

Voluntary giving, citizenship and political economy in the Dutch Republic, c. 1600-1800

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Introduction

“Charity seems to be very National among them”, the English ambassador in the Dutch Republic, William Temple, commented about Dutch citizens in 1673.¹ Indeed, both contemporaries and present-day historians have generally looked upon the system of poor relief in the Dutch Republic as generous and relatively efficient. Many foreigners who visited cities in the Northern Netherlands in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries were amazed by the charitable institutions they encountered. Courts-of-almshouses for the elderly were a regular tourist attraction and Dutch orphanages, for instance the Amsterdam *Burgerweeshuis*, were amazingly described as palaces.² Economic historian Peter Lindert has recently substantiated Temple’s suppositions by calculating that, in terms of per capita expenditure on poor relief, the Dutch Republic was (among) the highest, only to be surpassed by England in the late eighteenth century.³ And social historians Maarten Prak and Marco van Leeuwen have quite convincingly argued that pre-industrial Dutch poor relief did not suffer as severely from periodic breakdowns as previously thought.⁴ Another important indication for the relatively adequate system of relief may be that – in contrast to most other Western European countries at that time – the Dutch Republic no longer experienced subsistence crises.⁵

However, no different than in most other pre-industrial societies, the Dutch poor relief system did not comprise a uniform scheme, financed by an obligatory direct poor tax. Although via indirect (mostly local) taxes and fines some public funds did trickle down to poor relief, the financial basis consisted of primarily private and voluntary donations, such as church collections, gifts and legacies. The well-functioning system of relief in the Dutch Republic with the highest per capita spending on charity until well into the eighteenth century may lead us to hypothesize that Dutch citizens had a relatively generous attitude towards the poor. Why did so many people give so much? The ‘Giving in the Golden Age’ (GIGA) research project aims to answer this intriguing question about the charitable behaviour of people from all social strata over a long period of time (1550-1820). It investigates how many and which people gave to charity – and who did not! – what they gave; when they gave it; and, very importantly, what their motivations were for giving.⁶

Investigating the motives behind charitable behaviour is particularly relevant in the context of debates on citizenship and the political economy. Oscar Gelderblom, in the introduction to his recent edited volume on these subjects, mentions several important institutional characteristics of the Dutch Republic, which contributed to its economic success. Due to the efficient raising of taxes, Dutch authorities were able to provide an impressive range of public goods, among others military protection, water management, education and “last but not least, a social welfare system that helped to sustain a large urban reserve of skilled and unskilled labor”.⁷ However, of all the high-quality contributions to this impressive volume, interestingly enough none is directly devoted to charity. This is a pity, because poor relief and charity address questions of redistribution of income, which cannot only be achieved by taxation, especially since a large part of taxation was not

progressive in this period. While Prak and Van Zanden have convincingly argued that Dutch citizens were relatively benevolent towards paying taxes,⁸ I will show that in addition (or even parallel) to this, large segments of the urban community were prepared to pay for the lion's share of poor relief in most of the early modern period. My argument is that it was not so much the elites, but rather the higher and lower middle groups in Dutch society that kept the system of poor relief viable until well into the eighteenth century and that this was strongly related to notions of citizenship and close ties to the urban community.

Exactly because (a certain degree of) redistribution of income in a given society influenced the success of its political economy, more research into the characteristics of benefactors, good causes, and motivations to give in this period is necessary. Although we know some things about the extent to which and the reasons why people gave to good causes in the early modern Dutch Republic, very much is still unclear, especially about the motivations of the middling groups in society.⁹ Most historians tend to view early modern charitable giving in terms of the relationships between the elites and the poor. As Catharina Lis, Hugo Soly and Dirk Van Damme have argued, the elites gave to the poor partly because were keen to prevent social unrest among the laboring poor, and at the same time they had an interest in preserving a cheap and flexible labour reserve.¹⁰ Rather than on social disciplining of the poor, Sandra Cavallo has characterized charitable actions as exponents of conflicts between the urban elites, and ways of appropriating political power.¹¹ Still, her interest also goes out primarily to the role and motives of elite groups.

Marco van Leeuwen has paid more attention to the *reciprocity* of the charitable relations between elites and poor people, but by also focusing on the strategies and agency of the poor themselves, he neither includes the large category of middle groups in early modern society into his analysis.¹² In this paper I aim to do so, by asking the following questions. What was the specific role of the middle groups in the organization and financing of urban early modern Dutch poor relief, and, especially, what were the motivations behind their involvement? And, to what extent were they aiming at helping the really poor, or were their charitable actions instead primarily directed at people of their own social status, as Anne McCants has argued?¹³ Answering these questions may help us to enhance our understanding of the driving forces behind one important aspect of the early modern political economy: the redistribution of income by providing social assistance.

Giving in the early modern period: hypotheses and sources

As mentioned above, the results in this paper are part of a broader research project concerning characteristics and motivations of charitable benefactors in the Dutch Republic, which aims to analyze charitable giving on several levels over a long period of time (c. 1550-1820). It focuses on the characteristics of the donors, as well as on the characteristics of the objective of their generosity (the good cause) and on the characteristics of the social environment within which charity was given. Three complementary research projects on small gifts, medium-sized gifts and large gifts will contribute to this wide-ranging, long-term approach of charitable giving. My particular research project deals with medium-sized gifts, mainly by legacies in wills, but wherever possible I will complement this with research on *inter vivos* donations.

Making a bequest in one's last will is of course a very particular way of giving. First of all, wills are almost always in the first place intended for the transfer and safeguarding of property between generations. Therefore, leaving something to charity may not have been the first thing on people's minds when they drew up a will. Nevertheless, as I will show below, with variations through

time and space, both larger and smaller legacies were indeed made by a variety of citizens, which means that they had probably thought about this very consciously before making their last will. Although in some contexts social pressure may have played a role at the moment citizens signed their wills, it is likely that legacies to charity were not so much spontaneous deeds, as for instance giving alms in the streets or to collectors may have been, but were well-considered and thus properly motivated in advance. It can also be assumed that these motivations depended strongly on some of the characteristics and (personal) circumstances of the benefactors. By systematically addressing specific characteristics and possible motives of our benefactors, I hope to find out patterns in the circumstances and conditions and even in the intentions with which people donated to good causes. Based on the available historical and sociological literature, I have come up with a set of characteristics/motivations that can be investigated based on my most important sources (wills), supplemented by other sources. In the project as a whole, eight important characteristics and motivations will be explored,¹⁴ but for the purpose of this paper, I will investigate only three.

First of all, of course, some degree of wealth was required in order to be able to give to good causes. In the case of legacies, this is even more so than for instance with collections or almsgiving, because in order to protect one's property by will, one has to possess something to protect in the first place. However, modern sociological research shows that poor people tend to give more than richer people, at least relative to their income.¹⁵ It would be interesting to test to what extent the hypothesis that poorer people tend to be relatively more generous holds for the early modern period. On a less individual level, the influence of wealth can also be tested on a society as a whole, by looking at the influence of economic trends on the charitable behaviour of citizens.

Secondly, the confirmation or acquisition of social status may have been of importance. As many recent studies have shown, the idea of 'civil society' was very important in early modern Dutch urban communities. Citizenship was linked to several exclusive rights, but also to specific duties for members of the civic community.¹⁶ Although giving to charity was voluntary, it is clear that it also involved a social function and even social pressure at times. This could be formulated in a negative sense (people gave because if they wouldn't, it would harm their social status), and in a more positive sense (people used their good works to confirm or even enhance their social status). Both incentives were probably more prominent in donations through collections, which were more public, and harder not to give to, and in large donations such as foundations of almshouses, where rich burghers could display their generosity by nice commemorative tablets. Nevertheless, the acquisition or maintenance of social status may also have appeared in specific formulations in the wills.

Finally, sympathy and/or identification with the good cause may have been of importance. To which causes did people donate exactly? The *scope for identifying* with those affected, based on a sense of empathy or shared fate is important. Even physical distance may have played a role here: nowadays, people tend to give more to co-religionists in their own towns and villages than to co-religionists elsewhere, and even less to others (co-religionists outside the Netherlands, non-co-religionists within the Netherlands). Another aspect of identification or sympathy with the good cause is the degree to which the *receiving party can be considered 'innocent'*. The elderly and children are regarded almost by definition as innocent, while the situation is somewhat more complicated for the sick and unemployed: they had to be 'really' ill or unemployed, and to lack any hint of culpability for their fate. I want to test whether people indeed were more inclined to give to people who were geographically and/or socially close to them, and to those who were regarded to be 'innocent' victims.

