

Determinants of institutionalization of orphans in a nineteenth-century Dutch town

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INTRODUCTION

Until late in the nineteenth century a considerable proportion of Dutch children had lost one or both parents by the time they reached adulthood. This was a consequence of low life expectancy, the high age at which reproduction started (partly due to late marriage) and high fertility within marriage. For the Netherlands in the period 1850 to 1900, the proportion of persons aged 20 or less who had lost one of their parents is estimated between 8 and 11 per cent; another 1 to 2 per cent had lost both parents.¹ Despite the fact that orphanhood was a very common phenomenon in earlier centuries, little is known about how orphans in the past fared materially and psychologically, and our knowledge about the consequences of orphanhood, in particular full orphanhood, for the child is restricted.² Only a general impression from diaries, letters, autobiographers and similar sources can be obtained. It is very difficult to acquire information on orphans – especially those outside institutions – from the customary demographic sources. Information on the effects of institutional care for orphans and their ‘institutional careers’ is also very limited, mainly as a result of the lack of good, individual-level data indicating the age, occupation or family background of inmates at the time of their admission or exit.³

The history of the formal institutions which were established to take care of (full) orphans is much better documented. In the Netherlands,

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dozens of books have been written to commemorate the fact that these institutions existed for 200, 300 or 400 years.⁴ Such institutional histories, however, have concentrated on managerial, financial and material aspects and have only recently begun to pay attention to the daily life of the residents. The institutional population – the orphans – is usually treated as a group. If available at all, the demographic information given is static (cross-sectional sex and age distributions). Individual children and their family contexts, as well as their further life histories, remain underexposed. Little is known about the choices that had to be made within the kin network or the local community concerning the care of minors who had lost both parents, and which solution was chosen among the available alternatives (in addition to institutionalization one might think of adoption, premature independence or integration in the households of relatives).

In this article we try to shed some light on exactly these aspects of the history of orphanhood. We will do that by examining some elements of the life histories of minor children who were orphaned between 1860 and 1879 in Delft. The questions to be addressed are the following. What happened to minors who lost both parents? What caused certain children to be raised in the family circle and others to enter an orphanage? Was institutionalization related to social network and family characteristics (availability of relatives; number, age and sex of children) and/or socio-economic characteristics (occupation, religion)?

In order to examine the consequences of orphanhood, we employ a longitudinal approach by observing the ‘destiny’ of orphans in the years following the death of the last surviving parent. The data are taken from the nineteenth-century Dutch system of registration of births and deaths and from the population registers which provide a continuous observation of the life course of children within the contexts of the household and the community. The sample includes a total of 525 minors (from 267 different parental couples) who became full orphans in the period between 1 January 1860 and 31 December 1879 in Delft.

The first part of the article gives a brief overview of the historical situation of orphans in the Netherlands, especially in the nineteenth century, and a sketch of the socio-economic situation of the research area. The formal provisions for orphans in Delft, the database and the data-collection strategy as well as the characteristics studied will be described. Next, the results of the analysis for the determinants as to whether orphans who were minors were institutionalized or not are presented. We conclude with a discussion and some suggestions for further research.

I. ORPHANS IN THE NETHERLANDS: LEGAL AND SOCIAL
CHARACTERISTICS

Under Dutch law, anyone who was a minor (which, in the period 1838–1905, meant anyone under the age of 23) was obliged to be under the authority of an adult, either a parent or a guardian. If one parent died, the surviving parent became the legal guardian of any minor children. Because children were supposed to have two adults responsible, each guardian was appointed a co-guardian by the magistrate. Apart from mothers, women were not allowed to be either guardians or co-guardians. Widows who remarried had to apply to the magistrate for an extension of their guardianship; their new husbands were then appointed co-guardians.⁵ A minor child who had lost both parents was appointed a guardian and a co-guardian. This was done at the court, on the basis of information from the registrars (see below).

Deaths had to be registered within three days to the registrar, who made up a death certificate. The registrars had a statutory obligation to notify the magistrate of anyone who died leaving minor children. A registrar could ascertain this either by questioning whoever officially reported the death or by consulting the forms used by district officials to those who reported the death.⁶ The appointment of a guardian and/or co-guardian was done at the request of the minor's next of kin, if no request was made, it was the magistrate's responsibility to appoint a guardian. Before appointing a guardian, magistrates would seek the recommendations of the minor child's adult male relatives, who could be either blood relations or adult males related by marriage. The magistrate's decision, as well as personal information about the parents, the minor children and the relatives present, was recorded in a custody act. The legal procedures around a death are summarized in Figure 1.

As a rule, care arrangements for parentless children would have been sought first of all within the family circle. Sometimes, however, the child had no surviving relatives or else relatives were unavailable because they had migrated or for other reasons. Children who could not be placed with relatives and who had no-one else to care for them were often put out to board with non-relatives, with the costs being paid by an institution for the relief of the poor.⁷ The boarding out of children in this way continued until well into the nineteenth century and was done in the form of an 'auction' whereby the lowest bidder – whoever was prepared to provide board and lodging for the child at the lowest cost – in effect secured cheap labour in exchange for caring for the child. The lower the costs to the Poor Councils or the Diaconate, the municipal and religious bodies committed to providing relief for the poor, the greater a child's chances of being

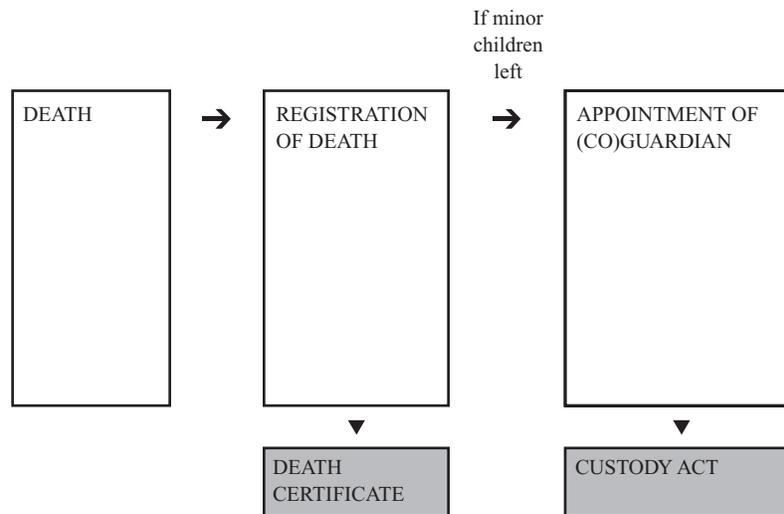


FIGURE 1. Legal procedures following a death in the Netherlands in the nineteenth century.

boarded out. There is no evidence that adoption played a major role as a solution for parentless children. This is in contrast to the practice in France as reported by Fauve-Chamoux.⁸

Orphanages also played a key role in terms of providing refuge and care for orphaned children. In 1859, there were some 30,000 orphans in the Netherlands, 10,104 of whom were housed in 232 institutions.⁹ Orphanages were a feature of virtually every Dutch town. Each major religious denomination had its own orphanages and there were also municipal homes and private institutions not affiliated to any religious group. Not all children were eligible for admission to an orphanage. As a rule, orphanages only admitted children who had lost both parents; children who had lost only one parent were either specifically excluded or admitted only if their surviving parent was incapable of supporting or caring for them, for example as a result of suffering from an incurable disease. Nor was the second spouse of a mother or father who had remarried necessarily able or willing to support the children from the new partner's previous marriage. Financial hardship sometimes meant that new husbands and wives were forced to give children up to an orphanage, which is why institutions, were set up specifically for children who had lost one parent.

