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Newcomers, Migrants, Surgeons

Making Career in the Amsterdam Surgeons' Guild of the Eighteenth Century[1]

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Abstract

Like many modern organizations, the Amsterdam Surgeons' Guild recruited its members during the eighteenth century from the ranks of locally born citizens as well as migrants. But how a surgeon's migration status impacted his chances of being admitted by, and making a career within, the Surgeons' Guild, remains a mystery. This article analyses enrolment lists of apprentices, journeymen, and master surgeons in order to find out how a surgeon's birth-place influenced his chances of a career within the Amsterdam Surgeons' Guild. By looking at the guild's official stance towards newcomers, and pairing this with the actual career paths of migrants within the Amsterdam Surgeons' Guild, this article demonstrates that migrants could be retained for the guild if they received their apprenticeship training in Amsterdam. In other words, it was not so much origin, but rather the geography of education and work that shaped careers. These results reveal mechanisms of integration that can be generalised to cases outside the Amsterdam Surgeons' Guild.

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Introduction

Trouble in the surgeons' guild

In 1732 a crisis engulfed the Amsterdam Surgeons' Guild. Several petitions were presented by angry guild members to the guild's board of directors: two petitions signed by 61 master surgeons,[2] one by a group of 50 barbers,[3] another one by a dozen Jews,[4] and still another by a handful of surgeon's widows.[5] But while the barbers, the Jews, and the widows demanded from the Board a more equal treatment as members of the Surgeons' Guild, the master surgeons wanted the exact opposite. They claimed that barbers and Jews should not have been admitted to the guild in the first place: with their cheap and unskilled labour they were unfair competition, and would also undermine the reputation of the Amsterdam surgeons among the public. This argument resounded in the report of the special committee tasked with settling the matter: the illegal admittance of *unskilled* barbers and Jews into the guild's membership was mentioned as the explicit reason for removing the Guild's board members from their office in 1732.[6] The appeal of the master surgeons had clearly won the day, and the barbers (and Jews) were subsequently again excluded from the guild.

This story highlights a problem that is as relevant today as it was almost three hundred years ago. Members are essential to any organization, but how should the organization select and integrate new members? Nowadays it is no longer allowed to refuse employees based on their religion or ethnicity, but it is no secret that in the Dutch labour market discrimination based on these attributes persists.[7] Craft guilds, however, differed from modern organizations in how they integrated new members – be they migrants or locals. Crucially, craft guilds were involved with the vocational training of prospective members, often from a young age, through the system of apprenticeship.[8] This differs from current-day practice, where the Dutch state takes responsibili-

2 Stadsarchief Amsterdam (SAA) inventory 366, entry 216, P126-127.

3 SAA366/216/P134.

4 SAA366/216/P117-120.

5 SAA366/216/P128-129.

6 SAA366/216/P152.

7 W. Koolmees, 'Arbeidsmarktbeleid; Brief regering; Verdere integratie op de arbeidsmarkt: De economie heeft iedereen nodig!', (Kamerstuk, 2018); 'Monitor discriminatiezaken 2018: Tabellen' (College voor der rechten van de mens, 2019).

8 M. Prak and P. Wallis, 'Apprenticeship in Europe. A survey'. In: Idem (eds.), *Apprenticeship in early modern Europe* (Cambridge 2019) 311.

ty for the education of youngsters under eighteen years, while medical doctors are subsequently trained at university. In theory, migrants under the guild system would have had a longer time to be socialized into the local community, potentially leading to a better local career perspective.

We know from recent studies that guilds and towns sometimes privileged locally trained apprentices over those who were trained elsewhere.[9] This could be taken as a sign that the local training provided by craft guilds indeed served the purpose of integrating and retaining migrants within the organization. So, did it? The primary goal of this paper is to investigate whether a craft guild – specifically, the Amsterdam Guild of Surgeons – distinguished between locals and migrants at different stages of the guild career ladder (i.e., apprentices, journeymen, and masters), and whether the guild's training programme contributed towards the retention of migrants within the guild. This paper supports the idea that a distinction can be made between a group of more 'local' or 'settled' individuals in craft guilds, versus a group of more 'mobile', migrating individuals.[10] However, it also argues that an early introduction into the guild led to retention of migrants within the guild – possibly to the benefit of those migrants. By doing so, this paper provides a new element of discussion to the ongoing debate about guild openness to outsiders.[11]

In the following pages I will first examine potential explanations for why craft guilds might have favoured locally trained craftsmen over those who had completed their apprenticeship in a different town. I will then introduce my case study of the Amsterdam Surgeons' Guild, starting in the year 1736 with the printing of new Guild Regulations.

9 J. De Meester, 'Migrant workers and illicit labour. Regulating the immigration of building workers in sixteenth-century Antwerp', in: A. Winter and B. De Munck (eds.), *Gated communities? Regulating migration in early modern cities* (Farnham 2012) 37-41; B. De Munck and K. Davids, 'Beyond exclusivism. Entrance fees for guilds in early modern Low Countries, c. 1450-1800', in: Idem (eds.), *Innovation and creativity in late medieval and early modern European cities* (Ashgate 2014) 189-224.

10 E. Kuijpers, *Migrantenstad. Immigratie en sociale verhoudingen in 17e eeuws Amsterdam* (Hilversum 2005) 332-335; S.R. Epstein, 'Labour mobility, journeyman organizations and markets in skilled labour Europe, 14th-18th centuries', in: L. Hilaire-Perez and A.F. Garçon, *Pratiques historiques de l'innovation, historicité de l'économie des savoirs (12e-19e siècles)* (Paris 2004) 261-263, 266; R. Reith, 'Circulation of skilled labour in late medieval and early modern Central Europe', in: S.R. Epstein and M. Prak, *Guilds, innovation and the European economy, 1400–1800* (Cambridge 2008) 114–142.

11 E.g., M. Prak et al., 'Access to the trade. Monopoly and mobility in European craft guilds in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries', *Journal of Social History* (2019) 1-32; S. Ogilvie, *The European guilds. An economic analysis* (Princeon 2019) chapter 3, 83-171.

Illustration 1 Jacob Franszn (ca 1635-1708) and family in his barber-surgeon shop, by Egbert van Heemskerck (ca 1634-1704) (source: Amsterdam Museum).

These were the result of the guild's attempt to resolve its issue with corrupt board members, and to consolidate the reforms that were to safeguard the guild's continued existence until 1798. During this period, the Amsterdam Surgeons' Guild maintained an impressive administration, including lists of individuals seeking entry to the guild, allowing me to answer the following two research questions: *How open was the Amsterdam Surgeons' Guild to migrant newcomers in the eighteenth century?* and *How did the Amsterdam Surgeons' Guild's admittance and training policy affect the retention of migrants within the guild?*

Theory

Craft guilds

In much social and economic history research about late medieval and early modern Europe, craft guilds take centre stage, as they played an important role in the occupational and social structure of urban life. For over two centuries now, historians and economists have debated whether this role was more benign or more detrimental to urban society, and this discussion continues today. Relevant studies focus on whether or not craft guilds were conducive to technological innovation, whether they wielded political power, whether the apprenticeship system was effective, how guilds impacted daily social life, and indeed whether they manipulated labour markets, whether they were open or closed to newcomers, and what kind of entry barriers they maintained.[12] Recently, the focus of historiographic research has shifted towards the interplay between craft guilds, urban and national policy makers, and migration patterns.

