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978-1-107-07443-9 - The Merchant Republics: Amsterdam, Antwerp, and Hamburg, 1648–1790

Mary Lindemann

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## The Merchant Republics

*Amsterdam, Antwerp, and Hamburg, 1648–1790*

*The Merchant Republics* analyzes the ways in which three major economic powerhouses Amsterdam, Antwerp, and Hamburg developed dual identities as communities of commerce and as republics over the course of the long eighteenth century (*c.*1648–1790). In addition to discussing the qualities that made these three cities alike, this volume also considers the very real differences that derived from their dissimilar histories, political structures, economic fates, and cultural expectations. While all valued both their republicanism and their merchant identities, each presented a different face to the world and each made the transition from an early modern republic to a modern city in a different manner.

Mary Lindemann is Professor of History at the University of Miami. She is the author of four books and of numerous articles. She has also been the recipient of several major grants and awards, among them the John Simon Guggenheim Fellowship and fellowships from the National Endowment for the Humanities; the National Library of Medicine, National Institutes of Health; the Netherlands Institute for Advanced Study in the Social Sciences and the Humanities; the Flemish Institute for Advanced Study; and the Shelby Cullom Davis Center, Princeton University.

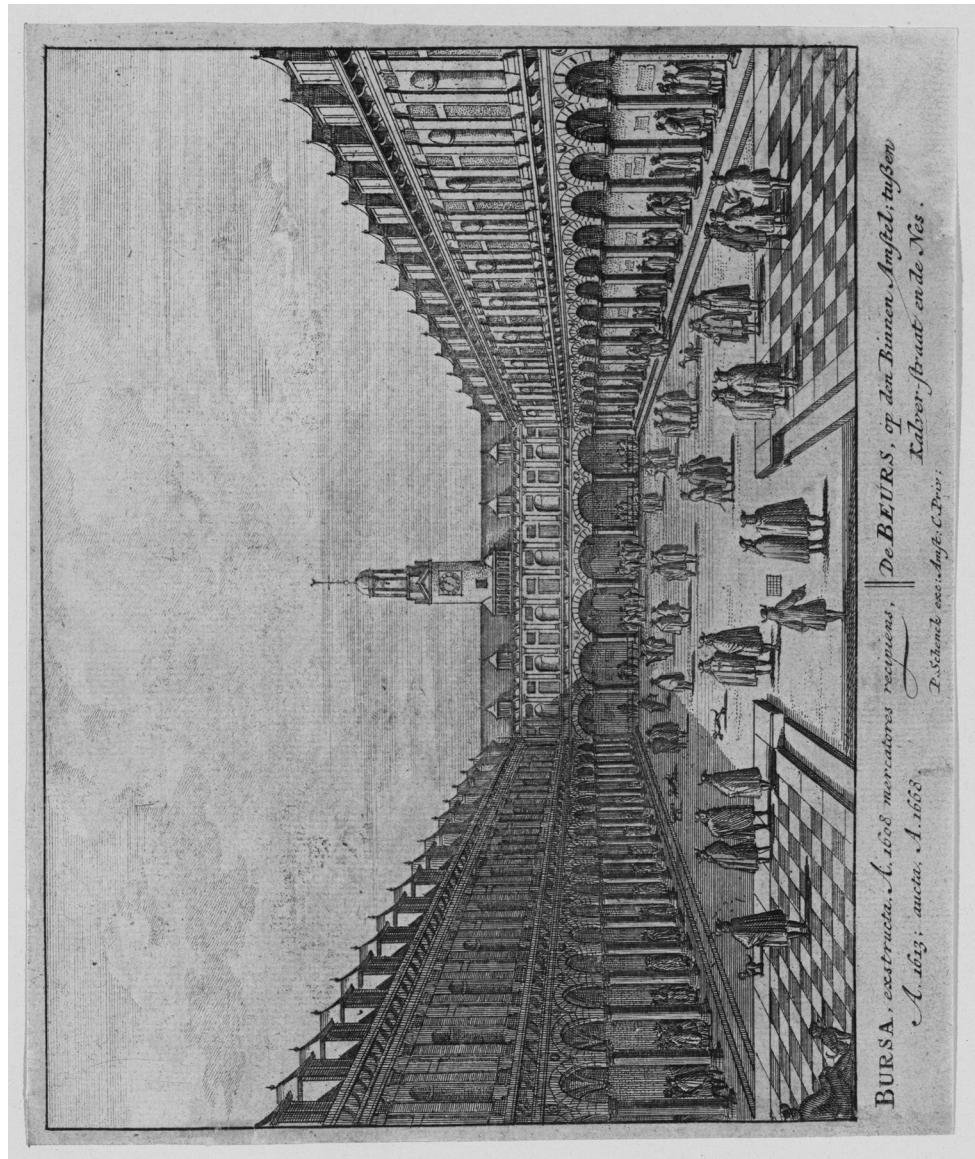
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BURSA, exstructa. A. 1608 maritates recipiens, De BEURS, op den Binnen Amstel: tuissen  
A. 1623: auctae. A. 1668  
D. Verbrugghen exc. Aug. C. Priv:

