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Gender and mobility in early modern Amsterdam

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Urban Life on the Move
Gender and Mobility in Early
Modern Amsterdam



Bob Pierik

Cover: Edited version of *Amstelodami veteris et novissimae urbis accuratissima delineation*, by Covens, Mortier and Covens jr., 1705. From *Collectie Koninklijk Oudheidkundig Genootschap*. With cutouts from: *De oude poort van het Dolhuis*, by Herman Schouten, 1792. *De Kleine Vispoort op de Vijgendam met een doorkijkje naar de Vismarkt*, by Herman Schouten, 1796. *De poort van het R.C. Oude Armenkantoor*, by Herman Schouten, 1796. *De Grote Vispoort aan de Vijgendam*, by Herman Schouten, circa 1796. *Het Gasthuishofje met de Gasthuiskerk*, by Herman Schouten, 1797. *Het Leidse Veer*, by Jacob Cats, 1799. All from NL-AsdSAA, *Collectie Atlas Splitgerber* (10001).



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Urban Life on the Move
Gender and Mobility in Early Modern Amsterdam

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aan de Universiteit van Amsterdam
op gezag van de Rector Magnificus
prof. dr. ir. K.I.J. Maex
ten overstaan van een door het College voor Promoties ingestelde commissie,
in het openbaar te verdedigen in de Aula der Universiteit
op vrijdag 11 februari 2022, te 11.00 uur

door Bob Thomas Pierik
geboren te Zwolle

Promotiecommissie

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Faculteit der Geesteswetenschappen

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Acknowledgments

To survive working with the written statements of long-dead people, one has to be surrounded by many great and lively people. There is a potential irony in my sort of historical research as we spend so much time and energy on making the forgotten voices of historical people speak, that there is the danger of hiding the voices of the living around us. This is where I want to make sure that the support, contribution and congeniality of those around me does not go unmentioned and does not remain hidden. This is where I want to acknowledge the support network that has kept me afloat.

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Publication statement

A part of this dissertation (see footnote 1 of Chapter 1) has been published before as:

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Additional publications of which I am (co-)author contain ideas, arguments and cases that are also discussed in this dissertation, given here in chronological order. These are cited as relevant literature throughout this dissertation whenever applicable. For the co-authored publications, I here briefly explain each author’s contribution:

Pierik, Bob. “Using ‘Pre-Crime Scenes’ for the Historical Urban Ethnography of Early Modern Amsterdam.” *Gender and Work in Early Modern Europe* (blog), December 1, 2017.
<https://workandgender.wordpress.com/2017/12/01/using-pre-crime-scenes-for-the-historical-urban-ethnography-of-early-modern-amsterdam/>.

Heuvel, Danielle van den, Bob Pierik, B bio Vieira Amaro, and Antonia Weiss. “The Freedom of the Streets. Nieuw onderzoek naar gender en stedelijke ruimte in Eurazi .” *Stadsgeschiedenis* 13, no. 2 (2018): 133–45.

Van den Heuvel wrote the introduction and historiographical overview. Amaro provided cases and insights on Edo and Pierik on Amsterdam. Weiss coined the term ‘snapshots.’ Editing the final piece was a joint group effort.

Heuvel, Danielle van den, Bob Pierik, B bio Vieira Amaro, Antonia Weiss, and Marie Yasunaga. “Jiy k kan to shite no gairo: Asia-Europe (1600-1850) no toshi k kan to jend  kenky  ni okeru atarash  apur chi.” *Toshi shi kinky /Journal of Urban and Territorial History* 6 (2019): 109–123.

This is a translation of the *Stadsgeschiedenis* article: Van den Heuvel wrote the introduction and historiographical overview. Amaro provided cases and insights on Edo and Pierik on Amsterdam. Weiss coined the term ‘snapshots.’ Editing the final piece was a joint group effort. Yasunaga translated the piece into Japanese.

Pierik, Bob. “Geslachtspolitiek van de straat. Een aanzet voor een intersectionele geschiedenis van vroegmodern straatleven in Amsterdam.” *Historica* 42, no. 3 (2019): 3–9.

Pierik, Bob, and Alexander Geelen. "A Tale of Two Johannes: Gatekeeping, Mobilities, and Marriage in Cochin and Amsterdam." *Early Modern Women: An Interdisciplinary Journal* 14, no. 1 (November 8, 2019): 131–40.

Geelen provided the case and analysis on Cochin. Pierik provided the case and analysis on Amsterdam. Comparing the cases together was a joint effort.

Heuvel, Danielle van den, Bob Pierik, B bio Vieira Amaro, and Ivan Kisjes. "Capturing Gendered Mobility and Street Use in the Historical City: A New Methodological Approach." *Cultural and Social History* 17, no. 4 (August 7, 2020): 515–36.

The methodology developed in this paper was developed by Van den Heuvel, Pierik and Amaro. Kisjes is responsible for the database structure described in the paper. Van den Heuvel wrote the historiographical overview and together with Pierik described the methodology, while the conclusions were a joint effort of Van den Heuvel, Pierik and Amaro. Pierik provided the Amsterdam visualizations and wrote the cases on Amsterdam. Amaro wrote the cases on Edo and provided the visualization of Edo.

Bob Pierik and Gamze Saygi, "Everyday Streets," History Workshop, February 8, 2021, <https://www.historyworkshop.org.uk/everyday-streets/>

This reference and the next are for an interactive map and an accompanying blog. Saygi made the interactive visualization and Pierik wrote the blog text. Both authors provided data and wrote the texts that were part of the interactive map.

Gamze Saygi and Bob Pierik, "Everyday Mobility in the Streets of 18th Century Amsterdam," StoryMapJS, <https://uploads.knightlab.com/storymapjs/0537cea65b27f52d670931ed960d1346/everyday-mobility-in-the-streets-of-18th-century-amsterdam/index.html>.

See previous reference.

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Introduction

To our eyes, early modern streets appear deceptively familiar. They are preserved in various conditions throughout Europe, where we can visit them, walk them, live on them, and picture our predecessors following the same pathways, perhaps substituting a bike or a car for a horse or a coach. Thanks to historians of architecture, archaeologists, and other scholars, we possess extensive knowledge on which parts of those streets are premodern, which parts modern additions or rearrangements. In stark contrast to this knowledge of the ‘hard city’, consisting of the physical and material structures of early modern streets, our knowledge of people’s everyday interactions in that same environment is rather limited. Although being in a crowded street is and was a rich and demanding social experience requiring extensive coordination among citizens, strangers, neighbours, acquaintances, and representatives of the authorities, daily life leaves barely any traces, especially if such coordination has been successful. We know full well that the bird’s-eye view of early modern maps, presenting us with people-less ghost towns, is not representative of the historical lived experience of those streets. But we have not uncovered the full logic required to fill in those gaps. What we want, then, is to add the practices of people to our understanding of the streetscape. What we want to know is: ‘Who accessed the street, and how?’

This dissertation aims to explicate historical everyday street life. Specifically, it focuses on movement and gendered street use in early modern Amsterdam in the long eighteenth century of 1650-1795. I want to know to the extent to which the movements and events occurring throughout the city, as well as the experience of the city’s fixed places, differed for men and women of different social classes, and what the (infra)structure undergirding such differences was. I am interested specifically in the way that different urban inhabitants used, claimed, and experienced space in practice. Furthermore, an important context to consider concerns which parts of that urban system underwent changes in the period under discussion, and which parts remained constant over time.

Street life is not just relevant for the methodological challenge it poses, nor is it only a matter of filling in gaps in our knowledge. The question of how different people claim, share, and negotiate space – both formally and informally – is currently pressing in urban environments all over the world, present-day Amsterdam among them. Seeing the street as a scarce resource, and street life as both the result of and part of the ongoing negotiation of this resource, can help us understand

which social processes, structures, and systems shape shared urban environments. What was historically ordinary and unquestioned should not be confused with what was unimportant and uninfluential, just as the processes whereby societies leave inequalities between men and women unquestioned are important if we are to fully understand gender relations. Furthermore, the study of urban spaces as an arena of opposing interests helps us grasp how gender differences played out in practice and interacted with other factors, social class, work, and materiality among them. As we will see, possibilities arise, through a focus on practices in everyday life, for an early modern urban history that is mindful of the different intersections among early modern hierarchies.

Social scientists working on modern mobilities have stressed how ‘modern everyday lives, economies and cultural practices are strongly shaped, structured but also limited by complex regimes of mobility and flow.’¹ Such regimes of mobility are the social structures that enable, discipline, and form movements, also defined by Kesserling as ‘specific sets of principles, norms, and rules that regulate, in a fundamental way, the movement of individuals, artifacts, capital, data, etc. in a given context of action.’² The historization of such mobilities and the investigation of early modern regimes of mobility and flow in those terms have been very limited.³ When premodernity or early modernity features in research on mobilities (or in the ‘mobilities turn’), it often appears as a mirror to modernity: it is mostly defined by what it lacks compared to modernity or as an early phase of the modern mobilities under investigation.⁴ Although the early modern city has been observed as a site of mobilities, the analytical potential it offers within the mobilities turn has not been fully realized.⁵ While there is ample research on the early modern period on (global) mobilities in the form of migrations and intercontinental exchanges that might help to historicize this ‘new mobilities paradigm’ in greater detail,⁶ everyday movement and mobilities in early modern urban sites have not

¹ Sven Kesserling, “Mobility, Power and the Emerging New Mobilities Regimes,” *Sociologica*, no. 1/2014 (2014): 1.

² Kesserling, “Mobility, Power,” 7

³ A great first step was made recently with the publication of a special issue of the *Journal of Early Modern History*. See: Luca Zenobi, “Mobility and Urban Space in Early Modern Europe: An Introduction,” *Journal of Early Modern History* 25, no. 1–2 (March 5, 2021): 1–10.

⁴ For example, Kesserling places premodern mobilities outside of society when he asserts that ‘the characteristic types of mobility in traditional societies and first modernity were represented by fringe groups and so-called mobility pioneers.’ While this observation may be useful to understand present-day macro mobilities, it really does not help to understand early modern mobilities in their own right. Kesserling, “Mobility, Power and the Emerging New Mobilities Regimes,” 15.

⁵ For example, Tim Cresswell importantly mentions the city as significant site of early modern mobility, but his observation leaves the reader with the question why and how this was the case. Tim Cresswell, *On the Move: Mobility in the Modern Western World* (Routledge, 2006), 12.

⁶ Good examples of work on early modern migration include Anne Winter and Bert De Munck, eds., *Gated Communities? : Regulating Migration in Early Modern Cities* (Burlington, VT: Routledge, 2012); Jelle van Lottum, *Across the North Sea: The*

yet been considered as parts of ‘mobility regimes.’⁷ Rather than projecting a static state *a priori* onto early modern city dwellers, we should consider what types of distinct ‘mobility regimes’ shaped their movements and thus influenced street life.

Above, we have met the main two ‘lenses’ of this dissertation: The differences between people at the intersections of early modern hierarchies, and urban mobility regimes. They are brought together in the main argument of this dissertation, which makes the following claim: early modern urban dwellers had distinct mobility regimes that were shaped by various factors, including their gender, work, social class, and the materiality of the city itself. This dissertation posits an interdisciplinary approach for the study of such early modern mobility regimes in an urban setting. As we will see throughout the chapters ahead, general patterns and regimes of mobility can be reconstructed, and when we turn to the different intersections of these aforementioned factors, there arise more specific and precise constellations.

Mobilities in street life in early modern Amsterdam are here considered together as a case study of European street life in general. Studies on other European cities – grand metropolises and smaller urban centres alike – have used varied methods to tackle specific aspects of what happened on streets, ranging from the walking cultures of nineteenth-century London to the ways women socialized in early modern Rome.⁸ These studies have made important progress in debates on urban modernization, women’s autonomy, and the spatial configuration of historic cities. They have given rise to the urgent sense that the conceptual categories we bring to the study of the street life of the past need to be reconsidered. There is a widespread recognition that our previous understandings of what public and private spaces were, and how gendered ideals such as domesticity influenced street life, need reassessment, but there is no broad consensus on how to continue or on what conceptual

Impact of the Dutch Republic on International Labour Migration, c.1550-1850 (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2007); Leslie Page Moch, *Moving Europeans: Migration in Western Europe Since 1650* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2003); Jan Lucassen and Leo Lucassen, *Globalising Migration History: The Eurasian Experience (16th-21st Centuries)*. (Leiden: Brill, 2014).

⁷ However, work on the nineteenth century as part of the mobilities turn has already proven fruitful. See Colin G. Pooley, “Travelling through the City: Using Life Writing to Explore Individual Experiences of Urban Travel c1840–1940,” *Mobilities* 12, no. 4 (July 4, 2017): 598–609.

⁸ Colin Pooley, “On the Street in Nineteenth-Century London,” *Urban History* 48, no. 2 (May 2021): 211–26; Elizabeth Cohen, “To Pray, To Work, To Hear, To Speak: Women in Roman Streets C. 1600,” *Journal of Early Modern History* 12, no. 3–4 (2008): 289–311.

framework to adopt.⁹ This dissertation is not only a project to take the debate on urban space in the specific direction of the study of mobilities, but it is also an invitation to follow that direction and produce a greater amount of historical scholarship on street life that is structurally comparable through the use of similar frameworks, conceptual approaches, and methodological choices.¹⁰ That is how I aim to provide a specific history of mobility in one particular city in a way that will be useful for a broad range of scholars, those who study gender history, (global) urban history, cultural history, and social history among them; but my work here will also speak to social scientists who work on urban sociology and the ethnography of the everyday in modern cities.

Broader European comparability aside, the history of Amsterdam is relevant and interesting in itself for the study of gender, work, social status, and urban materiality, and the influence of each on mobilities. In the long eighteenth century under study, the city found itself in the aftermath of a period of rapid and explosive growth in which it was – but did not remain – the dominant economic centre of Europe.¹¹ In the demographically more stable long eighteenth century, its population first continued to increase, albeit with a slower pace of growth than before, and then declined, rising and falling in a range between 200,000 and 230,000 inhabitants. The population growth was the result of large-scale immigration, Amsterdam being a famously diverse city that was relatively open to minority groups from across Europe and beyond.¹² But even among those who shared a common background or religion, great differences existed: some rose to riches, others were plunged into poverty.¹³ Amsterdam was, especially in early modern terms and compared to other Dutch towns, a proper metropolis that was dwarfed only by London and Paris.¹⁴ Yet, in contrast to those

⁹ A good overview of these different directions can be found in: Danielle van den Heuvel, “Gender in the Streets of the Premodern City,” *Journal of Urban History* 45, no. 4 (2019).

¹⁰ Cf. Danielle van den Heuvel et al., “The Freedom of the Streets. Nieuw onderzoek naar gender en stedelijke ruimte in Eurazië (1600-1850),” *Stadsgeschiedenis* 13, no. 2 (2018): 133–45; Danielle van den Heuvel et al., “Jiyūkūkan to Shite No Gairo: Asia-Europe (1600-1850) No Toshi Kūkan to Jendā Kenkyū Ni Okeru Atarashī Apurōchi,” *Toshi Shi Kinkyū/Journal of Urban and Territorial History* 6 (2019): 109–123.

¹¹ Mary Lindemann, *The Merchant Republics: Amsterdam, Antwerp, and Hamburg, 1648-1790* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017), 25–26.

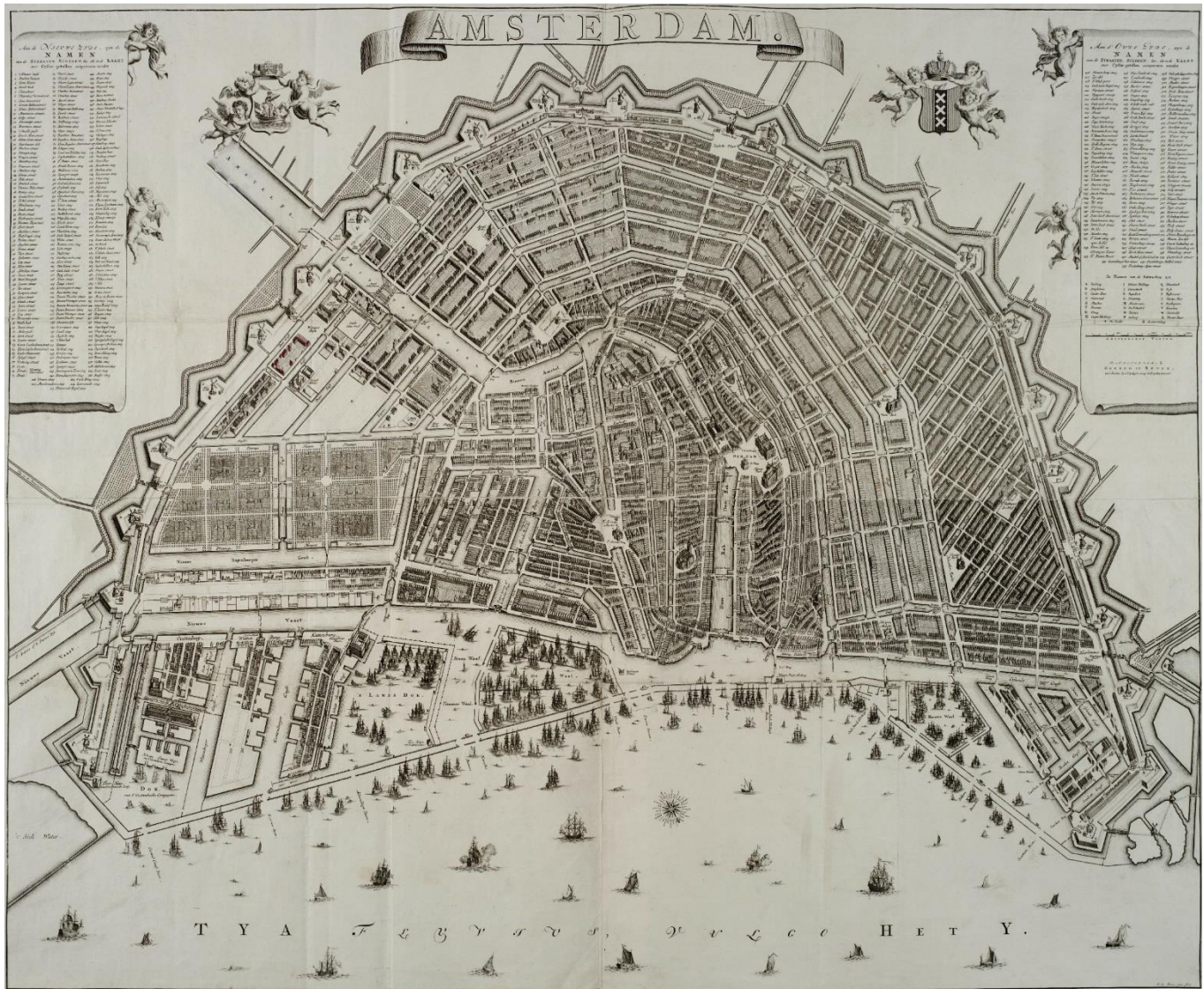
¹² Adam Sutcliffe, “The Boundaries of Community: Urban Space and Intercultural Interaction in Early Modern, Sephardi Amsterdam, and London,” *The Dutch Intersection*, January 1, 2008, 20; Clé Lesger, “Migranten in Amsterdam in de achttiende eeuw. Residentiële spreiding en positie in de samenleving,” in *Jaarboek van het Genootschap Amstelodamum*, vol. 89, 1997, 43–68; Erika Kuijpers, *Migrantenstad: immigratie en sociale verbindingen in 17e-eeuws Amsterdam*, Amsterdamse historische reeks, d. 32 (Hilversum: Verloren, 2005); Van Lottum, *Across the North Sea*.

¹³ Gini coefficient estimates of 0.69 to 0.8 show that wealth was concentrated into the hands of a select group. Anne E. C. McCants, “Goods at Pawn: The Overlapping Worlds of Material Possessions and Family Finance in Early Modern Amsterdam,” *Social Science History* 31, no. 2 (May 14, 2007): 219.

¹⁴ Jan de Vries, *European Urbanization, 1500-1800* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1984), 269–78. Naples, although also surpassing it demographically, did not really dwarf Amsterdam, as it grew and declined volatily and its population came to double Amsterdam’s only around 1800. During the eighteenth century, Vienna, Berlin, Rome and Lisbon were comparable to Amsterdam in population.

monarchical capitals, it was a burgher's city, its socio-political life dominated by strong civic institutions.¹⁵ As an important regional centre within what has been dubbed 'the first modern economy', Amsterdam experienced growth that fuelled the need for a series of urban expansions, of which the latest was finished at the beginning of the long eighteenth century.¹⁶ With those expansions, an urban structure and morphology was laid down that remained roughly the same until far into the nineteenth century.

Map 1. Map of Amsterdam by Gerrit de Broen 1728-1737



¹⁵ See Maarten Prak, "The Dutch Republic as a Bourgeois Society," *BMGN - Low Countries Historical Review* 125, no. 2–3 (January 1, 2010).

¹⁶ Jan de Vries and A. M. van der Woude, *The First Modern Economy: Success, Failure, and Perseverance of the Dutch Economy, 1500-1815* (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1997); Jaap Evert Abrahamse, *Metropolis in the Making: A Planning History of Amsterdam in the Dutch Golden Age* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2019).

From the perspective of gender, it is important to note that like in many early modern cities, more women than men lived in Amsterdam. As a port city with a strong maritime sector – which meant that many men were away at sea – the proportion has been estimated as over 4 women for every 3 men, or even as high as 3 women for every 2 men in the lower social strata of society.¹⁷ This distribution led to a relatively large share of unmarried women, which, in combination with small-size households and high female labour participation, has been credited with resulting in a relatively independent position for women.¹⁸ Although gendered norms in the Dutch Republic supposedly tightened during the early modern period due to the advent of Protestant values, research on marital, legal, and economic practices suggests that restrictive rules were not always upheld in practice, and practical necessity produced a good deal of leniency and flexibility.¹⁹ As we will see, such tensions between strict norms of female domesticity and possible leniency in practice are also important to the debate on gender and mobility.

A main question in the above debate is the question: Were women confined to their homes because of a concern with domesticity? Or was the ‘discourse of domesticity (...) largely a record of male worryment’, pointing to a possible ‘gap between theory and practice’?²⁰ Although the literature on gendered experiences in early Amsterdam and the Dutch Republic has provided extensive insights into many everyday lives,²¹ the interaction between domestic ideologies and everyday practices has not yet been clarified. The matter of everyday spatial practices has come up most explicitly in research on crime and gender: Manon van der Heijden argues that the ‘ideologies concerning male

¹⁷ Lotte van de Pol, *Het Amsterdams hoerdom: prostitutie in de zeventiende en achttiende eeuw* (Amsterdam: Wereldbibliotheek, 1996), 107-108.

¹⁸ Ariadne Schmidt, *Prosecuting Women: A Comparative Perspective on Crime and Gender before the Dutch Criminal Courts, c.1600-1810* (Leiden: Brill, 2020), 32-33.

¹⁹ Manon van der Heijden, Elise van Nederveen Meerkerk, and Ariadne Schmidt, “Terugkeer van het patriërchaat? Vrije vrouwen in de Republiek,” *TSEG - The Low Countries Journal of Social and Economic History* 6, no. 3 (September 15, 2009): 26–52.

²⁰ Lawrence E. Klein, “Gender and the Public/Private Distinction in the Eighteenth Century: Some Questions about Evidence and Analytic Procedure,” *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 29, no. 1 (1995): 101.

²¹ A non-exhaustive list includes: Daniëlle van den Heuvel, *Women and Entrepreneurship: Female Traders in the Northern Netherlands, c. 1580-1815* (Amsterdam: Aksant, 2007); A. Schmidt, *Overleven Na de Dood. Weduwen in Leiden in de Gouden Eeuw*. (Amsterdam: Prometheus/Bert Bakker, 2001); Els Kloek, Nicole Teeuwen, and Marijke Huisman, eds., *Women of the golden age: an international debate on women in seventeenth-century Holland, England and Italy* (Hilversum: Verloren, 1994); Lotte van de Pol and Erika Kuijpers, “Poor Women’s Migration to the City: The Attraction of Amsterdam Health Care and Social Assistance in Early Modern Times,” *Journal of Urban History* 32, no. 1 (November 1, 2005): 44–60; Theo van der Meer, *De wesentlijke sonde van sodomie en andere vyeligbeeden: sodomietenvervolgingen in Amsterdam 1730-1811* (Amsterdam: Tabula, 1984); Martine van Elk, *Early Modern Women’s Writing: Domesticity, Privacy, and the Public Sphere in England and the Dutch Republic* (Springer, 2017); Manon van der Heijden, *Women and Crime in Early Modern Holland* (Leiden: Brill, 2016); Sarah Joan Moran and Amanda C. Pipkin, eds., *Women and Gender in the Early Modern Low Countries, 1500-1750* (Leiden: Brill, 2019).

and female roles must be distinguished from everyday life' and has shown that court records in Holland show that 'women were routinely out on the streets.'²² Dini Helmers, however, has hypothesized that in eighteenth-century Amsterdam, 'men might have had a larger radius than women.'²³ This raises the question whether the contingency of cultural norms and everyday practices can be detached so easily, especially when using the concept of 'mobility regimes' in which customs and norms are vital parts of infrastructure. Van der Heijden's valuable observations of women out on the streets do not exclude a situation in which spatial ideologies did not fully restrict women to their houses, even as they influenced the way women experienced their movement through the city.

This, then, is the scene: a large city full of women, who were subject to forms of domestic confinement but also possessed spatial freedoms. What, we should ask, do early modern urban gendered mobility regimes look like? Although no typology of such regimes has yet been presented, the extensive literature on the histories of gender, space, and urban change can provide the foundation for a historical reconstruction. In the next section, I will delve deeper into that broader historiography.

Gender, space and urban change in the historiography: Reconstructing early modern urban mobility regimes

This dissertation's title 'Urban Life on the Move' concerns not just people engaged in movement but also the way that urban experience itself was on the move. The early modern city is the supposed site of several sweeping spatial changes: New or stronger demarcations separating distinct spheres of life; changes in economic structure and in the design and layout of the street; and the entry of the city itself on the historical stage. Such narratives of urban change and modernization located in the early modern city by historians, sociologists, and philosophers can help us lay a theoretical foundation grounding the way that early modern mobilities were shaped and changed. At the same time, though, they pose problems of chronology. In this section, I will consider these changes and their consequences for mobility regimes – the social structures that enable, form, and discipline people's movements.

²² Van der Heijden, *Women and Crime*, 91-92.

²³ Dini Helmers, *Gescheurde bedden: oplossingen voor gestrande huwelijken, Amsterdam 1753–1810* (Hilversum: Uitgeverij Verloren, 2002), 328.

As a site of transition between premodern and modern life, the early modern city underwent changes in tangible spaces such as residential houses, squares, and coffeehouses which were contingent with the transformations of more intangible spheres and domains, such as ‘the private sphere’ or ‘the public domain.’ Some of the foundational literature addressing this transition to modernity contains a strong sense that something was lost during or after the early modern period.²⁴ Influential grand narratives such as those set out in Richard Sennett’s *The Fall of Public Man* or Jürgen Habermas’s *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere* are built upon the smouldering ashes of a long-lost type of early modern experience.²⁵ Both books are concerned with the transformation and the subsequent demise of a type of early modern publicness, called either the public domain or the public sphere. Sennett in particular relies strongly on the spatial argument that early modern public life possessed a multiplicity of people and functions, a variousness that the modern street has lost due to the strict fragmentation of uses and functions that turned the modern street into a ‘dead space.’²⁶ A similar narrative is put forward in Lyn H. Lofland’s *A World of Strangers*, which presents a preindustrial city where people, things, smells, and animals are all jumbled together: ‘rich and poor, health and disease, young and old, house and business, public and private.’²⁷ This vital admixture is set in contrast to the spatial ordering of the modern, industrialized city. The usefulness of such narratives of modernization lies in their capacity to present developments in the past as a means of understanding the present.

Sennett and Lofland, respectively, have offered some of the more explicitly spatial accounts of modernization. Yet the grand narrative of a radical, albeit gradual, change between premodern and modern society also exists in other forms that have been very influential in the historiography. Georges Duby and Philippe Ariès edited the multivolume *History of Private Life*, which chronicled an increasing turn to private life and individualization, built upon the work of Norbert Elias, who

²⁴ Ted Kilian notes that the strand of literature on public space concerned with the decline of modern public life, such as Jane Jacobs’s *The Death and Life of Great American Cities* and Richard Sennett’s *The Fall of Public Man*, has been described as the ‘literature of loss.’ Ted Kilian, “Public and Private, Power and Space,” in *Philosophy and Geography II: The Production of Public Space*, by Andrew Light and Jonathan M. Smith (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 1998), 115.

²⁵ Richard Sennett, *The Fall of Public Man* (London: Faber, 1993); Jürgen Habermas, *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere: An Inquiry into a Category of Bourgeois Society*, trans. Thomas Burger (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1989). Originally published in as *Strukturwandel der Öffentlichkeit. Untersuchungen zu einer Kategorie der bürgerlichen Gesellschaft* in 1962 by Luchterhand, Berlin.

²⁶ Sennett, *The Fall of Public Man*, 12.

²⁷ Lyn H. Lofland, *World of Strangers: Order and Action in Urban* (New York: Basic Books, 1973), 33.

related a form of socialization akin to a ‘civilizing process.’ Elias wrote: ‘With the advance of civilization the lives of human beings are increasingly split between an intimate and a public sphere, between private and public behaviour.’²⁸ Such histories, though focusing on mentalities and attitudes rather than spaces, nonetheless consider spatial aspects. Ariès, comparing the nineteenth century to the middle ages, wrote: ‘People no longer know one another. Work, leisure, and home life are separate, compartmentalized activities. Men and women seek privacy. To obtain it, they (...) withdraw into the family, which becomes a refuge, a focus of private life.’²⁹ That meant not that he regarded the early modern period as merely the period of transit, but rather that ‘we must treat the early modern period as something autonomous and original.’³⁰

One feature of early modern society closely related to mobility was a sense of openness and transgressivity of demarcations. A more recent and fruitful branch of scholarship has stressed how the members of early modern households routinely transgressed the boundaries of the domestic sphere through their activities in the streets and in the immediate neighbourhood around the home.³¹ Joachim Eibach termed this idea the ‘open house,’ a term that tempers the focus on a strict boundary between house and street by pointing out that this strict demarcation is something of an anachronism; however logical it might seem from our current perspective, it would appear strange to early modern eyes.³² According to this theory, early modern houses were relatively transparent; household members were in continual communication and interaction with outsiders. Transgressive

²⁸ Norbert Elias, *The Civilizing Process: Sociogenetic and Psychogenetic Investigations*, trans. Edmund Jephcott (Oxford: Blackwell, 2000), 160. Originally published as *Über den Prozeß der Zivilisation. Soziogenetische und psychogenetische Untersuchungen* as two separate volumes in 1939 by Haus zum Falken, Basel. It was translated to English in 1969, the citations here refer to the revised edition from 2000.

²⁹ Philippe Ariès, “Introduction,” in *A History of Private Life. Passions of the Renaissance*, ed. Roger Chartier, trans. Arthur Goldhammer, vol. 3 (Cambridge (MA) and London: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1989), 2. Originally published in 1986 as *Histoire de la vie Privée, vol. 3, De la Renaissance aux Lumières* by Éditions du Seuil, Paris.

³⁰ Ariès, “Introduction”, 2.

³¹ Laura Gowing, “The Freedom of the Streets: Women and Social Space 1560-1640,” in *Londinopolis: Essays in the Cultural and Social History of Early Modern London c.1500-c.1750*, ed. Paul Griffiths and Mark S. R. Jenner (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2000), 134; Charmian Mansell, “Beyond the Home: Space and Agency in the Experiences of Female Service in Early Modern England,” *Gender & History* 33, no. 1 (2021): 24–49; Rütta Laitinen, “Home, Urban Space and Gendered Practices in Mid-Seventeenth-Century Turku,” in *The Routledge History Handbook of Gender and the Urban Experience*, ed. by Deborah Simonton (London: Routledge, 2017), 147; Maria Ågren, ed., *Making a Living, Making a Difference: Gender and Work in Early Modern European Society* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2017), 212–13.

³² Joachim Eibach, “Das Offene Haus. Kommunikative Praxis im Sozialen Nahraum der Europäischen Frühen Neuzeit,” *Zeitschrift für Historische Forschung* 38, no. 4 (October 1, 2011): 624.

thresholds rather than strict boundaries marked early modern households.³³ The theory of urban change behind Eibach's 'open house' as a signature of the early modern period is one in which the European house gradually shifts towards the secluded bourgeois home – a residence that retreated into itself and withdrew its residents from the street. There is a gradual transformation away from neighbourhoods that produced continuous social communication among neighbours and moves towards the modern neighbourhood, with its optional community that one can relatively easily retreat from.³⁴

In many of the narratives of change described above, there is no clear-cut moment marking the arrival of modernity or a sudden 'great divide' between premodern and modern society. I also take such a view, further following scholars who understand modernity to be multiplicitous, fractured, even deceptive.³⁵ Different forms of modernizations happened at different times and in different locations, even as considerable continuities exist between 'premodern' and 'modern society.' One example from urban history is Miles Ogborn's study of eighteenth-century London, in which the framework is not some unitary process of modernization. Rather, Ogborn looks at different 'spaces of modernity,' which enables him to examine specific transformations while 'fracturing modernity as a totality by contextualizing it in terms of specific histories and geographies.'³⁶ We can do something similar with mobilities, not by taking a single totalizing modernization and trying to locate it in time and space but rather by resorting to different processes of change that impacted mobility, so as to find distinct and original early modern mobility regimes.

Whatever their differences and disagreements on chronology and exact setting, the above narratives rely on the idea that modernization represented increasing compartmentalization. Whether it be the growing split between public and private spheres, the separation of home and workplace, or the separations of functions and a decrease in mixed street use, we encounter a background of spatial rearrangement involving separation, segmenting, and sectioning. These developments are often seen as happening at a different pace depending on who you were, and, as spatial experiences, they were

³³ See also more recent work: Joachim Eibach, "From Open House to Privacy? Domestic Life from the Perspective of Diaries," in *The Routledge History of the Domestic Sphere in Europe: 16th to 19th Century*, ed. by Margareth Lanzinger and Joachim Eibach, (Routledge, 2021), 347–63.

³⁴ Eibach, "Das Offene Haus."

³⁵ Perhaps most famously asserted by Bruno Latour, cf. Bruno Latour, *We Have Never Been Modern* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1993).

³⁶ Miles Ogborn, *Spaces of Modernity: London's Geographies, 1680-1780* (Guilford Press, 1998), 38.

mediated by gender, work, social class, and the materiality of the city. One finds this awareness, for example, in the question whether domesticity kept women at home, and if so, then which women of which social class. The consequences of compartmentalization for mobility are often left unarticulated, but they can be inferred: A higher mobility would be required if life is compartmentalized between different spheres, and spaces of transit are required to sustain the division of functions. Other possible consequences involve transit and mobility themselves becoming functions of specialized spaces. And finally, emerging boundaries and demarcations limit access and mobility for specific groups and spawn new types of mobility when they are crossed and traversed, such crossings being a type of micro-mobility whose power relations require us to think more specifically about the different mobilities that exist alongside one another.

When relating the issue of urban modernization to gender, the most pressing and indeed heavily debated transformation is the emergence of the ‘separate spheres paradigm’ which can be seen as ‘a special case of the “great divide” in Western culture between the public and the private realms.’³⁷ Interestingly, this separation between male and female spheres has often been connected with the separation between workplace and home. In different but broadly overlapping accounts, social-economic analyses have focused on the separation between work and home, in the form of the decline of the family economy and the increasing importance of centralized production, while cultural historians have seen this process through the lens of strengthened public/private spheres and the growing significance of domesticity. The two narratives are intertwined and dependent on each other: Cultural historians of the Dutch Republic have suggested that an urban division of labour in which genders were more pervasively separated led to a cultural separation into women’s spheres and men’s spheres, while economic historians of the Dutch Republic suggested that the cultural idea of women’s domesticity led to women’s lower labour-force participation.³⁸ The exact causality and chronology varies, with the emergence of a capitalist economy placed much earlier (from the end of the sixteenth century onwards) and the norms of stricter domesticity more often placed in the eighteenth century. The broader narrative remains that over the course of the early

³⁷ Leonore Davidoff, “Gender and the ‘Great Divide’: Public and Private in British Gender History,” *Journal of Women’s History* 15, no. 1 (2003): 12.

³⁸ Jan de Vries and A.M. van der Woude, *Nederland 1500-1815: de eerste ronde van moderne economische groei* (Amsterdam: Balans, 1995), 698; Dorothee Sturkenboom, *Spectators van hartstocht: seks en emotionele cultuur in de achttiende eeuw* (Hilversum: Verloren, 1998), 123.

modern period, stricter cultural and economic spheres took shape in the form of private spheres and public spheres, which were linked to gendered spheres for men and women.³⁹

The debate on English women in particular linked early industrial and capitalist developments to a ‘cult of domesticity.’⁴⁰ If the home was increasingly seen as a place associated with women, while the world outside the home was more strongly associated with men, men’s mobility can be expected to have been much higher than women’s. At the same time, a strand of English scholarship on the idea of separate spheres has nuanced the idea of sudden rupture in women’s position and gender roles and has stressed the continuity between the early modern period and the nineteenth century.⁴¹ The association of women with the home was instead seen as something more stable over time, in a continuation of the normative restriction of married middle-class women, which not only disputed the chronology of the narrative but also recognized the class specificity of spatial regimes. The consequence for mobilities is, of course, that there may be considerable differences between the mobilities of women (and men!) of various social strata and status.

This means that we should look not only at either gender or class but also at the intersections of gender, class, and other factors. Although gender is important, even crucial, it is rarely the sole explanation for a social outcome or situation but is rather one of a series of intersecting factors. One such factor is space itself. Research such as Amanda Flather’s on early modern England shows us that space was ‘vitaly important for the marking out and maintaining of the hierarchy that sustained social and gender order in early modern England. It was not simply a passive backdrop to a social system that had structural origins elsewhere.’⁴² Flather further concludes that ‘the intersections of gender, normative literature, time and other elements of social identity (...) complicate and undermine meaningful generalisation about the consequences of patterns of continuity and/or change in the organisation of space, for the distribution of power between the sexes. They

³⁹ Davidoff, “Gender and the ‘Great Divide.’”

⁴⁰ Welter’s concept of a nineteenth-century ‘cult of true womanhood’ was highly influential in setting the agenda for a strand of women’s history: Barbara Welter, “The Cult of True Womanhood: 1820-1860,” *American Quarterly* 18, no. 2 (1966): 151–74.

⁴¹ Amanda Vickery, “Golden Age to Separate Spheres? A Review of the Categories and Chronology of English Women’s History,” *The Historical Journal* 36, no. 2 (1993): 383–414; Robert Shoemaker, *Gender in English Society, 1650-1850: The Emergence of Separate Spheres?*, Themes in British Social History (London [etc.]: Longman, 1998); Leonore Davidoff and Catherine Hall, *Family Fortunes: Men and Women of the English Middle Class 1780–1850* (Routledge, 2013).

⁴² Amanda Flather, *Gender and Space in Early Modern England* (Boydell & Brewer, 2007), 174.

emphasise the inadequacy of earlier analysis of gendered power relations and their changes, framed around a binary model of public/private, male/female.⁴³

Although the debate on gendered separation was initiated mainly by historians of England, their insights can be applied across Europe.⁴⁴ The Dutch case has some interesting particularities for mobility because the norms and ideals surrounding the position of the Dutch housewife are somewhat paradoxical. On the one hand, the strong and free Dutch woman was a well-known trope in early modern travel literature: foreign commentators invoked this type as a way to both compliment and insult the Dutch. The stereotype was that she would trade, travel, and roam the streets freely, all while dominating her (drunkard) husband.⁴⁵ Yet on the other hand, the urban Dutch Republic is often seen as an important social site for the early invention of domesticity and the related ideal of the housewife who had been ‘freed’ from the burden of (paid) labour, especially in the middle and upper classes.⁴⁶ She would virtuously stay at home, and she was likened to a tortoise or a snail, as she carried her house with her.⁴⁷ Here again, the possible differences of social class demonstrate that the intersection of different factors beyond gender – such as class, space, religion, and other elements of social identity – can produce different mobility regimes for different women.

A history that does justice to different intersecting elements is necessarily complex, especially since these different factors run through time along uneven tracks. Even when only looking at gender, the temporal framework is difficult: In 1976, Natalie Zemon Davis noted that ‘we should be slow to assume that the existing temporal and typological divisions in European history (...) will always be the significant ones for classifying the history of the sexes.’⁴⁸ Since then, no clear and agreed-upon understanding of the way that gendered difference moves through time has emerged. Attempts to move beyond the binary model of public/private, male/female oppositions have spawned relevant

⁴³ Flather, *Gender and Space*, 178.

⁴⁴ Cf. Antonia Weiss, “‘Here I Am the Undisputed Mistress.’ Gender Ideology and Garden Theory in Eighteenth-Century Germany,” *Eighteenth-Century Studies*, Forthcoming.

⁴⁵ Van den Heuvel, *Women and Entrepreneurship*, 18, 40-46; Els Kloek, “De geschiedenis van een stereotype. De bezigheid, ondernemingszin en zindelijkheid van vrouwen in Holland (1500-1800),” in *Jaarboek Centraal Bureau voor Genealogie*, vol. 58 (The Hague: Centraal Bureau voor Genealogie, 2004), 5-6, 11-15; Dorothee Sturkenboom, *De ballen van de koopman: mannelijkheid en Nederlandse identiteit in de tijd van de Republiek* (Gorredijk: Sterck & De Vreese, 2019), 99-110.

⁴⁶ Van Elk, *Early Modern Women’s Writing*, 10-13.

⁴⁷ Van Elk, *Early Modern Women’s Writing*, 40; Simon Schama, *The Embarrassment of Riches: An Interpretation of Dutch Culture in the Golden Age* (New York: Vintage, 1997), 375-480.

⁴⁸ Natalie Zemon Davis, “‘Women’s History’ in Transition: The European Case,” *Feminist Studies* 3, no. 3/4 (1976): 93.

insights and steered much of the debate, but ‘the lack of synthesis (...) means that women’s history has not so far produced a commanding new temporal framework.’⁴⁹ And especially if we would seek to move beyond the binary model so as to include other factors such as social status or class, the complexity then grows. Antoon Vrints for example, has shown that there was no rigid gendered separation of spheres among the lower classes in early twentieth-century Antwerp.⁵⁰

Some have argued that the temporal framework of continuous change should be exchanged for the understanding that gender history has been substantially stable. Bernard Capp writes that ‘historians’ instinctive search for change may be unhelpful in the context of women’s lives and gender relations.’⁵¹ Judith Bennett introduced the ‘patriarchal equilibrium’, the idea that there is considerable historical continuity in women’s status in the face of other changes.⁵² Similarly, Silvia Walby’s account of a premodern ‘private patriarchy’ that moved towards a modern ‘public patriarchy’ is a means of theorizing change over time that makes evident a stable bedrock of gender inequality.⁵³ The precise constellations and practices may change, then, but the principle of women’s subordinate position in society is seen as stable. Walby’s account, however, had relied strongly on a process of change modelled along a dichotomy of public and private, which subsequent scholarship has rather critically amended, rejected, or reworked.⁵⁴

We have seen above that this distinction between public and private spheres is one of the crucial recurring themes within several narratives of modernization. As has often been pointed out over the course of the debate, the public/private distinction is itself a modern, idealized norm that becomes problematic when applied to early modern society. According to Elizabeth Cohen:

studies of the gendered inflections of social space in early modern Europe seem doomed to wrestle with the troubled binary (...) of public and private. Scholars regularly deploy this pairing and link maleness to outside and public and femaleness to inside and private. These

⁴⁹ Penelope J. Corfield, “History and the Challenge of Gender History,” *Rethinking History* 1, no. 3 (December 1, 1997): 249.

⁵⁰ Antoon Vrints, *Het Theater van de Straat: Publiek Geweld in Antwerpen Tijdens de Eerste Helft van de Twintigste Eeuw*, 1st ed. (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2011), 197.

⁵¹ Bernard Capp, *When Gossips Meet: Women Family and Neighbourhood in Modern England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), 375.

⁵² Judith Bennett, *History Matters: Patriarchy and the Challenge of Feminism* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2007), 63.

⁵³ Silvia Walby, *Theorizing Patriarchy* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1990), 173-201.

⁵⁴ One of the most pivotal and well-recognized contributions on this matter is: Vickery, “Golden Age to Separate Spheres?”

associations are convenient and do bear some truth, but reducing a complex environment to a sharply bounded theoretical dichotomy is often awkward.⁵⁵

Cohen's work reveals the incredibly fine line between the usefulness of coupling 'public' with male and 'private' with female on the one hand, and its crude stereotyping of the actual lived experience of men and women alike on the other. Her suggestion is to take this coupling as a starting point but then to counter the conceptual dilemma by specifying 'private' as either "domestic (inside)" or "urban (outside)."⁵⁶ A similar strategy adopted by others has been to weaken the distinction via the addition of 'liminal' as a third, overlapping category.⁵⁷ In that context, Danielle van den Heuvel has pointed out that 'the categories shift when the focus of the author shifts. As a result, the new categorizations are hardly ever compatible, sometimes even further blurring the picture.'⁵⁸ So while the descriptions of spaces and the actions taken within them have become much more attentive to important details, the overall comparability and the potential for a globally applicable framework have suffered. This complements the older view that '[i]n particular, the concern with meaning and/or with micro-history has tended to produce a synchronic focus that has distracted attention from debating as opposed to invoking the long term. These difficulties are also multiplied when comparing and contrasting trends within the many different cultures across the world.'⁵⁹

Another issue with the public/private distinction involves the shifting of categories, not just as they are used by researchers but also throughout the periods and places being studied. Lawrence Klein, citing this 'mobility of meanings' with regard to the public/private distinction, observes that 'each term in the opposition has multiple meanings.'⁶⁰ For intercultural comparability, it does not help much that 'public' and 'private' also have connotations as 'political' or 'governmental' entities versus 'familial', 'social', 'recreational', 'religious', or 'cultural' counterparts; these designations sometimes overlap with 'public space' and 'private space' but do not necessarily have to. And even wielding a single term like 'public' might prompt confusion. If we can say that women were largely excluded from public life (e.g., the government), though they certainly took part in other facets of public life

⁵⁵ Cohen, "To Pray, To Work," 291.

⁵⁶ Cohen, "To Pray, To Work," 291.

⁵⁷ E.g. Alexander Cowan, "Seeing Is Believing: Urban Gossip and the Balcony in Early Modern Venice," *Gender & History* 23, no. 3 (November 1, 2011): 721–38; Dirk Lueb, "Komt voor de deur op straat! De ruimtelijke dynamiek van achttiende-eeuws kroeggeweld in Amsterdam," *Tijdschrift voor geschiedenis* 130, no. 2 (May 2017): 153–71.

⁵⁸ Danielle van den Heuvel, "Gender in the Streets," 701.

⁵⁹ Corfield, "History and the Challenge of Gender History," 249.

⁶⁰ Klein, "Gender and the Public/Private Distinction in the Eighteenth Century," 99.

(e.g., sociability in the streets), the concept ‘public’ may be more confusing than clarifying. My solution within this dissertation is to leave the public/private dichotomy aside when categorizing space itself. Instead, the concepts are reserved for activities, identities, and institutions that can be placed in space rather than for the spaces themselves. Even then, I will not use these concepts to invoke a strict dichotomy. As we will see in the chapters ahead (in particular Chapter 2), public and private are not strictly dichotomous designations, and aspects of each can exist alongside the other’s.⁶¹

One type of ‘public’ mentioned above, the ‘public domain’ at the level of the state or city, is of course the sort of ‘public’ in which women were more often than not disadvantaged compared to men in Europe in the early modern period.⁶² While not set in stone, there seems to be a relation between the appearance of women’s voices and actions in archival material and the formality and ‘publicness’ of that material. Material with more official and bureaucratic involvement in its creation contains less evidence of women and their voices.⁶³ An example for Amsterdam is the *Attestatieboek*, a collection of notarial depositions on conflicts between people (discussed in greater detail below) in which a majority of the cases were drawn up at the request of private persons. Here, 48% of the people appearing in the text as witnesses, bystanders, and perpetrators were women, a much higher percentage than in comparable material drawn up later, within a more streamlined bureaucratic system with one official clerk of the chief officer. There the percentages ranged from 27% to 35% women. As I will also further discuss in the chapters ahead, this colours potential empirical observations, making men more visible than women. Yet male domination of the ‘public domain’ should not be assumed to be the same as male domination of the streets and urban space in general, and, crucially, it should not inevitably translate to a higher level of movement among men. There is a danger of taking the restricted appearance of women in this representation of the public domain and conflating it with general containment. As historians working on women’s work have shown, a

⁶¹ For space, this argument can be found in Kilian, “Public and Private,” 124-125.

⁶² I write ‘disadvantaged’ rather than ‘excluded’ because there was often exclusion, but not always: Manon van der Heijden and Ariadne Schmidt have found that women were not excluded from public work in towns in Holland, but that there was rather a strict gendered division of work where women took on the lower-level jobs, Manon van der Heijden and Ariadne Schmidt, “Public Services and Women’s Work in Early Modern Dutch Towns,” *Journal of Urban History* 36, no. 3 (February 11, 2010): 368–85.

⁶³ Stadsarchief Amsterdam (Hereafter: ‘NL-AsdSAA’), Archieven van de Schout en Schepenen, van de Schepenen en van de Subalterne Rechtbanken, access number 5061 (Hereafter: ‘Schout en Schepenen (5061)’), inv. nr. 267, *Attestatieboek*.

much larger world of activity lurks behind the ‘official view’ of registered occupations.⁶⁴ Their approach is to turn to practices, because they have recognized that ‘more empirical evidence about practice is needed.’⁶⁵ In the same vein, Van den Heuvel argues that the ‘gendered geographies of the premodern city’ require a turn to everyday practices in space, specifically a move beyond the troubled dichotomies discussed above.⁶⁶ To better grasp the consequences of everyday mobility on our understanding of the larger narrative of urban change and compartmentalization, we need to uncover the everyday practices of people.

Interestingly, in different subfields, ranging from the history of work to the history of gendered difference of bodies and the debate on the uses of urban space, there is a move towards the study of practices. Although these endeavours follow different approaches and seek different goals, the common denominator among them is a desire to empirically capture historical practices that give insight into larger processes, be they economic structures, knowledge production, or the experience of space.⁶⁷ That does not mean that norms and ideals have been completely shunted aside, because practices are always mediated by norms and ideals. Rather, by considering concrete everyday observations of situated bodies, practices are studied both as the result of and as part of the (re)production of aspects captured in conceptual abstractions. As for space, rather than asking what spaces themselves *were* and how they were characterized, it makes more sense to see them as continually negotiated and to ask what they and the people in them *were doing*. The attention then shifts to that process of negotiation and the practices behind it. A specific methodology is required to arrive at those practices. The next section explains in greater detail how I will be applying such a method, and through which sources.

⁶⁴ Maria Ågren, “Making Her Turn Around: The Verb-Oriented Method, the Two-Supporter Model, and the Focus on Practice,” *Early Modern Women* 13, no. 1 (2018): 145–46.

⁶⁵ Maria Ågren, ed., *Making a Living, Making a Difference*, 6.

⁶⁶ Van den Heuvel, “Gender in the Streets,” 703.

⁶⁷ Maria Ågren, ed., *Making a Living, Making a Difference*; Iris Clever and Willemijn Ruberg, “Beyond Cultural History? The Material Turn, Praxiography, and Body History,” *Humanities* 3, no. 4 (October 9, 2014): 546–66; Sanne Muurling and Marion Pluskota, “The Gendered Geography of Violence in Bologna, Seventeenth to Nineteenth Centuries,” in *The Routledge History Handbook of Gender and the Urban Experience*, ed. Deborah Simonton (London: Routledge, 2017), 153–63; Zenobi, “Mobility and Urban Space,” 1–10; Fabrizio Nevola, “Afterword,” *Journal of Early Modern History* 25, no. 1–2 (March 5, 2021): 141–48.

Method: Practices and snapshots from notarial depositions

Finding everyday observations of historical street life and historical mobilities is not as straightforward as it may seem. Aspects of everyday life were often sufficiently taken for granted that they remain hidden in official and formal archival material, but they emerge in those cases where the formal and informal worlds collided. The given is not purposefully hidden but instead is left undescribed. In that sense, street life in the archive often resembles a glass wall, which becomes more visible when cracks appear on its surface, when its regular state is disrupted, even shattered. Everyday life on the streets is thus elusive and challenging for empirical study, but it is all the more intriguing as a subject in itself and as a methodological challenge. In this section, I will expand on my method – a snapshot approach – and my main source material: the testimonies given at the notarized secretary of the chief officer of Amsterdam.

Much of the historical material discussed in this dissertation was collected and processed for use through a ‘snapshot approach.’ The basic principle at work here is to use numerous observations of micro-historical value to produce data on larger historical processes. The foundation of the method is the pioneering practice-based approach developed in economic history, which emerged because economic historians faced similar problems of everyday life and thus work going unnoticed in many types of official sources. First, Sheilagh Ogilvie applied the methodology of distilling snapshots from non-serial material to create serial material in her *Bitter Living*.⁶⁸ With this method, Ogilvie was able to provide information on women’s work from church-court records. Although not the first to do so, she was one of the pioneers in describing the methodology explicitly and, together with A. W. Carus, she called her approach ‘a well-used method made explicit.’⁶⁹ This work was expanded upon by the Gender and Work (GaW) project at Uppsala University and the Women’s Work in Rural England, 1500-1700 project. The GaW called their method the ‘verb-oriented method,’ because the common denominator of useful information distilled from different types of historical material was its description of work as actions being done, written down as verbs. Court records, diaries, petitions, and accounts were used to find descriptions of actions of people who did work. The people and their actions, along with different relations and contexts, were then stored in their

⁶⁸ Sheilagh Ogilvie, *A Bitter Living Women, Markets, and Social Capital in Early Modern Germany* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010).

⁶⁹ A. W. Carus and Sheilagh Ogilvie, “Turning Qualitative into Quantitative Evidence: A Well-Used Method Made Explicit,” *The Economic History Review* 62, no. 4 (October 12, 2009): 893–925.

database and used to reconstruct ‘repertoires of practices.’⁷⁰ The benefit of this method, compared to methods that use more traditional sources such as censuses and tax records, is that it captures a much broader range of activities that people undertook to make a living.

The snapshot approach employed here is very similar but captures a wider range of activities than work activities and adds space – captured with Geographic Information Systems (GIS) coordinates when possible – as a more explicit factor. The relational database that contains these snapshots is part of a larger project database called the Freedom of the Streets (FOSGUS) database.⁷¹ In the FOSGUS database, people, actions, and locations can be added independently of one another and then given attributes and linked to one another. We call this basis of people, actions, and spaces the ‘ontological triad of individual, event and location.’⁷²

Capturing practices requires, of course, an interpretative framework followed by the researcher. The economic historians of the Gender & Work project selected not all verbs but rather chose specifically those that represented ways of making a living.⁷³ In my research, not all verbs were registered in the database either. Rather, the snapshots are selected to form ‘spatial scenes’ in which one thing happens, or several, guided by a process of reading and rereading the material within a specific sequence – in my case, sample years of notarial testimony. Sometimes a scene would unfold over a small sequence of actions, as when someone or several persons arrived in a tavern and drank beer, performing a set of actions that comprise a task or doing something over a longer period of time. To capture mobile actions that could stretch out over several locations, such as patrolling, one action can have multiple locations. Sometimes people are described doing several separate actions, or different people perform different actions at the same time. In the case of the notarial depositions that I used, the scene often ‘shifts’ when the narrative in the deposition comes to the conflict that

⁷⁰ Maria Ågren, ed., *Making a Living*, 18; Also see: Rosemarie Fiebranz et al., “Making verbs count: the research project ‘Gender and Work’ and its methodology,” *Scandinavian Economic History Review* 59, no. 3 (2011): 273–93; Jonas Lindström et al., “Mistress or Maid: The Structure of Women’s Work in Sweden, 1550–1800,” *Continuity and Change* 32, no. 2 (August 2017): 225–52.

⁷¹ My methodology was developed as part of a group effort and is further explained in: Danielle van den Heuvel et al., “Capturing Gendered Mobility and Street Use in the Historical City: A New Methodological Approach,” *Cultural and Social History* 17, no. 4 (August 7, 2020): 522–529. The FOSGUS database was designed by Ivan Kisjes and Leon van Wissen, who work as system developers at Creative Amsterdam: an E-Humanities Perspective (CREATE). For applying this method to visual material, Cf. Marie Yasunaga, “Illuminating Gender in the Early Modern Urban Space of Edo: A Study on Edo Meisho Zue” (Paper presented at Gender, Space and Everyday Mobility in Modernizing Global Cities Online Panel EAUH, September 2, 2021).

⁷² Van den Heuvel et al., “Capturing Gendered Mobility.”

⁷³ Maria Ågren, ed., *Making a Living*, 13.

prompted the record to be created. For example: Someone described as buying something is regarded as one action, but if that person then gets into a quarrel with someone, the individual is categorized as having taken part in an additional action. In many cases that first action, the ‘background scene’ of a conflict, contains the most relevant type of information for my research purposes, exceeding the salience of the actual conflict. I call these instances the ‘pre-crime scenes’ and have suggested that they allow for a sort of fieldwork on the historical street.⁷⁴ Yet the conflicts themselves were also entered as activities in the database, so they can be studied separately for different purposes.

These spatial scenes were distilled from notarial attestations that were drawn up for or used by the sheriff (*schout*) and later the chief officer (*boofdofficier*) of Amsterdam.⁷⁵ Notarial documents, recognized as a ‘sizeable, serial source of reliable quality,’⁷⁶ have been a welcome source of information on everyday life for historians working on various themes.⁷⁷ Although the rule was not always strictly adhered to, notarized documents were required to be publicly deposited after a notary went out of business.⁷⁸ The Amsterdam city archive contains one of the largest collections of early modern notarial deeds, containing millions of cases divided over more than thirty thousand books. These notarial documents are diverse and vary in type; there are wills, deeds of conveyances, descriptions of inventories, and depositions that document the lives of people from all rungs of the social ladder who were in some way connected to Amsterdam. Once they were notoriously inaccessible, but a large-scale digitization and indexing project called *AlleAmsterdamseAkten* is well on its way to opening up the notarial archive access to historians, forming arguably the largest collection of Dutch-language subaltern sources.⁷⁹

⁷⁴ Bob Pierik, “Using ‘Pre-Crime Scenes’ for the Historical Urban Ethnography of Early Modern Amsterdam,” *Gender and Work in Early Modern Europe* (blog), December 1, 2017, <https://workandgender.wordpress.com/2017/12/01/using-pre-crime-scenes-for-the-historical-urban-ethnography-of-early-modern-amsterdam/>.

⁷⁵ The titles sheriff (*schout*) and chief officer (*boofdofficier*) were used interchangeably and denoted the same office. Throughout this dissertation, the title in the original source is used whenever possible.

⁷⁶ Wim Heersink, “Zachte woorden op het platteland. Een verkennend onderzoek naar conflictregelingen in Noord-Holland,” in *Leidschrift*, vol. 12, 1996, 103.

⁷⁷ Cf. Julie Hardwick, *Practice of Patriarchy: Gender and the Politics of Household Authority in Early Modern France* (State College, PA: Penn State Press, 2010); Helmers, *Gescheurde bedden*; Laurie Nussdorfer, “Roman Notarial Records between Market and State,” *Past & Present* 230, (November 1, 2016): 71–89.

⁷⁸ Heersink, “Zachte woorden,” 86.

⁷⁹ I am here paraphrasing Guldi and Armitage, who have described The Old Bailey Online as “the largest collection of subaltern sources now available in the English-speaking world.” Jo Guldi and David Armitage, *The History Manifesto*, 2014, 94.

The specific type of notarial deed in which witness statements were taken down is called a deposition or an attestation. These provide great sources for the study of practices, because the level of detail concerning many aspects of everyday life can be very high. A.C.M. Kappelhof has convincingly showed that such notarial sources can be used to spatially reconstruct the activities people engaged in, and he was specifically able to study early modern women and their activities away from home.⁸⁰ Notarial depositions could be drawn up by any public notary at the request of a victim or another stakeholder. The depositions drawn up for and used by the chief officers of Amsterdam are particularly revealing because they often contain descriptions of people and their conflicts in and around the city, frequently on the street specifically.⁸¹ These depositions are full of rich descriptions of everyday events, people, locations, times of day, objects used – and, of course, conflicts. Their accounts of disputes include personal information on witnesses, perpetrators, and victims, such as name, marital status, occupation title, family relations, and, crucially, their residence locations. Gender is not described as a personal characteristic but can be inferred from a given person’s name, marital status, occupation, and pronouns used throughout the text.

There seems to have been a development where the sheriff or chief officer initially had selections of depositions copied and stored for his own use, and later appointed his personal notary. The sheriff’s archive holds a book of depositions called an *Attestatieboek* from around 1656, which contains copies of notarial depositions made at the request of victims of all types of conflicts by a host of different notaries.⁸² Yet somewhere around the same period, during the second half of the seventeenth century, the sheriff appointed a single notary as a personal clerk, a title that became secretary of the chief officer in 1719.⁸³ This centralization of the system aligned with the trend that most depositions would now be written down at the request of the chief officer himself.

⁸⁰ A.C.M. Kappelhof, “Vrouwen buitenshuis in Breda en omgeving (1550-1650),” in *Jaarboek Centraal Bureau voor Genealogie*, vol. 58 (The Hague: Centraal Bureau voor Genealogie, 2004), 64.

⁸¹ Importantly, situations happening on the water certainly turn up in these depositions but are quite scarce. We know that a specialized ‘water sheriff’ (*waterschout*) took on such cases, but to keep the scope of my research manageable, I have chosen to focus mainly on the street on land, although quays, watersides, and barges certainly feature in this picture of street life as well. Street life on the water could be a fruitful site for future research.

⁸² NL-AsdSAA, Schout en Schepenen (5061), inv. nr. 267, *Attestatieboek*.

⁸³ W. Heersink, “Het notariaat en de 18e-eeuwse Amsterdamse strafrechtspleging,” in *Weegschaal & zwaard: de verbeelding van recht en gerechtigheid in Nederland*, ed. M. A. Becker-Moelands and J. Th. de Smidt (The Hague: Jongbloed Juridische Boekhandel en Uitgeverij, 1999), 39.

The result is a set of depositions that can be seen as ‘court-like records,’ a term introduced to broaden the scope of court records to include documents that, though not used in the courtroom, nonetheless supported the legal system in one way or another.⁸⁴ Still, the depositions can be used in a way akin to how (church) court records have provided elaborate insights into everyday life.⁸⁵ Following a serial and systematic pattern, the notarial depositions for the chief officer are comparable to, but not quite the same as, court records. This centralized system of record-keeping that aided the chief officer had grown out of a more bottom-up system in which people went to public notaries to resolve their conflicts.⁸⁶ The depositions often contain descriptions of conflicts that never appeared before a court and were resolved either informally or extrajudicially, but nevertheless follow a particular standardized legal outline seen in the traditional statements found in court records. That means that the scope of the people and activities appearing in these documents is different than its ‘proper court-record’ counterparts for Amsterdam, such as the *confessieboeken*, interrogation records in the sheriff’s archive that recorded the interrogations of suspects and thus mostly contains people from the social-economic fringes.⁸⁷ The notarial depositions of the secretary of the chief officer instead tell the stories of witnesses and bystanders who together represented a broader mixture of social classes, although the poorest and richest were the least visible.⁸⁸

Witnesses would describe a conflict as they had seen it, heard it, or been part of it, and would declare to the notary that they would be willing to swear an oath to affirm their testimony – which they could not do to the notary, but would often do later in the presence of an alderman (*schep*). The notary took the multiple voices of witnesses and synthesized their accounts into a narrative, or sometimes several, noting which parts came from whom. The depositions then always ended with the sentence: ‘All of what is described here is by each witness for their part declared to be the pure and honest truth, which they will always be prepared to affirm under solemn oath if necessary, giving for reasons of knowledge that all of this has been done, seen and heard with the same or

⁸⁴ See for example the use of the term in Maria Ågren, ed., *Making a Living, Making a Difference*, 14–17.

⁸⁵ Flather, *Gender and Space*; Eleanor Hubbard, *City Women: Money, Sex, and the Social Order in Early Modern London* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), 148–52; Mansell, “Beyond the Home,” 24–49;

⁸⁶ Heersink, “Het notariaat,” 37–39.

⁸⁷ These interrogations, however, provide more information on non-citizens and lower-class people in Amsterdam. They formed in large measure the basis for Lotte van de Pol’s dissertation on prostitution. Lotte van de Pol, *Het Amsterdams hoerdom*.

⁸⁸ This is further discussed in Appendix I, under the header: ‘Comparing Salomon de Fremeri’s 1742 depositions to the Personele Quotisatie of 1742.’

similar words and substance as described in the text.’⁸⁹ That is not to say that we should take the depositions as unproblematic carriers of truth. The classic issue of the ways ‘truth’ is constructed in witness accounts was famously called the ‘fiction in the archives’ by Davis. She demonstrated that testimonies are curated narratives rather than unmediated reflections of truth, but their constructed nature is precisely what makes those narratives useful sources in telling us how people perceived and experienced the world and their own position in it.⁹⁰ However fascinating and important a critical assessment of the narratives themselves can be, I, in the chapters that follow, am rarely interested in whether witnesses were telling the truth. For reconstructing everyday street life, a plausible narrative is a worthwhile source whatever its truth or falsity (or whatever lies between) with regard to a specific incident.⁹¹ Furthermore, since I am often relying on what I have called the pre-crime scene, the background scene, or what others have called ‘the incidental’ material rather than the conflict itself, the truth of the conflict itself as relayed by witnesses is not an absolute prerequisite to using the information from depositions.⁹² But, of course, because this dissertation is largely written through the lens of the notarial archive, its empirical observations are coloured through that filter, potentially missing views and voices or overrepresenting others. During the analysis, I will actively reflect on this possible imbalance whenever possible and necessary.

Table 1. The notaries included in the Amsterdam FOSGUS database

Notary	Year	Amount of cases	Number of people	Number of unique events*	Number of actions*
Several (<i>Attestatieboek</i>)	1656	183	864	366	645
Salomon de Fremeri	1742	115	627	370	623
Cornelis Staal	1750	197	1107	708	1210
Leonard Beels	1791	121	825	501	899
Total	-	616	3423	1945	3377

*The number of unique events counts all snapshots, each of which could have several people taking part in it. The number of actions counts every time a person is involved in a snapshot. Not all actions have a location.

⁸⁹ Original text: ‘Alle het welke voorschreven zij getuigen elk voor het geen hem respectievelijk aengaen verklaerden te zijn de zuivere en oprechte waerheid altoos bereid zijnde zulx des noods met solmneele eede te sterken geevende voor reedenen van weetenschap alle het zelve te hebben gedaen, gezien en gehoord met dezelve of dergelijke woorden en substantie en verder als in den tekst.’

⁹⁰ Natalie Zemon Davis, *Fiction in the Archives: Pardon Tales and Their Tellers in Sixteenth-Century France* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1987).

⁹¹ For a similar argument that even misrepresentations in testimony would be ‘a probable, possibly even a typical, activity pattern,’ see Hans-Joachim Voth, *Time and Work in England: 1750–1830* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2007), 41.

⁹² Mansell, “Beyond the Home,” 27.

Four years of depositional material from January to December were selected from these depositions made for the chief officer. This material is from 1656, 1742, 1750, and 1791. The eighteenth-century material comes from the notaries Salomon de Fremeri (1742), Cornelis Staal (1750), and Leonard Beels (1791), who served as personal secretaries to the chief officer. These were selected for their particularly rich depositions, in which detailed descriptions of activities, residence locations of witnesses, and times of day were regularly included in the deposition. Further motivation for this selection of years derived from the fact that the material from 1791 came from one of the latest possible years and the attestations from 1656 represented the earliest available analogous material. The depositions from 1742 and 1750 form a paired set of material drawn from mid-century. For the eighteenth century, the depositions of Cornelis Staal of 1750 are especially extensive in terms of the number of cases and persons, and the attestations of Salomon de Fremeri of 1742 were chosen explicitly so that the depositional material could be compared to the *Personele Quotisatie* tax census of 1742. See ‘Comparing Salomon de Fremeri’s 1742 depositions to the *Personele Quotisatie* of 1742’ on page 236 in the Appendix for this analysis, which shows that the depositions written down for the chief officer contain a broad range of people: the lower- to upper-middle-class households are especially brought into focus.

Map 2. Centralized locations of 2507 actions from 1742, 1750 and 1791 in the Amsterdam FOSGUS database, with an underlying heat map showing density, projected on the map by Gerrit de Broen.



The material from 1656 requires some additional explanation. It comes from the aforementioned *Attestatieboek* and was the oldest type of depositional material similar to the material for the chief officer, as it was also selected for the chief officer and formed a collection of a year of depositions. It also includes notarial depositions, but the main difference here is that these were drawn up by different notaries and only a minority of cases were made at the sheriff's request. Still, they contain cases that caught the sheriff's eye: they were copied and stored at his office. As a result, the material is similar enough to what was produced by the later secretary of the chief officer to be included in the database. And as mentioned, the material covers the lives of women relatively well. Although it lacks the immensely rich level of (spatial) detail that we find in the eighteenth-century material, it represents a useful addition of seventeenth-century material that makes it possible to examine a wider context and a longer span of time. Since this material precedes the fourth (and final early

modern) expansion of the city, it offers a glimpse of the city at a different stage of its development. Map 3 below shows the events from the *Attestatieboek*.