A recurring theme in this research deals with how craft guilds handled the continuous influx of newcomers into their organizations. Migration was a ubiquitous phenomenon in late medieval and early modern Europe: youngsters moved in search of occupation from rural areas to urban centres, which welcomed them to compensate for their negative birth ratio; trained journeymen moved between towns in search of work and experience, or a place to settle down.[13]

Craft guilds often negotiated with city authorities about the entry conditions for these migrants. While governments believed that it was in the best economic interest for their city to maintain a welcoming stance towards migrants, craft guilds sought to control the number of newcomers so as to reduce the competition between practitioners of their craft. Determining how many – and which kind of – newcomers were optimal was, however, complicated, as it depended on external factors as well as on power relations within guilds and between guilds and the city government.[14] For example, the city of Antwerp experienced an economic and population boom during the sixteenth centu-

12 For a discussion, see the introductions to Davids and De Munck, *Innovation and creativity*, 1-33; and Ogilvie, *The European guilds*, 1-35.

13 P. Wallis, 'Apprenticeship and training in premodern England', *Journal of Economic History* 68:3 (2008) 832–861; Winter and De Munck, *Gated communities?,* 1-2; P. Groot and R. Schalk, 'Journeymen migration and settlement in eighteenth-century Holland', under review.

14 B. De Munck and A. Winter, 'Gated communities? Regulating migration in early modern cities', in: Winter and De Munck, *Gated communities?* 8.

ry, causing the city council to attract masons from outside the city. This was much to the discontent of the Masons' Guild, which feared a rise in competition and a drop in wages. A compromise was reached by creating a distinction between locally trained ('free') journeymen who had the prospect to become master mason, and foreign trained ('unfree') journeymen who could be hired only for a limited time and who did not qualify to become a master mason. This solution did not, however, manage to prevent much competition between masons, until after the Sack of Antwerp in 1576 demand for foreign masons plummeted.[15]

The observation that some craft guilds distinguished between locally trained and foreign trained apprentices touches on an unexplored but potentially important aspect of craft guilds' attitude toward outsiders. Becoming part of the guild required an investment of time and money on the part of the applicant.[16] A point could be made that this worked to the advantage of locally born individuals, since they would have had more time and opportunity to master local rules, become part of the guild network, and work their way up within the organization. In practice, however, craft guilds held numerous migrants within their ranks. In the Low Countries, guilds recruited 42 per cent of their master-level members from outside the town, in England this was 55 per cent, and in Germany 62 per cent.[17] For guild apprentices there is less data, but findings also point to a relatively open guild policy towards migrants.[18] These data suggest that craft guilds managed to attract and retain migrants, despite the fact that they first needed to be socialised into the local community. Why, then, was there sometimes a need to distinguish between 'free', locally trained apprentices, and 'unfree' ones trained elsewhere? Or, put in the words of De Munck and Davids: 'In which trades was apprenticeship an entry to the status of free journeyman or, rather, to the status of master, and how does this affect our understanding of [craft guilds'] attempts to bind apprentices to the trade?'[19]

Craft guilds' preference for locally trained craftsmen might be explained in several ways. Perhaps the most obvious is that craft guilds

15 J. De Meester, 'To kill two birds with one stone. Keeping immigrants in by granting free burghership in early modern Antwerp', in: Davids and De Munck, *Innovation and creativity*, 95-113.

16 J. de Vries, 'The political economy of bread in the Dutch Republic', in: O. Gelderblom (ed.), *The political economy of the Dutch Republic* (Ashgate 2009) 354; M. Prak et al. (eds.), *Craft guilds in the early modern Low Countries. Work, power, and representation, second edition* (Ashgate 2017).

17 Prak et al., 'Access to the trade', 11.

18 Prak and Wallis, 'Apprenticeship in Europe', 310.

19 De Munck and Davids, 'Beyond exclusivism', 208.

believed that their own apprenticeship training resulted in superior skill.[20] However, one study about the city of Antwerp comparing locally trained gold- and silversmiths and shearers with those who were trained elsewhere, found that the latter ended up having the more successful careers. Of the craftsmen who completed their apprenticeship locally – whom the city authorities rewarded with free citizenship – most ended up working for foreigners who did buy their own citizenship. The craftsmen who were given free citizenship were also unlikely to hold guild board positions or become famous wealthy merchants.[21] So although the city of Antwerp found the locally trained migrants important enough to retain by granting them free citizenship, it was not likely due to their superiority in skill.

Perhaps something less tangible than skill underlies the preference for locally trained craftsmen, or even distrust of craftsmen who were trained in a different town or city.[22] When during the second half of the seventeenth century English and German cities welcomed many Huguenot refugees in order to replenish their war-struck populations, there was often a strong reaction from local craftsmen against these newcomers. At stake was not so much competition, but a perceived threat to the concept of *Nahrung*: the set of guild-specific customs including the ideal of distributing income in order to protect members against poverty. Huguenots could not always prove that they had the right set of skills to be deemed worthy of the guild, and neither could they – as refugees – always prove their 'honest birth'. Guilds were at risk of losing reputation by admitting such individuals.[23] Local training could therefore perhaps take on the function of a rite of passage, or a period through which an apprentice proves that he is trustworthy enough to become part of the guild community.

There were indeed many benefits to being a guild member: social activities like guild funerals and shared meals were common throughout, for example, the Low Countries, though more so in the South than in the North.[24] And many craft guilds – be it with varying success –

20 Such as was the case with the Antwerp coopers' guild. R. De Kerf, 'The early modern Antwerp Coopers' Guild. From a contract-enforcing organisation to an empty box?', in: Davids and De Munck, *Innovation and creativity,* 261.

21 De Meester, 'To kill two birds', 110-112.

22 K. Davids and B. De Munck, 'Innovation and creativity. An introduction', in: Idem, *Innovation and creativity*, 24.

23 U. Niggemann, 'Craft guilds and immigration. Huguenots in German and English cities', in: Winter and De Munck, *Gated communities?,* 56.

24 A.K. Thijs, 'Religion and social structure. Religious rituals in pre-industrial trade associations in the

also managed to develop primitive social security systems, designed to support sick or poverty stricken guild members, and guild members' widows.[25] Not only did guilds have a strong commitment to their members, they also contributed to the society outside the guild: guild members provided public services like fighting fires, defending the city against invaders, and keeping the peace. As responsible members of society, guilds had a reputation to maintain within the local community.[26] These might have been reasons for craft guilds to favour individuals whom they had known and trained for a longer time.

Amsterdam and the Amsterdam Surgeons' Guild

Although a distinction emerged between free and unfree, locally trained and non-locally trained, journeymen in parts of the Southern Netherlands over the course of the seventeenth century, the same was not true for the Northern Netherlands.[27] But the Northern Netherlands, and especially Amsterdam, differed from the Southern Netherlands and the rest of Europe in other respects as well. It has been argued that the relatively weak representation of craft guilds in local government led to a more open policy towards migrants, and a subsequent technological advantage.[28] For the city of Amsterdam this was true throughout the early modern period, even in the eighteenth century when other major cities in the Northern Netherlands such as Leiden tried to close themselves off for migrants.[29] Perhaps as a consequence of this open policy, Amsterdam was the only major city in the Northern Netherlands to maintain a stable population during the economically challenging eighteenth century.[30]

Low Countries', in: Prak et al., *Craft guilds in the early modern Low Countries,* 163, 173; De Munck and Davids, 'Beyond exclusivism. Entrance fees for guilds in early modern Low Countries, c. 1450-1800', 197-198.

25 S. Bos, 'A tradition of giving and receiving. Mutual aid within the guild system', in: Prak et al., *Craft guilds in the early modern Low Countries*; S. Bos, *Uyt liefde tot malcander. Onderlinge hulpverlening binnen de Noord-Nederlandse gilden in internationaal perspectief (1570-1820)* (Amsterdam 1998).

