‘Waar het is, wil het meerdere wezen.’

The Popularity of the Dutch Etiquette Book in the Netherlands in the Second Half of the Nineteenth Century

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Preface

Growing up with the correct usage of etiquette constantly in the back of my mind, it was perhaps inevitable that I would take an interest in etiquette books and start collecting them. Through my own collection and interest in etiquette books, it took the History of the Book course of the Leiden MA programme Book and Digital Media Studies to really pinpoint my interest and narrow down my time frame. As I read more on the subject it became clear the size of the gap in literature, especially the analysis of the Dutch etiquette book as it pertains to the book industry. Though this thesis takes a very broad look at the genre, it can hopefully be seen as a starting point to further in-depth research into the field.

There are a couple people I would like to thank: I. van de Rijt for the translations. Also, the staff of the University of Amsterdam's Special Collections and especially curator Mrs J.J. Mammen MA for her time and thoughts regarding my ideas and pointing me in the right direction for material.

Finally, Stephanie Winia, thank you for all the support. I only wish you could have been here to see this thesis in its completion.
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Introduction

The second half of the nineteenth century was a time in which the Netherlands entered what seems to be almost continual change, which the rest of Western Europe had already been experiencing. The rapidly emerging industry and consequent social issues had profound implications for the relationship between the classes as well as the sexes, which came from a variety of different corners: the arts, politics, economics as well as social movements. These implications forced change to occur in the social strata which would in turn affect areas of politics, education and trade.

In the same period, a new movement within the genre of literary advice began to take shape. Books on manners, which at the beginning of the nineteenth century were distinctively moralistic, detailing how one should lead a virtuous life, were developing into practical guides on how people could fulfil their roles in society. These guides became highly specialised and were written not only for adults but for women and men separately, young ladies, meisjes and children.¹ This development from moralistic advice books to the more practical manuals for nineteenth-century social life was caused by, but also paralleled, the social changes occurring within the Netherlands at the time and the lack of national identity that was felt.

Politically the Netherlands was changing as well. Johan Rudolf Thorbecke, prime minister of the Netherlands from 1866-1872, was of the liberal belief that people should be able to govern themselves and that more power should be handed down to the provinces and municipalities. The reduction of governmental oversight allowed small communities and institutions to have more freedom, which created better living and working conditions.

The improved economic state that was as a result of industrialisation led to the emergence of an economically affluent middle class, which began to strive towards being part of the traditional elite of patricians and aristocrats and had the ambition to improve its social position. The middle class could only obtain these connections by understanding and acting the way the elite did. Etiquette books became the tool by which this middle class would be able to understand their way of life; a guide on how to behave and live in the circles to which they aspired. Within book studies this use of the etiquette book has been shown with regard to English etiquette books, in the Netherlands however, the subject has hardly been studied.

¹ The term meisje, explained in chapter 2 in more depth, is simply a new term created for a girl.
Norbert Elias’s study of the history of etiquette in European countries in Über den Prozess der Zivilisation, starts in the Middle Ages and documents ‘the civilising process’ manners of Western Europe underwent. Though his research incorporates a vast amount of data spanning from the Middle Ages to the mid-nineteenth century, Elias discusses very specific subjects, predominantly using table manners for his examples in the various eras in order to formulate a theory for the process. However, by doing so, he leaves the reader with more questions on the use of the etiquette books, especially considering that he deals with the texts rather than the books as an object. He does, nonetheless, show the importance of these books as a mode by which the information was disseminated. Other scholars have followed in a more specialised niche, namely psychology, history and economics. Though these conduct texts also mostly focus on cooking, eating, drinking and daily ablutions, the overall subject matter they cover is relevant to any field of study pertaining to etiquette books. Of special note are Cas Wouters and W. Heijting. Wouters, whose studies into manners go back as early as 1890, showed how etiquette books could be used as an important source of information for historical social research into this period in his studies Informalization and Sex and Manners. Both books deal with the dissemination of information, however, they discuss a more recent period and rarely focus on the mode in which it was spread. Little study has been done into the books themselves, though Heijting’s articles are perhaps the best starting point for research. Heijting, a former librarian of the library of the Vrije Universiteit in Amsterdam, who, with his wife, collected cookbooks as well as etiquette books over the last few decades, has published a number of articles regarding the books in his collection as well as the genre. These articles discuss cookbooks in more detail than etiquette books. They are still useful though, as they detail the overall genre as well as help pinpoint texts that would otherwise be difficult to find. Because etiquette books and cookbooks are linked so closely, it

4 Heijting donated his collection to the University of Amsterdam’s Special Collections in 2013. The collection is comprised of Cook books, etiquette books, and educational material spanning the nineteenth and twentieth century.
5 Cook books, though perhaps collected more regularly than etiquette books are also a type of ephemera, and both recipes and manners cross in to each of various genres. Therefore it is common to find recipes in an etiquette book and manners in a cook book. Heijting discusses this in a variety of his articles such as W. Heijting, “De denkende huisvrouw”: gedrags- huishoud- en kookboeken uit twee eeuwen”, Jaarboek van het Nederlands Genootschap van Bibliofelen, 16 (2008), pp. 155-210.
is not unusual for a cookbook to incorporate etiquette, and an etiquette book to include recipes.

Etiquette books are a form of ephemera: when no longer of use they are easily discarded. This makes the preservation of these texts incredibly difficult and requires either libraries or private collectors to adopt them into their collections, deeming them important enough to preserve. Libraries, on the whole, have few etiquette books and usually only the standard and most famous of them. It is only through accessible collections (donations such as the Heijting Collection to the University of Amsterdam’s Special Collections) and secondary sources (for instance B.P.M. Dongelmans’s article ‘Comme Il Faut: Etiquetteboeken in de Negentiende Eeuw’) that a list is available to reference for study. Many have been lost over the years and only through private collections may more titles potentially be rediscovered.

Although American and British researchers into this field of study were quick to use these texts for their historical relevance, Dutch etiquette books still remain relatively undiscovered. Though Wouters may have shown that the texts can be applied for sociological research, it was Toni Weller, a researcher in information history, who stated in her article ‘The Puffery and Practicality of Etiquette Books’ that: “…etiquette books can, and should, be understood in terms of the emerging information culture of the nineteenth century…” Weller’s article was in response to Abraham Hayward’s point of view regarding etiquette books and how they were “a class of productions which are really exercising a widely-spread and by no means beneficial influence of middle classes of this country.” As with many academics of the time, etiquette books were regarded to be an insignificant source to understanding the social life of the time. However, Weller argues that these books are not only an indication that there were good manners at the time, but that they can be used as a viable source in broader information discourse. It is through academics such as Weller that the use of etiquette books in academic research has become accepted, opening a new and interesting way into studying the nineteenth century.

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Unlike the studies already done with regard to etiquette books, the focus for this thesis is on the genre of the etiquette book as well as its physicality, placing them in a historical context to show why the genre blossomed and for whom, and finally, using Adams and Barker’s model for book history, to show the life cycle of Dutch etiquette books. An attempt is made to explain that the success of the nineteenth-century Dutch etiquette book was due to the prevailing social conditions brought on by ongoing changes and an empty niche in the book market pertaining to publications on social norms. This then results in what the success means in reference to the life of the etiquette book.
Chapter 1: The Netherlands in the nineteenth century

The Netherlands, now known as a stable and sedate country, was going through a series of serious changes during the second half of the nineteenth century. Although they may seem radical at first sight, they were actually direct results of the political and economic climate that had begun to change in the first half of the century. Following the introduction of liberalism, a growing industry and the subsequent expansion of the middle class, social change was necessary in order to adapt to the vast transformation happening in the nation and to stave off the violent revolutions that were taking place elsewhere on the continent. A new *laissez-faire* approach was adapted into a revised constitution (1848), which allowed individuals, institutions and associations more independence from the government, and which would keep the population from revolting, as had happened in France and parts of Germany. These liberal reforms also gave rise to social organisations such as the *Maatschappij tot Nut van ’t Algemeen* (the *Nut*, as it was called), which prioritised education and improvement for the lower and middle classes and instilled an interest in politics within these classes that had previously not been there. Also, education became more catered to the mass of the population. A new ‘state’ school system was introduced in order to include both secular and religious backgrounds but also to teach subjects that were more relevant to the day, forcing those who still required ‘ethical-moral’ teachings in education to search for them elsewhere: in Christian schools, if families could afford it, otherwise in books or in the church.

The changes the Netherlands faced were especially due to the years of struggle under Napoleonic rule (1795-1814) and the separation of Belgium (1839). The Netherlands sought a national identity that translated back to a time before Napoleon, which therefore became known as the Restoration. Although the Dutch allowed the French to dictate style, they looked to England’s conservative nature to help guide in other social aspects. It was Johan Rudolph Thorbecke’s vision and liberal politics, as well as the Industrial Revolution that helped create a new middle class, which in turn affected culture and education.

*Thorbecke and Liberalism*

Thorbecke’s influence on the social and political changes of the second half of the nineteenth century is what made him the most prominent figure of his time. A professor in Leiden, who
later became a member of parliament, he believed that the government should play a more liberal role in the country, which meant that there had to be a certain relinquishing of powers that would allow people to govern themselves. It was the government’s main responsibility, besides maintaining the law, to provide the conditions in which independent power could flourish. As Thorbecke stated:

Independent power for the province, municipality, association and the individual.
Promoting, that is, creating the general conditions necessary to make this development possible.\(^\text{10}\)

Essentially, Thorbecke thought that more rights should be allotted to provinces, municipalities, associations, groups and individuals, rather than to the state or the monarch. He further believed that the state should help these bodies in any way possible to promote and improve themselves. With these changes elected officials, who were not necessarily of high birth, but rather could be chosen from a list of candidates by voters, were to hold government positions. This meant that the elite would lose part of its political power and that power was distributed amongst all of the, now extended, electorate. It is important to note, however, that although the election laws changed and more people were allowed to vote and be elected. These voting rights did not extend to everyone, but rather to a select group of people who paid a minimum amount of taxes per year. Women, moreover, were still excluded from the political process. The nobility and patriciate lost most of their political privileges and overrepresentation in governmental positions, which now were opened up to citizens of more humble origins.\(^\text{11}\) However, this new group of ‘elevated’ people consisted nonetheless of those who had sufficient wealth to be accepted into this area of governance.

The initial form of liberalism, or doctrinarian liberalism, was the driving force behind the reorganisation of Dutch society in the 1850s.\(^\text{12}\) It sprung from a period of social control and social division, which meant that it had a modernising effect on society. The revolution of


1848, when countries all over Europe saw their population protesting and rebelling against their governments, was considered too radical by the Dutch and they managed to stave off the violence by implementing changes to the constitution. Doctrinarian liberalism utilised a set of governing rules, or constitution, and required a limited role for the monarchy. The Dutch monarchy was already heading in this direction, as King Willem II (1840-1849), realising the need for political change, agreed to the constitutional changes that the liberals were demanding. According to Dutch historian te Velde: ‘Constitutional rules were the basis for liberty, in a certain sense they even produced liberty, because liberty was not possible without a stable (legally guaranteed) context.’