As explained above, my expectation is that the middle groups in early modern Dutch society were overrepresented among our charitable benefactors. Not only were they closer to the poor than members of the elite, who were not as directly and frequently confronted with poverty. Also, their chances of becoming poor one day themselves were much larger than for the elites. It is estimated that about fifty percent of the population at some stage in their life cycle came to depend on poor relief, for a short or a longer period of time.¹⁷ And, last but not least, it is to be expected that middle groups were more closely connected to the direct urban environment than members from elite families, who often left town part of the year (e.g. to live in their *buitenplaatsen*, country houses) and for whom intra-urban relations were often more important. We would therefore expect a more active involvement in the urban community exactly from the middle groups.¹⁸ Moreover, artisans and shopkeepers also had more to gain by keeping social order in the urban community: *their* bakeries and shops were in danger of raids and plundering when popular unrest arose in times of high food prices.¹⁹

In order to investigate the social status of early modern benefactors, and to what extents the abovementioned characteristics and motivations played a role, I will use a variety of sources. For the project I have collected 1,600 wills for four localities in the Dutch Republic, with a satisfactory geographical spread.²⁰ In order to establish trends over time four benchmark years (1600, 1670, 1740 and 1800) have been chosen, and for all localities a sample of 100 wills has been taken for each benchmark year. These particular years are chosen for the following reasons. First of all, they roughly follow economic trends in the Dutch Republic, with upswing around 1600, stagnation around 1670, and general economic decline around 1740. The intervals (60-70 years) are quite equally distributed over the entire period, and some of the benchmark years (1670, 1740) coincide with important tax registers that were drawn up (*Klein Familiegeld* 1672, *Personele Quotisatie* 1742), enabling data linkage with records containing information on occupation, income and wealth. Information from these wills are put into a database, which will in the end contain 1,600 wills. As of yet, this part of the archival research has almost been completed: I have collected and transcribed almost all 1,600 wills. However, the analysis right now has been done for the wills for two towns, Utrecht and Zwolle, for four benchmark years.²¹ Due to the fact that the data collection is still ongoing, I can only use the results for these two cities (800 wills) in the context of this paper.

Apart from this collection of wills, which enables us to draw some conclusions about the social status of our benefactors, and about the causes they gave to charitable causes, I have used other data, such as financial accounts of poor relief institutions, and lists of gifts and legacies, to find out more about the income structure of charitable institutions in general, and how this may link up with the information derived from the wills. Also, more prescriptive sources, as well as pamphlets and secondary literature, may tell us more about the organization of poor relief and who exactly were involved in charity in the two towns under investigation. This information is very important, because it contextualizes the actual voluntary donations to charity, and gives an idea of the importance of the organization of local institutions and the giving structure in Utrecht and Zwolle in general. But before I go into the institutional details of these two cities under investigation, I will briefly sketch the context of charity in the Dutch Republic from the sixteenth through the eighteenth centuries in the next section. Although I realize formal relief were very important, I will not go into these forms, but I will focus on institutional developments.

Institutionalized charity in the Dutch Republic

As opposed to many cities throughout Europe, towns in the Northern Netherlands did not drastically reform their rather fragmented and unspecialized medieval charitable institutions in the first decades of the sixteenth century. Instead, the Reformation led to the breakdown of the Catholic poor relief system, which required a viable alternative. Also, the rise in the number of immigrants to the young Protestant Republic caused pressure on the receiving towns. At the same time, however, the confiscation of Catholic estates together with the economic prosperity around 1600 created opportunities to reform the system of poor relief in this period. Nevertheless, this did not mean that a uniform system of social care came into being in the Northern Netherlands – every individual town had its own institutions, more or less centralized and specialized.²²

Early modern Dutch poor relief was for a large part based on voluntary donations. Although the precise division varied between regions and over time, the revenues of charitable institutions came from private gifts (through collections, legacies etc.), from rents on capital, and from subsidies from the local government, which were almost everywhere incidental instead of structural. In some towns, such as 's-Hertogenbosch, poor relief funds could rely on rents from historically well-administered capital resources, but in most cities, such as Amsterdam, Dordrecht, Utrecht, and Zwolle, private donations formed the majority of the income.²³ In any case, early modern poor relief not even remotely resembled the uniform and anonymous social security system based on tax-funding that we know today. In the pre-industrial urban context, givers and receivers of charity were more personally connected to each other than nowadays. Not only did they literally live close together and meet regularly in the streets, or encounter each other as almoners and beneficiaries of poor relief institutions. Also, many of them were probably both giver and receiver of poor relief at different points in time during their lives, because, as noted above, the risks of becoming poor were considerable in pre-industrial society.²⁴

In the first half of the seventeenth century, the Dutch system of urban poor relief encountered few problems. The economic tide was favourable during this Dutch 'Golden Age', and although poverty still existed, the tight labour market ensured work for many skilled and unskilled labourers.²⁵ With the stagnation of the Dutch economy in the second half of the seventeenth century, financial troubles started to emerge in most urban communities, which also affected social assistance. In many cases, however, it appears that urban governments and diaconates managed to find rather adequate solutions to their problems. One of these solutions was the decentralization of poor relief in towns which had strongly centralized its relief institutions around 1600. This usually involved the delegation of social assistance from other religious groups than the Calvinist faith – such as Catholics or Lutherans – to their own denominations.²⁶ Other measures could be limiting the level of assistance the poor received, or making social welfare more exclusive, for instance by the introduction of more severe restrictions for migrants.²⁷ According to some historians, these measures prevented acute financial need and made sure that there were no 'periodic breakdowns' of early modern Dutch poor relief.²⁸

Although the Dutch poor relief system thus functioned relatively well, the support from poor relief institutions, in the form of bread, clothing and small amounts of money was by no means sufficient to help the poor survive on a structural basis. In fact, there are many indications that the authorities and poor relief overseers expected the poor to work, especially when they were able to, but even when they were old or (partly) handicapped.²⁹ This complied with the mentality shifts that had occurred with the sixteenth-century poor relief reforms, in which assistance was ideally only to

be given to the 'deserving poor': those who were innocent, well-behaved and willing to work. As we shall see, people who drew up their will sometimes explicitly stipulated that their legacy was destined for these deserving poor exclusively. Now, let us focus more specifically on poor relief in the two towns under scrutiny in this paper: Utrecht and Zwolle.

Arrangements in Utrecht and Zwolle

Because of its inland geographical position, Utrecht in contrast to Holland cities, did not have a spectacular economic growth, but it also did not experience real decline after 1650: at least until 1730, its economy fared rather well. All this was reflected in the social composition of its inhabitants. Utrecht neither had a large merchant elite, nor a real proletariat of wage labourers, but instead, gentry and patricians as well as independent artisans were relatively well represented.³⁰ Like in other cities in the Dutch Republic, the majority of the Utrecht population was not rich, and had to struggle in order to survive, but relative to many other towns, Utrecht attracted many rich inhabitants. Not incidentally, Utrecht in the eighteenth century is also typified as a 'rentier town'.³¹ All these developments and characteristics greatly influenced the demographic development of Utrecht. After an initial slight growth between 1575 and 1600, its number of inhabitants remained rather stable until 1650, as well as in the 150 years to come. When we look at our benchmark years, the population developed from 30,000 people in 1600, to 33,500 in 1670, around 30,000 in 1740, and 33,000 in 1800.³²

In the fourteenth century, the first private initiatives for small-scale poor relief projects were undertaken, which functioned alongside the already existing clerical institutions of poor relief. In the same century, the number of hospitals (then called *gasthuizen*, literally 'guest houses') providing all sorts of assistance to itinerant, sick, and poor people in the town, rose notably. In the first half of the sixteenth century, Utrecht counted 18 different hospitals.³³ After the Reformation, these hospitals lost their Catholic signature, and became more specialized than before. Also, a new poor relief institution was established in 1578: the Reformed diaconate.³⁴ Although the diaconate became the most important institution in the late sixteenth-century, Utrecht's four former parish churches and the hospitals also continued to provide assistance to the poor. In contrast to many other towns in the Dutch Republic, the Reformation thus did not directly lead to a centralized poor relief in Utrecht, though it soon became clear that the existing institutions could not do without some support of the city government.³⁵

