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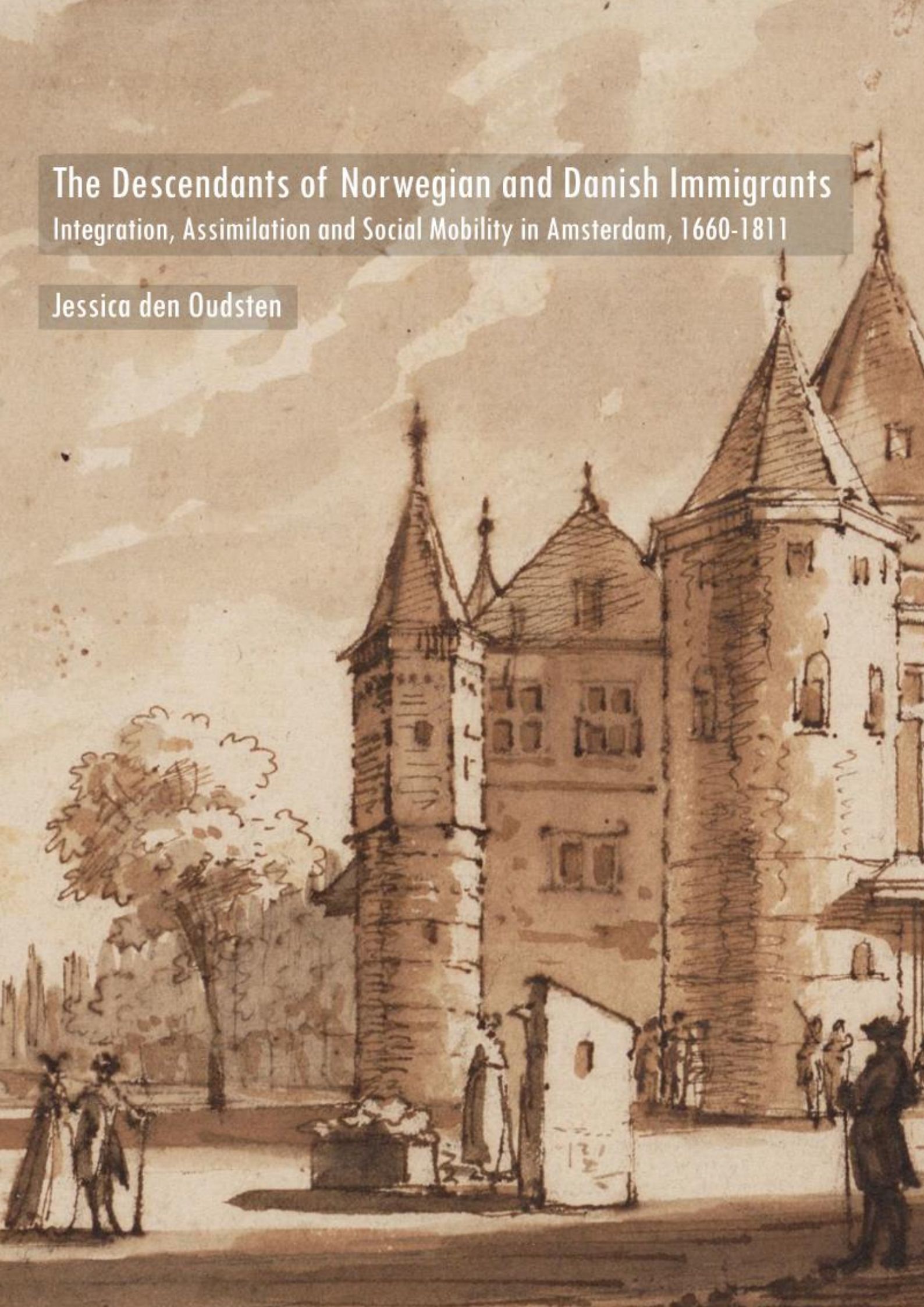
Integration, Assimilation and Social Mobility in Amsterdam, 1660-1811

Jessica den Oudsten



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Chapter 1. The Descendants of Early Modern Immigrants: An Introduction

In 1665, Adam Sanders Wigtendaal (c. 1635-1674) married Neeltje Jacobs Staets (1632-1696) in Amsterdam. Wigtendaal was a Norwegian immigrant to Amsterdam. The marriage banns registers stated that Wigtendaal came from Christiania, present-day Oslo, and worked as a painter and a cobbler.[1] He was one of the thousands of early modern immigrants who came to Amsterdam to improve their living conditions.[2] Neeltje Jacobs Staets was born in Amsterdam, but was the daughter of an immigrant. Her father, Jacob Staets, was born in Waldfeucht in Germany. Together with Wigtendaal, she had five children. Most children of Wigtendaal and Staets died when they were very young. The seventeenth century was a difficult time for children to grow up in. Infant mortality was high. Less than half of all children reached adulthood.[3] Only one son of Wigtendaal and Staets, Sander Adam Wigtendaal (1672-1721), married and got children of his own.[4] For at least four generations, the Wigtendaal family lived and worked in Amsterdam. Only around 1760, one member of the family decided to emigrate. Sandert Wigtendaal (1744-1783) joined the Dutch East India Company (VOC). He enlisted as a young sailor and during his second voyage, he stayed in Batavia (present-day Jakarta) in Indonesia.[5] By emigrating to a country far away from the place he was born, he followed in the footsteps of his great-grandfather.[6]

The Wigtendaal family is an example of the many families with a migration background that lived in Amsterdam during the early modern period. The Dutch Republic was an attractive destination for migrants, due to the relative religious freedom and the economic prosperity. Compared to other European countries, wages were high. This caused hundreds of thousands of immigrants to come to the Dutch Republic, of which thousands lived in Amsterdam.[7] Perhaps the most well-known immigrant groups are the wealthy refugees from the Southern Netherlands, French Huguenots, and Jews from all over Europe, especially from the Iberian

[1] Amsterdam City Archives (NL-SAA), 5001 Inventaris van het Archief van de Burgerlijke Stand: doop-, trouw- en begraafboeken van Amsterdam (retroacta van de Burgerlijke Stand), inventory number 486, page 498, 28 February 1665.
[2] Sølvi Sogner and Jelle van Lottum, 'An immigrant community? Norwegian sailors and their wives in 17th-century Amsterdam', *The History of the Family* 12:3 (2007) 153.
[3] Jan Lucassen, 'Holland, een open gewest. Immigratie en bevolkingsontwikkeling', in: Eelco Beukers en Thimo de Nijs (eds.), *Geschiedenis van Holland 1572 tot 1795. Deel II* (Hilversum: Verloren, 2002) 187.
[4] NL-SAA, 5001, inv. nr. 525, p. 288, 17 March 1696.
[5] National Archives The Hague (NL-NaHA), VOC: Opvarenden, 1.04.02, inv. nr. 6435, folio 142.
[6] Jessica den Oudsten, Judith Brouwer and Jelle van Lottum, 'Van schoenlapper tot drossaard. De vroegmoderne Amsterdamse migrantenfamilie Wigtendaal', *Gen. Tijdschrift voor familiegeschiedenis* 25:4 (2019) 14-19.
[7] Lucassen, 'Holland, een open gewest', 197-199.

Peninsula.[8] Scandinavian immigrants also formed a substantial group. For example, it is estimated that around 1650, at the prime of the Norwegian presence in the Dutch capital, approximately 13,000 Norwegian immigrants lived in Amsterdam. This made them the third largest immigrant group, following the Germans and the Flemings.[9]

The Scandinavian immigrants themselves, especially Norwegians, have been studied by Erika Kuijpers in her book *Migrantenstad. Immigratie en sociale verhoudingen in 17e-eeuws Amsterdam*, in which she focused on the motivations behind emigration, the kinds of occupations Norwegian people had and in what way the seventeenth-century urban society changed because of migration. Other authors have also focused on the first generation of Norwegian immigrants. Jelle van Lottum and Sølvi Sogner studied to what extent the immigrants formed a community in premodern Amsterdam.[10] Hilde Sommerseth, Peter Ekamper and Sogner examined the marriage patterns and residential behaviour of Norwegian women in Amsterdam.[11] Kariin Sundsback focused on the female immigrants as well and concentrated on the motivations for leaving Norway, the importance of kinship ties and the process of integration.[12]

Combined, these studies provide a good insight in the lives of the Norwegian immigrants in early modern Amsterdam. However, little is known about their descendants and their integration or assimilation into early modern society.[13] The aim of this study is to analyse the processes of integration, assimilation and social mobility of the descendants of Norwegian and Danish immigrants in Amsterdam between 1660 and 1811 and to provide insight into which benchmarks can be used to assess these processes.[14]

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[8] Herman Obdeijn and Marlou Schrover, *Komen en gaan: immigratie en emigratie in Nederland vanaf 1550* (Amsterdam: Uitgeverij Bert Bakker, 2008) 31-48.

[9] Sogner and Van Lottum, 'An immigrant community?', 153.

[10] Erika Kuijpers, *Migrantenstad: immigratie en sociale verhoudingen in 17e-eeuws Amsterdam* (Hilversum: Verloren, 2005); Sogner and Van Lottum, 'An immigrant community?', 153-168; Hilde L. Sommerseth, Peter Ekamper and Sølvi Sogner, 'Marriage patterns and residential behaviour among Norwegian women in Amsterdam, 1621-1720', *Continuity and Change* 31:2 (2016) 175-209.

[11] Sommerseth, Ekamper and Sogner, 'Marriage patterns', 175-176.

[12] Kariin Sundsback, *Life-Experiences, Social Mobility and Integration. The migration of Norwegian women to Amsterdam and Hoorn, 1600-1750* (Saarbrücken: Lap Lambert Academic Publishing, 2012).

[13] During the early modern period, Norway and Denmark were united under the Danish crown. Norway was dominated by the Danish crown until 1814. In this study, a distinction has been made between Danish and Norwegian immigrants, based on present-day borders.

[14] In this study, the term 'second and third generation migrants' will be avoided, because describing descendants of immigrants as part of the 'second' or 'third generation' has a downside. It means that throughout time, the (grand)children of immigrants will be analysed and sometimes also judged because of a decision their (grand)parents one day made: to emigrate to another country. Instead, more neutral terms like 'children of migrant families' and 'descendants of immigrants' are used.

1.1 Integration, Assimilation and Social Mobility in Amsterdam Today

In April 2021, the news that two sisters Sofia and Najoua Sabbar lived in Amsterdam 'illegally' for seventeen years and were now at risk of being deported to Morocco, caused outrage. When they were young, the sisters were taken to Amsterdam by their mother, who did not apply for a permanent residence permit. Since then, the girls had lived in Amsterdam illegally and even resided in the basement of a garage for ten years. In the meantime, they went to school and had side jobs. However, when they reached adulthood and wanted to go to university, they were not given a residence permit by the Dutch Immigration and Naturalisation Service (IND). The case was taken to court, where a judge ruled that the sisters were allowed to stay. According to the judge, the sisters were 'two hardworking 'Dutch' women' who made a positive contribution to the Dutch society. Because the IND then appealed, a petition was started to keep the sisters in the Netherlands.[15] The mayor of Amsterdam, Femke Halsema, also got involved and said that these 'two true Amsterdam natives' (*Amsterdammers*) belonged to the city. She wanted the sisters to stay in Amsterdam.[16] In the end, the sisters got a permanent residence permit.[17]

It is remarkable that the judge, the mayor of Amsterdam and the media stressed the successful integration of the young women and claimed that they were 'Dutch' and *Amsterdammers*.[18] The question who is seen as an *Amsterdammer* is normally not that easy to answer and opinions about that subject differ widely. This is also evident in the documentary 'Back to the Akbarstreet', in which Felix Rottenberg visited the Akbarstreet in the *Kolenkit* neighbourhood in the western part Amsterdam. This neighbourhood was newly built during the 1950s but changed tremendously in the last decades. At the beginning of the twenty-first century, the inhabitants of this area consisted for ninety percent of immigrants and their families. After being declared the 'worst neighbourhood of the Netherlands' in 2007, the district was partially rebuild to attract 'white middle-class people' in order to make the area more 'diverse'. The documentary shows that this plan is not very successful yet and causes new frictions between the immigrants and their descendants on one side and the 'white middle-class people' on the other side. While the former were once seen as 'newcomers', they now see themselves as the 'original inhabitants' of the neighbourhood and the latter are in their eyes the

[15] Fenne van Loon, 'Dreigende uitzetting twee Amsterdamse meiden naar Marokko', *NRC Handelsblad* (8 April 2021), accessed 8 April 2021.
[16] Ruben Koops, 'Halsema wil uitzetting van Amsterdamse zusjes naar Marokko voorkomen: 'Ze horen bij onze stad', *Het Parool* (8 April 2021), accessed 8 April 2021.
[17] Majda Ouhajji, 'Amsterdamse vrouwen toch niet uitgezet naar Marokko, *NRC Handelsblad* (16 April 2021), accessed 24 April 2021.
[18] Ibidem; Roxanne Soudagar, 'Petitie opgezet voor Amsterdamse zusjes voor wie uitzetting dreigt', *Het Parool* (5 April 2021), accessed 8 April 2021; Hans van der Beek, 'Uitzetting dreigt voor model-Amsterdammers Sofia en Najoua: zijn ze wel Nederlands genoeg?', *Het Parool* (3 April 2021), accessed 8 April 2021.

'newcomers', who now have to adapt to the neighbourhood. In the documentary, the questions who is an *Amsterdammer* and to whom does the city belong are raised, but no unequivocal answer can be given.[19]

Nowadays, Amsterdam is a majority-minority city. This means that the majority of the population has a migration background. In 2019, a quarter of Amsterdam's population was foreign-born, in countries all over the world. If the children of migrant families are included, more than half of the population consists of either immigrants or their descendants. The largest communities of people of non-western origin in the city are people of Surinamese, Antillean, Turkish and Moroccan descent.[20]

Not only in Amsterdam, but also in the Netherlands as a whole, the number of immigrants and their descendants is high. Today, nearly a quarter of the Dutch population consists of people with a migration background.[21] Their processes of integration, assimilation and social mobility are recurring themes in the media and feature high on political and research agendas.[22] In the bundle *Coming to Terms with Superdiversity: the case of Rotterdam* Han Entzinger compared contemporary immigrants in Rotterdam to immigrants in Amsterdam. He concluded that the data for both cities shows that nowadays, there is a growing division within migrant communities. Some of the immigrants and their descendants are prospering and become, for example, entrepreneurs. However, others remain in a situation of 'deprivation, characterized by low education, poor housing, little prospect of work, poor health and crime'.[23]

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[19] Felix Rottenberg and Gülsah Dogan, NTR, 'Terug naar de Akbarstraat', https://www.npostart.nl/terug-naar-de-akbarstraat/VPWON_1309261 (22 and 23 January 2020), accessed 14 april 2021.

[20] Dirk Geldof, 'De transitie naar superdiversiteit en majority-minority-cities. Over de nood aan interculturalisering van politie en justitie', *Panopticon* 40:5 (2019) 368-367.

[21] Statistics Netherlands (CBS) defines 'people with a migration background' as the immigrants themselves and their children. On 21 February 2021, the Dutch population consisted of 24,1 percent of people with a migration background. Source: CBS, 'Hoeveel mensen met een migratieachtergrond wonen in Nederland?', https://www.cbs.nl/nl-nl/dossier/dossier-asiel-migratie-en-integratie/hoeveel-mensen-met-een-migratieachtergrond-wonen-in-nederland-, accessed 13 March 2021.

[22] See for example the newspaper articles: Tan Tunali, 'Interview met Sinan Çankaya. 'In een wereld die tegen je aanduwt, is het omarmen van al je identiteiten een daad van verzet'', *Trouw* (6 June 2020), https://www.trouw.nl/verdieping/in-een-wereld-die-tegen-je-aanduwt-is-het-omarmen-van-al-je-identiteiten-een-daad-van-verzet~b094303b/, accessed 13 March 2021; Marloe van der Schrier, 'Discriminatie op de arbeidsmarkt? Dit zijn de cijfers', *Algemeen Dagblad* 17 June 2020, https://www.ad.nl/werk/discriminatie-op-de-arbeidsmarkt-dit-zijn-de-cijfers~a31e53d0/, accessed 20 February 2021 and the books Sinan Çankaya *Mijn ontelbare identiteiten* (Amsterdam: De Bezige Bij, 2020); M.R.J. Crul, P. Scholten en Paul van der Laar (eds.), *Coming to Terms with Superdiversity: The case of Rotterdam* (Cham: Springer International Publishing, 2019); Nadia Bouras, *Het land van herkomst: perspectieven op verbondenheid met Marokko, 1960-2010* (Hilversum: Verloren, 2012); R. Gowricharn, 'De duurzaamheid van het transnationalisme. De tweede generatie Hindostanen in Nederland', *Migrantenstudies* 20:4 (2004) 252-268; Herman Obdeijn and Paolo de Mas, *De Marokkaanse uitdaging: de tweede generatie in een veranderend Nederland* (Utrecht: Forum, 2001).

[23] Han Entzinger, 'A Tale of Two Cities: Rotterdam, Amsterdam and Their Immigrants', in: M. R. J. Crul, P. Scholten and Paul van der Laar (eds.), *Coming to Terms with Superdiversity: The case of Rotterdam* (Cham: Spinger International Publishing, 2019) 175.

According to Entzinger, this difficult situation that many descendants of immigrants are in, can easily continue in the third and even subsequent generations. The people that are less successful will remain in the poorer neighbourhoods; the people that are more successful will move out of these neighbourhoods. Their place will be taken by newcomers.[24] This shows that within a migrant group, there could be both upward and downward social mobility. This process of social segregation is, of course, not unique for migrants and their descendants, but it is a process that often plays a role in their lives.[25]

While the integration, assimilation and social mobility of the descendants of immigrants in contemporary Amsterdam are extensively studied, little is known about the early modern descendants of immigrants and their assimilation into society. This is remarkable, because the past offers an opportunity to examine how these processes of integration and social mobility take shape in the long term. Also, the current situation is not without historical precedents.

1.2 Early Modern Immigrants and Their Descendants: The Historiography

Since the 1980s, the early modern period has increasingly become a period of interest in migration history. Dirk Hoerder and Leslie Page Moch have, for example, focused on migration in Europe in general and Jan Lucassen and Van Lottum have studied large-scale labour migrations in the North-Sea region.[26] However, remarkably, in historiography the processes of integration and assimilation of these immigrants and their descendants have been neglected.

From the end of the sixteenth century till the beginning of the nineteenth century, there was constant mass immigration in the Dutch Republic. During this period, the Republic was one of the richest countries in Europe. There was relative religious freedom and a huge demand for labour, causing the wages to be relatively high. Attracted by these high wages and ample employment opportunities, the cities in the Dutch Republic were the main magnet for labour migrants in Europe. Especially the Dutch East India Company (VOC) was an important employer of immigrants. Around fifty percent of the VOC personnel came from outside the

[24] Ibidem.
[25] Jens Schneider, Maurice Crul and Lore van Praag, 'Upward Mobility and the Questions of Belonging in Migrant Families', *New Diversities* 16:1 (2014) 1.
[26] Dirk Hoerder, *Cultures in Contact. World Migrations in the Second Millennium* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2008); Leslie Page Moch, *Moving Europeans. Migration in Western Europe since 1650* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2003); Jan Lucassen, *Migrant Labour in Europe, 1600-1900. The Drift to the North Sea* (London and Wolfeboro, N.H: Croom Helm, 1987); Jelle van Lottum, *Across the North Sea. The impact of the Dutch Republic on international labour migration, c. 1550-1850* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2007).

Republic. During the two centuries of its existence, the VOC employed approximately 475,000 foreigners.[27]

Amsterdam was the biggest city in the Republic. In the early modern period, Amsterdam grew strongly due to immigration. In 1585, there were 30,000 inhabitants. Around 1632, this number had increased to 120,000 and around 1660, the number of inhabitants had risen to 200,000.[28] Kuijpers calls Amsterdam a 'migrant city'. The immigrants came from other parts of the Republic, for example the nearby countryside, but also from different countries all over the world. It is estimated that more than half of all immigrants in Amsterdam were long distance migrants, meaning they travelled from places outside the Republic to Amsterdam. The city became a metropole.[29]

The lives of these large numbers of immigrants have been studied quite extensively.[30] However, as previously mentioned, in historiography little attention is paid to the descendants of these thousands of immigrants. It is, therefore, unknown what their process of integration looked like, and to what extent there was social mobility. In 1985, Jan Lucassen and Rinus Penninx concluded in their book *Nieuwkomers. Immigranten en hun nakomelingen in Nederland, 1550-1985* that during the early modern period, migrants and their descendants tended to assimilate quickly within a few generations.[31] According to the authors, this was mainly due to the government's attitude towards immigrants: no distinction was made between the descendants of immigrants and other people who were born in the Dutch Republic. This meant that the (grand)children of immigrants were not seen as 'different'. Their descent from an immigrant did not affect their treatment by government agencies.[32] Lucassen and Penninx also state that apart from this institutional assimilation, the descendants of immigrants were also no longer seen as 'different' by society. They were, for example, not mocked in literary works. In short, the authors conclude that there was rapid assimilation in just a few generations.[33]

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[27] Lucassen, 'Holland, een open gewest', 196-197.
[28] Kuijpers, *Migrantenstad*, 9.
[29] Idem, 21.
[30] See for example Kuijpers, *Migrantenstad*; Clé Lesger, 'Migranten in Amsterdam in de achttiende eeuw. Residentiële spreiding en positie in de samenleving', in: *Jaarboek van het genootschap Amstelodamum* 89 (Zutphen: Drukkerij Nauta, 1997) 43-68; Sølvi Sogner, 'Young in Europe. Norwegian sailors and servant-girls seeking employment in Amsterdam', in J. P. Bardet, F. Lebrun and J. Dupâquier (eds.), *Mesurer et comprendre. Mélanges offerts a Jacques Dupâquier* (Paris 1993) 515-532.
[31] Jan Lucassen and Rinus Penninx, *Nieuwkomers. Immigranten en hun nakomelingen in Nederland, 1550-1985* (Amsterdam: Meulenhoff Informatief, 1985). The authors define assimilation as the situation in which a group of immigrants and their descendants do not see themselves primarily as part of a different group and are not seen by the host society as primarily part of a different group.
[32] Idem, 116. Excluded from this were Jews, who were treated as a separate group.
[33] Idem, 22.

Since 1985, this conclusion has not been questioned further and no new insights have been obtained. Kuijpers argued that integration in an early modern city is difficult to measure, but that it appears that the immigrants integrated relatively quickly.[34] In 2007, Sogner and Van Lottum, who specifically studied Norwegians in Amsterdam, stated that the Norwegian immigrants assimilated quickly in urban society and could be regarded as an example of a highly successful case of assimilation.[35] Although it was not the primary aim of their research to provide insight in the process of assimilation of the Norwegians, they use the term 'assimilation' repeatedly without explicitly defining it or describing what the integration or assimilation process of the Norwegians and their descendants looked like.[36] Around the same time, Herman Obdeijn and Marlou Schrover stated in their book *Komen en gaan: immigratie en emigratie in Nederland vanaf 1550* that 'after three generations' it 'usually worked out fine for the descendants of the migrants'.[37]

In more recent years, the existing ideas about integration, assimilation and social mobility have only been repeated. In 2018, Jan Lucassen and Leo Lucassen published a new edition of their book *Vijf eeuwen migratie* in which they state that during the early modern period, hardly any identifiable minority groups were formed, despite the large numbers of immigrants. According to the authors, this means that it is very likely that all immigrant groups and their descendants assimilated into society. The immigrants themselves differed in culture, language, and religion, but this disappeared with their children and grandchildren, as they merged with the rest of the population. This did not necessarily mean that all descendants of immigrants improved their living conditions. Like Entzinger, who drew this conclusion about contemporary immigrants, Lucassen and Lucassen argue that early modern assimilation could lead to upward and downward social mobility. Adapting to the rest of society could mean that people merged in with the lowest tiers of society. This was probably the case for most German and Scandinavian immigrants.[38] Although Lucassen and Lucassen acknowledge that integration was not an easy process, they do not explain how this process developed.

In sum, in historiography, a rapid assimilation within a few generations is assumed, but it is not described what the process of integration and assimilation was like. This is striking, because this knowledge would not only fill one of the most important lacunae in Dutch

[34] Kuijpers, *Migrantenstad*, 333.
[35] Sogner en Van Lottum, 'An immigrant community?', 153.
[36] Ibidem.
[37] Obdeijn and Schrover, *Komen en gaan*, 14. The original Dutch sentence is: 'Meestal kwam het na drie generaties wel goed met de nakomelingen van de migranten.'
[38] Leo Lucassen and Jan Lucassen, *Vijf eeuwen migratie. Een verhaal van winnaars en verliezers* (Amsterdam: Atlas Contact, 2018) 36.

migration history but could give new insights in the processes of integration, assimilation, and social mobility today as well. In this study, it is explored whether the descendants of Norwegian and Danish immigrants did indeed assimilate into the early modern society of Amsterdam. In addition, special attention is paid to the process of social mobility of the descendants. This is studied using the following main research questions: What was the process of assimilation like of the descendants of seventeenth-century Norwegian and Danish immigrants in Amsterdam between 1660-1811? To what extent was there social mobility among the descendants of Norwegian and Danish immigrants? Which benchmarks can be used to assess early modern assimilation?

These questions will be answered by using, among others, a microhistorical approach. In the 1970s, microhistory became popular in Italy. Italian micro historians like Carlo Ginzburg, Giovanni Levi, Carlo Poni and Edoardo Grendi have contributed to the idea to use biographies to explore greater historical patterns and processes. Another purpose of microhistory was to open up history for people who would, by using other methods, have been left out.[39] According to Poni and Ginzburg, quantitative research, which is a vital element of macrohistory, is 'losing life's reality'.[40] Microhistory, instead, relies on the extensive use of primary sources, especially parish registers, notarial deeds, criminal records and autobiographies.[41] Using this variety of sources means that individuals that are being studied can be found in 'different social contexts', out of which a network of social relations can emerge.[42]

In his book *Global Lives*, Miles Ogborn reconstructed the biographies of 42 people. He then placed these people in the context in which they lived to shed a light on the making of a new world of global connection. The stories of the people he used demonstrated the variety of forms of global connection.[43] Van Lottum, Aske Laursen Brock and Catherine Sumnall also used the biography of one man, Joseph Anton Ponsaing (1752-1812), to provide insight into the larger processes of migration and mobility, and into economic networks in the eighteenth century. They combined macrohistory with microhistory, just like Ogborn.[44] This study, in

[39] Sigurður Gylfi Magnússon and István M. Szijártó, *What is Microhistory? Theory and Practice* (New York: Routledge, 2013) 16-17.
[40] Idem, 16.
[41] Francesca Trivellato, 'Is There a Future for Italian Microhistory in the Age of Global History?', *California Italian Studies* 2:1 (2011) 6.
[42] Magnússon and Szijártó, *What is Microhistory?*, 16.
[43] Miles Ogborn, *Global Lives. Britain and the World 1550-1800* (Cambrigde: Cambridge University Press, 2008) 2. He reconstructed the biographies of people like queen Elisabeth I (1533-1603) and Anne Bonny (1698-1782).
[44] Jelle van Lottum, Aske Laursen Brock and Catherine Sumnall, 'Mobility, Migration and Human Capital in the Long Eighteenth Century: The Life of Joseph Anton Ponsaing', in: Maria Fusaro, Bernard Allaire, Richard Blakemore and Tijl Vanneste (eds.), *Law, Labour, and Empire: Comparative Perspectives on Seafarers, c. 1500-1800* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015) 158-159.

which a variety of sources has been used as well, can be seen as an example of microhistory, a study of the intersection between broad social and historical trends (integration, assimilation and social mobility) and individual experiences.

