

52. Smith, *Family Connections*, 5. See also: J. Bodnar, 'Immigration and Modernization: The Case of the Slavic Peasant in Industrial America', *Journal of Social History*, 10 (1976); Bodnar, 'Immigration'; T. Hareven and M. Vinovskis (eds.), *Family and Population in Nineteenth Century America* (Princeton, 1978); J. Modell, 'Patterns of Consumption, Acculturation, and Family Income Strategies in Late-Nineteenth-Century America', cited in: Hareven, *Family Time*.
53. Smith, *Family Connections*, 166-170.
54. Model, 'Work and Family', 130-159.
55. Other reasons were that black men were more likely to die young, the almost equal wage rates for men and women weakened commitment to marriage and a smaller number of children in black urban families, which also weakened the marital bond.
56. Bodnar et al., *Lives of their own*, 56-63.
57. R. Dieteren O.F.M., *De migratie in de mijnstreek 1900-1935* (Nijmegen, 1962) 88.
58. Bodnar et al., *Lives of their own?*, 67, 69.
59. *Ibidem*, 105.
60. The Polish consul made a draft of a labour contract for the Polish employees of this mine. It is not sure whether the management accepted it. See: 'Correspondence from the Polish consul, June 25 1929', in: *Tewerkstelling Polen 1927-1936, 1945-1957*, Archief Oranje-Nassau Mijnen J9, Rijksarchief Maastricht.
61. 'Correspondence, June 25 1929'.
62. Moch, 'Joining the Urban World', 51-52.
63. See also: Puskás, 'Hungarian', 221-239; F. Ramella, 'Emigration from an Area of Intense Industrial Development: The Case of Northwestern Italy', in: Vecoli and Sinke, *A Century Of European Migrations*, 261-274.
64. V. Yans-McLaughlin, 'Introduction', in: Yans-McLaughlin (ed.), *Immigration Reconsidered*, 6; Morawska, 'The Sociology', 189.
65. Quoted in: William I. Thomas and Florian Znaniecki, *The Polish Peasant in Europe and America*, ed. by Eli Zaretsky (Urbana, 1984) 133. Also: Model, 'Work and Family', 133.

X

FROM FATHER TO FACTORY: THE CHANGING POSITION OF ADULT DOMESTIC WORKERS IN WOENSEL (1700-1900)

by

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Whereas the social, political and cultural aspects of patriarchy have received ample treatment, the economic basis of patriarchy has been almost neglected. Yet paternal authority in pre-modern times can partly be explained by the fact that, as head of the household or family, the father had a number of adult workers at his disposal. There have been several anthropological studies on this subject for African societies.¹ In this article I discuss it for rural East Brabant, in the Netherlands. To do this, I made use of existing literature on the region, the numerical data are the result of my own research on the history of the Brabant village of Woensel.² Although this article focuses on the period 1700-1850, I also briefly discuss the changes in the second half of the nineteenth century.

1. Labour and class

My first step was to see who belonged to the group 'adult workers'. To do this, I consulted a number of poll tax records from the first half of the eighteenth century.³ They are a remarkable source, as all members of the household are mentioned by name. Moreover, they specify whether the person in question is a father, mother, child, male or female servant, living-in relative or someone else. Children are classified as being over or under sixteen. Finally the records specify whether a household is solvent, insolvent or poor.⁴ This last fact is particularly important because it gives an insight into the social hierarchy of the time. For each of the three classes I calculated the average size and composition of the households. The results are shown in Table 1. The table distinguishes between family members (parents or children) and living-in non-family members (servants, relatives or other people).⁵

Table 1 *Average size and composition of the household related to social class in Woensel, 1716-1734*

	Solvent	Insolvent	Poor	Aggr.
parents	1.64	1.74	1.52	1.62
children > 16	0.64	0.54	0.48	0.55
children < 16	1.36	1.55	1.55	1.50
servants	0.75	0.26	0.02	0.30
relatives	0.08	0.05	0.04	0.06
others	0.16	0.07	0.02	0.07
family members	3.64	3.83	3.55	3.67
living-in members	0.99	0.38	0.08	0.43
household size	4.63	4.21	3.63	4.10

The table shows that the average household size in Woensel was 4.10 people, which is rather small.⁶ There appears to have been a connection with social class, as the solvent households are considerably larger and the poor households are markedly smaller than the Woensel average. This difference was determined not so much by the size of the family as by the living-in members of the household. Solvent households had the largest number of resident non-family members, they were present to a lesser extent in insolvent families, and hardly or not at all in poor households. A striking feature is that there were by no means always two parents in each household. The average number of parents in the Woensel data was 1.62 per family, which means that there must have been many families without father and/or mother. This was most common among the poor households.⁷ The number of children scarcely varied between the different classes, two being the average. The table does show, however, that poor families did have relatively more younger children, whereas in the solvent families the proportion of children over 16 was somewhat higher. I come back to this point later. The greatest variation was in the number of living-in servants. It is immediately noticeable that the number of male and/or female servants was class-dependent. They were frequent in solvent households and highly unusual among poor households, while insolvent households took an intermediate position. Living-in relatives were rare in all classes. This also holds for 'other' living-in household members, although they were more frequent in the more prosperous households.

Which of these people were adult workers? It goes without saying that the parents belonged to this group. In rural Brabant the division of labour was based

on sex and age, which meant that both parents carried out their own more or less complementary tasks. As a rule children had to do all kinds of jobs from an early age, but only after the age of sixteen did they count as full-time workers. From that moment, too, full poll tax had to be paid for them. This corresponds to the age at which most children left home to go into service with someone else.⁸ Finally, with few exceptions, servants, relatives and other living-in household members took part in the labour process and, in most cases, were probably over sixteen.⁹ Although it is not absolutely exact, I class all those over 16 as producers. Their significance is determined on the basis of the 'age rate', that is the proportion of adults as a percentage of the total number of household members. From the figures in Table 1 it can be concluded that this rate, too, correlated with social class. For solvent households it was an average of 71%, for insolvent households of 63%, and for poor households, of 57%, whereas the average for Woensel was 63%.¹⁰

In this period it was usual for unmarried boys and girls of about 16 years old to be sent into 'service'. They left home to work as servants in other households.¹¹ They were paid mainly in the form of board and lodging, and counted as full members of the family for the term of their service.¹² After one or two years they left work for another employer until they married and set up their own households.¹³ It is clear that this system was advantageous to all parties. In the first place, the well-to-do inhabitants of the village were assured of a supply of workers who could care for their children or carry out farm duties at relatively low cost. But the system was also advantageous to the workers and their families. Poor families, particularly, were able to get rid of their 'redundant' children in this way.¹⁴ For the servants in question, going into service partly functioned as a marriage market. They were also able to learn a trade.¹⁵ For the village community as a whole, 'service' embodied a form of regional and social mobility through which the labour market was geared to economic needs.¹⁶ This phenomenon was by no means unique for Woensel. It was common in many places in Western Europe and connected with other typically Western phenomena such as late marriage and a high mobility.¹⁸ My analysis of rural Brabant shows that service was mainly common in well-to-do households. Partly as a result of this, paternal authority was stronger in the solvent households than in the others. As head of the enterprise, the husband had more adult workers at his disposal, both in an absolute and in a relative sense.