26 B. Panhuysen, *Maatwerk. Kleermakers, naaisters, oudkleerkopers en de gilden (1500-1800)* (Utrecht 2000).

27 De Munck and Davids, 'Beyond exclusivism', 205-206; De Kerf, 'The early modern Antwerp Coopers' Guild', 248-252.

28 K. Davids, *The rise and decline of Dutch technological leadership. Technology, economy and culture in the Netherlands, 1350-1800* 2 vols. (Leiden, 2008), especially chapters 6 and 7.

29 L. Lucassen, 'Cities, states and migration control in Western Europe. Comparing then and now', in: Winter and De Munck, *Gated communities?* 224-229.

30 J. Israel, *The Dutch Republic. Its rise, greatness, and fall 1477-1806* (Oxford/New York 1998) 1007.

The overall impression is that cities and craft guilds in the Northern Netherlands were relatively welcoming towards migrants. In the North, entry fees for craft guilds were generally lower than in the South, and guilds spent less of that money on symbols of corporate identity such as guild halls, and instead invested in social security. Nor did Northwestern cities impose high citizenship fees on Jews and Catholics, compared to Eastern and Southern regions.[31] Unexpectedly though, in the Northern Netherlands – and not in the Southern Netherlands – craft guilds often charged migrant apprentices higher fees than locally born apprentices.[32] And what is more telling, in the Northern Netherlands a smaller percentage of guild members was recruited from out of town than in Germany and England.[33] So although cities in the Northern Netherlands have a reputation of being more open towards migrants than neighbouring regions in the early modern period, this may not hold true for its craft guilds.

Moving on to the Amsterdam Surgeons' Guild: this guild may have had some reason to distrust surgeons who were not trained in Amsterdam. First of all, being a surgeon was a respected profession in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Although not as respected as university trained *medicinae doctores*, autonomous practitioners like master surgeons stood in relatively high regard. They could also occupy positions of importance in local society such as country doctor, general surgeon, major surgeon or company surgeon in the army or at sea, or become part of the supportive staff in the military. Between 1700 and 1747, about 33 per cent of Amsterdam-based master surgeons were migrants, mostly from the Eastern Netherlands and German regions: regions with generally few economic opportunities. This may be an indication that youths migrating to Amsterdam saw the profession of surgeon as an opportunity to attain a higher social status.[34]

Second, a negative stereotype about travelling practitioners developed during the seventeenth century, and these practitioners had trouble gaining entry to the guild. One disgruntled German surgeon, Johan Herman Francken, who immigrated to Amsterdam in 1716, found access to the Surgeons' Guild blocked for this reason. In order to prove that journeymen who completed their apprenticeship were in fact respectable individuals, the city of Groningen supplied them with a spe-

31 De Munck and Davids, 'Beyond exclusivism', 195.

32 Ibidem, 201.

33 Prak et al., 'Access to the trade', 11.

34 W. Frijhoff, 'Non satis dignitatis... Over de maatschappelijke status van geneeskundigen tijdens de Republiek', *Tijdschrift voor Geschiedenis* 96 (1983) 379-406.

cial letter or *gildenbrief* in evidence of this fact.[35] Keeping these potential reservations towards migrants in mind, the following section will examine the Amsterdam Surgeons´ Guild´s admittance policy with respect to local and migrant newcomers.

Case study: The Amsterdam Surgeons' Guild

Sources, measures, and method

Information about apprentice surgeons, journeyman surgeons, and master surgeons was obtained from enrolment lists kept by the Amsterdam Surgeons' Guild between 1747-1798 (apprentices), 1761-1775 & 1789-1798 (journeymen), and 1734-1798 (masters). I limited the study to 100 apprenticeship entries between 1759-1761, 500 journeyman entries between 1761-1765, and 354 master entries between 1761-1797. Thanks to the overlapping time periods, this method allowed me to track any apprentice and/or journeyman progressively throughout his career within the Amsterdam Surgeons' Guild – that is, from apprentice to journeyman to master. A limitation of using cohorts in this way is that journeymen and masters could not be traced backwards (from master to journeyman to apprentice).

The information provided in the written records of apprentice, journeyman, and master surgeon enrolment include starting date, given name, surname, contract duration in years, town of origin, and, for apprentices and journeymen, also the name of the master under whom they would serve. Additionally, for apprentices and journeymen the entry fee paid to the Amsterdam Surgeons' Guild was known – which could vary from case to case based on whether the apprentice or journeyman had to pay for registration, *lesbrief* (tuition money), or a botanical garden badge. Since the tuition money only had to be paid once in Amsterdam, it serves as a proxy for journeyman newcomership to the Amsterdam Surgeons' Guild (i.e., journeymen who did not have to pay this tuition money upon enrolment must have already done so at an earlier stage, meaning they had a track record within the guild). A second variable that I added to this source material was the distance travelled in kilometres, as the crow flies, between the surgeon's town of origin's coordinates (obtained from Google Maps) and Amsterdam. Furthermore, since enrolment date and age at the time of enrolment were known for

35 F. Huisman, *Stadsbelang en standsbesef. Gezondheidszorg en medisch beroep in Groningen 1500-1730* (Rotterdam 1992).

most masters, I could calculate master age and experience at the time a journeyman contracted with a master. Specifically, master experience was calculated by counting the number of years that had passed between the master's first enrolment into the guild and the date that he contracted an apprentice or journeyman. Likewise, master age was calculated by adding his experience in years to his age at first enrolment.

Statistical analysis of the quantitative data was done in two separate stages. First, differences between surgeons born in Amsterdam, the Netherlands, and outside were examined on the variables mentioned in the previous paragraph. For example, whether journeymen of different birth place differed in terms of contract length or type of master for whom they worked was examined. This was done visually through crosstabs, for which a Chi^2 test provided a further statistical test, and through analysis of variance (ANOVA). In the second part, the variables that were found to differ between surgeons of Amsterdam, Netherlands, or foreign birth place were used as independent variables predicting the probability that an apprentice surgeon appeared also on the list of journeyman surgeons, or that a journeyman surgeon appeared also on the list of master surgeons. The statistical analysis used for this step was logistic regression, which tries to predict the outcome on a binary variable (in this case: promotion within the guild, yes or no). In other words, in the first step simple differences were examined between surgeons of Amsterdam, the Netherlands, and foreign birth place; and in the second step, it was examined whether those differences also predicted career making in the Amsterdam Surgeons' Guild (defined as moving from apprentice to journeyman, or from journeyman to master).

Formal distinctions: Apprentices, journeymen, masters

When investigating how the Amsterdam Surgeons' Guild dealt with the admittance and integration of migrant newcomers, it makes sense first to determine which different ranks existed within the guild, and how the guild guarded the entry into each of those ranks. If we, for a moment, forget about the widows, wives, Jews, quacks, vendors, board members, professors, and other individuals connected to the Amsterdam Surgeons' Guild in one way or another, we are left with a core of three different groups: apprentices, journeymen, and masters. Of these, only the master surgeons were accredited with full guild membership, as is evident from the fact that only masters were consistently referred to as 'brothers' or 'guild brothers' in the guild's statutes; also the parts of the statutes pertaining to the admittance of new members referred ex-

clusively to master surgeons.[36] With this membership came the right to claim sick leave, and alimentation money for their widows, but also obligations to pay annual contributions and attend guild funerals. Most importantly, master surgeons were allowed to start their own practice: display the signs of the Surgeons' Guild, hire apprentices and journeymen, and treat patients. They were no longer mere assistants, but independent surgeons. Apprentices and journeymen were part of the guild in the sense that they were being trained by – and worked for – the masters.

