

# ‘Mag ik binnenkomen?’

## Social in- and exclusion in late nineteenth-century Amsterdam’s domestic sociability



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## Acknowledgements

I have been working on the thesis that lies before you for some time, which has not been the easiest of tasks. At the beginning, I was quite naïve to think that writing it meant that there was a light at the end of what seemed to be an everlasting tunnel of darkness that has been dominating my life for an unfortunately long time. Though I now know that there is, I have also come to the conclusion that – to quote Terry Pratchett – at the end of that tunnel, there is a flamethrower. And if you do not have the means to distinguish that flamethrower, it can be quite hard to actually reach the end without getting burned alive. It is thanks to some very special people that I have eventually been able to do just that.

Firstly, I would like to pay gratitude to my first and second supervisors, dr. Floris Meens and prof. dr. Jan-Hein Furnée, for their help throughout this process. More importantly, I am very lucky to have had a great group of friends and family to aid me. I would like to express my sincere thankfulness towards Jos and Rik, who have greatly helped me throughout the whole process, and Iris, Willem, Sami and Pim, for the many needed coffee breaks. Lastly, I want to thank my family as a whole for the mental support, but also my brothers Robert and Christiaan specifically. Especially Robert has greatly helped me with spending my time more efficiently and because of that, has certainly had a good influence on me being able to hand in this thesis and graduate. For that, I owe you a lot.



## Introduction

January 4th. Together to Leiden, where we drank coffee with Scato and Saar de Vries. I visited prof. Tiele alone, after which we went to the Verdams, where Van der Vliet was as well. In the afternoon, we had lunch at the Mullers, with the Kuipers, Gallée, Verdam and Van der Vliet. During the evening, I spoke at *Letterkunde* about *Amsterd. Zeden en Gewoonten in de XVIIe eeuw*. I then returned home alone.<sup>2</sup>

The then-high school teacher at the Barleaus Gymnasium, Gerrit Kalff (1856 – 1923), had an active social life that largely took place within a domestic setting. Though the above passage undoubtedly describes one of the later professor's busier days, similar descriptions of domestic visits are to be found in countless other nineteenth-century ego documents. Together, they indicate that domestic visits formed a vital part in the everyday social lives of the Dutch burgher. Until now, however, rather little is known about the specifics of these activities, let alone what function they served in a society that according to many historians was increasingly focused on the outdoor leisure culture.<sup>3</sup> The historiography on Amsterdam, the Dutch capital on which the present thesis focuses, forms no exception to this: studies are mainly centred around the (semi-)public entertainment possibilities such as the coffee houses, operas, theatres, and the *Sociëteiten* (English: Societies). In doing so, researchers either deliberately or unintentionally suggest that there was a strict distinction between the private sphere of the home and the public sphere outdoors. By systematically analysing the domestic visiting culture of Amsterdam, however, this thesis argues that both spheres were very much intertwined, and that social in- and exclusion – an inherent part of sociability – most certainly did not stop at one's front door. Before coming to this point, then, it is first important to see what the historiography on this subject has brought us so far.

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<sup>2</sup> '4 januari. Samen naar Leiden koffie gedronken bij Scato en Saar de Vries. Ik breng een visite alleen aan Prof. Tiele, samen bij de Verdams, waar wij ook van der Vliet vonden. 'S Middags gegeten bij de Mullers, met de Kuipers, Gallée, Verdam en Van der Vliet. Ik 's avonds op Letterkunde gesproken over Amsterd. Zeden en Gewoonten in de XVIIe eeuw. Afzonderlijk naar huis teruggekeerd.' Diary of Gerrit Kalff, 04-01-1895.

<sup>3</sup> See e.g. Remieg Aerts, 'De publieke orde. Openbaarheid en beslotenheid', in: Remieg Aerts and Henk ten Velde (eds.), *Geschiedenis van Amsterdam. Hoofdstad in aanbouw, 1813 – 1900* (Amsterdam, 2006), pp 139 – 216; Jan-Hein Furnée, *Plaatsen van beschaafd vertier. Standsbesef en stedelijke cultuur in Den Haag, 1850 – 1890* (Amsterdam, 2012).

From an international perspective, the historiography on domestic visiting is inseparable from the one on salons. Though some of the first studies on salons may be traced back to the first half of the twentieth century, studies on salon culture rapidly increased after the English publication of German sociologist Jürgen Habermas's *Strukturwandel der Öffentlichkeit* (1962).<sup>4</sup> According to Habermas, the increase in literacy and the rise of consumer society, capitalism and the modern state in the eighteenth century had led to the emergence of a new social class in Western Europe that had the strong desire to replace the secrecy of the absolutist state with open discussion about the social problems of the time. For Habermas, this public discussion mainly took place outside of the home, such as in coffee houses and clubs, so theoretically speaking every citizen would have access to it. He therefore referred to this development as the rise of the 'public sphere', which he saw as the pinnacle of the modern state and in fact modernity itself.

Habermas did, however, include one important exception to this rule: the salon. According to him, the salon was not just a mere room in a middle-class house but also functioned as a place of *Gesellschaft*, or 'society', where the participants would discuss subjects like art, politics, science, literature, and music. In fact, the salon was deemed an example par excellence of the public sphere because it functioned as an intellectual bulwark against the power of the absolutist state that was present in eighteenth-century France, and especially in its capital, Paris.<sup>5</sup>

As of Habermas' publication, many scholars have gotten involved in the discussion on salons. At first, research mainly stayed within France, though over the years, studies showed that the social gathering was in no way an exclusively French phenomenon.<sup>6</sup> This change in focus also invited scholars - and in fact went hand in hand with their desire - to engage critically with other aspects of salon culture as well. One of the biggest of these research strands emerged in the seventies, when both Women Studies and the Cultural Turn made their entrée in the historiographical debate. Contrary to what was believed at the time, scholars like Dena Goodman and Ingeborg Drewitz argued that not only many<sup>7</sup> of the salon hosts were in fact noblewomen but

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<sup>4</sup> Jürgen Habermas, *Strukturwandel der Öffentlichkeit. Untersuchungen zu einer Kategorie der bürgerlichen Gesellschaft* (1962, Neuwied and Berlin).

<sup>5</sup> Ibidem, p 30.

<sup>6</sup> See e.g., Rachel G. Fuchs and Victoria E. Thompson, *Women in nineteenth-century Europe* (New York, 2005), pp 5 – 6; Hannu Salmi, *Nineteenth-century Europe: a cultural history* (Cambridge, 2008); Wendy Rosslyn and Alessandra Tosi, *Women in nineteenth-century Russia: lives and culture* (Cambridge, 2012); Lina Bernstein, 'Women on the verge of a new language: Russian salon hostesses in the first half of the nineteenth century', in: *Russia-Women-Culture*, pp. 209 – 224; Evelyn Bodek Gordon, 'Salonnières and the Bluestockings: educated obsolescence and Germinating feminism', *Feminist Studies* 3 (1976), pp 185 – 199; Floris Meens, 'How to approach salons? A fin-de-siècle Italian case study', *Cultural and Social History* (2018) pp. 1 – 84, here p 2. Hajo Zwager, *Waarover spraken zij?* (Assen, 1968), pp 5 – 30.

<sup>7</sup> For an interesting examination on male hosts, see Marc Raeff, *Origins of the Russian Intelligentsia: The eighteenth-century nobility* (New York, 1966).

also that the role of these *salonnières* extended far beyond being visually appealing to the male guests. These two observations helped overthrow the till that time dominant view that there was a strict distinction between the male-dominated public sphere and the female-led private sphere of the house.<sup>8</sup>

The focus on women also brought more attention to other marginalized groups. Historians like Antoine Lilti, Susanne Schmid and Steven Kale for example tackled the view that salons were only accessible to the highest strata. According to them, high society – and with that, salon culture – embraced a much more inclusive culture in which the peripheries of the urban elite, who would normally not be admitted to the court (such as upcoming writers, artists, and singers), were welcomed into their circles as well.<sup>9</sup> At the same time, this seemingly inclusiveness was partially contested by the research of historian Deborah Hertz, who claimed that those of all faiths and different upbringings would not simply come together in a non-hierarchical way. Using what she labels as ‘anti-assimilationist antisemitism’ as an example, Hertz convincingly argued that anti-Semitic voices were often privately uttered by, and amongst, noble guests.<sup>10</sup> In this thesis, we will see that such practices of religious in- and exclusion were in no way limited to the salon.

Likewise, Habermas’ reasoning that because court society was the most powerful in cities, salons must also have been predominantly an urban affair, has also become more nuanced.<sup>11</sup> To start, scholars have shown that court and salon culture were not necessarily opposites. True, sociologist Norbert Elias had already laid the blueprint for this view with his famed civilising theory, pointing at strong similarities between salon etiquette and court etiquette.<sup>12</sup> Historians such as Carolyn C. Lougee, Joan B. Landes, Kale, and Goodman, however, have taken this much further, arguing that these services were somewhat the same as the ones that had been fulfilled by women in court for centuries. Goodman even goes as far as to say that ‘Enlightenment sociability (...)’

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<sup>8</sup> Dena Goodman, ‘Enlightenment salons: The convergence of female and philosophic ambitions’, *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 22:3 (Special Issue: The French Revolution in Culture, 1989), pp 329 – 350; Ingeborg Drewitz, *Berliner Salons. Gesellschaft und Literatur Zwischen Aufklärung und Industriezeitalter* (Berlin, 1965); Carolyn C. Lougee, *Le Paradis des femmes. Women, salons, and social stratification in seventeenth-century France* (Princeton, 1976); Verena von Heyden-Rynsch, *Europäische Salons: Höhepunkte einer versunkenen weiblichen Kultur* (Munich, 1992); Susan E. Whyman, *Sociability and power in Late-Stuart England: the cultural worlds of the Verneys 1660 – 1720* (Oxford, 2002).

<sup>9</sup> See e.g., Antoine Lilti, *The world of the salons: sociability and worldliness in eighteenth-century Paris*. Translated by Lydia G. Cochrane (Oxford, 2005); Susanne Schmid, *British literary salons of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries* (New York, 2013), p. 4; Dena Goodman, *The Republic of Letters. A cultural history of the French Enlightenment* (Ithaca and London, 1994), p. 3; Elizabeth C. Goldsmith, *Exclusive conversations: The art of interaction in seventeenth-century France* (Philadelphia, 1988); Steven Kale, ‘Women’s intellectual agency in the history of eighteenth- and nineteenth-century French salons’, in: Lisa-Curtis Wendlandt, Paul Gibbard et. al. (eds.) *Political ideas of Enlightenment women: virtue and citizenship* (New York, 2013; 2016), pp. 123 – 141, here p. 132.

<sup>10</sup> Deborah Hertz, *Jewish high society in old regime Berlin*, p XVIII.

<sup>11</sup> Jürgen Habermas, *Structural transformation of the public sphere*, p 30; Giacomo Cavallucci, *Les derniers grands salons littéraires français* (Naples, 1952); Laurence Rièse, *Les salons littéraires parisiens du second empire à nos jours* (Toulouse, 1962); Marie Gougy-François, *Les grand salons féminins* (Paris, 1965).

<sup>12</sup> Norbert Elias, *Die höfische Gesellschaft* (Darmstadt and Neuwied, 1969).

substitut[ed] a female *salonnière* for a male king as the governor of its discourse (...) Her role as civilizer was the historical key to the realization of sociability and civilization.<sup>13</sup> Though Habermas furthermore pointed at the importance of universities for salons, scholars like Amy Prendergast, Denise Z. Davidson and Rosena Davison have argued in favour of the provincial salon as well.<sup>14</sup>

The focus on the spatial dimension did not stop with the discussion between provincial and urban salons. In her key work on the subject, historian Susanne Schmid for example shows a critical stance towards the dominant view that the salon took place in *one* specific room at *regular* intervals. According to her, both the place and the time of said gathering were not fixed but could in fact greatly differ from each other. While some were regularly organised for a continuous period, others would only be held once or twice, and on various locations.<sup>15</sup> Just like Schmid, Prendergast furthermore argues that sociable circles would not simply dissolve after leaving the physical room itself. In fact, in her description of the literary salon of Anglo-Irish writer Maria Edgeworth (1768 – 1849), Prendergast emphasises the importance of family connections, literary correspondence, and the circulation of books for the survival of the social networks that were born out of the salons.<sup>16</sup>

It is for this reason that Schmid considers the salon not only a ‘place’ (physical setting) but also what French anthropologist Marc Augé once called a ‘non-place’: a temporary space of transience where the participants stay anonymous and which are therefore not considered by them as ‘places’.<sup>17</sup> For Augé, Schmid concludes, ‘performances of self take place, which resemble one another. And in that sense, the salon would also be a non-place, defined not through stable architectural surroundings but through accessibility and visibility, in which the[se] performances of the self took place.’<sup>18</sup> I strongly agree with this, though I also believe other spaces which were used before, and *after*, entering the reception room, were equally important in the theory and practices of visiting. In fact, historians Amanda Vickery and Prendergast have already argued the importance of the material dimension, and especially the furnishing of rooms, that was connected to salon

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<sup>13</sup> See Steven Kale, ‘Women’s intellectual agency in the history of eighteenth- and nineteenth-century French salons’, here p 132; Carolyn C. Lougee, *Le Paradis des femmes*; Joan B. Landes, *Women and the public sphere in the age of the French revolution* (Ithaca and New York, 1988), p 24; Dena Goodman, *The Republic of Letters*, p. 5.

<sup>14</sup> See: Amy Prendergast, *Literary salons across Britain and Ireland in the long eighteenth century* (Dublin, 2015), p 6 and chapter 5; Denise Z. Davidson, *France after revolution: urban life, gender and the new social order* (London, 2007), p 142; Rosena Davison, ‘Salons’, in: Alan Charles Kors (ed.), *Encyclopaedia of the Enlightenment* (Oxford, 2003), pp 152; Carol E. Harrison, *The bourgeois citizen in nineteenth-century France: gender, sociability and the uses of emulation* (Oxford, 1999), p 96; Dominique Lobstein, ‘Nineteenth-century French copies after Spanish old masters’, in: Gary Tinterow, Geneviève Lacambre et al. (eds.), *Manet/Velázquez: the French taste for Spanish painting* (New York, 2003), pp 327 - 342, here p 327.

<sup>15</sup> Susanne Schmid, *British Literary Salons of the Late Eighteenth and Early Nineteenth Centuries*, p 6.

<sup>16</sup> Amy Prendergast, *Literary salons across Britain and Ireland in the long eighteenth century*, p 6.

<sup>17</sup> Marc Augé, *Non-Places. Introduction to an Anthropology of Supermodernity*. Translated by John Howe (1995, London and New York), pp 75 – 115.

<sup>18</sup> Susanne Schmid, *British Literary Salons of the Late Eighteenth and Early Nineteenth Centuries*, p 57.

culture.<sup>19</sup> Still, the hypothesis can only be supported by a systematic approach of the daily lives, and visits, of the hosts, which sadly none of these scholars has done so far. In this thesis, specific attention will therefore be paid to the interaction of these so-called ‘spaces’ and ‘non-spaces’.

Taking all the above into account, we may surely conclude that the increasing scholarly attention for salons has already led to many fruitful insights. Yet, from the 1980s onwards new research into salon culture has also – in a way – salted the game. Historians for example pointed at the strongly romanticised image scholars still have of the salon, which German historian Barbara Hahn has called ‘der Mythos von Salon’. In her study, Hahn elaborates on the misconceptions about the parties held at the Berlin house of the Jewish German writer Rahel Levin (1777 – 1831) that have been unquestioned for decades. One of them is the anachronistic use of the term ‘salon’. Indeed, according to Hahn,

Levin (...) called the gatherings staged by the high aristocracy ‘salons’ – for her a distant and inaccessible world. When referring to her own social gatherings at the Levin house, she never uses this word; from the perspective of the woman most responsible for them, these events were not in a French tradition, or in any other. *To speak of ‘salons’ inevitably implies a prior history, in particular in the salon culture of the French aristocracy.*<sup>20</sup> [my italics]

In their own studies, historians like Ulrike Weckel and Robert Simanowski agree with Hahn, arguing that eighteenth-century hosts(esses) would not refer to themselves as *salonnières*, nor were they described as such by others – again showing that the word ‘salon’ carried some strong French connotations.<sup>21</sup> In *The problem of the Enlightenment*, Nancy W. Collins furthermore argued that up until the 1700s, a salon was nothing more than ‘a physical setting and an architectural innovation’.<sup>22</sup> Historically, the word would only be used in the late 1800s. But even then, its popularity seems to have mostly been a result of nostalgic and melancholic feelings for a time that had long passed. In fact, scholars Deborah Hertz and Liliane Weissberg have convincingly argued that instead of

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<sup>19</sup> Cf. Amanda Vickery has published insightful works in this respect. See e.g., Amanda Vickery and John Styles (eds.), *Gender, taste and material culture in Britain and North America, 1700 – 1830* (New Haven, 2006), p 285; Amanda Vickery, *Behind closed Doors. At home in Georgian England*; Amy Prendergast, *Literary salons across Britain and Ireland in the long eighteenth century*, p 6; Michelle Facos, *An introduction to nineteenth-century art* (New York and London, 2011), p 154; Jeremy Aynsley and Charlotte Grant, *Imagined interiors: representing the domestic interior since the Renaissance* (London, 2006).

<sup>20</sup> Barbara Hahn, *The Jewess Pallas Athena: This Too A Theory of Modernity* (Princeton, 2005), p 42.

<sup>21</sup> See e.g., Ulrike Weckel, ‘A lost paradise of a female culture?’, in: *German History* Vol. 18 No.3 (2000), pp 310-336; Robert Simanowski, ‘Einleitung. Der Salon als dreifache Vermittlungsinstanz’, in: Roberto Simanowski, Horst Turk and Thomas Schmidt (eds), *Europa – ein Salon? Beiträge zur Internationalität des literarischen Salons* (Göttingen, 1999), pp. 6 – 40, here p 1 – 2.

<sup>22</sup> Nancy W. Collins, *The Problem of the Enlightenment Salon. European History or Post-Revolutionary Politics 1755 – 1850* (doctoral dissertation, London, 2006), p 9.

adopting the original French word, the hosts of social gatherings held outside of France would search for their own substitutes.<sup>23</sup> Regarding the terminology used for the gatherings themselves, there seems to have been a strong link with both the respective day on which they were being held – in Germany, common terms included ‘Montagstee’ or ‘Montage’ – and with certain meals, i.e. lunch and supper.<sup>24</sup> Accordingly, there were hosts and hostesses who preferred references to the groups themselves, using words like ‘Gesellschaft’ and ‘My inner circle’. In other words, they were *stricto sensu*, not salons. We will shortly see that this also applies to the Dutch receiving culture, which is why for this thesis I have chosen to devote chapter two to a systematic analysis of the terminology that the Dutch used to refer to their social visits.

Hahn also asks the reader to what degree we may call the socialising process that took place at these gatherings unique. For nineteenth-century salons in specific, the political background that was such an intrinsic part of the French salon may have problematised things even more. For long, scholars have tried to trace every salon back to its supposed French roots. The main difficulty with this assumption is that it does not consider the drastically changed political, social, and economic climate of the nineteenth century - the French Revolution, the emergence of nationalism, industrialisation, and the changing class relations in Europe in general, to name a few. We may ask ourselves if it was even possible for the praised pre-revolutionary French salon to have existed in the nineteenth century. This is also exactly what German historian Ulrike Weckel means when she rhetorically asks her reader if it ‘is (...) really true that these gatherings (...) had more in common with those of Enlightenment society in pre-Revolutionary Paris than with the contemporary culture of visiting among educated people in other (...) cities?’<sup>25</sup> We may of course pose the same question for the Netherlands.

Equally important is the question why scholars have always just *assumed* rather than critically engaged with the supposedly uniqueness of salons. In *Worldly sociability*, Lilti makes some thorough observations on this. According to him, research on salons is predominantly based on anecdotal storytelling and analyses of the most famous case studies, which in turn has led to an oversimplification of reality.<sup>26</sup> The sole focus on these celebrated accounts in itself is problematic, as it often just meant the survival of these assumptions.

For the last fifteen years, scholars have therefore either continued using the term ‘salon’ as an analytic concept, or searched for an alternative, more inclusive vocabulary that fits the culture

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<sup>23</sup>Deborah Hertz, *Jewish high society*, p 98; Liliane Weissberg, ‘Kein Ort, nirgends: Gedanken zum jüdischen Salon’, *Jahrbuch für historische Bildungsforschung* 9 (2003), pp 119 – 44.

<sup>24</sup>Some notable studies on this comment are Petra Wilhelmy, *Der Berliner Salon im 19. Jahrhundert (1780 – 1914)* (Berlin and New York, 1989) and Ulrike Weckel, ‘A Lost Paradise of a Female Culture?’.

<sup>25</sup>Ulrike Weckel, ‘A Lost Paradise of a Female Culture?’, p. 318.

<sup>26</sup>For example Hajo Zwager, *Waarover spraken zij? Salons en conversatie in de achttiende eeuw* (Assen: Van Gorcum; 1968); Petra Wilhelmy, *Der Berliner Salon im 19. Jahrhundert (1780 – 1914)* (Berlin, New York: Walter de Gruyter; 1989).

of receiving better. Because of the anecdotal storytelling, elitism, and the anachronistic use in general, I am a strong advocate of the latter. A key work within this research strand, then, is historian Peter Clark's *British clubs and Societies*, in which the author argues that a sole focus on the salon has made scholars blind for the other forms of social interaction that occurred within a (semi-) private environment. According to Clark, the early modern period was known for its 'kaleidoscope of occasions and opportunities [that] existed for people to meet together, conversing, drinking, and feasting, participating in games and other entertainments, sharing and confirming the bonds of kinship, neighbourhood and community.'<sup>27</sup> In trying to move beyond the dominant discourse on sociability, he comes up with three new terms: 1) 'old-style' public sociability, i.e., sociability that takes place in public, traditionally male-dominated spaces such as pubs and coffee houses; 2) 'newstyle' public sociability, which includes acts of sociability happening in public spaces where both men and women are lively contributors; and 3) private sociability, an umbrella term referring to all forms of sociability occurring in the private sphere (often ascribed to women).<sup>28</sup>

According to Clark, private sociability became increasingly important for the everyday social lives of men and women of all social strata from the 1600s onwards, for which he provides two explanations. First, a gradual development in the housing situation, which meant that the house became more than just a roof above one's head: it slowly became a home, more spacious and comfortable, with a greater space devoted to the principal members of the family. Clark also mentions the rise of devoted Protestantism as a possible contributor to people's value of domestic activities. The strong focus on the home and the personal attachment to God especially influenced gentlewomen's daily patterns, as they spent a 'great deal of time (...) in the house, dining with family members, walking in the garden (as gardening became fashionable), and reading books and sermons.'<sup>29</sup>

A clear advantage of Clark's terminology is that it has inspired scholars to look beyond the deeply institutionalized forms of entertainment in the private sphere.<sup>30</sup> And with that, it has also helped broaden our view on the domestic activities that happen within the household. Within this

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<sup>27</sup> Peter Clarke, *British Clubs and Societies, 1580 – 1800* (Oxford, 2000), p 27.

<sup>28</sup> See Floris Meens, 'How to approach salons?', here 3.

<sup>29</sup> Peter Clark, *British Clubs and Societies, 1580 – 1800*, p 29.

<sup>30</sup> See e.g. Karen V. Hansen, *A Very Social Time: Crafting Community in Antebellum New England* (Berkeley; 1994); Earl Lewis, 'Afro-American Adaptive Strategies: The Visiting Habits of Kith and Kin among Black Norfolks during the First Great Migration', in: Christopher Carlson (ed.), *Perspectives on the Family: History, Class, and Feminism* (Belmont, CA; 1990), pp 68 – 78; Jane M. Pederson, 'The Country Visitor: Patterns of Hospitality in Rural Wisconsin, 1880 – 1925', *Agricultural History* 58, pp 347 – 64; Nancy Tomes, 'The Quaker Connection: Visiting Patterns among Women in the Philadelphia Society of Friends, 1750 – 1850', in: Michael Zuckerman (ed.), *Friends and Neighbors: Group Life in America's First Plural Society* (Philadelphia; 1985), pp 174 – 95; Cameron Lynne MacDonald and Karen V. Hansen's 'Sociability and Gendered Spheres: Visiting Patterns in Nineteenth-Century New England', *Social Science History* 25:4 (Winter, 2001), pp 535 – 561; Betty Farrell, *Elite Families: Class and Power in Nineteenth-Century Boston* (New York; 1993), especially the chapter called 'Kin-Keeping and Marriage Ties'; Nancy Tomes, 'The Quaker Connection'. Cited from Cameron Lynne MacDonald et. al., 'Sociability and Gendered Spheres', here 539.

search for a more inclusive vocabulary, then, some scholars have come up with other, more specific, terms: Lilti for example uses the term ‘worldly sociability’– of which he deemed the salon the perfect example - to refer to aristocratic sociability in which norms, morals and other codes were upheld.<sup>31</sup>

For this thesis, however, I will be using the term ‘domiciliary sociability’, or ‘domestic sociability’, which was first coined by historian Gillian Russell in her study on female sociability in Georgian England. Russell defines ‘domestic sociability’ as ‘the range of activities – balls, assemblies, masquerades, theatricals, dinners, card-parties and general visiting – conducted in the household, by which elite women in particular were able to claim a role for themselves in mid-eighteenth-century public culture’, and which was a vital element of what is more generally known as social politics.<sup>32</sup> Traditionally deemed as part of the private realm, sociability occurring within the house begs the question *who* would on which occasion be present in the house, and who not? Even though Russell provides the reader with some examples of domestic sociability, neither she nor any other work I encountered in the international historiography systematically analyses the forms of domestic sociability that existed within nineteenth-century societies. As such, Hertz’s and Weissberg’s earlier plead to study the variety of visits is still largely unanswered.

To a lesser extent, the same applies to the rooms in which domestic life took place, though some vital contributions have been published on the matter. The starting point of these studies is always the well-known thesis of the active separation of work and home in the nineteenth century, in which the first was dominated by men and the latter by women. However, research has shown that the home did not become a purely private space. Indeed, historians such as Leonore Davidoff, Catherina Hall and Joan Perkins have mentioned that from the eighteenth century onwards, spaces as the kitchen and the office became physically separated from reception rooms.<sup>33</sup> The apparent value middle- - and high! – classes attached to this division suggests that homeowners received guests outside the family as well, who were not meant to see these work rooms. In fact, Davidoff and Hall mention the existence of rooms meant specifically for ‘friends and family’, though they do not elaborate further on this. In addition, others have noted how servants were allowed in most spaces of the house.<sup>34</sup> If anything, these studies suggest that social in- and exclusion was an inherent

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<sup>31</sup> Antoine Lilti, *The World of Salons*, p 3.

<sup>32</sup> Gillian Russell, *Women, Sociability and Theatre in Georgian London* (Cambridge, 2007), p 11.

<sup>33</sup> Leonore Davidoff and Catherina Hall, *Family fortunes: men and women of the English middle class, 1780 – 1850*; Joan Perkins, ‘Women, marriage and class in nineteenth-century England’, in: Anton Schuurman and Pieter Spierenburg (eds.), *Private domain, public inquiry. Families and life-styles in the Netherlands and Europe, 1550 to the present* (Hilversum, 1996), pp 240 – 53.

<sup>34</sup> Elisabeth Joris, ‘Gender implications of the separate spheres’, in: Joachim Eibach and Margareth Lanzinger (eds.), *The Routledge history of the domestic sphere in Europe, 16<sup>th</sup> to 19<sup>th</sup> century* (Abingdon and New York, 2020), pp 381 – 398, here p 392.

part of the spatial dimension of domestic sociability. Unfortunately, however, a systematic analysis of all domestic spaces is still lacking in the historiography. My thesis will tie in with these previous studies by doing exactly this, with special regard to Augé's and Schmid's vision of the 'non-space'.

These observations also bring me to the company that was allowed in the house. Fortunately, some valuable insights have been provided on this. A key work is the earlier-mentioned historian Davidoff's *Best circles*, published in 1973. In this short introductory work, Davidoff presented a first theoretical foundation on domestic life and household management in nineteenth-century England. According to her, society at the time was made up of 'quasi-kinship relationships (...) used to 'place' mobile individuals during the period of structural differentiation.'<sup>35</sup> As such, various circles emerged, of which the best developed from being a clannish, relatively little community of aristocrats, into large groups that could include thousands of families. Davidoff argued the importance of etiquette, access rituals and the maintaining role of women in this, which all functioned to protect the old money against outsiders.

Davidoff's work also indicated that the nineteenth-century definition of 'family' went far beyond the nuclear family. Multiple scholars have emphasised the importance of marriages in extending one's family – and with that, the circle of influence.<sup>36</sup> To keep this influence *within* the family, however, historian Anne C. Rose has argued that miscellaneous relations between first and second cousins were also rather common at the time.<sup>37</sup> Rose furthermore argued that though religious homogeneity in marriages was still the norm, interfaith marriages in nineteenth-century high-class America did occur. Though the lack of preserved sources makes that she is unable to trace definite patterns, Rose does observe different religious attitudes towards this heterogeneity: strict Catholic priests and rabbis were generally less sympathetic towards it than Protestant pastors, who saw themselves as the dominant religious force and stressed individual choices in marriage. Of course, this also begs the question how this worked in the Netherlands, where pillarization only increased in the later nineteenth century – a note to which I shall turn shortly.

In addition, historians Gwyneth Nair and Eleanor Gordon have mentioned that households habitually included lived-in adult family members, such as unmarried sisters – and to a lesser extent, aged parents.<sup>38</sup> In her study on family life in Victorian England, literary scholar Claudia Nelson has furthermore argued that marriages in general regularly led to the inclusion of adoptive and stepchildren in the nuclear and extended family. This habit could either be done for

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<sup>35</sup> Leonore Davidoff, *The best circles. Society etiquette and the season* (London, 1973).

<sup>36</sup> See e.g., Joan Perkin, *Women and marriage in nineteenth-century England* (London, 2002); Jill Nicole Galvan and Elsie Browning Michie, *Replotting marriage in nineteenth-century British literature* (Columbus, 2018); Peter Ward, *Courtship, love, and marriage in nineteenth-century English Canada* (Quebec, 1990).

<sup>37</sup> Anne C. Rose, *Beloved strangers: interfaith families in nineteenth-century America* (London, 2001).

<sup>38</sup> Eleanor Gordon and Gwyneth Nair, *Public lives: women, family and society in Victorian Britain* (New Haven, 2001).

financial gains or to fulfil a domestic ideology, especially when one or both of the adoptive parents could not have children of their own.<sup>39</sup> Nelson, but also Eibach and Peter Laslett furthermore observed that servants were deemed a part of the extended family, albeit being of a different nature.<sup>40</sup> Indeed, though maids would sometime be blood related, say a niece or cousin of the lady of the house, the fact that they were unattached females did make that the latter often felt some unease having her living in the same house as her male family members. At the same time, unrelated servants posed a threat of exposing the family's secrets, which could easily be overheard when doing chores. As such, the authors emphasise that the home was never completely private.

The idea that both men's and women's social networks stretched far beyond the (extended) family has also already been touched upon. In the 1970s and 1980s, some scholars for example noted that the nineteenth-century division between work and home necessarily resulted in men having a more extensive social network than women, as the latter were confined to their homes.<sup>41</sup> In recent years, however, historians have contested this view. In their study on nineteenth-century visiting patterns in New England, Cameron Lynne MacDonald and Karen V. Hansen for example not only emphasised that mixed-gender visits *did* occur outside the women's own homes, but also that women in general showed more active visiting patterns than men.<sup>42</sup> Gordon and Nair have elaborated on this view, mentioning the significant role neighbourhoods played in especially women's extended social networks.<sup>43</sup> Historian Gail G. Campbell came to a similar conclusion in her study, noting that even though New Brunswick-women were stereotypically confined to the household, their social lives most certainly did not end at their own front door.<sup>44</sup> In fact, those who did not live with their direct family members regularly did not struggle filling their own social network with members of the neighbourhood.

In conclusion, we may say that the international historiography on domestic visits has come a long way: from salons to private sociability to domestic sociability, the above has already provided us with many valuable insights for this thesis regarding the terminology, spatial dimension, and social networks. At the same time, the lack of systematic analyses of these aspects is troublesome.

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<sup>39</sup> Claudia Nelson, *Family ties in Victorian England* (London, 2007), see especially chapter 5, on the Victorians' extended family.

<sup>40</sup> See Joachim Eibach, 'From open house to privacy? Domestic life from the perspective of diaries', in: Joachim Eibach and Margareth Lanzinger (eds.), *The Routledge history of the domestic sphere in Europe, 16<sup>th</sup> to 19<sup>th</sup> century* (Abingdon and New York, 2020), pp 363 – 380, here p 370; Peter Laslett, 'Introduction: the history of the family', in: Peter Laslett and Richard Wall (eds.), *Household and family in past time* (Cambridge, 1972), pp 1 – 89.

<sup>41</sup> For an overview on these studies, see Cameron Lynne MacDonald and Karen V. Hansen, 'Sociability and gendered spheres: visiting patterns in nineteenth-century New England', *Social science history* 25:4 (2001), pp 535 – 61.

<sup>42</sup> Cameron Lynne MacDonald and Karen V. Hansen, 'Sociability and gendered spheres', especially pp 556 – 57.

<sup>43</sup> Eleanor Gordon and Gwyneth Nair, *Public lives: women, family and society in Victorian Britain* (New Haven, 2001)

<sup>44</sup> Gail G. Campbell, *I wish to keep a record'. Nineteenth-century New Brunswick women diarists and their world* (Toronto, 2017), especially pp 155 – 56.

We will see now that this is in no way limited to the international historiography only but in fact has penetrated Dutch historiography as well.

### *Dutch Historiography*

Just as with the international historiography, the Dutch historiography on private and domestic sociability has greatly been influenced by the dominant discourse on salons. In fact, for a long time, the subject has not gained any traction because of the general belief that Dutch society did not meet the conditions for a flourishing salon culture set by Habermas. Literary scholar Joost Kloek and historian Wijnand Mijnhardt's *Blaauwdrukken voor een samenleving* perfectly capture this line of thought. One of their main argument regards the lack of an urban power centre in the Netherlands. In contrast to France, where Paris was the focal point of the country, the Netherlands' economic, political, and cultural power centre was divided between its two main cities, Amsterdam and The Hague. While The Hague formed the political heart of the Netherlands, Amsterdam was its economical centre. At the same time, both were clear rivals in these areas. Culturally speaking, however, neither was able to truly function as the artistic and intellectual hub of the Netherlands, at least not in the same grandeur of France. And to top it all off, they also did not have a fully developed university.<sup>45</sup>

Kloek and Mijnhardt furthermore mention the absence of a substantial and influential cluster of nobility in the Netherlands as a reason for the lack of salons. They base this argument on the generally accepted belief within Dutch historiography that nineteenth-century Dutch society was a *burgher*, not a *court* culture.<sup>46</sup> Though they do not deny the presence of the aristocracy here, Kloek and Mijnhardt *do* argue that the group was rather limited in size, and that she was unable to distinguish her salons from other social gatherings like (dinner) parties and balls.<sup>47</sup>

What, then, do we know about these other gatherings? It is important to emphasise here that no study has yet systematically used the term 'domestic sociability'. Yet, this does not mean that the subject has been disregarded altogether. Just like in the international historiography, then,

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<sup>45</sup> The Hague did – and still does - not have a university at all, and it would take the University of Amsterdam until the mid-nineteenth century to outgrow the status of being a small institute. The latter would for example only obtain the right to bestow doctoral degrees upon researchers in 1877. See e.g. Peter Jan Knegtman, *Geschiedenis van de Universiteit van Amsterdam* (Amsterdam, 2017).

<sup>46</sup> For the divided political situation in the Netherlands, see also Piet de Rooy, *Republiek van rivaliteiten. Nederland sinds 1813* (Amsterdam, 2002); Ons stipje op de waereldkaart. De politieke cultuur van Nederland in de negentiende en twintigste eeuw (Amsterdam, 2014); Ido de Haan, *Het beginsel van leven en wasdom. De constitutie van de Nederlandse politiek in de negentiende eeuw* (Amsterdam, 2003).

<sup>47</sup> J.J. Kloek en Wijnand Mijnhardt, *1800. Blaauwdrukken voor een samenleving* (Den Haag, 2001), here 117 – 18. For more on the power of the elite in nineteenth-century Dutch society, see: Boudien de Vries, *Electoraaten elite. Sociale structuur en sociale mobiliteit in Amsterdam 1850 – 1895* (Amsterdam, 1986).

Dutch scholars have emphasised the importance of class awareness in nineteenth-century Dutch society in conducting social visits, with historian Theo van Tijn arguing that ‘social ranks and class awareness [were] inextricably linked: without social ranks, there is no class awareness.’<sup>48</sup> This class awareness only increased when the nouveaux riches made her entrée in the Netherlands. A key work to mention here is Kees Bruin’s *Een herenwereld ontleed* (1980), in which the author investigated to which degree the composition of the Dutch elite changed in the second half of the nineteenth century. Just like Davidoff, Bruin saw a rivalry between the old and new elite. At the same time, however, he argued that the two of them often collaborated against the even ‘newer’ newcomers: the Haute Juiverie (the wealthy upper layer of Jews), Germans, and the *Indische fortuinen* (those who had gained wealth and status thanks to previously-acquired capital in the East).<sup>49</sup> Though these groups often had the same or even more economic capital, they were nonetheless habitually excluded from Societies, soirées and other forms of (semi-)public sociability, while having to endure negative stereotypes.<sup>50</sup>

Meanwhile, scholars have argued that the old and new elite mainly stayed within their own circles by marrying those of the same social strata. Though the idea of marrying for love did enter the stage, Barbara van Vonderen argued that marriages in general were still mainly held for strategic reasons such as increased wealth, status and extending the family’s social network.<sup>51</sup> Historian Jaap Moes agreed with this, showing that of the 444 Dutch ministers and members of parliament in the nineteenth century, a vast majority was related to each other through marriages.<sup>52</sup> At the same time, Van Vonderen saw an increase in interfaith marriages at the end of the nineteenth century, indicating that religion might have become subordinate to these strategic reasons.<sup>53</sup> However, the fact that this argument is based on one interfaith marriage between a Hervormde and a Doopsgezinde is not very convincing, especially at a time when increasing pillarization would suggest otherwise.<sup>54</sup> It does, however, raise the question to what degree mixed-religions actually took place within the elite of the late nineteenth century.

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<sup>48</sup> ‘(...) standen en standsbewustzijn [zijn] onlosmakelijk met elkaar verbonden: zonder standsbewustzijn geen standen.’ Theo van Tijn, ‘Voorlopige notities over het ontstaan van het moderne klassebewustzijn in Nederland’, in: P.A.M. Geurts and F.A.M. Messing, *Economische ontwikkeling en sociale emancipatie II* (Den Haag, 1977), pp 129 – 43, here p 130.

<sup>49</sup> Kees Bruin, *Een herenwereld ontleed. Over Amsterdamse oude en nieuwe elites in de tweede helft van de negentiende eeuw* (Amsterdam, 1980).

<sup>50</sup> This is also supported in the works of Jan-Hein Furnée and Ben de Pater, Tom Sintobin and Hans Vandevoorde (eds.). See Jan-Hein Furnée, *Plaatsen van beschaafd vertier*; Ben de Pater, Tom Sintobin and Hans Vandevoorde (eds.), *‘Allen zijn welkom’ Ontmoetingsplaatsen in de Lage Landen rond 1900* (Hilversum, 2017).

<sup>51</sup> Barbara M.M. van Vonderen, *Deftig en ondernemend, Amsterdam 1870 – 1910* (Amsterdam, 2013), p 29 - 30

<sup>52</sup> Jaap Moes, *Onder aristocraten. Over hegemonie, welstand en aanzien van adel, patriciaat en andere notabelen in Nederland, 1848 – 1914* (Hilversum, 2012), p 247.

<sup>53</sup> Barbara M.M. van Vonderen, *Deftig en ondernemend*, pp. 63 – 64.

<sup>54</sup> Pieter Stokvis, *Het intieme burgerleven. Huisbouden, huwelijks en gezin in de lange negentiende eeuw* (Amsterdam, 2005).

In addition, scholars have argued that the class awareness Bruin and others refer to was not limited to the (semi)public sphere only. In his 2001 *In veilige haven*, historian Thimo de Nijs for example analysed how family life contributed to the group identity of the nineteenth-century Rotterdamse bourgeoisie.<sup>55</sup> Apart from the class tensions of the time, De Nijs and in fact most scholars wrote their works with the Dutch *huiselijkheidscultus*, or ‘domesticity cult’, clearly borne in mind. It must be said here that though the nineteenth century as a whole has been dubbed the ‘age of domesticity’, Dutch scholars always seem to be more keen on using the concept, as it has been resulting in one of the Dutch’s most famous stereotypes: that of the *gezellige* Dutchman.<sup>56</sup> Within this in the late eighteenth-century emerged cult, then, domesticity was progressively propagated as one of the highest goods by the middle- and higher classes. In the second half of the century, however, increasing outdoor entertainment possibilities, as well as a more critical stance towards parts of the domestic ideology (for example, against women’s subordinate position) raised the question how families coped with this change.

According to De Nijs, then, the domestic ideology did not leave the minds of the Rotterdamse bourgeoisie. On the contrary, they actively used the respective morals and norms to form and re-evaluate their group identity. The studies of historians Kitty de Leeuw and Willemijn Ruberg support this view, highlighting that seemingly trivial aspects as clothing and correspondence culture were vital aspects within these processes.<sup>57</sup> The same applied to domestic visits, which were held for both internal and external reasons. An important internal reason for their occurring, De Nijs argued, was to strengthen the bonds between the members of the nuclear family.<sup>58</sup> Especially in a time when both parents became more actively involved in the education and nurturing of the children, family days, morning prayers and *rites de passages* such as birthdays were highly cherished.

In *Het intieme burgerleven*, historian Pieter Stokvis furthermore emphasised the importance of staying in contact with the extended family, who ‘acted as a social safety net, provided a framework for the exchange of services, and mediated in choosing a partner.’<sup>59</sup> Indeed, it was often thanks to

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<sup>55</sup> Thimo de Nijs, *In veilige haven. Het familieleven van de Rotterdamse gegoede burgerij, 1815 – 1890* (Nijmegen, 2001).

<sup>56</sup> See e.g., Amanda Vickery, ‘Golden age to separate spheres? A review of the categories and chronology of English women’s history’, *The historical journal* 36:2 (1993), pp 383 – 414; Ellen Krol, *De smaak der natie: opvattingen over huiselijkheid in de Noord-Nederlandse poëzie van 1800 tot 1840* (Hilversum, 1997); A.J. Schuurman, ‘Is huiselijkheid typisch Nederlands? Over huiselijkheid en modernisering’, *BMGN – Low Countries Historical Review* 107:4 (1992), pp 745 – 59; Remieg Aerts, ‘Het ingetogen vaderland: huiselijkheid, maatschappelijke orde en publieke ruimte’, in: Ido de Haan, Paul den Hoed and Henk te Velde (eds.), *Een nieuwe staat. Het begin van het Koninkrijk der Nederlanden* (Amsterdam, 2013), pp 251 – 73.

<sup>57</sup> Kitty de Leeuw, *Kleding in Nederland, 1813 – 1920. Van een traditioneel bepaald kleedpatroon naar een begin van modern kleedgedrag* (Hilversum, 1992); Willemijn Ruberg, *Conventional correspondence: epistolary culture of the Dutch elite, 1770 – 1850* (Leiden, 2011).

<sup>58</sup> Thimo de Nijs, *Het intieme burgerleven*, p 249.

<sup>59</sup> ‘Familienetwerken waren belangrijk omdat zij als sociaal vangnet fungeerden, een raamwerk vormden voor de uitwisseling van diensten en bemiddeling bij de partnerkeuze.’ Pieter Stokvis, *Het intieme burgerleven*, p 177.

the help of the extended family that a ruined sister was saved, while young women – who were far more restricted in their social interactions with men - had the highest chance of meeting their future partner at one of the family festivities. As such, Stokvis also nuanced De Nijs' view regarding the lady of the house's power when inviting guests. According to the latter, the wife, being the main organiser of dinner parties and balls, generally decided whom she wanted to invite. The interdependence of families, however, suggests that her power was not unquestionable. It is likely that these connotations also applied to those visitors who were not blood related, though neither elaborate on this.

At the same time, scholars like Stokvis generally provide a rather limited description of the interaction between the nuclear and extended family. Though aunts, uncles and in-laws have sporadically been mentioned here, distant relatives and less traditional family compositions, earlier put forward by Nelson, are not taken into account here whatsoever. Were they excluded, or did they have an active part in the maintaining of family relations as well? And if so, why?

Apart from these internal purposes, domestic visits also served external ones. In her study on the daily habits of the Dutch high classes, historian Ileen Montijn for example argued that 'order and regularity were the external characteristic of prosperity.'<sup>60</sup> To maintain the order, these social strata followed a strict daily schedule. Everything, from having breakfast to dinner and conducting a visit, was idealistically planned beforehand. Both Montijn and Stokvis deemed the emergence of the *jour* in the 1880s in cities as The Hague and Middelburg as the example par excellence of this almost obsessive habit.<sup>61</sup> The *Jours* referred to one or two middays a week during which a lady of the house received her visitors. As such, they became a popular solution to the increasing spontaneous, unannounced visits of the time that had often led to visitors finding their hosts not at home. Whether this strong focus on time also applied to the family's inner circle, however, is unclear from these works.

The same goes, albeit to a lesser extent, for the spatial dimension of domestic visits. Though scholars generally agree that the various rooms of the house were of vital importance for class awareness, social reputation, and processes of social in- and exclusion, these topics are mainly only mentioned in passing.<sup>62</sup> An exception must be made for architectural historian Hans Jannes' study on nineteenth-century Dutch villas, though the author unfortunately showed little interest in the relation between the theory and practices of social in- and exclusion within these spaces.<sup>63</sup> Indeed, how strict was the separation of private and public rooms? In addition, the concepts of 'space' and

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<sup>60</sup> 'Rust en regelmaat waren de uiterlijke tekenen van welvaart. Een nauwkeurige dagindeling hoorde daarbij'. Ileen Montijn, *Leven op stand, 1870 – 1914* (Amsterdam, 1998; 2000), p 101.

<sup>61</sup> Ibidem; Pieter Stokvis, *Het intieme burgerleven*, pp 150 – 51.

<sup>62</sup> Cf. Thimo de Nijs, *In veilige haven*, pp 232 – 37; Stokvis, *Het intieme burgerleven*, p 143.

<sup>63</sup> Hans Jannes, *Landhuizen en villa's in Nederland tussen 1840 en 1916* (PhD dissertation, Amsterdam, 2016), p 6.

‘non-space’ have not been employed here either, which I believe can provide us with new insights into these aspects. The studies also are hesitant when it comes to saying anything about the lack of space that even the higher (middle) classes must have struggled with at some point. Would they simply invite less people, or would they search for alternatives? And if so, what were they?

To conclude, the Dutch historiography is clearly focused on the ways in which the Dutch middle and especially higher classes used domesticity in their class awareness. In this thesis, I too will regularly refer to this. Combined with the international historiography on salons and domestic sociability, however, there are still aspects that have greatly been neglected: apart from the absence of systematic analyses of the terminology used to refer to domestic sociability, I also specifically refer to the meagre attention for the spatial dimension, as well as the company that would gather at these activities. In this thesis, then, I will therefore specifically draw attention to these three dimensions.

### *Research question*

In line with all of the above, it is my aim in this thesis to contribute to our understanding of the nineteenth-century Dutch burgher culture by systematically studying domestic visits. The research question is as follows:

*In which ways did late nineteenth-century middle- and high-class Amsterdammers utilise social in- and exclusion to shape domestic sociability?*

Posing this question is meaningful in various ways: to start, it expands our knowledge on domestic sociability in general – and with that, also that of private sociability, by including case studies that are located outside of France, Britain, Germany, and the United States. As such, I want to underwrite the strong diversity of domestic and private sociability by systematically analysing the various attributes usually connected to the salon (about the organization, number of guests, location etc.). The Netherlands in specific are fascinating, *especially* because of the complicated domesticity cult that was advocated as being an intrinsic part of the Dutch national character, but also because of the strict *standenmaatschappij* (‘society of ranks’) which dominated nineteenth-century society. I have furthermore focused on late nineteenth-century Amsterdam in specific, because of the drastic economic, social, and cultural changes that the city underwent just before and during that time: it had changed from a stagnated, ill-reputed city (beginning of the nineteenth century) into a lively capital known for its exuberant public life (end of the era). This situation immediately

begs the question how domestic sociability functioned within this highly evolved system of *uitbuisigheid*. Indeed, if many of the social interactions took place *outside* of the home, what function, then, did domestic sociability have?

### *Research methodology and outline*

Within research on private and domestic sociability, the sole usage of qualitative research methods still dominates the scene. According to historian Floris Meens, this is surprising, given that most of these studies' aims is to investigate the intricate relation between social in- and exclusion, the construction of group identities, and emancipation.<sup>64</sup> In the introduction of *In veilige haven*, De Nijs observes that this is a result of a 1990s research strand within social history in which said topics were increasingly analysed from the perspectives of life style, assignment of meaning, and representation, instead of socioeconomic structures.<sup>65</sup> The accompanying replacement of the traditional quantitative research methods with qualitative ones, however, went hand in hand with two common misconceptions: firstly, that there is a strict division between on the one hand sociological, quantitative and generalising research, and on the other hand anthropological, qualitative research that focuses on the exceptions in society. Secondly, it suggests that the concepts of 'structure' and 'culture' are per definition opposites. However, De Nijs argues that even though human interactions and thought processes are culturally embedded – for example, in the domestic ideology -, they also take place within a societal structure that cannot be forgotten about.

Since my thesis is centred around a period in which class awareness and the domestic ideology were closely interwoven, I, too, have found it useful to combine both approaches. To answer the posed research question, then, I have divided the thesis into four chapters. The foundation is formed by four individuals that lived in Amsterdam between 1880 and 1895. Three of them belonged to the higher classes, and the other one was of middle-class descent. My choice not to include the lower classes is based on the knowledge that the source material on this – mostly oral – piece of history is already scarce. Generally speaking, the lower classes were also not the target group of many of the sources I used, such as dictionaries, encyclopaedias, and etiquette

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<sup>64</sup> 'Kwantificerende historici hebben zich zelden onthouden van pogingen de betekenis van de door hen onderzochte verschijnselen te duiden en omgekeerd zijn studies van het bijzondere vaak expliciet bedoeld om ook het geheel beter te begrijpen.' Thimo de Nijs, *In veilige haven*, p 25.

<sup>65</sup> *Ibidem*, p 24.

books.<sup>66</sup> Though it would be fascinating to study how the morals and values held high by bourgeois society influenced the lower classes, this is beyond the scope of this research.

In the first chapter, I will introduce the four protagonists and situate them in the Amsterdam of the 1880s and 1890s. Based on the historiography and my own analysis, I found that social in- and exclusion penetrated Dutch domesticity on three levels, which will therefore form the main thread of the other chapters. These are the 1) **terminology, and temporal dimension**, in which the vocabulary used to refer to social visits, as well as the exact time and time frame will be studied; 2) **social dimension**, in which I will analyse the protagonists' company by employing a social network analysis; and 3) **spatial dimension**, where I will elaborate on the spaces used for domestic sociability.

Following this outline, a qualitative approach will dominate chapters one, two and four. In these sections, discourse analysis will be applied to study how the domestic ideology was imbedded in Dutch society, and, conversely, how the protagonists fit – or deviated from – this ideology. The social network analysis program Gephi will furthermore be used in the third chapter to dissect the protagonists' social networks. Studying the company's personal connection to the case studies, as well as their respective age, gender, religious beliefs, and employment, provides us with more insights into who was (not) invited at home, and why. It also enables me to test the theories drawn by both previous scholars - especially regarding the family - and draw attention to other, previously understudied groups that existed within the social networks.

### *Source Criticism*

Both the qualitative and the quantitative chapters of this thesis are built on a broad variety of sources. The starting point are three diaries and one memoir based on a diary, which are all part of the Amsterdam Stadsarchief's collection. Two of these authors are adult males, the other two are an adolescent male and female. All of them furthermore belonged to the middle and higher classes and lived in Amsterdam somewhere between 1880 and 1895. Using them as my starting point, I am aware of the ambiguousness of the documents. Both are ego documents, meaning they are autobiographical writings in which the protagonist either deliberately or unintentionally reveals him- or herself.<sup>67</sup> But they are also uncertain genres in which the authors continuously alternated

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<sup>66</sup> Most of the titles and prologues of these sources include phrases like 'meant for the civilised class' and 'civilised spoken and written language', and which indicates that the authors already presumed that their audience mostly consisted of members of the upper middle classes.

<sup>67</sup> The term was first coined by the Dutch historian Jacques Presser in the 1950s. See Jacques Presser, 'Clio kijkt door het sleutelgat', in: M.C. Brands, J. Haak and Ph. de Vries (eds.), *Uit het werk van dr. J. Presser* (Amsterdam, 1969), pp 283 – 93, here p 286.

between subjectivity and objectivity, spontaneity and reflectiveness, and private and public.<sup>68</sup> To use them for my research, it is therefore vital to understand the various aspects that make a diary and memoir, and understand how these different sources influence their content.

A diary is usually an unedited ego document that is written within a very limited time frame as it directly reacts to the occurred events.<sup>69</sup> Indeed, of the three protagonists who used diaries, two of them consistently wrote every day (or sometimes every other day). In contrast, the writing pattern of the last author, Caroline Boissevain (1868 - 1945), is rather inconsistent: at times she talked about her social activities – mostly her celebratory events - a few times a week, while at other times she recorded her events a week (or two) after they had occurred. Though the latter must have had influenced her memory, she is mostly still able to give small details about her social activities. Sometimes, she also tried to bridge these gaps by combining various days in her diary, but this was not always the case. Why Boissevain did not write in her diary every day is not clear, though it is possible that she did not believe some days to be important enough to write about.

But there is also another possibility: we know that in the eighteenth century, parents often made their offspring keep a diary to teach them to be introspective, keep an eye on them, and improve their writing skills.<sup>70</sup> According to historian Pim den Dekker, this trend may have continued well into the nineteenth century, as most of the Boissevains kept a diary – it might even have been a family tradition.<sup>71</sup> Perhaps the young woman was still struggling with this tradition, and as such, with consistently writing in her diary?

At the same time, Den Dekker points out that at times, Boissevain's diary shows elements of self-reflection, when she writes that she should 'better herself' for the well-being of her family. In this sense, the diary can at least partially be understood as a *journal intime*, a text of which the main thread consists of the author trying to make sense – or deal – with emotions and feelings, or to reflect on (the struggle of) everyday life. It is important to note that this self-reflection was mainly possible because Boissevain's diary did not have a pre-printed script. As a result, she could start and end her thought processes whenever she wanted, which gave her the possibility to include as many details as she desired. The same goes for the diary of Gerrit Kalff (1856 - 1923), though he usually kept the intimate details to himself. He most likely did this because he would read his

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<sup>68</sup> Rachael Langford and Russel West, 'Introduction: diaries and margins', in Rachael Langford and Russell West (eds.), *Marginal voices, marginal forms: diaries in European literature and history* (Amsterdam, 1999), pp 6 – 21, here p 8. Langford and West used this description to summarise diaries, but as we will see, they just as well apply to memoirs.

<sup>69</sup> Sandrine Arons, 'Self-therapy through personal writing: A study of Holocaust victims' diaries and memoirs', in: Stanley Krippner and Teresa M. McIntyre (eds.), *The psychological impact of war trauma on civilians. An international perspective* (London, 2003), pp 123 – 134, here 124.

<sup>70</sup> Arianne Baggerman and Rudolf Dekker, *Kind van de toekomst. De wondere wereld van Otto van Eck (1780-1798)* (Amsterdam 2004).

<sup>71</sup> Pim den Dekker, 'Weet, dat er niets indiscreeter is dan een andermans journaal te lezen'. De functies van negentiende-eeuwse jeugddagboeken', in: *De negentiende eeuw* 39:2 (2015), pp 141 – 162.

1895 diary aloud to his wife and children on New Year's Day 1896 - a common practice in the nineteenth century. In contrast, Henri-Jacques Scharp (1874 – 1957) only had a pocket agenda, which also served as a diary. Inked in a pre-printed script, the agenda made that the author had less space, and with that, less creative freedom, to discuss his everyday-life.<sup>72</sup> As such, Scharp mostly wrote in an illegible handwriting and telegram-style, which mainly included the names, or abbreviations, of the activities that he pursued. That he deemed it worthwhile to use the little amount of writing space for these specific words indicates that they were of importance to him. Though in a lengthier format, the other protagonists included the names of the people they visited, or were visited by, as well, which shows that diaries were also kept for remembrance purposes.

In the nineteenth century, it furthermore became more common for authors to eventually publish their works, for example in the format of a memoir. This was the case for Maurits van Lennep (1830 - 1913), who presumably started a memoir because his son Frank van Lennep (1865 - 1928) asked him to do so.<sup>73</sup> A memoir differs from a diary in that it is by definition an edited portrait of the protagonist's life that is conducted years, sometimes even decades, after the events have occurred.<sup>74</sup> Of course, the memoir's edited format also influences the text: it is written by an all-knowing narrator who may skip or put emphasis on – sometimes in the form of self-glorification –, certain events. Compared to other contemporary memoirs, however, Van Lennep still gives a rather detailed image of his everyday life, showing similarities with the writing pattern of Caroline Boissevain. I therefore nevertheless deem them useful for my research, as they still give an insight into Van Lennep's domestic sociability.

Of this memoir, then, exist two versions, one written by Van Lennep himself and the other typed over by his granddaughter, Anna Deborah Louise van Lennep (1894 – 1976), post mortem. To stay as true to the source as possible, I have chosen to stick with the original writings, which are digitally available via the Gemeentearchief Amsterdam. Because of the memoir's length (it starts with Van Lennep's birth and ends when he was in his seventies), I have taken a sample and focused only on the years 1880, 1883 and 1886, when Van Lennep had long been a renowned lawyer and politician - and with that, also had a considerably large social network.

