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From Province to Nation: Immigration in the Dutch Republic in the Late 16th and Early 17th Centuries

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ABSTRACT

The study examines the role of migration in the Northern Netherlands in the 17th century. It focuses on two areas of research. It discusses the role of migrants from the Southern Netherlands in the rise of the United Provinces as an early modern economy super-power. It challenges traditional assumptions about this development by pointing out that migration between northern and southern provinces was part of the economic life in the Netherlands well before the Eighty Years' War and that migratory movements were not restricted to a south-north route. The study also looks at urban and regional chorographies and their representation of immigrants. It can be shown that works celebrating the economic rise of cities such as Haarlem and provinces such as Gelderland largely ignored migrants as important contributors to economic growth and to the development of regional or urban identity. The harmonious picture of the multi-cultural Netherlands, which still dominates today's textbooks is, thus, in need of some revision.

Die Studie untersucht die Rolle von Migration in der Darstellung der Niederlande im 17. Jahrhundert. Dabei stehen zwei Forschungsfelder im Mittelpunkt. Zum einen wird die Rolle von Migranten aus den südlichen Niederlanden für den Aufstieg der Vereinigten Provinzen zur wirtschaftlichen Großmacht kritisch hinterfragt. Migration war nicht ein einseitiger Prozess, bei dem die Wirtschaftsmagnaten aus Antwerpen nach 1585 ihre Zentralen von Süden nach Norden transferierten, wie es die ältere Forschung dargestellt hat. Wanderungsbewegungen gehörten vielmehr bereits vor dem Ausbruch des Achtzigjährigen Krieges zum Wirtschaftsalltag der Niederlande und verliefen keineswegs nur in Nord-Süd-Richtung.

Zum anderen wird hinterfragt, inwieweit Migration die Selbstdarstellung der nordniederländischen Städte und Provinzen in dieser Zeit bestimmte. Hier stellt sich heraus, dass die den Vereinigten Provinzen nachgesagte multikulturelle Weltoffenheit nicht Teil der zeitgenössischen Meistererzählung war. Migranten wurden vielmehr aus der Aufstiegsge-schichte von Industriestädten wie Haarlem oder auch in Gelderland, herausgeschrieben. In Zeiten nationaler, aber auch regionaler Identitätsfindung war für Ausländer kein Platz

in der Geschichte ihrer Stadt oder Region. Das harmonische Bild vom multikulturellen Schmelztiegel der Niederlande, das noch heute die Textbücher zum Thema bestimmt, bedarf einiger Korrekturen.

INTRODUCTION

Migration history has witnessed a remarkable transformation in Dutch historiography in the last two decades. In 1992 Jan Lucassen complained that “Dutch migration history has been largely neglected by most historians and demographers until recently”¹. In the last ten to fifteen years, however, studies on, especially, labour migration in early modern and modern Dutch history as undertaken by researchers at the International Institute of Social History in Amsterdam and academics at the University of Amsterdam and elsewhere, have featured prominently in international research in the field. They have decisively shaped new methodologies and approaches to the topic². It is commonly acknowledged, however, that migration history can only always be patchy and historians can get just glimpses into the world of a migrant. Most migrants, particularly from the lower strata of society, remained unnoticed and unaccounted in the sources. Documents specifically commissioned and written to cover immigrants are rare and often give just basic serial data of life, work, marriage and death. By far the majority of the sources that historians use to create a picture of migratory movements and migrant life were not designed for this purpose, but without them we would know even less about immigrants and emigrants in the early modern Netherlands.

MIGRATION AND THE DUTCH REPUBLIC IN HISTORIOGRAPHY

Despite this recent rise in works on migratory movements, there are still large gaps in our knowledge of early modern migration and its impact on Dutch culture and society. This is all the more surprising since not only specialist studies by migration historians, but also recent general overviews on the Dutch Republic in its Golden Age acknowledge the character of the Northern Netherlands as a diffusion country, in which people transferred money, man – and woman – power, expertise and ideas into the Republic, which was seen as a dynamic, but tolerant society based on a distinct discussion culture dominated by specifically Dutch ‘burgher values’³.