2. *Labour and family cycle*

Although social class had a great influence on the character and size of production capacity, it was not the main factor. The development cycle of the household appears to have been no less important. I determined this on the basis of a

poll tax record from 1791.¹⁸ Size and composition of the household was indeed cyclical in character.¹⁹ The record showed that in the first twenty years of marriage, the average number of people in a household grew from 3.75 to 6.25, and then decreased to 3.44 people. Only in the last marriage phase did the household grow again (partly because of an increase in living-in non-family members). The same pattern could be seen in the tax records for other places.²⁰ Within the household the proportion of adults also showed a cyclical pattern. In the first twenty years of marriage the proportion of adults decreases from 75 to 52%, to increase subsequently to 91%.

It is remarkable that this dynamic applied to all three classes. In solvent households the process was somewhat different from that in poor or insolvent households, but in each of the three groups, the proportion of adults first decreased and then increased again. This is clearly shown in Table 2, in which the households have been divided into four groups on the basis of the duration of marriage: 0-10, 10-20, 20-30 and 30 years or more.

Table 2 *Age rate (in percentages) related to marriage duration (in years) per social class in Woensel in 1791*

	>0	>10	>20	>30	aggr.
solvent	74	63	76	88	73
insolvent	71	53	77	87	68
poor	52	36	83	92	62
aggregate	70	53	78	89	69

As can be seen, these households show the same pattern. The proportion of adult workers was lowest in the second phase, between 10 and 20 years of marriage. This is, of course, because in the second decade of marriage the number of young children at home was relatively large. In the third phase the age rate increases again and reaches its maximum in the last phase. Consequently, households were most productive after thirty years of marriage, when there were only a few young children left, and almost every member of the household was able to contribute to the family business. However, the absolute magnitude of the age rate appears to differ according to class. For instance, in poor households, the rate appears to be well under the Woensel average in the first two phases, whereas in the last two phases it is considerably higher. This is because, in most cases, poor households consisted either of young families with numerous children or of elderly couples whose children had left home.

Thus all households went through a cyclical movement, the first phases of which were dominated by the care of young children, and later phases by an increased production capacity. This picture can also be found in literature on the area Woensel is situated in, the Campine area, or *Kempenland*. As a rule, the first years of marriage were not considered to be easy ones, especially if the children were born close to each other. The wife could not devote herself fully to her duties in the family business and she was often not strong enough to work.²¹ Yet this initial phase would not have been seen as something negative. In the long run, the disadvantages of a large family were outweighed by the advantages. As the Dutch ethnologist *avant la lettre* Barentsen wrote:

'After the first difficulties comes, to use a popular way of saying, the time when the older children earn the bread for their younger brothers and sisters, and finally all children for their parents. Then the whole family prospers and, at an advanced age, the parents are financially independent of their children'.²²

Peasants often expanded their farms during this phase, so that there would be sufficient work for all members of the family. After this came a period of stabilization.

'As soon as the farm has a certain size and there is no more work for several children, it is not expanded any further, but children who are not necessary in the family business are hired out to others. When the older children marry, the younger ones often return to their parents' home. The wages of children who work outside the home are always handed over to the parents [...]'.²³

The marriage of the younger children marked the beginning of the last phase.

'As the family grows smaller by the marriages of the children, the farm shrinks. Redundant cattle and land are sold. This enables younger families to expand their farm. Often one of the children does not marry and stays with the parents [...]'.²⁴

Later I return to the relationship between this development cycle and the size of farms. For the moment I simply conclude that *all* households - also those of craftsmen, weavers and day labourers - could use extra help during the phase when there were young children. As a result, the phenomenon of living-in household members was mainly restricted to this phase. Other studies have already shown that the presence of non-family members was concentrated in the first seven years of marriage, probably to take over some of the duties from the young mother.²⁵ In Woensel I found a similar pattern. As the 1791 record does not further specify resident servants, I calculated the proportion of living-in domestic workers for the years 1716 and 1830. Analogous to the term age rate,

we will indicate the proportion of non-family members by 'rate of residence'. Table 3 shows the average per marriage phase for both rates.

Table 3 *Age rate and rate of residence (in percentages) related to duration of marriage in Woensel in 1716 and 1830*

	>0	>10	>20	>30	aggr.
1716					
A rate	68	61	81	83	73
R rate	8	10	0	6	7
1830					
A rate	64	48	81	98	71
R rate	13	15	5	10	10

The differences between the figures for 1716 and those for 1830 show that some change took place in the course of time. For 1830 the proportion of adults is slightly lower than a century before, and quite a lot lower during the second marriage phase. Moreover, for 1830 the proportion of resident non-family members is higher in all phases than in 1716. Even more important is that in both years the average number of living-in members of the household corresponds to the development cycle. During the second phase, when the proportion of the young children is highest, the percentage of living-in servants and/or relatives is also highest. The figures for the next phase show that, as the children grow older, the proportion of living-in people sharply decreases. In the last phase this increases slightly, but never reaches the level of the second phase. In households where the parents have been married for at least thirty years, the children would have left the home, and some extra help or care would have been needed.

It has to be remembered that there are purely demographic factors like the number of years that households exist and the age of the children at work here. In 1716, 1791 and 1830, the households of all three social groups clearly went through a cycle in size and composition. Moreover, there is a direct link with the question of whether, and if so, how many extra workers were taken into the home. These points illustrate that the authority of the father developed over time. His authority over the young children was, of course, great, but he could do little with it. He had great control over living-in servants, too, but only temporarily. Only when the household had existed for some time and his own children shared in the work, was the father able to completely exert his authority as head of the family enterprise. This is particularly the case in the third and fourth

phases, when the adult children have not yet left the home. This was possibly one of the reasons why parents were against their children marrying at a young age.²⁶ It would be a loss of labour for them. Nevertheless, their influence was not fully overruled by such a step, because, after marriage, the children remained dependent on (a portion of) the future inheritance. However, in the earlier phases before the children married, the older ones joined in the work at home. What consequences did this have for two sorts of rural enterprise, farming and cottage industry?

3. Farming

On the sandy soil of Brabant the agricultural sector was totally dominated by family farms.²⁷ Work was divided over the sexes and generations. As a rule, the hard farm labor was done by adult men. The various forms of tillage, such as ploughing, harrowing and digging were men's work, as was the cutting, collection and transporting of peat to the farm. At harvest time, men were responsible for reaping and threshing grain. There were also numerous other activities like chopping and sawing wood, and working with horse and ox.²⁸ However, the task that required the most effort was cutting manure and loading the dung cart in the deep litter house, transporting the manure to the fields and spreading it.