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<sup>72</sup> Pim den Dekker, 'Weet, dat er niets indiscreeter is dan een andermans journaal te lezen', p 144.

<sup>73</sup> Van Lennep uses the term 'autobiography' here, which at the time was interchangeable with the word 'memoir'. Though the two have some similarities, the memoir mostly confines itself to the author's public image or important events, while the autobiography aims to tell his or her's whole life story. Van Lennep starts the text very much like an autobiography, including some details about his youth and family, but soon deviates from this model by focusing on his public life and image. I have therefore chosen to use the word 'memoir' instead of 'autobiography', which is also the term that is used in the Van Lennep's family archive.

<sup>74</sup> Sandrine Arons, 'Self-therapy through personal writing: A study of Holocaust victims' diaries and memoirs', in: Stanley Krippner and Teresa M. McIntyre (eds.), *The psychological impact of war trauma on civilians. An international perspective* (London, 2003), pp 123 – 134, here 124.

Apart from the memoir and diaries, I used photographs, personal entrances and genealogical sources of the family archives as well. All these sources served to check - and fill up the gaps left by - the diaries and memoir and were mostly available at the Stadsarchief Amsterdam. For the biographical information, I also used family heritage databases (most notably Geni, Stamboom and MyHeritage) and biographies and personal entrances of the case studies. Photographs of the protagonists have furthermore been retrieved from the family archive of the DeClerq family archives, the diaries, and newspaper articles.<sup>75</sup> Due to the coronavirus, I unfortunately was not able to use other ego documents such as the protagonists' correspondences and guest books.

To situate the four protagonists in the ever-changing Amsterdam of the nineteenth century, I fortunately was able to use contemporary maps of the city's expansions, as well as address books and civil registry books – all available in the Stadsarchief Amsterdam. These sources were necessary for finding the right residences, as Amsterdam went to several renumbering phases in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. They also indicate the wealth of the family, though for this specific aspect, I mainly used contemporary literature and employment registers.

For chapter two, the most important sources were dictionaries, encyclopaedias, and etiquette books. These books are highly descriptive and prescriptive, and as such provided me with insights in the theory and practices behind domestic sociability. Unfortunately, the exact publishing numbers of both are unknown, which especially for the etiquette books may be explained by the fact that they were ephemera: short-lived written works that were thrown away after they were deemed outdated.<sup>76</sup> Fortunately, two scholars have drawn attention to this absence, providing a list of popular etiquette books that have prevailed.<sup>77</sup> I have mainly used their lists, which are based on bibliographical reference works as Abkoude-Arrenberg, Brinkman, the Heijting collection, and the Nederlandse Bibliografie 1801 – 1832. As such, I was able to use twenty-one etiquette books and thirty dictionaries and encyclopaedias that were published between 1800 and 1917. These works were retrieved from the Koninklijke Bibliotheek Den Haag, the university Libraries of the Radboud University and the University of Amsterdam, the Stadsarchief Amsterdam, Delpher and Google Books. Some of these etiquette books were translated from German, English, or French, though given that the Dutch very much focused on these nations when it comes to etiquette, makes it not necessarily objectionable to use them in Dutch research.<sup>78</sup> Most of them, however, were not only

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<sup>75</sup> I would like to sincerely thank the family DeClerq for their help in providing the photographs of Caroline Boissevain.

<sup>76</sup> M.E.S. Hesselning, *Waar het is, wil het meerdere wezen.* *The popularity of the Dutch etiquette book in the Netherlands in the second half of the nineteenth century* (unpublished dissertation, Leiden, 2015), p 7.

<sup>77</sup> Ibidem; B.P.M. Dongelmans, 'Comme il faut', *De negentiende eeuw* 23:2 (1999), pp 89 – 132, here pp 106 – 120.

<sup>78</sup> M.E.S. Hesselning, *Waar het is, wil het meerdere wezen.* *The popularity of the Dutch etiquette book in the Netherlands in the second half of the nineteenth century* (unpublished dissertation, Leiden, 2015), p 7.

written in Dutch but also had multiple reprints, which again indicated their popularity. I also compared the findings of the etiquette books with newspaper articles, jokes, novels, and general books on the furnishing of rooms, to check whether the two matched.

For the third chapter, in which the social networks of the protagonists are analysed, I have made use of the social network analysis program Gephi. Because of the coronavirus, the data for the various graphs are solely retrieved from the diaries and memoir. However, including the guests' and hosts' gender, age, religion, employment, relation to the protagonists, and the form of domestic sociability made it possible for me to nevertheless draw some important preliminary conclusions in this respect. To put the data into their social contexts, I again also used the etiquette books and dictionaries.

For the last chapter, which centres around the spatial dimension of domestic sociability, the protagonists' own documents proved to be the most troublesome, as they wrote very little about their surroundings. The blueprints of the houses proved to be vital sources here. Unfortunately, the collection of the Rijksdienst voor Cultureel Erfgoed and the Stadsarchief Amsterdam only included the complete floorplans of Tesselschadestraat 4 (then 12) and Rembrandtplein 35. The blueprints of Vondelstraat 9 (then 69) and Keizersgracht 173 either only depicted the souterrain and ground floor, or were not available at all. As such, the analysis of Van Lennep and Kalff is predominantly based on secondary literature on nineteenth-century houses, etiquette books, house furnishing books, rental advertisements, photographs of the residencies, and comparisons with the remaining case studies.

## Situating the case studies in nineteenth-century Amsterdam: a brief introduction to Van Lennep, Scharp, Boissevain and Kalff

The Golden Age of the seventeenth century had been kind to the city of Amsterdam: in the historiography, scholars often speak of how the founding of both the Dutch East India Company (1602) and the West India Company (1621) enabled the capital of the Republic of the Seven United Netherlands to develop itself into a metropolis and vibrant centre of economic, commercial and cultural activities.<sup>79</sup> As a result of the economic prosperity, the city which had a mere 30.000 inhabitants in 1585 grew to a stunning 219.000 in 1685, marking Amsterdam as one of the largest cities of Europe of the time.<sup>80</sup> But these were also very clearly its heydays, and they would have long ended at the beginning of the nineteenth century.

The wars of the late seventeenth- and eighteen centuries had already weakened Amsterdam in this perspective. The *Rampjaar* ('Disaster Year') of 1672, followed by an almost continuous state of conflict with France for almost forty years, ensured that the Republic had an enormous national debt which made it impossible to maintain an army. French occupation seemed to be inevitable, and at the end of the eighteenth century, the Republic indeed became occupied by the French (1795 – 1813). As a result of the wars and economic deprivation, Amsterdam's international status dropped to the third or fourth place in 1800.<sup>81</sup>

The founding of the Kingdom of the Netherlands in 1815 crowned Amsterdam its capital, which initially seemed to be the start of a new flourishing chapter in the city's history. However, the independence of Belgium in 1830, London's significant developments in port activity and other countries' bans on the import of foreign products negatively influenced Amsterdam's international position.<sup>82</sup> The Dutch liberal statesman Johan Rudolph Thorbecke's (1798 – 1872) Constitutional Reform of 1848, too, lowered the city's prestige, as it took away cities' autonomous governmental rights, making Amsterdam one of the many municipalities of the Netherlands.<sup>83</sup> But there were more pressing reasons behind Amsterdam's stagnation: in general, the city found it hard to live up to the increasing expectations of the modern-day Amsterdammer and was always being compared

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<sup>79</sup> See e.g., Gijs van der Ham, *Geschiedenis van Nederland* (Amsterdam, 1998; 2004), pp 80 – 97; Nelleke Noordervliet, *Nederland in de Gouden Eeuw* (Zwolle and Amsterdam, 2003); Cordula Rooijendijk, *Vrije jongens: een geschiedenis van de Nederlandse handel* (Amsterdam, Antwerpen; 2014); Maarten Roy Prak, *Gouden eeuw: het raadsel van de Republiek* (Amsterdam, 2012).

<sup>80</sup> Erika Kuijpers, *Migrantenstad: immigratie en sociale verhoudingen in 17<sup>e</sup>-eeuws Amsterdam* (Hilversum, 2005), p 9.

<sup>81</sup> Remieg Aerts and Piet de Rooy, 'Hoofdstad in aanbouw: 1813 – 1900', in: Remieg Aerts and Piet de Rooy (eds.), *Geschiedenis van Amsterdam. Hoofdstad in aanbouw: 1813 – 1900* (Amsterdam, 2006), pp 11 – 16, here p 11 – 12.

<sup>82</sup> Antoine Everard Ailly, *Zeven eeuwen Amsterdam: de achttiende en de negentiende eeuw* (Amsterdam, 1951), pp 103 – 104.

<sup>83</sup> See e.g., H. Brugmans, *Geschiedenis van Amsterdam. Deel 6: opgaand getijd (1848 – 1925)* (Utrecht, Antwerpen, 1973), pp 7 – 13; Gijs van der Ham, *Geschiedenis van Nederland*, p 122.

to the other large cities that *were* able to do so.<sup>84</sup> Clean drinking water, a good infrastructure and modern-day entertainment were required, but the lack of financial means necessary to achieve these developments only led to increasing pauperism and decay. In contrast to cities like Paris, London, and Vienna, which greatly expanded during the nineteenth century, Amsterdam's growth initially stagnated and even dropped from 240.000 in 1735 to 180.000 between 1811 and 1815. In fact, the city would not have to expand its borders at least until the 1860s, when the population finally exceeded the Golden Age's numbers.<sup>85</sup>

Amsterdam's growth in the second half of the nineteenth century, then, was the result of the city's recent economic prosperity: thanks to developments in the financial sector, the diamond industry, construction, and port activities, the city changed from being an early capitalist trading and consumption city to a modern capitalist centre of trade and industry.<sup>86</sup> In addition, there was an increase in the number of large-scale distributors, restaurants, and other businesses establishing themselves in the city centre. As a result, the population considerably expanded. Amsterdam's housing situation, however, was far from prepared for this. After engineer Jacobus Gerhardus van Niftrik's (1833 – 1910) initial plan to expand was dismissed in 1867, planned urban expansion was finally realised under the guidance of urban planner Jan Kalff (1831 – 1913). As a result, the lower classes, which were already stuffed away in the poorest districts (i.e., the Jordaan, the Jewish Quarter, and the Eastern Islands) found themselves to be in even worse living conditions, as every piece of land was used for the construction of new, badly built, houses.<sup>87</sup> Kalff furthermore applied jerry-building in new neighbourhoods as the Pijp to keep up with the increasing demand for houses. For the richer classes, who desired modern houses and above all, greener areas around their residences, the Vondelparkbuurt and Amsterdam-Zuid were built.<sup>88</sup>

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<sup>84</sup> Remieg Aerts, 'Het verval, de verkrotting en het verleden', in: Remieg Aerts and Piet de Rooy (eds.), *Geschiedenis van Amsterdam. Hoofdstad in aanbouw: 1813 – 1900* (Amsterdam, 2006), pp 17 – 58.

<sup>85</sup>N.P.H. Nusteling, *Welvaart en werkgelegenheid in Amsterdam 1540 – 1860. Een relaas over demografie, economie en sociale politiek van een wereldstad* (Amsterdam, 1985), p 249.

<sup>86</sup>A. Knotter, *Economische transformatie en stedelijke arbeidsmarkt. Amsterdam in de tweede helft van de negentiende eeuw* (dissertation, Utrecht 1991).

<sup>87</sup> Cf. Nancy Stieber, *Housing design and society in Amsterdam: reconfiguring urban order and identity, 1900 – 1920* (Chicago, 1998), pp 17 – 18.

<sup>88</sup> To give an idea about the Vondelparkbuurt's popularity: though 102 out of the 160 families belonging to Amsterdam's old nobility still resided at the canal houses in 1885, sixteen lived in the streets surrounding the Vondelpark. See Kees Bruin and Huijbert Schijf, 'De eerste bewoners in een deftige straat', in: Michiel Jonker, Leo Noordegraaf and Michiel Wagenaar (eds.), *Van stadskern tot stadsgewest. Stedebouwkundige geschiedenis van Amsterdam Vol. 1* (Amsterdam, 1984), pp 133 - 156, here p 134; Michiel Wagenaar, 'Van 'gemengde' naar 'gelede' wijken. Amsterdamse stadsuitbreidingen in het laatste kwart van de negentiende eeuw', in: Michiel Jonker, Leo Noordegraaf and Michiel Wagenaar (eds.), *Van stadskern tot stadsgewest. Stedebouwkundige geschiedenis van Amsterdam Vol. 1* (Amsterdam, 1984), pp. 157 – 182, here p 159; Remieg Aerts, 'De publieke orde. Openbaarheid en beslotenheid', in: Remieg Aerts and Piet de Rooy (eds.), *Geschiedenis van Amsterdam. Hoofdstad in aanbouw 1813 – 1900* (Amsterdam, 2006), pp 139 – 216, here p 151; Ben de Pater, Tom Sintobin and Hans Vandevoorde, *Ontmoetingsplaatsen in tijden van 'snelverkeer'. Een inleiding*, in: Ben de Pater, Tom Sintobin and Hans Vandevoorde (eds.), *'Allen zijn welkom'. Ontmoetingsplaatsen in de Lage Landen rond 1900* (Hilversum, 2017), pp 9 – 22, here p 15.

The flourishing economy and urban expansions went hand in hand with a liberal governmental policy, which had been dominant in the Netherlands since Thorbecke, and which was also very clearly present in Amsterdam: of the ten mayors that would rule the city between 1848 and 1915, seven were liberal, one was a conservative liberal and two were conservatives. All of them were furthermore protestant – mostly Hervormd<sup>89</sup> – which given that Amsterdam had originally been a protestant city, was to be expected.<sup>90</sup> Yet, the capital had known large communities of Catholics and Jews as well.<sup>91</sup> And with the separation of church and state – ensured by the 1848 Constitutional Reform – these groups, which had previously been left out of the decision-making, could instigate significant changes as well.<sup>92</sup> Separate schools, churches, newspapers, and – eventually - political parties all emerged because of the intensifying pillarization that followed. Unsurprisingly, this also led to tensions between and amongst the different pillars - Catholics, Protestants, Socialists and Liberalists – and the Jews.<sup>93</sup> Especially the protestants struggled with accepting the other religions and were sure to let them know who were in charge in Amsterdam. One contemporary for example recalled that the Jews at least partly wanted to stay segregated from the Christians because the Hervormden would at all times decide the circumstances under which Jews and non-Jews were to meet.<sup>94</sup> Aware of their position as a minority group, the Catholics, too, mostly kept to themselves when professing their faith.<sup>95</sup> Still, they were generally looked upon with disdain by the Hervormden, who in return saw this as a sign of a potential upcoming Catholic revolt. Maurits Jacob van Lennep (1830 – 1913), one of the case studies to which I shall turn shortly, also expressed this unease when he wrote that his brother Christiaan bought a house in Lindenheuvel (Hilversum) to avoid it being used as a Catholic institution.<sup>96</sup>

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<sup>89</sup> As Hervormd and Gereformeerd are both translated as ‘Reformed’ in English, I specifically use the Dutch term to prevent confusion.

<sup>90</sup> Albert van der Zijde, *Katholieke identiteit en historisch bewustzijn: W.J.F. Nuyens (1823 – 1894) en zijn ‘nationale’ geschiedschrijving* (dissertation, University of Amsterdam, 2002), p 92; Joris van Eijnatten and Frederik Angenietus van Lieburg, *Religiegeschiedenis van Nederland* (Hilversum, 2006), p 262.

<sup>91</sup> Remieg Aerts, ‘De maatschappelijke orde. Aanvaarding, verschil en onderlinge afhankelijkheid’, in: Remieg Aerts and Piet de Rooy (eds.), *Geschiedenis van Amsterdam. Hoofdstad in aanbouw: 1813 – 1900* (Amsterdam, 2006), pp 217 – 284, here pp 274 – 75.

<sup>92</sup> The Constitution included four articles on the freedom of religion. See the Constitution of 1848, articles 164 – 167. See also Gijs van der Ham, *Geschiedenis van Nederland*, p 122; Remieg Aerts, ‘De maatschappelijke orde’, here p 291.

<sup>93</sup> The April Movement of 1853 – against the Pope’s restoration of the episcopal hierarchy in the Netherlands -, and the School Legislation Acts of 1857, 1878 and 1889 - in which the matter of governmental financial support for religious and non-religious schools was being discussed – are examples of this. About the emergence of Catholic schools, see Remieg Aerts, ‘De stedelijke orde. Herbestemming en nieuwe infrastructuur’, in: Remieg Aerts and Piet de Rooy (eds.), *Geschiedenis van Amsterdam: hoofdstad in aanbouw (1813 – 1900)* (Amsterdam, 2006), pp 59 – 138, here p 120.

<sup>94</sup> Piet de Rooy, ‘In het voetspoor van de radicalen 1889 – 1902’, in: Remieg Aerts and Piet de Rooy (eds.), *Geschiedenis van Amsterdam. Hoofdstad in aanbouw: 1813 – 1900* (Amsterdam, 2006), pp 519 – 573, here p 536.

<sup>95</sup> Remieg Aerts, ‘De maatschappelijke orde’, here p 284.

<sup>96</sup> Maurits Jacob van Lennep, *Memoires, met inliggend enkele brieven en aantekeningen uit de behandelde jaren, genummerd en doorlopend gepagineerd. Archiefnummer 238, Inventarisnummer 539J Cahier 56 (05-09-1879 – 04-10-1881)*, date unspecified (somewhere between 30-09-1880 and 19-10-1880).

The political situation in the Netherlands was also based on a strict *standenmaatschappij*, or ‘society of ranks’. Historians traditionally distinguish between three ranks: the nobility, the patricians (which both belonged to the highest classes), and ‘the rest’, which in a class society would translate to the lower and (lower) middle classes.<sup>97</sup> Income and wealth were tools used to show to which rank someone belonged, but it was especially a rank’s mannerisms (etiquette, hygiene, entertainment etc.) that set its members apart from the others. Especially in the later nineteenth century, this categorisation became even more complex with new job possibilities, but for now it will suffice to say that the ranks tried their best to stay within their own inner circles.<sup>98</sup> Climbing the social ladder, then, was reserved for few.

The importance of the society of ranks is also clearly visible in the Amsterdamse *witthuiszigheid* of the later nineteenth century. To start, there were plenty of public entertainment possibilities, including several dozen coffee houses, twenty-five lodgings, and hundreds of bars.<sup>99</sup> On a higher socio-cultural level, we may furthermore distinguish between public sites of entertainment on the one hand, and the semi-public institutions and Societies on the other hand. To the first belong the Paleis voor Volksvlucht (1858 – 1864), the Rijksmuseum (1885), the Concertgebouw (1888), the new Stadsschouwburg (1892 – 1894) and the Vondelpark (1864 - 1865). Though the necessary tickets for these establishments of course required a certain amount of income, they were in theory all publicly accessible.<sup>100</sup> Since the eighteenth century, however, the Netherlands had also known more exclusive forms of sociability, known as the institutions and Societies. Between 1855 and 1903, more than 1300 had been acknowledged by royal decree.<sup>101</sup> This number includes institutions focused on religious teachings and poor relief but also Societies. The latter were prestigious initiatives in which (mostly) high-society men, bound by membership, would discuss science,

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<sup>97</sup> K.P.C. de Leeuw, *Kleding in Nederland, 1813 – 1920*, p 88; Ileen Montijn, *Leven op stand*, p 22 ; I.J. Brugmans, ‘Standen en klassen in Nederland gedurende de negentiende eeuw’. In: P.A.M. Geurts and F.A.M. Messing, *Economische ontwikkeling en sociale emancipatie III* (Den Haag, 1977), pp 30 – 52, here p 30 – 32.

<sup>98</sup> For a detailed insight in the complexities of the nineteenth-century *standenmaatschappij*, see especially Jan-Hein Furnée, *Plaatsen van beschaafd vertier*, especially pp 47 – 92; Ileen Montijn, *Leven op stand*, p 17.

<sup>99</sup> Remieg Aerts, ‘De publieke orde’, here p 151; Herman Diederiks, *Een stad in verval. Amsterdam omstreeks 1800* (Amsterdam, 1982), p 315- 17.

<sup>100</sup> See e.g. Remieg Aerts, ‘De publieke orde’, here p 168 – 69; Hans Knippenberg, ‘Religieuze ontmoetingsplaatsen: het Leger des Heils in Amsterdam’, in: Ben de Pater, Tom Sintobin and Hans Vandevoorde (eds.), *‘Allen zijn welkom’, Ontmoetingsplaatsen in de Lage Landen rond 1900* (Hilversum, 2017), pp 35 – 52; Thomas Delpout, ‘De bonte Tuinen der muziek. Ontmoetingen in de tuin van het Amsterdamse Concertgebouw rond 1900’, in: Ben de Pater, Tom Sintobin and Hans Vandevoorde (eds.), *‘Allen zijn welkom’. Ontmoetingsplaatsen in de Lage Landen rond 1900* (Hilversum, 2017), pp 57-74.

<sup>101</sup> The Huygens Institute has created a database in which a total of 9000 Dutch institutions and Societies that have been acknowledged by royal decree between 1855 and 1903. 1319 of them were founded in Amsterdam. See M. van Tielhof, ‘Erkende verenigingen, 1855 – 1903’, *KNAW*, accessed at 30-12-2020 via [www.Historici.nl/Onderzoek/Projecten/ErkendeVerenigingen](http://www.Historici.nl/Onderzoek/Projecten/ErkendeVerenigingen)

literature, the arts, and music.<sup>102</sup> Every Society moreover formed an exclusive group within the broader high-class society, and as such had its own inner circle.

The importance of (semi-) public institutions and forms of entertainment should not be overlooked in this thesis, as all of my case studies were in one way or another active here. One may wonder, then, how exactly their social lives were structured, and especially what role domestic sociability still had in their already rather busy lives. But let us first turn to the four protagonists (and their accompanying diaries) themselves.

### *Living in Amsterdam: the protagonists*

Maurits Jacob van Lennep (1830 – 1913), Caroline Boissevain (1868 - 1945), Henri Jacques Scharp (1874 - 1957) and Gerrit Kalff (1856 - 1923): the four protagonists whose social lives that form the main thread of this thesis all kept a diary in the last twenty years of the nineteenth century. In that aspect, they were much alike. In others, however, they could not have been further apart from each other.

Maurits Jacob van Lennep was born into the rich Van Lennep family as a son of writer and politician Jacob van Lennep (1802 – 1868) and Henrietta Sophia Wilhelmina Roëll (1792 - 1870). Out of this marriage, six children were born, followed by three others from an affair between Jacob van Lennep and Swane Cornelia van Ockenburg (1830 - 1865). Van Lennep studied Law at the University of Leiden, where he also received his doctorate in 1853.<sup>103</sup> He married the wealthy Caroline Wilhelmina van Loon (1833 – 1899), with whom he would have nine children, four years later. Between 1854 and 1900, Van Lennep was subsequently a lawyer, state attorney, substitute public prosecutor, public prosecutor, counsellor in the Amsterdam Court, and a member of the Provincial Council of North Holland. His memoir includes over seventy years of writings, but for this thesis I have focused on the years 1880, 1883 and 1886, when Van Lennep was a counsellor in the Amsterdam Court. At the time, the family resided at Keizersgracht 173.<sup>104</sup> However, to get away from Amsterdam's busy Canal District, Van Lennep also built Huize Bantam in Hilversum

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<sup>102</sup> Prestigious Societies of the time include Felix Meritis, Caecilia, Arti et Amicitiae and Doctrina et Amicita. See Remieg Aerts, 'De publieke orde. Openbaarheid en beslotenheid', in: Remieg Aerts and Piet de Rooy (eds.), *Geschiedenis van Amsterdam. Hoofdstad in aanbouw 1813 – 1900* (Amsterdam, 2006), pp 139 – 216, here pp 169 – 171.

<sup>103</sup> Marita Mathijsen, *Jacob van Lennep: een bezjeldde schavuit* (Amsterdam 2016), p 132; Marita Mathijsen, *De gemaskerde eeuw* (Amsterdam 2002), p 21.

<sup>104</sup> Cf. *Adresboeken 1879 – 1880*, Archive no. 30274: Inventaris van de Collectie Stadsarchief Amsterdam Inventory no. 40, p 280; *Adresboeken 1882 - 1883*. Archive no. 30274: Inventaris van de Collectie Stadsarchief Amsterdam. Inventory no. 42, p 388; *Adresboeken 1885 – 1886*. Archive no. 30274: Inventaris van de Collectie Stadsarchief Amsterdam. Inventory no. 45, p 335.

in 1878, where he often resided throughout the years. Hilversum, very much like Baarn and Bloemendaal, were popular areas for the richest to withdraw.<sup>105</sup>

Another high born was Caroline Auguste Antoinette Sophie Boissevain (1868 – 1945), who wrote her diary in 1884. At that time, she lived at Tesselschadestraat 4.<sup>106</sup> Born as daughter to the banker and theoretical economist Gideon Maria Boissevain (1837 – 1925) and Louise Caroline toe Laer (1837 – 1915), Boissevain was a member of the wealthy Boissevain family. Of Huguenot descent, the Boissevains belonged to Amsterdam's patricianship. Over the centuries, they had become highly involved in the city's societal life, not only having familial ties with at least thirty families of Amsterdam's *vioux riche* but also making a name for themselves.<sup>107</sup> Boissevain's father was no exception to this rule, being the co-founder of the Kas-Vereeniging - the Dutch version of the joint stock banks. Growing up in such luxury while being the only daughter of a total of five children had a big influence on the young woman. In contrast to her three younger brothers, who would spend most of their time at boarding school, Boissevain would go to an all-female school led by the ladies Rahusen, where she would enjoy the company of other young women of the higher classes.<sup>108</sup> As we shall see in the following chapters, Boissevain did not give the impression of being too bothered by the societal problems of the time but instead was rather focused on the here and now - most notably her involvement with her later husband, Gideon Stephanus De Clerq (1862 – 1942) -, and enjoying her youth.

As a middle classer, Henri Jacques Scharp (1874 – 1957) was quite different from Van Lennep and Boissevain. Scharp was born in 's Hertogenbosch as the oldest of the two children of Henri Ferdinand Scharp (1828 – 1909) and Jeannette Brester (1847 – 1933), the other child being Bernard Karel Scharp (1878 – 1945).<sup>109</sup> After initially moving to Den Helder and Utrecht, the family would settle at Rembrandtplein 35 in Amsterdam in 1884.<sup>110</sup> Contrary to what we may expect of a

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<sup>105</sup> Ben de Pater, Tom Sintobin and Hans Vandevoorde, *Ontmoetingsplaatsen in tijden van 'snelverkeer'. Een inleiding*, in: Ben de Pater, Tom Sintobin and Hans Vandevoorde (eds.), *'Allen zijn welkom'. Ontmoetingsplaatsen in de Lage Landen rond 1900* (Hilversum, 2017), pp 9 – 22, here p 15.

<sup>106</sup> *Algemeen adresboek der stad Amsterdam, voor de jaren 1884-1885. Naar officiële opgaven bewerkt* (Amsterdam, 1885), p 57.

<sup>107</sup> *Geschiedenis van Amsterdam Vol. 1* (Amsterdam, 1984), pp. 157 – 182, here p 160; I will return to the lineage of the Boissevain family in the next chapters. For a general overview of the different marriages that occurred between a member of the Boissevain family and one of the other wealthy Amsterdamse families of the time, see Charles Boissevain, 'De netwerken van de familie Boissevain' (March 2011), *Jan Willem Boissevain*, accessed at 03-09-2020 via <<https://jwboissevain.wordpress.com/2018/11/05/de-netwerken-van-de-familie-boissevain/>> See also Barbara van Vonderen, *Deftig en ondernemend. Amsterdam 1870 – 1910* (Amsterdam, 2013), p 157.

<sup>108</sup> Barbara van Vonderen, *Deftig en ondernemend*, p 282.

<sup>109</sup> According to his family archive, Henri Ferdinand had already had to cope with tragic losses throughout his live, as both his first wife and the two children he had with her had died in or before 1880. See the description of the family archive of the family Scharp, accessed at 01-09-2020 via:

<<https://archieff.amsterdam/inventarissen/details/1595/keywords/Henri%20Jacques%20scharp>>

<sup>110</sup> *Adresboeken 1885 – 1886*. Archive no. 30274: Inventaris van de Collectie Stadsarchief Amsterdam. Inventory no. 45, p 335.

Brabander, Scharp – just like all other protagonists - was in fact Hervormd.<sup>111</sup> Though both Scharp children would later have a civil service career, Henri Ferdinand Scharp had actually pursued a successful career within the military. Joining the military was a common way for those of modest origins to gain status, so it is not surprising to see that four of the latter's five brothers would follow the same path. Between 1884 and his retirement in 1886, Scharp's father had been the local commander of Amsterdam in the rank of colonel.<sup>112</sup> Upon his withdrawal from the army, he received the honorary rank of major general, receiving 2071 *f* annually to take care of his family.<sup>113</sup> Since retention was still relatively low in these days and he did not have much family capital, living at the Rembrandtplein was probably one of the best areas Scharp could afford.

The same cannot be said of the final case study, Gerrit Kalff (1856 – 1923), whose diary was written in 1895. Kalff lived in the same block as Boissevain, only at Vondelstraat 9.<sup>114</sup> He was also the ninth of the in total thirteen children of father Gerrit Juriaan Kalff (1818 – 1879), a cashier, and mother Katharina Margaretha Muller (1824 – 1904), a daughter of preacher and professor at the Amsterdamse Doopsgezind Seminarium, Samuel Muller (1785 – 1875). Due to financial setbacks, mostly provoked by Gerrit Juriaan, Katharina Muller had to ask her wealthy brothers for support, which especially her brother Fredrik Muller (1817 – 1881) did. The latter also agreed to being his nephew's patron, making it possible for Kalff to enjoy a good education.<sup>115</sup> Kalff started his college time with Classics at the university of Amsterdam but soon switched to Leiden to study Dutch Literature, where he also completed his PhD. When his father died in 1879, he subsequently lived together with his mother and two sisters at the Parklaan 53 in Haarlem before separating from them a year later, when he accepted a teaching position at the Amsterdamse Handelsschool. After receiving his doctorate in 1883, Kalff became a teacher at the Barleaus Gymnasium (1886), where he would still be teaching when writing his diary in 1895. A year after accepting his position at the Gymnasium, on 28 June 1887, he married Johanna Jacoba Elisabeth Momma (1861 – 1923), with whom he would have four children: Robert Kalff (1888) - who would die shortly after his birth - Gerrit Kalff Jr. (1889 – 1955), Elisabeth Jacoba Kalff (1890 – 1964) and Catharina Margaretha Kalff (1899 – 1926). The family initially found residence at the Weteringplantsoen 8 but moved to

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<sup>111</sup> *Ingekomen stukken betreffende de Gereformeerde Kerk van Amstelveen-Noord, 1937 – 1952*, Archive no. 1594, Inventaris van de Collectie H.J. Scharp, Inventory no. 1.2.11. Stadsarchief Amsterdam.

<sup>112</sup> H.G.J. Grootveld, L. van Asselt and P.J. Rood, 'Archief van de Familie Scharp', accessed at 03-09-2020 via <<http://docplayer.nl/57542761-Archief-van-de-familie-scharp.html>>

<sup>113</sup> Henri Jacques Scharp, *Aantekeningen betreffende de militaire loopbaan van Jacobus en Henri Ferdinand Scharp; de Schotse geslachten Scharp, Scharpe en Schairp* (ca. 1893). Gemeentearchief Amsterdam, Inventaris van de familie Scharp 1595, 1.8; Henri Jacques Scharp, *Genealogische aantekeningen en levensschetsen betreffende diverse geslachten Scharp en Scharp, opgesteld door Jan Scharp in 1802 en gekopieerd en aangevuld door H.J. Scharp* (ca. 1895), p. 3. Gemeentearchief Amsterdam, Inventaris van de familie Scharp 1595, 1.4.

<sup>114</sup> *Algemeen adresboek der stad Amsterdam, voor de jaren 1895 – 1896. Naar officiële opgaven bewerkt* (Amsterdam, 1896), p 309.

<sup>115</sup> L.H. Maas, *Pro patria. Werken, leven en striven van de literatuurhistoricus Gerrit Kalff (1856 – 1923)* (Rotterdam, 1998), pp. 19 – 28.

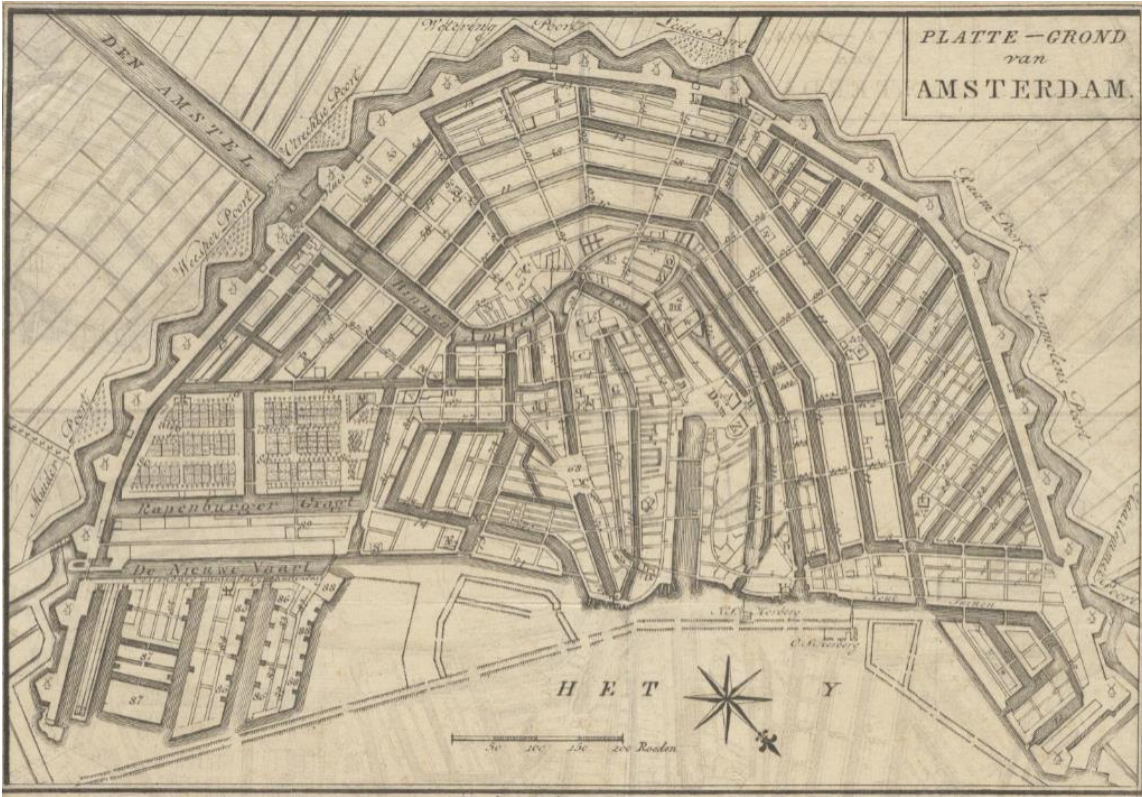
Vondelstraat 9 in 1894.<sup>116</sup> According to his son, Gerrit Kalff Jr., Gerrit sr. was a ‘loving and caring husband and father’, very much preferring his family and homely life over other forms of entertainment.<sup>117</sup> I will return to this later on in this thesis, but for now it will suffice to say that this statement does seem to be more than just an emotional account of a son to his father. In the 1890s, Kalff would furthermore be appointed as member of the board of the *Maatschappij tot Nut van 't Algemeen* (*Society for Public Welfare*) (1892) and as professor in Dutch Literature at the University of Utrecht (1896). This last appointment is also the reason why the Kalffs left for Utrecht a year later.

The brief background information provided in this chapter is vital for the analysis included in the following. The first step in this analysis, then, is an examination of the terminology behind, and temporality of, the different forms of domestic sociability that are mentioned in the protagonists’ diaries and memoir.

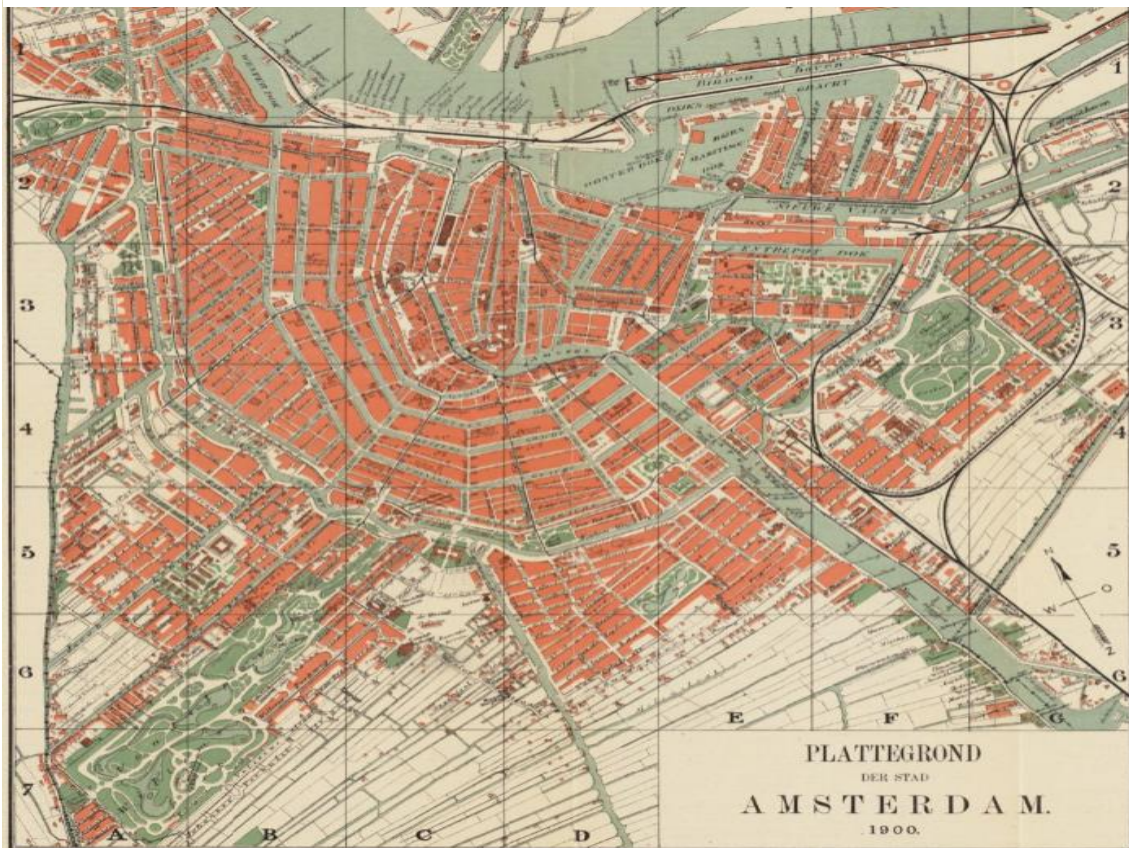
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<sup>116</sup> Address books of the city of Amsterdam, years 1894 – 1895.

<sup>117</sup> Gerrit Kalff Jr., *Leven van Dr. G. Kalff* (Groningen and Den Haag, 1924), pp I – CXXXVI, here p XXXVIII.



Figures 1 (above) and 2 (down). Maps of Amsterdam showing the significant changes that occurred in the city's outline. Above: Amsterdam's city borders as crafted by L.A.C. Hesse in 1810. Note that the map is upside-down from our modern vision. Down: Amsterdam in 1900, created by H.J. Scheltema. Both maps are retrieved from the Card Collection of the Stadsarchief Amsterdam, inv.no. 10033.





Figures 3 and 4. Photographs of a youthful Caroline Boissevain (1868 – 1945). On the left, a portrait where she was still in her early teens (photograph taken by S. Kohn, date unknown), on the right one with her brothers (photographer and date unknown). The pictures have been provided by Daan DeClerq, from the DeClerq's personal archives.



Figure 5. A torn photograph of an older Henri-Jacques Scharp (1874 – 1957). Photographer and date of picture taken unknown, included in Scharp's diary on 02-05-1915.



Figure 6. Photograph of Gerrit Kalff (1856 – 1923), included in an In Memoriam of the *'Neerlandia Maandblad van het Algemeen Neerlandsch Verbond* Vol 27:10 (October 1923), p 187.



Figure 7. Photograph of Maurits Jacob van Lennep (1830 – 1930), taken in celebration of his eighty's birthday in 1910. Stadsarchief Amsterdam, Archief van de familie Van Lennep (archive no. 30491), inv. no. 1.21.90, 06-06-1910.

## Terminology and Temporality: an overview in words, social connotations, and time

‘Some weeks ago, my parents and I were invited to have a cup of tea at Mrs. A. and pass the evening. I could count my blessings that this ‘passing’ would consist of playing games or perhaps some music, and then maybe eating a sandwich.’<sup>118</sup>

In her popular etiquette book on the behaviour of (young) women, author Egbertina Christina van der Mandele (1869 – 1934) communicates about the different forms of domestic sociability that her readers had to be able to differentiate between. The passage shows the importance of not only knowing the terminology that was used for domestic social activities, but also the social implications connected to them.

In this Chapter, I will elaborate more on the terminology, social connotations and time frames connected to domestic sociability by analysing the different types of visits that are discussed by the four protagonists. Since the case studies’ social networks will be analysed in the next chapter, I will not go into too many specifics about this here. The nineteenth-century gender relations, however, *will* be taken into consideration, as both the Dutch and international historiography have shown that they had a great influence on the visiting possibilities – and *expectations* – for both men and women. The same applies to the reasons for hosting domestic sociability, mentioned by Thimo de Nijs and Pieter Stokvis. As the protagonists themselves wrote very little – if at all – about this aspect, I have made frequent use of dictionaries, encyclopaedias, and etiquette books: sources that, apart from the definitions, also often incorporated synonyms, as well as the word’s origin, general popularity among certain classes, and social connotations. Important to note is that these sources did not reflect society as it was, but how the authors wanted it to be. Given the popularity of realism within literature, I have therefore employed novels as well.<sup>119</sup>

In the next sections, the terminology and social connotations are structured per time frame (i.e., morning and early afternoon, afternoon, and evening), as I found that the temporal dimension of a social gathering was essential in hosting and attending domestic sociability. This also already hints at the existence of a strict time schedule, previously mentioned by Ileen Montijn – a note to which I shall turn multiple times in this chapter. In two instances, I have found that the social acts either overlapped the time frames or were too similar to discuss them separately. This, then, is why

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<sup>118</sup>Egbertina C. van der Mandele, *Het wetboek van mevrouw Etiquette in 24 artikelen* (Arnhem, 1893), p 166.

<sup>119</sup>Joep Leerssen, *De roman in de negentiende eeuw* (Hilversum, 2020), pp 143 – 145.

I have chosen to analyse the coffee visits in the section on the morning visits, and the afternoon and evening meals in the one on afternoon visits.

### *Think in the morning: morning and early afternoon visits*

For all case studies, the morning and early afternoon visits were undoubtedly the least eventful times when it comes to social calls. This may partially be explained by the protagonists' writing choices: especially Van Lennep and Boissevain were mainly focused on their celebratory events, which in most cases would only start in the afternoon. Whenever Van Lennep *did* include morning activities, they were mainly focused on his Church visits, which given his strict religious view on life – to which I shall return in the next chapter – is not surprising. However, the fact that even within the consistent writings of Scharp and Kalff, etiquette books, and novels, the mornings were highly underrepresented, indicates that a more pressing reason must have caused this.

A more conclusive answer is provided in the etiquette books of attorney at the provincial court of Friesland, C.M.A. Simon van der Aa (1810 – 1855), and D.H. Engelberts. The two works are separated by twenty years, but both argued that the mornings were to be used for work. For the women, this translated to ensuring the house was clean and cosy for the afternoon visits, while for the men, this meant going to the office, or work from home.<sup>120</sup> A lesson program of the Barlaeus Gymnasium in Amsterdam, where Kalff worked, also supports this, mentioning that the general working hours for a teacher were from 9:00 – 12:00 in the morning and from 13:00 – 16:00 in the afternoon on weekdays – Holidays excepted of course – and from 9:00 – 13:00 on Saturdays.<sup>121</sup> It also explains why Kalff made most of his afternoon visits during the weekends, which I will discuss shortly. Though the working hours of Van Lennep remain unknown, in January 1880 he uttered annoyed that his meetings regularly lasted until four o'clock in the afternoon, indicating that under less busy circumstances, this time would be shorter.<sup>122</sup> Yet, as an attorney in

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<sup>120</sup> C.M.A. Simon van der Aa, *Lessen in de wellevendheid* (Leeuwarden, 1863), p 64; “De voormiddag behoort aan het huishouden. Alleen in dringende gevallen mag de huisvrouw die uren voor een bezoek gebruiken”. D.H. Engelberts, *De goede toon. Een wegwijzer om zich in alle omstandigheden van het leven en den gezelligen omgang door bescheiden en wellevende manieren, aangenaam en bemind te maken alsmede vertrouwbare inlichtingen en regelen voor Dames en Heeren om zich in de samenleving, volgens de daar heerschende gebruiken, bij plechtige gelegenheden en in gezellige kringen, naar behooren te bewegen en zich den Beschaafden Levenstoon eigen te maken* (Amsterdam, 1881), p 27. Not much is known about the author, though one address book poses the possibility of him being a manufacturer who had become rich. See *Naamregister van alle de heeren kooplieden, bankiers, handeldrijvende of negotiedoenden, winkeliers en fabriekanten, met aanwijzing van derzelver woonplaatsen en waarin zij handelen* (Amsterdam, 1837), p 32.

<sup>121</sup> Author unknown, *Verzameling der verordeningen betreffende het openbaar onderwijs te Amsterdam* (edited 15-05-1875), pp 12 – 13. Archive no. 260: Inventaris van de archieven van scholarchen en curatoren en rector van de Latijnse school, curatoren van de openbare gymnasia en van de rector van het stedelijk of Barlaeusgymnasium. Inventaris no. 161: Verordeningen, reglementen, programmata en lesroosters, 1847 – 1950.

<sup>122</sup> Memoires of Maurits Jacob Kalff, Januari 1880 (date unspecified).

the Provincial Court of South Holland, we may expect that in general, he used at least part of his mornings and afternoons for work-related activities.

The nature of men's and women's work may have greatly differed, but this did not mean that the latter's was valued less: in fact, both male and female authors of etiquette books emphasised that if the lady of the house had put good efforts in her work, this would significantly contribute to the guests' mood during the later parts of the day.<sup>123</sup> Indeed, nothing represented a decent family better than a clean and orderly household. The author of a famed late-nineteenth century etiquette book for young girls and women, Johanna van Woude, perfectly captures this, noting that 'where the man ensures that the house is a safe haven, the woman brings cosines, order, and loveliness (...) The woman is the queen of domestic life; she gives it colour and smell.'<sup>124</sup> Since this was obviously a time-consuming effort, there seems to have been a general rule among etiquette books that visits should not occur before two 'o'clock – which supports Montijn's reasoning on this topic – but also that men and women were to spend their mornings alone.<sup>125</sup> Kalff's diary, however, shows that this was not always necessarily the case: during the Holidays – and sometimes before his working day would begin, he would occasionally join his wife Johanna for groceries.<sup>126</sup>

Apart from the lord and lady of the house, the adolescents, too, had their own chores within the household. Young women were generally expected to help their mothers within the house, so the latter's household naturally formed a great learning school in this respect.<sup>127</sup> Indeed, it was here that they would learn the tools to upkeep their own future home. Though Boissevain very rarely speaks of her morning activities – some general remarks about how she hated school excluded – the descriptions of her attitude towards her mother and brothers suggest that she was not a devoted follower in this respect. On February 4<sup>th</sup> 1885, she for example says that

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<sup>123</sup> See e.g., C.M.A. Simon van der Aa, *Lessen in de wellevendheid* (Leeuwarden, 1863), p 64; D.H. Engelberts, *De goede toon*, pp 27 – 29, pp 160 – 63, p 176; Van der Mandele, *Het wetboek van mevrouw Etiquette in 24 artikelen*, p 110; Author unknown, *Handboek der wellevendheid, of Praktische gids om zich in gezelschappen en alle omstandigheden des levens te gedragen als iemand van beschaafde manieren; wijders om, vooral des winters-avonds, de ziel van een gezelschap te wezen; en om zich overal gezien te maken door eenen kieschen en aangename omgang met dames. Alsmede eene godenleer, teekenspraak, bloemenspraak, kleurenspraak enz. enz. enz.* (Leiden, 1855; 1860) P 21.

<sup>124</sup> 'De man streeft er naar zijn tehuis tot een veilige en aangename rustplaats te maken, de vrouw brengt er gezelligheid, orde en liefelijkheid (...) De vrouw is de koningin van het huiselijk leven; aan haar ontleent het kleur en geur.' In Johanna van Woude, *De schoonste gaven der vrouw. Een boek voor meisjes en vrouwen* (Haarlem, 1889), pp 4 and 6.

<sup>125</sup> 'Een ochtendbezoek moet altijd in den winter tusschen 2 en 4, in den zomer tusschen 2 en 5 ure des namiddags afgelegd worden. Door dezen regel in acht te nemen vermijdt gij binnen te stuiven voor dat het luncheon afgenomen is, en gaat gij vroeg genoeg om aan de vrouw des huizes een of twee uren te laten, ten einde zij zich voor het middagmaal kleede. Draag altijd zorg bij het maken van ochtendbezoeken het luncheon-uur zooveel mogelijk te vermijden. Sommige dames houden zich tot twee ure met hare kinderen onledig, en zijn dus niet voorbereid tot de ontvangst van vroege bezoekers. Wanneer gij eens de zekerheid hebt, dat dit het geval is, draag dan zorg nimmer weer op hetzelfde uur uwe opwachting te maken.' Unknown author, *Lessen over de wellevendheid voor heeren. Vol 1* (Amsterdam, 1879), p 15 – 16.

<sup>126</sup> See diary of Gerrit Kalff, dates 13-04-1895, 24-04-1895, 28-04-1895 and 05-05-1895.

<sup>127</sup> See: Van der Mandele, *Het wetboek van mevrouw Etiquette in 24 artikelen* pp 46 – 52; Louise Antoinette Stratenus, *Vormen: handboek voor de samenleving in en buiten huis* (Gouda, 1887), p 9.

It would be so much nicer if I did not want to do everything my way, and if I did not complain so much, it would be so nice for Mama. Mama, whom I love so much, and whom I want to please. Come on, let me from now on always think about it and try to become a better and sweeter daughter and sister!<sup>128</sup>

Apparently, it was very hard for the young woman to keep her promise, as she returned to this statement a couple of times in her diary. Though this was far from an ideal image, being part of the rich Boissevain family, as well as in generally being spoiled by her parents and having a good prospect of getting married into another wealthy family, the DeClerq's, probably helped her get away with this attitude. The same cannot necessarily be said of Scharp, who regularly describes retrieving the newspaper before school, as well as cleaning his room. Nevertheless, when he did not have to go to school in the morning, the young man's morning routine mainly consisted of evaluating his coin collection, playing with his younger brother Ben (1878 - 1945), painting, or using the swing set downstairs.<sup>129</sup> Though this does not oppose Montijn's strict time schedule per se, it does suggest that at least for the younger

As an adolescent male, society's expectations for Scharp were of course also quite different from that of Boissevain: the focus was much more on learning, and with that, eventually being able to maintain a family of his own, rather than taking care of the house. This does not mean that women were not meant to have knowledge of the world around them – on the contrary, female etiquette books stressed the importance of this aspect for their social lives – but they were expected to stay very restraint about it. This statement was also negatively reinforced by both male and female etiquette books, which argued that topics like politics and religion should be avoided at all costs when someone of the fairer sex was present. Whereas some argued that the only way for women to stay modest was not to talk about these 'serious subjects', others – mostly from a male perspective – focused on their general lack of interest in them.<sup>130</sup> Though this was partly a result of

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<sup>128</sup> 'Het zou toch zooveel prettiger zijn, wanneer ik minder bedrilde en aanmerkingen maakte en 't zou mama zoo'n plezier doen. Nu, mama, waar ik zoo dol van houd, wil ik toch wel genoeg doen. Kom, laat ik nu eens altijd er aan denken en trachten zodoende een betere en lievere dochter en zuster te worden!' Diary of Caroline Boissevain, 04-02-1885. See also her descriptions on 18-09-1884, 15-11-1884 and 01-01-1885.

<sup>129</sup> See e.g., diary of Henri-Jacques Scharp, 16-05-1889, 05-07-1889, 08-07-1889.

<sup>130</sup> Cf. *Lessen over de wellevendheid voor heeren* Vol 1, p 20; Mariette Verlaane, *Het boek van de beschaafde vormen en goede manieren. In hoofdzaak bewerkt naar de gravin De Gencé en andere bronnen* (Amsterdam, 1911), p 113; Author unknown, *Handboek der wellevendheid, of De kunst om zich in alle omstandigheden van het leven en de gezellige omgang, door bescheiden en wellevende man aangenaam en bemind te maken, alsmede praktische regelen voor mannen en vrouwen om zich in de beschaafde wereld volgens de daar heerschende gebruiken, bij plegtige gelegenheden en in gezellige kringen, als: dooppartijen, verlofings- en bruiloftsfeesten, verjaardagen, bezoeken van rouwbeklag en begrafenissen, concerten, schouwspelen, diners, bij het spel en op reis naar behooren te bewegen en zich den beschaafden levenstoon eigen te maken* (Leiden, 1868), p 205.

the specific role for women as mothers who flourished best in the domestic sphere, this most certainly was also influenced by the fewer schooling possibilities of girls of the time: the girls' school of the sisters Rahusen in Amsterdam, which Boissevain also attended, focused mostly on the languages, whereas Scharp was also taught in at least Chemistry, Math and History.<sup>131</sup>

With work, school and leisure time for the children occurring in the morning, it is not surprising that these were not the most popular times of the day to receive visitors. Yet, this does not mean that they did not happen at all. In fact, I have been able to distinguish four types of morning visits that are included in the diaries and memoir of the protagonists: breakfasts, general morning visits, coffee visits, and special occasions such as birthday parties. I will turn to this last category in the section on afternoon visits but for now it is important to note that all four case studies started receiving guests around eleven o'clock during these celebratory events – a habit that was probably done to ensure the large number of guests that would want to visit the birthday boy or girl all had the chance to do so.<sup>132</sup>

The first category, breakfasts, is included very rarely in the diaries and memoir, probably because it was a part of the protagonists' everyday routine. As the documents were written for remembrance, legacy, or pedagogical purposes, it is unsurprising that the authors did not deem this type of domestic sociability valuable enough to include it in their works. Of the few times that breakfast *is* included in their writings, then, the distinguishing characteristic was that people outside of their nuclear family were joining them.<sup>133</sup> In all except one of these cases, this meal was also a natural follow-up of a sleepover that had been held the previous day.<sup>134</sup> Here, the evening sociability thus continued until breakfast, sometimes even well into the afternoon – as in the case of a wedding, for example. Only Boissevain mentions one occasion in which her uncle Louis (1848 - 1916) joined for breakfast without spending the night at the family as well, which he did only so the whole company could visit Boissevain's grandma (Caroline Louise Mollet, 1811 – 1894), and aunt Auguste (1845 - 1899) – referred to as 'Us' - together.<sup>135</sup>

The few times a general morning visit occurred also indicates the reluctant attitude the four protagonists had towards them. Whenever they were made, the host and visitor always had an intimate connection – i.e., family members or close friends – and in most cases, there was also some urgency to the case.<sup>136</sup> Both Kalff and Scharp for example mention regular visits to their

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<sup>131</sup> Barbara van Vonderen, *Deftig en ondernemend: Amsterdam 1870 – 1910* (Amsterdam, 2013).

<sup>132</sup> See: memoir of Maurits Jacob van Lennep; diary of Gerrit Kalff; diary of Caroline Boissevain, 01-01-1885.

<sup>133</sup> Strictly speaking, Caroline's aunt Auguste forms an exception to this rule. However, by living with the Boissevain's for some time, she had in a way become part of the nuclear family. On 09-10-1884 she prepared breakfast for the last time. See diary of Caroline Boissevain, 09-10-1884.

<sup>134</sup> Cf. Diary of Gerrit Kalff, 14-03-1895, 19-03-1895; 18-05-1895.

<sup>135</sup> Diary of Caroline Boissevain, 01-01-1885 (written on 04-02-1885).

<sup>136</sup> See e.g., Memoir of Maurits van Lennep, 23-03-1884; diary of Gerrit Kalff, 19-04-1895.

ailing family members, while Boissevain emphasises that a morning visit to her recently wedded aunt Us was also of great necessity to her.<sup>137</sup> Boissevain's reaction might seem to be highly exaggerated here, but her aunt had previously been living with the family for some time, and the two were on very good terms with each other.

The last category of morning domestic sociability that is mentioned by the protagonists are the coffee visits. Both coffee and its popular competitor tea had already been introduced in the seventeenth century but had only become common amongst all social classes two centuries later. According to renowned folklorist J.J. Voskuil, they fit within the upcoming desire for a more intimate drinking tradition, with tea being slightly more elitist than coffee.<sup>138</sup> For the case studies, however, the main difference in drinking coffee and tea seems to have been based on the time: coffee was predominantly drunk in the morning or afternoon, while tea was usually poured during breakfast and in the evening.<sup>139</sup>

The fact that *koffiedrinken* (drinking coffee) did not just refer to the liquid gold but also to a meal between breakfast and the *middagmaal* (afternoon meal) probably also influenced this. Indeed, according to Ileen Montijn, the *koffieurtje* ('coffee hour') usually consisted of a sandwich or equivalent, showing close similarities with our modern-day lunch.<sup>140</sup> Time-wise speaking, this is strongly supported by dictionaries, etiquette books, novels, and other contemporary literature as well, which place the meal between eleven and one o'clock.<sup>141</sup> In that sense, a coffee visit could thus be both a morning and an early afternoon visit. Most of them moreover emphasised the

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<sup>137</sup> Cf. Diary of Gerrit Kalff, 18-09-1895; Diary of Henri-Jacques Scharp, 12-01-1889, 16-01-1889, 06-02-1889, 09-02-1889; Diary of Caroline Boissevain, 01-01-1885 (written on 04-02-1885); L.H. Maas, *Pro Patria. Werken, literatuur en streven van de literatuurhistoricus Gerrit Kalff (1856 – 1923)*, p 24 and p 263.

