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Mennonite Networks Visualised: The social and professional Haarlem Mennonite tulip trade network expanded and visualised

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MENNONITE NETWORKS VISUALISED

The social and professional Haarlem Mennonite
tulip trade network expanded and visualised

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Introduction

Veel Flaminghen binnen Haerlem gecomen van alle canten ende hebben die stad vervolt, veel Minnisten ende ander secten, meest wevers ende gaerendewijnders, scoenmaeckers, blicckers.¹

A lot of Flemish people arrived in Haarlem from all sides and they have filled the city, many Mennonites and other sects, mostly weavers and thread manufacturers, cordwainers, bleachers.

The excerpt above is from a citizen in Haarlem, who wrote this statement in his diary on the fifth of March in 1579. Many Flemish refugees had arrived in the city, among whom were a large amount of 'Minnisten', Mennonites. These Mennonites would establish themselves in Haarlem, and would quickly found their own congregations. They were a minority, which made up about fourteen percent of the inhabitants of Haarlem.² What came in handy, was the fact that a lot of these Mennonites were weavers, thread manufacturers, and bleachers. They started contributing to the Haarlem textile industry, and would continue to do so for other industries as well in the following decades. However, the Mennonites in Haarlem did not only limit themselves to regular industries. In the 1630's, trading in tulips became all the rage, which resulted in tulip prices rising exponentially, until the eventual price drop in 1637. This tulip trade, also known as the *Tulipomania*, was something which Mennonites quickly became involved in.

The Tulipomania is the term coined for the short period during which prices of tulip bulbs exploded to exorbitant heights, resulting in the eventual collapse of this market in February of 1637. The Tulipomania takes place over a short amount of time, just four years in total. Tulip bulb prices initially started to rise in 1633. In the following few years prices continued to rise, sometimes resulting in a doubling of a bulbs price each week. The climax of the Tulipomania took place in December 1636 and January 1637, during which tulip bulb prices reached exorbitant heights. In these months, a bulb would be sold easily for 550 guilders, nearly twice the annual income of a skilled artisan at that time. Some especially expensive bulbs, like those of the famous *Semper Augustus*, were worth 10.000 guilders during the Tulipomania's climax.³

As mentioned before, tulip trading was quite popular with Mennonites. Scholars, like Anne Goldgar, have noticed how the Mennonites formed a solid network during the Tulipomania in which they bought and sold tulips.⁴ But is this the only instance in which Mennonites in Haarlem formed such

¹ Willem Janszoon Verwer, *Memoriaelbouck: dagboek van gebeurtenissen te Haarlem van 1572-1581* (Haarlem 05-03-1579)

² Anne Goldgar, *Tulipmania: Money, Honor, and Knowledge in the Dutch Golden Age* (Chicago 2007) 132.

³ Mike Dash, *Tulpengekte: Over de speculatiegolf die de tulp in 17-eeuws Nederland veroorzaakte* (Utrecht 1999) 10, 123-125.

⁴ Goldgar, *Tulipmania*, 152.

a strong network? And if so, what does the Haarlem Mennonite network look like? In this research, the Mennonite tulip trading network will be expanded upon. The Mennonite tulip network will be traced in a broader sense, back to their Haarlem networks. This research then attempts to establish how large the Mennonite network actually was during the Tulipomania. It does so, by also looking at their existing connections acquired via their professions, congregations, and marriages.

Why research the Mennonites in Haarlem? As mentioned before, Mennonites have been a part of Haarlem from very early on, contributing to the city in both a cultural and an economic sense. Their numbers however remain to be small, with only fourteen percent of Haarlem being Mennonite in the year 1618.⁵ This makes it quite difficult to distinguish the impact their presence made in Haarlem. This research, in which a network is reconstructed and analysed, makes it clearer to see how the Mennonites were involved in the Haarlem city life. We can see who contributed to Haarlem culturally and economically, and how they have established themselves. And why look at the Tulipomania? The Tulipomania presents an extraordinary situation in the Golden Age of Holland, resulting in one of the first so called 'asset bubbles' in history. The tulip trade during the Tulipomania was unique, since it was not regulated in any way. There were no guilds controlling the trade or regulations from the States General until the collapse of the tulip market.⁶ This means that the market was fully controlled by the tulip buyers and sellers themselves. An uncontrolled market like this is the clearest example of how (professional) connections can form, since there is no one who is steering the market in a particular direction. The Tulipomania took place in only a few years, roughly four in total. This means that the network of Mennonites in the tulip trade was formed in only a couple of years. Since this is a relatively short amount of time, it is quite impressive that they had such a stable and established network. By further analysing this network, and the broader network of Haarlem Mennonites, this research explores how the Mennonites were able to establish such a close knit network in such a short amount of time. To fully establish how they did this, this research will therefore not only look at the years of the Tulipomania itself, but also the years preceding and following the Tulipomania.

Historiography

The Tulipomania as a subject is often described in academic literature. So often in fact, that Ernst Heinrich Krelage, a primary bulb-grower and vice-president of the Dutch Gardening Council, stated in 1913 that "there is more than enough written about tulipmania".⁷ Surprisingly perhaps, Krelage was an author of multiple articles and a book about the Tulipomania himself. In the first half of Krelage's book *Bloemenspeculatie in Nederland: de Tulpomanie van 1636-'37 en de Hyacintenhandel 1720-'36* he describes the trade of the Tulipomania during the two years in which the trade was at its most

⁵ Ibid., 132.

⁶ Ibid., 16.

⁷ Ibid., 4.

chaotic.⁸ Krelage, himself not unfamiliar with primary sources, has dedicated multiple articles to original documents and pamphlets which were written during the tulipomania, namely *De Pamfletten van den Tulpenwindhandel 1636-1637* and *Het manuscript over den tulpenwindhandel uit de verzameling-Meulman*.⁹ Both articles give the original text of the document in its entirety, after which Krelage gives us context behind the texts and its authors.

Due to Krelage's precision and many publications, it is no wonder that he remained an intellectual authority for a long time when it came to the study of the Tulipomania. That doesn't mean that there were no publications after Krelage. In 1989, economic scholar Peter M. Garber published an article called *Tulipmania*, which is one of the first examples where the Tulipomania was analysed from the years 1634 until 1637.¹⁰ Before that, most literature was focused on the years 1636 and 1637. Ten years later, in 1999, historian Mike Dash published a book called *Tulipomania: The Story of the World's Most Coveted Flower and the Extraordinary Passions It Aroused*.¹¹ Dash provides a detailed description of not only the four years of the Tulipomania, but also covers the history of the tulips centuries before the tulip trade, about how the tulip showed up as a trade good in the Dutch Republic. The role of the Ottoman Empire in the history of tulip, both before and after the Dutch Tulipomania, is analysed to explain the appeal of the oriental flower, before it became a staple of Dutch culture. Interestingly, Dash is one of the first scholars to point out that even though some financial losses were made, these losses were all marginal. He is therefore one of the first scholars to break away from the notion that the Tulipomania caused huge financial losses and caused a large amount of chaos in the Dutch Republic.

One of the most extensive books on the subject, which can easily be seen as the main work of reference when it comes to the Tulipomania, is the book written by historian Anne Goldgar. In her book *Tulipmania: Money, Honor, and Knowledge in the Dutch Golden Age* Goldgar analyses the Tulipomania to truly see what happened during those couple of years.¹² Her main focus is on documents from public archives, like court cases and notarial documents, to show us who those involved in the tulip trade truly were. Goldgar lays focus on the individuals who were trading in tulips, rather than focus on the overall pompous stories on expensive tulips selling for the prize of an Amsterdam house in the main street. The tulip traders are humanized in her book. Tulip prizes were indeed high, but not blatantly expensive. While some did of course suffer financial losses due to the

⁸ E.H. Krelage, *Bloemenspeculatie in Nederland: de Tulpomanie van 1636-'37 en de Hyacintenhandel 1720-'36* (Amsterdam 1942)

⁹ E.H. Krelage, *De Pamfletten van den Tulpenwindhandel 1636-1637* (The Hague 1942) AND E.H. Krelage, 'Het manuscript over den tulpenwindhandel uit de verzameling-Meulman' in: *Economisch Historisch Jaarboek: Bijdragen tot de Economische Geschiedenis van Nederland* 22 (Den Haag 1943) pp. 26-48.

¹⁰ Peter M. Garber, 'Tulipmania' in: *Journal of Political Economy* 97:3 (Chicago 1989)

¹¹ In this research, the Dutch publication of the book was used. Source: Dash, *Tulpengekke*

¹² Goldgar, *Tulipmania*

sudden drop of tulip prizes in 1637, close to no evidence is found that the Tulipomania actually caused any bankruptcies among those involved.

Due to Goldgar's focus on the individuals active in the tulip trade, including their networks, she is one of the first scholars to notice how involved the Mennonites were in the Tulipomania. Other scholars, like Mike Dash, had noticed that Mennonites were blamed for the downfall of the tulip trade in 1637, but they don't speak on the Mennonite involvement in the Tulipomania.¹³ Goldgar made a reconstruction of the Mennonite network active in the tulip trade, and how they were all related to each other. Due to her this research, Goldgar remains one of the most important works on the Tulipomania. Her descriptions of the *bloemisten* (name for those who bought and sold tulips) and their transactions are detailed and clear, and is based on many primary sources from many archives. Obviously, the main focus in this research will remain on the Mennonites who were active in the trade and their network. Even though Goldgar's reconstruction of this network is not always entirely correct or not as detailed, something this research will touch later on, it still remains a strong starting point to conduct further research.

Quite a bit of literature has been written on the Dutch Mennonites during the first half of the seventeenth century. There is even a book specifically dedicated to the Mennonites in Haarlem by Simon L. Verheus: *Naarstig en Vroom: Doopsgezinden in Haarlem 1530-1930*.¹⁴ Verheus gives us an overview of the history of Mennonites in Haarlem from 1530 until 1930. The focus of the book is mainly on the different Mennonite congregations in Haarlem, including their institutions like orphanages, charities, and *hofjes*. The overview of the congregations, and the eventual merging of said congregations into one large Mennonite congregation in 1784, is very detailed. Despite the limited amount of archival sources from the first period before 1650, Verheus succeeds in giving a clear overview of every congregation, including their general beliefs, most important teachers, and even where the congregations held their services. Unfortunately, the focus on the book tends to never leave these congregations. We rarely get to meet specific individuals, and if we do, we rarely get to see their social and professional network outside of the congregations they were active in. Verheus can therefore be seen as a great basis for the history of Mennonite Haarlem, but for a social- and network analysis of these Mennonites, one has to look for additional sources and literature.

To give insight into the Mennonite lifestyle and ideals in the sixteenth and seventeenth, one can look at the article written by Sjouke Voolstra: *'The colony of heaven': The Anabaptist aspiration to be a church without spot or wrinkle in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries*.¹⁵ Voolstra details how

¹³ Dash, *Tulpengekte*, 204-205.

¹⁴ Simon L. Verheus, *Naarstig en Vroom: Doopsgezinden in Haarlem 1530-1930* (Haarlem 1993)

¹⁵ Sjouke Voolstra, "'The colony of heaven': The Anabaptist aspiration to be a church without spot or wrinkle in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries' in: Alastair Hamilton, Sjouke Voolstra, and Piet Visser, *From martyr to*

the Mennonites tried to live as proper and purified Christians, especially after the debacle of the Münster rebellion in 1634-1635. Voolstra explains how Mennonites were implementing their Anabaptist aspirations in both theological and practical settings. This information is critical for this research, since it both tells how Mennonites saw themselves and coreligionists, as well as how non-Mennonites viewed the Mennonite community. Insight in the non-Mennonite community can be distilled from historian Simon Schama, who describes in *The Embarrassment of Riches: An Interpretation of Dutch Culture in the Golden Age* the Dutch (Calvinist) culture during the Golden Age.¹⁶

Visualising the Mennonite social network in Haarlem

How does one map out a social network like the Mennonites in the decade of the Tulipomania? To display the social network as clear as possible, this research will create a diagram based on these social and professional networks. To make a clear diagram, this research will first gather all the *nodes* and *edges*. *Nodes* are the 'things', in this case the Mennonite individuals, which will be placed in the network. *Edges* are the connections between the nodes, so how the nodes are related to one another. These *nodes* and *edges* will be processed in the graph visualization program *Gephi*, which will form a network diagram, complete with percentages concerning each category. These categories will be the following: tulip trade involvement, careers, residence, families, and religion.

The Haarlem Mennonite community will be viewed from a network scientific point of view. Rather than focus on the individuals and their attributes (gender, age, etc.), this research focusses on the connections that bind these individuals together. That does not mean, that the individuals in the Mennonite network are less important. On the contrary, the social network analysis will complement the focus on individuals and will add a critical dimension that captures the connective tissue of the Mennonite society in Haarlem. We can get to know more about a person, if we can deduce in what social environment they worked, where they prayed, and how they simply lived their lives. By making a diagram of this social network, a very visual element, one will be able to highlight important people and subgroups.¹⁷

One overarching factor in the network, is the aspect of family. Family by far is one of the most important factors in Mennonite Haarlem. In notarial documents, one is always quick to point out who they were related to, almost as a way to proof and legitimize themselves. Some Mennonite families are largely influential in Mennonite daily life, like the De Clercq family and the Van Steenkiste family. Other families are more specialised in one particular industry and are a large influence in their trade,

muppy: A historical introduction to cultural assimilation processes of a religious minority in the Netherlands: the Mennonites (Amsterdam 1994) pp. 15-29.

¹⁶ Simon Schama, *The Embarrassment of Riches: An Interpretation of Dutch Culture in the Golden Age* (New York 1987)

¹⁷ Derek Hansen, Ben Shneiderman, and Marc A. Smith, *Analyzing Social Media Networks with NodeXL : Insights from a Connected World* (San Francisco 2010) 31-33.

like the Boeckels family in watchmaking and the Casteleyn family in book publishing. Interestingly, we see a lot of strategic marriages and intermingling happening between those families. Fathers marry their daughters to sons of important colleagues, and children are given godfathers that have a status in the community. To show just how interconnected these Mennonites were family wise, an example will be given in the second chapter in which a notarial document about an inheritance will be fully analysed.

To accurately display the Mennonite network during the Tulipomania, this research will 'overlap' three different kinds of networks, to establish one holistic overview. The first network, which will be described in the first chapter, is the *bloemisten* network during the Tulipomania. Since this research is focused on the decade of the Tulipomania, it makes sense to start looking at the Mennonite tulip trading network. For this network, the research will rely on the work done by Anne Goldgar in her book *Tulipomania*. The second chapter and network that will be included, is the religious network. What is it like to be Mennonite in a predominantly non-Mennonite city? How does it bring people together? How do non-Mennonite individuals, like Frans Hals, interact with this network? This will be the main focus in the second network. To gather this information, the research will focus mostly on the Mennonite congregations in Haarlem. Original documents from that period, varying from membership lists, court records, and notarial documents, will be analysed. Literature about the congregations will come in handy during this chapter. Especially Simon Verheus' book on Mennonite Haarlem, *Naarstig en Vroom*, is very valuable, because of its detailed description of both the congregations, as well as the early history of Mennonites in Haarlem.

The third and last network which will be analysed is the professional network. Mennonites were active in quite a few industries in Haarlem. This research looks at the Haarlem industries in which they were the most prominent, namely the textile industry, book publishing, watchmaking, and brewing and distilling. To establish these connections, notarial documents from Haarlem will be used, which can be found in the 'Oud Notarieel Archief Haarlem' (Old Notarial Archive Haarlem). In a lot of official documents, like marriage administrations or final wills, the profession of those involved are often named as well. These notarial facts will be combined with literature to give us the context about the professions. Particularly useful are historian Pieter Biesboer's article *De Vlaamse immigranten in Haarlem 1578-1630 en hun nakomelingen* about Flemish cloth merchants, librarians P.C. Molhuysen and Fr.K.H. Kossmann chapters on the publishing family Casteleyn in their book *Nieuw Nederlandsch Biografisch Woordenboek: Negende Deel*, scholar J.H. Leopold's article *Clockmaking in Britain and the Netherlands* about watchmaking, and the article written by scholar Frans Grijzenhout, Ines Jonkhoff,

Merel Kramer, and Dorine de Bruijne, *Frans Hals in doopsgezinde Brouwerskringen* about Mennonite brewers in Haarlem.¹⁸

¹⁸ Pieter Biesboer, 'De Vlaamse immigranten in Haarlem 1578-1630 en hun nakomelingen' in: P. Biesboer, G.Th. Kolthof, H. Rau, J.J. Temminck and J.B. Uittenhout, *Vlamingen in Haarlem* (Haarlem 1996) AND P.C. Molhuysen and Fr.K.H. Kossmann, *Nieuw Nederlandsch Biografisch Woordenboek: Negende Deel* (Leiden 1933) AND J.H. Leopold, 'Clockmaking in Britain and the Netherlands' in: *Notes and Records of the Royal Society of London* 43:2 (1989) pp. 155-165. AND Frans Grijzenhout, Ines Jonkhoff, Merel Kramer and Dorine de Bruijne, 'Frans Hals in doopsgezinde Brouwerskringen' in: *Doopsgezinde Bijdragen* 45 (2019) pp. 209-227.

1. Tulips and Mennonites

Mennonite *bloemisten*

A disproportionately large number among the Haarlem *bloemisten* were Mennonites, who were particularly interested in selling tulips among each other. This research will show that Mennonites, settling in Haarlem at the middle end of the sixteenth-century, would play an important role in the city's economic and cultural life. Anne Goldgar gives us a clear overview of these Mennonite *bloemisten* during the Tulipomania in a comprehensible table in her book *Tulipomania*.¹⁹ The diagram offers an interesting insight into how interconnected these Mennonite *bloemisten* really were. Interesting is that most of them were connected via family relations. Two brothers, named Jacques and Pieter de Clercq, are pictured in the middle of the overview made by Goldgar, being the proverbial spiders in this tulip selling web. Jacques de Clercq was indeed a central person in the tulip trade. Jacques had many important connections, like his friendship with Barent Roelofsz Wanscher, as well as the Moens family, a particularly wealthy family who were also his in-laws. De Clercq did not only sell tulips in Haarlem. He also sold tulips in Amsterdam, where he lived, and in Enkhuizen. He traded not solely with other Mennonites, as seen by the fact that he bought and sold tulips from Pieter Gerritsz van Welsen, a Haarlem resident not known as Mennonite. De Clercq was also sometimes called upon as an arbiter, a so-called expert in court, when it involved cases concerning the tulip trade. Arbiters acted as experts, and were guides and writers of rules about their specific trade.²⁰

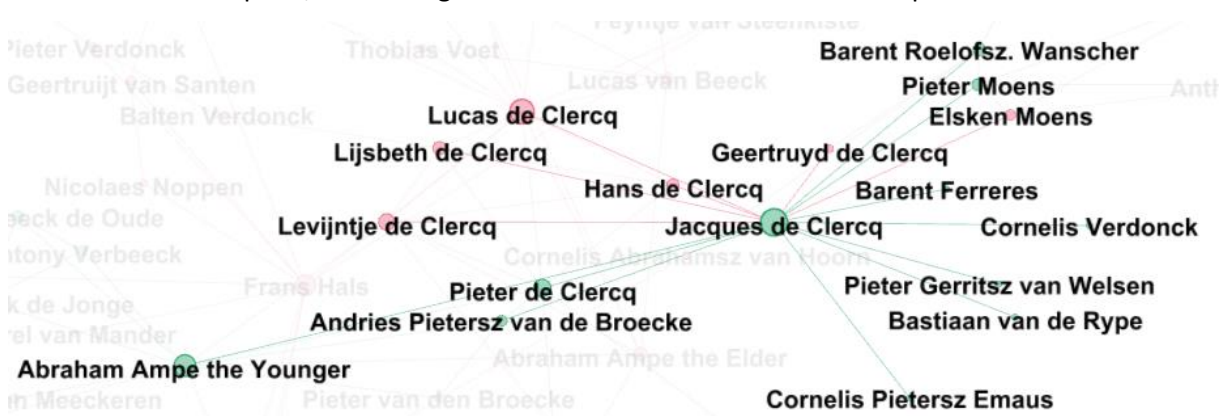


Figure 1: Connections of Jacques de Clercq. Those marked in green were all *bloemisten*.

