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The Political, Socio-Economic, and Cultural Impact of Lotteries on Dutch Society (1700 – 1850)

Lotteries were present in the Netherlands throughout the early modern period. However, at different times and in different contexts, the lottery played a different socio-economic and/or cultural role. Scholars suggest that 1726 was an important turning point, when the lottery changed radically compared to previous centuries.[1] And there is good reason to believe this. In 1726, the States General (hereafter SG) – the governmental body that ruled the country at the time – established the first state lottery. This policy of centralisation intended to put an end to the proliferation of all kinds of small, provincial, and private lotteries, but it failed miserably. It sometimes even encouraged a sense of local or regional autonomy and independence, ignoring or defying the restrictions imposed by the SG. The lottery became an instrument to resist the threat of centralisation and to strengthen local and regional identities. This raises the question of whether and how the strong growth of lotteries in the eighteenth century affected Dutch society and whether it undermined its social fabric, as the SG claimed. This chapter explores this question by observing the changing political and institutional context of the lotteries and the socio-economic, cultural, and moral discourses that accompanied these changes. The chapter focuses on the years 1700 to 1850, when the state lottery was established and the struggle with independent lotteries was most intense. From a political point of view, this period is interesting because the Netherlands changed from being a decentralised republic to becoming a more centralised monarchy after the French Revolution. In addition, the public debate expanded during this period as a result of rising literacy and a growing number of periodicals, newspapers, literary genres, and other entertaining material. One of the key issues in this debate was the development of moral and cultural citizenship as a necessary foundation for a national and social community.[2]

The first part of this chapter describes the establishment of the state lottery and the reasons why the private provincial lotteries survived and flourished after 1726 despite the prohibitions and sanctions imposed by the SG. The aim is

1 Anneke Huisman and Johan Koppenol, *Daer Compt de Lotery Met Trommels En Trompetten! Loterijen in de Nederlanden Tot 1726* (Verloren, 1991), 8.

2 Joost Kloek, W.W. Mijnhardt, and Eveline Koolhaas-Grosfeld, *1800: Blauwdrukken voor een samenleving. Nederlandse cultuur in Europese context* (Sdu Uitgevers, 2001), 583 – 586.

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to reconstruct how the different administrative levels justified and promoted their lotteries and to see to what extent these lotteries served commercial, social, or other purposes. This part is largely based on institutional and administrative sources (placards, ordinances, policy documents, and lottery regulations). The second part of this chapter deals with the broader moral, cultural, and political discourses surrounding these state and independent lotteries, using a wide range of sources such as pamphlets, periodicals, treatises, newspapers, plays, songs, and lottery tickets. This part is structured according to the themes that dominated these discourses: the social and economic benefits of the lottery, the moral and social harm caused by the lottery, and the Jews as scapegoats for all the lottery's failures.

1 Central power and regional autonomy

1.1 Establishing the state lottery

The prelude to the Dutch state lottery was characterised by ideological and religious objections and economic and social stimuli. For example, the protest of the Calvinist Church, especially after the Synod of Dordrecht in 1618, reduced the lotteries until the 1640s. However, after the Peace of Münster in 1648, when religious pressure lowered, the popularity of lotteries increased again. Around 1695, due to the deteriorating economic situation of the Republic, there was an unprecedented proliferation of lotteries. Between 1672 and 1713, there were at least 180 lotteries, mainly taking place in the cities of Holland. They were often charitable and usually organised by churches, orphanages, and guesthouses.[3] Officially, the organisers of these local lotteries had to apply for permission, but they often ignored this rule. From 1709, the SG wanted to take control of the many local and provincial initiatives and began to organise central lotteries. The prizes of these lotteries were not cash but annuities ("lijfrenten") and bonds ("obligaties"). Despite this centralising strategy of the SG, the many local raffles continued to attract the most interest.[4] Contemporary comedies and ballads thematised this

3 Donald Haks, *Vaderland en vrede 1672–1713. Publiciteit over de Nederlandse Republiek in oorlog* (Verloren, 2013), 231–234.

4 Haks, *Vaderland*, 231; Helma Houtman-De Smedt, "Noordwest-Europa in de ban van het loterijen lottospel tijdens de 18de en de 19de eeuw", in *Loterijen in Europa. Vijf eeuwen geschiedenis,* ed. Hans Devisscher (Nationale Loterij en Snoeck-Ducaju & Zoon, 1994), 139–141; Marja Walraven, "Een lot uit de loterij. De loterij-aantekeningen van Philippus Antonius Suyskens, 1673–1741" (MA thesis, Leiden University, 2000), vol. 1, 1–2.

struggle between the official and the private and ridiculed people for still taking part in these local lotteries.[5]

In response to this failed attempt to control lotteries, the SG decided in 1726 to establish a state ("Generality") lottery and, at the same time, prohibit any other provincial, local, or private lottery. The argument behind this resolution was that this would solve the problem of illegal and corrupt lotteries and provide more protection for players. The proceeds of this lottery were distributed among the provinces according to an already existing taxation system. However, the national lottery was also a way to fill the state coffers when the economy was in decline. The Generality opted for the so-called class lottery, which showed how lotteries could benefit state finances. Prizes were now paid in cash, rather than the unpopular annuities or bonds, because experts calculated that this would be less of a burden on government finances.[6] Class lotteries used a fixed number of tickets and prizes and were divided into series or classes. The size of the prizes increased with each class, as did the price of the tickets. If your ticket did not win in the previous class, you could keep playing by exchanging it for a more expensive ticket. You could also buy a ticket for all classes at once. In this case, the tickets were slightly cheaper. If people won a prize in the penultimate class, a part of the cost was refunded.[7] The lotteries for the different classes were often drawn six weeks apart, which meant that the state lotteries attracted public attention for six to seven months of the year.[8] Including the many local and regional lotteries, it becomes clear that lotteries were ubiquitous in the public domain for a long time.

The first Dutch state lottery sold only 120,000 tickets in a population of around 1.9 million people, probably because it was too expensive for many people to participate: a ticket cost twenty guilders. The highest prize that could be won was 30,000 guilders. Due to the lack of success, the state lottery decided to add more classes, partly in response to criticism that less well-off people could not afford the relatively expensive tickets. In later editions, the number of cheaper classes was increased to allow more people to take part. By 1731, the lottery already had six classes. This was reduced to five after the French Revolution.[9] These mul-

5 Jan van Elsland, *Het lotery leeven, blyd-spel* (Haarlem/Amsterdam?: Izaak vander Vinne, 1710), (UL Leiden 1091 F 34).

6 G.A. Fokker, *Geschiedenis der loterijen in de Nederlanden. Eene bijdrage tot de kennis van de zeden en gewoonten der Nederlanders in de XVe, XVIe, en XVIIe eeuwen* (Frederik Muller, 1862), 128–130; Haks, *Vaderland*, 240–241.

7 Fokker, *Geschiedenis der loterijen*, 129.

8 Huisman and Koppenol, *Daer Compt de Lotery*, 116.

9 Houtman-De Smedt, "Noordwest-Europa", 142.

tiple classes must have had a levelling effect, allowing more people from the lower classes to participate. After these reforms and despite continued competition from regional and private initiatives, the Dutch state lottery was quite successful in terms of participation. For the players, it probably did not matter who organised the lottery. It was just another chance to win a large sum of money. From the personal notes of the avid lottery player Philippus Antonius Suyskens, one learns that he was indeed not loyal to any particular lottery but joined both the state lottery and the provincial lottery of Utrecht in the 1730s.[10] Also, there is great continuity and stability within the Dutch state lottery. From 1726 until the end of the eighteenth century, around ninety Generality lotteries were held. Most were announced in the Amsterdam newspaper.[11] The Dutch state lottery even had large ticket sales in other European countries (England, Scotland, Denmark, Sweden, Russia, and Germany).[12] The popularity affected the lottery peddlers (Jews and other street sellers), who tried to get as many tickets as possible to sell on the street. This eagerness is illustratively depicted in Isaac Ouwater's 1779 painting, where we see numerous ticket sellers storming the lottery office of Jan de Groot in the Kalverstraat in Amsterdam (figure 1). To moderate this speculation and brokering, the lottery offices did not offer more than ten tickets at a time and were open for limited hours.[13]

The state lottery has continued to the present day, albeit under different names and with short interruptions. It survived the French Revolution, the Batavian Republic (1795–1806), the Kingdom of Louis Napoleon (1806–1810), the annexation of the Netherlands by the French Empire (1810–1813), and, after a transitional period (1813–1815), the precarious Kingdom of the Netherlands (1815–1830), including Belgium.[14] This longevity demonstrates the economic, social, and cultural impact that lotteries must have had on Dutch society.

