The emergence of an administrative apparatus in the Dutch towns of Haarlem and Leiden during the late medieval and early modern periods, circa 1430-1570

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Introduction

Adam Smith acknowledged that, at a certain point, the invisible hand of the market fails to bring together the interests of the egocentric individual and the good of society as a whole. Therefore, he writes in his *magnum opus*:

The (...) duty of the sovereign or commonwealth is that of erecting and maintaining those public institutions and those public works, which, though they may be in the highest degree advantageous to a great society, are, however, of such a nature, that the profit could never repay the expense to any individual or small number of individuals, and which it therefore cannot be expected that any individual or small number of individuals should erect or maintain.

In this passage, Smith offers a pragmatic answer to the classic sociological problem of how cooperation evolves and is maintained with regard to the provision of public goods. The social dilemmas of individuals who enjoy public goods without paying a due share of the expenses is averted by a coercive central authority that could either enforce cooperation or provide these goods itself through taxation and redistribution. This became the predominant solution in the modern world according to Abram de Swaan, who observed that ‘the [care] arrangements were increasingly carried by the state or some public body, thus providing them with the authority necessary to exact compliance and the bureaucratic apparatus needed for their implementation.’

The provision of public services might have been deemed the duty of the ‘sovereign’ or ‘commonwealth’ in the eighteenth century, but this was less obvious in the medieval and early modern periods, when authorities bore fewer responsibilities in this respect. At the central level, governments were mainly occupied with creating external and internal security. Meanwhile, in the cities, public services were not exclusively supplied by the municipal government, but also by several civic institutions such as craft guilds, religious and private care organizations, fraternities, neighbourhoods and militias. However, as historians have pointed out, the position of the urban authorities in this matter altered significantly across Europe during the late medieval and early modern periods. This change meant that the town council eventually emerged as the most important provider of public services and, in the course of this process, gained control over the other religious and secular suppliers.

This general pattern of an increasing role of the town council in the provision of public services has been demonstrated in detail by Caroline Barron for the case of London. The tasks and responsibilities of the London magistracy grew steadily in the later Middle Ages, providing administration, infrastructure and welfare services, while dealing with the demands of king and citizenry. Simultaneously, the structure of the municipal government became more formalized and an administrative bureaucracy developed. Some responsibilities were shared with the church, secular charitable institutions or craft guilds, and this required an effective system of coordination. The magistracy and civic institutions together shaped the public space, while the former emerged as being responsible for a general oversight, as well as for the drawing up and implementation of regulation. The interesting point of this study is its integral approach, as what may be called internal (e.g. the local balance of power, the socio-economic structure, the role of civic and religious institutions) and external (e.g. the emergence of a central state, economic and demographic developments, the relation between town and countryside) factors are taken into account to explain the role that the town council played in the provision of public services.

It must be stressed that the emergence of the town council as dominant provider of public services in late medieval and early modern Europe was not predetermined. In fact, the formation of municipal governments was for a major part the result of their role as coordinating agencies in the provision of public goods. The specific outcome of this ‘path-dependent’ process varied as it was determined by local conditions. Our understanding of this development is, however, still fragmentary and requires more empirical research and theoretical refinement. In this article, I shall confine myself to just one aspect of the provision of public services in the late medieval and early modern periods. The emergence of an administrative apparatus of government in the towns of Haarlem and Leiden will be analyzed in order to

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1 Smith, *Wealth of nations*, 916.
3 De Swaan, *Care of the state*, 7.
better understand the participation of the town councils in the provision of public services in the county of Holland. As such, this empirical case study may prove useful for future comparative studies on the organization of public services.

The analysis of the emerging administrative apparatus in Haarlem and Leiden takes three steps. First, the size of the apparatus and tasks of its members—the functionaries who supported the burgomasters and aldermen in their duties—will be mapped. This reveals the pace and extent to which the apparatus developed and answers the question in which fields the town council deemed it necessary to appoint auxiliary personnel. Second, the functioning of the personnel and the organization of the administrative apparatus will be assessed in order to answer the question whether the growth of the number of functionaries went hand in hand with qualitative changes. A set of criteria derived from Weber’s characteristics of a bureaucratic organization, as accounted for below, will be used to determine the degree of professionalization among the functionaries and of specialization within the administrative apparatus respectively.

Finally, the conclusions about the development of the municipal administrative apparatus in Haarlem and Leiden will be placed within the broader historical framework to explain why it evolved in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries and which factors determined its specific organization. In particular, the process of state formation, socio-economic conditions and demographic developments will be taken into account, as well as the policies of the town council and the position of other suppliers of public services in the town. The relative weight of these factors will be discussed, along with the question of how they relate to the processes of professionalization and specialization. The main argument I shall put forward in this respect is that the evolution of the administrative apparatus in Haarlem and Leiden indicated a growing involvement of the town council in the provision of public services and, moreover, that its emergence must be considered as intrinsic to the expansion of the authority and power of the town council, which subsequently ensured its stability and continuity.

