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Family in Revolt:

The Van der Meulen and Della Faille Families in the Dutch Revolt

A dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction
of the requirements for the degree Doctor of Philosophy
in History

by

James Robert Sadler, Jr

2015

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ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

Family in Revolt:

The Van der Meulen and Della Faille Families in the Dutch Revolt

By

James Robert Sadler, Jr

Doctor of Philosophy in History

University of California, Los Angeles, 2015

Professor Margaret Jacob, Chair

Through an analysis of thousands of letters, account books, lawsuits, and testaments left by two prominent merchant families from Antwerp, this dissertation investigates the strategies used by kin to maintain and refashion social structures disrupted by the Dutch Revolt, early modern capitalism, and the life-cycle of families. The marriage of Daniel van der Meulen and Hester della Faille in 1584 connected two sibling groups who were divided in their political and religious allegiances. This dissertation traces the lives of the two sibling groups from the time that they entered into marriages and began careers as merchants in the 1560s until the last years of their lives in the second decade of the seventeenth century.

In the face of multiple forces pulling the siblings apart, the Van der Meulens and Della Failles constructed an ideal of a united house centered around the tight bonds of siblings and radiating out to collateral kin. The transition of power and property from the generation of the parents to a group of siblings acted as the primary test of siblings bonds. The tensions between horizontal kin and interest in the preservation of patrimony created tension in relations among siblings. For their entire lives, the Della Faille siblings struggled to administer and divide the vast capital left by their father, Jan della Faille de Oude. The Van der Meulens proved more able to live together in harmony, constructing an image of family bonds strengthened through exile. Though often divided by religious, political, and personal divisions, the siblings perceived the bonds of kinship to be eternal.

The experience of the Van der Meulen and Della Faille siblings provides an opportunity to examine the intertwined nature of private-order solutions and institutions in early modern trade. This dissertation argues that sibling groups constituted the core of the increasingly global networks of exchange at the end of the sixteenth century. However, trust among siblings did not flourish naturally. The creation of trust and friendship between siblings depended upon hierarchical family structures fortified—but also mediated—through affection and exchanges of gifts, favors, capital, and credit.

The Dissertation of James Robert Sadler, Jr is approved.

Peter Arnade

Teofilo Ruiz

David Sabean

Margaret Jacob, Committee Chair

University of California, Los Angeles

2015

To family and friends

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Introduction

On the 24th of December 1584, Daniel van der Meulen and Hester della Faille married in the Walloon church of Haarlem. One day later, they celebrated the occasion with friends and family in Amsterdam. Both bride and groom had long desired the marriage, but the path towards matrimony had been full of obstacles and pitfalls. The twenty-five or twenty-six year-old Hester had recently lost her father, leaving her an equal heir to his vast wealth alongside her eight siblings, but also under the guardianship of her three older brothers, whom her father had appointed as executors of his estate. If Hester wished to marry the well-educated and ambitious thirty year-old Daniel, the two would have to be able to convince Hester's brothers and guardians—Jan, Marten, and Jacques—of the advantages of the union.

Hester was the eighth of nine children born to Jan della Faille and Cornelia van der Capellen.¹ Cornelia was the granddaughter of Marten de Hane, a wealthy Venetian merchant who had been born in Brussels. Her husband came from much humbler origins. His father, Pieter van der Faelge, was a land-owning peasant from the village of Wevelgem, near Kortrijk in the heart of the linen producing regions of Flanders. At the age of about fifteen, Jan de Oude traveled by horse to Venice to serve as an apprentice to Marten de Hane. Learning the skills of a merchant and styling himself as an Italian, Jan de Oude Italianized his surname, giving up Van der Faelge for Della Faille. First as a factor for Marten de Hane in Antwerp, and then striking out on his own, Jan de Oude built a trade network that connected Italian silks to English woolens and Netherlandish woolens and linen. Participating in the spectacular growth of the Antwerp market in the middle third of the sixteenth century, Jan de Oude amassed a fortune that placed him

¹ After the birth of Jan and Cornelia's first son, named after his father, Jan became known as Jan de Oude, or Jan the Elder. He is referred to throughout the dissertation as Jan de Oude in order to avoid confusion.

among the wealthiest merchants in Europe. At the time of his death, three years before the marriage of Hester and Daniel, he possessed an estimated £68,043 Flemish groat.²

Daniel's parents also came from rather humble beginnings. Jan van der Meulen and Elizabeth Zeghers both brought less than £100 to the conjugal fund when they married in 1543.³ They too profited from the development of Antwerp's economy and the opportunities that it gave to a rising cadre of native merchants. The trade carried on by Jan and then continued by his widow after his death, was much more modest than the long-distance trade of Jan de Oude. Jan and Elizabeth focused their efforts on linking the market of Antwerp to the biannual fairs in Strasbourg and Frankfurt. By the time of Jan's death in 1563, he had accumulated a capital of £2,000. This paled in comparison to the £30,600 Jan de Oude and Cornelia possessed a year earlier, but it represented a substantial increase on the capital he had brought to his marriage twenty years prior.⁴ Elizabeth continued to carry on the trade set by her husband with even

² Compare Jan de Oude's capital to the wealth left by the merchant, banker, and wealthiest citizen of Nuremberg, Sebastian Welser, upon his death in 1567 of £43,475. Wilfrid Brulez, *De Firma Della Faille en de internationale handel van Vlaamse firma's in de 16e eeuw* (Brussels: Paleis der Academiën, 1959), 236; Steven E. Ozment, *Flesh and Spirit: Private Life in Early Modern Germany* (New York: Viking, 1999), 6, 193–194. This is in contrast to the yearly wage of a master mason in Antwerp at the time of Jan de Oude's death of £30–£45. For background on Jan de Oude and an overview of his trade and wealth, Brulez, *Firma Della Faille*, 3–62, 158–187, 236. For the estimated yearly wage of a master mason, see Brulez, *Firma Della Faille*, xxvi; Herman van der Wee, *The Growth of the Antwerp Market and the European Economy (Fourteenth–Sixteenth Centuries)*, vol. 3, *Statistics* (The Hague: Nijhoff, 1963), 342–343.

³ Marriage contract of Jan van der Meulen and Elizabeth Zeghers, 2 July 1543, Familie Van der Muelen, inventory 19, Het Utrechts Archief, Utrecht, The Netherlands (hereafter AvdM). Gisela Jongbloet-van Houtte, "Inleiding," in *Brieven en andere bescheiden betreffende Daniel van der Meulen, 1584-1600*, ed. Gisela Jongbloet-van Houtte (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1986), xvi–xvii.

⁴ The testament of Elizabeth noted that her husband's estate was valued at £2,000 at his death. Testament of Elizabeth Zeghers, Daniël van der Meulen en Hester de la Faille, zijn vrouw, 1550-1648, inventory 66a, Erfgoed Leiden en Omstreken, Leiden, The Netherlands (hereafter DvdM). The testament has been published in Gisela Jongbloet-van Houtte, ed. *Brieven en andere bescheiden betreffende Daniel van der Meulen, 1584-1600*, Rijks Geschiedkundige Publicatiën: Grote serie (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1986), 95–99 nr 49. In citing documents that are published in the volume edited by Jongbloet-van Houtte, the archive will be cited with the piece number from the volume cited in parentheses. Wealth of Jan de Oude, 28 February 1562, Della Faille de Leverghem Archive, inventory 10, Private collection, Lozer, Belgium (hereafter DFL).

greater success. By the end of the 1570s, the Van der Meulens began to claim a place among Antwerp's growing class of wealthy native merchants.⁵

At first, fate did not appear to be on the side of Daniel and Hester. Soon after her father's death, Hester's brothers began to bicker over the administration of his estate. In 1583, Hester traveled to London with her brothers and witnessed first hand the disagreements that broke out over the management of their father's capital that lay in his branch in London. Even more foreboding, the Spanish army, under the command of Alexander Farnese, steadily moved north and began to threaten the rebellious cities of Flanders and Brabant that had recently abjured their loyalty to Philip II. Already divided by their disagreements over their father's capital, Hester's brothers were also split by the religious and political disturbances that had ripped across the Low Countries since the outbreak of iconoclasm in 1566. Marten, recently ensconced in his father's house in the center of Antwerp, hoped that his fellow citizens would give up the rebellion against their rightful prince and the true Catholic religion. On the other hand, Jacques had been appointed as a colonel to the civic militia at the beginning of 1582 and continued to serve after the magistrates purged all non-Calvinists from military positions in 1583.⁶ Daniel and his family members were closely associated with Calvinism and the rebellion. The rising prominence of the Van der Meulens was confirmed by Andries's appointment as an alderman of Antwerp in 1581 after having already served as a delegate for the city at the States General.⁷

⁵ Jongbloet-van Houtte, "Inleiding," xxxvi–xl.

⁶ Yves Schmitz, *Les Della Faille*, vol. 1, *Des Origines au XVIIIème Siècle* (Brussels: Imprimerie F. Van Buggenhoudt, 1965), 269–278; Floris Prims, "Jacques de la Faille: Kolonel en aalmoezenier," *Antwerpensia* 16 (1943): 49–59; Floris Prims, *De kolonellen van de 'Burgersche Wacht' te Antwerpen (December 1577–Augustus 1585)* (Antwerpen: N.V. Standaard-boekhandel, 1942); Floris Prims, "De aalmoezeniers die men "intrusi" heette," *Antwerpensia* 15 (1942): 273–280. Jacques seems to have bought out his position at the end of 1583, but in December of the same year, he was appointed to the position of almoner.

⁷ Floris Prims, "Andries Vermuelen, de negende van de IX mannen," *Antwerpensia* 16 (1943): 106–113; Floris Prims, *De Groote Cultuurstrijd*, vol. 2, *De Christelijke Republiek 1581-1585* (Antwerp: N. V. Standaard, 1943).

The divisions between her guardians made any unanimous approval of Hester's choice for a spouse unlikely. However, the troubles that originally created such difficulties for Daniel and Hester eventually presented an opportunity for the two to assert their desire to wed. As Farnese's army approached Antwerp in 1584, Hester left the city of her birth with her brother Jacques and his family on the first of May.⁸ This separated her from Daniel, but it also released her from Marten's supervision, who had been adamant in his disapproval of the union.⁹ When Daniel traveled to Holland in the beginning of September as a representative of Antwerp and the States of Brabant to the States General, notwithstanding the significance of his mission, the pair began to formulate plans to wed.¹⁰ To the prospective bride and groom, the delays must have appeared endless, but finally on the 22nd of November they celebrated their engagement and posted the banns. Under the shadow of the ongoing siege of Antwerp, Daniel and Hester celebrated their marriage in a Calvinist church in the newly formed Dutch Republic on the 24th of December. The act of marriage sealed the union between the Van der Meulen and Della Faille families, but the circumstances that surrounded the marriage made clear the difficulties that continued to lie ahead for the new couple.¹¹

The marriage of Daniel and Hester brought together the two families that form the subject of this dissertation. By the time of the marriage, the Della Faille and Van der Meulen were wealthy mercantile families, whose economic activity and status were closely tied with Antwerp. Daniel's marriage to Hester, along with his brother's recent marriage to Suzanne Malapert,

⁸ Household book of Hester, DvdM 1.

⁹ Marten to Antonio Schorremans, Antwerp, 31 December 1584, DvdM 274-1 (xix).

¹⁰ Andries wrote to Hester soon after Daniel arrived in Holland in an attempt to convince Hester of the advantages of taking Daniel as her husband. Andries to Hester, Antwerp, 22 September 1584, Jongbloet-van Houtte, "Inleiding," 24-25.

¹¹ See Chapter 3 for a fuller discussion of the marriage of Daniel and Hester and the events surrounding it.

linked the Van der Meulens to the mercantile elite of the city and created opportunities for them to participate in the expanding long-distance trade of the early modern period. Just as the two families solidified their status within Antwerp, the Dutch Revolt struck. The Della Faille and Van der Meulens were not passive bystanders in the events that went on around them, but that did not make them any more prepared for the consequences. Farnese's successful siege of Antwerp but inability to end the rebellion in Holland and Zeeland led to the political and religious division of the Low Countries and the ultimate decline of Antwerp. The Van der Meulen family became exiles, and five of the seven surviving Della Faille siblings left the city of their birth. The economic center of long-distance trade shifted to Amsterdam in the 1580s, a transition in which the siblings played a role.¹² The chapters below follow the story of the Della Faille and Van der Meulen siblings as they struggled to maintain and refashion the social structures disrupted by the Dutch Revolt, early modern capitalism, and the normal challenges of family life. Their experience highlights the significance of kinship in creating a foundation for the social structure of society, while also underlining the difficulties of maintaining the most natural of bonds, those between siblings.

¹² Oscar Gelderblom, *Zuid-Nederlandse kooplieden en de opkomst van de Amsterdamse stapelmarkt (1578-1630)* (Hilversum, The Netherlands: Verloren, 2000); Clé Lesger, *The Rise of the Amsterdam Market and Information Exchange: Merchants, Commercial Expansion and Change in the Spatial Economy of the Low Countries, c.1550–1630* (Aldershot, England: Ashgate, 2006); Wilfrid Brulez, "De diaspora der Antwerpse kooplui op het einde van de 16de eeuw," *Bijdragen voor de geschiedenis der Nederlanden* 15 (1960): 279–306.

Figure 0.1: Van der Meulen Family Tree

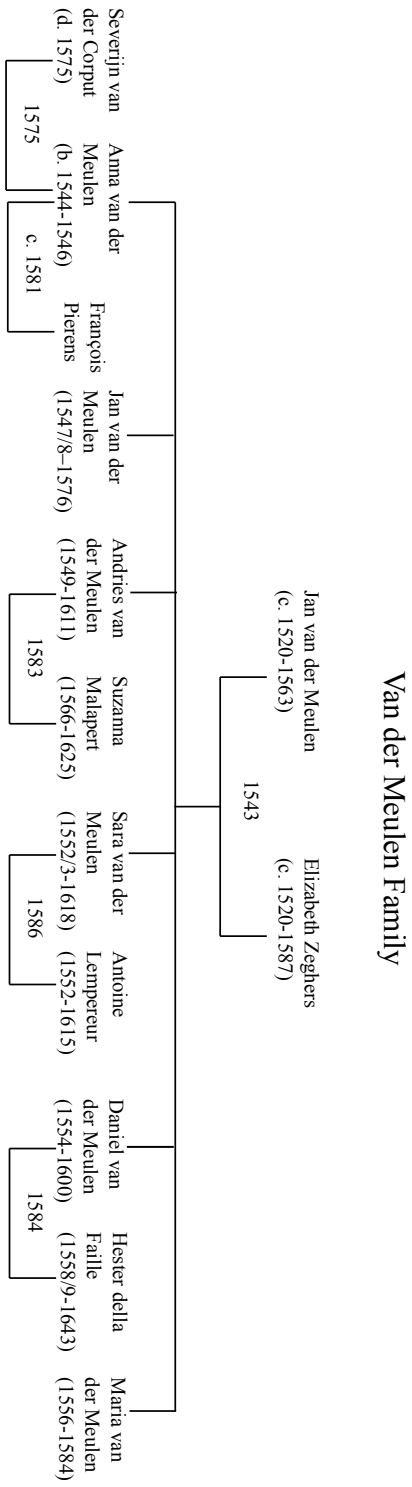
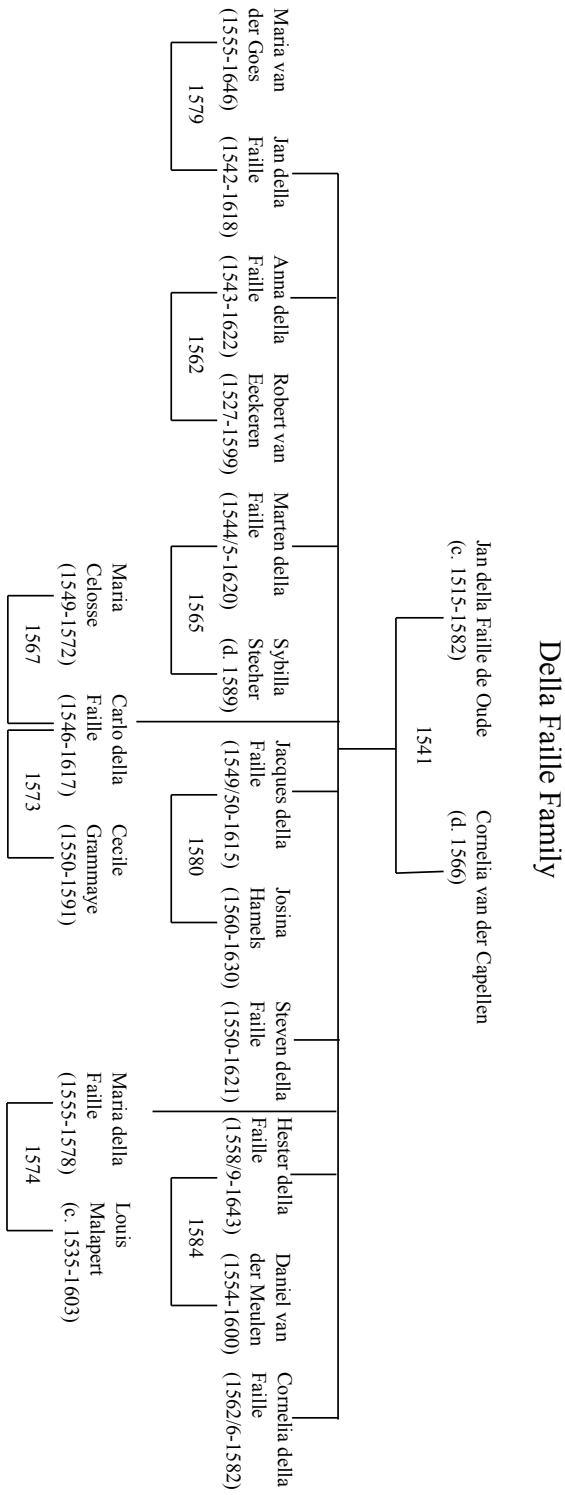


Figure 0.2: Della Faille Family Tree



1. Fission and Fusion in Sibling Relationships

Long-distance trade in early modern Europe depended upon a wide network of correspondents and factors to buy and sell goods for merchants who were increasingly sedentary. The expansion of trade across ever wider geographic distances necessarily entailed close economic interaction between individuals with loose personal ties. The possibility of trade relations among strangers, and the implications that it has for the development of market relations, has drawn the attention of many scholars.¹³ However, the trade networks constructed by the Della Faille and Van der Meulen families at the end of the sixteenth century relied on the work of kin. Non-kin were not excluded from the networks, and they could play crucial roles at both the center and periphery of the networks, but the bonds of kinship continued to provide a strong foundation for the economic relations created within trade networks.¹⁴ Study of the Della Faille and Van der Meulen families demonstrates that the core of the trade networks consisted of sibling groups. The closest economic relationships were intertwined with the closest social,

¹³ Philip D. Curtin, *Cross-Cultural Trade in World History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984); Claude Markovits, *The Global World of Indian Merchants, 1750-1947: Traders of Sind from Bukhara to Panama* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000); Avner Greif, *Institutions and the Path to the Modern Economy: Lessons From Medieval Trade* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006); Francisco Bethencourt and Florike Egmond, eds. *Correspondence and Cultural Exchange in Europe, 1400–1700*, vol. 3, *Cultural Exchange in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007); Francesca Trivellato, *The Familiarity of Strangers: The Sephardic Diaspora, Livorno, and Cross-Cultural Trade in the Early Modern Period* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2009); Sebouh Aslanian, *From the Indian Ocean to the Mediterranean: The Global Trade Networks of Armenian Merchants from New Julfa* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2011); Jessica L. Goldberg, *Trade and Institutions in the Medieval Mediterranean: The Geniza Merchants and their Business World* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012); Francesca Trivellato, et al., eds. *Religion and Trade: Cross-Cultural Exchanges in World History, 1000-1900* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014).

¹⁴ David Hancock, “The Trouble with Networks: Managing the Scots’ Early-Modern Madeira Trade,” *The Business History Review* 79, no. 3 (2005): 467–491; Trivellato, *Familiarity of Strangers*; Richard Grassby, *Kinship and Capitalism: Marriage, Family, and Business in the English Speaking World, 1580–1740* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001); Naomi Tadmor, *Family and Friends in Eighteenth-Century England: Household, Kinship, and Patronage* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001); David Cressy, “Kinship and Kin Interaction in Early Modern England,” *Past & Present* 113 (1986): 38–69; David Warren Sabean, et al., eds. *Kinship in Europe: Approaches to Long-Term Development* (New York: Berghahn Books, 2007); Christopher H. Johnson, et al., eds. *Transregional and Transnational Families in Europe and Beyond: Experiences Since the Middle Ages* (New York: Berghahn Books, 2011).

emotional, and familial bonds. In order to understand the nature of early modern mercantile networks, it is necessary to take the role of kinship seriously.¹⁵

The Della Faille and Van der Meulen siblings filled their correspondence to each other with descriptions of the strong natural bonds of siblings, creating an ideal of a united sibling group. Siblings had compelling economic interests in maintaining the community of goods and relations obtained by their kin and ancestors. But the prescription for the tight bonds that siblings should maintain throughout the course of their lives possessed robust social and moral components. According to the discourse created by the two families, the strength and honor of the family, as well as its wealth, derived from its unity, while an individual's virtue depended to a large degree upon acting in a manner befitting a good son or daughter, brother or sister. However, the normative force prescribing unity within the house created equal pressure for the individual members to live up to the ideal. The ideal of unity pertained to a wide set of kin, but it was at its strongest among siblings. Bonds perceived to be the most natural actually entailed the greatest amount of work and were liable to greatest amount of strain. The centrality of the bonds

¹⁵ On sibling relationships, see Christopher H. Johnson and David Warren Sabean, eds. *Sibling Relations and the Transformations of European Kinship, 1300–1900* (New York: Berghahn Books, 2011); Naomi Miller and Naomi Yavneh, eds. *Sibling Relations and Gender in the Early Modern World: Sisters, Brothers and Others* (Aldershot, England: Ashgate, 2006); Patricia Crawford, *Blood, Bodies, and Families in Early Modern England* (Harlow, England: Pearson/Longman, 2004); Leonore Davidoff, *Thicker than Water: Siblings and their Relations, 1780–1920* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012); Emma Rothschild, *The Inner Life of Empires: An Eighteenth-Century History* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2011); Steven E. Ozment, *Three Behaim Boys: Growing up in Early Modern Germany* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1991); Erica Bastress-Dukehart, “Sibling Conflict within Early Modern German Noble Families,” *Journal of Family History* 33, no. 1 (2008): 61–80; Susan Broomhall and Jacqueline van Gent, “Corresponding Affections: Emotional Exchange among Siblings in the Nassau Family,” *Journal of Family History* 34, no. 2 (2009): 143–165; Susan Broomhall and Jacqueline van Gent, “In the Name of the Father: Conceptualizing ‘Pater Familias’ in the Letters of William the Silent’s Children,” *Renaissance Quarterly* 62, no. 4 (2009): 1130–1166; Susan Broomhall and Jacqueline van Gent, “Converted Relationships: Re-negotiating Family Status after Religious Conversion in the Nassau Dynasty,” *Journal of Social History* 47, no. 3 (2014): 647–672; Naomi Tadmor, “Dimensions of Inequality Among Siblings in Eighteenth-Century English Novels: The Cases of *Clarissa* and *The History of Miss Betsy Thoughtless*,” *Continuity and Change* 7, no. 3 (1992): 303–333; Martine Segalen, “‘Avoir sa part’: Sibling Relations in Partible Inheritance Brittany,” in *Interest and Emotion: Essays on the Study of Family and Kinship*, ed. Hans Medick and David Warren Sabean (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984); Linda A Pollock, “Rethinking Patriarchy and the Family in Seventeenth-Century England,” *Journal of Family History* 23, no. 1 (1998): 3–27; David Warren Sabean, *Kinship in Neckarhausen, 1700–1870* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998).

of siblings in continuously recreating the social position of the family, and through this work, the social structures of society, taxed these relations. Yet, the inherent tensions did nothing to disrupt the ideal.¹⁶

The experience of the Della Faille and Van der Meulen families at the end of the sixteenth century and the beginning of the seventeenth century reveals both the strength of the ideal of sibling unity and the difficulties of achieving it. The siblings groups encountered two different types of centrifugal forces that threatened to weaken the bonds that held them together. In the first place, they confronted challenges associated with the life-cycle of families.¹⁷ The marriage of siblings and the death of parents were particularly disruptive events, because they involved the transfer of property and altered the structure of the nuclear family. Marriage both widened the kinship group and created greater differentiation within the sibling group.¹⁸ The death of a parent, especially the death of the longest-surviving parent, created even greater

¹⁶ A. R. Radcliffe-Brown, *Structure and Function in Primitive Society: Essays and Addresses* (London: Cohen & West, 1952), 66–67; Pierre Bourdieu, *Outline of a Theory of Practice* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977); Pierre Bourdieu, “On the Family as a Realized Category,” *Theory Culture and Society* 13, no. 3 (1996): 19–26; Christopher H. Johnson and David Warren Sabeau, “From Siblingship to Siblinghood: Kinship and the Shaping of European Society (1300–1900),” in *Sibling Relations and the Transformations of European Kinship, 1300–1900*, ed. Christopher H. Johnson and David Warren Sabeau (New York: Berghahn Books, 2011); Sabeau, *Kinship in Neckarhausen*, 9, 84, 103–104; Sophie Ruppel, “Subordinates, Patrons, and Most Beloved: Sibling Relationships in Seventeenth-Century German Court Society,” in *Sibling Relations and the Transformations of European Kinship, 1300–1900*, ed. Christopher H. Johnson and David Warren Sabeau (New York: Berghahn Books, 2011).

¹⁷ David Cressy, *Birth, Marriage, and Death: Ritual, Religion, and the Life-Cycle in Tudor and Stuart England*, First ed., (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997); Grassby, *Kinship and Capitalism*; Peter Fleming, *Family and Household in Medieval England* (New York: Palgrave, 2001); Tamara K. Hareven, “The History of the Family and the Complexity of Social Change,” *American Historical Review* 96, no. 1 (1991): 95–124; Tamara K. Hareven, “Aging and Generational Relations: A Historical and Life Course Perspective,” *Annual Review of Sociology* 20 (1994): 437–461; Ozment, *Flesh and Spirit*.

¹⁸ Georg Simmel, *On Individuality and Social Forms* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1972), 251–293; Jack Goody, *The Development of the Family and Marriage in Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983); Julie Hardwick, *The Practice of Patriarchy: Gender and the Politics of Household Authority in Early Modern France* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1998); Michaela Hohkamp, “Sisters, Aunts, and Cousins: Familial Architectures and the Political Field in Early Modern Europe,” in *Kinship in Europe: Approaches to Long-Term Development*, ed. David Warren Sabeau, et al. (New York: Berghahn Books, 2007); Martha C. Howell, *The Marriage Exchange: Property, Social Place, and Gender in Cities of the Low Countries, 1300–1550* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998).

disruptions to family relations. At all times, the devolution of property could prove problematic, pitting the interest of parent against those of the child or between the siblings. The death of the longest-surviving parent often marked the largest devolution of property at the same time that it brought a fundamental restructuring of the sibling relations. No longer tied to each other by the authority of a parent, siblings had to find ways to continue to form a community of interests.¹⁹

In addition to the ordinary challenges associated with the changing of generations and the replication of the social forms of life, the unity of the Della Faille and Van der Meulen siblings was threatened by the extraordinary circumstances of the Dutch Revolt. Both the political and religious aspects of the Revolt altered the social structures of society, and they could not but affect the structures of family life. In a physical sense, the reconquest of Antwerp by Spanish forces in 1585 led to the exile of the Van der Meulen family and the rebel inclined members of the Della Failles, separating them from their homeland and ultimately from each other. The Reformation and Revolt both created new ways for kin to come together, but they also constructed new obstacles. The Van der Meulens present an example of a sibling group able to unite around an identification as persecuted exiles. However, the strength of such an ideal complicated relationships across confessional and political lines such as those between the Della

¹⁹ Erica Bastress-Dukehart, "Family, Property, and Feeling in Early Modern German Noble Culture: The Zimmerns of Swabia," *The Sixteenth Century Journal* 32, no. 1 (2001): 1–19; Bastress-Dukehart, "Sibling Conflict"; Hardwick, *Practice of Patriarchy*, 143–158; Karl-Heinz Spieß, "Safeguarding Property for the Next Generations: Family Treaties, Marriage Contracts and Testaments of German Princely Dynasties in the Later Middle Ages (14th-16th Centuries)," in *La famiglia nell'economia europea, secc. XIII-XVIII: atti della "quarantesima Settimana di studi," 6-10 Aprile 2008 = The Economic Role of the Family in the European Economy from the 13th to the 18th Centuries*, ed. Simonetta Cavaciocchi (Firenze: Firenze University Press, 2009); Simon Teuscher, "Male and Female Inheritance: Property Devolution, Succession, and Credit in Late Medieval Nobilities in the Southwest of the Holy Empire," in *La famiglia nell'economia europea, secc. XIII-XVIII: atti della "quarantesima Settimana di studi," 6-10 Aprile 2008 = The Economic Role of the Family in the European Economy from the 13th to the 18th Centuries*, ed. Simonetta Cavaciocchi (Firenze: Firenze University Press, 2009); Segalen, "Sibling Relations in Partible Inheritance Brittany."

Faille siblings. By creating these fissures, the Revolt exacerbated the tensions inevitable in the practical interactions of siblings.²⁰

The variety of forces of fission wrought by the life-cycle of the family and the Dutch Revolt affected the two sibling groups in very different ways. The Van der Meulens were able to approximate the ideal of a united sibling group, while the Della Failles fell into bitter dispute for the entirety of their lives. However, the two sibling groups perceived the difficulties in similar fashions and used the same type of strategies to strengthen the bonds of kinship. The ideal of unity itself acted as strong foundation for the ties of kin. As Bourdieu has noted, daily life creates and reinforces a “habitus,” which naturalizes the relations of kinship and molds the field of actions believed to be correct and possible.²¹ Among the families under discussion, habitus manifested itself in the form of patriarchy. The patriarchal structure of the family emphasized the authority of the father as that which created the community of siblings. In other words, siblings were such because they fell under the authority of the same father. Structure and authority provided a outline for sibling unity, but it could not function on its own. Authority was

²⁰ On the ability of religious exile to fashion identification of a group in early modern Europe, see Judith Pollmann, *Catholic Identity and the Revolt of the Netherlands, 1520–1635* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011); Geert H. Janssen, “Exiles and the Politics of Reintegration in the Dutch Revolt,” *History* 94, no. 313 (2009): 36–52; Geert H. Janssen, “Quo Vadis? Catholic Perceptions of Flight and the Revolt of the Low Countries, 1566–1609,” *Renaissance Quarterly* 64, no. 2 (2011): 472–499; Geert H. Janssen, “The Counter-Reformation of the Refugee: Exile and the Shaping of Catholic Militancy in the Dutch Revolt,” *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 63, no. 4 (2012): 671–692; Ole Peter Grell, “The Creation of a Transnational, Calvinist Network and its Significance for Calvinist Identity and Interaction in Early Modern Europe,” *European Review of History: Revue europeenne d’histoire* 16, no. 5 (2009): 619–636; Ole Peter Grell, *Brethren in Christ: A Calvinist Network in Reformation Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011); Johannes Müller, “Permeable Memories: Family History and the Diaspora of Southern Netherlandish Exiles in the Seventeenth Century,” in *Memory before Modernity: Practices of Memory in Early Modern Europe*, ed. Erika Kuijpers, et al. (Leiden: Brill, 2013); Jesse Spohnholz, *The Tactics of Toleration: A Refugee Community in the Age of Religious Wars* (Newark, NJ: University of Delaware Press, 2011).

²¹ Bourdieu, *Outline of a Theory of Practice*, especially 72–87; Pierre Bourdieu, *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1984); Bourdieu, “Family as a Realized Category”; Hannu Salmi, “Cultural History, the Possible, and the Principle of Plenitude,” *History and Theory* 50, no. 2 (2011): 171–187; William H. Sewell Jr, *Logics of History: Social Theory and Social Transformation* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2005), 137–146.

reinforced through both discourse and property relations. Through a language of affection, credit relations, and favors, siblings interacted with each other, their parents, and their kin to activate and fortify their connections.²²

This dissertation is a study of two overlapping sibling groups at the end of the sixteenth century. The study begins when the siblings first entered into marriages and concludes as they reached the last years of their lives. It focuses on the struggles for cohesion in the face of forces of discord and friction created by internal and external influences. At the center of this struggle was the transition of generations and the devolution of property and authority that went with it. Inheritance constituted the primary test of sibling unity. The patriarchal power of parents was always liable to challenge, but the structuring of sibling relationships through the authority of parents left sibling relationships particularly vulnerable to discord after the death of the longest-surviving parent. The work of continuing the cohesion of sibling relationships was at the heart of the reproduction of social structures and the creation of groups within early modern society.²³ For the Della Faille and Van der Meulen siblings, the familial challenges occurred in the context of long-distance trade and the political and religious disruptions of the Dutch Revolt. The lens of kinship emphasizes both the possible strengths and tensions of the increasingly global networks of exchange and the political and religious divisions of the Dutch Revolt. The cohesion of sibling groups was in no way guaranteed, but the difficulties families encountered did not undermine the ideal of a united family and the constant work that went into achieving it.

²² Craig Muldrew, *The Economy of Obligation: The Culture of Credit and Social Relations in Early Modern England* (New York: St. Martin's press, 1998); Broomhall and Gent, "Corresponding Affections"; Broomhall and Gent, "In the Name of the Father"; Paul D. McLean, *The Art of the Network: Strategic Interaction and Patronage in Renaissance Florence* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2007); Natalie Zemon Davis, *The Gift in Sixteenth-Century France* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2000); Bourdieu, "Family as a Realized Category," 22; Segalen, "Sibling Relations in Partible Inheritance Brittany"; Yoram Ben-Porath, "The F-connection: Families, Friends, and Firms and the Organization of Exchange," *Population and Development Review* 6, no. 1 (1980): 1–30.

²³ Bourdieu, *Outline of a Theory of Practice*, 39–40; Sabeian, *Kinship in Neckarhausen*.

2. Long-Distance Trade in Early Modern Europe

Historians and economists have long been interested in the development of markets that enabled anonymous individuals to exchange goods and credit. The economist Avner Greif has referred to the trouble of credit relations in which there is a gap in time between the exchange of goods and the exchange of payment as the “fundamental problem of exchange.”²⁴ This characterization places the concept of trust at the center of exchange. How can an individual trust that a debt will be repaid when the debtor could simply abscond with the goods? Explanations have ranged between two different poles. Mark Granovetter has described the extremes in terms of “oversocialized,” in which inherent characteristics such as kinship, ethnicity, or religion stand in for trust, and “undersocialized,” where the market and rationality is all that is necessary.²⁵ Recent literature on the issue of long-distance trade and trade with strangers has attempted to find a middle path between the two extremes.²⁶ This study of the Della Faille and Van der Meulen family seeks to push this literature further by using a microhistorical lens to investigate bonds that were believed to be the most natural.²⁷ By demonstrating the work and conditions

²⁴ Avner Greif, “The Fundamental Problem of Exchange: A Research Agenda in Historical Institutional Analysis,” *European Review of Economic History* 4, no. 3 (2000): 251–284. On the modes of payment for goods used by merchants in early modern Europe, which almost inevitably relied on credit relations of some kind, see Brulez, *Firma Della Faille*, 377–392; Oscar Gelderblom, *Cities of Commerce: The Institutional Foundations of International Trade in the Low Countries, 1250–1650* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2013), 105.

²⁵ Mark Granovetter, “Economic Action and Social Structure: The Problem of Embeddedness,” *American Journal of Sociology* 91, no. 3 (1985): 481–510; Trivellato, *Familiarity of Strangers*, 16.

²⁶ Trivellato, *Familiarity of Strangers*; Goldberg, *Trade and Institutions in the Medieval Mediterranean*; Gelderblom, *Cities of Commerce*; Aslanian, *Indian Ocean to the Mediterranean*; Francesca Trivellato, “Introduction,” in *Religion and Trade: Cross-Cultural Exchanges in World History, 1000-1900*, ed. Francesca Trivellato, et al. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014); Leor Halevi, “Religion and Cross-Cultural Trade: A Framework for Interdisciplinary Inquiry,” in *Religion and Trade: Cross-Cultural Exchanges in World History, 1000-1900*, ed. Francesca Trivellato, et al. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014).

²⁷ Trivellato, *Familiarity of Strangers*; Francesca Trivellato, “Is There a Future for Italian Microhistory in the Age of Global History?,” *California Italian Studies Journal* 2, no. 1 (2011): 1–24; Jacques Revel, “Microanalysis and the Construction of the Social,” in *Histories: French Constructions of the Past*, ed. Jacques Revel and Lynn Hunt (New York: New Press, 1995).

necessary for Netherlandish merchants of the late sixteenth century to come together as a sibling group, it will be possible to gain a greater understanding of how such merchants were able to enter credit relations in the face of possible opportunism.

Much of the discussion concerning the possibility of long-distance trade has been set by the research agenda of the new institutional economics. The most famous representative of this trend is the work of the economist Douglass North. His writings emphasize the role of state sponsored institutions in promoting honesty and therefore the efficiency of exchange.²⁸ The stress placed on institutions historicizes the market, but the process of change remains “undersocialized.”²⁹ His work has been criticized by Greif, among others, for disregarding the role that private-order solutions can play in overcoming the “fundamental problem of exchange.” Greif has argued that solutions to the problems of exchange are part of larger societal processes and are constructed by and become part of the culture of that society. Taking culture more seriously than North, Grief argues that private-order solutions are capable of providing a basis for agency relations and long-distance trade. Despite this extended role for culture, Grief ultimately agrees with North that institutional solutions to agency problems proved more efficient than private-order solutions, such that they played a determining role in the economic advance of Europe over outside regions.³⁰

Greif has based his claims on three main historical examples. The Champagne fairs and the Maghribi traders provide separate cases for the functioning of private-order solutions. In the

²⁸ Paul R. Milgrom, et al., “The Role of Institutions in the Revival of Trade: The Law Merchant, Private Judges, and the Champagne Fairs,” *Economics & Politics* 2, no. 1 (1990): 1–23; Douglass C. North, *Institutions, Institutional Change, and Economic Performance* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990).

²⁹ See the criticism of the new institutional economics by Granovetter, Granovetter, “Economic Action and Social Structure.”

³⁰ Greif, *Institutions and the Path to the Modern Economy*; Avner Greif, “The Maghribi Traders: A Reappraisal?,” *The Economic History Review* 65, no. 2 (2012): 445–469.

case of the Champagne fairs, Greif believes that merchants made use of a “community responsibility system.” The system was based on the interaction of homogeneous and well-defined communities of merchants designated by their home town or region. When a merchant in one community defaulted on a loan, the lender community would arrest any member of the borrower community to recuperate the debt. The arrested individual would then sue the original defaulter back in their own community. In this way, private-order solutions and local jurisdictions could support the growth of trade without a centralized judicial system as North has argued.³¹ As for the group of eleventh and twelfth century Jewish traders from north Africa known as the Maghribi traders, Greif has emphasized their use of a reputation system to ensure honesty by agents. Within a homogeneous diaspora, merchants only hired agents from their own community. Through correspondence, the merchants could gain information on the activities of their agent. If the agent was found to have cheated a merchant, the whole community would ostracize the agent. In this way, the threat of punishment outweighed the benefit of cheating, and so exchange could occur efficiently.³² For Greif, both the community responsibility system and the reputation system enabled credit relations and long-distance trade, but they possessed strict limits on their ability to expand trade to strangers, breaking down when economic exchange expanded beyond a certain level.

³¹ Avner Greif, “Institutions and International Trade: Lessons from the Commercial Revolution,” *The American Economic Review* 82, no. 2 (1992): 128–133; Avner Greif, “Institutions and Impersonal Exchange: From Communal to Individual Responsibility,” *Journal of Institutional and Theoretical Economics JITE* 158, no. 1 (2002): 168–204; Greif, *Institutions and the Path to the Modern Economy*.

³² Avner Greif, “Reputation and Coalitions in Medieval Trade: Evidence on the Maghribi Traders,” *The Journal of Economic History* 49, no. 4 (1989): 857–882; Greif, “Fundamental Problem of Exchange”; Greif, *Institutions and the Path to the Modern Economy*; Greif, “Maghribi Traders: A Reappraisal?”

Greif contrasts these examples with that of the Genoese system of commenda adopted in the twelfth century.³³ The commenda involved the participation of a passive partner who advanced capital and an active member who supplied his labor and usually received two-thirds of the profit as designated in enforceable contracts. This created a individual-responsibility system in contrast to the community responsibility used at the Champagne fairs and the reputation mechanism at force in the Maghribi coalition, both of which relied on coordination among homogeneous communities. According to Greif, individual-responsibility enabled the Genoese to use agents outside of their own community, and thus to be able to expand their trade more widely than the Maghribi, who were limited by their need to employ agents from their own community.³⁴

Historians have criticized Greif's arguments for both his depiction of the three different examples and for his use of the examples to explain economic and institutional divergence. At the center of the dispute with Greif's conclusions has been the argument that private-order and individual-responsibility systems coexisted and mutually supported each other to improve the efficiency of exchange much later than the medieval period that Greif places as the turning

³³ On use of the commenda system, see Robert S. Lopez, *The Commercial Revolution of the Middle Ages, 950-1350* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1976); Sebouh Aslanian, "The Circulation of Men and Credit: The Role of the Commenda and the Family Firm in Julfan Society," *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 50, no. 2-3 (2007): 124–170; Ron Harris, "The Institutional Dynamics of Early Modern Eurasian Trade: The Commenda and the Corporation," *Journal of Economic Behavior & Organization* 71, no. 3 (2009): 606–622.

³⁴ Greif, *Institutions and the Path to the Modern Economy*; Greif, "Maghribi Traders: A Reappraisal?"

point.³⁵ Despite the shortcomings of Greif's own analysis, his intervention has been significant for noting the importance of private-order solutions which were not embedded in the nature of the groups themselves.³⁶ This has held particular importance for the study of diasporas and the possibilities of cross-cultural trade, because it sees that trust is not a natural output of homogeneity, leading recent literature to investigate the operation of networks within diasporas.³⁷ The de-naturalizing of trust within groups acknowledges their constructed character and calls for research on the mechanisms for the workings of relationships within groups.³⁸

This dissertation makes use of the literature on diasporas and the response to the new institutional economics to ask questions about trust and exchange between siblings. The work of

³⁵ The most direct criticisms have come from two articles by Jeremy Edwards and Sheilagh Ogilvie. Jeremy Edwards and Sheilagh Ogilvie, "Contract Enforcement, Institutions, and Social Capital: The Maghribi Traders Reappraised," *The Economic History Review* 65, no. 2 (2012): 421–444; Jeremy Edwards and Sheilagh Ogilvie, "What Lessons for Economic Development Can We Draw From the Champagne Fairs?," *Explorations in Economic History* 49, no. 2 (2012): 131–148. Greif has responded to the criticism against his depiction and comparison of the Maghribi and the Genoese by reaffirming his position. Greif, "Maghribi Traders: A Reappraisal?" His use of the Maghribi has been criticized by Jessica Goldberg, while that of the Champagne fairs has been questioned by John Munro, as well as Lars Boerner and Albrecht Ritschl, see Jessica L. Goldberg, "Choosing and Enforcing Business Relationships in the Eleventh-Century Mediterranean: Reassessing the 'Maghribi Traders'," *Past & Present* 216 (2012): 3–40; John H. Munro, "The 'New Institutional Economics' and the Changing Fortunes of Fairs in Medieval and Early Modern Europe: The Textile Trades, Warfare and Transaction Costs," *Vierteljahresschrift für Sozial- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte* 88 (2001): 1–47; Lars Boerner and Albrecht Ritschl, "Individual Enforcement of Collective Liability in Premodern Europe," *Journal of Institutional and Theoretical Economics* 158, no. 1 (2002): 205–213.

³⁶ Trivellato, *Familiarity of Strangers*; Goldberg, "Choosing and Enforcing Business Relationships"; Goldberg, *Trade and Institutions in the Medieval Mediterranean*; Gelderblom, *Cities of Commerce*; Sebouh Aslanian, "Social Capital, 'Trust' and the Role of Networks in Julfan Trade: Informal and Semi-Formal Institutions at Work," *Journal of Global History* 1, no. 3 (2006): 383–402; Aslanian, *Indian Ocean to the Mediterranean*.

³⁷ The importance of trade diasporas to long distance trade was noted by Philip Curtin, who associated diasporas with trust. Curtin, *Cross-Cultural Trade*. For a criticism of studies of trade that continue to associate diasporas with trust, see Trivellato, *Familiarity of Strangers*, 11–12. For studies on diasporas that have attempted to de-essentialize trust, see Markovits, *Global World of Indian Merchants*; Daviken Studnicki-Gizbert, *A Nation Upon the Ocean Sea: Portugal's Atlantic Diaspora and the Crisis of the Spanish Empire, 1492-1640* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007); Aslanian, *Indian Ocean to the Mediterranean*; Trivellato, *Familiarity of Strangers*; Trivellato, "Introduction"; Halevi, "Religion and Cross-Cultural Trade"; David Warren Sabean and Simon Teuscher, "Rethinking European Kinship: Transregional and Transnational Families," in *Transregional and Transnational Families in Europe and Beyond: Experiences Since the Middle Ages*, ed. Christopher H. Johnson, et al. (New York: Berghahn Books, 2011).

³⁸ Bourdieu, *Outline of a Theory of Practice*; Bourdieu, "Family as a Realized Category"; Charles Tilly, *Identities, Boundaries, and Social Ties* (Boulder, CO: Paradigm Publishers, 2005); Sewell Jr, *Logics of History*.

Oscar Gelderblom and Francesca Trivellato are particularly useful in providing a starting point for an investigation of family relations. Gelderblom's recent work on the the development of institutions within cities of the Low Countries reworks the narrative of the new institutional economics to place institutional innovation at the level of the city instead of the state. He argues that the competition between cities in Europe led urban magistrates to develop institutions that supported the private-order solutions employed by merchants.³⁹ His analysis acknowledges the importance of private-order solutions but remains focused on institutional development. This dissertation reverses the emphasis, investigating the culture of early modern mercantile families and their use of the available institutions. Trivellato's study of the Jewish diaspora uses the concept of "communitarian cosmopolitanism" to describe the functioning of cross-cultural trade in a society that remained corporatist. Trust had to be constructed within the diaspora as much as with those outside it.⁴⁰ This dissertation reduces the size of the lens used by Trivellato to move from the level of the diaspora to that of kinship relations. The following chapters argue that siblings constituted the nucleus of early modern mercantile networks. Within the Della Faille and Van der Meulen sibling groups, trust and exchange was facilitated through a combination of authority and affection. This argument seeks to place the study of kinship at the center of any discussion of early modern trade and the development of markets.

3. Kinship in Early Modern Europe

The history of the family has often been coopted into narratives about the rise of the capitalism and progress towards modernity. Historians such as Philippe Aries, Lawrence Stone, and Alan MacFarlane advanced the notion of a direct connection between a move to the nuclear

³⁹ Gelderblom, *Cities of Commerce*, especially 102–104.

⁴⁰ Trivellato, *Familiarity of Strangers*.

family, the growth of familial affection, the development of individuals, and the rise of capitalism.⁴¹ Detailed research on the structure of families and the use of kin from the late medieval to the modern era has shown these direct links to be problematic.⁴² A recent volume edited by David Sabean, Simon Teuscher, and Jon Mathieu has attempted to set a new agenda for research of kinship in Europe.⁴³ The introduction to the volume, written by Sabean and Teuscher, posits the existence of two different periods of transition in the structure of kinship relations between 1300 and 1900.⁴⁴ The authors argue that in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries understanding of kinship relations moved from an emphasis on horizontal ties to one that emphasized discipline and lineal descent. The research of Martha Howell and Eileen Spring on Douai and England respectively has demonstrated a change from more equitable forms of inheritance that went along with greater power over property relations by the conjugal unit

⁴¹ For example, Philippe Ariès, *Centuries of Childhood: A Social History of Family Life* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1962); Lawrence Stone, *The Family, Sex and Marriage in England, 1500-1800* (New York: Harper & Row, 1977); Alan MacFarlane, *Marriage and Love in England: Modes of Reproduction, 1300-1840* (Oxford: B. Blackwell, 1986). The works of Steven Ozment can also be added to this, though his emphasis has tended to be on the modern features within early modern families. For example, Steven E. Ozment, *Magdalena and Balthasar: An Intimate Portrait of Life in 16th-Century Europe* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1986); Ozment, *Flesh and Spirit*.

⁴² A historiography of this argument in the case of England and the more recent turn away from linking family structure with modernity in Naomi Tadmor, "Early Modern English Kinship in the Long Run: Reflections on Continuity and Change," *Continuity and Change* 25, no. 1 (2010): 15–48. For refutations of the link between family and modernity, see Tadmor, *Family and Friends in Eighteenth-Century England*; Cressy, "Kinship and Kin Interaction"; Howell, *Marriage Exchange*; Martha C. Howell, "From Land to Love: Commerce and Marriage in Northern Europe during the Late Middle Ages," *Jaarboek voor Middeleeuwse Geschiedenis* 10 (2007): 216–253; Martha C. Howell, *Commerce before Capitalism in Europe, 1300-1600* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010); David Warren Sabean, *Property, Production, and Family in Neckarhausen, 1700-1870* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990); David Warren Sabean and Simon Teuscher, "Kinship in Europe: A New Approach to Long Term Development," in *Kinship in Europe: Approaches to Long-Term Development*, ed. David Warren Sabean, et al. (New York: Berghahn Books, 2007); David I. Kertzer, "Household History and Sociological Theory," *Annual Review of Sociology* 17 (1991): 155–179; Tracy Dennison and Sheilagh Ogilvie, "Does the European Marriage Pattern Explain Economic Growth?," *The Journal of Economic History* 74, no. 3 (2014): 651–693.

⁴³ Sabean, et al., *Kinship in Europe*. See also the more recent volumes that follow the structure outlined by the first volume, Johnson and Sabean, *Sibling Relations*; Johnson, et al., *Transregional and Transnational Families*; Christopher H. Johnson, et al., eds. *Blood and Kinship: Matter for Metaphor from Ancient Rome to the Present* (New York: Berghahn Books, 2013).

⁴⁴ Sabean and Teuscher, "Kinship in Europe."

towards an emphasis on the rights of lineal kin and, in England, a move to primogeniture.⁴⁵ The second transition began in the middle of the eighteenth century. The significance of the agnatic line did not disappear, but there was a move back towards partible inheritance and an emphasis on horizontal relations. Following the work of Sabean on the village of Neckarhausen, Sabean and Teuscher see the nineteenth century as a “kinship hot” society where individuals sought out kin to construct alliances.⁴⁶

Sixteenth century Netherlandish merchants sit somewhat uncomfortably within the schematic for kin relations presented by Sabean and Teuscher. Early modern merchants are noticeably absent from the articles in the volume. In a separate volume, Trivellato has argued that many of the features Sabean and Teuscher find in the nineteenth century were present in eighteenth-century merchant families.⁴⁷ Where would this place sixteenth century merchants? Sabean and Teuscher relate the second transition to a change in the structures of the economy that emphasized movable goods and credit. They argue that this new bourgeois economy “necessitated skills of persuasion, networks of friends and allies willing to commit resources to new ventures, and the kind of intimate relations necessary to train the new generation, circulate information, provide advice and advocacy, and for fill positions of trust.”⁴⁸ This description of nineteenth-century family life largely conforms to the account of the Della Faille Faille and Van

⁴⁵ Sabean and Teuscher, “Kinship in Europe,” 6–7; Howell, *Marriage Exchange*; Eileen Spring, *Law, Land, and Family: Aristocratic Inheritance in England, 1300 to 1800* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1993).

⁴⁶ Sabean and Teuscher, “Kinship in Europe,” 3; Sabean, *Property, Production, and Family*; Sabean, *Kinship in Neckarhausen*.

⁴⁷ Francesca Trivellato, “Marriage, Commercial Capital, and Business Agency: Transregional Sephardic (and Armenian) Families in the Seventeenth- and Eighteenth-Century Mediterranean,” in *Transregional and Transnational Families in Europe and Beyond: Experiences Since the Middle Ages*, ed. Christopher H. Johnson, et al. (New York: Berghahn Books, 2011).

⁴⁸ Sabean and Teuscher, “Kinship in Europe,” 17.

der Meulen families presented in the following chapters. Because this study concentrates on sibling relations within a single generational devolution of property, it is not able to determine change over time. Instead, a close examination of the two families under study demonstrates the tension that existed between the horizontal and vertical conceptions of kinship. The Della Faille and Van der Meulen attempted to combine the horizontal with the vertical, partible inheritance with hierarchy, the protection of the patrimony with the creation of alliances. The tension in the dual relations that siblings had to their parents and to each other exemplifies the contradictions that were involved in the preservation of the line and the attainment of sibling unity.

The property relations of the Della Faille and Van der Meulen families were rooted in the traditions of the Low Countries and specifically in the laws of Antwerp.⁴⁹ Most of the Low Countries fell under a partible inheritance regime in which all children, both male and female heirs, received equal inheritance.⁵⁰ In the period under study, Antwerp passed three different set of law codes: *Costuymen Antiquissimae* (1545), *In Antiquis* (1570), and *Impressae* (1582). Under each of these law codes, inheritance came from both the paternal and maternal sides of the family and was to be perfectly partible to all heirs. The property that the bride and groom brought to a marriage remained technically separate with all advances in the capital split equally.⁵¹ If the couple produced children, at the death of one parent, half of the deceased's estate

⁴⁹ Daniel and Hester continued to state in their testaments that their inheritance was to follow the laws of Antwerp even when they no longer lived in Antwerp. DvdM 41-43.

⁵⁰ Philippe Godding, *Le droit privé dans les Pays-Bas méridionaux, du 12e au 18e siècle* (Brussels: Académie royale de Belgique, 1987); Philippe Godding, "Le droit au service du patrimoine familia: Les Pays-Bas méridionaux (12e-18e siècles)," in *Marriage, Property, and Succession*, ed. Lloyd Bonfield (Berlin: Duncker & Humbolt, 1992); John Gilissen, *Historische inleiding tot het recht*, vol. 3, *Geschiedenis van het privaatrecht* (Antwerp: Kluwer, 1986); Howell, *Marriage Exchange*, 31; Howell, *Commerce before Capitalism*, 49-92. On partible inheritance in cities in Flanders, see Marianne Danneel, *Weduwen en wezen in het laat-middeleeuwse Gent* (Louvain: Garant, 1995); David Nicholas, *The Domestic Life of a Medieval City: Women, Children, and the Family in Fourteenth-Century Ghent* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1985).

⁵¹ For instance, *Impressae* 1582, Title XLI: Vande Rechten Ghehoude Persoonen Aengaende nr 45 and 68 and *Impressae* 1582, Title XLVII: Van Versterffenisse, Scheydinghe ende Deylinghe nr 2 and 14-17.

went to the longest-living spouse and the other half fell to the children in equal portions. When the longest-surviving parent died, their estate also devolved in equal portions to their children. The laws of Antwerp enabled the details of the property relations of the marital pair and between parents and children to be altered in the form of marital contracts and testaments.⁵² Though testators rarely challenged the concept of partibility, the testament still provided parents with means to differentiate between their children through the manner in which their children would receive their inheritance.⁵³

The partibility of inheritance in Antwerp threatened the division of the patrimony and the splintering of the group of heirs. However, the equality of all heirs before the law did not preclude a movement towards the preservation of the patrimony and an emphasis on lineal kin as posited by Sabeau and Teuscher.⁵⁴ Both the Della Faille and Van der Meulen families thought in terms of lineage. A variety of strategies were available to guard against the diffusion of the patrimony and heirs, but the basis for the maintenance of unity was provided by the authority of the father. The concept of patriarchy entailed both the authority that husbands held over wives

⁵² *Impressae* 1582, Title XLI: Vande Rechten Ghehoude Persoonen Aengaende nr 63 and 67 and *Impressae* 1582, Title XLVII: Van Versterffnisse, Scheydinghe ende Deylinghe nr 10. On the position of widows in Antwerp, see Laura Van Aert, “Tussen norm en praktijk: Een terreinverkenning over det juridische statuut van vrouwen in het zestiende-eeuwse Antwerpen,” *Tijdschrift voor sociale en economische geschiedenis* 2, no. 3 (2005): 22–42; Laura Van Aert, “The Legal Possibilities of Antwerp Widows in the Late Sixteenth Century,” *The History of the Family* 12 (2006): 282–295.

⁵³ It was possible for testators to reduce the inheritance of a child to their *legitime* reckoned at two-thirds of a full portion. See the discussion of Jan de Oude’s reduction of the portion of his deceased daughter Maria in Chapter 4, and the trouble that it created for the executors in Chapter 5.

⁵⁴ For this change within the partible regime of Douai, see Howell, *Marriage Exchange*. See also her more recent treatment, Howell, *Commerce before Capitalism*, 49–92.

and that fathers possessed over children.⁵⁵ Concentrating on the transition between generations, this dissertation focuses upon the later relation. The father/child relationship structured family relations by uniting siblings under the authority of their father. Though this form of authority was deeply gendered, the emphasis on unity through a hierarchical structure enabled widows to play the same role as fathers. Patriarchal and parental authority could be constructed as equal forces to maintain the unity of the sibling group.⁵⁶

The power of patriarchy was reinforced through daily practice until it became natural, but the death of the patriarch, whether father or mother, brought about a crisis in the structure of the family. The loss of the patriarch threatened the loss of unity among the siblings. The Della Faille and Van der Meulens used the notion of succession to pass along the patriarchal authority that acted as a centripetal force among the siblings.⁵⁷ In this way, patriarchy could also function across sibling relationships. However, the hierarchy of siblings always maintained strong horizontal influences.⁵⁸ The position of the successor could never be as ensconced as that of the

⁵⁵ Carole Pateman, *The Disorder of Women: Democracy, Feminism, and Political Theory* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1989), 33–47; Sabeian, *Kinship in Neckarhausen*, 88–101; Julia Adams, *The Familial State: Ruling Families and Merchant Capitalism in Early Modern Europe* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2005), 28–35; Hardwick, *Practice of Patriarchy*; Broomhall and Gent, “In the Name of the Father”; Pollock, “Rethinking Patriarchy and the Family”; Lyndal Roper, *The Holy Household: Women and Morals in Reformation Augsburg* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991); Erica Bastress-Dukehart, *The Zimmern Chronicle: Nobility, Memory and Self-Representation in Sixteenth-Century Germany* (Aldershot, England: Ashgate, 2002); Bastress-Dukehart, “Sibling Conflict.”

⁵⁶ In Antwerp, widows were almost always able to obtain full guardianship over their children at the death of their husband. Aert, “Tussen norm en praktijk”; Aert, “Legal Possibilities.” On the ability of patriarchy to extend to women, see Adams, *Familial State*, 31–32.

⁵⁷ Sabeian and Teuscher, “Kinship in Europe,” 6.

⁵⁸ The Della Faille and Van der Meulens did not participate in any strict ordering of siblings such as noted by German historians through the term *Familienordnung*. See, Cordula Nolte, “Gendering Princely Dynasties: Some Notes on Family Structure, Social Networks, and Communication at the Courts of the Margraves of Brandenburg-Ansbach around 1500,” *Gender & History* 12, no. 3 (2000): 704–721; Spieß, “Safeguarding Property”; Ruppel, “Subordinates, Patrons, and Most Beloved.”

father, and so it was open to contestation in a way not true of paternal rule.⁵⁹ The concept of succession was particularly problematic within merchant families in which wealth and status was primarily held in the form of movable goods. The difficulty of the transition of between generations, and thus of the linear nature of kinship plays a central role in the following chapters.⁶⁰

The growth of affection within the family, which has traditionally been placed in the early modern period, has often been associated with the decline of patriarchy.⁶¹ This dissertation demonstrates the intertwined nature of patriarchy and affection among family members and radiating out to kin and non-kin. Authority ordered family relations, but kin manifested the structures through discourses built around friendship and affection and supported by the performance of favors and fulfillment of expectations. The term “friend,” or “*vrientschappe*” in early modern Dutch, was widely used in the sixteenth century as an evaluative expression of relationships. Merchants gave the notion a specific meaning that closely connected it to that of

⁵⁹ On the contestable nature of patriarchy, see Bastress-Dukehart, “Sibling Conflict”; Broomhall and Gent, “In the Name of the Father”; Pollock, “Rethinking Patriarchy and the Family.”

⁶⁰ Lynn Hunt has analyzed the French Revolution in terms of the difficulty of moving from the rule of the father to the rule of the sons. Lynn Hunt, *The Family Romance of the French Revolution* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1992). On the significance and yet the difficulties experienced in the transition from father/child to sibling relations, see Bourdieu, *Outline of a Theory of Practice*, 63–65; Sabeian and Teuscher, “Rethinking European Kinship”; Simon Teuscher, “Politics of Kinship in the City of Bern at the End of the Middle Ages,” in *Kinship in Europe: A New Approach to Long Term Development*, ed. David Warren Sabeian, et al. (New York: Berghahn Books, 2007), 78–79; Hardwick, *Practice of Patriarchy*, 153–158.

⁶¹ Stone, *Family, Sex and Marriage*; MacFarlane, *Marriage and Love*. Criticism against this has come from many sides. Hans Medick and David Warren Sabeian, “Interest and Emotion in Family and Kinship Studies: A Critique of Social History and Anthropology,” in *Interest and Emotion: Essays on the Study of Family and Kinship*, ed. Hans Medick and David Warren Sabeian (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984); Sabeian, *Property, Production, and Family*; Howell, “From Land to Love”; Tadmor, *Family and Friends in Eighteenth-Century England*; Tadmor, “Early Modern English Kinship”; Cressy, “Kinship and Kin Interaction.”

trust. Friends were individuals with whom one could rely upon to meet expectations.⁶² They also used the term within more intimate relationships such as those between siblings and even between parents and children. Both affinal and consanguineal connections provided a basis for strong lasting relationships, but kinship alone was not enough to generate a functional relationship.⁶³ It was not sufficient to be brothers and sisters, one also needed to be friends who met physical and emotional expectations. The expectations were set by the power relations within the group of friends. In other words, the horizontal bonds of friendship and affections were intimately tied to power relations.⁶⁴ To be friends, family members had to come to an agreement over the structure of relations.

4. Context: Antwerp's Golden Age and the Dutch Revolt

The story of the Della Faille and Van der Meulen families is intimately connected with the rise and fall of Antwerp as the center of northern European trade in the sixteenth century and the course of the Dutch Revolt, which played such a significant role in Antwerp's decline. The "Golden Age" of Antwerp in the sixteenth century built upon the foundation provided by the

⁶² On friendship see, Tadmor, *Family and Friends in Eighteenth-Century England*; Luuc Kooijmans, *Vriendschap: En de kunst van het overleven in de zeventiende en achttiende eeuw* (Amsterdam: B. Bakker, 1997), 9–18; Grassby, *Kinship and Capitalism*, 241–249; Trivellato, *Familiarity of Strangers*, 181; McLean, *Art of the Network*, 122–128; Ben-Porath, "F-connection"; Davis, *The Gift*, 18–20; Jason Harris, "The Practice of Community: Humanist Friendship during the Dutch Revolt," *Texas Studies in Literature and Language* 47, no. 4 (2005): 299–325; Hardwick, *Practice of Patriarchy*, 159–169.

⁶³ Bourdieu, *Outline of a Theory of Practice*; Broomhall and Gent, "Corresponding Affections"; Sabeian, *Kinship in Neckarhausen*.

⁶⁴ Davis, *The Gift*; McLean, *Art of the Network*; Hardwick, *Practice of Patriarchy*. On the history of emotions, see Peter N. Stearns and Carol Z. Stearns, "Emotionology: Clarifying the History of Emotions and Emotional Standards," *American Historical Review* 90, no. 4 (1985): 813–836; Barbara H. Rosenwein, "Worrying about Emotions in History," *American Historical Review* 107, no. 3 (2002): 821–845; Barbara H. Rosenwein, "Modernity: A Problematic Category in the History of Emotions," *History and Theory* 53, no. 1 (2014): 69–78; William M Reddy, "The Logic of Action: Indeterminacy, Emotion, and Historical Narrative," *History and Theory* 40, no. 4 (2001): 10–33; Jan Plamper, "The History of Emotions: An Interview with William Reddy, Barbara Rosenwein, and Peter Stearns," *History and Theory* 49, no. 2 (2010): 237–265.

earlier market in Bruges, while also taking advantage of economic advances in the sixteenth century associated with the discovery of the Americas and the creation of a direct link to the East Indies. The wealth of both families derived from the opportunities Antwerp's market provided to merchants, but the siblings had to pivot to adapt to the new circumstances following the capture of Antwerp by the forces of Farnese and the closure of the Scheldt. The political and religious changes forged by the Revolt were as consequential for the Della Faille and Van der Meulens as the economic restructuring. The decline of Antwerp shifted markets and created new opportunities with the growth of Amsterdam, but the division of the Low Countries into a loyal Catholic south and a rebellious Protestant north disrupted family relations, creating identities that divided siblings.

A. The Economy of Antwerp and the Low Countries to 1566

The specific character of the economy of the Low Countries in the sixteenth century and the nature of the transition between Antwerp and Amsterdam had its origins in the urban character of the provinces of Flanders, Brabant, and later Holland and Zeeland that developed through the late medieval period.⁶⁵ The development of a large and integrated urban system and a countryside that was intimately connected to it created a complex and flexible market structure

⁶⁵ The classic description of the rise of the Low Countries is provided by Henri Pirenne, *Medieval Cities: Their Origins and the Revival of Trade* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1952); Henri Pirenne, *Early Democracies in the Low Countries: Urban Society and Political Conflict in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance* (New York: The Norton Library, 1971). A more recent narrative can be found in Adriaan Verhulst, "The Origins of Towns in the Low Countries and the Pirenne Thesis," *Past & Present* 122 (1989): 3–35; Adriaan Verhulst, *The Rise of Cities in North-West Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999). See also Jan de Vries, *European Urbanization, 1500-1800* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1984); Herman van der Wee, *The Low Countries in Early Modern World* (Aldershot, England: Variorum, 1993), 3–9; Bas J. P. van Bavel, "Markets for Land, Labor, and Capital in Northern Italy and the Low Countries, Twelfth to Seventeenth Centuries," *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 41, no. 4 (2011): 503–531.

that gave rise to both commerce and industrial production that fueled it.⁶⁶ From at least the eleventh century, new urban centers became home to textile industries, providing the foundation for both regional and long-distance trade as other areas of Europe developed more sophisticated market structures. Industrial production, particularly in textiles, and long-distance trade created the pillars for the development of the economy of the Low Countries from the late medieval period until the eighteenth century.⁶⁷

From at least the thirteenth century, the textile centers of the Low Countries became attached to markets throughout Europe, with Italy standing foremost among them. At first, cheap woolens brought to the Champagne fairs linked northwestern Europe to the Italian peninsula, but with the rise in transportation costs in the fourteenth century, cheap textiles could no longer bear the expense of long-distance trade and the Champagne fair's fell into decline.⁶⁸ This led to a transition in production to luxury woolens situated in urban centers in Flanders and Brabant and to the creation of a maritime connection between the Mediterranean and the Low Countries.⁶⁹ The new maritime route with Venice and Genoa, which began at the end of the thirteenth century, centered on Bruges. In the thirteenth century, Bruges brought together Netherlandish

⁶⁶ Bas J. P. van Bavel, "The Transition in the Low Countries: Wage Labour as an Indicator of the Rise of Capitalism in the Countryside, 1300–1700," *Past & Present* 195, no. 2 (2007): 286–303; Bas J. P. van Bavel, *Manors and Markets: Economy and Society in the Low Countries, 500-1600* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010); Bas J. P. van Bavel, "The Medieval Origins of Capitalism in the Netherlands," *BMGN: Low Countries Historical Review* 125, no. 2-3 (2010): 45–79.

⁶⁷ Wee, *Low Countries*, 6–8 and 201–205. Urban and rural development was equally important to the expansion of the economy. Bavel, *Manors and Markets*; Jan de Vries, *The Dutch Rural Economy in the Golden Age, 1500-1700* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1974).

⁶⁸ Munro, "New Institutional Economics." This is in contrast to arguments made by Milgrom, et al., "Role of Institutions"; North, *Institutions, Institutional Change, and Economic Performance*; Raymond de Roover, *Money, Banking and Credit in Medieval Bruges: Italian Merchant Bankers, Lombards and Money-Changers* (Cambridge, MA: Mediaeval Academy of America, 1948); Greif, *Institutions and the Path to the Modern Economy*.

⁶⁹ John H. Munro, "Patterns of Trade, Money, and Credit," in *Handbook of European History 1400-1600: Late Middle Ages, Renaissance, and Reformation: Structures and Assertions*, ed. Thomas A. Brady, et al. (Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1996).

textiles, English wool and textiles, German traders from the Baltic, and Italian merchants and goods, playing an important role in developing and spreading institutions and skills of commerce from Italy to northern Europe.⁷⁰

In the fifteenth century, the Brabant fairs grew to challenge the dominance of Bruges as the center for international trade. Founded at the beginning of the fourteenth century, the set of four fairs in Antwerp and Bergen-op-Zoom initially attracted mostly regional trade. However, the fairs began to gain greater traction in the beginning of the fifteenth century. The rivalry between the English and the textile producing centers in Flanders created an opportunity to attract English wool, and the Brabant fairs gradually became the primary export market for English cloth. At the same time, the fairs began to attract German merchants and to build a connection with the developing fairs in Frankfurt.⁷¹ These convergences created a solid basis for the growth of Antwerp, but Bruges remained the primary commercial center of the Low Countries until the end of the fifteenth century. The ultimate change from Bruges to Antwerp as the center of commerce came about for political reasons. The Flemish Revolts against the power

⁷⁰ On the importance of Bruges as a center for the innovation of institutions supporting trade, see Gelderblom, *Cities of Commerce*. Raymond de Roover has famously emphasized the significance of Bruges as a banking center and the development of bills of exchange. His analysis has been challenged for focusing too heavily on the role of Italians at the cost of local merchants and institutions. James M. Murray, *Bruges, Cradle of Capitalism, 1280-1390* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 229–258; Wee, *Low Countries*, 325–326; Roover, *Money, Banking and Credit in Medieval Bruges*; Gelderblom, *Cities of Commerce*; Wilfrid Brulez, “Bruges and Antwerp in the 15th and 16th Centuries: An Antithesis?,” *Acta historiae Neerlandicae: Studies on the History of the Netherlands* 6 (1973): 1–26.

⁷¹ Herman van der Wee, *The Growth of the Antwerp Market and the European Economy (Fourteenth–Sixteenth Centuries)*, vol. 2, *Interpretation* (The Hague: Nijhoff, 1963), 49–56 and 314–316; Donald J. Harreld, *High Germans in the Low Countries: German Merchants and Commerce in Golden Age Antwerp* (Leiden: Brill, 2004).

of Maximilian of Austria, beginning in 1477 and reaching throughout the 1480s, resulted in Maximilian's demand in 1588 that all foreign merchants leave Bruges for Antwerp.⁷²

The best overview of the development of Antwerp into the most important trading center of northern Europe remains the analysis of Herman van der Wee.⁷³ In the thirty years following the expulsion of the foreign merchants from Bruges, the vibrancy of Antwerp stood on the three pillars of English cloth, southern German silver, and Portuguese spices. Whereas Bruges had mostly connected English textiles with the Baltic, the move to Antwerp created a link with merchants from the booming economic areas of central and southern Germany. The importance of the Hanse merchants declined with the growth of Holland and Zeeland trade in the Baltic, who took over the grain trade from the Baltic.⁷⁴ Bolstered first by the production of textiles such as fustians, the south German economy expanded greatly with the development of silver mining in the last third of the fifteenth century. The silver attracted Portuguese traders, who needed the bullion to purchase spices in India where the price of silver was comparatively higher than gold. Between 1510 and 1515, the Portuguese spice trade in Antwerp reached its peak. The overland spice trade through Venice had almost completely dried up.⁷⁵

Antwerp thus acted as a node that brought together both the expanding overland and maritime trade routes of western Europe, providing it with structural advantages in regional

⁷² Gelderblom, *Cities of Commerce*, 26–28; Wee, *Growth of Antwerp Market: Interpretation*, 89–112; J. L. Bolton and Francesco Guidi Bruscoli, “When Did Antwerp Replace Bruges as the Commercial and Financial Centre of North-Western Europe? The Evidence of the Borromei Ledger for 1438,” *The Economic History Review* 61, no. 2 (2008): 360–379; Jelle Haemers, *For the Common Good: State Power and Urban Revolts in the Reign of Mary of Burgundy, (1477-1482)* (Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols, 2009).

⁷³ Herman van der Wee, *The Growth of the Antwerp Market and the European Economy (Fourteenth–Sixteenth Centuries)*, 3 vols. (The Hague: Nijhoff, 1963).

⁷⁴ Harreld, *High Germans in the Low Countries*; M. van Tielhof, *De Hollandse graanhandel, 1450-1570: Koren op de Amsterdamse molen* (The Hague: Stichting Hollandse historische reeks, 1995).

⁷⁵ Wee, *Growth of Antwerp Market: Interpretation*, 119–139; Munro, “New Institutional Economics,” 31–32.

trade. The growth in the organization of trade in Antwerp and the opportunities provided by the confluence of merchants gave unparalleled opportunities for growth of the industrial sector in the Low Countries that had been harmed by the chaos of the end of the fifteenth century.⁷⁶ As transportation costs for overland trade began to decline, cheaper textiles again became open to long-distance trade, and Antwerp acted as a center for their distribution.⁷⁷ Already at the beginning of the fourteenth century, the influx of English woolens and the high export taxes placed on wool by the English crown had led to a precipitous decline in luxury textile production in Flemish and Brabantine cities.⁷⁸ The countryside and smaller centers reacted to this change through the production of “new draperies,” cheaper woolens often made from Spanish merino wool. Production of new draperies were taken up by many towns in the course of the fifteenth century. However, the new draperies never reached the height of the old draperies. A more successful alternate to the heavy traditional woolens came from the resurgence of the “light draperies.” Particularly important in the light drapery industry in Flanders was the production of says—a worsted-woolen fabric that used lower quality ungreased wool for the warps—most famously in Hondschoote in West Flands. Finally, in the interior of Flanders, peasant production of linen started to expand in the fifteenth century.⁷⁹

⁷⁶ Wee, *Growth of Antwerp Market: Interpretation*, 136–137.

⁷⁷ Munro, “New Institutional Economics”; Stephan R. Epstein, “Regional Fairs, Institutional Innovation, and Economic Growth in Late Medieval Europe,” *The Economic History Review* 47, no. 3 (1994): 459–482.

⁷⁸ For industrial cities like Ghent, the fourteenth century was a period of social and political upheaval. David Nicholas, *The Metamorphosis of a Medieval City: Ghent in the Age of the Arteveldes, 1302-1390* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1987).

⁷⁹ For a description of the difference between says produced by the light draperies and traditional heavy woolens, see Herman van der Wee, “The Western European Woolen Industries, 1500-1750,” in *The Cambridge History of Western Textiles*, ed. David T. Jenkins (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 430. Van der Wee tells that Hondschoote itself grew from the annual say production of 15,000 pieces in 1485 to 100,000 by end of sixteenth century. Wee, “European Woolen Industries,” 428–433; Munro, “New Institutional Economics”; Leslie Clarkson, “The Linen Industry in Early Modern Europe,” in *The Cambridge History of Western Textiles*, ed. David T. Jenkins (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003).

The second phase of Antwerp's development from 1521 until 1550 was a period of reorientation and growth. In the first fifteen years after 1521, the pillars of Antwerp's prominence were undermined by outside forces. The Habsburg-Valois wars, beginning after the election of Charles V to Holy Roman Emperor in 1519, disrupted the flow of goods over land and sea that had been the motor of Antwerp's boom in the first two decades of the sixteenth century. Disruptions caused by the wars cut Antwerp off from the important grain areas of northern France. At the same time, Amsterdam's importation of grain from the Baltic was at a low point because of the political tensions in the Sound in the 1530s and 1540s.⁸⁰ Structurally, the importance of German silver and Portuguese spices also declined due to the down turn in the production of the German mines, the reemergence of Venice, and the discovery of silver in the Americas. Though spices continued to move through Antwerp on their way to the Baltic, Antwerp no longer acted as the central entrepôt for Portuguese spices by the 1540s.⁸¹

Antwerp's transit trade never reached the same levels of the early years of the sixteenth century, but by the mid 1530s, the reorientation of trade and industrial growth overcame the setbacks of the declines in transit trade. The move towards year-round commercial activity in the 1530s, and the consequent decline in the importance of the Brabant fairs, provides an indication of Antwerp's growth at this time. The construction of the Bourse in 1532 was a physical manifestation of the activity of Antwerp's market.⁸² English cloth represented the only remaining

⁸⁰ Tielhof, *De Hollandse graanhandel*.

⁸¹ Wee, *Growth of Antwerp Market: Interpretation*, 144–166.

⁸² Wee, *Growth of Antwerp Market: Interpretation*, 328–330; Gelderblom, *Cities of Commerce*, 30; Jeroen Puttevils, "The Ascent of Merchants From the Southern Low Countries: From Antwerp to Europe, 1480-1585" (PhD diss., University of Antwerp, 2012), 91–93; Donald J. Harreld, "Trading Places: The Public and Private Spaces of Merchants in Sixteenth-Century Antwerp," *Journal of Urban History* 29, no. 6 (2003): 657–669; Margaret C. Jacob, *Strangers Nowhere in the World: The Rise of Cosmopolitanism in Early Modern Europe* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2006), 77–84.

pillar of Antwerp's early trade, and in the 1540s there was a dramatic rise in the export of English cloth into Antwerp, with much of the expansion coming in the form of lighter weight woolens such as kerseys suited to the markets of southern Europe.⁸³ Though the traditional textile industry in the Low Countries could not compete with the English boom, the new and light drapery production continued to expand. The large commercial sector enabled Antwerp to develop its own industrial sectors, specializing in the finishing trade and luxury industries such as tapestries, printing, and painting. The maturation of Antwerp's money market added to the economic growth, as Antwerp became a key financial center with links to credit markets of bankers in south Germany, Lyon, Castile and Genoa.⁸⁴ Van der Wee sees the period up to 1550 as one of prosperity with full employment and high wages.⁸⁵

The export trade continued to be dominated by foreign merchants, but in the middle third of the century, native merchants from the Low Countries also began to participate in long-distance trade.⁸⁶ Innovations in the organization of trade such as the use of bills of exchange and the increasing efficiency of the postal system enabled small and middling merchants to take part

⁸³ The English boom in textiles destroyed the remaining heavy woolen production of the traditional textile industry in the Low Countries. England was also undergoing a similar transition from traditional heavy woolens to the lighter kerseys. Wee, *Growth of Antwerp Market: Interpretation*, 183–186; Wee, "European Woolen Industries," 410–418.

⁸⁴ Wee, *Growth of Antwerp Market: Interpretation*, 186–191 and 199–207.

⁸⁵ Wee, *Growth of Antwerp Market: Interpretation*, 191–198; Michael Limberger, "No Town in the World Provides More Advantages': Economies of Agglomeration and the Golden Age of Antwerp," in *Urban Achievement in Early Modern Europe: Golden Ages in Antwerp, Amsterdam and London*, ed. Patrick Karl O'Brien (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001); Piet Lombaerde, "Antwerp in Its Golden Age: 'One of the Largest Cities in the Low Countries' and 'One of the Best Fortified in Europe'," in *Urban Achievement in Early Modern Europe: Golden Ages in Antwerp, Amsterdam and London*, ed. Patrick Karl O'Brien (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001); Jan van der Stock, *Antwerp: Story of a Metropolis: 16th–17th Century* (Ghent: Snoeck-Ducaju & Zoon, 1993).

⁸⁶ Puttevils, "Ascent of Merchants From the Southern Low Countries"; Jeroen Puttevils, "Klein gewin brengt rijkdom in: De Zuid-Nederlandse handelaars in de export naar Italië in de jaren 1540," *Tijdschrift voor sociale en economische geschiedenis* 6, no. 1 (2009): 26–52; Wee, *Growth of Antwerp Market: Interpretation*; Brulez, *Firma Della Faille*. Famously, the long-distance trade in Bruges was almost completely in the hands of foreign merchants. Roover, *Money, Banking and Credit in Medieval Bruges*; Murray, *Cradle of Capitalism*; Gelderblom, *Cities of Commerce*.

in the opportunities provided by expanding long-distance trade especially through the creation of short-term companies and commission selling.⁸⁷ The Van der Meulens and the Della Failles present two ends of the spectrum of rising native merchants in the middle of the sixteenth century. Jan della Faille de Oude's connections to Venice enabled him to play a large role in the expansion of the Antwerp market to England, Italy, and Iberia through trade in textiles, mostly kerseys, says, linen, and silk. The Van der Meulens began more modestly, taking advantage of the strong position of Antwerp to trade at the fairs of Frankfurt and Strasbourg, using this regional commerce to eventually build connections to long-distance trade.⁸⁸

The commercial success of Antwerp continued and even expanded after the Peace of Cataeu-Cambresis in 1559 opened trade routes between Iberia and the Baltic. Yet, the economy of Antwerp and the Low Countries was also hit by a number of difficulties that weakened Antwerp's role as a commercial center even before the troubles brought by the Dutch Revolt. The declaration of bankruptcy by the Spanish crown in 1557 shook the foundations of Antwerp's money market and brought about a transition in credit markets from south German bankers to the Genoese. More broadly, the center of the German economy moved to the Baltic and the north-south connection between Hamburg and Italy, thereby passing around Antwerp.⁸⁹ The crucial link between England and Antwerp had already weakened after the slow down of the English cloth boom in the early 1550s.⁹⁰ In 1563, Margaret of Parma declared an embargo on English

⁸⁷ Both participation and commission selling enabled merchants to trade in places where they did not have full-time representation. Wee, *Low Countries*, 108–111; Wee, *Growth of Antwerp Market: Interpretation*, 191; Puttevils, “Klein gewin brengt rijkdom in”; Puttevils, “Ascent of Merchants From the Southern Low Countries”; Gelderblom, *Zuid-Nederlandse kooplieden*, 40–48; Gelderblom, *Cities of Commerce*, 32.

⁸⁸ Brulez, *Firma Della Faille*; Jongbloet-van Houtte, “Inleiding,” xxxvi–xl.

⁸⁹ Wee, *Growth of Antwerp Market: Interpretation*, 213–222; Brulez, *Firma Della Faille*, 416–417.

⁹⁰ Wee, “European Woolen Industries,” 418–421.

cloth and Elizabeth responded with a general embargo. Though the embargoes were soon lifted, the English had already begun to explore direct links with the Baltic. The loss of English wool imports led to a crisis in Antwerp's finishing industry. Grain prices rose precipitously at the same time, as harsh winters were exacerbated by the closure of the Sound from the Danish Swedish conflict.⁹¹ Many historians have seen the economic downturn of the mid 1560's, and the pauperization of textile workers in the areas of light draper production in particular, leading to a general discontent that set the stage for the iconoclasm that swept through the Low Countries in 1566 and signaled the beginning stages of the struggle over religious and political authority that developed into the Dutch Revolt.⁹²

B. The Dutch Revolt and the Fall of Antwerp in 1585

The political and religious troubles that broke out in the 1560s in the Low Countries derived from the tensions inherent in the nature of the composite monarchy ruled by Charles V and Philip II and exasperated by the schism in Western Christendom.⁹³ When Charles V added the title of Holy Roman Emperor to that of King of Spain and the various titles he held as ruler of the Low Countries, humanists at his court evoked the ideal of universal imperial rule to describe an empire that stretched across Europe and to the Americas. In reality, the political entity

⁹¹ Wee, *Growth of Antwerp Market: Interpretation*, 228–232 and 236–238.

⁹² Wee, *Growth of Antwerp Market: Interpretation*, 232–236; Wee, "European Woolen Industries," 431. For an argument against any direct connection between the economic troubles and the acts of iconoclasm, see Henk van Nierop, "De troon van Alva: Over de interpretatie van de Nederlandse Opstand," *Bijdragen en Mededelingen betreffende de geschiedenis der Nederlanden* 110 (1995): 205–223.. However, the more recent analysis by Arnade has attempted to bring the material conditions of the iconoclasm back into the picture, if not in a causal fashion, see Peter Arnade, *Beggars, Iconoclasts, and Civic Patriots: The Political Culture of the Dutch Revolt* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2008), 95–113.

⁹³ J. H. Elliott, "A Europe of Composite Monarchies," *Past & Present* 137 (1992): 48–71; H. G. Koenigsberger, *Politicians and Virtuosi: Essays in Early Modern History* (London: Hambledon Press, 1986), 1–25; H. G. Koenigsberger, *Monarchies, States Generals and Parliaments: The Netherlands in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001); Nierop, "De troon van Alva."

governed by Charles consisted of dozens of separate political units, each with their own traditions and privileges. In the Low Countries, the relationship between prince and subjects was defined through the ritual of the Joyous Entry, which both Charles V and Philip II had to repeat in the towns and provinces over which they ruled. While the pageantry on display came to adopt an increasingly imperial tone in the course of the sixteenth century, the heart of the Joyous Entry remained the contract between prince and subject. Loyalty came at the price of the acceptance of local rights and privileges.⁹⁴

The clash between the demands of empire and the independent spirit of the towns and provinces of the Low Countries came to a head in the sixteenth century. The series of Habsburg-Valois wars, the wars over the religious schism in Germany, and the threat of Ottoman invasion from the east created a constant need for greater revenue. In response, Charles V undertook a series of measures designed to centralize his lands in order to extract the wealth he needed to achieve his imperialist ambitions. This process placed ever greater power in the hands of trained bureaucrats, but it also depended on strengthening the power of independent bodies such as the

⁹⁴ Arnade, *Beggars, Iconoclasts, and Civic Patriots*, 31–38; Koenigsberger, *Monarchies, States Generals and Parliaments*. On the issue of privileges, see J. J. Woltjer, “Privileges, Real and Imaginary,” in *Some Political Mythologies*, ed. J. S. Bromley and E. H. Kossmann Britain and the Netherlands (The Hague: Springer, 1975); Guido Marnef, “Resistance and the Celebration of Privileges in Sixteenth-Century Brabant,” in *Public Opinion and Changing Identities in the Early Modern Netherlands: Essays in Honour of Alastair Duke*, ed. Judith Pollmann and Andrew Spicer (Leiden: Brill, 2007). On the medieval tradition of revolt that informed this view of the political state, see Marc Boone, “The Dutch Revolt and the Medieval Tradition of Urban Dissent,” *Journal of Early Modern History* 11, no. 4-5 (2006): 251–375; Marc Boone and Maarten Prak, “Rulers, Patricians and Burghers: The Great and the Little Traditions of Urban Revolt in the Low Countries,” in *A Miracle Mirrored: The Dutch Republic in European Perspective*, ed. Karel Davids and Jan Lucassen (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995). On the Burgundian traditions that set the foundations for the later Habsburg period, see Peter Arnade, *Realms of Ritual: Burgundian Ceremony and Civic Life in Late Medieval Ghent* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1996); Arnade, *Beggars, Iconoclasts, and Civic Patriots*, 12–49; Willem Pieter Blockmans and Walter Prevenier, *The Promised Lands: The Low Countries Under Burgundian Rule, 1369-1530*, 2nd ed., (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1999).

provincial States and the States General.⁹⁵ However, centralization could not replace the personal nature of the authority that the prince had to replicate through ceremony and patronage with local elites. This became increasingly problematic after the abdication of Charles V in 1555 and then the departure of Philip II from the Low Countries in 1559.⁹⁶

The religious problems facing Philip II in the beginning of the 1560s were longstanding, dating back to Luther's break from the Catholic Church.⁹⁷ Charles V and Philip II proved unwilling to compromise on the issue of orthodoxy. Charles V and Philip II both constructed their authority upon a foundation of Catholic ritual and imagery, as well as an imperial ideal of religious unity.⁹⁸ According to the calculations of Alastair Duke, some 1,300 people were executed for heresy in the Netherlands between 1523 and 1566, by far the largest number in Europe at the time.⁹⁹ After 1550, the religious situation became increasingly strained with the spread of Calvinism in the southern provinces. The light drapery region of Flanders and cities

⁹⁵ James D. Tracy, *Holland Under Habsburg Rule, 1506-1566: The Formation of a Body Politic* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1990); James D. Tracy, *The Founding of the Dutch Republic: War, Finance, and Politics in Holland, 1572-1588* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008); Koenigsberger, *Monarchies, States Generals and Parliaments*.

⁹⁶ M. J. Rodríguez-Salgado, *The Changing Face of Empire: Charles V, Philip II and Habsburg Authority, 1551-1559* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988); Koenigsberger, *Monarchies, States Generals and Parliaments*; Arnade, *Beggars, Iconoclasts, and Civic Patriots*, 54–58; Elliott, "A Europe of Composite Monarchies"; Violet Soen, "Philip II's Quest: The Appointment of Governors-General during the Dutch Revolt (1559-1598)," *BMGN: Low Countries Historical Review* 126, no. 1 (2011): 3–29.

⁹⁷ Johan Decavele, *De Dageraad van de Reformatie in Vlaanderen (1520-1565)* (Brussels: Paleis der Academiën, 1975); Johan Decavele, *De Eerste Protestanten in de Lage Landen: Geloof en Heldenmoed* (Louvain: Davidsfonds, 2004); Alastair Duke, *The Reformation and Revolt in the Low Countries* (London: Hambledon Press, 2003), 1–70; Alastair Duke, *Dissident Identities in the Early Modern Low Countries* (Aldershot, England: Ashgate, 2009), 77–98.

⁹⁸ Arnade, *Beggars, Iconoclasts, and Civic Patriots*, 12–49; Fernando González de León and Geoffrey Parker, "The Grand Strategy of Philip II and the Revolt of the Netherlands, 1559-1584," in *Reformation, Revolt and Civil War in France and the Netherlands, 1555-1585*, ed. Philip Benedict, et al. (Amsterdam: Royal Netherlands Academy of Arts and Sciences, 1999); Geoffrey Parker, *The Grand Strategy of Philip II* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998); Nierop, "De troon van Alva."

⁹⁹ Duke, *Reformation and Revolt*, 71–100.

such as Antwerp proved particularly fertile ground for Calvinism.¹⁰⁰ Even with the high number of executions, local magistrates tended to turn a blind eye to heretical activities so long as they did not threaten political stability. The work of tracking down heresy mainly fell to inquisitors, such as the notorious Pieter Titelmans.¹⁰¹ Because the central authorities and the local magistrates held two incompatible views on the solution to religious pluralism, the religious problems could only be settled through the resolution of the larger questions of the political power.¹⁰²

At the end of 1565 and the beginning of 1566, the political and religious opposition to Philip II seemed to unite in the form of the Compromise of the Nobility—who later took on the name of the Beggars—an association of lesser nobility calling for a return to the privileges and end to the religious placards.¹⁰³ But cracks in the alliance began to form when Calvinists partook in open-air services. The alliance ruptured with the outbreak of iconoclasm throughout the Low Countries.¹⁰⁴ The image breaking began in the textile producing areas of Flanders and reached

¹⁰⁰. Decavele, *Dageraad van de Reformatie*; Phyllis Mack Crew, *Calvinist Preaching and Iconoclasm in the Netherlands 1544-1569* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1978); Guido Marnef, “The Changing Face of Calvinism in Antwerp, 1555-1585,” in *Calvinism in Europe, 1540-1620*, ed. Andrew Pettegree, et al. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994); Guido Marnef, *Antwerp in the Age of Reformation: Underground Protestantism in a Commercial Metropolis, 1550-1577* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996); Arnade, *Beggars, Iconoclasts, and Civic Patriots*, 95-99; Wee, *Low Countries*, 264-278.

¹⁰¹. Decavele, *Dageraad van de Reformatie*; Duke, *Reformation and Revolt*, 152-174; Alastair Duke, “A Legend in the Making: News of the ‘Spanish Inquisition’ in the Low Countries in German Evangelical Pamphlets, 1546-1550,” *Nederlands archief voor kerkgeschiedenis* 77, no. 2 (2007): 125-144; Duke, *Dissident Identities*; Gert Gielis and Violet Soen, “The Inquisitorial Office in the Sixteenth-Century Habsburg Low Countries: A Dynamic Perspective,” *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 66, no. 1 (2015): 47-66.

¹⁰². Nierop, “De troon van Alva”; Koenigsberger, *Monarchies, States Generals and Parliaments*; J. J. Woltjer, “Public Opinion and the Persecution of Heretics in the Netherlands, 1550-59,” in *Public Opinion and Changing Identities in the Early Modern Netherlands: Essays in Honour of Alastair Duke*, ed. Judith Pollmann and Andrew Spicer (Leiden: Brill, 2007).

¹⁰³. Henk van Nierop, “A Beggars’ Banquet: The Compromise of the Nobility and the Politics of Inversion,” *European History Quarterly* 21 (2006): 419-443; Arnade, *Beggars, Iconoclasts, and Civic Patriots*, 74-84.

¹⁰⁴. On the hedge preaching and the iconoclasm, see Crew, *Calvinist Preaching and Iconoclasm*.

Antwerp on 20 August 1566, striking at the cities religious heart, the Onze Lieve Vrouwe Kerk. From Antwerp, the destruction continued to spread northward, affecting dozens of cities. The dramatic events revealed the extent of the fissures that had developed in society.¹⁰⁵

The outbreak of religious violence caused political moderates to retreat to the side of government, but Philip overplayed his hand. He sent the Duke of Alba at the head of 10,000 Spanish troops with the task of bringing to obedience what Alba understood to be a heretical and rebellious population.¹⁰⁶ In order to punish those who had taken part in the political and religious disturbances, he created the Council of Troubles, soon popularly referred to as the Council of Blood. In the course of the existence of the Council, over 8,500 people were found guilty and more than one thousand were executed, the rest having escaped into exile with the thousands of others who streamed out of the Low Countries.¹⁰⁷ Alba's ruthlessness and authoritarian disregard for the privileges helped to turn the defeated members of the Beggars into defenders of the fatherland.¹⁰⁸ Resistance to Alba's policies united around the Prince of Orange. Armed resistance to Alba's reign took many forms, including raids upon Holland's maritime trade by a band of sailors known as the Sea Beggars. In 1572, the Sea Beggars captured the small town of Brill in

¹⁰⁵ Geoffrey Parker, *The Dutch Revolt*, Revised ed., (London: Penguin Books, 1985), 77; Arnade, *Beggars, Iconoclasts, and Civic Patriots*, 90–165, #45273; Duke, *Reformation and Revolt*, 125–151.

¹⁰⁶ Parker, *Grand Strategy*; Henry Kamen, *The Duke of Alba* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004).

¹⁰⁷ For the Council of Troubles, see Jonathan I. Israel, *The Dutch Republic: Its Rise, Greatness, and Fall 1477-1806* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995), 155–161; Arnade, *Beggars, Iconoclasts, and Civic Patriots*, 182–183. On the exiles who left after the coming of Alba, see R. van Roosbroeck, *Emigranten: Nederlandse vluchtelingen in Duitsland (1550–1600)* (Louvain: Davidsfonds, 1968); Andrew Pettegree, *Foreign Protestant Communities in Sixteenth-Century London* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1986); Andrew Pettegree, *Emden and the Dutch Revolt: Exile and the Development of Reformed Protestantism* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992); Ole Peter Grell, *Calvinist Exiles in Tudor and Stuart England* (Hants, England: Scolar Press, 1996); Marcel Backhouse, *The Flemish and Walloon Communities at Sandwich during the Reign of Elizabeth I (1561-1603)* (Brussels: Paleis der Academiën, 1995).

¹⁰⁸ Arnade, *Beggars, Iconoclasts, and Civic Patriots*, 152–211; Koenigsberger, *Monarchies, States Generals and Parliaments*, 220–236; Nierop, “De troon van Alva.”

Holland, providing a beach head for the rebellion to spread through Holland and Zeeland. Unable to break the resistance of the rebels, Alba was recalled to Spain and left the Low Countries in December 1573.¹⁰⁹

The rebellion and violence that went with it remained in the northern provinces for the first years of the Revolt, but Antwerp could not but feel the consequences of the disturbances around it. The iconoclasm had brought trade to a temporary standstill. Many of the merchants who had left the city at the outbreak of violence returned with the arrival of Alba, but the Merchant Adventurers relocated their activities to Stade, bringing the connection between Antwerp and English cloth trade to an end. Antwerp's trade was further harmed by the activities of the Sea Beggars and the closure of the Scheldt by the rebels after 1572.¹¹⁰ In 1574, a group of mutinous soldiers threatened Antwerp, but the city was able to raise enough money to pay off the soldiers through a forced loan that taxed many of the merchants of the city.¹¹¹

The flight of merchants from Antwerp—particularly foreign merchants—reached a critical mass after the violence of the Spanish Fury in November 1576.¹¹² Having gone without

¹⁰⁹ Geoffrey Parker, *The Army of Flanders and the Spanish Road, 1567-1659: The Logistics of Spanish Victory and Defeat in the Low Countries' Wars*, 2nd ed., (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004); Parker, *Dutch Revolt*. On the early years of Holland and Zeeland's territorial resistance see, Henk van Nierop, *Het verraad van het Noorderkwartier: Oorlog, terreur en recht in de Nederlandse Opstand* (Amsterdam: B. Bakker, 1999); Henk van Nierop, "Confessional Cleansing: Why Amsterdam did not Join the Revolt (1572-1578)," in *Power And the City in the Netherlandic World*, ed. Wayne Ph te Brake and Wim Klooster (Leiden: Brill, 2006); C. C. Hibben, *Gouda in Revolt: Particularism and Pacifism in the Revolt of the Netherlands 1572-1588* (Utrecht: HES Publishers, 1983).

¹¹⁰ Wee, *Growth of Antwerp Market: Interpretation*, 236–240.

¹¹¹ The register of the forced loan published by Van den Branden shows that native merchants paid the majority of the loan. Among those who paid the loan are members of both the Van der Meulen and Della Faille families as well as many individuals connected to the two families. For instance, Jan della Faille de Oude and Jacques della Faille de Oude both gave £1,000, Robert van Eeckeren gave £1,000, and Louis Malapert gave £400. F. J. van den Branden, "Register vande leeninghe, 29.04.1574," *Antwerpsch Archievenblad* 22 (1885): 217–307; F. J. van den Branden, "De Spaansche muiterij ten jare 1574," *Antwerpsch Archievenblad* 22 (1885): 133–216; Marnef, *Antwerp in the Age of Reformation*; Gelderblom, *Zuid-Nederlandse kooplieden*, 44.

¹¹² Gelderblom, *Zuid-Nederlandse kooplieden*, 71; Wee, *Growth of Antwerp Market: Interpretation*, 256; J. G. C. A. Briels, *Zuid-Nederlandse Immigratie 1572–1630* (Haarlem: Fibula-Van Dishoeck, 1978).

pay for months, and with no payment in sight after the bankruptcy of the Spanish crown in 1575, a general mutiny broke out among the ranks of the Army of Flanders. On 4 November 1576, thousands of soldiers poured out of the citadel of Antwerp, easily overcoming the troops hired by the States General to defend the city, and embarked upon a days long sacking of the city. The soldiers attacked and pillaged the bodies and wealth of Antwerp's inhabitants, killing thousands and setting fire to the city's newly constructed town hall, the symbol of Antwerp's civic pride.¹¹³ Among those killed by the mutineers was Jean van der Meulen, the oldest brother of the Van der Meulen siblings.¹¹⁴

Days before the the Spanish Fury, the States of Brabant and Hainault concluded a peace treaty with the rebellious provinces, calling for the removal of all Spanish forces. The sides signed the Pacification of Ghent soon after the sack of Antwerp. The rejection of the terms of the peace, which would have confirmed Calvinism in the northern provinces, by the new governor-general Don John and Philip II brought the southern provinces into open revolt against Philip II.¹¹⁵ After siding with the rebels, the magistracy of Antwerp gradually took on a more Calvinist composition until it moved to forbid the Catholic Mass in the same month that the States General

¹¹³ Arnade, *Beggars, Iconoclasts, and Civic Patriots*, 243–259; Etienne Rooms, “Een nieuwe visie op de gebeurtenissen die geleid hebben tot de Spaanse Furie te Antwerpen op 4 november 1576,” *Bijdragen tot de geschiedenis* 54 (1971): 31–55; Parker, *Army of Flanders and the Spanish Road*, 157–176. On the bankruptcy of 1575 and the debt of Philip II, see Carlos Álvarez-Nogal and Christophe Chamley, “Debt Policy Under Constraints: Philip II, the Cortes, and Genoese Bankers,” *The Economic History Review* 67, no. 1 (2014): 192–213; Mauricio Drelichman and Hans-Joachim Voth, “The Sustainable Debts of Philip II: A Reconstruction of Castile's Fiscal Position, 1566-1596,” *The Journal of Economic History* 70, no. 4 (2010): 813–842; Mauricio Drelichman and Hans-Joachim Voth, *Lending to the Borrower from Hell: Debt, Taxes, and Default in the Age of Philip II* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2014).

¹¹⁴ See the letters Jean van der Meulen sent to his family members in Collectie Antoine Lempereur, inventory 182, Bibliotheeca Thysiana Archief, Universiteit Leiden, Leiden, The Netherlands (hereafter CL).

¹¹⁵ M. Baelde and P. van Peteghem, “De Pacificatie van Gent (1576),” in *Opstand en pacificatie in de Lage Landen: Bijdrage tot de studie van de Pacificatie van Gent: Verslagboek van het Tweedaags Colloquium bij de vierhonderdste verjaring van de Pacificatie van Gent* (Ghent: 1976); J. J. Woltjer, “Political Moderates and Religious Moderates in the Revolt of the Netherlands,” in *Reformation, Revolt and Civil War in France and the Netherlands, 1555-1585*, ed. Philip Benedict, et al. (Amsterdam: Royal Netherlands Academy of Arts and Sciences, 1999), 192–194.

signed the Edict of Abjuration, renouncing their loyalty to Philip II.¹¹⁶ Native merchants played a large role in Antwerp's move to a Calvinist Republic, including members of the Van der Meulen and Della Faille families. After serving as a representative to the States General for the city, Andries van der Meulen was appointed as an alderman of Antwerp at the end of 1581.¹¹⁷ Louis Malapert and Jacques della Faille both served as colonels, and Steven della Faille was a captain in the civic militia. Jacques also served the city as an almoner.¹¹⁸ However, the rebellious cities in Flanders and Brabant were unable to stand up to the forces of Alexander Farnese. By the summer of 1584, Farnese had recaptured most of Flanders and surrounded Antwerp. Antwerp capitulated to Farnese on 17 August 1585.¹¹⁹

¹¹⁶. On the Edict of Abjuration, see Arnade, *Beggars, Iconoclasts, and Civic Patriots*, 298–311. For the period of the Calvinist Republic in Antwerp, see the work of Guido Marnef. Guido Marnef, “Brabants calvinisme in opmars: De weg naar de Calvinistische Republieken te Antwerpen, Brussel en Mechelen, 1577-1580,” *Bijdragen tot de geschiedenis* 70 (1987): 7–21; Marnef, “Changing Face of Calvinism”; Guido Marnef, “The Dynamics of Reformed Religious Militancy: The Netherlands, 1566-1585,” in *Reformation, Revolt and Civil War in France and the Netherlands, 1555-1585*, ed. Philip Benedict, et al. (Amsterdam: Royal Netherlands Academy of Arts and Sciences, 1999); Guido Marnef, “The Process of Political Change under the Calvinist Republic in Antwerp (1577-1585),” in *Des villes en révolte: Les “Républiques urbaines” aux Pays-Bas et en France pendant la deuxième moitié du XVIe siècle*, ed. Monique Weis (Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols, 2010). See also Anne-Laure van Bruaene, “Spectacle and Spin for a Spurned Prince: Civic Strategies in the Entry Ceremonies of the Duke of Anjou in Antwerp, Bruges and Ghent (1582),” *Journal of Early Modern History* 11, no. 4-5 (2007): 265–284; H. A. Enno van Gelder, *Revolutionnaire Reformatie: De vestiging van de Gereformeerde Kerk in de Nederlandse gewesten gedurende de eerste jaren van de opstand tegen Filips II, 1575-1585* (Amsterdam: P. N. van Kampen, 1943); Floris Prims, *De Groote Cultuurstrijd*, 2 vols. (Antwerp: N. V. Standaard, 1942). For other cities in Flanders and Brabant, see Guido Marnef, *Het Calvinistisch Bewind te Mechelen, 1580-1585* (Kortrijk-Heule, Belgium: UGA, 1987); Johan Decavele, ed. *Het eind van een Rebelse Droom: Opstellen over het Calvinistisch bewind te Gent (1577-1584) en de terugkeer van de stad onder de gehoorzaamheid van de koning van Spanje (17 september 1584)* (Ghent: Stadsbestuur, 1984). Judith Pollmann has argued that the strongly Calvinist nature of the magistracy led to a Catholic backlash that did not occur in the north, who tended to take a more middle of the road tact with Calvinism. Judith Pollmann, “Catholics and Community in the Revolt of the Netherlands,” in *Living with Religious Diversity in Early-Modern Europe*, ed. C. Scott Dixon, et al. (Aldershot, England: Ashgate, 2009); Pollmann, *Catholic Identity and the Revolt*. On the pragmatism of magistrates in Holland, see Duke, *Reformation and Revolt*, 269–293.

¹¹⁷. Prims, *De Christelijke Republiek*.

¹¹⁸. Prims, *De kolonellen van de Burgersche Wacht*; Prims, “Jacques de la Faille”; Floris Prims, “Kolonel Loys Malapert,” *Antwerpensia* 16 (1943): 68–75.

¹¹⁹. Violet Soen, “Reconquista and Reconciliation in the Dutch Revolt: The Campaign of Governor-General Alexander Farnese (1578-1592),” *Journal of Early Modern History* 16, no. 1 (2012): 1–22; Gisela Jongbloet-van Houtte, “De belegering en de val van Antwerpen belicht vanuit een koopmans archief: Daniel van der Meulen, gedeputeerde van de Staten van Brabant ter Staten Generaal (1584-1585),” *Bijdragen en Mededelingen betreffende de geschiedenis der Nederlanden* 91 (1976): 23–43.

C. Division of the Low Countries and the Growth of Amsterdam

The fall of Antwerp to Farnese marked a close to Antwerp's Golden Age. Thousands had left Antwerp as the Spanish army began to threaten the city and thousands more left after Farnese's entrance. Boasting a population of about 90,000 in the 1560s, only 42,000 remained in the city in 1589.¹²⁰ After the fall of the Calvinist Republic, there was optimism that Farnese would continue his march north and return Antwerp to its glory, but the Spanish were never able to push past the rebels's defense of the rivers.¹²¹ Unable to conquer Holland and Zeeland, the Scheldt remained closed and the countryside of Flanders and Brabant continued to suffer the destruction brought by the presence of war and soldiers.¹²² The devastation of the countryside and the inability to import grain in 1586 led to the outbreak of the largest famine of the previous two centuries, causing an economic emigration that augmented the political and religious one. Though Antwerp did begin to make a partial recovery by the middle of the 1590s and continued to be an important port for regional trade, Antwerp had lost its role in the long-distance trade of Early Modern Europe.¹²³

¹²⁰ Wee, *Growth of Antwerp Market: Interpretation*, 227; Briels, *Zuid-Nederlandse Immigratie*; Roosbroeck, *Emigranten*; Israel, *Dutch Republic*, 113–116, 219.

¹²¹ Parker, *Dutch Revolt*, 208–216; Tracy, *Founding of the Dutch Republic*.

¹²² Marten della Faille was among those who believed that the fall of Antwerp would bring about a rapid resurgence of Antwerp's economy. Believing that land prices would rise, he purchased land, see Brulez, *Firma Della Faille*, 120–123; Lesger, *Rise of the Amsterdam Market*, 107–122; Wee, *Growth of Antwerp Market: Interpretation*, 261–262 and 271–272.

¹²³ Wee, *Growth of Antwerp Market: Interpretation*, 269–282; Roland Baetens, *De nazomer van Antwerpens welvaart: De diaspora en het handelshuis De Groote tijdens de eerste helft der 17de eeuw*, 2 vols. (Brussels: Gemeentekrediet van België, 1976); A. K. L. Thijs, *Van Geuzenstad tot katholiek bolwerk: Maatschappelijke betekenis van de Kerk in Contrareformatorisch Antwerpen* (Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols, 1990).

Amsterdam's growth through the sixteenth century placed it in a position to be able to take advantage of the fall of Antwerp.¹²⁴ In the sixteenth century, Amsterdam prospered through its close connections to Antwerp, especially after it came to become the primary grain market for Antwerp in the 1540s.¹²⁵ Amsterdam stood at the center of a general development of the economy of Holland and Zeeland that focused on maritime trade. The large number of ships employed by the port cities of Holland and Zeeland were essential to the shipping needs of Antwerp's trade. Backed by expanding rural areas that specialized in activities such as peat digging and dairy, Holland's maritime trade centered on herring fisheries, the trade in timber, and above all the grain trade with the Baltic.¹²⁶ The structures of Amsterdam's trade placed it in a favorable position as Europe's economy turned ever more to the Atlantic, giving it advantages not held by Antwerp.¹²⁷ Despite Amsterdam's growing strength in the regional and international trade networks, Amsterdam's rise to prominence in the 1590s was intimately connected to the fall of Antwerp. The closure of the Scheldt and immigration of merchants and skilled laborers

¹²⁴ See in particular the work of Bas van Bavel. Bavel, *Manors and Markets*; Bavel, "Medieval Origins of Capitalism in the Netherlands"; Bavel, "Markets for Land, Labor, and Capital"; Bas J. P. van Bavel and Jan Luiten van Zanden, "The Jump-Start of the Holland Economy during the Late-Medieval Crisis, c.1350-c.1500," *The Economic History Review* 57, no. 3 (2004): 503–532. The significance of the transition from Antwerp to Amsterdam has been put forward most forcefully in Jan de Vries and Ad van der Woude, *The First Modern Economy: Success, Failure, and Perseverance of the Dutch Economy, 1500-1815* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997).

¹²⁵ Wee, *Growth of Antwerp Market: Interpretation*, 121–122; Wee, *Low Countries*, 115–125.

¹²⁶ Israel, *Dutch Republic*, 113–118; Tielhof, *De Hollandse graanhandel*; M. van Tielhof, *The 'Mother of all Trades': The Baltic Grain Trade in Amsterdam from the Late 16th to the Early 19th Century* (Leiden: Brill, 2002); Tielhof, *De Hollandse graanhandel*; Tielhof, *Mother of all Trades*; Vries and Woude, *First Modern Economy*; Victor Enthoven, *Zeeland en de opkomst van de Republiek: Handel en strijd in de Scheldedelta, c. 1550–1621* (Leiden: Luctor et Victor, 1996).

¹²⁷ Wee, *Growth of Antwerp Market: Interpretation*; Jonathan I. Israel, *Dutch Primacy in World Trade, 1585-1740* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989).

provided the economy of Holland and Zeeland with an external impetus that shaped and augmented the already present structures.¹²⁸

Recent literature on the Revolt has emphasized the complicated nature of the allegiances that formed as the Low Countries moved towards a permanent political and religious division.¹²⁹ Contemporaries continued to believe in the possibilities of reunification up until at least 1609, when the Twelve-Year truce acknowledged that the division might be permanent.¹³⁰ Despite the maintenance of hope for reunification, both sides constructed identities that came to emphasize their divisions. From the beginnings of the Revolt in the 1560s, the rebels developed a political identity that increasingly abandoned loyalty to the person of Philip II in favor of loyalty to the fatherland manifested in the freedom of the privileges.¹³¹ Though at first reluctant to abandon the concept of princely rule, by the 1580s, the rebels developed increasingly confident conceptions of republican governance.¹³² The work of Judith Pollmann has shown that Catholics were slower to develop an identity that united Catholicism and loyalty to Philip II in opposition to that

¹²⁸ This argument follows that made by Lesger, *Rise of the Amsterdam Market*, 100–180. It is important to take into account the corrections that Gelderblom made to an older literature which often placed too much emphasis on the importance of immigrants from Flanders and Brabant. Gelderblom, *Zuid-Nederlandse kooplieden*. In his more recent book, Gelderblom approaches the subject from the lens of institutions and shows the importance of both Amsterdam own internal developments and the influences from Antwerp and its fall. Gelderblom, *Cities of Commerce*.

¹²⁹ Arnade, *Beggars, Iconoclasts, and Civic Patriots*; Woltjer, “Political Moderates and Religious Moderates”; Pollmann, *Catholic Identity and the Revolt*; Judith Pollmann and Andrew Spicer, eds. *Public Opinion and Changing Identities in the Early Modern Netherlands: Essays in Honour of Alastair Duke* (Leiden: Brill, 2007).

¹³⁰ Müller, “Permeable Memories,” 288–294; Judith Pollmann, “‘Brabanters do fairly resemble Spaniards after all’: Memory, Propaganda and Identity in the Twelve Years’ Truce,” in *Public Opinion and Changing Identities in the Early Modern Netherlands: Essays in Honour of Alastair Duke*, ed. Judith Pollmann and Andrew Spicer (Leiden: Brill, 2007).

¹³¹ Arnade, *Beggars, Iconoclasts, and Civic Patriots*; Duke, *Dissident Identities*.

¹³² Koenigsberger, *Monarchies, States Generals and Parliaments*, 298–321; Martin van Gelderen, *The Political Thought of the Dutch Revolt 1555–1590* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992).

constructed by the rebels.¹³³ However, following the reconquest of Farnese and the experience of living under Calvinist rule, loyal Catholics were able to create a strong identification with the reforms of the Catholic church and Habsburg rule, especially after the Archdukes Albert and Isabella took power in 1598.¹³⁴

The fall of Antwerp had drastic consequences for the Della Faille and Van der Meulen siblings. The entire Van der Meulen family and four of the seven surviving Della Faille siblings lived outside of Antwerp after 1585. The experience of the Della Faille and Van der Meulens after the fall of Antwerp demonstrates the ambiguities of the economic, political, and religious transformations that occurred during this time. The two sibling groups participated in the economic transition towards Amsterdam, but the most successful of the siblings, Marten, remained in Antwerp, and none of the siblings moved to Amsterdam.¹³⁵ Politically and religiously, the siblings were deeply engaged in the construction of identities and loyalties that divided the Low Countries. The Van der Meulens used the experience of exile and their Calvinist devotion to strengthen their sibling bonds, but the Della Failles were split by the Revolt. Jacques and Hester identified themselves as strongly with revolt as Marten and Anna did with loyalty. The Revolt challenged the bonds of kin in a variety of ways, but it did not undermine the ideal of family unity. Within the generation under study, it remained possible to see the political and

¹³³ Judith Pollmann, "Countering the Reformation in France and the Netherlands: Clerical Leadership and Catholic Violence 1560-1585," *Past & Present* 190, no. 1 (2006): 83; Pollmann, "Catholics and Community in the Revolt"; Pollmann, *Catholic Identity and the Revolt*.

¹³⁴ Anne-Laure van Bruaene, "The Habsburg Theatre State: Court, City and the Performance of Identity in the Early Modern Southern Low Countries," in *Networks, Regions and Nations: Shaping Identities in the Low Countries, 1300-1650*, ed. Robert Stein and Judith Pollmann (Leiden: Brill, 2010); Margit Thøfner, *A Common Art: Urban Ceremonial in Antwerp and Brussels during and after the Dutch Revolt* (Zwolle, The Netherlands: Waanders Publishers, 2007); Thijs, *Van Geuzenstad tot katholiek bolwerk*.

¹³⁵ Brulez, *Firma Della Faille*; Brulez, "De diaspora der Antwerpse kooplui"; J. H. Kernkamp, ed. *De handel van Daniel van der Meulen c.s., in het bijzonder rond de jaren 1588-1592: Werkcollege economische geschiedenis* (Leiden: Universiteit Leiden, 1969).

religious divisions that had wrecked havoc throughout their lives as temporary. Belief in the eternal nature of kinship enabled the boundaries between the two sides to remain fluid and permeable. Until the end of their lives, the Della Faille and Van der Meulen siblings attempted to live up the ideal of unity in the face of the various forces that threatened to create enmity where friendship should reign.

5. The Sources

The Van der Meulen and Della Faille families present a fruitful point of entry into the social basis of sixteenth-century merchants and the experience of the Dutch Revolt. The varied lives and experiences of the individuals in the two families provide ample justification for a detailed study, but it is the existence of archives about the families that makes them truly unique subjects for the historian. The following chapters include analysis of a wide range of documents. The types of documents can be placed into three broad categories. The starting point for the qualitative investigation of the Van der Meulen and Della Faille derives mainly from the letters they sent to and received from each other and from a wide array of correspondents throughout Europe. Second, the meticulously produced mercantile accounts, which kept track of the exchange of material goods made possible by the information dispersed through correspondence, provide a material basis for analyzing the discourses conducted within correspondence. The third category of documents pertains to inheritance and the movement of goods from one generation to the next. This last category includes testaments, the accounts produced from the management of the estates, and in the case of the Della Failles, the legal documents related to the various lawsuits and arbitration into which the heirs entered. These three types of documents provide a window into the interrelations between family members. They give glimpses of the means by

which a class of merchants produced and reproduced themselves in the midst of political and religious ruptures of the end of the sixteenth century.

There are four main archives used in this dissertation, two from each family. The starting point and basis for much of the dissertation is the Daniel van der Meulen Archive housed at Erfgoed Leiden en Omstreken.¹³⁶ The archive of Daniel's brother-in-law, Antoine Lempereur, has been held in the Bibliotheca Thysiana since the seventeenth century. It is now part of the special collections of the library at Universiteit Leiden.¹³⁷ The archives of the Della Faille family have been divided between the various branches of this family that entered the nobility in the seventeenth century. The family continues to be among the Belgian nobility to this day. The primary archives concerning the Della Faille are both located in the ancestral castle in Lozer, Belgium. The archive of the Della Faille de Leverghem derives from the descendants of Carlo della Faille and his first wife Maria Celosse.¹³⁸ The Nevele branch of the Della Faille family and its archive was begun by Marten della Faille himself.¹³⁹

In addition to the above archives, various archives in Belgium and The Netherlands have been consulted. The archive of the d'Huysse branch of the Della Faille family—also related to Marten—is found in the Rijksarchief te Gent.¹⁴⁰ Most interesting for this study, a letter book or copies of letters sent by Marten in 1585 and 1586 have survived in the archive.¹⁴¹ The papers of

¹³⁶. Daniël van der Meulen en Hester de la Faille, zijn vrouw, 1550-1648, Erfgoed Leiden en Omstreken, Leiden, The Netherlands. Abbreviated as DvdM.

¹³⁷. Collectie Antoine Lempereur, Bibliotheca Thysiana Archief, Universiteit Leiden, Leiden, The Netherlands. Abbreviated as CL.

¹³⁸. Della Faille de Leverghem Archive, Private collection, Lozer, Belgium. Abbreviated as DFL.

¹³⁹. Della Faille de Nevele Archive, Private collection, Lozer, Belgium. Abbreviated as DFN.

¹⁴⁰. Della Faille d'Huysse Archive, Rijksarchief te Gent, Ghent, Belgium. Abbreviated as DFH.

¹⁴¹. See Chapter 1 for an analysis of Marten's correspondence network based evidence provided by the letter book. Marten's letter book, DFH NNN.

Andries van der Meulen are located at Het Utrechts Archief.¹⁴² This archive formed the center of the study of Luuc Kooijmans on the Van der Meulen family in the the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.¹⁴³ Het Utrechts Archief also houses archives from the Malapert family, which includes a copy of the testament of Jan de Oude.¹⁴⁴ Along with the family archives, scattered information about the Van der Meulen and Della Faille families can be found in the archive of the Weeskamer in Dordrecht pertaining to the children of Carlo della Faille and Cecile Grammaye after the latter's death in 1591.¹⁴⁵ There also exists documents pertaining to the many lawsuits undertaken by members of the two families from the Hof van Holland in Het National Archief in The Hague, from the Hof van Brabant in the Rijksarchief Brussel, and finally in the Felix Archief in Antwerp.¹⁴⁶

The Daniel van der Meulen archive consists of between 11,000 and 12,000 documents. Aside from a handful of exceptions, these documents pertain to the period between August 1584, when Daniel left Antwerp as a representative of his native city to the rebellious States General meeting in Holland, and Daniel's death from the plague on 25 July 1600.¹⁴⁷ It is clear that Daniel carefully saved and organized the papers that he came across in his daily life. The archive contains documents of almost every type imaginable, from poems Daniel scrawled on scratch

¹⁴² Familie Van der Muelen, Het Utrechts Archief, Utrecht, The Netherlands. Abbreviated as AvdM.

¹⁴³ Kooijmans, *Vriendschap*.

¹⁴⁴ Familie De Malapert, Het Utrechts Archief, Utrecht, The Netherlands. Abbreviated as FM. The testament and codicil of Jan de Oude is in FM inventory 22.

¹⁴⁵ 523 Kaerle de la Faille en Cecilia Grammaije, 10 Weeskamer te Dordrecht, Regionaal Archief Dordrecht, Dordrecht, The Netherlands. Abbreviated as DAW.

¹⁴⁶ National Archives, The Hague, The Netherlands; Algemeen Rijksarchief, Brussels, Belgium; and Felix Archief, Antwerp, Belgium.

¹⁴⁷ An overview of the archive is provided in Jongbloet-van Houtte, "Inleiding," lxxxiv–xcviii; J. H. Kernkamp, "Het Van der Meulen-archief ca.," *Bijdragen en Mededelingen betreffende de geschiedenis der Nederlanden* 85 (1970): 49–62.

pieces of paper to passports provided by authorities as guarantees of safe passage during the wars, from a *Keukenboek* and *Huishouboeken* written by Hester della Faille to the inventory of the estate Daniel left at his death, including a copy of the book auction held for the sale of the over 1,200 books contained in his library.¹⁴⁸ A particularly rich source of material is the thousands of letters sent to Daniel by hundreds of correspondents that are preserved in the archive. The archive contains a large number of miscellaneous accounts, but none of Daniel's ledgers have been preserved. The lacunae frustrate, but the quantity in both number and type of documents provides a unique opportunity to investigate family relations at the end of the sixteenth century.

The Daniel van der Meulen archive has its own interesting history. After Daniel's death, his secretary Abraham Berrewijns was placed in charge of organizing all of the documents that Daniel collected throughout his life. The original archive consisted of 53 different bundles of documents, organized according to place of origin as well as by type of document.¹⁴⁹ How the archive got into the possession of the city archive of Leiden is unclear. Gisela Jongbloet-van Houtte, who worked for many years transcribing the contents of the archive, hypothesizes that Daniel's documents were kept by his widow Hester and then passed on to her son-in-law, Adolphus Vortius a medical professor at the University of Leiden. He, in turn, likely passed the documents to Johannes Thysius, the nephew of Constantijn Lempereur, son of Sara van der Meulen and Antoine Lempereur and also a professor at the University of Leiden. Thysius also had possession of the documents collected by Antoine Lempereur during his lifetime, and so the

¹⁴⁸ J. H. Kernkamp, "De bibliotheek van den koopman Daniel van der Meulen onder den Hamer," in *Opstellen bij zijn afscheid van de bibliotheek der Rijksuniversiteit te Utrecht op 31 mei 1940, aangeboden aan G.A. Evers*, ed. A. Hulshof (Utrecht: Oosthoek, 1944).

¹⁴⁹ Inventory of the estate of Daniel van der Meulen, DvdM 68 folios 187–198; Jongbloet-van Houtte, "Inleiding," xc.

Daniel van der Meulen archive and the Collectie Antoine Lempereur have been connected since the seventeenth century.¹⁵⁰

At his death in 1653, Thysius's testament left instructions to create the Bibliotheca Thysiana in order to preserve the archive and further public education.¹⁵¹ Likely sometime in the nineteenth century, the archive pertaining to Daniel van der Meulen was transferred to the city of Leiden, where it remains today, though its whereabouts were unknown in 1907 when J.L. Prinsen hoped to consult the archive.¹⁵² By 1926, the archive had been located, and J.W. Verburgt undertook the task of reorganizing the documents and creating an inventory. The new inventory was finished by 1929 and this remains the organizational system of the archive to the present day.¹⁵³ Unfortunately, Verburgt left little remains of the original organization of Abraham Berrewijns, and the system he created is problematic. Verburgt created individual inventory numbers for each correspondent and then categorized the correspondence as either family members, private correspondence, trade correspondence, or political letters, a division that cannot but be arbitrary. For instance, letters from Andries van der Meulen and Jacques della Faille are listed as trade correspondence and not family correspondence. In a couple of instances, Verburgt also placed letters from the same individuals into different inventory numbers.

Once the inventory was finished, historians began to take note of this valuable collection. Z.W. Sneller was the first historian to make use of the sources, and he began the push to have the

¹⁵⁰. Jongbloet-van Houtte, "Inleiding," xcv–xcvii.

¹⁵¹. Jongbloet-van Houtte, "Inleiding," xcv–xcvii and ci–ci.

¹⁵². J.L. Prinsen, "Uit Het Notaris-Protocol Van Jan Van Hout I," *Oud Holland* 26 (1908): 43–66; J.L. Prinsen, "Uit Het Notaris-Protocol Van Jan Van Hout II," *Oud Holland* 26 (1908): 93–114; J.L. Prinsen, "Uit Het Notaris-Protocol Van Jan Van Hout III," *Oud Holland* 26 (1908): 149–165.

¹⁵³. Jongbloet-van Houtte, "Inleiding," lxxxviii.

contents of the archive published.¹⁵⁴ Maria Simon Thomas was the first to work on transcriptions of the contents, beginning the process in 1941. She worked on the archive and conducted research in Antwerp on the Van der Meulens until her death in 1955. The project to publish the contents of the archive then went dormant for a number of years until it was taken over by Rijkscommissie voor Vaderlandse Geschiedenis and the Rijks Geschiedkundige Publicatiën series in 1969. It was around this time that Gisela Jongbloet-van Houtte continued the process of transcribing the documents.¹⁵⁵ Unfortunately, the years of work only resulted in the publication of a single volume containing annotations and transcriptions the documents pertaining to the period from August 1584 until the end of September 1585.¹⁵⁶ The project to publish transcriptions of the archive has been abandoned, but the archive has received a more modern form of attention. It has recently become one of the first large collections in the possession of Erfgoed Leiden en Omstreken to be digitized.¹⁵⁷

For all of the interest in the larger project to publish the contents of the Daniel van der Meulen archive and in publishing smaller portions of the archive of particular interest, there has

¹⁵⁴. Jongbloet-van Houtte, “Inleiding,” cvii; Z. W. Sneller, “Brieven van Emanuel van Meteren en van Pieter Bor,” *Bijdragen en Mededelingen van het Historisch Genootschap* 57 (1935): 261–281; Z. W. Sneller, “De drie cargasoenen rogge van Daniel van der Meulen anno 1592 en hun verzekering,” *Jaarboek van het genootschap Amstelodamum* 32 (1935): 89–118.

¹⁵⁵. Jongbloet-van Houtte, “Inleiding,” cvii–cxvi.

¹⁵⁶. Jongbloet-van Houtte, *Daniel van der Meulen*.

¹⁵⁷. This can be found at <https://www.erfgoedleiden.nl/collecties/archieven/archievenoverzicht/ead/index/eaid/0096>

been relatively little detailed analysis of the sources.¹⁵⁸ Two different generations of students at the Universiteit Leiden have used the letters in the archive to study the history of the late sixteenth century. First, in 1968-1969 a class led by J. H. Kernkamp examined the economic situation after the fall of Antwerp in 1585.¹⁵⁹ Thirty years later, a larger group of students studied the letters, concentrating this time on a wider set of cultural concerns.¹⁶⁰ Further studies using the archive have tended to pick out issues concerning the political and cultural connections of Daniel van der Meulen or concentrating on more local issues.¹⁶¹

The Collectie Antoine Lempereur, or l'Empereur as Antoine's son came to call himself, representing the documents collected by Antoine Lempereur, came into the possession of Johannes Thysius as noted above. The portion of the larger Bibliotheca Thysiana archive related to Antoine Lempereur are found in inventory numbers 174-285. This collection possesses an impressive number of letters sent to Antoine and his wife Sara van der Meulen.¹⁶² The archive also contains account books, including journals and ledgers dealing with the company between

¹⁵⁸. Aside from the contents transcribed by Jongbloet-van Houtte, portions of the archive are translated in Sneller, "De drie cargasoenen rogge"; Sneller, "Brieven van Emanuel van Meteren"; J. H. Kernkamp, "'Vredehandel met Spanje' in 1598," *Bijdragen en Mededelingen van het Historisch Genootschap* 57 (1936): 341-382; J. H. Kernkamp, "Aanvullende stukken op den 'Vredehandel met Spanje' in 1598," *Bijdragen en Mededelingen van het Historisch Genootschap* 61 (1940): 52-59; J. H. Kernkamp and A. J. Klaassen-Meijer, "De rekeningen betreffende de exploratietocht van den Swerten Ruyter naar het Middellandse Zeegebied in 1589/1590," *Bijdragen en Mededelingen van het Historisch Genootschap* 73 (1959): 3-54; J. H. Kernkamp and J. van Heijst, "De brieven van Buzanval aan Daniel van der Meulen (1595-1599)," *Bijdragen en Mededelingen van het Historisch Genootschap* 76 (1962): 175-262.

¹⁵⁹ Kernkamp, *De handel van Daniel van der Meulen*.

¹⁶⁰. Raymond Fagel, ed. *Daniël van der Meulen: Brieven aan een Leids koopman (ca. 1580-1600)* (Leiden: Instituut voor Geschiedenis, 1999).

¹⁶¹. Local issues have been discussed in Annie J. Versprille, "De geschiedenis van het huis van Daniël van der Meulen (Rapenburg 19)," *Oud Leiden* 35 (1943): 158-169; Annie J. Versprille, "Hester della Faille," *Leids Jaarboekje* 67 (1975): 77-97; J. H. Kernkamp, "Ontmoetingen op het Rapenburg," *Oud Leiden* 62 (1970): 89-100; Hugo van Oerle, "De bouwgeschiedenis van de Thysius bibliotheek aaan het Rapenburg," *Oud Leiden* 35 (1943): 170-179.

¹⁶². See also the treatment that the letters have received in Kooijmans, *Vriendschap*.

the brothers-in-law Daniel and Andries van der Meulen, Antoine Lempereur, and François Pierens. This dissertation will not be able to make a systematic study of the accounts found in the archive, but it will use the letters sent between family members to investigate interfamily relations. A number of historians have used the Bibliotheca Thysiana, including the study of Oscar Gelderblom on emigrant merchants from Antwerp at the end of the sixteenth century.¹⁶³ However, as with the Daniel van der Meulen archive, there have been few detailed studies on the documents used here.

The two archives held in the private residence of the current Della Faille families present a different picture from the Daniel van der Meulen archive and Collectie Antoine Lempereur. Unlike the archives in Leiden, very little of the original correspondence has survived the vicissitudes of time. Instead, the archives abound in documents relating to the estate left by Jan de Oude and the disputes between the heirs of the estate. Thus, there are hundreds of documents—often in multiple copies or in multiple forms—of accounts of the estate or of the various lawsuits involving the heirs from the time of Jan de Oude’s death in 1582 until well into the 1630s. The Della Faille de Leverghem Archive possesses more documents dealing directly with the estate left by Jan de Oude, while the Della Faille de Nevelle archive contains documents related to the trade carried on by Jan de Oude and then Marten della Faille.

The Della Faille archives have received systematic attention from two separate historians. In the 1950s Wilfrid Brulez undertook research on the trade of Jan de Oude and Marten della Faille, resulting in his impressive *De Firma Della Faille en de internationale handel van Vlaamse firma’s in de 16e eeuw*.¹⁶⁴ Brulez concentrated on the extant journal of Jan de Oude

¹⁶³ Gelderblom, *Zuid-Nederlandse kooplieden*.

¹⁶⁴ Brulez, *Firma Della Faille*.

from 1574 to 1578 and the journal of his son from 1589 to 1594, as well as the inventory of the estate of Jan de Oude to understand the nature of the trade of merchants from Antwerp in the second half of the sixteenth century. During the period that Brulez conducted his research, the Baroness Antoine della Faille d'Huyse devoted a lifetime of work to organizing and creating an inventory for the two archives. The family employed the historian Yves Schmitz to create a multivolume study of the various branches of the Della Faille family.¹⁶⁵ The books produced by Schmitz are biographical and are rarely critical in nature. However, Schmitz's work provides valuable information about the long-term history of this noble family.

6. Overview of Chapters

The dissertation is divided into three parts. The first part consists of a single chapter that provides a background to the Della Faille and Van der Meulen sibling groups through an analysis of the correspondence networks of Marten della Faille and Daniel van der Meulen. The second and third parts distinguish between different periods in the life-cycles of the two families. Part 2 concentrates on the relationship between the widowed Jan della Faille de Oude and Elizabeth Zeghers and their children as the children reached the age of majority and began to marry and carry on trade. Part 3 discusses the transition in the structure of sibling groups that occurred with the death of the longest-surviving parent and the difficulties the siblings faced in maintaining the bonds that united them as siblings.

The mercantile activities of early modern merchants depended upon the construction of wide and dense correspondence networks. Chapter 1 provides a quantitative and geographic analysis of the letters that Marten della Faille sent from 4 May 1585 to 30 October 1586 and the

¹⁶⁵ Yves Schmitz, *Les della Faille*, 5 vols. (Brussels: Imprimerie F. Van Bugghoudt, 1965).

much larger collection of approximately 6,713 letters that Daniel van der Meulen received between 1578 and his death in 1600. Through their correspondence networks, Marten and Daniel directed their trade, maintained relationships with kin and non-kin, and gained political, military, and economic information from all corners of Europe. The correspondence of the two brothers-in-law reveals the centrality of kin relations and specifically of sibling relations in the networks that they constructed. Acting as the successor of his father's trade activities and position within the kinship group, Marten stood at the head of the trade networks within which he participated. In contrast to the division that broke out in the Della Faille sibling group, the Van der Meulen siblings continued to trade together for their entire lives. Due to the solidarity of the sibling group and Daniel's subordinate position within it, Daniel never played the same central role within his networks as Marten. Despite the robust nature of Daniel's correspondence, much of it remained complementary to that of his siblings.

The first two chapters of Part 2 investigate the strategies used by Jan della Faille de Oude and Elizabeth Zeghers, as widow and widower, to maintain their patriarchal power over their children as they began to marry and held rights over the inheritance of Elizabeth and Jan de Oude's deceased spouses. Chapter 2 begins with the death of Cornelia van der Capellen in 1566, which commenced the process of the transition of property from parents to children. The chapter discusses the marriages of Jan de Oude's children during his lifetime and the interactions between father and children over the inheritance left by Cornelia. Jan de Oude attempted to structure the marriages of his children in ways that would cultivate unity and strengthen the position of the family. His administration of his children's maternal inheritance sought to protect his patrimony and the interests of the lineal family. However, his authority over his children was

always contestable, and the problems that Jan de Oude encountered in his relations with his children augured poorly for the relationships that would develop after his death.

Where Chapter 2 uses accounts and legal documents to investigate structures, Chapter 3 takes advantage of the correspondence in the Daniel van der Meulen Archive to more closely analyze the meaning of marriage from the perspective of a sibling group. The chapter juxtaposes the fall of Antwerp with the union created between the Della Faille and Van der Meulen families by the marriage of Daniel van der Meulen and Hester della Faille. Taking place in Holland, the wedding highlighted the political, religious, and physical divisions between the members of the two families. The differences were most stark in the relationship that developed between the two new brothers-in-law, the Calvinist alderman of Antwerp, Andries van der Meulen, and the loyalist Catholic, Marten della Faille. Confronted by the difficulties of creating amity among kin who were divided by war, the siblings used a discourse of friendship and affection in an effort to maintain and strengthen the bonds of blood and marriage.

Part 2 concludes with a thorough analysis of the testaments made by Jan de Oude and Elizabeth in 1582 and 1584 respectively. The transformation of a family united by the patriarchal power of a parent to the division of power among siblings engendered a radical restructuring of sibling relationships. The laws and traditions of Antwerp demanded partible inheritance among all heirs, both male and female. Without deviating from the norm, Jan de Oude and Elizabeth used the power of the testament to structure the power relations among their children as they became unmoored from parental authority. The testament provided a means for Jan de Oude and Elizabeth to continue to mediate the relationships between siblings even after their death. Both testators thought in terms of the preservation of patrimony through the construction of a hierarchy among their children. Elizabeth could play the patriarch as well as Jan de Oude, and

though their individual positions and strategies differed, both aimed at creating a foundation for the continuance of close bonds among their children.

Part 3 contains four chapters that focus upon the relationships that the siblings of the two families created among themselves, particularly after the death of their parents. The chapters contrast the long-lasting disputes among the Della Faille siblings over the capital left by Jan de Oude with the relatively amicable transition of the Van der Meulens. The quarrels between the Della Failles produced a plethora of documents. Chapters 5, 6, and 7 concentrate on different aspects of the confrontations between the siblings. Chapter 5 uses the account books of the estate of Jan de Oude to detail the contents of the estate, examining the development and disbursal of the capital between the end of 1578, when Jan de Oude last balanced his books, and 1594, the date at which the second state of the goods was created.¹⁶⁶ Providing a material basis for the discussion of the individual disputes discussed in Chapters 6 and 7, the chapter highlights the difficulties of administering and disbursing a large estate consisting of movable goods. In spite of a rhetoric that asserted accounting as an unbiased process based upon the solid foundations of mathematics, accounting and the partitioning of inheritance depended upon social relations among siblings and their ability to reach consensus.

Chapters 6 and 7 discuss two different sets of quarrels that broke out among the Della Faille siblings. Chapter 6 analyzes the lawsuits pursued by Jan and Carlo against Marten and Jacques to force the creation of a state and inventory of the estate. This request went against the stipulations Jan de Oude had made in his testament that forbade anyone outside of the three executors from gaining access to the accounts of the estate. Using a variety of judicial institutions in Holland and Brabant, Carlo eventually succeeded in forcing Marten to create a

¹⁶⁶ The two account books of the estate are located in DFL 12 and DFL 12bis.

state and inventory in 1596, leading to the production of the account books used in Chapter 5. However, the creation of the state and inventory did not end the disputes. Jan and Carlo did not just want access to the accounts, they wanted to criticize them and overturn the hierarchy their father created within the sibling group. In this way, their lawsuits functioned as a continuance of the attacks they had made on the patriarchal authority of their father during his life in seeking to obtain control of their maternal inheritance.

The disputes that broke out between Marten and Jacques, the subject of Chapter 7, were of a very different nature than those instigated by Jan and Carlo. Jan de Oude's testament envisioned Marten and Jacques working together to manage the inheritance of their siblings. However, this quickly broke down, and the brothers fought over leadership of the sibling group and the position of successor of their father. The two brothers were divided in their political and religious allegiance, complicating the personal and material disagreements. In addition to the litigation pursued by the brothers, the chapter uses the correspondence between Marten, Jacques, and Daniel van der Meulen to demonstrate the significance of discourse in creating a structure of sibling relations in order to create unity. The arguments made by Marten and Jacques against each other centered around the relationship between themselves and their father. By laying claim to the identity of a loyal and obedient son, Marten and Jacques each sought to push their own claims as the rightful successor to their father's position as head of the family. The memory of the patriarch continued to mediate the relations of the siblings for the entirety of their lives. The inability of Jacques to accept Marten's status as successor, and thus to acknowledge his position within the hierarchy of the sibling group, led to the continuation of the disputes until the death of Jacques in 1615.

The final chapter turns to the experience of the Van der Meulens following the fall of Antwerp. The existence of correspondence between the siblings makes it possible to analyze the ways in which they came together around the person and symbol of their mother in the last years of her life. As Elizabeth became sick in the beginning of 1587, the letters that Andries wrote to his sisters helped to cement the memory of their mother and mythologize her death, providing a symbol around which they could unite. Though more successful than the Della Failles, the problems that the siblings identified and the solutions they put forward were remarkably similar to the experience of the Della Faille siblings. Simply put, the Van der Meulen siblings were able to agree to a common narrative of the family that idealized their mother and placed Andries as the natural successor of their father, who had died almost twenty-five years prior to his wife. However, their correspondence shows that they perceived the amity within the family to be fragile and always liable to disruption. The siblings had to continually reaffirm their bonds through their trade relations, gifts, favors, and affection. Unlike the Della Failles, the Van der Meulens were united in their allegiance to the Revolt and their strong Calvinist beliefs. The Van der Meulens used their common political and religious ideals to strengthen their bonds and identify their experiences as brothers and sisters with the political and religious wars that raged across northwestern Europe.

The concentration on a single generational transition from the patriarchal rule of parents to siblings unmoored from parental power serves to emphasize the tensions between the horizontal and the vertical, synchronic and diachronic, mercantile capital and patrimony, equality and hierarchy, and affection and authority in the lives of early modern Netherlandish

merchants.¹⁶⁷ The following chapters focus upon the Della Faille and Van der Meulen siblings, who were born between 1540 and 1566, living their entire adult lives during the period of the Dutch Revolt. The disruptions to the structures of society caused by the Revolt and the Reformation made the already difficult task of the transition of generations even more problematic. Despite the difficulties, the two sibling groups continued to emphasize the social, moral, and economic need for the maintenance of unity among siblings, which then radiated out to collateral kin and non-kin allies. In spite of the wars in the Low Countries that made brothers and sisters enemies, the siblings perceived the bonds of kinship, and especially those between siblings, as eternal.

The experience of the Della Faille and Van der Meulen siblings demonstrates the contradictions ingrained within sibling relationships. Relations between siblings were neither inherently close and affectionate, producing a natural trust between kin, nor were they dominated by authority and disputes over power and property. Instead, sibling relations were both at the same time; the closest of bonds were both the most dependable and the most likely to break.¹⁶⁸ Their maintenance necessitated constant attention and labor. Despite the disparate outcomes in the unity achieved by the Della Faille and Van der Meulen siblings, both groups shared a common understanding of the difficulties they faced and the tools they had available to

¹⁶⁷. These different tensions are discussed in Francesca Trivellato, “Sephardic Merchants Between State and Rabbinic Courts: Malfeasance, Property Rights, and Religious Authority in the Eighteenth-Century Mediterranean,” in *From Florence to the Mediterranean and Beyond: Essays in Honor of Anthony Molho*, ed. Diogo Ramada Curto, et al. (Florence: Leo Olschki, 2009); Bourdieu, *Outline of a Theory of Practice*; Medick and Sabean, “Interest and Emotion in Family and Kinship Studies.”

¹⁶⁸. Bourdieu, *Outline of a Theory of Practice*; Johnson and Sabean, “From Siblingship to Siblinghood.”

overcome the obstacles to unity.¹⁶⁹ Asserting the centrality of sibling relations to the trade networks constructed by early modern merchants, this dissertation emphasizes the significance of the transition of generations and the the transfer of property and power from parents to children. The following chapters argue that the individuals under study intertwined relations of authority and affection to mitigate the forces of fission they encountered. The creation of trust and friendship within the sibling group, so crucial to social action in the outside world, depended upon the fashioning and continual fulfillment of expectations in the interactions between the siblings, expectations created within the patriarchal structure of the family and fortified, but also mediated, through affection and exchanges of gifts, favors, capital, and credit.

¹⁶⁹ The siblings shared a common culture that identified both the goals and possibilities for solutions. Bourdieu, *Distinction*; Salmi, "Cultural History"; Clifford Geertz, *The Interpretation Of Cultures* (New York: Basic Books, 1973); Quentin Skinner, *Visions of Politics*, vol. 1, *Regarding Method* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002).

Chapter 1

The Correspondence Networks of Marten della Faille and Daniel van der Meulen

1. Introduction: Merchant Letters and Netherlandish Merchants

Long-distance trade in the early modern period could not be conducted without correspondence networks and the exchange of letters. Merchants continued to travel in order to manage their affairs, but elite merchants like the Van der Meulens and Della Failles rarely if ever travelled with their own goods. Instead of escorting goods from place to place, merchants like Marten della Faille and Daniel van der Meulen organized and supervised the purchase, transportation, and sale of goods through correspondence with factors spread throughout the trade routes of Europe. This more sedentary system of exchange enabled the rapid growth of trade on an individual and European wide basis, but it also necessitated that merchants create and maintain wide networks of competent and trustworthy correspondents willing and able to follow the directions of merchants who might be many hundreds of miles away.¹

¹ Francesca Trivellato, *The Familiarity of Strangers: The Sephardic Diaspora, Livorno, and Cross-Cultural Trade in the Early Modern Period* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2009); Francesca Trivellato, "Merchant Letters across Geographical and Social Boundaries," in *Correspondence and Cultural Exchange in Europe, 1400–1700*, ed. Francisco Bethencourt and Florike Egmond (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007); Sebouh Aslanian, "'The Salt in a Merchant's Letter': The Culture of Julfan Correspondence in the Indian Ocean and the Mediterranean," *Journal of World History* 19, no. 2 (2008): 127–188; Sebouh Aslanian, *From the Indian Ocean to the Mediterranean: The Global Trade Networks of Armenian Merchants from New Julfa* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2011); P. O. Beale, et al., eds. *The Corsini Letters* (Stroud, UK: Amberley, 2011); Francisco Bethencourt and Florike Egmond, eds. *Correspondence and Cultural Exchange in Europe, 1400–1700*, vol. 3, *Cultural Exchange in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007); Jessica L. Goldberg, "The Use and Abuse of Commercial Letters from the Cairo Geniza," *Journal of Medieval History* 38, no. 2 (2012): 127–154; Gagan D. S. Sood, "'Correspondence is Equal to Half a Meeting': The Composition and Comprehension of Letters in Eighteenth-Century Islamic Eurasia," *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 50, no. 2-3 (2006): 172–211; Gagan D. S. Sood, "The Informational Fabric of Eighteenth-Century India and the Middle East: Couriers, Intermediaries and Postal Communication," *Modern Asian Studies* 43, no. 5 (2009): 1085–1116; Craig Muldrew, *The Economy of Obligation: The Culture of Credit and Social Relations in Early Modern England* (New York: St. Martin's press, 1998); Pat Hudson, "Correspondence and Commitment: British Traders' Letters in the Long Eighteenth Century," *Cultural and Social History* 11, no. 4 (2014): 527–553.

In addition to physical activities such as buying and selling that factors performed, the letters of factors contained information about economic, political, and military conditions that merchants needed in order to make decisions. Newer forms of economic information such as printed price lists increased in importance through the sixteenth century. However, the vast majority of economic information continued to spread in the form of letters.² Making use of the increasingly efficient postal system within and across regions, merchants could connect themselves to other merchants and their agents to gain necessary information about the prices and availability of various commodities, as well as the transportation of their own goods.³ Merchants like Marten and Daniel acted as central nodes in interwoven correspondence networks, aggregating information sent by their correspondents. In turn, each correspondent or factor possessed their own information network that might be more or less specialized—geographically, socially, or economically—placing them in a unique relationship to the central node or nodes in the network. The information system that grew out of these correspondence networks was highly decentralized. Elite merchants stood at a higher point in the hierarchy of the

² Trivellato, *Familiarity of Strangers, 177–193*; Trivellato, “Merchant Letters”; Brendan Dooley, ed. *The Dissemination of News and the Emergence of Contemporaneity in Early Modern Europe* (Aldershot, England: Ashgate, 2010).

³ On the development of the postal service in the sixteenth century, see Wolfgang Behringer, “Communications Revolutions: A Historiographical Concept,” *German History* 24, no. 3 (2006): 333–374; Dooley, *Dissemination of News*; P. O. Beale, “Postal Services Available to the Corsinis in London,” in *The Corsini letters*, ed. P. O. Beale, et al. (Stroud, UK: Amberley, 2011); Heiko Droste, “Information Flow in a New Era of Postal Services,” in *Information Flows: New Approaches in the Historical Study of Business Information*, ed. Leos Müller and Ojala Jari (Helsinki: SKS Finnish Literature Society, 2007); Jacobus Overvoorde, *Geschiedenis van het Postwezen in Nederland voor 1795* (Leiden: Sijthoff, 1902).

information networks, but all individuals within the system aggregated and disseminated information.⁴

Unlike an information system based upon print, the dissemination of information through correspondence was constructed on personal relationships. The personal nature of letters played an important role in maintaining bonds and increasing the efficiency within the system of exchange. With the large distances between factor and merchant, cheating was an ever-present possibility. In fact, evidence from the Van der Meulens and Della Failles shows it to have been an ever-present reality.⁵ Merchants used multiple strategies to minimize the chances for or size of cheating. Primary among these was the attempt to employ agents with whom they had a personal relationship. Kinship was the strongest and most lasting of personal relationships, and the Van der Meulens and Della Failles used kin in their trading activities when possible. However,

⁴For a more in depth analysis of how correspondence networks could function, see the discussion of Daniel's relationship with his second cousin Hans Schot. Jesse Sadler, "News as a Path to Independence: Merchant Correspondence and the Exchange of News during the Dutch Revolt," in *In Praise of Ordinary People: Early Modern England and the Dutch Republic*, ed. Margaret C. Jacob and Catherine Secretan (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013).

⁵The firm of Marten della Faille provides a striking example of the extent to which trusted agents and partners could commit fraud. After ten years of business, Thomas Coteels, the junior partner of the firm and the firm's representative in London, reported the profits from London to be £12,464. However, after inspection of his books, the true profits turned out to be £41,400, more than three times greater than the original amount. Wilfrid Brulez, *De Firma Della Faille en de internationale handel van Vlaamse firma's in de 16e eeuw* (Brussels: Paleis der Academiën, 1959), 78–80. On agent relationships more generally, see Francesca Trivellato, "Sephardic Merchants Between State and Rabbinic Courts: Malfeasance, Property Rights, and Religious Authority in the Eighteenth-Century Mediterranean," in *From Florence to the Mediterranean and Beyond: Essays in Honor of Anthony Molho*, ed. Diogo Ramada Curto, et al. (Florence: Leo Olschki, 2009), 153–176; Aslanian, *Indian Ocean to the Mediterranean*; David Hancock, "The Trouble with Networks: Managing the Scots' Early-Modern Madeira Trade," *The Business History Review* 79, no. 3 (2005): 467–491; Jessica L. Goldberg, "Choosing and Enforcing Business Relationships in the Eleventh-Century Mediterranean: Reassessing the 'Maghribi Traders'," *Past & Present* 216 (2012): 3–40; Muldrew, *Economy of Obligation*; Oscar Gelderblom, *Cities of Commerce: The Institutional Foundations of International Trade in the Low Countries, 1250–1650* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2013), 87–100.

kinship, in and of itself, could not provide an adequate deterrence to cheating.⁶ Letters provided an opportunity for individuals to report on the activities and performance of other factors. More importantly, letters presented the ability to employ rhetorical strategies highlighting service, affection, and friendship, enabling correspondents to demonstrate their trustworthiness through the exchange of information and the performance of duties and favors.⁷

This chapter uses the collections of letters left by Marten della Faille and Daniel van der Meulen to investigate the correspondence networks constructed by elite Netherlandish merchants in the late sixteenth century. In the first place, the networks of Marten and Daniel derived from the extraordinary growth of the economy of Antwerp in the sixteenth century. English wool, South German silver, and Portuguese spices came together in the fairs of Brabant to form the pillars of Antwerp's economic expansion. Native merchants had little impact on the development of Antwerp's economy in the beginning of the sixteenth century, but by the middle of the century, native merchants began to take advantage of the opportunities provided by Antwerp's

⁶ Yoram Ben-Porath, "The F-connection: Families, Friends, and Firms and the Organization of Exchange," *Population and Development Review* 6, no. 1 (1980): 1–30; Peter Mathias, "Strategies of Reducing Risk by Entrepreneurs in the Early Modern Period," in *Entrepreneurs and Entrepreneurship in Early Modern Times: Merchants and Industrialists within the Orbit of the Dutch Staple Market*, ed. Clé Lesger and Leo Noordegraaf (The Hague: Stichting Hollandse Historische Reeks, 1995); Luuc Kooijmans, "Risk and Reputation: On the Mentality of Merchants in the Early Modern Period," in *Entrepreneurs and Entrepreneurship in Early Modern Times: Merchants and Industrialists within the Orbit of the Dutch Staple Market*, ed. Clé Lesger and Leo Noordegraaf (The Hague: Stichting Hollandse Historische Reeks, 1995); Guido Alfani and Vincent Gourdon, "Entrepreneurs, Formalization of Social Ties, and Trustbuilding in Europe (Fourteenth to Twentieth centuries)," *Economic History Review* 65, no. 3 (2012): 1005–1028; Sebouh Aslanian, "The Circulation of Men and Credit: The Role of the Commenda and the Family Firm in Julfan Society," *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 50, no. 2-3 (2007): 124–170; Christopher H. Johnson, et al., eds. *Transregional and Transnational Families in Europe and Beyond: Experiences Since the Middle Ages* (New York: Berghahn Books, 2011); Sharon Kettering, "Patronage and Kinship in Early Modern France," *French Historical Studies* 16, no. 2 (1988): 408–435.

⁷ Paul D. McLean, *The Art of the Network: Strategic Interaction and Patronage in Renaissance Florence* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2007); Natalie Zemon Davis, *The Gift in Sixteenth-Century France* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2000).

role in European trade to participate in long-distance trade.⁸ The Della Failles present an extraordinary example of the possibilities available to native merchants. Jan de Oude used his connections to the Venetian De Hane firm to directly connect Italy to northwestern Europe.⁹ The Van der Meulens followed a more representative path. The trade lines first developed by Jan van der Meulen and then amplified by his widow linked the Antwerp market to the fairs in Strasbourg and Frankfurt, only developing a more long-distance character in the 1580s.¹⁰

The Dutch Revolt and the division between a loyal south and independent north after the fall of Antwerp in 1585 provided the immediate background to the networks discussed here. The division of the Low Countries both restricted communication across political boundaries and precipitated an exodus of Flemish and Brabantine merchants from their homeland, leading to a significant geographic dispersal of merchants previously concentrated in Antwerp.¹¹ Amsterdam eventually developed into Antwerp's successor, but in the immediate aftermath of August 1585,

⁸ Herman van der Wee, *The Growth of the Antwerp Market and the European Economy (Fourteenth–Sixteenth Centuries)*, 3 vols. (The Hague: Nijhoff, 1963); Jeroen Puttevils, “The Ascent of Merchants From the Southern Low Countries: From Antwerp to Europe, 1480-1585” (PhD diss., University of Antwerp, 2012).

⁹ The trade of Jan de Oude and Marten has been closely studied in Brulez, *Firma Della Faille*.

¹⁰ The trade of the Van der Meulens has been less studied than that of the Della Failles. However, the outlines of their trade in the 1580s and the expansion of the trade into the 1590s is discussed in Gisela Jongbloet-van Houtte, “Inleiding,” in *Brieven en andere bescheiden betreffende Daniel van der Meulen, 1584-1600*, ed. Gisela Jongbloet-van Houtte (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1986), xxxvi–lxii; J. H. Kernkamp, ed. *De handel van Daniel van der Meulen c.s., in het bijzonder rond de jaren 1588-1592: Werkcollege economische geschiedenis* (Leiden: Universiteit Leiden, 1969).

¹¹ On the diaspora of merchants from Flanders and Brabant, see Wilfrid Brulez, “De diaspora der Antwerpse kooplieden op het einde van de 16de eeuw,” *Bijdragen voor de geschiedenis der Nederlanden* 15 (1960): 279–306; R. van Roosbroeck, *Emigranten: Nederlandse vluchtelingen in Duitsland (1550–1600)* (Louvain: Davidsfonds, 1968); J. G. C. A. Briels, *Zuid-Nederlandse Immigratie 1572–1630* (Haarlem: Fibula-Van Dishoeck, 1978); Oscar Gelderblom, *Zuid-Nederlandse kooplieden en de opkomst van de Amsterdamse stapelmarkt (1578-1630)* (Hilversum, The Netherlands: Verloren, 2000); Clé Lesger, *The Rise of the Amsterdam Market and Information Exchange: Merchants, Commercial Expansion and Change in the Spatial Economy of the Low Countries, c.1550–1630* (Aldershot, England: Ashgate, 2006); Maartje van Gelder, *Trading Places: The Netherlandish Merchants in Early Modern Venice* (Leiden: Brill, 2009); Marie-Christine Engels, *Merchants, Interlopers, Seamen and Corsairs: The “Flemish” Community in Livorno and Genoa (1615–1635)* (Hilversum: Verloren, 1997).

exiles retreated to locations throughout northwestern Europe, many with the hope that a reunification would soon be accomplished under the auspices of either Philip II or the rebels.

The collections of letters of Marten and Daniel make it possible to examine the consequences of the fall of Antwerp from both sides of the political divide that, to the consternation of contemporaries, hardened as Farnese's march north stagnated in the second half of the 1580s. Marten and Daniel continually complained of the disruptions and dangers brought by the war and lamented the division of the Low Countries, which separated kin. But they also took advantage of the diffusion of kin and merchants to expand and adapt their networks to the changing economic opportunities brought about by Antwerp's decline.¹² The correspondence networks built by the Della Failles and Van der Meulens highlight the resourcefulness of early modern merchants. From their respective locations, Marten and Daniel found ways to overcome obstacles to their communication, constructing diverse correspondence networks that provided a basis for not only their economic activities but also their social, political, and personal relations.

This chapter undertakes a quantitative analysis of Marten and Daniel's correspondence networks, providing an overview of the context in which the Van der Meulen and Della Faille sibling groups interacted and developed their relationships to each other and to the wider world. Each of Marten and Daniel's correspondents held a unique position that gave them access to information valuable enough to be worthy of correspondence. The uniqueness of a correspondent might derive from kinship, social position, or their geographic location. The content of the information exchanged depended as much on the social relationship between writer and recipient

¹² Brulez has argued that the creation of a diaspora of Flemish merchants after the fall of Antwerp provided an economic advantage as these merchants expanded their trade at the end of the sixteenth century. Brulez, "De diaspora der Antwerpse kooplui." However, when examining the consequences of the dispersal of Flemish merchants following the fall of Antwerp, the advantages of geographic diversity must be weighed against the social repercussions of the distances opened up between kin and members of Antwerp's community of merchants. See further discussion in Chapter 8.

as their geographic locations, which affected the type of information they could come across or the types of activities they could perform. In other words, correspondence networks were both relational and spatial.¹³ Marten and Daniel based their specific networks on the often overlapping pillars of kinship and trade. Both possessed interests and relationships beyond family and economics, but the structure of their networks was constructed around the social relations among kin and specifically within sibling groups. Comparing the two networks of Marten and Daniel, it will become apparent that Marten occupied a central position at the top of the hierarchical structure of his network, acting as the successor to his deceased father. On the other hand, the collection of Daniel's letters began when he was subordinate to the kin around him, but Daniel grew into a role within his sibling group that enabled him to become an increasingly central node in the larger network constructed by his siblings.

2. The Correspondence Collections

The archives of the Della Faille and Van der Meulen families possess two systematic collections of letters that are the basis for the content of this chapter. Relatively few of the letters Marten sent and received over his lifetime remain among his surviving papers. The Della Faille de Leverghem Archive contains a miscellaneous array of letters received by Marten. However, these do not constitute a systematic collection, and therefore their contents will not be treated here.¹⁴ More useful for understanding Marten's correspondence network is a letter book in the

¹³ Manuel Castells, *The Rise of the Network Society* (Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishers, 1996); Mark Granovetter, "The Strength of Weak Ties," *American Journal of Sociology* 78, no. 6 (1973): 1360–1380.