The state lottery created an advanced infrastructure and a widespread network of distributors. The ultimate responsibility lay with the Receiver General of the Generality, who received a percentage of the proceeds. The same was

10 Walraven, "Een lot uit de loterij", vol. 1, 15–16; Philippus Antonius Suyskens, "Anteekening van het gepasseerde zedert mijn komst alhier buyten op Groot Haesbroek, 1730–1740", National Archive, The Hague, inv. nr. 73, dd. 7–5–1731.

11 Fokker, *Geschiedenis der loterijen*, 137. I counted 1,800 advertisements in the Amsterdam Newspaper between 1726 and 1750 (personal database based on Delpher: https://www.delpher.nl/).

12 Fokker, *Geschiedenis der loterijen*, 152.

13 "De Belagchelycke lottery ziekte bespot" and "De Amsterdamse lotery drift bespot", in *De weereldt in haar verscheidentheidt; of Het mannelyk morgen ontbyt, en 't jufferlyk thee gerecht: onder de Zin-Spreuk Tot Nut en Voordeel* (Amsterdam: Jacobus Loveringh, 1736) (UL Leiden THYSIA 2431).

14 Houtman-De Smedt, "Noordwest-Europa", 143.

Figure 1: Isaac Ouwater, People storming the bookshop and lottery office of Jan de Groot in the Kalverstraat in Amsterdam. Oil painting on canvas, 1779, Rijksmuseum Amsterdam.

true of the collectors, often representatives of the middle classes (merchants and booksellers), who had a vested interest in the wide distribution of the lottery tickets. The collectors employed lower-class sellers, who, in turn, employed street vendors, often poor Jews. Because each middleman wanted to benefit, the selling price of the tickets was much higher than the actual deposit. By the end of the eighteenth century, the original prices of lottery tickets had often increased

by 100 %! To reduce the price, these tickets were divided into smaller parts ("splitting") or were rented out (figure 2).

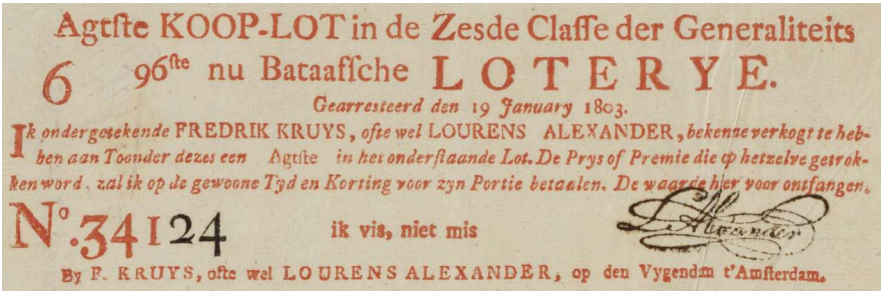
Agtſte KOOP-LOT in de Zesde Claſſe der Generaliteits
6 96ſte nu Bataafſche LOTERYE.
Gearresteerd den 19 January 1803.
Ik ondergeteekende FREDRIK KRUYS, ofte wel LOURENS ALEXANDER, bekenne verkogt te hebben aan Toonder dezes een Agtſte in het onderſtaande Lot. De Prys of Premie die op hetzelve getrokken word, zal ik op de gewoone Tyd en Korting voor zyn Portie betaalen. De waarde hier voor ontfangen.
N°.34124 ik vis, niet mis
By F. KRUYS, ofte wel LOURENS ALEXANDER, op den Vygendm t'Amſterdam.

Figure 2: An example of dividing tickets up into smaller parts ("splitting"). This is an eight part of a ticket for the sixth class of the Generality Lottery in 1803, sold by F. Kruys in Amsterdam (City archive Amsterdam).

Splitting could cause confusion and fraud. In some situations, the collector even had to put in money himself because he had sold split tickets that were not covered by the deposit.[15] The 1830 ban on renting out or splitting tickets had an immediate, negative effect on participation in the state lottery.[16] Due to the political implications of the separation of the Northern Netherlands and the Southern Netherlands (Belgium), interest in the state lottery declined, and some people suggested that it should be abolished altogether. However, this did not happen because this source of income was too valuable for the state and the many people involved in the organisation of these lotteries. In 1835, the lawyer A.D. Meijer also pleaded for the continuation of the state lottery, observing how useful, moral, and economically beneficial these lotteries were. By contrast, several obscure lotteries, for instance, from Germany (mainly Hamburg), evaded taxes and harmed the moral well-being of the Dutch people. Another argument in favour of the state lottery was that it satisfied people's innate desire to gamble.[17] In 1848, King William II initiated a change in the constitution to ensure that the

15 Haks, *Vaderland*, 236; Houtman-De Smedt, "Noordwest-Europa", 145–149; J.J.N. Smits, *De kans lacht yder toe. Een beschryving van 250 jaar Staatsloterij aan de hand van gegevens van de ouddirecteur der Staatsloterij, P.R. Alderwerelt van Rosenburgh* (Staatsuitgeverij, 1976), 22.

16 Houtman-De Smedt, "Noordwest-Europa", 143.

17 A.D. Meijer, *Toespraak Tot Eenige Voornamen in Den Lande, over Het Bestaan Der Loterij* ([S.l.: s.n.] 1836) (Royal Library, The Hague 3165 G 29).

management and control of the state lottery became the responsibility of the Ministry of Finance, instead of the more independent Receiver-General.[18]

1.2 Local and provincial lotteries

Despite the many resolutions and placards against illegal initiatives, the SG was not powerful enough in the highly decentralised republic to enforce the ban on non-state lotteries.[19] Shortly after 1726, provinces and cities showed all kinds of dissident behaviour. The province of Utrecht, for example, refused to sign the SG resolution and continued to organise its own provincial lotteries.[20] Other provinces officially complied with the SG's decision but continued their own (illegal) lotteries with little consequence. In 1752, the SG again complained about the many provincial and private lotteries.[21] One of the recurring arguments against these provincial and local lotteries was that they led to corruption and abuse, implying that only a central government had the power to suppress these abuses. In particular, they pointed to the treachery of lottery sellers who were not even allowed to sell tickets. Only certified collectors had permission to do so.[22]

There was also an ideological difference between the state lottery and other lotteries. With the introduction of a state lottery to fill the treasury, the incentive for lotteries also shifted from charitable to state support. In the past, the lottery was only justified and allowed if its main goal was supporting the weaker members of society. After 1726, it was seemingly possible to gain money from these lotteries to support state finances. The provincial and local lotteries often retained a charitable or social purpose for at least a bit longer. They might raise money for almshouses or to help with repairs after fires and storms. It was only in the eighteenth century that smaller lotteries tended to become more commercial.[23]

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18 Houtman-De Smedt, "Noordwest-Europa", 148–149.

19 Fokker, *Geschiedenis der loterijen*, 241–242.

20 See for instance: Willem Kersseboom, *Utrechts provinciale negotiatie van 500000 guldens, by loterye van lyfrenten [...]. Gearresteerd den 12. october 1745.* Issued by the States of Utrecht (Utrecht, W.J. Reers, 1745) (UL Leiden, THYSPF 14250).