<sup>138</sup> J.J. Voskuil, 'De verspreiding van koffie en thee in Nederland', *Volkskundig bulletin* 14:1 (1988), pp 68 – 93, here p 87. In the nineteenth century, this even went as far as that young children were taught about the *koffieurtje* ('coffee hour') as well. See Author unknown, *Prentenboek van tante Pau* (Leiden, 1884), p 7; H.J. Overbeek, *De kerstboom en andere verhalen* (Haarlem, 1877).

<sup>139</sup> Van Lennep mentions that he had to drink coffee instead of tea for breakfast because of the latter's bad quality, August 1893.

<sup>140</sup> Ileen Montijn, *Leven op stand 1890 – 1940* (Amsterdam, 1998), p 155.

<sup>141</sup> See e.g., Adrianus Bruinvisch Maatjes, *A selection of English words and dialogues for the use of schools and persons, desiring to become acquainted with the words and expressions most generally used in conversation, Vol. 1* (Amsterdam, 1874), p 123; Helmer Molema, *Woordenboek der Groningsche volkstaal in de 19e eeuw* (Winsum, 1887), p 100. The author mentions that the *tienuurspotje* (ten o'clock) and *elfuurspotje/elfspotje* ('elve o'clock') are also commonly used in Groningen; Louis Couperus, *Eline Vere* (Amsterdam, 1890), p 114; Suzanna Maria Andriessen, *Het klaverblad: drie verhalen voor meisjes* (Amsterdam, 1879), p 121 – 22. One of the personages of the novel cries utter disbelief when she hears that it is already one o'clock and she had not yet drunk coffee with her friend; Peter Frederik Brunings, *De jager-koningin* ('s Gravenhage; 1877, 1890), p 70. Bram van Dort, *Amsterdamsche zeden: Marie* (Amsterdam, 1892), p 145; A. De Visser, *Gestreden en overwonnen* (Deventer, 1881), p 6. Henrick Witte, *Alleen door het leven, Vol. 2* (Leiden, 1886), p 207; Author unknown, *Prentenboek van tante Pau* (Leiden, 1884), p 7; H.J. Overbeek, *De kerstboom en andere verhalen* (Haarlem, 1877), p 12. Betsy Perk, *Wenken voor jonge dames ter bevordering van huiselijk geluk. Vol 1* (Arnhem, 1868), p 105, 121, 157 - 59; Unknown author, *Handboek der wellevendheid, of de kunst om zich in alle omstandigheden van het leven en den gezelligen omgang, door bescheiden en wellevende manieren aangenaam en bemind te maken* (Leiden, 1866), p 207; Mariette Verlaane, *Het boek der beschaafde vormen en goede manieren* (Amsterdam, 1907), p 15 and 152.

dominant role for women in this type of visit, who were responsible for making and pouring the coffee.<sup>142</sup>

The relatively large time frame also made that coffee visits could both stand on their own and be used as a pastime before the ‘main dish’. The first is mostly visible in the diary of Scharp, who, in the few occasions that he speaks of drinking coffee, does not include any other form of sociability that happened afterwards.<sup>143</sup> For the others, combining a coffee visit with another form of (domestic) sociability was far more common: Van Lennep for example once speaks of drinking coffee just before the wedding of his niece Maria (1857 – 1886), while Boissevain regularly describes similar situations in which she drank coffee after ice skating on cold winter days. Kalff, on his turn, too, habitually mentions enjoying a café noir with a friend or family member before the two went to make a social call together or appreciated the warm summer weather in the Vondelpark.<sup>144</sup> And his young children, Gerrit Jr. (1889 - 1955) and Elisabeth (1890 - 1964), once drank coffee at their aunt Henriette’s before they went to visit the Artis zoo with her.<sup>145</sup>

Taking into account the time frame of the coffee visits also explains why etiquette books mention that women had to be dressed accordingly (that is, slip into their afternoon outfits) at least at two o’clock, so that possible visitors would not have to wait too long.<sup>146</sup> Indeed, although they do not elaborate on this exact time, I believe that the coffee visits were used to demarcate both the end of the morning, and the beginning of the afternoon visits. As we shall see later in this chapter, the same logic applied to the afternoon meal. However, let us now first turn to the afternoon visits.

### *Act in the noon: afternoons*

Contrary to the mornings, the afternoons were vibrant times for domestic sociability, especially when it comes to the variety of the visits. In general, all case studies depict a lively time full of social activities occurring in the afternoon. Based on the etiquette books, diaries, and memoir, I have

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<sup>142</sup>One etiquette book, however, mentions that when drinking coffee, men – preferably an intimate family member such as a brother – had to help the women by ‘relieving them from their coffee saucer’, which they had to place on the table. See Mariette Verlaane, *Het boek van de beschaafde vormen en goede manieren. Naar de gravin De Gencé en andere bronnen* (Amsterdam, 1907), p 15. Apart from a clear male-dominated vision of the fairer sex as one that needed help, this seemingly arbitrary observation may also be explained by women’s limited movement possibilities that were caused by wearing a corset. See Kitty de Leeuw, *Kleding in Nederland 1813 – 1920. Van een traditioneel bepaald kleedpatroon naar een begin van modern kledinggedrag* (Hilversum, 1992), p 292.

<sup>143</sup> Cf. Diary of Henri-Jacques Scharp, 04-01-1889, 10-05-1889, 16-06-1889.

<sup>144</sup> Diary of Gerrit Kalff, see e.g. 04-01-1895, 16-01-1895, 25-01-1895, 31-01-1895, 06-03-1895, 17-04-1895, 15-09-1895.

<sup>145</sup>Diary of Gerrit Kalff, 12-04-1895.

<sup>146</sup>Egbertina C. van der Mandele, *Het wetboek van mevrouw Etiquette in 24 artikelen* (Arnhem, 1893), p 100.

distinguished four categories of afternoon visits, namely those of 1) ceremony and courtesy; 2) friendship; 3) congratulations, festive and condolence; and 4) afternoon and evening meals.

As stated above, afternoon visits usually began around two o'clock, and ended with the afternoon meal, around five o'clock. This also means that there was a rough time frame of three hours to conduct the afternoon visits. Though I expect that for close family members, this probably was less strict, they, too, all had their own obligations, making it necessary for them to structure their days well.

### Visits of courtesy and ceremony

Visits of ceremony and courtesy are the example par excellence of how much Dutch society was indoctrinated with the idea of being 'civilised'. The main goal of courtesy visits was either to show respect to someone or to get to know him or her better. This was for example done after a successful dinner party: a guest may have wanted to thank the host for the efforts, or two up-until-that-time unacquainted guests had both expressed the desire to meet again. Given the unfamiliarity of the whole event, such visits only had to last between the fifteen and thirty minutes.<sup>147</sup>

Unsurprisingly, courtesy and ceremonial visits were occasional rather than habitual visits, which explains why they were underrepresented in the protagonists' documents. In general, they seem to have mostly been an affair of the lord and lady of the house. Scharp's diary in particular portrays the mother as the prime instigator of the family's social calls in this respect. But the vital role for women in the nineteenth-century Dutch visiting culture went much further than this, as Kalff and Van Lennep also show: they sporadically mention that while they were working, their wives would conduct their 'visiting rounds'. Though none of the diaries specifically focus on an adult woman, this observation does indicate that women indeed were not fully confined to their homes, as argued by Cameron Lynne MacDonald, Karen V. Hansen and others. In fact, Johanna and Carolina were responsible for many visits to both friends and family members in general, a practice which ensured their families' strong bonds with those outside and inside the familial circles. This may also explain why etiquette books in general emphasised the importance of visiting the lady of the house *before* any other visit was to be arranged, as 'one cannot expect hospitality in a house if one does not know the lady of the house' – though of course this was also tied to the general gender role for women as the ones who would bring cosiness and cordiality.<sup>148</sup>

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<sup>147</sup> See J.H. Engelberts, *De goede toon*, p. 165; C. Hilty, *Over de hoffelijkheid*, p. 63; Unknown author, *Lessen over de wellenendheid voor heeren* Vol 1 (Amsterdam, 1879), p 16; Mariette Verlaane, *Het boek van de beschaafde vormen en goede manieren*, pp 99 – 100.

<sup>148</sup> Egbertina van der Mandele, *Het wetboek van mevrouw Etiquette in 24 artikelen*, p. 103; Engelberts, *De goede toon*, p. 161.

Both Van Lennep and Kalff, then, mention two instances of ceremonial and courtesy visits. The first describes two royal visits, one to Märta Eketrä (1851 – 1894), the confidante and maid of honour of the Swedish queen Sophia of Nassau (1836 – 1913), and the other to the Dutch queen Emma (1858 – 1934).<sup>149</sup> Unsurprisingly, Van Lennep conducted these visits while working as an attorney in the Court of South Holland, which again emphasises the exclusive character of this category. For most people, courtesy visits, and more specifically the first-time visit, were more prevalent. Kalff mentions the first-time visit once, when he and his wife met a certain Miss Wor during a Summer evening.<sup>150</sup> In this specific case, Miss Wor probably was not only the lady of the house but also the main person the Kalffs wanted to meet, as the two women met the following day in private. This latter, ‘follow-up’ visit was commonly known as a *digestie-visite* (also *tegenbezoek*, *contra-bezoek* and *contra-visite*), which was held within three weeks of a successful first-time visit. Whether the second visit was a success or not is unclear, though it is noticeable that Kalff does not mention the lady again in his diary.<sup>151</sup>

### Friendly and informal visits

Friendly and informal visits most certainly played an important part in the afternoon visits of all case studies. The general word used for them in the documents was *middagbezoek* (‘afternoon visit’). Their length was based on various factors, including the motivation for the visit, the host and guest’s wishes, and their overall day plan. Given their inconsistent writing patterns, it is impossible to find strong visiting patterns in the memoir and diary of Van Lennep and Boissevain, but Kalff’s and Scharp’s offer more possibilities here.

In general, both conducted afternoon visits on weekend days as well as on schooldays. Depending on the lesson times, Scharp’s visits either took place before them (in case of evening lessons) or after them (in case of afternoon lessons). For Kalff, weekday visits probably took place during his midday breaks between 12:00 – 13:00, or – on weekend days – after 13:00. Given the limited time frame of especially the weekday breaks, these visits could not have been very long. This is also supported by the fact that Kalff predominantly visited either one couple, or one friend.

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<sup>149</sup> Memoir of Maurits Jacob van Lennep, 21-09-1880; 26-04-1883.

<sup>150</sup> Diary of Gerrit Kalff, 10-06-1895.

<sup>151</sup> Cf. Van der Mandele, *Het wetboek van mevrouw Etiquette in 24 artikelen*, p 18 - 20; Engelberts, *De goede toon*, pp 160 - 161. In some situations, a party was excused of this compulsory visit. This was the case for older ladies who had a duty call with younger women, high-classed men and women who needed to visit lower-classed ones, and women who had to make a social call with men. For them, it was possible to either send the second party an invitation for another time, to ask them if they could be of their service or to give them protection. See Engelberts, *De goede toon*, p 161.

Following this, multiple visits were either conducted on weekdays by his wife Johanna, or during weekends by the both of them. The couple clearly preferred Sundays for this, probably because these were Kalff's free days.<sup>152</sup>

The question that immediately arises here is what function familial and friendly afternoon – and morning and evening, for that matter - visits served. First and foremost, I believe that they fulfilled a basic need for social interaction. Chit-chats, board games nights and such were highly important aspects of all protagonists' social lives. In his own study, De Nijs moreover argues that these seemingly trivial activities perhaps also served to strengthen what French sociologist Pierre Bourdieu once called the *travail institution*.<sup>153</sup> According to Bourdieu, bonds between family members needed to be constantly verified and emphasised through social activities, so that each member was able to identify him- or herself with the group. As such, being part of the activities was a strong sign of being accepted into the company.

Following Stokvis, the maintaining of the family bonds also must have been vital for ensuring the social safety net.<sup>154</sup> In the nineteenth century, most men and women would first ask their families when they were in need of help. We may for example think of Auguste Boissevain, who lived with her sister's family for a while, but also Kalff, whose charitable uncle made sure he could go to college. Keeping into contact with their previous – or future - benefactors was not only a sign of thankfulness but also made it more likely that they would help them again.

### Congratulations, Holidays, and condolences

Apart from the daily visits, there were also events that only happened once per year or couple of years. Birthdays, for example, were greatly valued by the case studies. It is here that we may observe a schism between those etiquette books written from a clear Christian point of view, and those whose publications were mainly a result of a bigger civilising process.<sup>155</sup> Though the first were particularly popular during the later parts of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, they were printed to a lesser extent during the later parts of the nineteenth century as well. The latter, in turn, predominated in the second half of the nineteenth century.

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<sup>152</sup> Diary of Gerrit Kalff, 07-04-1895. The diary counts five more cases in which this also happened, and subsequently two more in which only Johanna made several visits while Gerrit was working or had business elsewhere. Cf. 22-09-1895, 06-10-1895, 13-10-1895, 17-11-1895 and 29-12-1895. Johanne visited friends and family alone on 29-04-1895 and 30-05-1895.

<sup>153</sup> Thimo de Nijs, *In veilige haven*, p 249.

<sup>154</sup> 'Familienetwerken waren belangrijk omdat zij als sociaal vangnet fungeerden, een raamwerk vormden voor de uitwisseling van diensten en bemiddeling bij de partnerkeuze.' Pieter Stokvis, *Het intieme burgerleven*, p 177.

Given their status as ephemera, I could only find two Calvinistic etiquette books, though given that all protagonists were protestant, this is not objectionable. Whereas the first was written in 1834 by the *Nederlandsch Godsdienstig Traktaat Genootschap* and the second in 1899 by politician Abraham Kuyper (1837 – 1920), their point of view on birthdays was virtually unchanged: both argued that it was a time of self-reflection and contemplation about one's relation with God.<sup>156</sup> An extensive birthday party was deemed inappropriate, as the focus lied on self-glorification and overstimulation. Despite both had known various reprints, however, their point of view still formed a minority in the massive pile of etiquette books. Moreover, given that all protagonists celebrated their birthday parties quite abundantly, I do not expect that they were very concerned with this type of etiquette book.

Most of the etiquette books that were printed in the second half of the nineteenth century, then, generally embraced a more festive attitude towards birthdays.<sup>157</sup> Most of them emphasised that visits should not take too long (about fifteen minutes), to give all the guests the opportunity to congratulate the birthday boy or girl. Perhaps this happened amongst acquaintances, but as we shall see in the next chapter, all case studies mainly celebrated their birthdays with close friends and family. Though the number of visitors was still quite high, they would all stay for a longer period of time, often staying for dinner, and showering the protagonists with gifts.<sup>158</sup>

Like birthdays, weddings were per definition lively events, if only because of the many layers of parties that guests could be invited to. Scharp for example only received a letter, which according to etiquette books was done three days *after* the wedding as a general notice. In contrast, Kalff was invited to both the church gathering and the party, indicating he was a friend of the bride and groom.<sup>159</sup> As direct family members, Van Lennep and Boissevain took this a step further, being present at the engagement dinners as well as the additional parties that were organised by various family members (most notably the parents of the bride and groom). Of course, there was a difference in the level of formality here, which is especially notable in the diary of Boissevain. When

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<sup>156</sup> Cf. *Nederlandsch Godsdienstig Traktaat-Genootschap*, 'Morgen mijn verjaardag' (1834), p 8; A. Kuyper, *Als gij in uw huis zijt. Meditatiën voor het huislijk saamleven* (Kampen, 1899; 1927), p 43 – 44.

<sup>157</sup> See e.g. Author unknown, *Handboek der wellevendheid, of De kunst om zich in alle omstandigheden van het leven en den gezelligen omgang, door bescheiden en wellevende manieren aangenaam en bemind te maken* (Leiden, 1868), p 134 and 241; Author unknown, *Nieuw handboek der wellevendheid; aanwijzende hoe men zich in alle maatschappelijke en gezellige betrekkingen, overeenkomstig de gelegenheid des tijds, met welgevogelijkheid, zedigheid en bescheidenheid behoort te gedragen, een boek voor alle standen* (Amsterdam, 1856), p 259; See Egbertina C. Van der Mandele, *Het wetboek van mevrouw Etiquette in 24 artikelen* (Arnhem, 1893), p. 98; Van der AA, p. 62; Mariette Verlaane, *Het boek van de beschaafde vormen en goede manieren*, p 32.

<sup>158</sup> Diary of Caroline, 18-09-1884; diary of Gerrit Kalff, 31-08-1895; Diary of Gerrit Kalff, , 04-04-1895, 30-06-1895, 01-09-1895, 18-09-1895, 03-11-1895.

<sup>159</sup> Unfortunately, Kalff does not mention the bride nor the groom here. On 17 April, he *does* note that he received a letter from the newly wedded Bonebakker, but he never explicitly mentions that this was the wedding he attended. I could also not find any Bonebakker who was married somewhere around 19 March 1895: the most recent wedding of a Bonebakker was between Adrianus Bonebakker (1863 – 1947) and Anna Elisabeth Gunning (1867 – 1899) and dates back to 1891.

the young woman attended the engagement dinner organised by the parents of her soon-to-be uncle Frederik Obreen (1840 - 1896), she would stay at her table until her father gave her permission to dance. This may seem only natural but Boissevain was generally known as a wild child who was keen on dancing – she even referred to this as ‘containing herself.’ Not being as familiar with the new family members, Boissevain was clearly far less at ease here. In contrast, when she attended the party at her uncle Adolphe’s (1843 – 1921) outdoor house in Baarn, Boissevain enthusiastically wrote about the little play that she and the other younglings performed, as well as the many other activities (including games, some sailing on the nearby lake and a lot of dancing) that the group indulged themselves with.<sup>160</sup>

The last festive form of domestic sociability that I will discuss here are the school vacations and the public holidays. In general, the later parts of the nineteenth century knew three school vacations: one the week before Easter, the second six weeks during the Summer (starting on the first day of July), and the last from 24 December and 2 January.<sup>161</sup> Though Van Lennep and Kalff sporadically conducted some work, all protagonists mainly used the school vacations to spend more time with their friends and family. It is not surprising, then, that there is a peek in their social activities during these periods. Especially sleepovers gained in popularity, probably because (young) guests had the possibility to visit during the weekdays without missing school or work. But in general, casual visits, as well as other social activities as ice skating and visiting the opera, also increased in numbers.

Prescriptive sources do not include any instructions on these school vacations, though some of them were very opinionated about the religious holidays. At the time, the most important religious holidays were Christmas, Ascension Day, Easter, Pentecost, Good Friday and – for the protestants – Reformation Day, while New Year’s Day and Saint Nicholas were celebrated as a public holiday. Interestingly, specific works on how to celebrate the Sundays and holidays were widely published during the nineteenth century. In most cases, the authors were pastors and priests, who – independently of their religious backgrounds – mainly emphasised the importance of visiting the church on these days, thereby offering speeches and answers to general questions regarding them (such as ‘Why do we celebrate Christmas?’).<sup>162</sup> Strictly religious etiquette books tied in with

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<sup>160</sup> Diary of Caroline Boissevain, 27-09-1884.

<sup>161</sup> *Verzameling der verordeningen betreffende het openbaar onderwijs te Amsterdam* (edited 15-05-1875), pp 12 – 13. Archive no. 260: Inventaris van de archieven van scholarchen en curatoren en rector van de Latijnse school, curatoren van de openbare gymnasia en van de rector van het stedelijk of Barlaeusgymnasium. Inventaris no. 161: Verordeningen, reglementen, programmata en lesroosters, 1847 – 1950.

<sup>162</sup> See e.g. P. Leonhard Goffiné, *Volledig handboek om de zon- en feestdagen van het geheele jaar te heiligen* (translated by pastors Ch. Creemers and W.A. Notermans) (Roermond, 1869); Johann Evangelist Zollner, *Leerreden op alle zon- en feestdagen van het kerkelijke jaar* (translated by a Roman-Catholic priest) (’s Hertogenbosch and Amsterdam, 1872); Henri Bogaerts, *Catechismus der feestdagen en verscheidene plechtigheden der heilige kerk ten gebruike der katholieke huisgezinnen* (’s Hertogenbosch and Amsterdam), 1872; Jacques Marguet, *Verhandeling over de heiliging der zon- en feestdagen* (’s Gravenhage, 1823).

this, arguing that receiving guests during the religious holidays was a sign of depravity, as it hid their real meaning.<sup>163</sup>

According to the Hervormde pastor and professor in Theology, Laurentius Knappert (1863 – 1943), however, this argument was only preached by some, and most people would celebrate it anyways. In *Onze christelijke feestdagen* (1890), Knappert also embraces the latter, arguing that the holidays – and especially Christmas, which he called the ‘domestic holiday’ – were meant to rejoice, not to languish by the thought of having good food and family.<sup>164</sup> Though I was unable to find many descriptions in etiquette books regarding the holidays, the expensive early-twentieth century etiquette book of a certain Mariette Verlaane argued that it would be most uncivilised to send servants away for the public holidays when the lady and lord of the house were aware that they had nowhere else to go – a note that also indicates that the servants were indeed deemed a part of the extended family as Claudi Nelson, Joachim Eibach and Peter Laslett have argued.<sup>165</sup> I will return to this in more detail in the next chapter, when I will analyse the protagonists’ company in full detail.

In practice, the four protagonists clearly followed this latter trend. Especially Easter, Saint Nicholas, Christmas, and Saint Sylvester’s Day were extensively celebrated by them. Apart from the common dinner parties and *dejeuners* – which will be discussed shortly -, the case studies also wrote about Easter eggs, general afternoon visits, the lighting of a Christmas tree, and the many gifts they received during these days particularly.<sup>166</sup> Most of these activities took place within the own household of that of a family member or friend, though Boissevain also mentions seeing the oeuvre of the Dutch painter Isaac Israëls (1865 – 1934) with her father, brother and love interest Gie, on Easter. Naturally, they all went to church, mostly during Easter and Christmas, as well.

Despite not being an official holiday, Boissevain’s catechism was a day of celebration too. Catechism is a Christian ritual based on the belief that parents should educate their children not only on the Ten Commandments but also on how they should put them into practice in their everyday lives – hence the name ‘catechism’, which means ‘to teach orally’.<sup>167</sup> The rite would usually take place somewhere during the twelfth and eighteenth birthday and was often taught by

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<sup>163</sup> Cf. Engelberts, p 160; See also Joseph Wildt, *Het heilige gebruik der Zon- en Feestdagen, eene waarschuwing voor catholijke christenen* (translate by A. Van Maaseland) (Deventer, 1825), p 42.

<sup>164</sup> Laurentius Knappert, *Onze christelijke feestdagen* (Amsterdam, 1890).

<sup>165</sup> Mariette Verlaane, *Het boek van de beschaafde vormen en goede manieren. In hoofdzaak bewerkt naar de gravin De Gencé en andere bronnen* (Amsterdam, 1911), p 134.

<sup>166</sup> Diary of Gerrit Kalff, 10-04-1895, 13-04-1895, 24-12-1895, 26-12-1895. Due to his son’s fall on his eye a day before, Gerrit and his family did not celebrate Saint Nicholas at all in 1895. Of course, this was a rather unusual exception: in his later diaries, he mentions being quite thrilled about the Holiday, having a small party and exchanging gifts with a few family members. Cf. diary of Gerrit Kalff, 05-12-1895; 24-12-1899; 05-12-1899; 01-12-1904 - 11-12-1904; memoir of Maurits Jacob van Lennep, 25-12-1886; Diary of Caroline Boissevain, 14-04-1884.

<sup>167</sup> This is also stated in the Bible: ‘You [parents] shall teach them [the ten commandments] diligently to your children, and shall talk of them when you sit in your house, and when you walk by the way, and when you lie down, and when you rise.’ The Holy Bible, English standard version, *Pentateuch*, Deut. 6:7.

schoolteachers or pastors. At the end of that period, an exam would take place, followed some time afterwards by the Confirmation.<sup>168</sup> On this evening, catechists were accepted as professing members of the congregation with all the rights and obligations associated with this. Given its importance within Christian society, it is no wonder that the day was celebrated in equally grandeur as the author's birthday, including many gifts from friends, as well as a dinner party and dance.<sup>169</sup>

Opposite to these festive events stood the funerals and condolence visits. Up until now, not much is known about the specificities of nineteenth-century Dutch funeral culture. The etiquette books, then, depict funerals – just like the weddings - and their aftermath as a densely layered form of private sociability, partly occurring within the domestic household, and partly outside of it. Whenever a person died, the body was laid out for a minimum of 36 hours and a maximum of five days.<sup>170</sup> During that time, arrangements were made with the undertaker, which Scharp, who lost his maternal grandfather in 1889, also mentions.<sup>171</sup> According to Scharp's diary, his father and uncle mostly did this work, writing funeral invitations and publishing a death notice - the latter which only served as a general statement for those who had not been invited to the burial. The publishing of a death notice often had a delay of approximately three days, meaning that in most cases, the uninvited would hear about the death *after* the deceased had been buried. Sometimes, these notifications also included the sentence 'verzoeken van rouwbeklag verschoond te zijn' ('request to be excused from the grief of others'), which meant that the latter group was asked not to make a condolence visit within at least ten days, but possibly even longer. In these instances, the mourning rite would thus for a long time stay within the closest circle of friends and family. If not, it was common for a condolence visit to occur within seven days of the death.<sup>172</sup>

The mourning ritual, which was an inherent part of the death of a relative, was also quite strict: depending on the intimacy of the relation, it could last two weeks (in case of a second cousin) and two years (in case of a widower).<sup>173</sup> For those whose time frame was set at six months or higher, half of the time was also to be spent in 'heavy mourning', which had major implications for both the clothing and the social visits of the mourners. In fact, the widowers were expected not to

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<sup>168</sup> A detailed description of this is given on the dates 25-03-1884, 27-03-1884, 29-03-1884.

<sup>169</sup> Diary of Caroline Boissevain, 27-03-1884.

<sup>170</sup> Mariette Verlaane, *Het boek van de beschaafde vormen en goede manieren*, p 37 and p 77; Egbertina C. Van der Mandele, *Het wetboek van mevrouw Etiquette in 24 artikelen*, p. 98; Van der AA, p. 62.; Author unknown, *Handboek der wellevendheid, of De kunst om zich in alle omstandigheden van het leven en de gezelligen omgang, door bescheiden en wellevende man aangenaam en bemind te maken, alsmede practische regelen voor mannen en vrouwen om zich in de beschaafde wereld volgens de daar heerschende gebruiken, bij plegtige gelegenheden en in gezellige kringen, als: dooppartijen, verloovings- en bruilofsfeesten, verjaardagen, bezoeken van rouwbeklag en begrafenissen, concerten, schoumspelen, diners, bij het spel en op reis naar behooren te bewegen en zich den beschaafden levensstoon eigen te maken* (Leiden, 1868), p 205.

<sup>171</sup> Diary of Henri-Jacques Scharp, 11-05-1889. See also Thimo de Nijs, *In veilige haven*, p 288.

<sup>172</sup> Both scenarios are also covered in the diary of Gerrit Kalf, 14-11-1895.

<sup>173</sup> Mariette Verlaane, *Het boek van de beschaafde vormen en goede manieren*, pp 77-80 author unknown, *Handboek der wellevendheid*, p 244.

indulge in festivities and meetings at all during this time.<sup>174</sup> Though Willemijn Rubert, as well as Stokvis and De Nijs mentioned the seriousness of this rite, it is unclear to what extent the Scharps actually adhered to it. Indeed, the Scharps already started receiving guests a day after the grandfather had died. Some of them must have been condolence visits but given that Scharp soon returned to his old pattern of daily visiting friends, it is also possible that he was either excused from the rite altogether or that for the Scharps, being of middle- and not high-class descent, meant that the mourning process was generally turned more inward.

### The transition from afternoon to evening: afternoon and evening meals

The afternoon visits were followed, but also frequently paired with, an afternoon meal. Whether explicitly religious or not, all etiquette books deemed it the prime meal of the day.<sup>175</sup> This is unsurprising, given that the meal was comparable to our modern-day supper, and occurred around five o'clock. As we shall see in the next chapter, the general meals were mostly an affair of the nuclear family only, though Scharp occasionally mentions one of his school friends joining for dinner, while Kalff regularly went to his colleagues' or close family members.<sup>176</sup>

In some events, such as a wedding or other celebratory event, however, a 'normal' afternoon meal did not suffice. In these instances, the protagonists also spoke of a *dejeuner*, which could start as early as two o'clock. *Dejeuners* generally included more courses. The menu of *dejeuner* held at the Boissevain's home (figure 8) for example shows ten courses, one more exclusive than the other: clear turtle soup, lobster tarts, deer meat chops and raspberry liqueur with whipped cream. These meals were not limited to the wealthiest classes only, though of course their menus were far more extravagant. Scharp for example mentions eating turtle soup, easter bread,

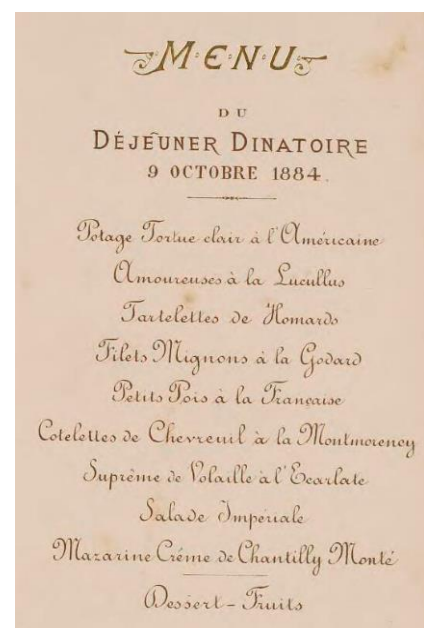


Figure 8 Menu of the *dejeuner* held at Caroline Boissevain's house, served after the wedding ceremony of her aunt Auguste Sophie toe Laer and Frederik Daniël Obreen. Diary of Caroline Boissevain (dated October 1884).

<sup>174</sup> See also Pieter Stokvis, *Het intieme burgerleven*, pp 59 - 64.

<sup>175</sup> A. Kuyper, *Als gij in uw huis zijt. Meditatiën voor het huislijk saamleven* (Kampen, 1899; 1927), p 173; Engelberts, *De goede toon*, p. 159 – 60. See also C. Hilty, *Over de hoffelijkheid*, p. 64; Egbertina, *Het wetboek van mevrouw Etiquette in 24 artikelen*, p 103.

<sup>176</sup> Diary of Gerrit Kalff, 31-01-1895.

and sweet pancakes. For his family, however, this type of meal was limited to the holidays only. On regular days, their diet was restricted to rice, stockfish, plums, and apples.<sup>177</sup>

As the main meal was already being served during the afternoon, the general evening meal was not extensive at all, either functioning as a snack to cover the time between the afternoon meal and the breakfast, or as an ‘emergency meal’. On 4 May 1880, Van Lennep for example mentioned that his children consumed half a bread because they were not hungry during the afternoon meal, and Scharp sporadically ate a cookie after evening school.<sup>178</sup> Given the general strict etiquette concerning civility of the time, we may assume that this type of meal was only deemed sufficient if people within the conjugal family – or perhaps very intimate friends or extended family members – were present. In all other cases, an afternoon meal, *dejeuner*, or dinner party would have been the more appropriate options.

This last category, the dinner parties, are well-presented by the protagonists, probably because they were often combined with a party. Dinner parties, sometimes referred to as *soupers*, usually started between six and seven PM. In these instances, the afternoon meal was naturally reduced to a small snack instead of a full lunch.<sup>179</sup> Just as with the *dejeuners*, dinner parties were predominantly organised to celebrate a recently occurred or forthcoming festive event, such as a wedding or promotion, and were therefore equally grand when it comes to the served courses.

For Kalff, however, dinner parties might also have been organised for less formal reasons. Apart from specific festivities, he sometimes does not provide a reason for attending or hosting a dinner party at all. In these instances, the company was rather small (around six persons) and only consisted of intimate friends or family members, suggesting that it was more about getting together – or, to use Bordieusian terms, to maintain the *travail institution* - than linked to a specific event. Though his diary descriptions are in no way conclusive for this, the idea certainly fits Gerrit Kalff Jr. ’s later image of Kalff, in which the latter is described as a ‘true family man’.<sup>180</sup> For the other

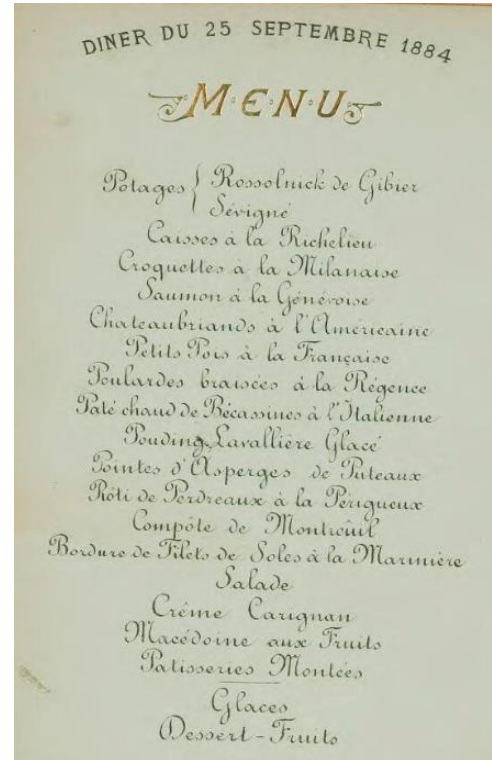


Figure 9. Menu of the dinner party held in honour of Auguste Toe Laer’s and Frederik Daniel Otto Obreen’s wedding party. Note the similarities with the menu of the *dejeuner* held two weeks earlier. Diary of Caroline Boissevain, dated 25 September 1884.

<sup>177</sup> Cf. diary of Henri-Jacques Scharp, 04-03-1889, 06-05-1889, 13-08-1889.

<sup>178</sup> Memoir of Maurits Jacob van Lennep, 04-05-1880; diary of Henri-Jacques Scharp; diary of Gerrit Kalff, 25-08-1895 and 01-09-1895.

<sup>179</sup> Egbertina, *Het wetboek van mevrouw Etiquette in 24 artikelen*, p. 154.

<sup>180</sup> Gerrit Kalff Jr. *Leven van Dr. G. Kalff* (Groningen and Den Haag, 1924).

case studies, I have unfortunately not found any accounts that indicate that they might have done this as well. If at all, they would have been disguised as general afternoon meals.

### *Dance in the evening: social visits after sundown*

The last few hours of the day were meant for the evening visits. Similar to the section on the afternoon visits, I structured the visits based on the categories I found in the etiquette books, diaries, and memoir. In order of appearance, these are the amical and collegial visits, and (semi-)ceremonial and courtesy visits.

### The art of chatting and dancing: conversational and festive visits

Whether formal or informal, the afternoon and evening meals were very easily combined with, or followed by, other evening activities. We may distinguish here between regular evening visits and more exclusive events such as parties and sleepovers. Regarding this, I found a direct relation between dinner parties and evening – or day – parties on the one hand, and regular evening visits and casual afternoon meals on the other hand. Though this is not very surprising, we may even go as far here to say that, whenever a dinner party was held, a regular evening visit to someone else was out of the question, and vice versa.

Regular evening visits, then, were usually referred to as *avondbezoek*, which - just as the *middagbezoek* I mentioned earlier – was an umbrella term used for all kinds of activities held at someone's home during the evening.<sup>181</sup> To a greater or lesser extent, all protagonists describe casual chatting, or *babbelen*, as Boissevain calls it, during the evenings.<sup>182</sup> Especially Kalff's diary depicts a lively evening for the teacher and his wife, quite possibly because his daily working hours must have prevented him from conducting many visits during that time. Though the material on this is again inconclusive, I expect the evenings to have lent themselves better for serious conversations than the afternoons, if only because the male adults would be home from work. Kalff in particular mentions several occasions in which he visited his colleagues and co-members of institutions. On one such occasion he for example writes that he visited professor in Dutch and Old Germanic languages at the University of Amsterdam, Jan te Winkel (1847 – 1927), of which he noted 'the terrifying study and the bad wine. [He was] Pretty well, by the way.'<sup>183</sup>

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<sup>181</sup>P. Weiland, *Groot Nederduitsch taalkundig woordenboek* (Dordrecht, 1859), p. 58; J.H. van Dale, *Nieuw woordenboek der Nederlandsche taal*, p. 1013.

<sup>182</sup>Diary of Caroline Boissevain, 08-11-1884; Diary of Gerrit Kalff, 22-01-1895, 20-12-1895.

<sup>183</sup>Diary of Gerrit Kalff, 16-02-1895.

The evenings were – apart from general conversation-making - also the perfect time for more lighter forms of entertainment. Apart from regular evening visits, this was mostly done during sleepovers, parties, and soirées. As we have seen before, sleepovers were mostly held during weekends or holidays. In general, I found that when the guest(s) would stay for only one night, this meant that they were in transit and mostly needed a place to sleep. If not, the length of their stay could greatly differ from a few days to a month. Whereas in the first case all protagonists show intensive social interactions between their guest(s) and host(s), they tend to stick to their normal everyday schedule in case of the latter. Indeed, the men would be working more, and the household in general would go to their parties, sometimes with but also occasionally without, their guests.

Parties and soirées are the last forms of domestic sociability in the evening that I will discuss here. Though both etiquette books and dictionaries often used the words interchangeably, they also suggest a difference in their level of formality and status: in contrast to parties, which could be rather informal in nature – as was the case for birthdays, weddings, catechisms, and the Holidays – soirées were generally more formal. The nature of the company naturally played a decisive role in this, as Boissevain's diary clearly shows: on 25 February 1885, she, together with her parents, was invited to one of the exclusive soirées of the Amsterdamse mayor Van Tienhoven (1841 - 1914).<sup>184</sup> Apart from *tableaux vivant* ('living pictures'), the company mainly enjoyed music performed by a quartet of Viennese singers. Important to mention here is that both activities required little action from the guests, who would mainly sit, watch, and listen. This was in sharp contrast with some of the other evening pastimes, in which the protagonists would mainly be among family and friends.

Indeed, when amongst friends, all case studies happily and actively performed plays, or played with a puppet theatre.<sup>185</sup> The same went for dancing, conducting music, playing cards and billiard, which were in fact an inherent part of the (dinner) parties, sleepovers, and game nights.<sup>186</sup> All of these activities were also depicted as 'suitable' for women by etiquette book. This was especially true for dancing, which provided healthy exercise for indoors, and playing piano.<sup>187</sup> It is no wonder, then, that Boissevain was particularly fond of this activity, so much even that during one of her aunt's wedding parties, she could not contain herself at her table:

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<sup>184</sup> Cf. diary of Caroline Boissevain, 25-02-1885. Though for the years I analysed, Van Lennep and Kalff do not mention a soirée, they did attend some in both previous and later years. For Kalff, however, this was in 1896, when he was already living in Utrecht.

<sup>185</sup> Cf. diary of Henri-Jacques Scharp, 02-02-1889, 03-06-1889, 08-10-1889; diary of Gerrit Kalff, 05-04-1895, 07-08-1895; diary of Caroline Boissevain, 05-06-1884, 07-09-1884.

<sup>186</sup> Egbertina, *Het wetboek van mevrouw Etiquette in 24 artikelen* p. 168 and p. 173.

<sup>187</sup> See Mariette Verlaane, *Het boek van de beschaafde vormen en goede manieren* p 237.

I had no desire to sit at the table anymore and got very excited to dance! (...) Finally, Uncle Frederik finished his thank-you-toast, and we could at least get up. While the ballroom was being set up, the gentlemen smoked, and Welly and I sat down on the stairs to talk. I was really longing to dance, and finally found someone with a violin, and finally the gentlemen came down again. But then I really could not bear it anymore and told the music people to play. Gie asked me for the first dance, and we danced alone for a while. Once I started dancing, I could not stop, and I danced an awful lot. I danced a lot with Gie!<sup>188</sup>

In general, however, modesty – which Boissevain clearly did not possess at this point - was again key here: it was of importance for both men and women to know how to play cards, dance and – in the best scenario – play an instrument, but they should never forget themselves. Young men, for example, were ought to ask the oldest ladies for a dance, even when they would have preferred to dance with the younger, attractive ones first. And for card games, one was expected not to ‘play badly’ – by which the authors meant that untrained players either had to practice at home or not join at all, as they would ruin the game for others – but at the same time not be too competitive. Billiards is never mentioned in these etiquette books, but we may assume that the players had to abide to similar rules. That only Boissevain mentions her parents owning their own billiard table again emphasises the family’s wealth, though both Van Lennep and Kalff too were familiar with the game and enjoyed playing it whenever they had the chance.<sup>189</sup>

### *Sleep in the night: conclusion*

In this chapter, I have taken Deborah Hertz’s and Liliane Weissberg’s plead to look beyond the term ‘salon’ to understand the forming of social relations in the nineteenth-century private sphere even further by showing the versatility of the term ‘domestic sociability’: apart from general visits, the term encompasses wedding parties and ceremonial visits, as well as Holiday festivities and soirées. In this sense, Susanne Schmid’s observation that salons were not held at regular intervals most certainly also applies to other domestic visits. Though greatly varying in time, however, the visits were still carefully structured around the four meals of the day, i.e., breakfast, the coffee visit, and the afternoon/*dejeuner* and evening meal/dinner party. As such, the meals functioned as

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<sup>188</sup> Diary of Caroline Boissevain, 30-09-1884.

<sup>189</sup> Cf. diary of Caroline Boissevain, 07-11-1884; Memoir of Maurits Jacob van Lennep; Diary of Gerrit Kalff, 19-07-1895 – 28-07-1895.

safekeepers for the strict time schedule that Ileen Montijn addressed in her study. Yet at the same time, this strict time schedule did not fully take away the spontaneity of domestic visits: Boissevain sporadically mentioned taking Gie home for a cup of tea after ice skating, while Kalff often went to visit his friends and family members without noticing them beforehand. That the latter also regularly resulted in him standing in front of a closed door makes it more surprising that the *jour*, previously mentioned by Montijn, is not described by any of the case studies. However, this may well have been caused by the lack of female adult diarists in this thesis, which according to Montijn were the main target group of these events.

Time-wise speaking, the mornings were generally used for work-related activities. As such, the protagonists generally showed a reluctant attitude towards morning visits: whenever they were held, the guest and host were close relatives, *and* there seemed to be some urgency to the case. Visits of those outside the family did not occur at all. This also applied to the coffee visits, which formed the only exception to the otherwise sober morning and early afternoon rituals of the protagonists.

In contrast, the domestic visits of the afternoons and evenings had a more inclusive character: apart from close family members and friends, the sources indicate that acquaintances and distant relatives were welcomed as well. Still, the reason behind the social visit determined who was allowed inside the house. Acquaintances could be invited for business-related talks, though their inclusion in casual visits, soirées and funerals indicates that Bourdieu's *travail institution* did transcend the family – a note previously been observed by De Nijs. This applied to an even larger extend to friends, who were often invited to birthday parties and other festive events as well. Family parties and weddings, however, were mainly exclusive to the (extended) family, and closest friends and families.

Until now, however, the conclusions drawn in this chapter regarding the company have only been based on a qualitative analysis of the sources. Therefore, the following chapter offers an in-depth analysis of the protagonists' social networks, which will show whether these remarks are also supported by a quantitative approach. More generally, we will see who exactly was welcomed in the house, and, conversely, who not.

## **‘Een heer zoekt kost en inwoning met gezellig verkeer’: the company**

In the previous chapter, we have seen the wide variety of terminology, time frames and social connotations that were connected to nineteenth-century Dutch domestic sociability. I have also drawn some preliminary conclusions regarding the company. In this chapter, I will put these conclusions to the test by dissecting the social networks. To do this, I made use of the social network analysis program Gephi. Unfortunately, due to the coronavirus, I was only able to use the diaries and memoir. As such, the data for especially Van Lennep and Boissevain is incomplete. To a lesser extent, this also applies to Kalff and Scharp, though their consistent writing patterns made it possible for me to retrieve more data. Even for Van Lennep and Boissevain, however, the data give a first impression of who exactly was present at their domestic social activities.

Figures 1 – 6 in Appendix III show the social networks of the four case studies without any added labels. In the centre, we find the protagonists themselves, surrounded by the various individuals, or nodes, that are mentioned in the writings. In general, the closer the nodes are placed to case studies, the higher the frequency of their visits was. The same goes for their size. To gain even more insight into the social networks, then, I have structured this chapter as follows: I will start by analysing the main form of domestic sociability that the nodes were affiliated with, and conversely, how these outcomes relate to the latter’s main relation to the protagonists. Afterwards, I will look into four other categories, i.e., religion, age, employment, and gender (the last categories will be analysed together). The combined results enable me to see whether there are certain visiting patterns to be found, and if so, how they may be explained.

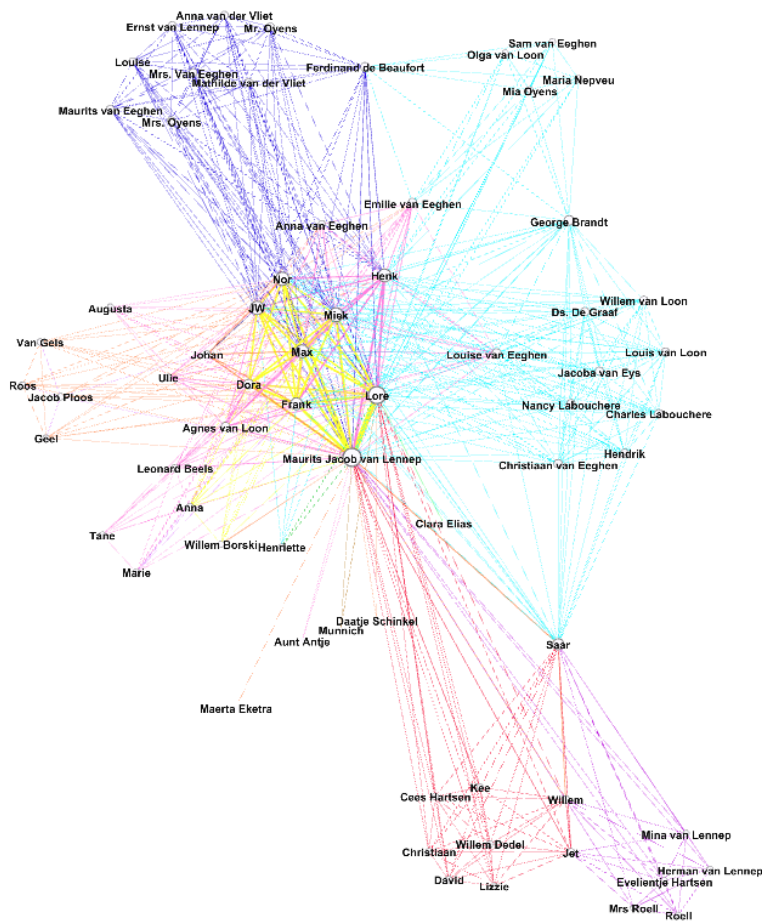
In some instances, however, the protagonists’ vague descriptions made that I was unable to fill in all the data. This most certainly goes for Van Lennep, who especially in 1880 mainly mentioned the surnames of the guests he met at his son’s wedding. Though I was sometimes able to trace the individuals using genealogical sources and reading previous descriptions of them in the memoir, this was unfortunately not always possible. As such, multiple columns (such as employment and religion) are partially empty. This is also why I have chosen to use the names as written down by the case studies themselves, and not the official names, in the Gephi graphs. At the same time, I believe that the way the latter addressed their guests and hosts can tell us something about the connection of the host and guest as well. As such, Boissevain’s aunt, for example, is referred to in the Gephi graphs as ‘aunt Us’, and not Auguste Sophie toe Laer. A list of these names, when possible with the official names, is included in Appendix II.

## *Domestic sociability and social relations*

In this first section, I will elaborate more on the social relations between the protagonists and their company. The first step here is to analyse the main form of domestic sociability that the nodes were affiliated with. This, then, is visualised in figures 10 – 15. I specifically refer to ‘main form’ here because it often happened that multiple forms of domestic sociability were combined. For example, the wedding parties that Boissevain and Van Lennep attended also included playing games and a dinner party, but since they were all part of the wedding, they have been labelled as ‘wedding party’. The percentages that are mentioned here should thus also be viewed with this analytical purpose taken into account.

Most of the percentages in these figures are self-explanatory: Van Lennep’s and Boissevain’s strong focus on festive festivities as weddings and birthdays, for example, necessarily also follows from the figures. At the same time, the abnormal percentages for weddings, birthdays, Confirmations – and, especially for Scharp, condolence visits – stress the importance of rites of passages in the nineteenth century as well, which supports De Nijs’ previous statement about this type of visit. In total, these translate to 48,75%, 61,92% and 50,29% for Van Lennep, 27,71% for Boissevain, 26,63% for Scharp and 5,59% for Kalff. Only Kalff grossly deviates from these percentages, which may be explained by the fact that his children were sick during various birthdays and the festivities were therefore cancelled. Following their motivations for writing a diary, both his and Scharp’s writings in general were naturally also more centred around their everyday visits.

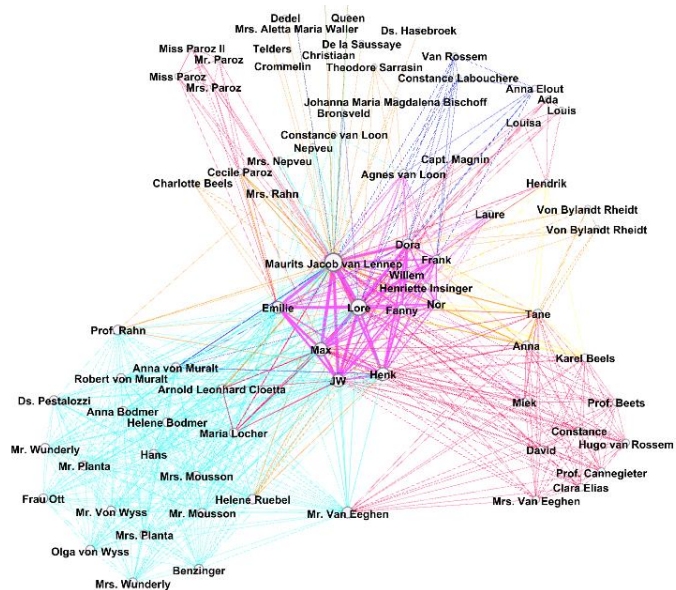
In addition, the figures give a first impression of the various clusters that existed within the social networks of the protagonists: those who would attend the same social event would naturally also be familiar with each other. For some of the other visits, however, the figures provide insufficient information. This for example goes for general afternoon and evening visits, which were often not conducted in a large group. Figures 7 – 12 in Appendix III, in which the different modularity classes are depicted, give more data to answer this question. Within social network analyses, modularity classes show which nodes were more densely connected together than to the rest of the social network. In other words, they depict the various communities that exist within a network and set them apart from the others by using a specific colour. As such, Gephi has identified respectively four modularity classes for Van Lennep and Boissevain, five for Kalff, and six for Scharp. It is important to emphasise here that the portrayed clusters are based on the diaries of the protagonists and are therefore lacking. Indeed, I was only able to connect those individuals to each other that are explicitly mentioned by the case studies themselves.

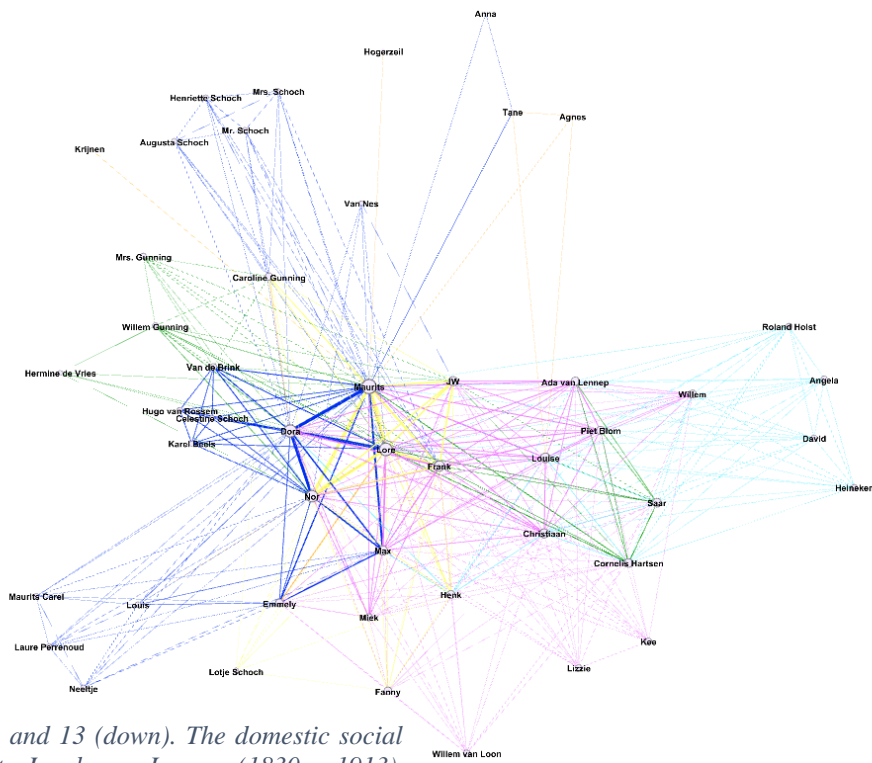


Figures 10 (above) and 11 (down). The domestic social networks of Maurits Jacob van Lennep (1830 – 1913), as depicted in his 1880 (above) and 1883 (down) memoirs. The figures show the main form of domestic sociability that the nodes were affiliated with.

For 1880, the percentages are 31,12% for weddings (light blue), 17,81% for games and plays (dark blue), 17,63% for birthdays (pink), 8,99% for afternoon meals (red), 8,81% for afternoon visits (orange), 7,91% for Saint Nicholas (yellow), 5,22% for balls (dark purple), 1,44% for sleepovers (light purple), 0,36% for dinner parties (dark green), 0,36% for doctors' visits (brown), and 0,18% for coffee visits (light green).

For 1883, the percentages are 48,13 for weddings (light blue), 23,71% for afternoon meals (red), 13,65% for birthdays (pink), 8,19% for afternoon visits (orange), 3,45% for sleepovers (dark blue), 2,16% for evening visits (yellow), 0,43% for meetings (brown), 0,14% for ceremonial visits (green), and 0,14% for condolence visits (black).

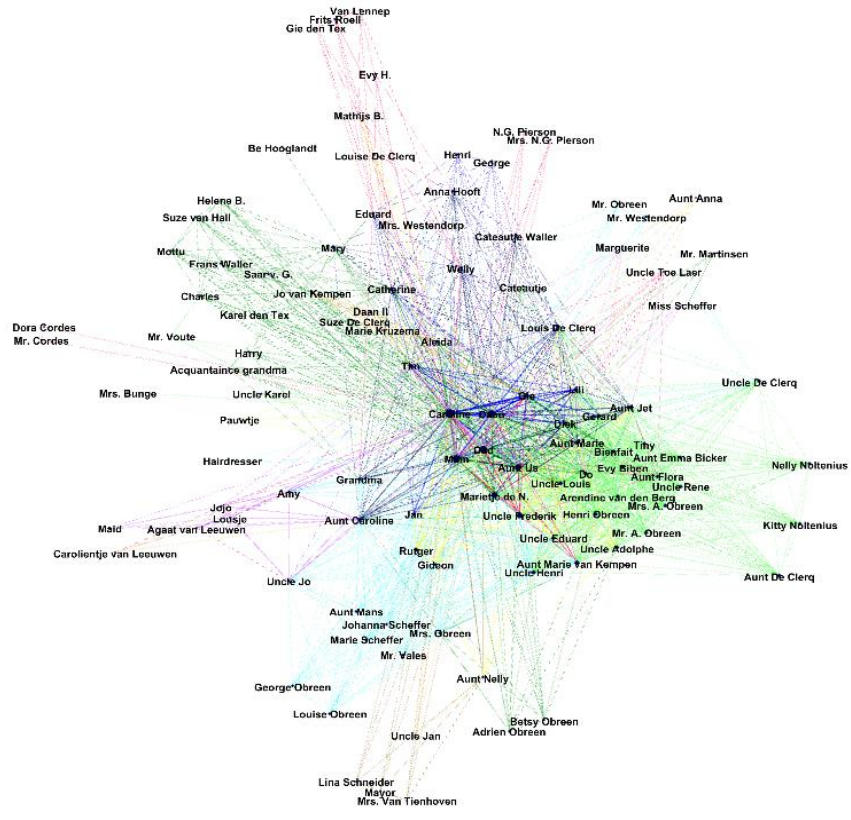


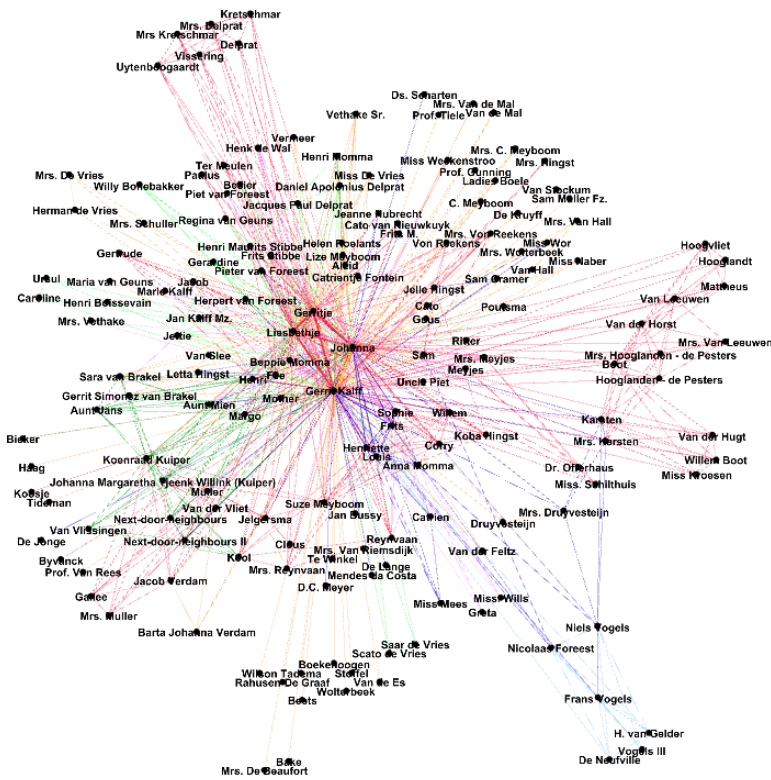


Figures 12 (above) and 13 (down). The domestic social networks of Maurits Jacob van Lennep (1830 – 1913), above, and Caroline Boissevain (1868 – 1945), down, as respectively depicted in their 1886 memoir and 1884 diary. The figures show the main form of domestic sociability that the nodes were affiliated with.