In the first decades after the Reformation, the Reformed diaconate assisted all poor inhabitants in Utrecht. However, financial need and the more principal debate to what extent the Reformed Church should also assist those who did not practice the 'true faith' led the Utrecht church council and deacons to request to the city authorities to be relieved from the care of non-Reformed poor. In 1628, the City Almoners' Chamber (*Stadsaalmoezenierskamer*) was erected, governed by eight Reformed and eight Catholic regents/almoners, and supervised by the city council. The Almoners' Chamber functioned alongside the diaconate and the hospitals, which since the end of the sixteenth century specialized into old people's houses, burghers' orphanage, plague hospital et cetera.³⁶ Although the city council wanted to merge the diaconate, the Almoners' Chamber and the poor workhouse (established in 1619) into a 'Common Bourse', these plans were never carried through, probably because the deacons wanted to retain their independence. The cooperation between the Reformed and Catholic regents did not run very smoothly, however, and between 1637 and 1660, the position of the latter remained vacant due to religious issues. From 1660 onwards,

Catholic regents were again admitted to the Almoners' Chamber, but they formed a minority with only two almoners. In 1674, Catholics were altogether parted from the Almoners' Chamber, when a separate Catholic Almoners' Chamber was established, that from now on was responsible for their 'own' poor.³⁷

Although information about the finances of the Utrecht poor relief institutions is scarce, it is clear that gifts by private people were very important. An account from the diaconate for the financial year 1597-1598 shows that 13.8% of all revenues were gifts (12.1%) and legacies (1.7%), and 57.8% came from collections.³⁸ Likewise, 65 percent of the income of the Almoners' Chamber consisted of collections and private gifts in 1633-1634.³⁹ Unfortunately, the rest of the diaconate's financial administration has only survived for the periods 1727-1731 and 1776-1810. In these years, the share of income from legacies ranged from 0.1 to 35 percent, but was usually between 5 and 15 percent of total yearly income.⁴⁰ However, a list of liberal gifts and legacies to the Utrecht diaconate for the period 1700-1719 shows that yearly donations fluctuated from scarcely 80 guilders to over 1,400 guilders, so these two years may not be very representative – although 1,400 still equals less than 10% of total revenues, if we assume that these were rather constant within the decade.⁴¹ Figure 1 shows that legacies gifts and donations became of relatively less importance towards the end of the eighteenth century, when the income from capital and real estate as well as government subsidies rose.

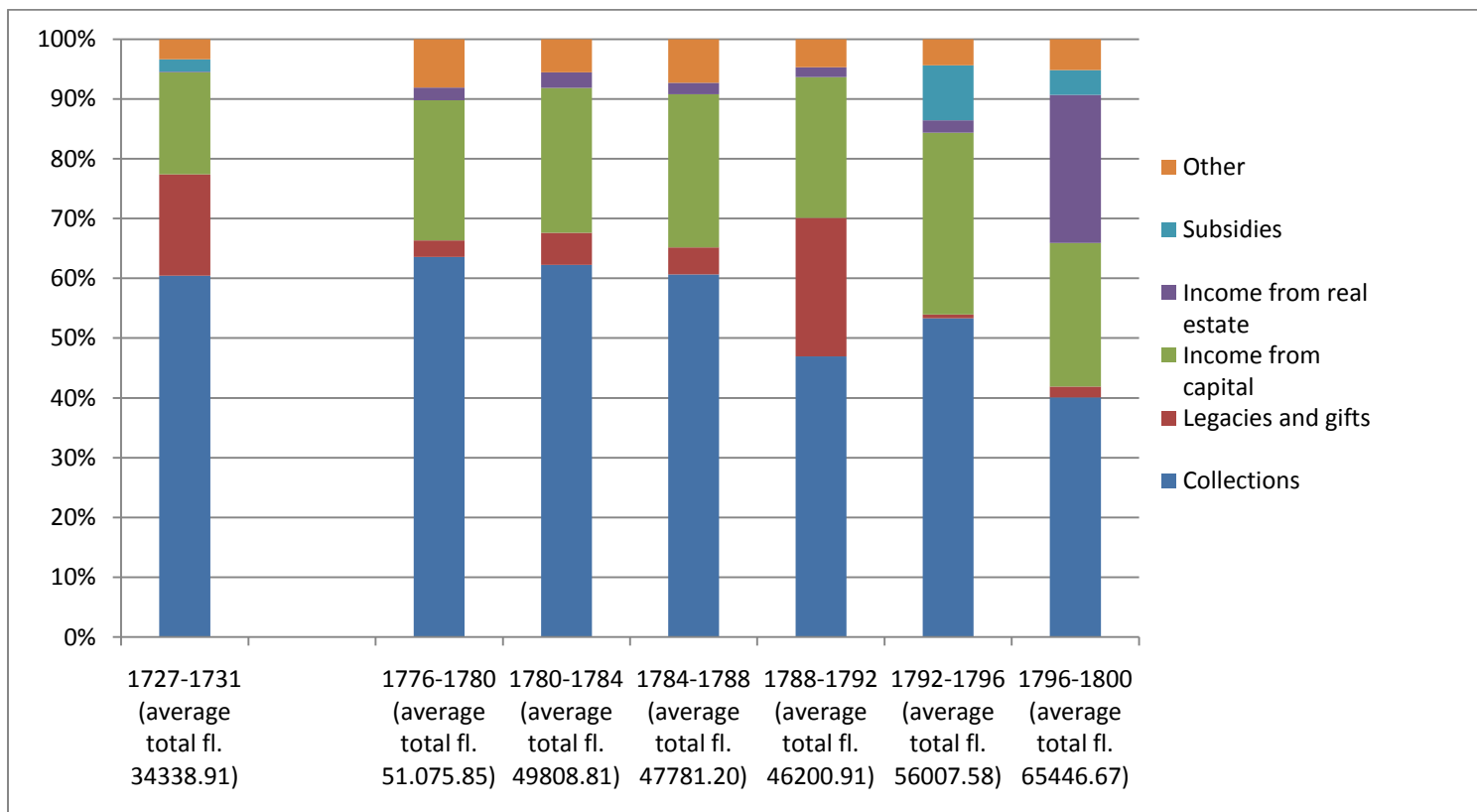


Figure 1 - Income of the Reformed Diaconate Utrecht, 1727-1731 and 1776-1800 (4-year averages)

Like Utrecht, Zwolle only had a modest economic development directly after the Reformation. This was partly due to the negative effects of warfare, because of the town's strategic position in the Eighty-Years War. Zwolle's function was principally regional, with some commercial activity and a few relatively flourishing industries, such as linen production, pin making and button production, but

it did not have a particular economic specialization. Economic growth in Zwolle started to accelerate after 1650, because of a favourable development of its shipping, peat-digging, and linen industry. This upward trend lasted until well into the 1720s.⁴² After about 1730, the economy of Zwolle slid downhill. Several previously flourishing industries such as the textile industry, button making and construction slipped into a severe crisis.⁴³ For the demographic and social composition of Zwolle's population, these economic trends had the following implications. For 1600, the number of people living in Zwolle is unknown, but estimates for 1628 point to almost 10,000 inhabitants. In 1670, this had risen to circa 13,000, and in the eighteenth century, the number of inhabitants stabilized around 12,000. More than in Utrecht, the population of Zwolle was proletarianized. Both in the beginning of the seventeenth century and in 1670, the elite comprised 11 percent of the population, the middle groups formed 25 percent, and the lower groups over 65 percent.⁴⁴

Like in Utrecht and elsewhere in the Dutch Republic, Zwolle counted numerous private and clerical initiatives of poor relief in the Middle Ages, which were increasingly supervised by the city's authorities. Many private individuals established poor houses and courts-of-almshouses for a handful of paupers. When, following a century of growth, economic conditions started to deteriorate at the end of the fifteenth century, the problems of the rather unstructured poor relief were increasingly felt in Zwolle. Various attempts by the city council to reform the scattered organization of social assistance failed, however.⁴⁵

