The Commercial household. Market alternatives to intergenerational support in an EMP-area (the Netherlands, 17th century)

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Abstract

With this article we want to contribute to the debate on the role of life-cycle servanthood in the formation of the European Marriage Pattern (EMP) and its impact on female labour market participation. Our approach will show that servanthood was not just a consequence of the EMP, but a vital part of the 'correction mechanism' behind the EMP, to counter the negative side-effects of the changes in household composition. Servanthood should not only be seen as a 'labour market instrument' that allowed for pre-marriage saving, but also as a way to obtain the necessary social security, in particular when children had moved out to set up their own households. By means of an alternative method to classify households according to their composition, we can, more clearly than has been done so far, identify which households were extended, how they were extended, and what effects those extensions had on the viability of those households. This will show that not just the paid-, living-in servants were part of the 'correction mechanism' that emerged as a consequence of the EMP, but that other non-kin living in, such as lodgers, who paid for their stay in the household or were being paid for, were also important in the area under consideration. On the basis of a new large dataset on early 17th-century household composition in the northern Netherlands, we analyse the dependency between members of the household, and we can demonstrate that the role of non-kin living in - both paid members (in the form of servants) as well as paying members (lodgers, living-in, students etc.) - contributed significantly to the viability of the household and was an essential means of reducing nuclear hardship. In situations where kin were no longer present in the households and elderly parents were no longer (re)incorporated in the households of their children, the number of non-kin living in increased considerably. We therefore claim that the 'commercialisation' of a part of the household –by making it subject to forces of supply and demand - was a vital stage in the establishment and continuation of the EMP.

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Introduction

The European Marriage Pattern (EMP) of North Western Europe, with a high age at marriage for women, neolocal household formation, large numbers of singles and a small age gap between spouses, is generally believed to have given rise to substantially smaller households. Such households would have concentrated around a single/widowed/married head of household, his or her spouse and/or children: the so-called nuclear family household.[2] This is in contrast to non-EMP areas where the extended household remained dominant.[3] Due to the limited number of generations in the household, nuclear households have, in general, fewer adults around to contribute financially or to provide care. In addition, when the age gap between spouses is smaller, and people get married relatively late (as in EMP areas), the life courses of spouses will coincide. Young adults with children might not be able to provide for their children and their ageing parents simultaneously, a problem referred to as life-cycle squeezes.[4] Those young, unmarried adults would have had time to move away from their parents to earn their income as servants or apprentices before getting married, which is referred to as life-cycle servanthood.[5] Similarly, parents whose children had already left the household but were not yet 'old' could have enjoyed a double income, which in turn made it possible to save for old age. This possibility might have stimulated saving as well as investing, both before marriage and after children left the household.

Strangely enough, servanthood has so far been mainly considered as a process leading up to household formation because of its contribution to pre-marital savings and its influence on the postponement of marriage. Studies have primarily focused on the (quantitative) importance of servants within society as a whole, whereby comparisons of the percentage of servants in the whole population have led to conclusions that service was a much more common practice in the North of Europe, in comparison to the south of Europe, or for that matter 'the Mediterranean'.[6] Other studies have focused on the relationship with masters, mainly based on qualitative analysis of ego-documents.[7] Servanthood has not yet been studied in the light of household formation processes and its role in facilitating changes such households could go through. In fact quite to the contrary: servants are usually not even considered to make a difference in the classification of households, and are often not even counted as 'real' household members. We emphasize that not only extensions with kin have an impact on the way households cope with 'nuclear hardship' caused by life-cycle squeezes, but that families in EMP-areas could have solved nuclear hardship –at least temporarily- with commercial solutions that extended their families. By 'commercialising' a position in the household –either by 'buying labour' (servants) or by 'selling space' (lodgers) - households could overcome temporary hardship of a financial or physical nature. The non-kin extended households, therefore, should be considered separately in order to be able to study this important aspect of the EMP. For if young adults actually were part of the households they worked in - and North-western European households also included other strangers that were paid to be part of the household (servants), had to pay to do so (lodgers), or were being paid for by charity (orphans, widows or the poor) - it is clear that the EMP initially led to a new form of

[2] John Hajnal, 1995. 'European marriage patterns in perspective', in D.V. Glass and D. E. C. Eversley (eds.), *Population in History (*1965*), pp.* 101–43; Christopher Lundh, 'Households and families in pre-industrial Sweden', Continuity and Change 10 (1) , 33-68.

[3] Reher, D.S. 1998. Family Ties in Western Europe: Persistent Contrasts. P*opulation and Development Review,* **24**, 2, 203-34. Macfarlane, Alan, 1981. Demographic structures and cultural regions in in Europe. Cambridge Anthropology, Vol. 6 no. 1 & 2, p 3.

[4] Laslett, P. 1988. Family, kinship and collectivity as systems of support in pre-industrial Europe: a consideration of the 'nuclear-hardship' hypothesis. *Continuity and Change,* **3**, 2, pp 169; Gove, W., Grimm, J., Motz, S.C and Thompson, J. 1973. The family life cycle: Internal dynamics and social consequences. *Sociology & Social Research*, **57**, 2, 182-95; Oppenheimer, V. K. 1974. The life-cycle squeeze: The interaction of men's occupational and family life cycles. *Demography,* **11**, 2, 227-45; Van Dusen, R. A. and Sheldon, E. B. 1976. The Changing Status of American Women: A Life Cycle Perspective. *American Psychologist*, **31**, 2, 106-16; A. Bouman, C.J. Zuijderduijn and T. De Moor, From hardship to benefit: A critical review of the nuclear hardship theory in relation to the emergence of the European Marriage Pattern, CGEH Working Paper Series, March 2012

[5] Laslett, P. 1988. Family, kinship and collectivity as systems of support in pre-industrial Europe: a consideration of the 'nuclear-hardship' hypothesis. *Continuity and Change,* **3**, 2, p:155.

[6] Peter Laslett, 1965. *The World We Have Lost*, New York; D. S. Reher, 1998. 'Family Ties in Western Europe: Persistent Contrasts', *Population and Development Review*, Vol. 24, No. 2 (Jun.), pp. 203-34. Pier Paolo Viazzo, 2003. 'What's so special about the Mediterranean? 'Thirty years of research on household and family in Italy', *Continuity and Change* 18(1), 111-37.

[7] e.g. Alison Light, **2007.** *Mrs. Woolf and the Servants: An Intimate History of Domestic Life in Bloomsbury and The servant's hand: English fiction from below*, New York: Bloomsbury.

household formation, giving rise to a kind of (temporary) 'commercial household'.[8] The actual size of a *family* –with nuclear households being in principle smaller than extended ones - is in this approach of lesser importance, as extensions with non-kin could have led to equally large *households* in the north in comparison to the south. *Families* might have been smaller in EMP areas, but some *households* remained –at some points in the life-cycle, and this is a particularly important point – large, due to integration of non-kin. Relationships with extended kin might have been replaced by commercialized relationships, which either provided help and care in exchange for money, or provided money in exchange for a meal and a roof over one's head. We argue that this 'commercialisation', in response to the weakening family ties, was a vital aspect of the mechanisms behind the development of the European Marriage Pattern, although there were –as we have demonstrated elsewhere - also other solutions to hardship outside the realm of family or confines of the household.[9]

In a further reflection upon this phenomenon one could also claim that such commercialisation made the EMP-household more flexible in adjusting to changing internal (household composition) and external (economic hardship, other opportunities) circumstances, maintaining the household at an *optimal* size, instead of –what could be expected in more extended households- a *maximal* size. This situation might have been temporary, but the beginning and end of this temporary commercialisation of the household, and its role in the creation of the pre-industrial labour market, all remain unclear. A few authors have offered some hints. Hareven suggested that the eventual loss of the flexibility regarding the incorporation of strangers in the household started at the beginning of the 20th century and would change the form of the household substantially.[10] Skolnick, amongst others, connected this flexibility with changes in the labour market.[11] We will, in this article, not try to re-evaluate this relationship but start with the basics, those of identifying the size of the phenomenon (i.e. non-kin living in) and the mechanisms behind it.

On the basis of this reasoning, we may assume that households in EMP areas might have incorporated large numbers of non-kin *exactly* because they needed a helping hand or could use additional money, as kin were no longer providing both. Thus, instead of stressing 'agency' at the labour supply side – servants wanting to work because they needed to save for their marriage - we stress the actions undertaken by the 'demand'-side. Understanding such a 'commercial household' requires a view on lifecycles - not primarily of servants or lodgers themselves, as has been the focus of the servanthood-debate so far - but of households. If households were able to save in specific periods, they might have had the means in other periods to 'buy' the extra hands they needed, for as long as they were needed. In doing so they created a labour market for young people, including young women, who could, in turn, save money before getting married. Vulnerable households might furthermore have strengthened their positions by having non-kin living in. Widows might have shared households to cut expenses.: letting part of their dwelling could have provided them the opportunity to stay at home and generate an income.

Understanding such mechanisms requires both a dynamic approach and a possibility to shed light on the income levels of households, as we will demonstrate in this article. In this article we will look at the dynamics of the household by comparing a large set of households for a single point in time. In a forthcoming article we will study the changes over a longer period of time that take place within a number of households.

In order to deepen our understanding of this mechanism, we deal with a number of issues in this article, all related to living-in non-kin in the early modern Dutch household, hereby challenging historians, sociologists and anthropologists with a new perspective on households in EMP areas.

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[8] Lutz Berkner point at the fact that 'the family' in Germany not only included relatives but also servants. Lutz. K. Berkner, 1972. 'The Stem Family and the Developmental Cycle of the Peasant Household', *American Historical Review*, LXXVII , 398-418.