'The production of manure was the basis of farming and the peasants were busy with it every day. Moreover, cleaning out the stable, loading, unloading and breaking the manure were among the heaviest chores'.²⁹

Finally, it was men who were engaged in the (first) processing of flax.³⁰

Looking after the cows, calves, pigs, chickens and children was women's work.³¹ The most important task connected with this duty was the preparation of cattle feed. For a peasant's wife the slop bucket (*sopketel*) was the pivot of her activities. In East Brabant soup was fed to the cattle throughout the year: three times a day in winter and twice a day in summer.³² The importance of this task should not be underestimated.

'Without feed no cattle, no manure, no harvest, no profit. This crucial element of farming rests with the wife, who toils for her cows from early morning till late at night and one should not blame her for spending little time on her own home, for she needs this time in or for the cow shed. She lives there, it is her only pride [...]'.³³

Furthermore a typical job for women was dairying. Most of the milk was reserved for the production of butter, churning being generally done by hand. Once the butter was ready, the wife took it to a shop or to a market in town.³⁴

All in all, a peasant's wife had a busy life, which was described by Barentsen as follows:

'The wife does all the work in and around the home. She takes care of the vegetable garden, of the cooking and of preparing the feed brought in by her husband, of milking and dairying, of feeding and clothing the members of the household and, at busy times, she helps the husband in the fields and cow shed. Time which is over is spent in getting the house straight and raising the children [...] When she is not asleep the wife is always working and, what is more, even in her sleep she is often disturbed by the young children. The husband concerns himself with the children only in cases of absolute necessity [...]'.³⁵

In rural Brabant it was absolutely normal to use children from a very early age to do all kinds of jobs, which at first had a complementary character.³⁶ Later their contribution became more substantial, and was based on the sexual division of labour. Sons went with their fathers, while daughters did all sorts of work in and around the home under the guidance of their mothers.³⁷ Farm-hands and maids also did gender-specific work. The male servant worked under the supervision of the peasant, the maid assisted the peasant's wife in housekeeping, cattle feeding and dairying. Sometimes a distinction was made between a 'first servant' [*baasknecht*] and a common servant, which was reflected in their wages.³⁸ All servants considered themselves full members of the family. They ate at the same table as the peasant and discussed the state of the farm with him.³⁹ They talked about *our* folk, *our* land, *our* horse and the like.⁴⁰ All farms of significant size hired a male servant and a maid, sometimes even two. However, as the children grew older, they took over the place of the servants.⁴¹ It goes without saying that this applied particularly to the well-to-do peasants. In insolvent and poor peasant families the work had to be done by the family members only.

All this only relates to the qualitative aspect of family labour. Quantitatively the development cycle was again evident. The size of the farm and production capacity needed to be kept in balance. This balance could be roughly achieved in two ways. Firstly, by acquiring or getting rid of cattle and land, a process which was based on the number of available productive workers. Secondly, by taking on or diminishing producers, a process which was based on the size of the farm. It is obvious that both could be done at the same time. Whether the size of the farm was adjusted by means of buying or renting land is less relevant in this respect. Nor does it matter whether the producers were hired servants or the peasant's own children. What is significant is that the size of the farm and the number of labourers were geared to each other.⁴² Since we know that one of these two variables - production capacity - is subject to cyclical fluctuations, it is not surprising that the size of farms also changed in a more or less cyclical pattern. This situation was tersely formulated by Barentsen:

'Thus the farm is a family business. Its size is, to a great extent, dependent on the size of the family. Anyone who has many children tries to expand his land ownership or rent land, and only if this is impossible will he let his children work for someone else. Anyone who has no or few children and does not like the idea of hiring labour, tries to find compensation in hard work. If, for instance, as a result of an inheritance, he has too much land, he will rent part of it to others, who can cultivate it better. So, to a certain extent, the size of the farm is determined by the size of the family, but it is always expressed by the number of cows in the shed'.⁴³

Farm size and labour capacity could therefore be adjusted to each other in various ways. In Woensel they were actually geared to each other. By using the poll tax record for 1791, I determined the average livestock per phase. I also calculated the average size of the land per phase for the year 1830 and I worked out the number of producers for the same year⁴⁴. In this way I could estimate the average labour intensity, that is, the number of hectares per adult producer. The fact that there was a period of several decades between the two years was not insuperable, as substantial changes in farming did not occur until the second half of the nineteenth century.⁴⁵

Table 4 *Average number of livestock and area (hectare) per development phase of Woensel peasants in 1791 and 1830*

	>0	>10	>20	>30	aggr.
head of cattle	3.43	4.95	4.75	4.92	4.56
area of land	2.10	2.71	3.96	3.94	3.46
producers	3.12	3.66	5.10	5.98	4.58
intensity	0.67	0.74	0.78	0.66	0.76

This table suggests that the number of livestock changed only a little through the years. For the late eighteenth century, the peasants in Woensel have an average of 4.56 head of cattle; in the first phase of the household a few less, in the last phase a few more, but the difference is small. However, the development of the average area of land is much clearer to see. This increases from an average of 2.10 hectares in the first decade after the marriage to 3.94 hectares after thirty years of marriage. This means that it almost doubled. The same is true for the number of adult productive workers on the farm which grows from well over three in the first phase to nearly six in the last. This confirms Barentsen's opinion that both production capacity and farm size increased through the years. Moreover, the figures in the last line show that producer and area balance each other. Labour intensity is almost equal for nearly all phases, an adult worker

working an average of 0.76 hectares of land. It should be noted that the last figure is fairly rough, because I counted all people over sixteen as producers. In reality only the peasant, his sons and his male servants worked the land, whereas the women were primarily busy with the livestock. Therefore the double number of hectares per male producer can be considered a more realistic estimate. However, this does not alter the conclusion that in the course of the development cycle, the farm size varied with the number of producers and that the farm reached its maximum size in the third and fourth phases.

4. Cottage industry

A similar pattern can be seen among the weavers in cottage industry. This mode of production persisted long in rural Brabant. For example, in the middle of the nineteenth century, the Woensel firm of J. van der Velden still employed 430 domestic weavers. As the wage records from 1857 have been preserved, we are able to see what weavers were working for this firm during this year, what the size and quality of their production was and how much pay they received for it.⁴⁶ In the following discussion I confine myself to the 62 male and 8 female weavers who lived in Woensel.⁴⁷ In 1857 they wove a total of 69 425 square metres, which amounts to an average of 992 square metres per person. There appears to have been a difference between the sexes, in that the average production for men was 27% higher than that for women. There was a discrepancy in pay, too. On the whole, female weavers earned 49.63 guilders per year, whereas the wages of male weavers averaged 72.63 guilders. This discrepancy was not only because the men produced more fabric, but also because they received 7.73 cents and the women 5.99 cents per linear metre.