Historians, thus, agree, that immigration (both from within and from outside the Netherlands) was a decisive factor for the economic growth and prosperity of the Republic and particularly of its dominant western cities and towns such as Amsterdam, Haarlem and Leiden in the last decades of the 16th and in the first half of the 17th century. Leiden, which had stagnated for almost a century doubled her population between 1581 and 1600 from 13,000 to 26,000 almost entirely through immigration from the South⁴. Haarlem grew from 14,000 inhabitants in 1570 to 39,000 in 1622. Amsterdam, not surprisingly, witnessed the largest influx of immigrants with about 30,000 in 1600, which amounted to a third of her entire population. So far, this massive immigration, in which

refugees and economic migrants from the Southern Netherlands only constituted one part, has received a rather uneven reception from historians. While Portuguese Jews, Flemish merchants and French Huguenots are relatively well-researched and generally regarded as motors for economic and cultural innovation in the new Dutch Republic in textbooks and overviews, much less is known about the quantitatively higher rate of German and Scandinavian immigrants to Holland, but also to the cities and towns on the eastern and northern borders of the Dutch Republic⁵. The great exception to these patterns, which has emerged in recent years largely through the research initiatives of the Research Institute for Irish and Scottish Studies at the University of Aberdeen (and its academic partners in Dublin and Belfast) are the Scottish communities in the Netherlands, which have now been thoroughly studied. Here, however, the focus has been on Scottish identity abroad rather than on a potential Scottish impact on the development of a Dutch identity⁶. The large Scottish trading community in Rotterdam, for instance, developed ties with the local society, but kept their own identity very much alive through trading networks, their language and the establishment of a Scottish church. In this respect, they had much in common with the Sephardic Jews in Amsterdam, whose contact with the cultural life of the Republic appears to have been extremely limited.

For the other immigrant communities, until very recently, investigations have centred around the demographics of migration and the economics of migrant labour⁷. Moreover, interpretations of migratory patterns are still largely focused on the major towns in Holland, while smaller places in other Dutch provinces have not received sufficient interest. This study will try to present a more nuanced picture of immigration patterns in the Dutch Republic. It, thus, responds to recent claims of historians such as Willem Frijhoff, for a more regional perspective on the – sometimes not so – United Provinces, which has to step out of the long, and overpowering shadow of a Dutch history through the prism of the mighty province Holland and Amsterdam in particular⁸.

MIGRANTS FROM THE SOUTHERN NETHERLANDS: PUSH AND PULL FACTOR

The influx of immigrants was (and is) seen as a result of push factors in their places of origin and pull factors in the Netherlands. Migration historians have debated the role of both the devastations of the Eighty Years War, the crisis in the textile industry, overpopulation and the ensuing fall in wages, the Anglo-Dutch trade embargo of the 1560s and the persecution of Protestantism by the Spanish authorities from the 1560s onwards as reasons for the emigration from the South⁹. Waves of emigration particularly from Flanders and Brabant correspond with the economic crises of the 1560s and with the Spanish reconquest of the southern Netherlands in the 1580s¹⁰. For the majority of migrants, a combination of different motives might have forced them to leave their places of origin. In the northern Netherlands, and in particular in Holland and Zeeland, towns such as Haarlem started a distinct campaign to attract immigrants with the desired skills in the textile industry which was the backbone of the city's prosper-

ity in the late 16th century. They offered tax privileges, free housing (often in disused monasteries, which could also be turned into workshops) and free citizenship rights to prospective immigrants with the required expertise. Frequently, permission to work outside established guild restrictions was granted also to attract newcomers. Premiums to supply a workshop with the necessary tools and materials were offered as further incentives for skilled immigrants to settle in the expanding Dutch towns and cities¹¹. These initiatives specifically targeted immigrants from the southern Netherlands, some of whom came to the Dutch Republic via their first exile in England after economic conditions and career opportunities deteriorated particularly in London during the last decade of the 16th century¹². However, attempts to attract skilled artisans, particularly in the production of fine textiles such as damask linen and high quality table cloths predated the uprising. Haarlem pursued such policies in the mid-16th century, when, for instance, Nelis Cartier, a cambric maker from Cambrai was given various privileges to set up his trade in the city in 1555¹³. Similar proposals were also made to Huguenots after the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes in 1685¹⁴. Incentives to attract specialist workers were not only directed towards the south, but also ‘sideways’. Haarlem, for instance, managed to persuade eight merchant-manufacturers in says and fustians with a premium of 1,200 guilders to relocate from Leiden to the city, but also lost one of their star damask-weaver to competition from Alkmaar¹⁵. The quality and the distinct designs of the immigrant damask weavers were internationally acclaimed, but might also have contributed to the popular reputation of the southerners as being given to pomp and vanity, a stereotype that was, perhaps, best captured in the Gerbrand Adriansz Bredero’s play “The Spanish Brabander”, in which the key character, Jerolimo, is not only portrayed as vain and arrogant, but is also ridiculed for his Antwerp accent¹⁶. Religion did not play a part in the decision of the Holland town authorities to invite specialist workers. Here, as elsewhere in the United Provinces, toleration of non-Calvinist minorities allowed an influx of immigrants based on skills rather than on religious orthodoxy.