As everywhere in the Dutch Republic, the Reformation in Zwolle led to immediate challenges for social assistance, because the Catholic Church could no longer perform this function. In 1580 the city council appointed four almoners who were in charge of taking care of the 'righteous resident poor'. For an important part their income consisted of the gains from the Catholic possessions confiscated by the secular authorities. Apart from the city almoners, a Reformed diaconate was also established in this period. The Zwolle almoners and the Reformed deacons worked closely together, and in 1616 the town council decided to formalize this collaboration by erecting the City Poor Chamber, which provided assistance to all poor in town, regardless of their religious denomination.⁴⁶ The deacons and almoners were responsible for the weekly distribution of charity, visited all poor relief recipients once a year and administered their whereabouts, and performed the church and door-to-door collections. In the second half of the seventeenth century, these revenues from collections comprised on average 60 percent of the Poor Chamber's yearly income.⁴⁷ As I will show in more detail below, until the first half of the eighteenth century the share of legacies averaged about 10%.⁴⁸

At the end of the seventeenth century, the City Poor Chamber increasingly faced financial troubles. The insufficient funds were partly due to decreasing revenues from collections, and partly due to the rising number of poor people since c. 1730. Repeatedly, the almoners turned to the city council for help, which tried to think constructively of structural measures to solve the deficits. Eventually, decentralization was the answer in Zwolle, like in many other Dutch towns in the first quarter of the eighteenth century.⁴⁹ As a result, secular and clerical charity were increasingly separated. First of all, in 1735, the Catholics were requested to provide for their 'own' poor from then on. Soon, the Anabaptists and Jews would have to follow this example, and finally the Lutherans were told as well that the City Poor Chamber could no longer assist them.⁵⁰

The question is to what extent the differences in organization of poor relief in Utrecht and Zwolle contributed to variations in giving behaviour of their respective citizens. In Utrecht, for instance, centralization of poor relief was abandoned much earlier than in Zwolle. This may have given an incentive to testators in Utrecht to leave higher bequests to fellow members of their own

congregation, whereas in Zwolle the amounts may have been smaller due to the fact that at least until 1735, all revenues merged into one fund which assisted poor of all religious feathers. Another factor may have been that in Utrecht, it was customary to make a will in front of a (semi-)private notary, and in Zwolle in front of the bench of aldermen. Of course, the aldermen had a direct interest to convince testators to donate something to the centralized poor institution, which may have led to more frequent donations. On the other hand, this social pressure may have led to a sense of non-voluntary behaviour, which caused people to restrict their generosity.

Who gave how much?

Table 1 shows the number of wills in which a charitable bequest was made in every benchmark year as well as the average donation per will, and it also differentiates per person and according to sex. The table displays clear differences between both towns. In Utrecht the percentage of charitable bequests was relatively low in all benchmark years, while in Zwolle a high percentage of all testators donated to charity, except around 1800. In Utrecht, however, the actual average amounts of the donations were extraordinarily high, especially in 1740 and 1800. Probably, these very high averages of between 2,000 and 3,000 guilders per year in both benchmark years were high even in the Utrecht context. In both years, two particularly high bequests were found: 12,000 guilders to the Reformed diaconate by the widow Sara Sibilla Verdion in 1740, and in 1802 the unmarried man Gerrit van Westhuyzen donated fl. 14,000,- in bonds to the Utrecht orphanage.⁵¹ But even if we flatten out these averages by looking at median gifts in 1740 and 1800, these are still quite high: 1,500 and 2,125 guilders respectively.⁵²

Table 1 – Charitable bequests in Utrecht and Zwolle, 1600, 1670, 1740 and 1800

	Utrecht									
	No. of wills	% with bequest	Average per will (fl.)	Median per will (fl.)	No. of persons	Men	Women	Av. per person*	Av. per man**	Av. per woman**
1600	100	18	180	200	24	11	13	140	150	131
1670	100	5	213	175	9	4	5	122	108	131
1740	100	12	2,555	1,500	14	5	9	2,323	2,000	2,507
1800	100	11	4,408	2,125	14	8	6	2,939	4,045	1,556

	Zwolle									
	No. of wills	% with bequest	Average per will (fl.)	Median per will (fl.)	No. of persons	Men	Women	Av. per person*	Av. per man**	Av. per woman**
1600	100	52	19	6	80	35	45	13	19	8
1670	100	76	56	12	103	53	49	42	64	23
1740	100	60	38	11	85	37	43	27	16	37
1800	100	11	133	25	13	4	9	122	68	149

* Only wills with bequests in monetary value have been included, thus these are minimum averages.

** If husbands and wives donated together, the amount is divided in half, unless the will explicitly mentions a different distribution.

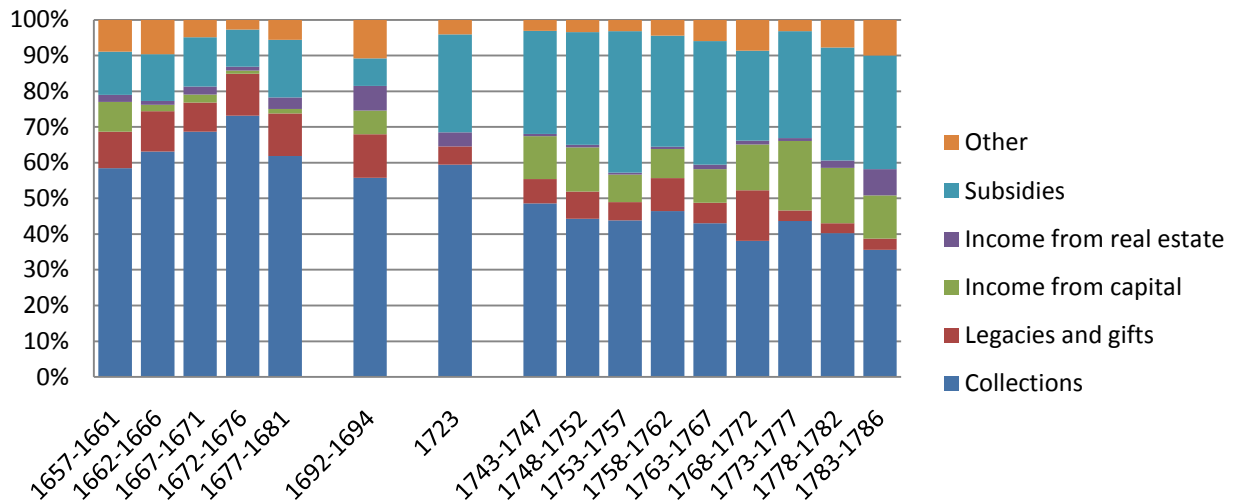
Sources: HUA, Notaries before 1906, various inv. nos; HCO, City Archives Zwolle, Aldermen, various inv. nos.

In Zwolle, average donations were much smaller. When we compare median gifts to average gifts, the relative differences are much higher in Zwolle than in Utrecht, which implies that in Zwolle a lot of people bequeathed really small amounts of money, whereas only a few donated relatively large sums, which affected the average bequest more than the median. Indeed, in Zwolle we find numerous gifts below 10 guilders, whereas in Utrecht, the smallest gift constitutes 25 guilders, an amount which is only given once in 1670. All this seems to suggest that in both towns only a few people actually intended to voluntarily leave a rather substantial donation to charity, but that in Zwolle a much larger share of the testators were presumably convinced by the aldermen to give a few guilders to the Poor Chamber. This began to change in the second half of the eighteenth century. According to a list of all legacies to the Poor Chamber, the average number of legacies per year went down from ca. 20 around 1750 to below 5 around 1800. At the same time, the average amount per donation rose sharply, though it remained lower than in Utrecht.⁵³ Probably these changes have to be attributed to the decentralization of poor relief that had occurred in this period. On the one hand this caused the loss of many Catholic, Lutheran and other donors, but on the other hand decentralization may have been an incentive for Dutch Reformed givers to bequeath more to the (exclusively Reformed) poor that were assisted by the Poor Chamber.

