

# Household, Classes, and Integration Processes in a Scandinavian Village over 300 Years

A Study in Historical Structuralism

## 1. THE PROBLEM

In his *Ethnologie générale*, Jean Poirier advocates the need for more elaborate structural historical studies beyond the conventional dichotomies of the *Gemeinschaft-Gesellschaft* type. The present study intends to be a venture into that direction. By structural I mean the extricating and connecting of the important elements of a cultural situation as well as the succeeding inductive or deductive search for its core (*das Wesen*) with regard to the problems in question and the relevant time. I shall also deal with the passage from one stage to another — equivalent to the shifting of the location and quality of the core, although I think that such structural metamorphic studies require a more detailed analysis on a micro level.

The interest in the ecological primary group, whether it be called household, houseful, ménage (cf. vulgar latin *mansionaticum*) or communauté, coincides with a theoretical standpoint: only the everyday social actions, the constantly recurring stimuli and contacts and the biological bases of life are important for an understanding of the human condition in a long-range perspective. With reference to the pre-industrial world, historically and geographically, I have suggested the term *communalism* for this point of departure. The idea can be sharpened further: only those occurrences which refer to the common man should be the object of urgent anthropological (ethnological) research; only what takes place in the micro-social world at the grass roots level and must be excavated from sources neglected by contemporaries and unnoticed by common observation, is exciting.

The journalistic conception of reality, then, is false. Secular changes resemble hidden facts without a name that become apparent only on distribution diagrams, in averages, in types and relations, not to naive reflection.

Household has precedence over family if we want to understand the pre-industrial world in its everyday connotations. The household, in Old Swedish dialect *häsk(e)*, in Old English *hiwisc* (from *hiw*; also *hide*), that is all the individuals gathering around the same pot and the same hearth (*hiwisc* according to some linguists being derived from an old word for hearth) or working and living together on the same premises in a more or less shared economy, constituted such a continuous group; its structure and ecological conditions will be analysed here with reference to the village of Hagestad in the parish of Löderup, located on the fertile plain between the towns of Ystad and Simrishamn in southeastern Scania (Österlen in Sweden).

The large households of merchants and craftsmen caught my attention when I studied the question of urban physical environment in nineteenth century townships of Sweden. On analysing census registers and taxation lists quantitatively I found that around 1850 more than 25 per cent of all adults were maids and hands, journeymen and clerks, all listed as belonging to the households of their masters. The economic factors which determined the composition of the human groups in this case seemed more important than the family and kinship orientation favored by conventional sociology or social anthropology. Could such a finding have general validity? It is of course true that precisely the bourgeois family ideology of the late 19th century has put its stamp on much anthropological literature. The family has been pre-supposed to be the original and general social unit – and the findings have long been forced to confirm this hypothesis. In his *The Origin of Human Marriage*, first printed in 1889, Edward Westermarck, for example, was anxious to present all extant evidence of the age-old existence of the monogamous family. Even when theories of origins and evolutions became obsolete, the family-and-kinship complex still retained its grip on anthropology in both its local functional and its global and structural orientation. This seems to me a disproportionate interest in relationships that are partly formal. New insights may be gained by studying, instead, different constellations of households.

In any case, the tangible reality for the European peasantry in earlier centuries was the multinuclear or extended household rather than the family, and even the “familial” group itself has represented quite different social phenomena in different epochs, so that one should apply different terms when dealing with entities only seemingly identical. In this paper I hope to show the importance of the extended large household and the systematic variation over time of kinship relations as well as of the “family” among the farming population in one – at least not atypical – village.

Did the kinship terms denote connection by blood? With all deference to the kinship terms: were they really used in daily speech? And: if used, did they really imply kinship relations? According to information from Österlen villages toward the end of the last century, a wife was addressed as well as spoken of simply as *kvingja* (woman). The husband was correspondingly addressed as *gubbe* (=old man, literally godfather). Compare this with the Moslem habit never to mention a woman's name but to call her only “woman”<sup>1</sup>.

Such very general descriptive terms were far removed from the pretentious *mother* and *father*. Children and servants alike were simply called *dräng* (= boy, hand) and *piga* (= girl, maid). *Mor* (short for mother) and *far* (short for

<sup>1</sup> Information from the Karatjajevo-Tjerkesskaja region, USSR, 1973.

father) were also in use, especially with well-to-do peasants, but it may be questioned whether these forms of address had any correlation to consanguinity or, rather simply, denoted the master and mistress of the farm. At the beginning of this century, the servants used to say *husbonen* (cf. husband) to and of the yeoman farmer. If the farm was a large one, they used to call him *patron*. Compare the Croation corporate big household's *domacin* (master) and *domacica* (mistress). The whole collective body of people was the *gårafolket* (= the people living on the farm) in Österlen; there was no separate term for the intimate kinship group before the 20th century. At the most the servants said *di själve* (= they themselves) of their master and mistress, since a separate dining room for employees, *folkastuan* (the folks' room), was established in the late 19th century.