It would be easy to see these differences as a sign of discrimination, for in almost all sectors women's wages were considerably lower than men's. However, the accurate administration of the Van der Velden firm shows that the discrepancy in pay had a technical rather than a social background. In the first instance, the wage level was not dependent on the weavers' sex, but on the quality of their products. This quality was based on two elements. Firstly, the closeness of the weave, indicated by the number of threads per centimetre. Secondly, the weight of the thread, indicated by a thread number, in which a high number referred to relatively heavy-quality thread. The wages paid per square metre were dependent on a combination of these two factors. As a rule, there was a fixed relationship between weight and closeness of weave: The heavier the thread the smaller the number of threads per centimetre of fabric. However, this was not always true. There were weavers who managed to reach the same closeness of weave while using heavier thread. Consequently, they received higher wages. Similarly there were weavers who, with the same close-

ness of weave, used lighter threads and who therefore received lower wages. It is evident that the wage level was a question of arithmetic, in which quantity and quality of the work were the decisive factors. That is why the Van der Velden firm had such a meticulous administration. In farming this would make little sense; in the textile industry, however, it was crucial.

Peasants and home weavers were not only different because of their actual labour process but also socially. Weavers had only a little land.⁴⁸ Moreover, their livelihood was much more precarious than that of peasants. Even a small recession could bring the looms to a standstill. Therefore there were more poor households among the weavers. Nevertheless, peasants and home weavers did have one point in common. In both groups the character and size of production was strongly determined by developments within the family. This is shown by what can be inferred from the data of the 1857 administration. The necessary demographic data were recovered for half of the weavers who lived in Woensel. In many of these families, several people worked as weavers.⁴⁹ This could have been a father, assisted by his son or his servant, but it could also have been a fatherless household in which a brother and sister had to earn the bread. Consequently, there were, on average, 1.59 weavers in these households with a total of 5.73 household members. When the households were classified on the basis of marriage duration, in the same way as had been done for the peasants, a gradual increase in the average number of weavers from 1.00 in the first phase to 1.86 in the last could be seen. Apparently in weavers' households, too, as children grew older they contributed to the labour process and thus to the income of the family unit.

In order to analyse this connection in greater detail I calculated the quantity and quality of the fabrics, as well as the income in money per phase. The first is shown in Table 5 which gives the average closeness of weave (threads/centimetre) and weight (thread number) of the fabric, as well as the average wages (cents/metre, guilders/year, respectively). The table also shows the total area of the fabric (in square metres).

My conclusion is that the quality of the fabric increased as the household existed longer. For the first phase, the average number of the threads used is 17, and for the last phase 27. The closeness of weave also increases. For the first phase weavers use an average of 14 threads per centimetre and for the last phase this is 21 threads per centimetre. This explains why their pay per linear metre shows an increase from an average of 5.71 cents in the first phase to 9.17 cents in the last phase. The table also shows an increase in quantity. For the first ten years it averages 657 square metres and for the last ten years, 2 156 square metres. As a result of both developments (pay per metre and area) the average total annual pay also increases, albeit not always equally sharply. Households in the first phase earn an average of 36 guilders a year, whereas for households

Table 5 *Average quality and quantity of fabric in relation to the development phase of the household in Woensel in 1857*

	>0	>10	>20	>30	aggr.
thread number	17	19	21	27	22
closeness	14	16	16	21	17
wages per meter	5.71	6.40	6.83	9.17	7.26
wages per year	36	109	92	184	115
area	657	1 668	1 592	2 156	1 622

in the second phase, this is 109 guilders. There is a slight drop for households in the third phase but for those in the last phase the annual pay once more increases to an average of 184 guilders. It is clear that for weavers' households, too, the economic situation depends on the development cycle of the family.

With advancing years the prospects of the household apparently improved. Partly because the children joined in the weaving, partly because of the growing skill of older weavers. The latter is clearly shown by analysing the development per weaver. Theoretically this could be deduced by combining the data in Table 5 with the average number of weavers per phase. The result of this estimate is presented in Table 6. However, production and income per weaver has also been measured directly, as a check on the reliability of the estimate.

Table 6 *Average production and wage level per weaver in relation to the development phase of the household in Woensel in 1857*

	>0	>10	>20	>30	aggr.
number of weavers	1.00	1.67	1.60	1.86	1.59
estimated area	657	999	995	1 159	1 020
measured area	657	1 018	988	1 061	972
estimated wages	36	65	58	99	72
measured wages	36	67	62	85	66

The results are remarkable. After an initial increase the total quantity of fabric per weaver remains almost constant. With the exception of the first phase, a

weaver produced approximately 1 000 square metre a year.⁵⁰ The deviation between the measured and the estimated value is small, but whereas the quantity almost remains the same, the quality of the fabric gradually increases. This was already evident from the average number of threads and the thread number for the households as a whole (see Table 5), but now it also appears to be the case for individual weavers. Growing skill led to higher wages per linear metre and so to higher annual wages per weaver. In the last phase a weaver is shown to be earning more than twice as much as in the first phase.

5. *The old regime...*

The foregoing indicates the existence of a 'family economy', in which the development cycle played a decisive role in the character and size of family labour. In the preceding pages I have shown that the production capacity of the household grew through the years because the children joined in the work of their parents. This occurred in both well-to-do and poor households, and not only in peasant families but also in weavers' families. A striking feature is that the labour intensity hardly changed during the course of this cycle. The average amount of land worked by an adult producer remained almost the same throughout the various phases. The same is true for the average amount of fabric produced annually by a weaver. Moreover, total production of the family business developed in three ways. Firstly, it expanded. The number of hectares worked by a peasant family in the last phase was twice the number worked in the first phase. The number of square metres produced by a weaver's family in the last phase was three times larger than that in the first phase. Secondly, the quality of the product increased. This was particularly true of the weavers. As weavers grew older they produced fabrics of closer weave and heavier quality. The quality of production in peasant families probably also improved through the years. The skill of the children was partly determined by their age. Thirdly, the income of the household gradually increased. In the last phase a weaver's family earned almost three times as much as in the first phase. The income of peasants cannot easily be compared with it, but on the basis of the increasing livestock it can be assumed that this also grew.⁵¹

There was a certain parallel development in the authority of the father. As head of the family he disposed of a growing number of producers. Moreover, the character of paternal authority changed. In the first years of marriage it mainly extended over his young children and his wife. If there were servants living in, they were only temporary. However, in later phases, the work was mostly done by his own children, who were subjected to their parents' authority until their own marriage. This throws a different light on the late age of marriage. Although there is no doubt that this was mainly caused by purely

demographic reasons, power relations also played a role. A marriage could not be concluded without parental agreement. Quite often children with (early) marriage plans were put under pressure by their parents to delay it.⁵² The latter also tried to prevent relationships between boys and girls.⁵³ Consequently, the adult work-force lived under the authority of their parents for a long time - on average from the age of fifteen to the age of thirty. The father was the head of the family. Thus the family economy naturally resulted in a patriarchal constellation. However, the existence and operation of this economy is by no means evident. It was only possible under a specific demographic and economic regime, which was based on three presuppositions.

Firstly, rural Brabant had a high population pressure for a long time. Agriculture produced so little that there was always a danger of overpopulation. This was the main reason why people in Kempenland married late. Normally peasants did not marry until a farm was available.⁵⁴ The same was true for craftsmen, tradespeople and other men who were to become the head of an independent family business.⁵⁵ Moreover, a great number of people never married. The West European marriage pattern described by Hajnal applied to Kempenland until the late nineteenth century.⁵⁶ Barentsen's descriptions show that people not only married late but also that not everyone got married.⁵⁷ In this way population growth could be moderated without birth control.