¹⁴ Many of the letters in this collection are contemporary copies of letters received, which only contain the main ideas from the letters and not the entire contents of the letter. See Della Faille de Leverghem Archive, inventory 4, Private collection, Lozer, Belgium (hereafter DFL).

Della Faille d’Huyse Archive.¹⁵ This large leather bound book contains copies of the letters Marten wrote from May 4th 1585 until October 30th 1586, directly before and immediately after the reconquest of Antwerp by Farnese. An even richer collection of letters has been preserved in the Daniel van der Meulen Archive. This archive contains thousands of letters sent to Daniel by hundreds of correspondents.¹⁶ The earliest letter sent to Daniel preserved in the archive is a letter written by the French theologian Theophile de Banos in 1578, when Daniel was 23 or 24 years old.¹⁷ The collection ends after Daniel’s death in 1600 at the age of 45. Relatively few letters written by Daniel have been saved, so this analysis concentrates on the letters Daniel received.¹⁸ It also does not include letters in the archive that were not originally intended for Daniel’s eyes.¹⁹

Both of the collections present challenges in gathering data about the letters that Marten sent and Daniel received. The copies of the letters Marten sent were done by various individuals and in a number of styles. Information about the date, correspondent, and destination are not always present. The book was intended for use and reference by individuals close to Marten and

¹⁵ Marten’s letter book, Della Faille d’Huyse Archive, inventory NNN, Rijksarchief te Gent, Ghent, Belgium (hereafter DFH).

¹⁶ Daniël van der Meulen en Hester de la Faille, *zijn vrouw, 1550-1648*, Erfgoed Leiden en Omstreken, Leiden, The Netherlands (hereafter DvdM). A handful of letters sent to Daniel are located in Collectie Antoine Lempereur, inventory 183, Bibliotheca Thysiana Archief, Universiteit Leiden, Leiden, The Netherlands (hereafter CL). These have been included in the analysis.

¹⁷ DvdM 50. Collectie Lempereur also contains two letters from 1578 written by Hubert Languet. See CL 183-19 and 20. Languet has been associated with the publication of *Vindiciae contra tyrannos* and was involved in William of Orange’s *Apologia*. On Languet and his relationship to the Revolt in the Netherlands, see Béatrice Nicollier-De Weck, *Hubert Languet (1518–1581): Un réseau politique international de Melanchthon à Guillaume d’Orange* (Geneva: Droz, 1995).

¹⁸ The letters sent by Daniel are found in DvdM 291, DvdM 435, DvdM 594, and DvdM 676.

¹⁹ Distinguishing between letters sent to Daniel and letters sent to others is not always clear cut. Most of the letters in the archive from the 1570s were sent to Abraham Loiseleur en François Pierens and concerned the trade of François Pierens and Antoine Lempereur. These must have come into Daniel’s possession at a later date or through later misplacement, and so they are not included in the analysis. Daniel also received many letters and copies of letters concerning discussions over the inheritance of Jan de Oude, but these too are not included. On the other hand, letters sent to Abreham Berrewijns, Daniel’s secretary, were intended for Daniel’s eyes and so are included.

not necessarily for the perusal of outsiders.²⁰ Another complication comes from the arrival of Marten's partner Jan Borne in Antwerp. From the beginning of 1586, Jan Borne assisted Marten in his daily activities and signed almost all of the letters, though the copy often notes that Borne did so under the authority of Marten. Jan Borne also wrote letters in his own capacity, including a number of letters that he sent to associates in Verona. The below analysis includes all letters sent from Antwerp, while it excludes the letters that Borne sent when he travelled to Middelburg. Finally, though copies of the vast majority of the letters Marten sent appear in the book, the letter book does not contain all of Marten's correspondence during this period. This can be seen in comparing the letter book to the letters found in the Daniel van der Meulen Archive. The first letters Marten sent to Daniel and Hester were copied into the book, but those Marten sent to Daniel in September and August 1586 did not.²¹

Concerning the letters sent to Daniel, it is clear that the vast majority of the letters Daniel received from 1584 until 1600 have been preserved in the archive. However, there are known lacunae, as well as the odd missing letter. For instance, though there are 311 letters from Daniel's brother Andries preserved in the archive, there are obvious gaps. There are only 10 letters from Andries in 1592, and the first letter in 1593 is from 16 March. From 21 March 1594 until 3 October 1595, there are no letters from Andries. The last letter preserved in the archive from Andries is from 4 July 1597, leaving a silence of three years until Daniel's death.²² To all appearances the missing letters from Andries is an extreme case, but even when the

²⁰ The lack of consistency in the way that the letters and information about the letters is listed makes it difficult to properly identify all letters. I have not been able to identify the recipient in 38 letters, and so these unidentified letters are not included in the analysis. Brulez provides a description of the letter book and notes the difficulties in working with it. Brulez, *Firma Della Faille*, 441–442.

²¹ Marten's letters to Daniel and Hester, DvdM 274.

²² Portions of Andries's letters have also been damaged, including letters from 1586 and from 1592. Jongbloet-van Houtte, "Inleiding," lvi–lvii nn. 217 and 218.

correspondence of a certain individual has been more completely preserved, there is always a chance that miscellaneous letters have fallen prey to the vicissitudes of time.

The complexity of the Daniel van der Meulen Archive presents its own set of troubles. The inventory of the archive, completed in 1929, is an invaluable source for the analysis of Daniel's correspondence network, and the present study is only possible because of the work done by past archivists. However, the organization of the archive also introduced a handful of issues. The inventory organizes the letters by correspondent, but the letters from some individuals were split between multiple inventory numbers. Within the individual inventory numbers, each document was given a piece number, and the inventory lists the number of pieces in each inventory number. This provides an estimation of the number of letters sent by each correspondent to Daniel. However, there is inconsistency in the ways that letters are numbered. Sometimes one letter, no matter how long, is equal to one piece, but in other places one letter may consist of multiple pieces. I have done my best to identify where this occurs and count only full letters.

Due to the difficulties presented by both collections, the statistics presented here must be treated with some care and should not be considered definitive. However, there is ample evidence—provided by the content of letters themselves and other documents in the archives—that the extant letters accurately reflect the general structure of Marten and Daniel's networks.

The remainder of the chapter will discuss the two collections of letters, beginning with the smaller collection of letters written by Marten and then moving on to Daniel's larger collection of letters he received. The greater number of letters over a longer period of time enables a more detailed discussion of the development of Daniel's network than is possible for Marten's correspondence. However, in the period covered by Marten's letter book, he already

possessed a mature and fully developed network, providing a useful point of comparison to the network Daniel built after moving to Leiden in 1591. The analysis of both networks will discuss the most important correspondents, as well as the geographic structure of the correspondence. The trade carried on by the two families had the greatest impact on the geography of the networks, and so the chapter will also provide an overview of the trade activities of the Della Failles and Van der Meulens.²³ The chapter concludes by comparing the two correspondence networks.

3. Marten della Faille's Correspondence Network

A. The Trade of Marten della Faille

The head of a wealthy merchant family and the primary investor in one of the largest companies of Netherlandish merchants, Marten used correspondence to organize trade that crisscrossed Europe from England and the Low Countries to Iberia and Italy. In September 1583, Marten created a company with Jan Borne, Jan de Wale, and Thomas Coteels for a ten year period.²⁴ Making extensive use of the connections Marten inherited after his father's death, the firm had branches in London, Venice, Verona, Naples, and Antwerp. In the period covered by Marten's letter book, the heads of these branches were respectively Coteels, De Wale, Borne, and Geerard Corhase, while Marten headed the central branch in Antwerp. The partners all had a wide degree of independence in making decisions and directing the various factors used by the

²³ The discussion of the economic activities of the two families draws heavily on Brulez, *Firma Della Faille*; Jongbloet-van Houtte, "Inleiding"; Kernkamp, *De handel van Daniel van der Meulen*. These three sources have also been important for identifying correspondents.

²⁴ The investments in the company were Marten £34000, Jan Borne £8000, Jan de Wale £8000, and Thomas Coteels £2600. Brulez, *Firma Della Faille*, 66. The company ended in 1594. After its liquidation, Marten retired from active trade. Brulez, *Firma Della Faille*, 205–209; Yves Schmitz, *Les della Faille*, vol. 3, *Les Branches des Barons de Nevele et d'Estienpuis* (Brussels: Imprimerie F. Van Buggenhoudt, 1967), 35–42.

company throughout Europe, but Marten possessed the greatest amount of influence and acted as de facto head of the firm.²⁵

The trade of the company largely followed the pattern set by the trade Jan de Oude established over the previous thirty years.²⁶ The backbone of the firm's trade consisted of English woolens and linen and light draperies from the Low Countries transported overland to Italy in return for silk produced in Verona and Naples.²⁷ By the time that Marten's letter book began, the company had started to break from the traditional trade routes used by Jan de Oude. The firm began to invest in maritime trade from Holland and England to Iberia and the Mediterranean. In the vanguard of the northern invasion of the Mediterranean, Marten sent ships from England to Venice as early as 1582 and to Naples from 1585.²⁸ The company invested heavily in the grain trade from Holland to Italy after 1590. Trade with Iberia never developed into an important part of the company's activities, but they tested the trade by sending three ships to Seville and Lisbon from 1584 to 1586.²⁹

B. Overview of Marten's letter book

Marten played a similar role within the company that Andries van der Meulen would come to inhabit for the trade of the Van der Meulens after 1585, occupying a central place in the

²⁵ Brulez, *Firma Della Faille*, 75–76.

²⁶ Overview of Jan de Oude's trade is provided in Brulez, *Firma Della Faille*, 23–48.

²⁷ Brulez, *Firma Della Faille*, 83–93. The largest breaks from the trade of Jan de Oude were the increased importance of Naples and the decrease in the amount of linen sent to London.

²⁸ Brulez, *Firma Della Faille*, 124–145. On the concept of the northern invasion of the Mediterranean see Fernand Braudel, *The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean World in the Age of Philip II*, vol. 1 (New York: Harper & Row, 1972); Jonathan I. Israel, *Dutch Primacy in World Trade, 1585-1740* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989); Molly Greene, "Beyond the Northern Invasion: The Mediterranean in the Seventeenth Century," *Past & Present* 174, no. 1 (2002): 42–71; Gelder, *Trading Places*.

²⁹ Brulez, *Firma Della Faille*, 104–105, 145–148.

exchange of information between the partners of the firm and the factors. After Farnese's reconquests in Flanders and Brabant, Antwerp was used by the company as a place to purchase says and as a market for their Italian silks, but Antwerp never became an important center for either purchasing or selling goods for the company.³⁰ Instead of taking up his time with the daily activities of buying and selling, the letter book shows Marten organizing the main components of the company's trade through correspondence.³¹ He wrote frequently to all of the branches of the company, as well as to factors in all of the locations where the company traded. The relatively short duration of the letter book precludes analysis of the development of Marten's network over time. However, Marten's predominance within the larger networks used by the company is clear. By 1585, Marten was firmly at the heart of a mature correspondence network, orchestrating the movement of goods and credit to a degree that Daniel van der Meulen never reached in his lifetime.

Marten's letter book covers a period of eighteen months in 1585 and 1586, when the consequences of the siege of Antwerp encumbered trade in the city and Marten's ability to communicate with his correspondents. The siege limited opportunities to send letters and increased the possibility that correspondence would be confiscated or lost on the way.³² Even after the city came under Spanish governance, authorities attempted to curtail communication with enemy territories such as the rebellious provinces in the north and England. Despite these hinderances, Marten carried on a robust and diverse correspondence with individuals in 36 different locations. The letter book contains 616 letters sent from Antwerp by Marten, Jan Borne,

³⁰ The company also purchased says on the Antwerp market, and after 1589, Antwerp developed into a secondary market for the sale of silk. Brulez, *Firma Della Faille*, 245–247.

³¹ Brulez, *Firma Della Faille*, 75–77.

³² Marten wrote constantly about the difficulty of sending letters and noted when letters were lost. For example, see Marten to Sybille Stecher, Antwerp, 11 May 1585, DFH NNN.

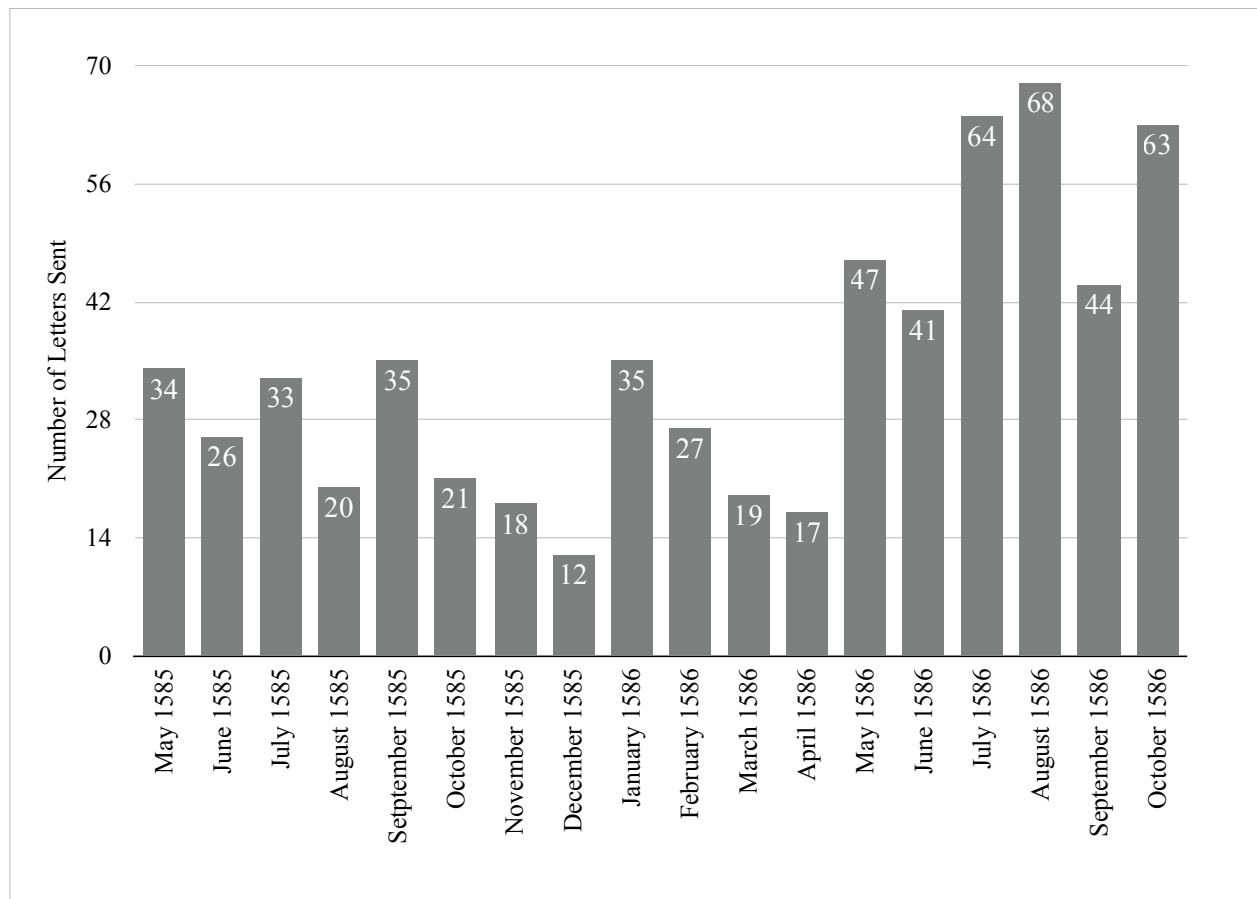
or other servants of Marten. The letters were sent to 86 identifiable correspondents or an average of 7.1 letters to each correspondent.³³ The letter book may only provide a partial snap shot of Marten's entire network, but the diversity in both his correspondents and their geographic dispersal demonstrates the reach of Marten's network even at its most limited.

Over the eighteen month period, Marten averaged writing over one letter (1.13) per day. Unsurprisingly, Marten tended to send a handful of letters on a single day. On days when Marten dispatched letters from Antwerp, he sent an average of 2.8 letters. Marten sent letters on all days of the week, but he sent more letters on Sunday—when the courier for Italy left Antwerp—than any other day of the week.³⁴ The siege clearly affected the frequency of Marten's correspondence. While Marten sent an impressive 169 letters from May to October in 1585, over the same months in 1586 Marten sent 327 letters, almost twice as many. Indeed, it was not until May 1586 that Marten consistently averaged writing more than one letter per day after a much less productive period in the months following the recapture of the city.

³³ This average does not include the 38 letters in which the recipient is unknown.

³⁴ Brulez, *Firma Della Faille*, 442.

Figure 1.1: Letters Sent by Marten per Month



An analysis of Marten’s relationship to the 86 identified correspondents highlights the mercantile nature of Marten’s correspondence. At least 61 correspondents participated in his trade activities in some way. Foremost among his economic contacts were his partners Thomas Coteels and Jan de Wale. The siege severely limited Marten’s ability to communicate with his partners, leading Thomas and Jan de Wale to communicate directly in 1585. Even with the strictly limited ability to send letters to Italy and England in 1585, the letter book contains at least 34 letters to Thomas in London and 23 letters to Jan de Wale in Venice.³⁵ Alongside partners, Marten remained in close contact with the activity of the firm’s factors and their

³⁵ The first letter to Jan de Wale in the letter book is from 11 January 1585. There are no letters to Jan Borne in Verona in the letter book. Brulez, *Firma Della Faille*, 243–244.

activities with the commodities traded by the firm. Over half of the letters in the letter book—370 letters—were sent to 37 factors used by the company.³⁶ In addition, Marten communicated with 22 merchants who traded independently of the company, sending them 57 letters. Though not working directly for Marten's firm, many of these correspondents participated in the activities of the company through commission trade. Commission trade enabled the company to expand their trade opportunities and take advantage of the expertise of merchants beyond the agents held by the company for single ventures.³⁷

A significant number of Marten's mercantile correspondents were also linked to him through kinship. Marten's network built on that created by his father Jan de Oude, who had made ample use of kin in filling positions within the trade network. This began at the top. Marten was not only related to all three of his partners, Jan de Wale, Jan Borne, and Thomas Coteels had all worked under Jan de Oude.³⁸ Only seven of the 37 factors with whom Marten corresponded possessed a known relation to Marten, but they numbered among the most important and frequently contacted of the factors. Marten sent 15 or more letters to five of the seven factors who were also kin.³⁹ A higher percentage of the independent merchants found in the letter book

³⁶ The distinction between factors and independent merchants cannot be exact. However, the distinction is meaningful, as the two categories of individuals interacted with Marten in different ways. The statistics presented here are meant to give a general overview of the frequency of the two different types of interactions.

³⁷ On the commission trade that other did for the company and that the company did for other merchants see Brulez, *Firma Della Faille*, 106–108; Gelderblom, *Cities of Commerce*, 78–83.

³⁸ Jan Borne's exact relationship with Marten is unknown. Jan de Wale was Marten's first cousin (father/sister/son), and Thomas was Marten's brother-in-law, through his marriage to Marten's wife's sister. Thomas had worked under Marten's auspices in the branch in London, while Jan Borne and Jan de Wale headed the branches of Verona and Venice respectively.

³⁹ There are 8.7 letters per non-kin factor, while there are 15.57 for factors who were also kin.

were kin than among factors, but they received about the same amount of letters as non-kin merchants.⁴⁰

The overlap between economic and kinship relationships is best exhibited by the correspondence Marten carried on with his siblings and wife who had left Antwerp to reside in Holland during the siege. Marten's letters to his closest kin interspersed discussion of trade, concerns over the division of the inheritance of Jan de Oude, and more personal details about the safety of his family members.⁴¹ All of Marten's six siblings lived in Holland for at least part of the period covered by the letter book. There are no letters in the letter book to his brothers Carlo and Jan, but Marten wrote to Jacques (6 letters), Robert van Eeckeren and Anna (5), and the newly married Daniel and Hester (5). In addition, Marten had sent his wife and some of his younger children to wait out the siege in the relative safety of Dordrecht. Before Sybille Stecher returned after the fall of Antwerp, Marten wrote 12 letters to his wife and seven to his son Joris. Marten worried greatly about Sybilla's health, as she gave birth to a son in June 1585 in Dordrecht. Yet, Marten also took advantage of Sybilla's position in Dordrecht to have her direct trade activities in Holland. He obviously had ample confidence in his wife's capabilities, writing to her about news in Antwerp, asking her to post letters on to other correspondents, and asking her to handle the actions of Marten's factors in Holland.⁴²

⁴⁰ Six of the twenty-two merchants were kin to whom Marten sent 16 letters.

⁴¹ On the content of merchant letters, see Trivellato, "Merchant Letters"; Trivellato, *Familiarity of Strangers*, 177–193; Aslanian, "Salt in a Merchant's Letter"; Sadler, "News as a Path to Independence," 68–71.

⁴² On the ability of women to trade within the Low Countries, see Danielle van den Heuvel, *Women and Entrepreneurship: Female Traders in the Northern Netherlands, c. 1580–1815* (Amsterdam: Aksant, 2007); Danielle van den Heuvel, "Partners in Marriage and Business? Guilds and the Family Economy in Urban Food Markets in the Dutch Republic," *Continuity and Change* 23, no. 2 (2008): 217–236.

C. Geography of Marten's Correspondence Network

An analysis of the geographic location of Marten's correspondents reveals the extent to which Marten had direct contact with all of the important areas in which his company traded. Marten sent letters to six different regions in Europe: the Low Countries, both the loyal and rebellious provinces, Germany, Italy, England, Iberia, and France. The siege of Antwerp and the Dutch Revolt affected Marten's communication with all areas, but the exact nature of the effects differed greatly from region to region. Some of the effects lessened after the conquest of Antwerp in August of 1585, but there remained long-term changes associated with the movement of economic gravity from Antwerp to Amsterdam.

Table: 1.1: Marten's Correspondence by Geographic Region⁴³

Areas	Letters	Correspondents	Cities
N Low Countries	160	19	7
Germany	133	16	8
S Low Countries	114	17	8
Italy	88	17	4
England	41	5	1
Iberia	27	6	2
France	8	3	2
Totals	571	83	32

Almost half of the identified letters within the letter book had a destination within the Low Countries. Marten sent 274 letters to 36 correspondents in 15 locations within the Low Countries. Somewhat paradoxically, the siege of Antwerp increased Marten's correspondence with Holland and Zeeland. Marten directed 147 letters to 17 correspondents in Holland and Zeeland, as well as 13 letters to his factor in Harlingen in Friesland. The flight of Marten's wife

⁴³ This does not include the seven letters to five correspondents whose location is unclear or ambiguous.

and siblings to the north has been noted above, but the importance of Holland and Zeeland also reflected the economic changes brought about by the siege and the closure of the Scheldt after 1572.⁴⁴ The letters show that Marten was quick to adapt to the new economic realities and the expanding economies of Holland and Zeeland. Through Hendrick Gillis in Amsterdam and Aert van Erpe and the partners Hans Bernaerts and Hubert Vasseur in Middelburg, Marten began to trade through the most important ports in the north. After 1585, Holland stood alongside England as the primary marketplace for the firm's Mediterranean goods. Marten also took advantage of the dispersal of kin to purchase linen and woolens in Haarlem and Leiden to be sent to the Mediterranean.⁴⁵

The siege and fall of Antwerp had very different consequences for Marten's communication with areas in Flanders and Brabant, both in the short term and long term. Marten sent 114 letters to 16 correspondents in the southern provinces, but before Farnese's entry into Antwerp, the city's Calvinist magistrates strictly limited correspondence with the newly loyal areas of the Low Countries.⁴⁶ Marten only sent six letters to the traditional Flemish manufacturing centers of Kortrijk, Lille, and Ghent in 1585, but he sent 82 letters in 1586. This reflected both the difficulties of communication during the siege and the economic consequences of Farnese's reconquest campaign on manufacturing. The resurgence of textile production in

⁴⁴ On the general changes that occurred after 1585, see Gelderblom, *Zuid-Nederlandse kooplieden*; Lesger, *Rise of the Amsterdam Market*; Brulez, *Firma Della Faille*; Victor Enthoven, *Zeeland en de opkomst van de Republiek: Handel en strijd in de Scheldedelta, c. 1550–1621* (Leiden: Luctor et Victor, 1996); Herman van der Wee, *The Growth of the Antwerp Market and the European Economy (Fourteenth–Sixteenth Centuries)*, vol. 2, *Interpretation* (The Hague: Nijhoff, 1963), 269–282.

⁴⁵ Brulez, *Firma Della Faille*, 248–258. Andries and Daniel also used Hans Bernaerts and Hubert Vasseur as factors in Middelburg. DvdM 139 and DvdM 521.

⁴⁶ Coteels referred to Kortrijk and Lille as the places where Dierick de Jaghere and Lenaert van Driel lived in order to obscure the continued connection they had with these cities under Spanish control. Brulez, *Firma Della Faille*, 243.

Flanders is demonstrated by Marten's continued interaction with factors in these areas. The company continued to purchase textiles from Lille and Kortrijk through their long-time factors Jacques de Wale, brother of Jan, Dierick de Jaghere, and Walran Helbau among others. However, in the long run purchases in Haarlem and Leiden outpaced those in Flanders.⁴⁷

Beyond his correspondence with his factors, Marten also kept abreast of the news about the reconquest of Farnese. Of particular importance was Marten's communication with individuals such as Christiaan van Wiele, attorney of the Raad van Brabant, to whom he sent seven letters, through which he stayed informed of events in Brussels after it fell to Farnese. Marten's personal loyalty to the crown and contacts such as Van Wiele gave him confidence in his security after the conquests. Indeed, Marten readily expressed his belief that all of the rebellious areas would soon fall to the armies of Farnese in his letters. His confidence was such that he invested some of the firm's capital in land, whose value he believed would skyrocket after the reunification of the Low Countries.⁴⁸

Other than the Low Countries, Marten sent the greatest number of letters to Germany. In part, Marten's correspondence in Germany proceeded along the lines of the transportation routes to Italy, either through the Baltic and Hamburg or directly over land through Cologne.⁴⁹ Marten sent 51 letters to four correspondents in Cologne, while he communicated frequently with Marten Entzesperger, the firm's factor in Hamburg. From the north, the goods were directed to the Widhols firm in Augsburg, who cared for their transport over the Alps. Marten sent 31 letters to the brothers Jan and Jeronimo Widhols. However, the structure of Marten's correspondence in

⁴⁷ Brulez, *Firma Della Faille*, 245 and 248–258; Wee, *Growth of Antwerp Market: Interpretation*, 269–282.

⁴⁸ Brulez, *Firma Della Faille*, 212–213, 120–123.

⁴⁹ Brulez, *Firma Della Faille*, 83–93, 324–342.

Germany also deviated from this norm in two ways. With the removal of English merchants from Hamburg, Emden gained temporary prominence as a transportation center for Mediterranean goods to be sent to England.⁵⁰ Secondly, Rigo Minau, the Postmaster General in Cologne, became Marten's most frequent correspondent. Marten charged Minau with facilitating communication between himself and Coteels. In order to avoid confiscation of letters after the fall of Antwerp, Coteels addressed his letters to "Widhols" through Cologne where Minau would redirect the letters to Marten, while Marten did the same for his letters to Coteels.⁵¹ In this way, Marten used his connections within the postal system to remain in contact with areas at war with Spain.

Marten had a limited correspondence with his partners and factors in Italy in 1585, sending only four letters to Venice and one to Naples. But after Jan Borne's arrival in Antwerp, the correspondence increased greatly. In 1586, Jan de Wale, still present in Venice, undoubtedly had increased independence with Marten and Borne in Antwerp. However, the two partners in Antwerp had direct communication with the three main centers of the firm's Italian trade: Venice, Verona, and Naples. Over the entire period, the letter book contains 36 letters to both Venice and Verona. In the latter city, Marten's paternal cousin Piat della Faille had taken control of the branch in Borne's absence.⁵² Marten sent a further 14 letters to Geerard Corhase in Naples. Thus, at least in 1586, Marten had direct influence over the trade the firm conducted on the Italian Peninsula.

⁵⁰ Marten also experimented with trading through Emden, sending 23 letters to Samuel van Wingene. Brulez, *Firma Della Faille*, 259–261.

⁵¹ Marten sent Minau 41 letters after the fall of Antwerp but only two before. Brulez, *Firma Della Faille*, 243 and 260–261.

⁵² The correspondence with Verona was augmented by Jan Borne writing to associates in the city of his residence.

During the period of the letter book, the firm began to expand their maritime trade, sailing directly from Holland and Zeeland or England to Iberia or through the Straits to the Mediterranean.⁵³ Marten took an active role in this expansion. As noted above, the Dutch Revolt made communication between Antwerp and London difficult both before and after the fall of Antwerp. Yet, Marten carried on relatively consistent correspondence with Thomas in London. Marten wrote to an additional four correspondents in London, though in limited quantity. Thomas dealt with many of the day to day details of the maritime trade, but Marten was also directly involved through his correspondence. He wrote seven letters to Koenraad Coymans in Lisbon, who received two ships with woolen cloth from Holland in 1585 and 1586. The firm never created a branch in Seville as Jan de Oude had earlier possessed, but they did send ships to Seville in 1584 and 1586. Marten corresponded with the firm's factor Nicolaas Anteunis, as well as with his assistants Jan Cloribus and Stephano Coteels, the younger brother of Thomas.⁵⁴ Finally, Marten also sent eight letters to France. The firm did very little trade in France, but the company used Hans Gyse, to whom Marten sent five letters, in Calais to smuggle goods from Holland and Zeeland into the southern provinces.⁵⁵

Jan Borne's short stay in Antwerp in 1586 and the relative autonomy of all of the partners in the firm should not distract from Marten's powerful position. Though his position remained in dispute among his siblings, Marten acted as the successor of his father, living in his house and taking up the reigns of his trade. Marten conducted his trade alongside partners, but his capital, augmented by the capital he invested for family members, dwarfed that of all his partners

⁵³ Brulez, *Firma Della Faille*, 124–183.

⁵⁴ Brulez, *Firma Della Faille*, 261–264.

⁵⁵ Brulez, *Firma Della Faille*, 243.

combined. Whereas his partners specialized in trade in London, Venice, or Verona, Marten oversaw the entire structure and organized the strategy of the firm. He did this through the information he gained in his extensive correspondence network. Blending together kin and non-kin, Marten's letter book shows him to have constructed a correspondence network that covered all areas of his interests. Through his correspondence, Marten directed trade, wielded power amongst his kin, and developed links to the reestablished political power in Brussels.

4. Daniel van der Meulen's Correspondence Network, 1578–1591

A. Overview of Daniel's Correspondence Network

In comparison with the letter book of Marten, the collection of letters in the Daniel van der Meulen Archive provides an opportunity to investigate the development of a correspondence network over a much longer period of time. The archive contains an estimated 6,712 letters from 394 correspondents.⁵⁶ Daniel received letters from 109 locations, including letters from as far as Morocco and Cape Lopez in modern-day Gabon. Though the letters begin as early as 1578, the vast majority of the extant letters were sent to Daniel after he moved to Leiden in October 1591. Indeed, 6,245 letters, or 93% of the total letters in the archive, were written after Daniel took up residence in Leiden. The story is the same in terms of correspondents and locations from which he received letters. After 1591, Daniel received letters from all but 30 correspondents and six locations from which he received letters in the entire collection. Because of the drastic changes in Daniel's network over time, the analysis below is divided into four distinct time periods. The analysis uses the changes to the geography of Daniel's correspondence as a lens to understand

⁵⁶ The letters in the Daniel van der Meulen Archive have been organized into 426 inventory numbers, spanning DvdM 258 to 684, though some letters can be found in other inventory numbers. On the letters in the archive, see Jongbloet-van Houtte, "Inleiding"; J. H. Kernkamp, "Het Van der Meulen-archief ca.," *Bijdragen en Mededelingen betreffende de geschiedenis der Nederlanden* 85 (1970): 49–62.

the uses Daniel made of his connections, as well as the strengths and weaknesses of Daniel's network. However, first, it will be useful to discuss the characteristics of Daniel's network as a whole, keeping in mind the overriding influence of the letters he received after 1591.

Kin constituted the backbone of Daniel's correspondence network. Almost one-third (32%) of Daniel's correspondents possessed a known kinship relation to Daniel of one sort or another.⁵⁷ These 126 kin sent Daniel 3,610 letters or 54% of the entire collection. With no letters from his parents, the closest kin represented in the collection are his siblings, both consanguineal and affinal. Daniel received at least one letter from every marital pair of his three siblings and six living siblings-in-law. He received 1,208 letters from 11 of his siblings, ranging from the one letter he received from Steven della Faille to the over 600 from Jacques della Faille.⁵⁸ The collection shows no preference for consanguineous over affinal kin. The kin represented in the collection can be divided by those related to Daniel through his natal family, through his marriage in the Della Faille family, and to the Malapert family, who had connections to both the Van der Meulens and Della Failles. Daniel received more letters (2,304) from more individuals (58) related to him through the Della Faille family than from his natal kin group of 48 correspondents who sent 1,230 letters. Both Daniel and Andries's marriages linked the Van der Meulens to the Malapert family. Twenty individuals who were most closely related to the multiple branches of the Malapert family sent Daniel 346 letters.

Quantitatively, the collection of letters in the Daniel van der Meulen Archive is dominated by a very small portion of Daniel's 394 correspondents. Over half of the letters in the collection were written by nine correspondents: 3,461 of the 6712 letters but only 2% of the

⁵⁷ Information about the kinship relations to Daniel and Marten comes from the work of Jongbloet-van Houtte. Jongbloet-van Houtte, "Inleiding," cxvii–cxxxiii.

⁵⁸ This calculation includes the 13 letters Daniel received from his wife, Hester. DvdM 269.

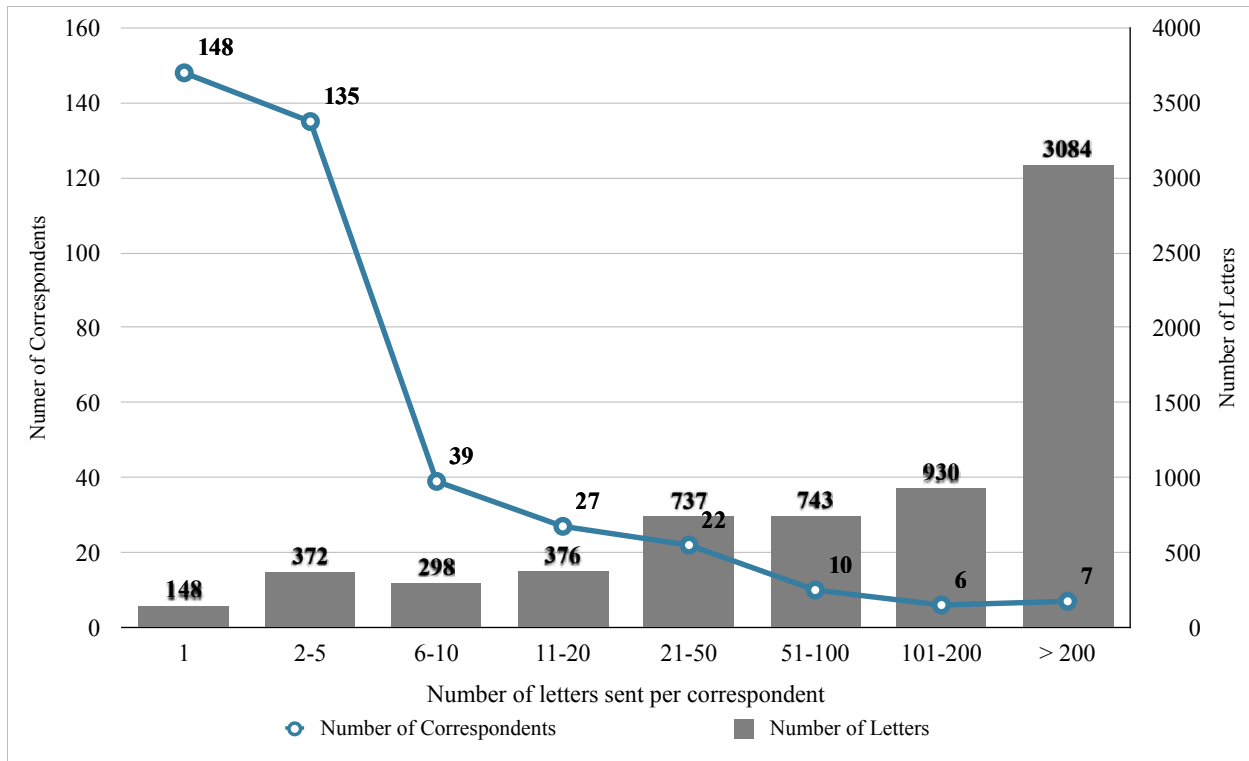
correspondents. Baptista Oyens, the factor of Daniel and Andries in Amsterdam, sent 1,033 letters from the time Daniel moved to Leiden until his death.⁵⁹ Thus, a single correspondent accounts for over 15% of the collection. Jacques della Faille is the only correspondent for whom there are even half as many letters (616 letters) as Baptista's, and the next most numerous is the letters sent by Andries with 311 letters. On the other hand, there is only a single letter from 148 correspondents (37.6% of correspondents). The drastically uneven distribution of the letters sent per correspondent is demonstrated through the large discrepancy between the mean of 17 letters received per correspondent and the median of only two letters received.

Table: 1.2: Range of Daniel's Correspondents

Ranges	1	2-5	6-10	11-20	21-50	51-100	101-200	>200
Correspondents	148	135	39	27	22	10	6	7
Letters	148	372	298	376	737	743	930	3084

⁵⁹ Baptista's brother Samuel also wrote to Daniel under Baptista's name. DvdM 609. On Baptista's role in the trade of Daniel, see R. Andriessen and H. F. Cohen, "Op zoek naar een stapelmarkt: Onderzoekingen in het archief-Daniël van der Meulen," in *De handel van Daniel van der Meulen c.s., in het bijzonder rond de jaren 1588-1592: Werkcollege economische geschiedenis*, ed. J. H. Kernkamp (Leiden: Universiteit Leiden, 1969).

Figure 1.2: Range of Daniel’s Correspondents: Letters Sent per Correspondent



It is important to note the significance of both extremes of the inverse relationship between the large number of correspondents who sent few letters and the relatively few correspondents who sent many letters. A more in depth analysis of Daniel’s most frequent correspondents provides a glimpse of the most important relationships Daniel made through correspondence. A frequent and consistent correspondence constructed and nourished intimate relationships, enabled the purchase, movement, and sale of goods across Europe, and provided Daniel with up to date information about political and military affairs in Europe and beyond.⁶⁰ The twenty correspondents who sent Daniel 70 or more letters demonstrates the significance of kin and trade within Daniel’s correspondence network, while also exhibiting his continued

⁶⁰ McLean, *Art of the Network*; Florike Egmond, “Correspondence and Natural History in the Sixteenth Century: Cultures of Exchange in the Circle of Carolus Clusius,” in *Correspondence and Cultural Exchange in Europe, 1400–1700*, ed. Francisco Bethencourt and Florike Egmond (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007); Aslanian, “Salt in a Merchant’s Letter.”

connection to politics. There are 4,567 letters from this group of twenty individuals in the collection.⁶¹

Daniel was related by blood or marriage to thirteen of the twenty correspondents who sent the the greatest number of letters. The group includes many of Daniel's closest relatives, but also quite distant kin. Daniel's sibling group is represented by four individuals: his brother Andries, his sister's husband Antoine Lempereur, and Hester's brothers Jacques and Marten della Faille. The importance of Daniel's marriage to Hester is demonstrated by the presence of seven correspondents related to Daniel through his marriage, while there are only four correspondents related to Daniel's natal family. The two remaining kin in the group were related to the Malapert family.⁶²

Almost all of the correspondents in this group wrote about and were involved in Daniel's trade activities. Three-fourths of the correspondents from whom 70 or more letters are extant played an active role in Daniel's economic activities. The group includes four of the six main partners with whom Daniel traded in the course of his career. Daniel traded alongside his elder brother for his entire life, while Daniel and Andries formed firms with Antoine Lempereur and Nicolas Malapert in 1585 and 1594 respectively. He never created a company with Jacques della Faille, but the two consistently invested in ventures to Spain and Italy.⁶³ Daniel only created lasting trade partnerships with close kin. He and Andries also had a preference for kin in choosing their factors. Seven of the eleven factors in the group were related to Daniel through ties of kinship. However, the presence of four non-kin factors among Daniel's most frequent

⁶¹ These correspondents sent an average of 228.35 letters and a median of 169 letters.

⁶² Nicolas Malapert, Andries's brother-in-law, had his closest connection through the Van der Meulens, but Everart Becker was related through marriage to the sister of Louis Malapert, Daniel's brother-in-law.

⁶³ The two partners who are not part of this group are Jean Vivien, who sent 46 letters, and François Pierens, who sent 25 letters. See below for further discussion of Daniel and Andries's trade activities.

correspondents, including Baptista Oyens, demonstrates that Daniel and Andries in no way excluded non-kin from their trade networks.⁶⁴

Five of Daniel's top twenty correspondents did not participate in the trade of Andries and Daniel. Two of the five were affinal kin who were intimately involved in the disputed inheritance of Jan de Oude. Almost all of Marten della Faille's letters directly concerned the inheritance, while Jan van der Beke, who married a niece of Jan de Oude, played an important intermediary role within the disputes. As pensionary of Vlissingen, Van der Beke also provided Daniel with a valuable political contact, helping to maintain Daniel's connection to the exiled political elite of Antwerp.⁶⁵ Daniel's continued interest in political affairs is further exhibited by his correspondence from the three remaining non-kin members of this group. Godevart Montens served as an alderman of Antwerp with Andries and then became burgemeester of Breda from 1596 to 1600. Meanwhile, the letters from Jacques Bongars and Paul Choart, both representatives of Henry IV, provide evidence of Daniel's involvement in European-wide Calvinist political circles.⁶⁶

⁶⁴ The four non-kin agents were Baptista Oyens and Jacques de Velaer in Amsterdam, Gerard Mahieu in Naples, and Nicolaas Tzerrarts in Dordrecht. Gerard Mahieu worked with Balthasar Noirot, a member of the Della Faille family, but because he was the head factor in Naples, I have considered the letters he sent from Naples to be from a non-kin. On the use of kin among merchants, see Richard Grassby, *Kinship and Capitalism: Marriage, Family, and Business in the English Speaking World, 1580–1740* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001); Aslanian, "Circulation of Men and Credit"; Albane Forestier, "Risk, Kinship and Personal Relationships in Late Eighteenth-Century West Indian Trade: The Commercial Network of Tobin & Pinney," *Business History* 52, no. 6 (2010): 912–931; Peter Mathias, "Risk, Credit and Kinship in Early Modern Enterprise," in *The Early Modern Atlantic Economy*, ed. John J. McCusker and Kenneth Morgan (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000); Philip D. Curtin, *Cross-Cultural Trade in World History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984).

⁶⁵ Jan van der Beke married Catharina de Wale, niece of Jan de Oude and widow of Herman Pottey, who had been Jan de Oude's agent in London.

⁶⁶ Ole Peter Grell, "The Creation of a Transnational, Calvinist Network and its Significance for Calvinist Identity and Interaction in Early Modern Europe," *European Review of History: Revue européenne d'histoire* 16, no. 5 (2009): 619–636; Ole Peter Grell, "Merchants and Ministers: The Foundations of International Calvinism," in *Calvinism in Europe, 1540–1620*, ed. Andrew Pettegree, et al. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994).

The significance of correspondents who sent Daniel the largest number of letters should not take away from the importance of the many correspondents for whom only a few letters are extant. Correspondents who wrote few letters created diversity within Daniel's network, giving him access to information and to contacts not in his normal circles.⁶⁷ In addition, a complete lack or paucity of letters does not necessarily correlate to the closeness of the relationship. Geographic proximity often obviated the need for correspondence, while propinquity to close kin might make it unnecessary to duplicate the links to a kin's correspondents. The archive only contains two letters each from Daniel's brothers-in-law Jan and Carlo, but the content of the letters from Jacques and Marten shows the almost constant contact between Daniel and his brothers-in-law.⁶⁸ There are no letter extant in the archive from Daniel's eldest sister Anna. It is possible that her letters have been lost. However, Daniel's presence beside his brother in Bremen from 1585 until 1591 and the letters written to Daniel by Anna's husband François Pierens made direct communication between Anna and Daniel less necessary.⁶⁹ Such limited communication between kin was not abnormal. In fact, twenty-seven of the individuals who only sent Daniel a single letter were kin, and 68 kin sent five or fewer letters.

A single letter could possess a multitude of meanings and indicate various types of connections between writer and recipient. The existence of only one letter from a correspondent demonstrates the possibility of ties to someone normally outside Daniel's network, as much as it can hide the existence of a more meaningful relationship. For instance, the archive contains one

⁶⁷ Granovetter, "Strength of Weak Ties"; Mark Granovetter, "The Strength of Weak Ties: A Network Theory Revisited," *Sociological Theory* 1 (1983): 201–233.

⁶⁸ This is especially true after Daniel moved to Leiden where Jan also resided. Carlo lived in Dordrecht until 1592, when he moved to a house in Zevenbergen. See especially the letters sent by Marten and Jacques concerning their brothers, DvdM 274 and DvdM 538 respectively.

⁶⁹ François's letters to Daniel, DvdM 297.

letter that Richardot, President of the Privy Council under the Archdukes Albert and Isabella, which he sent to Daniel in 1598. Daniel had been called to meet with Richardot to discuss the possibilities for peace between the the Spanish and the rebellious provinces after Marten della Faille feigned an illness.⁷⁰ After the agreement of peace between France and Spain on 2 May 1598, Richardot wrote to Daniel in an attempt to rekindle peace talks with the Republic.⁷¹ Through the Della Failles, Daniel had possible links to Richardot, but the two had no reason to communicate directly until Richardot decided to activate the potential relationship through sending the letter.⁷² On the other hand, Daniel also received a single letter from Simon Stevin, but the content makes clear the close relationship that Daniel had with Stevin.⁷³ Stevin wrote from Delft to return books that he borrowed from Daniel's large library.⁷⁴ He had intended to bring the books back himself, but his return to Leiden had been delayed. He wished to speak to Daniel on certain points that arose in his readings, but felt it would be better to wait until they could speak at greater length face-to-face. Stevin ended the letter by thanking Daniel for his

⁷⁰ Marten to Daniel, Brussels, 29 December 1597, DvdM 274-56; Marten to Daniel, Brussels, 16 January 1598, DvdM 274-57.

⁷¹ On the negotiations in 1598, see J. H. Kernkamp, "'Vredehandel met Spanje' in 1598," *Bijdragen en Mededelingen van het Historisch Genootschap* 57 (1936): 341–382; J. H. Kernkamp, "Aanvullende stukken op den 'Vredehandel met Spanje' in 1598," *Bijdragen en Mededelingen van het Historisch Genootschap* 61 (1940): 52–59; Violet Soen, "Philip II's Quest: The Appointment of Governors-General during the Dutch Revolt (1559-1598)," *BMGN: Low Countries Historical Review* 126, no. 1 (2011): 3–29.

⁷² Marten sold three houses in Brussels to Richardot, who turned around and sold them for a great profit, much to the dismay of Jan and Carlo della Faille. Answer of Marten to Jan, Jacques, and Carlo, 1 April 1615, DFL 8; Jan and Jacques with Carlo against Marten, Antwerp, 5 January 1615, DFL 8; State of 1594, DFL 12bis-53.

⁷³ Simon Steven to Daniel, Delft, 7 August 1593, DvdM 486-1.

⁷⁴ A list of the book auctioned by Daniel's estate can be found in the Inventory of Daniel's estate, DvdM 68. On Daniel's library, see J. H. Kernkamp, "De bibliotheek van den koopman Daniel van der Meulen onder den Hamer," in *Opstellen bij zijn afscheid van de bibliotheek der Rijksuniversiteit te Utrecht op 31 mei 1940, aangeboden aan G.A. Evers*, ed. A. Hulshof (Utrecht: Oosthoek, 1944).

“*vrientschap*” in allowing him to borrow the books and signed the letter “*U.L. dienstwillighe vrient.*”⁷⁵

The size—in terms of both correspondents and letters received—and geographic dispersal of Daniel’s correspondence network changed greatly over time. A multitude of forces shaped the development of Daniel’s correspondence network. Dividing Daniel’s correspondence network by time period reflects the extent to which it evolved as he matured and changed his geographic location. Naturally, Daniel possessed a more robust network as a wealthy merchant and prominent burgher at the end of his life than as a young bachelor.⁷⁶ Just as importantly, the network shifted and adapted to Daniel’s place of residence, as Daniel developed localized specialization and took advantage of extant links from his location to other areas. Yet, these two factors only mattered in so far as Daniel constructed and maintained active relationships with other individuals who possessed their own network. Daniel’s natal siblings, to whom he was economically, socially, and morally tied, had the greatest influence on the make-up of Daniel’s network. His entrance into the Della Faille sibling group through his marriage to Hester played a role of almost equal importance.⁷⁷ Within the parameters set by Daniel’s location and his relationship to his sibling group, the nature of his network developed in relation to the economic opportunities and trade routes open to and favored by the Van der Meulens and Della Failles, as well as the the political and military situation of the Dutch Revolt.

⁷⁵ Simon Steven to Daniel, Delft, 7 August 1593, DvdM 486-1: “*U.L. dienstwillighe vrient.*”

⁷⁶ A tax levied in 1600 placed Daniel as the seventh wealthiest inhabitant of Leiden with capital estimated at £20,000. R. C. J. van Maanen, “*De vermogensopbouw van de Leidse bevolking in het laatste kwart van de zestiende eeuw,*” *Bijdragen en Mededelingen betreffende de geschiedenis der Nederlanden* 93 (1978): 1–42.

⁷⁷ Susan Broomhall and Jacqueline van Gent, “Corresponding Affections: Emotional Exchange among Siblings in the Nassau Family,” *Journal of Family History* 34, no. 2 (2009): 143–165; Courtney Thomas, “‘The Honour & Credite of the Whole House’: Family Unity and Honour in Early Modern England,” *Cultural and Social History* 10, no. 3 (2013): 329–345.

In order to better understand the development of Daniel’s correspondence network, it is necessary to divide the correspondence into four different periods. The first period covers letters Daniel received in his youth before 1584. The second discusses the letters sent to Daniel while he acted as a representative of Antwerp and the States of Brabant to the rebellious States General in Holland in 1584 and 1585. After the fall of Antwerp, Daniel lived in Bremen with his brother Andries from early October 1585 to September 1591. Finally, the most important period of the collection of letters extended from the time that Daniel moved to Leiden until his death in July of 1600.⁷⁸

Table: 1.3: Time Periods of Daniel’s Correspondence

Time Period	Letters	Correspondents	Cities	Length of period
Before August 1584	18	9	6	
Holland (1584–1585)	175	14	6	396 days
Bremen (1585–1591)	246	48	29	2192 days
Leiden (1591–1600)	6245	368	102	3226 days
Total	6684	439	143	6,814 days

B. Before August 1584

Very few letters exist from the period before Daniel left Antwerp at the age of 29 to act as a representative at the rebellious States General in Antwerp in the summer of 1584. Over a period of six years, 18 letters from nine correspondents in six cities have been preserved in the archives. Whether it was a less robust system of preservation or due to Daniel’s multiple relocations after this period, it is likely that there was a lower survival rate for letters that Daniel received at this early stage. However, as a young bachelor who remained under the purview of family members, Daniel had little reason or opportunity to foster a large correspondence

⁷⁸ There are 28 letters in the Daniel van der Meulen Archive that cannot be dated and so are not included in the following discussion.

network. In spite of these limitations, the letters that have been preserved demonstrate that Daniel developed a number of important contacts in this early portion of his life.

Geographically, Daniel's correspondents clustered in areas where the Van der Meulens had close connections. Daniel received thirteen letters from Cologne and Frankfurt, and these were the only cities in which he had more than one correspondent. The trade of Daniel's mother Elizabeth Zegers centered upon the connection between the Antwerp market and the fairs of Frankfurt and Strasbourg.⁷⁹ With the increasing chaos in the Low Countries, Elizabeth sent Daniel and her three daughters to Antwerp in 1572, when Daniel was just shy of his eighteenth birthday. Elizabeth joined her children in June 1574.⁸⁰ Daniel remained stationed in Cologne until 1580, though he must have attended school and studied law in either Germany or Switzerland during this period.⁸¹ After the death of his eldest brother in the Spanish Fury in 1576, Daniel abandoned his studies and participated in the trade carried on by his family. This led him to travel between Cologne, the fairs in Frankfurt and Strasbourg, and Antwerp.

The letters Daniel received before the fall 1584 demonstrate the connections that Daniel made during his time in Cologne and his various travels. There are few traces of Daniel's economic activity in the letters. Instead, the letters tend to betray Daniel's academic experience and his political interests. At least three of Daniel's correspondents were present in Cologne due to the peace talks between the rebellious provinces and Philip II in 1579.⁸² Daniel's most frequent correspondent was Aggaeus de Albada, the Friesian representative of the States

⁷⁹ Jongbloet-van Houtte, "Inleiding," xxxvi–xl; Donald J. Harreld, *High Germans in the Low Countries: German Merchants and Commerce in Golden Age Antwerp* (Leiden: Brill, 2004).

⁸⁰ Elizabeth did not return to Antwerp until 1582. See Jongbloet-van Houtte, "Inleiding," xix–xx, xx n. 33.

⁸¹ Jongbloet-van Houtte, "Inleiding," xviii n. 22 and xxi n. 39.

⁸² Geoffrey Parker, *The Dutch Revolt*, Revised ed., (London: Penguin Books, 1985).

General. Daniel received five letters from De Albada from Cologne in 1582 and 1583, all of which were written in Latin. Daniel also began a long friendship with the French theologian Theophile de Banos around 1578, when he received a letter from De Banos describing the military situation at the time.⁸³ Finally, Daniel had contact with Hubert Languet, the Huguenot diplomat who was in Orange's inner circle. Languet introduced Daniel to Geo Gilpin, the future English ambassador to the States General.⁸⁴ Thus, while Daniel learned the skills of a merchant in the trade undertaken by his family, he also linked himself to prominent political and religious figures. Before Daniel reached the age of 30, he had integrated himself into international Calvinist circles, creating a nascent network upon which he could draw for the rest of his life.⁸⁵

C. Representative to the States General, 1584–1585

When Daniel arrived in Middelburg on 26 August 1584, he began a new period of his life. In representing his home city and the States of Brabant at the rebellious States General, he distanced himself from his family members, leading to an increased correspondence.⁸⁶ Daniel generated further space between himself and his natal family through his marriage to Hester della Faille in December of 1584. During Daniel's 13-month stay in Holland and Zeeland, he received 175 letters from 14 correspondents. Even with the difficulties of correspondence within the war-torn Low Countries at the time, Daniel averaged receiving a letter every 2.26 days. The letters

⁸³ After De Banos's death in 1595, Daniel became an executor of his testament. Through this position, Daniel received the duty of being patron to two theology students. Jongbloet-van Houtte, "Inleiding," lxxxii–lxxxiv.

⁸⁴ Jongbloet-van Houtte, "Inleiding," xxii and lxix; Nicollier-De Weck, *Hubert Languet*.

⁸⁵ Grell, "Merchants and Ministers"; Grell, "Creation of a Transnational, Calvinist Network"; Ole Peter Grell, *Brethren in Christ: A Calvinist Network in Reformation Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011).

⁸⁶ Gisela Jongbloet-van Houtte, "De belegering en de val van Antwerpen belicht vanuit een koopmans archief: Daniel van der Meulen, gedeputeerde van de Staten van Brabant ter Staten Generaal (1584-1585)," *Bijdragen en Mededelingen betreffende de geschiedenis der Nederlanden* 91 (1976): 23–43.

were sent from six cities, though over 97% of the letters came from Antwerp and Haarlem, the residence of his new brother-in-law Jacques della Faille. Daniel received 131 letters from eight correspondents in Antwerp and 39 from two correspondents in Haarlem, with 38 of these letters coming from Jacques and his wife Josina Hamels. Venice and Cologne are the only locations outside of the Low Countries from which Daniel received letters. The two letters from Jan de Wale concerning the inheritance of Daniel's new wife Hester indicated the expanding networks to which his marriage gave Daniel access.⁸⁷

The letters Daniel received during these 13 months covered two main topics: political letters concerning Daniel's position as a delegate to the States General and family correspondence, which included letters about the trade the Van der Meulens were able to carry on during the siege.⁸⁸ The States of Brabant sent Daniel 14 letters that have been preserved in the archive, while the burgemeesters of Antwerp sent him a further two letters. Daniel's primary correspondent was his older brother Andries, who sent 99 letters during this period. As an alderman of Antwerp, Andries's letters covered both family and political topics. The preponderance of letters from Andries and Jacques della Faille, constituting 78% of the letters Daniel received during this period, shows that despite the growth in the number of letters Daniel received, his correspondence network was actually more homogenous than in the previous period.

D. Bremen Period, 1585–1591

With the fall of Antwerp, Daniel and Andries relocated with their families to neutral territory, safeguarding any capital that remained in Antwerp. After a great deal of discussion,

⁸⁷ The letters from Jan de Wale are in DvdM 157.

⁸⁸ See Chapter 3 for a discussion of the letters Daniel received during this period.

they chose to reside in Bremen.⁸⁹ Daniel and Hester arrived in their new home in early October 1585, having left Holland via Enkhuizen at the end of September.⁹⁰ They continued to reside in Bremen for a period of six years, until they moved to Leiden at the end of September 1591. At first, the new couple lived in the house of the burgemeester Herman Schomakers on the Langestrade. By 1588, they had moved to the Schildordische on the same street.⁹¹ Living in the same city as his brother, Daniel had less incentive to create and maintain a robust independent correspondence network. At the same time, there are fewer letters from the first part of Daniel's stay in Bremen, which may indicate that a lower percentage of the letters were preserved than when he lived in Leiden.⁹² The archive contains 246 letters from this time period, or only 41 letters per year. Though the remains of the archive indicate that Daniel received letters less frequently than when he was a representative of the States of Brabant, his network was much more diverse. Daniel received letters from 48 correspondents in 29 cities.⁹³

Daniel's sojourn in Bremen marked a period of transition. His correspondence network became larger and more heterogeneous in parallel with the expansion of his trade investments. However, Daniel had yet to extricate himself from the shadow of the larger correspondence

⁸⁹ See the letters from Andries to Daniel in DvdM 593a and transcribed in Gisela Jongbloet-van Houtte, ed. *Brieven en andere bescheiden betreffende Daniel van der Meulen, 1584-1600*, Rijks Geschiedkundige Publicatiën: Grote serie (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1986).

⁹⁰ Josina Hamels, the wife of Jacques della Faille, wrote a letter to Hester on 26 September 1585 addressed to Enkhuizen, from where Hester had recently written. Daniel wrote to Jacques upon his arrival in Bremen on 3 October. See Josina Hamels to Hester, Haarlem, 6 September 1585, DvdM 538a-38 (181) and Jacques to Daniel, Het Vlie, 21 October 1585, DvdM 538a-39.

⁹¹ See the testaments that Daniel and Hester made that noted their places of residence. DvdM 40, DvdM 41, and DvdM 43.

⁹² An indication of a possible lower rate of survival is that there are no letters before 1590—more than four years after Daniel's arrival—from half of the correspondents who wrote to Daniel in Bremen. Conversely, between 1585 and 1587 there are only letters from nine correspondents.

⁹³ Whereas Daniel received a letter every 2.26 days while he was in Holland, the average for his time in Bremen was a letter every 8.91 days.

networks of Andries and Jacques, who both took the lead in organizing the trade in which Daniel was involved. Confirmation of Daniel's subordination to Andries's correspondence network is demonstrated by the dearth of letters between Daniel and his sisters and their husbands. Shortly after their arrival in Bremen, Andries and Daniel created a company with their brother-in-law François Pierens and their soon to be brother-in-law Antoine Lempereur.⁹⁴ The siblings designed the company to concentrate on the fairs of Frankfurt and Strasbourg, while they expanded the area from which they purchased goods to take to the fairs to include northern Germany, Holland, and England.⁹⁵ The contract for the company tasked Antoine and François with the sale and purchase of goods at the fairs. In order to be closer to the fairs, François and Antoine lived in Cologne with their wives until they moved to Bremen in 1592 and 1589 respectively.⁹⁶ Meanwhile, Andries and Daniel added their capital and knowledge. In other words, while François and Antoine traveled, sold and purchased goods, and kept the books, Daniel and Andries collected information and strategized what, where, and how to buy and sell goods.⁹⁷ The work Andries and Daniel provided depended upon their ability to collect information through their correspondence networks and communicate this to François and Antoine.

The evidence from Daniel's archive indicates that the task of gathering information and coordinating the actions of the firm's agents fell almost completely to Andries. There are no letters from Anna or François in Daniel's archive while he lived in Bremen.⁹⁸ There is one letter

⁹⁴ The contract signed by the four is located in DvdM 93. On the same day, Antoine signed a document promising to marry Sara, and the two wed in February 1586. The company was to last for a period of 6 years.

⁹⁵ For an overview of the trade in the so-called Nieuwe Compagnie see Jongbloet-van Houtte, "Inleiding," xl–xliii; Kernkamp, *De handel van Daniel van der Meulen*.

⁹⁶ See the discussion of the letters between the Van der Meulen siblings during this period in Chapter 8.

⁹⁷ Contract of the Nieuwe Compagnie, 13 November 1585, DvdM 93.

⁹⁸ Daniel did receive two letters from Anna and François's daughter while she was at school. See DvdM 296.

each from Antoine and Sara, but even this single letter from Antoine was addressed to both Andries and Daniel and was sent only a month before Daniel's arrival in Leiden.⁹⁹ The collection of letters in the archive of Antoine and Sara is less complete than that in the Daniel van der Meulen Archive. Yet, the archive contains 35 letters that Andries sent to Sara from 1586 to 1591, and two letters have been preserved that Hester sent to her sister-in-law while she lived in Bremen.¹⁰⁰ However, there are no letters sent by Daniel from this period in the collection. The exchange and reading of letters to friends and family meant that there was little reason for people to replicate information by sending letters to both Andries and Daniel when the two resided in Bremen. If this was true for letters sent among siblings, it would have been even more so for economic correspondence. When Daniel lived in Bremen, all indications are that Andries was tasked with carrying on the correspondence from Bremen.

As a result of the two brothers living in the same city, Daniel's primary correspondents came from his affinal kin. Other than the 19 letters that Andries sent to Daniel while his younger brother traveled from Bremen, the four remaining individuals who sent Daniel more than ten letters were related to Daniel through marriage.¹⁰¹ Daniel's brothers-in-law were his most frequent correspondents. He received 75 letters from Jacques, 31 from Robert van Eeckeren, and 20 from Marten. He also received 12 letters from Robert's bastard son Francisco in Venice. These four correspondents sent 56% of the letters extant in the archive from this period, with Jacques's letters alone making up 30% of the collection. Correspondence with affines provided a

⁹⁹ Antoine to Daniel, Amsterdam, 3 September 1591, DvdM 579-5 and Sara to Daniel, Cologne, 5 September 1588, DvdM 295-3.

¹⁰⁰ The letters from Andries to Sara, which were sometimes directed to both Anna and Sara are in CL 275. The letters from Hester are in CL 274. There is no indication in Andries's letters that Daniel was also writing to Sara and/or Anna.

¹⁰¹ The second most letters that Daniel received from a consanguineal kin in this period was the ten letters sent by his cousin Peeter Janssen van der Meulen.

way for Daniel to construct a network distinct from that of his brother. Through connections to the Della Failles, particularly through Jacques, Daniel could gain contacts and resources to help expand his own trade and that of his sibling group.¹⁰²

Daniel's relationship with Jacques provided a basis upon which Daniel could expand both his correspondence network and his economic investments. During his stay in Bremen, the expansion of Daniel's network remained largely potential, as Jacques's primarily handled the necessary correspondence with agents. Jacques's trade proceeded along similar lines to that of Marten, and he followed his elder brother's lead in turning to maritime trade. Even before Daniel's marriage to Hester, Daniel began to invest in various ventures with Jacques, drastically expanding the scope of his trade and providing him with access to the growing maritime trade in Holland and Zeeland. From the beginning, Jacques pressured Daniel to create a company to incorporate their trade, but Andries advised Daniel to limit his investments with Jacques to individual ventures.¹⁰³ The two never formed a company, but Daniel closely tied his own fortunes to that of his brother-in-law. Not only did Daniel invest his own capital through

¹⁰². Clé Lesger, "Over het nut van huwelijk, opportunisme en bedrog: Ondernemers en ondernemerschap tijdens de vroegmoderne tijd in theoretisch perspectief," in *Kapitaal, ondernemerschap en beleid: Studies over economie en politiek in Nederland, Europa en Azië van 1500 tot heden: Afscheidsbundel voor prof. dr. P.W. Klein*, ed. C. A. Davids, et al. (Amsterdam: NEHA, 1996); Grassby, *Kinship and Capitalism*.

¹⁰³. See the letters from Andries to Daniel in DvdM 593a and transcribed in Jongbloet-van Houtte, *Daniel van der Meulen*.

Jacques's network, Jacques held a significant portion of Hester's inheritance, which he invested in various ventures.¹⁰⁴

With Daniel's move to Bremen, Jacques became even more integral to Daniel's ambitions to take advantage of the economic opportunities presented by maritime trade. Jacques's connections enabled Daniel to partake in the dangerous but potentially lucrative trade between Holland and Zeeland, England, and Spain. Andries had reservations about this trade with the enemy, but Jacques's letters are replete with information about the trade between Middelburg, London, and Seville.¹⁰⁵ The trade consisted mainly of textiles, grain, and wood sent to Iberia in return for oil and wine. The return cargo would head to either Middelburg or London depending upon where the prices were believed to be most beneficial.¹⁰⁶ The trade in Seville was conducted through Robert Noirot. There are no letters from Robert before Daniel moved to Leiden. Instead, Robert corresponded with Jacques, and Jacques could pass on all news to Daniel.¹⁰⁷ In other words, this expansion in Daniel's capital investment did not lead to a equivalent increase in his correspondence.

¹⁰⁴. The trade of Daniel and Jacques is discussed in P. M. Boortman, "De handel op Spanje op het einde van de 16e eeuw: In het bijzonder in de jaren 1588–1592," in *De handel van Daniel van der Meulen c.s., in het bijzonder rond de jaren 1588-1592: Werkcollege economische geschiedenis*, ed. J. H. Kernkamp (Leiden: Universiteit Leiden, 1969); J. C. Vermeulen, "De handelsbetrekkingen met het Middellandse zeegebied in de jaren 1588-1592: Gegevens uit het archief van Daniel van der Meulen," in *De handel van Daniel van der Meulen c.s., in het bijzonder rond de jaren 1588-1592: Werkcollege economische geschiedenis*, ed. J. H. Kernkamp (Leiden: Universiteit Leiden, 1969); Z. W. Sneller, "De drie cargasoenen rogge van Daniel van der Meulen anno 1592 en hun verzekering," *Jaarboek van het genootschap Amstelodamum* 32 (1935): 89–118; J. H. Kernkamp and A. J. Klaassen-Meijer, "De rekeningen betreffende de exploratietocht van den Swerten Ruyter naar het Middellandse Zeegebied in 1589/1590," *Bijdragen en Mededelingen van het Historisch Genootschap* 73 (1959): 3–54; S. Hart, "De Italiëvaart 1590–1620," *Zeventigste Jaarboek van het Genootschap Amsyelodamum: Liber amicorum I. H. van Eeghen* (1978): 56–59. The intermingled capital of Hester, Daniel, and Jacques can be followed in DvdM 57-10, DvdM 57-11, DvdM 57-13, and DvdM 57-15. See the discussion in Chapter 5 on the inheritance of Hester.

¹⁰⁵. DvdM 538a. The classic study on trade with Iberia is J. H. Kernkamp, *De handel op den vijand 1572–1609*, 2 vols. (Utrecht: Kemink en zoon, 1931).

¹⁰⁶. Boortman, "De handel op Spanje."

¹⁰⁷. The archive contains loose accounts from the trade in Iberia through Robert Noirot. DvdM 161. See also the accounts from Daniel's trade with Jacques, DvdM 131.

Connections to the Della Faille also opened the door for the Van der Meulens to trade in Italy. Already in 1584, Jacques followed the example of his brother Marten and sent a ship from London bound for Venice, experimenting with the possible advantages of the sea route compared to the land route that had been used by Jan de Oude. Jacques attempted to get Daniel to invest in another maritime venture to Italy in 1586, but the first ship that sailed for Italy in which the brothers-in-law both invested did not leave Amsterdam until 1589. A year later they reacted to the beginning of the grain shortages in Italy by sending three ships loaded with grain from Amsterdam. They sent a further three grain ships in 1591.¹⁰⁸

Daniel's connections to the Della Failles also facilitated the ability for Andries and Daniel to begin to conduct overland trade in Italy on their own. As early as 1585, Daniel and Andries discussed the use of their connections to the Della Failles for trading in Italy.¹⁰⁹ Through Marten, Jacques, and Robert van Eeckeren, Andries and Daniel possessed a large group of potential factors for this expansion of their trade. Andries and Daniel used their own contacts in Holland to send textiles to agents in Italy, almost all of whom were related to the Della Failles.¹¹⁰

¹⁰⁸. Kernkamp and Klaassen-Meijer, "Exploratietoht van den Swerten Ruyter"; Sneller, "De drie cargasoenen rogge"; Vermeulen, "De handelsbetrekkingen met het Middellandse zeegebied."

¹⁰⁹. The letters from Andries in 1585 discussed the potential for expanding their trade to Italy through contacts of Marten and Jacques della Faille. Andries proposed that they should experiment with trade through the agents of both Marten and Jacques to see which ones performed better. DvdM 593a and transcribed in Jongbloet-van Houtte, *Daniel van der Meulen*.

¹¹⁰. Andriessen and Cohen, "Op zoek naar een stapelmarkt," 9. Much of the trade was done through Baptista Oyens, see his accounts in DvdM 124.

Table: 1.4: Letters Sent to Daniel by Region: Bremen Period (1585–1591)¹¹¹

Regions	Letters	Correspondents	Cities
Holland and Zeeland	102	19	8
S Low Countries	56	4	1
Germany	50	20	11
Italy	27	5	4
England	6	2	2
France	3	2	2
N Low Countries	1	1	1
Total	245	54	29

The effects of Daniel’s relationship with Jacques and Andries can be evaluated by looking at the geography of Daniel’s correspondence network during the period he lived in Bremen. In general, the letters preserved in the archive show that Daniel’s correspondence diversified greatly during this time, especially after 1590.¹¹² However, the connections that Daniel made remained tenuous until his move to Leiden. For example, Daniel’s correspondence in Germany expanded to include 11 cities from which Daniel received 50 letters from 20 correspondents.¹¹³ The trade activities of the Van der Meulens in Germany did not play a significant role in this correspondence. There is only one letter present in the archive from 14 of these correspondents, and Peeter Janssen was the only person involved in the trade of Andries and Daniel who sent more than one letter from Germany during this period. Daniel’s most

¹¹¹. N Low Countries represents cities and regions in the rebellious provinces that were not located in either Holland or Zeeland. In this case, Daniel received a single letter from Bergen op Zoom. This chart does not include a letter from an unknown location sent by Daniel van den Queecborne, DvdM 465. The number of correspondents represents all correspondents who sent letters from that region. Some correspondents sent letters from multiple locations.

¹¹². Twenty-four out of the 48 correspondents did not write a letter to Daniel until 1590 or later. Conversely, only nine correspondents sent Daniel letters in 1586 or 1587. It is difficult to know how much the growth was due to better preservation of letters or to changes in his situation.

¹¹³. The correspondence with Cologne and Frankfurt seems to have been left to Andries. Daniel’s two sisters lived in Cologne and Frankfurt on and off at this time, but there is only one letter sent from Sara in Cologne and one from her husband in Frankfurt preserved in the archive.

frequent correspondents were political or academic rather than mercantile, and therefore more likely to be outside the orbit of Andries.¹¹⁴

Daniel's correspondence in the rebellious provinces and Italy grew alongside Daniel and Andries's investment in trans-Alpine trade, but Daniel's correspondence would have been inadequate to direct this trade. There was an important diversification of Daniel's correspondents both with kin and non-kin in Holland and Zeeland. From Holland, Daniel received letters from 15 individuals other than Jacques in six cities, but none sent more than three letters. The accounts in the archive provide evidence of the purchase of textiles in Holland and their transportation to Italy, but there is no indication in the archive that it was organized through Daniel's correspondence. For instance, there are no letters from Baptista Oyens, the primary factor used by the Van der Meulens in Amsterdam, before Daniel moved to Leiden in 1591. It would seem that during this early period of their trade Oyens corresponded with Andries about the transportation of goods between Amsterdam and Hamburg.

Daniel appears to have played a more central role in the correspondence and trade in Italy. He received 27 letters from five individuals in four Italian cities. Four of these five correspondents continued to write to Daniel after 1591, demonstrating the developing strength of his ties to Italian economic centers.¹¹⁵ As opposed to Spain or England where Daniel also traded with Jacques, in Italy, Daniel developed his own relationships with agents of the Della Failles. Of particular importance was the relationship that Daniel developed with Francisco van Eeckeren, the bastard son of Robert van Eeckeren and factor in Venice.¹¹⁶ Given the expertise of

¹¹⁴ Daniel received eight letters from Jacques Bongars, three letters from Joseph Grabius, professor at the Gymnasium Illustre in Bremen, and two from Theophile de Banos. On intellectual and religious life in Bremen, see Jürgen Moltmann, *Christoph Pezel (1539-1604) und der Calvinismus in Bremen* (Bremen: Verlag Einkehr, 1958).

¹¹⁵ There are no letters in the archive sent from Italy to Daniel in Bremen before 1590.

¹¹⁶ Letters from Francisco van Eeckeren, DvdM 535.

the Della Faille in Italian trade and Andries's interest to participate in this trade independent of Jacques, Daniel could begin to construct his own connections to agents, creating a fertile ground for the expansion of these contacts when he moved to Leiden.¹¹⁷

Daniel also received letters from France and England, but his links to these two countries were much more tenuous. From France, Daniel received two letters from Caen and a letter from an unknown correspondent in Dieppe. His direct connection to England was no better, even though he traveled to England during this time period in order to contest the estate of Jan de Oude.¹¹⁸ Daniel's investments in trade in London through Jacques's factor Wouter Aertsen have already been noted, but again there is no evidence of direct connection to Wouter.¹¹⁹ The first letter in the archive from England was sent in February 1591 by Agostino Bellasi before he sailed for Verona. Daniel received five more letters from his cousin Peeter Janssen van der Meulen before he arrived in Leiden, But Peeter only remained in England for a short period of time. Thus, in contrast to Italy, Daniel did not have a permanent correspondent in either country.¹²⁰

Finally, Daniel's connections to Antwerp provided another opportunity for him to leave the shadow of the networks of Andries and Jacques. Daniel maintained close connections to Antwerp through his affinal kin. Now under Spanish and Catholic authority, three of Daniel's

¹¹⁷ Andriessen and Cohen, "Op zoek naar een stapelmarkt"; R. F. Claassen, "De overlandhandel op Italië van de gebroeders van der Meulen: Koopliden tijdens het laatste kwart van de zestiende eeuw," in *De handel van Daniel van der Meulen c.s., in het bijzonder rond de jaren 1588-1592: Werkcollege economische geschiedenis*, ed. J. H. Kernkamp (Leiden: Universiteit Leiden, 1969); Jongbloet-van Houtte, "Inleiding," xlviii–liii.

¹¹⁸ Daniel traveled to London with Jacques della Faille, arriving in the city at the beginning of August 1586. He left after a three month stay at the end of October or the beginning of November. See the fuller discussion of the trip in Chapter 7.

¹¹⁹ The Daniel van der Meulen Archive does include a number of letters that Wouter Aertsen wrote to Jan and Jacques concerning the estate of Jan de Oude in London, but none were directed to Daniel. DvdM 57 and DvdM 58.

¹²⁰ Letters from Agostino Bellasi, DvdM 519 and from Peeter Janssen van der Meulen, DvdM 558.

four correspondents in Antwerp were loyalist members of the Della Faille family.¹²¹ The exception was his maternal cousin Mattheus de Hoest from whom he received a single letter in 1588. Daniel's correspondence with Robert van Eeckeren and Marten mainly touched upon the continued disputes over the estate of Jan de Oude, providing Daniel with ample reasons to develop and strengthen the ties to his brothers-in-law. The maintenance of familial relations necessitated direct communication. Indeed, the problems and distrust that had grown between Jacques and Marten led Daniel to adopt the role of an intermediary between the two brothers.¹²²

5. Leiden Period, 1591–1600

The largest expansion of Daniel's correspondence network occurred after he and his family began to reside in a house next to the Pieterskerk in Leiden in early October 1591.¹²³ By relocating to Leiden, Daniel directly connected his sibling group to trade and information networks in Holland.¹²⁴ In the university city, Daniel could construct a correspondence network that was supplemental rather than subordinate to that of Andries. The reasons for Daniel's move to Leiden are not clear from the available sources, but it may have been related to the termination

¹²¹ The frequency of this connection demonstrates the continuation of communication across the political and religious boundaries brought about by the Dutch Revolt.

¹²² See the discussion on the disputes over the inheritance of Jan de Oude in Chapters 5–7. On the importance of continued communication between siblings, see Erica Bastress-Dukehart, "Sibling Conflict within Early Modern German Noble Families," *Journal of Family History* 33, no. 1 (2008): 61–80; Broomhall and Gent, "Corresponding Affections"; Susan Broomhall and Jacqueline van Gent, "In the Name of the Father: Conceptualizing 'Pater Familias' in the Letters of William the Silent's Children," *Renaissance Quarterly* 62, no. 4 (2009): 1130–1166; Christopher H. Johnson and David Warren Sabean, eds. *Sibling Relations and the Transformations of European Kinship, 1300–1900* (New York: Berghahn Books, 2011).

¹²³ Daniel's cousin, Mattheus de Hoest, wrote to Daniel—who was then in Haarlem with Jacques—about the preparations of the house. Mattheus de Hoest to Daniel, Leiden, 10 October 1591, DvdM 553-5. Daniel later moved to a house on the Rapenberg. Annie J. Versprille, "De geschiedenis van het huis van Daniël van der Meulen (Rapenburg 19)," *Oud Leiden* 35 (1943): 158–169.

¹²⁴ Lesger, *Rise of the Amsterdam Market*; Gelderblom, *Cities of Commerce*; Patrick Karl O'Brien, ed. *Urban Achievement in Early Modern Europe: Golden Ages in Antwerp, Amsterdam and London* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001).

of the six-year term for the company that he and Andries had with their brothers-in-law Antoine and François.¹²⁵ Placing Daniel in Leiden undoubtedly provided new possibilities for the Van der Meulens's activities in Holland. It brought Daniel into close contact with the textile production areas of Leiden and Haarlem, and he could more quickly and easily communicate with Baptista Oyens in Amsterdam. Indeed, Daniel played an increasingly pivotal role in the Van der Meulens's expanding trade between Holland and Italy.¹²⁶ At the same time, Daniel's separation from Andries enabled him to develop into a separate source of influence within the affairs among kin, especially the many who had emigrated to Holland. Finally, Daniel expanded his political and intellectual connections, as he integrated himself into Calvinist political circles and the ruling class of the Republic.

Daniel's archive reflects his newfound independence from Andries and the expansion of their trade. This change can be clearly shown through the sheer quantity of letters Daniel received after his relocation to Leiden. During a period of just under nine years, the Daniel van der Meulen archive contains 6,245 letters. Even accounting for higher levels of preservation, there is no doubt that the frequency with which Daniel received letters increased upon his move to Leiden.¹²⁷ Whereas, less than one letter per week has been preserved from Daniel's time in Bremen, Daniel received almost two letters per day while he lived in Leiden.¹²⁸ Alongside the increase in the frequency of letters, Daniel's network became much wider. He received letters

¹²⁵. The company among the brothers-in-law had been created on 13 November 1585. See DvdM 93 for the contract.

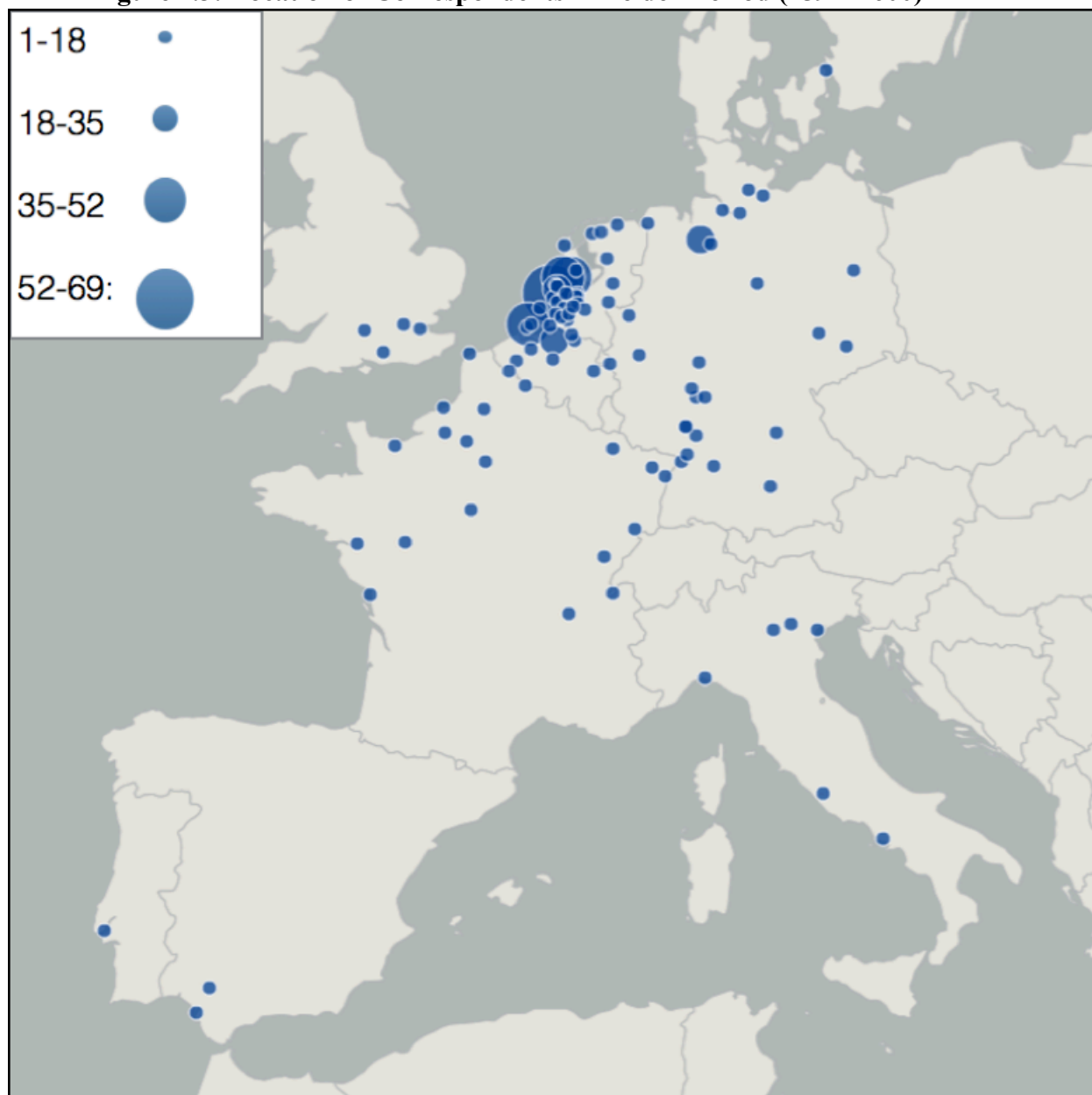
¹²⁶. Andriessen and Cohen, "Op zoek naar een stapelmarkt"; Claassen, "De overlandhandel op Italie."

¹²⁷. The more consistent organization of the letters, as demonstrated by the notation on letters when each was received and answered, increased when Abraham Berrewijns began to be employed as Daniel's bookkeeper. However, there are also known gaps in the collection of letters at this time. The most important lacuna is the missing letters from Andries for 18 months in 1594-1595 and from July 1597 until Daniel's death.

¹²⁸. Daniel received an average of 707 letters per year or 1.94 letters per day.

from 368 correspondents in 102 locations across Europe and from as far as Africa. This was an increase of a factor of over seven and three respectively from the period that he lived in Bremen. Creating a wider and more dense network, Daniel stepped out of Andries's shadow by moving to Leiden, developing his own connections to prominent merchants, kin, political figures, and intellectuals.¹²⁹

Figure 1.3: Location of Correspondents in Leiden Period (1591–1600)



¹²⁹ Grassby, *Kinship and Capitalism*.

A. Trade, 1592–1600

The nature of Daniel's network depended to a large degree upon the course of trade that he continued to conduct in concert with Andries. Providing an overview of the trade will make it possible to more clearly analyze the nature of Daniel's correspondence networks and his role within the trade of the Van der Meulens. As noted above, the main line of this trade ran from northwestern Europe to Italy, concentrating on the overland trade. In 1594, the brothers formalized their trade to Italy by erecting the Nieuwe Napelsche Compagnie with Andries's brothers-in-law Nicolas Malapert and Jean Vivien. Jean Vivien was married to Catharina Malapert, the sister of Andries's wife and Nicolas Malapert, meaning that the company brought together all three children of Michel Malapert and Gregorine de Behault.¹³⁰

The four partners resided in different areas and divided the tasks for the firm among themselves. The company charged Daniel with the purchase of usually unfinished linen, which Daniel would have bleached in Haarlem, as well as woolens from Leiden.¹³¹ Daniel sent the bales of textiles to Baptista Oyens, who shipped them to Hamburg. Jean lived in Aachen, giving him greater access to more southerly textile areas such as Lille and Cambrai, which he could send directly through Cologne to Frankfurt.¹³² Bremen was never a center of trade, but from the city, Andries was well placed to coordinate communication from the Low Countries and Italy, as well as across Germany. The position of Nicolas Malapert was less clear, but the letters he wrote to Daniel show his frequent movements. He wrote most frequently from Bremen and Frankfurt and

¹³⁰. The letters from Andries provide the greatest amount of information about the organization of the company. See DvdM 593. For a overview of the activities of the company see Claassen, "De overlandhandel op Italie"; Jongbloet-van Houtte, "Inleiding," liii–lv.

¹³¹. Jan de Vries and Ad van der Woude, *The First Modern Economy: Success, Failure, and Perseverance of the Dutch Economy, 1500-1815* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 279–294.

¹³². Jean Vivien sent Daniel 46 letters, see DvdM 635.

then after 1598 from Utrecht.¹³³ Daniel, Andries, and Nicolas renewed the company in 1599 without Jean Vivien. The company did not officially begin until after Daniel's death, but Hester, Andries, and Nicolas decided to continue the company.¹³⁴

The trade between northwestern Europe and Italy demanded the coordination of a number of agents across Europe.¹³⁵ The trade of the Nieuwe Napelsche Compagnie ran along the same basic lines as the trade conducted by Marten and his firm from 1583 until 1594.¹³⁶ Jean and Daniel coordinated the purchase of goods in the Low Countries and their transportation to Amsterdam.¹³⁷ In Leiden and Haarlem, Daniel could call on the assistance of a number of individuals, including Mattheus de Hoest, Victor Dubois, and Lieven de Clerck in Leiden and Joos de Voghele, Joost van Baelberghen, Peeter Janssen van der Meulen, and Jacques della Faille in Haarlem. Baptista Oyens loaded the bales of textiles on ships bound for Hamburg or Stade, taking care to spread the risk by loading the bales onto different ships. The Van der Meulens used Hans Berrewijns and Marten Entzesperger in Hamburg and François Boudewijns in Stade to receive the goods and start them on their overland passage to the south. The Van der Meulens used the same route through Germany as Marten. The goods passed through Frankfurt and Nuremberg, where Hendrick Goyvaerts and Hans de Stiger, their longtime factors, cared for

¹³³ Nicolas Malapert wrote Daniel 105 letters, see DvdM 587 and DvdM 588.

¹³⁴ This was agreed to in the testament that Daniel and Hester made on 30 July 1599 in Leiden. It is also seen in the accounts of Daniel's estate. DvdM 68 and DvdM 69.

¹³⁵ Andriessen and Cohen, "Op zoek naar een stapelmarkt"; Claassen, "De overlandhandel op Italie"; Jongbloet-van Houtte, "Inleiding"; Gelder, *Trading Places*; Engels, *Merchants, Interlopers, Seamen and Corsairs*.

¹³⁶ See above and Brulez, *Firma Della Faille*. In particular, both companies concentrated their trade in Italy on Naples.

¹³⁷ On the workings of Daniel and Jean see the letters of Jean Vivien (DvdM 635), of Nicolaas Tzerrarts, an agent for Jean who lived in Dordrecht (DvdM 631), and the letters from Baptista Oyens in Amsterdam (DvdM 609).

the goods.¹³⁸ De Stiger sent on the merchandise to Caspar Croon in Augsburg, who was charged with transporting the bales across the Alps, usually using the Brenner Pass.¹³⁹

South of the Alps, the Van der Meulens had a handful of places where they could sell the textiles from northwestern Europe. In Italy, the Van der Meulens took advantage of the factos of the Della Failles, as well as sending their own agents, many of whom were also related to the Della Failles. In either case, the cumulative knowledge and experience of the Della Failles made the Van der Meulen's expansion to Italy possible. The first place where the goods would be offered was Venice, where they could be sold throughout the year. In Venice, the sale of goods could be conducted by Francisco van Eeckeren, Melchior Noirot, or Antonio van Nesten.¹⁴⁰ If suitable prices could not be found in Venice, the textiles would most often be sent to Naples via ship along the Adriatic. In Naples, Gerard Mahieu and Balthasar Noirot sold the textiles at the various fairs in the kingdom.¹⁴¹

The same agents also cared for the return trip that consisted mostly of silk purchased in Naples, Venice, Verona, or Vicenza. The Van der Meulens experimented with trade in other goods such as soap and Venetian mirrors, but like the trade of Marten and Jan de Oude before him, silk made up the majority of their capital investment. The agents oversaw the entire production process of the silk from the raw to the finished product.¹⁴² Verona and Vicenza were

¹³⁸. The Van der Meulens used Hans de Stiger as an agent for their trade in the Oude Compagnie. See the letters from Andries in 1584 and 1585, Dvdm 593a and transcribed in Jongbloet-van Houtte, *Daniel van der Meulen*.

¹³⁹. Claassen, "De overlandhandel op Italie." On the overland transportation between north-west Europe and Italy, see Brulez, *Firma Della Faille*, 324–341.

¹⁴⁰. Letters and accounts from Francisco van Eeckern, DvdM 155 and DvdM 535; from Melchior Noirot, DvdM 607; and from Antonio van Nesten, DdvM 156 and DvdM 602.

¹⁴¹. Claassen, "De overlandhandel op Italie," 10–11; Jongbloet-van Houtte, "Inleiding," liv. Gerard Mahieu and Balthasar Noirot sent Daniel a constant stream of letters from Naples. See DvdM 585 and DvdM 605.

¹⁴². Brulez, *Firma Della Faille*, 285–291, 298–299.

rarely used as end points for textiles from the north, but they were important production centers for silk. Agostino Bellazio, who Daniel first had contact with in 1591, handled the Van der Meulen's purchases in Verona and they used Balthasar Minau in Vicenza.¹⁴³

Once the silk was packed in bales and transported across the Alps, it followed the same basic route as the linen and wool had from the north. However, there was no single center in which the Italian goods were sold. The Van der Meulens transported the goods to wherever they believed they could receive the greatest profit. It was here that the information networks developed by the partners were put to the test. Frankfurt was the first place that the Van der Meulens might attempt to sell the silk, and Andries seems to have been in constant communication with Hendrick Goyvaerts about what to do with the silk if a suitable price could not be found. In Hamburg or Stade, the silk could be sold not only to native merchants but also to the Merchant Adventurers. By selling to English merchants in Hamburg or Stade, the Van der Meulens made them bear the risk of shipping to London, for unlike Marten, the Van der Meulens did not possess their own factor much less a branch in England.¹⁴⁴

If favorable prices could not be found in the Baltic ports, the Italian goods entered the market of the Low Countries through Amsterdam and Baptista Oyens. Any merchandise not sold in Amsterdam could be sent either to London and Jacques della Faille's agent Wouter Aertsen or to one of the many agents the Van der Meulens remained in contact with in Middelburg. Finally, the Van der Meulens could make use of Middelburg's connections to trade in Iberia, utilizing Robert Noirot in Sevilla or Charles Godin in Lisbon.

¹⁴³ The letters and accounts of Agostino Bellazio, DvdM 158 and DvdM 519; for Balthasar Minau in DvdM 159 and DvdM 598.

¹⁴⁴ Andriessen and Cohen, "Op zoek naar een stapelmarkt," 13–14.

Economic topics never monopolized Daniel's correspondence, but the course of the trade conducted by the Van der Meulens shaped the structure of Daniel's network. The geographic dispersal of Daniel's correspondence after his move to Leiden can be divided into eight different regions. The Low Countries, especially the provinces of Holland and Zeeland with their abundance of refugees from the southern provinces, developed into the core of his network. Daniel augmented the connections to Germany, Italy, France, and England that he had initiated while living in Bremen. He also added links to new areas such as Iberia, Scandinavia, and as far as the western coast of Africa. As with all networks, Daniel constructed areas with strong and overlapping ties, while his connection to other areas remained more sparse and weak. The strengths and weaknesses of Daniel's particular network complemented and functioned within the networks created by his correspondents. The quantitative growth of the letters Daniel received gives proof to Daniel's growing independence, but the nature of its evolution depended upon his relations and relationships with all of those with whom he interacted.¹⁴⁵

¹⁴⁵ Granovetter, "Strength of Weak Ties"; Sadler, "News as a Path to Independence."

Table: 1.5: Letters Sent to Daniel by Region: Leiden Period (1591–1600)¹⁴⁶

Regions	Letters	Correspondents	Cities
Holland and Zeeland	4063	221	17
Germany	818	71	28
Italy	736	17	6
S Low Countries	242	28	8
N Low Countries	205	25	15
France	109	20	15
England	21	8	4
Iberia	13	3	3
Africa	5	4	3
Scandinavia	5	3	2
Switzerland	4	1	1
Total	6221	401	102

B. Germany

Considering the time that Daniel spent in Bremen and the wide presence of Netherlandish merchants throughout the Holy Roman Empire, the significance of German cities to Daniel's correspondence network is hardly surprising.¹⁴⁷ The trade organized by Daniel and Andries also provided ample motivation for Daniel to maintain contact across the region. Daniel's correspondents concentrated in Bremen and cities in western Germany, but he received letters from an impressive array of areas in the Holy Roman Empire. He received more than 15 letters from seven German cities. On the other hand, he received only one letter from 12 locations, either due to the travels of his correspondents or individuals for whom only one letter exists in the archive. In all, Daniel received 818 letters from 71 correspondents in 28 German cities during

¹⁴⁶ This does not include 24 letters from 20 individuals whose locations are unknown.

¹⁴⁷ Roosbroeck, *Emigranten*; Harreld, *High Germans in the Low Countries*.

the period that Daniel lived in Leiden.¹⁴⁸ This correspondence reflected the presence of Daniel's family members and trading partners in Germany. All of Daniel's siblings continued to live in Germany until well into the 1590s.¹⁴⁹ Daniel also had contact with almost all of the factors frequently used in the trade of the Van der Meulens, though their correspondence tended to be infrequent. Daniel's correspondence also demonstrates the academic and political ties he created with the Calvinist community in Germany.

The largest proportion of the letters Daniel received from Germany came from his male kin and partners in trade. From his partners in the Nieuwe Napelsche Compagnie Daniel received 291 letters: Andries (193 letters), Nicholas Malapert (52), and Jean Vivien (46).¹⁵⁰ When the correspondence from his brothers-in-law Antoine Lempereur (41) and François Pierens (25) is added, the total reaches 357 letters or 44% of the letters present in the archive from Germany.¹⁵¹ This is in contrast to the letters Daniel received from the factors present in Germany: Hans Berrewijns in Hamburg (16), François Boudewijns in Stade (1), Hendrick Goyvaerts in Frankfurt (14), Hans de Stiger in Nuremberg (7), and Caspar de Corona in Augsburg (2). The relative

¹⁴⁸ The number of both correspondents and cities in Germany from which Daniel received letters are augmented by the travel of individuals. These numbers necessarily take into account correspondents who only sent one or two letters while traveling through Germany and individuals who sent letters from multiple cities. For example, Balthasar Noirot only sent one letter from Augsburg and one letter from Nuremberg on his way to Italy, but he is included as a correspondent in Germany. An example of the augmentation of the number of cities is provided by Bongars de Bodry, who sent letters from 10 locations within Germany. See DvdM 605 and DvdM 660 respectively.

¹⁴⁹ Sara and Antoine continued to live in Bremen until 1598, when they moved to Utrecht. Andries did not leave Bremen until 1607, when he also moved to Utrecht. Anna and François appear to have stayed in Bremen until at least 1618. Jongbloet-van Houtte, "Inleiding," lxi; Luuc Kooijmans, *Vriendschap: En de kunst van het overleven in de zeventiende en achttiende eeuw* (Amsterdam: B. Bakker, 1997).

¹⁵⁰ All of the letters that Daniel received from Andries and Jean Vivien were postmarked from Bremen and Aachen. In contrast, Nicholas Malapert travelled frequently and changed his place of residence on multiple locations, so that Daniel received a total of 105 letters from Nicholas in ten places. The total cited here constitute the letters Nicholas sent from Bremen and Frankfurt. For the letters from Nicolas Malapert, see DvdM 587 and DvdM 588.

¹⁵¹ Daniel received a total of 90 letters from Antoine, including two from Amsterdam and 47 after Antoine and Sara moved to Utrecht in 1598. The total cited here reflects the letters Antoine sent from Bremen, Frankfurt, and Strassbourg, see DvdM 579.

paucity of letters from these agents – 40 letters in a nine year period – give proof to the extent to which Andries coordinated the transportation and sale of goods in Germany.¹⁵²

Daniel's contacts in Germany extended well beyond kin and trade partners. Daniel's correspondence with Bremen clearly demonstrates the diversity of Daniel's correspondents. Twenty-six correspondents sent Daniel 356 letters from the city of his former residence. A large portion of these letters (294) came from Daniel's siblings and siblings-in-law. However, Daniel had no kinship links to 16 correspondents who sent him 55 letters from Bremen. In particular, the archive demonstrates the connections Daniel had made with the intellectual elite in Bremen. For instance, Daniel received nine letters from Cristoffel Pezelius, the Calvinist theologian and schoolmaster in Bremen.¹⁵³ He received a further eight letters from Otto van During, the preacher in Bremen.¹⁵⁴ While he lived in Leiden, Daniel acted as a link between Calvinist students from Bremen and the University of Leiden.¹⁵⁵

Aside from Bremen, Daniel continued to have the greatest number of correspondents in the cities of western Germany, which often had sizable refugee communities from the Low Countries.¹⁵⁶ For instance, Daniel augmented his contacts with Frankfurt and Cologne, receiving letters from 11 and 14 correspondents respectively. Particularly important for the development of his network, Daniel fostered relationships with prominent members of the Calvinist diaspora.¹⁵⁷ His most frequent correspondent from Frankfurt and Germany in general was Jacques Bongars,

¹⁵². Andriessen and Cohen, "Op zoek naar een stapelmarkt"; Claassen, "De overlandhandel op Italie."

¹⁵³. Moltmann, *Christoph Pezel*.

¹⁵⁴. DvdM 341.

¹⁵⁵. Jongbloet-van Houtte, "Inleiding," lxxix–lxxx.

¹⁵⁶. Roosbroeck, *Emigranten*; Grell, *Brethren in Christ*; Briels, *Zuid-Nederlandse Immigratie*.

¹⁵⁷. Grell, "Creation of a Transnational, Calvinist Network"; Grell, "Merchants and Ministers."

Sieur de la Chesnaye et de Bauldry, a Huguenot representative of Henry IV. Bongars sent 300 letters to Daniel in Leiden, 280 of which he sent from twelve different locations in Germany.¹⁵⁸ Bongars letters frequently consisted of news from central Europe, while Daniel connected him to information about the changing situation in France and the Low Countries.¹⁵⁹ Daniel also continued to correspond with Navarre's agent Theophile de Banos in Frankfurt until his death in 1595.¹⁶⁰ Through these two individuals, placed himself in the midst of Calvinist circles that linked events in France, Germany, and the Low Countries.

C. Italy

Though not as varied as his network in Germany, the 736 letters Daniel received from six cities in Italy made the Peninsula the third most important region of his correspondence network. However, the nature of the relations that Daniel constructed in Italy was quite different than those in Germany. Daniel's correspondence in Italy grew out of the Van der Meulen's move into trade in the Mediterranean. Whereas Daniel's mercantile correspondents in Germany primarily derived from the marriages of his siblings and longterm agents used by the Van der Meulens, the

¹⁵⁸ Bongars also sent Daniel eight letters, while Daniel lived in Bremen. After September 1591, Bongars sent letters from five locations in France, including 12 letters from Paris. The vast majority of his letters came from Frankfurt (152) and Strassbourg (100), DvdM 660.

¹⁵⁹ Jongbloet-van Houtte, "Inleiding," lxiii. On the spread of news through letters, see Dooley, *Dissemination of News*; Brendan Dooley and Sabrina Baron, eds. *The Politics of Information in Early Modern Europe* (London: Routledge, 2001); Andrew Pettegree, "A Provincial News Community in Sixteenth-Century Europe," in *Public Opinion and Changing Identities in the Early Modern Netherlands: Essays in Honour of Alastair Duke*, ed. Judith Pollmann and Andrew Spicer (Leiden: Brill, 2007); Andrew Pettegree, *The Invention of News: How the World Came to Know About Itself* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2014); Henk van Nierop, "'And Ye Shall Hear of Wars and Rumours of Wars': Rumour and the Revolt of the Netherlands," in *Public Opinion and Changing Identities in the Early Modern Netherlands: Essays in Honour of Alastair Duke*, ed. Judith Pollmann and Andrew Spicer (Leiden: Brill, 2007).

¹⁶⁰ At De Banos's death, Daniel became executor of a grant for two theology students, see Jongbloet-van Houtte, "Inleiding," lxxxi–lxxxiv.

basis for the trade in Italy came from agents related to the Della Failles.¹⁶¹ Eight of the seventeen individuals who sent Daniel letters from Italy were related to Daniel through his marriage to Hester. Of course, connections of kinship do not predetermine relationships, and the links Daniel built with his correspondents were many-sided. For example, Balthasar and Melchior Noirot were related to the Della Failles through their mother Hester van Eeckeren, and their father had worked as Jan de Oude's bookkeeper. But the Van der Meulens also had a long and at times contentious relationship with the sons of Jan Noirot and Hester van Eeckeren. In particular, Melchior acted as Andries's servant in 1584, but he was released from his service after behaving in an immoral manner. Yet, in the 1590s, both Balthasar and Melchior became critical to the Van der Meulens expanding trade interests in Italy.¹⁶²

The ties of kinship Daniel gained through his marriage, as well as the experience he possessed through his ventures with Jacques della Faille, led Daniel to take a more active role in communicating with agents and directing trade in Italy than was the case for Germany. Daniel had frequent contact with all of the agents used by the Van der Meulens in Italy. His most frequent correspondents were Melchior Noirot in Venice (300 letters), Balthasar Noirot and Gerard Mahieu in Naples (206 letters together), and Francisco van Eeckeren in Venice (156).¹⁶³ Daniel's relationship with Robert van Eeckeren's bastard son was such that Andries and Daniel

¹⁶¹ Hans Berrewijns and Marten Entzesperger in Hamburg are exceptions. Both had functioned as agents for the Della Failles. Brulez, *Firma Della Faille*.

¹⁶² Andries reported to Daniel that Melchior and Peeter Janssen van der Meulen had been "drinking, dancing, and giving banquets." Andries to Daniel, Antwerp, 12 October 1584, DvdM 593a-4 (20): "soo van droncken drincken, leeren dansen, ende banquetten te gheven." Andries attempted to speak to Melchior about this but reported that he was very "foolish, as if he was an idiot." Andries to Daniel, Antwerp, 7-8 November 1584, DvdM 593a-14 (34): "onverstandich, al oft hij dul ende sot gheweest ware." Andries also complained about Melchior's bookkeeping when he was in his service. Andries to Daniel, Antwerp, 5 February 1585, DvdM 593a-49 (76). The service of Melchior Noirot provides a good example of the degree to which merchants were unwilling to simply give up on kin as agents. Hancock, "Trouble with Networks"; Ben-Porath, "F-connection"; Kettering, "Patronage and Kinship."

¹⁶³ Both Melchior and Balthasar Noirot sent letters to Daniel from multiple cities in Italy, but their correspondence was primarily from Naples and Venice respectively. See DvdM 607 and DvdM 605.

continued to use him as an agent despite Andries's concerns about his poor performance and sloppy bookkeeping until Francisco went bankrupt in 1597.¹⁶⁴ In addition to the letters Daniel received from their agents, Daniel could also gain information about economic opportunities in Italy through the maritime trade he conducted with Jacques. In particular, Daniel received seven letters from Jacques's agent in Genoa, Jan Bukentop, but the archive also possess 92 documents concerning accounts Bukentop made while working in Genoa.¹⁶⁵ In short, Daniel's correspondence in Italy was highly mercantile in nature and largely depended upon his affinal kin. Daniel did not have any political contacts in Italy. Any news he received from Italy either came through the letters of his factors or through subscriptions he had to *avvisi*, or handwritten newsletters, from Rome and Venice.¹⁶⁶

D. France

The strengths and weaknesses of Daniel's network, as well as his growing independence, is demonstrated by the very different developments for his network in England and France.

France evolved into a particularly important region for political information. France was not a

¹⁶⁴ Claassen, "De overlandhandel op Italie," 5; Jongbloet-van Houtte, "Inleiding," lix; Yves Schmitz, *Les Della Faille*, vol. 1, *Des Origines au XVIIIème Siècle* (Brussels: Imprimerie F. Van Buggenhoudt, 1965), 231–232, 238. Daniel's archive contains 75 documents concerning the lawsuits deriving from Francisco's bankruptcy, DvdM 105. See also the letters from Melchior Noirot that complained about Francisco's bookkeeping, DvdM 607.

¹⁶⁵ DvdM 153. Kernkamp and Klaassen-Meijer, "Exploratietocht van den Swerten Ruyter"; Boortman, "De handel op Spanje."

¹⁶⁶ DvdM 244. On *avvisi* and their development into the first published newspapers, see Mario Infelise, "From Merchants' Letters to Handwritten Avvisi: Notes on the Origins of Public Information," in *Correspondence and Cultural Exchange in Europe, 1400–1700*, ed. Francisco Bethencourt and Florike Egmond (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007); Mario Infelise, "News Networks between Italy and Europe," in *The Dissemination of News and the Emergence of Contemporaneity in Early Modern Europe*, ed. Brendan Dooley (Aldershot, England: Ashgate, 2010); Johannes Weber, "Strassburg, 1605: The Origins of the Newspaper in Europe," *German History* 24, no. 3 (2006): 387–412; Johannes Weber, "The Early German Newspaper: A Medium of Contemporaneity," in *The Dissemination of News and the Emergence of Contemporaneity in Early Modern Europe*, ed. Brendan Dooley (Aldershot, England: Ashgate, 2010); Behringer, "Communications Revolutions"; Zuzsa Barbarics and Renate Pieper, "Handwritten Newsletters as Means of Communication in Early Modern Europe," in *Correspondence and Cultural Exchange in Europe, 1400–1700*, ed. Francisco Bethencourt and Florike Egmond (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007).

major area of trade for either the Della Failles or Van der Meulens. However, Daniel and his correspondents viewed political events in France as directly influencing the Dutch Revolt, and they closely followed the fortunes of Henry of Navarre, as he fought to be crowned as Henry IV.¹⁶⁷ The dearth of kin among Daniel's correspondents in France indicates a wider set of interests than economic affairs.¹⁶⁸ His correspondence with Navarre's representative Bongars and De Banos has already been noted. In fact, Daniel provided Bongars with news while the later was in Frankfurt and unable to get reliable information about occurrences in France.¹⁶⁹ Daniel also helped communication between Bongars and Paul Choart, Heer van Buzanval, Navarre's ambassador to the States General from 1592. The 80 letters that Daniel received from Buzanval in The Hague provided Daniel with another connection to affairs in France.¹⁷⁰

Daniel corresponded with a diverse group of individuals in France, from Philippe de Mornay, son of Philippe du Plessis-Mornay, to the five letters his adventurer nephew Hansken van de Corput sent Daniel from Paris.¹⁷¹ When Daniel lived in Leiden, he received letters from at least 20 individuals, who posted letters from 15 different cities in France. Relatively few of these

¹⁶⁷ See especially the letters from Andries and Jacques. On Daniel's interest in news, see Sadler, "News as a Path to Independence." For comparisons between the Dutch Revolt and the Wars of Religion in France, Henk van Nierop, "Similar Problems, Different Outcomes: The Revolt of the Netherlands and the Wars of Religion in France," in *A Miracle Mirrored: The Dutch Republic in European Perspective*, ed. Karel Davids and Jan Lucassen (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995); Philip Benedict, et al., eds. *Reformation, Revolt and Civil War in France and the Netherlands, 1555-1585* (Amsterdam: Royal Netherlands Academy of Arts and Sciences, 1999).

¹⁶⁸ Daniel received a total of nine letters from France from kin, including Jacques Noirot, Marie de Courcelles, and Hansken van den Corput. Lieven Calvart was called a "cousin," and Daniel received ten letters from his wife, but Calvart's exact relation to Daniel is unknown. Jongbloet-van Houtte, "Inleiding," lxiv.

¹⁶⁹ Jongbloet-van Houtte, "Inleiding," lxiii. For the letters of Bongars, DvdM 660.

¹⁷⁰ For the correspondence with Buzanval, DvdM 664 and J. H. Kernkamp and J. van Heijst, "De brieven van Buzanval aan Daniel van der Meulen (1595-1599)," *Bijdragen en Mededelingen van het Historisch Genootschap* 76 (1962): 175-262.

¹⁷¹ Hansken van den Corput was the son of Anna and Severijn van den Corput, who was cared for by Andries and later Daniel. Jongbloet-van Houtte, "Inleiding," lviii and lxxviii.

letters came from merchants in trade or production centers in the provinces. The archive only contains two letters from both Lyon and Calais, while there are no letters from any of the Mediterranean port cities. Instead, Paris and political contacts made up the majority of this correspondence.

Daniel received 82 letters from 12 correspondents in Paris. Indeed, the geographic diversity of Daniel's connections in France derived in part from the travel of individuals who primarily sent letters from Paris.¹⁷² His most frequent correspondent in Paris was Petit du Claux-Hardy, a Huguenot who Daniel may have met when Petit studied in Leiden with Scaliger. Daniel also carried on a correspondence with Lieven Calvart, the ambassador of the States General to France from 1593 until his death in 1597, though none of the letters from this interaction have been preserved.¹⁷³ By the time of Calvart's death, Daniel's political connections with France and within the Dutch Republic had developed to the extent that he was considered as a candidate to replace Calvart. Andries pressed Daniel to accept the position, noting the advancement it would be for Daniel's family, but Daniel refused the offer.¹⁷⁴ Daniel never did move from active trade to a political career, but his correspondence network in France provides a glimpse of his involvement in Calvinist political circles.¹⁷⁵

¹⁷² Bongars traveled to France in 1594 and 1595, sending Daniel letters from Dieppe, Metz, Mömpelgard, and Orleans in addition to Paris. Jacques Calvart sent two letters from Amiens. Finally, Petit du Claux-Hardy sent letters from Dieppe, Gisors, and Rouen. See DvdM 660, DvdM 674, DvdM 366, and DvdM 671.

¹⁷³ Jongbloet-van Houtte, "Inleiding," lxiii–lxiv.

¹⁷⁴ Andries to Daniel, Bremen, 12 June 1587, DvdM 593d. Jongbloet-van Houtte argues that Hester was against the appointment and continued to attempt to limit Daniel's direct involvement in political affairs. The position was given to François d'Aerssen, the son of Cornelis d'Aerssen. Cornelis was Secretary of the States General from 1584 until 1623. He sent Daniel seven letters from The Hague. Jongbloet-van Houtte, "Inleiding," lxiv.

¹⁷⁵ Grell, "Merchants and Ministers"; Grell, "Creation of a Transnational, Calvinist Network."

E. England

Daniel never developed the same sort of ties with England that he did in France. This is somewhat surprising, as events in England held equal importance as those in France for the fortunes of the Dutch Republic. Additionally, through his marriage to Hester, Daniel gained a number of contacts in England. Not only did a large portion of the estate of Jan de Oude remain in London, London continued to be central to the trade of Jacques and Marten.¹⁷⁶ Yet, Daniel's connections to England remained largely indirect. The silk that Andries and Daniel purchased in Italy had a potential market in London, but Andries saw little need to ship goods to England when they could sell to English merchants in Hamburg or Stade.¹⁷⁷ Daniel and Andries never possessed their own agent in London. They remained wary of using Wouter Aertsen, Jacques's agent, though the archive does contain copies of two letters Daniel sent to Wouter in 1592 and 1596.¹⁷⁸

Daniel received letters from six individuals in London, but this correspondence amounted to only 10 letters. He only received a total of 21 letters from the whole of England, and 11 of the letters were sent by his cousin Peeter Janssen van der Meulen during a 15-month stay in the country in 1591-1592. Peeter's sojourn in Newbury and London was the only time that Daniel and Andries had their own factor in England. That Peeter left after a fairly short stay demonstrates the Van der Meulens's lack of interest in having a presence in England.¹⁷⁹ Daniel's

¹⁷⁶. On discussions over the capital held by the estate of Jan de Oude in London, see Chapters 5 and 7.

¹⁷⁷. Andriessen and Cohen, "Op zoek naar een stapelmarkt," 13-14. Compare with the importance of London in the trade of both Jan de Oude and Marten, Brulez, *Firma Della Faille*, 268-279.

¹⁷⁸. Daniel to Wouter, Leiden, 4 December 1592, DvdM 594-37 and Daniel to Wouter, Leiden, 28 September 1596, DvdM 594-56.

¹⁷⁹. Letters from Peeter Janssen van der Meulen, DvdM 558.

most direct contact with England probably came via Geo Gilpin, the English ambassador to the States General from 1593 until 1598. Gilpin wrote Daniel 14 letters from The Hague.¹⁸⁰

The relative weakness of Daniel's connection to England may have been a function of Daniel's position in related networks. Daniel could get quick access to any economic interests he possessed in England through letters and discussions with Jacques. Daniel could also get access to news in England or the latest exploits of Francis Drake through his numerous contacts in Middelburg and Amsterdam. It was expected that correspondents in Middelburg would include the latest news from England upon the arrival of ships into the harbor.¹⁸¹ Daniel certainly had opportunity to develop stronger ties to England, but his contacts elsewhere appear to have made this unnecessary.

F. New Areas

In addition to building dense correspondence networks in Italy and northwestern Europe, Daniel also began to receive letters from further afield. Daniel's correspondence from outside the above regions never developed into a frequent part of his correspondence, but such connections demonstrate Daniel's involvement in the expanding universe of Netherlandish merchants at the end of the sixteenth century. After moving to Leiden, Daniel began to receive direct communication from Robert Noirot in Seville, Jan Janssen van der Meulen in Sanlucar, and Charles Godin in Lisbon.¹⁸² The letters Daniel received from Robert Noirot in Seville provides an example of the ways that Daniel's correspondence functioned in relation to other networks.

¹⁸⁰. DvdM 360 and DvdM 667.

¹⁸¹. Letters from Hans Schot show that part of his task was to inform Daniel of news from England. DvdM 622a. Sadler, "News as a Path to Independence."

¹⁸². There are seven letters from Robert Noirot, DvdM 608; three letters from Jan Janssen van der Meulen, DvdM-556 in 1595; and a further three from Charles Godin, DvdM 546.

While Daniel's residence in Holland facilitate more direct contact with agents in Iberia compared to when Daniel lived in Bremen, only 13 letters have been preserved from Iberia. The continued frequency of Robert's actions in the letters Jacques sent Daniel from Haarlem meant Daniel's connection to Iberia still had little reason to be robust, because others close to Daniel could develop more frequent links to Spain and Portugal.

The reach of Netherlandish merchants expanded throughout the 1590s, and Daniel was well informed of the economic opportunities around him. Daniel explored trade opportunities both to the north and in the southern Atlantic. He had great interest in the explorations of the West and East Indies. At the time of his death, Daniel had invested £2,200 in a venture to the East Indies with Johan van der Veecken and Pieter van der Haghen.¹⁸³ It is therefore not surprising to see that Daniel's correspondence network began to spread to the periphery of the European Continent and beyond. The letters Daniel received from Scandinavia and Africa came almost entirely from kin, who had participated in trade under Daniel's authority. His cousin, Peeter Janssen van der Meulen resided in Sweden from 1594 until 1597, though only three letters exist over this three-year period.¹⁸⁴

Daniel received five letters from four correspondents in Morocco, Guinea, and Cape Lopez in Africa. The correspondents included François Pierens's brother Gillis, Jan della Faille's bastard son Andries, and Daniel's nephew Hansken van den Corput. Daniel had been a benefactor for all three of these individuals when they resided in Holland. Gillis had previously been a factor for Daniel in Holland, Daniel had looked after finding Andries an apprenticeship in

¹⁸³. Account of the estate of Daniel, DvdM 69; J. H. Kernkamp, *Johan van der Veken en zijn tijd* (The Hague: M. Nijhoff, 1952).

¹⁸⁴. Peeter sent a ship of tar from Sweden to Livorno, but sale of the tar ended up being problematic. Andriessen and Cohen, "Op zoek naar een stapelmarkt," 22. Accounts for this are in DvdM 152.

Middelburg, and Daniel acted as the guardian of his sister's son Hansken when he came to Holland to study in Leiden and The Hague.¹⁸⁵ None of these contacts remained in Africa for any length of time—only Andries della Faille sent more than one letter from Africa—but the letters from Sweden and Africa demonstrate the possibilities elite merchants like Daniel had to explore trade in distant locations through the travel of subordinate kin.

G. Holland and Zeeland

Daniel's far-flung correspondence network after 1591 was an outgrowth of the connections and interests that he and his sibling group had developed since the days of the Calvinist Republic in Antwerp. During the period that Daniel lived in Leiden, he fostered links to all regions of the Low Countries, both those under Spanish control and those in the Dutch Republic, but Holland and Zeeland developed into the core of his correspondence network. His wide and yet dense network in the two maritime provinces resulted from his activities concerning the trade he undertook with family members. It also reflected Daniel's integration into local political and academic circles. Having created geographic distance between himself and Andries, Daniel not only had more reasons to develop and tap into European-wide information networks which previously functioned under the auspices of his brother, he developed his own area of expertise through localized specialization.

¹⁸⁵. On Gillis, see both the letters Gillis sent to Daniel, as well as the letters from François Pierens that asked for and thanked Daniel for giving Gillis work. The concern that Daniel had for his brother-in-law's bastard son can be seen in the letters Hans Schot sent Daniel from Middelburg. DvdM 297, DvdM 125, DvdM 453, DvdM 614, and DvdM 615. Daniel tasked Hans with finding an apprenticeship for Andries and ensuring that he behaved properly. DvdM 622a. Kettering, "Patronage and Kinship"; McLean, *Art of the Network*; Naomi Tadmor, *Family and Friends in Eighteenth-Century England: Household, Kinship, and Patronage* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001); Grassby, *Kinship and Capitalism*.

Table: 1.6: Top Eight Cities in Holland and Zeeland, 1591–1600

City	Letters	Correspondents
Amsterdam	1496	47
Haarlem	1095	36
Middelburg	643	37
The Hague	380	69
Leiden	165	21
Dordrecht	154	13
Delft	80	23
Rotterdam	31	14

The economic expansion of Holland and the massive migration of individuals from the southern provinces to the north both before and after the reconquests of Farnese prepared the ground for Daniel’s network.¹⁸⁶ The profusion of connections Daniel created in Holland and Zeeland reflected the spectrum of his interests better than any other area. Daniel received 4,063 letters—65% of the total letters he received in the period—from 14 cities in Holland and three in Zeeland. In Holland alone, Daniel possessed 194 correspondents. Thus, almost half of Daniel’s correspondents represented in the archive sent him at least one letter from Holland after 1591. The letters in the archive demonstrate Daniel’s strong connections to all of the largest cities in Holland. Daniel received over 30 letters from seven cities in the province, and he had at least 13 correspondents in each of these cities.

Daniel’s correspondence from Holland and Zeeland exhibits the dynamism of Netherlandish merchants in the aftermath of the closure of the Scheldt and the move from Antwerp to Amsterdam.¹⁸⁷ As with his connections elsewhere, letters from factors constituted the

¹⁸⁶ Enthoven, *Zeeland en de opkomst van de Republiek*; Gelderblom, *Zuid-Nederlandse kooplieden*; Lesger, *Rise of the Amsterdam Market*; Vries and Woude, *First Modern Economy*; Briels, *Zuid-Nederlandse Immigratie*.

¹⁸⁷ Gelderblom, *Zuid-Nederlandse kooplieden*; Gelderblom, *Cities of Commerce*; Lesger, *Rise of the Amsterdam Market*.

majority of correspondence Daniel received from Holland and Zeeland. He received 200 or more letters from five correspondents, all of whom were involved in trade with Daniel. All five of these correspondents had emigrated from Brabant, and Daniel was related to three of the five. The letters of these and other agents show Daniel acting as the main representative of the Van der Meulens in Holland and Zeeland, coordinating both the purchases of linen and wool in Haarlem and Leiden and the sale of Italian merchandise. Daniel's position in Leiden also gave him access to all of the products that came into and passed through the port of Amsterdam. Though Andries remained wary on Jacques, Daniel's residence in Holland enabled him to work more closely with his brother-in-law, opening up more opportunities for investment in maritime trade through both Amsterdam and Middelburg.¹⁸⁸

Daniel received far more letters from Amsterdam, Haarlem, and Middelburg than any other cities during the nine years he lived in Leiden. Though the cities had different functions in Daniel's network, his connections to them showed Daniel to be a prominent merchant at the center of an expanding economy. Like for so many other merchants, Amsterdam connected the trade of the Van der Meulens in the Baltic to the Atlantic.¹⁸⁹ Amsterdam was only a short trip from Leiden, but Daniel appears to have been content to leave much of the day to day activities to his factors, particularly Baptista Oyens. Together with his brother Samuel, Baptista sent Daniel 1,033 letters, averaging a letter every three days between 1591 and 1600. Daniel also received a significant amount of letters from a handful of other merchants, including 200 letters

¹⁸⁸. Andriessen and Cohen, "Op zoek naar een stapelmarkt"; Claassen, "De overlandhandel op Italie"; Vermeulen, "De handelsbetrekkingen met het Middellandse zeegebied."

¹⁸⁹. Lesger, *Rise of the Amsterdam Market*; M. van Tielhof, *The 'Mother of all Trades': The Baltic Grain Trade in Amsterdam from the Late 16th to the Early 19th Century* (Leiden: Brill, 2002).

from Jacques de Velaer and 50 letters from the brothers Hans and Sebalt de Weert.¹⁹⁰ Eight correspondents sent Daniel ten or more letters from Amsterdam, constituting 92.3% of the letters Daniel received from the city. Daniel was related to five of these eight frequent correspondents, and all were involved in trade. Despite the preponderance of letters from a handful of correspondents, Daniel received letters from 47 individuals in Amsterdam. This reflected both the large number of acquaintances Daniel had in the city, as well as the many correspondents who sent letters while visiting the city.¹⁹¹

Amsterdam took over Haarlem's position as the most important city in Holland in Daniel's correspondence network, but the presence of kin and the production of textiles ensured that Haarlem maintained its significance. Jacques della Faille continued to be Daniel's primary correspondent in Haarlem, and the frequency of their correspondence increased with their new proximity. Jacques sent Daniel 503 letters in this period. Daniel also received 246 letters from Joos de Vogele, who married into the Della Faille family and oversaw the purchasing of linen in Haarlem, and 161 from Peeter Janssen van der Meulen after he settled in the city in 1598.¹⁹² In addition to correspondence with agents, Daniel possessed a number of kin in the city, including the widows Magdalena de Hoest and Hester van Eeckeren.¹⁹³ Concerning the distribution of the correspondence, the situation in Haarlem was remarkably similar to that of Amsterdam. Of the 36 correspondents who wrote from Haarlem, only eight sent ten or more letters from the city. But

¹⁹⁰ Jacques de Velaer had been a alderman in Antwerp with Andries. He was not related to the Van der Meulens at this time, but his son married Andries's daughter in 1605. Kooijmans, *Vriendschap*.

¹⁹¹ Many of the individuals who sent letters to Daniel from Amsterdam sent the majority of their letters from other places.

¹⁹² Peeter Janssen's first letter from his residence in Haarlem was sent on 18 August 1598, DvdM 597-111. Claassen, "De overlandhandel op Italie."

¹⁹³ Magdalena de Hoest was Daniel's maternal cousin and mother of Hans and Jan Schot. Hester van Eeckeren was Robert van Eeckeren's half-sister and the widow of Jan Noiroot.

these eight accounted for 92.6% of the letters Daniel received from Haarlem.¹⁹⁴ As with Amsterdam, kinship played an important role in connecting Daniel to Haarlem. Six of the eight correspondents were kin.

A closer look at Daniel's correspondence with Middelburg, the foremost trading city in Zeeland after the closure of the Scheldt, underlines the drastic change in Daniel's network after he moved to Leiden.¹⁹⁵ Similar to his contacts in other cities in Holland and Zeeland, Daniel only received four letters from Middelburg from September 1585 to September 1591: two letters each from Peeter Janssen van der Meulen and Pierre Maillet sent in 1591.¹⁹⁶ Despite Daniel's investments that passed through the city, all indications are that Daniel only began to have direct contact with Middelburg as his exit from Bremen neared. Once he arrived in Leiden, his correspondence with Maillet became consistent. Pierre Maillet sent Daniel a further 62 letters, with the vast majority written from 1591 until 1595.¹⁹⁷ A number of kin of both the Della Failles and Van der Meulens already resided in Zeeland, making it easier for Daniel to develop connections to the important ports in Zeeland. By the end of 1591, Daniel had already received letters from Middelburg from two such kin: Jan van der Beke, the pensionary of nearby Vlissingen who had married into the Della Faille family, and the merchant Everart Becker, who was related to Daniel through the Malapert family.¹⁹⁸

¹⁹⁴. The eight most frequent correspondents sent 1,014 of the 1,095 letters from Haarlem.

¹⁹⁵. Enthoven, *Zeeland en de opkomst van de Republiek*.

¹⁹⁶. The letters from Peeter Janssens were sent from Middelburg before he sailed to England, DvdM 558.

¹⁹⁷. Accounts and letters of Pierre Maillet, DvdM 144 and DvdM 586.

¹⁹⁸. Daniel had received three letters from Vlissingen from Van der Beke when he was in Bremen, and he received a further five letters from Van der Beke from the same location after 1591. The majority of letters that Van der Beke sent were from various cities in Holland. DvdM 658.

Daniel's connections grew quickly from this already fertile ground. Daniel eventually received 643 letters from 37 individuals from Middelburg. Unlike in Amsterdam or Haarlem, no one individual dominated Daniel's stream of information from Middelburg, as Daniel continually made use of multiple agents at any one time. Almost one-third (11) of Daniel's correspondents sent 10 or more letters from Middelburg. Even with this higher ratio of frequent correspondents, these twelve correspondents sent a smaller proportion of the letters Daniel received from Middelburg—84.9% of the letters—than from Amsterdam and Haarlem. In other words, Daniel had a wide range of correspondents in Middelburg to act as agents or provide information about the news that streamed into the city.

The widespread nature of Daniel's correspondence with Middelburg was partially due to the large number of kin he had in the city. In addition to the kin who already lived and traded in Middelburg when Daniel arrived, the dynamism of Middelburg's economy was such that many of Daniel's younger kin moved to the city to take advantage of the opportunities it presented. For example, Peeter Janssen visited the city on multiple occasions, residing there for three months in 1594, while Daniel was instrumental in Hans Schot moving to Middelburg to create a company with Gillis Ancelmo. After Hans's death, his younger brother Jacques served Daniel as a factor in Middelburg.¹⁹⁹

The functioning of the economic networks in Amsterdam, Haarlem, and Middelburg all depended upon the construction of lasting relationships built upon the related concepts of friendship and kinship.²⁰⁰ Just as Daniel became the Van der Meulens representative for trade in

¹⁹⁹ For Peeter Janssen, Dvdm 558-56-76, 5 February 1594 to 13 May 1594. On Hans and Jacques Schot, see Sadler, "News as a Path to Independence."

²⁰⁰ Trivellato, *Familiarity of Strangers*; Grassby, *Kinship and Capitalism*; Sharon Kettering, "Friendship and Clientage in Early Modern France," *French History* 6, no. 2 (1992): 139-158; Tadmor, *Family and Friends in Eighteenth-Century England*.

Holland and Zeeland, he also acted as a representative of his sibling group among his wider kin in the rebellious provinces. Daniel's interaction with nearby kin provides another example of his expanded influence through his physical separation from Andries. As a merchant of increasing prominence and wealth, social pressure and economic interest pressed Daniel to foster fruitful relationships with kin. The letters in the archive show that Daniel spent an considerable amount of time and energy cultivating relationships with and among his kin. Alongside the continuous disputes among Hester's siblings concerning the estate of Jan de Oude, Daniel gave advice, provided favors, acted as a guardian, and searched for suitable marriage partners for his kin.²⁰¹

Examples of ways that Daniel interacted with kin in order to strengthen the bonds that held them together could be endlessly cited, and the following chapters will discuss these activities in greater detail. For the present purposes a single example will suffice. At the end of October 1592, Jacques Schot, the husband of Daniel's maternal cousin Magdalena de Hoest, died, leaving their three sons fatherless. Andries soon heard of the news through François Boudewijns and communicated to Daniel the need to take an active role in dealing with the estate Jacques left behind.²⁰² Daniel was well aware of the duty he had in this situation, and the letters that Magdalena sent Daniel provide evidence of the support he gave to his widowed cousin. Daniel traveled to Delft and provided Magdalena with financial advice. Daniel's assistance was such that Magdalena could not help but worry about her ability to repay her cousin. "I do not know how I will earn all of the honor and love that I have received from you and all of the

²⁰¹ Sadler, "News as a Path to Independence"; Davis, *The Gift*; Ilana Krausman Ben-Amos, "Gifts and Favors: Informal Support in Early Modern England," *Journal of Modern History* 72, no. 2 (2000): 295–338; McLean, *Art of the Network*.

²⁰² Andries to Daniel, Bremen, 25 December 1592, DvdM 593a-128/129. Andries also asked about the estate and whether an inventory had been made in his next letter. Andries to Daniel, Bremen, 1 January 1593, DvdM 593a-130.

trouble that you have taken on for me and my children.”²⁰³ Full repayment may have been out of the question, but Magdalena hoped to be able to demonstrate her gratitude. “If I can provide any service for you, I will gladly do so, as God well knows.”²⁰⁴ In fact, Magdalena asked that if Daniel had any letters to send to Dordrecht or elsewhere through Delft that he should allow her to send them on just as her husband had formerly done.²⁰⁵

Daniel continued to provide assistance to Magdalena and her children for the rest of his life. He was instrumental in finding an apprenticeship for Magdalena’s son Jacques and providing Hans with opportunities to establish himself as a merchant in Middelburg.²⁰⁶ Such service done on the behalf of kin was a daily activity for Daniel. Jacques della Faille and Andries’s letters in particular are replete with discussion about kin and ways that they could advance the prospects of the “house.”²⁰⁷ Even when concentrating only on the assistance that Daniel gave to Magdalena’s siblings the list quickly expands. Daniel and Andries stood behind Mattheus de Hoest, Magdalena’s brother, when he fell into financial troubles.²⁰⁸ Daniel and Jacques della Faille facilitated the marriage between Magdalena’s sister Maria and Jacques le

²⁰³. Magdalena de Hoest to Daniel, Delft, 28 January 1593, DvdM 621-28: “ic en weet niet waer mede dat ick verdienen sal allen die eer ende lifde die ic van U.L. ontfanghe ende die groete moyte die U.L. aen neemt voor my ende myn kinderen.”

²⁰⁴. Magdalena de Hoest to Daniel, Delft, 28 January 1593, DvdM 621-28: “daer ic U.L. ennighen dinst kost mede ghedoen, ic sout gerne doen, dat kent de Heer.”

²⁰⁵. Magdalena de Hoest to Daniel, Delft, 28 January 1593, DvdM 621-28: “hebdy koesyn eenighe brieven op Dort oft iever te seynden, ic bidde U.L. en wisset niet nae laeten ic sal't bestellen.”

²⁰⁶. Sadler, “News as a Path to Independence.”

²⁰⁷. Such a wide definition of the concept of the house was used throughout the correspondence. For example, in describing a dispute that he had with his brother-in-law Alart Sicx, Magdalena’s husband noted his service to the family, stating “You know what I have done for the house.” Jacques Schot to Daniel, Haarlem, 22 July 1592, DvdM 621-22: “U.L. weete wat ick voer't huys gedaen heb.” Thomas, “Family Unity and Honour.”

²⁰⁸. Andries to Daniel, Bremen, 1 January 1593, DvdM 593a-130; Magdalena de Hoest to Daniel, Haarlem, 10 December 1597, DvdM 621-43.

Poyvre, a merchant in Amsterdam.²⁰⁹ Daniel was also there when Le Poyvre ran into trouble with his trade a year after the marriage.²¹⁰ All of Daniel's interactions with Magdalena and her siblings make clear the impact of his presence in Holland, enabling Daniel to help kin in ways that would have been impossible had he remained in Bremen.

Political events, as much as long-term economic developments, caused the dispersal of Daniel's kin throughout Holland and Zeeland. The Van der Meulens constantly monitored political and military events, awaiting the possibility to return to Antwerp.²¹¹ Daniel's correspondents consistently wrote about the local and regional news they could gather, enabling Daniel to remain well informed about political and military events throughout Europe.²¹² At the same time, Daniel and Andries maintained the relationships they had created with the Calvinist political elite of Antwerp while Andries served as an alderman during the Calvinist Republic. The continued importance of these links and Daniel's integration into the ruling classes of Holland and Zeeland is demonstrated by the multitude of correspondents who wrote Daniel from The Hague. Daniel received a handful of letters from mercantile agents in The Hague, but the vast majority of letters came from political contacts, including nobility, the bureaucratic elite, and ambassadors from England and France.²¹³

²⁰⁹ Hans Schot to Daniel, DvdM 622-15-19. Kernkamp, "Het Van der Meulen-archieff."

²¹⁰ Magdalena de Hoest to Daniel, Haarlem, 15 July 1595, DvdM 621-37.

²¹¹ Daniel's loyalist and Catholic relatives such as Marten and Robert van Eeckeren were equally anxious to learn of any news that might result in the reuniting of the Low Countries under the control of the Spanish kings.

²¹² Sadler, "News as a Path to Independence."

²¹³ The letters from agents in The Hague did not necessarily indicate economic activity in the city. For instance, Daniel received seven letters from Hans Bernaerts and Hubert le Vasseur in 1593 from The Hague. The two merchants had previously acted as agents for Daniel in Middelburg. See DvdM 139. However, they ran into financial trouble and moved to The Hague. DvdM 521. This is spoken about in Jacques Schot de Oude to Daniel, Delft, 16 September 1592, DvdM 621-24 and Jacques Schot de Oude to Daniel, Delft, 28 September 1592, DvdM 621-25.

More individuals sent letters to Daniel from The Hague than from any other city. Sixty-nine correspondents sent Daniel 380 letters that have been preserved in the archive. The letters came from all levels of the ruling classes. Daniel received ten letters from Marnix St Aldegonde, and other letters in the archive show the close relationship Daniel had with Marnix.²¹⁴ Such interactions between nobility and the mercantile elite were common in the Low Countries, as demonstrated by the letters Daniel received from Orange's widow Louise de Coligny, who also visited Daniel's house on the Rapenburg.²¹⁵ The archive exhibits the relationships that Daniel fostered with the leading bureaucrats of the Republic, including the Secretary of the States General Cornelis d'Aerssen; the three members of Maurits's council concerning the lands in Brabant; and most significantly 38 letters from Christiaan Huygens secretary of the Raad van State.²¹⁶ The letters from the brothers Simon and Pieter van Veen from The Hague show Daniel's integration into the local elite of Leiden. Both brothers were involved in the local government and trained in law at the University of Leiden.²¹⁷

Daniel's own academic background in law and his residence in Leiden provided opportunities for Daniel to further integrate himself into the social elite through intellectual contacts. By the time of Daniel's death, he had amassed a humanist library of over 1,200

²¹⁴ For instance, Marnix stayed at the houses of Jacques della Faille and Nicholas Malapert when he was in Haarlem and Stade. Jongbloet-van Houtte, "Inleiding," lxxvii–lxxviii.

²¹⁵ Jongbloet-van Houtte, "Inleiding," xxxii–xxxiii.

²¹⁶ Jongbloet-van Houtte, "Inleiding," lxxv–lxxvii.

²¹⁷ The letters from Pieter van Veen show him to be acting on Daniel's behalf as a lawyer in The Hague. On the ruling elite in Leiden, see Sterling Lament, "The Vroedschap of Leiden 1550–1600: The Impact of Tradition and Change on the Governing Elite of a Dutch City," *The Sixteenth Century Journal* 12, no. 2 (1981): 15–42.

books.²¹⁸ This proved to be a valuable source for a number of intellectuals who resided in Leiden and its environs. Simon Stevin's use of the library has already been noted, while Justus Lipsius among many others also made use of Daniel's library. Daniel had contact with a number of professors at the university, though their residence in the same city means that they have left few letters.²¹⁹ Despite this, Daniel received letters from prominent intellectuals in Holland such as Scaliger, Stevin, the medical professors Gerardus Bontius and Johannes Heurnius, and the professor of law Cornelis van der Nieustadt. Through the education of his children and those of his kin, Daniel interacted with teachers resident in Holland, most of whom were also emigrants from Flanders and Brabant.²²⁰ Anna van der Meulen's marriage to Severijn van den Corput also linked Daniel and his family to the prominent Calvinist preacher and professor in Leiden Franciscus Junius, who wrote the inscription on Daniel's gravestone.²²¹

H. Northern Low Countries Outside of Holland and Zeeland

Outside of Holland and Zeeland, Daniel had a relatively limited correspondence in the rebellious provinces. After 1597, Utrecht presented an exception to this, as Daniel received 114 letters from 13 correspondents in the city and its environs. Daniel's connection to Utrecht derived almost entirely from the residence of his brothers-in-law Antoine Lempereur and Nicolas

²¹⁸ The library included 200 theological books, 78 juridical, 52 medical, 479 history, 344 books grouped under philosophy, geometry, math, and poetry. The books were mostly in Latin and Greek, though there were books in Hebrew, as well as multiple modern languages. Copies of the auction catalogue can be found in DvdM 68 and Familie Van der Muelen, inventory 38-1. Het Utrechts Archief. Utrecht, The Netherlands. The proceeds of the auction brought the estate £471.13.10. DvdM 69. Kernkamp, "De bibliotheek van den koopman Daniel van der Meulen."

²¹⁹ For Lipsius's interaction with Daniel's library see DvdM 54-3. See the description of individuals who used the library in Jongbloet-van Houtte, "Inleiding," lxxx.

²²⁰ These include the teachers of Carlo della Faille's children Cornelis de Reeckenaere and Felix van Sambix, as well as Franciscus Bredius. Jongbloet-van Houtte, "Inleiding," lxxvi-lxxix.

²²¹ Junius married Elizabeth van de Corput, sister of Severijn. Jongbloet-van Houtte, "Inleiding."

Malapert in the area from 1597 and 1598 respectively.²²² Daniel only received a single letter from Utrecht before 1597.²²³ Daniel's correspondence in the northern and eastern provinces was sporadic at best. No more than five letters from a single correspondent in these areas has been preserved in the archive. More letters arrived from the regions of Brabant that remained under the control of the Republic. In part, this was a result of the land that Hester inherited in Zevenbergen from her father.²²⁴ Daniel's single most important correspondent outside of the core areas of the Republic was Godevart Montens, from whom he received 60 letters in Breda. A former schepen of Antwerp, Montens went on to become burgemeester of Breda from 1596 to 1600. Though not kin, Montens and the Van der Meulens continued to run in the same emigrant circles. His daughter was the first wife of Jan Panhuysen who later married Andries's daughter Elisabeth.²²⁵

I. Southern Low Countries

The amount of letters exchanged between the loyalist and rebellious provinces, as well as their content demonstrates that the group of Antwerp merchants under study here perceived the border to be porous and temporary. The number of Daniel's correspondents in the provinces ruled by the Spanish monarchy expanded after his move to Leiden, but the vast majority of the letters he received from his homeland continued to come from affinal kin in Antwerp. Thus,

²²² Antoine sent Daniel 47 letters from Utrecht (DvdM 579), while Nicolas sent 34 from Jutphaas and Ijsselstein (DvdM 588), villages outside of the city. The rest of the letters came mainly from servants or visitors to Antoine and Nicolas. Kooijmans, *Vriendschap*.

²²³ This was a letter from Marya van Busschuysen, wife of the owner of the house Daniel and his family first lived in upon their arrival in Leiden. DvdM 336.

²²⁴ C. G. van den Hengel, "Grondbezit in de Gelderse Polder te Zevenbergen 1574–1609," *Bijdragen en Mededelingen van het Historisch Genootschap* 79 (1965): 335–386.

²²⁵ Kooijmans, *Vriendschap*.

Daniel received 242 letters from 28 correspondents in 8 cities under the control of Philip II, but 219 letters came from Daniel's 18 correspondents in Antwerp. Eleven of the individuals who wrote Daniel from Antwerp were affines, and they sent 172 (78.5%) of the letters from Antwerp.

Through the letters of his affines and periodic visits to Antwerp, Daniel acted as a fundamental link between kin on both sides of the border.²²⁶ Marten della Faille and Robert van Eeckeren sent Daniel 44 and 31 letters respectively in this period. Jan Borne augmented Marten's correspondence, sending an additional 36 letters. While the letters from his affines continued to discuss the division of the inheritance of Jan de Oude, the activities of the younger generation became increasingly important. Thus, Daniel received 26 letters from Marten's oldest son and 18 letters from Jan de Carlo, Carlo's son from his first marriage. Henricus van Lemens and Emanuel Ximenus, husbands of Jan de Carlo's sister and Robert and Anna della Faille's daughter respectively, also sent Daniel a handful of letters.

After moving to Leiden, Daniel's correspondence network expanded beyond Antwerp and kin in the southern provinces, but this expansion remained rather limited. Outside of kin, Daniel possessed few connections to Antwerp. Daniel's financial links to Antwerp were handled by Jean le Blon and Guillaume Maes. Guillaume administered the houses that Daniel and Hester owned in Antwerp, sending seven letters in this capacity.²²⁷ Jean sent Daniel 33 letters from Antwerp. He helped Daniel move money between Holland and Genoa amongst other services, such as connecting Daniel to Arrent Gheraerts, Jean's agent in Kortrijk. Daniel's correspondence with Jean demonstrates that Daniel's economic activities in the south extended beyond issues of

²²⁶ See Chapter 7.

²²⁷ For the houses that they owned in Antwerp, DvdM 213–216.

inheritance, but it never developed into an important part of his network.²²⁸ The only other agent with whom Daniel had direct contact was Jan Willemin le Jeune, from whom he received ten letters in Lille. No other correspondent outside of Antwerp wrote more than three letters.

J. Overview of Daniel's Network after 1591

By 1600, Daniel possessed the ability to gain the latest information about prices of a vast array of commodities, details of military battles, and hear word of the discoveries of maritime explorers through his dense network of correspondents. He had frequent correspondence with members of the Calvinist political elite in northwestern Europe. Leading academics visited Daniel's house on the Rapenburg, just a short stroll down the street from the University, to enter into discussion and peruse his library. Through his correspondence network, Daniel could provide assistance to kin in any number of ways, while his links to the wealthy and powerful led many to seek his favor in an attempt to gain entrance to his network. The transformation of Daniel's network from the period in which he lived in Bremen to that of 1600 is astounding, demonstrating the influence that Daniel's sibling group, and Andries in particular, had on Daniel's correspondence. By residing in Holland, away from his siblings, Daniel gained an independence that he had only briefly experienced when acting as a representative to the States General in 1584 and 1585. Yet, as Daniel constructed his correspondence network in the years after his arrival in Leiden, his sibling group remained the most influential individuals in the structure of the network he created.

The ability to gain information about economic activity, communicate with kin, and learn the latest news about political and military affairs drove Daniel's correspondence in all of the

²²⁸ In the trade of the Nieuwe Napelsche Compagnie purchases of textiles in France and the southern provinces were largely left to Jean Vivien, DvdM 635.

regions discussed above, but the relative significance of each topic differed from region to region. It was Daniel's relationships with his siblings that had the greatest effect on the strengths and weaknesses of his network either through augmenting the strength of his connections or filling in for his weaknesses. Economically, Daniel made decisions and instructed factors through his correspondence in Holland and Zeeland and Italy, deriving from his local specialization and his close links to the factors in Italy through his marriage into the Della Faille family. However, the collection of letters shows Daniel to have been less involved in communication with factors in Germany, England, and Iberia, areas where Andries (Germany) and Jacques della Faille (England and Iberia) exhibited greater influence.²²⁹ Communication with kin played a particularly influential role in Daniel's correspondence with Antwerp and the loyal provinces, where letters from affines constituted a majority of the collection. Daniel's sibling group had less influence over the structure of Daniel's correspondence concerning news. However, the news he accessed through communication with his well-informed siblings such as Andries and Jacques, as well as the vast amount of information he could obtain through factors, provided Daniel with a base knowledge of local and international news that supported his correspondence with political figures in The Hague, Germany, and France.²³⁰

6. Conclusion: Comparison of the Networks of Marten and Daniel

The 6,712 letters received by Daniel over a period of 22 years in the Daniel van der Meulen Archive show the development of Daniel's correspondence network into one befitting a

²²⁹ Daniel's correspondence in Africa might be better categorized as nascent rather than weak. Daniel's death before the major expansion of Dutch transoceanic trade makes it impossible to know how Daniel's connections and investments in the Americas and Indies might have proceeded. Daniel had already invested £2,200 in a voyage to the East Indies. Accounts of Daniel's estate, DvdM 69.

²³⁰ Through such networks of information, Daniel could gain status. McLean, *Art of the Network*; Egmond, "Correspondence and Natural History."

well-educated, ambitious, and wealthy merchant at the turn of the seventeenth century. The 616 letters sent from Antwerp and copied into Marten's letter book over a 19 month period in 1585 and 1586 demonstrate that Marten constructed a similar correspondence network. Differences in the size and duration of the collections must be kept in mind, but a comparison of Marten's letter book and the letters Daniel received after moving to Leiden in 1591 demonstrates the distinct positions Marten and Daniel possessed in their sibling group.²³¹

The above analysis of the geographic structure of the two networks makes clear the large similarities of the correspondence carried on by Marten and Daniel. Due to the influence of the Della Faille trade on the expansion of the Van der Meulen's trade in the 1580s, it is hardly surprising that Marten and Daniel participated in largely parallel trade activities. The same basic composition of their trade consisted not only in the areas where they traded, but also in the type of goods and even some of the factors they used. From this economic basis, Marten and Daniel carried on correspondence with all of the same regions in Europe, excepting only that Daniel received a handful of letters from Scandinavia and began to receive letters from Africa in 1595. In addition to the geographic likeness, the types of information transmitted through their correspondence was roughly similar. Economic activity and discourse with kin made up a majority of the content in both network, and Marten was as concerned about obtaining the latest political news as Daniel. Marten's letter book does not contain the same number of letters to political figures as Daniel's collections, but his assumption of the position of almoner upon

²³¹. A comparison between the networks must concentrate on the letters Daniel received after 1591, as it was only once he moved to Leiden that he assumed a position similar to that held by Marten in 1585.

Farnese's conquest and his later position in the admiralty give proof to the ample links Marten developed to the ruling elite of the southern provinces.²³²

The similarity between the networks extended to sharing a number of the same correspondents. Eighteen correspondents to whom Marten wrote also wrote to Daniel. Thus, over one in five of Marten's correspondents also sent at least one letter to Daniel.²³³ This includes the correspondence that occurred between Marten and Daniel and Hester. The letter book contains five letters sent to Hester and Daniel. The Daniel van der Meulen Archive contains another 65 letters that Marten wrote Daniel.²³⁴ Only two of the eighteen shared correspondents were not kin. Otto Hartius was a lawyer attached to the Della Failles who became embroiled in the disputes over the inheritance of Jan de Oude, while Hans Bernaerts and Hubert le Vasseur acted as factors in Middelburg for both Marten and Daniel.²³⁵ The overlapping correspondents did not necessarily have the same import to Marten and Daniel, but Daniel received letters from all of Marten's closest associates except Thomas Coteels.²³⁶

The general similarities of the two networks make the differences bear greater meaning. Some of the differences possess a personal nature. Daniel studied law and exhibited great interest in intellectual affairs, taking advantage of his position in Leiden to connect himself with some of

²³² Schmitz, *Les Della Faille*, vol. 3, 11–26. The most important political figure to whom Marten sent letters contained in the letter book was Christiaan van Wiele.

²³³ Lieven Calvaert is included as a correspondent of both even though there are no letters in the Daniel van der Meulen archive from Calvaert. However, letters from other correspondents show that Daniel and Lieven carried on a correspondence. Jongbloet-van Houtte, "Inleiding."

²³⁴ There are also 13 letters in the Daniel van der Meulen archive written to Daniel by Hester while the former was away from Leiden. DvdM 269.

²³⁵ Daniel received nine letters from the two partners, while Marten sent them 16 letters. See DvdM 521 and Brulez, *Firma Della Faille*, 100-101.

²³⁶ Among the most important of the overlapping correspondents were Robert van Eeckeren and Anna della Faille, Jan Borne, Jan de Wale, Jan van der Beke, and Jacques della Faille.

the era's most renowned figures. Marten had a more strictly mercantile education and took less interest in intellectual matters. Due to their differing political and religious allegiances, Daniel and Marten interacted in quite different political circles. The geographic similarities of their correspondence likely ensured that they had access to similar streams of news, but their specifically political networks would have been quite distinct. One need think only of the already cited example of the letter Richardot sent to Daniel in 1598. A third personal difference relates to the division among the Della Faille siblings. As close kin, Marten and Daniel's networks inevitably overlapped, but they never did so to the degree that Daniel and Jacques's correspondence did. Marten and Daniel had a complicated relationship—a relationship will be further discussed in the chapters below—but in the break between Marten and Jacques, Daniel generally associated himself with the latter.²³⁷

The structural differences in the networks are even more telling, betraying the disparity between the power Marten held over his network and the position Daniel had in his. The above analysis has demonstrated that even after 1591 Daniel's network had areas of weakness. In England and Iberia, Daniel largely depended upon Jacques to communicate with factors. In Germany, Andries cared for the organization of the trade. However, Daniel's specialization in Holland and Zeeland made up for these dependencies. Such dependencies were hardly problematic. Indeed, Daniel constructed his correspondence network upon his mutual interdependencies with Andries and Jacques.²³⁸ Of course, Marten's network betrayed its own interdependencies, particularly in terms of the networks developed by his partners Borne, De

²³⁷ Georg Simmel, *On Individuality and Social Forms* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1972), 251–293; Granovetter, “Strength of Weak Ties”; Castells, *Rise of the Network Society*.

²³⁸ Bethencourt and Egmond, *Correspondence and Cultural Exchange*; Davis, *The Gift*; Gustav Peebles, “The Anthropology of Credit and Debt,” *Annual Review of Anthropology* 39, no. 1 (2010): 225–240; McLean, *Art of the Network*.

Wale, and Coteels. Yet, Marten adopted a more central position in the network of networks within which he interacted than Daniel ever achieved. In other words, Marten possessed a higher position within the hierarchy of his network than did Daniel.

Table: 1.7: Letters by Region: Marten and Daniel²³⁹

Areas	Marten della Faille		Daniel van der Meulen	
	Letters	% of Letters	Letters	% of Letters
England	41	7.18%	21	0.34%
France	8	1.40%	109	1.75%
Germany	133	23.29%	818	13.15%
Iberia	27	4.73%	13	0.21%
Italy	88	15.41%	736	11.83%
N Low Countries	160	28.02%	4,268	68.60%
S Low Countries	114	19.96%	242	3.89%
Total	571	100%	6,207	99.77%

Evidence for Marten’s more powerful role in his network can be seen in a comparison of the share of letters and correspondents with whom Marten and Daniel interacted in the different geographic regions. Whereas 68% of the letters Daniel received after 1591 were sent from the Dutch Republic, no one area accounted for more than the 27% of letters that Marten sent. The Dutch Republic, Italy, and Germany are the only regions where Daniel received more than 5% of his total letters. In contrast, only France and Iberia account for less than 5% of the letter Marten sent. Though the percentage of letters sent to and received from France by Marten and Daniel is fairly similar, the large number of correspondents who wrote to Daniel from France make this the one region other than the Dutch Republic where Daniel possessed a stronger network. Elsewhere the differences between the relative weight of the two networks is striking. Marten

²³⁹ The table uses the total letters sent by Marten and received by Daniel during his residence in Leiden (1591–1600) with a known location. The table does not include the 14 letters Daniel received from regions where Marten did not receive any letters: Africa (5), Scandinavia (5), and Switzerland (4).

sent about twice as many letters to both England and Iberia in a period of 18 months as Daniel received from these regions in a period of almost nine years. The relative equality in the number of letters Marten sent to the different areas in Europe and the number of correspondents he had in each area shows that Marten had influence in all regions of his network, coordinating the activities of his partners and factors. This was not the case for Daniel. In the larger network in which he participated it was Andries and, to a lesser extent, Jacques who coordinated the network's activities.²⁴⁰

Born about ten years before Daniel, age undoubtedly had an effect on the relative size and role that Marten and Daniel played within their networks at any one time. However, age cannot account for the differences between Marten's network in 1585 and 1586 and Daniel's network by the mid 1590s. Instead, the differences derive from their distinct positions within their sibling group. The development of Daniel's network up to 1591 likely possessed similarities to Marten's network before 1582, when Marten worked as a factor for his father, first in Hamburg and then in London. As a factor, Marten's network of correspondents and associates would have been relatively restricted and specialized around the duties required of him as a factor. But with the passing of Jan de Oude, Marten rose to claim his position as successor, though he was not the eldest son. It was not with the eldest that Marten had to dispute, for Jan de Oude bequeathed Jacques almost equal authority over the estate and heirs. Instead of working together to expand and distribute the capital left by their father, the brothers divided the capital and allegiance of their father's factors among themselves and went their separate ways. Marten's siblings may have continued to pester him in various ways, but with no true rival aside from Jacques, he acted as the head of the sibling group and successor of Jan de Oude. The partners in

²⁴⁰ Brulez, *Firma Della Faille*; Kernkamp, *De handel van Daniel van der Meulen*.

his company were socially inferior kin, and Marten controlled a majority share of the firm's capital. Marten's network in 1585 and 1586 reflected this position of power among his kin.²⁴¹

Daniel's story, of course, is quite different. By the time that his mother died in 1587, Elizabeth had already passed along control over the family's trade to her children. She was not party to the company that Daniel and Andries made with their brothers-in-law François and Anthoine.²⁴² Unlike the Della Faille family, the Van der Meulens remained economically tied together. As has been demonstrated through Daniel's correspondence network while he lived in Bremen, it was Andries who adopted the role of head of the sibling group, acting as first among equals with his siblings. Andries coordinated the trade of the family, gathering information through his correspondence network. Daniel's own correspondence network was subordinate to that of Andries. Even after gaining greater independence by moving to Leiden, Daniel continued to act under the ultimate authority of his elder brother. After 1591, Daniel and Andries's overlapping networks worked in symbiosis. Daniel inevitably possessed greater ability to act outside of the authority of his brother, but Daniel remained within the sibling hierarchy for all of his life.

²⁴¹. On succession and hierarchy within sibling groups, David Warren Sabeau and Simon Teuscher, "Rethinking European Kinship: Transregional and Transnational Families," in *Transregional and Transnational Families in Europe and Beyond: Experiences Since the Middle Ages*, ed. Christopher H. Johnson, et al. (New York: Berghahn Books, 2011); Bastress-Dukehart, "Sibling Conflict"; Broomhall and Gent, "In the Name of the Father"; Christopher H. Johnson and David Warren Sabeau, "From Siblingship to Siblinghood: Kinship and the Shaping of European Society (1300–1900)," in *Sibling Relations and the Transformations of European Kinship, 1300–1900*, ed. Christopher H. Johnson and David Warren Sabeau (New York: Berghahn Books, 2011); Benjamin Marschke, "The Crown Prince's Brothers and Sisters: Succession and Inheritance Problems and Solutions Among the Hohenzollerns, from the Great Elector to Frederick the Great," in *Sibling Relations and the Transformations of European Kinship, 1300–1900*, ed. Christopher H. Johnson and David Warren Sabeau (New York: Berghahn Books, 2011); Sophie Ruppel, "Subordinates, Patrons, and Most Beloved: Sibling Relationships in Seventeenth-Century German Court Society," in *Sibling Relations and the Transformations of European Kinship, 1300–1900*, ed. Christopher H. Johnson and David Warren Sabeau (New York: Berghahn Books, 2011); Linda A Pollock, "Rethinking Patriarchy and the Family in Seventeenth-Century England," *Journal of Family History* 23, no. 1 (1998): 3–27.

²⁴². Contract of the Nieuwe Compagnie, DvdM 93; Jongbloet-van Houtte, "Inleiding"; Kernkamp, *De handel van Daniel van der Meulen*.

Chapter 2

The Widower Jan de Oude: Marriage and the Maternal Inheritance of the Della Faille Siblings

1. Introduction: Death of Cornelia van der Capellen

On 15 August 1566, as celebrations of the Feast of Assumption of Blessed Virgin Mary occurred under the shadow of the outbreak of iconoclasm days before in the Westkwartier of Flanders, Cornelia van der Capellen took her last breath. The granddaughter of the wealthy Venetian merchant of Brabant extraction, Marten de Hane, and the wife of the equally wealthy Jan della Faille de Oude, Cornelia left nine children, ranging from her twenty-four year old son Jan to her daughter and namesake Cornelia, who could not have been more than four years-old.¹ Cornelia's death made the fifty year-old Jan de Oude a widower and guardian of his children's maternal inheritance.² Five days after the death of Cornelia, iconoclasm hit the churches of Antwerp. The iconoclasts concentrated their fury on the great Onze Lieve Vrouwe Kerk at the center of Antwerp and the parish church of the Della Failles.³

As great as the shock of the scene of the attack on the art and wealth of the churches of Antwerp must have been to its inhabitants, they could hardly have imagined that the iconoclasm would be the opening salvos of a revolt against Catholicism and Spanish authority that would

¹The date of Cornelia's birth is unknown, but she is not mentioned in a document from 13 June 1562 in which Jan de Oude calculated his wealth. Thus, Cornelia must have been born between this date and her mother's death. Wealth of Jan de Oude, 28 February 1562, Della Faille de Leverghem Archive, inventory 10, Private collection, Lozer, Belgium (hereafter DFL). Yves Schmitz, *Les Della Faille*, vol. 1, *Des Origines au XVIIIème Siècle* (Brussels: Imprimerie F. Van Buggenhoudt, 1965), 264–265.