FRONTISPIECE: Amsterdam Exchange

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# The Merchant Republics

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1648–1790*

MARY LINDEMANN

*University of Miami*



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*For Michael, yet again . . .*

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## Acknowledgments

All books have a checkered past and this one proves no exception. It began life as a history of crime and civic culture in three early modern cities. As I did that research, however, the sources sent me off in a rather different direction and the result lies before you. One book became two, and parts of the original research appeared in 2006 as *Liaisons dangereuses: Sex, Law, and Diplomacy in the Age of Frederick the Great* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press).

On that long journey, however, I acquired a large number of debts, professional and personal. I must first thank the several agencies and institutions that generously supported my research over an extended period of time; I originally embarked on the project in the late 1990s. Early on, grants from the DAAD (German Academic Exchange Service), the National Endowment for the Humanities, and the John Simon Guggenheim Foundation supported two years of uninterrupted research in archives and libraries in the Netherlands, Belgium, and Germany. The staff at these several archives and libraries were consistently helpful and knowledgeable: the Staatsarchiv Hamburg, the City Archives of Amsterdam, the National Archives of the Netherlands in the Hague, the Felixarchief in Antwerp, the British Library in London, the Royal Library in the Hague, the University of Leiden library, the Erfgoedbibliotheek Hendrik Conscience in Antwerp, the Royal Library in Brussels, the Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek and the Commerzbibliothek in Hamburg, the Bibliothèque nationale and the library of the German Historical Institute (Deutsches Historisches Institut/Institut historique allemand) in Paris. A year-long residential fellowship at the Netherlands Institute for Advanced Study in the Humanities (NIAS) and a six-month stay at the Centre for Advanced Studies of the Royal Flemish Academy of Belgium (VLAC) in Brussels gave me additional time to reflect and write. The administrative and academic staff at both places did all they could to make my stay as profitable as it was pleasurable. Research leaves

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and grants from two different departments and universities – the Department of History at Carnegie Mellon University (where I was employed from 1987 to 2004) and the Department of History at the University of Miami (my current academic “home”) allowed me further time for research and writing, for which I am very grateful. In particular, two awards from the College of Arts and Sciences, University of Miami – a sabbatical in fall 2010 and a Cooper Fellowship that allowed me course relief in spring 2011 – facilitated my efforts to finish the manuscript. Likewise, a generous grant from the Office of the Dean, College of Arts & Sciences, University of Miami, helped defray the costs of illustrations and permissions.

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### *Acknowledgments*

doing research in several European cities together; while he worked on his own book about the twentieth-century maritime world, I labored on mine. He even forgave me for writing another book first (and which he told me not to do) before finishing the “important” one! Even when he is wrong, he is right.

I would like to express my gratitude to various journals and publishers for allowing me to reproduce here material previously published: the University of Notre Dame Press for the right to use material from my article on “The Wind-Traders: Speculators and Frauds in Northern Europe, 1650–1720,” pp. 137–66, in Barbara A. Hanawalt and Anna Grotans (eds.), *Living Dangerously: On the Margins in Early Modern Europe* (2007); Palgrave Macmillan for “The Anxious Merchant, the Bold Speculator, and the Malicious Bankrupt: Doing Business in Eighteenth-Century Hamburg,” pp. 161–82, in Catherine Secretan and Margaret Jacob (eds.), *The Self-Perception of Early Modern Capitalists* (2008); to Berghahn Books and *The Journal of Social History* for “Dirty Politics or ‘Harmonie’? Defining Corruption in Early Modern Amsterdam and Hamburg,” pp. 23–53, in Renate Bridenthal, *The Hidden History of Crime, Corruption, and States* (2013) and *Journal of Social History* 45 (Spring 2012): 582–604; and to the *Journal of Urban History* for “Voluntarism in Social Welfare and Urban Government: The Case of Hamburg, 1700–1799,” 36, no. 3 (March 2010): 316–31.