MIGRANTS AND NEW PATTERNS OF BUSINESS CULTURE

While the textile sector is seen as one of the main areas where immigrants could and did make an impact on the Dutch economy, southern immigrants, particularly to Amsterdam, have also attracted much interest from economic historians who studied (and study) the role of merchant capital from Antwerp in the rise of the city to one of the most powerful economic centres of western Europe. Researchers studying the influence of immigrant cultures on their host community have recently focused their interest on what can be labelled as ‘business cultures’. Oscar Gelderblom, for instance, has studied business practices and cultures of commerce transferred by southern immigrants to the economic world of Amsterdam between 1578 and 1630¹⁷. Through a prospographical analysis of 850 merchants from the Southern Netherlands who had settled in Amsterdam during that period, Gelderblom challenges two traditional views on Amsterdam-Antwerp relations. Older studies such as J.A. van Dillen’s analysis of Amsterdam’s VOC

(United East India Company) membership and Winfried Brulez work on Antwerp's merchant exodus after 1585 have painted a picture of an already successful, rich merchant elite which transferred their money, their networks and their expertise to Amsterdam and, thus, facilitated the economic rise of the city¹⁸. These studies, however, do not correspond to his more recent findings. The majority of the southern exiles were young men at the beginning of their careers rather than wealthy merchants with a rich experience in international trade. Moreover, a third of them did not even come from Antwerp, but from other towns in Flanders, Brabant, Artois and Hainault such as 's Hertogenbosch, Mechelen, Ghent, Bruges, Tournai and Courtrai. The study also challenges a more 'indigenous' interpretation of Amsterdam's rise as the result of migration from the city's immediate hinterland due to a labour surplus in a highly specialised agriculture and the already well established, large merchant fleet of the city. Amsterdam clearly profited from long-standing trading relations with Antwerp dating back well before the outbreak of hostilities. From the 1540s onwards Antwerp merchants regularly visited Amsterdam and even settled there in order to participate in the city's already flourishing Baltic trade. By the end of the 1580s over 200 merchants from the south made Amsterdam their business headquarters. These figures had swollen to an impressive 450 entrepreneurs in 1609, which, however, only amounted to roughly a third of the city's overall merchant population. Immigrants from the south were outnumbered by local traders and newcomers from the north. Traders typically relied on their own networks of families and friends, when it came to business transactions, but merchants from the north and from the south did cooperate both in bulk trade, the traditional domain of Amsterdam's fleet and the rich trades, which were now also carried by Amsterdam ships.

More importantly, perhaps, to understand the impact of the southern immigrants on northern economic culture, is the fact, that southerners were also invited to contribute to the establishment of a set of uniform rules on maritime insurance, which were clearly adapted from southern practice¹⁹. Amsterdam's insurance operations, the regulations of which were first published in the *Handtvesten* in 1597, were modelled on Antwerp's rules. Moreover, in so-called *turben*, formal declarations of business practices made by at least ten individuals, which had legally binding force, and which were frequently used in Amsterdam, southern merchants featured prominently²⁰.

Southern business practice as well as southern weights and measures were dominant in Amsterdam's economic world as late as 1643 as can be seen from a petition of the city's combmakers to the magistrates from the 23 January. The nine signatories requested the official acceptance of Brabant's weight system to calculate the prices of their combs (for looms). This, they argued, was a long-established practice in Antwerp, Zeeland and elsewhere and would, consequently, make their businesses compatible with national and international standards. Six days later the petition was granted²¹.

The Gregorian calendar reform was also introduced in Holland and Zeeland as early as 1582/83 following Brabant's example, while the remaining Dutch provinces ran ten days behind their western compatriots until 1700/01. Undoubtedly, these reforms,

which seemed to contradict the Calvinist ideology of the war propaganda, were introduced in the cities with the greatest southern immigrant population and with the closest trading links to the south, not least in order to keep in line with business transactions within the old Habsburg networks.

It has been argued that these longstanding relations were also supported by the common political past with Brabant and the other southern provinces under, firstly, Burgundian, then Habsburg rule since 1425/28, which was not shared by the other provinces of the Dutch Republic²². The Eighty Years War and the partition of the Netherlands, thus, did not (only) disrupt, but accelerated already well-established relations both in the form of migratory movements and the exchange of capital and ideas between northern and southern provinces. Moreover, migration was not perceived as a one-way system. Amsterdamers also pursued career opportunities in Antwerp and elsewhere in the south²³.