Map 3. Centralized locations of 594 actions from 1656 in the Amsterdam FOSGUS database, with an underlying heat map showing density, projected on Balthasar van Berckenrode's 1625 map



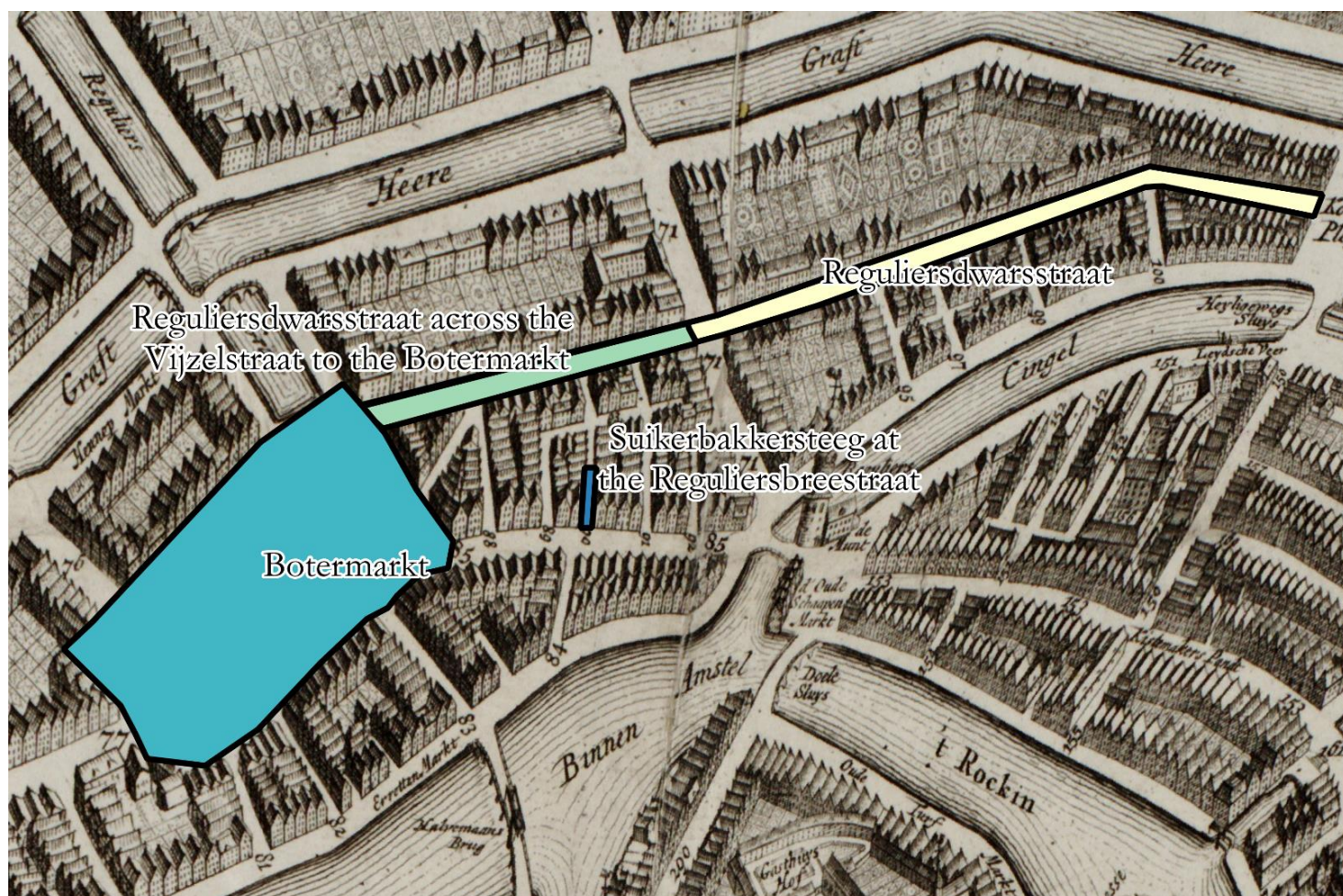
The specific way that space was captured in the database as distilled from the depositional material from Amsterdam requires some further attention. While in premodern and early modern studies it is not unusual to lack precise address infrastructure, we have been lucky here that the street morphology of Amsterdam is still largely intact. Many streets can be readily traced back, allowing for an accuracy of spatial location at least at the street level. Further specificity can often be found

through additional ‘prepositional’ information.⁹³ In notarial depositions, as probably in everyday life, space was often defined relationally: ‘On the X street, next to the Brewery X’ or ‘in the alley on the corner of X street.’ Locations were given in the style that modern addresses are, but in the form of streets, often indicating their intersections with other streets, alleys, bridges, or other recognizable locations. Especially smaller streets and alleys were described without additional spatial clues, while the larger thoroughways were often accompanied with additional relational details such as ‘on the corner.’ Similarly, locations on canals were sometimes accompanied with a specification indicating which side of the water a house was. This system of pre-numbered prepositional addressing meant that space was often indicated by a rough location, but that boundaries could still be established. When storing spatial indications in the database, I have created polygon vectors of the whole of the possible location, as demonstrated in Map 4 below. When using these locations for more practical purposes such as calculating distances between two locations, the centroids of the area of the possible location was used, as in Map 2 and Map 3.⁹⁴

⁹³ Nicholas A. Eckstein, “Prepositional City: Spatial Practice and Micro-Neighborhood in Renaissance Florence,” *Renaissance Quarterly* 71, no. 4 (2018): 1235–71.

⁹⁴ Van den Heuvel et al., “Capturing Gendered Mobility,” 529.

Map 4. Example visualizations of locations in the FOSGUS database, projected on Gerrit de Broen's map



Beside the snapshot approach discussed above of capturing actions in a relational database, a part of the findings and cases presented in this dissertation have resulted from coincidence, luck, and a certain unpredictability of the archive. Just as Ogilvie and Carus called their method ‘a well-used method made explicit,’ it makes sense here to explicate this process, which is to a certain degree part of most – if not all – historical research. One might call it qualitative analysis or bricolage, but in this particular endeavour I prefer to see it as the closest we can get to the ethnography of street life. Just like an ethnographer can walk contemporary streets while searching for encounters that bring insight into street life and its underlying structures, reading historical documents offers a glimpse of street encounters in the past.⁹⁵ Sometimes such an experience is particularly telling, impressive, or

⁹⁵ And just as the ethnographer can never take interactions or encounters as unmediated, the historical material is of course far from unmediated by the context of its creation.

immersive to the extent that it offers a unique view, perhaps not superior or inferior to a more quantitative approach but instead something entirely different. Throughout this dissertation, particularly colourful historical people, actions, and exceptional descriptions will enter the stage, not just to flesh out the narrative but also to substantially enrich the analysis.⁹⁶ Yet not always were such finds the result simply of luck or some random encounter. Many more years of depositional material than the years used for the database have been employed to complement the findings from the database. These were digitally transcribed and could be searched according to specific themes, to find specific cases and complement the ‘fieldwork.’⁹⁷ The benefit here is that when a particularly telling or useful deposition was encountered, one could look for similar, comparable cases in this additional archive. This combination of a snapshot approach and an ethnography of street life is what has allowed me to query the depositional material from several mutually supporting perspectives.

Finally, to complement and refine my arguments and analysis, I have used other sources, such as Jacob Bicker Raije’s diary-chronicle kept between 1731 and 1772,⁹⁸ travel accounts, city ordinances and regulations, the 1742 *Personele Quotisatie* tax register,⁹⁹ and various maps and illustrations. They have not been added to the database but are employed to provide additional perspectives and geographical information. These sources serve as important support for the findings of the depositional material, as well as the questions it raises. These welcome enrichments of the perspective emerging from the depositions will be analysed in greater detail throughout the different chapters.

⁹⁶ Cf. Alasdair Jones, “Everyday without Exception? Making Space for the Exceptional in Contemporary Sociological Studies of Streetlife,” *The Sociological Review* 66, no. 5 (September 1, 2018): 1000–1016.

⁹⁷ These are depositions from the years 1710-1713, 1740-1748, and 1761-1789. During the period this dissertation was being researched, the capacities of Handwritten Text Recognition (HTR) expanded significantly. Whereas the first years of material were processed through labour-intensive manual transcriptions, I was able to generate imperfect but correctable transcriptions for the other years through Transkribus. Cf. Philip Kahle et al., “Transkribus - A Service Platform for Transcription, Recognition and Retrieval of Historical Documents,” in *14th LAPR International Conference on Document Analysis and Recognition (ICDAR)*, 2017. I was able to do this through the generous help of Pauline van den Heuvel, Jirsi Reijnders, and Mark Ponte, who generously shared access to the then not yet publicly available HTR models of the Amsterdam City Archive.

⁹⁸ Erika Kuijpers and the *Chronicling Novelty* project have generously provided me with transcriptions of Bicker’s original chronicle.

⁹⁹ Peter Koudijs has generously provided me with a dataset of the 1742 *Personele Quotisatie*. For Bicker’s chronicle, see: NL-AsdSAA, Collectie Stadsarchief Amsterdam: Bibliotheek, (15030) (Hereafter: ‘Bibliotheek (15030)'), inv. nr. 3551, Jacob Bicker Raije, Notitie van het merkwaardigste mijn bekend, dat in het jaar 1732 binnen Amsterdam is voorgevallen (Hereafter: JBR). For a published version of the *Personele Quotisatie*, see: W.F.H. Oldewelt, *Kobier van de Personele Quotisatie te Amsterdam over het jaar 1742* (Amsterdam: Genootschap Amstelodamum, 1945).

Chapter outline

The ensuing chapters all consider different ways that gender, work, social status, and the materiality of the city itself shaped the city and people's movements in and through it. All chapters take the entire city as the scope of the analysis, but more specifically the chapters consider different types of mobility through the lens of various subthemes that touch upon continuity and change. The common themes are mobility, gender, urban space, and the way large-scale urban changes and continuities are revealed through manifold glimpses into early modern everyday life.

The first two chapters present urban mobilities that have turned out to be relatively stable over a longer span of time. Chapter 1, in which a general gendered geography of mobilities is reconstructed using the observations of the FOSGUS database, looks at macro-mobilities at city scale: An aggregate of potential movements undertaken by urban inhabitants offers insights into the distances that people travelled throughout the city. I can thus address the question whether the men who appeared in the depositions travelled farther than the women, which provides the basis for understanding gendered mobility regimes. A rather stable rhythm of everyday mobility throughout the long eighteenth century emerges from this enquiry. The aspect of change is not absent but rather features as fluctuations of mobilities throughout the day itself, instead of representing change over a longer period of time. Furthermore, this geography of mobilities is connected to the different sorts of infrastructure in place in the city, such as the city gates, clocks, and whole neighbourhoods. In chapter 2, I turn to the micro-mobilities of households and streets. My discussion here builds upon the questions raised by the aggregate of mobilities addressed in the first chapter and the broader debates on compartmentalization and demarcation in the early modern period. The chapter grasps how members of households appeared on the street and how they navigated the direct environment outside their homes and on their doorsteps. A main question considered here is not how space was either public or private, but rather how aspects of both publicity and privacy were at work in practice. Through the conflicts evident from the depositions made for the chief officer, we get a view of the non-elite house and the household in the street, and the way that these related entities were subject to micro-mobilities of gatekeeping in which gendered, social, and material aspects intersected. There was a culture of visibility, and although we find indications that the upper and upper-middle classes were withdrawing from it, visibility and transparency still structured a vast portion of everyday street life. Change over time thus features here as a class specific feature rather

than part of the general urban experience. We will see how a process of gatekeeping involved the granting or the denial of access to space, and we will also encounter the strategies involved in instigating or, alternately, avoiding publicity.

The third and the fourth chapter, then, present urban mobilities more strongly subject to changes over time in specific cases. Changes in the structure of work and the introduction of vehicles spawned new types of mobility, such as commuting and leisurely driving. Chapter 3 considers the various ways the structure and geography of work influenced the ways that men and women made use of the city to make a living. A complex geography encompassing where people worked and how that affected street life is explored and described. The gendered geography of work is considered in light of debates on domesticity and the separation of workplace and home: The question whether work was increasingly taking place outside of the home is answered. Finally, chapter 4 will consider the introduction of vehicles onto the urban street, an important technological and cultural transformation of urban life. We will grasp how different parts of the city were used differently by a diverse varieties of vehicles, and see that gender and social class were crucial factors determining access to those vehicles. The chapter answers the question of how the much more specialized and exclusive type of mobility represented by vehicular movement made its mark and influenced streetscapes throughout the city. The uneven transformation of urban space into vehicular space is assessed across spans of time and space. A spatially diverse and complex geography of speed emerges in which gender and class play an important role, as urban mobility and social mobility intersect.

These different themes all help to unveil the principles, norms, and rules regulating the movement of early modern urban inhabitants, and provide a closer look at the differences produced by gender and social class. Here we encounter a city on the move: a city made up of women and men in various roles as pedestrians, household members, workers, and drivers.

Chapter 1.

Moving Through the City: Gendered Mobility, Scope, and Neighbourhood¹

According to her testimony given in 1742, one Elisabeth Croen reported that she had first met her ‘fiancé’ on the street on the evening of Tuesday, 31 July, at eight o’clock, during a visit to her brother a few blocks from the Jodenbreestraat where she lived. After this man had walked her home, he asked if he could come by again. He did so the next afternoon at half-past three and drank coffee together with Elisabeth and her sister. Going out an hour later, they walked through the city together, had a drink in the green space called the Plantage, and went to the Admiraliteitswerf (Admiralty Wharf) to watch the ships. At half-past nine, they went for another drink at the Hoogte Kadijk, just outside the Plantage. Unfortunately, what had seemed to be the beginning of an agreeable courtship went sour when the man turned out to be a charlatan who had begun courting Elisabeth under a false name and was actually living elsewhere in the city.² While this ill-fated episode was unfortunate for Elisabeth, it is an extraordinarily detailed account that offers a rich window into the mobilities of non-elite women and men. Meeting new people on the street, walking through the city with companions, venturing far beyond one’s own neighbourhood: these activities appear as ordinary aspects of a culture of everyday mobility and (in this case) courtship. The notarial depositions that feature Croen’s account helps us glean insights about when and why people ventured out of their houses, which parts of the city they frequented, and whether and to what

¹ The main body of text of this chapter has appeared as Bob Pierik, “From Microhistory to Patterns of Urban Mobility. The Rhythm of Gendered Mobility in Eighteenth-Century Amsterdam,” in *Daily Lives and Daily Routines in the Long Eighteenth Century*, ed. Gudrun Andersson and Jon Stobart (Routledge, 2021), 105–124. Certain revisions and additions appear in the present version. The section ‘Mobility and the District’ has been newly added and one small subsection has been moved to chapter 2. Ideas and data from this chapter have also been used in Bob Pierik and Gamze Saygi, “Everyday Streets,” History Workshop, February 8, 2021, <https://www.historyworkshop.org.uk/everyday-streets/>; Gamze Saygi and Bob Pierik, “Everyday Mobility in the Streets of 18th Century Amsterdam,” StoryMapJS, <https://uploads.knightlab.com/storymapjs/0537cea65b27f52d670931ed960d1346/everyday-mobility-in-the-streets-of-18th-century-amsterdam/index.html>.

² NL-AsdSAA, Notarissen (5075), inv. nr. 11735, SF1742, scan 294.

extent their lives were constrained within certain areas, all with the mention of times as exact as at the level of full or half hour.³

Observations of practices of mobility such as those above are a welcome key to cracking the ambiguity of urban mobility and women's role in it. We simply need more empirical accounts of actual movements to get a better view of early modern mobilities, because in different and potentially conflicting narratives, the city is seen as site of domesticity, disorder and freedom at once. Marriage theory stressed 'the need for men to move into the world, figured as "the street," and for women to stay at home.'⁴ However, even within these narratives of the domesticity of early modern Dutch housewives, 'women's life on the city streets becomes a glaring contradiction,' as on the one hand 'the *nithuizige* woman – literally, the out-of-the-house woman' was morally condemned, while women going to the market to provide for their households were praised.⁵ Some interpret the constantly reiterated point that women ought to stay inside as a 'perverse', paradoxical and patriarchal spatial ideology of strict spatial confinement, while others interpret it rather as male anxiety in the face of actual 'uncontrolled women freed from the confines of the domestic sphere.'⁶

This Dutch domesticity debate can be seen as a specific iteration of a larger European tension in which cities appear as both spaces of freedom and disciplining. Writing on eighteenth-century England, Penelope Corfield writes: 'If some streets had their dangers, especially by night, there was no suggestion of a female curfew, or that city streets were seen as intrinsically male terrain. On the contrary, access to the relative mobility and personal freedoms of town life around the clock was often adduced as an attraction to women migrants from the countryside.'⁷ Against the stark hierarchies and inequalities of early modern society, the streets provided unique urban freedoms: 'None were excluded. Indeed, the right of unfettered access and passage was – and remains- crucial to the basic functioning of urban social and economic life. (...) Custom and convention in England

³ For more on such narratives of seduction, see Katie Barclay, "Mapping the Spaces of Seduction: Morality, Gender and the City in Early Nineteenth-Century Britain," in *The Routledge History Handbook of Gender and the Urban Experience*, ed. Deborah Simonton (Routledge, 2017).

⁴ Van Elk, *Early Modern Women's Writing*, 42

⁵ Elizabeth Alice Honig, "Desire and Domestic Economy," *The Art Bulletin* 83, no. 2 (June 1, 2001): 306.

⁶ Honig, "Desire and Domestic Economy," 307-308; Martha Moffitt Peacock, "Early Modern Dutch Women in the City: The Imaging of Economic Agency and Power," in *Urban Space in the Middle Ages and the Early Modern Age*, ed. Albrecht Classen (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2009), 689.

⁷ Penelope J. Corfield, "Walking the City Streets: The Urban Odyssey in Eighteenth-Century England," *Journal of Urban History* 16, no. 2 (February 1, 1990): 134.

also endorsed the accessibility of the streets to all age and social groups and both sexes.⁸ Of course, ‘the legal boundary between rights of access and the regulation of public behavior was far from clear,’ and ‘rogues, beggars and vagabonds were vulnerable to arrest (...) but there was no automatic ban.’⁹ In other cities throughout Europe, mobility and access to the streets was not always as unrestricted: Different versions of curfews existed throughout Europe and the common custom of closing city gates at night effectively formed its own version of a curfew.¹⁰ Yet, Corfield’s argument that there was no female curfew and that the city streets were not intrinsically male terrain probably applies to most early modern cities, and at least applies to early modern Amsterdam: Although the city gates separated the city from its surroundings when they were closed at night, there was no strict curfew that delegated specific people to their homes. During the day, access to the streets was theoretically unrestricted and there were no regulations that explicitly curbed the movements of women or men who lived in the city.¹¹

The question then remains: Who accessed the street, and how? In the chapter ahead, we shall see that the narrative of women staying inside while men go outside is not only too simple to represent women’s mobilities, but also does not do justice to the diversity of men’s mobilities. There are complex relationships between mobility, masculinity and femininity: it has been recognized that both mobility shapes gender and gender shapes mobility: ‘the two are completely bound up with each other, to the point of almost being inseparable.’¹² Research on current-day mobilities have shown that globally, ‘the spatial range of women’s daily mobility is smaller than men’s,’ and while this pattern may be expected for early modern women as well, historical analysis of gendered mobility is still very limited and empirical observations are scarce.¹³ As we have seen, Helmers has suggested that in eighteenth-century Amsterdam ‘men might have had a larger radius than women,’ but a systematic analysis of the scope of gendered daily mobility in Amsterdam has not yet been

⁸ Corfield, “Walking the City Streets,” 133.

⁹ Corfield, “Walking the City Streets,” 134.

¹⁰ Daniel Jütte, “Entering a City: On a Lost Early Modern Practice,” *Urban History*, May 2014, 220 ; David Garrioch, “Sounds of the City: The Soundscape of Early Modern European Towns,” *Urban History* 30, no. 1 (May 2003): 11. For example, Nuremberg ‘sounded a curfew that permitted the arrest of suspicious persons found abroad’ two hours after sunset. See, Julius R. Ruff, *Violence in Early Modern Europe 1500-1800* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 91.

¹¹ As in England, this was the case for the settled population. The deviant poor such as beggars and vagabonds risked imprisonment in the house of correction, effectively denying them access to the city streets. Cf. Pieter Spierenburg, “Deviance and Repression in the Netherlands. Historical Evidence and Contemporary Problems,” *Historical Social Research / Historische Sozialforschung*, no. 37 (1986): 4–16; Van der Heijden, *Women and Crime*, 135-138.

¹² Susan Hanson, “Gender and Mobility: New Approaches for Informing Sustainability,” *Gender, Place & Culture* 17, no. 1 (February 1, 2010): 6.

¹³ Hanson, “Gender and Mobility,” 12.

provided.¹⁴ A reconstruction of the scope of people's movements will help us understand how space was used in practice and how different people made use of and experienced the city.

In the chapter ahead, I will describe and analyse the general gendered geography of mobilities in the long eighteenth-century in Amsterdam. As we shall see, early modern city inhabitants were mobile and active, undertaking projects throughout the city. Their mobilities can be reconstructed, mapped and measured, to help us grasp whether — and if so, how — gender interacts with mobility. I will turn to everyday practices of movement to answer the question if the theoretical access to the streets was also translated to unrestrained practices, especially in the face of cultural norms that may or may not have been strict. Furthermore, as the issue of curfews above has shown, time is an important factor for mobility that can form an urban infrastructure in itself, and influence different constellations of mobility during the course of the day.¹⁵ Finally, the movements of people can be used to reveal both material and mental boundaries that shaped the city in practice.

Distilling mobilities from snapshots of daily life

The possibility to study mobility through snapshots emerges out of three crucial factors that fortunately feature regularly in the depositions written down for the chief officer of Amsterdam: The location of events, the residence locations of those partaking in those events and the time during the day when those events happen. In the terms of the time-geography of Torsten Hägerstrand, the snapshots in the FOSGUS database can be seen as fragments of the bundles of paths that individuals throughout the city follow to undertake projects. Such concepts provide time-geographers with a language in which they describe the geography of a world on the move.¹⁶ While modern time-geography ideally reconstructs the mobility of a specific person or group of people over a longer period, the material that I used here gives fragmentary glimpses into the daily lives of many people. Rather than studying the movements of specific persons, I have examined the mobility

¹⁴ Helmers, *Gescheurde bedden*, 328. Helmers uses the Dutch term *actieradius* (radius of action). Social scientists working on current-day mobility use the term 'radius of gyration', which also has different meanings but is used as the 'characteristic distance travelled by an individual during the period of observation.' I take 'radius' to mean 'characteristic travelled distance,' which is also clearly what Helmers means by *actieradius*. Luca Pappalardo and Filippo Simini, "Data-Driven Generation of Spatio-Temporal Routines in Human Mobility," *Data Mining and Knowledge Discovery* 32, no. 3 (December 27, 2017): 811.

¹⁵ Natalia Besedovsky et al., "Time as Infrastructure," *City* 23, no. 4–5 (September 3, 2019): 580–88; Muurling and Pluskota, "The Gendered Geography of Violence," 160–61; Flather, *Gender and Space*, 130.

¹⁶ Torsten Hägerstrand, "Diorama, Path and Project," *Tijdschrift voor Economische en Sociale Geografie* 73, no. 6 (December 1, 1982): 323–39.

of *all* persons as given in the four years' worth of witness testimony of the FOSGUS database.¹⁷ All these activities, whether routine or incidental, were taken together, forming an aggregate of mobilities.

Barbara Hanawalt pioneered the study of the range of mobility of life in preindustrial society, by looking at fourteenth-century rural coroners' inquests to study the gendered scope of movements of medieval peasants and children.¹⁸ Similarly, Robert Shoemaker employed a similar method when he worked with court depositions to shed light on gendered mobility within early modern London. Concluding that not only gender but also social status influenced mobility on the basis of 'limited samples' from court records, he then corroborated his observations via other sources.¹⁹ Jason Hardgrave did something similar with notarial material in his research on gendered movement in late medieval Venice. Hardgrave examined a variety of notarial document types out of a selection of priest-notaries and compared the parish where someone lived to the parish where someone had a document drawn up.²⁰

Taking as a point of departure the ways that these historians compared whether men and women of varying social status ventured farther afield than their own neighbourhoods and parishes, we can embark on a more extensive sort of assessment by calculating distances more precisely through a digital reconstruction of Amsterdam's street network. The combination of residential location and event location from the snapshots makes it possible to investigate how far people ventured out of their neighbourhoods and to get a sense of the scope or radius of their mobility. In themselves small fragments of everyday routine and mobility, these bits of evidence, assessed in hundreds, give insight into the lives of a broad range of people. Because of early modern Amsterdam's layout, determining these distances as the crow flies would seriously shorten the actual distance a person travelled in moving from one location to another. The research thus used the map by Gerard de Broen (Map 1

¹⁷ See the Introduction for more information on these depositions. A deposition was deemed usable when at least once the three factors 'person,' 'action,' and 'location' were present in the record and the action took place in Amsterdam or its immediate surroundings.

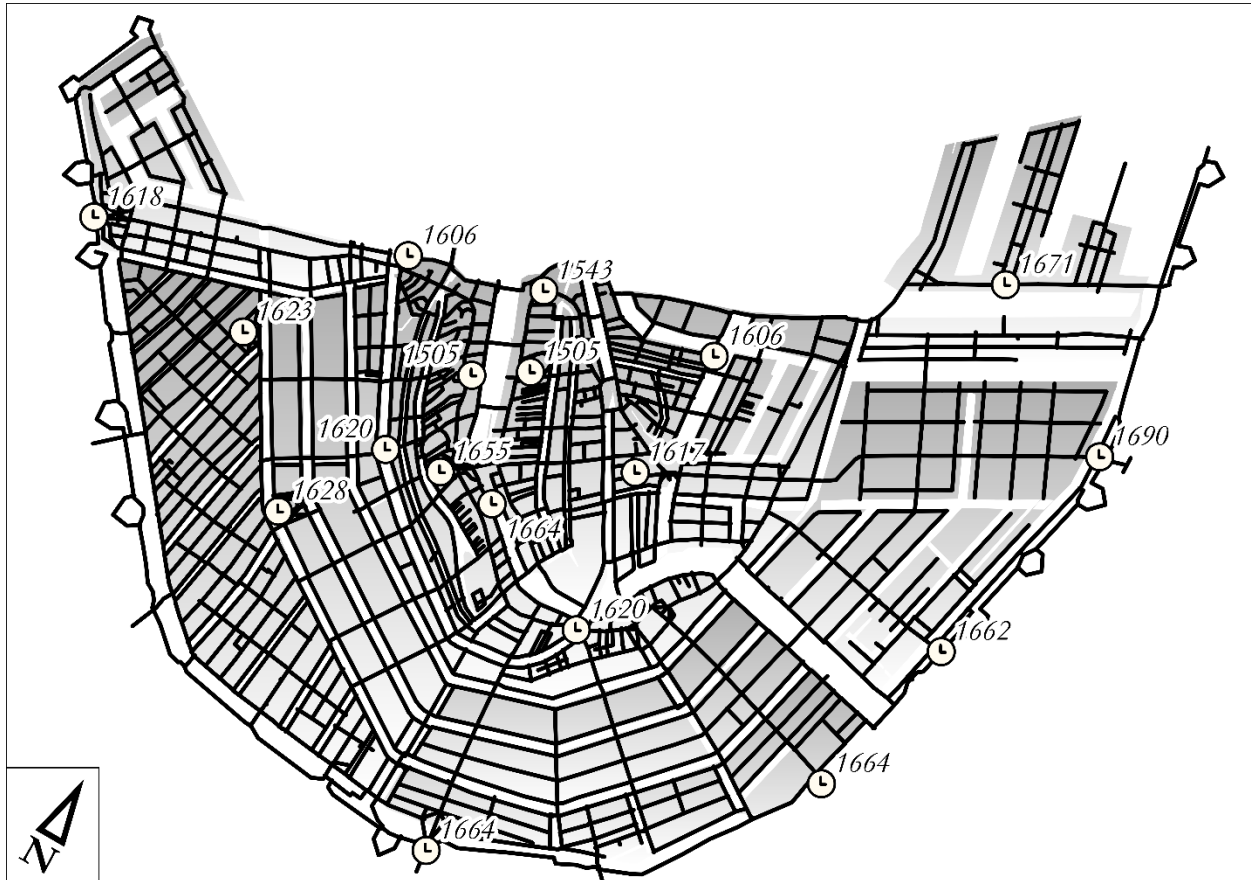
¹⁸ Barbara A. Hanawalt, *Of Good and Ill Repute: Gender and Social Control in Medieval England* (Oxford, New York: Oxford University Press, 1998), 77, 166.

¹⁹ Robert Shoemaker, "Gendered Spaces: Patterns of Mobility and Perceptions of London's Geography, 1660–1750," in *Imagining Early Modern London: Perceptions and Portrayals of the City from Stow to Strype, 1598-1720*, ed. by J. F. Merritt (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 148–49.

²⁰ Jason D. Hardgrave, "Parishes and Patriarchy: Gender and Boundaries in Late Medieval Venice," *Viator* 41, no. 1 (January 2010): 251–75.

shown on page 21), which approximately matches the street patterns deep into the nineteenth century, to make a street plan that could be used to calculate the distances between event locations and residence locations (see Map 5).²¹

Map 5. Digital reconstruction of the street network of Amsterdam in 1728, with public clocks and their earliest known year



The snapshots from the depositions for the chief officer provide the opportunity to make a more detailed analysis of routines through the addition of the dimension of time of day. Unfortunately, this level of detail was less consistent in the 1656 material. Yet, the witnesses in the material from the eighteenth century generally noted the time when the events they testified about took place. Through these times, we can obtain accurate information about the temporal nature of the activities that made up people’s daily routines. In Amsterdam, public clocks were spread throughout the city

²¹ NL-AsdSAA, Collectie Atlas Splitgerber, (10001) (Hereafter: ‘Splitgerber (10001)’), inv. nr. 26, Kaart van Amsterdam, Gerrit de Broen 1728-1737 (Hereafter: ‘De Broen’). As said in the introduction, the locations in the depositions are not given exactly, but a centroid of the possible location was used. That means that the precision of the following data should not be taken as exactly accurate on the level of meters but with a potential margin of error of roughly 100 meters. In some cases that margin is actually much smaller; in other cases with a ‘fuzzy’ location, the margin is larger.

(see Map 5) and were synchronized on a daily basis, with the clock of the Oude Kerk ('Old Church') serving as master clock, leading to a city wide standardized time.²² Witnesses generally reported time within the hour, sometimes even within the half-hour and more rarely within the quarter-hour. For the purpose of this chapter, the accuracy of time-awareness within the hour was assumed for all witnesses — in line with research on Antwerp and London.²³ Taken together, these detailed observations, combined with the presence of the street network, allow us to find different people located throughout the city at various times and enable us to grasp the broad patterns of everyday mobility and routines in eighteenth-century Amsterdam.

The general gendered pattern of mobility

The combined mobilities of all people who partook in events from the depositions and who had a recorded residence location can be seen in Table 2 below. The distance is the average for all men or women accounted for. The first rows include the distance '0' for those found at home, and the average of only those found away from home is given in the rows below. The most notable observation is that women's average distance away from home is smaller than men's in all cases except for one: the 1656 average of people found away from their home. Otherwise, women's average radius of movement through the city is lower than men's. However, the difference between men and women decreases when the observations of those found at home are excluded, pointing towards a trend where women in the depositions were more often found at or near their home than men, but at a similar scope or range of mobility away from home when they would move away.

²² Melchior Fokkens, *Beschrijvinge der wijdt-vermaarde Koop-stadt Amstelredam* (Amsterdam: Marcus Willemsz Doornick, 1662), 195.

²³ For Antwerp, see: Bruno Blondé and Gerrit Verhoeven, "Against the Clock: Time Awareness in Early Modern Antwerp, 1585–1789," *Continuity and Change* 28, no. 2 (August 2013): 213–44. For 18th century London, Voth concludes that 'even those without watches could easily tell the time to within an hour.' Voth, *Time and Work in England*, 58.

Table 2. Average distances in meters between residence and event locations by gender and year (n = 1673)

Deposition year	1656		1742		1750		1791	
	meters	n	meters	n	meters	n	meters	n
	<i>With '0' meters included</i>							
<i>Female</i>	211	105	207	92	182	231	261	203
<i>Male</i>	317	98	604	240	549	370	527	334
	<i>Without '0' meters</i>							
<i>Female</i>	792	28	543	35	688	64	677	70
<i>Male</i>	757	41	972	151	946	216	834	211

Table 3. Percentage of men and women found away from their homes by year

	1656	1742	1750	1791
<i>Women</i>	27%	38%	28%	34%
<i>Men</i>	42%	63%	58%	63%

In the case of the high average mobility of women in 1656, several women who were found very far from their homes brought the relatively limited number of observations (28) to a high average of meters: For example, 20 year old Immetien Dirx lived on the Angeliersgracht in the Jordaan and was present in a winehouse outside of the Sint Anthonispoort (gate), more than 2.5 kilometers away. Roughly in the opposite direction, the 34 year old widow Marrtje Stoffels lived in the Bakkerstraat near the Regulierspoort (gate) and was found in a tavern in the northernmost part of the Jordaan, on the corner of the Palmgracht. In contrast to these very mobile women, many more women were taking part in events that happened in or at their homes. In all years, more women were found at or near home than away, while this was only the case for the men in 1656 (see Table 3).

Comparing the average distances throughout the years, some interesting trends are visible. The female radius of movement (with 0 included) is rather stable between 182 and 261 meters, while there is a strong increase in the average distances of men, which goes from 317 in 1656 to between 527 and 605 in the eighteenth century. This is partially explained by the fact that many more men were found at their home in 1656 than in the eighteenth century, but even if the 0 meters of the men who were found at home were excluded, the distance is slightly higher in the eighteenth century than

in 1656. That means that the radius of movement of men in the depositions was higher in the eighteenth century. All in all, the men in the depositions were found away from their home more often than women and the resulting average radius of movement was higher than that of women. Initially, this seems to confirm the conventional view that men ranged farther afield in the city than women, who tended to stay closer to or to remain at home. At the same time, the idea voiced in the conduct literature of the period that a woman's place was in the home was not matched in practice, as women were still found away from home often - and if only those women leaving their house are taken, their average radius was almost as far as men's.

Figure 1. Average distance in meters between residence and event locations by timeslot and gender from depositions from 1742, 1750 and 1791. (n = 1400)

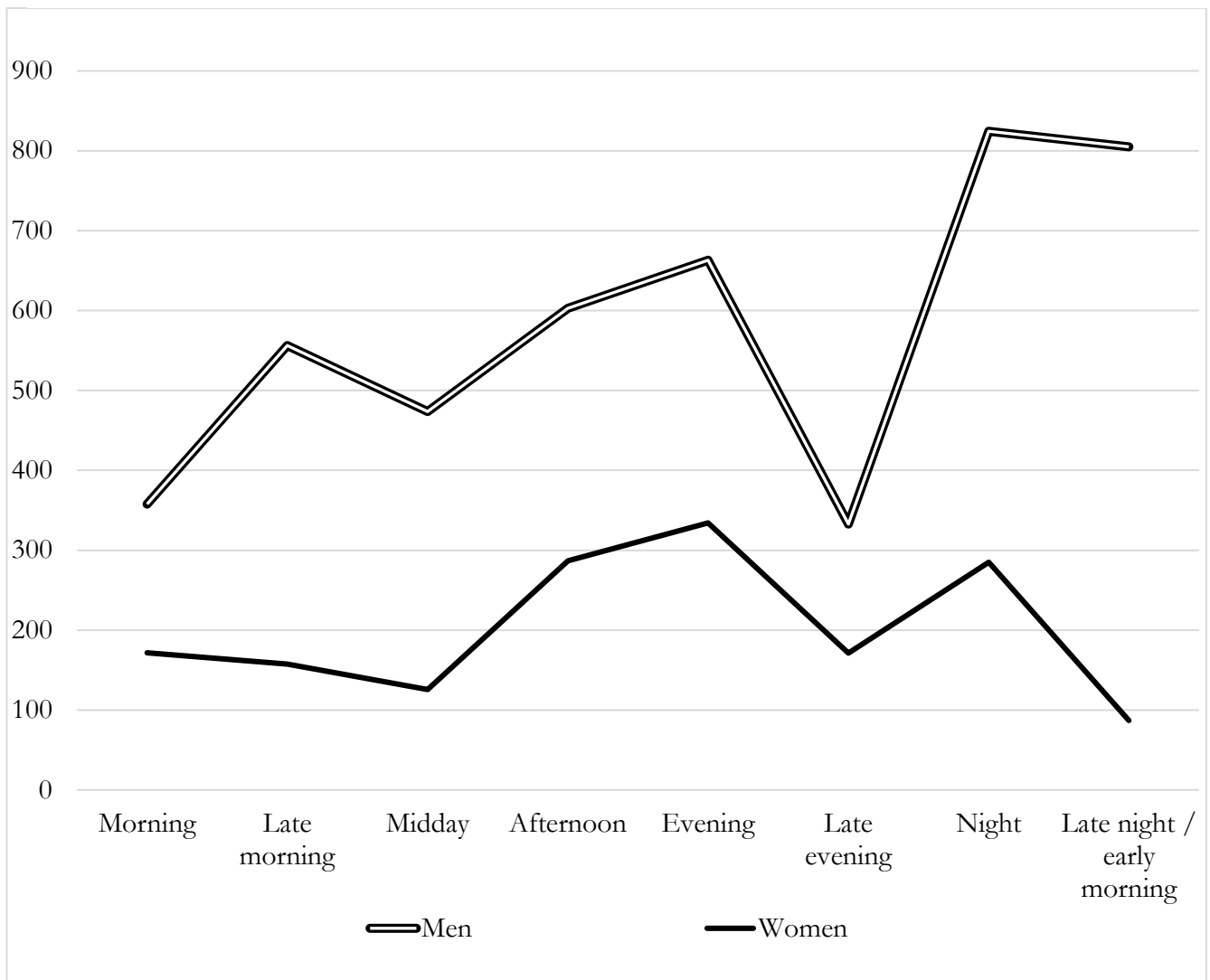
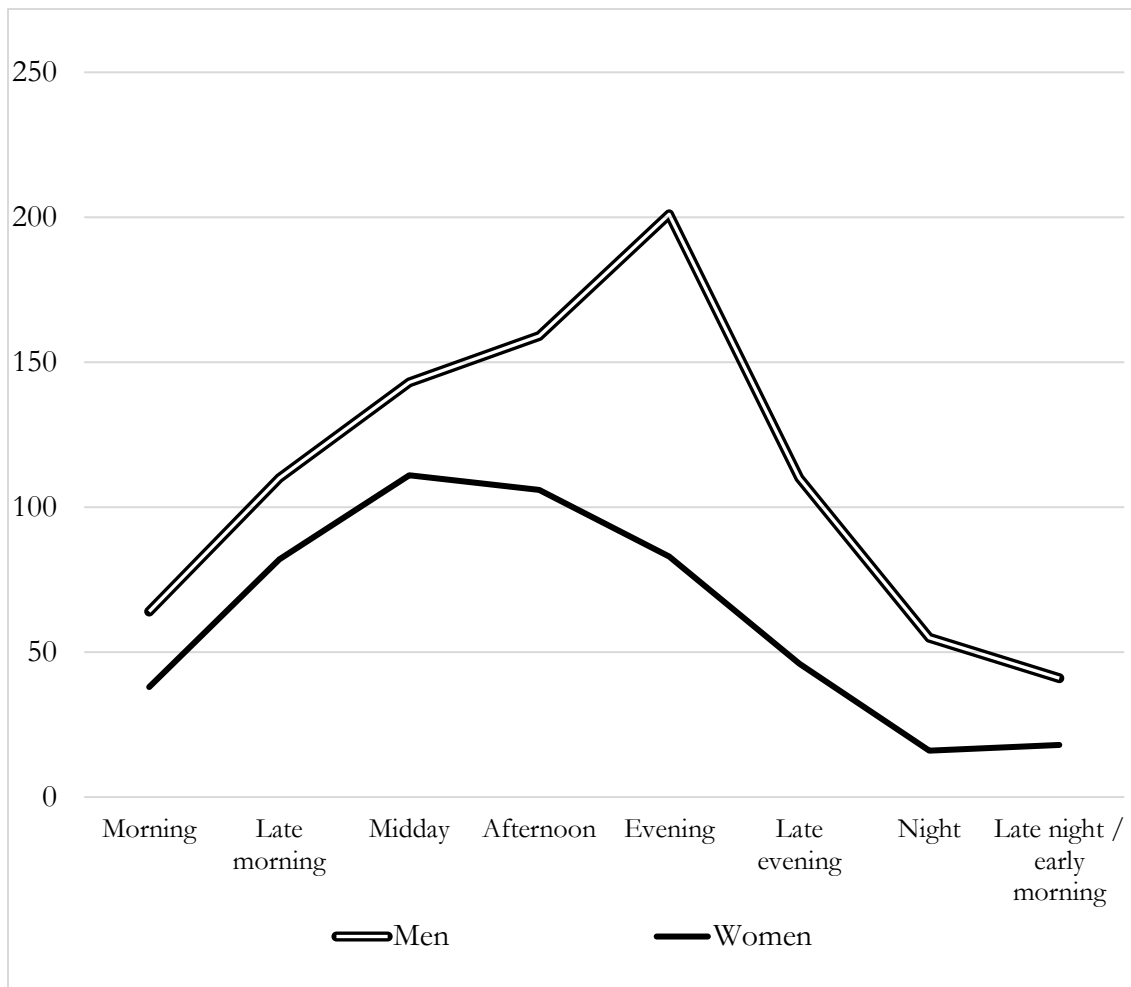


Table 4. Timeslots and their corresponding times

Timeslot	Time
Morning	6.00 - 08.59
Late morning	9.00 - 11.59
Midday	12.00 - 14.59
Afternoon	15.00 - 17.59
Evening	18.00 - 20.59
Late evening	21.00 - 23.59
Night	00.00 - 2.59
Late night / early morning	3.00 - 5.59

Figure 2. Number of observations by gender and timeslot depositions from 1742, 1750 and 1791. (n = 1400)



The average radius of movement is of course composed of the mobilities of a wide variety of people that varied at different times. Figure 1 shows the result of calculating the distances between the locations of 1,400 activities of people and their residences from the depositions from the eighteenth century, categorized by gender and time of day. In the course of their daily life, the distances that the inhabitants of Amsterdam were found away from their homes varied throughout the day. This was definitely also the case for the seventeenth century, but unfortunately the 1656 material was not as consistent with giving precise times, which is why it was not included in Figure 1 and Figure 2. The distance given includes the distance '0' for those found at home. The different years are taken together in Figure 1, because the broad pattern is very similar. (See Appendix Figure 1 for the different years visualized separately).

We find that men and women ventured out of their homes throughout the day and, although the figure shows differences in average distance according to gender, the overall results reveal a fairly similar cyclical pattern for women and men throughout the day. For men and women alike, the afternoon and evening were times of high mobility compared to the midday. Then, the late evening saw a decrease in distance for both men and women, but which was more pronounced for men. The night was again a time when rather mobile women and men were spotted, followed by the late-night and early-morning periods when women were spotted much closer to home. While the exact distances varied, we find, for men and women alike, a relatively ungendered daily pattern of higher mobility during the day. In broad strokes, the clearest difference between men and women is the respective distances they are found from their homes, while the distribution throughout the day is roughly similar. Although this finding confirms that men consistently enjoyed a larger radius during the whole day, women in Amsterdam certainly did not stick to their homes throughout the day.

Figure 2 shows this distribution, with a similar development for both women and men, of lower observations at the beginning and the end of the day, although the number of observations of men shows a steep rise in the afternoon and evening. So, while the high mobility for the evening shown in Figure 1 results from a high number of observations, relatively few observations yielded the higher distances seen in the cases of high mobility at night and late at night. Taken together, the two figures show how the evening and afternoon were times full of activity and relatively high mobility, while the night, in contrast, was a time of less activity but also of high mobility for the smaller number of people who went out. Indeed, a major part of the nocturnal observations showing high travel distances consisted of night watches patrolling the streets, which means that this particular

manifestation of high mobility represents a specialized subgroup's mobility rather than high mobility at night in general. The evening and afternoon, then, saw many more activities pursued by a much more diverse group of women and men of varying occupations. A maidservant strolled with her suitor; weighing-house porters socialized after work; a group of two men and one woman inspected a pig's carcass to determine whether this particular specimen had been taxed.²⁴ These examples suggest the sorts of activities taking place throughout the city that carried men and women far from their doorsteps. Some descriptions are quite detailed, though in many other instances only a limited account of a more passive activity can be made, as in 'present in an alehouse' or 'witnessing'. Such cases, though of limited use to the study of actual activities, nonetheless enrich the general pattern of overall endeavours, as they still provide us with a scope of mobility.

Comparison of Figure 1 and Figure 2 also shows that the sharp decrease in both women's and men's mobility during the late evening is not the result of a lack of observations: the number of observations are becoming less than in the evening, but still higher than other early and late timeslots. There was no lack of activities and interactions in that timeframe; rather, these reported activities took place closer to home or at home. Interestingly, many more people were reported to be at home from 9 p.m. to after midnight, when the specialized high night and late-night mobility again changes the picture. The average distances women travelled also show a decrease from 9 p.m. onwards, but this decline is relatively less pronounced because the earlier distances had been lower to begin with. The data suggest that 9 p.m. is the start of a period of relative inactivity and immobility for men, or at least is the point when immobile men come into view.

This difference in mobility after 9 p.m. cannot be seen separately from the closing of the city gates. A sweeping shift in mobility within the city was the result of factors regulating mobility from outside the city: One of the most crucial events to structure daily routines was the opening and closing of the eight gates and twenty-one port poles (*bomen*) through which entry into the city was regulated. One was reminded every day that urban life was life in a gated society through the ringing, every morning, of a gate bell and a pole bell, and by a captain, lieutenant, or a standard-bearer bringing the

²⁴ NL-AsdSAA, Notarissen (5075), inv. nr. 13131, CS1750, scan 358, 362; NL-AsdSAA, Notarissen (5075), inv. nr. 11735, SF1742, scan 294.

gates' keys from one of the city's mayors to the gatehouses.²⁵ The gate clock rang again to warn everyone from 9 p.m. to 9:30 of the gates' closure at the latter time, after which the keys of the locked gates were brought back to one of the mayors.²⁶ An ordinance from 1626 stipulates that 'anyone coming in or out of the gates of this city in the evening has to pay a *stuijver* for having it opened',²⁷ which suggests a period of transition between the gates being freely accessible and fully closed, and it seems likely that this period occurred during the ringing of the gate clock. And we find evidence of such a rule being in practice in 1750, because at 9 p.m. on March 17 two gate watchers at the Weteringspoort were threatened, pushed, and struck with rocks when they refused to allow four men to pass through the gate with payment of only half the gate fee of one *stuijver* per person.²⁸

Official regulations and the city's material structure in the form of city walls and gates thus left a strong imprint on the pattern of mobility. Although the gates and poles were relevant for the (timing of) people's movements in and out of the city, the gate clock also set the pace for a larger part of regulated and institutional life within Amsterdam. Numerous regulations concerning taxable goods, markets, auctions, and most city offices (*stadambten*) were required to be in tune with the gate bell and pole bell in one way or another. In the terms of Hägerstrand's time-geography, such alignments would be called authority constraints.²⁹ As the gates opened, people took their positions in weighing-houses and marketplaces as commercial life commenced for the day. Other regulations were explicitly synchronized with the closing of the gates, such as a regulation from 1612, which remained in force until at least 1747, concerning the work of sleigh men that ordered the inhabitants of the Halsteeg (a relatively narrow alley that was an important passageway to the central Dam square and the meat and fish markets) to clean the gutters a half hour after the gate clock had sounded.³⁰ This example shows how commercial activity and the daily transporting of goods were closely linked to the sounding of the gate clock, because only after it sounded did it become possible to clean the

²⁵ Hermanus Noordkerk, *Handvesten; ofte privilegien ende octroyen mitsgaders willekeuren, costuimen, ordonnantien en handelingen der stad Amstelredam* (Amsterdam: Hendrik van Waesberge, Salomon Schouten and Petrus Schouten, 1748), 837. The gates opened at a fixed time that varied seasonally. See Noordkerk, *Handvesten* (1748), 826.

²⁶ Noordkerk, *Handvesten* (1748), 837; Hermanus Noordkerk, *Vervolg van de Handvesten; ofte privilegien ende octroyen mitsgaders willekeuren, costuimen, ordonnantien en handelingen der stad Amstelredam* (Amsterdam, wed. S. Schouten en Zoon, 1755), 33.

²⁷ Noordkerk, *Handvesten* (1748), 706.

²⁸ NL-AsdSAA, Notarissen (5075), inv. nr. 13131, CS1750, scan 311.

²⁹ Rob Sullivan, *The Geography of the Everyday: Toward an Understanding of the Given* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2017), 31–32.

³⁰ Noordkerk, *Handvesten* (1748), 1086.

gutters, as markets closed and people returned home. At night, the streetscape utterly changed from 10 p.m. onwards, as rattle guards who called out the hour and the half-hour began patrolling the streets, warning of fire and checking whether people had locked their doors. The ringing of the gate bell at 9 p.m. announced a moment of transition from one version of the city to another. A telling example of this transition is the case of Elisabeth Landwaerd and Marritje Franse, who together fled for a woman who had assaulted and had followed them both between 5 and 5:30 p.m. They took refuge in a cellar and asked permission to ‘wait there even up to 10 p.m. to be able to securely walk home with the guards.’³¹

The institutional framework of time as sketched shows a complex relation to gender. The drop in mobility in the late evening of men was less extreme for women. Women’s smaller numbers in certain official city jobs and their exclusion from others could mean that they were less influenced by official regulations across the board. At the same time, the system may have been more flexible in practice than in theory. As we will also see in Chapter 3, many women also worked in regulated trades, on markets and held public jobs. Van den Heuvel has shown how between 1744 and 1813 three-quarters of the eel market vendors were women, who must thus also have been influenced by the institutional rhythm of mobility.³² In certain cases, women accompany the men who possess official job titles, doing the same or similar work with an analogous exercise of mobility, though the job title was lacking. To illustrate: although the rattle guards might seem to exemplify a surveillance system of typically male authority and control over public order, we find the rattle guard and cart man, Pieter Aarnouts, patrolling the streets at night at 01.30, accompanied by Barendje Hardwijken, his wife. Her work, which can be traced because she appeared as a witness, was carried out without any occupation title (her husband in fact had *two* occupation titles). This reiterates what research into the gendered nature of work has stressed: the work activities captured via occupation titles tend to show the work of men but leave women in the background.³³ Yet in fact, many male

³¹ NL-AsdSAA, inv. nr. 11735, SF1742, scan 375. Original text: ‘daer liever wilde wagten al was het tot thien uuren om als dan tot haar securiteit met de wagt na huijs te kunnen gaen.’

³² Van den Heuvel, *Women and Entrepreneurship*, 117.

³³ Ariadne Schmidt, “The Profits of Unpaid Work. ‘Assisting Labour’ of Women in the Early Modern Urban Dutch Economy,” *The History of the Family* 19, no. 3 (July 3, 2014): 303–6; Jane Humphries and Carmen Sarasúa, “Off the Record: Reconstructing Women’s Labor Force Participation in the European Past,” *Feminist Economics* 18, no. 4 (October 1, 2012): 39–67; Jonas Lindström, Rosemarie Fiebranz, and Göran Rydén, “The Diversity of Work,” in *Making a Living, Making a Difference: Gender and Work in Early Modern European Society*, ed. Maria Ågren (New York: Oxford University Press, 2017), 26; Jane Whittle, “Enterprising Widows and Active Wives: Women’s Unpaid Work in the Household Economy of Early Modern England,” *History of the Family* 19, no. 3 (September 2014): 283.

public servants relied on the labour of their wives, and in broader terms, early modern state administration relied on spousal cooperation.³⁴ Women operating within and on the margins of the institutional framework may thus be less visible in the public record than they would have been in everyday practice, as their work was more often taken for granted in the prevailing logic of household order. But it would be wrong to take the instance of Barendje and Pieter and conclude that high mobility at night was ungendered. Their case rather shows that work could be a constitutive factor for mobility and that gender and household relations were relevant preconditions for work. A woman who performed assistive labour for a highly mobile rattle guard could then also be mobile. The main exception to this system of assisting were the midwives, who were much more mobile on their own terms, also during the night: One example of the 1656 cases that could not be used because an exact time was not given is that of sworn midwife Aefjen Huijberts. She lived on the Nieuwzijds Achterburgwal and assisted with a nightly childbirth in the Tuindwarsstraat in the Jordaan, roughly a kilometer away.³⁵

The aggregate of mobilities is useful as an overview and as a means to recognize patterns, but it is hard to make conclusions about something like ‘typical’ male or female mobility because such assessments do not do justice to the diversity of individual practice. We have already seen before that if we remove all observations where incidents took place in the home (and the distance was 0), the gendered difference diminishes. Figure 3 shows how this works out when comparing times throughout the day, and it shows that it is especially the case in the morning, afternoon, evening and late evening. During these timeslots the women who did go out were almost as mobile as men, venturing far afield in the city and well beyond the streets where they lived. No one type of activity stands out; rather, the examples of these more mobile women are diverse. We see women making social visits on their own or visiting taverns. Some were assisting their husbands or other household members, such as the wife of rattle guard Marte Vasterman. After he had been in a fight in tavern and left, he returned with his wife, his father, and his brother-in-law. Similarly, the wife of Jan Molenaar helped her husband drag a presumed thief through the streets to their house. A final example concerns the wife of Andries Eerhard, who went to the office of the meat tax collectors for an official document for a lamb, insulting all the tax officials she encountered.

³⁴ Maria Ågren, *The State as Master: Gender, State Formation and Commercialisation in Urban Sweden, 1650-1780* (Manchester: University Press, 2017), 115.

³⁵ NL-AsdSAA, Schout en Schepenen (5061), inv. nr. 267, Attestatieboek, 105. For more on the midwives, see Chapter 3.

Figure 3. Average distance in meters between residence and event locations by timeslot and gender from depositions from 1742, 1750 and 1791, where the distance of 0 meters was excluded. (n = 712)

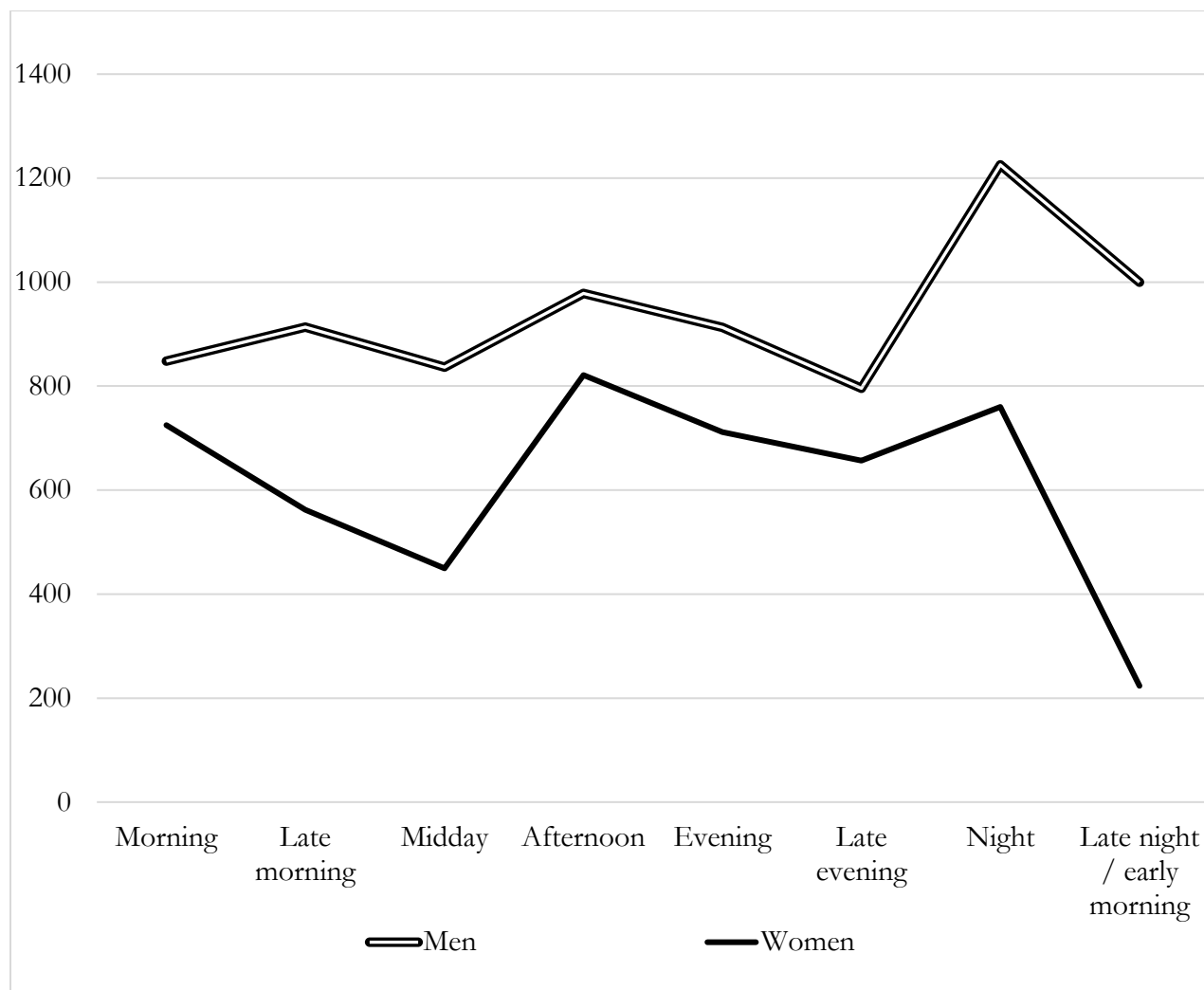


Table 5. Women’s average distance in meters between residence and event locations by marital status from depositions from 1742, 1750 and 1791

	With ‘0’ meters included		Without ‘0’ meters	
	Meters	n	Meters	n
Married	216	246	747	75
Unmarried or Unknown	206	172	611	59
Widowed	148	49	383	19

The above already showed that married women were certainly not sticking to their homes. In contrast to the marital theory that prescribed domesticity for married women, Table 5 shows that

married women in the depositions were found with higher mobilities than unmarried women.³⁶ One of the women with some of the highest mobilities woman was Jansje de Graaf, who lived on the island of Wittenburg on the outskirts of the city, but worked as cleaner in an inn on the Nieuwendijk.³⁷ Another highly mobile married woman went unnamed, but was described as ‘wife of Jan de Waal.’ She assisted her husband together with two other unnamed women in attacking a cheese trader. This trader had earlier that day on the authority of the seller’s guild (‘Kleinkramersgilde’) confiscated a basket with cheese that Jan de Waal was selling illegally on the street.³⁸ Jan de Waal and his wife lived on the Brouwersgracht and walked all the way across the city to the Reguliersgracht to seek out and harass this cheese trader, which was at least 2 and up to 3 kilometers. Many of the married women in these examples were depicted only as ‘wife of’ rather than having their full names recorded in the notarial depositions. The early modern legal viewpoint rendered these women relatively invisible because their husbands bore the most legal responsibility in these matters. Still, their actions speak loudly and their activities carried them to various places throughout the city.

Mobility and the neighbourhood

On Thursday, 4 February 1740, between 7:00 and 7:30 p.m., two men walked into a tavern on the island Marken, near Rapenburg. The tavern-keepers, a husband and wife, later testified that they ‘could see from their posture’ that the pair ‘were very drunk.’ The men in question, Arend Jansze and Pieter van Bemmelen (known on the streets as *Lange Piet* or ‘Long Pete’), ordered beers and began talking: ‘Arend Jansze said that within two years, the daughter of Pieter van Bemmelen would be stronger and smarter than the wife of Pieter van Bemmelen, which Pieter van Bemmelen objected to, saying that his wife was as capable of working as the best woman in the neighbourhood, as far as twenty houses.’ To which Arend Jansze testily replied: ‘Compared to how my wife can make a living, your wife is worthless.’³⁹

³⁶ The marital status of married and widowed women was recorded rather consistently, especially when women testified but also when they were suspects or victims. We can thus safely assume that most of the women whose marital status was not given were unmarried. It may still be the case that a few of the women whose marital status was unknown were actually married, but the underreporting is nothing like that of men: 89% of the men had no clear marital status and only 10% of them could be identified as being married, often only because their wives were also named in the same document.

³⁷ NL-AsdSAA, Notarissen (5075), inv. nr. 17978, LB1791, scan 95.

³⁸ NL-AsdSAA, Notarissen (5075), inv. nr. 17978, LB1791, scan 191.

³⁹ NL-AsdSAA, Notarissen (5075), inv. nr. 11733, Salomon de Fremeri 1740, scan 75. Original text: ‘Den persoon van Arend Jansze heeft gezegt dat binnen twee jaeren de zelve dogter van Pieter van Bemmelen voornoemt desselfs huisvrouw in kragten en verstand zoude te booven gaan, dat van den persoon van Pieter van Bemmelen wierdt

Many such depositions include similar stories of drunk men turning violent, a pattern which, however relevant it may be to all sorts of questions concerning violence and masculinity, is not what interests us here. This deposition is remarkable for our purposes because of the conversation that serves as prelude to the violence that prompted the episode to be documented: First, it shows two men taking a certain pride in the strength and intelligence displayed by the women in their respective households and directly linking these qualities to the wife's ability to bring in income for the household.⁴⁰ Second, it presents us with the conceptual framework that these men themselves used to make sense of the built and social environment around them, in a way that even quantifies the geographical scope of 'the neighbourhood' (i.e. 'twenty houses'). We can use this scope as a relevant measure in the calculus of everyday mobility.

The neighbourhood is a vital framework of everyday urban life that directly relates to mobility. A strong rootedness among neighbours may have lessened the incentives to make use of the whole city and be mobile. All over urban Europe, the neighbourhood in one form or another formed a crucial point of reference for everyday life for women and men.⁴¹ Especially for women, historians have stressed the neighbourhood's importance in the social and moral everyday networks,⁴² and 'women could possess considerable influence within the neighbourhood, both individually or collectively, despite their formal exclusion from public life.'⁴³ Yet, with regard to Amsterdam, the neighbourhood remains an elusive entity for historians. Unlike many other Dutch cities, Amsterdam never possessed formal corporative institutions for its neighbourhoods and thus there are no early modern neighbourhood archives. Quartermasters (*wijkmeesters*) oversaw the distribution of poverty relief in their quarter, but unlike in Leiden and Haarlem, there was no so-called *gebuurte* present as an institution, whose leaders partook in common meals and surveyed neighbourhood order. Yet these

tegengesproken voegende daer bij dat zijn huijsvrouw zoo bequam was om te werken als de beste vrouw in de buurt als was het twintig huijzen ver; dat den persoon van Arend Jansze daer op heeft gezegd, wat zou uw vrouw weesen? Uw vrouw is maer een lor tegens mijn vrouw om de kost te winnen.'

⁴⁰ The Dutch phrase used is *kost the winnen*, here translated as 'making a living'. A *kostwinner* is a breadwinner or provider, but since it carries associations with the later male breadwinner model, I have translated it this way to avoid anachronism.

⁴¹ Cf. Capp, *When Gossips Meet*; David Garrioch and Mark Peel, "Introduction: The Social History of Urban Neighborhoods," *Journal of Urban History* 32, no. 5 (July 1, 2006): 663–76.

⁴² Gowing, "The Freedom of the Streets," 137; Hubbard, *City Women*, 148–52.

⁴³ Capp, *When Gossips Meet*, 266.

missing elements do not mean that neighbourhood life did not exist in Amsterdam or that ‘the neighbourhood’ was not a social entity that people referred to and experienced as a social and spatial frame of reference.⁴⁴ These neighbourhoods may have overlapped with others, may have been bigger or smaller, or there may not even have been consensus among neighbours what exactly their neighbourhood was. Because of this complexity, it becomes more pressing to delve into what people considered their neighbourhood to be and how this conception affected their daily mobility.

Historians who have written about the neighbourhood have often focused on the decline in its everyday importance, especially in and around the long eighteenth century. Catherina Lis and Hugo Soly, presenting an overview of theories arguing that neighbourhood life deteriorated over the course of the early modern period, have raised the objection that these narratives of diminishing influence often spend too little time defining the neighbourhood and have taken for granted its social and spatial dimensions. Mobility plays an interesting role here because, in what Lis and Soly have called a ‘grab-bag of economical, demographical, social, political and cultural-mental factors’ causing the neighbourhood to decrease in importance, mobility often emerged as both cause and effect.⁴⁵ Either increasing mobility was responsible for the deterioration of social ties, or deteriorated social ties heightened the need for increased mobility. To complicate matters, Lis and Soly conclude that social contacts with neighbours were more likely to be stronger when mobility increased and when there were no alternative sites of solidarity. Without proffering conclusions on the exact relation between neighbourhood life and gendered mobility, one can at least say that an intricate relation between the two phenomena exists and has existed, and that, for different cities and different periods, we should continue asking, ‘What *is* a neighbourhood?’

However, there is also a methodological reason relevant to mobility, for defining in greater detail what a neighbourhood was. The neighbourhood, district, or parish has often functioned as a geographical entity that can help us make sense of mobility. Administrative district boundaries or parishes can be a unit of measurement of intra-urban mobility. If individuals often showed up

⁴⁴ Herman Roodenburg, “Naar een etnografie van de vroegmoderne stad: De ‘Gebuyrten’ in Leiden en Den Haag,” in *Cultuur en maatschappij in Nederland 1500-1850: een historisch-antropologisch perspectief*, ed. Peter te Boekhorst, Peter Burke, and Willem Frijhoff (Meppel: Boom / Open universiteit, 1992), 221.

⁴⁵ Hugo Soly and Catherina Lis, “Beter een goede buur dan een verre vriend: buurschap en buurtleven in Westeuropese steden aan het eind van het Ancien Régime,” in *De Kracht der Zwakken. Studies over arbeid en arbeidersbeweging in het verleden*, ed. Boudien de Vries and Erik Nijhof (Amsterdam: Stichting Beheer Internationaal Instituut voor Sociale Geschiedenis, 1992), 87–89.

beyond the boundaries of their own neighbourhood, district, or parish, this would indicate a wider scope of mobility and an extension of social and economic networks; it would point to how people routinely crossed neighbourhood boundaries. Using parishes, districts, or neighbourhoods in this way can be useful given the lack of more specific spatial details, as the studies of Shoemaker and Hardgrave have convincingly shown.⁴⁶ The notarial material available for Amsterdam used for this chapter confront us with precisely the opposite problem. There is a wealth of spatial detail in depositions, but the lack of official districts and the post-Reformation decline of the parish as a useful spatial boundary result in an absence of spatial proxies to assess people's movements. The nearest substitute would be the sixty civil militia duty districts (*burgerwijken*), but as Roodenburg has argued, it is unlikely that people identified with such districts whose 'division was somewhat arbitrary-bureaucratic.'⁴⁷ These districts were designed so that the captains of the militia could be recruited from the more affluent and elite-occupied canal belt, while the rank and file would be drawn from the districts lying farther afield. The districts were thus explicitly designed with the crossing of social boundaries and networks in mind.

Instead of this bureaucratic *nijk* (district), many people in the depositions routinely mention the often more socially defined entity *buurt* (neighbourhood). To find out more about the boundaries of the *buurt*, I surveyed the complete transcriptions of the notarial depositions from 1742 and 1750 used for the database and supplemented these accounts with computer-generated transcriptions of depositions for the chief officer between 1739 and 1748.⁴⁸ The results revealed variety in the use of the concept in social and spatial practice. In some depositions, neighbours attested to the honesty or dishonesty of current and former neighbours. It was clear that they closely surveilled each other, as in one case, someone threatened 'I will wreck you when I get you outside the neighbourhood.'⁴⁹ Sometimes the neighbourhood was used to refer to an abstraction of the collective group of neighbours, such as 'the rumour arose in the neighbourhood that someone had jumped in the

⁴⁶ Hardgrave, "Parishes and Patriarchy"; Shoemaker, "Gendered Spaces."

⁴⁷ Roodenburg, "Naar een etnografie van de vroegmoderne stad," 223.

⁴⁸ These transcriptions were made with the use of the Transkribus software, developed by the Digitisation and Digital Preservation group of the University of Innsbruck. The transcriptions of the material from 1742 were used to train a model to recognize the handwriting of Salomon de Fremeri and his clerks. The results were 169 hits of the word *buurt* and similar varieties of spelling. The documents employed for this are all found under NL-AsdSAA, Notarissen (5075), with inventory numbers: 11733, 11734, 11735, 11736, 11737, 11738, 11739, 11740, 11741.

⁴⁹ NL-AsdSAA, Notarissen (5075), inv. nr. 11735, SF1742, scan 277. Original text: 'zeggende als ik je buiten de buurt krijg zal ik je mollen'

water⁵⁰ or ‘she had announced her maltreatment to the neighbourhood.’⁵¹ Often witnesses mentioned that they knew neighbours by name or by face; and most often, the neighbourhood functioned as a general location to describe where people lived or had been present, in which case further specification of an exact location was deemed unnecessary. For example, the witness Gerret Rogge had a conflict with his neighbour, who was then described as: ‘Zeger ... skipper in sand known by the witness and living in the same neighbourhood, below the person of Jan Put retailer in coffee and tea’⁵² For the chief officer’s investigations, knowing that a person lived in the neighbourhood of another person whose residence was known in greater detail was sufficient to find that person.

These factors above make it very unlikely that the neighbourhoods were very large, and they were probably smaller and more informally defined than the *burgervijken*. They spanned a few blocks of houses, alleys, and streets. In some cases, especially in those of the very long streets and canals, one street may have covered several neighbourhoods. The *buurt* was the immediate area surrounding one’s house and was an important site of daily life. It was a prepositional entity that was linked specific to houses and locations, but its borders were flexible. In that sense, the *buurt* seems similar to what Nicholas Eckstein called the ‘micro-neighbourhood,’ urban space identified relationally by ‘surrounding buildings, people, features, and spaces.’⁵³ This understanding of the neighbourhood as flexible and small-scale entity also resonates with Pieter van Bremmelen’s definition of twenty houses, cited at the start of this section. His definition is supported from research on another city. A plan from 1577 for the city of Leiden strengthens the idea of neighbourhood life stretching approximately to an area covering twenty houses, since the city proposed reorganizing the neighbourhood associations (*gebuyrten*) so that they would stretch from sixteen to twenty-four houses.⁵⁴ If we adopt this number of twenty houses, take ten randomized points throughout the city, and draw ten lines as far as the nearest twenty houses on the basis of Gerrit de Broen’s map, then

⁵⁰ NL-AsdSAA, Notarissen (5075), inv. nr. 11738, Salomon de Fremeri 1745, scan 282. Original text: ‘in hun buurt het gerugt ontstond dat op de Anjelijsgrajt iemand in het water was gesprongen’

⁵¹ NL-AsdSAA, Notarissen (5075), inv. nr. 11740, Salomon de Fremeri 1747, scan 300. Original text: ‘welke mishandeling aen haer eerste get zij get. daedlijk in de buurt bekend maekte.’