'That the living standard does not drop to the level of food shortage is caused by the fact that people marry late or even not at all, as a result of which the population roughly accommodates itself to produce'.⁵⁸

My research shows that this phenomenon was also true for Woensel. From 1700 till 1860, the population remained almost the same or grew only moderately. This was mainly achieved by a late age for marriage.⁵⁹ In 1850, this was, on average, thirty years for both men and women. It was the population pressure, in the first place, which forced men and women to remain single for a long time and work in their parents' enterprise. In this respect family labour was partly determined by the demographic situation.

Secondly, business and traffic were hardly developed in this region. This was especially so in agriculture. Naturally, the land, cattle and other production means had to be bought for cash, just as taxes had always been paid in money. However, for the rest, money was scarce among the East Brabant peasants.⁶⁰ Payment in kind was still very common around 1800. Servants were partly remunerated by being given board and lodging, rent and tithes often had to be paid in kind. Craftsmen were wholly or partly paid for their services in kind.⁶¹ In general, peasants tried to be as self-sufficient as possible. They cultivated rye for bread, buckwheat (for pancakes and porridge), potatoes (for dinner and supper), cabbage, carrots, beans and other vegetables (for stew). In

addition, they used their own meat (mainly pork), fat, milk, buttermilk, butter, (rapeseed) oil, eggs, fruit, fuel, flax and wool.⁶² Among the few articles they had to buy were salt, soap, vinegar, syrup, coffee, tea, tobacco and beer. Occasionally they bought furniture, pottery, kitchen utensils and footwear.⁶³ This does not mean that there was no market production at all. Large farms regularly sold a surplus of grain and almost all peasants sold butter and other dairy products at the market. Nevertheless, it would go too far to speak of a 'market economy' in this respect. In the first place, these sales were primarily meant for local food supply. In the second place, the family enterprise was not oriented towards maximum profit but towards subsistence and the avoidance of risks.⁶⁴

The third presupposition relates to the significance of the agricultural sector for the local economy.⁶⁵ In a region like Kempenland about half of the working population was active in agriculture until the middle of the nineteenth century.⁶⁶ Although as a rule the farms were small, most certainly if compared to the cattle farms in the provinces along the coast, peasants usually owned the means of production.⁶⁷ In Woensel, peasants had on average three to five hectares of land and four to five cows, while they also owned the necessary implements, such as ploughs, carts, harrows, and a slop bucket. Tractive power was provided by an ox or horse. In many cases they owned their farm. Outside the agricultural sector in the narrow sense of the word, many people were engaged in farming, too. Weavers and craftsmen usually had a small patch of land, which made them partially self-supporting. As a result of this, wages were very low in this part of Brabant. As a consequence, the distinction between peasants, labourers or craftsmen was often unclear. There were labourers who had their own farm but who hired themselves out as field hands for a few days a week.⁶⁸ Some people worked on farms as day-labourers during summer while engaging in a form of cottage industry like weaving and basketry in winter working their own patch of land in between.⁶⁹ Sons of peasants also worked as day-labourers.⁷⁰ Occupational segregation was flexible and seldom permanent.

So far I have given a brief outline of the demographic and economic regime which existed in rural Brabant before 1850. It is important that the question of the family economy be seen against this background. Therefore I now want to say something about the changes that occurred after 1850.

6. ... and modern times.

The limited extent of the use of money and the role of farming as a secondary trade meant that wages were well under the national average. This was one of the reasons why, in the middle of the nineteenth century, industrialization rapidly developed around towns like Tilburg, Helmond and Eindhoven. It did not involve traditional forms of home industry, but a mode of production which

showed all the characteristics of modern industry: production on an unprecedented scale, the use of new sources of energy (steam power, gas, electricity), a strong orientation towards the market, and a class fully dependent on wage labour. For some time the old family economy existed alongside the modern economy but, in the long run, it was undermined by it. This development had far-reaching consequences for adult workers who were freed from the grip of their parents by the operation of the market. Three processes strongly connected with each other played an important role in this development.

In the first place the composition of the labour force changed substantially, the proportion of the agricultural sector dropping considerably. In a place like Woensel 37% of the adult workers were still active in agriculture at the beginning of the nineteenth century but, by 1890, this had fallen to 14%. However, during the same period the proportion of factory workers grew from 15 to 36%. Most of them worked in labour-intensive industries like textiles, cigar production and, towards the end of the nineteenth century, the incandescent lamp industry. At first there was much child labour in these factories, but this gradually decreased.⁷¹ In this way a substantial part of the adult labour force, which had formerly been dependent on the agricultural sector, was absorbed by industry.⁷² As I have already said, this process first took place around a number of larger places.⁷³ In fact, a process of 'separation' started, in which industry left the villages to concentrate in urban areas and the country was automatically marked as an agricultural setting.⁷⁴ However, the effects of this process were not restricted to the urban area. The higher wages that were paid in industry also led to an increase in the rural wage level.⁷⁵ Moreover, there were also mental changes, that particularly expressed themselves in demands for a better life.⁷⁶

The second development was the expansion of the labour market and its consequences for the composition of the household. For instance, the number of living-in servants sharply decreased. After about 1870, peasants took in fewer servants, mainly because the wages had increased to a prohibitive level. Instead, their own children were more often put to work.⁷⁷ Meurkens speaks of 'familisation' (*familiarisering*), which means that, towards the end of the nineteenth century, farming had become almost exclusively the field of family members.⁷⁸ It is possible that the patriarchal constellation was maintained in this sector, but most households were confronted with quite another dynamic. The adult children who earned their money in the factory or as maids in town were no longer prepared to hand over their wages to their parents. They wanted to keep it for their own use. Some laid money by for a future marriage, some preferred to spend it. The boys went to the pub more often, the girls showed more interest in clothes.⁷⁹ Moreover, both sexes had more contact with each other. All this was a steady development, as a result of which work outside the home became a common phenomenon.

'The children have few scruples about leaving the home. There is more to do, there is more fun elsewhere. The opportunity for earning their own money is greater there than at home where they work but see no money [...].'⁸⁰

This process was not only the result of an improved functioning of the labour market. In general geographic and social mobility had increased considerably. The improvement of the road system and the introduction of new means of communication, like trains, trams, bicycles, as well as telegraph and telephone contributed a great deal towards this.⁸¹

The third development was that people married at increasingly younger ages. Whereas in the middle of the nineteenth century the average age at marriage in Woensel was still 30 for both men and women, by 1910 it had fallen to 27 for men and 26 for women. This implies a substantial extension of the fertile period which, because contraception was unusual and breast-feeding was on the decrease, led to a sharp population growth. In the old situation this would have caused enormous problems, because there was not enough work in agriculture. However, in the new situation the labour surplus was easily absorbed by the growing industry. As a result, the resistance to younger marriages gradually became weaker. A man no longer needed to be self-supporting before he could marry.⁸² Moreover, the young couple were able to lay money aside for their marriage.⁸³ As a result, people not only married younger but also more frequently.⁸⁴ They could no longer fall back on farming as a secondary trade and were fully dependent on wage labour in a factory. This meant that many ended up in dire circumstances. In Woensel, the proportion of poor households, which had formerly only been just over one third in times of acute crisis, grew considerably. From 1860, it fluctuated around 60% only falling to the old level at the beginning of the twentieth century. This is an indication of a process of proletarianization which also expressed itself in other ways.⁸⁵ However, these developments did not slow down the trend of marrying at a younger age.