In the province of Västergötland, in the middle of the 19th century, the people on the farm used the designation *vånn-far* (= our father) or *vånn* (ours) for the peasant himself. The neighbour peasant was called *darrafar* (their father) or *dorres* (theirs). It is probable that the pastors, influenced by the Old Testament and the artificiality of religious ritual, were partly responsible for the appearance among the peasantry of a special formal vocabulary to be used on extraordinary occasions and in contacts with the upper classes. Such choice of formal words must not be confused with the language of everyday life. The ambiguous nature of language and its division into a pretentious layer and a common or "low" one may be significant for other pre-industrial peoples as well. Which of the two has been used in contacts with anthropologists? It is not permissible to accept the language of the clergy, and the bourgeoisie – or of the nobility – in old times as valid for common folks. Through the centuries, terms like father, mother, son, daughter, (maternal) uncle, (maternal) aunt, neighbour, kinsman (Sw. *frände*), family and clan (Sw. *ätt*) signified different things to noblemen and magnates and to peasants. The Swedish Academy Dictionary, e.g., states misleadingly that servants were considered as members of the "family" and that, therefore, they called their master and mistress father and mother. But no "family" concept existed among the common people during the 17th century, and the servants, largely sons and daughters of neighbouring farmers, were supposed to become farmers themselves when time and appropriate circumstances met. The rapid change of holders of farms because of high mortality and diseases and the equally quick remarriages during the 17th century meant that 40-50 per cent of all children would have had foster-parents, had they stayed at home.<sup>2</sup> This, however, was not often the

<sup>2</sup> According to calculations from the Records of Deaths and Burials, furnished with complete biographies, for the parishes of Sørbymagle and Kirkerup 1646-1688 (Zealand, Denmark). See *Levnedsløb i Sørbymagle og Kirkerup Kirkebøger 1646-1731. I.* Edited by Udvalget for Udgivelse af Kilder til Landbefolkningens Historie (Committee for the publication of sources on the history of the rural population) by Ole Højrup. Copenhagen 1963.

case. Instead, the children of farmers took employment from as early an age as 8 to 10 years. As a consequence, biological child-parent relations were the rule only for very young children – of whom up to 50 per cent would die before the age of 15.

*Morbror* (mother's brother) was a common way of addressing any respectable neighbour (Västergötland and Närke provinces, 19th century); and *moster* (mother's sister) was an even more widely used address for elderly unrelated women. To a person of rank, "neighbours" were equivalent to a circle of friends and acquaintances within a wide range of parishes which could be reached by horse carriages; to a peasant, a neighbour was the indispensable companion in labour and life. Clanship (*ätt*) was the pomp of aristocracy.

"*Familj*" as a concept crystallized among farmers in the late 19th century, or even later, which means one hundred years' retardation in comparison with the bourgeoisie and the clergy. Kinship as a personal obligation was acknowledged by the peasantry, not least as duties towards the members of the husband's or the wife's earlier group of identification (the household of one's childhood). But kin as an exclusive and lasting group does not seem to have existed among the Scanian peasants if we go beyond the middle of the 18th century. How could it have been maintained without the use of family names? This, of course, remained a difficulty throughout the time when patronymics were in use.

The nobility used their coats of arms and a verbal representation of the same, in addition to full patronymics (Gustaf Eriksson Vasa). A farmer in an area with separate farms or very small villages would be referred to by his Christian name only, or by his Christian name in combination with the name of his farmstead or group of farms (Nils i Wijby). This refers to the 16th to 18th centuries. If we look at the situation toward the end of the 19th century, however, the full name of an influential peasant may have come to be used to define his farmstead as well as one or two generations of descendants. Geographical farmstead names were unknown in the Löderup villages before the 20th century. There were two villages in Löderup Parish: Hagestad with as many as 48 farmsteads and Löderup, adjoining the church, with approximately 30 farmsteads (18th century).

*Households as well as villages were organizations for production rather than for ownership.*

In the following I hope to show that the emergence of kinship groupings and ideology took place over a long period. It certainly passed through more stages than can be accounted for in this paper. The problem of inheritance

customs is still largely unexplored. At least it seems fairly certain that there was no real private ownership of farmsteads in these large Österlen villages during the 17th century. Nor was there any traceable inheritance from father to son of the right to use the agricultural units. It is, on the other hand, possible that forest villages, for example those on the ridge of Linderödsåsen in Scania or especially in the deep forests of Dalecarlia, represented a higher degree of rootedness and local traditionalism. This was ecologically conditioned and it also implied a high inbreeding coefficient and an extremely high level of mutual identification within relatively small villages.

This may be regarded as the peasant counterpart to aristocratic clans — but without any pursuit of pedigree or personal inheritance expectations or delimited patrilineal sets. The local forms and phases of the interconnectedness between common folks and gentry as well as the inheritance customs, varied kaleidoscopically in their details within the Nordic lands which include such differing areas of tradition as the Norwegian valleys, the Icelandic dispersed farmsteads, the Karelian woodland villages, the Laplandish *sitas* (= herding units) and the plains of Denmark and Scania. In spite of these variations, important structural conformities can also be discerned, for example in the gradual change towards a higher degree of interlocal integration and differentiation, accompanied by a decreasing degree of co-operation within the villages.