[9] A. Bouman, C.J. Zuijderduijn and T. De Moor, From hardship to benefit: A critical review of the nuclear hardship theory in relation to the emergence of the European Marriage Pattern, CGEH Working Paper Series, March 2012.

[10] Tamara Hareven, 1982.*Family time and industrial time: the relationship between the family and work in a New England industrial community*. New York: Cambridge University Press. p449.

[11] 'Above all, the preindustrial household was an economic unit and its need for labor determined how many people lived together under one roof. Families often brought in older children and young adults as servants and apprentices, and send out their own children to work in other households if they were not needed at home.' Arlene Skolnick, 1992. 'Changes of Heart, family dynamics in historical perspective' in: *Family, Self, and Society, Toward A New Agenda for Family Research*, Philip A. Cowan, Dorothy Field, Donald A. Hansen, Arlene Skolnick, Guy E. Swanson (eds), Routledge, p. 48.

In the first part we will discuss the existing literature on servants and 'inmates' (in the meaning of 'living-in person') regarding household formation and composition, followed by a discussion of the categories used to classify households. Considering the rather blurred categories some of the most prominent scholars have used to analyse households, a new classification that takes into account the relationship between household members is necessary to understand the phenomenon of the 'commercial household'. Following this theoretical section we will introduce our source - a dataset of the 17th-century northern Netherlands. an area right at the core of the EMP- and our methodology. Furthermore, we link the analyses of household composition in early modern NW-Europe to previous publications by Laslett (for England) and Van der Woude (for the Netherlands) among others, comparing figures on household composition and household size. In our conclusions we will state that most of these households were indeed nuclear family households, and that the elderly usually were not reincorporated in the households of their children –which is in line with the expectations formulated in the Nuclear Hardship literature. Our analysis demonstrates that parents were far more likely to take in non-kin than live with their own children. Our analysis also shows that the dominance of the nuclear family (at the expense of the extended family) led to a high degree of dependence on non-family related help, 'filling the gap' that could no longer be filled by the extended family. An explanation for this and one of the primary features of the European Marriage Pattern is neolocality, whereby a young couple forms its own household at marriage, instead of moving into one of the parents' households.[12] This very idea can be considered as the ideological basis for the presence of nuclear hardship, in combination with the late marriage age for both men and women, which might have been a direct consequence of it as well (creating the need for men and women to work before marriage).

The commercial household provided labour market opportunities, in particular for women, and simultaneously provided opportunities for heads of household - including single female heads of household - to earn an income by sharing their household with others on a commercial basis. In turn, such temporary lodging arrangements provided opportunities for labour mobility and flexibility. Our study can demonstrate this only for the early 17th century, a period when the Dutch economy was flourishing. Considering that in later centuries this particular phenomenon largely disappeared, the commercial household may have formed an essential step in the development of the household oriented towards a commercial economy, rather than a permanent feature of the EMP.

Connecting the dots: EMP, NH, life cycle service and household composition

In his Nuclear Hardship Theory, Peter Laslett claims that the increasing dominance of the nuclear household could lead to hardship among ageing parents and other groups in society in need of care.[13] But not only ageing parents would suffer from hardship; since grandparents were no longer found within the nuclear family households, parents had to solve the lack of helping hands. Financial stress (poverty) and a lack of care often coincided for elderly parents and their offspring who had young children of their own.[14] In non-EMP areas enough adults were present within the household to provide both care and income through labour. Marital partners were often in different phases of their life course, which relieved the stress on the care for the elderly, who would, logically, also be in a different phase of their life course. Given this and our earlier explanation of the emergence of a 'commercial household', an essential element in our interpretation of the nuclear hardship theory is thus the lack of cohabitation of multiple generations, and the extent to which the room left open by other generations was 'commercialised', and filled in by in particular non-kin. We thus need to distinguish between

[12] Smith, Daniel Scott. 1993. American family and demographic patterns and the Northwestern European model. *Continuity and change* 8:389-415. Kertzer, David. 1991. "Household History and Sociological Theory," *Annual Review of Sociology* 17: 155-79. Smith, D.S., 1993. "The Curious History of Theorizing about the History of the Western Nuclear Family" Social Science History, 17: 325-353.

[13] Laslett, P. 1988. Family, kinship and collectivity as systems of support in pre-industrial Europe: a consideration of the 'nuclear-hardship' hypothesis. *Continuity and Change,* **3**, 2, 153-75; Smith, J. 1984a. Widowhood and ageing in traditional English society, *Ageing and Society,* **4**, 429-49; Smith, R. 1984b. Some issues concerning families and their property in rural England 1250-1800' In Smith, R. (ed.), *Land, kinship and life-cycle*. Cambridge, United Kingdom, 1-86.

[14] Di Matteo, L. 1998. Wealth accumulation and the life-cycle in economic history: implications of alternative approaches to data. Explorations in economic history, 35, 296-324.

different generations on the one hand, and kin versus non-kin on the other.

The household classification system Laslett developed does not tell us if households included non-kin, and consequently does not tell us which households were extended by non-kin:[15]

Table 1. Categories by Peter Laslett

Solitaries	Households consisting of one person.
No-family households	Households consisting of two or more related or non-related persons living together, without a couple being present.
Simple family households	Households consisting of a couple, or the remainder of a couple (a widow or widower), with or without their (unmarried) children.
Extended family households	Households with a family member (not belonging to the nuclear family) living in, but without his or her spouse or children
Multiple family households	Households with a secondary couple living in (i.e. when a spouse of a child is living in, or the spouse of a parent).
Indeterminate	Households where kin linkages are insufficient for classification in any category above.

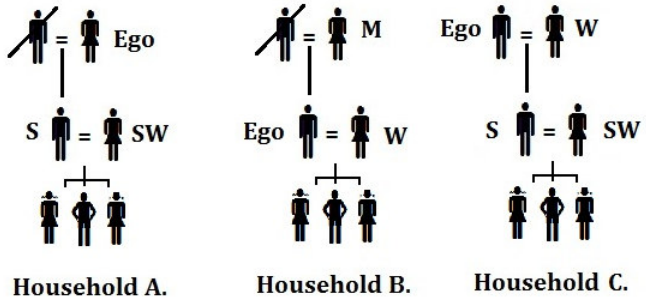
Servants can be found in simple, extended, multiple and indeterminate family households.[16] It is not clear how inmates fit into this classification: Laslett never fails to mention they are not considered a part of the household, but does not clarify whether he counts them separately, ignores their presence in the census data or removes them on purpose. When Laslett presents figures on the proportion of servants on the total number of households in England, France, Serbia, Japan and America, he specifically mentions the inmates and inmate households as being excluded from the Serbian data.[17] What occurred with the other inmates, or for that matter inmate households, in the English, French, Japanese and American data, is not clear. Another problem with the classification based on a central couple is that it becomes impossible to determine who is living in with whom, although this can also be a consequence of the restrictions created by the source material. The following example, also pictured in the figure below, demonstrates that details about household composition are most valuable to understanding intergenerational support.

[15] Already in 1967 Ronald Bender described similar concerns regarding the anthropological view of households that linked residence directly to kinship based on the work of for instance Fischer and Bohannan. (Bender, Donald R. 1967. 'A refinement of the concept of household: Families, co-residence, and domestic functions.' *American Anthropologist* 69: p.497.

[16] Laslett argues that servants hardly affect the final structure of households and therefore his classifications are based solely on kinship. In her critique of the article 'Household and Kinship: Ryton in the late 16th and early 17th centuries' by Miranda Chayton, Olivia Harris criticises not only Chayton, but also Laslett's ideas on the inclusion or exclusion of servants in his classification of households. Harris states that the presence of servants within a household 'necessarily affect[s] the degree of cooperation in different forms of labour between kin and neighbours', which would especially affect the lives of female household members and their domestic tasks. When children, furthermore, are likely to move out of the household as teenagers, Harris questions the idea of the 'nuclear family household' and proposes the term '*truncated* nuclear family'. Such households might only include a couple and the younger children, as well as servants. Harris, Olivia, 1982. *Households and Their Boundaries*. History Workshop, No. 13 p148-149.

[17] Table 1.6 on page 76: 'All MHS [Mean Household Size) ratios approximately correspond to uncorrected maximal mean household size (ratio 3 of Table 4.2 below) except in the case of Belgrade where it corresponds to ratio 5 in that table. This ratio excludes both individual inmates and inmate households.' From: Laslett, Peter, 1978. Introduction, the history of the family. In: Peter Laslett and Richard Wall (eds), *Household and Family in Past Time: Comparative Studies in the Size and Structure of the Domestic Group Over the Last Three Centuries in England, France, Serbia, Japan and Coloni : North America*. Cambridge University Press. In another article on household size in England he also excludes inmates: 'individual lodgers' which he classifies as 'persons outside households'. See table 2 page 207 in 'The household in England over three centuries'. Laslett, Peter, 1969. The Household in England over Three Centuries. Population Studies. Vol. 23. No. 2. P207.

Figure 1: Different ways to classify households according to composition



Note: Ego is the head of household as mentioned in the sources.

In the above figure, Household A, for instance, consists of a widow (Ego= the head of household), with an living-in son, his wife and their children. Household B consists of a male (Ego= the head of household), his wife, their children and his widowed mother living in. The classification used by Laslett disguises the dependency between the members of the household. His classification labels both households as 'upward extended', since the couple, rather than the head of household, is central. This is problematic if one looks for the relationship between the composition of a household and the contribution of children to elderly care. In our classification we will distinguish A and C – as downward extended households - from B, as an upward extended household. In Laslett's analysis A and B would have been considered as extended households and C as a multiple family household.