All this strongly affected the traditional balance of power between parents and children. Because the grown-up children more often worked outside the home, kept a larger part of their wages to themselves and married at an earlier age, their position of power within the family strengthened considerably. Certain mental developments, such as a different attitude to leisure and a higher level of education among the children had a similar effect.⁸⁶

'All circumstances contribute to make young people more independent and freer from the old generation. The old-time organization of production has largely disappeared. The common interest of all family members in co-operation is felt less. The children feel less dependent economically and the parents lack the means to maintain their authority. The mental basis of authority is undermined by the knowledge gap as a result of improved education, working under the supervision of strangers, different life-styles and the formation of peer groups [...].'

So says Barentsen in his description of the developments in Kempenland at the end of the nineteenth century.⁸⁷ That these developments occurred somewhat earlier in Woensel is not important. What is important is the direction of this development, which can only be interpreted as a gradual but constant erosion of the old family economy.⁸⁸ Both generations had to pay a price for this development: the younger generation, because paternalism had lost its productivity and rationality,⁸⁹ the older generation, because the advantages of a large family no longer outweighed the disadvantages.⁹⁰ It remains open to discussion how this development should be valued. From a contemporary point of view, the grown-up children can be seen as victims of an authoritarian father. Nevertheless, we should bear in mind that the decline of paternal authority was something of a tragedy, too.

7. Epilogue

In this article I have argued that the rural regions of East Brabant had a family economy at least until the middle of the nineteenth century. However, perhaps the whole line of thought should be reversed by assuming that this economy was only pursued as an ideal. This would radically change the whole issue in two ways. First, it would enable a theoretical definition of the family economy, leaving aside for the moment the question of whether it actually existed. Second, the question could be asked as to where, when, in what way and by whom this theoretical model can be materialized or at least approximated. This article has tried to offer some arguments on both these aspects. I have shown how much economic action is influenced by family circumstances. In particular, the development cycle has turned out to have been important, not only for peasants but also for weavers, both in poor and solvent families. In this respect the family economy can be seen as the struggle to make the family operate as effectively as possible. The authority of the father, the sexual division of labour, the co-operation of the children, the living in of servants, the ownership of the means of production, the solidarity of the generations, the honour of the family, and mutual help are elements of an ideal model in which the economy inherent to family life is optimized.

The second aspect, no less crucial to historians, refers to the conditions which help or hinder the realization of such a model. In this respect, this article offers some suggestions, too. It has become clear that one of the main conditions is social class. If there was a family economy in rural Brabant, it was mainly common among the well-to-do. The duration of marriage also played a role, because the phase of an all-productive family was only reached after many years. Further, the feasibility of the model is dependent on the economic situation. In prosperous times, the households were bigger, with a relatively large number

of servants. In times of a downward economic trend or depression, they had to fall back on the labour of the nuclear family. And finally, the economic sector is important as the model can be applied particularly to peasants, less in domestic industry and hardly at all to wage-labourers dependent on the labour market. Application of the model in this way could produce a differentiated picture. It is necessary to investigate under what circumstances and to what extent production showed the characteristics of a family economy. Doing the same for a market economy prevents both types of economy being opposed as homogeneous blocks.

Thirdly, this approach provokes new questions to be asked which can be the subject for further research. These refer particularly to the changing connections between economic behaviour and political or cultural development. For instance, what is the connection between the struggle for a family economy on the sandy soils of the south-east of the Netherlands and the acceptance of the exertion of 'paternalistic' authority? The north-west of the country, which had had intensive communications and a developed monetary economy for a long time, has politically been characterized by more 'egalitarian' relationships. What importance should be placed on the fact that the population of these sandy soils remained largely Roman Catholic, whereas the north-west of the Netherlands, which was Protestant became more liberal? These types of questions cannot be solved as long as demographic-economic and political-mental processes are interpreted as two autonomous spheres. In reality, values and ideals, dreams and concepts penetrate into the 'hardest' economic and demographic behaviour. Though this is equally true of the market economy, it appears much more apparent for the family economy. In this respect my research into the past might also be helpful for the present.

NOTEN

* This article was translated by Mrs. Jeske Nelissen

1. Cf. P. Rey, 'Klassentegenstellingen in verwantschappelijke maatschappijen', *Te Elfder Ure* 32 (1983) 578-603; P. Geschiere, 'Bruidsprijzen bij de Maka in Kameroen', *Te Elfder Ure* 32 (1983) 604-638 and especially R. Raatgever, *De Verwantschappelijke Economie. Essays in de historisch-materialistische antropologie* (Brugge, 1988) Chs. 1-4.
2. This involves research for a Ph. D. which I have been doing at the Social Sciences Research School in Amsterdam for the past four years. Results will be published at the beginning of 1995 in *De Grote Overgang. Een Lokaal Onderzoek naar de Modernisering van het Bestaan. Woensel 1670-1920*.
3. Regional Archives Eindhoven-Kempenland, *Gemeentearchief Woensel*, inv.nos 299-308.

4. A household was called solvent if it was capable of paying the poll tax assessment. If a household lived on charity, it was called poor and exempt from poll tax. Insolvent households were in between and only had to pay part of the poll tax.
5. A further explanation of this question can be found in G. van den Brink, 'De structuur van het huishouden te Woensel 1716-1739', in: G. van den Brink, A. van der Veen, A. van der Woude (eds.), *Werk, kerk en bed in Brabant. Demografische ontwikkelingen in oostelijk Noord-Brabant 1700-1920* ('s-Hertogenbosch, 1989) 33-52.
6. The affinity to the English household is clear. This had an average of 1.63 parents, 2.03 children, 0.63 servants, 0.16 relatives and 0.30 others, which resulted in a total household size of 4.75. See: P. Laslett (ed.), *Household and Family in Past Times* (Cambridge, 1972) 83.
7. The relationship was two-fold. In poor households the husband was often forced to work as a seasonal labourer, as a result of which he was (temporarily) absent. However, households in which the husband was absent either through death or for some other reason mostly fell into poverty.
8. See Note 11.
9. These exceptions refer to a single adult boarder or a living-in child.
10. Cf. the values for 1791 in Table 2.
11. Little is known about the quantitative aspects of this phenomenon for the Netherlands. A study of households in the second half of the eighteenth century in Alphen shows that children who left home (for the first time) were on average 15.5 years old. See: A. Lindner, 'De dynamische analyse van huishoudens te Alphen 1753-1803', in: Van den Brink, *et al.* (eds.), *Werk, kerk en bed*, 53-82, especially 69 and 75.
12. L. Deckers, *De landbouwers van den Noordbrabantschen zandgrond* (Eindhoven, 1912) 242. Foreign literature indicates that living-in servants were often recruited from among nephews, nieces and other relatives. See: L. Berkner, 'The Stem-family and the Developmental Cycle of the Peasant Household: An Eighteenth Century Austrian Example', *American Historical Review* 78 (1972) 398-418, esp. 413 and 416; M. Mitterauer and R. Sieder, 'The Developmental Process of Domestic Groups: Problems of Reconstruction and Possibilities of Interpretation', *Journal of Family History* 4 (1979) 257-284, esp. 263, 266, 274; M. McIntosh, 'Servants and the Household in an Elisabethan English Community', *Journal of Family History* 9 (1984) 3-23, esp. 9. I have not been able to ascertain whether this was also the case in Woensel.
13. In Alphen, servants generally remained with the same employer for over two years. However, more than half of all servants did not stay any longer than this in the same household. Before they married, most servants had lived at 5 to 7 different addresses. This points to a high degree of geographic mobility. See: Lindner, 'De dynamische analyse', 70-71, 75.
14. A. Crijns and F. Kriellaarts, *Het gemengde landbouwbedrijf op de zandgronden in Noord-Brabant 1800-1885* (Tilburg, 1987) 86, 257-258; P. Meurkens, *Bevolking, economie en cultuur van het oude Kempenland* (Bergeijk, 1985) 99.