For Van Lennep (1886), the percentages are 35,23% for birthdays (pink), 26,14% for sleepovers (dark blue), 15,06% for weddings (light blue), 10,8% for dinner parties (dark green), 10,23% for New Year visits (yellow), and 2,55% for afternoon visits (orange).

For Boissevain (1884), the percentages are 30,1% for parties (light green), 17,18% for wedding parties (light blue), 15,61% for dinner parties (dark green), 8,51% for Confirmation (black), 8,29% for New Year visits (yellow), 5,9% for games and plays (dark blue), 5,75% for afternoon meals (red), 2,61% for sleepovers (purple), 2,54% for afternoon visits (orange), 2,02% for birthdays (pink), 1,42% for soirées (dark brown), and 0,07% for breakfasts (light brown).

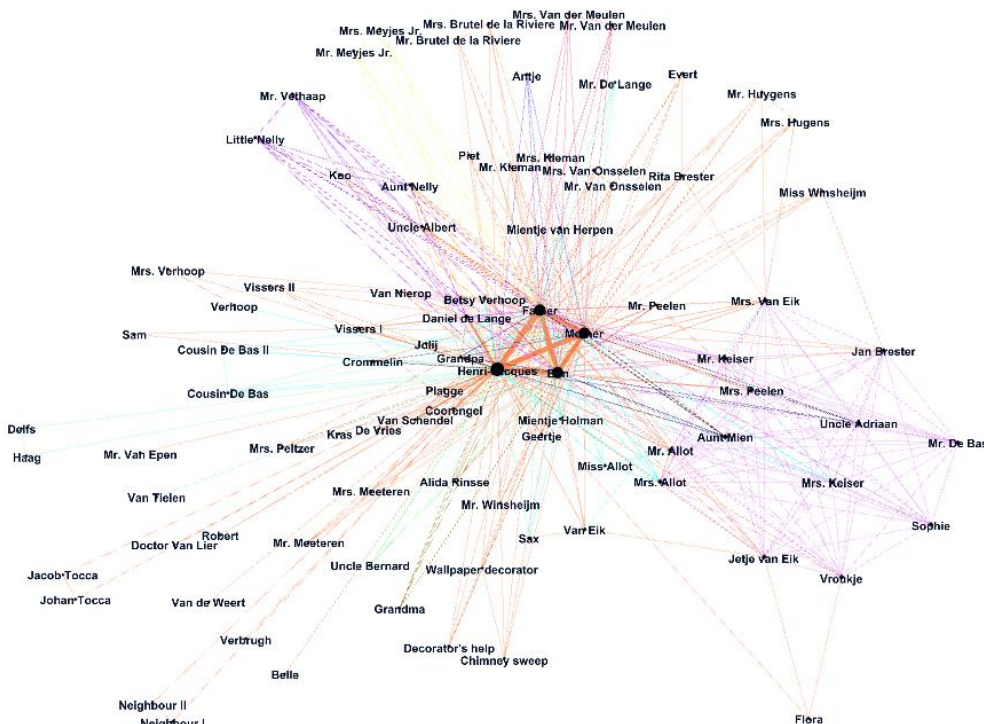




Figures 14 (above) and 15 (down). The domestic social networks of Henri-Jacques Scharp (1874 – 1957), above, and Gerrit Kalff (1856 – 1923), down, as respectively depicted in their 1889 and 1895 diaries. The figures show the main form of domestic sociability that the nodes were affiliated with.

For Scharp (above) the percentages are 48,36% for afternoon visits (orange), 23,36% for birthdays (pink), 11,92% for evening visits (light blue), 5,14% for Easter visits (purple), 3,27% for condolence visits (black), 2,57% for afternoon meals (red), 1,64% for coffee visits (light green), 1,64% for New Year visits (yellow), 1,17% for morning visits, and 0,93% for sleepovers (dark blue).

For Kalff, the percentages are 42,43% for afternoon meals (red), 17,60% for afternoon visits (orange), 9,28% for evening visits (dark blue), 8,73% for coffee visits (light green), 7,91% for dinner parties (dark green), 5,18% for birthdays (pink), 2,32% for parties (light blue), 2,05% for sleepovers (purple), 1,64% for New Year visits (yellow), 1,5% for morning visits (light pink), 0,68% for breakfasts (light brown), 0,41% for condolence visits (black), 0,14% for get-well-visits (dark brown) and 0,14% for ceremonial visits (light orange).



Another, more pressing matter is that modularity classes do not provide a definite answer to the question whether two individuals were unfamiliar with each other. Indeed, they only show those individuals that frequently roamed around in the same circles. For example, figure 7 in Appendix III (Van Lennepe's 1880 social network) indicates that Louise van Eeghen belonged to the orange cluster, while Max (van Lennepe) was a part of the purple one. Zooming in on the graph, however, shows a thin line between the two, indicating that the two had met each other, and were thus not complete strangers. Of course, the general placement of the nodes, to which I already referred in the introduction of this chapter, is helpful in this: nodes that are relatively close to each other, definitely knew each other. The question does arise, however, how these and the other people in the network were exactly related.

Figures 16 – 21, which depict the main relation of the protagonist to the nodes, clarify this. In all figures, the dominant colour is yellow, indicating that they were family members. I have specifically chosen to portray all family members, whether nuclear or extended, in yellow, to underline the broad definition of 'family' at the time. Still, especially in light of the historiography, it is important to elaborate on this category. Let us start, then, with the nuclear family.

Unsurprisingly, the nuclear family played an important role in the social domestic lives of all case studies. In fact, figures 16B – 21B, which show the nodes with whom the protagonists had the most frequent contacts, mainly include the names of the own family. The reason for this was probably multifaceted: if an activity was held at the protagonists' own home, it was very likely that part of the conjugal family was present as well. The same goes for family events in general. As we will see later on in this chapter, Kalff was furthermore rather involved with his – and his family's – children's education, and – more than Van Lennepe, it seems – let them join him on his visits. Both of these explanations also underline the importance of preserving the *travail institution* for the case studies. Lastly, the dense line between the protagonists and the lady of the house may be explained by the latter's general high involvement on the organisational side of the domestic activities in general. Unless their visit was business-related, Kalff and Van Lennepe also often conducted their visits together with their wives – a note which will further be addressed in the last part of this chapter.

Yet, the protagonists' inner circles were not limited to the nuclear family only. Apart from his wife and children, Kalff for example was also rather close with his sisters Fee and Henriette, and their respective husbands, as well as with his in-laws Willem Frederik Carel Momma (1855 – 1937), or Frits, and Sophie Johanna Druijvesteijn (1855 – 1932). Even after the family moved to

Utrecht a year later, they would stay in intimate contact.<sup>190</sup> In some cases, however, the figures are less reliable: whereas in 1880, Van Lennep's closest group for example only included his conjugal family, in 1883 the name Ada van Lennep is mentioned as well. Though Van Lennep's memoir overall does not show a particular fondness of his niece, the young woman's name may be explained by the fact that she married in 1883 – an event that naturally led to multiple wedding celebrations at which Van Lennep was present. To a lesser extent, this also applies to Boissevain's aunt Us and uncle Frederik, though we have already seen that the young woman was generally rather intimate with her previously lived-in aunt.

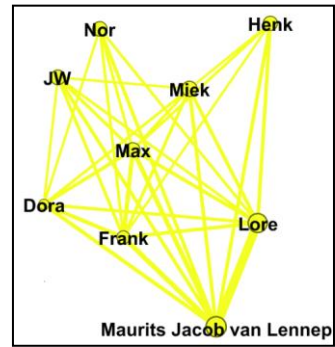
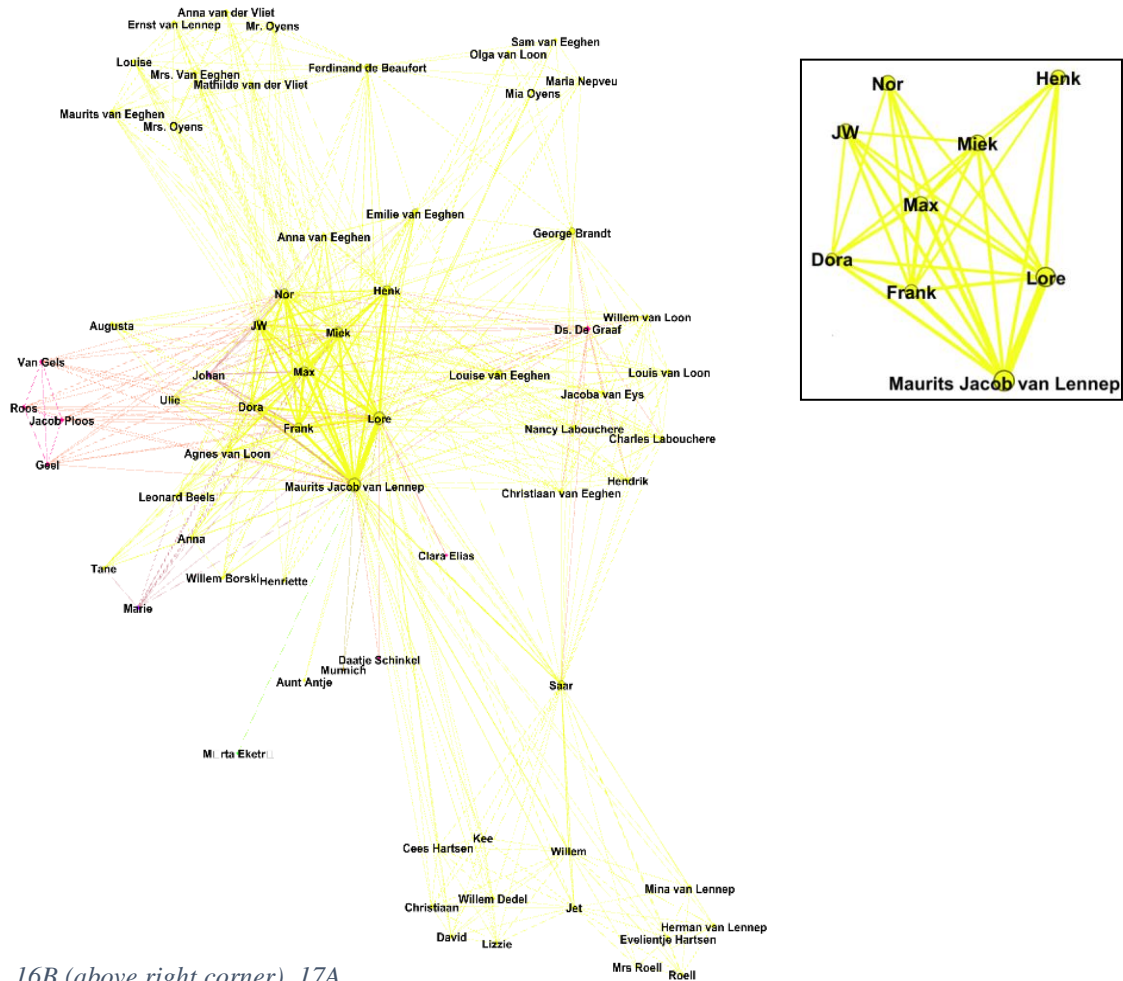
If not belonging to the inner circle, figures 16 – 21 show that the extended family was mostly seen at celebratory events, such as birthdays and dinner parties. A large part of them was blood related, including adult siblings and their nuclear families, as well as a great uncle, half-cousins, second cousins and first cousins once removed. Given the age gap between the protagonists and the latter, these were often either referred to as 'Mr' or 'Mrs', or 'Uncle' and 'Aunt'. Their inclusion into the case studies' social networks again emphasises the importance of these events in the forming of group identities and preserving the social safety net, as argued by Stokvis and De Nijs. In addition, the events must have also played a vital role in women's search for a spouse, as indicated by the first: at the time, Boissevain was already being courted by her second cousin, Stephanus DeClercq, and given the relatively sparse possibilities women had for finding a husband, it is likely that the two had met during one of these family festivities.

The other members belonging to the extended family were all related through marriage, supporting historians' claims of the latter's importance for the broadening of social networks. A quick glance at the family names shows that these were still clearly held for strategic reasons: families like the Obreens, DeClercqs, Mommas, Gunnings, Mullers, and Cloettas were known for their economic, cultural, and social capital. But for the Scharps and Bresters (Scharp's maternal side), for whom these families were clearly out of their league, marrying within their class and social rank was a given rather than an exception as well – a note to which I shall turn in more detail in the section on employment.

Two observations regarding marriages must furthermore be made: firstly, the death of blood-related family did not mean that the social interactions with in-laws necessarily stopped as well. Scharp and his father for example habitually visited Pieter Noorduyn (1855 – 1931), the widower of Ferdinand Scharp's daughter from a first marriage. As Guilelmina Scharp (1858 – 1880) had died during childbirth, followed soon afterwards by the child, the Scharps' connection to

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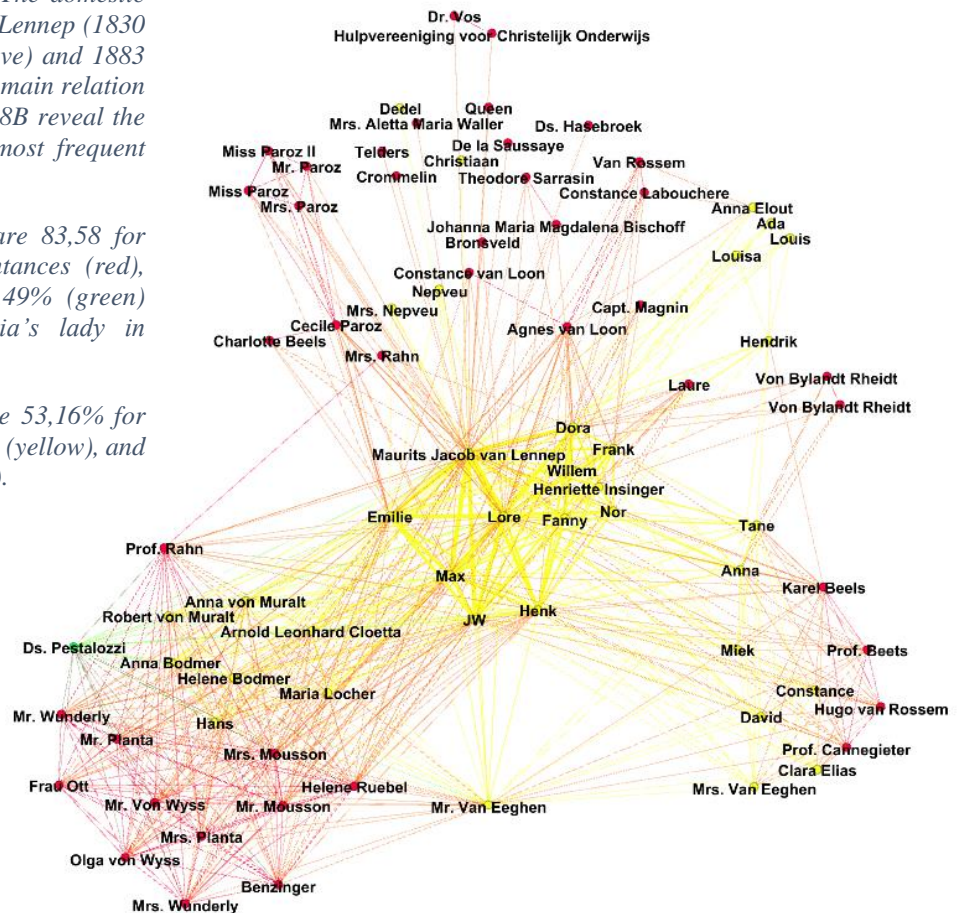
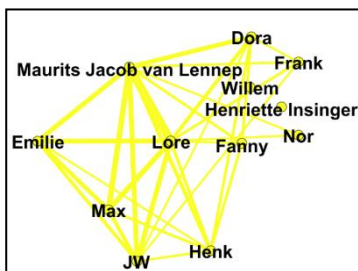
<sup>190</sup> I base this on Kalf's 1896 diary, which, because I have not included in the rest of this thesis because it is set in Utrecht. See diary of Gerrit Kalf, 1896.

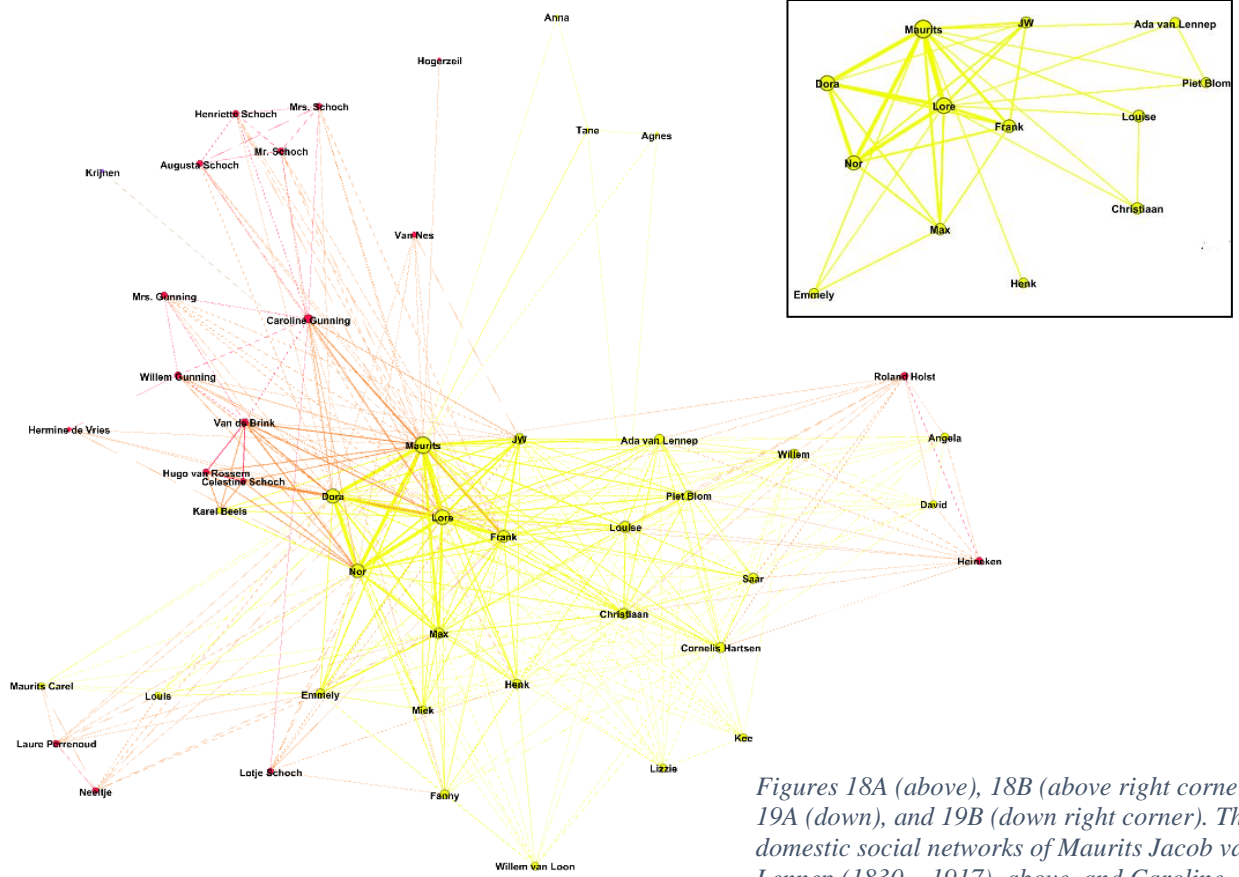


Figures 16A (above), 16B (above right corner), 17A (down), and 17B (down left corner). The domestic social networks of Maurits Jacob van Lennep (1830 – 1917), as depicted in his 1880 (above) and 1883 (down) memoirs. The figures show the main relation the nodes have to the host. 27B and 28B reveal the nodes with whom the host had the most frequent interactions.

For 1880 (above), the percentages are 83,58 for family (yellow), 10,45% for acquaintances (red), 2,48% for servants (purple), and 1,49% (green) depicting the Swedish queen Sophia's lady in waiting.

For 1883 (down) the percentages are 53,16% for acquaintances (red), 45,57% for family (yellow), and 1,27% for religious individuals (green).

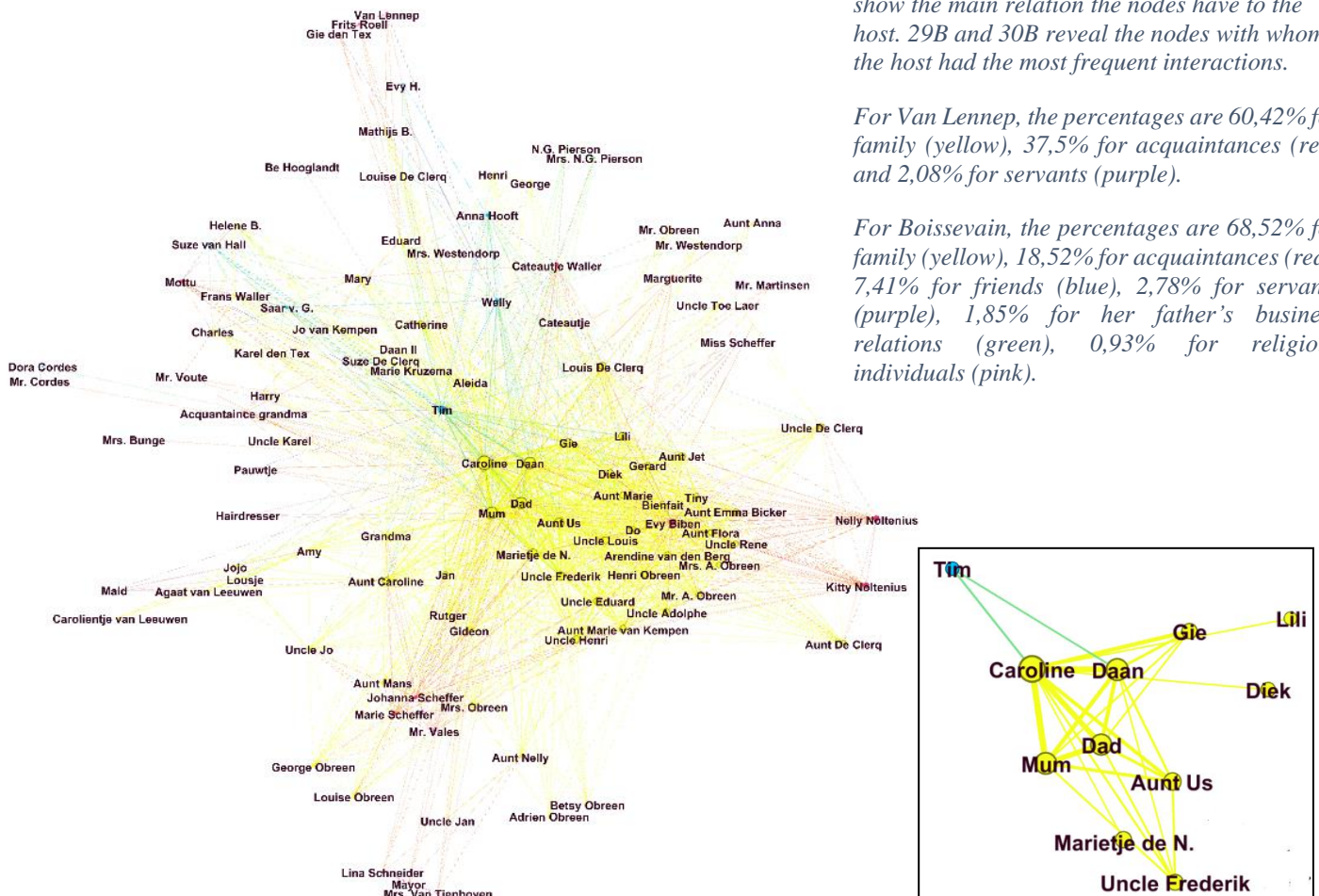


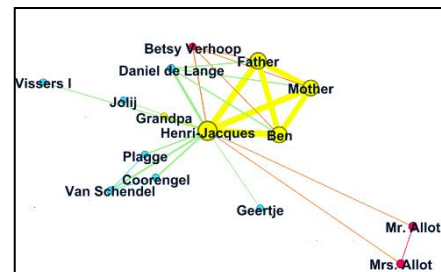
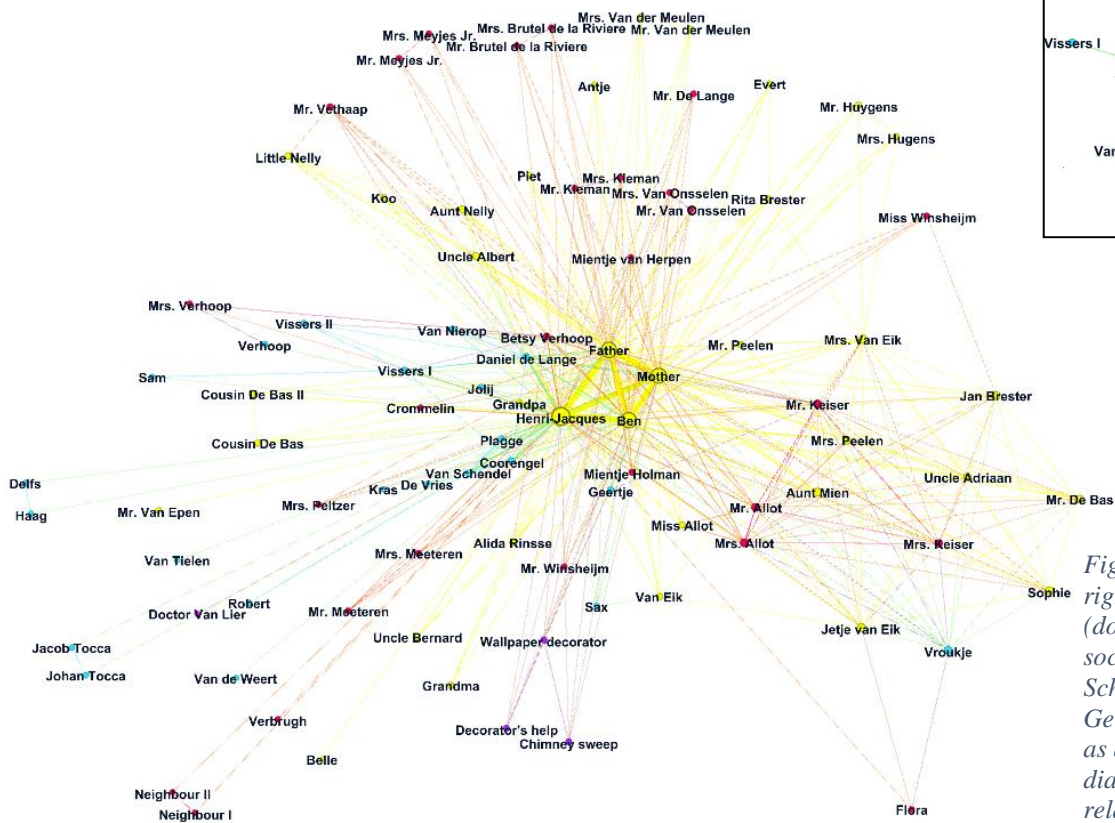


Figures 18A (above), 18B (above right corner), 19A (down), and 19B (down right corner). The domestic social networks of Maurits Jacob van Lennep (1830 – 1917), above, and Caroline Boissevain (1868 – 1945), down, as depicted in their 1886 memoir and 1884 diary. The figures show the main relation the nodes have to the host. 29B and 30B reveal the nodes with whom the host had the most frequent interactions.

For Van Lennep, the percentages are 60,42% for family (yellow), 37,5% for acquaintances (red) and 2,08% for servants (purple).

For Boissevain, the percentages are 68,52% for family (yellow), 18,52% for acquaintances (red), 7,41% for friends (blue), 2,78% for servants (purple), 1,85% for her father's business relations (green), 0,93% for religious individuals (pink).

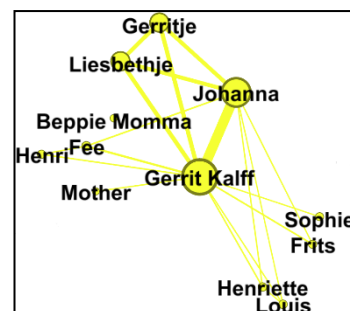
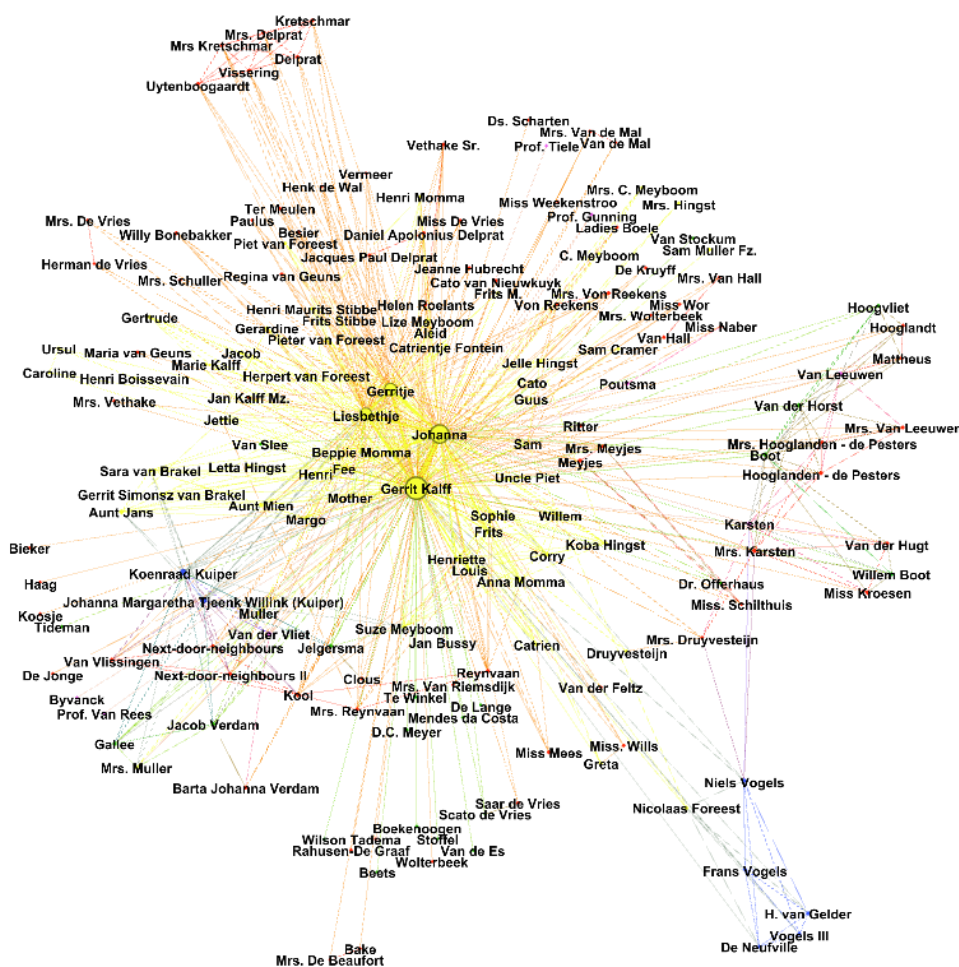




Figures 20A (above), 20B (above right corner), 21A (down), and 21B (down right corner) The domestic social networks of Henri-Jacques Scharp (1874 – 1957), above, and Gerrit Kalff (1856 – 1923), down, as depicted in their 1889 and 1895 diaries. The figures show the main relation the nodes have to the host. 31B and 32B reveal the nodes with whom the host had the most frequent interactions.

For Scharp, the percentages are 39,33% for family (yellow), 31,47% for acquaintances (red), 24,72% for friends (blue), 3,37% for handymen (purple) and 1,12% for doctors (pink).

For Kalff, the percentages are 44,05% for acquaintances (red), 33,93% for family (yellow), 12,5% for members of the KNAW and Maatschappij der Nederlandse Letterkunde (green), 4,76% for friends (blue), and 4,77% for colleagues and professors (pink). I speak here of 'main relation' because in some instances, a family or friend would also be a member of the KNAW and Maatschappij der Nederlandse Letterkunde.



Noorduyn had literally died as well. Still, this did not stop them from not only seeing Noorduyn, but also his new wife and their child. Why they did this cannot be said with certainty, though it is possible that Ferdinand Scharp still felt some responsibility for his previous son-in-law, or that he simply wanted to keep the last living memory of his previous marriage alive.

Secondly, the occasional remarriage – a natural result of the relatively high death rates during childbirths, as well as the occasional divorce – led to the inclusion of less traditional family members, such as stepchildren as well. The fact that Kalff sporadically drank coffee - which as we have seen, he only did with family members and friends - with his step nephews and nieces indicates that they were not seen as second-hand family but were accepted into his family circle. Contrary to Nelson, who argued that this was done to fulfil a domestic ideology or a need for an heir, however, I believe their inclusion to be mainly a practicality: the step nieces Kalff refers to were the children of his brother-in-law, Pieter van Foreest (1845 – 1922), whose first wife had died in 1878. With his marriage to Catharina Louisa Momma (1852 – 1926) a few years later, the children would naturally be part of this new family. Given that men had more rights over their underaged children than women, it is likely that this scenario would also have taken place if Van Foreest's had divorced his first wife.

The last subcategory I will discuss here are the servants. Though not blood related or in-laws, their almost twenty-four seven presence made that scholars such as Claudia Nelson, Joachim Eibach and Peter Laslett considered them to be part of the extended family anyways.<sup>191</sup> This observation is also supported by both the protagonists and the authors of etiquette books. The latter were, however, usually wary about the maids, who could seduce the male family members, possibly had a bad influence on the children's education, and could tell secrets to visitors and neighbours.<sup>192</sup> Generally, this seems not to have troubled the protagonists too much, though the lack of adult female writers may also partially explain this. Still, Van Lennep does recall one instance in which he had to tell his servant Johan to leave the maids alone, and more importantly, to stay

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<sup>191</sup> See Joachim Eibach, 'From open house to privacy? Domestic life from the perspective of diaries', in: Joachim Eibach and Margareth Lanzinger (eds.), *The Routledge history of the domestic sphere in Europe, 16<sup>th</sup> to 19<sup>th</sup> century* (Abingdon and New York, 2020), pp 363 – 380, here p 370; Peter Laslett, 'Introduction: the history of the family', in: Peter Laslett and Richard Wall (eds.), *Household and family in past time* (Cambridge, 1972), pp 1 – 89.

<sup>192</sup> See Joachim Eibach, 'From open house to privacy? Domestic life from the perspective of diaries', in: Joachim Eibach and Margareth Lanzinger (eds.), *The Routledge history of the domestic sphere in Europe, 16<sup>th</sup> to 19<sup>th</sup> century* (Abingdon and New York, 2020), pp 363 – 380, here p 370; Betsy Perk, *Wenken voor jonge dames. Ter bevordering van huiselijk geluk* Vol 1 (Arnhem, 1868), p 22 – 23; Mariette Verlaane, *Boek van de beschaafde vormen en goede manieren* (Amsterdam, 1868), p 30; 'Er zijn er ook die zoo lang in onze familie gediend hebben, dat zij met de diepste geheimen dier familie vertrouwd zijn, al zinspelen zij er ook met geen enkel woord op. (...) Een enkel woord door hen aan de burens gefluisterd en de eer van een broer, een vader of eene zuster wellicht was reddeloos verloren, en niettemin zegt niet eens onze welwillendheid hen dank voor hun stilzwijgen.' See Louise Antoinette Stratenus, *Vormen: handboek voor de samenleving in en buiten huis* (Gouda, 1887), p 72. See also Peter Laslett, 'Introduction: the history of the family', in: Peter Laslett and Richard Wall (eds.), *Household and family in past time* (Cambridge, 1972), pp 1 – 89.

faithful to his wife.<sup>193</sup> Overall, however, the protagonists were on good terms with their servants: Van Lennep for example once sent his gardener to Palace Het Loo, so that the latter could enjoy its beautiful gardens, while Boissevain received a birthday present and card from her maid, Miss Scheffer.<sup>194</sup>

Apart from family, two other categories are visible in the Gephi graphs: friends and acquaintances. Friends must have played an important role in the protagonists' lives, though they were not always explicitly referred to them as such in the memoir and diaries. This also explains why for Van Lennep, the colour blue is completely absent. To a lesser extent this also applies to Kalff, though includes some old school friends.<sup>195</sup> In contrast, Boissevain and Scharp were very explicit in their writings, which naturally made it easier to distinguish between their acquaintances and friends. I will return to this in detail in the section on 'age', but for now, it is sufficient to know that for Scharp especially, school friends made up a relatively large number of this category, some of which even belonged to his inner circle. Apart from general visits, during which the adolescents mainly played games, performed plays, or just casually chatted, this group was habitually also present at birthday parties and afternoon meals. Unsurprisingly, however, their level of social inclusion stopped at the most intimate family events, such as family parties, balls, and – for the adolescents – funerals.

The last category consists of acquaintances, which formed the second-largest group within all protagonists' networks. I have specifically chosen this broad term because I was not always able to track down the exact relation between the nodes and protagonists. This was especially the case for the 1883 network of Van Lennep, which consists for 53,16% out of acquaintances. Most of the percentage, then, is based on the various guests that attended the wedding of his son Maximilian (1859 – 1940) and Emilie Marie Antoinette van Eeghen (1859 - 1925). Though many of them were probably related to the Labouchères (Van Eeghen's mother), I could not find any traces that they had a more substantial connection with Van Lennep.

Fortunately, in most cases it was relatively easy to situate the nodes. For Van Lennep, clergymen for example formed a notable group within his social network. This may at least partially be explained by how the author wanted to be portrayed in his memoir: Van Lennep – more than the other protagonists – presented himself as a Godfearing men who regularly visited Church. This does not mean, however, that we should disregard the category for him altogether. As two of his sons were pastors and Van Lennep himself, as part of the *Hulpvereniging voor Christelijk Nationaal*

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<sup>193</sup> Memoir of Maurits Jacob van Lennep, 08-04-1886.

<sup>194</sup> Cf. Memoir of Maurits Jacob van Lennep, Diary of Caroline Boissevain, 18-09-1884.

<sup>195</sup> Lodewijk Hendrik Maas, *Pro Patria: werken, leven en streven van Gerrit Kalff (1856 – 1923)* (Hilversum, 1998), p 23.

*Onderwijs*, sporadically invited his co-members at his house, he did get into contact with this subcategory more often than Kalff, Scharp and Boissevain.

For both Scharp and Boissevain, then, the acquaintances were mostly friends or acquaintances of their parents, or people they met once or twice during a party but who were not family members. For Kalff, four additional subcategories may be distinguished: neighbours, colleagues, feminists, and members of Societies. Neighbours, whom Kalff not only visited with his wife, but who also sporadically fulfilled the role of babysitters when the couple went to visit friends, were relatively highly presented in the network. Following Gordon, Nair, and Campbell, this indeed indicates that the neighbourhood played a significant role in extending the social network of men and women.<sup>196</sup> Moreover, it shows that maintaining good relations with the neighbourhood enabled them to ask for favours – such as babysitting – when they were in need of help.

Colleagues, on the other hand, are not widely represented in Kalff's network, which initially indicates that the teacher was keen on keeping his public and private life separately. The other two subcategories, however, suggest a more nuanced view: being interested in – and an advocate of – women's emancipation, the author habitually spoke with feminists like Regina van Geuns (1848 – 1928), Suze (1859 – 1938) and Margaretha Meyboom (1856 – 1927). As an associate of both the *Koninklijke Nederlandse Akademie van Wetenschappen* (English: *Royal Netherlands Academy of Arts and Sciences*), and the *Maatschappij der Nederlandse Letterkunde* (English: *Society of Dutch Literature*), Kalff furthermore often sat down with his co-members.

But why was the semi-public sphere of the Society taken inside the house? Though a conclusive answer is not provided by Kalff, the practice does show a desire to get to know each other in a more private setting. The earlier-mentioned talk with co-member of the *KNAW*, Jan te Winkel, underlines that in these instances, the house functioned as a place for both men to cut themselves loose from the everyday etiquette and political correctness, and perhaps even confide into each other – though unsurprisingly, none of these subjects would be included in Kalff's diary. As we shall see in the next chapter, this is also reflected in their choice of rooms. On other days, the wives would be present as well, which moreover shows that women were not necessarily excluded from these gatherings.<sup>197</sup> In fact, just like the neighbours, they may have used their husbands' colleagues and wives to enlarge their own network, too.

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<sup>196</sup> Eleanor Gordon and Gwyneth Nair, *Public lives: women, family and society in Victorian Britain* (New Haven, 2001); Gail G. Campbell, *I wish to keep a record. Nineteenth-century New Brunswick women diarists and their world* (Toronto, 2017), especially pp 155 – 56.

<sup>197</sup> See e.g., Diary of Gerrit Kalff, 01-01-1895, 05-03-1895, 10-06-1895.

## *Domestic sociability and religion*

Closely connected to the protagonists' main relation with their guests and hosts was the religion that they adhered to. A quick glance at figures 13 – 18 in Appendix III shows that for all case studies, the protestants, and more specifically, the Hervormden, dominated the scene. Even though the data are sometimes incomplete, I do not expect that the depicted proportions would have changed much: not only was the pillarization rate still quite high at the time, but North-Holland was also primarily a Protestant province, Amsterdam mainly a Hervormde city, and all case studies – and with that, most of their families – Hervormd.

The small numbers of Lutherans, Remonstranten and Doopsgezinden within the protagonists' families, however, indicate that interfaith marriages between Protestants did occur. At the same time, this should not be overestimated: they still formed a large minority within the social networks. In that sense, Amsterdam clearly shows a large dissimilarity with the nineteenth-century America portrayed by Rose, where heterogeneity was more visible and Protestant pastors were more tolerant towards these matrimonies.<sup>198</sup> Moreover, Van Vonderen's note that the children of interfaith marriages would be brought up in the mother's belief, does not necessarily follow from the protagonists either.<sup>199</sup> In fact, when the father and mother did not adhere to the same religious movement, the opposite seems to have been true. Whereas Scharp's and Kalff's mothers were for example respectively Remonstrants and Doopsgezind, both were raised in their father's religion.

Religious segregation also far extended the family: acquaintances and colleagues, too, were mostly followers of the Hervormde – or one of the other Protestant – faiths. In fact, all graphs combined, I only found one Catholic and one Jew in the protagonists' social networks: these were the French painter Pierre Alexis Mottu (1840 – 1887), who made portraits for Boissevain and her family, and the Jewish member of the *Maatschappij der Nederlandse Letterkunde*, Maurits Benjamin Mendes da Costa (1851 – 1938). Though Kalff would regularly converse with Mendes da Costa, both exceptions only prove that religious segregation was still the norm at the time. The same goes, of course, for atheists, which, apart from one guest of a wedding Van Lennep attended – and who was clearly looked down upon by the latter -, are not included in the social networks of any of the protagonists.

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<sup>198</sup> Anne C. Rose, *Beloved strangers: interfaith families in nineteenth-century America* (London, 2001).

<sup>199</sup> Barbara M.M. van Vonderen, *Deftig en ondernemend*, pp 63 – 64.

## *Domestic sociability and age*

Apart from religion, there are also age patterns to be discovered in the social networks of the protagonists, visible in figures 19 – 24 in Appendix III. Overall, adults take up most of the percentages, with 76,12%, 88,61%, and 64,58% for Van Lennep, and respectively 51,85%, 59,55% and 89,88% for Boissevain, Scharp and Kalff. In general, these numbers may be explained by the fact that the majority of the family – who, as we have already concluded formed the largest clusters within the social networks - consisted of adults.

The changes between the two adults and adolescents, then, mainly seem to have been a logical consequence of the protagonists' own age: as adults, Van Lennep and Kalff would naturally interact more with their peers – whether colleagues, family members or in any other way affiliated – than with the younglings. Conversely, Boissevain's and Scharp's friends and cousins would predominantly be of the same age, which not only explains why their percentages for young adults are between the 30% and 40%, but also why these nodes are often placed relatively close to them in the Gephi graphs. At first sight, Van Lennep's relatively high numbers in 1880 and 1886 for this category are surprising, though they are a result of the weddings that he attended in these years: in both cases, the bride and groom were young adults, who would naturally invite their same-aged friends. On the whole, however, Van Lennep seems to have mainly interacted with his adolescent children. Pursuing this logic, Kalff's percentages were naturally the lowest, as his children were still of a young age when he wrote his diary.

Though it is likely that low percentages for the category 'children' followed the same reasoning, etiquette books offer an additional reason as to why they were not a common party at social calls: whenever authors included sections on children, they labelled them a 'nuisance' for the grownups.<sup>200</sup> It was deemed respectful to the host and (other) guests to leave them at home, so they would not intrude the conversations with their childish behaviour. Of course, when family members or intimate friends stopped by, this line was less strict. Given that the protagonists only had a few children within this circle may therefore also explain the low percentages here.

Whenever children were present, then, it was usually during a celebratory event, or during the afternoon meal. Again, these daily traditions and rites of passages must have reinforced the existing group identities. However, Kalff takes this even further, relatively often inviting his family's and friends' children for coffee. Interestingly, in many instances they were not accompanied by

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<sup>200</sup> H.J. Engelberts, *De goede toon*, p 30; Mariette Verlaane, *Het boek der beschaafde vormen en goede manieren*, p 12 and 114, Louise Antoinette Stratenus, *Vormen: handboek voor de samenleving in en buiten huis*, p 54.

adults but were in fact the main guests.<sup>201</sup> In the in memoriam of his late father, Gerrit Kalff Jr. recalled this as well, stating that

He always loved the children and they loved him. As a young companion in Haarlem and Amsterdam, he always had little boys and girls, children of friends, to join him for coffee or a walk. We found amusing notes with clumsy words, lazy sentence structures or funny transitions in his desk after his death.<sup>202</sup>

Apart from being a family man, however, Kalff might have had some additional reasons to invite children to enjoy a cup of the liquid gold: young men and women were generally expected to undertake social visits themselves, not just with their peers but also – or perhaps *especially* - with adults. Apart from the pleasant company and the maintenance of (family) relations, this was an easy way for them to get acquainted with the rules and mannerisms that were expected of members of civilised society.<sup>203</sup> Since getting familiarized with the proper etiquette and the art of conversation would take years of practice, it is plausible that Kalff and the children's parents wanted to start this process at a young age. I also believe that there has been an 'exchange' between the children, as Kalff's diary included various notes about his own offspring occasionally visiting his friends under the guise of a coffee visit.<sup>204</sup> In both cases, the children would have likely felt more at ease, and their conversations would come more natural to them, just because they knew the person on the other side of the table quite well. Though I have not found any information to suggest that Van Lennep did something similar with his children, it is very well possible that Boissevain's and Scharp's regular visits to adult family members also partly followed this logic. As such, coffee visits like these could function as a playful way to introduce the younglings to Amsterdam's civilised society.

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<sup>201</sup> See e.g., diary of Gerrit Kalff, 05-02-1895, 21-02-1895, 13-03-1895, 15-03-1895, 01-05-1895, 07-05-1895, 30-06-1895; 01-09-1895.

<sup>202</sup> 'Op kinderen was hij altijd dol en zij waren dol op hem. Als jonggezel in Haarlem en Amsterdam had hij altijd kleine jongens en meisjes, kinderen van vrienden, aan de koffie, of mee op de wandeling. Vermakelijke briefjes met hun onbeholpen woordjes, schutterige zinsbouw of grappige overgangen vonden wij na zijn dood nog in 't bureau.' See Gerrit Kalff Jr., *Leven van dr. G. Kalff (1856 – 1923)* (Groningen, 1924), p 38.

<sup>203</sup> Egbertina van der Mandele, *Mevrouw Etiquette*, p 6. Cf. p 163 – 64, where she writes something similar: 'I may hope that, when you are talking, you do not take up any utensils to play with, and while people are speaking to you, you stop eating so that you may answer immediately. Albeit these are just trivialities I mention here, it is precisely from such insignificances that one can see who and how young the girl one had before them is.'

<sup>204</sup> Diary of Gerrit Kalff, 20-01-1895, 12-04-1895, 03-07-1895.

### *Domestic sociability, sexes and (un)employment*

The two last categories are those of the gender relations and the (un)employment levels, which given their strong link will be discussed together (see figures 31 – 35 in Appendix III). Only in the case of Boissevain, the percentages male – female show a preference for the female sex. Based on the close-reading of the author’s diary, this at first seems strange: Boissevain generally was not very keen on ‘girls-only’-parties – probably because Gie would not be able to join her, and her favourite pastime, dancing, was not as much included in these events as she would have liked.<sup>205</sup> Though she does not elaborate on this, Stokvis’ observation that friendly relations with the opposite sex were a delicate matter in the nineteenth century may explain this.<sup>206</sup> Especially women had to be wary of them, as one wrong word from an observant neighbour could ruin their reputation. Following Stokvis, boys, also had more personal freedom, and with that, more possibilities to make new friends.<sup>207</sup> This also follows from both Boissevain’s and Scharp’s statistics: in both cases, friends were predominantly of the same sex. The high percentages of respectively males and females within their networks, then, are again a result of the large number of family members.

Unfortunately, Van Lennep’s percentages, which show an almost perfect balance between men and women, are less reliable: even though he did sit down with couples quite often, at weddings Van Lennep also mainly referred to the female guests by name. I expect that if more of his writings were available, the percentages would have lied closer to those of Scharp and Kalff, who show a ratio of 60:40. For Kalff specifically, this may also be understood from his habitual visits to Society members.

The protagonists’ gender balances furthermore justify the high levels of unemployment. In general, women and children of respectable families stayed at home, as the men were still the main breadwinners of the household in the nineteenth century. In the few instances that women *did* work, this seems to have been more of a creative outlet - as in the case of (amateur) painters - or a social calling, such as in the case of Suze Meyboom (1859 – 1938), the founder of *Nieuwe Amsterdamse Huishoudschool* (English: *Amsterdam’s New Domestic Science School*).

The male percentages furthermore indicate that the protagonists predominantly stayed within their neatly demarcated social rank: the Van Lenneps were mainly politicians and clergymen, the Boissevains bankers, the Scharps military officers and the Kalff’s scholars. These professions are also widely represented in their social networks. Of course, not all individuals belonged to these groups, but when they did not, they had a profession which was of a similar status, or which in any

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<sup>205</sup> Diary of Caroline Boissevain, 06-08-1884.

<sup>206</sup> See e.g., Pieter Stokvis, *Het intieme burgerleven*, p 164. See also H.J. Engelberts, *De goede toon*, p 4.

<sup>207</sup> *Ibidem*.

other way may be explained from the protagonists' own employment. Van Lennep for example mentions engineers, Boissevain board members of various institutions, Scharp merchants, and Kalff literary scholars such as conservators and archivists.

## *Conclusion*

In this chapter, the protagonists' company was dissected with the use of the social network analysis program Gephi. Even though the data are inconclusive, they do already suggest the existence of certain trends when it comes to practices of social in- and exclusion. If anything, the figures have shown the overrepresentation of family in the social networks of all protagonists. In that sense, my research ties in perfectly with both the international and Dutch historiography, which emphasised the importance of family relations for domestic visits. Given the broad definition of 'family', two major criteria played a role in determining the frequency of the visits: the exact relation and personal connection between the host and guest.

In general, those intimate members bounded by blood had access to a more diverse pallet of domestic activities than distant family members or unrelated individuals, with the nuclear family being present at many of the formal and informal events. This also explains why the protagonists' inner circles mainly included the nuclear family and only a few close members of the extended family. In all but one case, these extended family members resided in different houses than the protagonists. However, Gordon and Nair's theory about lived-in adult family members does follow from the fact that Auguste Boissevain lived with her sister's family for some time.

In addition, the more distant a relative was, the less likely they were to be found at informal activities. For example, whereas cousins habitually made a coffee visit, great uncles, first cousins once removed, and second cousins were mainly present at weddings and official balls only. The inclusion of the DeClercqs in Boissevain's network is a noteworthy exception here: despite being second cousins, the young woman would spend a considerable amount of time with Gideon DeClercq and his family - probably because the two were already courting and would be married five years later.

If anything, this shows that class awareness and the entering of strategic marriages was not lost to the protagonists and their families: they all stayed within their nicely demarcated social circles, a note that is supported by the similarities in employment within the social networks. The lack of interfaith marriages further indicates that pillarization still played an important role within these circles, though sporadic marriages between different Protestant movements – a note also observed by Van Vonderen - did occur. These marriages also led to the partial inclusion of less traditional

family compositions, such as stepchildren. Yet, it is unsure whether this was done for the reasons previously mentioned by Nelson, i.e., financial gains or the fulfilment of a domestic ideology. Given that it were the men, not the women, who brought their children from previous marriages with them, it was probably mainly a practical consideration: in a divorce, men had more rights over their children than women, so bringing them into their new marriage was not an uncommon choice. If the earlier wife was deceased, it was only natural that the same process followed.

Apart from family, friends, acquaintances, and colleagues, too, were represented in the company. Within the present historiography, these categories have probably been neglected the most. The data, then, showed that here, like-mindedness played an even more decisive role in the frequency and activity choice. Indeed, all social networks indicate that the protagonists favoured meeting with those of grossly the same age, gender, religion, and employment, though some variations existed. In general, colleagues and acquaintances would mainly be visited separately or with the spouse, or be joined for an afternoon or evening meal. Depending on their closeness to the host – which were not always the case studies themselves – they could also be invited to weddings and funerals. Friends, on the other hand, were often present at birthday parties and other intimate family gatherings as well.

Two important observations were furthermore made. Firstly, the protagonists often took their spouses and mothers with them on their visits, which is a habit that should not be taken lightly here. If anything, it indicates that married women would not only broaden their social networks by visiting neighbours – as has previously been argued by Gordon, Nair, and Campbell - but also by entertaining, and being entertained by, their husbands' company. Regarding the category of friends, Stokvis' observation that compared to young women, adolescent men had more personal freedom, is also noteworthy. This, then, may explain why Boissevain's social network included less friends than Scharp's, but also why Scharp's inner circle consisted of many of his peers. In contrast, Boissevain was either chaperoned to her female friends, or befriended her cousins.

Being invited to someone's home, however, did not mean that practices of social in- and exclusion stopped. In the next chapter, I will show how the private and public spaces within the domestic sphere interacted with each other in nineteenth-century Amsterdam. Furthermore, I will argue how, within these densely knitted networks, spaces were used in the creation of memories, and with that, identities.

## ‘Mijn huis is mijn burg’: the spatial dimension

When visiting family, friends, and acquaintances, one was naturally led inside the house, which makes it appealing to conclude that this was by definition a private space. But we must ask ourselves to what extent this is true, if only because of the presence of servants and maids. Indeed, how did these architectural spaces within the house relate to the social space, and more specifically, to processes of social in- and exclusion?

To answer this question, I have divided the chapter into four sections, in which I will each analyse a different type of room of the house. These are respectively the 1) closed spaces (private spaces of the nuclear family); 2) semi-open spaces (spaces of the nuclear family where close friends and family were welcomed as well); 3) open spaces (the more public rooms of the house); and 4) unorthodox- and non-places. As this thesis is built around them, the protagonists’ own home will serve as the foundation for the spatial dimension. As mentioned in the introduction, three of them lived in prestigious streets: Van Lennep at Keizersgracht 173, Boissevain at Tesselschadestraat 4, and Kalff at Vondelstraat 9 - though Kalff only rented the second and third floor of his villa.<sup>208</sup> Scharp, then, resided at a typical middle-class house, Rembrandtplein 35, which the family shared with both shops - situated in the souterrain and main floor- and another family, inhabiting the first floor.<sup>209</sup> In addition to these residences, I will at times also refer to Prins Hendrikoord and Huize Bantam, the two outdoor houses of respectively Adolphe Boissevain (1843 – 1921) – Boissevain’s uncle – and Van Lennep and his wife, as both protagonists spent a considerable amount of time here.

Unfortunately, the diaries and memoir include very little information about the rooms of the houses. The reason for this is probably very straightforward: the authors obviously knew where their activities were being held. Architectural historian Hans Jannes has moreover argued that whether they were newly built or not, nineteenth-century houses were also very similar to each other function-wise, making it probably even less valuable for the protagonists to elaborate on them.<sup>210</sup> Only when the location of their social visit would deviate from this model, or when the room played a vital role in their memories, they would have bothered speaking of them. Apart from

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<sup>208</sup> Rental ads between March and April 1894 wrote about an upper landing consisting of nine rooms (including a kitchen and attic) situated at Vondelstraat 9, the time when Gerrit, Johanna, Gerritje and Liesbethje moved to the Vondelstraat. Cf. ‘Te huur’, *Algemeen Handelsblad* (04-03-1894), p 1; ‘Te huur’, *Algemeen Handelsblad* (01-04-1894), p 1; ‘Te huur’, *Algemeen Handelsblad* (05-04-1894), p 2; ‘Te huur’, *Algemeen Handelsblad* (08-04-1894), p 1.