Jacques de Clercq, however affluent he might have been, was not the so-called tulip expert in Haarlem, that position was filled by Salomon Pietersz Seys. He was a well-known seller who both knew a lot about the quality of tulips, as well as the tulip selling practices. His knowledge and experience about the tulip trade caused him to become an arbiter for a variety of lawsuits about tulips at the

¹⁹ This diagram can be viewed in Appendix 1.

²⁰ Goldgar, *Tulipomania*, 149-152, 190-194.

Kleine Bank van Justitie. Due to his central role and his tulip knowledge, his name appeared among many transactions, lawsuits and other tulip related business. He was very familiar with both people in Haarlem and Amsterdam tulip scene. Seys sold tulips to many, including *bloemisten* such as Jacques Bertens, Franck Pietersz de Jongh, Gerrit Pietersz, and Pieter Jansz Ryck. He bought tulips from Haarlem tulip auctioneer Joost Jansz van Haverbeeck, and even bought and sold tulips in Groningen. He also was involved in more complicated lawsuits, as we can see from his involvement as an arbiter in transactions, commercial affairs, and Seys representing Hans Lailepel in court. Seys did not hesitate to go to court himself if he felt like he had been swindled. In August 1637 for example, Seys sued Rogier Alleman about the bad quality of the tulips which Alleman had sold him. Seys knew what a good ‘Admirael’ tulip looked like, and Allemans tulips apparently looked nothing like that. He also sued the aforementioned Van Haverbeeck, who sold him ‘bad flowers’ according to Seys. Seys was also the first person to sue someone, namely Gerrit Pietersz, to receive his mandatory 3,5 percent *rouwkoop* for a breached contract on June 14th, 1638. *Rouwkoop* was a settlement in which the buyer paid the seller 3,5 percent of the original buying price to annul the contract. This was not the last time that Seys had to force others to give him his *rouwkoop* money, since he also had to settle the *rouwkoop* fine in a court settlement with Jacques Bertens and Aert Huybertsz.²¹

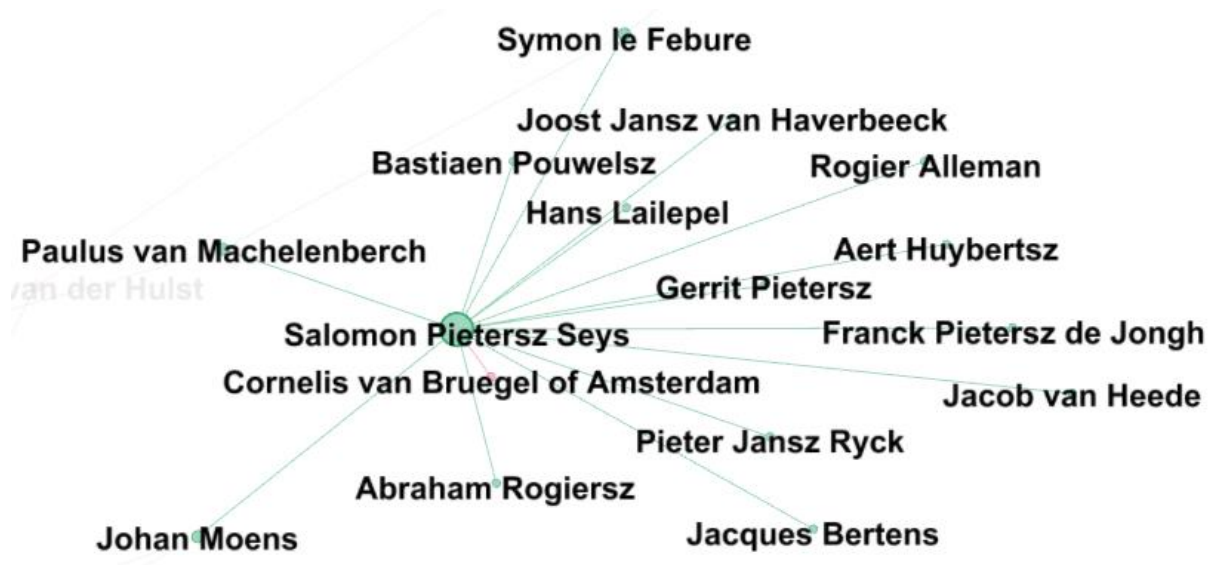


Figure 2: Connections of Salomon Pietersz Seys. Those marked in green were all *bloemisten*.

²¹ Ibid., 176-178, 185-186, 242-246.

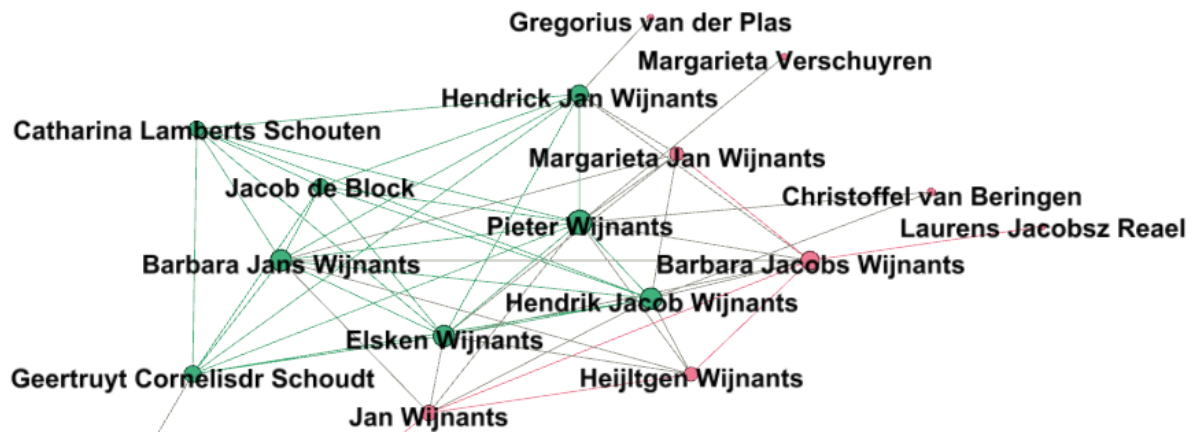


Figure 3: The Wijnants family and their dinner guests. Those marked in green were all present at the Sunday dinner.

Not only were *bloemisten* often directly or indirectly related to each other, sometimes a family setting was literally used to sell and buy tulips. This is not unique to the De Clercq brothers and their network. Goldgar describes a scene in February of 1637, at the Wijnants family dinner table.²² All attendees were very interested in the tulip trade. Geertruyt Schoudt, one of the guests at the Wijnants Sunday dinner, decided to buy tulips from Hendrick Jan Wijnants. Hendrick Jan Wijnants, cousin of the host Pieter Wijnants, sold Schoudt ‘Switser’ tulips for a staggering 1065 guilders. Unfortunately for Schoudt, the prices collapsed less than eight days later. The Wijnants however did not solely sell their tulips in small private settings. A few days before Schoudt bought her tulips, Hendrick Jan Wijnants had also sold a pound of tulips to Gregorius van der Plas, the catholic city doctor of Haarlem. Interactions within the tulip trade with those of other faiths is not unique to Hendrick Jan Wijnants. Known Mennonite Severijn van den Heuvel for example, bought three tulips from *schutter* (civic militia) Aert Thomasz Ducens, someone who can therefore not have been Mennonite.²³ Mennonites did not take up any arms or swore oaths, which is why they couldn’t join the *schutters*.²⁴

While Mennonite *bloemisten* in Haarlem were open to trade tulips with everyone, most of the time they bought and sold tulips from and with other Mennonites. This wasn’t restricted to Mennonites from the same cities. For example, Abraham van Meeckeren, from Haarlem, and Jacob Abrahamsz van Halmael, from Amsterdam, had an agreement in which Van Meeckeren would supply thirteen and one-half lasts of Swedish barley in exchange for tulips delivered by Van Halmael worth 1800 guilders. In this example, one could also see the leniency the Mennonite tulip traders had for one another. On the 10th of February 1637 Van Halmael cancelled this contract with Van Meeckeren, out of honour, and in order to not cause financial ruin to the Van Meeckeren family. Van Meeckeren paid a small *rouwkoop* of only 160 guilders to annul the contract, less than 10 percent of the originally

²² An overview of the family relations of the Wijnants and their guests present at the Sunday dinner can be viewed in Appendix 2.

²³ Goldgar, *Tulipmania*, 131-139, 150-151, 177-178.

²⁴ Voolstra, “The colony of heaven”, 25.

agreed upon price. Like the Wijnants family dinner, a private setting remained to be one of the preferred places to make a tulip deal. In January 1637 for example, Jacques de Clercq had invited his brother-in-law Pieter Moens and Barent Roelofsz Wanscher, who had a large influence in Haarlem, to his house. Wanscher had bought tulips from Moens, but they weren't able to agree on the price. They had come to De Clercq for advice on the matter.²⁵ This displays both the location of tulip negotiations in private settings, as well as the familiarity of De Clercq, Wanscher, and Moens.

A distinction we must make, is between *liefhebbers* and *bloemisten*. *Liefhebbers* described themselves as true flower connoisseurs. They admired tulips for the flower itself and bought and sold tulips out of passion, and not as an investment like most *bloemisten*. Abraham Casteleyn, a Mennonite, was described as a long-time figure in the tulip trade, a true *liefhebber*.²⁶ Casteleyn was involved in tulips far before the Tulipomania. His colleague Crispijn van de Passe, author of *Hortus Floridus* as well as a fellow Mennonite, names Casteleyn among *liefhebbers* as early as 1615.²⁷ Numerous tulips, like the 'Tulippe Cattelijn' were actually named after him, which further confirms his involvement in the trade. Casteleyn was still active during the Tulipomania. Cloth merchant Jan Jansz Schoft of Enkhuizen bought tulips from him in late 1634 or 1635. Casteleyn wasn't the

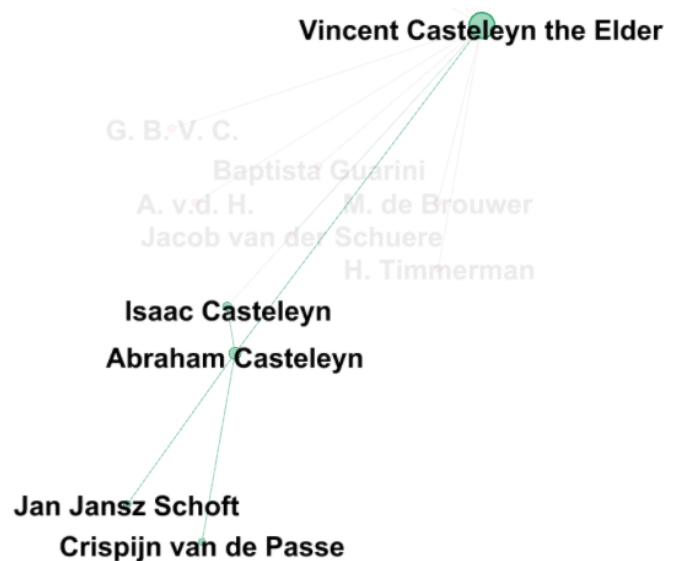


Figure 4: Bloemisten connections of Abraham Casteleyn.

only one in his family interested in the tulip trade. His brothers, Isaac and Vincent Casteleyn were also active in the tulip trade. It is hard to determine however, if these two brothers were *liefhebbers* like Abraham, or if they were leaning more to the *bloemist* side of tulip trading.²⁸

²⁵ Ibid., 150-152, 203, 234.

²⁶ This Abraham Casteleyn should not be confused with Abraham Casteleyn, son of Vincent Casteleyn who was born around 1628 and is known for establishing the *Haarlemsche Courant* and his portrait by Jan de Brey. Source: RKD-Nederlands Instituut voor de Kunstgeschiedenis, 'Abraham Casteleyn', <https://rkd.nl/nl/explore/artists/record?query=casteleyn+abraham&start=0> (visited on 20-02-2022)

²⁷ Marco van Egmond, 'Den Blom-hof' van Crispijn van den Passe', *Universiteit Utrecht* <https://www.uu.nl/bijzondere-collecties-universiteitsbibliotheek-utrecht/collecties/oude-en-bijzondere-drukken/wetenschappelijke-werken/den-blom-hof-van-crispijn-van-den-passe> (visited on 20-02-2022) AND National Portrait Gallery, 'Crispijn de Passe the Younger' <https://www.npg.org.uk/collections/search/person/mp69834/crispijn-de-passe-the-Younger> (visited on 20-02-2022)

²⁸ Goldgar, *Tulipmania*, 23, 124, 156.

Despite the fact that not every *bloemist* was a *liefhebber* per se, that did not mean that the appearance of the tulip didn't matter to a *bloemist*. Paulus van Machelenberch for example only wanted to buy flamed tulips, and believed only tulips who looked like that were valuable. Novelty in the tulip trade was key, tulips with only solid colours were not as special and sought after, which decreased their value. Tulip trader Symon le Febure had to assure Van Machelenberch that his tulips were flamed, otherwise Van Machelenberch did not want to buy these tulips from him. Van Machelenberch did not know that Le Febure had already sold his tulips to Jan Wijnants. This could have been a nasty surprise, but the tulips did not show any flame patterns after flowering, which meant that Van Machelenberch was no longer interested. It was actually Salomon Pietersz Seys, together with other tulip connoisseurs Abraham Rogiersz, Bastiaen Pouwelsz, and Jacob van Heede, who was a witness in this case, testifying how the tulips of Le Febure were only of one solid colour and had no interesting patterns. Lawsuits about tulips being of subpar quality weren't uncommon. In spring of 1637, Pieter de Clercq had a lawsuit against Elsen Gysberts and Huybert Jansz over a bulb bought in 1636. The tulip that was eventually delivered, was not the flower which they had paid for. To prevent being sold the wrong tulips, many *bloemisten* first wanted to see the flowers before the bulbs were lifted from the ground. An example of this was when Enkhuizen *bloemist* and lawyer Barent Ferreres could not verify if the bulbs he bought were indeed of the tulip he ordered. He therefore refused to buy the tulips from Jacques de Clercq, the *bloemist* who took the bulbs out of the ground before Ferreres could see the flower. There were even lawsuits about flowers not being delivered at all. Jacques de Clercq for example failed to deliver tulips to Cornelis Pietersz Emaus.²⁹



Figure 5: Drawing by Jacob Isaacs van Swanenburch of a 'Switser' tulip, a popular flamed tulip type. Source: *Nederlandsch Economisch-Historisch Archief*: ARCH03754, 3.

There were quite a lot of Mennonites active in the tulip trade. Many of them chose to trade within familiar Mennonite circles, in an intimate setting. Some Mennonites however, like Salomon Pieter Seys, Jacques de Clercq, and Pieter de Clercq, took a more central role in the tulip trade. These

²⁹ *Ibid.*, 41, 114, 173, 286-289.

men all had a large tulip trading circle, comprising multiple Reformed and Catholic traders. These Mennonite tulip traders purposefully made themselves a vital cog in the Tulipomania, with which they introduced themselves to a new professional network of non-Mennonites.

The collapse of the Tulipomania in Haarlem

On the 4th of February, 1637, in Haarlem the tulip prices started dropping quickly after several warnings about the tulip trade were issued in the days before.³⁰ The collapse of tulip trade was fast and ruthless. Prices of the tulips plummeted, which left *bloemisten* with expensive bulbs that they couldn't sell any longer. More concerning however, was the amount of *bloemisten* which were bound to contracts that they could no longer pay. They would rarely buy the current tulip bulbs on display. Instead, they bought the offspring that the tulip bulb would produce next season. Many bought tulips by signing a contract with a *bloemist*, promising to pay them back in the future. Said people counted on their future tulip sales to make up for their current investment, when using those contracts. This meant that after the collapse in February 1637, these people not only could no longer sell their tulips in the future for a profit, but they also weren't able to pay their current contracts.

Not everyone was surprised by the quick collapse of the Tulipomania however. Due to how rapidly the tulip prizes climbed in January 1637, some tulip-watchers already concluded that the rising prices were not sustainable. And not only individuals, some local officialdoms were also worried about the increasing tulip prizes. The 'Kleine Bank van Justitie' (Small Bank of Justice, the small claims court) in Haarlem was already worried in the autumn of 1636, as they received an increasing amount of cases about tulips every month. These cases were mostly about bulbs that weren't delivered to the buyers, in those cases the *bloemisten* often had sold them to even higher bidders. Surprisingly enough, there were no new tulip cases at the 'Kleine Bank van Justitie' in 1637 from February 10 until April 24. Because of the sudden standstill in the tulip trade, no one knew what to do, including the *bloemisten* themselves.³¹

On the 4th of March 1637, various inhabitants of Haarlem wished that the trade in flowers should be nullified from the last *planttijd* (planting time) until now. This meant that transactions since November 1636 would all be revoked. However, the high court Hof van Holland overruled this suggestion, and all transactions remained valid. In a letter, the burgomasters of Haarlem tried to persuade the Hof van Holland (superior court of the province of Holland) to take action. The tulip trade had mostly taken place in Haarlem and its inhabitants started to grow impatient. The high court decided to leave it up to the sellers to try to recover their money, encouraging the cities to let their inhabitants settle the matters in a sophisticated manner. A lot of disputes concerning tulips plagued

³⁰ Schama, *The Embarrassment of Riches*, 360.

³¹ Goldgar, *Tulipmania*, 224-229.