This can be seen in Thorbecke’s politics, as he believed that liberalism required organisation.

This form of liberalism, however, only lasted so long as the dominant *bourgeois* culture remained, as they were the only group of society at the time to not only take an interest in, but also to have the power to change issues at hand. Therefore, as the middle class grew in political strength, the once dominant upper class was no longer able to fuel the government’s power, and a new progressive liberalism began to make its mark. Whereas the doctrinarian liberals wanted to keep a clear separation between society and the state, progressive liberals felt that there was still room for government intervention in society, fostering the public’s interest in societal and political changes. This shift within the *laissez-faire* doctrine, where the people were free from governmental restrictions and were only subject to a minimum of regulations in order to govern themselves, meant that a concern for the nation was no longer the domain of the select few, but also of the new middle class which had emerged alongside the Industrial Revolution.

*The Industrial Revolution and the Rise of the Middle Class*

The Industrial Revolution sparked social as well as economic changes. The work climate changed from a master-and-apprentice situation to that of employer-and-employee. What seems like a mere change in vocabulary, actually is an example of the impersonal nature that was brought on by the economic changes. Both the worker and the owner of a company became unknown entities. Mass production was from then on about the quantity of the work,

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14 Ibidem.
not necessarily about the quality, and the name of a company obtained an association with a product, rather than with a person. For the working class this became a boon, as the concerns pertaining to labour became social issues. They were no longer being seen as part of the poor, but rather as their own entity. Child labour became a social issue as well, with committees being set up to investigate the conditions that workers, and especially children, were facing. For instance, in 1851 the **Vereeniging ten Behoeve der Arbeidersklasse** was established, which brought about the first social law banning labour by children under the age of twelve in 1874.\(^{15}\) These organisations concerned themselves not only with the conditions that the working class were in, but also with the wages that labourers were paid.

With the creation of mass production came money. The middle class was becoming more affluent and gained the ability to save money. Additionally, this new money offered access to a variety of activities. More income meant that one could work less, having more free time to participate in activities for pleasure, such as having day trips, furthering one’s education by reading or schooling, shopping, and in some circumstances travelling abroad. The middle class began to encounter other cultures and people, allowing them to re-evaluate their own social codes through new eyes. Although changes came on all fronts during the nineteenth century – in the economic, political, penal, medical, and cultural spheres –, it was the influence from abroad that brought the method by which the Netherlands would evaluate itself.

At the beginning of the nineteenth century, Dutch society was already divided into two parts: the ‘better off’ and ‘others’, the latter of which included everyone in a lower social rank, who had no political power or voting rights. With the nation in shambles due to the French occupation, this division became not only a social one, but an economic one as well. This situation would not improve until the middle of the nineteenth century. Thorbecke wrote:

> Capital attracts capital; where it is, it wishes to grow. When wealth increases on the one side, poverty expands on the other; when the rich become richer, he, who has little, must become poorer; what legislation is this, that only offers State citizenship under conditions only attainable by a few, what is this legislation, other than irony?\(^{16}\)

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\(^{15}\) This law is known as the *lex* van Oven, after the minister who introduced the bill. Brugmans, *Stapvoets Voorwaarts*, p. 51.

\(^{16}\) ‘Kapitaal trekt kapitaal aan; waar het is, wil het meerdere wezen. Wanneer met toenemenden rijkdom aan den eenen, armoede aan den anderen kant zich uitbreidt; wanneer de rijke nog rijker, hij, die weinig heeft, nog armer moet worden; wat
Those who were profiting from the economic changes, though, were the rich, especially considering that the laws and regulations that were being implemented only seemed to help them. This irony, as Thorbecke calls it, is what called for the creation of a ‘new’ middle class. This ‘new’ class meant that a group within the lower class became artificially elevated to a higher status. The appropriation caused the distinction between rich and poor to become less evident in the social divide, making the country seem richer than it actually was. Again in Thorbecke’s words:

Amidst a society, founded on the common rights of its members, an insurmountable boundary is being drawn up. Who will find the tone that will dissolve this dissonance?\(^{17}\)

Though perhaps Thorbecke’s artificial middle class began in such light, by the mid-nineteenth century the situation had changed. Voices such as Thorbecke’s were part of the trend that changed the nation, making the notion of a middle class a reality. The reformed school system, as mentioned above, was closely related to this growing middle class. The administrative and technical workers who helped make up this social stratum required a new type of primary and secondary education. This new system of education consisted of a less theoretical framework and more practical knowledge, and that would help them with the new types of work that had opened up thanks to the Industrial Revolution.

One organisation that had helped bring about liberal change was the *Maatschappij tot Nut van ’t Algemeen*, an organisation with the intention to strengthen education and the emancipation of the common people.\(^ {18}\) Though the *Nut* had been active since the end of the eighteenth century, the political and social atmosphere of the second half of the nineteenth century allowed for the acceptance of a certain amount of governmental interference, especially when it came to the less well-off part of the population. They specifically concerned themselves with issues pertaining to health and well-being, producing pamphlets and

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conducting studies into the conditions that the working classes and the poor were facing. With many progressive liberals holding positions which focussed on these social issues within the government, the Nut became another driving force for social change, resulting in what would later become a series of new legislation on a variety of social and educational issues.\textsuperscript{19}

\textit{Culture and Education}

Societal issues were not the only areas subject to change under the new liberal government. The fields of arts and education were also drastically altered by the liberal policies. As Thorbecke stated: ‘The government is not a judge of science and art.’\textsuperscript{20} This was distinctively different from the philosophy of the first half of the century which encouraged the interference of the government and king. Freedom of speech and press was given to all citizens of the Netherlands in the 1815 constitution (Article 227), however, the government remained critical when it came to the arts though, in some cases ignoring critics and encouraging authors with modern political thought.\textsuperscript{21} Thorbecke’s enlightened way of thinking spread to other areas as well, such as the sciences and education. As a direct result of the shift from governmental regulation to societal independence, the budgets of various cultural institutions were reduced, which resulted in debates regarding cultural policy and the financial involvement of the government in these institutions. An example of this can be found in the governmental budget of 1846, in which the funds allocated to these institutions were reduced from a yearly budget of $15,000$ to $11,000$, followed by a further reduction to $7,500$ in 1850.\textsuperscript{22}

Education also changed. The number of \textit{armenscholen}, schools for the poor, in the cities had increased as a result of the new national education law of 1806. Small towns and villages had the responsibility of making free education available for all children. The law of 1806 was replaced with a new law fifty years later, in 1857, which saw a development in primary schools from an ‘ethical-moral’ character towards a secular one. This meant that a school system had to be devised that no longer had religion as the basis of education, but where children, regardless of their religious background, would be educated together as was

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\textsuperscript{19} Te Velde, ‘Organization of Liberty: Dutch Liberalism as a Case of the History of European Constitutional Liberalism’, p. 68. \\
\textsuperscript{20} ‘De regering is geen oordeelaar van wetenschap en kunst.’ Pots, \textit{Cultuur, koningen en democraten: Overheid & Cultuur in Nederland}, p. 81. \\
\textsuperscript{21} Pots, \textit{Cultuur, Koningen en Democraten: Overheid & Cultuur in Nederland}, p. 72. \\
\textsuperscript{22} ‘In 1843 was de jaarlijkse rijksbijdrage teruggebracht van $15,000$, - naar $11,000$, - en nadat ‘op de opheffing (…) reeds meermalen werd aangedrongen’ werd met ingang van 1850 het budget verder gereduceerd tot $7500$, -.’ Pots, \textit{Cultuur, Koningen en Democraten: Overheid & Cultuur in Nederland}, p. 84.
\end{flushleft}
regulated by law.\textsuperscript{23} Also, classes were no longer solely taught orally, with the teacher dictating material to students. There was also an element of self-study in the form of reading and writing. Moreover, compulsory science and history classes were introduced as well. This new school system caused friction with those who preferred the old way in which the education system had been organised. Parents who had the funds and preferred their children to be educated in the 'ethical-moral' way would be able to send their children to one of the growing number of religious schools (protestant or catholic).\textsuperscript{24} The new state schools, however, catered to the demands of the public, and especially those of the growing middle class, which would profit because of the new professions that the Industrial Revolution introduced. New opportunities opened up, which required new skills and a thorough understanding of the changing world, not just the traditional 'ethical-moral' attitude. New educational material was also intended to help children interpret the past, as well as look to the future and understand what their national identity was, in other words, what it meant to be Dutch.

\textit{The search for a national identity}

The first half of the nineteenth century had exposed the Netherlands to so many foreign influences that rediscovering 'Dutch Culture' was an issue that continued well into the second half of the century. The clash between the traditional Dutch school of thought and that of the French revolution was further strengthened by the implementation of French ideas after the Bataafsche revolution of 1795.

Under French occupation the Netherlands had suffered financially and economically. Although the economic circumstances were dire, culture seemed to blossom. During the time of the Batavian Republic (1795-1806), education, the arts and a national ‘togetherness’ seemed to take shape with the creation of a National Archives and a National Library. These cultural institutions, however, were not enough for the Dutch public to keep faith with the French, and soon anti-French sentiments increased. This coincided with the waning power of the French Empire, leading to a series of battles that resulted in Napoleon’s abdication and final defeat at Waterloo. When the French left in 1813, confusion due to a lack of understanding of who the Dutch were remained. This identity crisis called for a rebirth of a

\textsuperscript{23} ‘De inrigting van het publiek onderwijs wordt, met eerbiediging van ieders godsdienstige begrippen, door de wet geregeld.’ P. de Rooy, Republiek van Rivaliteiten: Nederland sinds 1813 (Amsterdam: Wereldbibliotheek, 2014), p. 74.

\textsuperscript{24} Brugmans, Stapvoets Voorwaarts, p. 54.
national identity to accompany the newly emerged sovereign Dutch state. Further confusion ensued when in 1815, at the Congress of Vienna, the area that is now Belgium and Luxemburg were incorporated into a Dutch kingdom. However, with an ongoing economic depression and no help from outside sources, Belgium revolted in 1830 and separated, creating its own sovereign state. These various developments added to the desire to recreate a new Dutch identity, which brought with it an explosion of printed material in many areas, literary, historical, and social, including the new genre of etiquette books.

As the Netherlands embarked on social, political, economic and technological change there appeared to be a need for stricter social norms. Enlightened citizens felt that the nation had been let down by Europe and that the romantic Zeitgeist was calling for ‘national feelings’. According to literary historian J.J. Kloek, this can be seen as a development phase in the creation of a new state.

After all, when, due to economic and political developments, the local and regional differences lose ground in favour of a national unification, this increase in scale will require a new, binding force. The citizens need to be instilled with a sense of national loyalty and a national frame of reference – they need to start feeling ‘members of a tribe’.

The frame of reference that was then used was romanticism, especially during the Restoration period. Looking back to a golden period, the seventeenth century, when society was truly ‘Dutch’, the Netherlands wanted to return to a more authentic or pure form of what they were or should be.