21 Fokker, *Geschiedenis der loterijen*, 142–143, 151.

22 *Brief van Het Departementaal Bestuur van de Schelde En Maas Aan de Gemeentebesturen, Inhoudende Opheffing van de Commissies van Binnenlandse Correspondentie ([S.l.: s.n.] 1799).* See also *Publicatie van het Uitvoerend Bewind der Bataafsche Republiek ([S.l.: s.n.]* 1800) (both Royal Library, The Hague).

23 Walraven, "Een lot uit de loterij", vol. 1, 31.

This commercialisation implies that lotteries stopped functioning as a social instrument and lost their connection with charitable and communal aims.

In addition to the battle between the state lottery and other lotteries, there was competition between provinces and cities. Provinces constantly accused each other of organising illegal and competitive lotteries and tried to suppress them with placards, such as those of the states of Holland (1755) and Zeeland (1741). Although the fines could be considerable, up to 600 guilders, this did not stop private initiatives.[24] Some provinces and local magistrates reserved the right to grant patents themselves.[25] A specific form of regional lotteries that continued to exist was the provincial bond lotteries, such as the Provincial Holland Lottery, entitled "negotiën bij forme van loterij". If the participants won a prize, they did not receive cash but a bond that gave them an annual rent for an extended period. The province gained money to invest, and the player had a secure income for many years.[26] Interestingly, these bond lotteries were abolished at the national level in the 1720s due to their lack of success.

The lotteries organised by the province of Utrecht are a good example of the failed attempt to completely centralise the Dutch lotteries. To understand the complex history of the Utrecht lottery, one has to go back to the seventeenth century, when the city of Utrecht had its own charity lottery called the "Aalmoezeniers loterij" [Almhouse lottery]. In 1704, the city wanted to revive this lottery and hired Amsterdam director Hendrik Blank.[27] Blank was given full responsibility for the lottery. He appointed the bookseller Jacob van Poolsum to help him sell tickets in the city. Outside the city, he appointed sub-collectors, also often booksellers. The magistrate saw the benefits of this lottery and soon banned all other initiatives.[28] However, this charitable lottery was discontinued in 1720, and the Provinciale Utrechtse Geoctroyeerde Compagnie was granted the privilege of organising a lottery instead.[29] Thus, the local lottery became a provincial lottery, and the charitable purpose became more political because the main incentive was not

24 Fokker, *Geschiedenis der loterijen*, 148. See also Reinier Baarsen, *De Amsterdamse meubelloterijen en de geschiedenis van de meubelmakerij in de tweede helft van de achttiende eeuw* (Waanders, 1992), 12.

25 Fokker, *Geschiedenis der loterijen*, 241–242.

26 Walraven, "Een lot uit de loterij", vol. 1, 31–32.

27 Walraven, "Een lot uit de loterij", vol. 1, 37–44.

28 One of the winners in the Utrecht lottery was a nine-year-old boy, the son of a silk merchant Verbeek (living on the Oude Gracht). He won of a prize of 10,000 guilders. Walraven, "Een lot uit de loterij", vol. 1, 49.

29 The whole name is: "Geoctroyeerde Utrechtse provinciale compagnie van commercie en navigatie".

supporting the poor but increasing the provincial treasury.[30] However, the States of Utrecht approved this lottery on the condition that the company still donated 8,000 guilders a year to the Utrecht almshouse ["aalmoezeniers-kamer"].[31] From 1726 onwards, people from Utrecht could participate in the provincial lottery, as well as in the state lottery.

The political and commercial aim was to invest in the infrastructure of Utrecht, with potential benefits for the province as a whole. The plan was to dig a canal from Utrecht to the Eem River and later to the Zuiderzee (now the IJsselmeer). Interestingly, the lottery proved to be the most lucrative of all the investments. It lasted for almost thirty years, and when the company decided to stop in 1749, several new lotteries were established. Gisbertus Bilsteyn, for example, was granted a monopoly for a provincial lottery in 1754. In 1760, the monopoly was, again, given to a Utrecht company, the Geoctroyeerde Societeit te Utrecht, which held the lotteries in the Provinciale Compagniehuis. This monopoly was renewed in 1770, 1784, and 1796. The States of Utrecht continued to profit from these private lotteries because one-third of the 10 % discount given to the entrepreneur had to be donated in the form of a tax ["recognitie"]. The tax had to be paid before the prizes could be claimed. If the prizes were not claimed, the provinces received the remaining amount.[32] In other words, the political and commercial incentive behind the state lottery was adopted by this provincial lottery at the expense of more social and charitable purposes. At the same time, these non-state lotteries aimed to shape and strengthen the provincial economy and identity. Provincial and local lotteries did not exclude the state lotteries but complemented them and were used as additional commercial instruments to serve decentralised interests.

After this political and institutional analysis of the Dutch lotteries, it is time to change perspective and look at the social and cultural reflections on these state and non-state lotteries in a wide range of printed media, such as pamphlets, periodicals, treatises, newspapers, plays, songs, and lottery tickets. Due to the large number of sources and the long period under consideration, the chapter offers a wide range of reflections rather than a few in-depth case studies. The three themes that dominated the contemporary debate were the social and economic benefits, moral and social harm, and the Jews as scapegoats for the lottery's ills.

30 Walraven, "Een lot uit de loterij", vol. 1, 24–50.

31 Walraven, "Een lot uit de loterij", vol. 1, 62.

32 Fokker, *Geschiedenis der loterijen*, 144–148; Walraven, "Een lot uit de loterij", vol. 1, 50–52.

2 Lottery discourses

2.1 Social and economic benefits

With the increasing politicisation and commercialisation, and the decreasing charitable aims of state and non-state lotteries from 1726 onwards, lottery organisations needed other discourses to justify this game of chance. Provinces and cities often argued that the money from lotteries could be invested in regional or local infrastructure, such as the digging of a canal in Utrecht, or used to repair dikes and buildings after storms. The city of Medemblik, in the north-west of the country, organised lotteries between 1781 and 1785 to maintain and support the dikes against storms and floods on the Zuiderzee, and to renovate the port and docks.[33] The lottery registers of prizes and winners contain verses ("deviesen") by players that show that they participated in this discourse about the benefits for Medemblik.[34] The Utrecht provincial lottery tried to downplay the political and commercial incentive for lotteries by pointing to the mandatory gift for the almshouse. These charitable aims were not always taken seriously. A satirical play from 1710 suggested that lottery directors abused the charity trope to make themselves richer: "The directors are generous and gentle, and very skilful in exploiting the poor".[35]

On an individual level, charity continued to be used as moral compensation for sudden wealth and greed. In the enlightened periodical *Hollandsche Spectator*, published between 1731 and 1735 by the publisher, publicist, and opinion-maker Justus van Effen, lotteries are not given much attention. The 1734 edition, however, contains a story about a lucky winner of the top prize of 50,000 guilders in the tenth Generality Lottery. Instead of keeping the money for himself, he gave a share to the orphans who had drawn the lottery ticket. He offered each child

33 See "Octrooi der Staten van Holland en West-Friesland voor de Stad Medemblik […] 31 januari 1781", Westfries Archive, Oud Archief Stad Medemblik, 1416–1813, inv. nr. 1551; "Loterij, groot fl 800.000,– , bij octrooi der Staten van 1781 aan Medemblik toegestaan […] 1781 tot 1785", Westfries Archive, Oud Archief Stad Medemblik, 1416–1813, inv. nr. 1454–1454. See also *Verzoek van het stadsbestuur van Medemblik aan de Staten Generaal* […] ([S.n. S.l.] 1782) (Royal Library, The Hague, 402 B 96:67).