**Haarlem and Leiden in the Burgundian-Habsburg Period**

Haarlem and Leiden were among the oldest and most important towns of the medieval county of Holland, initially surpassed by Dordrecht in political and economic power, and subsequently by Amsterdam in the sixteenth century. The evolution of the administrative apparatus in the cases presented may thus in general be considered as representative for the other major towns of Holland. The two towns were comparable in size and socio-political structure, although minor differences regarding their respective financial position, administrative organization

8 Blockmanns and Prevenier, Promised lands, 88-95, 116-35, 232-34; Vaughan, Philip the Good, 35-51; Van Rompaey, Beste Boud; Damen, Staet van dienst; Ter Brakte, Booth en rekenschap.
9 Tracy, Holland under Habsburg rule; Kokken, Seden en Staten; Ward, Cities and states; Koopmans, Staten van Holland.
two decades of the fifteenth and the beginning of the sixteenth centuries, which
were marked by war, social and political instability, and a growing tax burden.

Haarlem and Leiden were governed by a magistracy consisting of a sheriff, four
burgomasters and seven and eight aldermen respectively. The sheriff was appointed
by the count, or the office was leased out by him. As local representative of the
count, the sheriff bore responsibility for the maintenance of public order and the
administration of law. In the latter he was assisted by the aldermen who acted as
judges as well as notaries public. The burgomasters were in charge of the town
administration, maintaining external contacts, controlling the finances, looking after
public works and supervising the orphan relief, among other things. It was not
until the middle of the fifteenth century that the procedure of appointment of
magistrates was regulated between the count and the towns. Haarlem and Leiden
obtained a privilege from the count to form a council that nominated pairs of can-
didates annually, while the final appointment was concluded by the count or his
representative. All magistrates were selected this way, with the exception of the Leiden
burgomasters who were elected by the town council. Both towns lost this privilege
in 1497, and from that year the burgomasters and aldermen were appointed directly
by the count or his officers, and only Leiden regained its privilege in 1510. Even
though there was a constant turnover of elected magistrates, they all originated
from a few powerful and rich families, known collectively as the Rijkdom (literally:
'the wealthy') of the town. The continuity in the policies of the magistracy was fur-
thermore ensured by the town council (vroudwapen), which enjoyed an advisory, a
supervising and decision-making role in important matters. All former magistrates
were initially a member of this council, but during the sixteenth century member-
ship was restricted to former burgomasters.

The Administrative Apparatus

The count of Holland granted the towns of Haarlem and Leiden privileges in the
thirteenth century, thereby entrusting to the magistrates the provision of security
and public order, the administration of justice and the management of the towns' finances. In the late medieval period their tasks gradually expanded to include
the areas of trade and traffic, public works, health and societal care and education.
Already during the fourteenth century the town council appointed personnel on an ad
hoc basis to support the burgomasters and aldermen, as these were the honorary
political functions, in specialist or time-consuming matters. Their number rose

12 Marsijl. 'Politieke ontwikkelingen', 19-45; Tremoth, 'Haarlem', 188-195; Marsijl, 'Bestuur en
rechtsevrecht', 50-95; Brand, Maats en overweg, 40-47; Lamant, Men in gouvernt, 80-95.
13 Marsijl. 'Haarlemse vreeschap', 72-82; Zuiderdijl, 'Secrete vreeschap', 207-225.
14 Coix. Repertorium van de stadstechten. 21, 122, 156.

steadily and the appointments became more structural and formalized. The rudimen-
tary structure of an administrative apparatus becomes visible in the sources
for Haarlem and Leiden just before the middle of the fifteenth century; its organi-
zation was refined and expanded in the course of the following century. The
quantitative aspects of this evolution will first be sketched in detail, before discuss-
ing the qualitative characteristics of the apparatus.

The late medieval municipal functionary was far from Max Weber's ideal bureau-
cratic civil servant, who was appointed for a fixed term on account of proficiency,
received a regular salary, functioned within a strict hierarchy, and was subject to a
uniform system of control. This is not to say that the town personnel lacked all
these features, but they acted in a period of transition from a patrimonial to a more
bureaucratic administration, in which offices were regarded as a property to some
extent. However, in contrast to their counterparts at the state level, the town offi-
cials and personnel were appointed by a public body and subject to the direct con-
rol of the magistracy. Instead of dwelling on the definition of these functionaries, a
source-oriented approach will be adopted here. All public functionaries in Haarlem
and Leiden who drew a fixed salary or received clothing annually from the treasur-
ers are reckoned as belonging to the administrative apparatus. This means that
honorary political and citizen functionaries elected or appointed by the town coun-
cil are excluded from the analysis, such as the burgomasters, treasurers, sextons,
churchwardens and district wardens.