Secondly, there are clear trends to be discerned over time. In Zwolle, both the percentage of testators and their average and median donation rose in the course of the seventeenth century. In 1740, the percentage of givers had declined again, as well as the average sum of their donation. This development seems to follow the economic trend in Zwolle rather well: modest growth in the course of the seventeenth century, with an acceleration of growth after 1670. As I have described above, however, the Zwolle economy encountered severe economic problems after c. 1730, and the problems for poor relief became pressing. This is evidently reflected in the smaller numbers of people donating to charity and lower average amounts they gave in 1740. It must be noted, however, that the median gift does not drop particularly between 1670 and 1740, which may mean that especially among the smaller givers many people had dropped out after 1730. All this evidence points to an immediate effect of economic developments and increasing poverty on individual testators' decisions of whether or not to donate to charity.

Figure 2, which displays the development of the structure of yearly revenues of the Zwolle City Poor Chamber, confirms this image. Indeed, the percentage of private donations rose with the economic trend after 1650, and although it declined after 1730, the share of private donations remained over 50% of all incomes until the 1770s. Since especially the middle and lower income groups in society were susceptible to economic swings, financial considerations may to a large extent have been responsible for the drop in revenues from collections, gifts and legacies. In addition, the increase in local government subsidies in the second half of the eighteenth century is noteworthy. It must be remembered that these subsidies mainly consisted of a share of the town's indirect taxes, for instance on excise peat and levies on market stalls, a relatively large share of which was paid for by the urban middle groups. Indirectly, they thus continued to pay for social assistance in their city.

**Figure 2 - Income of the City Poor Chamber Zwolle, 1657-1786
(5-year averages)**



In Utrecht, on the other hand, a totally different development over time occurred. Compared to the seventeenth century, the average and mean donation per charitable gift in Utrecht in the eighteenth century rose tremendously (see Table 1). The increase is so considerable that it cannot be ascribed to inflation or economic trend, especially since most of the eighteenth century was on the whole not a very prosperous time. I have already stated that the explanation partly, though not entirely, lies in a few particularly high donations in these benchmark years, but that the median donation is also rather large in these years compared to the seventeenth century. Of course, the low percentage of givers in 1670 may again be influenced by the statistical errors for this benchmark year, which only lists 5 charitable wills. But when we look at a list of legacies from the Utrecht diaconate 1700-1720, it looks like there was also an upward trend around 1700.

**Figure 3 - Average amount per gift per year, Diaconate
Utrecht, 1700-1720**

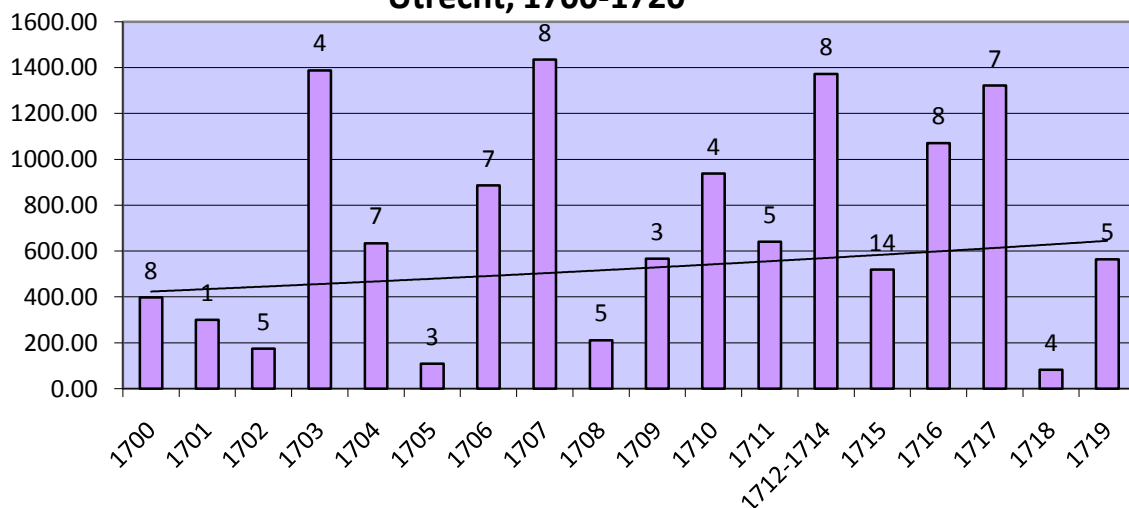


Figure 3 shows the average gifts to the Utrecht Reformed diaconate between 1700 to 1719. Above the columns, the numbers of gifts per year are displayed. The list not only contains legacies, but also donations made during people's lives. If we take this into account, the percentage of 5 wills containing charitable requests in 1670 may be low, but not extraordinarily so. Just not very many people were inclined to give to the Reformed diaconate by making a bequest in their will in a given year. Another thing we can see from this graph is that there was indeed a slight upward trend in the average donation to the diaconate. And although the average and median gift for the entire 1700-1719 period were still well under those appearing from the wills in 1740, they are both considerably higher than in 1670. We may thus conclude that there was an upward trend in charitable behaviour via legacies by rich Utrecht citizens since the late seventeenth century, which continued into the eighteenth century.

Wealth, social position and private donations

It is hard to make a systematic analysis of the social and economic position of testators on the basis of wills alone. First of all, a will is a snapshot at one moment in time, and upward or downward social mobility may have occurred during the testator's lifetime. More importantly, wills are often silent about the social position, income, or even the occupation of the person who drew up his or her will. Also, it is difficult to make precise estimates of the wealth of our testators on a systematic basis. Even if detailed information about their assets is given in the first place, it is to be questioned to what extent these possessions were still in their hands at the moment of their decease.

Still, with the available information from wills and additional material (a register of inhabitants of Zwolle in 1742), I have managed to establish the occupation/social status of 233 testators (29.1%). For some benchmark years, the information is more comprehensive than for others. In two cases I managed to obtain information for about half of all testators in a given benchmark year: Utrecht 1670 (49 occurrences) and Zwolle 1740 (56 occurrences). These two cases are therefore most reliable for analyzing the social position of testators in general at this stage of the research.

Table 2 – Occupational/social status in Utrecht and Zwolle, 1670 and 1740

Occupational/social status	Utrecht 1670		Zwolle 1670		Utrecht 1740		Zwolle 1740	
	<i>No. total</i>	<i>No. with charity</i>	<i>No. total</i>	<i>No. with charity</i>	<i>No. total</i>	<i>No. with charity</i>	<i>No. total</i>	<i>No. with charity</i>
<i>Elite</i>	7 (14.3%)	0	1 (4.7%)	1 (6.7%)	9 (32.1%)	1 (33.3%)	5 (8.9%)	4 (12.9%)
<i>Middle groups</i>	40 (81.6%)	2 (100%)	18 (85.7%)	13 (86.7%)	16 (57.1%)	2 (66.7%)	37 (66.1%)	20 (64.5%)
<i>Workers</i>	2 (4.1%)	0	2 (9.5%)	1 (6.7%)	3 (10.7%)	0	14 (25.0%)	7 (22.5%)
Total	49	2	21	15	28	3	56	31
<i>Unknown</i>	51	3	79	61	72	10	44	29

Sources: Various wills (see Table 2); HCO, City Archive Zwolle, inv. nos. 983-986, Register of inhabitants 1742.

Table 2 gives a crude indication of testators according to social position in Utrecht and in Zwolle in the benchmark years 1670 and 1740. I have subdivided the various indicators of status into three larger groups: Elites, Middling groups and Workers.⁵⁴ Because I want to make a comparison between towns and over time, the table also includes the less statistically significant information about testators' social position in Zwolle in 1670 and in Utrecht in 1740. In both towns the lower groups in society are clearly underrepresented, as could be expected. It is hard to tell whether the increase in the category 'Workers' between 1670 and 1740 reflects an actual trend or arises from statistical errors.

A striking difference between both towns is the overrepresentation of elite groups in Utrecht in both benchmark years, both compared to the general composition of its own total population and to the composition of the Zwolle testators. Part of this difference may be explained because Utrecht was a richer town than Zwolle with a different social composition. Furthermore, statistical errors may account for part of the difference, because the numbers of testators I was able to pin down with a occupation or social status are much smaller for Zwolle in 1670 than for Utrecht and for Utrecht in 1740 than for Zwolle in the same year. Even then, the difference is remarkable and deserves an explanation. Presumably elite groups in Utrecht were more inclined to protect their possessions by drawing up wills.