Free from French rule, the Netherlands turned to England for inspiration as to how they wanted to continue as a nation. As France was known for its changeability when it came to modernity, Dutch society looked to England’s more conservative nature. The French were

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27 N. Bruck-Auffenberg, De Vrouw ‘Comme Il Faut’ (Leiden: Brill, 1897).
allowed to export their sense of fashion to the Netherlands, but not their radical revolutionary political and social thought. This desire to return to the more traditional aspects of society would be a reoccurring theme of the nineteenth century, in the arts, in behaviour, and to some degree in fashion. The Dutch were, on the whole, conservative in their manner, which explains why the English character appealed to them. One can especially see this desire to be like the English in conduct books. These had been especially well received in England and soon found their way to the Netherlands as well, as can be seen in the anonymous *Avondonderhoudingen voor de Jeugd, ter Vorming van Verstand en Hart*, translated from English and published as early as 1805:

This work has found such a degree of approval in England, that edition upon edition had to be printed; and, indeed, one only needs to open it up himself to be convinced that, above so many other books for youths, this one in any event should be preferred.28

The amount of books dedicated to social reform increased drastically during the nineteenth century. This was due to the socio-political situation, which the social reform was closely connected to. At the same time, the re-creation of a new social and national identity following the departure of the French caused an alteration in society. It therefore became crucial to understanding who the Dutch were after the significant changes the country had undergone. In addition, the political and societal reforms in the second half of the century, the emphasis on individual responsibility, and educational and economic developments made it necessary that society learned how to behave.

28 ‘Dit werkje heeft in Engeland zoo vele goedkeuring gevonden, dat er uitgave op uitgave van heeft moeten geschieden; en, in de daad, men behoeft hetzelve slechts in te zien, om overtuigt te worden, dat het daar aan, boven vele andere geschriften voor de Jeugd, gegevene voorkeur alleszins verdient.’ Anon., *Avondonderhoudingen voor de Jeugd, te Vorming van Verstand en Hart* (Amsterdam: Willem van Vliet, 1805), pg. vi. Unfortunately original manuscript cannot be found.
Chapter 2: Using Etiquette Books to Help Govern Mores

Etiquette is a set of rules based on courtesy, which help define the boundaries between those that belong to and those excluded from the group, also known as their mores. These rules, paradoxically, allow the outsiders to be kept out, while maintaining and reinforcing the social and sexual divisions between genders and classes that have been put in place by its members. This paradox is what Cas Wouters calls the ‘Janus-Head of Etiquette’, because it protects the group’s integrity and identity by keeping outsiders from influencing or changing said rules.29 Het Wetboek van Mevrouw Etiquette (The Code of Mrs Etiquette), a nineteenth-century etiquette book for young girls, states that ‘[e]very civilised human being should be familiar with these rules, and by complying with them as strictly as possible, civilised beings will distinguish themselves from uncivilised ones.’30 In other words, it was not enough simply to know the rules, one needed to live by them as well.

Though most commonly associated with the nineteenth century, the courtesy rules date back to the Middle Ages, a time where culture and civility were valued over all else, as can be seen in contemporary chivalric literature. Norbert Elias states in The Civilizing Process that the concept of civilité originated in Western late medieval society, in the time when knightly society and the influence of the Catholic Church were waning and new-found characteristics making up society were expressed.31 It was Desiderius Erasmus (1466-1536) who explored the concept of civility and manners, in his text De civilitate morum puerilium, which was later translated in Dutch to De Hoofsche Welleventheid en Loffelyke Welgemaniertheid (The Courtly Civility and Commendable Refinement).32 Erasmus defined civility as ‘a science that, in its proper place, teaches us what to do or to say.’33 This ‘science’ consisted of four

conditions: 1) behaving as one’s age and position dictates; 2) to pay attention to the state of a person and do one’s best; 3) heed the time; and lastly, 4) to make note of the place in which one is. All of these must be followed in order to prevent what Erasmus defines as a deformity in good insight.\textsuperscript{34} By the seventeenth century a new rationale had been adopted: civility became a way of distinguishing between good and bad behaviour. Arguments such as ‘Do not do that, for it is not “civil” or “bienséant”’ were used to establish the respect due to people of higher social rank.\textsuperscript{35} According to Elias, this way of expressing displeasure regarding behaviour was due to an increased development of what were construed as embarrassing actions. Eventually, in the nineteenth century, when economic and industrial developments improved the living conditions and occupational prospects of a large part of the population, skills were no longer the prominent feature in social situations, nor were they any longer dictating success or failure in status. Rather, economic adeptness and a talent for acquiring capital wealth, as well as the implementation of specialised skills required for professional and political advancement, became the driving force in a democratising society. As a result ‘good societies’ became prevalent in the middle class as well, but with a distinctive difference from the aristocratic class. Elias distinguishes them from an economic perspective:

The social existence of the latter [the aristocratic class] is not only \textit{de facto} founded upon unearned income of the one kind or another, but living on unearned income and thus without occupational work, in these circles, has a very high value. It is an almost indispensable condition for those who wish to ‘belong’.\textsuperscript{36}

This division and setting of the rules by the upper classes continued at least until the end of the nineteenth century, when the professional bourgeois society adopted the etiquette of the royal court, but with less strict adherence to the rules once placed by the aristocrats. Those who wanted to improve their lot would need to educate themselves on the norms and values that society and its upper class adhered to. This principle was propagated predominately by books in which the rules of etiquette were described. These texts were not only written in

\textsuperscript{34} Erasmus, \textit{De Hoofsche Welleventheid en Loffelyke Welgemaniertheid}, pp. 2-3.
\textsuperscript{36} Ibidem, p. 426.
Dutch; English, French and German etiquette books found their way to the Netherlands as well, and, once translated, met considerable success.

Etiquette, because of the every-changing nature of the rules that befit the times, is a type of ephemera, which means that the books on the subject will become outdated and therefore cease to be useful. It is due to private collectors that texts of this genre still exist. The Heijting Collection, now in the Special Collections of the University of Amsterdam, which is currently the largest one available in the Netherlands, boasts over one hundred texts that discuss matters concerning housekeeping, cooking and manners. It is important to note, as mentioned in the introduction, that the various texts pertaining to housekeeping may include recipes and etiquette and in turn, etiquette texts may have rules on table service and the role of the cook in the household. An example of this is *Aaltje, De Volmaakte en Zuinige Keukenmeid* (Aaltje, The Perfect and Efficient Kitchen Maid), first published in 1803 and reprinted many times, where between recipes and information on food preservation techniques, there is also sporadic information on how to behave in certain situations. Just as *Aaltje* was aimed at serving staff who could read, there were etiquette books available to almost every age and for both sexes. Still, when examining the texts, it is important to divide them into several categories, consisting of books for adults in general, for men, for women and for children. The etiquette books pertaining to women include subdivisions for young ladies and for *meisjes*, girls not yet of marriageable age but preparing themselves for when they are.

**General Adults**

There was a plethora of titles available for both men and women. The majority were written with both sexes in mind and contained information for each. This is the case in J.J. Alberti’s *Nieuw Handboek der Wellevendheid* (New Handbook of Good Living), which was translated from the German edition, published in 1828.

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38 *Aaltje, De Volmaakte en Zuinige Keukenmeid; Leerende het Braaden, Koken, Stooven Inleggen, Confytten, Drogen, enz., van alle Spyzen, die er in eene Burgerkeukens Worden Toebereid; op de Zuinigste, Gemaklykste, en Smaaklykste Wijze* (Amsterdam: F. Kaal, 1803).
This book explains how men and women should act in specific situations, but also in general: it deals with temperament, civility of the spirit, modesty, indulgence and patience. Discussions of most of these qualities can be found in a variety of etiquette books, for instance in *Twee Gesprekken over Beleefdheid en Beschaving* (Two Conversations regarding Politeness and Civility) by the protestant minister J. Boeke. The first conversation, written in the style of an interview, has an interviewer and interviewee comment on both sides of the argument pertaining to the nature and value of politeness. Weighted heavily with religion, the text does not concern itself with the identity of the two people speaking, but rather their opinions regarding politeness. One is calling for politeness in all situations and the other is making allowances for certain circumstances. This is further expanded in the second conversation, which deals with civility and appears to attempt to pass wisdom onto its reader and simultaneously offer the reader philosophical substance.

The etiquette books for men and women are, on the whole, less specific in correctness than those that were specifically written for each sex, as these books could specialise in the issues that men or women were faced with and could help teach ‘qualities’ that were particular to their gender, as can be seen in the following sections.

*Men*

The dominant role of men in society did not change much in the nineteenth century: within the middle class they were the breadwinners and in the upper class they were land owners, members of parliament and leaders of industry. If education became an issue at the time, then it was especially the education offered to boys and young men in schools which caused the most controversy. With new occupations emerging and a new school system in place, a different sort of etiquette book was required to address male behaviour in these new situations, which would need to include more than social graces for work and home. Rather, it should also include information pertaining to knowledge of the world. These men would have families of their own to take care of, and would have to know how their sons would be raised. Because of this, the education a ‘gentleman’ received was of the utmost importance. One particular book that was very successful in the Netherlands was *Lord Chesterfield’s Advice to*...

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40 J. Boeke, *Twee Gesprekken over Beleefdheid en Beschaving* (Amsterdam: Johannes Müller, 1836).
*His Son on Men and Manners*, translated into Dutch in 1855 as *Lessen van Wellevendheid of Wenken voor Zijnen Zoon*. The publisher states in a note before the text that:

> The great popularity that this piece is enjoying among the English public, evidenced by the various published editions rapidly succeeding each other, has convinced me that a proper Dutch version of LORD CHESTERFIELD’s counsel would not be an unwelcome guest among our public.41

The reason for its success most probably has to do with the accessibility of the text and the fact that it omits any information for women, but rather gives information and advice, sometimes quite humorous, to gentlemen alone. Known for his wit, Chesterfield’s advice would have probably been considered inappropriate reading for women at the time. Of particular note is the amount of text Chesterfield allots to good breeding, as indicated in the following passage:

> Be assured, that the profoundest learning, without good breeding, is unwelcome and tiresome pedantry; and good breeding, without learning, is but frivolous; whereas learning adds solidarity to good breeding, and good breeding gives charms and graces to learning; that a man, who is not perfectly well-bred, is full as unfit for business as for company.42

This notion of good breeding is found in most etiquette books for men. This implies that it took more than reading etiquette books, there had to be something innate. Practically used synonymously to good breeding was *deftigheid*, or gentility, as seen in G. Wenzel’s *De Man, die Zijne Wereld Verstaat of […] Regelen van Welvoegelijkheid* (The Man who Understands His World, or […] Rules of Decorum), published in 1818:


42 *Lord Chesterfield’s Advice to His Son on Men and Manners*, p. 42.
[...] the consequence of internal and external civility of mankind is genteel behaviour. – People in general believe gentility to be only suited to those of old age, and an asset for the male gender in particular; while it should be seen as a quality that would grace and be recommendable for any age and for both genders. One appreciates gentility in both the young man and the girl, and highly values the old man as well as the old lady, when they distinguish themselves as such.43

Gentility and breeding were for a large part what made up a gentleman. But as indicated above, gentility was not for men alone. Women were supposed to have this refinement as well, although the literature geared towards women does not overtly make mention of it. Almost as if the cultured elegance in manner is to some extent intrinsic.