Such a change was partly concomitant to a slow secular accumulation, partly marked by sudden innovations or swift behavioural metamorphoses during periods as short as decades. I regard it as an urgent task to combine local studies, showing the variations, with more general outlooks which can reveal the larger contexts in the structure of sociocultural changes. But a local study can also, as here, be oriented towards unraveling very general phenomena.

It is also clear that the intimate relations between husband and wife as well as those between parents and children were qualitatively different among the common people during the 17th as compared with the 20th century. It is an advantage to get away from words which carry a definite meaning in the present society — as the word “family“ does. The term itself may form an obstacle to the discovery of connections other than those covered by its conventional meaning. It is true that “household“ is a present-day term, but it has certainly much more neutral connotations than “family“ or “consanguinal relatives“. I prefer another set of terms than those usually applied in kinship studies. For this reason there seem to be two alternatives: to use words of the peasantry as far as they will go, or to use artificial, descriptive, non-emotive terms.

## 2. THE SOURCES.

The Church records form the main source material for demographic studies in Sweden and Denmark from the 17th century on, supplemented by taxation lists that are sporadically available from the late 16th century.

The central Swedish source for historical population studies are the Ecclesiastical Parish Registers in the Provincial Record Offices (Landsarkiv). These records date from an experiment carried out in 1628 by the Bishop of Västerås, Johannes Rudbeckius. According to his printed instructions, the local pastors were required to draw up Lists of Inhabitants (*folkalängder*) including everybody over 10 years of age at the occasion of the Bishop's inspection. This was the prototype of the Registers of the Parish Catechetical Meetings (*husförhörslängder*). In compliance with a synod decision of 1622 at the Diocese of Västerås, books were also to be kept of all births and baptisms, marriages, and burials — the prototypes of the three sets of Church Records (*ministerialböcker*). There are sporadic cases of Lists of Inhabitants preserved from as early as 1630, including all individuals from the age of 10, household by household, and enabling us to reconstruct the primary groups (children under 10 excluded). From the middle of the 17th century there are also certain lists registering all inhabitants. The later part of the 17th century offers some Registers of the Parish Catechetical Meetings including the total population and indicating the date and place of birth for every single individual (e.g., Grandgårde, Dalecarlia, 1672). This makes it possible to compare demographic conditions in a village or parish during the 17th, 18th, 19th, and 20th centuries. The Parochial Records (*kyrkböcker*) also contain tables of the ownership of farmsteads, the number and location of the farms in the villages, the number of farmers on each farmstead, the seating of people in church, notes of repairs for the church and for the parsonage, farmers' wills, and punishments meted in accordance with Canon Law. Church Records which have been kept day by day from the 1620s to the present, with the age and the cause of death of deceased persons, the names and positions of the parents of the newborn as well as those of bridal couples, make it possible to undertake minute studies of the secular processes in question.

The Church Ordinance of 1686 prescribed the establishment of annual Parish Catechetical Registers (*skriftebok*, "Book of Communion") of the adult population.

In the parish of Löderup, the main object of this study, such lists were kept from 1692 to 1713. From 1714 onwards they only register young people, but from the middle of the 18th century, complete registers were

kept again. The Synod of 1773 ordered the establishment of a new type of Parish Catechetical Registers (*husförhörslängder*) including *all* inhabitants, old and young, with dates of birth for everyone. The title of the Population List for the year 1694 used in this study is "A Catalogue of the Total Parish Population . . . Old and Young who go to Confession and Absolution, Established According to the Church Ordinance, page 173, under Village, Number (of farmstead) and Household (*boolagh*, lit. = those who live together)".

The fact that the households were registered under the official number of the farmstead facilitates the checking of the whole list against the Taxation Register for the corresponding year and the supplementation of the size and cadastral classification of the farm. The Book of Communion contains the Christian name, the patronym (of men, but not of all women), the profession, and the status within the household of every individual over 14-15 years of age. Invalids, ailing and poor persons were registered under the number of the farmstead or house where they lived. A comparison between the Taxation Lists (*mantalslängd*) for the years 1694 and 1699 and the corresponding Books of Communion shows an adequate congruity for the categories peasant (*bonde*), wife, son, daughter, farmhand and maid; the totals for the whole parish show a difference of only one per cent in favour of the Books of Communion. But if we proceed to the categories of inmates and cotters, the Church Register lists a considerable number of such poor persons that are not represented in the Taxation List, namely 90 as compared to 6. As far as those poor people are concerned, the Church Books must thus be regarded as an indispensable source.