<sup>209</sup> A rental advertisement of Rembrandtplein 35 was included in the *Algemeen Handelsblad* March 1884 in which the two upper landings of Rembrandtplein 35 were to be rent. The landings consisted of seven rooms, and would be available from May 1884 onwards – the Scharp family would take residence there on May 9<sup>th</sup>. See ‘Bovenhuis te huur’, *Algemeen Handelsblad* (14-03-1884), p 2.

<sup>210</sup> Hans Jannes, *Landhuizen en villa’s in Nederland tussen 1840 en 1916*, p 6.

the diaries and memoir, I therefore also used the available blueprints of the houses, as well as etiquette books, rental advertisements, general furnishing books, photographs of the residences, and secondary literature on nineteenth-century houses.

### *'Verboden te betreden': the restricted areas of the domestic house*

The first category concerns the restricted rooms. Scholars like De Nijs, Stokvis and Hans Jannes have already argued that these rooms were meant for the individual members of the nuclear family only, while Elisabeth Joris has emphasised that servants were generally allowed in all rooms, if only for cleaning purposes, as well.<sup>211</sup> As visible in figures 22 till 28, and as argued by Davidoff, Hall and Perkins, these private rooms were placed on the upper landings of the house to create a physical distance from the publicly accessible rooms.<sup>212</sup> As such, they also often only had one entrance. This for example goes for the bedrooms, though these were partially placed here because of the higher levels' better access to fresh air and daylight as well.<sup>213</sup> Especially Engelberts was quite strict when it comes to not receiving guests in the bedrooms – especially those of the different sex –, with the latter noting that even the doctor was granted access only in case of emergencies.<sup>214</sup>

The one exception to this rule – which strangely enough is often looked over by scholars – was the overnight visit, which naturally required that the guests entered the bedrooms. Age and marital status clearly played an important role in this: whenever the protagonists described overnight visits, children and adolescents would generally be matched with those of the same sex, while for the males and elderly women, separate rooms were – if possible – prepared. This obviously also required the available space for spare bedrooms, which not all protagonists had. Villas and outdoor houses, however, were famed for having a considerable number of guests bedrooms.<sup>215</sup> The floorplan of Villa Boissevain certainly supports this: the villa had five bedrooms, and since Boissevain's younger brothers were mainly at boarding school, this meant that the family had at least two or three spare rooms. Though a blueprint of his outdoor house is missing, this

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<sup>211</sup> Thimo de Nijs, *Het intieme burgerleven*, p 249, Hans Jannes, *Landhuizen en villa's*, p 154; Elisabeth Joris, 'Gender implications of the separate spheres', here p 392.

<sup>212</sup> Leonore Davidoff and Catherina Hall, *Family fortunes: men and women of the English middle class, 1780 – 1850*; Joan Perkin, 'Women, marriage and class in nineteenth-century England', in: Anton Schuurman and Pieter Spierenburg (eds.), *Private domain, public inquiry. Families and life-styles in the Netherlands and Europe, 1550 to the present* (Hilversum, 1996), pp 240 – 53.

<sup>213</sup> This is also why part of the reason why bedrooms were to be placed on the higher floors. See e.g. G. Belèze, *Handleiding tot de huisbouwkunst: eene vraagbaak voor huwbare meisjes en*, p 8; Hans Jannes, *Landhuizen en villa's in Nederland tussen 1840 en 1916*, p 255.

<sup>214</sup> Engelberts, *De goede toon*, p. 4.

<sup>215</sup> Coert Peter Krabbe, 'De nadagen van het ambachtelijke bouwen (1800 – 1860)', in: Coert Peter Krabbe, Dolf Broekhuizen and Niek Smit (eds.), *Huizen in Nederland: de negentiende en twintigste eeuw* (Zwolle, ), pp 11 – 46, here p 25.

must have also applied to Van Lennep, who at times had companies of six or more people over at Huize Bantam.

For Kalff, the incomplete blueprint is partially covered by an 1894 rental ad, which shows that the lodgings consisted of nine rooms, as well as a kitchen and attic.<sup>216</sup> Following Hans Jannes, who argued that contemporary villas mostly conformed to the same kind of layout, I have reason to believe that there would also have been two bedrooms – one for the parents and one for the children –, a dining room, a living- or reception room, bathroom, study, boudoir, and maid's room.<sup>217</sup> This leaves one spare room, which may have been used as a spare bedroom or as an additional reception room. Given the lack of space within their house, the Scharps, however, must have either shared a bedroom when aunts and uncles would stay the night, or – and this was a more common scenario at the time – used the living room to sleep in.<sup>218</sup> One can see the inconvenience of this situation, which also explains why sleepovers were not a popular form of domestic sociability for the family.

Most of the other restricted areas in the house were the servants' quarters, which apart from their bedrooms consisted of all the chambers that the employees needed to do their work properly, such as the kitchen, interior and pantry.<sup>219</sup> Like the bedrooms, architects often placed the servants' rooms on a different levels from the semi-open and open spaces, in this case to make a clearer demarcation between work – the servants included – and private life (see also figure 27, which depicts the souterrain and ground floor of Vondelstraat 9).<sup>220</sup> The blueprints of Tesselschadestraat 4 for example show that except from the bedchambers and one room on the first floor, all servant rooms were placed on the ground floor. The two remaining rooms were the public office, which Gideon Boissevain used during his day hours, and the dining room. The first again contributed to the separation of the family's private and public life. The dining room's placement, however, was a purely practical choice, as it would be close to the kitchen, but not too close to smell the food. This separation of work and private sphere was by the way not limited to the highest classes: even in the less spacious houses, such as Rembrandtplein 35, the servants' rooms were all put in the same corner of the house (see figure 28).

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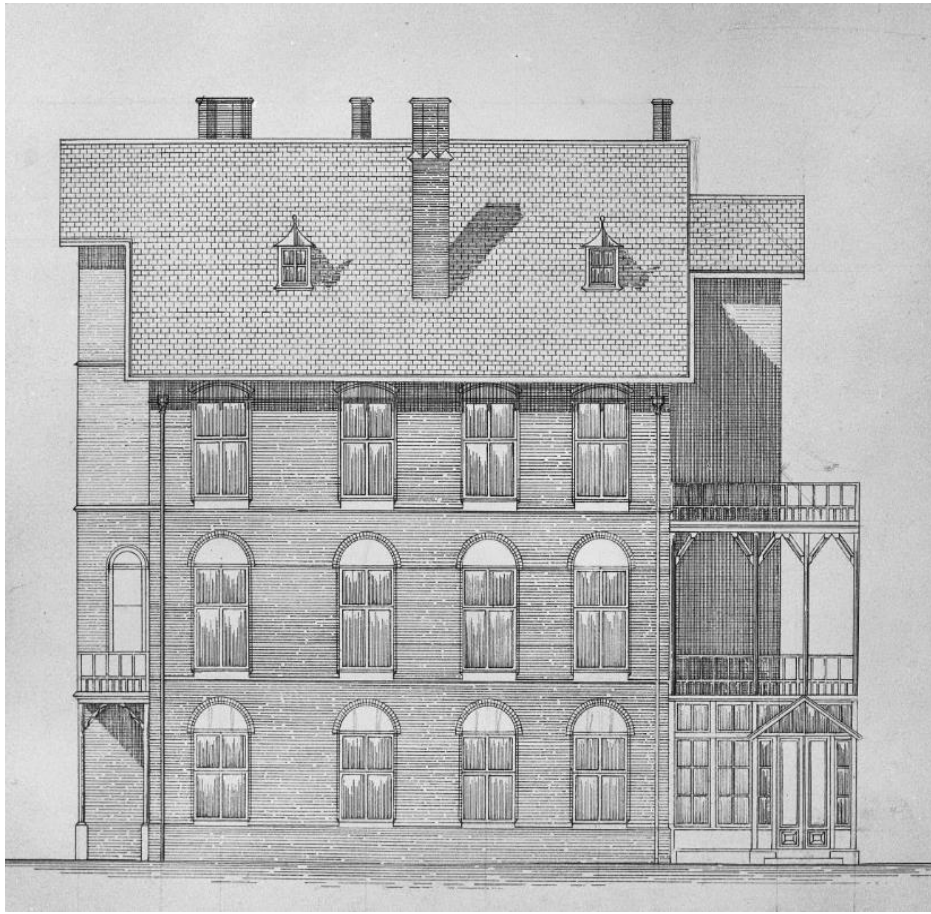
<sup>216</sup> Rental ads between March and April 1894 wrote about an upper landing consisting of nine rooms (including a kitchen and attic) situated at Vondelstraat 9, the time when Gerrit, Johanna, Gerritje and Liesbethje moved to the Vondelstraat. Cf. 'Te huur', *Algemeen Handelsblad* (04-03-1894), p 1; 'Te huur', *Algemeen Handelsblad* (01-04-1894), p 1; 'Te huur', *Algemeen Handelsblad* (05-04-1894), p 2; 'Te huur', *Algemeen Handelsblad* (08-04-1894), p 1.

<sup>217</sup> Hans Jannes, *Landhuizen en villa's in Nederland tussen 1840 en 1916*, p 263.

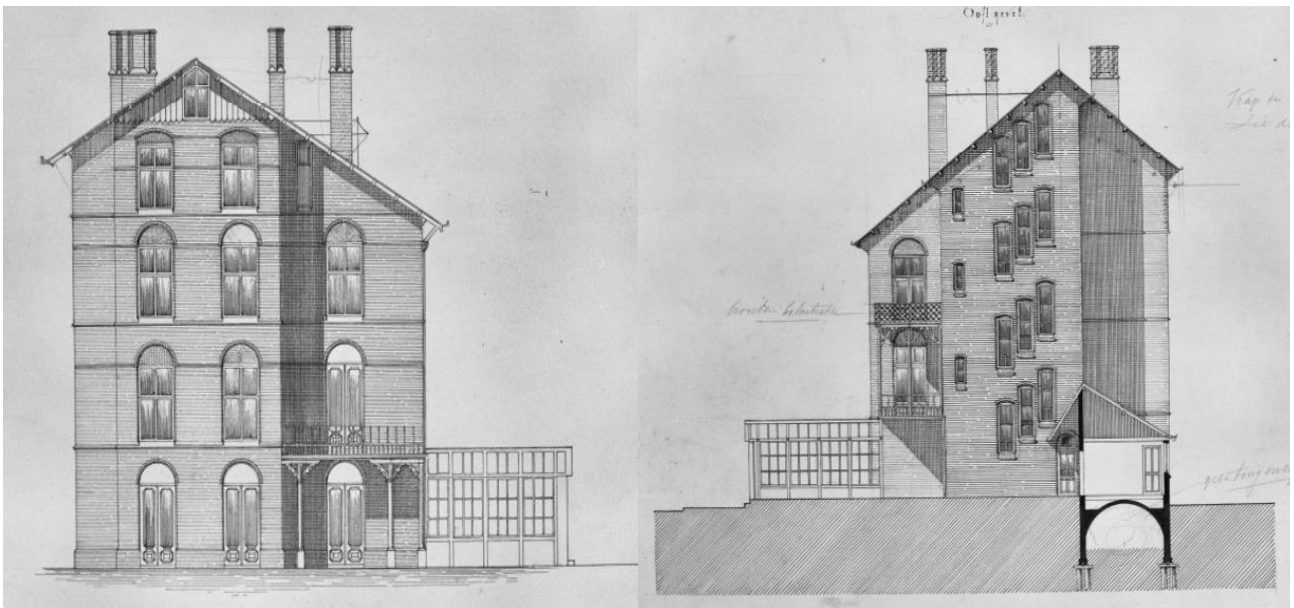
<sup>218</sup> Coert Peter Krabbe, 'De nadagen van het ambachtelijke bouwen (1800 – 1860)', in: Coert Peter Krabbe, Dolf Broekhuizen and Niek Smit (eds.), *Huizen in Nederland: de negentiende en twintigste eeuw* (Zwolle, 2018), pp 11 – 46, here p 25.

<sup>219</sup> See e.g. Antony Winkler Prins, *Ons huis en zijne bewoners*, p 29.

<sup>220</sup> Hans Jannes, *Landhuizen en villa's in Nederland tussen 1840 en 1916*, p 12.



Figures 22 (above), 23 (left down corner), and 24 (right down corner): sketches of the rear, east and west façade of 'Villa Boissevain', situated at Tesselschadestraat 4 (nowadays Tesselschadestraat 12). Drawn in ink by P.J.H. Cuypers, date ca. 1870 – 1890. Retrieved from the Rijksdienst voor het Cultureel Erfgoed.



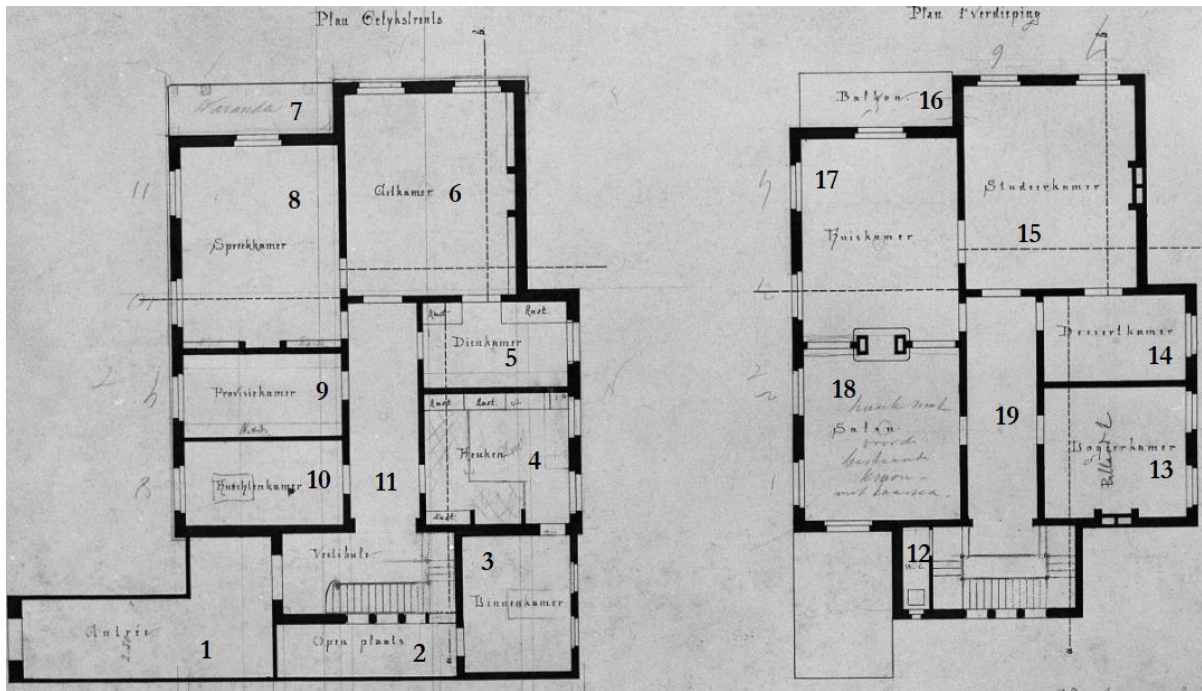
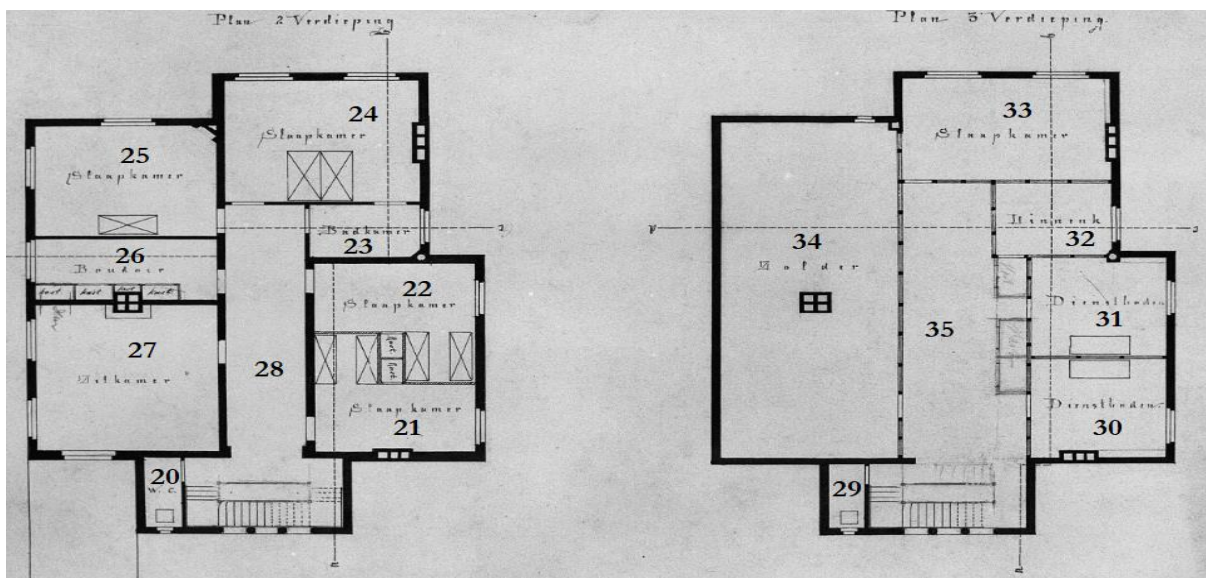


Figure 25 (above) and 26 (down): design drawing of 'Villa Boissevain', located at Tesselschadestraat 4 (nowadays no. 12). Figure 25 shows both the main floor (no. 1 – 11) and the first floor (no. 12 – 19). Conversely, figure 26 depicts the second floor (no. 20 – 28) and the third floor (no. 29 – 35). Crafted by P.J.H. Cuypers (dated ca. 1870 – 1900). Retrieved from the Rijksdienst voor het Cultureel Erfgoed.

**Legenda**

1	Entrée	8	Office	15	Study room	22	Bedroom	29	Storage room
2	Open space	9	Provision room	16	Balcony	23	Bathroom	30	Servants' room
3	Interior room	10	Servants' room	17	Living room	24	Bedroom	31	Servants' room
4	Kitchen	11	Hallway and staircase	18	Salon	25	Bedroom	32	Interior room
5	Servants' room	12	Toilet	19	Hallway and staircase	26	Boudoir	33	Bedroom
6	Dining room	13	Billiard room	20	Toilet	27	Sitting room	34	Attic
7	Veranda	14	Pantry	21	Bedroom	28	Hallway and staircase	35	Hallway and staircase



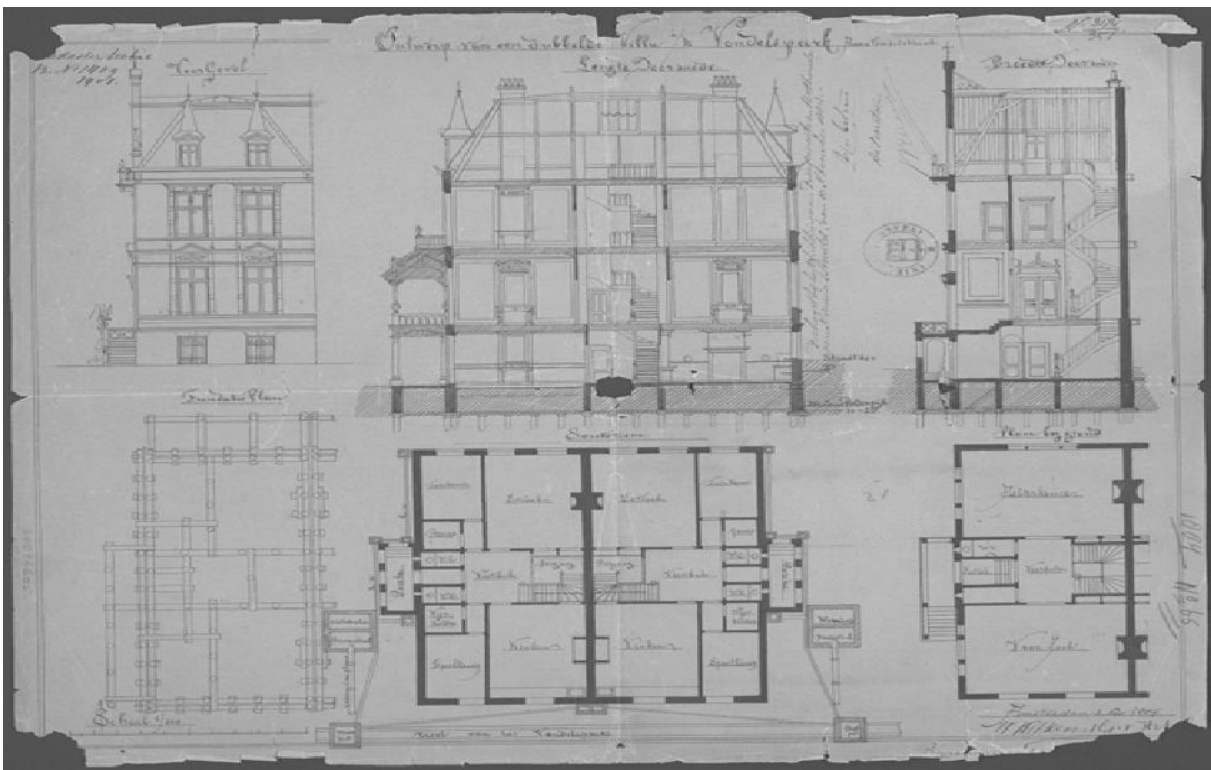


Figure 27: blueprint of the souterrain and main floor of the double villa situated at Vondelstraat 7-9 (nowadays 89-91). The map shows the existence of a first, second and third floor as well (where Gerrit and his family lived), but detailed depictions of them have not survived the test of time. Crafted by W. Wilkens and G.A. van Arkel, dated 3 November 1884 – 10 november 1881. Retrieved from the Stadsarchief Amsterdam.

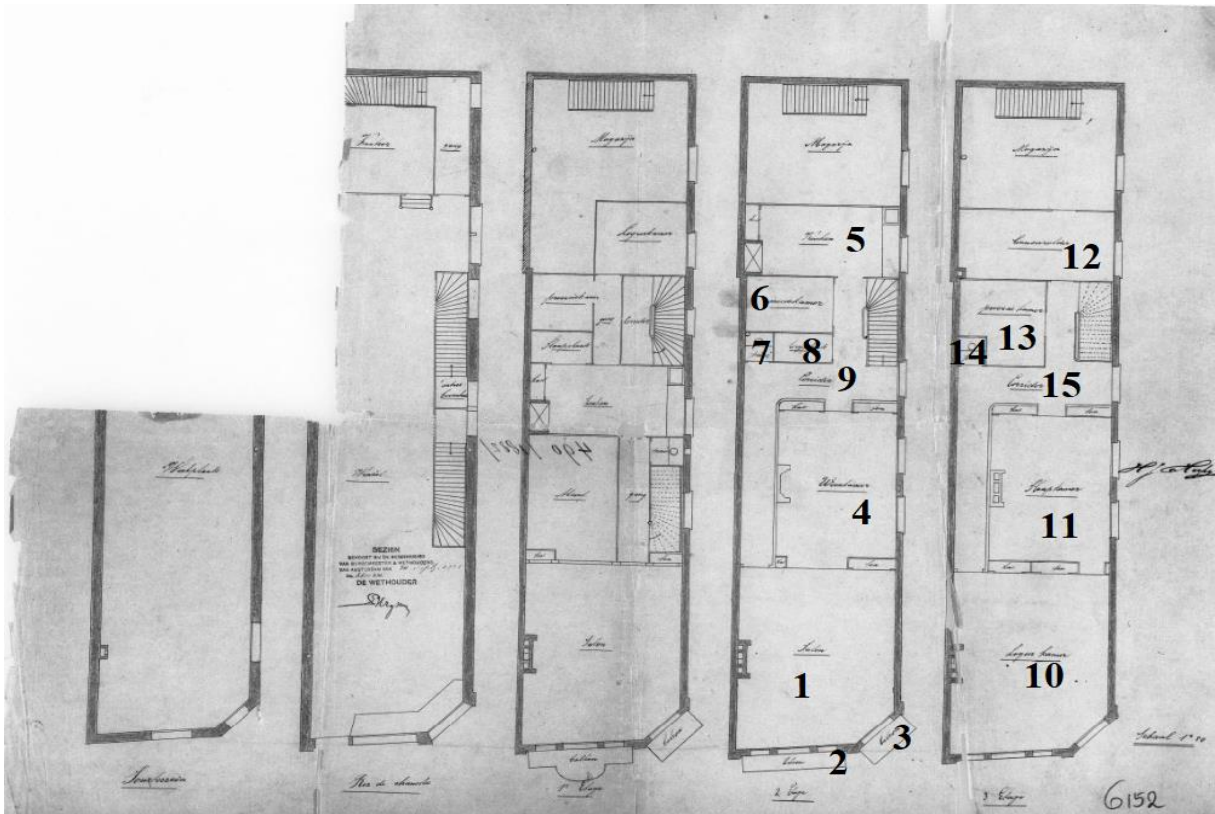


Figure 28: design of Rembrandtplein 35 when it was to be renovated and enlarged in 1882. The souterrain and the first floor were used by shops, while the third floor was inhabited by the Scharps' neighbours. The spaces above no. 5 and 12 were furthermore used as storage rooms by the shops. Crafted by H.J. van Herpen (1882). Retrieved from the Stadsarchief Amsterdam.

Legenda

1	Salon	6	Maid's room	11	Bedroom
2	Balcony	7	Private (toilet)	12	Linen closet
3	Balcony	8	Storage room	13	Pantry
4	Living room	9	Corridor	14	Private (toilet)
5	Kitchen	10	Guest bedroom (probably used as the children's bedroom by the Scharps)	15	Corridor

Apart from these generic rooms, large houses regularly included a few private chambers that were specifically designed for the lord and lady of the house. For the lady of the house, there would usually be a boudoir, *vrouwenkamer* ('ladies' room'), or sitting room, where she could relax, read, or write her letters.<sup>221</sup> A chaise longue, but also a small writing table, the lady's favourite books and a fur rug were amongst common objects to find here.<sup>222</sup> Sometimes, the sitting room was used as a reception room as well, though this highly depended on its placement: when situated on the same level as the bedrooms - such as in the case of Villa Boissevain - the sitting room was either mainly used by the lady of the house, or by the nuclear family in general.<sup>223</sup> For the same reasons as for the bedrooms, males were only allowed in here upon specific request of the women.

For the lord of the house, then, there would usually be a study, *heerenkamer* ('gentlemen's room'), *rookkamer* ('smoking room'), or library available.<sup>224</sup> Contemporary descriptions, photographs (see figures 29 and 30), and paintings of the room show that the rooms mainly consisted of various bookcases, a bureau with several chairs, a few paintings on the wall, and some other personal objects – as such truly the prime area of the house's patriarch. The study was also always significantly larger than the boudoir, mainly because the room could be used both as a private and work office. Given that Gideon Boissevain's public office was already placed on the ground floor, the one situated on the first floor must have mainly been used as a private office.<sup>225</sup> If anything, the existence of this room shows a general desire for men to have a place where they could seclude themselves from their family. Unsurprisingly, it was here that Kalff would meet with the previously mentioned Jan te Winkel, and in fact with his male guests in general.

Yet at the same time, privacy must be viewed from a strictly nineteenth-century view here. Boissevain's study is the example par excellence here, having three entrances: one to the hallway, another to the living room and the last leading to a servant' room. Especially the living room door suggests that the study at times may have been accessed by the nuclear family as well, which Boissevain herself also recalls: the room was at least once used to store the many wedding gifts for her aunt and uncle.<sup>226</sup> The door leading to the servant room furthermore supports that the study was used to receive personal guests as well, who could directly be tended to by the personnel.

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<sup>221</sup> Ileen Montijn, *Leven op stand 1890 – 1940*, p 51.

<sup>222</sup> Author unknown, 'Over het meubileeren onzer woningen', *Graciouse: magazijn voor Neerland's vrouwen* 28 appendix (25-02-1890), pp 10 – 11, here p 10; author unknown, 'Onze woningen (vervolg en slot)', *Graciouse* 30 appendix (25-03-1892), p 12; author unknown, 'Tentoonstelling te Amsterdam (vervolg)'. *Lelie- en roze knoppen: weekblad voor meisjes* 2:21 (10-10-1883), pp 165 – 66, here p 165; author unknown, 'Kunst. Beeldhoudkunst. Tweede tijdvak der Grieken', *Lelie- en roze knoppen: weekblad voor meisjes* 1:8 (09-08-1882), pp 59 – 60, here p 59.

<sup>223</sup> Hans Jannes, *Landhuizen en villa's in Nederland tussen 1840 en 1916*, p 6 and 292 – 93.

<sup>224</sup> Ileen Montijn, *Leven op stand 1890 – 1940* (Amsterdam, 2000), p 51.

<sup>225</sup> Hans Jannes, *Landhuizen en villa's in Nederland tussen 1840 en 1916*, p 289.

<sup>226</sup> Diary of Caroline Boissevain, 08-11-1884.



Figures 29 (above) and 30 (down): two late nineteenth-century salons. Figure 29 depicts the study of lawyer Samuel Katz (1845 – 1890), who resided at Keizersgracht 630. Photograph taken by Albert Greinier (1833 – 1890), circa 1890. Figure 30 shows the study of D.C. Meijer Jr., who lived at Vondelstraat 81. Photograph taken by J.M.A. Rieke (1851 – 1899), circa 1887. Both have been retrieved from the Stadsarchief Amsterdam.



### *Gelimiteerde entrée': the living room as the semi-open space of the house*

Apart from the study and boudoir, being part of the conjugal family opened - quite literally – many doors. For the guests, however, the number of rooms that they could enter greatly depended on the intimacy of their relationship with the owners. The protagonists' inner circle, and in general their close family members, then, could access what we may call the 'semi-open' spaces. Following Davidoff and Hall, these spaces were embodied by the living room.<sup>227</sup> The living room was, as one contemporary defined it, 'the small world where the members of the family [would] move around and develop themselves.'<sup>228</sup> At the same time, the space formed a bridge between the privacy of their own family, and their social contacts with the outside.<sup>229</sup> This is also visible in the placement of the room, which was on the same floor as the salon. Decorating living rooms thus also necessarily meant finding the delicate balance between on the one hand being a family room, and on the other hand a reception room – a task that was mainly the responsibility of the lady of the house. The strong focus on family mostly meant that they had to be cosy, while at the same time functional: etiquette books agree that one should never use too fancy, or in any way uncomfortable, furniture, because 'ce lieu délectable, a force d'être beau, cesse d'être habitable' (this delectable place, by dint of being beautiful, ceases to be habitable').<sup>230</sup>

As such, etiquette books, dictionaries and women's magazines emphasised the placement of personal and familial items, including photographs and paintings, as well as the use of nice - but foremost sustainable - appliances like hardwood cabinets, pendula, a secretary desk, and a decent armchair.<sup>231</sup> Not only would this save money in the long-term, but it also ensured that the family had a permanent place where they could retreat and enjoy each other's company. I also expect that the fact that children were allowed in the living room might have influenced this choice in furniture.<sup>232</sup>

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<sup>227</sup> Leonore Davidoff and Catherina Hall, *Family fortunes: men and women of the English middle class, 1780 – 1850*.

<sup>228</sup> Hermann Wagner, *Entdeckungsreisen in der Wohnstube* (trans. by J.F. Jansen as *Ontdekkingsreizen in de woonkamer*), (Leipzig, 1862; Leeuwarden, 1869), p 77.

<sup>229</sup> Hans Jannes, *Landhuizen en villa's*, p 6.

<sup>230</sup> C. Vosmaer, *De kunst in het dagelijksch leven. Vrij naar het Engelsch van Lewis Foreman Day* (Den Haag, 1884). This original English etiquette book had known at least four reprints in the last fifteen years of the nineteenth century.

<sup>231</sup> See e.g. Antony Winkler Prins, *Ziet om u! Leesboeken voor de lagere school I: ons huis en zijne bewoners* (Wildervank, 1863), p 38; Engelberts, *De goede toon*, p 3-4; Anonymous, 'Onze woningen: vervolg en slot', *De Gracieuze*, p 12.

<sup>232</sup> I have found a similar reasoning in a popular Dutch translation of the life visions of English abolitionist and writer Harriet Beecher Stowe (1811 – 1896), in which the translator writes that 'Ik verlang niet, dat Jantje met vette vingers aan sierlijk ingebonden boeken zal mogen komen, noch dat de kleine meid vrij op de piano mag trommelen, of met eene speld op de gepolitoerde meubelen krassen. Maar het is noodig, dat de huiskamers niet te fraai zijn om er in te zitten, niet te mooi voor gebruik, of voor de kwade kansen, welke men ook bij ordelijk en verstandig opgevoede kinderen heeft te wachten. De sierlijker gemeubelde salons, waarin papa en mama bezoek afwachten, moeten voor het oog der kinderen iets aangenaams, maar niets terugstootends of vijandigs hebben. Het schoonheidsgevoel moet er door opgewekt worden, en hun van lieverlede zucht tot orde en omzigtheid inboezemen.' See Antonia, *Ons huis. Levensbeschouwingen van Christopher Crowfield. Vrij gevolgd naar het Engels van Harriet Beecher Stowe* (Amsterdam, 1867), p 59.

The two final rooms that I will discuss here are the balcony and billiards room. According to Jannes, the placement of balconies alongside bedrooms meant that they were only used by the conjugal family.<sup>233</sup> However, a quick glance at the protagonists' blueprints shows that a reversal of logic seems to have been equally possible. Indeed, the balconies of both Boissevain and Kalff were placed near the semi-open living room, while the Scharps' were placed at the side of the salon. It must be said that for Rembrandtplein 35, positioning the balconies near the public reception room was probably also a practical choice of the architects, as apart from the bedrooms, these offered the best views on the marketplace. Still, both Scharp and Kalff occasionally mention that apart from the nuclear family, friends and acquaintances enjoyed the balcony as well, especially during the hot Summer months.<sup>234</sup>

The last category concerns the billiard rooms, which during the nineteenth century had become popular in high-class houses. Furnishing-wise, the billiard room did not have many options, as the actual table took up most of the space. It was furthermore generally considered part of the men's lodgings, used for informal social contact.<sup>235</sup> This explains why the Boissevains had placed it on the first floor, close to the study. As the room itself was quite prestigious, I expect that its placement near the staircase and salon may have also been a strategic one: whether the nature of the visit was formal or informal, guests would have to walk past the billiard room to get to the salon or living room. Boissevain's diary, however, shows that this gendered view on the room was not as fixed as it seems. In fact, both during parties and on general evenings, the young woman described how she too would play the game with both her female and male friends, as well as with her family.

### *'Allen zijn welkom': the open spaces of the house*

As long as the guests were either of the same or higher social strata, they were always welcome in the last category of rooms, i.e., the 'open spaces'.<sup>236</sup> Based on the findings of the previous chapter, we may thus also conclude that all were at least familiar with these rooms. The category mainly

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The book was republished at least three times, indicating its popularity. The same was argued in the monthly magazine *De Gracieuze*. Anonymous, 'Onze woningen: vervolgd en slot', *De Gracieuze: tijdschrift voor Neerland's vrouwen* Vol. 30, appendix (25-03-1892), p 12.

<sup>233</sup> The first option is also emphasised in Hans Jannes' dissertation. See Hans Jannes, *Landhuizen en villa's*, p 142 and 181.

<sup>234</sup> Cf. Diary of Gerrit Kalff, 06-07-1895, 10-07-1895, 14-08-1895, 21-08-1895; Diary of Henri-Jacques Scharp, 30-03-1889, 07-05-1889 – 09-05-1889, 25-05-1889, 07-06-1889, 08-06-1889, 15-06-1889, 23-06-1889, 11-07-1889, 30-08-1889.

<sup>235</sup> Hans Jannes, *Landhuizen en villa's*, p 290.

<sup>236</sup> Others would be greeted in the hallway or in the public office downstairs. See *ibidem*, p 282; Ileen Montijn, *Leven op stand*, p 52.

consists, then, of the salon and dining area. The salon – sometimes *ontvangstkamer*, *receptiekamer*, or *zaal* –, was the universal reception room of the house.<sup>237</sup> According to Amanda Vickery and Amy Prendergast, the pressure for furnishing the salon decently was considerably higher than for the other rooms, as it played a major role in the guests' first impression of the family.<sup>238</sup> This also explains why owning a salon was definitely not exclusive to the highest classes only. Indeed, in a time when looks were everything, the room was being embraced by those of all social strata, architect Niels Prak has argued.<sup>239</sup> The fact that the blueprint of Rembrandtplein 35 preferred a living room *and* a salon, instead of, for example, a dining room, underlines this importance.

Unsurprisingly, the obsessive need that was an inherent part of the *standenmaatschappij* also led to strict rules regarding the furnishing of the room. In general, the salon had to mirror the owner's social and economic status.<sup>240</sup> To deviate from this would negatively impact his or her status, which was simply not an option. The most common objects to be found here were a centre piece such as a piano, some bookshelves, paintings, writing tools, and a bowl for business cards, which were often in rococo style.<sup>241</sup> Though the protagonists did not include any descriptions of the room, Scharp does mention his mother's frequent piano play, indicating that the family owned one as well.<sup>242</sup> As such an inherent part of nineteenth-century Dutch society, as well as the in general high status of the case studies, I also expect them to have adhered to these rules.

This probably also goes for the dining room, which was the other open space of the house. Based on their social status and wealth, the Boissevains, Van Lenneps and Kalffs all must have had one, though this was certainly not a standard room: at the time, many houses and even small villas did not have enough space to include one.<sup>243</sup> This also applies to the Scharps, who, given the direct passage from the kitchen to the living room, probably either ate in the latter, or – on hot Summer days – at the small balconies. If a dining room *was* present, however, it needed to be placed close

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<sup>237</sup> Cf. P. Weiland, *Groot Nederduitsch Taalkundig Woordenboek* (Dordrecht: Blussé en Van Braam; 1859), p 539; J. H. van Dale, *Groot Woordenboek der Nederlandsche Taal* ('s Gravenhage en Leiden: Martinus Nijhoff, A.W. Sijthoff; 1896), p 1181 and 1377; Kuipers, *Volledig woordenboek der Nederlandsche taal*, p. 1093. In some occasions, the word 'zaal' also referred to the 'salon', which I will discuss shortly. See e.g., a story published in *Lelie- en roze knoppen*, a magazine for girls and young women, in which a girl is confused when another girl asks about the 'zaal'. Betsy, 'Een viertal jaren uit de jeugd van Katy Carr', *Lelie- en roze knoppen; weekblad voor meisjes* Vol. 7:18 (25-04-1888), pp. 137 - 138, here p 138.

<sup>238</sup> Cf. Amanda Vickery has published insightful works in this respect. See e.g., Amanda Vickery and John Styles (eds.), *Gender, taste and material culture in Britain and North America, 1700 – 1830* (New Haven, 2006), p 285; Amanda Vickery, *Behind closed Doors. At home in Georgian England*; Amy Prendergast, *Literary salons across Britain and Ireland in the long eighteenth century*, p 6; Michelle Facos, *An introduction to nineteenth-century art* (New York and London, 2011), p 154; Jeremy Aynsley and Charlotte Grant, *Imagined interiors: representing the domestic interior since the Renaissance* (London, 2006).

<sup>239</sup> Niels L. Prak, *Het Nederlandse woonhuis van 1800 – 1940* (Delft, 1991), p 6.

<sup>240</sup> See e.g., Hans Jannes, *Landhuizen en villa's*, 282; Anonymous, 'Onze woningen: vervolg en slot', *De Graciense: tijdschrift voor Neerland's vrouwen* Vol. 30, appendix (25-03-1892), p 12; Formay Day, p 163.

<sup>241</sup> Hans Jannes, *Landhuizen en villa's*, p 282; Engelberts, *De goede toon*, p 3 – 20.

<sup>242</sup> See diary of Henri-Jacques Scharp, 03-05-1889, 09-05-1889, 14-06-1889, 21-07-1889.

<sup>243</sup> Hans Jannes, *Landhuizen en villa's in Nederland*, p 40, 316 and 320.

to the kitchen, though not so close that the smell and noises from it would reach the guests.<sup>244</sup> The blueprint of Tesselschadestraat 4 clearly shows this: here, the servant room that was placed between the dining room and the kitchen not only functioned as an additional entrance to prepare and serve food from, but also as a natural silencer. All this was done to minimize nuisance.

### *Unorthodox spaces and non-places*

Apart from the clearly demarcated rooms that I have analysed in this chapter, there were also spaces that at first sight were less obvious options to use and as such, have been disregarded by scholars altogether. I refer here specifically to the staircase, hallway, and attic, which are described by Kalff but more particularly by Boissevain. At first sight, they seem to have been what French anthropologist Marc Augé's called 'non-places': physical sites that were only used as doorways to other rooms and as such have little to no significance to the process of identity forming. Opposite to these stand the 'anthropological places', which are 'place[s] of identity, of relations and of history' – within the house, these would for example be the living and dining area.<sup>245</sup> Staircases, hallways, and attics definitely seem to be an example par excellence of the non-place: people use the stairs to get to a different landing of a building, the hallway to reach other rooms on the ground or upper floors, and the attic as storage room. However, Augé also argued that non-places and places never truly exclude each other, as they are always both visible. As such, varying on the individual, non-places can in fact become places.

I believe this is exactly what happened for Boissevain and Kalff, who both sporadically describe playing games with their peers (Boissevain) and children (Kalff) in the attic.<sup>246</sup> Similarly, Boissevain describes various scenarios during parties where she and some other adolescents talked, laughed, and joked around in the hallways and on the staircases. On 27 September 1884, she for example writes that 'we sat down for a while [in the dining room] and then also went to the hallway and garden. We continued to talk and joke around a bit.'<sup>247</sup> Another time, Boissevain sat down with her friend Welly on the staircase, so the two could have some private time together.<sup>248</sup> Since she only describes such scenarios during parties, I expect that this was one of the many ways in which different groups segregated themselves from the rest to be among like-minded. This could be based

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<sup>244</sup> Hans Jannes, *Landhuizen en villas*, p 286.

<sup>245</sup> Marc Augé, *Non-Places. Introduction to an Anthropology of Supermodernity*. Translated by John Howe (1995, London and New York), pp 75 – 115.

<sup>246</sup> Diary of Gerrit Kalff, 10-03-1895.

<sup>247</sup> 'Daarna zijn wij nog even blijven zitten en zijn toen ook naar den gang en tuin gegaan. Daar zijn wij toen een beetje blijven praten en gekheid maken.' Diary of Caroline Boissevain, 27-09-1884.

<sup>248</sup> *Ibidem*, 24-07-1895.

on gender – the men who went outside for a smoke after dinner, or the women who headed upstairs to talk together – but also on affiliation – Gideon DeClercq and Boissevain sneaking out to be alone – or age. The latter seems to have been the main motivation for Boissevain and her peers: as the younger part of the company, it would have been impolite – and probably impossible – for them to claim one of the open rooms for themselves, but at the same time they did have a desire to be among themselves. The attic was perfect for the younglings, if only because the adults would not use this room. In addition, it was spacious enough to play games in. Both the hallways and the staircases, in turn, had the advantage of being near the rooms in which the festivities took place, but without the presence of the adults.

I want to end this chapter by addressing one type of location that strictly speaking was not part of domestic sociability but nevertheless showed strong similarities to it: restaurants. Both Boissevain and Kalff mention restaurants in their diaries during festive events. It is important to mention here that though restaurants had existed since the mid-nineteenth century, the idea of being looked upon by passers-by for long had put off the higher middle and higher classes, who labelled it a ‘vulgar’ and ‘indecent’ form of dinner culture.<sup>249</sup> Yet, the Obreens (connected to Boissevain) and the Mommas (connected to Kalff), both financially settled families, decided to have part of their wedding celebrations in a restaurant. Why?

Lack of space probably played an important role in their choice. Though weddings generally translated to inviting many guests, it was hard to have a house within the city that could accommodate all of them. Boissevain also mentions this in her diary, when during New Year’s Day 1885, two of her cousins could not join the family dinner because there was no room for them.<sup>250</sup> Restaurants surely were far more spacious, but neither the Obreens nor the Mommas would have settled for an ordinary ‘middle-classed’ one. In fact, the first’s wedding dinner party took place at Hotel de Zwaan (Hotel Swan, sometimes written as ‘D’Hotel Le Cygne’) in Breda, while the latter was being held at Zomerdijk-Bussink in Amsterdam.<sup>251</sup> They also mention Maison Couturier in Amsterdam.

It is important to mention here that both Zomerdijk-Bussink and Maison Couturier belonged to the most fashionable places to enjoy a meal in the 1880s. Part of their appeal and success was based on the location and general ambiance. Indeed, they were situated alongside the wealthy canals – respectively Heerengracht 286 and Keizersgracht 674.<sup>252</sup> What also made these

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<sup>249</sup> Hilary Akers, ‘Uit eten’ in de 19e eeuw. Het ontstaan van het Amsterdamse restaurant’, *Ons Amsterdam*, accessed at 07-08-2020 via <<https://onsamsterdam.nl/uit-eten-in-de-19de-eeuw>>

<sup>250</sup> Diary of Caroline Boissevain, 01-01-1885; diary of Gerrit Kalff, 09-08-1895.

<sup>251</sup> Caroline mentions a dinner party that she attended on 25-09-1884 at Zomerdijk-Bussink, while Gerrit Kalff enjoyed a party at Maison Couturier at 14 March 1895.

<sup>252</sup> The fact that neither of these buildings were moreover constructed specifically to serve as a restaurant might have also contributed to their appeal: in the past they had been just like any other canal house, making it hard for those who

restaurants appealing was the fact that guests had to make a reservation for a whole room, not just a table. As such, the semi-public space felt more like a private place: apart from the maids, servants and perhaps the restaurant owners, they would have no interaction with other restaurant-goers.

## *Conclusion*

In this chapter, I have analysed how the architectural space of the house related to the social space, and with that, to processes of social- in and exclusion. Previous research has already argued that the house was not purely a private space, but that it in fact stood at the crossroads of private and public life. Indeed, the house was a densely layered space, but it consisted of more than just 'private' and 'public' spaces. In fact, there were four categories, all of which filled in a separate space of the house.

The restricted areas, or closed spaces, were only accessible for the nuclear family and servants, and were situated at either the higher (in case of the bedrooms) or lower (in case of the servant' rooms) levels of the house. Especially in the larger houses and villas, there were also specific rooms for the lord and lady of the house, where they could seclude themselves from their family or speak with personal guests. Though children were not allowed in here, specific situations, such as weddings, could make an exception for these rooms.

The second type of rooms were the semi-open spaces: rooms that apart from the nuclear family were also open to (close) family and intimate friends. Though these rooms generally were placed on the same level as the open spaces, the focus was on the personal aspects of the family. Following Davidoff and Hall, the living room was the embodiment of the semi-open space, and as such needed to be furnished as a room where the two groups could meet. The furniture needed to be decent, though not too fancy, as the children were also allowed in here, while personal items such as photographs were often found here as well to make it feel cosier.

According to Jannes, the placement of balconies near the bedrooms furthermore indicates that this space, too, was mostly used by the nuclear family.<sup>253</sup> Based on the protagonists' blueprints and diaries, however, this seems to be a rather limited definition: not only were their balconies placed alongside the (semi-)open spaces of the living room and salon, but they also invited friends and acquaintances over at these outdoor spaces. Similarly, Boissevain's usage of the billiard room

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had been familiar in Amsterdam to distinguish the restaurants from residency lot. Akkers describes a situation like this in which writer Lodewijk van Deyssel (1864 – 1952) had taken out the board of the Parisian Odon Theatre for dinner at Maison Couturier, who thought the restaurant had actually been his home. See Hilary Akers, 'Uit eten' in de 19e eeuw. Het ontstaan van het Amsterdamse restaurant', *Ons Amsterdam*, accessed at 07-08-2020 via <<https://onsamsterdam.nl/uit-eten-in-de-19de-eeuw>>

<sup>253</sup> Hans Jannes, *Landhuizen en villa's*, p 157.

– which was generally deemed a part of the men’s rooms – indicates that this gender-division was not as strict as etiquette books argued. At the same time, placing the billiard room across the salon was probably also a strategic choice, as it ensured that all guests – at least those of similar social status – would have to walk past it.

The third category of rooms concerned the open spaces. The salon was the most important room to consider here: it served as the general reception room for those guests that neither belonged to the family nor to the most intimate group of friends but nevertheless had the same - or higher - social status. As Vickery and Prendergast have rightfully argued, this room was vital for the guest’s first impression, and as such needed to be decorated properly. In general, this translated to expensive furniture that matched the owner’s social and economic status. Theoretically, if the guest would see a flaw, this could severely damage the latter’s social status, which was to be avoided at all costs. Though none of the protagonists elaborate on their reception rooms, the fact that the *standenmaatschappij* had so deeply been imbedded in Dutch culture probably meant that their salons adhered to this rule – another option was simply not available. The same goes for the dining areas, for which the most prestigious restaurants functioned as an extension in case of lack of space.

The last category of rooms comprises the attic, staircase, and hallway. As these transience spaces were generally used to separate floors and store items, scholars have disregarded them altogether. Yet, these non-spaces played a vital role in the social lives of Boissevain and her peers, who used them to seclude themselves from the rest of the company. Of course, given that the restricted areas took up the upper and lower floors, and the semi-open and open spaces were already in use by the adults, it is likely that these unconventional spaces were the only reasonable options the young company had. For Boissevain, however, this negative connotation was overthrown by the happy memories she had of them. In fact, claiming these non-spaces as their own turned them into anthropological spaces that played a vital part in her identity forming.

## Conclusion

The present thesis was conceived from the notion that theories and practices of social in- and exclusion were an inherent part of nineteenth-century Amsterdam's domestic sociability. Although scholars generally agree that the nineteenth century was not known as an age of equality when it comes to the making and maintenance of social relations, most previous research has only focused on its implementations for public life. Those few studies in which domestic sociability *is* researched, then, still mainly rely on qualitative research methods to study a relatively small part of it.<sup>254</sup> Not only has this tunnel vision led to a limited view on the diversity of domestic sociability in general, but it has also overlooked the usage of quantitative methods for studying social in- and exclusion. As such, this thesis formed an introductory work in which the domestic visits of four middle- and high-class individuals living in Amsterdam between 1880 and 1895 were systematically studied from an interdisciplinary perspective. Due to the limitations set by the corona pandemic, the main source material used to conduct this analysis, then, were the protagonists' diaries and memoir.

The main hypothesis within the aforementioned scope was that social in- and exclusion penetrated domestic sociability on three levels, or dimensions: 1) the temporal dimension, which was studied together with the general terminology used to refer to domestic visits; 2) the social dimension; and 3) the spatial dimension. Starting with the first dimension, the sources showed that there was a wide palette of domestic visits that the nineteenth-century Amsterdammer could choose from. The social connotations connected to these words often implied a certain time frame and length of the visit, and as such were carefully structured around the four meals. In fact, following Ileen Montijn, the latter functioned as the guardians of the in general strict time schedule that the nineteenth-century respectable burgher adhered to.

Zooming in on the visits that occurred during the various time frames, some preliminary conclusions regarding the theory and practices of social in- and exclusion were furthermore drawn: firstly, that the mornings were generally an unpopular time for domestic visits, and apart from (house)work were only used for necessary visits between close family members and friends. Though the afternoons and evenings show a more inclusive character, here, too, social in- and exclusion was never far away. In general, the sources indicated that an individual's relation to the protagonist directly translated to the number of visiting possibilities.

These preliminary conclusions were put to the test in the third chapter, which focused on the protagonists' social dimension. Using the social network analysis program Gephi, their social networks were dissected and divided into six categories: 1) the case studies' main relation to their

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<sup>254</sup> See pp. 14 – 21 of this thesis' introduction.

visitors; 2) the main form of sociability that the latter were affiliated with; 3) their religious beliefs; 4) age; 5) gender; and 6) profession. Though the data sustained the hypotheses of the previous chapter, the usage of this quantitative research method also made it possible to come to more precise conclusions. First and foremost, they showed that the largest group within the networks consisted of family members, supporting scholars' earlier claims of the latter's importance for nineteenth-century social relations.<sup>255</sup> The fact that 'family' not only referred to the nuclear but also the extended family – stepchildren and in-laws' families included –, however, also indicated that it is too short-sighted to conclude that the family as a whole had the same – and most - visiting options and frequencies. Though they were generally present at family parties, close friends and acquaintances were often seen more regularly than for example great uncles or first cousins once removed. Following Pieter Stokvis, staying in contact with the extended family as well as friends and acquaintances was largely done to strengthen group identity, preserve the social safety net and to help young men and women finding a spouse. This followed from the remaining categories of religion, gender, age, and employment as well, which showed that the protagonists mainly stayed within their own, nicely delineated social circles.

At the same time, social in- and exclusion did not stop after being invited to someone's home. It is true that this aspect has been mentioned by scholars such as Leonore Davidoff and Catherine Hall, though again the lack of a systematic analysis of the social spaces within the house made it necessary to include this dimension as well. Depending on their personal relation to the host, guests were allowed into one or multiple carefully demarcated areas. Following Elisabeth Joris, but also Davidoff and Hall, the nuclear family and servants were generally allowed in all rooms. At the same time, they were also the only ones permitted in the first category, which comprised the restricted areas. These personal and servants' rooms were located either on the higher or lower levels of the house and were as such physically segregated from the other spaces. The semi-open spaces filled in the rooms between them and were open to the extended family and close friends as well. Together with the restricted areas, these spaces emphasised the house as a safe haven for its owners. The open spaces, on the other hand, were centred around the latter's public image, and were open to acquaintances of the same, or higher, social ranks and status as well. Apart from these clear anthropological spaces, however, one protagonist also used specific spaces of transience as well. Referred to by Marc Augé as non-spaces, they included the stairs, hallways, and attic, and – other than previously research has argued – actually contributed to the case study's identity forming as well. As such, they too may be regarded as anthropological spaces of social in- and exclusion.

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<sup>255</sup> See especially pp. of this thesis' introduction.

On the whole, the combination of qualitative and quantitative research in this thesis has shown that social in- and exclusion were indeed a vital part of domestic sociability in nineteenth-century Amsterdam, but beyond that it has also laid the foundation for many interesting new research questions and focuses. To start, the social network analysis applied here may be extended by including not only more of the protagonists' but also of the company's ego documents as well. Though the corona pandemic has made it impossible to do this for now, such an analysis enables us to indicate even more precisely which individuals knew each other, and as such, how domestic sociability's social circles exactly functioned. More case studies, both in- and outside Amsterdam, could also help to say more about the processes of social in- and exclusion in Dutch society in general: how does, for example, the Dutch capital relate to provincial cities, towns, and the villas on the countryside? Were there regional or even local differences? And what about other countries?

Apart from these geographically-oriented questions, I would also highly recommend studying the six categories that I myself used in the social network analysis in more detail. Given the strong pillarization movement of the time, it would be especially interesting to include Catholics, Jews, and Muslims, too. Did these religions indeed support my conclusions regarding religious segregation, or was this even more complex than we may think? What about the different social strata in general? Did all social ranks and strata apply the same theories and techniques in these processes, or were there dissimilarities as well? And if so, how may they be explained? The same questions may – and I believe even must – be asked for women and children, but also for older individuals. All these questions may provide us with even more insights into one of nineteenth-century societies' most under researched research topics.

## Appendix I: family trees

The following pages show the various family trees of the protagonists. The included family trees go back as far as the maternal and paternal grandparents. The names of the protagonists' nuclear family are in bold. A \* behind a name refers to a divorce.