For analytical purposes, the members of the administrative apparatus are classi-
ified into three sectors: administrative officials and personnel, auxiliary personnel
and workmen for public works, lower administrative tasks and public order, and
thirdly, medical and teaching personnel. The number and almost all the names of
these functionaries can be derived from the town accounts, where the payments
for salaries and clothing are recorded. The number of personnel in Haarlem and
Leiden doubled between 1450 and 1570 (Diagrams 1 and 2), but the real increase only
commenced at the beginning of the sixteenth century. This is explained by the
fact that more personnel with the same function were appointed, but more impor-
tantly, the number of offices grew at the same time. Haarlem had 11 paid offices in
1450 against 26 in 1570, while in Leiden this number increased from 13 in 1433 to 23 in
1570. Some differences between the two towns can be explained by local or accidental
circumstances, but the way the personnel were paid was also a factor. For instance,
Leiden employed fewer officials than Haarlem in the administrative sector and more
personnel for public works and public order, according to the diagrams. This is
explained by the fact that the town secretary of Leiden recruited and paid his own

16 Weber, Grundriss der Sozialökonomik, 126-127, 327-355, 596-597, 695; De Ridder-Symoens, 'Jan van
Rompays', 337-339.
17 This insightful distinction is made by: Raadscheiders, Administrative history, 139-141.
18 The diagrams are based on: Van Steenel, 'Het personeel', 241-246.
The origins of the functions and the tasks involved varied per domain of the administrative apparatus. One of the first salaried officials to be found in the accounts of the medieval towns was a clerk, who took care of the growing paperwork and assisted the members of the magistracy during official journeys. The secretarial duties expanded rapidly and several more (assistant) clerks were appointed in Haarlem and Leiden during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Some of them held specific tasks; for instance, the office was formally split in Leiden in 1497, when Ambrosius Colen was appointed as clerk of the treasury to aid the treasurers in complex financial matters. He worked beside the town secretary, Jan Filipsz, who supported the magistrates. A similar process of specialization was laid down in an ordinance by the town council of Haarlem in 1502, which stipulated that one secretary would aid the burgomasters and treasurers another would assist the wardens of orphans, while the remaining two clerks of justice would work for the aldermen.

Within the context of the emergence of new state institutions, the towns also required a representative and legal advisor with an academic degree. In the third quarter of the fifteenth century both Haarlem and Leiden employed a pensionary, who was sent as envoy to the various Burgundian state institutions and attended the assemblies of the States of Holland. The town pensionaries, who were present at the meetings of the town council, became influential councilors in legal and political matters of growing complexity, and to some extent relieved the burgomasters of the burden of travelling around the country. The pensionaries and secretaries in Haarlem and Leiden were never allowed to take decisions regarding their duties by themselves, though. The towns also felt the need for putting solicitors and lawyers attached to the Council of Holland and the Great Council in Mechelen on their payroll. These jurists would normally look after the interests of several towns simultaneously. Finally, the towns appointed messengers, the busknagers (‘tin carriers’), who travelled throughout the country carrying official messages, while the roadknagers (‘rod carriers’) were involved in the execution of law.

The auxiliary personnel and workmen classified under the sector of public works and public order comprised a mixed bunch. Some of them took over specific tasks from the burgomasters, monitoring urban infrastructure and environment; for example, there were the personnel who were in charge of the defence fortifications and water management system. Others exercised supervisory duties, as those who checked the quality of the produced cloth or imported grain did. They were

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often supported by workmen, such as road workers, street cleaners, water-gate-keepers (boomschutters), and the caretaker of the town hall. Several craftsmen were designated by the magistrates to carry out maintenance work for the town. The artillery master and the clock mechanic were among the more skilled employees compared to, say, the locksmith and the producer of fire buckets. Several guards, led by a captain, held permanent appointments. Haarlem decided to appoint two full-time night-watchmen in 1555, because the citizens were careless in fulfilling their civic duties, ‘sitting by the fire in the town hall rather than going through the streets’. A watchman, with the task of ringing the bells hourly and sounding the fire alarm if needed, stood guard in the tower of the church or town hall every night. The security measures soon absorbed a major part of the town’s fixed spending on public order. The watchmen were generally also employed as town musicians, playing the trumpet or shawn (schalmei) on days of religious or secular celebrations. These musicians played in the open air, for example on the stairs of the town hall in Haarlem, but the magistracy also paid an organ player for the services of worship in the church.24

The third domain to which the town council deemed it necessary to assign personnel was that of health care and education. Haarlem and Leiden already had surgeons on their payroll in 1410, and in the second half of the fifteenth century they were joined by professional midwives and academically trained doctors. The towns did this in order to improve the medical care of the citizens, and the paid medical personnel were instructed to treat the poor residents for free.25 Finally, both towns awarded the headmaster (rektor) of the Latin school a salary in the first decade of the sixteenth century. The school was considered as the cornerstone of the town by the members of the town council of Leiden, where the youth developed the intellectual skills and virtues necessary to govern the town.26 However, the Latin schools required financial support, as they experienced growing competition from private schools where pupils were trained with a career as merchant or craftsman in view.