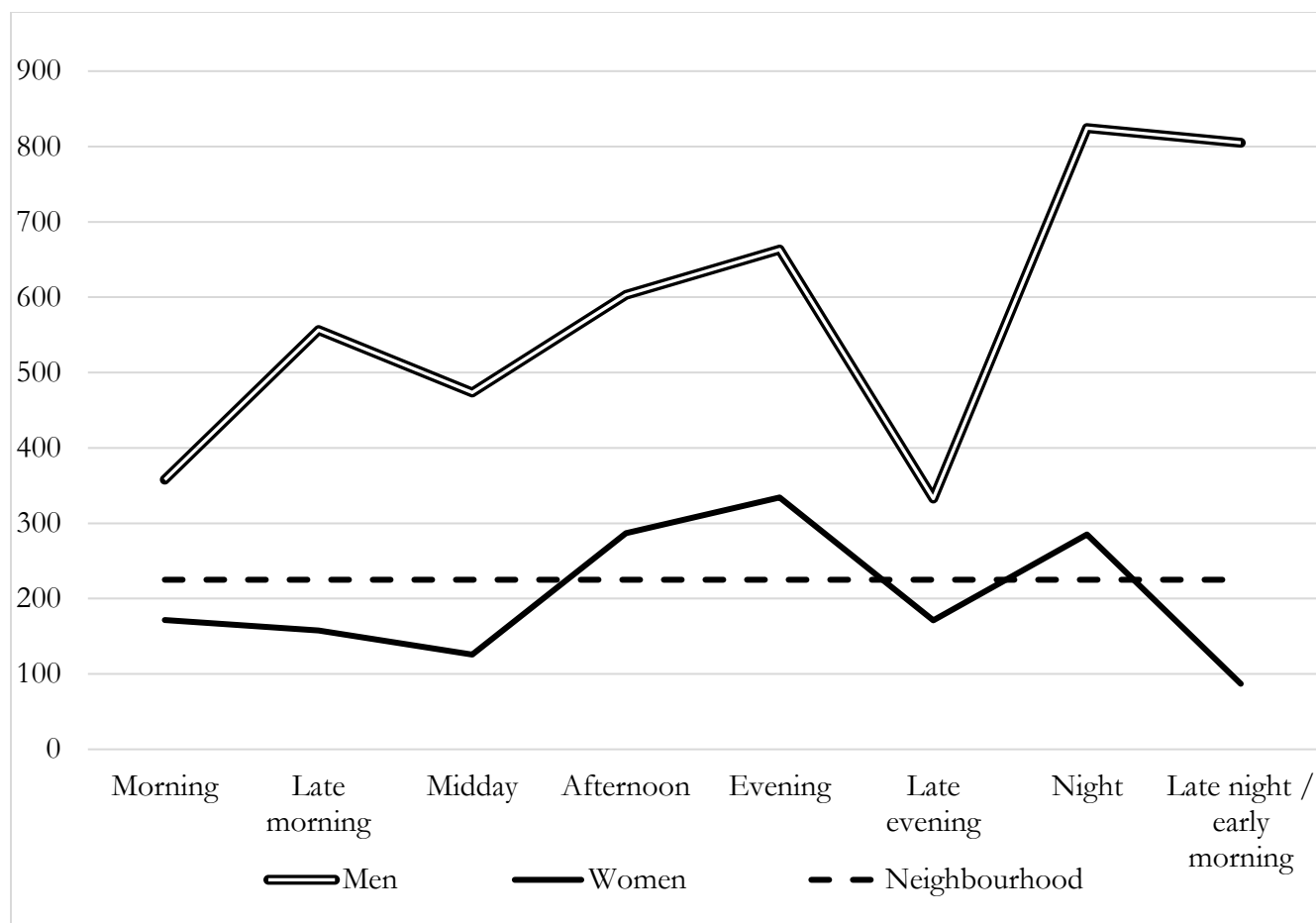
⁵² NL-AsdSAA, Notarissen (5075), inv. nr. 11735, SF1742, scan 82. ‘Zeger ... Zandschipper hem get wel bekend woonende in zijn get buurt onder den persoon van Jan Put Coffij en Thee verkooper’

⁵³ Eckstein, “Prepositional City,” 1243.

⁵⁴ Roodenburg, “Naar een etnografie van de vroegmoderne stad,” 224.

ten houses in Amsterdam cover an average distance of 223.67 meters.⁵⁵ So instead of using administrative boundaries, I propose that a distance of roughly 225 meters can be an imperfect but workable proxy for what was considered the neighbourhood immediately surrounding one's home. Of course, this still considers the neighbourhood as a flexible entity, but the estimate of 225 meters functions as a proxy distance to compensate for the lack of usable alternative spatial definitions.

Figure 4. Average distance in meters between residence and event locations by timeslot and gender from depositions from 1742, 1750 and 1791 (n = 1400), with the average scope of the neighbourhood added



When we add this proxy distance for the neighbourhood to the graph presented earlier, as is done in Figure 4, it becomes clear that the fluctuations in women's mobility cross this abstract neighbourhood boundary throughout the day. Although the afternoon and evening peak of

⁵⁵ The distances in meters are 129, 135, 163, 213, 228, 229, 244, 264, 264 and 273, making the median 228.5. NL-AsdSAA, Splitgerber (10001), inv. nr. 26, De Broen.

women's mobility indicates the time when they were often found far from their neighbourhoods, women remained closer to the neighbourhood boundary than men did throughout the day. This tendency corresponds to the idea that the area around their neighbourhood was an important domain for women's everyday mobility – not as a structure in which they were strictly confined, but rather as the environment within which a good deal of everyday interaction took place. Women's activities occurred outside their homes but more often in areas that remained within the bounds of what we have taken as a proxy for the neighbourhood. It was not the case that women were physically or legally obstructed in their movements, or in the terms of time-geography: they were not limited by gendered capability constraints or authority constraints. What is more likely is that social life and interaction with neighbours led to the results shown above, factors called coupling constraints by time-geographers.⁵⁶ Men, in contrast, were more often found much farther away from the neighbourhoods where they lived. This stands in stark contrast to Shoemaker's findings for London, where especially middle- and lower-class women were found to have 'wider geographical horizons than men.'⁵⁷

Women's mobility being more closely centred around the *buurt* may have something to do with the nature of the source material itself. In an English context, Voth has argued that the low number of women as witnesses in his dataset based on the Old Bailey resulted from it being likely that 'men were ... seen as better witnesses.'⁵⁸ Although, with women comprising 31 percent, the eighteenth-century notarial depositions used for my dataset yield a better relative representation of women than Voth's dataset does, there would have to be at least a majority of women if it were truly the case that witness selection was completely neutral and in line with demographic trends.⁵⁹ The question, then, is to what extent the relative immobility of women is not partially the result of normative ideals, in the sense that women's testimonies were deemed stronger when they concerned matters that happened in their own neighbourhoods or near their own homes. If those women were deemed more suitable as witnesses than others were, the big question is whether proximity to one's residential location was itself a factor in the politics of witness selection and whether those standards were gendered. In other words, if a woman's statement as a witness was deemed more valuable if it

⁵⁶ Sullivan, *The Geography of the Everyday*, 26–32.

⁵⁷ Shoemaker, "Gendered Spaces," 163.

⁵⁸ Voth, *Time and Work in England*, 34.

⁵⁹ Van de Pol, *Het Amsterdams boerdom*, 106–11.

concerned matters that had happened in her own neighbourhood, it logically follows that the results would show more women within their own neighbourhoods and districts.

My judgement is that a combination of factors results in the fact that the women that we are seeing are less mobile than men. The women that come into view through the depositions for the chief officer are indeed relatively rooted in their neighbourhoods, but that is not necessarily the result of a strict spatial ideology of confinement. The many accounts from women who had been at home and in their neighbourhood when a specific conflict had taken place can also be read as a reflection of a social practice that gave women an important role in the neighbourhood.⁶⁰ If the surveillance system structurally relied on the gazes and voices of neighbourhood women, this meant that the authorities took seriously the social role and power of women within their neighbourhoods, which would have been contingent with their lower mobility. Yet, the fact that married women have still showed up as very mobile suggests that it was not a matter of a spatial ideology of marital domesticity, but rather suggests that practical matters of proximity to the household and neighbourhood life played a more important role. This of course leaves open the possibility that there may have been more mobile women whose perspectives are not found in the depositions, but also shows that lower mobility is not the same as immobility or confinement. In the next chapter, we will delve deeper into the micro-mobilities of households and neighbourhoods. But first, we are rather scaling up: from neighbourhood to district.

Mobility, morphology and the district

Besides the mobility in and around the neighbourhood, we have also seen how people undertook projects throughout the city, far from their homes and neighbourhoods. Shoemaker, though he found that early modern Londoners frequently moved outside their parish and neighbourhood, also observed that ‘on the whole, they did not move very far: in general, Londoners’ movements were confined to the districts in which they lived.’⁶¹ Here, the district emerges as a larger entity, which can be understood via the conceptual approach taken by Kevin Lynch, a pioneer of mental mapping. Lynch divided the city into paths, edges, districts, nodes, and landmarks.⁶² He writes: ‘Districts are the medium-to-large sections of the city, conceived of as having two-dimensional extent, which the observer mentally enters “inside of,” and which are recognizable as having some common,

⁶⁰ Cf. Capp, *When Gossips Meet*, 10–33.

⁶¹ Shoemaker, “Gendered Spaces,” 161.

⁶² Kevin Lynch, *The Image of the City* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1960), 47–48.

identifying character. (...) Most people structure their city to some extent in this way, with individual differences as to whether paths or districts are the dominant elements. It seems to depend not only upon the individual but also upon the given city.⁶³ Of course, there may be some disagreement over the exact dimensions, but Lynch sees the public image of the city as ‘the overlap of many individual images’. ‘Districts have various kinds of boundaries. Some are hard, definite, precise. (...) Other boundaries may be soft or uncertain.’⁶⁴

Amsterdam’s expansions offer the best way to find such districts that are recognizable and possess a shared character. When we turn to earlier studies that divided the city in order to compare district demographics, such as Herman Diederiks’ (ten districts) or Clé Lesger’s (thirteen districts), we find that these divisions are both roughly based on the city expansions. Such divisions, based on the city’s material development, make sense for these demographic comparisons but certainly do not seamlessly correspond to districts that can be said to be distinct, unambiguous social units.⁶⁵ The district, understood as a material and physical entity, intersects with more spatially uncertain social entities such as the neighbourhood or ‘community.’ Especially within in the context of seventeenth-century migrants, studies investigating networks of people and their communities have given considerable attention to (maritime) communities that were found to be clustered around specific areas, such as Norwegian sailors in the Lastage and Afro-Atlantic migrants around the Sint Antoniepoort.⁶⁶ Such spatial boundaries were of course not strict demarcations but instead were blurry and overlapped with other ‘mental maps’ of the city. Rather than using ‘community’, taking the physical and material expansions of the city as a Lynchian ‘district’ allows us to more precisely compare paths as they made their way through the city. From the perspective that regards the city as a physical environment, district categorization on the basis of the city expansions works rather well and often follows logical boundaries based on the canal and street pattern. While we now know that the *buurt* as it was referred to in depositions was probably a smaller area than such districts, it is very

⁶³ Lynch, *The Image of the City*, 47.

⁶⁴ Lynch, *The Image of the City*, 46, 69.

⁶⁵ Clé Lesger, “Migranten in Amsterdam in de achttiende eeuw. Residentiële spreiding en positie in de samenleving,” in *Jaarboek van het Genootschap Amstelodamum*, vol. 89, 1997, 43–68; Herman Diederiks, *Een stad in verval Amsterdam omstreeks 1800: demografisch, economisch, ruimtelijk* (Amsterdam: Historisch Seminarium van de Universiteit van Amsterdam, 1982), 268–364.

⁶⁶ Mark Ponte, “‘Al de swarten die hier ter stede comen’ Een Afro-Atlantische gemeenschap in zeventiende-eeuws Amsterdam,” *TSEG/ Low Countries Journal of Social and Economic History* 15, no. 4 (March 11, 2019): 33–62; Sølvi Sogner and Jelle van Lottum, “An Immigrant Community? Norwegian Sailors and Their Wives in 17th-Century Amsterdam,” *The History of the Family* 12, no. 3 (January 1, 2007): 153–68.

likely that in one's everyday orientation beyond the *buurt* there would be some notion of 'district' as it is used in a Lynchian mental map.

When looking at mobilities within the city at a larger scale beyond the neighbourhood, the morphology of the streets starts to play a larger role. Using a digital reconstruction of the street network and a Space Syntax analysis, Clé Lesger has demonstrated the influence of the city's morphology on accessibility. Lesger, studying the so-called to-movement potential of the street network, found that '[a]s far as connections and accessibility were concerned, the street network in the Jordaan was nothing short of a disaster.'⁶⁷ It was not only difficult to access from the city centre, but 'crossing the Jordaan itself was a problem.'⁶⁸ Prior to urban expansion, the Jordaan had been a suburban collection of ditches and pathways, and this structure was retained when the area was urbanized. The Space Syntax analysis also showed how (most parts of) the Jewish Quarter and the Eastern Islands were not easily accessible, especially compared to the highly accessible city centre. The limited access was of course due to the urban islands having fewer points of access, a characteristic which influenced both the experience and the practices of proximity.

The morphology of the city and the (non-)accessibility of districts has played a role in the way in which districts were experienced differently.⁶⁹ We know a considerable amount about the characteristics of certain districts, areas, and streets, such as those pertaining to social-economic segregation and the spatial distribution of certain occupations, and certain facets of neighbourhood status and experience have been inferred from those aspects, such as the status of the Jordaan.⁷⁰ Erika Kuijpers, for example, writes that 'the distribution of occupations and migrants over the different quarters partly determined the social status of neighbourhoods.(...) New areas like the Lastage and [the Jordaan] had a proletarian character from the very beginning.'⁷¹ Yet Kuijpers is

⁶⁷ Clé Lesger, *Shopping Spaces and the Urban Landscape in Early Modern Amsterdam, 1550-1850* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2020), 93.

⁶⁸ Lesger, *Shopping Spaces*, 93–94.

⁶⁹ Cf. Bébio Amaro, "Kaleidoscopic Spaces: Slices of Daily Life in Nineteenth-Century Edo," in *Daily Lives and Daily Routines in the Long Eighteenth Century*, ed. Gudrun Andersson and Jon Stobart (Routledge, 2021), 144–66.

⁷⁰ Diederiks, *Een stad in verval Amsterdam omstreeks 1800*, 268–364; Lesger, "Migranten in Amsterdam in de achttiende eeuw. Residentiële spreiding en positie in de samenleving"; Clé Lesger and Marco H. D. Van Leeuwen, "Residential Segregation from the Sixteenth to the Nineteenth Century: Evidence from the Netherlands," *The Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 42, no. 3 (2012): 333–69; Erika Kuijpers, *Migrantenstad: immigratie en sociale verbouwingen in 17e-eeuws Amsterdam*, (Hilversum: Verloren, 2005), 169–173; Jaap Evert Abrahamse, *Metropolis in the Making: A Planning History of Amsterdam in the Dutch Golden Age* (Brepols, 2019), 297–98. Also see: Gamze Saygi, "Employing Digital Tools in Historical Research: Bloemstraat Goes 3D," *The Freedom of the Streets*, June 23, 2020, <https://www.freedomofthestreets.org/blog/whybloemstraat>.

⁷¹ Kuijpers, *Migrantenstad*, 170.

careful not to equate such segregation with the formation of modern working-class districts: ‘It was not yet a matter of the sort of distinct working class or elite neighbourhoods that would come into existence after the industrialisation in the nineteenth century.’⁷² Interestingly, it was partially the early modern street pattern that has been seen as an influence on the establishment of working-class districts in the nineteenth century: Anne Petterson in her work on nineteenth-century popular nationalism described the then working-class districts of the Jordaan and the Eastern Islands as having distinctive identities: ‘Halfway through the nineteenth century, a feeling of community (*buurtgevoel*) was strongly present in the working-class districts of Amsterdam. This had to do not only with the social background of inhabitants or mutual dependence, but also with spatial limitations.’⁷³ This is especially noteworthy because the structure and form of Amsterdam’s street network around 1850 had remained more or less the same as it had been since the second half of the seventeenth century. If the morphological structure of the city was such a major factor in fostering working-class identity in the nineteenth century, it should also have exerted considerable influence from the second half of the seventeenth century onwards. It may not have had the dramatic formative effect on working-class identity that one finds in the nineteenth century, but nonetheless it must have influenced the everyday experience of proximity and distance. Social geographer H. Dijkhuis wrote that the ‘isolation of the Jordaan, which is not directly connected to the rest of the city, was further strengthened by the fact that it bordered the canal belt. (...) There was relatively little interaction between the inhabitants of the Jordaan and those of other districts.’⁷⁴ Either way, this not only supports an argument in favor of the feasibility of an expansion-based understanding of distinct ‘districts,’ but also provides a chance to check whether inaccessibility also led to immobility.

⁷² Kuijpers, *Migrantenstad*, 157.

⁷³ A. F. Petterson, “Eigenwijs vaderland : populair nationalisme in negentiende-eeuws Amsterdam” (PhD diss., Leiden University, 2017), 134–135. My translation.

⁷⁴ H. Tj. Dijkhuis, “De Jordaan: de ontwikkeling van een volkswijk in een grote stad,” *Economisch-Historisch Jaarboek. Bijdragen tot de Economische Geschiedenis van Nederland* 21 (1940): 7–8.

Figure 5. Visualization of the results of the Jordaan and the Jewish Quarter.



Using the depositional data and a district categorization based on the city's expansions, we can assess whether the activities and character of everyday life took people outside their districts. The tables in Appendix II show the results of a query of the FOSGUS database for residence locations of people whose event location was also known in 1742, 1750, and 1791, categorized by district. I have used the aforementioned district categorization by Lesger, which was roughly based on the city's expansions.⁷⁵ Map 6 on page 84 shows these districts and gives the average distances per district. The appendix tables and figures show how many people were found away from their residence location and how many of these people were found outside their district. Finally, the distances for people found away from their homes were calculated, and averages and medians are shown. Additional tables further specify the gendered differences.⁷⁶ Figure 5 visualizes this method and shows the paths of people whose residence was either in the Jordaan (upper map) or the Jewish Quarter (lower map).

The general overview of this data on mobility and the district tells us that more than half of the people that were found away from their home were also found outside of the district that they lived in. The movements of people in all districts really show a mobile city in which urban inhabitants not only frequently traversed the *buurt* directly outside their own residence, but also outside their districts. Once again, the data is richest for men, who are also showed with a higher mobility. Of course, rather unsurprisingly, the gendered view is the same as in the previous analysis of mobility in the context of the *buurt*: Women had a lower mobility while men ventured further into the city. I found some variations per district, but in every district men were on average found further away than women. In the Western Islands however, the difference in distances between men and women was the lowest and of the people who were found away from home, a higher percentage of the women was also found outside of the district, compared to the men. Yet, it is difficult to really pinpoint strong gendered differences, because categorizing by gender and district simultaneously substantially thins out the number of observations per category. However, taking all observations together without looking at gender as a category gives some useful insights in notable differences per district nonetheless. Both the relative number of people that were found outside of their districts and the distances that they travelled differ substantially per district.

⁷⁵ Lesger, "Migranten in Amsterdam in de achttiende eeuw. Residentiële spreiding en positie in de samenleving."

⁷⁶ The distances are higher than the averages used earlier in this chapter, since only people found away from their homes were included in the calculation of distances and medians.

As can be gathered from Appendix Table 5 and Appendix Table 6, in the Jordaan, a little less than half of the people found away from home were also found outside of the district. This is below the city-wide average, but is still a significant share of people. In that sense, it shows an area that is comparatively more secluded, but was not isolated at all. It supports what we would have expected based on Lesger's Space Syntax analysis and the district's aforementioned structure as an urbanized collection of ditches and pathways. The distances that people living in the Jordaan were found away from their house were rather similar to the city-wide distances.⁷⁷ So while inhabitants of the Jordaan were less likely to leave the district, they still travelled far when they did so. And of course, the lower accessibility of the street network also meant that average distances would be higher, as people would need to travel further to get to their destinations. Then, the Jewish Quarter was the most self-contained of all districts, as it had the lowest relative number of people found outside of the district, but that relative number was still a notable 43% of the people found away from their home. As for distances, the Jewish Quarter had the lowest of all of the districts.⁷⁸ These results show the Jordaan and the Jewish Quarter as fairly secluded districts that were certainly not truly isolated, but still more inwardly orientated than other districts.

So while the Jordaan and the Jewish Quarter may seem to confirm the argument that some neighbourhoods were more socially secluded because of the morphological structure of the city, the Eastern Islands do not adhere to the expectations raised by that argument: Even though it was the most physically secluded neighbourhood, 68% of the people found away from their homes were also found outside of their district. The distances that people were found away from their house were the highest of all districts.⁷⁹ Of course, because the district was physically sheltered from the rest of the city, moving outside of the districts automatically translated to higher distances. The major difference between Eastern Islands on the one hand and the Jordaan and Jewish Quarter on the other is probably that the Jordaan and the Jewish quarter were much more mixed-use and offered more services and institutions, combined with the highest population densities of the city, while the Eastern Islands was mainly industrial and residential and had the lowest population density but for the Plantage.⁸⁰ Thus, the Jordaan and the Jewish Quarter probably functioned as more self-contained

⁷⁷ The average was slightly higher and the median was slightly lower.

⁷⁸ Both the average and median distances were the lowest of all districts.

⁷⁹ Both average and median.

⁸⁰ Diederiks, *Een stad in verval Amsterdam omstreeks 1800*, 273-274, 286.

districts in which inhabitants had less of a need to venture into other neighbourhoods for specific goods or services. Lesger writes that especially the centre of the Jordaan, around the Nieuwe Leliestraat, saw a relatively large number of shops, which was also a destination for people that lived outside of the Jordaan.⁸¹ In the Jewish Quarter, there were not only shops that specifically catered the Jewish community, but also institutions such as synagogues and social institutions that organized family life such dowry and orphan confraternities, which must have strengthened the link between community and district.⁸² Adam Sutcliffe described this as a ‘fairly sharply demarcated zone of “Jewish space” (...) by no means exclusively Jewish or unwelcoming to non-Jews (...) interwoven into the city’s multi-ethnic urban flows, and yet dense and distinctive enough to define and sustain a powerful sense of neighborhood.’⁸³ While the inhabitants of the Jewish Quarter were less mobile, people from other districts regularly visited it. One of those cases of high distance mobility out of the Jordaan concerns Mietje Janssen and Anna Knies who lived in the Jordaan on the Laurierstraat and in the Anjeliersstraat. They were present in a coffee house in the Jewish Quarter at the Markensteeg, an alley that led from the Jodenbreestraat to the urban island Marken.⁸⁴

If the more mixed-use nature of the Jordaan and Jewish Quarter decreased the need for people to leave their district, this would also explain why the canal districts- which were the least differentiated districts - saw among the highest relative number of people leaving the district and some of the highest distances. In the Southern and the Northwestern Canal Belt, an exceptional 77% and 94% of all people found away from their homes were found outside of their district and both saw distances above average. The canal belt was built as mainly residential quarter, with the exception of the radial streets that were thoroughfares that connected it to other districts, where most of the districts’ shops were located.⁸⁵ A further explanation is also that many of the social-economic elites for which the residential area was built are underrepresented in the notarial attestations and that activities taking place on the canal belt itself were underreported as well. Many of the people that we see in this sample were the middle classes living on the accessible thoroughfares and the Prinsengracht, and they were more strongly oriented towards people and locations in other districts, even further increasing the likelihood of them appearing outside of the districts where they lived.

⁸¹ Lesger, *Shopping Spaces*, , 104.

⁸² Julia R. Lieberman, “Adolescence and the Period of Apprenticeship among the Western Sephardim in the Seventeenth Century,” *El Prezente. Studies in Sephardic Culture* 4 (December 2010): 12.

⁸³ Sutcliffe, “The Boundaries of Community,” 22.

⁸⁴ NL-AsdSAA, Notarissen (5075), inv. nr. 17978, LB1791, scan 124.

⁸⁵ Lesger, *Shopping Spaces*, 169.

Still, even if we take all of the above in account, we can say that the restricting functional profile of the canal belt had high mobility of its inhabitants as a result.

Other districts with an above average number of people crossing the districts were the Noordse Bos and the Botermarkt area. The Noordse Bos was most comparable to the Jordaan in the sense that it was a more mixed-use and population dense area, disconnected from the rest of the city because a major part of the canal belt laid between it. Yet it was smaller and unlike the Jordaan, it was better accessible and the thoroughfares into the canal belt over the Prinsengracht were directly connected to its streets. This may explain the higher number of people found outside of the district and supports the argument of morphological influence. The distances that people were found away from their homes were around average. Similarly, the Botermarkt area was a small area that was well-connected to many other districts. These two factors made it easy for its inhabitants to cross into other districts. The people that lived in these high-mobility districts moved further into the city more efficiently.

Turning towards the city centre, we again find different everyday mobility practices. Fewer people moved away from their home, but when they did so, they more easily left their districts. The number of people found away from their home in the first place was lower than average with 34% of the Old Side and 38% of the New Side. The number of people found outside of their districts in the two districts of the city centre is close to the city-wide average of 57%, with 59% for the Old Side and 54% for the New Side. However, a considerable portion of the district-leaving movements were from one of the city centre districts to another. If we would apply the same method to the city centre taken as a single district, the relative number of people leaving this combined district drops to 45%, just slightly above the lowest numbers reported, those for the Jewish Quarter.⁸⁶ Finally, the distances travelled in the city centre were below average, quite some below average for the Old Side and slightly under average for the New Side. This shows that residents of the city centre, which was the most mixed area of the city, in practice saw the least need to travel to other districts.

Comparing the above to Shoemaker's research on London, some interesting similarities and contrasts arise. Where he saw 'Londoners' movements (...) confined to the districts in which they lived, such as the west end, City or east end,' in Amsterdam this seems to be the case for the city centre and the Jewish Quarter, but not for all districts. Shoemaker concludes that 'there was not a lot

⁸⁶ 51 out of 114.

of movement across the metropolis (...) [and] in this sense, there was not much metropolitan-wide identity revealed in Londoner's behaviour.⁸⁷ This was different in most of Amsterdam's districts, which people frequently left to travel throughout the city. Yet, the question if is this was 'more metropolitan,' since this comparison is also a matter of scale: The City of London or the east or west end would in size rather be comparable to several of the districts that I divided Amsterdam up into. Sutcliffe, comparing Amsterdam and London writes: 'At its height, Amsterdam was—and has essentially remained—a compact city. Eighteenth-century London, in contrast, was a more disaggregated place.'⁸⁸ Perhaps the size and scale of Amsterdam was then more manageable to foster intra-city mobility, while a larger city like London would make it harder and less necessary for inhabitants to use the whole of the metropolis. In that sense, lower mobility may also have been a form of metropolitan mobility. The inhabitants of the city centre and the Jewish neighbourhood are a good example of this, as they showed the least mobility within the city, but were living in urban districts that were well-connected to the rest of the city and in fact, the rest of the world in a way that only a large city could sustain.

We have seen above that the empirically observed patterns of mobility per district confirm the morphological differences of accessibility expected through Lesger's Space Syntax analysis and other literature. Yet, a major exception is the Jewish Quarter. When strictly looking at its morphological features, it should have been more accessible than many other areas where more movement outside of the district was seen. This shows that the city's street network and structure was very important, but not decisive. The social distinction between Christians and Jews played out spatially and formed an extra layer that we have to take into account when considering mental maps and mobility regimes. This difference may have been the closest to tangible district identity that we can perceive in this source material. In fact, in one case from the FOSGUS database depositions, this difference is referred to: In 1791, a group of men attacked Jewish people on the streets outside of the Jewish Quarter. When asked the reason for their violence, one of them replied by showing 'some paper from the *Gemeene lands comptoir*' and a cudgel and said: 'This qualifies me to beat up the Jews who come to work in the Christian quarter.'⁸⁹ The men were arrested and the case was marked 'rowdiness' (*baldaadigheid*), so it is clear that the violence was not actually certified in any way, neither was there an official boundary between the Jewish Quarter and a Christian quarter. Yet, it does show

⁸⁷ Shoemaker, "Gendered Spaces," 161

⁸⁸ Sutcliffe, "The Boundaries of Community," 20.

⁸⁹ NL-AsdSAA, Notarissen (5075), inv. nr. 17978, LB1791, scan 205.

that there were unofficial mental boundaries between districts in place that influenced where people were expected to live, work and move around.

Concluding this section, we can say that mobility out of the district and the differences in average distances travelled per district was clearly influenced by the morphology of the street network and the different functions in the districts, and especially a combination of the two. A low number of access points into different districts logically increased the mobility of those moving out of the district. Certain districts with a lot of functions for its inhabitants saw less people leaving the district, with the unique features of the Jewish Quarter as the most important example.

Conclusions

Gender and everyday mobility can be tricky to pin down, because both are so often part of the given; these are phenomena ‘so ingrained into the fabric of the everyday that it is not even noticed.’⁹⁰ Especially in a historical context, both gendered difference and mobility through urban space appear mostly indirectly in the available sources. Both are far from set in stone and are potentially highly instable, while at the same time they become so strongly embedded in everyday life that they are barely reflected upon in the historical sources available to us. To find gendered mobility regimes and their interaction with urban space, this chapter has followed and expanded upon a method of distilling the paths of past people from legal sources. Examining a large number of fragmented testimonies from notarial attestations made visible a pattern of daily mobility in which the distances involved in everyday mobility throughout eighteenth-century Amsterdam possessed a gendered aspect, though the overall rhythm of mobility during the day itself was relatively ungendered. Men used a wider scope of the city than did women, who remained closer to their residences but were by no means confined to the home. The idea of urban domesticity for women does not hold: Women were found outside and on the move at all times of the day. But gender was still an important factor in everyday mobility, as women’s mobilities were more centered around their neighbourhoods and spatially limited than men’s mobilities. They were not physically restricted by a controlling institution, but in the end still tended to be found closer to home. These regimes of mobility were rather stable throughout the long eighteenth century.

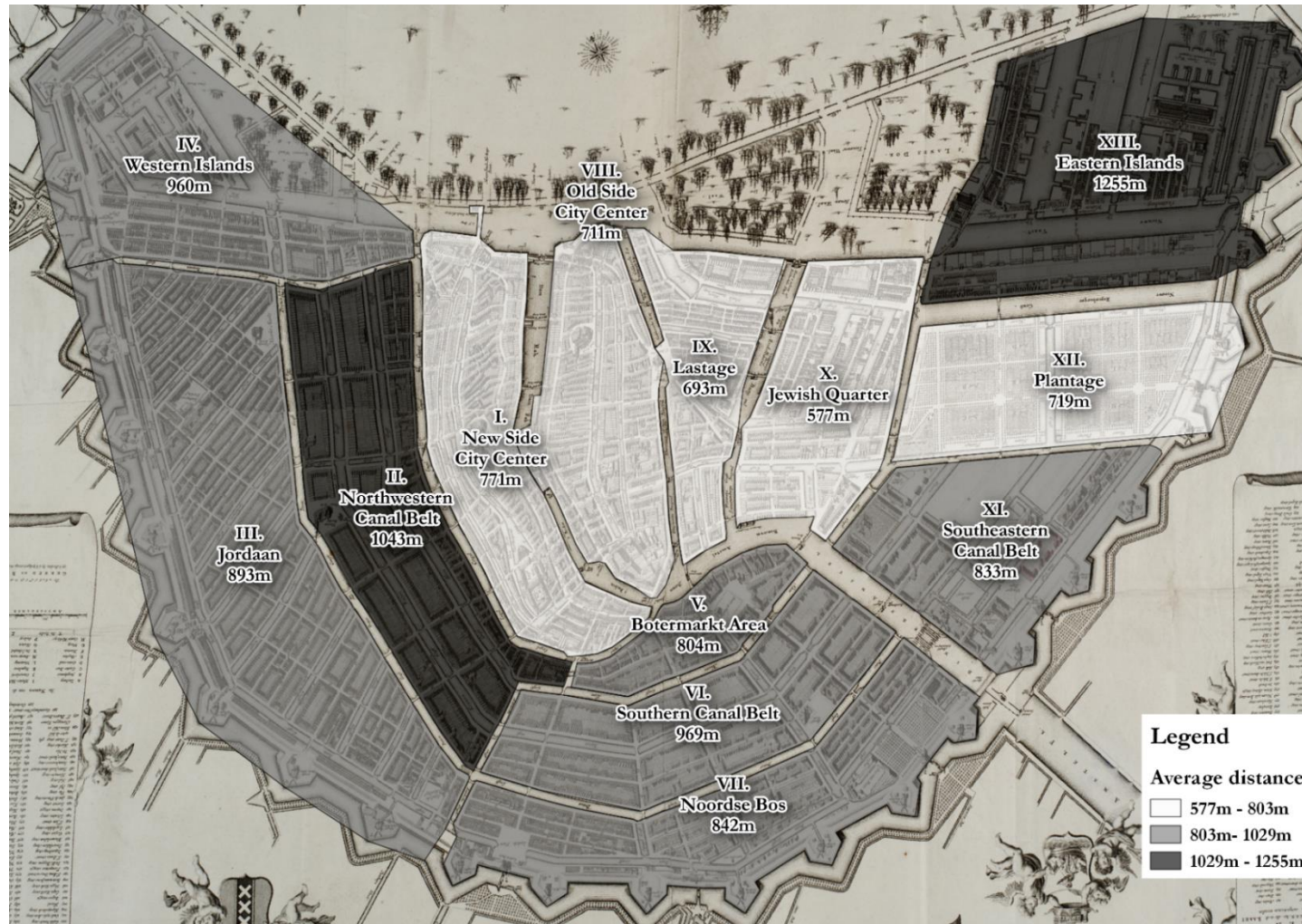
The results further show that the material structure of the city, in the form of city walls and gates, left an imprint on daily mobility that could be studied empirically through the quantitative analysis of

⁹⁰ Sullivan, *The Geography of the Everyday*, 29.

fragmentary information on daily lives. Yet this imprint was not a matter of the pure materiality of walls and gates but rather a case of what time-geographers describe as ‘authority constraints’. These regulated mobility at the level of access to the entire city, but they also carried over into intra-urban mobility within Amsterdam, as official and formal life was regulated along the schedule of the city’s gate clocks. Similarly, mobility differed across districts throughout the city, where urban morphology played an important role. Accessibility of whole districts translated to different logics of mobility that did not determine who moved where, but did form an important part of mobility regimes. However, the material structure of the city was influential but not decisive, as the divergence of the mobility pattern of the Jewish Quarter’s inhabitants shows. Mobility regimes also include the more abstract mental boundaries, such as those between what the Christian part of the city and the Jewish part would have been in the perception of its inhabitants.

The comparisons of mobility regimes of women and men in this chapter produces a gendered difference that should not be taken as typical for all women or men; but it does help compose a general view of mobility that forms a promising starting point for further research on the circumstances under which exceptions to it arose. The appearance of women in informal and supporting roles within an institutional framework formally excluding them is one such instance which further confirms that practice-based approaches possess considerable potential to help us uncover more information on early modern women’s activities and mobilities. We have seen how an aggregate of movements of gendered bodies can be useful, but the micro-histories that this aggregate consists of - and the practices in themselves - also deserve further detailed attention. That is then, what I will turn to in the next chapter.

Map 6. Districts with the average distances of people found away from their home in 1742, 1750 and 1791 in metres, categorized by equal interval of 226 meters.



Chapter 2.

The House(hold) in the Streets: Gatekeeping and Everyday Transparency

On 16 October 1742, the 76-year-old Wessel Barker and the 36-year-old Maria Houtrops were at the home of Hadrianus van Riel in the Tuinstraat in an alley called the Haringgang ('Herring Alley'), when the owner of the house appeared. Barker and Houtrops testified to the secretary of the chief officer that the landlord had come in demanding a month's rent, even though the rent payment was usually due at the month's end. Hadrianus van Riel refused to pay but offered to have the money 'within three times twenty-four hours.'¹ Conflicts drawn up for the secretary of the chief officer always had a certain severity; reading the cases that surround it, one would expect the landlord and the man to have gotten into a bloody fight. Yet this case left nobody bleeding, although something akin to a gaping wound was created: When the landlord did not receive the money he was after, he took off with the front door of the house.

This act of material assault did not end up between cases that might appear much more severe simply because life without a front door is inconvenient. Removing one's front door abolishes the potentially locked boundary between house and street and undoes the sense of security required for a house to be a home. Being unable to close one's door collapsed not just the demarcation between street and house, but also the control over the blending of their two spheres, over a type of gatekeeping. We know that doors were not just mechanisms to keep people out but were also something that people used to communicate with one another.² An open door was an invitation to come in, and a closed door delivered a message as well. In his diary, the merchant Isaac Pool describes that when his niece passed away in 1674, an *aanspreker* (an announcer of deaths and funerals) came to his door and asked him to 'close his house', which meant shutting the windows and doors completely.³ Someone seeing such a closed house would 'read' the façade and realize that

¹ NL-AsdSAA, Notarissen (5075), inv. nr. 11735, SF1742, scan 422.

² See Daniel Jütte, *The Strait Gate: Thresholds and Power in Western History* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2015), 175–208.

³ Isaac Pool, *De handelsgeest van Isaac Pool: dagboek van een Amsterdammer in de Gouden Eeuw*, ed. Laurence Duquesnoy and Jeroen Salman (Uitgeverij Verloren, 2018), 109. In the 1844 literary publication *een gesprek over onze manier van begraven* ('A conversation about our burial rites'), this custom is called the *buisshuïting* (home closure), and it is explained that the family of the deceased (and in the case of preachers, his colleagues as well) were expected to close their house and that

someone had died. Closing a house during the day was thus an abnormality, a special ritual reserved as a form of funerary observance. Yet the complete openness of a house due to a total lack of a door was also deeply problematic. The house made continuous connections to the outside world: not simply a public space, it was not simply a private space either.

Joachim Eibach describes early modern society as having a characteristic ‘culture of visibility.’⁴ Similarly, Arlette Farge writes of popular Parisian behaviour in the city’s eighteenth-century streets: ‘In Paris, everything lived, moved and died in endless succession before the eyes of everyone else in an open space where one’s neighbour, whether friend or foe, was the permanent witness to oneself.’⁵ Farge’s account conjures up an image of a status quo of everyday transparency and openness, albeit only for the masses. Some were able to shake off this sense of being permanently seen during select moments; as Mary Crane has shown with regard to early modern England, privacy was closely related to mobility, since the privacy sought for illicit activities such as sex, gossip, and the planning of political plots was ‘most often represented as readily attainable only outdoors.’⁶ As we will see in this chapter, others certainly had access to privacy at home, but its distribution was skewed. Larger houses gave more opportunities to engage in activities away from the view of others.⁷ Furthermore, the everyday logics of opening and closing happened on different levels and, as the previous chapter has shown, the urban landscape itself was demarcated by gates and walls that granted and denied access to the city as a whole and steered the rhythms of everyday life. Neither were doors and locks completely absent or unimportant, as we see in the case of the door that was taken away. Rather, despite the relative openness of homes, demarcations were certainly not absent in early modern cities, but they followed a different spatial logic than we know today, which is something we will explore in this chapter. Everyday openness, far from being a spatial anarchy where one could go and be where one pleased, was a carefully upheld system. The logic of who belonged where and could or

the house of the deceased was to be closed as well. In this fictional debate, one person is irritated by the outward spectacle of this custom, while another person defends the tradition. J. Boeke, “Gesprek over onze manier van begraven en rouwbetonen,” *Vaderlandsche Letteroefeningen*, 1846.

⁴ Eibach, “Das Offene Haus,” 651. In German: ‘Kultur der Sichtbarkeit.’

⁵ Arlette Farge, *Fragile Lives: Violence, Power and Solidarity in Eighteenth-Century Paris* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1993), 6.

⁶ Mary Thomas Crane, “Illicit Privacy and Outdoor Spaces in Early Modern England,” *Journal for Early Modern Cultural Studies* 9, no. 1 (2009): 5.

⁷ G. van Tussenbroek, “Functie en indeling van het Amsterdamse woonhuis aan de hand van een aantal zestiende-eeuwse boedelinventarissen,” *Bulletin (KNOB)* 115 (2016), 125; Van Elk, *Early Modern Women’s Writing*, 6.

should be present followed a different logic than the public/private distinction that is the leading principle of thinking about spatial organization in present-day Europe.⁸

This chapter explores and describes the culture of transparency and its relative openness, in which the practices of movement within, through, and around the house were mediated by gender, class, and materiality. As we will see, the depositions given to the chief officer show everyday life in the neighbourhood and on the doorstep, a place where households were continually transgressing the boundaries of the material house itself rather than making a strict retreat into the domestic sphere and the nuclear family. Whereas the previous chapter discussed macro-mobility throughout the city, this chapter looks at the micro-mobilities of households and the way publicity and privacy were conducted – practices I will refer to as ‘gatekeeping.’⁹ The question ‘Who accessed the street, and how?’ will be looked at on a smaller scale than in the previous chapter. In the examples above, and throughout this chapter, we see spatial gatekeeping as it was practised in early modern urban society. Through this concept, we will unravel the logics of micro-movements in early modern space, of passing through neighbourly space and accessing houses and households. In the next section, ‘gatekeeping’ and the broader conceptual framework will be explained in greater detail.

Gatekeeping and the house(hold)

The key conceptual framework for this chapter is the idea that spaces were not fundamentally public or private but rather were subject to constant renegotiation through daily practices of gatekeeping.¹⁰ Ted Kilian argues that ‘while spaces cannot be categorized as inherently “public” or “private,” we cannot and should not collapse or eliminate the concepts of publicity and privacy. (...) [P]ublicity and privacy are not characteristics of space. Rather, they are expressions of power relationships in space and, hence, both exist in every space.’¹¹ I am following Kilian by trying to ‘avoid a problem

⁸ De Mare makes the point that the inside/outside dichotomy is relevant for the early modern situation but that the public/private dichotomy is a modern invention. Heidi de Mare, “Domesticity in Dispute. A Reconsideration of Sources,” in *At Home: An Anthropology of Domestic Space*, ed. Irene Cieraad (Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 2006), 13–30.

⁹ I have also used the concept ‘gatekeeping’ before with a slightly different focus, to refer to the way that authorities affected mobilities: Cf. Bob Pierik and Alexander Geelen, “A Tale of Two Johannes: Gatekeeping, Mobilities, and Marriage in Cochin and Amsterdam,” *Early Modern Women: An Interdisciplinary Journal* 14, no. 1 (November 8, 2019): 131–40.

¹⁰ Danielle van den Heuvel, “Gender in the Streets,” 703-705.

¹¹ Kilian, “Public and Private,” 115–116.

typical of empirical work in “public space” that almost always begins with a space that is assumed to be public or private, rather than analysing spaces as sites of both publicity and privacy.¹² For Kilian, we can better understand what happens within spaces by looking at ‘the power of exclusion (privacy) and the power of access (publicity)’, which can be at work simultaneously, rather than categorizing space *a priori* as either public or private, terms that lie at the opposite ends of a single continuum.¹³ Kilian’s conceptual framework offers a way forward that allows us to escape a rigid public/private distinction without entirely disregarding these terms.

In applying the two powers of exclusion and access described by Kilian to early modern urban society, I will refer to them as ‘gatekeeping.’ It is a fitting metaphor to describe the entangled nature of privacy and publicity in early modern cities, since early modern city gates were generally a symbol of demarcation and exclusion on the one hand, and a symbol of access and invitation into the city on the other.¹⁴ It is a signal example with regard to Kilian’s argument that space should not be looked at as either public/accessible or private/exclusionary. Access to the whole of urban space was negotiated via a passage through a city’s walls, but it would not be worthwhile to uniformly declare the entire city to be either public or private. Simultaneously, ‘gatekeeping’ is a nod to the ‘gatekeeper’ as a gendered literary trope referring to agency as it involved access to gendered bodies.¹⁵ Gatekeeping contains both the material and social aspects embedded in the production of publicity and privacy. Furthermore, it refers not only to literal gatekeeping effected via city gates and walls but also to the sublayers of spatial negotiation that followed at the level of street, house, alley, et cetera, and more broadly to the gender politics of everyday spatial negotiation. The argument advanced in this chapter is that gatekeeping in early modern Amsterdam was part of a complex and layered culture of everyday transparency and boundary-making. As we will see, it was important to save ‘public face’ in one’s own home and neighbourhood, while those who needed ‘privacy’ occasionally resorted to leaving their houses and neighbourhoods to find it. It remains important to note that the powers of both accessibility and exclusion could be – and often were – at work at the same time.

¹² Kilian, “Public and Private,” 116.

¹³ Kilian, “Public and Private,” 126.

¹⁴ Jütte, “Entering a City.”

¹⁵ See Elisa Oh, “The Gatekeeper Within: Early Modern English Architectural Tropes of Female Consent,” *Humanities* 8, no. 1 (March 2019).

Publicity and privacy both contain aspects of social conduct and materiality. The interplay between social and material aspects emerges in sharper focus when we apply the concept of gatekeeping to the house and household. I refer to these two entities together as ‘house(hold)’ to stress that the physical ‘house’ and the social unit of the ‘household’ are highly contingent. Sometimes it is useful to differentiate between the social and material aspects, but in other cases it is exactly their contingency that makes their workings clear. When Eibach describes the ‘open house’, he does something similar in the sense that the ‘open house’ covers the household that was not always restricted to the physical structure of the house, whose boundaries were relatively flexibly threaded by bodies, gazes, and sounds as the members of the household easily and continually went beyond the space of the physical house itself.¹⁶ The ‘open house’ mounts a response to an older approach (Otto Brunner’s *ganzen Haus*) where the norm of the patriarchal, strictly ordered household was too readily accepted as social practice.¹⁷ Yet retaining ‘house’, rather than referring only to ‘household’, upholds the material and communicative aspects of the whole assemblage, as it is not irrelevant when the (social) household moves beyond the (physical) house: this forms an important part in the performance of its everyday transparency.¹⁸

The house(hold), as material residence and social unit combined, formed the bedrock of everyday life, offering a lens through which to view society.¹⁹ I have argued elsewhere that the household is one of the structures through which an intersectional analysis of the different hierarchies that were important in the early modern period can be read and made sense of: ‘Virtually everyone was ideally part of a household. It was a place where material, social, and biological factors met and the context in which interaction with the neighbourhood took place. This was how early modern bodies were ordered within a hierarchy of households, whereby the formation of and gaining access to households can be seen as a form of gender politics.’²⁰ What I called gender politics (or, in Dutch, *geslachtspolitiek*) are everyday power relations rather than merely institutional formal politics. It also includes the house(hold)’s everyday appropriation of space, the stares or gossip of neighbours, and

¹⁶ Eibach, “Das Offene Haus,” 621-624. See also: Riitta Laitinen, *Order, Materiality and Urban Space in the Early Modern Kingdom of Sweden* (Amsterdam University Press, 2017), 221–226.

¹⁷ Eibach, “Das Offene Haus,” 635-636.

¹⁸ Eibach, “Das Offene Haus,” 639-646.

¹⁹ Cf. Hardwick, *Practice of Patriarchy*, 77–108.

²⁰ Bob Pierik, “Geslachtspolitiek van de straat. Een aanzet voor een intersectionele geschiedenis van vroegmodern straatleven in Amsterdam,” *Historica* 42, no. 3 (2019): 6.

the sexual honour of women and men alike.²¹ It covers the social and sexual scrutiny and surveillance that neighbours subjected one another to, in which the house(hold) was an important factor, as ‘early modern households were the primary site of the daily negotiations and contestations through which concepts of gender and authority gained meaning in the lives of most working families.’²² The household is a useful category of analysis that is directly connected to hierarchical dichotomies that were important to early modern society, such as servant/master, man/woman, married/unmarried, guild member/non guild member, honourable/dishonourable.²³ These social aspects of the household constantly intersected with the physical aspects of the house, as the openness and closedness of space and its material boundaries played out socially. We will see, for example, how the material boundaries of an upper-class home differed from those found in lower- and middle-class homes.

In the following sections, gatekeeping and the house(hold) will be used as instruments and lenses to analyse cases from the depositions to the chief officer. The common denominator here is people claiming access, maintaining exclusion, or otherwise attempting to take up ‘ownership’ of urban space.²⁴ We will see how space was navigated at the level of micro-mobility, through doors, windows, and alleys, which helps us better understand how the house(hold) moved out into the street. In the next section, I will first turn to the way non-family members were deemed part of the household when they stepped outside the house.

Part of the house(hold) outside on the streets: Servants and lodgers

At 7 a.m. on 25 August 1750, Abraham Cohen Rodrigues’s maidservant spread out some clothes for bleaching on the hay barge of a neighbour, one Jan Scholten, on the Hooimarkt. Scholten’s son immediately came out onto the street and threatened to toss the clothes in the water. When the maidservant tried to stop him he threw her onto the barge’s deck. After she had fled back into her house, some neighbours assembled. One of them asked Scholten: ‘Why can’t the maid put those goods in the barge?’ to which he replied: ‘What concern is that to you, you thief of barges?’²⁵ A

²¹ Pierik, “Geslachtspolitiek van de straat,” 4.

²² Hardwick, *Practice of Patriarchy*, ix.

²³ Pierik, “Geslachtspolitiek van de straat,” 5. See also: Flather, *Gender and Space*, 33-34.

²⁴ Cf. Danielle van den Heuvel, “Gender in the Streets,” 694.

²⁵ NL-AsdSAA, Notarissen (5075), inv. nr. 13131, CS1750, scan 739. Original text: ‘hij zejide waerom mag die mejdt dat goed niet in de pont leggen’ and ‘wat raekt dat jou pontdieff.’ This case has also appeared in Pierik, “From Microhistory to Patterns of Urban Mobility.”

violent standoff was barely prevented, but seven neighbours later gave testimony that this had been the last straw: Jan Scholten had ‘mistreated all of them from time to time so that the whole neighbourhood was constantly disturbed.’²⁶

Here we see the logistics of a house(hold) and its daily routine becoming part of street life. Such cases reveal how neighbours staked claims to space and how everyday sociability, transparency, and reputation in the neighbourhood worked in practice. Through such cases, we can see the neighbourhood as a site where women and men alike appear as gatekeepers of or claimants to spaces. Such episodes, of course, are visible to us because the – always delicate – negotiations between neighbours had taken a ghastly turn. For every failure of neighbours to grant one another access to shared spaces, there must have been many more instances of successful reciprocal cooperation on the streets and in the alleys and courtyards that, however visible they may have been in everyday life, remained unexamined by the surveillance system until the equilibrium was disturbed.²⁷ Even here, though, these cases often present a pre-conflict context where inhabitants of a neighbourhood shared courtyards, rain cisterns, and doorsteps and could often be found socializing with one another in those locations.²⁸

Claiming space for everyday life required a constant negotiation with one’s neighbours. The scarce shared spaces directly outside one’s home could not uniformly be claimed by a single person or household. Apparently, most of Jan Scholten’s neighbours felt that his hay barge should be a shared space available to other neighbours under certain circumstances, likely when he was not using it himself. Suggesting that even voicing that belief out loud was a form of thievery was one of the many ways that Jan Scholten had disturbed the subtle, and not-so subtle, negotiations over space in the neighbourhood. This violence very likely erupted out of years of routinely occurring irritations between Scholten’s household and the rest of the neighbourhood. In this case, the actual physical violence involved only Scholten’s son and Rodrigues’s maid, but the conflict was primarily seen as a struggle between Scholten’s and Rodrigues’s households. Indeed, the former household in its

²⁶ NL-AsdSAA, Notarissen (5075), inv. nr. 13131, CS1750, scan 739. Original text: ‘alle molest van tijd tot tijd aen elk van hen heeft aengedaen zodat de geheele buurt geduurlijk door hem ontrust werdt’.

²⁷ Sometimes neighbourly cooperation was formalized, for example in the use of rain cisterns. See: Marianne Foncke, “Water’s Worth. Urban Society and Subsidiarity in Seventeenth-Century Holland” (PhD Dissertation, University of Amsterdam, 2020), 57.

²⁸ Eg. NL-AsdSAA, Notarissen (5075), inv. nr. 13131, CS1750, scans 633 and 759 for neighbours talking at their doors, scans 227 and 247 for people who talked to (and fought with) their neighbours at rain cisterns. NL-AsdSAA, Notarissen (5075), inv. nr. 17978, LB1791, scan 79 for a pregnant woman who sat on a rain cistern in front of her door.

entirety was there to follow the maid who fled into her house, and to challenge her to come back out onto the street. These matters were not private but they were house(hold) affairs transpiring outside on the street; they were a form of collective strife between households that encompassed the wider community.

A similar case in 1742 reversed the roles: here a maidservant tried to stop a neighbour from accessing space just outside a house. Again, households stepped outside and into the street, as the maidservant of a canal lock keeper at the Kamperhoofd saw it fit to inform her neighbour, the grocer Casper Brinkman, that he should stop putting ropes on the canal lock keeper's house to dry clothes on. Brinkman had repeatedly attached rope to the house, 'put empty barrels in front of the windows which blocked the light and threw filth in the water drainage, of which the smell caused a lot of disturbance.'²⁹ When the maidservant took down the rope, Brinkman and his wife attacked her and followed her inside the canal lock keeper's house, where they hit her. Later, two other women came out of the neighbour's house and challenged the maidservant to come out onto the street. Again, we see a conflict of everyday gatekeeping gone awry, in a situation where an entire household claimed space; Brinkman first turned to his wife for assistance and then to two other women, likely family members or servants, in an effort to assert control over the space outside the house.

In both cases described above, a female servant had an interesting role dictating that certain house(hold) responsibilities would bring her out onto the street. In the second case, the maid's surveillance over the use of the street was also an extension of her employer's work as a public official, specifically as a canal lock keeper. Domestic servants represented the households they worked for and often also lived with, and many people brought their servants with them into conflicts in which personal social matters were strongly entangled with economic interests: The wife of the baker Gerrit Lonkhuijzen brought her servant with her when she paid an angry visit to another baker in the same street (the Laagte Kadijk), whom she accused of being a snitch.³⁰ In a conflict over textiles that had been returned without a correct accompanying number, Annaatje, the wife of Jacob Levij on the Jodenbreestraat, sent her daughter and her maidservant to demand payment and to challenge the women who had returned the textile to a fight in the street. When, a week later, the maidservant of the household that had returned the textile walked past the other

²⁹ NL-AsdSAA, Notarissen (5075), inv. nr. 13131, CS1750, scan 345.

³⁰ NL-AsdSAA, Notarissen (5075), inv. nr. 13131, CS1750, scan 267.

house, she was brutally attacked by the whole household: husband, wife, son, daughter, and maidservant.³¹

Just as domestic servants were targeted as representatives of particular households beyond the physical structure of the house, people also stood up for their servants and defended them outside the homes in which they served. Servanthood was an important phase in the life-cycle of young people, who were often temporarily absorbed into another household, but this alliance did not stop at the front door. A conflict in the French community heated passions to a boiling point after the French baker Jan Pierre la Bouve had apparently gone around telling everyone that the maidservant of Louis le Clerc, another French baker, was ‘his whore.’ The accused maidservant showed up in the bakery in the Jonge Roelensteeg and, in front of witnesses, demanded that Jan Pierre prove that his gossip was true. Jan Pierre tried to throw her out, but the maidservant attacked him and smashed the glass window of a door. After a public servant of the chief officer had arrived to restrain the maidservant and keep the peace, her master, Louis le Clerc (a baker in the Pieter Jacobszstraat), came to her aid and attacked Jan Pierre, attempting to drag him out of the bakery onto the street.³² The master spreading gossip about another master’s maidservant was not just a fight between the man and the woman but also a broader conflict between two (perhaps competing) households. This sort of situation was not exclusive to cases involving female domestic servants: When the porcelain trader Abraham Raap and his son and namesake Abraham Raap³³ threatened their surgeon neighbour’s servants with violence because the latter had placed a broom up against their privy, the surgeon came out to defend his servants.³⁴

The above alliance between master and servant is notable in light of Cissie Fairchild’s characterization of the relation between servants and their masters in eighteenth-century France as one of ‘domestic enemies,’ especially when servanthood was seen as a relation between the ruling elite and the lower classes.³⁵ Bridget Hill has also emphasized that in the ‘highly complex and

³¹ NL-AsdSAA, Notarissen (5075), inv. nr. 17978, LB1791, scan 128

³² NL-AsdSAA, Notarissen (5075), inv. nr. 13131, CS1750, scan 874

³³ Perhaps these two belonged to the family of the porcelain merchant and later political pamphleteer Daniel Raap, who was an important voice in the 1747-1748 political unrest related to the Doelist movement, and whose death in 1754 sparked riots.

³⁴ NL-AsdSAA, Notarissen (5075), inv. nr. 11735, SF1742, scan 190.

³⁵ Cissie Catherine Fairchild, *Domestic Enemies: Servants & Their Masters in Old Regime France* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1984).

paradoxical relations between employers and servants there is rich material for the study of class.³⁶ Likewise, with regard to wealthy households in Amsterdam it has been noted that ‘wealthy families and their servants related to one another as employers and workers,’ instead of as part of the family.³⁷ However, within that context, it is noteworthy that in many of the attestations made before the chief officer, servants appeared as members of a household in a conflict with another household much more often than as parties standing against their employer.³⁸ Of course, as Bernard Capp writes: ‘The scale and diversity of service prevents any easy generalizations. There was no “typical” experience of service, just as there was no “typical” marriage, though both were clearly shaped by social and cultural expectations.’³⁹ Yet there was likely more of a class difference between the upper-class families studied by Fairchilds and by Hill than between the mainly middle-class masters and their servants who provided attestations for the chief officer here. Interestingly, the exact point of class difference between master and servant was not as distinct: a servant could probably more easily resist orders they did not agree with. In one such case in a night cellar involving billiards, a servant refused to help his boss fight one of the patrons, ‘saying “boss, you are wrong,” which angered the publican so much that he told his servant to take off his apron, which the servant Jan immediately did, and then stayed as a customer.’⁴⁰ The (household) authority of the night cellar publican who regularly fought his customers over billiard debts was probably not very strong, although the casualness with which the servant quit his job also suggests that the servant had probably not been living there and had not been temporarily absorbed into the publican’s household, thus distinguishing him from most of the servants in previous examples. Overall, there was a spatial dynamic whereby house(hold) politics may have pitted masters and servants against each other in certain circumstances, though they also often appeared temporarily to the outside world to be one household.⁴¹

Another distinct category comprising people who temporarily joined house(holds) were lodgers and boarders. Like certain types of servants, they would temporarily be absorbed into a household, but

³⁶ Bridget Hill, *Servants: English Domestic in the Eighteenth Century*. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996), 5.

³⁷ Derek Phillips, *Well-Being in Amsterdam’s Golden Age* (Amsterdam: Pallas Publications, 2008), 81.

³⁸ Certainly, there were also cases where a master had mistreated a servant.

³⁹ Capp, *When Gossips Meet*, 128.

⁴⁰ NL-AsdSAA, Notarissen (5075), inv. nr. 17978, LB1791, scan 456. ‘Baas je je hebt ongelyk, ’t geen de Casteleijn zoo verstoort maakte dat hy tegen zyn knegt zeyde dat hy zyn boeselaar maar moest uyttrekken, ’t geen gem. kregt Jan dan ook direct gedaan heeft en als particulier is blyven zitten.’

⁴¹ For a good overview of the politics within the household, see Capp, *When Gossips Meet*, 155–166. On conflicts between servants and masters in Amsterdam, also see Phillips, *Well-Being in Amsterdam*, 79–93.

their situation was different in the sense that they were buying access to the house(hold) rather than providing labour. Lodging was an even more flexible and unstable means of joining a household, and the lodger as social phenomenon has been described as ‘a product of urban population growth, residential overcrowding and a decline in live-in apprenticeships, [who] destabilized the household as a patriarchal space.’⁴² Migrant workers in particular such as sailors and soldiers made use of this type of temporary residency, such that specific parts of the city near the harbour structurally saw such temporary accessing of households.

Map 7 shows the locations of lodging-house keepers from the *Personele Quotisatie* of 1742, who were primarily clustered around a few areas, the most around the Lastage area and the Boomsloot in particular. The Ridderstraat and Jonkerstraat behind the Boomsloot contained many cheap boarding-houses, which only sparsely showed up in the *Personele Quotisatie* due to an income threshold.⁴³ The Ridderstraat and Jonkerstraat were notorious streets where many households shared a meagre portion of space, and several families would be cramped into one house or even a single room. There were regular conflicts between neighbours: Lotte van de Pol’s research has thoroughly documented those between neighbours and brothel-keepers in this area in particular.⁴⁴

⁴² Anna Jenkin, “Wives with Knives and Lovers. Murder and Marital Households in Eighteenth-Century London and Paris,” in *Gendering Spaces in European Towns, 1500-1914*, ed. Elaine Chalus and Marjo Kaartinen, 2019, 200–215.

⁴³ Sølvi Sogner and Jelle van Lottum, “An Immigrant Community? Norwegian Sailors and Their Wives in 17th-Century Amsterdam,” *The History of the Family* 12, no. 3 (January 1, 2007): 160.

⁴⁴ Van de Pol, *Het Amsterdams boerdom*, 96-98.

Map 7. Locations of lodging-house keepers in the *Personele Quotisatie* of 1742.



One such boarding house in the Jonkerstraat that was found in the depositions from 1742, but did not show up in the 1742 *Personele Quotisatie*, was a house adorned with a sign that read ‘Carel the Twelfth King of Sweden,’ in which a woman named Marij housed lodgers.⁴⁵ In a heated conflict with the wife of a surgeon, ‘several men who lodged there, including a soldier of this garrison with a drawn weapon,’ threw rocks and a shovel for ash at the house and windows of the surgeon.⁴⁶ Notably, the witnesses end the deposition with the claim that ‘this happened without the witness’s knowledge of anything that gave Marij or those of her household (*Huijsgezin*) a reason for this behaviour.’⁴⁷ The statement shows how the lodgers were considered part of the household, even if

⁴⁵ NL-AsdSAA, Notarissen (5075), inv. nr. 11735, SF1742, scan 448. ‘te huijzen van Marij alwaer uijthangd Carel de twaelfde Coning van Zweeden’

⁴⁶ NL-AsdSAA, Notarissen (5075), inv. nr. 11735, SF1742, scan 448. ‘door diverse manspersoonen aldaer ten huijze logeerende waer van een zijnde een soldaet van dit quarnisoen met een bloote houwer’

⁴⁷ NL-AsdSAA, Notarissen (5075), inv. nr. 11735, SF1742, scan 448. ‘dat zij get als weder te samen attesteeren weeten dat haer Marij of die van haar huijsgezin tot dit gedrag eenige de minste reeden was gegeven’

only temporarily and flexibly, and further supports the strong contingency between house and household. In another case from 1791, the boarding-house keeper (*slaapbaas*) Jens Holm demanded more money from a sailor who had stayed at his accommodations in the Ridderstraat but, not finding it to his liking, had left for another boarding-house in the Jonkerstraat. An enraged Jens Holm showed up at the latter boarding-house with ‘a certain Anna Bantjes who lived in his house, and a certain Engeltje, along with a crowd of other unknown persons both men and women’, who were also described as ‘Jens Holm and his people’ and later ‘housemates of Jens Holm.’⁴⁸ They broke windows and threatened to loot the boarding-house. Although there must surely also have been tensions within such a flexible and large household, they now acted in concert in their street and neighbourhood, stepping outside as one household with the clear goal of defending Jens Holm’s financial interest, and probably also his honour and reputation, and the house(hold)’s.

Van de Pol has suggested that especially here, in this poorer neighbourhood, the social boundary between the honourable and the dishonourable was closely guarded.⁴⁹ With no clear spatially demarcated boundary between the honourable households and their dishonourable neighbours, honour was a matter of constant repetition and renegotiation. The specific cases of servants and lodgers as part of a household fit into a broader system of publicity and honour. Lurking behind these conflicts are the wider everyday alliances between members of households, neighbours, and family members that were important in establishing one’s public identity and formed a basis for the resulting everyday gatekeeping. We have already seen how in many of the conflicts described above, the reputation and honour of a person or a whole household played an important role. And as we have seen in the previous chapter, the neighbourhood as direct environment around one’s home could exert a significant impact on the lives of early modern people and could even be referred to as a moral entity. Neighbours were important figures for vouching whether someone was an honest or a dishonest person, and neighbours could be willing informants about criminal activity so as to protect their own and their neighbourhood’s reputation.⁵⁰ Honour and reputation could also affect the severity of punishment handed down in criminal sentences.⁵¹ Honour was thus a major

⁴⁸ NL-AsdSAA, Notarissen (5075), inv. nr. 17978, LB1791, scan 12 ‘zeekere Anna Bantjes, by hem in huijs woonende en nog eene Engeltje behalven een meenigte andere onbekende personen zoo man als vrouw gekoomen,’ ‘Jens Holm en zyn volk’ and ‘alle huijsgenooten van Jens Holm.’

⁴⁹ Van de Pol, *Het Amsterdams boerdom*, 98.

⁵⁰ Van der Heijden, *Women and Crime*, 44-45..

⁵¹ Schmidt, *Prosecuting Women*, 59.

mechanism through which people related themselves to the community at large, but it also strongly influenced how much they were perceived by their direct neighbours, who could confirm or challenge their honour and reputation.⁵² In the next section, I will look more closely at its workings and how they affected the everyday interactions of the house(hold) in the street and elsewhere.

Honour, publicity and gender

In recent decades, an anthropologically inspired wave of scholarship has turned to honour, going so far as to identify it as a ‘core value’ of early modern society.⁵³ Honour came to be seen as contingent between the physical body and the symbolic features of a more abstract identity.⁵⁴ The gendered body came to be understood as an entity that was differentiated through honour, and a strongly gendered division was often observed in the way the reputations of men and women could be affirmed or tarnished. Several historians have argued that men’s honour was mainly a professional or economic matter, whereas women’s honour was sexual.⁵⁵ Herman Roodenburg has argued that the insults hurled at men in early modern Amsterdam targeted their professional reputation, while insults directed at women sought to establish ‘general sexual untrustworthiness.’⁵⁶ The implications for spatial experience and mobility are of course large, since such a distinction would presuppose that men would navigate their direct environments while being seen as economic beings, and women would in this regard be considered principally sexual beings. In a later publication, however, Roodenburg argued that female honour in the Dutch Republic was also connected to work, and in general was less of an opposite to male honour: ‘A certain shame was also demanded of women in the Dutch Republic, but this was much less focused on a sheltered life indoors.’⁵⁷ Still, he maintained that honour was mainly a form of sexual social capital for women and observed that Dutch women could be shamed for going out on the streets too much.⁵⁸ This observation is especially useful

⁵² Farge, *Fragile Lives*, 43–45.

⁵³ Herman Roodenburg, “Eer en oneer ten tijde van de Republiek: een tussenbalans,” *Volkskundig bulletin* 22, no. 3 (1996): 129.

⁵⁴ Anton Blok, “Eer en de fysieke persoon,” *Tijdschrift voor Sociale Geschiedenis* 6 (1980): 211–30.

⁵⁵ For Amsterdam, see Herman Roodenburg, “De notaris en de erehandel: beledigingen voor het Amsterdamse notariaat, 1700-1710,” *Volkskundig bulletin* 18, no. 3 (1992): 378; Van de Pol, *Het Amsterdams hoerdom*, 73–75. Garrioch noted a similar pattern in 18th century Paris, David Garrioch, *Neighbourhood & Community in Paris 1740-1790* (Cambridge: Cambridge University, 2002), 39–40.

⁵⁶ Roodenburg, “De notaris en de erehandel: beledigingen voor het Amsterdamse notariaat, 1700-1710,” 378.

⁵⁷ Roodenburg, “Eer en oneer,” 133. Here it is important to note that Roodenburg compares the Dutch Republic to anthropological studies of historical Mediterranean communities.

⁵⁸ Roodenburg, “Eer en oneer,” 134.

because it demonstrates how the concept of honour can be part of mobility regimes, in the form of norms that directly influenced movement.

Many more scholars have further tempered the sharp divide separating male, professional honour from female, sexual honour, arguing that the opposition has been overstated.⁵⁹ Examining early nineteenth-century Amsterdam, Olga Ruitenbeek has shown that economic reputation was also very important to lower-class women.⁶⁰ The same pattern is visible in the depositions given to the chief officer that we are examining here. As we have seen in the previous chapter, in the episode that had two men fighting over the productivity of their wives, a women's reputation could also possess a professional dimension and, as performed (by others) outside, could become an issue far beyond the household. Questioning the professional status of a man or the sexual status of a woman, respectively, may have been the most common and archetypical way of insulting someone, but insults could also be interchangeable. Femmetie Ouderheim was called a 'thief and a whore' when she left her room in the Kleine Oostenburgerstraat.⁶¹ In a family quarrel, Warnard Hardenbergh attacked his father and called him an 'old crook and a whoremonger,' showing that while the norms may have differed, men also did not enjoy sexual impunity.⁶² Professional status and the sexual status of individuals were not entirely separate either: Van de Pol has shown that adultery could cost men their (public) jobs.⁶³ Jacob Bicker Raije wrote in his chronicle in 1770 that the widower Brouwer, the treasurer of a small sea fish market, was caught in bed with his maid, then engaged to someone else. This 'caused [Brouwer] great public indictment, which was affirmed three to four days when he left the fish market, when 30 to 40 boys yelled "whore-chaser" at him in the streets.'⁶⁴ Furthermore, it is

⁵⁹ Garthine Walker, "Expanding the Boundaries of Female Honour in Early Modern England," *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 6 (December 1996): 235–45; Laura Gowing, "Women, Status and the Popular Culture of Dishonour," *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 6 (1996): 225–34; Van der Heijden, *Women and Crime*, 88; Anne Sits, "'Soo als het een goede vrouw betaamt' – Een kritische kijk op de vroegmoderne vrouwelijke eer," *Jonge Historici* (blog), June 17, 2020, <https://www.jhsg.nl/essay-soo-als-het-een-goede-vrouw-betaamt-een-kritische-kijk-op-de-vroegmoderne-vrouwelijke-eer/>.

⁶⁰ Olga Ruitenbeek, "Niet zonder kleerscheuren. Criminaliteitspatroon, eergevoel en het gebruik van fysiek geweld door Amsterdamse volkswrouwen (1811 -1838)," *Jaarboek Amstelodamum* 102 (2010): 72–74.

⁶¹ NL-AsdSAA, Notarissen (5075), inv. nr. 13131, CS1750, scan 501. Original text: 'uijgescholden voor een hoer en dieff'

⁶² NL-AsdSAA, Notarissen (5075), inv. nr. 13131, CS1750, scan 178. Original text: 'zijn vader voor een oude schelm en hoerejaeger uijtschold'

⁶³ Van de Pol, *Het Amsterdams boerdome*, 81–83.

⁶⁴ NL-AsdSAA, Bibliotheek (15030), inv. nr. 3551, JBR, Nov 26, 1770. Original text: 'hat daar een groote kalangie door, het geen ten dag drie vier daar na toen hij van de Vis mart kwam, wel door 30 a 40 Jongens die hem op Straat Hoereiaager na riepenm bevestigt wert.' Yet, it had not cost Brouwer his job, or at least Bicker added: 'Though everything wears out through time,' in Dutch: 'dog alles slijt door den tijdt.'

important to note that with sex work being a (in places such as the Ridderstraat and Jonkerstraat, highly visible) way for women to make a living, being called ‘whore’ cannot be separated from professional (dis)reputation either.⁶⁵ In fact, Van de Pol names examples of sex workers who had a professional honour to uphold, making remarks such as ‘I might be a whore, but I am not a thief.’⁶⁶ Furthermore, in 1750, Anna Troutmenum and a woman called Grietje had a dispute ‘over the sale of some goods’ in which Grietje called Anna Troutmenum a ‘thieves’ whore.’ This shows that the slur ‘whore’ was also used in a non-sexual context, in this case a commercial conflict. When Grietje then hit her in the face with a key, Anna Troutmenum called out: ‘Grietje, see what you are doing, I will praise the judgement [literally: ‘finger pointing’] of the magistrates,’ very much explicating both the performance of honour and its judging audience.⁶⁷ With this retort she threatened Grietje with legal prosecution, but perhaps more importantly she presented herself as a honourable person on the side of justice and conjured up an image of an honourable audience of magistrates.⁶⁸

The importance of this sort of presentation or performance of honourable identity has also increasingly been recognized. Roodenburg has called the everyday system of informal social control the ‘conduct of honour,’ in an attempt to express not just the rules but also the practices and strategies surrounding honour, based on the ideas of Erving Goffman and Pierre Bourdieu.⁶⁹ More recent research, such as that by Soile Ylivuori on female chastity, has moved in the direction of a similar trend in which honour is understood as a performative identity.⁷⁰ It is still grasped as gendered, but with greater complexity: both women and men’s honour are constantly performed and practised while also being observed and watched by an audience of onlookers. In that sense, gendered honour can be understood as a relational concept; instead of only looking at how men’s

bevestigigt wiert, dog alles slijt door den Tijd.’