1.3 Integration and Assimilation: Contemporary Theories

Because the processes of integration and assimilation in the early modern period have not been studied yet, contemporary theories of integration and assimilation are discussed to gain insight into how integration and assimilation can be studied and which definitions are given to these terms. The theoretical framework that is used in this study will be discussed below.

In the previous section, the terms integration and assimilation have both been used. However, they have different definitions. Psychologist John Widdup Berry developed a model of *acculturation*, of which both *integration* (the receiving culture is adopted and the heritage culture is retained) and *assimilation* (the receiving culture is adopted, the heritage culture is discarded) are part, just as *separation* (the receiving culture is rejected, the heritage culture is retained) and *marginalisation* (both the receiving culture and the heritage culture is rejected).[45]

For this study, especially the concepts of integration and (cultural) assimilation are of importance. Cultural assimilation refers to the ways in which different groups become increasingly similar to one another, until, in the case of full assimilation, there is no distinguishable difference between formerly different groups. In contemporary literature about migration and integration, assimilation is often the 'expected path' that foreign minorities will follow in the course of several generations. Integration can be a step in the process of complete assimilation. Alejandro Portes and Rubén G. Rumbaut state that increasing contact over time will result in the merging of foreign-born people with the inhabitants of the host country. The speed of this process depends on how much the descendants of immigrants resemble the mainstream population.[46]

However, assimilation is not a straightforward process. No group is homogenous: both the immigrant population and the host society are heterogeneous. Within any particular immigrant group, there are differences in, for example, ethnicity, regional and local identities, religious affiliation or practice, kinship and political parties and movements. Portes and

[45] J. W. Berry, 'Acculturation: A Conceptual Overview, in: M. H. Bornstein and L. R. Cote (eds.), *Acculturation and parent-child relationships: Measurement and development* (Lawrence Erlbaum Associates Publishers, 2006) 13-30; Seth J. Schwartz, Jennifer B. Unger, Byron L. Zamboanga and José Szapocnik, 'Rethinking the Concept op Acculturation. Implications for Theory and Research', *American Psychology Journal* 65:4 (2013) 237-251.
[46] Alejandro Portes and Rubén Rumbaut, *Legacies. The Story of the Immigrant Second Generation* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001) 44.

Rumbaut claim that the children of immigrants in contemporary society are undergoing a process of *segmented assimilation*, where outcomes can vary across immigrant minorities and where rapid integration into the mainstream society is just one option.[47]

According to the segmented assimilation theory, the trajectories that immigrant children might take can go three different ways: there can be dissonant acculturation (which takes place when children of migrant families learn a new language and new customs faster than their parents), consonant acculturation (the learning process and gradual abandonment of the home language and culture occur roughly at the same pace throughout several generations) and selective acculturation (which takes place when parents and their children acclimate to their new setting in more or less parallel fashion).[48]

The three different types of acculturation all have different outcomes. Dissonant acculturation often leads to downward social mobility and may even lead to 'role reversal'. This means that the acculturation of children has moved far ahead of the acculturation of their immigrant parents, so that important family decisions become dependent on the knowledge of the children.[49] The other types of acculturation more often lead to upward social mobility, especially selective acculturation. When parents have more resources, in the form of education, a good economic status and a family which is still intact, intergenerational acculturation tends to shift to consonant or selective acculturation. If the parents' education and economic resources are modest, there is a higher chance for dissonant acculturation and role reversal.[50]

The assimilation of contemporary immigrants is assessed by social scientists with four primary benchmarks: socio-economic position (the social position of someone as determined by income, occupation and educational attainment), geographic distribution (whether an immigrant group is clustered together or dispersed throughout a larger area), second language attainment (the extent to which an immigrant learns to speak the language of the host country, this can also be examined across generations) and rates of intermarriage (a marriage between people belonging to different groups, either ethnic, religious or otherwise).[51]

For early modern Norwegian and Danish immigrants and their descendants, it is not possible to analyse the precise relationship between the immigrants and their children, or to use

[47] Idem, 45.
[48] Idem, 53-54. Acculturation and assimilation are often used interchangeably, but they have rather different definitions while still retaining their own distinct culture. Portes and Rumbaut see acculturation as a the first step towards assimilation. Acculturation is a process that causes people from one culture to adopt practices and values of another culture,
[49] Ibidem.
[50] Idem, 54.
[51] Mary C. Waters and Thomás R. Jiménez, 'Assessing Immigrant Assimilation: New Empirical and Theoretical Challenges', *Annual Review of Sociology* 31 (2005) 107-108.

all benchmarks that are used nowadays to measure assimilation. It is, for example, difficult or even impossible to measure the educational attainment or the extent to which the immigrants and their descendants spoke a second language. This is mostly because the sources that have been preserved are limited.

However, socio-economic position (in this case based on income and occupation), geographic distribution and rates of intermarriage can be used to assess the assimilation of the descendants of early modern immigrants. The contemporary theories about integration and assimilation, like the segmented assimilation theory of Portes and Rumbaut, are of importance to this study because they show that the process of assimilation is not the same for everyone (even when people belong to the same migrant group) and can cause both upward and downward social mobility.

1.4 Social Mobility

Next to integration, assimilation, social mobility of one of the key terms in this study. Social mobility can be defined as the movement of households or individuals between different social strata in society. The current social position changes and will either improve or deteriorate. A distinction is made between intragenerational mobility (the change in position of an individual during his or her life) and intergenerational mobility (changes in social position between different generations of one family).[52] These forms of social mobility, together with horizontal mobility (when someone changes their occupation but the overall social status remains the same) and marital social mobility (when marriage leads to mobility of people outside their own social class) are the most relevant types of social mobility for this study.[53]

Social mobility is central to immigrant integration and assimilation. Whether immigrants who have low-skilled and low-earning jobs remain confined to these jobs matters, because it can affect social cohesion. Integration and assimilation are difficult when immigrants are marginalised in the labour market. This also affects economic performance, because individuals who are able to invest in their human capital and use their skills in the right way are able to contribute more to the economy.[54]

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[52] Alex Nunn, Steve Johnson, Surya Monro, Tim Bickerstaffe and Sarah Kelsey, 'Factors influencing social mobility', *Department for Work and Pensions. Research Report No 450* (Leeds 2007) 14-16; Ellen Neslo, 'Sociale stijging in het negentiende-eeuwse Paramaribo. De bijzondere bibliotheek van Johanna Christina Jonas (1799-1849)', *Tijdschrift voor Geschiedenis* 132:4 (2019) 610-611.

[53] Marco H. D. van Leeuwen and Ineke Maas, 'Historical Studies of Social Mobility and Stratification', *Annual Review of Sociology* 36:1 (2010).

[54] Demetrios G. Papademetriou, Will Somerville and Madelaine Sumption, 'The Social Mobility of Immigrants and Their Children', Report published by the Migration Policy Institute (2009) 3.

The study of social mobility among the descendants of migrants offers an interesting dimension because it can provide insight into the extent to which new groups or members of these groups can find a way into the upper layers of a society.[55] Of course, there are often limitations to what can be accomplished within one generation, or even between generations. The early modern labour market was characterised by segmentation based on socio-economic status, ethnicity, and gender. For example, men generally had access to higher-skilled and better-paid work than women.[56] For women, their marital status was of importance as well. Opportunities on the labour market differed for unmarried women, married women and widows.[57] These examples show that not everyone had the same chances, which makes it relevant to examine which opportunities the descendants of immigrants had.

1.5 Sources and Methodology

In her book *Migrantenstad,* which was published in 2005, Erika Kuijpers argued that in seventeenth-century sources, immigrants are often indistinguishable from other inhabitants of Amsterdam. The children and grandchildren of immigrants would 'no longer be traceable at all'.[58]

Since 2005, there have been significant developments. Because of digitisation and indexation, large collections of early modern sources have become digitally available and searchable in Dutch archives, especially in Amsterdam. The parish registers of Amsterdam are, for example, fully indexed. In addition, the notarial archives of Amsterdam are currently being digitised, indexed, and transcribed. This has already resulted in 600,000 searchable notarial deeds containing the names of more than 2,7 million people. These numbers are still growing every day. This means that a large part of the inhabitants of early modern Amsterdam can now be found in the index of the Amsterdam City Archives.[59] This makes Amsterdam not just relevant because it was an early modern metropole, but also because it is the only big European city for which this kind of research is now possible. In other countries and cities (for example

[55] Schneider, Crul and Van Praag, 'Upward Mobility and the Questions of Belonging', 1.
[56] Elise van Nederveen Meerkerk, 'Marktwerking of discriminatie? Spinlonen van mannen en vrouwen in de zeventiende-eeuwse textielnijverheid', *Tijdschrift voor Sociale en Economische Geschiedenis* 6:1 (2009) 59.
[57] Ariadne Schmidt, 'Vrouwenarbeid in de vroegmoderne tijd in Nederland', *Tijdschrift voor Sociale en Economische Geschiedenis* 2:3 (2005) 17.
[58] Kuijpers, *Migrantenstad*, 28.
[59] VeleHanden, 'Alle Amsterdamse Akten', https://velehanden.nl/projecten/bekijk/details/project/amsterdam_notarieel_2, accessed 20 April 2021; Stadsarchief Amsterdam, 'Google door honderdduizenden historische handschriften', https://www.amsterdam.nl/stadsarchief/nieuws/transkribus/ (9 maart 2021), accessed 20 April 2021.

London), it is as of yet impossible to search through early modern sources to the same extent as in Amsterdam.

The parish registers and the notarial archives are both of great importance to this study. The starting point of the research were the marriage banns registers of Amsterdam. Marriage banns were official announcements of the intention to marry, which were usually declared three weeks before the actual wedding. Compared to other marriage banns registers, the registers of Amsterdam are a rich source: they contain numerous details about the couples, such as their ages, their places of origin and, until 1715, the occupation of the groom. Moreover, almost all registrations of the intention to marry between 1565 and 1811 have been preserved.[60] This is why the registers have already been used for all kinds of research, such as studies into literacy, marriage patterns and residential areas.[61]

The marriage banns registers also have their lacunae: they do not provide information about immigrants who were already married when they arrived in Amsterdam or people who never married.[62] In addition, with regard to social mobility, it is problematic that the marriage banns only provide information about the profession of the grooms until approximately 1715; for the remaining part the eighteenth century, the occupation is no longer mentioned.[63] However, the advantages of using the marriage banns registers as a source outweigh the disadvantages, especially because there are no other sources that contain that many details about couples with the intention to marry. There is no other way of systematically studying and analysing the lives of the offspring of the immigrants.

In this study, a selection was made of Norwegian and Danish immigrants who married between 1660 and 1670. The year 1660 was chosen as a starting point because around that time, the immigration in Amsterdam was at its peak.[64] This means that most descendants of immigrants lived in the period after the peak. The advantage of using a time-fixed starting point is that the (grand)children of the selected immigrants lived during approximately the same period (which will be further discussed in paragraph 1.6).

After making the selection, the descendants of the immigrants have been traced through time and family trees have been reconstructed. The study includes four generations: the

[60] René van Weeren and Tine de Moor, *Ja, ik wil. Verliefd, verloofd, getrouwd in Amsterdam 1580-1810* (Amsterdam: Prometheus, 2019) 14.
[61] Simon Hart, *Geschrift en getal: Een keuze uit de demografisch-, economisch- en social-historische studiën op grond van Amsterdamse en Zaanse archivalia, 1600-1800* (Dordrecht: Historische Vereniging Holland, 1976); Van Weeren and De Moor, *Ja, ik wil* (Amsterdam 2019); Sommerseth, Ekamper and Sogner, 'Marriage patterns'.
[62] Sommerseth, Ekamper and Sogner, 'Marriage patterns', 175-176.
[63] Van Weeren and de Moor, *Ja, ik wil*, 163; Lesger, 'Migranten in Amsterdam in de achttiende eeuw', 51.
[64] Sogner and Van Lottum, 'An immigrant community?', 155.

immigrants themselves, their children, grandchildren, and great-grandchildren. Two families form an exception to this: of one family, there were no descendants after the third generation, the other family was studied for five generations. When the family trees were reconstructed, additional information (addresses, occupations, religion, etc.) was added. This information was mainly gathered from the vast notarial archives of Amsterdam, by using estate inventories, testaments and real estate contracts. Other digital resources such as VOC: Opvarenden, Delpher and even some personal letters from the Prize Paper Collection were used as well.[65]

This additional information provides insight into the indicators of integration, assimilation and social mobility. The integration and assimilation of the descendants of Norwegian and Danish immigrants is studied by examining their marriages and religion. Their process of social mobility is analysed by studying three categories: occupations, literacy level and residential mobility. The year 1811 marks the end of the period under study because then, the form of government and the registration of the population changed.

1.6 The Nine Families

This microhistorical study is based on nine early modern families in Amsterdam with an immigrant background. In total, 22 people formed the basis of this study: eighteen immigrants of both sexes and four women born in Amsterdam. This is including second marriages: four immigrants were widowed and married again. Every couple consisted of at least one immigrant originating from Denmark or Norway.

As can be seen in figure 1, most immigrants emigrated from coastal areas in Norway, Denmark and Sweden.[66] This is not surprising, given that everywhere around the North Sea basin, migrants left their home countries in large numbers. In Norway, many migrants left agrarian villages located on the southern shores.[67] It is unknown when the immigrants arrived in Amsterdam exactly, but they all had in common that they married in the city between 1660 and 1670 and belonged to the lower tiers of society. The men, whose occupations are known via the marriage banns registers, mostly worked in the maritime sector (six out of eleven immigrants), but also as cobbler (three out of eleven), peat carrier and blacksmith. The occupation of the women is unknown.

[65] These databases can be found here: https://www.delpher.nl/; https://www.nationaalarchief.nl/onderzoeken/index/nt00444?searchTerm and https://prizepapers.huygens.knaw.nl/, accessed 12 April 2021.
[66] One immigrant came from Germany, but married a woman who was born in Norway.
[67] Jelle van Lottum, *Across the North* Sea, 14 and 24.

Following the descendants of these immigrants through time was not always easy. Most of these families did, for example, not have a distinctive surname from the start. It was common to use a patronym as a surname, so the 'surname' of the children would often be the first name of the father. This means that the 'surname' changed every generation. This was not only common in the Dutch Republic, but also in Norway. Norwegian names often end with '-sen', '-søn' or '-son' (son). The surnames of women ended until the nineteenth century often with '-datter' (daughter).[68] There were three families that did have a distinctive surname that originated from a Norwegian or a Danish immigrant: Wigtendaal, Ogelwight and Rosenbergh. Both Adam Sanders Wigtendaal, Jacob Jans Ogelwight (c. 1640-1722) and Pieter Carstens Rosenbergh (1643-<1728) were registered with a patronym and a surname in the marriage banns registers. These distinctive surnames make it easier to follow the descendants through time, although still not all members of the families were always registered with their surname.[69]

It also happened that a surname 'suddenly' appeared in the sources. Karsten Ariaans (1671->1723), son of Ariaan Carstens (c. 1643-<1681) from Listerlandet started calling himself Caspar Ariaans van den Berg. He was the only person in his family that called himself 'Van den Berg'. It is also remarkable that his first name changed from 'Karsten' (when he was baptised) to the more 'Dutch sounding' name 'Caspar' (when he was married and baptised his own children).[70] Another example is Erasmus Andriesse (c. 1634-1690) from Svendborg in Denmark, who can be found in the burial register as Erasmus Andriesse Leeuw. This was the first and only time that his surname 'Leeuw' appeared in the sources, it was not mentioned when he registered his marriage or when he baptised his nine children. Only two of his daughters reached adulthood and married and they both also appear only once in the sources with the surname 'Leeuw'. In the other instances, a version of the patronym 'Erasmus' was used.[71]

Table 1. Last names of the families, based on research by the author.

Last names of the families
Wigtendaal
Ogelwight
Leeuw / Bocks
Van den Berg / Star
Monk / Groen
Jurriaense
Benningsdam
De Waij / Carré
Rosenbergh

[68] Jelle van Lottum and Sølvi Sogner, 'Het verhaal van Magnus en Barbara. Migratiegeschiedenis in het klein', *Historisch Tijdschrift Holland* 39:2 (2007) 71; NL-SAA, 5075, inv. nr. 10791, nr. 397, 21 April 1761.

[69] It is not known where these surnames originated from. In Norway, surnames can sometimes be linked to family farms. Ola Teige tried to find Adam Sanders Wigtendaal in the Norwegian Archives, but until now, this has been unsuccessful.

[70] NL-SAA, 5001, inv. nr. 155, nr. 122, 16 December 1671; NL-SAA, 5001, inv. nr. 702, nr. 10, 16 April 1700; NL-SAA, 5001, inv. nr. 185, nr. 36, 31 May 1701; NL-SAA, 5001, inv. nr. 187, nr. 82, 24 January 1703. The changing of names is further discussed in chapter 2, in paragraph 2.5.

[71] NL-SAA, 5001, inv. nr. 1195, nr. 255, 5 February 1690; NL-SAA, 5001, inv. nr. 542, nr. 154, 16 December 1707; NL-SAA, 5001, inv. nr. 1197, nr. 23, 6 March 1701.

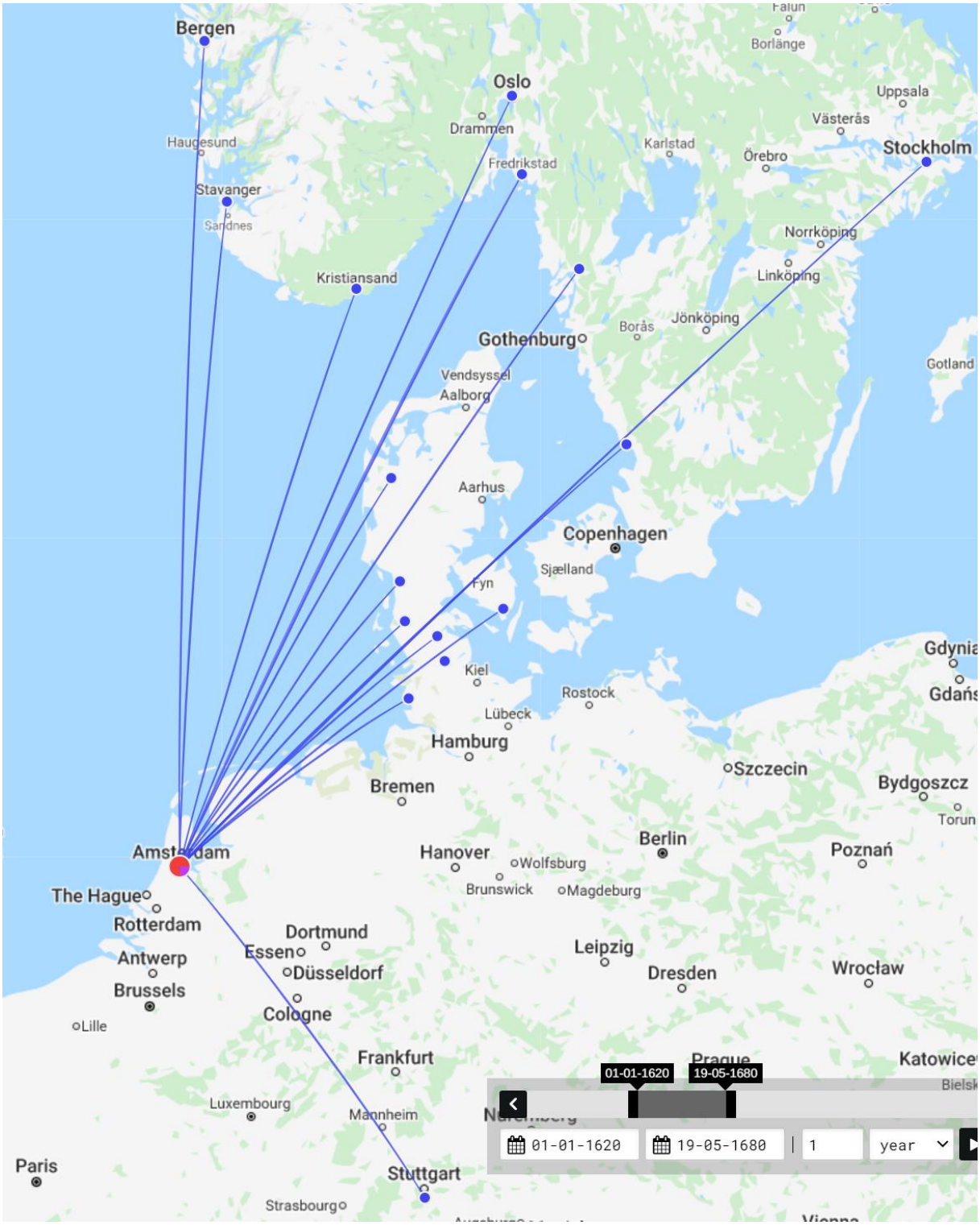

Figure 1. Places of origin of the immigrants under study. Made by the author using Nodegoat.

Most families 'developed' surnames over time. These surnames only changed when only women married. This could also be why a name discontinued, like the name 'Wigtendaal'. In 1771, Mietje Wigtendaal (1742-1812) married Cornelis van Hieren (1743-<1803). Her brother

Sandert Wigtendaal had migrated to Indonesia and he died in 1783.[72] This meant that Mietje Wigtendaal was the only surviving member of the Wigtendaal family, but her children were given the name 'Van Hieren'. When Mietje died in 1812, the name 'Wigtendaal' died with her. Today, it does not exist in the Netherlands as a surname.[73]

As stated previously, the descendants of the immigrants have been traced through time for three to five generations. Because all immigrants married during the same decade, the descendants roughly lived during the same period as well: the immigrants themselves married between 1660 and 1670, their children between 1685 and 1715, their grandchildren between 1715 and 1745 and their great-grandchildren approximately between 1745 and 1775.

1.7 Structure

Each chapter of this study examines different aspects with regards to the process of assimilation and social mobility of the children and grandchildren of Norwegians and Danes in early modern Amsterdam. The first chapter focuses on the different types of immigrants that have been described in historiography and problematizes this by zooming in on the Norwegian and Danish immigrants themselves and their process of settlement in early modern Amsterdam. Why did they leave their home country and emigrate to the Dutch Republic? What caused them to stay in Amsterdam (or not)? Can they be described as permanent immigrants?

The next chapter focuses on the different benchmarks of the processes of integration, assimilation and social mobility: marriages, religion, occupations, literacy level and residential mobility. For the immigrants themselves, most of these elements have already been studied. They were, for example, Lutherans, just like many German immigrants.[74] The literacy level amongst Norwegian immigrants was low: around 1700, only eight to ten percent of the women from Bergen could sign their names, while fifty percent of the Amsterdam brides could do this.[75] In addition, Norwegians and Danes often lived in quarters near the docks and found their marriage partner in the same street or in close proximity.[76] These are all results of the studies

[72] The inventory of the estate of Sandert Wigtendaal does mention a son: Gijsbert Jan Wigtendaal, who lived in Batavia. However, no evidence has been found that this boy reached the age of majority. It is unknown who the mother was.
[73] CBG, *Nederlandse Familienamenbank*, https://www.cbgfamilienamen.nl/nfb/, accessed 12 April 2021.
[74] Sølvi Sogner, 'Norwegian-Dutch Migrant Relations in the Seventeenth Century', in: Louis Sicking, Harry de Bles and Erlend des Bouvrie (eds.), *Dutch Light in the "Norwegian Night". Maritime Relations and Migration across the North Sea in Early Modern Times* (Hilversum: Verloren, 2004) 55.
[75] Erika Kuijpers, 'Poor, Illiterate and Superstitious? Social and Cultural Characteristics of the 'Noordse Natie' in the Amsterdam Lutheran Church in the Seventeenth Century', in: Louis Sicking, Harry de Bles and Erlend des Bouvrie (eds.), *Dutch Light in the "Norwegian Night". Maritime Relations and Migration across the North Sea in Early Modern Times* (Hilversum: Verloren: 2004) 64.
[76] Sommerseth, Ekamper and Sogner, 'Marriage patterns and residential behaviour', 195.

into the lives of Norwegian and Danish immigrants, but little is known about their descendants. Did they stay in the same neighbourhoods as their (grand)parents? Did they change their religion? What does their choice of marriage partner say about their assimilation into society? In this chapter, the general results of the study of the nine families of immigrant descent are analysed.

The last chapter before the conclusion concentrates on three case studies. The lives of individuals from the Benningsdam, Ogelwight and Wigtendaal families are studied in more detail. This approach makes it possible to study the process of integration, assimilation and social mobility of both individual family members and the families as a whole more in depth. For each family, the focus is on one indicator of integration, assimilation and social mobility.

Chapter 2. Norwegians and Danes in Early Modern Amsterdam

In 1748, the Norwegian woman Rachel Theunis (c. 1722-1793) married Govert Cornelisse Veltbus (c. 1683-1751), who was also Norwegian and approximately forty years older. Both originally came from Kristiansand and lived in the Ridderstraat in Amsterdam.[77] The Ridderstraat is often mentioned together with the Jonkerstraat. Both streets were in the Lastage, a poor neighbourhood in early modern Amsterdam. The marriage to Veltbus was not the only marriage of Theunis. In total, she married four times. All her husbands were immigrants, like her. Two of her spouses came from Kristiansand, one from Kollerup in Denmark and one from Szczecin in present day Poland (at the time occupied by the Swedish empire). Theunis did not have children with any of her husbands. People who remained childless are often more difficult to find in early modern sources. However, Theunis appears quite regularly in the notarial archives, because together with her husbands, she had a pension in the Ridderstraat, called *Het Gekroonde Hof van Denemarken*.[78]

Almost all of Theunis' husbands had a maritime background. Two of them gave up their careers as seaman when they married her. The guests who stayed in the pension were also sailors and mostly of immigrant background. Several notarial deeds show the different roles Theunis and her spouses had in the lives of their guests. They did not only provide room and board but were, for example, also given power of attorney by families of sailors who had passed away to collect wages. Barent Jansz Roos (c. 1720-1760), the second husband of Theunis, was the executor of the last will of the Norwegian Jacob Beekman, who worked as a cook. If Beekman would pass away, Roos had to take care of his funeral, pay his debts and donate the rest of his belongings to the Lutheran Church, so it could be distributed among the poor.[79] Machiel Mulder (c. 1727-<1793), the fourth and last husband of Theunis, was a witness at the marriage registration of Laurens Roelofsen Thonder, who was also Norwegian and stayed in *Het Gekroonde Hof van Denemarken*.[80] Being a witness at the marriage registration of a couple was often a role that was reserved for family members or close friends. In the absence of family members, friends, colleagues or employers, the owners of a pension could also act as

[77] NL-SAA, 5001, inv. nr. 729, p. 305, 22 March 1748.
[78] For more information about the life of Rachel Theunis, see: Jessica den Oudsten, 'Een Noors pension in de Ridderstraat', *Alle Amsterdamse Akten*, https://alleamsterdamseakten.nl/artikel/2241/een-noors-pension-in-de-ridderstraat/ (22 July 2020), accessed 23 May 2021. The name of the pension literally translates to 'The Crowned Court of Denmark'.
[79] NL-SAA, 5075, inv. nr. 13009, nr. 157, 16 July 1760.
[80] NL-SAA, 5001, inv. nr. 746, page 450, 18 June 1772.

witnesses.[81] This shows that Theunis and her husbands played diverse roles in the lives of their guests, they helped them and their families to settle matters and acted as substitutes in case family members were not around.

