adriaen Andriess.	Feb 6, 1596 - Oct 11, 1599
Jan van ZONNEVELT	Feb 21, 1597 - Apr 30, 1613
Jonge Jan Jansz. Van BAERSDORP ¹²	
Adriaen Mourijnsz. (de GREBBER)	Oct 11, 1599 - Oct 23, 1618
Willem Govertsz. van der AER	Oct 3, 1600 - May 21, 1617

¹ Claes Jansz. van BERENDRECHT was chosen to be a member of the vroedschap in 1544 after having been schout since 1540.

² Floris Willemsz. van OY entered the group as schepen in 1539 prior to becoming a member of the vroedschap.

³ Jong Dirck Jan Reyersz. (van HEEMSKERCK) had previously been schepen beginning in 1534.

⁴ BROUCHOVEN ceased to be a member of the vroedschap in 1573 after having served twelve years. He later was re-elected in 1582, serving until his death in 1588.

⁵ Cornelis Jansz. van VEEN had previously been pensionaris from 1551-1561.

⁶ Jacob Thomasz. (van SWIETEN) was eliminated from the vroedschap in 1573 for political reasons. He was, however, reinstated later in 1585.

⁷ Claes Willemsz. van WARMONT was not among those chosen by Willem of Orange to be town councilmen after the siege of 1574. WARMONT was rechosen in 1576 when the vroedschap was returned to its traditional size.

⁸ Not rechosen after the 1574 siege, BAERSDORP was elected to the vroedschap again in 1580.

⁹ Cornelis Claes Lambrechtsz. van SWIETEN was not rechosen after the 1574 siege, but was re-selected in 1588.

¹⁰ Mr Symon Jansz. (van der MYE) was not rechosen after the 1574 siege, but returned as a member of the vroedschap when it was filled out to its former size in 1576.

¹¹ Claes Ghysbrechtsz. van DORP died at the end of 1595 but was not replaced until the beginning of 1596.

¹² Jonge Jan Jansz. van BAERSDORP began attending meetings of the vroedschap as an alderman in 1597, the year his father, Jan Jansz. van BAERSDORP de Oude, became a member of the Admiralty of Amsterdam. After two years as schepen Jonge Jan Jansz. van BAERSDORP continued to be among those listed as attending meetings of the vroedschap. Indeed, he appears in the attendance lists alongside his father until he was chosen councilman in his own right on October 6, 1608 (See GAL, SA, II, No. 240: Dienstboek D, folio 5vso; GAL, SA, II, No. 444: Vroedschapsboe N, folio 201 and passim.)

Table 29. Number of City Government Jobs
Held During Public Career

Number of Jobs Held	Entire Group	Pre-1572	Post-1572
16	1		
15	2		1
14		2	
13			
12	4		
11	9	3	2
10	4	4	6
9	17	3	2
8	14	8	9
7	11	6	10
6	19	6	8
5	27	12	12
4	28	14	16
3	20	15	16
2	19	9	14
1	10	8	15
	<u>185</u>	<u>94</u>	<u>121</u>
	56%	53%	57%

Table 30. Ages of Councilmen at the
Time of Election to Vroedschap

<u>Name</u>	<u>Age at Election</u>
Claes Govertsz. van der AER	36
Willem Govertsz. van der AER	57
Claes Adriaensz.	29
Sander Aelbrechtsz. (van QUACKENBOSCH)	45
Willem Aelbrechtsz. (van CAMPEN)	55
Huych Jansz. van ALCKEMADE	41
Jan Jansz. van BAERSDORP	43
Cornelis Adriaensz. van BARREVELT	46
Nicolaes Jansz. van BERENDRECHT	30
Claes Jansz. BRANDT	39
Adriaen Ysbrantsz. (van BREENEN)	47
Foy Jansz. van BROUCHOVEN	46
Jan Dircxz. van BROUCHOVEN	48
Jacob Willemsz. van der BURCH	52
Geryt Boeckelsz. BUYTEWECH	35
Joost Willemsz. porsman (DEDEL)	54
Claes Ghysbrechtsz. van DORP	46
Frans Jansz. van DUSSELDORP	31
Anthonis Jansz. (MUYS)	30
Huych Claesz. GAEL	44
Laurens Huygensz. GAEL	31
Claes Huygensz. GAEL	29
Adriaen Geryts. in 't Hart	44
Jan Ghysbrechtsz. (van SWANENVELT)	45
Frans Gerritsz. GOEL	37
Gysbert Dircxz. GOOL	31
Cornelis Gerritsz. de HAES	43
Cornelis Willemsz. (HASIUS)	27
jonge Dirck Jan Reyersz. (van HEEMSKERCK)	47
Willem Jan Reyersz. van HEEMSKERCK	45
Aelbrecht Gerritsz. van HOGEVEEN	31
Jacob Adriaensz. (van CAMPEN)	38
Jan Jansz. (KNOTTER)	33
Dirck Gerritsz. KESSEL	38
Pieter Pieter Jorisz. van CORTEVELT	45
Philips Gerardsz. LANTSCHOT	48
Claes Adriaensz. van LEEUWEN	27
Gerrit Lenaertsz. (van GROOTEVELT)	42
Willem Jacobsz. van LOO	34
Symon Fransz. van MERWEN	28
Willem Jacobsz. de MILDE	27
Bouwen Jansz. KEYSER (van der MORSCH)	49
Jan Kerstantsz. van der MORSCH	47
Adriaen Mourijnsz. (de GREBBER)	59