Women
Women’s etiquette books cover a variety of areas when it comes to manners, from how to act in the home, to their behaviour in formal and informal settings. The lives of women were drastically changed in the nineteenth century: at the beginning of the century women were predominantly dictated by their male relatives (husband, brother or father), but by the mid-nineteenth century women were beginning to be seen as independent individuals. Through the social changes taking place within the middle class, women began to display a guiding role in the social aspects of society. Not only was the feminine ideal largely generated in the middle classes throughout Europe, but women were central to the gentility and respectability that became social hallmarks of the middle class. The way they conducted themselves, ran households, brought up their children, and the standards they set were fundamental to what it meant to be bourgeois.44

Because of the role of women in the household, etiquette books had a more important function than merely teaching societal rules. Rather they offered a possibility of self-education, as opposed to learning from mothers or teachers. Perhaps the best known

43 ‘[...] het naaste gevolg der in- en uitwendige beschaving van den mensch is een deftig gedrager. – Men houdt het in het gemeene leven gewoonlijk daarvoor, dat deftigheid slechts den hoogen ouderdom wel staat, en vooral een sieraad is van het mannelijke geslacht; daar zij toch als eene hoedanigheid kan beschouwd worden, die elken ouderdom en beide seksen tot eer en aanbeveling verstrekt. Men bemint de deftigheid zo wel bij den jongeling, als bij het meijsje, en echt den grijsaard zo wel, als de oude vrouw hoog, wanneer zij zich onderscheiden.’ G. Wenzel, *De Man die Zijne Wereld Verstaet, of Grondstellingen en Regelen van Welvoegelijkheid, Bevalligheid, Goede Levensmanieren, Beleeftheid En Wellevendheid* (Groningen: W. Wouters, 1818), p. 65.

etiquette book of the time is Egbertina C. van Mandele’s *Het Wetboek van Mevrouw Etiquette* (Code of Mrs Etiquette), which contained sixteen articles when it was first published in 1893, but was later expanded to twenty-four (fig.1). It begins with a discussion on ‘correct form’ and then continues with chapters dedicated to various situations and how to behave. For example, the third article (chapter) discusses *beleefdheid* (politeness) in which is stated: ‘[p]oliteness is one of the primary duties in society; it is the great virtue that both young and old should be graced with, especially the young.’

Politeness was not the extent of a woman’s education. A philanthropic movement comparable to Maatschappij tot Nut van ’t Algemeen spent considerable effort on the education of women. The journalist L.P. Philippona, writing under the pseudonym Multapatior, founded a society of that name to fight alcoholism and soon began taking an interest in other social matters such as the social position of women. According to Multapatior, they were expected to become wives and mothers, which required certain characteristics:

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45 ‘Beleefdheid is een der eerste plichten in de samenleving; zij is de grote eigenschap die oud en jong moet sieren, maar vooral jongeren.’ Van Mandele, *Het Wetboek van Mevrouw Etiquette*, p. 21.
46 E. van Calcar, *Uit het Leven voor het Leven* (Haarlem: Kruseman & Tjeenk Willink, 1875) p. 342.
In order to arrive at a more correct and truer concept of this circle of the *housewife*, one needs to pay attention to the right characteristics that such a woman, actually, she who can lay claim to such an honourable title of a *good* housewife and a *good* mother, should possess. Such a woman should possess *prowess* and *strength* to govern, *organise*, *experience*, *raise* and *civilise*.48

The Multapatior movement was concerned with women and how they were being raised. Its publications, though not considered standard etiquette, are still of note because of the lessons and rules that they offered to women. What made a good woman and mother to Multapatior was founded on the same principle as Van Mandele’s *Het Wetboek van Mevrouw Etiquette* and *De Vrouw ‘Comme il Faut’* by N. Bruck-Affenberg, published in 1897 (fig.2). Each discusses the features typical to a good woman, as well as taste and beneficence, stating that they are the most difficult of a woman’s duties because they may not be in her nature.49 This demonstrates that at least in some cases authors of etiquette books were aware of the difficulties that their readers might have with cultivating the necessary attributes in order to fulfil their societal obligations. This learning process did not begin later in life, though, as young girls already had literature to help them learn at least some of the required graces.

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48 ‘Om tot eene meer juiste en meer ware opvatting van deze kring der *huisvrouw* te geraken, gelieve zij te letten op de goede eigenschappen, die zulk eene vrouw, althans welke aanspraak kan maken op den eervolle titel van eene goede *huisvrouw* en eene goede moeder, zoo al moeten bezitten. Zulk eene vrouw moet bekwaamheid en kracht in zich bevatten om te kunnen besturen, regelen, beleven, opvoeden en beschaven.’ Multapatior, *De Huishoudkunde als Leervak in de Opleiding der Vrouw en als Middel ter Hervorming van het Huisgezin en het Huiselijk Leven in Nederland* (Amsterdam: Brouwer, 1875) , p. 19. Please note that the italics are in the original text.
49 Bruck-Affenberg, *De Vrouw ‘Comme il Faut’*, p. 98.
‘Meisjes’ and Young Ladies

A new stage in womanhood was emerging in the nineteenth century: the girl or in Dutch *het meisje*. Certain etiquette books made the distinction between the new phenomenon *meisje* and young lady. The semantic shift in the word *meisje* held that the term was no longer the broad term for female child but became more specific. According to Deborah Simonton, who focusses her studies on women and gender of the nineteenth century:

> [...]he period of adolescence when girls were not children, but not yet adults ... was significant to the moral, intellectual and physical development of women. Thus, girlhood not only formed the adult woman, but our understanding of nineteenth-century womanhood is incomplete without it.\(^{50}\)

This state in womanhood was important as it marked a phase in which girls were no longer children. They could be apprenticed and learn, but most important of all, they were on the verge of marriageable age, or what Simonton calls, the ‘period of preparation’. She goes on to state that girls are a representation of the ideal woman, who is not only pure, but innocent, naive, and feminine. These qualities are also what eventually created the perception of an adult woman.\(^{51}\) They were the *Tabula Rasa* of the ideal woman, or, as Rousseau had

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\(^{50}\) Simonton, *Women in European Culture and Society*, p. 141.

\(^{51}\) Ibidem.
described it, born out of goodness. They merely needed the necessary knowledge to grow into adulthood and become proper wives and mothers.

Although a father usually played a smaller role than that played by a mother in the raising of a daughter, there are texts indicating that fathers took an active part as well. The *Raadgevingen aan Mijne Dochter* (Wise Council to my Daughter), translated from the original French text by the revolutionary politician J.N. Bouilly, is composed of stories meant to inspire and to offer advice in a father-to-daughter fashion:

Finally, I will, my dearest FLAVIA! endeavour to paint you a full picture of all that can make your gender loved and honoured. I will substantiate my council with examples, in order for you to some day, when you find yourself in one of the circumstances that I have described, recollect these, and in such a case uniting the council of a father with the credibility of a historian, you will find it to be easier to set aside evil or to do good, for which my council will have provided you the example.52

Bouilly’s text is an indication that there was an early interest in works written for girls from a father’s point of view. These books were aimed at meisjes who were still being educated in how to become ladies, which is distinctly different from the voice in texts aimed at young ladies, as the latter seem more formal and instructional, as those are, or seem to be written by women.

However, a clearer distinction can be made in certain etiquette books between young ladies and women. This distinction is not equally acknowledged in all the literature, as most texts made available to women were also intended to be read by young ladies. However, specifically for young ladies there was a plethora of literature. A young lady of marriageable age, older than the meisje, was considered the epitome of grace and understanding. Many an etiquette book was written with her in mind, and many more contained chapters that were especially directed towards her. For example, *Vormen: Handboek voor Dames* (Forms:

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Handbook for Ladies), published by Johanna van Woude in 1898, indicates who the text is actually written for: 'every shy little lady, perched on the threshold of the world of entertaining, sees that door open up and hears her name called.' (fig. 3) The women whom this book is therefore directed towards, are those that are on the verge of entering, and will eventually take their place in, ‘polite society’.

![Image of Vormen: Handboek voor Dames by J. van Woude](image)

Figure 3. Vormen: Handboek voor Dames by J. van Woude

Another example is the previously mentioned Het Wetboek van Mevrouw Etiquette, which has an entire chapter for young women. The chapter predominantly discusses discretion and the difference in attitude a married woman has towards those that are unmarried. This is seen as two friends discuss their friend Marie Wanders who has married before them:

Yes, she has changed, but you can’t imagine how much her attitude has changed towards us compared to before and how, by marrying, she said goodbye to the old careless and light-hearted Marie Wanders.54

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54 ‘Ja zij is veranderd, maar je moet eens bedenken dat haar verhouding tegenover ons nu een heel andere is dan vroeger en dat zij met haar huwelijk de oude zorgeloze, luchtige Marie Wanders heeft vaarwel gezegd.’ Van Mandele, Het Wetboek van Mevrouw Etiquette, p. 88.
These changes are a result of her having to ‘cling’ to her husband after marriage.\textsuperscript{55} Instead of sharing her thoughts and troubles with her friends, she now is required to do so with her husband. This is an example of an actual rule:

\textit{[...] Be highly discrete. Above all, do not tell what you hear or see in the young household to others, not even in your parental home, especially when it concerns matter that are less nice. When you, by chance, witness a small disagreement, that does not mean that the marriage is a complete unhappy one; you should keep quiet, because people love to speak ill and that small squabble can grow, via people’s lips, into an unhappy marriage.}\textsuperscript{56}

Etiquette books for young ladies and \textit{meisjes}, as opposed to the books catering to women and men, were to the point and had little to do with being a good person, but rather taught the rules required to function in ‘good society’ as well as to understand the \textit{beau monde}. These lessons did not begin with \textit{meisjes} and were not only for girls, as this education began earlier and more subtly in the children’s classroom.