Haarlem in the following year, especially when the tulips were unearthed (end of April) and during *planttijd* (September-November). Eventually, tulip contracts that were to be settled in court all got the same treatment in Haarlem from the 28th of May in 1638. Each contract would be settled with a *rouwkoop* (mourning money), in which the buyer paid the seller 3,5 percent of the original buying price to annul the contract. After this was decided, the unrest surrounding tulips finally died down in Haarlem. From now on, most of the tulip cases would be settled out of court. Only the most extreme cases where the involved parties were not able to reach a conclusion, like Seys' disagreements with Gerrit Pietersz, Jacques Bertens, and Aert Huybertsz, would still be settled in court.³²

Mennonite interest in the Tulipomania

Why were Mennonites so interested in the tulip trade? Different motives can be identified. At one end, especially for the *liefhebbers*, there was a simple interest in the tulips themselves. An example of this is Abraham Casteleyn. However, the Tulipomania cannot be explained by this love for flowers alone, nor can it be explained by capitalistic greed. The situation was too much reliant on social networks and social harmony to simply see capitalism and greed as the main motivators. It was not about Mennonites just wanting to make a quick profit. The Tulipomania was for many an opportunity to refine or redefine their social status, especially for those who were interested in trading tulips with non-Mennonites. Within the Tulipomania, your placement within the social network was still determined by your profession, wealth, and social relations. However, there was a new set of standards created with which you could reposition yourself. By showing your knowledge about commerce, as well as showing your expertise about the tulips, you could be valued by others in a completely new and fresh way within the Tulipomania.³³

The tulip trade was not solely about collecting (money) and commerce, there was a new framework of authority and knowledge at play. Due to their faith, Mennonites weren't allowed to hold public offices. While their presence was tolerated in cities in Holland for the most part, they were still discriminated against by those of the Reformed Church.³⁴ For Mennonites the Tulipomania was a new opportunity to reposition themselves within society regarding their expertise in commerce, without being hindered. This opportunity to find validation for commercial and social expertise was probably very attractive to Mennonites. On top of that, this network had to be formed quickly, since the tulip craze only lasted a couple of years. There was a short amount of time to present yourself within this tulip trading network. This is why this research focuses on this Mennonite network and its establishment within and with the help of other (pre-existing) networks. It will not only allow us to see the connections within said network, but it will also show us how the network was formed and how

³² Ibid., 234-245.

³³ Ibid., 14-17.

³⁴ Biesboer, 'De Vlaamse immigranten in Haarlem 1578-1630 en hun nakomelingen', 45.

many relations were pre-existing. The network will help us understand the positioning of Mennonites within a non-Mennonite society, from the Tulipomania case study.

Mennonite involvement in the tulip trade as seen by others

The Mennonite involvement within the Tulipomania did not go unnoticed to non-Mennonites at the time. The Mennonites were especially linked to the tulip trade when the negative sides started showing, like the exponential rising of the tulip prices at the end of 1636. One could see this distrust in an angry, anonymous, pamphlet about the tulip trade in January 1637, which was never published. A certain “liefhebber der waarheijt, der bloemen, ende van het gemeijne beste” (lover of the truth, flowers and the common good), wrote this pamphlet, in which they accused the Mennonites of deceit within the tulip trade:

Want eylieve, let doch eens wat voor Luyden, dat Astutus ende sijn complices sijn; sijnt niet meestendeel Mijnisten, fijne broeders, die 't meestendeel in haren handelloos ende doortrapt sijn, te ergh voor veel luyden om met hen te handelen? Want hoe men 't maect met veele, men is halff bedroghen ende sulcx is so notoir, datter een spreekwoort off geworden is, dat als men halff bedroghen is, dat men dan seyt: dat is een meniste streeck, daer ick mijn niet voor gewacht hadde.³⁵

Because my darling, let us see what kind of people Astutus and his accomplices are; aren't they mostly Mennonites, dear brothers, who are mostly cunning in trade, so bad that they are no option to trade with for many people? Because one does often experience it, they are scammed half of time which is so bad, that a proverb is actually made about it, when one is scammed, one will say: that is a Mennonite trick, which I hadn't been expecting.

Of course this statement has to be taken with a grain of salt. Besides the Mennonites, on the very same page as this quote, the Jews were also blamed for raising the tulip prices. Jewish people, except for Portuguese tulip grower Francisco Gomez Da Costa, had little to no involvement with the tulip trade at all.³⁶ On top of that, the author gives the tulip trader in his work the name 'Astutus', a name probably derived from 'astute'. The author presumably gave them this name in his pamphlet, as to not directly accuse their real-life counterpart of deceitful trading. This makes it very hard to verify however, who this 'Astutus' really was, and if they were indeed a Mennonite.

³⁵ Ene liefhebber der waarheijt, der bloemen, ende van het gemeijne beste, *Waerschouwinghe aen Alle goede Inghesetenen van ons Lieve vaderlant, teghen de betoverende bedriegerie der genen die haer laten noemen Blomisten oft Floristen* (Utrecht 1637) 14.

³⁶ Da Costa was also given no blame when the tulip trade eventually collapsed. Source: Krelage, 'Het manuscript over den tulpenwindhandel uit de verzameling-Meulman', 30.

Associating Mennonites with the tulip trade came also from an unexpected source: a single tavern in Amsterdam. The music tavern by the name of 'D'Os inde Bruyloft' (The Ox in the Wedding) was well known for hosting tulip auctions. These were no small auctions, in one instance a pound of 'Switser' tulips was sold for 1065 guilders.³⁷ 'D'Os' was however also known by a different name, namely the 'Menniste Bruyloft' (Mennonite Wedding). The owner of 'D'Os' was Jan Theunisz, a book printer, publisher, and teacher in both Arabic and Hebrew. Theunisz was a Mennonite, which is why the abode gained the Mennonite nickname. Besides the openness to facilitate these tulip auctions in his tavern, it is unclear what Theunisz's own involvement was in the tulip trade. It seems that he never bought tulips for himself, and neither did his family. The Mennonite involvement with the tavern itself seems to be limited as well. Fellow Mennonites seemed to have boycotted the tavern, and even started rumours about the 'D'Os'.³⁸ Even if the Mennonite involvement was minimal in practice, the popularity of 'D'Os' and its association with Mennonites by its attendants, may have led to the public associating Mennonites with the tulip trade.

Of all traders active during the Tulipomania only part can be identified as Mennonite. The amount of Mennonite involvement is inflated by the fact that the one of the main physical places to trade bulbs was the 'Menniste Bruyloft'. This tavern was run by Mennonites, had a clear Mennonite ring to it in the name, and thus contributed to the idea that Mennonites were playing a large role within the tulip trade. This sometimes had a negative effect however, since minorities were an easy target to blame when things went wrong, seen from the excerpt from the pamphlet. Both cases show how Mennonites were overall associated with trade.

[Additions, remarks, and corrections to Goldgar's 'Diagram of Connections among some Mennonites in the tulip trade'](#)

Goldgar gives us a comprehensive diagram about the interconnectedness of the Mennonites in the tulip trade, but unfortunately there are a few mistakes in her overview.³⁹ Therefore, some corrections need to be made before we can analyse these family connections and their role in the tulip trade network. Let us first confirm and define some connections which Goldgar herself was unsure of. To check this, extensive archival research was carried out. Paulus van Machelenberch is related to Jacques and Pieter de Clercq by being Lucas de Clercq's (brother of Jacques and Pieter) brother in law. Lucas was married to Feyntje van Steenkiste, and Van Machelenberch was married to her sister, Mayken van Steenkiste. Lucas was also present as a witness during the official administration of their prenuptial

³⁷ Dash, *Tulpengekte*, 186.

³⁸ J.H. Giskes, 'Amsterdam, centrum van muziek, muzikanten en schilders in de Gouden Eeuw' in: *Amstelodamum* 86 (Amsterdam 1994) pp. 49-78, 70. AND H.F. Wijnman, 'Jan Theunisz alias Joannes Antonides (1569-1637) Boekverkoper en Waard in het Muziekhuis "D'Os in de Bruyloft" te Amsterdam' in: *Amstelodamum* 25 (Amsterdam 1928) pp. 29-124, 101-102.

³⁹ This diagram can be viewed in Appendix 1.

agreement.⁴⁰ Abraham van Meeckeren was related to the de Clercq bothers through Abraham Ampe. Ampe was married for the first time to Elisabeth van Meeckeren, Abraham van Meeckeren's sister. On top of that, Abraham van Meeckeren was married to Magdalena Bon, who's sister was later married to Ampe: Levijna Bon.⁴¹

There was unfortunately no information found on the connection between Adam de Smet and Jacques de Clercq. Goldgar states that the family connection between these men is unclear to her as well. Since no evidence was found in any archives, and Goldgar is unsure herself, it might be safe to conclude that there may not be any family ties between them after all. There was no information on a family connection between Geertruyt Schoudt and Severijn van den Heuvel, Jacob Abrahamsz Halmael and Pieter de Clercq, and Jacob Verbeeck de Oude and the De Clercq brothers. While we should not immediately discredit these connections that Goldgar makes, we need to consider the possibility that these specific family ties might be slightly different, or not there at all.

Goldgar's diagram will be used in the network analysis in this thesis, although sometimes information will be displayed differently. For instance, Goldgar diagram locates the *bloemisten* based on the city they were active in while trading tulips. In this research however, there is an interest in both professional activities and residency in the Haarlem Mennonite network. So in some cases individuals will be placed in different cities than Goldgar does in her diagram. For example, both Jacques and Pieter de Clercq sold and bought most of their tulips in Haarlem, but they lived in Amsterdam during the Tulipomania.⁴² From the previous section, it has become clear how closely knit the social fabric around the Tulipomania was. Social relations within the Mennonite network played a large role within the tulip trade. The next chapter will take a closer look at the Mennonite community in Haarlem.

⁴⁰ Oud Notarieel Archief Haarlem: 135, fol. 89: 8 Oct. 1638. AND Oud Notarieel Archief Haarlem: 153, fol. 48-53: 28 Aug. 1640.

⁴¹ Oud Notarieel Archief Haarlem: 375, akt. 174: 24 Jun. 1671. AND Oud Notarieel Archief Haarlem: 237, fol. 315: 17 Sept. 1689.

⁴² D.C. de Clercq, *Het Vlaamse voorgeslacht van de Hollandse familie de Clercq, eind 13^{de} - begin 17^{de} eeuw* (Lisserbroek 2008) 65.

2. Mennonites: Ideals, congregations, and social networks

Dutch Mennonite ideals

Before explaining the Mennonite ideals, one must first understand the developments of Anabaptism during the first couple of decades after the reformation. One of the first Anabaptist preachers active in Holland, was Melchior Hoffman. Hoffman was a lay preacher originally from Swabia, active during the first two decades of the Reformation. He eventually became interested in the Anabaptist thought around 1529, after which he started traveling in East Frisia and Holland. He even started a spiritual Anabaptist community in Emden. When he arrived in Strasbourg in 1533, he declared the city to be the 'New Jerusalem', after which he was promptly arrested. Contrary to the 'Melchiorites' in Emden, Hoffman was not beloved by the Anabaptists in Strasbourg.⁴³ Jan Matthijsz., a Haarlem Anabaptist who was inspired by Hoffman, sent out twelve followers to tell everyone of 'New Jerusalem', which would be in Münster. These events resulted in the disastrous Münster Rebellion in 1534-1535, in which Jan Matthijsz. and his companion Jan van Leyden took the city of Münster, declared it the 'New Jerusalem', and tried to establish a communal sectarian government based on Anabaptist ideas. The coup was forcibly ended in 1535, and bad light was shed on the Anabaptist movement by others. In the first decades after the Münster Rebellion, Anabaptists were seen as untrustworthy and were even called 'Lèse-majesté committers in both Godly and human ways.'⁴⁴

Melchior Hoffman was already unpopular with some Anabaptists during his arrival in Strasbourg, and he became even less popular after the events in Münster, since it were his Anabaptist ideas which paved the way for the Münster rebellion. Most Anabaptists had envisioned their church to be a non-resistant minority, and were strongly opposed to using violence of any sort. They were therefore horrified by the events in Münster, and the amount of force which was used by the Anabaptists during their defence of the city. This was why many Anabaptist thinkers tried to separate themselves and their beliefs away from Hoffman, and rejected his ideas. This was also the case for a 'second generation' Anabaptist thinker, named Menno Simons.⁴⁵ Simons established a whole new Anabaptist ideal, following the example of Jesus and how He lived. These new ideals gained a large following among Anabaptists, especially in the Low Countries. The Anabaptists who started following this new perspective brought by Menno Simons, were now calling themselves 'Mennonites'.⁴⁶

But were the Mennonite ideals so different from Hoffman's? It seemed that the Dutch Mennonite identity during the first half of the seventeenth century was still primarily based on the ideas established by the Swabian preacher. Apart from the 'New Jerusalem' in Hoffmans eschatological

⁴³ Gordon Campbell, 'Hoffman, Melchior or Melchior Hofman' in: *The Oxford Dictionary of the Renaissance* (Online 2005)

⁴⁴ Verheus, *Naarstig en Vroom*, 17-25.

⁴⁵ Voolstra, "The colony of heaven", 16.

⁴⁶ Gordon Campbell, 'Menno Simons' in: *The Oxford Dictionary of the Renaissance* (Online 2005)

Anabaptism, most ideals stayed the same. For example, contrary to what most people thought, Hoffman was always strongly opposed to violence. Using violence would only soil the world and make it more 'Godless'. This opposition to violence became one of the main features of Mennonites, especially according to those outside of the Mennonite faith. Mennonites did not swear oaths or bear weapons, which was why they couldn't become *schutters* or join the army during the Eighty Years' War, something which their Reformed neighbours did not really appreciate.⁴⁷ The Mennonites tried to compensate for their pacifistic lifestyles when necessary. Due to the fact that they were able to live in the Dutch Republic, and had to flee the Catholic Spanish troops, most Mennonites were staunch supporters of the Prince of Orange. Since they could not bear arms, they therefore supported the Prince of Orange financially.⁴⁸

Hoffmans statements about the sermons stayed mostly the same in Mennonite thought. Non-clerics would provide the 'latter day saints'. Traditional church sacraments were removed from the hands of the clergy and stripped of their 'magical' nature. Communion was a meal of remembrance and community, the bread and wine did not literally contain Jesus, he was only there in spirit. Penitence was made part of the evangelical discipline, a life of penitence was characteristic for Anabaptists, and continued to be one of the main features of Mennonite thought as well. This penitence was also expressed by the subdued behaviour of Mennonites. One should not flaunt their wealth, not rely on money or goods, moderate their eating and drinking, not give into worldly or fleshly desires, play no games, and should not swear, hate, or fight. To honour this penitence, Mennonites had an ascetic attitude towards life.⁴⁹

The Mennonite ascetic way of life does fit in quite well with the Dutch Republic, as being uncomfortable with riches is not unique to Mennonites. Simon Schama states that great financial gain was often denounced by the Calvinist clergy: 'honour should come before gold'. Greed of finance was disapproved of, one should instead try to go for humility. Money brought more evil than good, and riches were of no avail for salvation. Interestingly, this goes against the practices which made Dutch capitalism so successful: monopolies, price regulation, real estate speculation, and international commodities trading. This created a paradoxical situation in which Dutch merchants and other investors were the richest of Europe, but felt uncomfortable being so rich.⁵⁰ The Mennonite ascetic attitude seems to match this exact paradoxical Dutch Calvinist situation. There were a lot of Mennonite

⁴⁷ Voolstra, "The colony of heaven", 17-25.

⁴⁸ Simon L. Verheus, 'Congregational assimilation in a historical nutshell: Martyrs, Mennonites and Muppies in Haarlem' in: Alastair Hamilton, Sjouke Voolstra and Piet Visser, *From martyr to muppy: A historical introduction to cultural assimilation processes of a religious minority in the Netherlands: the Mennonites* (Amsterdam 1994) pp. 41-47, 42.

⁴⁹ Voolstra, "The colony of heaven", 16-24.

⁵⁰ Schama, *The Embarrassment of Riches*, 326-335.

investors, like we have seen in the Tulipomania. Their situation, despite the fact that they led pacifistic lives, seem to have been not that different from their Calvinist colleagues.

The formation of Mennonite 'Gemeenten' in Haarlem

Anabaptists seem to have been present in Haarlem from very early on, as seen of course by Jan Matthijsz. who lived in Haarlem before going to Münster. The first official documentation of Anabaptists in Haarlem date back to 1534, when a group of Mennonites gathered in Spaarndam, a village close to Haarlem, to travel together and go to Münster.⁵¹ Even after the failure of the Münster Rebellion, and the rise of distrust for Anabaptists that might have caused with those of other faiths, the Anabaptist presence in Haarlem continued to grow in the following decades, leaning more towards the Mennonite thoughts. The Mennonites lived ascetic lives in Haarlem. Marriage to non-Mennonites was frowned upon, and congregations were closed off from outsiders.⁵²

From the moment they first arrived in Haarlem, the Mennonites were already separating themselves into different groups. Distinctions were mostly based on their regions of origin.⁵³ An especially large influx of Mennonites in Haarlem came from Flanders in the 1580s. The rising presence of the Catholic Spanish Empire in the Southern Netherlands as well as increasing prosecution, especially after the fall of Antwerp in 1585, caused a lot of protestants to flee to the Dutch Republic. Haarlem was welcoming these merchant refugees with open arms. Mennonite families were part of this stream of refugees as well. For them, Haarlem was an attractive city to move to, because of its large textile industry and the growing presence of Mennonites.⁵⁴ Very few of them were 'original' residents from Haarlem; almost all Mennonites had moved there in the past few decades.⁵⁵

Around 1618, Mennonites made up about fourteen percent of the inhabitants of Haarlem.⁵⁶ If one presumes that the Mennonite presence in Haarlem remained relatively the same since 1618, which was fourteen percent, and combines this with the knowledge that in 1622 Haarlem counted 39.445 inhabitants, then according to calculations there were should be around 5600 Mennonites in Haarlem during the first decades of the seventeenth century.⁵⁷ Since both numbers are based solely on the officially registered inhabitants of Haarlem, it is hard to state an exact number, since unregistered workers and the usually unregistered poor lived in the city as well. One can roughly

⁵¹ Verheus, *Naarstig en Vroom*, 25.

⁵² Voolstra, "The colony of heaven", 24.

⁵³ Verheus, 'Congregational assimilation in a historical nutshell', 41.

⁵⁴ Verheus, *Naarstig en Vroom*, 35.

⁵⁵ Biesboer, 'De Vlaamse immigranten in Haarlem 1578-1630 en hun nakomelingen', 45.

⁵⁶ Goldgar, *Tulipmania*, 132.

⁵⁷ Floris Mulder, 'II: De Haarlemse textielnijverheid in de periode 1575-1800' in: Freek Baars, Herman Kaptein, Floris Mulder, and Hans Rombouts, *Haarlem ging op wollen zolen: opkomst, bloei en ondergang van de textielnijverheid aan het Spaarne* (Schoorl 1995) pp. 53-109, 77.

assume that there were about 5000 to 6000 Mennonites in Haarlem during the first half of the seventeenth century.