In the early modern period, married women were placed under the guardianship of their husbands, because they were considered to be legally incompetent.[82] This is probably the reason why most notarial deeds mention the name of one of the husbands of Rachel Theunis. However, she must have been the constant factor in the pension, because she survived all her spouses and lived in the Ridderstraat for almost half a century, until her death in 1793.[83]

Theunis is an example of an immigrant who settled in Amsterdam, married in Amsterdam, and stayed there for the rest of her life. Her settlement process differed from that of her husbands, who had a maritime career. Prior to their marriage with Theunis, they were only in Amsterdam in between sea voyages. After their marriage, two of her spouses settled down in Amsterdam, but her third husband Christiaan Eversz (c. 1731-1762) continued as a sailor and joined the VOC.[84] This shows that the settlement process was not the same for everyone and that 'settling down' did not mean the same to everyone either.

This chapter focuses on the different types of immigrants that are used in historiography and problematizes this. Then, the emigration and the settlement process of early modern Danish and Norwegian immigrants is discussed. Although the focus of this study is on the descendants of Norwegian and Danish immigrants in Amsterdam, it is important to know more about the immigrants themselves before discussing their descendants. What did the process of settlement of the immigrants look like? Which factors determined whether someone became a permanent immigrant or not?

2.1 Different Types of Immigrants

Through time, the words 'migration' and 'migrant' have had multiple definitions. Lucassen and Penninx defined migration as 'the change of residence for a specific period of time by a person or a household'. According to them, this is the most neutral definition, but it is also a short definition.[85] Obdeijn and Schrover defined migration as the 'geographic mobility of humans, which causes them to cross boundaries, with the intention of staying somewhere for a longer

[81] Van Weeren and de Moor, *Ja, ik wil*, 50.
[82] Ariadne Schmidt and Manon van der Heijden, 'Women Alone in Early Modern Dutch Towns: Opportunities and Strategies to Survive', *Journal of Urban History* 42:1 (2016) 31.
[83] NL-SAA, 5001, inv. nr. 1137, nr. 14, 14 November 1793.
[84] NL-HaNA, 1.04.02, inv. nr. 13117, nr. 42.
[85] Lucassen and Penninx, *Nieuwkomers in Nederland*, 15.

period of time'.[86] This is still rather a vague definition, because staying somewhere for a 'longer period of time' does not necessarily make someone a migrant. It could also mean that someone travels for business, as a student, or for a holiday. Obdeijn and Schrover acknowledge this and mention that there is a twilight zone in which travel becomes migration. During the early modern period, migration did not always have the same definition as today. In the Dutch Republic, a 'stranger' was someone who was not a member of the urban community. No distinction was made on the basis of nationality. Someone from more rural places in the Republic, like Groningen or Overijssel, was just as much a migrant as someone who came from abroad, for example Germany or Norway.[87]

Migrants came from the direct surroundings of the city and from further away, and they all travelled to Amsterdam for different reasons and had different goals. Lucassen and Penninx made a distinction between four different types of immigrants.[88] First of all, there were religious and political refugees. Three large groups can be distinguished: people from the Southern Netherlands (around 150,000 people), French Huguenots (35,000) and Jews from Eastern Europe and the Iberian Peninsula. The number of Jewish people in Amsterdam grew from 2400 in 1650 to 20,000 in 1795.[89] A second important group were seasonal workers. Mostly during the spring, summer and autumn, the coastal areas in the Dutch Republic attracted migrants who combined the work on their own small farms in their home country with seasonal work in the agricultural sector in the Republic. During the spring, different infrastructural works like the building of roads and canals also provided employment for seasonal workers.[90] The third group consisted of economic migrants who came to the Republic because of the economic prosperity and job opportunities and eventually settled down and stayed permanently.

The fourth and last group that Lucassen and Penninx distinguished are 'birds of passage', people 'whose economic activities made that they stayed in the Dutch Republic for some time'.[91] These people stayed in the Republic for a short period, sometimes a few years. 'Birds of passage' are not the same as seasonal workers, because they did not travel back and forth between their home country and the Republic but arrived once, worked for a certain period to make money and were focused on returning to their homeland afterwards. The people who could be characterised as 'birds of passage' differ greatly from each other. There were rich

[86] Obdeijn and Schrover, *Komen en gaan*, 16.
[87] Ibidem.
[88] Lucassen and Penninx, *Nieuwkomers*, 31.
[89] Lucassen, 'Holland, een open gewest', 205.
[90] Lucassen and Penninx, *Nieuwkomers*, 48.
[91] Idem, 45. Original text: 'Mensen die 'genoodzaakt door de aard van hun economische activiteiten gedurende enige tijd in Nederland verblijven''.

merchants, intellectuals, and business travellers, but also sailors who were employed by the Dutch West-India Company (WIC) and VOC. There were also female 'birds of passage', who probably mostly worked as maidservants.[92] Little is known about the lives of these people. Because they did not settle in the Dutch Republic and only stayed in cities like Amsterdam for a short period, they are difficult or even impossible to find in the sources. Kuijpers described these people as 'countless'. According to her, it is difficult to get an idea of how many people visited the city for a longer or shorter period and to determine what could be characterised as a permanent residence. Could, for example, the pensions in which sailors stayed in between sea voyages be characterised as a temporary or as a permanent residence?[93]

It is true that 'birds of passage' are difficult to find in the sources. However, the notarial archives of the city of Amsterdam can shed light on who some of the people were who stayed only for a short period of time in Amsterdam or who lived for a longer period in the city but did not start a family there. Especially due to improving technologies and the growing number of indexed notarial deeds, the documents become more accessible and the information that these sources give about Norwegian and Danish immigrants can be more easily processed. The study of notarial deeds concerning the lives of Danish and Norwegian immigrants also shows that there was a thin line between being a 'bird of passage' and a permanent immigrant, as will be discussed in paragraph 2.3.

2.2 From Norway or Denmark to Amsterdam

During a period of 150 to 200 years, emigration in early modern Norway was a structural and stable element of the demographic system.[94] There were several push factors which caused Norwegians and Danes to emigrate. First, war and natural disasters, like floods, were important factors in the decision to leave the home country. Kuijpers studied, for example, the emigration from Husum, a port city in Nord-Friesland (a coastal area in present-day Germany and Denmark) to the Dutch Republic. From 1630 onwards, more and more people emigrated from Husum to Amsterdam. This was caused both by the Thirty Years' War (1618-1648) and the *Grawsamen Wasserfluth*, a great flood which affected the area in 1634. This flood caused many people to become homeless and to lose their properties. Many people left Husum to start over in another place, for example Amsterdam. The poor people in Husum sometimes even received

[92] Idem, 46-47.
[93] Kuijpers, *Migrantenstad*, 82-117. Original text: 'Ontelbaren'.
[94] Sogner, 'Young in Europe', 517.

money from the local authorities that could cover the costs of travelling to the Dutch Republic.[95] It is estimated that there were four to five thousand inhabitants in Husum in 1581, but this number declined in the seventeenth century and did not reach the same height until the middle of the nineteenth century.[96]

Another important push factor was the economic situation in early modern Norway and Denmark. Most of the Norwegian immigrants probably had a farmer's background. If their family owned the farm, the eldest son would inherit it. All children did inherit something, but daughters only half as much as sons. If the family did not own the farm but rented it, as was often the case, the landowner could decide who would take over the farm after the old famer had died. The widow of the old farmer had the right to stay on the farm for the rest of her life, if she kept running the farm and did not remarry. If she did remarry, the lease could go to her new husband, if the landowner accepted him. This system caused that children had little chance of taking over a farm themselves. It was usually the eldest son who left the farm to find his luck elsewhere, because by the time that he had to start working, his father or stepfather was often still alive and in charge of the farm.[97]

Although it were mainly men who emigrated from Norway and Denmark, the sex-ratio of the migrants was 150 men to 100 women. According to Sogner, this means that more women were emigrating than might be expected from an emigrating group that was traditionally seen as dominated by men who worked as sailors.[98] She argues that the simultaneous male emigration and the ensuing marriage market might have been attractive for women and caused them to emigrate to Amsterdam as well.[99]

Amsterdam, in turn, had significant pull factors. Firstly, the relative religious freedom of the Dutch Republic was highly attractive. Second, there were high wages and ample employment opportunities. A third important pull factor for Amsterdam were the relatively good social institutions. The chances of obtaining poor relief or free medical care in the city were relatively high. This must have been an important incentive to migrate, especially for women. Women often emigrated because they were pregnant out of wedlock. For this group of women, but also for poor, sick or elderly people, Amsterdam was an attractive destination. The admission policy of the institutions in Amsterdam was well known to contemporaries, because

[95] Kuijpers, *Migrantenstad*, 63.
[96] Idem, 59-60.
[97] Sogner, 'Young in Europe', 526.
[98] Idem, 517.
[99] Idem, 522.

even women in an advanced state of pregnancy or illness travelled to the city for help.[100] All these factors combined made Amsterdam an attractive destination for Norwegians and Danes.

2.3 'Birds of Passage' or Permanent Immigrants?

The Danish and Norwegian immigrants to Amsterdam were mostly young and unmarried. They have often been described as 'birds of passage'. Sogner presumed that most of them arrived in the Republic with the idea to save money and then return home to Norway or Denmark.[101] However, many of the Danes and Norwegians never returned to their home country, whether this was a conscious choice or not. Many Scandinavian immigrants became permanently settled. Sogner described marriage as the turning point from being an immigrant who was planning to stay in the city temporarily, to being a migrant who would probably never leave the city again:

> A pragmatic way to distinguish between the two types of migrants may be the act of marriage. The celibate sailors and the servant-girls were birds of passage. Once they married, they settled down and will fit the bill as economic migrants (…..) The decision to marry was crucial. It will have depended on occupational opportunities. The decisive transition into becoming permanent economic migrants or not will have depended on what kind of progress they were able to make for themselves abroad, but maybe even more importantly on the conditions in the home country.[102]

According to Sogner, the decision to marry was crucial in the process of settling down. However, she also emphasised the importance of job opportunities and the economic situation in the home country. This means that marriage was not the only factor that determined whether someone became a permanent immigrant or not: the process was more complex.

Most of the 'birds of passage' were presumably sailors who were employed by the VOC and WIC. Lucassen estimated that out of every hundred seamen who worked for the VOC, fifty returned to the Republic, of which ten returned to their country of origin, ten settled in the

[100] Lotte van de Pol and Erika Kuijpers, 'Poor Women's Migration to the City. The Attraction of Amsterdam Health Care and Social Assistance in Early Modern Times', *Journal of Urban History* 32:1 (2005) 45 an 57.
[101] Sogner, 'Young in Europe', 520.
[102] Idem, 532.

Republic and thirty men enrolled for another voyage.[103] Sailors could also marry in Amsterdam in between voyages, for example Jan Hendrik Monsz (c. 1722-1750).

Monsz came from Tonder in Denmark. In 1742, he joined the VOC for the first time and sailed with the ship Schellag to Asia. When he arrived in 1744 in Amsterdam again, he went to the notary Benjamin Phaff (1707-1761) to authorise two men to collect his wages in Middelburg. This notarial deed provides insight into where in Amsterdam Monsz was staying in between his VOC voyages: a house with a Danish flag on the Zeedijk.[104] The house was probably a pension. Between 1746 and 1748, he enlisted again and made a voyage as a *bosschieter*, an experienced sailor.[105]

Monsz returned in the Republic in August 1748. This time, he only stayed for a brief period. At the beginning of October, he registered his marriage in Amsterdam to Anna Christiaanse from Aalborg in Denmark. Already at the beginning of November of that same year, he enrolled again with the VOC for his third and last trip.[106] It is not known if he really married Christiaanse, but if he did, their married life only lasted a few weeks. In 1750, Hendrik Monsz passed away in Asia without a last will and without any properties.[107]

The life and career of Monsz demonstrates that sailors emigrated to Amsterdam and then used the city as a base in between sea voyages. This time between voyages was also used to marry and start a family. If the act of marriage is seen as a crucial element of settling down in the city, it means that the sailors who married in between sea voyages also settled down, although they spent only a few months of their life and career in Amsterdam. What made them different from other sailors who did not marry? Marriage was not the only determining factor for immigrants to permanently settle down in Amsterdam.

Not only Scandinavian men, but also women are described as 'birds of passage'. According to Sogner, women often worked as maidservants before eventually marrying or returning to their home country.[108] It is not known how many women did return to their home country. Sogner does not mention any numbers, but she did find evidence that return migrants in the southwest of Norway were called *Hollændsker*, which means 'Dutch women'. They differed from the women who had not emigrated in the way they dressed, they often wore long

[103] Jan Lucassen, 'Immigranten in Holland 1600-1800. Een kwantitatieve benadering', *Working Paper 3 Centrum voor de Geschiedenis van Migranten* (2002) 16.
[104] NL-SAA, 5075, inv. nr. 10229, nr. 428, 1 July 1744.
[105] NL-HaNA, 1.04.02, inv. nr. 13983, nr. 69.
[106] NL-SAA, 5001, inv. nr. 729, page 470, 4 October 1748.
[107] NL-HaNA, 1.04.02, inv. nr. 6230, nr. 52.
[108] Sogner, 'Young in Europe', 521.

jackets and unusual headgear, such as sun hats. Sogner also states that maids with previous experience in the Dutch Republic were sought-after by well-to-do families.[109]

However, not all female migrants returned to their home country. For some, it might have been their plan but they never got around to executing it. Maren (or Maria) Christensen Tarp worked as a maid for Hendrik Backer and passed away in 1754. When she died, her belongings consisted of two baskets, a suitcase, and a table with drawers. In addition, she had 617 guilders of cash, which she had probably saved.[110] This amount of saved money might indicate that it was her plan to return to her home country, but it could also be that she had saved the money for a future in the Dutch Republic. Her employer, Backer, had paid for the visits of the doctor and her funeral, so in the end, her heirs (family members who were still living in her home country) inherited five hundred guilders.[111]

When Anna Benedict Putters had her will drafted at the notary, she also mentioned family members in her birthplace, namely Aalborg in Denmark. She lived and worked as a servant in the house of Daniel van Hoven. The notary stated that she was 'elderly and unmarried'.[112] The reason that she had her will drafted was that she was planning to go to the *Hofje van Noblets* in the city of Haarlem, a place where twenty women lived who had never married, were older than fifty, and had previously lived in either Haarlem or Amsterdam.[113] At the end of her working life, Putters decided to stay in the Dutch Republic, although her family members, who were also her heirs, still lived in Denmark. Despite not marrying, Putters had become a permanent immigrant.

The stories of Monsz, Tarp and Putters, but also the life of Rachel Theunis and her spouses, show that settling down and becoming a permanent immigrant was not a straightforward and simple process. Some immigrants might have had the intention to return to their home countries, but were not able to do so because they were, for example, not able to pay the travel costs, or were too old or too ill to remigrate. In addition, marriage cannot be seen as the sole indicator of becoming a permanent immigrant or not: job opportunities and the (economic) situation in the home country also played an important role. It is, therefore, not always possible to classify people as 'birds of passage' or a as permanent immigrants.

[109] Ibidem.
[110] NL-SAA, 5075, inv. nr. 9241, nr. 346, 25 July 1755.
[111] NL-SAA, 5075, inv. nr. 9241, nr. 346, 25 July 1755.
[112] NL-SAA, 5075, inv. nr. 12351, nr. 61, 26 February 1761. Original text: 'Bejaard en ongehuwd'.
[113] 'Hofje van Noblet', https://www.hofjesvanstaatsenvannoblet.nl/hofje-van-noblet.html (accessed 24 May 2021).

2.4 Settling Down in Amsterdam

The above has shown that the process of settling down was complex and differed for everyone, regardless of gender. Once the immigrants arrived in Amsterdam, they could encounter other Norwegian and Danish immigrants. Although Norwegians and Danes were often employed in the maritime sector or as maidservants, they were active in other professions as well. Men also worked, for example, as construction workers, textile workers or shoemakers, and women worked as shopkeepers, beer tappers, seamstresses and prostitutes.[114] Most Norwegians and Danes adhered to the same religion, with most joining the Lutheran Church in Amsterdam. This church was founded in 1588 by Lutheran refugees from Antwerp. It became a typical immigrant church which was dominated by Germans. From the 1640s onwards, the Scandinavian immigrants became a growing minority within the church.[115]

Both Sogner and Kuijpers assume that the church played a bigger role in the lives of women than in the lives of men. They conclude this from the number of female members, which was much higher than the number of males. This difference can be explained by their different types of work. Men often left the city and worked at sea, while women stayed behind, worked in the city and had to build a network there. Most men became members of the church later, for example just before or shortly after they got married.[116]

The Norwegian and Danish immigrants that came to the Republic were mainly young and unmarried. With the help of membership lists of the Lutheran Church, Sogner estimated that the immigrants probably worked for five to six years in the Republic before they got married. Given the average age at which they got married, this meant that women were probably in their mid-twenties when arriving in Amsterdam, and men were slightly younger, probably between 21 and 23 years old.[117] Scandinavians often married each other. Kuijpers estimated that around 1650, 67 percent of the Scandinavian men and women married a partner who also originated from Scandinavia. Around 1700, this was still the case for almost half of the men and eleven out of fifteen women.[118]

The marriage banns registers show that many Scandinavian immigrants who had their marriage registered lived in close proximity of each other. Norwegians and Danes were spatially concentrated at the east side of the of the city, especially in the Lastage, and more to the east the islands of Rapenburg, Uilenburg and Kattenburg. In their study into the marriage patterns

[114] Sogner, 'Young in Europe', 519 and 522.
[115] Idem, 58-60.
[116] Sogner, 'Young in Europe', 524; Kuijpers, *Migrantenstad*, 113-114.
[117] Idem, 524.
[118] Idem, 65.

of Norwegian women in Amsterdam between 1621 and 1720, Sommerseth, Ekamper and Sogner concluded that:

> Norwegian women did not have to go far to find their marriage partners, often finding them 'just around the corner'. The average distance between bride and groom was 222 metres over the entire study period, but the distance saw a significant decrease over time, from 249 metres in 1621-1675 to 185 metres in 1676-1720.[119]

These relatively low averages of only a few hundred metres between the house of the bride and the house of the groom indicate that a lot of people married people who lived in the same street.

The above has shown that Norwegians and Danes lived in the same neighbourhoods, shared the same religion, married other Scandinavian people and had similar occupations (the men worked as seamen, the women as maidservants). These findings seem to suggest that Norwegians and Danes formed a community in Amsterdam. Very few studies have been conducted on early modern immigrant communities abroad. Mark Ponte discovered that there was an Afro-Atlantic maritime community in seventeenth-century Amsterdam. He concluded that people of African descent in Amsterdam mainly married each other and had witnesses at their marriage registration who were of African descent as well.[120]

Alexia Grosjean and Steve Murdoch studied the Scottish diaspora during the early modern period. They made a distinction between 'located communities' and a 'communities of mind and interest'. According to them, a 'located community' is based on shared employment, a shared place of worship and a shared locality of residence. Moreover, groups of students abroad, soldiers in foreign armies, seamen working in the international maritime labour market and religious exiles can form 'communities of mind and interest', they are not located in one and the same location.[121]

Sogner and Van Lottum have used the concepts of community of Grosjean and Murdoch to examine whether the Norwegians in early modern Amsterdam formed a community. They mainly used the criteria 'shared employment, shared locality of residence and shared place of worship' and studied letters that were written by Norwegians immigrants to find out more about

[119] Sommerseth, Ekamper and Sogner, 'Marriage patterns', 195.
[120] Mark Ponte, ''Al de swarten die hier ter stede comen' Een Afro-Atlantische gemeenschap in zeventiende-eeuws Amsterdam', *TSEG/Low Countries Journal of Social and Economic History* 15:4 (2019) 33-62.
[121] Alexia Grosjean and Steve Murdoch (eds.), *Scottish Communities abroad in the Early Modern Period* (Leiden: Brill, 2005) 17-22.

their sense of belonging to Amsterdam. They concluded that the Norwegians in Amsterdam in the seventeenth century considered themselves as belonging to a certain group and were also considered by others as belonging to a certain group. However, it remains difficult to speak of a community in the terms that a community is usually understood today. It was not as organised and as bounded.[122]

Although Scandinavians seem to have formed a community on the basis of shared employment, shared locality and a shared place of worship, it remains difficult to find evidence in the sources that Norwegian and Danish immigrants were indeed regarded as belonging to a certain group that was different from others. However, sometimes the sources do provide insight into this. In the afternoon of 16 November 1750, the Norwegian Marij Adriaens entered the house of a man called master Willem, who, when he saw her, said: 'There is another beast in the house, all Norwegian women are beasts.'[123] Adriaens, who did not accept to be treated like this, replied: 'I am no more an animal than you.' This did not end well for Adriaens, as Willem then hit her with a stick and even chopped her in her hand with an axe. Luckily for Adriaens, there were some neighbours around who prevented anything worse from happening.[124] Although this might seem like just a violent argument, it is remarkable that Willem said that *all* Norwegian women were beasts. This generalizing remark shows that he regarded Norwegian women as different from other women.

In this instance, Adriaens said that she was not different from Willem. However, other immigrants did use their backgrounds as an excuse for behaving differently. In 1778, the Danish Pieter Christiaansen worked as a carpenter on the ship Aron. Other members of the crew declared that Christiaansen had behaved very badly during the voyage and was unwilling to do his work properly. When he was asked why he was refusing to do his work, he had said, while cursing and swearing, that he was 'from Copenhagen, and people from Copenhagen did not have to do good'.[125] Christiaansen used his background as an excuse for his bad behaviour.

If Norwegians and Danes formed a community in seventeenth century Amsterdam, the question is for how long it might have existed. During the first half of the eighteenth century, Scandinavian migrants kept coming to Amsterdam, which probably contributed towards a community feeling. However, mixed marriages between Norwegians and people with another

[122] Sogner and Van Lottum, 'An immigrant community?', 163-164.
[123] NL-SAA, 5075, inv. nr. 13131, nr. 224, 17 November 1750. Original Dutch text: 'Daar komt nog zoo een beest 't huijs al de noorinnen zijn beesten.'
[124] NL-SAA, 5075, inv. nr. 13131, nr. 224, 17 November 1750. Original Dutch text: 'Ik ben zoo min een beest als jij.'
[125] NL-SAA, 5075, inv. nr. 15320, nr. 414, 22 June 1778. Original Dutch text: 'Ik ben een Copenhager, en de Coppenhagers behoeven geen goed te doen.'

background and having children would possibly have reduced the sense of being a community.[126]

2.5 Adaptation to the City?

It is difficult to determine to what extent the immigrants adapted themselves to the city of Amsterdam. Most Scandinavian immigrants married other Scandinavians and lived in the east side of the city. That may have limited their integration into the city. Additionally, if it was their plan to only stay in the city for a short period, there may not have been a need to adapt to the city. There are, however, also signs that indicate that some immigrants did take steps to adapt to Amsterdam.

In historiography, marriage again plays an important role. A marriage to someone with a formal citizenship status is considered to be the utmost of what can be hoped for with regard to integration.[127] Citizenship of Amsterdam meant having privileges that people without the status of a formal citizen did not have. One of the most well-known privileges was having access to guilds, but there were other privileges as well, like being able to hold a public office or having the right to go to (if it was necessary) the orphanage that was exclusively built for citizens. Children who went to this orphanage were treated better than children who had to go to the *Aalmoezeniersweeshuis*, which was for poorer people without a formal citizenship status.

There were four ways in which someone could become a burgher: by means of birth, by buying the status, as a gift or through marriage. Children who were born to people with a formal citizenship status automatically became burghers themselves.[128] The status was rarely given to someone as a gift, this only happened, for example, to a limited number of religious refugees around 1680 or when someone had achieved something special, like becoming an exceptionally good craftsman.[129] For Scandinavian immigrants, the only way to become a burgher was by buying the status or through marriage. Since most Scandinavian immigrants were relatively poor and buying citizenship was quite expensive, marriage was the most likely option to become a burgher. However, as an immigrant who probably did not speak the language and was possibly illiterate, marrying a burgher may not have been that easy.[130] Also, it was not

[126] Sogner and Van Lottum, 'An immigrant community?', 164-165.
[127] Sogner, 'Young in Europe', 523.
[128] Erika Kuijpers and Maarten Prak, 'Burger, ingezetene, vreemdeling: burgerschap in Amsterdam in de 17e en 18e eeuw', in: Joost Kloek and Karin Tilmans (eds.), *Burger. Een geschiedenis van het begrip 'burger' in de Nederlanden van de Middeleeuwen tot de 21ste eeuw* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2002) 113-119.
[129] Idem, 123.
[130] Maarten Prak, *Stadsburgers. Stedelijk burgerschap voor de Franse Revolutie* (Amsterdam: Prometheus, 2019) 47-50.

necessarily the goal of every immigrant to become a burgher. The fact that many Scandinavian people married other Scandinavians might suggest that they would rather spend their lives with people who had the same cultural background or that their position in the marriage market was not that strong.

A factor that could signal the adaptation of Norwegian and Danish immigrants to Amsterdam is the alteration of their names. In the seventeenth and eighteenth century, it often happened that the names of Scandinavian immigrants in Amsterdam were made more 'Dutch'. Sogner found an example of an immigrant with a changed name: captain Knut Olsen from Stavanger called himself Cornelius Jansen in the Dutch Republic. According to her, this adaptation of names was problematic, because 'if Knut can be Cornelius and Ole can be Jan, then anyone can be just anybody!'.[131] This makes it difficult to find Norwegian people in both Dutch and Norwegian archives. It is almost impossible to make a reliable link between two entries, because the names can be completely different. Kuijpers encountered the same problem when she tried to find people in the Amsterdam City Archives who had emigrated from Husum to Amsterdam. She discovered that the name Ingeborg hardly occurred in Amsterdam, while it was a common name in Husum. She assumed that the name Ingeborg was changed into Engeltje. Not only Scandinavian names were changed: the German name Heinrich could, for example, become Hendrik or Dirk.[132]

However, although the change of names can be problematic for contemporary scholars, it also gives a valuable insight into the way Norwegians and Danes adapted themselves to the city. In 1761, the clerk of notary Salomon Dorper (1709-1784) wrote: '...Christen Ollesen, who has given himself the Dutch name Christiaan Roelofsen, sailed as a sailor on the ship the *Neptunes*, with captain Adrianus van Stolk from St. Eustatius to here'.[133] It is remarkable that the clerk wrote that Christen Ollesen had changed his own name to the Dutch name Christiaan Roelofsen. There are more notarial deeds in which both the 'Scandinavian' name and the 'Dutch' name of an immigrant was mentioned. Nils Andersen Wadder was for example changed into Cornelis Andriesen, Jens Olsen became Jan Roelofs, Ole Gregersen was called Roelof Goverts and Rasmus Olsen Woshofde called himself Rasmus Rolfsen in the Dutch Republic.[134]

[131] Sogner, 'Young in Europe', 518.
[132] Kuijpers, *Migrantenstad*, 346.
[133] NL-SAA, 5075, inv. nr. 10791, nr. 397, 21 April 1761. Original text: *'(…) Christen Ollesen die zig op Hollands heeft laten noemen Christiaan Roelofsen die voor matroos gevaren heeft op 't schip de Neptunes Capiteijn Adrianus van Stolk van St. Eustatius op hier'*.
[134] NL-SAA, 5075, inv. nr. 10267, nr. 32, 17 January 1754; SAA, 5075, inv. nr. 66090, nr. 23, 12 May 1798; SAA, 5075, inv. nr. 12412, nr. 927, 15 August 1773; SAA, 5075, inv. nr. 10895, nr. 139, 18 April 1780.