In order to prepare surgeons for their responsibilities as master surgeon or surgeon-at-sea, the Amsterdam Surgeons' Guild obliged surgeon's apprentices and journeymen to attend lectures throughout their training in Amsterdam. Besides weekly lectures in surgery and anatomy, there was the possibility to attend lessons in the botanical gardens, during which surgeons learnt about the healing properties of plants and medicines, which also took place weekly. Together with a minimum two years of working as an apprentice and three years as a journeyman, this would ensure the experience necessary to become a master surgeon. Whether a surgeon had indeed achieved a sufficient level of skill during his formative apprentice and journeyman years, was tested by the Surgeons Guild through a series of examinations. These exams were optional in the sense that they only had to be completed if a surgeon wanted to become master surgeon; until the moment of examination, skipping the mandatory surgical lessons had no consequences for the apprentice or journeyman other than hampering his chance to ever become a master surgeon. At the start of the apprenticeship period, only a small registration fee of 3 florins had to be paid to the guild, along with a fee of 2.5 florins to pay for the weekly surgical and anatomical lessons. This fee had to be paid only once during a surgeon's career, after which he received his so-called *lesbrief*, an attestation that he had paid to attend the lessons. A botanical garden badge cost 4 florins.[37]

Journeymen were subjected to almost the same conditions as apprentices, in that they had to pay the guild 3 florins for registration (at the start of each contract) and 2.5 florins for their *lesbrief,* or proof of tuition (if they had not already done so during their apprenticeship). In addition, journeymen had to be able to prove, through the attestations of their former master, that they had completed an apprenticeship period of two consecutive years. Since journeymen were considered more capable than apprentices, they received pay from their master. Con-

36 I base myself on the printed version of the guild statutes of 1736. See SAA366/231.

37 SAA366/231:P131, 135-136, 145.

tracts typically lasted two to three years. Like the apprentices, journeymen had to attend weekly surgical and anatomical lessons, and could decide to pay 4 florins to follow lessons in the botanical garden for a year.

The more difficult career step seems to have been from journeyman surgeon to master surgeon. As stated before, the entry into the rank of master surgeon was guarded by a series of examinations: this was the litmus test indicating whether a surgeon had actually mastered the right surgical skills during his formative years. First there was a formal demand that only Amsterdam citizens could perform the test that led to the promotion to master surgeon; citizenship could, however, be obtained relatively easily and cheaply.[38] A second, more formidable obstacle was the amount of money that needed to be raised in order to perform the examinations that led to the title of master. In 1733 these costs were set at 250 florins: 10 for the attending professor, 60 for the guild board members, 6 for the guild servant, 1 for the poor, and 173 for the guild's social security funds.[39] Even if we count the 173 florins as a personal investment (health insurance), it was still a huge sum compared to the enrolment fee of apprentices and journeymen, which cost just 3 florins. If born a citizen's son or a master surgeon's son, one could get a discount of 8 or 15 florins respectively (see Table 1).

Table 1 Entry fees for apprentices, journeymen, and masters as of 1733

	Apprentice	Journeyman	Master
Registration fee	f 3	f 3	f 250
Lesbrief	f 2.5	f 2.5	-
Botanical badge	f 4	f 4	-
Discount: citizens / sons of masters	- / -	- / -	f 8 / f 15

Note: The lesbrief and botanical garden badge needed to be bought only once during either the apprenticeship or the journeyman stage. Source: SAA366/231.

A final but substantial hurdle was the successful completion of the exams themselves. These consisted (as of 1597) of one theoretical exam about the art of surgery, one practical exam at the hospital on bandages, and one mixed exam where the examinee had to perform phlebotomy and answer questions. These exams were not a mere formality as is evident from the many second or even third attempts that examinees had

38 As of 1668, if one was unable to pay 50 florins for Amsterdam citizenship, a small fee of just 2.4 florins could be paid for the right to practice a profession. See https://archief.amsterdam/indexen/poorters_1531-1652/handleiding/index.nl.html.

39 SAA366/231:P146.

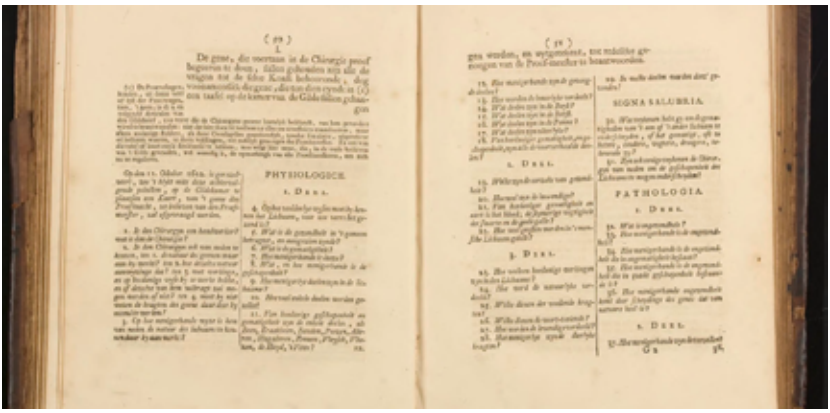

Illustration 2 Excerpt from Amsterdam Surgeons' Guild statutes (1736) showing example exam questions for upcoming master surgeons (source: Stadsarchief Amsterdam inventory 366, entry 231, p.50-51).

sometimes an examinee gave up efforts altogether.[40] Besides passing the exams, a candidate master surgeon also had to show that he had faithfully attended lectures of anatomy, surgery, and botany, during his apprenticeship and journeyman stage, if those stages were completed in Amsterdam. If not, he had to pay a fine of 8 florins for missing the botanical lessons, and 50 florins for missing the surgical and anatomical lessons. This fine was meant to encourage apprentices and journeymen to really attend their lectures.[41] Upon graduating, the fresh master surgeon received a printed copy of the Guild Regulations (for the price of 1.2 florins).

Migrant newcomers attending the master surgeon's exam were, in contrast to locals, exempt from the requirement to have attended lectures of surgery, anatomy, and botany in Amsterdam.[42] All they needed was the attestations of former masters, to show that they had at least five years' worth of experience outside the city of Amsterdam. This recognition of foreign experience, it can be argued, made it easi-

40 SAA366/247:P11-15: Jan Abraham le Clerk first tries the theoretical exam on July 18, 1741, but is found incapable. He is bid to return on August 1st, where he will be given a final chance to prove himself; however, he is found to be so incapable that he is denied again. On February 2, 1742 the headstrong Le Clerk passes the theoretical exam on his third attempt, but subsequently fails the practical examination on bandages and anatomy. He may only return after attending a live demonstration of a dissection of a dead body. On April 13, 1742, Le Clerk successfully performs phlebotomy, and is admitted to the guild as a master surgeon. P16: On June 8, 1742, Willem van Aalst tries the theoretical exam, but is so unanimously found incompetent both in anatomy and in surgery, that he is never gain seen to make any attempt after.

41 SAA366/231:P136

42 SAA366/231:P151, only those '*who had lived here and attended lessons here'* were required to prove that they had actually attended the lessons.

er for migrant newcomers to become a master surgeon in Amsterdam straight away. On the other hand, would-be masters still needed to pass the examinations barring the way to guild membership in Amsterdam; for this, it may have been to their disadvantage that they never enjoyed any training or attended lessons in Amsterdam.

Newcomer admittance in practice

Now that we have established that there were different ranks within the guild, each with their own formal entry criteria, it is time to investigate how open the guild was to migrant newcomers at each of those three ranks. How did the formal entry criteria of the Amsterdam Surgeons' Guild translate to admittance in practice?

The relatively open policy toward migrant apprentices and journeymen is reflected in the Surgeons' Guild's admission numbers (Table 2, second column). What strikes us immediately is the varying proportion of migrants among apprentices, journeymen, and masters. From pre-marriage contracts, we know that between 1760 and 1800 approximately 48 per cent of the population of marrying men in Amsterdam was native to that city; the largest migrant groups at the time accounting for 23 per cent (Dutch other than Amsterdam) and 22 per cent (Germans) of the marrying male population.[43] If we take these percentages to reflect the settled male population in Amsterdam, we must conclude that the German community living in Amsterdam delivered fewer apprentice surgeons than was to be expected based on their population numbers. At the apprenticeship stage, Amsterdam-born were overrepresented.