34 *Registers der verkochte loten in de loterij van 1781, 1781 tot 1783*, Westfries archive, Oud Archief Stad Medemblik, 1416–1813, inv. nrs. 1060–1061. One prose reads: "Om geleeden schaden goed te maken" [to make good any damage suffered].

35 "Hollands Speel-Toonneel, der Loteryen", part of van Elsland's, *Het lotery leeven*, esp. fol. D8v.

500 guilders and a pair of silver shoe buckles. One of the girls who assisted the lottery received a bag of silver buckles containing 200 guilders and travel money.[36]

Another form of justification was to point to the social impact of lotteries. Some opinion-makers, such as Gregorio Leti (1630–1701) in his *Critique historique* (1697), argued that lotteries could indeed be an instrument to improve the lives of the poor.[37] In a play called *The Current Lottery* [*De hedendaagsen loterye*], written by Harmanus Varenhorst before the establishment of the state lottery (c. 1709–1715), one learns that lotteries, apart from the church and the printers, can be of great value to the poor, albeit in the form of a carnivalesque fantasy. In this comedy, the lottery turns the world upside down: a housemaid wins a prize, and the wealthy landlord loses all his money.[38]

The Protestant vicar Jean Leclerc (1657–1736), who lived and worked in the Dutch Republic, even stated in his *Réflexions sur ce qu'on appelle bonheur et malheur en matière de loteries* (Amsterdam, 1696) that lotteries should be the exclusive privilege of the poor; the rich did not need the money. If a wealthy person won the lottery, the best solution was generosity; he should donate the money to the poor. Justus van Effen, the aforementioned writer for the Holland Spectator, supported this principle of generosity.[39] The discourse on generosity recurred throughout the eighteenth century, although there were some downsides to the phenomenon.[40] A contributor to the philosophical journal *The Thinker* (1768), nicknamed Philodoxus, ironically outlined a dilemma after winning a large prize. His generosity was widely praised until he won £20,000 in a (probably state) lottery. From that moment on, more and more people asked him for a gift. Unable to meet all these requests, he was now transformed from a benefactor into a public miser. *The Thinker* advised him to remain generous, especially to women. They were so talkative that it certainly restored and enhanced his reputation. "Praise is more important than money" was his motto.[41]

36 Fokker, *Geschiedenis der loterijen*, 141.

37 Houtman-De Smedt, "Noordwest-Europa", 70. See Gregorio Leti, *Critique historique, politique, morale, économique & comique, sur les loteries, anciennes & modernes, spirituelles & temporelles* (Amsterdam: chez les amis de l'auteur, 1697).

38 Harmanus Varenhorst, *De hedendaagsen loterye; klugtspel* (Amsterdam: Marcelis van Heems, C. 1709–1715) (UL Leiden, 1095 D 40).

39 Houtman-De Smedt, "Noordwest-Europa", 64.

40 Houtman-De Smedt, "Noordwest-Europa", 65.

41 "Brieven van Philodoxus etc" [Letters from Philodoxus], *De Denker*, no. 265, dd. 25–1–1768, https://www.dbnl.org/tekst/_den001denk06_01/_den001denk06_01.pdf.

A recurring theme in satirical journals and comedies, with a socio-economic connotation, was the relationship between lotteries and marriage.[42] Winning the lottery was often presented here as a means of social mobility and a step towards marriage, which had previously been considered impossible. This idea corresponded with the ideology of the Dutch Republic, where classes were not fixed and anyone could become part of the social and economic elite. The plays also thematised romantic love. In the 1719 play, *The Ridiculous Lottery: Comedy* (De belachchelyke lotery: blyspel), written by W. van der Hoeven, the main prize of a local (village) lottery is a bride (Kornelia)! But through a humorous role reversal, cheating, and many accomplices, Kornelia finally marries her true love.[43] In 1790, long after the introduction of the state lottery, a revised and shortened version of this play was published and performed. However, it is still presented as a local lottery, assuming that the state lottery had also not artistically overruled private lotteries.[44]

In the satirical journal *Quick-sighted Lynceus* [Snelziende Lynceus] (1748–1750), the same topic is discussed at length. The author mocks the lottery as a marriage-maker by proposing a lottery in which the main prize was not money but a marriageable woman. The women are even divided into classes, as in the official state lottery. This somewhat erotic story exploits the popular motif of an unimaginable marriage made possible by a large sum of money. The man who won the prize (in the form of a bride) was also lucky enough to win an additional sum of money that the marriage candidates had put up.[45] The message was clear, albeit tongue-in-cheek: class differences, lack of money, or the inability to afford a dowry could be overcome by winning the lottery.

In the comedy *The Lottery Tickets* [De lotery briefjes] (1774), the journeyman Jacquot wins a large prize instead of his master, the shoemaker La Ribotte. This allows him to marry La Ribotte's daughter, Javotte, albeit against her father's wish-

42 This connection is also discussed in several other chapters of the present volume. See, *infra:* Marius Warholm Haugen, "Staging Lotteries"; Marly Terwisscha van Scheltinga, "If I Had the Great Prize"; Natalie Devin Hoage, "Lottery Advertisements"; Paul Goring, "The Lottery in British Prose Literature".

43 W. van der Hoeven, *De belachchelyke lotery: blyspel* (Amsterdam: by de Erfg. van J. Lescailje en Dirk Rank 1719) (UL Leiden: 5 708 G 19: 3).

44 *De nieuwe belagchelyke lotery, getrokken uit het oude blyspel van W. van der Hoeven* (Amsterdam: Jan Helders, 1790) (UL Leiden 1092 D 26).

45 "Conditien van een lotery, om te strekken tot voortzetting van den huwelyken staat", in *De Snelziende Lynceus. Berispende, op een vrolyke wyze de gebreken dezer Eeuw* (Amsterdam: Gerrit de Groot, 1749) (UL Leiden: 1106 B 25), 97–104.

es.[46] In the 1798 comedy, *The House Quarrel* [Het Huiskrakeel], the story revolves around a marital quarrel over playing the lottery and wasting money. A large prize, however, brings the quarrel to an abrupt end. Interestingly, the critical reviewer in the *National Literary Magazine* [Vaderlandsche Letteroefeningen, further as VL] of 1799 – considered a representative of the intellectual elite – did not appreciate this happy ending and expressed his dissatisfaction with the play's low quality and morality, as well as its coarse language.[47] In the VL of 1802, another and more progressive author – referring with approval to an English treatise on lotteries – celebrated the fact that a lottery prize could lead to marriage for both sexes. Only a man could ask for the hand of his beloved, but a woman who won a prize greatly increased her chances of finding a husband.[48] These plays and treatises demonstrate the recurring imaginary force of the (state and non-state) lottery to overcome economic and social obstacles.[49] The fantasies exposed the aspirations of the less well-to-do in Dutch society.

2.2 Moral and social harm

The criticism of lotteries was relatively homogeneous, pointing to the damage done to society in general and to the lower classes in particular. In other words, the social fabric was at risk. It is telling that the lottery craze was often compared to the South Sea Bubble and the financial crisis of 1720, which had also disrupted European societies. The evils of gullibility, greed, addiction, and speculation with money were addressed in particular. In his comedy *The Confused Present-day Lottery Trade* [De verwarde hedendaagse loteryhandel], Gysbert Tysens ironically suggested that the fortune hunters of the South Sea Bubble had now turned their attention to the vanities of the lottery game. He observed the same corruption and falsehoods, and stated that gullible and greedy people were, once again, trapped. In this play, the players are thus not the ones who

46 Ward Bingley, *De lotery briefjes: blijspel* (Amsterdam: Frans Hendrik Demter, c. 1775) (UL Leiden, 1090 G 66). See this same theme: C.F. Gellert, "Het lot in de lotery", in *Blyspelen van den heere C.F. Gellert* (translation from German) (Amsterdam: G. Warnars and P. den Hengst, 1778) (UL Leiden: 5 709 F 32). Gellert's comedy was also translated into French. See, *infra*, Haugen, "Staging Lotteries".