In Western Europe, people were often given Christian names. The Scandinavian variants of these names were translated into Dutch variants by clerks in Amsterdam, but also by the immigrants themselves.[135] In the case of Christen Ollesen and Rasmus Olsen Woshofde, the clerk specifically wrote that the two men had changed their names to a more Dutch variant. If immigrants changed their names themselves, that is a form of adaptation to and integration into a new country, or more specifically, a city. By giving up their original Norwegian or Danish name, they lost a piece of their Scandinavian identity and blended in with the society in Amsterdam.

2.6 Conclusion

Norwegians and Danes had multiple reasons for emigrating to the Dutch Republic. The economic situation in their home countries made that they had little chance of finding a job, while the economic prosperity in the Amsterdam resulted in a huge demand for labour. Besides the employment opportunity, the relative religious freedom and the free medical care were other social pull factors which made the city attractive.

Once the Norwegians and Danes arrived in the city, it was probably not hard to find other people with the same background. Norwegians and Danes lived in the same neighbourhoods. They often got married to other Scandinavians, who lived in the same area of the city. Moreover, most Norwegians and Danes were members of the Lutheran Church. These findings suggest that they formed a community in Amsterdam. This might have limited the adaptation to and integration into the city, but there are signs that the immigrants did adapt themselves to Amsterdam by changing their names to a more 'Dutch' name.

This chapter has shown that the process of settling down could develop among different lines. Moreover, there is a thin line between being a 'bird of passage' and being a permanent immigrant. Although marriage could be an important turning point in becoming a permanent immigrant, other factors were of great importance as well, such as job opportunities and the economic situation in the home country. Especially for the people who did not marry, their occupation and the situation in the country of origin might have been decisive in staying in Amsterdam. Additionally, staying in the city was probably not a (conscious) choice that everyone could make. Both the voyage to and from Amsterdam would cost money that not everyone had or could spent on travelling. For them, becoming a permanent immigrant might not have been a choice.

[135] Ibidem.

Chapter 3. Integration, Assimilation and Social Mobility: General Findings

In 1664, Cornelis Laurens de Waij (1664-1743) was born as the son of Laurens Govertse (c.1624-<1667) from Bernhausen and Engeltje Govers (c.1625-1720) from Stavanger.[136] His father was a sailor and passed away when he was little. His mother remarried with Andries Dircxe van der Waag (c.1643-<1720), who was also a sailor and came from Stockholm.[137] Both De Waij, his brother and his half-sisters were baptised in the Lutheran Church in Amsterdam. The family lived at Vlooienburg, an island in Amsterdam where many Scandinavian immigrants lived.[138]

In 1695, Cornelis Laurens de Waij registered his marriage to Judick Harmens van Heusden (1665-1718), who was born in Amsterdam and was the widow of a bookseller. The marriage banns registers show that De Waij had moved from Vlooienburg to the Weesperstraat and had become a carpenter.[139] Van Heusden lived in the Markensteeg with her children, in a house that had belonged to her late husband Nicolaes Paulusz Blommendael. After their marriage, De Waij started living in this house with Van Heusden. Together, they had three daughters, who were all baptised in the Lutheran Church.

In the years directly after his marriage, the house in the Markensteeg was not completely De Waij's property. In 1706, he bought a quarter of the house of Nicolaes Blommendael Junior, who had probably inherited this quarter from his father. De Waij paid 208 guilders for this part of the house.[140] In 1736, De Waij had his will drafted at the notary. It stated that he was healthy, although his hearing was slightly impaired, and that his total possessions were valued at less than four thousand guilders.[141] This last will also shows that he had become the sole proprietor of the house in the Markensteeg. It was recorded that his daughter and granddaughter would both inherit half of the house. De Waij passed away in 1743 when he was 79 years old. From the documents that settled his estate, it becomes clear that his house was dilapidated and

[136] NL-SAA, 5001, inv. nr. 148, nr. 19, 22 February 1664.
[137] NL-SAA, 5001, inv. nr. 489, nr. 390, 8 January 1667.
[138] Kuijpers, *Migrantenstad*, 160-161.
[139] NL-SAA, 5001, inv. nr. 699, p. 117, 20 August 1695.
[140] NL-SAA, 5001, inv. nr. 7452, nr. 455, 16 March 1706.
[141] NL-SAA, 5001, inv. nr. 8338, nr. 129, 5 June 1736. Some testaments indicate what the total value of someone's possessions is. This value was classified into different categories, the lowest being 'less than two thousand guilders', followed by 'less than four thousand guilders' and 'less than eight thousand guilders', etc.

therefore did not have any value anymore. However, his son-in-law did want to live in the house and wanted to restore it.[142]

Apart from his house in the Markensteeg, De Waij did not have many belongings. His estate had a value of 59 guilders. Additionally, he had left thirteen guilders of cash. Among his possessions was a Lutheran Bible, which was valued at eight guilders. It was his second most valuable possession, after a silver bowl, which was worth thirteen guilders.[143] The presence of a Lutheran Bible among his little possessions shows that the Lutheran faith was of importance to him; it also means that it is likely that he was able to read.

Although there are only a few sources that give information about the life of Cornelis Laurens de Waij in Amsterdam, these documents do provide insight into his marriage, his occupation, his literacy level, his place of residence, his religion and his possessions. These elements can subsequently be compared to the lives of his parents. De Waij's father, his stepfather and his mother could not write their names when they registered their marriages, while De Waij could write his own name. He also signed the testament that he had drafted at the notary. Together with the Lutheran Bible that he owned, this indicates that De Waij was literate. Both the Bible and the fact that his children were baptised in the Lutheran Church suggest that the Lutheran faith, the faith of his parents, was of importance to him. In addition, his marriage made it possible to become a house owner in a neighbourhood not far from where he grew up. These elements of the life of Cornelis Laurens de Waij provide insight into his socio-economic status and the way he integrated into society as a child of immigrants.

In the previous chapter, the process of settlement of Danish and Norwegian immigrants has been discussed. This process did not stop with the immigrants themselves, but did also concern their offspring. This chapter concentrates on the benchmarks that are important in the processes of integration, assimilation and social mobility. In order to analyse the processes of integration and assimilation, the marriages, the religion and the residential areas of the descendants of immigrants are studied. Moreover, the occupations, literacy level and residential areas are studied to find out to what extent there was social mobility.[144]

3.1 Marriages

The choice of a marriage partner is shaped by both individual preferences and contextual factors. Preferences can include physical attraction, socio-economic resources (social status and

[142] NL-SAA, 5001, inv. nr. 8346, nr. 177, 16 September 1743.
[143] NL-SAA, 5001, inv. nr. 8346, nr. 175, 17 September 1743.
[144] These elements are discussed because the sources only give an insight into these factors.

education) and cultural characteristics. Individuals prefer to marry someone who is similar with regards to socio-economic and cultural characteristics. An unintended result of this is endogamy (a marriage within the 'own' group). The opposite of endogamy is exogamy, a marriage outside the 'own' group. For immigrants and ethnic minorities, endogamy is often the natural outcome, because they differ from the population in the host country in, for example, socio-economic status and cultural characteristics. When, over time, the differences between groups become smaller or diminish, the levels of exogamy become higher. This means that there is a connection between the existence of communities and mixed marriages. The number of mixed marriages is expected to increase when the size of the migrant group is declining because of integration.[145]

A 'mixed marriage' is often defined as a marriage in which the partners differ in physical appearance, ethnicity, nationality or religion. Mixed marriages are seen as crucial in the process of integration. Hill Kulu and Tina Hannemann describe mixed marriages as an 'important indicator in the cultural and structural integration of immigrants and ethnic minorities'.[146] Mixed marriages can play a double role in the process of integration. On the one hand, they are the result of integration, on the other hand they are an incentive for integration. If a migrant marries someone from the host population, this could speed up the integration process. The theory is that when a migrant opts for a mixed marriage, the process of integration has entered the final phase.[147] Schrover questions this view: a condition for complete assimilation is that a group ceases to exist, but the existence of mixed marriages does not always cause groups to cease to exist.[148]

There are multiple factors that can have an impact on the level of endogamy or exogamy. If there is, for example, a migrant group with a much higher number of women, this can mean that women have less chance to marry a man who belongs to their own group. This could mean that all men of that group marry someone within their own group, but not all women, causing the women who belong to this migrant group to integrate faster than the men. This phenomenon is called a marriage-squeeze. Other factors that influence endogamy are the size and homogeneity of the migrant population, the geographic concentration, the outside perception of

[145] Hill Kulu and Tina Hannemann, 'Mixed marriage among immigrants and their descendants in the United Kingdom: Analysis of longitudinal data with missing information', *Population Studies* 73:2 (2019) 180.
[146] Idem, 181.
[147] Marlou Schrover, 'Maria en Rocco. Gemengde huwelijken en integratie in de negentiende eeuw', *Gaan & Staan. Jaarboek voor Vrouwengeschiedenis* 21 (2001) 83.
[148] Idem, 84-85. Schrover defines integration as the merging of groups into society, through a process of allocation and acquisition of positions and functions within a social system.

the migrant group and the economic niche formation of a migrant group.[149] These factors can cause levels of endogamy or exogamy to rise.

In the historiography of marriages of early modern Norwegian and Danish immigrants, a distinction is made between someone who was 'born in Amsterdam' and someone who was 'born outside Amsterdam'. Sommerseth, Ekamper and Sogner, for example, made a distinction between 'Norwegian' and 'non-Norwegian' brides and grooms and between ethnically homogeneous and ethnically mixed marriages.[150] However, by making these distinctions, the possibility is overlooked that the spouse of an immigrant was the child or grandchild of an immigrant. Neeltje Jacobs Staets, who was born in Amsterdam and got married to immigrant Adam Wigtendaal, was, for example, the daughter of an immigrant herself. Her father emigrated from Waldfeucht in Germany to Amsterdam. In addition, Cornelis Beek (c. 1668-1704) came from Stockholm and married Rachel Erasmus Leeuw (1677-1701) in Amsterdam. She was the daughter of Erasmus Andriesse Leeuw from Svendborg and Lijsbet Mathijs from Uddevalla.

For immigrants, it could be attractive to marry someone who was born in Amsterdam. According to Lotte van de Pol and Kuijpers, women who were born in Amsterdam had socio-economic advantages, such as speaking the Dutch language, which made them attractive on the labour as well as the marriage market. Compared to women born in Amsterdam, Norwegian and Danish women had a weaker position.[151] People who were born in Amsterdam and were (grand)children of immigrants, could have had an even better position on the marriage market, because they might have had a shared cultural identity.

To find out to what extent the descendants of Norwegian and Danish immigrants still got married to other Norwegians, Danes of their descendants, the places of origin (based on Amsterdam's registers of marriage banns) of the marriage partners of the descendants have been analysed. A total of 113 marriages has been studied (excluding the marriages of the immigrants themselves), as can be seen in table 2. Over the different generations, an average of a quarter to a third of the marriages was mixed, meaning that one marriage partner originated from outside Amsterdam.

[149] Idem, 86-87.
[150] Sommerseth, Ekamper and Sogner, 'Marriage patterns'; Kuijpers, *Migrantenstad*.
[151] Van de Pol and Kuijpers, 'Poor women's migration'.

Table 2. Number of mixed marriages (places of origin) of the children (N is 22), grandchildren (N is 67) and great-grandchildren (N is 24) of Norwegian and Danish immigrants.

Number of marriages	Children	Grandchildren	Great-grandchildren	Total
Not mixed	72.7 %	71.6 %	70.8 %	75.3 %
Mixed	27.3 %	28.4 %	29.2 %	25.7 %

Most marriages of children and (great-)grandchildren of immigrants were between two people who were both born in Amsterdam. The levels of endogamy were not that high, which indicates a high level of assimilation. However, this is only based on places of origin. Maybe, the common denominator between the marriage partners was the Lutheran faith.

3.2 Religion: The Importance of the Lutheran Faith

After the Reformation, the Dutch Reformed Church became the 'public' or 'privileged' church of the Dutch Republic. It never became the official state church, but the Dutch Reformed Church had the most rights and the highest visibility. There was no complete religious freedom, but there was a certain level of tolerance towards other religions and denominations. Another prominent religious group were Catholics. In addition, there were Jews, Mennonites and Lutherans, who were religious minorities.[152] In Amsterdam, there was a co-existence of these multiple religious communities.[153]

Norwegians and Danes were often not members of the Reformed Church. Since the Reformation in 1536, all Norwegians and Danes were members of the Evangelical-Lutheran State Church in their country of origin. The king of Denmark was the head of the Church. This made the Lutheran Church in Amsterdam the most likely place of worship for Danish and Norwegian immigrants.[154] While it is known that most Norwegian and Danish immigrants became members of the Lutheran congregation in Amsterdam, as has been described in chapter 2, nothing is known about their descendants. Did their children and grandchildren stay members of the Lutheran Church, or did they become members of another church, like the Reformed Church, the public church of the Republic?

All immigrants in this study had ties with the Lutheran Church; they baptised at least one child in the Lutheran Church in Amsterdam. In the families that have been studied, a total of fifty children of immigrants were baptised. Of these fifty children, only four were baptised in a Reformed Church, all of them being children of Adam Sanders Wigtendaal. His first child,

[152] Leendert F. Groenendijk, 'The Reformed Church and Education During the Golden Age of the Dutch Republic', *Nederlands Archief voor Kerkgeschiedenis / Dutch Review of Church History* 85:1 (2005) 57.
[153] Sabine Hiebsch, 'The Coming of Age of the Lutheran Congregation in Early Modern Amsterdam', *Journal of Early Modern Christianity* 3:1 (2016) 2-3.
[154] Sogner and Van Lottum, 'An immigrant community?' 161.

Marritie (1664), was baptised in the Lutheran Church, but his other children were all baptised in different Reformed churches in Amsterdam (*Oude Kerk*, *Nieuwe Kerk* and *Amstelkerk*). This change of denomination was probably related to his second wife, Neeltje Jacobs Staets, with whom he had his last four children. Staets was the daughter of a German immigrant, who were also often members of the Lutheran Church, but she had been baptised in a Reformed Church, the Nieuwe Kerk in Amsterdam.[155] Apparently, Wigtendaal and Staets decided to baptise their children in Staets' church. All children of the immigrants from all other families were baptised in the Lutheran Church.

As table 3 shows, this shifted when the grandchildren of the immigrants were baptised. Of the ninety grandchildren of the immigrants, nineteen were baptised in a Reformed church and twenty were baptised in a Catholic church. The percentage of grandchildren of immigrants that was baptised in a Lutheran Church, dropped with 35.3 percent compared to the children of immigrants. However, the majority of the grandchildren (56.7 percent) were still baptised in the Lutheran Church. Of the next generation, the great-grandchildren of the immigrants, 53.1 percent was baptised in the Lutheran Church, 23 percent in a Reformed Church and 23.9 percent

Table 3. Baptised children of immigrants per denomination. Children: N is 50, grandchildren: N is 90, great-grandchildren: N is 113.

Baptised	**Children**	**Grandchildren**	**Great-grandchildren**
Roman Catholic Church	x	22.2 %	23.9 %
Dutch Reformed Church	8 %	21.1 %	23.0 %
Lutheran Church	92 %	56.7 %	53.1 %

in a Catholic Church. The percentage of children that was baptised in the Lutheran Church dropped again, but this time with only 3.6 percent. This means that even after three generations, the Lutheran faith remained the most prominent faith among the families that have been studied. Moreover, it is remarkable that the share of descendants who changed their denomination is approximately evenly distributed between the Roman Catholic Church and the Reformed Church. The Reformed Church did not attract more people, even though it was the public church of the Republic.

Most families had all their children baptised in either the same church or churches with the same Christian denomination. However, the children of Jan Benningh (1685->1721), who was Catholic, and Martha Bocks (1686-1754), who was Lutheran, were baptised in both the Lutheran Church and in Roman Catholic Church *De Star*. Benningh's family was Catholic; he himself was baptised in Roman Catholic Church *Het Haantje* in 1685. The family of Martha

[155] NL-SAA, 5001, inv. nr. 41, nr. 178, 10 February 1632.

Bocks was Lutheran, she was baptised in the Lutheran Church in Amsterdam in 1686. Apparently, Benningh and Bocks did not choose just one religion, but baptised their children both in the Lutheran Church and in a Catholic Church. When a child was baptised in the Lutheran Church, the witnesses of the baptism were related to Bocks - for example her brothers Dirk Bocks and Andries Bocks, and her mother Helena Erasmus Leeuw. When a child was baptised in *De Star*, the witnesses were the parents of Benningh. This shows that although the couple and their families had different religions, they did try to find a solution that worked for both.

Yet, marriages where partners had a different religion were not common. Between 1580 and 1810, most marriages in Amsterdam were concluded within the own religious community.[156] In 1750, a new law was enacted that did not forbid mixed marriages, but clearly aimed at discouraging the marriage of partners with different religions. For example, if a man belonged to the Reformed Church and got married to a Catholic woman, he was no longer eligible for a public office position. Moreover, parents who had, for example, baptised their children both in a Catholic church and in a Reformed church, had to make sure that they did not favour the children that were baptised in a Catholic church in any way over the children who were baptised in a Reformed church.[157] Although religiously mixed marriages did occur, most marriages between the descendants of Norwegian and Danish immigrants were between two partners with the same faith: the Lutheran religion.

The importance of the Lutheran faith was also reflected in estate inventories and wills of multiple members of the families. As has been mentioned in the introduction of this chapter, Cornelis Laurens de Waij owned a Lutheran Bible. He was not the only one. Andries Rosenbergh (1674-1726), who was the son of Pieter Carstens Rosenbergh from Ribe in Denmark, had a Lutheran psalter, valued at two guilders. It was the only book that was mentioned in the inventory of his estate.[158] Ludolph Ogelwight (1702-1774), who had become a successful merchant, had gathered a whole collection of Lutheran books throughout his life, detailed in his will. His son Hendrik Ogelwight (1733-1810) inherited his library, except his religious books: a Lutheran Bible, prayerbooks, psalters and a 'church book with golden locks'.[159] It is unknown who did inherit these books. The Lutheran Bibles that were found in

[156] Van Weeren and De Moor, *Ja, ik wil!*, 123.
[157] Idem, 126-127.
[158] NL-SAA, 5075, inv. nr. 8488, nr. 414, 21 October 1726.
[159] NL-SAA, 5075, inv. nr. 13899, nr. 22, 9 February 1771. Original Dutch tekst: *Kerkboek met goude sloten*.

the estates of both wealthy and less wealthy descendants of Norwegians and Danes indicate that the Lutheran faith was important to them.

Although the Dutch Reformed Church was the public church of the Dutch Republic, people were not obliged to become a member of this church. The Ogelwight family, who became relatively successful compared to the other families, additionally demonstrates that it was not necessary to become a member of the Reformed Church in order to become successful. If total assimilation into the early modern society in Amsterdam would also mean converting to the Reformed Church, the assimilation of most descendants of Norwegians and Danish immigrants was, after four generations, still not complete. The Lutheran faith, the faith of their (grand)parents, but also the religious community that was formed in this church, was too important to most of them to change.

3.3 Occupations

In order to study social mobility, occupations are of great importance.[160] As has been mentioned before, the occupation of grooms in the marriage banns registers of Amsterdam is only mentioned until 1715, while the occupation of women is not mentioned at all. For the years that the marriage banns registers do mention the occupations, these occupations only reflect one moment in the lives of the grooms, usually during adolescence. This makes it hard, and sometimes even impossible, to reconstruct entire careers, especially of women. It also means that it was impossible to analyse the careers of all people under study, and draw a conclusion about their process of social mobility based on their occupations. That is why this paragraph concentrates on the careers of one man and one woman of whom the careers could be reconstructed, and this is compared to the lives and occupations of their (grand)parents.[161]

In 1731, Pieter Monck got married to Jannetje Barents Boom.[162] Monck was the grandchild of the immigrants Hans Laurense (c.1645-?) from Hitterö-Sund and Dorethe Hartmans (c.1644-1719) from Kristiansand. Their daughter (and Pieter Monck's mother), Abigail Hans (1676-1725), got married to Arend Pieters Monck (1676-1733), who worked as a *trekwerker*, a helper of a weaver. Pieter Monck followed in the footsteps of his grandfather and joined the VOC as a junior ordinary sailor. In the subsequent years, he joined the VOC six other times, each time improving his rank until, in 1738, he had become captain. A VOC captain

[160] Marco H. D. van Leeuwen, Ineke Maas, Danièle Rébaudo and Jean-Pierre Pélissier, 'Social Mobility in France 1720-1986: Effects of Wars, Revolution and Economic Change', *Journal of Social History* 49:3 (2016) 590.
[161] In the next chapter, the intergenerational mobility in several families will be further discussed.
[162] NL-SAA, 5001, inv. nr. 718, p. 349, 27 July 1731.

earned 66 to eighty guilders a month, while a junior ordinary sailor earned eight to nine guilders a month.[163] This means that Monck's income increased significantly over the years. In addition, a VOC captain was usually a respected man, especially by his crew members and in his direct surroundings.[164] Unfortunately, Monck's first voyage as a VOC captain was also his last voyage: he passed away in 1740.[165] He left behind his wife Jannetje Barents Boom. During the nine years of his marriage to her, he had spent only roughly 22 months with her in Amsterdam.

When Monck died, merchant Ludolph Ogelwight helped Jannetje Barents Boom with the financial arrangements following Monck's death. It is unknown whether Monck and Boom knew Ogelwight before Monck passed away, but the connection between the two is striking. Both Monck and Ogelwight had the same background: they were Lutheran and the grandchildren of immigrants. In addition, they both improved their socio-economic status significantly, especially compared to their (grand)parents. While his grandfather had been a peat carrier and his father a carpenter who was specialised in chests, Ludolph Ogelwight became a successful merchant.[166] Jannetje Barents Boom got married to Ludolph Ogelwight in 1743, joining the two families.[167]

Although harder to trace, women were active participants on the labour market. Women did both paid and unpaid work and often worked within the household or produced food or products for personal use.[168] This unpaid work has often been forgotten or overlooked[169], but it is certain that many women conducted at least this kind of work. As for paid work, the occupation of only one of all women in the sample was mentioned in the sources.

Helena Erasmus Leeuw, the daughter of immigrants Erasmus Andries Leeuw (c. 1634-1690) and Lijsbet Mathijs (c. 1633-?) was *uitdraagster*, meaning she traded in second-hand products. In 1707, she was accused of buying stolen products. While the owner claimed that the products had a value of five hundred guilders, Leeuw only paid 130 guilders. She claimed that she was not aware that the products were stolen and had a much higher value than the 130 guilders she paid. She was also accused of living together with a married man who was not her husband. Her husband, Claas Bocks from Minden in Germany, passed away around 1700.

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[163] Danielle van den Heuvel, '*Bij uijtlandigheijt van haar man'. Echtgenotes van VOC-zeelieden aangemonsterd voor de kamer Enkhuizen (1700-1750)* (Amsterdam: Aksant, 2005) 34-35.
[164] Jaap R. Bruijn, *Schippers van de VOC in de achttiende eeuw aan de wal en op zee* (Amsterdam: De Bataafsche Leeuw, 2008) 83-98.
[165] NL-HaNA, 1.04.02, inv. nr. 6079, nr. 4.
[166] More about the Ogelwight family and their process of upward social mobility can be read in chapter 3.
[167] NL-SAA, 5001, inv. nr. 726, p. 380, 10 May 1743.
[168] Ariadne Schmidt, 'Vrouwenarbeid in de vroegmoderne tijd', 4.
[169] Ariadne Schmidt, 'The Profits of Unpaid Work. 'Assisting Labour' of Women in the Early Modern Urban Dutch Economy', *The History of the Family* 19:3 (2011) 318.

Afterwards, she had lived together with a man called Ariaan for at least 1,5 years and had a child with him. The boy, called Daniël, was baptised in the Lutheran Church and was eighteen weeks old in May 1707. Helena Erasmus Leeuw was punished: she had to stand in front of the city hall with a letter on her chest. In addition, she was confined to the Spinhuis, a prison for women, for six years, and she was banned out of the city for six years. [170] In January 1713, she was arrested again, because she was in the city while her exile was not over yet. This time, she was described as an *omloopster*, a seller of victuals. She had come to the city because her daughter had given birth. She was confined to the Spinhuis again, for two years.[171] The story of Helena Erasmus Leeuw provides insight into the potential harshness of life in early modern Amsterdam. In the end, Leeuw was unsuccessful in improving her socio-economic status in Amsterdam, especially after her husband passed away.

The lives and careers of Pieter Monck (and also Ludolph Ogelwight) and Helena Erasmus Leeuw differ greatly from each other. Monck and Ogelwight are examples of successful men, who experienced significant upward mobility, both in their own lives and compared to their (grand)parents. It is striking that both were grandchildren of immigrants. In contrast, Leeuw was not so fortunate. While her parents probably came to Amsterdam as economic migrants and hoped for a better life, their daughter was unsuccessful in achieving this.