Among journeyman surgeons, the tables seem to have turned, with a relatively high proportion of journeymen having been born outside the city of Amsterdam. This could be an indication that at the journeyman stage there were many migrant newcomers supplementing the workforce of the Amsterdam Surgeons' Guild. This indeed appeared to be the case: of journeymen registering between 1761 and 1765, about half had to buy their *lesbrief* (proof of tuition), indicating that they enrolled into the Amsterdam Surgeons' Guild for the first time (Table 2,

43 Dataset *Ja, ik wil*-project (unpublished), Research Team Institutions for Collective Action, Department of History and Art History, Utrecht University. This dataset will be accessible in due time via http://www.collective-action.info/datasets-various-types-institutions and is a result of the *Ja, ik wil!*-project, part of the VIDI-project 'Nature or nature? A search for the institutional and biological determinants of life expectancy in Europe during the early modern period' funded by the Dutch Organization for Scientific Research (NWO) (276–53-008).

mid section, final column). This was almost completely on the account of a large influx of Dutch and German migrants at this stage. Among Amsterdam-born journeymen only eight per cent had to buy a *lesbrief*, indicating that most of them had indeed completed their apprenticeship in Amsterdam. Statistically, the percentage of first enrollers among journeymen differed significantly between journeymen born in Am-

Table 2 Origin and other personal characteristics of apprentices, journeymen, and masters enrolled in the Amsterdam Surgeons' Guild between 1759-1761, 1761-1765, and 1761-1797 respectively

Apprentices				
Origin	**N (%)**	**Contract duration in years (SD)**	**Son of master N (%)**	
Amsterdam	62 (63%)	2.8 (.5)	7 (11%)	
Netherlands	20 (20%)	2.5 (.5)	1 (5%)	
Germany	10 (10%)	2.4 (.5)	1 (10%)	
Other	4 (4%)	2.5 (.6)	0	
Unknown	2 (2%)	3 (1.4)	0	
Total	98	2.7 (.5)	9 (9%)	
Journeymen				
Origin	**N (%)**	**Contract duration in years (SD)**	**Son of master N (%)**	**First time enrolment**
Amsterdam	134 (29%)	2.4 (.6)	10 (7%)	11/134 (8%)
Netherlands	193 (42%)	2.3 (.6)	4 (2%)	126/193 (65%)
Germany	102 (22%)	2.2 (.5)	1 (1%)	80/101 (79%)
Other	14 (3%)	2.2 (.6)	0	11/14 (79%)
Unknown	16 (3%)	2.4 (.6)	0	14/16 (88%)
Total	459	2.3 (.6)	15 (3%)	242/459 (53%)
Masters				
Origin	**N (%)**	**Avg. distance in km (SD)**	**Avg. starting age in years (SD)**	**Avg. time until promotion in years (SD)**
Amsterdam	161 (46%)	0 (0)	25.7 (3.8)	8.2 (2.8)
Netherlands	115 (33%)	72 (41)	28.0 (4.4)	8.7 (6.3)
Germany	66 (19%)	219 (119)	29.6 (5.2)	11.0 (1.9)
Other	8 (2%)	1208 (2656)	27.3 (3.7)	-
Unknown	4 (1%)	-	23 (0)	-
Total	354	92 (426)	27.2 (4.5)	8.5 (4.6)

Sources: Apprentices: SAA366/255, Journeymen: SAA366/252, Masters: SAA366/246

sterdam, the Netherlands (outside of Amsterdam), Germany, and other places in Europe.[44]

Comparing the birth places of masters with apprentices and journeymen (Table 2, second column), we see that Dutch and German migrants were better represented among masters than among apprentices, but less so than among journeymen. Apparently, the huge influx of migrants at the journeyman stage also resulted in an improved representation of migrants among masters – meaning that at least some of the migrant journeymen became masters in Amsterdam – but this compensated only partially for the fact that fewer migrants were trained as apprentices in Amsterdam from the start.

Migrant career trajectories: Who trained whom?

A major concern for any apprentice was in finding a suitable master surgeon to live with. The master was to provide the apprentice with food, lodgings, and training. The same was true for journeymen. If master surgeons discriminated against hiring migrant apprentices and journeymen, then we would expect to find few migrant newcomers among those ranks. Since this was only the case (to an extent) among apprentices, but not at all so among journeymen, there may have been different processes going on in both groups.

Apprentices

As can be seen in Table 2 (top section, third column), apprentices coming from Amsterdam appeared to contract themselves, on average, for longer periods of time per contract; however, this trend did not reach significance when subjected to statistical analysis.[45] Amsterdam-born apprentices surprisingly also did not work for their own father more often than migrant apprentices, though the small number of observations make it hard to make firm conclusions (Table 2, top section, fourth column).[46] Table 3 displays some characteristics of the masters under

44 Crosstabs with newcomer status (yes vs. no) on the columns and journeyman origin category on the rows showed an uneven distribution, a fact that was statistically significant: $Chi^2(3) = 142.7$, $p < .001$. See also Table 2, middle section, final column.

45 Crosstabs with contract duration (2, 3, or 4 years) on the columns and apprentice origin category on the rows showed an even distribution, $Chi^2(6) = 10.3$, $p = .113$. See also Table 2, top section, third column.

46 Crosstabs with 'works for father' (yes vs. no) on the columns and apprentice origin category on the rows showed an even distribution, $Chi^2(3) = 1.1$, $p = .768$. See also Table 2, top section, fourth column.

whom apprentices trained. The first column shows the origin of the apprentice, while the second column shows the distribution of apprentices over masters of different origins. Interestingly, apprentices of differing origin were not divided evenly over masters of differing origins: apprentices from Germany, for example, all worked for masters from Germany.[47] The masters training Amsterdam-born and Dutch migrant apprentices also appeared to have been younger than the masters who trained foreign apprentices (Table 3, top section, third column). However, if younger, these masters were not less experienced than those training foreign apprentices (Table 3, top section, fourth column).[48] Finally, the fifth column of Table 3 shows that masters who contracted apprentices over the investigated three year period (1759-1761), contracted on average 0.4 apprentices per year. If that number is to be interpreted as a proxy for more successful masters (who could train more apprentices), then we see that apprentices of differing origins trained with masters who were all similarly successful.

Journeymen

For journeymen, a similar approach can be used. Journeymen contract lengths did not appear to differ much for journeymen of different origins (Table 2, middle section, third column).[49] Journeymen from Amsterdam however did work for their own father relatively more often than journeymen originating from outside Amsterdam, which not so surprisingly points to the fact that few migrant journeymen had fathers working as master surgeon in Amsterdam (Table 2, middle section, fourth column).[50] Looking at other characteristics of the masters for whom journeymen worked, we again find some differences for jour-

47 Crosstabs with master origin on the columns and apprentice origin on the rows showed that apprentices of different origins were not equally distributed over masters with different origins, $Chi^2(9) = 27.1$, $p = .001$.

48 Since the German origin group and the 'other origin' group both had a small number of observations, i.e., 7 and 3 respectively, they were added to form a group of 'foreign' apprentices. Analysis of variance (ANOVA) was performed to check whether master age differed between apprentices coming from Amsterdam, the Netherlands, and outside ('foreign'). The ages of masters appeared to differ between those group, but did not reach statistical significance, $F(2) = 3.08$, $p. = .052$. A similar analysis yielded no significant effect of apprentice origin on master experience, $F(2) = .284$, $p. = .753$.