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## Abbreviations

AA	<i>Antwerpsch archievenblad</i> . 64 vols. Antwerp: G. van Merlen, 1864–1934.
AARAB	<i>Annales de l'Academie royale d'archéologie de Belgique</i>
ADB	<i>Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie</i>
AESC	<i>Annales: Economies, sociétés, civilisation</i>
AHR	<i>American Historical Review</i>
Aitzema	Aitzema, Lieuwe van. <i>Historie of Verhael van Saken van Staet en Oorlogh, In/ende omrent de Vereenige Nederlanden</i> . . . 14 vols. The Hague: John Vely, 1627–71.
Antwerpen, 17de	<i>Antwerpen in de XVIIde eeuw</i> . Antwerp: Genootschap voor Antwerpse geschiedenis, 1989.
Antwerpen, 18de	<i>Antwerpen in de XVIIIde eeuw</i> . Antwerp: De Sikkel, 1952.
Antwerpia	Prims, Floris. <i>Antwerpia: Losse bijdragen tot de Antwerpse geschiedenis</i> . 24 parts. Antwerp: De Vlijt, 1928–54.
AR	<i>Archive für Reformationsgeschichte</i>
BGN	<i>Bijdragen voor de geschiedenis der Nederlanden</i>
BHR	<i>Business History Review</i>
BMGN-LCHR	<i>Bijdragen en mededelingen betreffende de geschiedenis der Nederlanden-Low Countries Historical Review</i>
BMHG	<i>Bijdragen en mededeelingen van het Historisch Genootschap</i>
Bilderdijk	Bilderdijk, Willem. <i>Geschiedenis des vaderlands</i> . Ed. H. W. Tydeman. 13 vols. Amsterdam: P. M. Warnars, 1832–53.

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Boer	Boer, Jan de. "Cronologischer Histoire van alle het geene is voorgevallen, by de komste, van Willem Karel Hend. Friso, Prince van Oranie &ct. als mede, het geene dat er is voorgevallen, onder het plunderen der pactershuysen en verdere revolutien tot Amsterdam in Ao. 1747 & 1748 . . . door den schryver dezes Jan de Boer in Amsterdam," 1747–58. Ms. Filmed copy in SA, Film Nr. 1047–1051. [Original ms. is in KB, Den Haag]
Bontemantel	Bontemantel, Hans. <i>De regeeringe van Amsterdam soo in 't civil als crimineel en militaire (1653–1672) ontworpen</i> . Ed. Gerhard Wilhelm Kernkamp. 2 vols. The Hague: M. Nijhoff, 1897.
Boumans	Boumans, René. <i>Het Antwerps stadsbestuur voor en tijdens de Franse overheersing: Bijdrage tot de ontwikkelingsgeschiedenis van de stedelijke bestuursinstellingen in de zuidelijke nederlanden</i> . Bruges: De Tempel, 1965.
Brugmans	Brugmans, Hajo. <i>Geschiedenis van Amsterdam</i> . 2nd. revised edn. Ed. Izaak Johannes Brugmans. 7 vols. Utrecht and Antwerp: Het Spectrum, 1972. Vol. 3: <i>Bloeiijd 1621/1697</i> . 1972. Vol. 4: <i>Afgaand getij 1697/1795</i> . 1973.
BTG	<i>Bijdragen tot de geschiedenis</i>
CEH	<i>Central European History</i>
CSSH	<i>Comparative Studies in Society and History</i>
DBNL	<i>Digital bibliotheek voor de nederlandse letteren</i>
EHR	<i>Economic History Review</i>
Elias-1	Elias, Johan E. <i>De vroedschap van Amsterdam, 1578–1795</i> . 2 vols. Harlem: Loosjes, 1903–5. Repr. Amsterdam: N. Israel, 1963.
Elias-2	Elias, Johan E. <i>Geschiedenis van het Amsterdamsche Regentenpatriciaat: Tweede omgeweerkte druk van de inleiding tot "De vroedschap van Amsterdam."</i> The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1923.
EST	<i>Economisch en sociaal tijdschrift</i>
Evenhuis	Evenhuis, Rudolf Barteld. <i>Ook dat was Amsterdam</i> . 5 vols. Amsterdam: Ter Have, 1965–78.
FHS	<i>French Historical Studies</i>
Frijhoff/Prak-1,-2	Frijhoff, Willem and Maarten Prak (eds.). <i>Geschiedenis van Amsterdam</i> . Vol. 2, 1: <i>Centrum van de wereld, 1578–1650</i> . Vol. 2, 2: <i>Zelfbewuste stadstaat, 1650–1813</i> . Amsterdam: Boom, 2004–5.
GG	<i>Geschichte und Gesellschaft</i>