3.4 The Literacy Level of the Descendants of Norwegians and Danish immigrants

Being able to read and write is important in order to gather and spread information and to communicate with other people. In the early modern period, writing or reading a letter could, for example, be the only possibility to keep in touch with friends and loved ones far away. Not everyone in the early modern period was literate. Especially at the beginning of the seventeenth century, many people could not read or write. In the course of the seventeenth and eighteenth century, the literacy rate in the Dutch Republic increased.[172]

The percentage of people that could read and write was higher in the Republic than in other European countries. However, it is difficult to determine how high the literacy rate exactly was.[173] An important indicator that is used to determine whether someone was able to read and

[170] NL-SAA, Confessieboeken 5061, inventory number 357, page 10, 17 May 1707.
[171] NL-SAA, 5061, inv. nr. 366, p. 176-177, 3 January 1713.
[172] Jeroen Blaak, *Geletterde levens. Dagelijks lezen en schrijven in de vroegmoderne tijd in Nederland 1624-1770* (Hilversum: Verloren, 2004) 292-294.
[173] J. J. Kloek and W. W. Mijnhardt, *1800. Blauwdrukken voor een samenleving* (Den Haag 2001) 584; Roelof van Gelder, *Zeepost. Nooit bezorgde brieven uit de 17de en 18de eeuw* (Amsterdam/Antwerpen: Uitgeverij Atlas, 2008) 22.

write is a signature. It is presumed that if someone was able to write his' or her own name, someone was literate. At school, children in the Republic first learned to read. Once they had mastered that, they learned to write. It is, therefore, plausible that people who could write their names could also read.[174] As previously mentioned, marriage banns registers are often used to study the literacy rate. This method does, however, have some disadvantages. Firstly, it is not clear what the relation is between signing one's name and the level of literacy. The fact that someone could write his or her name does not mean that that person was also able to read a book or write a letter. Second, people who did not marry or were already married are not included in studies based on marriage banns registers.[175] Finally, not all marriage banns registers from all places have been preserved. This means that this source is not representative for a whole country.[176]

Another disadvantage of using a marriage banns registers as a source to determine the literacy level, is that most people got married when they were relatively young. During the rest of their lives, not everyone who could read or write would use these skills on a daily basis. It could take a long time before they needed their reading and writing skills again. This could mean that they would unlearn how to read and write, even if it was their own name.[177] In 1767, Geertruij Groen (1746-1782) married Jurriaan Wagenaar in Buiksloot (at that time a small village near Amsterdam). They both signed their prenuptial agreement.[178] In the same year, both appeared in several notarial deeds that related to the settlement of the estate of Groen's uncle Jan Monk (1717-1767). Both Groen and Wagenaar wrote their own names on all these occasions.[179] Years later, in 1776, Geertruij Groen, now widow of Jurriaan Wagenaar, is found in the marriage banns registers again. She registered her marriage to Pieter Aarland in Amsterdam. Neither of them wrote their own name.[180] The reason why Groen did not sign with her own name, like she had done in the notarial deeds, is not known. It could be that her late husband had helped her with her signature, or that this was the first time in ten years that she had to write her name and she had simply forgotten how to do it. This demonstrates the difficulties of using the marriage banns registers as a source for determining the literacy rate.

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[174] Marita Mathijsen, *Het literaire leven in de negentiende eeuw* (Leiden: Martinus Nijhoff, 1987) 5.
[175] Erika Kuijpers, 'Lezen en schrijven. Onderzoek naar het alfabetiseringsniveau in zeventiende-eeuws Amsterdam', *Tijdschrift voor Sociale Geschiedenis* 23:4 (1997) 490-522; Hart, *Geschrift en getal*.
[176] Idem, 500-501.
[177] Gijsbert Rutten and Marijke van der Wal, 'The practice of letter writing: Skills, models, and Early Modern Dutch manuals', *Language and History* 56:1 (2013) 21.
[178] NL-SAA, 5075, inv. nr. 10834, nr. 968, 18 August 1767.
[179] NL-SAA, 5075, inv. nr. 10834, deed 749, 10 July 1767; SAA, 5075, inv. nr. 10835, nr. 1105 and 1106.
[180] NL-SAA, 5001, inv. nr. 749, nr. 89.

The studies that use the marriage banns registers as a source often base their research only on people who married for the first time, to avoid double counting.[181] Thus, marriages of widows and widowers who married again are not included in these studies. This means that the possibility that someone learned to read and write later on in his or her life is neglected. Adam Sanders Wigtendaal from Oslo married Margriet Albers in 1661. He signed the register with a cross. In 1665, he was a widowed and married again, to Neeltje Jacobs Staets. This time, Wigtendaal did sign the register with 'Adam Sandersen'.[182] It is possible that while he was in Amsterdam in the years between his two marriages, he had learned how to write his name. By leaving out all widowers and widows in studies on the literacy level of Amsterdam, the degree to which people learned to write their names later on in their lives, for example after coming to Amsterdam as an immigrant, is overlooked.

Despite these shortcomings in both the sources and the historiography, marriage banns registers remain a very valuable source that give a relatively reliable indication of the literacy level of a certain place.[183] This is because the marriage banns registers are the most complete source with the most details about couples who had the intention to marry. This is why the marriage banns registers have also been used in this study to analyse the literacy level of the descendants of immigrants.

The Norwegian Wigtendaal, who initially could not write his own name, is no exception. Norwegian and Danish immigrants were often illiterate[184], but what about their descendants? In the sample of families in this study, an improving literacy rate through time can be detected. The immigrants themselves were on average the least literate. There were five different ways in which the Danish and Norwegian immigrants in this study signed their names: either by writing their own full name (this happened four times and they were all men, one of whom was Wigtendaal at his second marriage registration), by only writing their first name (this happened twice), by signing with initials (one time), by signing with a cross (this happened eight times) and by writing a mark (this occurred eleven times). This signing with a mark was common among Norwegians. The signs they made, called a *bumerke* (house mark), could refer to a specific family. The marks were used on houses, objects, or cattle as a recognition of

[181] Hart, *Geschrift en getal*; Sommerseth, Ekamper and Sogner, 'Marriage patterns'.
[182] NL-SAA, 5001, inv. nr. 482, nr. 224, 20 August 1661; NL-SAA, 5001, inv. nr. 486, nr. 498, 28 February 1665.
[183] Kuijpers, 'Lezen en schrijven', 500-501.
[184] See for example: Kuijpers, 'Poor, Illiterate and Superstitious?', 64; Kuijpers, 'Lezen en schrijven', 490-522 and Hart, *Geschrift en getal*, 130-132. According to Kuijpers, around 1700, twenty to fifty percent of the Norwegian grooms were literate, compared to seventy percent of the grooms who were born in Amsterdam. The literacy level of the Norwegian women was even lower: zero to ten percent of the Norwegian women signed the marriage banns registers with their name, compared to fifty percent of the women who were born in Amsterdam.

ownership.[185] Although these marks were often used because people were illiterate, it is difficult to determine someone's literacy rate by using a *bumerke*. However, the fact that only four people wrote their full names indicates that most immigrants and their partners were (at least partially) illiterate.

Table 4. The percentage of descendants of Norwegians and Danes who signed their marriage registration with their names or a cross. Immigrants: N is 22, children: N is 44, grandchildren: N is 134 and great-grandchildren: N is 48.

Literacy Level	Immigrants and marriage partners	Children	Grandchildren	Great-grandchildren
Name	M: 30 % W: 0 %	M: 82.4 % W: 56.3 %	M: 92.3 % W: 66.7 %	M: 95 % W: 80 %
Cross	M: 30 % W: 25 %	M: 17.6 % W: 43.7 %	M: 7.7 % W: 33.3 %	M: 5 % W: 20 %
First name	M: 10 % W: 8.3 %	-	-	-
Initials	M: 10 % W: 0 %	-	-	-
Mark	M: 20 % W: 66.7 %	-	-	-

In the following generations, the diverse ways of signing disappeared, people either signed with a cross or with their full name. Table 4 shows the different generations and the percentage of people who signed their marriage registration with a cross or with their names. It shows that there was a growing number of men (M) and women (W) who signed the marriage banns registers with their name. The overall literacy rate amongst the descendants of Norwegian and Danish immigrants increased. Moreover, the literacy rate of each family increased, not just the families who were rich and could afford education. Table 5 illustrates this for one of the poorest families in this study: the Benningsdam family. The percentage of people who signed their marriage registration with a cross decreased, while the percentage of people who did sign their names increased.

Table 5. The percentage of men (M) and women (W) of the Benningsdam family who could write their names in the marriage banns registers of Amsterdam. Immigrants: N is 1 man and 1 woman, children: N is 1 man and 1 woman, grandchildren: N is 11 men and 11 women, great-grandchildren: N is 13 men and 13 women, great-great-grandchildren: N is 6 men and 6 women.

Literacy Level	Immigrants	Children	Grandchildren	Great-grandchildren	Great-great-grandchildren
Name	M: 100 % W: 0 %	M: 100 % W: 0 %	M: 72.7 % W: 18.2 %	M: 92.3 % W: 61.5 %	M: 100 % W: 83.3 %
Cross	-	M: 0 % W: 100 %	M: 27.3 % W: 81.8 %	M: 7.7 % W: 38.5 %	M: 0 % W: 16.7 %
Mark	M: 0 % W: 100 %	-	-	-	-

[185] Van Lottum and Sogner, 'Het verhaal van Magnus en Barbara', 72.

This is an important conclusion, because the literacy rate is closely connected to other criteria that indicate the social status of people. Across Europe, literacy in the early modern period was closely related to wealth, occupation, and social position.[186] There were considerable differences in literacy rate between the families under study, which indicates the difference in social position. In the Ogelwight family, almost everyone signed the registers with their name (95 percent). In other families, like the Benningsdam family, this percentage was much lower: around 53 percent signed the marriage banns registers with their name.[187]

Overall, the literacy rate of the descendants of the Norwegian and Danish immigrants increased over time. The percentage of literate men was higher in each generation than the percentage of women that could read and write, but both percentages increased. Compared to their parents, each generation improved their literacy level. Given that the literacy level in the Republic increased during the eighteenth century, these results might not be surprising.[188] However, it does indicate that the descendants of Norwegians and Danes did not form an exception to the overall trend.

3.5 Residential Areas

Until well into the nineteenth century, Amsterdam was a city of walkable distances. Although the size of the city meant that everyone could go everywhere, there were differences between richer and poorer neighbourhoods. These large differences between rich and poor were reflected in the spatial structure of the city.[189] This means that the spatial distribution of people across the city can give insight into their wealth. This is relevant for immigrants and their descendants as well, because the spatial distribution of immigrants across the city provides important information about their status in society. Social and economic inequality are often reflected in spatial segregation.[190] Although multiple studies have shown where the Danish and Norwegian immigrants lived in the city, little is known about their descendants and their residential areas.[191] Did they stay in the same neighbourhoods in which their (grand-)parents had lived or did they move to other neighbourhoods? What does their residential area say about their socio-economic position in society?

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[186] Robert Allan Houston, *Literacy in Early Modern Europe. Culture and Education, 1500-1800* (London and New York: Routlegde, 2014) 142.
[187] This percentage is the average of all generations together. Over the years, the percentage of people that did sign the register with their names increased in both families.
[188] Van Weeren and De Moor, *Ja, ik wil!*, 189-190.
[189] Lesger, 'Migranten in Amsterdam in de achttiende eeuw', 43.
[190] Idem, 51.
[191] Kuijpers, *Migrantenstad*; Lesger, 'Migranten in Amsterdam'; Sommerseth, Ekamper and Sogner, 'Marriage patterns'.

Figure 2 shows the different neighbourhoods in which early modern Amsterdam could be divided. The neighbourhoods and streets in which many Norwegians and Danes lived are mentioned explicitly. The *Oude Lutherse Kerk* and *Nieuwe Lutherse Kerk*, the churches that were important in the lives of the immigrants and their descendants, have also been added to the figure.[192] The Oude Zijde and Nieuwe Zijde together formed the oldest part of the city, dating from the Medieval Period. De Grachtengordel was the neighbourhood where the wealthiest inhabitants of Amsterdam lived. Especially the Herengracht and the Keizersgracht were favoured by the richest people. The Jordaan, on the other hand, was one of the poorest neighbourhoods. Especially the Goudsbloemgracht (today the Willemsstraat) was a poor street.[193] However, the Jordaan was not the only deprived neighbourhood. Most Norwegians and Danes lived at the Eastern Islands and in the Lastage.[194] Two of the poorest streets in the Lastage were the Ridderstraat and the Jonkerstraat (figure 2).

To find out in which parts of the city the descendants of Norwegian and Danish immigrants lived, all addresses (a total of 163, as registered in the marriage banns registers) of the immigrants themselves, their children and grandchildren have been plotted on a map (see figure 3).[195] A distinction has been made between the marriage partner that belonged to the family under study and the in-laws. As figure 3 shows, there is a concentration of people in two neighbourhoods: the Jordaan and the Lastage, two of the poorest neighbourhoods in the city. Sogner and Van Lottum used the neighbourhoods (Eastern Islands) in which the immigrants lived to demonstrate that Norwegians and Danes formed a community based on shared locality of residence.[196] It is, therefore, remarkable that not many descendants lived at the Eastern Islands. Moreover, the geographic distribution of the descendants indicates that most of them did not improve their socio-economic status enough to move out of these poorer neighbourhoods.

That someone's place of residence in the city depended for a large part on someone's socio-economic position becomes clear when the differences between the families are studied. For the richest family (the Ogelwight family, figure 4) and one of the poorest families (the Benningsdam family) two separate maps have been made which show the differences in places

[192] Based on the work of Clé Lesger and Erika Kuijpers.
[193] Idem, 50.
[194] Kuijpers, *Migrantenstad*, 141. The Eastern Islands consisted of *Oostenburg*, *Wittenburg*, *Kattenburg*, *Marken*, *Uilenburg* and *Vlooienburg*.
[195] These are not exact addresses. In the marriage banns registers, only the streets in which the marriage partners lived were recorded. In notarial deeds, the descriptions of the locality of the residences can be more detailed, but for the descendants of the immigrants, no exact addresses (that is, a street name and a house number) are known.
[196] Sogner and Van Lottum, 'An immigrant community?'.

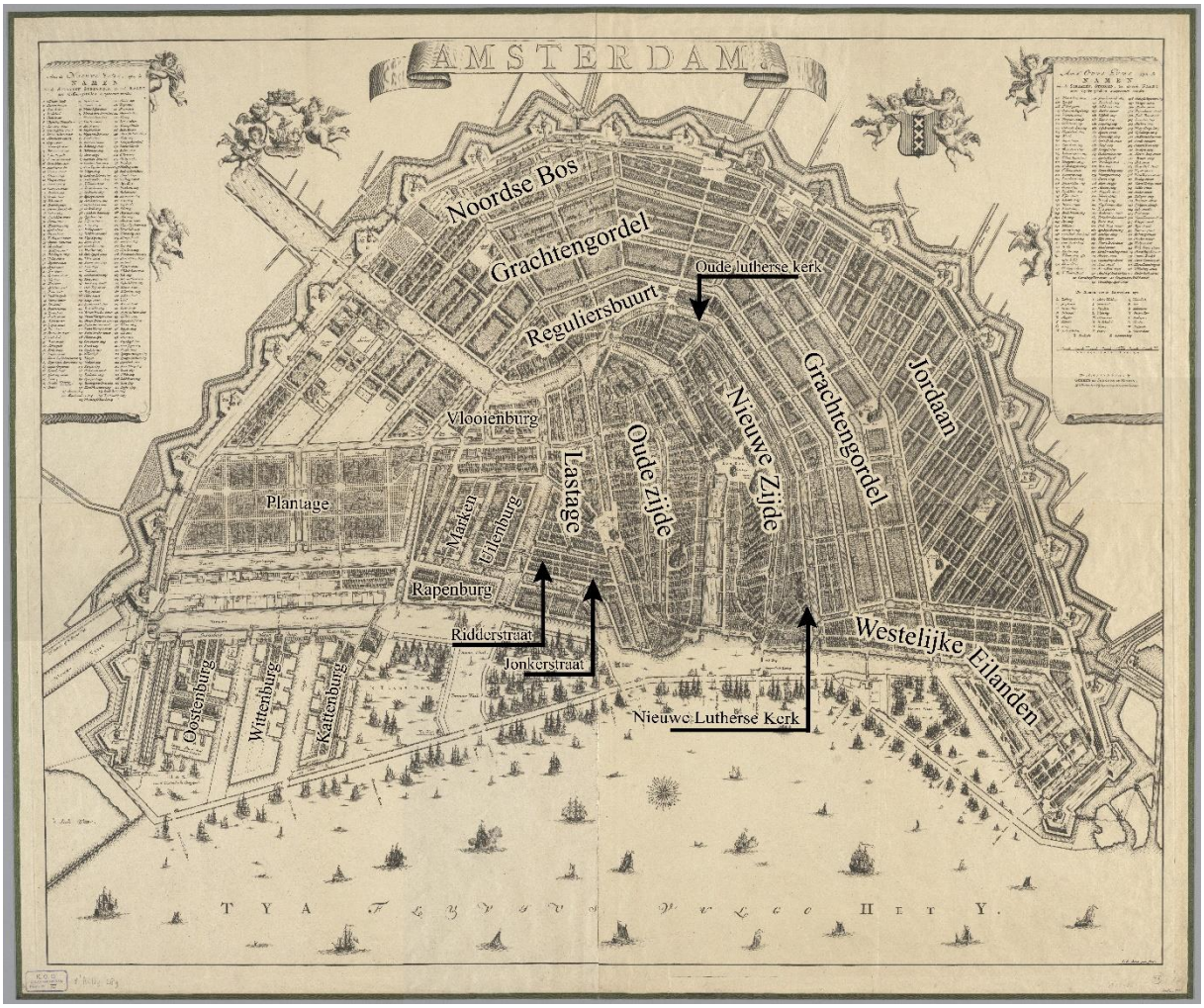

Figure 2. Map of Amsterdam made by Gerrit de Broen Junior (1692-1774), 1744. Source: Amsterdam City Archives, Beeldbank, edited by the author.

of residence within the city. Around 1668, Jan Jacobs Ogelwight from Ribe and Annetje Pieters from Frederikstad lived in the Jordaan in Amsterdam.[197] From there, their descendants spread across the city. With every generation, the descendants improved their socio-economic status and this meant that they also moved into different neighbourhoods. Most of them even resided in the Grachtengordel, the neighbourhood in which the wealthiest people resided. There is one exception to this: Paulus Ogelwight married Elisabeth Hanse, who was born in Listerlandet.[198] She was the widow of Michiel Stokke, who was also born in Listerlandet.[199] Both Ogelwight and Hanse lived in Wittenburg, one of the Eastern Islands of Amsterdam. That is remarkable, since Hanse was of Norwegian origin. This could indicate that the couple decided to live in a neighbourhood where other Norwegians and Danes lived.

[197] NL-SAA, 5001, inv. nr. 492, p. 112, 2 June 1668.
[198] NL-SAA, 5001, inv. nr. 745, p. 177, 28 December 1769.
[199] NL-SAA, 5001, inv. nr. 737, p. 414, 26 September 1760.

The map of the Benningsdam family (figure 5) shows a different pattern compared to the Ogelwight family. For five generations, the Benningsdam family was concentrated in two streets: the Ridderstraat and the Jonkerstraat. The in-laws did sometimes come from different parts of the city, but most of them lived in the Ridder- and Jonkerstraat as well. It were only the great-great-grandchildren of the immigrants who slowly, at the end of the eighteenth century, started to move out of these two streets.[200]

To sum up, the offspring of the immigrants did not stay at the Eastern Islands, but moved to other poor neighbourhoods in the city, especially the Jordaan. The meaning of this is twofold: on the one hand, this demonstrates that the descendants of Norwegian and Danish immigrants did not form a community based on shared locality of residence and on the other hand, it shows that, apart from the Ogelwight family, they did not improve their socio-economic status enough to move to better neighbourhoods.

[200] This will be elaborated in chapter 4.

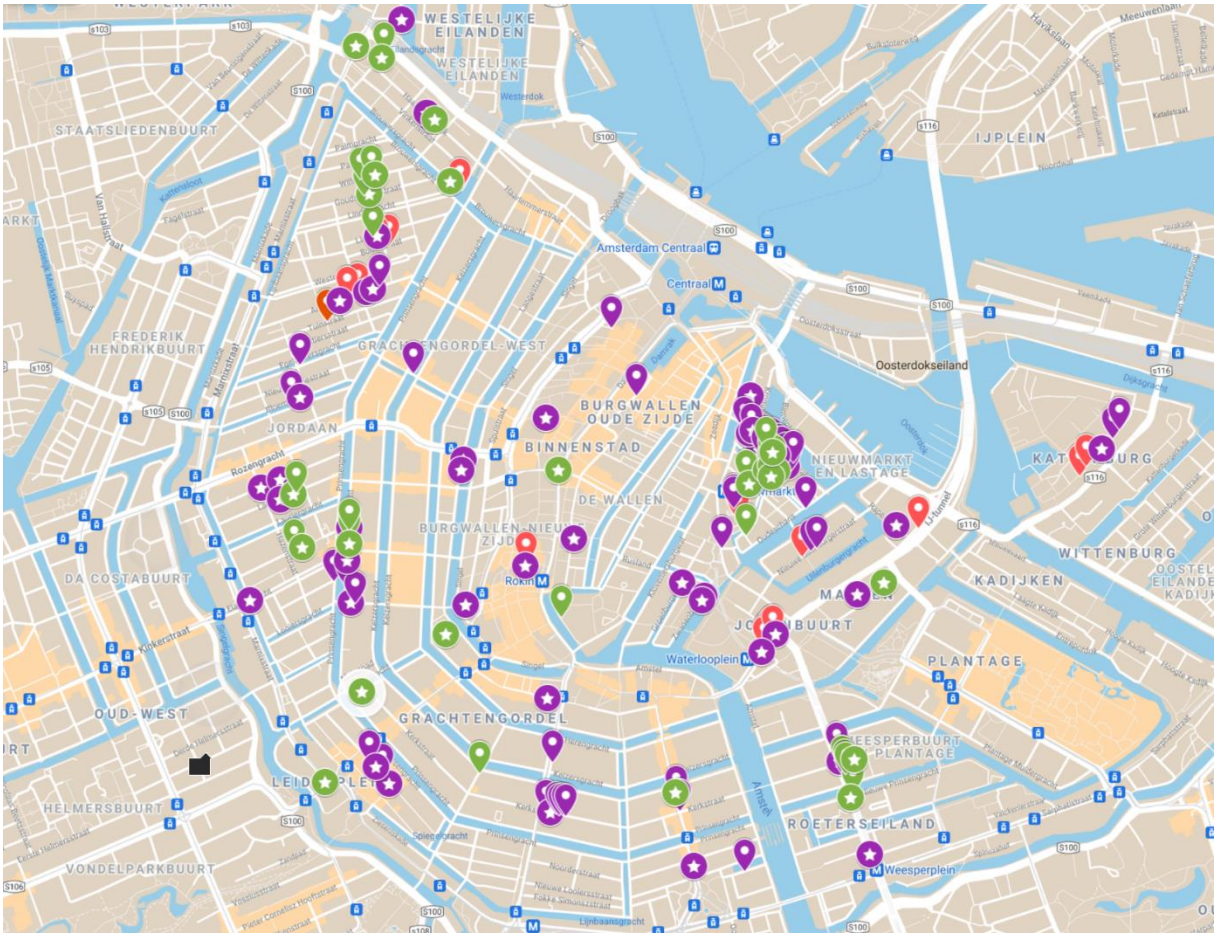

Figure 3. The addresses of Norwegian and Danish immigrants, their children and grandchildren. Source: NL-SAA, Marriage banns registers (5001). Map is made by the author.

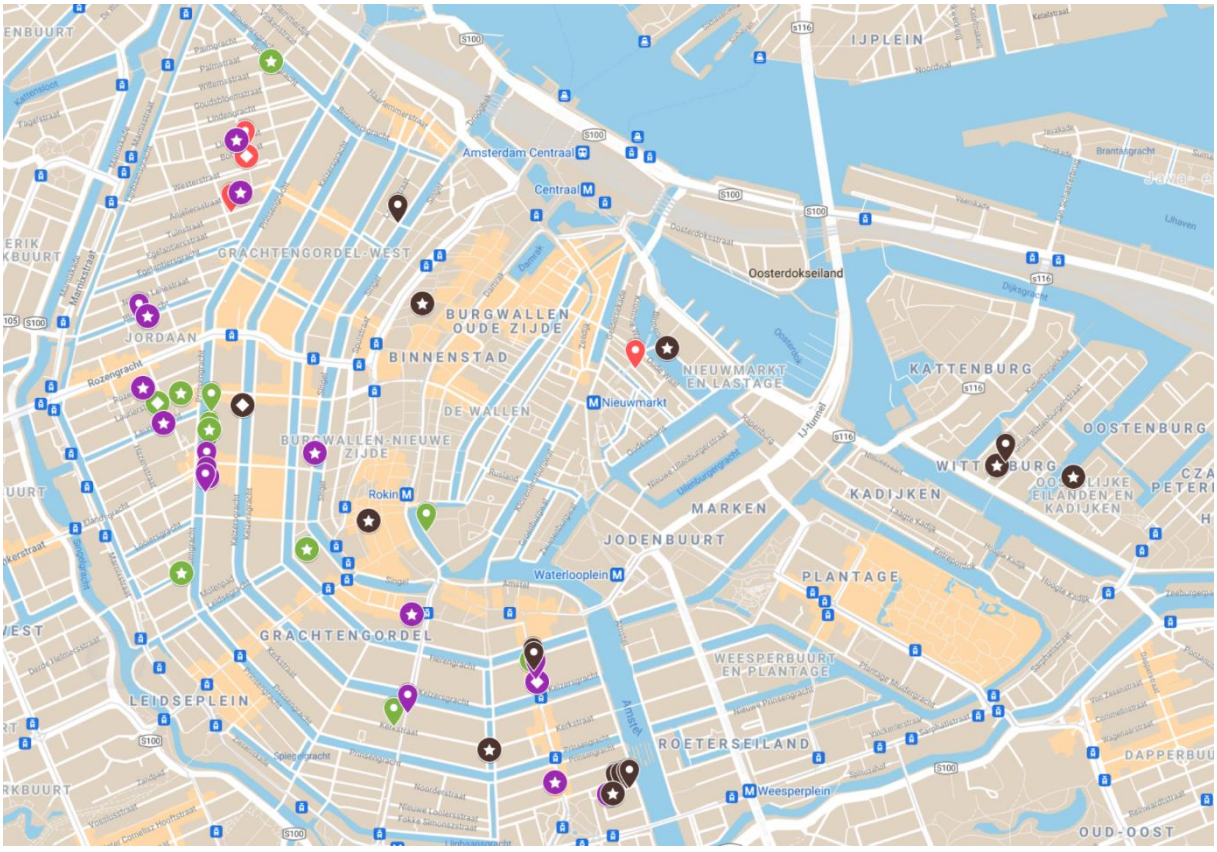

Figure 4. The addresses of four generations of the Ogelwight family. Source: NL-SAA, Marriage banns registers (5001). Map is made by the author.