Professionalization and Specialization

With the benefit of hindsight, it would certainly be possible to trace the medieval origins of the present-day bureaucracy and welfare system, but obviously the late medieval and early modern administrative apparatus was a far cry from the modern bureaucratic civil service. Moreover, the outcome of the process of bureaucratization and rationalization of administrative organizations was not predetermined or primarily designed, but rather the result of a gradual development shaped by local circumstances and changing institutional contexts.27 The expansion of the administrative apparatus in Haarlem and Leiden also proceeded step by step, as new functions emerged and some (temporarily) disappeared again. Nevertheless, there was a clear trend of growth in size and scope, especially in the sixteenth century. But to what extent did this quantitative change go together with processes of professionalization among the functionaries and of specialization within the administrative apparatus?

Within the scope of this article, I do not intend to measure the level of bureaucratization of the administrative system as a whole, apart from the question of whether such an exercise would be meaningful. However, Weber’s patrimonial and bureaucratic ideal-types of authority and his formal characteristics of the functioning and the functionaries of a bureaucratic organization prove useful instruments for the analysis of the functionaries and the functioning of the administrative apparatus of Haarlem and Leiden.28 I have selected the most important and applicable of these characteristics to typify the scale of professionalization and specialization.29

First, the degree of professionalization among the functionaries will be determined by discussing the recruitment of personnel and appointment according to contractual agreement, the requirement of education or training, the payment of a salary, and the chances of pursuing a career. The next question is whether the administrative apparatus was subject to a process of specialization, that is, a tendency towards a functional differentiation of tasks, a more hierarchical organization and a stricter monitoring of the functionaries by the magistracy.

The magistrates of Haarlem and Leiden recruited their personnel via different paths depending on the office that was vacant. It proved most difficult for them to find suitable academically trained officials and skilled craftsmen who would agree on the town’s terms. The pensionaries were usually sought among the lawyers attached to the Council of Holland or the secretaries working for the town. Like their counterparts in other towns in the Low Countries, they were required to have knowledge of law and, perhaps more importantly, some experience with the state institutions. The appointment of pensionaries was discussed at the town coun-


27 For a critical revision of Weber’s formal contrast between patrimonial and bureaucratic administration, see: Rudolf and Hooft Rudolph, ‘Authority and power’, 195-227; and see for an alternative viewpoint: Bourdieu, ‘Rethinking the state’, 1-5, 10-12.


29 Cf. for a more elaborate discussion on the application of Weber’s criteria and their application to the case of early modern Holland: Van Nederweert Meerkerk, ‘Professionalisation’.
cil and appears to have been a fairly open procedure with in some cases several contending candidates, of whom some submitted letters of recommendation to prove their capability. The formal duties and rights of the pensionaries were laid down in a contract, which was entered for a fixed term after a short trial period. Both towns also made considerable efforts to attract medical professionals, school teachers, and skilled craftsmen, of whom there was a relative shortage in Holland. For example, the first paid midwife of Leiden, Margaretha Mechels, originated from Antwerp, and in 1475 the burgomasters of Leiden travelled to Louvain in search of school teachers. Most of the personnel, however, were recruited from native citizens. The appointment of messengers and auxiliary personnel was normally decided on by the burgomasters, though little information about the procedures is found in the sources. Patronage and kinship ties may have played a role in the appointments, but there is no evidence of nepotism or the selling of offices. The few contracts preserved indicate that instructions and arrangements between the magistracy and the personnel were written down. The fixed-term contracts were normally extended or renewed by the town council if they functioned properly, and only the town secretary of Leiden was appointed for life.

The requirements for education and training also varied according to the tasks of the personnel. Only a few of them held an academic degree. For instance, some of the town secretaries held the title of magister artium. A degree was required for other offices, such as that of pensionary, physician and rector of the Latin school. All 25 pensionaries appointed in Haarlem and Leiden until 1570 held an academic degree, with the exception of Baynaert Say and Jan van Dompelaar, who served for relatively short terms. Thirteen of the pensionaries held a doctor’s or licentiate’s degree in civil and sometimes canon law, while the remaining ten held the title of magister. With a few exceptions, all the physicians were doctors of medicine, while the rectors and school teachers bore the title of magister. Some of the personnel were highly skilled craftsmen, such as the master of the artillery, the clock mechanic and the musicians, who were recruited elsewhere if no suitable candidate could be found among the citizens. There were no formal requirements for the remaining officials and personnel. They acquired the necessary training and instructions after being appointed. For instance, most of the town clerks started as juniors at the escribior after completing the Latin school and gradually gained more knowledge and experience. It was not unusual for sons to succeed their fathers in their position, although the functions were not patronialized, as approval of the town council was always required. The sons were already acquainted with the tasks and had the relevant know-how, bringing continuity to the apparatus of the town.