⁶⁵ Of course, the insult was often meant to broadly challenge the sexual honour of a woman rather than to actually suggest that she engaged in sex work.

⁶⁶ Van de Pol, *Het Amsterdams boerdom*, 85.

⁶⁷ ‘Grietje ziet toe wat je doet, dat de heeren wijzen zal ik prijzen.’ This seems to be a play on the saying: ‘Wat de heren wijzen moeten de gekken prijzen’, which means that orders from the top have to obeyed. In this case, Grietje used it to place herself on the side of justice.

⁶⁸ NL-AsdSAA, Notarissen (5075), inv. nr. 13131, CS1750, scan 505.

⁶⁹ The Dutch concept is ‘erehandel’, which can also be translated as ‘exchange of honour’. Yet, Roodenburg clarifies that *handel* has to be understood as an active term of practices and activities, and not as the ‘exchange’ of honour, which is why I have translated the word as ‘conduct’. Roodenburg, “De notaris en de erehandel,” 370-371, 386.

⁷⁰ Soile Ylivuori, “Rethinking Female Chastity and Gentlewomen’s Honour in Eighteenth-Century England,” *The Historical Journal* 59, no. 1 (March 2016): 71–97.

and women's honour could be similar or different, it is useful to consider how men and women would accept or challenge each other's practiced honour and reputation.

Honour was directly related to mobility and gatekeeping. It encompassed a repertoire of publicness that would justify access to spaces, in and beyond the neighbourhood. In a case from a deposition from 1656, the map colourer (*kaertafzetter*) Engel Gabriels asked his wife's former neighbours to attest to a notary that she was 'unblemished of life, doings and dealings' (*onbesproocken van leven, bandel ende wandel*).⁷¹ Other witnesses testified, at his request, that they knew her through neighbourhood life (*goede gebuerschap*) and one night had met her under 'clear moonlight' talking to some neighbours. In another instance, they had walked with her and drank brandy together without 'doing anything improper or indecent.'⁷² The sexual honour of Engel Gabriels's wife was in some way being tested or disputed, but her husband and other men from her former neighbourhood were defending it. A woman's sexual honour came into existence not as an internal virtue but as an observed practice in relation to the men around her, and this, too, played an important role in gatekeeping in the form of justifying or questioning access to spaces and (late-night) mobility.

While above we see men affirming a woman's sexual honour, we can also find men disputing a woman's chastity or engaging in what we would now call slut-shaming. A form of gatekeeping with regard to women's publicness can be found in the way that men wielded the word 'whore' as a weapon. One important case on the island of Kattenburg from 1750 reveals the mechanism whereby men tarnished the sexual reputation of women to cover up their own sexual misbehaviour. After Jacobus de Kruijff, a married man, had violently sexually assaulted Geertruij Pieters and was caught in the act by her mother, he begged for forgiveness and promised never again to commit a similar act. Yet after he was let go he started spreading rumours around Kattenburg that Geertruij and her mother 'were the biggest whores he knew.'⁷³ Calling women 'whores' not only discounted their testimonies and reputations; to do so could also protect a male's sexual reputation and shifted the blame of misbehaviour towards women. Jacobus de Kruijff's gossip was also a performance of the (dis)honour of others, spread through the neighbourhood. That women were more often insulted in

⁷¹ NL-AsdSAA, Schout en Schepenen (5061), inv. nr. 267, Attestatieboek, scan 135. Notably '*bandel ende wandel*' is best translated as 'doings and dealings,' but literally means 'conduct and walking.'

⁷² NL-AsdSAA, Schout en Schepenen (5061), inv. nr. 267, Attestatieboek, scan 135. Add quote

⁷³ NL-AsdSAA, Notarissen (5075), inv. nr. 13131, CS1750, scans 707-708. Original text: 'zeggende dat zij en haer dogter de grootste hoeren waeren die hij kon'

sexual terms is also, in that sense, a reflection of men's public sexual being and the way they navigated urban space.

In such cases as described above, neighbours, acquaintances, colleagues, and others inserted themselves into the politics of the household, outside on the streets or within the houses of others, via interventions that were in no way limited to the domesticity of the household itself. Cases of sexual honour were not private issues, and a husband could certainly be challenged about his housewife's sexual honour. When the widow Stroom and her sons were in the midst of a dispute with Jacob Thier and his wife, the widow produced a piece of devastating gossip. She told Thier and witnesses that flocked to the scene that 'his housewife was a whore who had several children with (...) a Jew in the Zwanenburgerstraat.' The widow Stroom had even named the Jewish man, 'which the witness has not remembered.' Interestingly, Jacob Thier's defense was not to deny the gossip but rather to present himself as being socially above the widow Stroom. He did not dispute the allegation but simply said: 'You reveal yourself to be scum.'⁷⁴ He attempted to dispute her honour by charging her with the failure to perform honourably. By calling her 'scum' Jacob Thier might have appealed to a higher-class preference for privacy, in which the (otherwise widely observed) practice of openly getting mixed up in the affairs of other households was dismissed. The above case further shows how women could challenge the sexual honour of other women, but of course it was the accused women's relationship to other men and a wider community that was at stake.

In the same way that women's sexual honour could extend to men, the professional honour of a man was also his wife's problem and spread to her and the whole household as it appeared in the streets or beyond the home. Andries, a former sleigh man then working at the East India Company House, attacked Martinus Rade, a sleigh man and officer in the citizen's watch in the street in the presence of Martinus Rade's wife. She defended him, saying 'Are you calling my husband a thief?' which prompted Andries to answer, 'Yes I sustain that and I will prove it,' before witnesses were able to drag him away from the bleeding Martinus.⁷⁵ In a case from 1750, Barbara Jochems came

⁷⁴ NL-AsdSAA, Notarissen (5075), inv. nr. 11735, SF1742, scan 248. 'dat zijn huisvrouw een hoer was en eenige alhier mede present kinderen hadde gehad (...) bij een Jood in de Zwaeneburgstraet woonagtig dezelve bij zijn naam noemende welke hij get nothans niet heeft onthoudende andwoordende hij Jacob Thier alleenlijk gij toond dat gij canailje zijn.'

⁷⁵ NL-AsdSAA, Notarissen (5075), inv. nr. 11735, SF1742, scan 281. Original text: 'te houd gijn mijn man een dief die daer op andwoorde jae dat hou ik staende en zal ik waermaeken.'

into the tavern of Bonne Waltes and his wife and ‘caused a great turmoil (...) calling him [Bonne Waltes] a thief and saying that [his wife] had ratted on [Barbara Jochems]’ husband and gotten a ducat for that from the office, even though she did not say which office.’⁷⁶

Another case where households quarrelled shows not only how reputation extended from one person to their relatives but also how it was posthumously relevant and reached even to family members beyond death. Christoffel de Ruyter and Wilhelmina Cordes were a married couple who worked at the fish market with their son (his age and life-stage are unknown). After Wilhelmina Cordes had said something about the workhouse, another woman present, called Grietje Driesman, felt that she had been the victim of malicious gossip about her having been institutionalized in the workhouse. Whether the case (the deposition does not make matters clear), Grietje then accused Wilhelmina Cordes of stealing money from the poor and attacking her. She departed the scene but returned an hour later with her mother. Together, they tried to attack Wilhelmina Cordes once again and went on to say that Cordes’s late mother had been publicly flogged and branded because she had tried to get rid of a baby. This attack on her mother’s honour was apparently deemed very severe, since two new witnesses who had not seen the attack had come to the notary to testify that Wilhelmina Cordes’s mother had not been flogged and branded. These two women knew this because they had helped undress her dead body after she had passed away four years earlier in 1787, and they had not seen any signs of flogging or branding at that time. This fascinating jump in time in the narrative reveals that honour, in the form of the memory of a deceased person, would extend to surviving relatives and would still be deemed important to defend. It also shows how the early modern body itself could be tarnished or marked as dishonourable and that by extension, a lack of brands and flogging wounds functioned as signifiers that the body was honourable, as those who had access to the body could attest.⁷⁷ The performance of honour was thus not only a matter of

⁷⁶ NL-AsdSAA, Notarissen (5075), inv. nr. 13131, CS1750, scan 942. Original text: ‘aldaer een hoope geweld maekte (...) vreeselijk begon uijt te schelden en wel voornaementlijk voor een dieff en dat zijn 1e get vrouw haer Barbara Jochems man zoude verraeden en daer voor een ducaet getrokken hebben van het comptoir zonder egter het comptoir te noemen.’

⁷⁷ It is a demonstration of how disciplinary and punitive measures such as branding and flogging used not just pain but also shame and the damage to one’s reputation. Cf. Sarah Tarlow and Emma Battell Lowman, “How Was the Power of the Criminal Corpse Harnessed in Early Modern England?,” in *Harnessing the Power of the Criminal Corpse*, ed. Sarah Tarlow and Emma Battell Lowman (Cham: Springer International Publishing, 2018), 73–74.

behaviour and practices but was also very directly related to the body as it appeared in the streets, in the market, and even in memory.

The way the body was covered was also an important part of an individual's self-presentation to the outside world in the course of everyday life. Despite everyday transparency and public visibility, there was a stricter covering up of the body itself so as to safeguard its intimacy. Gowing writes: 'Early modern bodies were mostly kept well clothed, covered in layers of inner and outer garments that were worn so long they were likely to become part of both the visible self, and inner subjectivity.'⁷⁸ To uncover the body was to perform a lack of modesty, which 'demonstrates a lack of neighbourliness and hence credit.'⁷⁹ This is also an apt example of how gatekeeping (the body itself) involved aspects of publicness and privacy at the same time: relatively visible people had their bodies covered more strictly. Hats, bonnets, and other headwear were nearly ubiquitous across social classes, although differences in style accentuated differences in social distinction and there was, of course, gendered attire. Streetscape illustrations such as those in Figure 6 and Figure 7 below show how almost everyone – save for small children – would wear headwear outside.⁸⁰ The ubiquity of hats and headwear is a signal example of something that was so taken for granted that it only became visible in written sources when the ordinary situation was (violently) disrupted. Although the depositions only infrequently describe the clothing of suspects, victims, or witnesses, when we do find it mentioned we most often encounter hats and bonnets that were described as being torn off, thrown onto the ground, or torn apart. Such violent removal of clothing was a fairly easy way for attackers to humiliate someone, and the way it was described (along with physical injuries) makes it clear that such details were deemed very significant in accounts of assaults. To note, for example, that one victim had been left 'without wig, hat and with a bleeding face' was to point up the severity of an attack.⁸¹ A hatless person was an eye-catching sight, a sign of disruption and violence: witnesses knew something was afoot when they saw Roelof Verderes 'fleeing without hat into a house' in the Goudsbloemstraat.⁸² Although both men and women were described as being dragged

⁷⁸ Laura Gowing, *Common Bodies: Women, Touch and Power in Seventeenth-Century England* (New Haven; London: Yale University Press, 2003), 34.

⁷⁹ Gowing, *Common Bodies*, 36.

⁸⁰ Bert Gerlagh et al., *Kijk Amsterdam 1700-1800: De mooiste stadsgezichten* (Bussum: Thoth, 2017), 80-251.

⁸¹ NL-AsdSAA, Notarissen (5075), inv. nr. 11735, SF1742, scan 198. Original text: 'sonder Paruijk of hoed op t hoofd en met een bebloed aangesigt.'

⁸² NL-AsdSAA, Notarissen (5075), inv. nr. 11735, SF1742, scan 104. Original text: 'sonder hoed zeer kort daer op in huijs quam vlugten zijnde zeer ontsteld.'

by their hair, such victims were more often women and the act was described more explicitly than with their male counterparts. Catrina Grusers was ‘thrown onto the ground, where she lost her bonnet and was dragged by her hair up to the doorstep of [the suspect’s] lodging house.’⁸³ Either way, for women and men alike, there were clearly sensibilities about having one’s head uncovered to the outside world, which further highlights how publicity and privacy could work in concert rather than being opposed to each other.

We have seen what world of values was both physically inscribed into and more abstractly projected onto the bodies that navigated urban space. Grasping these values help us better understand the circumstances under which the household and its members stepped outside into the streets and led their public lives. We have seen how honour and reputation was established, defended, or degraded by household members, neighbours, and others. There were complex individual and collective layers to honour: on the one hand honour was achieved by the individual body, but on the other it fed into a collective system of performed honour and affirmed reputation, what Roodenburg called the ‘conduct of honour.’⁸⁴ While honour and dishonour were directed essentially at individuals, it easily extended from there to their household and family. When people entered the street, their reputation would precede and follow them. The interactions they were engaged in were highly gendered in the sense that gendered repertoires and norms existed, but it is important also to be mindful that men and women alike would defend their households. These factors form an important backdrop for the spatial practices of gatekeeping evident in the cases to follow in the next section, which will move to the way that space itself and the various boundaries or gateways within it were erected – and transgressed. In what follows I will look at the micro-mobilities that challenged and affirmed these boundaries.

Practices of micro-mobility: Provoking publicity and threading boundaries

In the depositions from 1656, causing a public disturbance was often called *pijpestelderij*, which literally meant ‘tuning the pipes’ (of an organ), signifying loud rowdiness. In one such case, the woodworker Sibbe Isacq was yelling on the street at dusk, ‘tuning the pipes and causing a neighbourhood disturbance’ – to wit, threatening a neighbour with a knife and challenging him to

⁸³ NL-AsdSAA, Notarissen (5075), inv. nr. 11735, SF1742, scan 448. Original text: ‘op de straet op de grond smheet en als haar de muts van het hoofd raekte bij het hair tot op de drempel van zijn logement sleepte.’

⁸⁴ Roodenburg, “De notaris en de erehandel,” 370-371, 386.

come out into the street. The neighbour turned out not to be home, but the point of the woodworker's action was of course to publicly attack his neighbour's honour. Crucially, everyone in the immediate vicinity in the neighbourhood would hear the commotion. Elizabeth Cohen has called similar practices in early modern Rome 'house-scorning,' in which not the person per se was shamed but rather their dwelling.⁸⁵ One of its forms was a ritual in which assaulters 'made a lot of noise: they shouted insults and blew "raspberries"; sometimes they sang, with or without instruments, and the lyrics were invariably rude and usually sexual.'⁸⁶ In Amsterdam, the metaphor of tuning organ pipes is apt for such loud practices, as it captures the cacophony of the ranting and raving that disturbed the neighbourhood peace. In Rome, the noisemaking was often followed by attacks on the door and windows using fists, feet, rocks, and – to leave visible marks – blood, mud, and excrement.⁸⁷ In Amsterdam, what seems more important was getting the victim out of their house. The throwing of rocks, mud, or other items was common but was more of a secondary strategy.

In both the Roman house-scorning cases and in those involving the 'tuning of pipes' in Amsterdam, attracting a neighbourhood audience proved key to the loud spectacle that unfolded in the street. Ironically, in one case, an organ-maker himself had testified that on several occasions he had seen how 'Huijbert de Chair tuned the pipes so much that a crowd of people assembled' in front of a neighbour's house. But it is very clear that no actual tuning of a musical instrument is meant, as additionally, 'the son of the Huijbert de Chair, who is only 13 or 14 years old, not only tuned the pipes, he also drew his knife, threatened and challenged [the neighbour] outside the door.'⁸⁸ In another case 'a certain shrimp girl [(*garneels meijt*)] called Anne with the Flat Nose (...) greatly tuned the pipes, saying that [the victim] was a thief and a crook, a dog and a cuckold.' She added, 'You do not dare to fight a man, so come out and fight me', and spoke 'words so cruel, godless and dishonest that they are not to be repeated, and that hundreds of people assembled.'⁸⁹ The victim of this

⁸⁵ Elizabeth S. Cohen, "Honor and Gender in the Streets of Early Modern Rome," *The Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 22, no. 4 (1992): 598.

⁸⁶ Cohen, "Honor and Gender," 602.

⁸⁷ Cohen, "Honor and Gender," 602.

⁸⁸ NL-AsdSAA, Schout en Schepenen (5061), inv. nr. 267, Attestatieboek, scan 258. Original text: 'de soon van de voorn huijbert de chair wesende maer omtrent 13 a 14 jaren out, voor des producents deur invoegen voorsz niet alleen de pijpen stelde, maer een bloot mes tegensde producent trock, daer mede bij hem tot verscheijden malen drieghde ende buijten de deur eijschte.'

⁸⁹ NL-AsdSAA, Schout en Schepenen (5061), inv. nr. 267, Attestatieboek, scan 281. Original text: 'seecker garneels meijt, genaemt anne mette platte neus (...) voor des requirants deur groote pijpestelderij bedreef, 'scheldende den requirant uijt voor een schelm, een dief en hont een hoornbeest' and 'comter uijt, gij reeckel gij durft tegen geen man staen, maer

treatment was trapped in his own house, because answering the summons and fighting a woman in front of a crowd would bring disrepute, and in any case the attention and publicity generated by the scene was also embarrassing. It is likely that this is exactly why such cases were written down by a public notary, as victims hoped to reclaim their reputation and discredit that of their assailants. In this case, witnesses called Anne with the Flat Nose a ‘well-known whore, who goes into brothels on a daily basis and causes nothing but trouble to neighbours, so much that everyone complains. At night, she assaults everyone, however honest they be may be.’⁹⁰

Challenging people to come out onto the street, or more forcefully dragging them out of their houses, was an important ritual of micro-mobility that reveals the volatile boundaries between house and street. Calling someone out onto the street to fight has been described as a ritualized part of a masculine popular culture of honour, specifically in the cases of taverns and knife-fighting.⁹¹ In this context, Dirk Lueb recently put forward the argument that the street was explicitly chosen as the place where fights were fought because it was a ‘neutral and public no-man’s-land.’⁹² Yet we have already seen that in the cases that originated over the use of the street itself for household purposes, neighbours challenged each other to come out onto the street and fought each other in the spaces they sought to claim. In those cases, the streets were far from a neutral no-man’s-land; who possessed the right to use them was precisely the core of the conflict. Challenging someone to come out onto the street could sometimes be a very practical matter, where challengers had a clear goal: continued access to that specific street. Furthermore, this strategy was not limited to conflicts about masculine honour but was much more widely in evidence. As we have seen in previous cases and will see in more cases to come, women also regularly dared each other to come out onto the street or were challenged to come out of their houses to defend their honour. Van der Heijden’s argument that ‘historians have been too quick to assume that the early modern culture of violence was exclusively male’ also applies to the specific ritual of challenging someone to come out of their house.⁹³ Her analysis of women’s violence is further relevant here, as she shows how a major portion

comter uijt, ende slaet tegens mij gaende soo gruwelijck aen ende spreecken soo godlose ende oneerlijcke woorden, dat het niet om te verhalen en is, sulx datter honderden van menschen vergaderden.’

⁹⁰ NL-AsdSAA, Schout en Schepenen (5061), inv. nr. 267, Attestatieboek, scan 281. Original text: ‘dat de voorsz. anne gehouden wort voor en fameusz hoer, want sij dagelijx oock inde hoerhuyse loopen en verkeert niet anders als de buijren alle overlast aen doende soo dat ijder een over haer is clagend, randende bij avont ende ontijden ijder een aen hoe eerlijck dat de luijden souden mogen wesen.’

⁹¹ Spierenburg, *Men and Violence*; Lueb, “‘Komt voor de deur,” 153–171.

⁹² Lueb, “‘Komt voor de deur,” 171.

⁹³ Van der Heijden, *Women and Crime*, 91.

of the violence between women consisted of violence between neighbours.⁹⁴ In the streets in their own neighbourhood, women could claim their domain with their fists. Furthermore, Van der Heijden shows that there was considerable violent behaviour by women that was more casual or ‘not highly deviant’ compared to the patterns of crime found among women accused of theft and sex crimes; these women were more often convicted of combinations of crimes. In that sense, violent acts ‘were part of everyday street life in early modern cities.’⁹⁵

Challenging people to come out onto the street, then, was not exclusively an aspect of a male culture but rather fed into a broader culture encompassing both violence and the micro-mobilities of everyday life. People easily and often stepped outside their houses, but as a result they were also sensitive to the physical and symbolic boundaries separating house from street. There was also a legal dimension to the difference between house and street. In the case of taverns, the move to ‘take things outside’ had developed among tavern-keepers seeking to evade responsibility: Tavern-keepers were legally obliged to report any act of violence that happened inside their premises, so it became an unwritten rule that fights were to happen outside.⁹⁶ Taverns where violence took place could be temporarily closed.⁹⁷ A similar mechanism may have been at play in the case of residences: An ordinance of 1453 (in use in 1748) stipulated that violence inside the house of the victim was to be tried more harshly, as a killing that might otherwise be considered manslaughter was automatically tried as murder when it happened in the victim’s residence. Individual victims were allowed to defend themselves in their own houses.⁹⁸ In a case from 1742, Jan Portilje exclaimed ‘Are you here to hit me in my own house?!’ when someone he had a conflict with about a debt showed up in his house.⁹⁹ Challenging someone outside of their house thus levelled the playing field and served to legitimize the ensuing violence, and the violence that happened inside was thus delegitimized. In that sense, it was both a customary ritual and a legal strategy to challenge someone to go out the door or for victims to stay safely inside. Leaving the house and accepting the challenge of someone when being called to the door equalled renouncing the legal protection one had at home. Both when

⁹⁴ Van der Heijden, *Women and Crime*, 87.

⁹⁵ Van der Heijden, *Women and Crime*, 90.

⁹⁶ Maarten Hell, “De Amsterdamse herberg (1450-1800): Geestrijk centrum van het openbare leven” (PhD Dissertation, University of Amsterdam, 2017), 263.

⁹⁷ Noordkerk, *Handvesten* (1748), 575.

⁹⁸ Noordkerk, *Handvesten* (1748), 573.

⁹⁹ NL-AsdSAA, Notarissen (5075), inv. nr. 11735, SF1742, scan 108. Original text: ‘kom je mij in (...) mijn eigen huijs slaen’

conflicts moved out of taverns and when they left the interior spaces of residences, it was probably the case that cultural norms and legal precedence codeveloped: Regulations followed norms that prescribed that violence committed inside was worse than violence that occurred outside, which in turn led to customs and rituals in which violence was moved outside.

The more severe version of the ritual of challenging people to come outside did not respect the legal norms cited above: People were sometimes grabbed and literally dragged from their houses into the street outside. Such dragging may not have been a proper way to challenge someone out onto the street. But the humiliation inflicted onto its victim must have been an intentional strategy. When Johanna van Diemel was accused of keeping a brothel (because one of her drunk lodgers had appeared naked in the street), a whole ‘procession of women’ had gathered in front of her door, loudly calling her outside. They then threatened and indeed attempted to drag her by the hair through the double door, ceasing only when a neighbour intervened.¹⁰⁰ Whereas a proper challenge to come out onto the street gave someone the chance to raise or lift the boundary between street and house, forcefully dragging a victim onto the street denied them that authority. A challenger appropriated the power of access and denied the challenged party their power of exclusion. The boundary between street and house was maintained via both the literal material door and the social process of gatekeeping. The door itself, more than merely a physical practicality, also played its ritual role.¹⁰¹

Another major reason to try and move a conflict outside was to generate more attention from bystanders.¹⁰² In one quarrel, Benedictus Hendriks and his two sons ‘yelled “Where is the thief? Where is the thief? We want him out” and added several insults, so that a crowd of people assembled.’¹⁰³ Here we find it pointed out that these men had employed the strategy of causing an uproar so as to attract a crowd. Many other cases offer not as explicit an indication but reveal the same result. What transpired differed from the more ritualized, duel-like tavern fights described by Lueb, in which the crowd had a role as an arbiter of honour. The crowd itself could also be mobilized as a collective violent actor, as when ‘a woman, who the witnesses know was called Janne

¹⁰⁰ NL-AsdSAA, Notarissen (5075), inv. nr. 13131, CS1750, scan 645. Original text: ‘met een heele sleep van vrouwen bij haer een vreeselijk leeven en geweld maekte voor het huijs.’

¹⁰¹ Cf. Jütte, *The Strait Gate*, 134-174.

¹⁰² Lueb, “Komt voor de deur,” 153–71.

¹⁰³ NL-AsdSAA, Notarissen (5075), inv. nr. 13131, CS1750, scan 918.

Brugman and who lived on the Baangracht between the Leidsepoort gate and the Weteringspoort gate, fiercely insulted [the tax officials] and incited the rabble' to such an extent that another suspect could escape.¹⁰⁴

Publicity and the attention of witnesses could also protect victims and be negative for the party who attacked or challenged someone else.¹⁰⁵ In certain rarer cases, the appearance of bystanders deescalated the violence and caused the challenging party to retreat, as Bart Karels did after threatening someone; he then 'left because many people assembled together.'¹⁰⁶ Karels had in some way been affiliated with the brothel where the cousin or niece of Mathijs Schreuder 'was playing whore.'¹⁰⁷ Schreuder had attempted to get her out, and Karels had followed him onto the street, insulting him and telling him to 'be sweet' and to stop making noises against the whores. Here, discretion was favoured over publicity, so when a crowd assembled, Karels quickly left the scene. Yet some kind of honour, it should be observed, played a role: Karels strengthened his threats by asserting his masculinity and asserting, 'You know I am a man.'¹⁰⁸ Van de Pol has described how brothel culture could be a counterculture with its own rules and logic of honour. Especially because it could be humiliating for the men in this subgroup to be dependent on women for income, they may have made extra efforts to defend their fragile masculinity against outsiders.¹⁰⁹

In the case I have just described, the crowd and publicity were mistrusted because conventional norms and honour were not followed. Similarly, certain types of violence were deemed more unacceptable than others, such as men attacking or affronting pregnant or elderly women, or, as we have seen, attacking someone in that person's own house. In those cases, too, perpetrators often sought to avoid rather than summon a crowd. When Jan Portilje had been hit in his own house, the perpetrator was dragged out of the house by two unknown men who had heard the commotion. The perpetrator then tried to challenge Jan Portilje to come outside, after which a crowd assembled and the perpetrator left the scene.¹¹⁰ In a case from 1791, two men attacked a 69-year-old woman

¹⁰⁴ NL-AsdSAA, Notarissen (5075), inv. nr. 13131, CS1750, scan 763.

¹⁰⁵ Cf. Garrioch, *Neighbourhood & Community in Paris*, 42.

¹⁰⁶ NL-AsdSAA, Notarissen (5075), inv. nr. 13131, CS1750, scan 556. Original text: 'gaende hij vervolgens door dien er veel menschen bij een vergaederden weg.'

¹⁰⁷ NL-AsdSAA, Notarissen (5075), inv. nr. 13131, CS1750, scan 556. Original text: 'zijn eijgen nigd die voor hoer speelde.'

¹⁰⁸ NL-AsdSAA, Notarissen (5075), inv. nr. 13131, CS1750, scan 556. Original text: 'je moet zoet wezen', 'hoe kun je zo een leeven maeken tegen de hoeren' and 'je weet immers wel dat ik een kerel ben.'

¹⁰⁹ Van de Pol, *Het Amsterdams hoerdom*, 83–87.

¹¹⁰ NL-AsdSAA, Notarissen (5075), inv. nr. 11735, SF1742, scan 108.

just outside a church, which formed a provocative scene that quickly summoned a crowd, who were able to save the woman from her assailants, who fled.¹¹¹ In a case from 1710, we find someone whose strategy was not to flee but to address the assembled crowd and downplay the transgressive nature of the violence: A woman called Lena, along with her two daughters and one of their husbands, had kicked another women in the Botermarkt, sparking the rumour throughout the market that a man had been responsible for the violence. One of Lena's daughters then put on a public performance to dispel those rumours when she told the assembled bystanders 'while beating her chest' that 'it was no man who did that, but me and my mother.'¹¹² She was protecting the man (either her husband or her brother-in-law), who would probably have been prosecuted and denounced more harshly for attacking a woman than the daughter and mother would have been.¹¹³ She turned the narrative into one where it was 'simply' female neighbours fighting in their own neighbourhood, part of a much more commonly occurring 'repertoire' of female violence.¹¹⁴ All those involved in this conflict lived on or near the Botermarkt, and Lena was even directly a resident of the market space, in a shed that stood against the weighing house (*in een kas tegen de waag aan*). The market was thus her immediate neighbourhood and the place where her household claimed space. In such a situation, actions and words could hardly go unwitnessed. In the next section, I will take a closer look at this inevitable culture of transparency and its spatial distribution throughout the city.

The open house: transparency, class and privacy

In many of the cases described throughout this chapter, we see Eibach's theory of the 'open house' in practice. Houses were not tightly shut off from the street. Many urban inhabitants regularly engaged with the streets from their homes – standing on their doorsteps, or leaning out of windows or atop the closed part of double doors with upper portion opened, fittingly referred to as 'Dutch doors' in American English. It was not just the household that spilled out into the street; the outside world also entered into the spaces of the house with relative ease. And not just in social practice: in the physical design evident in the city, the passage from house to street (and vice versa) was more of

¹¹¹ NL-AsdSAA, Notarissen (5075), inv. nr. 17978, LB1791, scan 403.

¹¹² NL-AsdSAA, Notarissen (5075), inv no. 8068, GE1710, scan 37-38. Original text: 'seggende tegen de omstaande menschen het is geen man die dat gedaan heeft, ik en mijn moeder hebben dat gedaan' and 'slaande met de hand op de borst.'

¹¹³ See for example Muurling, *Everyday crime*, 78. for a discussion on gendered treatments in the criminal justice system across early modern Europe, where women were often punished more leniently for crimes not deemed 'typically female.'

¹¹⁴ Van der Heijden, *Women and Crime*, 87.

a transitional space than a fixed boundary.¹¹⁵ An important insight from architectural history holds that the typical seventeenth-century front house (*voorbuis*), the accessible room next to the street where people often kept a shop, was ‘also considered part of the street.’ Its windows and upper doors were regularly open and ‘the blending between the house and street took place here.’¹¹⁶ The front house was ‘where business was conducted, as well as important social events, and people from outside the household were invited to enter.’¹¹⁷

Furthermore, daily life in the neighbourhood readily brought people into the houses of others. Often witnesses would already have been present in someone’s house before a conflict broke out, and it was also true that people could easily walk into a neighbour’s house if they heard any commotion. Since during the day, physical access was in many non-elite houses basically a matter of opening an unlocked door and walking in (or walking through an open doorway), determining who was given access to a particular space was often much more of a social issue than a material matter determined by locks, gates, or fences. Johanna Grijpenstroom was clear about her authority to decide who could be in her house when, at 10 a.m. on 11 April 1750, Hendrik Albertze angrily entered her home to ask why she did not want to take his male servant (*knegt*) into her house. Johanna had been present in her house with her maidservant and a neighbour, perhaps with the door open so that neighbours and acquaintances could come in. But Hendrik was an unwelcome guest. Johanna did not want to provide lodging for his servant, a man she did not know. ‘I don’t want strange fellows in my house,’ she told Henrik. When Hendrik started threatening her, she took him by the arm to throw him out, saying, ‘Buzz off from my house, bloke.’ He then ‘knocked her dizzy.’¹¹⁸ This case was of course about both an incidental, short-term access to the home (achieved by walking through the door) and more continuous, structural access to a household in the form of lodging.

¹¹⁵ Christoph Heyl argues for London that there was a large difference between the ‘open liminal structures’ of pre-Great Fire houses and the post-Fire terrace houses, the latter marking ‘a trend towards cocooning off individual families. (...) - in many respects the prototype of modern urban life.’ Christoph Heyl, “We Are Not at Home: Protecting Domestic Privacy in Post-Fire Middle-Class London,” *The London Journal* 27, no. 2 (November 1, 2002): 13.

¹¹⁶ Henk Zantkuijl, *Bouwen in Amsterdam: Het woonhuis in de stad* (Amsterdam: Architectura & Natura, 2007), 82.

¹¹⁷ Van den Heuvel, “Gender in the Streets of the Premodern City,” 699.

¹¹⁸ NL-AsdSAA, Notarissen (5075), inv. nr. 13131, CS1750, scan 350. She literally said ‘Kerel scheer je weg uijt mijn huijs’ which is difficult to translate literally, so I have chosen this perhaps ahistorical translation to stress the informal language. He had hit her ‘dat zij zuijzebolde’.

The fact that spaces were not physically demarcated quite so strictly did not mean that access to and ownership of space were straightforward matters. Quite the contrary. In the absence of strong physical barriers, there was constant negotiation about which space was appropriate for whom, at what time, and under which circumstances. In a case from 1750, Jacob Harmeling was sitting in his front house reading a newspaper together with Grietje Gerritz, who was likely an older woman. Jacob Harmeling was challenged to come out of his house by a master cooper. When he refused, another man called Dirk Voogelenzang tried to drag him out but was stopped by Grietje Gerritz, who pulled Jacob back in and pushed Dirk out saying, ‘you [Jacob Harmeling] get inside, and you [Dirk Voogelenzang] get out.’ Dirk Voogelenzang then insulted her and said: ‘You old *donder*, are you defending him? Then let your husband come out!’ However, he further respected her door-keeping and stayed outside.¹¹⁹ The case shows how the process of gatekeeping was not merely a question of erecting *physical* barriers, but above all one of drawing *social* boundaries. As physical entities, doors were physically easily permeable, but socially they could be closed off. Even though he was ready to use violence on the man he was challenging, Dirk Voogelenzang respected the social boundary drawn by an older woman and would not commit violence against her, which would probably have been judged as much more severe and inappropriate behaviour.

Examples such as those given above show how life at home was in direct contact with the street, mediated by a culture with rules about the opening and closing of spaces and the drawing of social boundaries. Interestingly, the situation contrasts starkly with Simon Schama’s characterization that “‘Home’ existed in the Dutch mentality in a kind of dialectical polarity with “‘world,” and in particular the street,¹²⁰ as we see instead significant overlap between house and street and no dearth of activity spanning home and street. Yet it is important to account for differences between people of different classes. Schama’s narratives, one should note, have been challenged because his ‘starting point is the basic assumption of a broad cultural unity [and he interpreted] this unity as a sort of conscience collective’¹²¹; he failed ‘to differentiate between groups within a given society.’¹²² In this regard it seems plausible that the strict division between home and street, or in Schama’s words a

¹¹⁹ NL-AsdSAA, Notarissen (5075), inv. nr. 13131, CS1750, scan 543. Original text: ‘zeijde jij er binnen en jij, spreekende tegen gem Dirk Voogelenzang, jij er buijten’ and ‘jou ouwendonder neemt gij het er voor op, laet je man dan koomen,’

¹²⁰ Schama, *The Embarrassment of Riches*, 389.

¹²¹ J. L. Price, “The Dangers of Unscientific History. Schama and the Dutch Seventeenth-Century,” *BMGN - Low Countries Historical Review* 104, no. 1 (January 1, 1989): 40

¹²² Peter Burke, “A Delicious Satisfaction with the Material World,” *London Review of Books*, November 12, 1987.

‘struggle between worldliness and homeliness,’¹²³ represents a mentality possessed ‘mostly [by] ministers of the Reformed Church and self-appointed critics of contemporary morality,’¹²⁴ and thus more a mentality of the (aspiring) upper classes. Everyday practice for most people was oriented differently. Indeed, the openness and everyday transparency characteristic of most households was not replicated by elite house(hold)s. The urban mansions on the canal belt and elsewhere in the city were some of the few places where people succeeded in fostering what we might call a culture of everyday privacy, or at least stronger seclusion from the street.¹²⁵ Houses built on the canal belt in the fourth expansion after the second half of the seventeenth century had higher front steps and separate entrances for servants.¹²⁶ While many lower- and middle-class people could be found sitting, socializing, and selling on the stairs down into cellars or up on the front step, the fronts of the larger, upper-class houses would often have luxuriously decorated, veranda-like raised stairs with cast-iron handrails, much further removed from the street than what we see with other residences in the city.¹²⁷ Of course, people elsewhere also kept secrets and tried to keep events hidden from neighbours and others, but to do so was judged negatively and suspect. In contrast, the urban upper classes possessed a ‘heightened awareness of the need for privacy,’ explained and justified in etiquette manuals.¹²⁸

This culture of transparency’s clash with a desire for secrecy is well illustrated in a case from 1750, in which Jan Anthoni Klemrink, who lived on the Singel, was visited by the sawmiller Jan van der Oudemolen to discuss a debt on behalf of one of the many people that Klemrink had been authorize to represent. The sawmiller came to the door and was invited inside – but he refused,

¹²³ Schama, *The Embarrassment of Riches*, 389.

¹²⁴ Price, “The Dangers of Unscientific History,” 40

¹²⁵ Phillips, *Well-Being in Amsterdam’s Golden Age*, 144. For a more general idea of the elite culture of privacy, see Hanneke Ronnes, *Architecture and elite culture in the United Provinces, England and Ireland, 1500-1700*, (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2006), 135–137.

¹²⁶ R. Meischke et al., *Huizen in Nederland. Amsterdam* (Zwolle, Amsterdam: Waanders Uitgevers and Vereniging Hendrick de Keyser, 1995), 73.

¹²⁷ Lesger, *Shopping Spaces*, 44-45; Theo Rouwhorst, “Oog voor detail: Stoeppen,” *Binnenstad*, August 2009.

¹²⁸ John Loughman and John Michael Montias, *Public and Private Spaces: Works of Art in Seventeenth-Century Dutch Houses* (Zwolle: Waanders, 2000), 28-29. Loughman and Montias see this etiquette as part of imported French tastes and fashions. In a way, the view that the Dutch upper classes wanted more privacy then becomes an extension of Norbert Elias’s view that a self-constraining code of conduct was first part of court cultures and gradually spread to wider society. A crucial difference is that here it was not a court culture but a culture of rich merchants and urban patricians. Cf. Roger Chartier, “Introduction,” in *A History of Private Life. Passions of the Renaissance.*, ed. Roger Chartier, trans. Arthur Goldhammer, vol. 3 (Cambridge (Massachusetts) and London: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1989), 15-16.

remaining on the front step (*stoep*). ‘You can speak to me here’, he said, to which Jan Anthoni Klemrink replied, ‘I request that you come inside, because I do not speak to people on the front step or in the door opening,’ then demanded that Jan van der Oudemolen come into his side chamber.¹²⁹ Further details from this deposition show that it was specifically the front step that Jan Anthonie Klemrink found problematic: He testified that he had previously requested his clerk to ask Jan van der Oudemolen which coffeehouse he frequented, so that they could speak there.¹³⁰ The meeting being ‘public’ was not the problem; what bothered Klemrink was that a discussion on the doorstep might allow his neighbours to see and hear what was transpiring. Here, the location where one spoke or conversed carried connotations of social status.¹³¹ While poorer urban inhabitants required ‘open sociability’ and publicity because the affirmation of their public honour by neighbours was a form of social capital,¹³² the urban upper classes affirmed their honour precisely through their avoidance such open sociability, especially with those they deemed socially inferior.¹³³

In stark contrast to Jan Anthoni Klemrink, non-elite people all over the rest of the city discussed all sorts of things on their front steps and in their doorways. In contrast to the elite in their townhouses, many more residents had the upper part of their double doors open for sociability, and their front steps sometimes contained benches or stools on which to sit (both visible in Figure 6 and 7 below, and very visible in Figure 18 on page 190.). The half-opened double door and the front step served the same role in supporting open sociability that has been convincingly attributed to the balcony in Italian cities and the *Geräms* (a cage-like framed structure between house and street) in Frankfurt am Main.¹³⁴ A regularly used description in the depositions was ‘lying over the door’ (*over de deur leggende*), meaning that a person had the upper part of their double door open and was leaning

¹²⁹ NL-AsdSAA, Notarissen (5075), inv. nr. 13131, CS1750, scan 465. Original text: ‘ik verzoek dat je in huijs komt want ik spreek geen luijden op d’stoep off in de deur’

¹³⁰ NL-AsdSAA, Notarissen (5075), inv. nr. 13131, CS1750, scan 465. Original text: ‘off hij dan gelieffde te seggen in wat coffij huijs off waar hij quam.’

¹³¹ Spatial custom and social status were closely connected. Heyl also emphasized the middle-class character of the domestic privacy sought through post-Fire London architecture. Heyl, “We Are Not at Home.”

¹³² Roodenburg, “Eer en oneer,” 143.

¹³³ Sandra Cavallo has shown how in seventeenth-century Roman residential palaces, privacy was mostly achieved for male members of the household but not for its female inhabitants. Further gendered differences in the elite culture of privacy/transparency in early modern Amsterdam represent a fruitful topic for study, but as the depositions do not often depict the everyday life of the upper classes, this cannot be done here. Sandra Cavallo, “Space, Privacy and Gender in the Roman Baroque Palace,” *Historische Anthropologie* 26, no. 3 (December 1, 2018): 301-302.

¹³⁴ Alexander Cowan, “Seeing Is Believing: Urban Gossip and the Balcony in Early Modern Venice,” *Gender & History* 23, no. 3 (November 1, 2011): 721–38; Jeannette Kamp, *Crime, Gender and Social Control in Early Modern Frankfurt Am Main* (Brill 2019), 108.

on the lower part. This way, men and women were at home and in their street simultaneously, and it is clear that many people passed time leisurely like this, chatting with neighbours and passers-by. An illustrative scene on the Nieuwendijk on a late summer evening, taken from a 1750 deposition, reveals the maidservant of the surgeon Niclaes van der Meulen lying over her door while neighbour Dorothea Dolt, also a maidservant, did the same. It was the 25th of June at ten in the evening. The surgeon's maidservant shouted inside to a male servant: 'Boy, shut up, the crazy woman would laugh at that.'¹³⁵ Dorothea Dolt then got in a quarrel with the surgeon's maidservant because she felt offended, since she was the only other woman present and felt that she had been called crazy.¹³⁶ This small episode shows how conversations within households could carry across the street into other houses and how people could speak to each other from house(hold) to house(hold).

Interestingly, this difference of an open and transparent sociability for the lower classes persisted into the nineteenth and even twentieth centuries. Ruitenbeek has argued that a strict ideal of domesticity was certainly not applicable for lower class women in the Jordaan in Amsterdam in the first half of the nineteenth century.¹³⁷ Similarly, Vrints found mechanisms of a culture of openness in the first half of the twentieth century in Antwerp: 'just like in "traditional" societies, characterised by an oral culture, the voice of women in Antwerp's working-class neighbourhoods was an important regulation and controlling mechanism.'¹³⁸ Furthermore, the spatial regime of lower class inhabitants of Antwerp that Vrints described looks a lot like the spatial regime of premodern and early modern cities, where a public/private dichotomy did not apply or only to a limited extent, and no rigid gendered separation of spheres was found.¹³⁹ What these observations suggest, is that social class could be a more important factor than time, and that one city housed multiple 'modernities' at once.

Turning back to culture of openness of the long eighteenth century, exchanging information, gossiping, or complaining on the front step or in the doorway was an important instrument of collective surveillance and social control. On another summer evening in 1750 at half past ten, Pieter Meijer, lodging-house keeper in the Jan de Vriesensteeg on the Oudezijds Voorburgwal, stood by his

¹³⁵ NL-AsdSAA, Notarissen (5075), inv. nr. 13131, CS1750, scan 521. Original text: 'jonge houdt u stil de sottin zou er om lachen'

¹³⁶ NL-AsdSAA, Notarissen (5075), inv. nr. 13131, CS1750, scan 521.

¹³⁷ Olga Ruitenbeek, "'Hem – de wereld, haar – het huis'? De intrede van het huiselijkheidsideaal onder de Amsterdamse volkswomen 1811-1838" (MA Thesis, University of Amsterdam, 2009), 78–81.

¹³⁸ Vrints, *Het Theater van de Straat*, 195.

¹³⁹ Vrints, *Het Theater van de Straat*, 197-199.

door and talked to his neighbour. He complained ‘about the bad times, among other things about his neighbours who owed him money and now passed his door and got their drinks elsewhere.’¹⁴⁰ One of those neighbours, Jurriaan Grummel passed by and asked if Pieter Meijer was talking about him. Pieter Meijer replied, ‘Yes monsieur Grummel, I also speak about your wife and whether you know she owes me money,’ and followed Grummel into his house.¹⁴¹ When Jurriaan Grummel still refused, Pieter Meijer asked if Grummel’s wife was ‘his wife or his whore’, reminding him of his financial obligation as a husband and unkindly connecting a woman’s sexual chastity to her husband’s marital obligations.¹⁴² He further said that ‘he would consider him a defaulter’ (*kwade betaelder*). After this, Jurriaan Grummel’s wife rose from her bed and punched Pieter Meijer in the face. The case shows a man gossiping about his neighbours and spreading rumours about them as a way of pressuring them to pay a debt. Such gossip at the doorstep was a powerful instrument, often associated with women but also wielded by men.¹⁴³ It is an important detail in this case that Pieter Meijer testified against these neighbours and successfully presented himself as the victim in the incident. It was acceptable to gossiping about neighbours and to publicly hold them accountable of neighbours, or in any case at least Pieter Meijer’s strategy was successful: Jurriaan Grummel and his wife had to appear before the chief officer.¹⁴⁴

¹⁴⁰ NL-AsdSAA, Notarissen (5075), inv. nr. 13131, CS1750, scan 633. Original text: ‘over de slegte tijd, onder andern aenhaelde dat zijn buuren die hem geld schuldig waeren zijn deur nu voorbij gingen en hun drank op een ander haelden’

¹⁴¹ NL-AsdSAA, Notarissen (5075), inv. nr. 13131, CS1750, scan 633. Original text: ‘Ja Monsieur Grummel ik spreek van nu ook, wegens je vrouw off je weet dat zij mij geld schuldig is’

¹⁴² The logic seems to be that if Grummel had sex with his wife without honoring his obligations as her husband, he would be treating her like a whore in the eyes of the outside world. Original text: ‘vroeg off het dan zijn vrouw off hoer was’

¹⁴³ Capp, *When Gossips Meet*, 59–60.

¹⁴⁴ NL-AsdSAA, Schout en Schepenen (5061), inv. nr. 176, Schoutsrol 1749-1751, scan 91.

Figure 6. Life on the street and *stoep*, cutouts from H. P. Schouten, Bethaniëndwarsstraat, 1787 (left), Vijgendam, 1796 (right) and Grimburgwal, ca. 1796 (under).



Figure 7. Life on the street and *stoep*, cutouts from H. P. Schouten, Oudezijds Achterburgwal, 1790 (above), Handboogstraat, 1793 (left) and Nieuwmarkt, 1781 (right)



Figure 8. A woman leans over the window, by Jurriaan Andriessen, 1765.



Besides possessing a culture of everyday transparency on doorsteps, many households shared various alleys, staircases and hallways, and it was very common for houses to contain several households. Many houses built in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries throughout the entire city contained upstairs rooms that could be rented out separately.¹⁴⁵ Certain conflicts provide insightful snapshots into such residential situations. For example, in a house above a grocer's in the Dijkdwaarsstraat near the Nieuwmarkt, Grietje Witte shared a staircase with a woman called Caetje, 'who lived in a room in the same house.' When two other women came to visit Grietje Witte, they encountered Caetje in the staircase, who complained that 'you people always come here, what kind of *konkels* are you?' (a *konkel* was a malicious gossip or a wasteful person, or served as a more general slur for women) and proceeded to say, 'Why are you always coming to that *Noordse konkel*? I do not know if she is home.'¹⁴⁶ Grietje Witte heard the exchange and responded to her neighbour: 'Popish devil, can you not leave me in peace? The people that visit me are not *konkels*.' After this, Caetje's sister Lijstje, 'who lived in the cellar under the house', ascended the stairs and attacked Grietje Witte, which prompted two men 'who lived in the same house' to intervene.¹⁴⁷ The tableau sketched above shows a house filled with very different people, with different religious and migrant backgrounds. At least three women who lived there in separate (cellar) rooms were present, and then there were the two men, evidence that there were at least four but perhaps even five or more separate residential units in the house, along with a grocery shop. Of course, perhaps Caetje and her sister Lijstje considered themselves to be a household unto themselves, but they lived on different floors in separate parts of the house. Voices easily carried from one room to another, as we see from Caetje's initial irritation that her neighbour was having visitors over.

A 1742 case from the depositions about a conflict over an attic space shows the practices of shared living arrangements in further detail: Helena Nulle and her husband Alexander Ewald ran a textile shop on the Rechtboomsloot, and Barta Kool lived with her husband in a room upstairs. They had separate doors to enter their residences but they shared the attic space, a common arrangement.¹⁴⁸ When Helena Nulle and Barta Kool argued about the hanging of laundry in the attic, the heated discussion could be heard from the front room downstairs by a seamstress, who intervened. Later

¹⁴⁵ R. Meischke et al., *Huizen in Nederland. Amsterdam*, 47-49.

¹⁴⁶ It is likely that Grietje Witte was of Scandinavian origin. *Noordse* could mean 'Norwegian' or 'northern' and as such was also used as a more general term for Scandinavian.

¹⁴⁷ NL-AsdSAA, Notarissen (5075), inv. nr. 13131, CS1750, scan 629.

¹⁴⁸ R. Meischke et al., *Huizen in Nederland. Amsterdam*, 47.

that month Helena Nulle assaulted Barta Kool in her room with a stick. This time, a neighbour from an adjacent house heard the violence and tried to intervene but found the door from the street to the stairs to Barta Kool's room locked. Barta Kool also testified that after this violent incident, when she wanted to go out she found that the door to the street was locked even though she had unlocked it in the morning and the door 'normally only serve[d] as exit for herself and not for Helena Nulle or her husband, who have their own exit.'¹⁴⁹ It was clear that Helena Nulle had planned her act of violence and by locking the door had ensured that neighbours would not be able to intervene, although the sounds of the altercation had carried through the neighbourhood nonetheless. The case shows a mix of arrangements where space was compartmentalized and claimed for exclusive use – the separate doors – while other spaces, such as the attic space, were semi-collective and shared. We also see that a locked door was an irregularity that indicated the likelihood of malicious intentions, as people would normally unlock their front doors in the morning.

A case in the Jordaan further shows how houses and alleys were delicately shared spaces where voices easily travelled into other households. The violent and tragic case in the Blauwegang in the Oude Looierstraat started with a quarrel between women: 'How could you treat that old woman like that?' Maria Borman yelled from her room through the walls and floors at Jannetje Faggala, who lived one floor below her.¹⁵⁰ Subsequently, Maria went downstairs because Jannetje's daughter had been mistreating (*'quaelijk bejegenende'*) Engel Sijbrants, another woman living in the house. As the verbal abuse turned into physical abuse, the house in this small alley of the Jordaan was soon transformed into a crime scene. Maria had grabbed a piece of wood; Jannetje, a knife, with which she stabbed Maria, right in front of the window where she had been sitting. Without getting to say goodbye to her daughter who had just gone out on an errand, Maria died in the chair where her neighbours had sat her down after Jannetje had stabbed her. This was a case where a conflict within a house was heard and seen from the very beginning by those who lived in the alley. Not only the house but the whole alley seemed to have been filled primarily with women. Six women, of whom four were widows, gave witness statements. We find descriptions of their voices sounding through walls, floors, and streets. The women watched one another and the alley through the windows,

¹⁴⁹ NL-AsdSAA, Notarissen (5075), inv. nr. 11735, SF1742, scan 78. Original text: 'Welke in die tijd alleen tot een uijtgang diende voor haar eerste getuige en niet voor haar Helena Nulle of haer man welke een andere uijtgang hebben'

¹⁵⁰ NL-AsdSAA, Notarissen (5075), inv. nr. 13131, CS1750, scan 194.

which shows them living close to one another and sharing a relatively small amount of space. They were part of one another's direct social environment in a neighbourhood where the current concept of 'privacy' was not only practically unavailable but was perhaps even undesirable or suspect. It is useful to return to Kilian, who distinguishes between the liberal view, where privacy is a privilege, and the civic republican view, where it is a deprivation. The absence of privacy and the constant publicity of life in the Jordaan can, in that sense, be understood through both perspectives: the ever-present gaze of neighbours has aspects of both the 'empowering activity of a community and (...) the repressive surveillance of the panopticon.'¹⁵¹ Here it is amply demonstrated that in the neighbourhoods where scarce space was intimately shared, community was not optional, and the permanent attention one received from one's fellow neighbours provided both an assuring social safety net of community and an ever-present gaze that followed one's every step.¹⁵²

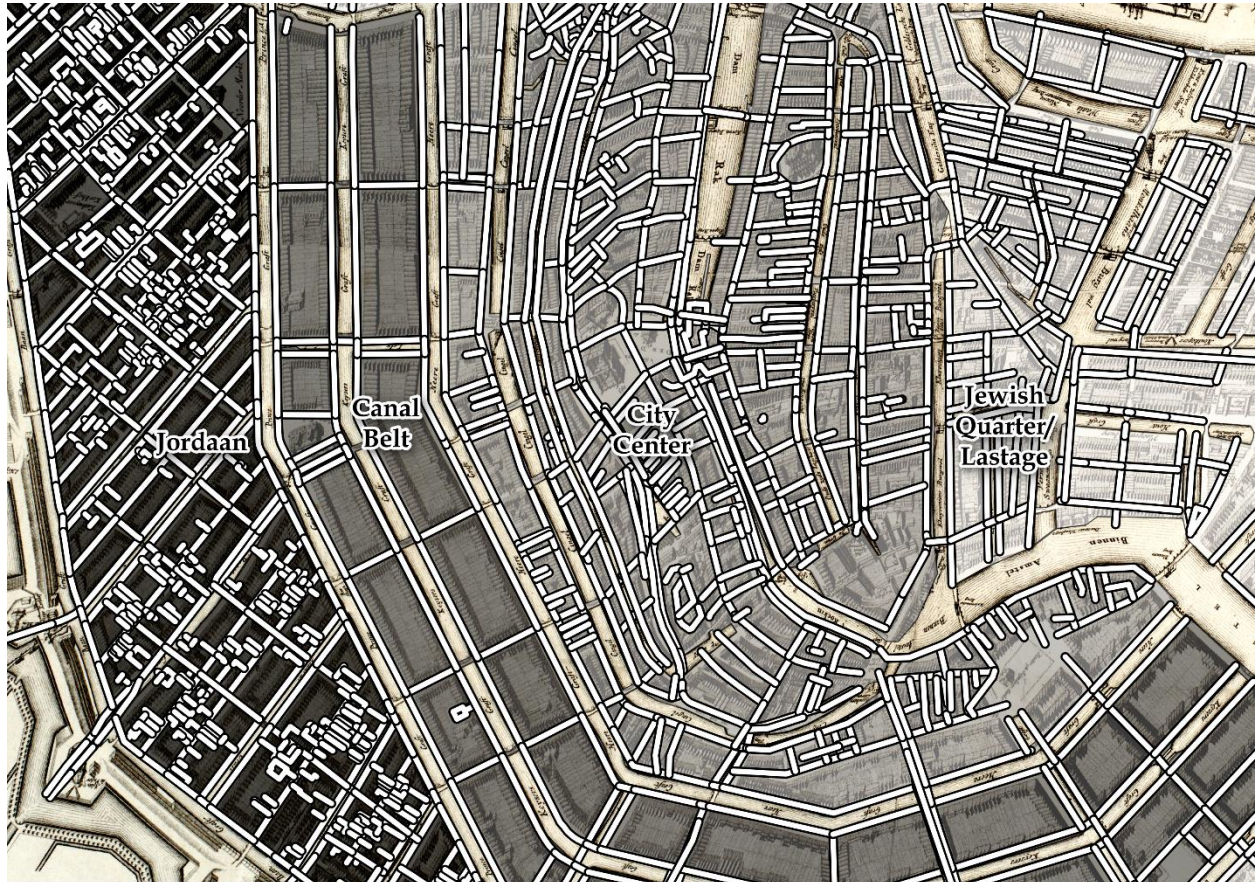
The cityscape and the morphology of the alley-filled Jordaan was an entirely different world from the orderly structured canal belt. These distinct realms yielded different sorts of social lives and orientations taken towards one's fellow urban inhabitants. Map 8 shows how the Jordaan and the city centre were much more complex in terms of the density and number of streets and alleys. The dataset used for this visualization, a query for the year 1750 from the reference database Adamnet, may not even contain all the alleys, but it includes as many as were traceable. Even if a significant part of urban life in alleys can perhaps never be modelled in detail, we can still clearly see the general differences in distribution throughout the city in Map 8 below. As we have also seen in Chapter 1, the streets of the Jordaan were former suburban pathways that had been absorbed into the city, while the grid-structured canal belt had been drawn up in straight lines. We have already seen in Chapter 1 how the design and its history had influenced mobilities throughout the city, but this also meant that in the Jordaan, a manifold network of alleys and courtyards had been created. An inhabitant of the Jordaan had to navigate a much more complex web of streets and alleys in their direct environment than someone living in the canal district. Some alleys had the same name as other alleys elsewhere in the city; certain alleys were known by several names. Some of the alleys in the FOSGUS database could not be traced at all, while others could only be traced back to the streets they were located on. Generally, a *gang* was a blind alley and a *steeg* was an alley that ran to

¹⁵¹ Kilian, "Public and Private," 119.

¹⁵² Eibach, "Das Offene Haus," 628.

another street, but these rules were not absolute. Sometimes, a street was also known as a *steeg* or the other way round.

Map 8. The complexity of street structure visualized through the Adamlink streets



Most alleys were blind and ran towards the entrances of houses rather than to another street. The relation of such alleys to the street is of special interest: Were they to be understood as accessible subdivisions of the street that branched into blocks of houses? Or were they, rather, extensions of a house, as was the front step extending into the street? I would argue, in the spirit of the open house conception, that they were both simultaneously: On the one hand, the alley could be a place where neighbours shared collective facilities such as rain cisterns or simply where people sat down leisurely and talked to their neighbours, like on the doorstep. For example, on a Sunday in February in 1791, the pregnant Mariane Dina Bauduins sat on a rain cistern in front of her house in the Blekersgang, an alley next to the brewery the Two Keys on the Prinsengracht, between the Molenpad and the

Runstraat.¹⁵³ On the other hand, the alley was also an open space not limited to its residents. On his way home one night in September 1791, Moses Nathan saw what looked like someone stealing or smuggling tobacco in an alley (where he did not live). He simply walked into the alley to inspect the scene and saw no problem in reporting that he had done so.¹⁵⁴

The *stegen* that connected different streets were more or less something between a street and a *gang*. As thoroughfares, they also had a very open and transparent character, which was combined with the intimacy of the *gangen*. When something happened in such alleys, there were often ample witnesses, since alley-dwellers could clearly hear people talk when they stood in their alley or could see people entering the alley. The murder of Red Pieternel in 1791 provides a case in point.¹⁵⁵ It happened in the Devil's Corner (*Duvelshoek*), a neighbourhood of alleys that connected the Reguliersdwarsstraat and the Reguliersbreestraat. A total of ten people saw and heard the scene when, at 1 a.m., the woman was stabbed in one alley, fled to another around the corner, then died. Across two depositions, four people are described hearing two people enter the Spaarpotsteeg from the Vijzelstraat and a man saying, 'You thunder-whore, give me my money back or I will kick you to your death.'¹⁵⁶ Six other people saw that a woman then entered the Sint Pietersteeg (an alley sometimes called a street, the Sint Pieterstraat) and fell down bleeding. A crowd of neighbours and passers-by quickly assembled and tried to help the woman, but to no avail. A final witness attested that she spoke briefly to the suspected perpetrator, whom she described as having a 'black and mothy' face, but 'because of the darkness' she could not see exactly where he went.¹⁵⁷ This shows how visibility within the alley was high but did not reach very far. This tragic case reveals how alleys were open living spaces filled with neighbours whose eyes and ears were attuned to what went on there.

¹⁵³ NL-AsdSAA, Notarissen (5075), inv. nr. 17978, LB1791, scan 79.

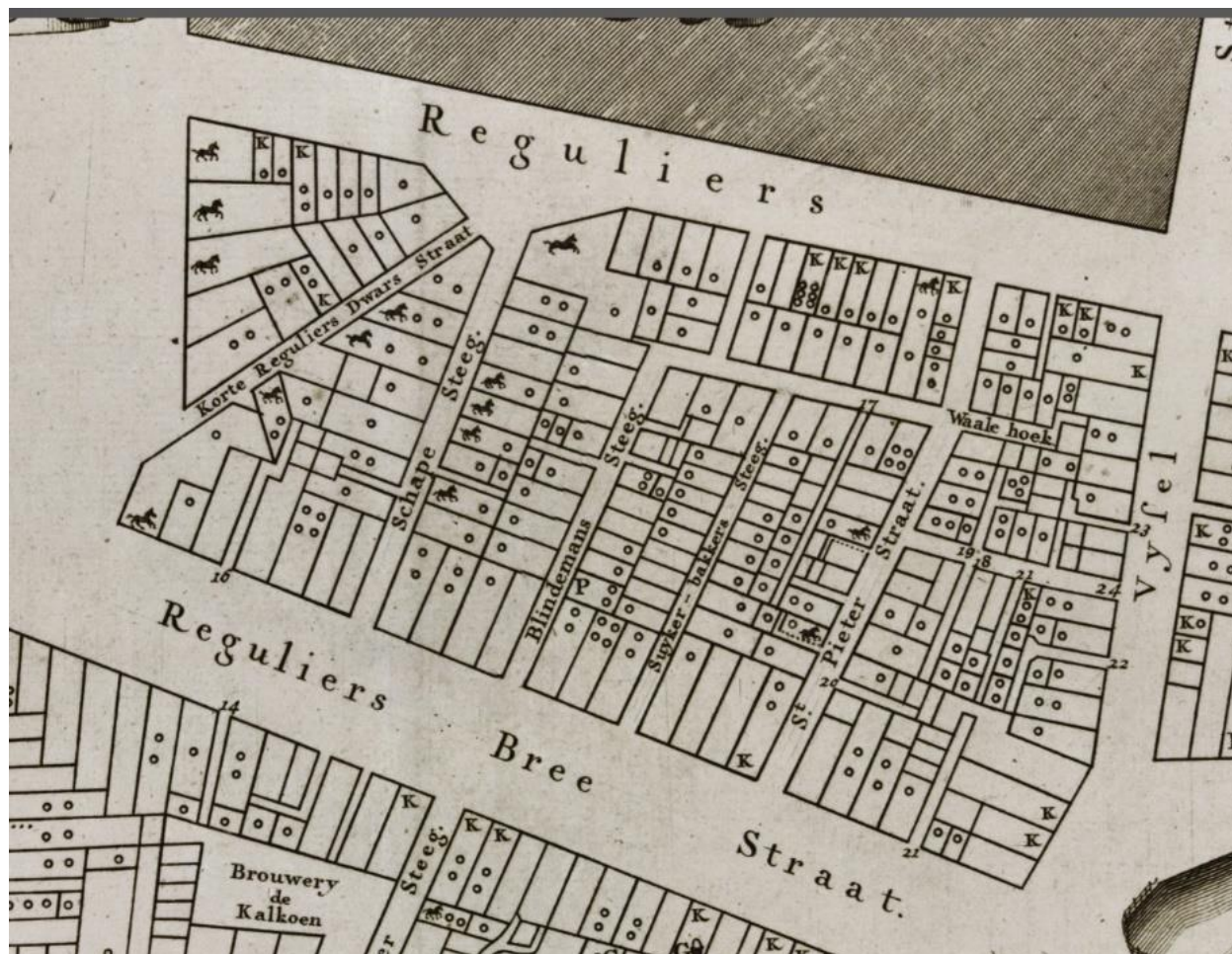
¹⁵⁴ NL-AsdSAA, Notarissen (5075), inv. nr. 17978, LB1791, scan 346.

¹⁵⁵ NL-AsdSAA, Notarissen (5075), inv. nr. 17978, LB1791, scan 297-299.

¹⁵⁶ NL-AsdSAA, Notarissen (5075), inv. nr. 17978, LB1791, scan 297. Original text: 'donderhoer geef mij mijn Geld weerom, of ik steek je dood.'

¹⁵⁷ NL-AsdSAA, Notarissen (5075), inv. nr. 17978, LB1791, scan 298. Original text: 'swart en mottig van aangesigt' and 'doch dat zij door de donkerte niet heeft kunnen onderscheijden, of hij verder de weg naa de munt, dan wel naa de bootermarkt genoomen heeft.'

Map 9. The Devil's Corner (*Duvelshoek*), 1736



As we have seen, then, one's own house, the doorstep, alleys, and the neighbourhood as a whole were places where events would often be seen and heard by many others. The house and its immediate surroundings were highly transparent to onlookers, especially neighbours. This environment was not 'public' in the sense that it was for anyone to see; rather, it was accessible for a very specific group of people, such as neighbouring households. The structure of the streets and houses fostered a community of neighbours, with the important consequence that for people to engage in clandestine or secret activities, they would either need support or tacit toleration from neighbours or would have to divert their doings to a location further away from home. Crane's argument that privacy was something found outside follows this logic as well, connecting privacy

closely with mobility.¹⁵⁸ A classic example of a location where people found ‘privacy in public’ away from their home were the city fortifications. Christopher Corely has described how young people in early modern Dijon used the city walls as a place to hang out, engaging in such juvenile behaviour as throwing snowballs or taking strolls with lovers, away from the prying eyes of normal street life.¹⁵⁹

Two cases from the depositions on same-sex practices between men (which were deemed ‘sodomy’) reveal the fortifications to be a place beyond the surveillance of the eyes on the street in general. In 1791, Arnoldus Gregoor attested that he had gone to the fortifications to fit a pair of trousers.¹⁶⁰ He there encountered two men engaged in an even more intimate act than trying on clothes: ‘When he arrived at the fortifications between the Raampoort (gate) and the Mill the Victor, (...) he saw two persons unknown to him, flat on the ground, with their back to the wall of the fortifications, with their trousers opened and playing back and forth with each other’s manhood.’ After Arnoldus Gregoor reported what he had seen in a coffeehouse he frequented, he and other witnesses returned to the scene to find one of the men ‘taking the manhood [of the other man] to his mouth.’¹⁶¹ Arnoldus Gregoor and the men from the coffeehouse then attacked them. Attacks on ‘sodomites’ in the act had become more common after a wave of prosecutions against male same-sex activities throughout the Dutch Republic around 1730 had brought them to public attention. This surge of prosecution marked the moment when homosexuality became an explicit public concern rather than a hushed open secret.¹⁶² In another case of sex between two men, a downstairs neighbour heard a ‘terrible roaring’ after which she heard her upstairs neighbour Gerrit Peulenbroek say to an unknown man: ‘Isn’t your desire now fed?’ and, later, ‘You owe me 3 guilders from that time at the Raampoort.’¹⁶³ The incident demonstrates even further how the fortifications (and perhaps specifically those around the Raampoort) were a good place to remain unseen and unheard:

¹⁵⁸ Crane, “Illicit Privacy and Outdoor Spaces,” 5.

¹⁵⁹ Christopher R. Corley, “On the Threshold: Youth as Arbiters of Urban Space in Early Modern France,” *Journal of Social History* 43, no. 1 (2009): 139–56.

¹⁶⁰ NL-AsdSAA, Notarissen (5075), inv. nr. 17978, LB1791, scan 174.

¹⁶¹ NL-AsdSAA, Notarissen (5075), inv. nr. 17978, LB1791, scan 174-176. Original text: ‘op de schans tusschen de Raampoort ende Molen de Victor gekomen zijnde, en zyn broek bezigtigende, op dat zelve Ogenblik gezien heeft twee hem onbekende personen, plat op de Grond naast elkanderen, met de rug aen tegens de muur der Vest heeft zien zitten, welker broeken geopend waren, en Speelende over en weder met de manlijkheid van elkanderen’ and ‘by herhaling met zyn hand, de manlijkheid (...) aan zyn mond bragt’.

¹⁶² Theo van der Meer, “Demasqué van het weten. Seksuele ontologie en homoseksualiteit ten tijde van de Republiek,” *De Achttiende Eeuw* 41 (2009): 95–111.

¹⁶³ NL-AsdSAA, Notarissen (5075), inv. nr. 17978, LB1791, scan 193. Original text: ‘vreesselijk geraas,’ ‘heb jij nou jou lust niet lekker gevoed?’ and ‘ik moet nog een drie Gulden van Jou hebben van toen bij de raampoort’.

engaging in same-sex acts at home could alert the neighbours.¹⁶⁴ The prosecutions around 1730 had also revealed that many people had been aware of the sexual behaviour of their neighbours for years or even decades, further demonstrating that tacit toleration on the part of neighbours was an important factor for behaviour that challenged conventional norms.¹⁶⁵

For activities that one would want to keep out of public view, mobility was a key to privacy and secrecy. Hardwick has shown how there was an ‘intimate economy of reproduction’ in place for pregnant but unmarried early modern French women, who could discreetly rent a room with a landlady for the purposes of giving birth, sometimes very near their own neighbourhoods and sometimes much further away, even out of town.¹⁶⁶ Further examples of places where people sought privacy away from their homes and neighbourhoods for more everyday activity were private rooms in inns.¹⁶⁷ Given the rise in ‘sodomy’ prosecutions, some had counted on the sealed lips of publicans.¹⁶⁸ It was nonetheless difficult to avoid other people hearing and seeing activity in inns because early modern houses were permeable and thin-walled, and gossip spread fast, although heterosexual couples could engage in secret sex more easily than same-sex pairs since they could pretend to be man and wife. In 1742, neighbours from the Ridderstraat Marijtje (last name unknown) and a ‘certain person called Net’ had pretended to be a married couple at a tavern in the Oudezijds Armsteeg (roughly 400 meters away from the Ridderstraat). They tricked the tavernkeeper for eight days, up until her husband and his wife came to confront the naked couple in bed.¹⁶⁹ Some other cases of illicit sex found in the depositions concerned people frequenting inns in other cities. In 1656, Jannetje Hendricks and Johannes Bien pretended to be husband and wife in an inn in Haarlem and had sex, even though Jannetje was married to another man.¹⁷⁰ The same tactic of mobility was also used for same-sex practices, although no pretence of marriage was necessary to share a bed, since innkeepers would be ‘expecting those of the same sex to lodge together.’¹⁷¹ It was

¹⁶⁴ City fortifications are also mentioned as location for discreet sex in Theo van der Meer, *Sodoms zaad in Nederland: het ontstaan van homoseksualiteit in de vroegmoderne tijd* (Nijmegen: SUN, 1995), 242–48.

¹⁶⁵ Van der Meer, “Demasqué van het weten,” 104.

¹⁶⁶ Julie Hardwick, *Sex in an Old Regime City: Young Workers and Intimacy in France, 1660-1789* (Oxford, New York: Oxford University Press, 2020), 140–68.

¹⁶⁷ Crane, “Illicit Privacy and Outdoor Spaces,” 16.