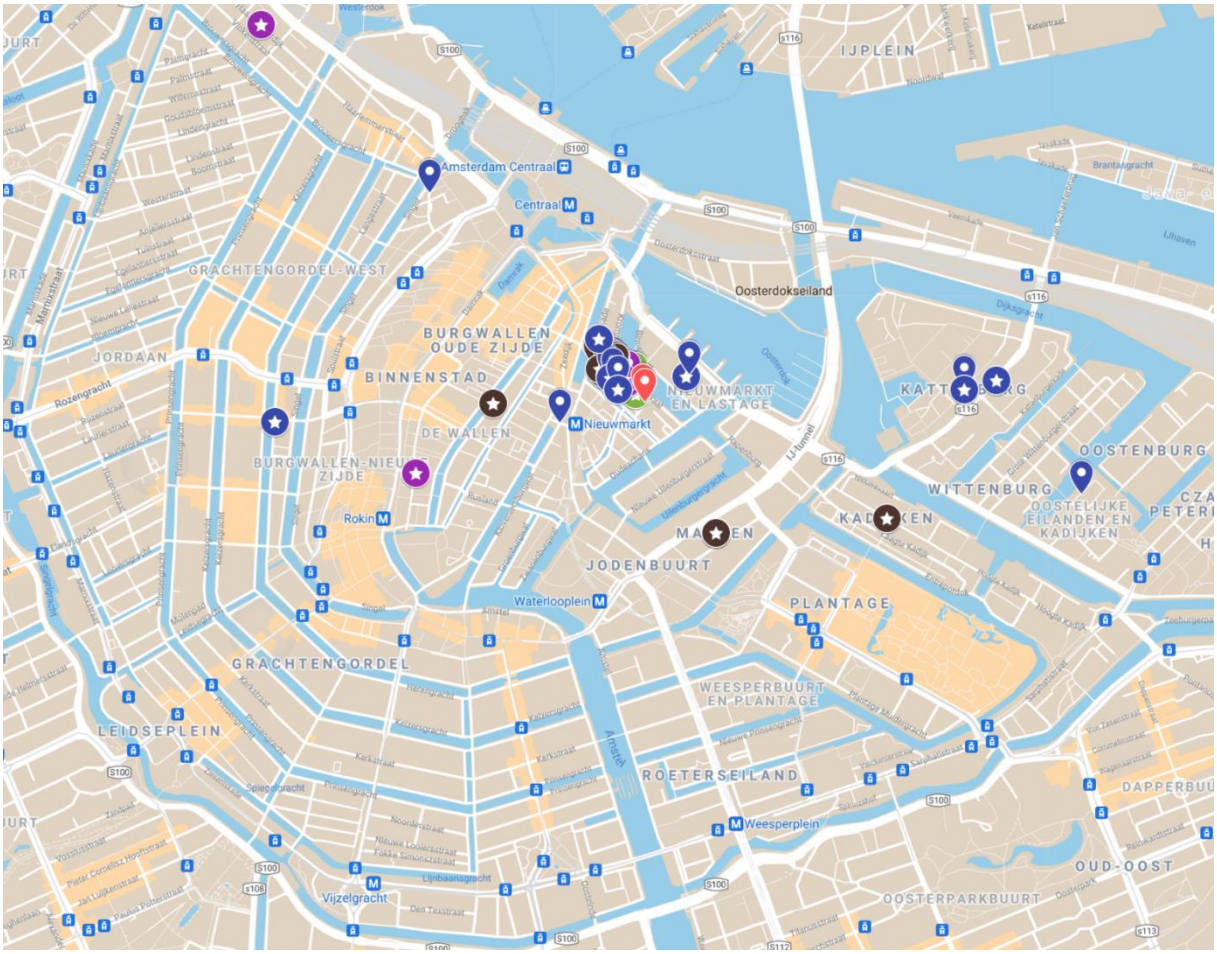

Figure 5. The addresses of five generations of the Benningsdam family. Source: NL-SAA, Marriage banns registers (5001). Map is made by the author.

Immigrants

Children

Grandchildren

Great-grandchildren

Great-great-grandchildren

In-laws (all colours)

3.6 Conclusion

This chapter concentrated on different benchmarks of the processes of integration, assimilation, and social mobility of the descendants of early modern immigrants in Amsterdam: marriages, religion, occupations, literacy level and residential areas. When the results are compared to conclusions made by other scholars about the Norwegian and Danish immigrants themselves, remarkable differences and similarities are revealed that indicate the level of integration and assimilation. One similarity is that the majority of the offspring of the immigrants remained Lutheran. This means that no evidence could be found for the hypothesis that if the descendants of Norwegian and Danish immigrants fully assimilated into society, they would become members of the Reformed Church. This suggests that even after four generations, there was no full assimilation among the descendants of Norwegian and Danish immigrants.

However, there were also differences. According to the historiography of the Norwegian and Danish immigrants in Amsterdam, most immigrants lived at the Eastern Islands and in the Lastage in Amsterdam. This study has shown that the offspring of the immigrants did not stay at the Eastern Islands, but moved to other poor neighbourhoods in the city, especially the Jordaan. This indicates that the descendants no longer formed a community with Norwegian and Danish immigrants based on shared locality of residence, which suggests integration into society. Moreover, it shows that they remained relatively poor: there was little social mobility.

Chapter 4. Wigtendaal, Ogelwight and Benningsdam: Three Families with a Migration Background

In April 1747, 78-year-old Barbara Jans, widow of Jasper Benningsdam, appeared before notary Fredrik Klinkhamer (1709-1757). Together with Jannetje Smit, who was 66 years old and the widow of Arnodus Spanjer, she declared that she had known Christiaan Laurens. In 1739, Laurens had joined the VOC as an experienced sailor and had sailed to Batavia with the ship *Huis te Spijk*. In Batavia, he had passed away in a hospital on 14 April 1745. At the moment of his death, Laurens was not married and did not have any other relatives left, except for two aunts.[201]

These two aunts, Claasje Blommendaal and Johanna de Waij (half-sisters) were the heirs of Laurens. They needed Jans and Smit to declare that they were the only living relatives of Laurens, to claim his inheritance. Therefore, Jans and Smit stated that they had known Laurens, his parents and other family members very well for many years.[202] Their relatively high age must have made them respectable witnesses. While these types of declarations were common, this particular one is remarkable, because it shows an unexpected connection between two families in this study: De Waij and Benningsdam. Jans was the daughter of the Danish immigrant Jan Erasmus and De Waij was the granddaughter of the German Laurens Govertse and the Norwegian Engeltje Goverts (c.1625-1720).

The connection between these two families is only revealed when the families are studied in detail. The notarial deed itself does not indicate that the people mentioned were of immigrant descent. Only a microhistorical approach allows for these kinds of networks to become visible. In addition, this approach makes it possible to study the processes of integration, assimilation and upward or downward social mobility more in depth. These are complex processes that change over time and do not always fit into a single frame.

In the previous chapter, the focus was on the indicators that determined the processes of assimilation and social mobility of the offspring of immigrants and how these factors changed through time. This chapter focuses on the families and their stories. It weaves together the accounts of three different families: the Benningsdam family, the Ogelwight family and the Wigtendaal family. Each case study focuses on a different aspect of social mobility and assimilation. For the Benningsdam family, their process of spatial assimilation is studied. Why

[201] NL-SAA, 5075, inv. nr. 111105, nr. 162, 27 April 1747.
[202] NL-SAA, 5075, inv. nr. 111105, nr. 162, 27 April 1747.

did they stay in the same two streets for generations? The case about the Ogelwight family concentrates on their socio-economic status. The family consisted of multiple social climbers, who built up the family fortune, but not all branches of the family experienced the same upward social mobility. For the Wigtendaal family, the focus is on their occupations. Most (male) family members were employed in the textile industry which became less lucrative after 1750. What effect did that have on the family? Finally, a more general conclusion will be made based on these three families.

4.1 The Benningsdam Family: Five Generations in Two Streets

In 1668, Jan Erasmus and Grietje Leenderts registered their marriage in Amsterdam. At that time, they were both living in the Jonkerstraat. Erasmus worked as a shoemaker and was 22 years old, Leenderts was 28 years old.[203] After they got married, they had four children of whom only their eldest daughter Barbera married.[204] She got married to Jasper Benningsdam (1670-1725) and continued to live in the Jonkerstraat. The couple had ten children, of whom seven married. They all lived in the Jonkerstraat and later also in the Ridderstraat.[205]

When Jan Erasmus migrated from Tonder in Denmark to Amsterdam and started living in the Jonkerstraat, he could not have known that his descendants would stay in that exact same neighbourhood for at least another four generations. The Ridderstraat and Jonkerstraat have both been mentioned a few times in this study already. The Ridderstraat was, for example, the street where the Norwegian Rachel Theunis lived for at least 45 years and where she had a pension.[206] The two streets ran parallel to each other and formed a connection between the Geldersekade and the Oude Schans. From both the *confessieboeken* and the notarial archives, it can be derived that the Ridderstraat and the Jonkerstraat were a deprived neighbourhood with lots of fights, small riots, and prostitution. The houses were of a relatively low rent and were cramped: many people lived in rooms and basements. There were gambling houses and cheap pensions. The residents of the streets were mostly immigrants and sailors (many of whom were also immigrants). The sailors stayed in the pensions in between sea voyages, which was often only for a short period of time.[207] This means that it must have been a coming and going of different people in these streets. Although many people probably only stayed in these streets

[203] NL-SAA, 5001, inv. nr. 492, p. 455, 10 November 1668.
[204] NL-SAA, 5001, inv. nr. 521, p. 70, 4 October 1692.
[205] See Appendix I for the family tree of the Benningsdam family.
[206] See for more information chapter 2 of this study and Den Oudsten, 'Een Noors pension in de Ridderstraat', *Alle Amsterdamse Akten*, accessed 23 May 2021.
[207] Lotte van de Pol, *Het Amsterdams hoerdom. Prostitutie in de zeventiende en achttiende eeuw* (Amsterdam: Wereldbibliotheek, 1996) 96-97.

for a short period before moving on to the next (sea) voyage or to another place of residence in the city, some people stayed there their whole lives, like the members of the Benningsdam family.

Today, studies into deprived neighbourhoods show that successful people move out of these neighbourhoods, while less successful people remain in these areas. This process is referred to as spatial assimilation. The classic model of spatial assimilation by Douglas Massey assumes that as immigrants and their descendants improve their socio-economic status, they also move to less deprived areas.[208] To examine spatial assimilation nowadays, the immigrants' neighbourhood contexts, movements and sociodemographic characteristics, like occupation, income and education are used.[209]

The theory of spatial assimilation is applied to the Benningsdam family. For the early modern period, not the same amount of data is available as for today. However, by studying the Benningsdam family in depth and over a period of more than a hundred years, their socio-economic status and involvement in their neighbourhood can be analysed. The fact that most members of the family remained in the Ridder- and Jonkerstraat for generations, suggests that there was almost no process of spatial assimilation at all. To what extent is this true, and what was different in the lives of the few members of the family who did move out of the Ridder- and Jonkerstraat?

4.1.1 Jan Benningsdam (1734-1804)

To find out to what extent the Benningsdam family was successful enough to leave the Ridder- and Jonkerstraat, notarial deeds have been studied. Several notarial deeds involving members of the Benningsdam family show that the family lived in close proximity to lots of neighbours and got into fights and arguments, which is no surprise given what the Ridder- and Jonkerstraat were known for. In 1794, for example, Jan Benningsdam got into a fight with Hendrik Boon and Yda Kros, a couple that was apparently misbehaving: They insulted their neighbours and constantly provoked. Benningsdam appeared before the notary with some other neighbours: a woman who lived in a winery, a woman who lived opposite of the same winery, a woman who

[208] Carolina V. Zuccotti, 'Ethnicity and neighbourhood attainment in England and Wales: A study of second generations' spatial integration', *Population, Space and Place* 25:7 (2019) 2-3; Douglas S. Massey, 'Ethnic residential segregation: A theoretical synthesis and empirical review', *Sociology and Social Research* 69:3 (1985) 315–350; Hans Skifter Andersen, 'Spatial assimilation? The development in immigrants' residential career with duration of stay in Denmark', *Journal of Housing and the Built Environment* 31 (2016) 297-320. Most spatial assimilation models do take into account that individuals have different resources and are raised in different socio-economic contexts, resulting in different opportunities.

[209] Tzai-Hung Wen, 'Spatial Assimilation', in: *Wiley-Blackwell Encyclopedia of Urban and Regional Studies* (Hoboken, New Jersey: John Wiley & Sons, 2019) 1-6.

lived next to a shoemaker's shop, a woman who lived *under* (probably in the basement) the same shoemaker's shop and a woman who lived in the basement of a winery. Jan Benningsdam himself had a coffee and tea shop in a house called the *Bonte huis*, which was opposite the aforementioned shoemaker's shop.[210]

Most incidents that were reported in the deed happened on a Saturday night around half past one. Yda Kros and Maria Huiskens were selling eggs and pickles from a market stall on the street before their houses, when Kros had an argument with a girl who was passing by. Around half past three, Huiskens was assaulted by Hendrik Boon. Some of the other witnesses, among them Benningsdam, woke up because of the noise. Together, they could stop Boon. During this incident Benningsdam was insulted as well: he was called an 'old rascal' and an 'old thief'.[211] In the end, Hendrik Boon and Yda Kros were arrested.[212]

This notarial deed provides insight into Benningsdam's status in the neighbourhood. It shows that he had close contact with his neighbours and that they helped each other to solve problems. Together with his neighbours, he stopped Boon and Kros, who caused a commotion in the Ridderstraat. This suggests that there was some form of social cohesion, at least among Benningsdam and his close neighbours. Second, the deed shows what Benningsdam did for a living: he had a coffee and teashop. Before 1794, he had joined the VOC as a soldier in 1776 and had worked as an *aanspreker*, someone who proclaimed a death or other news on the streets, in 1780.[213] Compared to his work in 1776, he had improved his socio-economic position considerably in 1794. Moreover, the fact that he had a coffee and teashop shows that he made a living in the Ridderstraat. The street itself and its inhabitants were of vital importance for his existence.

4.1.2 The Occupations of Members of the Benningsdam Family

In order to find out if the occupations of other members of the Benningsdam family were a reason for staying in the Ridder- and Jonkerstraat as well, it is important to find out what they did for a living. As has been shown above, the career of Jan Benningsdam can be reconstructed relatively well, but the reconstruction of the careers of other male and especially of female members of the Benningsdam family remains difficult. For the first two generations of the Benningsdam family, the occupation of the bridegrooms was written down: Jan Erasmus was a

[210] NL-SAA, 5075, inv. nr. 18360, nr. 18, 17 July 1794.
[211] NL-SAA, 5075, inv. nr. 18360, nr. 18, 17 July 1794.
[212] NL-SAA, 5075, inv. nr. 18360, nr. 18, 17 July 1794. Original Dutch text: 'Oude schelm' en 'oude gaauwdief'.
[213] NL-HaNA, 1.04.02, inv. nr. 6628, nr. 196; NL-SAA, 5075, inv. nr. 15342, nr. 237, 14 April 1780.

shoemaker and his daughter Barbera Jansz got married to a plumber.[214] Of the 22 men who got married in the subsequent three generations, the occupation of only twelve men is known. Most of the time, the mentioned occupation only reflects one moment in the lives of these men. However, when the occupations are studied closely, a pattern can be distinguished.

Jan Benningsdam was not the only member of the family who joined the VOC. In total, over the generations, at least six men made at least one VOC voyage. The namesake of the aforementioned Jan Benningsdam, Jan Benningsdam (1702-1768)[215], joined the VOC in 1727 as an experienced sailor. He sailed to Batavia and returned in 1730.[216] That same year, he left again for a second voyage, this time as a quartermaster, and he returned in October 1733. After two months, in December, he registered his marriage to Anna van Lier (1688-1764).[217] His second VOC voyage was also his last voyage, he did not join the VOC again. In 1738, he appears in the sources as a carrier of grain and was living in the Jonkerstraat in a house called the *Witte Lelij*.[218] Somewhere in the subsequent years, he became the owner of a pension. He appears in the notarial archives several times as the creditor of a seaman. In 1745, VOC quartermaster Jacob ter Horst had a debt of more than 220 guilders for room and board and the necessary equipment for his VOC voyage.[219]

Over the years, the socio-economic status of Benningsdam improved till the point that he was able to lend substantial amounts of money to sailors. Although Jan Benningsdam improved his socio-economic position, he did not move out of the Jonkerstraat. He was able to use the nature of the street in which he was living (crowded, lots of sailors and immigrants looking for a place to stay) to his advantage and made a living out of it.

Two brothers of Jan Benningsdam, Dirk Benningsdam (1700-1740) and Gerrit Benningsdam (1712-1763) also joined the VOC at the beginning of their careers. Just like their brother, they did not join the VOC again after they got married. Dirk Benningsdam made one voyage as a *hooploper*, a junior ordinary seaman, and then got married to Elsje Dirks Doesburg (1703-1777).[220] After his marriage, he worked, just like his father, as a plumber. Gerrit Benningsdam made a total of three voyages between 1732 and 1744 (one voyage as a common sailor, two voyages as an experienced sailor) and got married to Geertruij van Leeuwen (c.1714-

[214] NL-SAA, 5001, inv. nr. 521, p. 70, 4 October 1692.
[215] This is the uncle of the aforementioned Jan Benningsdam. His career can also be reconstructed relatively well.
[216] NL-HaNA, 1.04.02, inv. nr. 5885, nr. 71.
[217] NL-SAA, 5001, inv. nr. 575, p. 288, 11 December 1733.
[218] NL-HaNA, 1.04.02, inv. nr. 5964, nr. 129.
[219] NL-SAA, 5075, inv. nr. 11696, nr. 311, 27 October 1745.
[220] NL-HaNA, 1.04.02, inv. nr. 5774, nr. 161; NL-SAA, 5001, inv. nr. 564, p. 464, 12 April 1726.

1781) shortly after he returned from his last voyage.[221] Unfortunately, it is unknown what kind of work he did after his marriage.

Because of the character of the streets that the brothers were living in, they must have been in contact with VOC sailors during their childhood. Moreover, the VOC always had a high demand for labour, so it might have been a logical option for the young male members of the Benningsdam family to join the VOC. It is remarkable that these men joined the VOC at the beginning of their working life and changed their occupation after they got married. The aforementioned Jan Benningsdam (1734-1804) also only made one voyage at the beginning of his career. It is possible that they used the knowledge that they had gained by growing up in the Ridder- and Jonkerstraat and during their VOC voyages to start a career in the streets. This is especially true for Jan Benningsdam Jr., who had a coffee and teashop, and Jan Benningsdam Sr., who owned a pension. Both used the nature of the Ridder- and Jonkerstraat to their advantage and by doing so, improved their socio-economic status. Although the Ridder- and Jonkerstraat constituted a deprived neighbourhood, there was no reason for them to leave the streets and move to a better neighbourhood.

4.1.3 Maria Benningsdam (1737-1806)

Although almost all members of the Benningsdam family lived in the Ridder- and Jonkerstraat their whole lives, there is an exception. Maria Benningsdam, the great-grandchild of Jan Erasmus and Grietje Leenderts, got married to Govert Mulder, who was born in Holstein, a region in Germany.[222] He was a merchant marine captain and made voyages to countries such as Suriname and Sint Eustatius. Two letters written by him to his wife dating from 1781 have been preserved. Mulder wrote about his voyage, which had not been that successful: it was a 'sad unpleasant voyage'. He also complained that he had not received more letters from his wife.[223]

The couple presumably met each other in the Ridderstraat, because were both living in this street when they registered their marriage. It is possible that immigrant Govert Mulder resided for a short while in one of the pensions in the Ridderstraat after his arrival in Amsterdam. After their marriage, Mulder and Benningsdam moved out of the Ridderstraat.

[221] NL-HaNA, 1.04.02, inv. nr. 6134, nr. 0088; NL-HaNA, 1.04.02, inv. nr. 6071, nr. 70; NL-HaNA, 1.04.02, inv. nr. 5964, nr. 129; NL-SAA, 5001, inv. nr. 727, p. 293, 16 October 1744.
[222] NL-SAA, 5001, inv. nr. 738, p. 226, 24 July 1761.
[223] Dutch Prize Papers, Govert Mulder to his wife Maria Benningsdam, Sint Eustatius-Amsterdam, 20 January 1781 (HCA30-322). Original Dutch text: 'Bedroefde naare Reys'; Dutch Prize Papers, Govert Mulder to his wife Maria Benningsdam, Sint-Eustatius-Amsterdam, 1 February 1781 (HCA30-330). Both via *Brieven als Buit*.

When Benningsdam passed away in 1806, her address was Noorderdwarsstraat 30.[224] This was on the other side of the city.[225] The theory of spatial assimilation does apply to Maria Benningsdam. Her marriage to a captain caused her to move out of the Ridderstraat, making her the only member of the Benningsdam family who moved out of the Ridder- and Jonkerstraat in five generations.

4.1.4 Benningsdam Conclusion

At first glance, it is remarkable that almost all family members lived in either the Jonker- or the Ridderstraat. It suggests little or no assimilation or upward social mobility. However, the close analysis of the Benningsdam family shows that although the family lived in the two of the poorest streets of Amsterdam, this did not mean that they did not improve their socio-economic position. Both Jan Benningsdam Sr. and Jan Benningsdam Jr. climbed the social ladder during their careers, and Maria Benningsdam improved her status by marrying a captain.

The theory of spatial assimilation only applied to Maria Benningsdam. The improvement of the socio-economic status of the other members of the Benningsdam family did not make them move out of the Ridder- and Jonkerstraat to better neighbourhoods. Some of them were even able to improve their socio-economic status because of the crowded and busy streets they were living in. They might have been able to move out of the Ridder- and Jonkerstraat, but instead, they used the nature of the streets they were living in to their advantage.

[224] According to the *omnummeringstabel* of the Amsterdam City Archives, today this would be number 9.
[225] NL-SAA, 5001, inv. nr. 1138, p. 19, 8 March 1806. Today, it would approximately be a twenty minute walk from the Nieuwe Ridderstraat to the Noorderdwarsstraat.

4.2 The Ogelwight Family: A Family of Social Climbers?

Compared to other families in this study, the Ogelwight family stood out. Within a few generations, most family members were able to climb the social ladder and acquired a family fortune. However, it is remarkable that not everyone followed the same path of upward social mobility, there were relatively large differences within the different branches of this family. In this paragraph, three parts of the Ogelwight family will be discussed: the wealthiest branches (the descendants of Jan and Pieter Ogelwight), two children who belonged to these branches but were born out of wedlock, and the poorest branch (Paulus Ogelwight and his descendants).[226]

4.2.1 Maria Catharina Ogelwight (1761-1825) and Hermanus Vinkeles (1745-1804)

> I appreciate it, that you enjoy yourself in the house, in the company of miss Homan; I believe that the woman, with regard to her upbringing, possesses a common sense and has a good judgement, at least on a superficial level; because from the daughter of a wheelbarrower, who subsequently lived among the people as a maidservant, one cannot desire to expect a well-raised woman.[227]

In 1802, Hermanus Vinkeles resided in Fort Saint Anthony in Axim, a town in present-day Ghana. Over a period of almost two years, he wrote multiple letters to his wife Maria Catharina Ogelwight, bundled them and sent them to Amsterdam, where his family lived.[228] In his letters, Vinkeles wrote about the daily life in Ghana and updated his wife about the proceedings of their son Ludolph, who was working in Ghana as well, as a clerk. He also answered the letters from his wife and gave his opinion on the people she was meeting. He was not so laudatory about the Homan family. Apparently, his wife was spending her time with Mrs Homan, who was the daughter of a wheelbarrower and had worked as a maidservant. According to Vinkeles, Homan's background explained why she was not 'well-raised'. She did not originally belong

[226] See Appendix II and III for the family tree of the Ogelwight family.
[227] Dutch Prize Papers, Letter from Hermanus Vinkeles to his wife Maria Catharina Ogelwight, Axim-Amsterdam, 23 June 1802 (HCA32-996). Original Dutch text: 'Het is mij lief, dat Gij uw zo wel ammuseerd, aan het Huis, in het bijzijn van Mejuffrouw Homan; Ik geloof dat de vrouw, na maate van haar, Opvoeding, veel Natuurlijk verstand besit, en Een goed oordeel heeft, dat is te zeggen in het oppervlakkige; want een kruijiers dogter, die vervolgens voor Dienstmeijd onder de Menschen heeft gewoond; kan men niet vergen, dat men van een wel opgevoede Juffer kan verwagten.'
[228] Ogelwight never received the letters, because they were transported on a ship that was captured by English privateers.

to the social milieu to which Vinkeles and his wife Maria Catharina Ogelwight belonged and in Vinkeles' opinion, she would never succeed in fully adapting to it. He even believed that her background had affected the education of her sons, who were both 'big scoundrels'. The father, mister Homan, was, on the contrary, a good, hardworking man, although he was a 'stupid *Moffje*'[229], which is a Dutch swear word for someone of German origin.

It is remarkable that Vinkeles judged the Homan family based on the backgrounds of both Mrs and Mr. Homan. His own wife, Maria Catharina Ogelwight, was the great-grandchild of Danish immigrants, who married in Amsterdam in 1668. Her great-grandfather, Jacob Jans Ogelwight (c. 1640-1722), had been a rope maker and later a peat carrier and her grandfather Jan Jacobs Ogelwight (1669-1707) had been a carpenter who specialised in making chests. Only her father, Ludolph Ogelwight (1702-1774), had improved his socio-economic position substantially. He started out as plate cutter or engraver, but soon became the owner of a tobacconist, together with his brother and brother-in-law. Later, he made his fortune with a factory for camel yarn and *trijp*, a velvety fabric used for furniture upholstery. The tax information register of 1742 shows that Ludolph Ogelwight, his brother-in-law Hendrik Fuijskens and his brother Jacobus Ogelwight (1700-1753) earned fifteen hundred guilders a year with their tobacconist.[230] With a rent of two hundred guilders a year, this already must have been a lucrative business. However, Ogelwight's trade in *trijp* and camel yarn was even more successful. When he passed away in August 1774, his total estate was valued at approximately 85,000 guilders (today that would approximately be 1,8 million guilders or 840,000 euros).[231] Maria Catharina Ogelwight inherited her fortune from her father.[232] After her marriage with Vinkeles, she was entitled to her part of the inheritance, which was around sixteen thousand guilders and an additional two thousand guilders as dowry.[233]

Vinkeles himself also had an immigrant background. His father came from Coevorden, a town in the Dutch Republic, and his mother came from Süddinker, a town in present-day Germany.[234] In 1742, his father, Herman Vinkeles (c. 1697-?), had a mourning warehouse, where people could buy or hire goods that were necessary for funerals, such as mourning

[229] Dutch Prize Papers, Letter from Hermanus Vinkeles to his wife Maria Catharina Ogelwight, Axim-Amsterdam, 23 June 1802 (HCA32-996). Original Dutch text: 'stom Moffje'. As the swear word indicates, mister Homan originally came from present-day Germany. No first names of the Homan family are mentioned in the letter, which makes it hard to find out who they were, since Ho(o)man was quite a common name in eighteenth century Amsterdam.
[230] W.F. Oldewelt, *Het kohier van de personeele quotisatie te Amsterdam over 1742* (Amsterdam 1945) 337.
[231] NL-SAA, 5075, inv. nr. 13908, nr. 120, 31 July 1775; Internationaal Instituut voor Sociale Geschiedenis (IISG), Waarde van de gulden/euro, http://www.iisg.nl/hpw/calculate-nl.php, accessed 24 April 2021.
[232] NL-SAA, 5075, inv. nr. 13908, nr. 120, 31 July 1775.
[233] NL-SAA, 5075, inv. nr. 13899, nr. 22, 9 February 1771.
[234] NL-SAA, 5001, inv. nr. 579, page 73, 19 October 1736.

clothes. This store was located in the Pijlsteeg in Amsterdam and Vinkeles Senior earned around six hundred guilders a year. The rent amounted to 220 guilders a year.[235] It is estimated that around 1742, only 23 percent of the Amsterdam households earned six hundred guilders or more, 22 percent of the households had and income of three hundred to six hundred guilders and 55 percent of the households had to make ends meet with less than three hundred guilders a year.[236] However, in this top 23 percent, there were substantial differences, from hundreds to tens or hundreds of thousands of guilders.