15. Lindner, 'De dynamische analyse', 76; McIntosh, 'Servants and the Household', 3, 18; G. McCracken, 'The Exchange of Children in Tudor England: An Anthropological Phenomenon in Historical Context', *Journal of Family History* 8 (1983) 303-313, 308.
16. Lindner, *De dynamische analyse*, 71-73, 75.
17. For North Brabant see: P. Barentsen, *Het oude Kempenland. Eene proeve van vergelijking van organisme en samenleving* (Groningen, 1935) 130; Deckers, *De landbouwers*, 243; C. van der Heijden, 'Een belichting van enige historisch-demografische aspecten van een Kempische plattelandsgemeente in de negentiende eeuw', *Varia Historica Brabantica* 10 (1981) 83-120, esp. 111, 113, 115, 117; H. Roessingh, 'Landbouw in de Noordelijke Nederlanden 1650-1815' in: *Algemene Geschiedenis der Nederlanden*, deel 8 (Haarlem, 1979) 16-72, esp. 50. For Western Europe for instance: J. Hajnal, 'European Marriage Patterns in Perspective', in: D. Glass (ed.), *Population in History* (London, 1965) 101-143, esp. 132-133; P. Laslett, 'Characteristics of the Western Family Considered over Time', *Journal of Family History* 2 (1977) 89-155, 104; McIntosh, 'Servants and the Household', 4; Mitterauer and Sieder, 'The Developmental Process', 261, 281 and especially A. Kussmaul, *Servants in Husbandry in Early Modern England*, (Cambridge, 1981).
18. Regional Archives Eindhoven-Kempenland, *Gemeentearchief Woensel*, inv. nos. 277-278. The list does not record dates of marriage. These have been taken from the *Marriage Register* ('Trouwboek') for the Sint Petrus Parochie in Woensel.
19. This is one of the assumptions in Chayanov's theory of the peasant economy. A concise summary of this theory is presented in G. van den Brink, 'De arbeid is alles, de mensch niets... Aard en ontwikkeling van het boerenbedrijf in de Kempen 1800-1900', *Tijdschrift voor Sociale Geschiedenis* 17 (1991) 50-72, esp. 52-55. Also: Ad Knotter, 'Problems of the family economy' in this issue.
20. Lindner, 'De dynamische analyse', 59-64, 73-74.
21. Barentsen, *Het oude Kempenland*, 129-130.
22. P. Barentsen, 'Het gezinsleven in het oosten van Noord-Brabant', in: Van den Brink *et al.* (eds.), *Werk, kerk en bed*, 17-31, 29-30. Although Barentsen's observations were made in the beginning of this century, I am convinced that they give an accurate view of the situation in an earlier period.
23. Barentsen, *Het oude Kempenland*, 130.
24. *Ibidem*, 136.
25. Lindner, 'De dynamische analyse', 61.
26. Barentsen, 'Het gezinsleven', 29. However, this was not the major motive for the late age of marriage in Kempenland. See section 5.
27. Barentsen, 'Het gezinsleven', 31; idem, *Het oude Kempenland*, 126-127; Crijns and Kriellaarts, *Het gemengde landbouwbedrijf*, 83, 92; Meurkens, *Bevolking*, 87.
28. Barentsen, *Het oude Kempenland*, 127; Crijns and Kriellaarts, *Het gemengde landbouwbedrijf*, 335.
29. Crijns and Kriellaarts, *Het gemengde landbouwbedrijf*, 177.
30. *Ibidem*, 93.
31. *Ibidem*, 335.

32. *Ibidem*, 263.
33. W. van Iterson, *Schets van de landhuishouding der Meijerij*, ('s-Hertogenbosch, 1868), 85; also 99.
34. Crijns and Kriellaarts, *Het gemengde landbouwbedrijf*, 67.
35. Barentsen, *Het oude Kempenland*, 127; Deckers, *De landbouwers*, 188.
36. Barentsen, *Het oude Kempenland*, 113, 117; Crijns and Kriellaarts, *Het gemengde landbouwbedrijf*, 86, 254.
37. Barentsen, *Het oude Kempenland*, 127.
38. Van Iterson, *Schets*, 14-15.
39. Deckers, *De landbouwers*, 242.
40. Van Iterson, *Schets*, 15.
41. Deckers, *De landbouwers*, 242; Crijns and Kriellaarts, *Het gemengde landbouwbedrijf*, 85.
42. This is also one of the assumptions in Chayanov's theory of the peasant economy. Farm size and labour volume can also be adjusted by working more or less hard. See further: Van den Brink, 'De arbeid is alles', 52-55, 61-65.
43. Barentsen, 'Het gezinsleven', 18-19. Also: Crijns and Kriellaarts, *Het gemengde landbouwbedrijf*, 84.
44. The data are taken from the *Kadaster* and the *Register of Births, Marriages and Deaths* ('Burgerlijke Stand'), Regional Archives Eindhoven-Kempenland.
45. Crijns and Kriellaarts, *Het gemengde landbouwbedrijf*, 110-111, 137-138.
46. Regional Archives Eindhoven-Kempenland, *Archief Firma J. van der Velden en H. van Gennip*, inv.no. 127 ('Register houdende opgaven van werkzaamheden van thuiswevers en weefloon 1857').
47. I would like to thank Mr P. van Gorp from Tilburg who kindly gave me technical information about the weaving process.
48. The average amount of land owned by weavers in the *Cadastral register* for 1830 was 0.53 hectares. However, many weavers did not own any land at all, so that the average was actually even lower.
49. This was general practice among cottage weavers, but not among factory weavers. See: A. Janssens, 'Huishoudens en produktie. Thuiswevers en fabrieksarbeiders in Tilburg in de negentiende eeuw', in: Van den Brink *et al.* (eds.), *Werk, kerk en bed*, 145-166, 160.
50. Harkx gives comparable figures for Helmond. According to him the average annual production of a linen weaver around 1830 was 1260 ells or 882 metres. This would mean that between 1830 and 1857, productivity increased by approximately 12%. This sort of growth does not seem exaggerated: W. Harkx, *De Helmondse textielnijverheid in de loop der eeuwen. De grondslag van de huidige textielindustrie 1794-1870* (Tilburg, 1967) 125.
51. In order to obtain cash money, most peasants had to sell butter and other dairy products. Thus, a general increase in livestock will have led to a higher income. See: Crijns and Kriellaarts, *Het gemengde landbouwbedrijf*, 96; Barentsen, 'Het gezinsleven', 19.
52. Cf. Barentsen, *Het oude Kempenland*, 320-21.
53. *Ibidem*, 333, 342.
54. Barentsen, *Het oude Kempenland*, 138.