With the above example, we intend to make clear that to reveal the significance of non-kin living in and the absence of family members in the role of carers, we need a classification which does more than distinguish between households that are simple, extended or multiple extended, which are in fact rather classifications of family within the household, instead of classifications of households. We need to see all different kinds of extensions, whether they consist of kin or non-kin, and these need to be counted beginning from the household head and extending upward or downward.

Household composition in a core-EMP-area (17th -century Northern Netherlands): the sources

Any research into household size or composition is destined to use census or at least census-like data, for whatever reason they have been collected.[18] In the Netherlands the oldest useful sources that include many of the variables we are looking for seem to be the '*Hoofdgeldlijsten'* or poll tax registers.[19] During the Dutch War of Independence, near the end of the Twelve Years' Truce (1609-1622), the Spanish again threatened to attack Holland with sieges of Bergen-op-Zoom and Breda. In need of new funds, the *Staten-Generaal* demanded a contribution of 'one guilder' per inhabitant of *De Staten van Holland en West-Friesland*, to be collected by *De Provinciale Staten*, both in town and

[18] Parish records and genealogies cannot reveal what households looked like in the past, since they do not mention living-in non-kin. And whereas there might be ego-documents (such as wills, diaries, or court records) that do so, the use of such documents for this purpose is time consuming and only provides small samples. Cf. Berkner, Lutz. 1975. The Use and Misuse of Census Data for the Historical Analysis of Family Structure *The Journal of Interdisciplinary History* Vol. 5, No. 4, The History of the Family, II , pp. 721-738.

[19] The sources provide us with a cross-section of a whole population in a certain area and time. However, we have to keep in mind that the data might have been meddled with to prevent taxation. The fact that names had not yet been standardized poses another difficulty. One and the same person might have been registered in different registrations under quite different names, making it hard to trace them in different documents that might validate the census data. Dirck Adriaenszn, for instance, might be registered as Dirk/Dirc/Dircк, Adriaensz/Arentszn/Adriaens and Arentsz. The fact that the data have been collected by groups of men, who were themselves inhabitants of the villages or towns they registered, makes it likely they knew at least part of the households personally. In the case of Leiden, they furthermore seem to have followed a similar route tax officers before them had taken, which gave them a point of reference. All in all, the amount of detail provided gives us confidence in the accuracy of the data.

countryside (*ambachten*).[20] This '*Hoofdgeld'*, a taxation on the 'heads' (*hoofden*) of all citizens regardless of their age, status or property, was intended to be raised between 1622 and 1623.[21] The resulting sources have survived for a number of large towns, such as Leiden and Gouda, and a fairly large number of villages in their vicinity.

In our sources, lodgers, students and servants were described as members of those 'blocks' or households. In the *Hoofdgeld*-sources from Leiden the question whether someone 'belonged' to a household is addressed in an even more specific way. Here we see how people are 'accounted for' in the household while they are temporarily absent, for instance if they were in the army or at sea; others are described as living in but 'accounted for elsewhere', for instance a young servant who is accounted for at a parents' house. This source even indicates who had been registered before (there must have been a version prior to the *Hoofdgeld*-taxation of 1622-23), but had moved or disappeared. In building our database, we decided to base conclusions solely on persons who were present within the households (thus excluding those living elsewhere, whether temporarily or permanently).[22]

To collect data, interviewers followed specific itineraries going from house to house. And, in the case of the *Hoofdgeld*-source from Leiden, interviewers described their inquiries road by road, including addresses and household numbers. If units are mentioned separately, it is indicated if they were sharing one house (in the Leiden data this is done by adding a/b/c to the household number).[23] Whenever servants and lodgers provided for their own (*'buiten de kost'*) this is also mentioned separately, which indicates that lodgers and servants normally might have shared in the provisions of the economic unit in which they lived.

We have used *Hoofdgeld*-sources from the Zuiderkwartier[24] and added specifics such as gender, the anthropological notation for the relationships within the household (on the basis of the indications given in the source), and information on, for instance, the living in of persons mentioned and whether they were poor or not, for 41 hamlets/villages in total,[25] as well as the town of Leiden, all stemming from 1622-23. The number of households in the *Ambachten* is 7,998 (36,176 inhabitants in

[20] A very similar format of inquiry seems to have been used over and over again in subsequent centuries in different regions of the Netherlands. In Zeeland we find '*gemaallijsten'* from 1687-88, which are in every aspect comparable to the *hoofdgeld* sources from the Zuiderkwartier. Similarly, such sources are available for the whole province of Overijssel, dating from August 1748, and are referred to as '*personele quotisatie'* or '*hoofdelijke omslag'*. Although all those sources should definitely be considered in their context (they contain similar information, on different periods and different regions, with a dissimilar historical context and dissimilar modes of production), the format of those taxations is very consistent. All those 'poll tax sources' dating from 1622 till the nineteenth century give us similar data, including time and region of the census, the head of household, his or her marital status, all persons related to the head of household as well as living-in non-kin. Sometimes it is added that a household is not able to pay the tax.

[21] Holland and West Friesland were divided in a northern and a southern region, called Noorderkwartier (with the cities Alkmaar, Hoorn, Enkhuizen, Edam, Monnikendam, Medemblik and Purmerend) and Zuiderkwartier (with the cities Dordrecht, Haarlem, Delft, Leiden, Amsterdam, Gouda, Rotterdam, Gorichem, Schiedam, Schoonhoven and Brielle), respectively, with a total of eighteen cities between them. Most of the records from these cities have however been lost. We find several references to those records, c.f. van Dillen, J.G., 1940. "Summiere staat van de in 1622 in de Provincie Holland gehouden volkstelling," *Economisch-Historisch Jaarboek*, 21, 167-189**.** A. M. van der Woude, 1972. 'Variations in the size and structure of the household in the United Provinces of the Netherlands in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries', in: *Household and Family in Past Times*, Peter Laslett (ed.), Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 299-318.. Van der Woude describes how the original records were collected by the Dutch demographer Nicolas Struyck, of whom all original data are lost. Cf. Nicolas Struyck, Beschrijving der Staartsterren en nader ontdekkingen omtrent den staat van het menselijk geslagt, 1753.

[22] Literature about European households generally assumes that there is just one household head in charge, even if there is a couple present. The poll tax sources in the Netherlands confirm this idea: only the name of the first individual in the tax registers is in most cases mentioned entirely. And only in the case of widowhood is marital state added, while for married couples the spouse is mentioned in the second place, sometimes even without their proper name ('the spouse of…'). John Hajnal sees the fact that married males are appointed household heads as a specific rule of normal household formation in Northwest European households; 'After marriage a couple are in charge of their household (the husband is head of household).' John Hajnal, 'Two Kinds of Preindustrial Household Formation', *Population and Development Review*, Vol. 8, No. 3 (Sep., 1982), p. 452.

[23] Whereas the different units within a dwelling might have been called a/b/c, we have not automatically assumed household b to be living in with household a. We have only considered people to be living in if this can be inferred from the source itself. However, we see an overlap that might implicate that the b/c/etc. units lived in with households mentioned as a. This sometimes becomes clear if households could not have been completely independent: their dwelling might be referred to as a room, a cellar, an attic, or even the kitchen itself.

[24] To construct our database we have gratefully used the transcriptions provided by Hogenda, the Hollandse Geneologische Databank, and more specifically the sources collected and transcribed by F.J.A.M van der Helm, as well as their transcriptions of the Hoofdgeld data of Leiden.

[25] Aarlanderveen, Achtienhoven, Benthoorn/Hoogeveen, Hoogmade, Vrije Bouchorst, Vrijenhoeff, Alphen, Berkel en Rodenrijs, Stompwijk/Leidschendam/Wilsveen, Hazerswoude, beider Katwijken en 't Sant, Leimuiden, Rijnsaterwoude, Ter Aar, Voorschoten, Alkemade, Nieuwkoop, Esselijkerwoude, Lisse, Wassenaar, Zoeterwoude, Calslagen, Koudekerk a/d Rijn, Cuijdelstaert, Nieuweveen/Uitterbuurt, Noorden, Noordwijkerhout, Oegstgeest, Oudshoorn/Gnephoek, Swammerdam, Voorhout, Vriesecoop, Warmond, Zevenhoven/Noorden.

total) and in Leiden 4,264 (18,993 inhabitants in total), making thus an overall total of 12,262 households, with a total of 55,169 inhabitants.[26] [27] As mentioned above, we need a new classification method for households which tells us how families are extended, thus also providing information on dependency of household members.[28] Whereas Laslett chooses to call all single parents with children widowed, and classified living-in children without a living-in spouse automatically as single,[29] we choose to register only the actually mentioned marital relationships, if indicated. We do not distinguish between singles and widowed persons, only between those with or without a spouse.[30] The 'nuclear core' of a household, also called the 'central nucleus' by Laslett and Hammel, consisting of a nuclear family (a head of household, with or without his or her spouse and/or children), will now be depicted as follows:

F/M (Gender) – 0/1 (Spouse absent or present) – 0-15 (Number of children)[31]

By using the nuclear core plus extensions, we can not only see if households were extended by kin or non-kin, but also what kinds of nuclear cores were extended by kin or non-kin.

A complete overview of all different relationships to the household head by using the anthropological notational system might become quite elaborate. In the case of our database we counted 74 different relationships to Ego (head of household). This makes it possible to register the relationship between all household members, but makes a thorough comparison too complicated. For the purpose of household classification, we therefore lumped categories together to simplify the amount of possible kinship extensions. Basically, our household classification differentiates between Kin and Non-Kin extensions.. In the table below we give an overview of the ways in which we have grouped the households.[32]

[26] The source of Leiden might not be entirely complete, as is indicated by the people that transcribed it. This is also clear from the list of students, who were accounted for in a separate registration or '*bon'* that registered the different areas of Leiden that they lived in. From this source it is clear that Noort Rapenburch, Burchstreng, Overmaren Lantzijde, Hogemorsch and Sevenhuysen might be missing. The Hoofdgeld sources from the Ambachten have been added as far as their transcriptions were available and usable. Therefore the Hoofdgeld sources from the ambachten are by no means exhaustive, and await historians to take up the strenuous task of making them as complete as possible. Since the sources of the Noorderkwartier have been lost, this is worth the effort.