Hermanus Vinkeles improved his socio-economic position by marriage and through the inheritances obtained because of these marriages. In 1777, he married Wilhelmina Witvogel (1741-1780), the daughter of a mason. Shortly after this marriage, he registered as a burgher. This registration mentioned that Vinkeles was an engraver.[237] He was in fact working as a draftsman, etcher, and engraver with his brother Reinier Vinkeles (1741-1816), who was a very successful engraver.[238] His marriage to Witvogel did not last long: she passed away in 1780. Her elderly and unmarried sister, Barbera Maria Witvogel, was living in the same house as Vinkeles and left him her whole fortune, which was estimated to have a value of four to eight thousand guilders.[239] In 1783, Vinkeles married Maria Catharina Ogelwight in community of property. Shortly after their marriage, they had their will drafted at the notary. The total value of their estate was estimated between 20,000 and 50,000 guilders.[240] In the years after their marriage, Vinkeles kept working as an engraver, but around the turn of the century, he travelled to Africa with his son Ludolph to continue his career there. While his son was a clerk, he worked as a civil servant. Maria Catharina Ogelwight never saw her husband and son again. In November 1804, they both died of yellow fever in Africa, respectively 59 and eighteen years old.[241]

Considering his own background and that of his wife, it is remarkable that Vinkeles considered descent to be of great importance in his letters and wrote disdainfully about the

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[235] Oldewelt, *Personeele quotisatie*, 31.
[236] Lesger, 'Migranten in Amsterdam', 45.
[237] NL-SAA, 5001, inv. nr. 621, nr. 471, 3 January 1777; NL-SAA, 5033 Inventaris van het Archief van de Burgemeesters: poorterboeken, inv. nr. 29, 21 February 1777.
[238] Thousands of Reinier Vinkeles' engravings and etchings have survived and can be found in the collections of the Amsterdam City Archives and the Rijksmuseum in the Netherlands. The restaurant of hotel The Dylan in Amsterdam is called *Vinkeles*, named after Reinier Vinkeles who made an etching of the entrance of the building in which the restaurant is located. Richard Kok, 'Restaurant The Dylan heet Vinkeles', *Misset Horeca* (20 October 2009), accessed 13 May 2021. The cover of this thesis is also made by Reinier Vinkeles.
[239] NL-SAA, 5075, inv. nr. 13504, nr. 319, 27 July 1781.
[240] NL-SAA, 5075, inv. nr. 17079, nr. 665, 30 December 1783.
[241] Delpher, Obituary Hermanus and Ludolph Vinkeles, *Amsterdamse Courant* (28 May 1805), accessed 14 May 2021. The obituary mentions that Hermanus Vinkeles worked as a *resident*, a colonial Dutch word for civil servant.

background of the Homan family. Despite being the child of a German woman himself, he called mister Homan a *mof*. There could be several reasons for this. Maybe, he 'forgot' about his own background or did not see himself as a child of immigrants anymore. It could also be that as someone who had experienced significant upward mobility himself, pedigrees and origin were of great importance to him. Compared to his parents, his socio-economic status had improved, because of his job, inheritances and his marriages. Maria Catharina Ogelwight owed her good position in society to her father. The three generations before her had experienced significant upward social mobility. While her great-grandfather had migrated from Denmark to Amsterdam to work as a rope maker, she was the daughter of a rich and successful merchant. The money she inherited made her a well-to-do woman.

Maria Catharina Ogelwight and Hermanus Vinkeles belonged to the wealthiest branch of the Ogelwight family. In the following generations, the family further increased their fortune. Maria Catharina's brother, Hendrik Ogelwight (1713-1810), continued the factory for *trijp* and camel yarn after Ludolph Ogelwight passed away in 1774. He even obtained his own family vault in the Lutheran Church. Hendrik Ogelwight married twice; his first marriage was to his cousin Alida Ogelwight (1737-1766) and his second marriage was to Maria Geertuijda Mulder (c. 1746-1810), who was born in Leiden. With his two wives, Hendrik Ogelwight had a total of sixteen children, but most of them did not reach the age of majority. However, three children did get married. The subsequent generations had good positions in society and the men were, for example, chairman of the municipal meeting of Amsterdam and regent of the Burgerweeshuis.[242]

The case study shows what was possible in early modern Amsterdam within a few generations. However, not every member of the Ogelwight family became as wealthy as Ludolph Ogelwight, his son Hendrik Ogelwight and his daughter Maria Catharina Ogelwight and her husband.

4.2.2 Two Foundlings with the Name Ogelwight

In the register of the children who were taken into the *Aalmoezeniersweeshuis*, the orphanage for children who were not burghers, two foundlings with the last name 'Ogelwight' can be found. This is surprising, given that the majority of the Ogelwight family was relatively prosperous. Who were the parents of these children and why did they become foundlings?

[242] Hendrik Gartman, *Handelingen van de Municipaliteit der stad Amsterdam (1795-1803)* (Amsterdam: Stadsdrukkery Amsterdam, 1795) 490, via Delpher; NL-SAA, 5053 Inventaris van het Archief van het Nieuw Stedelijk Bestuur, inv. nr. 122, scan 54, 1795; NL-SAA, 5033, inv. nr. 181, scan 130, 1796.

On Thursday 6 December 1781, around eight o'clock in the evening, a girl of approximately six months old was abandoned in the Reguliersdwarsstraat, close to the Koningsplein. She was named Maria Ogelwight.[243] Maria was placed in the care of wet nurse Jannetie Lune, who lived in the Egelantiersgracht.[244] A little more than one month later, she was baptised in the Nieuwezijds Kapel, together with seven other children who also lived in the *Aalmoezeniersweeshuis*.[245] Maria Ogelwight lived two years, she passed away on 1 May 1782. When she was buried a couple of days later, on 4 May, she was described as an *Aalmoezenierskind*, (a child of the *Aalmoezeniersweeshuis*) who lived in the Rozenstraat.[246]

On Saturday 5 March 1785, around nine o'clock in the evening, a boy of approximately two years old was found abandoned on the stairs of the entrance that led to the part of the *Aalmoezeniersweeshuis* where the girls were living. The boy, called Ludolph Ogelwight, was found with a note from the mother:

> This child is born on 9 March 1783 and was given the name Ludolph Ogelwigt at baptism. The mother is not able to raise it properly and recommends it into the care of the women *regentessen*. She promises that if she is ever able to nourish her child she will make herself known. That is why she requests that this paper may be kept, she has kept a paper just like it, so this can always show that she is the mother of this child.[247]

In addition to the text, which gave information on who the boy was and why he was abandoned, a certain pattern had been cut into the paper, as figure 6 shows. The information that this piece of paper gives is very valuable, because it gives an insight into the lives of both Ludolph, his mother and the alleged father.

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[243] NL-SAA, 343 Inventaris van het Archief van de Regenten van het Aalmoezeniersweeshuis en rechtsvoorganger, inv. nr. 123, nr. 234, 6 December 1781.
[244] To make the distinction between the children and the other members of the family clearer, the foundlings are called by their first name in the text, as opposed to the other family members, who are described with their last names.
[245] NL-SAA, 5001, inv. nr. 72, nr. 50, 20 January 1782.
[246] NL-SAA, 5001, inv. nr. 1125, nr. 130, 4 May 1783.
[247] NL-SAA, 343, inv. nr. 125, nr 53, 5 March 1785. Original Dutch tekst: *Dit kind is Gebooren den 9 Maart 1783 en heeft bij den doop de naame ontfangen van Ludolph Ogelwigt. De Moeder zig onmagtig bevindende om het zelve behoorlijk optevoeden, beveelt het zelvde aan de zorge van vrouwen Regentessen – Zij neemt op zig, zo zij ooit in staat geraakte, om haar kind te kunnen onderhouden, zig als van nader bekent te zullen maaken, ten dien einde versoekt zij dat dit papier mag worden bewaart, hebbende zij ook voor zig een gelijk papier en afschrift behouden, op dat het dan ten allen tijde hier uit zoude kunnen blijken dat zij de moeder van dit kind is*.

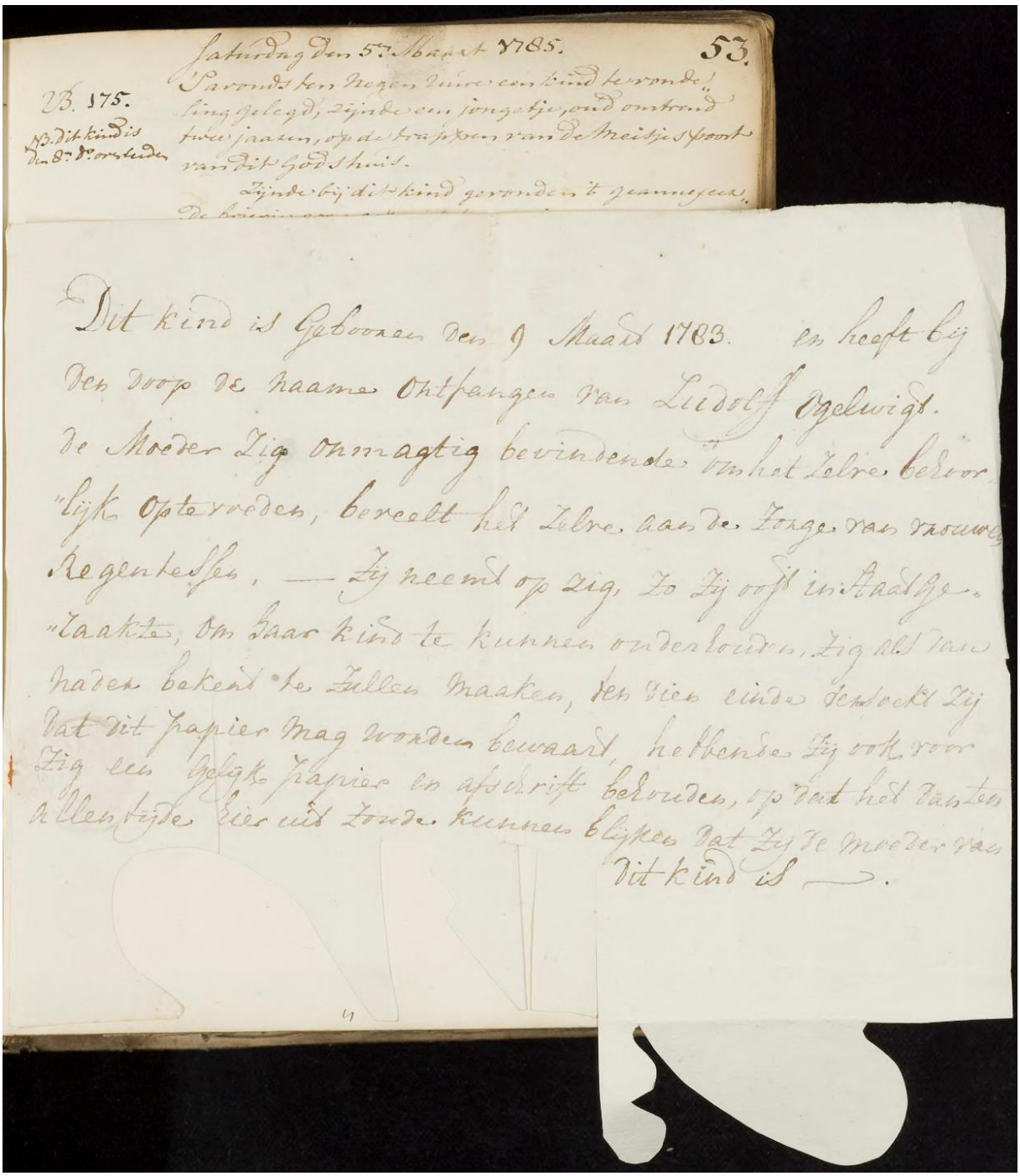

Figure 6. The letter with which the boy Ludolph Ogelwight was found. Source: NL-SAA, 343, inv. nr. 125, nr 53, 5 March 1785.

Two years earlier, on 22 March 1783, Ludolph was baptised in the Lutheran Church in Amsterdam. The mother was Catharina Magdalena Kienolt and the witness was Catharina van der Heijde. In the register, the name of the father is crossed out, but it is still readable: Ludolph Ogelwight. A note, written next to the registration, states that the name of the father is expelled by order of the mayors of Amsterdam on 24 August 1784, more than two years after Ludolph was baptised. Kienolt was not married to Ogelwight, so her son Ludolph was born out of wedlock. The alleged father, Ludolph Ogelwight, was not willing to acknowledge Ludolph as

his child. If a woman got pregnant and the father was not willing to acknowledge the child, the mother often named it after the father, so it would be known to people who the alleged father was. The mothers used this as leverage, so the father would acknowledge the child.[248] It is likely that Kienolt was the mother of Maria Ogelwight as well. Maria was a common name in the early modern period, but it might not be a coincidence that the mother of the Ludolph Ogelwight was also called Maria. It is possible that Kienolt strategically named her children after the alleged father and grandmother.

Apparently, this strategy had not worked in the case of Ludolph Ogelwight: he did not acknowledge the children. The name 'Ludolph' was uncommon in Amsterdam, but it was quite a common name in the Ogelwight family. However, around the year 1783, there was only one man called Ludolph Ogelwight who had the appropriate age to be a father.[249] He was the son of Johannes Ogelwight (1736->1795) and Maria Catharina Gijselman (1741-1788) and was baptised on 11 January 1762. He was probably named after his uncle Ludolph Ogelwight, who was present as a witness at the baptism.[250] It is unknown what occupations Ludolph Ogelwight had, only that in 1795, he was the chairman of the municipal meeting of Amsterdam.[251] This means that he was probably able to use his connections to have his name removed from the baptism register. In 1806, Ludolph Ogelwight passed away, he was buried on 11 December 1806. The registration in the burial register states that he was living at the Oudezijds Achterburgwal, number 75, and that he was unmarried. He was buried in the family vault in the Oude Lutherse Kerk.[252]

The life of the mother of Ludolph, Catharina Magdalena Kienolt, must have been completely different from Ogelwight's life. A few years after she had lost her children, in 1786, she married Jan de Minjer (c. 1754-1807). This marriage registrations provides more information about Kienolt: She originally came from Ludersheim in Germany, was 28 years old and lived at the Nieuwmarkt.[253] This was in close proximity to the house of Ludolph Ogelwight: less than a two-hundred-meter walk. It is unknown what she did before she married De Minjer, but she probably belonged to the lower tiers of society. Her marriage with De Minjer did not change that. From 1803 onwards, the family can be found in the register of the

[248] Jeannette Kamp and Ariadne Schmidt, 'Getting Justice: A Comparative Perspective on Illegitimacy and the Use of Justice in Holland and Germany, 1600-1800', *Journal of Social History* 51:4 (2018) 676.
[249] In 1783, there was only one other Ludolph Ogelwight living: the son of Hendrik Ogelwight and Maria Geertruij Mulder, but he was only thirteen years old then.
[250] This uncle, Ludolph Ogelwight, was the Ludolph Ogelwight with a factory for trijp and camel yarn and was married to Maria van der Willig, who was also a witness at the baptism.
[251] NL-SAA, 5053, inv. nr. 122, scan 54, 1795.
[252] NL-SAA, 5001, inv. nr. 1138, p. 23, 11 December 1806.
[253] NL-SAA, 5001, inv. nr. 631, nr. 106, 31 March 1786.

Huiszittenhuizen. Around 1800, there were two *Huiszittenhuizen* in the city, which were urban distribution centres which helped the poor by handing out bread, cheese, butter, and peat. Around 12,000 families were supported by the *Huiszittenhuizen*. Kienolt was supported by the *Huiszittenhuizen* until 1819, when she did not longer need the help.[254]

In 1785, when Kienolt brought Ludolph to the orphanage, she left him there with a note (figure 6). This shows that she had prepared for it. She probably did not write this note herself. When Kienolt registered her marriage with Jan de Minjer in 1786, she did not sign the register with her name, but with a cross, indicating that she was not able to write her name. Also, the note was written in the third person perspective, speaking of 'the mother', 'the child' and even 'it' (which was used to describe Ludolph). A mother could, of course, also write in the third person perspective, but combined with the fact that Kienolt did not sign her marriage registration, it is likely that someone else wrote the note. This means that she must have known that it was quite common for mothers to leave their child with a letter, and what this letter had to say. She also knew where to find someone who could write an appropriate letter for her. These letters had another important function, because if the parents would keep a copy, they could later, if they had improved their living conditions and could take care of their child, prove that they were the parents of the child. This is why children were found with letters in which a certain pattern was cut, or which were cut in half (the parents would keep the other half). It also happened that children were found with a little object, like a ribbon, a little portrait or a playing card.[255] The note that Kienolt left with Ludolph gave her the opportunity to collect him. She must have known that the note would be kept in the archives of the orphanage. Sadly, Kienolt was never able to pick up Ludolph from the orphanage. Only three days after he was brought to the orphanage and was placed in the care of nurse Sebilla Carolus, he passed away on 8 March 1785.[256]

The case of Ludolph Ogelwight and Catharina Magdalena Kienolt shows that rich and poor people lived in close proximity of each other. The differences were significant: while some people lived in large mansions, poverty drove other people to despair. Ludolph Ogelwight used his connections to have his name removed from the baptism register, while Catharina Magdalena Kienolt did everything she could to keep her children save.

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[254] NL-SAA, 349 Inventaris van het Archief van het Nieuwezijds en het Oudezijds Huiszittenhuis en van de Regenten over de Huiszittende Stadsarmen, inv. nr. 865, nr. 531, 1803-1828. It is not known why Kienolt did not need the help anymore. It could be that she was supported by her son Jan de Minjer, who was married and had a family of his own by that time.

[255] Nanda Geuzebroek, *Vondelingen. Het Aalmoezeniersweeshuis van Amsterdam 1780-1830* (Hilversum: Uitgeverij Verloren, 2020) 45.

[256] NL-SAA, 343, inv. nr. 285, scan 13, 5 March 1785.

4.2.3 Differences Within the Ogelwight Family

As has been mentioned before, the Ogelwight family can roughly be divided into three branches. Two branches, the descendants of Jan Ogelwight and Pieter Ogelwight (1670-1705), to which Ludolph and Maria Catharina Ogelwight belonged as well, became well to do and even obtained their own family vault in the Lutheran Church. The other branch of the family did not acquire the same wealth at all.

The descendants of Paulus Ogelwight (1682-1755), who was a brother of Jan and Pieter Ogelwight, did not improve their socio-economic status as fast as their family members. Paulus Ogelwight was a carpenter, who specialised in building houses, and later ships. In June 1733, when he and his wife Maria Smit had their testament drafted at the notary, four of their eight children were still alive.[257] Their son Jacob followed in Paulus Ogelwight's footsteps as a carpenter and joined the VOC in 1734, when he was 21 years old. He sailed on the ship Alblasserdam to Asia, where he passed away in 1735, leaving his parents as his heirs.[258] The other two sons stayed in Amsterdam and got married: Johannes Ogelwight (1709->1811) got married to Seijtje Lutjeshof (1697-1773) and was a mason, Albertus Ogelwight (1718-1780) got married to Catrina Verbeek (c. 1715-1780) and was a house carpenter, just like his father.[259] While a carpenter and a mason were skilled occupations, Paulus Ogelwight and his sons failed to acquire the same socio-economic position as their wealthy family members.

In the sources, no connection has been found between the descendants of Jan and Pieter Ogelwight on one side and the descendants of Paulus Ogelwight on the other side. This is remarkable, because it suggests that the different branches of the family had estranged from each other. This estrangement could be caused by the differences in the amount of money that the families had, and thus the differences in socio-economic status in society. The letters of Hermanus Vinkeles show that background was of great importance to him, and maybe also to his wife Maria Catharina Ogelwight. This supports the idea of estrangement in the Ogelwight family due to different socio-economic positions.

[257] NL-SAA, 5075, inv. nr. 7659, nr. 473, 8 June 1733.
[258] NL-HaNA, 1.04.02, inv. nr. 5990, nr. 34.
[259] NL-SAA, 5001, inv. nr. 720, p. 246, 8 April 1734; NL-SAA, 5033, inv. nr. 20 '17', p. 628, 9 December 1734; NL-SAA, 5001, inv. nr. 726, p. 312, 29 March 1743; NL-SAA, 5033, inv. nr. 22 '19', p. 41, 24 October 1743.

4.3 The Wigtendaal Family: Cotton Printers and VOC Employees

> I am because of God's goodness also very well. I am deputy *drossaard* of the region around Batavia as you will have heard from my father.[260]

In 1780, Sandert Wigtendaal wrote a letter to his cousin Pieter de Veere. Wigtendaal was in Batavia, where he had become deputy *drossaard*, who was the substitute of the judicial and administrative officer (or magistrate) of the surroundings of Batavia. In 1783, Wigtendaal passed away in Batavia. The inventory of his estate shows that Wigtendaal had become wealthier than his relatives in Amsterdam. He owned a horse and carriage, paintings, and a considerable number of objects that were decorated with or made out of silver.[261] There were also six enslaved people listed in this inventory: three boys and three girls, who worked for him and were 'owned' by him.[262] What were the occupations of the family members who (had) lived in Amsterdam, and did they experience the same upward social mobility as Sandert Wigtendaal?

The great-grandfather of Sandert Wigtendaal, Adam Sanders Wigtendaal, emigrated from Oslo to Amsterdam during the second half of the seventeenth century and worked as a painter and a cobbler. The son of Adam, Sander Adams Wigtendaal (1672-1721), became a cotton printer.[263] His children, grandchildren and the in-laws mostly worked in the same industry: they were all cotton printers. The occupations of the women of the Wigtendaal family are unknown. However, it is possible that they also worked in the cotton printing industry. This was a sector where women were also active.[264]

In the seventeenth century, VOC employees brought chintz (a brightly coloured cotton) as a souvenir from Asia. At the end of the seventeenth century, chintz rapidly increased in popularity. It was used for clothing and the interior of the household; curtains and bedspreads,

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[260] Prize Papers, Sandert Wigtendaal to Pieter de Veere, Batavia-Amsterdam, 21 July 1780 (HCA30-336). Original Dutch text: 'Ik heb het hier door gods goedhyd ook heel wel ik ben supstiel schoud van den land Drosaard van de Bataviase om lande soo als UE wel zal gehoor hebbe van myn vader.'

[261] CBG Centrum voor familiegeschiedenis, *Inventaris van de boedel van Sanders Wichtendaal, opgesteld door de weeskamer. Incompleet*, Batavia 1783, Bloys van Treslong Prins 17e-20e eeuw.

[262] In Dutch: 'Jongen' and 'meid'.

[263] See Appendix IV for the family tree of the Wigtendaal family.

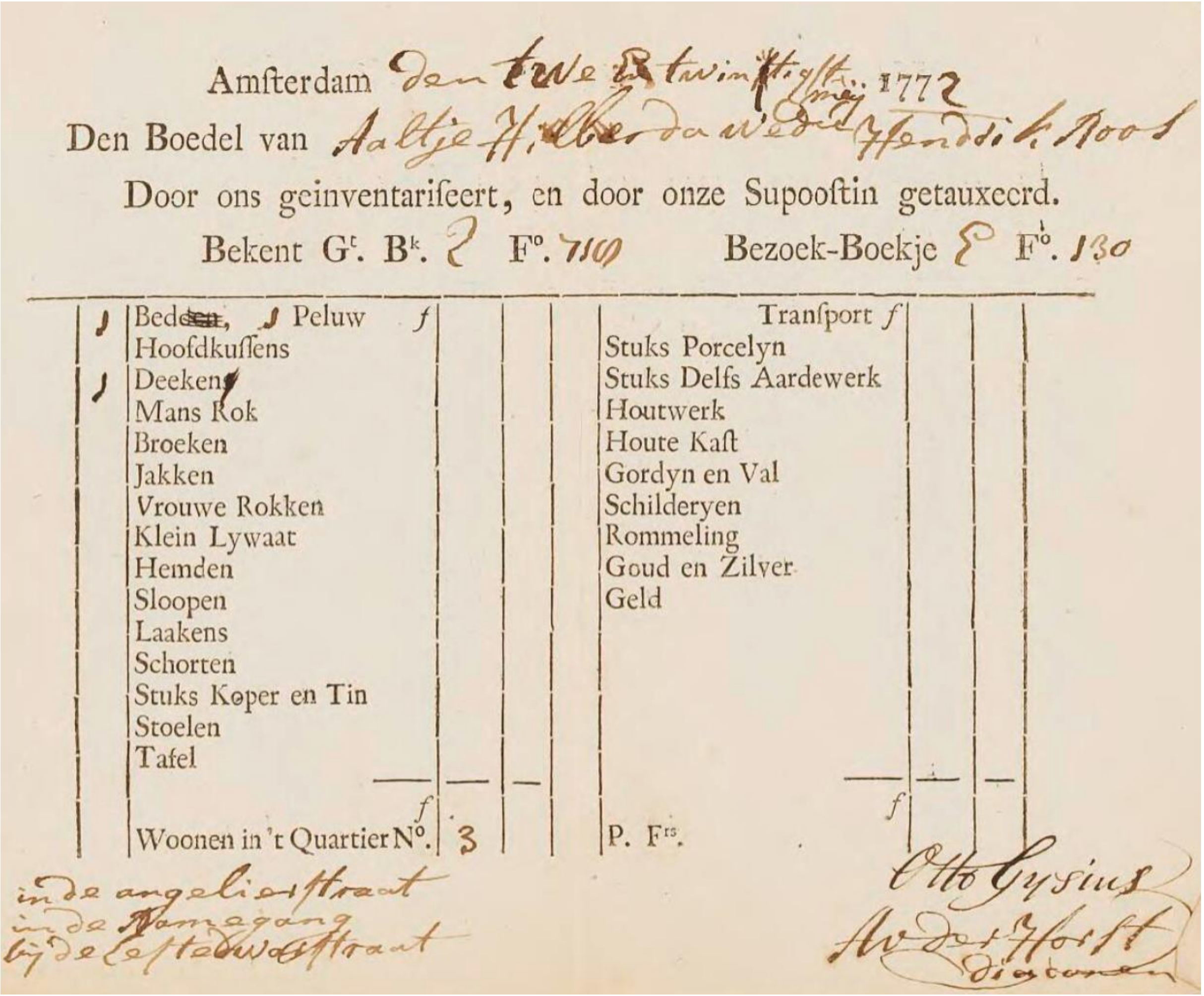
[264] Myriam Everard, 'Verandering *en* continuïteit in de arbeid van vrouwen. Keetvrouwen en molendraaisters en het huiselijkheidsideaal, 1750-1900', *Tijdschrift voor Sociale en Economische Geschiedenis* 2:3 (2005) 82; Vibeke Kingma, 'Katoendrukkerijen in Amsterdam en Nieuwer-Amstel', *Textielhistorische Bijdragen* 38 (1998) 21.

for example, were made of chintz. This high demand resulted in the cotton being printed in the Dutch Republic. The number of cotton printing factories in Amsterdam increased, especially during the first half of the eighteenth century.[265] This was exactly the period in which Sander Adams Wigtendaal and his sons and sons-in-law started working.

Cotton printing was rather unpleasant work. The cotton printing process consisted of multiple stages, which were labour intensive. Most of it was done by hand. In addition, toxic substances were used, which meant that cotton printers inhaled these substances and sometimes had to cover their faces with cloths to protect themselves.[266] Cotton printers could be paid per item that they finished or could earn a fixed wage per week. In 1729, the average cotton printer earned eight to nine guilders a week. This increased to sixteen guilders a week in 1744. These wages were, compared to other sectors, relatively high. This was mainly because cotton printing was seasonal work, it could only be done during the summer. The factories depended on clean and running water, which was not available during the winter.[267] This meant that the members of the Wigtendaal family who worked in the factories had to find another job for the winter.