From the beginning, the Mennonite presence in Haarlem was segmented based on their regions of origin. These distinctions became even more clear when the Haarlem Mennonites started to form their own congregations. The dates of origin of these congregations can be unclear, especially for the earlier ones. At the start of the seventeenth century, Haarlem counted seven congregations: 'De Friesche gemeente' (The Frisian congregation), 'Oude Vlamingen' (Old Flemings), 'Groninger Ouder Vlamingen' (Groningen Old Flemings), 'de Vlaamse Blok' (the Flemish Block), 'Hoogduitse gemeente' (High German congregation), and 'Waterlandsche gemeente' (Waterlander congregation).

While original descent of their members was an important factor of the subdivision in Mennonite Haarlem, the congregations were of course not solely based on this ancestral divide. Some congregations had slightly different beliefs and interpretations of the Mennonite faith, or had more or less rules in place. For example, the Flemish members made up the majority of the Haarlemmer Mennonites, as illustrated by the amount of Flemish congregations: four out of seven congregations were Flemish ('Oude Vlamingen', 'de Vlaamse Blok', 'Groninger Ouder Vlamingen', and the later established 'gemeente aan de Smalle Oude Gracht'). Despite their mutual Flemish background, there were still quite a few differences between the various Flemish congregations. The 'Oude Vlamingen' for example was a very conservative branch of the Mennonite thought, and had some very dedicated and pious followers. 'De Vlaamse Blok' was a slightly more lenient Mennonite group, whose members were often merchants and seemed to have a certain amount of prosperity.⁵⁸ Another group whose identity was not solely based on the place of origin of their members, was the 'Waterlandsche gemeente'. The Waterlanders were a fairly moderate Mennonite branch, which had congregations in multiple (Dutch) cities, like Haarlem and Amsterdam. They upheld some practices which were at the time typically Calvinist, like singing psalms and holding collections during services, sitting around a table during Communion, and praying out loud. This leniency to Calvinism was probably caused by the early leadership of the Waterlandsche movement. The Waterlanders were led in the beginning by Hans de Ries, a former deacon of the Calvinist Church in Antwerpen.⁵⁹

The composition of Haarlem Mennonite congregations would change over the next couple of decades, due to merging and separating congregations.⁶⁰ 'De Friesche gemeente' and a group of 'Hoogduitsers' decided to merge with the 'Waterlandsche gemeente' in 1602.⁶¹ This union was already shattered fifteen years later, when Leenaert Clock left the congregation with a couple of loyal followers

⁵⁸ Verheus, *Naarstig en Vroom*, 45, 55-54.

⁵⁹ Voolstra, "The colony of heaven", 22.

⁶⁰ For a simplified flowchart of the merging and separating congregations, please see Appendix 3.

⁶¹ It is uncertain if these Hoogduitsers were former members of the 'Hoogduitse gemeente', or if they were their own second 'Hoogduitse' congregation. Source: Verheus, *Naarstig en Vroom*, 50.

to start his own congregation: The 'Friesche-Hoogduitsche gemeente' (Frisian-High German congregation). The 'Friesche-Hoogduitsche gemeente' wasn't around for long. In 1638 the 'Friesch-Hoogduitsers' merged with the 'Vlaamse Mennonieten', forming the new 'Vereenigde Vlaamse en Hoogduitse Gemeente' (United Flemish and High German Congregation). Leenaert Clock did not cause the only split however. After a dispute about whether it is acceptable for a groom to touch the breast of his bride before their wedding day, Vincent de Hondt left the 'Oude Vlamingen' to start his own 'gemeente aan de Smalle Oude Gracht' (congregation at the Small Old Canal) in 1620. This means that between 1633 until 1637, the time of the Tulipomania, there were seven congregations in Haarlem: 'Oude Vlamingen', 'gemeente aan Smalle Oude Gracht', 'Hoogduitsche gemeente', 'de Vlaamse Blok', 'Friesche-Hoogduitsche gemeente', 'Waterlandsche gemeente', and the 'Groninger Ouder Vlamingen'. Shortly after the Tulipomania in 1638, only six congregations were left after the merge of 'de Vlaamse Blok' and the 'Friesche-Hoogduitsche gemeente'. The main reason for the fusion was that the amount of followers at the 'Friesche-Hoogduitsche gemeente' was too low to hold proper sermons.⁶²

Congregation-memberships

Unfortunately, little information was left about memberships of the congregations. Only one membership list remains: a document from 1618 detailing the then current members of the 'Waterlandsche gemeente'. The Waterlanders had 290 members in that year. Interestingly however, they included the members which were passed away as well. There were 86 members on the listed which were marked as *obijt* (in remembrance of), which means that the 'Waterlandsche gemeente' had 204 living members in 1618.⁶³ If we presume that there were around 5000 Mennonites in Haarlem, that means that the congregation was relatively small.

All information about congregation-memberships not detailed in the 'Waterlandsche gemeente' membership list, must be retrieved from other sources. Some knowledge can be found in official court documents. An example of the court record of Pieter Verdonck. Verdonck was an avid defender of the 'Oude Vlamingen' ideas, and was both orally and sometimes even physically abusive to those of different beliefs. Despite this disrespectful behaviour towards others, he was actually a fairly popular figure in Haarlem. This popularity might have led to Verdonck getting painted by Frans Hals, the famous reformed painter in Haarlem. Hals painted Verdonck with a jawbone. This jawbone represented the words that Verdonck used like a weapon, referring to the biblical figure Samson who

⁶² Verheus, *Naarstig en Vroom*, 50-54, 73-78.

⁶³ Archief van de Vereenigde Doopsgezinde gemeente Haarlem: 1723: 1618.

used the jawbone when he battled the non-believing Philistines. And while Verdonck was not using an actual jawbone, he did actually did battle someone in a literal sense once. Joost Lybaert, part of de Vlaamse Blok, had actually been beaten up by Verdonck. Lybaert even had to summon Verdonck to court, in order to make him stop. Unfortunately, it was not clear why Verdonck was harassing Lybaert specifically. We do know that

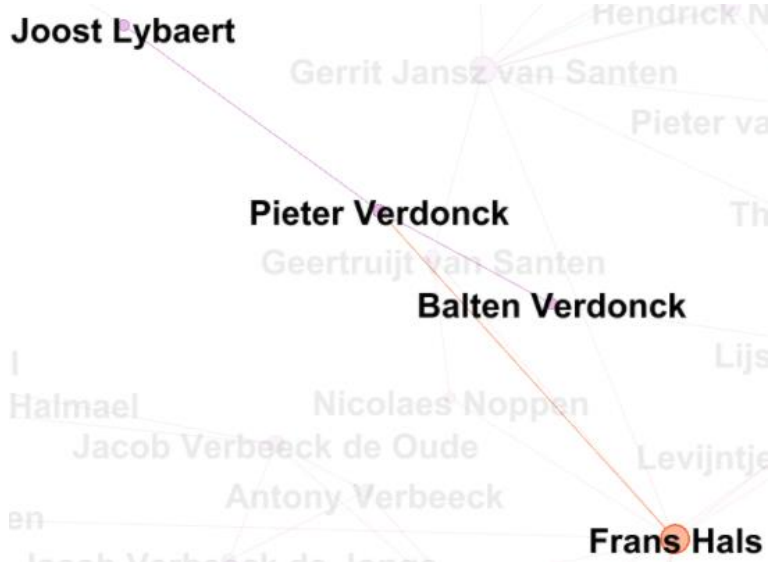


Figure 6: Connections of Pieter Verdonck. Those marked in pink were all Mennonites.

Lybaert was part of the ‘Commission for the Relief of the Poor’ at ‘de Vlaamse Blok’.⁶⁴ Perhaps Verdonck was unsatisfied with the commission’s work, or did not agree with their methods. Unfortunately, documentation about Mennonite conflicts like these are rare. Most internal conflicts were solved by mediators within the congregations. Since no administration from Mennonite congregations during this period is still in existence nowadays, these mediations within the congregations seem to be lost to time.

Interestingly, Verdonck also was indirectly related to the de Clercq family. Pieter Verdonck’s nephew, Balten Verdonck, married Lijsbeth de Clercq. Balten was a member of ‘de Vlaamse Blok’, unlike his uncle. He even became a deacon at the congregation in 1625.⁶⁵ We already met two of Lijsbeth’s brothers: *bloemisten* Jacques and Pieter de Clercq. Lijsbeth’s father, Jacques de Clercq the

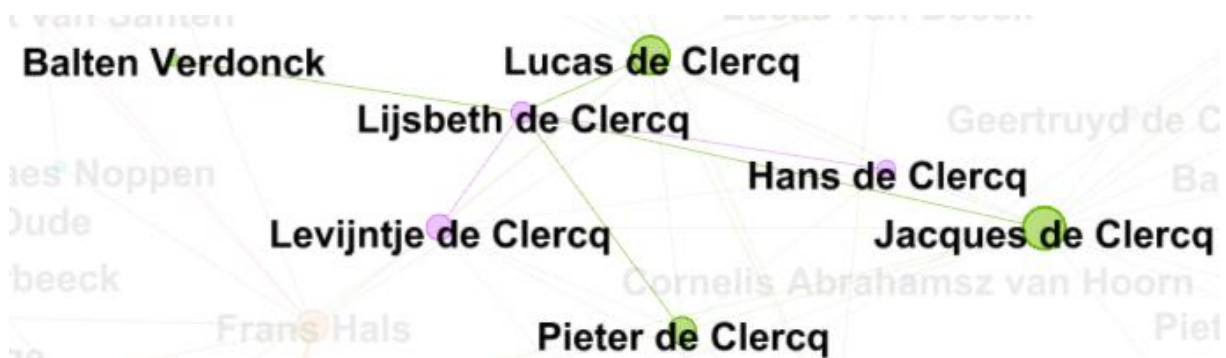


Figure 7: Connections of Lijsbeth de Clercq. Those marked in green were active in the textile industry.

⁶⁴ P.J.J. van Thiel, ‘De betekenis van het portret van Verdonck door Frans Hals’ in: *Oud Holland* 94:2 (1980) pp. 112-137, 113, 132-133.

⁶⁵ Biesboer, ‘De Vlaamse immigranten in Haarlem 1578-1630 en hun nakomelingen’, 45.

Elder, was a well-respected man in Mennonite Haarlem.⁶⁶ In 1604 he bought a house named 'de Block', in service of the Flemish Mennonite congregation where he was an honorary member. This Flemish congregation moved into the 'de Block' house, which gave the congregation a new name which they went by: 'de Vlaamse Blok'. From the moment Jacques de Clercq the Elder donated the house to the congregation, the De Clercq family in Haarlem would always be part of 'de Vlaamse Blok', being respected and honoured members.⁶⁷ The only exception was Hans de Clercq, the oldest of the De Clercq children. He joined the 'Waterlandsche gemeente' instead.⁶⁸

It was quite unique that Hans decided to join a different congregation than the rest of his family. The Mennonite congregations were closed off to outsiders. Their churches were often seen as a form of family church. Baptism and Communion were events meant for the church's followers and relatives. It was a place where families met and celebrated their likeminded spirits.⁶⁹ It was therefore no small thing that Hans decided to not join 'de Vlaamse Blok' like all the other De Clercqs. It has been theorized by Daan de Clercq, current expert on the De Clercq family, that Hans has always been the 'black sheep' of the family. He was purposely excluded from some of his family inheritances, and was likely involved a coin counterfeiting case in Middelburg. And while his mother loved him, there was no evidence to suggest that he was close to his father or six siblings.⁷⁰ Hans joining the Waterlanders instead of 'de Vlaamse Blok' might support this notion of him being a pariah of the family. He either joined the Waterlanders because he didn't feel any connection to his family, or he was not even allowed to join the De Clercqs at 'de Vlaamse Blok'.

While it was uncommon that individuals joined a different congregation than that of their family, it wasn't uncommon to see Flemish Mennonites joining the 'Waterlandsche gemeente'. The Flemish Mennonite Guillaume Casteleyn and his family were also a member of this congregation, as seen from notes from the 'Waterlandsche gemeente' in Amsterdam.⁷¹ Other non-original Waterlanders joined the congregation as well, like the Boeckels watchmaker family, originally from Aachen.⁷² The 'Waterlandsche gemeente' was a less conservative congregation, with a lot of members of various backgrounds. Especially after the merge of 1602, in which both Frisian and High German Mennonites joined the congregation, the congregation had by far the most varied group of Mennonite members in Haarlem. The variation of different backgrounds among members, as well as the more lenient and less conservative views of the 'Waterlandsche gemeente', were very likely attractive to

⁶⁶ De Clercq, *Het Vlaamse voorgeslacht van de Hollandse familie de Clercq*, 65.

⁶⁷ Verheus, *Naarstig en Vroom*, 54.

⁶⁸ Archief van de Vereenigde Doopsgezinde gemeente Haarlem: 1723: 1618.

⁶⁹ Voolstra, "The colony of heaven", 24.

⁷⁰ De Clercq, *Het Vlaamse voorgeslacht van de Hollandse familie de Clercq*, 63-64.

⁷¹ Molhuysen and Kossmann, *Nieuw Nederlandsch Biografisch Woordenboek: Negende Deel*, 140-141.

⁷² F. Grijzenhout, 'Frans Hals: The Portraits of a Mennonite Watchmaker and His Wife' in: *The Rijksmuseum Bulletin* 61:2 (2013) pp. 123-138, 130.

Mennonite newcomers in Haarlem. On top of that, the leniency to Calvinist practices, like praying out loud, might also have contributed for joining the congregation.

Overall, congregation-memberships were mostly based on the memberships of your family. These family memberships in turn were almost always based on the place of origin of the family. The only congregation who seemed to break this mould, was the ‘Waterlandsche gemeente’.

Frans Hals

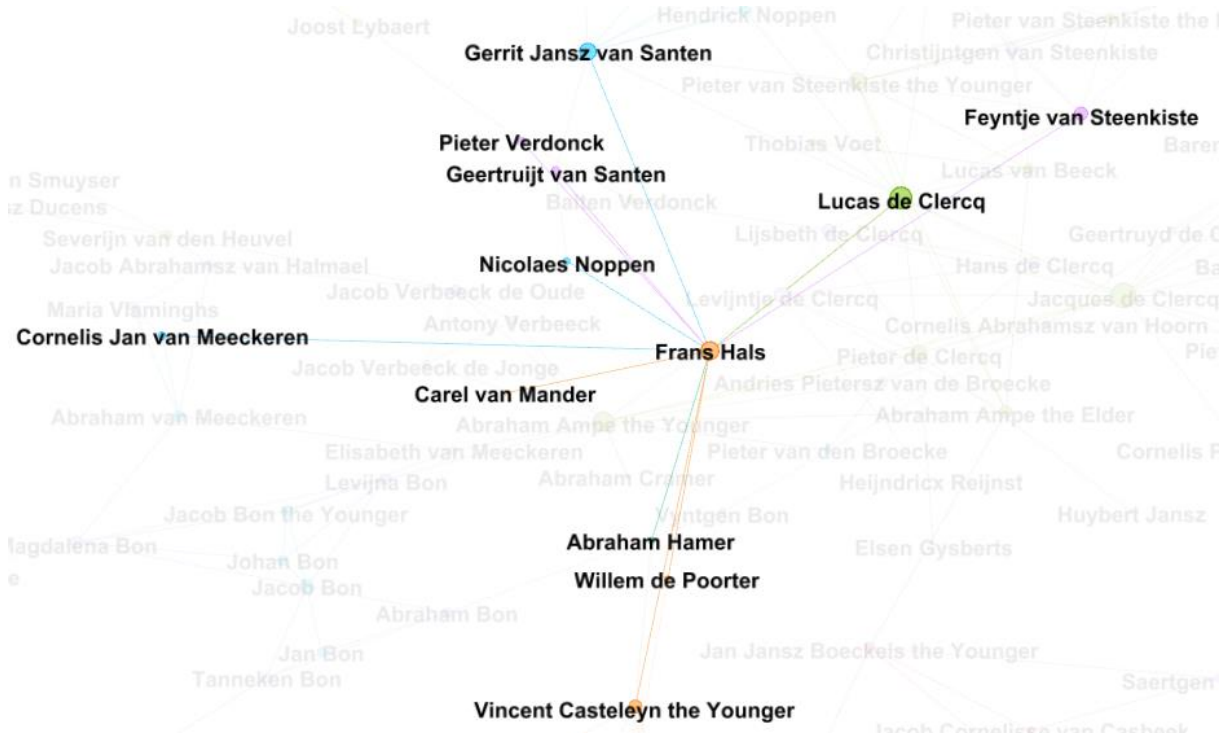


Figure 8: Connections of Frans Hals. Green is for textile industry, orange is for artists, blue is for brewers and distillers.

There was another interesting person involved with the Haarlem Mennonites, even though the man himself was not a member of their denomination: Frans Hals. There was a possibility that Hals was quite familiar with the Mennonite community from the beginning, although it cannot be determined with certainty. Hals was a former apprentice of the famous painter and art-theorist Carel van Mander, a Flemish Mennonite who was part of the ‘Oude Vlamingen’ congregation. Scholar Frans Grijzenhout estimates that Hals has painted about fifteen to twenty Mennonite portraits, all painted between 1630 and 1645. The most famous of these portraits, and the only portraits who can be identified with absolute certainty, are the portraits of Lucas de Clercq and Feyntje van Steenkiste. They were depicted by Hals in typical Mennonite clothing: sober and modest, but of excellent quality. It was very much frowned upon to flaunt your wealth and social standing, especially among Mennonites themselves. As a Mennonite, one was expected to not show any splendour, and no reliance on money and goods.⁷³ Besides the portrait of De Clercq and Van Steenkiste, Hals also painted the portrait of Pieter Verdonck,

⁷³ Voolstra, “The colony of heaven”, 19.

which we talked about before. We also know of four other subjects who were painted by Hals from seventeenth century inventories: Nicolaes Noppen, his wife Geertruijt van Santen, his father-in-law Gerrit Jansz van Santen, and Cornelis Jan van Meeckeren.⁷⁴

We can state with certainty that Frans Hals has painted Lucas de Clercq, Feyntje van Steenkiste, Pieter Verdonck, Gerrit Jansz van Santen, Nicolaes Noppen, and Geertruijt van Santen. However, Grijzenhout is fairly confident in identifying two more people who were painted by Hals. In his article *Frans Hals: The Portraits of a Mennonite Watchmaker and His Wife* he identifies Mathijs Jansz Boeckels, the watchmaker, and his wife Maria Bastiaens van Hout.⁷⁵ Besides that, Grijzenhout displays a great interest in other painting, which he has not yet elaborated on any literature. Hals' paintings of the unidentified painted 'Monsieur Mers', two portraits from 1637, and two portraits from 1643 might all display Mennonite subjects. Grijzenhout assumes that Monsieur Mers is probably someone from the Mersch or van der Mersch family, a name quite common in Mennonite Haarlem. The portraits from 1637 could be of Jacques de Clercq and his wife Elskens Moens, as Grijzenhout states in a footnote of his article *Frans Hals in doopsgezinde brouwerskringen*. The 1643 couple are probably Mennonites, although Grijzenhout does not point to specific individuals yet.⁷⁶ While these speculations are interesting, without any literature supporting these claims, we will not consider these connections between Hals and these Mennonites proven yet. However, the connection between Mennonites and Frans Hals is deemed to be proven well enough, which places him as a cog in the Mennonite social and professional network in Haarlem. This offers a perspective on the associations of Mennonites and non-Mennonites in Haarlem at the time.