A difficulty regarding the remuneration of the personnel is that except for the fixed salaries little is known about the importance of the emoluments and extraordinary income resulting from the functions. It must, however, be stressed that only a small proportion of the members of the administrative apparatus could make a living from the real income from their services for the town. They exercised their tasks as a sideline activity, alongside their professional occupation. All the officials and personnel received an annual fixed salary in combination with clothing if they carried out representative duties, while some of them were given clothing only. The level of the fixed salaries corresponded with the responsibilities and workload of the officials, the requirement of training and skills, the social standing of the profession, and the possibilities for having additional sources of income. The town council was cautious with pay-increases, but was also fully aware of the fact that the loyalty of the officials depended on a proper payment. Therefore, salaries and other payments were raised if officials performed well or if other revenues dropped. The payment of the pensionary, certainly in the sixteenth century, was comparable to that of the officials of the Council of Holland. The salaries of the town secretaries and rector, but also, for instance, the watchmen and musicians, did not differ much from the annual income of a master. However, most of the personnel received a low and merely symbolic fixed payment in recognition of their position. Their real earnings came from the services they performed, being paid by the day or per assignment by the magistracy or other customers, and from other possible occupations they held. The senior town officials also benefited from (travel) allowances and other benefits, such as exemption from the beer excise and small gifts (of money) on special occasions for the personnel who directly supported the magistrates in their duties.

The requirement of education and training for a proportion of the personnel raises the question of whether it was possible for functionaries to pursue a career. Could they enhance their position within the hierarchy of the administrative apparatus or switch to other employers? Again the answer varies, and it depends on the type of tasks and responsibilities involved. The prospect of a career was clearest for the pensionaries and secretaries, who could climb up the hierarchy or obtain better positions. For instance, some of the pensionaries used the office as a stepping-stone to a professional career as an official in the service of the prince or the States of Holland, while others had worked their way up within the urban administrative apparatus from the position of junior clerk at the secretariat to the office of pensionary as the crowning glory of their career. Mr. Lambrecht Jacobz followed the latter path, serving Haarlem for 45 years as junior clerk, secretary and pensionary, and was finally elected as alderman and burgomaster after his resignation as pensionary in 1560. Only very few functionaries were elected as magistrates after com-

33 Van Steenw. ‘Het personeel’, 204. 34 Ibidem, 205-206; Marijke, Financiële breuken, 123, 289.
pleting their career, though, and this confirms a distinction in economic and social status between the governing elite and the paid functionaries.

Mobility existed among the trained officials and skilled personnel, given the shortage of medical professionals, school teachers and craftsmen in Holland. They were recruited from as far away as Flanders and Groningen and could make extra demands during contract negotiations. Some competition also occurred among the towns in Holland. For example, midwife Maria van der Putte used a competing offer from Amsterdam to lend weight to her demand for a pay-rise from the town council of Haarlem in 1523. Mobility existed among the trained personnel who pursued a professional career, but the situation was quite different for the auxiliary personnel and workmen. The tasks of the latter did not require specific knowledge or technical skills and were normally performed as a sideline activity. The turnover of auxiliary personnel and workmen was high at times, although appointments also lasted several decades. Some of them, however, succeeded in moving from one position to the other or accumulating them. Alijn van Leeuwarden, for instance, served Haarlem at the same time as caretaker of the city hall and as captain of the guards between 1555 and 1600.7

In sum, a high and growing degree of professionalization was found only among the highly trained and skilled personnel. As for the functioning of the administrative apparatus as a whole, a process of specialization can also be ascertained. The expansion of the administrative apparatus was not only a matter of the creation of new functions, but also of a functional differentiation of tasks among the personnel and a trend towards a more hierarchical organization. Signs of this development were clearest among the higher administrative functionaries, the watchmen and the medical personnel. More functionaries with specialized tasks were appointed, procedures became more formalized and a hierarchy was established by ordinance of the town council, as pointed out in the previous section. This trend could, however, not be established for the municipal administrative apparatus as a whole during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.

The last point in this respect is the capability of Haarlem and Leiden's magistrates to monitor the conduct of its officials and personnel. The appointment of new personnel was normally concluded by the burgomasters. The town council was only consulted if an important office had to be filled. Appointments were far from politicized in Haarlem and Leiden, as was the case in Ghent, for example, where the balance of power between the different socio-economic groups in the city was more fragile.8 The office of pensionary was most often subject to discussion, as some members of the town council of Haarlem, for instance, were of the strong opinion

that only native candidates could be trusted in important political and economic matters.9 After the selection procedure, the new officials involved in political, legal and financial matters and the personnel responsible for the public order were required to be sworn in before they took up their office, promising to serve the town faithfully and to remain silent about important and confidential matters.10 However, it is difficult to establish to what extent they honoured their pledge.

