Masters of war: state, capital, and military enterprise in the Dutch cycle of accumulation (1600-1795)

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Masters of War
State, capital, and military enterprise in the Dutch cycle of accumulation (1600-1795)

ACADEMISCH PROEFSCHRIFT
ter verkrijging van de graad van doctor
aan de Universiteit van Amsterdam
op gezag van de Rector Magnificus
prof. dr. D.C. van den Boom
ten overstaan van een door het college voor promoties ingestelde
commissie, in het openbaar te verdedigen in de Agnietenkapel
op woensdag 16 januari 2013, te 14:00 uur
door Pepijn Brandon
egeboren te Amsterdam
Promotores: Prof. dr. L. Noordegraaf
Prof. dr. M.M. van der Linden
Copromotor: Dr. M.C. ’t Hart
Faculteit der Geesteswetenschappen
For my great-grandfather
Herman (Hersch) Ohringer (1899-1995)

a lifelong courageous fighter
who refused to go into the trenches
for someone else’s war
**Illustrations cover**

*Background (fragment, continued on backpage)*

De schepen De Vrijheid en De Hazewind, Reinier Nooms, 1652, etching
13.6 cm x 24.9 cm

*Portraits (from left to right):*

Cornelis van Aerssen (1600-1662), colonel for the cavalry, estimated wealth f 960,000. Portrait: Adriaen Hanneman, 1658, oil paint, 124 cm x 99 cm

Rycklof van Goens de Jonge (1619-1682), governor-general of the VOC in Asia, estimated wealth f 500,000. Portrait: Martin Palin, 1680, oil paint on wood, 98 cm x 79 cm

Jacob Pergens (†1681), merchant and WIC director, brother-in-law of banker Guillelmo Bartolotti, estimated wealth f 260,000. Portrait: Salomon Mesdach, 1619, oil paint on wood, 94.7 cm x 69.1 cm

Henrick Hooft (1617-1678), merchant, Amsterdam burgomaster and admiralty councilor, estimated wealth f 440,000. Portrait: Michiel Jansz van Mierevelt, 1640, oil paint, 69.7 cm x 60 cm

Johan Maurits van Nassau-Siegen (1604-1679), field marshal of the States army, governor of Dutch Brazil, estimated wealth f 1,000,000. Portrait: Michiel van Musscher, 1670, oil paint on copper, 16.5 cm x 14 cm

Johan de Witt (1625-1672), grand pensionary of Holland, estimated wealth f 450,000. Portrait: Caspar Netscher, 1660, oil paint, 32.5 cm x 29 cm

Michiel Adriaenszoon de Ruyter (1607-1676), lieutenant-admiral of the Dutch fleet, estimated wealth f 350,000. Portrait: Ferdinand Bol, 1667, oil paint, 157 cm x 138 cm

Jacobus Trip (1627-1670), arms trader, until 1651 owner of a f 205,000 share in the Trip company. Portrait: Bartholomeus van der Helst, 1647, oil paint, 110 cm x 95 cm

All illustrations: Collectie Rijksmuseum. Figures on wealth: Kees Zandvliet, *De 250 rijksten van de Gouden Eeuw* (Amsterdam 2006)
‘In ’t midden van den twist, en ’t woeden nimmer moê,
Verheft uw stad haar kroon tot aan den hemel toe,
En gaat door vuur en ijs eene andre wereld vinden,
En dondert met geschut op alle vier de winden.’

(‘In the midst of all strive, never tired of raging,
Your city [Amsterdam] heaves its crown unto the very heavens,
And goes through fire and ice to find another world,
Guns thundering in all four directions of the wind.’)

Joost van den Vondel, Gijsbrecht van Aemstel (1637) Act 5.8

‘Then every thing includes itself in power,
Power into will, will into appetite,
And appetite (an universal wolf,
So doubly seconded with will, and power)
Must make perforce and universal prey,
And last, eat up himself.’

William Shakespeare, Troylus and Cressida (1609) Act 1.3

‘And I hope that you die and your death’ll come soon
I will follow your casket in the pale afternoon
And I’ll watch while you’re lowered down to your deathbed
And I’ll stand o’er your grave ’til I’m sure that you’re dead.’

Bob Dylan, Masters of War (1963)