The nineteenth century witnessed a growing sense of pessimism amongst reformers about the effectiveness of orphanages as institutions for raising children. Some of the main criticisms of the orphanage as an institution included the sub-standard accommodation facilities, atrocious hygiene

conditions and the resulting high mortality rate. Amongst various sources of evidence of the poor state of orphans' health was an official government document. A committee which conducted an inquiry into the physical condition of children working in factories in the 1860s compared the physical condition of more than 7,200 young factory workers, 7,600 schoolchildren and 2,600 children in orphanages.¹⁰ At the age of ten, the height, weight, lung capacity and muscle development of orphaned boys and girls was noticeably inferior to those of the schoolchildren and the children who worked in the textile factories. The Committee concluded that

the physical development of orphans of a young age or upon arrival at the institution is severely retarded. The majority are amongst the neediest in society who have suffered deprivation and who are the offspring of parents who have in many cases passed on their children the seeds of the diseases which caused their own premature demise. The fact that their subsequent development showed considerable improvement can be attributed to improved housing, clothing and nutrition.

Criticism of the state of health in orphanages was directed primarily at the large municipal homes which often accommodated hundreds of orphans, foundlings and abandoned or neglected children.¹¹ By contrast, private burgher orphanages (for middle-class children) provided them with material care which was often better than they had at home.¹² Based on data from various institutions it has been concluded that the mortality rate in the burgher orphanages in the early nineteenth century was much lower than the average mortality rate for the Netherlands as a whole.¹³ Seventeenth-century data show that the life expectancy of orphans in the Amsterdam Burgher Orphanage was the same as that of children in Amsterdam in general. But the situation in homes for non-middle-class orphans and children who had lost one parent was much less favourable: infant and child mortality in the Amsterdam Almoners Orphanage, where precisely these orphans and foundlings were accommodated, was at least twice as high as that for the city as a whole.¹⁴

II. AN OVERVIEW OF THE SOCIO-ECONOMIC SITUATION OF DELFT IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

Our study area, the city of Delft, is located in the western part of the Netherlands between Rotterdam and The Hague, in the province of South-Holland. In the early seventeenth century Delft was one of the leading towns in the Netherlands, but thereafter its importance rapidly diminished. The position of Delft relative to other towns fell significantly by the end of the seventeenth century despite the fact that until about 1680 its population continued to grow steadily, reaching 24,000 inhabitants.¹⁵

This was followed by stagnation and decline until the middle of the nineteenth century, when a new period of prosperity dawned, partly due to the founding in 1842 of an engineering school, the Royal Academy (currently known as Delft University of Technology). The Royal Academy also accommodated a training school for colonial officials. At the beginning of the nineteenth century, Delft had roughly 13,000 inhabitants. Its population increased to 31,900 by 1900.

Delft had a typical function as a trade and service centre for its vicinity, Westland, an area of prosperous dairy farming and horticulture. In the course of the nineteenth century, there was a sharp rise in industrial employment. In 1849, this sector accounted for around 40 per cent of employment and fifty years later more than half of the labour force was employed in industry, partly due to the founding of the artillery station. The main industrial sectors were metal and military workshops, tanning, tobacco and carpentry.¹⁶

In the nineteenth century, Delft and the neighbouring Westland formed a Roman Catholic bastion within the province of South-Holland. Whereas in the middle of the nineteenth century, a quarter of the population of South-Holland was Roman Catholic, in Delft their share was about 40 per cent.¹⁷ The 1849 census results show that Roman Catholics were over-represented among the lower strata (casual workers, unskilled labourers and craftsman), and that the Roman Catholic petty bourgeoisie was small relative to the Protestant. The vast majority of the members of the highest social echelons (merchants and intellectuals) were Protestant.¹⁸

III. ORPHAN CARE IN DELFT

An important characteristics of the Dutch system of care for the poor was the incorporation of private charity, mainly denominational, in the legal structure. The 1854 Poor Law only authorized the civil authorities to act when private authorities were not able to fulfil their duties towards the poor. The municipalities generally delegated the administration of the Poor Law to a board of governors, usually called the *burgerlijk armbestuur* (Poor Council), consisting of private citizens. In each municipality the Protestant churches had a diaconate which was responsible for providing relief for the poor, for the boarding out of children in families, for the admission of orphans to the orphanages and for their livelihood. Each Roman Catholic parish also had its own Poor Council.¹⁹

In the nineteenth century, Delft had three orphanages of which the Reformed Orphanage was the largest. This orphanage, which was founded in 1579, accommodated approximately 175 orphan boys and girls in its heyday in the seventeenth century.²⁰ These numbers rapidly

decreased, especially in the second half of the nineteenth century. In 1859 86 orphans were registered, whereas in 1899 approximately 50 were cared for. The other Protestant Orphanage, *Het Meisjehuis* (the Girls' Orphanage), was founded in the same period as the Reformed Orphanage. This institution was much smaller. The resident population, however, was much more stable and averaged around 30 throughout the nineteenth century. The provisions for the Roman Catholic orphans in Delft date from 1759. From the outset the care of Roman Catholic orphans was combined with the care of the elderly and was sex-segregated: boys and girls had their own separate accommodation, which they shared respectively with elderly men (in the *Oude Mannen en Jongenshuis* (Old Men's and Boys' Home)) and women (in the *Oude Vrouwen en Meisjeshuis* (Old Women's and Girls' Home)). Both institutions, however, fell under the same administration. In 1814 the total number of orphans was 88, in 1859 approximately 80.

Admission rules differed across the institutions. Admission to the Reformed Orphanage was explicitly restricted to foundlings and full orphans whose parents were members of the Reformed Church²¹ and who had died in the city of Delft in needy circumstances. The orphans had to be healthy and without bodily defects. No minimum age was applied. However, very young children were usually boarded out until they reached the age of two or four years. Orphans were generally discharged in May when aged 19–21.²²

The Girls' Orphanage applied some of the same admission rules – children of poor, Protestant parents. The orphanage, however, only admitted girls aged 6–10, and admission was not restricted to full orphans. As such, the Girls' Orphanage apparently fulfilled a clear need. In the period 1860–1879, 94 per cent of the girls admitted were semi-orphans, the majority having lost their fathers.

Admission to the Roman Catholic orphanages was restricted to children of Roman Catholic parents who had died in one of Delft's parishes. The orphans had to be not older than 16, and a guardian or co-guardian had to be appointed. Children aged 13–16 could be refused. If the parents had died of an infectious disease, the children lost had to undergo a medical examination.²³ In 1851, in order to economize, the age at which the orphans had to leave the institute was lowered from 23 to 21 for boys, and to 20 for girls. On certain occasions admission rules were applied flexibly by the Roman Catholic regents, as in the case of the 16-and-a-half-years-old Johannes Anthonius Hoogeraad Machielsen. The regents were afraid that his guardian, a Protestant adult brother, would send him to a Protestant institution, or else might bring him up as a Protestant. He was therefore taken in immediately.²⁴

IV. DATA-COLLECTION STRATEGY

The sample for this study on the life histories of full orphans has been compiled from three different sources: death certificates, custody acts and the records of the orphanages.