Complaints about the functioning of the town personnel were seldom reported to or discussed at the town council according to the sources, and only a few contracts were not renewed due to dissatisfaction with the performance of the individuals concerned. Willem Paedze, secretary of Haarlem, was the only official who committed a serious crime by embezzling public funds. He was consequently hanged for his offence in 1559.11 The opportunities for the personnel to neglect their duties or abuse their power were in general very limited, all the more because they stood under the direct control of the magistrates in a small-scale setting. Therefore, the cases of misconduct are rare compared to the number of disgraced princely officials in Holland, who had more possibilities to exploit their powers and were more difficult to monitor.12 The town council did act regularly to sort out problems regarding the cooperation between functionaries and the quality of the services provided. For instance, ordinances were made in Leiden in 1508 and in Haarlem in 1562 to solve disputes among the clerks, establishing a clear hierarchy among them, assigning tasks and revenues, and giving detailed instructions and timetables. Other examples are the efforts of Leiden to reorganize the services of the medical personnel in the second half of the fifteenth century, appointing a doctor who oversaw the medical personnel and services, and of Haarlem that ended up paying two full-time watchmen in 1565 to improve security during the night.

In conclusion, the development of the administrative apparatus in Haarlem and Leiden during the Burgundian-Habsburg period was a matter of growth of the number of personnel, but to some degree also of professionalization and specialization. The apparatus was under the control of the magistracy and its organization became more differentiated and formally regulated as it expanded. All functionaries exercised well-defined tasks, were appointed by contractual agreement for a fixed period and received a fixed (symbolic) reward. However, only the academically trained and highly skilled personnel fulfilled their office as a main job and source of income, and had the possibility to pursue a professional career. The variation in education, remuneration and specialization between the functionaries is explained by the differences in the social status of the profession, the intricacy of the tasks and the

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35 Van Steenel, 'Stadspensionarissen', 89-94. It became uncommon for officials to switch from municipal to princely service in the course of the sixteenth century.
37 Ibidem, 220, 222-224.
38 Rogghé, 'Gentse klerken', 110-118, 123-124; Boone, Gent en de Bourgondische hertogen, 120-122.
39 Van Steenel, 'Stadspensionarissen', 92-93. In Leiden 80% of the pensionaries were outsiders, against only 25% in Haarlem.
40 Van Steenel, 'Het personeel', 201.
41 Marsilije, 'Klerkenblist', 187-188.
42 Blockmans, 'Privé en openbaar domein', 707-710. See also: Wagenaar, Van der Meij and Van der Heijden, 'Corruptie in de Nederlanden', 3-21.
working sphere involved. Not all personnel had to meet the same requirements for the administrative apparatus to function efficiently within the given framework.

The Administrative Apparatus in Context

Now that the organization and characteristics of the administrative apparatus in Haarlem and Leiden have been expounded, I shall turn briefly to the question of which factors explain its development. On the one hand, a number of interrelated external processes can be discerned that explain the growing need for the provision of public services in the town. The process of state formation as well as the socio-economic and demographic developments increased the complexity of administration for the town council and created the need for supporting functionaries. On the other hand, the organization and character of the emerging administrative apparatus were shaped by the political and financial position of the town council, its policies and its relation to other organizations that provided public services.

The first external factor, the emergence of a centralized state, had a major impact on the political landscape of late medieval and early modern Low Countries. From the thirteenth century onwards, the princes and cities appointed technocrats, specialized in legal and financial matters, to cope with the increasing complexity of governance and the monetarization of society. The spread of written documents and literacy (the process called 'literalization') in the late Middle Ages also strengthened the demand for clerks among the authorities and citizens. The integration of Holland into the Burgundian-Habsburg personal union accelerated the centralization of rule as well as the introduction of uniform legal procedures and resulted in a growing tax burden. Consequently, Haarlem and Leiden needed secretaries, pensionaries and legal advisors to deal with the new state institutions and the time-consuming political deliberation, as well as a financial expert responsible for the municipal tax revenues, to meet the financial demands of the prince. The power structures within which these officials functioned still relied on informal ties and practices, though, as the authority of the magistracies themselves (but also the Burgundian-Habsburg state) were not fully based on legal-rational principles.

The towns in Holland remained fairly autonomous and the central authorities rarely interfered with regard to the organization of the administrative apparatus and appointment of functionaries. The right to appoint some officials (in particular the secretaries, messengers and rectors) initially resided with the count of Holland, but the towns had acquired all of these rights by the end of the fourteenth century. Haarlem only succeeded in leasing the important office of secretary in the second half of the fifteenth century, however, after a lengthy conflict with the count. Only Duke Charles the Bold (1433-1477) tried to interfere directly with the appointment of officials, but his attempt to farm out some minor town offices in 1469 was effectively resisted by the towns of Holland. He imposed a restriction on Ghent in 1468 concerning mainly the spending of the town and legislative matters as a punishment for its rebellious behaviour, but his attempts to subject Leiden to more financial control failed, and he only succeeded in appointing the aldermen from 1472 onwards.