GERMAN MIGRANTS AND SEASONAL LABOURERS

Dutch towns also served as magnets for poor migrants from Scandinavia and the neighbouring German territories. Again, Amsterdam became the centre for men and women in search of economic opportunities. Hardship and disaster were typical push-factors, which eventually forced people who had already been living on the bare minimum to leave their homes for the metropolis in Holland. Erika Kuijpers has recently demonstrated a clear link between the devastations by the Thirty Years War and the environmental disasters of inundations, particularly the great flood of 1634, and a substantial rise in immigration from the German North Sea coast to Amsterdam²⁴. In the small Lutheran parishes of North and East Frisia men, women and even children of all ages were frequently equipped with money for their journey to Holland in hope of a better future. Here, the growing service sector and the building industry offered attractive economic opportunities for newcomers with limited skills²⁵. Ship-building and engineering, on the other hand, attracted highly skilled artisans from Scandinavian and North German port cities and towns. Of the nearly 15,000 brides and bridegrooms who published their marriage banns in the city between 1646 and 1650 alone, only 36 percent were born in Amsterdam, no less than 41 percent came from abroad, mainly from northern Germany, the Spanish Netherlands and Scandinavia. The remaining 23 percent came from Amsterdam's hinterland and other places in the Dutch Republic²⁶. The Lutheran church in Amsterdam became a thriving centre of these immigrants. If all else failed, there would always be the chance to sign on with one of many East Indiamen en route to the new Dutch trading posts in the Far East, whose high mortality rates among the crew left ample room for even inexperienced recruits to a (sometimes all too short) life at sea²⁷. It is this area which has, so far, attracted the particular attention of migration historians in recent years. VOC figures are available and demonstrate that until 1660 the company recruited two thirds of its soldiers from abroad, mainly from the German interior (the Palatinate and Hesse), while the sailors, of whom about one third were foreigners, came from the coastal regions of northern Germany and Scandinavia²⁸.

While Southern Netherlanders went predominantly to the urban centres of Holland and Zeeland, immigration to the eastern provinces of the Dutch Republic developed a very different profile. Here, borders between the Netherlands and the German territories of the Holy Roman Empire had traditionally been permeable and vague and migration had taken place in both directions long before the establishment of the Dutch Republic. Other than in Holland and Zeeland, immigration was not focused solely on cities and towns, but also included a strong element of seasonal migrant workers from Germany, known as ‘Holland-gänger’, who regularly spent parts of the agricultural year as farm hands, peat diggers and cow herds in the Netherlands travelling often around 200 to 300 kilometers to their temporary work place. Border regions such as the prince-bishopric of Osnabrück experienced seasonal out-migration throughout the 16th century. This was accelerated by new inheritance laws against land partition in 1618 and by the devastations of the Thirty Years War. Typically, neighbourhoods, family members and friends followed the same, established east-west routes for generations. They also developed a reputation as specialists in their craft. It has been claimed that these seasonal labours remained very much on the fringes of Dutch society, keeping separate lodgings and saving their earnings for home, but although the majority of these migrant labourers did return to their places of origin for some part of the year, some stayed in their new work places, married into the local community or brought their wives and children to the Netherlands²⁹. Moreover, seasonal migration was by no means the domain of (young) men. The Haarlem cloth bleacheries, for instance, an industry employing a substantial seasonal labour force, attracted women as well as men from Germany³⁰.

Towns and cities in the eastern provinces clearly looked east rather than south to attract specialist workers. Reasons for this can be seen both in the accessibility and, again, also in the political traditions of the territories. Gelderland, for instance, had only been a very recent acquisition to the Habsburg Empire before the outbreak of hostilities and had fought a series of devastating wars with its western neighbours throughout the middle ages. Relations with the old Netherlandish heartland of Brabant and Flanders, but also with Holland and Utrecht were, therefore, rather undeveloped and overshadowed by previous conflicts. Moreover, the economic infrastructure of the more urbanized and industrially specialized western provinces north and south of the emerging border was less compatible with the economic requirements in the east.

Within Gelderland, the city of Nijmegen received the most prominent influx of immigrants. Nijmegen’s chequered history during the Eighty Years War, when the city changed its political allegiance three times until it finally remained part of the Orangist party in 1591, had led to substantial physical damage and an exodus of wealthy citizens of either Catholic or Protestant denomination – depending on the current regime. The city remained economically isolated from its traditional hinterland in the south and in the east, which was under Spanish control during the war. As a consequence, the city magistrates started a campaign to attract German immigrants from neighbouring territories. With the changing fortunes of places such as Aix-la-Chapelle, which was

captured by the Spanish general Spinola in 1614, a mass exodus of Protestant textile workers, many of whom had come to the city from the Netherlands only a generation earlier, set in³¹. Nijmegen profited from these developments across the border and offered citizenship rights and the free practice of their trades to these welcome newcomers³². Another wave of directed immigration followed in 1655 when the Nijmegen magistrates brought skilled labour to the city by recruiting Mennonite weavers in the duchy of Jülich and again offering them free citizenship³³.