Ideally, the construction of the database on full orphans should start with the identification – for example, from the death certificates – of all persons who had (1) died in the selected period, (2) survived their (first) spouse and (3) left minor children from that marriage. Given the high number of deaths (approximately 13,700 persons in the period 1860–1879), the expected low probability²⁵ of selecting a person who complied with the criteria and the fact that death certificates do not contain information on the number of children of the deceased, death certificates are inefficient sources for our purpose.

We therefore decided to start with another source: the custody acts drawn up at the Cantonal Court.²⁶ These documents *do* include the names and birth dates of the couple's minor children, as well as information on the names of the biological parents, their place and date of death and the father's occupation. Names of the appointed guardian and co-guardian as well as their relationship to the minor orphans were also given.²⁷ From a total of 921 custody acts for the period 1860–1879, all the acts where a guardian had been appointed were selected and further inspected. We found 141 acts that met our criteria (last surviving parent had died within the period 1860–1879, and the family lived in Delft). Given the statutory obligation for registrars to notify the magistrates of anyone who died leaving minor children, and the other statutory obligation to appoint a guardian and/or co-guardian at the court (see above), we expected this source to create a fairly complete sample of full orphans. In order to test this assumption, the results of this initial stage were compared with admission data from the orphanage archives.²⁸

The three Delft orphanages employed more or less the same registration system. On entrance information was registered – in the so-called *Kinderboeken* (children's books) – the child's name, place and date of birth, date of entry into the institution, as well as the names of the biological parents, place and date of their deaths and their religion. In some cases information on guardians or co-guardians was also recorded. As children departed, the date of departure was noted along with the reason for their departure. Not all the children who were admitted to one of the orphanages were indeed full orphans. Forty children turned out to be semi-orphans²⁹ or children of single mothers, whereas another few appeared to be *bestedelingen* ('boarded out children') from other cities or communities. This group (N = 44) has been deleted from the sample; only

those who became full orphans in the period 1860–1879, and whose parents had lived in Delft (and a few adjacent communities), were included. The final orphanage sample included 234 orphaned children from 124 different parental couples.

A comparison of the two samples revealed that less than half (37 per cent) of the parents of the children who were admitted to one of the orphanages in Delft could be identified in the court archives.³⁰ At least three explanations for this bias can be put forward. First, death notification was often carried out by undertakers or other non-related persons, who were not necessarily informed about the exact birth dates of the orphaned children. Many minor children had already left the parental home before their last parent's death, or had already joined the ranks of adult workers,³¹ and thus could have been easily 'overlooked'. Secondly, families may not have been informed about the statutory regulations for appointing a (co-)guardian at the court, or else may have had only a limited interest in the procedure (since arrangements had already been made informally and/or no estate had to be administered). Thirdly, there is evidence that in cases of admission to an orphanage it was not considered necessary to appoint a guardian at the court, since the general belief was that regents by default were entrusted with the custody. There was, however, no legal basis for such an arrangement. In some cases, for example, a legal guardian and co-guardian had only been appointed for those children who did not enter an orphanage, and the children who were admitted to one of the orphanages were omitted from the custody act. This, occurred for example, in the case of the family of the Protestant dyer Hugo Holster. On his death, on 17 January 1859, Hugo Holster left three minor and two adult children. No co-guardian was appointed after his death. The four oldest children stayed with their mother Anna van den Bosch, while the youngest daughter, Anna (5 years old) was admitted to the Girls' Orphanage in May 1859, where she died in 1863. When the mother Anna van den Bosch died on 6 November 1865, she left two minor children, Dirk (20 years) and Adrianus (13 years). Adrianus was admitted to the Reformed Orphanage two weeks after the death of his mother, while Dirk joined his eldest brother Hugo at another address. Within two years of Dirk becoming a full orphan, a guardian (his brother Hugo) and co-guardian (an uncle) were appointed. Adrianus was not mentioned in the custody act.³²

The incompleteness of the court registration has induced us to return to the first-mentioned, 'rather inefficient', source, the death certificates, in order to try to trace as many orphans as possible. The fact that the death certificates for Delft have recently become available in electronic format made it possible to select all persons who died as widows or widowers in

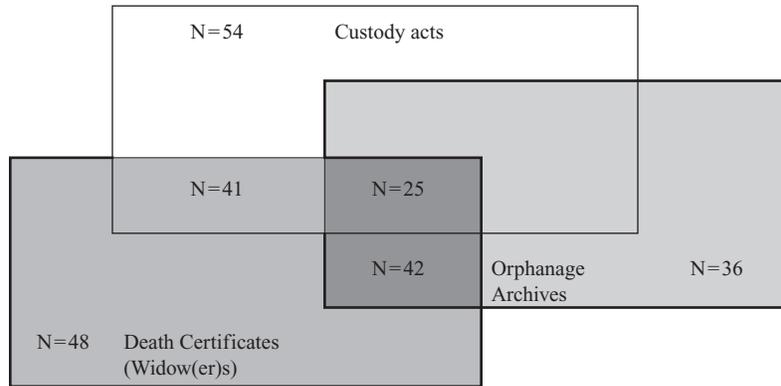


FIGURE 2. Relationships between the three data sources used in this study.

the age range 20 to 64 and who formally resided in Delft. By means of the population registers it was verified whether or not these widow(er)s left minor children.³³ The total sample contained 485 widowed persons. About 13 per cent, however, formally resided in other cities or died in the mental hospital, the *Joris Gasthuis*. This group was deleted from the sample, leaving 424 widows and widowers for further inspection. One-third of them were already represented in one or both other sources. Of the remaining group, about 75 per cent could be traced in the population registers. Not more than one in every five turned out to have minor children (usually only one ‘20-plus’ child). As a result of this exercise 48 parental couples were added to the sample. The final result was a sample of 267 parental couples from three different sources. We assume that, by combining these three sources, we have been able to create a fairly complete picture of the minors who entered orphanhood in Delft in the period 1860–1879. The fact that only relatively few children were added to the sample in the third round confirms this. The relationship between the three sources as well as their overlaps is shown in Figure 2.

The 267 parental couples in the sample left behind 525 minor children. For all these children information has been collected on their household situation by means of the population registers. All children were followed until their adulthood (at 23 years).

Continuous population registers were enforced in the Netherlands by the Royal Decree of 22 December, 1849. The registers had to record the population residing within each municipality. The starting point for the first registers was the census of 1849. The returns from this census were copied into the population register, and from then on all changes occurring in the population in the next decade were recorded in it. The

Delft register is address-based. Each address was allocated a double page. On these pages it is possible to find information on all members of the household. The head of the household is mentioned first, followed by his wife (if the head was a married male), children, relatives and other members of the household. For each individual, date and place of birth, relationship to the head of the household, sex, marital status, occupation and religion were recorded. New household members arriving after the registration had started were added to the list of individuals already recorded, and those moving out by death or migration were crossed off with reference to the place and date of migration or date of death. Whenever a complete household or separate members moved to another address within the city, they were entered on a new page. In fact the population register combined census listings with registration of births and deaths in an already linked format for the entire population. Families and individuals can, in principle, thus be followed on a day-by-day basis for a long period. In Delft the first register covers the period 1849–1861. In addition to this register, registers for the period 1861–1900 were also consulted.