At the end of the fifteenth century Haarlem and Leiden, however, ran into financial trouble due to their accumulated debts in order to fulfill their tax obligations and were placed under legal restraint by Maximilian of Habsburg (1459-1519). This gave the prince the opportunity to extend his control over the appointment of members of the magistracy. State officials were sent to Haarlem and Leiden to reorganize their financial affairs and accounts were from then on audited annually. The consequences of this loss of autonomy were less far-reaching than has been suggested, as the central authorities still had to cooperate with the urban elites and not all measures proposed were stringently carried out. For instance, the stipulation regarding the salaries and emoluments of personnel in Leiden were of a temporary nature. The recurring expenses of the administrative apparatus in Haarlem and Leiden in 1510-1511 already exceeded the amount spent in 1490 before the crisis, meaning that the financial problems had no lasting influence on the number of functionaries and the level of their fixed salaries. That is not to exclude the possibility that the financial leeway of the towns to spend on internal matters was cut down by the central authority. However, the financial position of the towns had no restrictive

48 Cf. the situation in Germany, where towns and cities enjoyed different degrees of autonomy: Schilling, Die Stadt, 38-59, 90-97.
49 Van Steen, 'Het personeel', 201, 224.
50 Boone, 'Législation communale', 148-149; Marsily, Financiële beleid, 88-90, 128-139. Political instability during the 1440s and 1460s as well as a riot in Haarlem in the 1440s had no effect on the size and functioning of the administrative apparatus.
51 Van der Heijden, Geldschieten van de stad, 64-70. The financial problems were less severe in Dordrecht and Amsterdam, and also affected Brabantine and Flemish cities.
52 Van Steen, 'Het personeel', 320-329, especially reference 45. It must be noted that the payment of the secretary of Leiden was suspended in 1466 and 1467, 'due to the lack of money'.
53 In the period 1505-1518 76% of Haarlem's and 78% of Leiden's expenditure was taken up by tax and rent payments. Leiden's annual income was 1.3 times higher than Haarlem's, but it paid 1.5 more to external parties, partly because they were less successful in obtaining discounts on the sides. Consequently, Leiden could spend less on internal matters. See: Gerrits, Financieel omslag', 41-46, 57-58, 66.
The emergence of an administrative apparatus

growing complexity of governance caused by external political and socio-economic factors. In this process the authority and competences of the town council gradually expanded and it became more involved in the provision of public services. The external factors, however, do not explain the specific size and organization of the administrative apparatus, which were shaped by internal factors and local circumstances. The financial position of Haarlem and Leiden has been discussed, but other aspects to be examined are the policy of the town council regarding the administrative apparatus and its relations to other organizations active in the public sphere. The growing authority and power of the town council can be judged from the ever-increasing legislation and regulation recorded in the keurboeken (law books) and the ordinances issued, which were aimed at providing security and public order, regulating economic life, and keeping a clean and healthy environment. Historians and sociologists have pointed out the civilizing effects of these policies on the urban population in the early modern period.

The sheriff, burgomasters and aldermen of Haarlem and Leiden could not accomplish the implementation and compliance of their policies and measures on their own, due to the complexity and time-consuming nature or the status of the duties. They delegated specific tasks to functionaries who gradually formed an administrative apparatus. The approach adopted by the town councils of Haarlem and Leiden towards the apparatus and functionaries must be described as piecemeal tinkering rather than as well thought-out policy. The appointment of new officials sparked little debate and was mostly a response to unexpected needs and new regulation. Accidental needs were most often the reason for the towns to establish new offices. However, it was exceptional for the magistracy to cut the number of functionaries. Both Haarlem and Leiden tried to curb the number of personnel during the last decade of the fifteenth century, especially in the domain of public works and public order and health care. Only few of these measures turned out to be permanent. For example, in Leiden only the doctor never returned to the payroll, while all the others successfully reclaimed their position before 1510-1511.

A permanent downscaling of the administrative apparatus proved not to be an option for the town councils of Haarlem and Leiden, as it had already become an integral part of their authority and an indispensable means to implement their policies. Moreover, the relatively small number of personnel and the low recurrent expenses of the apparatus meant that economizing on the size of the apparatus and level of the fixed salaries was hardly feasible.

54 Van Steensel, 'Het personeel', 201-304, 325-326. A reliable calculation of relative spending by the towns on the apparatus is not possible due to the fluctuating total expenses; however, the expenses amounted to less than an estimated 5-10% of the whole annual budget for the period in question. The expenses of Leuven and Ghent were comparable: Van Uytven, Stadsfinanciën, 157-161; Boone, Geld en macht, 90.

55 Van Bavel and Van Zanden, 'Holland economy', 343, 528-549.

56 Dozoué, Ville médiévale, 220-228. Part of these measures was of course the provision of legal services; see: Boone, 'Openbare diensten', 72-86.