47 *Het Huiskrakeel, Blyspel* (Den Haag: J.C. Leeuwesteyn, 1798) (UL Leiden 1095 F 20); see for the critical review *Vaderlandsche Letteroefeningen* (VL) 1799, 328.

48 VL 1802.

49 For a similar reflection on the lottery as a social and imaginary force, see, *infra*, Marius Warholm Haugen, "Plus de loterie".

are targeted, but rather the wealthy, irresponsible entrepreneurs. Moreover, lotteries mainly benefitted the state and not the players. Zondertrouw [Without Fidelity] is the villain, playing the lottery with money that he was supposed to have saved for the marriage of his ward Sofia. Zondertrouw is in financial trouble, having lost money in the bubble of 1720. His niece Sofia wants to marry her lover, Gerard, but her uncle tries to prevent this for opportunistic reasons. However, the play ends with a happy marriage, and Zondertrouw is deprived of his guardianship.[50] A 1736 treatise on the lottery craze stressed that even men with sufficient means to make a decent living took the risk of investing their money in such a feeble institution as the lottery. Often, the families suffered from the players' addiction. Even the most virtuous and honest character believed that they were rewarded with a prize for their good behaviour, promising to give some money to the poor as well. However, the author of this treatise states that virtue and luck seldom go together.[51]

A popular periodical with a strong Enlightenment flavour is the *National Literary Magazine* [*Vaderlandsche Letteroefeningen*], published between 1761 and 1876.[52] In general, the VL authors disapproved of lotteries because they harmed society and the poor in particular. In his "Treatise on the Desire to Please" [Proeve over de begeerte te behaagen], in the VL of 1796, the author ridicules people who keep hoping for the impossible. Everyone who plays the lottery knows that the chances of winning are extremely small, but they still think they will be the lucky exception.[53] An author in the 1802 edition observed to his surprise that disappointments did not affect the popularity of the lottery and the naivety of its players.[54] Other opinion-makers also pointed to the dangers of the lottery for the "common man". The Jansenist priest Christophe Coudrette (1701–1774) argued in his *Dissertation théologique sur les loteries* (1742) that lotteries led to anti-social

50 [Gysbert Tysens], *De verwarde hedendaagse loteryhandel. Blyspel* ([S.n. S.l.] C. 1720) (UL Leiden, 1095 D 3).

51 "De Amsterdamsche lotery drift bespot" and "De Belagchelyke lotery ziekte bespot", in *De weereldt in haar verscheidentheidt* (Amsterdam: Jacobus Loveringh, 1736) (UL Leiden THYSIA 235), 153–168.

52 In terms of circulation and length of publication, this monthly was very successful. G.J. Johannes, *De Barometer van de Smaak. Tijdschriften in Nederland 1770–1830* (Sdu Uitgevers, 1995), 50–51, 119–123; A. Verbeek, "Een doopsgezind tijdschrift en haar gereformeerde tegenhanger. Deïsme en ongeloof in de Vaderlandsche letteroefeningen en de Nederlandsche bibliotheek", *Doopsgezinde bijdragen* 26 (2000), 138, 142–43, 145–46; J. Muis-van der Leun, "Debet- en creditzijde van een cultureel tijdschrift. Het uitgavebeheer van de Vaderlandsche Letteroefeningen", *De negentiende eeuw* 14 (1990), 109–119; 130–131.

53 VL 1796, 551–555.

54 VL 1802, 219–226.

behaviour. People were so infected by the lottery virus that they did anything, including pawning personal belongings, stealing, or cheating, to buy a ticket.[55]

The socially harmful pawning of personal property is an interesting and recurring theme in lottery discourse. The diary of the avid lottery player Philippus Antonius Suyskens (1673–1741), who can hardly be considered a poor man, proves that this is not just a rhetorical device.[56] Born into a respectable Brabant Catholic family, Suyskens studied at Utrecht but did not graduate. He does not seem to have worked in Utrecht and probably earned his income from his estates. Around 1724, he received the fief of Groot Haesbroek in Wassenaar. In 1730, Philip and his sister moved to this estate. Suyskens might not have had enough financial means to buy tickets alone, because he often bought lottery tickets together with neighbours and friends, which was quite common in the eighteenth century.[57] But Suyskens went even further. On 10 September 1731, he pawned his watch with the pawnbroker Van Thol to buy a ticket, a rather desperate act that infuriated his wife.[58] It is unclear if his financial situation worsened after this, but it is certain that he and his sister eventually lost the entire family fortune. When Suyskens died on 1 April 1741, there were many creditors knocking at the door. In 1751, the estate in Wassenaar was sold at public auction.[59] Although hard evidence is lacking, it seems likely that his love of gambling contributed to his downfall.

An important moment in the discourse on morality and family life is the founding of the Society of Common Benefit (SCB) in 1784. They aimed to reform the school system, educate and enlighten the young, and improve and civilise the "common man". The Society produced books and treatises and used (new) fiction to convey its message and reinforce its moral offensive. Unsurprisingly, lotteries were targeted by the Society as undermining civil society.[60] With its edifying publications, the Society conveyed its critique of lotteries, often addressing families and children. A children's book from 1805, for instance, contains a poem warning children against the sales pitches of Jews.[61] Fenna Mastenbroek's moral work on family life, published in 1823, tells the story of a family that falls apart because the stepmother is an enthusiastic lottery player. The eldest daughter, however, holds

55 Houtman-De Smedt, "Noordwest-Europa", 70–73.

56 Suyskens, "Anteekening".

57 See VL 1802, 223. The author calls this "gezellige geneigdheid", implying that people did not only strive for personal luck but liked to share their luck with the community.

58 Suyskens, "Anteekening".

59 Walraven, "Een lot uit de loterij", vol. 1, 10–14.

60 Ewoud Sanders, *Van Appeljood Tot Zuurjood. Veertig Portretten van Joodse Straatventers* (Walburg Pers, 2024), 171.

61 Sanders, *Van Appeljood*, 168–169.

the family together and restores domestic order.[62] A moral treatise written by the Dutch writer Ruerlo and published in 1827 warns against the carelessness, disorder, and extravagance that ruined family life. One of these evils was the participation of ordinary workers in "small lotteries", which should be combated by local authorities. In fact, all lotteries organised by local tavern keepers and publicans to raffle off goose, bacon, and meat were to be banned.[63] In the VL of 1829, a pamphlet entitled *Domestic Scenes* [Huiselijke tafereelen] is discussed, including a story about "savings and lotteries". The message is that the head of the household should not be tempted to join the lottery, as this harms his family.[64]

Another moral message encountered is that luck does not contribute to personal prestige or satisfaction. Hard work, diligence, and saving, on the other hand, are virtues to be emphasised because they are one's own doing. The *Dutch Spectator* of 1751 contained a treatise on hubris, arguing that people often claim their prestige and wealth is their own work, when, in fact, it is just a matter of luck, like winning the lottery.[65] The 1757 edition of this periodical warns against the idleness caused by winning a large lottery prize. The message is that hard work and diligence are virtues and should not be confused with money or property.[66]

Some enlightened writers criticised the lottery for encouraging belief in superstition. The author of a treatise in the VL of 1795 was surprised that contemporaries still relied heavily on superstition when playing the lottery. He also refers to the verses ("deviesen") on lottery tickets in which he found ways of predicting a favourable outcome, such as the foam of sugar on a cup of tea or the dregs of coffee grounds.[67] Some people seem to concentrate on the same lottery numbers, others believe that the day you buy a ticket determines its success, and some people want a child to pick the ticket.[68] The VL of 1805 contains a review of the work of A. von Kotzebue, about his travels to Italy and other countries. The reviewer notes with disapproval that the enthusiasm for the lottery in Naples is even greater than in the Netherlands. He mockingly describes how the orphans have religious

62 Based on a review in VL 1824, 410–411.

63 VL 1827, 307–308. See H.J. van Ruerlo Holst, *Ontmoetingen en Gesprekken van den Heer Goedhart. Een Volksleesboek, tot verspreiding van welvaart en vreugde in Huisgezinnen* (J. Schalekamp en Van de Grampel, 1827), http://books.google.com/books?vid=KBNL:KBNL03000118757. See also VL 1828, 654. Here a book is mentioned by C. van der Vijver from 1828.