V. METHODS AND OPERATIONALIZATION

In this study we employed a longitudinal approach: the orphans were followed in the population registers until adulthood (at age 23 or by marriage), or until they died. We strongly agree with Berkner in his opinion that certain living arrangements and household structures tend to be underestimated on the basis of cross-sectional evidence, especially as far as less ‘stable’ household structures are concerned.³⁴ Longitudinal information will lead on many occasions to different conclusions about household and family structures, and also provide a more accurate insight into the (quantitative) meaning of certain living arrangements in the life course. In this article, attention will primarily be directed to the household situation in which a child lived immediately after the death of the last surviving parent. The focus is on institutionalization. In particular, we address the issue of why certain children were raised in the family circle while others had to enter an orphanage.

Institutionalization is considered a dichotomous variable, defined on the basis of whether or not an orphaned child was admitted to an orphanage within six months of the death of his/her last biological parent. Among the factors potentially associated with institutionalization we distinguish individual characteristics of the orphan (age and sex), family characteristics (father’s occupation, religion and number of minor

orphans), network characteristics (kin availability: adult siblings and/or step-parent) as well as period-effects (epidemics).

The data file constructed for this analysis is a child-level file, that is, each record is of a child with the parents' information attached. Since there was in many cases more than one minor orphan per family, there is frequently more than one observation per family and these observations are not independent. The statistical effect of ignoring the correlation within families would be incorrect estimates of the standard errors of the parameters (underestimation) leading potentially to incorrect inferences. For this reason, a multilevel model³⁵ has been used to determine which factors were significantly associated with the likelihood of an orphan being admitted to an institution. Four of the independent variables are dichotomous: gender, adult siblings, step-parent and period. The number of minor children is an interval variable. The other variables (age, religion and occupation) are dummies. All analyses were performed with the computer program MlnWIN.³⁶

Individual characteristics of the orphan

The sex and date of birth of the child are taken from the population registers and/or admission registrations. The age at last parent's death is calculated using parents' dates of death from the death certificates, custody acts or population registers.

Rules governing the admission to an orphanage implicitly (sometimes even explicitly) refer to underlying ideas on what was considered the most appropriate form of care for children of different ages. Many orphanages, including the Girl's Orphanage in Delft, and the Burgher Orphanage in Amsterdam, did not admit babies and very young children. In Amsterdam, orphaned babies were boarded out to wet nurses until the age of four or five. When these children could take care of such simple tasks as feeding and dressing themselves, they were returned to the institution for permanent residence.³⁷ We also know from the Reformed Orphanage in Delft that the usual policy was to board out very young children. On the one hand, babies and young children needed a lot of care and attention, and would thus for practical reasons be 'inappropriate' residents. On the other, pedagogical arguments might have played a role too. Maximum ages for entry were also very common: 10 in the case of the Girls' Orphanage and 13 to 16 in the case of the Roman Catholic Orphanage in Delft. In the Burgher Orphanage in Amsterdam boys were admitted as long as they were 14 or younger, girls had to be 12 or younger.³⁸ These criteria also reflect ideas as to the age at which boys and girls would be more or less able to take care of themselves.

Given these policies, we expected both younger (younger than 5) and older children (15 and over) to be less likely to enter an orphanage. Younger children, we assumed, would be much more likely to be adopted, cared for by relatives, or boarded out, whilst the older children would be much more at risk of being forced into premature independence. Sex was included as a control variable. Whether there would be an effect on admission is unclear. On the one hand, (pre-)adolescent orphan girls might have been much more easily employable in the households of relatives or step-parents. On the other hand, it is known that adolescent boys, especially those who had lost one or both parents, were very likely to migrate and at earlier ages, in order to work and live in other cities.³⁹ Given the assumption of non-linearity, age was coded as four dummies, with 10–14 years as the reference category.

Family characteristics: father's occupation, religion and number of minor orphans

Father's occupation was taken from the custody act, population registers or the death certificate. Occupation was classified into five groups: (1) socially elite and learned professions: employers in industry, professionals, civil servants, the military and self-employed artisans; (2) petty bourgeoisie: shopkeepers, small entrepreneurs and merchants and farmers; (3) skilled manual workers: craftsmen in small business, craftsmen and skilled labourers in industry; (4) casual and unskilled labourers: casual labourers, construction workers, unskilled labourers in crafts and industries; and (5) persons whose occupations were unknown. For the multivariate analysis, occupation has been coded as five dummies, with skilled manual workers as the reference category.

We expected social-class differences in institutionalization rates, in the sense that children from the lower strata (that is, lower occupational levels) would be more likely to enter an orphanage than those from the higher strata. In the first place, the admission rules of at least two of the orphanages explicitly stated that parents had to have died in needy circumstances.⁴⁰ Especially in urban environments, the poorest families usually lacked the necessary material resources to take in needy relatives. Families from the petty bourgeoisie, on the other hand, were not only better able but also more inclined to include relatives (and lodgers) in their households, since they could contribute to the family economy. This income-pooling strategy did not play a major role among the higher strata. In the decision to take in parentless relatives, moral and emotional considerations prevailed over financial motives, although concerns about the maintenance of family property may also have played a role.⁴¹

To take the effect of religion into account we differentiated the families in our sample into two groups: Roman Catholics and Protestants. With respect to religion there are some reasons to expect higher institutionalization rates for Protestant than for Roman Catholic orphans. In the first place, the significance of godparenthood was different for Roman Catholics and Protestants. Whereas Dutch Protestantism gradually attached less importance to godparenthood, and from the beginning of the nineteenth century abandoned it completely,⁴² godparentage continued to play a major role within Roman Catholic families. Besides the more ritual and/or material functions, godparenthood implicitly included the acceptance of the responsibility to provide for minor godchildren. Moreover, there are indications that Roman Catholics stretched their responsibilities towards the larger kin network further than Protestants did.

The number of minor children within a family who became orphans is reconstructed from information from the custody acts, population registers and orphanage records. We expected that children from larger families experienced a greater risk of institutionalization than children from smaller families for a couple of reasons. We assumed that families tried as hard as they could to keep siblings together. The adaptive potential of households of family members, however, would be more heavily tested in cases where a couple of children needed care. We expected that institutional care was considered earlier and/or more seriously in such circumstances.

Network characteristics: kin availability

Kin (including step-parent) availability was an important factor in shaping orphans' living arrangements. If there were no or only a few relatives available, the choice of living arrangements was likely to be limited. Two measures were constructed to indicate kin availability: the availability of at least one adult sibling and the presence of a step-parent (data taken from population registers). Both older siblings and step-parents were potential caregivers, and we expected that children who had at least one adult or brother or sister, or who lived with a step-parent, would be less likely to enter an institution. Step-parent availability, however, can also be interpreted differently. The malign reputation of step-parents as it has survived in fairy tales and so on⁴³ would imply the reverse effect.