[27] In the same period we find the term 'haardstedengeld', referring to a tax on fireplaces or chimneys. Although in Drenthe this tax was eventually executed by counting horses, the original thought was to tax households not by the roof they lived under, but by the number of fireplaces. Anthropological literature on nomads in Africa also refers to the household with the term hearthhold, which indicates a group of people that shares food and not necessarily a roof. Cf. Mirjam de Bruijn, 1997. 'The Hearthhold in Pastoral Fulbe Society, Central Mali: Social Relations, Milk and Drought', *Africa* 67 (4), 625-651.

[28] Our database contains, apart from the numbers per source, household and person, a number of useful elements: the relationship between the head of household and the household member, described with the anthropological notational system, his or her gender and his or her marital status (if known). For the purpose of the research additional labels have been created for the non-kin living in, depending on the categories mentioned in the original data: servants, for instance, have been labeled 'L', lodgers 'Lodger', adopted children 'A', students 'Student', non-kin referred to as living in as 'Living-in', and unspecified non-kin living in 'other'.

[29] Laslett explains the rules for the 'presumption' of the marital status as either single, widowed or married at page 88 of his introduction to the book he edits together with Richard Wall. Laslett, Peter and Richard Wall, 1972. *Household and Family in Past Times.* Cambridge University Press, 1-90.

[30] It is not always indicated if persons are single or widowed. Laslett assumes all heads of household with children but without a spouse to be widowed, and classifies them as such. (cf. Hammel & Laslett) We need to ask ourselves if the label single or widow(er) attributes to our understanding of household formation, if some labels are lacking and attributed by interpretation. Therefore we decided to label them only as far as they are labelled in the original source. Therefore our classification does not distinguish between singles and widow(ers). Hammel, E. A. and Laslett, P. 1974. Comparing Household Structure over Time and between Cultures. *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, **16**, 1, 73-109.

[31] e.g. F-0-4 indicating a single female head of household, without a spouse but with four children, M-1-2 a couple with two children, and M-0-0, a single male head of household without children. Both M and F with a spouse, M-1-0 and F-1-0, thus depict couples.

[32] The labels we have used should be followed by HH, indicating household composition (except in the case of solitaries, since solitaries are in themselves solitary, not belonging to a family or a household). The terms conjugal (a couple), nuclear (a couple, or a widow[er] with children), joint (siblings living together) and extended (other family members that do not belong to the 'nuclear core' living in) can also be used when referring to families. When we add HH, however, we indicate household composition. If we refer to families, we should always add the word family (conjugal family, nuclear family, joint family, extended family) to avoid confusion.

Table 2: Terminology used in this paper to classify households according to their composition

Type no.	Household form	Household composition	Core and/or extension
1.	**Solitaries**	Only the head of household living in the household	**Nuclear Core** The household core consists of a head of household, with or without a spouse and with or without children.
2.	**Conjugal HH**	A head of household with a spouse, no children present	
3a.	**Nuclear HH**	A head of household, with with a spouse and children present	
3b.	**Nuclear HH**	A head of household, without a spouse, but with children present	
4a..	**Joint** (extended sideways) **HH**	A nuclear core with an extension sideways: siblings living together without spouses or children.	
4b.	**Joint** (extended sideways) **HH**	A nuclear core with an extension sideways: siblings living together with a spouse and/or children	**Kin extended** A nuclear core with kin living in, whether sideways, parental, downward, upward or in any other way related to one of the members in the nuclear core.
5.	**Extended HH**	Any combination of 5a.-5d	
5a.	Extended (parental) HH	A nuclear core and a parent or several parents living in	
5b.	Extended (downward) HH	A nuclear core and a downward extension (grandchildren, great grandchildren);	
5c.	Extended (upward) HH	A nuclear core with an upward extension (no parents, though they are also upward extensions, here we only classify grandparents and great-grandparents)	
5d.	Extended (other-kin) HH	A nuclear core with any relative (that does not fit the parental, downward, upward category) living in	
4.+5.	Joint + Extended HH	Any combination of 4 and 5a-5d	
6a.	**Non-Kin Extended HH**	A nuclear core with living-in servants	**Non-kin extended** A nuclear core extended by non-kin living in the household
6b.	**Non-Kin Extended HH**	A nuclear core with living-in inmates	
6c.	**Non-Kin Extended HH**	A nuclear core with living-in servants and inmates	
4.+6.	Joint + Non-kin HH	A combination of 4. and 6.	**Double extended** A nuclear core with both kin as well as non-kin living in the household
5.+6.	Extended + Non-kin HH	A combination of 5a-5d and 6.	
4.+5.+6.	Joint + Extended + Non-kin HH	A combination of 4., 5a-5d and 6.	

For the different generations within a household we use strings with a binary system: 0=absent, 1 is present. Ego always forms the core of the string. In our database we designed strings showing two

generations upward (with parents, upward) and three generations downward (children, downward).[33] For example, 0-1-E-1-0-0 indicates a family (within a household) consisting of three consecutive generations: parents, Ego and children.[34]

Extensions by kin and non-kin (servant, inmates): a comparison within the Netherlands

In our analysis we need to focus on a number of questions. First of all, we want to identify the importance of the "typical" EMP household, those households – nuclear and otherwise - that consisted of just one couple with or without children; moreover, we want to identify the position of the elderly within these households. Secondly, we want to find out to what extent households were taking in non-kin to help out in the household and what type of household did so: were these households with or without children? Thirdly we want to contrast this with the number of households which extended upward in order to find out whether those in need of support at old age could count on their children, or if they had to commercialise part of their household in order to get sufficient help.

'Nuclear' versus extended households

How many households did not have any kin or non-kin extensions, and are generally indicated as 'nuclear family households' in the (not so specific) literature? We need to be specific about what households we include, to make comparisons with other datasets possible. The term 'nuclear family households' is often used for the households which dominate in EMP areas, but it is not always clear if those 'nuclear households' include solitaries or families that are extended by non-kin, such as servants. We want to separate the households that consist of just the nuclear core, the households thus without living-in kin or non-kin, which means that we include a maximum of two generations of parents and children. This could, as the figure below demonstrates, include solitaries as well, and also siblings without the presence of a parent or spouse.[35]

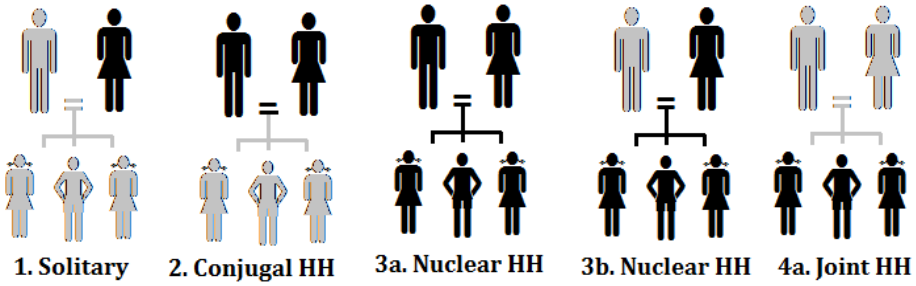
[33] The category downward is split into grandchildren and great-grandchildren. However, the number of necessary generations will differ per dataset: we had only two families with living-in great-grandchildren, and no families with living-in great-grandparents.

[34] The following example, taken from our Leiden data, serves to demonstrate the classification:

Original text	Labels	Classification
Huish#: 202 Straat: Corte Raemsteech, N 1 m: Malliaert Brievaert, cammer 2 v: Lijsbeth Joosten 3 k: Anna 4 k: Jan alhier slapen ende logeren 5 ap: Gillis Duramel, uyt Artois, cammer; weeten niet beter off blijven metter woon 6 ap: Franchoys Gordain; van Atrecht, cammer	1 m = Ego, male, married 2 v = W (Wife), female, married 3 k = D (Daughter), female 4 k = S (Son), male 5 ap = Lodger, male 6 ap = Lodger, male	**Nuclear core:** M-1-2 (Male headed household-spouse-two children) **Extension:** Non-Kin Therefore classifies as **'Non-kin extended HH'**

[35] Type E. households would usually be considered 'Joint Family Households'. But if we look at them as households in which the parents died before all siblings were at the age to move out or marry, the household might also be classified as a 'Nuclear Household'. If one of the siblings would have married then we would see the household as a 'Joint Household'. Robert Wheaton, who writes about joint family households, emphasizes the importance of considering households as constantly changing and fluid: "For all their precision, the statistics on mean household size and distribution of household types are only the beginning of an understanding of household structures, an understanding which must recognize the fluidity of structure, the impermanence of boundaries, and the existence of kin relations which continue beyond it." Wheaton, Robert, 1975. Family and Kinship in Western Europe: The problem of the Joint Family Household. Journal of Interdisciplinary History, v: 4 , 601-28.