The supervision by the ecclesiastical authorities embraced every individuals at this time and place. It also appears that lists from consecutive years are not copied from each other. The problem of whether Population Lists were made up during a relatively short time and at the same period from year to year is of great importance. In Scania, the Books of Communion of this time were dated in summer, whereas the 1681 Ecclesiastical Population Register from Lundby in Central Sweden was established at Michaelmas, "when the people had been introduced to their legal employ". The cooperation with the churchwardens and other peasant representatives seems to have been satisfactory enough for the completion of the registers within a period of probably a few weeks. The Taxation List of 1699 was signed on January 14th, thus representing the situation at the turn of the year.

For the second half of the 18th century I have used the Parish Catechetical Lists for the years 1760, 1771, and 1782, with special attention to the Register of 1771, dated November 30th. In addition to the information con-

tained in the Books of Communion it gives accurate birth dates, the patronym of women, and the names of all children. — For the 19th century I chose the Taxation Register of 1871, dated November 29th, 1870. At this time the decree of 1765 was in force, "that the Taxation Commissioners should be held strictly responsible for the inclusion into the lists of all living people, with separate columns for those over and under age exempted from taxation, in order that the summaries of the Taxation Lists for the country might be checked by the Statistical Office". Here, too, birth dates were listed. A special reason for using the Taxation List in this study is the rise of a new category, owners of very small lots, who were nevertheless listed as farmers. This makes it expedient to separate farmers with farmsteads of more than 10 tunnland (= 12.2 acres) from those with smaller holdings; with the help of the Taxation List it is possible to estimate the exact size of the farm.

With regard to recent times, within living memory, I have interviewed farmers in the village and area of Hagestad in 1949, 1957, 1974-75, and 1978. Furthermore, a sample of farmers in the whole district of south-eastern Scania was interviewed in 1949.

In addition to the indicated Population Registers I have made use of the Land Surveying Records (*jordrevningsprotokoll*) of 1671 which provide insight into the economic situation and the number of domestic animals on the farms. For these records the Surveyors of the Crown visited and inspected each farm. This source is kept in the Public Record Office (Riksarkivet) in Stockholm. The conditions on farmsteads with two households are also elucidated by the House Inspection Protocols (*husesynsinstrument*) from around 1720, now in the Military Record Office (Krigsarkivet) in Stockholm. Scania formed part of the Kingdom of Denmark until 1658. For comparison I have used a number of Population Lists from Zealand from the second half of the 17th century, as well as Taxation Lists for Scania from the first half of the 17th century and earlier, that are now kept in the National Record Office and the Provincial Record Office (Rigsarkivet and Landsarkivet for Sjaelland, respectively) in Copenhagen.

As regards the sequence of records, the Taxation Lists are extant yearly from 1658 on with gaps in the first half of the 18th century. Parallel to them, but more continuous, are the series of Land Assessment Books. They give information on the cadastral standing of the homesteads, and, to a certain degree, the assessments and names of their holders. The burden of taxation and the succession of holders present important problems that may be solved with the help of this kind of source. First and foremost, however, it is the complete series of Church Records, which for Löderup run from 1684 to the present, that make it possible to reconstruct the biological-demo-



graphic base for different historical situations as well as to follow the secular changes of the society on a micro-level.

It should also be pointed out that the Books of Births, Deaths and Marriages not only provide demographic data but also give information on name forms, professions, locations, kinship and marriage interrelations, patron-client relationships (e.g., god parents), diseases and causes of death for three hundred years, and that this wealth of information is still awaiting analysis by social scientists.

### 3. THE STORY

The amalgamation between the serfs and the poorest sections of the farming population during the 12th and 13th centuries, and the rise of a feudal nobility from the ranks of the wealthy section of the farmers or yeomen (*bonde*), on the other hand, ended in a cleavage between feudal, landowning, leisured seigneurs and a protected but subserviant peasantry. In Hagestad village the peasants were servants of the nobility during the first part of the 17th century. After the Swedish conquest in 1658, the position of many peasants was changed to that of peasants of the Crown. This meant that the *corvée* was partly replaced by tributes in money and in kind, but the lot of the peasant was still quite miserable.

#### A. THE SERFDOM STAGE

The simple reason for my interest in finding source material from the time prior to the 18th century was my hope of discovering a social situation that would be fundamentally different from the classical Scandinavian peasant culture between 1750 and 1870. The presentation and interpretation of the data on one single village, Hagestad in Löderup Parish, does not claim to solve this problem generally. The corresponding situation in other areas in Denmark and Sweden must first be analysed. Therefore, this part of the paper should be regarded as the opening of a discussion on the penultimate stage of pre-industrial Scanian peasant culture.

In order to build on a solid foundation I shall present figures from the Church Records. The table below summarizes the main demographical data for Löderup Parish between 1684 and 1978, as extracted from the Church Records (Table 1).