Perhaps the most telling example of this cross-border migration is the story of one of the most prominent sons of the city, the minister, collector and historian Johannes Smetius³⁴. Smetius was born in Aix-la-Chapelle on 10 October 1590 as the oldest son of the textile merchant Johann Smith from Kettenis (south of Aix-la-Chapelle) and his wife Maria Raets from Karken, near Roermond across the border in Gelders. From his early life Smetius was prepared for an academic career. At the tender age of six, his parents sent him to a Latin School in Odenkirchen, some fifty miles north of Aix-la-Chapelle in the Duchy of Jülich. At fourteen, well before his parents had to leave their home he was sent to the *Gymnasium Illustre* in Harderwijk (which received university status in 1648), where he studied the humanist trivium. Three years later, he was sent to the Calvinist strongholds of Geneva and Heidelberg to complete his education as a minister. As a reward for his studies, his parents financed a brief Grand Tour through France and England, before Smetius started his ministry in 1613 in Sittard, a small border town in Jülich. After a short guest lectureship at the University of Sedan he came to Nijmegen in 1617, where he was offered the vacant ministry at the city's main church, the St. Stevenskerk. Although he frequently complained to his academic friends about this provincial, intellectual backwater, thus his description of Nijmegen, he stayed in the city for the rest of his life, married Johanna Brouwers, the daughter of a Maastricht printer and dedicated his time – not so much to his parish, but to the history of Nijmegen. His “Nijmegen, stad der Bataven”, was published in 1644 and was highly acclaimed as the most important account of Nijmegen's history and her role in the Dutch past³⁵. Other publications on the city's history followed. None of those, however, ever mentioned migrants from across the border, but presented Nijmegen's citizens as good Gelderlanders and true patriots.

MIGRATION AND THE SHAPING OF REGIONAL AND URBAN IDENTITY

Migration did not feature in any of the many town and regional histories, which were published in the 17th century Netherlands. Ten years after Smetius' “Stad der Bataven” his fellow-Gelderlander, Arend van Slichtenhorst, published his “Geldersse Geschiedenissen” [Histories of Gelderland]³⁶. Although he emphasized Gelderland's traditionally close relations with the Holy Roman Empire and Nijmegen's role as the alleged birthplace of Charlemagne and her status as a free imperial city, his verdict on the German nation was rather negative³⁷. In comparison with his Gelderland compatriots the “Hoogh-duytssers” were clearly less disciplined and modest in their eating and drinking

habits. They were dressed more shabbily, were bad house-keepers, given to swearing and aggressive behaviour and slow and inflexible business negotiators³⁸. This negative image of Germans was widespread and a popular stereotype in Dutch comedies of the period, where it was also applied specifically to German migrants³⁹. Van Slichtenhorst's work was clearly designed as a reaffirming, patriotic piece of literature dedicated to and commissioned by Gelderland's estates in praise of the province. His damning verdict against Germans, which projects Gelderland's men and women in a much brighter light (although some of their character weaknesses as stubborn and quarrelsome people are also acknowledged) is, perhaps, not surprising. Moreover, given that Gelderland's immediate German neighbours would have been described as 'Neder-duytssers' [Low Germans] rather than as 'High Germans', they might not have been the main target of this critique, which was written more as a lighthearted satire than as a scientifically based comparison⁴⁰. Dutch scholars were also generous with the descriptor "Netherlands", which might easily include Westphalia, Jülich and Cleves and which reflected the political realities of the German *Reichskreise*, where the Netherlands and territories in the western part of the Holy Roman Empire were subsumed under the administrative unit of the so-called Burgundian Circle⁴¹. It was only after the Treaty of Westphalia, that a clear terminological distinction between *Nederland* [The Netherlands] and *Neder-Duitsland* [Lower Germany] was developed.

The reality of a massive influx of German migrants into Gelders in the 17th century, however, did not feature in Slichtenhorst's work. As in Smetius' study, Gelderland's were a homogenous group of brave, proud and patriotic men and women.

Likewise, immigration to the economic centres of Holland and Zealand was written out of the urban and regional descriptions of the time. Neither Haarlem's historian Samuel Ampzing, nor Amsterdam's Johannes Pontanus or Leiden's Olfert Dapper mentioned the influx of skilled (or unskilled) foreign labourers.