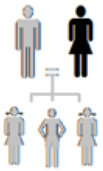
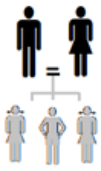
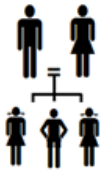
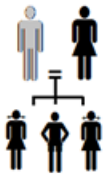
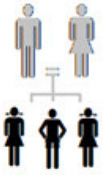
Figure 2: figurative overview of types of households consisting of only the nuclear core



Note: Figures in grey refer to absent members of the household, figures in black are present. Gender is arbitrary, as is the number of children (as well as stepchildren) within a household. Therefore 1. could also consist of just a male (M-0-0), and 3b. could also consist of a male head of household (M-0-3). In household 4a. the eldest sibling is the head of household. This might similarly be a male (M-0-0). This household, a joint household, can only be included if siblings are not (yet) married. If they are married, the household becomes truly joint. We added this particular case since the data mentioned such 'orphaned' households, referring to a dead parent as a household head.

The table below demonstrates that if we consider the above categories for our case-study of the 17th-century Netherlands, three-quarters of the population, in towns and in the countryside, lived in a one- or two-generation household without the presence of any parents. Surprisingly, the number of solitaries was not larger in the city of Leiden in comparison to the surrounding countryside, and the countryside also had a larger share of households without parents living in.

Table 3: Distribution of types of households according to categories previously described

		1. Solitaries  a: F-0-0	**2. Conjugal HH**  b: M-1-0	**3a. Nuclear HH, with couple**  c: M-1-3	**3b. Nuclear HH, no couple**  d: F-0-3	**4a. Joint HH, but only with siblings**  e: F-0-0 + siblings	**Total nr of HH without extension**
Ambachten	N	937	781	3,886	834	66	6,504
	%	11.7%	9.8%	48.6%	10.4%	0.8%	81.3%
Leiden	N	285	441	1578	345	41	2,690
	%	6.7%	10.3%	37.0%	8.1%	1%	63.1%
Total	N	1,222	1,222	5,464	1,179	107	9,194
	%	10%	10%	44.6%	9.6%	0.8%	75%

If we consider the category of the extended households (see the tables below), our data show that those households, both in town and the countryside, were primarily extended by non-kin: a mere 2% of all households was extended by family members. More than one-fifth of all households had non-kin in the household. In Leiden this was even over a third of all households (non-kin + double extended).

Table 4: Households extended by kin

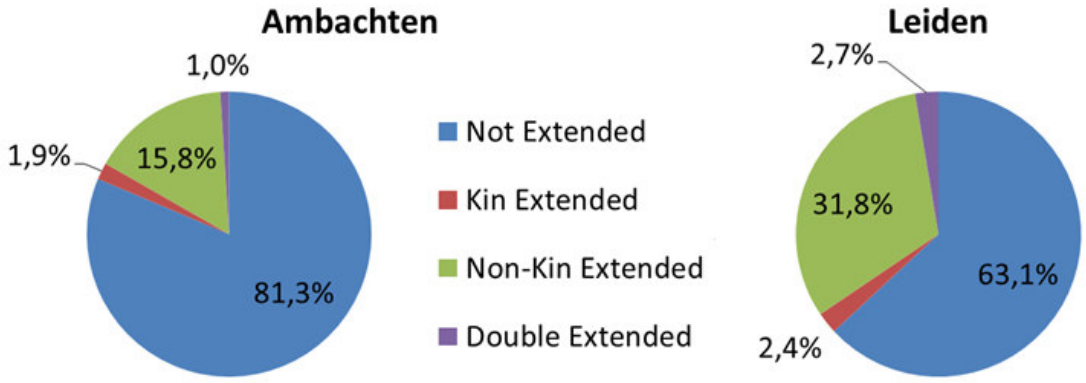
		4b. Joint*	**5a. Parental**	**5b Downward**	**5c. Upward****	**5d. Other**	**Kin extended on total nr. HH**
Ambachten	N	35	39	50	10	18	152
	%	0.4%	0.5%	0.6%	0.1%	0.2%	1.8%
Leiden	N	30	25	24	4	21	104
	%	0.7%	0.6%	0.6%	0.1%	0.5%	2.5%
Total	N	65	64	74	14	39	256
	%	0.5%	0.5%	0.6%	0.1%	0.3%	2.0%

*Joint in another way than only siblings, for instance a couple with living-in sister of ego.
**Upward extended other than with parents, thus grandparents/great-grandparents
***Double extended means extended by kin as well as non-kin.

Table 5: Households with non-kin extensions

%		6a. Servants	6b. Inmates	6c. S. & I.	Total extended with Non-Kin
Ambachten	N	958	256	46	1260
	%	12.0%	3.2%	0.6%	15.8%
Leiden	N	396	819	142	1357
	%	9.3%	19.2%	3.3%	31.8%
Total	N	1354	1075	188	2617
	%	11.0%	8.8%	1.5%	21.3%

Figure 3: Total percentages of HH that are not extended, kin extended, non-kin extended and double extended



Our figures are in line with earlier attempts to demonstrate the dominance of the nuclear household in the Netherlands. On the basis of the analysis of 7,763 households from Overijssel in 1749, Slicher van Bath concluded that 20.5% of the households were extended or joint (with a difference between villages (15.3%) and the countryside (22.6%) and 14% of all households consisted of three generations. According to Slicher van Bath, servants formed a greater proportion of the population than living-in kin. Sources from Overijssel from 1749 revealed that 33% (5,000 of the 15,304 households), had living-in servants; 7.5% had three or more servants living in. Servants, totalling 9,500 individuals, formed 12% of the total population.[36]

However, in comparison with our Hoofdgeld sources of 1622, a much larger percentage of the population in Overijssel was extended with kin (20.5%) (but the figures do not differentiate between siblings living together and siblings living in with their married brother or sister). Also the figures on three-generation households are rather high (13.9%), compared to what we find for Holland. Slicher van Bath does not provide figures on households that were solitaries, conjugal or nuclear, but if he concludes that 33% had living-in servants (which he separates from living-in kin), we must conclude that (although there are no numbers given for living-in lodgers or other living-in non-kin) at least 33% of the families were non-kin extended; that is if those servants were not, in fact, kin 'in disguise'.[37]

Roessingh studied 6,632 households at the Veluwe (1749), of which 44% lived in on the countryside and 75% in towns, and calculated that only 4% of the households in the countryside and 2% of the households in towns were vertically extended, whereas in 32% of the households one could find servants living in. He furthermore states that the number of servants in the total populations equated 14%. Faber, studying Friesland in 1796, deducted that in areas where at least 40% of the total population lives from agriculture, the number of servants in the total population never drops below 11%, whereas in towns and villages where other professions were more important, the number of servants dropped to 5 to 10% of the total population.[38]

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[36] Van der Woude gives an overview of different works on Dutch demography. Woude, A. M van der, 1972. Variations in the size and structure of the household in the United Provinces of the Netherlands in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. In: , eds. P. Laslett and R. Wall, *Household and Family in Past Times*, pp. 299-318.

[37] Studies from England and Flanders suggest that servants might actually have very often been relatives. But since family relationships are so securely mentioned in our sources, and servants often came from other villages, we assume that in our case they were not per definition related. De Groot, J. *Strangers at home? Towards a re-assessment of domestic servanthood in fifteenth-century Ghent*. Paper presented at the N.W. Posthumus Conference 2011: University of Antwerp – Centre for Urban History. Available online at: http://webhost.ua.ac.be/nwpc2011/papers/RP3_DeGroot.pdf accessed on 10 May 2012; Cooper Di and Mira Donald, 1995. Households and 'hidden' kin in early-nineteenth-century England: four case studies in suburban Exeter, 1821-1861, *Continuity and Change* 10 (3), 1995, 257-278.

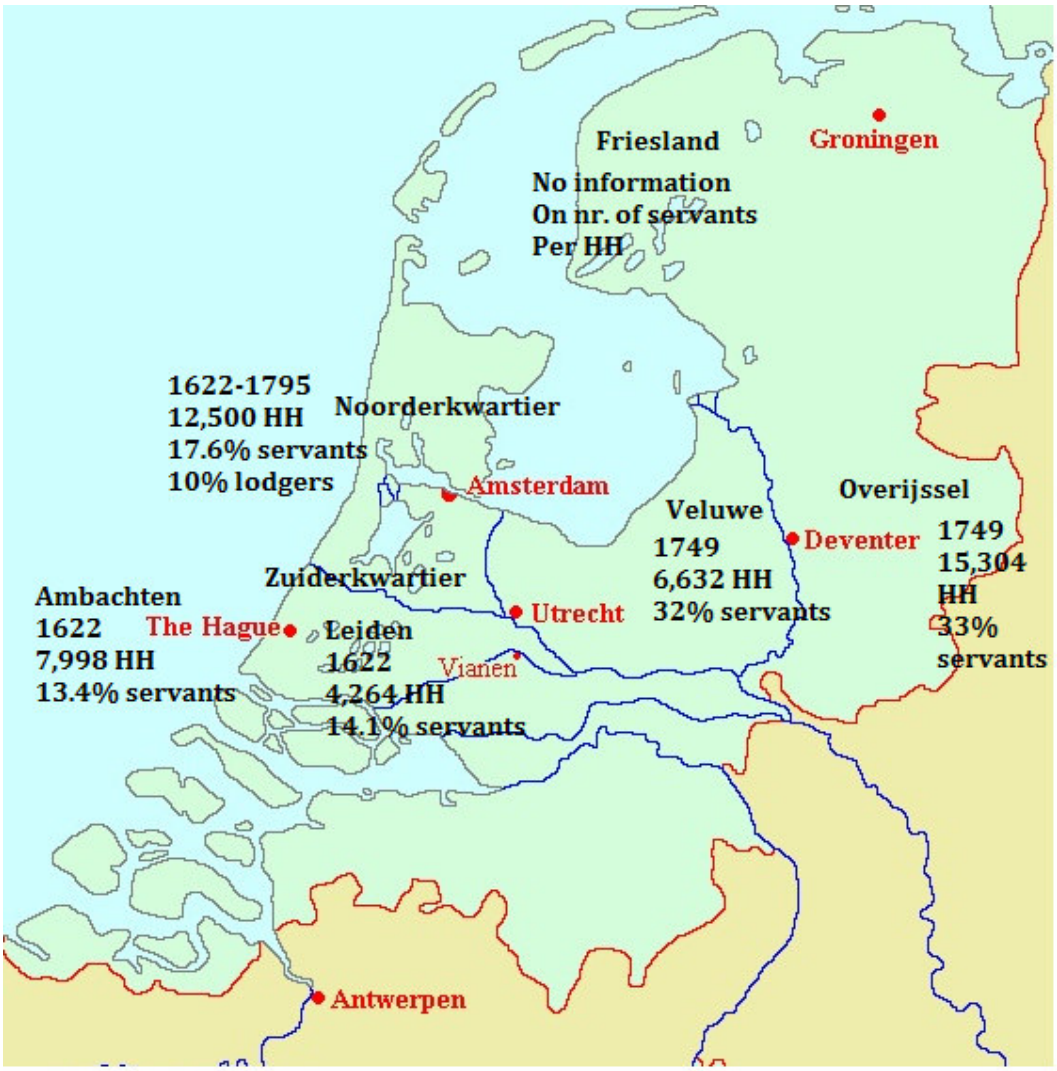
[38] The figures -based on the work of Roessingh- are mentioned by van der Woude, Woude, A. M van der, 1972. Variations in the size and structure of the household in the United Provinces of the Netherlands in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. In: , eds. P. Laslett and R. Wall, *Household and Family in Past Times*, pp/ 299-318.