In this case the correct calculation of the mean population for each decade is important. My method of going back step by step from 1749, adding the deceased and subtracting the new-born, could result in highly inaccurate figures when we go back to the late 17th century. But there is still the possibility of checking in against the figures on adult population given by the Book of Communion. In 1694 it is given as 367 persons. Assuming that the number of children under 15 years amounted to 40 per cent, the total population should have been 612. Children under 15 may occasionally have been included in the sum total of the Book of Communion. In that case the figure of 612 is somewhat too high. On the other hand, it seems that a percentage of 40 is actually low. In 1645, in the Danish parishes of Sørbymagle and Kirkerup, the children made up 45 per cent of the total population and in Elmelunde and Kjeldby parishes on the Danish island of Møen the corresponding percentage was 43. For Västansjö Village in Dalecarlia in Sweden 1673 the percentage was 40. Reducing the calculated portion of children in the whole population would make the birth rates and death rates proportionally higher. My conclusion is therefore that the figures of the table have not been stated too high. The presumed figure of 642 for the mean population in the 1690's is reasonable, considering that it would have been 644 in 1694, had the percentage of children been just a bit higher than there presumed, or 43 per cent (as in Elmelunde and Kjeldby, Denmark). The difference is slight. Had the mean population for the decade been only 612 individuals, the birth rate would rise to 45 per thousand.

There is no basis for the assumption that the dividing line for these demographic facts falls exactly halfway between the years 1684 and 1800. But if we arbitrarily split the material into two halves, one comprising the years 1684-1740 and another 1741-1800, the result is a birth rate of 39 per thousand for the time before 1740 and 33 per thousand for the time after 1740. The death rates average 33 per thousand for the earlier and 25 per thousand for the later period. In spite of the spectacular differences in the general mortality, I suggest that we turn our attention to the fertility and its concomitant, infant mortality. The earlier situation, that we may for the moment label "the situation of the sixteen hundreds", is characterized by a high and possibly uncontrolled birth rate. If we suppose that the fertile period of women did not exceed 20 years and if we consider the physical disorders that may have prevented an average of one childbirth every second year, the maximum birth rate for Löderup would still not be higher than slightly above 40 per thousand. The number of women in the fertile period has,

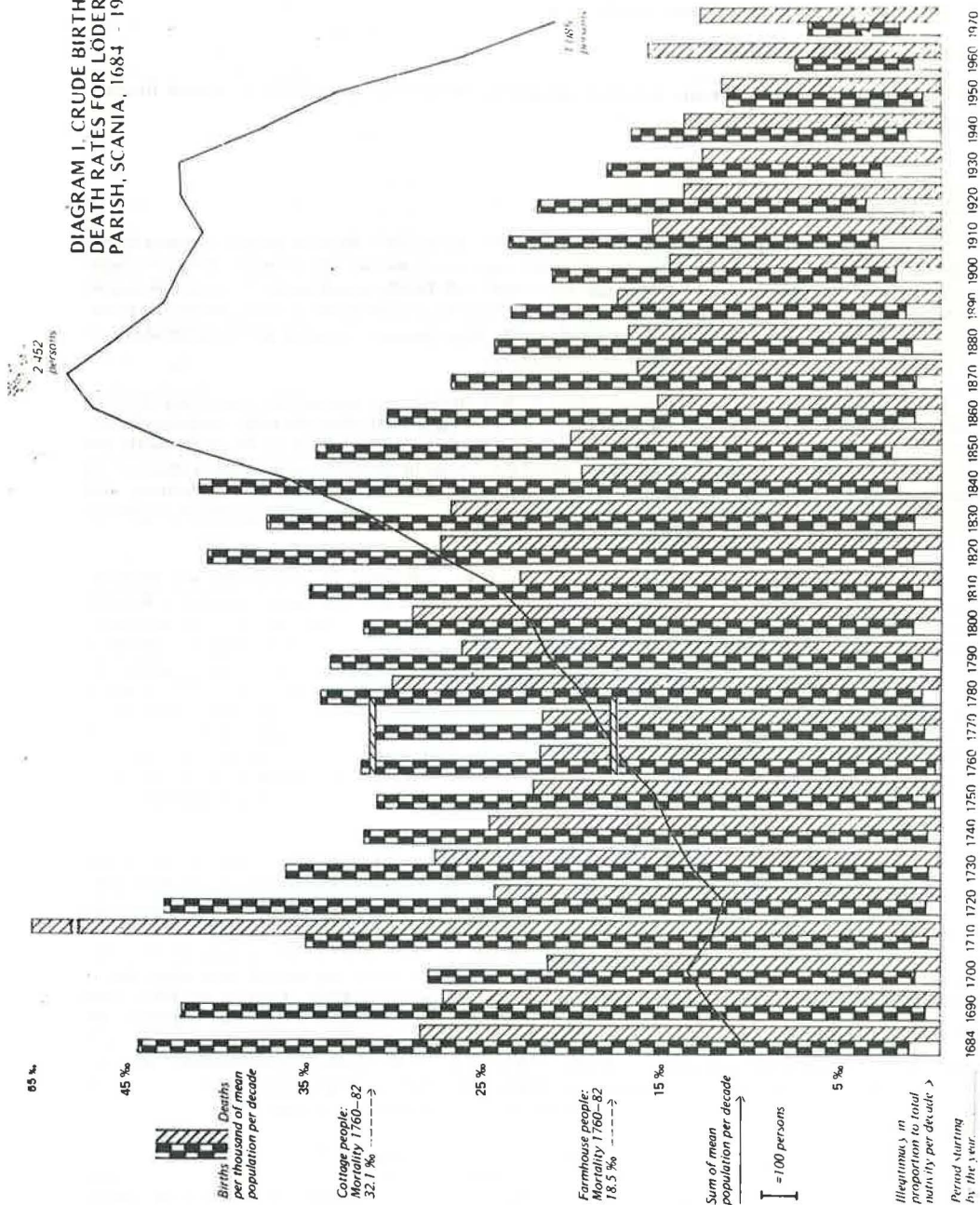
Table I  
Births and deaths in Lödörup Parish 1684-1978  
(ten years averages)