49 Crosstabs with contract duration (1, 2, 3, 4, or 5 years, rounded to the nearest year) on the columns and journeyman origin on the rows showed an even distribution: $Chi^2(12) = 15.4$, $p = .222$. See also Table 2, top middle section, third column.

50 Crosstabs 'with works for father' (yes vs. no) on the columns and journeyman origin on the rows showed that the distribution of journeymen who worked for their father was uneven across journeymen origin categories, $Chi^2(3) = 10.1$, $p = .018$

neymen coming from Amsterdam, the Netherlands, and outside (Table 3, bottom section, second to fifth columns). Just as was the case with apprentices, journeymen of different origins were not divided evenly across masters of different origins. This effect was only found if German and Other origin journeymen were aggregated to form one group of 'foreign' journeymen, but if done so, then the foreign journeymen worked more

Table 3 Characteristics of masters split by the origin of the apprentices and journeymen that they trained

Masters who train apprentices				
Apprentice origin	**Master origin**	**Master age (SD)**	**Master experience (SD)**	**Avg. apprentices hired/year (SD)**
Amsterdam	**A**16 **N**24 **G**14 **O**1	38.6 (9.6)	11.4 (8.2)	0.4 (0.2)
Netherlands	**A**6 **N**10 **G**3 **O**0	34.4 (7.3)	10.0 (8.3)	0.4 (0.1)
Germany	**A**0 **N**0 **G**7 **O**0	44.0 (6.0)	12.8 (9.4)	0.4 (0.2)
Other	**A**3 **N**0 **G**0 **O**0	40.3 (8.4)	9.7 (4.9)	0.3 (0.0)
Unknown	-	-	29.0 (-)	0.5 (0.2)
Total	**A**25 **N**34 **G**24 **O**1	38.2 (10.8)	11.3 (8.4)	0.4 (0.2)
Masters who hire journeymen				
Journeyman origin	**Master origin**	**Master age (SD)**	**Master experience (SD)**	**Avg. journeymen hired/year (SD)**
Amsterdam	**A**38 **N**35 **G**27 **O**3	39.7 (11.1)	12.2 (9.3)	0.7 (0.4)
Netherlands	**A**67 **N**54 **G**27 **O**4	37.8 (10.2)	10.5 (8.6)	0.8 (0.5)
Germany	**A**33 **N**20 **G**28 **O**3	41.7 (10.1)	12.8 (9.1)	0.7 (0.5)
Other	**A**2 **N**4 **G**6 **O**0	40.3 (6.3)	11.3 (6.4)	1.0 (0.6)
Unknown	**A**5 **N**3 **G**4 **O**0	38.0 (12.2)	9.3 (8.4)	0.7 (0.4)
Total	**A**145 **N**116 **G**92 **O**10	39.3 (10.5)	11.5 (8.9)	0.8 (0.5)

Note. 'Master origin' displays how the total number of apprentices and journeymen from each origin category was distributed over masters with different birth place origins, where A = Amsterdam, N = Netherlands, G = Germany, O = Other master origin. Sources: Apprentices: SAA366/255, Journeymen: SAA366/252, Masters: SAA366/246

often than would be expected by chance for foreign masters.[51] And again, just as with apprentices, the masters for whom journeymen

51 Crosstabs with master origin (Amsterdam, Netherlands, or Foreign) on the columns and journeyman origin (Amsterdam, Netherlands, or Foreign) on the rows showed that journeymen of different origins were equally distributed over masters with different origins, $Chi^2(4) = 10.4$, $p = .035$.

worked were of different age (column three), but similar in terms of experience (column four), and success (column five).[52]

The steep path to mastery

We have now established that the Amsterdam Surgeons' Guild, at a formal level, was very open for apprentices and journeymen, but less so for master surgeons, and that it made little to no formal distinction between native and migrant newcomers. In practice, however, migrant apprentices were underrepresented, while migrant journeymen were overrepresented within the guild. Furthermore, migrant apprentices and journeymen coming from outside the Netherlands trained with masters that were more often also foreigners, less often their father, and slightly older in age, but not less experienced. Next we can ask: how did this apparently different career path of some of the migrant apprentices and journeymen, combined with the steep learning curve to becoming a master surgeon, affect their chances of becoming master surgeon within the Amsterdam Surgeons' Guild?

Of the initial 98 apprentices serving between 1759-1761, 55 (57 per cent) also contracted themselves as journeyman in Amsterdam in the following years. It is not clear from these data if the remaining 43 per cent dropped out, or if they decided to become journeyman outside Amsterdam. However, the dropout ratio of apprentices in a comparable guild (the Leiden Surgeons' Guild) has been established at 40 per cent.[53] If Amsterdam surgeons' apprentices dropped out roughly as often, then that would imply that most of the apprentices who did finish their term (an estimated 60 per cent of the total) moved on to become journeyman in Amsterdam.

Did the chance to become a journeyman differ between apprentices of different origin? A binary logistic regression analysis was carried out to predict the probability that an apprentice surgeon would continue his career as a journeyman surgeon in Amsterdam. In a first step, apprentice origin distance (a continuous variable containing the dis-

52 Three separate analyses of variance (ANOVA) were performed in order to test whether journeymen of different origin categories (Amsterdam, Netherlands, or Foreign) ended up with masters of different age, experience, and success (in terms of average number of journeymen hired per year). Test results pointed out that this was indeed the case for master age, $F(2) = 3.72$, $p. = .025$; but not for master experience, $F(2) = 2.06$, $p. = .129$, or success, $F(2) = 1.42$, $p. = .243$.

53 R. Schalk, 'Apprenticeships with and without guilds. The Northern Netherlands', in: Prak and Wallis, *Apprenticeship in early modern Europe,* 202.

tance between an apprentice's hometown and Amsterdam measured in kilometres) was added to the model, to see if apprentices had a different chance to become journeyman in Amsterdam based on their origin. The result was not significant, indicating that apprentices had an equal chance to become journeyman in Amsterdam regardless of how

Table 4 Apprentices advancing to journeyman in Amsterdam, percentage of newcomers among journeymen, and journeymen advancing to master in Amsterdam

Birth place	% Apprentices who became journeymen	% Newcomers among journeymen	% Journeymen who became masters	
			Oldtimer	Newcomer
Amsterdam	58%	8%	15%	0%
Netherlands	60%	65%	18%	6%
Outside Netherlands	50%	79%	4%	5%
Total	57%	52%	15%	5%

Sources: Apprentices: SAA366/255, Journeymen: SAA366/252, Masters: SAA366/246.

far away their initial birth place was from the Amsterdam (see also Table 4, second column).[54] In a second step, average contract length, and the age and origin of the master hiring them were added as independent variables to the model, to see if these career aspects influenced the chance to become journeyman. Adding these variables did not lead to a better model.[55] In other words, apprentices had similar chances to become journeyman in Amsterdam regardless of their birth place, and although we have previously established that Amsterdam-born and migrant apprentices trained under different masters (i.e., German apprentices trained more often with German and older masters), these career aspects did not affect their chances of becoming a journeyman in Amsterdam either.

A next step in a surgeon's career could be to move up from journeyman to master surgeon in Amsterdam. The requirements set up by the Surgeon's Guild for becoming a master surgeon were, however, significantly more formidable than those for becoming a journeyman. That these criteria had a real effect on who could (or wanted to) become a master surgeon, is reflected in the number of journeymen, working in

54 Logistic regression (method = enter) with origin distance in km as predictor variable yielded no significant model improvement over the intercept model, $Chi^2(1) = 1.93$, p. = .165. See Appendix, Table A.

55 When these predictor variables were entered simultaneously (method = enter), they made no significant improvements to the model, $Chi^2(4) = 1.13$, p. = .889.

Amsterdam between 1761 and 1765, who eventually enrolled as master surgeon: of these, only 43 out of 441 (approximately 10 per cent) made it to become master.