### *Maurits Jacob van Lennep (1830 - 1913)*

#### Van Lennep – Van Orsoy

- I.1 David Jacob van Lennep (1774 - 1853) ⚭ Cornelia Christina van Orsoy (1778 - 1816) \*
  - a. Jacob van Lennep (1802 - 1868) ⚭ Henrietta Sophia Wilhelmina Roëll (1792 - 1870) \* ⚭ Swane Cornelia van Ockenburg (1830 - 1865) \* ⚭ Unknown
  - b. Anna Louisa van Lennep (1807 - 1880) ⚭ Hendrik Aarnout van Lennep (1800 - 1855)
- I.1.a1 Jacob van Lennep (1802 - 1868) ⚭ Henrietta Sophia Wilhelmina Roëll (1792 - 1870)
  - i. Sara Cornelia Wilhelmina van Lennep (1825 - 1899) ⚭ Cornelis Hartsen (1823 - 1895)
    - a. Maria Cornelia Hartsen (1857 - 1886)
  - ii. David Jacob Cornelis van Lennep (1827 - 1905) ⚭ Angela Wilhelmina van Lennep (1823 - 1896)
    - a. Elisabeth Jacoba van Lennep (1859 - 1922)
  - iii. Christiaan van Lennep (1828 - 1908) ⚭ Charlotte Louise Küpfer (1851 - 1926) ⚭ Louise Johanna Meis (1838 - 1867)
    - 1. Christiaan van Lennep (1828 - 1908) ⚭ Charlotte Louise Küpfer (1851 - 1926)
      - a. Christine van Lennep (1872 - 1959)
      - b. Roelof van Lennep (1876 - 1951)
      - c. Madzy van Lennep (1879 - 1959)
    - 2. Christiaan van Lennep (1828 - 1908) ⚭ Louise Johanna Meis (1838 - 1867)
      - a. Ada van Lennep (1865 - 1941)
  - iv. Maurits Jacob van Lennep (1830 - 1913) ⚭ Carolina Wilhelmina van Loon (1833 - 1899)
    - a. Hendrik Maurits Jacob van Lennep (1857 - 1905)
    - b. Maximilian Frederick van Lennep (1859 - 1940)

- c. Maria Louisa van Lennep (1861 - 1921)
- d. Jan Willem van Lennep (1863 - 1927)
- e. Frank Karel van Lennep (1865 - 1928)
- f. Louis Theodore van Lennep (1869 - 1870)
- g. Norman Willem van Lennep (1872 - 1897)
- h. Augusta van Lennep (1876 - 1876)
- i. Theodora Augusta van Lennep (1878 - 1950)
  
- v. Willem Anne van Lennep (1831 - 1833)
- vi. Willem van Lennep (1834 - 1897)
  
- I.1.a2 Jacob van Lennep (1802 - 1868) ⚭ Swane Cornelia van Ockenburg (1830 - 1865)
  - i. Jacob Cornelis van Ockenburg (1857 - 1906)
  - ii. Louise Cornelia van Ockenburg (1865 - 1869)
  
- I.1.a3. Jacob van Lennep (1802 - 1868) ⚭ Unknown
  - i. Geertrui Elisabeth van Tulle (1822 - 1882)
  
- I.1.b Anna Louisa van Lennep (1807 - 1880) ⚭ Hendrik Aarnout van Lennep (1800 - 1855)
  - i. Hendrik Samuel van Lennep (1832 - 1914) ⚭ Anna Cecilia van Eeghen (1834 - 1903)
  - ii. Gerard Louis van Lennep (1845 - 1906) ⚭ Anna Sophia Christina Kreye (1860 - 1928)
    - a. Elizabeth Jacoba van Lennep (1883 - 1972)
    - b. Irene Agatha van Lennep (1889 - 1972)
    - c. Johan Frederik van Lennep (1890 - 1963)
    - d. Aernout van Lennep (1893 - 1972)
    - e. Louis van Lennep (1897 - ?)
  - iii. Elisabeth Jacoba van Lennep (1829 - 1957) ⚭ David Rahusen (1823 - 1883)
  - iv. David Jacob van Lennep (1841 - 1851)
  
- I.2 David Jacob van Lennep (1774 - 1853) ⚭ Anna Catharina van de Poll (1791 - 1860)
  - a. Cornelis van Lennep (1823 - 1874) ⚭ Sophia Wilhelmina Petronella Teding van Berkhout (1829 - 1901)

- b. Cornelia Henrietta van Lennep (1821 - 1902) ⚭ Henry Matthieu Labouchere (1807 - 1869)
  - c. Johan Hendrik van Lennep (1825 - 1897) ⚭ Carolina Elisabeth West (1833 - 1909)
  - d. Arnoud van Lennep (1827 - 1897) ⚭ Johanna Elisabeth van Lennep (1830 - 1903)
  - e. Herman Jozua van Lennep (1830 - 1888) ⚭ Henriette Wilhelmine Sillem (1836 - 1907)
  - f. Cornelia Sylvia Sara Henriette van Lennep (1837 - 1896) ⚭ Jacob Nicholaas Anthonie Taets van Amerongen (1832 - 1913)
- I.2.a Cornelis van Lennep (1823 - 1874) ⚭ Sophia Wilhelmina Petronella Teding van Berkhout (1829 - 1901)
- i. David Jacob van Lennep (1855 - 1933) ⚭ Elisabeth Backer (1860 - 1895)
    - a. Cornelis van Lennep (1887 - 1972)
  - ii. Hester Wilhelmina van Lennep (1856 - 1914) ⚭ Willem Gerrit Dedel (1850 - 1932)
    - a. Sophia Elisabeth Dedel (1893 - 1976)
    - b. Cornelis Jonkheer Dedel (1894 - 1981)
    - c. Agnes Maria Dedel (1896 - 1987)
    - d. Anna Wilhelmina Dedel (1897 - 1983)
    - e. Margaretha Isabelle Dedel (1898 - 1992)
  - iii. Willem Cornelis van Lennep (1858 - 1886)
  - iv. Cornelia Sophia van Lennep (1859 - 1913) ⚭ Alexander Hercules Beels (1859 - 1917)
    - a. Herman Cornelis Beels (1884 - 1955)
    - b. Sophia Alexandra Beels (1885 - 1935)
    - c. Christiaan Beels Heer van Heemstede (1886 - 1966)
    - d. Gerard Haro Beels (1888 - 1939)
    - e. Willem Carel Beels (1889 - 1958)
    - f. Hester Wilhelmina Beels (1890 - 1968)
    - g. Elisabeth Beels (1891 - 1981)
  - v. Warner Eduard van Lennep (1860 - 1932) ⚭ Henriette Jacqueline Wilhelmine Louise van Hardenbroek (1869 - 1942)
    - a. Warner Willem Eduard van Lennep (1895 - 1964)
    - b. Louis John van Lennep (1896 - 1896)
    - c. Stillborn son (1897)
    - d. Stillborn son (1899)

- vi. Adolf George van Lennep (1862 - 1931) ⚭ Elise Henriette Sillem (1870 - 1950)
  - a. Olga van Lennep (1891 - 1987)
  - b. Adele van Lennep (1892 - 1981)
  - c. Cornelia Sophia van Lennep (1894 - 1895)
  - d. Isabella van Lennep (1895 - 1896)
  - e. Elise Henriette van Lennep (1897 - 1986)
  - f. Johann Gottlieb van Lennep (1898 - 1958)
  - g. Hester Wilhelmina van Lennep (1903 - 1956)
  - h. Ada Jacoba Elisabeth van Lennep (1908 - 1979)
  
- vii. David Eliza van Lennep (1865 - 1934) ⚭ Isabella Backer (1868 - 1938)
  - a. Frans Johan Eliza van Lennep (1890 - 1980)
  - b. Sophia Wilhelmina Petronella van Lennep (1892 - 1966)
  - c. Anna Catharina van Lennep (1893 - 1953)
  - d. Hugo van Lennep (1902 - 1993)
  - e. Jan Pieter Adolf van Lennep (1903 - 1994)
  - f. Jan Pieter Adolf van Lennep (1903 - 1994)
  
- viii. Samuel van Lennep (1866 - 1943) ⚭ Anna Elisabeth van der Wyck (1872 - 1942)
  - a. Auguste van Lennep (1902 - 1962)
  - b. Maurits Alexander van Lennep (1908 - 1998)
  
- ix. Anna Catharina van Lennep (1867 - 1927)
  
- I.2.b Cornelia Henrietta van Lennep (1821 - 1902) ⚭ Henry Matthieu Labouchere (1807 - 1869)
  - i. Anna Maria Theodora Labouchere (1842 - 1914)
  - ii. David Labouchere (1844 - 1864)
  - iii. Anna Catharina Labouchere (1846 - 1933) ⚭ Theodore Louis Lambert Prins van Westdorpe (1832 - 1889)
    - a. Cornelia Henriette Prins (1878 - 1931)
  - iv. Frans Labouchere (1854 - 1938) ⚭ Susanna Jacoba van Eeghen (1856 - 1890)

- v. Constance Labouchere (1862 - 1945) ☉ Raymond Schuurbeque Boeye (1861 - 1925)
  
- vi. Henriette Labouchere (1866 - 1922) ☉ Hendrik Daniel Wijnand Hooft (1865 - 1917)
  - a. Constance Hooft (1890 - 1970)
  - b. Wijnanda Hooft (1891 - 1989)
  
- vii. Abel Labouchere (1860 - 1940) ☉ Cornelia Jacqueline de Bruyn Kops (1863 - 1924)
  - a. Josine Elise Labouchere (1889 - 1948)
  - b. Cornelia Jacqueline Labouchere (1891 - 1891)
  - c. Paul Cesar Labouchere (1896 - 1954)
  - d. Juste Theodore Jean Labouchere (1898 - 1925)
  
- viii. Gratia Labouchere (1847 - 1914) ☉ Jan Elias Nicholaas Schimmelpenninck van der Oye (1836 - 1914)
  - a. Alphert Schimmelpenninck (1880 - 1943)
  
- ix. Henri Matthieu Labouchere (1850 - 1920) ☉ Karen Magdalena van Vlissingen (1856 - 1935)
- x. Pieter Labouchere (1852 - 1879)
- xi. Herman Labouchere (1855 - 1913)
  
- I.2.e Herman Jozua van Lennep (1830 - 1888) ☉ Henriette Wilhelmine Sillem (1836 - 1907)
  - i. Ernst van Lennep (1860 - 1922)☉ Johanna Louisa van Eeghen (1865 - 1957)
    - a. Johanna Louise van Lennep (1890 - 1950)
    - b. Henriette Wilhelmine van Lennep (1892 - 1961)
    - c. Anna Caecilia van Lennep (1896 - 1980)
    - d. Herman Josua van Lennep (1899 - 1979)
    - e. Anne Willem van Lennep (1905 - 1977)
  
  - ii. Alexander van Lennep (1862 - 1934) ☉ Maria Elisabeth Petronella Jorissen (1864 - 1962)
    - a. Anna Wilhelmina van Lennep (1892 - 1979)
    - b. Herman Samuel van Lennep (1893 - 1974)
    - c. Louise van Lennep (1895 - 1980)
  
  - iii. Robbert van Lennep (1863 - 1921) ☉ Adrienne Minette Lucassen (1867 - 1940)
    - a. Minette Adrienne van Lennep (1892 - 1975)

- b. Henriette van Lennep (1894 - 1972)
  - c. Suzette Antoinette van Lennep (1897 - ?)
  - d. Daniel Francois Willem van Lennep (1900 - 1994)
  - e. Henriette Wilhelmina van Lennep (1906 - 1969)
- iv. Karel van Lennep (1866 - 1923) ⚭ Anna Elize Homans (1871 - 1943)
- a. Anna Petronelle van Lennep (1894 - 1984)
  - b. Cornelia Sylvia van Lennep (1895 - 1986)
  - c. Adrienne Minette van Lennep (1896 - 1965)
  - d. Sara van Lennep (1897 - 1970)
  - e. Henriette Wilhelmina van Lennep (1900 - 1900)
  - f. Willem Lodewijk van Lennep (1900 - 1900)
  - g. Karel van Lennep (1901 - 1949)
  - h. Anna Elize van Lennep (1902 - 1969)
  - i. Ernst van Lennep (1908 - 1908)
  - j. Johanna Louise van Lennep (1909 - 1991)
- v. Cornelis van Lennep (1875 - 1948) ⚭ Jacoba Johanna van Hell (1898 - 1970) ⚭ Hyke Albertine Hinrichs (1885 - 1940)
- 1. Cornelis van Lennep (1875 - 1948) ⚭ Hyke Albertine Hinrichs (1885 - 1940)
    - a. Hyke van Lennep (1909 - 1983)
    - b. Sylvia van Lennep (1909 - 2001)
  - 2. Cornelis van Lennep (1875 - 1948) ⚭ Jacoba Johanna van Hell (1898 - 1970)
    - a. Hansje Carla van Lennep (1919 - 2002)
- vi. Otto van Lennep (1865 - 1935) ⚭ Charlotte Philippine Josephe Penn 1868 - 1930)
- a. Mathilde Marie Josephe van Lennep (1892 - 1974)
  - b. Louis Reinier van Lennep (1893 - 1949)
  - c. Aernout van Lennep (1898 - 1974)
  - d. Anna Maria van Lennep (1901 - 1999)
  - e. Johanna Elisabeth van Lennep (1903 - 2004)
- vii. Henriette van Lennep (1868 - 1942)
- viii. Herman van Lennep (1869 - 1903)
- ix. Louise van Lennep (1871 - 1950)
- x. Sylvia van Lennep (1873 - 1945)

## *Caroline Boissevain (1868 - 1945)*

### Boissevain - Mollet

- I. Daniel Boissevain (1804 - 1878) ⚭ Caroline Louise Mollet (1811 -1894)
  - a. Gideon Maria Boissevain (1837 - 1925) ⚭ Louise Caroline toe Laer (1837 - 1915)
  - b. Athanase Adolphe Henri Boissevain (1843 - 1921) ⚭ Ottoline Henriette toe Laer (1844 - 1921)
  - c. Edouard Constantin Boissevain (1841 - 1915) ⚭ Maria Catharina Calkoen (1838 - 1894)
  - d. Mijnhardt Johannes Boissevain (1845 - 1917) ⚭ Johanna Juliana Juliane Boissevain (1846 - 1909)
  - e. Louis Daniel Boissevain (1848 - 1916) ⚭ Nelly Blossom Taylor (1855 - 1920)
  
- I.a Gideon Maria Boissevain (1837 - 1925) ⚭ Louise Caroline toe Laer (1837 - 1915)
  - a. Daniel Gideon Boissevain (1867 - 1940)
  - b. Caroline Auguste Antoinette Sophie Boissevain (1868 - 1945)
  - c. Gideon Louis Boissevain (1874 - 1945)
  - d. Jan Wilhelm Boissevain (1874 - 1959)
  - e. Rutger Jan Gideon Boissevain (1870 - 1945)
  
- I.b Athanase Adolphe Henri Boissevain (1843 - 1921) ⚭ Ottoline Henriette toe Laer (1844 - 1921)
  - a. Daniel Adolphe Boissevain (1866 - 1916)
  - b. Gerardine Boissevain (1868 - 1931)
  
- I.c Edouard Constantin Boissevain (1841 - 1915) ⚭ Maria Catharina Calkoen (1838 - 1894)
  - a. Daniel Louis Boissevain (1866 - 1866)
  - b. Louise Caroline Boissevain (1867 - 1936)
  - c. Catharina Constance Marie Boissevain (1868 - 1897)
  - d. Stillborn baby (1870 - 1870)
  - e. Lydie Boissevain (1871 - 1874)
  - f. Athanase Adolphe Heni Boissevain (1873 - 1954)
  - g. Marie Catherine Constance Boissevain (1876 - 1959)
  - h. Caroline Louise Boissevain (1877 - 1954)
  - i. Barthold Casimmir Boissevain (1880 - 1950)
  
- I.d Mijnhardt Johannes Boissevain (1845 - 1917) ⚭ Johanna Juliana Juliane Boissevain (1846 - 1909)
  - a. Georg Daniel Mijnhard Boissevain (1868 - 1945)

- b. Henri Jean Etienne Boissevain (1869 - 1954)
  - c. Gideon Louis Boissevain (1870 - 1924)
  - d. Johanna Elisabeth Boissevain (1874 - 1959)
  - e. Emily Eloise Boissevain (1879 - 1948)
  - f. Eleonore Dorothea Boissevain (1885 - 1948)
- I.e Louis Daniel Boissevain (1848 - 1916) Ⓜ Nelly Blossom Taylor (1855 - 1920)
- a. Daniel Louis Boissevain (1875 - 1875)
  - b. Marie Louisa Boissevain (1877 - 1951)
  - c. Harry Franc Boissevain (1879 - 1958)
  - d. Louise Anna Boissevain (1881 - 1968)
  - e. Otteline Henriette Boissevain (1884 - 1942)
  - f. Alice Helen Boissevain (1887 - 1975)

#### Toe Laer - De Mist

- I. Roger Jean toe Laer (1805 - 1858) Ⓜ Johanna Carolina Uitenhage de Mist (1807 - 1865)
- a. Louise Caroline toe Laer (1837 - 1915) Ⓜ Gideon Maria Boissevain (1837 - 1925)
  - b. Rene Herman toe Laer (1841 - ?)
  - c. Berendina Adelaide toe Laer (1843 - 1921) Ⓜ Johannes van Leeuwen (1824 - 1870)
  - d. Caroline Antoinette toe Laer (1844 - ?) Ⓜ Joachim Nuhout van der Veen (1845 - ?)
  - e. Auguste Sophie toe Laer (1845 - 1899) Ⓜ Frederik Daniel Otto Obreen (1840 - 1896)
  - f. Henri Etienne toe Laer (1832 - 1903) Ⓜ Agatha Mathilde Elizabeth Giebe (1840 - 1906)
  - g. Maria Bernardina Wijnanda toe Laer (1836 - 1877)
- I.a Louise Caroline toe Laer (1837 - 1915) Ⓜ Gideon Maria Boissevain (1837 - 1925)
- a. Daniel Gideon Boissevain (1867 - 1940)
  - b. Caroline Auguste Antoinette Sophie Boissevain (1868 - 1945)
  - c. Gideon Louis Boissevain (1874 - 1945)
  - d. Jan Wilhelm Boissevain (1874 - 1959)
  - e. Rutger Jan Gideon Boissevain (1870 - 1945)
- I.c Berendina Adelaide toe Laer (1843 - 1921) Ⓜ Johannes van Leeuwen (1824 - 1870)
- a. Carolina Johanna van Leeuwen (1864 - 1934)
  - b. Dirk Willem van Leeuwen (1863 - 1890)

I.d Caroline Antoinette toe Laer (1844 - ?) ⚭ Joachim Nuhout van der Veen (1845 - ?)

- a. Amelia Caroline Elisabeth Nuhout van der Veen (1875 - 1965)
- b. Louise Caroline Nuhout van der Veen (1879 - 1964)
- c. Joachim Nuhout van der Veen (1881 - 1969)

### *Henri-Jacques Scharp (1874 - 1957)*

#### Scharp – Hagens

I. Jacobus Scharp (1781 – 1858) ⚭ Catharina Hagens (1799 – 1868)

- a. Francois Gerardus Scharp (??? – 1879)
- b. Bernard Karel Scharp (1827 – ???)
- c. Henri Ferdinand Scharp (1828 – 1909) ⚭ Marcellina Henriette Prins (1833 – 1868)\* ⚭ Jeanette Brester (1847 – 1933)
- d. Johannes Gerhardus Scharp (1833 – 1898) ⚭ Guliana Benjamina van der Meulen (1846 – 1911)
- e. Herman Andre Scharp (??? – 1869)
- f. Unknown Son (??? – ???)
- g. Unknown Daughter (??? – ???)

I.c1 Henri Ferdinand Scharp (1828 – 1909) ⚭ Marcellina Henriette Prins (1833 – 1868)

- a. Guilelmina Magdalena Christina Scharp (1858 – 1880) ⚭ Pieter Christiaan Jacob Noorduyn (1855 – 1931)
- b. Jacques Henri Scharp (1863 – 1863)

I.c2 Henri Ferdinand Scharp (1828 – 1909) ⚭ Jeanette Brester (1847 – 1933)

- a. Henri Jacques Scharp (1874 – 1957)
- b. Bernard Karel Scharp (1878 – 1945)

I.d Johannes Gerhardus Scharp (1833 – 1898) ⚭ Guliana Benjamina van der Meulen (1846 – 1911)

- a. Louise Frederique Jacoba Scharp (1876 – 1947)
- b. Herman Francois Scharp (1882 – 1938)

## Brester – Huijgens

- I. Jacob Brester (1810 - 1889) ⚭ Jeanne Marie Huijgens (1822 - 1968)
  - a. Albert Brester (1843 - 1919) ⚭ Neeltje Hendrika Verheij (1855 - 1919)
  - b. Maria Wilhelmina Brester (1844 - 1915) ⚭ Adrianus Francois de Bas (1839 - 1909)
  - c. Jeanette Brester (1847 - 1933) ⚭ Herdinand Ferdinand Scharp (1828 - 1909)
  - d. Stillborn daughter (1849)
- I.a Albert Brester (1843 - 1919) ⚭ Neeltje Hendrika Verheij (1855 - 1919)
  - a. Jacob Brester (1877 - ???) ⚭ Nelly Brester (1886 - 1940)
- I.b Maria Wilhelmina Brester (1844 - 1915) ⚭ Adrianus Francois de Bas (1839 - 1909)
  - a. Jeanne Marie de Bas (1869 - 1944) ⚭ Maria Wilhelmina de Bas (1871 - ???)
- I.c Jeanette Brester (1847 - 1933) ⚭ Herdinand Ferdinand Scharp (1828 - 1909)
  - a. Henri Ferdinand Scharp (1874 - 1957) ⚭ Bernard Karel Scharp (1878 - 1945)

## *Gerrit Kalff (1856 – 1923)*

### Muller – Mabé

- I. Samuel Christiaans Muller (1785 – 1875) ⚭ Femina Geertruida Mabé (1784 – 1870)
  - a. Christiaan Muller (1813 – 1896) ⚭ Trijntje Prins (1819 – 1902)\* ⚭ Isabella de Clerq
  - b. Margaretha Muller (1814 – 1892)
  - c. Elisabeth Muller (1815 – 1885) ⚭ Alle Meenderts Cramer (1805 – 1894)
  - d. Frederik Muller (1817 – 1881) ⚭ Gerarda Jacoba Yntema (1818 – 1863) ⚭ Johanna Engelbert Doijer (1827 – 1913)
  - e. Hendrik Muller (1819 – 1898)
- I.a Christiaan Muller (1813 – 1896) ⚭ Isabella de Clerq
  - a. Samuel Muller (1840 – 1866)
  - b. Gysbert Muller (1841 – 1842)
  - c. Pieter Lodewijk Muller (1842 – 1904) ⚭ Dorothea Petronella Bonn (1846 – 1930)
    - i. Christiaan Muller (1876 - 1959)
    - ii. Isabella Fransisca Muller (1880 - 1973)
    - iii. Frans Pieter Muller (1883 - 1973)

- d. Johannes Muller (1843 – 1845)
- e. Marie Muller (1844 – 1844)
- f. Samuel Muller (1844 – 1866)

I.c Elisabeth Muller (1815 – 1885) ⚭ Alle Meenderts Cramer (1805 – 1894)

- a. Geertruida Cramer (1833 – 1926) [stepdaughter] ⚭ Jan Reinder van der Baan (1831 - ?)
- b. Katharina Cramer (1834 – 1835) [stepdaughter]
- c. Meindert Cramer (1836 – 1836) [stepson]
- d. Samuel Cramer (1842 – 1913) ⚭ Maria Charlotte de Clerq (1847 – 1898)\* ⚭ Maria Abrahamina Stuart (1853 – 1936)
- e. Femina Geertruida Cramer (1844 – 1901) ⚭ Johannes Marinus Vorstman (1832 – 1917)
- f. Andries Cramer (1845 – 1845)
- g. Frederik Cramer (1847 – 1847)
- h. Hendrik Cramer (1849 – 1907) ⚭ Elisabeth Frederika Schenck (1850 – 1918)
- i. Margaretha Cramer (1851 – 1919) ⚭ Fop Gerrit de Liefde (1846 - ?)
- j. Katharina Margaretha Cramer (1852 – 1944)
- k. Johanna Cramer (1853 – 1931)
- l. Elizabeth Cramer (1855 - ?)

I.d1 Frederik Muller (1817 – 1881) ⚭ Gerarda Jacoba Yntema (1818 – 1863)

- a. Samuel Fz. Muller (1848 – 1922) ⚭ Maria Geertruida Lulofs (1854 – 1954)
  - i. Frederik Muller (1878 – 1936)
  - ii. Nicolaas Muller (1879 – 1965)
  - iii. Gerarda Jacoba Muller (1881 – 1964)
- b. Sara Muller (1849 – 1931) ⚭ Gerrit Simonsz. Van Brakel (1848 – 1912)
  - i. Simon van Brakel (1879 – 1953)
  - ii. Frits Muller van Brakel (1880 – 1962)
  - iii. Jan Engelbert van Brakel Gzn. (1882 – 1950)
  - iv. Gerard Jacob van Brakel Gzn. (1885 – 1960)
  - v. Hendrik van Brakel (1885 – 1887)
- c. Jacob Wijbrand Muller (1858 – 1945) ⚭ Catharina Johanna Aletta Heynsius (1858 – 1911)\* ⚭ Anna Margaretha Cornelia Verdam (1880 – 1972)
  - i. Frederik Jzn. Muller (1883 – 1944)
  - ii. Margaretha Lievina Muller (1884 – 1973)
  - iii. Gerarda Jacoba Muller (1886 – 1960)
  - iv. Johanna Engelberta Muller (1888 – 1915)

v. Cornelis Everhard Muller (1893 – 1980)

I.d2 Frederik Muller (1817 – 1881) ⚭ Johanna Engelbert Doijer (1827 – 1913)

a. Henriëtta Sophie Muller (1868 – 1935) ⚭ Abraham Kornelis Kuiper (1864 – 1944)

i. Taco Kuiper (1894 – 1945)

ii. Johanna Engelberta Kuiper (1896 – 1956)

iii. Frits Kuiper (1898 – 1974)

iv. Esgo Taco Kuiper (1902 – 1895)

I.e Elisabeth Muller (1815 – 1885) ⚭ Alle Meenderts Cramer (1805 – 1894)

a. Geertruida Cramer (1833 – 1926) [stepdaughter] ⚭ Jan Reinder van der Baan (1831 - ?)

b. Katharina Cramer (1834 – 1835) [stepdaughter]

c. Meindert Cramer (1836 – 1836) [stepson]

d. Samuel Cramer (1842 – 1913) ⚭ Maria Charlotte de Clerq (1847 – 1898)\* ⚭ Maria Abrahamina Stuart (1853 – 1936)

### Momma – De Petersen

I. Barent Johannes Momma (1811 – 1871) ⚭ Elisabeth Jacoba de Petersen (1819 – 1885)

a. Anna Elisabeht Momma (1840 – 1911)

b. Johanna Henrietta Hermina Momma (1850 – 1922) ⚭ Louis Serrurier (1844 – 1916)

c. Catharina Louise Momma (1852 – 1926) ⚭ Pieter van Foreest (1845 – 1922)

d. Willem Frederik Carel Momma (1855 – 1937) ⚭ Sophie Johanna Druijvesteijn (1855 – 1932)

e. Wilhelmina Carolina Momma (1859 – 1921) ⚭ Ursul Philip Boissevain (1855 – 1930)

f. Willem Carel Frederik Momma (1864 – 1918) ⚭ Cornelia Wilhelmina Vethake (1871 – 1950)

**g. Johanna Jacoba Elisabeth Momma (1861 – 1946) ⚭ Gerrit Kalff (1856 – 1923)**

h. Elisabeth Clasina Momma (1842 – 1892) ⚭ Hajo Uden Meijboom (1842 – 1933)

I.b Catharina Louise Momma (1852 – 1926) ⚭ Pieter van Foreest (1845 – 1922)

a. Aleide van Foreest (1872 – 1950) [stepdaughter]

b. Cornelis van Foreest (1873 – 1934) [stepson]

c. Nicolaas van Foreest (1876 – 1945) [stepson]

d. Dirk van Foreest (1878 – 1879) [stepson]

- e. Herpert van Foreest (1882 – 1940)
- f. Pieter van Foreest (1883 – 1969)
- g. Stillborn (1885)
- h. Stillborn (1887)
- i. Johanna Henriëtte van Foreest (1889 – 1969)
- j. Anna Elisabeth van Foreest (1892 – 1974)
- k. Jeanette Agnes van Foreest (1899 – 1977)

I.c Willem Frederik Carel Momma (1855 – 1937) ⚭ Sophie Johanna Druijvesteijn (1855 – 1932)

- a. Elisabeth Jacoba Momma (1885 – 1950)

I.d Wilhelmina Carolina Momma (1859 – 1921) ⚭ Ursul Philip Boissevain (1855 – 1930)

- a. Henri Lucas Boissevain (1885 – 1960)
- b. Elizabeth Jacoba Boissevain (1886 – 1886)
- c. Willem Frederik Carel Boissevain (1888 – 1910)
- d. Ursuline Philippine Petronella Boissevain (1890 – 1968)
- e. Daniël Boissevain (1892 – 1968)
- f. Willem Carel Boissevain (1893 – 1978)
- g. Ursul Philip Boissevain (1899 – 1900)
- h. Johannes Wilhelmus Boissevain (1900 – 1945)
- i. Gédéon Jérémie Boissevain (1903 – 1945)

I.e Willem Carel Frederik Momma (1864 – 1918) ⚭ Cornelia Wilhelmina Vethake (1871 – 1950)

- a. Barent Johannes Momma (1898 – 1936)

**I.f Johanna Jacoba Elisabeth Momma (1861 – 1946) ⚭ Gerrit Kalff (1856 – 1923)**

- a. Robbert Kalff (1888 – 1888)**
- b. Gerrit Kalff Jr. (1889 – 1955)**
- c. Elisabeth Jacoba Kalff (1890 – 1964)**
- d. Catharina Margaretha Kalff (1899 – 1926)**

I.g Elisabeth Clasina Momma (1842 – 1892) ⚭ Hajo Uden Meijboom (1842 – 1933)

- a. Louis Susan Pedro Meijboom (1879 – 1910)

## Appendix II: name lists

### *Van Lennep 1880*

<b>Id</b>	<b>Label</b>	<b>Gender</b>	<b>Age</b>	<b>Family?</b>	<b>If family, specify</b>	<b>Job</b>	<b>Religion</b>	<b>Official names</b>
0	Maurits	Male	Adult	Yes	Author	Politician	Hervormd	Maurits Jacob van Lennep (1830-1913)
1	Lore	Female	Adult	Yes	Wife	Unemployed	Hervormd	Caroline Wilhelmina van Loon (1833-1899)
2	Kee	Female	Adult	Yes	Sister-in-law	Unemployed	Hervormd	Angela Cornelia Willet (1823 - 1896)
3	Henriette	Female	Adult	Yes	Sister-in-law	Unemployed	Hervormd	Henriette agnes van Loon (1825-1902)
4	Henk	Male	young adult	Yes	Son	Student	Hervormd	Hendrik Maurits Jacob van Lennep (1857 - 1905)
5	Frank	Male	Adolescent	Yes	Son	Unemployed	Hervormd	Frank Karel van Lennep (1865 - 1928)
6	Cees Hartsen	Male	Adult	Yes	Brother-in-law	Minister	Hervormd	Cornelis Hartsen (1823-1895)
7	Evelientje Hartsen	Female	Child	Yes	Brother-in-law's cousin	Unemployed	Hervormd	Eveline Jacoba Elisabeth Hartsen (1868 - 1957)
8	Saar	Female	Adult	Yes	Sister	Unemployed	Hervormd	Sara van Lennep (1825-1899)
9	Willem	Male	Adult	Yes	Brother	Unknown	Hervormd	Willem van Lennep (1834 - 1897)
10	Jet	Female	Child	Yes	Niece	Nurse/prohibitionist	Hervormd	Henriëtte Sarah Hartsen (1860-1946)
11	Roell	Male	Adult	Yes	Cousin	Politician	Hervormd	Joan Röell (1844 – 1914)
12	Mrs Roell	Female	Adult	Yes	Cousin-in-law	Unemployed	Hervormd	Eritia Ena Romelia de Beaufort (1843 – 1910)
13	Herman van Lennep	Male	Adult	Yes	Brother	Lawyer	Hervormd	Herman van Lennep (1869 - 1903)
14	Mina van Lennep	Female	Adult	Yes	Half aunt-in-law	Unemployed/dance instructor	Hervormd	Henriette Wilhelmine Sillem (1836 - 1907)
15	Sam van Eeghen	Male	Adult	Yes	Nephew-in-law	merchant/banker	Doopsgezind	Samuel Pieter van Eeghen(1853-1934)
16	Olga van Loon	Female	Adult	Yes	Niece	Unemployed	Hervormd	Olga Catharina Antoinetta van Loon
17	Maria Nepveu	Female	adult	Yes	Brother-in-law's niece	Unemployed	Hervormd	Anna Maria Cornelia Roosmale Nepveu (1865-1945)
18	George Brandt	Male	Adult	Yes	Distant relative in-law	Merchant/Consul to Denmark	Lutheran	George Brandt (1830-na 1894)

19	Ferdinand de Beaufort	Male	Adult	No	-	Politician	Hervormd	Joachim Ferdinand de Beaufort (1850-1929)
20	Emilie van Eeghen	Female	Young adult	Yes	Daughter in law	Painter	Doopsgezind	Emilie Marie Antoinette van Eeghen (1859 - 1925)
21	Mia Oyens	Female	Child	Yes	First cousin once removed of uncle-in-law	Unemployed	Hervormd	Adele Maria de Marez Oyens (1876-1953)
22	David	Male	Adult	Yes	Brother	Engineer	Hervormd	David Jacob Cornelis van Lennep (1827 - 1905)
23	Christiaan	Male	Adult	Yes	Brother	Merchant	Hervormd	Christiaan van Lennep (1828 - 1908)
24	Willem Dedel	Male	Adult	No	-	Nobleman	Hervormd	Willem Gerrit Dedel (1850-1932)
25	Lizzie	Female	young adult	Yes	Niece	Unemployed	Hervormd	Elisabeth Jacoba van Lennep (1859-1922)
26	Louise	Female	Adult	Yes	Sister-in-law	Unemployed	Hervormd	Louise Elisabeth Elout van Zoeterwoude (1847-1933)
27	Mrs. Van Eeghen	Female	Adult	Yes	Uncle-in-law's sister	Unemployed	Doopsgezind	Henriette Louise van Eeghen( (1857 - 1931)
28	Anna van der Vliet	Female	Adult	Yes	Sister-in-law's sister	Unemployed	Hervormd	Johanna Jacoba BORSKI (1828-1912)
29	Mr. Oyens	Male	Adult	Yes	Uncle-in-law's nephew-in-law	Banker	Hervormd	Adriaan Deodatus de Marez Oijens
30	Mrs. Oyens	Female	Adult	Yes	Uncle-in-law's niece	Unemployed	Doopsgezind	Maria Suzanna Henriette van Eeghen
31	Maurits van Eeghen	Male	Adult	Yes	Uncle-in-law's nephew	Merchant	Doopgezind	Hendrik Maurits van Eeghen (1855-1929)
32	JW	Male	Adult	Yes	Son	Student	Hervormd	Jan Willem van Lennep (1863 - 1927)
33	Nor	Male	child	Yes	Son	Unemployed	Hervormd	Norman Willem van Lennep 1872-1897
35	Ernst van Lennep	Male	Young adult	Yes	Half cousin	Unknown	Hervormd	Ernst van Lennep (1860-1922)
36	Mathilde van der Vliet	Female	young adult	Yes	Sister in law's niece	Unemployed	Hervormd	Mathilda Whilhelmina Johanna Jacoba (Mathilde) van der Vliet (1857-1942)
38	Max	Male	young adult	Yes	Son	Pastor	Hervormd	Maximilian Frederick van Lennep (1859 - 1940)
39	Miek	Female	young adult	Yes	Daughter	Unemployed	Hervormd	Maria Louisa van Lennep (1861 - 1921)

41	Jacoba van Eys	Female	Adult	Yes	Distant relative in-law	Unemployed	Hervormd	Pieterella Jacoba van Karnebeek (1837-1896)
42	Nancy Labouchere	Female	Adult	Yes	Uncle in law's sister-in-law	Unemployed	Hervormd	Johanna Labouchere (1816 – 1901)
43	Ds. De Graaf	Male	Adult	No	-	Pastor	Hervormd	De Graaf (?? - ??)
44	Louise van Eeghen	Female	Young adult	Yes	Half cousin-in-law	Unemployed	Doopsgezind	Johanna Louise van Eeghen (1856 – 1957)
45	Hendrik	Male	Adult	Yes	Son	Unknown	Hervormd	Hendrik Maurits Jacob van Lennep (1857 - 1905)
46	Christiaan van Eeghen	Male	Adult	Yes	Distant relative in-law	Banker/Artist	Doopsgezind	Christiaan Pieter van Eeghen (1816 – 1889)
47	Willem van Loon	Male	Adult	Yes	Brother-in-law	Board of Administration Hollandsche Ijzeren-Spoorwegmaatschappij	Hervormd	Willen van Loon (1827 – 1890)
48	Louis van Loon	Male	Young adult	Yes	Nephew	Unemployed	Hervormd	Louis Antoine van Loon (1862 – 1953)
49	Charles Labouchere	Male	Adult	Yes	Cousin-in-law	Banker/Artist	Hervormd	Charles Labouchere
50	Aunt Antje	Female	Adult	Yes	Aunt	Unemployed	Hervormd	Anna Louise van Lennep (1807-1880)
51	Munnich	Male	Adult	No	-	Doctor	unknown	unknown
52	Dora	Female	Child	Yes	Daughter	Unemployed	Hervormd	Theodora Augusta van Lennep (1878 - 1950)
53	Ulie	Female	Child	Yes	-	Unemployed	unknown	Unknown
54	Johan	Male	Adult	Yes	Servant	Servant	unknown	Unknown
55	Leonard Beels	Male	Adult	Yes	Brother-in-law	Co-founder Royal Archeology Society	Hervormd	Leonard Marius Beels (1825 - 1882)
56	Agnes van Loon	Male	Adult	Yes	Sister-in-law	Unemployed	Hervormd	Agnes Henriette van Loon (1829 - 1902)
57	Roos	Male	Adult	No	-	Evangelist	Hervormd	W.J. Roos (?? - ??)
58	Geel	Male	Adult	No	-	Evangelist	Hervormd	C. Geel (?? - ??)
59	Van Gels	Male	Adult	No	-	Evangelist	Hervormd	Van Mels (?? - ??)
60	Jacob Ploos	Male	Adult	No	-	Unknown	unknown	Jacob Ploos (?? - ??)
61	Clara Elias	Female	Adult	No	-	Unemployed	Hervormd	Adriana Clara Wilhelmina Witsen Elias (?-1889)

62	Marie	Female	Adult	Yes	Maid	Maid	unknown	Unknown
63	Anna	Female	Adult	Yes	Sister-in-law	Unemployed	Hervormd	Anna Louise van Loon (1820 - 1898)
64	Tane	Female	Adult	Yes	Sister-in-law	unemployed	Hervormd	Constance Cornelia van Loon (1821 - 1911)
65	Anna van Eeghen	Female	Adult	Yes	Cousin-in-law	unemployed	Doopsgezind	Anna Cecilia Maria van Eeghen (1843-1903)
66	Märta Eketrä	Female	Adult	No	-	lady in waiting	Luthers	Märta Elisabeth Margareta Eketrä (1851-1894)
68	Augusta	Female	Adult	No	-	unemployed	Hervormd	Augusta (?? - ??)
69	Daatje Schinkel	Female	Adult	No	-	Unemployed	Unknown	Daantje Schinkel (?? - ??)
71	Willem Borski	Male	Adult	Yes	Sister-in-law's father	Stock trader	Hervormd	Willem Borski (1799-1881)

### *Van Lennep 1883*

<b>Id</b>	<b>Label</b>	<b>Gender</b>	<b>Age</b>	<b>Family?</b>	<b>If family, specify</b>	<b>Job</b>	<b>Religion</b>	<b>official names</b>
0	Maurits Jacob van Lennep	Male	Adult	Yes	Author	Politician	Hervormd	Maurits Jacob van Lennep (1830-1913)
1	Lore	Female	Adult	Yes	Wife	Unemployed	Hervormd	Caroline Wilhelmina van Loon (1833-1899)
2	Dora	Female	Child	Yes	Daughter	Unemployed	Hervormd	Theodora Augusta van Lennep (1878 - 1950)
3	Nor	Male	Adolescent	Yes	Son	Unknown	Hervormd	Norman Willem van Lennep 1872-1897
4	Miek	Female	Adult	Yes	Daughter	Unemployed	Hervormd	Maria Louisa van Lennep (1861 - 1921)
5	Anna	Female	Adult	Adult	Sister-in-law	Unemployed	Hervormd	Anna Louise van Loon (1820 - 1898)
6	Tane	Female	Adult	Adult	Sister-in-law	Unemployed	Hervormd	Constance Cornelia van Loon (1821 - 1911)
7	Emilie	Female	Adult	Yes	Daughter-in-law	Painter	Unknown	Emilie van Eeghen (1859 - 1925)
8	Fanny	Female	Adult	Yes	Daughter-in-law	Unemployed	Hervormd	Fannij Cloetta (1889-????)
9	Max	Male	Adult	Yes	Son	Pastor	Hervormd	Maximilian Frederick van Lennep (1859 - 1940)

10	David	Male	Adult	Yes	Brother	Unknown	Hervormd	David Jacob Cornelis van Lennep (1827 - 1905)
12	Dr. Vos	Male	Adult	No	-	Pastor	Hervormd	Vos (?? - ??)
13	Tane	Female	Adult	Yes	Sister-in-law	Unemployed	Unknown	Constance Cornelia van Loon (1821 - 1911)
14	Clara Elias	Female	Adult	Yes	Cousin-in-law	Unemployed	Unknown	Adriana Clara Wilhelmina Witsen Elias (1833 - ??)
16	Mrs. Van Eeghen	Female	Adult	Yes	Uncle-in-law's sister	Unemployed	Doopsgezind	Henriette Louise van Eeghen (1857 - 1931)
18	Henk	Male	Adult	Yes	Son	Student	Hervormd	Hendrik Maurits Jacob van Lennep (1857 - 1905)
19	JW	Male	Adult	Yes	Son	Pastor	Hervormd	Jan Willem van Lennep (1863 - 1927)
20	Karel Beels	Male	Adult	No	-	Nobleman	Hervormd	Karel Adriaan Beels (1860-1894)
21	Hugo van Rossem	Male	Adult	No	-	Pastor	Hervormd	Peter Arthur Hugo van Rossem (1858-1922)
22	Prof. Beets	Male	Adult	No	-	Professor	Hervormd	Nicolaas Beets (1814 - 1903)
23	Prof. Cannegieter	Male	Adult	No	-	Professor	Hervormd	T. Cannegieter (1846 - 1929)
24	Telders	Male	Adult	No	-	Unknown	Unknown	Telders (?? - ??)
25	Nepveu	Male	Adult	Yes	Brother-in-law	Politician	Unknown	Karel Roosmale Nepveu (1832 - 1903)
26	Mrs. Nepveu	Female	Adult	Yes	Sister-in-law	Unemployed	Unknown	Maria Agathe Johanna van Loon (1836 - 1891)
27	Constance van Loon	Female	Adult	No	-	Unemployed	Unknown	Constance Cornelia van Loon (1821 - 1911)
28	Agnes van Loon	Female	Adult	No	-	Unemployed	Hervormd	Agnes Henriette van Loon (1800 - 1879)
29	Cecile Paroz	Female	Adult	No	-	Gouvernante	Hervormd	Cecile Aline Paroz (
30	Mr. Paroz	Male	Adult	No	-	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown
31	Mrs. Paroz	Female	Adult	No	-	Unemployed	Unknown	Unknown
32	Miss Paroz	Female	Adult	No	-	Unemployed	Unknown	Unknown
33	Miss Paroz II	Female	Adult	No	-	Unemployed	Unknown	Unknown
34	Charlotte Beels	Female	Adult	Yes	Half cousin-in-law's sister	Unemployed	Unknown	Charlotte Christina Beels (1855-1941)

35	Arnold Leonhard Cloetta	Male	Adult	Yes	Daughter-in-law's father	Pathologist	Hervormd	Arnold Leonhard "Arnold Leonhard" Cloetta
36	Maria Locher	Female	Adult	Yes	Daughter-in-law's mother	Unemployed	Hervormd	Maria "Maria" Locher
37	Anna von Muralt	Female	Young adult	No	Daughter-in-law's sister	Unemployed	Unknown	Anna von Muralt
38	Helene Bodmer	Female	Child	Yes	Daughter-in-law's sister	Unemployed	Unknown	Helena von Muralt (1855 - 1931)
39	Anna Bodmer	Female	Child	Yes	Child brother in law's first marriage	Unemployed	Unknown	Anna Bodmer (1871 - ??)
40	Hans	Male	Adult	Yes	Daughter in law's brother	Unknown	Unknown	Hans Cloetta (?? - ??)
41	Robert von Muralt	Male	Adult	Yes	Uncle	Engineer and politician	Unknown	Robert Rudolph Lodewijk de Muralt (1871-1936)
42	Mr. Mousson	Male	Adult	No	-	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown
43	Mrs. Mousson	Male	Adult	No	-	Unemployed	Unknown	Unknown
44	Crommelin	Male	Adult	No	-	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown
45	Ds. Pestalozzi	Male	Adult	No	-	Pastor	Hervormd	Pastalozzi (?? - ??)
46	Olga von Wyss	Female	Adult	No	-	Unemployed	Hervormd	Olga von Wyss (von Muralt) (1857 - 1933)
47	Mr. Von Wyss	Male	Adult	No	-	Professor	Hervormd	Georg von Wyss (1816 - 1893)
48	Mr. Wunderly	Male	Adult	No	-	Unknown	Unknown	Wunderly (?? - ??)
49	Mrs. Wunderly	Female	Adult	No	-	Unknown	Unknown	Mrs. Wunderly (?? - ??)
50	Mr. Planta	Male	Adult	No	-	Lawyer	Hervormd	Peter Conradin Planta (1815 - 1902)
51	Mrs. Planta	Female	Adult	No	-	Unemployed	Unknown	Elise Charlotte Bauer (?? - ??)
52	Prof. Rahn	Male	Adult	No	-	Professor	Hervormd	J.R. Rahn (?? - ??)
53	Benzinger		Adult	No	-	Unknown	unknown	Benzinger (?? - ??)
54	Frau Ott		Adult	No	-	Unemployed	unknown	Unknown
55	Helene Ruebel	Female	Adult	No	-	Unemployed	Unknown	Helene Ruebel (?? - ??)
57	Frank	Male	Young adult	Yes	Son	Student	Hervormd	Frank Karel van Lennep (1865 - 1928)

58	Mrs. Aletta Maria Waller	Female	Adult	No	-	Unemployed	Hervormd	Mrs. Aletta Maria Waller (1810-1898)
59	Queen	Female	Adult	No	-	Queen of the Netherlands	Hervormd	Emma Wilhelmina Theresia (1858-1934)
60	De la Saussaye	Male	Adult	No	-	Professor	Hervormd	Pierre Daniel Chantepie de la Saussaye (1948 - 1920)
61	Ds. Hasebroek	Male	Adult	No	-	preacher	Hervormd	Johannes Petrus Hasebroek (1812-1896)
62	Christiaan	Male	Adult	Yes	Brother	Merhcant	Hervormd	Christiaan van Lennep (1828 - 1908)
63	Bronsveld	Male	Adult	No	-	Pastor	Hervormd	Bronsveld (?? - ??)
64	Louis	Male	Adult	Yes	Nephew	Unemployed	Hervormd	Louis Antoine van Loon (1862 - 1953)
65	Louisa	Female	Adult	Yes	Sister-in-law	Unemployed	Hervormd	Anna Louisa van Loon (1820 - 1898)
66	Ada	Female	Adult	Yes	Niece	Unemployed	Hervormd	Ada van Lennep (1865 - 1941)
67	Theodore Sarrasin	Male	Adult	No	-	Member of the Mission Committee	Hervormd	Theodor Sarrasin (1838 - 1909)
68	Johanna Maria Magdalena Bischoff	Female	Adult	No	-	Unemployed	Hervormd	Johanna Maria Magdalena Bischoff
69	Mrs. Rahn	Female	Adult	No	-	Unemployed	Unknown	Rahn (?? - ??)
70	Willem	Male	Adult	Yes	Brother	Unknown	Hervormd	Willem van Lennep (1834 - 1897)
71	Capt. Magnin	Male	Adult	No	-	Politician	Unknown	Albert Magnin (1846 - 1909)
72	Constance Labouchere	Female	Adult	No	-	Unemployed	Hervormd	Douairière Constance Labouchere (1862-1945)
73	Anna Elout	Female	Adult	Yes	Niece	Unemployed	Hervormd	Anna Agathe Elout van Zoeterwoude (1850-1912)
74	Van Rossem	Male	Adult	No	-	Pastor	Hervormd	Peter Arthur Hugo van Rossem (1858-1922)
75	Dedel	Male	Adult	Yes	Half cousin-in-law	Nobleman	Hervormd	Willem Gerrit Dedel (1850 - 1932)
76	Von Bylandt Rheidt	Male	Child	No	-	Student	Hervormd	Alexander Friedrich Adrian count of Bylandt (1863 - 1942)

77	Von Bylandt Rheidt	Female	Child	No	-	Unemployed	Hervormd	Josephine Caroline Francisca countess of Bylandt (1865 - 1938)
78	Henriette Insinger	Female	Yes	Yes	Sister-in-law	Unemployed	Unknown	Marie henriette albertine insinger (1831-1916)
79	Laure	Female	Child	No	-	Unemployed	Hervormd	Laura Mary Perrenoud (1878 - 1977)

### *Van Lennep 1886*

<b>Id</b>	<b>Label</b>	<b>Gender</b>	<b>Age</b>	<b>Family?</b>	<b>If family, specify</b>	<b>Job</b>	<b>Religion</b>	<b>Official names</b>
0	Maurits	Male	Adult	Yes	Author	Politician	Hervormd	Maurits Jacob van Lennep (1830-1913)
1	Lore	Female	Adult	Yes	Wife	Unemployed	Hervormd	Caroline Wilhelmina van Loon (1833-1899)
2	Dora	Female	Child	Yes	Daughter	Unemployed	Hervormd	Theodora Augusta van Lennep (1878 - 1950)
3	Miek	Female	Adult	Yes	Daughter	Unemployed	Hervormd	Maria Louisa van Lennep (1861 - 1921)
4	Max	Male	Adult	Yes	Son	Pastor	Hervormd	Maximilian Frederick van Lennep (1859 - 1940)
5	Emmely	Female	Adult	Yes	Daughter-in-law	Painter	Doopsgezind	Emilie van Eeghen (1859 - 1925)
6	Frank	Male	Adult	Yes	Son	Student	Hervormd	Frank Karel van Lennep (1865 - 1928)
7	Nor	Male	Adolescent	Yes	Son	Unknown	Hervormd	Norman Willem van Lennep 1872-1897
8	Saar	Female	Adult	Yes	Sister	Unemployed	Hervormd	Sara van Lennep (1825-1899)
9	Cornelis Hartsen	Male	Adult	Yes	Brother-in-law	Minister	Hervormd	Cornelis Hartsen (1823-1895)
10	Christiaan	Male	Adult	Yes	Brother	unknown	Hervormd	Christiaan van Lennep (1828 - 1908)
11	Louise	Female	Adult	Yes	Sister-in-law	Unemployed	Hervormd	Louise Elisabeth Elout van Zoeterwoude (1847-1933)
12	Henk	Female	Adult	Yes	Son	Student	Hervormd	Hendrik Maurits Jacob van Lennep (1857 - 1905)

13	Fanny	Female	Adult	Yes	Daughter-in-law	Unemployed	Hervormd	Fannij Cloetta (1862 - 1939)
14	Willem van Loon	Male	Adult	Yes	Brother-in-law	Unknown	Hervormd	Willem van Loon (1827 - 1890)
15	Hogerzeil	Male	Adult	No	-	Pastor	Hervormd	Hendrikus Vredenrijk Hogerzeil (1839 - 1907)
16	Willem Gunning	Male	Adult	No	-	Pastor	Hervormd	Jan Willem Gunning (1862 - 1923)
17	Hermine de Vries	Female	Adult	No	-	Unemployed	Hervormd	Hermina Christina de Vries (1861 - 1924)
18	Van de Brink	Male	Adult	No	-	Pastor	Hervormd	Van de Brink (?? - ??)
20	Mrs. Gunning	Female	Adult	No	-	Unemployed	Hervormd	Petronella Adriana Pierson (1832 - 1923)
21	Caroline Gunning	Female	Young adult	No	-	Unemployed	Hervormd	Françoise Caroline Gunning (1864-1954)
22	JW	Male	Young adult	No	-	Pastor	Hervormd	Jan Willem van Lennep (1863 - 1927)
23	Tane	Female	Adult	Yes	Sister-in-law	Unemployed	Hervormd	Constance Cornelie van Loon (1821 - 1911)
24	Agnes	Female	Adult	Yes	Sister-in-law	Unemployed	Hervormd	Agnes Henriette van Loon (1829 - 1902)
25	Louis	Male	Young adult	Yes	Son	Unemployed	Hervormd	Louis Theodore van Lennep (1869 - 1870)
26	Ada van Lennep	Female	Young adult	Yes	Niece	Unemployed	Hervormd	Ada van Lennep (1865 - 1941)
27	Piet Blom	Male	Young adult	Yes	Nephew-in-law	Student	Hervormd	Pieter Blom (1863 - 1939)
28	Roland Holst	Male	Adult	No	-	Artist	Atheist	Richard Nicolaüs (Rik) Roland Holst (1868-1938)
29	David	Male	Adult	Yes	Brother	Engineerd	Hervormd	David Jacob Cornelis van Lennep (1827 - 1905)
30	Angela	Female	Adult	Yes	Sister-in-law	Unemployed	Hervormd	Angela Wilhelmina van Lennep (1823 - 1896)
31	Willem	Male	Adult	Yes	Half cousin	Unknown	Hervormd	Willem Cornelis van Lennep (1858 - 1886)
32	Heineken	Male	Adult	No	-	Unknown	unknown	Heineken (?? - ??)
33	Krijnen	Male	Adult	Yes	Servant	Servant	unknown	Krijnen (?? - ??)
34	Mr. Schoch	Male	Adult	No	-	Artillery officer	Hervormd	Carl Ferdinand Schoch (?? - ??)

35	Mrs. Schoch	Female	Adult	No	-	Unemployed	Hervormd	Cornelia Wilhelmina de Ravellet (?? - ??)
36	Henriette Schoch	Female	Young adult	No	-	Unemployed	Hervormd	Henriette Schoch (1866 - ??)
37	Augusta Schoch	Female	Child	No	-	Unemployed	Hervormd	Augusta Schoch (1880 - ??)
38	Kee	Female	Child	Yes	Sister-in-law	Unemployed	Hervormd	Angela Cornelia Willet (1823 - 1896)
39	Lizzie	Female	Adolescent	Yes	Niece	Unemployed	Hervormd	Elisabeth Jacoba van Lennep (1859-1922)
40	Van Nes	Male	Young adult	No	-	Student	Hervormd	Hendrik Marius van Nes (1862 - 1946)
41	Hugo van Rossem	Male	Adult	No	-	Pastor	Hervormd	Peter Arthur Hugo van Rossem (1858-1922)
42	Celestine Schoch	Female	Young adult	No	-	Salvation army organiser	Hervormd	Celestine Oliphant-Schoch (1863-1941)
43	Karel Beels	Male	Adult	Yes	Nephew	Law student	Hervormd	Karel Adriaan Beels (1860-1894)
44	Maurits Carel	Male	Child	Yes	Grandchild	Unemployed	Hervormd	Maurits Carel Theodore van Lennep (1884-1956)
45	Laure Perrenoud	Female	Child	No	-	Unemployed	Hervormd	Laura Mary Perrenoud (1878 - 1977)
46	Neeltje	Female	Child	No	-	Unemployed	Hervormd	Neeltje Starink (1873 - 1948)
47	Anna	Female	Adult	Yes	Sister-in-law	Unemployed	Hervormd	Anna Louise van Loon (1820 - 1898)
48	Lotje Schoch	Female	Child	No	-	Unemployed	Hervormd	Charlotte Schoch (1874 - ??)