It is not known what the members of the Wigtendaal family did during winter. However, their work as cotton printers and their relatively high wages during summer still did not make them well-to-do. In 1744, Hendrik Roos (1721-1763) married Aaltje Helberda (1725-1772), who was the daughter of Gerritje Wigtendaal (1702-1758) and Pieter Helberda (1700-1751). Roos worked as a cotton printer (just like his father, who was also named Hendrik Roos).[268] Helberda and Roos had at least seven children. In 1763, Roos passed away, leaving Aaltje Helberda and her children behind. Eleven years later, in 1772, Helberda died as well. Two daughters were still alive: Sara, who was fourteen years old, and Lena, who was eleven years old. They were placed in the *Aalmoezeniersweeshuis*. The estate papers have been preserved, which show that the only objects of the inventory of Aaltje and her daughters that were worth mentioning were one bed, one blanket and one pillow, as figure 7 shows. The girls were found in a 'miserable condition', and there were no family or friends who were wealthy enough to look after them.[269] This case of the family of Hendrik Roos and Aaltje Helberda thus illustrates not just the situation of them and their children, but of the entire Wigtendaal family.

[265] Idem, 8-10.
[266] Idem, 15-17; Den Oudsten, Brouwer and Van Lottum, 'Van schoenlapper tot drossaard', 14-19.
[267] Idem, 20-21.
[268] NL-SAA, 446, inv. nr. 543 (573-574), 1772.
[269] NL-SAA, 446, inv. nr. 543 (573-574), 1772. Original Dutch text: 'Elendige Toestand'.



Amsterdam den twe en twintigste ... 1772
Den Boedel van Aaltje Helberda wedu Hendrik Roos
Door ons geinventariseert, en door onze Supoostin getauxeerd.
Bekent Gt. Bk. 2 Fo. 760 Bezoek-Boekje E Fo. 130

Bedden, Peluw *f*			Transport *f*		
Hoofdkussens			Stuks Porcelyn		
Deekens			Stuks Delfs Aardewerk		
Mans Rok			Houtwerk		
Broeken			Houte Kast		
Jakken			Gordyn en Val		
Vrouwe Rokken			Schilderyen		
Klein Lywaat			Rommeling		
Hemden			Goud en Zilver		
Sloopen			Geld		
Laakens					
Schorten					
Stuks Koper en Tin					
Stoelen					
Tafel					
f			*f*		
Woonen in 't Quartier No.	3		P. Frs.		

in de angeliestraat
in de ...gang
by de ...straat

Otto Gysius
A. v. der Horst
diaconen

Figure 7. Inventory of the estate of Aaltje Helberda and her daughters Sara and Lena. Source: NL-SAA, 446, inv. nr. 543 (573-574), 1772.

Roos was the last known cotton printer of the Wigtendaal family. After 1750, the number of cotton printing factories in Amsterdam rapidly declined.[270] This meant that there were less employment opportunities and instead of being able to do the same job as their fathers, the sons now had to find work outside the cotton printing industry. While the economic downfall of the second half of the eighteenth century was evident in a lot of sectors, the VOC was still, as always, looking for personnel.[271] At least three men of the fourth generation of the Wigtendaal family in Amsterdam joined the VOC: Jurriaan Helberda (1727-1747), his brother Gerrit Helberda (1732-1790) and their aforementioned cousin Sandert Wigtendaal.[272] Coming from a

[270] Kingma, 'Katoendrukkerijen', 22-24.
[271] Matthias van Rossum, *Werkers van de wereld. Globalisering, arbeid en interculturele ontmoetingen tussen Aziatische en Europese zeelieden in dienst van de VOC, 1600-1800* (Hilversum: Verloren, 2014).
[272] NL-HaNA, 1.04.02, inv. nr. 6207, nr. 146; NL-HaNA, 1.04.02, inv. nr. 6240, nr. 194; NL-HaNA, 1.04.02, inv. nr. 6408, nr. 181; NL-HaNA, 1.04.02, inv. nr. 6435, nr. 142.

family of cotton printers, who worked near the docks with cotton that came from Asia, joining the VOC, with its high demand for labour, might have been a logical option for them.

The sister of Sandert Wigtendaal, Mietje Wigtendaal (1742-1812), was the last member of the Wigtendaal family who was actually named 'Wigtendaal'. She stayed behind in Amsterdam while her brother made a career in Asia and married Cornelis van Hieren (1743-1792) in 1771. After Van Hieren passed away in 1792, it was hard for her and her children to make ends meet. From 1803 until her death in 1812, Mietje Wigtendaal can be found in the register of the *Huiszittenhuizen*, meaning that she received extra support from the city.[273]

Between the first marriage of the immigrant Adam Sanders Wigtendaal in Amsterdam in 1661 and the passing of Mietje Wigtendaal in 1812, only Sandert Wigtendaal attained a significantly better position than his (grand)parents. To achieve this, he moved away from Amsterdam, made two VOC voyages and decided during his second VOC voyage to stay in Asia.[274] Most of his family members in Amsterdam had worked as cotton printers. The cotton printing industry provided work for the male (and maybe also female) members of the Wigtendaal family for decades, but after this industry collapsed, they had to find other occupations, which caused some of the to join the VOC. Sandert Wigtendaal was the only member of the Wigtendaal family who experienced significant upward mobility, the other members of the Wigtendaal family remained relatively poor.

4.4 Conclusion

In each case study in this chapter, the focus was on another indicator of integration, assimilation, or social mobility. The spatial assimilation of the Benningsdam family was analysed, which showed that although members of the family improved their socio-economic position, they did not move out of the Ridder- and Jonkerstraat, but rather used the nature of these streets to their advantage. For the Ogelwight family, the focus was on their (upward) social mobility. Immigrant Jan Jacobs Ogelwight worked as a rope maker and a peat carrier, but some of his descendants managed to become successful merchants and built up a family fortune. There was significant upward intergenerational social mobility. However, there were substantial differences within this family: not everyone succeeded in climbing the social ladder, which caused estrangement between the different branches of the family. Finally, the occupations of the Wigtendaal family were analysed, which showed that the cotton printing industry provided

[273] NL-SAA, 349 Inventaris van het Archief van het Nieuwezijds en het Oudezijds Huiszittenhuis en van de Regenten over de Huiszittende Stadsarmen, inv. nr. 866, nr. 141, 1803-1828.
[274] NL-HaNA, 1.04.02, inv. nr. 6408, nr. 181; NL-HaNA, 1.04.02, inv. nr. 6435, nr. 142.

them with income for decades. However, when employment opportunities in this sector declined, they had to find other occupations. In the end, most family members failed in improving their socio-economic status.

The microhistorical approach of this chapter allowed for an in-depth analysis of three family histories. It showed that indicators of integration, assimilation, and social mobility, like occupations and residential areas, were often interconnected. For the Benningsdam family, for example, the decision to stay in a deprived neighbourhood was connected to the occupations of the family members. Moreover, these case studies demonstrated how individuals took action, if they could, to improve their own position in society or to make sure their children had a chance in life.

Chapter 5. Conclusion

This study has explored one of the major lacunae in migration history: what happened to the descendants of the hundreds of thousands of immigrants who migrated to the Dutch Republic in the early modern period? What did their process of integration look like, and to what extent did they experience social mobility? The Dutch Republic witnessed high levels of immigration. The immigrants were attracted by the relative religious freedom, the relatively high wages, and the employment opportunities. Around 1650, approximately forty percent of the inhabitants of Amsterdam was born abroad. Thousands of these immigrants got married in Amsterdam and had children. Until now, the lives of these children, but also of the grandchildren and great-grandchildren, had not been studied.

Profiting from recent advancements in the digitisation and indexation of the parish registers and the notarial archives of Amsterdam, this study has analysed the processes of integration, assimilation, and social mobility of nine families with a migration background between 1660 and 1811. Since there are no early modern theories about integration and assimilation, contemporary theories have been used instead. Nowadays, a distinction is made between integration, assimilation, separation, and marginalisation. For this study, integration and assimilation were the most important. Integration is defined as the adoption of the receiving culture, while the heritage culture is retained and assimilation refers to the adoption of the receiving culture, while the heritage culture is discarded. In the case of full assimilation, there are no distinguishable differences between formerly different groups.

In this study, five important benchmarks have been used to assess the assimilation and social mobility of the descendants of early modern immigrants: rates of intermarriage, religion, socio-economic position (especially occupation), literacy level and residential areas. Based on the results of the analysis of these benchmarks, two important conclusions can be made. First of all, it can be concluded that most descendants of immigrants in this study did not fully assimilate into society. This is mainly because through time, the majority remained Lutheran. The descendants held on to the Lutheran faith, a cultural element of their Norwegian and Danish ancestors, for generations. Moreover, they got married to other Lutherans, including immigrants from Germany and Scandinavia. So despite the assumptions in the historiography (for example Van Lottum and Sogner, Lucassen and Penninx and Lucassen and Lucassen) that the descendants of immigrants rapidly assimilated into society, this study concludes that there was no full assimilation within a few generations. Instead, the descendants of the immigrants integrated into society: they retained the religion of their ancestors and thus kept an element of

the heritage culture. Second, apart from two branches of the Ogelwight family, the descendants of the immigrants remained relatively poor. Only incidentally, individual family members had the opportunity to pursue a career (for example by joining the VOC) or to improve their social position in other ways (for example by marriage).

The benchmarks that have been used in this study to assess assimilation could also become factors that determined assimilation. If, for example, people work in the same sector as other people with the same migration background, the incentive to integrate or assimilate into society can diminish. The same goes for marriages: if people only marry within their own group, integration and assimilation will decrease. This makes it sometimes difficult to determine whether a certain element is an indicator of integration and assimilation, or a factor that has an influence in the process of integration and assimilation.

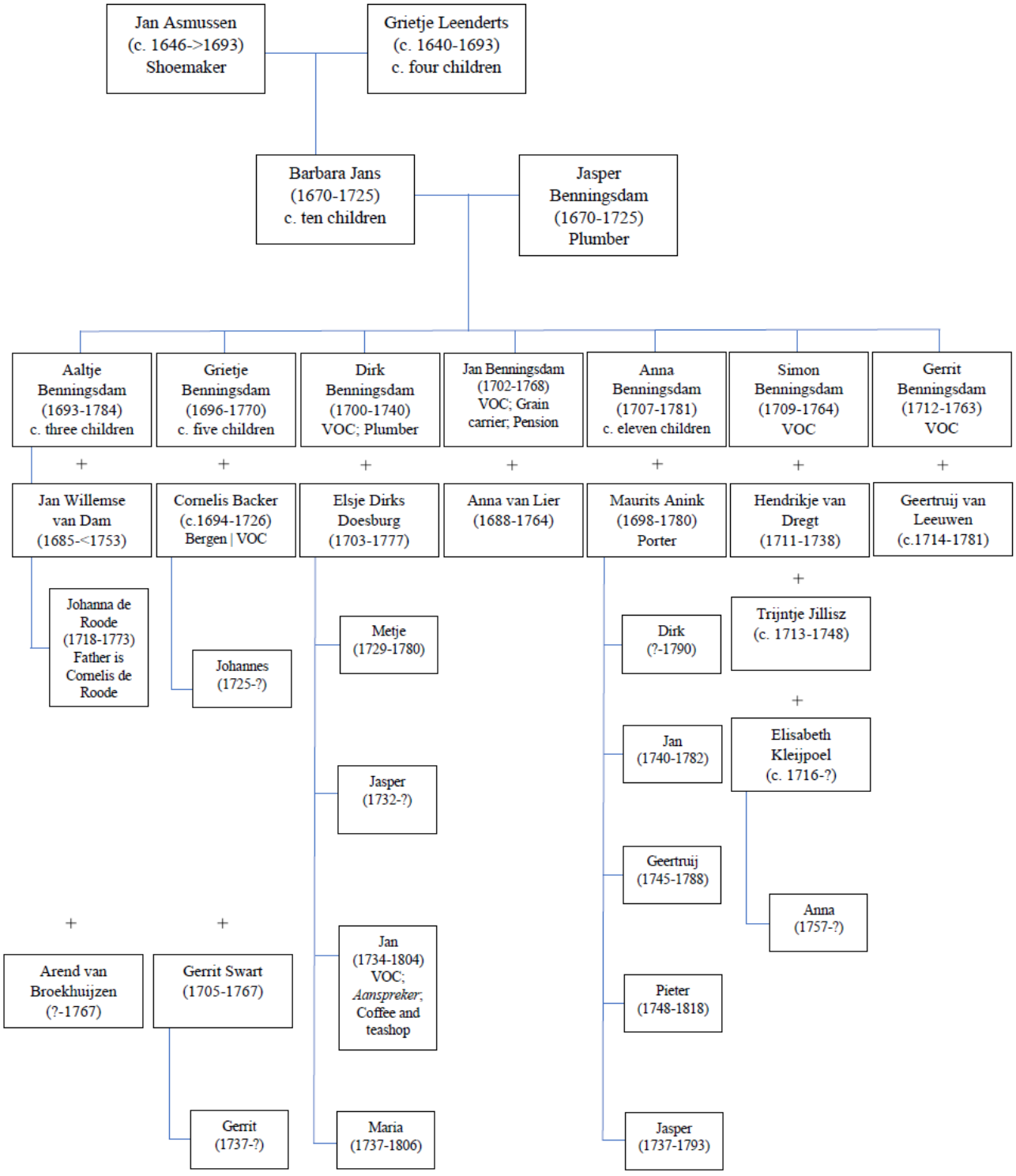
The microhistorical approach proved to be vital to this study. Whereas in historiography, it is, for example, claimed that when immigrants and their descendants live together in the same neighbourhood, there is little to no integration or social mobility, the case study of the Benningsdam family proved otherwise. The Benningsdam family lived in a neighbourhood that was inhabited by lots of immigrants. However, when the family is studied in detail, it can be concluded that they used the nature of the streets they were living into their advantage and did improve their own social-economic position. The microhistorical approach showed that for them, there was no necessity to move out of the deprived neighbourhood.

Moreover, the microhistorical approach of this study demonstrated that the indicators of integration, assimilation and social mobility were often interconnected. Two branches of the Ogelwight family were, for example, able to move to the Grachtengordel, the richest neighbourhood in Amsterdam, because of their success as merchants. They experienced significant upward social mobility. Another example is the Benningsdam family, for whom the decision to stay in the poor neighbourhood in which they lived was connected to the occupations of the family members. Without the microhistorical approach, this interconnectedness and the interplay of the indicators would not have become visible.

Although this study consisted of hundreds of individuals, it is, of course, not representative for all descendants of Norwegian and Danish immigrants in early modern Amsterdam. However, this study has demonstrated that it is possible to reconstruct the lives of the descendants of early modern immigrants and study their processes of integration, assimilation, and social mobility. Because of the large-scale digitisation and indexation of early modern sources, the descendants of immigrants now *can* be traced through time, which, until recently, seemed impossible. This conclusion is of great importance to the field of early modern

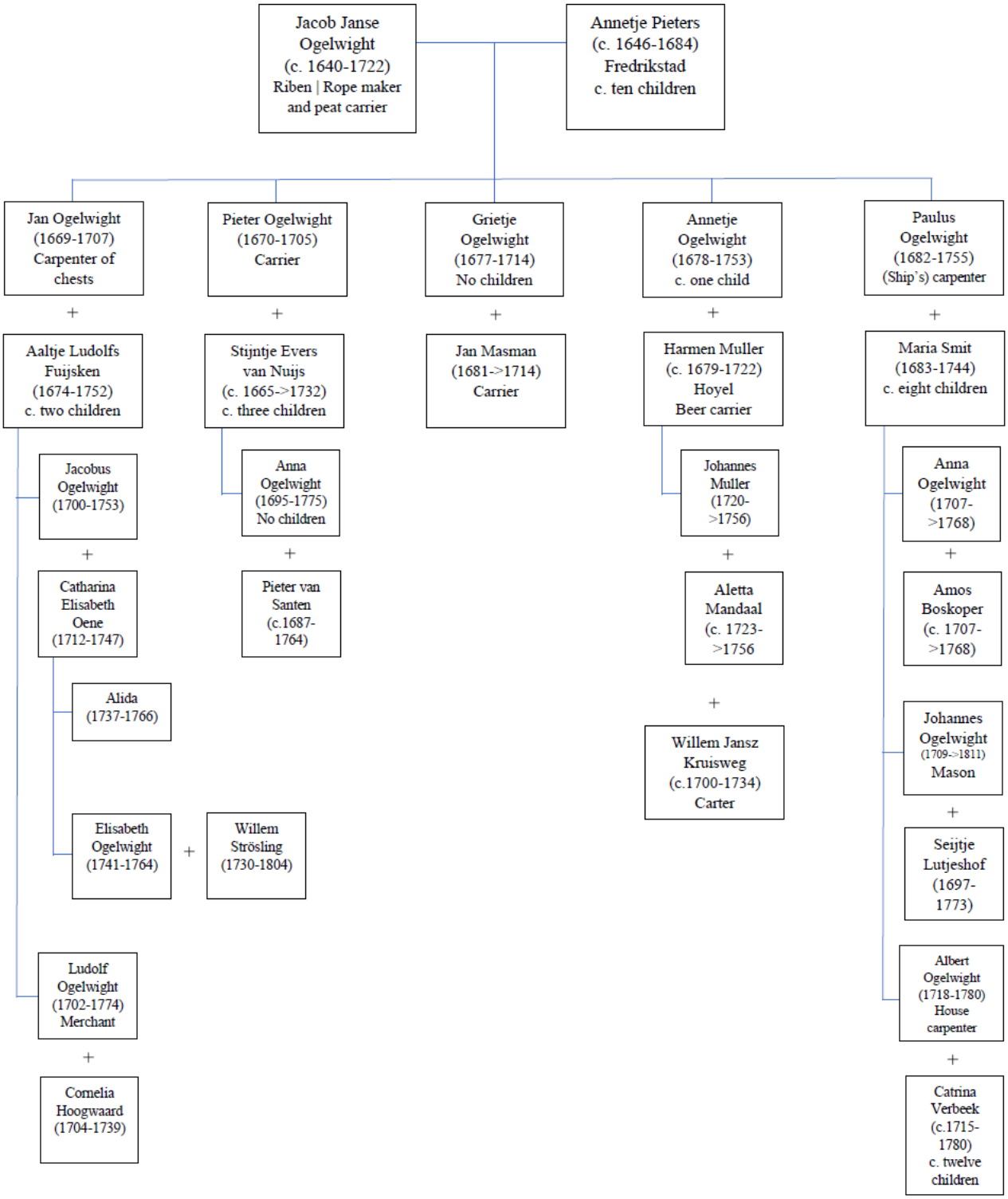
migration history for two reasons. First, it provides insight into urban challenges that are caused by migration and into important questions about the way immigrants and their descendants shaped the city. Because of the availability of the sources, Amsterdam is the only big European city for which a study into the processes of integration and assimilation is now possible. This means that further research can have an international impact as well. Second, this research is also relevant for questions about integration, social mobility, and inequality today. The early modern period can provide a long-term analysis of the processes of integration, assimilation and social mobility, something that is not possible for recent migrations. The insights that are obtained from this analysis can be used to look at contemporary processes of integration, assimilation and social mobility from a new perspective.

Appendix I. Family Tree of the Benningsdam Family[275]

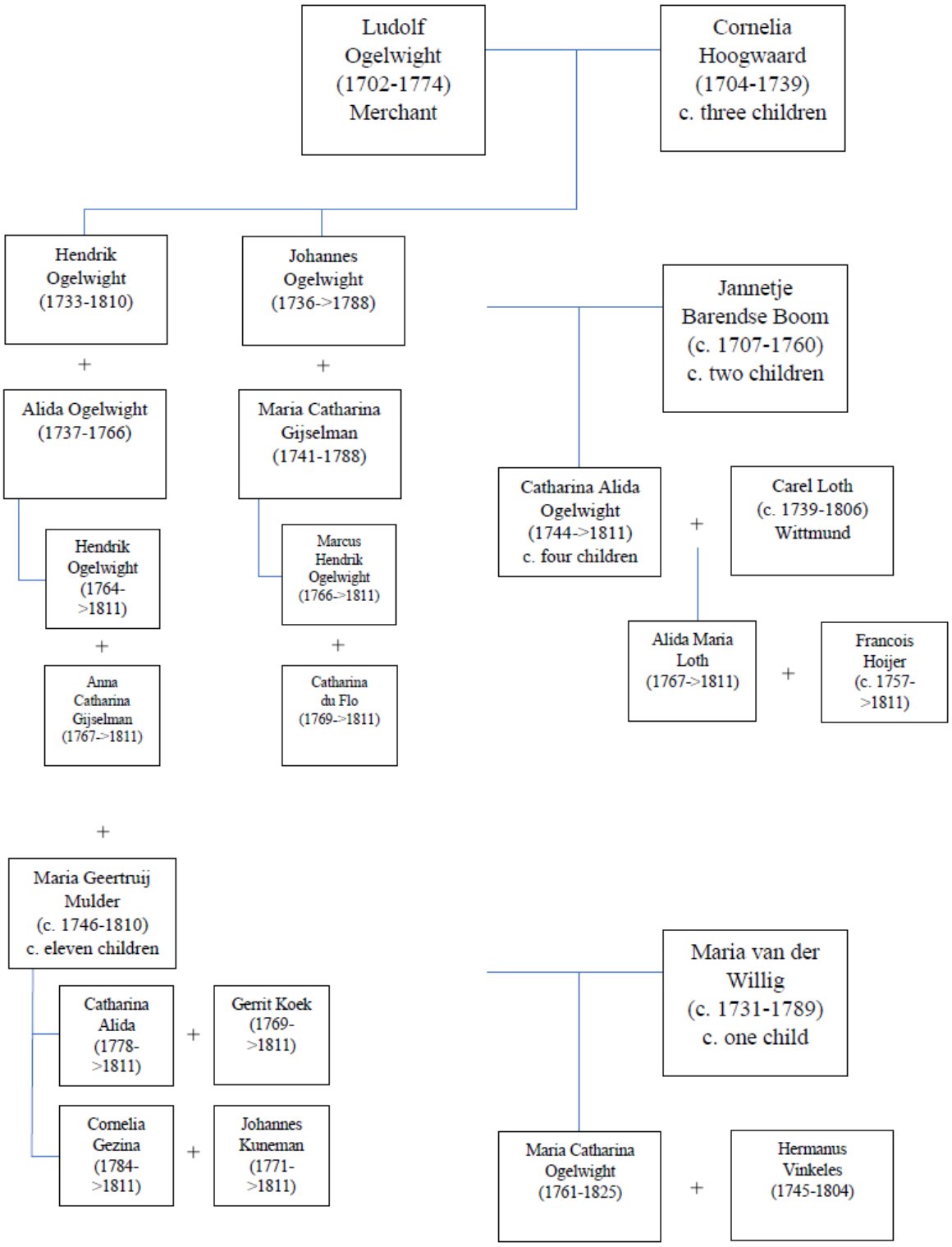


[275] In all family trees, only the children who got married are incorporated.

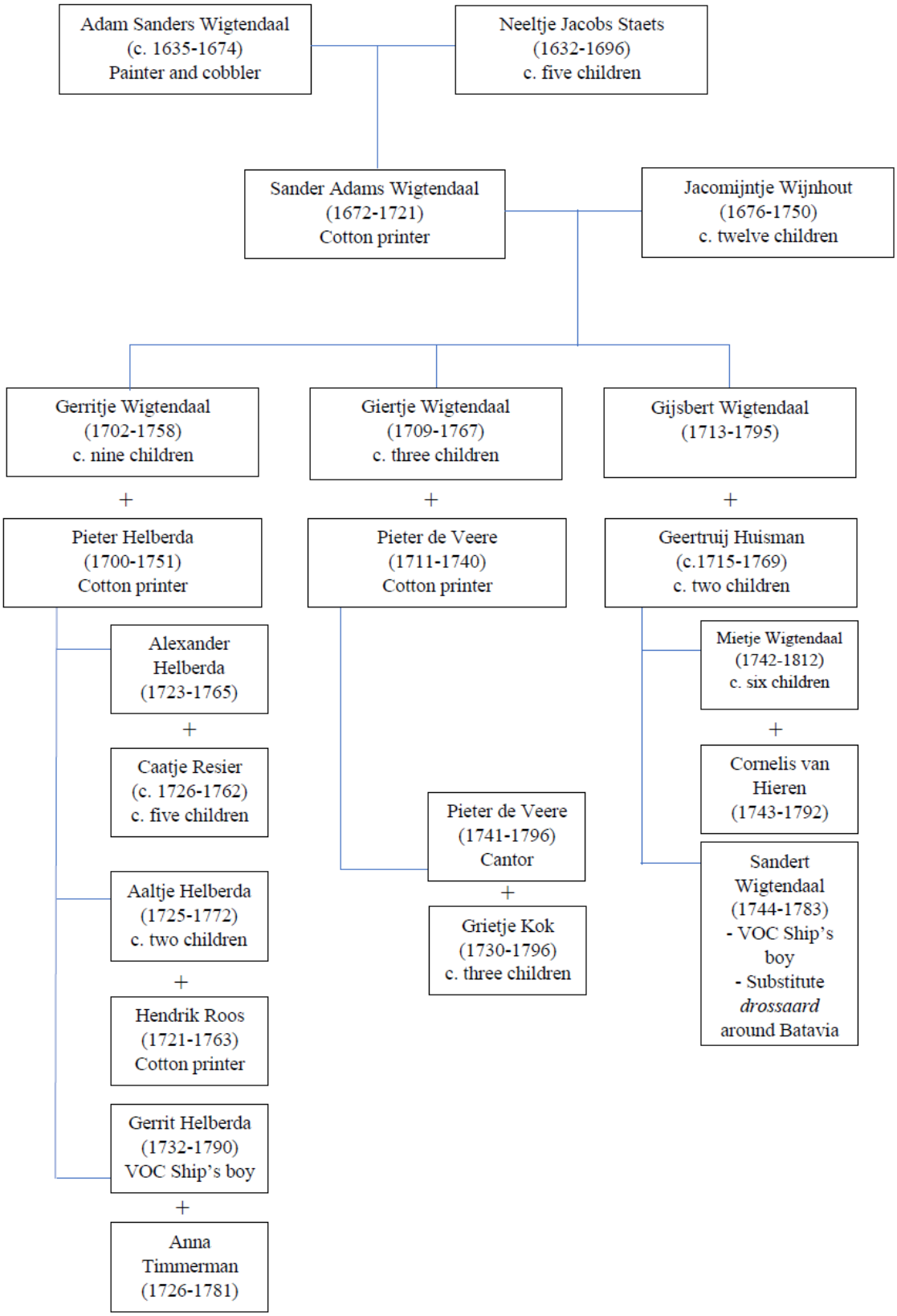
Appendix II. Family Tree of the Ogelwight Family



Appendix III. Family Tree of Ludolph Ogelwight



Appendix IV. Family Tree of the Wigtendaal Family



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