²Jan de Oude was born about 1515. Wilfrid Brulez, *De Firma Della Faille en de internationale handel van Vlaamse firma's in de 16e eeuw* (Brussels: Paleis der Academiën, 1959); Schmitz, *Les Della Faille*, vol. 1.

³Peter Arnade, *Beggars, Iconoclasts, and Civic Patriots: The Political Culture of the Dutch Revolt* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2008); Phyllis Mack Crew, *Calvinist Preaching and Iconoclasm in the Netherlands 1544-1569* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1978).

continue for the next eighty-two years and lead to the political and religious division of the Low Countries. No documents exist that would provide insight into Jan de Oude's reaction to the iconoclasm, but just as the events of August 1566 augured for a long and divisive struggle that affected his children for their entire lives, Cornelia's death initiated the transition of wealth and power between generations that would lead to disputes lasting the entirety of her children's lives.⁴ Similar to the reaction of Philip II to the brewing rebellion in his patrimonial lands, Jan de Oude proved reluctant to provide his children with the means for their own independence.

Cornelia died intestate, bringing the capital she brought to the marriage and which expanded along with that of her husband under the dictates of the laws of Antwerp.⁵ Under the *Costuymen Antiquissimae* of 1545, one half of her capital fell to her surviving spouse, and the other half passed in equal portions to her nine children. This placed Jan de Oude and his heirs as equal creditors to the estate of Cornelia, though the capital remained under the administration of Jan de Oude. The laws of Antwerp demanded that the surviving spouse make a state and inventory of the deceased's estate within six weeks in order to protect interests of the heirs from

⁴ While there is some evidence that Jan de Oude may have had some interest in Calvinist ideas, it appears that he remained a Catholic throughout his life. Brulez, *Firma Della Faille*, 209–212.

⁵ Daniël van der Meulen en Hester de la Faille, zijn vrouw, 1550–1648 inventory, 57-107 and inventory 55-4, Erfgoed Leiden en Omstreken, Leiden, The Netherlands (hereafter DvdM). Both documents state that Cornelia died intestate. On the laws of the Low Countries, see Philippe Godding, *Le droit privé dans les Pays-Bas méridionaux, du 12e au 18e siècle* (Brussels: Académie royale de Belgique, 1987); Philippe Godding, "Le droit au service du patrimoine familia: Les Pays-Bas méridionaux (12e-18e siècles)," in *Marriage, Property, and Succession*, ed. Lloyd Bonfield (Berlin: Duncker & Humboldt, 1992); Marianne Danneel, *Weduwen en wezen in het laat-middeleeuwse Gent* (Louvain: Garant, 1995); Martha C. Howell, *The Marriage Exchange: Property, Social Place, and Gender in Cities of the Low Countries, 1300-1550* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998); David Nicholas, *The Domestic Life of a Medieval City: Women, Children, and the Family in Fourteenth-Century Ghent* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1985). The complicated process of administering the estate of William of Orange presents an example of the difficulties that could occur in the partible inheritance regime of the Low Countries, see P. Scherft, *Het Sterfhuis van Willem van Oranje* (Leiden: Universitaire Pers Leiden, 1966). The relationships between this children of Orange are analyzed in Susan Broomhall and Jacqueline van Gent, "Corresponding Affections: Emotional Exchange among Siblings in the Nassau Family," *Journal of Family History* 34, no. 2 (2009): 143–165; Susan Broomhall and Jacqueline van Gent, "In the Name of the Father: Conceptualizing 'Pater Familias' in the Letters of William the Silent's Children," *Renaissance Quarterly* 62, no. 4 (2009): 1130–1166.

their surviving parent taking more than their share.⁶ However, the size and nature of Cornelia's estate made such an act nearly impossible. Cornelia's estate consisted almost entirely of capital invested in trade. Any state and inventory would depend upon Jan de Oude balancing his books. This only occurred at the end of 1569.⁷ In the meantime, Cornelia's heirs partook in half of all profits deriving from her estate.⁸

The death of Cornelia and the existence of maternal inheritance opened the potential for opposing interests between father and children. Jan de Oude had little reason or will to extract capital from his own investments or to add to the independence of his children. Yet, his command over his wife's estate became more tenuous at her death. Jan de Oude now became a debtor to each of his children for their maternal inheritance so long as it remained undivided. The laws concerning such a situation tended to protect the interests of heirs. Specifically, the laws of Antwerp gave Jan de Oude's children the ability to inspect their father's administration of their maternal inheritance.⁹ Cornelia's heirs had greater power in asking for or demanding access to and payment of their inheritance than was true during Cornelia's life or of Jan de Oude's own

⁶ *Costuymen Antiquissimae* 1545, Title X: Weeskinderen nr 21. G. de Longé, ed. *Recueil des anciennes coutumes de Belgique. Coutumes du pays et duché de Brabant. Quartier d'Anvers*, vol. 4 (Brussels: F. Gobbaerts, 1870).

⁷ Jan de Oude valued the movable goods of his wife to be £39,600 in 1569. A valuation of her immovables took until 1575, when Jan de Oude valued them at £3,600. DvdM 59-2 and Account of Marten's maternal inheritance, 25 November 1575, DFL 10.

⁸ *Costuymen Antiquissimae* 1545, Title XIII: Van Successien, Scheydingen ende Deylinghen nr 38: "ende hy binnen middelen tyde (eer hy den staet ende inventaris alsoe gemaect hadde) eenich goet cochte, vercreghe, veroverde oft verspaerde, dat vercreghen goet moet volghen voer deen helft den erfgenamen, soe langhe tot dat den wettighen staet ende inventaris vanden sterfhuyse gemaect is."

⁹ *Costuymen Antiquissimae* 1545, Title XIII: Van Successien, Scheydingen ende Deylinghen nr 35. "Item, als de lanxtlevende van man oft wyff over de ses weken int sterfhuyse blyft sittende, [ende] die gemeyne goeden blyft administrerende sonder vanden kinderen oft erfgenamen des aflivigen te scheydene ende te deylene, die is schuldich ende behoort namaels (alst den kinderen oft erfgenamen belieft) inventaris ende staet van allen den goeden des voirscreven sterfhuyse over te ghevene, rekeninghe, bewys ende reliqua van synder administratie te doene, ende voer der kinderen ende erfgenamen helft inne te stane ende hen daer af te veldoene."

capital. Simply put, the maternal inheritance provided Jan de Oude's children with an opportunity to challenge his paternal power.

That a vast majority of Cornelia's wealth was held in movable goods both complicated the process of administering the estate through accounting and increased concerns about disbursing the capital. Describing his wife's estate, Jan de Oude stated that it "was spread in many diverse lands and in an assortment of goods and debts, so that each child's portion is put at risk of luck or misfortune, such as God shall provide."¹⁰ Management of capital necessitated skill and access to resources and networks. Movable capital was more liable to losses, even in the hands of the most diligent and experienced merchant, than immovables.¹¹ Intimately aware of the ephemeral nature of movable capital, Jan de Oude provided his children with access to their inheritance with great care. He was unwilling to have an inattentive and spendthrift child diminish the patrimony that he had constructed. Before trusting his sons with larger responsibilities, Jan de Oude tested the mercantile acumen of his sons, providing them with access to small portions of their inheritance to trade on their own. He had an interest in exerting

¹⁰ DvdM 59-2: "Ende staen verspreyt in veel diversche landen ende veel sortten van comeschap ende schulden waer aff dat elck kindt syn aventure dragen moet van geluc ende ongeluck sulx als Godt daer aff verleenen sal." Similar statements are found in the accounts of Marten's (DFL 10) and Jacques's maternal inheritance (DvdM 55-4).

¹¹ Martha C. Howell, "Fixing Movables: Gifts by Testament in Late Medieval Douai," *Past & Present* 50, no. 1 (1996): 3–45; Howell, *Marriage Exchange*; Martha C. Howell, *Commerce before Capitalism in Europe, 1300-1600* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010); Richard Grassby, *Kinship and Capitalism: Marriage, Family, and Business in the English Speaking World, 1580-1740* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001); Natalie Zemon Davis, "Ghosts, Kin, and Progeny: Some Features of Family Life in Early Modern France," *Daedalus* 106, no. 2 (1976): 87–114; Robert Feenstra, "Family, Property, and Succession in the Province of Holland During the Sixteenth, Seventeenth, and Eighteenth Centuries," in *Marriage, Property, and Succession*, ed. Lloyd Bonfield (Berlin: Duncker & Humboldt, 1992); Jaco Zuijderduijn, "Grave Concerns: Entailment and Intergenerational Agency in Amsterdam (1600–1800)," *The History of the Family* 16, no. 4 (2011): 343–353; David Warren Sabean and Simon Teuscher, "Kinship in Europe: A New Approach to Long Term Development," in *Kinship in Europe: Approaches to Long-Term Development*, ed. David Warren Sabean, et al. (New York: Berghahn Books, 2007); Karl-Heinz Spieß, "Safeguarding Property for the Next Generations: Family Treaties, Marriage Contracts and Testaments of German Princely Dynasties in the Later Middle Ages (14th-16th Centuries)," in *La famiglia nell'economia europea, secc. XIII-XVIII: atti della "quarantesima Settimana di studi," 6-10 Aprile 2008 = The Economic Role of the Family in the European Economy from the 13th to the 18th Centuries*, ed. Simonetta Cavaciocchi (Firenze: Firenze University Press, 2009); Ariadne Schmidt, "'Touching inheritance: Mannen, vrouwen en de overdracht van bezit in Holland in de 17e eeuw,'" *Holland* 33, no. 3 (2001): 175–189.

control over the ways that the capital devolved to each of his children in order to protect and expand the family assets. Such a tact could easily grate on expectant heirs.

At issue was the timing of the devolution of property and power relations between father and children and between siblings. In addition to limiting his children's access to their maternal inheritance, Jan de Oude used accounting practices to ensure that the capital under his control remained as undiminished as possible. From 1569 until 1575, Jan de Oude chose to calculate the increase of the maternal inheritance as interest at 6.25%, rather than enabling his children to partake in the profits from his trade.¹² Increased independence from paternal authority and reception of inheritance brought obvious advantages. However, Jan de Oude could reward obedience and service with access to capital, credit, and resources. In spite of his need to provide his children with equal portions of their maternal inheritance, Jan de Oude treated each of his children individually, acting in ways he believed most beneficial to the linear family.¹³

A. Marriage and Inheritance

This chapter investigates the relationships between the widowed Jan de Oude and his children as they began to gain independence through marriage and disbursements of their maternal inheritance occasioned by the death of Cornelia van der Capellen. Marriage and the reception of inheritance created space within the previously tight knit nuclear family of parents and children, weakening paternal authority. Jan de Oude attempted to mitigate the forces of

¹² Such a practice need not result in any lessening of the inheritance of the heirs. Whether profits were placed as maternal inheritance or under Jan de Oude's capital, the capital would all eventually fall to his children. However, such a strategy increased Jan de Oude's position vis-a-vis his children. As will be detailed below, the strategy that Jan de Oude used did result in lessening the inheritance of heirs who received their maternal inheritance early.

¹³ Sabeian and Teuscher, "Kinship in Europe"; Erica Bastress-Dukehart, "Family, Property, and Feeling in Early Modern German Noble Culture: The Zimmerns of Swabia," *The Sixteenth Century Journal* 32, no. 1 (2001): 1–19; Erica Bastress-Dukehart, "Sibling Conflict within Early Modern German Noble Families," *Journal of Family History* 33, no. 1 (2008): 61–80; Davis, "Ghosts, Kin, and Progeny"; Jack Goody, *The European Family: An Historico-Anthropological Essay* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 2000).

fission inherent in the life-cycle of families through the assertion of his paternal authority.¹⁴ Yet, marriage and the reception of inheritance provided a basis for his children to challenge that authority. The chapter begins by looking at marriages contracted by Jan de Oude's children and the father's attempts to maintain his authority even as his children began to create their own separate households. The chapter then investigates the development of the maternal inheritance Cornelia left to her heirs after her death, analyzing the strategies that Jan de Oude used to mitigate the opposing interests that the devolution of property created between himself and his children.

Marriage and the disbursal of inheritance had different consequences for sons and daughters, and so more time will be spent on Jan de Oude's daughters in the first section of the chapter, while the second section concentrates on Jan de Oude's sons. Marriage played a larger role structuring the relationship between Jan de Oude and his daughters than with his sons. Like his sons, all of Jan de Oude's daughters received a thorough mercantile education, providing them with the skills necessary to assist the trading activities of their father.¹⁵ However, his daughters never gained direct access to their maternal inheritance. His two unmarried daughters remained within his household and did not receive any substantial portion of their maternal inheritance. They continued to be fully under their father's authority. The two daughters who

¹⁴ David Cressy, *Birth, Marriage, and Death: Ritual, Religion, and the Life-Cycle in Tudor and Stuart England*, First ed., (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997); Tamara K. Hareven, "Aging and Generational Relations: A Historical and Life Course Perspective," *Annual Review of Sociology* 20 (1994): 437–461; David I. Kertzer, "Anthropology and Family History," *Journal of Family History* 9, no. 3 (1984): 201–216; Grassby, *Kinship and Capitalism*.

¹⁵ Karel Davids, "The Bookkeeper's Tale: Learning Merchant Skills in the Northern Netherlands in the Sixteenth Century," in *Education and Learning in the Netherlands, 1400-1600: Essays in Honour of Hilde De Ridder-Symoens*, ed. Koen Goudriaan, et al. (Leiden: Brill, 2004); Paul F. Grendler, "The Organization of Primary and Secondary Education in the Italian Renaissance," *The Catholic Historical Review* 71, no. 2 (1985): 185–205; Donald J. Harreld, "An Education in Commerce: Transmitting Business Information in Early Modern Europe," in *Information Flows: New Approaches in the Historical Study of Business Information*, ed. Leos Müller and Ojala Jari (Helsinki: SKS Finnish Literature Society, 2007); Jeroen Puttevils, "The Ascent of Merchants From the Southern Low Countries: From Antwerp to Europe, 1480-1585" (PhD diss., University of Antwerp, 2012).

married during Jan de Oude's lifetime received portions or all of their maternal inheritance through dowry. Though the capital women brought to a marriage technically continued to be under their possession, their husband gained usufruct, making the relationship between father-in-law and son-in-law of great import.¹⁶ The marriage of a daughter had obvious risks, but there was no reason that father-in-law and son-in-law could not be quite close. Brides did not leave their natal families upon their marriage any more than grooms. Married daughters remained an integral part of their natal family and sibling group.

Marriage also had important consequences for sons—and examples of how marriage affected the relationship between father and son will be discussed below—but the maternal inheritance of Jan de Oude's sons more directly mediated their relationships. Specifically, Jan de Oude interacted with his sons through trade, either trade they conducted for their father or ventures done through their maternal inheritance. All of Jan de Oude's sons received a thorough merchant education and participated directly in Jan de Oude's vast trade network. The brothers travelled throughout Europe, acting as agents of their father and learning mercantile skills.¹⁷ Keeping his sons's trading activities largely under his own purview enabled Jan de Oude to better monitor the activities and proficiencies of his sons, while also maintaining greater control

¹⁶ Jack Goody and Stanley Jeyaraja Tambiah, *Bridewealth and Dowry*, vol. 7, Cambridge Papers in Social Anthropology (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1973); Howell, *Marriage Exchange*; Martha C. Howell, "From Land to Love: Commerce and Marriage in Northern Europe during the Late Middle Ages," *Jaarboek voor Middeleeuwse Geschiedenis* 10 (2007): 216–253; Clé Lesger, "Over het nut van huwelijk, opportunisme en bedrog: Ondernemers en ondernemerschap tijdens de vroegmoderne tijd in theoretisch perspectief," in *Kapitaal, ondernemerschap en beleid: Studies over economie en politiek in Nederland, Europa en Azië van 1500 tot heden: Afscheidsbundel voor prof. dr. P.W. Klein*, ed. C. A. Davids, et al. (Amsterdam: NEHA, 1996); Julie Hardwick, *The Practice of Patriarchy: Gender and the Politics of Household Authority in Early Modern France* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1998), 51–75; Grassby, *Kinship and Capitalism*, 373–382.

¹⁷ Jan and Marten, the two eldest sons, gained the greatest responsibility. Jan travelled to Italy in 1563 to work at the branches in Venice and Verona, spending over a decade on the peninsula. Marten led the branch of his father's trade in Hamburg from 1569 until 1574 and then in London until his father's death in 1582. Carlo traveled to the Baltic in 1565, Jacques visited London, Frankfurt, and Venice, while Steven worked under Marten in both Hamburg and London. Brulez, *Firma Della Faille*, 57; Schmitz, *Les Della Faille*, vol. 1.

of the capital in possession of his children. With all of his sons involved in his trading activities, Jan de Oude could use access to credit and resources to reward his sons he believed most proficient, promoting them above their siblings.

Over the sixteen-year period in which Jan de Oude remained a widower, the marriages of his children and the maternal inheritance shaped the relationships between Jan de Oude and his children. The marriages of his children, beginning with that of Anna to Robert van Eeckeren in 1562, and the death of Cornelia provided his children with opportunities to exert greater autonomy. While Jan de Oude attempted to stall the transmission of property from one generation to another, he could not prevent it. The patriarchal authority of Jan de Oude was always contestable. At the time of his own death, he maintained control over large portions of his wife's estate, but some of his heirs had challenged his authority and gained greater autonomy than he desired.¹⁸ Through the disbursal of the maternal inheritance and access to capital and credit, Jan de Oude structured the relations between himself and his children, and thereby within the sibling group. He created a hierarchy among his heirs, placing the capital and resources into the hands of his children he believed most capable of maintaining and expanding his patrimony.¹⁹ However, the challenges made to Jan de Oude's authority augured poorly for the ability of the heirs to maintain unity after his death.

¹⁸ Hardwick, *Practice of Patriarchy*; Bastress-Dukehart, "Sibling Conflict"; Linda A Pollock, "Rethinking Patriarchy and the Family in Seventeenth-Century England," *Journal of Family History* 23, no. 1 (1998): 3–27; Hareven, "Aging and Generational Relations"; Grassby, *Kinship and Capitalism*, 341–385.

¹⁹ Christopher H. Johnson and David Warren Sabean, "From Siblingship to Siblinghood: Kinship and the Shaping of European Society (1300–1900)," in *Sibling Relations and the Transformations of European Kinship, 1300–1900*, ed. Christopher H. Johnson and David Warren Sabean (New York: Berghahn Books, 2011); Sabean and Teuscher, "Kinship in Europe"; Bastress-Dukehart, "Sibling Conflict."

2. Marriages of Jan de Oude's Children

Jan de Oude followed a clear strategy in pursuing and concluding marriages for his children. In terms of the effects upon the nuclear family, marriage had both positive and negative aspects. On positive side, marriages of Jan de Oude's children brought the ability to create and fortify alliances with his children's spouses and their families. However, the creation of affinal links weakened the ties of the natal family, separating the sibling group and reducing paternal authority. Marriage also occasioned at least partial distribution of inheritance, decreasing Jan de Oude's capital. Seven of Jan de Oude's children married before his death. All of his children married into mercantile families from Antwerp's elite. The marriages entered into by Jan de Oude's children varied greatly in both intent and in their consequences. The types of alliances Jan de Oude's children made through their marriages differed, but Jan de Oude consistently pursued a strategy designed to minimize the powers of fission created by marriage. The following section does not discuss all of the marriages entered into by the Della Faille siblings, but it provides enough cases to demonstrate Jan de Oude's intent and influence in the marriages of his children.²⁰

A. Marriages of Anna and Maria

Jan de Oude appears to have played a directing role in the marriages of his two eldest daughters. In some ways, Anna and Maria's marriages shared much in common. Both were

²⁰ Jack Goody, *The Development of the Family and Marriage in Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983); Howell, *Marriage Exchange*; Anthony Molho, *Marriage Alliance in Late Medieval Florence* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1994); John F. Padgett, "Open Elite? Social Mobility, Marriage, and Family in Florence, 1282-1494," *Renaissance Quarterly* 63, no. 2 (2010): 357-411; Stanley Chojnacki, *Women and Men in Renaissance Venice: Twelve Essays on Patrician Society* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2000), 132-152; Richard Grassby, "Love, Property and Kinship: The Courtship of Philip Williams, Levant Merchant, 1617-50," *The English Historical Review* 113, no. 451 (1998), 37-84 and 366-382; Hardwick, *Practice of Patriarchy*, 51-75.

married to wealthy and experienced merchants in their later 30s when the brides were nineteen.²¹ Both Robert van Eeckeren and Louis Malapert had spent long periods of time in Spain and specialized in trade with the Iberian Peninsula. However, when viewed through the lens of paternal authority, the two unions differed quite dramatically. Whereas Robert was already an insider in the trade networks of the Della Failles by the time he married Anna in June 1562, Louis traded in parallel but distinct networks. Through Anna's marriage, Jan de Oude confirmed and solidified an already extant connection. Maria's marriage sought to make firm a weak tie.²² Maria's union with Louis provided the allure of further extending Jan de Oude's mercantile reach, but Jan de Oude also risked diminishing his authority over his daughter and the capital available to him with little in return.

Anna's marriage to Robert minimized both the distribution of capital and the independence Anna gained through marriage. Since 1554, Robert had acted as the main factor in Seville for the trade Jan de Oude conducted with his brother Jacques de Oude. In fact, in the three year period before their marriage, Robert's trade in Seville was responsible for 48% of the total profits of Jan de Oude's trade.²³ Thus, even though the £1,000 Anna received at the time of her marriage constituted the first distribution of inheritance, it was immediately reinvested in the trade of Jan de Oude. In the same year that Robert and Anna married, Robert agreed to invest £8,776.14.10 in the trade of his new father-in-law.²⁴ The connection Jan de Oude made through

²¹ Robert van Eeckeren was 35 at the time of his marriage to the 19-year-old Anna. Louis Malapert was 38 when he married Maria on her 19th birthday. Memory book of Louis Malapert, Familie De Malapert, inventory 27, Het Utrechts Archief, Utrecht, The Netherlands (hereafter FM).

²² Mark Granovetter, "The Strength of Weak Ties," *American Journal of Sociology* 78, no. 6 (1973): 1360–1380; Mark Granovetter, "The Strength of Weak Ties: A Network Theory Revisited," *Sociological Theory* 1 (1983): 201–233.

²³ Wealth of Jan de Oude, 28 February 1562, DFL 10. Brulez, *Firma Della Faille*, 23–24.

²⁴ Wealth of Jan de Oude, 28 February 1562, DFL 10.

this marriage proved its value when Jan de Oude began to feud with his brother, resulting in expensive lawsuits and the division of their assets and networks.²⁵ Throughout the feuds, Robert remained loyal to his father-in-law. The responsibilities Jan de Oude gave to Robert in his testament, second only to the three executors, demonstrate Robert's trusted position within the Della Faille family up to and well after 1582.

The introduction of Louis Malapert to the family through his marriage to Maria on 2 February 1574 had quite different results. From the beginning, Maria's union with Louis represented a greater gamble than was true for that between Anna and Robert van Eeckeren.²⁶ The Malapert family undoubtedly possessed the financial assets, social status, and trade connections to make the union desirable. At the time of the engagement, Louis declared his capital to be £7,000.²⁷ But the lack of firm connection between the families made it more likely that Maria and Louis would act with greater independence than Jan de Oude desired. In addition, Maria's marriage to Louis resulted in the disbursal of a significant amount of assets from Jan de Oude's capital. In the marriage contract, Jan de Oude promised to provide Maria with her maternal inheritance, a gift of £166.13.4, and to furnish her with clothes equal to her honor. Jan de Oude calculated Maria's maternal inheritance to be £2666.13.4, which was paid in two

²⁵ On the feud between Jan de Oude and Jacques de Oude that presaged many of the disputes that will be discussed in this chapter, see Brulez, *Firma Della Faille*, 26–34. The inventory of the estate of Jacques de Oude shows that the lawsuits against his brother Jan de Oude cost him £4,891.11.2. Weesmeesterskamer, inventory 216. Felix Archief. Antwerp, Belgium.

²⁶ On Louis Malapert, see Floris Prims, "Kolonel Loys Malapert," *Antwerpensia* 16 (1943): 68–75; Schmitz, *Les Della Faille*, vol. 1, 240–250.

²⁷ Marriage contract of Louis Malapert and Maria della Faille, Antwerp, 1574, FM 21.

separate installments.²⁸ Maria later received an additional payment of £364.10.5 to ensure that she received an equal portion of the maternal inheritance to her siblings.²⁹

Through his marriage to Maria, Louis augmented the capital under his own control by almost £3,200, but there is precious little evidence that he assisted the trade of Jan de Oude in any meaningful way. Worse still, the relationship between Louis and his in-laws had little time to develop before Maria died after only four years of marriage, leaving behind three young children. Following the dictates of the marriage contract and the laws of Antwerp, Louis inherited half of Cornelia's estate. The death of Maria hardly necessitated a break in the relationship between Louis and the Della Failles, but Louis's decisions resulted in just that. Only twelve days after Maria's death, Louis entered into an engagement with Susanna van Tessel.³⁰ From this time on, as seen in Jan de Oude's testament, the relationship between Louis and the Della Failles was strained and contentious. Louis struggled with the Della Faille over the ability to raise his three children, in addition to the concerns over receiving his children's full maternal inheritance. Instead of winning an ally through the marriage of a daughter, Maria's marriage resulted in the loss of both capital and authority that Jan de Oude held over his children.

B. Marriages of Carlo

The desire to limit the independence that resulted from marriage did not only relate to daughters. Jan de Oude also worked to maintain patriarchal authority over his sons after they reached their majority and entered into marriages. The circumstances around the marriage of

²⁸ FM 21.

²⁹ Brulez, *Firma Della Faille*, 192.

³⁰ Maria died in Antwerp on 26 February 1578, while Louis became engaged to Susanna van Tessel on 10 March 1578. The two married on 2 April 1578. Memory book of Louis Malapert, FM 27.

Carlo provides a good example of the strategies that Jan de Oude used to maintain his paternal power. On 28 June 1567, Jan de Oude agreed to the terms for Carlo's marriage to Maria Celosse with Maria's father Jan Celosse. Jan Celosse agreed to provide his daughter with £1,000, but interestingly the marital gift did not fall to the groom. Rather, this was a transaction between the two patriarchs, with Jan de Oude placing the payment as a credit to Carlo's account for his maternal inheritance.³¹

Jan de Oude further restricted Carlo's independence through the marital gift he gave his son. "Jan della Faille further promised to provide lodging and meals for Carlo, his son and Carlo's wife for a period of two years, and not any longer, without cost."³² According to the accounts of Carlo's maternal inheritance, Carlo and Maria Celosse resided under Jan de Oude's roof for a period of 29 months, until January 1570. The young couple "ate and drank lunch and dinner with us" for two years, while Carlo continued to have his meals provided by his father until 11 April 1572.³³ Almost five years after his marriage, Carlo's daily activities remained attached to the household of his father. Carlo had married, but the structure of the marital contract limited both his physical and financial independence from his father's household. At the same time, Jan de Oude used the marriage of his son to increase his own capital and create even more ties between himself and his son.

Carlo's second marriage had quite different consequences from his first. The available documents do not enable determination of cause and effect, but after Carlo's marriage to Cecile

³¹ Wealth of Jan de Oude, 28 February 1562, DFL 10: "rekeninghe van syn moederlycke goeden."

³² Wealth of Jan de Oude, 28 February 1562, DFL 10: "ende voorts geloofde Jan de la Faille huysuere ende cost an den selven Carle, synnen sone tot syne huuse ende aen sin tafel met Mayken syn huysvrouwe den tyt van twee jaren ende niet langer sonder cost ofte last."

³³ Account of Carlo's maternal inheritance, 28 April 1573, DFL 10: "met ons commen eten ende drincken noene ende avont."

Grammaye, Carlo began to assert his independence from his father. The process of removing himself from his father's physical authority began in June 1572, when he and Maria followed Maria's parents to Hasselt, a city in the Bishopric of Liège, east of Brussels. However, Carlo's stay in Hasselt did not last long. In July, Maria gave birth to a second son, baptized as Robert at the St Quinten church in Hasselt.³⁴ Maria already felt weak before the birth of Robert, and she remained bound to bed for a number of weeks after the birth. After beginning to recover and giving reason for optimism, Maria again fell sick, dying on 26 July 1572.³⁵

Carlo returned to Antwerp a widower, but his children remained with their maternal-grandparents. He wasted little time in finding a second wife, signing a contract to marry Cecile Grammaye, the daughter of Jacques Grammaye, Receiver General of the States of Brabant, on 28 March 1573.³⁶ The marriage matched Carlo with an illustrious family that had recently experienced some financial difficulties.³⁷ The marriage took place less than a month later in front of Jan de Oude and Gerard Grammaye, Cecile's uncle. There is no reason to suspect that Jan de Oude did not approve of the union. Soon after the marriage, Jan de Oude purchased land from Gerard Grammaye in the polder of Zevenbergen.³⁸ However, the structures of the marriage meant that it had very different consequences for the relationship between father and son. Jan de Oude did not play the same role in this marriage as he had in Carlo's first marriage. The capital

³⁴ Memory book of Carlo, DFL 16.

³⁵ Carlo laconically noted events concerning deaths and births in his memory book, DFL 16 On the position of orphans after the death of a parent, see Danneel, *Weduwen en wezen*; Nicholas, *Domestic Life of a Medieval City*.

³⁶ Memory book of Carlo, DFL 16. The agreement was made in front of Ambrosius Goyvaerts, Secretary of the Raad van Brabant. Jan de Oude possessed a copy of the marriage agreement. Inventory of the estate of Jan de Oude, 18 November 1596, DFL 13.

³⁷ Yves Schmitz, *Les Della Faille*, vol. 5, *Branch de Comtes Della Faille de Leverghem* (Brussels: Imprimerie F. Van Buggenhoudt, 1974), 8–10.

³⁸ C. G. van den Hengel, "Grondbezit in de Gelderse Polder te Zevenbergen 1574–1609," *Bijdragen en Mededelingen van het Historisch Genootschap* 79 (1965): 335–386.

brought to the marriage did not fall into his possession, but rather went into the conjugal fund.³⁹ Carlo and Cecile also lived separately from Jan de Oude in a house in Antwerp.⁴⁰

After his marriage, Carlo attached himself to the family of his new wife in various ways, using his new relatives to help distance himself from his father's power. The account of Carlo's maternal inheritance shows that Carlo began to withdraw money in his father's possession and invest with his father-in-law. This included purchasing land in Zevenbergen in concert with his father-in-law at the same time as his father.⁴¹ When Carlo brought suit against his father for the treatment of his maternal inheritance in 1575, Carlo brought Ghysbrecht Grammaye, a relative of Cecile, as a witness.⁴² These interactions concerning Carlo's maternal inheritance will be discussed in greater detail below. For now, it is enough to note the assistance that Carlo received from his in-laws in the process. Gradually freeing himself from paternal authority, Carlo made a final assertion of his independence by moving away from Antwerp to Dordrecht sometime between 1577 and 1579.⁴³ Part of the reason for moving may have been Cecile's Calvinist leanings. The couple had all of their children who were born in Holland baptized in the Reformed manner.⁴⁴ Thus, a handful of years after his marriage to Cecile Grammaye, Carlo had greatly distanced himself from his father. Whereas Jan de Oude had largely succeeded in

³⁹ I have not found a copy of the marriage contract, but the accounts of Carlo's maternal inheritance show that no money was credited to Carlo's account from Cecile. In fact, it was just at this time that Jan de Oude passed the estate of Maria Celosse to her father, bypassing Carlo. Further details of this are provided below. Account of Carlo's maternal inheritance, 14 May 1575, DFL 10.

⁴⁰ Payments concerning the house in which they lived can be seen in Account of Carlo's maternal inheritance, 14 May 1575, DFL 10.

⁴¹ Account of Carlo's maternal inheritance, 14 May 1575, DFL 10; Hengel, "Grondbezit in de Gelderse Polder."

⁴² Lawsuit of Carlo against Jan de Oude, Antwerp, 19 and 21 May 1575, DFL 8.

⁴³ This timeline is demonstrated by the birth of their daughter Cecile on 7 May 1577 in Antwerp and the birth of Hester on 4 May 1579 in Dordrecht. Memory book of Carlo, DFL 16.

⁴⁴ Memory book of Carlo, DFL 16; Schmitz, *Les Della Faille*, vol. 5, 12–14.

mitigating the centrifugal forces in Carlo's first marriage, Carlo used his second marriage to help assert his independence from his father.

C. Marriages of Steven

The two marriages Steven entered into at the ages of nineteen and twenty-eight present an entirely different aspect of Jan de Oude's relationships with his children. Both of Steven's marriages were socially disadvantageous unions that took place without his father's consent and were later annulled. Steven's actions directly challenged Jan de Oude's authority over his children and the composition of the family. Steven's age notwithstanding, Jan de Oude reacted similarly to both marriages, acting quickly to extricate his son from the unfortunate marriages he had contracted and demanding contrition. However, especially with the birth of a child as a result of Steven's second marriage, Jan de Oude could not contain the disputes within the bounds of the family. Jeanne Schuttens, Steven's second wife, sued Steven over paternity of her child and argued for the validity of their marriage. Through the lawsuits of Jeanne before both Protestant and Catholic authorities in England and Brabant, issues of family authority became entwined in outside political and religious institutions.⁴⁵

The problems with Steven began when he was sent to gain mercantile experience and work under his older brother Marten in Hamburg in 1570. A young man of about nineteen and freed from direct paternal oversight, Steven quickly took advantage of his new liberty. That Steven entered into an amorous relationship while serving abroad would hardly have surprised

⁴⁵ Both of Steven's clandestine marriages strayed quite far from the intended course of courtship. Grassby, "Love, Property and Kinship"; Diana O'Hara, "'Ruled by my friends': Aspects of Marriage in the Diocese of Canterbury, c. 1540–1570," *Continuity and Change* 6, no. 1 (1991): 9–41; Diana O'Hara, *Courtship and Constraint: Rethinking the Making of Marriage in Tudor England* (Manchester, UK: Manchester University Press, 2000); Cressy, *Birth, Marriage, and Death*, 233–281; Hardwick, *Practice of Patriarchy*, 55–66. On clandestine marriages and the move towards more parental control in marriage, see Lyndal Roper, *The Holy Household: Women and Morals in Reformation Augsburg* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991), 154–164.

Jan de Oude. It was around this time that the first of Jan's two bastard children he had in Italy were born. Marten already had two bastard children from a woman in Antwerp, including one born a full year after his marriage to Sybille Stecher.⁴⁶ Louis Malapert and Robert van Eeckeren had also fathered bastard children during their stays in Spain.⁴⁷ In his testament, Jan de Oude treated the bastard children of Jan, Marten, and Robert as part, though not necessarily as full members, of the family.⁴⁸ Steven's mistake, from the point of view of his father, was in contracting a disadvantageous marriage with a widow named Anna Beckmans on 23 March 1570. Because Steven was a minor who had not obtained the consent of his father, both Marten and Jan de Oude worked to have the marriage annulled, while Steven returned to Antwerp. In the end, the marriage was declared null and void, but not before Anna Beckmans received £66.13.4 from Jan de Oude.⁴⁹

Back under the direct surveillance of his father in the paternal household, Steven still found opportunity to disobey his father. Living in the same house as Jan de Oude, Steven caught the eye of a newly hired servant named Jeanne Schuttens. According to the testimony of Steven, Jeanne often entered Steven's room and laid on his bed, so that "he forgot himself and was ready

⁴⁶ Gisela Jongbloet-van Houtte, "Inleiding," in *Brieven en andere bescheiden betreffende Daniel van der Meulen, 1584-1600*, ed. Gisela Jongbloet-van Houtte (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1986).

⁴⁷ Louis Malapert recorded the births and baptisms of his bastard children in his memory book, FM 27. He noted that he married his daughter Louise to Nicolaus Saulmon on 6 May 1586 in Aachen. He provided her with £500 for the marriage. Robert van Eeckeren legitimized his son Francisco van Eeckeren. Francisco married Cornelia van der Capellen's niece Hester Frumault. DvdM 76. On legitimation see, Thomas Kuehn, *Law, Family, and Women: Toward a Legal Anthropology of Renaissance Italy* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994), 176–193.

⁴⁸ Testament of Jan de Oude, FM 22 and transcribed in Gisela Jongbloet-van Houtte, ed. *Brieven en andere bescheiden betreffende Daniel van der Meulen, 1584-1600*, Rijks Geschiedkundige Publicatiën: Grote serie (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1986), cxliv–clix. See Chapter 4.

⁴⁹ Schmitz, *Les Della Faille*, vol. 1, 195–196.

to do all that she wanted.”⁵⁰ Steven presented Jeanne as a temptress, telling that she continued to beguile his senses until the two entered the house of Jeanne’s brother-in-law Nicolas de Latere on the evening of 14 June 1578. A number of Jeanne’s relatives had gathered at the pub run by De Latere, and they had brought with them Jan Bernaerts, the priest of St Jacobs Church. Bernaerts performed a clandestine marriage in the Catholic manner.⁵¹ The marriage was duly consummated, Jeanne later declaring that the two “have known each other in the flesh many times both in the house of Jan de Oude and elsewhere.”⁵² The pair kept the union from Jan de Oude’s knowledge for a number of months until he uncovered the secret. He promptly banished Jeanne from the house and called the validity of the marriage into question. However, by this time, Jeanne was pregnant. She traveled to Aachen where she gave birth to a son, who was baptized with the same name as his father.⁵³

First and foremost, Jan de Oude viewed the marriage as a challenge to his paternal power, while Steven understood that he had to play the role of the contrite son.⁵⁴ Soon after the discovery of the marriage, Jan de Oude sent Steven to London where he could again work alongside and under the authority of his brother Marten. Two days after his arrival in London on

⁵⁰ Memory of Steven against Jeanne, Raad van Brabant, March 1583, Della Faille de Nevele Archive, inventory 78, Private collection, Lozer, Belgium (hereafter DFN). “Hy hem zelven verget ende bereet is geweest al te doene dat heure liefde.”

⁵¹ Memory of Jeanne against Steven, Raad van Brabant, March 1583, DFN 78; Memory of Steven against Jeanne, Raad van Brabant, March 1583, DFN 78.

⁵² Arguments of Jeanne against Steven, Antwerp, 1582, DFN, 78: “tot diversche stonden vleeschen heeft bekent gehadt so binnen den huysse van wylen Jannen de la Faille synen vader als daer buyten.”

⁵³ Arguments of Jeanne against Steven, Antwerp, 1582, DFN, 76.

⁵⁴ Broomhall and Gent, “In the Name of the Father”; Benjamin Marschke, “The Crown Prince’s Brothers and Sisters: Succession and Inheritance Problems and Solutions Among the Hohenzollerns, from the Great Elector to Frederick the Great,” in *Sibling Relations and the Transformations of European Kinship, 1300–1900*, ed. Christopher H. Johnson and David Warren Sabean (New York: Berghahn Books, 2011); David Warren Sabean, *Property, Production, and Family in Neckarhausen, 1700–1870* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 321–340.

12 May 1580, Steven wrote a letter of contrition in which he begged his father for forgiveness, attempting to make clear his acceptance of his father's authority. The introduction of physical distance between father and son through Steven's travel may have provided him with the space necessary to make a formal apology. The medium of correspondence enabled Steven to not only demonstrate his contrition but also to put forward a world view that explained his own behavior and called for Jan de Oude's forgiveness. Steven accomplished this through religious imagery that employed a Calvinist notion of sin.⁵⁵ He wrote of "the miserable state of the inherited sin, that we are all bear together through the fall of our forefather Adam."⁵⁶ Emphasizing man's fallen nature and the inability of man to extricate himself from sin, Steven presented the notion that man could do no better than to repent his sins and ask for the forgiveness of God and man alike.

The letter Steven wrote to his father enabled him to deftly play the role of the penitent son, desiring only to regain the love of a wronged father and reestablish the natural order of the family. In order to accomplish this, Steven first had to note his penitence to God, the father of all men. Steven prayed "that He will forgive my sins that I have so fragrantly committed against His Godly majesty."⁵⁷ Having bared his soul before God, who can see through to man's heart, Steven had to prove his remorse to his father, against whom he sinned through his marriage to Jeanne.

Steven reminded his father of the Christian ideal of forgiveness that held equal place with

⁵⁵ While living in London, Steven became a member of the Netherlandish Calvinist church in the city. Steven to Jan de Oude, London, 14 May 1580, DFL 4. On the exile churches in England, see Marcel Backhouse, *The Flemish and Walloon Communities at Sandwich during the Reign of Elizabeth I (1561-1603)* (Brussels: Paleis der Academiën, 1995); Ole Peter Grell, *Calvinist Exiles in Tudor and Stuart England* (Hants, England: Scolar Press, 1996); Andrew Pettegree, *Foreign Protestant Communities in Sixteenth-Century London* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1986).

⁵⁶ Steven to Jan de Oude, London, 14 May 1580, DFL 4: "ellendighen staet van d'effelycke sonde, die wy altsamen deur den val van onsen veurvader Adam onderworpen syn."

⁵⁷ Steven to Jan de Oude, London, 14 May 1580, DFL 4: "dat Hy my mynen sonden vergeven wille die ick soo grovlycken teghen synen hoogher Godlycker m. [majesteit] ghedaen hebbe."

remorse. “The Lord does not want him [the sinner] to remain in sin, but that he will become remorseful and desire forgiveness and mercy from the one against whom he has sinned, so that he will be able to forgive the sinner.”⁵⁸ Steven presented himself as this contrite sinner, begging for his father’s acceptance. “So I pray that you, dear father, will also forgive my misdeeds, which I have openly confessed before God and you.”⁵⁹ Steven concluded the letter by presenting an image of the eternal unity of the family, who shall dwell together in both this world and the next. “God the father, through Jesus Christ, shall be please you and all of us together to provide His godly blessing and holiness full of His wisdom, so that we may all end our lives in godliness to the honor of His godly majesty and our eternal salvation.”⁶⁰ To complete the picture Steven desired to make, he signed the letter to his father “Your subservient son, what I can.”⁶¹

Steven’s letter to his father attempted to mollify the fissures his second marriage had caused within the family. However, the birth of a child ensured that Steven’s relationship with Jeanne could not be cut off in the clean fashion that had been accomplished with his first unsuccessful marriage. Jan de Oude’s desire to extricate his son from a second undesirable union clashed with Jeanne’s interest to have the marriage accepted as valid and her child declared legitimate. This began a long series of lawsuits in Antwerp, before the Raad van Brabant, and even in London, concerning the validity of the marriage. The two sides presented contrasting

⁵⁸ Steven to Jan de Oude, London, 14 May 1580, DFL 4: “soo en wilde de Heere nochtans niet dat hy inde selve sonde soude blyven lighen, maer dat hy hem soude tot berau gheven ende begheere ghenade ende bermherticheyt van den ghene waer teghen hy de sonde ghedaen hadde op dat hy hem soude moeghen vergheven worden.”

⁵⁹ Steven to Jan de Oude, London, 14 May 1580, DFL 4: “soo biddick U.L. beminde vader wilt my myne misdaden oock vergheven, die ick bekenne veur Godt ende U.L. in verscheyen wysen ghedaen te hebben.”

⁶⁰ Steven to Jan de Oude, London, 14 May 1580, DFL 4: “Godt den vader deur Jesum Cristom ghelieve U.L. ende ons al tsamen te gheven synen Godlycken seeghen ende ghebenedydinghe vol van synen wysheyt op dat wy altsamne onse leven moghen einden in aller Godtsalicheyt tot synden hoogher Godlycker majesteit eere ende onser aller salicheyt inden eewicheyt.”

⁶¹ Steven to Jan de Oude, London, 14 May 1580, DFL 4: “uwen onderdanighen sone dat ick vermach.”

conceptions of marriage just as society's definition of marriage was in flux. Jeanne used an older notion of marriage that placed the promise made by two individuals at the center of the marital rite. Steven and Jan de Oude countered with the tradition born in the Reformation, and then adopted by the Council of Trent, that emphasized the role of the family in marriage.⁶²

At the heart of the dispute between Steven and Jeanne was the validity of a clandestine marriage and the force of the declarations of the Council of Trent during the Calvinist Republic in Antwerp. Jeanne argued that the declarations of the Council of Trent had not been posted in Antwerp, and that because the city was Calvinist, Catholics had to marry in a clandestine manner.⁶³ Jeanne further contended for the validity of a consummated marriage that had been celebrated before a priest and led to the birth of a child, facts that drew sympathy even from Calvinist judges. Jeanne counted upon the indissoluble nature of marriage and hoped “to hold house and domicile with [Steven], to have his heart, and to be treated as a man of honor is obligated to treat his wife.”⁶⁴ If Steven refused to be joined with her in table and bed, she at the very least wanted Steven to provide financial support for her and her child.⁶⁵

Soon after Jan de Oude discovered the marriage, Steven took the side of his father and worked to have the marriage declared void. In confrontation with the arguments put forward by Jeanne, Steven asserted the invalidity of the marriage on technical grounds. In contrast to the

⁶² Goody, *Development of the Family and Marriage*; Sara McDougall, “The Making of Marriage in Medieval France,” *Journal of Family History* 38, no. 2 (2013): 103–121; Roper, *Holy Household*; Heide Wunder, *He is the Sun, She is the Moon: Women in Early Modern Germany* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1998).

⁶³ Memory of Jeanne against Steven, Raad van Brabant, March 1583, DFN 78. The placards of the Council of Trent had actually been posted in 1575. Schmitz, *Les Della Faille*, vol. 1, 298.

⁶⁴ Arguments of Jeanne against Steven, Antwerp, 1582, DFN, 78: “metter aenleggersse huys ende domicilie te houden ende herte onderhouden ende tracteren gelyck een man met eeren schuldich ende gehouden is syn huysvrouwe te tracteren.”

⁶⁵ Schmitz, *Les Della Faille*, vol. 1, 296–305.

claims of Jeanne, Steven argued that the dictates of the Council of Trent were well known and yet many of the conditions for a valid marriage were not met. Steven made much of the fact that the priest was attached to St Jacobs Church and not to that of Onse Lieve Vrouwe, the parish where Jan de Oude resided. The clandestine nature of the marriage also precluded publication of banns at Onse Lieve Vrouwe Church, which the Council of Trent declared to be necessary.⁶⁶

A second strain of Steven's arguments against the validity of the marriage characterized marriage as a familial affair, which must take place under the guidance and consent of parents and friends. Though Steven was about twenty-eight at the time of the marriage, Jan de Oude and Steven argued that because Steven had not been emancipated or received his maternal inheritance, he still needed the permission of Jan de Oude to marry. Steven presented the marriage as an "improper union of marriage against his father's wishes and without any consultation of his friends."⁶⁷ Marriage was not a decision made between individuals about love, but a family affair in which "it is necessary to get the consent of parents, or in cases where they are deceased, to get that of one's closest friends."⁶⁸ That Steven concluded the marriage without the consent or knowledge of "his father and other friends"—all of the witnesses of the marriage were relatives of Jeanne—should invalidate the marriage.⁶⁹ Steven carried this argument even further, asserting the necessity of marriage laws and patriarchal authority in order to maintain order within society. The marriage laws exist "in order to avoid all confusion and disorder that

⁶⁶ Memory of Steven against Jeanne, Raad van Brabant, March 1583, DFN 78.

⁶⁷ Accord between Steven and Jeanne, London, 13 September 1580, DFN 76: "onbehoorlycke vereenighinghe van houwelycke teghen synen vaders danck oft eenich bewysen van synen vrinden."

⁶⁸ Memory of Steven against Jeanne, Raad van Brabant, March 1583, DFN 78 nr 44: "ende daerenboven is daertoe nootelyck het consent van ouders, oft ingevalle van henne aflyvicheyt vande naeste vrienden."

⁶⁹ Memory of Steven against Jeanne, Raad van Brabant, March 1583, DFN 78: "zynnen vadere ende ander vrienden."

would occur in a republic if marriage did not possess a sure footing and form.”⁷⁰ In other words, Steven asserted the ultimate authority of the father to validate the marriages of his children, adopting the patriarchal authority of Jan de Oude in word if not necessarily in deed.

The two sides presented these arguments before secular and religious authorities in various jurisdictions, as Jeanne pressed Steven for concessions. The lawsuits between Steven and Jeanne demonstrate on a smaller scale the same difficulties the Della Faille siblings had in distributing their the estate of Jan de Oude after his death. The pair could submit themselves to arbitration and use the judicial system, but such institutions had limited ability to enforce decisions. From the time that Steven traveled to London, Marten became the driving force behind the agreements made by Steven, acting as a surrogate of paternal authority. The first agreement between the two sides occurred in London, where Jeanne had followed Steven. On 13 September 1580, the two agreed to declare the marriage null and void. Furthermore, they agreed that in the future neither would be able “to speak to or molest each other before the law or outside of it.”⁷¹ Through her acceptance of the agreement, Steven declared himself obligated to pay Jeanne £16.13.4 per year until she married, at which time Jeanne would receive £50. After her marriage, Steven would continue to give Jeanne £10 per year.⁷² Marten appears to have been the driving force behind this agreement, acting as witness to the agreement and then taking on the obligation to make the promised payments to Jeanne.⁷³

⁷⁰ Memory of Steven against Jeanne, Raad van Brabant, March 1583, DFN 78 nr 47: “om te schouwene alle confusien ende desordre die anderssens daer deure inde republycken soude gebeure, als opde houwelycke egeenen zekere voet oft forme geordert en waren.”

⁷¹ Accord between Steven and Jeanne, London, 13 September 1580, DFN 76: “te spreken noch te molesteren in rechte noch daer buyten.”

⁷² Accord between Steven and Jeanne, London, 13 September 1580, DFN 76.

⁷³ Debenture of Marten to Jeanne, London, 30 September 1580, DFN 78.

Despite the agreement, Jeanne continued to feel aggrieved. She soon took her complaints to the consistory of the Netherlandish Calvinist church in London, where Steven had gained membership during his stay. Though the marriage had been celebrated clandestinely in a Catholic form, the consistory took pity upon Jeanne, declaring her to be an ‘eerlycke, seeghbaere, ende stille vrouwe voor soo vele als wy weten.’⁷⁴ In the spring of 1582, Jeanne returned to Antwerp and continued her pleas at the Raad van Brabant and the magistrates of Antwerp. Jeanne argued that the agreement made in London was without power, because a lawful marriage cannot be dissolved through “renunciation, declaration, or contract made by the involved parties.”⁷⁵ Jeanne stated that she and Steven had been forced to sign the agreement by Marten, and that if Steven had possession of his own goods, he would have lived with her as an honorable husband.⁷⁶ The arguments made under Calvinist authorities in Brabant continued after the reconquests of Farnese. In 1586, the two sides reached a second agreement that confirmed the basic tenets and financial obligations of the earlier agreement. Here again, it was Marten who took the lead, acting on Steven’s behalf. In addition to taking responsibility for the payments to Jeanne, Marten also agreed to bring Jeanne’s child into his house and provide him with an education.⁷⁷ By 1586, what had began as an affair concerning paternal authority had transitioned to one concerning sibling relationships, as Marten took over the position of Jan de Oude.

⁷⁴ Declarations of the consistory of the Dutch church in London concerning Steven and Jeanne Schuttens, 5 December 1581 and 25 January 1582, DFL 4; Act of the Consistory of the Dutch church in London between Jeanne and Steven, 22 June 1581, DFN 76.

⁷⁵ Memory of Jeanne against Steven, Raad van Brabant, March 1583, DFN 78: “renuntiatie, verclere, oft contracten van partye.”

⁷⁶ Memory of Jeanne against Steven, Raad van Brabant, March 1583, DFN 78. Jan de Oude had died by the time that Jeanne made this statement, making Marten’s authority over Steven even greater than it had been when the two were in London.

⁷⁷ Accord between Steven and Jeanne, Antwerp, 22 September 1586, DFN 79.

D. Godparents of Jan de Oude's Grandchildren

Jan de Oude's interactions with his children, both his sons and his daughters, after their marriages shows that while the union of marriage created challenges, it did little to break the parent-child bond. Jan de Oude had various levels of influence over the marriages of his children, and the marriages created different kinds of alliances between the two families of the bride and groom and between Jan de Oude and his children. Within this variety, Jan de Oude's basic strategy remained constant. In the creation of the union and in his interactions with his children and their spouses after the marriages, he sought to limit the financial and even physical independence his children might gain through marriage.

The continuance of strong bonds within the sibling group after their marriages was not only a desire of the parental generation. The godparents that the Della Faille siblings chose for their children before Jan de Oude's death demonstrate that they too desired to remain united as a sibling group under the authority of their father after their marriages. Siblings and parents featured prominently in the godparents chosen by Marten and Sybille Stecher, Maria and Louis Malapert, Carlo and Maria Celosse, and Carlo and Cecile Grammaye. Of the thirty godparents chosen for their fifteen children, 12 were either aunt/uncle or grandfather/grandmother to their godchild. Godparentage created bonds between both the godchild and godparent and the parent and godparent. In creating this bond, godparentage could either reaffirm relationships among insiders or create ties to outsiders. The Della Faille siblings had ample reason to link themselves to non-kin and wider kin. However, to a large extent they did not use godparentage to do this.

Not only did the siblings tend to choose among insiders, the prominence of godparents from within the sibling group shows the use of godparentage to strengthen the closest of bonds.⁷⁸

Somewhat surprisingly it was the children of Marten and Sybille who least frequently chose godparents among their own siblings. Sybille gave birth to six children in Antwerp before moving to London. Maria was the first of Marten's siblings to stand in as godmother to one of Marten's children, when she was present for the baptism of Marten's namesake in Onze Lieve Vrouwe Church in 1570. Three years later, Carlo became a godfather to Marten's son Karel. Otherwise, Marten and Sybille were as likely to choose members of Antwerp's elite as they were among kin, though after Jan de Oude's death, Jacques and Anna were also named as godparents.⁷⁹

The situation was quite different with the children of Maria and Louis and in Carlo's two marriages. Ten of the eighteen godparents chosen by Maria and Carlo came from either their own nuclear family or that of their spouse. When a aunt/uncle or grandfather/grandmother was not chosen, the godparent was almost always a close relative. All three children born to Maria and Louis before Maria's death had at least one godparent who came from the nuclear family of their parents. The problems that developed between Louis and Jan de Oude after Maria's death have been noted above, but the choice of godparents shows the two working to foster relations

⁷⁸ Guido Alfani and Vincent Gourdon, "Entrepreneurs, Formalization of Social Ties, and Trustbuilding in Europe (Fourteenth to Twentieth centuries)," *Economic History Review* 65, no. 3 (2012): 1005–1028; David Warren Sabeau, *Kinship in Neckarhausen, 1700–1870* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 23–26; Rob Lutton, "Godparenthood, Kinship, and Piety in Tenterden, England 1449–1537," in *Love, Marriage, and Family Ties in the Later Middle Ages*, ed. Isabel Davis, et al. (Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols, 2003); Martine Segalen, "'Avoir sa part': Sibling Relations in Partible Inheritance Brittany," in *Interest and Emotion: Essays on the Study of Family and Kinship*, ed. Hans Medick and David Warren Sabeau (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984); Leonore Davidoff, *Thicker than Water: Siblings and their Relations, 1780–1920* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012); Christopher H. Johnson and David Warren Sabeau, eds. *Sibling Relations and the Transformations of European Kinship, 1300–1900* (New York: Berghahn Books, 2011).

⁷⁹ Among the elite chosen as a godparent was Ambroise Goyvaerts, secretary of the Raad van Brabant. Yves Schmitz, *Les della Faille*, vol. 3, *Les Branches des Barons de Nevele et d'Estienpuis* (Brussels: Imprimerie F. Van Buggenhoudt, 1967), 6–8.

among the two families united by the marriage. Their first child, Jean, was baptized in 1574 with Jan de Oude as his godfather and Louis's sister Antoinette as godmother. Attaching their son to both the families of the mother and the father, Louis and Maria used the bonds of godparentage to ensure that Jan de Oude continued to be actively attached to their new household. Two years later, Maria and Louis asked Anna to stand as godmother, while as godfather they chose Louis's cousin, Louis Malapert de Oude.⁸⁰ This was the only time that they went outside the nuclear family. In 1577, Maria gave birth to a son in Bergen in Henegou and Louis's brother and sister, Charles and Isabeau, were named as godparents.⁸¹ Location likely had more to do with the choice of Louis's siblings. As a whole, there was no sign of preference among the two families for godparents.

Before Carlo moved to Dordrecht with Cecile sometime before 1579, Carlo followed the same pattern as Maria and Louis with both sets of his children. As with Louis, Carlo's choice of godparents provided little inkling of the troubles that occurred between father and son. Carlo and Maria Celosse confirmed the important role both Jan de Oude and Maria Celosse's parents played in their marriage by choosing Jan de Oude and Catharina Hermans, Maria's mother, as godfather and godmother. By each choosing a parent, Carlo and Maria closed off a circle of relationships with their new born son at the center. Carlo and Maria reaffirmed similar bonds a year later by choosing Maria's father, Jan Celosse, and Marten's wife, Sybille, as godparents. Whereas the choice of Maria's father made another tie between grandparent and grandchild, the choice of Sybille affirmed the bonds of siblings. That Sybille was a sibling by marriage did not weaken her position as such, and becoming a godmother to her niece only strengthened her

⁸⁰ The two were parallel cousins.

⁸¹ Memory book of Louis Malapert, FM 27. Schmitz, *Les Della Faille*, vol. 1, 243–245.

bonds to Carlo and Maria and to the entire Della Faille sibling group. The investment in sibling relations continued with the birth of their second son Robert, as Anna's husband Robert van Eeckeren was asked to be godfather of his namesake. For godmother, Carlo and Maria went outside the nuclear family and chose the wife of Hendrick Hooftman, a prominent merchant and distant relative of the Della Failles.⁸²

The difficulties that either became apparent or were exacerbated by Carlo's remarriage to Cecile Grammaye failed to break the pattern Carlo set in his first marriage. The godparents of Cecile's first child were her father and Maria Gameel, the wife of Carlo's uncle Jacques de Oude. The relationship between Jan de Oude and Jacques de Oude had been tense since they broke up their trade partnership, but the opportunity for Maria Gameel to act as godmother may have provided another tie between the two brothers. Interestingly, while the godmother of their second child was Cecile's mother, Maria Stalpaert, the godfather was Jan Celosse, Carlo's father-in-law from his first marriage. Jan Celosse's possession of Carlo's children from Maria and Maria's estate created ample opportunity for tension, but here, Carlo chose to signify the continuance of his bonds with his former father-in-law and thereby help to link his two sets of children. It was just at this time that Carlo entered into a dispute with his father over the inheritance, but Carlo and Cecile continued to chose Carlo's brother, Jan, and an aunt of Cecile as godparents for Cecile's third child and the last to be baptized in Antwerp.⁸³

The distance that Carlo and Cecile put between themselves and their natal families in their move to Dordrecht led to fewer natal kin as godparents for their children born in Holland and now baptized in the Reformed manner. The fact that Cecile's brother Thomas acted as

⁸² Memory book of Carlo, DFL 16. Schmitz, *Les Della Faille*, vol. 5, 3–14.

⁸³ Memory book of Carlo, DFL 16.

godfather for little Karel in 1581, showed that location probably had more to do with the paucity of siblings and parents among the godparents than religion. Thomas disapproved of Cecile's religious choice, but he was the only sibling chosen as a godparent during this period. With fewer kin to choose from, most of the godparents of Carlo and Cecile's children born in Dordrecht came from the elite of the city. When Jan, Jacques, and Hester joined their brother in Holland, Carlo again chose among his siblings as godparents.⁸⁴

The picture of the Della Faille family presented by the choice of godparents between the birth of Marten's first child in 1566 and the death of Jan de Oude is one of a tight-knit family, seeking to bind themselves further through the linking of generations. It is a picture that contrasts quite starkly with that presented in other documents. Carlo and Louis, who caused Jan de Oude such great consternation, appear to have valued and invested in the bonds of the nuclear family, both their own and those of their wives. When it came to the actual lived reality of those relationships, things became more complex. Godparentage was an important symbol of the bonds of kinship, but it remained a symbol. Choosing godparents presented an opportunity to express a desire for, or ideal of, the functioning of kin relations. The godparents chosen by Louis and Carlo show that they understood and attempted to live up to the ideal of the continuing importance of the natal family. Actually living up to it proved more difficult.⁸⁵

⁸⁴ Memory book of Carlo, DFL 16.

⁸⁵ Pierre Bourdieu, *Outline of a Theory of Practice* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977); Pierre Bourdieu, "On the Family as a Realized Category," *Theory Culture and Society* 13, no. 3 (1996): 19–26; Luuc Kooijmans, *Vriendschap: En de kunst van het overleven in de zeventiende en achttiende eeuw* (Amsterdam: B. Bakker, 1997); Naomi Tadmor, *Family and Friends in Eighteenth-Century England: Household, Kinship, and Patronage* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001).

3. Maternal Inheritance of the Della Faille Siblings

A. The Maternal Inheritance of Hester and Cornelia, 1569–1578

Three years after his wife's death in 1566, Jan de Oude balanced his books and determined the value of the movable goods belonging to Cornelia's estate. Jan de Oude moved judiciously in providing his heirs access to their maternal inheritance, but by 1578 all but his two youngest daughters had received substantial portions of their maternal inheritance. Three of his children—Jan, Carlo, and Maria—had received their entire inheritance by the end of 1575. From 31 December 1569, when the calculation was made, each heir possessed their own account in their father's books in which Jan de Oude recorded all credits and debits to the account. Even before 1569, the accounts of the heirs had diverged through the marriages of Anna and Marten and loans Jan de Oude made to his three eldest sons. The differences in the accounts greatly complicated the task of tracking the development of the inheritance due to each child. Beholden by the laws of the city of Antwerp to distribute the maternal inheritance equally among Cornelia's nine heirs, Jan de Oude took advantage of the complications that derived from accounting for movable capital to differentiate between his heirs.⁸⁶

In closing his ledger number 4 on 31 December 1569, Jan de Oude reckoned the value of his wife's estate at £39,600.⁸⁷ Following the laws of Antwerp, half of the estate fell directly to Jan de Oude. The other half became the maternal inheritance of Cornelia's nine children. Along

⁸⁶ Bastress-Dukehart, "Family, Property, and Feeling"; Erica Bastress-Dukehart, *The Zimmern Chronicle: Nobility, Memory and Self-Representation in Sixteenth-Century Germany* (Aldershot, England: Ashgate, 2002); Howell, *Marriage Exchange*; Spieß, "Safeguarding Property"; Hareven, "Aging and Generational Relations"; Schmidt, "Touching Inheritance."

⁸⁷ Compare this wealth to a yearly salary for a master mason of £30–£45. The capital held by the estate of Cornelia was comparable to the value of the estate of Sebastian Welser, merchant, banker, and richest man in Nuremberg, at his death in 1567 of £43,475. Brulez, *Firma Della Faille*, xxvi, 236; Steven E. Ozment, *Flesh and Spirit: Private Life in Early Modern Germany* (New York: Viking, 1999), 6, 193–194.

with the £19,800 deriving from their maternal inheritance, the heirs also received a gift from Cornelia's grandfather, Marten de Hane, of £95, as well as Cornelia's own maternal inheritance, valued at £454. This left the maternal inheritance of the heirs with a total value of £20,349 or £2,261 for each of the nine heirs.⁸⁸

The accounts of Hester and Cornelia provide the simplest understanding of the development of the maternal inheritance up to the end of 1578, because they did not receive any significant portion of their inheritance before Jan de Oude's death. Following the growth of their inheritance provides a baseline against which the development of the inheritance of their siblings can be compared. From their beginning principal of £2,261, all of the children received various increases to their maternal inheritance outside of the calculation of the profits of the capital. In 1574, the inheritance of each heir was augmented by £146.5.0 for English wool that was mistakenly believed to have been lost. This was done in order to rectify an earlier calculation of profits that had proven to be inaccurate. In March 1575, almost nine years after Cornelia's death, Jan de Oude finally evaluated his wife's immovable property, which he valued at £3,600. After incorporating half of the amount into his own capital, Jan de Oude gave each of his children £200 in credit for their maternal inheritance.⁸⁹

Reckoning for the increase of the maternal inheritance due to the profits from Jan de Oude's trade involved more complicated forms of accounting. Jan de Oude did not follow the advice of the merchant manuals of the day to balance his books at the end of each year. Instead,

⁸⁸ The calculation of the maternal inheritance in 1569 are found in various places in DFL and DvdM. See specifically, Account of Jacques's maternal inheritance, DvdM 55-4; Account of Marten's maternal inheritance, 25 November 1575, DFL 10.

⁸⁹ The clearest demonstration of the maternal inheritance for Hester and Cornelia up to 1575 is actually a calculation of Jacques' credit that does not take into account his debits, DvdM 55-4. Jan de Oude first calculated the value of his wife's immovables on the account of Jan, only bringing it over to the accounts of his other children on 12 May 1575. See DvdM 59-2 for Jan's maternal inheritance.

he usually balanced his accounts about every four years, though the balancing of the books did not necessarily coincide with declarations of the maternal inheritance of his children.⁹⁰ That the heirs were credited for bales of wool that had been thought to have been lost would seem to confirm that Jan de Oude treated the maternal inheritance as if the heirs had entered into a company with their father, with the capital being equally liable for profits and losses. However, when it came time to place the augmentation of the maternal capital on his books at the end of 1572, Jan de Oude reckoned the increase at 6.25% per year, or the standard interest charged at the time.⁹¹ The accounts of Jan, Marten, and Carlo bear this out, but those for Hester and Cornelia show a slightly higher rate of 6.36% with profits reckoned to be £431.12 from the original capital of £2261.⁹² By treating his children as regular creditors rather than investors in his trade, Jan de Oude laid claim to any profits he made from his children's capital above 6.25%. The difference proved substantial. From 1574 to 1578 Jan de Oude averaged a yearly profit of

⁹⁰ Two account books cover the period from the beginning of 1570 until the last time Jan de Oude balanced his books in his lifetime at the end of 1578. His account book number 7 spanned from 5 January 1570 to 17 February 1574. The book number 8 went from 2 March 1574 to 31 December 1578. Inventory of the estate of Jan de Oude, 18 November 1596, DFL 13 lists these account books among the papers left by Jan de Oude. Book number 8 is the only book that has survived to today, see DFN N. 2. On accounting, see A. C. Littleton and Basil S. Yamey, eds. *Studies in the History of Accounting* (Homewood, IL: Richard D. Irwin, 1956); Basil S. Yamey, "Notes on the Origin of Double-Entry Bookkeeping," *The Accounting Review* 22, no. 3 (1947): 263–272; Basil S. Yamey, *Accounting in England and Scotland, 1543-1800: Double Entry in Exposition and Practice* (London: Sweet and Maxwell, 1963); Basil S. Yamey, "Fifteenth and Sixteenth Century Manuscripts on the Art of Bookkeeping," *Journal of Accounting Research* 5, no. 1 (1967): 51–76; Pieter de Waal, *De leer van het boekhouden in de Nederlanden tijdens de zestiende eeuw* (Roermond, The Netherlands: J.J. Romen & zonen, 1927); Lucas Jansen, "*De koophandel van Amsterdam*": *Een kritische studie over het koopmanshandboek van Jacques le Moine de l'Espine en Isaac le Long* (Amsterdam: Nieuwe Uitgevers-Maatschappij, 1946).

⁹¹ In arbitration in Antwerp in 1586, Jan presented documents that showed the profits and losses of the maternal inheritance up to 31 December 1572 reckoned at 6.25% for each heir. DFL 14-5: Documents presented by Jan de Oude on 18 September 1586.

⁹² That Jan de Oude paid Jan, Marten, and Carlo an interest of 6.25% can be seen in DvdM 59-2; Account of Marten's maternal inheritance, 25 November 1575, DFL 10; Account of Carlo's maternal inheritance, 14 May 1575, DFL 10, respectively. DvdM 55-4 shows that Jacques, Hester, and Cornelia received 6.36% per year.

13.5%.⁹³ Thus, Jan de Oude effectively minimized his debt to his children, placing more of the profits from his trade firmly under his own power.

Table: 2.1: Maternal Inheritance, 1569, 1575, 1578⁹⁴

Heirs	1569	1575	1578
Anna	£1261	£1797.8.4	£3050
Jan	£2470.4.5	£0	£0
Marten	3250.3.1 1/3	£2800	£4945.10.7
Carlo	£3959.17.5	£0	£0
Jacques	£2261	£2150	£4335.5.6
Steven	£2261	£2150	£2200
Maria	£2261	£0	£0
Hester	£2261	£3031.3.9	£5333.6.8
Cornelia	£2261	£3031.3.9	£5333.6.8

In 1575, Jan de Oude provided each of his children with a calculation of their maternal inheritance.⁹⁵ The three increases in the maternal inheritance with profits calculated until the end of 1572 left Hester and Cornelia with a credit of £3038.17.0 in 1575. Following Jan and Carlo's full reception of their maternal inheritance in 1575, Jan de Oude changed the manner by which he calculated the growth of his children's maternal inheritance. From 1575 to the end of 1578, Hester and Cornelia's inheritance grew £2,294.9.8 or 175.5%, through the profits from 1573 to

⁹³ Brulez, *Firma Della Faille*, 41.

⁹⁴ Account of Marten's maternal inheritance, 25 November 1575, DFL 10; Account of Carlo's maternal inheritance, 14 May 1575, DFL 10; DvdM 59-2; DvdM 55-4; DvdM 55-10, Journal Jan de Oude, DFN N. 2; and Brulez, *Firma Della Faille*, 58.

⁹⁵ Inventory of the estate of Jan de Oude, 18 November 1596, DFL 13. The extant copies of the balances for Jacques and Marten do not include any debits from their account. They only calculate the credits. Account of Marten's maternal inheritance, 25 November 1575, DFL 10; DvdM 55-4. Jan de Oude also worked out the balance of his children's maternal inheritance, including debits, in Journal Jan de Oude, DFN N. 2. Brulez, *Firma Della Faille*, 58.

1578.⁹⁶ Even if using the inheritance of 1575 as the principal for the six year period, the profits given to Hester and Cornelia were 12.6% per year, comparable to the 13.5% profits Jan de Oude made at this time. Hester and Cornelia profited handsomely by keeping their maternal inheritance in the hands of their father.⁹⁷ By 31 December 1578, their maternal inheritance had reached £5,333.6.8 or more than £2,000 more than their sister Maria had received for her full maternal inheritance less than five years before.⁹⁸

B. The Maternal Inheritance of Jan, Carlo, and Marten to 1569

Where the marital status and marriage contract of Jan de Oude's daughters had the greatest effect upon the development of their maternal inheritance, the inheritance of his sons was primarily related to their involvement in the trade of their father. Age further divided Jan de Oude's sons. His three eldest sons gained access to capital to trade on their own as early as 1562, while Steven and Jacques had to wait until the 1570s for similar access. The financial interactions between Jan de Oude and his sons were complicated. It is necessary to distinguish between access to capital, disbursal of inheritance, and access to economic opportunities. Each provided Jan de Oude with opportunities to distinguish between his sons and reward those who showed the greatest aptitude and obedience, for obedience was in no way guaranteed. The different financial actions took in relation to his sons began the process of constructing the

⁹⁶ On 26 December 1583, the heirs made an agreement for the value of the maternal inheritance on 31 December 1578. Copies of this agreement are found in many locations in both the Daniel van der Meulen Archive and the Della Faille archive. See DvdM 55-10 for one instance.

⁹⁷ As will be discussed below, the accounts of Anna, Marten, and Steven experienced similarly large increases between the valuation of 1575 and the balance provided on 31 December 1578.

⁹⁸ The change in the rate of increase of the maternal inheritance is nicely demonstrated by the contrast between the inheritance provided for Maria at the time of her marriage and that of Hester and Cornelia. In 1574, Maria received £3179.17.1 for her maternal inheritance, an increase of £1,000 since the end of 1569. Meanwhile, Hester and Cornelia's inheritance increased by twice that in a comparable length of time. For the maternal inheritance in 1578, see accord of 26 December 1583, DvdM 55-10 and further discussion in Chapter 5.

sibling hierarchy he worked out in greater detail in his testament. The following sections detail the very different outcomes of the relationships between Jan de Oude and his sons, concentrating on his three eldest sons.⁹⁹

As he did with his daughters, Jan de Oude used the maternal inheritance for his financial interactions with his sons. For Jan, Marten, and Carlo, this interaction began even before the death of their mother. In 1562, Jan de Oude provided his three eldest sons with a loan of £250 to trade together as a test of their mercantile acumen.¹⁰⁰ Ranging in age from sixteen to twenty, Jan, Marten, and Carlo had received a thorough mercantile education and had reached the age at which a level of independence became warranted.¹⁰¹ Jan de Oude must have been satisfied with the initial actions of his sons, because in 1563 he increased the capital under their disposal to a total of £1,225.¹⁰² By November of 1568, less than six years since they first received capital from their father, the brothers had more than doubled their capital to £2,706.12.6 or £493.17.5 in profit for each of the brothers. Jan de Oude added these profits to his sons's maternal inheritance when it was calculated at the end of 1569.¹⁰³

The loan Jan de Oude gave to sons enabled him to evaluate their mercantile skills without much financial risk or threat to his own authority. The sons possessed ample surety in their

⁹⁹ Sabeau, *Property, Production, and Family*, 321–340; Marschke, “Crown Prince’s Brothers and Sisters”; Bastress-Dukehart, “Sibling Conflict”; Sophie Ruppel, “Subordinates, Patrons, and Most Beloved: Sibling Relationships in Seventeenth-Century German Court Society,” in *Sibling Relations and the Transformations of European Kinship, 1300–1900*, ed. Christopher H. Johnson and David Warren Sabeau (New York: Berghahn Books, 2011). On the training of sons for business, see Puttevils, “Ascent of Merchants From the Southern Low Countries”; Grassby, *Kinship and Capitalism*, 356–361.

¹⁰⁰ Wealth of Jan de Oude, 28 February 1562, DFL 10; Brulez, *Firma Della Faille*, 56.

¹⁰¹ On the education of merchants, see Puttevils, “Ascent of Merchants From the Southern Low Countries.”

¹⁰² Account of Carlo's maternal inheritance, 28 April 1573, DFL 10; Account of Marten's maternal inheritance, 25 November 1575, DFL 10.

¹⁰³ Account of Carlo's maternal inheritance and dowry of Maria Celosse, 1573, DFL 10; Account of Carlo's maternal inheritance, 28 April 1573, DFL 10; Account of Marten's maternal inheritance, 25 November 1575, DFL 10.

maternal inheritance from which Jan de Oude could deduct if the ventures ended in losses. Jan de Oude avoided any loss of authority over his sons by keeping the financial activities of his sons within the scope of his own larger activities. Jan, Marten, and Carlo inevitably created their own account books to keep track of their activities, but Jan de Oude kept the outcome of his son's ventures in his books. He placed both the loan he made to his sons and the profits they won on the accounts of their maternal inheritance.¹⁰⁴ These profits demonstrated the mercantile abilities of Jan, Marten, and Carlo, but they did not necessarily expand the capital readily available to them. Like their maternal inheritance in general, the profits served to increase the credit they held in their father's books. In other words, even the profits from trade undertaken independently by his sons remained largely under Jan de Oude's authority. Any actual disbursement of the inheritance remained independent of the loan he gave to his sons.¹⁰⁵

The trade carried on by Jan, Marten, and Carlo as well as the marriages of Marten and Carlo led Jan de Oude's three sons to have larger credits for their maternal inheritance than the rest of their siblings when Jan de Oude first calculated the accounts at the end of 1569. The maternal inheritance of Jan, Marten, and Carlo plus their profits gave the three brothers a base of £2,754.17.5. The documentation is most sparse for the development of Marten's inheritance, but

¹⁰⁴ For Jan, DvdM 59-2; DvdM 56-3. For Marten, DFL 10-11. For Carlo, Account of Carlo's maternal inheritance and dowry of Maria Celosse, 1573, DFL 10; Account of Carlo's maternal inheritance, 28 April 1573, DFL 10; Account of Carlo's maternal inheritance, 14 May 1575, DFL 10. James A. Aho, "Rhetoric and the Invention of Double Entry Bookkeeping," *Rhetorica: A Journal of the History of Rhetoric* 3, no. 1 (1985): 21-43; Bruce G. Carruthers and Wendy N. Espeland, "Accounting for Rationality: Double-Entry Bookkeeping and the Rhetoric of Economic Rationality," *The American Journal of Sociology* 97, no. 1 (1991): 31-69; Craig Muldrew, *The Economy of Obligation: The Culture of Credit and Social Relations in Early Modern England* (New York: St. Martin's press, 1998).

¹⁰⁵ Account of Carlo's maternal inheritance, 14 May 1575, DFL 10 shows that Carlo received payments from this account from at least 5 August 1567.

Jan de Oude listed his maternal inheritance in 1569 as £3,250.3.1 1/3.¹⁰⁶ Carlo possessed the largest credit for his maternal inheritance in 1569 due the investment of his wife's dowry in the trade of Jan de Oude, but the accounts also show that he received £402.9.3 in various payments. This left Carlo with a credit of £3,552.8.2.¹⁰⁷ Jan remained unwed until 1579, and so marriage did not affect Jan's maternal inheritance, as it did for Marten and Carlo. Jan's maternal inheritance was augmented by the profits from the trade with his brother as well as a payment of £60 for the work that he did at the branch in Venice, demonstrating the responsibility he had gained in Jan de Oude's trade by 1569. Through two larger disbursements in Venice and Verona and a cash payment of £1.10.0, Jan received a total of £374.13.0, leaving him with a credit for his maternal inheritance of £2,470.4.5.¹⁰⁸

C. The Maternal Inheritance of Jan and Carlo, 1569–1575

After 1569, the next evaluation of the maternal inheritance occurred in 1575, which was occasioned by Jan and Carlo's recent reception of their full maternal inheritance. The augmentation of the inheritance up to 1575 included the evaluation of Cornelia van der Capellen's immovables, the credit for the wool that was believed to be lost, and the profits of the maternal inheritance up to the end of 1572. Jan, Marten, and Carlo's involvement in trade of Jan de Oude and their reception of portions of their inheritance complicated the process of accounting for their part in the profits. More important though was the relationship they

¹⁰⁶. Account of Marten's maternal inheritance, 25 November 1575, DFL 10. This document was made on 25 November 1575 after Marten asked his father for the accounts of his maternal inheritance. Jan de Oude stated that he gave Marten £1,000 in 1565 as a marital gift, but at least part of this seems to have been reinvested in the trade of Jan de Oude. Otherwise, how Jan de Oude got to the total of £3250.3.1 1/3 is unclear.

¹⁰⁷. Account of Carlo's maternal inheritance, 14 May 1575, DFL 10. Carlo's inheritance, Maria Celosse's dowry, and the principal and profits from his trade with his brothers gave Carlo a total credit of £4363.4.2. His debits included the £402.9.3 in disbursements and £408.6 for his part in the loan from his father.

¹⁰⁸. DvdM 59-2.

constructed with their father through their financial interactions. The accounts of the three brothers diverged widely, creating distinct relationships with their father. By the end of 1575, Marten had entrenched himself as Jan de Oude's favored son and had already begun to lay a solid foundation for developing capital independent of his father. Meanwhile, Jan and Carlo had both forced their father to provide them with their full maternal inheritance, acting against Jan de Oude's authority and breaking out on their own.¹⁰⁹

The existence of the complete accounts of Jan and Carlo's maternal inheritance makes it possible to be specific in analyzing the development of their inheritance. Up to the beginning of 1575, Jan kept most of his maternal inheritance under the possession of his father. Traveling to Italy in 1563 to serve his father in Verona, Jan worked as a factor for Jan de Oude, working in Verona, Venice, and Seville, until he returned to Antwerp in 1574.¹¹⁰ Jan's service in Italy and Spain provided him with access to goods and capital of his father's trade. As he gained experience and grew into more important roles in his father's trade, Jan likely carried on his own trade alongside that of his father. The accounts of Jan's maternal inheritance give no evidence that his father was dissatisfied with the service provided by his oldest son. He received the same basic increases to his maternal inheritance enjoyed by his siblings. Jan de Oude calculated his eldest son's part in the profits of the maternal inheritance up to the end of 1572 against the £2,470.4.5 he possessed in credit from 1569.¹¹¹ Alongside this £463.3.4 increase deriving from three years interest at 6.25% and the £346.5 from his mother's immovables and the wool that had

¹⁰⁹. Pollock, "Rethinking Patriarchy and the Family"; Bastress-Dukehart, "Sibling Conflict"; Spieß, "Safeguarding Property"; Simon Teuscher, "Male and Female Inheritance: Property Devolution, Succession, and Credit in Late Medieval Nobilities in the Southwest of the Holy Empire," in *La famiglia nell'economia europea, secc. XIII-XVIII: atti della "quarantesima Settimana di studi," 6-10 Aprile 2008 = The Economic Role of the Family in the European Economy from the 13th to the 18th Centuries*, ed. Simonetta Cavaciocchi (Firenze: Firenze University Press, 2009).

¹¹⁰. Brulez, *Firma Della Faille*, 57.

¹¹¹. The full account of Jan's maternal inheritance is found in DvdM 59-2.

been thought to be lost, Jan received three relatively modest credits for activities he carried on in his father's trade.¹¹²

The debits to Jan's maternal inheritance are more interesting, as they give an idea of how Jan gained access to his maternal inheritance. Between 31 December 1569 and 28 February 1575, Jan de Oude recorded twenty-one debits on his son's maternal inheritance totaling £662.19.3. Ten of the transactions involved interactions with Jan de Oude's treasury. Representative is a debt for £17.11.11 he received from the treasury on 23 December 1570 or the following entry in the register for £22.14 on 7 July 1571.¹¹³ Most of the other entries were modest debits that involved book transfers deriving from Jan's activities in his father's trade or the reception of small amounts of goods. Thus, Jan had a debit of £11.15.5 for his part in losses that occurred in Seville or the several debts of under £1 for the reception of *bayetti negro*.¹¹⁴ The majority of Jan's debts in this period derived from a single debt to the branch in Venice for £506.0.9 on 27 February 1573. However, this debt likely accumulated various interactions Jan had with the branch in Venice while he lived in Italy. This was not a single disbursement of inheritance, but a sign that Jan actively made use of his credit to his father. Up to the end of

¹¹² Jan's received credits of £9.10, £0.9, and £4.19 for a total increase of £14.18 a relatively modest sum considering the overall size of the maternal inheritance.

¹¹³ The dates in the accounts represent the day that the transaction was noted down in the account book and not necessarily the day of the actual transaction. It is therefore possible that this single transaction hides multiple smaller transactions.

¹¹⁴ DvdM 59-1 and 59-2. Baaien was a light drapery product similar to says and serges produced in both Flanders and England. Herman van der Wee, "The Western European Woolen Industries, 1500-1750," in *The Cambridge History of Western Textiles*, ed. David T. Jenkins (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 430; Brulez, *Firma Della Faille*, 588.

February 1575, Jan remained creditor for his maternal inheritance £2,631.11.7, but by this time, he seems to have tired of his father's control over his maternal inheritance.¹¹⁵

Carlo was the most aggressive in taking possession of his maternal inheritance, which, due to his marriage and his trading activities with his brothers, reached higher levels than any of his siblings. Carlo received sizable portions of his maternal inheritance every year from his first debit on the account of his maternal inheritance in August 1567 until 1575.¹¹⁶ In contrast to Jan's account, there are 116 debits to Carlo's maternal inheritance from 1570 until April 1576. The frequency of the debits may have been due to the relationship between Carlo and his father created at Carlo's marriage. Living close to his father, taking his meals at his father's house, and having his wife's dowry invested in Jan de Oude's trade made it necessary for Carlo to withdraw money from his maternal for basic expenses.¹¹⁷ The debits included larger transactions, such as the £366.4.3 he was debited from the treasury in June 1571, but there were also numerous smaller payments from the treasury, often given directly to his wife Maria.¹¹⁸ Carlo also used the account of his maternal inheritance to make various payments for outside obligations. Through his transactions, Carlo accumulated debits amounting to £1,392.16.3 1/2 in the three years from 1570 to the beginning of 1573, far more than any of his siblings.

¹¹⁵ DvdM 59-2. This calculation includes the increases to his maternal inheritance from the immovables of his mother and the wool that was thought to have been lost, though Jan de Oude did not place these on his son's account until 12 March 1575.

¹¹⁶ Account of Carlo's maternal inheritance, 14 May 1575, DFL 10 provides full documentation of the debits and credits to Carlo's maternal inheritance.

¹¹⁷ Carlo and Maria Celosse did have a separate dwelling, as demonstrated by three payments that Carlo made through his maternal inheritance for the house. Account of Carlo's maternal inheritance, 14 May 1575, DFL 10.

¹¹⁸ Such entries noted that the cash was given "*a sua moglie*." The amounts were often in the £6 to £12 range, about the price of an ox or a vat of butter. Brulez, *Firma Della Faille*, xxvi.

All indications are that during this time Carlo's relationship with his father became strained. Unlike his older brothers, Carlo never became an integral part to his father's trade activities. Whether it was a personal conflict, lack of belief in Carlo's trading acumen, or disagreement over the handling of Carlo's maternal inheritance, Jan de Oude treated Carlo differently from all of his other children. This is seen most clearly in the entries that Jan de Oude made on Carlo's maternal inheritance on 27 March 1573. The entries written on the 27th were precipitated by the planned activities of the following day. At 6:00pm on Saturday the 28th, Carlo signed an agreement to marry Cecile Grammaye.¹¹⁹ The death of Carlo's first wife eight months prior and his remarriage necessitated a thorough review of the account for Carlo's maternal inheritance. All of the entries that Jan de Oude made on the 27th demonstrated his lack of faith in the capabilities of his son.

The frequency and extent of Carlo's debits from his maternal inheritance opened the question of how to calculate the profits from the trade. Jan de Oude made this calculation on 27 March 1573. Jan and Marten had also received portions of their maternal inheritance, but Jan de Oude decided to treat Carlo's account differently. Instead of taking his credit in 1569 as the principal for the increase of the capital up to the end of 1572, Jan de Oude appears to have used the average of Carlo's credit between 1569 and 1571 and then again between 1571 and 1572 to calculate the profits. Jan de Oude gave 6.25% interest on £3,200 for the first two years and £2,600 for 1572, leading to an increase of £562.10. If the profits had been calculated against Carlo's credit of £3,552.8.2 at the end of 1569, as had been done with Jan and Marten, Carlo would have been credited for about £666.1.6. In other words, Carlo was denied over £100 in profit through the accounting techniques adopted by his father. Legally obliged to provide his

¹¹⁹ Memory book of Carlo, DFL 16.

wife's heirs with equal shares of her estate, in this instance, Jan de Oude clearly engineered the accounts to lessen the portion of a single heir.¹²⁰

A second credit entered on the same day demonstrates another way in which Jan de Oude treated Carlo differently from his older brothers. At some point between 1569 and 1573, Carlo used £750 of his father's capital to trade on his own. Working in foreign branches of their father's trade, Jan and Marten had ample opportunity to trade alongside but independent of their father. However, Jan de Oude did not approve of Carlo trading on his own without being informed. He noted that the credit he placed on Carlo's account was for £750 "that he [Carlo] had pulled from our company without asking me, in order to trade on his own."¹²¹ Crediting Carlo's account charged him for the reception of this money, but the more significant part of the entry may be that Jan de Oude demanded and expected Carlo to ask permission to trade on his own. It is not possible to know from the available sources whether this was part of the reason for Jan de Oude's lack of trust in Carlo or if this was an effect of Carlo having earlier lost the confidence of his father. In either case, Jan de Oude clearly did not approve of Carlo having the same type of access to his capital that Jan and Marten possessed.

The final entry Jan de Oude made on the 27th of March resulted from the death of Maria Celosse, but it too highlighted Jan de Oude's lack of faith in his son and his desire to limit the capital under his control. Maria Celosse wrote a testament the day before her death 26 July 1572,

¹²⁰. Account of Carlo's maternal inheritance, 14 May 1575, DFL 10. The entries for the profits do not explicate how £3200 and £2600 were reached to be use as the principal. As noted, this may simply have been an estimation of the average between Carlo's credit in 1569 (£3,552.8.2) and 1571 (£2,992.4.4 1/2), which would be £3,272. The average between Carlo's credit in 1571 (£2,992.4.4 1/2) and 1572 (£2,236.16.10 1/2) was roughly £2,614.

¹²¹. Account of Carlo's maternal inheritance and dowry of Maria Celosse, 1573, DFL 10: "die hy uuyt ons compaignie getrocken heeft sonder my dat te vragen om daer mede comenschap voor hem apart te doene." This statement was noted down in Jan de Oude's journal, DFN N. 2.

which named Maria's father and Carlo as guardians of their three children.¹²² Though Carlo had the clearest claim to raise his children and oversee the estate of his deceased wife, the children were left in the care of their maternal grandparents, and Maria's estate soon passed from the possession of Jan de Oude to Maria's father Jan Celosse. Jan de Oude calculated Maria's estate to be £1,800 and debited Carlo's account for this amount. The details of the calculation are not available, but this represented an increase of 150% from the evaluation of Maria's estate at the end of 1569.¹²³ The increase far outpaced the 6.25% yearly interest Carlo received for his maternal inheritance. Yet, the two came from the same account. Thus, not only did Carlo lose control over his children's maternal inheritance, Jan de Oude's accounting methods siphoned off money that should have gone directly to Carlo to Carlo's children and the seemingly more capable hands of Jan Celosse.

By December 1573, Carlo's various withdrawals, the loss of the dowry of his deceased wife, and the accounting techniques of Jan de Oude reduced Carlo's credit to his father for his remaining maternal inheritance to only £1,501.12.11 1/2.¹²⁴ Having married Cecile Grammaye in April 1573, Carlo attempted to develop his own capital independent of his father, extricating himself from his father's authority. Carlo continued to disinvest from his father, placing large portions of his maternal inheritance in ventures with his new father-in-law. The account for Carlo's maternal inheritance recorded two payments from the treasury on 5 January and 26 March 1574 for £511.5.0 and £350 concerning Carlo's new father-in-law. Interestingly, Cecile

¹²² Memory book of Carlo, DFL 16. Robert, whose birth had led to Maria's death, joined his mother less than a year later, dying on 19 May 1573.

¹²³ It is unclear if this evaluation was only for profits for a three-year period to 1573, or if it incorporated profits to 1575, when Jan Celosse gave a receipt for his reception of the money. Account of Carlo's maternal inheritance, 14 May 1575, DFL 10; Inventory of the estate of Jan de Oude, 18 November 1596, DFL 13.

¹²⁴ This calculation does not include Carlo's credit for his mother's immovables and for the wool that was believed to have been lost. These credits were placed on his account on 12 May 1575.

continued to use the account of Carlo's maternal inheritance to receive small disbursements of cash just as Maria had done before her. Up to April 1576, Cecile received cash on eighteen different occasions for a total of £120.¹²⁵ This shows that Carlo and Cecile continued to interact with Jan de Oude after their marriage, but they were never as dependent upon Jan de Oude as Carlo and Maria had been. From his position in 1569 as the largest creditor to his father among his siblings, by 1575 Carlo had the smallest amount invested with his father aside from Maria, who had received her full maternal inheritance at her marriage.

D. Lawsuits of Jan and Carlo, 1575

In 1575, both Jan and Carlo asked for and received payment of their maternal inheritance from their father. However, in both cases the process proved contentious and both opened lawsuits against their father. The brothers accused their father of improperly accounting for their maternal inheritance and worried that their father was not providing them with the full amount due to them. The exact circumstances that led to Jan and Carlo asking for payment of their maternal inheritance are unclear. Carlo's maternal account shows that tension had been growing between himself and his father. The combination of his second marriage and the increasingly small amount of capital left from his maternal inheritance made a final payment likely. The accounts give fewer clues for Jan's reasons for demanding his inheritance. Recently returned from over a decade in Italy, Jan was 32 years old in 1575 and remained unmarried.¹²⁶ It is possible that Jan worried that his father was promoting Marten above him by having Marten lead the branch in London in 1574. Whatever the motivations, Jan de Oude did not approve of his

¹²⁵. Account of Carlo's maternal inheritance, 14 May 1575, DFL 10.

¹²⁶. On the receipt for his maternal inheritance signed on 11 March 1575, Jan was listed as a merchant of the age of 32. Copies of this are in DvdM 59-3 and DvdM 59-11.

sons's actions that effectively diminished the capital under his control. Once again, Jan de Oude used accounting techniques in order to diminish the amount of capital to which he gave his sons access. Unwilling to accept the position within the family that Jan de Oude chose, Jan and Carlo challenged the authority of their father. Through their lawsuits and the reception of their maternal inheritance, Jan and Carlo increased their independence from their father, and also from their siblings, but they also damaged their relationship with Jan de Oude. The consequences of their actions became clear when Jan de Oude made his testament shortly before his death in 1582.¹²⁷

Jan must have been in discussion with his father about receiving the rest of his maternal inheritance for a while before the two made a compromise on 11 March 1575. Jan de Oude and his son appeared before Jan de Pape and Adriaen van Heylwegen, magistrates of Antwerp to declare the transfer of maternal inheritance from father to son. In signing the agreement, Jan acknowledged reception of all of his maternal inheritance through future payment of £2666.13.4 by his father in three installments. This sum was agreed to comprise of all of Jan's maternal inheritance, including all of the profits gained under the administration of Jan de Oude. In doing so, Jan agreed that he could not ask for any further payments from his maternal inheritance or make any further demands upon his father concerning the estate of Cornelia van der Capellen.¹²⁸

The account of Jan's maternal inheritance demonstrates that the payment of £2666.13.4 must have been a compromise rather than a meticulously accounted record of what Jan was due. Like the other heirs, the profits of the maternal inheritance had not been reckoned since

¹²⁷ On disputes over property and their resolution, see Craig Muldrew, "The Culture of Reconciliation: Community and the Settlement of Economic Disputes in Early Modern England," *The Historical Journal* 39, no. 4 (1996): 915–942; Muldrew, *Economy of Obligation*; Oscar Gelderblom, *Cities of Commerce: The Institutional Foundations of International Trade in the Low Countries, 1250–1650* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2013), 102–108, 114–121, 126–133; Kuehn, *Law, Family, and Women*, 19–100.

¹²⁸ DvdM 59-3; DvdM 56-10; DvdM 56-7.

December 1572. The only payment Jan received for the 26 month period was a credit of £35.1.9 in order to create a balance of £2666.13.4, the same amount that Maria had recently received for her dowry. Even if Jan de Oude had calculated the profits against Jan's original credit of £2470.4.5, Jan would have been due £154 per year.¹²⁹ By compromising on an amount rather than calculating the profits – even against the minimum interest of 6.25% – Jan de Oude saved himself at least £200. In other words, Jan essentially forwent the profits from the past two years in order to more quickly receive his maternal inheritance.

On the same day of the agreement, Jan de Oude presented his son with a receipt for the first of three payments of £888.17.9 1/2.¹³⁰ However, Jan's account shows that his father delayed in making this payment. On 19 March, Jan received £30 from the treasury, but this did little to satisfy him.¹³¹ Likely due to the delay, Jan went before the notary Hendrick van Uffelen on 29 March 1575 and nullified the previous agreement. Jan claimed to have made the original agreement in “good faith and in hope of receiving payment and satisfaction of his motherly and grand-maternal inheritance.”¹³² However, Jan now feared that his father would not fulfill his obligation and would deny him his rightful inheritance. Jan and his father had obviously failed to work out their issues on their own, and so Jan took the step of taking the disagreements outside of the family by bringing the issue before a notary and nullifying the previous agreement.

The nullification of the agreement and Jan's demand for immediate payment challenged Jan de Oude's paternal power. However, the threat appears to have accomplished what Jan

¹²⁹ In fact, if Jan's credit were calculated on 31 December 1572, it would have been £2,888.0.11. Using this as the principal, the interest Jan received for 26 months was a paltry 0.6%. DvdM 59-2.

¹³⁰ DvdM 56-7.

¹³¹ DvdM 59-1.

¹³² DvdM 56-9: “goede trouwen ende op hoepe van tellinge ende satisfactie van syn moederlycke ende grootmoederlycke.”

intended. On 12 May 1575, Jan received two payments for £36.17.6 and £822.0.3 1/2. The latter payment came in the presence of Lenaert van Driel and Gillis Hasebaert to verify the transaction.¹³³ A week later, Jan de Oude and his eldest son went before the notary Lieven van Rockeghem to again approve the original agreement. A key occurrence in the intervening period was that Jan de Oude gave his son access to his account books, enabling Jan to examine the treatment of his maternal inheritance. In the agreement, Jan stated that he had looked over the accounts of his maternal inheritance and found all “good and just.”¹³⁴ After the agreement, Jan received the final two payments of £888.17.9 1/2 each on 5 June 1575 and 21 October 1575.¹³⁵ This meant that by the end of October 1575 Jan had received all of his maternal inheritance and was no longer a significant creditor of his father. In total, Jan had received £4,112.12.3 for his maternal inheritance.¹³⁶

Just as Jan de Oude ended the dispute with his eldest son, Carlo began a similar argument against his father, calling for full payment of his maternal inheritance. Carlo may have originally negotiated for his maternal inheritance alongside his older brother, signing an agreement to receive final payment of his maternal inheritance.¹³⁷ He soon ran into similar obstacles that Jan had faced, though the process began later. The dispute between Carlo and his father proved more acrimonious than had been the case with Jan. Carlo went before a notary on three separate

¹³³ DvdM 59-1. Lenaert van Driel was the son of Jan de Oude’s wife’s sister. Louis Hasebaert’s connection to the Della Failles is less clear, but he had an open account on Jan de Oude’s books. State of Jan de Oude’s estate, 31 December 1594, DFL 12bis; Inventory of the estate of Jan de Oude, 18 November 1596, DFL 13; Summary of the state of Jan de Oude, 18 July 1598, DFL 13.

¹³⁴ DvdM 59-2 contains a copy of the agreement on 20 May 1575 in which Jan stated that he found the accounts “goet ende oprecht.”

¹³⁵ DvdM 59-1.

¹³⁶ DvdM 59-2.

¹³⁷ I have not found a copy of such an agreement in the archives, but it is referred to in the lawsuits Carlo made against Jan de Oude in May 1575.

occasions within six days in May 1575 to voice his complaints against his father's administration of his maternal inheritance and to argue against the actions Jan de Oude took in making the final payments of his debt to his son. Carlo's lawsuits show that communication and trust had broken down between father and son. Jan de Oude acted in ways to minimize the amount of capital under his son's control, but Carlo proved unwilling to simply accept the decisions made by his father, accusing him of abusing his paternal power in denying him his rightful inheritance. Carlo attempted to use the laws concerning inheritance and Jan de Oude's obligation as administrator of the estate of his deceased wife to enable him to scrutinize and potentially criticize Jan de Oude's administration of his maternal inheritance.¹³⁸

Carlo first appeared before a notary in the city of Lier on 16 May 1575. Carlo's primary objective was to nullify the earlier agreement he had made to receive final payment of his maternal inheritance. In order to receive the payment, Jan de Oude demanded that Carlo renounce any further claims to the estate of Cornelia van der Capellen, just as Jan had done in his agreement on 11 March 1575. Carlo now viewed such a concession as onerous and unjust. He nullified the agreement he had made with Jan de Oude, arguing that he had been "forced out of fear and threats of disinheritance and also due to paternal reverence and respect" to accept "the buying out or renunciation of his maternal goods."¹³⁹ In using such language, Carlo avoided any denial of paternal authority, criticizing instead Jan de Oude's insistence on the use of power, up to and including threats of disinheritance, in the place of compromise and justice. Accepting this was particularly problematic, because Carlo had to blindly trust that his father treated him fairly

¹³⁸ Sabean, *Property, Production, and Family*, 334–340; Pollock, "Rethinking Patriarchy and the Family."

¹³⁹ Lawsuit of Carlo against Jan de Oude, Lier, 16 May 1575, DFL 8: "bedwongen uuyt vrese van gedreychde exhereditatie ende andersints uuyt reverentie ende ontsach paternel...uuytcoope oft renunciatie van zyne moederlycke goeden."

in providing him with his inheritance. In contrast to what had just occurred with Jan, Carlo complained that Jan de Oude had never provided him with a “lawful state, account, or proof of his administration” of Carlo’s maternal inheritance.¹⁴⁰ Carlo claimed that his father had not allowed him access to his account books, denying him the opportunity to scrutinize his accounting techniques.

Three days after Carlo made the lawsuit in Lier, he returned to Antwerp and repeated his lawsuit against the actions of his father before the notary Antonis van Maele. Whereas Carlo had made his first lawsuit with a bookbinder with no known relationship to Carlo as a witness, Carlo brought Ghysbrecht Grammaye, a relative of his new wife, and an attorney to act as witnesses to his lawsuit in Antwerp.¹⁴¹ The presence of an in-law provides further evidence that Carlo’s second marriage had either caused or created a basis for the division between father and son. With the support of his in-laws, Carlo repeated the basic claims he had made three days prior, asserting his unwillingness to give up his right to his maternal inheritance without first perusing the accounts. In fact, Carlo noted that he had employed “friends” to ask and beseech Jan de Oude to give him access to the state of his maternal and grand-maternal inheritance.¹⁴² However, his father had repeatedly rebuffed these pleas, demanding that Carlo “must be satisfied with such sum as he [Jan de Oude] pleases.”¹⁴³ Explicitly in contrast to Jan de Oude’s assertion of his paternal authority, Carlo hoped they could come to an agreement “without threats, but with a

¹⁴⁰. Lawsuit of Carlo against Jan de Oude, Lier, 16 May 1575, DFL 8: “wettigen staet, reeckeninge, bewys oft reliqu vande voors. zyne administratie.”

¹⁴¹. Lawsuit of Carlo against Jan de Oude, Antwerp, 19 and 21 May 1575, DFL 8.

¹⁴². Lawsuit of Carlo against Jan de Oude, Antwerp, 19 and 21 May 1575, DFL 8: “deur zyne difficulteyt by vriende heeft ende gesocht ende gebeden ende gedaen aensoucken ende bidden synen voors. vader den voorschreven staet syns voorschreven wylen moders ende grootmoeders sterffhuuse.”

¹⁴³. Lawsuit of Carlo against Jan de Oude, Antwerp, 19 and 21 May 1575, DFL 8: “hem sal moeten genoegen met sulcke sommen van penningen als hem believen.”

freer and more prudent mind than due to reverence, respect, and threats made by his father against all truth.”¹⁴⁴ While trying to use a discourse that acknowledged his father’s authority, Carlo asserted his rights vested in law to challenge that authority.

Carlo’s lawsuits had little effect on Jan de Oude. The same day that he agreed to the payments for Jan’s maternal inheritance, Jan de Oude also signed an agreement to pay Carlo £950 in two installments for the rest of his maternal inheritance. Upon Carlo’s acceptance of this receipt passed by his father, Jan de Oude would give him the first payment of £500.¹⁴⁵ This prompted Carlo to return to Antonis van Maele in order to lawsuit against his father’s action. He continued to state that it was against his will to accept any final payment without being given access to the accounts of his maternal inheritance.¹⁴⁶ He again contrasted the “respect and reverence” he should and claimed to have for his father against his right to inspect the accounts. The final resolution in this dispute between father and son is unclear. Carlo’s maternal account is simply left with a debt of £950 upon Carlo’s acceptance, but no date is provided for the actual payment.¹⁴⁷

The dispute between Carlo and Jan de Oude demonstrates the rift that had grown between father and son. As seen in the accounting for the profits due to Carlo from his maternal inheritance, Carlo had reason question his father’s techniques. The same was true for the

¹⁴⁴. Lawsuit of Carlo against Jan de Oude, Antwerp, 19 and 21 May 1575, DFL 8: “met onbedwongen oft met vryer ende voordachtige sinnen dan uuyt reverentie, ende ontsach, ende dreygementen syns vader tegen de waerheidt.”

¹⁴⁵. DvdM 56-10, which also follows the timeline noted in the accounts of Carlo’s maternal inheritance, Account of Carlo's maternal inheritance, 14 May 1575, DFL 10. Jan de Oude also possessed a copy of this, Inventory of the estate of Jan de Oude, 18 November 1596, DFL 13.

¹⁴⁶. Lawsuit of Carlo against Jan de Oude, Lier, 16 May 1575, DFL 8: Carlo stated that it was “directelick tegen ende contrarie vanden wille meyninge ende intentie des comparants [Carlo] ende tegen waerheydt.”

¹⁴⁷. Account of Carlo's maternal inheritance, 14 May 1575, DFL 10: Jan de Oude writes that the payments would be made “naer dat hy my behoorelycke schepene quitantie gepassert hebbe doet voor alle die reste d’accort tussen” father and son. Sabean, *Property, Production, and Family*, 321–340.

calculation of the final payment of £950. Like Jan, Carlo's account does not include the profits for their maternal inheritance from the beginning of 1573 until May 1575. Instead, Jan de Oude simply added credit of £129.9.5 1/2 in order to create the credit of £950 to be paid out to Carlo.¹⁴⁸ Much more than that credited to Jan's account, the sum does not appear to have come from any calculation, but seems to have been added to reach a sum that Jan de Oude felt comfortable giving his son.

It may have been due to the use of such techniques that Jan de Oude denied Carlo access to the accounts. However, at its core, the debate concerned power rather than accounting. Giving Carlo access to the accounts of the maternal inheritance invited and enabled critique. Allowing son to critique father changed the discourse from family authority to one that privileged numbers and math, providing Carlo with a basis to criticize his father.¹⁴⁹ Yet, Jan de Oude proved unwilling to enable such a discussion with a son he no longer trusted. This in contrast his treatment of Jan to whom Jan de Oude did provide such access. With Carlo, Jan de Oude kept the discourse firmly in the realm of parental authority, demanding that Carlo accept what the father was willing to give. Because of the amount of activity on the account for his maternal inheritance, the total credit Carlo had accumulated throughout Jan de Oude's administration of the inheritance was substantial, reaching £6,602.14.7 1/2.¹⁵⁰ However, according to Jan de Oude, after reception of the £950, Carlo had no further claim to his maternal inheritance. In addition,

¹⁴⁸. Account of Carlo's maternal inheritance, 14 May 1575, DFL 10.

¹⁴⁹. Reinhart Koselleck, *Critique and Crises: Enlightenment and the Pathogenesis of Modern Society* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1988); Reinhart Koselleck and Michaela W. Richter, "Crisis," *Journal of the History of Ideas* 67, no. 2 (2006): 357–400.

¹⁵⁰. This is calculated in Account of Carlo's maternal inheritance, 14 May 1575, DFL 10. It should be remembered that this is the calculated amount following Jan de Oude's accounting techniques. Carlo did not receive the complete sum. For instance, the debt for the estate of Maria Celosse of £1800, passed to Maria's father instead of Carlo.

his actions concerning his maternal inheritance had put his paternal inheritance at risk and ensured that Jan de Oude would be cautious in giving Carlo any further access to his capital.

E. Marten's Accumulation of Wealth, 1569-1578

In contrast to Jan and Carlo, Marten remained a creditor to his father for his maternal inheritance until Jan de Oude's death in 1582. The amicable nature of Jan de Oude's administration of Marten's maternal inheritance meant that less documentation of the development of his inheritance was produced. Despite this, there exist plenty of indications of the access Marten gained and the use he made of his maternal inheritance. His appointment to head the branches of Jan de Oude's trade in Hamburg and London, his trading activities in parallel to those of his father enabling him to develop his own wealth, and the treatment he received in Jan de Oude's testament all indicate that Jan de Oude approved of the activities and acumen of his second oldest son. By 1578, when Jan de Oude balanced his books for the last time, it was clear that Marten had become the favored son and had positioned himself to become the leader of his sibling group.

In November 1575, Marten asked for and received an account of the development of the credits of his maternal inheritance.¹⁵¹ Marten's interactions with his maternal inheritance do not appear to have been appreciably different than those of Jan and Carlo before 1575, and the large withdrawals actually make his account more similar to Carlo's than Jan's. Jan de Oude's two oldest sons both served their father abroad, keeping a majority of their maternal inheritance in Jan de Oude's possession but also gaining access to portions of their inheritance. For the profits from the trade to the end of 1572, Marten received the same 6.25% interest on his maternal

¹⁵¹. Account of Marten's maternal inheritance, 25 November 1575, DFL 10.

inheritance of £3,250.3.1 1/3 for an increase of £609.8.2. Combined with the other augmentations received by all of the heirs, Marten had a total credit in 1575 of £3,710.10.7.¹⁵² The account provided to Marten did not include any debits, but Jan de Oude tracked these in his journal. The journal shows that in 1575 Marten actually had a credit of £2800 for his maternal inheritance. Despite the credits to his account, in the six year period from 1569 to 1575 Marten's maternal inheritance had actually decreased from £3,250.3.1 1/3 in the six-year period.¹⁵³

Unlike Carlo, Jan de Oude did not view Marten's active use of his maternal inheritance as problematic. The reductions to Marten's maternal inheritance from 1569 to 1575 occurred for two main reasons. Firstly, his marriage to Sybilla Stecher on 29 June 1565 naturally led to the disbursement of portions of Marten's inheritance. This began with the gift of £1,000 Marten received at the time of his marriage.¹⁵⁴ Marten moved abroad soon after his marriage to serve his father, making it necessary for Jan de Oude to allow Marten to set up his own household. Sybilla's fecundity may have also forced Jan de Oude's hand in enabling Marten to establish a degree of independence. The couple already had six surviving children by the time they moved to London in 1574. Six more children were born while Marten worked as his father's factor in London before Jan de Oude's death in 1582.¹⁵⁵

The second cause for the decline of his maternal inheritance was due to the positions Marten held in his father's trade. In 1569, he became head of the newly created branch on Hamburg in Jan de Oude's trade. He directed the trade of his father in this vital transport city that

¹⁵². Account of Marten's maternal inheritance, 25 November 1575, DFL 10.

¹⁵³. Journal Jan de Oude, DFN N. 2; Account of Marten's maternal inheritance, 25 November 1575, DFL 10; Brulez, *Firma Della Faille*, 58.

¹⁵⁴. Account of Marten's maternal inheritance, 25 November 1575, DFL 10.

¹⁵⁵. Schmitz, *Les Della Faille*, vol. 3, 6–8.

helped connect Italy and Northwest Europe until he moved to take over the branch in London after the death of Herman Pottey on 24 October 1574.¹⁵⁶ Marten's position in Hamburg gave him access to various trade opportunities and to capital. Jan de Oude clearly allowed Marten to invest portions of his maternal inheritance in his own trade that he carried on in parallel to Jan de Oude's activities.

By the time that Marten received the account of his maternal inheritance in November 1575, the paths of Marten and his older brother Jan had significantly diverged. Marten's advancement to the head of the branch in London in 1574 and Jan's return to Antwerp from Italy presented the clearest sign that Marten had been chosen as Jan de Oude's most capable son.¹⁵⁷ It was Marten who was entrusted with this crucial position in Jan de Oude's trade, and Marten's own wealth dramatically increased after 1575. Because Marten kept large portions of his maternal inheritance under Jan de Oude's control, he participated in the rapid growth of the maternal inheritance from 1575 to 1578 that occurred after Jan de Oude changed the way that he calculated the profits. Marten's maternal inheritance grew from £2800 to £4945.10.7, an increase of 176.6%.¹⁵⁸ While Jan gradually withdrew from active trade, Marten threw himself into managing Jan de Oude's vast trade in London, which in turn provided him with ample opportunities to expand his own wealth.

In comparison with Jan and Carlo (and Steven), Marten presents an example of the success of Jan de Oude's strategies. He gradually gained greater responsibility within Jan de

¹⁵⁶. Brulez, *Firma Della Faille*.

¹⁵⁷. The branch in Hamburg only opened on Marten's arrival. After Marten left, the branch was taken over by Jan de Wale. However, Jan de Oude closed the branch in 1577, when Jan de Oude decided to only use his correspondent Marten Entzesperger to transport goods between Italy and the North Sea. Brulez, *Firma Della Faille*, 25, 38, and 258.

¹⁵⁸. Calculation of the inheritance of Jacques, DvdM 55-10.

Oude's trade, and especially his work in London helped to augment Jan de Oude's wealth. But Marten also took advantage of his position in London to trade in parallel to his father and dramatically increase his own capital. Whether the size and nature of Marten's independent activities were fully known to Jan de Oude or if Marten kept his father in the dark is unclear. Jan de Oude's journal from 1574 to 1578 shows that he was aware of the large sums that Marten traded on his own. Marten mostly traded in linen from the Low Countries that was then sent to England. The journal shows payments sent to various linen producing areas for Marten's trade, totaling £1621 to Izegem, £2,130 to Ghent, £590 to 's Hertogenbosch, and £2,959 to Haarlem.¹⁵⁹ Marten also remitted £2,925 to Antwerp on his own account.¹⁶⁰ Marten's widespread trading activities on his own account put Jan de Oude's anger at Carlo's use of £750 without his knowledge into perspective.¹⁶¹

Marten's vast trading activities in parallel to his father's trade created potential conflicts of interest in the form of the typical agency problem of long distance trade.¹⁶² Trading on two accounts in parallel, Marten could place goods sold at a higher price on his own account, while charging expenses on that of his father. Loans that were not repaid could be placed on his

¹⁵⁹ Izegem is a town in Flanders near Kortrijk.

¹⁶⁰ For these calculations, see Journal Jan de Oude, DFN N. 2; Brulez, *Firma Della Faille*, 57 note 2.

¹⁶¹ On succession, see Sabeian and Teuscher, "Kinship in Europe"; Johnson and Sabeian, "From Siblingship to Siblinghood"; Sabeian, *Property, Production, and Family*, 247–249; Davis, "Ghosts, Kin, and Progeny."

¹⁶² Sebouh Aslanian, *From the Indian Ocean to the Mediterranean: The Global Trade Networks of Armenian Merchants from New Julfa* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2011); Bas J. P. van Bavel, et al., "Introduction: Factor Markets in Global Economic History," *Continuity and Change* 24, no. 1 (2009): 9–21; Jeremy Edwards and Sheilagh Ogilvie, "Contract Enforcement, Institutions, and Social Capital: The Maghribi Traders Reappraised," *The Economic History Review* 65, no. 2 (2012): 421–444; Jeremy Edwards and Sheilagh Ogilvie, "What Lessons for Economic Development Can We Draw From the Champagne Fairs?," *Explorations in Economic History* 49, no. 2 (2012): 131–148; Avner Greif, *Institutions and the Path to the Modern Economy: Lessons From Medieval Trade* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006).

father's books rather than his own.¹⁶³ Whether or not Marten was guilty of such tactics, by 1582 Marten reported his wealth to be £36,078, well beyond the inheritance due to him.¹⁶⁴ Another indication of Marten's dramatic accumulation of wealth came from his investment of £34,000 in the company he created with Jan Borne, Jan de Wale, and Thomas Coteels less than a year after his father's death.¹⁶⁵ This meant that before the age of 40, Marten commanded capital similar to that which Jan de Oude was estimated to possess in trade on his own account in 1578.¹⁶⁶

F. The Maternal Inheritance of Anna, Jacques, and Steven, 1575–1578

The development of the maternal inheritance of Anna, Jacques, and Steven up to 31 December 1578 can be discussed more briefly. Anna had received a portion of her inheritance at her marriage, but Jan de Oude continued to have control over a large part of her maternal inheritance. In 1575, Anna remained a creditor of her father for £1,797.8.4.¹⁶⁷ Like the other heirs who were creditors to their father for their maternal inheritance after 1575, Anna's inheritance increased rapidly to £3,050 by the end of 1578, a growth of 169.7%.¹⁶⁸ In stark contrast to Jan de Oude's other married daughter, Anna's marriage had succeeded in providing Jan de Oude with an important ally, while doing little to diminish his own capital. Though Robert van Eeckeren no

¹⁶³ Jacques would later accuse Marten of doing just this when he served his father in London. Declaration of Jan and Jacques against Marten, Antwerp, 28 September 1583, DFL 13. See Chapter 7.

¹⁶⁴ Brulez, *Firma Della Faille*, 187. The increase of Marten's maternal inheritance and the inheritance left by his father at his death obviously led to large increases in Marten's wealth. However, Marten's stated wealth was only slightly less than three times Hester's calculated inheritance in 1583 of £13,573.14.8, which incorporated paternal, maternal, and sororal inheritance. State of Jan de Oude's estate, 26 December 1583, DFL 12. See the discussion of the estate in Chapter 5.

¹⁶⁵ Brulez, *Firma Della Faille*, 66.

¹⁶⁶ The agreement of the heirs on 26 December 1583 stipulated that the paternal inheritance invested in trade in 1578 was £34,000. DvdM 55-10.

¹⁶⁷ Brulez, *Firma Della Faille*, 58.

¹⁶⁸ DvdM 55-10.

longer acted as a factor for Jan de Oude after returning to Antwerp in 1573, Robert did not push to receive the remainder of Anna's maternal inheritance, choosing to remain invested in the trade of his father-in-law.

After 1569, Jacques and Steven both began to trade using their maternal inheritance as their older brothers had done before them. Jacques and Steven were four to six years younger than Marten and seven to eight years younger than Jan, leading them to be a couple of years behind their older brothers in their mercantile training.¹⁶⁹ Neither obtained a role comparable to that Jan and Marten played in residing for long periods of time in foreign branches of Jan de Oude's trade. Nevertheless, the two frequently traveled and traded under their father's banner. Steven's trips to Hamburg and London, where he worked under Marten, have already been noted. Jacques also traveled to London, Frankfurt, and Venice.¹⁷⁰ Even when they remained closer to Antwerp, Jan de Oude took advantage of and tested his sons's acumen. For instance, he charged Steven and Jacques with making the balance of Jan de Oude's capital in 1575.¹⁷¹ Jan de Oude provided his youngest sons with some responsibilities and opportunities, but they never possessed the same level of independence gained by their older brothers.

That Jan de Oude allowed Steven and Jacques to invest portions of their maternal inheritance in their own trade is shown by the balance of their accounts in 1575. The balance they helped make shows that both possessed a credit of £2,150 compared to the undiminished credit of Hester and Cornelia of £3,038.17.0. It is interesting that despite the trouble that Jan de Oude had with Steven, he does not seem to have done anything to substantially diminish

¹⁶⁹ The exact birthdates for Jan de Oude's youngest sons are not known. Jacques was born in either 1549 or 1550, while Steven was born soon after sometime in 1550. Schmitz, *Les Della Faille*, vol. 1.

¹⁷⁰ Schmitz, *Les Della Faille*, vol. 1, 267, 296.

¹⁷¹ Brulez, *Firma Della Faille*, 56.

Steven's maternal inheritance. In fact, Steven's maternal inheritance grew faster than any of his siblings's between 1575 and 1578. The evaluation of 1578 occurred just as Jan de Oude was working to extricate Steven from his marriage to Jeanne Schuttens, but the accounts showed that Steven's inheritance had increased to £4,335.5.6, a growth of 202.3%. Such a large increase meant that Jan de Oude did not treat Steven's maternal inheritance as he had Carlo's, but it also meant that Steven must have received very little if any of his maternal inheritance over the intervening period.¹⁷²

The maternal inheritance of Jacques and Steven shared much in common up to 1575, but they diverged greatly afterwards. Whereas Steven gained little additional access to his maternal inheritance, Jacques became increasingly active in using his maternal inheritance to trade on his own account. As Carlo and Jan became less involved in trade of their father and Steven proved himself largely unreliable, Jacques stepped in to fill the gap, becoming the second most important son in Jan de Oude's trade. Jacques's extensive access and use of his maternal inheritance is shown by limited increase in his maternal inheritance from £2,150 to £2,200 between 1575 and 1578, making Jacques the only heir to receive substantial portions of his maternal inheritance during this period.¹⁷³ The development of Jacques maternal inheritance mirrored that of his older brothers between 1569 and 1575, as Jan de Oude gradually gave them access to capital. Jan de Oude's journal recorded Jacques trading in Spain, Italy, and London. In one venture, he sent 739 pieces of linen to Italy, purchasing silk hosiery with the profits.¹⁷⁴ Jacques's trade never reached the scope of that carried on by Marten in London, but the

¹⁷² Brulez, *Firma Della Faille*, 58.

¹⁷³ Brulez, *Firma Della Faille*, 58.

¹⁷⁴ Brulez, *Firma Della Faille*, 57.

relatively free hand that Jan de Oude gave to Jacques indicates the trust that Jan de Oude came to have in his second youngest son.

4. Conclusion

The death of Cornelia van der Capellen marked an important turning point in the family headed by Jan de Oude. Cornelia's death opened the process of the devolution of property through inheritance. It also occurred just as her oldest children began to enter into marriages. Marriage and access to inheritance created separation between parents and children and between siblings. Over the sixteen year period from the death of his wife until his own, Jan de Oude used various tactics to limit the independence his children gained through these two sources. In doing so, Jan de Oude worked to maintain his authority over his children and protect his patrimony. He was heavily involved in his children's marriage contracts—except for the two unfortunate marriages of Steven—and continued to exert influence even after his children's marriage. With marriage and—at least for boys—age came the prospect of reception of portions of their maternal inheritance. The capital left by Cornelia played an important role in mediating the relationships between Jan de Oude and his children. Here too, Jan de Oude acted with caution and with an eye to maintaining power over his children. Only Maria received her full maternal inheritance in one fell swoop. All of his other children remained financially tied to their father, providing Jan de Oude the opportunity to reward those who acted properly and punishing those who did not.¹⁷⁵

¹⁷⁵ Howell, *Marriage Exchange*; Bastress-Dukehart, "Family, Property, and Feeling"; Bastress-Dukehart, "Sibling Conflict."

Through the financial interactions that Jan de Oude had with his children, he began to construct a hierarchy among them.¹⁷⁶ Providing portions of their maternal inheritance to his sons to use in trade enabled him to evaluate their acumen in a relatively safe environment. Jan de Oude did not have the same fine control with his married daughters, but they and their husbands were also expected to prove their value to the family. All of Jan de Oude's children agreed with and understood the authority Jan de Oude held as the father and the duty they had to obey, but living up to the ideal proved difficult. Louis's rapid remarriage after the death of Maria infuriated Jan de Oude. Steven's impetuosity landed him in two marriages from which his father had to extricate him. Jan de Oude's treatment of the accounts of Jan and Carlo when they both attempted to gain control of their full maternal inheritance and their resistance showed a growing rift between Jan de Oude and two of his three eldest son. This placed Marten and, increasingly at the end of Jan de Oude's life, Jacques as his two most trusted sons, while Robert van Eeckeren had long ago proven his allegiance to his father-in-law. As for his two young and unmarried daughters, the sources are mainly silent, as neither gained any substantial portion of their maternal inheritance. The relationships that Jan de Oude and his children constructed after Cornelia's death set the basis for all future relations between the Della Faille siblings.

¹⁷⁶ Spieß, "Safeguarding Property"; Karl-Heinz Spieß, "Maintenance Regulations and Sibling Relations in the High Nobility of Late Medieval Germany," in *Sibling Relations and the Transformations of European Kinship, 1300–1900*, ed. Christopher H. Johnson and David Warren Sabean (New York: Berghahn Books, 2011); Ruppel, "Subordinates, Patrons, and Most Beloved"; Marschke, "Crown Prince's Brothers and Sisters."

Chapter 3

The Marriage of Daniel van der Meulen and Hester della Faille: Family, Emotions, and the Fall of Antwerp

1. Introduction

The marriage of Daniel and Hester on 24 December 1584 in the Walloon church in Haarlem united the Van der Meulen and Della Faille families. What should have been a symbol of love and unity could not but be a demonstration of the divisions within the two families and within the Low Countries itself. For different reasons, Daniel and Hester found themselves in Holland, while their native city of Antwerp was under siege by the armies led by Alexander Farnese. Beginning his campaign of reconquests with the siege of Oudenaarde in 1582, by the summer of 1584, Farnese had his army poised to win back the major cities of Flanders and Brabant.¹ Hester had fled Antwerp with her brother Jacques to Haarlem in May 1584. Daniel arrived in Holland in September of 1584, acting as a representative for Antwerp and the States of Brabant to the States General in Holland. Brought into physical proximity by the consequences of the siege, the two took advantage of the situation to push for and eventually consummate the union that they had been pursuing since at least the beginning of 1584, in not earlier.

Like the Della Failles, the Van der Meulens developed strategies to mitigate the centrifugal forces of marriage and inheritance in a desire to maintain the unity of the nuclear family. Where Jan de Oude stood at the head of the Della Faille family, Elizabeth Zeghers, the widow of Jan van der Meulen, directed the actions of her children. Widowed since 1563,

¹ Geoffrey Parker, *The Dutch Revolt*, Revised ed., (London: Penguin Books, 1985), 208–216; Jonathan I. Israel, *The Dutch Republic: Its Rise, Greatness, and Fall 1477-1806* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995), 205–220; Violet Soen, “Reconquista and Reconciliation in the Dutch Revolt: The Campaign of Governor-General Alexander Farnese (1578-1592),” *Journal of Early Modern History* 16, no. 1 (2012): 1–22.

Elizabeth occupied a structural position similar to that of Jan de Oude. The testament that she had signed with her husband and the laws of Antwerp gave her control over her children and the capital left by her husband that was similar to that possessed by Jan de Oude.² This chapter details the experience of the Van der Meulen siblings as they entered into marriages, while remaining under the authority of their mother. In contrast to the previous chapter, the existence of correspondence at the time of the marriage of Daniel and Hester enables an analysis of a different side of marriage than that presented in the last chapter. Therefore, after providing a brief overview of the marriages made by Daniel's three older siblings, the discussion concentrates on the marriage of Daniel and Hester. Continuing to note the influence of property relations, this chapter emphasizes the role of emotions in bringing both the newly formed conjugal unit and the families of the bride and groom together.³

The various religious and political positions of the two families, the division among the Della Faille siblings, and the advances of Farnese's armies combined to complicate Daniel and Hester's proposed marriage. The Van der Meulens identified closely with Calvinism and the cause of the Dutch Revolt. However, as Farnese's advance and Antwerp's move towards a Calvinist Republic polarized the population of the Low Countries either for or against the continuance of the rebellion, it became evident that the Della Faille siblings found themselves on

² Marriage contract of Jan van der Meulen and Elizabeth Zeghers, Antwerp, 2 July 1543, Familie De Malapert, inventory 19, Het Utrechts Archief, Utrecht, The Netherlands (hereafter FM). On the position of widows in Antwerp, Laura Van Aert, "Tussen norm en praktijk: Een terreinverkenning over het juridische statuut van vrouwen in het zestiende-eeuwse Antwerpen," *Tijdschrift voor sociale en economische geschiedenis* 2, no. 3 (2005): 22–42; Laura Van Aert, "The Legal Possibilities of Antwerp Widows in the Late Sixteenth Century," *The History of the Family* 12 (2006): 282–295. See also Marianne Danneel, *Weduwen en wezen in het laat-middeleeuwse Gent* (Louvain: Garant, 1995).

³ Hans Medick and David Warren Sabean, "Interest and Emotion in Family and Kinship Studies: A Critique of Social History and Anthropology," in *Interest and Emotion: Essays on the Study of Family and Kinship*, ed. Hans Medick and David Warren Sabean (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984); Susan Broomhall and Jacqueline van Gent, "Corresponding Affections: Emotional Exchange among Siblings in the Nassau Family," *Journal of Family History* 34, no. 2 (2009): 143–165.

different sides.⁴ The division of the siblings became particularly problematic after the death of Jan de Oude on 8 November 1582 left the siblings without a clear patriarchal head. Jan de Oude's testament made his sons Jan, Marten, and Jacques executors, tasked to administer the capital left by their father, but also as guardians over their unmarried sister Hester.⁵ The testament specified that for Hester to receive her full inheritance, she had to marry with the unanimous approval of her three older brothers. From at least the beginning of 1584, Hester had sought the approval of her brothers but had been refused. Only through the labors of Daniel, Hester, and Andries did Hester's brothers finally, if reluctantly in the case of Marten, approve of Hester's choice of marital partner. Yet, the engagement and wedding did not mark an end to the labor necessary. Having obtained their goal, Daniel and Hester had to continue to work to integrate themselves into their spouse's sibling group, while the two sibling groups also needed to come together to constitute themselves as kin.

The marriage of Daniel and Hester and the work that was done to accomplish it highlights the difficulties of fulfilling the moral obligation to maintain unity among kin. A marriage had three separate but interrelated consequences to the structure of family relations, bringing additional uncertainty to families in an already precarious situation. Marriage separated Daniel and Hester from their respective familial units, initiating a new conjugal unit. Secondly,

⁴J. J. Woltjer, "Political Moderates and Religious Moderates in the Revolt of the Netherlands," in *Reformation, Revolt and Civil War in France and the Netherlands, 1555-1585*, ed. Philip Benedict, et al. (Amsterdam: Royal Netherlands Academy of Arts and Sciences, 1999); Judith Pollmann, "Catholics and Community in the Revolt of the Netherlands," in *Living with Religious Diversity in Early-Modern Europe*, ed. C. Scott Dixon, et al. (Aldershot, England: Ashgate, 2009).

⁵Testament of Jan de Oude, Familie De Malapert, inventory 22. Het Utrechts Archief. Utrecht, The Netherlands. It is transcribed in Gisela Jongbloet-van Houtte, ed. *Brieven en andere bescheiden betreffende Daniel van der Meulen, 1584-1600*, Rijks Geschiedkundige Publicatiën: Grote serie (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1986), cxliv–clix. The testament of Jan de Oude is discussed at length in Chapter 4. The problems over the capital left by Jan de Oude form the content for Chapters 5–7. Jan, Marten, and Jacques were also made guardians over their youngest sister Cornelia, but she died only a couple of weeks after her father.

both bride and groom became members of their new spouse's sibling group. Finally, marriage brought together the two family units in a new alliance.⁶ In the midst of political, religious, and personal divisions constantly threatening to fracture relations, the Della Failles and Van der Meulens made use of a discourse of friendship and affection in an effort to maintain and strengthen the bonds of blood and marriage. What in theory seemed natural, in actuality necessitated constant negotiation and labor involving all family members, for any balance in relations was always precarious, liable to disturbance from any single individual.⁷ Affection proved to be a primary tool used in attempting to subdue the enmity that constantly threatened and often did break out across the bonds of kin.

2. Marriages of the Van der Meulen Siblings

Before entering into a discussion of the marriage of Hester and Daniel and the circumstances that surrounded it, it is necessary to place the union within the context of the marriages entered into by Daniel's siblings. Like the Della Failles, the Van der Meulens attached themselves to other mercantile families who worked in the orbit of Antwerp's market. Where Jan de Oude's influence on the marriages of his children can be seen in his desire to minimize the

⁶ Martha C. Howell, "From Land to Love: Commerce and Marriage in Northern Europe during the Late Middle Ages," *Jaarboek voor Middeleeuwse Geschiedenis* 10 (2007): 216–253; Diana O'Hara, *Courtship and Constraint: Rethinking the Making of Marriage in Tudor England* (Manchester, UK: Manchester University Press, 2000); David Warren Sabeau, *Kinship in Neckarhausen, 1700–1870* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998). On marriage and courtship among merchants, see Richard Grassby, "Love, Property and Kinship: The Courtship of Philip Williams, Levant Merchant, 1617–50," *The English Historical Review* 113, no. 451 (1998): 335–350; Richard Grassby, *Kinship and Capitalism: Marriage, Family, and Business in the English Speaking World, 1580–1740* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 37–84. On courtship more generally, see Diana O'Hara, "'Ruled by my friends': Aspects of Marriage in the Diocese of Canterbury, c. 1540–1570," *Continuity and Change* 6, no. 1 (1991): 9–41; O'Hara, *Courtship and Constraint*; David Cressy, *Birth, Marriage, and Death: Ritual, Religion, and the Life-Cycle in Tudor and Stuart England*, First ed., (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997), 233–281; Julie Hardwick, *The Practice of Patriarchy: Gender and the Politics of Household Authority in Early Modern France* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1998), 55–66.

⁷ "[O]nly incessant work can maintain the community of interests." Pierre Bourdieu, *Outline of a Theory of Practice* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977), 39. See also, William H. Sewell Jr, *Logics of History: Social Theory and Social Transformation* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2005).

centrifugal forces that came with such a union, the marriages of the four Van der Meulen siblings exhibits the markings of a wider strategy.⁸ The Van der Meulens present an example of how marriage strategy can be individually varied but still coordinated for the familial unit as a whole. Personal choice played an important role in the marriages that they created, but this did not forestall the development of a strategy followed by the sibling group with their mother, Elizabeth Zeghers, at their head.⁹ From a socio-economic perspective, the marriages of the four siblings were bifurcated by gender. Anna and Sara married merchants whose economic activities ran in parallel to those of their mother. On the other hand, both Andries and Daniel married into the mercantile elite of Antwerp, allying themselves with families whose wealth was based upon long-distance trade.¹⁰

The trade carried on by Elizabeth following her husband's death in 1563 connected the biannual fairs in Strasbourg and Frankfurt to Antwerp, with Cologne playing an important role in communication between the two poles.¹¹ In 1573, Elizabeth looked to solidify her position within this trade and expand her resources through the marriage of her eldest daughter, who was about twenty-eight years old, to Severijn van de Corput. Born in Breda, Severijn had purchased citizenship in Antwerp in 1572. Elizabeth moved towards creating a company with her new son-in-law that was to focus on the trade she had performed on her own. However, before the company was officially begun, Severijn died in 1575, leaving Anna a widow at the age of thirty

⁸ The death of Jean in 1576 and then of Maria on 9 November 1584 meant that only four of the six Van der Meulen sibling married.

⁹ Sabeau, *Kinship in Neckarhausen*; Bourdieu, *Outline of a Theory of Practice*, 58–71; Natalie Zemon Davis, "Ghosts, Kin, and Progeny: Some Features of Family Life in Early Modern France," *Daedalus* 106, no. 2 (1976): 87–114; O'Hara, "Ruled by my friends"; O'Hara, *Courtship and Constraint*.

¹⁰ See Appendix A for more detailed description of the members of the Della Faille and Van der Meulen families.

¹¹ Gisela Jongbloet-van Houtte, "Inleiding," in *Brieven en andere bescheiden betreffende Daniel van der Meulen, 1584-1600*, ed. Gisela Jongbloet-van Houtte (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1986), xxxvi–xxxvii.

with a young son. Anna again entered into the matrimonial estate some time before 1582. Like Severijn, François Pierens was a merchant who specialized in trade at the fairs of Strasbourg and Frankfurt. In 1576, he had created a company with the brothers Jan and Antoine Lempereur to pursue this trade, but in 1581, he liquidated the company to form one with his mother-in-law. Elizabeth was the senior partner in the company, contributing two-thirds of the capital with François responsible for the remaining one-third. Having resided in Cologne since 1572 due to the troubles in Antwerp, Anna's marriage to François and the creation of the company enabled Elizabeth to return to Antwerp. François now became responsible for coordinating the trade of the company from his base in Cologne.¹²

Just as Daniel looked to secure his marriage to Hester della Faille, Daniel's older sister Sara was also involved in courtship. From the beginning of 1584, Antoine Lempereur had expressed his interest in seeking Sara's hand. The former partner of Sara's brother-in-law François, a marriage between Sara and Antoine would further solidify the position of the Van der Meulens in the regional trade with the fairs of Strasbourg and Frankfurt. However, the siege of Antwerp created as many difficulties for the prospective marriage of Sara and Antoine as it did for Daniel and Hester. Antoine corresponded with Sara throughout 1584, but he remained non-committal and refused to travel to the besieged city to finalize the engagement, and his correspondence became increasingly irregular in 1585.¹³ When Antoine wrote to Sara in the spring of 1585 to explain his inability to come to Antwerp, Sara found it so full of excuses that

¹² Jongbloet-van Houtte, "Inleiding," xxxvi–xl.

¹³ Antoine's letters to Sara, Collectie Antoine Lempereur, inventory 270, Bibliotheca Thysiana Archief, Universiteit Leiden, Leiden, The Netherlands (hereafter CL). Daniel and Andries discussed the possible engagement frequently in their letters. Andries's letters to Daniel, Daniël van der Meulen en Hester de la Faille, zijn vrouw, 1550–1648, inventory 593a, Erfgoed Leiden en Omstreken, Leiden, The Netherlands (hereafter DvdM). The letters from Andries to Daniel are transcribed in Jongbloet-van Houtte, *Daniel van der Meulen*. Numbers in parentheses correspond to items transcribed in this volume.

“she was greatly pained and noted that her heart moved away from him.”¹⁴ Antoine was in Holland at this time, so it was up to Daniel to communicate with the prospective groom, but the lack of feeling in the letters Antoine sent to Sara led Andries and Sara to question Antoine’s commitment. The fall of Antwerp and the Van der Meulens departure to Bremen again opened the possibilities for the betrothal to be agreed upon. The couple made the engagement official on 13 November 1585, the same day that Andries and Daniel signed a contract to enter into a company with their brother-in-law François and their now soon to be brother-in-law Antoine. Like Anna’s previous marriages, the Van der Meulens confirmed the bonds of matrimony with the contractual ties of a company.¹⁵

The marriages of Anna and Sara stood in contrast with those made by Andries and Daniel. Where Anna and Sara married men of a similar or even lower economic and social status to themselves, Andries and Daniel married into families of the mercantile elite of Antwerp. After the death of Jean during the Spanish Fury in 1576, Andries took over the position as the eldest brother in the sibling group, aiding his mother in her trading activities. The rising economic fortunes of the family and Andries’s own personal attributes enabled him to become involved in Antwerp’s government at the end of the 1570s. Ostensibly attempting to abide by the religious peace that William of Orange hoped to impose on the cities of Brabant and Flanders after they joined the Revolt, Andries was appointed as a Catholic member of the Commission of Nine in 1579, a group consisting of three members of the Catholic, Lutheran, and Calvinist faiths set to defend the religious freedom. Andries had likely already converted to Calvinism by this point,

¹⁴ Andries to Daniel, Antwerp, 6 April 1585, DvdM 593a-71 (107): “sij haer ghehell daerin quelt ende mercke dat het herte gheheel van hem treckt.” On the use of the concept of love in courtship and marriage, see Grassby, “Love, Property and Kinship”; Howell, “From Land to Love.”

¹⁵ Jongbloet-van Houtte, “Inleiding,” xxx–xxxii. Contract of the Nieuwe Compagnie, 13 November 1585, DvdM 93.

making his appointment strategic for the increasingly Calvinist magistracy. After the declaration of a Calvinist Republic, Andries was appointed as an alderman in Antwerp in 1581.¹⁶ Two years later, he validated his social and economic progress with his marriage to Suzanne Malapert. The youngest of three children and seventeen years the junior of Andries, Suzanne was the daughter of Nicolas Malapert and Josine Kethel and the niece of Louis Malapert. The Malapert family came from Valenciennes, but had become members of the mercantile elite of Antwerp. Their wealth was amply demonstrated by the £5,657.14.6 that Suzanne brought to her marriage with Andries.¹⁷

Andries's marriage into the Malapert family connected him with the Della Faille through his wife's uncle, though Louis's position in the Della Faille family was compromised by his rapid remarriage after the death of Maria della Faille.¹⁸ While the personal connection between Andries and the Della Faille may have been problematic, Andries's entrance into the magistracy and marriage to Suzanne signaled that the Van der Meulens and Della Failles now occupied similar social spheres. It is not clear when Daniel and Hester met or when they developed a relationship that led them to pursue marriage, but it is evident that Andries and Daniel were both well acquainted with the Della Failles and with Hester before the latter left Antwerp in May 1584. With the family looking to further cement their regional trade through Sara's pursuit of Antoine, Daniel's pursuit of Hester would further connect the family to the long-distance trade

¹⁶ Floris Prims, "Andries Vermuelen, de negende van de IX mannen," *Antwerpensia* 16 (1943): 106–113; Floris Prims, *De Groote Cultuurstrijd*, vol. 2, *De Christelijke Republiek 1581-1585* (Antwerp: N. V. Standaard, 1943); Guido Marnef, "The Process of Political Change under the Calvinist Republic in Antwerp (1577-1585)," in *Des villes en révolte: Les "Républiques urbaines" aux Pays-Bas et en France pendant la deuxième moitié du XVIe siècle*, ed. Monique Weis (Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols, 2010); K. W. Swart, *William of Orange and the Revolt of the Netherlands, 1572-84* (Aldershot, England: Ashgate, 2003).

¹⁷ Andries often wrote to Daniel about the payment he was to receive for his wife's dowry throughout 1584 and 1585. On the exact amount, see Andries to Daniel, Antwerp, 20 February 1585, DvdM 593a-53 (81).

¹⁸ See Chapter 2 and 4 on the relationship Louis Malapert had with his father-in-law, Jan de Oude.

that continued to flourish notwithstanding the advances that Farnese made through the beginning half of 1584.

3. Courtship and the Siege of Antwerp

By the summer of 1584, the armies of Alexander Farnese made impressive progress against the rebellious provinces, advancing to Flanders and Brabant, the very heart of the Revolt. On the same day William of Orange was assassinated in Delft, 10 July 1584, Farnese took the fort of Liefkenshoek on the left bank of the Scheldt, mere kilometers down river from Antwerp.¹⁹ The crown jewel of the Low Countries now came under direct threat. The magistrates of Antwerp understood the dire position in which the city found itself. Their resources inadequate to hold off Farnese on their own, intervention from Holland and Zeeland was necessary. But any real chance at reversing the advance of Farnese, Antwerp's magistrates concluded, could only come through an accord with Henry III of France. Even after Orange's death, Antwerp's magistrates clung to the strategy he had developed in the last years of his life; the rebels could only successfully stand against Philip II with French assistance. In the middle of August, Antwerp and the States of Brabant sent a group of representatives to Holland and Zeeland to try to convince the States General of the necessity of obtaining the aid of Henry III. Daniel van der Meulen found a position among this important group.²⁰

With the fate of the Revolt in the balance, Daniel's mission could hardly have been more critical. Four days before Daniel arrived in Middelburg and presented himself to the States of

¹⁹ On Farnese's reconquest of Flanders and Brabant, see Parker, *Dutch Revolt*, 208–216; Soen, "Reconquista and Reconciliation"; Gisela Jongbloet-van Houtte, "De belegering en de val van Antwerpen belicht vanuit een koopmans archief: Daniel van der Meulen, gedeputeerde van de Staten van Brabant ter Staten Generaal (1584-1585)," *Bijdragen en Mededelingen betreffende de geschiedenis der Nederlanden* 91 (1976): 23–43.

²⁰ Prims, *De Christelijke Republiek*; Jongbloet-van Houtte, "De belegering en de val van Antwerpen."

Zeeland, the French ambassador to the States General put forward a proposition for the rebels to give sovereignty to Henry III. The representatives of Brabant and Flanders quickly approved of the measure. Holland and Zeeland hesitated, distrusting the policy of courting French assistance that had ended so disastrously in the case of Anjou.²¹ From the end of August until the beginning of October, Daniel travelled between Middelburg and Delft, attempting to persuade the States of Zeeland and Holland to send representatives to Paris to negotiate with Henry III. Daniel described the desperate situation in which Flanders and Brabant found themselves. He warned that if Farnese was not stopped, Spanish ships would soon threaten the ports of Zeeland.²² The rebels could only successfully defend their privileges, he contended, if the States General worked in concert with a sovereign.²³

In the middle of September, Zeeland assented to the proposition offering sovereignty to Henry III, but Holland waited until 6 October to agree. The success proved to be short-lived. The States dragged their feet, only approving the articles to be sent to Henry in the beginning of December. The representatives did not leave for Paris for another month. By the time that the States's representatives met with Henry, neither side showed much interest in coming to an agreement.²⁴ Despite Daniel's work throughout the fall of 1584, he failed in his main task of creating an alliance with France. Obtaining financial and military assistance from Holland and

²¹ On the failures of Anjou, see Peter Arnade, *Beggars, Iconoclasts, and Civic Patriots: The Political Culture of the Dutch Revolt* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2008), 311–318.

²² Oration of Daniel to representatives of the States of Zeeland, Middelburg, 28 August 1584, DvdM 237-1 (I). On the arguments over the forms of government more generally, see Martin van Gelderen, *The Political Thought of the Dutch Revolt 1555–1590* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992).

²³ Oration of Daniel to the States of Holland, Delft, 3 September 1584, DvdM 239-10 (IV). N. Japikse, ed. *Resolutiën der Staten-Generaal: Van 1576 to 1609*, vol. 4, 1583–1584, Rijks Geschiedkundige Publicatiën: Grote serie (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1919), 437–438.

²⁴ Jongbloet-van Houtte, “De belegering en de val van Antwerpen.”

Zeeland became ever more crucial. The representatives of Brabant pressed the States General, but as new year began, Antwerp faced the prospect of defending itself against the armies of Farnese with no guarantees of outside assistance.

Sent to Holland on the eve of his thirtieth birthday, Daniel carried the weight of his native city on his shoulders. Yet, when he bade adieu to the walls of his native city, his diplomatic mission was not Daniel's only concern. In late April, Hester had also departed Antwerp, traveling with her brother Jacques and his family to the house of her paternal aunt, Hilaria della Faille, in Haarlem. Daniel's assignment to Holland provided an opportunity for him and Hester to press Hester's brothers and guardians to approve of an engagement. It is difficult to know if Hester had thoughts of Daniel in her mind as she travelled to Haarlem, or the extent to which Andries engineered Daniel's diplomatic position in order for his brother to make a advantageous marriage, but it is clear that when Daniel arrived in Middelburg in late August both personal and political ambitions occupied his mind.

Daniel's pursuit of Hester had the full backing of his family. For them, the potential marriage to Hester, and not his diplomatic mission, was referred to as "*uwe saecke*," "your affair." The importance that the Van der Meulens placed upon this personal affair is demonstrated by letters sent to Daniel after his family received news that he was thinking of returning to Antwerp. The exact reasons for why Daniel intended to return are unclear. He may have hoped to negotiate directly with Hester's brothers about the potential marriage. Andries was the first to attempt to dissuade Daniel from this plan, arguing that Daniel would be unlikely to accomplish what he sought and that he would be better served remaining in Holland. Daniel's mother was even more direct. A letter from Daniel's sister Sara conveyed their mother's dismay that Daniel would return so quickly, "especially so long as your intended affair has not been

brought to effect.”²⁵ A week later, Sara wrote another letter containing their mother’s words, asking that Daniel “remain in Holland until your affair is secured.”²⁶ Sara showed her own approval by wishing him luck in this endeavor. In her salutations at the end of her letter, Sara gave special place to Hester, “not forgetting Hester, to whom I offer my heart above all who are there next to you.”²⁷

Daniel’s family did more than offer encouragement. Soon after Daniel arrived in the north, Andries wrote to Hester in order to facilitate the hoped for match. Attempting to persuade Hester of the suitability of the proposed union, Andries’s language brought together the concerns of the family and the house with the personal and emotional. The social and economic profitability that would result from the union overlapped with the love and affection Andries knew that Hester and his brother had for each other. Andries’s words described an inextricable link between the conjugal and the familial, the emotional and the socio-economic.²⁸

My lady, the good affection that I have always had for your father’s house and you in particular has moved me to recommend that the best friend that I have in the world (that is my brother Daniel) should take up conversation with you and desire you as a wife. I have employed all of my capacity towards this, assured how happy you both would be. I am well acquainted with the

²⁵ Sara to Daniel, Antwerp, 29 October 1584, DvdM 295-1 (28): “inonderheydt soo lange als ghij Uwe voorgenomen saecke niet ten effecte ghebrocht en hebt.”

²⁶ Sara to Daniel, Antwerp, 5 November 1584, DvdM 295-2 (33): “aldaer in Hollandt bleeft tot Uwe aengevangen zaecke eenige vasticheydt hadde.”

²⁷ Sara to Daniel, Antwerp, 5 November 1584, DvdM 295-2 (33): “sonder te vergeten Jouffrou Hester daer ick mij van herte aen gebiede, boven alle die daer sijn naest U.L.”

²⁸ Howell, “From Land to Love”; Hans Medick and David Warren Sabean, eds. *Interest and Emotion: Essays on the Study of Family and Kinship* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984); Broomhall and Gent, “Corresponding Affections”; Susan Broomhall and Jacqueline van Gent, “In the Name of the Father: Conceptualizing ‘Pater Familias’ in the Letters of William the Silent’s Children,” *Renaissance Quarterly* 62, no. 4 (2009): 1130–1166.

peaceful condition and good qualities of my brother, and I am also assured of your good qualities. In addition, I know how profitable this alliance will be to both your house and our house.²⁹

From the first sentence, Andries's language mixed together the personal and the familial. Even after his death, Andries identified the Della Faille family with Jan de Oude. This conceived of the house not as a physical location, but as a sibling group under the authority of a patriarchal figure. Andries thereby included Hester's brothers and sisters and their spouses in his praise. Andries's use of house had the same affect for his own identification. Even as Andries created his own family after his recent marriage, his own house, he continued to associate himself with the house of his own father, though in actuality his widowed mother had been acting as effective patriarch since the death of his father over twenty years earlier.³⁰ From this position, he, like all other members of the two houses, stood to gain from the new alliance that the engagement of Daniel and Hester would create. The notion of house both called out two separate groups and pictured a future when the two would come to a closer affinity.

The benefits the Van der Meulens gained by an alliance with the Della Failles was clear. The infusion of capital from Hester's inheritance and access to the far reaching trade networks of the Della Failles provided ample motivation for the Van der Meulens to pursue the union. However, actualization of the marriage and the alliance that was to go with it depended upon an emotional connection between the prospective bride and groom. Indeed, it was Andries's "affection" for Hester and her family that led him to recommend Hester to Daniel. He identified

²⁹ Andries to Hester, Antwerp, 22 September 1584 (10A): "Me Jouffrouwe, De goede affectie die ick altijd Uus vaders huys ende U.L. int particulier hebbe toegedragen heeft mij gemoveert den liefsten vriendt die ick inder weerelt hebbe (dat is mijn broeder Daniel) te raden met U.L. conversatie te nemen ende te begeeren tot een huysvrouwe, daertoe ick mij oock na alle mijn vermoghen hebbe employeert, verseekert zijnde hoe gheluckich ghijlieden ten beyden sijden sijn zoudt, mij bekend zijnde de vreedsame conditien ende goede qualiteyten die in mijn broeder sijn ende van gelijcken mij verseeckert houdende van die van U.L., mitsgaders oock wetende hoe profijtelick soodanighen alliantie aen U.L. huysse ende aen onsen huysse wesen zal."

³⁰ Aert, "Legal Possibilities"; Ariadne Schmidt, *Overleven na de dood: Weduwen in Leiden in de Gouden Eeuw* (Amsterdam: Bert Bakker, 2001).

Daniel first and foremost as his “best friend,” emphasizing the personal nature of their bond. His pursuit of the union derived from his knowledge of the personal qualities of both Daniel and Hester and his confidence each would find happiness in a marital union. Though Andries did not hide the familial nature of the marriage, he emphasized the personal affection that underlay it.³¹

The beginning of Andries’s letter idealized the potential marriage. He described a marriage that brought together emotional and socio-economic concerns, uniting two individuals and two families. This formulation clashed with reality, a truth Andries was forced to acknowledge later in his letter. Hester’s proposed marriage to Daniel divided her siblings. Hester had the full support of her brother Jacques in her choice of Daniel as a partner. Andries only wished that his “good affection in this affair will continue,” but the positions of Jan and Marten were much less favorable.³² Andries “friendly prayed” that Hester would not allow her brothers to delay the engagement. Here, Andries could hardly call upon notions of family when two of the three executors of her father’s testament had reservations about the union. Instead, Andries appealed to Hester’s concern for Daniel’s well-being, drawing upon their emotional bond. “I have noticed that my brother’s affection for you is such that [any delay] will hit him hard.”³³ In doing so, Andries tacitly gave emotions an ability to undermine family unity. Hester’s affection for Daniel justified her actions even if they went against the wishes of her brothers. The mutually

³¹ Howell, “From Land to Love”; Martha C. Howell, *Commerce before Capitalism in Europe, 1300-1600* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010); Naomi Tadmor, *Family and Friends in Eighteenth-Century England: Household, Kinship, and Patronage* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001); Hardwick, *Practice of Patriarchy*; Grassby, “Love, Property and Kinship”; Grassby, *Kinship and Capitalism*, 37–84.

³² Andries to Hester, Antwerp, 22 September 1584 (10A): “zal sijn begonnen goede affectie in desen oock voort continueren.”

³³ Andries to Hester, Antwerp, 22 September 1584 (10A): “welck ick midts desen U.L. ben seer vriendelijck biddende, datter doch gheenen wtstel meer en geschiede want ick mercke d’affectie mijns broeders tot Uwaert sulckx dat het hem al te swaer soude vallen.”

reinforcing relationship Andries constructed between emotions and concerns of the house easily unraveled in the face of reality.

Andries's silences told as much as his words. Forced to acknowledge the divisions in the Della Faille family, Andries nonetheless minimized their significance. Religious and political division brought by the Revolt failed to find a place in Andries's letter. Mention of the war only came from the acknowledgement of the distance between the two correspondents. Religion played a stronger role, but Andries used non-confessional language. "I pray to God that He will bless the affair, and I do not doubt that He shall do this."³⁴ Even within this formulaic language, Andries could begin the task of incorporating Hester into the family. "With this, I commend you, my future sister, into the protection of the good God."³⁵ By naming Hester as his future sister, Andries both cemented his approval of Hester and his confidence that an engagement would soon take place. Skating over issues Andries knew to be divisive, he closed the letter by again emphasizing the unity that would result from the marriage.

The confidence Andries expressed in his letter to Hester on 10 September turned out to be misplaced. Negotiations continued through most of the fall of 1584. Andries only received final confirmation of the engagement on 2 December from a letter Daniel sent on 18 November. Andries responded to the news with obvious joy, but also with a touch of relief. He "was very happy that your pursuit has finally come to a good end."³⁶ The interim had been difficult for all involved. Daniel continued to communicate with Hester and Jacques alongside his political

³⁴ Andries to Hester, Antwerp, 22 September 1584 (10A): "Ick bidde Godt dat Hij de saecke seeghene, daeraen ick oock niet en twijfele oft Hij en zalt doen."

³⁵ Andries to Hester, Antwerp, 22 September 1584 (10A): "Bevelende U.L., mijn toecomende suster, hiermede den goeden Godt in Zijne bescherminghe."

³⁶ Andries to Daniel, Antwerp, 2 December 1584, DvdM 593a-24 (48): "Daerdoor zeer verblijt gheweest dat de saecke van uwe poursuite eens tot soo goeden eynde is ghecomen."

obligations. His frustration is evident in his desire to return to Antwerp in late October.

Meanwhile, Andries interspersed his own political duties as *schepen* with negotiations with Jan and Marten.

Through his constant labor to win over Jan and Marten, Andries made material the desire he expressed in his letter to add Hester as a family member. Jan appears to have converted to Calvinism by 1584 and acted as *muntmeester* in Antwerp during the Calvinist Republic. Thus, the religious and political positions of the Van der Meulens do not seem to have been problematic for him.³⁷ Despite this, it proved difficult to get Jan to back the engagement in such a way that would increase pressure on his more obstinate younger brother. With Daniel, Hester, and Jacques all in Holland, Andries hoped to persuade Jan to travel north and declare his acceptance of the union, thereby isolating Marten. A letter he sent to his brother on 3 October shows that Andries was already pushing Jan to leave Antwerp, but this was impeded by Jan's position as *muntmeester* in Antwerp.

A further obstacle to Jan's departure was the insecurity of the environs of Antwerp. Jan feared the dangers he might face in traveling to Holland now that Farnese's army was in the area.³⁸ However, Andries pledged that he would not rest until Jan departed. "Still, you may be assured that I will not shirk my duty, continuing just as I have up to now."³⁹ Two days later, Andries could report that Jan had promised to leave with a group of delegates to be sent by Brabant to the States General. Andries had not only worked tirelessly to get Jan to travel to

³⁷ Yves Schmitz, *Les Della Faille*, vol. 2, *Branche des Seigneurs de Reeth et de Waerloos* (Brussels: Imprimerie F. Van Buggenhoudt, 1970), 3–18.

³⁸ Andries to Daniel, Antwerp, 5 October 1584, DvdM 593a-2 (17); Andries to Daniel, Antwerp, 10 October 1584, DvdM 593a-3 (19); Andries to Daniel, Antwerp, 16 October 1584, DvdM 593a-5 (22).

³⁹ Andries to Daniel, Antwerp, 25 October 1584, DvdM 593a-9 (26): "Doch U.L. mach versekert wesen dat aen mijn debvoir niet en zal ghebreken ghelijck het tot nu toe oock niet ghedaen en heeft."

Holland, he and Daniel procured a commission with the mint in Holland and Gelderland for Jan. Andries made sure that Jan possessed a passport, and he had even put up security of £100 that Jan would return to Antwerp within two months and continue to fulfill all his duties as a burgher.⁴⁰

With the departure of Jan, Marten had been effectually isolated. From the beginning, Marten stood most obstinately against Hester's choice of partner. In fact, getting away from the immediate control of Marten may have been one of the factors that led Hester to leave Antwerp, though there is no documentary evidence to suggest the exact reasons for her departure. Marten's political position as a so-called *peiswiller*, who hoped to force a truce with Farnese, did not prevent Andries from continuously communicating with him about the potential engagement. Andries had no delusions about the likelihood that Marten would approve of the union, but he hoped that Marten could be forced to acquiesce to Hester's will.

Andries's early communications with Marten were not promising. Marten showed little desire to hurry Hester towards the marital state. In his mind, the current political and military situation was hardly felicitous for the creation of such an enduring union. Marten may have been trying to achieve more by delaying the engagement. If Antwerp was forced to surrender to the Farnese, as Marten hoped and expected might soon occur, the position and power of the Van der Meulens would greatly diminish and Daniel might no longer appear a viable candidate for Hester. Yet, in his communication with Andries, Marten seems to have avoided discussing specifics about Daniel's political and religious orientation. Andries reported to his brother that considering the current situation, Marten "could not recommend a marriage with you or even

⁴⁰ Andries to Daniel, Antwerp, 7-8 November 1584, DvdM 593a-14 (34): "Ick hebbe ghelooft de 100 £. voor Jan te nantiseren ende borge voor alle burgerlijke lasten."

with someone who had four times as many goods as she does.”⁴¹ By defining marriage in economic terms, Marten remained silent about characteristics of Daniel he found unsatisfactory, delaying but not precluding the union.

Marten’s power to stop the engagement decreased as Jan prepared to leave for Holland. With Jan’s departure imminent, Andries asked Lieven Calvart, the secretary of the States of Brabant and who may have been related to the Della Failles, to inquire “what advantage he [Marten] received in being the only one who refused an affair that was not objectionable, and furthermore one that he could not prevent because the daughter and all the brothers consented? Would it not be better if he tried to gain a friend instead?”⁴² Andries’s language pointed to the importance of the sibling group in the creation and functioning of marriages, but in different ways. Referring to Hester as a daughter called out her lack of independence, but after the death of her father, it was the brothers who acted as her guardians. This created even greater incentive and pressure for the brothers to act in unison and come to an agreement. Introducing the language of friendship, Andries called for both acceptance of the wedding and pointed to the development of a relationship between the soon to be brothers-in-law.⁴³

The only material step that remained open to Marten was to invoke the language of the testament of Jan de Oude and refuse to give Hester her inheritance. However, Marten was opposed to such a drastic step. Andries had already confirmed this with Marten, but Calvart

⁴¹ Andries to Daniel, Antwerp, 5 November 1584, DvdM 593a-12 (31): “dat hij soude tot houwelijcken connen gheraden, noch niet met U.L. noch oock niet al waer’t iemant die viermael meer ghoets hadde dan sij heeft.”