Although Ampzing, for instance, provided a glowing overview on Haarlem's linen and damask industry and its international reputation, those working in the craft were summarily described as 'burgers', which was, as has been shown, technically true⁴². Ampzing mentions, for instance, Haarlem's arguably most successful merchant-manufacturer, the Kortrijk migrant Passchier Lammertijn, who was recorded in Haarlem in 1586 with two fellow Kortrijkers as "merchant[s] in tablecloths"⁴³, but he simply labels him a "mede-burger", a fellow citizen. Whether this was a deliberate strategy to create the image of an indigenous Haarlem society, which was responsible for its own success, or whether Ampzing saw the newcomers first and foremost as citizens rather than as foreign immigrants with desirable skills, is open to debate.

The latter of the two interpretations, however, is shared by recent historians, who have emphasized that not origin, but occupation, status and religion were key markers for inclusion and exclusion in towns and cities in the Dutch Republic⁴⁴. This, perhaps somewhat optimistic view, which had been supported by initiatives such as the NWO (Dutch Scientific Coun-

cil)-funded “Eckpunkten” project which started in 1991 and has just been completed with the publication of five volumes on “Dutch Culture in a European Perspective” through the prism of key dates which shaped the country, is certainly a reflection of Dutch self-perception through the 1980s and 1990s. Dutch men and women saw themselves as being members of a consensual, multi-cultural society based on tolerance and dialogue. Recent events in the Netherlands, such as the murder of the politician Pim Fortuijn and of the film-maker Theo van Gogh have certainly shaken this self-perception and might lead to a perhaps more critical and nuanced interpretation of Dutch migrant cultures in the early modern period.

CONCLUSION

Immigration into the Dutch Republic in the early modern period has taken different forms and has been approached from different directions. Besides the attraction of the emerging metropolis, Amsterdam, regional traditions played a prominent part in migration patterns, which were accelerated, but not initiated by war and partition. Despite frequent ridicule of alleged national stereotypes of the newcomers in popular culture, immigration was welcome and outbreaks of xenophobic hostilities are not recorded. How these newcomers, however, were integrated into Dutch society and how they contributed to the development of the distinct regional and, ultimately, Dutch identity, still needs further investigation.

NOTES

- ¹ J. Lucassen, *Dutch Long Distance Migration: A Concise History, 1600-1900*, IISG Research Papers 3, Amsterdam 1992, p. 6.
- ² See, for instance, J. Lucassen, L. Lucassen (eds.), *Migration, Migration History, History: Old Paradigms and New Perspectives*, Bern 1997, 3rd edition 2005. The following references in this article to recent studies on the topic bear witness to this transformation, which was undoubtedly stimulated by the establishment of the Centrum voor de Geschiedenis van Migranten, a collaborative project of the Instituut voor Migratie – en Etnische Studies at the University of Amsterdam, the Instituut voor Rechtssociologie of the Catholic University Nijmegen, the International Institute for Social History in Amsterdam and the Vakgroep Geschiedenis at the University of Leiden in 1992.
- ³ For this master narrative of Dutch history see, for instance W. Frijhoff, M. Spies, *1650 – Hard-won Unity*, London 2004. See also J. Israel, *The Dutch Republic. Its Rise, Greatness, and Fall 1477-1806*, Oxford 1995, chapter 14.
- ⁴ These and the following figures are taken from Israel, *The Dutch Republic* cit., p. 309. Other figures are compiled by J.G.C.A. Briels, *Zuid-Nederlanders in de Republiek 1572-1630. Een demografische en cultuurhistorische studie*, Sint-Niklaas 1985 (for immigrants from the Southern Netherlands) and J. Lucassen, *Immigranten in Holland 1600-1800. Een kwantitatieve benadering*. Centrum voor de Geschiedenis van Migranten, Working Paper 3, Amsterdam 2002.
- ⁵ See, for instance, J. Israel, *European Jewry in the Age of Mercantilism*, Oxford 1985; R.G. Fuks-Mansfeld, *De Sefardim van Amsterdam tot 1795: Aspecten van een joodse minderheid in een Hollandse stad*, Hilversum 1989. It is symptomatic, for instance, that Willem Frijhoff and Marijke Spies’ massive new overview on Dutch Culture in 1650 has a chapter on ‘Foreigners: the Jews’, but discusses other immigrants under the general heading ‘Population movements’: Frijhoff, Spies, *1650 – Hard-won Unity* cit., pp. 121-125, pp. 162-165.