	Live births (total)			Live births (only illegitimate)			Deaths			Deaths by age groups				
	mean population	Number	per 1000	Number	Percentage of all birth	per 1000 mean population	Number	Percentage	0-1 year	Percentage	1-15 years	Percentage	15 years and more	Percentage
1684-1690	563	178	45.2	8	4	29.2	33	29	33	29	34	21	58	50
1691-1700	642	274	42.7	6	2	27.9	42	23	37	23	47	26	90	50
1701-1710	710	204	28.7	10	5	22.0	37	24	37	24	37	34	82	53
1711-1720	644	229	35.6	5	2	63.8	80	31	103	26	56	26	207	53
1721-1730	613	267	43.6	6	2	153	23.0	35	53	25	16	75	49	49
1731-1740	700	257	36.7	4	2	198	28.3	42	21	58	29	88	98	49
1741-1750	755	244	32.3	4	2	191	25.3	22	12	57	30	112	59	59
1751-1760	801	253	31.6	3	1	183	22.8	24	13	58	32	101	55	55
1761-1770	893	290	32.5	3	1	200	22.4	45	23	46	23	109	55	55
1771-1780	955	303	31.7	3	3	213	22.3	50	23	45	21	118	55	55
1781-1790	1013	353	34.8	10	3	311	30.7	67	22	89	29	134	50	50
1791-1800	1106	378	34.2	11	3	296	26.8	72	25	58	20	163	56	56
1801-1810	1150	372	32.3	18	5	340	29.6	72	21	75	22	194	57	57
1811-1820	1240	439	35.4	13	3	291	23.5	95	33	58	20	138	47	47
1821-1830	1431	588	41.1	21	4	401	28.0	91	23	58	21	225	56	56
1831-1840	1600	604	37.8	26	4	438	27.4	94	21	110	25	234	53	53
1841-1850	1838	765	41.6	45	6	369	20.1	91	25	82	22	196	53	53
1851-1860	2160	756	35.0	57	8	447	20.7	101	23	137	31	209	47	47
1861-1870	2383	738	31.0	37	5	380	15.9	73	19	94	25	213	56	56
1871-1880	2452	673	27.4	35	5	418	17.0	76	18	95	23	247	59	59
1881-1890	2313	579	25.0	38	7	405	17.5	55	14	97	24	253	62	62
1891-1900	2182	525	24.1	47	9	396	18.1	56	14	51	13	289	73	73
1901-1910	2129	464	21.8	55	12	323	15.2	30	9	40	12	253	78	78
1911-1920	2071	502	24.2	76	15	334	16.1	25	7	29	9	280	84	84
1921-1930	2134	481	22.5	93	19	307	14.4	35	11	21	7	251	82	82
1931-1940	2134	398	18.7	73	18	286	13.4	24	8	9	3	253	88	88
1941-1950	1899	328	17.3	38	12	274	14.4	8	3	5	1	264	96	96
1951-1960	1697	204	12.0	19	9	209	12.3	8	3	3	1	198	95	95
1961-1970	1345	110	8.2	22	20	220	16.4	2	1	0	0	218	99	99
1971-1978	1085	81	7.5	25	31	146	13.5	1	1	0	0	145	99	99
1684-1978		11,837				8,530								

Surplus of birth minus actual population (1044)  
plus original population (531): 2,734

Sources: Church Records for Lödörup Parish 1684-1978 in the Provincial Record Office at Lund (-1894) and the church archive at Lödörup (1895-).  
The population 1749-1800 was taken from the Parish registers concerning the census of population (folkmängdsräbeter), also at the Provincial Record Office at Lund.  
For the period 1805-1978, the total population was taken from the official publications *Bidrag till Sveriges officiella statistik*.  
A. Befolkningsstatistik, 1851-1909 and *Folkmängden inom administrativa områden 1910*.

DIAGRAM I. CRUDE BIRTH AND DEATH RATES FOR LÖDERUP PARISH, SCANIA, 1684 - 1978.



Notes to table 1  
See also the diagram 1

- 1) The population before 1749 has been calculated from the figure for 1749 by the subtraction of live births and the addition of deaths, year by year.
- 2) Bubonic plague in 1713.
- 3) The number of deaths for the different age groups refers to the years 1712-1720 with the year 1711 missing.