With the step from journeyman to master being so much steeper, it is conceivable that migrants suffered a larger disadvantage at this stage. At first glance this indeed appeared to be the case. A binary logistic regression model, with the probability of a journeyman surgeon being promoted to master surgeon as an outcome variable, yielded an effect of journeyman origin distance (distance between a journeyman's hometown and Amsterdam in kilometres) on his probability to become master surgeon.[56] In a next step, the variables which had previously been found to differ between journeymen of differing origin groups (i.e., 'works for father', master age, and master origin) were added to see if they explained why journeymen coming from outside Amsterdam had a smaller chance to become master. However, adding these career variables did not improve the model, indicating that if migrant journeymen had smaller chances to become master surgeon it was not due to missing out on the option to work for their own father, or due to working for foreign and younger masters.[57]

In search for another explanation of why migrant journeymen had a smaller chance to become master, two variables were added that can be taken as proxies for a journeyman's experience gathered within the Amsterdam Surgeons' Guild. *Newcomership* is a dummy-coded variable indicating whether a journeyman had or did not have any past experience with the Amsterdam Surgeon's Guild, at the initiation of a journeyman contract in the period between 1761 and 1765. *Number of contracts* is a variable counting a journeyman's total number of contracts initiated in Amsterdam in the period between 1761 and 1765. Adding these variables to the binary logistic model, previously containing only journeyman origin distance (in kilometres), significantly improved the model.[58] However,

56 Binary logistic regression predicting probability to become master. Adding journeyman origin distance in km. (method = enter) made a significant improvement to the model, $Chi^2(1) = 4.44$, p. = .035. See Appendix, Table B.

57 Adding 'works for father', master age, and master origin as predictors to the model already containing journeyman origin distance in km., did not lead to an improved model. $Chi^2(4) = 2.76$, p. = .599. See Appendix, Table B.

58 Binary logistic regression predicting probability to become master. Adding journeyman newcomer status and number of journeymen contracts to the model previously only containing journeyman origin distance in km. (method = enter) made a significant improvement to the model, $Chi^2(1) = 7.71$, p. = .021. Journeymen who had a track record within the guild were 2.56 times more likely to become masters than journeymen who had to pay tuition fee (and were therefore new to the guild), p. = .015. See Appendix, Table C.

of these two predictors, only newcomer status made a significant impact.

The final two columns of Table 4 display the relationship between journeyman birth place, newcomership, and the probability to become master in Amsterdam. Journeymen born in Amsterdam and other places of the Netherlands clearly benefitted from being an old-timer within the Amsterdam Surgeons' Guild, while this link was missing for foreign journeymen. Taken together, being a newcomer had a large effect on a journeyman's odds to become master later on: Journeymen who already had a track record within the Amsterdam Surgeons' Guild were 2.56 times more likely to become master in Amsterdam. The negative effect of journeyman origin should therefore be understood as stemming from the fact that many migrant journeymen arrived new to the guild. Many of them perhaps did not plan to make career within Amsterdam beyond being a journeyman, or went back to their home town after a while. In contrast, those journeymen who did have a previous track record in Amsterdam, for example because they had completed their apprenticeship there, more often stayed to become master. In other words, it was not so much origin, but rather the geography of education and work that shaped careers.

Conclusion

This paper set out to answer the questions *How open was the Amsterdam Surgeons' Guild to migrant newcomers in the eighteenth century?* and *How did the Amsterdam Surgeons' Guild's admittance and training policy affect the retention of migrants within the guild?* Taking these questions in conjunction, the answers are that a) the Amsterdam Surgeons' Guild, as an institution, differentiated between apprentices, journeymen, and master surgeons: between these stages the entry requirements were lower for apprentices and journeymen than for masters. b) At neither stage (apprentice, journeyman, or master) did the Surgeons' Guild make much distinction, in terms of entry criteria, between native and migrant newcomers, sometimes even lowering requirements for migrants. c) Migrant apprentices coming from outside the Netherlands, and also migrant journeymen, followed a somewhat different career path than locals. In comparison, they less often worked for their father, more often worked for older masters, and those masters were more often foreign. d) These slightly different careers did not, however, predict the chance to become journeyman or master in Amsterdam. e) What

did predict the tendency to become master surgeon was whether or not migrants came new to the Amsterdam Surgeons' Guild during the journeyman stage, or whether they already had a track record. Journeymen who came as newcomer to the Amsterdam Surgeons' Guild between 1761 and 1765 were less inclined to become master surgeon in Amsterdam, compared with those who already had previous experience with the Amsterdam Surgeons' Guild. While being a migrant indeed predicted career opportunities within the Amsterdam Surgeons' Guild, this effect was explained by the fact that many migrants were newcomers to the Guild at a moment when there were already competitors – migrant or native – with more local experience.

Having the right skills to be a master surgeon seems to have been important to the Amsterdam Surgeons' Guild. Not only were the entry exams for master surgeon difficult to pass, but the guild also provided anatomical and botanical lessons, not just for the master surgeons, but also for apprentices and journeymen to attend.[59] However, a distinction between the locally trained and the non-locally trained surgeons becomes visible at this point. Perhaps due to the fact that the Amsterdam Surgeons' Guild did not distinguish *formally* between locals and foreigners at the journeyman stage, many migrating journeymen found occupation within the guild. The guild seemed to recognize that those migrants were needed, by keeping registration fees low, and by waiving the obligation to take the local lessons in anatomy and botany. Of these migrant journeymen, however, only few eventually became master surgeon in Amsterdam. The image arises that although the Amsterdam Surgeons' Guild did not make any formal distinctions between the foreign trained and the locally trained (like the distinction between 'free' and 'unfree' journeymen in Antwerp)[60], the locally trained surgeons were in practice more effectively prepared for the position of master surgeon in Amsterdam.

Missing from this analysis is the perspective of the migrants who came to Amsterdam to work in the Surgeons' Guild. The question is whether many of the migrant journeymen indeed intended to become master surgeon in Amsterdam, or not; but given that only about ten per cent of all journeymen eventually became master surgeon in Amster-

59 For a beautiful illustration of a seventeenth-century lesson in anatomy provided by the Amsterdam Surgeons' Guild, see Rembrandt van Rijn's *The Anatomy Lesson of dr. Nicolaes Tulp*, 1632 (The Hague, Mauritshuis).

60 De Munck and Davids, 'Beyond exclusivism', 205-206; De Kerf, 'The early modern Antwerp Coopers' Guild', 248-252.

dam, it is likely that many were satisfied with staying a journeyman, or moving to another city. In fact, a recent publication investigating the migration patterns of journeymen in the Northern Netherlands has suggested that the more highly skilled journeymen often travelled from town to town in order to gather experience, before settling.[61] Knowing more about the motivation of migrating journeymen to come to Amsterdam and other cities is therefore important, if one is to understand why some migrants did and some did not become master surgeon in Amsterdam. The current case study does not provide the opportunity to look more in depth into the motivation of the migrants that came to Amsterdam. However, in taking on the perspective of the Amsterdam Surgeons' Guild, this article hopes to demonstrate that craft guilds seemed to care about the training and education of their members, and, perhaps as a result of that training and education, managed to retain at least some of those migrants who were introduced to the guild as apprentices.