<i>HA</i>	<i>Hamburg und Altona</i>
<i>Hamburg</i>	<i>Hamburg: Geschichte der Stadt und ihrer Bewohner</i> , vol. 1. <i>Von den Anfängen bis zur Reichsgründung</i> . Ed. Hans-Dieter Loose. Hamburg: Hoffmann und Campe, 1982.
<i>HGB</i>	<i>Hansische Geschichtsblätter</i>
<i>HGH</i>	<i>Hamburgische Geschichts- und Heimatsblätter</i>
<i>HZ</i>	<i>Historische Zeitschrift</i>
<i>IRSH</i>	<i>International Review of Social History</i>
<i>Israel</i>	<i>Israel, Jonathan. The Dutch Republic: Its Rise, Greatness, and Fall, 1477–1806</i> . Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995.
<i>JEEH</i>	<i>Journal of European Economic History</i>
<i>JIH</i>	<i>Journal of Interdisciplinary History</i>
<i>JMEH</i>	<i>Journal of Modern European History</i>
<i>JMH</i>	<i>Journal of Modern History</i>
<i>JUH</i>	<i>Journal of Urban History</i>
<i>Klefeker</i>	Klefeker, Johann. <i>Sammlung der Hamburgischen Gesetze und Verfassung in Bürger- und Kirchlichen, auch Cammer- Handlungs- und übrigen Policey-Angelegenheiten und Geschäften samt historischen Einleitungen</i> . 12 vols. Hamburg: Piscator, 1765–74.
<i>Knuttel</i>	Dutch Pamphlet Collection, National Library, The Hague
<i>Mertens/Torfs</i>	Mertens, Franz H. and Karel L. Torfs, <i>Geschiedenis van Antwerpen</i> . 7 vols. + supplement vol. Antwerp: C. de Vries-Brouwers, 1846.
<i>MVHG</i>	<i>Mitteilungen des Vereins für Hamburgische Geschichte</i>
<i>NDB</i>	<i>Neue deutsche Biographie</i>
<i>NJ</i>	<i>Nederlandsche jaerboken, inhoudende een verhael van de merkwaerdigste geschiedenissen die voorgevallen zyn binnen den omtrek der Vereenigde Provincien sedert het begin van 't jaer 1747</i> . Amsterdam, 1748–65
<i>NNJ</i>	<i>Nieuwe Nederlandsche jaerboeken, of, vervolg der merkwaerdigste geschiedenissen die voorgevallen sijn, . . .</i> Leiden and Amsterdam, 1766–90
<i>PP</i>	<i>Past and Present</i>
<i>Prims</i>	Prims, Floris. <i>Geschiedenis van Antwerpen</i> . 28 vols. + reg.; Antwerp: N.V. Standaard Boekhandel, 1927–49.

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<i>Sammlung</i>	<i>Sammlung der von E. Hochedlen Rathe der Stadt Hamburg so wol zur Handhabung der Gesetze und Verfassungen als bey besonderen Erägnissen in Bürger- und Kirchlichen, auch Cammer- Handlungs- und übrigen Policey-Angelegenheiten und Geschäften vom Anfange des 17. Jahr-Hunderts bis auf die itzige Zeit ausgegangenen allgemeinen Mandate, bestimmten Befehle und Bescheide, auch beliebten Aufträge und verkündigten Anordnungen.</i> 6 vols. Hamburg: Piscator, 1763–74.
<i>Schriftstellerlexikon</i>	Schröder, Hans. <i>et al.</i> <i>Lexikon der hamburgischen Schriftsteller bis zur Gegenwart.</i> 8 vols. Hamburg: Perthes-Besser und Mauke, 1851–83.
<i>Tirion</i>	Tirion, Isaak. <i>Tegenwoordige Staat der Vereenigde Nederlanden.</i> 19 vols. Amsterdam: Isaak Tirion, 1739–51. Vol. 5: <i>Behelsende Het Vervolg der Beschrywinge van Holland.</i> 1744.
<i>TVG</i>	<i>Tijdschrift voor geschiedenis</i>
<i>TVSEG</i>	<i>Tijdschrift voor sociale en economische geschiedenis</i>
<i>TVSG</i>	<i>Tijdschrift voor sociale geschiedenis</i>
<i>Wagenaar</i>	Wagenaar, Jan. <i>Vaderlandsche Historie, vervattende de geschiedenissen der nu Vereenigde Nederlanden.</i> 21 vols. Amsterdam: Isaak Tirion, 1749–59.
<i>Zedler</i>	Zedler, Johann Heinrich. <i>Grosses vollständiges Universal-Lexicon Aller Wissenschaften und Künste . . .</i> 68 vols. Halle and Leipzig: Johann Heinrich Zedler, 1732–54.
<i>ZHF</i>	<i>Zeitschrift für historische Forschung</i>
<i>ZSW</i>	<i>Zeitschrift für Sozial- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte</i>
<i>ZVHG</i>	<i>Zeitschrift des Vereins für Hamburgischen Geschichte</i>