Period-effects: times of epidemic

In addition to the other factors mentioned, ‘period’ (becoming an orphan during a period of heightened mortality) was included in the analysis. During the research period the city of Delft was struck by two major epidemics: 1866–1877 (cholera) and 1870–1871 (smallpox). In particular the 1866 cholera epidemic hit Delft badly. The smallpox epidemic principally affected the younger age groups,⁴⁴ and is thus less relevant for our analysis. The effects on the life courses of children who were orphaned during the first epidemic period could be twofold. The caring capacity of the kin networks could be affected since not only parents but also other potential caregivers succumbed to the disease, one of the results being that many more orphans would become dependent on institutional care. On the other hand, it could be argued that epidemics placed additional stress on the orphanages so that new children had to be rejected.

VI. RESULTS

The empirical analysis is divided into two parts. In the first section, a few descriptive results are presented. The second section is devoted to the results of the logit analysis, in which we explore which characteristics determined whether or not an orphan was admitted to an orphanage.

Descriptive analysis

In the period 1860–1979, on average 25 minor children were orphaned each year. This number was almost twice as high in the epidemic years 1866–1867 (47 children). The majority of the children were over 15 when they were orphaned. Only 9 per cent were younger than 5 years (see Table 1). The average duration of semi-orphanhood was six years (not tabulated). The variation, however, was substantial. Especially in the epidemic years, many parents died shortly after each other. Six per cent of the sample had lost the first parent more than 15 years before. Given the relatively high average age at orphanhood (14.5 years) and the likewise high age at death of the parents (about 50 years), it is not surprising that many children had at least one adult sibling. In a quarter of families a step-parent was present, usually a stepmother. This number is consistent with the remarriage rates for widowed persons in the nineteenth century in The Hague: 38 per cent for widowed men and 15 per cent for widowed women.⁴⁵ The surprising fact that only 53 per cent of the orphans could be identified in the court archives has already been discussed.

Almost half of the orphans stayed in one of the orphanages for a certain time before they reached adulthood. Approximately 5 per cent of the

TABLE 1
*Characteristics of the children who were orphaned in the period
 1860–1879 in Delft*

	<i>Proportion</i>	<i>Absolute numbers</i>
Child's age at death last surviving parent		
0–4	9	46
5–9	14	75
10–14	25	133
15–19	32	168
20–23	18	92
Total	100	514
Mean age (years)	14.5	
Gender		
Boys	48	252
Girls	52	273
Total	100	525
Period		
1860–1864	25	127
1865–1869	30	154
1870–1874	24	124
1875–1879	21	108
Total	100	513
Last surviving parent		
Mother	47	248
Mean age at death (years)	48.5	
Father	53	277
Mean age at death (years)	50.9	
Father's occupation		
Upper class & learner professions	7	37
Petty bourgeoisie	29	154
Skilled manual workers	31	163
Casual & unskilled labourers	10	51
Unknown	23	120
Total	100	525
Religion		
Protestant	54	283
Roman Catholic	40	208
Unknown	7	34
Total	100	525
Adult siblings available		
Yes	44	212
No	56	313
Total	100	525
Step-parent available		
Yes	24	128
No	6	379
Total	100	525

INSTITUTIONALIZATION OF DUTCH ORPHANS

TABLE 1 (cont.)

	<i>Proportion</i>	<i>Absolute numbers</i>
Orphanage admission		
Yes	45	234
No	55	291
Total	100	525
In court archives		
Yes	53	278
No	47	247
Total	100	525

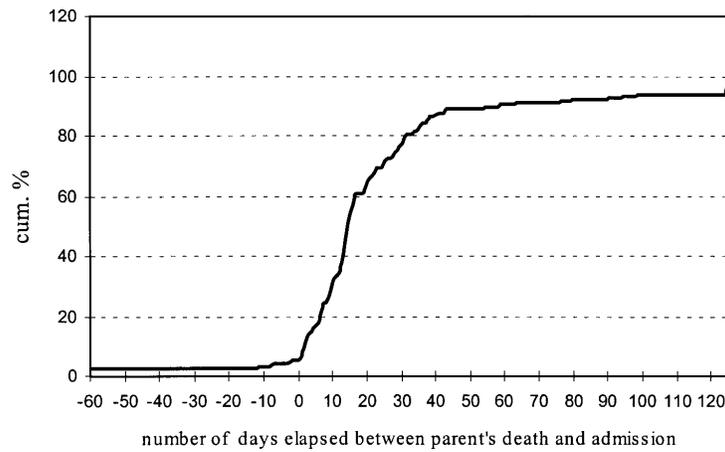


FIGURE 3. Orphans according to the number of days elapsed between the death of their last parents and admission to an orphanage, cumulative proportions.

TABLE 2
Key figures for the three Delft orphanages, 1860–1879

	<i>Reformed</i>		<i>Roman Catholic</i>		<i>Girls'</i>
	<i>Boys</i>	<i>Girls</i>	<i>Boys</i>	<i>Girls</i>	<i>Girls</i>
Number of admitted full orphans	79	70	35	31	10
Number of deaths	5	8	3	6	1
Mean age at entrance	10.9	10.9	10.6	10.7	7.3
Mean age at discharge	18.7	20.9	19.1	21.6	19.1
Average duration of stay	6.9	9.5	7.3	9.0	11.8

orphans had already entered the institution long before they were fully orphaned. This in almost all cases concerned girls admitted to the Girls' Orphanage after their father's death. Five children entered the institution more than one year after they were orphaned. They were initially cared for by close relatives. As Figure 3 shows, the majority were admitted very shortly after the death of their last parent: 24 per cent within one week, and 80 per cent within one month.

The children who were admitted to one of the orphanages were on average about 10 years old. They were, however, slightly younger in the case of the Girls' Orphanage (see Table 2), which is not surprising given the stricter age-limits (only girls between 6 and 10 years old were admitted). As the orphans left the orphanage (boys at slightly younger ages than girls), they on average had stayed in the institution for around eight years: this represented approximately one-sixth of their total remaining lifetime.⁴⁶ One in every ten orphans died in the orphanage, a level of mortality about average for this age group.

Institutionalization rates vary. Table 3 shows for a few selected sub-categories the proportions who were admitted to one of the orphanages. Institutionalization rates are substantially higher for the younger age categories, for children who were orphaned in epidemic year, for children without adult siblings, for children from the lower social strata and for Protestants. Those who were not institutionalized within six months after they were orphaned in general stayed with relatives, usually (older) siblings or step-parents (see Table 4). Note that a substantial proportion of the children had already left the parental home before they lost their parents. For around 40 per cent of the non-institutionalized orphans the living arrangements after the death of their last parent could not be traced. For 8 per cent (22 cases) we know from the population registers that they had migrated. However, no further details are available. In many instances the orphan siblings jointly moved to another town, most probably to live with relatives. For the other group (96 cases) the least available information shows them resident in the parental household. The majority of these persons were already 18 and older. Since we know from other studies that migration rates of adolescents especially of semi-orphans, were very high, we assume them to have left Delft without having registered their migration.