\textit{Children}

For children there was a copious amount of books that led by example and that sometimes included pictures. Learning the necessary basics to being a good and obedient individual could at a later age be continued by other material, but for children, education, story-telling and morality seem to have been intertwined. In Nicolaas Anslijn’s \textit{Brave Hendrik: Een Leesboekje voor Jonge Kinderen} (Good Little Henry: Tales for Young Children), first published in 1810 and reprinted many times, children could learn from the example set by ‘Hendrik’ about how they themselves were supposed to act (Fig. 4). The author tries to trick Hendrik into seeing that he is not as good as he thinks, but Hendrik responds by saying: ‘Fie! Need I be disobedient? Need I bring sadness to my parents?’\textsuperscript{57} The author goes on to say: ‘Dearest

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{55} Ibidem.
\item \textsuperscript{56} ‘[…\] wees discreet in hoge mate. Vóór alles, vertel wat gij in het jonge huishouden hoort of ziet, nooit aan anderen, zelfs niet in uw ouderlijk huis en vooral niet wanneer het minder mooi mocht zijn. Zijt gij bij toeval getuige van een kleine onenigheid, dan is het huwelijk daarom nog volstrekt niet ongelukkig, maar gij moet zwijgen, omdat de mensen nu eenmaal graag kwaadspreken en van die kleine kibbelpartij groeit het in ‘s mensens mond al gauw aan tot een ongelukkig huwelijk.’ Ibidem, p. 89.
\item \textsuperscript{57} ‘Foei! Zou ik ongehoorzaam wezen? Zou ik mijne ouders bedroeven?’ Nicolaas Anslijn, \textit{Brave Hendrik: Een Leesboekje voor Jonge Kinderen}.
\end{itemize}
children! You need only follow Hendrik’s example, and you will always do well." As a result of this book, the Dutch expression brave Hendrik is still used to describe a boy who is a paragon of virtue.

Figure 4. Brave Hendrik: Een Leesboekje voor Jonge Kinderen by N. Anslijn

The majority of texts pertaining to a child’s upbringing and behaviour are school material. Zaadkorrels. Leesboek ten Dienste van de Zedelijke Opvoeding der Jeugd (Seeds. Guide for the Moral Upbringing of Children), a textbook for eleven and twelve-year-olds, and its companion volume De Zedelijke Opvoeding der Jeugd (The Moral Upbringing of Children) by L. van Ankum, focus not only on history. All four cardinal virtues are covered in these texts: temperance in a poem about knowledge and power; prudence in a story about Prince Louis of Burgundy; justice in a case about stealing bread, and courage in a story on protecting one’s father. Through texts such as these, children are taught by example of the importance of respecting their parents as well as God, and how they were able to do so in the best way possible.

By teaching morals and societal strictures from a young age, it became easier to govern social mores. As the children grew up these virtues became ingrained, and, as such, were a basis for parents, school and, through self-education, the children themselves, to build upon. Each phase of development indicated not only how certain ranks of society thought and

58 ‘Lieve kinderen! Volgt slechts het voorbeeld van Hendrik, en het zal u altijd welgaan.’ Brave Hendrik, p. 32.
59 L. van Ankum, Zaadkorrels, 4 parts (Groningen: P. Noordhoff, 1895); idem, De Zedelijke Opvoeding der Jeugd (Groningen: P. Noordhoff, 1895).
lived, but also what the non-elites aspired themselves to be, which meant that classes outside ‘good society’ would be able to attempt to attain the ‘civilised’ way of life.

**Publishers**

The publishers of the etiquette books in the Netherlands were varied, not only in social in religious backgrounds, but also in location within the country. Available information suggests that they seem to be spread around the Netherlands: Amsterdam, Groningen, Leiden, and Tiel, to name a few.

In Amsterdam, the publisher F. Kaal, aside from printing *Aaltje*, was known for children’s books as well as educational material. However, Kaal also produced other genres. What made his books unique were the illustrations that certain titles included. They are of such quality that certain ones are permanent exhibits in museums. An example of a famous etching is *The Messanger reads letter for the sitting prince* by Jan Mulder, which can be found in the Rijksmuseum in Amsterdam.60

P. Noordhoff and W. Wouters, both from Groningen, were decidedly non-fiction printers. Noordhoff published primarily scientific texts and school books, which the *Zaadkorrel* series is an example of.61 It is one of the few publishers that still exists today and is still a major producer of educational material. Wouters was predominantly concerned with the betterment of people, as is seen in an article in *Vaderlandsche Letteroefeningen*, a literary magazine of science, art, and taste, discussing his publishing of a book by W. Goede:

We refer to the publisher, Mr W. WOUTERS, in particular in this respect, who, as with his other charitable work such as, among others, his work as secretary of the renowned benevolent Groningen institute for the deaf and mute, here as well, inspired by the love for his fellow man, as did the Writer, did not intend this renewed edition to merely bring profit, rather to actually benefit his fellow man.62

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61 Noordhoff Publishers, ‘Bedrijfsgeschiedenis’, <http://www.noordhoffuitgevers.nl/wps/portal/ut/p/b1/04_Sj9Q1Mja1MDO1NDA11Y_Qj8pLMMtMTyzJzM9LzAHxo8zig0J8DIO83Q0N3CMQLQw8g71NPL2NTLOm92ACIWCgwxAEcDvPq9zaH6cSowJM5-PBYQ0B-uH4XfYZQBXi86OeRn5uqnxuV4-Zm6akLABO_ZXol/di4/d5/LzdJGSEvUU3QS8OSmFL1o2X1JUTDFSS0cxMEc4MTgwSVNLNEIuLMjVKMUKt0/ > (27 October 2015).
62 ‘Wij bedoelen in dit opzigt bijzonder den uitgever, de heer W. WOUTERS, die, reeds voor andere belangeloze werkzaamheden als zijnde, onder anderen, Secretaris van het alom bekend weldadig Groninger Instituut voor doven en
His humanitarian responsibility, as can be seen in the text above, seems to be of the utmost importance to him. Therefore, the publication of an etiquette book for the betterment of a person would not be out of place.

Leiden’s famous publisher, Brill, began its history in 1683 as a bookseller owned by Jordaan Luchtman.\textsuperscript{63} It specialised in areas of study that the University of Leiden focussed on, such as theology and Asian languages. However, by 1848, when the company was passed on to E.J. Brill, it was in financial difficulties. In order to relieve financial pressure, Brill began to publish texts outside of the company’s usual genres.\textsuperscript{64} When the company sold part of its shares to the public in 1896 and began to publish manuals of all kinds, including etiquette books such as \textit{De Vrouw ‘Comme Il Faut’} by Bruck-Affenberg, and eventually military manuals for the Germans.\textsuperscript{65}

The Compagne publisher, started in 1818 in Tiel by Cornelis Compagne, published predominantly children’s books until the beginning of the twentieth century. Initially, the business thrived, and as a result was named the city’s printer in 1828. In 1849, it passed to Cornelis Compagne’s sons, Cornelis Albertus and Herman Karel Anton, who decided to expand the scientific area of the company.\textsuperscript{66} However, the company’s situation changed in 1869, with Cornelis Jan, the son of Herman Karel Anton, taking over Brill. Cornelis Jan had no interest in publishing but concerned himself more with ‘sellable books’ such as Alberti’s \textit{Nieuw Handboek der Wellevendheid…} (New handbook for Good Living…).\textsuperscript{67}

Though the etiquette book’s publisher is of importance, considering that the publisher is almost the gatekeeper to the public, it is only one of the aspects of the life of a book and subsequently its genre. It is only by looking at an etiquette book’s life cycle in its entirety that its popularity may be determined.

\begin{footnotesize}
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\item S. van der Veen, \textit{Brill: 325 Years of Scholarly Publishing} (Leiden: Brill, 2008) p. 11.
\item Ibidem pg. 45.
\item Ibidem pg. 108.
\item Boekenmuseum, ’Uitgeverij Compagne te Tiel’, < http://boekenmuseum.nl/nieuw/campagne.htm> (27 October 2015).
\item Ibidem.
\end{itemize}
\end{footnotesize}
Chapter 3: Life and Success of the Nineteenth-Century Dutch Etiquette Book

The previous chapters detailed the historical and social conditions of the Netherlands in the nineteenth century as well as the types of material that were available. They also provided the background necessary to discuss the popularity and success of the genre. By adapting this background knowledge to Adams and Barker’s model for book studies, in this chapter a more comprehensive picture of the etiquette book is painted. This helps to show not only the areas of the cycle that have already progressed but what would be required for current and future preservation of the original books as well as the genre on the whole. Adams and Barker’s book-centred model was a response to Darnton’s well-known model of the communication circuit, put forward in his article ‘What is the History of Books?’.

Darnton’s communication circuit consists of agents and shows how they aid in the transmission of a text. Furthermore, it indicates what external factors affect the process. The main part of the circuit contains the agents, beginning with the author, publisher and printer (including compositors, pressmen and warehousemen; dependent on the suppliers of ink, paper, type and labour). Next in the circuit are shippers (agent, smuggler, etc.), booksellers (in the form of, for example, wholesalers, resellers, peddlers, etc.) and, finally, the readers, which include purchasers, borrowers, clubs and libraries. The circuit is then completed as the reader’s link back to the author. The external factors that affect the phases are, for example, intellectual influences and publicity and political and legal sanctions, which are intertwined with economic and social conjecture (fig.5).

The circuit allows the researcher to use each of the six phases as they relate to ‘(1) other activities that are underway at the same time, (2) other persons at the same point in other circuits, (3) other persons at other times on the same circuit and (4) other elements in society’ in order to determine which agents and their interaction played a role in disseminating a text into society.\textsuperscript{68} However, Darnton’s circuit is heavily dependent on the people who help make the text possible – authors, printers, publishers, booksellers – and, though it is important to include these people, it is also necessary to note that this leaves little room for the text in itself. Rather, in order to determine the success of a text, it might be prudent to use a model that allows for a book to be placed into context and to see how society and the book trade function as a result of it. This is the case with Adams and Barker’s book-centred model of ‘The Whole Socio-Economic Conjecture’ (fig.6). The value of using a socioeconomic approach when looking at the book industry in the nineteenth century, is that the long-term consequences for a book or genre can be explored and can help to indicate the underlying factors that effect change and longevity in the industry. Furthermore, it gives way to further research, which may then consist of a predictive element.

\begin{figure}[h]
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This model contains five stages, or parties, in the life of a book (publication, manufacture, distribution, reception and survival). Each stage, though overlapping with the

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others, represents part of the life cycle a book or text experiences in order to ensure its survival and success within the industry as well as in society. These parties are in turn influenced by various external factors: political, legal and religious influences; commercial pressures; social behaviour and taste; intellectual influences.\(^{69}\) The influence these factors have can be an advantage or detriment to a text, affecting the success of the individual title, but also of the genre. This fragile aspect of the cycle is also a reason why many titles may have been lost or are rare, while they may have flourished in their time. All in all, these factors and stages allow for a view more fitted to the book as an object as well as considering the long-term life of a book while putting it into perspective, which is something that Darnton’s model misses. Applying the book-centred model to Dutch etiquette books such as *Het Wetboek van Mevrouw Etiquette*, *Lord Chesterfield’s Advice to His Son on Men and Manners*, and the various other titles, the success the genre had as well as the pitfalls it faced can be observed.

*Publication*
Adams and Barker use publishing as their ‘point of departure’.\(^{70}\) The model incorporates four factors that may overlap, considering that it is the moment in which the book is made physical and therefore ready for distribution. There are four factors prevalent in the decision to publish a book.