⁴² Andries to Daniel, Antwerp, 7–8 November 1584, DvdM 593a-14 (34): “Maer soo ick hem hadde gheinstrueert voor te gheven wat voordeel dat hij alleen hem weygerde in een sake die niet te ontraden en was ende die hij niet en conde beletten midts de dochter ende alle de broeders darin consenteerde; oft hij niet beter en vonde dat hij eenen vrindt soude winnen.”

⁴³ O’Hara, “Ruled by my friends”; Tadmor, *Family and Friends in Eighteenth-Century England*; Grassby, *Kinship and Capitalism*.

received a clearer statement. “Even if it occurred without his advice, he will give her all the goods which the testament leaves to her.”⁴⁴ Marten would not stand in the way of Hester receiving both her maternal and paternal inheritance. Marten’s resignation was such that he told Calvart that if the engagement was indeed soon to occur, he must at least be informed of the state of Daniel’s wealth. Seeing this implicit acceptance of the union, Andries’s advised Daniel to move ahead with the engagement before Marten might find a way to delay things further.⁴⁵

Two days after sending the above letter to Daniel detailing the conversation between Marten and Calvart, Andries visited Marten at his house and found his disposition greatly changed. Marten had received a letter in which Hester proclaimed her desire to wed Daniel.⁴⁶ Further resistance to the union now appeared futile. However, Andries quickly advised Daniel that both he and Hester should write to Marten in order to maintain, or in Daniel’s case, build amicable relations. Daniel and Hester followed this recommendation, writing separately to Marten two days after their engagement took place. Neither of the letters exist in their original state but only as summaries in Marten’s letter book. Hester began by noting her previous letter that had effected Marten so greatly, which she characterized as seeking the advice of her older brothers. But now that Jan had arrived in Holland, Hester felt confident enough to make the engagement. She argued that “Jan, Jacques, Carlo, along with other friends had approved of the

⁴⁴ Andries to Daniel, Antwerp, 7–8 November 1584, DvdM 593a-14 (34): “al waer’t dat sonder sijnen advijs geschiede, dat hij haer haer ghoet zal gheven tot eenen stuyver toe voor sooveel als het testament haer de dispositie toe laet welck is, soo ick meyne, het moederlijck goet met haer legittime van get vaderlijck goet.”

⁴⁵ Marten told Calvart in their conversation that he intended to travel to Holland. Andries worried that Marten’s presence in Holland might allow him to delay the plans for the marriage. Andries to Daniel, Antwerp, 7–8 November 1584, DvdM 593a-14 (34). Andries also stated this worry at the beginning of his next letter.

⁴⁶ A copy book of letters from Daniel and Hester to Marten is in Della Faille de Leverghem Archive, inventory 4, Private collection, Lozer, Belgium (hereafter DFL). Unfortunately, this letter is not present in the collection.

marriage, and that she also found it good.”⁴⁷ Daniel’s letter to Marten also noted that the presence of the “brothers and friends” at, and approval of, the engagement. Both Daniel and Hester invited Marten to the wedding, which was to take place on 16 December. In doing so, Hester “desired to continue in friendship,” while Daniel hoped “to maintain all friendship.”⁴⁸

4. A Wedding

After all of the frustrations of the previous year, the celebration of the marriage must have been a relief to both Daniel and Hester. Even a further delay of a week, likely caused by the need to wait three weeks after the posting of the banns, would have done little to dampen the festivities of the celebration of the marriage on Christmas day. Planning and preparation occupied much of the month between the engagement and the wedding. The wedding itself was a multi-day affair. Richly adorned with cloth and jewels recently purchased, Hester’s appearance made clear the economic pretensions of the couple.⁴⁹ Guests were treated to a cornucopia of culinary delights prepared by a cook who had arrived three days prior. Those present witnessed a union of both individuals and families. However, the theoretical unity created by the exchange of vows had to compete with the practical disunity equally evident in the celebrations. Both those present and those absent displayed the divisions within and between the families, divisions which could not be papered over by the ritual of marriage.

⁴⁷ Hester to Marten, Haarlem, 24 November 1584, DFL 4: “Jan, Jacques, Carel, met andere vrinden; heur het selve huwelyck waren raedende; en sy mede t’zelve voor goet vondt.”

⁴⁸ Hester to Marten, Haarlem, 24 November 1584, DFL 4: “daertoe allen de vrienden biddende begherende in alle vrintschappe te continueren.” Daniel to Marten, Haarlem, 25 November 1584, DFL 4: “van alle vrintschappe te onderhouden.” O’Hara, “Ruled by my friends”; Tadmor, *Family and Friends in Eighteenth-Century England*; Grassby, *Kinship and Capitalism*.

⁴⁹ Annie J. Versprille, “Hester della Faille,” *Leids Jaarboekje* 67 (1975): 77–97.

Along with news of the engagement went out invitations to family and friends to attend the celebrations. The physical presence of family was paramount in symbolizing the familial nature of an act nominally conducted by two individuals. However, the political realities made this expectation impossible. Andries could hardly abandon his political post in Antwerp at such a critical juncture. In addition, the physical exertion necessary and dangers of travel were simply too great for Daniel's mother and sister to endure. Though the difficulty of travel was obvious, Andries found it necessary to repeatedly express the desire the family had to be present at the celebration they had done so much to foster. Their mother was especially devastated. "I cannot express through words the great desire she has to be there by you."⁵⁰ Unable to attend, it was essential that Andries detail the emotional connections that Daniel had to his family in the letters that he wrote his brother. Correspondence and professions of desire had to stand in for physical presence.⁵¹

Unable to be bodily present, the Van der Meulens augmented the emotional support provided through correspondence by helping with the preparations for the celebrations. Social expectations called upon the families to mobilize a large amount of goods for the celebration itself. At the beginning of December, Andries wrote to Daniel, "We have begun to do our duty and search for that which you want for your bride."⁵² Andries's next letters reported the various goods they procured in Antwerp. On 10 December, Andries had a trunk full of clothes and jewels

⁵⁰ Andries to Daniel, Antwerp, 8 December 1584, DvdM 593a-30 (53): "sij soo seer grooten begeerte hebben daer te zijn bij Ulieden, dat ickt U niet en coude connen gheseggen."

⁵¹ Broomhall and Gent, "Corresponding Affections"; Hardwick, *Practice of Patriarchy*, 60–61; O'Hara, "Ruled by my friends."

⁵² Andries to Daniel, Antwerp, 4 December 1584, DvdM 593a-25 and 26 (50): "Wij hebben begonnen hier alle debvoir te doen van te soecken tgene ghij voor U bruyt begeert."

purchased for the wedding loaded aboard the ship of Jan Rutgeertz, destined for Dordrecht.⁵³ Even with trade coming to a standstill due to the pressure Farnese's army placed upon Antwerp, the Van der Meulens continued to depend upon the markets of Antwerp instead of purchasing goods in the more secure north. Familiarity with Antwerp's market played a role in this, but the purchases made in Antwerp functioned to include the family members who remained in Antwerp in the preparations for the celebration. Through the goods they purchased they gained a presence at the celebrations far away in Holland.

Hester's relatives also busied themselves in preparation for the upcoming wedding. A letter Jacques sent to his soon to be brother-in-law shows his involvement in procuring cloth for the wedding and helping to find the cook.⁵⁴ In fact, Hester's account on her brother's books shows that Jacques paid for many of the expenses of the wedding, including an entry for £369.4.4 "for diverse expenses advanced to her from 1 December 1584 until the end of her wedding, as shown by an account that has been delivered to her."⁵⁵ In addition, Jacques helped contact relatives who had fled Antwerp and now resided in various places in Holland. Especially helpful was Hester van Eeckeren, Hester's aunt, who was eventually paid the quite large sum of £12.15 for the assistance she provided, demonstrating the great labors necessary for such an occasion.⁵⁶

⁵³ The trunk also contained some of Daniel's books. In addition, Andries sent two trunks and a basket to Jacques della Faille and a trunk for Jan della Faille. Andries to Daniel, Antwerp, 10 December 1584, DvdM 593a-33 (56).

⁵⁴ Jacques to Daniel, Haarlem, 12 December 1584, DvdM 538a-1 (58). The cook was paid £6 for his services. See DvdM 5-4 and DvdM 5-14.

⁵⁵ DvdM 57-10: "vor diverse oncosten voor haer verschoten beginnende van 1 December 1584 tot den eynde van haer bruyloft, blyckende byde rekeninghen daeraf aen haer overgelevert."

⁵⁶ Hester van Eeckeren was the daughter of Cornelis van Eeckeren and Anna de Hane. She was Hester's mother's half-sister. For her payment, see DvdM 5-5 and Jacques to Daniel, Haarlem, 12 December 1584, DvdM 538a-1 (58).

Not all of Hester's relatives were as eager to serve as her aunt. The dangers of travel gave Marten and Steven, Hester's only siblings still in Antwerp, ample excuse for their absence. The absences of many of Hester's kin resident in Holland were more telling. Jacques reported his own hope that their paternal aunt, Maria Gameel, and her three daughters, then living in Dordrecht, would attend, but it did not seem likely. Marten's wife Sybilla and some of their children, along with Hester's brother Carlo also resided in Dordrecht. All were absent during the celebrations. Even more conspicuous was the absence of Hester's sister and brother-in-law. Anna della Faille and Robert van Eeckeren lived in Haarlem, the very city in which the ceremony took place. This proximity did not preclude them from absenting themselves from the celebration of the union.

The various absences left Hester backed only by her brothers Jan and Jacques, while none of Daniel's immediate relatives attended the festivities. In his letters to his brother, Andries assured Daniel that the families absence did not mean that he was alone. Instead of family members, Daniel would be supported by the presence of his fellow representatives of the States of Brabant. Indeed, Andries asserted "It is no shame, rather an honor, that your friends prove their loyalty to their city."⁵⁷

If the political positions of the groom and many of the guests were not enough to keep Hester's more loyally inclined relatives from attending, the religious nature of the ceremony solidified their position. The ceremony was a fully Calvinist affair, taking place in the Walloon church in Haarlem over a decade after the new Calvinist regime prohibited Catholic ceremonies throughout Holland. The lack of sacramental proceedings is the only explanation for Anna and Robert's absence. Living in the same city, their non-attendance was a rebuke of Hester's

⁵⁷ Andries to Daniel, Antwerp, 7 December 1584, DvdM 593a-28 and 29 (52): "Ten is gheen schande, meer eere, dat uwe vrienden trouwe aen haer stadt bewijzen."

conduct. Anna and Robert fully supported Marten in his disapproval of Hester's choice of Daniel.⁵⁸ For her part, Hester marginalized her elder sister by emphasizing the approval of her brothers when she wrote to Marten, leaving in silence Anna's disapproval.⁵⁹

A ceremony meant to symbolize unity, giving rise to a new conjugal unit and thereby bringing together two families, in practice bore witness to family divisions created and exasperated by the Dutch Revolt. On the one hand, the political representatives of the rebellious province of Brabant stood in for the absent Van der Meulens who, according to Andries, remained in the besieged city of Antwerp, valiantly defending their native land. Through such a narrative and the services they provided in the preparations, Andries argued that the symbolic power of the ceremony, bringing Hester into the family and reasserting the unity of the familial group, could take effect across the physical distance that separated them. For Andries, Daniel's marriage to Hester strengthened family ties. "Through this, the unity of our family will be affirmed and strengthened, above all between you and me."⁶⁰

The contrast with the Della Failles could hardly be greater. The presence of only two of Hester's six siblings spoke to the divisions in the family. The Calvinist ceremony before the representatives of Brabant showed Hester's choice of one side over the other. Marten may have acquiesced to Hester's choice of Daniel, but he remained unhappy with the union. Writing to Antonio Schorreman, a lawyer associated with the family, a couple of days after the

⁵⁸ Anna and Robert left for Antwerp as soon as they heard word of its fall. Robert was then appointed to the position of almoner along with Marten della Faille by the new regime. Yves Schmitz, *Les Della Faille*, vol. 1, *Des Origines au XVIIIème Siècle* (Brussels: Imprimerie F. Van Bugghenhoudt, 1965), 231–240.

⁵⁹ Recent literature has moved from the discussion of violence between different religious confessions to see how they practiced toleration, see Benjamin J. Kaplan, *Divided by Faith: Religious Conflict and the Practice of Toleration in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2007).

⁶⁰ Andries to Daniel, Antwerp, 7 December 1584, DvdM 593a-28 and 29 (52): "eenicheyt van onse familie dardoor zal bevestighet ende versterckt worden, boven alle tusschen U ende mij."

celebrations, Marten told that he had worked against the marriage for the last seven or eight months. After succeeding to his father's position and inheriting the main family residence, Marten had been literally and figuratively abandoned by his siblings. With all of his siblings but his problematic younger brother Steven safe in Holland, with the disobedience of Hester, and with reconciliation with Jacques looking increasingly unlikely, Marten wrote with obvious loneliness to Schorremans. "They are all there together, while I am here alone."⁶¹ Daniel and Hester may have succeeded in forcing through the marriage, but they now had to pick up the pieces and work to integrate themselves into the new family situation created by their actions.

5. Marriage

Days after Daniel and Hester wed, Andries wrote to his younger brother with advice about the matrimonial state. At the beginning of the life-long union into which he had just entered, Daniel should do all in his power to provide Hester with what she desired. "I write this to you because I know that love at first, no matter how strong, is unsteady and unsure. Even a small tempest can affect it. Therefore, the practice of constant patience for a short time will serve you well."⁶² As he had in his letter to Hester, Andries placed emotions at the center of the conjugal unit. The transition from courtship to marriage also involved a transition from "first love" to a more permanent type of love. Andries did not disparage this early form of love. Daniel and Hester's mutual affection played an instrumental role in overcoming the obstacles that stood

⁶¹ Marten to Antonio Schorremans, Antwerp, 31 December 1584, DvdM 274-1 (xix): "Sij sijn al tsamen dar, ick hier alleene."

⁶² Andries to Daniel, Antwerp, 30–31 December 1584, DvdM 593a-38 (64): "Dit schrijve ick U.L. doordien ick wete dat de eerste liefde, hoe sterck datse is, onghestadich ende onseker is ende datse door een cleyn onweder te beweghen is. Daromme ufenet U in gestadighe patientie voor een tijt, zult U wel daerbij bevinden."

in the way of their union. Yet marriage necessitated a more firm and long-lasting kind of affection. Such emotional connection could only be developed through patience and time.⁶³

Andries's advice portrayed the first months of marriage as a precarious time in which, notwithstanding the symbolism of the marital ceremony, the bonds between husband and wife work still needed to be fortified. However, circumstances conspired against any easy transition to the marital state. Concerns with the wedding had taken up much of Daniel's attention over the previous months, leading him to neglect his political duties. Almost from his arrival in Zeeland, Andries constantly called for Daniel to write more often both to himself and to the States of Brabant. By the end of November, Daniel's negligence had reached such a state—he had not written to the States of Brabant in over six weeks—that the States threatened to revoke his commission. The States of Brabant “had not expected such negligence and lack of respect from you.”⁶⁴ Preparations for the marriage further distracted Daniel from political responsibilities.⁶⁵ Once the wedding had taken place, Daniel was expected to move closer to the meeting place of the States General. The situation in Antwerp had only become more dire. Ghent had fallen to Spanish forces, while there was constant fear that Farnese would close Antwerp's access to the Scheldt. Brabant needed military aid from Holland and Zeeland more than ever.⁶⁶

⁶³ On the emphasis on love within marriage at this time, see Howell, “From Land to Love”; Howell, *Commerce before Capitalism*; Grassby, “Love, Property and Kinship.”

⁶⁴ Andries to Daniel, Antwerp, 24 November 1584, DvdM 593a-20 (44): “insonderheyt soodanighen negligentie ende cleynen respect van U.L. niet verwacht.”

⁶⁵ That the other representatives from the States of Brabant participated in Daniel's wedding shows the complicated relationship between political and personal affairs.

⁶⁶ Jongbloet-van Houtte, “De belegering en de val van Antwerpen”; Parker, *Dutch Revolt*; Prims, *De Christelijke Republiek*.

Daniel followed his brother's wishes in early February and moved to Delft, placing himself closer to the States General.⁶⁷ Daniel's resumption of his service to Antwerp and the States of Brabant renewed the issues dividing the Della Faille family, while also separating the newly married couple. Moving into the house of his cousin Jacques Schot, Hester remained in Haarlem with her aunt. Daniel's continued service for the States of Brabant contravened the marriage conditions the couple signed before the wedding. These stipulated that Daniel must extricate himself from all political positions. Obviously done to accommodate concerns of Hester's siblings, Daniel gave the stipulation no heed. Hardly more than a month after the celebration of their marriage, Daniel and Hester found themselves separated and already in violation of their marriage compact.

The separation of the newly weds raised the worrisome prospect of discord both between Daniel and Hester and with other family members. The only letter still extant from Daniel to his new bride at this time shows his concern and desire for propinquity. On 7 March, before he entered the meeting of the States General, Daniel sent Hester a short letter. The letter "served only to greet you in a few words and to inform you of my good health, hoping the same is true for you."⁶⁸ Daniel promised to travel up to Haarlem on the next Saturday. On that Monday, they could then return to Delft together. Despite confirming their upcoming reunion, Daniel knew the current situation was hardly optimal. "I am not a little bit saddened that things have turned out this way." Being so long away from Hester did not align with his heart's desire, "nor also does it conform to the fidelity and love that we swore and promised to each other. However, with

⁶⁷ The States General moved to The Hague on 15 January 1585. N. Japikse, ed. *Resolutiën der Staten-Generaal: Van 1576 to 1609*, vol. 5, 1585–1587, Rijks Geschiedkundige Publicatiën: Grote serie (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1921), 5.

⁶⁸ Daniel to Hester, The Hague, 7 March 1585 (xxviiA): "sal desen alleenlijck dienen om U.L. in drij woorden te begroeten ende te adviseren van mijne gesontheit, verhopende insegelijcx van de Uwe."

circumstances as they are, we must have patience for a time.”⁶⁹ While expressing confidence in their mutual love, Daniel’s letter betrayed concern that the physical distance between them might lead to emotional distance. Presenting love as the glue that bound them together, Daniel blamed their current separation on circumstances outside his control. In such a situation, all that they could do was practice the virtue of patience.

Daniel’s salutations to his new wife repeated Andries’s language, emphasizing the need for time to develop constancy of heart. A days travel away, Daniel could only pray that God would help maintain their steadfastness in the face of present difficulties. “And I end this with my whole-hearted greetings. I pray to the Almighty, my beloved wife, to grant you, in the constancy and growth of our love, a calm and cheerful heart.”⁷⁰ The power of prayer stood in for Daniel’s presence. Whether through the power of the Almighty or physical proximity, the goal remained the same, the development of a constant and secure mutual affection and emotional attachment that provided a strong basis for their interactions with the outside world.

Emotions also worked to bind bride and groom with their respective new sibling groups. Contemporaries conceived of good relations with in-laws as both a moral and economic imperative.⁷¹ Daniel’s immediate relations shared strong bonds of solidarity and had been very

⁶⁹ Daniel to Hester, The Hague, 7 March 1585 (xxviiA): “Het verdriet mij niet weynich aldus gesceyden te wesen ende soo over en weder te reysen welck niet sonder peryckel ende voor de werelt wat spottelijck is, ende lange uut te blijven en is mijn herte niet, noch oock conforme de trowe ende lieffde die wij malcanderen besworen ende beloofd hebben, doch sijnde de gesteltenisse soo sij is, moeten wel voor een tijt patientie hebben.”

⁷⁰ Daniel to Hester, The Hague, 7 March 1585 (xxviiA): “Ende desen eyndende met mijne hertgrondige groete, bidde ick den Almachtigen, besondere lieve huysvrouw, U.L. te gunnen in de gestadicheyt ende wasdom onser lieffden een gerust ende vrolijck herte.”

⁷¹ Daniel’s capital was tied up with that of his siblings throughout his entire life through various companies that the siblings and their spouses created together, while the questions of Hester’s inheritance ensured that her wealth was tied up with her siblings. J. H. Kernkamp, ed. *De handel van Daniel van der Meulen c.s., in het bijzonder rond de jaren 1588-1592: Werkcollege economische geschiedenis* (Leiden: Universiteit Leiden, 1969). On the issue of honor with sibling unity, see Courtney Thomas, “‘The Honour & Credite of the Whole House’: Family Unity and Honour in Early Modern England,” *Cultural and Social History* 10, no. 3 (2013): 329–345.

much in favor of his match with Hester. In spite of this promising foundation, Hester's union with Daniel and her integration into her new family still presented opportunities for tension. The marriage necessarily rearranged relations within the Van der Meulen sibling group, while also providing Daniel with new found independence. He was now free to develop his own household and make his own connections. The possibility arose of developing independent interests separate from or even contrary to that of his blood relatives.⁷²

After the conclusion of the marriage, Hester was quick to reciprocate the welcoming she received prior to the wedding from Daniel's family. The distance between Hester and her new relations compounded the difficulties. Proximity enabled displays of affection not possible through letters. For this reason, Andries hoped Hester would be able to travel to Antwerp soon after the wedding, so that "the affection can grow more and more" between themselves and Hester.⁷³ Hester also desired propinquity with her new kin. However, as Andries feared, travel was simply too dangerous. The conditions of the Revolt forced Hester to write in place of face-to-face interaction. Just as the Van der Meulens had done in order to explain their absence from the wedding, Hester blamed "the troubled nature of the times and the manifold dangers upon the way."⁷⁴ Not inclination, but circumstances beyond her control dictated that Hester had to integrate herself into her new family through writing.⁷⁵

⁷² Erica Bastress-Dukehart, "Family, Property, and Feeling in Early Modern German Noble Culture: The Zimmerns of Swabia," *The Sixteenth Century Journal* 32, no. 1 (2001): 1–19; Michaela Hohkamp, "Do Sisters Have Brothers?: The Search for the 'rechte Schwester': Brothers and Sisters in Aristocratic Society at the Turn of the Sixteenth Century," in *Sibling Relations and the Transformations of European Kinship, 1300–1900*, ed. Christopher H. Johnson and David Warren Sabean (New York: Berghahn Books, 2011).

⁷³ Andries to Daniel, Antwerp, 7 December 1584, DvdM 593a-28 and 29 (52): "d' affectie meer ende meer mocht wasschen."

⁷⁴ Hester to Elizabeth, Haarlem, 5 January 1585, CL 277-2 (xxii): "dor de sorgelijcheyt des tijts ende menichvuldige swaricheden op den wege."

⁷⁵ Broomhall and Gent, "Corresponding Affections"; Broomhall and Gent, "In the Name of the Father."

Tellingly, the only extant letter from Hester at this time was directed to her new mother-in-law. By presenting herself as a good and subservient daughter, Hester showed herself prepared to take her place within the power relations of the family.⁷⁶ Hester began in a fashion similar to that used by Elizabeth's own children, referring to her mother-in-law as "Reverend and much beloved mother."⁷⁷ Hester assured Elizabeth that she had entered the union with Daniel through advice from her friends and due to the inclination of her heart. This linked her not only to Daniel but to his family. "I have always had a peculiar longing and desire to enjoy your conversation and company and to be received by you in the same friendship and under the same rules as your other children."⁷⁸ In fact, Hester claimed that the respect she possessed for Elizabeth's family made her "more confident in this alliance."⁷⁹ Hester understood that in order to be treated as one of Elizabeth's natural children, she had a duty to recognize and submit to Elizabeth's position as head of the family. Affection mixed with power and authority, both mutually reinforced each other. Hester asked her new mother-in-law "to believe that I will not fail to do all that which a good daughter should be expected to do."⁸⁰ Determined to fit within the

⁷⁶ Erica Bastress-Dukehart, "Sibling Conflict within Early Modern German Noble Families," *Journal of Family History* 33, no. 1 (2008): 61–80; Broomhall and Gent, "In the Name of the Father"; Hardwick, *Practice of Patriarchy*; Linda A Pollock, "Rethinking Patriarchy and the Family in Seventeenth-Century England," *Journal of Family History* 23, no. 1 (1998): 3–27.

⁷⁷ Hester to Elizabeth, Haarlem, 5 January 1585, CL 277-2 (xxii): "Eerweerdige seer lieve moeder."

⁷⁸ Hester to Elizabeth, Haarlem, 5 January 1585, CL 277-2 (xxii): "soo hebbe ick altoos een sonderlinge begeerte ende verlangen gehadt om U.L. conversatie ende kennisse te mogen genieten, ende van U.L. te ontfangen alsulcken vrientschap ende racueil als alle Uwe andere kinderen."

⁷⁹ Hester to Elizabeth, Haarlem, 5 January 1585, CL 277-2 (xxii): "tot welcken opzien ick oock vrijmoediger in dese alliancie mij hebbe laeten raeden ende persuuaderen."

⁸⁰ Hester to Elizabeth, Haarlem, 5 January 1585, CL 277-2 (xxii): "biddende vriendelijck te gelooven dat ick in egeenen deele en sal failleren van alles tgene dat een goede dochter haer moeder soude mogen schuldich ende gehouden wesen."

power relations of her husband's family, she wanted "to show myself to be a subservient daughter in whom you can have delight and pleasure."⁸¹

Through the position of daughter, Hester also claimed the role of sister. She gave salutations to Andries, his wife Suzanne Malapert, and Sara, referring to them as "my brother, his wife, and our sister Sara."⁸² From the experience of her own family, she was well aware that marriage could test the bonds of siblings. Acceptance of parental authority helped ensure mutual affection within the sibling group. By claiming a willingness to act as a subservient daughter, Hester announced a readiness to act with amity and affection towards Daniel's siblings.⁸³ What is most striking about Hester's first letter to her mother-in-law is the explicit manner in which Hester wrote. She possessed a clear awareness of the pitfalls that entrance into a new family entailed. Following a strategy that was continuously repeated in the letters the Van der Meulens sent each other, Hester sought to forestall disagreements and fissures by making the structure of the relationships and the feelings within them as explicit as possible.

Daniel's integration in the Della Faille sibling group had a more inauspicious beginning. The question of Hester's inheritance constituted one of the main grounds of interaction between Daniel and his new siblings. Inheritance was both a conjugal affair and a familial issue that brought Daniel into the middle of disputes within the Della Faille sibling group. Hester was to receive an equal one-eighth part in her father's estate in addition to her maternal inheritance that

⁸¹ Hester to Elizabeth, Haarlem, 5 January 1585, CL 277-2 (xxii): "mij t'Uwaerts te toonen in alle onderdanicheyt alsulck dochter, daer U.L. haer soude mogen in verblijden ende verheugen."

⁸² Hester to Elizabeth, Haarlem, 5 January 1585, CL 277-2 (xxii): "aen monfrère, sijne huysvrou ende onse sustere Sara."

⁸³ Bastress-Dukehart, "Sibling Conflict"; Broomhall and Gent, "Corresponding Affections"; Broomhall and Gent, "In the Name of the Father."

had been under her father's possession.⁸⁴ A calculation of Hester's combined maternal and paternal inheritance placed the capital due to her on 26 December 1583 at £13,573.14.8.⁸⁵ For an ambitious merchant, access to such capital possessed an obvious draw. The capital that Hester brought to the marriage dwarfed the £4,000 that his mother bequeathed to him in her testament.⁸⁶ However, Daniel's more experienced brother warned him to take care in issues of inheritance. Acquisition of Hester's capital furnished little benefit if it brought enmity between Daniel and Hester's siblings much less between husband and wife.

Entering into the debates about Hester's inheritance placed Daniel in the middle of the confrontations between the Della Faille siblings and particularly between Jacques and Marten. The nature of the disputes will be discussed in Chapters 5–7, but here the issue became Daniel's integration into the sibling group, and thus into the middle of the disputes. Andries exhorted Daniel both before and after his marriage to Hester to take care in his actions towards his new relations. Despite the close relationship Daniel had cultivated with Jacques and Marten's resistance to the marriage, successful integration into the family necessitated good relations with both sides. Tact and restraint would be necessary to come to a general agreement on the estate of Jan de Oude, an outcome both economically and morally beneficial. Andries wanted Daniel "to maintain good friendship on all sides."⁸⁷ It was in Daniel's own interest that "you preserve your

⁸⁴ On the complicated nature of partible inheritance, see Broomhall and Gent, "Corresponding Affections"; P. Scherft, *Het Sterfhuys van Willem van Oranje* (Leiden: Universitaire Pers Leiden, 1966).

⁸⁵ State of Jan de Oude's estate, 26 December 1583, DFL 12. For the development and disbursal of Hester's inheritance, see Chapter 5.

⁸⁶ Testament of Elizabeth, Antwerp, 3 December 1584, DvdM 66a (49).

⁸⁷ Andries to Daniel, Antwerp, 7 December 1584, DvdM 593a-28 and 29 (52): "aen alle sijden goede vrientschap te houden."

neutrality, because that will serve you best.”⁸⁸ Above all, Andries hoped Daniel would be a peacemaker among his new relations. “My advice is for you to remain neutral and act as a mediator and not as a participant.”⁸⁹

Once again, Daniel’s actions fell short of his brother’s expectations. Soon after the celebration of the wedding, Daniel pressed for disbursal of Hester’s inheritance. His impatience combined with his continued political involvement opened a rift between Daniel and Jacques. It is unclear whether Jacques’s criticism was in response to Hester’s feelings after being left in Haarlem or if he acted on his own volition. Either way, in the months following the wedding, Daniel’s behavior strained his relationship with his foremost ally among Hester’s siblings.

Even in the midst of quite vociferous disagreements about Hester’s inheritance and Daniel’s handling of the situation, the discourse centered around the notion of friendship.⁹⁰ Personal affection acted as a basis for the bond of siblings, both consanguineal and affinal.⁹¹ Jacques claimed to only be acting in the Hester’s best interest and to be following the stipulations of the marriage conditions. “That I stand up for my sister’s rights is something I am able to do while also remaining friends.”⁹² Jacques asserted his ability to play the role of the brother, and in defending his sister, he should not be seen to put his friendship with his brother-in-law at risk.

⁸⁸ Andries to Daniel, Antwerp, 7 December 1584, DvdM 593a-28 and 29 (52): “behout U nuytraliteyt, want die U aldermeest zal connen dienen.”

⁸⁹ Andries to Daniel, Antwerp, 11 January 1585, DvdM 593a-41 (67): “mijnen raedt is U.L. nuyterael te houden als mediateur ende niet als particepsateur.”

⁹⁰ Luuc Kooijmans, *Vriendschap: En de kunst van het overleven in de zeventiende en achttiende eeuw* (Amsterdam: B. Bakker, 1997); Tadmor, *Family and Friends in Eighteenth-Century England*; Broomhall and Gent, “Corresponding Affections.”

⁹¹ Bourdieu, *Outline of a Theory of Practice*; Pierre Bourdieu, “On the Family as a Realized Category,” *Theory Culture and Society* 13, no. 3 (1996): 19–26.

⁹² Jacques to Daniel, Haarlem, 12 May 1585, DvdM 538a-12 (123): “Dan dat ick mijn susters recht voren stae, dat mach ick wel doen ende vrienden oock blijven.”

However, Daniel contested Jacques's claim to be acting as a friend. Daniel believed that Jacques was acting against Daniel's interest and, at worst, creating division between Daniel and his new bride. Jacques denied doing either and believed that Daniel would come to see that Jacques was a true friend. Relationships develop and are worked out through time.⁹³ As Jacques wrote in the same letter, "my intention has been nothing other than to work towards friendship. That is still the case, and I will remain your friend. Time will show the truth."⁹⁴ In the end, Jacques was true to his word. The two brothers-in-law were able to form a strong friendship, but this dispute over the correct actions of a friend highlights the extent to which friendship and amicable relations was a process that needed to be constantly worked out.

Surprisingly, Daniel's interactions with Marten proceeded more smoothly. Here too, a discourse of affection and friendship played a central role. Inviting Marten to the wedding and sending him a wedding gift had been a first step, but in the beginning of December, Andries visited Marten's house to "offer your affectionate service to him."⁹⁵ Daniel also wrote directly to his new brother-in-law soon after the celebration of the wedding. In his response, Marten accepted the "good affection" Daniel expressed.⁹⁶ For his part, Marten noted his continued affection for Hester. "I always have and will continue to bear good heart towards my sister. I have been her faithful brother, and my intention is to always express myself with an open heart,

⁹³ Natalie Zemon Davis, *The Gift in Sixteenth-Century France* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2000); Paul D. McLean, *The Art of the Network: Strategic Interaction and Patronage in Renaissance Florence* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2007); Gustav Peebles, "The Anthropology of Credit and Debt," *Annual Review of Anthropology* 39, no. 1 (2010): 225–240; Bourdieu, *Outline of a Theory of Practice*; Bourdieu, "Family as a Realized Category."

⁹⁴ Jacques to Daniel, Haarlem, 12 May 1585, DvdM 538a-12 (123): "mijn meyninghe en is noynt anders geweest dan tot vriendtschap te arbeijden, ende van den selve ben ick noch, ende sal U vriendt blijven, ende den tijt zal de waerhyt uuytwijzen."

⁹⁵ Andries to Daniel, Antwerp, 4 December 1584, DvdM 593a-25 and 26 (50): "aanboot uwe geaffectioneerde diensten t'hemwaerts."

⁹⁶ Marten to Daniel, Antwerp, 24 January 1585, DvdM 274-7 (73): "ick bedancke U ende acceptere die goede afectie die U.L. scrijft soo sincere tot mijwart met oprechte genegentheit sijt dragende ende begert te continueren."

without dissimulation.”⁹⁷ Marten backed these claims of emotional attachment by noting the portions of Hester’s inheritance that he had received, placing her, and now Daniel, as creditors of Marten. Through Andries, Marten paid a total of £1,909.11.1 of Hester’s inheritance that he held before the end of summer 1585.⁹⁸ In his tone and his words, Marten showed that once the marriage took place, he accepted Daniel as “Monfrere”, the title he gave to Daniel in all of the letters he wrote his new brother-in-law, excepting only the very first.

6. Siege and Friendship

As the Van der Meulens and Della Failles adjusted to the new familial relations caused by Daniel and Hester’s marriage, Farnese’s army continued its conquests in Flanders and Brabant, putting Antwerp in an increasingly dire position. By the end of February, Farnese had blocked the Scheldt, Antwerp’s access to the North Sea and all maritime trade. Soon after, the magistrates of Brussels signed a treaty with Farnese, surrendering the city to Philip II.⁹⁹ In Brussels, Andries saw Antwerp’s future, a future he dreaded. The conditions Farnese offered Brussels were “painted with pretty words but full of venom in substance.”¹⁰⁰ The Catholic clergy was busy washing the city clean of its Calvinist remnants. Andries reported that Calvinists buried in the churches had been dug up and then reburied elsewhere under mud and muck. Conditions

⁹⁷ Marten to Daniel, Antwerp, 24 January 1585, DvdM 274-7 (73): “Ick hebbe mijn suster altijd goet herte gedragen ende noch vinden sal ende hueren getrouwen broeder gewest ende mijn meyninge altijd met opener herten declaren sonder disimulacie.”

⁹⁸ Accounts of the payments can be found in DFL 57-85. See also the letters from Andries and Marten detailing the payments, Andries to Daniel, Antwerp, 21–22 February 1585, DvdM 593a-84 (130); Andries to Daniel, Antwerp, 26 February 1585, DvdM 593a-87 (136); Marten to Daniel, Antwerp, 9 May 1585, DvdM 274-10 (nr 126). For more on the nature of the payments, see Chapter 5.

⁹⁹ Parker, *Dutch Revolt*; Soen, “Reconquista and Reconciliation.”

¹⁰⁰ Andries to Daniel, Antwerp, 30 March 1585, DvdM 593a-69 (105): “gheschildert met schoone woorden ende vol fenijn in substantie.”

proved that Farnese was unable to control the actions of the clergy. Andries, disgusted with the actions of the victors, prophesied that “the clergy with their superstition and vengefulness will, in good time, rot to their own ruin.”¹⁰¹ The news from Brussels gave Andries and his fellow magistrates even greater reason to continue their resistance against the Spanish Army.¹⁰²

Andries wrote to Daniel describing the progress of Farnese’s siege and the plans that they had to resist Farnese’s advances. The combat centered around the Scheldt and the ability for Antwerp to continue to receive resources and assistance through their port. In a marvel of engineering, Farnese was able to construct a bridge across the river, closing it to all incoming and outgoing traffic.¹⁰³ Andries detailed the attempts that the rebels made on the bridge, but every time Andries had to declare his dismay that they were not able to dislodge the Spanish from their position. Andries was even present at some of the attacks, enabling him to give descriptions of the costly nature of the failed attempts. He informed Daniel that in one attack the rebels lost 1,000 sailors and soldiers, but he believed that the Spanish lost even more, reporting that “it was a very bloody enterprise.”¹⁰⁴ By the end of June, Andries’s hope began to wane. In particular, Andries placed blame on Holland and Zeeland, who, notwithstanding all of the pressure that Daniel and his fellow representatives had placed upon them, had failed to provide

¹⁰¹. Andries to Daniel, Antwerp, 30 March 1585, DvdM 593a-69 (105): “Ick sien dat den Prince van Parma met sijne dexteriteyt niet soo veel en zal connen rechten als de Ecclesiasticque met hare botte superstitie ende wraeckgiericheyt wederomme selen bederven tot hare eygen ruyne mettertijt.”

¹⁰². On the activities of Catholics after the iconoclasm and use of the churches by Calvinists, see Andrew Spicer, “After Iconoclasm: Reconciliation and Resacralization in the Southern Netherlands, ca. 1566–85,” *Sixteenth Century Journal* 44, no. 2 (2013): 411–433. On the strengthened identity of Catholics following exile and rule of Calvinists, see Geert H. Janssen, “Quo Vadis? Catholic Perceptions of Flight and the Revolt of the Low Countries, 1566–1609,” *Renaissance Quarterly* 64, no. 2 (2011): 472–499; Geert H. Janssen, “The Counter-Reformation of the Refugee: Exile and the Shaping of Catholic Militancy in the Dutch Revolt,” *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 63, no. 4 (2012): 671–692; Pollmann, “Catholics and Community in the Revolt”; Judith Pollmann, *Catholic Identity and the Revolt of the Netherlands, 1520–1635* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011).

¹⁰³. Jongbloet-van Houtte, “De belegering en de val van Antwerpen.”

¹⁰⁴. Andries to Daniel, Antwerp, 28 May 1585, DvdM 593a-83 (129): “is een seer bloedighe enterprinse gheweest.”

the necessary military support. “The trust that these good burghers have always placed upon Holland and Zeeland is in great decline, because the wind on the night tide was so good, but nothing was done nor attempted.”¹⁰⁵ Ten days later, Andries sent his brother another letter to inform him that the magistrates of Antwerp had decided to send the first set of negotiators to Farnese to discuss conditions for peace.¹⁰⁶

The same letters that carried news of planned attacks on Farnese’s position on the Scheldt and their ultimate failure to Daniel in Delft, also reported the increasingly close relationship between Andries and Marten. Daniel’s elder brother acted as both a physical and personal conduit with his new brother-in-law. Andries delivered the letters Daniel sent Marten, visiting Marten’s house and discussing issues involving Hester’s inheritance. Marten’s willingness to treat Andries and Daniel amicably combined with his upright reputation as a merchant to win Andries’s trust. Andries advised Daniel to keep Hester’s inheritance in Marten’s possession and let it accrue interest at the rate of 6.25%. Andries told his brother, “I would be happy to have my own money with Marten more than any other.”¹⁰⁷ Daniel need not worry about Marten losing the money, and there was little opportunity for trade anyway. Simply put, Marten was not someone whose friendship one should treat lightly. Andries wanted to ensure that Marten would continue to be an important resource for the Van der Meulens well into the future.

¹⁰⁵. Andries to Daniel, Antwerp, 29 June 1585, DvdM 593a-89 (141): “Het vertrouwen van dese goeude borgerije, datse altijt op Hollant ende Zeelant ghehadt hebben, mindert zeer doordien den wint op het recht nachtghetije soo goet gheweest heeft, ende datmen niet ghedaen oft ghattenteert en heeft.” On the negotiations, see Soen, “Reconquista and Reconciliation.”

¹⁰⁶. Andries to Daniel, Antwerp, 9 July 1585, DvdM 593a-91 (144).

¹⁰⁷. Andries to Daniel, Antwerp, 20 February 1585, DvdM 593a-53 (81): “soude mijn gelt alsoo lief onder Merten hebben als onder iemanden anders, ende en dient in geenen deele dat ghij sijn vrientschap zoudt verliezen, insonderheyt om de questien tusschen de broeders zijnde.”

Due to his interactions with Marten and the difficulties that Jacques was causing, Andries turned to favor Marten. Even concerning the use of trade networks, Andries began to argue that utilization of Marten's agents abroad would be more beneficial.¹⁰⁸ Jacques's approval of the marriage and the close relationship he developed with Daniel seemed to make him a natural trade partner. Andries and Daniel did invest in ventures led by Jacques.¹⁰⁹ But Andries continually exhorted Daniel not to create a company with Jacques, in which Daniel's capital would inevitably be tied up with Jacques's activities.¹¹⁰ Andries appears to have adopted Marten's own opinion about Jacques, believing him to lack steadfastness. If Daniel and Andries were to expand their trade to Italy, as Daniel desired, Andries believed that they should use Marten's agents. In the first place, this was "because I understand that Jacques's man is unmarried and disposed to drinking, which is very dangerous."¹¹¹ But Andries's desire to trade through Marten was also due to his greater faith in Marten than Jacques. Andries reported his opinion more than once in his letters to Daniel that "Marten is the wisest and understands his business best."¹¹²

As the situation in Antwerp worsened, Andries's praise of Marten continued. The rebellious magistrate became a regular guest at the house of the *peiswiller*. Their relationship progressed to the extent that in April Andries exclaimed to Daniel, "Merten de la Faille is my

¹⁰⁸. On Marten's trade network, see Wilfrid Brulez, *De Firma Della Faille en de internationale handel van Vlaamse firma's in de 16e eeuw* (Brussels: Paleis der Academiën, 1959), 63–184.

¹⁰⁹. Kernkamp, *De handel van Daniel van der Meulen*.

¹¹⁰. Andries stated his disapproval most clearly in Andries to Daniel, Antwerp, 5 December 1584, DvdM 593a-27 (51): "Compaignie aen te gaen met Jacques dIF en vinde ick niet goet."

¹¹¹. Andries to Daniel, Antwerp, 13 March 1585, DvdM 593a-62 (94): "want ick verstaen dat Jacques's man een ongehout man is ende tot den dronck gheneghen, welck seer dangereux is."

¹¹². Andries to Daniel, Antwerp, 5 March 1585, DvdM 593a-59 (90): "Merten is de cloecste, die sijn stuck best verstaet."

good friend.”¹¹³ The letters between Andries and Daniel show that Andries continued to visit with and talk to Marten until the fall of Antwerp, even though the political and religious differences of the two could not have been more stark than in the dark days of the end of the siege. Yet, even as Andries and Marten did their utmost to work towards their mutually exclusive political ends, both saw themselves as irrevocably attached through the bonds of kinship. Both Marten and Andries freely used the notion of enemy to describe the opposition in the Dutch Revolt, but on a personal level, the marriage of Daniel and Hester created a financial, social, and moral imperative that Andries and Daniel, on the one side, and Marten, on the other, seek to fortify the bonds of kinship with that of friendship.¹¹⁴

7. Conclusion: The Fall of Antwerp

Isolated and running out of supplies and money, Antwerp’s magistrates sent four representatives to open talks with Farnese on 9 July 1585. By this time, Andries knew that only God was capable of reversing the current situation. After months of futilely waiting for the States General to send an attack on Farnese’s position on the Scheldt, we “only count upon the help of God, who shall not fail us as man does.”¹¹⁵ In the end, no eleventh hour savior appeared. Antwerp was forced to sign the same conditions of surrender that Andries found so detestable mere months earlier when signed by Brussels.¹¹⁶

¹¹³. Andries to Daniel, Antwerp, 6 April 1585, DvdM 593a-71 (107): “Merten de la Faille is mijnen ghoeden vriend”

¹¹⁴. Tadmor, *Family and Friends in Eighteenth-Century England*; Bourdieu, *Outline of a Theory of Practice*; Kaplan, *Divided by Faith*.

¹¹⁵. Andries to Daniel, Antwerp, 12 July 1585, DvdM 593a-92 (146): “verwachten alleen op de hulpe Godts, die ons niet failleren en zal ghelijck der menschen doet.”

¹¹⁶. Soen, “Reconquista and Reconciliation”; Prims, *De Christelijke Republiek*.

The spread of news of Antwerp's imminent fall prompted quite different reactions by members of the Van der Meulen and Della Faille families. Farnese's conditions allowed those who wanted to leave the city to depart with their goods but stipulated that they must go to neutral territory. After a three year grace period, all residents of Antwerp were expected to observe the Catholic faith.¹¹⁷ For the Van der Meulens, there was no choice aside from exile. After much discussion, Andries and Daniel decided to move their families to Bremen. The fall of Antwerp only solidified the divisions in the Della Faille family. Equally unwilling to live under Spanish rule, Jacques, now having patched things up with Daniel, attempted to persuade Daniel to travel to London to try to distribute Jan de Oude's patrimony that remained there. Anna and Robert van Eeckeren prepared to return to Antwerp from Haarlem, while Marten made preparations for the return of his wife and children from Dordrecht. The loyalty of Marten and Robert was rewarded by their appointment to the position of almoner by the new royal authority in Antwerp. Daniel may have allied himself and his family to the Della Faille family, but as Antwerp fell, the Della Faille sibling group was as divided as ever. Achievement of unity and mutual affection appeared remote indeed.

Within the correspondence that surrounded the marriage of Daniel and Hester, the Van der Meulens and Della Failles utilized emotional connections in attempting to live up to the ideal of family unity. Their discourse tied affection directly to economic concerns. They perceived emotional bonds to provide the stability necessary to act in the economic world.¹¹⁸ The ties of friendship worked in a variety of ways. They were as important between bride and groom, as

¹¹⁷. Soen, "Reconquista and Reconciliation." Andries reported the conditions in a letter to Daniel, Andries to Daniel, Antwerp, 16 August 1585, DvdM 593a-100 (163).

¹¹⁸. Howell, "From Land to Love"; Howell, *Commerce before Capitalism*; Broomhall and Gent, "Corresponding Affections"; Medick and Sabeen, "Interest and Emotion in Family and Kinship Studies."

between the either party and their new affines, as well as between the affines themselves. Particularly enlightening in this regard are the letters that Andries sent to Daniel leading up to and following Daniel's marriage to Hester. Andries's correspondence and the work that he did to enable the marriage to take place and then to strengthen the ties between the Van der Meulens and Della Failles exemplifies the significance of the role of kin in marriage.¹¹⁹ Marriage created a long-term alliance between two sibling groups, and Andries again and again warned Daniel of the significance of personal relations over the immediate concern of payment of Hester's inheritance.¹²⁰ According to Andries, more important than short-term monetary issues was the cultivation of friendship and affection between the allied kin groups.

The extraordinary conditions that surrounded the marriage of Hester and Daniel demonstrate the true power of marriage in bringing two kin groups together. While kinship could not rest upon its own, needing to be reinforced by friendship and affection, political and religious division was not seen to nullify the bonds of kinship.¹²¹ Whereas economic concerns and questions of alliance played a central role in the discussions of the union of Daniel and Hester, silence reigned over political and religious issues. In actuality, the different political and religious choices did much to frame the actions of all involved, as the wedding ceremony attested. Yet, letters cited the dangers brought by the military situation, not that the Revolt constituted kin as enemies. In this way, emotional bonds could provide a bridge between kin divided by the Revolt. In the last days of the Calvinist Republic, Marten and Andries could be

¹¹⁹ O'Hara, "Ruled by my friends"; O'Hara, *Courtship and Constraint*; Hardwick, *Practice of Patriarchy*, 51–75.

¹²⁰ Sabean, *Kinship in Neckarhausen*; Martha C. Howell, *The Marriage Exchange: Property, Social Place, and Gender in Cities of the Low Countries, 1300-1550* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998).

¹²¹ Kaplan, *Divided by Faith*.

both friend and enemy. However, friendship was always a contested term.¹²² As the changing relations between the Van der Meulen brothers and Jacques demonstrates, what one perceived to be the actions of a friend could be interpreted in very different ways by another. Affection, utilized to stabilize relations, often proved to be itself unstable.

¹²². McLean, *Art of the Network*; Bourdieu, *Outline of a Theory of Practice*; Davis, *The Gift*.

Chapter 4

The Testaments of Jan della Faille de Oude and Elizabeth Zeghers: Inheritance and the Structuring of Sibling Relationships

1. Introduction

In medieval Europe, the testament transformed from a means to grant property to religious and charitable institutions to a tool for testators to modify the customary laws of inheritance.¹ In the Low Countries this process proceeded slowly. Throughout the Low Countries, tradition dictated that all heirs had an equal right to the patrimony. Local laws both confirmed and modified the regulations surrounding inheritance. Gradually, testators gained the ability to extricate themselves from the dictates of intestate law, providing individuals with an avenue to extend their power over the devolution of property. Once the testament moved beyond bequests and began to touch directly upon inheritance, it developed into a crucial tool for managing the movement of property from parents to children. Testators could use the document to construct a framework for the transformation of a family from a sibling group under parental authority to a sibling group without the presence of a parent to bring the siblings together. In other words, the testament became a tool for structuring family relations among heirs.

This chapter investigates the testaments left by the widower Jan della Faille de Oude and the widow Elizabeth Zeghers. In 1582 and 1584 respectively, the two merchants, who were about 67 and 64 respectively, created their testaments, setting down the terms for the distribution of the familial property to their adult children. Testaments of the longest surviving parent

¹ Steven Epstein, *Wills and Wealth in Medieval Genoa, 1150-1250* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1984); Martha C. Howell, "Fixing Movables: Gifts by Testament in Late Medieval Douai," *Past & Present* 50, no. 1 (1996): 3–45; Philippe Godding, "La pratique testamentaire en Flandre au 13e siècle," *Tijdschrift voor Rechtsgeschiedenis* (1990): 281–300; Lloyd Bonfield, ed. *Marriage, Property, and Succession* (Berlin: Duncker & Humbolt, 1992); Epstein, *Wills and Wealth*.

directed the transfer of property and authority from the parents to their children, dramatically restructuring family relations.² Where formerly a clear hierarchy existed within the family between parents and children, equality, bolstered by partible inheritance, prevailed within an independent sibling group.³ Jan de Oude and Elizabeth perceived this transition to be problematic. They feared the consequences of a sibling group freed from parental authority. Chapters 2 and 3 noted the strategies used by Jan de Oude and Elizabeth during their lives to maintain their power over their children. The creation of a testament indicated that the cultural and social strategies to preserve the unity of the sibling group also necessitated the institutional and legal backing a testament provided.⁴ Hoping that their children could remain united after their death, the patriarch and matriarch utilized the power of the testament to shape relations

² The copy of Jan de Oude's testament and codicil used here is found in Familie De Malapert, inventory 22, Het Utrechts Archief, Utrecht, The Netherlands (hereafter FM). It is transcribed in Gisela Jongbloet-van Houtte, ed. *Brieven en andere bescheiden betreffende Daniel van der Meulen, 1584-1600*, Rijks Geschiedkundige Publicatiën: Grote serie (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1986), cxliv–clix. A copy of Elizabeth's testament can be found in Daniël van der Meulen en Hester de la Faille, zijn vrouw, 1550-1648, inventory 66a, Erfgoed Leiden en Omstreken, Leiden, The Netherlands (hereafter DvdM). It too is transcribed in Jongbloet-van Houtte, *Daniel van der Meulen*, 95–99 nr 49. An official copy of Elizabeth's codicil is found in Familie Van der Muelen, inventory 22-2, Het Utrechts Archief, Utrecht, The Netherlands (hereafter AvdM). For ease of reading, the testaments and codicils are abbreviated as Testament Jan de Oude, Codicil Jan de Oude, Testament Elizabeth, and Codicil Elizabeth.

³ David Cressy, *Birth, Marriage, and Death: Ritual, Religion, and the Life-Cycle in Tudor and Stuart England*, First ed., (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997); Julie Hardwick, *The Practice of Patriarchy: Gender and the Politics of Household Authority in Early Modern France* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1998), 143–158; Erica Bastress-Dukehart, "Family, Property, and Feeling in Early Modern German Noble Culture: The Zimmerns of Swabia," *The Sixteenth Century Journal* 32, no. 1 (2001): 1–19; Erica Bastress-Dukehart, *The Zimmern Chronicle: Nobility, Memory and Self-Representation in Sixteenth-Century Germany* (Aldershot, England: Ashgate, 2002); Erica Bastress-Dukehart, "Sibling Conflict within Early Modern German Noble Families," *Journal of Family History* 33, no. 1 (2008): 61–80; Simon Teuscher, "Male and Female Inheritance: Property Devolution, Succession, and Credit in Late Medieval Nobilities in the Southwest of the Holy Empire," in *La famiglia nell'economia europea, secc. XIII-XVIII: atti della "quarantesima Settimana di studi," 6-10 Aprile 2008 = The Economic Role of the Family in the European Economy from the 13th to the 18th Centuries*, ed. Simonetta Cavaciocchi (Firenze: Firenze University Press, 2009); Karl-Heinz Spieß, "Safeguarding Property for the Next Generations: Family Treaties, Marriage Contracts and Testaments of German Princely Dynasties in the Later Middle Ages (14th-16th Centuries)," in *La famiglia nell'economia europea, secc. XIII-XVIII: atti della "quarantesima Settimana di studi," 6-10 Aprile 2008 = The Economic Role of the Family in the European Economy from the 13th to the 18th Centuries*, ed. Simonetta Cavaciocchi (Firenze: Firenze University Press, 2009).

⁴ Oscar Gelderblom, *Cities of Commerce: The Institutional Foundations of International Trade in the Low Countries, 1250–1650* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2013); Julie Hardwick, *Family Business: Litigation and the Political Economies of Daily Life in Early Modern France* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009).

among their heirs. The testament became the last and most enduring embodiment of parental authority, establishing a fulcrum for the future relations within the sibling groups.⁵

At the time Elizabeth Zeghers and Jan della Faille de Oude recorded their last will and testaments before notaries in their home city of Antwerp, they occupied similar structural positions within their families. Jan de Oude's wife Cornelia van der Capellen had died in 1566 intestate, leaving Jan de Oude as a widower for over fifteen years. Elizabeth had been a widow for an even longer period after Jan van der Meulen died in 1563. The passing of a single parent created instabilities within the family. According to the laws of Antwerp, the deceased's estate was divided in half, with the surviving spouse receiving one part and legitimate heirs the other.⁶ The death of a parent thus began the process of the devolution of property. However, Elizabeth and Jan de Oude sought to minimize the effects of the deaths by continuing to manage the estates of their deceased spouses and slowing the process of inheritance.⁷ The intestate laws of Antwerp and the testament Elizabeth signed with Jan van der Meulen in 1556 gave the longest surviving

⁵ David Warren Sabean and Simon Teuscher, "Rethinking European Kinship: Transregional and Transnational Families," in *Transregional and Transnational Families in Europe and Beyond: Experiences Since the Middle Ages*, ed. Christopher H. Johnson, et al. (New York: Berghahn Books, 2011), especially 5–10; Christopher H. Johnson and David Warren Sabean, "From Siblingship to Siblinghood: Kinship and the Shaping of European Society (1300–1900)," in *Sibling Relations and the Transformations of European Kinship, 1300–1900*, ed. Christopher H. Johnson and David Warren Sabean (New York: Berghahn Books, 2011); Sophie Ruppel, "Subordinates, Patrons, and Most Beloved: Sibling Relationships in Seventeenth-Century German Court Society," in *Sibling Relations and the Transformations of European Kinship, 1300–1900*, ed. Christopher H. Johnson and David Warren Sabean (New York: Berghahn Books, 2011); Courtney Thomas, "'The Honour & Credite of the Whole House': Family Unity and Honour in Early Modern England," *Cultural and Social History* 10, no. 3 (2013): 329–345; Pierre Bourdieu, *Outline of a Theory of Practice* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977); Pierre Bourdieu, "On the Family as a Realized Category," *Theory Culture and Society* 13, no. 3 (1996): 19–26.

⁶ *Impressae* 1582, Title XLI: Vande Rechten Ghehoude Persoonen Aengaende nr 63, 67–68. G. de Longé, ed. *Recueil des anciennes coutumes de Belgique. Coutumes du pays et duché de Brabant. Quartier d'Anvers*, vol. 4 (Brussels: F. Gobbaerts, 1870); Philippe Godding, *Le droit privé dans les Pays-Bas méridionaux, du 12e au 18e siècle* (Brussels: Académie royale de Belgique, 1987); Philippe Godding, "Le droit au service du patrimoine familia: Les Pays-Bas méridionaux (12e-18e siècles)," in *Marriage, Property, and Succession*, ed. Lloyd Bonfield (Berlin: Duncker & Humbolt, 1992); Marianne Danneel, *Weduwen en wezen in het laat-middeleeuwse Gent* (Louvain: Garant, 1995).

⁷ On the estate of Cornelia van der Capellen, see Chapter 2.

spouse this ability.⁸ This served to set up Elizabeth and Jan de Oude as the central power within their nuclear families. Both the widow and widower functioned as the head of the household, possessing paternal power over their children. This largely left questions of inheritance to their discretion, and it emphasized the importance of their testaments as the primary documents directing the devolution of family property and power from the parents to the siblings.⁹

In writing their testaments, the two testators sought to avoid the instability sure to occur as a result of their deaths. The nature of their wealth magnified the precariousness of the transition between generations. In their roles as heads of mercantile households, they oversaw impressive expansion of their families's wealth. Under the auspices of Jan de Oude and Elizabeth, they fully participated in the growing number of indigenous merchants who profited from Antwerp's position as the center of trade in northern Europe.¹⁰ However, success in trade

⁸ Testament of Elizabeth Zegers and Jan van der Meulen, Antwerp, 15 October 1556, AvdM 22-1 and *Impressae* 1582, Title XLI: Vande Rechten Ghehoude Persoonen Aengaende nr 91 and 93. Laura Van Aert, "Tussen norm en praktijk: Een terreinverkenning over het juridische statuut van vrouwen in het zestiende-eeuwse Antwerpen," *Tijdschrift voor sociale en economische geschiedenis* 2, no. 3 (2005): 22–42; Laura Van Aert, "The Legal Possibilities of Antwerp Widows in the Late Sixteenth Century," *The History of the Family* 12 (2006): 282–295; Danneel, *Weduwen en wezen*; Ariadne Schmidt, *Overleven na de dood: Weduwen in Leiden in de Gouden Eeuw* (Amsterdam: Bert Bakker, 2001).

⁹ Linda A Pollock, "Rethinking Patriarchy and the Family in Seventeenth-Century England," *Journal of Family History* 23, no. 1 (1998): 3–27; David Warren Sabean, *Property, Production, and Family in Neckarhausen, 1700-1870* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 321–341; Susan Broomhall and Jacqueline van Gent, "In the Name of the Father: Conceptualizing 'Pater Familias' in the Letters of William the Silent's Children," *Renaissance Quarterly* 62, no. 4 (2009): 1130–1166; Julia Adams, *The Familial State: Ruling Families and Merchant Capitalism in Early Modern Europe* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2005).

¹⁰ A number of historians have noted the increasing importance of indigenous merchants in the trade of Antwerp. The classical expression of this argument is presented in Wilfrid Brulez, *De Firma Della Faille en de internationale handel van Vlaamse firma's in de 16e eeuw* (Brussels: Paleis der Academiën, 1959); Herman van der Wee, *The Growth of the Antwerp Market and the European Economy (Fourteenth–Sixteenth Centuries)*, 3 vols. (The Hague: Nijhoff, 1963). More recent discussions about the importance of native merchants to Antwerp's prosperity and its transition to Amsterdam after 1585 include Oscar Gelderblom, *Zuid-Nederlandse kooplieden en de opkomst van de Amsterdamse stapelmarkt (1578-1630)* (Hilversum, The Netherlands: Verloren, 2000); Clé Lesger, *The Rise of the Amsterdam Market and Information Exchange: Merchants, Commercial Expansion and Change in the Spatial Economy of the Low Countries, c.1550–1630* (Aldershot, England: Ashgate, 2006); Jeroen Puttevils, "Klein gewin brengt rijkdom in: De Zuid-Nederlandse handelaars in de export naar Italië in de jaren 1540," *Tijdschrift voor sociale en economische geschiedenis* 6, no. 1 (2009): 26–52; Jeroen Puttevils, "The Ascent of Merchants From the Southern Low Countries: From Antwerp to Europe, 1480-1585" (PhD diss., University of Antwerp, 2012).

begot its own kind of difficulties. By their testaments, Jan de Oude and Elizabeth attempted to minimize the uncertainties caused by the transfer of mercantile capital by constructing conditions they believed would foster unity among their children and heirs after their deaths.¹¹

The testaments of Jan de Oude and Elizabeth provide fruitful ground for comparison. Drastically different in detail and complexity, the documents nonetheless expressed a similar logic in confronting issues related to the devolution of property. This chapter begins by discussing the different contexts in which Jan de Oude and Elizabeth dictated their testaments and outlining the structure of the testaments written in Antwerp at the end of the sixteenth century. The chapter then moves to the gifts bestowed by the testators to charitable institutions and non-heirs. Lastly, the chapter investigates the strategies used by the testators to structure the inheritance left to their children.

The large number of bequests Jan de Oude listed in his testament furnishes an opportunity to evaluate the role he played within his larger kin network and the means he used to

¹¹ On the difficulties with movables, see the work of Martha Howell. Howell, “Fixing Movables”; Martha C. Howell, *The Marriage Exchange: Property, Social Place, and Gender in Cities of the Low Countries, 1300-1550* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998); Martha C. Howell, *Commerce before Capitalism in Europe, 1300-1600* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 49–92. See also Craig Muldrew, *The Economy of Obligation: The Culture of Credit and Social Relations in Early Modern England* (New York: St. Martin’s press, 1998); Jaco Zuijderduijn, “Grave Concerns: Entailment and Intergenerational Agency in Amsterdam (1600–1800),” *The History of the Family* 16, no. 4 (2011): 343–353; Lloyd Bonfield, “Seeking Connections Between Kinship and the Law in Early Modern England,” *Continuity and Change* 25, no. 1 (2010): 49–82; Sabeen and Teuscher, “Rethinking European Kinship.” However, other historians have noted the confidence felt by merchants, Margaret C. Jacob and Catherine Secretan, eds. *The Self-Perception of Early Modern Capitalists* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008); Margaret C. Jacob and Catherine Secretan, eds. *In Praise of Ordinary People: Early Modern England and the Dutch Republic* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013); Harold Cook, *Matters of Exchange: Commerce, Medicine, and Science in the Dutch Golden Age* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2007). Within Antwerp, see An M. Kint, “The Community of Commerce: Social Relations in Sixteenth-Century Antwerp” (PhD diss., Columbia University, 1996); An M. Kint, “The Ideology of Commerce: Antwerp in the Sixteenth Century,” in *International Trade in the Low Countries (14th–16th Centuries): Merchants, Organisation, Infrastructure*, ed. Peter Stabel, et al. (Louvain: Garant, 2000).

pass his position within his mercantile and kin networks to his heirs.¹² Elizabeth's testament largely ignored collateral kin and non-kin, but when it came to the issue of inheritance, Elizabeth proved as active as Jan de Oude in arranging the manner in which her capital would fall to her children. Investigating the ways that the testators circumvented the tradition of partible inheritance, while still providing each of their heirs with an equal portion of their estates, this chapter examines the power the testators wished to maintain over their children after their death. Through their testaments, Jan de Oude and Elizabeth constructed the ground rules for the relations among the Della Faille and Van der Meulen siblings once the two sibling groups became untethered from the bonds of parental authority and embarked upon a new phase in the life cycle of the family.

2. Context of the Testaments

Uncertainty touched all aspects of life as Jan de Oude lay in his bed and dictated his testament to the notary Lieven van Rockeghem on 21 October 1582. Van Rockeghem dutifully reported that Jan de Oude maintained possession of a clear mind and memory. He made the testament "by his own free will, right thinking, and well considered senses."¹³ However, Jan de Oude was also gravely ill. He set down his testament while "lying sick in bed."¹⁴ The seriousness

¹² In this way, Jan de Oude's testament demonstrates the tension between the horizontal view of capital and the lineal view of patrimony. Sabeian and Teuscher, "Rethinking European Kinship"; David Warren Sabeian and Simon Teuscher, "Kinship in Europe: A New Approach to Long Term Development," in *Kinship in Europe: Approaches to Long-Term Development*, ed. David Warren Sabeian, et al. (New York: Berghahn Books, 2007); Howell, *Marriage Exchange*. On the use of kin in mercantile networks, Francesca Trivellato, *The Familiarity of Strangers: The Sephardic Diaspora, Livorno, and Cross-Cultural Trade in the Early Modern Period* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2009); Sebouh Aslanian, *From the Indian Ocean to the Mediterranean: The Global Trade Networks of Armenian Merchants from New Julfa* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2011); David Hancock, "The Trouble with Networks: Managing the Scots' Early-Modern Madeira Trade," *The Business History Review* 79, no. 3 (2005): 467–491; Richard Grassby, *Kinship and Capitalism: Marriage, Family, and Business in the English Speaking World, 1580–1740* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001).

¹³ Testament Jan de Oude: "vuijt zijnen vrijen eygenen wille, rechte wetentheijt ende wel bedachte sinnen."

¹⁴ Testament Jan de Oude: "sieck te bedde liggende."

of the illness was such that Jan de Oude recalled his son Marten from England, hoping that he could arrive in Antwerp before he passed. But death waited for no one. As the trope of the day had it, “noting the fragility of man’s nature, nothing is surer in this world than death, but nothing is less sure than the hour of its coming.”¹⁵ Therefore, a testament that clearly set out one’s will, directing how one’s estate should be handled, was necessary. Seeing that his time in this world might be short, Jan de Oude decided to replace the testament he passed on 3 June 1579.¹⁶ The elder merchant died in the presence of all his children, save Marten, on 8 November 1582, only a few weeks after making his testament.

Unfortunately, no instance of Jan de Oude’s previous testament appears to have survived in the archives of the Della Faille family, obviating any possibility for comparison. Much had changed since Jan de Oude’s previous testament, including the marriage of his sons Jan and Jacques. His two youngest daughters, Hester and Cornelia, remained unmarried, but they had reached marriageable age and inched ever closer to the age of majority of twenty-five.¹⁷ Marriage introduced new members into the family unit, but it also created centrifugal forces within the nuclear family as the siblings separated into their own family units. Between the past, recent, and

¹⁵ Testament Jan de Oude: “aenmerckende der menshcelijcker naturen broosheijt ende datter niet seekerder en is op der eerden dan de doot ende niet onsekerder dan de ure der selver.”

¹⁶ Testament Jan de Oude notes the existence of this previous testament, but no copy exists in the archives.

¹⁷ One of the most disruptive events in the family, the death of Jan de Oude’s daughter Maria and the rapid remarriage of her widower, Louis Malapert, had already occurred in 1578. It is therefore unlikely that the question of the inheritance of Maria’s children precipitated the making of this new testament. The law of Antwerp set the age of majority for both males and females at twenty-five. See *Impressae* 1582, Title XXXVI: Vanden Staet ende Condicie aan Persoonen nr 11.

soon expected marriages of the sibling group, Jan de Oude made his testament at a crucial and precarious period in the life cycle of the family.¹⁸

As he lay sick in his bed before Lieven van Rockeghem, Jan de Oude faced a daunting task. Attempting to satisfy not only his eight surviving children, but also his many relatives would have been problematic in the best of times. In the context of the uncertainties and divisions brought by the Dutch Revolt, Jan de Oude's undertaking became nearly impossible. Jan de Oude's thoughts on the Revolt are far from clear.¹⁹ There is evidence that he may have shown some interest in the Calvinist preachings that broke out in 1566. In 1574, Jan de Oude was accused of being a heretic and helping the rebels. However, there are also good reasons to believe that Jan de Oude remained a loyal Catholic. When his factor in London, Herman Pottey, was set to marry his niece, Catharina de Wale, in 1567, Jan de Oude insisted that the ceremony be conducted in the Catholic manner. Only reluctantly did Jan de Oude accept the performance of a semi-clandestine Protestant marriage to unite the couple.

It is no longer tenable, as historians of the past have done, to argue that merchants were apolitical. Merchants of the period often claimed a desire for peace and tranquility, but they also possessed their own conceptions of what kind of peace they desired. Like the population at large, merchants spanned the spectrum from committed partisans to more moderate positions which

¹⁸ On life-cycle of the family, see Cressy, *Birth, Marriage, and Death*; Grassby, *Kinship and Capitalism*; Tamara K. Hareven, "The History of the Family and the Complexity of Social Change," *American Historical Review* 96, no. 1 (1991): 95–124; David I. Kertzer, "Anthropology and Family History," *Journal of Family History* 9, no. 3 (1984): 201–216.

¹⁹ The following overview of the political and religious views of Jan de Oude is based upon Brulez, *Firma Della Faille*, 208–215.

enabled individuals to move from one side to the other as circumstances changed.²⁰ Jan de Oude appears to have been one of these moderates, who increasingly moved back towards loyalty to Philip II at the end of his life. In 1579, Jan de Oude was one of the key figures in the city who refused to pay the taxes imposed by the magistracy in order to pay for troops for the city, joining the group of so-called “*peiswillers*,” or lovers of peace, who sought to make peace with Philip II. As Jan de Oude’s positions changed, so to did those around him. By the time he wrote his testament, Jan de Oude not only possessed kin who had chosen different sides of the Revolt, but his own children had positioned themselves on separate religious and political sides.²¹

The Dutch Revolt acted as the implicit backdrop for the creation of Jan de Oude’s testament, but his sickness provided the primary motivation for Jan de Oude to make a new testament in 1582. The political and religious troubles brought by the Revolt played a greater role in the creation of Elizabeth’s testament. On 3 December 1584, the notary Hendrick van Uffelen visited Elizabeth’s house and noted down her testament made “by her own free will, right thinking, and well considered senses with good deliberation and advice.”²² Elizabeth dictated her testament under the shadow of the forces of Farnese, who were moving to close the Scheldt and Antwerp’s access to the North Sea.²³ As committed Calvinists and rebels, the possibility that Antwerp might fall to the troops of Farnese brought great uncertainty to the

²⁰ J. J. Woltjer, *Tussen vrijheidsstrijd en burgeroorlog: Over de Nederlandse opstand, 1555-1580* (Amsterdam: Balans, 1994); J. J. Woltjer, “Political Moderates and Religious Moderates in the Revolt of the Netherlands,” in *Reformation, Revolt and Civil War in France and the Netherlands, 1555-1585*, ed. Philip Benedict, et al. (Amsterdam: Royal Netherlands Academy of Arts and Sciences, 1999).

²¹ Yves Schmitz, *Les Della Faille*, vol. 1, *Des Origines au XVIIIème Siècle* (Brussels: Imprimerie F. Van Buggenhoudt, 1965).

²² Testament Elizabeth: “vuyt haeren vrijen eygenen wille, rechter wetenheyt ende wel bedachten sinnen met goeder deliberatiën ende rijpen raide.”

²³ Gisela Jongbloet-van Houtte, “De belegering en de val van Antwerpen belicht vanuit een koopmans archief: Daniel van der Meulen, gedeputeerde van de Staten van Brabant ter Staten Generaal (1584-1585),” *Bijdragen en Mededelingen betreffende de geschiedenis der Nederlanden* 91 (1976): 23–43.

future of the Van der Meulen family. Elizabeth's children worried about her health and her ability to withstand the tribulations wrought by the Revolt. These uncertainties made it imperative that Elizabeth replace the testament she had made with her husband on 15 October 1556.²⁴

Since 1556 the wealth and social status of the Van der Meulen family increased dramatically. Much of the increase occurred while the family fell under the guidance of Elizabeth after she became a widow. At first, Elizabeth's oldest son, Jean, assisted his mother in her mercantile activities. After Jean's sudden death during the Spanish Fury in November of 1576, Elizabeth's younger sons, Andries and Daniel, took a more active role in the family trade. Elizabeth also elicited assistance through the marriage of her eldest daughter, Anna. Elizabeth created trade companies with both Anna's first husband, Severijn van de Corput, and after his death with Anna's second husband, François Pierens.²⁵

The shuffled responsibilities within the family represented in part the natural progression of the life of the family unit. When Elizabeth made her testament, all of her children had reached marriageable age. Andries had recently made an advantageous alliance through his marriage into the wealthy Malapert family. Meanwhile, the family was in active pursuit of spouses for Daniel and Sara.²⁶ The contents of the testament proved crucial to the success of both engagements, as Elizabeth set out the wedding gifts each would receive. Finally, just before Elizabeth made her testament, the structure of the family was further altered by the death of Elizabeth's youngest daughter Maria. In fact, Maria's death on 9 November 1584 resulted in a delay in the making of

²⁴ Testament of Elizabeth Zeghers and Jan van der Meulen, Antwerp, 15 October 1556, AvdM 22-1.

²⁵ Gisela Jongbloet-van Houtte, "Inleiding," in *Brieven en andere bescheiden betreffende Daniel van der Meulen, 1584-1600*, ed. Gisela Jongbloet-van Houtte (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1986), xxxvi-xl.

²⁶ See the discussion in Chapter 3.

the testament and a restructuring of its contents.²⁷ Elizabeth's testament reacted to these wide ranging changes and demands, hoping to ensure that "no differences, disputes, or discord shall occur."²⁸

The testaments of Jan de Oude and Elizabeth endeavored to minimize the uncertainty and disorder that surrounded their two families as they neared the end of their lives. Fearful of the consequences their deaths and the disappearance of parental authority might have on their heirs, the testaments represented an attempt to insert structure and order into the sibling group. The testators possessed the same goal of providing their heirs with a basis from which the siblings could interact amicably for the benefit of the family as a whole. Even as their children created their own nuclear families through marriage, Jan de Oude and Elizabeth perceived the continued unity of the sibling group as a moral, social, and economic necessity. When they could no longer actively unify the family through their presence, their testaments acted as a partial replacement of their authority.²⁹

3. Structure of the Testaments

Legal documents drawn up by official notaries, the testaments of Jan de Oude and Elizabeth followed the dictates of the laws of Antwerp and the traditions of Brabant.³⁰ The two testaments followed the same basic structure. The documents can be broken down into five separate sections. Legalistic language dominates the opening and closing of the testaments. In

²⁷ Andries to Daniel, Antwerp, 24 November 1584, DvdM 593a-19 (43).

²⁸ Testament Elizabeth: "egeen geschil, twist ende onvrede comen en soude."

²⁹ Bourdieu, *Outline of a Theory of Practice*; Bourdieu, "Family as a Realized Category"; Ruppel, "Subordinates, Patrons, and Most Beloved"; Johnson and Sabean, "From Siblingship to Siblinghood"; Spieß, "Safeguarding Property"; Bastress-Dukehart, "Family, Property, and Feeling."

³⁰ Laws concerning the creation of testaments *Impressae*, Title XLIV: Van Testementen. Godding, *Le droit privé*; Howell, "Fixing Movables"; Howell, *Marriage Exchange*.

the introduction, the notaries bore witness to the right mindedness of the testators, asserting that they possessed full control of all five senses. The testators asserted that the document was to be followed in all particulars concerning the division of their estates, while declaring as void the previous testaments both had made. The actual content of the testament began with an enumeration of bequests and gifts made by the testators. Next followed the designation of the means by which the inheritance was to be divided among the heirs. In the final section before the conclusion, the testators named the executors of their testaments.

The designation of the bequests and inheritance were the heart of the testament, but the other sections offered more than mere rhetoric. The selection of executors provided an opportunity for the testators to name representatives of their authority after their death. Both Jan de Oude and Elizabeth chose their executors from among their children. This served to place some heirs in a position of authority over others, designating some and not others as successors of powers previously held by parents.³¹ Elizabeth chose her two sons, Andries and Daniel, thereby advancing them over her daughters. Jan de Oude, with eight surviving children at the time of his testament, possessed more options. He chose his eldest son, Jan, as well as his most trusted sons Marten and Jacques, placing his remaining children at their disposal. The task of executors possessed special importance within a mercantile family.³² The vast majority of the wealth of Elizabeth and Jan de Oude consisted of capital invested in trade. The transitory nature as well as the mutability and portability of mercantile capital made even the most rudimentary estimation of the wealth highly problematic. The calculation of the estates of Jan de Oude and Elizabeth—a difficult task in the case of the Van der Meulens and a monumental and nearly

³¹ Sabean and Teuscher, “Kinship in Europe”; Johnson and Sabean, “From Siblingship to Siblinghood.”

³² According to the laws of Antwerp, executors were expected to make a state and inventory of the estate of the deceased within six weeks. See *Impressae* 1582, Title XLVI: Van Testamenten nr 16.

impossible one for the Della Failles—was left to the executors, a source of almost endless possibility for argument and disputation.³³

The conclusion of the testaments served as the final plea and demand that arguments over the testament and estate must to be avoided at all costs. The strict nature of the document stated in the introduction was repeated. The testaments must be followed “in all its points and articles.”³⁴ Both Jan de Oude and Elizabeth inserted statements that authority of their goods remained completely with their chosen executors. No governmental body or chamber of orphans could exert any authority over the estate. Jan de Oude went further. No governmental body could gain possession of the documents pertaining to the estate, including the state, accounts, and inventory. Both desired, ironically through legal means provided by the state bureaucracy, for the administration and division of their estate to remain entirely within the family. This possessed more symbolic weight than legal power. Amicable division and administration of the estate of the deceased parents acted as the first and most crucial of tests for the ability of siblings to maintain unity in the absence of a parental figure and the centripetal forces parental authority provided. Both testaments stated clearly and repeatedly that the document constituted a physical manifestation of the desires of the testators. The copy of the testament of Elizabeth present in the Daniel van der Meulen archive accentuates this aspect by including Elizabeth’s signature at the end of the document. “I, Elisabeth Seghers, declare and confess this to be my testament and foremost will.”³⁵

³³ Brulez has estimated Jan de Oude’s wealth at the time of his death at £68,043, placing him among the richest merchants in Europe at the time. Such wealth necessarily increased the difficulties of administering the estate after his death. On the size and development of Jan de Oude’s estate, see Chapter 5. Brulez, *Firma Della Faille*, 236.

³⁴ Testament Elizabeth: “in alle sijne puncten ende articulen.”

³⁵ Testament Elizabeth: “Ick Elisabeth Seghers verclare ende bekenne dit te wesen mijn testament ende wtersten willen.” Lyndal Roper, *The Holy Household: Women and Morals in Reformation Augsburg* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991); Sabeian and Teuscher, “Kinship in Europe.”

The testament constituted the primary document dictating the handling of the estates of the testators. However, it remained possible for the testators to alter their testaments through the passing of a codicil. Both Jan de Oude and Elizabeth took advantage of this option. Seven days after Jan de Oude dictated his testament, Jan de Oude again called Lieven van Rockeghem to his house to register a few alterations and additions to his testament. A much longer period of time passed before Elizabeth again appeared before a notary concerning her testament. Suffering from illness, Elizabeth appeared before two magistrates of Bremen, the city where she then lived in exile with the families of her sons Andries and Daniel, on 5 May 1587 to dictate changes she wished to make to her testament. Neither of the testators fundamentally altered the structure of the stipulations of their testaments. That Elizabeth wished to make some additions to her testament almost two and a half years after she set down her testament is unsurprising. Even so, the modifications she made were more minor than those done by Jan de Oude. It appears that the heirs and other interested parties filled the week which followed the creation of his testament with what must have been tense discussion. These led Jan de Oude to make some changes in the distribution of the inheritance as well as to emphasize the need for his heirs to maintain unity in all affairs. These differences in the particulars should not obscure the overriding similarities of the goals Jan de Oude and Elizabeth attempted to obtain through their testaments and codicils. The codicils merely endeavored to further the objective of the testaments, to provide the means for the heirs and collateral kin to preserve unity of the family line beyond the death of the longest surviving parent.³⁶

³⁶ Codicil Jan de Oude and Codicil Elizabeth.

4. Bequests

In the enumeration of bequests and gifts the testators possessed their greatest freedom to allocate their wealth as they saw fit. Jan de Oude and Elizabeth could pick out and reward kin and non-kin for past services provided. Bequests provided a means for the testators to call for the amity and service of the legatees to continue in the next generation. They created and maintained connections to horizontal kin.³⁷ Jan de Oude took advantage of the possibilities provided by bequests much more fully than did Elizabeth. To a certain extent, this is likely a result of differences in the wealth of the two testators. Jan de Oude simply possessed a greater amount of wealth to distribute. Related to this, but of greater importance, the disparity in the amount of bequests signifies the different positions Jan de Oude and Elizabeth held within their wider kin networks. Elizabeth's testament almost exclusively concentrated on the division of her and her deceased husband's estates to their children. Her testament did not function to link her heirs to wider kin. This does not seem to have been an indication of any troubles between her and her kin. Rather, Elizabeth did not operate as the central and centralizing figure within her kin group in the way that Jan de Oude did. The large amount of bequests made by Jan de Oude demonstrate

³⁷ Natalie Zemon Davis, *The Gift in Sixteenth-Century France* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2000); Howell, *Commerce before Capitalism*; Anne Laferrère, "Inheritances and Gifts *inter vivos*: The Use of the 'Disposable Portion' for the Purpose of Unequal Division Between Siblings in France," *Continuity and Change* 7, no. 3 (1992): 377–404; Elise van Nederveen Meerkerk, "The Will to Give: Charitable Bequests, *inter vivos* Gifts and Community Building in the Dutch Republic, c. 1600–1800," *Continuity and Change* 27, no. 2 (2012): 241–270; Gustav Peebles, "The Anthropology of Credit and Debt," *Annual Review of Anthropology* 39, no. 1 (2010): 225–240; Ilana Krausman Ben-Amos, "Gifts and Favors: Informal Support in Early Modern England," *Journal of Modern History* 72, no. 2 (2000): 295–338; Paul D. McLean, *The Art of the Network: Strategic Interaction and Patronage in Renaissance Florence* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2007).

the large web of kin he helped to construct in his lifetime and which he hoped to maintain after his death.³⁸

A. Bequests of Elizabeth Zeghers

Even more than Jan de Oude, Elizabeth's testament betrays an emphasis on lineal interests. Elizabeth listed only two bequests in her testament. She bequeathed £166.13.4 to the almoners of Antwerp as a gift to the poor of the city. Neither Jan de Oude nor Elizabeth gave directly to any religious institution. Instead, they placed their charity under the authority of almoners, who served under the jurisdiction of the magistrates of the city.³⁹ This gift represented 1.4% of Elizabeth's total assets as they were calculated following her death in 1587 or 2% of the inheritance she left her children.⁴⁰ The small size of the gift, its recipient, and the language used within the testament all point to a weak link between this form of charity and religiosity. Instead of religious intent, an attachment to Antwerp and its citizenry acted as the primary motivation for Elizabeth's gift. Even as the city was besieged by enemy forces, Elizabeth demonstrated her continued loyalty to the city on the Scheldt through her bequest.

Elizabeth's second bequest was a gift of her clothes, linen, and jewels to her two daughters. Symbolically linking herself to her daughters through her personal possessions, the

³⁸ Elizabeth's testament demonstrates that she could act as the patriarch within her family, but the position of patriarch remained gendered. Jan de Oude's power over his children and kin was perceived to be more natural than Elizabeth's position. Carole Pateman, *The Disorder of Women: Democracy, Feminism, and Political Theory* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1989), 33–47; David Warren Sabean, *Kinship in Neckarhausen, 1700–1870* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 88–101; Adams, *Familial State*, 28–35; Broomhall and Gent, "In the Name of the Father"; Pollock, "Rethinking Patriarchy and the Family."

³⁹ Charles H. Parker, *The Reformation of Community: Social Welfare and Calvinist Charity in Holland, 1572-1620* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998); Nederveen Meerkerk, "Will to Give."

⁴⁰ The balance of Elizabeth's estate was completed on 29 October 1587. According to the document, Elizabeth possessed assets of £11,839.12.9. The same document shows that her four children were to divide £8,196.12.1 for their maternal inheritance. DvdM 66-7. However, by her testament, Elizabeth also promised to distribute £12,000 as the paternal inheritance of her children.

gift also provided a means to mitigate feelings of unfairness deriving from the ways in which she placed her sons before her daughters. Elizabeth listed additional gifts in her codicil, expanding, if only slightly, the circle of influence of her testament beyond her heirs. Her codicil specified that three of her nieces should each receive a gift of £33.6.8 upon their marriage.⁴¹ Though small in comparison to the multitude of bequests Jan de Oude made, the three gifts to her nieces show Elizabeth involved in a similar project. The marriage gifts served to connect Elizabeth to her young relatives, but more importantly it called for the continuation of a connection that existed between her and her siblings to the cousins of the next generation.⁴²

B. Bequests of Jan della Faille de Oude

The multitude of bequests Jan de Oude gifted in his testament and codicil must be placed in the context of his position within his family network. Jan de Oude was not the oldest son in his family, but his career as a merchant and his vast accumulation of wealth through trade placed him in a position of power over his own siblings and wider kin. Jan de Oude's mercantile success opened up new opportunities for his kin. His siblings who married before his ascendancy in the mercantile world married non-merchants. In contrast, those who took their marital vows later all united with important mercantile families.⁴³ This pattern continued as most of his nieces and nephews married into mercantile families. Like other sixteenth-century merchants, Jan de Oude utilized young family members to fill positions within his vast and complex trade network. When

⁴¹ Codicil of Elizabeth; DvdM 66-7.

⁴² In contrast to the patterns detected by Samuel Cohn and Martha Howell, other than the gift of her clothes, Elizabeth did not designate certain goods for certain individuals. Her testament demonstrates her thinking in terms of patrimony, a process usually associated with male testaments. Samuel K. Cohn, "Renaissance Attachment to Things: Material Culture in Last Wills and Testaments," *The Economic History Review* 65, no. 3 (2012): 984–1004; Howell, "Fixing Movables"; Bourdieu, *Outline of a Theory of Practice*.

⁴³ Brulez, *Firma Della Faille*, 216.

non-kin individuals gained entrance to this network, Jan de Oude often rewarded their service by attaching them to the kin group through marriage. From his siblings, to the factors spread throughout Europe, to the servants in his home, Jan de Oude surrounded himself with a dense web of kin.⁴⁴

Through his bequests, Jan de Oude sought to continue to orchestrate relations among his kin, asserting his vision of the structure of the family, while also passing on his central position to his heirs. Bequests worked to call out and intensify horizontal relationships between contemporaries. Stretching along a horizontal plane, bequests diverted capital from lineal kin. The £4,709.10.6 that Jan de Oude bequeathed in total almost matched the calculated inheritance of each of his nine heirs at the end of 1583 and was more than half of the capital held by Elizabeth's estate after her death in 1587.⁴⁵ However, this reduction of the inheritance functioned as an investment in relationships with individuals outside the lineal family. An in depth analysis of the bequests shows the tactics Jan de Oude used to link himself and his heirs to both kin and non-kin members of the family's network. The bequests provide evidence of the broad and yet dense relations which Jan de Oude depended upon throughout his life and which he hoped to pass to his heirs. The number of individuals Jan de Oude listed in his testament and the amount of his capital that he designated for the bequests demonstrate the import of these relations.

⁴⁴ One example among many is the marriage of Herman Pottey, his factor in London to his niece, Catharina de Wale, in 1567. Pollock, "Rethinking Patriarchy and the Family"; Trivellato, *Familiarity of Strangers*; Sabean and Teuscher, "Rethinking European Kinship"; Sharon Kettering, "Patronage and Kinship in Early Modern France," *French Historical Studies* 16, no. 2 (1988): 408–435; Adams, *Familial State*. On the use of gifts to create reciprocity in order to strengthen horizontal relations, see Davis, *The Gift*; Howell, *Commerce before Capitalism*; McLean, *Art of the Network*; Ben-Amos, "Gifts and Favors."

⁴⁵ The state made on 26 December 1583 of Jan de Oude's estate estimated the paternal inheritance of each of the heirs to be £5000. State of Jan de Oude's estate, 26 December 1583, Della Faille de Leverghem Archive, inventory 12, Private collection, Lozer, Belgium (hereafter DFL). Elizabeth's estate was calculated to be £8,196.12.1. DvdM 66-7.

C. Bequests to the Poor

Prominent as it may have been, concern for family did not monopolize Jan de Oude's thoughts as he dictated his testament. He also possessed a moral obligation to provide for those less fortunate than he, but like Elizabeth, his bequests to the poor only amounted to a tiny portion of his wealth. Jan de Oude gave £591.13.4 to the poor of Antwerp and Wevelgem, the village of his birth. This constituted just a bit more than 1% of Jan de Oude's total capital as designated by the account book of the estate on 26 December 1583 or 1.3% of the paternal inheritance the same document estimated he left his children.⁴⁶ Jan de Oude and Elizabeth may have differed in their religious beliefs, but they reacted in remarkably similar ways when it came to charitable bequests in their testaments. Community and not salvation played the central role in these gifts.⁴⁷ Through these bequests, Jan de Oude demonstrated an investment and rootedness in place that is not usually associated with sixteenth-century merchants who remained highly mobile.⁴⁸

⁴⁶ The calculation of Jan de Oude's capital in the state of the estate on 26 December 1583 can be found in Creditors of the book nr 9, DFL 12-286. This document calculated Jan de Oude's total capital—his assets as they stood at the end of 1583—to be £56,741.4.1 1/2. It estimated the paternal inheritance of the heirs to be £45,000. Calculation of the wealth of Jan de Oude, 1583, DFL 13. The differences in the means of accounting for the assets of the deceased as well as the different obligations make it difficult to directly compare the percentages Elizabeth and Jan de Oude gave to the poor. However, these calculations demonstrate that the two testators roughly designated a similar proportion of their capital to the benefit of the poor. On the estate of Jan de Oude, see Chapter 5.

⁴⁷ Parker, *Reformation of Community*; Nederveen Meerkerk, "Will to Give"; Daniëlle Teeuwen, "Collections for the Poor: Monetary Charitable Donations In Dutch Towns, C. 1600-1800," *Continuity and Change* 27, no. 2 (2012): 271–299.

⁴⁸ With the mass migration of merchants both before and after Farnese captured the city of Antwerp a great deal of literature has focused upon the Antwerp diaspora and the movement from Antwerp towards Amsterdam. Gustaaf Asaert, *1585: De val van Antwerpen en de uittocht van Vlamingen en Brabanders* (Tielt, Belgium: Lannoo, 2004); Oscar Gelderblom, "Antwerp Merchants in Amsterdam after the Revolt (1578–1630)," in *International Trade in the Low Countries (14th–16th Centuries): Merchants, Organisation, Infrastructure*, ed. Peter Stabel, et al. (Louvain: Garant, 2000); Gelderblom, *Zuid-Nederlandse kooplieden*; Oscar Gelderblom, "From Antwerp to Amsterdam: The Contribution of Merchants from the Southern Netherlands to the Commercial Expansion of Amsterdam (C. 1540-1609)," *Review (Fernand Braudel Center)* 26, no. 3 (2003): 247–282; Ole Peter Grell, *Calvinist Exiles in Tudor and Stuart England* (Hants, England: Scholar Press, 1996); Andrew Pettegree, *Foreign Protestant Communities in Sixteenth-Century London* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1986); R. van Roosbroeck, *Emigranten: Nederlandse vluchtelingen in Duitsland (1550–1600)* (Louvain: Davidsfonds, 1968).

Jan de Oude assigned gifts of nearly equal value to the poor of Wevelgem and Antwerp. To the poor of Wevelgem, he donated land previously owned by his parents. He gave four hectare he had inherited from his parents, as well as an additional 6 hectare he purchased from his siblings.⁴⁹ Together, Jan de Oude valued these lands at £300. The remaining bequests to the poor went to the service of the less fortunate of Antwerp. Jan de Oude actually donated a smaller amount to the almoners for care of the poor than Elizabeth. He provided the poor with a gift of £66.13.4. However, Jan de Oude bolstered this by donating a house he had purchased and improved, which he valued at £166.13.4.⁵⁰ Finally, Jan de Oude designated that meals should be provided at the expense of his estate for a variety of charitable institutions. The prisoners at the Steen, the mentally ill, and the poor orphans were to enjoy “food and drink” on the day of Jan de Oude’s burial. On the same day, Jan de Oude provided a “friendly meal” for the benefit of the almoners of Antwerp.⁵¹ The relative extravagance of these meals is striking. While the three poor houses evenly split a gift totaling £25, the almoners, a group of four wealthy individuals, were expected to expend £33.6.8 on one meal.⁵²

⁴⁹ Jan de Oude used the measurement of *bunder* to describe the area of land. One *bunder* is equivalent to 1 1/3 hectare. Brulez, *Firma Della Faille*, 122.

⁵⁰ This house was previously owned by Catharina Aertsen. This may have been the wife of Jan van der Meulen de Oude, and thus grandmother of the Van der Meulen siblings. Jongbloet-van Houtte, *Daniel van der Meulen*.

⁵¹ Testament Jan de Oude: The poor houses received “spijse ende dranck,” while the almoners got a “vriendelijcken maeltijt.”

⁵² The almoners at this time were Daniel van Gele, Gabriel de Hase, Jean Vivien, Jeroon Coomans. Jean Vivien married Catharina Malapert and became Andries and Daniel’s brother-in-law when Andries marries Suzanne Malapert in 1583. On the almoners in Antwerp at this time, see Floris Prims, “De aalmoezeniers die men “intrusi” heette,” *Antwerpensia* 15 (1942): 273–280.

D. Statistics

Following these preliminary bequests, Jan de Oude's testament lists a staggering number of gifts to both kin and non-kin.⁵³ The gifts range from small presents handed to servants to quite substantial endowments to kin.⁵⁴ Including the five donations to the poor of Antwerp and Wevelgem, as well as the three additional gifts he left in his codicil, Jan de Oude made eighty-seven separate bequests. Three more gifts not present in the testament or codicil are listed in the account book of the estate of Jan de Oude, bringing the total gifts to ninety.⁵⁵ In all, Jan de Oude designated eighty-two separate individuals as recipients of his benevolence.⁵⁶ Together, these

⁵³ The gifts listed in the testament and codicil are slightly different than those found in the State of Jan de Oude's estate, 26 December 1583, DFL 12-356–416. This long and complicated account book contains an entire section dedicated to Jan de Oude's bequests. In the face of any discrepancies between the gifts from the testament and codicil and the state, I have followed the state. As a later document, legally obliged to list all assets and liabilities of the estate all bequests should be found in this document. On the state and its creation, see Chapters 5 and 6.

⁵⁴ The smallest gifts were for £4.3.4. The largest was given to Gaspar Losschaert for £400.

⁵⁵ The complication of Jan de Oude's testament is such that coming to this number is not unproblematic. As will be detailed below, many of Jan de Oude's gifts were made to groups of kin. Rather than treating these as a single gift, I have considered each recipient as representing a separate bequest. More difficult is how to treat gifts given to Catharina de Wale and Hester van Eeckeren. The gifts to these women were intended for their children, but they were given in the first instance to the mothers. In the case of Catharina de Wale, Jan de Oude gifted each of the three children she had with her deceased husband, Herman Pottey an annuity. However, the annuity was to be given to Catharina de Wale until her death, only then devolving unto her children. In both of these cases, I have only counted the gifts to the children, not including the two mothers in the total number of bequests. Finally, though the gift of £33.6.8 to Henrick van Liesvelt, Heer van Hamme and Chancellor of Brabant, of £172.3.10 to Ambrosius Goyvaerts, and the annuity of £3 to Jan de Wale are not listed in the testament or codicil, their presence in the account book of the estate has led me to include them in the statistics cited here.

⁵⁶ Three individuals received two separate gifts from Jan de Oude. Ambrosius Goyvaerts received an annuity along with forgiveness for half of his debt to the estate, which is cited above. The gifts to Goyvaerts are discussed in greater detail below. Along with Goyvaerts, Gaspar Losschaert and Antonio Schoormans both received two gifts. This number also does not include the bequests to the poor discussed above.

gifts amounted to the considerable sum of £4,709.10.6, or 8.3% of Jan de Oude's calculated capital at the end of 1583.⁵⁷ This works out to an average of £52.6.6 3/4 per bequest.⁵⁸

The above figures do not necessarily represent the true amount disbursed by Jan de Oude's estate, but rather derive from the accounting practices of the day. The gifts made by Jan de Oude can be divided into two different categories. Gifts came either in the form of lump sum payments, which might be given directly to the beneficiary or written off on their account with the estate, or through life annuities.⁵⁹ For accounting purposes, annuities were calculated for a period of sixteen years. For example, in the account book of the estate, the executors listed an annuity of £1 per year for the sum of £16, and it is this latter figure that is used to calculate the sums above. In most cases, the sixteen year total fell to the control of Marten, who as executor was charged with disbursing the annuities.⁶⁰ Possessing very different natures, annuities and lump sum payments created different relationships between the beneficiary on the one hand and the deceased and executors of the testament on the other.⁶¹

⁵⁷ The total bequests is given in Creditors of the book nr 9, DFL 12-286, as well as in various other documents concerning the calculation of the estate of Jan de Oude. These include Calculation of the wealth of Jan de Oude, 1583, DFL 13; Calculation of the paternal inheritance left by Jan de Oude, 26 December 1583, DFL 13; 13-2: Summary of the state of Jan de Oude, 18 July 1598, DFL 13.

⁵⁸ All calculations for averages are approximate to the nearest one-quarter groat.

⁵⁹ On annuities, see Howell, *Commerce before Capitalism*, 75–78. On such long-term loans more generally, see John H. Munro, "The Medieval Origins of the Financial Revolution: Usury, Rentes, and Negotiability," *The International History Review* 25, no. 3 (2003): 505–562.

⁶⁰ Though the testament and codicil charged Marten with distributing the annuities and the account book of the estate often noted that the sums had been given to Marten, Jacques also gained control of a number of annuities and dispersed them to the legatees. This can be seen in Bequests in the possession of Jacques and Marten, DFL 13.

⁶¹ Different types of property relations created different relationships between individuals. Hans Medick and David Warren Sabean, "Interest and Emotion in Family and Kinship Studies: A Critique of Social History and Anthropology," in *Interest and Emotion: Essays on the Study of Family and Kinship*, ed. Hans Medick and David Warren Sabean (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984); Bourdieu, *Outline of a Theory of Practice*; Arjun Appadurai, ed. *The Social Life of Things: Commodities in Cultural Perspective* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986).

Lump sum payments made up a majority of the gifts Jan de Oude specified in his testament and codicil. He listed sixty-seven separate gifts of this nature to be given to sixty-one different individuals in addition to the five destined for the poor. Taken together, Jan de Oude assigned £3,197.10.6 of his estate through these gifts. The average lump sum gift was £47.14.5 3/4. However, if only the gifts to individuals are taken into account, the value of the average gift lessens to £42.0.7. The distribution of these gifts clustered around relatively small gifts of £4.3.4, with twelve separate occurrences, and a second cluster of more substantial gifts with eighteen separate gifts for £33.6.8. Jan de Oude gave seven individuals gifts of £100, but only four gifts over exceeding that amount.

Annuities, by their nature, possess a less clear value than lump sum gifts. As stated above, in the account books of the estate the annuities were valued at a period of sixteen years. If the beneficiary died before the conclusion of this period, the extra money would fall to the heirs.⁶² At the same time, the estate had to prepare for payments to continue beyond the sixteen year period. Gifts of annuities to younger children or cases where Jan de Oude specified that the annuity would continue to the children of the beneficiary after their death augmented this possibility. The total sum of annuities, calculated at the sixteen year period, was £1512, which was split between twenty-three different beneficiaries. The average beneficiary could expect £65.14.9 1/2 over the sixteen year period or £4.2.2 per year. Like lump sum payments, the value of annuities clustered around two different points. A plurality of recipients, eight individuals, received £1 per year for the rest of their lives. In contrast, Jan de Oude gave five individuals £8.6.8 per year. The mode for the annuities was £3 per year.

⁶² For example, the Annuity bequeathed to Ambrosius Goyvaerts, DFL 12-402. Howell, *Commerce before Capitalism*, 75–78.

Unsurprisingly, Jan de Oude directed the vast majority of his bequests to kin. Of the eighty-five gifts bequested to individuals, sixty-five, or over 76%, went to kin. Jan de Oude only designated twenty gifts to non-kin. One kin member and two non-kin received two gifts, so that sixty-four kin and eighteen non-kin received a bequest from Jan de Oude. The amount Jan de Oude bequested to kin and non-kin has a nearly identical ratio to the above. He gave a total of £3115.10.0, or just under 76% of the total amount bequeathed to individuals, to kin and £1002.7.2 to non-kin.

Testamentary bequests, like all gifts, possess a dual nature. Gifts look forward as they look backward; they are repayment and ask for repayment; they settle debt and create debt. Gifts mediate relations not only through the object transacted, but by recalling the past and looking forward to the future. This Janus-faced nature of gifts in its relation to time is accentuated in the case of testamentary bequests. Testamentary gifts cross and connect generations. Though bequeathed by the dying, they are fulfilled by and mediate relations among the living. Jan de Oude's bequests attempted to structure relations through two primary means. Firstly, the gift itself mediated relations through its size, its payment method, or even through its absence. Secondly, Jan de Oude attached conditions to many of the bequests. Foregoing the implicit nature of the obligation a gift incurs, these bequests made repayment explicit. Through these means, Jan de Oude hoped to reward service from the past, solve problems of the past and present, and coordinate relations in the future.⁶³

⁶³ Michael Auwers, "The Gift of Rubens: Rethinking the Concept of Gift-Giving in Early Modern Diplomacy," *European History Quarterly* 43, no. 3 (2013): 421–441; Davis, *The Gift*; Howell, *Commerce before Capitalism*; Peebles, "Anthropology of Credit and Debt"; Bourdieu, *Outline of a Theory of Practice*.

E. Bequests to Non-Kin

Jan de Oude's bequests functioned most simply in those offered to two different groups of non-kin individuals. The gifts designated to merchants and lawyers from the Duchy of Brabant demonstrate nicely the different functions testamentary gifts could possess. Despite the Janus-faced nature of gifts, bequests could be structured to emphasize either the past or the future. While hardly ignoring their relation to the future, the bequests made to merchants emphasized the past interactions and relationships Jan de Oude had with these individuals. To a certain extent, this is betrayed in the choice of words Jan de Oude used in his testament. The two gifts of £8.6.8 to Jan Widols and his son were "for good service received from them for many years."⁶⁴ Jan de Oude called Aloisno Cotzini, a merchant in Venice, a "a good friend," leaving him a bequest of £4.3.4 "as a good remembrance."⁶⁵ The emphasis on the past relationship is further demonstrated by the nature of the bequests. All eight merchants received relatively small lump sum payments. Five legatees received the minimal bequest of £4.3.4 and three received £8.6.8. All eight of the beneficiaries received these bequests through book exchanges. Connected to the mercantile activities of the Della Faille, the merchants possessed running accounts with Jan de Oude and his estate. In payment for the bequests the executors simply wrote off the amount bequested on their individual accounts as credit to the estate. No physical exchange took place. Rather, the writing in the account book offered the only evidence of the gift.⁶⁶

⁶⁴ Testament Jan de Oude: "voor goeden dienst van hen ontfangen geleden veele jare."

⁶⁵ Testament Jan de Oude: "zijnen goeden vriend...ende dat tot een goede gedenckenisse."

⁶⁶ State of Jan de Oude's estate, 26 December 1583, DFL 12; State of Jan de Oude's estate, 31 December 1594, DFL 12bis. Muldrew, *Economy of Obligation*; Herman van der Wee, "Monetary, Credit and Banking System," in *The Economic Organization of Early Modern Europe*, ed. E. E. Rich and C. H. Wilson The Cambridge Economic History of Europe (University Press, 1977).

Considering the large sums that daily flowed between these merchants, a testamentary bequest could hardly guarantee service into the future. The relatively small size of Jan de Oude's bequests to merchants demonstrate that he understood this. Merchants possessed other means to call for the continuance of service.⁶⁷ Instead of focusing on the future, these gifts acted as a remembrance of the past. At the same time, the dual nature of gifts was not, nor was it intended to be, denied. The very act of singling out certain merchants to receive gifts signaled to his heirs and the beneficiaries Jan de Oude's hope that the relationship between the two groups would continue into the future.

The bequests designated to a group of lawyers reversed the relationship between past and future. Jan de Oude's wealth as well as prominent disputes with his brother Jacques de Oude and with the heirs of Marten de Hane ensured that Jan de Oude had close relations with a number of lawyers.⁶⁸ Three differences in the nature of the bequests demonstrate the emphasis upon future relations with the lawyers. Firstly, the Jan de Oude left larger gifts to this group of six lawyers. Bequests to the merchants averaged a value of £5.14.7, while those to lawyers averaged £143.2.10 1/4, a difference of almost twenty-five times. Indeed, the significance of the bequests to the lawyers is amply demonstrated by the fact that 21% of the value bequeathed to individuals went to these six lawyers.⁶⁹

⁶⁷ Trivellato, *Familiarity of Strangers*; Aslanian, *Indian Ocean to the Mediterranean*; Jesse Sadler, "News as a Path to Independence: Merchant Correspondence and the Exchange of News during the Dutch Revolt," in *In Praise of Ordinary People: Early Modern England and the Dutch Republic*, ed. Margaret C. Jacob and Catherine Secretan (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013).

⁶⁸ Brulez, *Firma Della Faille*, 14-21.

⁶⁹ The difference in value of the gifts between the two groups is partially due to the fact that both Ambrosius Goyvaerts and Antonio Schoormans received two separate gifts. The account book of the estate lists half of Ambrosius Goyvaerts's debt to the estate as forgiven through a bequest. In his codicil, Jan de Oude forgave Antonio Schoormans's debt deriving from his stay in one of Jan de Oude's houses. Even without these double bequests, the average gift to this group of lawyers was valued at £111.2.2 3/4.

Using the form of the annuity, Jan de Oude sought to tie the lawyers to his heirs into the future. He willed that Antonio Schoormans and Roelant Paulet receive £4.3.4 per year. The four other lawyers received twice this amount, £8.6.8 per year. Thus, the lawyers received each and every year the same sum Jan de Oude gave to the merchants on only one occasion. The form of the annuity not only possessed the potential to reach substantial sums, it created a long-lasting relationship not true of lump sum payments. Annuities connected Jan de Oude's heirs to the beneficiaries for the rest of the beneficiary's life. Once a year this relationship would be recalled and replayed, whether in the form of book transfer or direct payment. The gift, of course, was intended to summon the past relationship between the lawyers and Jan de Oude, but primarily, Jan de Oude sought to furnish his heirs with legal cover provided by the knowledge of a coterie of lawyers.⁷⁰

Jan de Oude did not simply assume that annuities would assure future service from the beneficiaries. Gifts are always somewhat ambiguous and never as fully binding as the giver may wish them.⁷¹ Jan de Oude sought to minimize uncertainties in the future obligations demanded by the bequests through the attachment of conditions on their full payment. Jan de Oude made payment of the annuity conditional to continued service to his heirs. The testament contained almost identical language for each of the lawyers. For example, Antonio Schoormans's annuity of £4.3.4 came in addition to any salary that he earned or was owed. However, payment occurred "upon the condition that he shall not make or serve against the testator's children in any lawsuit, but instead that he address and assist the children as best as he can or is able."⁷² In his codicil,

⁷⁰ The lawyers did continue to serve the Della Failles, as seen in the lawsuit with the De Hane family and the disputes between the siblings. See Chapters 6 and 7.

⁷¹ Bourdieu, *Outline of a Theory of Practice*; Davis, *The Gift*.

⁷² Testament Jan de Oude: "met conditie dat hij zijns testateurs kinderen in ghene processen en sal mogen tegendien, maer deselve behulpich wesen ende adresseren, soo hij best sal connen ofte mogen."

Jan de Oude added another gift to Schoormans. The dying merchant allowed Schoormans to live rent free for a year in a house he owned, but this came with more specific conditions than found in the testament. Jan de Oude required that Schoormans assist his sister Hilaria in an ongoing lawsuit with Josine van der Bruggen, Jan de Oude's and Hilaria's sister-in-law, concerning the estate of Gillis van der Bruggen, brother of Josine and deceased husband of Hilaria. The annuities thus gave the lawyers an incentive to work for the family, but equally important, they precluded the lawyers from working against the interests of the Della Failles.

The conditional nature of the annuities to the lawyers makes clear not only their orientation towards the future, but also exposes the larger intent of the bequests. Jan de Oude primarily designed the bequests to this group of lawyers to protect the interests of his heirs. However, Jan de Oude also clearly defined what he saw as the interest of his children. Through his bequests, Jan de Oude hoped to solidify his vision of the structure of relations within his kin group.

F. Bequests to Kin

Jan de Oude's testament reveals an investment in family unity built through a hierarchy with Jan de Oude at its center. The most important group among Jan de Oude's beneficiaries were his nieces and nephews.⁷³ Jan de Oude sought to bind together his heirs with the descendants of his siblings, transferring the ties between siblings to bonds between cousins. Jan de Oude's testament specified that thirty-five individuals related to his siblings should receive gifts. This group received £1,727.13.4 or 42% of the total amount Jan de Oude designated to

⁷³ Michaela Hohkamp, "Sisters, Aunts, and Cousins: Familial Architectures and the Political Field in Early Modern Europe," in *Kinship in Europe: Approaches to Long-Term Development*, ed. David Warren Sabean, et al. (New York: Berghahn Books, 2007); Ruppel, "Subordinates, Patrons, and Most Beloved"; Naomi Tadmor, *Family and Friends in Eighteenth-Century England: Household, Kinship, and Patronage* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001).

individuals. The number of gifts more than the size of the gifts distinguish this group from the others. The average gift to the descendants of Jan de Oude's siblings of £49.7.3 was only slightly larger than the average for all bequests.

Only a few of Jan de Oude's siblings or siblings-in-law were alive when he made his testament. Therefore, the vast majority of Jan de Oude's bequests went to the children of his siblings and in some cases to their grandchildren.⁷⁴ Jan de Oude did not give a bequest to Daniel Samyn, the widower of his sister Maria, providing gifts to their children instead. Jan de Oude's only other surviving sibling was his younger brother Jacques de Oude and his wife Maria Gameel.⁷⁵ Jan de Oude's testament passed over Jacques de Oude and his descendants completely. That the testator skipped over Jacques de Oude is notable if unsurprising. The two brothers worked together for many years, with both amassing spectacular wealth through trade. However, their relationship soured after 1562, and Jacques de Oude accused his brother of cheating him out of profits, suing both Jan de Oude and Jan de Oude's sons Marten and Jan, as well as his son-in-law Robert van Eeckeren. At the end of the lawsuits in 1570, Jacques de Oude was granted £24,000.⁷⁶

Jan de Oude retained more amicable relations with his other siblings and their descendants. The wealthy merchant demonstrated his benevolence and influence within his family by providing bequests to all of the children of his other five siblings with only a few

⁷⁴ The only exceptions were a gift to his sister Hilaria and an annuity of £10 per year to Josine van der Bruggen, widow of his brother Pieter de Oude.

⁷⁵ Maria Gameel passed away some time between 1595 and 1597. Jacques de Oude died on 9 February 1597.

⁷⁶ Brulez, *Firma Della Faille*, 26. Inventory of the estate of Jacques de Oude shows that the lawsuits against his brother Jan de Oude cost him £4,891.11.2. Inventory of the estate of Jacques de Oude, Weesmeesterskamer, inventory 216. Felix Archief. Antwerp, Belgium.

exceptions.⁷⁷ In cases where a niece or nephew had passed away but left children, Jan de Oude specified that the bequest go to their children.⁷⁸ Only Catharina, Jan de Oude's eldest sister, received treatment approaching that given to Jacques de Oude. Of the five sons born to Catharina by two different husbands, Jan de Oude only set aside a minimal gift of £4.3.4 for Catharina's son Antonio van Neste. Antonio had previously worked for Jan de Oude in Venice, but in the dispute between Jan de Oude and Jacques de Oude, Antonio chose the latter.

Maintaining strong connections between Jan de Oude's heirs and their cousins proved to be one of the primary goals of his bequests. The testament meticulously listed each of Jan de Oude's siblings and the gifts intended for their children in an attempt to sustain cohesion within the family. The majority of Jan de Oude's nieces and nephews received their gifts in the form of lump sum payments with fifteen of the thirty-five individuals receiving £33.6.8, but many of the bequests were individually tailored to the recipient. When the beneficiaries had not yet reached their majority, Jan de Oude specified that the bequest should be invested for them and given to them upon reaching their majority. Within this group, Jan de Oude restricted bequests to consanguineal kin with only one exception. He gave £10 to Joos de Voghele, a merchant in Bruges and son-in-law to Pieter de Oude. Jan de Oude also singled out Gaspar Losschaert, the son of Hilaria, for special attention. In addition to the £16.3.4 that Jan de Oude gave to Gaspar,

⁷⁷ The available records do not always make clear the date of death for Jan de Oude's nieces and nephews. It is not always possible to tell if a child was skipped over or if they were already deceased. The one situation in which it is clear that a living child did not receive a bequest is Johanna della Faille, daughter of Pieter de Oude, who lived until about 1612. It is not clear why she did not receive a gift when all her other siblings did.

⁷⁸ Jan de Oude designated that the two orphans of Rogier della Faille, son of Jan de Oude's brother Bernard should both receive £33.6.8. He also designated £50 to be given to the heirs of Hilaria della Faille, daughter of Jan de Oude's brother Pieter when they came to their majority.

the testament transferred the £400 he gave to Hilaria and her second husband Gillis van der Bruggen upon their marriage to Gaspar at the time of his own marriage.⁷⁹

Crafting each bequest to the individual relationships, Jan de Oude further differentiated the gifts by utilizing annuities to link his children to their cousins. In addition to the annuity granted to the widow of Pieter de Oude noted above, Jan de Oude connected his heirs to their cousins through annuities on twelve different occasions. The testator used this form of bequest in two different ways. First, he provided two nieces he identified as “simpel” with annuities of £10 and £8.6.8. These functioned more as familial charity than any attempt to structure family relations. The second set of annuities he bequeathed to the descendants of his siblings worked quite differently. The children of Jan de Oude’s sister Johanna and her husband Jan de Wale either became involved in the trade of Jan de Oude or married close associates of the family.⁸⁰ It may have been this strong relationship that led Jan de Oude to assign them annuities, where the descendants of his other siblings received lump sum payments. In the case of Jan and Jacques de Wale the difference between lump sum payment and annuity was minimized, as both received the full sixteen year value through payments of the estate in 1583.⁸¹ However, Jan de Oude emphasized the form of the annuity in his gifts to Johanna’s three daughters. He specified that the annuity to Maria de Wale should continue to her children. Similarly, Catharina de Wale received an annuity, but ultimately it was to fall to the three children she had with Herman

⁷⁹ The original marriage gift stipulated that it was to return to Jan de Oude if Hilaria and Gillis did not produce an heir, which is what occurred. With this bequest, Jan de Oude allowed the sum to remain within the family of Hilaria.

⁸⁰ Brulez, *Firma Della Faille*. Catharina de Wale married Herman Pottety, Jan de Oude’s factor in London. Jacques and Jan de Wale were both merchants. Jan de Wale served as a factor in Hamburg and Venice and eventually joined a company with Marten della Faille in 1583. Johanna de Wale married Dierick de Jaghere, a merchant and associate of Jan de Oude and Marten after him. Finally, Maria de Wale married Wouter Aertsen, a factor in London, who eventually became Jacques della Faille’s main representative in the English city.

⁸¹ The annuity of Jan de Wale is not listed in the testament, but it appears in the accounts of the estate. DFL 12-368.

Pottey, Jan de Oude's former factor in London. Finally, Jan de Oude directed annuities to the four children of Dierick de Jaghere.⁸² In this way, the testator linked multiple generations, extending in both time and number the boundaries of the family. The family was supposed to continue to act as a unit well into the future.⁸³

Even among these close family members, only a minority of Jan de Oude's bequests came without conditions. The existence of such conditions reveal the difficulties of distributing inheritance and the position Jan de Oude adopted among his siblings. The existence of a lawsuit between Hilaria and Josine van der Bruggen has already been noted. The bequests for the children of Pieter de Oude came with the condition that they too must renounce any further claims to the estate of their uncle Gillis van der Bruggen. Further, Jan de Oude asserted that he "had purchased and paid" the estate of his brother Pieter de Oude, so that the heirs of his siblings Pieter de Oude, Bernaert, and Maria would be denied their bequests unless they acquiesced to the division Jan de Oude had already performed.⁸⁴ Through the conditions attached to the bequests to these close kin, Jan de Oude passed on his active role in shaping the connections within his own sibling group to his heirs, providing a final assertion of his power over his own sibling group.⁸⁵

Jan de Oude's bequests to the second group of kin, descendants of Jan de Oude's mother-in-law Anna de Hane, expose similar circumstances surrounding the division of inheritance, but

⁸² Dierick de Jaghere was the husband of Johanna de Wale. He was a merchant involved in the trade of Jan de Oude.

⁸³ Natalie Zemon Davis, "Ghosts, Kin, and Progeny: Some Features of Family Life in Early Modern France," *Daedalus* 106, no. 2 (1976): 87–114; Sabeau, *Kinship in Neckarhausen*; Sabeau and Teuscher, "Kinship in Europe."

⁸⁴ Testament Jan de Oude: "heeft gecoft ende betaelt."

⁸⁵ Ruppel, "Subordinates, Patrons, and Most Beloved"; Benjamin Marschke, "The Crown Prince's Brothers and Sisters: Succession and Inheritance Problems and Solutions Among the Hohenzollerns, from the Great Elector to Frederick the Great," in *Sibling Relations and the Transformations of European Kinship, 1300–1900*, ed. Christopher H. Johnson and David Warren Sabeau (New York: Berghahn Books, 2011); Bastress-Dukehart, "Sibling Conflict."

if anything in a heightened form. A daughter of Marten de Hane, Anna, married twice. She first married Steven van der Capellen. The couple produced four children, among whom was Jan de Oude's wife Cornelia. After Steven van der Capellen's death, Anna de Hane married Cornelis van Eeckeren, with whom she had three children.⁸⁶ Though Anna de Hane died some time around 1565, her descendants still contested her estate at the time Jan de Oude made his testament.⁸⁷ Like the estate of his brother Pieter de Oude, Jan de Oude had taken control of much of the estate. This was a common maneuver for a successful merchant at the head of a family group. Rather than fully disbursing the assets to the various heirs, Jan de Oude maintained control of the capital, investing it in trade. The heirs then became creditors of Jan de Oude, usually receiving interest at the standard rate of 6.25% per year. This both concentrated capital, mitigating the dispersion and dilution of assets that naturally followed from inheritance, and protected the capital of heirs either less able or capable of maintaining and augmenting that capital.⁸⁸ As will be seen below, Jan de Oude followed a similar strategy with his own heirs. Through the bequests, Jan de Oude added to the credit of the various heirs of Anna de Hane. In doing so, he hoped to bring the disputes surrounding the estate of Anna de Hane to an end. However, the conditions Jan de Oude gave for these bequests also demonstrate his desire for his heirs to maintain tight relationships with the heirs of his mother-in-law.

Jan de Oude made bequests to three different sets of descendants of his mother-in-law, all conditional on renunciation of any further claims to the estate of Anna de Hane. The most problematic of these appears to have been the children of Maria van der Capellen, Jan de Oude's

⁸⁶ The Della Failles were also attached to Cornelis van Eeckeren through the son of his first marriage, Robert van Eeckeren, who married Jan de Oude's eldest daughter Anna.

⁸⁷ The estate of Anna de Hane remained undisbursed as late as 1594. See Chapter 7 and DFL 12bis.

⁸⁸ Howell, *Commerce before Capitalism*.

sister-in-law, and Lenaert van Driel. The couple had seven children, six of whom were already creditors to the estate of Jan de Oude, deriving from their grandmaternal inheritance.⁸⁹ Jan de Oude bequeathed £33.6.8 to three of the couple's daughters, Sara, Leonora, and Ursula, but the gifts came with strict regulations. The gifts of course came dependent upon their renunciation to any further claims to the estate of their grandmother. In addition, the bequests could only be distributed with the consent of the executors of the testament. The money had to be used in "heritable interest," which they could not alienate.⁹⁰ In this way, Jan de Oude denied the legatees direct access to the bequest. If any of the three raised difficulties, and Sara seems to have been especially problematic, Jan de Oude provided the executors with the ability to rescind the bequests. "In case the same three sons do not approve, they can refuse to give the bequest, particularly to Sara van Driel."⁹¹

Relations with Robert and Maria Frumault, children of Constantia van der Capellen, appear to have been more amicable. As with the other heirs of Anna de Hane, they could only receive their bequests by ending any further claims to the estate of their grandmother. However, Jan de Oude also wished to tie the future of Robert and Maria to his own heirs. The testator left each £16.3.4 upon marriage so long as they married with the consent of Jan, Marten, and Jacques, the executors of Jan de Oude's testament.⁹² The gift provided Jan de Oude's sons a certain degree of power over the marriage choices of the pair. The account book of the estate

⁸⁹ Only Lenora van Driel is not listed in the accounts of the estate.

⁹⁰ Testament Jan de Oude: "erffelijcke rente."

⁹¹ Testament Jan de Oude: "indien tselve zijne drij soonen niet goet en dochte, soo en salmen hun niet geven ende principelijck niet aen Sara van Driele." It seems that they were likely paid. At the very least, this money was given to Marten. DFL 12 also shows that many members of the Van Driele family were creditors to the estate, and the credits were almost all paid out by 26 December 1583. DFL 12.

⁹² Maria Frumault married Victor du Boys. Jacques to Daniel, Haarlem, 12 April 1587, DvdM 60-12.

shows that these bequests were handed over to the control of Marten. Further, Marten gained possession of an additional £407.6.3 owed to his young kin for their grandmaternal inheritance.⁹³ Through these two credits, Marten possessed a total debt of £440.12.11 to Robert and Maria. Marten essentially replaced Jan de Oude, because Marten could maintain the debt on his own books. In this manner, the debt, and therefore the relationship, continued.

Jan de Oude followed a similar strategy in the bequests he gave to Hester van Eeckeren and her nine children. Hester van Eeckeren was half-sister of both Cornelia van der Capellen and Robert van Eeckeren, husband of Jan de Oude's eldest daughter Anna. This close relationship may have provided the opportunity for Hester van Eeckeren's husband, Jan Noirot, to work as Jan de Oude's accountant.⁹⁴ Hester's sons Jacques and Hans also served under Jan de Oude. In the testament they were rewarded for their service with bequests of £33.6.8 and £8.6.8 respectively.⁹⁵ These were smaller gifts than their other siblings received, but their attachment to the trade of Jan de Oude and his estate provided ample opportunity to make up this deficit. Hester's five youngest sons were not forgotten, but unlike their elder brothers, their bequests came with restrictions. If Hester van Eeckeren renounced further claims to the estate of Anna de Hane, she would gain the usufruct of £250, which would pass to her younger sons upon her death.⁹⁶ The testator further stipulated that Hester's husband, Jan Noirot, though the trusted

⁹³ The account book of Jan de Oude's estate shows that Robert and Maria Frumault possessed a credit of £367.14.4 at the opening of the book. On 10 October 1583 the account book of the estate added £41.10.3 to this credit for one year of interest on the principle of £371.1.4 and then nine months on the principle of £390.18.2. This resulted in a credit of £409.4.7. Aside from a small payment made for Maria Frumault, the main credit of £407.6.3 was handed over to Marten della Faille. DFL 12.

⁹⁴ Brulez, *Firma Della Faille*.

⁹⁵ Jacques Noirot's account in the account book of the estate shows his involvement in the trade of Jan de Oude. He accompanied a ship from London to Venice for the estate. See Account of Jacques Noirot, DFL 12-289.

⁹⁶ The testament actually stated that Hester van Eeckeren was to receive £215. However, the account book of the estate lists the bequest as £250. This makes the most sense as it would lead to each son receiving £50. DFL 12-371.

accountant of Jan de Oude, could not gain any control over the bequests. Highlighting their kinship with Anna de Hane, the bequests to the five younger sons were to flow through their mother.

The final bequests dealing with the heirs of Anna de Hane were destined to the unmarried daughters of Hester van Eeckeren and Jan Noirot. As with the bequests of their brothers, Jan de Oude emphasized the lineal flow of the capital. Like Maria and Robert Frumault, Tanneken and Lynken Noirot's bequests were to be disbursed at the time of their marriage. In order to gain access to the bequests Tanneken and Lynken had to receive the consent of their mother and the executors of Jan de Oude's testament.⁹⁷ Jan de Oude supplemented the testamentary bequests of £83.6.8 with marriage gifts of £133.6.8 that he had already set aside for each young woman.⁹⁸ Together, these gifts greatly augmented the influence of both Jan de Oude's sons and Hester van Eeckeren in any choice of marital partner. It also called for Hester and his sons to work together on this important family decision. But Jan de Oude was not satisfied to have his influence and that of his heirs end at the marriage of Tanneken and Lynken. The two women only gained free reign over half of their marriage gift, the other half Jan de Oude reserved for the children of Tanneken and Lynken after their death. Through these testamentary bequests and marriage gifts, Jan de Oude inserted himself and his heirs not only into the choice of marital partners and the material basis of the union, but also into the testaments of the young kinswomen. The memory of Jan de Oude was to be long indeed.

⁹⁷ Lynken Noirot married Hans Boots in 1589 in Bremen. DvdM 78-2. Tanneken Noirot married Merten Janssen in Dordrecht in 1587. Hester van Eeckeren to Daniel, 17 June 1587, DvdM 606-1. Gaining the consent of the three executors proved problematic.

⁹⁸ Account of Tanneken and Lynken Noirot, DFL 12-273. The testament stated that Tanneken and Lynken should receive a total of £533.6.8 between them, but the account book only lists them as creditors of £433.6.8. The account book also shows that the two were originally set to receive marriage gifts of £100 each, but Jan de Oude made a note in his account book that this should be augmented by a further £33.6.8.

A final example from Jan de Oude's bequests clearly demonstrates his emphasis on structure and authority as well as a perspective that was both horizontal and vertical.⁹⁹ A bequest, by definition, did not go to lineal kin. Jan de Oude broke this rule on five occasions by designating bequests to his grandchildren. In one case the bequest is truly odd. Jan de Oude set aside £100 for Janneken van Eeckeren upon her marriage. The testament calls Janneken the daughter of Robert van Eeckeren, and so is likely Johanna van Eeckeren, daughter of Robert and Anna della Faille. Janneken may simply have been a favorite of her grandfather and was therefore picked out for this honor. The four other bequests to Jan de Oude's grandchildren follow more closely the pattern of the bequests in general. These bequests flowed to two bastard sons of his own son Jan, a bastard son of Marten, and a bastard son of Jan de Oude's son-in-law Robert van Eeckeren.

Jan de Oude promised the illegitimate children of Jan and Marten the substantial sum of £100 each, three times more than the amount most often bequested to young kin. All three were still in their minority. Marten's son, Cornelis, was born around 1564 to an Antwerp woman, Anna Verdonck. Jeronimo and Andrea were born in Verona sometime around 1570.¹⁰⁰ Like other bequests given to minors, the bastards would receive the gift upon their marriage. Unsurprisingly, the bequest would be given only if "they marry with the consent of their aforesaid fathers otherwise not at all."¹⁰¹ Through the substantial wedding gift awaiting the illegitimate sons, Jan de Oude strove to increase paternal authority, providing ample incentive for the three to maintain amicable relations with their fathers. The bequest also signaled to Jan

⁹⁹ Sabean and Teuscher, "Rethinking European Kinship"; Sabean and Teuscher, "Kinship in Europe."

¹⁰⁰ Jongbloet-van Houtte, *Daniel van der Meulen*.

¹⁰¹ Testament Jan de Oude: "sijlieden commen te houwen met consente van heurlieden voors. vader ende anders niet."

and Marten, Jan de Oude's opinion that their connection with their illegitimate children possessed value, that they too should seek to maintain an active relationship with their sons. As illegitimate children, Cornelis, Jeronimo, and Andrea were consanguineal kin but not lineal. They were both sons and not sons. However, Jan de Oude's bequests make clear they held a position within the family group. Even illegitimate children should not to be ignored as they might prove valuable to the family.¹⁰²

At first glance the relatively small bequest of £8.6.8 Jan de Oude gave to Robert's son, Francisco van Eeckeren, appears to show that Jan de Oude treated the illegitimate child of his son-in-law differently from those of his own children. However, this modest sum compared to the illegitimate children of Jan and Marten should not be taken as a sign of displeasure. Quite the opposite, the smaller sum of the bequest is likely due to the fact that Francisco van Eeckeren had both already married and worked within the trade network of Jan de Oude. A merchant in Venice, Francisco was the only one of the illegitimate sons to have a running account with the estate. Francisco had also been legitimized by his father the year before Jan de Oude made his testament.¹⁰³ Francisco's marriage, which occurred the same year as his legitimacy, offers the strongest evidence that he had been accepted within the family. Francisco married Hester Frumault, the sister of Maria and Robert Frumault and therefore the granddaughter of Jan de Oude's mother-in-law. Francisco's marriage to a kin member—not just to Jan de Oude but also to his father, for Hester Frumault's grandmother was Robert van Eeckeren's mother—and the bequest to him demonstrates nicely the wide net Jan de Oude cast over his kin, and the interest

¹⁰² David Cressy, "Kinship and Kin Interaction in Early Modern England," *Past & Present* 113 (1986): 38–69; Tadmor, *Family and Friends in Eighteenth-Century England*; Naomi Tadmor, "Early Modern English Kinship in the Long Run: Reflections on Continuity and Change," *Continuity and Change* 25, no. 1 (2010): 15–48.

¹⁰³ DvdM 76.

that he had in developing and strengthening horizontal ties to kin. Relationships between kinsmen and kinswomen, for Jan de Oude's testament treated males and females similarly in this respect, created both actual and potential value. Jan de Oude's bequests sought to strengthen the bonds between horizontal kin, reaching even to illegitimate children. The vigor and density of the connections Jan de Oude built during his life time and sought to preserve after his death were meant to fortify the position and power of heirs and lineal kin.¹⁰⁴

Through all of the variety present in the eighty-five bequests Jan de Oude made in his testament and codicil, the testator's intentions remained relatively simple and consistent. Jan de Oude's bequests attempted to solidify the structure of his wider family he had worked to construct throughout his life. This family structure was hierarchical by its nature and functioned through authority. Through his bequests and the conditions he attached to them, Jan de Oude passed along his patriarchal authority within the family group directly to his three sons he chose as the executors of his testament. As he passed his authority vertically down a generation, he designed his gifts to emphasize the lineal nature of kinship relations. Numerous gifts flowed from his hands to those of his executors and then from parents to their children. Capital traveled down through consanguineal lines. Yet, bequests, by their nature, sought to continue and strengthen horizontal relationships. The £4,709.10.6 Jan de Oude left in bequests removed 8.3% of Jan de Oude's calculated capital from the inheritance of children. However, each bequest can be viewed as an investment in a horizontal relationship. By tying together this large number of kin and non-kin to his heirs, Jan de Oude ultimately sought to strengthen the position of the heirs. The future success of the lineal kin depended not only on their competencies and decision

¹⁰⁴ Grassby, *Kinship and Capitalism*; Tadmor, *Family and Friends in Eighteenth-Century England*; Peter Mathias, "Risk, Credit and Kinship in Early Modern Enterprise," in *The Early Modern Atlantic Economy*, ed. John J. McCusker and Kenneth Morgan (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000); Sabeian and Teuscher, "Rethinking European Kinship."

making, but also upon the relationships they could maintain, upon the networks they could create. Jan de Oude may have granted gifts to eighty-two different individuals, but his heirs remained at the center of what Jan de Oude was doing by making the bequests.

5. Inheritance

The most important section of the testaments involved the distribution of the inheritance to the heirs. Here, cultural norms and the laws of Antwerp limited the freedom of the testators. The Low Countries had a long tradition of partible inheritance for both male and female heirs.¹⁰⁵ Intestate law demanded perfect partibility.¹⁰⁶ Even with the creation of a testament, testators with legitimate progeny were obligated to provide each child their *legitime*, or two-thirds of their full inheritance, unless just reasons for disinheritance existed. That Elizabeth and Jan de Oude made testaments demonstrated their unwillingness to simply allow the intestate laws of Antwerp to determine the devolution of their estates, but the normative demands of partibility remained at the basis of their strategy. This section examines the strategies the two testators used to structure relations among their heirs and assert their parental power over the process by which their capital devolved to their children, while leaving any distinctions in the amount their heirs inherited as a last resort.¹⁰⁷

¹⁰⁵ Jack Goody, *The European Family: An Historico-Anthropological Essay* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 2000); Godding, *Le droit privé*; Howell, "Fixing Movables"; P. Scherft, *Het Sterfhuis van Willem van Oranje* (Leiden: Universitaire Pers Leiden, 1966).

¹⁰⁶ *Impressae* 1582, Title XLVII: Van Versterffenisse, Scheydinghe ende Deylinghe nr 10. "Item naede doot van vader oft moeder succederen alle de kinderen ab intestato even ghelijck in heurlieder vaders oft moeders goeden, sonder dat de mans-persoon oft oudtste kindt eenich voordeel heeft voor d'ander."

¹⁰⁷ Jan de Oude did make use of this strategy with the inheritance left to his deceased daughter Maria. In his testament, Jan de Oude only left Maria's *legitime* to Maria's children of two-thirds of an equal portion. However, Jan de Oude relented in his codicil. See below.

Whereas bequests concentrated upon horizontal relationships with friends and collateral kin, the inheritance affected relations within the sibling group, with lineal kin. The dissolution of the patriarchal power structure that occurred with the death of the longest surviving parent created a power vacuum. Elizabeth's and Jan de Oude's testaments sought to avoid the centrifugal tendencies they assumed followed this dispersal of power, placing in its stead a structure of authority within the sibling groups that mimicked, though in a much weaker form, the family structure which existed during the parents' lifetime.¹⁰⁸

At the time they wrote their testaments, Elizabeth and Jan de Oude both maintained possession of the majority of the estates left by their deceased spouses. Dying on 15 August 1566 without a testament, Cornelia van der Capellen's estate came under the intestate laws of Antwerp.¹⁰⁹ In contrast, Elizabeth and Jan van der Meulen signed a marriage contract at the time of their marriage in 1543 and replaced it with a testament on 15 October 1556.¹¹⁰ The testament gave the couple the ability to modify the dictates of the laws of Antwerp, but aside from some minor gifts, the testament mainly served to confirm these intestate laws. Thus, despite the presence of a testament in one case and its absence in the other, Elizabeth and Jan de Oude possessed very similar directives for dealing with the estate of their deceased spouse. The estate of the first deceased was assessed and split evenly between the longest living spouse on the one

¹⁰⁸. Bastress-Dukehart, "Sibling Conflict"; Sabeian and Teuscher, "Rethinking European Kinship."

¹⁰⁹. DvdM 57-107; DvdM 55-4.

¹¹⁰. Marriage contract of Jan van der Meulen and Elizabeth Zeghers, Antwerp, 2 July 1543, AvdM 19; Testament of Elizabeth Zeghers and Jan van der Meulen, Antwerp, 15 October 1556, AvdM 22-1.

hand and the heirs on the other.¹¹¹ Yet, the management of the estates from the time of their spouse's death to the making of their own testament differed greatly.

In practice, dividing the estate of the deceased spouse between the longest surviving spouse and the heirs at the time of death proved unnecessary and impractical. As much as the death of a parent signaled the true beginning of the devolution of property between generations, the power of the surviving parent remained in tact. All of the children of Cornelia van der Capellen and Jan van der Meulen were under the age of majority at the time of their deaths. Only Anna della Faille had reached her legal majority through her marriage to Robert van Eeckeren in June of 1562. This relative youth led to a natural delay in the disbursal of the inheritance. More importantly, however, both Jan de Oude and Elizabeth would have been reluctant to diminish the capital available to them or to prematurely provide their children with the independence that came from the reception of their inheritance. Jan de Oude and Elizabeth long maintained a degree of control over the portion of their spouse's estate intended for their children, investing it in their trade ventures and increasing their children's portions through the profits. Thus, in practice, Jan de Oude and Elizabeth sought to delay the distribution of the children's inheritance, consequently emphasizing the death of the second parent as the most crucial event for the devolution of property.¹¹²

The logic of delaying the disbursal of inheritance did not prevent all such occurrences. By the time that they made their testaments, both heads of the family had distributed parts of their children's inheritance. As discussed in Chapter 2, Jan, Maria, and Carlo had received their

¹¹¹ Testament of Elizabeth Zeghers and Jan van der Meulen, Antwerp, 15 October 1556, AvdM 22-1; *Impressae* 1582, Title XLI: Vande Rechten Ghehoude Persoonen Aengaende nr 63, 67-68. The laws pertaining to estates that remain undivided under the possession of a widow or widower are found in *Impressae* 1582, Title XLI nr 91 and 93.

¹¹² Sabean, *Property, Production, and Family*, 321-340; Marschke, "Crown Prince's Brothers and Sisters"; Tamara K. Hareven, "Aging and Generational Relations: A Historical and Life Course Perspective," *Annual Review of Sociology* 20 (1994): 437-461; Hardwick, *Practice of Patriarchy*, 143-158.

full maternal inheritance by the end of 1575, while all but Hester and Cornelia had received portions of the estate of Cornelia van der Capellen. Anna van der Meulen had also received her paternal inheritance before her mother made her testament. But where Jan de Oude meticulously accounted for the maternal inheritance of his children, the documents available for the Van der Meulens indicate that Elizabeth combined her husband's estate with her own, treating it as a single entity. This difference in management of the estates led to the different powers Jan de Oude and Elizabeth held over the estate of their deceased spouse and the contrasting ways that they dealt with it in their own testaments.

As with the bequests, Jan de Oude's testament possessed a complexity not matched by Elizabeth's testament. However, the sections on inheritance contrasted significantly less than those for bequests. Both possessed wide ranging authority over their children during their lives, and the testators utilized the testaments to extend that authority beyond their own lifetime. In setting out the disbursal of the family capital, the testators used property to organize relationships within the two sibling groups. Both struggled to remain within the bounds of the laws of Antwerp while also structuring relationships among their heirs in a form they believed most likely to result in the continuance of a unified family group. Through a well considered testament, they hoped to foster the future strength and success of the lineal family.

A. The Van der Meulen Inheritance

The testament Elizabeth and Jan van der Meulen made in 1556 and the laws of Antwerp concerning the position of the *coopwijf* provided Elizabeth with all the power that she needed to

carry on the commercial activities of the family after her husband's death.¹¹³ The testament of Elizabeth and Jan concentrated on the powers to be held by the widow or widower, leaving questions of the devolution of property to their heirs to the longest living and the chosen guardians of the children. As guardians, Elizabeth and Jan chose Elizabeth's brother-in-law Jan de Hoest de Oude and Jan's brother Andries van der Meulen. However, the longest living was granted the position of head guardian and given ultimate control over the property of the estate. The testament also ensured the longest living would have full ability to utilize the capital. The longest living had the power "to follow their free will, and are able to sell, modify, spend, or burden the estate according to his or her discretion."¹¹⁴ This language served to confirm the rights of the longest living. It demonstrated the trust that had grown between Jan and Elizabeth, as neither attempted to protect their estate from the power of their spouse.

Following the laws of Antwerp and the testament, the estate of the first deceased was to be evaluated and "would be split and divided between each side half and half."¹¹⁵ But as noted above, Elizabeth did not follow the dictates of the testament, choosing instead to leave Jan's estate undivided. The laws of Antwerp recognized such a possibility. If a widow or widower did not divide the estate, she or he held the portion of the estate intended for the heirs in usufruct, though the longest living was expected to maintain scrupulous accounts of the property to ensure

¹¹³ Aert, "Tussen norm en praktijk"; Aert, "Legal Possibilities"; Danielle van den Heuvel, *Women and Entrepreneurship: Female Traders in the Northern Netherlands, c. 1580–1815* (Amsterdam: Aksant, 2007). On the position of the *coopwif* see *Impressae* 1582, Title XLI: Vande Rechten Ghehoude Persoonen Aengaende nr 40; *Impressae* 1582, Title XLII: Van Onghehoude Vrouwen nr 4.

¹¹⁴ Testament of Elizabeth Zeghers and Jan van der Meulen, Antwerp, 15 October 1556, AvdM 22-1: "te moegen doen synen vryen wille ende elck respectine, t'syne daer aff oyck te moegen vercoopen, veranderen, verthieren, oft belasten na synder oft heurder belieften."

¹¹⁵ Testament of Elizabeth Zeghers and Jan van der Meulen, Antwerp, 15 October 1556, AvdM 22-1: "gepaert ende gedeylt selen worden t'elcke syden halff ende halff."

that the heirs received their full portions.¹¹⁶ This was the route that Jan de Oude followed, but while a state and inventory of Jan van der Meulen's estate was made, Elizabeth does not seem to have kept her children's accounts separate from her own. The available documents do not make it clear why or how Elizabeth was able to skirt this responsibility. One possibility is that with the large growth in the family's wealth after the death of Jan van der Meulen it did not make practical sense for the children's paternal inheritance to be limited to the amount Jan possessed at his death. Alternatively, this may simply demonstrate Elizabeth enjoyed largely amicable relations her children, and that they were willing to allow their inheritance to remain in the power of their mother. The laws of Antwerp make it clear that the state and inventory was a device to protect the heirs from power or ineptitude of the widow or widower.¹¹⁷ In this case, the protections afforded to the heirs proved unnecessary.

The manner by which Elizabeth maintain control over Jan's estate provided her with greater freedom in designing her testament than afforded the typical testator. While Jan de Oude only had legal right to direct the distribution of his own estate, Elizabeth dealt with the distribution of both her own estate and the paternal inheritance of her children. Though obligated to follow the dictates of partible inheritance, in practice, the ability to distribute the inheritance at different times through means such as marital gifts created complexities that accounting techniques could not easily rectify. The resultant vagaries opened up opportunities for parents to advance one or more children over others while remaining within the bounds of the laws and traditions of inheritance. This created a situation in which relationships and negotiation played as essential of a role as accounting in the movement of capital from one generation to the next.

¹¹⁶ *Impressae* 1582, Title XLI: Vande Rechten Ghehoude Persoonen Aengaende nr 89-93.

¹¹⁷ *Impressae* 1582, Title XLIII: Van Onbejaerde Kinderen ende Vermomboorde Persoonen nr 27-30.

The state and inventory taken on 25 December 1563, assessed the paternal inheritance of the Van der Meulen siblings to be £2,000 or £333.6.8 for each of the six children.¹¹⁸ However, since Jan van der Meulen's death, the number of heirs had been reduced by the death of the couple's eldest son and youngest daughter. In the interim, Elizabeth actively invested it in trade between Antwerp and western Germany, greatly augmenting the capital of the family.¹¹⁹ Elizabeth used the opportunity provided by her control over the paternal inheritance of her children and its expansion to increase her power within the family group in her lifetime and, through her testament, after her death.

The expansion of Jan van der Meulen's estate is clearly demonstrated by the marital gift Elizabeth presented to her eldest daughter Anna upon her marriage to Severijn van de Corput in September 1573. For her marriage gift, Anna received a cash payment of £833.6.8, with the intention that this stand in for her paternal inheritance. Exceeding by £500 the amount originally calculated for each heir, Elizabeth's justification for the size of the dowry placed the gift in terms of affection.¹²⁰ The addition to Anna's paternal inheritance obviously increased her attractiveness on the marital market. Elizabeth also minimized the extent to which Anna had full rights to her paternal inheritance and any augmentation since her father's death. Elizabeth only had usufruct over the inheritance, but within her testament, Elizabeth constructed an early disbursement of the paternal inheritance as unnecessary and therefore as a gift deriving from her own good will. The testament placed Anna's dowry in the context of Elizabeth's emotional

¹¹⁸ Testament Elizabeth.

¹¹⁹ Jongbloet-van Houtte, "Inleiding."

¹²⁰ Testament Elizabeth. Elizabeth even noted in her testament that this marriage gift "excederende verre des haer voor haer aendeel in hare vaderlijke achtergelatene goeden was competende."

attachment to her daughter.¹²¹ It was “from affection and love that she possesses for her” that Anna received £833.6.8 instead of £333.6.8.¹²² Elizabeth clearly inserted herself between her husband’s estate and her children. Rather than understanding its disbursal as a legal necessity, Elizabeth placed it within the context of the affective relationship she possessed with her children. Elizabeth’s language concerning Anna’s dowry served to emphasize the nature of the dowry as a gift and highlight Elizabeth’s central position in the family hierarchy.

Anna’s marriage gift, which she retained after Severijn van de Corput’s death and her marriage to François Pierens, also created accounting difficulties. The disbursal of £833.6.8 to Anna ten years before her siblings received any of their paternal inheritance introduced complicated questions of accounting. In effect, Elizabeth had to decide how to account for the benefit Anna derived from the early disbursal of her inheritance. Elizabeth’s testament answered this potentially divisive issue in two ways. Firstly, rather than calculating the paternal inheritance exactly, Elizabeth combined the paternal and brotherly inheritance and declared that it had expanded to £8,000, so that each heir should receive £2,000. Elizabeth further decided that the paternal and brotherly inheritance should act as a marriage gift for all of the heirs.¹²³ Secondly, in order to account for the early disbursal of her paternal inheritance, Elizabeth determined that Anna would be charged a yearly interest until Daniel and Sara both married. At that time, Anna

¹²¹. At the time of her marriage, Anna reached the end of her minority and therefore had full rights to demand the disbursal of her paternal inheritance. *Impressae* 1582, Title XLIII: Van Onbejaerde Kinderen ende Vermomboorde Persoonen nr 94.

¹²². Testament Elizabeth: “vuyt affectie ende lieffde die zij thunwaerts is dragende.”

¹²³. Andries married Suzanne Malapert on 16 October 1583, and he had Daniel retroactively place the paternal inheritance upon his account in the books of Elizabeth. Andries to Daniel, Antwerp, 4 December 1584, DvdM 538a-25–26 (50).

would receive whatever additional payment necessary to match the £2,000 the other heirs received.¹²⁴

The approximate nature of the paternal inheritance effectively removed discussions about the inheritance from the realm of accounting.¹²⁵ Instead, the disbursal of the paternal inheritance became an issue of the timing of the devolution of the family capital. At stake was the amount of capital Elizabeth wished to place under the control of the new conjugal units created by her children versus the amount that remained in her possession.¹²⁶ Letters from Andries to Daniel at the time their mother made her testament demonstrate that the family debated the amount to be distributed as the paternal inheritance. Daniel wrote to Andries that each should receive £3,000 rather than the £2,000 given in the testament, while Andries agreed with the terms of the testament.¹²⁷ The vast difference in these two amounts shows that the marriage gifts provided to the heirs did not derive from the practice of accounting. Not math, but the imposition of power

¹²⁴. Testament Elizabeth states that Anna would be charged 16% per year. However, this must have been a mistake. This percentage was well beyond the boundaries of the ordinary interest charged between individuals. In addition, if Anna was charged 16% per year on £833.6.8, she would have already received more than £2000. It is likely that what was meant here was a charge of 6% or £50 per year. If this was the case, at the time that Elizabeth made her testament, Anna would still have been owed £616.13.4 for her paternal and brotherly inheritance. Two years later, when both Daniel and Sara had married, Anna still would have been owed £516.13.4. Daniel speaks of this arrangement in a letter to Jacques della Faille. Unfortunately, the letter does not provide any specifics about the mode of payment, though it makes clear that this stipulation had been enforced. Daniel to Jacques, London, 8 May 1587, DFL 4.

¹²⁵. As will be discussed extensively in Chapter 5, the accounting practices for the inheritance of the Della Faille siblings was exacting if problematic and often disputed.

¹²⁶. At the same time, Elizabeth and her children mitigated the effects of the diffusion of the family capital by recombining the capital through the trading companies they made with each other. Sabean and Teuscher, "Rethinking European Kinship"; Bernard Derouet, "Dowry: Sharing Inheritance or Exclusion? Timing, Destination, and Contents of Transmission in Late Medieval and Early Modern France," in *Sibling Relations and the Transformations of European Kinship, 1300–1900*, ed. Christopher H. Johnson and David Warren Sabean (New York: Berghahn Books, 2011).

¹²⁷. Andries to Daniel, Antwerp, 13 March 1585, DvdM 593a-62 (94).

relations between Elizabeth and her children as well as within the sibling group directed the terms for the division of the paternal inheritance.¹²⁸

Up to this point, Elizabeth's testament treated the heirs of the estate as equals, even if an accounting trick had to be used in the case of Anna. Anna's early reception of a portion of her paternal inheritance in concert with the trade companies Elizabeth made with her two husbands advantaged Anna over her younger siblings so long as the rate of profits outpaced the interest the testament charged her for the early disbursal. In itself, this introduction of inequality was not problematic. However, Elizabeth's testament makes clear that this form of inequality did not conform to the family structure Elizabeth hoped to construct. Elizabeth's family strategy, which reached its last phases at the time she made her testament, sought to place her two sons above her daughters. Part of this strategy involved ensuring that her sons received greater benefit than her daughters from the growth of the family fortune.¹²⁹

Within her testament, Elizabeth provided her sons with advantages by tinkering with the timing of the devolution of property. Andries and Daniel had both played important roles in the trade carried on by their mother for a number of years. Whereas Jan de Oude had provided portions of the maternal inheritance of his sons in order to allow them to trade on their own, Andries and Daniel worked completely under the auspices of their mother and her trade.¹³⁰ In her testament, Elizabeth "declares that the aforesaid her son has never profited nor gained any

¹²⁸ Broomhall and Gent, "In the Name of the Father"; Pollock, "Rethinking Patriarchy and the Family."

¹²⁹ The family strategy pursued by the Van der Meulens with Elizabeth at the head manifested itself within three different moments. Firstly, the marital pattern of the siblings saw Andries and Daniel marry into the mercantile elite of Antwerp, while Anna and Sara found spouses within the middling mercantile ranks. The testament and its actions represented the second moment. The final distinction between the siblings came with the creation of a contract between Andries, Daniel, and their two brothers-in-law in 1586 after Anthoine Lempereur's marriage to Sarah. The contract signed between the four partners and family members placed the advantages of Andries and Daniel in writing. DvdM 93. See Chapters 3 and 8.

¹³⁰ See Chapter 2 and Brulez, *Firma Della Faille*, 55–58.

particular advantage for his labor and industry.”¹³¹ This denied her sons the benefits of the ability to invest their inheritance for their own gain. Elizabeth made up for this by rewarding her sons with an extra gift for their service. Elizabeth argued that the years of labor justified her gift of an additional £2,000 to each of her sons at the time of their marriage. Thus, Andries and Daniel were to receive £4,000 as opposed to the £2,000 given to Anna and Sara.

Elizabeth made sure to distinguish the two amounts she gave her sons. Like their sisters, £2,000 represented full compensation for their paternal and brotherly inheritance. As she stated in reference to Andries, the extra £2,000 “that she gives him in compensation for the good service, pain, and labor that he has done for many years in her trade as a merchant, without ever receiving any payment. Without the industry and diligence of her son, her goods would not have been so greatly augmented.”¹³² Elizabeth’s language emphasized the familial nature of the labor of Andries and Daniel. The work of her two sons resulted in the growth of the family capital, which also greatly benefited Anna and Sara. Even in the very act of differentiating her children, Elizabeth highlighted the importance of family unity. Secondly, the language betrayed the patriarchal role Elizabeth adopted since the death of her husband. The repetition of the possessive pronoun “her” demonstrates that Elizabeth had taken personal possession of the trade and wealth. She therefore assumed the power to gift it as she believed befitting. In this way, parental authority served as the final justification for this distinction in the marital gifts provided to her sons and daughters.¹³³

¹³¹. Testament Elizabeth: “verclaert dat de voors. hare sonen noyt niet geproffiteert noch voor hen selven int perticulier voor hunnen arbeyt ende industrie yet genoten hebben gehadt.”

¹³². Testament Elizabeth: “die sij hem is gevende in recompense vanden goeden dienst, pijn ende arbeyt die hij haer vele jaeren in haeren handel van coopmanschappen gedaen heft sonder oyt eenige loon ontfangen te hebben, alsoo oock sonder de voors. hare sonen industrie ende neersticheyt haere goeden soo niet geaugmenteert en souden wesen.”

¹³³. Roper, *Holy Household*.

Whereas Elizabeth used the paternal inheritance as a means to differentiate her children and construct a hierarchy within the sibling group, the distribution of her own estate more closely followed the dictates of tradition. In this case, accounting came to the fore. All of the capital Elizabeth left, the “trade, shares, debts, and credits that she, the testatrix, shall leave behind and which in her estate shall be found,” fell in equal parts to her four heirs.¹³⁴ The only exception resulted from the testament Elizabeth’s daughter, Maria, made on 5 August 1584. Maria’s testament designated her mother “her universal heir,” so that the maternal inheritance included the sisterly inheritance.¹³⁵ However, Maria made one special bequest to her unmarried sister Sara. Evidence of a close sisterly relationship and a desire to increase her unwed sister’s marital appeal, Maria asked that £500 of her estate be left to Sara at their mother’s death. That the bequest fell to Sara after their mother’s death and not Maria’s own ensured that the heirs all received the maternal and sisterly inheritance at the same time. Maria’s gift to Sara also partially made up for the advantages Anna derived from early disbursement of her paternal inheritance and the gifts given to Andries and Daniel for their service to the family.

As much as Elizabeth’s stipulations about the division of her estate followed the traditions of the Low Countries, Elizabeth’s language again emphasized parental authority. After her estate had been gathered together and its worth correctly noted, “all of the goods should be amicably and peacefully divided into four family lines equally, because the aforesaid testatrix declares such to be her foremost will.”¹³⁶ The pull of tradition and accounting on the one side and distinction and authority on the other vied with each other throughout Elizabeth’s testament.

¹³⁴. Testament Elizabeth: “coopmanshappen, actiën, schulden ende crediten die sij testatrice enichsints achterlaten sal ende in haren sterffhuuse bevonden sullen worden.”

¹³⁵. Testament Elizabeth: “haere universele erffgename.”

¹³⁶. Testament Elizabeth: “alle de selve goeden in vier staecken ende cluchten minnelijck ende vredelijck hooftgelijcke te paerten ende te deylen want de voors. testatrice verclaerde sulx te wesen haren vuytersten wille.”

Elizabeth certainly felt the strong pull of the tradition of partible inheritance. Even with all of the distinctions found within and intended to be created by her testament, Elizabeth repeatedly used a language of equality in order to justify appearance of favoritism. In the end, family strategy and structuring relations within the sibling group proved more influential than strict obedience to partible inheritance.

B. The Della Faille Inheritance

Just as he had done with the bequests, Jan de Oude used the distribution of his estate to his heirs to impose his authority upon familial relations. He predicated the work done by the bequests upon the creation of a strong unified sibling group to whom he could pass his wealth and power. After his death, it was the sibling group that embodied and carried his legacy into the future. The wealth Jan de Oude accumulated carried no real value if it could not be funneled down through generations. The testament constituted Jan de Oudes's last and longest lasting opportunity to mold his heirs into an entity capable of preserving and extending the material interests and influence of the family. Like Elizabeth, Jan de Oude utilized the power the testament provided over inheritance to fashion a hierarchical structure within the sibling group in order to combat the centrifugal forces created at the time of the death of the last parent.

Jan de Oude and Elizabeth were hardly alone in their concern about the lineal movement of property. Martha Howell has argued that sixteenth-century marriage contracts of the citizens of Douai worked to change the concept of property from something that was owned and controlled by conjugal units to something passed through patrilines.¹³⁷ Howell argues that change in the concept of property followed a transformation in the nature of wealth. In urban centers of

¹³⁷ Howell, *Marriage Exchange*; Howell, *Commerce before Capitalism*, 49–92; Sabeen and Teuscher, “Kinship in Europe.”

the late medieval period, movables came to constitute the main form of capital. This transformation occurred most spectacularly within the ranks of merchants. According to the calculation of Brulez, only 11.3% of Jan de Oude's wealth consisted of immovables.¹³⁸ The rest was devoted to trade. Ephemeral in a way not true of immovables, mercantile capital possessed the ability to be both multiplied and easily diminished. Risk of loss by an inattentive or unskilled heir created anxiety far exceeding that for more durable landed property.¹³⁹ Thus, in addition to concern for the reduction of the family capital through its division to the heirs, Jan de Oude worried about the consequences of giving his heirs equal access to the capital. This led him to go beyond the strategies Elizabeth used in her testament. While Elizabeth mainly structured relations through the timing of the devolution of inheritance, Jan de Oude extended his patriarchal power down generations by dictating the form in which the paternal inheritance came and even how his heirs could use the capital they received from their father.

In order to achieve the related goals of concentrating the family capital in the hands of heirs he believed most capable and molding the sibling group into a unified hierarchy, Jan de Oude employed three strategies. Firstly, his testament increased the normal powers and responsibilities of the three sons he chose as executors of his testament. Secondly, Jan de Oude used his landed property to distinguish among his children. Finally, the testament placed different restrictions upon the inheritance of the heirs, enabling his favorites to gain greater access to his mercantile capital. These strategies worked in concert to create a clear hierarchy within the sibling group.

¹³⁸ Brulez, *Firma Della Faille*, 187.

¹³⁹ Howell, *Marriage Exchange*, 66–69.

The maternal and paternal inheritance of the Della Faille siblings, in contrast to the inheritance of the Van der Meulens, were strictly separated and meticulously accounted. Therefore, the actual division of both the maternal and paternal inheritance depended upon accounting practices.¹⁴⁰ The directives included in the testament and emphasized in Jan de Oude's codicil extended the natural powers of the executors by denying access to the accounts to all but Jan, Marten, and Jacques. In his codicil, Jan de Oude ordered that only the executors could inspect the account books of the estate. He gave particular responsibility to Marten to calculate the profits of the family's trade. Marten "shall give good, honest, and faithful accounting of all the trade and business that shall be done concerning the codicilator and his heirs until the end of the upcoming December 1582."¹⁴¹ This placed an extra burden upon Marten, but it also potentially expanded his authority within the sibling group. However, the differentiation between the executors paled in comparison with the gulf Jan de Oude created between the executors and their other siblings. Jan de Oude forbade all of his children and grandchildren "all inspection, viewing, and access to the codicilator's books, accounts, letters, and other documents, excepting only the codicilator's three sons Marten, Jan, and Jacques. All

¹⁴⁰ According to accounting manuals, good practice dictated that a merchant go through his or her accounts once a year, but this appears to have been a dictate rarely followed in practice. Brulez, *Firma Della Faille*, 432–444; Pieter de Waal, *De leer van het boekhouden in de Nederlanden tijdens de zestiende eeuw* (Roermond, The Netherlands: J.J. Romén & zonen, 1927); Jacob Soll, *The Reckoning: Financial Accountability and the Rise and Fall of Nations* (New York: Basic Books, 2014).