Interconnected Mennonites

Despite the fact that there were thousands of Mennonites in Haarlem who were separated into different congregations, the community was still tight knit. While there were men like Pieter Verdonck who did not interact (positively) with Haarlem Mennonites from other congregations, we also see that interactions between those of different congregations aren't that uncommon. As an example, we can look at the following notarial document dated on the 30th of March in 1638:

⁷⁴ Grijzenhout, 'Frans Hals', 133.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, 130.

⁷⁶ Grijzenhout, Jonkhoff, Kramer and De Bruijne, 'Frans Hals in doopsgezinde Brouwerskringen', 224-225.

Lucas van Beeck, als getrouwd met Christijntgen van Steenkiste, Maeijcke van Steenkiste, wed. van Hendrick van Beeck, Bartel en Geertruijt van Brienen, beiden mondige kinderen van zal. Janneke van Steenkiste, elk voor henzelf, mitsgaders Jan van Brienen, brouwer, de voorn. Bartel van Brienen en Lambert Thuenisz, moutmaker, als door de weesmeesters dezer stad geautoriseerde voogden over Rutger en Henricx van Brienen, nog onmondige mede kinderen van Janneke van Steenkiste voornoemd, Gerrit Jans, distilateur, mede geordoneerde voogd over Pieter en Janneken, onmonidige kinderen van zal. Pieter van Steenkiste de jonge, verwekt bij Adriaentgen Noppen, alle mede kinderen, kindskinderen van zal. Janneke Caerle, in haar tijd weduwe van wijlen Pieter van Steenkiste de oude, hebben in hun kwaliteit machtig gemaakt Lucas de Clerck en de voorn. Gerrit Jansz, distilateur, om in hun constituants aller naam voor de schepenen dezer stad, of Elders wanneer nodig, te transporteren en over te dragen ten behoeve van de respectieve kopers de huis met erve, en andere vervreemde goederen, door de voorn. Janneken de Caerle met haar dood ontruimd en achtergelaten, en voorts om schulden aan het sterfhuis te innen, en dergelijke.⁷⁷

Lucas van Beeck, married to Christijntgen van Steenkiste, Maeijcke van Steenkiste, widow of Hendrick van Beeck, Bartel and Geertruijt van Brienen, both children of deceased Janneke van Steenkiste old enough to give their opinions in this case, representing themselves, also present Jan van Brienen, brewer, the previously mentioned Bartel van Brienen and Lambert Thuenisz, malt maker, being there authorized by the orphan masters to be the guardians of Rutger and Henricx van Brienen, children of Janneke van Steenkiste who cannot yet represent themselves, Gerrit Jans, distiller, one of the ordered guardians of Pieter and Janneken, not yet mature children of deceased Pieter van Steenkiste the Younger, born from Adriaentgen Noppen, all children, grandchildren from deceased Janneke Caerle, widow of Pieter van Steenkiste the Elder, have authorized Lucas de Clerck and the formerly mentioned Gerrit Jans, distiller, from now on in their name and in service of the *schepenen* (aldermen) of this city, or somewhere else if necessary, to transport and transfer to the sellers the inherited house, and other goods, left by the previously mentioned Janneken de Caerle, to pay her debts of the house in which she died, and so on.

⁷⁷ Oud Notarieel Archief Haarlem: 149, fol. 138: 30 Mar. 1638.



Figure 9: Connections of Janneken de Caerle. Green is for textile industry, blue is for brewers and distillers.

This excerpt wonderfully demonstrates how complicated and intertwined the Mennonite network can be. In short, Lucas de Clercq and Gerrit Jansz van Santen were authorized and responsible for the inheritance of Janneken de Caerle. De Caerle was married to Pieter van Steenkiste the Elder. They had multiple children together: Christijntgen, Mayken, Pieter (van Steenkiste the Younger), and Feyntje, who married Lucas de Clercq. De Caerle also had children in her second marriage to Henrick van Brienens: Bartel, Geertruijt, Rutger and Henricx van Brienens.⁷⁸ All children except for Feyntje were mentioned in this notarial *akte*, although she was probably represented by her husband De Clercq.

What stands out in this notarial document, is that some of the jobs from those involved are mentioned. Jan van Brienens was mentioned as a brewer, Lambert Thuenisz as a malt maker, and Gerrit Jansz van Santen as a distiller. The three men were all active in the fabrication of alcoholic drinks, and were the only ones whose professions were mentioned. But why? These professions were probably mentioned to describe how everyone involved with Janneken de Caerle's inheritance knew each other. Jan van Brienens, who was a brewer at 't Dubbele Ancker', was of course related to the inheritance, because he was the father of Henrick van Brienens.⁷⁹ The other two however, were on first glance, not part of the family. Gerrit Jansz van Santen was only indirectly related to the Van Steenkiste family through his daughters marriage, but he was still authorized to handle De Caerle's inheritance.⁸⁰ Lambert Thuenisz seems not to be related to De Caerle at all, but he was appointed guardian of her children who were still minors. It is uncertain if Theunisz was a Mennonite. In this case, it seemed that

⁷⁸ Oud Notarieel Archief Haarlem: 137 fol. 207-208: 9 Jan. 1643.

⁷⁹ Oud Notarieel Archief Haarlem: 96, fol. 198: 10 Sept. 1625.

⁸⁰ Grijzenhout, Jonkhoff, Kramer and De Bruijne, 'Frans Hals in doopsgezinde Brouwerskringen', 221.

their professions tied them to De Caerle and Van Steenkiste the Elder, instead of family relations. Pieter van Steenkiste the Elder was however not active in brewing or distilling himself. Van Steenkiste was a merchant in potash, a material used in the bleaching process. Official documents describe him as a 'grocer' and 'retailer'.⁸¹ They were probably not his colleagues then. Jan van Brienen seems to be the only brewer in the Van Brienen family. In this case we therefore can conclude that Gerrit Jansz van Santen and Lambert Thuenisz were probably colleagues of Jan van Brienen, as well as friends of the family. Their professions were named in this document to tie them to the family in a more legitimate way.

This *akte* was an excellent example of how Mennonites in Haarlem were intertwined on multiple levels. A network could be formed by family and marriages, but also through professional means. We saw the ties through the brewer and distiller industry. Less obvious from the document were the ties in the linen- and bleaching industries. The Van Steenkiste family, the De Clercq family, and Lucas van Beeck were all part of the textile industries. In the following chapter, this research will analyse the industries, and see how the Mennonite *bloemisten* network ties into all these branches in Haarlem.

⁸¹ Oud Notarieel Archief Haarlem: 36, fol. 149: 13 Jan. 1594. AND Biesboer, 'De Vlaamse immigranten in Haarlem 1578-1630 en hun nakomelingen', 46.

3. Industries and professional networks

Textile industry

A lot of Flemish Mennonite families were active in their local textile industries before they left Flanders. When they moved to Haarlem in the 1580's, it was therefore no surprise that they continued their work here in Haarlem textile industry. Most of these Flemish Mennonites active in the textile industry, even joined the same congregation. J. Schoudt, a Mennonite notary, stated around 1625 that most of his clients were members of 'de Vlaamse Blok', the most lenient Flemish congregation at the time. These clients of Schoudt were all prosperous men and women, and were mostly weavers, bleachers, and merchants of primarily potash, a material used in the bleaching process. When looking at 'de Vlaamse Blok', the abundance of those active in the textile industry really stands out, especially between 1600 and in 1665. In those 65 years, 'de Vlaamse Blok' counted a total of 126 members involved in the textile industry: 69 merchants, 28 weavers, 15 *smalwerkers* (weavers who worked on a *smalweefstoel*, a smaller loom which could only produce small fabrics and tissues), 8 bleachers, and 6 silk merchants.⁸² Not surprisingly therefore, that all individuals which will be named in this Textile industry subchapter, were indeed Flemish Mennonites.

One of the first Flemish Mennonites who made a name for himself in the Haarlem textile industry, was Jacques de Clercq the Elder. Like many Flemish Mennonites, the move to Haarlem was a logical step for Jacques to continue his work.⁸³ De Clercq only lived for six more years after his move from Gent to Haarlem, before his death in 1609. He managed to grow his influence during this short amount of time in the Haarlem linen industry. De Clercq was active as a merchant in linen cloth and threads. He also had partial ownership over a few bleaching companies, and had a couple of bleachers personally working for him. Despite his short time in Haarlem, Jacques de Clercq the Elder managed to establish the De Clercq family as an important part of the textile industry. Producing and trading textile became part of the identity of the De Clercq family. Not only was the family active in the trade itself, they also purposefully aligned themselves with other (Mennonite) families who were active in the industry. One of the ways they achieved this, is by strategical marriages. In total, five out of seven of the De Clercq children were married to someone who's Mennonite families were also active in the textile industry.⁸⁴ For example Lijsbeth de Clercq was married to Balten Verdonck, who apart from his function as a deacon at 'de Vlaamse Blok', was also a salesman of textiles.⁸⁵

⁸² Verheus, *Naarstig en Vroom*, 250-251.

⁸³ De Clercq, *Het Vlaamse voorgeslacht van de Hollandse familie de Clercq*, 19.

⁸⁴ Biesboer, 'De Vlaamse immigranten in Haarlem 1578-1630 en hun nakomelingen', 46.

⁸⁵ Van Thiel, 'De betekenis van het portret van Verdonck door Frans Hals', 133.



Figure 10: Connections of Lucas de Clercq. Green is for textile industry, orange is for artists, blue is for brewers and distillers.

Another example of this strategy, was Lucas de Clercq, Jacques de Clercq the Elder youngest son. Lucas was married to Feyntje (sometimes written as Ferina) van Steenkiste.⁸⁶ Both Feyntjes father, Pieter van Steenkiste the Elder, and Lucas de Clercq were merchants in potash.⁸⁷ Lucas and Feyntje are nowadays the most well-known De Clercq couple, because of their portraits painted by Frans Hals. Levijntje de Clercq, one of the seven De Clercq children, married Abraham Ampe (the Elder). He was a potash merchant in Haarlem, and bought a bleachery in Bennebroek in 1632.⁸⁸ Ampe also owned homestead 'Duin en Berg', which he bought from the Van Dael brothers in 1625. After Ampes passing in 1633, this homestead was sold for 11.700 guilders by his wife to Heijndricx Reijnst, former *schepen* (municipal officer) of Amsterdam.⁸⁹ The bleachery however, stayed with the family. The son of De Clercq and Ampe the Elder, named Abraham Ampe the Younger, took over the business after his father's death, and continued to be a well-connected merchant himself.⁹⁰

⁸⁶ Oud Notarieel Archief Haarlem: 97, fol. 9-9vo: 11 Jan. 1626.

⁸⁷ Biesboer, 'De Vlaamse immigranten in Haarlem 1578-1630 en hun nakomelingen', 46.

⁸⁸ Oud Notarieel Archief Haarlem: 133, fol. 259: 12 Jan. 1633.

⁸⁹ Guus Hartendorf, Jan Morren, Cees Rings, Anne Marie Schüttenhelm-Okma and Jan Suurmond, *Duin en Kruidberg: Honderd jaar buitenplaats en Het duingebied van de familie Cremer* (Haarlem 1998) 10.

⁹⁰ Oud Notarieel Archief Haarlem: 125, fol. 101: 23 Jan. 1625.

Despite the fact that the Mennonites active in the Haarlem textile industry did not prefer employing fellow Mennonites over those of other beliefs, most of the business relationships were still formed with fellow Mennonites.⁹¹ Abraham Ampe the Elder had a business relationship with both his brother-in-law Lucas de Clercq, Pieter van Steenkiste the Younger, and Lucas van Beeck. Together they formed an efficient team. De Clercq provided the bleaching of the linen and



Figure 11: Connections of Lucas van Beeck. Those marked in green were active in the textile industry.

threads. Van Steenkiste supplied the potash. Ampe supplied the weavers with materials and sold their produced textile. Van Beeck, who lived in Amsterdam, would ship the linen and threads to Danzig, which would be traded for money and a supply of potash.⁹² The four of them formed a powerful force within the bleaching industry, and were a unity when it came to legal issues as well. For instance, thread bleacher Thobias Voet had to pay a sum of 1884,70 guilders to both De Clercq and Van Beeck.⁹³ De Clercq and Van Beeck bought a thread bleachery in Bloemendaal named 'de Knip' in 1638 to expand their business.⁹⁴ Van Beeck was not only business partners of De Clercq and Van Steenkiste, they were also related by marriage. Van Beeck was married to Christijntgen van Steenkiste, who was a sister of Pieter van Steenkiste the Younger and De Clercq's wife Feyntje.⁹⁵

From 167 *bloemisten*, 46 of them turned out to be active in the textile industry. It is therefore no surprise that quite a few Mennonite *bloemisten* were indeed active in this industry. Paulus van Machelenberch was an official inspector of the yarn trade. Severijn van den Heuvel was a textile merchant. Jacques and Pieter de Clercq, together with their nephew Abraham Ampe the Younger, set up a potash business shortly after the Tulipomania in 1640. They invested 6000 guilders in the business, a large sum of money at the time. Jacques de Clercq, like we have seen before, was quite familiar with Barent Roelofsz Wanscher and Pieter Moens. Wanscher was a well-respected Mennonite with both coreligionists and Reformed. He was an entrepreneur in linen yard, and lived among other *bloemisten*

⁹¹ Sijbrecht Clasina Regtdoorzee Greup-Roldanus, *Geschiedenis der Haarlemmer Bleekerijen* (The Hague 1936) 35.

⁹² Biesboer, 'De Vlaamse immigranten in Haarlem 1578-1630 en hun nakomelingen', 46-47.

⁹³ Oud Notarieel Archief Haarlem: 120, fol. 320: 26 Nov. 1635.

⁹⁴ Mulder, 'II', 79.

⁹⁵ Oud Notarieel Archief Haarlem: 149, fol. 138: 30 Mar. 1638.

at the Grote Houtstraat in Haarlem. Wanscher was the guardian of Jacques de Clercq's daughter Geertruyd, which indirectly ties him to the De Clercq family and their network. Moens was De Clercq's brother-in-law, the son of the very rich Anthony Moens. De Clercq was married to Elsken Moens, Pieters sister. When Anthony passed away in 1638, the relationship between Pieter and Jacques unfortunately soured. Moens even went so far as to say about De Clercq that "no greater Thief was ever caught".⁹⁶



Figure 12: Connections of Pieter Wijnants. Those marked in green were active in the textile industry.

Another family which was very active in the textile industry, was the family Wijnants. Not coincidentally, most of the guests at the Wijnants Sunday evening dinner were involved in this industry. Pieter Wijnants was active in both the manufacturing as well as the sale of linen cloth and thread, as was his brother Hendrick Jacob Wijnants and their cousin Hendrick Jan Wijnants. Jacob de Block, the guest at the Wijnants dinner, was a dyer, which gives us a total of four men at the Wijnants dinner table who are involved in the textile industry.⁹⁷ Hendrick Jacob and Pieter Wijnants worked together, as we can conclude from an accusation from Christoffel van Beringen. Van Beringen, who was a merchant, called out in public how the two Wijnants had cheated him and that they were untrustworthy.⁹⁸ Someone who had a better reputation, was Joost Lybaert. Lybaert, the member of 'de Vlaamse Blok' congregation who got beaten up by Pieter Verdonck, was originally from Flanders.⁹⁹ He was a merchant in Silesian thread, just like his colleague Pieter Jansz van Geldorp. Unfortunately, there was no proof found to determine if Van Geldorp was a Mennonite just like Lybaert. Lybaert was also described as a *smalwerker*.¹⁰⁰

⁹⁶ Goldgar, *Tulipmania*, 18-19, 148-151, 166-167, 178, 249.

⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, 131-132.

⁹⁸ Oud Notarieel Archief Haarlem: 198, 58: 16 Sept. 1651. AND Goldgar, *Tulipmania*, 283.

⁹⁹ Van Thiel, 'De betekenis van het portret van Verdonck door Frans Hals', 132-133.

¹⁰⁰ Oud Notarieel Archief Haarlem: 40, fol. 172: 3 aug. 1600. AND Oud Notarieel Archief Haarlem: 133, fol. 29: 28 Nov. 1630.

The Haarlem textile industry seems to have been dominated by Flemish immigrants and their descendants, who were also mostly Mennonites. The textile network was tightly intertwined by marriages between families, and their memberships at 'de Vlaamse Blok'. On top of that, the industry was occupied with quite a few *bloemisten*, which gives their *bloemist* Mennonite network further expansion.

Book publishing

Book publishing was a smaller industry in Haarlem, but it was nevertheless very important. For most of the sixteenth century, Antwerp was known for its relative freedom of press. After the fall of Antwerp, most of the book publishers fled to the Low Countries, in order to avoid stricter censorship of the Spanish Crown. Among them a few Mennonite book printers and salesmen as well. Guillaume Casteleyn settled in Haarlem with his family. His son Vincent Casteleyn had a shop where he both sold and published books

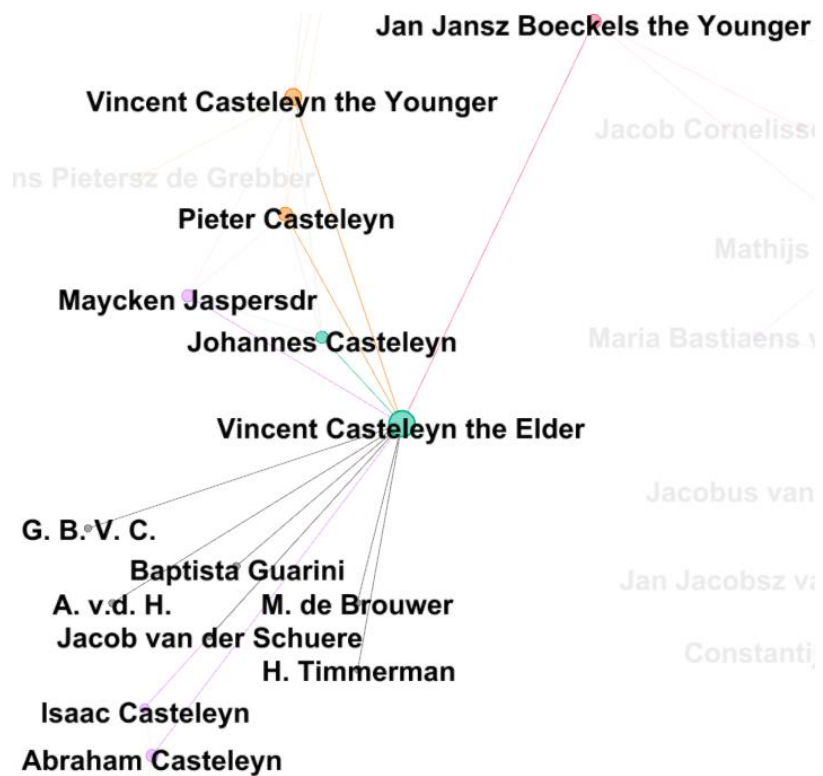


Figure 13: Connections of Vincent Casteleyn. Turquoise is for publishers, orange is for artists, red is for watchmakers, grey is for authors.

on the corner of the Grote Markt and Grote Houtstraat, called 'in de blye druck' (in the joyful press).¹⁰¹ He published books, literary translations, pamphlets, and theological tractates at the in de blye druck. His published many authors, including but not limited to: Jacob van der Schuere (1612), A. v.d. H. (1613), H. Timmerman (1618), M. de Brouwer (1618), Baptista Guarini (1618), and G. B. V. C. (1621). In 1616, Casteleyn joined the Haarlem book publishing guild, where he became a *vinder* on the 25th of November in 1637. A *vinder* is someone who establishes and guards the rules within a guild, and makes sure that the rules are followed and maintained within the guild and by its members.¹⁰² He wrote poetry as a hobby, which he signed as D.I. Vingt Cent.¹⁰³

¹⁰¹ Biesboer, 'De Vlaamse immigranten in Haarlem 1578-1630 en hun nakomelingen', 59.