¹⁶⁸ Van der Meer, “Demasqué van het weten,” 99; Leo Boon, “Het jaar waarin elke jongen een meisje nam. De sodomietenvolgingen in Holland in 1730,” *Groniek* 12, no. 66 (January 1, 1980): 16.

¹⁶⁹ NL-AsdSAA, Notarissen (5075), inv. nr. 11735, SF1742, scan 266. Original text: ‘zeker persoon genaemd Net.’

¹⁷⁰ NL-AsdSAA, Schout en Schepenen (5061), inv. nr. 267, Attestatieboek, scan 138. Her servant was present when they had sex and was the witness that revealed the affair.

¹⁷¹ Laura Gowing, “The Twinkling of a Bedstaff,” *Home Cultures* 11, no. 3 (November 1, 2014): 283.

of course more difficult to keep others from hearing or seeing what went on. Two women from outside Gouda, called Pretty Mary (*Mooije Marij*) and Dirkje Vis, had sex in a house near the Oosterkerk, where they lodged during the Amsterdam Carnival in 1749. A witness had seen how in ‘in broad daylight Pretty Mary had lay down on Dirkje Vis (...) making a movement as a man would with a woman.’¹⁷² These two women found the place to engage in these activities far away from home, in another city.¹⁷³

A structural privacy was found by people just outside the city walls, beyond the fortifications, a zone where urban inhabitants could reliably escape the gazes of their fellow city-dwellers. Those who could afford it could visit various locations such as gardens, *kolf* courses (where a sort of precursor to golf was played), pubs, and *speelhuizen* (literally ‘playhouses’, but often this term denoted a type of brothel). These locations functioned like ‘the gardens and other outdoor spaces [that] provided privacy for conversations that participants did not wish to be overheard,’ as described by Crane.¹⁷⁴ Maarten Hell writes that in Amsterdam from ‘1696, the government started imposing bans on playhouses and the chief officer started jailing or banning those who held playhouses.’¹⁷⁵ As a result of the 1696 prohibitions, a landscape of playhouses emerged in areas outside of the city, such as the Hoedemakerspad (‘Hatter’s Path’), visible on Map 10. While these areas outside of the city are not very visible in the depositions, and the places situated there might have successfully averted the attention of the chief officer, one case from 1710 confirms that the garden houses and playhouses outside the city served as locales for discreet sexual encounters.¹⁷⁶ Similarly, Van de Pol writes that the green space the Plantage (which was within the city walls but was not really a residential area) attracted prostitution: ‘in the alleys and porches, the chance of being discovered was large.’¹⁷⁷ Erotic encounters (both paid and unpaid) were widely associated with greenspaces on the edges of

¹⁷² NL-AsdSAA, Notarissen (5075), inv. nr. 13131, CS1750, scan 747. Original text: ‘dat wel op klaer ligten dag (...) maekende gem. Marijtje een beweging als off zij een mansperzoon was geweest die met een vrouwsperzoon te doen hadt.’

¹⁷³ The first known prosecutions of female homosexuality were from the 1790s, but this deposition shows that the chief officer had been aware of such activity much earlier. Cf. Theo van der Meer, “Liefkozeryen en Vuyligheden,” *Groniek* 12, no. 66 (January 1, 1980); Van der Meer, *De wesentlijke sonde*, 137-147.

¹⁷⁴ Crane, “Illicit Privacy and Outdoor Spaces,” 14.

¹⁷⁵ Hell, “De Amsterdamse herberg,” 393.

¹⁷⁶ NL-AsdSAA, Notarissen (5075), inv no. 8068, GE1710, scan 78-80. The particular case concerns severe sexual violence in a garden house, which was the reason why the case ended up in the notarial depositions. I am leaving out the more gruesome details here, because for the argument that I am making here it suffices to say that space outside the city was used for privacy and secrecy and I want to do justice to this case elsewhere, beyond the scope of this dissertation.

¹⁷⁷ Van de Pol, *Het Amsterdams boerdome*, 116.

European cities, as evident from narratives surrounding Berlin’s Tiergarten and London’s Vauxhall, Hyde Park, and St. James Park.¹⁷⁸ Of course, sex work also took place within Amsterdam’s city walls. A major locus was around the harbour area, where maritime workers could be serviced. That many sailors found sufficient privacy for sexual escapades within the city further supports an argument of the contingency between mobility and privacy, or between mobility and anonymity.

Map 10. Adaptation of Pieter Mol’s 1770 map of Amsterdam. The *Hoedemaekerspad* can be found in the middle of the map, slightly below the yellow line.



¹⁷⁸ Weiss, Antonia. “A mobility regime for the modernizing city: Class, gender and motion in Berlin’s Tiergarten, c. 1742-1830,” (Unpublished paper, 2021); Crane, “Illicit Privacy and Outdoor Spaces,” 12.

Conclusions

This chapter has considered the house(hold)'s micro-mobilities and the interplay of publicity and privacy within urban space. Through an examination of conflicts and their spatial contexts, we have been able to see how spatial and social boundaries were drawn and transgressed, revealing a rich public life unfolding in streets, alleys, and houses. We have seen how household members appeared to the outside world and navigated their immediate surroundings within a carefully upheld system of self-presentation and mutual witnessing of their fellow city-dwellers. Everyday sociability took place in doorways and on front steps, and the boundaries drawn were often social rather than material.

Kilian's framework, in which publicity and privacy is as multi-layered as the spaces where they could be found, has been very useful in arriving at a more detailed understanding of early modern spatiality. It also offers a way out of the narrative in which the premodern situation was followed by a modern situation characterized by strictly demarcated public and private spheres. It helps us understand the described culture of everyday transparency not as a type of public life that we have lost and ought to reclaim, but rather as possessing a different spatial logic that deserves detailed understanding in its own right.¹⁷⁹ Rather than a static state, we have seen constant micro-mobilities; people, reputations, and events crossing boundaries; conflicts moving between inside and outside; and the eyes of witnesses gazing from streets into houses and vice versa. What I have called gatekeeping formed a complex geography of publicity and privacy in which gender and class played an important role, often mediated through house(hold) structure. While most lower- and middle-class people needed to use transparency and openness to assert themselves as honourable and to gain social credit, the upper classes distanced themselves from this sort of openness and developed a preference for new types of seclusion enabled by their doors and their high front steps raised above the street. Yet for the vast majority of the city's inhabitants, open sociability was neither suspect nor undesirable; it was at once a social and a material aspect of everyday life. This also shows how spatial change was uneven across time and social class.

The process of gatekeeping involved the granting or denial of access to space, but encompasses as well the strategies that served to instigate or avoid publicity. Inviting others to watch and hear a spectacle, or alternately trying to keep it out of the public gaze, could be strategies. When boundaries were transgressed, both in the prescriptive and the physical sense, the response of the urban

¹⁷⁹ Cf. Kilian, "Public and Private," 115.

audiences on the street was always important for both the course and the outcome of the conflict that had broken out. Witnesses, neighbours, and bystanders easily inserted themselves into the intimate conflicts of others, displaying a mentality of ordinary openness. Although both publicity and privacy were forces at work in the street and in houses, a more complete form of secrecy and privacy required mobilities of a larger scope, as people moved outside the city or at least to its fringes. Behaviour that one wanted to keep secret would, under most circumstances, have required the necessary mobility to stay secret, and the spatial constellation of privacy was often directed outwards rather than inwards.

Chapter 3.

Work and the City: Gender and Space in the Urban Economy

At 10 a.m. on 8 January 1791, Maria Kuijper approached her neighbour Catharina Ligt, who lived around the corner, to ‘ask if [Ligt] would watch her child because she had to go out for work’. In a deposition for the chief officer of Amsterdam, four witnesses (including Maria and Catharina) testified that ‘even though they had nothing to do with each other’, one of Catharina’s close neighbours, a man, began to curse at Maria, and that his wife grabbed Maria’s bonnet and pulled her hair. The husband and wife attacked and kicked Maria as well. Catharina ‘scolded him and said that he acted maliciously, treating a pregnant woman that way.’ Maria survived the assault despite passing out. Catharina had ‘feared for her life.’¹

Particulars of the dreadful assault aside, its backdrop is a world of women engaged in work. Details of the practices of the working lives of women such as Maria Kuijper and Catharina Ligt, often scarce, can emerge in the scattered glimpses to be found in sources such as the deposition quoted above. Certain details are richly suggestive – Maria is shown seeking out someone to watch her child so she could go off to work – even as other specificities are lacking: there is no mention of the actual work she performed. Similarly, we can also observe that Catharina Ligt was performing the labour of watching over a child. We do not know whether this was an incidental or routine task for her or whether she was directly paid for the work she carried out, but nevertheless, what she was doing was a type of labour. In a certain sense, both Maria Kuijper and Catharina Ligt are representatives of the paradoxical views of early modern Dutch women: On the one hand, moralist literature was keen to present Dutch women as domestic angels working at home, nursing children and tending the household, while on the other hand foreign commentators were surprised by their unchaperoned access to the streets and hardworking commercial attitudes.²

¹ NL-AsdSAA, Notarissen (5075), inv. nr. 17977, LB1790-1791, scan 180. Original texts: ‘vroeg of die haar kind wilde houden, daar zij uijt werk moest’, ‘waarop de derde getuyge hem berispte en zeyde dat hij slegt deed van een vrouw die zwaar was, zoo te behandelen’ and ‘voor haar leeven begon te vreesen.’

² Van den Heuvel, *Women and Entrepreneurship*, 40-43, Schama, *The Embarrassment of Riches*, 400.

This case serves as an apt example for demonstrating how historical scholarship examining gendered labour in the early modern period has made great advances in addressing the questions of who did work, and what work was: When we look beyond occupational titles and turn to sources that describe people's practices, a far greater number of working women emerge into the light. We now know that many if not most early modern women worked.³ We now employ broader definitions of work to further recognize the contributions of different types of work, including assisting labour, informal and household work, and more flexible types of employment.⁴ But the Kuijper/Ligt case also introduces another theme: the 'where' of work, a question very much related to the 'who' and 'what' of work. There not only do we see two women mutually engaged in the experience of making a living, but we also see them having two very different experiences. One woman is working at her home, and the other was making her way to a worksite elsewhere. Such a scenario complicates the historiographical view, reiterated as well as criticized, that '[w]hile women were relegated to the domestic and private space, men left their houses for work'.⁵ Newer scholarship may have deconstructed that older view, but much work remains to be done in reconstructing what occupies its place. There is still much knowledge to be obtained on work's spatial dimensions and their interaction with gender, so that we can find out which women and men worked at home and which did not, as well as whether they laboured inside or outside, and in what capacity.

This chapter considers the question 'Who accessed the street, and how?' through different spatial lenses to examine the intersection of work, space, and gender. It shows how men and women took to the streets to make their living, by doing their work itself or by commuting to a work location, by working at home or in the home of someone else. People worked officially as members of guilds, as

³ Schmidt and Van Nederveen Meerkerk estimate crude labor-force participation rates for Dutch urban women to be at 50% for 1665, 45.1% for 1750 and 46.5% for 1810. Ariadne Schmidt and Elise van Nederveen Meerkerk, "Reconsidering The 'First Male-Breadwinner Economy': Women's Labor Force Participation in the Netherlands, 1600–1900," *Feminist Economics* 18, no. 4 (October 1, 2012): 77. Because the aim of the article is to compare labor participation rates over time and to show that participation in the preindustrial age was not low, a stricter definition of work was taken than I will use in this chapter. Labor-force participation rates are extremely difficult to reconstruct, but it can be safely assumed that not working (rather than working) was the exception for early modern women, especially if broader definitions of work are adopted.

⁴ A non-exhaustive list of examples includes: Rosemarie Fiebranz et al., "Making Verbs Count,"; Ågren, ed., *Making a Living*; Jonas Lindström et al., "Mistress or Maid,"; Elise van Nederveen Meerkerk, "Couples Cooperating? Dutch Textile Workers, Family Labour and the 'industrious Revolution', C. 1600–1800," *Continuity and Change* 23, no. 2 (August 2008): 237–66; Van der Heijden and Schmidt, "Public Services and Women's Work"; Ariadne Schmidt, "The Profits of Unpaid Work."

⁵ The foundation of this view is Alice Clark's description of the three-step transition from domestic industry (I) to family industry (II) to capitalistic industry (III). Beatrice Zucca Micheletto, "Paid and Unpaid Work," in *The Routledge History of the Domestic Sphere in Europe: 16th to 19th Century*, ed. Joachim Eibach and Margareth Lanzinger, 2021, 103.

public officials, and in sworn positions; they worked informally or even illegally, as they appeared on the street selling things in violation of regulations or smuggled goods to dodge taxes. This chapter also explains how those who worked from home interacted with the street, literally by appropriating parts of it or more indirectly by serving as destinations that prompted the movement of others. It does not ask *whether* women or men worked, but rather *where* their work took them. Following the approach of the *Gender and Work* project, I am taking as my starting point that work was ubiquitous both for men and for women, and I use a broad definition of work that regards ‘work’ as all activities that contribute towards making a living.⁶ In recent decades, we have obtained more and better answers to the questions of how early modern people sustained themselves and how gender was an important factor in economic structures. Taking those studies as a point of departure, this chapter will contribute to that body of knowledge by looking at the spatial arrangements of work and the intersection of early modern mobility regimes and the urban economy.

The depositions from 1656, 1742, 1750 and 1791 in the FOSGUS database form the main source for this chapter. The way they underreport and overreport certain types of labour is discussed in greater depth in Appendix III. Some important conclusions from that analysis include the findings that in the notarial depositions women’s labour is (as in most sources) underreported and that productive work in the crafts and industry is not well represented, whereas administrative work is rather overrepresented. Furthermore, what becomes visible through activities and practices related in the depositions is not the city of merchants and traders that we know from the literature but rather a city of porters, servants, and innkeepers. Before turning to the data from this depositional material, allow me to sketch the historiographical field and theoretical background of this chapter in the section that follows.

⁶ The Gender and Work method is explained in Rosemarie Fiebranz et al., “Making Verbs Count”. For results see Maria Ågren, ed., *Making a Living*. Other research using a similar method is: Jane Whittle and Mark Hailwood, “The Gender Division of Labour in Early Modern England,” *The Economic History Review*, 2018, 23.

Figure 9. A bridge at the Rozengracht in 1768. Women selling wares can be seen on the bridge. Cutout.
Jan de Beijer, 1768



The complexity of the gendered geography of work

Investigating the spatial dimensions of work not only helps us reconstruct a gendered geography in its own right, but it also assists us to expand our growing understanding of the ‘what’ and the ‘who’ of work. Obtaining more detailed insight into the different components helps us to more precisely reconstruct early modern working lives, which took up a major part of everyday life. The ‘where’ of work is entangled with the ‘what’ and ‘who’ of work, but to an extent that they are sometimes unnecessarily conflated in analyses and observations. In the same way that the actual work that people did can fail to be captured by occupational titles, work location also can imperfectly denote what actually happened. Consider an example containing both occupational title and location, in the form of the many men labelled as innkeeper (*herbergier*) or barkeeper (*tapper*). These titles indicate where these men worked, but their actual activities were far more diverse than merely providing food and accommodation. For example, on 8 July 1656, Cornelis Thomas, ‘innkeeper in the Maid of Enkhuizen’ at the Nieuwe Brug over the Damrak, got into a row with a certain Agge because he ‘would not hire out a certain sailor who was there, because he already hired him out to sail to Malaga.’⁷ Agge called Cornelis and his wife thieves and whores and accused them of bribing the servants of the chief officer, ‘cursing very repugnantly (...), shouting it through the crowded

⁷ NL-AsdSAA, Schout en Schepenen (5061), inv. nr. 267, Attestatieboek, scan 103. Original text: ‘dat hij seecker bootsgesel die daer tegenwoordich was niet soude verhuijren, alsoo hij aen een Tesselaer om op malaga te varen verhuijrt was.’

streets.⁸ Whether Cornelis and his wife were in fact malicious crimps or had served as honest brokers between maritime staff and their employers remains unclear, but whatever the case, we can see here that a broad range of work performed by both a husband and his wife were concealed within one man's occupational label of 'innkeeper'.⁹ By extension, the inn as a location turns out to be a more diverse place than just somewhere to be provided food, drink, and accommodation.

The case above is noteworthy for another reason: we see both a man and a woman working at home, in this instance in their tavern. The classic narrative holds that worksites away from home increasingly created separate spheres for men and women. Early modern labour ideology affirmed that women were to work at home, with men working elsewhere. Research by Ariadne Schmidt has shown that seventeenth-century Dutch moralist literature exhibited a highly gendered and spatial perception of work:

writers of conduct literature made no sharp distinction between work for subsistence (or the household) as women's work and paid work for the market economy as men's. Instead, they drew a dividing line between work within the home, which was regarded as women's work, and work outside the home, which was regarded as men's work.¹⁰

Schmidt describes what I would call a 'diligent domesticity', where industriousness merged with the widespread advice that women should stay inside the home. This significantly challenges the assumption that housework was not productive, and it also shows that gendered work ideals possessed a strong spatial dimension. Work away from home was deemed men's work. Yet this ideal was certainly not always upheld in practice, as the case of innkeeper Cornelis Thomas shows: many men also worked domestically, whether in workshops, taverns, shops, or offices located in the houses where they lived. Additionally, household work such as provisioning or laundry took women outside their homes. Here is further evidence showing how important it is to separate location, action, and person in order to come to a more detailed understanding of the gendered geographies of work.

⁸ NL-AsdSAA, Schout en Schepenen (5061), inv. nr. 267, Attestatieboek, scan 103. Original text: 'schelden ende smaden soo vuijl ende lelijck (...), 't selve op volle straten luijt uijt roepende.'

⁹ For more on side-activities of innkeepers, see Hell, "De Amsterdamse herberg," 160-168.

¹⁰ Ariadne Schmidt, "Labour Ideologies and Women in the Northern Netherlands, c.1500-1800," *International Review of Social History* 56, no. S19 (December 2011): 66.

Another component of the gendered geography of work consists of the differences we find across time and space. The urbanized Dutch Republic, and early modern Amsterdam in particular, occupy an interesting point on the timeline of space and work. Jane Whittle notes – in an observation based mainly on rural preindustrial economies - that ‘one of the features of a preindustrial economy is that most work was located in and around the home’.¹¹ Yet Amsterdam possessed many sites for work outside the home and, as we have seen, working outside the home had already become part of a gendered labour ideology. Although Amsterdam’s economy was not exactly industrialized at that time in the way that its later, nineteenth-century mechanized industry is understood to be, parts of the early modern economy were characterized by strong specialization and spatial centralization in the form of places such as ship’s wharves, windmills, the Exchange, and textile processing factories, all sites where people would be working away from their homes. A notable and specialized manufacturing sector was present.¹² Furthermore, the city had introduced environmental regulations that led to the development of areas fit for industry and of residential areas where (additional) activities caused restrictions on stench, smoke and noise.¹³ This differentiated urban landscape, consisting of residential, mixed-use, and industrial areas in and around the city, made Amsterdam, in Jaap Evert Abrahamse’s view, ‘probably one of the best-planned cities of Europe.’¹⁴ Following Jan de Vries’ ‘industrious revolution,’ the long eighteenth century saw especially women and children allocating more time to work for the market, and subsequently increase consumption.¹⁵ As we have also seen in chapter 1, work was one of the reasons spurring men and women alike to venture beyond their immediate neighbourhood and into the wider city. But, as we have also seen before, many people worked in and around their homes. This early modern urban economy was characterized by a mixed system of domestic and extradomestic labour.

The above discussion touches upon the two alleged spatial rearrangements affecting urban life in the early modern period: An increased separation between home and work would have broken up family economies and further established the work performed outside the home as men’s work. There

¹¹ Jane Whittle, “A Critique of Approaches to ‘Domestic Work’: Women, Work and the Pre-Industrial Economy,” *Past & Present* 243, no. 1 (May 1, 2019): 42.

¹² Clé Lesger, “Stagnatie en stabiliteit. De economie tussen 1730 en 1795,” in *Geschiedenis van Amsterdam. Zelfbewuste Stadstaat, 1650-1813.*, ed. Willem Frijhoff and Maarten Roy Prak (Amsterdam: SUN, 2005), 219–65.

¹³ Abrahamse, *Metropolis in the Making*, 310-312.

¹⁴ Abrahamse, *Metropolis in the Making*, 324-325.

¹⁵ Jan de Vries, *The Industrious Revolution: Consumer Behavior and the Household Economy, 1650 to the Present* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008).

Wijsenbeek has noted how the industrial entrepreneurs of Delft pottery began to make their homes off their factories' premises during the second half of the eighteenth century, with the result that their wives were no longer involved in assisting labour.¹⁶ The second spatial rearrangement concerned the stricter demarcations between outside and inside that were taking shape: The image of early modern Dutch city life in the historiography is one of an urbanized bourgeois society that applied 'spatial separation between the indoor and outdoor world'.¹⁷ This picture can be seen in Schmidt's aforementioned analysis of conduct literature; another example drawn from economic life emerges in Clé Lesger's research on shopkeeping in Amsterdam. Lesger shows that the open shops of the seventeenth century, where physical wares and the concrete practices of buying and selling overflowed into the streets, slowly yielded to the more closed shops that one finds in the eighteenth century. Gradually, a part of working and consumer life moved from the doorstep into the interior. Yet, as we have also seen in Chapter 2, we should note how these examples are rather class-specific. Lesger relates the shopkeeping changes to general bourgeois taste: 'This development did not occur in isolation but was related to the changes that had already taken place in the homes of the bourgeoisie.'¹⁸ As we have seen in Chapter 2, changing spatial logics affect people of different socioeconomic positions in distinct ways. For example Van den Heuvel, in her work on merchants, argues that 'ongoing specialisation and the development of various services for the merchant community' resulted in new occupations and a stricter division of labour in the mercantile infrastructure, which 'implied that much of the business could be settled at home.'¹⁹ The increased use of representatives and clerks made it easier for upper-class women to work as merchants from home and conform to a domestic ideal. So while the representatives and clerks were now becoming specialized in the crossing of thresholds between indoor and outdoor worlds, such specialization also allowed upper class women to more strictly maintain that threshold. Again, what emerges is an increasingly complex, multi-layered understanding of the geography of work, strengthened by a more precise definition of its different parts.

¹⁶ Thera Wijsenbeek, "Van priseersters tot prostituées. Beroepen van vrouwen in Delft en Den Haag tijdens de achttiende eeuw," in *Vrouwenlevens 1500-1850*, ed. Ulla Jansz et al. (SUN, 1987), 180.

¹⁷ De Mare, "Domesticity in Dispute," 30. See also: Wayne E. Franits, *Paragons of Virtue: Women and Domesticity in 17th Century Dutch Art* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995); Schama, *The Embarrassment of Riches*.

¹⁸ Lesger, *Shopping Spaces*, , 187.

¹⁹ Van den Heuvel, *Women and Entrepreneurship*, 248, 263.

One reason why the geography of work and gender is complex to analyse lies in the ambiguity of what, exactly, ‘domestic’ signifies. Where the ‘domestic sphere’ starts and ends and what exactly the ‘domestic’ is have been topics of great debate, exemplified most immediately in the issue of ‘domestic’ work. Whittle has problematized the ambiguous way historians have applied the concept, because ‘domestic’ has often signified several different things at once.²⁰ The concept of the ‘domestic’ has the tendency to touch upon the ‘who’, the ‘what’, and the ‘where’ of work in a way that muddies the waters. Whittle argues that first, there is the problem that women’s work in the home, whether subsistence-oriented or market-oriented, is often labelled ‘domestic’ while men’s productive work in the home ‘is very rarely described as domestic’.²¹ Second, ‘domestic’ doubles as a spatial indicator and as a description of types of tasks. So some work is automatically ‘domesticized’ by taking place inside, even as other work performed by women, taking place outside but carried out to ‘produce’ the household, is also called ‘domestic’. In that sense, one might say that women can hardly escape the domestic sphere: it conceptually pursues them when they step outside their homes, reminding us of the stereotypical depictions of the virtuous housewife who carried her house as if she were a turtle or snail.

‘Domesticity’ has also often been used as a foil to labour-force participation in a model that equates the home to the private sphere and outside work to the public sphere, a paradigm in which women stayed home and men went out to work.²² Yet when we unpack these concepts, we find them to concern separate but related matters. Earlier approaches have frequently underestimated women’s economic contributions by excluding them from definitions of work, as Whittle showed in her critique of the categorizations of early modern housework and ‘domestic work’.²³ She argues that ‘current approaches have overlooked the fact that housework and care work were highly commercialized in the pre-industrial economy.’²⁴ In addition, there has also been a spatial assumption that equates domesticity with non-productivity. It has too easily been presumed that not engaging in commercial or waged work means staying at home, and vice versa. Laundry provides a good example of why the term ‘domestic’ can be confusing: often done outside the home, it was

²⁰ Whittle, “A Critique of Approaches to ‘Domestic Work.’”

²¹ Whittle, “A Critique of Approaches to ‘Domestic Work,’” 68.

²² Corinne Boter, “Ideal versus Reality? The Domesticity Ideal and Household Labour Relations in Dutch Industrializing Regions, circa 1890,” *The History of the Family* 22, no. 1 (January 2, 2017): 84–86

²³ Whittle, “A Critique of Approaches to ‘Domestic Work,’” 35–70.

²⁴ Whittle, “A Critique of Approaches to ‘Domestic Work,’” 69.

also clearly seen as a domestic task. It was also carried out both as unpaid household-sustaining work and as paid commercialized service-work.²⁵ We see here how the concept of the ‘domestic’ loses much of its clarity when used to designate a type of space, a type of activity, and the circumstances of labour all at once.

One must therefore be more precise in defining what the ‘domestic’ actually signifies, and here I will observe such precision by relating the term to its spatial meaning. Through that lens, all work that took place at or near one’s home is seen as domestic work, including a great deal of early modern men’s work. Thus ‘domestic work’ in this chapter refers to work taking place at or near the home, without regard for remuneration, type of work performed, or other social, moral, or economic categorizations. This view of the ‘domestic’ has the effect of both ‘de-domesticizing’ certain manifestations of women’s labour while ‘domesticizing’ the work that many men performed. Instead of calling household-sustaining work ‘domestic work’, I will refer to it as household work.²⁶ Household work, whether paid or unpaid, can take place inside and outside the home. Empirical research on early modern rural England by Jane Whittle and Mark Hailwood confirms that ‘a third of housework tasks were done outside’.²⁷ Note that here, ‘housework’ functions only as a description of household-sustaining activity, independent of its spatial specificity. Adopting this approach allows me to differentiate between household work that was domestic work – i.e. work at home such as cleaning the interior of a house - and extradomestic household work – i.e. work carried out away from home, such as taking laundry to a field for bleaching.

Much of the debate on domestic labour and the separation of work and home assumes implicitly that work performed outside is not domestic labour and that domestic work is done inside the house. Yet the line separating ‘within the home’ from ‘outside the home’ that we have seen above shows itself to have been more ambiguous. There are good reasons to consider work at and around the home as domestic, which gives rise to an additional dichotomy besides that of the domestic and

²⁵ See also Marie Keulen, “Laundry in the Streetscapes of 18th Century Amsterdam,” *The Freedom of the Streets*, October 7, 2020, <https://www.freedomofthestreets.org/blog/laundry-amsterdam>. Laundry is also an important example in Joachim Eibach’s concept of the early modern ‘open house’, where he uses it as an example for the argument that boundaries were not as important as they are in the modern context. Joachim Eibach, “Das Offene Haus.”

²⁶ The most important issue is to specify how ‘domestic’ is used. I can imagine that research on different subtopics or with different approaches may want to use the category differently, but here I have chosen this approach because of my interest in the difference between working at home or working elsewhere, and within the context of the main source material: depositions in which residences are often given.

²⁷ Whittle and Hailwood, “The Gender Division of Labour,” 23.

the extradomestic: namely, that of inside versus outside. Some forms of work at the home, such as cleaning the doorstep or fetching water at a collective cistern, was done (partially) outside. Perhaps even more crucially, a fair share of extradomestic work was performed inside other people's homes or at specified worksites. While the subject of the separation of work and home has sparked interest in the question of whether people worked at home or not, the question of whether work took place inside or outside has not received widespread attention (or has been treated as the same question as whether work happened at home or not), despite having important consequences for the arrangement of urban space and for the urban experience in general.²⁸ Differentiating between inside and outside – and this is a significantly advantageous reason to do so – one remains closer to the empirical allotment of space, rather than being dependent on social categorizations such as 'public' or 'private'. Especially if we are seeking greater precision in labels such as 'domestic', this conceptual clarification is important for an accurate study of spatial experience.

Finally, there is a further useful specificity that emerges when we look at the broader aim of this dissertation of studying space in practice: Work does not necessarily take place in one location, and there may be an economic geography that merges working at home, working at places of centralized production, and working at more flexible locations. Economic geographers have recently explored this idea of a diversity of work spaces. Still, 'most spatial analyses of the urban economy continue to rest on the assumption that assigning workers to a single place of work (usually their establishment of employment or their home) provides a good approximation of the geography of urban economic activity'.²⁹ Only more recently, and with a focus on modern telecommunications, have urban/economic geographers begun breaking down work into several related tasks, each with its own spatial requirements. This awareness that work could be spatially diverse and performed on several sites rather than at a single locale, stems from the desire to analyse the geography of post-industrial urban economies; it can, however, also be useful for the study of early modern economies.

One especially interesting development out of such work in modern economic geography is the concept that Richard Shearmur calls 'micro-work'. When applied to twenty-first century work, this entails the 'quick checking of emails, rapid phone calls, brief diary verifications [that] should also be

²⁸ A notable exception is Whittle and Hailwood, "The Gender Division of Labour."

²⁹ Richard Shearmur, "Conceptualising and Measuring the Location of Work: Work Location as a Probability Space," *Urban Studies*, May 15, 2020, 2

considered when breaking down work tasks for the purpose of geographic analysis, since it can take place virtually anywhere'.³⁰ When studying modern, remunerated, and formal work activities, this focus on locational flexibility makes sense. But it is unnecessarily limiting if we use it to study the early modern context. Advanced telecommunications did not of course exist, and the lines between formal/informal and paid/unpaid work were often sketchier in the early modern period than they are today. If we drop the requirement that micro-work is an element of remunerated occupations that can take place virtually anywhere, it becomes a useful tool for capturing the broad range of activities that constituted 'work' in the early modern period. Special attention to such tasks aligns well with the practice-based methodology of the Gender and Work project on early modern Swedish work and with the findings of that project. In early modern Sweden, flexibility and variation among tasks were ubiquitous: 'Everyone was caught up in the flexibility of multiple employments.'³¹ As we will see below, the concept of micro-work helps uncover a range of small and specific tasks – and their spatial diversity – that contributed to the spatial coordination of people and products.

In the following sections, I will apply the insights discussed above through different perspectives. I will start with the FOSGUS database's observations regarding work that took place outside and then move on to work that took place inside. I will then move to 'public' work derived from other source material, where 'public' will be used not as a spatial category but as related to public institutions. Finally, through depositions and through other sources, I will discuss and analyse the difference between domestic (spatially understood as at or near the home) and extradomestic work.

Work outside on the street

On Tuesday, 20 March 1791, Rebecca de Jongh was baking biscuits (*koeken*) in front of her door on the streets of Marken, one of the urban islands of Amsterdam's Jewish Quarter. She was using a trestle table that she had put out on the street, as we know because it was overturned by a scornful neighbour during an altercation.³² Rebecca's work on the street took food preparation out of the house, likely for practical and for commercial reasons. With space being a sparse resource, the street provided a location for her work, and her work there probably generated attention through the smells and sights that attracted customers. It is a telling example of work carried out at once at one's

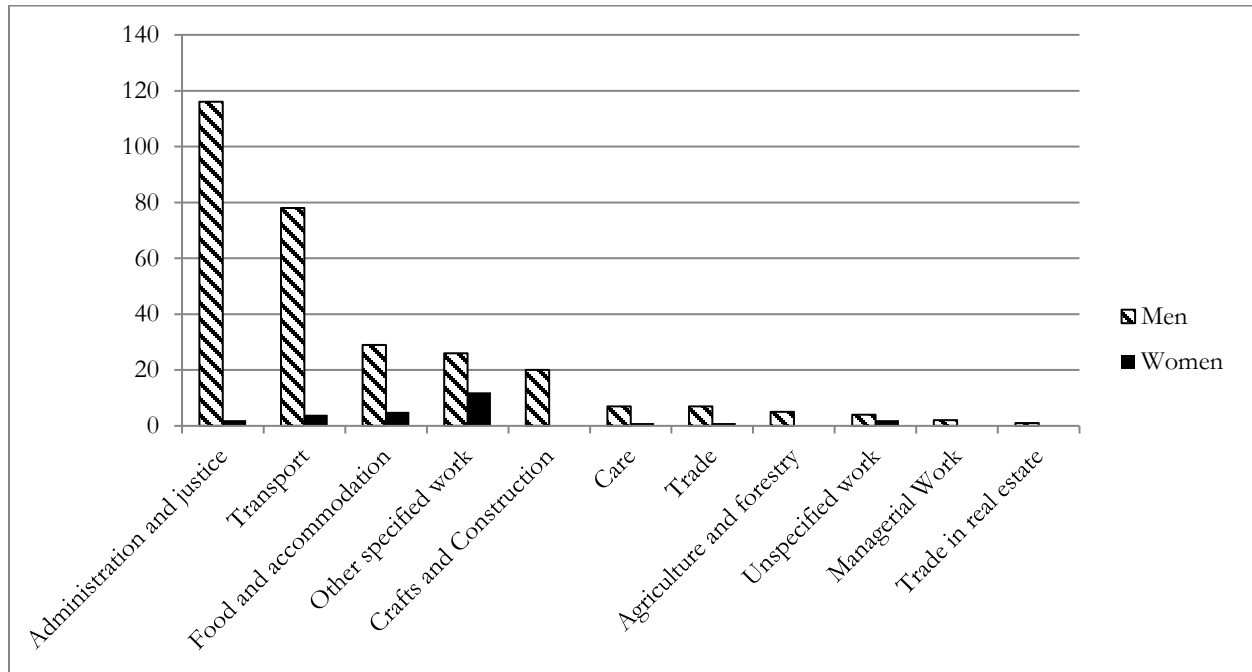
³⁰ Shearmur, "Conceptualising and Measuring the Location of Work," 5.

³¹ Lindström, Fiebranz, and Rydén, "The Diversity of Work," 49.

³² NL-AsdSAA, Notarissen (5075), inv. nr. 17978, LB1791, scan 59.

residence and in the outside world of the street. Her case clearly illustrates how domestic work was not detached from the rest of urban society.

Figure 10. Work outside by sector and gender, 1656, 1742, 1750, and 1791



In this section and the following, I will look at the work that is visible through the depositions in the FOSGUS database. In these sources, men appeared outside doing work much more than women did. Figure 10 shows the observations of work by sector and gender from the four years of depositions. Together with Appendix Table 9, it shows that women working outside, such as Rebecca de Jongh, were relatively scarce in the notarial depositions from the chief officer and the *Attestatieboek* of 1656. Only 35, or almost 20%, of the 193 women’s work activities could explicitly be labelled as having taken place outside. Notably, almost half of the activities were categorized as ‘other specified work’, which were mostly types of activities that could be described as household work that was done outside, such as provisioning, water collection, and cleaning. Women were found throwing out dirty water, removing ropes attached to fences, and cleaning gutters. Precisely such types of tasks are what can be considered micro-work. These exertions were not clearly defined occupations or structural activities repeated in the service of producing commodities but rather were activities of short duration that helped ‘produce’ a household. Still, it was precisely these activities that brought women in contact with the street, even if much of the work involved was still domestic

in the sense that it happened around or at their house. Some of these activities were performed by servants and thus probably represented paid work, though this remains unclear in other cases. And not all of the ‘other specified work’ activities were housework. These labours might also be more structurally and commercialized errands: Doing what was clearly an extradomestic job, Giertje Salomons walked the streets at 4 a.m. with a little hammer in order to wake people up.³³ Similarly, the bleaching that Anna Heijnans did together with a man called Salomon de Vries happened in the Plantage, several streets away from where they lived. Compared to the rest of the city, there was ample space for bleaching in the Plantage, so they may have been bleaching large batches of clothes for commercial clients rather than smaller batches that had come from their own households.³⁴

The other major type of activity alongside micro-work that women were found doing outside and extradomestically was the selling of goods. We find women selling a variety of goods, such as fish, textiles, brushes, fruit, potatoes, and pickles from market-stalls, baskets, and handcarts. Some were clearly selling from official stands at the designated market locations, such as the fish-seller Wilhelmina Cordes, who worked at the Grote Vismarkt on the Dam; others such as Rebecca Moses, who sold pickles from a handcart, stood on the street.³⁵ Annaatje Reenard sold fish in the Tuindwarsstraat in the Jordaan: while she was ‘putting up fish to sell’, a woman who sold cheese on the Prinsengracht at the Rozenstraat grabbed her fish basket and hit her with it. Perhaps she had a trestle table or a stall to contain the fish for sale, but we also know from the fruit market on the Singel that some home owners rented out their ‘pothuizen’ (a small house erected next to a building and standing half-underground as an extension of the adjacent house or the cellar) to fruit-sellers, so she may also have been using the roof of a ‘pothuis’ to put her fish up for sale.³⁶

An additional 22 work activities took place both inside and outside, and so also brought women outside of their houses or situated them on thresholds. These can be found under the category ‘both’ in Appendix Table 9. Some of these cases involved extradomestic work where women entered or left a place in the performance of errands, such as the woman who was sent undercover by excise men to buy wine at an illegal selling-place or the woman who went into a fuel store, a house where

³³ NL-AsdSAA, Notarissen (5075), inv. nr. 17978, LB1791, scan 205.

³⁴ NL-AsdSAA, Notarissen (5075), inv. nr. 13131, CS1750, scan 683.

³⁵ NL-AsdSAA, Notarissen (5075), inv. nr. 17978, LB1791, scan 341.

³⁶ NL-AsdSAA, Notarissen (5075), inv. nr. 17978, LB1791, scan 178. Original text: ‘om Vis, (...) op te leggen ten einde dezelve te verkopen’; Abrahamse, *Metropolis in the Making*, 309.

‘fire was sold’. One example of such threshold crossing is provided by the woman and her servant who threw a customer out of a tavern. Important tasks for which women frequently crossed spatial boundaries included the fetching of people or the sending of messages, which ended up in different categories of work depending on the context. The woman who fetched soldiers from the Haarlemmerpoort, for example, was categorized as taking part in ‘administration and justice’, while the woman summoned for a loan request was classified as ‘credit’. That micro-work activities such as fetching someone appeared across work sectors shows that these forms of labour were ubiquitous, with women supporting a diverse range of work in this way. It thus sometimes functioned as a form of assisting labour. The concept of assisting labour helps make visible the labour of women in sectors where it has previously been overlooked or where they have otherwise been excluded. The term is generally used to describe the labour of wives, for example in the husband’s workshop or a public office held in the husband’s name.³⁷ However, in the cases cited here the work does not concern a wife assisting a husband, but the same principle applies: these are instances in which women’s labouring activities supported a more diverse range of work. In particular, errands such as fetching people and delivering messages can be seen as elements of an everyday circulation of information. Women played an important role in this informal infrastructure.³⁸

The question, of course, concerns *which* working women we are seeing here and which women remain invisible in these cases. The marital status of the women made visible through these depositions was recorded much more consistently than was the case for men and can give us some indication. A narrow majority of 51% of the women found doing work were or had been married (married or widowed); the remaining 49% were either unmarried or their marital status was unknown.³⁹ The estimates of the marriage rate for Amsterdam suggest that approximately a quarter

³⁷ See for example its use in Schmidt and Van Nederveen Meerkerk, “Reconsidering The ‘First Male-Breadwinner Economy,’” 73.

³⁸ This is especially interesting considering that the twenty-first century use of the term micro-work takes the existence of telecommunications as a given, while the labor of delivering messages is now precisely what is automated or outsourced by telecommunications technology.

³⁹ Repeating footnote 36 on page 61: The marital status of married and widowed women was recorded rather consistently, especially when women testified but also when they were suspects or victims. We can thus safely assume that most of the women whose marital status was not given were unmarried. It may still be the case that a few of the women whose marital status was unknown were actually married, but the underreporting is nothing like that of men: 89% of the men had no clear marital status and only 10% of them could be identified as being married, often only because their wives were also named in the same document.

of all women there in the eighteenth century never married.⁴⁰ Also considering that women who married later in life were unmarried for a substantial portion of their lives, the rate of unmarried women could have been high, but it probably did not reach 49%. The relative numbers for all activities by women (thus not just work) in the FOSGUS database is 60% married and 40% unmarried/unknown. Unmarried women in the FOSGUS database are thus slightly better represented when found to be working. Women of all marital statuses were found working inside, outside, and both, but there is some variation in extent. The work activities of women currently or once married took place inside in 71% of the cases, outside in 16% of the cases, and spanned both inside and outside in 11% of the cases. The group of women that were unmarried or whose marital status was unknown worked inside in 60% of the cases, outside in 20% of the cases, and in another 20% of the cases worked both inside and outside or on the threshold. That means that married women were slightly more likely to be found working inside than were unmarried women or women whose marital status was unknown. This also fits the findings by Van den Heuvel and Van Nederveen Meerkerk who found that in Leiden, especially married women possessed licenses to retail coffee and tea.⁴¹ The 'house' in the label 'housewife' used consistently to designate married women was thus related not exclusively to an ideal but also to some extent to what went on in practice.

In the data from the depositions, many more men than women were found working outside. For the outside work performed by men, the 'administration and justice' category was overrepresented. Yet it is also very likely that activities such as patrolling, fining, tax collection, and inspection were rather visible everyday activities in the streets and thus took up a larger share than in other sources.⁴² The second largest sector seen in the depositions was the transport industry. The many workers who were transporting (or smuggling) goods also interacted with the administration and justice sector in cases where their goods had been inspected or where they had been caught smuggling. As with administrative overrepresentation, the transport of goods may have been even more visible because of the nature of the sources, but it was nonetheless a very visible activity in itself. It was common to

⁴⁰ Ariadne Schmidt and Manon van der Heijden, "Women Alone in Early Modern Dutch Towns: Opportunities and Strategies to Survive," *Journal of Urban History* 42, no. 1 (January 1, 2016): 23; Van de Pol and Kuijpers, "Poor Women's Migration," 48.

⁴¹ Danielle van den Heuvel and Elise van Nederveen Meerkerk, "Huishoudens, werk en consumptieveranderingen in vroegmodern Holland. Het voorbeeld van de koffie- en theeverkopers in 18de-eeuws Leiden," *Holland, Historisch Tijdschrift* 42, no. 2 (2010): 102–24.

⁴² Cf. Ågren, *State as Master*, 26.

see goods being moved through the city; porters and sleigh-men filled the streets. These types of urban work, highly visible and asserting their presence outside, gave men a claim to be out on the streets. Instances from the FOSGUS database where women are included in the categories of transport and administration involve the more informal activities, such as the fetching of the guards cited above or, in the case of transport, the delivery of a payment to porters who had carried goods. The formal work in the two sectors noted above are conspicuously dominated by men, perhaps unsurprisingly, since as Schmidt has shown, the type of guild in particular that ‘excluded women under all circumstances (...) are found mainly in the public service sector and, in the course of time, also in the transport sector.’⁴³

Although the large majority of cases of men working on the street were instances of standing guard, patrolling, inspecting, transporting, and carrying, there were also instances of men selling in markets and on the street, painting houses and delivering messages. Examples of illegal selling include a Jewish man who sold knives around the Exchange and someone who went door-to-door selling ducks.⁴⁴ Formalized selling outside took the form of market selling, in which we see men selling fish, potatoes, fruit, and oysters.⁴⁵ Yet in the depositions men were much more visible as administrators of tax offices, inspectors of goods, and overseers of markets than as retailers. Despite the relatively low visibility of women’s work in the depositions, the absolute number of women selling outside was higher than the number of men. Retail selling has often been recognized as important way for women to earn income, although a lot of respectable selling moved inside into shops, with street selling more often being ‘the domain of marginal groups in society’ who are represented less frequently in these sources.⁴⁶ In terms of the labour of men that is visible in the depositions, the transport of goods overwhelmingly overshadowed the retail selling of goods. Of course, trade lurked behind all that transport, but such exertions involved the pre-arranged and wholesale trading of a different nature, which did not always take place outside in the streets even though loading, unloading, and weighing were activities that filled the streetscape around warehouses, markets, and

⁴³ Ariadne Schmidt, “Women and Guilds: Corporations and Female Labour Market Participation in Early Modern Holland,” *Gender & History* 21, no. 1 (April 1, 2009): 176.

⁴⁴ NL-AsdSAA, Notarissen (5075), inv. nr. 11735, SF1742, scan 461; NL-AsdSAA, Notarissen (5075), inv. nr. 17978, LB1791, scan 20.

⁴⁵ E.g. NL-AsdSAA, Notarissen (5075), inv. nr. 17978, LB1791, scan 369.

⁴⁶ Danielle van den Heuvel, “Food, Markets and People,” in *Food Hawkers: Selling in the Streets from Antiquity to the Present*, ed. Melissa Calaresu and Danielle van den Heuvel (Routledge, 2016), 84–85.

weighing houses. Finally, one sees very little work in manufacturing happening outside, with the notable exception of a few cases with men engaging in shipyard work.

To sum up, much of the work outside was concerned with the circulation of goods and its supervision. We have seen that work performed outside was strongly dominated by men. Yet women were far from absent, although married women were least represented. Street and market selling, as well as micro-work in the form of errands, formed the main category of work through which we saw women working in the streets.

Work inside: Houses, workshops, and taverns

Although directly shaped by work on the street, street life was of course also influenced by work happening indoors. As we have seen in the previous sections, some work in the city happened inside but in a place other than one's home, and thus brought people out into the streets. And the work of those whose own house served as worksite is also important if we are to arrive at a full view of street life. Some of that work was cordoned off from the street, while other activities spilled out into it in the form of sounds, smells, and sights. Storekeepers and craftsmen who worked inside advertised their wares on their thresholds, doorsteps, and facades. A rich culture of signs and inscriptions utilizing rhymes and images told passers-by what was happening inside houses. The awning of a certain carpenter announced that 'In the three Kings from the East (*Oosten*) lives carpenter Jillis Joosten'; the awning of a nail maker stated, 'Noach made the ark, exceptionally large and strong, he could not complete it without nail makers work'.⁴⁷ When labour specified as being done by women featured in such signposts, it was often declared on signs that announced the work of *besteesters*, who functioned as brokers between women looking for work and people who needed maidservants and wet nurses, as we see announced on a sign in the Houttuinen.⁴⁸ According to other signposts for *besteesters* (unclear whether in Amsterdam or elsewhere), women combined their work at home with their brokering activity between staff and employers. One Jannetje not only sold sandstone but also

⁴⁷ Hieronymus Sweerts, *Het Tweede Deel der Koddige en Ernstige Opschriften op Luyffens, Wagens, Glazen, Borden, Graven, en elders* (Jeroen Jersense, 1683), 33, 41. Original texts: 'In de drie Koningen uit het Oosten, Hier woont de Timmerman Jillis Joosten' and 'Noach maakte de ark, Bijzonder groot en sterk. 't Is niet volbrocht zonder Spijkers-makers werk'. This volume was a collection of 'funny and serious inscriptions' such as store signs, toilet graffiti, wagon decorations, window rhymes, gravestone inscriptions and other short texts.

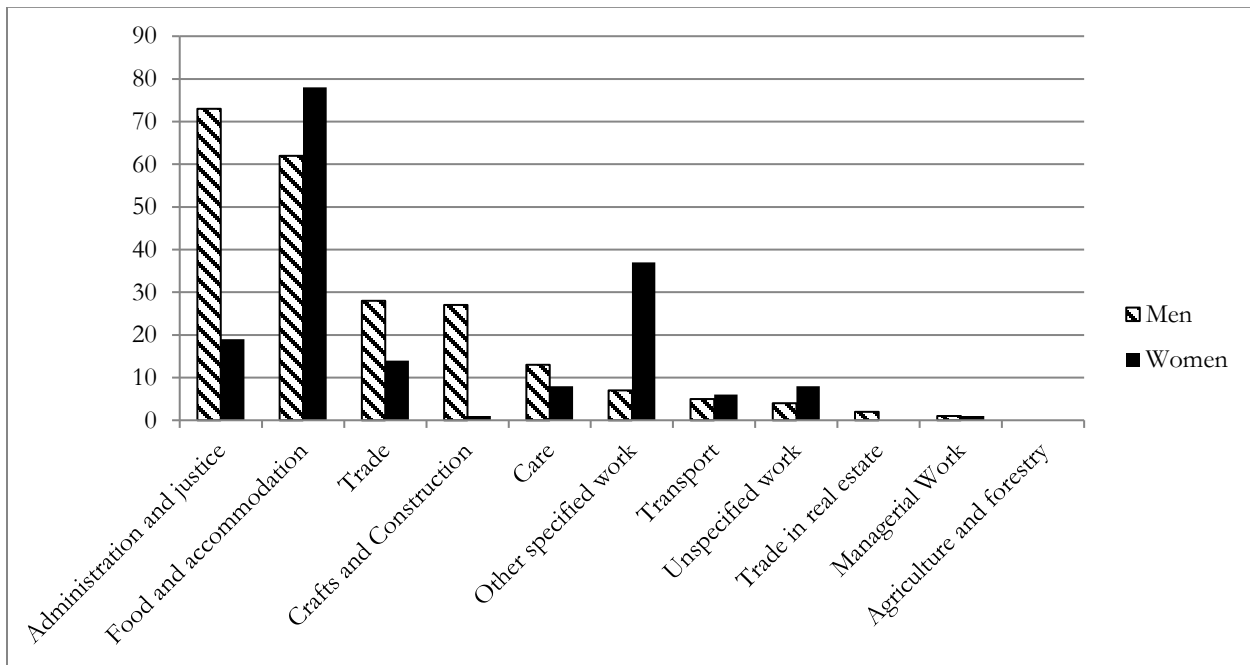
⁴⁸ Sweerts, *Het Tweede Deel der Koddige en Ernstige Opschriften*, 97

made textile sacks and sold linen and velour. Another sign combined an announcement for *besteedster* services with advertising for ointments for haemorrhoids.⁴⁹

In the depositions used in the FOSGUS database, the very low numbers of women working outside stand in stark contrast to the many women found working inside. The largest number of work activities by women was categorized as taking place inside. Figure 11 below shows the distribution of such work across categories. The category ‘food and accommodation’ is by far the largest sector here, followed by ‘other specified’ work. Many of the women involved in food and accommodation worked in one of the city’s many taverns, beer cellars, and wine houses. The vast majority of this work inside was domestic, both for women and for men, all of whom were described as living in the taverns or other premises that they worked in. We sometimes can detect staff who lived elsewhere, but these individuals remain relatively elusive in the material because it is not always clear whether someone is present in a tavern as a member of the staff or as a customer. Furthermore, people who lived and worked in a tavern did not always remain working inside: Hillegonda Mellegering, who appeared in two separate cases in the 1750 depositions, lived in a wine house in the Pieter Jacobszstraat. In one case she was working inside when a conflict happened, but in the other she is described as rushing in when a customer drew a knife. She had been just outside the wine house while two other women, neither of whom lived there, staffed the counter and served drinks.

⁴⁹ Sweerts, *Het Tweede Deel der Koddige en Ernstige Opschriften*, 214; Hieronymus Sweerts, *Koddige en Ernstige Opschriften, Op Layffens, Wagens, Glazen. Uytbangborden, en andere Tafereelen*, (Jeroen Jersoense, 1690), 125.

Figure 11. Work inside by sector and gender, 1656, 1742, 1750, and 1791



Another type of work under the heading ‘food and accommodation’ involved the provision of lodging, and in some cases we find women serving dinner to lodgers and cleaning lodging houses. Serving as well as selling food and drinks were often combined with providing accommodation. Then the ‘other specified’ work contains many activities that could be seen as housework or as household provisioning. We find servants answering the door, women doing laundry in a (semi-collective) laundry shed, and women buying bread at a bakery. Such activity happens inside, but some of the work was extradomestic work that did not transpire inside the person’s own residence, such as the labour performed by women in the wine house cited above or women doing cleaning work.

Work done by women inside that was categorized as ‘Administration and justice’ was not done at home. Many cases contained the work of sworn midwives and women assisting them. This labour was also ‘Care’ work, but it doubled as administrative work when they made women in labour swear who the father of the child was, as we will see in the next section. Other cases involved a woman assisting the inspector of fish and a woman assisting the meat-tax collector. Again, in both cases, these women were not married to the officials that they worked with and so were not carrying out a

type of ‘assisting labour’ as performed by married women in support of their husbands.⁵⁰ Still, this work was assisting labour in the sense that it concerned women who had no official title and whose work is revealed only because of these depositions; it would otherwise have been hidden behind officials credited with an occupational title. Again, these cases probably represent the tip of the iceberg: it is likely that the share of women doing such ‘assisting labour’ was actually much larger, with a significant share of women being brought outside their homes and into the shops, warehouses and butcheries owned and operated by others.

Furthermore, ‘trade’ work done by women inside mostly encompasses cases involving shop-keeping.⁵¹ We find the case of the widowed Maria Stevens, who met with others in an inn to ‘settle some business’.⁵² While women taking part in commercial ventures are not very visible in these depositions, the research of Van den Heuvel has shown that businesswomen, such as those active in international commerce, certainly existed, but of course the upper classes are not well-represented in the depositions for the chief officer.⁵³ Finally, the ‘transport’ cases involved cases such as that of the woman who, with her husband, had a business renting out vehicles, manifesting a type of ‘transport’ work resembling shop-keeping that could be done inside without actually transporting people or goods themselves.⁵⁴

Turning to the men, there is a striking disparity between the labour of men and women as seen through the depositions: one does not find a single man doing typical household work inside. The only case where a man was found doing any sort of domestic household work – a seventeen-year-old surgeon’s servant, who swept the yard just outside the surgeon’s shop where he also lived – did not take place inside the house.⁵⁵ Men were, of course, found as innkeepers or heads of households where lodging was provided, but in all such cases the actual activities that they are described doing are more concerned with activities such as serving alcohol and claiming money. I found descriptions of women making beds, cleaning tin wares, provisioning, and cutting beans, but such instances are lacking for men (excepting the one case of yard sweeping). Of course, we should not conclude that

⁵⁰ Schmidt and Van Nederveen Meerkerk, “Reconsidering The ‘First Male-Breadwinner Economy,’” 73.

⁵¹ Cf. Danielle van den Heuvel and Elise van Nederveen Meerkerk, “Huishoudens, werk en consumptieveranderingen in vroegmodern Holland. Het voorbeeld van de koffie- en theeverkopers in 18de-eeuws Leiden,” *Holland, Historisch Tijdschrift* 42, no. 2 (2010): 102–24.

⁵² NL-AsdSAA, Notarissen (5075), inv. nr. 13131, CS1750, scan 219.

⁵³ Cf. the chapter ‘At the Merchant’s Office’ in Van den Heuvel, *Women and Entrepreneurship*, 223–265.

⁵⁴ NL-AsdSAA, Notarissen (5075), inv. nr. 17978, LB1791, scan 395.

⁵⁵ NL-AsdSAA, Notarissen (5075), inv. nr. 11735, SF1742, scan 190.

men never engaged in cleaning, sweeping, and provisioning, but the absence of evidence of men working in these ways is telling and confirms a gendered pattern of household work.⁵⁶ The odd jobs inside performed by the few men that I found doing work categorized as ‘Unspecified work’ ranged widely: a servant stood guard in front of a house during an altercation, an innkeeper (already noted in this chapter’s introduction) carried out a broker’s role for maritime staff, and a man had sex for money with another man.⁵⁷ This finding supports the conclusions of the Gender and Work project, which found that Swedish men and women worked alongside each other in the same sector but each did their work according to gender-distinct roles and responsibilities.⁵⁸

The view that the depositions give us of the men working inside was, once again, heavily administrative: they were found inspecting goods, arresting people, and working with administrative documents. As with the women, many men worked in taverns and inns, as well as in distilleries, malt houses, and bakeries.⁵⁹ That we find only men there is remarkable, since, as Marjolein van Dekken has shown, distillery and brewery work was also done by women.⁶⁰ Similarly, we know from the literature on the diamond processing sector that due to a gendered division of labour, many women found work powering diamond mills, but they have not been encountered in the depositions used for the FOSGUS database.⁶¹

Other activities done by men inside were shop-keeping (‘Trade’), the treating of wounds and the shaving of people by surgeons (‘Care’), and the craft work carried out in the workshops of sculptors, carpenters, and coopers (‘Crafts and Construction’). Figure 11 further shows that when the crafts and construction sector was visible in the depositions, it showed up as work that was happening indoors and was mostly being done by men. Observations of work done in cooper workshops, foil workshops, a carpentry workshop, and a diamond grindery give glimpses of

⁵⁶ This fits the ‘gendered work of building homes’ where men do the literal building of the built environment while women preserve of those spaces through home-making and provisioning. See Juanita Elias and Shirin M. Rai, “Feminist Everyday Political Economy: Space, Time, and Violence,” *Review of International Studies* 45, no. 2 (April 2019): 209.

⁵⁷ NL-AsdSAA, Notarissen (5075), inv. nr. 13131, CS1750, scan 834; NL-AsdSAA, Notarissen (5075), inv. nr. 17978, LB1791, scan 193.

⁵⁸ Lindström, Fiebranz, and Rydén, “The Diversity of Work,” 29–34.

⁵⁹ E.g. NL-AsdSAA, Notarissen (5075), inv. nr. 11735, SF1742, scan 194.

⁶⁰ Marjolein van Dekken, *Brouwen, branden en bedienen: productie en verkoop van drank door vrouwen in de Noordelijke Nederlanden, circa 1500-1800 (Vrouwen en werk in de vroegmoderne tijd)* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2010), 110–114, 145–147.

⁶¹ See Myriam Everard, “Verandering en continuïteit in de arbeid van vrouwen. Keetvrouwen en molendraaisters in het huiselijkheidsideaal, 1750-1900,” *TSEG - The Low Countries Journal of Social and Economic History* 2, no. 3 (September 15, 2005): 81–102.

Amsterdam's production sector as home to important interior worksites for men. In conclusion, work done inside as seen through the depositions was strongly but not absolutely gendered. Men and women were found working inside across sectors, but the extent to which was gendered. Yet the presence of many men working inside tempers any conception of a strict gendered division between women's work as work inside and men's work as work outside.

Work in public: Working around regulations

The previous sections showed that quite a significant amount of work done within the context of public institutions possessed a high daily visibility on the street. Administrative and official functions gave people reasons to take up their work at specific locations throughout the city and thus outside and through the streets. All types of engagements with public order and administration were especially visible in this depositional material. However, certain types of work, which previous research may have expected us to find, does not appear or is only minimally evident in the depositional material. To supplement the work activities found in the FOSGUS database, I looked at what we currently know from the available literature on Amsterdam and cities in Holland, as well as a book of public services (*ambtenboek*) that registered city (appointed) jobs in Amsterdam during the period 1724 to 1766.⁶²

First, there existed some notable exceptions to the exclusion of women in transport jobs as described. Thera Wijssenbeek found women in The Hague, such as boatwomen who supplied the markets (*marktschipper*), with transport jobs, and others, such as barrow-women transporting fruit, peat, wood, soap, and different types of food, possessing street jobs, although these disappeared after 1750.⁶³ While I found no women transporting goods by wheelbarrow or boat in the depositional material, there were some women registered as *schuitenvoerders* (barge skippers) in the book of public services. In 1766, Jannitje Labat, Swaantje de Lange, and Anna de Jager were registered as three of the five barge skippers on the Wetering (one of the waterways out of the city).⁶⁴ At that time, all the barge skippers on the Amstel were men, but the registry, containing the names of former skippers who had passed away or changed occupations, showed that Susanna Rijkens had held the job of skipper from 1727 to 1753 and Jannitje Salomons from 1732 to 1759.

⁶² NL-AsdSAA, Inventaris van het Archief van de Burgemeesters: stukken betreffende ambten en officiën, access number 5031 (Hereafter: 'Burgemeesters (5031)'), inv. nr. 55, Ambtenboek 1724-1766.

⁶³ Wijssenbeek, "Van priseersters tot prostituées," 188.

⁶⁴ NL-AsdSAA, Burgemeesters (5031), inv. nr. 55, Ambtenboek 1724-1766, scan 86.

Because the death dates are given, we know a bit more about Rijkens. She was the only heir to her father Arnoldus Rijkens, boss of the rubble barges (*baas over de puinschuiten*), and she inherited a share of a grain mill.⁶⁵ It remains unclear whether these female barge skippers were sailing the barges or rather served in managerial positions, but it is clear that they took part in transport over water in an official capacity, not just through assisting labour.⁶⁶

Moreover women, though excluded from many jobs in public service, were not kept out of the public sector at large. Historians studying women's work in other Western European contexts have noted that professionalization and bureaucratization led to the exclusion of women from public service jobs. But, as Van der Heijden and Schmidt argue, in cities in Holland 'a strong division of labour along gender lines prevented the exclusion of women.'⁶⁷ Specialization meant that there were jobs specifically for women, although they were mostly 'lower level jobs, the salaries of which private clients partly paid'.⁶⁸

The logistics of the peat trade demonstrate such a gendered division: peat porters (*turfdraggers*) and peat haulers (*turfbevers*) were male, while peat fillers (*turfvulsters*) and peat collectors (*turfraapsters*) were female. In the book of public services for Amsterdam, I counted 200 peat fillers and 55 peat collectors active in 1766. They worked on the boats on which the peat arrived and, as a deposition in the FOSGUS database shows, at the shops of peat traders. In this case, peat fillers went to a peat trader on the island of Wittenburg to fill barrels, but the trader 'was unsatisfied with their filling and wanted absolutely that they would fill the barrels higher than their oath allowed'.⁶⁹ In the one other case in the FOSGUS database in which a peat filler is mentioned, she appears together with a peat porter and a peat hauler. A similar conflict emerged between private interest and their public oath when a shopkeeper in fuels (*vuurkoper*) tried to put more peat in the barrels and attempted to

⁶⁵ NL-AsdSAA, Notarissen (5075), inv. nr. 10030, Philip Zweerts, Minuutacten 1738, scan 381. This is an interesting finding because it strongly implied that Rijkens did not get access to an official job through her status as a widow but rather did so through her father. Schmidt's research on guilds in Gouda shows that from 1705 onwards, widows of bargemen there could only keep the barge (serviced by two competent journeymen) for one year and six weeks. Schmidt, "Women and Guilds," 176.

⁶⁶ Unfortunately, activities on the water are a blind spot in the depositions for the chief officer. Perhaps cases on the water were handled by the separate *waterschout*, which may offer a fruitful starting point for future research.

⁶⁷ Van der Heijden and Schmidt, "Public Services and Women's Work," 368.

⁶⁸ Van der Heijden and Schmidt, "Public Services and Women's Work," 381.

⁶⁹ NL-AsdSAA, Notarissen (5075), inv. nr. 13131, CS1750, scan 826. Original text: 'met het tonnen van hen getuigen niet te vreden was maer absoluut begerde dat zij hooger zouden optonnen dan zij volgens hun eedt vermogten te doen'.

convince them that they had unloaded 115 barrels instead of 116 barrels.⁷⁰ In the peat industry, women and men worked side by side but assumed different roles; they worked in the streets and went through the city going from job to job.

Other jobs held by women and men found in the book of public services include the task of messenger (*besteller*) for the ferry services. These individuals delivered letters and packages that were sent through the ferry service. Two women held the job of messenger at the smaller ferry to Haarlem, while four men had the same job for the larger ferry service to Haarlem at the Papenbrug. Again we find a strict gendered division: the two people who held the position at the smaller ferry service were also women, while all the predecessors working for the larger ferry service were men. Furthermore, all other messengers at the ferries were men.⁷¹

Van der Heijden and Schmidt found women holding other public jobs in Gouda, Rotterdam, and Leiden as city midwives, appraisers (*schatster*), depositors (*inbrenghster*) at the Loans Bank, doorkeepers, bridge operators, weighing assistants at the public scales (*waag*), carriers, or measurers. Not all these jobs involved labour that took place on the street as such, but a lot of the work transpired on the threshold or on the move. In the weighing-house for example, goods were weighed beneath an open door under public supervision. There was an outside scale for large wares and an inside scale for smaller wares.⁷² In the book of public services for Amsterdam, I found a female superintendent (*oppasser*) and a clerk (*schrijfster*) of the public scales, along with a woman responsible for measurements (*Ijkster van de ellen*) and a woman who weighed the linen and wool (*weegster van 't linne en wollegaaren*). They worked alongside other, male measurers, namely twelve male weighing assistants (*Waagknechts of wegers in de waag*), and a legion of 260 weighing-house porters.⁷³ Furthermore, four (female) sworn appraisers were also active in 1766 in Amsterdam, according to the book of public services. These women did their work indoors of valuing the worth of the property of deceased people, but of course they travelled throughout the city to perform these tasks.⁷⁴

⁷⁰ NL-AsdSAA, Notarissen (5075), inv. nr. 13131, CS1750, scan 878.

⁷¹ NL-AsdSAA, Burgemeesters (5031), inv. nr. 55, Ambtenboek 1724-1766, scan 11.

⁷² Folkertinus Nicolaas Sickenga, *Bijdrage tot de geschiedenis der belastingen in Nederland* (P. Engels, 1864), 463.

⁷³ NL-AsdSAA, Burgemeesters (5031), inv. nr. 55, Ambtenboek 1724-1766, scans 179-191.

⁷⁴ NL-AsdSAA, Burgemeesters (5031), inv. nr. 55, Ambtenboek 1724-1766, scan 74. While they did not appear in the depositions for the chief officer, they appeared in other notarial documents because they worked closely with notaries and were often mentioned in property inventories.

Midwives also worked inside, yet their profession led them out into the city. Some of the eighteen city midwives active in 1766 had a specified district (*wijk*) number noted with their name, a development also found in Leiden from 1719 onwards.⁷⁵ It seems that some midwives would have the privilege of working in a certain area instead of dividing their work time all over the city. Midwives also sporadically appeared in the FOSGUS data serving in an administrative function, because they had the official role of asking unmarried women in labour to identify the father of the child. Lijsbet Tomas, a ‘city midwife of around 60 years old’, offers a telling example. She had gone to assist an unmarried woman giving birth in the middle of the night and then testified before a notary that the woman had ‘during labour, under oath with her finger raised, declared that Barent van Luijck, labourer at the public scales was the father.’⁷⁶ In this way, midwives played an important role in maintaining the idealized structure of societal reproduction through marriage. More practically, this role also helped to reduce the number of fatherless children and thus women who needed financial aid.⁷⁷ This type of work brought women into the streets and into people’s houses at all times of the day. The importance of identifying the father also meant that childbirth was a public affair. Of course, not just anyone could be present, but this did mean that the midwife in attendance would be assuming there an official administrative and public role.⁷⁸

Helena Adelheid van der Borg argued that the responsibilities of midwives were gradually ceded to male obstetrical workers who were able to formalize and professionalize their training and claim responsibility for the success of difficult births, which put midwives in a subordinate position and narrowed their work field.⁷⁹ Yet two cases from the depositions suggest that midwives were a more accessible first choice to be summoned when pregnant women needed medical assistance, before a surgeon was called. In these two depositions from 1791, midwives (who were not appointed city

⁷⁵ Helena Adelheid van der Borg, “Vroedvrouwen: beeld en beroep: ontwikkelingen in het vroedvrouwschap in Leiden, Arnhem, ’s-Hertogenbosch en Leeuwarden, 1650-1865” (Amsterdam; Wageningen, Onderzoeksschool Sociale Wetenschap; Wageningen Academic Press, 1992), 27.

⁷⁶ NL-AsdSAA, Schout en Schepenen (5061), inv. nr. 267, Attestatieboek, scan 75.

⁷⁷ Van der Borg, “Vroedvrouwen,” 35–40.

⁷⁸ Interestingly, the 1656 data contain several cases concerning the paternity of the children of unmarried women or potential infanticide where sworn midwives feature. Their role in the 18th-century depositions for the chief officer is much more marginal. We know that they were still active and they do appear in the records, but it may be the case that a public officer other than the chief officer dealt with these issues. As discussed in the introduction, the 1656 data contain more cases brought to a notary at the request of a victim or another interested party, while the 18th-century depositions were more strictly gathered in the name of the chief officer.

⁷⁹ Van der Borg, “Vroedvrouwen,” 68–70.

midwives) were called in to treat pregnant women who were wounded in altercations.⁸⁰ They would be easy to find, as they advertised their services on signs on their doors.⁸¹ In one case, the midwife assessed the victim's condition and advised summoning a surgeon. In the other case, the midwife did not call a surgeon but assisted the victim as she suffered a miscarriage caused by the shock of the violence she had endured. These cases suggest that despite competition from male medical occupations, the activities of midwives were not entirely narrowed; these women were also involved in more broadly assessing the health of pregnant women, and took on a visible role throughout the city.

Returning to the book of public services, we find additional jobs held by women that made them visible throughout the city. Eight authorized vegetable women (*geauthoriseerde groenvrouwen*) worked at the vegetable market. As intermediary sellers for the vegetable suppliers, they received a share of every sale. Additionally, Wagenaar mentions a female cleaner of the vegetable market, a woman not mentioned in the book of public services but who of course would have worked outside at the market.⁸² There were also female cleaners (*reinigster*) of streets and squares: one for Dam square and one for the streets around the city hall.⁸³

⁸⁰ NL-AsdSAA, Notarissen (5075), inv. nr. 17978, LB1791, scan 79; NL-AsdSAA, Notarissen (5075), inv. nr. 17977, LB1790-1791, 187.

⁸¹ Sweerts, *Het Tweede Deel der Koddige en Ernstige Opschriften*, 209, 246.

⁸² Jan Wagenaar, *Amsterdam, in zyne opkomst, aanwas, geschiedenissen, voorregten, koophandel, gebouwen, kerkenstaat, scholen, schutterye, gilden en regeeringe, beschreeven*, vol. 9 (Isaak Tirion, 1766), 49.

⁸³ In the book that covered the period up through 1766, the cleaner was mentioned as an occupation title but not by name. The version of the book of public services that covered the period 1766-1801 confirms that the cleaner position was held by women and that a separate Dam cleaner and a cleaner of the streets around the city hall were appointed to perform these tasks. NL-AsdSAA, Burgemeesters (5031), inv. nr. 56, Ambtenboek 1766-1802, scan 100.

Figure 12. Vegetable market on the Oudekerksplein. Cutout from H. P. Schouten, 1778.



There were many exclusively male jobs on the street that are found in the book of public services. Some were occupations that we also found in the depositions, such as the rattle guards, gatekeepers, corporals, tax collectors, beer porters, and the masters of the harbours and the markets. Others were engaged in similar work but have not been specifically encountered in my sample of depositions, such as the bridge and boom operators and the superintendents of sluices. Occupations not seen in the depositions were the overseers of garbage collection and of the city lights and of the fire hoses, as well as the town crier, the billposter of sales announcements, and the clock setters. The three clock setters who worked in clocktowers were responsible for several towers and thus travelled throughout the city to do their job. One setter was responsible for the Oude Kerk clock (the master clock that all other clocks were synchronized to) and the Regulierstoren.⁸⁴ Another took care of the City Hall, Exchange and Jan Roodenpoortstoren clocks. The third clock setter had the largest working area and moved between the Zuiderkerk, Westerkerk, Haringpakkerstoren, and

⁸⁴ His salary included free residency. NL-AsdSAA, Burgemeesters (5031), inv. nr. 55, Ambtenboek 1724-1766, scan 45.