¹⁴¹ Codicil Jan de Oude: Marten "sal gheven goede, oprechte ende getrouwe rekeninghe van alle de handel, negotiatie ende coopmanschap rakende hem codicillateur ende zijne erfgenamen van alle tghene dat hij totten lesten decembris naestcommende anno 1582 gedaen sal hebben." Marten was also paid £682.0.1 1/2 for his work, see DvdM 55-10 and DFL 12-36.

besides these three must be content with all accounting and declarations his three sons shall make upon penalty of receiving nothing above their *legitime*.”¹⁴²

Denial of access to the accounts held for both the paternal and the remaining maternal inheritance. It is unsurprising that Jan de Oude denied Louis Malapert, the widower of Maria, access to the account books of the estate as he had drawn the ire of his father-in-law through his rapid remarriage after Maria’s death. However, Jan de Oude also explicitly denied access to his account books to his sons Carlo and Steven. “In the same manner, Carlo and Steven are forbidden to look into the books or papers of his estate under any circumstances.”¹⁴³ The two would have to fully trust and were to fully abide by the decisions and calculations of their brothers. In fact, Carlo and Steven, along with all except the executors could not even gain access to the complete contents of Jan de Oude’s testament. The testament could not be shown to those who had no involvement in it. Others could only see the clause that concerned him or her. These restrictions, along with particular duties assigned to the executors concerning the inheritance, demonstrate the power Jan de Oude intended to bestow upon Jan, Marten, and Jacques over their siblings. In all matters concerning the testament they were to be, like Jan de Oude had been, unquestioned and “completely entrusted.”¹⁴⁴

Jan de Oude further distinguished the heirs through dividing portions of his immovable property. Similar to the testament of Elizabeth, when it came to physical items, Jan de Oude’s

¹⁴² Codicil Jan de Oude: “Verbiedende oock de voorseijde codicillateur allen zijnen anderen kinderen ende kintskinderen ende oock aen alle [andere] alle inspectie, visie ende toeganck tot zijns codicillateurs boecken, rekeninghen, brieven ende andere bescheet, vuytgenomen alleneijcken de voors. zijne drij soonen Marten, Jan ende Jacques della Faille ende dat alle dandere hen sullen moeten contenteren met alsulcke rekeninghen ende verclaren als Marten, Jan, ende Jacques della Faille, zijne voorseijde drij soonen, sullen geven ende doen, ende dat oock op pene als boven van niet meer te hebbene dan heur legittima.”

¹⁴³ Testament Jan de Oude: “Ende oock insgelijckx verbiedende aen Carel, ende Steven della Faille eenich gesicht te hebben inde boecken ofte pampieren van sijnen sterfhuijse in geender manieren.”

¹⁴⁴ Codicil Jan de Oude: “vastelijck toebetrouwende.”

testament exhibited none of the itemizing tendencies of some of his contemporaries.¹⁴⁵ This makes the few instances where he assigned certain items even more noteworthy. However, even the immovables Jan de Oude designated to certain heirs possessed explicit monetary value listed within the testament and deducted from the paternal inheritance of the recipient.¹⁴⁶ Two objectives are visible in the designation of immovables to his heirs. On the one hand, Jan de Oude allocated a house in Antwerp and landed property in the countryside to each of his two unmarried daughters. Hester and Cornelia were also to divide the “rings, precious stones, and jewels” found in the estate among themselves.¹⁴⁷ These bequests stood in for marital gifts, which their other siblings had already received. Through these allocations, Jan de Oude provided Hester and Cornelia a strong basis from which they could develop independent households upon their eventual marriages.

The intent of the only other allocation of his immovable property carried greater symbolic weight than direct material benefit. As a merchant devoid of any real title or position, and living within a partible inheritance regime, Jan de Oude possessed precious few items capable of designating a primary successor to whom his own familial and social positions passed most directly.¹⁴⁸ Jan de Oude partially accomplished this feat by bestowing upon Marten the

¹⁴⁵ Howell, “Fixing Movables”; Cohn, “Renaissance Attachment to Things.”

¹⁴⁶ For example, Jan de Oude listed the large house on the Huidevetterstraat as worth £1600, which was duly reduced from Marten’s paternal inheritance in Paternal inheritance of Marten, DFL 12-338. The same was done for the houses and land given to Hester and Cornelia. Jan de Oude listed the worth of the property for Hester as £742.6.10—£200 for the house and £542.6.10 for the land—and for Cornelia as £1800—£400 for the house and £1400 for the land. Paternal inheritance of Hester, DFL 12-344; Paternal inheritance of Cornelia, DFL 12-345. On the distinction between movables and immovables in the Low Countries, see Howell, *Commerce before Capitalism*, 49–92.

¹⁴⁷ Testament Jan de Oude: “ringen, baggen ende juweelen.”

¹⁴⁸ Sabeian and Teuscher, “Kinship in Europe”; Sabeian and Teuscher, “Rethinking European Kinship.”

large house on the Huidevetterstraat in which Jan de Oude lived.¹⁴⁹ Jan de Oude completed the symbolic meaning of this gesture by referring to Marten as his oldest son in the testament.¹⁵⁰ Turning the oldest son into an institutional position not based on birth order, Jan de Oude designated Marten as his successor. Second to Marten in this symbolic hierarchy came Jacques, the fourth oldest son. Should Marten die, presumably meaning should Marten die before Jan de Oude or at a young age, the house would fall to Jacques. This familial homestead would then pass to the heirs of whomever lived in the residence. Jan de Oude's words in describing the descent of ownership of the house resonate throughout the treatment. Like Jan de Oude had done, Marten or Jacques must designate an heir to inherit the house, "preferring the sons before the daughters, and the most capable or best governed before the others."¹⁵¹ Mercantile families directly linked seniority to skills and aptitude. It was the task of the parents to actively intervene in the sibling group in order to protect the wealth of the family, disrupting the rank of birth order if necessary.¹⁵²

Jan de Oude solidified this hierarchy among his children by individually specifying how each would receive their paternal inheritance.¹⁵³ The testament tasked the executors with the enforcement of various and often burdensome requirements for most of his heirs. In doing so, he

¹⁴⁹ Jan de Oude also gave to Marten the smaller house on the nearby Schuttershofstrate and all of the goods within the house.

¹⁵⁰ The Della Faille family long believed Marten to have been the eldest child of Jan de Oude. His promotion into the nobility made him second only to Jan de Oude in importance of family lore. However, various other documents confirm that Jacques was born before Marten.

¹⁵¹ Testament of Jan de Oude: "preferende de soonen voor de dochters, ende de best bequaemste ofte hen best gouvernerende voor de andere."

¹⁵² Francesca Trivellato, "Marriage, Commercial Capital, and Business Agency: Transregional Sephardic (and Armenian) Families in the Seventeenth- and Eighteenth-Century Mediterranean," in *Transregional and Transnational Families in Europe and Beyond: Experiences Since the Middle Ages*, ed. Christopher H. Johnson, et al. (New York: Berghahn Books, 2011).

¹⁵³ These restrictions did not apply to the maternal inheritance.

sought to concentrate his mercantile capital in the hands of his two most skilled sons, Marten and Jacques. All other heirs, including Jan, had restrictions placed on their inheritance that either brought the inheritance or the heirs themselves under the authority of the executors. While, Jan de Oude expected Marten and Jacques to invest and augment the family capital, he treated his other heirs as vehicles intended to maintain and transfer the family capital through time. Ironically, Jan de Oude used his own patriarchal power to limit the independence and authority of the conjugal units of the majority of his heirs.

The two preferred sons received their inheritance with only a minor restriction. Emphasizing the extent to which wealth should pass lineally down through blood lines, Jan de Oude dictated that neither Sybille Stecher nor Josina Hamels, wives of Marten and Jacques, could gain control of or profit from the paternal inheritance of their husbands. Jan de Oude's estate should pass directly from his heirs to their children.¹⁵⁴ Otherwise, the testator directed that Marten "shall have his lawful liberty over his inheritance."¹⁵⁵ The testament employed similar language with Jacques. Jan de Oude willed "that he gain his portion and use it according to his will for the rest of his life."¹⁵⁶ In other words, Jan de Oude provided Marten and Jacques the freedom to directly gain control of their paternal inheritance in the form of mercantile capital, which they could immediately reinvest, using the trade networks constructed by their father.

The other siblings did not receive the same liberty enjoyed by Marten and Jacques. Jan may have been designated as an executor by his father, but Jan de Oude obviously did not have

¹⁵⁴. The testament stated that Marten should have his inheritance "mits conditie dat zijne huijsvrouw daer af niet en sal mogen hebben, maer wel alle zijne weittighe kinderen na de doot vande voors. Marten."

¹⁵⁵. Testament Jan de Oude: "sal hebben zijne rechte liberteyt over zijn recht kinsgedeelte."

¹⁵⁶. Testament Jan de Oude: "dat hij trecke sijne aenpart ende zijnen wille daer mede die sijn leven lanck."

faith in the mercantile skills of his oldest son.¹⁵⁷ Jan de Oude forbade his namesake from receiving his inheritance in the form of movables. Instead, “his portion must be invested in land or good rents in Brabant or Flanders, and from this he shall receive the yearly income.”¹⁵⁸ Rather than take the chance of putting mercantile capital into Jan’s hands, Jan de Oude directed his son’s inheritance towards the safer investment provided by land. This served to protect Jan de Oude’s estate as it passed through generations. According to the testament, Jan could never gain full control over his paternal inheritance. The testament prevented Jan from acting within his own family as his father had done, for Jan de Oude already dictated that “the property shall come to his children.”¹⁵⁹ Jan de Oude extended his own patriarchal power into the family of his son, directly connecting himself with his grandchildren, but also weakening Jan’s own position within his conjugal family.¹⁶⁰

The inheritance of the remaining siblings followed much more closely the example of Jan than of Marten and Jacques. Jan de Oude minimized the extent to which his children could gain control over his capital, while guiding it directly through his children to his grandchildren. Even in the case of his oldest daughter Anna, who was married to Jan de Oude’s close business associate Robert van Eeckeren, he wished to keep the inheritance limited to consanguineal kin. Anna’s inheritance came with the same restrictions as her brother Jan, but her father also forbade her husband from gaining any disposition over either the capital or the interest from the

¹⁵⁷. Jan did not actively participate in trade after 1582. Brulez, *Firma Della Faille*, 65.

¹⁵⁸. Testament Jan de Oude: “zijn aenpart ende sins gedeelte sal moet beleggen aen gronden van erven ofte goede renten gelegen binnen Brabandt ofte Vlaenderen ende daer af trecken het jaerlickx innecomen.”

¹⁵⁹. Testament Jan de Oude: “de proprieteijt sal comen op zijn kinderen.”

¹⁶⁰. Jan de Oude’s strategy towards Jan and others who did not receive free rights to their paternal inheritance functioned similarly to the use of entail among landed elite. Bonfield, “Seeking Connections Between Kinship and the Law”; Zijlderduijn, “Grave Concerns.”

investments in land. The restrictions placed upon Robert did not signal distrust or disapproval. Indeed, Jan de Oude entrusted Robert with a supervisory role over parts of his estate second only to the executors. Rather, the testator's language served to prioritize the lines of descent. The inheritance of Anna and Robert's children would be as strictly divided between the maternal and paternal inheritance as that of Jan de Oude and Cornelia van der Capellen. In funneling inheritance through blood lines, Jan de Oude attempted to emphasize the close ties Anna was expected to maintain with her siblings, while weakening the decision making capacity of the conjugal unit. Jan de Oude further bound Anna to her siblings by adding that if she became a widow, she could only remarry with the consent of the executors of the testament. In the absence of father and husband, Jan de Oude hoped Anna would follow the dictates of her brothers.¹⁶¹

The inheritance of Jan de Oude's two unmarried daughters provided another opportunity for him to transfer his paternal authority to his sons acting as executors of his testament. Aside from the two houses and landed property he set aside for his daughters, Jan de Oude did not define specific restrictions upon the manner in which they ought to receive their inheritance. Instead, the testament somewhat laconically stated that Hester and Cornelia "will have their full portion in usufruct their entire lives."¹⁶² However, they could only obtain their full inheritance by marrying with the consent of "Marten, Jan, and Jacques, all three together."¹⁶³ Jan de Oude may have assumed that the exact means by which his daughters received their inheritance would be negotiated at the time of their marriage. Needing the consent of their brothers to marry, Jan de Oude's apparently simple directive called for Hester and Cornelia to cultivate amicable relations

¹⁶¹. Howell, *Marriage Exchange*; Roper, *Holy Household*.

¹⁶². Cornelia died only days after her father on 27 November 1582. Therefore, her maternal and paternal inheritance remained in the estate and was split between the other eight heirs. Testament Jan de Oude: "selen hebben hun volle portie, ende dat in tochte hun leven lanck." See Chapter 5.

¹⁶³. Testament Jan de Oude: "Marten, Jan ende Jacques della Faille, alle drij gesamentelijcken."

with all three of their elder brothers and placed pressure on any marital candidate to do the same. The instruction also created another instance in which the three executors would have to come to an unanimous decision about the constitution of and relations within the sibling group.

The attempt to link the siblings together through the powers Jan de Oude gave to the executors of the testament is clearly displayed in the conditions pertaining to the inheritance of Steven. Unwilling to allow the thirty-two year old Steven to become unmoored from patriarchal power, Jan de Oude sought to replace the paternal authority that he had up to that time exercised over his son with the powers he gave to the executors. As with Jan and Anna, Steven's paternal inheritance was "to be employed in land or good rents in Flanders or Brabant," but Jan de Oude further stipulated that the investment should be "under the discretion of Jan, Marten, and Jacques della Faille, and Robert van Eeckeren."¹⁶⁴ In other words, Jan de Oude gave the executors and Robert van Eeckeren direct power over Steven's paternal inheritance. Steven's brothers and brother-in-law merely had to provide Steven with 5% interest per year, which was less than the normal interest rate of 6.25%.¹⁶⁵

Steven also had to consult his brothers over any plans to marry if he wanted to receive his full paternal inheritance. At the time of his father's death, Steven was embroiled in a dispute about his marital status. Steven disputed the validity of his clandestine marriage to Jeanne Schuttens, a servant in the house of Steven's father, which had been performed on 14 June 1578. Jan de Oude ordered that if the marriage was declared valid, Jeanne and the son she had with

¹⁶⁴. Testament Jan de Oude: "geemploijeert sal worden in gronden van erven ofte goede renten in Vlanderen ofte Brabant ter discretie van Jan, Marten ende Jacques della Faille ende Robert van Eeckeren."

¹⁶⁵. Jan de Oude may have sought to further limit the capital held by Steven by specifying that he should receive only 5% interest for his paternal inheritance. See Chapter 5 for further discussion of Steven's inheritance and the agreement he made with Marten to receive interest at 6.25%. Obligation of Marten for debt to Steven of £11500, 15 June 1587, DFL 13.

Steven “shall not profit a single penny.”¹⁶⁶ Only if Steven chose to marry another woman with the consent of Jan, Marten, Jacques, and Robert did Jan de Oude allow his estate to fall to Steven’s legitimate children. Lacking legitimate children, Steven’s paternal inheritance would return to the estate and fall to Steven’s siblings. Backed by the power of the testament and possession of the paternal inheritance, Steven’s brothers held robust weapons designed to tie the Steven’s interests with those of the executors and the sibling group as a whole.

The restrictions placed upon Carlo’s inheritance generally followed those for Steven. Like Steven, Carlo’s “portion shall be employed in land or good rents in Holland, Flanders, or Brabant at the discretion of Jan, Marten, Jacques, and Robert van Eeckeren.”¹⁶⁷ Carlo could only gain usufruct over the 4-5% interest from these investments made by Robert and the executors, placing the latter in full control over Carlo’s portion of the patrimony.¹⁶⁸ In addition, Jan de Oude placed strict restrictions on how Carlo’s paternal inheritance would pass to the children from his two marriages. Jan de Oude structured Carlo’s inheritance in such a way that his son could gain no influence or power over the principle during his lifetime or over how it devolved to his children. He even sought to minimize the capital that Carlo held due to the interest produced by the paternal inheritance. The testament proclaimed that upon the death of Carlo’s second wife, Cecilia Grammaye, half of the usufruct of the interest passed directly to Carlo’s children with Cecilia, leaving only half for Carlo. Such a stipulation about the timing of the inheritance greatly weakened Carlo’s power within his own conjugal family.

¹⁶⁶. Testament Jan de Oude: “niet eenen stuiver daer af en sullen proffiteren.”

¹⁶⁷. Testament Jan de Oude: “deel geemploijeert sal werden in gronden van erven ofte goede renten in Hollant, Vlaenderen ofte Brabant ter discretie van Jan, Marten, Jacques, and Robert van Eeckeren.”

¹⁶⁸. Testament Jan de Oude states that the executors are to give him “vier of vijff ten hondert tsaers ende sal hij Carel de tochte allene daer aene hebben.”

Jan de Oude also denied Carlo authority over his own inheritance. The testament detailed that upon Carlo's death, half of his paternal inheritance was to be divided evenly between his children from both of his marriages.¹⁶⁹ Because his children from Maria Celosse had already received part of their grandpaternal inheritance, the second half of Carlo's inheritance would only be divided among his children from his second wife. If Carlo resisted the restrictions placed upon his paternal inheritance, the executors to limit Carlo's inheritance to the legal minimum.¹⁷⁰ Through these detailed instructions, Jan de Oude hoped to pass on the principle of Carlo's paternal inheritance directly to his grandchildren. The manner by which the inheritance fell to Carlo's children served to minimize Carlo's power and authority over his own progeny, while augmenting the authority and strengthening the relationship between the executors and Carlo's children. Jan de Oude cut Carlo out of the devolution of property as much as possible, replacing Carlo with himself and the children's uncles Jan, Marten, and Jacques.

The emphasis upon lineal descent combined with the hierarchy Jan de Oude constructed among his children served to magnify the import of relations between the executors and their nieces and nephews.¹⁷¹ The executors, as holders of the principle of much of the paternal inheritance, acted as a link between Jan de Oude and his grandchildren. The clearest expression of this structure of relations occurred with the paternal inheritance of Jan de Oude's deceased daughter Maria. Before her death on 26 February 1578, Maria had three children with Louis Malapert. Louis's marriage to Suzanna van Tessel barely one month after Maria's death not only

¹⁶⁹. At the time of Jan de Oude's death, Carlo had two children from Maria Celosse and six children with Cecilia Grammaye.

¹⁷⁰. Testament Jan de Oude: "Ende wilde hij Carel hier tegen doen, dat hij maer en sal hebben sijn legitima, [de] zijn kinderen de reste."

¹⁷¹. On the importance of such relations, see Ruppel, "Subordinates, Patrons, and Most Beloved"; Tadmor, *Family and Friends in Eighteenth-Century England*.

angered Jan de Oude, it threatened to diminish the prospects of Maria's children. Jan de Oude expected the executors to play a strong role in the lives of their niece and nephews in order to protect the interests of the children and to maintain influence over their kin.

As with the paternal inheritance of Carlo and Steven, Jan de Oude directed Maria's paternal inheritance to be invested in land at the discretion of Jan, Marten, Jacques, and Robert. Jan de Oude strictly forbade the children's father from administering or gaining any power over the grandpaternal inheritance of his children. However, Jan de Oude's displeasure with Louis was such that he took the drastic step of reducing the grandpaternal inheritance Louis's children would receive. In his testament, Jan de Oude ordered that Maria's children should only receive two-thirds of their mother's paternal inheritance deriving from his estate. The remaining one-third of what would have been Maria's paternal inheritance returned to Maria's siblings to be equally divided between them.¹⁷²

The exact reasons are unclear, but at some point between the time Jan de Oude made his testament and when he recalled Lieven van Rockeghem to make his codicil seven days later, the ailing patriarch decided to moderate his position on the inheritance of Maria's children. The available sources do not make clear how Jan de Oude became convinced, but it is likely that Jan de Oude met with or had contact with Louis concerning Maria's inheritance. In his codicil, Jan de Oude granted that Maria's children could inherit their full portion of his estate on the condition that Louis aid Jan de Oude's heirs in the ongoing lawsuit with the De Hane family and Gilles Sorbrecht over the profits Jan de Oude made while in the service of Marten de Hane. Louis must have expressed to the elder patriarch his ability and willingness to help his in-laws in

¹⁷² Testament Jan de Oude. Maria had received her maternal inheritance at the time of her wedding to Louis Malapert in 1774. Thus, Jan de Oude had no control over how this part of the inheritance would be administered. See the discussion in Chapter 2.

their lawsuit. According to the codicil, the one-third part of Maria's inheritance would no longer be immediately reabsorbed into the general estate. Instead, Jan de Oude gave this portion of Maria's inheritance to the discretion of the executors. The executors could provide Maria's children with their full portion or "as much as the aforesaid Marten, Jan, and Jacques della Faille shall find to be appropriate for the good service that he may provide."¹⁷³ This stipulation gave Louis a strong incentive to maintain amicable relations with his brothers-in-law, while augmenting the means available to the executors to influence their niece and nephews.¹⁷⁴

The final version of the stipulations for Maria's inheritance conformed to the tenets Jan de Oude expressed throughout his testament and codicil. Jan de Oude used his estate to attempt to strengthen relationships among his kin, specifically among his descendants, but he did so in a form that promoted some of his children above others. He created incentives for his heirs to conform to his own vision of the structure of relations within the sibling group. Conversely, he provided penalties for any non-compliance with the orders of his testament or the actions of his chosen executors. Jan de Oude's testament and codicil exhibited the ultimate authority he possessed over his children in life and death. It confirmed the hierarchy that he constructed among his children in his years as a widower discussed in Chapter 2. Through the distribution of property, Jan de Oude set the ground rules for the continued interactions and relations between his children and heirs.

¹⁷³ Codicil Jan de Oude: "soo veele daer af als de voor. Marten, Jan ende Jacques della Faille sullen bevinden te behooren naer het goet debvoir dat hij Louis Malapert daer inne gedaen sal hebben."

¹⁷⁴ Sabean and Teuscher, "Rethinking European Kinship"; Bourdieu, *Outline of a Theory of Practice*.

6. Conclusion

Aside from technical language dictated by the notarial procedures of Antwerp, the testaments of Jan de Oude and Elizabeth share few specifics in common. Whereas Jan de Oude enumerated a surfeit of bequests intended for kin and non-kin, Elizabeth's testament listed only a bare minimum. Her codicil only slightly augmented this situation. While both abided by the traditions of Antwerp and provided all of their heirs with an equal portion of their estates, they accomplished this end by very different means. Elizabeth utilized her husband's estate to channel capital to the conjugal units of her children. As for her own estate, Elizabeth followed the traditions of Antwerp, stipulating that it be equally divided among her four children at the time of her death. With death quickly approaching, Jan de Oude had little power over the estate of his wife. He did not mention the maternal inheritance in the testament. In his codicil, Jan de Oude merely noted that the accounting of the executors had to be followed. Instead, his testament concentrated on the division of his own estate. In contrast to the simple language Elizabeth used for her estate, Jan de Oude meticulously specified types of property each of his heirs would receive and the powers they could have over their paternal inheritance. Where Elizabeth's heirs remained largely free to make use of their inheritance as they saw fitting, Jan de Oude tied his heirs together by concentrating decisions about the inheritance in the hands of the executors of his testaments.

Despite differences in the tactics Elizabeth and Jan de Oude used in their testaments, their intentions were remarkably similar. This chapter has argued that the testators possessed four overlapping goals as they dictated their testaments to the notaries of Antwerp. Most generally, the testaments as documents constituted an expression of parental authority. Simply by making a testament, Jan de Oude and Elizabeth indicated their desire to direct the flow of capital to their

children. The testament also represented the final act of parental authority, filling the testaments with not only legal but also moral significance. Secondly, within a partible inheritance regime, the testators enlisted various means to fortify a hierarchical structure within the sibling groups. Both testators clearly designated certain heirs as successors and leaders of the sibling groups after their deaths. Thirdly, in creating a hierarchy within the sibling group and eschewing the equality that would seem to be the natural outcome of partible inheritance, the testators hoped to create the conditions for continued unity among the siblings. For moral, social, and economic reasons Jan de Oude and Elizabeth valued and stressed the need for the maintenance of amicable relations among the siblings. Finally, through the gifts, stipulations, and restrictions they placed in their testaments, the testators intended to protect their capital as they directed it through their lineal kin. Both Jan de Oude and Elizabeth hoped that their hard won capital could be preserved as it passed down generations, providing a basis for the continued strength of the family line.¹⁷⁵

In pursuing these goals, the testaments of Jan de Oude and Elizabeth constructed images of the future of their families. Jan de Oude's vision of the family extended across dozens of individuals and included multiple generations. He wove together kin and non-kin through bequests and stipulations about the disbursal of his estate. Elizabeth's possessed a more restricted view, limiting her ambitions for the construction of relations primarily to her children. The images put forth by the testators held substantial moral and legal power. However, even such powerful images remained just that, imaginary. Despite a rhetoric that expressed the comprehensive nature of the documents, the difficult realities of implementation all had to be decided by the heirs and executors without the presence of the centripetal force of parental

¹⁷⁵ See the arguments on the move to lineal conception of patrimony at this time, Howell, *Marriage Exchange*; Sabeian and Teuscher, "Kinship in Europe"; David Warren Sabeian, et al., eds. *Kinship in Europe: Approaches to Long-Term Development* (New York: Berghahn Books, 2007).

authority. Instead of providing answers, the testaments set the ground rules for future familial relations. In other words, the testaments left many of the most important questions unanswered.¹⁷⁶

Elizabeth possessed full rights and great moral and legal authority in dictating the terms by which her children's maternal and paternal inheritance would be divided. However, the testament and the parental and legal authority that backed it never obtained in reality the inviolability it displayed in theory. Specifically, while Elizabeth felt justified in providing her sons with marital gifts that were two times larger than that she gave to her daughters, acceptance by Anna and Sara and their husbands could not be guaranteed. Because Elizabeth chose to disburse the paternal inheritance while she was still alive, she could play an active role in mediating the relationships of her children. As for the maternal inheritance, the siblings would no longer be able to depend upon the existence of parental authority to make decisions and come to a consensus. The equality that appeared so natural and simple in the testament hid potential pitfalls. Elizabeth placed Andries and Daniel in an advantageous position as executors, entrusted with overseeing the division of the inheritance. Harmonious distribution depended upon the strength and nature of the relationships between the siblings at just the moment that the structure of the family changed so radically.

The extensive and dispersed nature of Jan de Oude's capital made the problems that confronted the Van der Meulens appear trivial. Calculating Jan de Oude's estate, which received almost no consideration within the text of the testament, was fraught with difficulties and depended as much on amicable relations as mathematical skills. At the very least, the calculation of the estate depended upon amicable and functional relations between the three executors of the

¹⁷⁶ Bastress-Dukehart, "Sibling Conflict."

testament. Yet, Jan de Oude decreased the likelihood of Jan, Marten, and Jacques developing a good working relationship through the restrictions he placed upon Jan's inheritance. The testament placed both a large amount of authority in Jan's hands as executor and greatly restricted his inheritance, formalizing the extent to which Jan de Oude passed over his eldest son in favor of Marten and Jacques. Jan de Oude implicitly asked his eldest son to place fatherly authority above all other interests. Considering Jan de Oude likely restricted Jan's inheritance due to his previous disobedience, chances were slim that Jan would behave in the manner forecasted by the testament.

The sheer complexity of Jan de Oude's testament augmented the burden upon the executors and provided opportunities for difficulties to arise. The amount of bequests and the longevity of annuities created intricacies not only of accounting but also in managing the relationships with the legatees. Other aspects of Jan de Oude's testament simply could not be implemented. The testament envisioned that seven-ninths of Jan de Oude's estate would be invested in land or rents. With the destruction of the countryside and decline of urban rents due to the Dutch Revolt, investing such large amounts in real estate was neither advisable nor possible.¹⁷⁷ Jan de Oude must have known this. The testator's intent must have been for Marten and Jacques to gain possession over the bulk of his estate, which they could invest in trade, handing out interest to their siblings from the profits. Indeed, this was how Marten and Jacques treated the estate, as will be shown in Chapter 5. However, not only was the testament silent as to how such a situation would actually work, it depended upon a close relationship between Marten and Jacques, as well as acquiescence from their siblings.

¹⁷⁷ Brulez, *Firma Della Faille*, 120–123.

The weight of reality quickly crushed the image of family relations Jan de Oude constructed through his testament. The ideal of a united family proved utopian. It took less than two years for Marten and Jacques to divide their trading activities and go their separate ways. Jan and Carlo bristled with anger at the restrictions that had been placed on their inheritance. They quickly called for the testament to be abandoned and for the goods to be divided equally. The siblings also fell into bickering over the exact worth of the estate and who should have control over the goods lying in the various trade branches around Europe. Fighting over the estate of Jan de Oude continued for over three decades. A final agreement was only signed by all of the heirs in 1615. Chapters 5–7 analyze these difficulties that resulted from the administration and disbursal of Jan de Oude’s capital. The reality more closely matched the ideal in the case of the Van der Meulens, as will be shown in Chapter 8. But here too, execution of the testament strained and tested the bonds of the siblings. The testators may have attempted to create a clear hierarchy among their children through their testaments, but the ideal of patriarchy could always be contested and interpreted in contradictory fashions. Part 3 of this dissertation investigates the ways in which the relationship between parents and children and the visions the parents left with their testaments mediated sibling relations.

Chapter 5

The Estate of Jan de Oude: Accounting and the Inheritance of the Della Failles Siblings

*Keeping good accounts together maintains good friendship. That which is done in good faith and with good intentions is the right path, done without backdoors. And so, I will count on you to send all of the documents.*¹

1. Introduction

Jan de Oude's carefully crafted testament exuded the patriarchal authority he held over his kin and heirs. He designed the testament with the goals of protecting his patrimony and constructing a unified sibling group under the leadership of Marten and Jacques. But as soon as Jan de Oude was buried next to his wife in the church of Onse Lieve Vrouw in Antwerp disagreements broke out between his eight surviving heirs. Both the content and details over the implementation of the testament elicited debate, which quickly broke out into open conflict. From the very beginning, Jan and Carlo attempted to have the testament declared void, arguing that their father had treated them unfairly. At first, Marten and Jacques attempted to work together to manage the capital left by their father and carry on his trading activities, but any chance of Jan de Oude's capital remaining united and under the control of his two most capable sons were soon dashed. By September 1583, it was clear that Marten and Jacques had begun to trade separately, dividing the factors in the various branches among themselves.² The contract

¹ Marten to Daniel, Antwerp, 28 March 1585, Daniël van der Meulen en Hester de la Faille, zijn vrouw, 1550-1648, inventory 274-8 (103), Erfgoed Leiden en Omstreken, Leiden, The Netherlands (hereafter DvdM). Transcribed in Gisela Jongbloet-van Houtte, ed. *Brieven en andere bescheiden betreffende Daniel van der Meulen, 1584-1600*, Rijks Geschiedkundige Publicatiën: Grote serie (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, Jan 1986), nr 103. "Goede rekeninge tsamen gehouden onderhout goede vrinscappe ende wat tot goeder trouwen ende met goede intensie procedert, die gaet den rechten wech sonder achterdeuren ende soo sal ick van Ulieden van al besceet verwachten."

² Wilfrid Brulez, *De Firma Della Faille en de internationale handel van Vlaamse firma's in de 16e eeuw* (Brussels: Paleis der Academiën, Mar 1959), 63-65. Wouter Aertsen to Jacques, 8 October 1583, Della Faille de Leverghem Archive, inventory 4, Private collection, Lozer, Belgium (hereafter DFL).

Marten signed on 26 September 1583 to create a company with Thomas Coteels, Jan de Wale, and Jan Borne for the period of ten years clearly indicated that Marten and Jacques would go their separate ways.³

With Marten and Jacques now trading separately and competing for the allegiance of factors and Jan protesting against the implementation of the testament, the three executors of the estate all opposed each other. The executors also had to contend with the arguments made by their other four siblings and their brother-in-law Louis Malapert. The siblings continued to argue over the inheritance until the very end of their lives. Only in 1615 did all of the heirs submit themselves to a final arbitration in Antwerp, agreeing that the goods of the estate should be liquidated and divided. By the time that the arbitrators made their judgement on 16 September 1617, Jacques and Carlo had died, while Jan died only six months later.⁴ Even with the deaths of the main actors in the disagreements, the bickering over the disbursement of Jan de Oude's estate did not come to an end. The next generation continued to challenge the outcome of the distribution of the estate well into the 1630s.

During the 35 years over which the Della Faille siblings contested the division of Jan de Oude's capital, alliances among the eight heirs constantly shifted.⁵ The most fundamental break between the siblings occurred between the two brothers Jan de Oude had chosen to lead the sibling group. In general, Steven and Anna supported Marten, while Jan, Carlo, and Hester stood

³ The company consisted of Marten (£34000), Jan Borne (£8000), Jan de Wale (£8000), and Thomas Coteels (£2600). For analysis of the economic activities of Marten and the company, see Brulez, *Firma Della Faille*.

⁴ Judgement of the arbitrators, Antwerp, 13 September 1617, DFL 8. There is another copy of this document in Della Faille d'Huyse Archive, inventory 7a-11, Rijksarchief te Gent, Ghent, Belgium (hereafter DFH).

⁵ An outline of the events and disputes over the estate of Jan de Oude is found in Yves Schmitz, *Les Della Faille*, vol. 1, *Des Origines au XVIIIème Siècle* (Brussels: Imprimerie F. Van Buggenhoudt, 1965), 112–124.

on the side of Jacques.⁶ However, the relationships between the siblings were fluid. The alliance of Marten, Anna, and Steven was relatively stable, but that under Jacques was anything but.⁷ Hester's marriage to Daniel showed Hester's closeness with Jacques, but Daniel and Hester both continued to make overtures to Marten, attempting to mediate between Marten and Jacques. At times, Jan and Jacques worked in concert, but primarily Jan and Carlo, either together or separately, did their best to disrupt any agreements the siblings constructed. Finally, Maria's widower Louis Malapert, added another variable to the mix. Louis was both inside and outside the family, and the inheritance to be set aside for his children became a central point of contention between Marten and Jacques.

The following three chapters analyze different aspects of the relationships between the Della Faille siblings after the death of their father. This chapter explicates the accounts kept for the estate of Jan de Oude, analyzing the development of the capital held by the estate and the disbursements made to the heirs. However, at one time or another, all of the siblings became involved in disagreements about the veracity of the accounts and the power relations produced by the property transactions. Chapters 6 and 7 analyze two different sets of disputes between the siblings, using two different types of documentation. Chapter 6 concentrates on the quarrels that broke out between Carlo and Jan on the one side and Marten and Jacques on the other concerning access to the accounts of their father's estate. The chapter follows the course of events that led to the creation of the accounting documents analyzed in this chapter. Chapter 7 changes perspective to investigate the arguments between Marten and Jacques over who would

⁶ This division of the siblings into two groups was formalized to a certain extent by the accord made over the capital in London on 26 December 1586. This agreement gave Marten control over the inheritance of Steven and Anna, and Jacques was to administer the portions of Jan, Carlo, and Hester. DvdM 59-7.

⁷ Steven and Anna both had investments in the trade of Marten through their inheritance, see the discussion of Steven's inheritance below and Brulez, *Firma Della Faille*, 69.

have ultimate authority over the estate and therefore within the sibling group. Whereas the first set of disputes often united Marten and Jacques against the challenges made by their brothers against the authority of the testament and their father, the arguments between Marten and Jacques revolved around a discourse of who had been a better son, and therefore, who deserved to be the rightful successor of their father.

A. Accounting for the Capital of Jan de Oude

The size and nature of the wealth left by Jan de Oude at his death ensured its division into nine equal parts would be long and complicated. Jan de Oude's wealth included his own property, both mercantile capital and landed property, as well as the maternal inheritance of six heirs who had still not received their full portion.⁸ In addition, the death of the 18-year-old Cornelia less than three weeks after her father meant that her inheritance had to be divided equally among her eight siblings. Thus, the capital left by Jan de Oude actually encompassed three estates, and so all evaluation of Jan de Oude's estate inevitably also included and affected the maternal and sororal inheritance of the heirs. Further complicating matters, the vast majority of the wealth left to the Della Faille siblings consisted of mercantile capital in the form of goods, credits, and debts spread throughout Europe.⁹ The extent and composition of Jan de Oude's capital was unknown at the time of his death, and it had been almost four full years since he last balanced his account books. This left the executors of Jan de Oude's testament a monumental task to determine and account for the amounts due to each heir for the separate estates. The

⁸ See Chapter 3 on the maternal inheritance of the Della Faille siblings and the manner by which Jan, Carlo, and Maria received their full maternal inheritance.

⁹ The economic activities of Jan de Oude and Marten are analyzed in Brulez, *Firma Della Faille*. Brulez's work provides a basis for the contents of this chapter and it is used throughout, though his subject matter is quite different than that presented here.

complications in accounting for the inheritance opened innumerable points where contention could break out between the heirs.¹⁰

The executors faced similar problems in administering the capital left by Jan de Oude as he had confronted in handling his wife's estate after her death. The calculation and administration of the executors took place over an extended period of time as necessitated by the size and composition of the estate and as designed by Jan de Oude in his testament. The clearest path for the administration of the estate would have entailed liquidation of the capital and equal distribution of the proceeds. Not only would this have gone against the dictates of the testament, which called for the inheritance of Anna, Jan, Steven, and Carlo to be invested in land and rents, but it risked the danger of placing capital into incapable hands. Just as Jan de Oude had resisted diminishing his control over his wife's capital, the logic of the testament preferred that the disbursal of the capital should occur over an extended period of time. This ensured that the majority of Jan de Oude's patrimony remained united in the hands of the most effective merchants in the sibling group. Such a strategy demanded that the two siblings chosen to manage the capital—Marten and Jacques—cooperate on its administration and that the remaining heirs

¹⁰ On the difficulties of inheritance, see P. Scherft, *Het Sterfhuis van Willem van Oranje* (Leiden: Universitaire Pers Leiden, 1966); Erica Bastress-Dukehart, "Sibling Conflict within Early Modern German Noble Families," *Journal of Family History* 33, no. 1 (2008): 61-80; Jack Goody, *The European Family: An Historico-Anthropological Essay* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, Mar 2000); Martha C. Howell, *Commerce before Capitalism in Europe, 1300-1600* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, Mar 2010), 79-92; David Warren Sabean, *Property, Production, and Family in Neckarhausen, 1700-1870* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, Mar 1990), 247-256; David Warren Sabean/Simon Teuscher, "Kinship in Europe: A New Approach to Long Term Development," in *Kinship in Europe: Approaches to Long-Term Development*, ed. David Warren Sabean/Simon Teuscher/Jon Mathieu (New York: Berghahn Books, 2007); David Warren Sabean/Simon Teuscher, "Rethinking European Kinship: Transregional and Transnational Families," in *Transregional and Transnational Families in Europe and Beyond: Experiences Since the Middle Ages*, ed. Christopher H. Johnson/David Warren Sabean/Simon Teuscher/Francesca Trivellato (New York: Berghahn Books, 2011); Eileen Spring, *Law, Land, and Family: Aristocratic Inheritance in England, 1300 to 1800* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1993); Julie Hardwick, *The Practice of Patriarchy: Gender and the Politics of Household Authority in Early Modern France* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1998), 144-158.

accepted the authority of the testament and the administration of their capital by Marten and Jacques. Neither of these conditions were met.¹¹

The tools of the testament and accounting were designed to clarify the relations between people and things and therefore between people and people.¹² Inextricably linked to the calculation and administration of the estate were issues of authority and status both among the siblings themselves and as a group confronting the outside world. In spite of a rhetoric that asserted accounting to be an unbiased process based upon the solid foundations of mathematics, accounting, by its nature, is a narration of events which could be contested. In the end, accounting depended upon trust between the individual who made the account and the person

¹¹ On the use of family firms, which note the importance but also difficulties inherent in close economic interconnections between close kin, see Sebouh Aslanian, "The Circulation of Men and Credit: The Role of the Commenda and the Family Firm in Julfan Society," *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 50, no. 2-3 (2007): 124-170; Sebouh Aslanian, *From the Indian Ocean to the Mediterranean: The Global Trade Networks of Armenian Merchants from New Julfa* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2011); Francesca Trivellato, *The Familiarity of Strangers: The Sephardic Diaspora, Livorno, and Cross-Cultural Trade in the Early Modern Period* (New Haven: Yale University Press, Mar 2009); Julia Adams, *The Familial State: Ruling Families and Merchant Capitalism in Early Modern Europe* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, Mar 2005); Yoram Ben-Porath, "The F-connection: Families, Friends, and Firms and the Organization of Exchange," *Population and Development Review* 6, no. 1 (1980): 1-30; Avner Greif, "The Study of Organizations and Evolving Organizational Forms through History: Reflections from the Late Medieval Family Firm," *Industrial and Corporate Change* 5, no. 2 (1996): 473-502; Gillian Cookson, "Family Firms and Business Networks: Textile Engineering in Yorkshire, 1780–1830," *Business History* 39, no. 1 (1997): 1-20; Sylvia Junko Yanagisako, *Producing Culture and Capital: Family Firms in Italy* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2002).

¹² Samuel K. Cohn, "Renaissance Attachment to Things: Material Culture in Last Wills and Testaments," *The Economic History Review* 65, no. 3 (2012): 984-1004; Steven Epstein, *Wills and Wealth in Medieval Genoa, 1150-1250* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1984); Pierre Bourdieu, *Outline of a Theory of Practice* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, Mar 1977); Hans MedickDavid Warren Sabeau, "Interest and Emotion in Family and Kinship Studies: A Critique of Social History and Anthropology," in *Interest and Emotion: Essays on the Study of Family and Kinship*, ed. Hans MedickDavid Warren Sabeau (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984).

who reads it.¹³ Given the complexity of the trading practices of Jan de Oude and the accounting tools available, the accounts constructed by Jan de Oude before his death and the heirs after 1582 could never be perfectly accurate. In his testament, Jan de Oude had done his utmost to place the authority he instilled in the executors beyond criticism. The decisions of the executors were to be considered final. Their administration of the estate was to remain secret and thus incontestable. However, once Pandora's box was opened and the power of the testament and veracity of the accounts were questioned, the heirs could use other forms of authority available to them through the city or territorial governments to challenge the actions of the executors.¹⁴

¹³ James Aho, *Confession and Bookkeeping: The Religious, Moral, and Rhetorical Roots of Modern Accounting* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2006); James A. Aho, "Rhetoric and the Invention of Double Entry Bookkeeping," *Rhetorica: A Journal of the History of Rhetoric* 3, no. 1 (1985): 21-43; Bruce G. Carruthers Wendy N. Espeland, "Accounting for Rationality: Double-Entry Bookkeeping and the Rhetoric of Economic Rationality," *The American Journal of Sociology* 97, no. 1 (1991): 31-69; David Graeber, *Debt: The First 5,000 Years* (Brooklyn, NY: Melville House, 2012); Daniel Vickers, "Errors Expected: The Culture of Credit in Rural New England, 1750–1800," *The Economic History Review* 63, no. 4 (2010): 1032-1057. For recent discussion of the importance of the culture of accounting that developed in the Low Countries at this time and its influence on statehood, see Jacob Soll, "Accounting for Government: Holland and the Rise of Political Economy in Seventeenth-Century Europe," *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 40, no. 2 (2008 Dec 31): 215-238; Jacob Soll, "Accounting and Accountability in Dutch Civil Life," in *In Praise of Ordinary People: Early Modern England and the Dutch Republic*, ed. Margaret C. Jacob Catherine Secretan (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013); Jacob Soll, *The Reckoning: Financial Accountability and the Rise and Fall of Nations* (New York: Basic Books, 2014).

¹⁴ Craig Muldrew has argued for the importance of the growth of institutions to deal with the rising number of economic disputes at the end of the sixteenth century. Craig Muldrew, "Credit and the Courts: Debt Litigation in a Seventeenth-Century Urban Community," *The Economic History Review* 46, no. 1 (1993): 23-38; Craig Muldrew, "The Culture of Reconciliation: Community and the Settlement of Economic Disputes in Early Modern England," *The Historical Journal* 39, no. 4 (1996 Dec 01): 915-942; Craig Muldrew, *The Economy of Obligation: The Culture of Credit and Social Relations in Early Modern England* (New York: St. Martin's press, 1998). This shares similarities to the argument made by Oscar Gelderblom on the significance of the institutions within cities to deal with resolution of issues of debts. Oscar Gelderblom, *Cities of Commerce: The Institutional Foundations of International Trade in the Low Countries, 1250–1650* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2013), 102–140; Oscar Gelderblom, "The Resolution of Commercial Conflicts in Bruges, Antwerp, and Amsterdam (1250–1650)," in *Law and Long-Term Economic Change: A Eurasian Perspective*, ed. Debin Ma Jan Luiten van Zanden (Stanford: Stanford Economics and Finance, 2011). The experience of the Della Failles shows that authority within networks and families must also be taken into account in dealing with resolution of economic conflicts. Susan Broomhall Jacqueline van Gent, "In the Name of the Father: Conceptualizing 'Pater Familias' in the Letters of William the Silent's Children," *Renaissance Quarterly* 62, no. 4 (2009): 1130-1166; Erica Bastress-Dukehart, "Family, Property, and Feeling in Early Modern German Noble Culture: The Zimmerns of Swabia," *The Sixteenth Century Journal* 32, no. 1 (2001 May 01): 1-19; Bastress-Dukehart, "Sibling Conflict"; Trivellato, *Familiarity of Strangers*, 155–167; Jessica L. Goldberg, "Choosing and Enforcing Business Relationships in the Eleventh-Century Mediterranean: Reassessing the 'Maghribi Traders'," *Past & Present* 216 (2012): 3-40; Sabeen Teuscher, "Rethinking European Kinship."

Until the estate was brought to a final conclusion and the inheritance fully disbursed, the activities of managing the inheritance, calculating its value, and dividing it played a crucial role in mediating the relationships between the Della Faille siblings. This had been true in the case of the maternal inheritance, but now the siblings had to confront the issues associated with property relations with only the weakened form of paternal authority represented in Jan de Oude's testament to elicit obedience. Moving from the perceived natural hierarchical structure of a sibling group under the head of a patriarch to the more noticeably constructed hierarchy among siblings challenged the unity of the natal family. With these changes to familial structure, amicable division of Jan de Oude's estate stood as an important indicator of the successful generational transition, signaling to their kin and the social world they inhabited that Jan de Oude's status had been fully passed to his heirs along with his property. In other words, any debates among the heirs over their paternal and maternal inheritance concerned more than matters of property.¹⁵ Yet, in order to understand the dynamics of the sibling relationships as they developed after the death of Jan de Oude, it is necessary to unravel the tangle of documents produced in the process of dividing the inheritance and ascertain the nature of the estate that played this central mediating role.¹⁶

¹⁵ Courtney Thomas, "'The Honour & Credite of the Whole House': Family Unity and Honour in Early Modern England," *Cultural and Social History* 10, no. 3 (2013): 329-345; Naomi Tadmor, *Family and Friends in Eighteenth-Century England: Household, Kinship, and Patronage* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 175-192; Erica Bastress-Dukehart, *The Zimmern Chronicle: Nobility, Memory and Self-Representation in Sixteenth-Century Germany* (Aldershot, England: Ashgate, 2002); Bastress-Dukehart, "Sibling Conflict"; Hardwick, *Practice of Patriarchy*, 153-158; Benjamin Marschke, "The Crown Prince's Brothers and Sisters: Succession and Inheritance Problems and Solutions Among the Hohenzollerns, from the Great Elector to Frederick the Great," in *Sibling Relations and the Transformations of European Kinship, 1300-1900*, ed. Christopher H. JohnsonDavid Warren Sabeau (New York: Berghahn Books, 2011).

¹⁶ This is an argument that property matters and the relationship of people to things affects the relationships between people. People can dispute over property of any size, but whether a dispute occurred over £1 or £10,000 changes the meaning of the dispute. Richard Grassby, "Material Culture and Cultural History," *The Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 35, no. 4 (2005): 591-603; Bourdieu, *Outline of a Theory of Practice*; MedickSabeau, "Interest and Emotion in Family and Kinship Studies"; William H. Sewell Jr, *Logics of History: Social Theory and Social Transformation* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 10 2005).

This chapter uses the accounts produced in the process of the administration of the estate to understand the material basis of the relations that the Della Faille siblings constructed after the death of their father. The two states, produced from the books of Jan de Oude and the executors, that evaluated the capital of the estate at the end of 1583 and 1594 demonstrate that the sums involved in the disputes between the siblings were hardly insignificant.¹⁷ After providing a description of the two copies of the states found in the Della Faille de Leverghem Archive, the chapter sets out to explicate the narrative of events provided by the two states.¹⁸ Both the development of the capital, leading to the calculations of the inheritance due to the heirs, and the long and contentious process of disbursing the inheritance will be discussed. The explication of the disbursements is augmented through the examples of Steven and Hester to show how the actual movement of capital could be quite different than that written in the books of the estate. Following the accounts of the capital left by Jan de Oude shows the complex nature of bookkeeping.¹⁹

Jan de Oude's testament sought to forstall the problems that were bound to occur by providing the executors with ultimate and unquestioned authority over the accounts. However, given that Jan, Carlo, Steven, and his son-in-law Louis had challenged Jan de Oude's paternal

¹⁷ It is impossible to know the level of the veracity of the accounts and the true amount held by the estate. Because the disagreements often involved claims of dishonesty, the monetary size of the disagreements were usually unknown even to the accuser and so impossible to determine. While the accounts presented here certainly did not conform perfectly to reality, they provide what can be considered an official narrative of the events.

¹⁸ Both states of the capital left by Jan de Oude are found in DFL. State of Jan de Oude's estate, 26 December 1583, DFL 12; State of Jan de Oude's estate, 31 December 1594, DFL 12bis. Every account in the states are numbered, and these account numbers will be referred to when citing specific accounts.

¹⁹ Pieter de Waal, *De leer van het boekhouden in de Nederlanden tijdens de zestiende eeuw* (Roermond, The Netherlands: J.J. Romen & zonen, 1927); Basil S. Yamey, "Scientific Bookkeeping and the Rise of Capitalism," *The Economic History Review* 1, no. 2/3 (1949): 99-113; Basil S. Yamey, *Accounting in England and Scotland, 1543-1800: Double Entry in Exposition and Practice* (London: Sweet and Maxwell, 1963); Gelderblom, *Cities of Commerce*, 94-100; Muldrew, *Economy of Obligation*; Cheryl S. McWattersYannick Lemarchand, "Merchant Networks and Accounting Discourse: The Role of Accounting Transactions in Network Relations," *Accounting History Review* 23, no. 1 (2013): 49-83; Soll, *Reckoning*.

authority in various ways during his life, the authority he passed on to his executors was unlikely to stand up to individual demands of the heirs. This chapter argues that accounting by itself could not resolve the disputes between the heirs. Accounting could help foster amicable relations, but in the end, it depended upon the creation of consensus, consensus created through social interactions of the siblings and manifested in official accords made before local and state level bureaucrats.

2. The States of 1583 and 1594

The documentation used in this chapter was only created because of the existence of the almost continuous disputes between the heirs of Jan de Oude. The quarrels between the siblings led to the production of innumerable documents were copied and certified by notaries or just copied to be saved and catalogued. In particular, the arbitration between Marten and Jan in Antwerp in 1586 and the declaration of the magistrates in the dispute between Marten and Carlo on 22 June 1596 produced important documents that have been preserved in the archives.²⁰ The fullest understanding of Jan de Oude's capital and the inheritance of the Della Faille siblings is provided by the two states created by the notary Jan Nicolay in 1598 after years of lawsuits from Carlo and Jan to have a state and inventory created and made available to them. The first state assessed the capital held in the estate of Jan de Oude from his on 8 November 1582 until 26

²⁰ The arbitration in Antwerp in 1586 led to the creation of DvdM 55-10 and DvdM 56-11, calculations of what Jacques and Jan had received of their inheritance. On arbitration, see Gelderblom, *Cities of Commerce*, 104–108; Mark Godfrey, “Arbitration and Dispute Resolution in Sixteenth Century Scotland,” *Tijdschrift voor Rechtsgeschiedenis* 70 (2002): 109-135; Muldrew, “Culture of Reconciliation”; Edward Powell, “Settlement of Disputes by Arbitration in Fifteenth-Century England,” *Law and History Review* 2, no. 1 (1984 Feb 01): 21-43; Sheilagh Ogilvie, *Institutions and European Trade: Merchant Guilds, 1000-1800* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 296–300. See also Dave de Ruyscher, *‘Naer het Romeinsch recht alsmede den stiel mercantiel’: Handel en recht in de Antwerpse rechtbank (16de–17de eeuw)* (Kortrijk-Heule, Belgium: UGA, 2009); Dave de Ruyscher, “Designing the Limits of Creditworthiness: Insolvency in Antwerp Bankruptcy Legislation and Practice (16th–17th centuries),” *Tijdschrift voor Rechtsgeschiedenis* 76, no. 3 (2008): 307-327; Dave de Ruyscher, “From Usages of Merchants to Default Rules: Practices of Trade, *Ius Commune* and Urban Law in Early Modern Antwerp,” *The Journal of Legal History* 33, no. 1 (2012): 3-29.

December 1583. The second recorded transactions from the latter date until 31 December 1594.²¹

Not only do these two large account books furnish the greatest amount of information on the estate, inheritance, and the disbursement of inheritance, they provided the basis for the compromises that Marten made and attempted to make with his siblings and co-heirs. The accounts and accounting practices within the states followed the narrative of events created or at least approved of by Marten. This narrative was greatly contested, but it also became the official understanding of the development and administration of the estate and inheritance.

The two states possess a similar though not identical structure. Both begin by listing all of the accounts contained in the estate in alphabetical order, indicating the page on which they can be found.²² This is followed by an introduction that explains both the contents and the manner in which the documents treat the open accounts of the estate. The introductions of the two states are nearly identical, except for obvious differences in reference to dates. Both documents explain that they do not follow the normal procedure for a state and inventory because the estate of Jan de Oude consisted of such “widespread business of various goods, affairs, and trade in diverse quarters.”²³ Instead, the states “follow the form of bookkeeping in which each account in debit has its credit, and each account in credit its debit.”²⁴ In other words, the states use the style of

²¹ DFL 12 and DFL 12bis.

²² Because the copy of the state from 1594 does not have page numbers, the page numbers listed do little to guide the reader. The page numbers listed in the state from 1583 do not always correspond completely and are often off by a page or two.

²³ DFL 12, 2r: “Inden iersten, omme te verstaene de gesteltenisse ende gelegentheyt van desen staet, dient geweeten dat alsoo den selven is begrypende eenen grooten handel van verscheyden coopmansschappen, affairen, ende negotien op diverse quartieren, onmogelyck is geweest den selven te stellen by oft achtervolgende d’ordinarise forme van staten ende rekeninghen die men in andere saecken is gebruyckende.” The exact same language is used in DFL 12bis.

²⁴ DFL 12, 3r: “gevolght is de forme die men in’t boeckhouden observeert, van dat elcke partye in debito synen crediteur heeft ende elcke partye in credito synen debiteur.”

double-entry bookkeeping.²⁵ Using the accounting practices of merchants to describe the estate of the deceased deviated from the norm to such an extent that the introduction not only included this justification, it also explained the language used by bookkeepers and the manner by which the reader could follow the different accounts. “In the beginning of each account the word “*aen*” is used to signify creditor and the word “*per*” to signify debtor. In the margin of each account the page number where the contra-account can be found is indicated.”²⁶ Even in the trade metropolis of Antwerp, the use of double-entry bookkeeping necessitated explanation when used in unexpected places.

The vast majority of the two books are dedicated to listing the accounts and the various transactions involving the accounts. The states first list the debtors to the estate.²⁷ The state from 1583 separated the debtors into two categories: those found in the account books before Jan de Oude’s death and those who became debtors since his death. The state from 1594 is similarly divided with an opening portion dedicated to debtors remaining from the balance of 26 December 1583 and a second component for debtors appearing in the books after this date. The

²⁵ Brulez, *Firma Della Faille*, 432–444; A. C. Littleton and Basil S. Yamey, eds. *Studies in the History of Accounting* (Homewood, IL: Richard D. Irwin, 1956); Yamey, “Scientific Bookkeeping”; Yamey, *Accounting in England and Scotland*; Waal, *De leer van het boekhouden*; Gelderblom, *Cities of Commerce*, 94–100. The most prominent manual in Antwerp was Jan Ympijn Christoffels, *Nieuwe instructie ende bewijs der looffelijcker consten des rekenboecks ende rekeninghe te houdene nae die Italiaensche maniere allen coopliden, rentmeesteren, tollenaren, assijsmee steeren, zeer nut* (Antwerp: Gillis Copyns van Diest, 1543).

²⁶ DFL 12, 3r: “In’t begintsel van elcke partye gestelt beteekenen het woort aen den crediteur ende het woort per den debiteur, omme welcke contrepartye te vinden inde marge van elcke partye geannoteert wort, het bladt daerop de selve contrepartye te vinden is.” Again, while the page numbers for the contrary account is present in the state from 1594, they do not correspond to the copy in the archives.

²⁷ The practice of double-entry bookkeeping, as the introductions to the states noted, makes the concepts of credit and debit relative, because each transaction would be listed in the account books as both a credit and debit. The accounts listed as debtors to the estate owed money to the estate, while creditors were owed by the estate. In the parlance of double-entry bookkeeping, debtors had received capital, and creditors had given capital. See Brulez, *Firma Della Faille*; Waal, *De leer van het boekhouden*; Gustav Peebles, “The Anthropology of Credit and Debt,” *Annual Review of Anthropology* 39, no. 1 (2010): 225–240; Graeber, *Debt*.

second section of the states register the landed property and rents that Jan de Oude possessed.²⁸

Thirdly, the states catalogued the creditors to the estate. Like the section of the debtors, the state from 1583 divided the creditors into those from before Jan de Oude's death and those after. The state from 1594 only includes one section of creditors, because no new creditors appeared on the accounts after 1583. The state from 1583 further differs from that of 1594 by the dedication of an entire section to the creditors of the estate due to the bequests Jan de Oude made in his testament.²⁹ Neither state has an account dedicated to keeping track of the treasury of the estate, of the incoming and outgoing flows of cash. Instead, the states have sections which record all payments made to the treasury, in which the treasury was debtor, and cash payments made by the treasury, in which it became creditor. The states conclude by listing the accounts that remain open and that therefore continue onto the next state.

The number of accounts in the different sections of the states provides a rough overview of activity that Jan de Oude's heirs carried on after his death. The long period in which many accounts remained open, as well as the continued appearance of new accounts, helps to supply an idea of the complexity of Jan de Oude's estate and the work necessary to manage it. The state from 1583 contains 417 numbered accounts.³⁰ The transactions of the estate up to 26 December 1583 closed many accounts, so that the state from 1594 only possesses 281 accounts. A total of 209 accounts are found in both states. The state from 1583 contains 114 accounts that were debtors before Jan de Oude's death, but in the little more than a year until 26 December 1583, 107 new accounts appeared as debtors. At the end of 1583, 99 accounts remained in debt to the

²⁸ Each of the rents possessed its own account, but the property Jan de Oude owned, both in land and in urban houses, was combined into a single account *Erffgoeden*, DFL 12-223.

²⁹ It is this section which is used to analyze the bequests in Chapter 4. DFL 12-356–416.

³⁰ The account for Anna's sisterly inheritance was mistakenly left unnumbered, so the numbering in the document only goes up to 416.

estate. Between 1584 and the end of 1594 a further 72 accounts were created that owed money to the estate. The number of accounts with a credit to the estate did not expand in the same fashion. Only 25 new accounts to which the estate owed money were created after Jan de Oude's death, and the majority of these dealt with the accounts for the inheritance of the siblings.³¹ No new accounts were listed as creditors after 26 December 1583, though 101 accounts continued as creditors in the books of the estate after that date. The continuance of open accounts even after the end of 1594 demonstrates the difficulty the siblings had in bringing the estate of Jan de Oude to a close. More than twelve years after the death of Jan de Oude, 42 accounts remained open. The estate continued to be creditor on 23 different accounts, while the estate was debtor on 19 accounts.

The type of accounts that made up the debts and credits of the estate of Jan de Oude varied greatly. The accounts present in the states record the mercantile activities of Jan de Oude and detail how they continued to be carried on after his death. Most importantly in this regard, the states of 1583 and 1594 list the accounts of the branches of Jan de Oude's trade in Venice, Verona, and London, showing the movement of goods between northwestern Europe and the Mediterranean.³² In addition to the large accounts of the branches, the states include accounts limited to a single type of commodity such as Napolese silk, linen, or English wool.³³ The most frequent type of account derived from trade done in concert with other merchants. These

³¹ This does not include the 61 accounts created due to the bequests made by Jan de Oude in his testament. However, all but nine of these accounts were closed by 26 December 1583 either due to moving the capital to the possession of Marten or Jacques or by writing it off on another account held by the legatee.

³² Brulez, *Firma Della Faille*. The states themselves essentially were from the position of the branch in Antwerp. The branch in Venice was known in the accounts as "Voyagie van Weenen" and the branch of Verona was called "Voyagie van Polen."

³³ Between the two states thirty-three accounts exist dedicated to a certain type of good. The number of goods traded by the estate is much less, as items such as linen were traded on multiple accounts. Brulez, *Firma Della Faille*.

individuals might be other independent merchants, factors used by Jan de Oude and his heirs, or servants who carried out various activities in order to continue the movement of goods and capital across Europe. The majority of these merchants were non-kin, but kin were also amply represented. The accounts of kin ranged from those directly involved in the trade of the estate, to temporary companies formed with kin in order trade a set goods, to debts and credits of a more personal nature. Finally, and most importantly, Jan de Oude's heirs possessed multiple accounts to record their paternal, maternal, and sororal inheritance, as well as any other transactions they may have had with the estate.³⁴

3. Accounting for the Estate in 1583

In October 1582, Marten received an urgent letter from his father that told that he was suffering from a severe sickness that had relegated him to his bed. The situation was dire and the letter asked for Marten to return to Antwerp as soon as possible. By the time that Marten arrived, his father had died and had already been buried next to his wife.³⁵ The testament appointed Marten as Jan de Oude's primary successor, bequeathing to him his father's house on the Huidevetterstraat and placing him in charge of the accounts of the estate.³⁶ Jan de Oude's testament had demanded that these accounts remain secret to all but the executors, with the other heirs only able to see the portions of the accounts that directly affected them. However, the laws of Antwerp dictated that Marten and his co-executors must produce a state and inventory of all of

³⁴ Eight of Jan de Oude's nine heirs had their own accounts with the estate that were not directly related to their inheritance. The only exception was Steven.

³⁵ Memory of Marten, DFL 14.

³⁶ Testament of Jan de Oude, Familie De Malapert, inventory 22, Het Utrechts Archief, Utrecht, The Netherlands (hereafter). It is transcribed in Jongbloet-van Houtte, *Daniel van der Meulen*, cxliv–clix.

the goods left by their father within a period of six weeks.³⁷ The size and complexity of the capital meant that any evaluation of the capital would take longer than six weeks, while the contradictions between Jan de Oude's testament and the laws of Antwerp opened opportunity for disagreement.

Immediately following the death of Jan de Oude, the executors set to the task of bringing together the accounts of their father's vast trade. Access to and perusal of the Jan de Oude's books played an important role in the power relations among the siblings. At first, Jan, Marten, and Jacques all worked on creating the accounts, though the process did not necessarily occur amicably. After Jan de Oude's death, Jan undertook the task of going through the accounts in Antwerp to bring them up to date. He gained possession of the journal and ledger number 9 and set down the transactions of the estate from 18 October 1582 until the date of Jan de Oude's death on 8 November. Jan continued to work on the accounts of the estate until 16 November 1583. During this time, he kept the books in his own possession and denied access to his co-executors, using the pretext that he had not received his full maternal inheritance.³⁸ After the middle of November, Jacques took over the accounting, going through the ledgers with Jan Noirot, Jan de Oude's bookkeeper, until 30 March 1584.³⁹ In April 1584, Jacques prepared to leave Antwerp with his wife and Hester. Jan departed Antwerp for Leiden soon after. This left Marten as the sole executor in Antwerp, giving him control of the account books of the estate, a position that he never gave up.

³⁷ *Impressae* 1582, Title XLVI: Van Testamenten nr 16. G. de Longé, ed. *Recueil des anciennes coutumes de Belgique. Coutumes du pays et duché de Brabant. Quartier d'Anvers*, vol. 4 (Brussels: F. Gobbaerts, 1870-1874).

³⁸ Memory of Marten, DFL 14. Marten accused Jan of making cash payments from the estate of over £1,000 without noting down the transactions in the account books. See Chapter 6.

³⁹ Memory of Marten, DFL 14.

The death of Jan de Oude did little to slow the movement of the goods held by Jan de Oude. Silk continued to be purchased in Venice and Verona, carted across the Alps north to Hamburg, and sent by the Baltic to England. The purchase of English woolens and Netherlandish linens continued apace. Linens were sent across the Channel to London or sent in the opposite direction along with the woolens to be sold in Italy. The executors had to track the movement of goods, note the price of purchase, the costs of transportation, and the sale price. In order to do this, the executors needed to receive and harmonize the accounts kept by the various branches and factors that participated in Jan de Oude's trade. On 31 January 1583, the executors made an important step in the process of creating a balance of the assets and liabilities of the estate by sending out orders to Jan de Oude's factors in Hamburg, Augsburg, Venice, Verona, and London to create and send to the executors in Antwerp a state of the capital held in each city.⁴⁰

Throughout 1583, the executors worked on the various and complicated accounts of the estate in order to understand the inheritance due to the heirs of the three estates encompassed by Jan de Oude's capital. It took until 26 December 1583 for the heirs to make their first significant agreement pertaining to the capital of the estate. Jan de Oude had last made a determination of the size of his capital at the end of his journal on 31 December 1578.⁴¹ This left the executors with the need to bring together the accounts from almost four years worth of trading activities that had taken place between the previous balance and their father's death. In order to accomplish this, the executors and heirs first had to agree to the amount of capital Jan de Oude had invested in trade at the end of 1578 against which the profits could be calculated. This was done through the agreement of 26 December 1583. The agreement contained no actual

⁴⁰ Memory of Marten, DFL 14.

⁴¹ Journal nr 8 of Jan de Oude, Della Faille de Nevele Archive, inventory N. 2, Private collection, Lozer, Belgium (hereafter DFN).

calculation of the estate up to the end of 1583. Rather, it simply set the maternal and paternal investment in trade at the end of 1578. Though a seemingly minor step, the agreement proved to be of great import for the future interactions of the siblings. By creating a starting point for the calculations of the estate, the agreement also set the basis for all future disputes between the siblings.⁴²

The actual agreement was fairly succinct. The heirs agreed that on 31 December 1578 Jan de Oude should be considered to have had £59,197.9.5 invested in trade throughout Europe. From this total, £25,197.9.5 belonged to the six heirs who had yet to receive their full maternal inheritance. The agreement listed the credits of each of the six. Concerning the paternal inheritance from the end of 1578, the heirs agreed that their father's "investment in trade should be reckoned" as £34,000.⁴³ This left each of the nine heirs with a credit for their paternal inheritance, exclusive of Jan de Oude's immovable property, of £3777.15.6 2/3. The language of the agreement makes clear that this was an estimate. It is uncertain if the estimation was due to the complexity of the accounts, making greater precision impossible, or if it was done in order to simplify future calculations. In either case, the use of estimating highlighted the degree to which

⁴² Copies of the agreement can be found in DvdM 55-10. From the foundation provided by the agreement, it was then possible to make a state of the development of the movable capital from Jan de Oude's previous balance to the date of the agreement. Memory of Marten, DFL 14: "ende ghesloten op dien voet die rekeninghe ende soldo van de pro e danno tot dien daghe te boecke te stellen."

⁴³ Memory of Marten, DFL 14: "als contante penninghen in den handel souden gherekent worden." DvdM 55-10.

the accounting for the estate depended upon agreement among the heirs, which would be worked out through their social interactions.⁴⁴

Table: 5.1: Maternal Inheritance, 31 December 1578

Heirs	Maternal inheritance	Percentage of total
Anna	£3050	12.1%
Marten	£4945.10.7	19.6%
Jacques	£2200	8.7%
Steven	£4335.5.6	17.2%
Hester	£5333.6.8	21.2%
Cornelia	£5333.6.8	21.2%

Table: 5.2: Maternal and Paternal Capital Invested in Trade, 31 December 1578

Inheritance	Capital	Percentage of total
Maternal	£25,197.9.5	57.44%
Paternal	£34,000	42.56%

The determination of the share of the maternal inheritance and Jan de Oude’s capital invested in trade set the ratio for all further calculations of the development of the movable capital of the estate. The agreement between the heirs set the paternal capital at 57.44% of the total movable goods, leaving the maternal capital at 42.56%. Thus, the paternal inheritance partook in 57% of any profits or losses incurred over the course of five years of mercantile activity and the maternal inheritance partook in 42% of the same. Whereas all profits and losses deriving from the paternal capital would be divided equally among the nine heirs, the maternal

⁴⁴ Susan BroomhallJacqueline van Gent, “Corresponding Affections: Emotional Exchange among Siblings in the Nassau Family,” *Journal of Family History* 34, no. 2 (2009): 143-165; BroomhallGent, “In the Name of the Father”; Bastress-Dukehart, “Sibling Conflict”; Sophie Ruppel, “Subordinates, Patrons, and Most Beloved: Sibling Relationships in Seventeenth-Century German Court Society,” in *Sibling Relations and the Transformations of European Kinship, 1300–1900*, ed. Christopher H. JohnsonDavid Warren Sabeau (New York: Berghahn Books, 2011); Christopher H. JohnsonDavid Warren Sabeau, “From Siblingship to Siblinghood: Kinship and the Shaping of European Society (1300–1900),” in *Sibling Relations and the Transformations of European Kinship, 1300–1900*, ed. Christopher H. JohnsonDavid Warren Sabeau (New York: Berghahn Books, 2011).

inheritance fell to the six heirs in proportion to their holdings in 1578. The ratios remained the same until the inheritance was fully disbursed, regardless of whether heirs diminished their stake in the estate through reception of inheritance. The agreement directed Marten to move forward in calculating the development of the capital on this basis, providing him with a salary of £682.0.1 1/4 for his labor.⁴⁵ In setting out and making explicit the proportions of the maternal and paternal capital, it was hoped that the future calculations and administration of the estate could proceed amicably. Thus, the siblings agreed “to cast aside all quarrels, debates, and questioning in order to gain unity and friendship and come to a partition” of the estate.⁴⁶

4. Size and Development of the Inheritance, 1583–1594

The capital of Jan de Oude’s estate was calculated and balanced on three separate dates, providing the basic outline of its beginning, middle, and, if not the end, the last complete balance of the estate. The balances of Jan de Oude’s estate necessarily included those of his children’s mother and their sister Cornelia, which were incorporated within the capital he left. All of the calculations of the estate were based upon Jan de Oude’s capital from 31 December 1578 set by the agreement of 26 December 1583. The date of 26 December 1583 gained increased importance for the accounts of the estate, as it came to mark the date of the first balance of the estate after Jan de Oude’s death, though the actual balance was created much later.⁴⁷ The balance from 31 December 1594 marked the end date of the second state created by Nicolay. Due to the

⁴⁵ DvdM 55-10 and Profits and Losses, DFL 12-36.

⁴⁶ Memory of Marten, DFL 14: “alle quarellen ende debaten ende questien daer mede te neder te leggen ende om tot eenicheyt ende vrintschappe ende afscheyt te commen.”

⁴⁷ DvdM 55-10; DFL 12; and Summary of the state of Jan de Oude, 18 July 1598, DFL 13. The arbitrators in Antwerp declared on 6 and 7 October 1586 that 26 December 1583 would be used as the end date for the first balance of the estate. DvdM 59-6.

disputes between the siblings and the movement of the most active capital to the hands of Marten and Jacques, the profits from the eleven years of administration were much more modest than the previous period.⁴⁸ The following section details the development of the capital of Jan de Oude and the calculations of the inheritance due to the Della Faille siblings. It shows not only the amount due to the heirs at the end of 1583 and 1594, but analyzes the different types of capital held by the estate and how the executors managed the accounts of the estate.

A. The State of 26 December 1583

The main account in the state from 26 December 1583 is labeled “creditors of the aforesaid ledger nr 9 (comprehending or containing the accounting for the capital in which all losses and gains are written in debit and credit respectively).”⁴⁹ This account encompassed the paternal inheritance of the heirs or all of the assets Jan de Oude possessed in his own name. Following the contents of this account also provides a basis for understanding the maternal and sororal inheritance. The account began with a credit of £41,112.10.5, meaning that at the time of Jan de Oude’s death, his heirs were creditors in their father’s ledger nr 9 or to Jan de Oude’s estate for that amount. The calculation of this credit derived from the balance the notary Jan Dries created in 1586.⁵⁰ It consisted of the capital Jan de Oude had invested in trade at the end of 1578 and the value of Jan de Oude’s immovables at the time of his death, which he had estimated to be £7,171.15.10. These consisted of £5,186.3.4 1/2 in houses and land and a further

⁴⁸ DFL 12bis. It was during this period that most of the inheritance was disbursed to the heirs, though even after this date, the account books of the estate continued with assets of £9,756.15.6.

⁴⁹ Creditors of the book nr 9, DFL 12-286: “de crediteuren van voors. boeck no. 9 (comprehenderende oft gehouden wordende voorde rekeninghe van t’capitaal daerop alle schaede ende bate respectie in debito ende credito aff ende aen-geschreven worden).”

⁵⁰ The balance was created due to the judgement of arbitrators in Antwerp in the disputes between Marten and Jan in 1586. Proclamation of arbitrators between Jan and Marten, 29 August 1586 to 8 October 1586, DvdM 59-6.

£1,985.12.5 1/2 in urban rents.⁵¹ This left Jan de Oude with £33,940.14.7 invested in trade at the end of 1578, which corresponded closely with the estimate the heirs made in their agreement on 26 December 1583 of £34,000.⁵²

Only two entries were placed on the credit side of the creditors of the book which denoted increase in the paternal inheritance. In the first place, the state credited the account for the disbursal of the household goods of Jan de Oude between the heirs in January 1583, possessing a total value of £935.6.6.⁵³ The other entry denoted Jan de Oude's portion in the profits deriving from his trade over the previous five year period, constituting the primary means for the growth of his capital. The process for calculating the profits was complicated. The use of double-entry bookkeeping provided a merchant with two main sources of knowledge about their economic activities. Double-entry bookkeeping was intended to accurately track open credits and debits of the merchant. It also enabled the calculation of profits through the account of "profits and losses" or "*winninge ende verlies*." At the creation of a balance, the bookkeeper attempted to close as many accounts as possible and distill the information into a single account of the "profits and losses," which could then be added to the assets of the estate or creditors of the book.⁵⁴ The account of "profits and losses" itself only gave a snapshot of profits of a given period, because trade was fluid and continuous. Until the entire estate was liquidated, the capital remained liable

⁵¹ The houses and land are placed together in DFL 12-223. The rents are spread out in DFL12-221, DFL12-222, and DFL12-224–230. See also the Summary of the state of Jan de Oude, 18 July 1598, DFL 13 nr 1. It was later determined that Jan de Oude had overestimated the value of the immovable property he owned by £1,240.10.0 1/2. This was later debited from the paternal inheritance. Creditors of the book nr 9, DFL 12-286.

⁵² DvdM 55-10 and Summary of the state of Jan de Oude, 18 July 1598, DFL 13.

⁵³ Creditors of the book nr 9, DFL 12-286.

⁵⁴ Soll, *Reckoning*; Waal, *De leer van het boekhouden*; Herman van der Wee, "Monetary, Credit and Banking System," in *The Economic Organization of Early Modern Europe*, ed. E. E. Rich. C. H. Wilson The Cambridge Economic History of Europe (University Press, Apr 1977); Yamey, "Scientific Bookkeeping."

to further “profits and losses.” Every balance that ended with a substantial number of open accounts of assets and liabilities could only be an approximation.

The account of “profits and losses” in the state from 1583 provides a good overview of the trade undertaken by Jan de Oude and continued by the executors over a five year period. Though burdened by the troubles caused by the Dutch Revolt and Antwerp’s move to align itself with the rebels following the Spanish Fury and Pacification of Ghent in 1576, Jan de Oude’s trade continued along the lines he had developed in the previous twenty years.⁵⁵ The trade consisted almost entirely of textiles. Silk from Italy, linen from the Low Countries, and English woolens constituted the majority of the trade. The silk and linen mostly found its way to England, where it was sold under the authority of Marten during Jan de Oude’s life and then by Thomas Coteels and Wouter Aertsen after Marten returned to Antwerp. The woolens were sold in Italy, primarily in Venice, where the branch was headed by Jan de Wale.⁵⁶ The branches of Venice and Verona calculated their own profits to be £8,000 and £2,589.5 respectively, though both branches continued to possess significant amounts of capital.⁵⁷ The profits brought by trade in Italian silk, a specialty of Jan de Oude’s trade, amounted to a total of £13,626.4.5.⁵⁸ The profits on the account of linen were also large if dwarfed by the sale of silk, amounting to £2,426.14.5.⁵⁹ Finally, the account of “profits and losses” shows the estate’s involvement in temporary companies such as that with Jan de Oude’s sister Hilaria della Faille that brought in

⁵⁵ Brulez, *Firma Della Faille*.

⁵⁶ DFL 12; Brulez, *Firma Della Faille*.

⁵⁷ The branch of Venice was debtor to the estate £20,922.10.11 at the close of the state of 1583. The branch in Verona possessed a much lower but still substantial evaluation of £4,800.0.7 1/2. Branch of Venice, DFL 12-178; Branch of Verona, DFL 12-108.

⁵⁸ Brulez, *Firma Della Faille*, especially 283–300.

⁵⁹ Linen, DFL 12-63; Brulez, *Firma Della Faille*, especially 265–266.

£144.14.7 1/2 from trade in linen.⁶⁰ The gross profits, before losses were taken into account, were £28,178.12.6 1/2.⁶¹

The practice of double-entry bookkeeping possessed a strict formula for accounting for credits and debits that moved from the day book to the journal to the ledger, but within the system, there remained a great deal of flexibility in how to deal with individual accounts. This flexibility both enabled the system to be of actual use to merchants, while also creating the potential for greater complexity. Instead of noting all losses or expenses on the account of “profits and losses”, the books of Jan de Oude split this task between the account designated for the calculation of profits and another account dealing with “business expenses.”⁶² The losses or debits listed on the account of “profits and losses” are mostly, in the context of the size of the estate, fairly minor. For instance, the state noted as a loss the £100 loaned to the widow of Henrick Passmus, or the bill of exchange for £90.10.9 that the estate held on the merchant Matthys van Bergen, “which with his bankruptcy is considered lost.”⁶³ The account also noted small losses from trade like the £10.16.8 and £39.16.3 estimated as losses for trade of camelot.⁶⁴

⁶⁰ Linen in company with Gillis del Ponte and Hilaria della FailleDFL 12-24.

⁶¹ The account mistakenly gives the total profits as £29,255.11.6 ½. Because the state mistakenly gives this as the total for both the debit and credit side of the account, there is no real consequence to the mistake. However, this shows not only the mistakes that could occur in the accounting process, but also the persistence of mistakes. In his answer to the lawsuit of Jan, Jacques, and Carlo in 1615, Marten cited £29,255.11.6 ½ as the agreed sum of the profits placed on the books on 15 December 1583. Answer of Marten to Jan, Jacques, and Carlo, 1 April 1615, DFL 8. Vickers, “Errors Expected.”

⁶² Expenses of trade, DFL 12-96.

⁶³ For example, Account of the widow of Henrick Packmuts, DFL 12-33; Account of Matthys van Bergen, DFL 12-34: “d’welck mits syn faillissement voor verloren geschiet woort.” On the forgiveness of debts and expectations of losing money on loans, Brulez, *Firma Della Faille*, 383–389; Gelderblom, *Cities of Commerce*, 105; Muldrew, *Economy of Obligation*; Vickers, “Errors Expected”; Thomas Max Safley, *The History of Bankruptcy: Economic, Social and Cultural Implications in Early Modern Europe* (London: Routledge, 2013).

⁶⁴ Turkish camelot in company with Jan de Wale, DFL 12-145 and Miscellaneous camelot, DFL 12-42. Camelot is a woven fabric that combined goat’s hair and silk. It was manufactured in the Levant. Brulez, *Firma Della Faille*, 588.

A noteworthy cost on the account derived from the £682.0.1 1/2 that the heirs set aside for Marten outside of his inheritance for payment for his administration and bookkeeping of the estate following the wishes expressed in Jan de Oude's testament.⁶⁵ These relatively small expenses, combined with the already present expenses on the book, reached a total of £1,713.0.2.⁶⁶

The largest loss or expense stemmed from and was bundled together in the account of "business expenses." The bookkeeping done for the estate used the account of "business expenses" as a clearing house. Included on the debit side of the account were gifts of textiles given by Jan de Oude, payments for transporting goods, interest, consultation with lawyers, and even expenses for medicine. Thus, the estate spent £40 in consulting with Henrick Kinschot, Ottho Hartus, and Antonio Schoormans, all of whom were legatees in Jan de Oude's testament. The estate also gave out kerseys worth £91.12.5 "to diverse people to the honor of the deceased Jan de Oude."⁶⁷ The expenses incurred since 1579 had already reached £5,288.17.2 at the time of Jan de Oude's death and then grew to £9,864.0.4 1/4 in total expenses. A small portion of the expenses were recovered through entries on the credit side, necessitated by imperfect accounting that naturally occurred in practice. These included credits for transportation costs that had been noted as expenses in both the books of the branch of Venice and in the accounts of the estate. The state also used the account as a chance to clear out accounts to which the estate owed small amounts of money but for one reason or another no longer needed to repay. Small credits like

⁶⁵ The payment of £440.0.1 sterling or £682.0.1 1/4 Flemish was decided in the accord of the heirs on 26 December 1583. DvdM 55-10; Profits and losses, DFL 12-36. Marten noted this in his memory of the disputes, DFL 14.

⁶⁶ Profits and losses, DFL 12-36.

⁶⁷ Miscellaneous kerseys, DFL 12-114: "aen verscheyden persoonen ter eeren van wylen Jan della Faille." Among the beneficiaries were the poor of Antwerp, as well as kin such as Hester Noirot and Antonio van Neste.

these added up to £935.2.10, leaving the estate with £9,228.17.4 1/4 in expenses it needed to account for.⁶⁸

The administrators of the estate decided to deal with these liabilities by dividing them into two different kinds of expenses. The first consisted of £5,644.0.0 1/4 for “expenses of housekeeping, lawsuits, and other costs that only apply to the deceased Jan della Faille.”⁶⁹ The second was £3,584.17.4 for “diverse expenses of interest, salaries, business expenses, and other small costs,” which, because it directly involved trade, had to be incurred by both the maternal and paternal inheritance.⁷⁰ Only the latter was written off on the account of “profits and losses” as a loss. The former fell directly to the paternal inheritance and the account of the “creditors of the book.”⁷¹

The use of an account for “business expenses” should have simplified the calculations necessary in the account of “profits and losses” to determine the profits, but this was complicated by two considerations. The small debits contained in the account of “profits and losses” and the business expenses added together to create £5,297.17.6 in total costs. The costs subtracted from the gross profits on the credit side of the account of £28,178.12.6 1/2 should have led to £22,880.15.0 1/2 in profits. However, not all of this capital related to profit deriving from trade. The agreement of the heirs of 26 December 1583 included a decision to credit Jan de Oude’s estate for £3644 in reduction of the £5,644.0.0 1/4 that the account of “business expenses” had placed as a liability on the account of “creditors of the book.” In this way Jan de Oude’s liability

⁶⁸ Expenses of trade, DFL 12-96.

⁶⁹ DFL 12-96: “ter saecken van onkosten van huysshouden, processen, ende andere die alleen aengaen ten laste van wylen Jan della Faille ende tot salderinge van dese rekeninge gedragen.”

⁷⁰ DFL 12-96: “voor diverse onkosten van interresten, salarissen, onkosten van coopmansschappen ende andere cleyne onkosten.”

⁷¹ Creditors of the book nr 9, DFL 12-286.

for the household expenses was reduced to £2000. It is unclear why this was not done on either the “business expenses” account or that of the “creditors of the book.” The state makes no mention of this accounting maneuver. In contrast, the summary state, which was given over to the magistrates of Antwerp on the same day as the state of 1583, did explicitly note this addition to the profits.⁷² Though the £3644 added to the paternal estate, it had no real relation to the profits. Once this is removed, the true profits of the five year period were revealed to be £19,237.

On 15 December 1583 the executors of the estate calculated the profits and divided them between the maternal and paternal inheritance.⁷³ Their calculations resulted in profits of £19,237 from the principal capital of £59,197.95 invested at the end of 1578. This meant that the capital had acquired rather paltry yearly profits of 6.5%, putting it at just a quarter percent above the level of interest. This compared poorly to the 13.5% yearly profits that Brulez has calculated for Jan de Oude’s capital from 1574 to 1578.⁷⁴ The death of Jan de Oude and the confusion over the administration of the estate must have negatively affected the profits, while the disturbances in the Low Countries unsettled both the production of textiles and Antwerp’s place as a

⁷² Because the £3,644 was not mentioned in the state, there is no sense of where this money came from. The text of the agreement is found in DvdM 55-10, while the summation of the state shows the separation of this from the profits. Summary of the state of Jan de Oude, 18 July 1598, DFL 13.

⁷³ Marten described this process in Answer of Marten to Jan, Jacques, and Carlo, 1 April 1615, DFL 8. The primary entries on the debit side of the account that determined the profits were done on this date. Profits and losses, DFL 12-36.

⁷⁴ Brulez, *Firma Della Faille*, 41. The calculations made by Brulez for the yearly profit from 1579 to 1583 are higher than those noted here, because Brulez included the credit for the household goods in his calculation, and he only calculated the profits over a four year period instead of a five year period. If the £3,644 is added to Jan de Oude’s profits, then his yearly increase reached 8.6%.

marketplace for Italian and English goods.⁷⁵ At the same time, it should be noted that at the end of 1583 large amounts of capital remained tied up in goods held by the branches of Venice, Verona, and London, providing ready opportunity for further profit if properly administered.

Having determined the total profits, the executors of the testament divided the profits between the paternal and maternal estates based upon the ratio from 1578. As noted above, the agreement set the principal of 1578 at £34,000 for the paternal estate and £25,197.9.5 for the maternal estate. Jan de Oude's 57.44% stake in the capital invested in trade brought his estate £1,1049.12.2 in profits. When combined with the credit of £3644, the total added to his estate through the profits amounted to £14,693.7.2 1/2, which was written off of the account of "profits and losses" and brought over as credit to "creditors of the book."⁷⁶ The maternal profits involved a secondary process. After the executors determined the maternal share of 42.56% in the profits, they had to divide the resulting £8,187.7.10 between the six heirs who remained creditors for their maternal inheritance at the rate of their credit in 1578.⁷⁷

⁷⁵ Clé Lesger, *The Rise of the Amsterdam Market and Information Exchange: Merchants, Commercial Expansion and Change in the Spatial Economy of the Low Countries, c.1550–1630* (Aldershot, England: Ashgate, Mar 2006); Jan de VriesAd van der Woude, *The First Modern Economy: Success, Failure, and Perseverance of the Dutch Economy, 1500-1815* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, Mar 1997); Herman van der Wee, *The Low Countries in Early Modern World* (Aldershot, England: Variorum, Apr 1993); Oscar Gelderblom, *Zuid-Nederlandse kooplieden en de opkomst van de Amsterdamse stapelmarkt (1578-1630)* (Hilversum, The Netherlands: Verloren, Jan 2000).

⁷⁶ Profits and losses, DFL 12-36; Creditors of the book nr 9, DFL 12-286. It is not clear why the shillings and pence do not add up correctly. It may simply have been an error in addition.

⁷⁷ Profits and losses, DFL 12-36. The individual entries for the maternal profits were placed on the account of the maternal inheritance of each of the heirs. See also Summary of the state of Jan de Oude, 18 July 1598, DFL 13.

Figure 5.1: Assets of the Estate of Jan de Oude, 26 December 1583⁷⁸

1. Beginning credit (1A + 1B): £41,112.10.5
 - A. Investment in trade on 31 December 1578: £33,940.14.7
 - B. Immovables: £7,171.15.10
2. Household goods divided among his heirs: £935.6.6
3. Profits from trade between 31 December 1578 and 26 December 1583 (3A + 3B):
£14,693.7.2 1/2
 - A. Profits: £1,1049.12.2
 - B. Credit from household expenses: £3644
4. Total assets (1 + 2 + 3): £56,741.4.1 1/2

The division did not take place without controversy. The calculations for Hester and Cornelia occurred without difficulty, because neither took out any large portion of their maternal inheritance. Their £5,333.6.8 remained invested in the general trade of Jan de Oude for the entire period.⁷⁹ In contrast, Jacques had continued to make active use of his maternal inheritance, so that by the time of his father's death, he had reduced his credit for his maternal inheritance from £2200 to £1000.⁸⁰ Yet, the calculation of the profits did not take into account this reduction in his maternal inheritance, and Jacques received profits at the rate of £2200. This example provides a clear instance in which the executors had to make a decision about how they would treat the accounts. Their decision was neither right nor wrong, though it was the simpler option and worked to the benefit of Jacques, but it provided an opening for criticism. As will be further discussed in the chapters below, the process of accounting itself could not provide an answer.

⁷⁸ This provides a summary of Creditors of the book nr 9, DFL 12-286.

⁷⁹ Maternal inheritance of Hester, DFL 12-249; Maternal inheritance of Cornelia, DFL 12-250.

⁸⁰ Capital of Jacques, DFL 12-318.

Compromise had to be obtained through the relationships the sibling constructed among themselves.⁸¹

Table: 5.3: Maternal Profits, 26 December 1583⁸²

Heirs	Principal from 1578	Profits	Total
Anna	£3,050	£990.12.2	£4,040.12.2
Marten	£4,945.10.7	£1,609.15.6	£6,555.6.1
Jacques	£2,200	£714.10.9	£2,914.10.9
Steven	£4,335.5.6	£1,408.1	£5,743.6.6
Hester	£5,333.6.8	£1,732.4.2 1/2	£7,065.10.10 1/2
Cornelia	£5,333.6.8	£1,732.4.2 1/2	£7,065.10.10 1/2
Total	£25,197.9.5	£8,187.7.10	£33,384.17.3

The discussion above explains the assets procured by Jan de Oude’s estate up to the end of 1583, as well as the development of the maternal inheritance through the profits from trade. The assets of Jan de Oude’s estate placed as credits to the “creditors of the book” included the principal capital in trade in 1578, Jan de Oude’s estimation of his immovables, furniture and household goods received by his heirs in January 1583, and profits from his trade. These assets resulted in an aggregate capital of £56,741.4.1 1/2. From this total, the account book placed the “creditors of the book” as liable for four types of expenses or debits before the paternal inheritance due to the heirs could be calculated. These can be discussed more quickly than the assets.⁸³ The estate was first liable for the £4,709.10.6 that Jan de Oude bequeathed to legatees in his testament and discussed in the previous chapter. The incurrence of £5,644.0.0 1/4 in

⁸¹ Hardwick, *Practice of Patriarchy*, 153–158; BroomhallGent, “Corresponding Affections”; Bastress-Dukehart, “Sibling Conflict”; Ruppel, “Subordinates, Patrons, and Most Beloved.”

⁸² Maternal inheritance of the heirs, DFL 12-248–250, 292, 318, 330. Jacques’s maternal inheritance was calculated at the principal of £2,200, but by the death of Jan de Oude, Jacques had already diminished his maternal inheritance to £1,000. Maternal inheritance of Jacques, DFL 12-318; DvdM 55-8. Marten complained about this in Memory of Marten, DFL 14.

⁸³ Creditors of the book nr 9, DFL 12-286.

household expenses by the estate has also been noted, as has its reduction through the account of “profits and losses.” More interesting was the decision of the executors to reduce Jan de Oude’s estate by £1,240.10.0 1/2, because they believed that he had overestimated the value of his immovables by this amount. This reduction may have been due to mistaken assessment, but also because of reduced value of land and houses caused by the troubles of the Dutch Revolt. Finally, the Dutch Revolt also directly affected Jan de Oude’s capital through two separate forced loans from the city that were not repaid and therefore considered lost. The first loan derived from ransom paid to the Spanish soldiers after the Spanish Fury in 1576, while the second came from a loan in December 1579.⁸⁴

The debts incurred by the estate left the heirs £44,699.2.4 3/4 to be divided in nine equal portions. Because the estate continued to consist almost entirely of mercantile capital that remained in circulation and trade, the executors found little need to be exact in their division of the capital in nine parts. Instead, the executors merely rounded the capital of the estate to an even £45,000, resulting in each heir receiving an estimated credit of £5,000 for their paternal inheritance.⁸⁵ The only deviance from this pattern was the division of the inheritance to the heirs of Maria between the two-thirds *legitime* and the one-third contingent upon Louis Malapert providing assistance to his siblings-in-law as dictated by Jan de Oude’s testament. The £3,368.7.2 1/3 for the *legitime* was due directly to Maria’s children with Louis, while the executors gained control over the remaining £1631.12.9 2/3. It was the executors who were to

⁸⁴ Floris Prims, *De Grootte Cultuurstrijd*, 2 vols. (Antwerp: N. V. Standaard, 1942–1943).

⁸⁵ Creditors of the book nr 9, DFL 12-286.

decide whether this would go to Maria's heirs, or be equally divided between the other eight heirs.⁸⁶

As a result of the estimation of the inheritance due to Jan de Oude's heirs, the account of the "creditors of the book" became overdrawn, ending with a debt of £300.17.7 1/4. In other words, the estate was in debt to itself. The state explained away this contradiction by noting the large number of outstanding credit the estate held. It may be possible to reverse this debt through the recovery of debts that had been believed to be bad.⁸⁷ In this case, the exactness demanded by double-entry bookkeeping placed a permanence to the values expressed within the accounting system that did not accurately depict the ephemeral nature of movables. The ability to give fixity to the necessarily transient constituted one of the main values of the practice of accounting. However, in certain places the inexactness poked through the precision of the rhetoric.⁸⁸ It is interesting, though not surprising, that one of these places occurred when it came time to make the actual declaration of the size of the inheritance and therefore the size of the estate. The limitations of accounting in accurately and definitively determining the size of the inheritance at any one time was readily admitted in the explanation the state provided in the entries for the paternal inheritance of the heirs. The state set out the meaning of the £5,000 in the entry for Jan, which deserves to be quoted in its entirety.

To Jan della Faille de Jonge's account of his paternal inheritance for his one-ninth part in the goods left by his deceased father Jan della Faille, which is assigned to him through rough estimation. The inheritance will be paid as it is received and recovered. The capital remains in trade, debts, and other forms of outstanding capital. It is spread in London, Italy, as well as in transportation by sea, and coming and going by land. If in the end it is found that Jan della

⁸⁶ Paternal inheritance of Maria, DFL 12-343 and DFL 12-349.

⁸⁷ Creditors of the book nr 9, DFL 12-286: "de pertyen van uuytstaende schulden die aldaer voor quaet ende desperaet affgeschreven staen omme te inquireren oft daervan yet soude terecouvreren zyn pro."

⁸⁸ Aho, *Confession and Bookkeeping*; Aho, "Invention of Double Entry Bookkeeping"; CarruthersEspeland, "Accounting for Rationality"; Soll, *Reckoning*.

Faille's owed more for his inheritance, this will be added. If it is determined that there is less than he is here made creditor through misfortune of bad debts, loss of goods, or other inconveniences, which may happen to the outstanding debts and goods, his portion in the estate will be placed in debit for a proportional amount.⁸⁹

As much strife and work that had gone into the calculation of the estate and the inheritance, actual determination of the inheritance had to await the point at which it became possible to gradually reduce the size of the estate and close accounts. The state of Jan de Oude's capital up to 26 December 1583 showed progress in settling the accounts and laying out liabilities and assets, but it had hardly begun the process of liquidating the estate, collecting outstanding debts, paying creditors, and disbursing the remaining capital to the heirs.

The estate of Cornelia provides an good overview of the calculated size of the maternal and paternal inheritance at the end of 1583. It also shows the inheritance owed to her eight siblings and heirs, which consisted almost entirely of her maternal and paternal inheritance.⁹⁰ Cornelia was an equal heir to the £45,000 estate left by her father, leaving her with a paternal inheritance of £5,000. Her father's testament bequeathed her a small house on the Huidevetterstraat next to the large house given to Marten worth £400, as well as 40 hecatre of land in Zevenbergen worth £1400. Thus, £1,800 of her estate would have to be divided specifically through these properties left to her by her father. The rest of her paternal inheritance

⁸⁹ Creditors of the book nr 9, DFL 12-286: "Aen Jan della Faille de Jonge rekeninge van herediteyt van zyn vader over dat hem by gissinge oft uuyten rouwen toegevuecht wort voor zyn 1/9 van achtergelaeten goeden van wylen Jan della Faille zyn vader ende daervan betaelt te worden als die zullen ontfangen oft gerecouvreert zyn mits die als doen noch openstonden zoo tot London, in Italien, als op wech te water ende te lande gaende ende commende ende dat in coopmansschappen, schulden, ende resten over al uuytstaende. Op conditie dat zoo verre ten eynde bevonden wort dat den vooren Jan della Faille meer toecompt voor zyn kintsgedeelte hem t'selve toegevuecht zal worden ende soo oock min bevonden werde dan hy hier crediten gemaect wort by ongeluck van quade schulden, verlies van goeden, oft ander inconvenienten die op d'uytstaende schulden ende coopmansschappen souden mogen commen t'selve daer aene gedefalqueert ende wederomme in syne debit gestelt zouden worden t'gene hem min voor zyn aendeel soude mogen compoteren: £5000."

⁹⁰ Cornelia's estate also included small credits for gifts she had been given. Maternal inheritance of Cornelia, DFL 12-250.

remained tied up in the mercantile capital of her father's estate.⁹¹ By the end of 1583, through the investment in trade, Cornelia's maternal inheritance had grown to £7,065.10.10. After the reception of a few small bequests given to her and Hester and expenses dealing with her sickness and death, her maternal inheritance had decreased slightly to £7,009.19.1 1/2. Thus, at the end of 1583, her total estate possessed a value of £12,009.19.1 1/2, with each of her heirs receiving an equal share of about £1,501.4.9.⁹²

The above data makes it possible to calculate the inheritance owed to the heirs of Jan de Oude and Cornelia van der Capellen on 26 December 1583 before they received any disbursements of the inheritance. This is presented in Table 4, which shows the paternal, maternal, and sororal inheritance of the Della Faille siblings with Cornelia's inheritance calculated after the expenses against the account as described above. The table reckons Jacques's maternal inheritance against the £1,000 that remained in the account before the death of Jan de Oude even though the profits were calculated on the principal of £2,200. This presents Maria as an equal heir. If her children only received her *legitime*, her heirs would receive £1631.12.9 2/3 less, which would fall to the other seven surviving heirs. In either case, the calculation shows that before any disbursements of the inheritance, which will be discussed below, the heirs of Jan de Oude and Cornelia van der Capellen were owed £76,672.13.1 1/2.⁹³

⁹¹ The participation of Cornelia's estate in the division of her father's household goods and the division of her own household goods will be further discussed below.

⁹² Paternal inheritance of Cornelia, DFL 12-345; Maternal inheritance of Cornelia, DFL 12-250; and DvdM 87-2. Some of the documents dealing with the estate of Cornelia did not include the debits to the account. These therefore calculated her estate at this time as £12,065.10.10 with £1508.3.10 falling to each of her heirs.

⁹³ DFL 12.

Table: 5.4: Inheritance Owed to Heirs before Disbursal, 26 December 1583

Heirs	Paternal	Maternal	Sororal	Total
Anna	£5,000	£4,040.12.2	£1,501.4.9	£10,541.16.11
Jan	£5,000	£0	£1,501.4.9	£6,501.4.9
Marten	£5,000	£6,555.6.1	£1,501.4.9	£13,056.10.10
Carlo	£5,000	£0	£1,501.4.9	£6,501.4.9
Jacques	£5,000	£1,714.10.9	£1,501.4.9	£8,215.15.6
Steven	£5,000	£5,286.14.2	£1,501.4.9	£11,787.18.11
Maria	£5,000	£0	£1,501.4.9	£6,501.4.9
Hester	£5,000	£7,065.10.10	£1,501.4.9	£13,566.15.7
Cornelia	£5,000	£7,009.19.1 1/2	n/a	n/a
Total	£45,000	£31,672.13.1 1/2	£12,009.19.1 1/2	£76,672.13.1 1/2

B. The State of 31 December 1594

The state of 26 December 1583 closed with 99 accounts as debtors to the estate and 101 accounts as creditors to be carried over on the books of the estate. The estate continued with liabilities totaling £79,230.4.0 1/4 and assets of £79,221.5.6 1/4 that remained open on the accounts of the estates.⁹⁴ As was noted in the entries for the paternal inheritance, the vast majority of the capital continued to be active in trade. The executors kept the accounts of the ongoing transactions concerning the estate, first in the ledger number 9 and then beginning in June 1584 in the ledger number 10. These account books were then used to produce the second state that recorded the movement of the capital up to the end of 1594. The document provided to the burgemeesters and magistrates of Antwerp by Marten on 16 March 1596 was different from the first state in a number of ways. Instead of narrating the constant flow of goods and capital across Europe, it showed the attempts to begin to disburse the estate to the heirs. The capital of the estate was actively traded up to 1585, but then the accounts went silent for a long period in

⁹⁴ DFL 12 and DFL 12bis.

which the heirs debated over the estate and its disbursal. Only in September and October 1594 did the account books of the estate record the outcome of these disputes in an attempt to provide a picture of the estate as it lay twelve years after the death of Jan de Oude.⁹⁵

The dwindling trade activity of the estate and the change towards the disbursal is demonstrated by the different manner in which the accounting was conducted. When it came time to consolidate the accounts and determine the remaining assets and liabilities at the end of 1594, many accounts that had played major roles in the first state were used in a reduced form in the second state. For example, the account of “business expenses” was not used at all. At the end of 1583, the account had been carried over to the next state with the estate as creditor for £300 due to an accounting error. The only entry in the state of 1594 cancelled out this credit and placed it as profit on the account of “profits and losses.”⁹⁶ In its place, Marten, who after 1584 took charge of the accounts of the estate, used the account of “expenses of the heirs of Jan de Oude.” This account assembled miscellaneous expenses of the administration of the estate such as lawsuits and the production of documents. In the end, £521.1.9 1/2 in expenses was taken off the account and placed as a liability on the account of “creditors of the book.”⁹⁷

The accounts of the “creditors of the book” and “profits and losses” played a surprisingly diminished role in the state of 1594 compared to their centrality in the first state. The account of “creditors of the book” no longer functioned to collect the capital of Jan de Oude to be divided among his heirs, which had already been placed on the individual accounts of the heirs.⁹⁸ Instead,

⁹⁵ The accounts must have continued to be kept in the various books of those involved in the estate, especially Marten and Jacques, but Marten only seems to have recorded the transactions in preparation for creating a balance at the end of 1594.

⁹⁶ Expenses of trade, DFL 12-96 and Expenses of trade, DFL 12bis-270.

⁹⁷ Expenses of the heirs of Jan de Oude, DFL 12bis-123.

⁹⁸ Creditors of the book nr 9, DFL 12-286.

the account was largely used as a clearing house for accounts from which payment was no longer expected or in which payment no longer needed to be made. The debit from “expenses of the heirs of Jan de Oude” was the largest entry on the debit side of the account, while the advancements of the account came primarily from the profits of rents from the urban property held by the estate and from £757.18.4 1/2 that the estate was creditor to the personal account of Jan de Oude at the end of 1583.⁹⁹ At the end of the account, £230.7.9 11/12 was carried over to the next estate in credit, but none of the capital collected in the account went directly to the heirs.¹⁰⁰

Like the “creditors of the book”, the account for the “profits and losses” had a much reduced impact on the inheritance of the heirs. This was caused by the relative inactivity of the capital after 1585, and the disbursement of capital directly through the accounts of the foreign branches. Though on a reduced level, the capital of the estate continued to be involved in trade and received profits from the sale of various goods. However, the calculated gross profits only totaled £6,088.10.5 1/2, over 4.5 times less than the gross profits from the trade between 1579 and 1583. In addition, large portions of the profits derived from non-trade activities such as the sale of household goods in Verona and London.¹⁰¹ Another example of this and the largest advance in the account came from the recovery of £1,221.6.1 from a debt of a certain Nicolas Raynton, which had previously been believed to be completely lost.¹⁰² The “profits and losses”

⁹⁹ Creditors of the book nr 9, DFL 12bis-17; Jan de Oude, DFL 12-309.

¹⁰⁰ Creditors of the book nr 9, DFL 12bis-17.

¹⁰¹ Creditors of the book nr 9, DFL 12bis-17.

¹⁰² On the debt of Raynton see Brulez, *Firma Della Faille*, 387–388..

also recorded individual expenses incurred by the estate, salaries paid to factors of the estate, and losses in the trade such as the loss of silk on a ship that sunk between Hamburg and England.

When Marten tallied the liabilities against the advancements in September 1594, the estate had only won profits of £1,550.6.10 1/2, an increase of less than 1% per year.¹⁰³ The siblings who had yet to receive their maternal inheritance divided £520.4.6 amongst themselves. The state combined the paternal profits with those of the sororal estate to reach a total of £1030.2.4 1/2 or £128.15.3 1/2 for each of the eight heirs.¹⁰⁴ Considering the many tens of thousands of pounds that were held by the foreign branches of trade at the close of the first estate, the profits up to the end of 1594 hardly made a dent in the inheritance due to the heirs.

The reduced importance of the above accounts meant that the movement of capital and the disbursal of inheritance primarily took place in the accounts of the branches in Venice, Verona, and London. It was with these accounts, rather than the “creditors of the book” of the “profits and losses” that the individual accounts of the maternal and paternal inheritance of the siblings primarily interacted. At the close of the state of 1583, the three foreign branches held a total capital of £63,955.15.10 1/2: Verona held £4,800.0.7 1/2, Venice £20,922.10.11, and London £38,233.4.4.¹⁰⁵ In fact, the two branches of London and Venice alone accounted for

¹⁰³. Calculating the yearly profits over the 11-year period against the total capital invested in trade after 1583 of £78434.9.5, the £1,550.6.10 1/2 in profits constituted 0.18% profits per year.

¹⁰⁴. DFL 12bis combined the estate of Cornelia della Faille with that of her father in many of the final calculations in 1594, because both had the same heirs. The summary state created on the same day that the state of 1583 was handed over to the magistrates worked to untangle the two estates. Summary of the state of Jan de Oude, 18 July 1598, DFL 13.

¹⁰⁵. Branch of Verona, DFL 12-108; Branch of Venice, DFL 12-109 and DFL 12-178; Branch of London, DFL 12-110. It should be remembered that the branch in Venice also contributed £8,000 to the profits of the estate and yet still possessed over £20,000 in capital.

74.67% of the total assets of the estate.¹⁰⁶ The branch in Venice, headed by Jan de Wale was quicker to begin to divest its capital. After profits from the sale of linen and English wool, the branch began to send money to the branch in England through bills of exchange, serving to increase the capital in London.¹⁰⁷ With the large amount of capital already in London augmented further by the reception of silk and bills of exchange from Venice, the branch in London became the primary location of the estate's capital and central to the distribution of the capital to the heirs. Accounting for the capital in London proved to be the primary obstacle to Marten and Jacques working out an agreement on the division of the capital left by their father.

5. Disbursement of the Inheritance, 1583–1594

The heirs of Jan de Oude, Cornelia van der Capellen, and Cornelia della Faille received disbursements of their inheritance at various times from January 1583 until the end of 1594. It is not possible nor necessary to follow every single disbursement made to the Della Faille siblings. Instead, this section will concentrate on the main course of the disbursements as they were recorded in the two states of 1583 and 1594. Like the previous section, this discussion of the disbursal of the inheritance to the Della Faille siblings follows the narrative set by the states of 1583 and 1594. With disbursements, even more so than with the development of the capital as a whole, appearances could be deceiving. The dates found in the states listed when the transactions were recorded and not when they occurred. It was often the case that a single entry incorporated multiple transactions. Even more problematic in attempting to follow the trail of capital, a debit to the account of an heir did not necessarily signify reception of capital by the heir. The

¹⁰⁶ London and Venice together held £59,155.15.3 in the assets of the estate. Compare this to the total assets on 26 December 1583 of £79230.4.6 1/4. DFL 12. This shows the relative unimportance of Antwerp to Jan de Oude's trade in the years before his death. Brulez, *Firma Della Faille*, 241–248.

¹⁰⁷ Branch of London, DFL 12bis-97.

possibility of book transfers meant that the capital could have been sent to any number of third parties, including Marten and Jacques or individuals outside the sibling group.¹⁰⁸ These realities must be kept in mind in the following discussion. However, the disbursements recorded on the books of the estate remained of vital importance in mediating the ties among the heirs and siblings. There may have been gaps between the narrative of the state and actual events, but the narrative ordered the relations between the siblings and set a basis for their fiscal interactions.

Very little actual distribution of the inheritance occurred before the end of 1583, though some important steps were taken in this direction. The main period of the distribution of the inheritance occurred between 1584 and 1594. The disbursements tended to mirror the larger activity of the capital in the estate. Disbursements occurred on a fairly regular basis up to March 1585 only to trail off as the disputes between the heirs over the accounts slowed the activity of the estate. Throughout the period, the branch in London played the largest role in the division of the inheritance, and the agreement between Marten and Jacques to liquidate the branch and divide the capital between themselves led to the largest and last disbursements recorded in the state of 1594.

A. Disbursements before 26 December 1583

In the course of bringing together the accounts of the estate after the death of Jan de Oude, the executors tentatively began to disburse portions of the inheritance from the three estates through the different types of capital that lay in Antwerp. The main disbursements that occurred before 26 December 1583, and are therefore present on the first state, took place in January 1583. The disbursements remained relatively small considering the size of Jan de Oude's

¹⁰⁸ Wee, "Monetary, Credit and Banking System"; Herman van der Wee, "European Banking in the Middle Ages and Early Modern Times (476-1789)," in *A European History of Banking*, ed. Herman van der WeeG. Kurgan-van Hentenryk (Luxembourg: European Investment Bank, Apr 2000); Muldrew, *Economy of Obligation*.

capital, but their size belied their importance in bringing together the Della Faille siblings and setting the framework for the treatment of the inheritance. The steps taken by the executors in January 1583 demonstrated the exacting manner in which the inheritance would be reckoned, taking into account every pence that was received by or due to each heir. The heirs were to be treated as any other creditor on the books of Jan de Oude, with each and every transaction meticulously accounted for, no matter how minor.¹⁰⁹ The first disbursements of the estates were also important to defining the way that the executors separated and treated the paternal and maternal inheritance, as well as the estate of Cornelia della Faille.

The executors of the testament chose to keep the disbursements of the paternal inheritance relatively simple, consisting only in the division of the household goods left by Jan de Oude and the houses and land that he had bequeathed to his heirs. The first significant action taken by the executors to begin the division of inheritance was to inventory and appraise the value of the “diverse furniture, clothes, and silver” in Jan de Oude’s household and divide the goods into nine roughly equal portions. Beginning with the youngest, the heirs then choose the lot they desired.¹¹⁰ All of the portions had a value of approximately £105, but the executors carefully recorded the exact value of the different shares; the £105.17.5 received by Steven was distinguished from the £105.13.11 valuation of the lot Hester chose.¹¹¹ The value of the share each heir received was noted in the accounts of the estate and subtracted from the paternal

¹⁰⁹. The same minuteness of detail was exhibited by peasants in Neckarhausen, Sabean, *Property, Production, and Family*, 250. See also Hardwick, *Practice of Patriarchy*, 143–158.

¹¹⁰. Estate of Jan de Oude, DFL 12-346: “diverse meubelen, clederen, ende silverwerck.” The process was described by Marten in Memory of Marten, DFL 14.

¹¹¹. For the individual amounts received by each heir, see Estate of Jan de Oude, DFL 12-346.

inheritance of each, while the total value of the household goods of £941.6.8 augmented the capital of Jan de Oude as noted above.¹¹²

Even the valuation of the household goods did not occur without difficulties. While the division of the goods marked the first collaboration between the executors and the first participation of the heirs in their father's estate, it also revealed the ruptures in the sibling group. All of the heirs participated in this division, but Jan and Carlo did so under protest, claiming they had not received their full maternal inheritance. Despite the existence of agreements that they had separately made with Jan de Oude in 1575 wherein they acknowledged full payment of their maternal inheritance, they now argued that their father had not properly reckoned their share in the profits deriving from the maternal inheritance.¹¹³ They were therefore reluctant to take any part in the division of Jan de Oude's estate, even though this action only touched upon the paternal inheritance. Their protest had few immediate consequences, but it set up their future disputes with Marten and Jacques over access to the accounts of their father and the estate.

The other disbursement that occurred with the paternal inheritance concerned the bequests of houses and land made in Jan de Oude's testament. These only involved Marten and Jan de Oude's two unmarried daughters Hester and Cornelia. The distribution of houses and land may have been the most simple transactions within the entire estate. Jan de Oude had already provided the value of the property he bequeathed, and the property could simply be written off the accounts of the paternal inheritance of the three legatees. Marten received the large house on the Huidevetterstraat for £1,600. Hester and Cornelia both received a smaller house and land.

¹¹² Estate of Jan de Oude, DFL 12-346. The £941.6.8 was reduced to £935.6.6 through a payment made by Steven for a "silveren gedreven schaelken" valued at £6.0.2. It was this smaller amount that was added to Jan de Oude's capital. Creditors of the book nr 9, DFL 12-286.

¹¹³ Memory of Marten, DFL 14. See Chapter 2.

The total amount debited from Hester's paternal inheritance for the transfer of the property was £742.6.10 and for Cornelia £1,800.¹¹⁴ Marten moved into the large house as designed by his father, but neither Hester nor Cornelia resided in the houses nor on the land given to them. They simply became the owners, receiving whatever rents were paid and became responsible for any repairs or taxes.¹¹⁵

Unlike the paternal inheritance, there was no specific disbursements from the remaining maternal inheritance. In fact, the use of the accounts of the maternal inheritance differed according to the access the heirs had to their own capital. Marten and Jacques did not receive any money from their maternal inheritance from their father's death to 26 December 1583. Instead, they had their own personal account on the books of Jan de Oude on which both were active during this period.¹¹⁶ On the other hand, Anna, Steven, Hester, and Cornelia had less access to independent capital than their married brothers. Since all remained creditors for their maternal inheritance, the executors used this account to record interactions with the estate. For instance, both Anna and Hester received cash from the treasury on the account of their maternal inheritance. Hester received a total of £64 from the treasury in at least six different installments.¹¹⁷ Steven made even more use of his maternal inheritance, receiving a total of

¹¹⁴. Paternal inheritance of Marten, DFL 12-338; Paternal inheritance of Hester, DFL 12-344; Paternal inheritance of Cornelia, DFL 12-345.

¹¹⁵. For instance, the estate paid £1.6.8 for a taxation on Hester's house on the Schuttershoffstraete, while Cornelia's estate was debited £2.18.8 for the same tax on the house bequested to her. These amounts were taken off the account of their maternal inheritance. Maternal inheritance of Hester, DFL 12-249; Maternal inheritance of Cornelia, DFL 12-250.

¹¹⁶. Account of Marten, DFL 12-327; Account of Jacques, DFL 12-100.

¹¹⁷. Maternal inheritance of Hester, DFL 12-249.

£420.4.1 through various payments made by the treasury. A number of these payments concerned his ongoing litigation with his former wife Jeanne Schuttens.¹¹⁸

The accounting for a series of auctions of goods held by the estate throughout January shows the distinction between the more independent heirs with personal accounts and those who used the account of their maternal inheritance.¹¹⁹ The auctions consisted of textiles such as Napolese silk, linen, and English kerseys. The highest bidder received the goods, with the amount they offered debited from their accounts.¹²⁰ All of the heirs except for the heirs of Maria took part in the action. The values involved were again relatively small. Marten, unsurprisingly one of the most active participants in the auction, purchased goods valued at a total of £89.3.5. Anna's purchase of some kerseys and linen that amounted to £17.1.¹²¹ The value of the goods was reckoned on either the personal accounts of the heirs or on their maternal inheritance. Jan, Marten, Carlo, and Jacques all possessed or were given personal accounts that tracked interactions with the capital as a whole.¹²² Anna, Steven, Hester, and Cornelia did not have their own accounts that were active in 1583. Instead, their purchases in the auction were reckoned on their maternal inheritance. The mixed use of personal accounts and maternal accounts to record the purchases from the auctions shows a clear difference between the accounting of the paternal

¹¹⁸ Maternal inheritance of Steven, DFL 12-330.

¹¹⁹ In some ways, Anna was more independent from the estate than Steven, Hester, and Cornelia because of her marriage to Robert van Eeckeren. In fact, Anna possessed a personal account in which she was creditor £149.6.8, but there were no transaction on this account in the state. Robert also had his own account with the estate and participated in the auction of goods. DFL 12-262 and DFL 12-74.

¹²⁰ Linen , DFL 12-63; Naples silk, DFL 12-66; Miscellaneous Bouratten, DFL 12-95; Miscellaneous Canifassen, DFL 12-100; Miscellaneous kerseys, DFL 12-114.

¹²¹ Account of Marten, DFL 12-327; Maternal inheritance of Anna, DFL 12-248.

¹²² Account of Jan, DFL 12-157; Account of Marten, DFL 12-327; Account of Carlo, DFL 12-282; Account of Jacques, DFL 12-100. The personal accounts of Marten and Jacques were the most active, while those of Jan and Carlo recorded little more than the goods they purchased in the auction.

and maternal inheritance during this period. While the disbursements of the paternal accounts clearly came from the personal capital left by Jan de Oude, the maternal inheritance became an account on which the heirs could more readily extract capital to cover expenses.

The disbursement of capital in January 1583 also showed the manner in which the executors treated the estate of Cornelia. As noted above, Cornelia's estate derived entirely from the inheritance that she was set to receive from her mother and father. Because she was treated as a full heir of her father, her estate participated in the division of the household goods, receiving a share worth £105.0.11.¹²³ In fact, her estate even participated in the auction of goods, purchasing kerseys valued at £11.12.5.¹²⁴ Like her sisters, her estate's involvement in the auction was done through her maternal inheritance. Her maternal inheritance also became debtor to the estate through the expenses caused by her death, such as burial costs and gifts to the almoners of Antwerp.¹²⁵ The disbursement of her estate began in January 1583, as the executors divided her "furniture, clothes, and jewels," which constituted her only capital outside of the inheritance her estate received from her paternal and maternal inheritance, into eight roughly equal portions to be distributed among her heirs. The total value of the goods divided between her siblings was £311.12.11.¹²⁶ In order to account for this sororal inheritance, each of Cornelia's heirs received an account on the books in which they were written as debtor for the household goods they received from their sister.¹²⁷

¹²³. Estate of Jan de Oude, DFL 12-346.

¹²⁴. Maternal inheritance of Cornelia, DFL 12-250.

¹²⁵. Maternal inheritance of Cornelia, DFL 12-250.

¹²⁶. Capital of Cornelia, DFL 12-347: "meubelen, cleederen, ende juwelen." See DFL 12-150–156 for the accounts of her siblings and heirs.

¹²⁷. Sororal inheritance, DFL 12-150–156.

The amount that the Della Faille siblings received from the capital left by Jan de Oude by the end of 1583 was rather limited considering the vast amount of capital involved. Table 5 provides an overview of the remaining credit the heirs had to the three different estates. On 26 December 1583, £71,449.18.10 remained in the estate. This constituted 93% of the capital due to the heirs before the disbursements took place. The various disbursements in 1583 only amounted to £5,222.5.2 between the nine heirs. In other words, a year after his death, the overwhelming majority of the capital left by Jan de Oude remained undisbursed. Most of it was held by the various branches of the trade as noted above. By and large, the heirs had to wait until 1584 and later to begin to receive most of the paternal, maternal, and sororal inheritance due to them.

Table: 5.5: Inheritance Owed to the Heirs, 26 December 1583¹²⁸

Heirs	Paternal	Maternal	Sororal	Total
Anna	£4,894.15.6	£3,998.9.2	£1,266.12.2 1/2	£10,159.16.10 1/2
Jan	£4,897.11.9	£0	£1,252.13.0 1/2	£6,150.4.9 1/2
Marten	£3,294.8.1	£6,555.6.1	£1,262.7.1 1/2	£11,112.1.3 1/2
Carlo	£4,897.11.10	£0	£1,263.5.8 1/2	£6,160.17.6 1/2
Jacques	£4,896	£1,714.10.9	£1,267.19.11 1/2	£7,878.10.8 1/2
Steven	£4,894.2.7	£5,286.14.2	£1,263.17.8 1/2	£11,444.14.5 1/2
Maria	£4,894.18.5	£0	£1,263.12.1 1/2	£6,158.10.6 1/2
Hester	£4,151.19.3	£6,968.13.0 1/2	£1,264.10.2 1/2	£12,385.2.6
Cornelia	£3,094.19.1	£7,009.19.1 1/2	na	na
Total	£39,916.6.6	£31,533.12.4	£10,104.18.2 1/2	£71,449.18.10

B. Disbursements after 26 December 1583

The distribution of household goods, the auction of textiles, and writing off the immovables gifted to the heirs did little to diminish the amount that the books of Jan de Oude owed to the heirs on behalf of the three estates. It was only after the end of 1583 that larger

¹²⁸ The numbers for the table are calculated to the nearest one-half groat. DFL 12 and DFL 12bis.

disbursements of the inheritance occurred, but the process still proceeded slowly with stops and starts. The assignment of the inheritance after 1583 can be divided into two different periods and processes. From January 1584 until the middle of 1585, the heirs were received portions of their inheritance from all three estates from the treasury in Antwerp, as well as through the branches in Venice and London. By the end of 1585, the majority of the capital remaining on the books of the estate lay in London. There, it was under co-management of Thomas Coteels and Wouter Aertsen. Both Thomas and Wouter had worked under Marten when he headed the branch in London, but at the death of Jan de Oude, they split their allegiance between Marten and Jacques. The process of dividing the remaining capital in London began in earnest in 1586, but due to the disputes between Marten and Jacques over the administration of the capital, the process of disbursing the capital to the heirs was strung out for years, only being placed on the books of the estate in September 1594.

Anna, Steven, and Hester continued to interact with the estate primarily through their maternal inheritance after the agreement of 26 December 1583. However, as the new year began, the size of the capital assigned to the heirs for their maternal inheritance increased rapidly. This was equally true of Marten and Jacques, who had not interacted with their maternal inheritance prior to January 1584. By the end of March 1584, the majority of the maternal inheritance had been written off the books through the distribution of capital from the treasury in Antwerp and the branch in London.¹²⁹ The main disbursements through the treasury were placed on the books on 7 January and 15 March 1584. Marten, Anna, and Hester received particularly large sums.¹³⁰

¹²⁹ After 26 December 1583, Cornelia's maternal and paternal inheritance was rolled into a single account that encompassed her entire estate, and therefore the capital due to her heirs. Though Cornelia's estate participated in some of the disbursements from the branches of trade, as will be noted below, her account no longer functioned in a way similar to the other heirs of Jan de Oude and Cornelia van der Capellen. DFL 12bis-265: Capital of Cornelia.

¹³⁰ Jacques was the only creditor of the maternal inheritance who did not receive any disbursement from the treasury.

Marten received payments of £700 and £1,145.10.7 on these dates. Across three entries, Robert van Eeckeren received £900 from the treasury for his wife. Hester was assigned a total of £1,674.8.10 from her maternal inheritance through the treasury.

On 22 March all of the surviving heirs received even larger disbursements through the branch in London. The branch assigned the heirs various sums totaling £12,632.10.0, close to one-half of the capital remaining in the maternal inheritance at the end of 1583.¹³¹ The large amount of capital disbursed through the branch in London points to the importance of the branch for the inheritance, but it also shows the priority given to the maternal inheritance at this point. For example, while Hester had possessed a credit of £6,968.13.0 1/2 for her maternal inheritance on 26 December 1583, three months later she had received £5,372.12.3, reducing her credit for her maternal inheritance to £1,596.0.9 1/2.¹³²

Table: 5.6: Assignments of Maternal Inheritance from London, 22 March 1584

Heir	Amount assigned
Anna	£2,015
Hester	£3,565
Marten	£3,100
Jacques	£1,007.10.0
Steven	£2,945
Total	£12,632.10.0

During the same period, the executors also worked to distribute portions of the estate of Cornelia through the treasury in Antwerp. On 26 December 1583, Cornelia's estate was creditor £10,104.18.2 1/2, leaving her eight siblings as heirs to equal shares of about £1,263.2.6. Making

¹³¹. Branch of London, DFL 12bis-97

¹³². Maternal inheritance of Hester, DFL 12bis-244; Calculation of the reception van Hester, 29 April 1593, DFL 13. The latter document calculated the amount Hester received for her maternal, paternal, and sororal inheritance up to 1585.

life easier for themselves, the executors assigned equal sums to Cornelia's eight heirs on four different occasions throughout 1584. Interestingly, the disbursements occurred on two different accounts for each of the heirs. First on 7 January, the heirs each received £100, which augmented the amount they had been assigned from the division of Cornelia's household goods a year earlier.¹³³ The next three payments, which totaled £726, were placed on a new account for each of the heirs. Once the payments were made, the accounts were closed by writing off the debits on the newly created account that encompassed Cornelia's estate.¹³⁴ Through these disbursements and the reception of the household goods, the heirs of Cornelia had each received about £850 of their sororal inheritance, or about two-thirds of the capital due to them. After 1584, further disbursements of the estate became entangled in those of the maternal and paternal inheritance more generally. This meant that distribution of the rest of the sororal capital had to await the agreements concerning the capital in London.

The first disbursements of the paternal inheritance after January 1583 took longer than either the maternal or sororal, as the executors awaited the accounts of the foreign branches and the process of liquidating the capital. In the beginning of 1585, two disbursements came from the branches on Venice and London. These would be the last major assignment of the paternal capital until the liquidation of the branch of London. First, on 28 January 1585, as part of the process of liquidating the capital in Venice, the nine heirs of Jan de Oude drew lots on English wool and kerseys that had been divided into roughly equal shares. The value of the shares ranged from £807.18.0 to the £838.16.0 assigned to Anna for 24 sacks of wool and eight pieces of

¹³³. Accounts of the heirs of Cornelia, DFL 12bis-65–72.

¹³⁴. Accounts of the heirs of Cornelia, DFL 12bis-135, 138–144. Cornelia's estate was put together in DFL 12bis-265.

kersey.¹³⁵ The state does not make clear how the heirs were to receive the goods or what they did with the textiles. The second disbursement of the paternal inheritance came less than two months later from the branch in London. A year later and on a smaller scale than the disbursements of the maternal inheritance, the branch in London assigned a total of £6,893.6.8 or £861.13.4 to each of the eight surviving heirs of Jan de Oude.¹³⁶ Through the two disbursements, a total of £14,293.6.4 was removed from the estate of Jan de Oude and credited to his heirs in 1585. However, the payments in 1585 still left £25,146.8.3 in Jan de Oude's estate.¹³⁷

Table: 5.7: Assignment of Wool and Kerseys, Branch of Venice, 28 January 1585

Heir	Lot	Value
Anna	5	£838.16.0
Jan	6	£817.5.8
Marten	–	£807.18.0
Carlo	8	£818.13.0
Jacques	8	£818.15.8
Steven	3	£813.14.0
Maria	2	£830.0.8
Hester	1	£828.12.4
Cornelia	–	£826.4.4
Total		£7,399.19.8

¹³⁵ Branch of London, DFL 12bis-93. Cornelia's estate participated in the partitioning of the goods in Venice, but the state did not specify how it was divided among Cornelia's heirs. Other documents concerning the inheritance make it clear that her portion was subdivided and split among her heirs. See Calculation of the reception van Hester, 29 April 1593, DFL 13. Hardwick, *Practice of Patriarchy*, 148–153; Sabeau, *Property, Production, and Family*, 247–256.

¹³⁶ Branch of London, DFL 12bis-97. The branch of London assigned £550 sterling. These disbursals were converted to Flemish pounds at the rate of 31s 4d Flemish per £ sterling. Cornelia's estate did not participate in this disbursement as it had with the Venetian branch. However, as with the partitioning in Venice, the Heirs of Maria took equal part in the disbursal.

¹³⁷ This calculation takes into account three payments to Carlo's paternal inheritance and one for the inheritance of the heirs of Maria. Paternal inheritance of Carlo, DFL 12bis-259; Paternal inheritance of Maria, 262.

C. Liquidation of the Branch in London

After 1585, the vast majority of the capital remaining in the estate lay in London. The heirs did receive inheritance from sources outside of the branch of London, but the fact that £21,959.3.10 was brought over to a new account for the branch in London in September 1594 demonstrates the large sum that remained on the books in London at this late date.¹³⁸ Due to the amount of capital held by the branch and Marten's former position as head of the branch, the capital in London quickly became the center of the disputes between Marten and Jacques, as the two main executors vied for control over the resources in London. The actual disputes and the actions behind the entries noted in the state will be described in greater detail in Chapter 7. Here, the emphasis will be on the calculations of the capital held in London and the manner in which it fell to the heirs.¹³⁹

The state recorded the partition of the remaining capital in London in September and October 1594, but the actual activities occurred much earlier, beginning in 1586. The retroactive nature of the accounting led to oddities and even sloppiness not present in the state of 1583 or the earlier transactions recorded in 1584 and 1585. Until the entries from 1594, the maternal, paternal, and sororal estates had been rigorously divided, but this broke down as the books looked back to reckon the movements of the capital as the disputes between the heirs continued. In 1594, Marten, Anna, Steven, Jacques, and Hester still possessed both a maternal and paternal account for their inheritance. However, the state became inconsistent in the application of both debits and credits to the maternal or paternal accounts of the heirs. For instance, the vast majority of Anna's interaction with the capital in London occurred on the account of her maternal

¹³⁸ Branch of London, DFL 12bis-97; New account of branch of London, DFL 12bis-156.

¹³⁹ On the importance of London in the trade of Jan de Oude and Marten, see Brulez, *Firma Della Faille*, especially 268–278.

inheritance. The state treated Hester's accounts in almost exactly the opposite fashion. Most of her interactions occurred on her paternal account.¹⁴⁰ The variability introduced into the accounting was caused by the delays in agreeing to and carrying out the partition of the capital in London. When the state was created, many of the entries concerning the disbursement of the inheritance were done in a manner to make the numbers work rather than narrating the actual course of events as they actually occurred.¹⁴¹

The absence of the heirs from London complicated the already difficult task of partitioning the capital in London. Jacques, living in Haarlem, butted heads with Marten who had remained in Antwerp.¹⁴² In London, they interacted through their factors, with Thomas Coteels working for Marten and Wouter Aertsen for Jacques. Working through factors added another layer to the relationships and created more opportunity for strain.¹⁴³ As much as Thomas and

¹⁴⁰ Maternal inheritance of Anna, DFL 12bis-97; Paternal inheritance of Anna, DFL 12bis-258; Maternal inheritance of Hester, DFL 12bis-244; Paternal inheritance of Hester, DFL 12bis-263. The accounts of the other heirs were similarly inconsistent. While Marten's was more similar to Anna's, Steven and Jacques's followed Hester's.

¹⁴¹ Bourdieu, *Outline of a Theory of Practice*; CarruthersEspeland, "Accounting for Rationality."

¹⁴² The Dutch Revolt also caused issues. After the fall of Antwerp, the English joined the war against the Spanish on the side of the rebels. This meant that Marten now lived in enemy territory, making any capital he possessed in England liable to confiscation. See the discussion in Brulez, *Firma Della Faille*.

¹⁴³ The letters Jacques sent to Daniel often described the difficulties that he had with Wouter Aertsen. DvdM 538. The letter from Thomas Coteels and Wouter Aertsen to the executors on 9 March 1592 about the agreement to partition the branch of London shows their concern for avoiding any claims of negligence. Thomas and Wouter to the executors of the estate of Jan de Oude, London, 9 March 1592, DvdM 57-45. On the difficulties with factors, see Trivellato, *Familiarity of Strangers*; Sebouh Aslanian, "Social Capital, 'Trust' and the Role of Networks in Julfan Trade: Informal and Semi-Formal Institutions at Work," *Journal of Global History* 1, no. 3 (2006): 383-402; Jeremy EdwardsSheilagh Ogilvie, "Contract Enforcement, Institutions, and Social Capital: The Maghribi Traders Reappraised," *The Economic History Review* 65, no. 2 (2012): 421-444; Jeremy EdwardsSheilagh Ogilvie, "What Lessons for Economic Development Can We Draw From the Champagne Fairs?," *Explorations in Economic History* 49, no. 2 (2012): 131-148; Stephan R. Epstein, "Regional Fairs, Institutional Innovation, and Economic Growth in Late Medieval Europe," *The Economic History Review* 47, no. 3 (1994): 459-482; Goldberg, "Choosing and Enforcing Business Relationships"; Avner Greif, *Institutions and the Path to the Modern Economy: Lessons From Medieval Trade* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006); John H. Munro, "The 'New Institutional Economics' and the Changing Fortunes of Fairs in Medieval and Early Modern Europe: The Textile Trades, Warfare and Transaction Costs," *Vierteljahresschrift für Sozial- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte* 88 (2001): 1-47; David Hancock, "The Trouble with Networks: Managing the Scots' Early-Modern Madeira Trade," *The Business History Review* 79, no. 3 (2005): 467-491.

Wouter were expected to follow the demands of the two executors, they also had to find ways to work together and make sure to protect themselves from any attacks claiming negligence or misuse of resources. With an eye to eliminating some of the difficulties associated with doing business across distance—and likely also desiring to ensure that his interests were protected in the accounting in London—Jacques traveled to London in August 1586 with his brother-in-law Daniel.¹⁴⁴ Once in London, Jacques caused a number of problems that will be detailed in a later chapter, but he also helped bring about the creation of a balance of the capital in London and an agreement on how to divide the capital among the heirs.

Arriving in London in the summer of 1586, Jacques entered into mediation with Thomas and Wouter on the partitioning of the capital in London. The mediation occurred between Jacques on the one side, who represented himself, Jan, Carlo, and Hester, and Thomas and Wouter on the other. They stood in for the remaining four heirs, Marten, Anna, Steven, and the heirs of Maria. Through the mediation of two aldermen of London, a doctor, and the well known merchant Philipi Corsini, the two sides agreed to accept the balance created by Thomas and Wouter on 30 October 1586.¹⁴⁵ The balance had calculated the capital in London to be £14,167.4.5 sterling. Converted to Flemish pounds at the exchange rate of 31s per £1 sterling, a rate often used in the state, the balance in 1586 put the capital in London at £21,959.4.0, essentially identical to the amount brought over to the new account of the branch of London.¹⁴⁶ It was further agreed on 26 December 1586 that the capital should be divided into eight equal shares. The shares for Jacques, Jan, Carlo, and Hester were to come under the control of Jacques,

¹⁴⁴ The approximate date of their arrival in London is shown by Andries to Daniel, London, 19 July 1586, DvdM 593a-111. Daniel answered the letter from London on 18 August 1586.

¹⁴⁵ Many copies of the agreement in London can be found in many places in the Daniel van der Meulen and Della Faille archives. For example. DvdM 59-7.

¹⁴⁶ DvdM 57-31; DvdM 60-10; New account of branch of London, DFL 12bis-156.

while those for Marten, Anna, and Steven would be in the possession of Thomas, who answered to Marten. Marten and Jacques fought over what should be done with the portion intended for the heirs of Maria. Jacques feared that Marten would not distribute the inheritance if he gained possession of it.¹⁴⁷ As a compromise, it was decided that Pieter Samyn, a cousin of the Della Faille siblings, should take charge of the final one-eighth part, holding it until the executors gave clear instructions on what to do.¹⁴⁸

Agreement did not indicate action. In fact, Jacques's actions in London, including forcibly taking the books of Thomas Coteels, undermined the trust necessary to carry out the agreement. The communication between the heirs and between the heirs and Thomas and Wouter indicate that after 1586 much of the capital in London sat dangerously still with little ability to either partition the capital or actively invest it. This did not mean that trade by the branch ceased completely, but all activity became potentially problematic until Marten, Jacques, Thomas, and Wouter were able to fulfill the agreement of 26 December 1586. On 9 March 1592, Thomas and Wouter wrote to Jan, Marten, and Jacques to express their willingness and desire to partition the capital that remained in their possession according to the agreement. The two factors and Marten and Jacques had long been discussing the terms by which the agreement could be executed, and at the beginning of 1592 it finally seemed like a consensus was near.¹⁴⁹

Thomas and Wouter included with their letter an updated balance of the capital on the books of the branch in London. An analysis of the balance provides a basis for understanding the capital in London and understanding how the state of 1594 treated and even deviated from the

¹⁴⁷ Marten described the occurrences in London and Jacques's arguments about the portion of the heirs of Maria in Marten's memory of the inheritance of the heirs of Maria in London, 30 September 1594, DFN 77.

¹⁴⁸ Pieter Samyn's mother was Jan de Oude's sister. DvdM 59-7.

¹⁴⁹ Thomas and Wouter to the executors of the estate of Jan de Oude, London, 9 March 1592, DvdM 57-45.

picture presented by Thomas and Wouter. According to the balance, the branch in London continued to be liable for £14,642.12.2 1/2 sterling.¹⁵⁰ At first glance, it would seem that the capital in London had hardly changed in a little over five years since the balance in October 1586. The capital in London had grown just over £500 sterling in this period, but a closer look at the balance shows that important changes had taken place.

The factors wrote to the executors because the capital in London remained unsettled and the contents of the agreement of 1586 unfulfilled, but Marten and Jacques had both received portions of the capital from London well before 1592. Already in 1586, Jacques had been able to get Thomas to hand over to Wouter £4,537.12.4 1/2 sterling to be held for Jacques.¹⁵¹ Marten acted quickly to also take possession of a portion of the capital in London, receiving £3,241.5.9 1/2 sterling from Thomas in May 1587. In his memory of the disputes between the siblings, Marten specifically stated that he made sure to receive the money from Thomas to prevent Jacques from making any more trouble. Two years later, Marten received another £533.6.8 sterling, increasing his holdings in the capital in London to £3,774.12.5 1/2 sterling.¹⁵²

Thomas and Wouter placed the remaining capital in London into six separate accounts. Two of the accounts derived from the debt of Nicolas Raynton that had recently been partially recuperated and divided between Thomas and Wouter. Thomas possessed £925.0.2 sterling and

¹⁵⁰ Thomas and Wouter to the executors of the estate of Jan de Oude, London, 9 March 1592, DvdM 57-45.

¹⁵¹ Thomas and Wouter to the executors of the estate of Jan de Oude, London, 9 March 1592, DvdM 57-45; DvdM 57-35; DvdM 57-31; New account of branch of London, DFL 12bis-156; and Jacques, Jan, Carlo, and Hester, DFL 12bis-157.

¹⁵² DvdM 57-33; Thomas and Wouter to the executors of the estate of Jan de Oude, London, 9 March 1592, DvdM 57-45; New account of branch of London, DFL 12bis-156; Marten, Steven, and Anna, DFL 12bis-158; Memory of Marten, DFL 14.

Wouter had a further £1200 sterling.¹⁵³ The letter they sent the executors specifically noted their desire to unburden themselves from this capital and disburse it to the heirs.¹⁵⁴ The last four accounts give evidence of the difficulties that the factors and the executors had had with the capital in London. They show the large amount of losses that the branch had accumulated. Two of the accounts were for single debts that must have been recently decided to be reckoned as liabilities. These accounts were a portion of white thread that remained unsold and a debt from the recently deceased Thomas Gadbly. The final two accounts collected and distinguished between debts considered bad and those whose repayment was believed to be doubtful. The four accounts amounted to a total of £4,205.7.2 1/2 sterling in liabilities, reducing the inheritance from the capital in London by over one-quarter with each of the eight heirs responsible for £525.13.4 13/16 sterling.¹⁵⁵

Table: 5.8: Capital in Pounds Sterling in the Branch of London, 27 February 1591

Account	Value
Unsold white thread	£84.3.2
Debt of Thomas Gadbly	£94.9.7
Bad debts	£1,040.17.0 1/2
Doubtful debts	£2,985.17.5
Jacques	£4,537.12.4 1/2
Marten	£3,774.12.5 1/2
Thomas Coteels from debt of Raynton	£925.0.2
Wouter Aertsen from debt of Raynton	£1,200
Total	£14,642.12.2 1/2

¹⁵³ In other places, the amount held by Thomas was stated as £925.0.4. See Calculation of the reception van Hester, 29 April 1593, DFL 13; Extract of the account of Jacques, Jan, Carlo, and Hester, DFL 13.

¹⁵⁴ Thomas and Wouter to the executors of the estate of Jan de Oude, London, 9 March 1592, DvdM 57-45.

¹⁵⁵ Thomas and Wouter to the executors of the estate of Jan de Oude, London, 9 March 1592, DvdM 57-45. The state of 1594 calculated these bad debts at £6,518.6.3 Flemish at the rate of 31s Flemish per £1. New account of branch of London, DFL 12bis-156.

The fact that Marten and Jacques had received capital from London did not take the capital off the books in London. Thomas and Wouter had bound themselves by the agreement in 1586 to ensure that the capital be divided into eight equal portions. The capital that Marten and Jacques had received had no clear relation to the three shares that Marten was to possess or the four shares that Jacques was to have control over, much less the still very much in dispute portion intended for the heirs of Maria. The balance Thomas and Wouter produced in 1592 sought to clearly indicate the amount due to each of the eight heirs—and therefore to be divided among Marten, Jacques, and Pieter Samyn—and to related this to the amounts already received by Marten and Jacques. The total capital held on the books in London of £14,642.12.2 1/2 sterling evenly divided into eight shares of £1,830.6.6 5/16 sterling. This was the amount due to each heir, and the sum to be placed in the possession of Pieter Samyn. Jacques was due £7,321.6.1 1/4 sterling for the four-eighths portion of the capital, while Marten was to take possession of £5490.19.6 15/16 sterling for the portions of himself, Anna, and Steven. After the reduction due to the losses from the debts held by the branch of £4,205.7.2 1/2 sterling, the eight heirs would be creditors of £1,0437.5 sterling or £1,304.13.1 1/2 sterling each.¹⁵⁶

Once Thomas and Wouter determined the amount due to each of the heirs and more importantly, due to the Marten, Jacques, and Pieter Samyn, it became possible to relate the amounts that Marten and Jacques had already received against the reality of the situation of the capital in 1592. Thomas and Wouter created a balance sheet for both Marten and Jacques that

¹⁵⁶ Thomas and Wouter to the executors of the estate of Jan de Oude, London, 9 March 1592, DvdM 57-45. In other places, the amount owed to a single heir, and therefore due to the heirs of Maria, was £1304.12.6 1/2. Thomas Coteels and Wouter Aertsen account of the heirs of Maria, DFL 12bis-168; Marten's memory of the inheritance of the heirs of Maria in London, 30 September 1594, DFN 77; Marten to Daniel, Brussels, 25 April 1600, DvdM 274-78.

added together the amount that each received together with their share in the six other accounts of the branch. Along with his debt for the reception of £4,537.12.4 1/2 sterling, Jacques was debtor for half of the £4,205.7.2 1/2 sterling in bad or doubtful debts and for half of the £2,125.0.2 sterling deriving from the payment made by Raynton. This led to a total of £7,702.16.0 3/4 sterling assigned to Jacques or £381.9.11 1/2 sterling more than Jacques was supposed to receive. Going through the same process but calculating the liabilities at three-eighths of the total, Marten's balance showed that he possessed £657.10.7 3/4 sterling more than was his due. The extra amounts assigned to the accounts of Marten and Jacques were written off on the account of the heirs of Maria, who had not received any of the capital in London after the agreement of 1586. After the £1,039.0.7 1/4 sterling from the excess of Jacques and Marten's accounts, the heirs of Maria were also liable for one-eighth of the capital held by Thomas and Wouter and for the liabilities of the branch, leading to a total of £1,830.6.6 1/4 sterling held by and due to the heirs of Maria and in concert with the credit of the seven other heirs.¹⁵⁷

Thomas and Wouter intended the information contained in the balance to prescribe the manner by which the branch could be liquidated. They neatly indicated the capital that should move from the control of Marten and Jacques to the account of the heirs of Maria. However, this did not describe activities that had actually occurred. The letters between the siblings show that the capital in London continued to be problematic long after 1592 and even long after 1594. This meant that the state of 1594 had to evaluate the remaining capital in London and record the partitions that had been made. The state did this through the new account of the branch in London, which assigned capital to three accounts that subdivided the heirs according to the

¹⁵⁷ The balance of Thomas and Wouter simplified the amount due the heirs of Maria to £1,830.6.6 1/4 from the £1,830.6.6 5/16 that is more mathematically precise. Thomas and Wouter to the executors of the estate of Jan de Oude, London, 9 March 1592, DvdM 57-45.

accord of 1586: Jacques, Jan, Carlo, and Hester; Marten, Anna, and Steven; and the heirs of Maria.¹⁵⁸

The capital transferred from the branch in London to the three accounts encompassing the heirs roughly followed the outline put forward by Thomas and Wouter. All three accounts were assigned responsibility for the four accounts of bad debts according to the ratio of one-half, three-eighths, and one-eighth. The accounts were not directly assigned the recently paid portions of Raynton's debts held by Thomas and Wouter. Instead, this was incorporated into the general capital held by the branch of London.¹⁵⁹ The accounts headed by Jacques and Marten were also given responsibility for the amount that the two executors had earlier received.¹⁶⁰ The only difference derived from the separate transfer noted in the balance of 1592 on the account headed by Marten of £533.6.8 sterling was placed directly on Steven's maternal account instead of being placed on the account of Marten, Anna, and Steven.¹⁶¹

The state of 1594 diverged even more strongly from the previous balance by dividing the remaining capital held by the branch between the account of Jacques, Jan, Carlo, and Steven and the account of the heirs of Maria. In order to close the account of the branch, £556.15.7 sterling

¹⁵⁸. These accounts were New account of branch of London DFL 12bis-156; Jacques, Jan, Carlo, and Hester, DFL 12bis-157; Marten, Steven, and Anna, DFL 12bis-158; Thomas Coteels and Wouter Aertsen account of the heirs of Maria, DFL 12bis-168.

¹⁵⁹. New account of branch of London, DFL 12bis-156. The amount reported to be held by the branch was £1,221.6.1, slightly smaller than that reported by Thomas and Wouter in 1592.

¹⁶⁰. The £4,537.12.4 1/2 sterling received by Jacques was calculated to be £7,033.6.2 at 31s Flemish per £1 sterling. The £3,241.5.9 1/2 sterling Marten received from Thomas was placed on the account as £4,861.18.8 at 30s Flemish per £1 sterling. DvdM 57-33; Marten, Steven, and Anna, DFL 12bis-158; Marten to Daniel, Brussels, 25 April 1600, DvdM 274-78.

¹⁶¹. New account of branch of London, DFL 12bis-156; Maternal inheritance of Steven, DFL 12bis-274.

was written off on the account controlled by Jacques.¹⁶² However, over half of this amount, £304.12.6 1/2 sterling, was to be destined for the account of the heirs of Maria. In addition to the capital to come from Jacques, the branch of London directly assigned the heirs of Maria £1,000 sterling. This led to a total allocation to the heirs of Maria of £1304.12.6 1/2 sterling or the amount that each of the heirs were to receive according to the balance of Thomas and Wouter.¹⁶³ In other words, through a somewhat more circuitous route, the state placed the same amount on the account of the heirs of Maria as the balance of Thomas and Artsen. The same cannot be said for the accounts of Marten and Jacques, both of which received less on their accounts than in the balance. The state of 1594 somewhat ameliorated the discrepancies through transactions with other accounts, such as the money given directly to Steven, but the deviations from the balance also pointed to the continued problems in liquidating the estate in London.

The issues with the capital in London become clear in looking at the way that the new accounts headed by Marten and Jacques disbursed the capital assigned to them by the branch in London to the heirs themselves. The rather simple distribution of £1,830.6.6 5/16 sterling—divided between £525.13.4 13/16 sterling in liabilities and £1,304.13.1 1/2 sterling in assets—due to each heir prescribed by the balance of 1592 quickly broke down. In the first place, whereas the the balance created by Thomas and Wouter had treated the capital in London as a single entity, the state had to account for the division of the responsibility for the capital between the paternal and maternal estates at the ratio decided in the agreement of 26 December 1583. The state distinguished between the amount each heir should be liable for the bad debts in London

¹⁶². This description of the account headed by Jacques an additional entry of merely accounting import. In order to account for the discrepancies in the exchange rates used in the state from sterling to Flemish pounds, the bookkeepers of the estate created separate entires in the state to normalize the exchange rate to 33s 4d Flemish per £1 sterling.

¹⁶³. Thomas Coteels and Wouter Aertsen account of the heirs of Maria, DFL 12bis-168; Thomas and Wouter to the executors of the estate of Jan de Oude, London, 9 March 1592, DvdM 57-45.

when the capital was moved to their individual accounts. In this way, Hester was liable for £680.12.0 in doubtful debt and Anna for £530.12.0, but Carlo held a liability of only £330.4.7.¹⁶⁴ The fact that Hester's liability was more than twice that of Carlo shows the difficulty that the state had in translating from the capital in London as a single entity to the convoluted reality of 1594.¹⁶⁵

Another issued derived from the need to include Cornelia's portion in the calculations made by Thomas and Wouter. The balance had divided the capital among the eight heirs, but the state needed to account for Cornelia's responsibility for liabilities in London and to spread these among her heirs. The state calculated the paternal and maternal portions of Cornelia's responsibility for the bad and doubtful debts and distributed them to the accounts headed by Marten and Jacques and to the inheritance of the heirs of Maria.¹⁶⁶

The large amount of losses caused upheavals between the siblings, but the difficulties in distributing the net capital held by the branch proved even more troublesome. The simplest reception of the capital in London was done through the account headed by Marten. Marten later noted that after receiving the £3,241.5.9 1/2 sterling from Thomas in May 1587, he gave

¹⁶⁴ For the bad and doubtful debts, the state explained that the paternal liability for the bad debts and doubtful debts was £668.8.1 sterling and £1917.8.10 sterling each or £2585.16.11 sterling total. This was 64% of the total liability. Jacques, Jan, Carlo, and Hester, DFL 12bis-157. The summary state created after the state of 1594 noted that this calculation was incorrect and that Jan de Oude's total liability for the bad and doubtful debts should be £2312.12.2 sterling, which conforms to the 57% stake that the paternal inheritance had in the total capital remaining in trade after 1578. Summary of the state of Jan de Oude, 18 July 1598, DFL 13.

¹⁶⁵ One issue that was not resolved was the heirs of Maria being placed as responsible for one-eighth of the total bad debt rather than one-ninth of the paternal portion and one-eighth of the sororal portion. Thomas Coteels and Wouter Aertsen account of the heirs of Maria, DFL 12bis-168.

¹⁶⁶ Capital of Cornelia, DFL 12bis-265. Cornelia's total liability for these debts were the same as Hester, since they were equal creditors for their maternal inheritance in 1578. The responsibility of the heirs of Maria for the debt was placed on Maria's account for her paternal inheritance instead of their account from London. Paternal inheritance of Maria, DFL 12bis-262.

£1,080.8.7 1/3 sterling to himself, Anna, and Steven. And this was all documented in the state.¹⁶⁷ However, the £1,080.8.7 1/3 sterling that each of the three heirs received was still much less than the £1,304.13.1 1/2 sterling that the balance of 1592 had calculated as due to the heirs. This was nothing compared to the position of the heirs of Maria. In placing the capital on the account of the heirs of Maria, the state noted the difficulty that had arisen over their inheritance. Neither the balance of Thomas and Wouter nor the creation of the state resolved the issues between Marten and Jacques. At the close of the state, the account remained open for £2,989.3.5 that had yet to be disbursed to Maria's heirs.¹⁶⁸ In fact, in April 1600, Marten wrote to Daniel complaining that the capital of the heirs of Maria in London had yet to be resolved.¹⁶⁹

Even though the state noted disbursements from the account of Jacques, Jan, Carlo, and Hester to their individual accounts, the situation was not too materially different from that of the heirs of Maria. The troubles with the disbursal of the capital in London among the heirs who had left Antwerp and lived in Holland had begun in 1586. Thomas had transferred £4,537.12.4 1/2 sterling to Wouter in 1586, but Jacques long complained that Wouter did not provide him with access to this capital, and Jacques and Wouter had a contentious relationship through this entire period.¹⁷⁰ Whatever Jacques's possession over this capital, he did not divide it equally among himself and his four siblings as Marten had done.¹⁷¹ Instead, five separate entries for disbursements to the heirs were placed on the books. These only partially followed the amounts

¹⁶⁷. DvdM 57-33; Marten, Steven, and Anna, DFL 12bis-158; Marten to Daniel, Brussels, 25 April 1600, DvdM 274-78. The state calculated these amounts as a total of £4,861.18.8 with each receiving £1,620.12.10 1/3.

¹⁶⁸. Thomas Coteels and Wouter Aertsen account of the heirs of Maria, DFL 12bis-168.

¹⁶⁹. Marten to Daniel, Brussels, 25 April 1600, DvdM 274-78.

¹⁷⁰. Jacques described these issues throughout his correspondence with Daniel. DvdM 538.

¹⁷¹. If Jacques had divided the amount among the four heirs, each would have received £1,134.8.1 1/8 sterling, which would have been close to the £1,304.13.1 1/2 sterling due to each heir in the balance.

due to the heirs from the balance of 1592. In doing so, they created a hodgepodge with no clear relation to the balance and with little seeming relation to actual events.

The state assigned Jan, Carlo, and Hester £1,731.14.4 each, but this does not seem to have described an actual disbursement made by Jacques. Rather, the sum corresponds to the £1039.0.7 1/4 sterling, at the exchange rate of 33s 4d per £1, due to each of the heirs before the holdings of Thomas and Wouter from the repaid debt of Raynton were taken into account.¹⁷² This explanation of the three entries is confirmed by the final two entries for disbursements to Carlo and Hester. The state charged them for the reception of £442.14.2, which is equal to the £265.12.6 sterling due to each heir from the recovered debt of Raynton at the same rate as above. In other words, through the account controlled by Jacques, the books of the estate held that Carlo and Hester had received the exact amount due to them in the state of Thomas and Wouter. Meanwhile, Jan did not receive this second payment, while the state did not record Jacques receiving any of the money that he technically possessed. At the end of the state, the account still held £2,115.8.2 that had yet to be distributed among the four heirs in Holland.¹⁷³

Considering the centrality of the branch in London to the inheritance, the inability of the heirs to agree to its liquidation and the inadequacies present in the manner in which the state reckoned the interactions between the branch and the siblings amply demonstrate the issues the executors and siblings had yet to resolve at the end of 1594. Through a complicated series of maneuvers, the state managed to get many, but by no means all, of the numbers to work out. But especially in the entries made in September and October 1594, the books of the estate

¹⁷² In order to even out the different exchange rates, the state recalculated all rates at 33s 4d Flemish per £1, stating that this was the general exchange rate. New account of branch of London, DFL 12bis-156.

¹⁷³ Jacques, Jan, Carlo, and Hester, DFL 12bis-157.

accomplished this in a haphazard manner that often ignored the previous clear division between paternal, maternal, and sororal credits and debits.

The disbursements of the capital in London noted on the state also reveal deeper issues with the very nature of the the two states in reckoning the vast and complicated interactions of thousands of pounds of capital across many regions and over many years. In the first place, there often existed a gap between a disbursal or transaction on the books and actual reception of capital. Many of the disbursals throughout the states did not denote payment of cash but merely involved a book transfer of the capital involved. Once the book transfer was made, the state no longer recorded how or whether that capital ever found its way to the heir. The disbursals from the account of the capital in London controlled by Jacques present a particularly stark example of this. In fact, the gap between the information written in the account books and the actual events became so large in the case of the capital in London that the books may no longer have adequately described lived reality. Accounting necessarily glossed over difficulties, but with the breakdown of communication between Marten and Jacques, the gloss began to fail to account for the actual course of events. The process of accounting simply could not keep up with much less solve the problems introduced by the continuing disputes between the siblings.¹⁷⁴

6. Examples of Disbursements: Steven and Hester

The states of 1583 and 1594 outline the economic interactions between the siblings concerning their inheritance. The previous sections have analyzed both the growth and development of the capital left by Jan de Oude and the timing and nature of the disbursements to the heirs as set out in the books of the estate. The states of 1583 and 1594 acted as an official, if

¹⁷⁴ Muldrew, *Economy of Obligation*.

still disputed, narration of the property relations of the Della Faille siblings. However, the perspective provided by the two states covered over other aspects of the relations between the heirs. In particular, the use of book transfers could lead to quite different relations than would seem to be the case from the states alone. The examples of Steven and Hester demonstrate just how large the gap could be between the narrative provided by the numbers on the ledger and the actual interactions between the siblings and their inheritance. Steven had very little direct interaction with the inheritance. Instead, Marten bought out his stake in the paternal, maternal, and sororal inheritance. This left Steven as creditor to his brother from whom he received payments from the interest of the sum Marten held.¹⁷⁵ Marten and Jacques both held portions of Hester's inheritance, and the financial documents in the Daniel van der Meulen Archive provide an opportunity to more closely investigate the financial interactions that she and Daniel had with Hester's two brothers. Above all, the example of Hester shows the importance of book transfers. The inheritance simply became another piece in Daniel's financial involvement with his brothers-in-law.¹⁷⁶

A. Steven

Steven had a complicated relationship with his brother Marten. He had spent a good deal of time with Marten in both Hamburg and London, but Steven's amorous affairs also caused Marten no end of trouble. In the disputes between the siblings, Steven generally aligned himself with Marten. While Steven continued to create difficulties for his siblings and Marten in particular, he generally avoided involvement in the disputes between his siblings over the

¹⁷⁵ Schmitz, *Les Della Faille*, vol. 1, 295–324; Brulez, *Firma Della Faille*, 69.

¹⁷⁶ Muldrew, *Economy of Obligation*; Tadmor, *Family and Friends in Eighteenth-Century England*; Vickers, "Errors Expected"; Wee, "Monetary, Credit and Banking System."

inheritance. Jan de Oude had been quite strict in his treatment of Steven in his testament. All of his paternal inheritance was to be invested in land administered by the executors of the testament. Jan de Oude only gave Steven direct right over interest from the investments in immovables at the rate of 5% per year.¹⁷⁷ There was less that Jan de Oude could do about Steven's reception of his maternal and sororal inheritance, but the testament made it clear that Jan de Oude did not intend for his troublesome son to have ready access to the movable capital in his estate.

Despite the worries of his father, the deaths of Jan de Oude and Cornelia left Steven as heir to over £10,000. The state of 26 December 1583 placed Steven as creditor for his paternal, maternal, and sororal inheritance £11,444.14.5 1/2.¹⁷⁸ The long and convoluted process in which Steven was to receive this capital has been described above. However, instead of participating in the back and forth, and in place of having his paternal inheritance invested in land at 5% interest, Steven came to an accord with Marten on 15 June 1587 over payment of his inheritance. Steven and Marten decided that "all of his maternal, paternal, and sororal goods...with all the profits or losses that have occurred" should be estimated to be £11,500.¹⁷⁹ Having set the value of Steven's inheritance, Marten agreed to "buy out" Steven's right to his inheritance.¹⁸⁰

¹⁷⁷. Testament Jan de Oude, FM 22.

¹⁷⁸. Any calculation of the capital owed to one of the heirs at any one time is fraught with difficulties, but the close of the state of 26 December 1583 provides as clear of an opportunity to evaluate Steven's inheritance as any. See Table 5.