Multivariate analysis

The first conclusion that can be drawn from Table 5 is that the results of the multivariate analysis only partly correspond with the findings of the descriptive analysis. Older orphans (especially the group aged 20-plus)

INSTITUTIONALIZATION OF DUTCH ORPHANS

TABLE 3
Institutionalization rates for a few selected sub-categories of Delft orphans

	<i>Percentages admitted to an orphanage</i>
Total	45
Child's age at death of last surviving parent	
0-4	70
5-9	73
10-14	65
15-19	32
20-23	3
Gender	
Boys	47
Girls	43
Period	
Epidemic years (1866-1867)	62
Other years	40
Last surviving parent	
Mother	46
Father	44
Father's occupation	
Upper class & learned professions	35
Petty bourgeoisie	31
Skilled manual workers	63
Casual & unskilled workers	69
Without/unknown	31
Religion	
Protestant	55
Roman Catholic	37
Adult siblings available	
Yes	30
No	58
Step-parent available	
Yes	53
No	41
In court archives	
Yes	23
No	68

were less likely to be admitted to an orphanage than the reference group (aged 10 to 14 years). However, contrary to our expectations, this does not apply to the youngest age group.

The occupation of the father had some influence on the likelihood of being institutionalized. Children from the higher classes were indeed less

TABLE 4
Living arrangements of orphans who were not institutionalized within six months after their last parent's death

<i>Living arrangement</i>	<i>Proportion</i>	<i>Absolute numbers</i>
Had already left home	10	29
Household head	4	13
Living with step-parent	14	41
Living with (older) sibling(s)	19	56
Living with grandparents	3	10
Living with other relatives	5	15
Living with non-relatives	4	13
Migrated; living arrangements unknown	8	22
Unknown	33	96
Total	100	295

likely to enter an institution than middle-class children (the reference group). Remarkably, however, children of casual and unskilled workers were not significantly more likely to be admitted to an orphanage. As in other cities,⁴⁸ orphanages in Delft – especially the two biggest⁴⁹ – were a middle-class, or petty-bourgeois, solution. This contradicts the formal admission rules concerning neediness.

The analysis shows that religion did influence the probability that a minor child would be admitted to an orphanage. Roman Catholic orphans were more likely to stay out of the institutions. In addition to the factors mentioned earlier (differential significance of godparenthood and stronger family values), variation in the institutional capacity may have played a role. The number of places was significantly greater for Protestants than for Roman Catholics (that is 1.0 places per 100 for Roman Catholics, and 1.5 for Protestants). This is of course an example of the classical chicken-and-egg problem. Was the capacity in the Roman Catholic orphanages lower because of a lower demand for institutional arrangements, or were institutionalization rates lower because of the absence of facilities? Further research is needed on the influence of religion.

The number of minor siblings – an indicator for the stress placed on the family network – did not appear to be a factor significantly associated with institutionalization. Children from larger sibships did not turn out to have significantly higher risks of admission than children from smaller sibships.

Contrary to our expectations, the availability of potential care-givers

TABLE 5
Results of the logit analysis measuring the chance that an orphan would be institutionalized after the death of the last surviving parent

<i>Explanatory variables</i>	<i>B coefficients</i>	<i>Standard errors</i>
Constant	1.405	0.517
Gender		
Boys ^a		
Girls	-0.286	0.318
Age group		
0-4	-0.096	0.671
5-9	0.380	0.486
10-14 ^a		
15-19	-1.698 ^c	0.387
20+	-4.715 ^c	0.823
Father's occupation		
Upper class	-1.469 ^b	0.655
Petty bourgeoisie	-1.780 ^c	0.462
Skilled manual workers ^a		
Casual & unskilled labourers	-0.262	0.612
Unknown	-1.556	0.929
Religion		
Roman Catholic ^a		
Protestant	0.943 ^b	0.396
Unknown	-1.636	1.284
Number of minor siblings	-0.064	0.148
Adult siblings available	-0.585	0.410
Step-parent available	0.229	0.423
Period (epidemic year)	1.405 ^c	0.517
N	525	

^a Omitted category is reference category/group/class.

^b Significant $p < 0.05$.

^c Significant $p < 0.01$.

(older siblings and step-parents) did not significantly prevent orphan children from being institutionalized. Although the sign of the coefficient for older siblings is as anticipated, the effect is not significant. An explanation may be found in the urban character of Delft. Except for a few areas (along the canals), the houses were relatively small, and the average household size in Delft for this period was likewise small: 4.04 persons versus 4.84 for the more rural areas in South-Holland.⁵⁰ The 'receptivity' of these urban households was probably not very high, in particular in cases where a couple of orphaned children required care.

Nor did the presence of a step-parent influence the likelihood of

admission. Orphaned children with step-parents did not have significantly *lower* risks of being admitted, nor did they have *higher* risks. Additional research on a larger sub-sample of stepfamilies, and the inclusion of information on, for example, the sex of the step-parent, the duration of the second marriage, the presence of stepbrothers and -sisters could possibly provide more insight into the role of step-parents with respect to the institutionalization of orphans.

The likelihood of entering an institution varied over time. Children who became orphans during the cholera epidemic in 1866–1867 were significantly more at risk of admission to an orphanage than children who were orphaned in other years. There is thus no clear evidence that the orphanages had to apply stricter admission rules. The solution was most probably sought in increasing the pace of discharge of older orphans into the community. In epidemic years, the average age at discharge fell sharply.

DISCUSSION

This study has investigated the fate of minor children who had lost both parents during the second half of the nineteenth century in Delft. Unlike other research on orphanhood, this study focuses on individual orphans and their families, and on the choices that had to be made within the kin network or local community regarding the care of these minors. The approach was longitudinal; the orphans were followed in the registers until they reached adulthood (at age 23 or by marrying) or died. The longitudinal character of the data enabled us to determine whether or not an orphan entered a specific living arrangements (for example, lived with older siblings, entered an orphanage) at some point in the life course, and also provided information on the duration of each of these stages in his or her life course. The focus in this article, however, has been on institutional living arrangements.

We were particularly interested in the role of institutional care amongst the various alternative solutions, as well as in the determinants of institutionalization. What caused certain children to be raised in the family circle and others to enter an orphanage? Was institutionalization related to the social network and family characteristics, and/or socio-economic background of the child? By applying multivariate techniques of analyses to the data, this study has shed some light on the importance of several factors related to institutionalization.

We found that institutional care was by far the most important arrangements for parentless children. Slightly more than four in every ten orphans (45 per cent) had been admitted to one of the orphanages in Delft within six months of the death of their last biological parent. The role of

the kin network was limited. Only 27 per cent of the orphans stayed with a relative (not a step-parent) after they had become parentless (see Table 4). Most of them either joined the household of an older sibling or continued to live with older siblings in the parental home. Only one-third of the orphans whose biological parent had remarried continued to live with the step-parent.⁵¹ Many orphans had already left the parental home before the death of the last biological parent (8 per cent at least). Although still legally minor, they occupied adult positions in the labour force and lived independently (as boarders or lodgers). Most probably the loss of their last parent did not significantly change their position; they had already been obliged to take care of themselves.