Creation, the first of these factors, pertains to how there is a desire to see the text published. With regard to etiquette books, as argued before, these books were published in order to educate. This is more obvious in cases of the books and pamphlets produced by the *Nut*, whose aim was to educate, as well as the books directed to children: *Brave Hendrik* and *Zaadkorrels*. As stated previously, education was of special importance to the growing middle class, which also had more time and money to spend on books. Etiquette books covered a variety of concerns and interests for their readers: religion, morality, social norms, and manners. Authors of the upper classes wrote texts that aided the rising middle class to improve themselves, as their professional skills were no longer the main concern in social situations, but rather their adherence to the norms and values that the bourgeois society had


\(^{70}\) Ibidem, p. 15.
adopted. These authors saw their books as a tool to help others as well as themselves; if the middle class learned their social ‘language’, they could better communicate with them. For the manufacturer and distributor, the upper class’s desire to teach and the middle class’s interest in learning meant that for publishers there was room for a genre which might increase sales and bring in new customers. To bring in these customers, publishers would have to market their selection, or communicate information about their books to the public.

The second factor, communication, or offering the text to an audience or making its availability known, can still be seen in the back pages of etiquette books, where similar titles are advertised with information pertaining to where they can be acquired and their price. An example of this can be found at the back of Multapator’s *Huishoudkunde als Leervak in de Opleiding der Vrouw*, where another title is advertised by Multapator: *De XIXe Eeuw en Eenige van Hare Maatschappelijke Vraagstukken in twee stukken* (The Nineteenth Century and Some of Its Social Issues in 2 Parts).\(^{71}\) The price of this book was ƒ2.50. The same advertisement for *Het Wetboek van Mevrouw Etiquette* was printed in a variety of national and local newspapers in the 1890s, such as *Kleine Courant*, *Middelburgsche Courant*, *De Tijd*, and *De Telegraaf*. They all contain advertisements for the book, including a list of the chapter headings as well as the prices (paperback: ƒ1.75, hardcover: ƒ2.25).\(^{72}\) Not only were prices and availability advertised, but books were also reviewed in journals and newspapers. A positive review of a book could garner more interest for it, which in turn could increase sales.

The third factor is profit. Though etiquette books may not necessarily have been published for profit, such as the school books and works written by the *Nut*, it does not exclude the fact that for commercial publishers profit was an important element in the process, determining aspects such as print runs, reprints, sales, advertising, etc.\(^{73}\) Unlike some other texts, the authors of etiquette books may not necessarily have demanded a share of the profits as long as the expenditures were met, such as, the bulk of sales went to the publisher and bookseller in order to cover the amount left after printing, paper, binding, and

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71 Multapator, *De Huishoudkunde als Leervak*, back cover.
illustrations. Furthermore, school books, according to Dongelmans, were considered a ‘steady seller’. As stated in chapter two, because of the moral link contained in various schoolbooks at the time, it can be construed that the popular etiquette books would have sold steadily as well. An exception to an author’s desire for profit can be seen in Wenzel’s text on the publisher Wouters and the author Goede, where the book was written and published for philanthropic purposes, rather than for monetary ones.

The final factor in publication is preservation. Barker and Adams state that the final factor may well have played a large role in writing the text. In the preservation of ephemera such as etiquette books, the physical book can be considered of equal importance as the message within. Yet, when considering the author’s motivation in creating the text, it is the information, rather than the physical object that the author seeks to create. However, for the user the longevity of the text’s physicality may not be a consideration. As stated in chapter two, etiquette books were created to educate middle class outsiders in the rules adhered to by groups to which they did not belong, as well as to reinforce and maintain social and sexual divisions. Though etiquette books are now seen as ephemera, at the time they were written they were seen as social law. The laws that governed people socially were generally not expected to change. When looking at successions of etiquette books, it becomes clear that there was indeed change. An example of this is in the Wetboek van Mevrouw Etiquette, as the first editions only included 24 laws, and were later expanded to 32. Because of the changes that occurred over time, these etiquette books quickly fell out of use, as they warranted updating. Moreover, their status as an object for use rather than an artefact meant that they may have been used until they reached a state in which they were no longer useful, whether physically or socially. For these reasons preservation of these books would not have been a priority for its users and any preservation that occurred would have been by luck in personal collections, which over time may have been assimilated into libraries.

Manufacture

Though no research has been done specifically into the manufacturing of nineteenth-century Dutch etiquette books, some general observations can be made regarding the time in which

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74 Ibidem, p. 183.
75 G. Wenzel, De Man die Zijne Wereld Verstaat, p. 65.
76 As can be seen when comparing the first edition (1893) to the eighth and last one (1912).
they were printed. As a result of the Industrial Revolution and the introduction of new methods of mass production, books were printed and bound as part of an industrial process. Moreover, as books had to compete with many other books in the bookshops, growing importance was placed on their outward appearance.\textsuperscript{77} In previous centuries books had been bound by order of the purchaser, who also dictated the type of binding he required. Now, a uniform cover was chosen, which served not only to protect the pages within, but also to appeal to the general customer.

Representative of the new way of industrial binding is \textit{Het Wetboek van Mevrouw Etiquette}, which was reprinted eight times from its first edition in 1893. Because of its target audience, women and young ladies, it changed very little in style, but each new edition was still distinctive from the previous one. There were two prevailing covers for this book: the first being a simple hardcover with the title and name of the author embossed in gold and a small flower-like design midway the cover; the second hardcover, used from 1896 onwards and the more famous of the two, is in an art deco style, including the printed image of a woman and an intricate border (Fig.7). This image did not change over the reprints, but the colours on the cover were altered as well as the endpapers, which were changed in colour as well as pattern to indicate the various editions. Of the editions currently available through libraries, the first edition was published by the Arnhem publisher Van der Zande in 1893 and has a dark purple cover with the lettering and decoration embossed in gold. The same colour was used for the endpapers which have an arabesque design, which until 1910 remained a popular design in homes.\textsuperscript{78} The third edition, published in Utrecht by the publisher Honig in 1897, has the same cover but is printed in dark brown, with endpapers that are much the same. It is unclear why Honig had the rights to publish the third edition, or whether Van der Zande published a third edition as well, considering that there have been no third editions found published by the latter at this time. It is unclear whether the rights had been sold to both or if for this particular edition was published by Honig for an, at this time, unknown reason. Editions four to eight (1900-1912) have the second, more familiar design with end papers in an \textit{art nouveau} style, each edition presenting a different colour to distinguish it from the previous one. The fourth edition (1900) has red stamping on a brown cloth binding with endpapers featuring a floral

\textsuperscript{77} Adams and Barker, ‘A New Model for the Study of the Book’, p. 20.  
blue design. The fifth edition (1903) has blue stamping on green cloth binding with endpapers displaying orange flowers. The sixth edition (1909) has a blue stamp on brown cloth binding with brown endpapers featuring a feather-like design. The seventh edition (1911) has a brown cloth binding with the purple stamp of the lady with the border, and has brown endpapers with garland designs. Finally, the eighth edition (1912) is stamped purple on a lighter purple cloth-bound cover with green flowers on the endpapers.

Figure 7. Three different coloured editions of Het Wetboek van Mevrouw Etiquette by E.C. van Mandele. From left to right: fourth edition, fifth edition and sixth edition.

The small size of these books (octavos), as well as the fact that they were available in various bindings, indicate that they were made to be portable and for customers who had a varying amount to spend. A hard bound cloth cover was more expensive than its cheaper alternative, however, it would also have a greater chance at survival. This smaller format had become popular at the time and was readily printed, cut and bound. For example, most nineteenth-century Dutch etiquette books in the Heijting collection are either octavos or quartos.

Due to their popularity, etiquette books seem to have been used, to some extent, by publishers as a means for making money outside of what they normally produced. In the case
of Brill, for example, they aided in helping the company out of financial strain, as mentioned in the previous chapter. In other cases, it was the philanthropic nature of disseminating the information, such as with Wouters. Whatever the reason behind it, etiquette books became a way of both helping the public better themselves, as well as improve business for the publisher.

Distribution

The primary destination for an etiquette book is its intended audience. In the case of women and young ladies, it would have most probably been bought for use in a private home for further study, as would texts intended for men. A study book for children, on the other hand, could have been acquired for home or school use. Certain schools, if there were not enough materials or if the child was required to bring its own, would necessitate children bringing their school books to and from school. The size of the book indicates that it was for portability, which in turn leads to the question of the survival of etiquette books.

According to Adams and Barker, the survival of a book can be linked to the frequency by which it is used.\textsuperscript{79} A school book brought to and from school could be lost or damaged during transit, as opposed to the books that were meant for private use, which never left the home. However, frequency of use in private does not necessarily determine survival, because etiquette books that were no longer up to date with the styles of the times quickly went out of use. By the turn of the century, certain issues that had concerned people in the nineteenth century no longer applied, such as the search for a national identity and the need to follow Britain’s rule with regard to steadfastness.\textsuperscript{80} Also, with the target audience changing thanks to the women’s rights movement and transformations in politics and the economy, the outdated books would be removed from private collections. If the book found its way to an institutional library, or fell into the hands of a private collector, there was a possibility of survival. However, the lasting importance of the title and the quantity in which it was produced could also ensure that it survived. This was the case with \textit{Het Wetboek van Mevrouw Etiquette}, which, as has

\textsuperscript{80}Conflict Theory, which focusses on the ever-changing nature of society due to the constant competition between various groups, has been used as a primary position in this research. This Marxist based approach does leave room for the fact that the changes may be very small. From L. A. Coser, ‘Social Conflict and the Theory of Social Change’, \textit{British Journal of Sociology}, 8 (1957), p.200.
been shown, was reprinted eight times. Most Dutch public libraries still have a copy of one of these editions.

**Reception**

Though the reception of a book in the nineteenth century can be hard to gauge, it makes it no less important to understanding the impact a title or genre had on the book industry as well as on society at the time. It can potentially be assumed that there were more titles printed at the time that have not survived. If this assumption is made, evidence of their existence can only be found by looking for traces pertaining to these books. Regardless, the evidence of reception can be grouped as follows: direct documentation, popularity, influence and use.\(^8^1\)

Direct documentation comprises private (journals, diaries, letters, etc.) and public (published reviews, commentaries, speeches, etc.) documentation, which indicates a direct response to the book. An example of this can be found in the *Vaderlandsche Letteroefeningen*, where an article on the book *Twee Gesprekken over Beleefdheid en Beschaving* (Two conversations on politeness and civilisation) by J. Boeke shows that there was a positive response to the text:

> These times we require a remedy against the wretched, trivial rubbish in both rhyme and prose with which people wish to flood us, and each antidote will be gratefully accepted, recommended and bought by the Dutchman with developed and refined taste.\(^8^2\)

However, although this can be seen as an indication that the book was received favourably in some way by its readers, it does not give information on the reception in its entirety.

The popularity of a title can be measured by the number of times a title has been reprinted.\(^8^3\) The assumed popularity of etiquette books can be seen when observing the table in Appendix 1. It is clear that there were also editions reprinted, not only printed when a new

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\(^8^1\) Ibidem, p. 27.