Van der Woude described 8,500 households in 40 villages in the 'Noorderkwartier', (a historical term referring to the part of Holland north of the river IJ) in 1622 on the basis of the Hoofdgeld data from the northern parts of Holland. Van der Woude complements Struyk's data by adding figures of data collected between 1622-1795 on 4,000 households in the same region. Van de Woude calculates that 5.9% of the total population would have consisted of servants, with a total number of 17.6% of the households having living-in servants. Furthermore he states that living-in lodgers were found in about 10% of the households, making the total amount of living-in non-kin per household at least 27.6%.[39]

Our figures match the findings of van der Woude on the Noorderkwartier. In the Ambachten we see that 16.8% of the households are extended by non-kin (almost a sixth of all households), whereas in Leiden the total number of households extended by non-kin is as high as 34.5%,[40] matching the figures on servants in other parts of the Netherlands. Overall, as is also demonstrated on the map below, our data confirm the differences between the coastal and more inland parts of the Netherlands. Although the subsequent analyses cannot be compared to those done in the work of Van der Woude or other material, it is not unlikely that the commercial household (and its implications we will discuss hereafter) was a phenomenon present particularly in the coastal part of the Netherlands, and that although numbers of households with servants were much higher in the eastern part of the Netherlands, this was a distinctly different phenomenon. In the Eastern parts, servants were mainly active in agriculture, and, given the fact that extensions of households with kin were not unlikely either, these servants were probably not there to help out the elderly or needy, but simply participated in the activities of the farm. In the areas around Leiden, it was less likely that servants would have been active as farm hands.

[39] Idem for the data of Struyk.
[40] We counted Non-Kin extended and Double extended HH.

Figure 4: Geographical overview of servants/lodgers; comparison of figures in different early Dutch sources



Original map: http://www.livius.org/a/1/cornelis_de_bruijn/debruijn_holland_map.gif

Figures based on van der Woude (who combines his own data, with data of Struyk, Roessingh, Faber and Slicher von Bath:[41]

To find out if the elderly would have been reincorporated in the households of their children, we need to locate them in those households. Our data do not only include information on household composition, but also on family composition within households (by registering living-in kin). Table 3c already indicated that the number of households including parents (as parents of the head of household) or grand-parents was very limited. The table below demonstrates that the number of households composed of several generations was absolutely negligible. Only 2% of the households (F to K) are extended consecutively by two or three generations, making for three- or four-generation households. Even if we look at all extensions, including those that are 'non consecutively' extended, the total amount of extended families does not excede 2%.

[41] Idem.

Table 6: Overview of upward and downward family extensions, presenting the different generations, per household[42]

	Nuclear core without kin-extensions			Nuclear core with upward and downward kin-extensions							
	1 G.	2G.*		2G.**		3G.*		3G.**			4G.
	A. not extended	B. Ext. with P	C. Ext. with C	D. Ext. with GP	E. Ext. with GC	F. Ext. with P and C	G. Ext. with C and GC	H. Ext. with GC and GGC	I. Ext. with P and GC	J. Ext. with GP and C	K. Ext. with P, C and GC
Ambachten N	2137	18	5719	1	16	47	44	2	0	10	2
Ambachten %	27%	0%	72%	0%	0%	1%	1%	0%	0%	0%	0%
Leiden N	1296	12	2867	0	16	41	23	0	1	8	0
Leiden %	30%	0%	67%	0%	0%	1%	1%	0%	0%	0%	0%
Totaal N	3433	30	8586	1	32	88	67	2	1	18	2
Totaal %	28%	0%	70%	0%	0%	1%	1%	0%	0%	0%	0%

P= Parent(s), C= Child(ren), GP= Grandparent(s), GC= Grandchild(ren), GGC= Great-grandchild(ren)

If we only look at kin present within the households, we see that most households do contain one or two parents and their children (C). The mere fact that the number of household heads with a living-in parent and without children (B) is very low, indicates that neolocality was likely practiced, and that reincorporation of the elderly rarely took place (at reincorporation the child would likely remain the head of household).

It is generally assumed that nuclear hardship existed in different periods during the life-cycle: at the onset of starting a household (which coincided with starting a family if rules of neolocality are adhered to), and when children had left the homes of their parents and their parents had aged, become widowed and could no longer ensure their own incomes. The argument of Pier Poalo Viazzo, citing Kertzer and Brettel among others, that looking at the reincorporation of the elderly might shed an entirely different light on household formation throughout Europe, can, according to our data, not have made the difference in early modern Holland.[43] On the basis of Table 4. with just 1% of upward extended family households, we must conclude that the households in this area of the Northern Netherlands did not generally reincorporate the elderly, nor did elderly incorporate the households of their married children. The numbers furthermore indicate that the elderly (assuming they had not all perished) must either have lived in their own households, alone or in couples, with their unmarried adult children,[44], incorporated as non-kin living in, or in their own households extended with non-kin. Since our data do not include ages, it is difficult to trace those households, but, if we expect married

[42] Only upward and downward (kin-)extensions are included here. Since we only included upward/downward related kin in this analysis, the percentages in this table differ from the percentages used to analyse household formation (Tables 2a, 2b and 2c). Since we are talking about generations, we cannot compare those figures to the figures on household composition G.=Generation.
*Consecutive generations,
**Non consecutive generations.

[43] Viazzo, P. P. 1994. Family structures and the early phase in the individual life cycle. A southern European perspective. In: Henderson J. and Wall R. *Poor women and children in the European Past.* Routledge, London. 31-50. D. I. Kertzer and C. Brettell, 1987. 'Advances in Italian and Iberian family
history', Journal of Family History 12.

[44] In which case we could, in the case those children are unmarried yet adult, not strictly speak of nuclear hardship. It is, however, unlikely that adult children would not move out to find jobs of their own, and live in households of their own.

couples to form households only at marriage, and to have children not that long after marriage,[45] we can assume that only a very small percentage of the households of which the nuclear core consisted of a couple without children (M-1-0 or F-1-0) had just been married or was infertile. The bulk of households with couples and without children must have consisted of households in which the children had already moved out. This is a rather large group, making up 10% of the households (9.8% for the ambachten, 10.3% for Leiden). Of course the elderly might also have lived in solitaries or in households with non-kin extensions. And although it is not evident that all widows and widowers were in fact elderly, there are quite a few widows that shared households or lived in with families as 'non-kin'.

This section demonstrated that the elderly could not have solved their hardship by moving in with their married children. In the following sections we will take a look at the incorporation of non-kin that might have provided nuclear hardship solutions.

The role of non-kin in the household: servants versus inmates

Our data demonstrate that over one-fifth of the households was extended with non-kin (of which a very small part was extended by both kin and non-kin), which is a very substantial part of the population. But how was this related to the rest of the household composition (dominance of nuclear households and very few multi-generation-households)? 'Renting' an extra hand to do the work children were not doing might be one way to alleviate hardship. Other non-kin living in, such as lodgers or boarders, might have provided other solutions. As for the English situation, our data also show that a substantial part of the living-in non-kin consisted of those lodgers, though this was – logically- very different between town and countryside. In the city of Leiden about a fifth of the households with non-kin had lodgers, and over one-third had servants, whereas in the countryside the latter were present in over two-thirds of the households, and a negligible share was taken up by lodgers.

Part of these are referred to as simply 'living in' ('*woont in'*), without a further reference to their role within the household, and sometimes this notion is followed by the note that the living-in person is a widow or someone who is poor or '*innocente'* (ignorant), whereby some sort of financial arrangement could have been made to compensate for this kind of lodging. The church and other charitable organisations paid families that accommodated the poor, handicapped and orphans, and also widows.[46] We shall refer to this category of living-in non-kin,, as 'inmates', in line with Laslett.[47] The inmates in our database can be divided into five categories: the lodgers (clearly labelled for instance as *thuyslegger*), the living in (who are mentioned as living in, but not clearly labelled as lodgers), temporarily or permanently adopted children (e.g. *houkint*), students (only present in the Leiden database) and others (of whom no relationship is mentioned).