Montelbaanstoren.⁸⁵ And in construction and maintenance, the city street-paver, barge-maker, stonemason, and city carpenter all probably managed a larger workforce of male labourers who worked outside.⁸⁶

This last group, of construction and crafts laborers out on the street, forms the most notable omission in the FOSGUS database. Some of their work was done for public institutions, though of course not exclusively. They constitute an important sector through which mostly men maintained a presence on the streets. As such, the group warrants further consideration. Abrahamse writes that the ‘timber industry had the most effect on the use and layout of urban space. (...) Wood was not stored in warehouses, but on quays, called “houtwallen” or “timber docks”’⁸⁷ Not just the wood itself, but especially the many men who transported it and used it for construction must have taken up a significant share of urban space. In one of the few cases in the depositions where this was visible, a group of four woodworkers (*bloekmakers*) were busy unloading a heavy shipment of wood from a barge in the timber docks near the Buiten Brouwerstraat when one of the men suffered a lethal blow from his own crowbar. There were also facilities on this worksite that occupied specific areas on the city’s streets: One of the woodworkers who witnessed the accident saw it from ‘the toilet on a quay’ (*het secreet, staande op een stijger*). In addition, another type of construction work notably absent from the depositions was pile-driving. The famous (or notorious) soil of Amsterdam needed many and strong piles to ensure that buildings had proper foundations. Large groups of men were needed to pull up the ram on a manual pile driver. The foreman would sing songs, whose rhythm would indicate when the ram had to be pulled up or let down.⁸⁸ Especially for public buildings, the driving of the first pile could be a great public ritual, with the pile being decorated and ceremoniously driven into the ground. That this work would generate so many and such loud sounds, as well as bring large numbers of men onto a single worksite, makes their absence from the depositions even more notable. Of course, a major explanatory factor is that the seventeenth-century building boom had long been over when these eighteenth-century depositions for the chief

⁸⁵ There were also the two clock setters of the chapel clocks (one of the Oudezijds Chapel and one the Nieuwezijds Chapel), who received only very modest compensation; they probably combined this task with other work. NL-AsdSAA, Burgemeesters (5031), inv. nr. 55, Ambtenboek 1724-1766, scan 45.

⁸⁶ NL-AsdSAA, Burgemeesters (5031), inv. nr. 55, Ambtenboek 1724-1766.

⁸⁷ Abrahamse, *Metropolis in the Making*, 334.

⁸⁸ J.H. Kruizinga, *Haal op die heil: grepen uit de geschiedenis van het heien = Pull up that ram! : a selection from the history of foundation engineering* (Almere: ICE, 2000).

officer were written. But it also means that in the seventeenth century, builders were an important part of the streetscape.

We have seen in the previous sections that the category of administration and justice, as work done both inside as outside, was well represented in the depositions. In fact, mobility and worksite flexibility seems closely related to work in service of public authorities or under supervision of the administrative authorities. Although regulations governing public order and revenue sought to constrict certain activities to specific places, the maintenance of those regulations instigated mobility. The locations where guards and watchmen performed their work was obviously very diverse: they patrolled streets throughout the city and were stationed in guard houses and at gates; they entered houses during conflicts and rowed rafts and boats to apprehend criminal suspects. A similarly well-represented group, in which individuals sometimes reappear, were the inspectors employed by various tax offices. For example, the cattle tax inspectors Bruno Seekamp and Anthonij Cannegieter were both reported working in the office where they wrote out tax receipts to butchers but were also found performing on-site inspections of butcheries. Beyond their effect on officials, these regulations also instigated mobility from people who had to adhere to their strictures. The butchers themselves, if we look at them as an occupational group, also emerge as workers who could be found throughout the city, as they slaughtered cattle in their butcheries, bought cattle at the cattle market, went to the cattle tax office to report newly bought cattle, and sold their meat from the guild-regulated meat halls.

Regulations from the city authorities and the maintenance of guild monopolies also brought more spatial diversity to the work of certain guild members. For example, the poultry sellers were to sell their products at one central market, but to enforce this regulation guild officials would also patrol the streets as well as fine non-guild members that sold birds. Van den Heuvel has shown how in Dutch towns, guilds could be ‘the main actors in policing’ and maintaining the ‘restrictions that working in the shadows of the regulated economy imposed.’⁸⁹ In 1791, Harmen Hendrik Muller, described as both ‘poultry seller and one of the overseers of the poultry and bird seller’s guild’ administered a fine to a man who was illegally selling ducks door to door.⁹⁰ It becomes clear that

⁸⁹ Danielle van den Heuvel, “Policing Peddlers: The Prosecution of Illegal Street Trade in Eighteenth Century Dutch Towns” *The Historical Journal* 58, no. 2 (2015): 371, 392.

⁹⁰ NL-AsdSAA, Notarissen (5075), inv. nr. 17978, LB1791, scan 20.

Muller's occupational identity and his daily work combined trade and administrative work in different locations. Interestingly, this meant that to centralize the work spaces of the poultry traders more flexible workspaces were required of the overseers. In a similar case, workers of a ropewalk (at the Muiderpoort), perhaps one of the most centralized production sites of early modern Amsterdam, saw a stolen rope being put out for sale during their commute home. They informed their boss and had the rope seized.⁹¹ Though not at their designated work site, they nonetheless acted as ropewalk workers during their commute: in reporting the stolen rope, they were protecting their work and their income.

Other, more obvious cases of men with flexible work locations are the porters, sleigh-men and carters of Amsterdam. Transporting goods from one worksite to another, thus effectively making the city's streets, quays, and bridges their worksite, was of course the essence of their work; their job was 'selling mobility.' Although sleigh-men did not have a public job in the official service of the city, they were guild members. They kept sleighs with horses and navigated between stables, ferry landings, and public places where they awaited customers needing their services.⁹² Some places and goods required specific official porters who are mentioned in the book of public services, such as the weighing-house porters employed at the weighing-houses and the beer porters possessing the exclusive right to oversee the transport of alcohol. The beer porters in particular were often involved in reporting and seizing illegal transports of alcohol; like the poultry sellers, they combined their primary work of transporting alcohol with the secondary task of inspecting in order to protect their official privileges.

The official world of alcohol transport was a male world that excluded women, but women seem nonetheless to have played an important role in the shadow economy that existed alongside that official world. An interesting string of cases in 1750, in which the chief officer seems to have tried to get an overview of the locations where wine was being illegally sold, reveals this murky world. In one deposition, the wife, the daughter, and the maid (their names are not given) of Coert Horstman are described to have been selling wine illegally, in a house without any exterior sign to indicate such business. In the front house, behind curtains, the wife poured wine. The daughter and the maid went out with a jug filled with wine, presumably delivering it to a nearby customer. The wife told the

⁹¹ NL-AsdSAA, Notarissen (5075), inv. nr. 11735, SF1742, scan 224.

⁹² See chapter 4 for more on vehicles in the street.

customers whose empty bottles she filled that they should be wary of the watchmen. The witnesses who reported these facts, Teuntje van der Vinden and Elisabeth Faas, were also women. It is very likely, although it is not confirmed, that Elisabeth Faas was related to Jacobus Faas, a tax official who was frequently a witness in many of these alcohol tax cases. She worked as a sort of ‘mystery guest’ to uncover secret alcohol-selling operations. Women were also sent out to buy wine illegally in other cases in which witnesses simply describe having gone somewhere to order wine and reveal how much they paid for it, acting as undercover customers of sorts. Apparently women, when they were customers and consumers of illegal wine, were not regarded suspiciously, from which we may infer their widespread engagement in buying and delivering wine illegally throughout the city. So even the sectors and types of work officially excluding women contained female participants to be found on the margin and as part of the shadow economies that were a by-product of regulation. Commercially such women could exploit their accepted role as provisioners. Although it is difficult – if not impossible – to quantify the exact extent of their involvement, the testimony cited above suggests that the role of women in the sale and transport of alcohol may have been much larger than is documented. For one thing, it seems reasonable to assume that the maintenance of such illegal wine shops required housework to keep up an ‘unsuspicious’ appearance, and the success of the undertaking probably relied on social neighbourhood networks to attract customers while avoiding official detection.

Summing up what has been stated above: the employment of men was the standard in public service, but there were exceptions available for women, such as labour in the peat trade and the work of midwives. The spatial logics of work in or under the administrative umbrella was diverse. On the one hand, processes were centralized or were supervised from specific locations, but, on the other hand, this process required a substantial spatial diversification of administrative workers. Maintaining, adhering to, or breaching the regulations that protected public order and revenue instigated mobility, primarily for men serving in an official capacity but also for women, in formal and informal ways alike. These aims brought them out into the streets, onto surveillance routes and across crucial points of infrastructure throughout the city.

Domestic and extradomestic work

As we have seen above, the relationship between work and the home was much more complex than would be represented by a simple scenario of women working at home while men worked

elsewhere. When understanding domestic work spatially as encompassing all work taking place at home, we see that domestic work was also often men's work. Understanding the work of the male master in the workshop at his house as a form of domestic work is an important conceptual addition to a broader understanding of gendered domestic work. Yet we have already seen how the 'Crafts and Construction' sector is relatively underrepresented in the depositional data. Especially since a traditional narrative of modernizing European economies has charted the (slowly and uneven) replacement of the small-scale workshop at the master's home by spatially centralized production sites adhering to a strict division of labour, it is useful to turn to other sources than the depositional material in order to get a sense of the nature of productive industry.⁹³ If the work of production was increasingly taking place outside of the home, a different gendered spatial division of work would result. To supplement the view of production work that we find in the depositions, I turned to the collection of advertisements on productive industry that Leonie van Nierop has selected from the *Amsterdamsche Courant*.⁹⁴ Her collection is an anthology of (parts of) 358 advertisements that mention productive industry in one way or another, whether referring to workshops, or factories being put up for sale, or craftsmen offering their goods to potential buyers.⁹⁵ These advertisements show that there was a mix of several types of working and residential arrangements across the urban economic landscape.

In the advertisements from the *Amsterdamsche Courant*, we find places advertised with residences for the workshop's owner or for staff, such as Zandert van Tiel who 'had lived on the Bikkereiland, in the Sugar Mill from Surinam, where a ship smithy was exercised for many years with good success.'⁹⁶ But we also find people living away from their workshop, such as the painter Coenraet Farret who

⁹³ The transition period is now understood to have been uneven and slow, with traditional production methods existing alongside modern factories for a long time. For a broad overview, see Karsten Uhl, "Work Spaces: From the Early-Modern Workshop to the Modern Factory," *European History Online (EGO)*, May 2, 2016, <http://www.ieg-ego.eu/uhlk-2015-en>.

⁹⁴ It was published across two years of the *Jaarboek Amstelodamum* in 1930 and 1931. Leonie van Nierop, "Gegevens over de nijverheid van Amsterdam. Bijengelezen uit de advertenties in de Amsterdamsche Courant 1667-1794," *Jaarboek Amstelodamum* 27 (1930): 261–311; Leonie van Nierop, "Gegevens over de nijverheid van Amsterdam. Bijengelezen uit de advertenties in de Amsterdamsche Courant 1667-1794. II.," *Jaarboek Amstelodamum* 28 (1931): 95–182. For the discussion and figure 3.4 below, I have discarded advertisements not directly related to crafts and industry (such as the advertisement for training in East Indian ship accountancy and the advertisement for an institution for the mentally ill) and split the advertisements in cases where several worksites were advertised.

⁹⁵ Van Nierop selected the advertisements to show them as examples of industry, prioritizing types of work that were not already covered in other work, and she did not repeat similar advertisements. So while the anthology gives insights into the diversity of the productive sector in Amsterdam, it is not a complete or fully representative set, in that it does not offer a representative view in terms of the quantity of businesses.

⁹⁶ Van Nierop, "Gegevens over de nijverheid van Amsterdam II," 112.

lived ‘in the Handboogstraat next to pastor Wesseling. His workplace is on the Baangracht at the Weteringstraat’.⁹⁷ Interestingly, some people combined work inside in their home workshop with work in others’ homes: ‘the widow of Jan Springer, master carpenter, lived in the Baanbrugsteeg in Amsterdam, advertises that she will continue the affairs of her late husband, both the carpentry at houses as well as the making of sieves and all sorts of bakery tools.’⁹⁸ Carpenters who did work throughout the city still kept workshops where they could be found and could do other work. In the depositions, there is also the case of a master carpenter who lived on the Westermarkt and who had sent his employees to work in a warehouse on the Angeliersgracht. When one of the employees disappeared after being suspected of murder, someone came to the master carpenter’s workshop to claim the employee’s tools.⁹⁹ His errand here shows how construction workers would move through the city to work at different places while being based at the master’s workshop.

Other types of workshops were places where craftsmen produced and sold products. Master pin-maker Johannes van Rosmalen lived on the Tuinstraat at the Tweede Tuindwarsstraat in the Four Crowned English Pins. He wanted to make sure that everyone knew that his manufacture was not trifling and posted an advertisement to dispel the rumours ‘that he no longer produced pins at his house, and announces to all storekeepers and merchants that he makes and sells true Amsterdam pins.’¹⁰⁰ Additional advertisements used such an idiom of rumours being dispelled, as when Johannes Bredeman, who lived on the Noorderstraat in 1757, advertised that his sister’s shop in the Nieuwe Looierstraat had been sold, not his own, a workshop where he was engaged in producing velvet, silk and half-silk textiles.¹⁰¹ In another remarkable case, two carpenters joined forces and moved in together: Jan Scholten, master cabinetmaker and Jan Ermans, master English and Spanish chairmaker, ‘have come to live in the Leidsestraat between the Herengracht and Keizersgracht on the northside, where the fashionable chair hangs.’¹⁰² This case does not fit either model of the

⁹⁷ Van Nierop, “Gegevens over de nijverheid van Amsterdam II,” 99.

⁹⁸ Van Nierop, “Gegevens over de nijverheid van Amsterdam II,” 166. It is very likely that this widow, like many wives of masters, had worked in this trade doing assisting labor before her husband passed away.

⁹⁹ NL-AsdSAA, Notarissen (5075), inv. nr. 11735, SF1742, scan 468.

¹⁰⁰ Van Nierop, “Gegevens over de nijverheid van Amsterdam II,” 168. Original text: ‘dat zyn fabriek niet meer ten zynen huize gedaan word, zo maakt bovengenoemde aan alle kooplieden en winkeliers bekend, dat hy maakt en verkoopt oprechte Amsterdamsche spelden in alle soorten’

¹⁰¹ Van Nierop, “Gegevens over de nijverheid van Amsterdam II,” 134.

¹⁰² Van Nierop, “Gegevens over de nijverheid van Amsterdam II,” 107. Original text: ‘zyn komen woonen op de Leydsestraet tusschen de Heere- en Keyzersgragt aen de noordzyde, daer de nieuwmodese Stoel uythangt’

workshop, neither the sort with a single master or the facility serving as a larger, centralized production space. Here, two masters shared a workplace and went into business together.

Certain centralized production locations used one residence or several, for both the owner and for laborers. The ropewalk *De Snoek* north of the Haarlemmerpoort gate included a ‘very pleasant mansion’ (*seer plaiꝯante heerschapshuys*) and several servants’ residences.¹⁰³ Similarly, mills and bleaching plants outside the city walls often contained servants’ residences. But larger production sites within the city’s walls also included residential space. The many mills on the ramparts – within the city’s boundaries but on its edges – also possessed residential space, such as mill The Sun at the final rampart on the Eastern Islands, which was sold along with a residential space, a warehouse, a ‘sun place’, a stable, a coach house, and a barge.¹⁰⁴ When the tools and equipment of the beer brewery The Double Eagle (*De Dubbelde Arent*) were auctioned, the sale contained not only a horse-mill but also bedding for servants (*kenegts-beddegoed*). Of course, perhaps the servants were not considered to be living in the brewery all the time and may only have occasionally slept there, but the brewery represents a worksite where at least some facet or facets of residential life were nonetheless provided. The saltworks The White Dove on Realeiland contained ‘a large residential house, with several rooms and cellars’ and had ‘a room for the girls’, a probable reference to the female labourers who often worked in the saltworks.¹⁰⁵

Some advertisements explicitly indicate the spatial separation that delineated functions such as residence, production, and retail business: People could order cement from Jan van Oirschot, who lived on the Prinsengracht, at the ferry to Weesp, but his cement mill was on the Nieuwe Vaart, opposite to the Oosterkerk.¹⁰⁶ Similarly, some workplaces and shops had been completely separated: the broadcloth maker Christoffel Timmerman Weerman moved his shop from the Vijzelstraat to the Nieuwendijk, the fifth house from the Dam, while the broadcloth plant that processed the broadcloth remained outside the city, on the Buitensingel between the Leidsepoort and the Raampoort.¹⁰⁷ Likewise, the carpetmaker Nicolaas Blankert had lived and kept a shop in the Halsteeg on the corner of the Pieter Jacobszdwarsstraat, but his carpet factory was located at the

¹⁰³ Van Nierop, “Gegevens over de nijverheid van Amsterdam,” 301.

¹⁰⁴ Van Nierop, “Gegevens over de nijverheid van Amsterdam II,” 123.

¹⁰⁵ Van Nierop, “Gegevens over de nijverheid van Amsterdam,” 302; Everard, “Verandering en continuïteit in de arbeid van vrouwen,” 84–87.

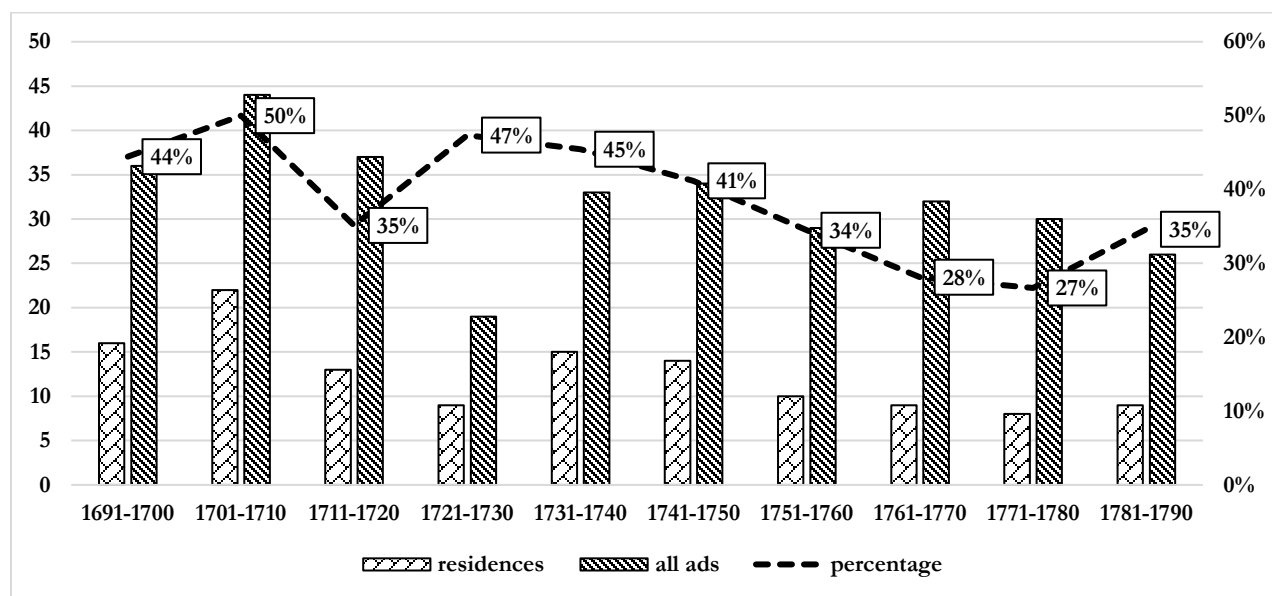
¹⁰⁶ Van Nierop, “Gegevens over de nijverheid van Amsterdam,” 299.

¹⁰⁷ Van Nierop, “Gegevens over de nijverheid van Amsterdam II,” 167.

workplace ‘Work and Serenity’ outside the Weesperpoort on the Oetjespad.¹⁰⁸ Here, the industrial landscape outside the city comes into view. Activities that needed a lot of space or caused too much of a nuisance in the form of noise, stench, and/or smoke often took place in the urban periphery, prompting such labour to become extradomestic work.

The examples given above show that men and women alike worked at these worksites. The type of work they did, the potential combination of production with retailing, the necessity of a requisite amount of space, and the noise or pollution caused by production would be important factors determining whether or not work could take place at home.

Figure 13. Advertisements in the *Amsterdamse Courant* that mention productive industry and the mention of residences 1691-1790 (n=320)



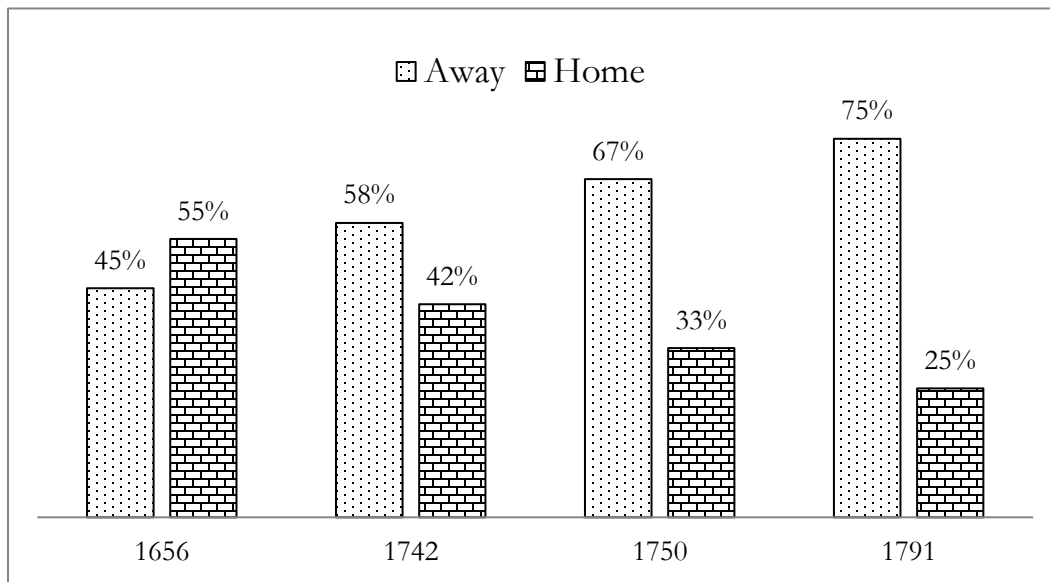
Finally, one can infer from the advertisements (with the requisite due reserve) an idea of change over time. Figure 13 above shows that the relative share of advertisements with work spaces mentioning residences differed, going from roughly between half of all advertisements to a bit more than one-quarter in Van Nierop’s sample. A downward trend during the eighteenth century suggests that it became less popular to combine productive industry with domestic space. On the other hand, the century-long data also show that during the whole period, residences and work spaces continued to

¹⁰⁸ Van Nierop, “Gegevens over de nijverheid van Amsterdam II,” 128.

be combined in productive industry.¹⁰⁹ That very much supports the idea that the change from small-scale workshop production to centralized worksites was gradual and uneven.

Returning to the depositional data, we can also explore if – and if so, in which contexts – people worked at specific worksites away from their home in more sectors and in the economy at large. By taking the residence location and the work locations for people recorded doing work, we can categorize their work as either domestic or extradomestic labour. Activities taking place just outside one’s home are here included in the ‘domestic’ category because the method matches the location ID of the event with the location ID of the residence of the person involved in the event. Roughly, then, the ‘domestic’ category also contains events happening in the same alley or street, unless on one of the larger and complex streets that provide more indications for spatial precision, as discussed in the introduction.¹¹⁰

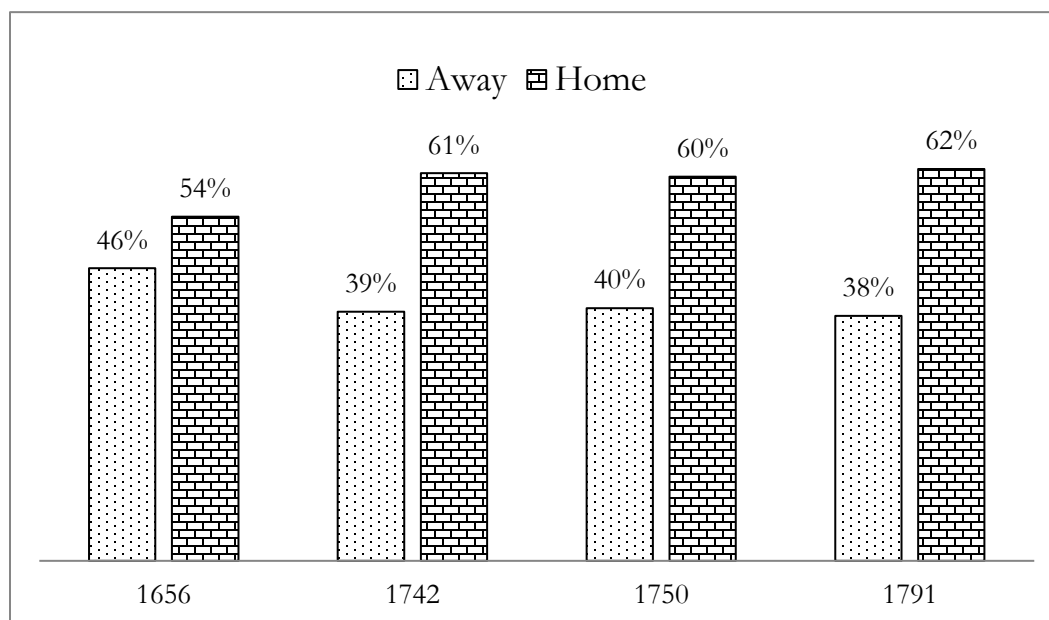
Figure 14. Male work by sample year and location, home or away from home



¹⁰⁹ Of course, I have only used the advertisements of Van Nierop’s selection here, since my main aim was to supplement my depositional material with more information on the Crafts and Industry sector. Since Van Nierop’s selection was aimed only at creating an anthology of advertisements, future research on a more complete sample of advertisements will certainly be fruitful.

¹¹⁰ See the methodology section in the introduction.

Figure 15. Female work by sample year and location, home or away from home



In Figures 14 and 15, the results of differentiating work activities that transpired at home from those performed away from the home are shown by sample year. Most notably, there is a clear trend in the eighteenth century showing men to be increasingly found engaged in extradomestic work; patterns for women show far greater stability over time, a relative flatness that seems in line with Myriam Everard's conclusion that women's work was not influenced by rising ideals of domesticity.¹¹¹ The image, then, that the depositions offer us is one where women did not increasingly work at home, while men's at-home work decreased. The question is of course whether the total number of men working away from home went up because men were eschewing at-home work in favour of work at other worksites, or whether the difference is caused by the data containing different men working in different sectors. The relative share of the 'transport' sector in the total number of activities became larger in later sample years, so more men might perhaps be shown working away from home in a given year simply due to more robust representation of sectors where people more often worked extradomestically. The shift from 1742 to 1750 is indeed caused by a much larger presence of men working away from home in the categories labelled 'Transport' and 'Administration and Justice' in 1750 than in 1742. Yet while 'Administration and Justice' is slightly larger in 1791 than in 1750,

¹¹¹ Everard, "Verandering en continuïteit in de arbeid van vrouwen," 101.

‘Transport’ is much smaller in 1791. Instead, the shift here is caused by the presence of a larger group of men working in ‘Crafts and Construction’ who worked away from home. Yet the data from 1742 also contain a large number of people working away from home in ‘Crafts and Construction’. That means that no clear change – such as a shift from workplaces at home to centralized factories – is visible in this data, but the change favouring extradomestic work happened across sectors. And of course we have seen a similar trend in the advertisements appearing in the *Amsterdamsche Courant*. There was no sudden rupture or change. Rather, there was a gradual trend towards extradomestic work and a general gendered pattern in which men worked away from home more often than women did across the eighteenth century.¹¹²

The women that were found working in the depositions most often worked domestically, although a lot of their work was done extradomestically. Thus the view drawn from the evidence of the depositions would support the idea of women’s ‘diligent domesticity’, locating most of the productive work done by women to be performed at home. Yet at the same time it shows that although women worked at home and were much more visible working at home than men were, women working outside the home were not exceptional. Rather, it makes sense to differentiate women with regard to their labour. That a larger number (59%) of the women found working at home were either married or once had been further affirms that marital status was an important factor for labour.¹¹³ Much of that work was tavern work and shop-keeping, but it also included ordering maidservants to undertake tasks and running errands at the house and in the immediately surrounding neighbourhood: putting out laundry to dry, collecting water, and fetching firewood and coffee. In that sense, even when married women were doing work at home, they were leading public lives, frequently stepping outside their houses or interacting with people coming into their houses to obtain goods and services.

Categories of work that were often done by men away from one’s residence in the depositions were transport, administration and justice, trade and crafts, and construction work. Much of this work

¹¹² Perhaps an investigation of a larger dataset including more sample years would give greater clarity, because then the differences within sectors and among types of work could be explored in greater detail. The depositions of the chief officer could theoretically be used for this purpose for a large part of the 18th century, but such an endeavour would be very labour intensive and is beyond the scope of this dissertation.

¹¹³ See also Danielle van den Heuvel and Elise van Nederveen Meerkerk, “Introduction: Partners in Business? Spousal Cooperation in Trades in Early Modern England and the Dutch Republic,” *Continuity and Change* 23, no. 2 (August 2008): 209–16; Lindström et al., “Mistress or Maid.”

was guild-regulated or was performed by civil servants employed by the city, and thus it was work that women were formally excluded from. The sources contain a good deal of patrolling and inspecting, as well as the seizure and smuggling of illegal goods, all work that was done in the streets and on the canals of the city. Men's away-from-home work that did not take place on the street occurred in specialized workspaces such as stables, workshops, lumberyards, guardhouses, construction sites, warehouses, ferry landings, distilleries, factories, and ropewalks. It brought them onto the streets in their commutes, following the routines discussed in Chapter 1.

When men did domestic work, they often did so because their homes were also taverns, lodging houses, shops, or workshops. In some cases, a centralized production site actually increased the number of men working at home, because a worksite doubled as residence: we find 'Jan Straatman, working and living as malting servant in the malt house of Jan van den Bosch Cornelisz (...)' on the Laagte Kadijk.¹¹⁴ And in several cases, brewery servants were also described as living or staying in the breweries where they worked.¹¹⁵ Similarly, the data of men working at home contain two soldiers who stood guard at the barracks where they were stationed and slept.¹¹⁶ These were different types of households, where an exclusively male worksite doubled as residence. On the one hand, these spaces were not that different from ordinary households in the sense that neither were work-exempt places. Yet, as male-exclusive centralized work locations, they possessed a scale larger than that of ordinary households. This could lead to occupational socialization and the development of a sense of collective identity: In the case of the brewery servants, groups of servants from two breweries were described as 'confraters' (colleagues or guild brothers) who sat drinking together in a beer-houses' upstairs room before they picked a fight with men from a different occupational group, namely sugar refinery servants.¹¹⁷

Interestingly, those worksites where crucial aspects of ordinary households were commercialized were also the most mixed and the least gender-exclusive spaces: both men and women worked and lived in lodging houses and taverns, where food and accommodation was provided. As we have seen in Chapter 2, the port city of Amsterdam contained a large mobile workforce of sailors, resulting in market opportunities for lodging (see Map 7 in Chapter 2). Customers in this market needed a

¹¹⁴ NL-AsdSAA, Notarissen (5075), inv. nr. 11735, SF1742, scan 198.

¹¹⁵ NL-AsdSAA, Notarissen (5075), inv. nr. 13131, CS1750, scan 735.

¹¹⁶ NL-AsdSAA, Notarissen (5075), inv. nr. 17978, LB1791, scan 244.

¹¹⁷ NL-AsdSAA, Notarissen (5075), inv. nr. 13131, CS1750, scan 735.

temporary home and household, opening up opportunities for the commodification of everyday household tasks. It seems then that when the household itself was what was produced, in a way that generated income, men could be found working alongside women in much greater numbers. But still, as we have seen before, we do not see men doing the typical housework that sustained these 'households for sale.' This pattern follows the gendered division of labour found elsewhere: Schmidt found that within orphanages across Holland, the 'orphan parents' were men and women who worked together in a household-styled structure, but each had distinct gendered responsibilities. The women were in charge of work such as provisioning, cooking, and the supervision of female staff, while the men were responsible for education, financial-organizational matters, and oversight of male staff.¹¹⁸

Similarly, Bert de Munck has shown how household work was a sensitive topic for male apprentices in early modern Antwerp: it could lead to conflicts if live-in apprentices were tasked to do household work such as running errands, provisioning, and playing with children. De Munck analyses the situation as a matter of prestige, with apprentices seeking to distinguish themselves from ordinary (household) servants.¹¹⁹ I would add that a gendered division of labour partially explains why such household work was considered not prestigious. In particular, the character of the typical master's workplace as a gender-mixed household led to a situation in which concerned apprentices attempted to differentiate themselves from other members of the household. Here, furthermore, the benefit of differentiating between (extra)domestic work and household work becomes more clear: as reported by De Munck, much of what the apprentices regarded as objectionable household work was extradomestic work. Instead, these apprentices wanted to stay at home and do the work they were supposed to be trained in. We see here further how household work could often be extradomestic work; apprentices desired the privilege of working domestically that male masters enjoyed. Working domestically while not doing household tasks was, in that sense, a desired male privilege. This fits Robert Shoemaker's description of middle-class men whose lives

¹¹⁸ Ariadne Schmidt, "Managing a Large Household. The Gender Division of Work in Orphanages in Dutch Towns in the Early Modern Period, 1580–1800," *The History of the Family* 13, no. 1 (January 1, 2008): 46.

¹¹⁹ Bert De Munck, "In Loco Parentis? De Disciplineren van Leerlingen Onder Het Dak van Antwerpse Ambachtsmeesters (1579-1680)," *TSEG - The Low Countries Journal of Social and Economic History* 1, no. 3 (September 15, 2004): 23–26.

were locally tied and who often enjoyed the privilege of a workshop at home, contrasted to the more mobile female servants and the lower-class men who, out of necessity, were more mobile.¹²⁰

While having a single workspace was desired and considered prestigious by apprentices, many people did not always work in a single space, as many examples throughout this chapter have shown. In the food and accommodation sector, workers with a fixed worksite such as a tavern were nonetheless sometimes found throughout the city doing work, as when they were sent out on errands. While we have seen that errands that were more strictly considered household work, such as provisioning, were predominantly carried out by women, men would also move through the city on errands pertaining to trade and debt collection. One such case involves the tavern servant Hendrik Moerkoert, whose master sent him to the father of a drunk customer who had fallen asleep in the tavern. As mentioned before, information was exchanged by people simply as they were walking around. Not only was sending messages a type of micro-work, it was also a common task that made the work that predominantly took place in fixed work sites more diverse in location. Or rather: the necessity of exchanging information would make workers whom we may think of as having fixed worksites much more flexible. In another case, Harmanus Kramer and his wife Anna Elisabeth Prons kept a tavern and traded textiles on the side; they had sent a piece of linen to Rotterdam but it never arrived. Kramer then made a trip to the ferry to Rotterdam to check whether the piece of linen had been spotted there, which shows a much wider array of work activities and locations than his occupational label of tavern-keeper (“tapper”) would suggest. A similar case was the work of Jens Holm, who kept a lodging house. Collecting the debts of a lodger who had left his lodging house required him to visit another lodging house in the city (which he then pillaged).

To conclude, understanding ‘domestic’ and ‘extradomestic’ as spatial concepts and not as descriptions of the type of work performed gives us useful categories for a gendered analysis of work. Early modern urban work had a complex relation to the home: For some, it could be a privilege to work at home, while for others there were not many other options. Interestingly, while especially for men a domestic worksite at home could be something to be desired, the eighteenth century saw a gradual trend in which their labour increasingly moved extradomestically, whereas the situation where women worked at home more often was more stable through time.

¹²⁰ Shoemaker, “Gendered Spaces,” 153–155.

Conclusions

In the sections above, the early modern city appears as an ambiguous laboratory of the spatial logics of work. The early modern urban economy occupied a crossroads between the preindustrial economy, in which most work took place at home, and the industrialized economy, in which worksites tended to be elsewhere, away from the domestic realm. Looking at gender and space through the lens of work has helped paint a picture that conveys a complex, multi-layered geography. While what was presented above is far from a complete overview of Amsterdam's economic geography, it helped us see how work in early modern Amsterdam was diverse and followed gendered patterns but was not strictly gendered into separate spheres. Women more often worked in retail, food and accommodation, as well as inside, as many more men were found working outside in the street and away from their home.

We have seen how work interacted with mobility in the form of work on the move and commutes to worksites, and how work itself could be part of street life. The data from the depositions seem to affirm the spatial narratives that women worked inside and at home more often and men more often went out and increasingly worked away from home. As in Chapter 1, This gendered pattern is strong but does not represent a strict separation: we also found men working at home and women working outside – although notably not as much. There was a diversity of worksites, and the home itself also emerged as a diverse, multifaceted worksite. Neither for women nor for men was the home a domestic prison. Household work brought women outside the home or in contact with the street while they worked in or at their houses. The workshop, where craftsmen worked at their homes, could be a desirable privilege, showing how the intersections of gender, work, and space produced different results.

The complex geographies of work further showed people making a living in diverse ways throughout the city, as a major part of their public life, both in the sense of people working for public institutions as in their broader participation in early modern society through work. What this chapter has also shown was that there was change over time, although gradual and uneven. There was no clear cut moment of modernization where the 'modern commute' was invented, but there was a gradual movement towards working away from home.

Chapter 4.

Speed in the Street: 'Vehicularization' in Early Modern Amsterdam

When the German traveller-scientist Georg Forster visited Amsterdam in 1790, he gave a vivid description of how loud everyday competition over urban space in the city could be:

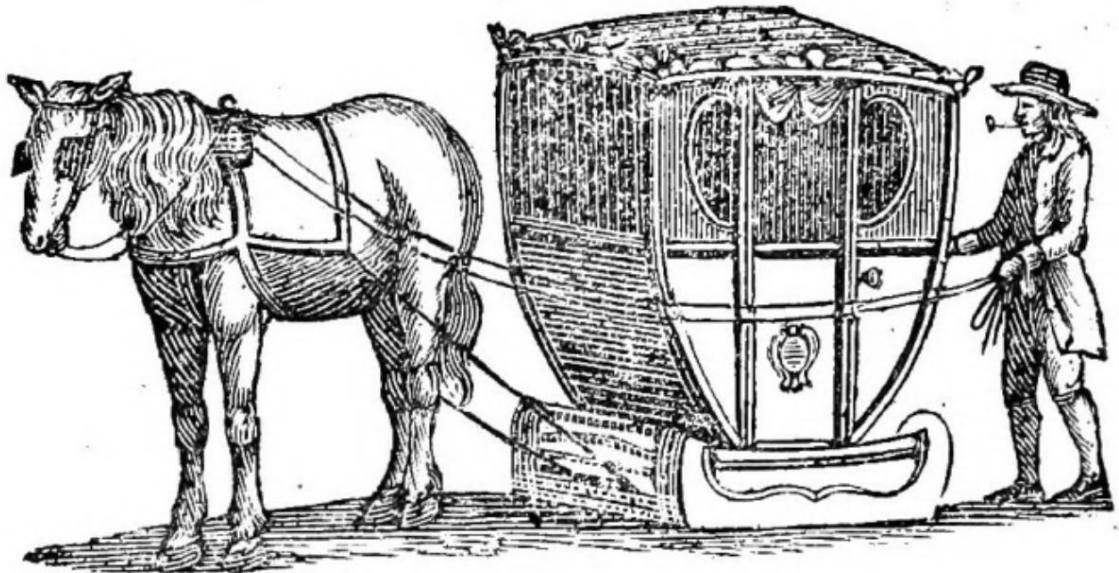
In small cities, crowdedness is more noticeable than here [in Amsterdam] where there is room to move out of each other's way. But also in Amsterdam there are neighborhoods where one can only painstakingly move through the swarming in narrow small streets. The whole day long, a continuous thunderous roaring dominates. The manifold carriages of mayors, councilors, state officials, directors of the East India Company, physicians and *nouveaux riches*, the unremitting transport of goods and the resulting rising of drawbridges obstruct the way of passage and cause a constant yelling and rumbling. From the early morning to the late evening, men and women loudly cry to sell all sorts of goods on all of the streets. The church towers have carillons and in the evening, organ grinders and singing women pass through the streets.¹

Forster's short description of street life shows the diversity of Amsterdam's urban space. Areas of relative spaciousness – most likely allusions to the newer expansions – are contrasted with an obstructive crowdedness, probably references to the medieval center and the Jordaan. Wheeled vehicle traffic and pedestrians loudly vied for the space needed to pass through the city. As the streets were filled with economic and with leisure activities alike, the street was used both as a transitory space and a destination in itself for various pursuits. Here the 'manifold carriages' described by Forster are especially striking: a year earlier, in 1789, the English author Samuel Ireland had written that

¹ Georg Forster, *Het vuur nog geenszins gedoofd: een reis door de Lage Landen in 1790*, trans. Gerlof Janzen (Amsterdam: Cossee, 2010), 161–162.

carriages with wheels, except for the use of the nobility and gentry, were not suffered here for many years after its establishment. A sleigh, as the Dutch term it (the French a *traineau* or *pot de chambre*) is now much in use: it is the body of a coach, without wheels, drawn on a sledge with one horse and goes at the rate of three miles an hour. The driver walks close to the door, holding a rope, as a rein to guide the horse, and a pipe, as he says, to purify the air. The following sketch [Figure 16] will explain the nature of this carriage, a mode of conveyance better suited to the gravity of the Hollander than the sons of the whip in our country. The vehicle will hold four persons, but not very commodiously. The fare is reasonable, being only eight stivers to any part of the city till ten at night, twelve stivers till midnight, and sixteen from thence till day break: if kept in waiting, the price is eight stivers per hour.²

Figure 16. The Amsterdam closed sleigh or coach sleigh pulled by one horse and steered by a walking driver



² Samuel Ireland, *A Picturesque Tour Through Holland, Brabant, and Part of France: Made in the Autumn of 1789* (T. Egerton, 1796), 127–128.

Ireland makes an important distinction between types of vehicles that had seemingly been ignored by Forster: there was a large number of vehicles without wheels. Sleights were wheelless vehicles that were dragged over the street pavement, for which an oily cloth (a *smeerlap*) was used to smoothen the passage.³ Whereas Forster described carriages as an important part of street life, for Ireland they were more the exception than the rule. Perhaps Forster simply included sleights⁴ under the phrase ‘manifold carriages,’ since the closed type of sleigh used to transport people was sometimes called a ‘coach sleigh’ (*koetslee*). Yet especially since the introduction of wheeled coaches within city walls had initially been seen as an undesirable and dangerous innovation, the quotes cited above highlight the importance of distinguishing different types of vehicles when studying the city street and the impact of vehicles on it, bound together in what I will here in this chapter call ‘vehicle culture’.

The place of vehicles in the city is a matter of spatial politics in which social differences among people in the form of gender and status play an important role. Vehicles require access to urban space that is inherently scarce, and they demand transformations of that space. At the same time, access to vehicles was marked by barriers of its own. The question of who gets to drive or to be driven is relevant to the organization of societies at large. Research into modern automobiles has considered how ‘categories of masculinity and femininity penetrated, applied to and organized the dawning car culture’⁵ but in contrast early modern vehicles have received, from a gender-analysis perspective, only limited attention.⁶ Yet we should note that studies not engaging explicitly in gender analysis nevertheless depict early modern vehicle culture as a man’s world, as is apparent from historical descriptions such as Georg Forster’s above, or contemporary book titles such as *Driving. The Horse, The Man and the Carriage from 1700 up to Present Day*.⁷ Gendered analysis has occupied a more evident place in the strand of scholarship that has given horses a place in cultural history and

³ J. J. Boerma Westendorp, *Leerboek der Geschiedenis II. Van het Wiener Congres tot Heden* (Zwolle: W. E. J. Tjeenk Willink n.v., 1935), 41.

⁴ The specific interurban transport vehicle without wheels has been described using the various terms sley, sleigh, sledge or sled. I use ‘sleigh’ here.

⁵ Virginia Scharff, *Taking the Wheel: Women and the Coming of the Motor Age* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1992), 165.

⁶ One exception, which discusses the London gentry’s access to coaches is Shoemaker, “Gendered Spaces.” Other significant exceptions are studies of women as passengers in carriage travel, such as Danielle Bobker, “Carriages, Conversation, and A Sentimental Journey,” *Studies in Eighteenth-Century Culture* 35, no. 1 (June 24, 2010): 243–66; and Yoojung Choi, “‘Every Jolt Will Squash Their Guts’: Women’s Stagecoach Travel in Delarivier Manley’s Letters,” *Early Modern Women* 14, no. 1 (December 4, 2019): 141–51.

⁷ Andres Furger, *Driving: The Horse, the Man, and the Carriage from 1700 Up to the Present Day* (Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 2009).

where the human-animal relation between human and horse has been studied as a matter of embodiment, identity and status.⁸ Some of the authors working in this vein have discussed masculinity as an important factor in the identity of groups such as German equine tradesmen and colonial Boers in what is now South Africa.⁹ Simultaneously, historians are increasingly recognizing and exploring the profound influence of the horse (and other animals) on urban life.¹⁰ In one such study – one of the few studies combining gender, urban space and early modern driving culture – Thomas Almeroth-Williams has described the layered gendered context of the eighteenth-century English elite’s riding through London’s Hyde Park: equestrian ability was seen as a matter of masculinity, even as the ‘delicate’ Londoners who drove parading themselves through urban parks were critiqued as ‘example[s] of London’s frivolous and effeminate ways.’¹¹

Whereas the previous chapters focused mostly on the mobilities of people on foot, this chapter considers vehicle movement. The early modern city was still a walking city and continued to be so until deep into the modern period, but new modes of transportation were emerging that competed with walking, left a mark on everyday urban experience, and posed new challenges.¹² As we will see, Amsterdam’s distinct vehicle culture possessed unique features, but studying its development helps us to grasp a wider European vehicle culture and the tense relationship between urban space and vehicles in general. Insights into early modern vehicle traffic in Amsterdam’s streets have previously been deduced from traveler’s accounts like Forster’s, general demographic data and accounts of the city government’s efforts to intervene in the urban fabric.¹³ A key publication that this chapter builds

⁸ Peter Edwards, Karl A. E. Enekel, and Elspeth Graham, eds., *The Horse as Cultural Icon: The Real and the Symbolic Horse in the Early Modern World* (Leiden: Brill, 2011); Karen Raber and Treva J Tucker, eds., *The Culture of the Horse: Status, Discipline, and Identity in the Early Modern World* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005).

⁹ Amanda Eisemann, “Forging Iron and Masculinity: Farrier Trade Identities in Early Modern Germany,” in *The Horse as Cultural Icon: The Real and the Symbolic Horse in the Early Modern World*, ed. Peter Edwards, Karl A. E. Enekel, and Elspeth Graham (Leiden: Brill, 2011), 377–402; Sandra Swart, “‘Horses! Give Me More Horses!’: White Settler Identity, Horses, and the Making of Early Modern South Africa,” in *The Culture of the Horse: Status, Discipline, and Identity in the Early Modern World*, ed. Karen Raber and Treva J Tucker (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005), 311–28.

¹⁰ Thomas Almeroth-Williams, *City of Beasts: How Animals Shaped Georgian London* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2019); Ellen Janssens, “Paarden en de moderne stad: De Antwerpse paardeneconomie en het stedelijk leefmilieu (1870-1910),” *Stadsgeschiedenis* 11, no. 2 (July 2016): 123–45.

¹¹ Almeroth-Williams, *City of Beasts*, 178.

¹² Colin G. Pooley, “Cities, Spaces and Movement: Everyday Experiences of Urban Travel in England C. 1840–1940,” *Urban History* 44, no. 1 (February 2017): 91–109.

¹³ A good example of a study adopting this sort of more indirect analysis of the ‘architectural aspects of the traffic problem’ is R. E. Kistemaker, “The Public and the Private: Public Space in Sixteenth- and Seventeenth-Century Amsterdam,” in *The Public and Private in Dutch Culture of the Golden Age*, ed. Arthur W. Wheelock and Adele F. Seeff, trans. Wendy Shattes (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 2000), 20–21.

upon Jaap Evert Abrahamse's *Metropolis in the Making* (published as *De Grote Uitleg van Amsterdam* in Dutch), addresses traffic from the perspective of the city authorities and notes that currently 'we do not have any quantitative data on traffic.'¹⁴ The twenty-first century city center of Amsterdam is equipped with sensors, beacons and scanners recognizing 3D objects, which generate data on traffic flows; by contrast, empirical data on early modern traffic is notoriously difficult to come by.¹⁵ To find observations about vehicle use and ownership, I turn to the notarial depositions for the chief officer, the chronicle kept by Jacob Bicker Raije from 1731 to 1772 and the *Personele Quotisatie* from 1742.¹⁶ These data are scattered and incomplete, but nonetheless this is the first time we possess any sort of compiled empirical data on traffic for early modern Amsterdam. While one cannot distill a complete overview of flows of traffic from these documents, they do offer insights into the experience of the movement of vehicles and into the changes in their use that took place during the period under scrutiny.

Within the context of vehicle culture, exploration of the recurring question of this dissertation – 'Who accessed the street, and how?' – will be divided into two parts. The first part looks at different vehicles and their distribution throughout the city as part of a broader citywide spatial analysis. This discussion will give us an idea of the shared structure of the city that affected both those with access to vehicles and those lacking such access. The second part looks at the questions of who got to drive and how vehicle culture interacted with early modern social categorization as social class and gender. But first, I will introduce the theoretical context for these perspectives.

Traffic in the early modern city

An important context for debates on traffic is the contrast between the premodern and the modern city. Accounts of the modernization of streets have typically contrasted a disordered premodern street, whose administration was the personal responsibility of its inhabitants, to a 'rationally' ordered modern street, where the norm of public responsibility and the professionalization of the street's supervision had turned it into a depersonalized place, used mainly for transit: 'What urban

¹⁴ Abrahamse, *Metropolis in the Making*, 328-330.

¹⁵ For example, see Slimme Apparaten Amsterdam for the location of sensors <https://slimmeapparaten.amsterdam.nl/>

¹⁶ Both Bicker Raije's chronicle and the *Personele Quotisatie* were processed by others, which enabled me to do much of the analyses of this chapter. Once again I want to thank Erika Kuijpers for the transcription of Bicker Raije's chronicle and Peter Koudijs for the .csv of the *Personele Quotisatie*.

historians generally describe is an effective civilizing process of street life in the transition period from pre-modern to modern times. The rowdiness of the eighteenth century is contrasted by the demand for order and obsession with manners in the nineteenth century.¹⁷ Such accounts locate most of the radical change in the nineteenth century, a time when “[t]he authorities took increasingly effective action to pave, drain, light, and police [the street].”¹⁸ Some of the premodern multi-functionality remained in the nineteenth century, as ‘encounters with individuals, street furniture, animals, and vehicles would require [the pedestrian] to make constant changes of course, precluding relaxation. The street would be a scene of conflict’.¹⁹ Such ongoing potential for conflict persisted until a process of ‘canalization of movements’ in the form of sidewalks made for a “more relaxed pedestrian”.²⁰ Ogborn already saw such a process in eighteenth-century London, where the ‘politics of paving’ spawned streets that were ‘brighter and safer’ and ‘ordered and straightened’ and as such became spaces of modernity.²¹ In such a narrative characterizing the transition from premodern to modern cities, streets became sites of passing, unsuitable for social contact. London gentlemen’s magazines from the late eighteenth century advised their readers to keep moving and to avoid looking at others.²² Similarly, but with a different emphasis, Lewis Mumford saw such a canalization of movement as an issue of social differentiation that had already been happening in the early modern city. He argued that the wider avenues of the ‘baroque city’ gave material form to social differentiation: ‘the dissociation of the upper and the lower classes achieves form in the city itself. The rich drive; the poor walk. The rich roll along the axis of the grand avenue; the poor are off-center, in the gutter; and eventually a special strip is provided for the ordinary pedestrian, the sidewalk.’²³

Amsterdam does not fit the general periodization sketched above. Varying features traditionally associated with different periods, such as a strip for pedestrians and streetlights, existed alongside

¹⁷ Peter K. Andersson, “‘Bustling, Crowding, and Pushing’: Pickpockets and the Nineteenth-Century Street Crowd,” *Urban History* 41, no. 2 (May 2014): 295.

¹⁸ Francois Bedarida and Anthony Sutcliffe, “The Street in the Structure and Life of the City: Reflections on Nineteenth-Century London and Paris,” *Journal of Urban History* 6, no. 4 (August 1980): 385.

¹⁹ Bedarida and Sutcliffe, “The Street in the Structure and Life of the City,” 385.

²⁰ Bedarida and Sutcliffe, “The Street in the Structure and Life of the City,” 386.

²¹ Ogborn, *Spaces of Modernity*, 75–77.

²² Robert Shoemaker, *The London Mob: Violence and Disorder in Eighteenth-Century London* (London: Hambledon and London, 2004), 24.

²³ Lewis Mumford, *The City in History. Its Origins, Its Transformations, and Its Prospects* (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1961), 370.

each other in practice. But for cities throughout Europe, and not just Amsterdam, a teleological narrative that posits disorderly premodern streets ultimately transformed into ordered modern streets simplifies both the premodern and the modern situations. Abrahamse has fruitfully showed that in the seventeenth century, a number of narrow alleys in the old city center of Amsterdam were broadened so as to smoothen passage through them.²⁴ Likewise, Jenner argues that ‘conveniency of passage’ and the prevention of obstruction in the streets also represented a regulatory issue in seventeenth-century London, where the smooth circulation of traffic was deemed important.²⁵ Traffic rules and pavement regulations ordered street life throughout the early modern period and thus were not a modern invention. Furthermore, the narrative of ‘rationalization’ presupposes a neutral best outcome for all urban street users, whereas in practice different interests compete with one another and have always done so. The matter of who got to use the street and in what capacity has its winners and losers, where some are able to claim more space than others. Especially since the question of who gets to drive is dependent on a person’s gender and social class, the way vehicles successfully lay claim on the street is important with regard not just to early modern Amsterdam but to cities throughout the world.

Finally, the narrative that casts early modern disorder as eventually yielding to modern order omits a particular type of disorder that was in fact a feature of what one might call modernization: the increasing rate of street users moving at different speeds. The introduction and social integration of high-speed interurban traffic, though it has been held up to critical scrutiny within the context of twentieth century cities, has received far less consideration as an early modern phenomenon.²⁶ Yet

²⁴ Abrahamse, *Metropolis in the Making*, 360-362.

²⁵ Mark Jenner, “Circulation and Disorder. London Streets and Hackney Coaches, C. 1640-1740,” in *The Streets of London: From the Great Fire to the Great Stink*, ed. Tim Hitchcock and Heather Shore (London: Rivers Oram Press, 2003), 42–43. See also: Chris R. Kyle, “Parliament and the Politics of Carting in Early Stuart London,” *The London Journal* 27, no. 2 (November 1, 2002): 1–11. What is notable about the seventeenth-century street improvements both in Amsterdam and London is that they precede the idea of the city as a body whose circulation needed to be in equilibrium. This conception came into fashion in the 18th century, when architects and city planners applied the medical ‘section’ to their drawing and streets were envisioned as arteries. This idea has often been seen as a new understanding of the city, heralding those modern interventions aimed at improving accessibility. Richard Sennett, *Flesh and Stone: The Body and the City in Western Civilization*, 1994, 255–261; Andrew J. Tallon, “The Portuguese Precedent for Pierre Patte’s Street Section,” *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 63, no. 3 (2004): 370–77.

²⁶ On the process of Dutch cities accepting or resisting increasing urban automobility, see Tim Verlaan, “Mobilization of the Masses: Dutch Planners, Local Politics, and the Threat of the Motor Age 1960-1980,” *Journal of Urban History*, October 1, 2019, 0096144219872767. Notable and influential for my thinking on this topic is also: Thaila Verkade and Marco te Brömmelstroet, *Het recht van de snelste. Hoe ons verkeer steeds asocialer werd* (Amsterdam: De Correspondent, 2020).

the privileging of speed and its distribution is a topic that can be applied to early modern cities as well as more recent iterations of the urban landscape. Acknowledging this helps us further understand the logic of early modern streets on its own terms. As we will see below, high-speed vehicles had no obvious place within a city's walls. Only gradually were such vehicles accepted into the city during the early modern period. There was neither an outright invasion nor a smooth transition to the new status quo. In the same sense that we can see the process that Koslofsky has called 'nocturnalization' – in which 'the elites of the court and the city colonized the urban night'²⁷ – as both a colonization process and a civilizing process, I would argue that the 'vehicularization' of the early modern city was, too, at once a civilizing and a colonizing project. In the following section, I will discuss how and where Amsterdam's urban space came to be 'vehicular space'. Understanding this historical transformation will take us one step closer towards answering the question: 'Who accessed the street and how?' In the next section, I will turn to urban space and the way it was used as vehicular space.

Vehicular space in the city

In 1528, a new bylaw stipulated that the drivers of sleighs and wagons were no longer allowed to sit upon their vehicle and instead would have to walk beside it, because the 'driving caused great disorder, often mixed with malice, as people, specifically women and children, are at great danger of being driven over'.²⁸ As commercial and economic activity grew and claimed more space in the street, the city authorities sought ways of regulating the flows of people, goods and vehicles. The above example hints at a gendered competition over street space and offers an image of male sleigh drivers competing specifically with women and children for space. We know from London that '[c]hildren were especially vulnerable to traffic'.²⁹ Balancing the demands of economic activity with the everyday safety of urban inhabitants, the bylaw from Amsterdam, revealing that it was deemed appropriate for women and children to take up space in the streets, shows an effort to protect their capacity to do so. Heavy sleighs brought economic advantage; to counter their danger, their drivers were brought back to walking speed.

²⁷ Craig Koslofsky, *Evening's Empire: A History of the Night in Early Modern Europe*, New Studies in European History (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 277.

²⁸ W. F.H. Oldewelt, "Verkeer te Amsterdam in Vroeger Tijd," *Amstelodamum* 38:1, January, 1951, 1.

²⁹ Emily Cockayne, *Hubbub: Filth, Noise & Stench in England 1600-1770* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2007), 170.

We see here that the sixteenth-century urban street was not an unproblematic ‘vehicular space’. The regulations were aimed at the drivers of vehicles: it was they, and not pedestrians, who had to adjust the way that they moved. The danger of vehicles on the city’s streets had to be mitigated as much as possible. This view came under increasing pressure in the seventeenth century. Amsterdam’s seventeenth-century expansions were increasingly planned with vehicles in mind and by the eighteenth century, wheeled vehicles had certainly achieved an accepted place in street life. This is not to say that the whole of urban space had been unproblematically reconceptualized and transformed into vehicular space. Heavily regulated in particular to ward off disorder and danger were those parts of the city that had never been designed for vehicles. Furthermore, among land vehicles pulled by horses, an important distinction was put in place separating vehicles with wheels on the one hand, and sleighs without wheels on the other.

Sleighs had been an important part of street life in Amsterdam long before coaches and chaises (fast and lighter two-wheeled wagons, pulled by a single horse) came into fashion in the seventeenth century.³⁰ While most goods came into the city by water, a part of the subsequent inter-city transport was done by draymen or sleigh-men (*sleepers*) who used a single draught horse connected to a simple sleigh to bring goods to locations within the city. Such sleighs or sledges, not unique to Amsterdam, could be seen in other cities in the Dutch Republic and in England, at least in Bristol.³¹ Sleigh-men’s movements clearly had an economic purpose which, as long as they controlled their horses properly and drove slowly, gave them a legitimate claim on urban space. City ordinances and guild structures such as the 1528 bylaw and certain other regulations (to be cited later in this chapter) show how sleigh-men’s claims on the streets were never simply accepted; but they would be accepted if their movements were regulated so that they were safer. Coaches and other vehicles that could also be used recreationally had much less of a legitimate claim on urban space: When, from the second quarter of the seventeenth century onwards, coaches rapidly became more popular, they damaged

³⁰ The name chaise came from the French ‘chaise roulante,’ which means driving chair. In Dutch, it was also sometimes spelled ‘sjees’, which became a synonym for going fast.

³¹ Marion Pluskota, “Prostitution in Bristol and Nantes, 1750-1815: A Comparative Study” (PhD diss., University of Leicester, 2011), 92; Elizabeth Ralph, *The Streets of Bristol*, 49 (Bristol: Bristol Branch of the Historical Association, 1981), 9; R. C. Hage, “Eer tegen eer: Een cultuurhistorische studie van schaking tijdens de Republiek, 1580 - 1795” (PhD diss., Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam, 2017), 307.

streets and bridges and were deemed too dangerous to share the streets with others.³² The collective damage caused by these vehicles was much greater than whatever individual gains they might provide. So, in 1634, the city authorities banned the use of all coaches within the city walls. Even a widow's plea to be excused from these rules so that she could use a one-person vehicle was brushed aside, Abrahamse has shown.³³

Figure 17. A sleigh and two wheelbarrows on the street. A chaise can be seen in the background. Cutout from a drawing by H. P. Schouten, 1779.



Besides the damage and danger that wheeled vehicles in the city posed and indeed caused, such conveyances were also seen as a threat to the moral order. Coach owners flashed their wealth in the streets; commentators were especially distressed about the nouveaux riches now shaking up the status quo and its hierarchy. There was a clear difference between vehicles used for economic activity, employed so that people could make a living, and coaches called into service for leisurely drives and showing off. In his 1614 emblem book *Sinnepoppen*, the Amsterdam emblematist Roemer Visscher included an emblem of a coach with a quote from Virgil, *‘Quid domini facient audent cum talia*

³² Abrahamse, *Metropolis in the Making*, 328-330; H. Schmal, “De overheid als verkeersregelaar. Ongelukken en opstoppingen,” in *Amsterdam in kaarten: verandering van de stad in vier eeuwen cartografie*, ed. W.F. Heinemeijer and M. F. Wagenaar (Ede: Zomer & Keuning, 1987), 56–59.

³³ Abrahamse, *Metropolis in the Making*, 332-333; NL-AsdSAA, Archief van de Vroedschap: resoluties met munimenten of bijlagen, (5025) (Hereafter: ‘Vroedschap (5025)’), inv. nr. 16, Vroedschapsresoluties 1633 – 1639, scan 56.

jures' ('What would the lords do if thieves/servants dared such things?') and a text in Dutch that complained of the conspicuous splendor and arrogance of those who had earned their fortunes unjustly and who now took to showing off with horses, carriages, clothes and banquets.³⁴ The coach was an illustration of these luxury-indulging people who 'did not leave prominence to the noble sovereign.'³⁵ Danielle Bobker has found a very similar discourse in England, where the poet John Taylor wrote in his 1623 *The World Runnes on Wheelles*: 'The aristocracy merit this luxury [to be coached] but why should common traders raise themselves thus above the crowd?'³⁶ Coaches, significantly, were limited at first to royal and aristocratic households. In the eyes of moralists such as Roemer and Taylor, the widespread adoption of coaches across Europe was a 'transgression of the coach's ceremonial origins'.³⁷ Yet there was a crucial difference in the case of Amsterdam, which was a city-state within a civic republic with a urban bourgeois social structure: it had neither a court nor an influential aristocracy. However, this association of coaches with nobility might have been a stronger reason why such wheeled vehicles were distrusted. The suspicion directed towards them fits the logic of sumptuary laws throughout the Low Countries, where limitations on the 'livery of noblemen' were not a matter of an aristocracy protecting their privileges but rather a means whereby urban authorities engaged in 'limiting the display of noble power and influence within city walls'.³⁸ In that sense, the 1634 ban on wheeled horse-drawn vehicles within the city can be seen as a combination of a safety law and a sumptuary law.

In contrast, Paris and London in the seventeenth century were each 'overrun by coaches and carriages of all sorts'.³⁹ This development had been rapid: From the sixteenth century onwards, it slowly became socially acceptable for noblemen to be seen in coaches. Still, court cultures had not always introduced vehicles in a smooth fashion. The French king Charles IX (reigned 1560-1574)

³⁴ This culture clash between the sumptuous and the sober may also have been an attack on the conduct of wealthy migrants. Either way, it fits a pattern of anxiety about conspicuous consumption: Whereas the general European trend from the seventeenth century onwards was to introduce sumptuary laws to protect trade, the sumptuary laws enacted in the Netherlands from the seventeenth century onwards took on a 'moralizing take in their discourses'. Isis Sturtewagen and Bruno Blondé, "Playing by the Rules? Dressing without Sumptuary Laws in the Low Countries from the Fourteenth to the Eighteenth Century," in *The Right to Dress: Sumptuary Laws in a Global Perspective, c.1200–1800*, ed. Giorgio Riello and Ulinka Rublack (Cambridge University Press, 2019), 95.

³⁵ Roemer Visscher, *Sinnepoppen* (ed. L. Brummel). (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1949), 157.

³⁶ John Taylor, *The World Runnes on Wheelles, or, Oddes Betwixt Carts and Coaches* (London: Henry Gosson, 1623), 17, quoted in Bobker, "Carriages, Conversation, and A Sentimental Journey," 245.

³⁷ Bobker, "Carriages, Conversation, and A Sentimental Journey," 245.

³⁸ Sturtewagen and Blondé, "Playing by the Rules?," 75.

³⁹ Karen Newman, *Cultural Capitals: Early Modern London and Paris* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2007), 73.

had not allowed his nobles to use carriages, which he saw as a foreign and effeminate.⁴⁰ But from the late sixteenth and early seventeenth century onwards, ‘coaches quickly spread through the aristocracy and gentry’.⁴¹ Their design and comfort improved, especially from the seventeenth century onwards.⁴² In the capital and court cities of Paris and London, they quickly became a common sight on the street. Karen Newman observes: ‘The coach’s popularity needs to be understood in part as a means of reestablishing the social distinctions put in jeopardy by the “promiscuous sociability” of the newly congested, burgeoning urban environment of the streets’.⁴³ In Paris and London, coaches were a new way for the upper gentry and nobility to differentiate themselves from the common people in the face of metropolitan sociability. Coaches provided both a metaphorical as a literal ascension above common pedestrians. Yet, in Amsterdam, especially given the lack of an aristocracy, this was problematized and the use of coaches was rather seen as part of this ‘promiscuous sociability.’ The coach sleigh, even literally lower because of its lack of wheels, became a viable alternative.

How successful was the ban on wheeled horse-drawn vehicles in Amsterdam? It is hard to say. One historian suggests that visual material shows that ‘the driving prohibition was well-complied with.’⁴⁴ The most recent work on the subject, by contrast, suggests that the idea that the ban was not practically achievable, even that it was, in the words of Abrahamse, ‘too far removed from reality to be enforced’.⁴⁵ Lesger, following this view, writes that ‘the ban was ignored by many, and pleasure carriages contributed to the huge crowds, especially in the old centre of the city.’⁴⁶ Abrahamse finds support for the idea that the ban was not enforceable in a 1656 regulation that declared that vehicles could no longer enter the city walls after 21.00 when the gate clock started ringing, from which one can infer that they could enter the city before that time and that wheeled traffic drove through the city.⁴⁷ Finally, newer regulations in 1663, 1669, 1679 and 1681 allowed wheeled traffic as long as it only went directly (*via recta*) from a place of residence or accommodation to a city gate. This

⁴⁰ André Wegener Sleeswyk, *Wielen, wagens en koetsen* (Leeuwarden: Hedeby Publishing, 1993), 123.

⁴¹ Newman, *Cultural Capitals*, 73.

⁴² Wegener Sleeswyk, *Wielen, wagens en koetsen*, 124, 127–152.

⁴³ Newman, *Cultural Capitals*, 73–74.

⁴⁴ Schmal, “De overheid als verkeersregelaar. Ongelukken en opstoppingen,” 57.

⁴⁵ Abrahamse, *Metropolis in the Making*, 333.

⁴⁶ Lesger, *Shopping Spaces*, 114.

⁴⁷ Abrahamse, *Metropolis in the Making*, 333.

repetition, interpreted as evidence for the difficulty of upholding the total ban on vehicles, has been presented as a concession that paved the way for the later acceptance of wheeled vehicle traffic.⁴⁸

In my view the ban on wheeled vehicles may have been more successful than has recently been argued, but I would add here that some spatial specification was in place. While it is likely true that the prohibition was not enforceable across the entire city, it was probably enforced in the vehicle-unfriendly parts, which for the most part was the medieval center. Certain arguments support this idea. First, the 1656 regulation mentioned by Abrahamse can be interpreted in another way: many of the squares around city gates were wagon squares – the locations where vehicles could be parked or where coaches could be hired – precisely because they were not supposed to venture further into the city. Here we find a liminal space of transition between the (wheeled) vehicular space outside the city walls and the non-(wheeled) vehicular space within them.

Figure 18. The closed sleigh or coach sleigh in the narrow Enge Kerksteeg (literally called ‘the narrow church alley’). Cutout from a drawing by R. Vinkeles, 1768.



⁴⁸ Abrahamse, *Metropolis in the Making*, 343.

Second, if the 1634 prohibition was in fact massively ignored, then the rise of the closed sleigh is rather mysterious. A sleigh of the sorts used for the transport of people was sometimes called a *toeslee* (closed sleigh) or *koetslee* (coach sleigh) to distinguish these conveyances from the simpler sleighs employed in the transporting of goods. These coach sleighs were a feature unique to Amsterdam that provided a useful alternative to coaches. Because they took up less space and went at a slower speed, they were a more widely accepted method of interurban transport. These sleighs could be used in the narrow streets of the older parts of the city, and as can be seen in Figure 18, they were still in use by the end of the eighteenth century. They likely came into use (or at least became much more popular) due to the ban on wheeled coaches: The first regulations that explicitly mentions ‘coach sleighs’ can be found in an update of the guild regulations for draymen dating from 1671. These sleighs must have been a welcome alternative to the more dangerous wheeled coaches, but their splendor was also too close to that of the wheeled coaches. According to the 1671 regulation, coach sleighs could no longer be ‘carved, gilded, silver-plated or varnished’.⁴⁹ In addition, maximum prices were set. Here the authorities were probably trying to keep these sleighs accessible to all: a regulation that set a fine for refusing customers was implemented as well. Second, the restrictions were also a matter of keeping the profits low and decreasing the incentives that would prompt competition among sleigh renters on decorations and luxury provisions. Sleigh renters were creative in evading these laws: In 1683, a stipulation was added that forbade the decoration of a coach sleigh with painted pictures or flowers.⁵⁰ Nonetheless, sleighs became an important alternative to rental coaches and an important means of respectable travel within the city.