It is interesting that institutional care was the favoured solution for parentless children in Delft in a period when the quality of care in the orphanages as well as their effectiveness as institutions for raising children were heavily discussed in public. Two explanations suggest themselves. The first is that family networks were very much restricted in their caring capacity, because of material restrictions (financial hardship, small housing) or demographic ones (no or only few kin available; the nuclear household the predominant form of household⁵²). The second is possibly that compared with other solutions, the care in orphanages was not as poor as was sometimes suggested.

On the basis of the results of the multivariate analysis, there is no support for the first explanation. Our knowledge of the economic situation of a family is restricted to information on the father's occupation. On the basis of this information, and assuming that family members did not differ much with respect to their occupational class, we conclude that economic restrictions did not play a major role with respect to institutionalization. Children from the lower strata were not significantly more likely to be admitted to an orphanage than middle-class children. Middle-class children were in fact most likely to enter an institution. Kin availability did not prevent institutionalization: children without (direct) kin were not significantly more likely to enter an institution. The influence of the prevailing (nuclear) household system has not been tested in this study, but we know from other studies that the average household size in Delft was relatively low⁵³ and that the houses were small. This might have influenced the 'adaptive' potential of the households of family members, especially in cases where a couple of orphans needed care.

Given the absence of any clear evidence for the first explanation, we think that McCants' conclusions for the Burgher Orphanage in Amsterdam may also hold for the situation in Delft. Most probably the orphanages did provide the children with care which was often better than they had had at home. The children were fed regularly and adequately,

their clothes were well-maintained and frequently replaced, the accommodation was by no means sub-standard and their medical care also compared favourably with that of ordinary middle-class children. Prior to admission, all children were given a cowpox vaccination to prevent smallpox and the orphanages employed a doctor who provided the necessary medical care. The *regenten*, or Poor Relief administrators, of these orphanages also took other steps to promote the physical and moral well-being of the orphans, such as the supply of undergarments, towels and washing facilities, the construction of public baths and the introduction of physical education.⁵⁴ The orphans were also trained for their future employment, and – since they were well-disciplined – were favoured workers. Finally, as they left the institution they received an *uitzet* (dowry, for both girls and boys).⁵⁵

Institutional arrangements played a dominant role in the care of orphans in the second half of the nineteenth century in the Netherlands, and probably also in earlier times. It is difficult to determine whether the Dutch situation was unique or not, since cross-national data on this issue are scarce or even totally absent. The available evidence – for example, the use of state-funded foster-parents in France – suggests fundamental differences in the way societies solved the problem of the care of orphans.⁵⁶ Further research needs to consider whether there was a relation between the preferred solution concerning the care for minor orphans and more general regional characteristics, such as the prevailing cultural and social structure (for example, the dominant religion), and the state of the economy. A more universal issue concerns the treatment of vulnerable groups in general. Which solutions amongst the alternatives were preferred? What was the balance between intramural (institutional care) and extramural (fostering, boarding out) solutions?

Further research should also examine in greater detail the role of stepfamilies in the care of parentless minors. Additional research on a larger sub-sample of stepfamilies, and the inclusion of information on, for example, the sex of the step-parent, the duration of the second marriage, the presence of stepbrothers and -sisters could possibly provide more insight into the role of step-parents vis-à-vis institutionalization of the orphaned.

In addition more attention has to be paid to the significance of the child's age with respect to the likelihood of institutionalization. Special attention should be directed to explore the (implicit or explicit) ideas on what was considered the most appropriate care for children of different ages. The economic background is likewise underexplored. Additional sources (such as notarial acts) could possibly shed more light on the relationship between the families' economic resources and the likelihood

of orphans entering an institution. Finally, the more qualitative information in the custody acts as well as in the regents' minutes could illuminate the decision process (both in families and institutions) regarding the care of parentless children.

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ENDNOTES

- 1 Wendy Post, Frans van Poppel, Evert van Imhoff and Ellen Kruse, 'Reconstructing the extended kin-network in the Netherlands with genealogical data: problems, methods and results', *Population Studies* **51** (1997), 262–78.
- 2 Exceptions are a few recent studies on the survival of orphans, such as: Sune Åkerman, Ulf Högberg and Tobias Andersson, 'Survival of orphans in nineteenth-century Sweden', in Lars-Göran Tedebrand ed., *Orphans and foster-children: a historical and cross-cultured perspective* (Umeå, 1996); Erik Beekink, Frans van Poppel and Aart Liefbroer, 'Surviving the loss of the parent in a nineteenth century Dutch provincial town', *Journal of Social History* **32** (Spring 1999), 641–69. These studies, however, focus primarily on semi-orphans, that is, children who had lost one parent.
- 3 J. D. Willigan and K. A. Lynch, *Sources and methods of historical demography* (New York, 1982), 152.
- 4 See, for example, J. M. Fuchs, *Opvangen en opvoeden: Lutherse wezenzorg in Amsterdam, 1678–1978* (Amsterdam, 1978); J. J. Dankers, *Wezenzorg en liefdadigheid: van Utrechts Gerformeerd Burgerweeshuis tot stichting het Evert Zoudenbalch Huis, 1813–1991* (Utrecht, 1991); and A. Hallema, *Geschiedenis van het Weeshuis der Gereformeerden binnen Delft* (Delft, 1964).
- 5 J. van Koetsveld van Ankeren, *Handleiding voor voogden en toezienend voogden, volgens het Nederlandsch Wetboek* (Assen, 1839).
- 6 C. E. Vaillant, *Handboek voor den ambtenaar van den burgerlijken stand* (The Hague, 1893), 400–2.
- 7 D. Q. R. Mulock Houwer, 'De wezenzorg in de 19e en 20e eeuw', in B. Kruithof, T. Mouse and Ph. Veerman eds., *Internaat of pleeggezin: 200 Jaar discussie* (Utrecht, 1981). Burghers were people who lived in towns and cities who had civil rights by virtue of their social status, wealth and/or duration of residence. Among the various charitable institutions that they funded were orphanages for children from similar privileged backgrounds: the burgher orphanages.
- 8 Antoinette Fauve-Chamoux, 'Beyond adoption, orphans and family strategies in pre-industrial France', *The History of the Family* **1** (1996), 1–13.
- 9 The Central Bureau of Statistics considered the results of the censuses for the population living in institutions not to be very reliable or at least not easily comparable over time and region. The census forms make it difficult to distinguish between, on the one hand, the population for which the institution was meant and, on the other, the houseparents, the other members of the staff of the orphanage and the members of their families. Moreover, the meaning of the word 'institution' was not interpreted in the