\(^8^3\) An edition may have multiple reprints. In this case the text is not altered in any way. However, a new edition may contain additions or slight corrections. From: isbn.org, ‘FAQ: Publication Formats, Reprints, Editions, Etc.’, <http://www.isbn.org/faqs_formats_reprints_editions> (28 October, 2015).
edition became available. Also, there are copies of books of which it is at this point, difficult to trace the editions. This does not mean that there were no other editions or reprints available, rather, if they exist, they have as yet not been found. They are nonetheless important, as they help detail the range of books that were available at the time. As we have seen, Het Wetboek van Mevrouw Etiquette had at least eight editions, with multiple reprints, as each edition points out on its title page (fig. 8). However, because the actual ‘movement’ of the book cannot be traced, it is difficult to determine how many copies were printed and distributed. ‘Movement’ in this instance refers to the distribution of the book via the book trade, how many copies were bought, to what extent they were kept or re-distributed through second-hand bookstores, and if libraries and reading rooms purchased them.

The fact that there are still multiple copies of Van Mendele’s book to be found demonstrates that there was some sort of popularity with regard to this title, as is with the other titles mentioned. Though the book historical law ‘the more there were, the less there are’ needs to be taken into account, it also seems plausible that the reason there are so many left is due to the fact that there were a plethora printed. Examples of this can be seen outside of etiquette books, such as with the Book of Hours. According to Scott Brown:

Despite their strongly religious origin, the books served more as status symbols and fashion accessories than paths to heaven, a fact testified to in the large number of
copies that survive in exceptional condition.\textsuperscript{84}

Though certain books may have been preserved even though they were not popular, it is more likely that the small amount available is due to the fact that printed ephemera such as etiquette books were not considered worth preserving.

The influence a publication had on society is one of the most important aspects of reception. According to Adams and Barker, ‘[t]he frequency with which a text was reprinted in some form or other during the years following its initial appearance is a starting point for gauging its indirect influence.’\textsuperscript{85} Lord Chesterfield’s \textit{Letters to his son} must have made an impression on the Dutch, or at least have generated enough interest that the \textit{Nederlandsche Staatscourant}, the newspaper published by the Dutch government since 1814, mentions it and its author. On September 9\textsuperscript{th}, 1815, the newspaper carried the following death notice of the then current Lord Chesterfield:

Tuesday the 11th, the count of Chesterfield passed away at the age of 60 years at his estate in Brad near Hall, in the county of Derby. He was a descendant of Arthur Stanhope, sixth son of the renowned count of Chesterfield, whose letters to his son were so generally known.\textsuperscript{86}

Though the complete collection of letters was not published in the England until 1787 due to familial disputes and subsequent court cases, the Dutch translation did not appear until 1853. English or French copies may have been available before, considering that the positive mention in the article dates back to 1815. As it is unlikely that a translation of the text was published if the original had not been at least moderately popular, the publisher would have hoped that the text would have been received favourably by society at the time of its publication. At this time, there were a number of etiquette books on the market; this was the

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\textsuperscript{85} Adams and Barker, ‘A New Model for the Study of the Book’, p. 29.
\textsuperscript{86} ‘De graaf van Chesterfield is, dinsdag 11, op zijn landgoed, te Brad bij Hall, in het graafschap Derby, in den ouderdom van 60 jaren, overleden. Hij stamde af van Arthur Stanhope, zesde zoon van den vermaarden graaf van Chesterfield, wiens brieven aan zijn zoon zoo algemeen bekend zijn.’ \textit{Nederlandsche Staatscourant}, 9 September, 1815 (Koninklijke Bibliotheek, The Hague, T 948, no. 214).
result of the prevailing social and political conditions, which called for a ‘national feeling’. The English conduct books that had crossed over to the Netherlands embraced the desire the Dutch had for the conservative nature of the English such as could be found in Lord Chesterfield’s letters and in books like the previously discussed *Avondonderhoudingen voor de Jeugd, ter Vorming van Verstand en Hart*.

With the increase of literacy in the Netherlands, there is the expectation that more people read. However, the increased amount in literacy does not necessarily prove actual use of books, which in turn can indicate reception. The copies of the etiquette books referenced did not have any markings or annotations in them, save, in some cases, a signature on the title page indicating ownership. However, this does not necessarily mean that the text was read, but it is impossible to be sure. Certain books did have various print runs, which does indicate popularity, but there was also the possibility that people bought the book simply to own it, not necessarily intending to read it.\textsuperscript{87}

**Survival**

To ensure survival of a book various factors must be taken into account. First of all, it could survive the time it is used in its physical form, have a large print run, and be significantly popular. It may have been read until no longer in optimum condition; taking an approach where this is not the case, it suggests that a large print run would have allowed for a greater chance at survival.\textsuperscript{88} Secondly, it must withstand the period of its inactivity, in which it is to some extent forgotten. This period constitutes the book’s most vulnerable state. And lastly, the third period, in which the book reaches the point where it has become a collectable item.\textsuperscript{89}

The first stage, which has been detailed in the previous sections on the physicality of the book, its production and its popularity, suggests that the survival of nineteenth-century Dutch etiquette books was due largely to the amount printed and its popularity. Physically, etiquette books were made in a smaller format, which allowed for portability, however, this means that it also had a greater chance of disappearing. Their larger counterparts, weighty folios, were sturdily put together and therefore more resistant to the wear of use. Also, they

\textsuperscript{87} Adams and Barker, ‘A New Model for the Study of the Book’, p. 25.

\textsuperscript{88} By optimum condition, it is meant that the book is no longer in a physical state to be kept for a longer duration of time, examples of this may be that the bindings have come loose, or that there are pages torn or falling out.

\textsuperscript{89} Adams and Barker, ‘A New Model for the Study of the Book’, p. 32.
were not made for movement and would rarely leave the location they were brought to after being purchased. By the late nineteenth century, however, a hard cover book no longer meant that it was durable. Paper was of a lesser quality and quicker to deteriorate, which was brought on by industrial mass production at a lower cost. Sales would also indicate their success, as a title might need reprinting if the demand for it was larger than the initial print run.

The amount of books printed would have helped the genre to survive – not only the print run, but also the quantity of each title. These titles, though perhaps no longer found in their physical form, have been traced back to the records of publishers and catalogues, as can be seen in Dongelmans’s list of nineteenth-century etiquette books. This list includes entries from the catalogues of newly appeared books, such as the Abkoude-Arrenberg Naamregister and the Brinkman’s Cumulative Catalogue, which lists the Nederlandse Bibliografie 1801-1832. Abkoude-Arrenberg is the forerunner to Brinkman’s Cumulative Catalogue. Produced in 1788, Arrenberg reworked the Abkoude catalogue, which contained a list of Dutch books from 1600-1761. The updated version did not contain all the books from the original list and added a number of new items. Brinkman’s Cumulative Catalogue was the first alphabetical list of works originally from the Netherlands between 1833 and 1849, which was later taken up into the Nederlandse Bibliografie. The Nederlandse Bibliografie, the catalogue created as a result of the Nederlands Bibliografisch Centrum founded in 1983, publishes information regarding the collected material published by Dutch publishers and also includes the information from Brinkman’s Cumulative Collection.

It seems likely that the size of the print run would also be determined by the sales publishers estimated regarding the title, perhaps in reaction to the popularity of previous titles by the same author or interest in the genre. This circular system could have possibly contributed to the amount of copies still available. According to Adams and Barker, this could

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90 Dongelmans, ‘Comme Il Faut: Etiquetteboeken in de Negentiende Eeuw’, pp. 89-123.  
92 Ibidem.  
explain the poor survival rate that school books and handbooks have. However, as this is an under-explored area of study and open to misrepresentation, further research is necessary.95

The second stage, the time in which a book has lost its popularity and is put to rest, constitutes the greatest chance of the book being lost. In most libraries and private collections, seventeenth and eighteenth-century titles were given greater care than those from the nineteenth century because of the poor quality paper they had been printed on, which meant that they were rarely, if ever, collected.96 Also, the non-academic nature of the texts would have meant that university libraries would not necessarily collect them. Private collectors would have the freedom to collect what interested them, whereas a library would look more towards the needs of its users, and as ephemera would be useless at any given time it would not necessarily be of interest to keep etiquette books, considering their ephemeral nature. Therefore, unless these titles found their way to private collectors or libraries, the chance of survival was small. Though well-known authors and titles may have survived, especially when school books and handbooks are concerned, as soon as they were no longer in use or current, they were disposable. It should be noted, however, that this may not have been the case for all books that included etiquette, as cookbooks that contained information on etiquette may also have been kept for its recipes and information on household management.

The final stage is when the book becomes collectable. Some books, especially those from the late nineteenth century, appear not to have survived the first two stages and are lost. Others are automatically adopted into collections. The collectability is determined by the content, quality and popularity of the text. Only one person or institution needs to have an interest in a title in order for it to survive, save physical disaster such as a fire. It is at the collectable stage that the circuit completes itself and returns to publication. In recent years, books such as etiquette books have returned to publication. An example of this is the reproduction of Het Wetboek van Mevrouw Etiquette, which was reproduced in 2011 by the publisher Aprilis.97 Also, stores, such as The American Book Center in Amsterdam produce books as printing-on-demand. Among the items they print and bind, they print texts that are

no longer in copyright and/or open source, which has allowed for these titles to be 'rediscovered' and brought back into print, allowing collectors and those interested in the subject to own copies of the texts.\textsuperscript{98}

Success
By using Adams and Barker’s model pertaining to the life of the book the success of a title, or in this case the genre, can be determined. According to these authors, the purpose of preservation as a reason to publish was prominent in earlier centuries and can sometimes lead to over-production.\textsuperscript{99} Publishers would have been more careful with the amount they were printing and therefore would focus more on what could bring profit rather than on its survival for posterity. In recent years, an important factor in publishing books for preservation purposes has been printing-on-demand.\textsuperscript{100} This survival of these texts, as well as the remaining interest in the genre, is an indication of success, as it fulfils the purpose the author had intended for it (fig.9).

As stated previously, etiquette books are written with the primary function of educating people. The multiple editions of a book and the mass dissemination of a text it implies that a

\textsuperscript{100} Print-on-demand books make it possible for a single copy of a book to be printed rather than having an entire print run of a text. An example of a print-on-demand is Lord Chesterfield's Advice to his sons, which are available to order.
text was not only well received but also well read. The size of the entire print run of a book can indicate whether or not a book was successful. For example, the popularity of a book such as *Het Wetboek van Mevrouw Etiquette* is indicated by its eight editions and multiple print runs. Therefore, it can be inferred that this etiquette book succeeded in its intentions. Because of this, the likelihood of it being preserved is quite high, as a book collector or library might adopt the title simply as an example of the genre in its time. Having survived the three stages of survival as stipulated by Adams and Barker, there is a possibility for reprint, which starts the model over again upon being ‘rediscovered’. According to the model, this would suggest that as the book was kept safe for rediscovery, it reached the point that a book has reached its success.