Status and occupation of testators who donated to charitable causes could only be traced in a few instances. What does become clear from this, however, is that in both towns, middle groups constitute the lion's share of charitable givers. This seems to confirm the hypothesis that richer people are inclined to give less often to charitable causes. Another conclusion one could draw for Zwolle is that the incidence of poorer givers has increased between 1670 and 1740. More people classified as 'Workers' had appeared on the scene in 1740, both among the testators and among those who left to charity. This is consistent with the development I have suggested above, namely that in a period of economic growth (between 1670 and 1730) a larger share of the population started to give to charity. More people leaving smaller amounts of money to poor relief joined the group of givers, which explains why the average amount of money per gift rose, and the median amount hardly did, between 1670 and 1740.

As we can see in Table 2, people from the elite in Zwolle were less well represented among the testators than in Utrecht, but those who did make a will, almost all gave to charitable causes. Obviously, the appeal to give to charity by aldermen was especially effective among the higher ranked people in society. This is not surprising, because they probably dwelled in the same social networks and knew each other quite well. An excellent example is the bequest of the only person from the elite who drew up a will in Zwolle in 1670, Hendrik Schimmelpennink, who was mayor of the town. Schimmelpennink donated a house in the Sassenstraat, half of which was to go to the orphanage, and the other half to the outdoor poor. He explicitly stipulated in his will that in the future, these institutions were allowed to sell the house, albeit with consent of the City Council and aldermen. However, the revenues of this possible sale were not to be used for the daily assistance of the poor, but ought to be reinvested in other estates, bonds or annuities, so that his legacy would remain intact instead of sinking into oblivion.⁵⁵ It was clear that the mayor wanted to have his good deed commemorated, not only in the present but also in the distant future.

If the acquisition of social status during their lifetime was an important motivation for giving to charity, we would expect a difference between liberal gifts *inter vivos*, and legacies. From the list of 106 gifts to the Utrecht Diaconate (1700-1719), an interesting picture emerges. When we compare the average of all liberal gifts in this list to the average of all legacies, it appears that the

last average was 2.4 to 3 times higher than the average for the *inter vivos* gifts, depending on how we count the donations that were not explicitly categorized.⁵⁶ This means that considerations for the afterlife, or for the status of one's family, must have been more important for Utrecht benefactors than the acquisition of social status during their lifetime, at least at the beginning of the eighteenth century. What may be even more telling is that among the testators in this list, members from the elite (noblemen and –women, as well as regents) were over represented, whereas among the (smaller) liberal gifts, more ordinary people seem to have been involved. This may point to the fact that in Utrecht, it was more important for elite families to invigorate the reputation of the family name, whereas for people from the middle groups, social status in the urban community played a relatively larger role.

Apart from donating money to charitable institutions, the middle groups also contributed their time to these organizations. In most towns, the board of charitable institutions consisted of people from the (higher) middle class, although usually not from the top families. For some of them, it was clearly a start for a political career, although most of them did not actually end up in the highest civil offices. Almoners or deacons were always male citizens, and it was seen as their citizen's duty to perform these tasks when they were appointed to do so by the city authorities. That their tasks were not taken lightly, is demonstrated by the fact that people who refused to take the office were sometimes threatened to be deprived of their citizenship rights, as happened in Zwolle in 1687.⁵⁷ Nevertheless, in other towns the really rich could (and often would) avoid becoming an almoner by paying heavy fines, as often happened in Leiden.⁵⁸

Some notes on redistribution: were the deserving poor also the receiving poor?

What charitable causes did our testators give to? In Zwolle in 1600 and 1670, there were two principal good causes people bequeathed: the outdoor poor assisted by the Poor Chamber, and the orphanage. Less often, testators left a house for one or more poor individuals to live in after their death, or they left some money to a hospital. In 1740 and 1800, the Zwolle wills show much more variety in the good causes, such as the Catholic Poor Chamber and other religious denominations. Furthermore, donors made a more specific division between poor of the diaconate and the City Poor Chamber in their wills. The differentiation of poor relief since the beginning of the eighteenth century clearly had its consequences for the variety of good causes testators decided to give to. In Utrecht, more specific goals are mentioned in all benchmark years. As we have seen, centralization was not as long-standing – and far less rigorous – than in Zwolle, so these diverging patterns are not surprising. The importance of the closeness of donors and receivers of the same religious group was also known to contemporaries. When in 1651 the Utrecht city council tried to pass on the care for all poor in town to the Reformed diaconate, the deacons protested vehemently, among other things by arguing that citizens from the 'true Christian community' would rather bestow their co-religionists than a general poor relief institution.⁵⁹

It is thus suggested that people were generally more eager to give to fellow members of their religious community, although some people gave donations to more than one denomination. With regard to geographical distance, testators usually donated to a charitable body in their home town, but sometimes institutions in other places were assigned. Although it is not always clear, it is likely that these were located in the testators' town of origin. Johan van Bolten, for instance, not only bequeathed 50 gold guilders to the outdoor poor in Zwolle, and several donations to the leper

hospital and two other hospitals in town, but he also left 25 guilders to the poor in the town of Kampen, 5 guilders to a hospital, 5 guilders to the smallpox hospital and 1 guilder to the Nicholas Church in Kampen.⁶⁰ And Johan Spruijt left legacies of 20 guilders, both to the orphanage of Utrecht and to the orphanage in the neighbouring town of Amersfoort in 1601.⁶¹ Sometimes, donating to another town was intended to take care of a relative living elsewhere. Jan Louis Beek and Maria van Pappelendam, a married couple from Utrecht, left 250 guilders to the diaconate in the nearby village of De Bilt, in order to assist Arien Pappelendam, a brother or other close relative of Maria.⁶²

The examples about giving to institutions with a specific religious signature and about giving to institutions in testators' town of origin both point to the importance of identification with the good cause. Sometimes, stipulations in the wills also make clear that testators considered it of importance that the people they bequeathed to belonged to the 'deserving poor'. According to their will from April 1599, the sick Herman Lubbergen and his wife Hermken Wolters both left 25 gold guilders to the 'rechte armen' (the righteous poor) in Zwolle. And Jennechien Berents, the widow of a miller, also gave 5 guilders to the poor of Zwolle, provided that they lived a righteous life.⁶³

As we have seen above, people indeed usually gave to charitable causes in the town where they lived, or in their place of origin. The closeness of these goals suggests that people trusted their own congregation to spend their money wisely. One way of monitoring this, was to have the accounts of the charitable institution publicly examined, as happened every year in Zwolle. Nevertheless, there were several rumours about malfunctioning and embezzlement by poor relief overseers in late seventeenth-century Zwolle. The complainants made a direct link between the alleged corruption and the decreasing willingness of citizens to donate to the Poor Chamber. It was at least suggested at the time to have had an effect on the giving behaviour of citizens.⁶⁴

Finally, I want to make some remarks about the receivers of poor relief in this period. According to McCants, the Dutch system of social care was largely supported as well as consumed by citizens from the middling groups in society. She argues that "[m]uch of the prominent institutional 'charity' of the republic's golden age was not ever intended to ameliorate the suffering of the genuinely poor".⁶⁵ This may be true for the Burghers' Orphanage she has so thoroughly investigated, and perhaps also for institutions like the courts-of-almshouses for elderly people.⁶⁶

For the city of Utrecht, a lot of research is still needed to say more about the recipients of poor relief. Bogaers claims that already from the sixteenth century, Utrecht poor relief was in severe crisis, and it was insufficient for taking care of the really poor until well into the seventeenth century. She describes how the confiscation of Catholic domains after the Reformation, instead of advantaging the town's poor relief institutions, mainly benefited the elites. According to Bogaers, the gap between rich and poor was widening in the seventeenth century, although she admits that too little research has been done to actually be certain about this.⁶⁷ What does become clear is that relief was very strict in Utrecht, and that there were many formal causes to deny poor applicants any assistance in the first half of the seventeenth century. Also, as in many other Dutch towns, support was almost never sufficient for a poor family's survival.⁶⁸ However, it seems unlikely that the majority of people who depended on poor relief in Utrecht were from the middle groups in society. The same applies to Zwolle, where the receiving poor consisted of the lower middle classes and the lower groups in society. Of course, more 'respectable' citizens from higher social groups were also at risk of falling into poverty, but unlike the poorer citizens and residents of Zwolle, they were able to directly request the city authorities for help. The numbers of these so-called 'shame-faced poor' were not large, however, and they did not seem to have received on average much more assistance than the regular poor.⁶⁹

Conclusion

The aim of this paper was to investigate the role of citizens in the organization and financing of charity in the Dutch Republic, against the background of recent debates on civil society and the political economy. In this respect, I have chosen to investigate in particular to what extent the middle groups in the early modern urban society were involved in charitable activities, because it is likely that they were most actively concerned with maintaining a stable urban community and local economy.