### *Boissevain 1884*

<b>Id</b>	<b>Label</b>	<b>Gender</b>	<b>Age</b>	<b>Family?</b>	<b>If family, specify</b>	<b>Employment</b>	<b>Religion</b>	<b>Official name</b>
0	Caroline	Female	Young adult	Yes	Author	Unemployed	Hervormd	Caroline Auguste Antoinette Sophie Boissevain (1868 - 1945)

1	Aunt Us	Female	Adult	Yes	Aunt	Unemployed	Hervormd	Auguste Sophie toe Laer (1845 - 1899)
2	Mum	Female	Adult	Yes	Mother	Unemployed	Hervormd	Louise Caroline toe Laer (1837 - 1915)
3	Dad	Male	Adult	Yes	Father	Banker	Hervormd	Gideon Maria Boissevain (1837 - 1925)
4	Miss Scheffer	Female	Adult	Yes	Maid	Maid	Unknown	Scheffer (dates unknown)
5	Saar v. G.	Female	Young adult	No	-	Unemployed	Unknown	Unknown
6	Welly	Female	Young adult	No	-	Unemployed	Unknown	Unknown
7	Uncle Frederik	Male	Adult	Yes	Uncle	General Director Rijksmuseum	Hervormd	Frederik Daniel Otto Obreen (1840 - 1896)
8	Uncle Louis	Male	Adult	Yes	Uncle	Merchant	Hervormd	Louis Daniel Boissevain (1848 - 1916)
9	Rutger	Male	Young adult	Yes	Brother	Unemployed	Hervormd	Rutger Jan Gideon Boissevain (1870 - 1945)
10	Gideon	Male	Young adult	Yes	Brother	Unemployed	Hervormd	Gideon Louis Boissevain (1874 - 1945)
11	Jan	Male	Young adult	Yes	Brother	Unemployed	Hervormd	Jan Wilhelm Boissevain (1874 - 1959)
12	Aunt Caroline	Female	Adult	Yes	Aunt	Unemployed	Hervormd	Caroline Antoinette toe Laer (1844 - ?)
13	Daan	Male	Young adult	Yes	Brother	Unemployed	Hervormd	Daniel Gideon Boissevain (1867 - 1940)
14	Uncle Adolphe	Male	Adult	Yes	Uncle	Banker	Hervormd	Athanase Adolphe Henri Boissevain (1843 - 1921)
15	Henri Obreen	Male	Adult	Yes	Cousin-in-law	Unemployed	Hervormd	Gerrit Henri Obreen (1867 - 1938)
16	Betsy Obreen	Female	Young adult	Yes	Cousin-in-law	Unemployed	Hervormd	Adriana Elisabeth Obreen (1868 - 1943)
17	Adrien Obreen	Male	Adult	Yes	Uncle-in-law	Engineer	Hervormd	Adrien Louis Herman Obreen (1845 - 1915)
18	Uncle Henri	Male	Adult	Yes	Uncle	Teacher	Hervormd	Henri Etienne toe Laer (1832 - 1903)
19	Mrs. Obreen	Female	Adult	Yes	Grandmother-in-law	Unemployed	Hervormd	Hendrika Theodora van der Eb (1808 - 1899)
20	Gie	Male	Adult	Yes	Second cousin	Editor	Hervormd	Gideon Stephanus de Clercq (1862 - 1942)

21	Aunt Marie	Female	Adult	Yes	Aunt	Unemployed	Hervormd	Maria Catharina Calcoen (1838 - 1894)
22	Uncle Eduard	Male	Adult	Yes	Uncle	Banker	Hervormd	Edouard Constantin Boissevain (1841 - 1915)
23	Mrs. A. Obreen	Female	Adult	Yes	Aunt-in-law	Unemployed	Hervormd	Adriana Maria Agatha Sara van Pabst (Obreen) (1851 - 1933)
24	Mr. A. Obreen	Male	Adult	Yes	-	Engineer	Hervormd	Adrien Louis Herman Obreen (1845 - 1915)
25	Aunt Flora	Female	Adult	Yes	Aunt	Unemployed	Hervormd	Flora Christina Louisa de Jong van 't Woud (1863 - 1942)
26	Aunt Marie van Kempen	Female	Adult	Yes	Unknown	Unemployed	Hervormd	Maria van Kempen
27	Marietje de N.	Female	Young adult	No	-	Unemployed	Unknown	Unknown
28	Uncle René	Male	Adult	Yes	Uncle	Police officer	Hervormd	Rene Herman toe Laer (1842 - 1906)
29	Evy Biben	Female	Young adult	No	-	Unemployed	Hervormd (Evangelisch)	Eveline Biben (1867 - ?)
30	Diek	Female	Young adult	Yes	Cousin	Unemployed	Hervormd	Gerardine Boissevain (1868 - 1931)
31	Tiny	Female	Child	Yes	Unknown	Unemployed	Hervormd	Unknown
32	Do	Male	Young adult	Yes	Cousin	Unemployed	Hervormd	Daniel Adolphe Boissevain (1868 - 1916)
33	Aunt Jet	Female	Adult	Yes	Aunt	Unemployed	Hervormd	Ottoline Henriette toe Laer (1844 - 1921)
34	Bienfait	Male	Young adult	No	-	Unknown	Hervormd	Henri Claude Bienfait (1857 - ?)
35	Aunt Emma Bicker	Female	Adult	Yes	Aunt	Unemployed	Doopsgezind	Emma Jacqueline Bicker (1844 - ?)
36	Arendine/Arendina van den Berg	Female	Child	No	-	Unemployed	Hervormd	Johanna Arendina van den Berg (1871 - 1931)
37	Lili	Female	Young adult	Yes	Second cousin	Unemployed	Hervormd	Anna Elisabeth de Clercq (1867 - 1930)
38	Gérard	Male	Young adult	Yes	Second cousin	Unknown	Hervormd	Gerard Matthieu de Clercq (1859 - 1925)

39	Uncle De Clercq	Male	Adult	Yes	First cousin once removed	General Director <i>Handelsblad</i>	Hervormd	Gideon Jeremias de Clercq (1828 - 1896)
40	Aunt De Clercq	Female	Adult	Yes	First cousin once removed in-law	Unemployed	Hervormd	Anna Kleinmann (1831 - 1914)
41	Lous De Clercq	Female	Young adult	Yes	Second cousin	Unemployed	Hervormd	Louise de Clercq (1861 - 1933)
42	Kitty Nolthenius	Female	Adult	No	-	Unemployed	Hervormd	Catharina Augusta Tutein Nolthenius (1861-1936)
43	Nelly Nolthenius	Female	Adult	No	-	Unemployed	Hervormd	Cornelia Tutein Nolthenius (1865 - ?)
45	Amy	Female	Child	Yes	Cousin	Unemployed	Hervormd	Amelia Caroline Elisabeth Nuhout van der Veen (1875 - 1965)
46	Mr. Westendorp	Male	Adult	No	-	Unknown	Hervormd	Unknown
47	Mr. Obreen	Male	Adult	Yes	Uncle-in-law	Insurer	Hervormd	Christiaan Marie Cornelis Obreen (1842 - 1912)
49	Catherine	Female	Young adult	Yes	Second cousin	Unemployed	Hervormd	Marie Catherine Constance Boissevain (1876 - 1959)
50	Grandma	Female	Adult	Yes	Grandmother	Unemployed	Hervormd	Caroline Louise Mollet (1811 -1894)
51	Acquaintance grandma	Female	Adult	No	-	Unemployed	Unknown	Unknown
52	Eduard	Male	Young adult	Yes	Second cousin	Unemployed	Hervormd	Eduard Constantin Boissevain (1880 – 1952)
53	Harry	Male	Child	Yes	Cousin	Unemployed	Hervormd	Harry Franc Boissevain (1879 - 1958)
54	Tim	Male	Young adult	No	-	Unemployed	Unknown	Unknown
55	Hairdresser	Female	Adult	No	-	Hairdresser	Unknown	Unknown
57	Uncle Jo	Male	Adult	Yes	Uncle	Unknown	Doopsgezind	Joachim Nuhout van der Veen (1845 - ?)
58	Aunt Mans	Female	Adult	Yes	Aunt	Unemployed	Hervormd	Maria Berendina Adelaide toe Laer (1843 - 1921)
59	Johanna Scheffer	Female	Adult	No	-	Unknown	Unknown	Johanna Scheffer (?? - ??)
60	Marie Scheffer	Female	Adult	No	-	Unknown	Unknown	Marie Scheffer (?? - ??)

61	Mr. Valès	Male	Adult	No	-	Pastor	Hervormd	Henri Etienne Vales (1838 - ?)
62	Louise Obreen	Female	Child	Yes	Cousin-in-law	Unemployed	Hervormd	Louise Victoire Obreen (1875 - ?)
63	George Obreen	Male	Child	Yes	Cousin-in-law	Unemployed	Hervormd	George Constant Walter Frederik Obreen (1875 - ??)
64	Mr. Cordes	Male	Adult	No	-	Merchant	Hervormd	Dirk Cordes (1828 - 1898)
65	Mrs. Cordes	Female	Adult	No	-	Unemployed	Hervormd	Theodora Welmoet Cordes (1867 - 1929)
66	Uncle Jan	Male	Adult	Yes	Uncle	Banker	Hervormd	Mijnhardt Johannes Boissevain (1845 - 1917)
67	Aunt Nelly	Female	Adult	Yes	Aunt	Unemployed	Hervormd	Nelly Blossom Taylor (1855 - 1920)
68	N.G. Pierson	Male	Adult	No	-	Banker	Hervormd	Nicolaas Gerard Pierson (1839 - 1909)
69	Mrs. N.G. Pierson	Female	Adult	No	-	Unemployed	Hervormd	Catharina Rutgera Waller - Pierson (1837 - 1917)
70	Cateautje Waller	Female	Child	No	-	Unemployed	Catharina Elisabeth Waller	Catharina Elisabeth Waller (1875 - 1971)
71	Be Hooglandt	Female	Young adult	No	-	Unemployed	Hervormd	Catharina Elisabeth van Rijn - Hooglandt (1871 - 1961)
72	Suze De Clercq	Female	Adult	Yes	First cousin once removed in-law	Unemployed	Hervormd	Susanna Kruseman (1830 - 1906)
74	Marie Kruzeman	Female	Young adult	Yes	Second cousin	Unemployed	Hervormd	Maria Kruseman (1862 - 1950)
75	Daan II	Male	Adult	Yes	Second cousin	Socialist and activist	Hervormd	Daniel de Clerq (1854 - 1931)
76	Jo Kruzeman	Male	Young adult	Yes	Second cousin	Unemployed	Hervormd	Jan Kruseman (1867 - 1949)
77	Julius Röntgen	Male	Adult	No	-	Musician	Hervormd (NH)	Julius Engelbert Röntgen (1855 - 1932)
78	Aleida De Clercq	Female	Young adult	Yes	Second cousin	Unemployed	Hervormd	Aleide de Clercq (1858 - 1918)
79	Uncle Toe Laer	Male	Adult	Yes	Granduncle	Insurer	Hervormd	Robert Reinhard toe Laer (1814 - 1886)
80	Uncle Karel	Male	Adult	Yes	Uncle	Editor Algemeen Handelsblad	Hervormd	Charles Boissevain (1842 - 1927)
81	Karel den Tex	Male	Young adult	Yes	Second cousin	Unemployed	Hervormd	Karel den Tex (1868 - 1930)

82	Lousje	Female	Child	Yes	Cousin	Unemployed	Hervormd	Louise Caroline Nuhout van der Veen (1879 - 1964)
83	Jojo	Male	Child	Yes	Cousin	Unemployed	Hervormd	Joachim Nuhout van der Veen (1881 - 1969)
84	Carolientje van Leeuwen	Female	Young adult	Yes	Cousin	Unemployed	Hervormd	Carolina Johanna van Leeuwen (1864 - 1934)
85	Agaat van Leeuwen	Female	Young adult	Yes	Cousin	Unemployed	Unknown	Agatha van Leeuwarden (?? - ??)
86	Maid	Female	Young adult	Yes	Maid	Maid	Unknown	Unknown
87	Cateautje	Female	Adult	No	-	Unemployed	Hervormd	Catharina Engeltje Westendorp (1858 - 1939)
89	Mathijs B.	Male	Child	Yes	Second cousin	Unemployed	Hervormd	Mathijs Gideon Jan Boissevain (1870 - 1940)
90	Pauwtje	Male	Child	No	-	Unemployed	Unknown	Pauwtje (?? - ??)
91	Mrs. Bunge	Female	Adult	No	-	Unemployed	Hervormd	Emilie Julie Bunge (1843 - 1899)
92	Mr. Voûte	Male	Adult	No	-	Unknown	Unknown	Mr. Voûte (?? - ??)
93	Charles	Male	Young adult	Yes	Second cousin	Unemployed	Hervormd	Charles Ernest Henri Boissevain (1868 - 1940)
94	Frans Waller	Male	Young adult	No	-	Unemployed	Hervormd	Francois Gerard Waller (1867 - 1934)
95	Aunt Anna	Female	Adult	Yes	Aunt	Unemployed	Hervormd	Johanna Juliana Juliane Hock (1846 - 1909)
96	Marguerite	Female	Young adult	No	-	Unemployed	Unknown	Marguerite (?? - ??)
97	Mrs. Westendorp	Female	Adult	No	-	Unemployed	Doopsgezind	Maria Johanna de Monchy (Westendorp) (1834 - 1890)
98	Evy H.	Female	Young adult	No	-	Unemployed	Unknown	Evy Hooft?
99	Anna Hooft	Female	Young adult	No	-	Unemployed	Hervormd	Anna Louisa Hooft (1867 - 1948)
100	Mary	Female	Young adult	Yes	Cousin	Unemployed	Hervormd	Marie Louisa Boissevain (1877 - 1951)
101	Mr. Martinsen	Male	Adult	No	-	Unknown	Unknown	Mr. Martinsen (?? - ??)
102	Mayor Gijsbert van Tienhoven	Male	Adult	No	-	Mayor	Hervormd	Gijsbert van Tienhoven (1841 - 1914)

103	Lina Schneider	Female	Adult	No	-	Unemployed	Hervormd (Evangelisch-Lutheraans)	Lina Henrietta Schneider (1847 - ?)
104	Mrs. Van Tienhoven	Female	Adult	No	-	Unemployed	Hervormd	Anna Sara Maria van Tienhoven - Hacke (1846 - 1921)
105	Mottu	Male	Adult	No	-	Photographer	Rooms-katholiek	Pierre Alexis Mottu (1840 - 1887)
106	Suze van Hall	Female	Young adult	No	-	Unemployed	Doopsgezind	Helena Susanna van Hall (1869 - 1928)
107	Helene B.	Female	Young adult	Yes	Second cousin	Unemployed	Hervormd	Helena Mensina Boissevain (1867 - 1946)
108	Frits Röell	Male	Young adult	No	-	Unemployed	Hervormd	Willem Frederik Röell (1870-1942)
109	Gie den Tex	Male	Young adult	Yes	Second cousin	Unemployed	Hervormd	Gideon Mari den Tex (1870 - 1916)
110	Van Lennep	Male	Young adult	No	-	Unknown	Unknown	Van Lennep (?? - ??)
111	Georg	Male	Young adult	Yes	Cousin	Unemployed	Hervormd	Georg Daniel Mijnhard Boissevain (1868 - 1945)
112	Henri	Male	Young adult	Yes	Cousin	Unemployed	Hervormd	Henrij Jean Etienne Boissevain (1869 - 1954)

### *Scharp 1889*

<b>Id</b>	<b>Label</b>	<b>Gender</b>	<b>Age</b>	<b>Family?</b>	<b>If family, specify</b>	<b>Employment</b>	<b>Religion</b>	<b>Official name</b>
0	Henri-Jacques	Male	Adolescent	Yes	Author	Unemployed	Hervormd	Henri-Jacques Scharp (1874 - 1957)
1	Mother	Female	Adult	Yes	Mother	Unemployed	Remonstrant	Jeanette Brester (1847 - 1933)
2	Grandpa	Male	Adult	Yes	Grandfather	Unemployed	Remonstrant	Jacob Brester (1810 - 1889)
3	Ben	Male	Child	Yes	Brother	Unemployed	Hervormd	Bernard Karel Scharp (1878 - 1945)
4	Father	Male	Adult	Yes	Father	Retired military	Hervormd	Henri Ferdinand Scharp (1828 - 1909)
5	Mr. Meyjes Jr.	Male	Adult	No	-	Unknown	Unknown	Meyjes (?? - ??)

6	Mrs. Meyjes Jr.	Female	Adult	No	-	Unemployed	Unknown	Meyjes (?? - ??)
7	Van Schendel	Male	Adolescent	No	-	Unemployed	Unknown	Van Schendel (?? - ??)
8	De Vries	Male	Adolescent	No	-	Unemployed	Unknown	De Vries (?? - ??)
9	Geertje	Female	Adolescent	No	-	Unemployed	Unknown	Unknown
10	Mr. Keiser	Male	Adult	No	-	Unknown	Unknown	Keiser (?? - ??)
11	Mrs. Van Eik	Female	Adult	No	-	Unemployed	Hervormd	Marie Constance de Bas (1853 - 1940)
12	Doctor Van Lier	Male	Adult	No	-	Doctor	Unknown	Van Lier (?? - ??)
14	Grandma	Female	Adult	No	-	Unemployed	Hervormd	Henriette Emma Maria Guichart (1827 - 1916)
15	Crommelin	Male	Adult	No	-	Unknown	Unknown	Crommelin (?? - ??)
16	Vissers I	Male	Adolescent	No	-	Unknown	Unknown	Vissers (?? - ??)
17	Vissers II	Male	Adolescent	No	-	Unknown	Unknown	Vissers (?? - ??)
18	Mr. Van der Meulen	Male	Adult	Yes	Cousin	Merchant	Remonstrant	Johannes Hendrikus van der Meulen (1859 - 1936)
19	Mrs. Van der Meulen	Female	Adult	Yes	Cousin-in-law	Unemployed	Hervormd	Anne Charlotte Cristine Bekker (1862 - ??)
20	Jolij	Female	Adolescent	No	-	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown
21	Plagge	Male	Adolescent	No	-	Unknown	Unknown	Plagge (?? - ??)
22	Robert	Male	Adolescent	No	-	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown
23	Piet	Male	Adult	Yes	Halfbrother-in-law	Captain	Remonstrant	Pieter Christiaan Jacob Noorduyt (1855 - 1931)
24	Van Eik	Male	Adult	No	-	Insurer	Hervormd	Jan Adriaan Jr. van Eijk (1837 - 1914)
25	Mr. Winsheijm	Male	Adult	No	-	Cobbler	Hervormd	Gerrit Willem Winsheijm (1855 - ??)
26	Flora	Female	Adult	No	-	Unemployed	Lutheran	Flora Louisa Holtij (1858 - ??)
27	Vroukje	Female	Adolescent	No	-	Unemployed	Unknown	Unknown
28	Jetje van Eik	Female	Child	No	-	Unemployed	Hervormd	Henriette Marie van Eijk (1874 - 1939)
29	Mr. Peelen	Male	Adult	Yes	Cousin-in-law	Student	Hervormd	Pieter Peelen (1857 - ??)
30	Mrs. Peelen	Female	Adult	Yes	Cousin	Unemployed	Hervormd	Jannetje van der Meulen (1854 - ??)

31	Uncle Adriaan	Male	Adult	Yes	Uncle	Attorney	Hervormd	Adrianus Francois de Bas (1839 - 1909)
32	Aunt Mien	Female	Adult	Yes	Aunt	Unemployed	Hervormd	Maria Wilhelmina Brester (1844 - 1915)
33	Mrs. Keiser	Female	Adult	No	-	Unknown	Unknown	Keiser (?? - ??)
34	Mr. Allot	Male	Adult	No	-	Marine Corps Captain/Quartermaster	Remonstrant	Johannes Allot (1841 - ??)
35	Mrs. Allot	Female	Adult	No	-	Unemployed	Hervormd	Maria Antoinette van Raab von Canstein (1853 - ??)
36	Jan Brester	Male	Adult	Yes	Cousin	Head of Postal Services	Hervormd	Jan Brester (1860 - 1934)
37	Sophie	Female	Adolescent	Yes	Cousin	Unemployed	Hervormd	Sophia Dorothea Brester (1863 - 1903)
38	Mr. De Bas	Male	Adult	No	-	Unknown	Hervormd	Jan de Bas (1836 - ??)
40	Daniel de Lange	Male	Adolescent	No	-	Unemployed	Hervormd	Daniel de Lange (1878 - 1948)
41	Uncle Albert	Male	Adult	Yes	Uncle	Professor of Chemistry at HBS Delft	Hervormd	Albert Brester (1843 - 1919)
42	Mr. Meeteren	Male	Adult	No	-	Inspector	Hervormd	Pieter Wigbold van Meekeren (1849 - ??)
43	Mrs. Meeteren	Female	Adult	No	-	Unemployed	Hervormd	Sophia Berendina van Voorthuizen (1857 - ??)
44	Betsy Verhoop	Female	Adult	No	-	Unemployed	Hervormd	Elisabeth Johanna Verhoop (1858 - ??)
45	Coorengel	Male	Adolescent	No	-	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown
46	Van Tielen	Male	Adolescent	No	-	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown
47	Mr. Brutel de la Riviere	Male	Adult	No	-	Naval officer and professor	Hervormd	Pierre Marie Brutel de la Rivière (1827 - 1903)
48	Mrs. Brutel de la Riviere	Female	Adult	No	-	Unemployed	Hervormd	Casparina Fredrika Maria Diena Brocx (1836 - 1913)
49	Mr. Van Epen	Male	Adult	Yes	Cousin-in-law	Timber merchant	Remonstrant	Theodor Rudolph van Epen (1854 - ??)
50	Belle	Female	Young adult	No	-	Unemployed	Hervormd	Belle (?? - ??)
51	Mientje van Herpen	Female	Child	No	-	Unemployed	Remonstrant	Mientje van Herpen (?? - ??)

52	Miss Allot	Female	Adolescent	No	-	Unknown	Reformed	Catharina Maria Wachter (1876 - ??)
53	Verbrugh	Male	Adult	No	-	Unknown	Unknown	Verbrugh (?? - ??)
54	Wallpaper decorator	Male	Adult	No	-	Wallpaper decorator	Unknown	Unknown
55	Chimney sweep	Male	Adult	No	-	Chimney sweep	Unknown	Unknown
56	Decorator's help	Male	Adult	No	-	Decorator's help	Unknown	Unknown
57	Aunt Nelly	Female	Adult	Yes	Aunt	Teacher	Hervormd	Neeltje Hendrika Verheij (1855 - 1919)
58	Little Nelly	Female	Child	Yes	Cousin	Unemployed	Hervormd	Nelly Brester (1886 - 1940)
59	Koo	Male	Child	Yes	Cousin	Unemployed	Hervormd	Jacob Brester (1877 - ??)
60	Mr. Vethaap	Male	Adult	No	-	Unknown	Unknown	Vethaap (?? - ??)
61	Miss Winsheijm	Female	Adult	No	-	Unemployed	Unknown	Unknown
63	Delfs	Male	Adolescent	No	-	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown
64	Haag	Male	Adolescent	No	-	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown
65	Verhoop	Male	Adolescent	No	-	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown
66	Sax	Male	Adult	No	-	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown
67	Mrs. Verhoop	Female	Adult	No	-	Unknown	Unknown	Verhoop (?? - ??)
68	Sam	Male	Adolescent	No	-	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown
69	Mientje Holman	Female	Adult	No	-	Unemployed	Hervormd	Mientje Holman (1856 - ??)
70	Mr. Van Onsselen	Male	Adult	No	-	Unknown	Unknown	Van Onsselen (?? - ??)
71	Mrs. Van Onsselen	Female	Adult	No	-	Unemployed	Unknown	Van Onsselen (?? - ??)
72	Uncle Bernard	Male	Adult	Yes	Uncle	Unemployed	Hervormd	Bernard Karel Scharp (1827 - ??)
73	Rita Brester	Female	Young adult	Yes	First cousin once removed	Unemployed	Remonstrant	Maria Alijda Brester (1868 - 1960)
74	Alida Rinsse	Female	Young adult	No	-	Unemployed	Hervormd	Alida Jacoba Rinse (1868 - 1938)

75	Van de Weert	Male	Young adult	No	-	Unemployed	Unknown	Van de Weert (?? - ??)
76	Neighbour I	Male	Adult	No	-	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown
77	Neighbour II	Female	Adult	No	-	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown
78	Mr. Kleman	Male	Adult	No	-	Unknown	Unknown	Kleman (?? - ??)
79	Mrs. Kleman	Female	Adult	No	-	Unemployed	Unknown	Kleman (?? - ??)
80	Jacob Tocca	Male	Young adult	No	-	Unemployed	Unknown	Tocca (?? - ??)
81	Johan Tocca	Male	Young adult	No	-	Unemployed	Unknown	Tocca (?? - ??)
82	Evert	Male	Child	Yes	Cousin	Unemployed	Hervormd	Evert Brester (1885 - 1943)
83	Mrs. Peltzer	Female	Adult	No	-	Unemployed	Unknown	Peltzer (?? - ??)
84	Cousin De Bas	Female	Young adult	Yes	Cousin	Unemployed	Hervormd	Jeanne Marie de Bas (1869 - 1944)
85	Cousin De Bas II	Female	Young adult	Yes	Cousin	Unemployed	Hervormd	Maria Wilhelmina de Bas (1871 - ??)
86	Van Nierop	Male	Young adult	No	-	Unemployed	Unknown	Nierop (?? - ??)
87	Antje	Female	Child	No	-	Unemployed	Unknown	Antje (?? - ??)
88	Kras	Male	Young adult	No	-	Unemployed	Unknown	Kras (?? - ??)
89	Mr. De Lange	Male	Adult	No	-	Musician/Composer	Hervormd	Daniel de Lange (1841 - 1918)
90	Mr. Huygens	Male	Adult	Yes	Uncle-in-laws' brother	Unknown	Unknown	Huygens (?? - ??)
91	Mrs. Huygens	Male	Adult	Yes	Uncle-in-law's sister	Unemployed	Unknown	Huygens (?? - ??)

### *Kalff 1895*

<b>Id</b>	<b>Label</b>	<b>Gender</b>	<b>Age</b>	<b>Family?</b>	<b>If family, specify</b>	<b>Job</b>	<b>Religion</b>	<b>Official names</b>
0	Gerrit Kalff	Male	Adult	Yes	Author	Teacher	Hervormd	Gerrit Kalff (1856 - 1923)

1	Johanna	Female	Adult	Yes	Wife	Unemployed	Doopsgezind	Johanna Jacoba Elisabeth Momma (1861 - 1946)
2	Gerritje	Male	Child	Yes	Son	Unemployed	Hervormd	Gerrit Kalff (1889 - 1955)
3	Liesbethje	Female	Child	Yes	Daughter	Unemployed	Hervormd	Elisabeth Jacoba Kalff (1890 - 1964)
4	Mother	Female	Adult	Yes	Mother	Unemployed	Hervormd Luthers	Catharina Margaretha Muller (1824 - 1904)
5	Henri	Male	Adult	Yes	Brother-in-law	Merchant	Hervormd	Henri Maurits Stibbe (1857 - 1897)
6	Fee	Female	Adult	Yes	Sister	Unemployed	Hervormd	Femina Geertruida Henrietta Kalff (1857 - 1934)
7	Catrientje Fontein	Female	Child	Yes	Niece	Unemployed	Hervormd	Catharina Margaretha Kalff (1882 - 1938)
8	Scato de Vries	Male	Adult	No	-	Curator	Hervormd	Scato Gocko de Vries (1861 - 1937)
9	Saar de Vries	Female	Adult	No	-	Unemployed	Hervormd	Sarah Catharina de Vries (1867 - 1947)
10	Prof. Tiele	Male	Adult	No	-	Professor	Remonstrant	Cornelis Petrus Tiele (1830 - 1902)
11	Jacob Verdam	Male	Adult	No	-	Professor	Hervormd	Jacob Verdam (1845 - 1919)
12	Barta Johanna Verdam	Female	Adult	No	-	Unemployed	Hervormd	Barta Johanna van Ketwich (1840 - 1926)
13	Van der Vliet	Male	Adult	No	-	Professor	Remonstrant	Johannes van der Vliet (1847 - 1902)
14	Muller	Male	Adult	Yes	Cousin	Professor	Doopsgezind	Jacob Wijbrand Muller (1858 - 1945)
15	Mrs. Muller	Female	Adult	Yes	Cousin-in-law	Unemployed	Hervormd	Catharina Johanna Aletta Heynsius (Muller) (1858 - 1911)
16	Koenraad Kuiper	Male	Adult	No	-	Professor	Doopsgezind	Koenraad Kuiper (1854 - 1922)
17	Johanna Margaretha Tjeenk Willink (Kuiper)	Female	Adult	No	-	Unemployed	Doopsgezind	Johanna Margaretha Tjeenk Willink
18	Gallée	Male	Adult	No	-	Professor	Hervormd	Johan Hendrik Gallee (1847 - 1908)
19	De Mal	Male	Adult	No	-	Professor	Gereformeerd	Johan de Wal (1816 - 1892)
20	Mrs. Van de Mal	Female	Adult	No	-	Unemployed	Hervormd	Johanna Petronella Servatius (1820 - 1891)
21	Poutsma	Male	Adult	No	-	Teacher	Hervormd	Albertus Poutsma (1858 - 1941)

22	Miss Naber	Female	Adult	No	-	Unemployed	Hervormd	Alida Catharina Naber (1862 - 1952)
23	Aunt Jans	Female	Adult	Yes	Aunt	Unemployed	Hervormd	Johanna Engelbert Doijer (1827 - 1913)
24	Sara van Brakel	Female	Adult	Yes	Cousin	Unemployed	Doopsgezind	Sara Muller (1849 - 1931)
25	Gerrit Simonsz van Brakel	Male	Adult	Yes	Cousin-in-law	Yes practitioner	Hervormd	Gerrit Simonsz van Brakel (1848 - 1912)
26	Ter Meulen	Male	Adult	No	-	Painter	Doopsgezind	Francois Pieter ter Meulen (1843 - 1927)
27	Frits	Male	Adult	Yes	Brother-in-law	Secretary Spoorwegen Maatschappij	Hervormd	Willem Fredrik Carel Momma (1855 - 1937)
28	Miss Weekenstroo	Female	Adult	No	-	Unknown	Hervormd	Egberdina Weekenstroo (1868 - ???)
29	Sophie	Female	Adult	Yes	Sister-in-law	Unemployed	Hervormd	Sophie Johanna Druijvesteijn (1855 - 1932)
30	Pieter van Foreest	Male	Adult	Yes	Brother-in-law	Politician	Hervormd	Pieter van Foreest (1845 - 1922)
31	Herpert van Foreest	Male	Child	Yes	Nephew	Unemployed	Hervormd	Herpert van Foreest (1882 - 1940)
32	Beppie Momma	Female	Adult	Yes	Sister-in-law	Unemployed	Hervormd	Elisabeth Clasina Momma (1842 - 1892)
33	Regina van Geuns	Female	Adult	No	-	Feminist	Doopsgezind	Regina van Geuns (1848 - 1928)
34	Aunt Mien	Female	Adult	Yes	Aunt	Unemployed	Doopsgezind	Femina Geertruida Henriette Muller Cz (1826 - 1909)
35	De Lange	Male	Adult	No	-	Composer	Hervormd	Daniel de Lange (1841 - 1918)
36	Jan Bussy	Male	Adult	No	-	Professor	Doopsgezind	Izaak Jan le COSQUINO de BUSSY
37	Jacob	Male	Adult	Yes	Brother	Banker	Hervormd	Jacob Kalff (1850 - 1937)
38	Henriette	Female	Adult	Yes	Sister-in-law	Unemployed	Hervormd	Johanna Henriette Hermina Momma (1850 - 1922)
39	Louis	Male	Adult	Yes	Brother-in-law	Councilor	Remonstrant	Louis Serrurier (1844 - 1916)
40	Suze Meyboom	Female	Adult	No	-	Director of Amsterdam's first domestic science school	Hervormd	Suze G.F. Meyboom (1859 - 1938)
41	Anna Momma	Female	Adult	Yes	Sister-in-law	Unemployed	Hervormd	Anna Elisabeth Momma (1840 - 1911)

42	Sam Cramer	Male	Adult	Yes	Cousin	Professor	Doopsgezind	Samuel Cramer (1842 - 1913)
43	Guus	Male	Adult	Yes	Brother-in-law	Infantry captain	Doopsgezind	Leonard Gustaaf Tjalling Walraven Fontein (1851 - 1914)
44	Sam	Male	Adult	Yes	Brother	Writer	Hervormd	Samuel Kalff (1851 - 1932)
45	Next-door-neighbours	Male	Adult	No	-	Merchant	Remonstrant	Joannes Henricus Albertus Antonius Kalff (1846 - 1910)
46	Next-door-neighbours II	Female	Adult	No	-	Unemployed	Hervormd	Ellegonda Duranda Rutgers van der Loeff (1850 - 1935)
47	Kool	Male	Adult	No	-	Unknown	Unknown	Kool (?? - ??)
48	Van Vlissingen	Male	Adult	No	-	Unknown	Unknown	Van Vlissingen (?? - ??)
49	Margo	Female	Adult	Yes	Sister	Unemployed	Hervormd	Margaretha Kalff (1849 - 1917)
50	Frits M.	Male	Adult	Yes	Brother-in-law	Unknown	Doopsgezind	Frits Momma
51	Gerardine	Female	Age	Yes	Niece	Unemployed	Doopsgezind	Gerarda Jacoba Muller (1881 - 1964)
52	Jettie	Female	Adult	Yes	Cousin	Unemployed	Doopsgezind	Henriette Sophia Muller (Kuiper) (1868 - 1935)
53	Meyjes	Male	Adult	No	-	Pastor	Hervormd	Jeremias Posthumus Meyjes (1831 - 1908)
54	Boekenooغن	Male	Adult	No	-	Professor	Doopsgezind	Gerrit Jacob Boekenooغن (1868 - 1930)
55	Tideman	Male	Adult	No	-	Conservator	Hervormd	Jan Tideman (1821 - 1901)
56	Piet van Foreest	Male	Child	Yes	Nephew	Unemployed	Hervormd	Pieter van Foreest (1883 - 1969)
57	Jelgersma	Male	Adult	No	-	Professor	Hervormd	Dominicus Gerbrandus Jelgersma (1856 - 1930)
58	Willem	Male	Adult	Yes	Brother-in-law	Captain of the infantry	Hervormd	Willem Carel Frederik Momma (1864 - 1918)
59	Corry	Female	Adult	Yes	Sister-in-law	Unemployed	Hervormd	Cornelia Wilhelmina Vethake (1871 - 1950)
61	Te Winkel	Male	Adult	No	-	Professor	Hervormd	Jan te Winkel (1847 - 1927)
62	Jeanne Hubrecht	Female	Adult	No	-	Nurse	Hervormd	Jeanne Carolina van Lanschot Hubrecht (1865 - 1918)
65	Daniël Apolonius Delprat	Male	Child	No	-	Unemployed	Hervormd	Daniël Apolonius Delprat (1890 - 1988)
66	Jacques Paul Delprat	Male	Child	No	-	Unemployed	Hervormd	Jacques Paul Delprat (1882 - 1956)

67	Miss De Vries	Female	Adult	No	-	Unemployed	Unknown	G. de Vries (?? - ??)
68	Delprat	Male	Adult	No	-	Curator	Remonstrant	Constant Charles Delprat (1854-1934)
69	Mrs. Delprat	Female	Adult	No	-	Unemployed	Hervormd	Catharina Elisabeth Reynvaan (1859-1954)
70	Vissering	Male	Adult	No	-	Banker	Doopsgezind	Gerard Vissering (1865 - 1937)
71	Kretschmar	Male	Adult	No	-	Engineer	Hervormd	Jacob Adriaan van Kretschmar van Veen (1857 - 1931)
72	Mrs Kretschmar	Female	Adult	No	-	Unemployed	Hervormd	Clara Peggy van de Poll (1864 - 1956)
73	Uytenboogaardt	Male	Adult	No	-	Unknown	Hervormd	Hendrik Uytenboogaardt (1847 - ??)
74	Reynvaan	Male	Adult	No	-	Unknown	Unknown	Reynvaan
75	Boot	Male	Adult	No	-	Professor	Hervormd	Johan Cornelis Gerard Boot (1811 - 1901)
76	Van Leeuwen	Male	Adult	No	-	Professor	Remonstrant	Jan van Leeuwen (1850 - 1924)
77	Mattheus	Male	Adult	No	-	Unknown	Unknown	Mattheus (?? - ??)
78	Hooglandt	Male	Adult	No	-	Unknown	Unknown	Hooglandt (?? - ??)
79	Hoogvliet	Male	Adult	No	-	Literary scholar	Gereformeerd	Willem Hoogvliet (1829 - 1910)
80	Van der Horst	Male	Adult	No	-	Secretary and actor	Hervormd	Adrianus van der Horst (1868 - 1927)
81	Mrs. Wolterbeek	Female	Adult	No	-	Unemployed	Gereformeerd	Louisa Jacomb Hoed (1834 - 1905)
82	Aleid	Female	Young adult	Yes	Stepniece	Unemployed	Hervormd	Aleide van Foreest (1872 - 1950)
83	Lize Meyboom	Female	Young adult	Yes	Niece	Unemployed	Hervormd	Elisabeth Jacoba Meijboom (1876 - 1937)
84	Helen Roelants	Female	Young adult	No	-	Unemployed	Hervormd	Helen Elisabeth Mary Roelants (1868 - ???)
85	Henri Momma	Male	Adult	Yes	Cousin-in-law	Unknown	Hervormd	Henri Momma (1883 - 1911)
86	Vethake Sr.	Male	Adult	No	-	Doctor	Hervormd	Hieronimus Adriaan Vethake (1833 - 1896)
88	Uncle Piet	Male	Adult	Yes	Uncle	Unknown	Doopsgezind	Pieter Nicolaas Muller (1821 - 1908)
89	Van der Feltz	Male	Adult	No	-	Unknown	Hervormd	Warmold Albertinus baron van der Feltz (1824 - 1924)

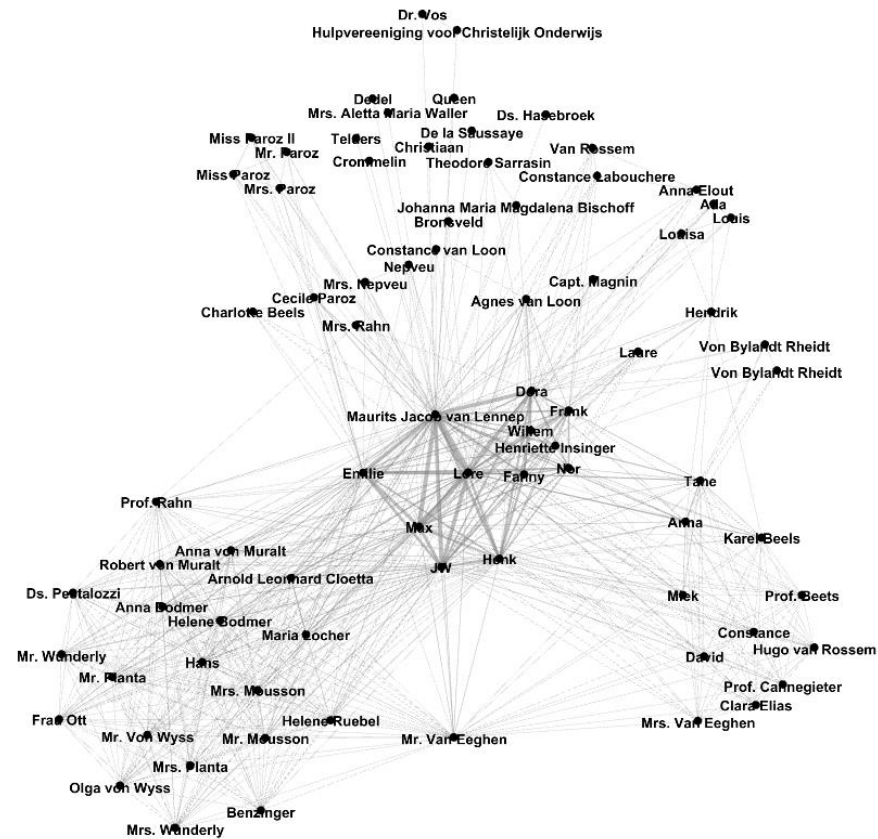
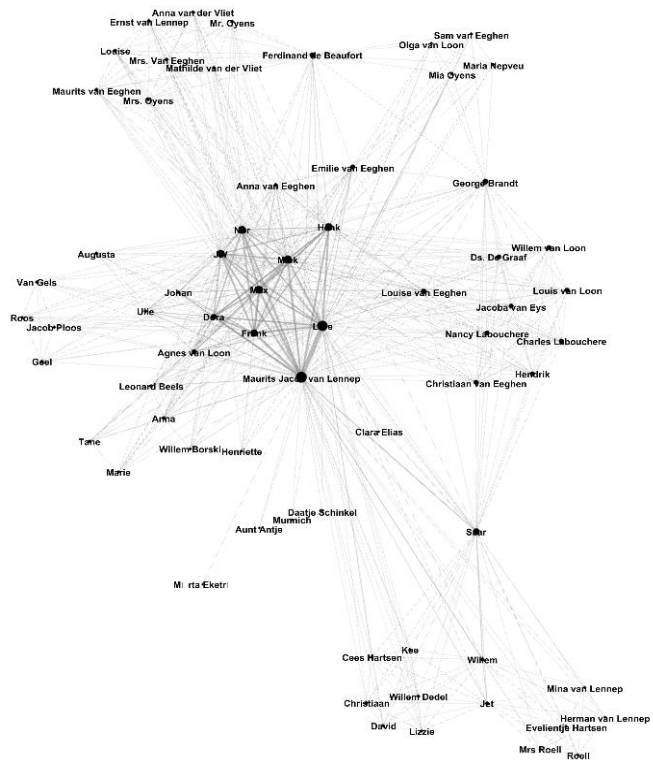
90	Mrs. Schuller	Female	Adult	No	-	Unemployed	Unknown	Schuller (?? - ??)
91	Marie Kalff	Female	Child	No	-	Unemployed	Remonstrant	Johanna Maria Kalff (1874 - 1954)
92	Jelle Hingst	Male	Young adult	Yes	Second cousin	Student	Doopsgezind	Jelle Hingst (1875 - 1927)
93	Caroline	Female	Adult	Yes	Sister-in-law	Unemployed	Hervormd	Wilhelmina Carolina Momma (1859 - 1921)
94	Van de Es	Male	Adult	No	-	Professor	Hervormd	Antonie Hendrik Gerrit Paul van de Es (1831 - 1909)
95	Stoffel	Male	Adult	No	-	Unknown	Doopsgezind	Cornelis Stoffel (1845 - 1908)
96	Frits Stibbe	Male	Child	Yes	Stepnephew	Unemployed	Hervormd	Frederik Wilhelm Stibbe (1886 - 1944)
97	Henri Maurits Stibbe	Male	Child	Yes	Nephew	Unemployed	Hervormd	Henri Maurits Stibbe (1892 - 1952)
98	Maria van Geuns	Female	Adult	No	-	Painter	Doopsgezind	Maria Petronella Geertruida van Geuns (1851 - ?)
99	Prof. Gunning	Male	Adult	No	-	Professor	Hervormd	Johannes Hermanus Gunning (1829 - 1905)
100	D.C. Meyer	Male	Adult	No	-	Wine merchant	Luthers	Dirk Christiaan Meyer Jr. (1839 - 1908)
101	Bieker	Male	Adult	No	-	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown
102	Mrs. Meyjes	Female	Adult	No	-	Unemployed	Hervormd	Anne Willemin Star Numan (1843 - 1925)
103	Henri Boissevain	Male	Child	Yes	Nephew	Unemployed	Hervormd	Henri Lucas Boissevain (1885 - 1960)
104	Ursul	Male	Adult	Yes	Brother-in-law	Professor	Hervormd	Ursul Philip Boissevain (1855 - 1930)
105	Greta	Female	Adult	No	-	Social worker and translator	Hervormd	Margaretha Anna Sophie Meyboom (1856 - 1927)
106	Miss. Wills	Female	Adult	No	-	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown
107	Cato	Female	Adult	Yes	Sister	Unemployed	Hervormd	Catharina Kalff (Fontein) (1853 - 1943)
108	Von Reekens	Male	Adult	No	-	Deputy judge	Hervormd	Christian Gerhard von Reeken (1854 - 1907)
109	Mrs. Von Reekens	Female	Adult	No	-	Unemployed	Hervormd	Constance Louise Quarles van Ufford (1858 - 1911)
110	Sam Muller Fz.	Male	Adult	Yes	Cousin	Archivist	Doopsgezind	Samuel Fz. Muller (1848 - 1922)
111	Mrs. Reynvaan	Female	Adult	No	-	Unemployed	Unknown	Unknown

112	Van Stockum	Male	Adult	No	-	Publisher	Hervormd	Wilhelmus Petrus van Stockum Jr. (1848 - 1927)
113	Cato van Nieuwkuyk	Female	Adult	No	-	Unemployed	Unknown	Unknown
114	Niels Vogels	Male	Adult	No	-	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown
115	Frans Vogels	Male	Adult	No	-	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown
116	Vogels III	Male	Adult	No	-	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown
117	De Neufville	Male	Adult	No	-	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown
118	H. van Gelder	Male	Adult	No	-	Teacher	Unknown	Unknown
119	Nicolaas Foreest	Male	Adult	Yes	Stepnephew	Office worker	Hervormd	Nicolaas van Foreest (1876 - 1945)
120	Tadema	Male	Adult	No	-	Publisher	Doopsgezind	Albert Pieter Tadema (1844 - 1917)
122	Gertrude	Female	Adult	Yes	Sister-in-law	Unemployed	Hervormd	Geertruida Maria Losecaat Vermeer (1854 - 1941)
123	Ritter	Male	Adult	No	-	Professor	Remonstrant	Pierre Henri Ritter (1851 - 1913)
125	Ds. Scharten	Male	Adult	No	-	Pastor	Hervormd Luthers	Karel Scharten (1836 - 1909)
126	Mendes da Costa	Male	Adult	No	-	Conservator	Jewish	Maurits Benjamin Mendes da Costa (1851 - 1938)
127	Letta Hingst	Female	Adult	Yes	Second cousin	Writer	Doopsgezind	Adelaide Hingst (1869 - 1945)
128	Koba Hingst	Unknown	Adult	Yes	Second cousin	Founder of the first gardening school for girls	Doopsgezind	Jacoba Hingst (1871 - 1950)
129	Besier	Female	Adult	No	-	Unemployed	Remonstrant	Jenny Louise Besier (1854 - 1943)
130	Prof. Van Rees	Male	Adult	No	-	Professor	Hervormd	Jacob van Rees (1854 - 1928)
131	Mrs. Van Riemsdijk	Female	Adult	No	-	Unemployed	Unknown	Riemsdijk (?? - ??)
132	De Jonge	Male	Adult	No	-	Unknown	Unknown	De Jonge (?? - ??)
133	Karsten	Male	Adult	No	-	Professor	Hervormd	Hermanus Thomas Karsten (1839 - 1915)
134	Mrs. Karsten	Female	Adult	No	-	Unemployed	Hervormd	Antoinette Ludovica Francoise Abrahami de Melverda (1850 - 1931)
135	Hooglanden - de Pestors	Male	Adult	No	-	Unknown	Unknown	Hooglanden - de Pestors (?? - ??)

136	Mrs. Hooglanden - de Pesters	Female	Adult	No	-	Unknown	Unknown	Hooglanden - de Pesters (?? - ??)
137	Miss Mees	Female	Adult	No	-	Unemployed	Unknown	Unknown
138	Haag	Male	Adult	No	-	Unknown	Unknown	Haag (?? - ??)
139	Fam. Vermeer	Male	Adult	No	-	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown
140	Ladies Boele	Female	Adult	No	-	Unemployed	Unknown	Unknown
141	Van Slee	Male	Adult	No	-	Pastor	Hervormd	Jacob Cornelis van Slee (1841 - 1929)
142	De Kruyff	Male	Adult	No	-	Unknown	Unknown	
143	Henk de Wal	Male	Child	No	-	Unemployed	Unknown	Unknown
144	Druyvesteijn	Male	Adult	No	-	Unknown	Hervormd	Willem Francois Constantijn Druyvesteyn (1854 - 1935)
145	Paulus	Male	Adult	No	-	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown
146	Willy Bonebakker	Male	Adult	No	-	Banker	Hervormd	Willem Christiaan Bonebakker (1866 - 1951)
147	Miss Kroesen	Female	Adult	No	-	Unemployed	Unknown	Unknown
148	Van der Hugt	Male	Adult	No	-	Unknown	Unknown	Van der Hugt (?? - ??)
149	Willem Boot	Male	Adult	No	-	Unknown	Hervormd	Willem Boot (1858 - 1923)
150	Mrs. Vethake	Female	Adult	No	-	Unemployed	Hervormd	Hendrika Jacoba van Loon (1837 - ?)
151	Jan Kalff Mz.	Male	Adult	No	-	Unknown	Unknown	Jan Kalff Mz. (?? - ??)
152	Mrs. Druyvesteijn	Female	Adult	No	-	Unemployed	Hervormd	Wilhelmina Clifford (Druyvesteyn) (1855 - 1932)
153	Catrien	Female	Adult	Yes	Sister in law	Unemployed	Hervormd	Catharina Louise Momma (1852 - 1926)
154	Van Hall	Male	Adult	No	-	Editor De Gids	Hervormd	Jacob Nicolaas van Hall (1840 - 1918)
155	Wolterbeek	Male	Adult	No	-	Lawyer	Hervormd	Joan Leonard Wolterbeek (1831 - 1913)
156	Wilson	Male	Adult	No	-	Unknown	Unknown	Wilson (?? - ??)
157	Clous	Male	Adult	No	-	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown
158	Miss. Schilthuis	Female	Adult	No	-	Unemployed	Unknown	Schilthuis (?? - ??)

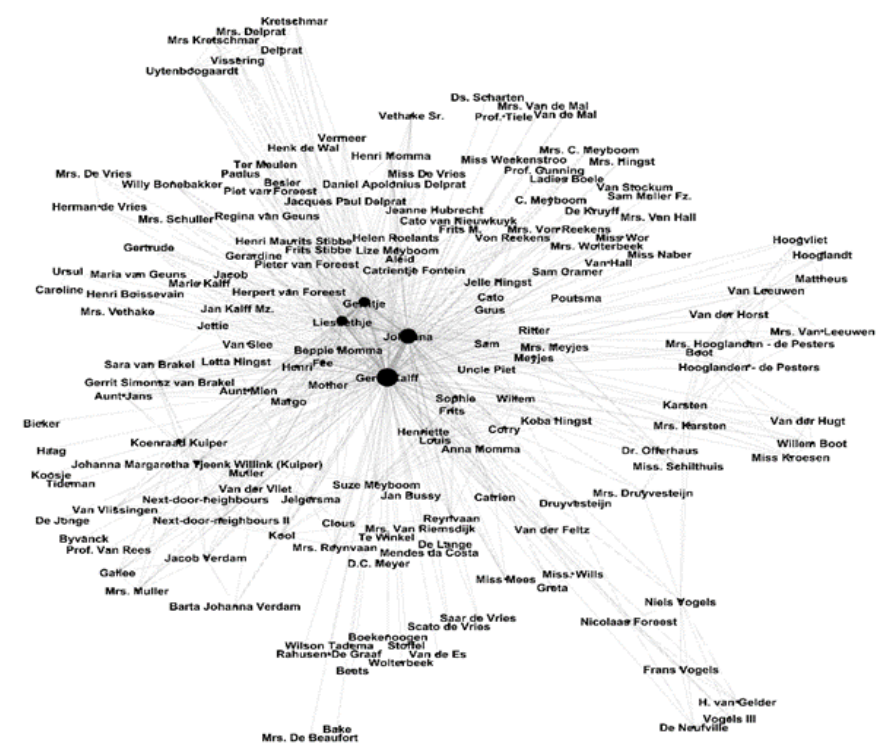
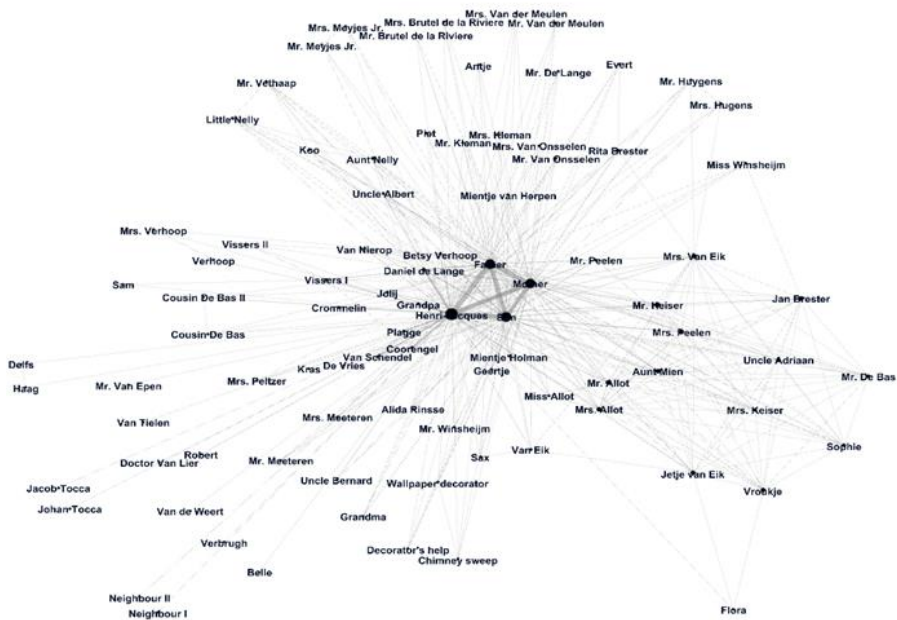
159	Dr. Offerhaus	Male	Adult	No	-	Professor	Hervormd	Johannes Offerhaus Lzn (1831 - 1926)
160	Miss. Messchaert	Female	Adult	No	-	Unemployed	Unknown	Messchaert (?? - ??)
161	Beets	Male	Adult	No	-	Professor	Hervormd	Nicolaas Beets (1814 - 1903)
162	Rahusen-De Graaf	Male	Adult	No	-	Merchant	Doopsgezind	Joan Rahusen-De Graaff (1864 - 1920)
163	Kuenen	Female	Young adult	No	-	Unemployed	Unknown	Unknown
164	Kuenen II	Female	Young adult	No	-	Unemployed	Unknown	Unknown
165	Mrs. Hingst	Female	Adult	Yes	First cousin once removed	Unemployed	Doopsgezind	Margaretha Catharina Mueller (1840 - 1897)
166	Bake	Male	Adult	No	-	Legal Secretary at the State Council	Hervormd	Constantinus Bake (1856 - 1936)
167	Mrs. De Beaufort	Female	Adult	No	-	Unemployed	Doopsgezind	Adele Maria van Eegden (1852 - 1913)
168	Koosje	Female	Adult	No	-	Unemployed	Unknown	Unknown
169	Byvanck	Male	Adult	No	-	Director Koninklijke Bibliotheek	Hervormd	Geertrudus Cornelis Willem Byvanck (1848 - 1925)
170	Mrs. Van Hall	Female	Adult	No	-	Unemployed	Hervormd	Julia Elisa Virulij (1848 - 1937)
171	C. Meyboom	Male	Adult	Yes	Brother in law's half brother	Unknown	Hervormd	Claas Meyboom (1851 - 1911)
172	Herman de Vries	Male	Adult	No	-	Director	Remonstrant	Herman de Vries Robbe (1863 - 1953)
173	Mrs. De Vries	Female	Adult	No	-	Unemployed	Remonstrant	Alice Joynson (1873 - 1942)
174	Mrs. Van Leeuwen	Female	Adult	No	-	Unemployed	Remonstrant	Margaretha Lodeessen (van Leeuwen) (1853 - ??)
175	Mrs. C. Meyboom	Female	Adult	No	-	Unemployed	Hervormd	Jacoba Wilhelmina Christina Champury (1853 - 1921)
176	Miss Wor	Female	Adult	No	-	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown

## Appendix III: Gephi graphs

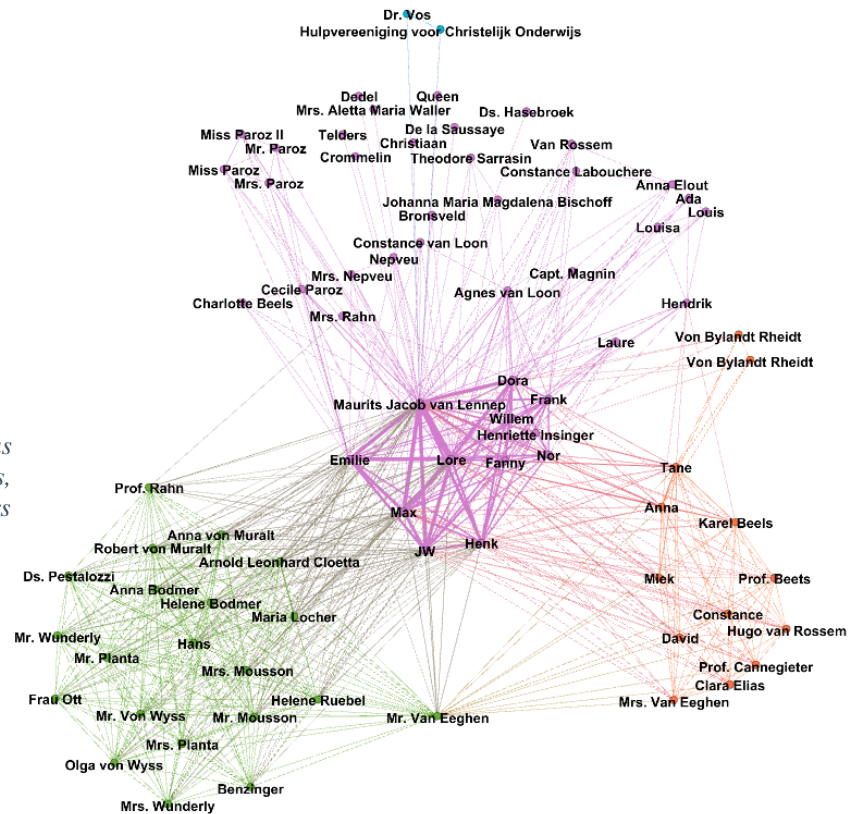
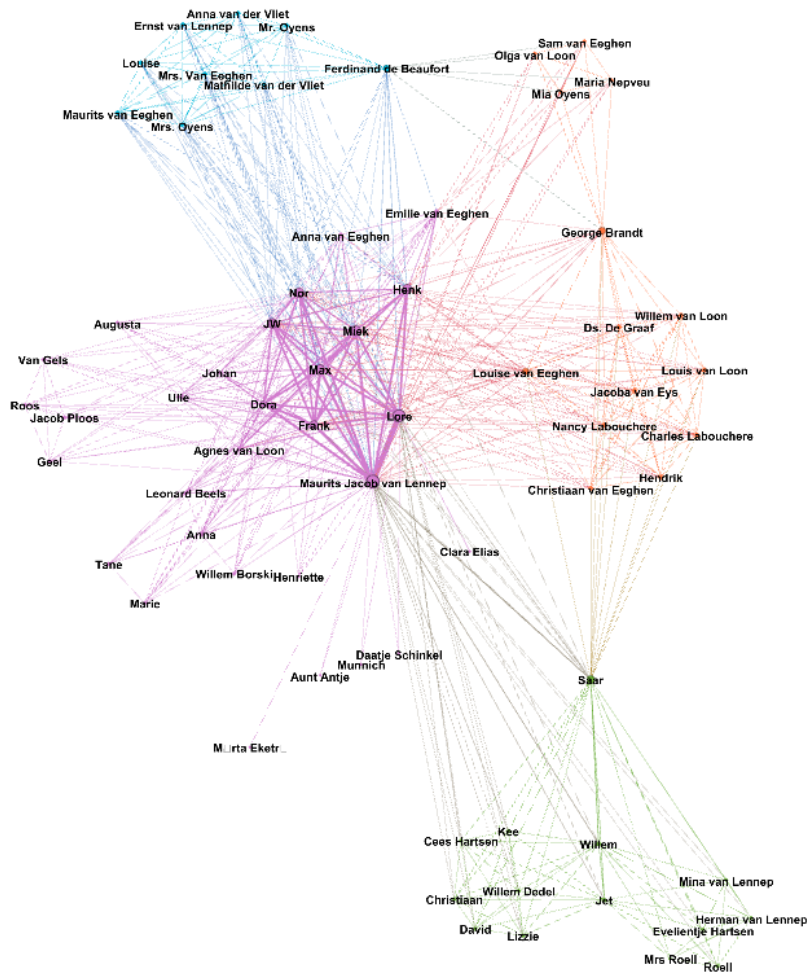


Figures 1 (above) and 2 (down). The domestic social networks of Maurits Jacob van Lennep (1830 – 1913), as depicted in his 1880 (above) and 1883 (down) memoirs.