[45] Jona Schellekens, writing about 18th-century Brabant (situated south of Holland), describes the sexual freedom of servants, which he supposes is not much different in other parts of northwest Europe. Servants would be able to meet privately and engage in actual intercourse. The number of extra-marital pregnancies was low, however, so some kind of birth control must have been practiced. His research reveals that 30% of the brides in his villages must have been pregnant at marriage. Schellekens, Jona, 1991. Determinants of marriage patterns among farmers and agricultural laborers in two eighteenth-century Dutch villages. Journal of Family History, Vol. 16, no. 2., p151.

[46] Schmidt, Ariadne, 2007. Survival strategies of widows and their families in early modern Holland, c. 1580–1750, History of the Family 12, 268–281.

[47] The term inmates in this case has nothing to do with people living in prisons. See for references to inmates and household composition a.o. Stolzytek as well as Ogilvie and Cerman: szoltysek, M. (2008). Rethinking Eastern Europe: household formation patterns in the PolishLithuanian Commonwealth and European family systems. Continuity and Change, 23 389-427; Ogilvie, Sheilagh and Cerman, Markus, 1995, *The Bohemian Census of 1651 and the position of inmates*, Histoire sociale 28, , s. 333-346..

Table 7: Non-kin divided into different categories

	Leiden (4264 hh, - 18918 individuals) (avg. HH size: 4.4 members)				Ambachten (7998 hh – 36127 individuals) (avg. HH size: 4.5 members)			
Non-kin	Nr. of HH containing at least one of the below	%	Nr. of individuals per category	%	Nr. of HH containing at least one of the below	%	Nr. of individuals per category	%
Servants (L)	603	141%	794	4.2%	1074	13.4%	1497	4.1%
Lodgers	373	8.7%	615	3.3%	26	0.3%	45	0.1%
Living-in	498	11.7%	753	4.0%	29	0.4%	34	0.1%
Adopted child*	54	1.3%	66	0.3%	175	2.2%	199	0.6%
Other	19	0.4%	25	0.1%	85	1.1%	108	0.3%
Student	176	4.1%	396	2.1%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
Total	[48]		2649	14%			1883	5%

*The label adopted child does not actually mean adopted in the contemporary sense of the word, i.e. any legalized adoption. Here we include all the children that are incorporated temporarily or for a longer time in a household of non-relatives, such as '*cost-kinderen*' and orphans. The number in the Ambachten is rather high, the figure includes a school (with children living in and paying ('*in de cost'*), and an orphanage.
Please note that these numbers do not correspond with the total household number with non-kin in the previous tables, as we now look at the households which contained any type of living-in non-kin. Some households are thus counted double when they had, for example, a servant and a lodger in the household.

For Italy, clearly not an EMP-area, it has been claimed that having living-in servants was clearly typical for the nobility.[49] Szoltysek displays rather different figures for the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth (PLC), however, than those we find in early modern Holland or Italy. Table 6 displays the most interesting features of his findings (based on 135 to 151 parishes in the late 18th century) for our comparison.

[48] Here we cannot merely add the numbers mentioned above, since some hh have both students and servants living in. Therefore, see table 3c for the overview totals of HH containing Non-Kin.
[49] Da Molin gives us overviews of the numbers of servants in different Southern Italian regions from the 17th to the 19th centuries. She distinguishes three different regions: regions without living-in servants, regions in which the number of households with servants ranged from 0.5 to 5.0%, and finally a region (or rather some villages) in which 5.0 to 10.0% of the households had living-in servants, the middle category being the most substantial. In another survey of six towns she looked at the distribution of servants categorized according to the occupation of the employers. Of the 378 servants, 199 were employed by nobles (thus 52.7% of all servants were employed by nobles), 55 (14.6%) by professionals and 34 (9%) by the clergy. Agricultural employers engaged but 14 servants (3.6%). Cf. Molin, Giovanna Da, 1990. Family Forms and Domestic Service in Southern Italy from the Seventeenth to the Nineteenth Centuries, *Journal of Family History*, 15:4, p.517.

Table 8: Percentages of living-in kin, servants and inmates from Szoltysek on the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth in the eighteenth century.

Location	% hh with kin	% hh with servants	% hh with inmates/lodgers*
West	20.8	39.4	24.4
Middle East	40.5	12.2	7.9
East	52.0	2.1	1.2

Table from the article 'Rethinking Eastern Europe: household-formation patterns in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth and European family systems', by Mikolay Szoltysek.[50]
*Szoltysek treats inmates and lodgers separately. Laslett, however, included lodgers with the inmates, as we do.

We see that the percentage of kin is the lowest in the Western part of the PLC, whereas the percentage of servants as well as the percentage of inmates/lodgers is substantially higher there. The percentage of living-in servants as well as inmates/lodgers seems to diminish substantially when the percentage of living-in kin increases.[51] This would confirm our idea of non-kin solving the problems that an absence of kin within households might cause. But we cannot jump to conclusions here, for the percentage of living-in kin is still, even in the 'West' of the PLC, much higher than what we see in early modern Holland. Furthermore, we also do not know if households were compensated for living-in inmates and lodgers. From the tables displaying age groups we furthermore learn that the servanthood in both the 'West' as the 'Middle East' must have been a kind of life-cycle servanthood, with very few servants over the age of 30.

If we look at the map of PLC and compare it with Laslett's line dividing EMP and non-EMP areas,[52] we see that what he describes as 'the West' still fits the EMP area, whereas the 'East' and 'Middle East' regions are definitely non-EMP areas. Thus to some extent we see that even at this 'EMP frontier' the percentage of living-in non-kin is much higher than the percentage of living-in kin in the EMP area, whereas the percentage of living-in kin is much higher than the percentage of living-in non-kin in both non-EMP areas. But still, we have to keep in mind that 20.8% of living-in kin is substantial, and considerably higher than what we find in Holland.

South of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, in Bohemia (which is also an EMP area according to the Hajnal line), census data from 1651 also reveal large numbers of inmates, or 'inmate sub-households' as they are referred to in the work of Ogilvie and Cerman.[53] It is not clear however, if those inmates include servants, since servants are not mentioned at all in their work, but might have been included in this category. In the urban areas, the percentage of inmates is as high as 26.9%, whereas in the rural areas, the percentage is 15.5%. In our data the percentage of non-kin including servants is 34.5% in Leiden, the urban area, and 16.8% in the Ambachten, the rural areas. According

[50] Szoltysek, Mikolay, 2008. Rethinking Eastern Europe: household-formation patterns in the Polish-Lithuanina Commonwealth and European family systems. Continuity and Change, Volume 23, Issue p3. P 400.
[51] Christer Lundh describes similar processes in different parts of Sweden in the eighteenth century; whereas in eastern Sweden extended families are prevalent, households in the western regions contained more servants. Lundh, Christer, 1995. Households and families in pre-industrial Sweden. Continuity and Change 10 (7), 43.
[52] In his article, however, Szoltysek uses his cases to demonstrate there is no such thing as a rigid division in household forms per region. By demonstrating that the different parts of the PLC had different household forms, he contradicts himself. For although it seems that he finds three different forms in one region, the region itself is so large that Hajnal's line already divides the territory in two.
[53] Ogilvie, Sheilagh and Cerman, Markus, 1995. *The Bohemian Census of 1651 and the position of inmates*, Histoire sociale 28, 333-46.

to Ogilvie and Cerman, such a difference can be foremost explained by housing structure and labour requirements, while allowing that other theories emphasize inheritance, marriage and retirement practices. The very low percentage of what they call 'non-nuclear kin' indicates (1.5% in Liberec, Frýdlant and Děčín) that, some inmates might in fact have been relatives. There might also be some confusion on another level: "Social status was defined in essentially economic terms", they explain, before listing all the possible options such as peasant, gardener, cottager, crofter or indeed 'inmate' (*Hausgenosse, podruh*). The term inmate in this census might thus also have been attached to an economic status, rather than a purely residential one. Nevertheless, kin relationship to the head of household was also registered, and if those inmates would have been related to the head of household, it would have been registered. Since we also find such a low percentage of kin living in in Holland, the 1.5% might have been correct.

But how different was the EMP area as far as the presence of servants is concerned? Was having servants a typical feature of the top-classes of society, as in Italy, or was it such an essential feature of the social and economic system that the practice had penetrated all layers of society? To find whether having non-kin in the household was a common feature among early modern Dutch households, and in what manner they did so, we have two instruments. On the one hand we can check in which households they resided: were they in households with children, or without? In the cases where children were still living in, it is quite unlikely that servants in particular were there to take care of the elderly, but they might have alleviated the care for the children or the household chores; in households with children we might rather expect lodgers, who would bring in extra cash to survive temporary squeezes. Another way to approach the question whether this phenomenon of the commercial household was common among all layers of society is to control for poverty. The hoofdgeld-source indicates which households were incapable of paying taxes (*onvermogend*), and also the households that were actually poor (*arm*), or living on poor-relief (*leven van de armen, leven van de thuyssitten*).[54] The following table shows to what extent the various household types were present among the poor, which represented one-fifth of the total number of households.

The table below demonstrates that on the whole, poor households belonged more frequently to the category of nuclear households without any extensions, but that even so, in one out of ten of the poorer households non-kin were present. Here again it can be noted that neither the poor nor the rest of society were organised in kin-extended households. The fact that the non-poor had a slightly higher number of kin living in (with kin extension and double extension) is in fact surprising, as one would rather expect the poor to resort to within family solutions than those who could actually afford it.

[54] Our figures are not comparable with the figures that Ariadne Schmidt presents, although she works with the same original data on Leiden. For one, she presents a much larger set of households. Secondly, she classifies the households differently, and does not mention whether or not non-kin is included in her classification. Thirdly, her categories 'children' and 'relatives' are not clearly defined. We are not saying her figures are not correct, just that the categories she uses are not defined clear enough to make comparisons, even though the labels seem to suggest so.