Third, the new versions of the regulations that appeared from 1663 onwards can be seen not only as concessions to already existing wheeled vehicle traffic but also as adjustments made to match the new situation arising due to the fourth expansion, which was being built in that period (See Map 11 for these expansions). The infrastructure of the fourth expansion facilitated vehicle traffic much more effectively than what one found in the old city center and earlier expansions, and it contained broad streets as well as many stables and coach houses.⁵¹ Thus many of the people who used a coach to get from their house to outside the city walls could still not legally drive it into the old city center

⁴⁹ Noordkerk, *Handvesten* (1748), 1437.

⁵⁰ Noordkerk, *Handvesten* (1748), 1439.

⁵¹ Abrahamse, *Metropolis in the Making*, 348-349.

unless they lived there themselves. Yet the owners of coaches mostly lived in the expansions, as the Herengracht and Keizersgracht were prime residential areas for those who could afford coaches.

Map 11. Locations of residence of people who owned coaches and fourgons in the *Personele Quotisatie* of 1742, with the expansions of the city, projected on the map of Amsterdam by Gerrit de Broen.



Map 11 shows the home addresses of all owners of coaches and fourgons (another type of horse-drawn wagon) as reported in the *Personele Quotisatie* of 1742.⁵² It pictures the canal belts as a shell full of coach ownership around the old city, with the Kloveniersburgwal and the Singel as its branches. Of course, the location on the map is not necessarily the location of the stable and the coach. Some people had coach houses at or behind their houses, but many others stabled their horses and coaches elsewhere and had them driven to their door as necessary. Many such locations were

⁵² Oldewelt, *Kobier van de Personele Quotisatie*.

situated even further away from the city center. A good example comes up in a deposition in which a coachman had moved the coach from the residence of his employer in the canal belt on the Herengracht to the Jordaan, as he had parked the coach in the third stable of the first cross-street of the Laurierstraat.⁵³ So it could be argued that rather than opening up the whole city to vehicles with wheels, the liminal zone between the wheeled vehicular space outside of the city and the wheeled non-vehicular space was broadened and extended into the newest parts of the city. The old city remained largely unfriendly to wheeled vehicles while vehicular zones were coming into existence around it. While the medieval city center and especially Dam Square were in theory accessible to wheeled vehicles, these vehicles were used much more often in other parts of the city. Instead, sleighs were used in favor of wheeled vehicles. There was no use for speed in the crowded and narrow medieval center.

To test my hypothesis that the medieval city center was accessed with less frequency by wheeled vehicles than by sleighs, I collected 30 observations of coaches and chaises and 30 observations of sleighs from eighteenth-century notarial depositions and mapped them.⁵⁴ Most of these observations come from a period when wheeled vehicles were officially allowed to drive through the entire city without restrictions. Still, as Map 12 below shows, the number of wheeled vehicles in the medieval city center was very limited and the number of sleighs was much larger. Only three of the 30 observations of coaches and chaises were in the medieval city center, while eight to ten of the 30 sleighs were found there.⁵⁵ In contrast, coaches and chaises were evident in great numbers in the area of the fourth expansion, including the Plantage. And the third expansion shows an interesting mix of both types of vehicles as a sort of intermediate form that had emerged between the city's two types of vehicle culture. It is clear that sleighs had much more of a place within the medieval city

⁵³ NL-AsdSAA, Notarissen (5075), inv. nr. 14268, Mr. Hendrik Daniel van Hoorn, minuutacten 1772-1773, scans 334-339.

⁵⁴ I have used keyword searching on different spellings for the terms *sleepen*, *slede*, *chaise*, *koets*, *wagen* and *rijden* in depositions drawn up in the periods 1710-1726, 1739-1753 and 1757-1787 by the notaries Gerard van Esterwege, Willem du Fay, Salomon de Fremeri, Cornelis Staal and Hendrik Daniel van Hoorn. These are all found under NL-AsdSAA, Notarissen (5075), with inventory numbers: 8068, 8069, 8304A, 8304B, 8305A, 8305B, 8306A, 8306B, 8307A, 8307B, 8307C, 8308A, 8308B, 11733, 11734, 11735, 11736, 11737, 11738, 11739, 11740, 11741, 13131, 13132, 13133, 13134, 14255, 14256, 14257, 14258, 14259, 14260, 14261, 14262, 14263, 14264, 14265, 14266, 14267, 14268, 14269, 14270, 14271, 14272, 14273, 14274, 14275, 14276.

⁵⁵ It depends on whether one considers the Nieuwmarkt and the Singel as part of the medieval city center. Both these areas had already been part of the medieval city's boundaries, but they really assumed their current form only in the seventeenth century.

center, while coaches and chaises were much more likely to be found in the newest part of the city. Even after the formal restrictions had been lifted, the added benefit of taking a wheeled vehicle into the medieval city center was negligible. Sleights formed a viable alternative to coaches as the morphology of the city center and its crowdedness made the more maneuverable sleights more desirable. Especially since vehicles could not get up to a high speed, the possession of wheels levied no distinct advantage.

Map 12. Vehicles from 18th-century notarial depositions. Sleights in green, coaches and chaises in blue. Closed sleights and coach sleights are marked with a black dot.



To add to these findings, I looked for all references to the use of wheeled vehicles and horse driving in the chronicle kept by Jacob Bicker Raije between 1731 and 1772. Of the 26 incidents reported by Bicker Raije involving wheeled vehicles or riding horses, only three took place within the old city center, and all occurred on or near Dam Square. Three were in areas created during the first early modern expansion: two on the Singel (the city boundary until the first expansion) and one on the Boomsloot. In both cases on the Singel, coaches fatally ran over women who were walking there, in one case a 16-year-old girl and in the other a mother with her two young children.⁵⁶ In the case on the Boomsloot, two horses that were pulling a ‘Phaeton wagon’ (a decorated chariot) fell into the canal and drowned.⁵⁷ All other 20 incidents taking place within the city walls transpired in one of the newer expansions; 10 cases were outside the city.⁵⁸

The timeline of regulations on wheeled vehicles and the language used in them offer further insight into the process of vehicularization. The 1634 prohibition on wheeled vehicles was upheld for 29 years. The new 1663 bylaw then stipulated that wheeled traffic was allowed only if the vehicle drove from a location of residence or accommodation to a city gate and avoided narrow streets.⁵⁹ Coach owners in violation of this new rule were to be fined 100 guilders. Declaring that the number of coaches had grown considerably, the new bylaw stated that the streets were too narrow, had often been damaged and that there had been accidents. Six years later, in 1669, the bylaw was renewed because it was ‘every now and then contravened’.⁶⁰ A new addition stated that a coach owner was always liable for the fine, even if they had borrowed or rented the coach out to someone else, which suggests a way in which drivers had been evading the fine. Then, in 1679, another bylaw was passed that specified that all types of coaches fell under the above-cited bylaws, not excluding coaches with a single horse or low wheels. Again, this measure was taken because these rules were ‘every now and then contravened’. The timing of these bylaws in the second half of the seventeenth century was not accidental. A wave of technological experimentation and advances in suspension, such as twin-strap suspension systems and steel springs, had led to the introduction of new wheeled vehicles across

⁵⁶ NL-AsdSAA, Bibliotheek (15030), inv. nr. 3551, JBR, Apr 29, 1733; NL-AsdSAA, Bibliotheek (15030), inv. nr. 3551, JBR, Nov 26, 1751.

⁵⁷ NL-AsdSAA, Bibliotheek (15030), inv. nr. 3551, JBR, Jan 16, 1733.

⁵⁸ Two cases happened in unclear locations; one in a totally unclear locale and the other at the Amstel, which could signify a site either within or outside the city walls. It is likely that the latter incident occurred outside the city, because often the Amstel inside the city walls was called ‘binnen-Amstel’.

⁵⁹ Noordkerk, *Handvesten* (1748), 739.

⁶⁰ Noordkerk, *Handvesten* (1748), 739-740.

Europe.⁶¹ It seems likely that this is also the period when the lighter and faster one-horse chaises became more widely adopted, and regulations followed accordingly.

Two years later, the bylaw was repeated, as it had been once again ‘in many parts contravened’. This time, an important addition about speed was included, perhaps because of the increased use of chaises. With the sole exceptions of post wagons, vehicles were to only go at a walking pace (*stapvoets*). After that bylaw, no new bylaws on the matter were passed for 55 years. This latest update allowed wheeled vehicles as long as an annual tax was paid. The text of this 1736 bylaw stated that the previous bylaws from the seventeenth century had ‘been out of use since a long time, despite the renovation of 1681’.⁶² In this newest concession to wheeled vehicles, the damage that coaches caused to the streets was cited as the main justification for a tax to be implemented. The earlier considerations of danger to pedestrians were not reiterated, nor were moral considerations. One practical matter was given in a 1733 advisement that led to the 1736 bylaw; the idea of allowing coaches while taxing them was a way to ‘meet the wishes of the upper middle class, who cannot miss the use of coaches because of the large size of the city.’⁶³ Interestingly, the size of the city had not changed since the 1660s, but of course it took longer for certain parts of the last expansion to come into complete use. In any case, Amsterdam after the fourth expansion was now considered too large to travel within without there being vehicular transport for the wealthy. We are reminded of Mumford’s baroque city, where the rich drove and the poor walked.⁶⁴

The discussion above makes it difficult to assess the extent to which the bylaws were enforced. If they were not adhered to at all, it would not make sense to tack on new additions intended to catch exceptions and to make sure that everyone understood that the laws applied to them. But, as we have seen, every successive updated version of the bylaws explicitly states that the previous laws had been evaded to either a small or a large extent.⁶⁵ It seems that at least in the second half of the seventeenth century, conscious efforts were made to make the laws clear and to enforce them.

⁶¹ Wegener Sleeswyk, *Wielen, wagens en koetsen*, 127–152.

⁶² Noordkerk, *Handvesten* (1748), 740-741.

⁶³ NL-AsdSAA, Vroedschap (5025), inv. nr. 54, Vroedschapsresoluties 1732 - 1736, page 181 (scan 93). The literal word used was ‘*Gegoede burgerije*’, which means ‘the well-off citizens’ and is generally used to denote a non-noble elite or member of the upper middle-class.

⁶⁴ Mumford, *The City in History*, 370.

⁶⁵ Continual re-issuing of ordinances is often seen as evidence of extensive illegal activity. For a discussion of this point as it pertains to illegal peddling on the street, see Van den Heuvel, “Policing Peddlers,” 384.

Somewhere between 1681 and 1736, the laws clearly became obsolete. But the phrasing ‘out of use since a long time’ from the 1736 bylaw is very ambiguous. The period in which a bylaw can be considered ‘out of use for a long time’ was probably at least a few decades. But perhaps most importantly here, we can see that the bylaw was not entirely ignored. The 1681 addition stipulating that vehicles were only to drive at a walking pace was still enforced. In 1696, Jan de Bruijn was stopped by the servants of the substitute sheriff because he or his servant had driven his chaise too fast.⁶⁶ More importantly, there was still an enforced speed limit after the 1736 bylaw had allowed vehicles: In a 1744 deposition for the chief officer, we find a case where a coachman was fined for causing a dangerous situation on the Herengracht when he drove at high speed past another coach that was driving at a walking pace.⁶⁷ We see here that wheeled vehicles, though they were now accepted on the street, were still expected to proceed at the speed at which pedestrians moved. Coaches and chaises were effectively supposed to behave like sleighs as long as they were within the city walls, and they could be fined when they did otherwise. Another hint at this practice comes from something that was either a decoration or a piece of graffiti reportedly written on a wagon and collected by Hieronymus Sweerts, published between 1683 and 1690. The rhyme reads:

<i>Die hard rijd wint wel tijd</i>	Who drives fast make a quick start
<i>Maar raakt licht Paard en Wagen quijt.</i>	But easily loses their horse and cart
<i>Voorzichtig en verstan-</i>	Careful and sen-
<i>Dig is een goed Voerman</i>	Sible is a good carriage man. ⁶⁸

While I have shown above that wheeled vehicles frequented the newest city expansion to a far greater extent than the medieval city center, the latter area was not entirely unvisited by coaches and chaises. Perhaps Dam Square was the most notable exception where wheeled vehicles could still be found in the city center, with the Nieuwendijk and Kalverstraat forming important access streets. Originally dikes, these streets were thus among the sparse number of broader and relatively straight

⁶⁶ NL-ASdSAA, Notarissen (5075), inv. nr. 5858, Joan Hoekeback, minuutacten 1696 (September - October), scans 50-51.

⁶⁷ NL-ASdSAA, Notarissen (5075), inv. nr. 11739, Salomon de Fremeri, Minuutacten 1746, scans 51-52.

⁶⁸ Sweerts, *Het Tweede Deel der Koddige en Ernstige Opschriften*, 231. Also referred to in Chapter 3, this volume was a collection of ‘funny and serious inscriptions’ such as store signs, toilet graffiti, wagon decorations, window rhymes, gravestone inscriptions and other short texts. I would like to thank Bram Mellink for suggesting a translation that captures the rhyme of the original text

streets in the old city center where there was some space for vehicles, but they provided only north-south access.⁶⁹ East-west access was much more problematic and required a considerable detour. A funeral procession in 1781 that went from the Oudezijds Voorburgwal to the Nieuwe Kerk first had to go to the Kloveniersburgwal, then proceed to the Munt Tower and enter the Kalverstraat in order to get to Dam Square.⁷⁰

The Singel and the Kloveniersburgwal were broader streets where wheeled vehicles could drive around the city center in the first expansions. These observations are also confirmed by the many illustrations made of the eighteenth-century streetscape; when a coach or a chaise was depicted in the city center, it was almost always on or around Dam Square, sometimes in the Kalverstraat and the Rokin, and a single instance on the Grimburgwal. Sleighs, in contrast, were to be found everywhere, especially in narrow streets and around ferries.⁷¹ Most other accessways were narrow, as shown by regulations on one-way traffic for sleighs and proposals for the broadening of certain alleys. Deviating from the main roads with a coach was very problematic. In 1771, Bicker Raije wrote that a heavy fog had hit the city and that ‘several coaches that wanted to drive from the city hall into the Kalverstraat ended up in the Kromelleboogsteeg.’⁷² The Kromelleboogsteeg was a narrow and curved alley that would have been very difficult if not impossible to drive through. As the site of the city hall, Dam Square was a location where officials had themselves brought in coaches. In one of the accidents described by Bicker Raije, the panicked horses of the coach of *schepen* Willem Bakker bolted and went crashing through the fish market. A woman with a wheelbarrow selling ribbons was badly hurt, but ‘there was no other accident than that the fishwives were startled and had to drink and piss’.⁷³ Dam Square being one of the city’s busiest places, it was dangerous to have wheeled vehicles frequenting this locale: In another case, a clerk of the Haarlemmerboom (an entry point in the IJ bay for ships) was run over and killed by a coach with

⁶⁹ Abrahamse, *Metropolis in the Making*, 360-361.

⁷⁰ Gerlagh et al., *Kijk Amsterdam 1700-1800*, 97-98.

⁷¹ I have consulted the 229 illustrations of the Kijk Amsterdam 1700-1800 catalogue, of which the vast majority are streetscapes. While this compendium is not a complete collection of all of the streetscapes of Amsterdam that were made, it does form a comprehensive overview. See: Gerlagh et al., *Kijk Amsterdam 1700-1800*.

⁷² NL-AsdSAA, Bibliotheek (15030), inv. nr. 3551, JBR, Feb 20, 1771. Original text: ‘verschijde koetsen die van het stadhuijs na de Kalverstraat rijden wilde kwaamen in de Krom elleboog Steeg.’

⁷³ NL-AsdSAA, Bibliotheek (15030), inv. nr. 3551, JBR, Feb 25, 1769. Original text: ‘dog daar in is geen ander ongeluk gebeurt als dat de visvrouw, seer ontstelt drinken, en pissen moes.’

four horses.⁷⁴ Finally, it was also along the route of the post wagon, as we know from Bicker Raije that a seven- or eight-year-old boy was killed there by a post wagon in 1733.⁷⁵

To summarize the argument put forth above, Amsterdam, since the completion of the fourth expansion, had been a mixed city in terms of vehicular space. The newest parts of the city were clearly vehicular spaces, some streets having even been designed explicitly with the width of wagons in mind.⁷⁶ At the same time, it was still very difficult for wheeled vehicles to drive through the rest of the city, with its narrow streets, sharp corners and dangerous elevation differentials around bridges.

Joseph Amato, working with Mumford's idea of an archetypical 'baroque city', writes: 'At the meeting points of [the] old lanes and the era's new avenues, medieval Europe, still on foot, gave way to mounted authorities and the riding, parading, and promenading upper classes of modern Europe.'⁷⁷ In Amsterdam, instead of one giving way to the other, these modes existed alongside each other. As separate spaces within the city possessing their own vehicular logics, they complicate the view that a straightforward modernization was undertaken in Amsterdam. While wheeled vehicles could not be banned, the infrastructure was designed with the idea that such conveyances were supposed only to be passing by while taking the route with the shortest distance to get beyond the city walls, and they were to proceed at a walking pace. Another development that supports this idea is the construction of a driving lane outside the city walls, so that wheeled vehicles could leave the city and re-enter it elsewhere.⁷⁸ Coaches and especially chaises were meant to be driven outside the city walls. Using only a single horse, chaises were also cheaper and more accessible to a broader group of people. In a typical scene of chaise use coming down to us from a 1713 notarial deposition, four men reported that they had rented chaises at 5 a.m. at the Regulierdwarstraat at the Botermarkt. They went out riding outside of city and were back by noon.⁷⁹ Such was the purpose of chaises: for

⁷⁴ NL-AsdSAA, Bibliotheek (15030), inv. nr. 3551, JBR, Jun 17, 1771.

⁷⁵ NL-AsdSAA, Bibliotheek (15030), inv. nr. 3551, JBR, Mar 23, 1733.

⁷⁶ Abrahamse, *Metropolis in the Making*, 348.

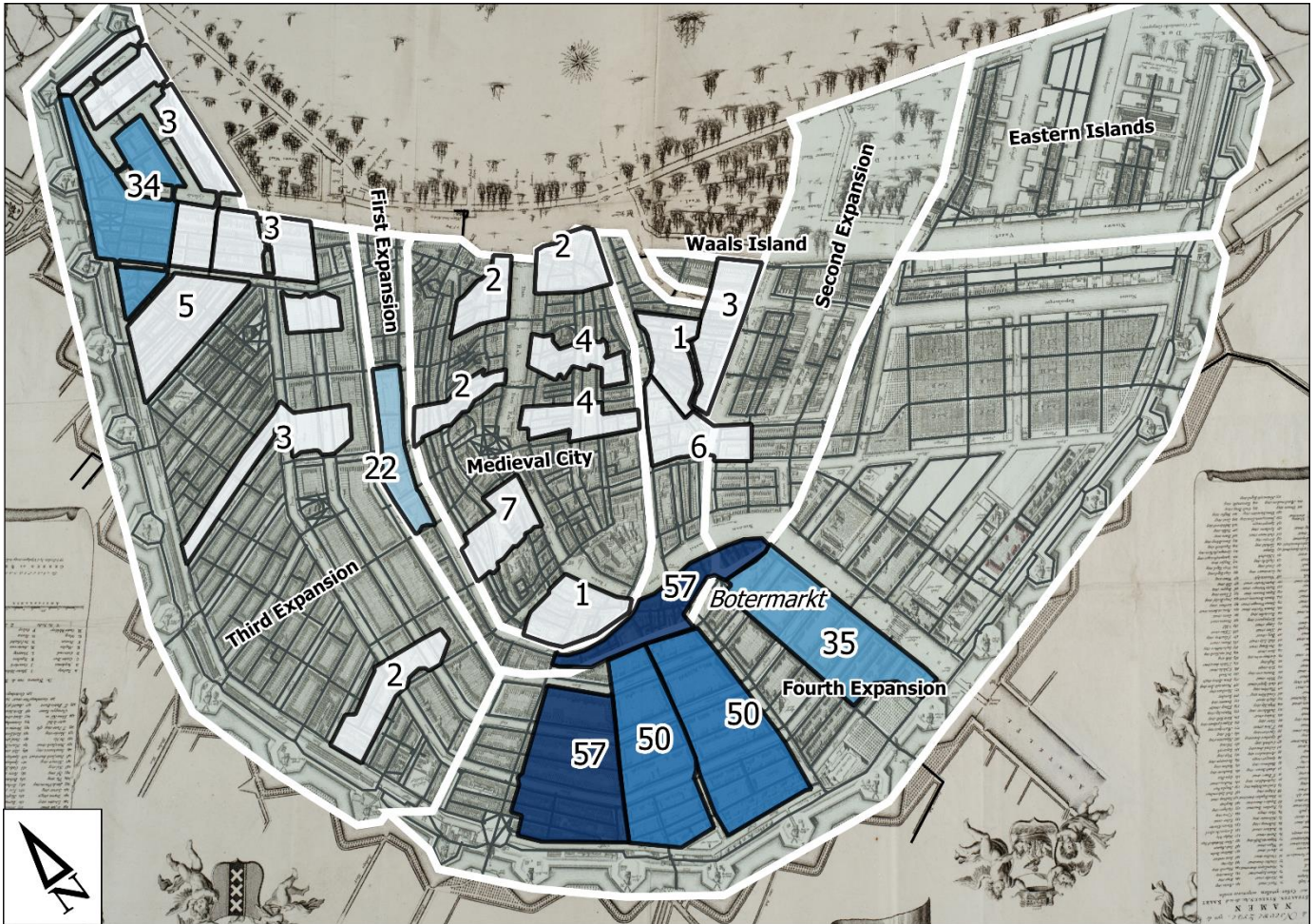
⁷⁷ Joseph Amato, *On Foot: A History of Walking*. (New York: NYU Press, 2004), 85–86.

⁷⁸ Amato, *On Foot*, 269–270.

⁷⁹ NL-AsdSAA, Notarissen (5075), Willem de Fay, inv. nr. 8304A, Minuutacten 1713-1714, scan 209-210. Original text: 'smorgens de clock omtrent 5 uren te samen geweest zijn aan de stal van Gijsbert Verwij om van deselve te huuren 2 chaisens (...) gevraegt waer zij naer toe wilden, waer op hem door de deposanten geantwoort wierd na de maliebaen, daer sullen wij plijsteren en dan sullen wij wat voor plajsier om rijden.'

leisurely driving outside the city or to other cities. From the Botermarkt, one could drive in a straight line to a city gate and leave the vehicle-unfriendly city behind.

Map 13. Number of stables as reported on available militia maps.



The Botermarkt deserves further attention, as it was a space to be found at the edge of the city when the first expansion was finished but later became a central location between the old city and the newest (fourth) expansion. The streets and alleys around it were important locations for stables and (rental) vehicles. For some parts of the city, militia maps show the number of stables. Map 13 shows the results from all such maps available through the Amsterdam City Archive.⁸⁰ High concentrations of stables are visible around the Botermarkt and near city gates, compared to a low number of

⁸⁰ NL-AsdSAA, Splitgerber (10001), inv nrs. 51 and 58; NL-AsdSAA, Collectie Stadsarchief Amsterdam: burgerwijkkaarten, (10031), inv. nr. 98; NL-AsdSAA, Collectie Atlas Kok, (10095) (Hereafter: ‘Kok (10095)’), inv. nrs. 525, 527, 530, 532, 534, 538, 540, 541, 544, 546, 547, 550, 551, 552, 553, 556, 558, 562. For an example of how stables were shown on these militia maps, see Figure 2.7 in Chapter 2.

stables in the city center. The comparison between the old city center and the newer expansions is very telling, as it shows how a vehicular city outside the old city center was taking shape, with the Botermarkt serving as a central zone of transition between the two areas.

Interestingly, the Botermarkt itself was designed as a vehicular space graced with a non-vehicular center. Figures 19 and 20 show how a palisade (called *staketsel* in one of the depositions) separated the market area from the area where people were able to drive. Yet the separation of static activity and transitory activity did not always run smoothly. In 1742, a crowd of people was ‘watching the quacksalver between the houses and the palisade’ when an open wagon with one horse and four or five men on it was driving at a trot (faster than walking speed, that is, but the horses were not at fully gallop) and almost plunged into the crowd.⁸¹ We can infer that the crowd was probably too large to be contained within the designated area and was standing in the driving lane. Someone who almost got the wheel of the wagon on his foot had grabbed onto the horse to stop the wagon. The wagon then drove around the Botermarkt and, when it again came again upon the spot where the crowd was gathered, drove into it at a higher speed.⁸² A fight among the driver, his passengers and the crowd ensued. The driver and passengers had to flee the scene on foot, and the wagon was confiscated in the name of the chief officer. Even though people were standing on the driving lane, it was clearly forbidden to claim the right of way if that would endanger them.⁸³

⁸¹ NL-AsdSAA, Notarissen (5075), inv. nr. 11735, SF1742, scan 411. Original text: ‘tussen de huijzen en het staketsel om na de quakzalver te zien.’

⁸² NL-AsdSAA, Notarissen (5075), inv. nr. 11735, SF1742, scan 412. Original text: ‘dat dezelve waegen zoo zij get weder te saemen attesteeren de Botermarct rondreed en van dezelve kant als vooren met nog grooter vaerd en een groot geschreeuw quam aen rijden.’

⁸³ NL-AsdSAA, Notarissen (5075), inv. nr. 11735, SF1742, scan 407-418.

Figure 19. A cutout of a drawing of the Botermarkt where the palisade is visible. Petrus Schenk, circa 1740.



Figure 20. The Botermarkt with the palisade as depicted on the militia map *Burgerwijk 28*. Anonymous, 1737.



Figure 21. The view of the Hogesluis, cutout from the view onto the Binnen Amstel. A coach can be seen in the middle, a chaise to the right. Daniël Stoopendaal 1702-1713



The principle that the street should be partitioned to protect pedestrians from vehicles was applied elsewhere as well. On the Hogesluis, the large bridge over the Amstel River, a row of bollards separated the driving lane from the walking lane. As on the Botermarkt, this measure mostly kept vehicles out of a pedestrian lane, but not the other way around. Throughout the city, driving lanes in the middle of the streets were paved differently – using larger stones – than the lanes next to the houses, which were paved with small stones (*kleine stenen*). This practice was originally probably a matter of cost, as pavement was very expensive and the city sought to save on paving costs.⁸⁴ Yet the concept of small and large stones was not just an economical and practical concern but also shows up in notarial depositions. Stone size became a way of designating the proper place for different types of transportation. Similarly, in post–Great Fire London, pavements and traffic posts separated vehicles from pedestrians.⁸⁵ In contrast, streets in Paris were notoriously muddy and sidewalks came only into use in the late eighteenth century as a measure imported from England.⁸⁶

In Amsterdam, people on foot easily crossed between the types of pavement, but it was problematic when vehicles did so. When a deposition recorded an accident that had happened on the street, it was often noted whether the accident had occurred on the larger stones or the small stones. When a

⁸⁴ Abrahamse, *Metropolis in the Making*, 366-371.

⁸⁵ Jenner, “Circulation and Disorder,” 43.

⁸⁶ Rodolphe el-Khoury, “Polish and Deodorize: Paving the City in Late-Eighteenth-Century France,” *Assemblage* 31 (December 1996): 12.

sleigh driver who transported cargo in 1791 led his horse onto a small-stone area, he almost drove into a magistrate. The magistrate and two other witnesses reported that the driver, angered that the magistrate had not stepped out of the way, proceeded to punch the magistrate in the chest, which they regarded as an ‘improper treatment’.⁸⁷ A deposition from the same year shows the reverse situation: An angry innkeeper struck a sleigh-man’s servant whose sleigh was blocking the street by the dock for the ferry to Gouda. The servant’s boss and two other witnesses reported ‘that it had been busy, but that the small stones at the side of the houses were free to pass’.⁸⁸ Apparently, not everyone making their way on foot accepted the rule that they were to yield the middle of the street to vehicles. Wheelbarrows were also supposed to stay on the larger stones. In a 1742 deposition, a printer’s laborer tried to pass a stable in the Elandstraat but found two closed sleds on the street blocking his passage ‘so that he had no occasion to pass the street without leaving the large stones’. When the laborer attempted to pass the sleds anyway, the sleigh-man who owned them angrily ran out, afraid that the wheelbarrow might break them.⁸⁹ Such cases show how conduct in the street was not just a matter of regulations or the street’s design and materiality but also a result of everyday negotiations over space. This case shows how, in practice, sleigh-men could claim parts of the street. Material entities such as the ‘small stones’ or the ‘large stones’ were conceptualized in practice as the proper place for different street users.

⁸⁷ NL-AsdSAA, Notarissen (5075), inv. nr. 17978, LB1791, scan 113.

⁸⁸ NL-AsdSAA, Notarissen (5075), inv. nr. 17978, LB1791, scan 34. Original text: ‘het aldaar wel druk was, doch de kleine steenen aan de huijsen kant vry waren om te passeeren’

⁸⁹ NL-AsdSAA, Notarissen (5075), inv. nr. 11735, SF1742, scan 132.

Figure 22. Sleighs at the Utrecht ferry at the Rokin behind the Exchange. The difference between the small stones and large stones can be seen very well. Jan de Beijer, ca 1764.



In the first part of this chapter, I have mainly looked at traffic as the spatial distribution of the presence of vehicles and of vehicle (un)friendly infrastructure throughout the city. This section has shown how and where parts of urban space were used as vehicular space. The vehicularization of Amsterdam was not a process of homogenization but was rather something that created very distinct types of spaces for different types of vehicles. For quite some time, wheeled vehicles were strangers in the city; they were admitted but were surveilled closely. Instead, non-wheeled vehicles such as the sleigh and coach-sleigh were the important factors in the urban landscape. The influence of wheeled vehicles on the city itself was largely resisted in the oldest parts, but in newer parts, urban space was designed to facilitate them. Even after the ban on wheeled vehicles was lifted, this spatial difference distinguishing vehicle types remained in practice, and wheeled vehicles were primarily employed for extra-urban movement. In that sense, wheeled vehicles exerted an influence on bridging the gap between urban space and space outside of the city for those who could afford it.

In the following section, I will address the way that vehicle culture was both a result and a cause of differentiation between people. I will look closer at the people themselves and the social hierarchies and categorizations emphasized and perpetuated by vehicle culture. I will further address the intertwined questions of who gets to drive vehicles and under what circumstances. Vehicles, we have seen, are a way of accessing space. In this next section, then, I will add people into the mix to further explore *who* managed to access space, and under what terms.

Access to vehicles, status and gender

As urban space came to be reconceptualized as (partially) vehicular space, there were different outcomes for people of differing social status, gender and age. Not just for those who would now raise themselves above the street's crowds to drive, but also for those who stayed below them making their way on foot, changes were brought to the experience of urban life. Furthermore, the introduction of both coaches and coach sleighs meant that a new urban experience of being closed-off while still in the street became accessible for a select group of people. Previously, to proceed on foot was the implicit status quo, so that now while the 'pedestrian' still remained the presumed standard, it had become a distinct category of street user, possessing certain responsibilities in traffic. In the politics of who got to drive or who got to be driven, to be wealthy, male and adult were the triumphal categories standing in opposition to the rubrics of the more numerous female, young and poor urban inhabitants. Yet, as we will see, women, and especially those of higher social standing, were not entirely excluded from vehicle culture. In this section, we will explore the politics of access to vehicles in further detail.

In the century after the vehicle ban of 1634, something had definitely changed. In the depositions where coaches and chaises are mentioned, their presence in the street itself was not problematized. What witnesses exposed at the notary of the chief officer was the negligence of traffic rules when the drivers of these vehicles speeded or entered the pedestrian area of the smaller stones close to houses. Sometime between second half of the seventeenth century and the first half of the eighteenth century, wheeled vehicles had appropriated their place in the modernizing street and began taking up larger parts of scarce street space. Pedestrians now shared space with vehicles and had a new responsibility to protect themselves against these dangerous fellow users of the street. To

demonstrate what was going on, the language used in Bicker's chronicle is very telling: In 1734, exactly a century after the vehicle ban, he wrote of a coachman who 'had the misfortune of driving over a poor woman who died shortly thereafter.'⁹⁰ Here, rather than the 'women and children first' rhetoric that we have seen in the sixteenth-century regulations on the sleigh-men in the previous section, the coachman was also presented as a victim, and the right of the coach's presence on the streets remained undisputed. Similarly, in 1746, Bicker Raije wrote of a nine- or ten-year-old boy who was 'negligently watching around him' moments before he was killed by a sleigh horse.⁹¹

Being able to drive and being a proper driver had also become a matter of respectability and, to a certain extent, adulthood and masculinity.⁹² When commercialized, this development could put pressure on social hierarchies. In the spectatorial publication *De Vaderlander* in 1776, the contribution 'The Disadvantages of Horses' complained of the lack of humbleness of the owners of horses and carriages, but also that 'No carriage man, no stable servant, is ashamed to let himself be called "Sir" (*Mijn Heer*),' and this 'pride infected the common people.'⁹³ Phelps and Jenner discuss the tensions in London where hackney coachmen were seen as servants by their customers, even as they fancied themselves to be proud self-employed entrepreneurs.⁹⁴ Maintaining a vehicle on the one hand brought a position of responsibility and power towards others and the animals one controlled, while simultaneously it made drivers dependent on their customers. Driving a vehicle offered a type of power and control, which was often seen as requiring responsibility and modesty. A vehicle rental business on the Botermarkt advertised itself via this ideal of the capable, respectable driver:

⁹⁰ NL-AsdSAA, Bibliotheek (15030), inv. nr. 3551, JBR, Mar 26, 1734. Original text: 'heeft de koetsier van de Baljou van der Dussen het ongeluk gehat van een arme vrou te overrijden bij de lijstse straat de welke kort daar aan is gestorven.'

⁹¹ NL-AsdSAA, Bibliotheek (15030), inv. nr. 3551, JBR, Aug 3, 1750. Original text: 'een Jonge van 9 a 10 Jaar liep seer agte loos over al heen kijken?'

⁹² See footnotes 8 and 9 of this chapter for references to masculinity and equestrian culture.

⁹³ *De Vaderlander, tweede deel* (Amsterdam: Erven F. Houttuyn, 1777), 229. Original text: 'Dat zij het gemeen volk door hunne trotschheid besmetten. Geen koetsier, geen knegt schaamt zich thans, zich Mijn Heer te laten noemen.' The same anonymous author also claims that Amsterdam has 40.000 to 50.000 horses for leisurely riding and driving, a claim repeated in H. Brugmans and I.J. Brugmans, *Geschiedenis van Amsterdam, Deel 4. Afgaand getij 1697/1795* (Utrecht: Het Spectrum, 1973), 127 and L. Knappert, *Het zedelijk leven onzer vaderen in de achttiende eeuw* (Haarlem: H.D. Tjeenk Willink & zoon, 1910), 34. Considering that the 1742 *Personele Quotisatie* contained roughly 2100 taxed horses, it looks as if the number of 40.000 to 50.000 horses was an exaggeration that served to justify the urgency of the author's plea against horses for leisure driving.

⁹⁴ Jenner, "Circulation and Disorder"; Noah Phelps, "Transport for Early Modern London: London's Transportation Environment and the Experience of Movement, 1500-1800," (PhD diss., Loyola University of Chicago, 2017), 18.

*Hier verhuurt men Karossen, Chiézen, Paar-
den en Karren,
Voor fatsoenlijke luiden,
maar niet voor gui-
ten, zotten en narren.*

Here coaches, chaises, horses
and wagons are for rent,
to decent people,
but not to rogues,
Fools and clowns.⁹⁵

Furthermore, piloting a horse-drawn vehicle represented a type of bodily movement structurally denied to women. Although I have found no evidence of formal exclusion in the form of laws forbidding women to drive carts or coaches, the norm was rooted firmly in practice. City and guild regulations do not explicitly exclude women, but rather they portray men as the appropriate drivers. A 1762 addition to the sleigh-men's, millers', butchers' and beer-sellers' 1602 guild regulations, for example, explicitly named *manspersonen* (male persons) of at least 21 years of age to be the only individuals permitted to drive a sleigh or a cart with goods.⁹⁶ The regulation's aim of course was to add a minimum age, but it reveals that it was taken for granted that the appropriate drivers were male. The specification of an age minimum also shows that access to vehicles in the city's streets was not undisputed for men. Because 'many boys below the required age, incompetent of controlling horses, drive with sleighs (...) had caused many accidents', the rules became more strict. In the original Dutch text 'controlling horses' was *Paarden te regeeren*, where *regeeren* can also be translated as 'governing', which resonates with the patriarchal logic casting adult men as the authorities who controlled those underneath them in the hierarchy, as well as enforcing differences among men, anointing some more capable than others. Masculinity, rather than a static entity that we can securely assign to all men, was instead a more volatile entity, something that men were anxious to continually prove, dispute and (re)assess.⁹⁷ Differences between capable and incapable men were deemed important for the social order to function. It is no accident that controlling a horse was also a familiar metaphor for sexual domination (over women).⁹⁸ This strong connection between masculinity and control over horses is further demonstrated by the death of a stable hand had

⁹⁵ Hieronymus Sweerts, *Het Vierde Deeltje der Koddige en Ernstige Opschriften op Lijffens, Wagens, Glazen, &c.* (Jeroen Jersense, 1690), 53.

⁹⁶ Noordkerk, *Handvesten* (1748), 1085

⁹⁷ This is the main argument found in Mark Breitenberg, *Anxious Masculinity in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996). Breitenberg argues that 'anxiety is an inevitable product of patriarchy at the same time as it contributes to the reproduction of patriarchy' (p. 2).

⁹⁸ Breitenberg, *Anxious Masculinity*, 191. For a rhyme in which different 'categories' of prostitutes were compared to the different categories of horse, see Van de Pol, *Het Amsterdams hoerdom*, 114.

caught Bicker Raije's attention in 1743, because 'at the undressing, it was found that the stable hand was a woman. Nobody had ever noticed this and to the great surprise of everyone she had known how to deal with every horse. Those horses that others could not control (*regeeren*), she knew how to coerce and tame in the stables and elsewhere. She knew no equal, even under men.'⁹⁹ Bicker Raije's surprise of course, reveals how much it was taken for granted that controlling horses was deemed the domain of capable men.

The differentiation between capable and incapable men is further highlighted by discourses on early modern disability. In a late eighteenth-century print showing street figures (Figure 23), a man in a wheelchair is depicted with the accompanying text 'many people drive for their leisure; but I am being pulled forwards, fraught with pain, for a reason that nobody has to guess.' The analogy between the leisurely driving of the rich and the necessary driving of the poor highlighted the inequality of the culture of wheels. In another instance, the spectatorial publication *De Overweeger* from 1771 features a story about a person with dwarfism who went driving upon a chaise.¹⁰⁰ The particular chaise was an older model with a high backside, and thus pedestrians could only see his hat and not the entirety of his person sitting on the chaise. Some boys on the street would then pull the prank of yelling 'there is a chaise running wild with a hat on it', as if there were no driver.¹⁰¹ Of course, the joke capitalized on pedestrian's weariness towards horses running wild and, more generally, towards incapable and dangerous driving. In this way, the person with dwarfism was deprived of his role as capable conductor of the chaise, and the challenging of this capability stood at an intersection of status and masculinity. The story continues with a scene where the masculinity of the person with dwarfism was further challenged when he was humiliated in a brothel.

⁹⁹ NL-AsdSAA, Bibliotheek (15030), inv. nr. 3551, JBR, 28 mar, 1743. Original text: 'is er een gewaande stalknegt, die bij Mr Andries Van Born vijftien Jaar in die qualijt gedient hat overleede, wanneer men bij het uijt kleede bevont dat het een vrouspersoon was niemant hat dat ooijt gemerkt, en tot verwondering van een ider wist sij met allen paarden om te gaan en die een ander niet kost regeeren wist sij in de menegie als anders so te dwingen en te temme dat haars gelijke zelfs onder de mannelijke cecte niet te vinde was.' For more on women living as men, see Rudolf Dekker and Lotte van de Pol, *Vrouwen in mannenkleren: de geschiedenis van een tegendraadse traditie; Europa 1500-1800* (Amsterdam: Wereldbibliotheek, 1989).

¹⁰⁰ Nicolaas Hoefnagel, *De Nederlandsche overweeger, overweegende; de bespottelyke, ongeregelde, verliefde, galante, schelmügige, listige, zoo stille, als openbaare geruchten ... Compleet in twee-en-ryftig spectatoriale vertoogen* (Amsterdam: F.H. Demter, 1771), 65–72.

¹⁰¹ Hoefnagel, *De Nederlandsche overweeger*, 70-71.

Figure 23. A man in a wheelchair from a series of street figures in Amsterdam. By Pieter Langendijk (after Pieter Barbiers), around 1770



As we have also seen in the previous chapter on work, the formal transport sector was clearly male-dominated, if not exclusively male. While commercial and economic activity also took women and children into the streets with hand-carts and wheelbarrows, control over larger vehicles such as sleighs and coaches was kept firmly in male hands. Horse-drawn vehicles were exclusively piloted by men. In the FOSGUS database for Amsterdam as well as in all the supplemental depositions used for this chapter, no women were found piloting a horse-drawn vehicle. The formal transport guilds were exclusively male, albeit with the usual exception of widows. In the case of the sleigh-men, the guild membership that was required to keep a horse and a sleigh locked the reins tightly in male

hands.¹⁰² The guilds of sleigh-men and porters were, in that sense, one of the most evident organizations showing men uniting as a regulated occupation group claiming space in the streets. All the 130 weighing-house porters recorded in the *Personele Quotisatie* of 1742 were men, although three of the seventeen people listed as sleigh-man or sleigh-boss were widowed women. Their presence follows the usual exception of widowhood, through which women could access guild-protected jobs usually inaccessible to them. While the weighing-house porters had salaried jobs that were not taken over by their widows, the sleigh-men operated as small businesses which the widow could take over; most likely these women had played an active role in these enterprises before their husband's death. Oldewelt suggests, comparing the numbers with those of an earlier guild membership list from 1688, that there would have been around 285 more sleigh-men in 1742.¹⁰³ Many of those probably relied on women's labor to keep their business running.¹⁰⁴ Yet, to be considered the sleigh-boss in charge, a woman would have needed to have inherited her dead husband's authority.

Although they were not found driving vehicles, women were not excluded from the ownership, management and use of such conveyances. If their economic status would permit it, they had access to vehicles for social visits, pleasure rides and travels to country houses.¹⁰⁵ Women owned sleighs, coaches and horses, and they were being driven around in them. Coach drives outside the city or in the Plantage were a popular recreative pastime for men and women alike. On July 20, 1751, Jacob Bicker Raije wrote in his chronicle: 'The eldest Miss van Tijden has passed away, even though in the afternoon she had first eaten healthily and vividly; and then after eating had been out riding with her coach until seven o' clock (...) This Miss was a very good friend of my mother, who often went out riding with her'.¹⁰⁶ In such cases, however, we can presume that both the men and women had themselves driven in their coaches. With chaises, the person going on the ride would also be the driver, but then we do not see women taking those excursions by themselves or conducting the vehicle. In one case, however, we do find a woman going out horse riding: Bicker Raije also

¹⁰² Piet Lourens and Jan Lucassen, "Ambachtsgilden binnen een handelskapitalistische stad: Aanzetten voor een analyse van Amsterdam ca. 1700," vol. 61, NEHA-Jaarboek voor Economische, Bedrijfs- en Techniekgeschiedenis, 1998.

¹⁰³ Oldewelt, *Kohier van de Personele Quotisatie*, 12.

¹⁰⁴ See the chapter on work for examples of assisting labor.

¹⁰⁵ For London, Cf. Shoemaker, "Gendered Spaces," 149.

¹⁰⁶ NL-AsdSAA, Bibliotheek (15030), inv. nr. 3551, JBR, Jul 20, 1751. Original text: 'Julij is de Outste Juffrou van Tijden seer schielijk overleeden, hebbende S middags nog gesont en smakelijk gegeten; en na den eeten tot seuven uren uijt rijden geweest met de koets, (...) dese Juffrou was een seer goede vrindin van mijn moeder, die veel met haar uijt rijden ging.'

mentions the death of the housewife of a magistrate in 1750. She died after an accident during horse-riding, which, he reported, was her beloved hobby.¹⁰⁷

We can also see in the account of horse ownership and of vehicle ownership reported in the *Personele Quotisatie* of 1742 that elite women had access to vehicles and horses. (See Appendix Table 15.) The women who reported owning sleighs, coaches, wagons and even chaises probably represent the tip of the iceberg regarding access to vehicles. They were mostly widows because of the logic of tax collection per head of household. Accordingly, I want to stress that the *Personele Quotisatie* data show formal ownership of vehicles and horses rather than actual access to vehicles. Through many of the male owners of vehicles, access to vehicles was available to wives, daughters and other women. So while these data fail in indicating a clear-cut male/female division of access to vehicles, there is still an useful trend visible where women mostly had coaches (in absolute numbers) and sleighs (in relative numbers) rather than the faster, often more open chaises. The sleighs reported here were probably the closed sleighs or coach sleighs used for the transport of persons rather than the sleighs employed for the transport of goods. In a 1749 notice regulating the tax rate of horses and vehicles in Holland, an explicit exemption was made for those who for who it was ‘inescapably necessary to use horses to conduct one’s trade or occupation,’ strictly distinguishing work and leisure vehicles.¹⁰⁸

The data on the ownership of vehicles is interesting in light of the earlier observations on sleighs in this chapter. In the *Personele Quotisatie*, the sleigh seems to take up only a fraction of the street compared to chaises and coaches. Yet we have to bear in mind that many coach sleighs were probably also not subject to taxation, since they were rental sleighs that one could haul for a ride in the city as a cab, and were thus used for the occupation of a *sleeper*. And as such, they would not be included in the *Personele Quotisatie*. Furthermore, it was probably the case that one sleigh-boss with a stable had several sleighs. This conclusion is suggested by the case in the Elandstraat mentioned above on page 204, in which one sleigh-man owned two closed sleighs parked in the street. The

¹⁰⁷ NL-AsdSAA, Bibliotheek (15030), inv. nr. 3551, JBR, Feb 2, 1750. Original text: ‘sij was een Liefhebster van paartrijden.’

¹⁰⁸ Isaac Scheltus, ed., *Groot Placaatboek, vervattende de Placaaten, Ordonnantien ende Edicten van de Hoog Mog. Heeren Staaten Generaal der Vereenigde Nederlanden en van de Edele Groot Mog. Heeren Staaten van Holland en Westvriesland: mitsgaders van de Edele Mog. Heeren Staaten van Zeeland*. (Den Haag: Isaac Scheltus, 1770), 1253. Original text: ‘En zullen van deezen Impost vry en exempt zyn (...) generalyk alle die geene, die tot de exercitie van haare Neeringe of Koopmanschappen onvermydelyk Paarden moeten gebruiken.’

sleigh-men who transported goods would probably also be hired to transport people in coach sleighs. Such usage is further suggested by the guild regulations: regulations for the transport of people and goods were mixed.¹⁰⁹ So there were probably a multitude of sleighs owned and used by the 285 sleigh-men surmised by Oldewelt. Thus, for men and women alike of a certain social and economic standing, either owning a coach sleigh or hauling them as a cab service for trips throughout the city were options available to them. While the conducting of coach-sleighs was restricted to men, the use of coach sleighs was not limited by gender but was more a matter of economic and social status. Hauling a coach sleigh for a trip was much more affordable than the maintenance of a coach. The coach sleigh's fare of 8 stuivers (from the quote by Samuel Ireland at the beginning of this chapter) would be almost half a day's wage for an unskilled laborer, a fare most likely not casually spent but certainly accessible to members of the middle and upper middle classes.¹¹⁰

It seems likely that the availability and use of different types of sleighs changed according to time of day and day of the week. As we have already seen in the quote by Samuel Ireland cited at the beginning of this chapter, the fares for coach-sleighs became higher as the evening and then the night progressed. While there is not enough data available to compare multiple timeslots and days of the week as in Chapter 1, there is visual material that gives us some clues about the various uses of different sleighs. In a drawing of the Keizersgracht after sunset by Reinier Vinkeles (Figure 25.), we see both coaches and coach sleighs waiting on the street in front of the theater there, waiting to pick up people after a performance. Perhaps the same sleigh-men who transported people to the theater and conducted them safely home afterwards in the evening or the night would have, during the day, piloted sleighs for the transporting of goods at ferries and weighing-houses. The streetscape of sleighs also changed during the week: In a sketch of a drawing by Schouten shown in Figure 27, we see the Dam on a weekday. The weighing-house was open and many sleigh-men were transporting goods. The final drawing portrayed a Sunday, when a woman in a decorated coach-sleigh, along with

¹⁰⁹ Noordkerk, *Handvesten en privilegien*, 1085-1087

¹¹⁰ De Vries and Van der Woude, *Nederland 1500-1815*, 707. For context, 20 stuivers was a guilder. The daily summer wage in Holland for an unskilled construction labourer was roughly 18 stuivers and roughly 25 stuivers for a journeyman craftsman. See De Vries and Van der Woude, *Nederland 1500-1815*, 707.

coaches and strolling people, was depicted.¹¹¹ These cases show a diversity in sleigh use, ranging in activity from everyday labor to respectable sociability.

Figure 24. Children's funeral in Amsterdam



Figure 25. The Keizersgracht at the theatre after sunset. By Reinier Vinkeles, 1762.



¹¹¹ Gerlagh et al., *Kijk Amsterdam 1700-1800*, 175–177.

Figure 26. A United East India Company governor has himself transported in a coach sleigh to the Sea Warehouse. Cutout by H. P. Schouten, ca. 1770



Figure 27. The Dam on a Sunday (below) and on a weekday (above). By H. P. Schouten 1779.



There were even more uses for sleighs, many of which were broadly accessible. Some uses were explicitly ceremonial and processional, such as the coach sleighs that could be rented for wedding processions or funeral sleighs used especially for the funeral processions of deceased children in Amsterdam (and sometimes Haarlem).¹¹² In other cases, the use of a coach sleigh was not meant to generate attention or instigate a ceremony in the streets but to avoid the further attention of bystanders. A part of this trend may simply have been convenience, but there may also have been concerns about shielding the transported persons from disrepute. One of Bicker's observations confirms an instance when sleigh transport spared its passenger the scrutiny of the crowd's gazes and sidestepped potential commotion, as he writes that a stealing maidservant 'was brought to jail with sleigh, silently without any turmoil'.¹¹³ Bicker also writes of a case where a maidservant who denied being pregnant and who was suspected of infanticide was brought on a sleigh to the Spinhuis (a disciplinary institution for women).¹¹⁴ In this way, closed sleighs provided an accessible new form of public secrecy; publicity could be avoided while people were nonetheless being transported through the streets.

With the use of both coaches and coach sleighs in the city, a mobile interior space was introduced and integrated into the streetscape. In being a closed-off but movable space, the coach and the coach sleigh were similar to each other and differed from both the ordinary sleigh for goods and the chaise. Both coach and coach sleigh allowed the transported person to be shielded from being viewed the street. This new way of experiencing urban space, where some people could close themselves off from the street, spawned a new politics of gatekeeping in which gender and status played an important role. The combination of mobility and privacy provoked sexual suspicion. Cohen writes that Roman courtesans were forbidden to ride in closed carriages, 'perhaps also intended to preclude courtesans being mistaken for ladies.'¹¹⁵ Bobker writes: 'Erotic associations targeted the public privacy of the coach that was novel for non-elite men as well. [Poet John] Taylor [in his 1623 *The World Runnes on Wheeles*] worries about what people hiding inside a coach might do,

¹¹² Johannes le Francq van Berkhey, *Natuurlijke Historie van Holland. Deel 3.*, vol. 3 (Amsterdam: Yntema en Tieboel, 1772), 1127, 1958.

¹¹³ NL-AsdSAA, Bibliotheek (15030), inv. nr. 3551, JBR, May 9, 1766. Original text: 'liet haar Met een Sleetje, Met de diender bij haar sagjes sonder eenige op schudding na de Boeije brenge'.

¹¹⁴ NL-AsdSAA, Bibliotheek (15030), inv. nr. 3551, JBR, Nov 20, 1751.

¹¹⁵ Cohen, "To Pray, To Work," 303.

stressing the difference between the coach and its less secretive, lowbrow cousin, [the cart].¹¹⁶ Elite men and women had control over access to the vehicles they owned, but coaches for hire were more often shared spaces. In England, '[s]ingle and non-elite women who relied on hired coaches for travel, including girls going into service or for some other reason divorced from their families, were especially targeted, tapping into an ongoing connection between women's mobility and their sexual availability.'¹¹⁷ The hired and thus shared coach was not a place in which women had a strong power of gatekeeping, which led to depictions of it being a 'risky social space [where] men and women stay together in an enclosed place for a long time, creating the likelihood of breaches of public decorum'.¹¹⁸ Of course, in the English context, more people used hired coaches for travel between cities, while in the Dutch Republic people more often relied on barges for such journeys.¹¹⁹ Yet there was the similar situation where women travelling alone had no control over who their travel companions would be.

One case from the notarial depositions shows that the coach sleighs that transported people within the city were ambiguous spaces as well. On the one hand, they were not for long-distance travel and were not normally shared with strangers. But apparently the same mechanism we have seen at play in the English hired coaches applied here as well; single and non-elite women who used coach sleighs were considered sexually available, at least by some men. This perception is clearly visible in the one case where in the closed-off space of a sleigh cab, a man found the opportunity to harass two women: In 1763, Catharina Daams and Jannetje van Link returned to the city from the country estate of their employer a little after 18.00 and asked around on the Haarlemmerdijk for a coach sleigh to be driven home in, because they had some goods with them. A man 'dressed like a gentleman' (*Heer*) offered to get them a sleigh, then insisted on paying for the journey and joining them. After a little while, the man had the sleigh stopped and told the sleigh-man to get a bottle of wine from a tavern. When the women refused to drink, the man threw wine on them and assaulted them by groping their skirts. They managed to escape into a nearby cellar but had taken a heavy

¹¹⁶ Bobker, "Carriages, Conversation, and A Sentimental Journey," 254.

¹¹⁷ Bobker, "Carriages, Conversation, and A Sentimental Journey," 253.

¹¹⁸ Choi, "Every Jolt Will Squash Their Guts," 144.

¹¹⁹ Cf. Jan de Vries, *Barges and Capitalism: Passenger Transportation in the Dutch Economy, 1632-1839* (HES Publishers, 1981).

beating.¹²⁰ The case also shows the intersections of social status, gender and vehicle culture, as the man had used a pretext of respectability to put the women in a vulnerable position.

Finally, it was not just the secrecy of coaches and coach sleighs that carried sexual connotations. A second dimension was mobility itself. As have seen in chapter 2, mobility could free someone from the prying eyes of family, friends and acquaintances. Wheeled vehicles made it possible for people to leave the city altogether to engage in sexual escapades. In the interrogations of arrested people (*Confessieboeken*), Maria van der Val, a woman suspected of prostitution, was asked about suspicious chaise trips. She was asked if she ‘denied having sexual intercourse with Jan Frederik Hermans’ and, having been driven to Sloten via a chaise, it was demanded that she reveal where the pair had allegedly slept together in a bed in an inn.¹²¹ The moralistic warnings against spending too much money on vehicles were easily combined with warnings against prostitution, and Lotte van de Pol has shown that East India sailors were depicted as prostitution-seeking squanderers, who went ‘with a whore on a wagon’ or would have ‘wasted their inheritance with driving with chaise, horses, wagons and coaches, drinking (...) whoring night and day’.¹²² In such depictions, masculinity, conspicuous consumption and the protection of the boundaries of social class came together in vehicle culture.

Above, we have seen how vehicle culture was – like early modern society as a whole – inherently unequal. Vehicles were not accessible to everyone, and as they became more widely accessible, the possibilities they possessed for the transgression of social status placed them under suspicion. The English situation, where ‘social mobility became interconnected with a new form of geographic mobility’,¹²³ certainly applied to Amsterdam as well. Freedom through mobility for some came at the cost of heavy suspicion towards others, especially for women. The connotation of mobility as related to sexual availability that came with the rise of vehicle culture fueled the distrust of non-elite and single women’s movements.

¹²⁰ NL-AsdSAA, Notarissen (5075), Mr. Hendrik Daniel van Hoorn, inv. nr. 14261, 1763-1764, scans 479-482.

¹²¹ NL-AsdSAA, Schout en Schepenen (5061), inv. nr. 402, Confessieboeken, 1741-1742, scans 176-177.

¹²² Van de Pol, *Het Amsterdams boerdom*, 142–143.

¹²³ Bobker, “Carriages, Conversation, and A Sentimental Journey,” 245.

Conclusions

The vehicle culture of early modern Amsterdam furthers our understanding of a wider European vehicularization. The two main arguments advanced in this chapter apply all over urban Europe and beyond. First, vehicle culture was never unproblematically integrated into urban life; second, access to vehicles was determined by social status and gender, and social mobility and physical mobility intersected with each other. As we have seen explicitly and implicitly, these two main arguments overlap, interact and intersect. An integration of these two arguments comes in the form of access to vehicles being an important factor in access to the city at large. Some people had access to this distinct urban experience of vehicular mobility, while simultaneously their presence in vehicles changed others' experience of the street. Usually, it were men who had access to horses, coaches, chaises and sleighs. Yet, gender was not the only factor, but intersected with social class, as the women who did have access to the vehicle culture were mostly upper class wealthy women.

As we have seen in the first part of this chapter, it was understood that vehicles in the city impeded pedestrians' access to the city street, which resulted in regulations and the surveillance of vehicles, determining where they would drive and at what speed. In Amsterdam, this framework resulted in a unique sleigh culture. It also placed wheeled vehicles in an ambiguous position: on the one hand they were built and maintained for rapid travel outside of the urban context, but on the other hand some part of urban space were amended to account for their presence. A larger city became a city with a greater partitioning of space, where people were both physically and socially differentiated through their access to vehicles.

Admittance of vehicles was a matter of access to the city and competition over urban space marked by scarcity. Disproportionally, women and children's access to the street was directly impeded by a stronger degree of vehicularization of the city street. The physician Johannes le Francq van Berkhey directly made this link when describing the poor health of children in Amsterdam at the end of the eighteenth century: 'A large part of the reason is the narrow inhabitation of the ordinary people [in Amsterdam]. (...) They have only little space, a room, or a cellar, and have little opportunity to let their children walk, other than on the street, where is not rarely dangerous, because of the bustle of people, horses and sleighs.'¹²⁴ The history of urban vehicles then, is a history of access to the city,

¹²⁴ Le Francq van Berkhey, *Natuurlijke Historie van Holland. Deel 3.*, 3:1284.

mediated through materialities of street and vehicles, but also norms of gender and social class. This access through vehicles had a distribution that was deeply rooted in early modern hierarchies, as vehicles were mostly for men and mostly for people of a certain social standing.

Conclusion

In the chapters of this dissertation, we have walked through the streets of Amsterdam and encountered a city on the move. Above all, street life emerged as a multi-layered phenomenon, filled with seemingly dichotomous entities that turned out to not always be two opposing ends on a spectrum: Streets were full of aspects both of publicity and privacy, of conflict and conviviality. The domestic was a site not of stasis but of motion. Streets could be intimate and anonymous spaces, and they might be awash in tumult that both challenged and strengthened social surveillance on the one hand and neighbourliness on the other. Similarly, everyday work was domestic and extra-domestic alike, even for household tasks. New modes of vehicular movement challenged the existing norms and structures of street life. We have seen that streets contain a multiplicity of experiences that are highly challenging to study, but for which we have been able to open up new empirical data to analyse street life and its complexity.

To move from this new empirical data to the grand narratives of gender history, I first want to return to Natalie Zemon Davis's 1976 article "'Women's History' in Transition," in which she took stock of the history of gender history and looked ahead at its future.¹ As we have seen in the Introduction, Davis made the powerful observation that the history of gender roles may follow different chronologies and conceptual divisions than the 'existing temporal and typological divisions in European history.'² Davis then offered as a solution the proposal that 'efforts at grand periodization should be phrased more often as alternate hypotheses, with proposed designs for research.'³ This invites the questions: What would the alternate hypothesis of the periodization of gender and mobility in the long eighteenth century be? And how does this hypothesis relate to the question 'who accessed the street, and how'?

My alternate hypothesis on gender and mobility aligns with Judith Bennett's idea of an equilibrium of continuity in women's inferior status in the face of other changes.⁴ Throughout the long

¹ Davis, "'Women's History' in Transition."

² Davis, "'Women's History' in Transition," 93.

³ Davis, "'Women's History' in Transition," 93.

⁴ Bennett, *History Matters*, 54-81. Bennett explicitly calls this the 'patriarchal equilibrium,' but I do not think it is always patriarchal. I consider 'patriarchy' to be one (certainly often dominant) mode of masculinity and power relations rather than a constant force in history. In my view, a possible universality of patriarchy does not do justice to the diversities and

eighteenth century there was a stable core to the restricted mobility of women, not through direct containment of their actions but through the structures governing social customs as well as gendered norms and expectations. Bennett – describing the position of late medieval English female brewers but also formulating a more general theory of women’s subordination across historical time – writes that ‘none of [the institutions that worked to subordinate women to men] existed solely to keep women in their place or acted self-consciously in tandem with others to keep women in their place. Indeed, each had advantages that could appeal to women as well as men.’⁵ The outcome of gender inequality or the ‘patriarchal equilibrium’ was the ‘effect of many institutions (...) but it was neither the sole effect nor sole intention of any one.’⁶ Similarly with mobility, no sole institution directly restricted women’s movement; their constraint was effected by a combination of institutions that both excluded (e.g., from guild membership) and supported women (e.g., to take part in neighbourhood life). In terms of freedom: Women’s negative freedom (freedom from direct constraints, the absence of barriers) of mobility was often not more contained than men’s, but their positive freedom (freedom to engage in activity, the presence of opportunities) of mobility was much more constrained than men’s.⁷ Of course, men’s mobility was not unrestricted either, but women’s everyday mobility was lower, and revolved around their own homes and neighbourhoods. Moreover, women were less often found doing work outside, they were structurally denied the status of driver of vehicles, and their movements were more easily considered sexualized or disorderly. While the actual constellations are not unchanging through time and differ according to social class, as we have seen with the increased compartmentalization of the lives of the upper (middle) classes, shifts in the geography of work, and the advent of vehicular space, the basic point that women’s mobility was different from men’s and was generally more contained is stable throughout the long eighteenth century (and possibly beyond).

contradictions within masculinity. Bennett is critical of alternative formulations such as ‘gender inequality’ because she considers such formulations a form of (politically) neutralizing language. Either way, her idea of a considerable continuity across time of women’s status, whether called patriarchy or gender inequality, represents a very useful approach. Also see “Book Forum: History Matters by Judith M. Bennett,” *Journal of Women’s History* 20, no. 2 (2008): 130–54, and especially Leila Rupp, “Revisiting Patriarchy,” *Journal of Women’s History* 20 (January 1, 2008): 136–40.

⁵ Bennett, *History Matters*, 77–78.

⁶ Bennett, *History Matters*, 78.

⁷ Cf. Ian Carter, “Positive and Negative Liberty,” in *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy*, ed. Edward N. Zalta, Winter 2019 (Metaphysics Research Lab, Stanford University, 2019). For the best-known discussion of two types of liberty, see Isaiah Berlin, “Two Concepts of Liberty,” in *Four Essays on Liberty* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1969).

The above relates directly to what I called the two main lenses of this dissertation: urban mobility regimes and the differences between people at the intersections of early modern hierarchies. In this conclusion, I want to discuss how these two lenses have emerged throughout this dissertation and further our understanding of urban everyday life and its periodizations.

First, the concept of urban mobility regimes has helped us understand how movements were a result of both gendered norms and the materialities of the city, and study their practices. The nature of the relative restraints imposed on women was not one of direct intervention, in which women were ordered and forced to stay inside or were directly controlled in their mobility. On the level of the street, no explicit spatial impositions banned women (or men) because of their gender. In theory, women and men were free to roam the streets and go as far as their legs would take them. Yet, in practice, gendered expectations and customs formed a structural constraint that resulted in women having substantially lower mobility than men. One final case in the depositions I have examined serves as the exception to the rule that women's mobility was not bluntly enforced but instead was curbed in more subtle ways: Leentje Simons, a 69-year-old woman who had been in the care of the Lutheran Diaconia House for ten years, had taken part in the Lord's supper in the Nieuwe Walenkerk, where the Lutheran pastor Johannes Hamelau was trying to establish a new Lutheran congregation after a split from the rest of Amsterdam's Lutheran community.⁸ The service enraged the regents of the Lutheran Diaconia House who were involved in this intense inter-Lutheran conflict, and they reprimanded Leentje Simons for her religious curiosity. She stated in the deposition that she, and fourteen to sixteen other women, 'even though they were previously free to leave the house on Wednesday, Saturday and Sunday afternoon, after she had taken part in the Lord's supper, were not allowed to go out any more for even a single hour, yes, to make this declaration, she has been brought to the city hall by a messenger of the Diaconia House, who will bring her back to the house afterwards.'⁹ Leentje Simons's compulsory chaperoning on the street, and the domestic confinement of her and her fourteen to sixteen peers, were exceptional actions taken by a house(hold) authority in the Diaconia House. But even here, these women were not

⁸ NL-AsdSAA, Notarissen (5075), inv. nr. 17978, LB1791, scan 407. For more on this local Lutheran schism, see J. H. Landwehr, *Handboek der Kerkgeschiedenis IV*. (Kampen: J.H. Kok, 1924) 85-86.

⁹ Original text: 'Daar zij voorheen Woensdag Saturdags en Zondags nademiddags vrij mogten uitgaan, nadat zij (...) het Avondmaal in de Nieuwe waale Kerk gebruikt heeft volstrekt geen uur heeft mogen uitgaan ja dat zij tot het passeeren deezer verklaring door een boodschaplooper van het Diaconie hujs op het stadhuis is gebragt geworden die haar daar na weder in het zelve hujs moet terug brengen'

banned to go out on the street solely because of their gender, but rather were held back due to a religious conflict. Of course, gender did play an important role in their being cared for in the Diacony House as indigent elderly women in the first place, but it was not the sole reason why their freedom was taken away. In contrast to their situation, women in Amsterdam were not en masse ordered to stay inside. There was no centralized surveillance system that directly curbed women's mobility regimes, but it was certainly the case that an indirect system of norms and the eyes of others was in place in the city.

We have seen how everyday mobility was not just a matter of non-restriction, but how infrastructures, social networks, and norms shape mobility in practice. The norms and expectations indirectly regulating mobility were part of a system in which urban space was a scarce resource and people constantly acted as gatekeepers. Practices found on and around the streets were subject to the constant tension imposed by both publicity and privacy, as people sought to call upon or evade the eyes of others and would access spaces or deny others access to spaces. Gossip on the doorstep was a powerful social tool, and people inside houses frequently interacted with those on the street through open windows and half-doors. The culture of transparency present throughout the city (with the notable exception of the elite streets and houses) meant that voices, gestures, and social interactions were themselves forms of micro-mobility: sounds and sights would travel and be observed by neighbours, passers-by, and household members. This was a matter of materiality of windows, half-doors and thin walls, but it also involved social-cultural factors such as reputation and gossip. The logics of the 'house' as material entity and the 'household' as social entity were intertwined; this open house(hold) was thoroughly connected to the street. In this culture of transparency, women played an important and highly visual role in their neighbourhoods, present on their doorsteps, looking and listening, partaking in a rich neighbourhood life.

The important roles played by women in their immediate neighbourhoods may, in that sense, be seen as the product of a 'patriarchal bargain,' in which women submitted to lower mobility but received the fullness of an intimate and rich neighbourhood life in return, with all its advantages and disadvantages.¹⁰ Similarly, the gendered division of labour can be understood as resulting from such

¹⁰ The concept of the 'patriarchal bargain' was pioneered in: Deniz Kandiyoti, "Bargaining with Patriarchy," *Gender and Society* 2, no. 3 (1988): 274–90. For a critical later reflection on it, also see: Deniz Kandiyoti, "Gender, Power and

bargains, the outcome not of a single controlling force but of several different institutional and normative arrangements that meant that women more often worked inside their homes. They were not directly coerced to do so but certainly were not given many alternative choices either. Here it becomes important to note that sometimes we have also seen that power and privilege was to be found in not having to move and in staying in or around domestic space. Mobility is strongly related to but is not always the same as freedom. Or rather, when looking at the opportunities presented by mobility, we should also be mindful of the freedom and power to choose *not* to move. This was most apparent in the case of the master craftsman who, having his workshop at home, was in a position of privilege compared to the men who had to walk to their work at yards or in factories. The master craftsman's position is not just one of immobility, though; it needs to be understood through his gender, his social status, and his household relations. We have seen how working at home while not doing household tasks could be a desired male privilege, situating them in a different position in the early modern hierarchy than the women who worked at or near home.

By turning to social status, we have already made the move to the second lens, that the differences between people at the intersections of early modern hierarchies. Across this dissertation, gender has often featured not as an individual aspect or explicit expression of individuality but rather as a structural facet within the hierarchies of early modern society. This framework was explicitly employed so that I could discuss and analyse the far-reaching impact of gendered norms and practices in early modern society without projecting assumptions about the individual's experience of gender onto historical subjects. The men and women discussed in this dissertation appeared to the outside world as men and women – but that is not to say that we have been distilling what intrinsically or inherently is or was a man or a woman. Rather, we have come to grasp the process of how societies in history (re)produce gendered difference and how individuals move through and with these differences. In cases popping up throughout this entire dissertation, gender was a crucial and important factor in determining the opportunities for mobility but was rarely the sole explanation to account for a situation. On the whole, social status, work, and materiality intersected with gender to determine the practices dictating one's movement through space. In that context, we have seen how important it is, but also difficult it can be, to understand gender in its intersection

Contestation. 'Rethinking Bargaining with Patriarchy,'" in *Feminist Visions of Development: Gender Analysis and Policy*, ed. Cecile Jackson and Ruth Pearson (London: Routledge, 1998), 138–54.

with social class when analysing mobility and the use of urban space. It is not a matter of determining which aspect was more important but rather of understanding intersecting aspects that lead to different outcomes for different intersections. For example, one might regard reputation and sexual honour to have been primarily constituted through gender, but we have seen how the matter was a much more complex composite of gender, household, and master-servant relations in which class and economic trustworthiness played a role for men and women alike when they navigated the streets.

It has become clear that the question of who took practical ownership of the street through its everyday access does not boil down to either a 'men versus women' or a 'elites versus ordinary people' opposition, but rather that gender and social class play important structural roles that intersect. Instead, we have seen how those different intersections interacted in different parts of the city and even at different times of the day. For example, recall how elite access to coaches impeded the safe movements of pedestrians with different logics throughout the city. One might say that this is an example where class and material access to coaches was the main factor determining access to urban space, but, as we have seen, the norm of the male driver combined with vehicles' connotations of female sexual behaviour means that we cannot separate the access to coaches from issues of gender. In an intersection of social class, gender, and materiality, the upper-class ladies who had access to coaches and coach sleighs were able to travel respectably through the streets while contained as passenger within the space of a moving compartment. They may have been more mobile than many men of lower social classes in the city, but this specific mobility came with its own restrictions and dangers that men of their class were not subject to. Bennett argues that while some women were in better positions than many men were, 'within each group of men and women – whether the group was structured by commonalities of class, race, ethnicity, or whatever – women as a group were disempowered *compared to men of their group*.'¹¹ This is helpful in understanding how gender is an important factor that cannot be ignored: but it needs to be seen through other positions in early modern hierarchies as well.