General commentary:

The reliability of the population figures before 1749 is discussed in the text, p.81f. Correspondingly high figures for the crude birth rate over 40/1000 which corroborate the present table, have been found for the Zealand parish of Sørbymagle 1656-1665 (48/1000), as well as for the Icelandic parish of Mödruvellir at different times between 1694 and 1800. See also E. Gautier and L. Henry, *La population de Crulai paroisse Normande*, Paris 1958, p. 58. This, however, does not prove a general law of such high birth rates at the time of the ancient regime.

The common deficiency of statistical tables is their inability to account for things not foreseen when the original categories were formed. The problem is aggravated when the table comprises larger, more heterogeneous populations. I suspect that only a further differentiation of the crude birth and death rates can answer some of the questions raised by a study of this table, which covers quite a long period of time. Tentatively, I have split the population for the period 1760-1782 into farmers with their households and cotters and calculated the death rate for each group. The outcome is an average of 18.5/1000 for the farmers and 32.1/1000 for the cotters.

My preliminary interpretation of the present table is the following: The feudal time was characterized by nearly unlimited fertility, temporarily checked by mental stress in times of pandemic diseases (and disasters). The peasant-farmers dominated the scene. From the 1740's on one notices a slight downward trend in the birth rate, possibly related to a new consciousness as to the negative aspects of having too many surviving children. Measures taken in this connection were certainly practised by the farmers through the following centuries. The relatively high fertility rate from the 1780's through the 1850's may then be related to the rise of the class of cotters, who did not practise contraceptive techniques. The starting point for a new dramatic downward trend in the birth rate may be in the 1860's, which was also the decade when the bourgeois culture won a decisive victory over the folk culture in south-eastern Scania. The extremely low figures for the last decades of that century in Löderup Parish may be further explained by the depopulation of the area, especially as regards the most fertile age groups.

The number of illegitimate births in the old agrarian society of Löderup was low. A rise of this fertility coincides with the appearance of the class of cottagers (and crofters). The rise of the figures for illegitimate fertility from the 1840's probably reflects the growing mobility of the population during the 19th century. In the decades around 1900, these figures rose to new heights. This was the time of railway construction; the railway to Löderup was finished in 1894. From then on the urban centre at the railway station developed. In the 1920's and 1930's, there was a height of propagation of illegitimate children, with nearly every fifth child being born out of wedlock. Again, it was the cotters and their descendants who were mainly involved in the breaking of norms in this way, together with the mobile urban population and the servants at the estate of Hagestaborg. The farmers and their adult children were rarely reported as parents of illegitimate children. The figures declined after the Second World War. Their rise again during the 1960's and 1970's is in fact a new phenomenon: it has become a norm for young people to live together ("*sambo*") without formal marriage.

The factors behind the high death rate were closely connected with those behind the high birth rate during the ancient regime. The life style, centered as it was on the pleasures of the moment, tended both to disregard the consequences of child propagation and to treat infants and ailing people

in a haphazard, irrational way. We must also consider the possibility that biological mechanisms were roused at times when extinction threatened the whole population. — When rational planning was brought to the fore, which in this area may have been the case from the 1740's, the first consequence of a lower birth rate should have been a diminished infant mortality. The figures in the columns of age-structured mortality during the 1740's and the 1750's support this assumption. The crude death rate was less responsive to human endeavour than the birth rate because of the violent but transient epidemics of small-pox, scarlet fever, measles, croup, diphtheria, and dysentery, which affected the whole population. We do notice a certain decline of the death rate from the 1740's onwards which was interrupted in the 1780's by severe epidemics affecting the adolescents. It is possible that such diseases had their origin among the cottagers' children. It is interesting that the next and decisive drop in the death rate comes in the 1840's and 1860's.

As for the 20th century, no dramatic changes in the crude death rate have occurred. The figures for the 1960's and 1970's are considerably higher than the national average of 10/1000. The Löderup death rate of 15/1000 should be attributed to the high average age of the population in Löderup Parish of today. We also find that during the last two decades deaths have by far outnumbered the births.

The differences in the mortality of the age groups (age-structured mortality) show a remarkable stability for the period 1684-1860. The main variations can be said to have affected the number of children who survived their first 15 years (live births minus deaths at 0-15 years of age). This percentage was 66 for the period 1684-1710, fell to 16 from 1711 to 1720 (the year 1711 included) and fluctuated between 70 and 60 till the 1840's when a rise to 77 took place. From the 1860's onwards, the number of children who survived their first 15 years of life has on the whole risen to over 90 % (since the 1930's). The most conspicuous structural change also came in the 1860's when the percentage of infant mortality fell below 20/1000 and, on the other hand, the mortality for persons over 15 years of age started to rise steadily. The relative number of deaths among adolescents, however, did not change until the 1890's when there was a sudden fall from 24 to 13 %. It is remarkable that in the last decades adolescent mortality has dropped to practically nil, the only child mortality thus affecting a minimal number of infants: consequently adult mortality, in effect old age mortality, has gone up to 99 %. This proves Löderup Parish to be an integrated part of a sophisticated social welfare society.