¹⁰² De Geïntegreerde Taalbank, 'Vinder', *Instituut voor de Nederlandse Taal* <https://gtb.ivdnt.org/iWDB/search?actie=article&wdb=MNW&id=66220&lemma=vinder&domein=0&conc=true> (visited on 20-02-2022)

¹⁰³ Molhuysen and Kossmann, *Nieuw Nederlandsch Biografisch Woordenboek: Negende Deel*, 139-140.

In 1607, Casteleyn married Maycken Jaspersdr. They had multiple children together: Maria, Vincent, Jannetgen, Johannes, Pieter, Jacob, Hester, Jasper, and Abraham. Some of Vincent's sons were active in Haarlem before and during the 1630's in both the publishing industry and the art scene. When he was eighteen years old, Vincent Casteleyn the Younger was a book binder at the Haarlemmer bookshop of Abraham Hamer in 1627. In 1632 he enrolled at the Leiden University to study medicine, because he wanted to become a *voorganger* (pastor) at the Waterlandsche gemeente. Having an university degree was a big plus to become a *voorganger*, since it was proof of diligence and intelligence. Since only those who were Reformed could study theology at the University of Leiden, and Casteleyn was a Mennonite, he studied medicine instead. However, he never

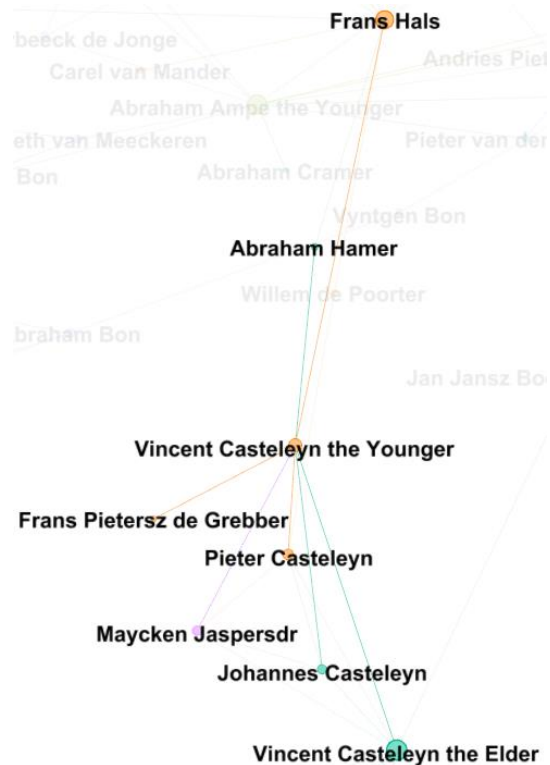


Figure 14: Connections of Vincent Casteleyn the Younger. Turquoise is for publishers, orange is for artists.

finished his studies and Casteleyn eventually dropped out of university. He started his career as an artist instead, and became an apprentice in Haarlem of painter Frans Pietersz de Grebber on the 21st of July in 1634. From 1636 until 1639, he was a member of the St. Lucasgilde in Haarlem, the painters guild where other notable painters like Frans Hals were also members.¹⁰⁴ Casteleyn probably never left the book business, even during his apprenticeships. He was both known as an artist and as a book seller, which was the description given to him by the 'Waterlandsche gemeente' when he was baptised in 1639.¹⁰⁵ Vincent's younger brother, Johannes Casteleyn, moved to Amsterdam, where he became a member of the Amsterdam book publishing guild on the 27th of June in 1637. According to his marriage certificates, he was also a merchant who sold paper. Pieter Casteleyn, the last brother who was already professionally active in the 1630's, became an painting apprentice on the second of October in 1635, under painter Willem de Poorter. Later in his life, he became a book publisher as well, just like his father and brothers.¹⁰⁶

The Casteleyn family was an important publishing family in Haarlem, as seen from their ties in both the publishing industry, as well as the art scene at the time. This influence would only continue

¹⁰⁴ RKD-Nederlands Instituut voor de Kunstgeschiedenis, 'Vincent Casteleyn (II)' <https://rkd.nl/nl/explore/artists/303064> (visited on 20-02-2022)

¹⁰⁵ Molhuysen and Kossmann, *Nieuw Nederlandsch Biografisch Woordenboek: Negende Deel*, 140-141.

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, 137-138.

growing in the following decades, as multiple children of Vincent Casteleyn (the Elder) would also enter the industry and continue to make a name for themselves and the Casteleyn family. Entering the publishing industry and maintaining a business was quite the specialized trade. It required special knowledge, connections, and a significant amount of starting capital.

Watchmakers

Another art in which Mennonites were active, was the art of watchmaking. Two brothers, Mathijs Jansz Boeckels and Jan Jansz Boeckels were known as watch- and clockmakers in Haarlem. They were sons of Jan Jansz Boeckels the Elder, who was originally from Aachen. Jan Jansz Boeckels the Younger, was known as one of the foremost watchmakers of Haarlem. He was especially skilled in producing small oval watches, known as puritan-watches. The oldest watch made by him that still exists today, dates from 1607. This watch

was made especially for Abraham Ampe the Elder, as seen by the inscription on the watch.¹⁰⁷ Unfortunately, Jan Jansz Boeckels the Younger's reputation was tarnished when his apprentice, Jacob Cornelisse van Casbeek, was outed for having an affair with Boeckels' wife: Saertgen Adriaens. In 1625 a fight broke out with his wife, in which she accused him of vile behaviours, like incest, for which Boeckels was imprisoned. While Boeckels was clearing his name to get out of prison, Adriaens and Van Casbeek moved to London to start a new life together. Boeckels eventually was released from prison, with the help of statements made by multiple witnesses. Among those witnesses were book publisher Vincent Casteleyn the Elder, who had a shop at the same square as Boeckels, and Abraham Ampe the Elder, who apparently kept in touch with Boeckles after buying his watch.¹⁰⁸ While Boeckels would be able to divorce his wife in 1632, his name was unfortunately too smeared to continue his work in Haarlem. Boeckles therefore moved to The Hague to continue his work there.¹⁰⁹ Fortunately for Jan's brother Mathijs Jansz Boeckels, Mathijs' marriage was one without cheating scandals. He married Maria Bastiaens van Hout, who was also part of the 'Waterlandsche gemeente' like Mathijs. They had two daughters, Treijntgen and Maritgen.

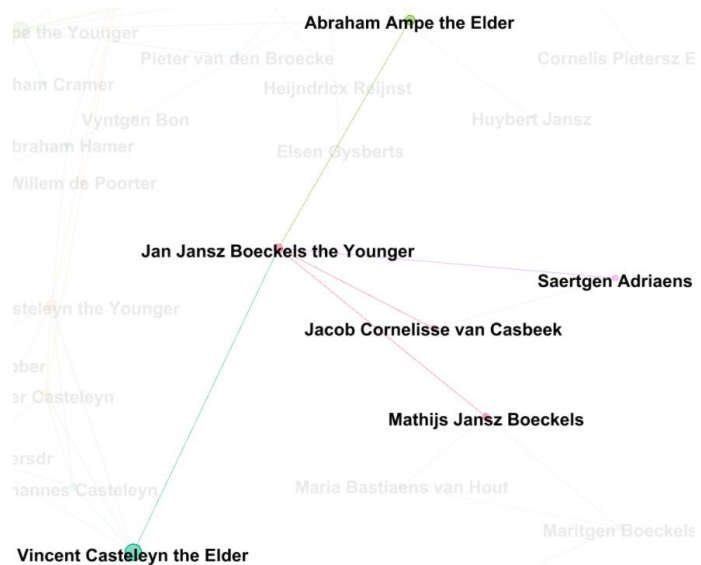


Figure 15: Connections of Jan Jansz Boeckels the Younger. Green is for textile industry, turquoise is for publishers, red is for watchmakers.

¹⁰⁷ Grijzenhout, 'Frans Hals', 128-131.

¹⁰⁸ Oud Notarieel Archief Haarlem: 125, fol. 127: 22 Feb. 1625. AND Grijzenhout, 'Frans Hals', 131.

¹⁰⁹ Leopold, 'Clockmaking in Britain and the Netherlands', 156.

Another famous Mennonite watchmaker in Haarlem was Jan Jacobsz van Leeuwaarden. He had his shop at the Grote Markt in Haarlem. He had a strong reputation throughout the Dutch Republic. An alarm was ordered from Van Leeuwaarden by Constantijn Huygens, poet and secretary of Frederick Henry of Orange. It was probably a quite luxurious watch, as seen by the letter written by Van Leeuwaarden on the 2nd of September in 1638. The watchmaker asked Huygens if

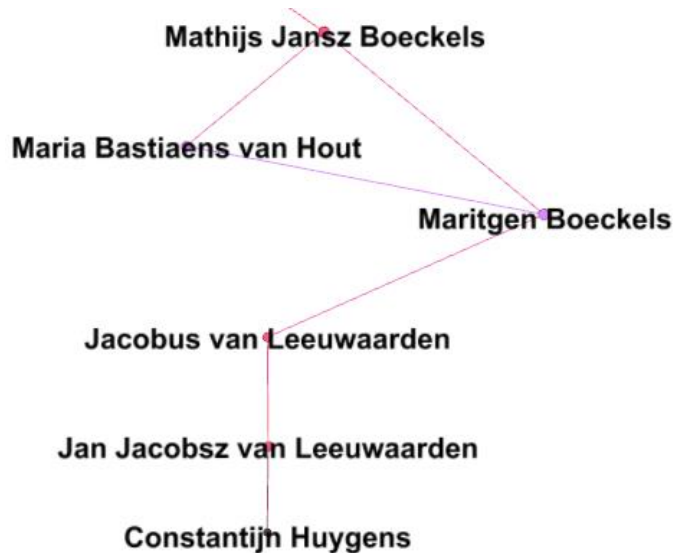


Figure 16: The Boeckels and Van Leeuwaarden family connection.

he also wanted the inside of the timepiece gilded, or only the case. Van Leeuwaarden's son, Jacobus van Leeuwaarden would later follow his father's footsteps, and become a watchmaker as well. Jacobus married Maritgen Boeckels in 1647, the daughter of Mathijs Jansz Boeckels. He even named his shop 'at the sign of the Arms of Aachen', a reference to Maritgen's grandfather, Jan Jansz Boeckels the Elder.

Like the textile industry, there was a purposeful merging of watchmaking families, albeit on a much smaller scale. Watchmaking was a small trade, but a respectful one when done with expertise. If the watch was of excellent quality, one would hold respect for the watchmaker, as seen by the vouching of Abraham Ampe during Jan Jansz Boeckels' trial. The Mennonite interest in watchmaking could be mirrored to the Mennonite interest of the Tulipomania and book publishing: these trades value expertise, knowledge, and required a significant amount of investment capital.

Breweries and distilleries

There were a lot of breweries established in Haarlem originally. In the 1513 there were 77 breweries in the city, all placed at the Spaarne and Bakenessergracht.¹¹⁰ However, in 1623 no more than 44 breweries were left, a sharp decline. This number lowered even further in the 17th century, and in 1699 only fifteen breweries were still opened.¹¹¹ Despite the decline in the seventeenth century of breweries in Haarlem, some Mennonites were still interested in the industry. The same interest was given to the production of brandy. Around 1625, two out of six distillers, and nine out of 26 brandy distributors in Haarlem were Mennonites.¹¹² Frans Hals was familiar with some of the Mennonite brewers and distillers, as seen by his painted portraits of Cornelis Jan van Meeckeren, Gerrit Jansz van Santen,

¹¹⁰ E.M.A. Timmer, *De Generale Brouwers van Holland: Een bijdrage tot de geschiedenis der brouwning in Holland in de 17^{de}, 18^{de} en 19^{de} eeuw* (Haarlem 1918) 1-3.

¹¹¹ Verheus, *Naarstig en Vroom*, 44.

¹¹² Pieter Jan Dobbelaar, *De branderijen in Holland tot het begin der negentiende eeuw* (Rotterdam 1930) 33.

Geertruijt van Santen, and Nicolaes Noppen. Cornelis Jan van Meeckeren was a brewer at 'De Fortuijn' and was married to Maria Vlamingsh. His son, Abraham van Meeckeren, was also a brewer at a brewery called 'De Twee Leliën'. This was how Abraham earned his money during the Tulipomania, when he was a *bloemist*.

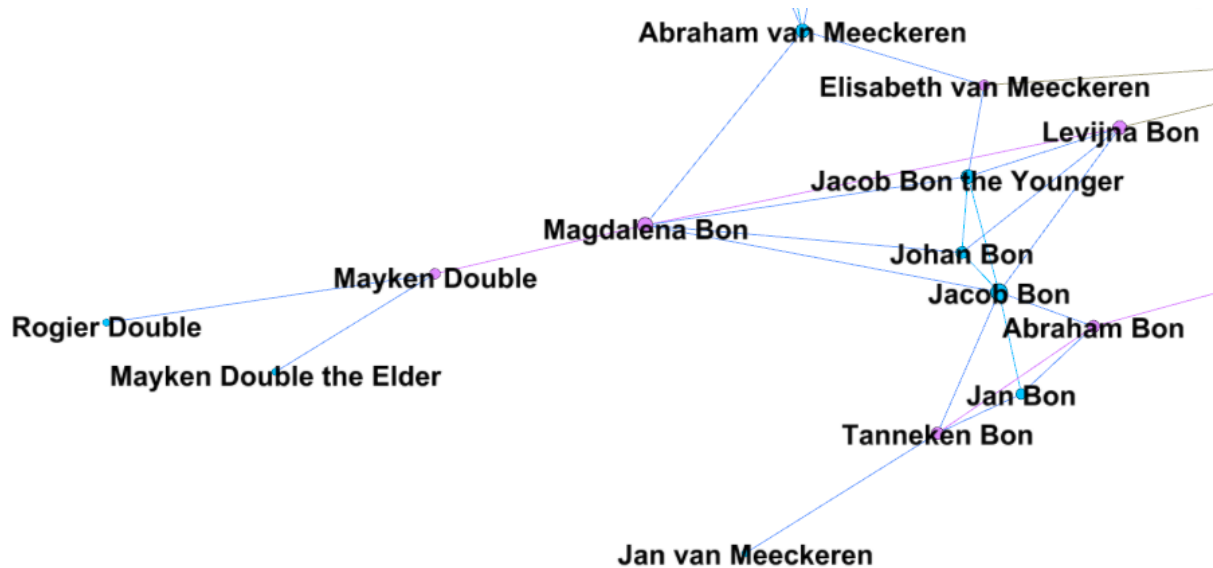


Figure 17: How the Bon family, Double family, and the Van Meeckeren family are connected. Those marked in blue were active in the textile industry.

Abraham van Meeckeren married Magdalena Bon, the daughter of Jacob Bon and Mayken Double.¹¹³ The Bon and Double families were known for their many brewers across many generations. Maykens parents, Rogier and Mayken Double, were both brewers at brewery 'De Drye Cruysen'.¹¹⁴ Like his father Pieter, Jacob Bon was a brewer and worked at the Van den Clock brewery. Jacobs son, Johan Bon, continued this work, which meant that three generations of Bon brewers have been brewing at the Van den Clock brewery in the first forty years of the seventeenth century.¹¹⁵ The Bon family was closely connected to the Van Meeckeren family. One of Jacob Bon's sons, who was also named Jacob, was the first husband of Elisabeth van Meeckeren, before she married Abraham Ampe. Jacob Bon (the Elder) oldest sister Tanneken also married a Van Meeckeren, namely Jan van Meeckeren, who was a brewer at the Amsterdam brewery 'De Son'. Tanneken passed away young, and had a single child named Cornelis van Meeckeren who would later also become a brewer.¹¹⁶ Jacob Bon had five siblings: Tanneken, Claesken, Jan, Abraham, and Ysaack.¹¹⁷ A few of these sibling were active as brewers as well. Jan and Abraham Bon were also in the brewery business, both as malt makers.¹¹⁸ Abraham worked at

¹¹³ Oud Notarieel Archief Haarlem: 242, fol. 238: 7 Jan. 1662. AND Oud Notarieel Archief Haarlem: 344, fol. 177: 15 Okt. 1660.

¹¹⁴ Oud Notarieel Archief Haarlem: 54, fol. 229: 18 Jan. 1605.

¹¹⁵ Oud Notarieel Archief Haarlem: 344, fol. 72: 22 May 1660.

¹¹⁶ Oud Notarieel Archief Haarlem: 135, fol. 197: 24 Aug. 1639.

¹¹⁷ Oud Notarieel Archief Haarlem: 9, fol. 39: 23 Apr. 1591.