¹⁷⁹. Obligations of Marten for Steven's inheritance, DFN 76: "alle syne moederlycke, vaderlicke, ende susterlicke goeden...met alle profyten oft scaden daer op geloopen oft gedaen. See also Obligation of Marten for debt to Steven of £11500, 15 June 1587, DFL 13, which is a copy of the agreement in Marten's hand. In another instance in which an agreement glossed over the intricacies of accounting, Steven and Marten agreed to treat Steven's maternal and paternal inheritance as £5,000 each and his sororal capital as £500. Muldrew, *Economy of Obligation*; Vickers, "Errors Expected."

¹⁸⁰. Marten's account of his debt to Steven, 15 December 1596 to 29 November 1599, DFL 76: "uuytcoop van myn vaders, moeders, ende susters."

In a manner similar to so many of the transactions concerning the inheritance, the agreement did not signify any actual exchange of money. The agreement functioned essentially as a book transfer. Steven remained a creditor, but the debtor had changed from the estate to Marten, while Marten now took over Steven's position as creditor for his brother's inheritance.¹⁸¹ This meant that the various disbursements under Steven's name in the states primarily went to Marten and not to Steven. In committing himself to the agreement, Steven effectively stabilized his position as creditor. In the place of being creditor to a wide array of goods that were fought over and disputed by the siblings, Steven placed his capital into the safe hands of Marten.¹⁸² He also improved the terms of his credit. Marten agreed to provide Steven with interest of 6.25% per year.¹⁸³ On the other hand, the agreement held potential benefits for Marten. By taking over Steven's position as heir, Marten removed another variable from the mix of heirs. He also ensured that Steven would stand by him in the disputes over the capital in London. Steven was to give a power of attorney to Thomas Coteels to ensure that Steven's portion of the capital fell under the control of Thomas and thus of Marten.¹⁸⁴

The archives do not contain a full set of accounts detailing the growth of Steven's credit through interest and the payments Marten made to his brother. However, through the existence of

¹⁸¹. The agreement detailed that £500 of the agreed £11,500 was in the possession of Jacques, and so Steven was to get this transferred to Marten. If this did not occur, then Steven would only be creditor for £11,000.

¹⁸². In making the agreement and taking on the obligation to repay Steven, Marten wrote that he "binds my person and all of my goods, both present and in the future." Obligations of Marten for Steven's inheritance, DFN 76: "verbinde mynen persson ende alle myne goeden present ende toecomende."

¹⁸³. In the statement Marten and Steven made before the magistrates of Brussels on 26 November 1603, they stated that Steven was provided with 5% interest following the dictates of the testament. This may simply have been stated to simplify the declarations they made and make it appear that they were more in line with the testament of Jan de Oude than was actually the case. All indications are that Steven received the more standard interest of 6.25%. Obligations of Marten for Steven's inheritance, DFN 76.

¹⁸⁴. Obligations of Marten for Steven's inheritance, DFN 76; Obligation of Marten for debt to Steven of £11500, 15 June 1587, DFL 13.

partial accounts, it is possible to follow the outline of the financial arrangement between the brothers. On 27 August 1590, Marten seems to have made the first payment to Steven on three years of interest, but most of the evidence comes from later in the decade. A balance of Steven's account with Marten shows that on 15 December 1596 Steven held a credit of £10,473.1.3 against his older brother. Beginning on 9 November 1596, Steven began to receive a number of payments from his brother through bills of exchange.¹⁸⁵ Marten made nine payment from November 1596 until 29 October 1597 which totaled £4,050, reducing Steven's credit to £6,423.1.3. The accounts do not record any advancement or payment of interest during this period. However, with the new principal of £6,423.1.3 Marten began to transfer Steven £400 for payment of the £401.8.9 of one year interest. The extant accounts record payments of this amount at the end of both 1597 and 1598.¹⁸⁶

The situation must have stabilized after the principal reached £6,423.1.3, but Steven soon pushed his brother to receive payment of his credit. After moving to Holland in 1593, Steven increasingly became involved in trade activities, investing capital in the trade of Jacques and Daniel. In letters to Daniel, Marten expressed worries at the risky investments made by Steven.¹⁸⁷ Despite Marten's worries at his brother's fiscal responsibility, on 24 November 1603, the brothers appeared before the magistrates of Brussels to confirm full repayment by Marten of his

¹⁸⁵. Steven had moved to Holland in 1593. Jacques to Daniel, Haarlem, 14 October 1593, DvdM 538b-46; Marten to Daniel, Antwerp, 26 February 1596, DvdM 274-55; Schmitz, *Les Della Faille*, vol. 1, 295–324.

¹⁸⁶. Marten's account of his debt to Steven, 15 December 1596 to 29 November 1599, DFL 76.

¹⁸⁷. See the letters from Marten to Daniel, DvdM 274-58, 59, 73, 76, 77. Marten also wrote directly to Steven about the money that he had sent to his brother, Marten to Steven, Antwerp, 5 January 1598, DFL 4; Marten to Steven, Brussels, 23 November 1599, DFL 4; Schmitz, *Les Della Faille*, vol. 1, 295–324.

debt to Steven of the same amount. Steven clearly stated that he considered the debt fully repaid and so all of Marten's obligations to Steven were annulled.¹⁸⁸

Two days later, the brothers again appeared before the magistrates of Brussels. The point of this second appearance seems to have been for Steven to affirm his approval of Marten's administration of the inheritance and of the two states created by Nicolay that have been discussed above. Steven asserted that he had received all of his paternal, maternal, and sororal inheritance. He therefore renounced all future ability to seek any further payment of his inheritance from Marten.¹⁸⁹ In other words, in 1603 Steven and Marten both affirmed and confirmed that they had kept their word from their original agreement in 1587. Steven had stayed outside of the ongoing disputes between the siblings over the inheritance, while continuing to stand on Marten's side. Meanwhile, Marten had held onto Steven's capital and provided him with various payments over a period of sixteen years. Marten and Steven's relationship had never been without tension—and Marten continued to worry about the large amounts of money he sent to Steven—but the financial arrangement largely followed the structure intended by Jan de Oude, placing Marten in control of a greater share of his patrimony.

B. Hester

Hester's marriage to Daniel at the end of 1584 placed Daniel at the center of the disputes between the Della Faille siblings. Through their marriage, Daniel became Hester's husband and guardian, meaning that he took over Hester's role as creditor to the estate. However, Hester's marriage to Daniel took place over three years after Jan de Oude's death, and so Hester had

¹⁸⁸ Obligations of Marten for Steven's inheritance, DFN 76. The actual payment of the sum of £6423.1.5 seems to have been due of 15 December 1603.

¹⁸⁹ Obligations of Marten for Steven's inheritance, DFN 76.

already had plenty of financial interactions with the executors and the estate by the time of the union. The extant accounts showing the interactions between Hester and Daniel on the one side and Marten and Jacques on the other are incomplete. They detail the transactions from 1584 until 1588 for Marten and to 1590 for Jacques. Though the documents do not make it possible to investigate the manner by which Hester received all of her inheritance, they show the continual nature of the interactions between Hester and Daniel and her brothers. Hester's inheritance was particularly intermingled with Jacques trade investments after the two arrived in Holland in May 1584. Despite the close nature of the relationship both Daniel and Hester built with Jacques, the two also worked to maintain a functional relationship with Marten. They showed their willingness to compromise in 1594 when they broke with Jacques, Jan, and Carlo and signed an agreement with Marten that Hester had received all of her inheritance.¹⁹⁰

Most of capital recorded in the states of 1583 and 1594 as paid to Hester for her inheritance up to the end of 1585 was actually received by either Marten or Jacques. Like her sister Cornelia, Hester had not received any substantial portion of her maternal inheritance. Therefore, after the death of her father and sister, Hester was the largest creditor among the heirs, possessing a total credit after the augmentation of the profits up to 26 December 1583 of £13,566.15.7.¹⁹¹ By the end of March 1585, the executors recorded debits for the reception of her inheritance totaling £8,819.9.6.¹⁹² The books of the estate noted Hester's direct reception of cash from the treasury on her maternal inheritance directly after the death of her father and throughout 1583 as noted above. In addition, after her marriage to Daniel, Daniel began to directly receive

¹⁹⁰ See Chapter 7.

¹⁹¹ This consisted of her paternal (£5000), maternal (£7065.10.10), and sororal (£1508.3.10) inheritance.

¹⁹² DFL 12; DFL 12bis; Calculation of the reception van Hester, 29 April 1593, DFL 13. By 22 March 1584, Hester had received £5,372.12.3 from her maternal inheritance. By 26 March 1585, she had received £2,538.6.5 from her paternal inheritance. And by 28 January 1585, she received £908.10.10 of her sororal inheritance.

payments from the state, including the £861.13.4 from branch of London on 15 March 1585 and the £828.12.4 for wool and kerseys that Hester received from the branch of Venice on 28 January 1585.¹⁹³ However, most of the capital taken off Hester's accounts for her inheritance actually fell to Marten and Jacques. Like Steven, Hester then became creditor to her brothers rather than to the estate. Marten and Jacques held various sums on their own personal books as debts to Hester, which were due on different dates, and for which Hester received 6.25% yearly interest on the unpaid amounts.

Marten and Jacques received roughly similar portions of Hester's inheritance from the estate. Hester's two brothers combined to have a debt to their sister of £5,820.15.11 by the end of 1584.¹⁹⁴ Marten possessed a slightly lower amount of Hester's capital than Jacques. At the end of 1584, he held £2,664.13.10 of Hester's inheritance spread across six different debts. After a year of interest, Marten's debt to his sister had grown to £2,830.14.7.¹⁹⁵ Following closely on the heels of Hester's wedding to Daniel—a union that he only reluctantly approved—Daniel began to press Marten to receive the portions of Hester's inheritance that he held. Marten's willingness to begin to pay his debt to his new brother-in-law was as important symbolically as it was financially. As early as 12 February 1585, Marten made two payments on his debt of £318.15, which was due on 7 January. Three days later, Marten made three more payments to pay off the entire debt. With his sister and brother-in-law in Holland, Marten made the actual financial

¹⁹³ Diverse accounts from Daniel's books, DvdM 57-85.

¹⁹⁴ Miscellaneous accounts concerning Hester and her inheritance, DvdM 87-2.

¹⁹⁵ DvdM 87-2 and DvdM 57-85. The six separate sums were £300 due on 7 January, £551.15.6 on 7 March, £850 on 3 May, £725 on 30 July, £159.3.4 on 11 August, and £78.15 on 10 October. Marten reported these debts in Marten to Daniel, Antwerp, 28 March 1585, DvdM 274-8 (103).

transaction through the company of Daniel's mother and his brother-in-law François Pierens. In other words, the debt was passed from Marten to the company of Zeghers and Pierens.¹⁹⁶

Marten made similar payments to Daniel's brother Andries. Through payments in March 1585, Marten paid off his debt of £585.12.2, which was due on 7 March. In April, May, and June, Marten again made a series of payments to Andries to pay off the debt of £903.2.6. This involved the Catholic and Spanish inclined Marten to negotiate and speak with the Calvinist magistrate of the rebellious Antwerp on numerous occasions in the shadow of Farnese's armies.¹⁹⁷ As with the payment Marten made that went to the company of Zeghers and Pierens, the payments to Andries involved a transfer of the debt. Though technically not in a company together at the time, Andries and Daniel invested in trade together throughout their entire lives. A payment to Andries simply added to their capital and became another entry on Daniel's account in Andries's books.¹⁹⁸

Marten was able to dispense with his debt to his sister and provide his new brother-in-law with greater access to the capital of his wife by various means. For instance, Marten made several payments to Daniel through bills of exchange from Venice in 1586. He also lessened his debt through payment of expenses incurred by Hester, such as the payment of £80 for the taxation imposed by the rebel government against urban landed property in 1584.¹⁹⁹ All together, by March 1586, Marten had paid off £2,789.7.6 of his original debt, almost all of the original amount. The financial interactions between Marten and Daniel seems to have tapered off at this

¹⁹⁶. DvdM 57-85.

¹⁹⁷. Both Marten and Andries reported this to Daniel in their letters to him. Marten's letters to Daniel, DvdM 274; Andries's letters to Daniel, 593a. See the letters in transcribed in Jongbloet-van Houtte, *Daniel van der Meulen*.

¹⁹⁸. DvdM 57-85; DvdM 593a; J. H. Kernkamp, ed. *De handel van Daniel van der Meulen c.s., in het bijzonder rond de jaren 1588-1592: Werkcollege economische geschiedenis* (Leiden: Universiteit Leiden, Apr 1969).

¹⁹⁹. DvdM 57-85 and Prims, *De Grootte Cultuurstrijd*.

point. With augmentations of Hester's credit to her brother through interest on the remaining amount and other small sums that Marten received for her, Marten only held £335.7.10 of Hester's inheritance in 1588.²⁰⁰ The extant documentation does not give a clear picture of the payment of this sum, nor of any further amounts that Marten received for Hester. Despite this lacuna, the example is illuminating. The various methods Marten used to take the debt off of his books and remove his obligation to his sister and brother-in-law, whether through direct payment or by transferring the capital to a third party, demonstrates the ubiquity of credit relations among family members and the ease with which they could transfer credits and debits among themselves. The relationship of creditor and debtor was simply a normal occurrence among family members.²⁰¹

Hester and Daniel's investments in Jacques trading activities after Jacques left Antwerp for Haarlem led to an even greater level of intertwining of capital between the siblings than was the case with Marten. With payments through the end of January 1585, Jacques had taken possession of £3,156.2.1 deriving from Hester's inheritance. Through one year of interest, Jacques debt to his sister reached £3,353.7.2.²⁰² As with the Marten, the capital that Jacques held was split into separate sums with payments due on various days throughout the year.²⁰³ Many of the sums began as round numbers with little ability to match them to a disbursement noted in the

²⁰⁰ DvdM 57-85.

²⁰¹ Muldrew, *Economy of Obligation*; Peebles, "Anthropology of Credit and Debt"; Sheilagh OgilvieMarkus K pkerJanine Maegraith, "Household Debt in Early Modern Germany: Evidence from Personal Inventories," *Journal of Economic History* 72, no. 1 (2012): 134-167; Vickers, "Errors Expected."

²⁰² DvdM 87-2.

²⁰³ DvdM 87-2. The sums were £400 on 7 January 1584, £500 on 2 March, £900 on 30 April, £200 on 20 June, £400 on 31 July, £159.4.4 on 7 August, £115 on 15 August, £21 on 30 August, £190 on 20 September, £78.15 on 4 October and £192.3.9 on 23 January 1585. This was also discussed in Jacques's letters to Daniel, DvdM 538a and transcribed in Jongbloet-van Houtte, *Daniel van der Meulen*.

books of the estate of Jan de Oude. However, on some occasions this was possible. Thus, the state of 1594 recorded three disbursements through the treasury of Cornelia's estate to her heirs for a total of £726. The books of the estate noted on Hester's account that this payment was received by Jacques, and the accounts that Jacques kept of Hester show Jacques as debtor for the reception of £400, £115, £21, and £190 from Hester's sororal inheritance.²⁰⁴

Unlike Marten, Jacques did not make payments to Hester corresponding to the separate sums that he held. Instead, Hester's credit went on her running account in his own books, so that any financial interaction between the siblings could add to or subtract from the credit that Hester held.²⁰⁵ Because Hester traveled from Antwerp to Haarlem with her brother in the spring of 1584, and because she placed some of her capital in Jacques's trade ventures, Hester's credit to her brother dwindled quickly. The existence of Hester's account on Jacques's books during this time permits a closer look at the interactions between brother and sister.²⁰⁶

Between 1 August 1584 and 13 May 1585, Jacques recorded nineteen entries of payments he made to or for his sister. The actual actions recorded in the books often occurred months prior, and on several occasions entries lumped together a set of transactions. The entries themselves range from the £8 that Jacques paid for Hester's traveling expenses to Haarlem to Hester's investment of £155.1.4 in wheat that Jacques sent to Seville. The account also shows Jacques involvement in Daniel and Hester's wedding. The costs for the engagement and wedding were quite extraordinary. In a single entry in his books, Jacques collected together £369.4.4 for expenses that he had paid for the wedding. Jacques also paid £15.18.10 for travel expenses for

²⁰⁴ Sororal inheritance of Hester, DFL 12bis-144; DvdM 87-2.

²⁰⁵ Muldrew, *Economy of Obligation*; Soll, *Reckoning*; Vickers, "Errors Expected."

²⁰⁶ Copies of Hester's account in Jacques's book can be seen in DvdM 57-10 and DvdM 57-85. Copy of Jacques's account on Daniel's books, DvdM 57-11.

various guests. All together, Hester received £1,278.14.4 1/2 from her brother by the middle of May 1585. Now a married woman, Hester had fewer direct financial interactions with her brother on the next account from 23 May 1585 to 11 May 1586. Nevertheless, Jacques recorded thirteen different entries for total payments of £1,070.19.7. Thus, by the middle of 1586, Hester had received £2,349.13.11 1/2 from Jacques. After a small increase in her credit due to a payment of £8.2.4, Hester was still creditor to her brother £1,011.15.6 1/2.²⁰⁷

Even before Daniel and Hester married, Daniel began to have financial interactions with his future brother-in-law. Once married, the differences between Daniel's account and Hester's account on Jacques's books could easily become blurred, as Daniel technically became the creditor of both. Happily, a continuous set of either Daniel's account on Jacques's book or vice versa exists for the period from 24 December 1585 until 1 November 1590.²⁰⁸ Before the end of 1585, Jacques used Hester's account to register the various interactions, but on 24 December 1585, Jacques opened a new account for his brother-in-law. Even with Hester and Daniel now domiciled in Bremen, the accounts of Jacques and Daniel show the brothers-in-law, partners in trade, and close friends interacting in various ways, on both large and small scales. The account began with a debt for Daniel from expenses that Jacques had incurred for the purchase of linen table cloths, cheese, and other expenses totaling £15.11.9 1/2. Small scale expenses, such as sending Daniel £0.2.6 worth of butter or purchasing Daniel a pair of Spanish leather shoes for £0.5 may not have had much effect upon their larger finances, but they provided the brothers-in-

²⁰⁷. DvdM 57-10.

²⁰⁸. DvdM 57-10; DvdM 57-13; DvdM 57-15. As with all of the other accounts, the dates cited are those that the entry was noted in the books rather than the date of the transaction. This meant that the same transactions were recorded on Daniel's and Jacques's books on different days.

law the opportunity to do each other favors and give physical manifestation of their friendship.²⁰⁹ Thus, the £18.1 that Jacques paid to the Leiden publisher Franciscus Raphelengius for the purchase of books involved not only a financial transaction, but also demonstrated Jacques's willingness to take the time and effort to purchase the books and have them sent to Daniel.²¹⁰ A learned and well-educated man, who was in the process of building a large humanist library, Daniel must have greatly appreciated the access that Jacques could provide him to the storehouse of Raphelengius.²¹¹

On a larger scale, Daniel's marriage to Hester enabled him to take advantage of the trade network of the Della Failles to expand the horizons of the trade he carried on with his brother. Already in the first half of 1585, Andries and Daniel were planning how they could expand their trade to Italy through the contacts of either Marten or Daniel. And while Andries vociferously argued against Daniel creating a formal company with Jacques, Daniel quickly began to invest in ventures with Jacques after his marriage.²¹² In particular, Daniel began to take part in Jacques's maritime ventures. The accounts of Jacques and Daniel are replete with entries for expenses for the preparation of ships, Daniel's investments in the cargo of various ships, and the profits or losses from the ventures. Daniel's investments included sending ships of wheat and rye to Seville and trade in Spanish oil to London. Later, Daniel invested with Jacques in sending Baltic grain to Italy after the beginning of dearth in the Mediterranean. For example, Daniel had a one-eighth

²⁰⁹ DvdM 57-10. Sending each other household goods such as butter or textiles also involved Hester and Jacques's wife Josina Hamels. Just because the transactions were registered on the account of the two husbands did not mean that the wives were not involved or even the primary movers in the sending of goods. See the discussions that took place in their correspondence, DvdM 538.

²¹⁰ DvdM 57-15.

²¹¹ See the auction of Daniel's books after his death. Inventory of Daniel's estate, DvdM 68; Accounts of Daniel's estate, DvdM 69.

²¹² DvdM 538a and DvdM 593a.

part investment of £245 in the ship Den Zeehound, which was loaded with 90 lasts of rye in 1591.²¹³ Naturally, such investments did not only involve Jacques and Daniel, and so the accounts also registered various transactions with third parties. Daniel could use Jacques to receive or make payments with his contacts in Holland and Zeeland, while Jacques could do the same through Daniel in Hamburg.

The extant accounts between Jacques and Daniel consist of three sets of accounts. The first traced the transactions until the summer of 1587, the second extended for a period of two years until the summer of 1589, and the last followed their interactions up to November 1590. The first set of accounts left Daniel as a creditor to Jacques for the sum of £100.9.8, with much of Daniel's credit deriving from the placement of Daniel's investments and the losses incurred in grain sold in Delft and Seville on his account with Jacques.²¹⁴ Over the next two years, Daniel accumulated a debt to his brother-in-law of £471.17.2. Jacques's books registered twenty-nine debts for Daniel during this period but only three credits, leaving Daniel as debtor for £371.7.6.²¹⁵ During this entire time, Jacques still held the £1,011.15.6 1/2 due to Hester from her inheritance. Only at the very end of the extant accounts did Daniel incorporate Jacques's debt to Hester into his own account with his brother-in-law. On 1 November 1590, Daniel listed on Jacques as debtor for £1,011.15.6 1/2 "in order to close a particular account held on the name of Mrs. Hester della Faille, my wife, from 29 May 1585 and due on 1 November 1585."²¹⁶ To this

²¹³ DvdM 57-15; Accounts of Jan Bukentop, DvdM 153; J. C. Vermeulen, "De handelsbetrekkingen met het Middellandse zeegebied in de jaren 1588-1592: Gegevens uit het archief van Daniel van der Meulen," in *De handel van Daniel van der Meulen c.s., in het bijzonder rond de jaren 1588-1592: Werkcollege economische geschiedenis*, ed. J. H. Kernkamp (Leiden: Universiteit Leiden, Apr 1969).

²¹⁴ DvdM 57-10.

²¹⁵ DvdM 57-13.

²¹⁶ DvdM 57-15: "voor slot van een particulier rekening gehouden op den name van Jo Hester della Faille myne huysvrouwe in dato 29 May @ 85 vervalen door een 1 November @ 85."

was added five years of interest at 6.25% to reach a total Jacques owed Daniel for Hester's inheritance of £1,370.0.7 1/2.²¹⁷ Through this book transfer, Hester's account for her inheritance became fully integrated into the accounts of Jacques and Daniel. By bringing Hester's inheritance over to his own account and calculating the interest, Daniel had turned his debt to Jacques into a credit of £880.0.4.²¹⁸

The extant accounts between Daniel and Jacques end with Jacques's debt of £880.0.4 in 1590. Even without running accounts, various other individual reckonings and the letters Jacques sent to his brother-in-law provide ample evidence of the continued financial interactions between Jacques and Daniel.²¹⁹ Especially after Daniel and Hester moved to Leiden in 1591, Daniel and Jacques had very close interactions, often corresponding multiple times a week. However, Daniel had long expressed impatience with the inability of the executors of Jan de Oude's testament to fully disburse Hester's inheritance. Tired of the excuses and stalling tactics of Jacques, Jan, and Carlo, in the fall of 1594, Daniel traveled to Antwerp to make an accord with his brother-in-law about Hester's reception. Before the magistrates of Antwerp on 14 October 1594, Daniel declared that he was fully satisfied with the inheritance that Hester had received from the executors and with Marten's administration of the estate.²²⁰ In order to get Daniel to agree to this, Marten provided Daniel with ownership over portions of four separate landed properties held by

²¹⁷ The interest for the five year period was £358.5.1. At first, the account mistakenly set Jacques's debt to Hester at £1,070.19.7 and calculated the interest on this amount, but this was eventually rectified and that wrong sums crossed out. The error seems to have been caused by a misunderstanding of Jacques's accounts. £1,070.19.7 was the amount that Hester received from Jacques between 28 May 1585 and 11 May 1586. DvdM 57-10. On 8 August 1589, Daniel made a calculation of the interest with this mistaken amount. DvdM 57-136.

²¹⁸ DvdM 57-15.

²¹⁹ Loose accounts of Daniel's interactions with Jacques are collected in DvdM 131. Jacques's letters to Daniel, DvdM 538.

²²⁰ DFL 15-7. See also Marten's description of this in Memory of Marten, DFL 14.

the estate, such as a one-fourth stake in the thirty hectare of land in Zevenbergen that Jan de Oude bequeathed to Cornelia in his testament. Daniel also received a payment of £442.14.2 from the estate in London paid by Thomas Coteels.²²¹

It was due to Daniel's agreement as Hester's guardian with Marten that Hester had no open accounts on the books of the estate at the close of the state of 1594.²²² Hester's position as neither creditor nor debtor to the estate at the end of 1594 was not brought about by complete payment of every pence due to her. Instead, over a twelve year period, Hester's inheritance had been paid out to herself, to Daniel, and to Marten and Jacques. Over such a long period and with the complications, both inevitable and due to the disputes between the heirs, no accounting system could perfectly track the credits and debts across the estate and between the siblings. Good accounting practices were of course necessary, but they were never sufficient. Accounting had to be backed by personal relationships, which enabled creditors and debtors to trust the accounts and work together. The creation of an accord, made before a notary and registered with the local authorities, provided official manifestation of the acceptance of the accounts, furnishing a sense of closure that accounting by itself could not provide.²²³

²²¹. The transfer of property occurred one day after the agreement, see Agreement between Marten and Daniel over the transfer of land, 1594, DFL 13; Transfer of property in Zevenbergen, 15 October 1594, DFL 13. On the same day, Marten also transferred land in Zevenbergen to Steven and Robert van Eeckeren, DFL 13. Daniel also constructed an agreement with Marten about placing land in Zevenbergen in the possession of Carlo's children. Daniel was a guardian of the children after their mother's death, DvdM 71-3. On the administration over the land in Zevenbergen see DvdM 203–212. C. G. van den Hengel, "Grondbezit in de Gelderse Polder te Zevenbergen 1574–1609," *Bijdragen en Mededelingen van het Historisch Genootschap* 79 (1965): 335-386. The payment from London was recorded in Paternal inheritance of Hester, DFL 12bis-263 and Jacques, Jan, Carlo, and Hester, 12bis-157. It was also described in Memory of Marten, DFL 14.

²²². DFL 12bis.

²²³. Muldrew, *Economy of Obligation*; Vickers, "Errors Expected."

7. Conclusion

The books of the capital left by Jan de Oude at his death on 8 November 1582 and the states of 1583 and 1594 provided a basic outline of the capital held in the paternal, maternal, and sororal estates, the amount due to the siblings as heirs of the estates, and the disbursements of the inheritance. The examples of the treatment of Steven and Hester's inheritance has shown the ways in which the accounting in the books of the estate glossed over or hid the actual transactions between the estate, the executors, and the heirs. However, while the experience of the Della Faille siblings presents a particularly convoluted and disputed example, the discrepancies in the accounts of the estate and the gaps between the narrative of the accounts and actual transactions did not render the states any less meaningful. The states created from the books of the estate held great importance in putting forward an official narrative that organized the relations between the siblings. At the very least, the states set a foundation over which the heirs could debate and negotiate.²²⁴

The above discussion has sought to show not only the difficulties of accounting for an estate of the size and nature left by Jan de Oude, but also the methods the executors used to accomplish it. Especially with an estate such as that of Jan de Oude, liquidation and disbursal to the heirs would and was expected to take many years. The creation of creditor and debtor relationships between siblings at the death of the last parent created ample opportunity for problems and disputes, but it also provided the ability for siblings to work together for their mutual benefit.²²⁵ Jan de Oude's testament envisioned Marten and Jacques gaining control over

²²⁴ Bourdieu, *Outline of a Theory of Practice*; Ruppel, "Subordinates, Patrons, and Most Beloved."

²²⁵ Muldrew, *Economy of Obligation*; Tadmor, *Family and Friends in Eighteenth-Century England*; Natalie Zemon Davis, *The Gift in Sixteenth-Century France* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2000); Vickers, "Errors Expected."

large portions of the capital he left, holding the inheritance of their siblings in order to carry on Jan de Oude's legacy and smartly invest his patrimony in trade. In places and at times this did occur, but his vision also broke down as Marten and Jacques split from each other and Jan and Carlo disputed the dictates of the testament. The difficulties meant that twelve years after Jan de Oude's death large portions of the estate remained unliquidated and were liable to and were disputed by the remaining heirs. At the close of the state of 1594, forty-two accounts remained open with remaining assets of £9,756.15.6 21/24 and liabilities of £9,765.11.7 5/24. This represented a reduction of the total assets held by the estate of £69,464.10.0 from 26 December 1583 to 31 December 1594.²²⁶

All of the heirs except Hester and Anna remained creditors or debtors to the estate at the end of 1594 to one extent or another. The agreements of Steven and Hester with Marten and Anna's general acceptance of Marten's administration of the estate left Marten, Jacques, Jan, Carlo, and the heirs of Maria as the remaining players in the estate. Until this subgroup of the siblings could come to an accord, the accounts of the estate remained open to dispute.²²⁷ The open accounts of the heirs ranged from rather insignificant amounts to the quite substantial. For instance, Jan was only held to be a creditor for a further £6.5.7 5/8.²²⁸ The more significant sums that remained open point to both the difficulties ahead and the issues that the heirs had encountered in reckoning the transactions of the estate. For instance, the executors had yet to deal with the principal of £679.5.4 1/2 from the estate of Cornelia van der Capellen's mother Anna de Hane that had been invested in Jan de Oude's trade at 8%. The account continued to

²²⁶ DFL 12 and DFL 12bis.

²²⁷ As noted above, the heirs of Maria signed and agreed to the contents of the state of 1583 in 1600. DFL 12.

²²⁸ Paternal inheritance of Jan, DFL 12bis-256.

accrue a yearly credit of £54.6.10. At the end of 1594, the heirs of Anna de Hane, who should have been the same as the heirs of Jan de Oude, were creditors of £2,073.1.0 1/4.²²⁹ Marten did receive £2,137.7.5 1/4 from the branch in Venice to deal with this credit, but not only did the state not cancel out the two accounts, this still left Marten with the task of disbursing the capital among his siblings.²³⁰

Two final examples of open accounts and unpaid inheritance show the work that still lay ahead for the siblings to be able to come together and agree to a final liquidation of the estate. The problems with the capital in London have been described above, and the remaining capital in the account of Jacques, Jan, Carlo, and Hester's part in the capital in London was a manifestation of these difficulties. That £2,115.8.2 remained in the account headed by Jacques, and that Jacques remained creditor to the estate £2,774.8.2 5/8, showed Marten's, and therefore the state's, inability to adequately follow and detail the transactions that had occurred between Jacques and his siblings in Holland.²³¹

In the second place, according to the state of 1594, the executors had made almost no progress in disbursing the inheritance due to the children of Maria and deciding whether they should only receive two-thirds of Maria's paternal inheritance or the full share. With the full paternal inheritance of Maria, her heirs held a credit of £2,903.16.3, while the account of their

²²⁹ Heirs of Anna de Hane, DFL 12bis-229. In his testament, Jan de Oude had made reception of many of his bequests to kin dependent upon their renunciation of any further payment for the inheritance of Anna de Hane. Testament Jan de Oude, FM 22.

²³⁰ Marten's account of the inheritance of Anna de Hane, DFL 12bis-171. In their grievances against Marten in 1615, Jan and Jacques complained that Marten had remained in possession of the estate of Anna de Hane since their father's death but had done nothing to disburse it. This, therefore, provides a clear instance of the ability for one of the executors to maintain possession of capital from the estate that they could use for their own personal benefit. Answer of Marten to the accusations of Jan and Jacques concerning the estate in London, 1583, DFL 8.

²³¹ Jacques, Jan, Carlo, and Hester, DFL 12bis-157; Paternal inheritance of Jacques, DFL 12bis-260.

capital in London was valued at £2,989.3.5.²³² The situation of the heirs of Maria could stand in for the larger position of the estate at the end of 1594. The amount due to Maria’s children as creditors almost did but did not quite align with the sum that they were held as debtors in another place in the state. In order to overcome the discrepancy in the accounts not only would the siblings have to agree to an actual transfer of the capital to the possession of Maria’s children, the parties involved would have to come to an accord that whatever amount that was decided to be transferred should be treated as full payment of their inheritance and therefore annul any further obligation of the estate and the executors to Maria’s heirs.

Table: 5.9: Open Accounts of the Heirs, 31 December 1594

Heir	Credit relationship	Remaining on the books
Jan	Creditor	£6.5.7 5/8
Marten	Debtor	£35.0.1 13/14
Carlo	Creditor	£354.10.7 5/8
Jacques	Creditor	£2,774.8.2 5/8
Steven	Debtor	£349.6.5 17/24
Maria	Creditor	£2,903.16.3

Just as the books of Jan de Oude’s capital created a foundation for the relations between the heirs, the analysis of the accounts of the state in this chapter provides a foundation for the two following chapters, which analyze the disputes between the Della Faille siblings. Even in the absence of Jan de Oude, the quarrels between the siblings revolved around discourses of paternal authority.²³³ With the physical absence of their father, the Della Faille siblings understood the capital left by their father as a personification of his paternal authority. The quarrels between the

²³² Heirs of Maria, DFL 12bis-262; Heirs of Maria, DFL 12bis-267; Thomas Coteels and Wouter Aertsen account of the heirs of Maria, DFL 12bis-168.

²³³ MedickSabeau, “Interest and Emotion in Family and Kinship Studies”; BroomhallGent, “In the Name of the Father”; SabeauTeuscher, “Rethinking European Kinship”; Bastress-Dukehart, “Family, Property, and Feeling”; Bastress-Dukehart, *Zimmern Chronicle*.

siblings challenged the hierarchy Jan de Oude created in the sibling group through his actions with their maternal inheritance and his testament, but they did so in different ways. The following chapter analyzes the lawsuits, brought mainly by Carlo and Jan, to create the states and inventory that provide the main source for the contents of this chapter. In doing so, Carlo and Jan protested against the testament and the authority their father had placed in the hands of Marten and Jacques. Their attacks on Marten and Jacques acted as a literal and symbolic continuation of the disputes they had both had over their father's treatment of their maternal inheritance. A second set of lawsuits and disputes is discussed in Chapter 7. The chapter concentrates on the disagreements between Marten and Jacques fought primarily over the capital in London. The two main executors of the testament tried long and hard to reach an agreement and consensus over their father's capital. However, Marten and Jacques ultimately failed to be able to trust the actions of the other, which led the pair to bicker over who had been a better son and therefore deserved to be the successor of their father.

Chapter 6

Divided Siblings: Lawsuits over the Creation of a State and Inventory

1. Introduction

Jan de Oude's death fundamentally altered the relationships among his children. The marriages of his children and the devolution of the maternal inheritance had acted as forces of fission, disrupting the unity of the nuclear family. Jan de Oude's death further weakened the bonds that held the siblings together. While Jan de Oude had done a great deal of work to structure the family relations and prepare for the transition of power and capital that would occur at his death, once he was buried next to his wife in the Onze Lieve Vrouw Kerk, no more outside forces existed to maintain the bonds of the siblings.¹ Chapters 2 and 4 have discussed the strategies Jan de Oude used to create a hierarchy among his children. Jan de Oude sought to pass on his paternal authority to the executors of his testament, bifurcating his children into two separate groups. In undermining the equality of partible inheritance, Jan de Oude hoped to pass along enough authority to the executors to enable his children to maintain unity even after his death. The almost continual disputes between the siblings over the next thirty-five years show that Jan de Oude's strategies failed to create amicable relations among his children.²

¹Erica Bastress-Dukehart, "Sibling Conflict within Early Modern German Noble Families," *Journal of Family History* 33, no. 1 (2008): 61–80; Pierre Bourdieu, *Outline of a Theory of Practice* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977), 57–67; David Warren Sabean and Simon Teuscher, "Kinship in Europe: A New Approach to Long Term Development," in *Kinship in Europe: Approaches to Long-Term Development*, ed. David Warren Sabean, et al. (New York: Berghahn Books, 2007).

²Linda A Pollock, "Rethinking Patriarchy and the Family in Seventeenth-Century England," *Journal of Family History* 23, no. 1 (1998): 3–27; Christopher H. Johnson and David Warren Sabean, "From Siblingship to Siblinghood: Kinship and the Shaping of European Society (1300–1900)," in *Sibling Relations and the Transformations of European Kinship, 1300–1900*, ed. Christopher H. Johnson and David Warren Sabean (New York: Berghahn Books, 2011); David Warren Sabean, *Kinship in Neckarhausen, 1700–1870* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 103–104.

From the beginning, Jan and Carlo expressed dissatisfaction with their father's testament, and they led the way in seeking to undermine the restrictions Jan de Oude had placed in the document. Specifically, they wanted to get closer access to the accounts of their father's capital. Both believed that they had not received their full maternal inheritance and worried that they were also being treated unfairly by Marten and Jacques. For almost fifteen years, Carlo and Jan used the juridical institutions available to them to demand the creation of a state and inventory, which would provide them with access to the accounts of the estate that the testament and the actions of Marten and Jacques denied them. Having already challenged their father's authority over the maternal inheritance during his life, after his death, Jan and Carlo continued to challenge the paternal authority in its much weaker manifestation of his testament and the power Marten and Jacques held as executors.³

The increasing power of both local and state wide institutions and bureaucracies noted the importance of familial authority to the structures of state authority, but the early modern state also began to insert itself within family relations. Jan and Carlo took advantage of the the developing institutions and the tensions within society concerning family and state authority. The arguments made by the two sides in the disputes over the state and inventory pitted paternal authority against the social logic of the tradition of partible inheritance. Specifically, it set the

³ The power of patriarchal authority were constructed within every-day relations. Pierre Bourdieu has referred to authority within the family in the form of habitus and doxa. Bourdieu, *Outline of a Theory of Practice*, 78–82, 164–166; Pierre Bourdieu, *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1984); Pierre Bourdieu, “On the Family as a Realized Category,” *Theory Culture and Society* 13, no. 3 (1996): 19–26. For an example of how patriarchal power could be infused into sibling relations, see Susan Broomhall and Jacqueline van Gent, “In the Name of the Father: Conceptualizing ‘Pater Familias’ in the Letters of William the Silent’s Children,” *Renaissance Quarterly* 62, no. 4 (2009): 1130–1166. For extreme cases of the difficulties that could occur between siblings who did not accept power structures of the sibling group, see Karl-Heinz Spieß, “Maintenance Regulations and Sibling Relations in the High Nobility of Late Medieval Germany,” in *Sibling Relations and the Transformations of European Kinship, 1300–1900*, ed. Christopher H. Johnson and David Warren Sabean (New York: Berghahn Books, 2011); Julie Hardwick, *Family Business: Litigation and the Political Economies of Daily Life in Early Modern France* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 148–153.

paternal authority as manifested in the testament against the laws of Antwerp.⁴ More generally, the lawsuits show the fissures that could exist between the importance to the family of protecting the patrimony down through lineal kin and the state's interest in protecting the rights of heirs and the fair treatment of all children.⁵ The lawsuits discussed in this chapter may have concerned the creation of a state and inventory, but the continuance of the disputes after Carlo succeeded in forcing Marten to agree to the creation of an inventory and two separate states show that access to the accounts of the state merely stood in for a more fundamental division between the siblings. More than the production of documents, Jan and Carlo ultimately sought to undermine the hierarchy their father had created within the sibling group. The juridical institutions provided Jan and Carlo with an ability to challenge the authority of their brothers, but they could never reverse the family structure created by Jan de Oude.⁶

⁴ Lloyd Bonfield, "Seeking Connections Between Kinship and the Law in Early Modern England," *Continuity and Change* 25, no. 1 (2010): 49–82; John Bossy, ed. *Disputes and Settlements: Law and Human Relations in the West* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983); Suzanne Desan and Jeffrey Merrick, eds. *Family, Gender, and Law in Early Modern France* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2009); Philippe Godding, *Le droit privé dans les Pays-Bas méridionaux, du 12e au 18e siècle* (Brussels: Académie royale de Belgique, 1987); Sarah Hanley, "Engendering the State: Family Formation and State Building in Early Modern France," *French Historical Studies* 16, no. 1 (1989): 4–27; Sarah Hanley, "The Family, the State, and the Law in Seventeenth- and Eighteenth-Century France: The Political Ideology of Male Right versus an Early Theory of Natural Rights," *The Journal of Modern History* 78, no. 2 (2006): 289–332.

⁵ Julia Adams, "Trading States, Trading Places: The Role of Patrimonialism in Early Modern Dutch Development," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 36, no. 2 (1994): 319–355; Hardwick, *Family Business*; Martha C. Howell, *The Marriage Exchange: Property, Social Place, and Gender in Cities of the Low Countries, 1300-1550* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998).

⁶ The new institutional economics has put forward the argument for the importance of state sponsored institutions in optimizing market conditions through the creation of institutionally backed trust. In particular, see Douglass C. North, *Institutions, Institutional Change, and Economic Performance* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990); Avner Greif, *Institutions and the Path to the Modern Economy: Lessons From Medieval Trade* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006). However, institutions could only function in concert with private-order solutions. See, Jessica L. Goldberg, "Choosing and Enforcing Business Relationships in the Eleventh-Century Mediterranean: Reassessing the 'Maghribi Traders'," *Past & Present* 216 (2012): 3–40; Francesca Trivellato, *The Familiarity of Strangers: The Sephardic Diaspora, Livorno, and Cross-Cultural Trade in the Early Modern Period* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2009); Sheilagh Ogilvie, *Institutions and European Trade: Merchant Guilds, 1000-1800* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011).

Over the course of the more than thirty years that the disputes took place, the heirs used all available conflict resolution institutions to attempt to come to an agreement over the capital left by their father. Some level of conflict was to be expected following the drastic change in sibling relationships caused by the death of the last surviving parent.⁷ However, it was hoped that the siblings could solve their disputes among themselves. Taking their issues outside the bounds of the family acknowledged the division among the sibling group and exhibited weakness to rival families, but there existed different levels of outside involvement. As the preferable arena for dispute resolution among merchants, arbitration was usually seen as the least harmful. It provided an intermediary step between completely private-order solutions and the involvement of state institutions.⁸ The use of notaries supplied another possible intermediary. Making agreements and filing lawsuits before notaries lent a more explicit and official air to the declarations the siblings might make in correspondence or in their face-to-face interactions.⁹

⁷ Bastress-Dukehart, "Sibling Conflict"; Broomhall and Gent, "In the Name of the Father"; Leonore Davidoff, *Thicker than Water: Siblings and their Relations, 1780–1920* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012); Courtney Thomas, "'The Honour & Credite of the Whole House': Family Unity and Honour in Early Modern England," *Cultural and Social History* 10, no. 3 (2013): 329–345; David Warren Sabean and Simon Teuscher, "Rethinking European Kinship: Transregional and Transnational Families," in *Transregional and Transnational Families in Europe and Beyond: Experiences Since the Middle Ages*, ed. Christopher H. Johnson, et al. (New York: Berghahn Books, 2011); David Warren Sabean, *Property, Production, and Family in Neckarhausen, 1700–1870* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 247–257.

⁸ Thomas Kuehn, *Law, Family, and Women: Toward a Legal Anthropology of Renaissance Italy* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994), 19–74; Joseph Biancalana, "The Legal Framework of Arbitration in Fifteenth-Century England," *The American Journal of Legal History* 47, no. 4 (2005): 347–382; Mark Godfrey, "Arbitration and Dispute Resolution in Sixteenth Century Scotland," *Tijdschrift voor Rechtsgeschiedenis* 70 (2002): 109–135; Craig Muldrew, "The Culture of Reconciliation: Community and the Settlement of Economic Disputes in Early Modern England," *The Historical Journal* 39, no. 4 (1996): 915–942; Edward Powell, "Settlement of Disputes by Arbitration in Fifteenth-Century England," *Law and History Review* 2, no. 1 (1984): 21–43; Oscar Gelderblom, *Cities of Commerce: The Institutional Foundations of International Trade in the Low Countries, 1250–1650* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2013), 105–108.

⁹ Gelderblom, *Cities of Commerce*, 89–94; Kathy Burns, "Notaries, Truth, and Consequences," *American Historical Review* 110, no. 2 (2005): 350–379; Hendrik Callewier, "Bruges, vijftiende-eeuws centrum van het notariaat in de Nederlanden," *Tijdschrift voor Rechtsgeschiedenis* 77, no. 1 (2009): 73–102; James M. Murray, "The Profession of Notary Public in Medieval Flanders," *Tijdschrift voor Rechtsgeschiedenis* 61, no. 1 (1993): 3–32; Julie Hardwick, *The Practice of Patriarchy: Gender and the Politics of Household Authority in Early Modern France* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1998), 17–49.

Finally, Jan and Carlo also took their claims before the local magistrates and provincial courts where their arguments about the laws of Antwerp were most likely to hold priority over the social import of paternal authority. By seeking resolution through the court system, Jan and Carlo attempted to overturn paternal power with the introduction of a power source completely external to the authority held by their father.¹⁰

Complicating matters, the various types of disputes made by the siblings took place in a variety of jurisdictions. Three years after Jan de Oude's death, his children were divided not only in their acceptance of the structure of the sibling group created by their father, but also by the events of the Dutch Revolt. The new political and religious divisions within society exacerbated the complications faced by the Della Faille siblings in dealing with their inheritance and working together as a united sibling group. Divided in their political and religious allegiances, the siblings possessed new subjects for debate and strategies to attempt to structure their relations, adding novel and unfamiliar obstacles to the creation of sibling unity to those already present in the devolution of property.¹¹

Differences in political and religious allegiance also led to the geographic division of the siblings after the fall of Antwerp. Religious differences between the siblings affected but did not determine the alliances they made. In fact, religious identity could be as fluid as the alliances between siblings. However, the division between a Catholic Antwerp under Spanish authority

¹⁰ Hardwick, *Family Business*. On conflict resolution in the Low Countries, see Gelderblom, *Cities of Commerce*, 102–140; Godding, *Le droit privé*; Jessica Dijkman, “Debt Litigation in Medieval Holland, 1200–1350,” in *Law and Long-Term Economic Change: A Eurasian Perspective*, ed. Debin Ma and Jan Luiten van Zanden (Stanford: Stanford Economics and Finance, 2011).

¹¹ Susan Broomhall and Jacqueline van Gent, “Converted Relationships: Re-negotiating Family Status after Religious Conversion in the Nassau Dynasty,” *Journal of Social History* 47, no. 3 (2014): 647–672; Benjamin J. Kaplan, *Divided by Faith: Religious Conflict and the Practice of Toleration in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2007); Judith Pollmann, *Catholic Identity and the Revolt of the Netherlands, 1520–1635* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011).

and a Calvinist and independent state in the northern provinces hardened the differences and made any agreement between the siblings that much more difficult. Already by 1577, Carlo had left Antwerp to live in Dordrecht and begun to raise his children with Cecile Grammaye as Calvinist.¹² Jacques and Hester traveled to Haarlem in May 1584, followed a few months later by Jan, who settled in Leiden. In contrast to their siblings, Marten and Anna remained in Antwerp, and Marten and Robert van Eeckeren both served as almoners immediately following the fall of Antwerp. Steven spent time on both sides of the military front. Though primarily allying himself with Marten, Steven was a practicing Calvinist.¹³ Louis Malapert moved to Aachen soon after the fall of Antwerp and fought to have his children from his marriage with Maria be raised Calvinist. Living across political and military borders and within various legal jurisdictions disturbed communication and complicated the use of legal system to mediate disputes. At the same time, Marten and Jacques took advantage of the division, carving out their own separate spheres of power, while blaming the other for delays in disbursing the inheritance.

2. Judgment of Antwerp Magistrates, 27 October 1584

Carlo had not been present for the agreement between the heirs on 26 December 1583, but Jan had communicated with him, assuring the rest of his siblings of Carlo's acceptance of the agreement.¹⁴ However, in February of 1584, Carlo traveled to Antwerp, presenting himself before the magistrates of the city on 13 March to argue that the executors of Jan de Oude's

¹² In 1577, a child of Carlo and Cecile Grammaye was born in Dordrecht and baptized in the Reformed manner. Memory book of Carlo, Della Faille de Leverghem Archive, inventory 16, Private collection, Lozer, Belgium (hereafter DFL).

¹³ Declarations of the consistory of the Dutch church in London concerning Steven and Jeanne Schuttens, 5 December 1581 and 25 January 1582, DFL 4.

¹⁴ Memory of Marten, DFL 14.

testament must provide him with a state and inventory of the estate.¹⁵ Carlo explained to the magistrates that he had asked his brothers for a state and inventory of the estate after arriving in Antwerp, but they had refused him. What exactly had changed between the end of the year and February to lead Carlo to make the arduous trip to Antwerp and ask his brothers to produce a document forbidden by Jan de Oude's testament is unclear. More than likely, Carlo's action had less to do with a change of mind than with a new or reinvigorated resolve to reverse what he saw as the wrongs his father had committed against him. Carlo's lawsuit against his brothers was the first in a long series of disputes that pushed the executors to disregard the dictates of their father's testament and provide their siblings with access to the accounts of the estate. In making his arguments against the executors, Carlo set the basic outline for the dispute over the creation of the state and inventory, pitting the laws of Antwerp against the paternal authority of the testament.¹⁶

Less than a week after Carlo appeared before the magistrates of Antwerp, the two sides came together before Engelbert Masius, the pensionary of Antwerp, who acted as an arbitrator. Masius declared that a state and inventory should be handed over to Carlo within two weeks time. When the executors's attorney Otto Hartius delivered the document to Carlo, instead of a full state of Jan de Oude's capital, Carlo found himself in possession of a simple balance of the

¹⁵ The best description of Carlo's actions in 1584 and his dispute with the executors is found in Memory of Carlo against the executors of the testament, 6 November 1584, DFL 8.

¹⁶ On the tensions that occurred between siblings, especially at the time of the transition of property, see Bourdieu, *Outline of a Theory of Practice*, 63–65; Sophie Ruppel, "Subordinates, Patrons, and Most Beloved: Sibling Relationships in Seventeenth-Century German Court Society," in *Sibling Relations and the Transformations of European Kinship, 1300–1900*, ed. Christopher H. Johnson and David Warren Sabean (New York: Berghahn Books, 2011), 104; Benjamin Marschke, "The Crown Prince's Brothers and Sisters: Succession and Inheritance Problems and Solutions Among the Hohenzollerns, from the Great Elector to Frederick the Great," in *Sibling Relations and the Transformations of European Kinship, 1300–1900*, ed. Christopher H. Johnson and David Warren Sabean (New York: Berghahn Books, 2011); Broomhall and Gent, "In the Name of the Father." On the use of law in family disputes, see Kuehn, *Law, Family, and Women*, 26–27; Hardwick, *Family Business*, 74, 88–127.

estate.¹⁷ Carlo refused to accept the balance in place of a proper state and inventory. He, therefore, renewed his arguments before the magistrates of Antwerp. During the presentation of the arguments from the two sides in April, Jan came forward and declared himself willing to provide Carlo access to the state and inventory, thereby breaking with Marten and Jacques, who remained unwilling to give Carlo access to the accounts of the estate.¹⁸

Carlo's arguments against the executors focused on the laws of Antwerp. He contended that the executors "were beholden by the laws and customs of this city to make and present to the interested parties, in the presence of a notary or other public person, an authentic state and inventory."¹⁹ Specifically, Carlo cited the sixteenth article of the section "On Testaments" in the 1582 revision of Antwerp's laws. This article declared that "The executors and testamentary guardians are obliged to make a proper state and inventory of all of the goods left behind by the deceased within a period of six weeks."²⁰ At this point, it mattered little that the six-week period had long passed. The obligation for the executors to provide all heirs with the state and inventory upon request remained in effect. Carlo declared that the laws of Antwerp trumped any declaration that Jan de Oude made in his testament. Therefore, Carlo contended, the clauses in

¹⁷ Jan de Oude's testament had provided Otto Hartius with a bequest on condition that he provided assistance to the executors. His actions in the dispute with Carlo shows that he fulfilled this obligation. Testament of Jan de Oude, Familie De Malapert, inventory 22, Het Utrechts Archief, Utrecht, The Netherlands (hereafter FM). It is transcribed in Gisela Jongbloet-van Houtte, ed. *Brieven en andere bescheiden betreffende Daniel van der Meulen, 1584-1600*, Rijks Geschiedkundige Publicatiën: Grote serie (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1986), cxliv–clix.

¹⁸ Memory of Carlo against the executors, Antwerp, 6 November 1584, DFL 8.

¹⁹ Memory of Carlo against the executors, Antwerp, 6 November 1584, DFL 8: "gelyck men naer recht ende deeser stadt costuyme eenen inventaris ende staet by notaris ofte andere publycque persoonen in presentie van partye geinteresseerde schuldich waere te maeckene ende in auctentycken forme over te gevene."

²⁰ *Impressae* 1582, Title XLVI nr 16: "Item d'executeurs ende testamentelijcke mombooren sijn ghehouden binnen den tijdt van sesse weken naer d'afljvicheyt vanden Testateur te maecken eenen behoerlijcken Inventaris ende staet van alle de goeden byden afljvighen achterghelaten: niet teghenstaende dat ter contrarien yet ghedisponeert ware." G. de Longé, ed. *Recueil des anciennes coutumes de Belgique. Coutumes du pays et duché de Brabant. Quartier d'Anvers*, vol. 4 (Brussels: F. Gobbaerts, 1870).

the codicil which forbid non-executors from gaining access to the accounts of the estate “were null and void by the laws and customs of this city.”²¹

In making such claims before the magistrates, Carlo pointed to the logic behind the laws as much as to the language of the laws themselves. The laws of Antwerp concerning inheritance and the obligations of executors were designed to protect heirs who came under the power of the executors of an estate. Carlo noted, and the laws agreed, if no one besides the executors could examine the accounts of the estate, there existed no defense against fraud and no guarantee that the heirs would receive their full inheritance. Carlo, and at this point joined by Jan, pressed the argument of the primacy of the laws of Antwerp not only against the actions of the executors but also against Jan de Oude’s administration of their maternal inheritance. Carlo and Jacques wanted to investigate the accounts of the maternal inheritance, because they believed that Jan de Oude had fraudulently moved around losses he had incurred in order to diminish the maternal inheritance he provided to Jan and Carlo. Unhappy with the way that their father had treated their maternal inheritance, they argued that the maternal inheritance should have taken equal part in the profits and losses of Jan de Oude’s trade rather than merely receiving interest.²²

In their defense against the arguments made by Carlo over the spring of 1584, Marten and Jacques contended that they had acted in accordance with their role as executors of their father’s testament. As executors of the testament, Marten and Jacques possessed an obligation to act in the best interest of the family and protect their father’s patrimony. In the first place, this called for the executors to abide by the will of their father, as all good children should. Placed in this

²¹ Memory of Carlo against the executors, Antwerp, 6 November 1584, DFL 8: “dat t’voors verbodt naer rechte ende deser stadt costumen in hem selven nul waere ende van onwaerden.”

²² Memory of Carlo against the executors, Antwerp, 6 November 1584, DFL 8. Jan and Carlo stated, not for the first or last time, that the maternal inheritance had essentially led to Jan de Oude creating a company with his children: “per compaignie tot gelycke schade ende bate gehandelt gehadt alst uuyt syne boecken ende reckeningen blycken soude.”

light, they saw Carlo's arguments as "groundless," because they were "directly contrary to the last will and testament of [their] deceased father."²³ In fact, when they presented Carlo with the balance, they threatened that any further demand by Carlo to see the state and inventory would result in his paternal inheritance being reduced to the *legitime*, the minimum allowable by the laws of Antwerp. As Marten later put it, "each heir must be satisfied with whatever reckoning the executors provide on penalty of receiving no more than their *legitime* portion."²⁴ Thus, to provide Carlo with a state and inventory was to disobey their father and shirk their responsibilities as both his sons and his executors.

The arguments made by Marten and Jacques had basis in the entire testament of their father and his desire to place Marten and Jacques as the successors of his power and property. More specifically, their claims rested upon statements that Jan de Oude had made in his codicil in which he made the ultimate authority of the executors more explicit than he had in his original testament. Jan de Oude forbid the creation of a state and inventory by denying all heirs besides the executors access to the accounts of the estate.

The aforesaid codicilator also forbids all of his other children, grandchildren, and any others all inspection, viewing, and access to the codicilator's books, accounts, letters, and other documents, excepting only the codicilator's three sons Marten, Jan, and Jacques. All besides these three must

²³ Memory of Carlo against the executors, Antwerp, 6 November 1584, DFL 8. Marten and Jacques saw Carlo's arguments as "ongefundeert ende dierectelycken tegens den uuytersten wille van parthyen vader saliger." Only the executors could have access to the "boecken, rekeningen, brieven, ende andere bescheet te hebben." On the authority of the father, see Lyndal Roper, *The Holy Household: Women and Morals in Reformation Augsburg* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991); Sabean, *Property, Production, and Family*; Scott Hendrix, "Masculinity and Patriarchy in Reformation Germany," *Journal of the History of Ideas* 56, no. 2 (1995): 177–193; Bourdieu, *Outline of a Theory of Practice*.

²⁴ Memory of Carlo against the executors, Antwerp, 6 November 1584, DFL 8. The quote comes from Memory of Marten, DFL 14: "elck erfghenaem hem te vreden moeste houden met sulcke rekeninghe als de executeurs hunlieden declareren souden op pena van niet meer te hebben den hunlieden legitime portie."

be content with all accounting and declarations his three sons shall make upon penalty of receiving nothing above their legitime.²⁵

A state and inventory did exactly this. The inventory provided the ability to see all of the documents in the possession of the estate, while the state provided access to the accounts of the capital. Such access would have enabled Jan de Oude's siblings to criticize the accounts he kept and the accounts of his executors. In the place of creating consensus through the difficult and potentially endless argumentation over the accounts and the correct administration of the capital, Jan de Oude had sought to impose unity through authority. There was to be no questioning or criticism, the word of the executors was to be final.

Marten and Jacques further argued that their actions protected the interests of the house by noting the need to keep the accounts of Jan de Oude's estate from outside eyes. The accounts detailing Jan de Oude's capital constituted a family asset that could not be allowed to fall into the possession of their competitors or anyone who might take action against the estate.²⁶ They claimed "that no one can be obligated to bring to light in public or allow strangers to know and

²⁵ Codicil of Jan de Oude, FM 22: "Verbiedende oock de voorseijde codicillateur allen zijnen anderen kinderen ende kintskinderen ende oock aen alle [andere] alle inspectie, visie ende toeganck tot zijns codicillateurs boecken, rekeninghen, brieven ende andere bescheet, vuytgenomen allenelijcken de voors. zijne drij soonen Marten, Jan ende Jacques della Faille ende dat alle dandere hen sullen moeten contenteren met alsulcke rekeninghen ende verclaren als Marten, Jan, ende Jacques della Faille, zijne voorseijde drij soonen, sullen geven ende doen, ende dat oock op pene als boven van niet meer te hebbene dan heur legitima."

²⁶ Maintaining the privacy of the accounts was particularly necessary because the estate remained embroiled in a lawsuit with the descendants of Marten de Hane, who claimed that Jan de Oude had frauded them. On the conflict with the De Hane, see Wilfrid Brulez, "De diaspora der Antwerpse kooplui op het einde van de 16de eeuw," *Bijdragen voor de geschiedenis der Nederlanden* 15 (1960): 279–306; Yves Schmitz, *Les Della Faille*, vol. 1, *Des Origines au XVIIIème Siècle* (Brussels: Imprimerie F. Van Buggenhoudt, 1965). On the privacy of accounts, see Basil S. Yamey, "The Historical Significance of Double-Entry Bookkeeping: Some Non-Sombartian Claims," *Accounting, Business & Financial History* 15, no. 1 (2005): 77–88. At the same time, accounts came to have an official status in disputes, Jacob Soll, *The Reckoning: Financial Accountability and the Rise and Fall of Nations* (New York: Basic Books, 2014); Jacob Soll, "Accounting and Accountability in Dutch Civil Life," in *In Praise of Ordinary People: Early Modern England and the Dutch Republic*, ed. Margaret C. Jacob and Catherine Secretan (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013); Gelderblom, *Cities of Commerce*, 94–100.

spread across the streets the secrets and particular position of their patrimony or estate.”²⁷ The abhorrence of outsider interference in order to protect the family capital led Marten and Jacques to reject all involvement of notaries and magistrates in either the creation or possession of a state and inventory.²⁸ Despite these worries and their father’s express will, Marten and Jacques claimed to be willing to enable Carlo to examine the books of the estate to ensure that there was no fraud. Indeed, they invited him “to help make the state so that the division and disbursement could proceed and so that everyone would know the nature of the inheritance due to them.”²⁹ However, instead of taking them up on their offer, Jan and Carlo had come to Marten’s house with a notary and attempted to make a state and inventory on their own authority.³⁰ They resisted such activity in the strongest terms.

Jan and Marten proved unable to come to an agreement on their own. The magistrates came back with their judgment on 27 October.³¹ The magistrates largely decided in favor of Carlo, though they also addressed the main concerns of Marten and Jacques. The magistrates declared that the laws of Antwerp took precedence over the testament of Jan de Oude, and so the

²⁷ Memory of Carlo against the executors, Antwerp, 6 November 1584, DFL 8. “dat nyemandt en waere gehouden te laeten lichten int openbaer oft kennisse van vreemde ende over de straet te loopen de secreten ende perticuliere gelegentheyte van zyn patrimonie oft achtergelaeten goeden.”

²⁸ They did not want the state and inventory to be registered with a notary because they did not want anyone to be able to use that information against the estate in the future. Memory of Carlo against the executors, Antwerp, 6 November 1584, DFL 8: “in toecoemde tyden daer nyemandt vreemts en soude acces hebben noch occasie cryghe om eenige saecken tegens den sterffhuuse te appenderen.” This conforms to arguments made in the period that worried about taking family affairs into the court and bringing them out into the public. Kuehn, *Law, Family, and Women*, 71–72.

²⁹ Memory of Carlo against the executors, Antwerp, 6 November 1584, DFL 8: “dat hy soude comen totter boecken ende van als inspectie hebben ende den staet helpen maecken omme te moegen tot scheidningen ende deylinge procederen, ende datmen soude weten wat een ygelycken voor sy contingent kyndtsgedeelt waere toecomende.”

³⁰ Marten and Jacques expressed concern at the intensions of Jan at this time. They appear to have limited his access to the accounts of the estate, because they feared that he would share the secrets of the accounts with outsiders.

³¹ The details of the judgment of the magistrates on 27 October 1584 can be found in multiple places in the Daniel van der Meulen and Della Faille archive, because it formed the basis for many of the later disputes. See Memory of Carlo against the executors, Antwerp, 6 November 1584, DFL 8; Memory of Carlo against Jacques, 1586, DFL 8.

executors must make a proper state and inventory of the capital of Jan de Oude as it was at the time of his death. In doing so, they rejected Marten and Jacques's attempt to provide a balance in place of an inventory. A copy of the state and inventory should be delivered to each heir so that they might have a full understanding of their inheritance. This was to be done at the cost of the estate. Accommodating the concerns of Marten and Jacques, upon reception of the state and inventory, the heirs were to give an oath that they would keep its contents secret, and the notary or notaries who made the state and inventory were not to register it in their protocol.³²

Carlo's victory turned out to be short lived. A judgment did not necessarily correspond with compliance. Marten and Jacques's reluctance to provide a state and inventory to the heirs and the political and military events around Antwerp conspired against compliance. By the time that the magistrates made the judgment, Jan and Jacques had left Antwerp for Holland. Carlo must have also returned to his residence in Dordrecht soon after the judgment.³³ The absence of two of the three executors delayed a complete evaluation of the capital of Jan de Oude, whether the accounts would be given to the non-executors or not. The siege of Antwerp and the general devastation caused by Farnese's advance brought trade to a near standstill, making any liquidation of the goods in Antwerp impossible.³⁴ Farnese's conquest of Antwerp in 1585 also brought in a new set of magistrates from the one that had made the judgment. These occurrences

³² On the interaction of law and family authority in the Low Countries, Howell, *Marriage Exchange*; Marianne Danneel, *Weduwen en wezen in het laat-middeleeuwse Gent* (Louvain: Garant, 1995); David Nicholas, *The Domestic Life of a Medieval City: Women, Children, and the Family in Fourteenth-Century Ghent* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1985).

³³ The Memory of Carlo against the executors was created at the house of Marten in Antwerp on 6 November 1584, DFL 8.

³⁴ Memory of Marten, DFL 14. On the trade conditions in Antwerp at the end of 1584, see Gisela Jongbloet-van Houtte, "De belegering en de val van Antwerpen belicht vanuit een koopmans archief: Daniel van der Meulen, gedeputeerde van de Staten van Brabant ter Staten Generaal (1584-1585)," *Bijdragen en Mededelingen betreffende de geschiedenis der Nederlanden* 91 (1976): 23–43; Violet Soen, "Reconquista and Reconciliation in the Dutch Revolt: The Campaign of Governor-General Alexander Farnese (1578-1592)," *Journal of Early Modern History* 16, no. 1 (2012): 1–22.

left Marten in control of the accounts with little incentive to follow a declaration of a recently displaced magistracy. Carlo's actions in Antwerp may not have resulted in the creation of a state and inventory, but his legal success gave him and Jan a valuable tool in future disputes. In the future, the siblings who desired to get access to the accounts of Jan de Oude's estate based their arguments on the judgment of 27 October 1584, demanding that the executors be forced to comply with the declaration of the magistrates.

3. Jan against Marten in Antwerp, 1586

Farnese's conquest of Antwerp and the retreat of Jan and Jacques to Leiden and Haarlem respectively placed the executors in separate and warring political states. Equally troubling, the goods and accounts that made up the estate were spread among the warring states. Whereas Marten and Jacques had done much to divide control of the estate between themselves, a large portion of Jan de Oude's estate remained in the possession of the branch of London.³⁵ The tripartite division of the estate created issues over the strategy that the executors should follow in accounting for and dividing the estate. Unsurprisingly, the three executors each adopted their own conflicting strategy. Jacques wanted to concentrate on the capital in London, believing that Marten's claims over the estate were weakest in a state that had recently entered the war on the side of the United Provinces. In contrast, Jan, who had the least amount of power among the executors, preferred to concentrate his actions on the books in the possession of Marten in

³⁵ See Chapter 5 on the capital in London and Chapter 7 for the disputes between Marten and Jacques over the capital there.

Antwerp. Jan had joined with Carlo in calling for the creation of a state and inventory in 1584, and he now hoped to force Marten to abide by the judgment of the magistrates.³⁶

With the fall of Antwerp, the political and military situation in northwestern Europe became inextricably intertwined with questions about the administration of the widespread capital left by Jan de Oude. Merchants always feared the possibility of confiscation of goods by authorities, but fear of confiscation now became a central concern. The worries over the political consequences of the actions of the heirs and executors can be seen in Daniel and Jacques's attempt to prevent Jan from traveling to a city loyal to Philip II. Before Daniel and Hester left Holland for Bremen, Daniel made a lawsuit against Jan to get him to travel to London with Jacques to deal with the capital there. Daniel argued that "the majority of the money and goods of the estate is deposited" in London.³⁷ It, therefore, made sense for the executors to ensure that the capital was properly administered and was protected from any damages or losses. Daniel also argued that Jan's return to Antwerp could put the estate in London at risk of confiscation, since two of the three executors would be in enemy territory.³⁸ Jan ignored the pleas of Jacques and the lawsuit made by his brother-in-law and left for Antwerp in late September 1585.

Daniel's statements about the danger of travel to Antwerp in the current situation proved prescient. Jan had received a passport guaranteeing free passage across the military front, but on

³⁶ The divergent strategies of Jacques and Jan were detailed in Jacques's letters to Daniel, Daniël van der Meulen en Hester de la Faille, zijn vrouw, 1550-1648, inventory 538a, Erfgoed Leiden en Omstreken, Leiden, The Netherlands (hereafter DvdM).

³⁷ Lawsuit of Daniel against Jan, Haarlem, 21 September 1585, DvdM 61-8. Transcribed in Jongbloet-van Houtte, *Daniel van der Meulen*, nr lxi.: "alwaer den meestendeel vanden penningen ende goeden vanden selven sterffhuysse zijn berustende."

³⁸ DvdM 61-8. P. M. Boortman, "De handel op Spanje op het einde van de 16e eeuw: In het bijzonder in de jaren 1588-1592," in *De handel van Daniel van der Meulen c.s., in het bijzonder rond de jaren 1588-1592: Werkcollege economische geschiedenis*, ed. J. H. Kernkamp (Leiden: Universiteit Leiden, 1969); Wilfrid Brulez, *De Firma Della Faille en de internationale handel van Vlaamse firma's in de 16e eeuw* (Brussels: Paleis der Academiën, 1959); Gisela Jongbloet-van Houtte, "Inleiding," in *Brieven en andere bescheiden betreffende Daniel van der Meulen, 1584-1600*, ed. Gisela Jongbloet-van Houtte (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1986).

his way he was arrested by the Philip of Hohenlohe-Neuenstein, the Count of Hohenlohe and lieutenant-general of the forces of the States General. Despite Jan's passport, Hohenlohe believed that Jan might be changing the allegiance rather than simply traveling to Antwerp to get access to the accounts of the estate. Jan remained in captivity for five months until through "great labor, trouble and diligence by himself and some of his good friends," he gained his freedom by a decree from Leicester.³⁹ Jan's imprisonment demonstrated the physical gulf that now existed between the siblings, as the Army of Flanders attempted but ultimately failed to break the resistance of the rebels. However, it did not deter Jan from his desire to return to Antwerp and get his hands on the accounts of his father's estate that had been left under Marten's control.

In April 1586, Jan made preparations to again travel to Antwerp. In order to increase the odds of creating the state and inventory, he sought to have Jacques travel with him, so that all three executors could work on the creation of a state and inventory.⁴⁰ Jacques's response to his brother's request highlights the mistrust that had developed between the three brothers.⁴¹ Jacques argued that instead of working with Marten, the heirs now present in Holland should work together to divide the capital of the estate in Holland and London. Jacques was particularly bullish on working to obtain control of the assets in London. But Jacques mistrusted Jan as much as he did Marten. Taking advantage of the political division of the Low Countries and of the recently published placards against any and all communication with the enemy, Jacques asked

³⁹ Lawsuit of Jan against Marten, Antwerp, 30 May 1586, DFL 14: "groote debvoir, moeyte, ende diligentie by hem ende eenige syne goede vrienden." Naomi Tadmor, *Family and Friends in Eighteenth-Century England: Household, Kinship, and Patronage* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001).

⁴⁰ Jan made a lawsuit before Salomon Lenaerts vander Wuert. Lawsuit of Jan against Jacques, Leiden, 16 April 1586, DFL 13.

⁴¹ Jacques responded to Jan's lawsuit five days later. Answer of Jacques to Jan, Haarlem, 21 April 1586, DFL 13.

the authorities to revoke Jan's passport, claiming that he was likely to switch allegiance and remain in Antwerp where his position in the mint remained unoccupied.⁴² Instead of going to Antwerp, Jacques attempted to convince Jan to travel to London where he believed there was more likelihood that they could move forward on dividing the inheritance.⁴³

With neither side able to convince the other, Jan travelled to Antwerp alone, presenting himself before the notary Jan Dries on 30 May 1586 to make a lawsuit against Marten's refusal to make a state and inventory. Interestingly, in both his lawsuit against Jacques and that against Marten, Jan laid claim to the same discourse of family unity that Marten and Jacques had used against Carlo in 1584. Jan presented himself as a responsible executor who acted in the best interests of the family. Jan argued that the creation of the state and inventory, which would make possible the division of the capital, was the only way to "prevent all of the damages, dangers, and inconveniences that would otherwise occur if the estate continues to remain unliquidated, undivided, and undisbursed."⁴⁴ If the capital remained undivided they could "fall into longstanding lawsuits...to the ruin of their family."⁴⁵ With these arguments in hand and with the support of the judgment of the magistrates in 1584, Jan asked that the disputes between the

⁴² Jacques argued that he "maer heeft vele redenen om te beduchten dat t'selve niet en sal gheschieden overmist hem syn officie van het contra waerdeynschap vander munte binnen Antwerpen noch open ghehouden wordt." Answer of Jacques to Jan, Haarlem, 21 April 1586, DFL 13.

⁴³ Answer of Jacques to Jan, Haarlem, 21 April 1586, DFL 13: "met meerder verseeckerheyt tot scheydinghe ende deelinghe kunnen procederen."

⁴⁴ Lawsuit of Jan against Jacques, Leiden, 16 April 1586, DFL 13: "Ende ome te verhoeden allen schaden, periculen, ende inconvenienten die eenichsints soudon moeghen ontrysen indien t'selve sterffhuys langher ongheliquider, ongedeelt, ende ongheschenden soude blyven."

⁴⁵ Compromise to enter into arbitration between Jan and Marten, Antwerp, 26 August 1586, DvdM 59-5: "sonder daeromme te blyven oft vallen in langhdurige processen die daer uute waren geschapen te rysene tot ruyne van hunne familie." Kuehn, *Law, Family, and Women*, 71–72.

executors “be placed under arbitration of a group of merchants and men of honor.”⁴⁶ The two sides would submit themselves to a monetary penalty if they did not follow the arbitrators.⁴⁷ Jan voiced his hope that through arbitration, they could bring all of their differences and quarrels to an end.

The same day that Jan made the lawsuit at the house of the notary Hendrick van Ufellen, Jan Dries visited Marten and read him Jan’s statement. Jan had included in the text seventeen different arbitrators from the sides to pick from. The most controversial among these was their uncle Jacques della Faille de Oude, but Jan contended that he should be numbered among the six chosen arbitrators, because he was their “closest blood relation.”⁴⁸ Upon hearing Jan’s lawsuit, Marten agreed to enter into arbitration, but he resisted the choice of Jacques de Oude as one of the arbitrators. Jacques de Oude was currently involved in a lawsuit against his brother’s estate, having previously entered into a contentious series of suits that led to the brothers divorcing their trade activities. Marten did not want to give their uncle access to the books and accounts of Jan de Oude.⁴⁹

Despite Marten’s worries about Jacques de Oude’s involvement in the estate, when Jan and Marten officially entered into arbitration on 26 August, their uncle was prominently listed among the six arbitrators. The other arbitrators included a magistrate of Antwerp, the attorney of

⁴⁶ Lawsuit of Jan against Marten, Antwerp, 30 May 1586, DFL 14: “te remitteren ende stellen inde arbitragie van coopliden ende persoonen van eeren.” Gelderblom, *Cities of Commerce*, 105–108; Muldrew, “Culture of Reconciliation”; Ogilvie, *Institutions and European Trade*, 296–300.

⁴⁷ It was eventually decided that if the decisions of the arbitrators were not followed by one side, they would be liable for a fine of £1000. The penalty and arbitration in general was backed by the power of the Raad van Brabant. DvdM 59-5. Gelderblom, *Cities of Commerce*, 105–108, 114–121; Dave de Ruyscher, *‘Naer het Romeinsch recht alsmede den stiel mercantiel’: Handel en recht in de Antwerpse rechtbank (16de–17de eeuw)* (Kortrijk-Heule, Belgium: UGA, 2009).

⁴⁸ Lawsuit of Jan against Marten, Antwerp, 30 May 1586, DFL 14: “als naeste vanden bloede.”

⁴⁹ Memory of Marten, DFL 14

the magistracy, and David Scholiers, a merchant who was also learned in law and was related to the Della Faille through his marriage to the sister of Carlo's first wife.⁵⁰ Marten and Jan were the two main parties in the arbitration, but Robert van Eeckeren and Louis Malapert were also present at the agreement to enter into arbitration.⁵¹ The arbitrators came together for the first time on 29 August at the house of Jacques de Oude, where they met on five different occasions in September. The arbitrators heard the arguments of the two sides and collected documents concerning the estate and its accounts.⁵² Jan placed his qualms with his father's treatment of the maternal inheritance at the center of the dispute, providing the arbitrators with various documents of his father's administration of the estate.⁵³ For his part, Marten defended the actions of his father and argued that Jan and Carlo had received their full maternal inheritance.

The arbitrators came forward with their decision on 2 October, which they added to and further clarified on the 6th and 7th. They declared that the maternal and paternal goods should be liquidated and divided among the heirs as soon as possible. If any one heir received their full inheritance before another than he or she who received their full part would pay interest to the other heirs. In order to do this, the arbitrators judged that a state and inventory must be made of all of the profits and losses from January 1579 until 26 December 1583. These declarations only

⁵⁰ The full list of arbitrators was Jan s'Hertogen (licentiaet in law, advocaet for the wethouderen of Antwerp), Jacques de Oude, Geerbrant Fredricxssen, Hendrick Uwens (licentiaet in law), Joos van den Steen (schepen in Antwerp), and David Scholiers ("respective rechts geleerde ende coopliden"). DvdM 59-5.

⁵¹ Jan acted as an executor, as a guardian of the children of his sister Maria and Louis Malapert, and for Daniel van der Meulen, husband and guardian of Hester. Marten presented himself as an executor, guardian of Maria's children, and as representative of Steven. Robert acted as guardian of his wife Anna and as guardian of Maria's children. Finally, Louis Malapert was present in the role of father of Maria's children and in possession of a power of attorney from Carlo. See Power of attorney for Carlo to Louis Malapert and Hendrick van der Goes, Dordrecht, 15 March 1585, DFL 4. Thus, only Jacques did not have a representative present in the arbitration. DvdM 59-5.

⁵² Proclamations of arbitrators between Jan and Marten, Antwerp, 29 August 1586 to 8 October 1586, DvdM 59-6.

⁵³ The copy of the meetings of the arbitrators in DFL 14 contains a full list of the documents presented by Jan on 18 September 1586. The list of documents demonstrates the legal use of mercantile papers. Gelderblom, *Cities of Commerce*, 87–88, 94–100; Ogilvie, *Institutions and European Trade*, 290–296.

led to further debates between Jan and Marten about the documents to be used to make the state and inventory. It must have been clear that the arbitration was unlikely to fully settle the disputes of the two sides, so the arbitrators made one last declaration on 8 October. Instead of leaving the documents in the hands of Marten to make the state and inventory, the arbitrators demanded that Marten lock all of the accounts and documents concerning the estate in a trunk and deliver it to the house of Hendrick van Uffelen. The arbitrators directed Van Uffelen to make a state and inventory and provide copies to the heirs following the judgment of the magistrates on 27 October 1584.⁵⁴

Placing the documents and obligation to create a state and inventory in the hands of a third party must have been seen as the most likely way to have the original judgment of 27 October 1584 followed. However, this strategy quickly ran into problems. Van Uffelen was supposed to work on the creation of the state late in the evening and early in the morning, when he was not busy with his other notarial duties, but the work proceeded slowly. Then, without Marten's knowledge, Van Uffelen secretly left Antwerp and moved to Hamburg without having finished the state and inventory. He left the books with the notary Jan Andries, but when Marten tried to get possession of the documents, he was denied this by Jan Andries.⁵⁵ Trying to get Hendrick van Uffelen to produce the state and inventory and to provide copies to the heirs continued to be an issue dividing the siblings. Two years after their declaration, the arbitrators again met to ask if their judgments had been followed and whether a state and inventory

⁵⁴ Marten's description of the decision of the arbitrators can be found in Memory of Marten, DFL 14. A copy of the judgments of the arbitrators on 2–8 October 1586 are in DvdM 59-6.

⁵⁵ Memory of Marten, DFL 14.

had been made.⁵⁶ It had not, and the questions surrounding the inheritance of the Della Faille siblings remained as open as ever.

4. Carlo against Jacques

Jan was not alone in attempting to get Marten and Jacques to agree to follow the judgment of the magistrates of Antwerp. Upon returning to his home in Dordrecht, Carlo continued to press the executors who had recently fled the besieged city of Antwerp to provide him with a state and inventory of their father's estate. Throughout the second half of 1580's Carlo made multiple lawsuits in various forms against Jacques in particular but also against both Jacques and Jan.⁵⁷ Carlo made use of both notarial lawsuits and also took his arguments before the Hof van Holland, but his basic goal remained the same. Unhappy with the restrictions Jan de Oude had placed on his inheritance and the power that Marten and Jacques exercised over it, Carlo tried to force Jan and Jacques to give him more direct access to both his inheritance and the accounts of the estate. In his responses to his disgruntled brother, Jacques continually blamed delays on the actions of Marten and Jan on the one side and the difficulties caused by the fall of Antwerp on the other.

In the first legal actions that Carlo took against Jacques in Holland, Carlo adopted a discourse that emphasized friendship and family interest similar to that used by Jan against Marten.⁵⁸ For instance, when Carlo traveled to Haarlem in July 1585, Carlo noted that on

⁵⁶ Declaration of the arbitrators, Antwerp, 3 October 1588, DvdM 59-8.

⁵⁷ Inventory of the documents in the lawsuit of Carlo against Jacques, 1587, DFL 8.

⁵⁸ Tadmor, *Family and Friends in Eighteenth-Century England*, 175–192; Hardwick, *Practice of Patriarchy*, 159–193. On the importance of rhetoric that aligned with the ideal of unity, see Susan Broomhall and Jacqueline van Gent, “Corresponding Affections: Emotional Exchange among Siblings in the Nassau Family,” *Journal of Family History* 34, no. 2 (2009): 143–165; Paul D. McLean, *The Art of the Network: Strategic Interaction and Patronage in Renaissance Florence* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2007).

multiple occasions he had sought, “through both friendship and by protest” to get Marten and Jacques to disburse his inheritance.⁵⁹ Having failed in his previous attempts, Carlo appeared before the notary Michiel van Woerden in Haarlem to press his younger brother to follow the judgment of the magistrates of Antwerp. Expressing hesitance to take these issues outside of the family, Carlo contended that he felt forced to use judicial institutions by the executors’s “unwillingness and failure to fully complying with the aforesaid judgment up to now.”⁶⁰ Carlo’s arguments before Van Woerden emphasized the interest of the entire family in having the executors follow their obligations as set out in the laws of Antwerp. For the estate to remain undivided put it at risk of loss. By not making a state and inventory or disbursing the inheritance, Marten and Jacques’s actions inevitably led to “great losses and damages, especially in these times.”⁶¹ Noting the dangers of war to the estate, Carlo hoped that Jan and Jacques would work with Marten to fulfill their duties and provide the heirs with a state and inventory.⁶²

Just two weeks before Antwerp surrendered to the forces of Farnese, Jacques assumed a similar discourse of family interest and friendship in defending himself against Carlo’s lawsuit. Jacques presented himself as a responsible executor who sought nothing more than calculating and dividing their father’s capital. He stated that he was and always had been prepared “to resolve and bring to an honorable end all of the affairs of the estate as required.”⁶³ Since he left

⁵⁹ Carlo against Jacques, Haarlem, 20 July 1585, DFL 8: “noch met vrintschap, noch met protest.”

⁶⁰ Carlo against Jacques, Haarlem, 20 July 1585, DFL 8: “onwillich ende in gebreecken gebleven t’selve vonnis te volcomen tot noch toe.”

⁶¹ Carlo against Jacques, Haarlem, 20 July 1585, DFL 8: “groote achterdeele ende schaede is dienende, bysonder in desen gelegentheyt van tyden.”

⁶² Through his language, Carlo explicitly noted his use of the lawsuit as a tactic of negotiation rather than a threat. Hardwick, *Family Business*, 88–127; Kuehn, *Law, Family, and Women*, 19, 72.

⁶³ Answer of Jacques to Carlo, Haarlem, 2 August 1585, DFL 8: “om alle saecken vanden t’sterffhuysse des te eer te eyndige ende te beslissen hem requirant.”

Antwerp, Jacques had written many times to Marten about the estate and their position as executors, and he presented the letters as evidence that he wished “to bring everything to an end and conclusion through the best and most appropriate means.”⁶⁴ Having presented himself as an ideal executor working for the benefit of the heirs, Jacques then blamed his co-executors for their continued inaction and reluctance to work with him. In particular, Jacques argued that Marten’s unwillingness to leave Antwerp with the documents concerning the estate “while the passage remained somewhat open” has made any further progress on the estate impossible.⁶⁵ Until the accounts were made accessible to Jacques, he argued, there was little he could do.

The fall of Antwerp combined with Jacques’s refusal to travel to Antwerp with Jan in May 1586 solidified Marten’s possession over the accounts of the estate in Antwerp.

Increasingly impatient with the lack of progress made by the executors, Carlo renewed his legal actions against Jacques in late 1586. Unable to access the legal system in Brabant, Carlo took his demands to the Hof van Holland to use the authority of the provincial court to force Jacques to create a state and inventory.⁶⁶ Carlo brought suit against both Jacques by himself and Jan and Jacques together, but his issue was primarily with Jacques.⁶⁷ Many of his basic demands remained the same as they had been in 1585, but Carlo now used a more combative tone in demanding that the executors take the necessary actions to create the state and inventory. In part,

⁶⁴ Answer of Jacques to Carlo, Haarlem, 2 August 1585, DFL 8: “opde beste ende bequaemt middelen om alles te eyndigen ende besluyten.”

⁶⁵ Answer of Jacques to Carlo, Haarlem, 2 August 1585, DFL 8: “wylle de passagie noch eenichsints open was.”

⁶⁶ Memory of Carlo against Jacques, 1586, DFL 8. Carlo noted that because there had been such long delays in creating a state and inventory, he asked the Hof van Holland to step in “met middel van justicie.”

⁶⁷ The claims that Carlo made against the two executors were very similar to those he made against Jacques. At the same time, Carlo made it clear that in his mind it was Jacques who was primarily responsible for the delays with the state and inventory, noting that Jan had stated his willingness to do so since 1584. Charge of Carlo against Jan and Jacques, Hof van Holland, 13 February 1587, DFL 8; Carlo against Jan and Jacques, Hof van Holland, 4 May 1587, DFL 8.

this change was a result of the different rhetoric used in a lawsuit before a notary and an argument made before the Hof van Holland.⁶⁸ Instead of a discourse of unity, Carlo enumerated arguments about the duty of executors and Jacques's failure to live up to these, providing the court with documents to support his claims. The arguments made by Carlo show his frustration with the executors and with the power that his father had bequeathed Marten and Jacques.

The escalation of the dispute between Carlo and Jacques is demonstrated by the enforcement mechanism that Carlo asked the Hof van Holland to implement. In order to ensure that Jacques appear before the Hof van Holland and abide by its decisions, Carlo wanted Jacques to provide a security that he would not leave Holland. If Jacques proved unwilling to provide the necessary security, Carlo wanted the ability to arrest both Jacques's person and goods to force him to comply with the judgment of the Hof van Holland and of the magistrates of Antwerp.⁶⁹ Jacques's inaction made such power necessary, as Carlo claimed that the failure to make a state and inventory was "to the great loss and interest of the plaintiff and his other co-heirs."⁷⁰ He therefore, demanded that Jacques be liable for "all of the costs, losses, and interest incurred by the plaintiff through the non-compliance with the aforesaid judgment."⁷¹

For Carlo, the power that Jacques and Marten had obtained over the capital and accounts of their father and their treatment of the heirs justified Carlo's use of judicial mechanisms.

⁶⁸ For the powers of the Hof van Holland, see Marie Charlotte Le Bailly, *Recht voor de Raad: Rechtspraak voor het Hof van Holland, Zeeland en West-Friesland in het midden van de vijftiende eeuw* (Hilversum, The Netherlands: Verloren, 2001); Gelderblom, *Cities of Commerce*, 126–133; Godding, *Le droit privé*.

⁶⁹ Memory of Carlo against Jacques, 1586, DFL 8: "Den impetrant [Carlo] by den hove verleent werde arrest op des ghedachdens [Jacques] persson ende goeden Stadt houdende tot dat hy de voorschreven cautie gestelt sal hebben."

⁷⁰ Memory of Carlo against Jacques, 1586, DFL 8: "tot grooten schade ende interest vande impetrandt ende andere syne mede erfghenamen.

⁷¹ Memory of Carlo against Jacques, 1586, DFL 8: "alle de costen, schaden, ende interesten by den impetrandt doorde niet voldoeninghe vande voorschreven vonnisse alreede gedaen."

Instead of disbursing the capital left by their father, as executors were beholden to do, Marten and Jacques had either used the capital for their own benefit or, even worse, had left it open to danger through their disputes over its administration.⁷² Carlo testified that since the death of Jan de Oude and their sister Cornelia, Marten and Jacques had taken possession of “all of the goods left by their aforesaid father.”⁷³ In addition, his two brothers had possession of the “books and registers” of Jan de Oude’s capital without giving Jan any access to these despite his position as executor. In doing so, Marten and Jacques “acted as if the goods were their own...and as if no one other than themselves had any right to the goods of their father’s estate.”⁷⁴ It was just this type of relationship that the laws of Antwerp concerning the obligations of executors and the judgment of the magistrates of Antwerp had sought to prevent. Instead of Jan de Oude’s estate being divided into nine equal portions as the laws of Antwerp foresaw, the patrimony remained largely under the control of two heirs and executors, who thereby gained great power over their siblings.

The control that Marten and Jacques held over their father’s estate may have been contrary to the spirit of the laws of Antwerp, but it coincided with the dictates of Jan de Oude’s testament. In this way, Carlo’s demand that Marten and Jacques abide by the judgment of the magistrates of Antwerp and “deliver a proper state and inventory of all of the goods left by their aforesaid father, as must occur following the laws and customs of the city of Antwerp,” attacked

⁷² Complaints of the dangers created by the undivided nature of the estate were ubiquitous. For example, the administrators of the estate in London, Wouter Aertsen and Thomas Coteels, constantly complained that the disputes between Marten and Jacques delayed use of the capital in London and made it liable to loss.

⁷³ Memory of Carlo against Jacques, 1586, DFL 8: “alle de goeden by den voors haerluyder vader achterghelaten.” For the examples of the treatment of the inheritance of Steven and Hester, see Chapter 5.

⁷⁴ Memory of Carlo against Jacques, 1586, DFL 8: “daerinne te handelen ofte het waren haere eygene goeden...ende dat niemant totte voors goeden van haeren vaders steffhuse gherechticht ende ware dan sy alleen.”

the hierarchy of the sibling group that Jan de Oude had created through his testament.⁷⁵ A rapid and perfectly equal disbursal of the capital would have undermined much, though of course not all, of the distinctions that Jan de Oude had worked to create among his children. Carlo expressed his anger and scorn at Jacques, but ultimately it was his father's testament that he sought to cripple.

Just as Carlo's accusations against Jacques had centered around the power relations created by Jan de Oude's testament, Jacques mounted a defense that emphasized the need to follow and abide by the dictates of the testament. Jacques continued to present himself as a responsible executor, who "has always sought and desired, to the extent of his capacity, to give the plaintiff contentment."⁷⁶ However, the rest of his arguments showed that Jacques interpreted his duties as an executor in a very different way than Carlo defined them. Instead of emphasizing the laws of Antwerp, Jacques placed his ultimate allegiance with the authority his father had expressed through his testament. He argued that "as a testamentary executor, guardian, son, and heir, he was accountable and obligated to defend the last will and testament of his father." The testament provided the executors with "complete and absolute power and authority" over all of the capital of his estate.⁷⁷ In this way, Jacques argued that Carlo's continued desire to get access to the state and inventory of the estate was directly "against the will, declaration, and desire of

⁷⁵ Memory of Carlo against Jacques, 1586, DFL 8: "leveren behoerlicken staet ende inventaris van alle de goeden by den voorschreven haren vader achterghelaten als na rechte ende costume der Stede van Antwerpen behoorde te gheschieden."

⁷⁶ Memory of Jacques's defense against Carlo, Hof van Holland, DFL 81: "altyt middel gesocht ende begeert den voor impetrant [Carlo] contentement te geven voor zoo veele als hem doenlyck was."

⁷⁷ Memory of Jacques's defense against Carlo, Hof van Holland, DFL 81: "volcomen ende absolute macht ende autoriteyt om alle syns testateurs goeden, actien, ende crediten over al ende in allen plaetsen te aenvaerden ende recouvreren."

his father.”⁷⁸ Through these arguments, Jacques equated the duties of an executor with the duties of an obedient son. He, therefore, defined the actions of Carlo as those of a disobedient and rebellious son.⁷⁹

In the context of a court of law, Jacques’s arguments about paternal authority had obvious disadvantages compared to Carlo’s arguments about the laws of Antwerp and the judgment of the magistrates of Antwerp. Here, social mores conflicted with the growing state power.⁸⁰ However, Jacques also possessed arguments of a more legal type. He countered that Carlo’s arguments were “completely frivolous, unfounded, and impertinent,” because, as Carlo well knew, the Hof van Holland could not have any jurisdiction over a judgment made in Antwerp.⁸¹ In fact, Jacques argued that the judgment of the magistrates of Antwerp could not be considered final, as it had taken place in the middle of the siege of Antwerp, preventing him and Marten from properly defending themselves and from appealing the decision. It was the disturbances of the Dutch Revolt, and not any negligence on his part, that caused the delays.

Tied into Jacques’s claims about the problem of multiple jurisdictions was a further argument about political allegiance. Jacques presented himself before the Hof van Holland as a loyal partisan of the States party and defender of the Calvinist religion. As he told the story, he was forced into exile by the advances of the Spanish army, separating him from the “large and

⁷⁸ Memory of Jacques’s defense against Carlo, Hof van Holland, DFL 81: “tegen den wil, ordonnantie ende begeerte van zynen vader.”

⁷⁹ Ruppel, “Subordinates, Patrons, and Most Beloved”; Marschke, “Crown Prince’s Brothers and Sisters”; Sabean and Teuscher, “Rethinking European Kinship”; Bastress-Dukehart, “Sibling Conflict”; Bourdieu, “Family as a Realized Category.”

⁸⁰ Julia Adams, *The Familial State: Ruling Families and Merchant Capitalism in Early Modern Europe* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2005); Hanley, “Engendering the State”; Hanley, “Family, the State, and the Law”; Hardwick, *Practice of Patriarchy*; Steven E. Ozment, *When Fathers Ruled: Family Life in Reformation Europe* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1983); Roper, *Holy Household*.

⁸¹ Memory of Jacques’s defense against Carlo, Hof van Holland, DFL 81: “geheel frivoel, ongefundeert, ende impertinent.”

numerous” books of the estate that remained in Antwerp.⁸² Notwithstanding the testament’s explicit prohibition against the production and distribution of the accounts of the estate, Jacques currently had no power or ability to make a state and inventory, because of the geographic division of the Low Countries. Jacques argued that travel to Antwerp was out of the question. His previous service to the Calvinist Republic as a colonel during the siege meant his presence in Antwerp would put him in personal danger.⁸³ What is more, Jacques cited the current placards of the Dutch Republic in which it “is forbidden to travel to Antwerp or to give a power of attorney to conduct business.”⁸⁴ He thus used the division of the Low Countries and the fact that the accounts of the estate resided in enemy territory to shirk any and all responsibility for the accusations Carlo made. Of course, such arguments side-stepped any discussion of the power Jacques held over the accounts and capital in his possession.

At the same time that Carlo asked the Hof van Holland to act against the Jacques’s administration of the capital of Jan de Oude, he continued to press Jacques for more immediate concerns. While Carlo undoubtedly would have preferred to have immediate and direct access to his paternal and sororal inheritance, he possessed a stronger argument in getting the executors to follow the testament and employ his capital in land. On 26 October 1587, Carlo appeared before Michiel van Woerden, the same notary Carlo had previously used, to declare that the testament had directed his inheritance to be employed in “land or rents” from which he was to receive

⁸² Memory of Jacques’s defense against Carlo, Hof van Holland, DFL 81: “zeer groote ende veele zyn.”

⁸³ Memory of Jacques’s defense against Carlo, Hof van Holland, DFL 81: “aldaer is geweest Coronel ende in andere publycke officien niet en is geraden noch gehouden te comen.”

⁸⁴ Memory of Jacques’s defense against Carlo, Hof van Holland, DFL 81: “is verboden tot Antwerpen te trecken ofte aldaer procuratie ofte last te geven om t’selve te doen.” Jacques also noted that “aldaer is geweest Coronel ende in andere publycke officien niet en is geraden noch gehouden te comen.”

4-5% interest.⁸⁵ Carlo's at least temporary acceptance of the restrictions Jan de Oude placed on his capital demonstrates the treatment he had received from the executors. Asking for 4-5% interest hardly constituted an onerous demand, but the executors had denied him even this.

Carlo argued that the executors had no good excuse for their negligence in investing his inheritance in land. Not only did the testament demand that his inheritance be invested in land and rents, Carlo argued that the depressed prices of land caused by the war meant that now was the time to buy. He believed that "so profitable an opportunity will not be available in the future."⁸⁶ Land that at other times would be worth as much as £1,000 can now be purchased for £400.⁸⁷ If the executors proved unwilling to find a proper opportunity to invest the inheritance, he was willing to coordinate the purchase of land in Holland. Finally, Carlo asked to receive compensation from the executors for the losses that he and his children incurred because the executors had yet to properly invest his inheritance.

Carlo reappeared before Michiel van Woerden a month and a half later to renew his complaints against Jacques. This time they centered upon getting access to the accounts and capital of the estate in London, which Jacques was to have under his possession.⁸⁸ Jacques had long before tired of his brother's badgering. The answer he gave on Christmas Eve to the latest in the long string of lawsuits made by Carlo provides an overview of Jacques's basic argument as their legal back and forth reached a stand-still at the end of the 1580s. Jacques again used the political division of the Low Countries to excuse himself from any blame deriving from delays in

⁸⁵ Carlo against Jacques, Haarlem, 26 October 1587, DFL 16: "gronden van erven oft goede renten."

⁸⁶ Carlo against Jacques, Haarlem, 26 October 1587, DFL 16: "soo proffytten oportuniteyten in toecomenden tyde nyet en selven vallen."

⁸⁷ Brulez, *Firma Della Faille*, 120–123; C. G. van den Hengel, "Grondbezit in de Gelderse Polder te Zevenbergen 1574–1609," *Bijdragen en Mededelingen van het Historisch Genootschap* 79 (1965): 335–386.

⁸⁸ See the discussion of the capital in London in Chapters 5 and 7.

the disbursement of the inheritance. Jacques noted in his defense that Carlo “knows well that he was not the only executor of the testament of their father, but served with Marten and Jan.”⁸⁹ Further deflecting blame from himself, Jacques claimed that all of the accounts and books of the estate remained in Antwerp. It was Marten who had actual control of the estate, for it was in Antwerp “that the estate along with all of the cash and goods reside under the aforesaid Marten, who has had control of the administration of all of the goods now and during the life of Jan della Faille de Oude.”⁹⁰ Through this type of statement, Jacques placed the obligation for the proper administration of the inheritance and resolution of the divisions that had grown between the siblings in the hands of Marten. In other words, Carlo’s claims against Jacques—at least according to Jacques—could not be properly dealt with, much less resolved, until the higher level disputes between the executors reached a settlement.⁹¹

5. Daniel against Jan

Jacques’s treatment of the claims made by Carlo emphasized the importance of the relationship between the three executors. In some ways, Jan and Jacques would have made natural allies, and their combined effort could have seriously challenged Marten’s position. While there were tentative moves to such an alliance, no coordination of activity and strategy ever developed. Jan’s insistence on traveling to Antwerp instead of going to London with Jacques has already been noted above. The continued fissures between Jan and his co-executors

⁸⁹ Lawsuit of Carlo against Jacques, Haarlem, 9 December 1587 and answer of Jacques, 24 December 1587, DFL 16: “wel wiste dat hy nyet alleen en was executeur van testamente van syner vader maer met Marten ende met Janne.”

⁹⁰ Lawsuit of Carlo against Jacques, Haarlem, 9 December 1587 and answer of Jacques, 24 December 1587, DFL 16: “alwaer oock het sterffhuys was gelegen ende alle de penningen ende goederen berustende onder den voors Marten della Faille, die de administratie ende maniere van alle de goeden ter tyde ende inden leven van Jan della Faille oude heeft gehadt.”

⁹¹ See Chapter 7 on the disputes and attempts at creating an agreement between Jacques and Marten.

is further demonstrated by two sets of lawsuits Daniel made against Jan. At the center of both was the complaint that Jan was not fulfilling his obligation as an executor of the testament of Jan de Oude.

Acting as Hester's husband and guardian, Daniel's actions against Jan introduce further complexity to the fissures between the Della Faille siblings.⁹² In the first place, the lawsuits show Daniel's alliance with Jacques, but also his attempt to act as a force for compromise within the sibling group. Above all, Daniel exhibited concern that the disagreements among the executors placed the estate in danger of incurring loss and damages. Secondly, the actions taken by Daniel illustrate Jan's obstinacy and yet fickleness in his actions as executor. Jan proved unwilling to fully ally himself with any of his siblings. Like Carlo, but often separate from him, Jan proved to have greater interest in undermining the testament and the powers given to and adopted by Marten and Jacques than in seeking a resolution that would inevitably confirm his lack of power within the sibling group.⁹³

A. 1585

Soon after his marriage to Hester, Daniel began to press the executors to disburse Hester's inheritance.⁹⁴ The previous chapter showed that Daniel was given portions of Hester's inheritance by Marten and Jacques, but the payments did not fully satisfy Daniel. On 19 July 1585, Daniel made a declaration of his concerns over the quarrels that had broken out between the executors.

⁹² After his marriage to Hester at the end of 1584, Daniel became his wife's guardian, acting for her in all legal and financial matters. This is not to deny that Hester did not have influence in the relationships with her siblings, quite the contrary, but in the legal realm on which this chapter concentrates, Hester's involvement was limited.

⁹³ Bastress-Dukehart, "Sibling Conflict"; Marschke, "Crown Prince's Brothers and Sisters."

⁹⁴ See the discussion in Chapters 3 and 7.

[Daniel] found that due to the existence of certain differences and disputes between the aforesaid executors and guardians, the affairs of the estate are not being looked after and attended to as they ought to be. Because of this, a great deal of money, debts, and goods remain undivided and stationary, from which large and notable difficulties and losses will arise and have already occurred. All of this is to the great prejudice, loss, and damage to the appearer and his wife.⁹⁵

According to Daniel, the executors had allowed their personal disputes to harm the interests of the estate. The movable nature of the capital, consisting in cash, goods, debts, and credits, necessitated constant and vigilant administration, but the disagreements between the executors had led to indecision and even negligence. Such neglect of the capital caused harm in two ways. It greatly increased the estate's liability to loss and damage, while also preventing the heirs from investing this capital in their own ventures.

At first glance, the complaints of Daniel appear to align closely with those made by Carlo against Jacques's administration of the estate. However, in contrast to Carlo, Daniel primarily appears to have been moved to make this statement before a notary to enable the executors to respond to his complaints and reopen lines of communication.⁹⁶ This was most definitely the case with Jacques, who responded to Daniel's lawsuit on the same day before the same notary. Indeed, it may be more true to see Daniel's lawsuit as providing Jacques with a means to defend

⁹⁵ Lawsuit of Daniel against Jan, Marten, and Jacques, Delft, 19 July 1585, DvdM 61-2-5 (lxii): "bevint dat deur seecker verschillen ende twisten tusschen de voors. executeurs ende momboirs overcommen, de saicken vanden sterffhuysse nyet en worden behertiget ende bedient als het soude behoeren ende dat vuyt dier oirsacken veele penninghen, schulden ende goederen blijven onverdeelt ende doot liggen, waervuyt grote ende merckelicke swaricheyden ende verliesen soudon connen comen te rijzen ende alrede geresen zijn, ende dat sulcx al tot grote prejuditie, schade ende achterdeel van hem comparant ende sijn huysvrouw is diende."

⁹⁶ The acceptance by Marten and Jacques that Hester's inheritance would consist in movable capital and not be limited to investments in land, as well as Daniel and Hester's cultivation of amicable relationships with both Marten and Jacques, placed Daniel's arguments in a very different context than either Carlo's or Jan's. See Chapter 7 for the friendship that Daniel created with both Marten and Daniel. Tadmor, *Family and Friends in Eighteenth-Century England*; Luuc Kooijmans, *Vriendschap: En de kunst van het overleven in de zeventiende en achttiende eeuw* (Amsterdam: B. Bakker, 1997).

himself in the legal form of a notarial declaration rather than as an argument made against him.⁹⁷ In this less combative environment than in his disputes with Carlo, Jacques possessed greater freedom to present the now familiar argument that he was and had always been willing to work for the greatest benefit of the estate. At the same time, Jacques signaled the reluctance of Jan and Marten to fulfill their duties as executors, and he brought forward evidence that his co-executors had refused to sign documents on multiple occasions. Despite these issues, Jacques presented himself “as always willing to join with whichever of the two executors and guardians who are willing to help direct and advance the affairs of the estate, as they are required to by the power of the testament, by reason, and by law.”⁹⁸

Daniel’s lawsuit had a much different intent when it came to Jan’s actions as an executor. Daniel felt that Jan had been truly negligent in his duties. To emphasize this fact, he registered a notarial lawsuit specifically against Jan on the same day that he made the lawsuit against all of the executors.⁹⁹ In this lawsuit, Daniel made his accusation quite clear. Simply put, Jan “has not performed the duties of an executor and guardian.”¹⁰⁰ On various occasions since his marriage to Hester, Daniel had “amicably” attempted to persuade Jan to fulfill his obligations, but Daniel had

⁹⁷ Gelderblom, *Cities of Commerce*, 89–94; Hardwick, *Family Business*, 88–127; Burns, “Notaries, Truth, and Consequences.”

⁹⁸ Answer of Jacques to lawsuit of Daniel, Delft, 19 July 1585, DvdM 61-2-5 (IxiA): “mer willich is hem altijt metten genen vande andere twee executeurs ende momboiren te vougen die willich is de saicken vanden sterffhuysse te helpen dirigeren ende te bevorderen, gelijk het naer vermogen vanden testamenten in redenen ende rechten beconden sal worden te behoeren.”

⁹⁹ Daniel made the lawsuit against the executors before the notary Jan Bom in Delft, while that against Jan was done by the notary Salomon Lenaerssen vander Wuert in Leiden. A few months later, on 21 September 1585, Daniel made another lawsuit against Jan in which he complained of Jan’s unwillingness to complete what Daniel perceived to be his duties.

¹⁰⁰ Lawsuit of Daniel against Jan, Leiden, 19 July 1585, DvdM 61-7a (Ixi): “den last vanden executeurschap oft momberdije nyet en heeft volbracht.”

been constantly rebuffed.¹⁰¹ Daniel argued that Jan should be forced to fulfill his duties, for his current inaction put the capital under his executorship under great danger.

Jan responded to Daniel's complaint on the same day. His answer nicely demonstrates the confusion that had been wrought by the disputes between the siblings. Jan pointed to his compromised position as an executor in his father's testament and his lack of influence in the proceedings of the estate to this point. It was Marten and Jacques who directed the affairs of the estate "following their will and pleasure without regard to him."¹⁰² Because Marten and Jacques have not treated Jan as an equal, he no longer considered himself to be an executor. In this way, he attempted to avoid blame and liability for actions that took place "without his will or knowledge, indeed, directly against his opinion and declarations that he has made in diverse protests."¹⁰³ Specifically, Jan pointed to Carlo's lawsuit against the executors in Antwerp in 1584 and his decision to join Carlo in asking for the state and inventory to be made and given to the heirs. He further claimed that since he had sided with Carlo against Marten and Jacques, the judgment of the magistrates on 27 October 1584 had excused him from any further blame in the administration of the estate. Through his answer, Jan positioned himself as both an executor and not an executor. This liminal positioning enabled him to advance his own interests while acting contrary to both Marten and Jacques.

¹⁰¹. Lawsuit of Daniel against Jan, Leiden, 19 July 1585, DvdM 61-7a (lxi). Daniel used the word "minnelick" to describe his attempts to move Jan.

¹⁰². Answer of Jan to lawsuit of Daniel, Leiden, 19 July 1585, DvdM 61-7b (lxiA): "nae heure guetduncken ende geliefsten," and that this was done without consulting him, "zonder aenzien van hem Jan della faille."

¹⁰³. Answer of Jan to lawsuit of Daniel, Leiden, 19 July 1585, DvdM 61-7b (lxiA): "buyten zijn wille oft weeten, jae eensdeels directelijck jegens zijne opinie ende verclaringhe volgende diversche protesten bij hem daer jegens over gegeven, es gedaen."

B. The Creation of a State by Hendrick van Uffelen

Jan's decision to travel to Antwerp in order to force Marten to abide by the judgment of the magistrates in 1584 soon after Daniel's lawsuit exhibited Jan's unwillingness to work with either Jacques or Marten. As described above, Jan's trip led to arbitration between the two executors and brothers, ultimately resulting in the declaration on 8 October 1586 that the notary Hendrick van Uffelen was to take possession of the accounts of the estate and create a state and inventory. However, following Van Uffelen's decampment to Hamburg, little progress occurred in the fulfillment of the arbitrators's declaration. Continually frustrated by the existence of undivided capital in the estate, Daniel began to view the decision of the arbitrators as a possible basis for compromise. Having worked to develop an amicable relationship with both Marten and Jacques through correspondence, Daniel perceived Jan as the primary roadblock to the fulfillment of the creation of a state of the holdings of the estate that he had originally sought.¹⁰⁴ In an attempt to get Jan to abide by and work for compliance with the will of the arbitrators in Antwerp, Daniel made yet another lawsuit before a notary, this time in Bremen in March 1590.¹⁰⁵

That Daniel's lawsuit failed to move Jan to action is demonstrated by Daniel's interactions with Hendrick van Uffelen and his attempts to get Van Uffelen to complete the state that he had begun in Antwerp. Van Uffelen must have brought a copy of the books of the estate with him when he left Antwerp, enabling him to continue to work on the creation of a state of the capital of Jan de Oude. Residing in Bremen, Daniel was the most proximate of the heirs to Van

¹⁰⁴. Hans Medick and David Warren Sabean, "Interest and Emotion in Family and Kinship Studies: A Critique of Social History and Anthropology," in *Interest and Emotion: Essays on the Study of Family and Kinship*, ed. Hans Medick and David Warren Sabean (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984); Sabean and Teuscher, "Rethinking European Kinship."

¹⁰⁵. Lawsuit of Daniel against Jan and Jacques, Bremen, 29–30 March 1590, DvdM 61-18. Daniel also visited Antwerp later in 1590 in order to come to an agreement with Marten over Hester's inheritance. See also Marten's letters to Daniel, DvdM 274.

Uffelen following his departure from Antwerp. Daniel's proximity combined with his desire to bring his father-in-law's estate to a close led him to make an accord, in which he was joined by Robert van Eeckeren and Jacques, on 2 February 1591 with Van Uffelen ensuring payment upon completion of the state.¹⁰⁶ With the agreement in place, the declaration of the arbitrators, made over four years prior, finally appeared close to being fulfilled.

In the beginning of 1593, the state approached completion and Daniel sought to get Jan to recognize and approve its creation. In order to do this, Daniel drafted a letter to Van Uffelen, which he wanted Jan to sign and send in his own name. The letter noted that the state was soon to be completed after much delay. The letter was drafted to direct the sending of authentic copies of the state to all of the heirs in Holland and Antwerp.¹⁰⁷ On the back of the copy of the letter present in the Daniel van der Meulen Archive, Daniel's bookkeeper indicated that Jan refused to sign and send the letter, through which action the "furtherance of the making of the state is retarded."¹⁰⁸ As he had done in 1585, Jan excused himself from any obligation as an executor, telling Daniel "to seek an end for himself in the best manner that he believes is proper."¹⁰⁹

Jan's refusal to lend further legal backing to a document that he had originally worked to have created was characteristic of Jan's inconstancy that angered his siblings. Despite Jan's refusal to approve of Van Uffelen's creation of the state, Daniel provided Jan with a copy of the

¹⁰⁶. Agreement of Robert and Daniel to pay Hendrick van Uffelen, 2 February 1591, DvdM 57-44. This copy only includes the signatures of Robert and Daniel. On the back of the document it states that it is an agreement made by Robert and Daniel even though Jacques is noted as a participant throughout the agreement.

¹⁰⁷. Jan della Faille to Hendrick van Uffele, Leiden, 23 March 1593, DvdM 59-10. This copy is in the handwriting of Abreham Berrewijns, Daniel's bookkeeper.

¹⁰⁸. The entire inscription on the back of the document is "Beworp van eenen brief aen Henrich van Uffele door DvdM geconcipieert ende aen Jan della Faille te onderteekenen gepresenteert, welck door hem geweygert synder de voordering van't maken vande staet achtergebleven is." DvdM 59-10.

¹⁰⁹. Daniel declared that this was Jan's answer in a response he made to Jan's lawsuit from July 1594. Answer of Daniel to lawsuit of Jan, Leiden, 5 August 1594, DvdM 59-12: "hem des niet meer te moeyen maer soecken voor syn selven te eyndigen op de beste maniere soo hy soude te rade vinden te behooren."

completed state on 20 April 1593.¹¹⁰ The state that in 1584 and 1586 had seemed to be the key to resolving the disputes over the capital of Jan de Oude had almost no effect when it was finally produced in 1593. The siblings remained as divided as ever. With the production of the state having failed to coax Jan to action, Daniel continued to press Jan to work with Marten and Jacques toward finally disbursing the remains of the estate, but any progress that did occur did so fitfully. Daniel's pressure eventually led Jan to make a lawsuit against Daniel in July 1594. Jan's lawsuit laid out the timeline of Daniel's interactions with Hendrick van Uffelen. Jan declared that he had done nothing to prevent the creation of the state. Daniel's categorization of Jan's action as a "frivolous protest" in his papers shows Daniel's feelings about Jan's argument.

Daniel took advantage of the ability to respond to Jan's lawsuit by enumerating the various actions that Jan had taken that had hindered the administration of the estate and harmed the interests of the heirs. Daniel began his declaration by discussing the particular ways in which Jan did not live up to his obligations as an executor in Van Uffelen's creation of the state. Daniel had been in contact with both Marten and Jacques in attempting to provide Van Uffelen with all of the necessary documentation to make the state, but Jan would not hand over any of the accounts in his possession.¹¹¹ In fact, when Marten sent a letter to Jan and Jacques containing copies of documents that were necessary for the completion of the state, Jan refused to even open the letter.¹¹² Such behavior by Jan was hardly new. Daniel recounted the accusation that Jan stole

¹¹⁰ Lawsuit of Jan against Daniel, Leiden, 5 August 1594, DvdM 59-11. No copy of Hendrick van Uffelen's state is present in the Daniel van der Meulen Archive or the Della Faille archives.

¹¹¹ DvdM 59-12.

¹¹² Marten to Jan and Jacques, Antwerp, 21 February 1592, DvdM 61-24. Daniel stated in the answer to Jan's lawsuit that Jan's refusal to open the letter meant that it had to be sent to Jacques in Haarlem to open it. Only then could the documents be sent back to Daniel in Leiden and then finally sent to Hendrick van Uffelen. DvdM 59-12.

from treasury in 1583.¹¹³ He accused Jan of gaining possession of the books of the estate when he was in Antwerp in 1586 “more in order to create a basis for his own particular pretenses than to discharge his oath and duty to the [heirs].”¹¹⁴ Daniel marshaled all of this evidence to show that Jan had only sought the furtherance of his own “particular interest.” In acting in the manner that he had, Jan exhibited an “ungodly hate that he possess for his other brothers.”¹¹⁵ For Daniel, placing his own interests above those of the family and his siblings, Jan not only failed to satisfy his obligations as an executor, he failed in meeting the moral duty that bound kin to a common interest.¹¹⁶

The accusations made by Daniel against Jan’s behavior can only provide a small sample of the ways that Jan undermined the attempts that Marten and Jacques made at compromise. Examples of the troubles that Jan created for his siblings over the administration of their father’s estate could be endlessly enumerated.¹¹⁷ However, the inconstancy of his conduct concerning the creation of the state gives a clear understanding of the difficulties that Jan introduced into the sibling group. After placing himself in physical and financial danger by traveling to Antwerp immediately following Farnese’s conquest to pressure Marten to create a state, he showed no

¹¹³. Memory of Marten, DFL 14.

¹¹⁴. DvdM 59-12: “hy den tyt om gebrocht hebben meer om syne particuliere pretentie te fonderen ende om synen eet ende plicht tegens de weesen te quytene.”

¹¹⁵. DvdM 59-12: “niet anders gesocht ende wort als om ten aensiene van syn perticuliere questien ende ongoddelycken haet die hy synen anderen broederen is dragende.”

¹¹⁶. On the use of emotions and emotional language in the negotiation of relationships, see Erica Bastress-Dukehart, “Family, Property, and Feeling in Early Modern German Noble Culture: The Zimmerns of Swabia,” *The Sixteenth Century Journal* 32, no. 1 (2001): 1–19; Broomhall and Gent, “Corresponding Affections”; Linda A. Pollock, “Anger and the Negotiation of Relationships in Early Modern England,” *The Historical Journal* 47, no. 3 (2004): 567–590; Barbara H. Rosenwein, “Worrying about Emotions in History,” *American Historical Review* 107, no. 3 (2002): 821–845.

¹¹⁷. The disputes over the contents of the estate in London, discussed in Chapter 7, present another arena in which Jan made the possibility for compromise and action on the estate more difficult. See Marten’s letters to Daniel, DvdM 274; Jacques’s letters to Daniel, DvdM 538.

interest in facilitating the creation of the document. This volatility shows that Jan had little particular interest in the creation of a state. A state that declared that he and Carlo had received their full maternal inheritance and that essentially followed the accounts kept by Marten did nothing to further his interests. Jan wanted access to the accounts in order to uncover faults or even fraud in the accounts made by his father, Marten, or Jacques. His behavior may have been fickle, but he remained steadfast in his goal of undermining the power structure in the sibling group created by Jan de Oude's testament.¹¹⁸

6. Carlo against Marten in Brabant

Daniel and Marten had hoped that enabling Hendrick van Uffelen to make a state and inventory could finally enable the siblings to come together and find a way to compromise over the administration of the estate. Jan's unwillingness to acknowledge the state made by Van Uffelen, as well as the continued tension between Marten and Jacques, meant that Van Uffelen's state and inventory did little to move the administration of the estate forward. Frustrated by Jan's behavior and with Jacques's reluctance to work with Marten, Daniel traveled to Antwerp in 1594 and signed an agreement with Marten in which he acknowledged Hester's reception of all of her paternal inheritance. One day later, Daniel received ownership of urban houses, *rente*, and

¹¹⁸ The conflict between Jan and his brothers was particularly acrimonious, because Jan was the eldest and was named an executor, providing him with a position to attack Marten and Jacques, who Jan de Oude placed above him. Bourdieu, *Outline of a Theory of Practice*, 63–65, 164–166; Ruppel, “Subordinates, Patrons, and Most Beloved,” 102–106; Pollock, “Rethinking Patriarchy and the Family”; Broomhall and Gent, “In the Name of the Father.”

land.¹¹⁹ Daniel's accord with Marten left Jacques, Jan, Carlo, and the heirs of Maria as the only heirs who had yet to come to an agreement with Marten.¹²⁰

Jacques, Jan, Carlo, and the heirs of Maria all followed their own separate paths in seeking to promote their own interests concerning the estate of their father and their relationships within the sibling group. Among the three brothers, Carlo possessed the least power, but he was also the most active in continuing to attempt to overturn the portions of Jan de Oude's testament and the powers of the executors that had been disadvantageous to his interests. After having pestered Jacques and Jan in Holland for ten years, Carlo abandoned his claims in the United Provinces and traveled to Brabant to try his luck against Marten before the magistrates of Antwerp and the Raad van Brabant. Finally, Carlo's actions met with some success. His legal claims against Marten in early 1596 ultimately led to the creation of a number of documents, including an inventory of all of the accounts and documents in Marten's possession and two separate states encompassing the administration of the estate from the time of Jan de Oude's death until the end of 1594.¹²¹

Unsurprisingly, the creation of these documents, and the access to the accounts of the estate that they gave, did little to placate Carlo's desire to have the power structure of the sibling group overturned. His dissatisfaction eventually led him to attempt to have Jan de Oude's entire testament and codicil invalidated. Carlo's endless legal actions against the executors in Holland and Brabant demonstrate the inability for the legal system to resolve disputes so long as the

¹¹⁹. Agreement of Daniel concerning the estate of Jan de Oude, Antwerp, 14 October 1594, DFL 15. The transfer of property can be seen in various documents in DFL 13.

¹²⁰. Steven and Anna had backed Marten's administration from the beginning. The inheritance destined for the children of Maria and Louis Malapert remained up for debate because of the inability of the executors to come to an agreement about the division of the capital in London. See the discussion of the capital in London in Chapter 5.

¹²¹. Inventory of the estate of Jan de Oude, 18 November 1596, DFL 13; State of Jan de Oude's estate, 26 December 1583, DFL 12; State of Jan de Oude's estate, 31 December 1594, DFL 12bis.

parties remained unwilling to compromise. Unwilling to accept the power structure that had been created within the sibling group, there was little satisfaction Carlo could receive from the judicial institutions available to him.¹²² In addition, Carlo's legal activities in Brabant deserve special attention, because they led to the creation of the inventory and the two states, as well as a supplementary state, that provide the basis of the previous chapter.

After making one last lawsuit against Jacques's administration of his inheritance in Holland, Carlo traveled from his house on his lands in Zevenbergen to the city of his birth.¹²³ In January 1596, Carlo arrived in Brabant and immediately went before both the magistrates of Antwerp and the Raad van Brabant to make claims against Marten's administration of their father's estate.¹²⁴ The basis of the arguments he presented before the Raad van Brabant remained basically unchanged from those he made in Holland. Carlo acknowledged the reception of documents that the executors claimed to be states of his father's estate, but he had yet to receive a complete and proper account of the estate and his inheritance. Carlo also asked to have the remainder of his paternal inheritance invested in land as directed by the testament. He declared

¹²² Legal institutions, whether through arbitration or courts, attempted to create compromise, so that both sides could reunite. Kuehn, *Law, Family, and Women*, 68–69. For an example of the importance of creating a social solution even within the context of lawsuits, see Francesca Trivellato, “Sephardic Merchants Between State and Rabbinic Courts: Malfeasance, Property Rights, and Religious Authority in the Eighteenth-Century Mediterranean,” in *From Florence to the Mediterranean and Beyond: Essays in Honor of Anthony Molho*, ed. Diogo Ramada Curto, et al. (Florence: Leo Olschki, 2009).

¹²³ Lawsuit of Carlo against Jacques, 16 October 1595, DvdM 57-116. Yves Schmitz, *Les Della Faille*, vol. 5, *Branch de Comtes Della Faille de Leverghem* (Brussels: Imprimerie F. Van Buggenhoudt, 1974), 20–22.

¹²⁴ He first appeared before the Raad van Brabant on 2 January 1596. While his actions there continued, he also made claims before the magistrates of Antwerp on 10 and 16 January. The arguments of Carlo and Marten's defense before the Raad van Brabant can be seen in DFL 8. For his lawsuit before the magistrates of Antwerp, see Notary Gillis van den Bossche, 1596: N 3568, Felix Archief, Antwerp, Belgium.

that he had been seeking to obtain these goals for the last thirteen years, but, at least in his mind, the executors had yet to fulfill their obligations towards him.¹²⁵

That Carlo may have had reason to complain at the treatment he had received from the executors can be seen in Marten's reaction to Carlo's desires. Like his brother, Marten held firm to the arguments that he had presented more than eleven years before when he and Jacques had argued against Carlo before the magistrates of Antwerp. He stated that the dictates of the testament of their father clearly indicated that Carlo should not be able to receive a full and complete state and inventory. He further claimed that neither the Raad van Brabant nor the magistrates of Antwerp should be able to get access to the accounts of Jan de Oude's estate.¹²⁶ Therefore, Marten argued vociferously against the production of a state that would fall into the hands of Carlo and provide him with the ability to access and criticize the accounts of the estate. According to Marten, it was the task of the executors of the testament to administer the estate and Carlo's actions simply further delayed any possibility of compromise between the siblings.

The main deviance Carlo made from the arguments he had presented since 1583 involved the power he held over his children.¹²⁷ The death of Carlo's second wife in 1591 left Carlo as a guardian over their nine surviving children, but he soon proved unable to adequately care for and educate his children. By 1596, care for Carlo's children had been divided among family members with Daniel and Marten doing much to ensure that each child received the education and opportunity befitting the economic and social position of the Della Failles. Three of Carlo's

¹²⁵. Request of Carlo against Marten, Raad van Brabant, 2 January 1596, DFL 8; Answer of Carlo to Marten's defense, Raad van Brabant, 1 March 1596, DFL 8.

¹²⁶. Answer of Marten to Carlo, Raad van Brabant, 15 February 1596, DFL 8; Answer Marten to Carlo, Raad van Brabant, March 1596, DFL 8.

¹²⁷. 523 Kaerle de la Faille en Cecilia Grammaije, 10 Weeskamer te Dordrecht, Regionaal Archief Dordrecht, Dordrecht, The Netherlands (hereafter DAW).

daughters had been sent to live with Marten, who he treated “as his own children.”¹²⁸ However, most of Carlo’s children remained in Holland.¹²⁹ Crafting his argument before the Raad van Brabant in a way to take advantage of the political and religious division between Holland and Brabant that had hardened over the prior decade, Carlo asked that Marten provide him with £300-£400 so that he could bring his children from his second marriage to Brabant and raise them as Catholics.¹³⁰ All of Carlo’s children with Cecile had been brought up in a Calvinist manner, and Cecile had placed Hendrick van den Corput, the Calvinist preacher of Dordrecht, as a guardian of the children to ensure their continued religious education.¹³¹ But now, making a lawsuit in Catholic Brabant, Carlo declared his will “to bring his children and family under the subjection of his majesty and the Catholic religion.”¹³² Carlo argued that Marten prevented him from doing this by not providing him with his paternal inheritance.¹³³ In this way, Carlo attempted to align his desire to get access to the accounts of the estate with the confessional interests of the Spanish empire.

¹²⁸ Answer of Marten to Carlo, Raad van Brabant, 15 February 1596, DFL 8: “als syne eygen kinderen.”

¹²⁹ The problems that occurred after Cecile Grammaye’s death and the actions that were taken to ensure that the interests of Carlo and Cecile’s children were protected cannot be dealt with here. It is enough to note that Carlo’s own interests were often in opposition to his children, because the guardians of the children worked to keep their maternal inheritance from Carlo’s possession. See in particular Marten’s letters to Daniel, DvdM 274; Letters of Jan de Carlo, Carlo’s oldest son from his first marriage, to Daniel, DvdM 271. See also the negotiations between Thomas Grammaye, Daniel, and Nicolas Mandernach as executors of the testament of Cecile and the weesmeesters of Dordrecht. DAW 523. This all occurred against the wishes of Carlo. Schmitz, *Les Della Faille*, vol. 5, 23–42.

¹³⁰ Request of Carlo against Marten, Raad van Brabant, 2 January 1596, DFL 8.

¹³¹ List of the executors of the testament of Cecile Grammaye, DAW 523-12. See also the letters to Daniel from Hendrick van den Corput, Daniel’s brother-in-law through Anna’s first husband and the Calvinist preacher in Dordrecht, DvdM 401.

¹³² Request of Carlo against Marten, Raad van Brabant, 2 January 1596, DFL 8: “syne kinderen ende familien onder de subjectie vande majesteyt ende Catholycke religie te brengen.”

¹³³ Request of Carlo against Marten, Raad van Brabant, 2 January 1596, DFL 8: “syne kinderen ende familie nyet en can herwaerts overbrengen sonder te betalen de montkosten vande selve syne kinderen.”

Marten scoffed at Carlo's sudden religious conversion and desire to have his children beside him. Carlo's behavior towards his children after his arrival in Antwerp demonstrated to both Marten and Robert van Eeckeren that his desire to raise his children as Catholics was merely a rhetorical play. Robert wrote to Daniel detailing the actions of Carlo and asking for any help Daniel might provide in combating their brother-in-law. Robert opened his discussion of Carlo's actions by noting that the siblings in Holland must have been relieved to see Carlo leave for Brabant. Since his arrival, Carlo had done nothing but bring "great shame to all his friends here and even more so to himself."¹³⁴ An example that Robert gave of Carlo's bad behavior was his refusal to approve of the marriage of his son from his first marriage Jan de Carlo. In addition, he wanted to prevent his daughters who were living with Marten from attending either Jan de Carlo's marriage or that of Robert and Anna's daughter. Robert told that the daughters did attend, but they had to be protected by Marten's son Giovanni and "eight to ten other strong young men."¹³⁵ At another time, Carlo desired that his daughters come to eat with him at his hotel. Carlo became angered when his daughters decided not to join him and Marten's son Jan was forced to step in. Carlo demonstrated his unstable character, "threatening to his bones or head."¹³⁶ Robert hoped that Daniel would pass on anything that might help Marten defend his administration of the estate against a brother who had obviously "lost his senses."¹³⁷

In his arguments before the Raad van Brabant, Marten continuously declared that the dispute over the creation of the state and inventory should take place in Antwerp, seeing the

¹³⁴. Robert to Daniel, Antwerp, January 1596, DvdM 536-45: "doet hier alle zyne vrienden groote schande aen ende hem selve hem meeste."

¹³⁵. Robert to Daniel, Antwerp, January 1596, DvdM 536-45: "8 oft 10 ander jonckmans die stercker waerren."

¹³⁶. Robert to Daniel, Antwerp, January 1596, DvdM 536-45: "gedreyght de beenen oft t'hoofd te doen breken."

¹³⁷. Robert to Daniel, Antwerp, January 1596, DvdM 536-45: "want ick sie hem noch sinneloos te worden soe hy de Heere nyet om gratie en bidt ende ter kennisse en compt."

magistrates of Antwerp as “the competent judges in the first instance.”¹³⁸ It is possible that Marten believed that he might have greater sway over the magistrates of Antwerp, but if he hoped that the magistrates would be more amenable to his position, he was soon proven wrong. On 22 June 1596 the magistrates declared against Marten and ruled that a state and inventory should be made available to Carlo, confirming the judgment of the magistrates made thirteen years prior. A week later, Marten handed over the ledger nr 9 to Jan Nicolay, which contained the accounts of Jan de Oude’s capital from July 1579 until 30 May 1584, so that the notary could begin to go through the accounts and work towards the creation of a state of the inheritance.¹³⁹ He quickly was able to produce a balance of the estate as it stood on 26 December 1583, but the creation of the state and inventory took much longer.¹⁴⁰

The judgment of the magistrates began to be put into effect when Jan Nicolay went to Marten’s house on the Huyvettersstraete on 1 July 1596 to begin to make an inventory of the “books, papers, and documents” left by Jan de Oude. Before Nicolay could begin his work, Marten declared that all that he did to help the creation of the state and inventory was done “under express protest,” because he “did not want to infringe, in any manner, on the testament and last will of his father Jan della Faille d’Oude.”¹⁴¹ Nicolay commenced the inventory by noting the ledger and journal that Marten had earlier given to him. However, because Carlo was not present, Marten asked Nicolay to delay the creation of the inventory until Carlo could be

¹³⁸. Answer of Marten to Carlo, Raad van Brabant, 15 February 1596, DFL 8: “competente rechters inde ierste instantie.”

¹³⁹. Inventory of the estate of Jan de Oude, 18 November 1596, DFL 13.

¹⁴⁰. The balance of the accounts at the end of DFL 12, which was from 26 December 1583, was done by Nicolay on 6 July 1596.

¹⁴¹. Inventory of the estate of Jan de Oude, 18 November 1596, DFL 13: “en besondere van niet te willen in eenige manieren infringeren den testamente ende uuytersten wille vanden voirschreven Jan della Faille d’Oude syne vader.”

there, likely hoping to forestall any ability for Carlo to complain about the process. For whatever reason, the creation of the inventory was delayed until 4 November 1596, when, now in the presence of Carlo, Nicolay went through the papers of the estate. Nicolay continued his work on 12 and 13 November, finishing the inventory on 18 November 1596.¹⁴²

After the construction of the inventory, Nicolay used the account books, documents, and the balances produced by Jan Dries on 11 June 1586 from the earlier arbitration between Jan and Marten and his own recently created balance to create two general and complete states of the capital left by Jan de Oude. They were named as the “State of all and each of the goods, movables, and inheritable trade, outstanding debts, activities, and credits found in the estate of the deceased Jan della Faille d’Oude.”¹⁴³ The two states found in the Della Faille de Leverghem Archive were both produced and given over as evidence of the administration of the estate in 1598.¹⁴⁴ The first state covers the accounts of the estate from the time of Jan de Oude’s death on 8 November 1582 until 26 December 1583.¹⁴⁵ The copy extant in the archive was presented by Nicolay on 18 July 1598.¹⁴⁶ The second state documents the estate’s transactions from the end of 1583 until the end of 1594. Marten handed over a copy of the document to the magistrates of

¹⁴² Inventory of the estate of Jan de Oude, 18 November 1596, DFL 13.

¹⁴³ State of Jan de Oude's estate, 26 December 1583, DFL 12: “Staet van alle ende yegelycke de goeden, haeffelyck, ende erffelyck coopmansschappen uuytstaende schulden, actien, ende crediten bevonden inden sterfhuuse van wylen Jan della Faille d’Ouyde.” DFL 12bis has the same title.

¹⁴⁴ The size and complexity of the states probably accounts for the two years from the declaration of the magistrates. Given the process for the creation of the inventory, it is also likely that delays occurred.

¹⁴⁵ State of Jan de Oude's estate, 26 December 1583, DFL 12. The surviving copy in the archive is a large book bound in leather, containing a total of 664 pages with 316 numbered pages of verso and recto. The state begins with 17 unnumbered pages and ends with a further 15 unnumbered pages.

¹⁴⁶ State of Jan de Oude's estate, 26 December 1583, DFL 12. On the same day, a summary state was also provided to the magistrates. This encompassed the accounts of both of the two states. It also made some changes to how the inheritance left by Jan de Oude and his daughter Cornelia were treated. Summary of the state of Jan de Oude, 18 July 1598, DFL 13.

Antwerp on 16 March 1598 as demanded by Carlo.¹⁴⁷ These states were derived from the account books of the estate kept by Marten. The former gained its information directly from the ledger number 9. The second state used both the ledger number 9 and 10, which Marten began in June 1584.

Of course, the production of a state and inventory that followed the accounts made by Marten conformed to the narrative that he had provided. On the very day that Marten handed over the state of the capital up to 1594 to the magistrates, Carlo reaffirmed a lawsuit he had made six days prior, contending that the accounts that Marten had provided were fraudulent.¹⁴⁸ Like the state made by Hendrick van Uffelen, the document that was meant to provide a basis for an agreement between the two sides instead merely created a new foundation for the disputes between the brothers. The magistrates seem to have tired of Carlo's unwillingness to compromise with his brother. On 22 April 1600, Carlo was compelled to make an oath before the magistrates that he would not make any more lawsuits against Marten. Any continued pursuit of legal action against Marten would be immediately nullified. On 5 September 1600, Carlo appeared before the notary Gillis van den Bossche to certify that he had taken the oath and would conform to the desires of the magistracy.¹⁴⁹

Soon after Carlo made his oath, a subset of the heirs of Jan de Oude agreed that Jan Nicolay's state correctly described the accounts of the estate, certifying all of the accounting of the estate from the death of Jan de Oude to the end of 1583. An important step in coming to an

¹⁴⁷. State of Jan de Oude's estate, 31 December 1594, DFL 12bis. Though the copy was certified by a notary of Antwerp on 9 August 1602, it was not used in any agreement like that first state. The copy possesses a modern cover and contains 206 pages of content. The original contained 311 numbered pages, but the copy preserved in the archives does not follow the original pagination.

¹⁴⁸. Nullification of lawsuit by Carlo, Antwerp, 5 September 1600, DFL 8 provides information on the dates of Carlo's lawsuits. For the arguments made by Carlo, Lawsuit of Carlo against Marten, Antwerp, 1600, DFL 16.

¹⁴⁹. Nullification of lawsuit by Carlo, Antwerp, 5 September 1600, DFL 8.

agreement about the capital of Jan de Oude, that such an accord proved necessary demonstrates the long duration of the disputes between the Della Faille sibling. In 1600, only a subset of the siblings could even agree to the accounts of the capital as it lay at the end of 1583, more than 16 years prior. The signatories on the copy of the state present in the archive were Marten della Faille for himself and for his brother Steven, Jacques Godin, husband of Cornelia Malapert, the daughter of Maria della Faille, and he also signed in place of his brother-in-law Louis Malapert de Jonge. In addition Anna della Faille, her son Robert van Eeckeren de Jonge, and her son-in-law Balthasar de Smidt, husband of Johanna van Eeckeren all agreed to the contents of the state and the accounting practices of Marten.¹⁵⁰ Conspicuously absent from the list of signatories was Carlo. Along with Jan and Jacques, who both continued to reside in Holland, Carlo continued to resist overtures made by Marten to come to a final agreement concerning the inheritance.

7. Conclusion

Over seventeen years after Jan de Oude's death, three of his eight surviving heirs and two of the three executors of his testament remained unable to agree to the accounts of the estate from one year after his death. In other words, after all of the lawsuits in both Holland and Brabant that had sought the creation of the state of Jan de Oude's capital, Jan, Jacques, and Carlo, for very different reasons, continued to be unwilling to certify the accounts produced by Marten up to 26 December 1583, the date of the first accord between the heirs. The description of the legal actions taken by the heirs in order to create the state shows the arguments to have only superficially been about the need for the executors to abide by the laws of Antwerp and create an authentic state and inventory of Jan de Oude's estate. Jan and Carlo undoubtedly

¹⁵⁰ State of Jan de Oude's estate, 26 December 1583, DFL 12. Hester's signature was unnecessary since she had already agreed to the accounts when Daniel made the accord with Marten in 1594.

bristled at their exclusion from the accounts of the estate, but their real concern was with the accounts themselves. Jan and Carlo felt themselves cheated, first by their father, and then by Marten and Jacques. They did not just want access to the accounts, they wanted to criticize and change them. It was for this reason that Carlo immediately moved against the contents of the state and inventories after they were created.

The goals of Jan and Carlo are nicely summed up by another plea that Carlo made before the Raad van Brabant, this time in 1609. In the fall of 1609, the now 63-year-old Carlo asked that Jan de Oude's testament "be declared to be null, powerless, and of no value, in its entirety."¹⁵¹ It was the hierarchy that Jan de Oude had created through his testament and his handling of the maternal inheritance that Jan and Carlo attempted to overturn.¹⁵² Having been placed in a weaker position than Marten and Jacques, Jan and Carlo could only turn to outside institutions. The divisions created by the Dutch Revolt and the nature of Jan de Oude's patrimony being held in movable capital spread throughout Europe stressed the capabilities of early modern institutions.¹⁵³ The multiplicity of jurisdictions and the difficulties of communication bolstered the ability for Marten and Jacques to ignore judgments made against them. Despite the variety of forces working against the efficacy of the juridical institutions, after much delay, the institutions proved effective in their own way. Jan and Carlo eventually won the debate. Hendrick van Uffelen created a state by 1593. Following the lawsuits of Carlo against Marten in 1596, Jan Nicolay created an inventory and the states of the capital of Jan de Oude in

¹⁵¹. Statement of Raad van Brabant concerning the lawsuits of Carlo, 1 October 1609, DvdM 65-2: "worden vercleert te syn nul, machteloos, ende van onweerden in't gheheel."

¹⁵². Broomhall and Gent, "In the Name of the Father"; Bastress-Dukehart, "Family, Property, and Feeling"; Bastress-Dukehart, "Sibling Conflict"; Pollock, "Rethinking Patriarchy and the Family."

¹⁵³. Martha C. Howell, *Commerce before Capitalism in Europe, 1300-1600* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010); Sabeian and Teuscher, "Kinship in Europe."

1583 and 1594. However, the institutions did not possess the ability to reverse the hierarchy created by a father seeking to protect his patrimony. Institutions could bring the sides to the table and even force the creation of a basis for agreement, but, in the end, the siblings had to find a way to come to a consensus on their own.

Chapter 7

A Good Son, A Good Father: Friendship and Enmity between Marten, Jacques, and Daniel

1. Introduction

Jan de Oude's testament had identified Marten and Jacques as the two most influential siblings and executors. The testament entrusted them with the administration of the vast capital of the estate. If Marten and Jacques could work together amicably and effectively there would be little that Jan de Oude's more troublesome children could do. Together, at least in theory, they could recreate the paternal power held by their father and use it to unify the sibling group. The previous chapter has shown the attacks that Jan de Oude's paternal authority faced after his death from Jan and Carlo. The quarrels that developed between Marten and Jacques were of a much different nature. They did not dispute the patriarchal power of their father. Indeed, both were at pains to praise the labors of their father and the wealth that he had won for his children. Instead, the two fought over the ideal of the good son. Service, obedience, and faithfulness to their father during his life and to his memory after his death served as justification for succeeding to the position of the father as the head of the family. Even within partible inheritance, the notion of succession possessed importance on both an individual and family level.¹ Birth order, Marten's

¹ David Warren Sabeau and Simon Teuscher, "Kinship in Europe: A New Approach to Long Term Development," in *Kinship in Europe: Approaches to Long-Term Development*, ed. David Warren Sabeau, et al. (New York: Berghahn Books, 2007); Christopher H. Johnson and David Warren Sabeau, "From Siblingship to Siblinghood: Kinship and the Shaping of European Society (1300–1900)," in *Sibling Relations and the Transformations of European Kinship, 1300–1900*, ed. Christopher H. Johnson and David Warren Sabeau (New York: Berghahn Books, 2011); Benjamin Marschke, "The Crown Prince's Brothers and Sisters: Succession and Inheritance Problems and Solutions Among the Hohenzollerns, from the Great Elector to Frederick the Great," in *Sibling Relations and the Transformations of European Kinship, 1300–1900*, ed. Christopher H. Johnson and David Warren Sabeau (New York: Berghahn Books, 2011); Erica Bastress-Dukehart, "Family, Property, and Feeling in Early Modern German Noble Culture: The Zimmerns of Swabia," *The Sixteenth Century Journal* 32, no. 1 (2001): 1–19; Erica Bastress-Dukehart, "Sibling Conflict within Early Modern German Noble Families," *Journal of Family History* 33, no. 1 (2008): 61–80; Lloyd Bonfield, ed. *Marriage, Property, and Succession* (Berlin: Duncker & Humboldt, 1992).

wealth, his connections and experience from his trading activities in Hamburg and London, and his residence in the house of his father all set to give him the edge over his younger brother.

However, Marten's position was contestable, and Jacques was best placed to contest it.

The disagreements between Marten and Jacques that broke out soon after their father's death were fought out over a variety of issues and through a number of means. The brothers were not helped by the external factor of the Dutch Revolt. Marten and Jacques were split in their political and religious allegiance. Marten remained loyal to crown and Church, while Jacques became an ardent supporter of the rebels and a Calvinist.² There is little evidence on the causes for their separate choices, but Marten's assumption to the social position of his father as Jan de Oude's chosen successor inevitably colored his loyalism.³ The brothers did not shrink from using their varying political and religious loyalties in their disputes when it suited them. For instance, Jacques presented himself as a religious refugee upon his arrival to London in 1586, while he noted that Marten lived in enemy territory.⁴ However, their actual quarrels rarely if ever took a political or religious tenor. Their arguments took place over Marten's presentation of himself as a faithful son and servant to his father, who had sacrificed his own interests for the good of the family.

² Jacques's political and religious opinions can be followed in his letters to Daniel. His dislike of the Spanish and the Pope was clear, but he did not become an ardent Calvinist. Daniël van der Meulen en Hester de la Faille, *zijn vrouw*, 1550–1648, inventory 538, Erfgoed Leiden en Omstreken, Leiden, The Netherlands (hereafter DvdM).

³ Jan de Oude's testament had obligated Marten to live in his house on the Huidevetterstraat, or it would be given to Jacques. Testament of Jan de Oude, Familie De Malapert, inventory 22, Het Utrechts Archief, Utrecht, The Netherlands (hereafter FM). It is transcribed in Gisela Jongbloet-van Houtte, ed. *Brieven en andere bescheiden betreffende Daniel van der Meulen, 1584-1600*, Rijks Geschiedkundige Publicatiën: Grote serie (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1986), cxliv–clix. In letters Marten sent while Antwerp was under siege, he also noted that he had remained in Antwerp to protect the capital of the family that was held in Antwerp and the southern provinces. Marten's letter book, Della Faille d'Huyse Archive, inventory NNN, Rijksarchief te Gent, Ghent, Belgium (hereafter DFH).

⁴ See Marten's description in Memory of Marten, Della Faille de Leverghem Archive, inventory 14, Private collection, Lozer, Belgium (hereafter DFL).

This chapter follows the debates between Marten and Jacques over the right to the position of the good son and thus to that of successor of their father. As much as the brothers argued over money and accounts, discourse played a central role in their disputes.⁵ The sections alternate between the directly financial disputes over the capital of the estate in London and a rhetorical battle over the narrative of family history. Daniel van der Meulen came to play a central role in both theaters. The extant letters between Marten, Daniel, and Jacques show the attempts by both of the executors to win their brother-in-law over to their side.⁶ Both Marten and Jacques used a rhetoric that emphasized sibling unity and obedience to their father. To live up to this ideal and counteract the forces of fission that tore the siblings apart, the siblings needed to be able to build a consistent language and narrative of their relations to each other. The ability to speak the same language and tell the same story provided a sibling group with a basis for unity and friendship from which they could counteract difficulties that would inevitably ensue within such close relations. Without such a foundation, mistrust threatened to fray the bonds of siblings.

⁵ Paul D. McLean, *The Art of the Network: Strategic Interaction and Patronage in Renaissance Florence* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2007); Francesca Trivellato, "Merchant Letters across Geographical and Social Boundaries," in *Correspondence and Cultural Exchange in Europe, 1400–1700*, ed. Francisco Bethencourt and Florike Egmond (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007); Francesca Trivellato, *The Familiarity of Strangers: The Sephardic Diaspora, Livorno, and Cross-Cultural Trade in the Early Modern Period* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2009); Sebouh Aslanian, *From the Indian Ocean to the Mediterranean: The Global Trade Networks of Armenian Merchants from New Julfa* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2011); Susan Broomhall and Jacqueline van Gent, "Corresponding Affections: Emotional Exchange among Siblings in the Nassau Family," *Journal of Family History* 34, no. 2 (2009): 143–165; Susan Broomhall and Jacqueline van Gent, "In the Name of the Father: Conceptualizing 'Pater Familias' in the Letters of William the Silent's Children," *Renaissance Quarterly* 62, no. 4 (2009): 1130–1166; Susan Broomhall and Jacqueline van Gent, "Converted Relationships: Re-negotiating Family Status after Religious Conversion in the Nassau Dynasty," *Journal of Social History* 47, no. 3 (2014): 647–672.

⁶ There are 616 letters from Jacques preserved in the Daniel van der Meulen Archive and 70 from Marten. The Della Faille archive contains copies of many of the letters, though by no means all, that Daniel sent to Marten from 1584 until 1600. At some point, Marten had one of his sons transcribe and summarize Daniel's letters. The result was a book containing sixty-eight letters from Daniel and five from Hester. In the Della Faille archive and Daniel van der Meulen archive ten full letters from Daniel have been preserved. Two of these letters correspond with letters transcribed by Marten's son, and these show that the summaries were accurate, with the main difference being a change to the pronouns so that they are from the perspective of Marten instead of Daniel. For further discussion of the letters in the collections of Daniel and Marten see Chapter 1.

Marten and Jacques's inability to agree to a narrative of the service that they had provided for their father, and thus the gratitude each could expect from the other, wrecked any chance for the Della Faille siblings to live up to the ideal of a united sibling group.⁷

Marten and Jacques's relationship centered around questions over Marten's administration of the branch in London during his eight year tenure as the branch's head. In the course of working for his father in London, Marten had tens of thousands of pounds of capital move across the books he kept. At the same time, Marten carried on his own trade independently of his father, which enabled him to build significant wealth that he held separately from his father's capital.⁸ Marten was the only sibling given this level of opportunity by Jan de Oude. The wealth he built and the direct power he held over a large portion of the capital left by Jan de Oude provided a material foundation for Marten's position as head of the sibling group following his father's death. However, Marten's dual position as his father's factor and an independent merchant led to potential conflicts of interest. Marten interpreted the responsibilities and opportunities that his father had handed to him as evidence of Jan de Oude's approval of him and the work that he did. However, Jacques interpreted Marten's service in a quite different way,

⁷ McLean, *Art of the Network*; Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, Revised ed., (London: Verso, 2006); Broomhall and Gent, "Corresponding Affections"; Pierre Bourdieu, "On the Family as a Realized Category," *Theory Culture and Society* 13, no. 3 (1996): 19–26; Pierre Bourdieu, *Outline of a Theory of Practice* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977). This understanding of the ability of individuals to come together through narrative and rhetoric is also influenced by the work of the Cambridge School of Political Thought and their expansion of Analytical Philosophy. Quentin Skinner, "Meaning and Understanding in the History of Ideas," *History and Theory* 8, no. 1 (1969): 3–53; Quentin Skinner, *Visions of Politics*, vol. 1, *Regarding Method* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002).

⁸ See fuller description in Chapter 2.

arguing that Marten had taken advantage of his dual position to steal from their father's capital to enrich himself.⁹

Similar to the contentions that Jan and Carlo made against Marten and Jacques's administration over their father's estate, the debates about Marten's administration of the capital in London pitted access to and criticism of the accounts of the capital against references to the authority of Jan de Oude. After 1583, the majority of the capital remaining in the estate of Jan de Oude lay in London.¹⁰ The size of the capital held in London meant that if Marten and Jacques

⁹ Much of the literature on the problems of trade over distance and the trust of factors has used the example of the Maghribi traders as a battle ground following the work of Avner Greif. Avner Greif, *Institutions and the Path to the Modern Economy: Lessons From Medieval Trade* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006); Avner Greif, "Reputation and Coalitions in Medieval Trade: Evidence on the Maghribi Traders," *The Journal of Economic History* 49, no. 4 (1989): 857–882; Avner Greif, "Contract Enforceability and Economic Institutions in Early Trade: The Maghribi Traders' Coalition," *The American Economic Review* 83, no. 3 (1993): 525–548; Avner Greif, "The Maghribi Traders: A Reappraisal?," *The Economic History Review* 65, no. 2 (2012): 445–469; Jeremy Edwards and Sheilagh Ogilvie, "Contract Enforcement, Institutions, and Social Capital: The Maghribi Traders Reappraised," *The Economic History Review* 65, no. 2 (2012): 421–444; Jessica L. Goldberg, "Choosing and Enforcing Business Relationships in the Eleventh-Century Mediterranean: Reassessing the 'Maghribi Traders,'" *Past & Present* 216 (2012): 3–40; Jessica L. Goldberg, "The Use and Abuse of Commercial Letters from the Cairo Geniza," *Journal of Medieval History* 38, no. 2 (2012): 127–154. The relationship between merchants and their factors has also played a central role in the growing literature of long-distance and cross cultural trade. However, trust was not only a problem among strangers. Trivellato, "Merchant Letters"; Trivellato, *Familiarity of Strangers*; Daviken Studnicki-Gizbert, *A Nation Upon the Ocean Sea: Portugal's Atlantic Diaspora and the Crisis of the Spanish Empire, 1492-1640* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007); Oscar Gelderblom, *Cities of Commerce: The Institutional Foundations of International Trade in the Low Countries, 1250–1650* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2013); Philip D. Curtin, *Cross-Cultural Trade in World History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984); Gunnar Dahl, *Trade, Trust, and Networks: Commercial Culture in Late Medieval Italy* (Lund, Sweden: Nordic Academic Press, 1998); Sebouh Aslanian, "Social Capital, 'Trust' and the Role of Networks in Julfan Trade: Informal and Semi-Formal Institutions at Work," *Journal of Global History* 1, no. 3 (2006): 383–402; Aslanian, *Indian Ocean to the Mediterranean*; Wilfrid Brulez, *De Firma Della Faille en de internationale handel van Vlaamse firma's in de 16e eeuw* (Brussels: Paleis der Academiën, 1959); Ricardo Court, "'Januensis Ergo Mercator': Trust and Enforcement in the Business Correspondence of the Brignole Family," *The Sixteenth Century Journal* 35, no. 4 (2004): 987–1003; Albane Forestier, "Risk, Kinship and Personal Relationships in Late Eighteenth-Century West Indian Trade: The Commercial Network of Tobin & Pinney," *Business History* 52, no. 6 (2010): 912–931; David Hancock, "The Trouble with Networks: Managing the Scots' Early-Modern Madeira Trade," *The Business History Review* 79, no. 3 (2005): 467–491; Luuc Kooijmans, "Risk and Reputation: On the Mentality of Merchants in the Early Modern Period," in *Entrepreneurs and Entrepreneurship in Early Modern Times: Merchants and Industrialists within the Orbit of the Dutch Staple Market*, ed. Clé Lesger and Leo Noordegraaf (The Hague: Stichting Hollandse Historische Reeks, 1995); Peter Mathias, "Strategies of Reducing Risk by Entrepreneurs in the Early Modern Period," in *Entrepreneurs and Entrepreneurship in Early Modern Times: Merchants and Industrialists within the Orbit of the Dutch Staple Market*, ed. Clé Lesger and Leo Noordegraaf (The Hague: Stichting Hollandse Historische Reeks, 1995); Craig Muldrew, *The Economy of Obligation: The Culture of Credit and Social Relations in Early Modern England* (New York: St. Martin's press, 1998).

¹⁰ See the discussion in Chapter 5.

could come to a consensus on the liquidation and partition of the capital in London, it would act as basis for further agreements over the entire estate. However, in order to reach a consensus, Jacques would have to find some way, either through access to the accounts or compromises made with Marten, to trust in the fidelity of his brother's activities in London. The other alternatives involved Jacques gaining control over the capital in London and thereby reversing the power structure over the capital or endlessly battling Marten over his accounting practices in London both before and after their father's death. While Jacques made attempts to gain full control of the capital in London, and at times appeared close to compromise, his ultimate inability to reach an agreement about the administration of the capital led to endless disputes that were not fully resolved until after Jacques's death in 1615.

2. Background to the Trade of the Della Faille in London

Jan de Oude began to trade in London as soon as he became a factor for Marten de Hane in Antwerp and started to trade independently in 1541. From this time until Marten and Jacques ended their trade activities, the branch of London played a central role in the trade activities of the Della Failles and therefore in the administration of the estate of Jan de Oude. At the time that Jan de Oude began to trade in London, he worked with his brother Jacques de Oude.¹¹ In 1557, with the death of Marten de Hane, the Della Failles broke from the De Hane family and expanded their trade in England. After Jacques de Oude left London, Pieter Samyn, the son of their sister Maria, served the brothers as head of the branch. When Jan de Oude and Jacques de Oude divorced their trade activities after 1564, Pieter chose the side of Jacques de Oude, and so Jan de Oude promoted Herman Pottey, who had previously served the brothers as a *giovane* in

¹¹ Brulez, *Firma Della Faille*, 15–16.

London, to lead his trade activities in London. Both as a reward for serving as Jan de Oude's factor and in order to tie him more directly to the Della Faille family, Jan de Oude arranged the marriage of Herman to Jan de Oude's niece, Catharina de Wale in 1567.¹² With Herman's death in 1574, Jan de Oude again had to find a new factor for the branch in London. This time he chose his thirty year-old son Marten, who had previously headed the much less crucial branch in Hamburg. Marten headed the branch until his father's death in 1582.¹³

From the beginning of Jan de Oude's trade activities, London acted as an important terminus for his trade. London was an major marketplace for Italian silks in which the De Hane and then the Della Faille specialized. The higher price for silks in London meant that most of the silk purchased by the Della Failles in Italy was sold in London, with only relatively small amounts sold in Antwerp. It also became a key marketplace for the sale of linen from the Low Countries. Conversely, Jan de Oude purchased kerseys, woolens, and raw wool in the environs of London, which were then primarily sent to Italy.¹⁴ By the time of Jan de Oude's death, the branch under Marten's lead had developed alongside the branches in Venice and Verona to act as the cornerstones of Jan de Oude's trade and wealth. As such, the branch of London inevitably played a large role in the administration of Jan de Oude's estate and the division of the inheritance among his heirs. On 26 December 1583, the executors of Jan de Oude's testament placed the capital held by the branch of London at £38,233.4.4 or 48% of the total assets held by the estate at the end of 1583.¹⁵

¹² After Herman Pottey's death, Jan de Oude continued to care for his family. In his testament, Jan de Oude gave each of Herman's three children an annuity of £16. Testament Jan de Oude, FM 22.

¹³ Brulez, *Firma Della Faille*, 267–278.

¹⁴ Brulez, *Firma Della Faille*, 42–48 and 271–278.

¹⁵ State of Jan de Oude's estate, 26 December 1583, Branch of London, DFL 12-110.

With Marten's return to Antwerp to occupy the house of his father in Antwerp, the administration of the capital in the branch in London fell to Thomas Coteels and Wouter Aertsen, who had both worked under Marten. After the outbreak of disputes between Marten and Jacques, Thomas and Wouter divided their allegiance among the two brothers with Thomas representing Marten and Wouter acting as the representative of Jacques. Thomas and Wouter not only acted as representatives of Marten and Jacques in their quarrels over the capital in the branch of London, they acted as the factors of the trade activities that Marten and Jacques carried on in London after the death of their father.¹⁶ In addition to the traditional lines of overland trade carried on by the Della Faille family, both Marten and Jacques quickly moved to use London as a basis for a maritime route to the Mediterranean and the Iberian Peninsula. Marten sent ships to Venice from London beginning in 1582. After sending a ship laden with kerseys and wool in 1582, Marten sent two ships in both 1583 and 1584. He also developed a route between London and Naples after 1585. Marten was less bullish on trade with Spain and Portugal, but he sent ships to both Seville and Lisbon beginning in 1584.¹⁷ Jacques closely followed the activities of his older brother. Wouter reported on the goods that Marten sent over sea and the successes he achieved.¹⁸ Lacking the connections and capital of his brother, Jacques had to wait until 1584 to

¹⁶ Thomas Coteels became a partner with Marten through the creation of their company that also involved Jan Borne and Jan de Wale. Thomas was the junior partner in the company. Brulez, *Firma Della Faille*, 66–68, 75–77.

¹⁷ Brulez, *Firma Della Faille*, 124–156.