However, as a genre, this success is more interesting, because it indicates that there is still an interest in manners. Though society is evolving, and manners along with it, the need to understand the ‘language’ of social behaviour still remains. This is shown by the fact that etiquette books continued to be produced. Among the Dutch etiquette books of the twentieth century a few stand out. The first is *Hoe Hoort het Eigenlijk* (What are the Rules) by Amy Groskamp-ten Have, which was published from 1939 until its twelfth edition in 1957. In 1999, Reinildis van Ditzhuyzen published her reworking of Groskamp-ten Have’s classic, which became a bestseller almost immediately and is currently in its 39th edition (2013). The second is *Het Blauwe Boekje* (The Blue Book) published in 1999 by Stefan de Vries and Roel Wolbrink, which grew into the style bible of the Netherlands and Flanders. There are also more specialised books, such as the series *Cultuur Bewust!* (Culture Smart!), which details the customs and etiquette of a particular country, and *Distinguished… Look At* by Jan Jaap van Weering, the guide on doing business abroad especially pertaining to financial matters. The interest that the genre garners, though pared down, is not lost. As long as there are those that are interested in the genre, it will remain printable, whether on demand or with updated editions.

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101 An exception, as mentioned is that the book was bought or given just to own and was not read, but here it is assumed that the text was read if owned.


Chapter 4: Conclusions

As stated in the introduction, this research aimed to demonstrate that the success of the nineteenth-century Dutch etiquette book stems from the political climate, which at the time was changing due to international developments in Europe in the beginning of the century, and the social shift in both the class system and the established role divisions between men and women. Whereas previous studies focussed on the rules of etiquette, the physical books themselves have received hardly any attention. Besides offering a view on how people lived, the book historical approach adapted in this study adds to our understanding of what people read and consequently of the popularity of the etiquette book. It consisted of the following steps: 1. looking at the societal situation of the Netherlands in the nineteenth century, in order to provide the historical context of the genre; 2. Examining the readership for etiquette books and, by subdividing them into the categories of men, women, children and meisjes, showing the variety in types of books and the role they played in regulating social mores; 3. Applying A. Adams and N. Barker’s model of the life cycle of books to the information collected in the previous two stages.

A study of the social and political situation of the Netherlands in the nineteenth century shows that the success of the Dutch etiquette book is foremost due to the changes occurring in the Netherlands at the time. These changes are, in part, as a result of a liberal laissez-faire mind set, which was applied to the revised constitution of 1848. Combined with the economic changes brought on later by the Industrial Revolution, this made possible economic growth and an increase of wealth among the population. Higher incomes for more people allowed for a way of life that had not been possible before, especially for the growing middle class, which found itself emulating those that were considered ‘better off’. The combination of better and more widely available education and increased wealth allowed for the middle class to acquire books for self-study. Etiquette books were an important means to achieve this. By teaching themselves the rules of the higher strata of society they hoped to enter, they could converse, do business with and even marry into a class that had practically been out of reach before. Along with the identity crisis the Netherlands faced at the time, the result of having been under French rule and later losing the southern part of the country following the Belgian struggle for independence, it left the Dutch with a lack of understanding of who they were.
Turning to England’s conservative nature as a source of inspiration, the Netherlands followed suit. These social and political changes were reflected in the etiquette books of the time, as they attempted to offer instructions and strategies to the growing middle class. The advice they gave would be invaluable to communicate with the upper class and give them access that previously may have been limited or not available. When looking at the number of titles available in Dutch it appears there was an increase in the amount of titles as the century progressed. The number of books on social reform seems to be interconnected with the change in socio-political situation, and as a new identity began to take root and political stability re-emerged, more Dutch titles became available. However, as there is at this point no way of determining exactly how many titles were available at any given time, this connection cannot be established with any degree of certainty.

The potential readership for etiquette books was vast. Though mostly intended for the middle class, they allowed readers from other social strata to also acquire the norms of the upper classes. As etiquette helps to define boundaries between those that belong and those that do not, etiquette books can help to teach the necessary rules with which to traverse these boundaries. Whereas the mores were used to maintain and reinforce the social and sexual divisions between classes and genders, etiquette books allowed newcomers to climb the social hierarchy without them losing their integrity or identity. This gave people the opportunity to improve themselves, which in turn increased the demand for etiquette books.

Etiquette books were written with specific groups in mind. This meant that there were general books for adults and more specific books for each sex. In addition to the division in gender, there was also a differentiation between the different life stages, as there were books for men and women, but also for children and meisjes, girls, in particular. For adults, depending on the intended readers, a text would not only include what was expected of them in general terms, but it would also discuss aspects of interaction between the two sexes – what was appropriate and what was not.

On the other hand, books for males and females were published to teach ‘qualities’ for each particular gender. For men, the focus was on gentility and breeding, allowing them to refine themselves. Etiquette books for women were more detailed, as their role was even more strictly defined than that of men: they needed to be wives, principal caregivers for children, as well as be able to run a household. The growing amount of etiquette books as
well as the ability to be self-taught due to educational changes meant that the opportunities for females to learn about their multi-faceted role were more readily available. Young women of marriageable age and girls (meisjes) enjoyed their own etiquette books, which originated from the social changes of the nineteenth century as society made place for them. Their etiquette books targeted issues such as marriage and propriety when first ‘coming out’ into society, in order to help pave the way for their future success. Unlike the books aimed at adult women, these taught ‘by example’, which was the model that was also used in books directed at children.

Children were regarded as *Tabula Rasa*, to whom etiquette could be taught to create proper fathers, mothers and wives. Though such lessons may also have been taught by parents, mothers in particular, these books were used as teaching materials as well as for self-study. The various kinds of books that fall into the etiquette genre for children overlapped, considering that children’s reading books and school books could both contain information which taught a child how to be dutiful to one’s parents and to God. An example of this is *Brave Hendrik*. The term *Brave Hendrik* is used when describing a boy who is very good and follows the rules with diligence for his parents and elders. This is directly taken from the character of the children’s book, who through his good actions would encourage the children who read the book to be as good as he is.

By studying the subject of the etiquette books, the social changes of the time can be observed in context. The growth of the middle class as well as the new roles for women meant that there needed to be literature suitable to the new aspects of society they would face. The distinction between the various stages of life shows the extent of the rules that were set and the required upbringing that would lead to the creation of a ‘good’ person and an appropriate member of society.

Adams and Barker’s ‘Socio-Economic Conjecture’ model helps not only to put the nineteenth-century etiquette book in the perspective of time, but it also allows for a deeper understanding of the life of a book. By looking at the entire life cycle of the nineteenth-century etiquette book it is possible to discern how the book industry was affected by the changes in Dutch society. Adams and Barker’s model focusses on how the book was affected by society and the industry, and subsequently on its prospects of survival. The more popularly used communication circuit by Darnton focusses on the interaction between various agents, but
leaves less consideration for the book as an object. Adams and Barker’s model pays less attention to the individual actors but rather considers the stages a book goes through and the future implications for the book or genre. Their five stages, though convoluted in their overlapping nature, can help paint a picture of how the nineteenth-century Dutch etiquette book progressed. By examining their publication, manufacture, distribution, reception and survival, influenced by political, legal, and religious factors, the entire life of the book can be determined.

Measuring the popularity of the etiquette book with reference to Adams and Barker’s model was more difficult than previously considered. A comprehensive overview of sales figures as well as other indications of popularity were either not documented or not available. The assumption was made, in the context of this research, that popularity is indicated by the amount of reprinted editions. This takes into account that a publisher would need an indication that there is a demand for the text in order to cover publishing costs as well as create a profit. When reviewing the number of editions and reprints of etiquette books it can be seen that these books did enjoy a degree of popularity. The ephemeral nature of the etiquette book, however, would lead to the assumption that only a few would survive, considering that after its usefulness such a book would be disposed of. From this point of view one would not expect any etiquette books to survive. This supports the book historical law: ‘the more there were, the less there are.’ Yet, if this is considered true, it seems as if etiquette books are an exception, as there are still a number of them present in various collections throughout the Netherlands. Alternatively, if the book historical law does hold true, then it suggests that there is a different reason why so many editions were published and that a different method to measure popularity might be needed. This leads to the question: what would the reason be? Both of these interpretations invite further research into either social factors that caused reprints of editions or a closer look at the applicable book historical law to etiquette books.

The publication of etiquette books in the Netherlands in the nineteenth century helped to elevate the growing middle class to new social lifestyles. At the same time the influence of these books contributed to the redefinition of Dutch identity after the Napoleonic era and the separation of Belgium. By adapting to changes in society throughout the century etiquette books also became instruments of influence for political, legal and religious groups. The large
number of titles underlines the importance of the genre; each group, whether male or female and child or adult, with different approaches. Despite the lack of sales figures it must be assumed that the number of copies printed was relatively high given the large number of titles still available. Also, considering the life cycle of the etiquette book, it is perhaps surprising that the remaining copies found are generally in a good condition.

There are limitations to what has been discussed here as well. Considering the plethora of information etiquette books can provide and by looking at the period as well as the life cycle of etiquette books there is still space for a more detailed analysis than this thesis allowed. More research must be done into publishers by looking into the archives still available to see if numbers of titles and print-runs can be traced. With more information on the agents surrounding the publishing of these books, it would be possible to apply Darnton’s Communication Circuit to the information, which at this point was impossible.

This study allows for a relevant look into the political and social changes of the nineteenth century, and how they used, but also affected the production and content of etiquette books. By studying this aspect of the time period a better understanding of book use within the genre is made possible. This in turn can open new avenues of study and provide new insights into our knowledge of nineteenth-century social and cultural history.

Due to the limited amount of nineteenth-century etiquette books currently available for public viewing, it is difficult to accurately gauge the genre and its sales. Also, study into the genre with a focus on to more recent periods has not been done in depth. With recent interest into books such as *Hoe Hoort het Eigenlijk* by Amy Groskamp-ten Have, it might be interesting to look into the rediscovery of the etiquette book. It should perhaps be noted that Groskamp-ten Have’s text is one of the most famous texts in the Netherlands with respect to etiquette books and is still in use today. 2015 saw a new edition of the text as well as a third season of the television show *Hoe Hèurt het Eigenlijk*, where the presenter, Jort Kelder, uses the text to see to what extent the upper class and *nouveau riche* follow the rules that the book stipulates. In this same trend, research into these texts would allow for a deeper understanding of not only the way of life in the nineteenth century in the Netherlands, but also why etiquette books are still prevalent today, even with an established national identity and the various types of etiquette books available for all levels of society. Perhaps the answers are to be found in the nineteenth century and that Thorbecke’s insightful comment ‘waar het
is, wil het meerdere wezen’ (where it is, it wishes to grow, see p.12 above) is still of value when applied to modern society and the etiquette book.
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Calcar, E. van, *Uit het Leven voor het Leven* (Haarlem: Kruseman & Tjeenk Willink, 1875).


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Appendix: Table of conduct books derived from B.P.M Dongelmans’ article “Comme Il Faut” and from the titles in the Heijting Collection in the Special Collections of the University of Amsterdam.

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