64 VL 1829, 436–437.

65 *De Nederlandsche spectator*, Leiden: Pieter van der Eyk, vol. 3 (1751), 124.

66 *De Nederlandsche spectator*, Leiden: Pieter van der Eyk, vols. 9–10 (1757), 147.

67 VL 1795, 108–112. For a more thorough discussion of these verses, see, *infra*, Terwisscha van Scheltinga, "If I Had the Great Prize".

68 VL 1802, 224.

images on their bodies, how the priest blesses the orphans, and how the crowd shouts at every number. All this excitement is generated by "superstition" and has a strong connection with the reprehensible creed of Catholicism.[69]

Marriage across social classes was seen as a positive outcome of the lottery, as was mentioned earlier, but the risks were also highlighted. The VL of 1787, for example, portrays marriage above one's station as a great vice, also after winning a large prize in the lottery. One of the texts reviews a French story by Stéphanie-Félicité de Genlis, in which a mother teaches her child about the influence of money. Her moral lesson is that the footman, Morel, should not win too much money because it will make him arrogant and foolish, wanting to marry a woman above his station. If he wins a more modest prize of 12,000 guilders, which she approves, he will be able to buy a small piece of land and marry a woman of his class.[70]

The Calvinist ethos of industriousness, prominent in Dutch society, is perfectly conveyed in a comic play from 1795 (translated from German). Published during the revolutionary Batavian Republic, the play criticises the greed of lottery players. The merchant Van der Hort supports the revolution and sets the tone from the outset. The ensuing intrigue revolves around a large prize (8,000 guilders), which impacts marital entanglements. In short, an opportunistic accountant named Elias Trippel is looking for a wealthy bride. His first choice is Van der Hort's daughter Antje, but she wants to marry Willem instead. When Elias hears a rumour that the housemaid Susanne has won 8,000 guilders in the lottery, he immediately changes his plan and asks for Susanne's hand in marriage. In the end, it turns out that Antje, not Susanne, held the winning ticket. Elias's greedy and hypocritical true nature is revealed, and moral order is restored. Virtue and merit triumph.[71]

A fictional dialogue from 1848 between a proponent (Klaas Banjer) and an opponent (Pieter Hardeberg) of the lottery exemplifies the nineteenth-century moral offensive against lotteries. This dialogue aims to show how damaging lotteries can be to the social fabric of Dutch society. Klaas emphasises the benefits to the state and the people employed in the industry, but Pieter points to the social decay, such as poverty and alcohol abuse. Pieter even sees the abolition of lotteries as a form of progress, similar to the railways. The epilogue focuses on the protection

69 VL 1805, 640–646.

70 VL 1787, 41–45.

71 "[…] deugd en verdiensten moeten de eenigste middelen wezen", Johann Gottfried Lucas Hagemeister, *Het hoogste lot: blyspel,* trans. A. Hordyk Verstolk (Amsterdam: J. Helders en A. Mars, 1795) (UL Leiden, 1097 D 45), 1. For similar motifs in French lottery comedies, see, *infra*, Haugen, "Staging Lotteries".

of family life from lotteries.[72] In 1850, the Society of Common Benefit published a similar dialogue between Jan and Hendrik. Hendrik is the rational and sensible character who disapproves of Jan's eagerness to join the lottery. Hendrik is even more upset when he hears that Jan has brought some goods to the pawnshop to buy a lottery ticket. He explains to Jan how small his chances are, using probability calculations. He advises Jan to save his money instead of spending it on such a risky event.[73]

2.3 Jews as scapegoats for the lottery's ills

In the early eighteenth century, there was a growing hostility towards Jews in the Dutch Republic. This was partly due to the large influx of poor Ashkenazi (or "German") Jews from Eastern Europe. In the seventeenth century, the wealthier Sephardic Jews (from Spain and Portugal) were more or less successfully integrated into Dutch society. The Ashkenazim, on the other hand, were seen as more poverty-stricken and also as competitors in the market for low-paid jobs, such as street vending.[74] Even the Sephardic Jews often felt resentment against their poorer fellow Jews. They were afraid that they were damaging their reputation.[75] From the financial crisis of the 1720s onwards, Jews were referred to as "smous", which had a negative connotation.[76]

These antisemitic sentiments were echoed in the works of satirists, such as Claus van Laar, Jakob Campo Weyerman, and Nicolaas François Hoefnagel.[77] They criticised their religious doctrines, their superstition, their language, and their shady trading practices.[78]

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72 T.B., *Huisselijke oneenigheid, eene bron van ellende* (Maatschappij Tot Nut van 't Algemeen, 1848) (UL Leiden, 1213 E 21), 8.

73 G.J. d'Ancona, *Zamenspraak Tusschen Jan En Hendrik Over Het Spelen in De Loterij* (Amsterdam: G.J. d'Ancona, 1850) (for the Society of Common Benefit). For similar efforts to explain through the use of probability calculations, see, *infra*, Johanne Slettvoll Kristiansen, "Innovation, Temptation, and Mathematical Education".

74 H. Bovenkerk, "Nederlandse schrijvers tijdens de Republiek over de Joden", in *Geschiedenis der Joden in Nederland,* ed. H. Burgmans and A. Frank (Van Holkema & Warendorf, 1940), 738.

75 J.C.H. Blom, David Wertheim, Hetty Berg, and Bart Wallet, eds. *Geschiedenis van de Joden in Nederland* (Uitgeverij Balans, 2017), 133–134.

76 Blom, *Geschiedenis van de Joden,* 195–196; A.H. Huussen, "De houding van de Nederlander tegenover minderheden", *De Achttiende eeuw* 24 (1992), 74–85.

77 Blom, *Geschiedenis van de Joden,* 195–196.

78 P.J. Buijnsters, "Jacob Campo Weyerman's 'Traktaat tegen het Jodendom'", *Tijdschrift voor Nederlandse Taal- en Letterkunde* 96 (1980), 38–56; Bovenkerk, "Nederlandse schrijvers", 744–753.

Figure 3: *Theatre of rampant and ridiculous lottery ticket sellers* [Schouwburg der woekerende en belaggelyke lothandelaars]. Attributed to Bernard Picart. Published in *The Great Mirror of Folly* [Het Groote Tafereel der Dwaasheid] (Rijksmuseum Amsterdam). This satirical print contains a caption in verse referring to the South Sea Bubble of 1720. It also mentions "Smousjes" (Jewish ticket sellers) as "sjaggerer" and the new "brokers" in the trades.

Throughout the eighteenth century, Ashkenazi Jews were often involved in distributing lottery tickets. Street vending of all sorts of goods (spectacles, food, cheap printing, clothing) was usually the only way for Jews to make a living, as they were often unable to join the guilds or pursue crafts. The authorities were ambivalent about these street vendors. On the one hand, they were vital to the local economy. On the other hand, they were distrusted and seen as "foreigners". Attempts to regulate street trading often labelled them as illegal and fraudulent traders. Local and provincial authorities repeated the same accusations against the Jews, creating strong resentment among the population. Placards dated 27 and 28 May 1726, for example, stated that Jews were not allowed to sell lottery tick-

ets in the countryside of Gelderland without a licence from the local authorities. Residents were not allowed to offer them overnight accommodation. This placard was slightly revised in 1789 to include a specific warning that Jewish street vendors were not allowed to sell state lottery tickets and had to report all their sales.[79] However, the Jewish lottery sellers protested against these placards, pointing out the serious consequences for the sale of tickets for the state lottery. Without them, the distribution would stagnate. The government of Gelderland withdrew this measure and only required non-resident Jews to register.[80] In Friesland and Utrecht, a 1771 placard issued by the States of Friesland forbade the distribution of tickets by "Jews and other street sellers" due to the assumption that these tickets were probably false.[81] In Utrecht, a 1778 placard had a similar content, just as in 1800 during the Batavian Republic.[82] Jewish ticket sellers were, on the one hand, associated with illegal, unregulated (local and private) lotteries, but, on the other hand, were a necessary workforce to make sure that tickets were disseminated in every corner of society.