¹⁸ Letters from Wouter Aertsen to Jacques, DFL 4.

be able to outfit a ship in London bound for Venice. However, Jacques became more active in trade between London and Seville, often investing in ventures with Daniel.¹⁹

3. London, 1583

The disputes over the capital in London began almost immediately following the death of Jan de Oude. News of Jan de Oude's sickness had led Marten to hurriedly leave his post in London. Following the dictates of the testament, Marten moved into his father's house on the Huidevetterstraat in Antwerp, but before he could fully establish himself in his father's place, he had to return to London to conclude his affairs and properly transfer his responsibilities to Thomas and Wouter. In one of the first signs of the troubles that would soon boil over between the heirs, Marten's siblings hindered his departure by calling for him to provide a security to ensure he would return to Antwerp. In his later depiction of the events concerning the division of the inheritance, Marten expressed surprise at his siblings lack of trust, but the concern that Marten had used his position as head of the branch in London for his own profit must have been present among his siblings for some time. Marten's siblings eventually allowed him return to London, but they forbade him from doing so on his own. A few days after Marten left for London, probably sometime in early March 1583, Jacques, Steven, and Hester followed him in

¹⁹ On Jacques's trade with the Mediterranean see Gisela Jongbloet-van Houtte, "Inleiding," in *Brieven en andere bescheiden betreffende Daniel van der Meulen, 1584-1600*, ed. Gisela Jongbloet-van Houtte (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1986), xlvii; J. C. Vermeulen, "De handelsbetrekkingen met het Middellandse zeegebied in de jaren 1588-1592: Gegevens uit het archief van Daniel van der Meulen," in *De handel van Daniel van der Meulen c.s., in het bijzonder rond de jaren 1588-1592: Werkcollege economische geschiedenis*, ed. J. H. Kernkamp (Leiden: Universiteit Leiden, 1969), 5. On his trade with Iberia see P. M. Boortman, "De handel op Spanje op het einde van de 16e eeuw: In het bijzonder in de jaren 1588-1592," in *De handel van Daniel van der Meulen c.s., in het bijzonder rond de jaren 1588-1592: Werkcollege economische geschiedenis*, ed. J. H. Kernkamp (Leiden: Universiteit Leiden, 1969).

order to ensure that he properly divided the assets and liabilities between the estate and his own personal capital.²⁰

Upon their arrival, the four siblings began to go over the books of the branch in London in order to make a balance. The creation of a balance of the assets and liabilities in the branch of London held obvious significance for understanding the financial situation of Jan de Oude's capital and the inheritance he left his children, but it also held symbolic importance. Approving a balance of the capital in London would act as an implicit approval of Marten's administration of the branch and thereby an acceptance of his accumulation of wealth from his independent trading activities. Further, such approval would confirm Marten's position as head of the sibling group. In one sense, having Marten's siblings work alongside him to create a balance could provide a way for the siblings to work through the accounts together and reach a consensus on the proper treatment of the capital. This is what Marten and Steven did, going over both the journal and ledger of the branch from the first to the last page, checking each other's work to ensure that no mistakes were made. However, Jacques possessed quite different intentions. Jacques copied out the information in the books to make his own set of accounts, so that he would not be dependent upon Marten for access to information about the branch. He further used the information he gleaned from the books to construct a separate balance from that made by Marten and Steven. Marten later asserted that Jacques did not investigate the books out of brotherly love, but in order to find mistakes Marten might have made.²¹

In spite of the troubles and criticism that he faced, Marten was able to produce a balance and inventory of the capital in London by early May. On 25 May 1583, all of the involved parties

²⁰ Memory of Marten, DFL 14.

²¹ Memory of Marten, DFL 14.

agreed to the balance and inventory. This included an agreement between the three executors of the testament on the one side and Thomas and Wouter, as administrators of the capital, on the other and a second agreement in which Jacques, for himself, and Wouter, standing in for Jan, acknowledged the reception of the balance and inventory made by Marten.²² As part of the accord, the executors agreed “to seek to keep at all times good accounts and documentation of all that the signatories shall receive, purchase, or administer.”²³ Good accounting, it was hoped, could provide the basis for the amicable partition of the capital in London.²⁴

The creation of the balance and its acceptance by the executors should have provided a solid foundation for the liquidation of the assets in London. However, Jacques continued to have questions about Marten’s personal trading activities and the accounts he kept for their father’s trade. Soon after signing the accord, Marten returned to Antwerp with his wife and children, but his three siblings declared that they were not yet prepared to leave. Jacques used the opportunity supplied by his brother’s departure to scrutinize the accounts of the branch in greater detail. Specifically, Jacques looked into certain loans that Marten had made as the head of the branch that appeared in danger of not being repaid.²⁵ By the time that the three siblings returned to

²² Agreement of the balance and inventory of the capital in London, 23 May 1583 and 4 June 1583, DFL 13.

²³ Agreement of the balance and inventory of the capital in London, 23 May 1583 and 4 June 1583, DFL 13: “t’allen tyden versocht wesende goede rekeninghe, bewys, ende reliqua te doene van allen t’gene sy comparante ofte eenich van hun soo ontfangen, vercoopen, ende administreren sullen.”

²⁴ James Aho, *Confession and Bookkeeping: The Religious, Moral, and Rhetorical Roots of Modern Accounting* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2006); Bruce G. Carruthers and Wendy N. Espeland, “Accounting for Rationality: Double-Entry Bookkeeping and the Rhetoric of Economic Rationality,” *The American Journal of Sociology* 97, no. 1 (1991): 31–69; Muldrew, *Economy of Obligation*; Daniel Vickers, “Competency and Competition: Economic Culture in Early America,” *The William and Mary Quarterly* 47, no. 1 (1990): 3–29; Daniel Vickers, “Errors Expected: The Culture of Credit in Rural New England, 1750–1800,” *The Economic History Review* 63, no. 4 (2010): 1032–1057.

²⁵ Brulez notes the difficulties that the Della Faille had in collecting payment for goods, especially in London. Brulez, *Firma Della Faille*, 377–393. According to Muldrew, it was in 1580 that the litigation over debt began to drastically rise. Muldrew, *Economy of Obligation*.

Antwerp, Jacques believed that he had uncovered enough evidence to show that Marten had fraudulently burdened the capital of Jan de Oude with liabilities that he should have placed upon his personal accounts.²⁶ Back in Antwerp, Jacques conferred with Jan, and together with Jan van der Beke, who had been trained in law and had married a cousin of the siblings, the two brothers created a list of grievances against the accounting done by their brother and fellow executor in London.²⁷ In putting forward the grievances, Jan and Jacques sought not only to detail errors that had been found, but to show that Marten had placed his own interests above those of their father while he served as a factor in London.

On the evening of 28 September 1583, Jan van der Beke presented Marten with a list of thirty-seven grievances, detailing errors that Jacques had found in the books of the branch of London.²⁸ The individual errors ranged from substantial sums that would have had dramatic effects upon the inheritance of the siblings to the seemingly inconsequential. The most significant claims concerned the separate debts of Nicolas Jones and Nicolas Raynton. At issue in both was the line that Marten had drawn between his own capital and that of his father. Jones had extensive interactions with the capital of both Marten and Jan de Oude, but in 1581, he ran

²⁶ The new institutional economics has concentrated on the importance of institutions to minimize fraud. Much of the research has concentrated on the roles of fairs in the reemergence of trade in medieval Europe. Paul R. Milgrom, et al., “The Role of Institutions in the Revival of Trade: The Law Merchant, Private Judges, and the Champagne Fairs,” *Economics & Politics* 2, no. 1 (1990): 1–23; Avner Greif, “Institutions and Impersonal Exchange: From Communal to Individual Responsibility,” *Journal of Institutional and Theoretical Economics JITE* 158, no. 1 (2002): 168–204; Stephan R. Epstein, “Regional Fairs, Institutional Innovation, and Economic Growth in Late Medieval Europe,” *The Economic History Review* 47, no. 3 (1994): 459–482; John H. Munro, “The ‘New Institutional Economics’ and the Changing Fortunes of Fairs in Medieval and Early Modern Europe: The Textile Trades, Warfare and Transaction Costs,” *Vierteljahresschrift für Sozial- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte* 88 (2001): 1–47; Jeremy Edwards and Sheilagh Ogilvie, “What Lessons for Economic Development Can We Draw From the Champagne Fairs?,” *Explorations in Economic History* 49, no. 2 (2012): 131–148; Lars Boerner and Albrecht Ritschl, “Individual Enforcement of Collective Liability in Premodern Europe,” *Journal of Institutional and Theoretical Economics* 158, no. 1 (2002): 205–213; Lars Boerner and Albrecht Ritschl, “The Economic History of Sovereignty: Communal Responsibility, the Extended Family, and the Firm,” *Journal of Institutional and Theoretical Economics* 165, no. 1 (2009): 99–112.

²⁷ Memory of Marten, DFL 14.

²⁸ Declaration of Jan and Jacques against Marten, Antwerp, 28 September 1583, DFL 13.

into deep financial trouble. He provided Marten with three separate letters of credit amounting to £4,675 that turned out to be false. Jan and Jacques not only questioned why Marten had accepted the false form of payment, but also challenged the placement of this loss on the books of Jan de Oude instead of on Marten's own books. Jan and Jacques expressed similar qualms with the loans Marten had given Raynton. Already experiencing difficulty in repayment of a loan for £732.3.10, Marten loaned Raynton a further £1,447.16.2 at 8% over a period of eleven years with the hope that Raynton could use the money to purchase land that would provide him to means to repay the original debt. However, Raynton failed to make his first payment, and he had been put in debtor's prison. Jan and Jacques desired that Marten should himself be liable for this second loan Marten had extended to the already insolvent Raynton without proper security.²⁹

From the perspective of the power struggle between the executors following the death of Jan de Oude, the grievances that Jan and Jacques presented over seemingly inconsequential sums are as telling as those concerning larger sums.³⁰ Two examples give a sense of the kinds of decisions that Marten had to make as the head of the branch in London and the ways that Jan and Jacques could find fault with these decisions. In grievance number 33, Jan and Jacques complained that Marten had forgiven a small debt of Pieter Samyn for £1.19.10 even though Samyn was perfectly capable of paying this sum. Forgiveness of such small sums in order to balance an account was a common occurrence and helped facilitate exchange, but Jan and Jacques used the imprecision built into the social functioning of credit relations to call their

²⁹ Declaration of Jan and Jacques against Marten, Antwerp, 28 September 1583, DFL 13. See also Jan and Jacques with Carlo against Marten, Antwerp, 5 January 1615, DFL 8; Brulez, *Firma Della Faille*, 386–387.

³⁰ Many of the amounts cited in the grievances concerned liabilities of under £15, with the smallest sum dealing with a mistake in the accounting amounting to only £0.10.5.

brother's actions into question.³¹ In another instance, Jan and Jacques declared that the branch in London should not have been liable for the forced payment of £10 in 1578 in order to cloth Scottish soldiers. Jan and Jacques claimed that Marten should have taken on this liability on his own account, stating that "each of us must daily bare many of the same sorts of expenses, which we place on our own accounts and not that of the company."³² In other words, Jan and Jacques disagreed with the line Marten had drawn between his own accounts and those he held for Jan de Oude. Having uncovered these errors, Jan and Jacques wished to have Marten deliver "all of the books touching upon the trade and business of their deceased father and his children...so that they may more closely inspect the trade of the aforementioned company."³³

Marten quickly marshaled a response to each of the thirty-seven grievances made by Jan and Jacques with the help of their brother-in-law Robert van Eeckeren. Some of the responses were specific and relatively simple. For instance, Marten claimed that Jacques had misread the accounts in assuming that Pieter Samyn's debt had been forgiven. In actuality, the debt had been cleared by a separate credit on Samyn's account.³⁴ On more complex and significant issues, such as the debts of Jones and Raynton, Marten explained the work that he had done to minimize the liabilities of the branch and recuperate as much outstanding debt as possible. Marten claimed that his debt to Raynton could hardly be classified as negligence since Filippo Corsini, the well-known

³¹ Muldrew, *Economy of Obligation*; Vickers, "Errors Expected." The states of the capital of Jan de Oude shows that the executors did the same for both credits and debts held by the estate on various occasions. State of Jan de Oude's estate, 26 December 1583, DFL 12; State of Jan de Oude's estate, 31 December 1594, DFL 12bis.

³² Declaration of Jan and Jacques against Marten, Antwerp, 28 September 1583, DFL 13 nr 13: "wy elck van ons dagelyck veele diergelycke lasten oock zyn dragende die wy ten laste vande companie niet en stellen maer op onse eygen rekenninghen."

³³ Declaration of Jan and Jacques against Marten, Antwerp, 28 September 1583, DFL 13: "Item voorts is ons versoeck dat allen de boecken vanden handel ende negotiatie onsen vader zaliger ende synde kinderen rakende gedienen by den voors. M.d.F. [Marten] dat de selve sullen gebrocht worden ter plaetse vanden sterffhuysse van onsen vader zaliger om van alles naerder visie te moghen hebben vanden negotiatie vanden voors compagnia."

³⁴ Answer of Marten to the lawsuit of Jan and Jacques concerning the estate in London, 1583, DFL 8.

Florentine merchant, had loaned Raynton an even greater sum.³⁵ He and Corsini had made various trips to speak directly with Raynton. According to Marten, these trips and the many documents produced throughout the affair pointed to that fact that he had “done my duty to the best of my ability.”³⁶ The same was true with the large debt Jones had to the branch. Marten rather tersely noted that the particular debt that Jones had paid with false letters of credit involved the branch and had no relation to Marten’s own accounts. If the transactions had resulted in a profit, they would have been placed on the books of the branch, and so the branch had to assume the liability. However, Marten had done and continued to do all in his power to limit the losses incurred by the branch. Instead of criticizing his administration after the fact as his co-executors had done, Marten declared “that my brothers ought to thank him for his diligence.”³⁷

In defending the accuracy of his accounting and detailing the diligence of his service to his father, Marten attempted to show himself to be a responsible and obedient factor to his father. In this mode of argumentation, Marten defended his performance, pointing to the same sort of evidence, the books and other sorts of documents kept by a merchant, that Jan and Jacques had used to make their accusations. In addition to counteracting the claims of Jan and Jacques on their own terms, Marten asserted the correctness of his actions by appealing to the external source of power of Jan de Oude’s paternal authority. Thus, in the question of whether Marten should have placed the £10 expense to clothe the Scottish soldiers on his own account or that of

³⁵ P. O. Beale, et al., eds. *The Corsini Letters* (Stroud, UK: Amberley, 2011).

³⁶ Answer of Marten to the lawsuit of Jan and Jacques concerning the estate in London, 1583, DFL 8: “hebende daer inne al myn debvoir gedaen naer myn beste vermoghen.”

³⁷ Answer of Marten to the lawsuit of Jan and Jacques concerning the estate in London, 1583, DFL 8: “dat myne broeders hem behooren te bedancken van zyne diligentie.” Marten claimed to have already received more than £1,100 of the outstanding debt.

the branch of London, Marten did not present arguments for or against the correctness of his decision. Instead, he stated that Jan de Oude had approved the accounts in July 1578. Whether or not Jan and Jacques incurred such expenses on their own accounts or not had little bearing on the situation. Simply put, Jan and Jacques did not possess the ability to go against an account “approved by my father.”³⁸

The approval Marten had received from his father extended much further than a single account. Marten served his father as head of the branch in Hamburg from 1569 and then in London after 1574. Throughout his tenure as a factor, Marten had submitted various accounts of his activities “and he always approved and passed them, finding them to be always right and just.”³⁹ According to Marten, the approval of their father trumped any qualms Jan and Jacques might have with the individual accounts or decisions that Marten might have made. To question Marten’s accounts was to question their father and thereby go against the “will of our father and against all reasonableness.”⁴⁰ In the end, Jan and Jacques, like all children and heirs, had to follow “what the father has done in his lifetime.”⁴¹ Marten’s use of the paternal authority of Jan de Oude sought to invalidate not only the individual grievances presented by Jan and Jacques but also any future grievances. Just as his father had restricted scrutiny to the accounts of his children’s maternal inheritance, Marten attempted to block all questioning of his service to his

³⁸ Answer of Marten to the lawsuit of Jan and Jacques concerning the estate in London, 1583, DFL 8: “by mynen vader geaprobeert.”

³⁹ Answer of Marten to the lawsuit of Jan and Jacques concerning the estate in London, 1583, DFL 8: “hem gesonden ende heeft my die altyts geaprobeert ende de selve altyts recht ende juste gevonden ende gepasseert.”

⁴⁰ Answer of Marten to the lawsuit of Jan and Jacques concerning the estate in London, 1583, DFL 8: “wille van onsen vader ende teghen alle relyckheyt.”

⁴¹ Answer of Marten to the lawsuit of Jan and Jacques concerning the estate in London, 1583, DFL 8: “wat den vader in syn leven heeft gedaen.”

father through the use of paternal authority.⁴² From Marten's perspective, there existed no conflict of interest in his dual position as factor and independent merchant, because no matter what he had done, the documents showed that Jan de Oude had consistently approved of Marten's conduct.⁴³

The grievances presented by Jan and Jacques attempted to show that Marten had enriched himself at the expense of their father. Marten reversed the narrative presented by his brothers. He asserted that his service had been instrumental in the expansion of the family's capital. It was an argument that Marten would continue to make for the remainder of his life. Marten claimed that in the eight years he served his father London, he won profits of more than £40,000 through the sale of goods.⁴⁴ Marten pointed to instances in which he had quite clearly placed the interests of the family above his own desires. He performed his duties as the head of the branch in Hamburg at great personal sacrifice. Marten "traveled at great personal danger, causing my wife great distress."⁴⁵ Leaving his wife in Antwerp, Marten had forsaken his duties to his own family in order to serve that of his father.⁴⁶

⁴² On the maternal inheritance of the Della Faille siblings, see Chapter 2.

⁴³ Bastress-Dukehart, "Family, Property, and Feeling"; Bastress-Dukehart, "Sibling Conflict"; Broomhall and Gent, "Corresponding Affections"; Broomhall and Gent, "In the Name of the Father"; Julie Hardwick, *The Practice of Patriarchy: Gender and the Politics of Household Authority in Early Modern France* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1998); Courtney Thomas, "'The Honour & Credite of the Whole House': Family Unity and Honour in Early Modern England," *Cultural and Social History* 10, no. 3 (2013): 329–345.

⁴⁴ Answer of Marten to the lawsuit of Jan and Jacques concerning the estate in London, 1583, DFL 8: "ick voor myn vader in Engelant deur syn begeeren hebbe gedreven bethoonen sal dat ick binnen den voors termyn aen voors onsen vader winninghe hebbe gegeven boven de 40 duysent pont vlems afgetrocken alle quade schulden ende dat alleene inde comenschappen by my aldaer vercocht." Marten repeated the same claim in Memory of Marten, DFL 14.

⁴⁵ Answer of Marten to the lawsuit of Jan and Jacques concerning the estate in London, 1583, DFL 8: "gereyst niet sonder groot peryckel van mynen persoon ende dat tot verdriet van myne huysvrouwe." Sybille Stecher remained in Antwerp while Marten worked in Hamburg. This is shown by the baptism of their children at Onze Lieve Vrouw kerk in Antwerp.

⁴⁶ All of Marten's children born during his tenure in Hamburg were baptized in Antwerp, so Marten's wife Sybilla must have been living in Antwerp. Yves Schmitz, *Les della Faille*, vol. 3, *Les Branches des Barons de Nevele et d'Estienpuis* (Brussels: Imprimerie F. Van Bugghendout, 1967).

Far from the covetous factor that his brothers painted him as, Marten described his own service to his father as exemplary. He did so much for his father and for the family that “my labor and service could not be compensated with payment of even £10,000. Nevertheless, I have done everything at the discretion of our father.”⁴⁷ Marten concluded his defense by railing against the threats made by his brothers. They attempted “to make me poor where they ought to compensate me with a large sum for all the faithful and profitable service that I have done for our father.”⁴⁸ Through his long service to his father, Marten had expanded the family’s wealth, and therefore the inheritance of all of Jan de Oude’s children. Jan and Jacques’s attempts to go against all of the work that Marten had done for their father created “great confusion” in the administration of the estate. But even worse, it contravened the authority of their father. In his defense, Marten repeatedly backed his claims by reference to a rhetoric of family and authority. Marten effectively changed the topic of discussion from one of accounts, documentation, and mathematics to one of obedience to paternal authority.⁴⁹

Having defended the service he provided his father in his time in both Hamburg and London, Marten refused to provide his brothers with his own personal books as they had demanded. As much as the Della Faille siblings were financially connected, their separate accounts remained separate. Especially since Marten and Jacques had divided their trading activities, the brothers became competitors. Marten had previously given his brothers access to

⁴⁷ Answer of Marten to the lawsuit of Jan and Jacques concerning the estate in London, 1583, DFL 8: “mynen arbeyt ende dienst met egheen thien dusent pont en soude connen recompenseren, nochtans ick hebbe my altyt gestelt totter discretie van voors onsen vader.”

⁴⁸ Answer of Marten to the lawsuit of Jan and Jacques concerning the estate in London, 1583, DFL 8: “arbeyt wech te nemen ende my arm te maecken in de plaetse daerse my behooren te recompenseren van een groote somme voor den getrouwen ende profytelycke dienst die ick den voor onsen vader hebbe gedaen.”

⁴⁹ Bourdieu, *Outline of a Theory of Practice*, 63–65, 164–166; David Warren Sabean, *Property, Production, and Family in Neckarhausen, 1700-1870* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 91–92, 339–340.

his journal and ledger, but because he had possessed full rights to trade as an independent merchant, he had no obligation to share his personal accounts with his siblings. Marten noted that “I have never had a contract nor been bound to my deceased father.”⁵⁰ Therefore, Jan and Jacques “have nothing to do with my books, neither a small nor a large amount.”⁵¹ In other words, Marten believed that, backed by the constant approval of his father over a period of thirteen years, he had already supplied his brothers with ample documentation of his faithful service to their father. At this point, if Jan and Jacques continued to be unwilling to accept the accounts of Marten as accurate and faithful representations of his trading activities, there remained little to be done. Accounting could not solve the dispute, nor could the brothers simply stop trading with each other as might be possible in a normal merchant/factor relationship.⁵² Inextricably linked by social and financial bonds, the executors had to find a way to come to an understanding about the capital in London and approve a plan for its disbursal.

With the accounts in London under dispute, Marten sought to compromise with his siblings in order to overcome the complexities of accounting. Marten proposed that his siblings allow him to have control over the liquidation of the capital in London following the balance and

⁵⁰ Answer of Marten to the lawsuit of Jan and Jacques concerning the estate in London, 1583, DFL 8: “ick noyt in contract noch in verbont met mynen vader saliger en hebbe geweest.” Marten added that if Jan and Jacques wanted to retroactively deny to him the ability for him to trade on his own, then he should be paid the normal fee of 2% for all of the trade, both purchases and sales, that went through his hands in the thirteen years that he served Jan de Oude. Not only would such a retroactive action been impossible, it would have given Marten a right to what would have been a substantial amount of capital.

⁵¹ Answer of Marten to the lawsuit of Jan and Jacques concerning the estate in London, 1583, DFL 8: “met myne boecken niet te doen en hebben, lutter noch vele.”

⁵² Except for the most simple of trade relationships, the decision to break off trade with a factor was hardly ever a purely financial matter. Merchants were tied to their factors by social bonds, and often by bonds of kinship. The multiplicity of bonds helped facilitate trust between merchants, but it also made it more difficult for them to disentangle their financial interactions. Hancock, “Trouble with Networks”; Muldrew, *Economy of Obligation*; Aslanian, “Social Capital, ‘Trust’ and the Role of Networks”; Trivellato, “Merchant Letters”; Francesca Trivellato, “Sephardic Merchants Between State and Rabbinic Courts: Malfeasance, Property Rights, and Religious Authority in the Eighteenth-Century Mediterranean,” in *From Florence to the Mediterranean and Beyond: Essays in Honor of Anthony Molho*, ed. Diogo Ramada Curto, et al. (Florence: Leo Olschki, 2009); Trivellato, *Familiarity of Strangers*.

inventory prepared by Jacques. He promised to have the capital liquidated within six years, providing each of the heirs a one-sixth part each year. He was backed in this proposal by Robert and Louis Malapert, but Jan and Jacques refused to give up full control to their brother.⁵³ By approving Marten's proposal, Robert and Louis essentially agreed to be bought out. They showed themselves willing to accept the reception of a certain sum and otherwise allow Marten to deal with the liquidation of the capital in London. However, Jan and Jacques were obviously not convinced that their interests lie in compromise. As demonstrated by their thirty-seven grievances, they remained unwilling to renounce their ability to investigate and criticize the former and current actions of their brother. Passing on this opportunity to compromise, 1583 ended without any agreement on how to move forward with the capital in London.

4. A Good Father and a Good Son: The Ideal of a United Family

The inability for the executors to come to an agreement over the administration of the capital in London in 1583 portended the difficulties that lay ahead for the Della Faille siblings. The siblings understood both the symbolic and monetary importance of amicably dividing their father's estate, but the acceptance of the paradigm did not lead to its materialization. The task before the siblings only became more difficult after the disputes over the capital in London. In 1584, Carlo returned to Antwerp from his home in Dordrecht to make a lawsuit against the executors and the testament of Jan de Oude. He was eventually joined in this effort by Jan, leaving Jacques and Marten, whose relationship had been badly damaged by the disputes over the capital in London, to come together in defense of the testament.⁵⁴ While the siblings fought over their inheritance, the political and military events of the Dutch Revolt again approached

⁵³ Memory of Marten, DFL 14.

⁵⁴ See the discussion in Chapter 6.

Antwerp. Farnese had begun his reconquest of the Low Countries in 1582, pressing ever closer to Antwerp by the beginning of 1584.⁵⁵ With the political allegiance of the inhabitants put into question, Jacques became a colonel in the city watch and Steven was nominated to be a captain, but Marten remained firmly loyal to Philip II and the Catholic church.⁵⁶ By the end of 1584, only Marten remained in Antwerp, all of his other siblings had sought safer ground in Holland.

The marriage of Daniel and Hester at the end of 1584 added to the already present instability in the Della Faille family. Their marriage and its immediate aftermath have been fully discussed in Chapter 4. After the marriage, Daniel became an integral player in the affairs of the Della Faille siblings. Daniel had obvious interest in obtaining Hester's inheritance and using it to bolster his expanding economic activities. In order to do this, Daniel also needed to integrate himself into the networks of his in-laws.⁵⁷ In other words, Daniel needed to build amicable ties with his affines. On the other side, Daniel's marriage to Hester brought a new variable into the power relations within the sibling group.⁵⁸ Almost immediately, Daniel's marriage strengthened the position of Jacques, solidifying his alliance with his sister. However, Marten could not be

⁵⁵ Floris Prims, *De Grootte Cultuurstrijd*, 2 vols. (Antwerp: N. V. Standaard, 1942); Geoffrey Parker, *The Dutch Revolt*, Revised ed., (London: Penguin Books, 1985); Violet Soen, "Reconquista and Reconciliation in the Dutch Revolt: The Campaign of Governor-General Alexander Farnese (1578-1592)," *Journal of Early Modern History* 16, no. 1 (2012): 1–22.

⁵⁶ Floris Prims, *De kolonellen van de 'Burgersche Wacht' te Antwerpen (December 1577–Augustus 1585)* (Antwerpen: N.V. Standaard-boekhandel, 1942); Yves Schmitz, *Les Della Faille*, vol. 1, *Des Origines au XVIIIème Siècle* (Brussels: Imprimerie F. Van Buggenhoudt, 1965), 306 and 272–277.

⁵⁷ J. H. Kernkamp, ed. *De handel van Daniel van der Meulen c.s., in het bijzonder rond de jaren 1588-1592: Werkcollege economische geschiedenis* (Leiden: Universiteit Leiden, 1969); Brulez, *Firma Della Faille*.

⁵⁸ Martha C. Howell, *The Marriage Exchange: Property, Social Place, and Gender in Cities of the Low Countries, 1300-1550* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998); Martha C. Howell, "From Land to Love: Commerce and Marriage in Northern Europe during the Late Middle Ages," *Jaarboek voor Middeleeuwse Geschiedenis* 10 (2007): 216–253.

ignored, and aided by the presence of Andries in Antwerp, Daniel and Marten began to build a relationship soon after the marriage was celebrated.⁵⁹

In the face of the various types of fissures that existed between the siblings at the beginning of 1585, correspondence and discourse offered one of the only opportunities available to repair and maintain their frayed bonds. Words themselves could never be enough to overcome the forces that pulled the siblings apart, deeds would have to back up any words, but discourse and shared symbols could provide a foundation for the strengthening of bonds.⁶⁰ Isolated from his co-executors and with little opportunity to liquidate the goods of the estate because of the siege, Marten used correspondence and a discourse of family unity to integrate Daniel into the sibling group and attempt to heal wounds opened by the disputes over London. Marten's letters in 1585 reached out to both Daniel and Jacques through the ideal of sibling unity. Specifically, Marten constructed the ideal of family unity around the patriarchal power of Jan de Oude. Whereas he had depended mainly upon the authority of Jan de Oude in the context of the defense against Jan and Jacques in 1583, the medium of correspondence gave him greater freedom to present a fuller picture of Jan de Oude as a good father and himself as a good son.

The marriage of Hester to a Calvinist, a representative to the rebellious States General, and an increasingly close associate of Jacques undoubtedly acted as a setback to Marten's power within the sibling group.⁶¹ Yet, instead of turning his back to his sister and new brother-in-law,

⁵⁹ Andries's letters to Daniel in 1585, DvdM 593a and transcribed in Jongbloet-van Houtte, *Daniel van der Meulen*.

⁶⁰ Bourdieu, *Outline of a Theory of Practice*; Bourdieu, "Family as a Realized Category"; Broomhall and Gent, "Corresponding Affections"; Broomhall and Gent, "In the Name of the Father"; Broomhall and Gent, "Converted Relationships"; McLean, *Art of the Network*; Naomi Tadmor, *Family and Friends in Eighteenth-Century England: Household, Kinship, and Patronage* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001).

⁶¹ Gisela Jongbloet-van Houtte, "De belegering en de val van Antwerpen belicht vanuit een koopmans archief: Daniel van der Meulen, gedeputeerde van de Staten van Brabant ter Staten Generaal (1584-1585)," *Bijdragen en Mededelingen betreffende de geschiedenis der Nederlanden* 91 (1976): 23–43.

Marten sought to use the social and moral imperative of sibling unity to turn what appeared to be an impediment into an opportunity. In fact, the discord and turmoil around the sibling group made unity an even greater imperative. “It is now a time in which men ought to seek peace and to stand together, because the war brings enough sadness and difficulties on its own.”⁶² Marten ignored the political and religious allegiances that divided the siblings, seeing the Revolt as external to the issues of family. What held the siblings apart was not the war, but their inability to agree to the administration and partition of the estate of Jan de Oude. Though on different sides of the ongoing political and religious battles, Marten did not characterize Daniel as an enemy. The true enemies were those who benefitted from the current division among the sibling group. The siblings must come together and come to an agreement over the estate. If they did this “we would be a fortunate house, and all of the world would give us honor where now our enemies mock us and thereby profit.”⁶³ The war may have made the situation more difficult, but it did nothing to curb the siblings’ obligations to each other.⁶⁴

The divisions that had developed between the siblings held economic consequences, but Marten placed the task of the siblings in terms of living up to the standard set by their father. Marten attempted to replace the authority Jan de Oude had held over his children that had

⁶² Marten to Daniel and Hester, Antwerp, 24 January 1585, DvdM 274-7 (nr 73): “Het is nu eenen tijt dat men behoort vrede te soecken ende met malcanderen effen te stane want de oorloge sent verdriet ende swarichheit genoech.”

⁶³ Marten to Daniel and Hester, Antwerp, 24 January 1585, DvdM 274-7 (nr 73): “wij waren een gelukich huis ende alle de werelt soude ons huis erre geven, dar nu ons vianden met ons spotten ende hemlieden profijt dar mede doen.”

⁶⁴ Benjamin J. Kaplan, *Divided by Faith: Religious Conflict and the Practice of Toleration in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2007); Benjamin J. Kaplan, “‘For They Will Turn Away Thy Sons’: The Practice and Perils of Mixed Marriage in the Dutch Golden Age,” in *Piety And Family In Early Modern Europe: Essays In Honour Of Steven Ozment*, ed. Marc R. Forster and Benjamin J. Kaplan (Aldershot, England: Ashgate, 2005); Broomhall and Gent, “Converted Relationships”; Jesse Spohnholz, *The Tactics of Toleration: A Refugee Community in the Age of Religious Wars* (Newark, NJ: University of Delaware Press, 2011); C. Scott Dixon, et al., eds. *Living with Religious Diversity in Early-Modern Europe* (Aldershot, England: Ashgate, 2009).

continued to act as a force of fusion throughout his life with his memory now that he was no longer physically present. It was important that the memory was not just of the authority of the father. Marten presented Jan de Oude as a good and “honorable father,” who had spent his life working for the good of his family and children. It was up to the siblings to live up to their father by continuing that work and service for the good of the family. “God grant,” he exclaimed to Daniel, “that all of us can do as much for our children as our father has done for all of us. His work deserves to be enjoyed with great thankfulness, and his will to be followed.”⁶⁵ Specifically, Marten wrote to Daniel, Jan de Oude’s children had a duty to follow the accounts made by their father, “as is becoming of good children.”⁶⁶

Daniel was a newcomer to the family who needed to have the memory of Jan de Oude recounted, but Marten also used the memory of Jan de Oude in a letter to Jacques.⁶⁷ If anything, Marten recounted Jan de Oude’s deeds in even more laudatory terms in his letter to his brother. He reminded Jacques of the “good father” they had, who “dealt faithfully with all of his children, slaved for them, and conquered so much wealth.”⁶⁸ At a time when Carlo and Jan had called into question the treatment they received from their father in his testament, Marten stood behind all that Jan de Oude had done. He asked for Jacques to do the same. Jan de Oude had held the interest of his children in all of his activities, including his decision to remain unmarried for the

⁶⁵ Marten to Daniel and Hester, Antwerp, 24 January 1585, DvdM 274-7 (nr 73): “God geve dat elck can ons voor sijne kinderen soo veel doen mach gelijk onsen vader voor ons allen gedaen heeft ende behoorent met groote danckbarheyt te genieten ende sijnen wille in alles nar te comen.”

⁶⁶ Marten to Daniel and Hester, Antwerp, 24 January 1585, DvdM 274-7 (nr 73): “Gelijk dat goede kinderen toecompt.”

⁶⁷ Marten to Jacques, Antwerp, 4 May 1585, DvdM 274-9 (nr xlv). This letter from Marten to Jacques was copied by Marten’s son Joris and then sent to Daniel along with a letter Marten sent his brother-in-law on 28 May 1585. DvdM 274-10 (nr 126).

⁶⁸ Marten to Jacques, Antwerp, 4 May 1585, DvdM 274-9 (nr xlv): “Soo getrauelijck met sijn kinderen heeft gehandelt ende sooveel slavernije voor hemlieen heeft gedaen ende sooveel goet geconquisteert.”

last sixteen years of his life. Living his life out as a widower was done “honorably out of respect for his children, to allow them to be richer and not to admit any more children” into the family.⁶⁹ These memories of their father were meant to implore Jacques to respect the testament of Jan de Oude and pressure him to work with Marten towards a partition of the inheritance. If the memory of Jan de Oude’s service to his children did not stir Jacques, Marten also noted Jacques’s moral obligation to follow the will of the father. Children, Marten argued, must show reverence to their father and not abuse him by breaking the testament. He put it bluntly. “A father is lord and has the disposal of what is his.”⁷⁰ As an executor, Jacques had to abide by the testament and work with his co-executors.

A corollary to Marten’s description of Jan de Oude as the archetypical father providing and ruling over his children was Marten’s depiction of himself as the subservient son. “Now, for my part,” he wrote to Jacques, implicitly criticizing Jacques’s actions concerning the estate, “I will seek the honor of my father and follow his will as closely as I can, as all good children are by nature required to do.”⁷¹ Marten tied together the honor of their father with the actions of his siblings. As much honor, wealth, and power as Jan de Oude had won in his lifetime, if his children bickered and fought over the estate they dishonored not only themselves, but also their father.

As he had done in his defense against the accusations made by Jan and Jacques in 1583, Marten presented his efforts in the trade of Jan de Oude as exemplary of the service a son should

⁶⁹ Marten to Jacques, Antwerp, 4 May 1585, DvdM 274-9 (nr xlv): “Eerlijck uut respecte van sijn kinderen, om die te rijcker te laten ende geen ander kinderen inne te brengen.”

⁷⁰ Marten to Jacques, Antwerp, 4 May 1585, DvdM 274-9 (nr xlv): “Een vader is heere ende heeft de dispositie vanden sijne.”

⁷¹ Marten to Jacques, Antwerp, 4 May 1585, DvdM 274-9 (nr xlv): “Nu voor mijn part, de eere van mijn vader sal ick soecken ende sijnen wille soo naer gaen als ick can, ende alsoo alle goede kinderen van nature schuldich sijn.”

give to his father. He informed Daniel of the “slavery” he exposed himself to in working for his father. As head of the branches in Hamburg and London, “all of the principal trade passed through my hands and my late father referred all to me.”⁷² Looking back over his service to his father, Marten could only pray to God that what “I have done for my father’s trade, that I may see such faithful service by all those who serve or will serve me.”⁷³ Such language rejected the criticisms that Jan and Jacques had launched at his service to his father. But it did more than that. By linking himself so closely to his father’s acquisition of wealth, which he had just associated with the paternal authority held by Jan de Oude, Marten set himself alongside his father.

There could be no true replacement for the paternal power and awe wielded by Jan de Oude, but Marten presented his contributions as deserving gratitude from his siblings. The inheritance they were to enjoy was partly due to his faithful ministrations as a factor. Reality gave a picture far different from what Marten envisioned. He faced attacks from Jan and Carlo, who fought against the validity of the testament. Jacques, meanwhile, contested Marten’s service and worked against him in the administration of the estate. His brothers knew of his accomplishments, but “they pay me back poorly with great ingratitude and with all hate and envy.”⁷⁴ This was truly “a poor payment for all of my work and slavery.”⁷⁵ In his letter to Jacques, Marten made the connection between the work his father had done and his own explicit.

“If one of my brothers slaved for our father’s trade as I have done, and helped to conquer so

⁷² Marten to Daniel, Antwerp, 28 March 1585, DvdM 10 (nr 126): “Ende alle de principael negociën door mijn handen gepassert ende bij mijn vader salliger alles tot mij gereferert.”

⁷³ Marten to Daniel, Antwerp, 28 March 1585, DvdM 10 (nr 126): “Ick bidde God, alsoo ick in mijn vaders negociën hebben gedaen, dat mij mag gescien sulcken getrouwen dienst van al die mij dienen oft sullen mogen dienen.”

⁷⁴ Marten to Daniel, Antwerp, 28 March 1585, DvdM 10 (nr 126): “Sij weten allegader wel genoeg, dan sij loonen mij met eenen quaden loon ende met groote ingratitudine ende alleen met haet ende nijt.”

⁷⁵ Marten to Daniel, Antwerp, 28 March 1585, DvdM 10 (nr 126): “Eenen quaden loon voor alle mijne suren arbeyt ende slavernije.”

many goods over fourteen years, I would think that I had a duty to God to help him and his children and to stand behind them for the rest of my life, to not only hold him as a brother, but to consider that he had been a father in the conquests.”⁷⁶ For Marten, this service, and the natural obedience children owed to the father, should obligate his siblings respect and support him. Just as Jan de Oude’s work ought to beget the obedience of his children, Marten’s service and his fathers approval of it ought to set him as their father’s natural successor.⁷⁷

In emphasizing the importance of family unity and obedience to their father, Marten did not shy away from apportioning blame. In a letter to Daniel, Marten called Jacques “the only plague of our house.”⁷⁸ Marten may have been attempting to convince Daniel that if he aligned himself too closely with Jacques and his actions that Daniel would lose any good feelings that Marten might have for Daniel and Hester. However, there is no doubt that Marten placed the greatest amount of blame for their inability to properly administer the estate on the hands of Jacques. More than that, Jacques’s behavior had caused him personal and emotional harm. “God forgive him for the manifold injuries and the bitter words that he has spoken to me, of which my sister is well aware, that have brought me to tears and have been difficult to bear.”⁷⁹ The language Marten used was full of emotion that was inextricably linked to the power and property

⁷⁶ Marten to Jacques, Antwerp, 4 May 1585, DvdM 274-9 (nr xlv): “Voor mijn part, hadde een van mijn broers die slavernije voor onse vaders handelinge gedaen die ick gedaen hebbe, ende soo schoonen goet in 14 jaren helpen conquisteren, ick soude achten dat ick van Godts wegen schuldich waere hem ende sijnen kinderen te voorderen ende die voren te staene alle de dagen mijns levens ende niet houden alleene als bruder, maer rekenen datti een vader in de conquesten mede geweest waere.” Marten made a similar statement in a letter to Daniel. Marten to Daniel, Antwerp, 28 March 1585, DvdM 10 (nr 126): “Mar ick soude soodanigen broeder alle de dagen mijns leven int herte dragen.”

⁷⁷ Bastress-Dukehart, “Sibling Conflict”; Marschke, “Crown Prince’s Brothers and Sisters.”

⁷⁸ Marten to Daniel and Hester, Antwerp, 28 March 1585, DvdM 274-8 (nr 103): “de eenige pest van ons huis.”

⁷⁹ Marten to Daniel and Hester, Antwerp, 28 March 1585, DvdM 274-8 (nr 103): “God vergeeft hem die menichfuldige injurien, bitter woorden die hij mij wel heeft gegeven, die mijn suster wel kennelick sijn, die mijn tranen hebben gecost ende bitter om verdragen sijn geweest.”

relations between the siblings.⁸⁰ A solution to the disputes between Marten and Jacques had to be both emotional and financial. Jacques had to show himself capable of maintaining friendship with his brother instead of acting the part of an enemy.⁸¹

Jacques did make overtures to Marten and attempt to revive their relationship after he departed Antwerp for Haarlem. He understood the language of friendship and its import as well as anyone else. Marten's wife, Sybilla, had also left Antwerp in flight of the dangers brought by the siege and resided with some of her younger children in Dordrecht, providing an opportunity for Jacques to show a brotherly affection to Marten by giving her assistance where possible.⁸² On 2 March 1585, Jacques wrote to Marten that Sybilla was pregnant, and that he wished to have the honor of being the godfather of the child.⁸³ However, Marten's mistrust of Jacques had reached such a level that instead of reacting with joy at Jacques's desire to link himself to Marten's children, he responded with disbelief and almost disgust. He wrote to Daniel about the incident, explaining that he could not enable someone to become the godfather of his child who might turn around the next day and injure him either through the use of bitter words or actions against him.

⁸⁰ Hans Medick and David Warren Sabean, "Interest and Emotion in Family and Kinship Studies: A Critique of Social History and Anthropology," in *Interest and Emotion: Essays on the Study of Family and Kinship*, ed. Hans Medick and David Warren Sabean (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984); Broomhall and Gent, "Corresponding Affections"; Broomhall and Gent, "In the Name of the Father"; Linda A. Pollock, "Anger and the Negotiation of Relationships in Early Modern England," *The Historical Journal* 47, no. 3 (2004): 567–590; Barbara H. Rosenwein, "Worrying about Emotions in History," *American Historical Review* 107, no. 3 (2002): 821–845.

⁸¹ Trivellato, *Familiarity of Strangers*, 181, 183; Goldberg, "Choosing and Enforcing Business Relationships," 31–32, 35; Bourdieu, *Outline of a Theory of Practice*, 63–65; McLean, *Art of the Network*, 37, 100–102.

⁸² Marten's letters to Sybilla, DFH NNN.

⁸³ See Chapter 2 on the incidence of the use of siblings as godparents for the children of the Della Faille.

According to Marten, the nature of godparentage was “to increase and preserve friendship.”⁸⁴ He simply could not trust that Jacques was capable of such fidelity to himself and his family.⁸⁵

Marten wrote an explanation to Jacques of his refusal that touched upon the same themes. Marten gave an explicit explication of the importance and meaning of godparentage, while also emphasizing the importance of friendship between siblings.⁸⁶ “Friendship between brothers ought to occur not only with words, but also with deeds and works. To baptize another’s child, that is brotherly work and done for the increase of friendship.”⁸⁷ Marten did not use these words lightly. The bonds of siblings and godparents were both sacred. “Nature tells that there can be no greater friendship than that between the children born from a father and mother.”⁸⁸ If Jacques wanted to become a godparent to Marten’s child, he would have to show himself capable of living up to this natural bond. But especially recently, Jacques had spoken many injurious and unbrotherly words against Marten. Indeed, Marten wrote to Daniel that while Jacques now

⁸⁴ Marten to Daniel and Hester, Antwerp, 28 March 1585, DvdM 274-8 (nr 103): “om vrinschap te vermeederen, oock om die te continueren.” Marten expressed the same opinion in writing to Sybilla about Jacques’s desire to become a godparent of their child. Marten to Sybilla, Antwerp, 4 May 1585, DFH NNN.

⁸⁵ Guido Alfani and Vincent Gourdon, “Entrepreneurs, Formalization of Social Ties, and Trustbuilding in Europe (Fourteenth to Twentieth centuries),” *Economic History Review* 65, no. 3 (2012): 1005–1028; David Warren Sabean, *Kinship in Neckarhausen, 1700–1870* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 142–158; Rob Lutton, “Godparenthood, Kinship, and Piety in Tenterden, England 1449-1537,” in *Love, Marriage, and Family Ties in the Later Middle Ages*, ed. Isabel Davis, et al. (Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols, 2003).

⁸⁶ Luuc Kooijmans, *Vriendschap: En de kunst van het overleven in de zeventiende en achttiende eeuw* (Amsterdam: B. Bakker, 1997); Tadmor, *Family and Friends in Eighteenth-Century England*; Natalie Zemon Davis, *The Gift in Sixteenth-Century France* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2000); Yoram Ben-Porath, “The F-connection: Families, Friends, and Firms and the Organization of Exchange,” *Population and Development Review* 6, no. 1 (1980): 1–30; Jason Harris, “The Practice of Community: Humanist Friendship during the Dutch Revolt,” *Texas Studies in Literature and Language* 47, no. 4 (2005): 299–325; Sharon Kettering, “Friendship and Clientage in Early Modern France,” *French History* 6, no. 2 (1992): 139–158.

⁸⁷ Marten to Jacques, Antwerp, 4 May 1585, DvdM 274-9 (nr xlv): “Ende vrinschap onder broers behoort te sijne niet alleen met woorden maer oock met daden ende wercken, ende d’een den anderen kint te heffen, het is broederlijck werck ende tot vermeer[r]deringe van vrinschap.”

⁸⁸ Marten to Jacques, Antwerp, 4 May 1585, DvdM 274-9 (nr xlv): “al ist dat nature geeft dat geen breeder vrinschap wesen en can dan kinderen van éenen vader ende eender moeder geboren.”

claimed to seek a spiritual bond with his child, Jacques had recently stated “that he will seek vengeance against my wife and children.”⁸⁹ Such words could not be easily forgiven. Thus, in denying Jacques the position of godfather, Marten underscored the importance of the bond between siblings, but also the work that needed to go into actuating the gift of the natural attachment between brothers. In contrast to strengthening the ties through words and deeds, Jacques had attacked Marten and his family and created turmoil within the sibling group.

Marten ended his speech about the meaning of brotherhood, friendship, and godparentage with a rather simple solution. If Jacques made credible steps towards bringing the disputes over the estate of Jan de Oude to a close, then Marten would be able to trust in his continued friendship.⁹⁰ Marten’s explanation deserves to be quoted at length, for it not only shows the importance of an amicable administration of Jan de Oude’s estate, but also demonstrates the power relations within the sibling group at the time.

And if such is your intention, first we must settle all of the affairs of the estate, at least so far that we have a clear path forward and all backdoors are firmly closed. If you show with your deeds that this is your intention and you bring it about, I will accept your good opinion. Then, for my part, I will treat you as a brother ought to. I will forgive and forget. I will approve of all of the accounts of our father, of his factors, the testament, and a balance of the goods. If we can make an

⁸⁹ Marten to Daniel and Hester, Antwerp, 28 March 1585, DvdM 274-8 (nr 103): “dat sal hij tegen mijn wijf ende kinderen noch wreken.”

⁹⁰ The notion of trust that Marten exhibited in his letter fits in closely with that discussed by McLean. Trust was linked closely with acting according to expectation, which had to be built through a constant process. For instance, “The presentation of a credible, trustworthy self needs to be subtly and repeatedly accomplished, not simply ritually reproduced.” McLean, *Art of the Network*, 37. See also Muldrew, *Economy of Obligation*; Goldberg, “Choosing and Enforcing Business Relationships,” 31–32; Trivellato, *Familiarity of Strangers*; David Warren Sabean and Simon Teuscher, “Rethinking European Kinship: Transregional and Transnational Families,” in *Transregional and Transnational Families in Europe and Beyond: Experiences Since the Middle Ages*, ed. Christopher H. Johnson, et al. (New York: Berghahn Books, 2011).

agreement that is just, then we can work with Robert, Vermeulen, and Steven so that we can align ourselves against those who seek to bring turmoil to our house.⁹¹

Marten clearly had a plan laid out for concluding the issues between the siblings. He did not doubt that Jan and Carlo would continue to cause problems, a suspicion that turned out to be all too true, but if Jacques and Daniel could ally themselves with Marten, Robert, and Steven, they would be able to push through a conclusion to the estate. But Jacques had to show that he could work with Marten. That Marten held out the position of godparent as a reward for working together demonstrates the importance that he attached to godparentage. Coming to an agreement over the estate became a test of Jacques's friendship, and therefore, according to the outlines Marten had set in the letters, a test of Jacques's willingness to fulfill his natural obligations to his father and his siblings.⁹² In the end, Marten's child was born in Dordrecht, but rebaptized with the lawyer Henry kinschot and Marten's sister Anna standing in as godparents after Sybilla and her young daughter returned to Antwerp after its fall.⁹³ Religion may have played a role in Marten's disapproval of Jacques being a godparent, but it was not paramount. In fact, when

⁹¹ Marten to Jacques, Antwerp, 4 May 1585, DvdM 274-9 (nr xlv): "ende sulx U intensie sijnde, soo moeten wij alle dingen vanden sterfhuysse eerst clerrren ende tenminsten soo verre dat wij eenen wech inne willen ende dat alle achterdeuren gesloten sullen sijn, ende dat mij blijcke metter daet dat de intensie soo is, ende sulx van Uwer sijde effectuerende, daer uuyt sal ick dan de goede meeninge verstaen, ende van mijnder sijde, wat den eenen broeder den anderen behoort te doene, ick salt doen, vergeven, vergeten, alle onse vaders rekeninge, van sijne facteurs, sijn testament tot op den dag saldo approberen, avoyeren gelijk wij overcommen sijn ende gelijk die recht sijn ende daerop voorts gaen om met degene als Robert, Vermeulen, Steven, dat wij tsamen tegenstaen die onruste inden huysse soecken."

⁹² Christopher H. Johnson and David Warren Sabean, eds. *Sibling Relations and the Transformations of European Kinship, 1300–1900* (New York: Berghahn Books, 2011); Thomas, "Family Unity and Honour"; Bastress-Dukehart, "Sibling Conflict"; Leonore Davidoff, *Thicker than Water: Siblings and their Relations, 1780–1920* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012).

⁹³ Schmitz, *Les Della Faille*, vol. 3, 7–8. Marten's daughter was rebaptized on 13 October 1585 in Antwerp. Marten obviously feared that his child might be inadequately baptized considering the religious situation in Holland. Jacques reported that "Marten wrote to me that he does not want his child baptized unless he is present. He made a great speech that he did not want his child baptized in the Reformed manner." Jacques to Hester, Haarlem, 20 May 1585, DvdM 538a-13 (125): "Marten schrijft mij hij beghert het kindt niet gedoopt voer hij en isser bij. Ende maeckt mij een groote prologue op 'theffen van sijn kindt met eenen vrenden, dieren discant."

Marten and Sybille's next child was born in the summer of 1586, Jacques stood as godfather.⁹⁴ Optimism that an end my soon be reached had been reignited.

Marten's letters to Daniel and Jacques during and immediately following the siege of Antwerp attempted to construct and reconstruct the bonds between siblings. At the same time, Marten remained clear that if amity was to be gained, the siblings would have to abide by the will of their father. To Marten's mind that also meant accepting him as the leader of the sibling group. If Jacques and Daniel could accept the hierarchy of the siblings created by Jan de Oude, they could bring their disputes to an end and "live in friendship as befitting brothers."⁹⁵ So long as Jacques and Daniel showed him friendship, Marten promised "do that which a brother-in-law or brother, the one to the other, ought to do."⁹⁶ This meant seeking unity where now "hate and envy is master, which dominates over all and has such great passion, so that all honor and reasonableness are forgotten."⁹⁷ Once Antwerp fell to the forces of Farnese in August 1585, it again became possible for the siblings to speak about coming together to reach a final agreement over the administration of Jan de Oude's capital.

5. London, 1586–1587

Soon after establishing his family's residence in Bremen at the end of 1585, Daniel set off to return to Holland in May 1586 to help his affines come to a final agreement over the estate of Jan de Oude. Jacques had long sought to travel to London with Daniel in order to put the

⁹⁴ Schmitz, *Les Della Faille*, vol. 3, 8.

⁹⁵ Marten to Daniel, Antwerp, 24 January 1585, DvdM 274-7 (73): "Ende voort in vrinscappe te leven alsoot onder broeders wel betaemde."

⁹⁶ Marten to Daniel and Hester, Antwerp, 28 March 1585, DvdM 274-8 (nr 103): "Doen tgeneen swager oft broeder deen den anderen behoort te doene."

⁹⁷ Marten to Daniel and Hester, Antwerp, 28 March 1585, DvdM 274-8 (nr 103): "Haet ende nijt is meester, die over eenige dominert ende hebben die passie soo groot, datse alle eere ende relickheyt vergeten."

accounts in order after they had been left in dispute in 1583, but their departure had been delayed by the political events surrounding the fall of Antwerp.⁹⁸ After dealing with the estate in London, it was hoped that they could procure robust protections through passports to enable them to travel to Antwerp and there come to a final agreement with Marten. Unfortunately for the impatient Jacques, their departure to London was delayed by a number of months after Daniel contracted a severe sickness in which his life was believed to be in danger.⁹⁹ After Daniel's recovery, Daniel and Jacques arrived in London in late July or early August 1586. The two brothers-in-law arrived with a stated desire to seek family unity and protect the interests of the sibling group. However, instead of building a basis for compromise, Jacques's distrust of the actions of Marten and especially of Thomas Coteels only increased as he researched the accounts in London. By the time that Jacques left London on 23 March 1587, the Della Faille siblings were further than ever from coming to an agreement about the inheritance left by their father.

Due to both the large holdings of the estate in London and their disputed nature, any activity concerning the estate in London had the ability to either move the siblings closer to compromise or worsen the fissures within the sibling group. By 1586, Daniel was well aware of the fault lines within the family into which he had married. He understood the importance and danger of traveling to London with Jacques. Yet, Daniel also had great interest and desire to expedite the reception of his wife's inheritance. Confronted with the possible conflict between his personal interest of maximizing his own share of the inheritance and the interests of the

⁹⁸ On the delays for the trip to London that appeared at various times to be only days away, see Jacques to Daniel, 17 June 1585, DvdM 538a-16 (137); Jacques to Daniel, 29 July 1585 DvdM 538a-18 (151); Jacques to Daniel, 6 August 1585, DvdM 538a-20 (155); Jacques to Daniel, about 18 August 1585, DvdM 538a-25 (164); Jacques to Daniel, 22 August 1585, DvdM 538a-27 (165); and Jacques to Daniel, 10 September 1585, DvdM 538a-36 (177).

⁹⁹ Daniel to Marten, London, 4 August 1586, DFL 4.

sibling group as a whole to come to a compromise, Daniel's brother Andries consistently sought to have Daniel play an intermediary role.¹⁰⁰

Andries and Daniel must have amply discussed the issues of the estate and the tack that Daniel should take before Daniel left Bremen, but Andries continued to remind his brother of the need to work towards family unity. "My advice in the affair of the estate of your wife's father is that you retain modesty and neutrality, and that you avoid the use of any vehement means, so that you do not bring yourself difficulty and enmity."¹⁰¹ Andries repeated himself a few weeks later, expressing his hope that Daniel could bring everything to a good end, "especially without the use of vehement means which are dangerous."¹⁰² Andries saw Daniel's long-term interest in working for the interests of the family as a whole and maintaining amicable relationships with all of his in-laws.¹⁰³ At least in discourse, Daniel adopted the rhetoric urged by his brother. Before leaving Bremen, Daniel wrote to Marten telling of his plan to go to London with Jacques. Daniel attempted to allay any fears that Marten might have concerning their intentions, expressing his "desire to show friendship."¹⁰⁴

¹⁰⁰ This fit in with the basic relationship between the ambitious Daniel and the more cautious Andries.

¹⁰¹ Andries to Daniel, Bremen, 25 May 1586, DvdM 593a-105: "Mynen raet is dat U.L. haer int stuck van t'sterfhuys van u huysvrouwe vader houdt in alle modestie end nuytral sonder eenighe vehementie middelen te ghebruycken, op dat ghy U niet wel moeyte ende vyantschap opden hals en treckt."

¹⁰² Andries to Daniel, Bremen, 9 July 1586, DvdM 593a-111: "insonderheyt sonder te ghebruycken vehemente middelen welcke dangereux syn."

¹⁰³ Ben-Porath, "F-connection"; Aslanian, *Indian Ocean to the Mediterranean*; Claude Markovits, *The Global World of Indian Merchants, 1750-1947: Traders of Sind from Bukhara to Panama* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000); Trivellato, *Familiarity of Strangers*; Francesca Trivellato, "Marriage, Commercial Capital, and Business Agency: Transregional Sephardic (and Armenian) Families in the Seventeenth- and Eighteenth-Century Mediterranean," in *Transregional and Transnational Families in Europe and Beyond: Experiences Since the Middle Ages*, ed. Christopher H. Johnson, et al. (New York: Berghahn Books, 2011); Hancock, "Trouble with Networks."

¹⁰⁴ Daniel to Marten, Bremen, 6 May 1586, DFL 4: "alle vrintschappe beghert te bewysen."

Jacques and Daniel's arrival in London marked a crucial period for the administration of the estate of Jan de Oude. As Daniel and Jacques reached the shores of England, Jan was in Antwerp attempting to come to a compromise with Marten.¹⁰⁵ With these movements towards a potential compromise, Daniel wrote to Marten upon his arrival to London with optimism. He asked to be informed of Marten's proceedings with Jan, while he hoped that they could maintain good communication during Jacques and Daniel's stay in London.¹⁰⁶ Marten also expressed optimism. Marten wrote to Daniel that he was busy getting a passport for Jacques and Daniel to safely travel to Antwerp. He assured Daniel that he will be free to come and leave as he pleases. "As free as you come, I will, with the help of God, enable you to leave, such that you will not be molested by anyone and shall be as free as me."¹⁰⁷ Jacques and Daniel's participation on the side of the rebels and the Calvinist Republic of Antwerp meant that they would need strong assurances of their safety in order to return to Antwerp. Yet Marten expressed confidence in his ability to obtain such assurances and that Jacques and Daniel's presence in Antwerp could lead to a compromise. When Jacques and Daniel arrive in Antwerp, "we will greet each other face-to-face, and then we can discuss everything. With these troubled times it would be good if we could bring everything to an end."¹⁰⁸

Upon their arrival in London, Jacques and Daniel began their investigation of the accounts of the capital in London. As Daniel fully immersed himself into the affairs of the estate,

¹⁰⁵. Jan entered into arbitration with Marten on 26 August 1586. DvdM 59-5. See Chapter 6.

¹⁰⁶. Daniel to Marten, London, 4 August 1586, DFL 4.

¹⁰⁷. Marten to Daniel, Antwerp, 21 August 1586, DvdM 274-14: "soo vrij als ghy compt soo vry sal ick u met Gods hulpe weder uut leveren dat U geen mollestacie van niemant sal gescieden noch overcomen ende vrij als mijnen persoon syn sult."

¹⁰⁸. Marten to Daniel, Antwerp, 12 September 1586, DvdM 274-15: "ende dat wy malcanderen mondelinge sullen groeten, ende dan van alles discoreren ende met dese vremde tyden wart goet datmen sage alle dingen ten einde te bringen."

it did not take long for his optimism to wane. Less than three weeks after his arrival, Daniel wrote to Marten about the difficulties that he and Jacques had confronted. Daniel reported that the situation in London was worse than anyone imagined, and that they had not been able to get any closer to making a balance of the capital. His short experience in London had showed to him that there existed “greater bitterness than was proper for brothers.”¹⁰⁹ Yet, Jacques and Daniel continued to confer with Wouter and Thomas to work through the accounts and investigate the debtors to the estate. After a great deal of strife, Wouter and Thomas produced a balance of the estate in London on 30 October 1586 that placed the total capital at £14,167.4.5 sterling.¹¹⁰

The creation of a balance of the capital in London was a necessary step to liquidating the branch of Jan de Oude’s trade, but it did not overcome all of the difficulties the Della Failles faced in administering the capital. Around the time of the agreement, Daniel left London, but instead of meeting with Marten in Antwerp, he returned to Bremen. Daniel must have left London disappointed and disillusioned at the prospects of coming to an agreement over the entire estate. In a letter Daniel wrote to Marten days before he left, his anger is clear. Daniel complained that he had been waiting for a passport to enable him to travel to Antwerp for the last three months, but he had yet to receive one from Marten. With no guarantee for his safety in Antwerp, Daniel could do nothing other than return to Bremen. He had been away from his wife and family and his duties to them for six months in order to attempt to resolve the issues of the estate, but little had been accomplished. Daniel declared that all of his actions had been done

¹⁰⁹. Daniel to Marten, London, 22 August 1586, DFL 4: “bitterheyt grooter dan zy onder broeders betaemt.”

¹¹⁰. Balance of the branch of London, 11 June 1586, DvdM 60-9; Inventory of the branch of London, 30 October 1586, DvdM 60-10; Account of the partition of the branch of London, DvdM 57-31.

with “moderation and peace” in mind, but there was no doubt that his own trip had proved a failure.¹¹¹

After Daniel’s departure, Jacques continued on in London on his own. Though Wouter and Thomas had been able to prepare a balance of the capital in London, Jacques and Daniel had found a number of issues with the accounting of Thomas during their investigation of the accounts. In remaining in London, Jacques hoped to further investigate Thomas’s books, while also communicating with debtors to the estate and collecting payments where possible. Jacques kept Daniel well informed of his activities, including the continued problems that he had with Thomas.¹¹² The more Jacques was able to learn about the administration of the capital in London, the more he came to distrust Thomas and fear the power that he had over the capital. Though Thomas and Wouter shared administration over the capital, Thomas had possession of more of the cash held by the estate than Wouter, making Marten’s position stronger than Jacques’s. Jacques sought to rectify this by having Thomas and Wouter equally divide the cash holdings of the estate between two coffers. Each would have their own keys so that the two coffers could only be opened if both were present. However, Thomas refused to do this.¹¹³

Given the history of the problems between the siblings over the administration of the estate, the refusal of Thomas to follow Jacques’s plan to divide the liquid holdings of the estate did not necessarily portend any reaction of consequence. However, Jacques had obviously tired of the behavior of Thomas and believed himself to be in a strong enough position to press to gain control of the capital in London. On 16 December 1586, after Thomas departed his house for the

¹¹¹. Daniel to Marten, London, 24 October 1586, DFL 4: “moderatie ende stilheyt.” Daniel did not send another letter to Marten until 27 June 1587.

¹¹². Jacques to Daniel, London, 16 November 1586 to 9 December 1586, DvdM 538a-55–57. The letter was delayed for a number of weeks by the contrary winds that prevented the letter from leaving London.

¹¹³. Twenty-four articles of Jacques against Coteels, London, January 1587, DvdM 60-3.

weigh house to weigh some of his wool, Jacques broke into Thomas's house. Jacques entered with a number of local officials under the pretense that he "was master of the house, and that he had possession of the goods."¹¹⁴ In letters to Daniel, Jacques explained that he took the coffer, which possessed £2,134.8.5 sterling, as well as Thomas's books.¹¹⁵ He had hoped to be able to take even more, but someone had informed Thomas that his house had been broken into. Thomas rushed back to his house and fell upon the intruders. He charged at Jacques and would have done great harm to him if Jacques did not have people with him to help contain Thomas. After being restrained, Thomas was still able to get loose, but this time Jacques punched him in the nose two or three times so that "he will still feel it after these last three days."¹¹⁶ Having had his house broken into and his books taken Thomas swore more than ten times that Jacques "would not die from any other hand than from his own."¹¹⁷

Jacques's actions in stealing the coffer and books of Thomas could not but bring the disputes over the capital in London to a head. With possession of Thomas's books, Jacques could now get a better view of the actual events with the capital in London. Jacques's investigation showed that Thomas had actually collected many of the debts that remained open on the books of the estate.¹¹⁸ With this new evidence, Jacques felt confident that he could press his case against

¹¹⁴. Memory of Marten, DFL 14: "meester van den huuse te syn ende dat hy daer van ende vande goeden de possessie hadde."

¹¹⁵. Jacques wrote to Daniel from London directly on 17 December 1586, see DvdM 538a-58. In addition, Jacques's wife, Josina, sent along a copy of a letter that he had written to her to Daniel and Hester on 2 January 1587. Josina to Daniel, Haarlem, 2 January 1587, DvdM 538a-59. When Jacques opened the coffer in front of a constable he found that there was actually only £1,399.16.11 sterling in the coffer. This is a lack of £734.11.6 sterling. Thomas had placed a paper in each of the twelve sacks stating how much was supposed to be there, and thus that he owed to the estate.

¹¹⁶. Josina to Daniel, Haarlem, 2 January 1587, DvdM 538a-59: "die hy noch dese 3 dagen wel gevoelen sal."

¹¹⁷. Josina to Daniel, Haarlem, 2 January 1587, DvdM 538a-59: "ick van egeene andere handen sterven zal als van de zijne."

¹¹⁸. Jacques to Daniel, London, 17 December 1586, DvdM 538a-58.

the administration of Marten and Thomas. Almost immediately after Jacques broke into Thomas's house, the two sides entered into arbitration, and on 26 December 1586, they came to a preliminary agreement.¹¹⁹ The agreement was made between Jacques on the one side as representative for himself, Jan, Carlo, and Hester and Wouter and Thomas standing on the other for Marten, Anna, Steven, and the heirs of Maria. They agreed to follow the balance of 30 October 1586, which had given the heirs a credit of £14,167.4.5. It was decided that the capital should be divided into eight equal parts. Jacques would gain possession of four of the parts for each of the heirs he represented, while Thomas would maintain control of the portions of Marten, Steven, and Anna. The last portion of the heirs of Maria would fall to Pieter Samyn until the executors gave directions about its disbursement. Finally, Jacques could keep Thomas's books and take copies or notes from them. Once he finished with the books, these and all other accounts dealing with the estate were to be deposited with Pieter Samyn. If any further issues arose in the administration of the estate, it was agreed that the two sides would submit their differences to arbitrators.¹²⁰

In the direct confrontation that arose after Jacques stole the coffer and books of Thomas, at least four separate parties were directly involved. Jacques and Thomas were the most direct participants, but Marten and Wouter also had roles to play. Each possessed their own interests

¹¹⁹ Accord in London, 26 December 1586, DvdM 59-7. The arbitrators were John Bond, Henry Billingsley, both aldermen in London, Joseph Michely, and Philipi Corsini from the power of the letters of Sir Francis Walsingham, Secretary of Queen Elizabeth. On debt litigation and arbitration, see Muldrew, *Economy of Obligation*; Craig Muldrew, "Credit and the Courts: Debt Litigation in a Seventeenth-Century Urban Community," *The Economic History Review* 46, no. 1 (1993): 23–38; Craig Muldrew, "The Culture of Reconciliation: Community and the Settlement of Economic Disputes in Early Modern England," *The Historical Journal* 39, no. 4 (1996): 915–942; Gelderblom, *Cities of Commerce*, 169–197; Dave de Ruyscher, "Designing the Limits of Creditworthiness: Insolvency in Antwerp Bankruptcy Legislation and Practice (16th–17th centuries)," *Tijdschrift voor Rechtsgeschiedenis* 76, no. 3 (2008): 307–327.

¹²⁰ Accord in London, 26 December 1586, DvdM 59-7. Jacques wrote to Daniel explaining the agreement in Jacques to Daniel, London, 28 January 1587, DvdM 538a-60–61.

and connections to the estate of Jan de Oude in London. Thomas's position was the most complex. As a partner of Marten, he acted as the representative of Marten's interests in London with all of the tension that these had left after 1583. After being informed by a letter from Thomas of the theft, Marten quickly sent his partner a power of attorney, giving Thomas power to act in his stead in this dispute with Jacques.¹²¹ But Thomas also possessed his own interests and was more than capable of performing actions that did not align with the interests of Marten. In fact, eight years later, at the conclusion of their company, Marten came to find that Thomas had hidden £29,000 of profits from the coffers of the company.¹²² In other words, Thomas was an agent in the second order, liable to arguments against both Marten and his own actions separate from Marten. Wouter was in a similar position, though as the factor of Jacques, he did not come under the same scrutiny.

The need for the arbitrators in London to settle a dispute over the estate did not take long. After gaining possession of Thomas's books, Jacques constructed a list of twenty-four grievances against Thomas's handling of the capital. Almost all of the grievances involved debts that Thomas had written off as either doubtful or bad debts, but that Jacques believed Thomas had received. Like the issues that Jan and Jacques had brought up with Marten's actions in London in 1583, the grievances presented by Jacques demonstrate the consequences of the breakdown of trust. The complicated nature of the accounts of the estate made it possible to enter into endless debates and arguments about debts and credits large and small.¹²³ Jacques and Daniel

¹²¹ Lawsuit of Marten against Jacques, Antwerp, 29 December 1586, DFL 81.

¹²² Brulez, *Firma Della Faille*, 78–79.

¹²³ Brulez has noted the frequency of late payments on debts and for the payments of goods, causing merchants to spend a great deal of time attempting to force payment. Muldrew has noted that it was just in this period of the last decades of the sixteenth century that debt litigation in England rose precipitously. Brulez, *Firma Della Faille*, 382–388; Muldrew, *Economy of Obligation*.

had found evidence of fraud in their investigations of Thomas's administration, but Marten and Thomas countered with their own accusations against the actions and motivations of Jacques and Daniel.

The twenty-four articles that Jacques presented to the arbitrators constituted a blistering attack on the actions of Thomas and the motivations of Marten. According to Jacques, Thomas had gained possession of most of the capital in London and "had committed noticeable fraud to the great detriment of the aforesaid estate."¹²⁴ Jacques went on to list the various instances of fraud that he had found, but he also launched a larger attack upon both Thomas and Marten. Jacques argued that beyond the individual instances of fraud, Thomas and Marten had conspired to take possession of the capital in London and transfer it to Marten in Antwerp, "where he knows that the aforementioned Jacques, as well as other heirs, cannot go."¹²⁵ In the meantime, Marten and Thomas had done all in their power to delay the disbursal of the estate so that Marten could invest the capital of the estate in his own trade and receive profits from it. Jacques argued that these actions not only justified his forced entrance into Thomas's house, but he also asked the arbitrators to have "all of the rest of the goods, trade, credits, cash, bonds, books, and accounts of the aforesaid estate."¹²⁶ Not content with the agreed upon division of the capital between himself, Thomas, and Pieter Samyn, Jacques pressed to gain control of all of the capital in London, the very same action he accused Marten of doing.

¹²⁴. Twenty-four articles of Jacques against Coteels, London, January 1587, DvdM 60-3: "merckelycke frauden tot grooten achterdeele vanden voors sterffhuysse hadde gecommiteert."

¹²⁵. Twenty-four articles of Jacques against Coteels, London, January 1587, DvdM 60-3: "daer hy wel weet dat den voors. Jacques ende meer andere erfgenaemen niet connen ende moghen."

¹²⁶. Twenty-four articles of Jacques against Coteels, London, January 1587, DvdM 60-3: "alle de reste vande goeden, actien, crediten, gereede penningen, obligatien, boecken, ende reckeninge den voors sterffhuysse."

Similar to the lawsuit of Jan and Jacques against Marten in 1583, the individual grievances covered debts both large and small. The balance of 30 October had placed the doubtful debts held by the estate at £3,045.18.5 sterling and the bad debts at £599.7.3 sterling, and Jacques had spent much of his time in London tracking down the defaulters and investigating the individual debts.¹²⁷ The collection of debts gave an agent such as Thomas ample opportunity to commit fraud. He could write down the reception of payment in one set of books but not in another. Because Thomas served both the estate and the company that he created with Marten, not to mention his own separate interests, Thomas could give preference to the collection of some debts above others. Or he could simply not put in the often difficult and time consuming work to track down defaulters and collect the outstanding debts. Jacques accused Thomas of committing all of these improprieties.¹²⁸

Jacques argued that Thomas had already received many of the outstanding debts, “as shown by the books of the aforesaid Thomas.”¹²⁹ For example, Jacques noted a debt of Robert Lesnort for £60.1.0 sterling, which Thomas placed as a dubious debt on 31 May 1586. However, Jacques claimed that the books of Thomas, as well as that of the widow of Lesnort, showed that Thomas had already received the payment. Another example is presented by the debt of Thomas Gadbly for £94.9.7 sterling deriving from a purchase of linen in 1583.¹³⁰ This unpaid debt remained on the account of the estate in 1592, but Jacques argued that the estate should not be held liable. Thomas had sold linen on the individual account of Marten to Gadbly a year after the

¹²⁷ Inventory of the branch of London, 30 October 1586, DvdM 60-10.

¹²⁸ Brulez, *Firma Della Faille*, 377–393; Muldrew, *Economy of Obligation*.

¹²⁹ DvdM 60-3: “als blycken can byden voors. Cotteels boecken.”

¹³⁰ See Chapter 5.

sale of the estate's linen was made, yet the debt on Marten's account had been repaid. With these and many other instances of fraud and deception, Jacques asked that Thomas be forced to refund the sums to the estate, as well as provide interest "from the time that he and his master [Marten] have used the money, which shall amount to a notable sum."¹³¹

Presented with the grievances of Jacques, Thomas set to work on a defense. Thomas defended himself against each of the individual accusations, but more generally, he sought to reverse the discourse that Jacques had presented. According to Thomas, it was not he and Marten who had committed fraud against the estate, it was Jacques. Thomas began by noting the existence of "discord and jealousy between the three executors," making it difficult to administer the estate.¹³² Yet, when Jacques and Daniel arrived in London, they did not seek to come to a compromise. Thomas provided the two with daily access to his books and answered any questions that they had, but this did not satisfy them. It soon became clear that through Daniel's learning in law Jacques sought to use the laws of England to get possession of all of the capital in London. Jacques had gained a passport to live and trade in London, and Thomas believed that he wanted to get ahold of the capital in London and keep it for himself. He had thereby sought to "commit fraud against all of his other brothers and sisters."¹³³ While presenting Jacques as working for his own interests to the detriment of the estate, Thomas portrayed Marten as a responsible executor looking out for the good of the family. Marten had not sought to delay the disbursement of the capital as Jacques had asserted. In fact, "Marten more than anyone sought the

¹³¹. DvdM 60-3: "vanden tyt dat hy ende syn meester de selve penningen gebruyckt hebben, dwelck een merckelycke somme bedragen soude."

¹³². Defense of Thomas, London, 18 March 1587, DvdM 57-41: "discort ende jalousie die tusschen de dry executeurs."

¹³³. DvdM 57-41: "frauderende alle de andere sinne broeders ende susters."

liquidation of the estate and that each should be given their share.”¹³⁴ Thomas concluded his defense by stating that he was and always had been prepared to provide the accounts of the estate in London and make a disbursal to the heirs following the orders of the executors. He simply needed the executors to make an agreement and provide clear and well documented orders.

As new arbitrators the two sides had agreed upon the historian Emanuel van Metteren, Joos van Erpe, Guido Malepert, and Hendrick Hoons.¹³⁵ After the presentation of arguments and evidence, the arbitrators decided upon the validity of each of the grievances Jacques had presented. While they did not decide in Jacques’s favor on all of the issues, and on some issues they yielded to the arbitrators in Antwerp, the decisions of the arbitrators indicate that Jacques did have reason to complain. Thus, in the issue of the debt of Lesnort for £60.1.0 sterling, the arbitrators declared that Thomas had received and therefore must pay the estate this amount, notwithstanding Thomas’s argument that Lesnort held a greater debt to himself than to the estate.¹³⁶ Yet, this clear declaration was in the minority. On most of the issues, the arbitrators left many questions open. On the issue of repayment and interest, the arbitrators asked Jacques to make an account and submit it to Thomas.

The declarations of the arbitrators might be able to solve minor issues such as the repayment of a single debt, but they could not overcome the mistrust that had grown between

¹³⁴. DvdM 57-41: “dat Marten meer dan iemandt socht liquidatie vanden rekeninge te maeken ende elck het syne te geven.”

¹³⁵. Hendrick Hoons became a factor of Jacques de Oude in Seville after the later split his trading activities from Jan de Oude. Brulez, *Firma Della Faille*, 27. Joos van Erpe was a merchant, who had multiple dealings with the trade of the Della Failles. He was a correspondent with Marten. Marten’s letters to Joos van Erpe, DFN NNN.

¹³⁶. Answer of the arbitrators, London, 12 March 1587, DvdM 60-7; Defense of Thomas, London, 18 March 1587, DvdM 57-41.

Marten and Thomas on the one side and Jacques on the other.¹³⁷ The intransigence of both sides at this point made any agreement unlikely, whatever the declaration of the arbitrators. Jacques had made his distrust of Thomas clear, while Thomas wrote to Marten that he “does not think that there can be a more fickle or dishonest man” than Jacques.¹³⁸ After receiving the declaration of the arbitrators, Jacques left London suddenly without informing Thomas or any of his friends on 23 March 1587.¹³⁹ Jacques had been in London for eight months, but he had precious little to show for it. His letters to Daniel show that he planned to quickly return to London to make another attempt to extricate the capital from Thomas’s possession, but his trip became endlessly delayed. Jacques never again traveled to London to deal with the affairs of the estate.

6. Unbrotherly Feelings

Mistrust and anger between the siblings had reached a high point by the time that Jan returned to Leiden from Antwerp at the end of 1586 and Jacques left London in March 1587. The letters that Marten and Jacques sent to Daniel and the copies of letters that Daniel sent to Marten provide the best sources to investigate the activities and relationships between the three siblings after Jacques’s return from Antwerp. As much as the affairs appeared to be intractable, the strong desires on the different sides to see their will done provided a glimmer of hope that their interests could ultimately align. With Marten in Antwerp, Jacques in his adopted home of Haarlem, and

¹³⁷. Gelderblom, *Cities of Commerce*; Ruysscher, “Designing the Limits of Creditworthiness”; Muldrew, *Economy of Obligation*; Muldrew, “Culture of Reconciliation”; Edward Powell, “Settlement of Disputes by Arbitration in Fifteenth-Century England,” *Law and History Review* 2, no. 1 (1984): 21–43; Mark Godfrey, “Arbitration and Dispute Resolution in Sixteenth Century Scotland,” *Tijdschrift voor Rechtsgeschiedenis* 70 (2002): 109–135.

¹³⁸. Thomas to Marten, London, 18 March 1587, DFL 4: “denckt niet datter inconstanter noch loghenachtigher mensche leven kan.”

¹³⁹. Thomas to Marten, London, 25 April 1587, DFL 4.

Daniel residing in Bremen until he moved to Leiden in the fall of 1591, correspondence again became the primary means for the siblings to set the foundations for any eventual agreement.

The acceptance of Marten's narrative of his service to his father and his position as leader of the sibling group remained at issue. Though Daniel had closely associated himself with Jacques, and their letters to each other consistently spoke of their good friendship, he and Hester remained the primary variable in the sibling group.¹⁴⁰ Despite the aid he provided Jacques in London, Daniel attempted to remain amicable with both sides. Daniel had not been a participant in the bitter history between the siblings, while Hester seems to have maintained a relative neutrality.¹⁴¹ Daniel's ever-present desire to get ahold of Hester's full inheritance and the constant advice of Andries to act with moderation made him work as hard as any other sibling towards a final agreement.¹⁴² Therefore, the letters both Marten and Jacques sent to Daniel, and less often to Hester, acted as attempts to build alliances and win Daniel over to their own conceptions of the familial relations. If either could win Daniel over to their side, the power relations in the family would shift. It is not possible to explicate all of the twists and turns of the relationship between the three siblings, but by the end of 1594 Daniel proved willing to acquiesce to Marten's authority by agreeing to having received Hester's full inheritance. While Jacques appeared close to accepting an agreement at many stages, and Daniel continually did all

¹⁴⁰ The strong relationship between Daniel and Jacques was shown by their desire to live in the same city after the fall of Antwerp. On many occasions Jacques appeared to be on the cusp of moving to Hamburg, and he even had his furniture sent to the Baltic city. Daniel would then move from Bremen to the more mercantile city of Hamburg. For example, in 1585, as Jacques was about to sail to Hamburg he wrote Daniel. "I had hoped that we could live in the same city, so that we could keep company with each other in our peregrinations." Jacques to Daniel, *Het Vlie*, 21 October 1585, DvdM 538a-39: "ick hadde wel beghert wy t'samen in eene stadt hadden moghen woenen ten eynde wy aenden anderen geselschap hadden moghen houden in onse peregrinatie."

¹⁴¹ See Chapter 3 for Hester's relationship with Marten at the time of her marriage to Daniel.

¹⁴² Unfortunately, because Daniel and Andries lived in the same city from 1585 until 1591 there are few letters from this period to give an insight into the advice Andries gave to Daniel. The letters Andries sent to Daniel during his trip to London constitute the majority of the letters at this time. DvdM 593a.

in his power to get him to cooperate, in the end, Jacques proved unable to accept the terms Marten provided.

For obvious reasons, after Daniel returned to Bremen from London at the end of 1586 without traveling to Antwerp, Marten was greatly suspicious of Daniel's intentions. Marten noted down his reaction to Jacques and Daniel's activities in London in the copies of Daniel's letters that were copied by his son and kept for memory. In response to Daniel's first letter from London that spoke of their good intentions, Marten called the letter "a deceitful letter."¹⁴³ Daniel did not seek the good of the family. Events showed that he was in agreement with Jan, Jacques, Carlo, and Louis "to get all of the goods of the estate in England into their hands."¹⁴⁴ In doing so, they acted against the Marten, Anna, and Steven, using "the cover that they were religious refugees."¹⁴⁵ Thus, Marten accused Jacques of using Marten's loyalty to the Spanish crown against him now that England was at war with Spain. However, Thomas had effectively defended Marten's rights.

Daniel did attempt to mollify the anger that he knew Marten had following his journey to London, but it took him over six months after his arrival in Bremen to write his first letter to his brother-in-law. Daniel hoped to justify his actions in London, claiming that he only sought to do what he believed to be best for the siblings to bring the estate to an end. Daniel claimed that he had always "attempted to repair the peace of the brothers and bring the estate to a reasonable

¹⁴³. Daniel to Marten, London, 4 August 1586, DFL 4: "eenen ghedissimuleerden brief is."

¹⁴⁴. Daniel to Marten, London, 4 August 1586, DFL 4: "om in Enghelandt qualyck allen de goeden van sterfhuyse in hunlieden handen ende bewint te cryghen."

¹⁴⁵. Daniel to Marten, London, 4 August 1586, DFL 4: "onder het dexcel van dat zy buyten stlandts om de relegie waren."

end.”¹⁴⁶ But such excuses held little sway with Marten. The copy of the letter was finished by stating that Daniel “wrote with many other excuses and justifications that he had done his best and that he had properly advised Sr Marten of his trip to England.”¹⁴⁷ Marten again noted that Jacques and Daniel’s true intention in going to London was to get possession of all of the estate that was there to the detriment of the heirs that remained in Antwerp. The copy even noted that Daniel had never received his consent to marry Hester, but that they went ahead anyways. Obviously, Marten’s mistrust of Jacques had been transferred to Daniel after what was ultimately a troublesome and disruptive trip to London.

Unsurprisingly, the story was different on the other side. Jacques and Daniel expressed the same fears as Marten but with the blame reversed. They believed that Marten sought to maintain control over the capital of the estate and not allow them to enjoy their full inheritance. Jacques argued that it was Marten who was at the heart of the troubles of the sibling group. “Marten seeks by all means to bring us into disagreement, so that nothing can be done in the affairs of the estate, and in the meantime, he can remain in possession.” After returning to Haarlem, Jacques conferred with Jan, who had recently returned from Antwerp following the arbitration in 1586.¹⁴⁸ It was hoped that Jan could return to Antwerp and get the arbitrators in Antwerp to force Marten to have Thomas give all of the capital in his possession to Jacques. Jacques would then return to London and be able to administer the capital by himself.¹⁴⁹ A letter

¹⁴⁶. Daniel to Marten, Bremen, 27 June 1587, DFL 4: “vrede onder de broederen te vernieuwen ghetracht ende om den sterfhysse naer redene tot een eynde te brenghen.”

¹⁴⁷. Daniel to Marten, Bremen, 27 June 1587, DFL 4: “schryvende met vele andere excusen ende redenen alles ten besten ghedaen te hebben ende Sr Marten van syn reyse naer Enghelant gheadverteert te hebben.”

¹⁴⁸. See Chapter 6.

¹⁴⁹. Jacques to Daniel, Haarlem, 12 April 1587, DvdM 60-12 and Jacques to Daniel, Haarlem, 29 June 1587, DvdM 538a-64-68.

that Daniel sent to Jacques on 8 May 1587 shows that Daniel was in general agreement with the plan, though he was wary of Jan's steadfastness. Daniel was convinced that Marten and Thomas had committed fraud. Citing his legal knowledge, he wrote to Jacques that "fraud and bad faith is not tolerated by the law, and therefore I believe that all those learned in the law will think the same."¹⁵⁰ They, therefore, placed their confidence in the arbitrators in Antwerp. Daniel's primary worry was the reaction this might engender in Marten. He was fearful that Marten will "become desperate and do the worst that can be thought of to keep the affairs in protracted lawsuits and to do to us the worst that he can."¹⁵¹

The relationship between Marten and Daniel had hit a nadir, but the revived correspondence between the two in the summer of 1587 rekindled the potential for compromise. Marten may not have believed the justifications that Daniel wrote in his first letter to Marten after his return from London, but in his response, like Daniel, Marten used conciliatory language. In fact, Marten actually sent two letters on 26 July 1587 when he sat down to respond to Daniel's letter, one to Daniel and one to Hester. The contents of the letters were similar, but Marten obviously wanted to present his case directly to his sister. The content of his letter was little different from what he had previously written to Daniel. He noted the hate and jealousy that now existed between the siblings and the damage that it did to the honor and memory of their father. In particular, he blamed Jacques and his behavior in London. Jacques had attempted "to leave me here with all the costs, but God and men of honor have determined otherwise."¹⁵² In contrast to

¹⁵⁰. Daniel to Jacques, Haarlem, 8 May 1587, DFL 4: "dan fraude ende quade trouwe en can niet egheen rechten verstaen worden ende daervore soude ick mij wel sterck maecken dat het by alle rechtgeleerden soo sal verstaen worden."

¹⁵¹. Daniel to Jacques, Haarlem, 8 May 1587, DFL 4: "despereren ende het quaetste doen dat men can verdencken om de saecken in langdurige processen te houden ende ons al het ergste te doen dat hij can."

¹⁵². Marten to Daniel, Antwerp, 26 July 1587, DvdM 274-17: "my hier in al den last laten blyven, God ende lieden van eere hebbent anders gedeterminerte."

the troubles that Jacques created, he reiterated to Hester the service he had provided to their father. Marten began and ended his letters by asking Hester to return to the place of her birth. If Hester and Daniel came back to live in Antwerp, they would be able to quickly come to an agreement over Hester's inheritance. In other words, Marten hoped that Hester and Daniel would come to his side in the disputes in the family. He concluded his letter by noting his hope that "God will inspire you two to come live here."¹⁵³

Daniel included a copy of the above letter in a letter he sent to Jacques on 20 January 1588, enabling Jacques a first-hand look at the claims Marten made. Jacques received the letter at seven in the evening on the 8th of February. He had recently finished and signed a letter destined for Daniel, but after reading the copy of the letter Marten had sent to Hester, he began the letter anew right below his signature. He wrote an impassioned response to the claims that Marten had made in the letter and to his overtures for peace within the sibling group. While Jacques had constructed his own view of Marten and narrative of the sibling group in his discussions with Daniel and in their extensive correspondence, his response to Marten's letter provides the clearest and most succinct picture of Jacques's counter narrative of Marten's behavior to their father.¹⁵⁴

Jacques began his response clearly enough, labeling Marten an "ungodly man," a label that he repeated throughout the letter.¹⁵⁵ Using similar language to what which Marten had written to him concerning the baptism of Marten's child in 1585, Jacques noted that such kind words needed to be backed by deeds. However, Jacques found Marten's behavior both with the

¹⁵³. Marten to Daniel, Antwerp, 26 July 1587, DvdM 274-17: "God wil U lieden inspireren van hier te comen woenen."

¹⁵⁴. Jacques to Daniel, Haarlem, 7 and 8 February 1588, DvdM 538a-77-83.

¹⁵⁵. Jacques to Daniel, Haarlem, 7 and 8 February 1588, DvdM 538a-77-83: "Ongoddelyck mensche."

arbitrators in Antwerp and in defending the actions of Thomas to demonstrate that he did not stand behind his words. If Marten actually wanted to come to an agreement and show that he had handled the accounts properly then “he must show it in words and then men will be able to believe him.”¹⁵⁶ Like Marten, Jacques presented a particular action that Marten could do to gain his trust. “He should give the books to Van Uffelen and enable him to make the state of the estate so that we can come to an end.”¹⁵⁷ This had been the demand of the arbitrators in Antwerp in October 1586.¹⁵⁸ Jacques believed that Marten’s refusal to provide Van Uffelen with the necessary books was less about Marten’s desire to abide by the testament than that “the fraud and deceit he has committed against us will be discovered.”¹⁵⁹ In other words, Jacques dared Marten to show that he had indeed treated his siblings fairly.

The line of this first attack was well rehearsed, but Jacques also struck at Marten at the heart of his claims to be their father’s successor. In the letter to Hester Marten had not only written of his service to their father, he claimed “that next to God and our father we ought to thank him.”¹⁶⁰ However, Jacques’s countered this claim, arguing that Marten had in fact placed his own interest above that of their father. “We have found the contrary in his accounts. Had father lived ten more years, and had he remained father’s factor in London, he would have eaten

¹⁵⁶. Jacques to Daniel, Haarlem, 7 and 8 February 1588, DvdM 538a-77-83: “hy moeste de wercken bethoonen ende dan soude men hem moghen gheloove gheven.”

¹⁵⁷. Jacques to Daniel, Haarlem, 7 and 8 February 1588, DvdM 538a-77-83: “hy zoude Van Uffelen den boeken laeten volghen ende laeten den staet vanden sterffhuysse maeken ende zoo tot een eynden comen.”

¹⁵⁸. See the further discussion of the arbitration in Chapter 6. Jacques’s own history concerning the creation of a state and inventory was equally pock marked. Like Marten, he was often happy to note his approval of making a state if he saw it to his benefit, but he also dragged his feet when he did not see it as furthering his own position.

¹⁵⁹. Jacques to Daniel, Haarlem, 7 and 8 February 1588, DvdM 538a-77-83: “nu syne frauden ende bedroch datse ons aengedaen hebben ontdeckt sal worden.”

¹⁶⁰. Jacques to Daniel, Haarlem, 7 and 8 February 1588, DvdM 538a-77-83: “Dat wy naast God ende onse vader hem schuldich syn te bedancken.” Marten’s words were “naest God ende henlieden vader my mede dancken mogen van t’gene datse hebben.” Marten to Daniel, Antwerp, 26 July 1587, DvdM 274-17.

father up, making himself rich and putting father in the poorhouse with all of his children.”¹⁶¹

Just as correspondence gave Marten the ability to give a narrative of his service, Jacques took advantage of this opportunity to lay bare what he saw to be the actual course of events. Marten had not added to the wealth of the family. He had stolen from it in order to enrich himself.

Jacques provided specific examples of how Marten acted as an untrustworthy agent of their father. Jacques told that when Marten was in London, “he bought as much or more linen as our father, but his was always sold first while father’s remained unsold.”¹⁶² Such behavior was typical of factors able to trade on their own account. It was a strategy that Jan de Oude himself had used when he served as a factor for Marten de Hane. However, it hardly aligned with the narrative Marten had built of his behavior.¹⁶³ Jacques also found other ways that Marten altered the books so that he would get more money than his father. Daniel would have been able to see these discrepancies for himself in the account books, “but now Marten has burned his books” and destroyed all of the accounts.¹⁶⁴ “For whatever causes a man to burn his books, it can be considered that he has not dealt well with us.”¹⁶⁵

¹⁶¹. Jacques to Daniel, Haarlem, 7 and 8 February 1588, DvdM 538a-77-83: “Wy hebben wel contrarie by syne rekening gevonden dat hadde vader 10 jaer blyven leven ende hy tot London geweest in vaders negotie, hy soude vader opgegheten hebben ende hem selve ryck gemaect hebben ende vader int gasthuys met alle syne kinderen gebrocht hebben.”

¹⁶². Jacques to Daniel, Haarlem, 7 and 8 February 1588, DvdM 538a-77-83: “Hy cocht zoo vele oft meer lywaet als onsen vader ende syne werdt altyt vercocht ende vaders bleef ligghen.”

¹⁶³. On the activities of Jan de Oude as a factor of the De Hane see Brulez, *Firma Della Faille*. For other instances of the difficulties with factors see Goldberg, “Choosing and Enforcing Business Relationships”; Hancock, “Trouble with Networks”; Forestier, “Risk, Kinship and Personal Relationships”; Trivellato, “Sephardic Merchants.”

¹⁶⁴. Jacques to Daniel, Haarlem, 7 and 8 February 1588, DvdM 538a-77-83: “maer nu syn de boecken verbrant.”

¹⁶⁵. Jacques to Daniel, Haarlem, 7 and 8 February 1588, DvdM 538a-77-83: “Om wat oorsaecken een man syne boecken verbrant can hem yegelyck consideren datty ons niet wel gehandelt heeft.” There were strict rules for the keeping of accounts so that they could be submitted as evidence in any dispute. Thus, a merchant was not to leave blank pages in their journal. Accusing another merchant of burning their books was a strong claim indeed. Edwin Hunt and James M. Murray, *A History of Business in Medieval Europe, 1200-1550* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 157-158; Gelderblom, *Cities of Commerce*.

One at a time, Jacques dismantled Marten's presentation of himself as the faithful and subservient son to Jan de Oude. Marten claimed to have put his life in danger on numerous occasions for the good of the family, but Jacques found this laughable. Jacques joked that Marten spoke as though "he had travelled through the Straits with Captain Drake," when in fact he only experienced the Baltic and North Sea.¹⁶⁶ There was no assertion that was not below Jacques's radar. He sought to thoroughly debunk the portrait that Marten had created for himself, which he used to assert his authority among his siblings. Instead, Jacques claimed that Marten was a thief, who cooked the books for his own advantage. Marten's purpose had been to "pull down and usurp his nearest of blood."¹⁶⁷ Rather than the rightful heir to Jan de Oude's position, Jacques presented Marten as an ungodly son who attempted the worst of crimes a son could commit, namely patricide. Unlike Jan and Carlo, Jacques did not challenge the power of their father and the ideal of a sibling group united by his memory. He too believed that a union between the siblings was vital to the honor of the family, but according to Jacques it was Marten who bared the blame for the hate and dysfunction within in the family. Jacques well understood the moral obligation to seek friendship with his siblings, but to the behavior of Marten, he responded, "I do not desire a friendship that costs us so dearly."¹⁶⁸

¹⁶⁶. Jacques to Daniel, Haarlem, 7 and 8 February 1588, DvdM 538a-77-83: "Al hadde hy met capiteyn Draeck doer de Straete gereyst."

¹⁶⁷. Jacques to Daniel, Haarlem, 7 and 8 February 1588, DvdM 538a-77-83: "Syn naeste bloet te ontrecken ende usurperen."

¹⁶⁸. Jacques to Daniel, Haarlem, 7 and 8 February 1588, DvdM 538a-77-83: "ick en begherre syne vriendtscap niet die ons zoo dier cost."

7. Friendship and Alliance, 1588–1594

Jacques and Daniel's united front began to weaken in the course of 1588 as Jan's return to Antwerp and Jacques's to London became endlessly delayed. Just as Daniel had feared, Jan could not be depended upon to work towards an agreement. At the same time, Marten continued to court Daniel and Hester. Daniel and Jacques had long held a regular and prolific correspondence, which only increased after Daniel moved to Leiden in the fall of 1591. However, beginning in the second half of 1588, Marten and Jacques increased their correspondence greatly. Daniel sent Marten thirty-seven letters between the second half of 1588 and the end of 1590. Marten sent Daniel fourteen over the same time period, but it still constituted a much more regular correspondence than in the prior period.¹⁶⁹ The invigorated correspondence correlated with a reinvestment in the relationship between the two brothers-in-law, highlighted by Daniel's two trips to Antwerp to speak with Marten about the affairs of the estate. Daniel met with Marten and Robert in Antwerp in November 1588 and then again at the end of 1590 and beginning of 1591.¹⁷⁰ Both of his stays in Antwerp served to build his relationship with Marten, while leading to frustration with the difficulties of varying natures caused by Jacques, Jan, and Carlo. The correspondence between Marten and Daniel at this time shows that Daniel came to accept Marten's vision of the family group and Marten's position as head of family. Daniel adopted the same language of sibling unity, so that by the time that he made an agreement with Marten over Hester's inheritance, the two spoke with one voice.

¹⁶⁹. Compare this to the thirteen letters Daniel sent to Marten between his move to Bremen and 1588, most of which dealt with his trip to London or the six letters that Marten sent. Marten's letters to Daniel, DvdM 274; Daniel's letters to Marten, DFL 4.

¹⁷⁰. Daniel sent Marten a letter from Dordrecht on 20 October 1588. By 15 December 1588, Daniel had returned from Antwerp and wrote to Marten from Enkhuizen. On 13 December 1590, Daniel wrote to Middelburg, informing Marten that soon planned to leave for Antwerp. On 17 March 1591, he was in Haarlem and wrote to Marten about his travel from Antwerp through Zeeland. DFL 4.

It is worth repeating that discourse in itself had little power to effect change. However, correct speech played an important role in creating a basis for a functioning relationship. Especially in a relationship across distance in which communication usually only occurred through correspondence, the constant repetition of a language that emphasized the primacy of the house acted as an assurance of the correspondents's continued bond.¹⁷¹ Daniel physically demonstrated his trust in Marten by traveling to Antwerp in 1588, exposing himself to the danger of passage through enemy territory, but he also came armed with a language of reconciliation. Through his visit, Daniel sought "steady friendship" and promised to seek "peace of the house."¹⁷² In his penultimate letter before leaving Holland for Antwerp in 1588, Daniel vowed "that he would seek the friendship of Marten and the peace of the house."¹⁷³

Daniel's letters after leaving Antwerp reiterated his desire to maintain friendship with Marten and in doing so acknowledged his duty to live up to the paradigm of both brother and friend.¹⁷⁴ From Enkhuizen, a port town in the Zuiderzee in Holland, Daniel wrote that he "in all manner desires to remain a friend and good brother."¹⁷⁵ Six days later, after he returned to Bremen, he restated that he "desired to be a friend."¹⁷⁶ The available documents do not make clear what Marten and Daniel discussed or were able to accomplish during Daniel's trip, but

¹⁷¹ McLean, *Art of the Network*; Broomhall and Gent, "Corresponding Affections"; Broomhall and Gent, "In the Name of the Father"; Bourdieu, "Family as a Realized Category."

¹⁷² Daniel to Marten, Bremen, 18 August 1588, DFL 4: "vaste vrientschappe" and Daniel to Marten, Haarlem, 12 October 1588, DFL 4: "vrede van huysse."

¹⁷³ Daniel to Marten, Dordrecht, 18 October 1588, DFL 4: "Dat hy de vrientschappe van Sr Marten ende den vrede van den huysse soeckt."

¹⁷⁴ Kooijmans, *Vriendschap*; Tadmor, *Family and Friends in Eighteenth-Century England*; Davis, *The Gift*; Gustav Peebles, "The Anthropology of Credit and Debt," *Annual Review of Anthropology* 39, no. 1 (2010): 225–240.

¹⁷⁵ Daniel to Marten, Enkhuizen, 15 December 1588, DFL 4: "in aller manieren beghert vrint ende goet broder te blyven."

¹⁷⁶ Daniel to Marten, Bremen, 21 December 1588, DFL 4: "begherende een vrint te wesen."

Daniel seems to have left on amicable terms. It was now up to both to live up to their words. Daniel's relationship with Jacques was the main arena where Daniel could prove his friendship to Marten and his service to the sibling group. He was also tasked with communicating with Jan and Carlo to see if they could be convinced to make an agreement. Both Daniel and Marten ultimately faced disappointment in the actions of their brothers in Holland, but Daniel's language in his letters to Marten served to reinforce his growing relationship with Marten. Jacques's letters to Daniel constantly referred to the possibilities of agreement, while Daniel kept Marten abreast of Jacques's position in his correspondence. If Daniel could succeed in bringing Jacques and Marten together, he wrote that "the house would gain honor and peace. It would shut the mouths of the enemies of the house and force the unwilling brothers to that which is to their own prosperity."¹⁷⁷ Just as Marten had done, Daniel viewed the sibling group as an entity that must be united in order to assert itself against its exterior enemies. It was to the benefit of all that the siblings come together, even if Jan and Carlo had to be forced to do so.

The siblings had to work to overcome the prior disputes and all of the harm that they had done to each other in order to gain friendship. According to the moral literature of the day, two virtues necessary to overcome such turmoil were patience and forgetfulness.¹⁷⁸ Equally important was the notion of hierarchy within the sibling group, and Daniel often took up a deferential tone,

¹⁷⁷. Daniel to Marten, Bremen, 17 November 1589, DFL 4: "het huys in eere ende vrede soude gheraecken ende alle vianden daervan den mont ghestopt synt, ende de onghewillighe broeders dwinghen tot hunlieden eyghen welvaert."

¹⁷⁸. Patience was related to the emergence closely associated with Lipsius. Daniel possessed Lipsius's books in his library, but he was also personally acquainted with the scholar. Daniel exchanged books with Lipsius, DvdM 54-3. For the catalogue of Daniel's library, see DvdM 68. David Sabean has shown the importance to forgetting in coming to an agreement before taking communion. David Warren Sabean, *Power in the Blood: Popular Culture and Village Discourse in Early Modern Germany* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984), 35, 47-49.

accepting Marten's position as head of the sibling group.¹⁷⁹ An instance of this came in a letter from 9 September 1589 in which Daniel apologized for any of his actions in London that Marten believed problematic. If Marten does blame him then Daniel "desires that such be buried and forgotten, and that [Marten] will find in [Daniel] a friend and good brother."¹⁸⁰ Marten responded to Daniel's letter in almost the exact same language. The siblings had to move past the bitter words they had exchanged over the years. All of the past aggravations "must become dead and buried."¹⁸¹ The action of forgetting was crucial to the ability to build up the trust necessary to come to an agreement. If they could do this, "we would come to an end and for once be friends."¹⁸² Marten bemoaned that it seemed as though "people do not understand how necessary brothers are to each other, and what happiness and honor there is in a family where there is peace."¹⁸³

Throughout his letters, Marten had presented the model in which the brothers would "assist each other where we can and live in friendship."¹⁸⁴ Declarations of desire to serve and actual acts of service served to solidify the friendship between Marten and Daniel, while also providing Daniel with a means to demonstrate his acceptance of his role within the sibling

¹⁷⁹ McLean, *Art of the Network*; Davis, *The Gift*; Sophie Ruppel, "Subordinates, Patrons, and Most Beloved: Sibling Relationships in Seventeenth-Century German Court Society," in *Sibling Relations and the Transformations of European Kinship, 1300–1900*, ed. Christopher H. Johnson and David Warren Sabean (New York: Berghahn Books, 2011); Broomhall and Gent, "Corresponding Affections"; Bastress-Dukehart, "Sibling Conflict."

¹⁸⁰ Daniel to Marten, Bremen, 9 September 1589, DFL 4: "beghert sulckx vergheten ende begraven te worden, ende dat hy aen hem vinden sal eenen vrint ende goeden broeder."

¹⁸¹ Marten to Daniel, Antwerp, 31 October 1589, DvdM 274-25: "Maer alles moet doot ende begraven worden."

¹⁸² Marten to Daniel, Antwerp, 31 October 1589, DvdM 274-25: "Soo sullen wy ten einde comen ende eens vrinde moogen sin."

¹⁸³ Marten to Daniel, Antwerp, 31 October 1589, DvdM 274-25: "Men weet niet hoe noodich broeders malcanderen sin, ende wat geluck ende erre dat het den huuse is dar vrede is."

¹⁸⁴ Marten to Daniel, Antwerp, 31 October 1589, DvdM 274-25: "Dat wy malcanderen asisteren war wy connen ende in vrinscap leven."

group.¹⁸⁵ Every letter Daniel wrote his brother-in-law provided him with an opportunity to remind Marten of his willingness to serve. The extant original letters that Daniel sent Marten all show that he signed his letters with a profession of service, using the phrase “your willing servant and brother” in five of the six extant letters.¹⁸⁶ Marten was less consistent in how he signed his letters, but he almost always referred to himself as Daniel’s brother and often included the phrase “what I can,” indicating that he was also prepared to assistance Daniel where necessary.¹⁸⁷ Such declarations conformed with epistolary norms, but it did not make them any less necessary or significant.¹⁸⁸

Daniel also made more direct declarations of his willingness to serve Marten in whatever way he could. For example, on 12 August 1595, Daniel wrote to Marten proclaiming that he had not recently had the chance to correspond with his brother, having last sent Marten a letter on 7 April. Seeking to maintain his close connection to Marten, Daniel wanted to “assure you of my attachment, friendship, and service” that he was prepared to demonstrate to both Marten or anyone close to him. Daniel will “spare no diligence or labor to give a full demonstration of my

¹⁸⁵ McLean, *Art of the Network*; Davis, *The Gift*; Trivellato, *Familiarity of Strangers*; Ilana Krausman Ben-Amos, “Gifts and Favors: Informal Support in Early Modern England,” *Journal of Modern History* 72, no. 2 (2000): 295–338.

¹⁸⁶ For example, Daniel to Marten, Leiden, 18 March 1592, DFL 4: “uwe dienstwillige broeder.” In the other letter, Daniel signed himself “your brother, always ready to serve.” Daniel to Marten, Leiden, 11 November 1591, DFL 4: “uwe broeder altyt te dienste.”

¹⁸⁷ For example, Marten to Daniel, Antwerp, 12 May 1593, DvdM 274-40: “uwe frere, wat ick vermag.” On the notion of service to create and maintain relationships between merchants, see Jesse Sadler, “News as a Path to Independence: Merchant Correspondence and the Exchange of News during the Dutch Revolt,” in *In Praise of Ordinary People: Early Modern England and the Dutch Republic*, ed. Margaret C. Jacob and Catherine Secretan (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013).

¹⁸⁸ Trivellato and Aslanian have both discussed the development of a language of service and friendship among merchants and the significance of abiding by this. Trivellato, “Merchant Letters”; Trivellato, *Familiarity of Strangers*, 178–184; Sebouh Aslanian, “‘The Salt in a Merchant’s Letter’: The Culture of Julfan Correspondence in the Indian Ocean and the Mediterranean,” *Journal of World History* 19, no. 2 (2008): 127–188; Aslanian, *Indian Ocean to the Mediterranean*. See also McLean, *Art of the Network*.

affection.”¹⁸⁹ On another occasion, Daniel made his willingness to serve as explicit as possible. “If there shall be any opportunity to offer you service here, you will please ask me, and in me you shall find all that which can be demanded of a affectionate and faithful brother.”¹⁹⁰ Here, Daniel linked service, affection, and trust. These were qualities necessary in both trade and family relations. They had to professed in rhetoric and fulfilled in deed.¹⁹¹

In addition to the relationship that Daniel constructed with Marten through service and favors to his brother-in-law, Daniel announced his willingness to agree to his role within the sibling group by using rhetoric that emphasized the interest of the house.¹⁹² Adopting the language of the house and the importance of a united family enabled Daniel to assert his rightful position within the family. In this way, professions to desire what was best for the family as a whole actually served to augment Daniel’s power within the family, and specifically in his relationship with Marten. In telling Marten “to believe that he does not want anything else in the world so much as the peace and quiet and honor of the house,” Daniel asserted that they shared the same ideal that placed family above personal interest.¹⁹³ Daniel claimed that he was not working for his own “profit or particular benefit,” but only for the “common good” of the

¹⁸⁹ Daniel to Marten, Leiden, 12 August 1595, DFL 4: “myne genegentheyt, vrientscap, ende dienste die U.L. oft den genen die U lieff syn nyet en selen gebreecken...geenen vlyt oft arbeyt spaeren om haer volcomen getuychenisse te geven van myne affectie.”

¹⁹⁰ Daniel to Marten, Leiden, 3 August 1593, DFL 4: “Indien hier eenige oocasien van uwen dienst voorvallen, soo sullen U.L. my gebieden, sult by my vinden alle tegene dat van een geaffectioneerde ende trouwe broeder soudn mogen heysschen.”

¹⁹¹ Medick and Sabean, “Interest and Emotion in Family and Kinship Studies”; Broomhall and Gent, “Corresponding Affections.”

¹⁹² On the concept of the house, see Sabean, *Property, Production, and Family*. The Della Failles and Van der Meulens identified the house not with a place, but with the sibling group, which could also be expanded out to collateral kin.

¹⁹³ Daniel to Marten, 29 September 1589, Bremen, DFL 4: “Gheloven dat hy gheene saecke ter werelt meer en soeckt dan de ruste ende eere van den huysse.”

family.¹⁹⁴ Of course, the monetary benefits Daniel would receive from gaining hold of Hester's entire inheritance played a role in his decision-making. Like Marten, though, Daniel spoke in terms of familial unity and honor. If Jacques, Jan, and Carlo continued to delay the liquidation of the goods in the estate of Jan de Oude, Daniel told Marten in a letter he sent on 23 July 1589, he would support Marten. He would thereby show "the love he has for the honor and reputation of the house, and how happy he would be to see the trouble disappear."¹⁹⁵ Daniel could point to this selflessness to prove his position within the family. His actions showed his good intentions. "No one can truthfully say that I have not served all sides well, and with the help of God I hope to continue to do as much as possible."¹⁹⁶

As it happened, Marten and Daniel experienced disappointment after disappointment in their separate attempts to unite the siblings. Eventually, Daniel's ability to wait upon Jacques to come to an agreement wore thin. In the fall of 1594, Daniel again traveled to Antwerp to meet with Marten. This time he came to an accord that after the transfer of property to his possession, Daniel agreed that he had received all of Hester's inheritance and would not seek any further payment from the estate.¹⁹⁷ On 7 April 1595, Hester wrote a letter to her brother.¹⁹⁸ In the first place, Hester noted her approval of the accord made by her husband and her willingness to provide Marten all assurance and documentation of the full reception of her inheritance. She

¹⁹⁴ Daniel to Marten, April 1590, Frankfurt, DFL 4: "Proffyt ofte particulier voordeel" and "het ghemeyne beste."

¹⁹⁵ Daniel to Marten, 23 July 1589, Bremen, DFL 4: "Hoe lief hy de eere ende reputatie van den huysse heeft ende hoe gherne hy saeghe dat wy allen van dese moyte ontslaghen waren."

¹⁹⁶ Daniel to Marten, 3 August 1592, Leiden, DFL 4: "Nyemant met der waerheyt connen seggen dat ick andere als goede officien over alle syden hebben gedaen, waerinne ick met de hulpe Godes hope te continueren soo vele my mogelyck sal syn."

¹⁹⁷ Agreement of Daniel concerning the estate of Jan de Oude, Antwerp, 14 October 1594, DFL 15; Memory of Marten, DFL 14. See Chapter 5 for more on the monetary details of the transaction.

¹⁹⁸ Hester to Marten, Leiden, 7 April 1595, DFL 4. This is the only letter contained in letter book from Hester after her marriage to Daniel, and it may very well have been the only letter she sent to her brother during her married life.

backed these actions with assurances of the affection that she continued to hold for her brother despite their years of separation. “Further, I friendly pray for you to hold me as your faithful sister. I still hope to live in a time that we can again be able to live by each other in the same city in order to enjoy brotherly friendship.”¹⁹⁹ War and political and religious allegiance may have kept brother and sister apart, but it did not diminish their mutual desire to live together as friends. As peace in both the political affairs that divided the Low Countries and the familial affairs that divided Marten from Jan, Jacques, and Carlo appeared more and more as an unobtainable dream, the best that Marten could do was “to have patience and await that God shall order that for once we can have friendship with all of our brothers and sisters.”²⁰⁰

8. The Estate Comes to a Bitter End, 1615-1617

After thirty years of refusing to travel to Antwerp or to come to an agreement with Marten, the now 64 year-old Jacques finally returned to the city of his birth in June 1614.²⁰¹ A letter that Marten sent to Jan de Wale following Jacques’s death on 24 October 1615 provides graphic detail of the deplorable condition Jacques found himself in upon his return. Marten told De Wale that where Jacques once possessed a capital of £35,000, he had lost it all in failed trade

¹⁹⁹ Hester to Marten, Leiden, 7 April 1595, DFL 4: “Voorder bidde vriendelÿck my te houden voor uwe trouwe suster ende verhope noch den tyt te leven dat wy wederomme binnen een stad by den anderen seelen mogen woonen om de broederlycke vriendtschap te genieten.”

²⁰⁰ Marten to Daniel, Antwerp, 5 June 1594, DvdM 274-45: “In alles paciencie ende verwachten dat God eens sal scicken dat wy moghen onder alle ons broers ende susters eens die vrinschap hebben.” Kaplan, *Divided by Faith*.

²⁰¹ Jacques’s return was facilitated by the Twelve Year Truce, which began in 1609. Randall Lesaffer, ed. *The Twelve Years’ Truce (1609): Peace, Truce, War, and Law in the Low Countries at the Turn of the 17th Century* (Leiden: Brill, 2014); Judith Pollmann, “‘Brabanters do fairly resemble Spaniards after all’: Memory, Propaganda and Identity in the Twelve Years’ Truce,” in *Public Opinion and Changing Identities in the Early Modern Netherlands: Essays in Honour of Alastair Duke*, ed. Judith Pollmann and Andrew Spicer (Leiden: Brill, 2007).

ventures.²⁰² The letters Jacques sent to Daniel up to 1600 show that Jacques's losses mainly came from his maritime trade to the Barbary Coast.²⁰³ By the time that he arrived in Antwerp, he was bankrupt and forced to subsist upon loans from Marten. It must have been a bitter end for a proud man.²⁰⁴ The contrast with Marten could not be greater. In the same year that Jacques entered Antwerp in rags and depended upon his older brother's charity, Marten was raised to the nobility through his service to the Spanish crown and the Archdukes Albert and Isabella.²⁰⁵ At the close of Marten's company in 1594, he had amassed a wealth of £101,588. Over the rest of his life, Marten invested the capital in land and died with £106,443 in land holdings.²⁰⁶

Negotiations over a possible compromise between Marten and Jacques had continued after Daniel returned to Leiden in 1594. The last letter Marten wrote to Daniel before the latter's death from the plague on 25 July 1600 discussed the possibilities of coming to an agreement with Jacques, Jan, and Carlo just as numerous letters before had. Like he had numerous times, Marten declared to Daniel, "I seek nothing other than friendship and unity."²⁰⁷ Communication between all of the siblings, even if it had to go through intermediaries at times, never closed. The siblings

²⁰² Marten to Jan de Wale, Antwerp, 28 January 1616, DFL 4. Though an impressive amount of capital, the figure also shows Jacques's disadvantaged position relative to Marten. Marten had already gained over £35,000 in capital by the time of Jan de Oude's death. Brulez, *Firma Della Faille*, 187.

²⁰³ Jacques's letters to Daniel, DvdM 538. In 1598 Jacques formed a company for trade with the Barbary where he provided half of the capital. The other investors were Wouter Aertsen, Steven della Faille, De Lisle, and Gilles della Faille. Schmitz, *Les Della Faille*, vol. 1, 285–286.

²⁰⁴ Marten to Jan de Wale, Antwerp, 28 January 1616, DFL 4. Marten loaned Jacques more than £100 and his son loaned Jacques another £100 for Jacques and his children to clothe themselves, to pay for the rent of their house in s'Hertogenbosch, and also to pay other small debts. After Jacques's death, Marten's son loaned an additional £8 and then another £6 to his widow. Jan's wife, Maria van der Goes, seems also to have given some money for the burial of Jacques.

²⁰⁵ Schmitz, *Les Della Faille*, vol. 3, 35–42; Brulez, *Firma Della Faille*, 205–208.

²⁰⁶ Brulez, *Firma Della Faille*, 187.

²⁰⁷ Marten to Daniel, Antwerp, 18 July 1600, DvdM 274-79/80: "ick en soeke niet dan de vrinscappe ende eenichheit."

remained brothers and sisters notwithstanding their inability to gain unity. However, as it turned out, the agreement between Marten and Daniel did mark an end of sorts. In the 1590s Carlo moved to Brabant to pursue his lawsuits against Marten, leading to the creation of the states of the capital in the estate of Jan de Oude in 1583 and 1594. Meanwhile, Marten and Jacques's relationship entered into a prolonged period of uneasy stasis.²⁰⁸ Their standoff was finally broken in 1615, when Jan, Jacques, and Carlo submitted themselves to a final round of arbitration with Marten. The grievances that Jan and Jacques submitted constituted a last effort to criticize Marten's administration of the estate, but the course of events had already decided against them. Abiding by the judgement of the arbitrators and at last achieving a final liquidation and division of the estate could only mean accepting Marten as the head of the sibling group and the true successor of Jan de Oude.

The most telling aspect of the list of fourteen grievances that Jan and Jacques with the support of Carlo submitted to the arbitrators in the beginning of 1615 was its similarity to the grievances that Jan and Jacques had written in 1583. Though now in their sixties and seventies, the heart of the fissures between the siblings had hardly altered from when they were in their thirties and forties. The basis for their complaints continued to derive from Marten's service to his father in London and the belief that Marten did not keep nor show his siblings correct and complete accounts of his activities before or after Jan de Oude's death. Jan and Jacques complained that they still had yet to receive accounts about the estate in London that contained enough detail for them to be properly evaluated. Marten had only given them accounts "in mass and without particular specifications or declarations of day, persons, and quantity," so that it was

²⁰⁸ An indication of the lack of progress in coming to an agreement in the twenty years between 1594 and 1614 is provided by Marten's *Memorie* of the disputes over the estate. After a detailed description of the main events up to 1594, Marten wrote only about the creation of the states by Jan Nicolay between 1594 and Jan's arrival in Antwerp in 1610. *Memory of Marten*, DFL 14.

impossible for them “to be informed of the trade, profits, and liabilities.”²⁰⁹ They, therefore, again accused Marten of failing to live up to the order from Jan de Oude’s testament to “give good, just, and faithful accounts.”²¹⁰ Rather than seeking to find a compromise, they still wanted to be able to scrutinize and criticize the accounts.

Jan, Jacques, and Carlo had yet to accept Marten’s image of himself as a faithful servant and son to his father. The individual complaints that the three recalcitrant siblings brought against Marten all questioned Marten’s service to the sibling group. They continued to accuse him of acting as a bad agent for the estate by placing his own affairs and interests above those of the sibling group. Thus, just as they had done in 1583, Jan and Jacques brought up Marten’s acceptance of the false bonds of Nicolas Jones in 1581. They believed that Marten’s own account should be held liable for his mistake and asked that the £2,700 loss from this transaction be wiped off the accounts of the estate and the heirs be provided with interest at 8%.²¹¹ Incredibly, Jan and Jacques also asked that Marten be held personally liable for all of the uncollected debts in London, which they valued at £7,000.²¹² They argued that the debts had reached such high levels because Marten had skirted his duty to collect them. Marten did not “properly perform the duty to bring in and receive them, notwithstanding all of the diligence that should have been done for it.”²¹³ It was an accusation that Marten had already responded to in 1583, but Jan and

²⁰⁹ Jan and Jacques with Carlo against Marten, Antwerp, 5 January 1615, DFL 8: “in masse ende sonder particuliere specificatie ofte declaratie van dach, personen, ende quantiteyt...informerer vanden selven handel, proffytten, ende lasten.”

²¹⁰ Jan and Jacques with Carlo against Marten, Antwerp, 5 January 1615, DFL 8: “geven goede oprechte ende ghetrouwe rekeninge.”

²¹¹ Jan and Jacques with Carlo against Marten, Antwerp, 5 January 1615, DFL 8.

²¹² See the extensive discussion of the estate in London and the large amount of doubtful and bad debts in Chapter 5.

²¹³ Jan and Jacques with Carlo against Marten, Antwerp, 5 January 1615, DFL 8: “datter eenich behoorlyck devoir gedaen is om de selve te innen oft te ontfangen, niettegenstaende alle behoorlycke diligentie die daer toe soude gedaen wesen.”

Jacques remained unconvinced.²¹⁴ In other accusations, Jan and Jacques simply criticized decisions that Marten had made in the course of administering the capital of the estate over the previous thirty years. They blamed him for the loss of silk that had been aboard a ship that sunk at the mouth of the Thames or the sale of houses in Brussels to Richardot, President of the Privy Council under the Archdukes.

Many of the claims betrayed desperation. Asking that Marten be held liable for the £7,000 in bad debts in London and the amount be returned to the estate with interest at 8% to be divided among the siblings stood as an attempt to reverse the entire course of events of the previous thirty years. Marten meticulously answered the claims made by his brothers in order to show their “groundlessness.” In doing so, he held firm to the same narrative he had held since their father’s death. It was not he who had skirted his duty, it was Jan and Jacques. His answers showed that his brothers “with little honor have up to now held the estate of our father in unrest and have caused great and unnecessary expenses.”²¹⁵ In fact, Marten claimed to have spent more than £3,300 on the lawsuits that were fought over the estate.²¹⁶ As far as the individual grievances, Marten argued that he had always acted either in conformity with agreements made between the siblings or in pursuit of the good of the sibling group in accordance with his duty as an executor. For instance, in response to the blame that Jan and Jacques placed upon him for the lost silk, Marten answered that as an executor he is “obliged to do that which is for the best profit

²¹⁴. Answer of Marten to the lawsuit of Jan and Jacques concerning the estate in London, 1583, DFL 8.

²¹⁵. Answer of Marten to Jan, Jacques, and Carlo, 1 April 1615, DFL 8: “derselver met luttel eere t’sterffhuys van partyen vader tot noch toe gehouden hebben in onrust ende gecauseert groote noodeloose onkosten.”

²¹⁶. Memory of Marten, DFL 14. Marten stated that he had spent over 20,000 guilders on the lawsuits.

of the estate in the normal manner.”²¹⁷ He wondered how his brothers could question such common occurrences to which all trading activities are liable.

Unsurprisingly, the arbitrators essentially confirmed the accounts of the estate that had been made by Jan Nicolay. They declared that the final partition should follow these with minor changes as might be necessary. But by the time that their decision was made both Jacques and Carlo had died, though their heirs had signed agreements to continue and abide by the declaration of the arbitrators.²¹⁸ The declaration did not bring a complete end to the disputes between the siblings, as the heirs of Carlo continued and Jacques continued to press for further payment from Marten and his heirs.²¹⁹ However, the declaration and the deaths of Jan in 1618 and Marten in 1620 brought the affair to an end for the children of Jan de Oude.²²⁰

Writing to Jan de Wale after Jacques’s death but before the declaration of the arbitrators, Marten expressed confidence in his own moral rectitude, but also exasperation at the bitterness that had existed between himself and his brother. As always, Marten held tight to the language and ideal of the united sibling group. Marten saw Jacques’s life as a moral tale of a man who fell into disrepute as a punishment for his unbrotherly actions. As the second most powerful of the siblings, Jacques had been the primary cause of the disunion within the sibling group. “He has begun all quarrels and discord over the estate, now with one, now with another, in order to

²¹⁷. Answer of Marten to Jan, Jacques, and Carlo, 1 April 1615, DFL 8: “als geschuldt zynde ten besten proffytten vanden sterffhuysse op den gewoonlycken voet ende maniere.”

²¹⁸. Judgement of the arbitrators, Antwerp, 13 September 1617, DFL 8.

²¹⁹. Schmitz, *Les Della Faille*, vol. 1, 121–124.

²²⁰. Anna and Steven died in 1621 and 1622 respectively, while Hester was the last of her siblings to die, passing away in 1643.

maintain all in disarray.”²²¹ Jacques had not sought the unity of the sibling group as Marten and Daniel so often hoped. Rather, Marten believed that Jacques had played the sides off on each other in order to prevent an agreement that would confirm Marten’s faithful service to their father. But through this denial, Jacques had squandered the brotherly affection that Marten held for him and the social and economic benefits that came from such relations. “If he had sought the honor and tranquility of our estate and indicated his situation, I would not have left him and his children in such destitution.”²²² Bonds of mutual support held siblings together in a united group with each individual defending the other members against attacks from the outside, but Jacques had forsaken these bonds. The enmity that he created between himself and his siblings left him less capable of facing the tumult of the outside world.²²³

However, even the injurious behavior of Jacques did not dissolve the bonds of kinship. Marten did not merely invest in a rhetoric of family, he showed it through the care he gave to his nieces and nephews. At the time of Jacques’s death, Marten did not know what would happen to his brother’s two unmarried daughters. Marten told De Wale that despite the “incivility of their father, I will act as a good uncle.”²²⁴ He would provide them with the help and support that their

²²¹. Marten to Jan de Wale, Antwerp, 28 January 1616, DFL 4: “Hij heeft int sterfhuijs alle twist ende tweedracht, nu met d’een aenspannende, nu met d’andere om alles int verwerre te houden.”

²²². Marten to Jan de Wale, Antwerp, 28 January 1616, DFL 4: “Waert dat hij ghesocht hadde de eere ende de ruste van onsen sterfhuijse ende zyne gheleghentheijt te kennen ghegheven, ick en hadde hem in gheene ghebreke ghelaten nich zijn kinderen.”

²²³. Kooijmans, *Vriendschap*; Tadmor, *Family and Friends in Eighteenth-Century England*; Trivellato, *Familiarity of Strangers*, 181; McLean, *Art of the Network*, 150–169; Bourdieu, *Outline of a Theory of Practice*, 65.

²²⁴. Marten to Jan de Wale, Antwerp, 28 January 1616, DFL 4: “onbeleftheit van heuren vader, ick sal daermede doen als eenen goeden oom.”

father's unbrotherly ways had previously denied them. "I have acted honorably as if they were my own children. God will forgive them."²²⁵

Marten's dealings with Jacques's son proved more problematic. Hearing of his father's death, Ferdinand had traveled to Antwerp to deal with the estate. He took advantage of the situation to take up his father's claims to various family members. Marten was dismayed at the audacity of Ferdinand and his mother seeking claims upon those who had so recently acted so charitably towards them. Marten concluded to De Wale, "In sum, they inveigh against you, against Borne, and against me as if we had been robbers of the house, where actually our faithful labor, through God's grace, has enabled us to conquer great riches. But in everything we must show patience. He who acts well, gains good payment."²²⁶ Associating his own success with moral uprightness, Marten stuck to the narrative of his service to the family. The tale of Jacques and his own family was quite different. Marten may not have quite reveled in the destitute state in which Jacques had found himself at this death, but he did not doubt that God had rewarded the righteous and punished the sinful.

9. Conclusion

The previous three chapters have investigated the troubles within the Della Faille sibling group brought about by the process of administering and disbursing the capital left behind by Jan de Oude in 1582. Bereft of the clear paternal authority provided by the father, the siblings proved unable to recreate a familial structure that could bring peace and unity. The protracted lawsuits

²²⁵. Marten to Jan de Wale, Antwerp, 28 January 1616, DFL 4: "Ick hebse alle eere aenghedaen ende ghehouden oft een van myn eijghen kinderen gheweest hadde ende Godt wilt heur alles vergheven."

²²⁶. Marten to Jan de Wale, Antwerp, 28 January 1616, DFL 4: "In somma, zij fulmineren teghen U, teghen Borne, teghen mij al oft wij roovers van het huis gheweest waren die't met onsen suren arbeit door Godte gratie soo ryckelyck hebben helpen conquereren, dan in alles moet de patientie ghenomen sijn. Die wel doet die krijght goeden loon."

and disputed nature of the capital of the estate stood as physical manifestations of their inability to treat each other in a manner befitting brothers and sisters. The nature of movable capital and accounting enabled them to enter into innumerable disputes. So long as they could not come to an understanding of the nature of their own relationships, the possibility remained open for endless bickering.

Keeping good accounts was essential to amicable relations, but accounts had to be backed by discourse and actions that aligned with expectations.²²⁷ Here, the siblings struggled. Jan and Carlo strove to undermine the hierarchy constructed by Jan de Oude that set the outline for those expectations. Meanwhile, as this chapter has documented, Marten and Jacques battled over the position of Jan de Oudes's successor. Over the course of thirty-five years, their struggle took many forms, but this chapter has emphasized its rhetorical nature. Marten and Jacques's relationships with Daniel demonstrate the importance of consensus and the creation of a narrative of family history and relations to which its members could agree.²²⁸ Jacques attempted to undermine Marten's narrative of himself as a good obedient son, who had faithfully served his father, as a way to strike at the basis for his claims to succession. In its place, Jacques asserted himself as the good son who served the family. Because Marten and Jacques were never able to align their narratives in the same way that Daniel proved able to accept that of Marten's, mistrust dominated.

Despite all the troubles and heartaches that his intransigent siblings had caused him, Marten continued to believe in the bonds of kinship and the ideal of family. The specter of their

²²⁷ Muldrew, *Economy of Obligation*; Thomas, "Family Unity and Honour"; Bourdieu, *Outline of a Theory of Practice*; Pierre Bourdieu, *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1984); McLean, *Art of the Network*, 37, 212–213.

²²⁸ Broomhall and Gent, "Corresponding Affections"; Broomhall and Gent, "In the Name of the Father"; Sabean, *Power in the Blood*, 23–25; Bourdieu, *Outline of a Theory of Practice*, 72–73, 78.

inheritance and the undivided estate of their father dominated his relationship with his siblings. The religious and political divisions of the siblings inevitably added to the difficulties. But for the Della Failles, the obligation to seek friendship and unity with one's siblings took precedence over issues of confession and political allegiance.²²⁹ The moral and social obligation to come to an agreement over the capital of their father and live together in harmony inextricably linked issues of power, property, and emotion. To agree to the distribution of property led to an agreement to a certain power structure. Both were equally tied to emotional obligations that had to be demonstrated in word and deed. Though the Della Faille siblings failed in their own lives to structure their relations in such a way that they could find peace, the obligations of kinship and patriarchy continued. Just as Jan de Oude had looked after his patrimony and its devolution to his lineal kin, the interactions of the siblings inevitably revolved around the structuring of the next generation of relations. Marten positioned himself at the center of these activities. He may have been attacked by Jan, Jacques, and Carlo, but Marten continued to take serious his obligation to care for his nieces and nephews as he attempted to do with Jacques's daughters after their father's death. He would play the part of the "good uncle." Such was his duty as the successor of Jan de Oude and the head of his sibling group.²³⁰

²²⁹ This is most clearly the case in Marten's interactions with Daniel. Marten's letters to Daniel, DvdM 274. Thomas, "Family Unity and Honour"; Sabeau, *Kinship in Neckarhausen*, 9; Bourdieu, *Outline of a Theory of Practice*, 63–75; Simon Teuscher, "Politics of Kinship in the City of Bern at the End of the Middle Ages," in *Kinship in Europe: A New Approach to Long Term Development*, ed. David Warren Sabeau, et al. (New York: Berghahn Books, 2007), 78–79.

²³⁰ See the discussions of the move towards a lineal understanding of kinship in Sabeau and Teuscher, "Kinship in Europe"; Howell, *Marriage Exchange*; Sabeau, *Kinship in Neckarhausen*.

Chapter 8

“How pleasant it is for brethren to dwell together in unity”: Family and Exile in the Dutch Revolt

1. Introduction

On 11 January 1611, Hester, the 52 year-old widow of Daniel, left her house in Leiden to travel to Utrecht to visit her sick brother-in-law, Andries. After twenty-two years of residence in Bremen, Andries had moved his family to Utrecht at the end of 1607, but the 62 year-old Andries had gradually grown weaker since he left his abode in Bremen.¹ Hester arrived in Utrecht not an hour too early. Though Andries remained clear of mind and able to talk, he was very weak and struggled with a “frightful fever.”² Andries’s state so affected Hester that she found herself unable to write to her sister-in-law Sara on the health of “our beloved brother.”³ Even on the next day, Hester found it difficult to control her emotions enough to write. Her letter to her sister-in-law was short. After ending the letter, she quickly wrote next to her signature for Sara to “please send my children my greetings, because I am too distressed to be able to write more.”⁴

Andries died the next day. As difficult as his death was for Hester to witness, she would have been even more sad if she had not arrived in Utrecht in time to say her goodbyes. Unable to

¹ On the position of Andries after he moved to Utrecht and his death, see Luuc Kooijmans, *Vriendschap: En de kunst van het overleven in de zeventiende en achttiende eeuw* (Amsterdam: B. Bakker, 1997).

² Hester to Sara, Utrecht, 12 January 1611, Collectie Antoine Lempereur, inventory 274-14, Bibliotheeca Thysiana Archief, Universiteit Leiden, Leiden, The Netherlands (hereafter CL). “Heeft hy in een bange cortse gelegen ende noch doet.”

³ Hester to Sara, Utrecht, 12 January 1611, CL 274-14: “onze lieven broeder.”

⁴ Hester to Sara, Utrecht, 12 January 1611, CL 274-14: “bidde myne kinderen gelieve te groeten, want ben te bedroeft om meer te connen schryven.”

compose herself after his death, Hester did not write to Sara until three days later, having sent her servant to inform Sara of her brother's passing. She excused her silence by again noting her grief caused by Andries's death. "Until now, my heart has been too greatly saddened to be able to write." Hester then quickly noted Andries's steadfastness in the face of death. "I pray that the Lord will also give us such a blessed death and such firm trust in God."⁵ However, Hester remained too sorrowful to write any more about Andries's death. She would return to Leiden after her brother-in-law's funeral, at which time "I will speak to you in person."⁶

The death of Andries contrasts starkly with that of Jacques four years later. Where Jacques died destitute in Antwerp, still fighting against Marten's actions concerning the estate of Jan de Oude and his position at the head of the sibling group, Andries passed away surrounded by friends and family, who were unanimous in the respect and love they had for him.⁷ Hester's letters to Sara expressed her strong emotional connection to both her brother-in-law and sister-in-law eleven years after the death of her husband. In contrast to the divisions that had occurred among her natal siblings, Hester had fully integrated herself into the sibling group of her affines. The Van der Meulen siblings present an example of a sibling group that proved largely successful in striving against the forces of fission, remaining united through the entirety of their lives. However, for all of the disparity between the experience of the Della Failles and Van der Meulens, the sibling groups perceived the challenges they faced in similar ways and used similar strategies to fortify the bonds of kinship.

⁵ Hester to Sara, Utrecht, 15 January 1611, CL 274-15: "want min herte tot noch toe te seer bedroeft geweest is sulcke te connen schryven. De Heere wil ons oock sulcken saligen afsterven ende vast vertrouwen op Godt verleenen."

⁶ Hester to Sara, Utrecht, 15 January 1611, CL 274-15: "dat ick mondelinge met U.L. spreken sal."

⁷ Kooijmans, *Vriendschap*.

This chapter uses the extant correspondence between the Van der Meulen siblings to analyze the strategies that they used to constitute themselves as a united sibling group in the face of the ordinary challenges presented by the life-cycle of the family and the extraordinary conditions brought by the Dutch Revolt. The previous chapters have argued for the importance of the patriarchal structure of the family in providing a foundation for the unity of the siblings. After the death of the longest-surviving parent, the concept of succession, with its notion of hierarchy among the siblings, and memory of the parent—the father in the case of the Della Failles and the mother for the Van der Meulens—acted as means to maintain the unity of the sibling group, as they became unmoored from the direct authority of their parents.⁸ As the experience of the Della Failles attests, succession and memory could become points of contestation as easily as means for unity. The existence of a wider set of correspondence between the siblings during the last years of their mother’s life and the years following her death provide an opportunity to analyze the workings of patriarchy and memory from a different perspective than possible for the Della Failles. Living in different cities, the Van der Meulens used the practice of letter writing and discourses of affection to fortify their bonds and order their

⁸ David Warren Sabeen and Simon Teuscher, “Kinship in Europe: A New Approach to Long Term Development,” in *Kinship in Europe: Approaches to Long-Term Development*, ed. David Warren Sabeen, et al. (New York: Berghahn Books, 2007); Christopher H. Johnson and David Warren Sabeen, “From Siblingship to Siblinghood: Kinship and the Shaping of European Society (1300–1900),” in *Sibling Relations and the Transformations of European Kinship, 1300–1900*, ed. Christopher H. Johnson and David Warren Sabeen (New York: Berghahn Books, 2011); Erica Bastress-Dukehart, “Family, Property, and Feeling in Early Modern German Noble Culture: The Zimmerns of Swabia,” *The Sixteenth Century Journal* 32, no. 1 (2001): 1–19.

relations.⁹ The correspondence of the Van der Meulens also makes it possible to investigate more fully the position and work done by female members of the sibling group. Whereas the previous chapters concentrated on legal issues and disputes between men, this chapter places greater focus on the role of sisters and the brother/sister dyad.¹⁰

This chapter begins with the critical situation the Van der Meulens faced in August 1585 as Antwerp fell to the forces of Farnese. Strongly identified with Calvinism and the Revolt, the Van der Meulens had no choice but to leave their native city and go into exile. None of the siblings ever returned to Antwerp for more than a short visit. Living first in Germany and then, at different times, moving to the Dutch Republic, the Van der Meulens interpreted their experience

⁹ Particularly interesting understanding of the use of emotion in letters between siblings is provided by Susan Broomhall and Jacqueline van Gent, "Corresponding Affections: Emotional Exchange among Siblings in the Nassau Family," *Journal of Family History* 34, no. 2 (2009), especially 145–147. The emotional content of letters to overcome distance is also discussed in Sophie Ruppel, "Subordinates, Patrons, and Most Beloved: Sibling Relationships in Seventeenth-Century German Court Society," in *Sibling Relations and the Transformations of European Kinship, 1300–1900*, ed. Christopher H. Johnson and David Warren Sabeau (New York: Berghahn Books, 2011); Gary Schneider, "Affecting Correspondences: Body, Behavior, and the Textualization of Emotion in Early Modern English Letters," *Prose Studies* 23, no. 3 (2000): 31–62; Bastress-Dukehart, "Family, Property, and Feeling"; Erica Bastress-Dukehart, "Sibling Conflict within Early Modern German Noble Families," *Journal of Family History* 33, no. 1 (2008): 61–80; Barbara H. Rosenwein, "Worrying about Emotions in History," *American Historical Review* 107, no. 3 (2002): 821–845. On the connections created through correspondence more generally, see Francesca Trivellato, *The Familiarity of Strangers: The Sephardic Diaspora, Livorno, and Cross-Cultural Trade in the Early Modern Period* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2009), 177–193; Francesca Trivellato, "Merchant Letters across Geographical and Social Boundaries," in *Correspondence and Cultural Exchange in Europe, 1400–1700*, ed. Francisco Bethencourt and Florike Egmond (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007); Sebouh Aslanian, "'The Salt in a Merchant's Letter': The Culture of Julfan Correspondence in the Indian Ocean and the Mediterranean," *Journal of World History* 19, no. 2 (2008): 127–188; Paul D. McLean, *The Art of the Network: Strategic Interaction and Patronage in Renaissance Florence* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2007).

¹⁰ On the relationship between brothers and sisters, see Naomi Miller and Naomi Yavneh, eds. *Sibling Relations and Gender in the Early Modern World: Sisters, Brothers and Others* (Aldershot, England: Ashgate, 2006); Johnson and Sabeau, "From Siblingship to Siblinghood"; Michaela Hohkamp, "Sisters, Aunts, and Cousins: Familial Architectures and the Political Field in Early Modern Europe," in *Kinship in Europe: Approaches to Long-Term Development*, ed. David Warren Sabeau, et al. (New York: Berghahn Books, 2007); Michaela Hohkamp, "Do Sisters Have Brothers?: The Search for the 'rechte Schwester': Brothers and Sisters in Aristocratic Society at the Turn of the Sixteenth Century," in *Sibling Relations and the Transformations of European Kinship, 1300–1900*, ed. Christopher H. Johnson and David Warren Sabeau (New York: Berghahn Books, 2011); Benjamin Marschke, "The Crown Prince's Brothers and Sisters: Succession and Inheritance Problems and Solutions Among the Hohenzollerns, from the Great Elector to Frederick the Great," in *Sibling Relations and the Transformations of European Kinship, 1300–1900*, ed. Christopher H. Johnson and David Warren Sabeau (New York: Berghahn Books, 2011).

within a Calvinist tradition of exile.¹¹ Throughout their correspondence, they used a discourse of exile, which served to combine the religious, political, moral, and familial. Alongside and overlapping with the discourse of exile, the siblings came together through affection for and care of their mother. Especially important in providing the siblings with a means to unite was the memory that they constructed of their mother's life and blessed death during her six month long sickness and eventual death in 1587.¹² Elizabeth's death left the Van der Meulens in a position similar to that of the Della Failles in 1582 at the death of Jan de Oude. However, unlike the Della Failles, the Van der Meulens proved able to create consensus over the structure of the sibling group after their mother's death. The process did not occur without difficulties, but the siblings could counter potential or developing fissures, because they had developed a strong foundation for their unity through the acceptance of Andries as the successor to their mother's power and their continued discourse of affection.

In the period preceding and immediately following the family's departure from Antwerp, Elizabeth solidified the structural aspects of the relationships between her children, as she began to relinquish direct control over the family capital. Just as Jan de Oude's actions had done, Elizabeth's interactions with her children set the boundaries for the relationships between herself and her children and between the siblings themselves. Elizabeth constructed a hierarchy among her children, placing her sons over her daughters, through their marriages and the extra payments

¹¹ See Appendix A for a fuller description of the residences of the Van der Meulen siblings. Ole Peter Grell, *Brethren in Christ: A Calvinist Network in Reformation Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011); Johannes Müller, "Permeable Memories: Family History and the Diaspora of Southern Netherlandish Exiles in the Seventeenth Century," in *Memory before Modernity: Practices of Memory in Early Modern Europe*, ed. Erika Kuijpers, et al. (Leiden: Brill, 2013).

¹² Erica Bastress-Dukehart, *The Zimmern Chronicle: Nobility, Memory and Self-Representation in Sixteenth-Century Germany* (Aldershot, England: Ashgate, 2002); Natalie Zemon Davis, "Ghosts, Kin, and Progeny: Some Features of Family Life in Early Modern France," *Daedalus* 106, no. 2 (1976): 87–114; Katharine Hodgkin, "Women, Memory and Family History in Seventeenth-Century England," in *Memory before Modernity: Practices of Memory in Early Modern Europe*, ed. Erika Kuijpers, et al. (Leiden: Brill, 2013).

she gave to Andries and Daniel alongside their paternal inheritance.¹³ The hierarchy within the sibling group and her retirement from active trade was confirmed by the signing of a contract to create a new company within the family. On the same day that Sara became engaged to Antoine, Andries and Daniel created a company for a period of six years with their brothers-in-law, François and Antoine.¹⁴

The company fortified and made explicit the bonds that were supposed to develop naturally between the consanguineal and affinal siblings. Though Andries and Daniel only combined to provide a third of the total £12,000 to be invested in the company—François and Antoine each provided one-third—the terms of the agreement made them the senior partners. While Andries and Daniel could invest in ventures outside the bounds of the company, all of the investments of François and Antoine were restricted to the company, severely reducing agency problems.¹⁵ It was further agreed that Antoine and François would conduct most of the trade and

¹³ See Chapters 3 and 4 respectively on the marriages of the Van der Meulen siblings and the testament of Elizabeth.

¹⁴ The contract for the so-called “Nieuwe Compagnie” can be found in DvdM 93. On the Nieuwe Compagnie, see Gisela Jongbloet-van Houtte, “Inleiding,” in *Brieven en andere bescheiden betreffende Daniel van der Meulen, 1584-1600*, ed. Gisela Jongbloet-van Houtte (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1986), xl–xlii; R. F. Claassen, “De overlandhandel op Italie van de gebroeders van der Meulen: Kooplieden tijdens het laatste kwart van de zestiende eeuw,” in *De handel van Daniel van der Meulen c.s., in het bijzonder rond de jaren 1588-1592: Werkcollege economische geschiedenis*, ed. J. H. Kernkamp (Leiden: Universiteit Leiden, 1969), 7.

¹⁵ The inability to trade outside the company made it more difficult, though hardly impossible, to cheat. See the discussions in Trivellato, *Familiarity of Strangers*; Jeremy Edwards and Sheilagh Ogilvie, “Contract Enforcement, Institutions, and Social Capital: The Maghribi Traders Reappraised,” *The Economic History Review* 65, no. 2 (2012): 421–444; Jessica L. Goldberg, “Choosing and Enforcing Business Relationships in the Eleventh-Century Mediterranean: Reassessing the ‘Maghribi Traders,’” *Past & Present* 216 (2012): 3–40; Craig Muldrew, *The Economy of Obligation: The Culture of Credit and Social Relations in Early Modern England* (New York: St. Martin’s press, 1998). See also Peter Mathias, “Strategies of Reducing Risk by Entrepreneurs in the Early Modern Period,” in *Entrepreneurs and Entrepreneurship in Early Modern Times: Merchants and Industrialists within the Orbit of the Dutch Staple Market*, ed. Clé Lesger and Leo Noordegraaf (The Hague: Stichting Hollandse Historische Reeks, 1995); Luuc Kooijmans, “Risk and Reputation: On the Mentality of Merchants in the Early Modern Period,” in *Entrepreneurs and Entrepreneurship in Early Modern Times: Merchants and Industrialists within the Orbit of the Dutch Staple Market*, ed. Clé Lesger and Leo Noordegraaf (The Hague: Stichting Hollandse Historische Reeks, 1995). For the use of agents in the trade of the Della Failles and the problems that could occur, Wilfrid Brulez, *De Firma Della Faille en de internationale handel van Vlaamse firma’s in de 16e eeuw* (Brussels: Paleis der Academiën, 1959), 78–80.

take up residence closer to the fairs of Frankfurt and Strasbourg, while Andries and Daniel would provide information about the purchasing and selling of goods. The stipulations of the company created by the siblings placed the hierarchy of the siblings in contractual form, while also leading to the physical separation of the brothers from their sisters that led to the correspondence used in this chapter.

The correspondence between the Van der Meulen siblings after the fall of Antwerp in 1585 demonstrates both the importance they placed upon cohesion within the sibling group and the difficulties of achieving it. Building a concept of the family as a moral and economic entity that unites siblings throughout their lives, their correspondence shows the struggles they experienced in attempting to live up to this ideal. The marriages of the siblings and the death of their mother brought changes to the structure of the family, testing the bonds of kinship. Their position as religious and political exiles, forced from their home city of Antwerp, added further complications. Living in separate cities in Germany, the siblings worried that the obstacles provided by generational changes and the extraordinary conditions of the Dutch Revolt would prove too great a burden. Their responses to this difficult situation demonstrate their belief that only through the maintenance of affection and friendship within the sibling group could the social and economic goals of the family, and the individuals within it, be obtained. Interest and emotion were not only intertwined in the strategies families used to construct a solid core for

their wider mercantile networks, interests and emotions fashioned the very goals the families and individuals pursued.¹⁶

2. Parental Bonds of Affection

The fall of Antwerp created a familial crisis for the Van der Meulens. Confronting a situation in which they became separated into conjugal pairs, facing exile from Antwerp, and physical separation from each other, the Van der Meulen siblings responded with the use of various tactics, attempting to maintain the strong bonds that had been constructed throughout their childhood. Anxious to preserve the structure of the nuclear family well into their adult lives, the siblings emphasized their affection for and subservience to their mother. Since the death of Jan van der Meulen, Elizabeth acted as the matriarch and source of parental power within the household. Until her death in 1587, she continued to play a unifying role within the family. The letters between the siblings show them building their mother into a symbol around which they

¹⁶ Hans Medick and David Warren Sabean, "Interest and Emotion in Family and Kinship Studies: A Critique of Social History and Anthropology," in *Interest and Emotion: Essays on the Study of Family and Kinship*, ed. Hans Medick and David Warren Sabean (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984); Pierre Bourdieu, *Outline of a Theory of Practice* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977); Pierre Bourdieu, "On the Family as a Realized Category," *Theory Culture and Society* 13, no. 3 (1996): 19–26; Bastress-Dukehart, "Family, Property, and Feeling." A physical manifestation of the entwined nature of interest and emotion is provided by the letters themselves. The letters between the siblings included professions of affection, information about relatives, discussion of trade, and news of the wars around them all jumbled together with little clear distinctions between the various subjects. On the different subjects included in the letters of the Van der Meulens, see Jesse Sadler, "News as a Path to Independence: Merchant Correspondence and the Exchange of News during the Dutch Revolt," in *In Praise of Ordinary People: Early Modern England and the Dutch Republic*, ed. Margaret C. Jacob and Catherine Secretan (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013). For other examples of merchant letters, Aslanian, "Salt in a Merchant's Letter"; Trivellato, "Merchant Letters"; Jessica L. Goldberg, "The Use and Abuse of Commercial Letters from the Cairo Geniza," *Journal of Medieval History* 38, no. 2 (2012): 127–154.

could unite. Concentrating on that which made them brothers and sisters, sharing the same parents, served to strengthen the bonds between the siblings.¹⁷

In August 1585, as it became apparent that Antwerp would have to capitulate to Farnese and that there would be no lasting religious freedom, the Van der Meulen siblings began to express understandable concern for the physical and mental toll that exile would place upon their sixty-six year old mother.¹⁸ The apprehensiveness is exemplified by a letter Anna sent to her mother just before the fall of Antwerp. Concerned for the health of her mother, Anna wrote of her sadness at the difficulties her mother and all of the citizens of Antwerp faced.¹⁹ She hoped that Elizabeth would not become overly distressed by the troubles around her, for Anna worried that such thoughts might lead to a “troublesome sickness.”²⁰ If her mother allowed herself to be affected by the tribulations of the time, her health would suffer. This would not only be a blow to Elizabeth, causing her pain, but would also lead to worry and suffering of her children. The bond between Elizabeth and her children was such that their mental and physical states were connected; her children could not help but react to the weakness of their mother with their own

¹⁷ A similar phenomenon can be seen in the letters between the children of William of Orange, see Broomhall and Gent, “Corresponding Affections”; Susan Broomhall and Jacqueline van Gent, “In the Name of the Father: Conceptualizing ‘Pater Familias’ in the Letters of William the Silent’s Children,” *Renaissance Quarterly* 62, no. 4 (2009): 1130–1166. This practice was also closely associated with the concept of political rule, see Julia Adams, *The Familial State: Ruling Families and Merchant Capitalism in Early Modern Europe* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2005); Peter Arnade, *Beggars, Iconoclasts, and Civic Patriots: The Political Culture of the Dutch Revolt* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2008), 272–280; Lynn Hunt, *The Family Romance of the French Revolution* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1992).

¹⁸ Andries had originally hoped that it might be possible to negotiate a religious peace with Farnese, but in a letter he sent to Daniel on 13 July 1585, he reported that “Concerning religion or religious freedom, there is no possibility.” Daniël van der Meulen en Hester de la Faille, zijn vrouw, 1550–1648, inventory 593a-93 (147), Erfgoed Leiden en Omstreken, Leiden, The Netherlands (hereafter DvdM). The letter is transcribed in Gisela Jongbloet-van Houtte, ed. *Brieven en andere bescheiden betreffende Daniel van der Meulen, 1584-1600*, Rijks Geschiedkundige Publicatiën: Grote serie (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1986), nr 147. “Inde religie oft religiensvrede en zal niet te doen zijn.”

¹⁹ Olivia Weisser has recently argued that patients often blamed their distressed emotional states for their illnesses, see Olivia Weisser, “Grieved and Disordered: Gender and Emotion in Early Modern Patient Narratives,” *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies* 43, no. 2 (2013): 247–273.

²⁰ Anna to Elizabeth, Cologne, 8 August 1585, CL 277-3: “brenghet tot eennieghe beswaerelijckke kranckheyt.”

physical ailments. It was, therefore, of utmost importance that Elizabeth be able to quiet her anxiety.²¹ Anna attempted to help in this by reminding her mother that the best anyone could do in this situation was to place all of their trust in God and hope that He might come to the relief of Antwerp.

Six days after the fall of Antwerp, Elizabeth joined the scores of people leaving the city she considered home with Sara, Anna's son from her first marriage, Hansken van de Corput, and Andries's wife, Suzanne Malapert, with her one-year old daughter, Suzanneken. Anna followed the situation in Antwerp closely and was undoubtedly full of concern upon hearing of the city's fall. On 18 September, she received a letter written by Sara while on their journey from Antwerp to Bremen. Writing back to her sister the same day, Anna informed Sara that she could not help but read the letter with many tears. Her disquiet at the difficulties her mother now faced was palpable. "It worries me very much that our beloved reverend mother must take on this difficult journey in her old age."²² Anna's fears had proven justified. Sara's letter told of the difficulty of the trip and the weakness of their mother. Thinking about this and the great distance that her mother still had to travel made Anna's heart break.

Anna connected her own emotional state to that of her mother. It was as if Anna could feel the sorrow in her mother's heart caused by leaving her "handsome house" and her social position, creating "discomfort where in her old age rest would serve much better."²³ As she had in her previous letter to her mother, Anna expressed anxiety that Elizabeth might worry too much

²¹ Schneider, "Affecting Correspondences"; Broomhall and Gent, "Corresponding Affections."

²² Anna to Sara, Cologne, 18 September 1585, CL 273-2: "Het bekommert mij soe seer dat onse lieve eerwydieghe moeder die beswaerlijckke rijssse nu in haer aude dagen moet aennemen."

²³ Anna to Sara, Cologne, 18 September 1585, CL 273-2: "docht mij het hert te breckken want mij dunckt dat ick ons moeders hertte ghewoelle, hoe seer ledt dat haer gedaen heft wt dat schoen huys te trecken ende wt haer gelentheyt in ongemack daer haer aude dagen better ruste diennen saude."

and thereby weaken herself. Anna understood well the close link between mental and physical state.²⁴ She, herself, was so agitated by the situation that she was unable to sleep and could not be at ease until “I have news that our beloved reverend mother has safely arrived along with all the members of our house.”²⁵

Despite the hardships the journey to Bremen caused, the family reached the German city safely and began to settle into their new lives in exile in the fall of 1585. Elizabeth’s lack of direct involvement in the creation of the company created by her sons and sons-in-law and the end of her company with François showed that she was slowly extricating herself from an active role in trade. This movement towards retirement necessarily meant a reduction in the power that Elizabeth held over her children.²⁶ Despite this sign of generational transformation, throughout 1586 she continued to play a central role in family life. Elizabeth remained an important focal point for her children and was central to the maintenance of the bonds of affection between them.

An example of the ways in which Elizabeth remained active as the head of the family, and therefore as a force bringing the siblings together, is provided by the birth of Sara and Antoine’s first child. Learning in the fall of 1586 that Sara was pregnant, Elizabeth regretted that she could not be by her side. Her desire to communicate her displeasure is evident in the beginning of a letter she sent her daughter and son-in-law. “Much loved and dear son and good daughter, besides giving my friendly greetings to you, this letter serves to inform you that I have always wished and hoped that I would be there with you when my beloved daughter, Sara, gives

²⁴ Weisser, “Grieved and Disordered.”

²⁵ Anna to Sara, Cologne, 18 September 1585, CL 273-2: “tot dat ick tijdinge hebbe dat onse lieve eerwydieghe moeder wel overkomen is met samen alle die van onsen huysse.”

²⁶ Tamara K. Hareven, “Aging and Generational Relations: A Historical and Life Course Perspective,” *Annual Review of Sociology* 20 (1994): 437–461.

birth to her first child.”²⁷ Being present at the birth, Elizabeth could have offered moral and physical help. It also would function to highlight the unity of the lineal family from grandmother, to mother, to child.²⁸ Elizabeth was disappointed that she could not be present for either the birth or the baptism of her grandchild. Like the Della Failles, the Van der Meulens often chose the godparents for their children among their close kin. Sara and Antoine chose to demonstrate their continued close ties to Sara’s natal family by having Elizabeth act as their child’s godmother.²⁹

The distance between mother and daughter, Elizabeth’s old age, and her frail state precluded Elizabeth from traveling to Cologne. However, she delegated the duties that she needed to perform at the baptism to her eldest daughter Anna. The language she used was precise and legalistic. “By the enclosed, I charge my daughter Anna, in my name and under the authority of law, to undertake the baptism of your aforementioned child.”³⁰ The form was not significantly different from that which one might use with a commissioned agent for trade.³¹ Though Anna was to do the bodily actions of the ceremony, it was Elizabeth who was performing the acts. Anna, Sara’s older sister, therefore acted as the mother/sister in the baptismal ceremony. The

²⁷ Elizabeth to Sara, Bremen, 6 December 1586, CL 275-4: “Seer lieve ende beminde zone ende zeer weerde dochter, naer myne vrientelycke groete aen U Lieden, dient desen u te laten weten dat myne wenschen altyt gheweest heeft ende hadde wel verhopet dat ick aldaer by U Lieden zoude zyn wanneer myne L. dochter Sara soude verlossen van hare eerste vrucht.”

²⁸ David Cressy, *Birth, Marriage, and Death: Ritual, Religion, and the Life-Cycle in Tudor and Stuart England*, First ed., (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997), 55–79; Merry E. Wiesner, *Women and Gender in Early Modern Europe*, 1st Edition ed., New approaches to European history (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 63–71.

²⁹ See the discussion on godparentage among the children of the Della Faille siblings in Chapter 2. Elizabeth also acted as the godmother of the first child of Daniel and Hester, who was born soon after their arrival in Bremen at the end of 1585. The godfather of their daughter was Andries. Kassaboek of Daniel and Hester, DvdM 87-1.

³⁰ Elizabeth to Sara, Bremen, 6 December 1586, CL 275-4: “ick den last daerof ghegheven by desen inliggenden aen myne dochter Anna op dat sy sulckx in mynen naeme uut rechte, met verclaringhe, dat sulcx als van mynent wegen gheschiet onder den doop vanden voors. uwen kinde te doen.”

³¹ Trivellato, *Familiarity of Strangers*, 155–176.

affection and connection between Elizabeth and Sara was transferred through Anna, reinforcing that between mother and daughter, while also strengthening the bonds between the sisters.

3. Anxiety of Exile

Decisions about the residence of the various members of the family proved difficult. In the years following the fall of Antwerp, the family members often discussed the options of Andries and Daniel possibly moving to Hamburg or the whole family moving to Frankfurt.³² It is clear that economic concerns played a large role in these decisions. It was useful to have trusted relatives close to Frankfurt and Strasbourg where much of the family's trade took place. Some commentators have noted the economic advantage that arose from the creation of a diaspora of connected merchants spreading themselves throughout Europe.³³ One might even question the notion of exile amongst merchants, who, despite trends toward sedentary mercantile activity, still travelled frequently and resided in different localities throughout their lives. The correspondence

³² Discussions about this can be found in the letters from Andries to Daniel in 1586, DvdM 593a. On the emmigration from Antwerp before and immediately following its fall to the Spanish, see Gustaaf Asaert, *1585: De val van Antwerpen en de uittocht van Vlamingen en Brabanders* (Tielt, Belgium: Lannoo, 2004); J. G. C. A. Briels, *Zuid-Nederlandse Immigratie 1572–1630* (Haarlem: Fibula-Van Dishoeck, 1978); R. van Roosbroeck, *Emigranten: Nederlandse vluchtelingen in Duitsland (1550–1600)* (Louvain: Davidsfonds, 1968).