Not only were the middle groups primarily responsible for contributing a high share of their income to (indirect) taxes, but, as appears from my analysis from wills and financial records of charitable institutions, they were also over-represented as benefactors to charity. In part, this was voluntary behaviour, which became noticeably less generous in times of economic downturn, as the Zwolle figures show. Most probably, people were inclined to donate more to poor from their own religious background. To a certain extent, this explains the differences in the low average bequests in Zwolle compared to the higher averages in Utrecht: in the first city, poor relief was centralized and available to all poor in town until 1735, whereas in the latter city, centralization was never fully implemented, and from the 1670s onwards, each religious group had to take care of its 'own' poor.

An important incentive to give voluntarily to the poor was of course the confirmation or even acquisition of social status. Although there are indications that giving was to some extent important for members from the elite, a first analysis of my source material seems to indicate that their considerations more often concerned the good family name, and that people from the middle groups might expect to further their own reputation by giving while they were still alive. In addition, becoming an almoner or deacon could be a way to start a political career for people of the higher middle class. Sometimes however, these duties were rather imposed on citizens, for instance in the case of the Zwolle almoner who, when he in first instance refused to perform this duty, threatened to lose his citizenship rights.

There are also other signs of a less voluntary context for giving. First of all, social pressure played a role in citizens' charitable behaviour. In Zwolle, people who drew up a testament were clearly persuaded by the aldermen to also bequeath the poor in their last will. Of course the aldermen's interests to encourage charitable giving to the centralized Poor Chamber were larger than those of the private notaries in Utrecht. This partly explains the larger share of benefactors among our Zwolle testators, as well as the lower average amounts of their bequests, compared to Utrecht. A second, more indirect sign of less voluntary giving is that, when the revenues of the Zwolle Poor Chamber declined, subsidies from indirect local taxes went up. Since a relatively large share of the incomes from the middle groups contributed to these taxes, it is clear that this was another means of redistribution of means between the middling and lower social groups.

To what extent a true redistribution of income in fact took place, is of course a difficult question, which remains open for further research. From my analysis, it is clear that the closeness of the receiving poor played a very important role: people were more inclined to give to their fellow believers, to their fellow citizens or residents, and to the innocent poor, such as children and elderly people. However, although formal poor relief was for almost nobody ever sufficient to survive, it does not seem that social assistance was primarily directed at the middle groups in society. Admittedly, restrictions regarding their behaviour and background were in effect, but it seems that McCants claims based on her research of the Amsterdam orphanage, do not hold when it comes to

social care in the broader sense. General assistance was occasionally meant for the lower middle groups, but more so for the lowest and poorest groups in society. The middling groups had an abundance of reasons to give to these genuine poor: not only were they most directly confronted with them in their daily lives, in their streets, shops, and church benches, they were also more likely than elite groups to descend the social ladder themselves one day. It was therefore in their interest to maintain a relatively well-functioning urban system of social care, perhaps not so much for reasons of a more equal redistribution of income, but rather for reasons of risk management.

Notes

¹ As quoted in: Anne McCants, 'Nederlands republikanisme en de politiek van liefdadigheid', *Tijdschrift voor Sociale Geschiedenis* 22 (1996) 443-455, 448.

² M.H.D. van Leeuwen, *Zoeken naar zekerheid. Risico's, preventie, verzekeringen en andere zekerheidsregelingen in Nederland 1500-2000. Vol. I: De rijke Republiek: gilden, assuradeurs en armenzorg 1500-1800* (Amsterdam 2001) 89.

³ Peter Lindert, 'Poor relief before the welfare state: Britain versus the Continent, 1780-1880', *European Review of Economic History* (1998) 101-140, 106-108.

⁴ Maarten Prak, 'Goede burens en verre vrienden. De ontwikkeling van onderstand bij armoede in Den Bosch sedert de Middeleeuwen', in: H. Flap and M.H.D. van Leeuwen (eds.), *Op lange termijn. Verklaringen van trends in de geschiedenis van samenlevingen* (Hilversum 1994) 147-169; Marco van Leeuwen, 'Amsterdam en de armenzorg tijdens de Republiek', *NEHA-Jaarboek*, 59 (1996) 132-161.

⁵ J.A. Faber, 'Dearth and famine in pre-industrial Netherlands', *The Low Countries Yearbook/Acta Historiae Neerlandicae* XIII (1980) 51-64; Leo Noordegraaf and Jan Luiten van Zanden, 'Early modern economic growth and the standard of living. Did labour benefit from Holland's Golden Age?', in: K. Davids and J. Lucassen (eds.), *A Miracle Mirrored: the Dutch Republic in European Perspective* (Cambridge 1995) 410-437, 426-430.

⁶ The larger Giga-project consists of 3 subprojects: 1 postdoc project on 'large gifts', mainly donations with the intention to found *hofjes* (courts-of-almshouses), 1 postdoc project on 'medium-sized gifts', by means of *inter vivos* donations and (especially) legacies in wills, and 1 PhD-project on 'small gifts' by regular church and door-to-door-collections, anonymous alms boxes etc.

⁷ Oscar Gelderblom, 'Introduction', in: Oscar Gelderblom (ed.), *The political economy of the Dutch Republic* (Aldershot 2009) 1.

⁸ Jan Luiten van Zanden and Maarten Prak, 'Towards an economic interpretation of citizenship: the Dutch Republic between medieval communes and modern nation states', *European Review of Economic History* 10 (2006) 111-145; Maarten Prak and Jan Luiten van Zanden, 'Tax morale and citizenship in the Dutch Republic', in: Gelderblom, *Political economy*, 143-166.

⁹ This has also been put forward by Anne McCants, *Civic charity in a Golden Age. Orphan care in early modern Amsterdam* (Urbana/Chicago 1997) 9.

¹⁰ Catharina Lis, Hugo Soly, and Dirk van Damme, *Op vrije voeten? Sociale politiek in West-Europa, 450-1914* (Leuven, 1985).

¹¹ Sandra Cavallo, *Charity and power in early modern Italy. Benefactors and their motives in Turin, 1541-1789* (Cambridge 1995).

¹² Marco van Leeuwen, 'Logic of charity: Poor relief in preindustrial Europe', *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 24 (1994) 589-613.

¹³ McCants, *Civic charity*, 10, 201.

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Characteristics and motives of givers and non-givers to be researched

'Objective' characteristics	'Subjective' characteristics/motives
1. Wealth/social position	5. Religious conviction
2. Sex and marital status	6. Confirmation/acquisition of social status
3. Absence of (beloved) relatives	7. Sympathy/identification with good cause
4. Health	8. Trust that the money would be wisely spent

Mainly 'quantitative' analysis of wills, additional use of census and population records where available

Mainly by qualitative analysis of wills, supplemented by a diversity of other archival source material: biographical, administrative etc.

¹⁵ See e.g. <http://www.kennislink.nl/publicaties/niets-om-weg-te-geven> (7 June 2010).

¹⁶ Martijn van der Burg e.a., 'Introduction. The Rise of Public Facilities in the Low Countries, 1400-1800', in: Manon van der Heijden e.a. (eds.), *Serving the Urban Community. The Rise of Public Facilities in the Low Countries*, 7-20; Prak and Van Zanden, 'Tax morale and citizenship', 143-166.

¹⁷ Maarten Prak, 'Armenzorg 1500-1800', in: J. van Gerwen and M.H.D. van Leeuwen (eds.), *Studies over zekerheidsarrangementen. Risico's risicobestrijding en verzekeringen in Nederland vanaf de Middeleeuwen* (Amsterdam/The Hague 1998) 49-90, 49-53.

¹⁸ This is consistent with the observation that the urban elite in Utrecht tended to withdraw from community involvement, most notably social care already in the sixteenth century. Llewellyn Bogaers, *Aards, betrokken en zelfbewust. De verwevenheid van cultuur en religie in katholiek Utrecht, 1300-1600* (Utrecht 2008) 580-583, 588-589.