Geryt Roeloftsz. (van der MYE)	28
Symon Jansz. (van der MYE)	53
Gerrit Jacobsz. onder de Cloc	33
Jan Claesz. (van ROODENBURCH)	66
Cornelis Jacobsz. van NOORDE	40
Claes Cornelisz. van NOORDE	49
Pieter OOM Pietersz. van OFWEGEN	44
Andries Jansz. SCHOT	44
Lourijs Andriesz. van SWAENSWYCK	32
Mees Aelwynsz. (van SWANENBURCH)	40
Issac Nicolai (van SWANENBURCH)	38
Cornelis Claes Lambrechtsz. van SWIETEN	29
Jacob Thomasz. (van SWIETEN)	30
Andries Cornelisz. van THORENVLIET	45
Florys Jansz. van TOL	39
Cornelis Jansz. van VALCKENBURCH	30
Cornelis Jansz. van VEEN	47
Dirck Jacobsz. van VUYTGEEST	39
Claes Willemsz. van WARMONT	32
Jan Lucasz. van WASSENAER	38
Pieter Henricxz. van WASSENAER	40
Pieter Adriaensz. van der WERFF	54
Claes Cornelisz. de WILDE	42
Salomon Lenaertsz. van der WOERT	39

Table 31. Office-holding Durations for
Four Minor OfficesHospital Administrator for St. Catherine's Hospital

Consecutive Years in Office	Number of Individuals
20	1 (22 years)
19	0
18	0
17	0
16	0
15	0
14	0
13	0
12	1
11	1
10	3
9	1
8	1
7	2
6	2
5	7
4	5
3	4
2	11
1	28
	58

} 57%

Churchwarden (Kerkmeester)¹

Consecutive Years in Office	Number of Individuals
20	1
19	0
18	0
17	0
16	0
15	0
14	0
13	1
12	0
11	0
10	1
9	2
8	0
7	4
6	0
5	2
4	3
3	4
2	11
1	20
	59

} 53%

¹ Because the four kerkmeesters in each of Leiden's three parishes were reduced to four kerkmeesters for the entire city after the introduction of Protestantism, it has been necessary to use figures for the kerkmeesters of St. Pieter's parish (the most important parish in 1575). This has been done to give the general picture of the office of kerkmeester for the entire period with which we are concerned.

Supervisor of the Institution of the Holy Ghost (Heilige Gaestmeester)²

Consecutive Years in Office	Number of Individuals
20	1
19	1
18	0
17	0
16	0
15	0
14	0
13	0
12	1
11	0
10	2
9	1
8	0
7	0
6	0
5	3
4	3
3	3
2	8
1	13
	36

} 58%

Orphanage Director (Weesmeester)

Consecutive Years in Office	Number of Individuals
20	1 (30 years)
19	0
18	0
17	0
16	0
15	0
14	0
13	1
12	0
11	1
10	2
9	0
8	0
7	0
6	0
5	2
4	2
3	6
2	10
1	13
	38

} 61%

²In 1577 the office of Heilige Geestmeester became the Meester van de Arme Wezen.

Document I

Archieven van de Gilden, No. 1189, z.j. (1595)
 Report by Cornelis Willemsz. dairy
 merchant, on noise and dangers of oil mills.

Delivered by Cornelis Willemsz,
 dairy merchant and alderman,
 into the hands of the mayors on
 25 February 1595

Pursuing the act of commission placed in the margin of the request presented to my honorable gentlemen of the Magistracy of the city of Leiden by Dirck Maertensz, wood merchant, I, Cornelis Willemsz, being accompanied by Salomon van der Wuert, notary, traveled to Haarlem on the 23rd of this month February, and coming to the aforesaid city Haarlem, did see standing there two wind-powered oil mills and heard in the distance that when they were in the strike these same oil mills made a great noise and shook.

And having gone to the inn known as Inden Gyvaer, I heard from the proprietor there that there was another wind-powered oil mill inside the city. It stood on the walls behind the cloth drying racks and was the first one erected. The other wind-powered oil mills standing outside the city, five or six in all, were placed there and set up later.

After which I, together with the aforesaid notary, found myself around the aforesaid mill behind the cloth drying racks on the same day, and came to understand from some of the neighbors there that the same mill during its strike phase made a great noise and shook and brought to the inhabitants thereabout great difficulty, about which many complaints were made to the Magistracy, among which was danger from fire. I also heard that the rammer was taken from the aforesaid mill and that the same mill from then on would mill corn.

Further, during the morning of the 24th of the same month, I, with the previously mentioned notary, was again near the aforesaid mill and saw some rammers lying on the yard at the mill, and understood from some citizens or inhabitants of Haarlem thereabout that the aforesaid mill made a great noise and shook during its strike phase, and as previously noted the same mill would henceforth be used to mill corn.

Likewise, during the morning of the same day, I, with the aforesaid notary, in order to become better informed about everything and to get a complete knowledge of the matter, visited the Secretaris Michiel van Woerden. He explained that the aforesaid mill was the first wind-powered oil mill, and that on account of the noise and shaking of this same mill various people had made complaints to the Magistracy, and that fire had once occurred within the mill. Also that he had as so much as understood from the Magistracy that if the proprietor of the aforesaid mill had not had permission (to set up the mill), he would not now be able to obtain it, and that no one else would get such consent. He also explained that the wind-powered oil mills outside the city stood outside the legal jurisdiction of the town, namely three hundred roeden from the city. Besides, one of these was erected within three hundred roeden on certain old mill yards there.

Having heard from some that noise or striking of the aforesaid mill could be heard at the other end of the city by night and during strong wind.

As such occurred, it is by me and the aforementioned notary signed:

Cornelis Willems

Salomon van der Wuert