- ⁶ A. Grosjean, S. Murdoch (eds.), *Scottish Communities Abroad in the Early Modern Period*, Leiden 2003; S. Murdoch, *Network North: Scottish Kin, Commercial and Covert Associations in Northern Europe, 1603-1745*, Leiden 2005. See also W.D. Catterall, *Communities without Borders: Scots Migrants and the Changing Face of Power in the Dutch Republic, 1600-1690*, PhD thesis, University of Minnesota, 1998.
- ⁷ See, for instance, Lucassen, *Immigranten in Holland 1600-1800* cit. See also his: *Naar de Kusten van de Noordzee. Trekarbeid in Europees perspectief 1600-1900*, Gouda 1984.
- ⁸ Communication with Professor Willem Frijhoff at the roundtable discussion at the Low Countries Seminar at the Institute of Historical Research, London 5 May 2006.
- ⁹ For a discussion of the motives of early modern migration and historiographical trends in migration research see A. Schunka, *Glaubensflucht als Migrationsoption. Konfessionell motivierte Migration in der Frühen Neuzeit*, in "Geschichte in Wissenschaft und Unterricht", 2005, 10, pp. 547-566.
- ¹⁰ R. Eßer, *Niederländische Exulanten im England des 16. und frühen 17. Jahrhunderts*, Berlin 1996, pp. 21-29.
- ¹¹ For urban policy to attract skilled artisans see M. 't Hart, *Freedom and Restrictions. State and Economy in the Dutch Republic*, in K. Davids, L. Noordegraaf (eds.), *The Dutch Economy in the Golden Age*, Amsterdam 1993, pp. 105-130.
- ¹² For immigrants from England, see, for instance, L.B. Luu, *Alien Communities in Transition*, in L.B. Luu, N. Goose (eds.), *Immigrants in Tudor and Early Stuart England*, Brighton 2005, pp. 192-210.
- ¹³ D.M. Mitchell, *The Linen Damask Trade in Haarlem. Its products and markets*, in A.J. De Graaf, L. Hanssen, I. de Roode (eds.), *Textiel aan het Spaarne. Haarlem: van linnen damast tot zijden linten*, Amsterdam 1997, pp. 5-34, esp. pp. 7-8.
- ¹⁴ 't Hart, *Freedom and Restrictions* cit.
- ¹⁵ Mitchell, *The Linen Damask Trade in Haarlem* cit., esp. p. 7.
- ¹⁶ See: J. Pollmann, "Brabante Do Fairly Renseemble Spaniards After All". *Memory, Propaganda and Identity in the Twelve years' Truce*, in J. Pollmann, A. Spicer (eds.), *Public Opinioins and Changing Identities in the Early Modern Netherlands. Essay in Honour of Alastair Duke*, Leiden 2006, chapter 11.
- ¹⁷ O. Gelderblom, *Zuid-Nederlandse kooplieden en de opkomst van de Amsterdamse stapelmarkt (1578-1630)*, Hilversum 2000. See also his: *De deelname van Zuid-Nederlandse kooplieden aan het openbare leven van Amsterdam (1578-1650)*, in C. Lesger, L. Noordegraaf (eds.), *Ondernemers & bestuurders. Economie en politiek in de Noordelijke Nederlanden in de late Middeleeuwen en vroegmodern tijd*, Amsterdam 1999, pp. 237-258.
- ¹⁸ J.A. van Dillen, *Het oudste aandeelhoudersregister van de kamer Amsterdam der Oost-Indische Compagnie*, The Hague 1958; W. Brulez, *De Firma della Faille en de internationale handel van Vlaamse Firma's in de 16e eeuw*, Brussels 1959 and Id., *De diaspora der Antwerpse kooplui op het einde van de 16e eeuw*, in "Bijdragen voor Geschiedenis der Nederlanden", 1960, 15, pp. 229-306.
- ¹⁹ Since the 15th century Amsterdam's magistrates had already treated all merchants, regardless of their origins, equal before the law.
- ²⁰ *Handtvesten, ofte privilegien, handelingen, costumen ende willekeuren der stadt Amsterdam*, etc., Amsterdam 1639, fol. 108.
- ²¹ J.G. van Dillen (ed.), *Bronnen tot de Geschiedenis van het Bedrijfsleven en het Gildewezen van Amsterdam*, part 3, 1633-1672, The Hague 1974, pp. 357-358.
- ²² See R. Rommes, *Migrants from the Southern Netherlands and from Germany in the city of Utrecht, 1580-1670*, Migration, Economic Change and the Dutch Revolt, working papers published by the Department of Economic and Social History, University of Amsterdam and the N.W. Posthumus Institute, Amsterdam 1999, pp. 48-64, esp. p. 49.
- ²³ See, for instance, van Dillen (ed.), *Bronnen* cit., p. 671.
- ²⁴ E. Kuijpers, *Migrantenstad. Immigratie en sociale verhoudingen in 17e-eeuws Amsterdam*, Hilversum 2005.