Another element that has so far only been touched upon briefly, is the economical position of Amsterdam during the eighteenth century. During the majority of this age, the Dutch economy was in decline.[62] Many Dutch towns responded by raising entry barriers for migrants and, perhaps as a consequence, saw their populations diminish. Amsterdam was an exception to this rule, however, and managed to maintain a steady population during the eighteenth century. By 1800, the Amsterdam population still existed for 24 per cent of foreign born – more than double the number of foreign born in Leiden, Dordrecht, and Rotterdam.[63]

It is known that the open policy of Amsterdam towards migrants, coupled with economic decline, led to the formation of a group of impoverished labourers in Amsterdam, alongside the more settled or well-off population.[64] Such a policy, in which migrants find easy access to a city, but only gradually acquire the benefits of the welfare state through participating in the local labour market, has previously been described as a 'Tantalus Torment' system of immigration.[65] The case study described in this article shows that the Amsterdam Surgeons' Guild contributed to such a 'Tantalus Torment' system of immigration, by setting low entry

61 Groot and Schalk, 'Journeymen migration and settlement in eighteenth-century Holland', under review.

62 Israel, *The Dutch Republic* , 998-1016.

63 Lucassen, 'Gated communities?', 223.

64 Kuijpers, *Migrantenstad. Immigratie en sociale verhoudingen in 17e eeuws Amsterdam*, 332-335.

65 Lucassen, 'Gated communities?', 218-219.

barriers for migrant journeymen – a group of labourers that received few social benefits from the guild, and often worked on a temporary basis. At the same time, by also keeping entry barriers to migrant apprentices low, and by investing in professional education of apprentices and journeymen, the Amsterdam Surgeons' Guild offered a way for migrants to climb the ranks of the organizational ladder and obtain a more secure position.

Implications

One of the goals of this paper was to contribute to the discussion about the openness of craft guilds to outsiders in general. Put simply, that discussion portrays guilds either as closed-off organizations, purposely limiting the inflow of newcomers in order to boost the financial gains of a select few; or as a social club, proud of its craft and members, averting newcomers only where they threaten the well-being of the organization in general. Needless to say, the truth is more nuanced. This paper consciously focused on three different groups of newcomers (apprentices, journeymen, and masters), and distinguished between institutional openness and career paths in practice. In this way, this paper could demonstrate that craft guilds could be open to some newcomers (apprentices, journeymen) more than others (masters); and that craft guilds could be migrant-friendly at the institutional level (through rules and regulations), while at the same time putting the locally educated on the path that leads to master surgeon. With these distinctions, this paper hopes to add that guild *openness* is as much connected to training as it is to geography.

As for the actual openness of the Amsterdam Surgeons' Guild toward different sorts of newcomers, this paper maintains that newcomers' experience specific to the Amsterdam Surgeons' Guild was the most important selection criterion. With this finding, this paper hopes to question what it means to be a 'migrant' or a 'newcomer'. While these terms are often used interchangeably, the case study of the Amsterdam Surgeons' Guild shows that the two can be conceptually distinct. While the Guild harboured surgeons who had been born outside the city of Amsterdam – in other words: migrants – among its apprentices, journeymen, and masters, these migrants differed in the amount of experience they had gathered within the Amsterdam Surgeons' Guild. Some migrants entered the Amsterdam Surgeons' Guild already at the apprentice stage, while others came new to the city during the stage of journeyman. These 'newcomers' were less likely to later become master surgeon in Amsterdam. One

could suggest that the Amsterdam Surgeons' Guild's internal education system aimed to socialise newcomers, regardless of whether they were migrant or native, into experienced surgeons. This sets apart migrants from newcomers: migrants will never be natives – in the sense that they cannot change where they were born. But being a migrant is just one way in which one can be new to an organization, and through gaining experience within the organization a newcomer can become an old-timer.

This study's findings may have some implications for the debate about current-day hiring and discrimination practices of migrant newcomers by companies. A recent study of discrimination of migrant job applicants in the Netherlands, in which fictitious curriculum vitae were sent to real job openings, showed that Turkish migrants had a fifteen per cent lower chance to get a positive call-back after sending in their resume than native Dutch applicants.[66] This was despite the fact that these fictitious applicants had migrated to the Netherlands at the age of six, had followed their secondary education in the receiving country, spoke the language, and had the relevant qualifications and work experience for the job. From the study about the Amsterdam Surgeons' Guild it became clear that local experience was the mechanism behind migrants' disadvantage in making career within the organization. This raises the question whether speaking the language, having followed education in the receiving country, and having the relevant job qualifications are sufficient for obtaining a job, or that there are perhaps different aspects of jobs that can be learnt only through local participation. Future studies should investigate how having local on-the-job experience may affect migrants' career opportunities, and how this form of experience differs from job experience gathered in another locality.

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66 L. Thijssen et al., 'Discrimination against Turkish minorities in Germany and the Netherlands. Field experimental evidence on the effect of diagnostic information on labour market outcomes', *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* (2019) 1–18.

Appendix

Table A Predictors of apprentices' promotion to journeyman in Amsterdam: Birth place distance to Amsterdam, contract length, master's origin

			Block 1			
Predictor	β	***SE* β**	**Wald's χ^2**	df	p	**e^{β} (odds ratio)**
Constant	.392	.245	2.556	1	.110	1.480
Distance	-.001	.002	.233	1	.629	.999
Test	χ^2	df	p			
Omnibus test of model coefficients (step)	1.926	1	.165			
			Block 2			
Predictor	β	***SE* β**	**Wald's χ^2**	df	p	**e^{β} (odds ratio)**
Constant	-.869	1.468	.350	1	.554	.420
Distance	-.001	.002	.218	1	.641	.999
Contract length	.318	.440	.523	1	.470	1.375
Master age	.006	.028	.040	1	.841	1.006
Master origin: Amsterdam			.228	2	.892	
Master origin: Netherlands	.256	.574	.199	1	.656	1.291
Master origin: Foreign	.257	.669	.147	1	.701	1.293
Test	χ^2	df	p			
Omnibus test of model coefficients (step)	1.133	4	.889			

Table B Predictors of journeymen's promotion to master in Amsterdam: Birth place distance to Amsterdam, works for father, master's origin

			Block 1			
Predictor	β	***SE* β**	**Wald's χ^2**	df	p	**e^{β} (odds ratio)**
Constant	-2.118	.261	65.672	1	.000	.120
Distance	-.005	.003	3.219	1	.073	.995
Test	χ^2	df	p			
Omnibus test of model coefficients (step)	4.440	1	.035			
			Block 2			
Predictor	β	***SE* β**	**Wald's χ^2**	df	p	**e^{β} (odds ratio)**
Constant	-3.091	.842	13.494	1	.000	.045
Distance	-.005	.003	3.002	1	.083	.995
Works for father	.754	.835	.816	1	.366	2.125
Master age	.025	.020	1.616	1	.204	1.025
Master origin: Amsterdam			.161	2	.923	
Master origin: Netherlands	-.201	.501	.161	1	.688	.818
Master origin: Foreign	-.096	.534	.032	1	.858	.909
Test	χ^2	df	p			
Omnibus test of model coefficients (step)	2.761	4	.599			

Table C Predictors of journeymen's promotion to master in Amsterdam: Birth place distance to Amsterdam, journeyman is newcomer, number of journeyman contracts

			Block 1			
Predictor	β	***SE* β**	**Wald's χ^2**	df	p	**e^{β} (odds ratio)**
Constant	-1.914	.205	87.433	1	.000	.147
Distance	-.004	.002	3.918	1	.048	.996
Test	χ^2	df	p			
Omnibus test of model coefficients (step)	5.125	1	.024			
			Block 2			
Predictor	β	***SE* β**	**Wald's χ^2**	df	p	**e^{β} (odds ratio)**
Constant	-2.166	.567	14.578	1	.000	.115
Distance	-.002	.002	.752	1	.386	.998
Newcomer	-.939	.387	5.878	1	.015	.391
Number of contracts	.410	.442	.859	1	.354	1.506
Test	χ^2	df	p			
Omnibus test of model coefficients (step)	7.710	2	.021			

Note: if odds ratio for newcomers is .391, then odds ratio for old-timers becomes 1/.391 = 2.56

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