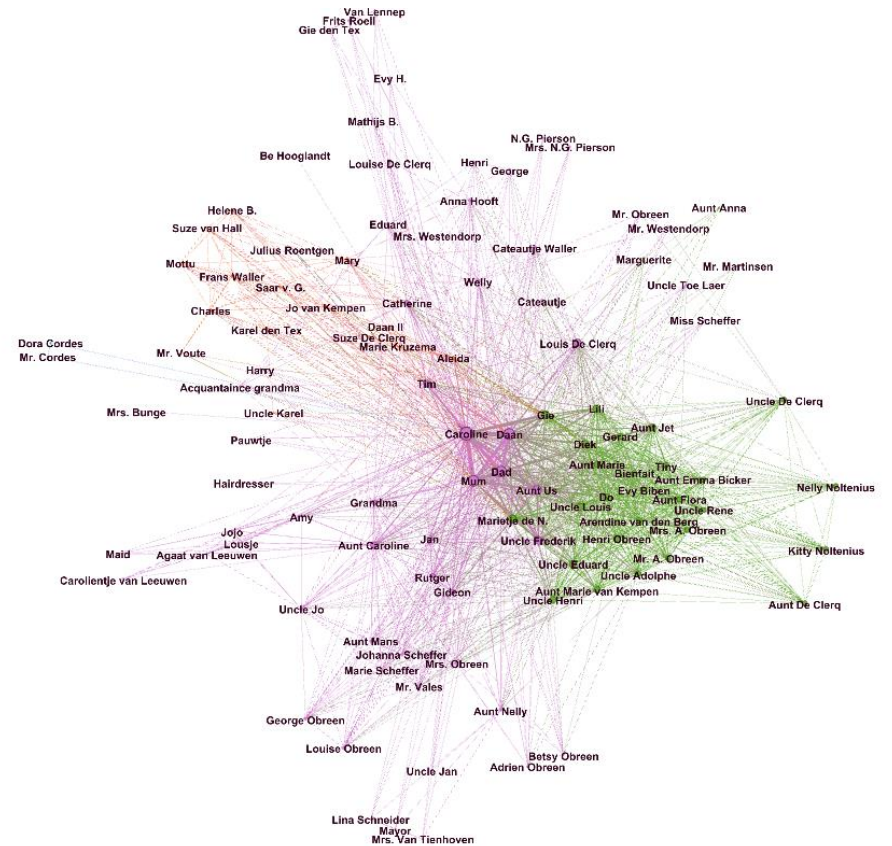
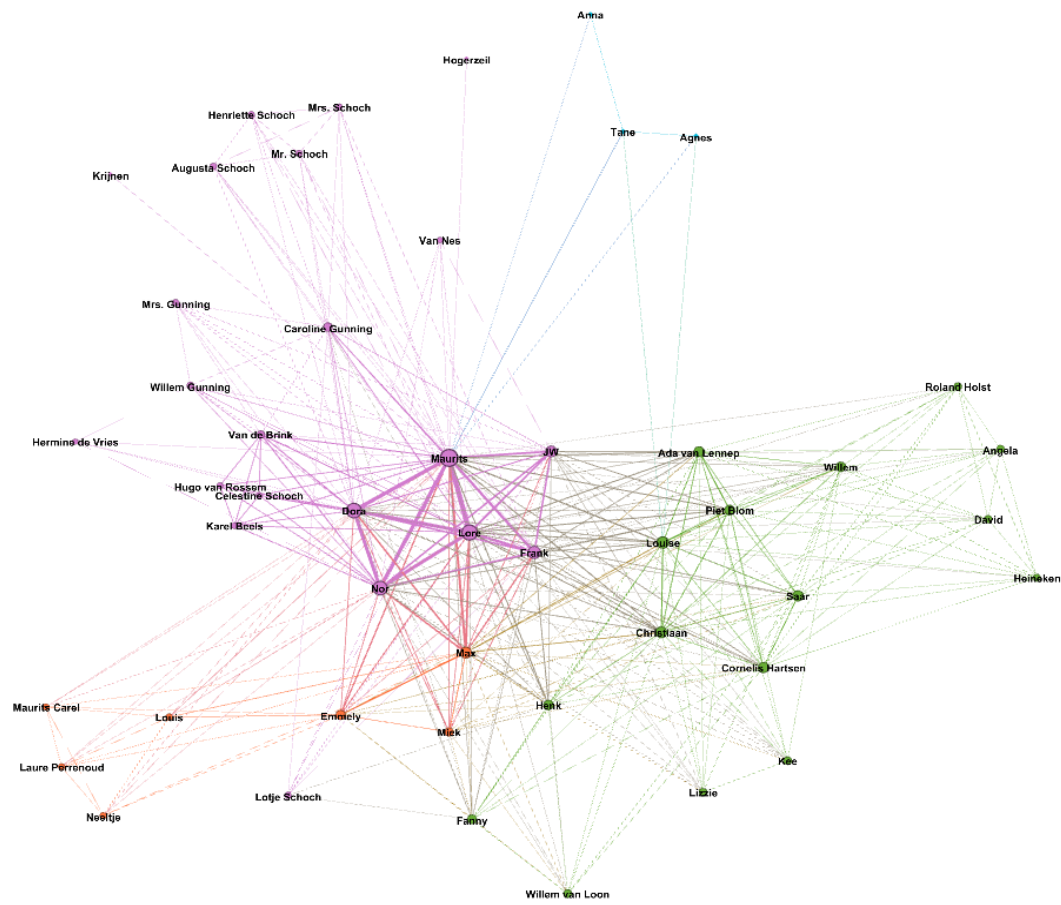




Figures 5 (above) and 6 (down). The domestic social networks of Henri-Jacques Scharp (1874 – 1957), above, and Gerrit Kalff (1856 – 1923), down, as depicted in their 1889 and 1895 diaries.

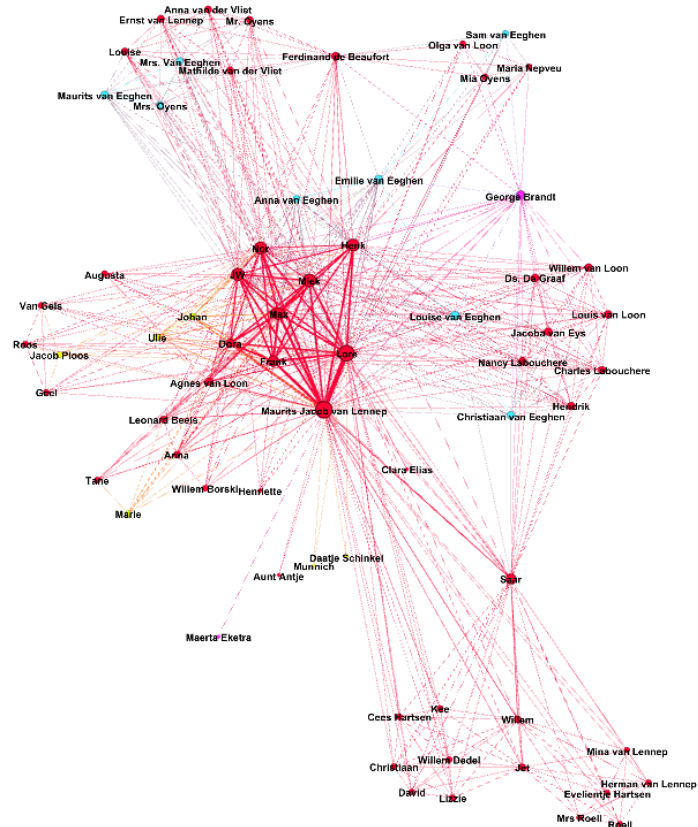
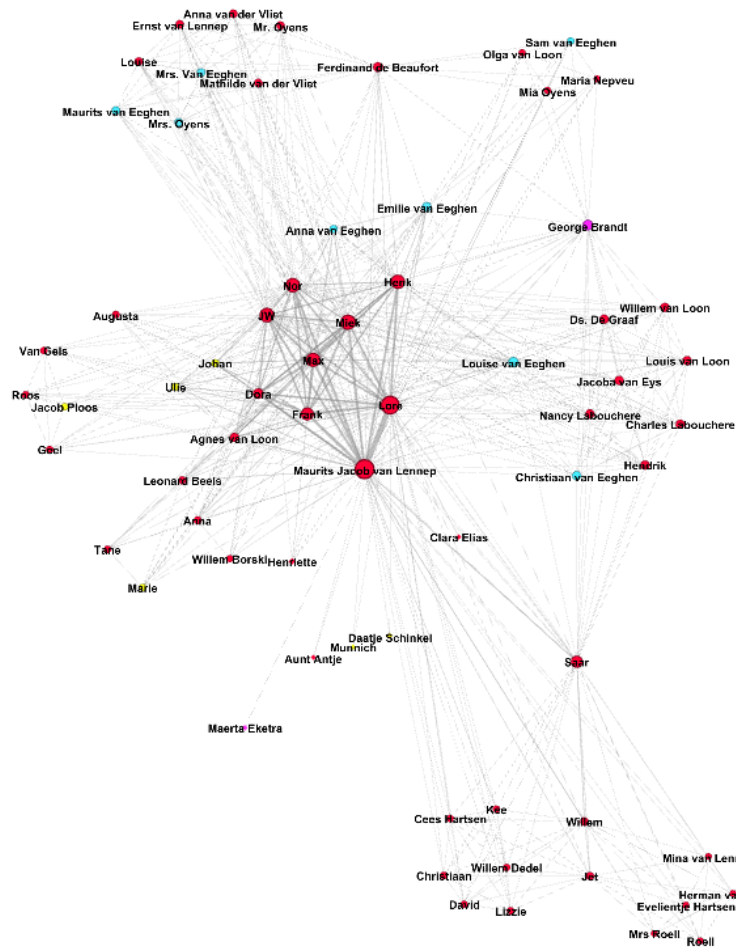


Figures 7 (above) and 8 (down). The domestic social networks of Maurits Jacob van Lennep (1830 – 1913), as depicted in his 1880 (above) and 1883 (down) memoirs. The figures show four modularity classes, or clusters, within each of these networks, represented by the colours purple, blue, orange, and green. The hybrid colours of some edges are the result of their interaction with the host.



Figures 9 (above) and 10 (down). The domestic social networks of Maurits Jacob van Lennep (1830 – 1913), above, and Caroline Boissevain (1868 – 1945), down, as respectively depicted in their 1886 memoir and 1884 diary. The figures show four modularity classes, or clusters, within each of these networks, represented by the colours purple, blue, orange and green. The hybrid colours of some edges are the result of their interaction with the host.





Figures 13A (above), 13B (down). The domestic social networks of Maurits Jacob van Lennep (1830 – 1913), as depicted in his 1880 memoir. The figures show the religious background of the nodes. The percentages are 76,12% Hervormd (red), 11,94% Doopsgezind (light blue), 8,95% unknown (yellow), and 2,98% Lutheran (light pink). Figure 13B shows the religious interactions between the nodes.

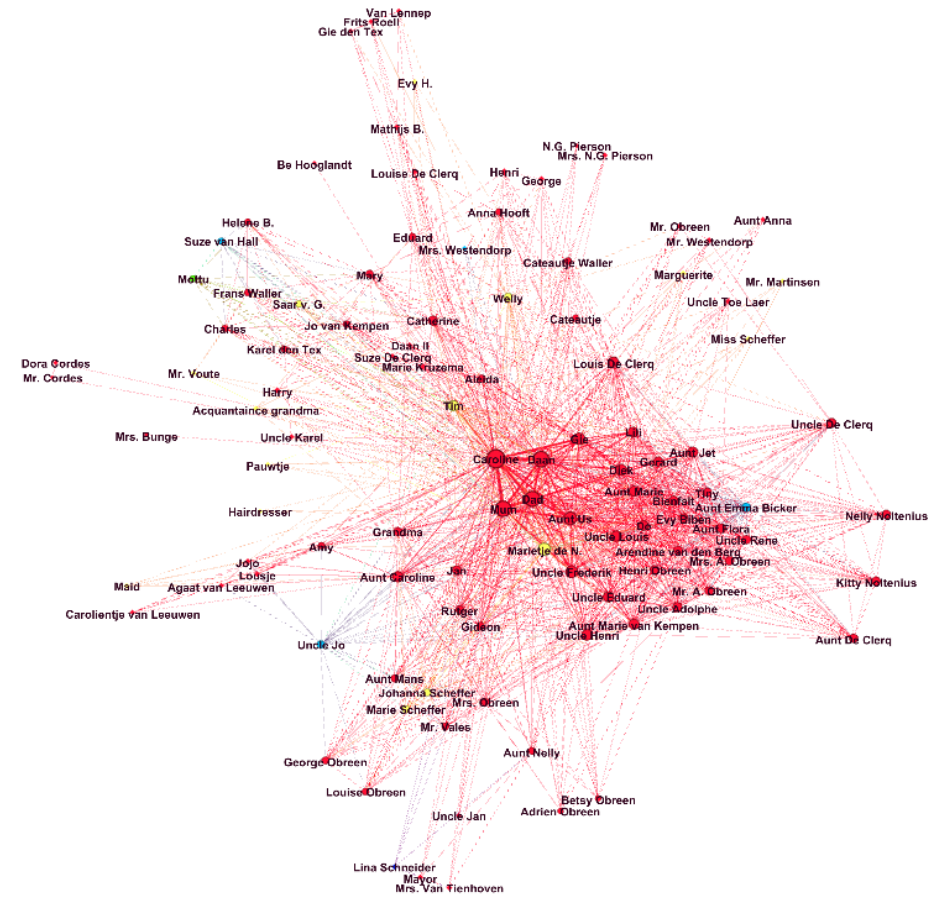
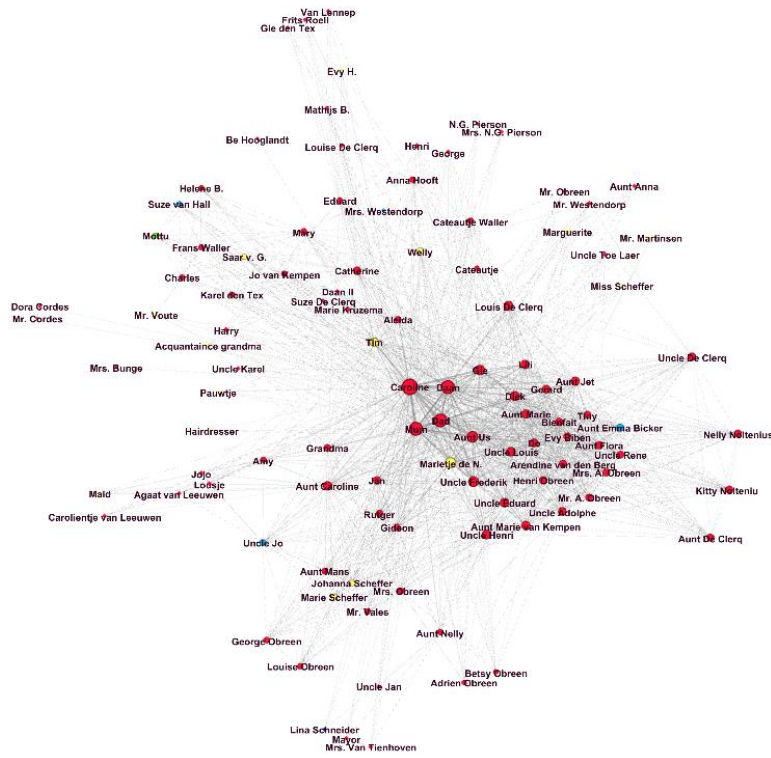


Figure 16A (above) and 16B (down). The domestic social network of Caroline Boissevain (1868 – 1945), as depicted in her 1884 diary. The figures show the religious background of the nodes. The percentages are 80,73% Hervormd (red), 13,76% unknown (yellow), 3,67% Doopsgezind (light blue), 0,92% Roman Catholic (green), and 0,92% Hervormd Lutheran (dark blue). Figure 16B shows the religious interactions between the nodes.

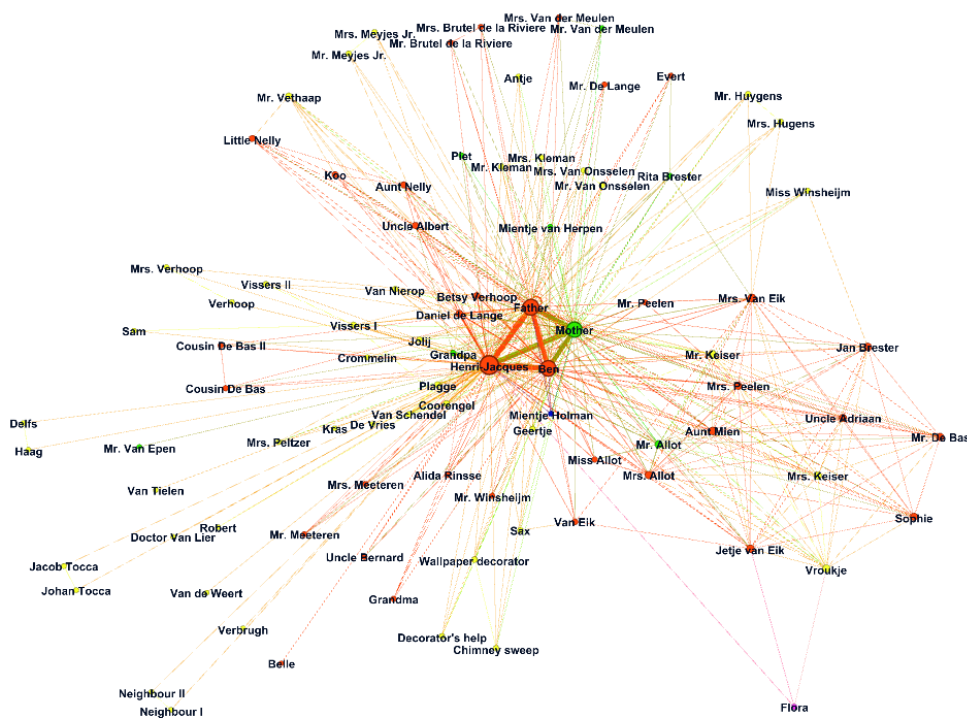
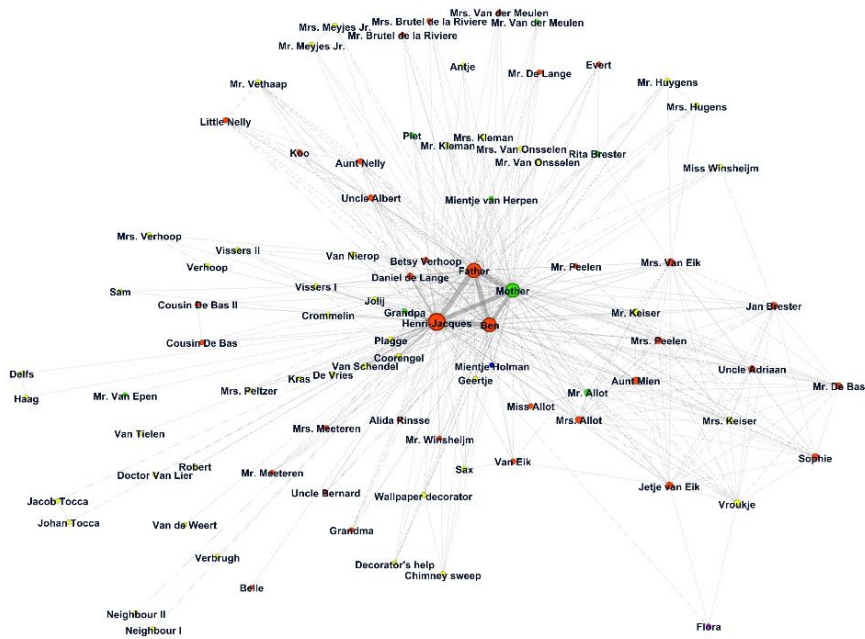


Figure 17A (above) and 17B (down). The domestic social network of Henri-Jacques Scharp (1874 – 1957), as depicted in his 1889 diary. The figures show the religious background of the nodes. The percentages are 49,44% unknown (yellow), 39,33% for Hervormd (red), 8,99% Remonstrant (green), 1,12% Lutheran (pink), and 1,12% Lutheran Hervormd (dark blue). Figure 17B shows the religious interactions between the nodes.

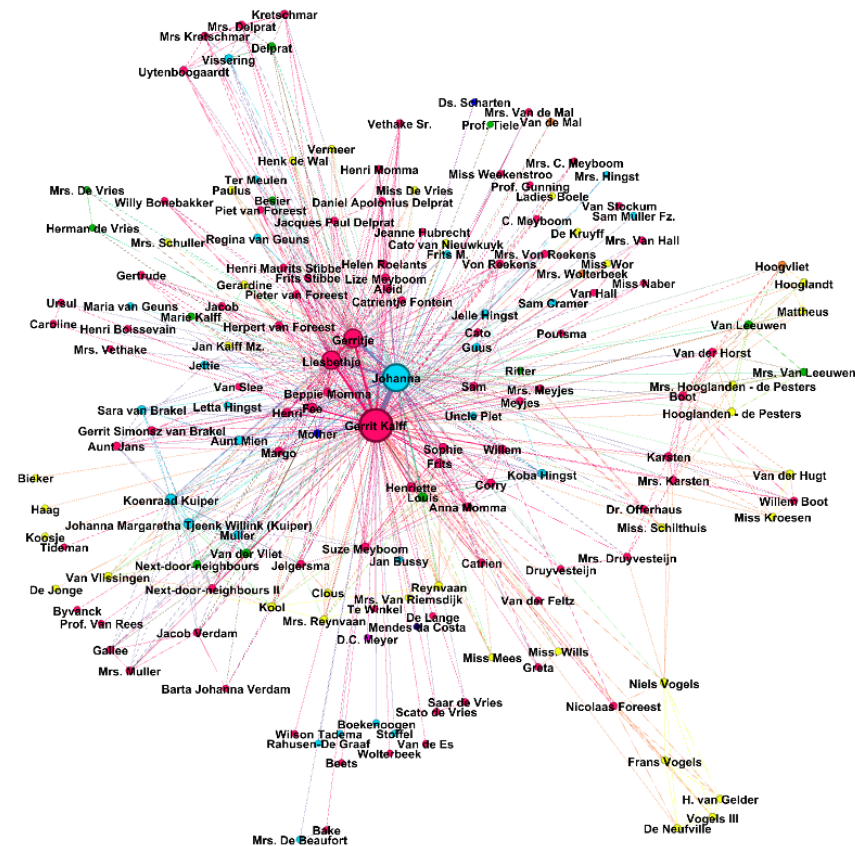
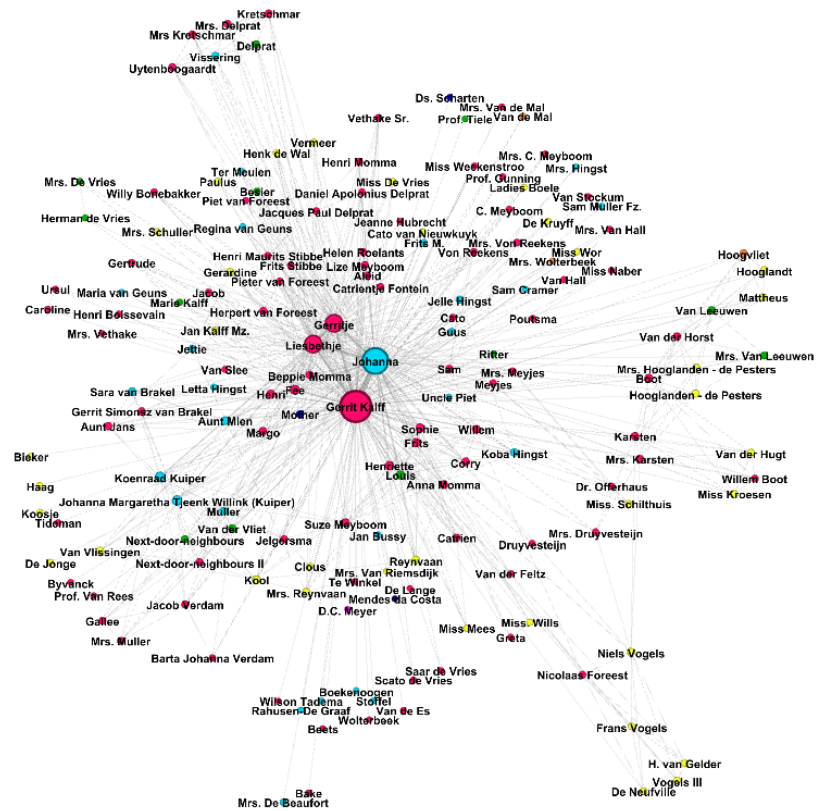


Figure 18A (above) and 18B (down). The domestic social network of Gerrit Kalff (1856 – 1923), as depicted in his 1895 diary. The figures show the religious background of the nodes. The percentages are 52,38% Hervormd (red), 20,83% unknown (yellow), 15,48% Doopsgezind (light blue), 7,14% Remonstrant (green), 1,79% Gereformeerd (orange), 1,19% Hervormd Lutheran (dark blue), 0,6% Jewish (black), and 0,6% Lutheran (pink). Figure 18B shows the religious interactions between the nodes.

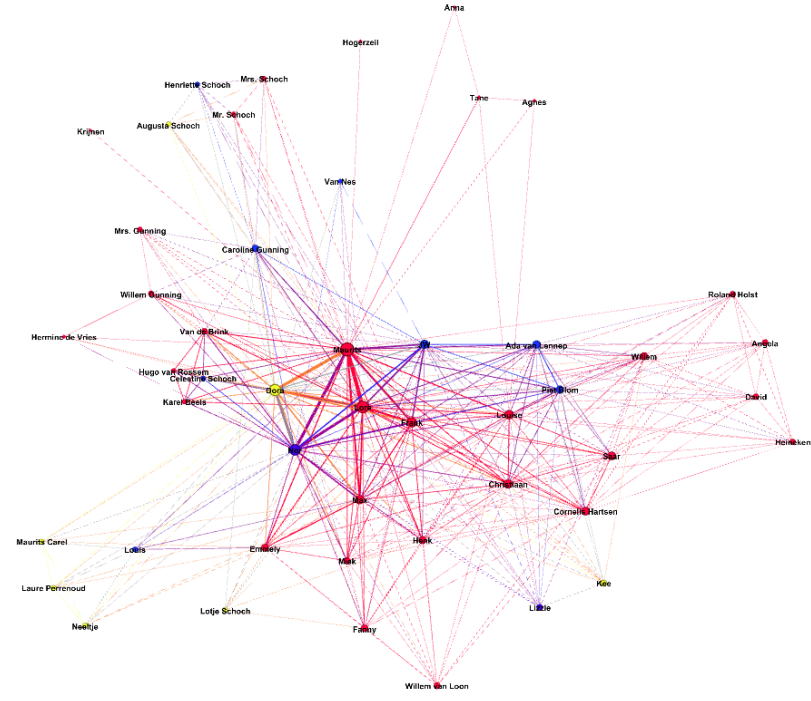
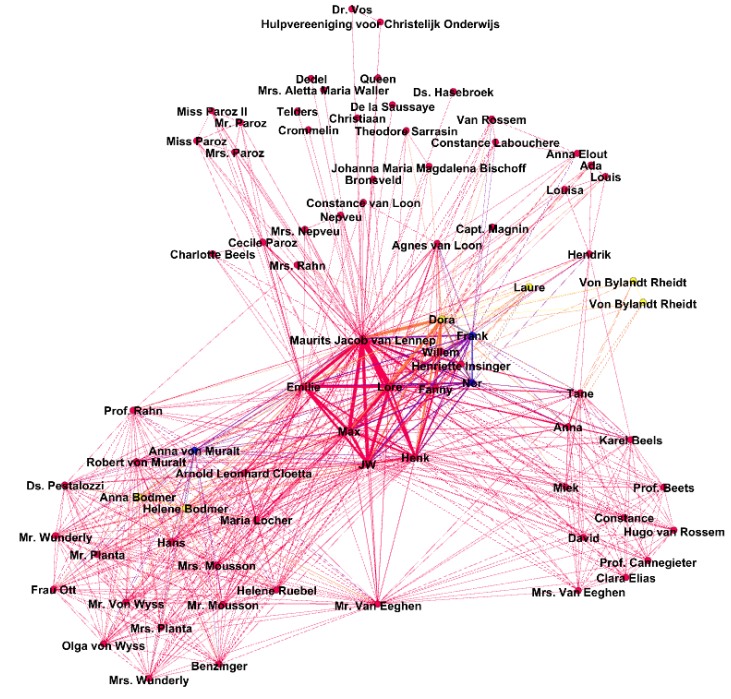
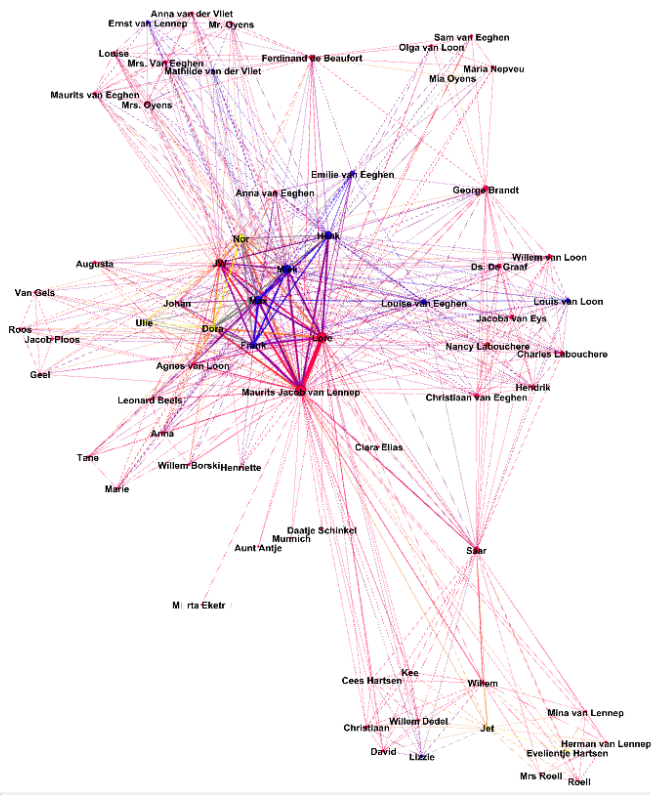


Figure 19 (above left corner), 20 (above right corner), and 21 (left down corner). The domestic social networks of Maurits Jacob van Lennep (1830 – 1917), as depicted in his 1880 (above), 1883 (right), and 1886 (down) memoirs. The figures show the age of the nodes, with red depicting adults, dark blue young adults, and yellow children.

The percentages for 1880 are 76,12% adults, 14,93% young adults, and 8,95% children. For 1883, these are respectively 88,61%, 3,80% and 7,59%, and for 1886 64,58%, 20,84%, and 14,58%.

The hybrid colours depict social interactions between the categories.



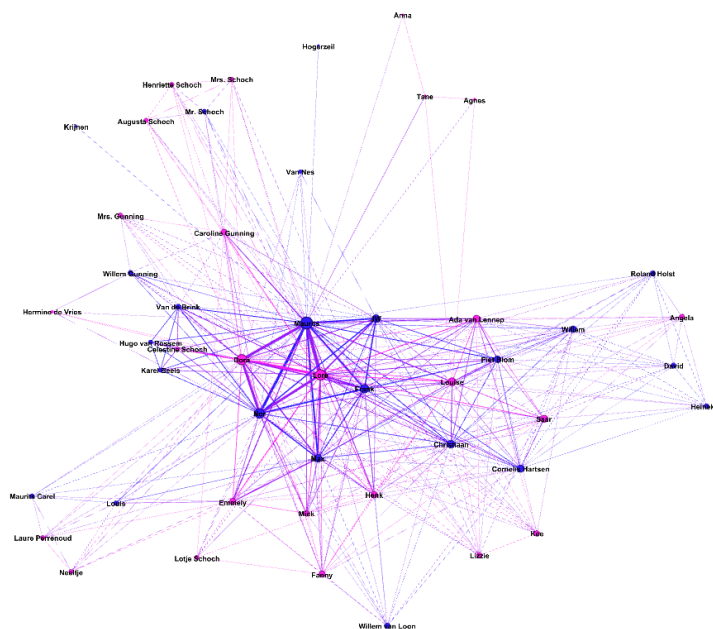
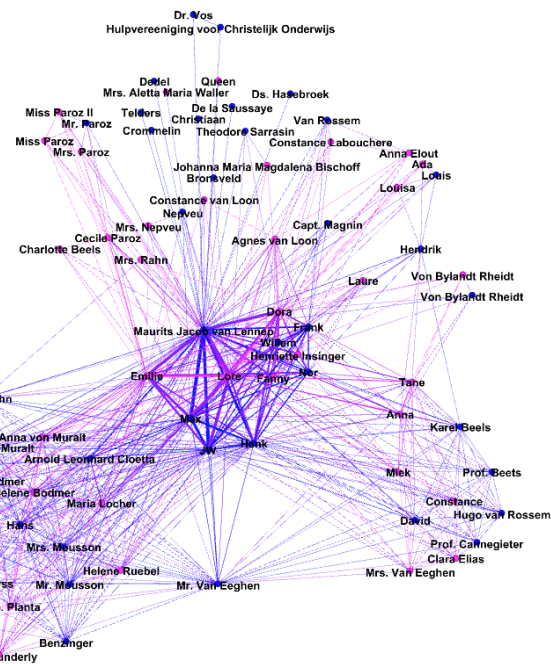
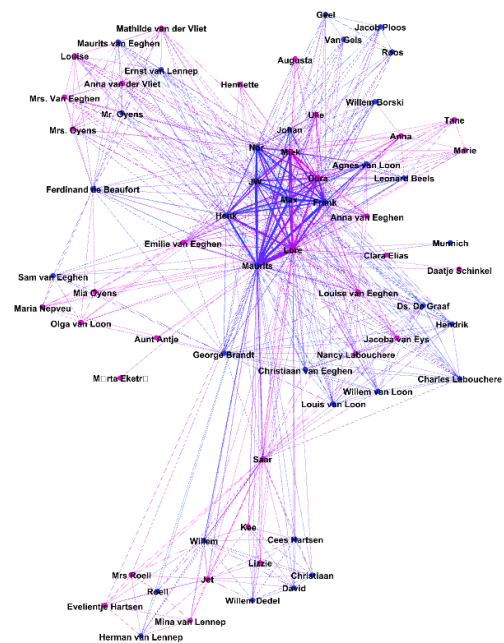


Figure 25 (above left corner), 26 (above right corner), and 27 (down right corner). The domestic social networks of Maurits Jacob van Lennep (1830 – 1913), as respectively depicted in his 1880 (above), 1883 (right) and 1886 (down) memoir. The figures show the sex of the nodes, with pink depicting the females, and dark blue the males. The purple lines depict interaction between the sexes.

The ratio male – female for 1880 are 50,73% male against 49,27% female. For 1883 and 1886, these are respectively 51,9% against 48,1%, and 52,08% against 47,92%.

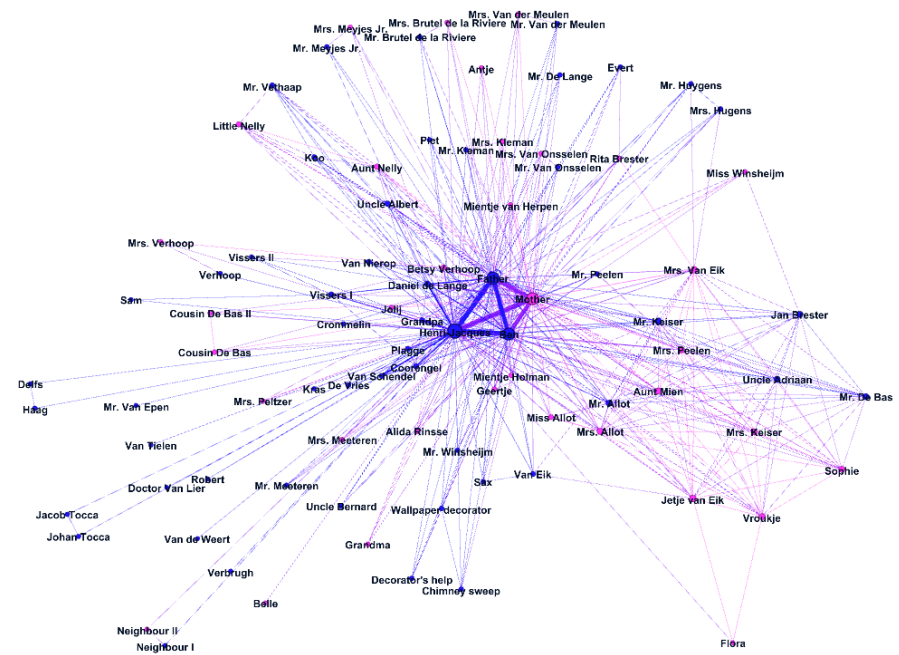
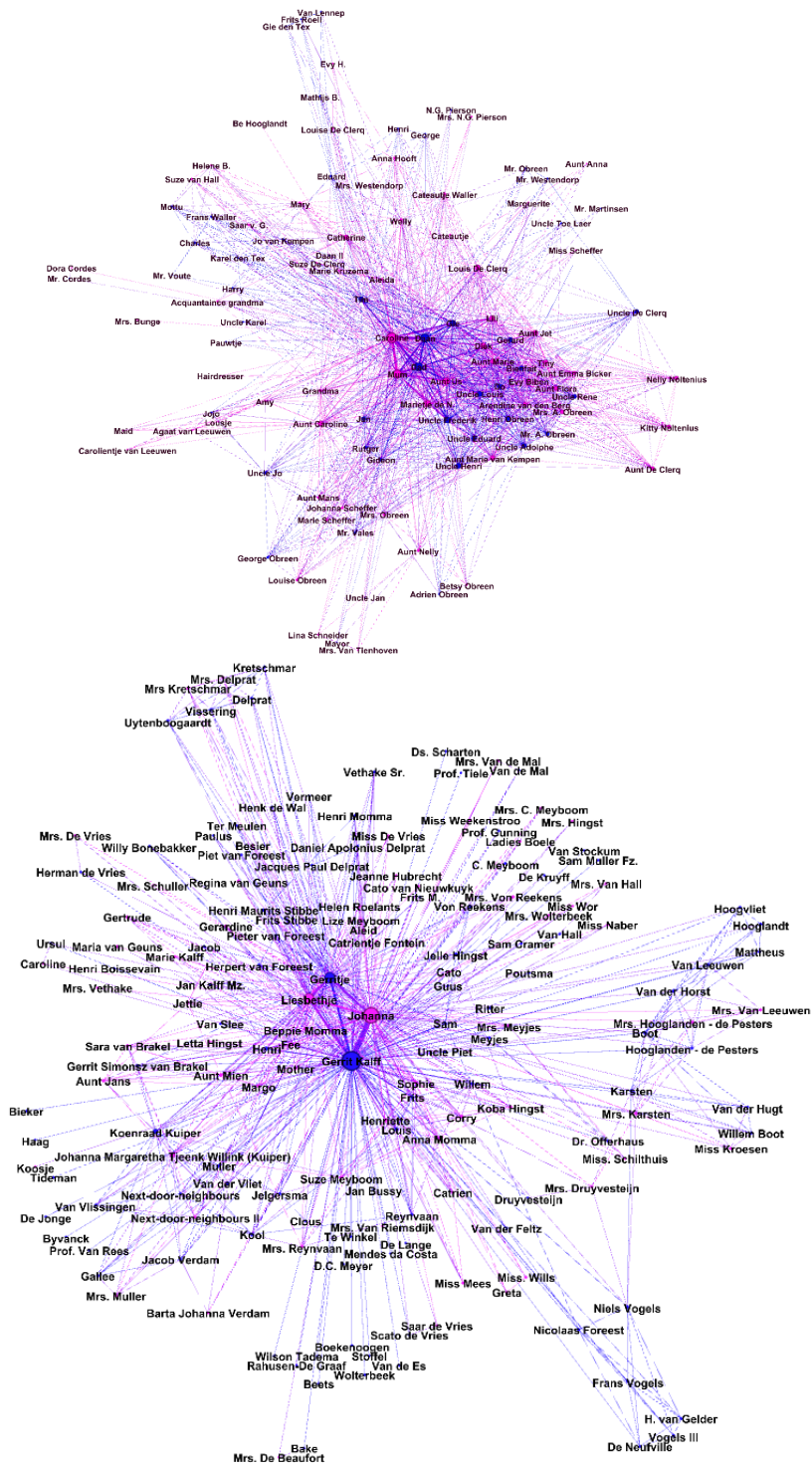


Figure 28 (above left corner), 29 (above right corner), and 30 (down left corner). The domestic social networks of Caroline Boissevain (1868 – 1945), above, Henri-Jacques Scharp (1874 – 1957), right, and Gerrit Kalf (1856 – 1923), down, as respectively depicted in their 1884, 1889 and 1895 diaries. The figures show the sex of the nodes, with pink depicting the females, and dark blue the males. The purple lines depict interaction between the sexes.

The ratio male female for Boissevain are 45,37% male against 54,63% female. For Scharp and Kalf, these are respectively 60,67% against 39,33%, and 60,12% male against 39,88% female.

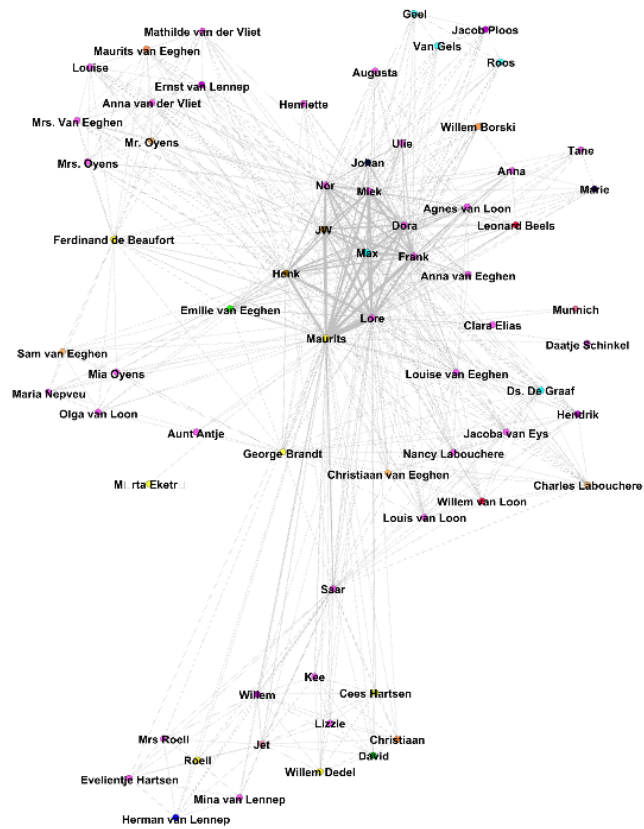
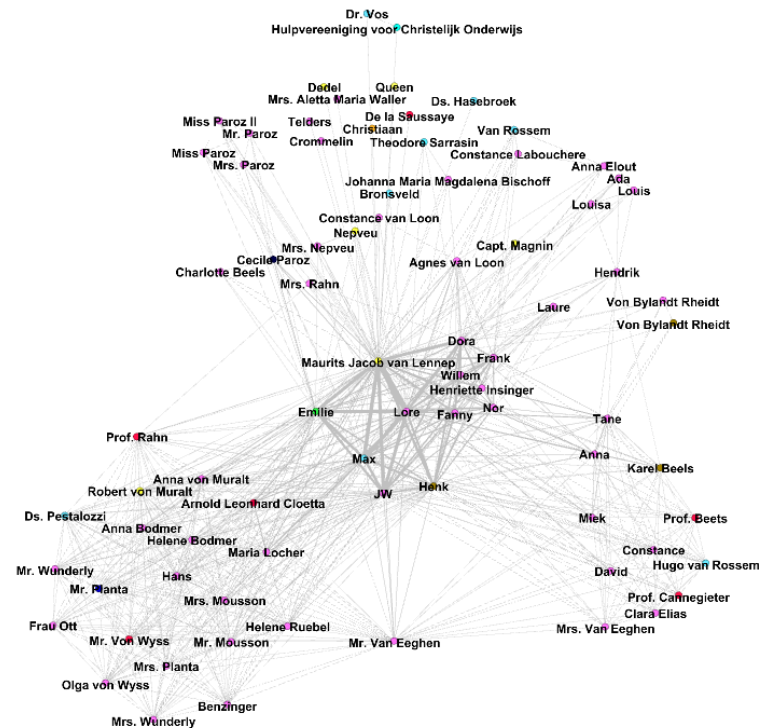


Figure 31 (left) and 32 (down). The domestic social networks of Maurits Jacob van Lennep (1830 – 1913), as depicted in his 1880 (left) and 1883 (down) memoirs. The figures show the nodes' employment.

For 1880, the percentages are as follows: 49,25 unemployed (pink), 10,45% merchants (orange), 10,4% politicians and diplomats (yellow), 5,97% unknown (purple), 7,47% clergymen (light blue), 2,99% students (brown), 2,98% servants (black), 1,49% lawyers (dark blue), 1,49% engineers (dark green), 2,98% board member institutions (red), 2,98% doctors and nurses (light pink), and 1,49% artists (light green).

For 1883, the percentages are as follows: 64,56% unemployed (pink), 11,40% clergymen and religious institutions (light blue), 7,6% politicians and diplomats (yellow), 7,6% professors (red), 3,8% students (brown), 1,27% servants (black), 1,27% lawyers (dark blue), 1,27% merchants (orange), and 1,27% artists (light green).



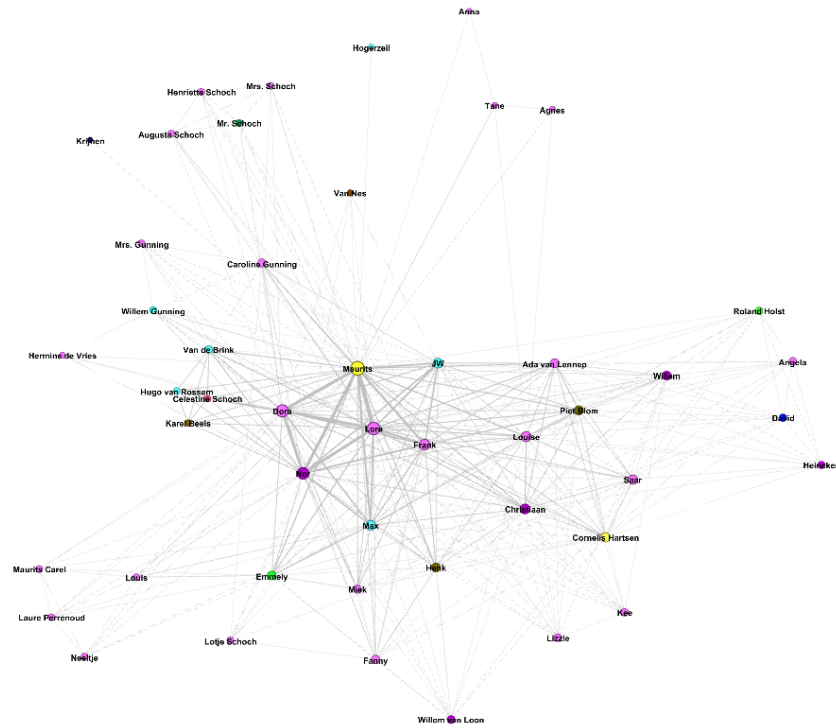
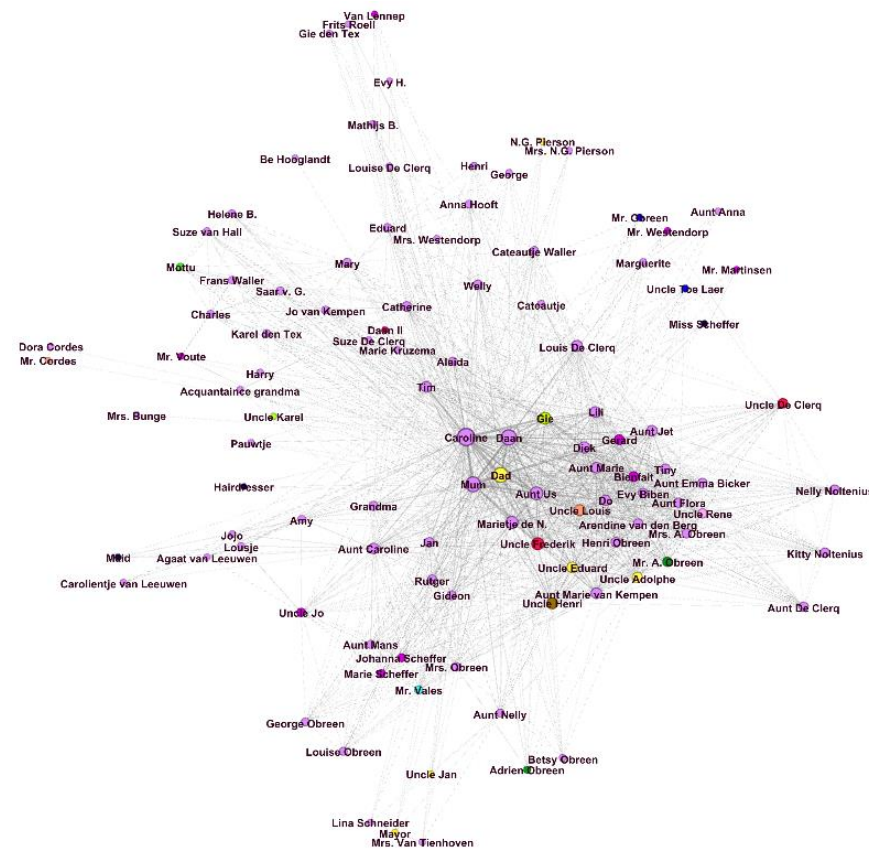


Figure 33 (above) and 34 (down). The domestic social networks of Maurits Jacob van Lennep (1830 – 1913), above, and Caroline Boissevain (1868 – 1945), down, as respectively depicted in their 1886 memoir and 1884 diary. The figures show the nodes' employment.

The percentages for Van Lennep (above) are as follows: 52,08% unemployed (pink), 12,50% clergymen (light blue), 10,42% unknown (purple), 8,35% student (brown), 4,16% politicians (yellow), 4,16% artists (light green), 2,08% servants (black), 2,08% engineers (dark blue), 2,08% military (dark green), and 2,08% activists (red).

The percentages for Boissevain are as follows: 69,44% unemployed (pink), 8,33% unknown (purple), 4,63% bankers (yellow), 2,78% servants (black), 1,86% board members (red), 1,86% editors (apple green), 1,85% engineers (dark green), 1,85% merchants (orange), 0,93% activists (dark red), 0,93% artists (light green), 0,93% police officer (light pink), 0,93% clergymen (light blue), 0,93% politicians and diplomats (yellow), and 0,93% professors and teachers (brown).



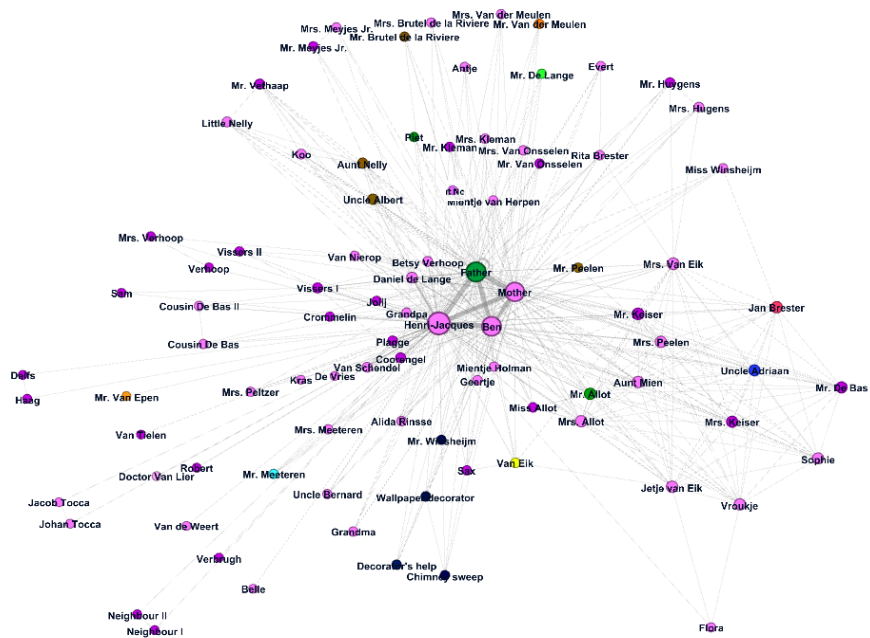
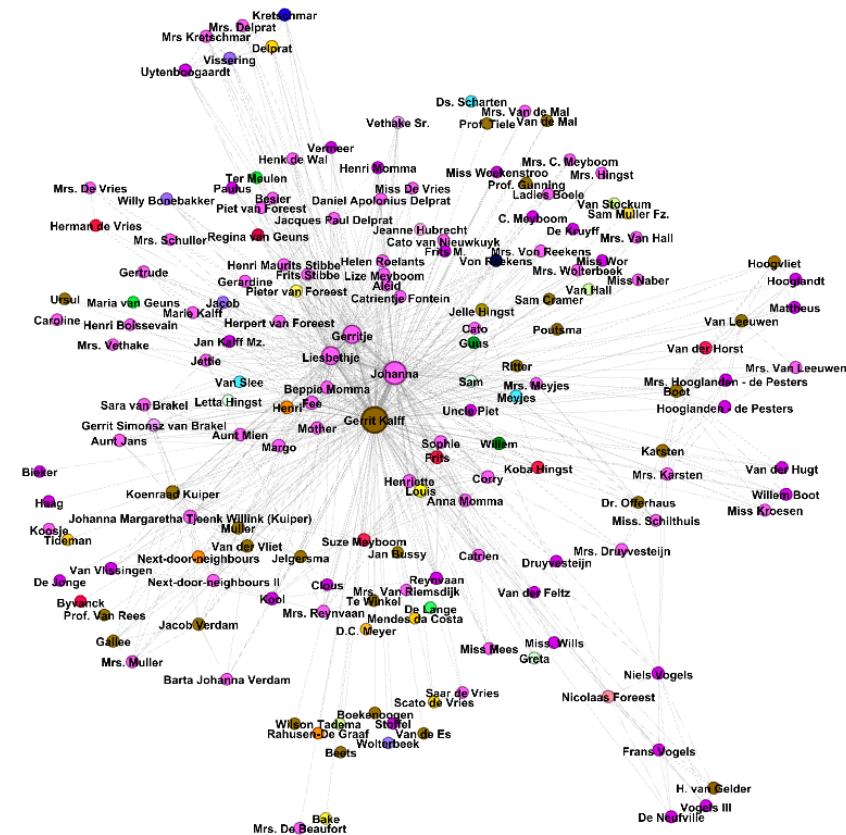


Figure 35 (left) and 36 (down). The domestic social networks of Henri-Jacques Scharp (1874 – 1957), above, and Gerrit Kalff (1856 – 1923), down, as respectively depicted in their 1889 and 1895 diary. The figures show the nodes' employment.

For Scharp, the percentages are as follows: 49,44% unemployed (pink), 29,21% unknown (purple), 4,48% military (dark green), 3,36% servants and handymen (black), 2,24% merchants (orange), 2,24% teachers and professors (dark brown), 1,12% students (light brown), 1,12% doctors (light pink), 1,12% inspectors (light blue), 1,12% board members (red), 1,12% attorneys (dark blue), and 1,12% insurers (yellow).

For Kalff, the percentages are as follows: 38,69% unemployed (pink), 19,05% unknown (purple), 15,48% professors and teachers (brown), 1,79% banker (light purple), 3,58% merchants (orange), 1,79% clergymen (light blue), 1,79% writers (light blue-green), 2,98% archivists, curators and conservators (dark yellow), 1,79% editors and publishers (lime green), 0,6% engineers (dark blue), 3,6% board members (red), 1,8% politicians (yellow), 0,6% students (light brown), 1,2% military (dark green), 0,6% office worker (coral red), 1,8% doctors and nurses (light pink), 0,6% judges (black), 0,6% social workers (dark red), and 0,6% artists (light green).



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- practische regelen voor mannen en vrouwen om zich in de beschaafde wereld volgens de daar heerschende gebruiken, bij plegtige gelegenheden en in gezellige kringen, als: dooppartijen, verloovings- en bruiloftsfeesten, verjaardagen, bezoeken van rouwbeklag en begrafenissen, concerten, schouwspelen, diners, bij het spel en op reis naar behooren te bewegen en zich den beschaafden levenstoon eigen te maken* (Leiden, 1868).
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## Abstract

Receiving guests at home was an essential part of the everyday lives of nineteenth-century Amsterdamse burghers, yet scholars have shown particularly little interest in it. Those who are intrigued by the subject mainly stay within the traditional qualitative research methods, studying only specific parts of it. Not only has this tunnel vision led to a limited view on the diversity of domestic sociability in general, but it has also overlooked the usage of quantitative methods for studying social in- and exclusion. As such, this thesis forms an introductory work in which the domestic visits of four middle- and high-class individuals living in Amsterdam between 1880 and 1895 were systematically studied.

The thesis showed that social in- and exclusion penetrated domestic sociability on three levels, or dimensions: 1) the temporal dimension, which was studied together with the general terminology that referred to domestic visits; 2) the social dimension; and 3) the spatial dimension. Using both prescriptive and descriptive sources, the first chapter systematically analysed the various forms of domestic sociability that existed in nineteenth-century Amsterdam. Carefully structured around the four meals, the social connotations connected to these visits implied that only close family members and friends were briefly welcomed during the mornings, while the afternoons were used for more time-consuming visits with both intimate and lesser-known individuals.

The in-depth analysis of the protagonists' social network revealed more about the company's structure. Using six categories (main form of sociability, personal relation, religion, age, gender, and profession), the chapter demonstrated the importance of both the nuclear and extended family, as well as acquaintances and friends to strengthen group identity and preserve the social safety net. At the same time, it showed that homogeneity regarding religion and employment were vast elements within the various visits.

The last chapter, in which the spatial dimension of domestic sociability was analysed, showed the existence of four areas within the house: 1) the restricted areas, only accessible for (specific members of) nuclear family and servants; 2) the semi-open spaces, in which both friends and extended family members were welcomed; 3) the open spaces, used for receiving acquaintances; and 4) non-spaces, which indicated that places of transience could also help form the group identity.