- ²⁵ See, for instance, L. Sicking, H. De Bles, E. Des Bouvrie (eds.), *Maritime Relations and Migration across the North Sea in Early Modern Times*, Hilversum 2004 and L. van de Pol, E. Kuijpers, *Poor Women's Migration to the City. The Attraction of Amsterdam Health Care and Social Assistance in Early Modern Times*, in "Journal of Urban History", 2005, 32, 1, pp. 44-60.
- ²⁶ J. Lucassen, *Migrant Labour in Europe 1600-1900. The Drift to the North Sea*, London 1987, pp. 145-171.
- ²⁷ Id., *A Multinational and its Labour Force: The Dutch East India Company, 1595-1795*, in "International Labor and Working Class History", 2004, 66, pp. 12-39. See also R. Van Gelder, *Het Oost-Indisch avontuur. Duitsers in dienst van de VOC (1600-1800)*, Nijmegen 1997.
- ²⁸ F.S. Gaastra, *De geschiedenis van de VOC*, Zutphen 2002, p. 81.
- ²⁹ For an older general overview on the 'Holland-gänger', see Lucassen, *Dutch Long Distance Migration* cit., pp. 13-16. For further details and a more recent assessment, see, for instance, B. Nolte-Schuster, J. Vogel, W. Woessier, *Zur Arbeit nach Holland*, Osnabrück 2001.
- ³⁰ S.C. Regtdoorzee Greup-Roldanus, *De vrouw in een oud-Hollandsch plattelandsbedrijf*, in W. Fritschy (ed.), *Fragmenten vrouwengeschiedenis*, vol. 1, The Hague 1980, pp. 44-56.
- ³¹ For migration from the Netherlands to Aix-la-Chapelle see H. Schilling, *Niederländische Exulanten im 16. Jahrhundert*, Gütersloh 1972.
- ³² J.M.G.M. Brinkhoff, *Nijmegen vroeger en nu*, Bussum 1971, pp. 74-76, 78; G. Pikkemaat, *Geschiedenis van Nijmegen*, The Hague 1988, pp. 136-138, 141-142.
- ³³ J.A. Schimmel, *Burgerrecht te Nijmegen 1592-1810: Geschiedenis van de verlening en burgerlijst*, Tilburg 1966, pp. 48-49.
- ³⁴ The following information on Smetius is taken from: S. Langereis, *Johannes Smetius, Nijmegen, stad der Bataven*, vol. I, Inleiding, Nijmegen 1999.
- ³⁵ Johannis Smith, *Oppidum Batavorum seu Noviomagum Liber Singularis etc.*, Amsterdam 1644.
- ³⁶ Arend van Slichtenhorst, *XIV Boeken van de Geldersse Geschiedenissen*, Arnhem 1654.
- ³⁷ For the presentation of Gelderland's relations to the Holy Roman Empire in Slichtenhorst's work see my R. Eßer: 'Concordia res parvae crescunt' – Regional Histories and the Dutch Republic in the 17th century, in J. Pollmann, A. Spicer (eds.), *Public Opinion and Changing Identities in the Early Modern Netherlands. Essays in Honour of Alastair Duke*, Leiden 2006, forthcoming, pp. 229-248.
- ³⁸ Arend van Slichtenhorst, *Geldersse Geschiedenissen* cit., I. Boek, p. 31.
- ³⁹ See, for instance, Isaac Vos, *De klucht van de mof* [The Farce of the Kraut], 1644. For a general overview on Dutch stereotypes against Germans see J. Lucassen, *Poepen, knoeten, mieren en moffen: Beeldforming over Duitse immigranten en trekarbeiders in zeventiende – en achttiende-eeuwse kluchten*, in J.-E. Dubbeldam, J. Tanja (eds.), *Vreemd gespuis*, Amsterdam 1987, pp. 29-37.
- ⁴⁰ On the diffusion and vagueness of linguistic and territorial descriptions in the German-Dutch border region see A. Duke, *The Elusive Netherlands. The Question of National Identity in the Early Modern Low Countries on the Eve of the Revolt*, in "Bijdragen en mededelingen betreffende de geschiedenis der Nederlanden", 2004, 119, pp. 10-35.
- ⁴¹ See, for instance, Marcus van Vaernewijck, *Den Spieghel der Nederlandscher audheyd*, 1568.
- ⁴² Samuel Ampzing, *Beschryvinge ende Lof der Stad Haerlem in Hollant*, Haarlem 1628, pp. 340-343.
- ⁴³ See C.A. Burgers, *Passchier Lammertijn*, in G. Luijten et al. (eds.), *Dawn of the Golden Age*, Amsterdam 1993, p. 309.
- ⁴⁴ Frijhoff, Spies, *1650 – Hard-won Unity* cit., p. 164.

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