¹¹ Bennett, *History Matters*, 57-58.

As we understand urban mobility regimes and differences in social class in greater detail, this helps us think about periodization and change through time. Here I want to focus on uneven and spatially differentiated courses of development, evident even within a single city. Although the more newly paved, broad, and straight streets with their wheeled-vehicle traffic can be seen as emerging ‘spaces of modernity’, a world of alleys, courtyards, and side streets always lay just around the corner, as it were, upholding a ‘premodern’ culture of transparency until deep into the nineteenth century. Rather than finding a single manifestation of stable modernization, we see hyperlocal multiple modernities, where the differences are aligned with class, space, and materiality rather than with time. In a class-specific development of compartmentalization, the culture of transparency had been abandoned early on by the upper classes, while an emerging vehicle culture remained inaccessible for most urban inhabitants. An important conclusion is that change over time in spatial regimes can be identified, but they were hardly ever society-wide in scope, and furthermore they could differ among men and women of the same social class.

As for gender and change over time, as I wrote earlier in this conclusion, I conclude that the relationship between gender and mobility was relatively stable. There were no grand ruptures that changed women’s or men’s respective mobilities to a significant extent. Of course, social and cultural attitudes were not set in stone and remained in motion, but even as the eighteenth-century perception of the differences between men and women underwent changes, what remained stable was that ‘unequal societal treatment of women was found justified.’¹² Through different constellations, the complex relation between gender and mobility that resulted in women’s mobility being structurally less pronounced than men’s persists throughout the long eighteenth century, and I suspect, much further beyond.¹³ Although the exact constellations of mobility regimes are subject to

¹² Dorothée Sturkenboom, “Het perpetuum mobile van de emotionele vrouw. Veranderende betekenissen van sekse en emoties ten tijde van de Verlichting.” *Tijdschrift voor Genderstudies* 1, no. 4 (1998).

¹³ I do not want to claim that it is a complete view, but it is interesting to consider that in 2018, men in the province of Noord-Holland travelled on average 40.54 kilometres, compared to the women’s average of 33.69 kilometres. In the whole of the Netherlands, in 2018, 307,000 men worked in the transport and storage sector, as opposed to 97,000 women. Centraal Bureau voor de Statistiek (CBS), “StatLine - Mobiliteit; per persoon, persoonskenmerken, motieven en regio’s,” accessed August 20, 2021, <https://opendata.cbs.nl/statline/#/CBS/nl/dataset/84713NED/table?dl=5790D>; Centraal Bureau voor de Statistiek (CBS), “StatLine - Arbeidsvolume; bedrijfstak, geslacht, nationale rekeningen,” accessed August 20, 2021, <https://opendata.cbs.nl/#/CBS/nl/dataset/84164NED/table?dl=57906>. Thanks to Roos van Oosten for suggesting to take a look at this CBS data.

change, such as with the changes brought by vehicle traffic, there is nonetheless a structural gendered dimension to it that, at least to a partial extent, escapes periodization.

Finally, Davis asked that historians provide proposed designs for research when engaging in the grand narratives of gender history. I hope to have done so here with an interdisciplinary research design that combines the study of practices with spatial analysis through a wide range of sources, but also via a deep dive into one particular source, notarial depositions for the chief officer. While I have been able to unearth unheard numerous voices and perspectives, the results of this dissertation still represent only the tip of the iceberg in terms of broader research to be done on gender and urban mobility and, too, on the notarial documents of Amsterdam. I hope that my approach and our project's methodology and database can be the foundation for future research akin to the way other projects have been foundational for us. There is a much potential for further research with similar and even the same data. The depositions for the chief officer are no longer an untapped source, but there are still many years of serial material waiting to be analysed and many more possibilities inhering in this rich material than I have been able to fully explore within the scope of a single dissertation. Some fruitful further perspectives or topics would include: the way the city's waterways might potentially be integrated into the history of street life; in-depth studies of specific groups such as servants; or the presence and movements of animals in the city.¹⁴ The richness of the data distilled from the depositional material and other sources examined in this dissertation is encouraging and proves promising for the linking of more data in the future. As historians extract and access more data, it can be connected to the persons and locations that we have found in these depositions. One hopes that by combining datasets, detailed information that is difficult to distil from the depositions (such as social class of persons or specifically the marital status of men) can strengthen and give greater specificity to the insights found and explored in this dissertation even more precisely.

In conclusion, this dissertation has, I hope, improved our understanding of the mobilities and urban experiences of women and men in early modern Amsterdam, reiterating the view of earlier studies that these topics are worthwhile to study in historical societies. The way urban environments are

¹⁴ Chapter 4 has of course featured rich material on horses on the streets, but it has been written from the perspective of urban space and people. Future research could shift the focus to the way the human-animal relations played out on the street and influenced urban space.

used, claimed, and accessed remains relevant and even possesses an increasing relevance as urban living becomes a global standard. Mobilities are a key site for understanding past, present, and future societies and their (infra)structure and inequalities. Adding to that understanding, this dissertation invites further research to be undertaken through its lenses.

Appendix

Appendix I

Supporting material for the introduction

Appendix Table 1. Gender in the depositions for the chief officer

Notary	<i>Attestatieboek</i>		Salomon de Fremeri		Cornelis Staal		Leonard Beels	
Year	1656		1742		1750		1791	
Women	401	46%	167	27%	382	34%	252	30%
Men	458	53%	445	71%	708	63%	572	69%
Unknown	5	1%	15	2%	17	2%	1	0%
Mixed / Crowd	2	0%	2	0	8	1%	4	0%
Total	866		629		1115		829	

From deposition to snapshot. Example database entry of notarial attestations

The following text is a transcription of the first part of a notarial deposition from 1742. Numbers have been added to distinguish witnesses, underlining for locations, **bold** text to indicate persons and underlined like this for dates and times.

1. **Gerret Menger** oud 50 jaaren stalmeester op het Haarlemmerpleinn;
2. **Willem Luwe** zalemakers knegt oud 24 jaeren logeerende ten huijze van **Nicolaas Kroon** op het Haarlemmerplijn als booven, mitsgaeders
3. **Hendrik Scholten**, oud 25 jaeren zalemakersknegt als booven logeerende in de Egelantiersstraet in de Wittelams gang

(...)

Eerstelijk hij **eerste get.** alleen dat vrijdag laatstleede zijnde den 16 deezen des avonds met zijn buurman **Klaas Nicolaas Kroon** voornt des avonds de clocke na zijn beste omtrent 6 uren onthoud is gegaen ten huijze van **Arij hospes** in den uijt kijk op het Haarlemmerplijn aen de schans, welke **Arij** hem **get.** wel is bekend; dat hij **get** aldaer behalve den **hospes eenige andere personen** vond dewelke een kaartje spelende, hij get met den zelven **Nicolaas Kroon** ook een kaart gevordert en gespeelt hebben en te samen een kannetje Rotterdammer bier en een glaasje Jenever hebben geconsumeerd en vandaar de klocke agt uren van daar zijn gegaen, zonder dat hij **get** heeft kunnen merken, dat er eenig het minste different tussen dezelve **Arij ..** en hem **Nicolaas Kroon** direct of indirect was geweest

Translation:

1. **Gerret Menger** old 50 years stable master on the Haarlem Square;
2. **Willem Luwe** saddlemaker servant old 24 years, staying at the house of **Nicolaas Kroon** on the Haarlem Square as aforementioned, along with
3. **Hendrik Scholten**, old 25 jaeren saddlemaker servant as above, staying in the Egelantiersstraet in the Wittelamsgang

(...)

Firstly only **the first witness** [declares] that last Friday the 16th in the evening he went with his **neighbour Nicolaas Kroon** (as aforementioned) in his best recollection at 6 p.m. to the house of Arij hospes in the Uitkijk on the Haarlem Square at the side of the fortifications, which **Arij he witness** knows well; that **the witness** found **some other persons** besides **the hospes** who were playing cards, and that **the witness and Nicolaas Kroon** also played cards and drank a pitcher of beer and a glass of Jenever and went from there at 8 p.m. without noticing that there was any disagreement between **Arij and Nicolaas Kroon**, directly or indirectly.

Persons:	Locations:	Events:
1. Gerret Menger	I. Haarlem Square	a. Drinking alcohol and playing cards
2. Willem Luwe	II. Egelantiersstraet in the Wittelamsgang	b. Working as hospes
3. Nicolaas Kroon	III. Haarlem Square at the side of the fortifications	
4. Hendrik Scholten		
5. Arij		
6. Some other persons		

The components in the above table make up the scene described in the deposition. Adding this scene to the database can be done in any order. The way that they were added to the database is as follows:

1. 'Gerret Menger'
 - Age: 50 years
 - Gender: Male
 - Occupation as written: stalmeester
 - Occupation: Stable master
 - Residence: Haarlem Square (location I.) + residence type 'Inhabitant'
2. 'Willem Luwe'
 - Age: 24 years
 - Gender: Male
 - Occupation as written: zalemakersknegt

- Occupation: saddlemaker servant
 - Residence: Haarlem Square (location I.) + residence type ‘Temporary inhabitant’
3. ‘Nicolaas Kroon’
- Gender: Male
 - Residence: Haarlem Square (location I.) + residence type ‘Inhabitant’
4. ‘Hendrik Scholten’
- Age: 25 years
 - Gender: Male
 - Occupation as written: zalemakersknecht
 - Occupation: saddlemaker servant
 - Residence: Haarlem Square (location II.) + residence type ‘Temporary inhabitant’
5. ‘Arij’
- Gender: Male
 - Occupation as written: hospes
 - Occupation: hospes
 - Residence: Haarlem Square at side of the fortifications (location III.)
6. ‘Some other persons’
- Gender: Unknown
 - Not individual spec.: Several persons

Events:

- a. Description: Drinking alcohol and playing cards
- Date & Time: from 1742-02-16, 18:00, to 1742-02-16, 20:00
 - Category: Leisure, Playing & Drinking (alcohol)
 - Person(s): 1, 3, 6 (Gerret Menger, Nicolaar Kroon and ‘Some other persons’)
 - Location: Haarlem Square at side of the fortifications (location III.)
- b. Description: Working as hospes
- Date & Time: from 1742-02-16, 18:00, to 1742-02-16, 20:00
 - Category: Work, Food and accommodation
 - Person(s): 5 (Arij)
 - Location: Haarlem Square at side of the fortifications (location III.)

Note: The two witnesses Luwe and Scholten do not appear in the events a. and b. in the first part of the document that this example uses, but appear later in the deposition and as such have been added to the database. Often, a deposition consists of several scenes such as the example above. The order is often but not always that a pre-conflict situation such as the example contextualises the conflict after which a description of the actual conflict follows and sometimes, its aftermath.

Comparing Salomon de Fremeri's 1742 depositions to the Personele Quotisatie of 1742

The attestations of Salomon de Fremeri of 1742 were chosen explicitly as source material of this dissertation so that the depositional material could be compared to the *Personele Quotisatie* (PQ) tax census of 1742. This comparison provides us with a sense of the socio-economic status of the people that appeared in the depositions for the chief officer. The PQ contains info such as the names, addresses, rent, income, number of servants, horses and coaches of the people with an income of at least 600 guilders.

To contextualise the depositional material, I searched the PQ for the names, residential locations and occupations of the first 100 persons in Salomon de Fremeri's 1742 depositions who had a residential location.¹ By cross-checking these factors, 9 men from these depositions were also found in the PQ, which gives us their annual rent, income and the number of servants in their employment. None of the women of these first 100 persons were found in the PQ, which in some cases includes the wives of the men who did show up in the PQ. The PQ covers the people who had an income of 600 guilders or more and as such covers roughly 5,8% to 6,4% of the population of Amsterdam.² Of those persons, 88% were men and 12% women. Those 12% women are mainly widows, following the logic of taxing heads of households. So interestingly, the depositions relatively show more women than the PQ, but the women that the PQ shows are entirely different women than the depositions.

The average rent, income and number of servants of the 9 men in the depositions who were also found in the PQ was lower than the averages of all taxed persons of the PQ. A small group of the extremely wealthy (mostly merchants and patricians) pushed up this average, followed by a larger group of rich retailers, merchants, rentiers, notaries and the like. Then followed the (higher) middle classes that the butcher Pieter van Abcou and silver smith Joris de Bok were part of. The other men who appeared in both the depositions and the PQ had substantially lower incomes, much closer to the minimum threshold for taxation.

¹ 39 people without residential location were not considered. The occupation of Pieter de Bok ('coffij en theewinkelier') did not match that of 'P. d. Bok' in the PQ ('rentenier'). Yet, as the name and address do match, I am fairly certain that it is a match.

² The PQ contains 12.854 people with taxable incomes. Out of a population of roughly 220.000, this is 5,8%. However, there are also the names of 1.113 persons who were noted down in the survey, but then remained exempt from taxation, which makes the total 6,4%. It seems that the income of this last group may have been initially estimated as minimally 600 guilders, but that these people ended up being exempt for different reasons.

Appendix Table 2. People from the first 100 persons in Salomon de Fremeri's 1742 depositions who were also found in the Personele Quotisatie.

Salomon de Fremeri's 1742 depositions	Personele Quotisatie						
	Name	Name	Initials	Occupation	Rent	Income	Servants
Pieter van Abcou	Abkoude	P. v.	Vleeschhouwer	Butcher	325	2500	2
Laurens Arents	Arentz	Laur.	Tapper	Beer-house keeper	360	800	
Christoffel Harnis	Harnes	Cristoffel	Tapper	Beer-house keeper	210	600	
Dirk Adiks	Adiks	D.	Tapper	Beer-house keeper	200	600	
Samuel de Jong	Jong	Sam. d.	Beunhaas	Seller (outside of the guild)	400	800	
Dirk Faas	Faas	D.	Theewinkel	Tea retailer	300	600	
Alexander Ewald	Ewald	Al.	Katoenwinkel	Cotton retailer	240	600	
Pieter de Bok	Bok	P. d.	Rentenier	Living of interest	100	600	
Joris de Bok	Bock	Jor. d.	Zilversmid	Silver smith	560	2000	1

Appendix Table 3. Rent, income and servants of the 9 people who were also found in Salomon de Fremeri's depositions, compared to the whole Personele Quotisatie.

	Rent	Income	Servants
Average of the 9 men from SF1742	299	1011	0,33
Average of the whole PQ	421	1811	0,84
Median of the 9 men from SF1742	300	600	0
Median of the whole PQ	315	1000	1

The fact that we find 9 persons in both datasets means that 6,5%³ of the people appearing in Salomon de Fremeri's depositions were found back in the PQ. Considering that the taxable persons in the PQ cover 5,8% to 6,4% of the population of the city, the lower to higher middle classes that had taxable incomes are slightly overrepresented in the depositions compared to what would be

³ 9 out of 139, since 39 persons without a residential location were excluded.

expected of an unmediated sample of the population. Yet compared to the PQ as a whole, the lower middle classes were much better represented in the depositions.

The people that are found in the depositions but not in the PQ are a broad range of people, from the wives, children and servants of those who did show up in the PQ to the many men and women that had incomes below the threshold for taxation. For example: in the deposition in which beer-house keeper Laurens Arents appears, his wife Grietje Woentmans and the maidservant Anna van Noordeloos are the witnesses whose actions are described in detail. Arents did not have any servants listed in the PQ, but the depositions show that he certainly relied on much more female labour than a view at only the PQ would reveal.⁴ Another example of the coverage of the depositions is that in the first 100 persons with a known residence from Salomon de Fremeri's 1742 depositions there appear three *droogscheerders* (a type of clothmaker) and one *droogscheerder's* servant, while the whole PQ contains four *droogscheerders* out of 13.666 occupations. A final example is that the depositions encompass two overseers of the dredgers and a (former, freshly fired) dredger that were not found in the PQ. Their boss, Jacob van Breda, the chief overseer of the mudworks (*opzichter generaal van stads graaf- en modderwerken*) was the only person connected to the mudworks who showed up in the whole PQ. This Jacob van Breda is mentioned as their boss in the deposition. He does not appear in the scenes itself, but rather in the contextual setting when it is stated that he had ordered the firing of one of the dredgers.⁵

Concluding, this cross-referencing of the PQ with the depositions has shown us that the depositions written down for the chief officer give us a broad range of people. The richest elites and the poorest unfortunates were the least visible, while the lower to higher middle class households come well into view, as also the members of these households that are not visible through the PQ show up and are described undertaking actions in the city.

⁴ His absence is even part of the conflict in the deposition: Three men walk into his beer house, demanding to know where he is because they claim they have been short-changed during an earlier visit. His wife and servant try to deescalate the situation until he arrives. SF1742, scan 42

⁵ This is a good example of the type of actions that were not entered in the database: Since it was unclear when and where this giving an order to fire someone had happened and Jacob van Breda does not make an appearance in the narrative of the scene, he was left aside.

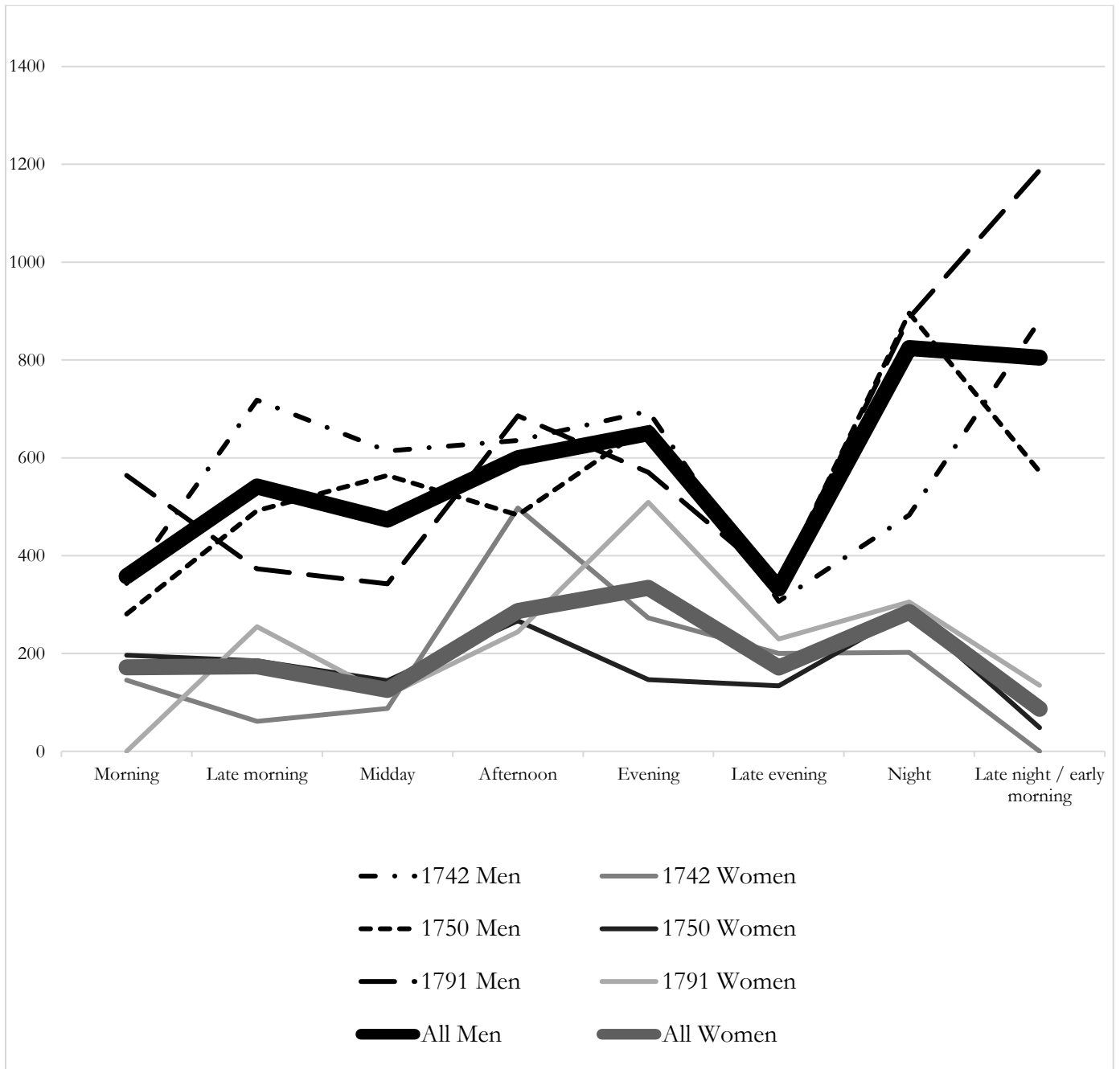
Appendix Table 4. All activities in the FOSGUS Amsterdam database

	<i>Attestatieboek</i>		Salomon de Fremeri		Cornelis Staal		Leonard Beels		Total		Depositions for the Chief Officer	
Sector	1656		1742		1750		1791		All		18th century	
Work	190	25%	250	33%	354	25%	338	43%	1132	30%	942	32%
Personal Care	0	0%	0	0%	10	1%	9	1%	19	1%	19	1%
Leisure	82	11%	171	22%	189	14%	106	13%	548	15%	466	16%
Religious	9	1%	4	1%	4	0%	4	1%	21	1%	12	0%
Social conflict	91	12%	93	12%	261	19%	58	7%	503	14%	412	14%
Crime	150	20%	120	16%	191	14%	153	19%	614	17%	464	16%
Other	245	32%	112	15%	343	25%	110	14%	810	22%	565	19%
Unclear	1	0%	12	2%	48	3%	11	1%	72	2%	71	2%
Total	768		762		1400		789		3719		2951	

Appendix II

Supporting material for Chapter 1

Appendix Figure 1. Average distance in meters between residence and event locations by timeslot, per year and gender, from depositions from 1742, 1750 and 1791. (n = 1400)



Appendix Table 5. Total number of people found away from their home and outside their district in 1742, 1750, and 1791

District		Away from home	Outside of district	
I	New Side City Centre	51	29	57%
II	Northwestern Canal Belt	31	29	94%
III	Jordaan	187	90	48%
IV	Western Islands (+ Haarlemmerdijk area)	44	25	57%
V	Botermarkt Area	21	15	71%
VI	Southern Canal Belt	13	10	77%
VII	Noordse Bos	42	29	69%
VIII	Old Side City Centre	63	38	60%
IX	Lastage	75	44	59%
X	Jewish Quarter	69	30	43%
XI	Southeastern Canal Belt	24	14	58%
XII	Plantage	7	4	57%
XIII	Eastern Islands (+ Kadijken)	41	28	68%
	<i>Total</i>	668	383	57%

Source: NL-AsdSAA, Notarissen (5075) inv. nr. 11735, SF1742, inv. nr. 13131, CS1750 and inv. nr. 17978, LB1791.

Appendix Table 6. Average and median distances in metres for people found away from their home in 1742, 1750, and 1791

District	Average distance	Median distance
I New Side City Centre	771	639
II Northwestern Canal Belt	1043	878
III Jordaan	893	605
IV Western Islands (+ Haarlemmerdijk area)	960	744
V Botermarkt Area	804	888
VI Southern Canal Belt	969	984
VII Noordse Bos	842	657
VIII Old Side City Centre	711	450
IX Lastage	693	501
X Jewish Quarter	577	395
XI Southeastern Canal Belt	833	799,5
XII Plantage	719	457
XIII Eastern Islands (+ Kadijken)	1255	1199
<i>All districts together</i>	837	651

Source: NL-AsdSAA, Notarissen (5075) inv. nr. 11735, SF1742, inv. nr. 13131, CS1750 and inv. nr. 17978, LB1791.

Appendix Table 7. Total number of people found away from their home in 1742, 1750, and 1791, categorized by gender

	District	Away from home by gender			
		Women	% of total	Men	% of total
I	New Side City Centre	5	10%	46	90%
II	Northwestern Canal Belt	3	10%	28	90%
III	Jordaan	51	27%	136	73%
IV	Western Islands (+ Haarlemmerdijk area)	15	34%	29	66%
V	Botermarkt Area	7	33%	14	67%
VI	Southern Canal Belt	4	31%	9	69%
VII	Noordse Bos	9	21%	33	79%
VIII	Old Side City Centre	20	32%	43	68%
IX	Lastage	20	27%	55	73%
X	Jewish Quarter	17	25%	52	75%
XI	Southeastern Canal Belt	9	38%	15	63%
XII	Plantage	3	43%	4	57%
XIII	Eastern Islands (+ Kadijken)	13	32%	28	68%
	Total	176	26%	492	74%

Source: NL-AsdSAA, Notarissen (5075) inv. nr. 11735, SF1742, inv. nr. 13131, CS1750 and inv. nr. 17978, LB1791.

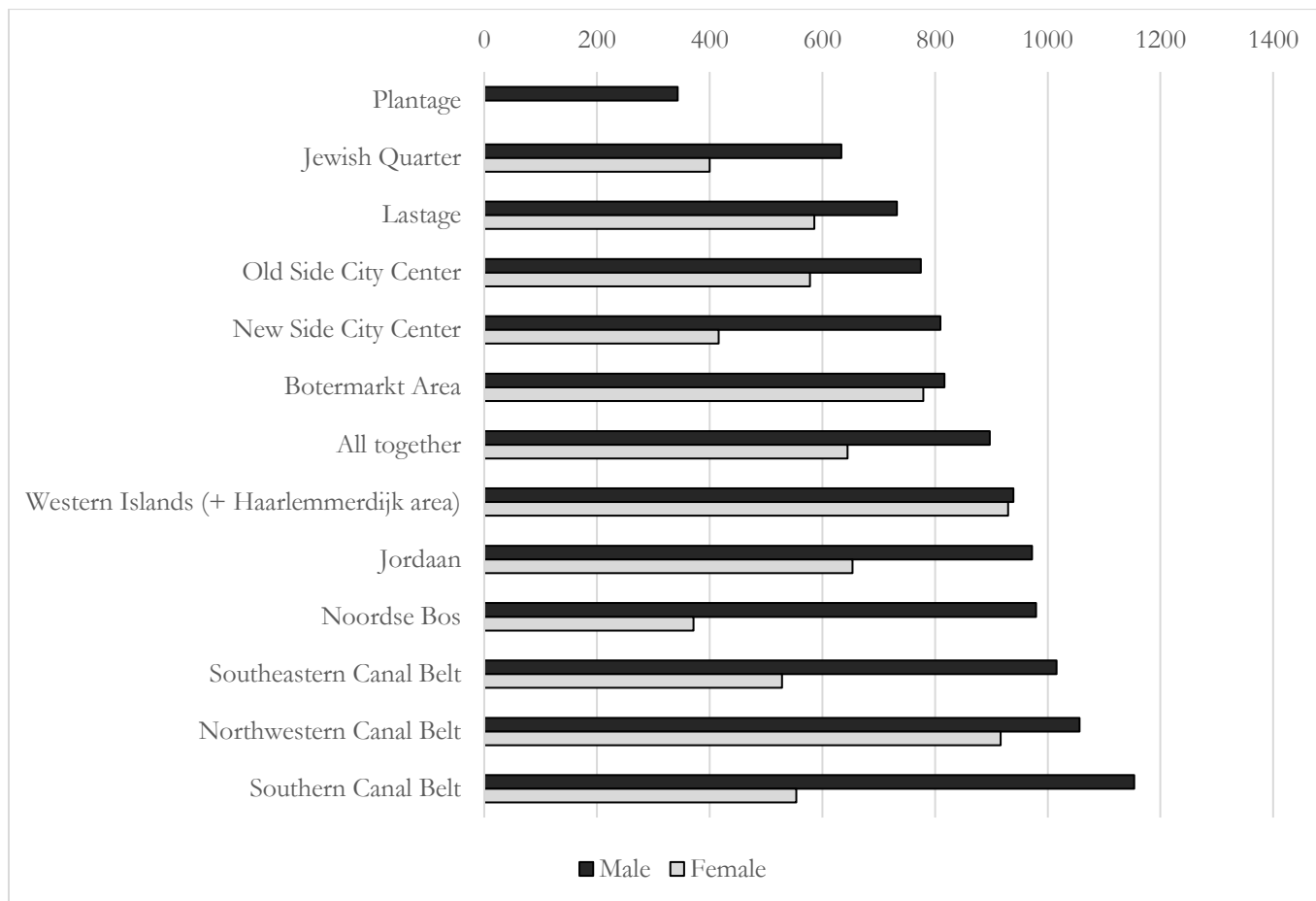
Appendix Table 8. Total number of people found outside their district in 1742, 1750, and 1791, categorized by gender

	District	Out of district by gender			
		Women	% of women ¹	Men	% of men ¹
I	New Side City Centre	2	40%	27	59%
II	Northwestern Canal Belt	3	100%	26	93%
III	Jordaan	20	39%	70	51%
IV	Western Islands (+ Haarlemmerdijk area)	10	67%	15	52%
V	Botermarkt Area	4	57%	11	79%
VI	Southern Canal Belt	1	25%	9	100%
VII	Noordse Bos	3	33%	26	79%
VIII	Old Side City Centre	10	50%	28	65%
IX	Lastage	11	55%	33	60%
X	Jewish Quarter	6	35%	24	46%
XI	Southeastern Canal Belt	3	33%	11	73%
XII	Plantage	3	100%	1	25%
XIII	Eastern Islands (+ Kadijken)	6	46%	22	79%
	Total	82	47%	301	61%

Source: NL-AsdSAA, Notarissen (5075) inv. nr. 11735, SF1742, inv. nr. 13131, CS1750 and inv. nr. 17978, LB1791.

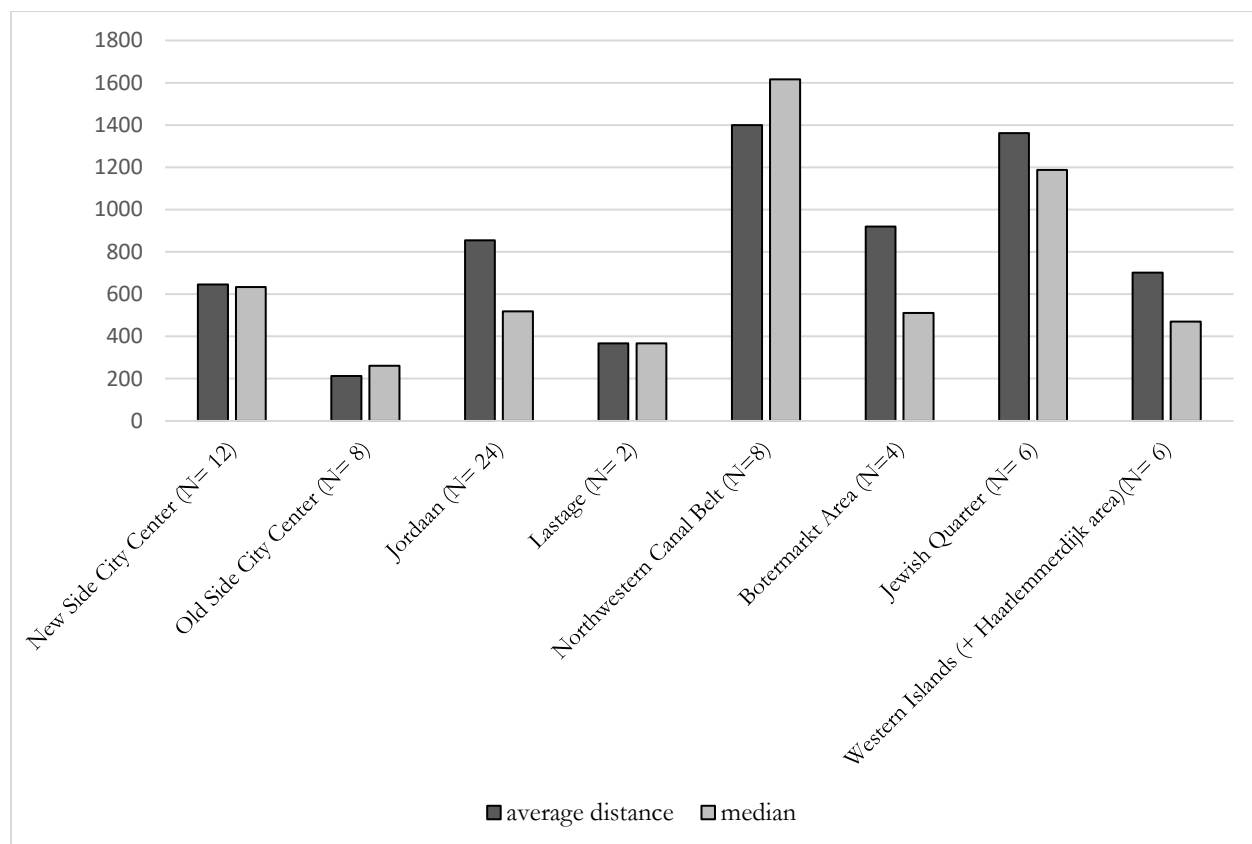
¹ This percentage is relative to the total number of women or men who were found away from their homes

Appendix Figure 2. Average distances in metres of people found away from their home in 1742, 1750 and 1791, by gender



Source: NL-AsdSAA, Notarissen (5075) inv. nr. 11735, SF1742, inv. nr. 13131, CS1750 and inv. nr. 17978, LB1791.

Appendix Figure 3. Average and median distances in metres of people found away from their home in 1656



In the main text of this chapter, the 1656 sample has not been included in the general view of mobility per district because the city's material structure looked quite different and certain districts had not yet been built in 1656. Still, we can briefly compare the eighteenth-century samples to this specific sample. While the number of observations that are useful is much lower compared to the eighteenth-century material, and some districts are incomparable because they were extra-urban areas before the last expansion in the seventeenth century, there are still some notable results. First, the most remarkable finding is that in 1656, the people living in the Jewish Quarter had the second-highest distance away from their homes rather than the lowest. However, of those six people, none appear to have been Jewish. It may thus have been the case that non-Jewish inhabitants of the Jewish Quarter in particular were strongly oriented towards the rest of the city. Furthermore, the mobility of inhabitants of the Jordaan shows continuity as it was very average in the 1656, and they crossed the canal belt to undertake activities in the rest of the city. Finally, there is a remarkable difference between the New Side of the city centre and the Old Side: the distances travelled by inhabitants of the Old Side were much lower.

Appendix III

Supporting material for Chapter 3

Work activities in the FOSGUS database

Work covers an significant part of all the activities reflected in the Amsterdam FOSGUS database. Roughly one-third of all activities were activities labelled as work. The main text of Chapter 3 provides an analysis of the spatial features of work as it appears through the eyes of the chief officer's notary. In this appendix, I will supplement that analysis with a contextualization of the data, in order to answer the question what this particular type of source shows us and possibly omits.

Appendix Table 9 below shows those activities split according to gender and spatial specifications. It immediately becomes clear that as in many other early modern sources, women's labour is underreported compared to men's labour. Only 18,6% of all recorded work activities were carried out by women, as opposed to 79,5% by men. Interestingly, that percentage is somewhat improved by the addition of the *Attestatieboek* to the eighteenth-century material. In the 1656 material from the *Attestatieboek*, 30,5% of all work activities (47 out of 154) were carried out by women. Still, the total number of women that we see working is low and probably not representative of historical reality.¹ What we see, of course, is the city through the eyes of the chief officer's notary, and gender is not the only factor to be represented with a certain selection bias. Another factor is the more robust representation of certain economic sectors and types of work. Appendix Tables 10 and 11 show the sectors of the work activities of the FOSGUS Amsterdam database.

First, comparison between the sample years as shown in Appendix Table 10 shows us that despite some differences, the general pattern remains more or less the same. Administration and Justice is the best-represented sector in all years, Food and Accommodation is always well represented although it becomes somewhat smaller, and Transport grows throughout the sample years. Other specified work has a peak in 1750, and Crafts and Construction shows very variable results. The other sectors are a small part of the whole, in which the growth of the share of Trade and the decline of the share of Care are noteworthy. But despite these changes, a broad general pattern

¹ It is of course extremely difficult to assess what percentage would be a good representation of historical reality, but if we follow Nederveen Meerkerk and Schmidt's crude labour-force participation rates for Dutch urban women of 45.1% for 1750, and take into account Van de Pol's estimate that there were 4 women for every 3 men in Amsterdam or even up to 3 women for every 2 men in the lower social strata, a representative percentage of working women would be at least double if not much higher. Van de Pol, *Het Amsterdams boerdom*, 107-108.

remains. This general pattern does not really reflect the urban economy as we know it from the literature: With Amsterdam being a major commercial and mercantile centre, trade and shipping formed a major structure that remains underrepresented here.² Of course, a large part of the visible activities depended on trade and shipping, but in the actual activities and practices from the depositions we do not see the city of merchants and traders that we know from the literature. Rather what we see is the Amsterdam of porters, servants, and innkeepers who relied on the existence of trade and shipping.

Another way to get a better sense of the representativeness of the depositions is by comparing this broad general pattern to Van den Heuvel's categorization of the occupations given in the *Personele Quotisatie* (PQ) of 1742 (Appendix Table 12). This tax register also has its limits because it shows only the richest 5% of Amsterdam, but it can nonetheless be used to get a view of the middle and upper classes. For a few reasons, comparison between the PQ and the FOSGUS data is not flawless: Most obviously, I categorized events, while the PQ is based on occupational titles. In some cases, such as the servant in a fruit store who was sent out to collect rent debts, the occupational title and the work performed did not match.

Second, the classifications used are different. Nonetheless, most categories used for the FOSGUS data can be placed under one of Van den Heuvel's categories without much trouble. The biggest hurdle is that the classification that Van den Heuvel used differentiates between productive work and economic services, while I used broader and potentially overlapping categories. For example, the negotiation of a merchant dealing in herring is categorized as both Trade and Food as well as Accommodation in the FOSGUS database, but it would only be listed under Economic Services in the PQ data, which separates food production and food retailing.³ And whereas I have classified the work of innkeepers, brewers, and distillers as Food and Accommodation, innkeeping and lodging form a separate subcategory under Economic Services in Van den Heuvel's PQ classification, and brewing and distilling are captured under food and beverage production, which goes under Industry and Crafts. Luckily, only with the Food and Accommodation category does this problem arise. So, for better comparability, I have divided my own Food and Accommodation entries into three subcategories. Selling and serving done by tavernkeepers, bartenders, fish-sellers,

² Clé Lesger, "Stagnatie en stabiliteit,"; Clé Lesger, "Vertraagde groei. De economie tussen 1650 en 1730.," in *Geschiedenis van Amsterdam. Zelfbewuste Stadstaat, 1650-1813.*, ed. Willem Frijhoff and Maarten Roy Prak (Amsterdam: SUN, 2005), 21–87.

³ Van den Heuvel, *Women and Entrepreneurship*, 280–282.

and grocers is here categorized under ‘Food, Beverage and Accommodation as Service,’ while the productive work of brewers, distillers, bakers, and butchers is listed under ‘Food and Beverage Production’. Finally, the Food and ‘Beverage Administration’ category captures cases in which food or beverages were not produced or sold but rather were inspected, weighed, counted, or otherwise worked with administratively.⁴

Finally, the casual labourers category in Van den Heuvel’s PQ and the unspecified work category in the FOSGUS database form something like leftover categories. They both do not really fit the other categories, and thus because the casual labourers category was left as a separate category for the PQ, I have done the same with the unspecified work category.

Comparison of the two datasets (Appendix Table 12.) shows some interesting similarities and differences. First, it shows that productive work in the crafts and industry category is not well represented in the FOSGUS database. Even considering that a large group of industry laborers, servants, and apprentices in the crafts would not have appeared in the PQ because they did not belong to the richest 5% of the city, a larger share of the work represented in the PQ is covered by occupations in production and industry. An important similarity is that in both datasets, the category in which most women’s work was found was Economic Services, although the total numbers are much higher for both men and women in the PQ. Men that were engaged in trading in one way or another are also relatively scarce, but Transport is well represented (unfortunately, the comparison cannot be made on the level of subcategories). It is noteworthy that the largest category of women’s work is also found here in the form of providing accommodation and of selling or serving food and beverages.

Then if we turn to the Other Services category, it is remarkable how high the numbers in the FOSGUS database are and how low they are in the PQ. Mostly for men and to some extent for women, this is the result of the presence of a large amount of administration and justice activities. The administrative labour and work done in public functions form a much larger share of the work activities in the FOSGUS data than in the PQ. This result, of course, has much to do with the nature of

⁴ The result is that a small part of administrative work is counted double. Yet, I have kept this because all work that is categorized with multiple categories is counted multiple times the tables that specify per sector, so it would be inconsistent not to apply this principle to the Food and Beverage Administration category. That means that the 16,5% of work activities that crossed categories and were labelled with multiple categories are somewhat overrepresented. I have chosen to keep this because the data reflects the total diversity of work in the depositions for the chief officer, and other solutions, such as counting these categories as only half, would not do justice to that diversity.

the depositions that form the FOSGUS data, where in many cases officials, but also people without a public function, engaged with regulations and public order. On the one hand, that means that such work is overrepresented, but on the other hand that also means that here is a good opportunity to study such work in greater detail. Then, for the women, the ‘other specified work’ does some heavy lifting in the Other Services category: these often short, mundane activities were rarely covered by an occupational title and would thus not show up in the PQ, but they become visible in the depositions used for the FOSGUS database. Many such activities were household tasks or errands.

We can conclude that the depositions used for the FOSGUS data show a different city than the PQ does. Whereas the PQ better covers trade, retail, and production work in crafts and industry, the FOSGUS data is at its richest when it concerns the Other services category, while the Economic services that are covered well are Food and Accommodation and Transport. That is why in Chapter 3, I am considering the visible work done in trade, retail, crafts, and industry to be the tip of the iceberg. I will pay extra attention to the qualitative aspects of some of the rich and exemplary cases in those sectors, which can stand in for a larger group of people. Where possible, the depositional material is supplemented with other source material that is not part of the database to strengthen the view and fill in the gaps of work not covered in the database but that earlier research tells us was there. Similarly, when I look at the administration and justice section, we should realize that we are looking at the work of a group that was actually smaller. So while it provides a great opportunity to look in detail at the work of officials who influenced the streets with their work, the conclusions based on the dataset as a whole will take these overrepresentations into account.

Appendix Table 9. All work activities in the FOSGUS Amsterdam database, with location data^I

	<i>Attestatieboek</i>	Salomon de Fremeri	Cornelis Staal	Leonard Beels	Total	% ^{III}	Depositions for the Chief Officer ^{II}	% ^{III}
Year	1656	1742	1750	1791	All		18th century	
Total	154	232	304	346	1036	100%	882	100%
Inside	59	123	117	123	422	40,7%	363	41,2%
Outside	59	77	153	176	465	44,9%	406	46,0%
Both / on the threshold ^{IV}	33	27	27	43	130	12,5%	97	11,0%
Unclear	3	5	7	4	19	1,8%	16	1,8%
Men	107	185	232	300	824	79,5%	717	81,3%
Inside	26	86	75	100	287	34,8%	261	36,4%
Outside	54	71	136	163	424	51,5%	370	51,6%
Both / on the threshold ^{IV}	24	23	15	33	95	11,5%	71	9,9%
Unclear	3	5	6	4	18	2,2%	15	2,1%
Women	47	39	63	44	193	18,6%	146	16,6%
Inside	33	30	41	23	127	65,8%	94	64,4%
Outside	6	5	11	13	35	18,1%	29	19,9%
Both / on the threshold ^{IV}	8	4	10	8	30	15,5%	22	15,1%
Unclear	0	0	1	0	1	0,5%	1	0,7%

- I. The data consists of 631 events in which 830 people feature. Many events contain multiple people and are here counted as separate activities.
- II. This composite contains the data of 1742, 1750 and 1791.
- III. The percentages of all men and women (in bold) are given relative to all activities, to show the total distribution by gender. The subheadings by space are relative to all activities within the respective gender.
- IV. These activities transgressed the boundary between inside and outside.

Appendix Table 10. All work activities in the FOSGUS Amsterdam database by sector

	<i>Attestatieboek</i>		Salomon de Fremeri		Cornelis Staal		Leonard Beels		Total		Depositions for the Chief Officer	
Sector	1656		1742		1750		1791		All		18th century	
Administration and Justice	71	36%	65	26%	125	34%	108	26%	369	30%	298	24%
Food and Accommodation	61	31%	58	23%	66	18%	75	18%	260	21%	199	16%
Transport	14	7%	33	13%	57	16%	78	18%	182	15%	168	14%
Other specified work	11	6%	17	7%	55	15%	19	4%	102	8%	91	7%
Crafts and construction	6	3%	38	15%	8	2%	41	10%	93	8%	87	7%
Trade	8	4%	13	5%	32	9%	28	7%	81	7%	73	6%
Care	16	8%	16	6%	1	0%	13	3%	46	4%	30	2%
Unspecified work	2	1%	3	1%	10	3%	12	3%	27	2%	25	2%
Managerial work	0	0%	5	2%	9	2%	22	5%	36	3%	36	3%
Credit	6	3%	2	1%	1	0%	10	2%	19	2%	13	1%
Military	0	0%	0	0%	1	0%	5	1%	6	0%	6	0%
Agriculture and Forestry	0	0%	0	0%	1	0%	4	1%	5	0%	5	0%
Trade in Real Estate	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	8	2%	8	1%	8	1%
Total	195		250		366		423		1234	30%	1039	

Appendix Table 11. All work activities in the FOSGUS Amsterdam database by sector and gender

Sector	Men	%	Women	%	Total	%
Administration and Justice	347	35,5%	20	8,6%	369	29,9%
Food and Accommodation	167	17,1%	88	37,8%	260	21,1%
Transport	160	16,4%	14	6,0%	182	14,7%
Other specified work	48	4,9%	53	22,7%	102	8,3%
Crafts and construction	89	9,1%	3	1,3%	93	7,5%
Trade	56	5,7%	24	10,3%	81	6,6%
Care	33	3,4%	12	5,2%	46	3,7%
Unspecified work	16	1,6%	8	3,4%	27	2,2%
Managerial work	29	3,0%	6	2,6%	36	2,9%
Credit	15	1,5%	4	1,7%	19	1,5%
Military	6	0,6%	0	0,0%	6	0,5%
Agriculture and Forestry	5	0,5%	0	0,0%	5	0,4%
Trade in Real Estate	7	0,7%	1	0,4%	8	0,6%
Total	978		233		1234	

Appendix Table 12. Comparison between the FOSGUS Amsterdam database work activities and the *Personele Quotisatie* of 1742

FOSGUS Amsterdam work activities				<i>Personele Quotisatie</i> of 1742 (van den Heuvel / Oldewelt)			
<i>Work activities</i>	Women	Men	Total	<i>Occupation titles</i>	Women	Men	Total
Crafts and Industry	2,2%	11,9%	9,9%	Crafts and Industry	11,0%	26,1%	24,1%
Crafts and Construction	1,3%	9,1%	7,5%				
Food and Beverage Production	0,9%	2,8%	2,4%				
Agriculture	0,0%	0,5%	0,4%	Agriculture	0,1%	0,0%	0,0%
Agriculture and Forestry	0,0%	0,5%	0,4%				
Economic Services	53,2%	33,4%	37,2%	Economic Services	84,9%	58,2%	61,9%
Trade	10,3%	5,7%	6,6%				
Credit	1,7%	1,5%	1,5%				
Food, Beverage and Accommodation as Service	34,8%	9,1%	13,8%				
Transport	6,0%	16,4%	14,7%				
Trade in Real Estate	0,4%	0,7%	0,6%				
Other Services	42,5%	51,5%	49,2%	Other Services	3,7%	12,0%	10,9%
Administration and justice	8,6%	35,5%	29,9%				
Food and Beverage Administration	3,4%	4,1%	3,9%				
Care	5,2%	3,4%	3,7%				
Other specified work	22,7%	4,9%	8,3%				
Managerial Work	2,6%	3,0%	2,9%				
Military	0,0%	0,6%	0,5%				
Unspecified work	3,4%	1,6%	2,2%	Casual Labourers	0,4%	3,6%	3,1%

Appendix Table 13. Working women in the FOSGUS Amsterdam database		
Ever-married		
Married	87	45%
Widowed	11	6%
Total	98	51%
Unmarried and unknown		
Unmarried	20	10%
Unknown	74	39%
Total	94	49%
All women	192	100%

Appendix Table 14. Domestic and extradomestic work by women by marital status in the FOSGUS database		
Away from home / Extradomestic work		
Ever-Married	33	50%
Unmarried or Unknown	33	50%
Total	66	41%
At or in the home / Domestic work		
Ever-Married	57	59%
Unmarried or Unknown	39	41%
Total	96	59%
All women ¹	162	100%

¹ Women who were recorded working and with both a residential and work location recorded.

Appendix IV

Supporting material for Chapter 4

Appendix Table 15. Chaise, sley and coach ownership from the *Personele Quotisatie* in 1742 by gender

<i>Vehicle</i>	Men		Women		Total
		% of men		% of women	
Chaise	255	42%	8	7%	263
Sleigh	27	4%	12	11%	39
Coach	323	53%	92	82%	415

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inv. nr. 267, Attestatieboek (1656).

Archief van de Notarissen ter Standplaats Amsterdam, access number 5075³:

inv. nr. 11735, Salomon de Fremeri, Minuutacten 1742

inv. nr. 13131, Mr. Cornelis Staal, Minuutacten 1750

inv. nr. 17977, Mr. Leonard Beels, Minuutacten 1790-1791 (January)

inv. nr. 17978, Mr. Leonard Beels, Minuutacten 1791 (rest of the year)

Other primary sources:

Stadsarchief Amsterdam (NL-AsdSAA),

Archief van de Vroedschap: resoluties met munimenten of bijlagen, access number 5025:

inv. nr. 16, Vroedschapsresoluties 1633 – 1639

inv. nr. 54, Vroedschapsresoluties 1732 – 1736

Archief van de Burgemeesters: stukken betreffende ambten en officiën, access number 5031:

¹ When material was scanned, I have cited scans rather than pages, because not all material has page numbers. These scan numbers correspond to the final digits of the file names that the City Archive of Amsterdam uses.

² The inventories in the City Archive of Amsterdam have unique access numbers ('toegangsnummers') that can be used in combination with the inventory number ('inventarisnummer') to find a record. The access number is used to find an inventory and the inventory number is used to navigate within that specific inventory. Throughout the chapters, the access numbers are given in between parentheses, e.g. 'Notarissen (5075)'.

³ Generally, the notarial depositions are ordered by year but sometimes they have some months of the preceding or subsequent year. Inventory number 13131 by Cornelis Staal for example, contains material from October 1749 up to the end of 1750. Similarly, the material from Leonard Beels was found in two inventory numbers because the book from 1790 continued up into January 1791. For the FOSGUS database, all material of cases that happened within one year were collected and processed.

inv. nr. 55, Ambtenboek 1724-1766
inv. nr. 56, Ambtenboek 1766-1802

Archieven van de Schout en Schepenen, van de Schepenen en van de Subalterne
Rechtbanken, access number 5061:

inv. nr. 176, Schoutsrol, 1749-1751
inv. nr. 402, Confessieboeken, 1741-1742

Archief van de Notarissen ter Standplaats Amsterdam, access number 5075:

inv. nr. 8068, Gerard van Esterwege, Minuutacten 1710
inv. nr. 8304A Willem de Fay, Minuutacten 1713-1714
inv. nr. 10030, Philip Zweerts, Minuutacten 1738
inv. nr. 11733, Salomon de Fremeri, Minuutacten 1740
inv. nr. 14261, Mr. Hendrik Daniel van Hoorn, Minuutacten 1763-1764
inv. nr. 14268, Mr. Hendrik Daniel van Hoorn, Minuutacten 1772-1773

Collectie Atlas Splitgerber, access number 10001:

inv. nr. 26, Kaart van Amsterdam, door Gerrit de Broen jr., 1728-1737
inv. nr. 44, Kaart van Amsterdam, door Caspar Philips Jacobsz, 1766
inv. nr. 51, Kaart van burgerwijk 12, door Caspar Philips Jacobsz, 1770-1775
inv. nr. 58, Kaart van burgerwijk 27, maker onbekend, 1733-1745
inv. nr. 59, Kaart van burgerwijk 28, maker onbekend, 1736

Collectie Stadsarchief Amsterdam: burgerwijkkaarten, access number 10031:

inv. nr. 98, Kaart van Burgerwijk 45, door G. Wartenaar, 1781.

Collectie Atlas Kok, access number 10095:

inv. nr. 525, Kaart van Burgerwijk 1, door Jacobus Verstegen, 1794-1795
inv. nr. 527, Kaart van Burgerwijk 4, door Jan Caspar Philips, 1743
inv. nr. 530, Kaart van Burgerwijk 6, door Adolph van de Laan, 1738-1740
inv. nr. 532, Kaart van Burgerwijk 11, door Hendrik de Leth, 1748-1750
inv. nr. 534, Kaart van Burgerwijk 13, door Hendrik de Leth, 1744-1748
inv. nr. 538, Kaart van Burgerwijk 18, door Hendrik de Leth, ca. 1750
inv. nr. 540, Kaart van Burgerwijk 22, door door Jan Caspar Philips, 1762-1766
inv. nr. 541, Kaart van Burgerwijk 25, door Hendrik de Leth, 1752-1759
inv. nr. 544, Kaart van Burgerwijk 28, maker onbekend, ca 1737.
inv. nr. 546, Kaart van Burgerwijk 30, door Jacob Otten Husly, 1784
inv. nr. 547, Kaart van Burgerwijk 35, door Korsselis van Jagen en Jan van Jagen,
1732-1738
inv. nr. 550, Kaart van Burgerwijk 51, door Caspar Philips Jacobsz, 1775-1785

inv. nr. 551, Kaart van Burgerwijk 52, door Theodorus Koning, 1765-1772
inv. nr. 552, Kaart van Burgerwijk 53, door Caspar Philips Jacobsz, 1776-1786
inv. nr. 553, Kaart van Burgerwijk 54, door Jan Meyer, 1765-1774
inv. nr. 556, Kaart van Burgerwijk 56, door J. Bolten en J.C. Philips, 1779-1787
inv. nr. 558, Kaart van Burgerwijk 57, door Caspar Philips Jacobsz, 1771-1773
inv. nr. 562, Kaart van Burgerwijk 60, maker onbekend, 1753-1757

Collectie Stadsarchief Amsterdam: Bibliotheek, access number 15030:

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Summary

Urban Life on the Move. Gender and Mobility in early modern Amsterdam

In spite of the urban Dutch Republic's reputed early domesticity, both women and men in Amsterdam's long eighteenth century were found on the move. This dissertation describes and analyses mobility regimes of both women and men in extensive detail to go beyond narratives of dichotomies between public/private spaces or spheres. Although previous accounts in which women's lives were seen as taking place in private spheres while men's lives took place in public spheres have been overthrown over the last decades, no replacement grand narrative of spatial arrangements has taken its place. This dissertation does not pose an alternative grand hypothesis to replace the public/private dichotomy either, but instead, describes and analyses street life and urban mobilities through highly complex everyday practices. Through a spatial database of notarial depositions drawn up for the chief officer of Amsterdam, the spatial practices of both women and men were traced throughout the city to get a more detailed sense of who accessed the street and how. There were gendered differences, where men would roam further than women, but more factors than only gender were important to reconstruct the 'mobility regimes' of early modern urban inhabitants. Gender, together with social class and materiality shape the way that different people accessed and experienced the street, such as in the form of elite access to coaches, a widely shared non-elite culture of everyday openness and transparency and the morphology of the street network itself.

In the first chapter, a methodology for studying mobilities through practices made it possible to use the differences in where people lived and where they were found in undertaking different activities throughout the city (as recorded in the notarial depositions) to reconstruct city-wide mobility regimes and compare movements by gender, time of the day and district. These results show that men on average roamed further throughout the city than women, who remained closer to their residences. However, that does not mean that women were strictly confined to their homes. The idea of strict urban domesticity for women does not hold and we find that women were outside and on the move at all times of the day. Women's mobilities – although not directly physically restricted – were more centered around their own neighbourhoods and spatially limited than men's mobilities. This chapter also showed that on the level of the whole city, the differences in average distances travelled per district was clearly influenced by the morphology of the street network and the

different functions in the districts, and especially a combination of the two. Certain districts with a lot of functions for its inhabitants saw less people leaving the district, an effect most effectively demonstrated through the unique features of the Jewish Quarter.

The second chapter concerns processes of everyday gatekeeping. The house(hold)'s micro-mobilities were shown to involve not either public or private space, but rather an interplay of publicity and privacy. Spatial and social boundaries were constantly drawn and transgressed, revealing a rich public life unfolding in streets, alleys, and houses. Household members appeared to the outside world and navigated their immediate surroundings within a carefully upheld system of self-presentation and mutual witnessing of their fellow city-dwellers. Everyday sociability took place in doorways and on front steps, and the boundaries drawn were often social rather than material. Gatekeeping formed a complex geography of publicity and privacy in which gender and class played an important role, often mediated through house(hold) structure. While most lower- and middle-class people needed to use transparency and openness to assert themselves as honourable and to gain social credit, the upper classes distanced themselves from this sort of openness and developed a preference for new types of seclusion enabled by their doors and their high front steps raised above the street. Yet for the vast majority of the city's inhabitants, open sociability was neither suspect nor undesirable; it was at once a social and a material aspect of everyday life.

The third chapter turns to the theme of work and the urban economy. It shows how work was a crucial activity that directly or indirectly brought people to the street, but how on the other hand, the home and work were far from conceptually detached. The concepts domestic and extradomestic are useful as a description of the location of work, but not as descriptors of types of work. Defining these concepts in such a way allows us to understand how household tasks could be both domestic and extradomestic, and how men's work also had a complex relation to domestic work. The early modern urban economy occupied a crossroads between the preindustrial economy, in which most work took place at home, and the industrialized economy, in which worksites tended to be elsewhere, away from the domestic realm. Looking at gender and space through the lens of work helps paint a picture that conveys a complex, multi-layered geography. The data from the depositions affirm the spatial narrative that describe how women worked inside and at home more often and how men more often went out and increasingly worked away from home. This gendered pattern is strong but does not represent a strict separation: we also found men working at home and women working outside – although notably not as much. Furthermore, mobility is an important

theme in understanding how the street was shaped by work on the street or those moving to their work. Information exchange and errands motivated the mobilities of even those who worked in more sedentary positions. There was a diversity of worksites, and the home itself also emerged as a diverse, multifaceted worksite. Neither for women nor for men was the home a domestic prison. Household work brought women outside the home or in contact with the street while they worked in or at their houses. The workshop, where craftsmen worked at their homes, could be a desirable privilege, showing how the intersections of gender, work, and space produced different results.

In the fourth chapter, the theme of vehicular mobility was considered as a special case study of the study of gender and urban space. It shows how vehicle culture was never unproblematically integrated into urban life and how access to vehicles was determined by social status and gender. Here, social mobility and physical mobility intersected with each other in a strong way. Access to vehicles led to a new type of space taking root in the city during the early modern period. Some people had access to this distinct urban experience of vehicular mobility, while simultaneously their presence in vehicles changed others' experience of the street. Usually, it were men who had access to horses, coaches, chaises and sleighs. Yet, gender was not the only factor, but intersected with social class, as the women who did have access to the vehicle culture were mostly upper class wealthy women. The impact of vehicles on space was huge, but their integration was not merely a sudden technological revolution, but rather a slow process of spatial (re)negotiation of priority of mobilities. Competing uses of the street led to different parts of the city becoming different types of vehicular space. The reign of vehicles was far from unlimited: although the seeds for the modern compartmentalized pedestrian strips were being planted, wheeled fast vehicles were not able to claim an unproblematic place in the city. It was understood that vehicles in the city impeded pedestrians' access to the city street, which resulted in regulations and the surveillance of vehicles, determining where they would drive and at what speed. In Amsterdam, this framework resulted in a unique sleigh culture. It also placed wheeled vehicles in an ambiguous position: on the one hand they were built and maintained for rapid travel outside of the urban context, but on the other hand some part of urban space were amended to account for their presence. A larger city became a city with a greater partitioning of space, where people were both physically and socially differentiated through their access to vehicles.

These histories of walking, commuting, doing errands, driving, chatting, listening and witnessing provide histories of access to the city. They show different factors that impacted mobility for different people at different positions in the early modern hierarchies. Although there was no strictly single regulatory institution that determined different outcomes of mobility for either women or men, there were notable differences in the outcome of gendered mobility. Women's mobility was structurally lower, something that persists beyond the long eighteenth century. Rather than the result of one single explanation, this was the result of the interplay of different factors, ranging from gendered norms on position in the household and the division of labour to exclusion of women from guilds and access to vehicles.

Samenvatting

Stadsleven in beweging. Gender en mobiliteit in vroegmodern Amsterdam.

Dit proefschrift toont aan dat zowel vrouwen als mannen in de lange achttiende eeuw van Amsterdam door de stad bewogen, ondanks de beroemde en beruchte vroege huiselijkheid van de stedelijke Nederlandse Republiek. Dit proefschrift beschrijft en analyseert hun ‘mobiliteitsregimes’ in detail, om verder te gaan dan het klassieke narratief van een dichotomie tussen publieke en private ruimtes of sferen. Het oudere beeld waarin vrouwenlevens zich in de privésfeer afspeelden en mannenlevens in de openbaarheid is al enkele decennia omvergeworpen, maar er is nog altijd geen vervangend groots ruimtelijk narratief voor in de plaats gekomen. Dit proefschrift biedt evenmin een alternatieve hypothese ter vervanging van de dichotomie publiek/privaat, maar beschrijft en analyseert in plaats daarvan het straatleven en stedelijke mobiliteit door middel van zeer complexe alledaagse praktijken. Door middel van een ruimtelijke database van notariële getuigenverklaringen, opgesteld voor de hoofdofficier van Amsterdam, worden de ruimtelijke praktijken van zowel vrouwen als mannen door de hele stad getraceerd om een gedetailleerder beeld te krijgen van wie de straat opging en hoe. Er waren verschillen in gender, waarbij mannen verder door de stad bewogen dan vrouwen, maar meer factoren dan alleen gender waren belangrijk in de ‘mobiliteitsregimes’ van vroegmoderne stadsbewoners. Gender, sociale klasse en materialiteit beïnvloedden de manier waarop verschillende mensen de straat betreden en ervaren, zoals in de vorm van toegang tot koetsen voor de elite, een wijdverbreide alledaagse openheid voor de non-elites en de morfologie van het stratennetwerk zelf.

In het eerste hoofdstuk worden mobiliteitsregimes door de stad heen gereconstrueerd en vergeleken aan de hand van gender, tijdstip van de dag en wijk. De daarvoor gebruikte methode bestaat uit het vergelijken van de woonlocaties van mensen en de locaties waar dezelfde mensen werden aangetroffen bij het ondernemen van verschillende activiteiten in de stad (deze locaties en activiteiten worden in notariële getuigenverklaringen genoemd). Uit de resultaten blijkt dat mannen gemiddeld verder door de stad bewogen dan vrouwen, die dichterbij hun woonplaats bleven. Dat betekent echter niet dat vrouwen strikt aan huis gebonden waren. Het idee van strikte stedelijke huiselijkheid voor vrouwen gaat niet op: we vinden vrouwen op elk moment van de dag buiten en onderweg. Maar de mobiliteit van vrouwen was – hoewel niet direct fysiek beperkt – wel meer gecentreerd rond hun eigen buurt en ruimtelijk beperkt dan de mobiliteit van mannen. Dit hoofdstuk toont ook aan dat er op het niveau van de hele stad verschillen in gemiddeld afgelegde

afstanden per wijk waren. Deze waren duidelijk beïnvloed door de morfologie van het stratennetwerk en de verschillende functies in de wijken, en vooral door een combinatie van beide. Bepaalde wijken met veel functies voor de inwoners zagen minder mensen de wijk verlaten, een effect dat het meest effectief werd aangetoond door de unieke kenmerken van de Joodse wijk.

Het tweede hoofdstuk gaat over processen van alledaags ‘poortwachten,’ de term die ik gebruik voor het claimen en afbakenen van ruimte. Er wordt aangetoond dat de micromobiliteiten van het huis(houden) ruimte niet eenzijdig tot publieke of private ruimte maakten, maar eerder een samenspel van publiciteit en privacy creëerden. Voortdurend werden ruimtelijke en sociale grenzen getrokken en overschreden, waardoor een rijk openbaar leven zich ontvouwde in straten, steegjes en huizen. Leden van het huishouden verschenen aan de buitenwereld en navigeerden door hun directe omgeving binnen een zorgvuldig gehandhaafd systeem van zelfpresentatie en wederzijdse surveillance van hun stadsgenoten. Alledaagse sociabiliteit vond plaats in deuropeningen en op trappen, en de getrokken grenzen waren vaak eerder sociaal dan materieel. Het ‘poortwachten’ vormde een complexe geografie van publiciteit en privacy waarin gender en klasse een belangrijke rol speelden, vaak aan de hand van het huis(houden). Terwijl de meeste mensen uit de lagere en middenklasse transparantie en openheid gebruiken om zichzelf als eerbaar te laten gelden en om sociaal krediet te krijgen, distantieerden de hogere klassen zich van dit soort openheid en ontwikkelden ze een voorkeur voor nieuwe vormen van afzondering. Zo waren ze door hun stoepen en hun hoge trappen verheven boven de straat. Maar voor de overgrote meerderheid van de stadsbewoners was open sociabiliteit niet verdacht noch onwenselijk; het was zowel een sociaal als een materieel aspect van het dagelijks leven.

Het derde hoofdstuk gaat over het thema werk en de stedelijke economie. We zien hoe werk een cruciale activiteit was die mensen direct of indirect naar de straat bracht, maar ook hoe ‘thuis’ en ‘werk’ verre van conceptueel gescheiden waren. ‘Huiselijk werk’ is daarbij een bruikbaar begrip voor de omschrijving van de werklocatie, maar niet als omschrijving van het soort werk dat uitgevoerd wordt. Door het ruimtelijk te definiëren, kunnen we begrijpen hoe huishoudelijke taken zowel binnenshuis als buitenshuis kunnen plaatsvinden, en hoe niet alleen vrouwenwerk maar ook mannenwerk een complexe relatie had met het huis. De vroegmoderne stedelijke economie vormde een kruispunt tussen de pre-industriële economie, waarin het meeste werk thuis plaatsvond, en de geïndustrialiseerde economie, waarin de werkplekken zich meestal ergens anders bevonden, weg van de huiselijke sfeer. Door vanuit werk naar gender en ruimte te kijken, wordt een beeld geschetst dat

een complexe, gelaagde geografie weergeeft. De gegevens uit de getuigenverklaringen bevestigen het ruimtelijke narratief dat beschrijft hoe vrouwen vaker binnenshuis en thuis werkten en hoe mannen vaker naar buiten gingen en steeds vaker buitenshuis werkten. Dit genderpatroon is sterk, maar vertegenwoordigt geen strikte scheiding: we vonden ook mannen die thuis werkten en vrouwen die buitenshuis werkten, hoewel opmerkelijk minder vaak. Bovendien is mobiliteit een belangrijk thema om te begrijpen hoe de straat werd gevormd door werk op straat of door mensen onderweg waren naar hun werk. Kleine taken zoals het overbrengen van berichten en het doen van boodschappen buitenshuis leidde tot de mobiliteit van zelfs degenen normaalgesproken aan huis werkten. Er was een diversiteit aan werkplekken en ook het huis zelf bleek een diverse, veelzijdige werkplek. Noch voor vrouwen noch voor mannen was het huis een huiselijke gevangenis. Huishoudelijk werk bracht vrouwen buitenshuis of in contact met de straat terwijl ze in of aan hun huis werkten. Daarentegen was thuiswerken in de vorm van de werkplaats aan huis voor ambachtslieden juist een wenselijk voorrecht, wat laat zien dat de kruispunten van gender, werk en ruimte wezenlijk verschillende resultaten opleverden.

In het vierde hoofdstuk wordt het thema van de mobiliteit van voertuigen bekeken als onderdeel van het vraagstuk van gender en stedelijke ruimte. Het laat zien hoe voertuigcultuur nooit probleemloos in het stadsleven werd geïntegreerd en hoe de toegang tot voertuigen werd bepaald door sociale status en gender. Hier kruisten sociale mobiliteit en fysieke mobiliteit elkaar sterk. De introductie en het gebruik van voertuigen leidde in de vroegmoderne tijd tot een nieuw type stedelijke ruimte, waarin gereden werd. Een beperkte groep mensen had toegang tot de stedelijke ervaring van voertuigmobiliteit, maar hun gebruik van voertuigen veranderde tegelijkertijd de ervaring van anderen op straat. Meestal waren het mannen die toegang hadden tot paarden, koetsen, chaises (een snelle lichte koets die ook 'sjees' genoemd werd) en sledes. Gender was niet de enige factor, maar kruiste ook met sociale klasse, aangezien de vrouwen die toegang hadden tot de voertuigcultuur meestal rijke vrouwen uit de hogere klasse waren. De invloed van voertuigen op de ruimte was enorm, toch was hun integratie niet het resultaat van een plotselinge technologische revolutie maar eerder een langzaam proces van ruimtelijke (her)onderhandeling van de prioriteit van mobiliteiten. Concurrerend gebruik van de straat leidde ertoe dat verschillende delen van de stad uit verschillende soorten voertuigruimte kwamen te bestaan. De heerschappij van voertuigen was verre van onbegrenst: hoewel grote stappen richting de moderne gecompartmenteerde voetgangersstroken werden gemaakt, konden snelle voertuigen op wielen niet probleemloos een

plaats in de stad claimen. Het was duidelijk dat voertuigen in de stad de toegang van voetgangers tot de stadsstraat beperkten, wat resulteerde in regelgeving voor en toezicht op voertuigen, waarmee werd bepaald waar ze mochten rijden en met welke snelheid. Dit resulteerde in een speciale Amsterdamse sledecultuur. Het plaatste ook voertuigen met wielen in een dubbelzinnige positie: aan de ene kant werden ze gebouwd en onderhouden om snel te rijden buiten de stad, maar aan de andere kant werd een deel van de stedelijke ruimte aangepast zodat ook daar gereden kon worden. Een grotere stad werd een stad met een grotere differentiatie van ruimtegebruik, waarbij mensen zowel fysiek als sociaal gedifferentieerd werden door het gebruik van voertuigen.

Deze geschiedenissen van wandelen, woon-werkverkeer, op pad gaan voor een boodschap, rijden, praten, luisteren en getuigen op straat vormen geschiedenissen van toegang tot de stad. Ze laten verschillende factoren zien die van invloed waren op de mobiliteit van verschillende mensen op verschillende posities in vroegmoderne hiërarchieën. Hoewel er geen centrale regelgevende institutie was die verschillende uitkomsten van mobiliteit voor zowel vrouwen als mannen bepaalde, waren er opmerkelijke verschillen in mobiliteit naar gender. De mobiliteit van vrouwen was structureel lager, iets dat ook na de lange achttiende eeuw aanhield. Dit was niet het resultaat van één enkele verklaring, maar het resultaat van het samenspel van verschillende factoren, variërend van gendernormen over de positie in het huishouden en de taakverdeling tot uitsluiting van vrouwen uit gilden en toegang tot voertuigen.