Leiden	Nr of hh	Poor hh	%
F Single/Wid no kids	1216	315	25.9%
M Single/Wid no kids	485	47	9.7%
F Single/Wid kids	1292	448	34.7%
M Single/Wid kids	288	28	9.7%
Couple no kids	2689	221	8.2%
Couple with kids	3718	525	14.1%

Source: Schmidt 2007. Survival strategies of widows and their families in early modern Holland, c. 1580–1750. *History of the Family* 12, p270. Schellekens furthermore states that we do not know the exact criteria used for exempting households from paying the polltax. Schellekens, Jona. 1995. Poverty and family size in two eighteenth-century Dutch villages. Continuity and Change, Volume 10, Issue 02, p 210.

Table 9: Percentage of poor households on total number of households per category of households

	Nr. Of Households	Poor (N)	% of poor HH in each category	Non Poor (N)	% of non-poor HH households per categorie
without extension (types 1 to 3)*	9194	2117	23%	7077	72%
with kin extension (types 4 to 5)	256	35	14%	221	2%
with non-kin extension (type 6)	2616	241	9%	2375	24%
double extended	196	3	2%	193	2%
Total	12262	2396	20%	9866	100%

***We added to this group part of the Joint HH containing only siblings.

Clearly (see the table below), the poor households had more paying living-in non-kin than the other households, in particular in the city of Leiden where nearly all living-in non-kin were paying instead of being paid. The reason for a more balanced situation in the Ambachten is no doubt that servants there were also working in local trade or agriculture, which was less an option in the city. The picture for the non-poor households is - in particular in the Ambachten - entirely the reverse of the poor. There the non-poor were actually attracting servants in particular, rather than lodgers. In the city as well the non-poor households were trying to get as much out of the lodgers as possible, but a substantial number (11%) had both an inmate and a servant (see table 8.). One could say these are the ultimate 'commercial households' which were on both the demand and the supply side. Overall, looking at city and countryside together, servants and inmates are more or less in balance, with less than 10% of all households having more servants than inmates. This result demonstrates that both types of commercialisation of the household space were almost equally important, but that to some extent it depended on the economic situation and the location whether one paid someone to live-in or whether a household received payment for having a lodger in the household. In a next analysis we will find out more about who those households were that had servants and inmates in the house.

Table 10. Poor households subdivided per type of household

		Poor HH (241 totaal) , Non-Kin extended				Non-poor HH (2376 totaal), Non-Kin extended			
Non-kin		Servants	Both servants and inmates	inmates	Total	servants	Both servants and inmates	inmates	Total
Ambachten	N	46	3	62	111	912	43	194	1149
	%	41%	3%	56%	100%	79%	4%	17%	100%
Leiden	N	4	2	124	130	392	140	695	1227
	%	3%	2%	95%	100%	32%	11%	57%	100%
Total	N	50	5	186	241	1304	183	889	2376
	%	21%	2%	77%	100%	55%	8%	37%	100%

The underneath table demonstrates that households that include non-kin are not randomly extended. Households with couples tend to be extended with non-kin if they have no children. At a first child this number drops slightly, only to rise again at the addition of a second child. After the second child, the number of kin taken into the household drops with every successive child. Although single and widowed household heads are very likely to live with non-kin, we see that households with one or two children tend to be slightly more inclined to take in non-kin. Again the number of living-in non-kin tends to drop slightly when more children are living in, but we see the numbers rise again if more than seven children are part of the household. Single or widowed male heads of household form an exception. They seem to extend their household with non-kin exponentially with each consecutive child, but although there is a clear trend, we have to be careful not to attach too much value to it when it comes to households with more than five children, since those households are so sparse.

This demonstrates that the higher the number of children, the less an extension of the household is needed (or the less room there is to incorporate non-kin, which also makes sense). Furthermore the slightly higher number of households with couples that incorporated kin at the addition of a second child makes it likely that having two children was indeed an incentive to demand a helping hand.

Table 11: The distribution of non-kin over the households related to the number of children present within the HH

N of Children	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Single F. Total N	1108	319	271	209	149	98	50	29	5	5	0
Single F. extended by NK	217	72	56	35	25	9	3	4	1	1	0
Idem %	20%	23%	21%	17%	17%	9%	6%	14%	20%	20%	0%
Single Males Total N	608	94	96	84	56	35	15	17	3	7	3
Single Males extended by NK	136	21	28	21	20	10	6	3	2	0	0
Idem %	22%	22%	29%	25%	36%	29%	40%	18%	67%	0%	0%
Couples Total N	1783	1444	1473	1367	1061	830	504	287	141	59	32
Couples extended by NK	513	366	401	328	212	163	82	43	22	3	4
Idem %	29%	25%	27%	24%	20%	20%	16%	15%	16%	5%	13%

F-0 = Single female head of household, M-0 = Single male head of household, NK = Non-Kin.
Since households with more than 10 children were no longer extended by kin, we excluded them here, since the percentage of non-kin extended households adds up to 0%. 15 households had 11 children, 2 households had 12 children, 1 had 15 children and 1 household had 17 children

When servanthood is discussed in literature, the role of women is often stressed in particular as a distinctive feature of North-Western Europe, with far more female servants than in southern European areas. The table below confirms that idea very clearly: 65% of the total number of servants in our

dataset was female; in the city nearly four out of five of the servants were women. The picture for the inmates is however different, nearly the reverse. Although in the countryside more than half of the inmates were female, in the city women contributed to only a third of the total number of individual inmates. This has, in the city in particular, entirely to do with the fact that inmates - particularly in the city of Leiden - were in many cases students (in a time when women were not welcome at the higly esteemed institution…). The female inmates we find in Leiden are for a great part in-living widows.

Table 12: Distribution of servants and inmates per sex and location.

	Male servants N	Female servants N	Total servants	% of females among servants	Male inmates N	Female inmates N	Total inmates	% of females among inmates
Ambachten	626	845	1471	57%	199	240	439	55%
Leiden	177	617	794	78%	1238	629	1867	34%
Total	803	1462	2265	65%	1437	869	2306	38%

Note: for some of the inmates the sex was unknown; these have not been included in this table

Table 13: Roles of male and female householdmembers

		HHH	Spouse of HHH	Child	Living in as Kin	Living in as Non-Kin	Total
Ambachten M	N	6594	2	10177	142	825	17740
	%	37%	0%	57%	1%	5%	100%
Ambachten F	N	1404	5862	9741	268	1085	18360
	%	8%	32%	53%	1%	6%	100%
Tot. Ambachten	N	7998	5864	19918	410	1910	36100
	%	22%	16%	55%	1%	5%	100%
Leiden M	N	3421	2	4090	97	1415	9024
	%	38%	0%	45%	1%	16%	100%
Leiden F	N	843	3134	4441	229	1246	9893
	%	9%	32%	45%	2%	13%	100%
Total Leiden	N	4264	3136	8531	326	2661	18917
	%	23%	17%	45%	2%	14%	100%

HHH = head of household

Conclusions

In this article we have demonstrated that the household was much more than the 'container' of potential labour market participants: each household was at least for some time in pre-industrial EMP-Europe also a mini-market –for labour and housing- in itself. With our large dataset on early 17th-century households, we have demonstrated that the nuclear household was indeed quite dominant in this area, and that the number of kin-extended households was negligible. All the more so did households extended by non-kin form an important part of society. Both servants and inmates were present in nearly equal shares of the households, and depending on the poverty level and the location, the one or the other was more important. Although some literature refers to lodgers in EMP-households, our data show that much more attention should go to their presence, especially because they may have had a role in facilitating the households getting through periods of hardship due to their contribution to the household budget. We have suggested that the 'commercial household' emerged as a consequence of the changes to the household composition that went together with the EMP and that lead to reduced intergenerational support. Servants may well have played a role in providing physical help, but lodgers, taking the physical place of the children that left the household to set up their own, may have provided that little extra cash necessary to make ends meet. Our short gender-analysis of the inmates and servants showed that women were clearly very present among the non-kin. The results were far more striking than what we would have expected given the existing literature. Clearly women lived in a society where they had the right and the possibility to make their own living, or for that matter, to determine with whom they shared a household. We do not have information about their ages, but it is not unlikely that many of these women worked as a servant in the period just before marriage.

In conjunction with the above conclusions we have also demonstrated that among the extended households there were very few multi-generational households, showing that it was not common practice to take care of parents at the own home. Again this confirms earlier suppositions, made on albeit rather scanty data. Our analysis of the relationship between poverty and having non-kin in the household furthermore demonstrated that this phenomenon of the commercial household was not typical for the higher classes of society. Even within the bottom 20% of households, we find that one out of ten of these households had non-kin living in (in comparison with one out of four among non-poor households). Unfortunately we do not have more information about the income levels of the non-poor households to search for a more explicit correlation between income and the affordability of non-kin in the household.

Elsewhere,[55] we have stressed that the increasing dominance of the nuclear family also brought new opportunities, the possibility to save or invest, and – together with a growing capital and labour market - also increased the agency of the elderly in arranging their own care, in many cases within their original home. This article demonstrates that the nuclear household led to an increased 'commercialisation' of the household in terms of both providing care, via living-in lodgers and students who paid for their stay and receiving care, through the presence of living-in servants. This commercialisation was much more evident in Leiden than in the Ambachten. Considering the number of households that engaged servants and had no children, we might expect that the elderly could indeed have had the means to solve their hardship by incorporating non-kin.

[55] A. Bouman, C.J. Zuijderduijn and T. De Moor, From hardship to benefit: A critical review of the nuclear hardship theory in relation to the emergence of the European Marriage Pattern, CGEH Working Paper Series, March 2012.