¹⁹ McCants, *Civic charity*, 9-10.

²⁰ Leiden, Utrecht, Zwolle and Den Bosch.

²¹ I am currently processing another 800 wills from two other towns, Leiden and Den Bosch in the same benchmark years.

²² E. van Nederveen Meerkerk and G. Vermeesch, 'Reforming Outdoor Relief. Changes in Urban Provisions for the Poor in the Northern and Southern Low Countries (c. 1500-1800)', in: Van der Heijden e.a., *Serving the Urban Community*, 135-154 140-141, 153. Outside the cities, assistance to the poor was also provided, but since these provisions were generally less formalized and less monetized, historical records do not reveal much about these forms of relief.

²³ M. Prak, 'Goede bureu', 155-158; Van Leeuwen, 'Amsterdam en de armenzorg', 138-143; Prak, 'Armenzorg 1500-1800', 68; O. Gelderblom and J. Jonker, 'With a view to hold: The emergence of institutional investors on the Amsterdam securities market during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries', in: J. Attack and L. Neal, *The Origins and Development of Financial Markets and Institutions* (Cambridge 2009) 85; E. Palmen, 'Sociale zekerheid en armenzorg', in: W. Frijhoff, H. Nusteling and M. Spies, *Geschiedenis van Dordrecht van 1572 tot 1813* (Hilversum 1998) 234-251, 236; H. van Wijngaarden, *Zorg voor de kost: armenzorg, arbeid en onderlinge hulp in Zwolle 1650-1700* (Amsterdam 2000) 72; D. Teeuwen, *Van de groote swaricheyt den armen deser Stadt'. De reorganisatie van de armenzorg in Utrecht in comparatief perspectief 1580-1674* [Unpublished MA-thesis Utrecht University 2007] 56.

²⁴ Prak, 'Armenzorg 1500-1800', 49-53.

²⁵ Prak, 'Armenzorg 1500-1800', 81; Van Leeuwen, 'Amsterdam en de armenzorg', 160.

²⁶ Van Nederveen Meerkerk and Vermeesch, 'Reforming outdoor relief', 144-145.

²⁷ Van Leeuwen, 'Amsterdam en de armenzorg', 145-154.

²⁸ Prak, 'Goede bureu'; Van Leeuwen, 'Amsterdam en de armenzorg', 160.

²⁹ Prak, 'Armenzorg 1500-1800' 73-75; Van Wijngaarden, *Zorg voor de kost*, 156-159; E. van Nederveen Meerkerk, *De draad in eigen handen. Vrouwen en loonarbeid in de Nederlandse textielnijverheid 1581-1810* (Amsterdam 2007) 225-227.

³⁰ B. Kaplan, *Calvinists and Libertines. Confession and Community in Utrecht 1578-1620* (Oxford 1995) 113-120, 132; R. Rommes, *Oost west, Utrecht best? Driehonderd jaar migratie en migranten in de stad Utrecht (begin 16^e-begin 19^e eeuw)* (Amsterdam 1998) 133-134; D.E.A. Faber and R.N.J. Rommes, 'Op weg naar stabiliteit', in: R.E. de Bruin e.a. (eds.), *'Een paradijs vol weelde'. Geschiedenis van de stad Utrecht* (Utrecht 2000), 250-313, 304.

³¹ Faber and Rommes, 'Op weg naar stabiliteit', 299-300.

³² Van Schaik, 'Een nieuwe heer', 249.

³³ A.J. van den Hoven van Genderen, 'Op het toppunt van de macht, 1304-1528', in: De Bruin e.a.(eds.), *'Een paradijs vol weelde'*, 112-189, 134-137.

³⁴ Van Schaik, 'Een nieuwe heer', 233.

³⁵ Teeuwen, *Van de groote swaricheyt*, 31.

³⁶ Faber and Rommes, 'Op weg naar stabiliteit', 274-275.

³⁷ Teeuwen, *Van de groote swaricheyt*, 50, 53-54, 58.

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- ³⁸ HUA, Diaconate, inv. no. 537.
- ³⁹ Teeuwen, *Van de groote swaricheyt*, 56. Unfortunately, Teeuwen does not distinguish between collections, gifts and legacies.
- ⁴⁰ HUA, Diaconate, inv. nos. 538-551.
- ⁴¹ HUA, Diaconate, inv. no. 313.
- ⁴² Van Wijngaarden, *Zorg voor de kost*, 41-42; Van Nederveen Meerkerk, *De draad*, 88-89.
- ⁴³ J. ten Hove, *Geschiedenis van Zwolle* (Zwolle 2005) 347-349.
- ⁴⁴ Ten Hove, *Geschiedenis van Zwolle*, 292-296, 364.
- ⁴⁵ Ten Hove, *Geschiedenis van Zwolle*, 237-238.
- ⁴⁶ Van Wijngaarden, *Zorg voor de kost*, 52. Reformed poor did have the benefit of an extra sum of money from the diaconate if they were church members (*lidmatengeld*).
- ⁴⁷ Van Wijngaarden, *Zorg voor de kost*, 69, 72.
- ⁴⁸ HCO, City Archives Zwolle, inv. nos. 10105-10108.
- ⁴⁹ Van Nederveen Meerkerk and Vermeesch, 'Reforming Outdoor Relief', 141-145.
- ⁵⁰ Ten Hove, *Geschiedenis van Zwolle*, 343-346.
- ⁵¹ HUA, Notary Archives, inv. nos. U184a7-90 and U260a13-4.
- ⁵² The question is of course, to what extent the Utrecht figures are high or the Zwolle figures are low. When we compare Utrecht to Amsterdam in the eighteenth century (Van Leeuwen, 'Liefdadige giften in Amsterdam'), it rather seems that Zwolle is the odd one out here. More towns have to be involved in the research in order to be conclusive about this.
- ⁵³ HCO, City Poor Chamber, inv. no. 275.
- ⁵⁴ A similar division was used by Marco van Leeuwen to analyze wills in Amsterdam. Van Leeuwen, 'Liefdadige giften in Amsterdam', 420. In the Elite group, I include gentry, patricians, higher officials and rentiers. In the Middle group I include free occupations, merchants, clergy, artisans, retailers, lower officials, army officers etc. In the Workers group I include Day labourers, servants, soldiers, sailors, agricultural workers etc.
- ⁵⁵ "[O]mme dese gedachtenisse niet in vergetelheit gestelt ofte gemortificeert te worden". HCO, City Archives Zwolle, inv. no. 2120, fol. 396.
- ⁵⁶ HUA, Diaconate, inv. no. 313. Of all 106 gifts, at least 25 were made during benefactors' lifetime (average fl. 424,-), and at least 34 were made via wills (average 1269,-). Depending on how we count the unknown category, these averages vary, but the average gift in wills always stays over 2.4 times those of the liberal gifts.
- ⁵⁷ Van Wijngaarden, *Zorg voor de kost*, 67-68.
- ⁵⁸ G. Pot, 'Tussen medelijden en spaarzaamheid. De regenten van het Leidse Huiszittenhuis 1700-1795', *Holland20* (1988) 74.
- ⁵⁹ Teeuwen, 'Van de groote swaricheyt', 50.
- ⁶⁰ HCO, City Archives Zwolle, inv. no. 2118, fol. 161.
- ⁶¹ HUA, Notary Archives, inv. no. U003a014, fol. 14.
- ⁶² HUA, Notary Archives, inv. no. U267a3-131.
- ⁶³ Examples taken from: HCO, City Archives Zwolle, inv. no. 2118, fol. 156 and inv. no. 2120, fol. 413.
- ⁶⁴ Van Wijngaarden, *Zorg voor de kost*, 131-133.
- ⁶⁵ McCants, *Civic charity*, 201.
- ⁶⁶ These particular institutions are also investigated in the broader scope of the GIGA-project by my colleague Henk Looijesteijn. See for some of his first results: <http://www2.iisg.nl/esshc/programme.asp?selyear=10&pap=7441> (11 June 2010).
- ⁶⁷ Bogaers, *Aards, betrokken en zelfbewust*, 566-568.
- ⁶⁸ Teeuwen, 'Van de groote swaricheyt', 54-56.
- ⁶⁹ Van Wijngaarden, *Zorg voor de kost*, 61, 138-139.