In Dutch comedies, the mockery of Jews has a long tradition. The popular play *The Waster of Money or the Prodigal Woman* [De spilpenning of de verkwistende vrouw] (1696) by Thomas of Asselijn is a case in point.[83] Visual culture has also contributed to and enhanced the mockery of Jews in the eighteenth century, sometimes inspired by these comedies.[84] The Dutch spectators were more ambivalent about the Jews. Justus van Effen praised the Dutch tolerance towards Jews and was against mocking, insulting, and bullying these people. He acknowledges the fact that Jews are the murderers of Christ but wonders whether Christians would behave differently in such a situation. However, Van Effen does not hide his own prejudices against Jews, especially Ashkenazim. He also points to the

79 *Ampliatie en alteratie van het reglement dienende tot betere observantie […] van de placaten […] tegen het vernagten […] der jooden […] den 12. may 1789* (Arnhem: Willem Albert van Goor, 1789) (UL Amsterdam OTM: RON A-5257, 3).

80 M.H. Gans, *Memorboek. Platenatlas van het leven der joden in Nederland van de middeleeuwen tot 1940* (Bosch en Keuning, 1971), 258.

81 *Placaat Tegens het omlopen met Lotbriefjes en die te veylen* (Leeuwarden: Willem Coulon, 1771) (UL Amsterdam, 061 6969).

82 *Publicatie tegen het misbruik van het omlopen met lotery-briefjes, ten platten lande dezer provincie. Gearresteerd den 28. april 1778* (Utrecht: W.J. Reers, 1778) (ULU S qu. 1043:III:19); *Waarschouwing. Het hof van justitie over het voormalig gewest Utrecht* (Utrecht: G. Post, 1800) (UL Utrecht S qu. 1043*VI*1:17).

83 Blom, *Geschiedenis van de Joden*, 195–196.

84 See for instance the work of the painter Cornelis Troost, "Johanna en de Joodse kooplieden" (1741) (Rijksmuseum Amsterdam SK-A-4209).

group of street vendors who always try to evade the law.[85] One can read similar accusations in a 1734 issue of his *Spectator.* It begins with a letter offering a lottery ticket for 50 florins. The owner claims that – based on his calculations of probability, helped by the theory of calculation and the works of Pythagoras – a large prize will fall on this ticket. Van Effen calls him a madman and urges his readers not to participate in lotteries. One of the reasons for his scepticism was that Jews were involved in this purely speculative activity. Nevertheless, over time, he also defended Jews against ridicule and abuse.[86] Van Effen's general explanation for the evil behaviour of the Jews is the way they practise their religion, especially the disrespect they show during religious services. This leads to immoral behaviour in society in general. Moreover, the wealthy and well-educated Jews fail to educate the lower classes.[87]

A treatise on the lottery written in 1736 refers to resentment over the Amsterdam lottery frenzy, in which people stormed a lottery office, as well as a coffeehouse. The author was referring specifically to Jews and Jewish street traders ("smoussen"), who allegedly bought large numbers of lottery tickets to sell them later at a profit.[88]

Le Franq van Berkhey wrote in his *History of Holland* (1779) about the 1772 economic crisis, noting that many Jews had left Amsterdam to find homes and livelihoods in Dutch villages. He refers specifically to the Ashkenazi Jews, who became active in lotteries and finance, and in this way influenced Dutch trade. He refers to their "tricks", their "usury", and the fact that, although they were born in the Republic, they never really integrated. They remained strongly attached to their Jewish roots.[89] Jews were reputedly the ones who persistently lured people into playing the lottery, often resulting in a bad outcome for the players. They were accused of cheating by selling forged tickets, selling tickets that were long out of date, selling tickets at too high a price, or not paying the full price. A poem written by Jan Pieter Heije in 1845 addressed the Jew directly, urging him to keep the tickets to himself, if he was so convinced that he would almost certainly win. People should rather save their money.[90]

85 Bovenkerk, "Nederlandse schrijvers", 758–761.

86 Huussen, "De houding van de Nederlander", 78–79.

87 Bovenkerk, "Nederlandse schrijvers", 760–762.

88 Sanders, *Van Appeljood,* 167–168; "De Amsterdamsche lotery drift bespot" and "De Belagchelyke lotery ziekte bespot", in *De weereldt in haar verscheidentheidt* (Amsterdam: Jacobus Loveringh, 1736) (UL Leiden THYSIA 235), 161–162.

89 Gans, *Memorboek*, 256.

90 Sanders, *Van Appeljood*, 169–170.

In eighteenth-century theatre and street songs, the Jew was constantly portrayed as a scapegoat.[91] The play *The Growing Commotion Amongst the Current Lottery-Traders* [Het bloeijende schreeuw-gewoel der hedendaagse loterynegotianten] (c. 1750) warned against cheats and swindlers and supported the "original", i. e. the state lottery. The play even quotes a SG placard forbidding any lottery other than the Generality Lottery. The representatives of this evil are Jewish peddlers, believed to be instrumental in the distribution of illegal and non-state lottery tickets.[92] A Yiddish play entitled *The Gentleman of the Jewish Nation Demolished* [De heer der judsche nazie in dygen] (c.1780) presents Nathan the Lottery Peddler as the archetype of illegal and disreputable activities surrounding lotteries, including the sale of counterfeited lottery tickets.[93] In songs, Jews are not so much portrayed as cheats as they are ridiculed. A song from 1775 mocks a Jew who regrets having paid a prostitute with a lottery ticket because she happened to win a big prize of 2,200 guilders.[94] A song from 1820 (*The World of the Lottery* / 's Werelds lotery) mocks the lottery, in which naive citizens keep trying their luck at the lottery. Levie, the Jew and ticket seller, is responsible for this delusion.[95]

It was not only the poor lottery Jew who was targeted, but also Jews further up the social ladder. This discrimination is shown by the context of the aforementioned Utrecht Company, which organised provincial lotteries. In the early years, this company was run by a Jewish merchant, director Machado (1725 – 1729), and was supervised by a Jewish commissioner called Peixiotto. Both wanted to end corruption, but cynically enough, both were accused of malpractice when the company's financial situation deteriorated. The whole story began when the company became embroiled in fraud. As early as 1720, a committee was set up to investigate allegations of fraud. However, the directors, except Machado, were unwilling to talk to the committee, implying they had something to hide. During the investigation, it became clear that the company had no general ledger. It was also revealed that the directors had enriched themselves at the expense of

91 See also *Het Huiskrakeel* (1798).

92 See *Het bloeijende schreeuw-gewoel der hedendaagse lotery-negotianten, afgebeeld met verscheidende personagien, in bedryven* (Swartsluis: Jan Blomkool, C. 1750) (UL Leiden, 1095 E 47), e. g. 33.

93 Anon., *De heer der judsche nazie in dygen. En homvergesmeten, deur Nathan de Loterysmous, geblykt in de blyspel De hedelmoedige ryktom* ([S.n.]: Gedrikt ten koste van de Nazie in de afterofoekkie op de Judse Drikkery, C. 1780) (UL Leiden 1092 D 3).