55. W. Blankert, 'De huwelijksstructuur in de Brabantse Kempen in de periode 1830-1859', in: Van den Brink *et al.* (eds.), *Werk, kerk en bed*, 101-115, esp. 107-108, 114-115.
56. Hajnal, 'European Marriage Patterns', 132-133.
57. Barentsen, 'Het gezinsleven', 29.
58. *Ibidem*, 31.
59. Migration also played a role. In the nineteenth century, more people left Woensel than arrived. Afterwards this rapidly changed to a positive balance of migration.
60. Barentsen, 'Het gezinsleven', 19.
61. Crijns and Kriellaarts, *Het gemengde landbouwbedrijf*, 94; see also Van Iterson, *Schets*, 14 en Barentsen, *Het oude Kempenland*, 133.
62. Crijns and Kriellaarts, *Het gemengde landbouwbedrijf*, 91-93.
63. *Ibidem*, 94; also 193.
64. J. Bieleman, *Boeren op het Drentse zand 1600-1910. Een nieuwe visie op de 'oude' landbouw* (Wageningen, 1987) 577.
65. See E. Vanhaute, *Heiboeren. Bevolking, arbeid en inkomen in de 19e-eeuwse Kempen* (Brussel, 1992) 310ff.
66. Meurkens, *Bevolking*, 66, 75.
67. For the typical cattle breeding regions in Friesland, North Holland and South Holland, farms of 16 hectares, 19 hectares and 27 hectares respectively are mentioned: J. Faber, *Drie Eeuwen Friesland. Economische en sociale ontwikkelingen van 1500 tot 1800* (Wageningen, 1972) 209-210; A. van der Woude, *Het Noorderkwartier. Een regionaal historisch onderzoek in de demografische en economische geschiedenis van westelijk Nederland van de late Middeleeuwen tot het begin van de negentiende eeuw* (Wageningen, 1972) 282; D. Noordam, *Leven in Maasland. Een hoogontwikkelde plattelandssamenleving in de achttiende en het begin van de negentiende eeuw* (Hilversum, 1986) 53.
68. Deckers, *De landbouwers*, 249.
69. *Ibidem*, 255-256, 258.
70. Van Iterson, *Schets*, 12.
71. Around about 1855, in Eindhoven and the surrounding area 47% of all factory workers were still children. In 1895 this had fallen to 15%. However, these data were not based on the criterion of an age limit of 16.
72. Cf. Barentsen, *Het oude Kempenland*, 313-314.
73. Crijns and Kriellaarts, *Het gemengde landbouwbedrijf*, 259; Barentsen, *Het oude Kempenland*, 332.
74. Cf. G. Trienekens, 'Integrale Geschiedenis in wording. Aarle-Rixtel en Wanrooij in de negentiende en het begin van de twintigste eeuw' in: J. van Oudheusden and G. Trienekens (eds.), *Een pront wijf, een mager paard en een zoon op het seminarie. Aanzetten tot een integrale geschiedenis van oostelijk Noord-Brabant* ('s-Hertogenbosch, 1993) 211-306, 236.
75. Deckers, *De landbouwers*, 243, 248.
76. Barentsen, *Het oude Kempenland*, 335.
77. Meurkens, *Bevolking*, 60, 63; Crijns and Kriellaarts, *Het gemengde landbouwbedrijf*, 112, 256-257, 259.
78. Meurkens, *Bevolking*, 92, 96, 101.

79. Barentsen, *Het oude Kempenland*, 319.
80. *Ibidem*, 331-333.
81. The importance of means of transport is particularly emphasized in E. Weber, *Peasants into Frenchmen. The Modernization of Rural France 1870-1914* (London, 1977) 195-220, 493-494. For the Netherlands I refer to H. Knippenberg and B. de Pater, *De eenwording van Nederland. Schaalvergroting en integratie sinds 1800* (Nijmegen, 1988) 43-66.
82. Barentsen, *Het oude Kempenland*, 342.
83. *Ibidem*, 320-321, 333.
84. *Ibidem*, 332.
85. In 1880 as many as two-thirds of the households in Woensel did not own a single patch of land.
86. Barentsen, *Het oude Kempenland*, 311, 341.
87. *Ibidem*, 320.
88. Meurkens, *Bevolking*, 78.
89. Meurkens, *Bevolking*, 115-116, states: 'The economic system had largely lost its paternalistic and familial features. It had become authoritarian [...]'.
 90. 'It is hard to lead a large family, the members of which are exposed to all sorts of differences and are very independent. The economic advantages of having children have relatively decreased and other objections have risen [...]'. Barentsen *Het oude Kempenland*, 332.

XI

LABOUR RELATIONS, CULTURE AND FERTILITY IN DUTCH AGRICULTURAL COMMUNITIES, 1888

by

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This short paper develops a particular theme within the general framework of the Posthumus Programme on the subject of changing labour relations and family formation. Broadly speaking our aim has been to gain a better understanding of the interaction between agricultural labour and its prevailing reproductive behaviour in various social and economic settings. Recent statistical research on fertility in provinces and communities in the Netherlands since 1880 has been based on a few variables. They are of use in the more recent period, but give unsatisfactory explanations of regional variations of fertility in the period 1880-1910. Evidently a model for this latter period has to work in a relatively non-homogeneous social, economic and mental space, and therefore, unmeasured 'regional culture' is considered to be a crucial variable. Since through hard work much more detailed socio-economic information could be made available, two questions arise. Firstly, what kind of information would provide variables that are likely to be more successful in increasing the explanatory power of existing statistical analysis? And, secondly, to what extent does the explanation still need a crucial 'cultural factor'? In order to detect new explanatory variables we have analysed detailed descriptions of the economic, social and demographic systems of agricultural villages in 1888. In this paper most attention has been given to 'labour relations', while the use of 'religion' as an explanatory variable is criticized.

1. Results of recent fertility research in the Netherlands

To explain differences in levels of marital fertility and nuptiality between countries, provinces and communities, considerable statistical research has been done on various sets of economic, cultural and demographic factors. In cross-sectional