¹¹⁸ Oud Notarieel Archief Haarlem: 55, fol. 303: 5 Jul. 1609.

the brewery and malt making facility the ‘Halve Maen’, which he even partially owned around 1636.¹¹⁹ Abrahams daughter, Vijntgen Bon, married Cornelis Abrahamsz van Hoorn in 1619, the son of Barent Roelofsz Wanscher.¹²⁰

Another person painted by Frans Hals who was active in the production of alcohol, was Gerrit Jansz van Santen, sometimes also called Gerrit Jansz van Embden. Van Santen was a distiller who worked at the Gecroonde Ancker, which he probably owned.¹²¹ He was a ‘dienaer van ‘t woord’

(servant of the word) at the ‘Waterlandsche gemeente’ in his free time. He worked together with Claes and Hendrick Noppen. The brothers were part of the Noppen family, which was a well-known brewer family in Haarlem at the time. The Noppen brothers both worked in the ‘Gecroonde Ancker’, like Van Santen. Claes and Hendrick were brewers, and Hendrick was also a malt maker.¹²² Like Van Santen, Hendrick was active within the congregation both as a deacon and ‘bedienaer van de armen’ (member of the committee acting to relieve poverty). Hendrick Noppen and Van Santen

were on very friendly terms, probably because they knew each other well from both the ‘Gecroonde Ancker’ and the ‘Waterlandsche gemeente’. After Van Santen’s first wife passed away, he remarried in 1625 with Perijntge Pieters, the half-sister of the Noppen brothers. From his first marriage, Van Santen had one daughter: Geertruijt van Santen. She had three brothers: Jan, Mathijs and Thomas. In 1629, Geertruijt married Nicolaes Noppen, a son of Hendrick Noppen. Nicolaes Noppen was a brewer like his father, and worked at the ‘Gecroonde Ancker’ as well.¹²³ One of her brothers would follow her example, and marry a ‘Noppen’ as well. Thomas van Santen married Maeycken Noppen.¹²⁴ Thomas became a distiller like his father and would eventually take over his fathers’ distillery in 1642.¹²⁵

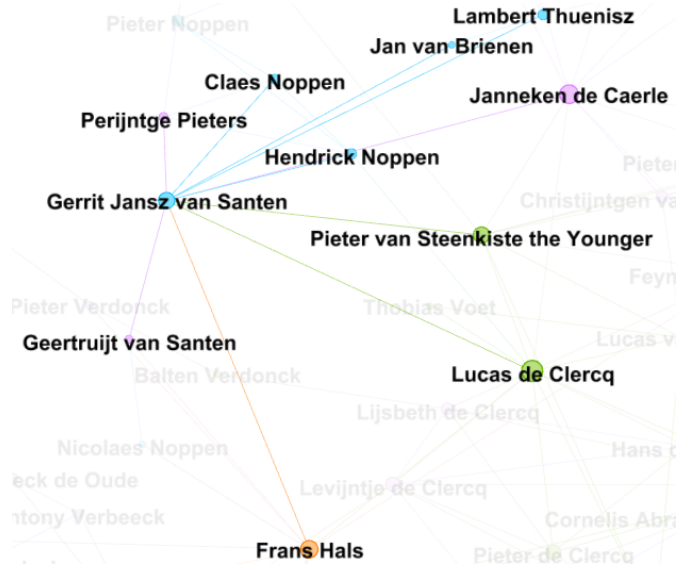


Figure 18: Connections of Gerrit Jansz van Santen. Green is for textile industry, orange is for artists, blue is for brewers and distillers.

¹¹⁹ Oud Notarieel Archief Haarlem: 134, fol. 141, 15 Mar. 1636.

¹²⁰ Oud Notarieel Archief Haarlem: 56, fol. 362: 4 Mar. 1619.

¹²¹ Oud Notarieel Archief Haarlem: 169, fol. 255: 8 Dec. 1642.

¹²² Oud Notarieel Archief Haarlem: 120, fol. 298, 16 Jun. 1640.

¹²³ Grijzenhout, Jonkhoff, Kramer and De Bruijne, ‘Frans Hals in doopsgezinde Brouwerskringen’, 218-222.

¹²⁴ Oud Notarieel Archief Haarlem: 349, fol. 167: 4 Jan. 1671.

¹²⁵ Oud Notarieel Archief Haarlem: 169, fol. 255: 8 Dec. 1642.

The Noppen family was also familiar with a member of the De Clercq family. Both Gerrit Jansz van Santen and Hendrick Noppen were very familiar with Lucas de Clercq. Despite the fact that they were members at different congregations, Van Santen and Noppen from the 'Waterlandsche gemeente' and de Clercq at 'de Vlaamse Blok', their relationship seemed very personal and close. Van Santen also became the legal guardian of Van Steenkistes children, Pieter and Janneke. De Clercq helped his friend with van Steenkiste's inheritance, by helping him sell van Steenkiste's house and other possessions.¹²⁶ This was however not the last time that the two were involved with an inheritance, as we have seen in the previous chapter. Van Santen, Noppen and De Clercq were all distantly related by marriage through Ariaentgen Noppen, Hendrick's sister and Van Santen's sister-in-law. Ariaentgen was married to Pieter van Steenkiste the Younger, a brother of de Clercq's wife Feyntje. When Van Steenkiste passed away, Ariaentgen married Henrick de Clercq.¹²⁷ However, Henrick was the son of the Reformed Gillis de Clercq, which made him part of a different non-Mennonite branch of the De Clercq family.¹²⁸ The Noppen family had many connections in the brewing industry. Frans Jacobsz was a brewer at the 'Drie Sterre'. He was connected to the Noppen family through Janneken Jans van Deuvrijn, his wife. She was previously married to Pieter Noppen, the father of both Claes and Hendrick Noppen, and Perijntge Pieters.¹²⁹ This is how Jacobsz became Ariaentgen Noppen's stepfather and legal guardian.

Another phenomenon surrounding the brewing industry in Haarlem, were those who saw breweries and selling alcohol as an investment, rather than being involved through brewing themselves. It was therefore not surprising that a couple of *bloemisten* were investing in the alcohol production and distribution. One of the *bloemisten* who was interested in the Haarlem brewing industry was Abraham van Ampe the Younger. In 1625, Ampe became co-owner of the brewery 'De Twee Gecroonde Clocken'. The establishment was bought by Ampe and his fellow colleagues and investors: Pieter van den Broecke (cousin of Ampe and brother of *bloemist* Andries Pietersz van de Broecke) and Abraham Cramer. The gentlemen bought the brewery with all facilities included, among which were the malt making equipment and all employees working there.¹³⁰ Ampe wasn't the only *bloemist* who invested in the brewing industry. Salomon Seys also contributed to the distribution of alcohol by owning a tavern. There were eleven *bloemisten* in Haarlem, who had the profession of innkeeper, Seys being one of them. Seys and his associate, Cornelis van Bruegel of Amsterdam, bought an inn in Haarlem in 1636. Their tavern was named the 'Stads Herberge', and was situated just outside

¹²⁶ Grijzenhout, Jonkhoff, Kramer and De Bruijne, 'Frans Hals in doopsgezinde Brouwerskringen', 218-222.

¹²⁷ Oud Notarieel Archief Haarlem: 127, fol. 186: 6 Nov. 1626.

¹²⁸ Oud Notarieel Archief Haarlem: 97, fol. 72: 2 Apr. 1626. AND De Clercq, *Het Vlaamse voorgeslacht van de Hollandse familie de Clercq*, 68-69.

¹²⁹ Oud Notarieel Archief Haarlem: 125, fol. 253-254: 26 Jul. 1625.

¹³⁰ Oud Notarieel Archief Haarlem: 125, fol. 101: 23 Jan. 1625.

of the St. Janspoort, a gate in the north of Haarlem.¹³¹ It seems that making investments has always been part of the *bloemisten* mindset, whether it be in tulips or in alcohol-production.

The Haarlem brewing industry was similar to the textile industry: it was a tightly intertwined network, further consolidated by marriages between Mennonite families. We see a couple *bloemisten* here as well, either as investors, or as brewers like the Van Meeckeren family. What the industries described have in common is that the Haarlem Mennonites seem to have used family networks as well as religious networks to enter specialized industries that have one or more barriers to enter. This includes the tulip trade, watchmaking, book publishing, and brewing.

¹³¹ Goldgar, *Tulipmania*, 176-177.

Conclusion

The data collected by this research has been gathered and visualized into a graph. In total, 143 individuals have been added to this graph, which are connected by 284 *edges*. They are active in multiple industries and trades: 22 in the brewing and/or distilling industry (15,4%), 20 in the textile industry (14,0%), 7 artists (4,9%), 5 watchmakers (3,5%), and 4 publishers (2,8%). From the 143 persons in total, 49 are *bloemisten*, which is about 34,3%. While the brewing- and distilling trade is the largest industry in the Mennonite *bloemisten* network, we see that *bloemisten* themselves are mostly active in textile. Eleven out of twenty Mennonites trading in textile are *bloemisten*. This is because the textile industry is very lucrative in the 1630s, which results in those involved having more money to invest and speculate with. On top of that, most of them seem to know each other from the textile industry and most likely from their congregations. This makes it easier for an individual to participate in the tulip trade, since they have a preestablished network, which makes it easier to trade and sell tulips.

Interestingly, the Haarlem Mennonite network contains more persons than just Haarlem Mennonites. In total 104 individuals are identified to live in Haarlem. Other individuals are residents of Amsterdam (15), Utrecht (4), Rotterdam (3) The Hague (2), London (2), and Enkhuizen (1). The Haarlem network therefore reaches other cities, both within and outside the province of Holland. Perhaps even more interesting, are the non-Mennonites which are incorporated into the network. In total, 101 individuals are identified as Mennonite (70,6%), which leaves a relatively large amount to be non-Mennonite. Nineteen persons which are non-Mennonite are identified as *bloemisten*, which means that the Tulipomania did indeed contribute to the (professional) expansion of the Haarlem Mennonite network. Were non-Mennonites only interested in Haarlem Mennonites for their tulips? Not exactly. In the art scene, it is not unusual to see a non-Mennonite having a Mennonite apprentice, and vice versa. We can see this by Frans Hals being taught by Carel van Mander, and Vincent Casteleyn the Younger being taught by Frans Pietersz de Grebber. On top of that, non-Mennonites are open to trade, or being part of the clientele of Mennonites. Book publishers and watchmakers got both orders from Mennonites and non-Mennonites, and textile traders and brewers traded their goods with non-Mennonites as well. The presence of Mennonites within these industries shows us that they used their Mennonite network to expand their means of economical production. In order to insert themselves into the economic system of Haarlem, Mennonite family and industrial networks played a key role. Once established within the economic framework of the city, the diagrams show that the Mennonites start to expand these networks to non-Mennonites, therefore establishing themselves even further within the city. This Mennonite involvement within specific industries also gave rise to certain rumours amongst the rest of the population, although this research has shown that these were not out of the ordinary for minorities at the time.

Perhaps even more important than the new connections made during the Tulipomania, is the reinsertion of Mennonites within the non-Mennonite society of Holland. The Tulipomania is an opportunity which gave Mennonites the chance to show their knowledge about commerce, as well as their expertise about tulips. These new standards allow them to be valued by others in a new way within the Tulipomania, and by extension their (newly) established network. This research has analysed the social network in one city, in the span of only one decade. One can only speculate how large this network can get over even larger amounts of time and space. The Mennonite network is vast and includes many cities, industries, and individuals. It will be interesting to see how large this network truly is, and how it expands into the larger cultural and professional sphere in Holland, the Netherlands, and perhaps even Europe.

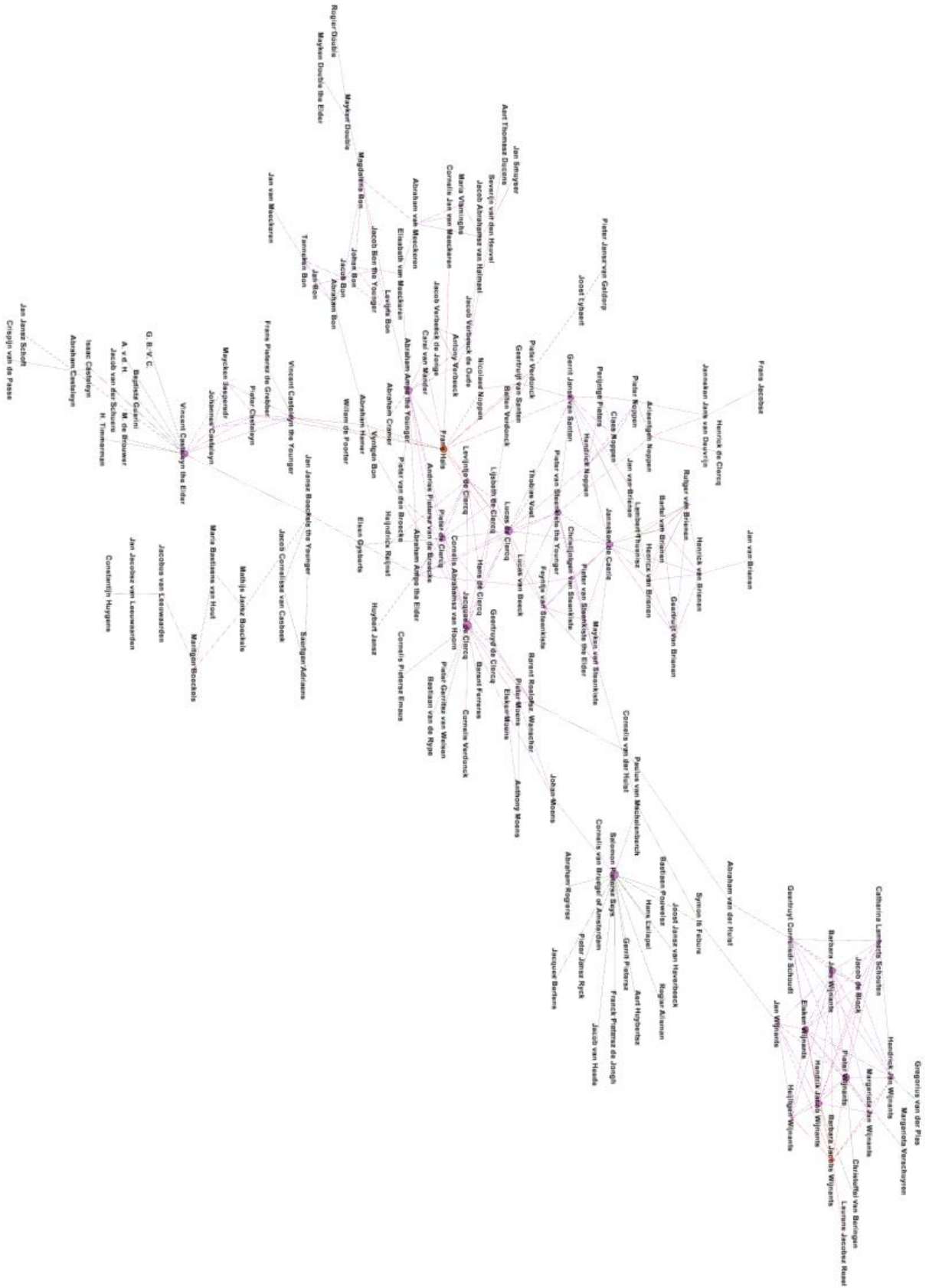


Figure 19: Total graph of the Mennonite network in Haarlem between 1630 and 1640. Coloration is based on the different religions: pink is Mennonite, orange is Reformed, blue is Catholic, and green is unidentified.¹³²

¹³² For a more detailed ‘zoomed in’ version of the graph, see Appendix 4.

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Appendix 1

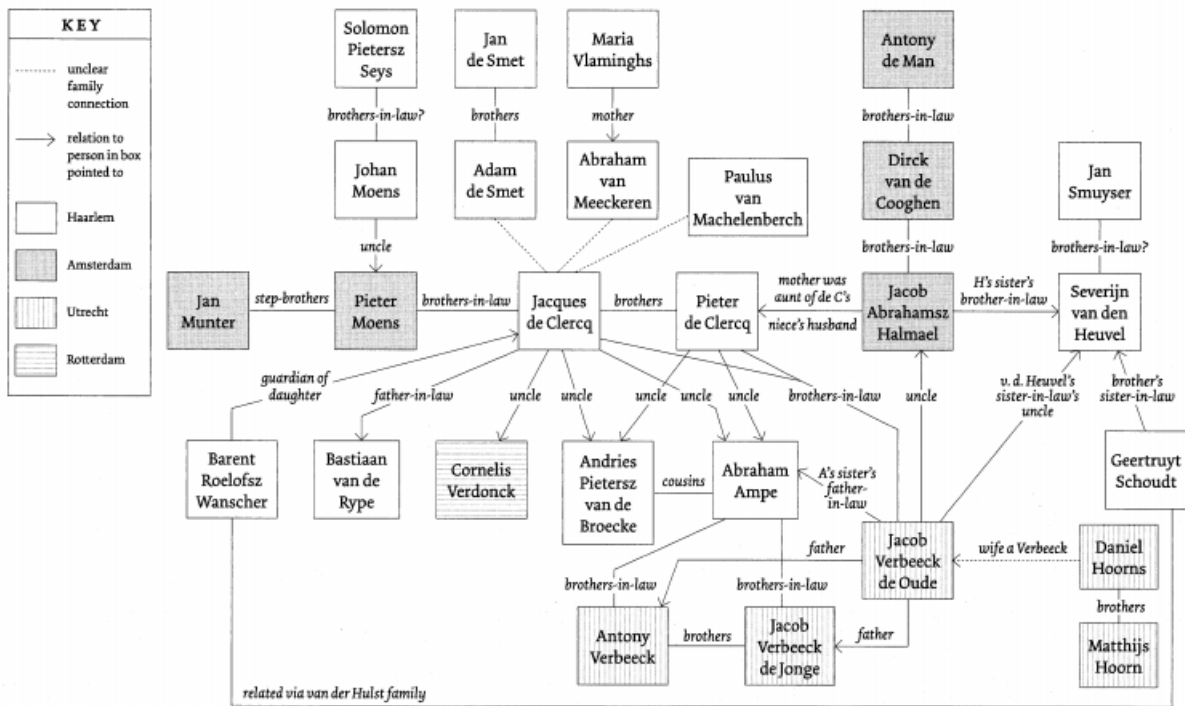


FIGURE 35. Diagram of connections among some Mennonites in the tulip trade.

Figure 20: Diagram made by Anne Goldgar of connections among some Mennonites in the tulip trade. Source: Goldgar, *Tulipmania*, 152.

Appendix 2

Present at Wijnants dinner										
Laurens Jacobsz Reael	<i>married</i>	Barbara Jacobs Wijnants	<i>brother and sister</i>	Hendrik Jacob Wijnants	<i>brother and sister</i>	Elsken Wijnants	<i>brother and sister</i>	Pieter Wijnants	<i>married</i>	Margarieta Verschuyren
		Heiligen Wijnants	<i>brother and sister</i>	Jan Wijnants		Barbara Jans Wijnants	<i>brother and sister</i>	Hendrick Jan Wijnants	<i>mother</i>	Sara Pompen
		Abraham van der Huist	<i>widow of</i>	Geertruyt Cornelisd'r Schoudt		Margarieta Jan Wijnants	<i>sisters</i>			
Cornelis van der Huist	<i>relatives</i>									
<i>Barents first wifes son</i>										
Barent Roelofsz. Wanscher		Trijnten Lamberts (Catharina Lamberts Schouten)	<i>married</i>	Jacob de Block						

Figure 21: A diagram of the family relations of the Wijnants and their guests present at the Sunday dinner.¹³³

¹³³ Sources used to make the diagram: Goldgar, *Tulipmania*, 131-132. AND Oud Notarieel Archief Haarlem: 135, fol. 84-85: 25 Sep. 1638. AND Oud Notarieel Archief Haarlem: 135, fol. 219-220: 1 Nov. 1639. AND Oud Notarieel Archief Haarlem: 212, fol. 204-205: 3 Apr. 1665.