³³ The classic example is Wilfrid Brulez, “De diaspora der Antwerpse kooplui op het einde van de 16de eeuw,” *Bijdragen voor de geschiedenis der Nederlanden* 15 (1960): 279–306. See more recently the treatments of exiles by Oscar Gelderblom and Clé Lesger. Oscar Gelderblom, *Zuid-Nederlandse kooplieden en de opkomst van de Amsterdamse stapelmarkt (1578-1630)* (Hilversum, The Netherlands: Verloren, 2000); Clé Lesger, *The Rise of the Amsterdam Market and Information Exchange: Merchants, Commercial Expansion and Change in the Spatial Economy of the Low Countries, c.1550–1630* (Aldershot, England: Ashgate, 2006). On the existence of colonies of Flemish merchants outside of the Low Countries at the end of the sixteenth century, see Marie-Christine Engels, *Merchants, Interlopers, Seamen and Corsairs: The “Flemish” Community in Livorno and Genoa (1615–1635)* (Hilversum: Verloren, 1997); Maartje van Gelder, *Trading Places: The Netherlandish Merchants in Early Modern Venice* (Leiden: Brill, 2009).

of the Van der Meulen family quickly puts this notion to rest.³⁴ The Van der Meulens developed a close identification with Antwerp that they continued to possess for the rest of their lives and beyond.³⁵ Identifying themselves as exiles, the siblings felt it as both an individual and familial burden. The position of exiles dispersed in a foreign land was qualitatively different than the temporary movements often necessary within the mercantile profession. Fretful of the consequences of their geographic division, worries about affection and friendship filled the letters of the Van der Meulens. A strategically placed relative did little good if bonds of affection were broken.

After Farnese's entrance into Antwerp made the loss of the city a reality, the Van der Meulens chose to interpret their fate within the well worn tradition of Calvinist exile.³⁶ Whereas, Andries had held onto hope that God would provide a way for Antwerp to be saved, once the

³⁴ The argument proposed by Oscar Gelderblom on the institutional development caused by competition between the cities of Europe depends upon the concept of a relatively free market for the development of cities. According to Gelderblom, this condition was met, because merchants were "more or less footloose." The cases of the Della Failles and Van der Meulens do not go against this argument in the macro level. Both sibling groups showed themselves willing to move from city to city. However, at a micro level, the siblings show that merchants did create deep routes with their home cities and were unlikely to leave if not for external impetus. Oscar Gelderblom, *Cities of Commerce: The Institutional Foundations of International Trade in the Low Countries, 1250–1650* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2013), 10–15.

³⁵ On family memory of the Dutch Revolt by exiles from Brabant and Flanders, see the recent work of Johannes Müller, Johannes Müller, "Exile Memories and the Dutch Revolt: The Narrated Diaspora, 1551–1750" (PhD Dissertation, Leiden University, 2014); Müller, "Permeable Memories." See also Hodgkin, "Women, Memory and Family History"; Kooijmans, *Vriendschap*.

³⁶ Geert H. Janssen, "Exiles and the Politics of Reintegration in the Dutch Revolt," *History* 94, no. 313 (2009): 36–52; Geert H. Janssen, "Quo Vadis? Catholic Perceptions of Flight and the Revolt of the Low Countries, 1566–1609," *Renaissance Quarterly* 64, no. 2 (2011): 472–499; Ole Peter Grell, "The Creation of a Transnational, Calvinist Network and its Significance for Calvinist Identity and Interaction in Early Modern Europe," *European Review of History: Revue europeenne d'histoire* 16, no. 5 (2009): 619–636; Grell, *Brethren in Christ*; Jesse Spohnholz and Gary K. Waite, eds. *Exile and Religious Identity, 1500–1800* (London: Pickering & Chatto, 2014); Lee Palmer Wandel, "Exile in the Reformation," in *Space and Self in Early Modern European Cultures*, ed. David Warren Sabean and Malina Stefanovska (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2012).

loss of Antwerp became clear, the rhetoric shifted to God testing the faithful.³⁷ The fall of Antwerp was only understandable if it was seen as God's will. Writing to Sara while she and the family travelled to Bremen, Anna worried for their safety and attempted to console them by placing their difficulties within God's plan and His ultimate goodness. "It seems that all is grave before our eyes, however, God only does that which is best for His people. Therefore, we must find solace in that no matter how difficult things are, they are nonetheless blessed."³⁸ Those journeying to Bremen, asserted Anna, must fortify themselves against the tribulations around them and trust in God and the blessed nature of all that He did. God had not abandoned the faithful, but rather sent them into exile to test their steadfastness. Anna called for her family members to rally their spirits and use their mutual support to bolster their faith.³⁹

Understanding their experience as a test of their faith, exile functioned as a means to divide the faithful from the faithless, creating ever tighter bonds among those who continued to profess the Reformed religion even as it led to exile.⁴⁰ "God is now testing His people, as with gold in fire, in order to see who will remain steadfast and who will turn away from Him."⁴¹ The trials shall be difficult, and "one bemoans that now so many will turn away from God. However,

³⁷ Daniel had written often to Andries about the possibility of going into exile from the beginning of 1585, but Andries saw "no honor" in such talk. It was only in late July and August that Andries began to discuss the possibilities of leaving Antwerp. Andries to Daniel, Antwerp, 5 February 1585, DvdM 593a-49 (76): "maer en is gheen eere."

³⁸ Anna to Sara, Cologne, 18 September 1585, CL 273-2: "Het schynt wel swarre voer onsen ogen te wesen nochtans en sent God de synne niet over ten is alles tot haren besten. Soe moetten wy ons hiermede trosten dat diet oock, hoewel dat ons swar is, dat nochtans aldus salich is."

³⁹ Weisser, "Grieved and Disordered."

⁴⁰ Grell, *Brethren in Christ*; Georg Simmel, *On Individuality and Social Forms* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1972), 251–293.

⁴¹ Anna to Sara, Cologne, 18 September 1585, CL 273-2: "De Heerre wielt de synne nu als het gaut int wier beproeven, wie voelstandich blyven sal oft wie van hem afwykken sal."

God recognizes His people, and undoubtedly, He will save those who remain with Him.”⁴² God would not be alone in the ability to distinguish. To a much greater extent than other forms of belief, exile made belief and confessional choice physical and public.⁴³ Significantly, the Van der Meulens did not interpret the test of exile as one an individual faced alone. The trial of exile was endured in concert with one’s kin, who helped provide the comfort and support necessary to remain steadfast.

The familial nature of faith and exile provided physical and psychological assistance to those forced from their homes, but such an ideal also heightened the difficulties faced by siblings who remained physically separated. Moving to Cologne after her marriage with Antoine, Sara was able to be close to her older sister Anna, but she became separated from her brothers and mother, who had taken up their residence in Bremen. The tasks that Antoine and François were assigned by the contract for the Nieuwe Compagnie, as bookkeeper and primary active merchant respectively, made their residence in either Frankfurt or Cologne advantageous, if not necessarily essential.⁴⁴ However, the letters that Andries wrote to Sara and Anna used a discourse of exile in discussing the distance between themselves. Having married and now leaving her mother and brothers, Sara was in a delicate situation where her loyalty to her consanguineous kin might be tested. The contract for the company between the brothers-in-law did not preclude the possibility

⁴² Anna to Sara, Cologne, 18 September 1585, CL 273-2: “Het is te beklagen datter nu soevel van God afwyckken suellen dan God kent de Synne. De selve sal Hy ock ongetwyfelt daer voer bewaren.”

⁴³ The importance of exile for the creation of both Catholic and Calvinist identity can be seen in Andrew Pettegree, *Emden and the Dutch Revolt: Exile and the Development of Reformed Protestantism* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992); Judith Pollmann, *Catholic Identity and the Revolt of the Netherlands, 1520–1635* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011). See also the recently collection of essays in Spohnholz and Waite, *Exile and Religious Identity, 1500–1800*. This connects exile to the process of confessionalization. On confessionalization, see the essays in John M. Headley, et al., eds. *Confessionalization in Europe, 1555–1700: Essays in Honor and Memory of Bodo Nischan* (Aldershot, England: Ashgate, 2004); Eszter Andor and István György Tóth, eds. *Frontiers of Faith: Religious Exchange and the Constitution of Religious Identities, 1400–1750* (Budapest: Central European University: European Science Foundation, 2001).

⁴⁴ Contract of the Nieuwe Compagnie, 13 November 1585, DvdM 93.

of separate interests developing. The institutional power of the contract had to be continually supported by a constant reaffirmation of the emotional bonds between siblings.⁴⁵

The first letter that Andries wrote to his sister after her departure from Bremen was sent to Frankfurt. Andries expressed his concern that she arrive safely without any great difficulty. Yet, Andries's primary purpose of the letter was to express to his sister the extent to which she would be missed. The family already missed the presence of Sara and desired that the separation would be of short duration.⁴⁶ "I hope that God will direct affairs so that at some time we can be close to each other and all live in the same city."⁴⁷ It was the affairs of the time that Andries cited as the cause of the physical distance between them, a disturbance to family unity that Andries hoped would soon be repaired through political and military means. Meanwhile, the siblings had to do everything within their power to ensure that their mutual affection did not dwindle. In fact, Andries hoped that their affection would grow during their time apart. Until the time when they could be together, Andries wrote to his "much beloved sister," that "our affection for each other will not diminish, but it is greatly desired that it shall grow."⁴⁸

Andries was ecstatic when he received Sara's response that confirmed her continued emotional bond with her brother. "I especially had great joy from your letter in hearing that the

⁴⁵ Bourdieu, *Outline of a Theory of Practice*; Medick and Sabeau, "Interest and Emotion in Family and Kinship Studies"; Sebouh Aslanian, "Social Capital, 'Trust' and the Role of Networks in Julfan Trade: Informal and Semi-Formal Institutions at Work," *Journal of Global History* 1, no. 3 (2006): 383–402; David Hancock, "The Trouble with Networks: Managing the Scots' Early-Modern Madeira Trade," *The Business History Review* 79, no. 3 (2005): 467–491; Trivellato, *Familiarity of Strangers*.

⁴⁶ Similar reactions to distance between siblings can be seen in Broomhall and Gent, "Corresponding Affections"; Ruppel, "Subordinates, Patrons, and Most Beloved."

⁴⁷ Andries to Sara, Bremen, 20 March 1586, CL 275-1: "ick verhope dat Godt soo voeghen zal dat wy eenighen tyt byden anderen alle in eene satdt woonen selen."

⁴⁸ Andries to Sara, Bremen, 20 March 1586, CL 275-1: "daerentusschen en zal zeer lieve suster onse affectie tot elckanderen niet te minder wesen, maer het verlanghen wel te meerderen."

good and great affection that has always existed between us has not diminished.”⁴⁹ Referring to her marriage, Andries was particularly happy considering “the great changes that you have gone through.”⁵⁰ Acknowledging the difficulties that were created by marriage—and exacerbated by Sara’s departure from Bremen to Cologne—Andries professed his faith in the continuance of Sara’s sisterly affection. Despite his previous worries, he claimed to have never doubted her attachment due to her “steadfastness.” Writing with a great deal more confidence than he did two months before in his first letter, Andries now considered the chances of losing her affection to be “the smallest in the world.”⁵¹

Sara’s own letter spoke of the complications that could develop between her and her brothers and mother in Bremen. The possibility for dissension within the sibling group always remained just below the surface, an ever-present worry in the minds of the siblings. Answering this concern in a fashion often employed by the Van der Meulens, Andries advised her that one “must have patience, because the circumstances of the times demands it. Nonetheless, I hope that it will not be of long duration.”⁵² Here again, Andries placed their exile from Antwerp as the primary cause of their separation and any issues it may create between them. He thereby downplayed the idea that conflict between siblings was part of the natural cycle of generations, insisting instead that disruptions in familial affection were brought by external circumstances. He placed the cause of their separation within the Dutch Revolt and their political and religious

⁴⁹ Andries to Sara, Bremen, 16 May 1586, CL 275-2: “insonderheyt heeft het my groote blyschap gheweest uut voorsege schryven te hooren dat de goeden ende seer groote affectie die altyt tusschen ons geweest heeft by u niet en is verminderd.”

⁵⁰ Andries to Sara, Bremen, 16 May 1586, CL 275-2: “niettegenstaende de groote veranderinghe daerinne ghy ghetreden zyt.”

⁵¹ Andries to Sara, Bremen, 16 May 1586, CL 275-2: “cleynedien op deser werelt”

⁵² Andries to Sara, Bremen, 16 May 1586, CL 275-2: “maer daerinne moet ghedult genomen worden, gemerckt de ghelegentheyt des tyts sulckx verheysschet, verhopende nochtans dat niet langhe dueren en zal.”

identities. In other words, the story that they were telling themselves about their separation and the difficulties it entailed was not about economic gain or the separation of siblings into different conjugal units, but rather the trials of exile.⁵³

4. Death of the Mother

The beginning of 1587 brought with it new struggles for the Van der Meulens. The letters between Andries and Daniel in 1586 intermittently mentioned concerns about the health of their mother.⁵⁴ However, on 15 January 1587, Andries wrote Sara that though Elizabeth's condition had recently improved, she remained weak, and they did not have much hope for a speedy recovery.⁵⁵ From this point until Elizabeth's death on 27 June 1587, Andries sent fourteen letters to Cologne, either to Sara or both Anna and Sara, providing updates of their mother's health.⁵⁶ Through this correspondence, he created a narrative about their mother and the solidarity that existed in the family.⁵⁷ Worries that the unity of the family would be weakened by losing the parental figure magnified the immediate concern over the health of his beloved mother. In the end, Elizabeth's long and painful death provided her children a final means to unite themselves in mutual concern for her safety. But Andries's letters sought to do more than convey

⁵³ Broomhall and Gent, "Corresponding Affections"; Grell, *Brethren in Christ*.

⁵⁴ Andries wrote to Daniel while Daniel traveled to Holland and then England to deal with the capital left by Jan de Oude in London, see Chapter 7. Andries's letters to Daniel, DvdM 593a.

⁵⁵ Andries to Sara, Bremen, 15 January 1587, CL 275-6.

⁵⁶ No letters exist at this time from Daniel to Sara. Though letters between the two could have been lost over the centuries, it is likely that Andries wrote to his sisters for the family. This shows the leading position that Andries, the eldest surviving son, took within the family. See Chapter 1 for further discussion of Daniel's correspondence network and the relationship between Andries and Daniel.

⁵⁷ Narrative gave individuals something around which they could unite, see McLean, *Art of the Network*; Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, Revised ed., (London: Verso, 2006); Broomhall and Gent, "Corresponding Affections"; Bourdieu, "Family as a Realized Category"; Erika Kuijpers, et al., eds. *Memory before Modernity: Practices of Memory in Early Modern Europe* (Leiden: Brill, 2013); Bastress-Dukehart, *Zimmern Chronicle*.

information or even create a transitory moment for the siblings to unite. Andries's recounting of their mother's conduct in the face of death attempted to construct an image of Elizabeth as a model in life and death for all her children.⁵⁸ Through the memory of her death, Elizabeth could continue to be used as a symbol demanding amicable behavior and unity among her children. The success of this would be immediately put to the test. The death of the last surviving parent brought multiple opportunities for sibling dispute, over the distribution of inheritance, but also due to the disruptions within the hierarchical structure of the family. With the passing of the parent, siblings, who were treated as equal before the law, at least as inheritance was concerned, had to restructure the family amongst themselves.⁵⁹

Early in the new year, Elizabeth developed a dry cough that caused her great troubles during the night. In March, Andries wrote with some optimism that while Elizabeth remained weak, her cough had recently dissipated. He was hopeful that the return of warm weather would help to bring Elizabeth to full health. Nonetheless, Andries felt compelled to give physical proof that the fears he expressed in his previous letters were justified. Along with the letter, he sent

⁵⁸ There has been a good deal of recent interest in the concept of death, see Lucinda Becker, *Death and the Early Modern Englishwoman* (Aldershot, England: Ashgate, 2003); Bruce Gordon and Peter Marshall, eds. *The Place of the Dead: Death and Remembrance in Late Medieval and Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000); Vanessa Harding, *The Dead and the Living in Paris and London, 1500–1670* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002); Peter Marshall, *Beliefs and the Dead in Reformation England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004); Weisser, "Grieved and Disordered"; Andrea Brady, "'A share of sorrows': Death in the Early Modern English Household," in *Emotions in the Household, 1200–1900*, ed. Susan Broomhall (Houndmills, England: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008); Cressy, *Birth, Marriage, and Death*, 379–473.

⁵⁹ Broomhall and Gent, "In the Name of the Father"; Bernard Derouet, "Dowry: Sharing Inheritance or Exclusion? Timing, Destination, and Contents of Transmission in Late Medieval and Early Modern France," in *Sibling Relations and the Transformations of European Kinship, 1300–1900*, ed. Christopher H. Johnson and David Warren Sabean (New York: Berghahn Books, 2011); Bastress-Dukehart, "Family, Property, and Feeling"; Bastress-Dukehart, *Zimmern Chronicle*; Bastress-Dukehart, "Sibling Conflict"; Julie Hardwick, *The Practice of Patriarchy: Gender and the Politics of Household Authority in Early Modern France* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1998), 143–158; Simon Teuscher, "Male and Female Inheritance: Property Devolution, Succession, and Credit in Late Medieval Nobilities in the Southwest of the Holy Empire," in *La famiglia nell'economia europea, secc. XIII-XVIII: atti della "quarantesima Settimana di studi," 6-10 Aprile 2008 = The Economic Role of the Family in the European Economy from the 13th to the 18th Centuries*, ed. Simonetta Cavaciocchi (Firenze: Firenze University Press, 2009); David Warren Sabean, *Kinship in Neckarhausen, 1700–1870* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998); Ruppel, "Subordinates, Patrons, and Most Beloved."

Sara the “stone that only four days ago she coughed up from her throat.”⁶⁰ Undoubtedly an odd object to send, the stone provided a tangible connection to the sickness of her mother that could not be made through letters alone. It is possible that the stone may have functioned in a way similar to the gifts exchanged by early modern naturalists, enabling Sara and Anna to have their own physical experience with their mother’s sickness and thereby bringing themselves together over the exchange and mutual experience.⁶¹

There continued to be moments when Andries believed Elizabeth was regaining her strength. She must have been bed ridden throughout the winter of 1587, because Andries saw it as progress that she could stand up for a quarter to a half of an hour per day at the beginning of spring.⁶² But she continued to suffer from various ailments. Her chest was sore, and her cough continued to trouble her. Andries had lost his previous optimism by the time that he next wrote Sara. Whereas the previous letter spoke with “great happiness of the better disposition of our reverend mother,” since that time Elizabeth had grown “weaker and weaker.”⁶³ Andries painted a pitiful picture of their mother, who was now only capable of lying on one side. Her skin had become pale, while she experienced pain in both her hands and feet. “Since last week, she has lost taste for spice and drink.”⁶⁴ Though they knew that wine was not good for her, they allowed

⁶⁰ Andries to Sara, Bremen, 13 March 1587, CL 275-8: “steenachticheyt die sy noch maer vier daghen gheleden is door het hoesten doorder keelen quyt gheworden.”

⁶¹ Florike Egmond, “Correspondence and Natural History in the Sixteenth Century: Cultures of Exchange in the Circle of Carolus Clusius,” in *Correspondence and Cultural Exchange in Europe, 1400–1700*, ed. Francisco Bethencourt and Florike Egmond (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007); Deborah E. Harkness, *The Jewel House: Elizabethan London and the Scientific Revolution* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2007).

⁶² Andries to Anna and Sara, Bremen, 14 April 1587, CL 275-11.

⁶³ Andries to Anna and Sara, Bremen, 18 April 1587, CL 275-12: “grootte blyschap vande beter dispositie onse E moeder...dat sy meer en meer swacket.”

⁶⁴ Andries to Anna and Sara, Bremen, 18 April 1587, CL 275-12: “den smaeck in spyse ende dranck heeft sy zedert lest oock gheheel verloren.”

her this small pleasure. She “can drink nothing other than wine, and she finds but little taste in it. It is not good for her, but we allow her to have it, so that she can gain some strength.”⁶⁵ The letters from Andries shows that Andries and Daniel, along with their wives, did all that they could to give comfort to their mother, but the situation looked dire.

Andries placed the care given to Elizabeth by her relatives in Bremen in the context of obligation.⁶⁶ He assured Sara that “we are serving our reverend mother as best we can as we have a duty to do.”⁶⁷ Despite living in Cologne, Anna and Sara, along with their husbands, fully participated in this family endeavor. One way they did so was purchasing and sending all sorts of remedies in attempts to bring greater comfort to Elizabeth. In the initial stage of her sickness, she made use of a *sirop* that Sara sent from Cologne. Sara also sent her mother nutmegs, though these proved too strong for her constitution. Even after Elizabeth had lost much of her taste, she continued to use daily the *witte suyckerkens* Sara sent. François and Antoine procured many of these goods from the fairs in Frankfurt.⁶⁸ The Van der Meulens seem to have remained more comfortable acquiring goods from the southern German cities that they had long traded in, instead of the northern German cities where Andries and Daniel resided. However, this also provided an important opportunity for Anna and Sara, and their husbands, to partake in the care

⁶⁵ Andries to Anna and Sara, Bremen, 18 April 1587, CL 275-12: “en can geenen dranck ghedrincken dan wyn, dat sy noch luttel smaeck in vindt, en is haer oock niet goet, dan wy latent toe op dat sy daer doer wat cracht cryghen.”

⁶⁶ The letters that are still existent between the siblings at this time are from the collection of Antoine Lempereur and Sara van der Meulen. It is very likely that Andries also sent letters to Anna at this time, but these have not survived. Some of the letters sent by Andries were directed to both Sara and Anna, and they undoubtedly shared the contents of their separate letters with each other. However, because the letters to Sara are still existent, this discussion will focus on her reaction to news of her mother’s sickness. For Daniel’s correspondence network at this time, see Chapter 1.

⁶⁷ Andries to Anna and Sara, Bremen, 21 April 1587, CL 275-13: “na onse vermoghen met onse E moeder moeder alle dienst te bewysen ghelyck wy schuldich zyn.”

⁶⁸ Andries told Sara not to have François send any more nutmeg from Frankfurt because they were too strong. Andries to Anna and Sara, Bremen, 18 April 1587, CL 275-12.

of their mother. If they had been denied this, opportunity may have arisen for Daniel and Andries to make claims about inequality of services provided and therefore that the benefits should also be distributed unequally.⁶⁹

Claims of unequal service were further precluded by Sara's great desire to assist her mother in any way possible. Not content with sending remedies, Sara hoped to travel to Bremen and serve her mother more directly. Both Andries and her mother were happy to hear of Sara's concern, but Elizabeth believed the trip too dangerous for women and children.⁷⁰ Sara continued to press her mother to allow her to undertake the journey. Sara's insistence gave proof of her loyalty to her mother and demonstrated her willingness to place service to her mother over the immediate concerns of her new conjugal family. Andries was quick to recognize the assistance Sara wished to provide. That Sara "would think that such a difficult journey would not be difficult" demonstrated her great affection for their mother.⁷¹

It was essential that both Andries and Elizabeth acknowledge Sara's will to put herself in danger in order to prevent Sara from believing that she had lost her mother's favor. Andries was adamant that Elizabeth would have received great pleasure in Sara's presence. "I have seen, beloved sister, the worry that you have shown about our reverend mother's sickness. This does

⁶⁹ Compare this to the debate between Marten and Jacques over their service to their father during his lifetime. Service provided an important way for individuals to augment ties and construct the structure of those relations. McLean, *Art of the Network*; Sharon Kettering, "Patronage and Kinship in Early Modern France," *French Historical Studies* 16, no. 2 (1988): 408–435; Sharon Kettering, "Friendship and Clientage in Early Modern France," *French History* 6, no. 2 (1992): 139–158; Ilana Krausman Ben-Amos, "Gifts and Favors: Informal Support in Early Modern England," *Journal of Modern History* 72, no. 2 (2000): 295–338; Natalie Zemon Davis, *The Gift in Sixteenth-Century France* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2000); Bourdieu, *Outline of a Theory of Practice*. For the concept of service in merchant letters, see Aslanian, "Salt in a Merchant's Letter"; Trivellato, "Merchant Letters"; Trivellato, *Familiarity of Strangers*.

⁷⁰ Andries to Anna and Sara, Bremen, 14 April 1587, CL 275-11: "dat U.L. lust hebben hier te comen weet sy wel, maer en begheeret niet, wetende gheen reyse voor vrouwen ende kinderen en is."

⁷¹ Andries to Anna and Sara, Bremen, 21 April 1587, CL 275-13: "wetende oock uwe ondergroote geneghentheyt tot onse E moeder dat u daeromme soo moeyelycken reyse niet moeyelyck en zoude duncken."

not surprise me, because I know of the great affection that you have for her, just as she also has for you.”⁷² Proof of this was given by the rejuvenating powers of the letters Sara sent. Andries was always quick to note the pleasure Elizabeth had in reading letters from her daughters. For instance, Andries reported that he delivered a letter from Sara to their mother, “which for her always brings great happiness.”⁷³ In other words, correspondence could provide the same type of service as sending medicine, giving Elizabeth hope through the affection she received from her daughter. However, the power of correspondence always paled in comparison with physical presence.⁷⁴

Interestingly, Elizabeth and Andries were not of the same mind when it came to Sara’s desire to travel to Bremen. Andries understood well the difficulties that Sara might encounter traveling to Bremen. However, he also greatly desired that all of the siblings should be together during this difficult time. “I must say, I had wished that you all would also be by her when she departed this life.”⁷⁵ Experiencing the sickness and death of their mother together would help to confirm the bonds between the siblings.⁷⁶ This desire led Andries to argue with his mother that

⁷² Andries to Anna and Sara, Bremen, 12 May 1587, CL 275-14: “Ick sien, beminde suster, de becommeringhen die U.L. heeft in onse E moeders sickte welck my niet vreemt en dunckt, want ick weet de groote affectie die U.L. haer zyt toedragende, ghelyck zy oock tot uwaert.”

⁷³ Andries to Anna and Sara, Bremen, 30 May 1587, CL 275-16: “Ick hebbe uwe aengenaem scrijven van 10de deser ontfanghen, ende de ingheslotene aen onse E moeder oock over ghelevert, welcke voor ware haer altyt zeer verblyden.”

⁷⁴ Letter writers in the early modern period were always clear that letters stood in place of the much preferred face-to-face communication. Broomhall and Gent, “Corresponding Affections”; Broomhall and Gent, “In the Name of the Father”; Ruppel, “Subordinates, Patrons, and Most Beloved”; Schneider, “Affecting Correspondences.” For this phenomenon in merchant letters see, Gagan D. S. Sood, “‘Correspondence is Equal to Half a Meeting’: The Composition and Comprehension of Letters in Eighteenth-Century Islamic Eurasia,” *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 50, no. 2-3 (2006): 172–211; Aslanian, “Salt in a Merchant’s Letter”; Trivellato, “Merchant Letters.”

⁷⁵ Andries to Anna and Sara, Bremen, 21 April 1587, CL 275-13: “moet ick segghen wel ghewenscht hadde ghy lieden mede in haer affgheyt van desen leven by haer waert gheweest.”

⁷⁶ Becker, *Death and the Early Modern Englishwoman*, 29–32.

Sara should be able to travel to Bremen. But “no matter how earnestly I attempted to persuade her, she did not think it a good idea and would not agree.”⁷⁷ Even in her old age and sickness, Elizabeth continued to have the power to make final decisions within the family. Besides the danger, Elizabeth believed it “would be a great inconvenience for your house.”⁷⁸ The distinction here was between Elizabeth’s emphasis on Sara’s role as a mother/wife and Andries’s emphasizing her role as a daughter/sister. This contrast should not be made to appear too stark, for Andries penned both lines and admitted that the journey was indeed too dangerous.⁷⁹ However, the tension in the Sara’s duties point to the difficulties inherent in the situation surrounding Elizabeth’s death. Throughout his correspondence, Andries had emphasized Sara’s continued obligations within the sibling group, Elizabeth’s refusal to allow Sara to travel reintroduced the division of loyalties that occurred after the marriage of siblings.

Elizabeth’s refusal to have her daughter travel to Bremen revealed the tensions within sibling relationships, but neither Sara nor Andries allowed the tension to lead to actual division. Indeed, Sara’s rhetoric was important to demonstrating her will to serve her mother to the extent that she desired to place her duties as daughter above those of wife. At the same time, Andries’s emphasis on sibling relations at this critical time highlighted his continued connection with his sister. Andries’s letters continued to carry a rhetoric that placed the bonds between siblings and their parents at the center of life itself. As Elizabeth’s sickness continued through the spring, Andries became ever more philosophical in his correspondence, constructing an ideal of himself

⁷⁷ Andries to Anna and Sara, Bremen, 12 May 1587, CL 275-14: “ende hoe wel ick voor desen haer eernstelyck daertoe gepersuadeert hebbe, en heeft t’selve niet goet gevonden oft willen accorderen.”

⁷⁸ Andries to Anna and Sara, Bremen, 12 May 1587, CL 275-14: “soo en vint zy nochtans geensins geraden tot zoo zeer grooten onghelghentheynt van uwen huysen.”

⁷⁹ Andries to Anna and Sara, Bremen, 12 May 1587, CL 275-14. François and Antoine appear to have made the journey between Cologne and Bremen on multiple occasions, and it may have been one of them who informed Andries of the difficulty of the journey at this time.

and his siblings united through their mother. In April, Andries wrote to both Sara and Anna that “our whole life is but a pilgrimage, and that we have nothing but the love of each other and no obligation besides that to our elders.”⁸⁰ Life itself gained meaning through commitment to one’s family, with family defined in its first instance as a sibling group united by service to their parents. Andries could not make the obligation that he and his siblings had to each other and to their mother any more explicit.

Alongside the discourse on the importance of service, Andries’s letters borrowed from religious discourse about a good death.⁸¹ In a quintessentially Calvinist manner, Andries continually reminded his sisters that their mother’s fate was ultimately in God’s hands. Life and death was a matter for God and not one mortals could hope to control. “We hope that God, who can bring the living back from the dead, will provide her with more and more strength, so that we can have her for years to come to our great solace. However, the will of God, which is only good, must happen.”⁸² Whatever occurred, Andries stressed that they must see it as God’s will and rejoice in the knowledge that all that God does is good. “God does all according to His almighty will and pleasure.”⁸³ The faithful accepted this and placed all their trust in Him. This again called upon all involved, Elizabeth as well as her children, to practice patience and preservation in the physical and psychological difficulties created by Elizabeth’s long sickness.

⁸⁰ Andries to Anna and Sara, Bremen, 21 April 1587, CL 275-13: “dat onse gheheel leven maer een pellegrimagie en is, ende dat wy hier niet meerde ende en hebben dan de liefde onder malcanderen oock gheen obligatie dan aen onse ouderen.”

⁸¹ On the concept of the *ars moriendi* or the art of a good death, see Cressy, *Birth, Marriage, and Death*, 389–393; Becker, *Death and the Early Modern Englishwoman*; Austra Reinis, *Reforming the Art of Dying: The Ars Moriendi in the German Reformation (1519–1528)* (Aldershot, England: Ashgate, 2007).

⁸² Andries to Anna and Sara, Bremen, 14 April 1587, CL 275-11: “wy verhopen dat Godt, die de dooden tot den leven verwercket, oock haer meer ende meer sterckheyt zal gheven, op dat wyse noch langhe jaren moghen behouden tot onsen trooste, doch den wille des Heere die alleen goet is moet gheschieden.”

⁸³ Andries to Anna and Sara, Bremen, 21 April 1587, CL 275-13: “doch Godt doet het na syn almogende wille ende welbehagen.”

The concept of trust in God expressed in Andries's letters did not result in an individualistic notion of the self who stands alone before God. Rather, salvation was social, and Elizabeth's children continued to have a role in her eternal life.⁸⁴ Though Sara could not provide physical help, she could still serve her mother through prayer. After denying Sara's request to travel to Bremen, Andries wrote "that our good mother always desires and exhorts me to write that, with a fervent heart, you pray to God that He will preserve her in His holy protection and that all will be done for the best."⁸⁵ Prayer transformed into a service or gift that functioned either to augment, or even replace, more physical forms of service.⁸⁶ The distant prayers of her daughters gave Elizabeth strength in two different ways. Learning of their prayers, and therefore of their continued support, bolstered Elizabeth's spirit and resolve. "Our mother thanks you greatly and was much refreshed by your letters stating that you suffer with her and continue to pray to our merciful God for her."⁸⁷ Elizabeth also believed their prayers could influence God's plan for her. "She does not doubt that these will have power with Him and will give her mercy always and in eternity."⁸⁸ In this context, prayer became not so much a relationship between an

⁸⁴ This emphasis on the familial nature of a good death is in contrast to the argument made by Richard Wunderli and Gerald Broce. Gordon and Marshall, *Place of the Dead*.

⁸⁵ Andries to Anna and Sara, Bremen, 12 May 1587, CL 275-14: "dat onse goede vrouwe moeder op U Lieden begeert ende altyt begeert en my vermaent te scryven, dat ghy met vierigher herten onse genadighen Godt biddet voor haer, dat hy haer in syn heylige bescherminghe wilt behouden, ende alle dinghen haer ten besten laet wesen." Andries replied with a very similar answer to Sara's earlier request. Andries to Anna and Sara, Bremen, 14 April 1587, CL 275-11: "Maer inden ghebeden begheert sy dat ghy haer altyt ghedachtich zyt dat haer Godt altyt versterck ende by blyven tot in haren lesten eynde."

⁸⁶ Davis, *The Gift*.

⁸⁷ Andries to Anna and Sara, Bremen, 30 May 1587, CL 275-16: "Onse voors. jouffrouw moder bedanckt u zeer ende is haer groote verquickinge gheweest door uwe brieven te verstaen dat ghy met haer lydte ende aenhout met den gebede tot onsen genadighen Godt voor haer."

⁸⁸ Andries to Anna and Sara, Bremen, 30 May 1587, CL 275-16: "Sy en twyfelt niet oft t'seve en is oock crachtich voor Hem ende zal haer genadich zyn altyt ende eewelyck." Andries spoke of the efficacy of prayer in multiple places, however, he was always careful to acknowledge that ultimate power always rested in God's own will.

individual and God, but a connection between two individuals mediated by God or even simply between two individuals. Prayer developed into another means for the siblings to assert their bonds to their mother and thereby to each other.

The efficacy of the social role of prayer also depended upon the ability of Elizabeth to emulate culturally constructed norms of behavior in the face of death. Specifically important was Elizabeth's faith and trust in God's merciful nature and her own grace. This turned Elizabeth's suffering into a test of her faith.⁸⁹ Andries's letters to his sisters trumpeted both the difficulty of this test and their mother's ultimate success in passing it. From an early period in her sickness, Elizabeth expressed acceptance that her time in this world might be coming to an end. She "was satisfied with all that God shall place upon her."⁹⁰ As her sickness continued, the suffering she faced increased. She struggled to bear the physical burden of the sickness that God destined for her, but through the thoughts and prayers of her family, and her faith in the mercy of God, she was able to persevere.⁹¹ Andries's letters created a stark contrast between the pain and suffering Elizabeth endured and her forbearance and continued trust in the goodness of God. Though her sickness weakened her physical body to the point that she could hardly sit up, "she is completely comforted in God and her salvation."⁹²

⁸⁹ William J. Bouwsma, *John Calvin: A Sixteenth-Century Portrait* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988), 40–48.

⁹⁰ Andries to Anna and Sara, Bremen, 18 April 1587, CL 275-12: "Godt almachtich wilt haer stercken ende vertroosten, gelyck sy hem moet alleen den lof zyn tot noch toe seer vel te vreden is gheweest in all t'ghene Godt zal ghelene haer op te legghen."

⁹¹ Andries to Sara, Bremen, 9 June 1587, CL 275-18: "Begeerende dat ghy haer de ghedachtich zyt in uwe gebeden, want het cruys valt haer al wat sobaer." Andries also states the same in Andries to Sara, Bremen, 15 June 1587, CL 275-19.

⁹² Andries to Sara, Bremen, 9 June 1587, CL 275-18: "hoe wel zy geheel ghetroot is in Godt ende hare salicheyt." Andries reported that "Godt" enabled her to sit up the last three days in Andries to Anna and Sara, Bremen, 3 June 1587, CL 275-17.

By the end of May of 1587, Elizabeth was in such a pitiful state that she barely had enough strength to bring out a cough.⁹³ Her agony was such that Andries hoped she would soon pass. “I pray to God that He either give her relief and bring her back to health or shorten her misery and take her to a better and more permanent life.”⁹⁴ Andries was even more grave in his next letter. The family expected Elizabeth’s death at any time. In fact, “she had hoped that our merciful God would have taken her to Him before this...however, we have seen that He prefers to leave her in misery. Therefore, she places her will in God’s holy will.”⁹⁵ As May turned to June, Andries could only express his great wonder that “so weak a body could endure so much.”⁹⁶ By this point, Elizabeth herself was praying to God that her time in this world be shortened.⁹⁷ Andries reported that “she often exclaims in her feverish sleep ‘oh God when will it be.’”⁹⁸

On 30 June 1587 Andries finally was able to report their mother’s death. It had occurred three days earlier between twelve and three o’clock in the afternoon. His letter is both detailed and moving. Andries had been by her side the night before so that he might notice any changes in her disposition. During the night, she often told her eldest son “I am very sick and pray to God

⁹³ Andries to Sara, Bremen, 9 June 1587, CL 275-18: “den hoest tormentteert haer oock totter doot als weynich cracht hebbende om dien uut te brenghen.”

⁹⁴ Andries to Anna and Sara, Bremen, 27 May 1587, CL 275-15: “Ick bidde Godt dat hy verlichtinghe gheve tot ghesontheyt, oft andersins de miserie vercortte tot een beter ende bestendigher leven.”

⁹⁵ Andries to Sara, Bremen, 9 June 1587, CL 275-18: “ende datse wel ghehoopt hadde dat onsen genadighen Godt haer zoude voor desen tot hem te nemen...maer bevindt dat hem ghelieft haer noch in dese miserie te laten, daeromme stelt sy haren wille in den heylighen wille godes.”

⁹⁶ Andries to Sara, Bremen, 15 June 1587, CL 275-19: “het is groot wonder hoe zoo swacken lichaem zoo veel verdreaghen can.”

⁹⁷ Andries to Sara, Bremen, 15 June 1587, CL 275-19: “ende bidt Godt seer dickmael den tyt te vallen vercortten.”

⁹⁸ Andries to Sara, Bremen, 15 June 1587, CL 275-19: “segte oock dickmael in haren slaep ende inde cortse ‘och Heere wanneer zal’t zyn.’”

that ‘if You intend to take me to You, my heart is prepared.’⁹⁹ When the doctor arrived the next morning, she was still able to answer his questions, especially if Andries repeated them to her. She told them that if she was quiet it was because “I have my heart directed towards God.”¹⁰⁰ But she still struggled with the torments placed upon her body. At times, she cried out “Oh, Lord, show mercy on my poor body.” After which, she said a prayer.¹⁰¹ When the doctor left, they noticed she became anxious, and so they prayed, hoping to give her courage with their words.¹⁰² After a last glance between mother and son, Elizabeth closed her eyes for the last time. In her case, the saying “rest in God” had literal truth.¹⁰³

Andries’s testimony of the death of his mother, of the person who had headed the family for almost twenty-five years, carried importance both within and outside the family. More than Elizabeth’s salvation was at risk in her last actions in this world. The Van der Meulens identification as Calvinists, and therefore as religious refugees, was at stake in their mother’s confrontation with mortality. In other words, Elizabeth’s death served in part as a performance to those outside the household in which her and her family’s Calvinism was put to the ultimate test.¹⁰⁴ Indeed, both Sara and Andries believed the cause of their mother’s sickness was “the

⁹⁹ Andries to Sara, Bremen, 30 June 1587, CL 275-20: “ick ben seer cranck biddende tot Godt eest dynen wille meent my doch tot U myn hertte is doch soo wel bereyt.”

¹⁰⁰ Andries to Sara, Bremen, 30 June 1587, CL 275-20: “myn hertte tot Godt hebbe, hebbende altyt de hande opgheheven tot Godt.”

¹⁰¹ Andries to Sara, Bremen, 30 June 1587, CL 275-20: ““Och Heer weest doch myn aarme creature genadich, daerna t’ghebet ghedaen zynde.”

¹⁰² Andries to Sara, Bremen, 30 June 1587, CL 275-20: “gebedt om haer met veel woorden te vermoeden.”

¹⁰³ Andries to Sara, Bremen, 30 June 1587, CL 275-20: “ontseliep in God.”

¹⁰⁴ Marshall, *Beliefs and the Dead*, 265–308.

sadness from the loss of Antwerp and the disturbances caused by the siege.”¹⁰⁵ This brought political meaning to their mother’s death. Her honorable passing solidified the confessional identity of the family.¹⁰⁶ Elizabeth’s behavior was laudable until the end. Andries could only wonder at the piety of his mother, at “the patience she showed in her long sickness, and how she directed her heart towards God.”¹⁰⁷ Her performance in death brought solace to her children. “We must be comforted in what happened with the loss of our reverend faithful mother, knowing that we do not remain here permanently, and thank God for the blessing of the Christian life and death of our mother.”¹⁰⁸ In life and death Elizabeth showed herself to be among the faithful, among the chosen.

Within the family, the narrative also passed through a Calvinist discourse of life and death. However, here it served to create a symbol around which the siblings, and their marital partners, could unite in the absence of the physical presence of a parental figure. In part, Andries’s letters enabled his sisters, far away in Cologne, to experience the death of their mother. Andries, himself, felt fortunate that he “was able to witness with my own eyes such a blessed and comforted end.”¹⁰⁹ Their mother’s conduct was such “that it must have moved and stirred the

¹⁰⁵. Andries to Anna and Sara, Bremen, 12 May 1587, CL 275-14: “de droeffenisse van verlies ende overgeven vande stadt Antwerpen ende perturbatien inden tyt des belegs gehat.”

¹⁰⁶. Grell, *Brethren in Christ*.

¹⁰⁷. Andries to Sara, Bremen, 30 June 1587, CL 275-20: “wat verduldicheyt heeft sy in dese langhe cranckheyt ghe-toont, hoe heeft haer herte tot haren Godt ghestaen.”

¹⁰⁸. Andries to Sara, Bremen, 1 September 1587, CL 275-21–22: “Wat aengaet het derven van onsen E goede trouwe moeder, daerin moeten wy ons troosten wetende wy hier gheen blyvende stadt en hebben, ende het Christelyck leven ende sterven van onse voorsegde moeder, ons met danck segghinghe tot Godt.”

¹⁰⁹. Andries to Sara, Bremen, 30 June 1587, CL 275-20: “hebbe moghen zoo salighen ende ghetroosten eynde met mynen oogen hebben moghen sien.”

heart of all who were present.”¹¹⁰ Andries’s task, then, was to transfer that experience to those unable to witness it themselves. The details he gave could help transport those who sat together and read the letter in Cologne to their mother’s room in Bremen the previous week.

At the same time, Andries’s ambitions went beyond extending the experience of their mother’s death outside the physical walls in which it took place. His correspondence created a memory, a memory that could be told and retold. He attempted to extend the experience of their mother’s death diachronically as well as synchronically. In doing so, the presence of their mother, of the parental figure, and therefore her ability to act as a centripetal force between the siblings, was extended in time.¹¹¹ Andries was explicit that the memory of their mother, centered upon her conduct in death, must be preserved in the hearts and minds of her progeny. Though the death could serve as a model for all, “her children should keep her example in mind and imitate her every day of our lives.” Further, they all had a duty to pass on her memory to their own children, “because we will not again know her equal.”¹¹² Andries repeated this point in his next letter. They all had a obligation to keep their mother alive in their memory and “think about her exhortations and belief, especially in her parting from this life, all of the days of our lives, so that we too might crown our lives with such a blessed end.”¹¹³

¹¹⁰ Andries to Sara, Bremen, 30 June 1587, CL 275-20: “dat het heeft moeten beweghen ende het hertte berueren allen de ghenen die daerby geweest zyn.”

¹¹¹ Davis, “Ghosts, Kin, and Progeny”; Bourdieu, “Family as a Realized Category”; Müller, “Permeable Memories”; Hodgkin, “Women, Memory and Family History”; Bastress-Dukehart, *Zimmern Chronicle*; Bastress-Dukehart, “Family, Property, and Feeling.”

¹¹² Andries to Sara, Bremen, 30 June 1587, CL 275-20: “voorwaer wy, haren kinderen, moghen haer exempel wesen in goede gedachtenisse ende navolginghe te hebben alle de daghen onse levens, ende insonderheyt int optrecken onser kinderen, want haers ghlyck en connen wy niet ghekennen.”

¹¹³ Andries to Sara, Bremen, 1 September 1587, CL 275-21–22: “laten dienen tot onsen besten, ende hare vermaninghen ende geloove, insonderheyt in haren afscheyt van desen leven, in degachtenisse hebben alle de daghen ons levens, op dat wy onse leven met soodanighen salighen eynde oock croonen moghen.”

5. Republic of Siblings

The death of Elizabeth brought inevitable concerns between the Van der Meulen siblings about their inheritance, the calculation of the estate, and how it would be divided. This was a crucial period in which the bonds between the siblings were tested.¹¹⁴ The clear patriarchal structure present during the lives of the parents quickly disintegrated. What remained were four separate family units, developing their own patriarchal structures. The monarchy of the parents had fallen to be taken over by the republic of siblings.¹¹⁵ Equal to an extent unimaginable between parent and children, the siblings were nonetheless not without their own hierarchy.¹¹⁶ The marriages of the Van der Meulens and the company contract they signed in 1585 placed Andries and Daniel above their sisters and brothers-in-law. Meanwhile, Andries, as the older brother, took precedence over Daniel. However, such distinctions were never as clear, nor held the same consequence as that between parent and child. Andries's position as head of his sibling group was always more tenuous than that held by either his father or mother over their children. Creating a lasting memory of the life and death of their mother was an attempt to hold on to the patriarchal structure that united the siblings, replacing their mother's physical presence with a mythologized image of her. In addition, the Van der Meulens attempted to give order to their republic of siblings through the appointment of Andries as a fatherlike figure who desired the good of the sibling group over that of his own conjugal family. However, such a situation could

¹¹⁴ Marschke, "Crown Prince's Brothers and Sisters"; Bastress-Dukehart, "Family, Property, and Feeling"; Bastress-Dukehart, "Sibling Conflict."

¹¹⁵ Hunt, *Family Romance*; Arnade, *Beggars, Iconoclasts, and Civic Patriots*, 272–280.

¹¹⁶ Bastress-Dukehart, "Sibling Conflict"; Broomhall and Gent, "In the Name of the Father"; Linda A Pollock, "Rethinking Patriarchy and the Family in Seventeenth-Century England," *Journal of Family History* 23, no. 1 (1998): 3–27; Hardwick, *Practice of Patriarchy*.

only function if Andries agreed to the burdens this would place upon him and his siblings, with their marital partners, chose to adopt a subordinate position.¹¹⁷

The sickness and then death of Elizabeth brought a crisis to the family that was as immediate as it was paramount. The physical manifestation of this crisis is the letter sent by Andries to Sara informing her of their mother's death. As seen above, this was an issue that dominated Andries's thoughts, time, and letters to his sisters. However, he did not begin with news of this momentous event that he had such interest in telling. Instead, the letter opened by explaining his sadness at a letter Daniel wrote to Sara's husband, Antoine, that was directly "against the brotherly love" that should exist between the two.¹¹⁸ The argument between the brothers-in-law revolved around the closing of the accounts of the previous company between Elizabeth and François. The amounts settled upon in these decisions had a direct effect upon the capital held by Elizabeth, and therefore on the inheritance she left. Andries spent the first page of his letter writing about these problems, only reporting the death of their mother on the second page.¹¹⁹

Andries responded to this division within the sibling group by reaffirming the necessity of unity. Acting as arbitrator between the multiple parties in the dispute—Daniel, Antoine, and Sara as Antoine's wife—Andries took it as his duty to work towards the maintenance of family

¹¹⁷ Most of the work done on sibling disputes over their hierarchical structure after the death of their parents has focused on nobility and princes. However, the Della Failles and Van der Meulens demonstrate the existence of an equal concern among merchants. Bastress-Dukehart, "Sibling Conflict"; Broomhall and Gent, "In the Name of the Father"; Marschke, "Crown Prince's Brothers and Sisters"; Ruppel, "Subordinates, Patrons, and Most Beloved"; Karl-Heinz Spieß, "Maintenance Regulations and Sibling Relations in the High Nobility of Late Medieval Germany," in *Sibling Relations and the Transformations of European Kinship, 1300–1900*, ed. Christopher H. Johnson and David Warren Sabean (New York: Berghahn Books, 2011).

¹¹⁸ Andries to Sara, Bremen, 30 June 1587, CL 275-20: "tegen de broederlycke liefde."

¹¹⁹ In fact, the page is cut off, and the second half of the page is missing, at a suspiciously straight angle. One wonders if the discussion of this argument between Daniel and Antoine was not purposely removed later.

harmony. In part, he blamed the quarrel on their physical separation, but he stressed that this had not altered the emotional connection that existed between the siblings. “I assure you that my love for you has not lessened through your absence. Rather, it burns even more brightly in my heart...I am assured that the same is also true of our brother Daniel.”¹²⁰ Using emotional connection to resolve this issue involving credits and debits, Andries emphasized the negative consequences that would occur if the current tensions resulted in long-lasting divisions between the siblings.¹²¹ “If the love that we always have for you should lessen, we deserve God turning the blessing that until now He has given to us into a curse.”¹²² Even with the passing of their mother, the sibling group still felt a moral and religious duty to remain united, failing to do so would have economic and social consequences, to say nothing of the religious ramifications. It was impossible to fully replace the position Elizabeth took up within the family. However, the letters between the Van der Meulen siblings show that they attempted to find ways to emulate the older structure in a quite new situation. They were well aware that it was a task fraught with difficulties.¹²³

¹²⁰ Andries to Sara, Bremen, 30 June 1587, CL 275-20: “ick wil u wel verseeckeren dat myne liefde die ick tuwaert draghe met uwe absentie niet en is vermindert, maer zoo veel te stercker in myn hertte brandet...ick vertrouwe oock dat t’selve van weggen onse broeder Daniel alsoo is.”

¹²¹ Medick and Sabeau, “Interest and Emotion in Family and Kinship Studies”; Bastress-Dukehart, “Family, Property, and Feeling.”

¹²² Andries to Sara, Bremen, 30 June 1587, CL 275-20: “de liefde die wy altyt touwaert ghedraghen hebben in eenighe deele zoude verminderen. Want sulcx geschieden zouden ten rechten weerdich zyn dat Godt zyne seegheninghe welcke ghy tot noch toe geeft soo overvloedelyck over ons laeten zyn, zoude verkeeren in eenen vloeck, als de selve met weerdich zynde.”

¹²³ Johnson and Sabeau, “From Siblingship to Siblinghood”; Bourdieu, “Family as a Realized Category.”

Like the Della Failles, the Van der Meulens constructed their relationships after the death of their mother through the concept of succession.¹²⁴ As the eldest son, Andries was the natural choice, but his siblings were well placed to call his authority into question if they so desired. In order to take on the position of successor, Andries had to accept the duties that went along with it. Discourse and practice were equally important in enabling Andries to present himself as a fatherlike figure to his siblings.¹²⁵ This process began well before the death or even sickness of their mother. Writing to Sara not long after she left Bremen for married life in Cologne, Andries assured her that if she were to die, he would gladly be the guardian of her children. He would take this upon himself due to the affection he had for Sara and for the family as a whole. This was not merely empty rhetoric. Andries had long taken care of Hansken, Anna's child from her marriage with Severijn, but the offer to Sara asserted his desire to care for the family. He claimed "from my youth, I have always sought not my own good, but that which is most profitable for our house...and I will continue to do so as long as God gives me life, knowing that it is decent and honorable."¹²⁶ In other words, Andries defined his actions in terms of the house, which he identified with the family and first and foremost with his sibling group.

At this early period in the marriage of his sister, Andries felt it necessary to confirm his acceptance of the duties of an elder brother. Andries made similar protestations immediately following the death of their mother. The closing of the accounts of the old company between

¹²⁴ Richard Grassby, *Kinship and Capitalism: Marriage, Family, and Business in the English Speaking World, 1580–1740* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 341–385; Sabean and Teuscher, "Kinship in Europe"; Martha C. Howell, *Commerce before Capitalism in Europe, 1300–1600* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 49–02.

¹²⁵ Ruppel, "Subordinates, Patrons, and Most Beloved"; Broomhall and Gent, "In the Name of the Father"; Bourdieu, *Outline of a Theory of Practice*; McLean, *Art of the Network*.

¹²⁶ Andries to Sara, Bremen, 31 October 1586, CL 275-3: "hebbende van myn jonckheyt aen altyt ghesocht niet myns selfs, maer wat onsen huysse profytelyck was...soo zal ick nochtans daer inne altyt soo langhe my Godt het leven heeft volherden, wetende dat sulckx eerlyck ende behooryck is."

Elizabeth and François was complicated by recent losses experienced by François in trade. Despite these losses, the good character that François had always shown meant Andries was fully prepared to support him in all that was necessary. Partially, this was because “I have always had the greatest desire to expand our house in general.”¹²⁷ Supporting François became placed within a discourse of the unity of the family. To maintain this unity, it was necessary for him, as the eldest brother, “to strengthen whoever may now be the weakest, just as in nature the strongest always save and come to the help of the weakest.”¹²⁸ Andries did add the adverb “now” to this statement, but he quite clearly referred to his brother-in-law as the weaker and himself as the stronger. The republic of siblings perpetuated itself through the creation and maintenance of hierarchies, even if the exact structure of the relations could change with time.

The image Andries created for his role within the family through his speech and actions could always be contested. What he presented as the interest of the family others might view as done simply for his own good. It was necessary that the sibling group buy into this view of the family, accepting both what it meant for each person’s relationship to Andries, but also to all the other siblings within the group. Such amicability could only materialize through consensus.¹²⁹ The support Andries provided for François would only be seen to be for the good of the house if the other siblings accepted it as such. Previous communications had spoken of the issue of François’s recent losses, and Sara’s letter to Andries noted her acceptance of the actions taken by

¹²⁷. Andries to Sara, Bremen, 1 September 1587, CL 275-21–22: “want ghekyck ick altyt myn grootsten lust hebbe ghehadt om ons huys int general te vermeerden.”

¹²⁸. Andries to Sara, Bremen, 1 September 1587, CL 275-21–22: “Alsoo vinde ick my oock zeer gheneghen die nu de swackste zoude moghen wesen te verstercken, ghelyck van naturen de sterckste leden eens lichaems altyt het swackste verschoonen ende te helpe comen.”

¹²⁹. See Chapter 7 on the example of the disputes between Marten and Jacques in which they failed to reach consensus on the structure of the sibling group.

her brother. “I have understood from your letter that you are of the same opinion in the case.”¹³⁰

Though working within hierarchical structures, the siblings did not function through arbitrary will. Acceptance played a much larger role in family relationships between siblings after the death of the parental figure.

There is evidence in the Van der Meulen correspondence that from an early period Andries’s siblings recognized and accepted his role within the family. Importantly, one instance came from the eldest sister, Anna, who could have presented an alternative source of power within the family.¹³¹ Anna was the eldest child and had already married twice by the time Andries wed. However, her actions do not show her challenging the power of her younger brother, but instead accepting his role as successor to the position of their parents. Writing in the fall of 1584, Anna reacted to news from Antwerp that Andries had recently recovered from a dangerous sickness. She noted that “it would be a very damaging death for our house.”¹³² She recognized the interconnected nature of the family and the important position of Andries in the social and economic status of herself and of the family as a whole. She identified her own interest with that of her brother.

In 1588, Anna and François moved from Cologne to Bremen before then relocating to Stade. During their time in Bremen, the couple lived in the house of Andries and Suzanne. The sharing of a house between two conjugal units created many possibilities for friction.¹³³

¹³⁰. Andries to Sara, Bremen, 1 September 1587, CL 275-21–22: “ende ghenoech uut uwe scryven verstaen hebbende uwe ghelycke meyninghe in desen gevalle is.”

¹³¹. Broomhall and Gent, “Corresponding Affections”; Broomhall and Gent, “In the Name of the Father.”

¹³². Anna to Sara, Cologne, 13 September 1584, CL 273-4: “het saude noch een seer scadelyckke doedt ghwest syn voer onsen huys.”

¹³³. David Warren Sabean, *Property, Production, and Family in Neckarhausen, 1700-1870* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990).

However, she wrote to Sara, who still resided in Cologne, that she was treated well by everyone. “I am so free that I feel like I am in my own house.”¹³⁴ One reason for this was that Andries showed himself to be such a “helpful man.” “I have said many times to my husband that in all of my life I have not known anyone with a better heart who is so wise and sensible.”¹³⁵ But her praise for her brother went beyond such personal characteristics. It also centered upon his role within the family. “In our father’s house, he treated us not as a brother, but as if he were our father, so much care has he provided for us.”¹³⁶ Though Anna’s mother had in fact been the head of the household for over twenty years, she constructed a clear line of succession from father to son, and, importantly, included herself as falling under this power structure. Andries was not merely a brother, but a brother/father due to his actions for the family.¹³⁷

Anna’s acceptance of the patriarchal position of her brother is further confirmed her description of the relationship between Andries and her son from her first marriage. Hansken van de Corput spent most of his childhood away from his mother, in the care of either Elizabeth or Andries.¹³⁸ Charge over Hansken could have been another point for contention, whether he came more under the influence of his mother and his step-father or that of his uncle(s). But Anna denied this possibility. She continued to praise the qualities of Andries by stating that “he is now

¹³⁴. Anna to Sara, Bremen, 10 August 1588, Anna to Sara, Bremen, 31 July 1588, CL 273-8: “daer ick soe vry ben, al oft ick in myn eyghen huys ware.”

¹³⁵. Anna to Sara, Bremen, 10 August 1588, CL 273-8: “ende hebt ock mennich mael tegens mynnen man ghesyt dat ick van alle myn lefdage beter hert ende ock soe wys en verstandich dar by van man noyt t’syns ghelyckken gheweten.”

¹³⁶. Anna to Sara, Bremen, 10 August 1588, CL 273-8: “in ons vaders huys hem onder ons ghehouden niet als eennen broeder maer al oft ons vader ghewest ware alsulckke sorge heft hy voer ons altyt gedragen.”

¹³⁷. Broomhall and Gent, “Corresponding Affections”; Broomhall and Gent, “In the Name of the Father”; McLean, *Art of the Network*; Pollock, “Rethinking Patriarchy and the Family.”

¹³⁸. Daniel was also heavily involved in Hansken’s education after Hansken went to Leiden to study in 1592.

also like the father of my son. He cares for him in all manners as if he were his own son.”¹³⁹ Such a statement was especially significant, because at this point neither Andries nor Daniel had produced a male heir. Anna’s joy in this close relationship between her son and Andries demonstrated her acceptance of the extension of Andries’s power beyond the boundaries of his own conjugal family and into those of the sibling group. In these different places where conflict could occur, Anna happily reported to her sister both Andries’s acceptance of the duties placed upon him as leader of the sibling group and her acquiescence to her own position within such a conception of the siblings.

Andries could never wield the same power within the family as was done by his mother or father. However, by crafting and preserving his mother’s death in the family memory and adopting the role of a fatherlike figure, Andries helped construct a foundation within which the sibling group could relate. Both of these strategies depended upon the actions and acceptance of others. While both the monarchy of the father/mother and the republic of siblings could be challenged from within, the republic of siblings gained unity and cohesion through compromise and consensus to a degree unknown in parental rule. Brothers and sisters, brothers-in-law and sisters-in-law all participated in the construction of their relations, despite the hierarchical structure that resulted. Without the presence of a parental figure, the unity of the siblings was always tenuous and liable to be contested. The letters between the Van der Meulen siblings show that they viewed it as such. They understood that cohesion within the republic of siblings necessitated constant effort and maintenance.

¹³⁹. Anna to Sara, Bremen, 10 August 1588, CL 273-8: “hy is nu och als den vader van mynnen soen, hy dracht ock sorge voer hem al oft syn ygen soen ware in alder manieren.” This was similar to the professions that Marten made to care over his nieces and nephews. On the importance of this connection, see Christopher H. Johnson, “Siblinghood and the Emotional Dimensions of the New Kinship System, 1800–1850: A French Example,” in *Sibling Relations and the Transformations of European Kinship, 1300–1900*, ed. Christopher H. Johnson and David Warren Sabean (New York: Berghahn Books, 2011); Ruppel, “Subordinates, Patrons, and Most Beloved.”

6. A Future Together

Concepts of time, both past, in the sense of memory, and future, through hope, were critical to extending the relationships between the siblings.¹⁴⁰ Through all of the tribulations provided by the passage of time and the events of the Dutch Revolt, the goal of the Van der Meulen siblings continued to be cohesion of the sibling group. Correspondence and travel provided the means to remain emotionally connected, but the siblings continued to desire a more lasting physical immediacy.¹⁴¹ At times, Bremen appeared a possible substitute for Antwerp, but in the end its draw was a shadow of that of their native city. When Daniel left with Hester and their children in 1591 for the university city of Leiden, the Van der Meulens effectively gave up on the idea of residing together in Germany. Yet, their desire for physical proximity continued, and it centered upon a return to their fatherland, which they identified with Flanders and Brabant.¹⁴² After the defeat of the Spanish armada and the death of Henry III, the siblings had growing hope that the tides were turning, and that they could soon return to Antwerp.¹⁴³ However, it was not to be. Yet, the discourse between the siblings concerning their desire to return to Antwerp and be together functioned as a means for them to profess their continued

¹⁴⁰ Yoram Ben-Porath, "The F-connection: Families, Friends, and Firms and the Organization of Exchange," *Population and Development Review* 6, no. 1 (1980): 1–30; Bastress-Dukehart, *Zimmern Chronicle*; Kuijpers, et al., *Memory before Modernity*; Bourdieu, "Family as a Realized Category."

¹⁴¹ Broomhall and Gent, "Corresponding Affections"; Francisco Bethencourt and Florike Egmond, eds. *Correspondence and Cultural Exchange in Europe, 1400–1700*, vol. 3, *Cultural Exchange in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007); McLean, *Art of the Network*.

¹⁴² Müller, "Permeable Memories"; Müller, "Exile Memories"; Alastair Duke, *Dissident Identities in the Early Modern Low Countries* (Aldershot, England: Ashgate, 2009), 9–76.

¹⁴³ On the larger influences around the Revolt at this time, see Geoffrey Parker, *The Grand Strategy of Philip II* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998); Fernando González de León and Geoffrey Parker, "The Grand Strategy of Philip II and the Revolt of the Netherlands, 1559-1584," in *Reformation, Revolt and Civil War in France and the Netherlands, 1555-1585*, ed. Philip Benedict, et al. (Amsterdam: Royal Netherlands Academy of Arts and Sciences, 1999). The letters from Andries to Sara and Daniel, as well as the letters from Jacques to Daniel at this time spoke constantly about the news from France and England concerning the war against the Spanish. On the interest of the Van der Meulens in news, see Sadler, "News as a Path to Independence."

affection even as they lived apart. The yearning for an end to their exile, and the union it promised, provided an idealized future that could stand in for present inadequacies.

All of the siblings worked to construct and reinforce the image of a future in which they could return to Antwerp and be together. The letters between the siblings often noted the deficiencies inherent in communication through letters. It was much preferable to be together and enjoy face-to-face conversations with loved ones.¹⁴⁴ Anna's letters to her younger sister provides an example of the desire to be near siblings. In the same letter that Anna wrote of her joys of being with the families of Andries and Daniel in Bremen, she also lamented that she and François soon planned to move to Stade. Noting the importance of friendship, Anna wrote, "so long as we reside here on earth, we can experience nothing more pleasant than the good conversation of good friends, especially of brothers and sisters."¹⁴⁵ Identifying siblings as the closest of friends, Anna noted not only the desire, but also the need to remain in close contact. However, she had to be patient, because "I must now go live in a city where I do not have a single friend."¹⁴⁶ While Anna bemoaned her fate to be removed from the presence of her siblings, she too passed over the economic purpose of moving to the port city on the Elbe and

¹⁴⁴. Broomhall and Gent, "Corresponding Affections"; Ruppel, "Subordinates, Patrons, and Most Beloved."

¹⁴⁵. Anna to Sara, Bremen, 10 August 1588, CL 273-8: "wy en hebben doch niet aengenaemmeres soe lange als wy hier op der arden syn als de goede konversaygie van goede vrienden in sonderheyt van broederes en susteres."

¹⁴⁶. Anna to Sara, Bremen, 10 August 1588, CL 273-8: "ick nu moet gaen vonnen in een stadt daer ick niet eennen vrient hebben."

concentrated on the difficulties caused by the times.¹⁴⁷ “I very much wish that someday the times will change, so that we for once can live together in the same city.”¹⁴⁸

Anna’s worries about living in Stade proved all too true. A year after she and François moved to Stade, she wrote to Sara, complaining that she “finds myself very much alone here.”¹⁴⁹ This was especially the case at the time that she wrote, because her daughters had gone off to school and her husband had also left for a time. Lonely and miles away from any of her friends, Anna thought about traveling to Frankfurt, where Sara and Antoine now lived, “but I think that it will not happen until God, the merciful, enables us to again live with freedom in our fatherland, for which I pray to the lord to give his blessing.”¹⁵⁰ In early 1590, Sara gave birth to another child, rekindling Anna’s desire to visit Sara and see her children, but Anna continued to blame the wars in the Low Countries for their separation. However, Anna now wrote with greater hope that a return to Antwerp might soon be possible. “I hope that with the help of the Lord, that within the next two years there will be a great change in our fatherland, and so then we will live there in more freedom. I pray to God to give his blessing for this.”¹⁵¹ The hope that the course of

¹⁴⁷ The trade of Stade and Hamburg dwarfed that of Bremen. Thus, while Bremen served as a good point for communication, it was reasonable to have a trusted agent in the two ports on the Elbe. On the economic role of Stade in the trade of the Van der Meulens and Della Failles, see R. Andriessen and H. F. Cohen, “Op zoek naar een stapelmarkt: Onderzoekingen in het archief-Daniël van der Meulen,” in *De handel van Daniel van der Meulen c.s., in het bijzonder rond de jaren 1588-1592: Werkcollege economische geschiedenis*, ed. J. H. Kernkamp (Leiden: Universiteit Leiden, 1969), 12–14; Brulez, *Firma Della Faille*, 96–97 and 334–335.

¹⁴⁸ Anna to Sara, Bremen, 10 August 1588, CL 273-8: “ick saude wel wensen dat eenmael den tyt veranderde dat wy eens al te samen in een stadt mochten vonnen.”

¹⁴⁹ Anna to Sara, Stade, 6 September 1589, CL 237-16: “viende my seleven alhier seer allene.”

¹⁵⁰ Anna to Sara, Stade, 6 September 1589, CL 237-16: “dan my dunckt wel datter niet van komen en sal tot dat ons God, de ghenade, doet dat wy wederom in ons vaderlant met vreden voennen mogen, daer toe ick den Heere bidde synnen seghen te gheven.”

¹⁵¹ Anna to Sara, Stade, February 1590, CL 237-17: “Ick verhoppe met de hulppe des Heeren van wy noch twee yarren leven dat wy een groote veranderinge in ons vaderlant sullen sien en dat wy alsdan in merde vrede aldaer sullen wonnen, daer toe ick God bidde synnen seghen te gheven.”

the Revolt might change and Antwerp freed provided the comfort that Anna needed during her lonely days on the Elbe. Such thoughts made the current division from her siblings more bearable, while bringing the events of the Revolt—the military battles in the Low Countries and now in France—into the very heart of the relationship between the siblings.

In 1592, only months after Daniel and Hester left Bremen, Anna and François moved to the city where Andries had lived since he retreat from Antwerp. At just about the same time, Sara and Antoine also moved to Bremen, bringing three of the four Van der Meulen siblings together for an extended period for the first time since they left Antwerp. Despite the obvious interest that the Van der Meulens possessed as merchants to have kin act as agents in different cities, they expressed an equally significant interest in the ability to strengthen the bonds of siblings through propinquity.¹⁵² Anna and François's excitement at their new proximity to their siblings was palpable in the letters that François sent to Daniel. He and Anna had moved into the house next to that of Andries and Suzanne. Andries had even placed a door between the houses, creating fluidity in the households.¹⁵³ The ability to enjoy the conversation of his relatives pleased François to no end. The pleasure that he and Anna had in living in Bremen came “principally because we have such good friends here.”¹⁵⁴ His only regret was the absence of Daniel and Hester. With their presence “we would have all of our friends by us.” Nevertheless,

¹⁵² See the argument of Brulez on the signifiacnce of the diaspora of Netherlandish merchants created by the fall of Antwerp. Brulez, “De diaspora der Antwerpse kooplui.”

¹⁵³ François to Daniel, Bremen, 27 March 1592, DvdM 297-1.

¹⁵⁴ François to Daniel, Bremen, 19 June 1592, DvdM 297-3: “voorneempste dat wy hier by zoe goede vrienden sin.”

he understood this to be a desire that could only be fulfilled in the future. “But now it cannot be otherwise, and so we must be satisfied until God enables us to be together in our fatherland.”¹⁵⁵

Even as the siblings came together in Bremen in 1592, the draw of their homeland remained. Their correspondence makes it clear that they conceived of their fatherland not as the Low Countries as a whole, but as Flanders and Brabant. When Daniel and Hester moved to Leiden in September 1591, his siblings saw him as moving closer to their fatherland but not residing within it. After Daniel moved into his new house on the Rapenburg in Leiden, François wrote to congratulate his brother-in-law. “I pray to God that you may live there with health and joy for a short time, but that the beloved God will quickly give a general peace so that we can soon move to our fatherland.”¹⁵⁶ François saw Leiden as only a temporary residence until they could return to Antwerp. Though Holland did have a draw for exiles from the southern provinces—and the growth of Antwerp created economic interest in moving nearer to its market—it was not so strong as to replace the memory of Antwerp and the hope to return to the city on the Scheldt.¹⁵⁷

Sara wrote to her brother with similar sentiments. Though only recently situated in Bremen near her elder siblings, Sara wrote to Daniel of her thoughts of moving to Holland so

¹⁵⁵ François to Daniel, Bremen, 27 March 1592, DvdM 297-1: “zouden wy alle onse ghewensse vrienden by ons hebben, mar nu het niet anders en is moeten zoe te vreden sin tot dat godt heeft dat wy in ons Vaderlant by den anderen moeghen wesen.” François expressed similar thoughts in his letter on 19 June 1592, that if Daniel and Hester were in Bremen “we would be able to have full conversation with the friends, but now God has arranged it otherwise. We must have patience.” DvdM 297-3: “hadden wy vollcomen conversacie met de vrienden moeghen hebben, mar nu het Godt anders gheschieckt heeft; moeten paciencie hebben.”

¹⁵⁶ François to Daniel, Bremen, 24 February 1593, DvdM 297-9: “bidde Godt dat U.L. daer met ghesontheyt ende lief moecht bewoennen coorten tit dat den lieven Godt wil haest een goede generaele vrede gheven dat wy haest moeghen naer ons vaderlant trecken, ist salich.”

¹⁵⁷ See the work of Oscar Gelderblom on Hans Thijs for another example of the time it could take merchants from the southern provinces to settle in Holland. Gelderblom, *Zuid-Nederlandse kooplieden*; Oscar Gelderblom, “The Governance of Early Modern Trade: The Case of Hans Thijs, 1556–1611,” *Enterprise and Society* 4, no. 4 (2003): 606–639.

that she could be closer to Daniel and Hester, but also “closer to our Brabant and Flanders.”¹⁵⁸

However, nothing was to be done other than have patience and pray for God to effect a change in the course of the Revolt. They “awaited that the Lord will loan our beloved fatherland peace, and then you from there and we from here will be able to be in our fatherland together.”¹⁵⁹ Despite this longing, Sara assured her brother that the distance between them had not in fact diminished her affection for her younger brother and her sister-in-law. Daniel must have trust in her that “diversity of places does not alter our united hearts,” and that they will continue to be “connected by obliging friendship.”¹⁶⁰ The emphasis that the Van der Meulens put on place solidified their identification as religious and exiles. It also functioned as an informal covenant between the siblings. Promising to be together in the future reaffirmed their ties in the present.

Of course, their hoped for return to Antwerp never materialized. Sara and Antoine left Bremen for Utrecht in 1598, while Andries also left Bremen for Utrecht in 1607. Anna and François appear to have remained in Germany for the rest of their lives.¹⁶¹ Nevertheless, the ideal of a future together helped the Van der Meulens negotiate the difficulties of family life. Their discourse on exile constructed it as a burden much more than an economic opportunity. Added to the disruptions of the transition of power from one generation to another and the negotiations between the new nuclear families created by marriage and the unity of the sibling group, exile taxed the bonds between kin, bonds they felt to be central to their moral, social, and economic

¹⁵⁸. Sara to Daniel, Bremen, 17 December 1592, DvdM 295-5: “de begerte om oock soo vele naerder gebuer van onse Brabant ende Vlanderen te mogen wesen.”

¹⁵⁹. Sara to Daniel, Bremen, 17 December 1592, DvdM 295-5: “verwachtende dat den Heere onse lieve vaederlandt vrede verleenen sal en dan U.L van aldaer ende wy van alhier int selfde vaederlandt by malcanderen sullen mogen.”

¹⁶⁰. Sara to Daniel, Bremen, 17 December 1592, DvdM 295-5: “verscheydenheyt der plaetsen onse vereenichde herten niet veranderen...met dinstwillige vrintschap verbonden.”

¹⁶¹. Jongbloet-van Houtte, *Daniel van der Meulen*; Kooijmans, *Vriendschap*.

lives. These ideals of family unity, and the relationships they necessitated, played a constitutive role in motivations and actions of both the individuals and the kinship groups as a whole. The Van der Meulens lived with Psalm 133 constantly before their minds. “Behold, how good and how pleasant it is for brethren to dwell together in unity.”¹⁶²

7. Conclusion

The strengthening of the horizontal bonds between siblings inevitably involved vertical ties that connected generations.¹⁶³ In the same letter in which Sara made reference to Psalm 133, she wrote to Daniel about the construction of long-term bonds of affection. The attachments between parents and children that linked siblings together also continued to the next generation, linking aunts and uncles to nieces and nephews, also creating a connection between cousins.¹⁶⁴ Sara wrote to Daniel about the interaction between her children and those of Andries. She wrote with great pleasure that “the biggest children get along so well together.” Her eldest son, Antoine de Jonge, who was approaching his sixth birthday, “has no greater joy than that they shall play together.”¹⁶⁵ Sara’s only sorrow was that her children could not create the same connections with all of their cousins. She had thoughts about taking a trip to Holland so that they could visit with Daniel and Hester, as well as see Sara’s mother-in-law, connecting the generations together. She wanted to visit so that “our children, who begin to have greater understanding, can have the love

¹⁶² Sara to Daniel, Bremen, 11 October 1592, DvdM 295-4.

¹⁶³ Sabean, *Kinship in Neckarhausen*; Ruppel, “Subordinates, Patrons, and Most Beloved.”

¹⁶⁴ For discussion of the descendants of the siblings under study in this dissertation, see Kooijmans, *Vriendschap*.

¹⁶⁵ Sara to Daniel, Bremen, 11 October 1592, DvdM 295-4: “de grootste maecken soo goeden kennisse met malcanderen dat onse [Antoine de Jonge] geen meerder vreuchde en heeft dan datse by malcanderen sullen spelen.” The name of the child is not completely legible, but is likely Antoine de Jonge, the oldest son of Suzanne and Antoine.

and friendship of your children as well as with their cousins here.”¹⁶⁶ Notwithstanding the current difficulties, Sara believed that their children would prove capable of forming tight bonds that would enable them to live in friendship. “I trust that God at all times shall provide the means for them to be able to come together.”¹⁶⁷

Like the Della Faille siblings, the Van der Meulens strongly invested in an ideal of unity between siblings that radiated outwards, both horizontally and vertically to more distant kin. The Van der Meulens fortified their bonds by connecting themselves to each other in a multitude of ways.¹⁶⁸ This chapter has emphasized the use of structure and affection in molding the siblings into a united group capable of fighting against the creation of divided interests. In the first place, the siblings came together through their identification with and care for their mother. In the tribulations that she faced in leaving her house in Antwerp to move to Bremen and in her struggle with her mortality, the siblings created emotional bonds that brought them together in the present, while also constructing a memory that functioned diachronically as a symbol of their unity. After their mother’s death, the siblings reconstructed the patriarchal hierarchy that existed during the life of their mother through the acceptance of Andries as the successor to the position of his parents.

The structural features of the family relations had to be reinforced through constant interactions, and affection played a primary role. This chapter has concentrated on the use of letters to both display and create affection across distance. Living apart from kin was a natural

¹⁶⁶ Sara to Daniel, Bremen, 11 October 1592, DvdM 295-4: “onse kinderkens, die beginnen tot verstande te comen, met U.L. kinderkens als met haer andere nichtens ende nefkens alhier de lieffde ende vrintschap souden mogen.”

¹⁶⁷ Sara to Daniel, Bremen, 11 October 1592, DvdM 295-4: “ick vertrouwe dat Godt tot allen tyden middel sal geven om die met malcanderen te mogen onderhouden.”

¹⁶⁸ Mark Granovetter, “The Strength of Weak Ties,” *American Journal of Sociology* 78, no. 6 (1973): 1360–1380; Aslanian, “Social Capital, ‘Trust’ and the Role of Networks,” 385; Trivellato, *Familiarity of Strangers*, 163.

feature of the life of an early modern merchant. In fact, the Van der Meulens had spent much of their childhood separated between Antwerp and Cologne. However, following the fall of Antwerp, they chose not to interpret the burden of physical distance in economic terms, but within a rhetoric of exile. In creating a strong identification with Calvinism and the Revolt, bolstered by the affection and the support that they provided to each other, the siblings multiplied the bonds that held them together. The letters between the siblings demonstrate that this was not a task assigned to one sex. Both men and women used a rhetoric of affection, which connected consanguineal and affinal kin. Hester and François were as important in maintaining the bonds between siblings as Andries and Sara. Their rhetoric of affection created obligations on all of the siblings involved.¹⁶⁹ Their ability to negotiate and live up to those obligations made it possible for the siblings to build bonds that endured for the remainder of their lives and which they attempted to pass along to their own children.

¹⁶⁹ Broomhall and Gent, “In the Name of the Father”; David Cressy, “Kinship and Kin Interaction in Early Modern England,” *Past & Present* 113 (1986): 38–69; Naomi Tadmor, *Family and Friends in Eighteenth-Century England: Household, Kinship, and Patronage* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001); McLean, *Art of the Network*; Ruppel, “Subordinates, Patrons, and Most Beloved.”

Conclusion

*In the name of God and because no one is sure of the time that God will loan them and how long one shall have, it is more than necessary that within our lives, everyone in our house comes to an agreement and live in friendship for those who want it. As for those who do not desire this, I pray that God will give them greater understanding.*¹

The sentiment expressed by Marten in a letter he wrote his brother-in-law Daniel in the fall of 1593 sits at the center of the issues discussed in the previous chapters. Lamenting the inability of his siblings to come to an agreement over the administration of the capital left by Jan de Oude, Marten called upon his brothers and sisters to come together, applying and thereby reinforcing an ideal of sibling unity, which he described as “more than necessary.” According to Marten, he and his siblings constituted a “house,” which included a wide range of collateral kin who were essential to carrying on the trade of early modern merchants. But for Marten and his contemporaries, siblings occupied the core of the house, making their relationships the most necessary of all.² Blood and authority, as significant as they were to defining relationships, only created the outline of relations between siblings. To actuate the connections between themselves, siblings also had to be friends. They had to be able to trust each other, trust that could enable, but

¹ Marten to Daniel, Antwerp, 28 September 1593, Daniël van der Meulen en Hester de la Faille, zijn vrouw, 1550-1648, inventory 274-42, Erfgoed Leiden en Omstreken, Leiden, The Netherlands (hereafter DvdM). “Inden name Gods, ende om dat niemant en is seker dan den tyt die hem God wil verleenen hoe lange die sin sal, soo wart meer dan hoognodich dat binnen onsen leven ons huys elck van ons sin saken claer hadde ende in vrinscap te leven hadde voor diet ommers begeren ende diet niet en begeren bidde God dattse beter sinnen verleenen.”

² David Warren Sabean, *Property, Production, and Family in Neckarhausen, 1700-1870* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 88–101; David Warren Sabean, *Kinship in Neckarhausen, 1700–1870* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 9, 103–104, 134–141; Pierre Bourdieu, *Outline of a Theory of Practice* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977), 63–65; Pierre Bourdieu, “On the Family as a Realized Category,” *Theory Culture and Society* 13, no. 3 (1996), 19; Leonore Davidoff, *Thicker than Water: Siblings and their Relations, 1780–1920* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012); Christopher H. Johnson and David Warren Sabean, eds. *Sibling Relations and the Transformations of European Kinship, 1300–1900* (New York: Berghahn Books, 2011).

that was also mediated by, exchanges of everything from favors to credit to emotions.³ Backed by a belief in the naturalness of the ideal of unity attached to God's order, Marten strove for and demanded that his siblings come to a consensus and live together as God intended.

Following the development of the Della Faille and Van der Meulen siblings from the period when they entered adulthood and began to wed in the 1560s and 1570s until the last years of their lives in the second decade of the seventeenth century, the previous chapters have demonstrated the force of the ideal of unity and the difficulties of achieving it. Pierre Bourdieu in particular has noted the constructed nature of families, and yet the power behind the ideology of the family as natural.⁴ The exact contents of the ideology are cultural and historical. Groups and individuals within societies create and recreate their own structures, identifying goals and delimiting the possible actions to achieve them.⁵ Yet, the cultural and societal webs created by actors are not static. The Della Faille and Van der Meulen siblings lived through a period of great upheaval, creating inconsistencies between practice and structures, which threatened the stability of the ideal of sibling unity.

³ Charles Tilly, *Identities, Boundaries, and Social Ties* (Boulder, CO: Paradigm Publishers, 2005); Naomi Tadmor, *Family and Friends in Eighteenth-Century England: Household, Kinship, and Patronage* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001); Craig Muldrew, *The Economy of Obligation: The Culture of Credit and Social Relations in Early Modern England* (New York: St. Martin's press, 1998); Francesca Trivellato, *The Familiarity of Strangers: The Sephardic Diaspora, Livorno, and Cross-Cultural Trade in the Early Modern Period* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2009).

⁴ Bourdieu, "Family as a Realized Category."

⁵ Clifford Geertz, *The Interpretation Of Cultures* (New York: Basic Books, 1973); Hannu Salmi, "Cultural History, the Possible, and the Principle of Plenitude," *History and Theory* 50, no. 2 (2011): 171–187; Quentin Skinner, *Visions of Politics*, vol. 1, *Regarding Method* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002); Bourdieu, *Outline of a Theory of Practice*; William H. Sewell Jr, *Logics of History: Social Theory and Social Transformation* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2005). Both Geertz and Skinner share a common interest in philosophy of language of Ludwig Wittgenstein and his understanding of the interaction of rules and use. Ludwig Wittgenstein, *Philosophical Investigations: The German Text, with a Revised English Translation 50th Anniversary Commemorative Edition*, 3rd ed., (Malden, MA: Wiley-Blackwell, 1991). An example of the force of cultural constructs of the possible is presented by Robert Brenner's argument that culture places limits on what individuals will perceive to be an economic opportunity, see Robert Brenner, "The Social Basis of English Commercial Expansion, 1550-1650," *The Journal of Economic History* 32, no. 1 (1972): 361–384.

The Della Faille and Van der Meulen siblings faced difficulties in recreating the structures of society in the face of the turmoil of the last quarter of the sixteenth century. With wealth and status built through their mercantile activities, the families struggled with the tension between the horizontal and vertical understanding of their wealth and of the relations mediated through their capital. The Della Failles and Van der Meulens expressed comfort with the ephemeral nature of the movable goods that acted as the basis for their wealth at the same time that they worried about the preservation and transfer of patrimony to lineal kin.⁶ They made and expanded their capital through trade networks based upon wider kin networks, necessitating time and resources be spent on horizontal relationships. In the first place, this occurred with the relationships between uncles/aunts and nieces/nephews, as well as those between cousins, and then expanded outwards. For example, Marten and Daniel both cared for the children of Carlo after the death of Cecile Grammaye, his second wife. Sara cultivated relationships between her children and those of her siblings. All of the siblings created connections with their cousins. Thus, despite their lineal thinking, the Della Failles and Van der Meulens fostered close relationships with horizontal kin even as these connections diverted resources from lineal kin.⁷

⁶ Martha C. Howell, *The Marriage Exchange: Property, Social Place, and Gender in Cities of the Low Countries, 1300-1550* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998); Martha C. Howell, *Commerce before Capitalism in Europe, 1300-1600* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010); David Warren Sabean and Simon Teuscher, "Kinship in Europe: A New Approach to Long Term Development," in *Kinship in Europe: Approaches to Long-Term Development*, ed. David Warren Sabean, et al. (New York: Berghahn Books, 2007). Compare the essays in the volume edited by Margaret Jacob and Catherine Secretan to the work of J. G. A. Pocock. Margaret C. Jacob and Catherine Secretan, eds. *The Self-Perception of Early Modern Capitalists* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008); J. G. A. Pocock, *The Machiavellian Moment: Florentine Political Thought and the Atlantic Republican Tradition*, 2nd ed., (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2003); J. G. A. Pocock, *Virtue, Commerce, and History: Essays on Political Thought and History, Chiefly in the Eighteenth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985).

⁷ Jesse Sadler, "News as a Path to Independence: Merchant Correspondence and the Exchange of News during the Dutch Revolt," in *In Praise of Ordinary People: Early Modern England and the Dutch Republic*, ed. Margaret C. Jacob and Catherine Secretan (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013); Tadmor, *Family and Friends in Eighteenth-Century England*.

Spending their childhoods surrounded by the culture of early modern trade, the siblings understood the profits to be made by long-distance trade, but also the risks that came with it. Capital was ephemeral in a way not true of landed wealth, making skillful administration essential. This was a concern expressed most clearly in Jan de Oude's testament. The example of the bankruptcy of Jacques after having possessed a capital of £35,000 demonstrates the reality of the concerns.⁸ Marten found his own way out of the fleeting nature of movable capital by disinvesting from trade and placing all of his wealth in land holdings.⁹ However, the examples of Jacques and Marten were extreme. In general, the Della Faille and Van der Meulen siblings lived within the contradictions of understanding social relations to be built through movable capital, while also worrying about patrimony and the preservation of property for lineal kin.

The Della Failles and Van der Meulens pursued their mercantile interests in the middle of the upheaval created by the growth of Protestantism in the Low Countries and outbreak of the Dutch Revolt. The siblings found themselves directly and indirectly involved in the Revolt their entire adult lives. The presence of armies and the conquests of cities by one side or the other shifted trade routes, most dramatically in the case of the fall of Antwerp in August 1585. But the merchants described in the above pages were not merely economic beings. Andries defended Antwerp from his position as alderman, and Daniel sought to obtain assistance from Holland and

⁸ Marten to Jan de Wale, Antwerp, 28 January 1616, Della Faille de Leverghem Archive, inventory 4, Private collection, Lozer, Belgium. See Mary Lindemann, "The Anxious Merchant, the Bold Speculator, and the Malicious Bankrupt: Doing Business in Eighteenth-Century Hamburg," in *The Self-Perception of Early Modern Capitalists*, ed. Margaret C. Jacob and Catherine Secretan (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008); Thomas Max Safley, *The History of Bankruptcy: Economic, Social and Cultural Implications in Early Modern Europe* (London: Routledge, 2013).

⁹ Marten's retreat from trade should not be exaggerated. All of his children were educated and worked as merchants, and Marten continued to be surrounded by mercantile concerns. On the investment of mercantile capital in land, see Wilfrid Brulez, *De Firma Della Faille en de internationale handel van Vlaamse firma's in de 16e eeuw* (Brussels: Paleis der Academiën, 1959), 185–209; John Oldland, "The Allocation of Merchant Capital in Early Tudor London," *The Economic History Review* 63, no. 4 (2010): 1058–1080.

Zeeland while Antwerp was encircled by the armies of Farnese. On the other hand, Marten worked to create reconciliation with Philip II, later becoming a member of the admiralty of the loyal provinces. The Revolt also challenged the normative values of political life. The Revolt questioned and, at least in the northern provinces, overthrew the power of Philip II, breaking the coherence in society that connected the patriarchy of the prince to that of the father.¹⁰ The Della Faille and Van der Meulens, both loyal and rebellious, responded not by giving up the ideal of patriarchy, but by striving to maintain coherence where possible.

In addition to the political consequences of the Revolt, the siblings had to adapt to the division created within Western Christendom by the Reformation. The growth of Calvinism united the Van der Meulen siblings, but it exacerbated divisions between the Della Failles, who developed religious opinions across the spectrum from committed Calvinist to committed Catholic. Only Marten did not have personal experience with exile at some point, though his wife and younger children spent the period during the siege of Antwerp in the greater safety of Dordrecht. The experience of exile made physical the identification with one confession or another, strengthening ties to coreligionists, but necessarily loosening those to individuals who chose otherwise.¹¹ Chapter 8 noted the use that the Van der Meulens made of their exile and religious identification to come together as a sibling group. Thus, at the birth of Andries's son, he wrote to his sister of his hopes that his newly born "may be an upright member of the church

¹⁰ Peter Arnade, *Beggars, Iconoclasts, and Civic Patriots: The Political Culture of the Dutch Revolt* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2008).

¹¹ Ole Peter Grell, *Brethren in Christ: A Calvinist Network in Reformation Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011); Judith Pollmann, *Catholic Identity and the Revolt of the Netherlands, 1520–1635* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011).

of Jesus Christ.”¹² However, as Daniel and Hester participated within the process of fortifying their connection to their siblings through exile and confessional belief, they also created ties with Marten across confessional lines. The experience of the Della Faille and Van der Meulen siblings shows that toleration existed alongside confessional belief.¹³ In the generation under study, confessional difference had yet to create social divergence. Boundaries, both political and religious, remained fluid and were widely believed to temporary. In the end, the belief in the eternal nature of kinship called for and even necessitated the continued intimate interaction between individuals on the opposite side of the Revolt and confessional divide.¹⁴

The previous chapters have argued that sibling relations were at the heart of the reactions to the changes taking place in society. Siblings did not always act in concert, but their relations to each other mediated their interactions with the wider world. By analyzing the experience of the Della Faille and Van der Meulen siblings, this dissertation has shown that that sibling groups were neither a space of natural trust and affection, nor simply an arena for endless disputes.¹⁵ Trust did not naturally inhere in the bonds between siblings. Like all other groups, siblings had to labor to fortify their connections to each other no matter how natural or necessary they perceived

¹² Andries to Sara, Bremen, 14 January 1591, Collectie Antoine Lempereur, inventory 275-36, Bibliotheeca Thysiana Archief, Universiteit Leiden, Leiden, The Netherlands (hereafter CL). Andries hoped that “hy een recht lidtmaet mach weesen der kercken Jhesu Christ.” See also the discussion of religion in choosing a suitable husband for Andries’s daughter in Luuc Kooijmans, *Vriendschap: En de kunst van het overleven in de zeventiende en achtiende eeuw* (Amsterdam: B. Bakker, 1997), 30–35.

¹³ Benjamin J. Kaplan, *Divided by Faith: Religious Conflict and the Practice of Toleration in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2007).

¹⁴ Susan Broomhall and Jacqueline van Gent, “Converted Relationships: Re-negotiating Family Status after Religious Conversion in the Nassau Dynasty,” *Journal of Social History* 47, no. 3 (2014): 647–672.

¹⁵ Christopher H. Johnson and David Warren Sabean, “From Siblingship to Siblinghood: Kinship and the Shaping of European Society (1300–1900),” in *Sibling Relations and the Transformations of European Kinship, 1300–1900*, ed. Christopher H. Johnson and David Warren Sabean (New York: Berghahn Books, 2011); Bourdieu, *Outline of a Theory of Practice*, 63–65.

them to be.¹⁶ Sibling relations acted as the core of wider networks such as those used to carry on trade, but they too were networks, functioning through the exchange of property and emotions. Any analysis of early modern networks—whether political, religious, or economic—must take kinship, and especially sibling relations, seriously, just as contemporaries did.

The experience of the Della Faille and Van der Meulen siblings during the generation under study exhibits the conflicting nature of family life and sibling relations. In a certain sense, the story told through this dissertation is simple. The Van der Meulens got along. The Della Faille did not. However, the previous chapters have argued that the two overlapping sibling groups shared much in common, even if the outcomes proved to be drastically different. A shared culture which outlined goals, possible problems, and solutions stood at the heart of the similarities between the two sibling groups.¹⁷ Whether or not the siblings could achieve unity, all involved used a rhetoric of a united house to put forward their claims. Even Jan and Carlo did not question the ideal of unity. Rather, their appeal to power structures outside the family was based upon claims about expectations and obligations within the structure of the family.

The differences between the sibling groups came about in the range of expectations and obligations put forward by the siblings and their ability to come to a consensus. The previous chapters have primarily spoken in terms of power relations and interest in analyzing the choices made by the siblings, but issues of personality were also involved. Personal enmity inevitably played a role in the inability of the Jan, Jacques, and Carlo to reach an accord with Marten over the estate of their father. Marten himself could not understand the unwillingness of his brothers

¹⁶ Trivellato, *Familiarity of Strangers*; Paul D. McLean, *The Art of the Network: Strategic Interaction and Patronage in Renaissance Florence* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2007); Claude Markovits, *The Global World of Indian Merchants, 1750-1947: Traders of Sind from Bukhara to Panama* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 261.

¹⁷ Bourdieu, *Outline of a Theory of Practice*; Bourdieu, “Family as a Realized Category”; Sewell Jr, *Logics of History*, 124–151.

to share in his friendship, leaving him to hope, in the above quote, that God would provide his siblings with better sense. Yet, such protestations functioned as claims of power. Expectations and obligations involved hierarchical relations, but all concerned had to work towards the creation of consensus. Instead of worrying about success, the discussion of the Della Failles and Van der Meulens has centered upon analyzing the pressures that pushed the siblings towards each other and the forces that came between them.

In placing siblings at the center of early modern trade networks and yet noting the instability inherent in their relationships, this dissertation refocuses the discussion of trust and long-distance trade. It is hardly surprising, but nonetheless necessary to observe that kinship did not preclude cheating. The sources are most clear in the case of the Della Failles. The brothers Jan de Oude and Jacques de Oude entered into an expensive series of lawsuits in which they accused each other of cheating.¹⁸ Jan and Carlo accused their father of failing to provide them with their full maternal inheritance, while Jacques accused Marten of stealing from their father. The disputes within the Van der Meulen family never became public, as they did between the Della Failles, but the Van der Meulen siblings also had to deal with allegations of impropriety. The degree to which siblings were economically intertwined meant such accusations were inevitable. However, the private-order solutions most often put forward by historians had little use in the issues between close kin.¹⁹ Reputation, gathering information, and ostracism played little to no role in the relations between siblings. Siblings did gather information about each other, and they excluded each other from trade activities, but siblings remained socially, emotionally, and economically attached to each other throughout their lives. They, therefore, had

¹⁸ Brulez, *Firma Della Faille*, 26.

¹⁹ Avner Greif, *Institutions and the Path to the Modern Economy: Lessons From Medieval Trade* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006).

to develop different kinds of strategies to counteract the forces of fission that threatened to disrupt the ties that bound them together.

Using the various types of sources left in the archives of the two families, the previous chapters have argued that families used a hierarchical structure, based upon the patriarchal conception of the family and mediated by emotion and property relations, to strengthen the bonds of kinship. Though the dissertation has concentrated on the two sibling groups, Jan de Oude and Elizabeth have been at the center of the discussion of the sibling relationships. Patriarchal authority, which could be exercised by widows as well as by fathers and husbands, created the foundation of the relations between siblings.²⁰ The authority exercised by parents could be challenged, but parental authority acted as a strong centripetal force during their lifetime. The death of the longest-surviving parent brought about a dual crisis in sibling relationships, as both property and power had to be transferred from the generation of the parents to that of the siblings. The partible inheritance regime in the Low Countries and the extensive movable capital possessed by Jan de Oude and Elizabeth complicated the process of the devolution of property. As the analysis of the estate of Jan de Oude demonstrates, the transfer of property between generations could take years. Delays in the distribution of inheritance were not inherently problematic, credit relations could strengthen relations as much as they could strain them, but the issues surrounding inheritance mediated the relations between the siblings as they became unmoored from the direct authority of their parents.²¹

²⁰ Julie Hardwick, *The Practice of Patriarchy: Gender and the Politics of Household Authority in Early Modern France* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1998); Julia Adams, *The Familial State: Ruling Families and Merchant Capitalism in Early Modern Europe* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2005); Lynn Hunt, *The Family Romance of the French Revolution* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1992).

²¹ Erica Bastress-Dukehart, *The Zimmern Chronicle: Nobility, Memory and Self-Representation in Sixteenth-Century Germany* (Aldershot, England: Ashgate, 2002); Erica Bastress-Dukehart, "Sibling Conflict within Early Modern German Noble Families," *Journal of Family History* 33, no. 1 (2008): 61–80.

The actions and relations between siblings after the death of the longest-surviving parent took place with a context of laws and local institutions.²² The thousands of documents found in the archives of the two families, whether letters, accounts, or notarial documents, all held legal standing. The intertwined nature of personal relations and institutions has been noted throughout the previous chapters. Marriage involved love and affection, but the marital pair also signed marriage contracts. The Van der Meulens solidified their marriages by creating companies, which carefully defined the relations and obligations of the participants in a legal and enforceable manner. Within mercantile families like the Della Failles and Van der Meulens, accounting played a particularly significant role in their relationships. Jan de Oude meticulously calculated the maternal inheritance of his children, which placed them as his creditors. The process of administering the estates of Jan de Oude and Elizabeth was first and foremost an issue of accounting. The extended nature of the distribution of inheritance, the constant exchange of goods between the siblings, and their mutual investment in trade ventures meant that siblings were constantly in a relation of credit and debit to each other. If disagreements occurred, the Della Failles and Van der Meulens could and did present their accounts, letters, and previous agreements before notaries, arbitrators, local magistrates, and courts.

The use of such institutional solutions to fortify kin relations demonstrates their significance. However, this dissertation has shown the inability of institutions to resolve disputes on their own. Institutions and private-order solutions were inextricably linked.²³ Despite the

²² Oscar Gelderblom, *Cities of Commerce: The Institutional Foundations of International Trade in the Low Countries, 1250–1650* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2013).

²³ Trivellato, *Familiarity of Strangers*; Jessica L. Goldberg, “Choosing and Enforcing Business Relationships in the Eleventh-Century Mediterranean: Reassessing the ‘Maghribi Traders’,” *Past & Present* 216 (2012): 3–40; Gelderblom, *Cities of Commerce*; Sebouh Aslanian, *From the Indian Ocean to the Mediterranean: The Global Trade Networks of Armenian Merchants from New Julfa* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2011).

exactness practiced in the process of accounting and the growth of juridical powers of local and state institutions, resolution of disputes depended upon the creation of consensus through private-order solutions, which in turn were often solidified through contracts and agreements backed by institutional authority.²⁴

Consensus within sibling groups relied upon the creation and maintenance of trust and friendship among siblings. This dissertation has shown that early modern Netherlandish merchants conceived of the bonds of trust and friendship within the context of hierarchy and authority. Despite the partibility of inheritance among siblings, Jan de Oude and Elizabeth used the concept of succession to pass along their patriarchal power to a single child, recreating the hierarchical structure of parent/child relationship between siblings. The hierarchies within families, whether between parents and children, siblings, or within wider kin relationships, were both fortified and mediated by affection and property relations.²⁵ Through their interactions, siblings created and defined expectations and obligations, which differed according to the power relations of the involved individuals. The interactions were both rhetorical and physical, emotional and economic. By sending letters that carried professions of affections and desire to serve, exchanging news on politics and prices, living together and carrying on conversations, sending each other goods, performing favors, investing capital, exerting energy to track down a debtor or prepare a ship, purchasing goods at low prices and selling them at high prices, siblings could exhibit their friendship and procure trust, demonstrating their desire to live in unity with their siblings. As Marten wrote to Daniel as the two brothers-in-law struggled to get their

²⁴ Gelderblom, *Cities of Commerce*, 87–100.

²⁵ Susan Broomhall and Jacqueline van Gent, “Corresponding Affections: Emotional Exchange among Siblings in the Nassau Family,” *Journal of Family History* 34, no. 2 (2009): 143–165; Susan Broomhall and Jacqueline van Gent, “In the Name of the Father: Conceptualizing ‘Pater Familias’ in the Letters of William the Silent’s Children,” *Renaissance Quarterly* 62, no. 4 (2009): 1130–1166; McLean, *Art of the Network*; Natalie Zemon Davis, *The Gift in Sixteenth-Century France* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2000).

siblings to agree to an amicable administration of the capital of Jan de Oude, “I desire nothing other than the honor and friendship of the house.”²⁶ The experience of the Della Faille and Van der Meulen siblings demonstrates the significance that early modern Netherlandish merchants placed upon sibling relationships, as much as it gives proof to the difficulties and complications involved in maintaining the friendship and affection they considered to be “more than necessary.”

²⁶ Marten to Daniel, Antwerp, 22 February 1595, DvdM 274-51: “ick en begerre anders niet dan de eere ende vrinscappe van den huuse.”

Appendix A

The Della Faille and Van der Meulen Families

On Names

When historians have written about the Van der Meulens and Della Failles, they have inevitably adopted the nomenclature of the language in which they have written. However, such a tact misses the linguistic diversity that was such a part of the life of an early modern merchant from the Low Countries. The Della Failles and Van der Meulens had grown up with Dutch and French and quickly learned Italian as a part of apprenticeship, as well as any other language that they needed for their mercantile purposes.¹ Within this linguistic diversity, augmented by inconsistencies in spelling, the names adopted by the members of the families changed with ease. Jacques could become Jacob, and Karel might be Carlo or Karl. In fact, the family name Della Faille was an Italianization of Van der Faelge, while the oldest son of Jan van der Meulen and Elizabeth Zeghers wrote his letters in French and signed his name as Jean du Moulin.² This

¹ On the education of merchants in Antwerp see the recent dissertation of Jeroen Puttevils, Jeroen Puttevils, “The Ascent of Merchants From the Southern Low Countries: From Antwerp to Europe, 1480-1585” (PhD diss., University of Antwerp, 2012). On merchant education more generally, see Richard Grassby, *Kinship and Capitalism: Marriage, Family, and Business in the English Speaking World, 1580–1740* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001); Karel Davids, “The Bookkeeper’s Tale: Learning Merchant Skills in the Northern Netherlands in the Sixteenth Century,” in *Education and Learning in the Netherlands, 1400-1600: Essays in Honour of Hilde De Ridder-Symoens*, ed. Koen Goudriaan, et al. (Leiden: Brill, 2004); Donald J. Harreld, “An Education in Commerce: Transmitting Business Information in Early Modern Europe,” in *Information Flows: New Approaches in the Historical Study of Business Information*, ed. Leos Müller and Ojala Jari (Helsinki: SKS Finnish Literature Society, 2007); Bert Munck, *Technologies of Learning: Apprenticeship in Antwerp Guilds from the 15th Century to the end of the Ancien Régime* (Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols Publishers, 2007). On education in the Low Countries, see Koen Goudriaan, et al., eds. *Education and Learning in the Netherlands, 1400-1600: Essays in Honour of Hilde De Ridder-Symoens* (Leiden: Brill, 2004); Hilde de Ridder-Symoens, “Education and Literacy in the Burgundian-Hapsburg Netherlands,” *Canadian Journal of Netherlandic Studies* 16, no. 1 (1995): 6–21.

² All of the other Van der Meulen siblings wrote their letters in Dutch, but they had stronger francophone connections than the Della Faille. Sara van der Meulen’s husband, Louis Malapert, was French speaking, and the majority of the letters he wrote were in French, though Sara communicated to her siblings in Dutch. For the letters from Jean van der Meulen, see Collectie Antoine Lempereur, inventory 182, Bibliotheca Thysiana Archief, Universiteit Leiden, Leiden, The Netherlands (hereafter CL).

dissertation embraces the diversity used by the Van der Meulens and Della Failles and refers to the different personages by the names most often used.

Historiography of the Della Faille and Van der Meulen Families

The below biographical data primarily derives from three sources. The first systematic study of the Della Faille archives was done by Wilfrid Brulez. His study, *De Firma Della Faille en de internationale handel van Vlaamse firma's in de 16e eeuw*, provides background on the mercantile activities of Jan de Oude and Marten della Faille.³ A second fount of information on the Della Failles is presented by the five volume work of Yves Schmitz on the entire history of the Della Faille family.⁴ Finally, the background to the Van der Meulen family during the period under study can be found in the Introduction written by Gisela Jongbloet-van Houtte to the published sources from the Daniel van der Meulen Archive from 1584 to 1585.⁵

1. The Della Faille Family

A. Jan della Faille de Oude, c. 1515 to 8 November 1582

- *Cornelia van der Capellen, died 15 August 1566*

Jan de Oude was born around 1515 in the small village of Wevelgem, near Kortrijk, in West Flanders. He was the fourth child of Pieter van der Faelge and Vincente Calvaert, who were likely semi-wealthy peasant farmers. Pieter inherited 24 hectare of land from his father, but

³ Wilfrid Brulez, *De Firma Della Faille en de internationale handel van Vlaamse firma's in de 16e eeuw* (Brussels: Paleis der Academiën, 1959).

⁴ Yves Schmitz, *Les della Faille*, 5 vols. (Brussels: Imprimerie F. Van Buggenhoudt, 1965).

⁵ Gisela Jongbloet-van Houtte, "Inleiding," in *Brieven en andere bescheiden betreffende Daniel van der Meulen, 1584-1600*, ed. Gisela Jongbloet-van Houtte (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1986).

Jan de Oude's inheritance from his father only amounted to £95 and three hectares of land.⁶ It was a humble beginning for a man who would come to be one of the richest merchants in Europe by the time of his death. In 1530, Jan de Oude's life changed drastically. He traveled by horse from Flanders to Venice to apprentice under the wealthy Venetian merchant of Brussels extraction, Marten de Hane, arriving with ten ducats in his pocket. Jan de Oude must have impressed his master, because sometime between 1536 and 1539 he was sent to Antwerp to work as Marten's factor in the thriving city on the Scheldt. In 1541, Jan de Oude gained some independence, though it could only come with Marten's permission, through his marriage to Marten's granddaughter, Cornelia van der Capellen. At this time, Jan de Oude began to trade on his own alongside his younger brother Jacques de Oude, who acted as Marten de Hane's factor in London. After 1557, the two brothers started to directly compete with the trade of the De Hane family, at times fraudulently taking the goods of the De Hane and selling them under their own name. The two broke with the De Hane definitively in 1562.⁷

The trade undertaken by Jan de Oude and Jacques de Oude, and then by Jan de Oude himself after he split with his brother by 1565, followed the course of the De Hane firm. The trade consisted mainly of textiles. Linen and woolens from England and the Low Countries were sent overland to Italy in exchange for Italian silks. The company also sold a large amount of linen in London, which was the primary market for the company's Italian silk. Before 1570, the company sent textiles to Seville through Robert van Eeckeren.⁸ Jan de Oude continued along the general outlines of this trade until his death in 1582. The trade in textiles between northwestern

⁶ Brulez, *Firma Della Faille*, 185–186.

⁷ Brulez, *Firma Della Faille*, 3–34.

⁸ Brulez, *Firma Della Faille*, 35–62.

Europe and Italy also functioned as the backbone of the trade that Jan de Oude's children would carry on after his death. Through his trade activities, Jan de Oude gained tremendous wealth, which would come to be disputed by his children after his death. By 1562, Jan de Oude had accumulated a wealth of £30,600, reinvesting £22,000 in a company with his brother and Robert van Eeckeren, who had just married Jan de Oude's oldest daughter.⁹ Brulez has calculated that at the time of Jan de Oude's death, he possessed £68,043.¹⁰

B. Jan della Faille, c. 1542 to 26 March 1618

- *Maria van der Goes, 19 December 1555 to 26 November 1646*

Jan de Oude and Cornelia van der Capellen's first child was born around 1542 and named for his father. Though the oldest of his siblings, Jan de Oude passed over Jan in naming his successor in his testament.¹¹ Like all of Jan de Oude's children, Jan received a good mercantile education. In 1562, at the age of 20, he and his two younger brothers, Marten and Carlo, received a loan of £250 from their father, which they could trade on their own. Jan traveled to Italy to handle the capital and work in the trade of his father. He acted as a factor for his father in Italy and Spain until he returned to Antwerp in 1575. Upon his return, Jan demanded and eventually received payment of his full maternal inheritance, but after this point, he no longer seems to have been involved in his father's trade.¹²

⁹ Wealth of Jan de Oude, 28 February 1562, Della Faille de Leverghem Archive, inventory 10, Private collection, Lozer, Belgium (hereafter DFL).

¹⁰ Brulez, *Firma Della Faille*, 186.

¹¹ Testament and codicil of Jan de Oude, Familie De Malapert, inventory 22, Het Utrechts Archief, Utrecht, The Netherlands, It is transcribed in Jongbloet-van Houtte, "Inleiding," cxliv–clix.

¹² On Jan's reception and interaction with his maternal inheritance, see Daniël van der Meulen en Hester de la Faille, *zijn vrouw, 1550–1648*, inventory 59-2, Erfgoed Leiden en Omstreken, Leiden, The Netherlands (hereafter DvdM).

In 1579, at the age of 37, Jan married the 22-year-old Maria van der Goes. Maria was the only daughter of Pieter van der Goes, a rich merchant from Antwerp, who specialized in the trade of tapestries. In November 1584, with Antwerp under siege by Farnese's army, Jan and his family left Antwerp to move to Leiden, where they resided for the rest of Jan's life. Jan does not seem to have been involved in trade after moving to Leiden. While Jan appears to have been a Calvinist, his wife continued to be loyal to the Catholic church, remaining in Antwerp after her husband's death.

As one of the three executors of his father's testament, Jan played a central role in the disputes over the estate. However, Jan de Oude limited his oldest son's power by dictating that his inheritance must be invested in land and that Jan would only have rights over the usufruct. Passed over by his father, Jan made his displeasure with his father's testament known from the beginning. His inconstancy in the dealings with the estate were a constant source of frustration for his siblings. He continued to argue against the dictates of the testament until his death in Antwerp on 26 March 1618.¹³

C. Anna della Faille, c. 1543 to 16 October 1622

- *Robert van Eeckeren, c. 1527 to 8 March 1599*

Jan de Oude's oldest daughter married her father's factor, Robert van Eeckeren in June 1562. Robert's stepmother was Anna de Hane, his wife's maternal grandmother. The couple lived in Seville until 1573, when they returned to Antwerp and Robert was appointed warden of currency. Anna and Robert retreated to Haarlem during the siege of Antwerp, but they quickly returned as soon as Antwerp fell. Robert's loyalty was demonstrated by his nomination as

¹³ Yves Schmitz, *Les Della Faille*, vol. 2, *Branche des Seigneurs de Reeth et de Waerloos* (Brussels: Imprimerie F. Van Buggenhoudt, 1970), 3–18.

almoner, along with his brother-in-law Marten, upon his return to Antwerp in 1585. Robert's religious persuasion is shown by a request that he made along with Marten to the magistrates of Antwerp to keep the children of Maria and Louis Malapert in Antwerp so that they could be raised Catholic.¹⁴ Faithful to king and Church, Robert and Anna also stayed loyal to Marten in the disputes between the siblings over the estate of Jan de Oude. As a supporter of Marten, Anna played a limited role in the divisions within the sibling group.¹⁵

D. Marten della Faille, c. 1544–1545 to 17 February 1620

- *Sybilla Stecher, death 8 June 1589*

Jan de Oude's second oldest son eventually came to act as the successor of his father, residing in the large house of Jan de Oude on the Huidevettersstraat, inheriting and expanding the contours of his father's trade, and succeeding his father's role as patriarch of the family. Jan de Oude recognized Marten's mercantile acumen, handing his son large responsibilities from an early age. In 1569, he became head of his father's branch in Hamburg, which mainly functioned as a transportation center, taking in goods from the Low Countries and England to be sent overland to Italy and receiving the goods from Italy to be packed on ships to sent to the North Sea. Five years later, Marten's hard work was rewarded when his father made him head of the branch in London. Marten used his position in London and the credit and networks of his father to trade as an independent merchant alongside his duties to Jan de Oude. He carried on a trade worth thousands of pounds, primarily in linen sold in England. By the time of his father's death, Marten already possessed a capital of £36,078, far beyond the size of his inheritance. The capital,

¹⁴ DvdM 77.

¹⁵ Yves Schmitz, *Les Della Faille*, vol. 1, *Des Origines au XVIIIème Siècle* (Brussels: Imprimerie F. Van Buggenhoudt, 1965), 231–240.

experience, and networks that he developed in London enabled him to take over and expand his father's trade activities, but it also became a source of dispute among his siblings, who looked askance at the rapid development of Marten's personal wealth.¹⁶

Jan de Oude's testament gave Marten the most power over his estate, putting him in charge of the accounting. Yet, Marten met resistance from many of his siblings and would struggle to come to a final agreement on the division of the inheritance for the rest of his life. In 1583, Marten split the capital in the estate with his younger brother Jacques and formed a company with Jan Borne, Jan de Wale, and Thomas Coteels, all of whom had served under Jan de Oude. The company continued his father's trade, while also expanding to trade directly with the Mediterranean by sea. By the close of the company in 1594, Marten had accumulated a wealth of £101,588.¹⁷

After 1594, Marten retired from trade and began to invest in land. During this time, Marten had remained a loyal Catholic and subject of Philip II. Marten had stayed in Antwerp during the siege and even played a role in the town's surrender.¹⁸ He was rewarded with the position of almoner of the city. Marten later served as a member of the admiralty. He developed a close relationship with Richardot, the President of the Privy Council, and was a fervent supporter of the Archdukes Albert and Isabella. He even attempted to broker a peace treaty between the Archdukes and the rebels through his brother-in-law Daniel van der Meulen.¹⁹ His

¹⁶ Brulez, *Firma Della Faille*, 38, 57, 187.

¹⁷ Brulez, *Firma Della Faille*, 63–184.

¹⁸ Jacques to Daniel, Haarlem, August 1585, DvdM 538a-25 (164).

¹⁹ See the letters Marten sent to Daniel from 1598 to 1600, DvdM 274. On the possibilities of peace at this time, see Bram de Ridder and Violet Soen, "The Act of Cession, the 1598 and 1600 States General in Brussels and the Peace Negotiations During the Dutch Revolt," in *The Twelve Years' Truce (1609): Peace, Truce, War, and Law in the Low Countries at the Turn of the 17th Century*, ed. Randall Lesaffer (Leiden: Brill, 2014).

fealty to the government led to his promotion to the nobility in 1614. He died a wealthy lord and land owner, the founder of a noble lineage that remains nobility in Belgium to this day.²⁰

E. Carlo della Faille, c. 1546 to 13 June 1617

- *Maria Celosse, c. 1549 to 27 July 1572*
- *Cecile Grammaye, c. 1550 to 23 June 1591*

The third son of Jan de Oude and Cornelia, Carlo may have been the most problematic and disruptive of all of the Della Faille siblings. Like his older brothers, Carlo worked and trained under his father as a young man, traveling to the Baltic in 1565 and to London in 1566.²¹ After his marriage to Maria Celosse in 1567, Carlo resided in the house of his father in Antwerp for a period of two years. Maria died after the birth of the couple's fourth child in 1572.²² A year later, Carlo remarried to Cecile Grammaye.²³ Carlo's relationship with his father appears to have deteriorated at this point, and in 1575 he sued for full payment of his maternal inheritance.²⁴

Jan de Oude's testament stipulated that Carlo's inheritance had to be invested in land and that Carlo could only receive interest at 4-5%. Almost immediately, Carlo attempted to have the restrictions of the testament overturned. He was often joined in his attack on the testament by his brother Jan, but Carlo's attacks on his father were more vociferous and sustained than Jan's. Both claimed that their father had treated them unfairly in not enabling them to have full reign

²⁰ Yves Schmitz, *Les della Faille*, vol. 3, *Les Branches des Barons de Nevele et d'Estienpuis* (Brussels: Imprimerie F. Van Buggenhoudt, 1967), 3–72.

²¹ Brulez, *Firma Della Faille*, 56.

²² Only two of the four children survived past infancy. They were raised by their maternal grandparents. Memory book of Carlo, DFL 16; Yves Schmitz, *Les Della Faille*, vol. 5, *Branch de Comtes Della Faille de Leverghem* (Brussels: Imprimerie F. Van Buggenhoudt, 1974).

²³ J. Cuypers, "Geeraard Gramaye: Sociaal-ekonomische studie van een Antwerpse persoonlijkheid uit de tweede helft der XVIde eeuw" (PhD Diss., Ghent University, 1948).

²⁴ Account of Carlo's maternal inheritance, 1573, DFL 10; Account of Carlo's maternal inheritance, Antwerp, 14 May 1575, DFL 10; DvdM 57-107.

over their inheritance, while they also alleged that Jan de Oude had not fully paid their maternal inheritance. Carlo continued his actions against the testament for his entire life, using any means possible to disrupt any agreements and to get his way.

Sometime between 1577 and 1579, Carlo and Cecile moved to Dordrecht. Cecile had converted to Calvinism and their remaining children were baptized in the Reformed manner in Dordrecht. Carlo does not seem to have been involved in any trade activities in Dordrecht, and he definitely did not serve as a factor for his father. Carlo's inconstancy and frailty of character was given free reign after the death of Cecile on 23 June 1591.²⁵ Already in 1590, Jacques had heard reports that Carlo "did not have full power over his senses and that he was attempting "to unburden himself from his wife and children."²⁶ Carlo's daughter Maria wrote to her uncle Daniel in 1592 and 1593 of the miserable state of the house. Her siblings were so uncared for that they ran around naked.²⁷ Eventually Carlo's siblings stepped in, and care of the children were divided between Daniel and Marten. In this way, many of Carlo and Cecile's younger children found their way back to Antwerp and converted to Catholicism.²⁸

F. Jacques della Faille, c. 1549–1550 to 24 October 1615

- *Josina Hamels, c. 1560 to 1630*

Jacques was the fourth son of Jan de Oude and Cornelia, but he came to hold a position in the sibling group second only to Marten. Jacques did not play as significant of a role in his

²⁵ Information on Cecile's estate can be found in 523 Kaerle de la Faille en Cecilia Grammaije, 10 Weeskamer te Dordrecht, Regionaal Archief Dordrecht, Dordrecht, The Netherlands.

²⁶ Jacques to Daniel, Haarlem, 20 April 1590, DvdM 538a-132–133: "hy synder sinnen onmachtich is...gebruycken eenighen middel tot ontlastinghe van syne Huysvrouwe ende kinderen."

²⁷ Maria della Faille to Daniel, Dordrecht, 9 October 1592 and 26 July 1593, DFL 4; Daniel to Marten, Leiden, 10 November 1592, DFL 4.

²⁸ Schmitz, *Les Della Faille*, vol. 5, 23–42.

father's trade as his older brothers Jan and Marten, but he did gain experience through traveling for his father. He was also tasked, along with his younger brother Steven, with creating the balance of Jan de Oude's trade in 1575. In the last years of Jan de Oude's life, his father allowed Jacques to carry on an independent trade in linen, though it did not reach the same level as that of Marten.²⁹ Along with his brothers Jan and Marten, Jacques was named an executor of his father's testament. Jan de Oude hoped that Marten and Jacques could administer the capital together and provide their siblings with interest for their inheritance. However, Jacques broke with Marten and became Marten's main rival to the position of successor of Jan de Oude. Notwithstanding the problems caused by Jan and Carlo, the inability of Marten and Jacques to come to an agreement kept the estate of Jan de Oude in turmoil for over thirty-five years.

Unlike his brother Marten, Jacques became a Calvinist and a concert to the side of the rebels. Jacques served in multiple positions under the Calvinist Republic in Antwerp, including as a colonel in the city watch and as an almoner.³⁰ Fearing the fall of the city, Jacques left Antwerp for Haarlem on 1 May 1584 with his sister Hester. Jacques styled himself a firm enemy of the Spanish and the Pope, though he did not become a firm convert to Calvinism, writing to his brother-in-law Daniel in 1585 that men "should be able to follow their own free will."³¹ In Holland, Jacques developed his own trade network, concentrating on maritime trade between Holland, England, and Spain. An ambitious and at times impetuous merchant, Jacques was one of the first merchants to connect Amsterdam's Baltic trade in grain with the Mediterranean

²⁹ Brulez, *Firma Della Faille*, 56–57.

³⁰ Floris Prims, "Jacques de la Faille: Kolonel en aalmoezenier," *Antwerpensia* 16 (1943): 49–59; Floris Prims, "De aalmoezeniers die men "intrusi" heette," *Antwerpensia* 15 (1942): 273–280; Floris Prims, *De kolonellen van de 'Burgersche Wacht' te Antwerpen (December 1577–Augustus 1585)* (Antwerpen: N.V. Standaard-boekhandel, 1942).

³¹ Jacques to Daniel, Haarlem, 2 September 1585, DvdM 538a-29 (nr 169): "dat men in sulckx yeder sijnen vrijen will hoorde te laeten hebben."

following the crop failures in Italy in 1590.³² In the 1590's, he expanded his trade to the Barbary Coast, but at the end of the century he ran into financial difficulties and eventually went bankrupt. Jacques returned to the place of his birth for the first time since 1584 in 1614 and died there in complete destitution.³³

G. Steven della Faille, c. 1550 to 3–5 October 1621

Yves Schmitz, the biographer of the Della Faille family, referred to Steven as the black sheep of the family. While Steven's right to the title might be debated given Carlo's behavior, Steven's unconventional lifestyle certainly caused his siblings great dismay. Working under Marten in Hamburg in 1570, the twenty year old Steven married an older widow, Anna Beckmans-Hertmans. Because Steven had not reached his majority, Jan de Oude was able to have the marriage annulled. Back in his father's house, Steven again found amorous mischief, concluding a clandestine marriage with a maid from his father's house, but this marriage was also annulled. Though he lived in Brussels after the fall of Antwerp, Steven had converted to Calvinism. Chased out of Brussels for his religious beliefs, Steven lived in Haarlem and then Utrecht for the rest of his life. Steven never married, but when he arrived in Haarlem in 1593, he brought his mistress with him.³⁴ He did not carry on a trade of any great size on his own, but

³² On Jacques's trading activities with Daniel van der Meulen, see P. M. Boortman, "De handel op Spanje op het einde van de 16e eeuw: In het bijzonder in de jaren 1588–1592," in *De handel van Daniel van der Meulen c.s., in het bijzonder rond de jaren 1588-1592: Werkcollege economische geschiedenis*, ed. J. H. Kernkamp (Leiden: Universiteit Leiden, 1969); J. C. Vermeulen, "De handelsbetrekkingen met het Middellandse zeegebied in de jaren 1588-1592: Gegevens uit het archief van Daniel van der Meulen," in *De handel van Daniel van der Meulen c.s., in het bijzonder rond de jaren 1588-1592: Werkcollege economische geschiedenis*, ed. J. H. Kernkamp (Leiden: Universiteit Leiden, 1969); J. H. Kernkamp and A. J. Klaassen-Meijer, "De rekeningen betreffende de exploratietocht van den Swerten Ruyter naar het Middellandse Zeegebied in 1589/1590," *Bijdragen en Mededelingen van het Historisch Genootschap* 73 (1959): 3–54; Z. W. Sneller, "De drie cargasoenen rogge van Daniel van der Meulen anno 1592 en hun verzekering," *Jaarboek van het genootschap Amstelodamum* 32 (1935): 89–118.

³³ Schmitz, *Les Della Faille*, vol. 1, 267–294.

³⁴ Schmitz, *Les Della Faille*, vol. 1, 295–312.

invested in Jacques's ventures to the Barbary Coast at the end of the century. Despite his religious persuasion and his later connection to Jacques, Steven sided with Marten in the disputes over the inheritance.

H. Maria della Faille, 2 February 1555 to 25 February 1578

- *Louis Malapert, c. 1535 to 1603*

Like for her older sister Anna, most of the information that exists about Maria pertains to her marriage and her husband Louis Malapert. On her nineteenth birthday, Maria married the 38-year-old Louis. Louis came from a mercantile family from Valenciennes, and he himself had spent time in Seville. The couple had three children before Maria died on 25 February 1578. Only twelve days after the death of Maria, Louis signed a contract to marry Suzanna van Tessel, greatly angering Jan de Oude. In his testament, Jan de Oude originally restricted the inheritance set to go to Maria's three children to the *legitime* of two-thirds of an equal share. However, in his codicil, Jan de Oude allowed the executors to provide Maria's children with a full share of her inheritance if Louis helped the Della Failles in their disputes with the De Hane.³⁵ After his marriage to Suzanna, Louis adopted the Calvinist faith, and he served as a colonel in Antwerp in 1584.³⁶ Louis moved to Aachen after the fall of Antwerp, but his children from Maria remained in Antwerp with Marten and Robert. In 1589, Louis asked that his children be allowed to leave. Marten and Robert protested against this, arguing that the children must be raised as good Catholics. However, in 1592, Louis and Maria's daughter Cornelia married the Calvinist Jacques Godin in Aachen, while in 1595, their two sons matriculated at Geneva.³⁷ The administration of

³⁵ Jongbloet-van Houtte, "Inleiding," cxliv–clix.

³⁶ Floris Prims, "Kolonel Loys Malapert," *Antwerpensia* 16 (1943): 68–75; Prims, *De kolonellen van de Burgersche Wacht*.

³⁷ DvdM 77; Schmitz, *Les Della Faille, vol. 1*, 240–250.

Maria's inheritance became a central point of contention between Marten and Jacques. Maria's children came to an agreement over their maternal inheritance with Marten in 1600.³⁸

I. Hester della Faille, c. 1558–1559 to 28 May 1643

- *Daniel van der Meulen, 23 October 1554 to 25 July 1600*

In his testament, Jan de Oude indicated that his two unmarried daughters must marry with full approval of the three executors. Hester put this article to the test in her decision to marry Daniel van der Meulen against the wishes of Marten. Having converted to Calvinism by this time, Hester married Daniel in the Walloon church in Haarlem on 24 December 1584. All of her children were baptized and raised in the Calvinist manner. After the fall of Antwerp, Hester and Daniel lived in Bremen for a period of six years. In September 1591, Daniel, Hester, and their four children moved to the university city of Leiden. In the divisions of her father's estate, Hester mostly sided with Jacques. She developed a close relationship with Jacques's wife Josina Hamels, and they two corresponded with each other in parallel to the correspondence of their husbands.³⁹ However, after Daniel agreed to have received full payment of Hester's inheritance with Marten in 1594, Hester wrote to her brother, telling him that she continued to be his "faithful sister."⁴⁰

Fifteen of Hester's letters to her husband have been preserved.⁴¹ While Daniel was away from Leiden on various trips, Hester was tasked with heading the household and, along with Daniel's bookkeeper, dealing with any business. Her letters to her husband often contained

³⁸ State of Jan de Oude's estate, 26 December 1583, DFL 12.

³⁹ Letters of Jacques to Daniel, DvdM 538.

⁴⁰ Hester to Marten, Leiden, 7 April 1595, DFL 4.

⁴¹ Letters of Hester to Daniel, DvdM 269.

information about their children, especially any malady they may have contracted. After her husband's death in 1600, Hester continued to work and invest in the company that Daniel had made with his brother Andries and Andries's brother-in-law Nicolas Malapert. Hester possessed and used her own trade mark even before Daniel's death. She returned to Antwerp in 1610 after the beginning of the Twelve-Year Truce to visit Marten and deal with the landed property that she owned in Antwerp. She also visited Antwerp in 1618. Hester continued to live in Leiden until 1634, and she died on 28 May 1643 in The Hague. She was buried in Leiden next to her husband in the Pieterskerk.⁴²

J. Cornelia della Faille, c. 1562–1566 to 27 November 1582

Little is known of the youngest child of Jan de Oude and Cornelia, who could not have been more than four-years old at the time of her mother's death. Dying unmarried only weeks after her father, Cornelia had little ability to leave her mark in the archives. However, her death did cause complications with the administration of her father's estate. Cornelia was an equal heir to the estate of her father and was also still due all of her maternal inheritance, leaving her estate with an estimated £12,065.10.10 in 1583. Her eight siblings, including the children of Maria, became equal heirs to this estate that was tied in with the disputes over the capital left by Jan de Oude.⁴³

⁴² Annie J. Versprille, "Hester della Faille," *Leids Jaarboekje* 67 (1975): 77–97; Schmitz, *Les Della Faille*, vol. 1, 250–264.

⁴³ State of Jan de Oude's estate, 26 December 1583, DFL 12.

2. The Van der Meulen Family

A. Jan van der Meulen, Before 1520 to c. 1563

Little is known about Jan van der Meulen. Like Jan de Oude, Jan came from humble origins. Born in Antwerp, his father was at first a shoemaker and then became a merchant. Jan married Elizabeth Zeghers in 1543. The marriage contract that the couple signed on 2 July 1543 shows that Jan agreed to bring £83.6.8 to the marriage, while Elizabeth brought £60.⁴⁴ From these origins, Jan increased the family's wealth significantly over the next twenty years. Jan's trading activities involved connecting Antwerp to the fairs of Frankfurt and Strasbourg, which would make up the main line of the trade of the Van der Meulen family well into the 1580s. On 15 October 1556, the couple signed a testament that stipulated that the surviving spouse would have full control over the mercantile capital of the family to continue the business.⁴⁵ By June 1564, the testament was put into effect. Jan must have died before 25 December 1563, when a state of the capital he left was drawn up. At his death, he possessed a capital of £2,000, over twenty times what he had brought to the marriage.⁴⁶ A seventeenth-century document that described the history of the Van der Meulen family claimed that Jan had converted to Calvinism by the time of his death. However, this might simply have been an attempt to augment the Calvinist lineage of the family.⁴⁷

⁴⁴ Marriage contract of Jan van der Meulen and Elizabeth Zeghers, Antwerp, 2 July 1543, Familie Van der Muelen, inventory 19, Het Utrechts Archief, Utrecht, The Netherlands (hereafter AvdM).

⁴⁵ Testament of Elizabeth Zeghers and Jan van der Meulen, Antwerp, 15 October 1556, AvdM 22-1.

⁴⁶ Testament of Elizabeth, Antwerp, 3 December 1584, DvdM 66a (49).

⁴⁷ Jongbloet-van Houtte, "Inleiding," clxi–clxiii. The genealogical interest of the Van der Meulen family in the seventeenth century has been explored by Johannes Müller, see Johannes Müller, "Permeable Memories: Family History and the Diaspora of Southern Netherlandish Exiles in the Seventeenth Century," in *Memory before Modernity: Practices of Memory in Early Modern Europe*, ed. Erika Kuijpers, et al. (Leiden: Brill, 2013).

B. Elizabeth Zeghers, c. 1520 to 17 June 1587

Elizabeth Zeghers was born in Lier to Aerts Zeghers and Anna van Eynde. Both of her parents had died by the time that she married Jan. In her marriage contract, her guardians were Willem van Eynde, her uncle on the mother's side and her brother-in-law, Jan de Hoest de Oude.⁴⁸ Elizabeth, like all merchant wives, must have been essential help to her husband in running her mercantile business. At the death of her husband in 1563, Elizabeth took over the family capital and traded on her own. As her sons grew older, her sons joined in the family trade, working under the auspices of their mother.⁴⁹ Under Elizabeth's lead, the family capital continued to expand, so that by the time of her death, the Van der Meulens counted among the mercantile elite of Antwerp.

With the troubles from the beginnings of the Dutch Revolt stirring around them, Elizabeth sent her three daughters and youngest son to Cologne in 1572. She joined her children two years later, as her two oldest sons took greater responsibility in the family's trading activities. From Cologne, Elizabeth directed the activities of her sons between the metropolis of Antwerp and the biannual fairs at Frankfurt and Strasbourg, acting as middlemen in the exchange of goods between northwest Europe and the Italian peninsula. After an abortive attempt at creating a company with her son-in-law, Severijn van de Corput in 1575, Elizabeth formed a company with her son-in-law François Pierens in 1581. Elizabeth constituted the senior partner in the so-called "Oude Compagnie," bringing two-thirds of the capital with François contributing

⁴⁸ Marriage contract of Jan van der Meulen and Elizabeth Zeghers, Antwerp, 2 July 1543, AvdM 19.

⁴⁹ Widows had extensive rights in managing the capital left by their husbands, see Laura Van Aert, "Tussen norm en praktijk: Een terreinverkenning over het juridische statuut van vrouwen in het zestiende-eeuwse Antwerpen," *Tijdschrift voor sociale en economische geschiedenis* 2, no. 3 (2005): 22–42; Laura Van Aert, "The Legal Possibilities of Antwerp Widows in the Late Sixteenth Century," *The History of the Family* 12 (2006): 282–295; Danielle van den Heuvel, *Women and Entrepreneurship: Female Traders in the Northern Netherlands, c. 1580–1815* (Amsterdam: Aksant, 2007). On the trade carried on by Elizabeth after Jan's death, see Jongbloet-van Houtte, "Inleiding," xxxvi–xl.

the other one-third. The company continued to trade along the same lines as Elizabeth had previously pursued, though they also expanded their trade to Nuremberg.⁵⁰

With the failure of the peace talks in Cologne in 1579 and the declaration of the Calvinist Republic in Antwerp, Elizabeth returned to Antwerp in 1582. It is unclear when the Van der Meulen family converted to Calvinism—and conversion does seem to have been a united family affair for the Van der Meulens—but if the conversion occurred before 1579, the Van der Meulens must have been clandestine Calvinists.⁵¹ By 1581, the family had clearly adopted Calvinism and stood firmly on the side of Revolt. Elizabeth remained in Antwerp until she was forced into exile after the fall of Antwerp to Farnese on 17 August 1585. Elizabeth retreated to Bremen, which possessed a small enclave of Calvinist exiles, along with her sons Andries and Daniel and their families.⁵² There, under the watchful eyes of her two sons, Elizabeth died on 17 June 1587.⁵³

C. Anna van der Meulen, c. 1544–1546 to unknown

- *Severeign van de Corput, died December 1575*
- *François Pierens, dates unknown*

As the oldest child of Jan and Elizabeth, Anna played an important role in maintaining unity within her sibling group. Anna married twice, and both of her husbands entered into trade companies with Elizabeth. In September 1573, at the age of about twenty-eight, Anna married

⁵⁰ Jongbloet-van Houtte, “Inleiding,” xvii–xx and xxxviii–xl.

⁵¹ In 1579, Andries was able to join the Commission of Nine as a Catholic. Floris Prims, “Andries Vermuelen, de negende van de IX mannen,” *Antwerpensia* 16 (1943): 106–113.

⁵² Jürgen Moltmann, *Christoph Pezel (1539-1604) und der Calvinismus in Bremen* (Bremen: Verlag Einkehr, 1958).

⁵³ Jongbloet-van Houtte, “Inleiding,” xxi–xxv and xxviii–xxix. Elizabeth Zeghers died on 27 June 1587, and her gravestone tells that she was sixty-eight years old at her death. See Andries to Sara, Bremen, 23 December 1587, CL 275-26.

Severijn de Corput, a merchant from Breda who had gained citizenship in Antwerp in 1572, when she would have been about twenty-years old. The couple moved to Antwerp and had a son, Hansken, in 1574. Severijn signed an agreement to enter into a company with his mother-in-law to begin in 1575, but he died before the commencement of the company. By 1582, Anna had remarried to François Pierens. The marriage likely took place in or before 1581 when François began the “Oude Compagnie” with Elizabeth. Before his marriage to Anna, François had worked in a company with Antoine and Jan Lempereur that traded in parallel with Elizabeth’s activities. With his marriage, François ended the company with the Lempereurs and invested his capital with his mother-in-law.⁵⁴

After Elizabeth returned to Antwerp in 1582, François directed the trading activities in Germany from Cologne, where he and Anna lived until 1588. In 1586 François and the the Van der Meulens created another company. The “Nieuwe Compagnie” consisted of François for a one-third part, Anna’s brother Andries and Daniel for a combined one-third part, and Antoine Lempereur, Francois’s former partner and now brother-in-law through Antoine’s marriage to Sara van der Meulen, for the final one-third. The company possessed a total capital of £12,000, which it directed towards the fairs of Frankfurt and Strasbourg just as the “Oude Compagnie” had done. Over the course of the company, the trading activities of the brothers-in-law expanded to include Hamburg, Cologne, Emden, Amsterdam, Middelburg, and London. Over the years, the company began to concentrate on the trade of textiles from the Low Countries and England to the fairs in exchange for Italian goods. François was expected to do much of the work for the company and was to be provided with an additional 1/12 part in the profits.⁵⁵

⁵⁴ Jongbloet-van Houtte, “Inleiding,” xix–xx and xxiii–xxiv.

⁵⁵ Contract of the Nieuwe Compagnie, 13 November 1585, DvdM 93. Jongbloet-van Houtte, “Inleiding,” xxxviii–xlili.

Anna and François had at least three children, but little is known about them. Anna's child from her first marriage, Hansken, was mostly raised in the household of Andries.⁵⁶ After a short stay in Andries's house in Bremen, they moved to the port city of Stade in 1588. In 1592, they returned to Bremen to live alongside Anna's siblings. They appear to have lived in Bremen until at least 1618.⁵⁷ Anna and François both developed close relations to Anna's siblings. François appears as a pious husband and brother-in-law in his letters to his affines. Anna's letters to her siblings often spoke of the various ailments which seemed to constantly inflict her. She worried greatly when François left the house for business and had trouble sleeping at night.⁵⁸

D. Jean van der Meulen, c. 1547–1548 to November 1576

Jean would have been about sixteen at the time of his father's death, leaving him too young to do more than help his mother carry on the trade left by his father. Evidence in the Felix Archief in Antwerp shows that by 1571 Jean and his younger brother Andries were active in trade, probably under the direction of their mother.⁵⁹ When Elizabeth moved to Cologne in 1574, the now 27-year-old Jean took a more prominent role in the family's trade. He was tasked with traveling between the fairs in Frankfurt and Strasbourg and Antwerp to attend to the family's business. In 1576, Jean found himself in Antwerp when mutinous Spanish soldiers stormed and plundered the city. Jean was among the thousands killed in the Spanish Fury, which wrecked Antwerp and led to the expulsion of Spanish soldiers from the Low Countries.⁶⁰

⁵⁶ Daan Stremmelaar, "Hans van de Corput," in *Daniël van der Meulen: Brieven aan een Leids koopman (ca. 1580–1600)*, ed. Raymond Fagel (Leiden: Instituut voor Geschiedenis, 1999).

⁵⁷ Jongbloet-van Houtte, "Inleiding," lxi.

⁵⁸ Letters of Anna and François to Sara, CL 273.

⁵⁹ Jongbloet-van Houtte, "Inleiding," xviii-xix.

⁶⁰ CL 182; Jongbloet-van Houtte, "Inleiding," xxi.

E. Andries van der Meulen, c. 1549 to 12 January 1611

- *Suzanna Malapert, 12 May 1566 to 17 September 1625*

Andries began his life learning the skills of a merchant by working alongside his older brother Jean in the trade conducted by their mother. After Jean's death in the Spanish Fury, Andries took over his position within the family, traveling between the fairs of Frankfurt and Strasbourg and Antwerp. But greater things were ahead for Andries. The rise in the social position of the Van der Meulen family through their mercantile success can be seen in Andries's appointment to the Commission of Nine in Antwerp on 21 July 1579. This group contained three Catholics, three Calvinists, and three Lutherans with the task of ensuring that the different confessions could be freely practiced in the city. Andries acted as a representative of the Catholics of Antwerp. In all likelihood, Andries had already adopted the Calvinist faith at this time, which served the Calvinist inclined magistracy of Antwerp. An affirmation of Andries's Calvinism, his commitment to rebellion against Spain, and his personal qualities came when he was appointed to the position of *schepen* or alderman in Antwerp at the end of 1581. In his position within the magistracy, Andries often made the case of Antwerp and Brabant before the States General in the difficult period of Farnese's advance through the Low Countries. He also oversaw the provisioning and rationing of foodstuffs during the siege.⁶¹ Andries solidified his place among the mercantile elite of Antwerp by marrying the 17-year-old Suzanna Malapert, the niece of Louis Malapert, in 1583. With their marriage, Suzanne brought a dowry of £5000, more than twice the value of Jan van der Meulen's estate at his death twenty years earlier.⁶²

⁶¹ Prims, "Andries Vermuelen"; Floris Prims, *De Groote Cultuurstrijd*, vol. 2, *De Christelijke Republiek 1581-1585* (Antwerp: N. V. Standaard, 1943).

⁶² Discussion of how to invest Suzanne's capital is found throughout Andries's letters to Daniel in 1584 and 1585. For instance, Andries to Daniel, Antwerp, 7–8 November 1584, DvdM 593a-14 (nr 34).

After the fall of Antwerp, Andries and his young family went into exile in Bremen. Andries lived in Bremen for twenty-two years, leaving in 1607 to live in Utrecht where he would die.⁶³ The contract that he and his younger brother Daniel signed with their two brothers-in-law to create the “Nieuwe Compagnie” enabled Andries and Daniel to trade outside of the company, while all of the mercantile activities of François and Antoine were tied to the company. With this freedom and the extended capital and networks provided by their recent marriages, Andries began to expand his investments beyond Germany alongside his brother, eventually partaking in overland trade between the Low Countries and Italy, as well as maritime trade between the Baltic and Spain and the Mediterranean.⁶⁴ In contrast to his younger brother, Andries tended to be more cautious in both his personal affairs and his trade. Andries sought out stability and a steady profit, always remaining wary of the risks of the grain trade. In spite of these doubts, in 1594, Andries created a company alongside Daniel with his brothers-in-law Nicolas Malapert and Jean Vivien called the “Nieuwe Napelsche Compagnie.” From his position in Bremen, Andries coordinated the correspondence and transportation of goods between Holland and Italy. The company put into longer-lasting form the overland trade to Naples that Andries and Daniel had begun to pursue since at least 1591. The brothers renewed the terms of the company in 1599, but this time without the participation of Jean Vivien.⁶⁵

⁶³ Luuc Kooijmans, *Vriendschap: En de kunst van het overleven in de zeventiende en achttiende eeuw* (Amsterdam: B. Bakker, 1997), 42–48.

⁶⁴ R. Andriessen and H. F. Cohen, “Op zoek naar een stapelmarkt: Onderzoekingen in het archief-Daniël van der Meulen,” in *De handel van Daniel van der Meulen c.s., in het bijzonder rond de jaren 1588-1592: Werkcollege economische geschiedenis*, ed. J. H. Kernkamp (Leiden: Universiteit Leiden, 1969); Jongbloet-van Houtte, “Inleiding,” xlviii–liii.

⁶⁵ Andriessen and Cohen, “Op zoek naar een stapelmarkt”; Jongbloet-van Houtte, “Inleiding,” lii–lv.

F. Sara van der Meulen, c. 1552–1553 to April 1618

- *Antoine Lempereur, 5 June 1552 to September 1615*

Sent to live in Cologne at the age of about ten, Sara only returned to Antwerp with her mother in 1582. Once in Antwerp, she and her younger sister must have helped their mother with the household duties and also likely assisted with the accounting and other mercantile business where possible. At the age of thirty-two, she received a suitor in the person of Antoine Lempereur, the former partner of her brother-in-law, François. Antoine wrote to Sara throughout 1584 and 1585 while Antwerp was under siege.⁶⁶ The delay in Antoine's planned arrival in Antwerp and the breaks in his correspondence made Sara question her feelings for Antoine, but the fall of Antwerp and Sara's extrication to Bremen opened the way for the engagement to finally take place. The two signed a marriage agreement on 13 November 1585. On the same day, Antoine signed the agreement with his soon to be brothers-in-law to form the "Nieuwe Compagnie." Antoine was tasked with the bookkeeping for the firm, and like François, the terms of the agreement dictated that he could not trade outside the bounds of the company.⁶⁷ Sara and Antoine married in February 1586.

Sara and Antoine lived in Cologne when they first married, near François and Anna. Many of the letters that Andries wrote to Sara in 1587 were addressed to both Sara and Anna. The letters show that Sara was a competent bookkeeper in her own regard. Like her older sister, her husband's frequent trips to the fairs in Frankfurt and Strasbourg or to Bremen to meet with Andries and Daniel meant that she was often left in the house alone to take care of business

⁶⁶ Letters of Antoine to Sara, CL 270.

⁶⁷ Contract of the Nieuwe Compagnie, 13 November 1585, DvdM 93.

matters.⁶⁸ Sara and Antoine moved to Bremen in 1592 and then to Utrecht in 1598. Sara and Antoine seem to have encouraged their five boys to pursue academic interests. In 1607, the family moved to Leiden, a year after their oldest son matriculated in the law faculty. Their four younger sons matriculated into the faculty of arts in the following years. Finally, in 1615, Antoine and Sara moved to Amsterdam, where both died.⁶⁹

G. Daniel van der Meulen, 23 October 1554 to 25 July 1600

• *Hester della Faille, c. 1558–1559 to 28 May 1643*

In his early life, Daniel was not destined to live the life of a merchant. Sent to Cologne along with his sister in 1572 at the age of 18, Daniel enrolled in the study of law in a school in either Germany or Switzerland. The death of his eldest brother Jean in 1576, halted Daniel's academic career, as he was called back to work in his mother's trade. Daniel first worked mainly in Cologne, but in 1579 he moved to Antwerp. Andries's entrance into the magistracy paved the road for Daniel's own political career. In March 1583, Daniel became *wijkmeester* of the neighborhood where the Van der Meulens lived, charged with collecting taxes to fund the defense of the city. In the middle of August 1584, Daniel was chosen to act as a representative of Antwerp and the States of Brabant to the States General meeting in Holland.⁷⁰ Daniel's diplomatic mission to push the States General to provide more support for Antwerp failed.

⁶⁸ Letters of Andries to Sara, CL 275.

⁶⁹ Jongbloet-van Houtte, "Inleiding," xxx–xxxii.

⁷⁰ Gisela Jongbloet-van Houtte, "De belegering en de val van Antwerpen belicht vanuit een koopmans archief: Daniel van der Meulen, gedeputeerde van de Staten van Brabant ter Staten Generaal (1584-1585)," *Bijdragen en Mededelingen betreffende de geschiedenis der Nederlanden* 91 (1976): 23–43.

However, his journey to Holland enabled him to marry Hester della Faille, even though it was against the will of her brother Marten.⁷¹

Daniel withdrew to Bremen along with his brother Andries after the fall of Antwerp. Already in 1585, Daniel had begun to take advantage of the networks of Hester's family to invest in long-distance trade. In particular, he invested in ventures with his brother-in-law Jacques, though Andries warned him away from forming a company with Jacques. Daniel was a skilled and ambitious merchant, who pushed his brother to expand their trading activities to Italy and beyond.⁷² Daniel expressed great interest in tales of trade to both the West and East Indies, while he also became involved in Jacques's trade with the Barbary Coast and Western Africa.⁷³ In 1600, the year of Daniel's death, he was assessed at a wealth of £20,000, making him the seventh richest inhabitant of Leiden.⁷⁴ In addition to his mercantile ambitions, Daniel also became a significant political and intellectual figure within the Calvinist community of north-western Europe. As one example, over the course of his life, Daniel amassed an impressive humanist library consisting of about 1,200 books that brought £471.13.10 from its auction.⁷⁵

⁷¹ Jongbloet-van Houtte, "Inleiding," xvii and xxi–xxix.

⁷² J. H. Kernkamp, ed. *De handel van Daniel van der Meulen c.s., in het bijzonder rond de jaren 1588-1592: Werkcollege economische geschiedenis* (Leiden: Universiteit Leiden, 1969).

⁷³ The accounts of Daniel's estate shows that he invested £2,200 in a ship sent to the East Indies by Johan van der Veken and Pieter van der Haegen, both merchants from Antwerp. However, the entire investment was lost. DvdM 69. On Johan van der Veken and Pieter van der Haegen, see Wilfrid Brulez, "De diaspora der Antwerpse kooplui op het einde van de 16de eeuw," *Bijdragen voor de geschiedenis der Nederlanden* 15 (1960): 279–306; J. H. Kernkamp, *Johan van der Veken en zijn tijd* (The Hague: M. Nijhoff, 1952).

⁷⁴ R. C. J. van Maanen, "De vermogensopbouw van de Leidse bevolking in het laatste kwart van de zestiende eeuw," *Bijdragen en Mededelingen betreffende de geschiedenis der Nederlanden* 93 (1978): 1–42; J. H. Kernkamp, "Het Van der Meulen-archief ca.," *Bijdragen en Mededelingen betreffende de geschiedenis der Nederlanden* 85 (1970): 49–62; Annie J. Versprille, "De geschiedenis van het huis van Daniël van der Meulen (Rapenburg 19)," *Oud Leiden* 35 (1943): 158–169.

⁷⁵ Copies of the auction catalogue can be found in DvdM 68 and AvdM 38-1. The proceeds were noted down in the books of the estate, DvdM 69. J. H. Kernkamp, "De bibliotheek van den koopman Daniel van der Meulen onder den Hamer," in *Opstellen bij zijn afscheid van de bibliotheek der Rijksuniversiteit te Utrecht op 31 mei 1940, aangeboden aan G.A. Evers*, ed. A. Hulshof (Utrecht: Oosthoek, 1944).

H. Maria van der Meulen, c. 1556 to 9 November 1584

Jan and Elizabeth's youngest child would have only been about seven at the time of her father's death. She died on 9 November 1584 unmarried. She was sick even before Daniel left Antwerp in August. Andries reported that she "died in a Christian manner, with great constancy and firm trust in the Lord."⁷⁶ Maria must have developed a close relationship with her sister Sara. In the testament that Maria made 5 August 1584, she gave her sister a gift of £500, all of the rest of her capital was to remain in the possession of her mother.⁷⁷

⁷⁶ Andries to Daniel, Antwerp, 9–10 November 1584, DvdM 593a-15 (36): "seer Christelijck ende met groote constantie ende vast vertrouwen inden Heere ontslapen."

⁷⁷ Testament of Elizabeth, DvdM 66a (49).

Appendix B

Timeline of the Estate of Jan della Faille de Oude, 1562–1617

Note on Dates

The events analyzed in this dissertation took place in the midst of the change from the Julian Calendar to the Gregorian Calendar. The Gregorian Calendar was declared in February of 1582 and implemented on 4 October 1582. In order to realign the calendar with the seasons, ten days were added. Thus, the day after 4 October was 15 October. However, adoption of the calendar proceeded in a piecemeal fashion in Europe. The Low Countries adopted the calendar in 1582, but many regions of the Holy Roman Empire, including Bremen, remained on the Julian Calendar. England not only continued with the Julian Calendar, but also marked the new year on 25 March.

Contemporary letter writers adapted by noting the calendar system they used to date their letters. They denoted “*nieuwe styl*” for the Gregorian calendar and “*oude styl*” or “*stilo veteri*” for the Julian calendar. Letters from England were designated with “*style Anglie*.”¹ The ten day differences in the calendars meant that a letter from Haarlem, dated in the new style, might arrive in Bremen, which was still on the old calendar, before the date on which it was sent. For instance, Jacques wrote from Haarlem on 21 August 1590 new style to Daniel, who received the letter in Bremen on 17 August 1590 old style. In this instance, Daniel did not even bother labelling the two different calendars. It was self-evident.²

¹ Documents from Antwerp before the change to the Gregorian calendar and the move to beginning the new year on 1 January distinguished between Brabant style (new year on 25 March) and Roman style (new year on 1 January).

² Jacques to Daniel, Haarlem, Daniël van der Meulen en Hester de la Faille, zijn vrouw, 1550–1648, inventory 538a-139, Erfgoed Leiden en Omstreken, Leiden, The Netherlands.

Throughout the dissertation, all dates after October 1582 use the Gregorian Calendar, translating dates from the Julian to the Gregorian Calendar where necessary. The dates before October 1582 use the Julian Calendar. The year is calculated to begin on 1 January throughout. Instances where the dating used by the document is ambiguous occur, but I have attempted to determine the correct date following the above system. Beyond the calendar system, the documents in the archives of the Van der Meulen and Della Faille families do not always have clear dates, making precision difficult at times. With these caveats, a timeline of the estate of Jan de Oude is presented below as a reference for the disputes that took place over the capital left by Jan de Oude.

1. Before the Death of Jan de Oude, 1562–1582

- 13 June 1562: Estimation of wealth of Jan de Oude and Cornelia van der Capellen to be £30,600
- 15 August 1566: Death of Cornelia van der Capellen, her nine children become equal heirs to half of her estate
- 31 December 1569: Evaluation of the estate of Cornelia van der Capellen, estate determined to be £39,600, with half to be divided among nine heirs and the other half to go to Jan de Oude
- 30 December 1578: Balance of Jan de Oude's capital

2. Death of Jan de Oude, 8 November 1582–26 December 1583

- 8 November 1582: Death of Jan de Oude
- 27 November 1582: Death of Cornelia della Faille
- 31 January 1583: Division of household goods of Cornelia, auction of goods, and agreement to get state and inventory from branches of Jan de Oude's trade
- March 1583: Marten, Jacques, Hester, and Steven travel to London to deal with estate in England

- 23 May and 4 June 1583: Agreement to make a balance and inventory of the estate in London
- 26 September 1583: Marten creates company with Jan de Wale, Jan Borne, and Thomas Coteels
- 28 September 1583: Jan and Jacques make 37 grievances against Marten in London
- 26 December 1583: Agreement of maternal and paternal capital from 31 December 1578, becomes the date used to make the first state of the capital left by Jan de Oude

3. Troubles during the Siege of Antwerp, 1584–17 August 1585

- 13 March 1584: Carlo makes supplication before the magistrates of Antwerp
- 19 March 1584: Agreement to arbitration between Carlo and the executors before Engelbert Masius
- 1 May 1584: Jacques and Hester leave Antwerp to go to Haarlem
- 27 October 1584: Declaration of the magistrates of Antwerp that the executors must make a state and inventory of Jan de Oude's estate and provide all heirs with copies
- 9 November 1584: Jan leaves Antwerp for Leiden
- 24 December 1584: Marriage of Daniel and Hester
- 15 March 1585: Lawsuit by Carlo against the executors
- 11 July 1585: Lawsuit by Carlo against the executors
- 19 July 1585: Lawsuit by Daniel against the executors in Delft and response of Jacques
- 19 July 1585: Lawsuit by Daniel against Jan in Leiden and Jan's response
- 20 July 1585: Lawsuit by Carlo against Jacques in Haarlem

4. Arbitration in Antwerp and Trouble in London, September 1585–March 1587

- September 1585–February 1586: Jan arrested by Hohenlohe when trying to travel to Antwerp to deal with the estate

- 21 September 1585: Lawsuit by Daniel against Jan to prevent him from going to Antwerp
- 16 April 1586: Jan makes a lawsuit against Jacques to get him to travel to Antwerp
- 26 April 1586: Jan travels to Antwerp
- 30 May 1586: Lawsuit of Jan against Marten in Antwerp
- 11 June 1586: Balance of the estate made by the notary Jan Dries
- August 1586: Jacques and Daniel travel to London to deal with the estate in England
- 26 August 1586: Agreement between Jan and Marten to enter into arbitration
- 2-8 October 1586: Declaration of the arbitrators in Antwerp to have state and inventory made by Hendrick van Uffelen
- 30 October 1586: Creation of the inventory of the estate in London by Wouter Aertsen and Thomas Coteels
- 16 December 1586: Jacques steals the cashbox and books from the house of Thomas Coteels
- 26 December 1586: Accord to the inventory of the estate in London and its division between Jacques, Marten, and Peeter Samyn
- 29 December 1586: Lawsuit by Marten against Jacques for stealing the cashbox of the estate from Thomas Coteels
- January 1587: Twenty-four articles by Jacques against the accounting and administration of Thomas Coteels
- Early 1587: Carlo against Jacques before the Hof van Holland
- 13 February 1587: Carlo against Jan and Jacques before the Hof van Holland
- 25 February and 12 March 1587: Declaration of arbitrators in London between Jacques on one side and Wouter Aertsen and Thomas Coteels on the other
- 18 March 1587: Defense of Coteels against Jacques's Twenty-four articles

5. Lawsuits Continue, 1587–1589

- 4 May 1587: Carlo against Jan and Jacques before the Hof van Holland

- 9 December 1587: Lawsuit of Carlo against Jacques about Jacques's administration of the estate in London
- 24 December 1587: Answer by Jacques to Carlo's lawsuit
- 12 April 1588: Accord between heirs in Holland about estate in London
- August 1588: Marten captured by brigands while traveling to Brussels
- 3 October 1588: Arbitrators in Antwerp ask for a update on the creation of the state and inventory
- 17 March 1589: Lawsuit of Daniel against the executors of the testament
- 30 May 1589: Answer of Marten to the lawsuit of Daniel
- 18 July 1589: Request by Marten and Robert to keep sons of Maria and Louis in Antwerp
- 20 March 1589: Lawsuit of Daniel against Jan and Jacques in Bremen

6. Balance in London and the State of Hendrick van Uffelen, 1591–1594

- 2 February 1591: Robert van Eeckeren and Daniel agree to pay Van Uffelen for the creation of the state
- 30 July 1591: Balance of the Branch of London
- 9 March 1592: Letter from Thomas Coteels and Wouter Aertsen to the executors about the division of the capital in London
- 26 March 1593: Hendrick van Uffelen completes the state and sends copies to the heirs
- 5 August 1594: Daniel's response to a lawsuit by Jan in which he argues that Jan has been negligent

7. Daniel and Hester Agree to Inheritance with Marten, 1594

- 14 October 1594: Daniel and Hester agree with Marren that Hester has received all of her inheritance
- 31 December 1594: 31 December 1594: Balance of the books of the estate

8. Lawsuits of Carlo in Brabant, 1595–1609

- 16 October 1595: Carlo's lawsuit against Jacques for books of estate
- 2 January 1596: Lawsuit of Carlo against Marten before the Raad van Brabant
- 10 January 1596: Lawsuit of Carlo against Marten before wethouderen of Antwerp
- 22 June 1596: Declaration of magistrates to make the state and inventory
- 29 June 1596: Marten gives Jan Nicolay the Grootboek and journal number 9
- 1 July 1596: Nicolay begins to make the inventory and Marten makes a lawsuit against this, stating that it is against the testament. However, Carlo is not present so the making of the inventory is delayed.
- 4 November 1596: In the presence of Carlo and Marten's son Jan Nicolay begins to work again on the inventory
- 12 November 1596: Nicolay continues to work on the inventory, now in the presence of Marten and Carlo
- 13 November 1596: Nicolay continues to work on the inventory in the presence of Marten and Carlo
- 18 November 1596: Jan Nicolay finishes inventory and Marten takes an oath that all of the documents concerning the estate are listed in the inventory
- 16 March 1598: Marten hands over to the magistrates of Antwerp the state of 1594
- 18 July 1598: Nicolay produces the state of 1583 and the summary state of the estate from 1582 to 1594
- 22 April 1600: Oath of Carlo not to make any more lawsuits against Marten in Brabant
- 1 October 1609: Lawsuit of Carlo to get testament of Jan de Oude and his second wife, Cecile Grammaye, declared void

9. Final Arbitration in Antwerp, 5 January 1615–13 September 1617

- 5 January 1615: Jan and Jacques with Carlo against Marten
- 16 March 1615 to 13 September 1617: Arbitration between Jan, Jacques, Carlo and Marten

- 24 October 1615: Death of Jacques
- 24 November 1615: Agreement signed by heirs of Jacques
- 13 June 1617: Death of Carlo
- 13 September 1617: Judgment of the arbitrators in Antwerp

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