94 Sanders, *Van Appeljood*, 170 – 171.

95 Anon., *'s Werelds lotery* (Amsterdam: J. Wendel en Zoon, C. 1820) (Royal Library The Hague, Wouters 11210). Online: https://www.dbnl.org/tekst/_swe001swer01_01/_swe001swer01_01_0001.php.

the company, including the lottery. When checking the lottery register, the committee discovered that the directors had withheld 336 lottery tickets from a draw for themselves. In another lottery, some of the tickets had completely disappeared. And a large prize of 10,000 guilders went into the pockets of the directors. In short, the directors had systematically embezzled money from the lotteries. It was not until May 1729 that the fraudulent directors resigned, under heavy pressure from the States of Utrecht and the Committee. Although the Jewish director Machado had proved to be a man of integrity, he was still forced to resign. Again, Jews were associated with fraud, and a media campaign with several series of pamphlets added to the dislike of Jews, including poor lottery sellers.[96] The ardent lottery player Suyskens also shared these animosities.[97]

There are other voices in public discourse in which the Jew is discussed with compassion and even pity, such as a commentary in a 1749 issue of *Spectator.* A Jewish letter – remarkable in itself – to the editor of *The Thinker* in 1764 cites the poor economic and social position of Ashkenazi Jews as an explanation for their misbehaviour.[98] These socio-economic reflections on the position and behaviour of the Jews, as well as their benefits for the Dutch economy, became more pronounced in the last quarter of the eighteenth century and throughout the nineteenth century.[99] Several enlightened thinkers argued for more tolerance and empathy towards the Jews.[100]

In the late eighteenth century, a Jewish lottery ticket seller was even portrayed as a hero. In *The House Quarrel* [Het Huiskrakeel] of 1798, the Jew David ends the quarrel between husband and wife over participation in the lottery.[101] The VL of 1818 included a story (fictional or not) about a Jewish lottery ticket seller who tries to persuade a poor day labourer and farmhand to buy a ticket for the national lottery. The righteous and incorruptible labourer refuses because he does not want to spend money on such a risky and foolish activity as the lottery. The Jew persists and, at some point, manages to persuade the labourer's wife to rent a

96 C.H. Slechte, "De Firma List en Bedrog. De Provinciale Utrechtse Geocroyeerde Compagnie", *Jaarboek Oud-Utrecht* (1998), 187–189, 204–211; Walraven, "Een lot uit de loterij", vol. 1, 51–52, 56.

97 Walraven, "Een lot uit de loterij", vol. 1, 53.

98 Huussen, "De houding van de Nederlander", 78–79; Bovenkerk, "Nederlandse schrijvers", 763–764.

99 Bovenkerk, "Nederlandse schrijvers", 766–768. There is discussion going about the (Jewish) identity of this author. See Ton Jongenelen: "Mordechai. Illusie en werkelijkheid in het spectatoriale blad De Koopman", *Mededelingen van de Stichting Jacob Campo Weyerman*, 26 (2003), 94–108.

100 Bovenkerk, "Nederlandse schrijvers", 738; Huussen, "De houding van de Nederlander", 79–80.

101 *Het Huiskrakeel.*

ticket. This meant that she did not have to pay beforehand, but only if she won a prize. And indeed, her ticket wins a large prize of 1,000 ducats. The Jew carefully informs the worker and his family of the good news to avoid conflict. The worker realises he can now start his own farm and buy some cattle. And he is grateful to the Jew. All's well that ends well. The author stressed that more of these stories should be told, in which both the lottery and the Jew have a positive connotation.[102]

The author Justus van Maurik also describes the Jewish peddler of the second half of the nineteenth century with compassion, although he should be considered an exception. Van Maurik describes a well-known lottery Jew, David, and emphasises the man's good intentions. This story, "David de Loterijman" [David the Lottery Man], was often performed as a comedy in the late nineteenth century, in which David is portrayed as a good and generous man.[103] In an illustrated 1846 song by Gijsbertus van Sandwijk about "Levie" the lottery Jew, sympathy is shown for this poor Jew who hopes to receive a small reward in the event of a prize falling on the lottery ticket.[104]

In 1854, however, a fierce attack on the lottery was launched in a pamphlet written by Nicolaas Bernhard Donkersloot, which listed all the supposed vices of Jewish lottery sellers: cheats, swindlers, wankers, shrewd Israelites, and pushy street hawkers. But the criticism did not go unchallenged, as it probably would have in the previous century. One national newspaper objected to this one-sided blaming of one ethnic group.[105]

3 Conclusion

Because the States General largely failed to centralise, control, and regulate Dutch lotteries, both state and non-state lotteries proliferated in the eighteenth century. In addition, the introduction of class lotteries, the well-organised and widespread distribution network of managers, collectors, vendors, and street vendors, and the widespread practice of sharing and renting tickets meant that lotteries were widely accessible both geographically and socially. With the shift from charitable to more political and commercial incentives, lotteries also lost their social, moral, and unifying function. This, together with the ubiquity of the Dutch lottery, not

102 VL 1818, 289–95. See also Sanders, *Van Appeljood*, 175–176.

103 Sanders, *Van Appeljood*, 171–178.

104 Gijsbertus van Sandwijk, "De loterij-jood", in *Prenten-magazijn voor de jeugd* (J. Schuitemaker, 1846).

105 Sanders, *Van Appeljood*, 171–178.

only increased the income of the institutions and people involved in the organisation but also amplified its potentially disintegrating and harmful effects on Dutch society.

It is, therefore, unsurprising that the lottery fantasy was also omnipresent in popular culture. In the realm of entertainment and play, lotteries challenged the fixity of social classes, could improve the lives of the poor, and offered imaginary solutions to impossible marriages. Some contemporary commentators also emphasised the benefits of the lottery for social improvement. Another positive aspect of playing the lottery, which counteracted the loss of its social function, was that it united and strengthened local communities. Neighbours, relatives, and friends often bought tickets together and shared disappointments and victories. The drawings, verses, songs, and comedies also created a shared, entertaining cultural space. The provincial, local, and private lotteries created communities with a common interest.

Nevertheless, public discourse in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries was dominated by the moral and social harm that lotteries could cause. Lotteries were usually portrayed as foolish, risky, and damaging to the domestic economy and family life. According to the more enlightened media and journals, all lottery players, but especially the lower classes, were at risk of addiction and impoverishment. The influence of a Calvinist ethos was evident in the urge for hard and honest work compared to an unrealistic and idle reliance on luck. The moral offensive from the end of the eighteenth century, initiated by the Society of Common Benefit, resulted in a greater focus on the destructive impact of the lottery on local communities in general, and family life in particular. Edifying literature, treatises, and education were used to combat these abuses.

Observing the differences between the state lottery and the provincial and local lotteries, it is clear that the discourse is strongly influenced by the historical tension between central and decentralised power structures and interests. The Generality's aim of centralising the lottery attempted to break the political and financial autonomy of provinces and cities. However, the narrative that local and provincial lotteries were corrupt and harmful to their citizens justified centralisation. In the nineteenth century, this narrative was supplemented by the argument that a strong state lottery was the best defence against foreign lotteries. On the other hand, local and provincial discourse centred on the opposition between the state lottery, which only supported state finances, and the decentralised lotteries, which mainly benefited the local and provincial community. When this narrative lost its charitable character, it was replaced by a focus on restoring or improving the local or provincial infrastructure.

Interestingly, it was rare that the authorities were blamed for the social and moral damage caused by the lottery. It was the Jew who became the scapegoat for

everything that went wrong with the lottery. The insecurities, disappointments, regrets, and cases of fraud were sometimes projected onto the Jewish directors or collectors of the lotteries, but most often onto the poor Jewish (Ashkenazi) lottery sellers. Antisemitism became a persistent by-product of the public discourse on lotteries. It was only in the nineteenth century that signs of growing empathy for the "lottery Jews" became visible, and writers and journalists began to acknowledge these Jewish street vendors' social circumstances and backgrounds and argued for greater understanding.

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