- same way in all municipalities: in some places, only those institutions were included which were obliged by royal decree (Royal Decree of 27 July 1887, Staatsblad no. 142) to maintain their own population register, whereas in other places all kinds of institutions were included in the census forms (Central Bureau voor de Statistiek, *Inleiding tot die uitkomsten der Negende Algemeene Tienjaarlijksche Volkstelling met daaraan verbonden Woning- en Beroepstelling*, Bijdrage tot de statistiek van Nederland, no. 184 (The Hague, 1913), 65.
- 10 *Rapport der Commissie belast met het onderzoek naar den toestand der kinderen in fabrieken arbeidende* (The Hague, 1869).
 - 11 S. Groenveld, J. J. H. Dekker and Th. R. M. Willemsse, *Wezen en boeffjes: zes eeuwen zorg in wees- en kinderhuizen* (Hilversum, 1997), 300–1.
 - 12 Anne McCants, 'Nederlands republikanisme en de politiek van liefdadigheid', *Tijdschrift voor sociale geschiedenis* **22** (1994), 443–55.
 - 13 J. L. de Jager, *In een ander thuis: de pedagogische geschiedenis van het R. C. Jongensweeshuis en Amstelstad in Amsterdam* (Amsterdam, 1985).
 - 14 McCants, 'Nederlands republikanisme', 453–4.
 - 15 Th. F. Wijsenbeek-Olthuis, *Achter de gevels van Delft: bezit en bestaan van rijk en arm in een periode van achteruitgang (1700–1800)* (Hilversum, 1987).
 - 16 J. A. de Jonge, 'Delft in de negentiende eeuw', *Economisch en Sociaal Historisch Jaarboek* **37** (1974), 145–247.
 - 17 According to the 1849 census the sizes of the various religious denominations in Delft were as follows: 7,413 Roman Catholic; 10,148 Reformed; 485 Lutheran; 14 Baptist; 48 Remonstrant; 136 Jewish; and 213 none or of unknown religion. See J. de Kok, *Nederland op de breuklijn tussen Rome en Reformatie* (Assen, 1964).
 - 18 De Jonge, 'Delft in de negentiende eeuw'.
 - 19 H. Smiessaert, *Overzicht van het Nederlandsch armwezen* (Haarlem, 1910).
 - 20 This number is estimated on the basis of the annual number of admissions, which in the seventeenth century were twice those of the nineteenth century. See Hallema, *Weeshuis der Gereformeerden*, 108, 457–8.
 - 21 In the period 1860–1879 children from other Protestant churches were also admitted. For example, the Lutheran Diaconate used to board out children in the Reformed Orphanage.
 - 22 Hallema, *Weeshuis der Gereformeerden*, 384.
 - 23 M. J. van Lieburg, *Over weldoeners en wezen, bejaarden en bedeling: uit de geschiedenis van de katholieke weduwen en bejaardenzorg in Delft* (Rotterdam, 1996), 88.
 - 24 Municipal Archive Delft (hereafter MAD), MAD/193/263 (Commission Sitting, 4 September 1877).
 - 25 Between 1860 and 1879 around 3 per cent of the persons who died (430 out of 13,700) were widows or widowers in the age range 25–64 years: the group most at risk of leaving minor children.
 - 26 State Archief, The Hague (hereafter SAH), SAH/3.03.22.01/235–254.
 - 27 The custody acts in fact include information on all adult males present at the court meeting, such as their profession, place of residence and relationship to the minor children. Finally, the acts record the magistrates' decision with respect to the appointment of a guardian and/or co-guardian. For reasons of efficiency, this information has not been collected in the initial stage of this study.
 - 28 MAD 201/21, 60, 62, 63 and 65b; MAD 193/47, 262, 263, 399 and 401; MAD 200/92, 93 and 1017.
 - 29 In order to determine whether an admitted child was a semi- or full orphan, information on the date of the first parent's death has also been collected. This was relatively easy,

- since at present death certificates for Delft can be consulted on the Internet ('Digital family tree', www.archief.delft.nl/).
- 30 The 78 parental couples who were not present in the court archives were added to the sample.
- 31 Jan Kok, 'Youth labor migration and its family setting in the Netherlands 1850–1940', *The History of the Family* 2 (1997), 507–26.
- 32 SAH 3.03.22.01/241 and MAD 201/68.
- 33 Another category potentially at risk of leaving minor children were the widows and widowers who remarried. A test for the year 1860 revealed that fewer than 3 per cent of the widowed dying in this year had remarried, the majority of them being older than 65 years. None of them left minor children. We therefore decided to neglect this category in the study.
- 34 Lutz K. Berkner, 'The use and misuse of census data for the historical analysis of family structure', *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* V (1975), 721–38.
- 35 See Harvey Goldstein, *Multilevel statistical models*, Kendall's Library of Statistics, 3 (London, 1995).
- 36 Harvey Goldstein et al., *A user's guide to Mhwin (version 1.0)* (London, 1998). The coefficients should be interpreted as follows: positive values for dichotomous or dummy variables indicate higher odds of being in the first category (institutionalized), whereas negative values indicate lower odds of being in the first category.
- 37 Anne E. C. McCants, *Civic charity in a Golden Age: orphan care in early modern Amsterdam* (Chicago, 1997), 35.
- 38 See McCants, *Civic charity*, *ibid.*
- 39 See Kok, 'Youth labor migration', 513–15.
- 40 Whether this criterion was applied in practice is not clear from the *Notulen der Regentenvergadering* (Regents' Minutes).
- 41 Boudien de Vries, 'Familiehulp 1800–1890', in J. van Gerwen and M. H. D. van Leeuwen eds., *Studies over sociale zekerheid* (Amsterdam/The Hague, 1998), 471.
- 42 H. J. Olthuis, *De doopspraktijk der gereformeerde kerken in Nederland, 1568–1816* (Utrecht, 1908), 191–3, 199–206.
- 43 Stephen Collins, 'British stepfamily relationships, 1500–1800', *Journal of Family History* 16 (1991), 331–44.
- 44 Willibrord Rutten, *De vreselijkste aller harpijen: pokkenepidemieën en pokkenbestrijding in de achttiende en negentiende eeuw* (Wageningen, 1997), 154.
- 45 Frans van Poppel, 'Nineteenth-century remarriage patterns in the Netherlands', *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* XXVIII (1998), 343–83.
- 46 Estimate based on data on the remaining life expectancy at age 10 for the periods 1860–1869 and 1870–1879, which was respectively 47.4 and 48.7 for boys, and 46.7 for girls. See CBS, *Sterfietafels voor Nederland* (The Hague, 1977).
- 47 See Kok, 'Youth labor migration', 513–15.
- 48 See Dankers, *Wezenzorg en liefdadigheid*, and McCants, *Civic charity*.
- 49 This conclusion is most probably not valid for the residents of the Girls' Orphanage who, as was pointed out above, were largely girls who had lost their father.
- 50 J. A. Verduin, 'Het gezin in demografisch perspectief', in G. A. Koov ed, *Gezinsgeschiedenis: vier eeuwen gezin in Nederland* (Assen, 1985), 77.
- 51 Of the 128 children whose biological parent had remarried, and whose step-parent was still alive as the child became an orphan 75 were sent to an orphanage (59%). For the remaining 53 the household situations were as follows: 41 (32%) continued to live with the step-parent; the remaining 12 (9%) mainly lived with relatives.
- 52 Verduin, 'Het gezin in demografisch perspectief'.

53 Ibid.

54 See Hallema, *Weeshuis der Gereformeerden*, 385–8.

55 The dowry for Roman Catholic orphan girls included a new grey skirt, a flannel vest, a blue-striped woollen half-slip, a cotton coat, a *boezelaar* (jumper), a new pair of shoes and a bonnet, and also their daily dress. See van Lieburg, *Over weldoeners en wezen*, 62.

56 See Fauve-Chamoux, 'Beyond adoption', and McCants, *Civic charity*.