Appendix 3

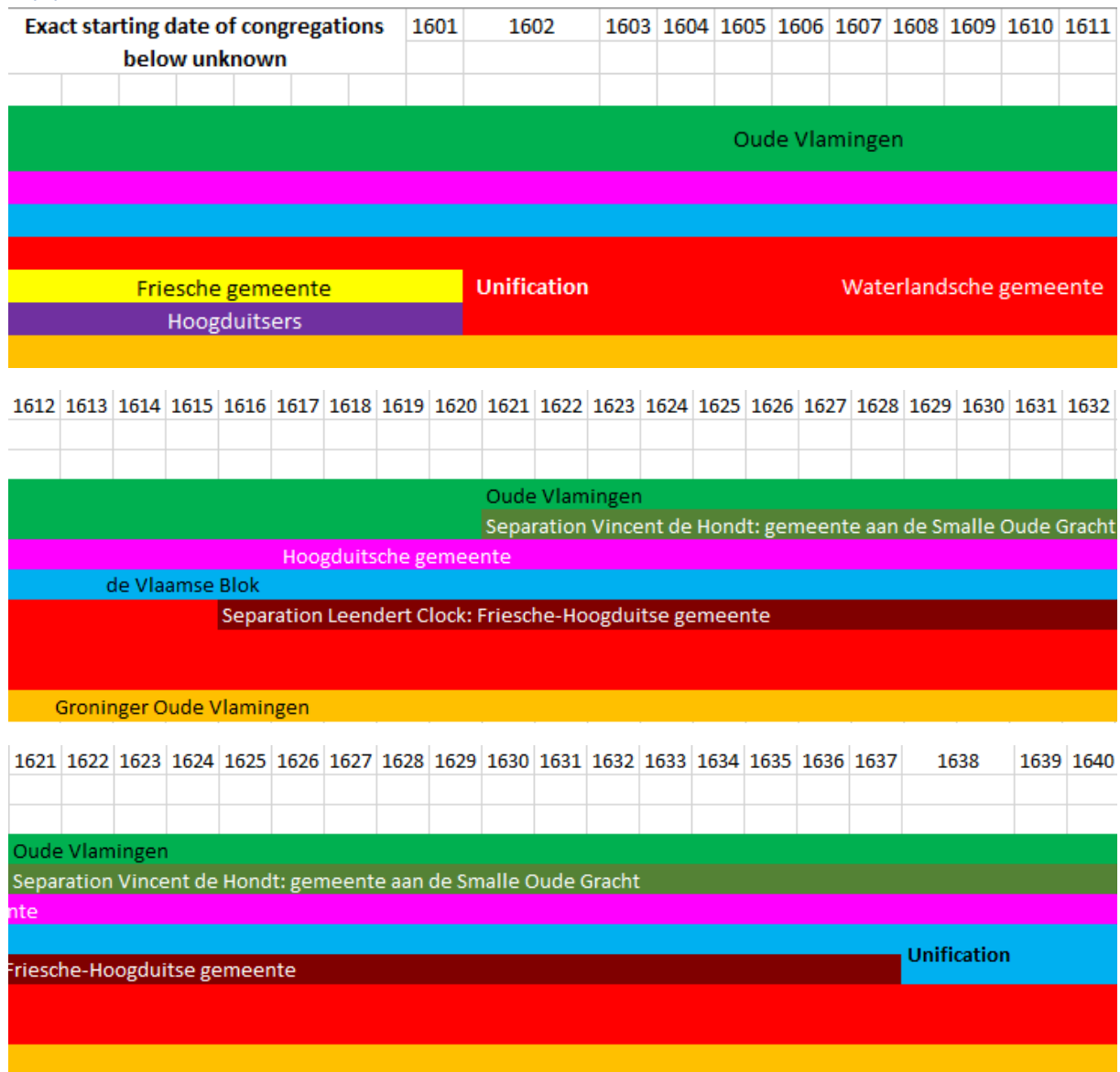


Figure 22: Flowchart of the Mennonite congregations in Haarlem from the beginning until 1640, including unifications and separations.¹³⁴

¹³⁴ Sources used to make the diagram: Verheus, *Naarstig en Vroom*, 50-78. AND H.A. van Gelder, *Het Menniste Haarlem: Bijdraagen tot eene Geschiedenis der Doopsgezinde Gemeenten te Haarlem* (Haarlem 1899) 9-60.

Appendix 4

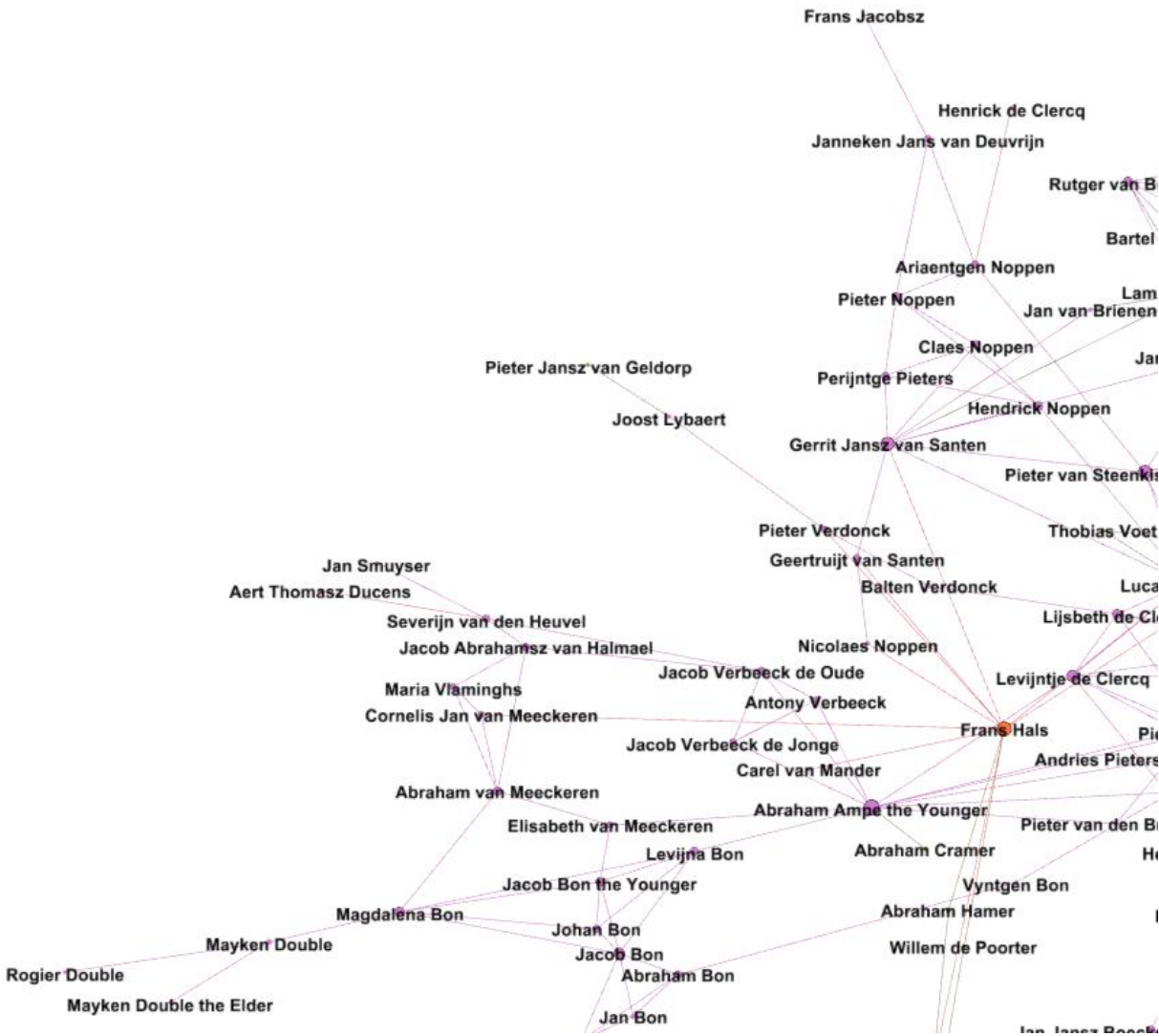


Figure 23: Centre-left part of the Mennonite network in Haarlem between 1630 and 1640. Coloration is based on the different religions: pink is Mennonite, orange is Reformed, blue is Catholic, and green is unidentified.

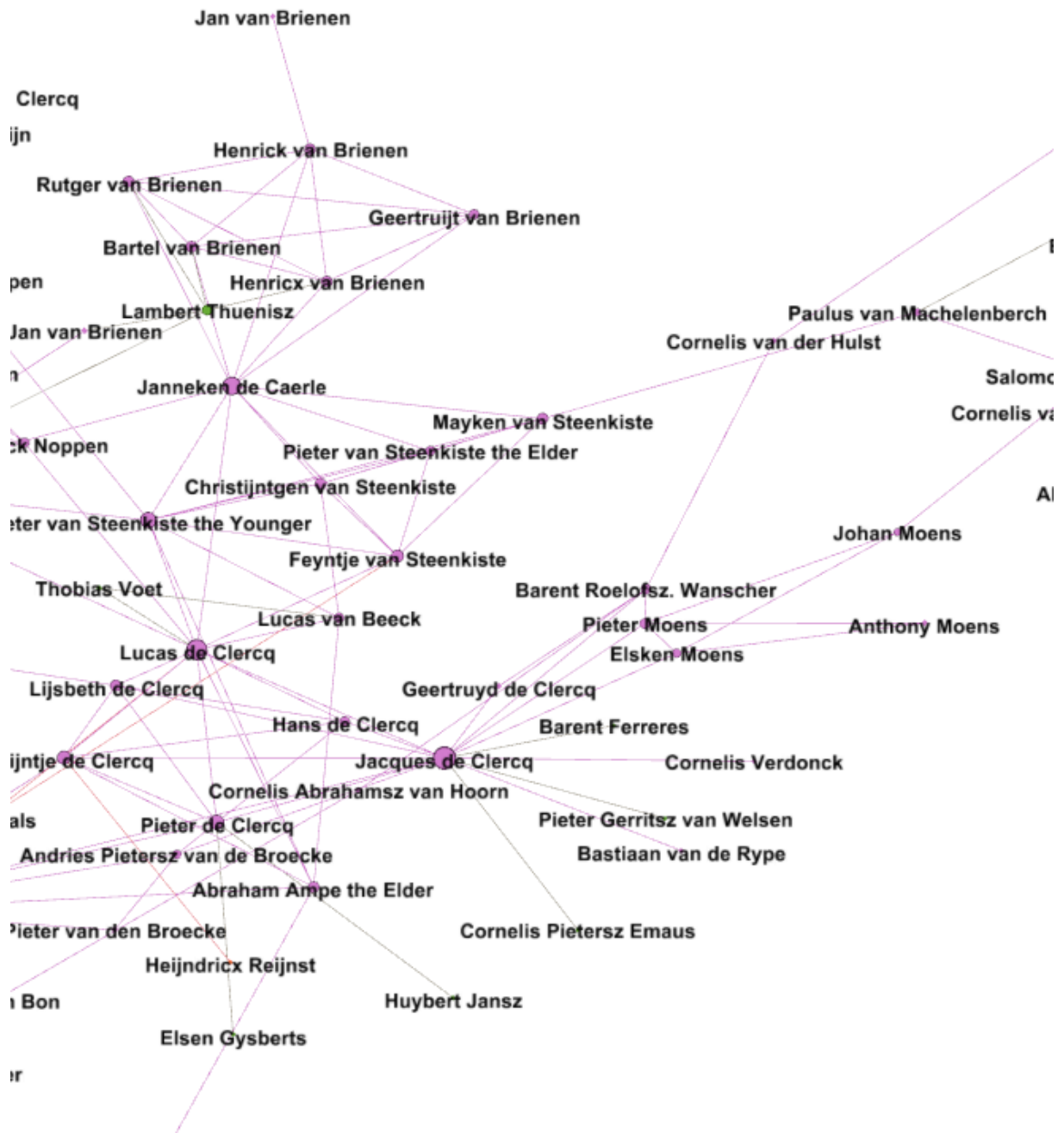


Figure 24: Centre-right part of the Mennonite network in Haarlem between 1630 and 1640. Coloration is based on the different religions: pink is Mennonite, orange is Reformed, blue is Catholic, and green is unidentified.

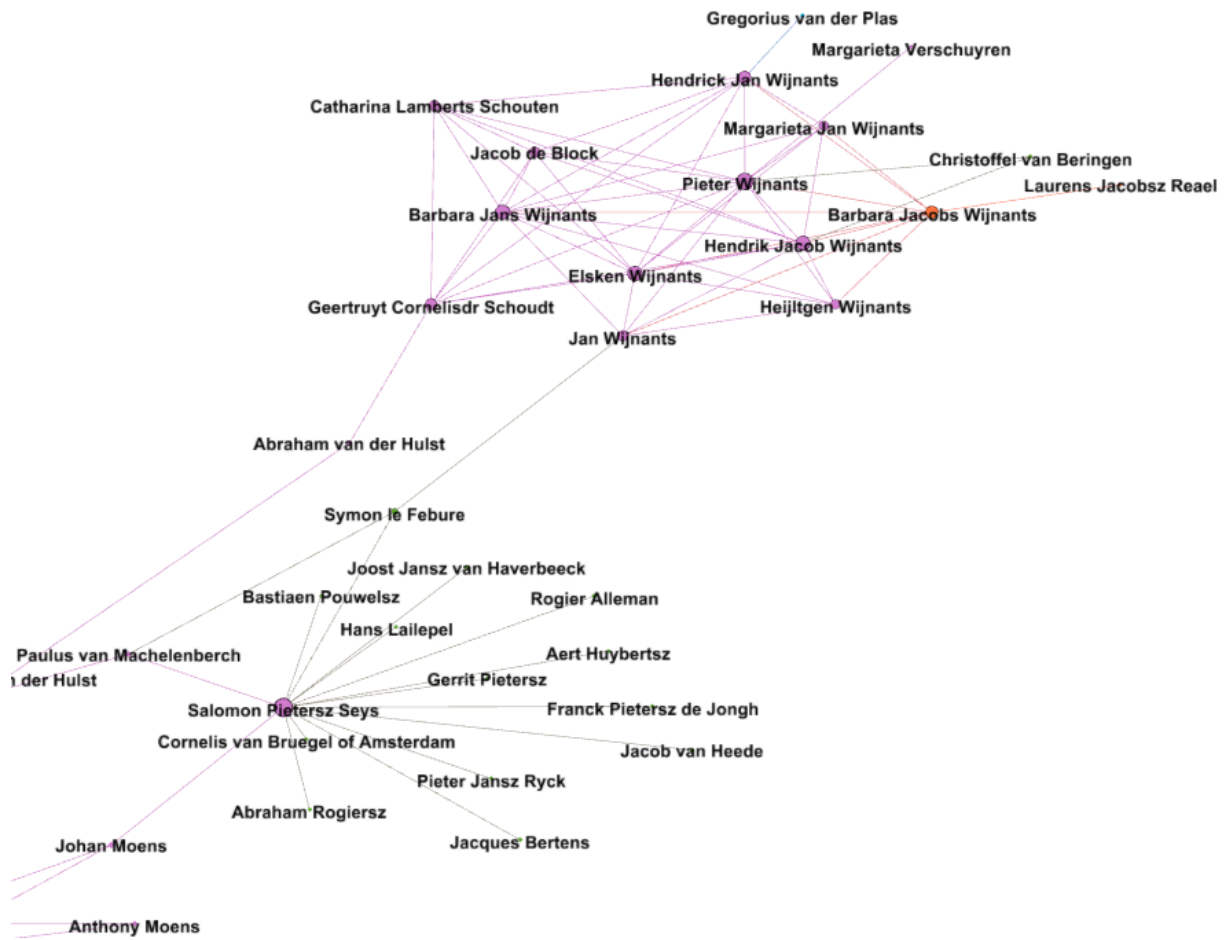


Figure 25: Top-right part of the Mennonite network in Haarlem between 1630 and 1640. Coloration is based on the different religions: pink is Mennonite, orange is Reformed, blue is Catholic, and green is unidentified.

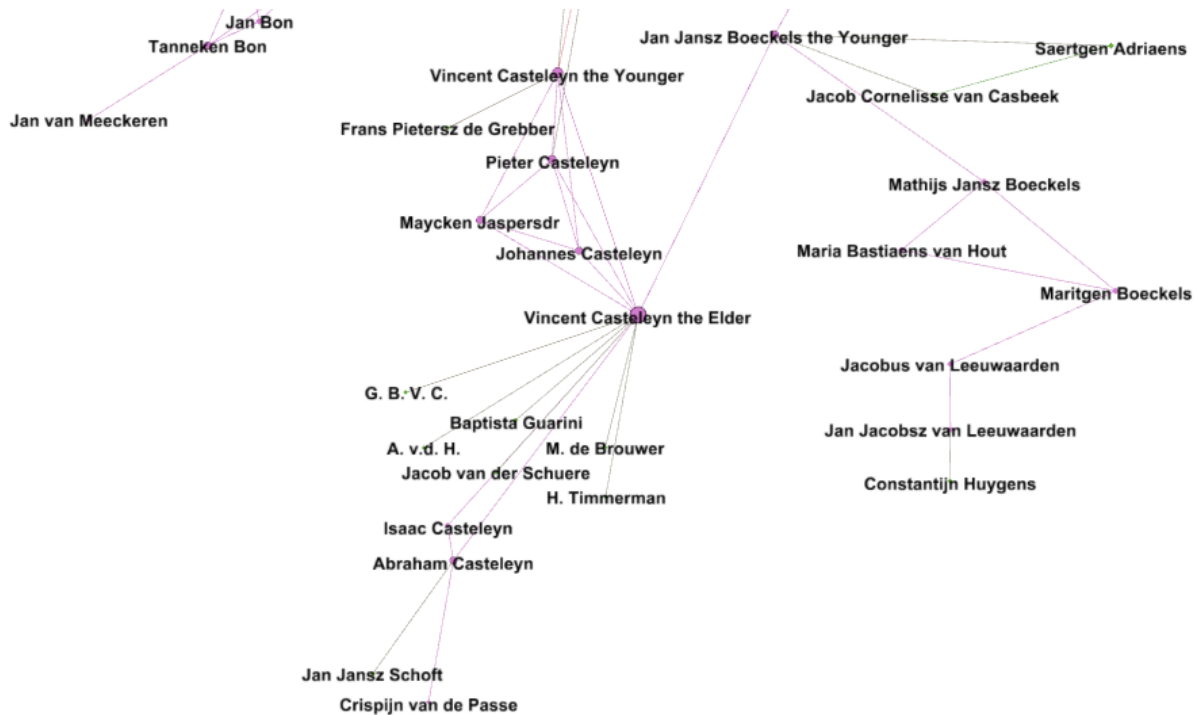


Figure 26: Middle-down part of the graph of the Mennonite network in Haarlem between 1630 and 1640, coloration is based on the different families.