57 Huizinga, Richtbronnen; Hamaker, Middeleeuwse keurboeken; Brand, 'Ordonnances de la ville de Leyde'; 183-207.

58 De Swaen, Care of the state, 246-247; Schulze, 'Sozialdisziplinierung', 265-269; Rousseau, 'Sozialdisziplinierung', 254-255, 256-258.

59 Van Steensel, 'Personnel', 202-203, 238-239, 222. Temporal needs could prompt the magistracy to employ new functionaries. Leiden paid four 'grain samplers' between 1481 and 1497 to ensure the quality of the traded grain.
The reason why the administrative apparatus supporting the magistracies of Haarlem remained relatively small in size was that they shared the responsibility of providing public services for communal welfare with other institutions and organizations. As elsewhere in Europe, craft guilds, religious and private charity, civic militias, confraternities, and neighbourhoods played an indispensable role in the organization of urban life in late medieval and early modern Haarlem and Leiden. There was no need for the towns to employ personnel for the tasks performed by other providers, but the magistracy did increase its control over them. Economic life, in particular the brewery and drapery, was increasingly regulated by the town council as it used the politically powerless guilds to ensure implementation and compliance. The wardens of the guilds as well as other organizations were also directly or indirectly appointed by the magistracy, meaning that they effectively supervised their activities. In this way, the town council played a coordinating role in the provision of public services at a higher level of social aggregation than the civic organizations, without necessarily relying on the municipal administrative apparatus or using public funds.

This can be illustrated by the attitude of Leiden’s magistracy towards poor relief, which was decentralized and financed by private charity. The magistracy, however, supervised the Holy Spirit, hospitals, and other religious and secular organizations by appointing its wardens and controlling its finances. It was only in the second quarter of the sixteenth century that the magistracy became more actively involved in charity, because of the increasing poverty and unemployment in the town that threatened social order. But due to the financial condition of the town it did not develop an efficient anti-poverty policy.

Conclusions

The appointment of functionaries who supported the magistracy in Haarlem and Leiden during the Burgundian-Habsburg period reflects the growing responsibilities of the town council in the provision of social stability and communal welfare. In this respect, the emergence of an administrative apparatus of government was intrinsic to the expansion of the authority and power of the town councils, although its role in this sphere was not yet taken as granted, as it was by Smith in the eighteenth century. The town council could most effectively solve the social dilemma sketched in the introduction, that arises regarding the provision of public services and for that reason emerged as dominant supplier of public services. Some other aspects of this process have yet to be studied for Haarlem and Leiden, such as the nature and accessibility of the public services provided, their precise distribution over the providers in the town, as well as the role of identity in the formation of urban communities.

In the second quarter of the fifteenth century a threshold was crossed, and from that moment the rudimentary structure of the administrative apparatus in Haarlem and Leiden becomes visible in the sources. It gradually expanded in size and scope, especially during the sixteenth century. The creation of functions was a response of the magistracy to the growing complexity of administration, the expanding urban population and infrastructure, and the need to provide basic services to all inhabitants. No major differences between the pace of the development and the nature of organization of the administrative apparatus in Haarlem and Leiden could be established. The functioning of the apparatus became more specialized due to its expansion and the nature of the tasks involved. The highly skilled functions became more professionalized, as the examples of the higher administrative functionaries and medical personnel show. In general, all personnel were selected and rewarded according to their tasks and capabilities.

The evolution of the administrative apparatus of government in Haarlem and Leiden took place against the background of broader political and socio-economic processes, of which state formation, demographic developments and economic conditions have been identified as factors that accounted for the greater administrative complexities that the members of the magistracy faced. The town council, however, pursued an ad hoc policy towards the apparatus, only expanding or reorganizing it when problems arose. The evolution of the apparatus was not structurally affected by political instability and financial difficulties in the fifteenth century or by economic stagnation and demographic decline in Leiden during the sixteenth century, as it was an integral part of the power and authority of the town council and also developed a dynamic of its own. The number of functionaries remained relatively small, though, as the magistrates shared responsibilities with civic institutions in the provision of public services. These organizations were gradually brought under the control of the town council, as its authority and coordinating role in the provision of public services developed.

63 Yante, 'La réglement et la police', 429-456; Stabel, 'Guilde in Late Medieval Flanders', 189, 192-198; Lynch, Individuals, families. 212-231.
64 Marns, Oostlaikende stad, 57-60; Iden, 'Economisch leven', 97-103.
65 Brand, 'Sociale omstandigheden', 133-149; Marns, Oostlaikende stad, 60-62.
66 Mariënh, Openbaar initiatief, 538-540; Bingener, Fouquet and Fuhrmann, 'Almosen und Sozialeleistungen', 41-62; Jütt, Obrigkeitliche Armenfürsorge, 31-39, 45, 396-397; Slack, Public welfare, 5-6; cf. Soly, 'Economische ontwikkeling', 584-597, who suggests that economic factors were the main motives for the town councils to act on poverty.
64 De Swaan, Care of the state, 27-28, 218-220.