The problem of secular demographic change can be answered in the following way for Löderup Parish. It seems reasonable to connect births and deaths, partly because the two occurrences must have influenced each other, partly because their interplay resulted in a certain population size and density which, again, was a decisive factor for work organization, household composition, and class differentiation. If one calculates the percentage of births relative to deaths, a number of relatively well-defined periods stand out. The figures for the ancient regime is 116 (1409 births and 1212 deaths for the year 1684-1740). This means a slow population growth, often broken by setbacks from pestilence, famine and the like. I have checked the corresponding figures for 13 other parishes in Scania. In one case births and deaths could be ascertained for the years 1672-1746 (Södra Rörum). This birth/death coefficient was 115. But the total average was 128 which remains obscure, unless one investigates the details. Pestilence may have struck unevenly. The figures mostly referred to the years 1690-1746. The births and deaths for the Bishop's Congregation in the town of Västerås (*domkyrkoförsamling*) for the years 1623-1753 show a birth/death coefficient of 97 for the years 1623-1701, and 114 for the years 1713-1753. For the years 1702-1712 there was no information on deaths.

As for Löderup Parish the first demographic transition seems to have begun in the 1740's with a new, lower class entering the scene and pursuing the old feudal traditions. The birth/death coefficient, however, rose to 126 for the years 1741-1810. The second demographic transition, characterized by a growing overweight of the births, can be dated to 1811-1880. The birth/death coefficient then rose to its maximum, 166. It is noteworthy that this relationship does not appear if we watch the birth and death rates separately. This was the time of the population explosion in this area.

The next phase in this process may be called the First Industrial Period, dating from 1881 through 1930. The relationship births/deaths fell to 145. Finally, we now experience the Second Industrial Period, marked not only by a population decline because of out-migration but by a more ominous lack of regeneration, the birth/death coefficient being 99 for the time 1931-1978.

however, been calculated on the basis of the proportions in the population of 1771. If we look at Elmelunde and Kjeldby parishes in 1645 instead, counting the total number of women of 21-40 years of age (114 out of 894 individuals in the total population), the result is a theoretical birth rate of 48 per thousand. This corresponds to one childbirth every two years over a period of 20 years, minus 25 per cent on account of physical disorders. In the 17th century and in this area (Scania and Denmark), the large number of illmatched marriages with a great difference of age between the spouses further reduced fecundity.

In this perspective, a birth rate of 45 per thousand is high. An analysis of the Death Book of Sørbymagle and Kirkerup for the years 1646-1688 shows that among peasants every married man who reached the age of 50 or more had been the father of 9.7 children on average. Every married woman who reached the age of 40 or more had given birth to 10.2 children on average.

#### *The complex of infant mortality and unrestricted propagation of children*

Under those conditions in which human life was exposed to ever-present threats of death and hardships through lack of food, diseases, and the aggression of enemies or armed superiors, and where people lived close to the biological survival limit, the situation of the children was by far most perilous. This in turn was linked to the fact that mothers were unceasingly engaged in the reproduction cycle of mating, pregnancy, childbirth (or miscarriage) and lactation.

They were consequently always in the danger of infection in the reproductive tracts, of puerperal fever and other childbed disturbances, as well as of various deficiency diseases. The average length of life of married women in Sørbymagle and Kirkerup amounted to less than that of married men. During the intervals between the severe epidemics the crowds of children grew denser and poor peasants and cotters must have found it hard to feed all mouths. The most frequent cause of infant mortality given in the Books of Deaths and Funerals was, in fact, "unknown child disease". Anything could be hidden behind such an obscure label. This refers to the 18th century. In the 17th century, the social control exercised by neighbouring women may have been stricter. The Danish historian Gustaf Bang has analyzed material from one borough and five rural parishes of this time. He found that 5-6 per cent of all infant deaths were caused by — or probably caused by — suffocation in the bed. He considered this figure to be rather on the low side. In the material from Zealand which I have examined, there

were several cases of children's death caused by hunger in combination with manifest negligence.

*Biological hardships forced people together*

Life was by no means a drab monotony, as seen in longrange perspective. Everybody must have been prepared for sudden changes between failing and abundant crops, peace and plunder, ordinary sickness and mortality from bad hygiene or gluttony, and such fearful summers as that of 1713, when the bubonic plague snatched away nearly half the children and one third of the adult population of the two Löderup villages. Refuge was taken with the collective. Every childbirth was attended by a gathering of the neighbouring women. According to the Book of Communion of 1694, no single widow existed in the parish of Löderup. Those few men who lived unmarried were supported by an adult female helper in all cases except on — a shepherd. Men and women were equally anxious to remarry immediately upon the death of their spouse. What if the plans were made even before the death of the wife or husband? Peasants lived for the moment, relatively speaking. They got as much pleasure as possible out of life, by getting drunk if nothing else, for death and disease was always lurking nearby. If there were 92 households in Löderup Parish in the 1690's, and if the mean size of the households was 7 individuals, then each household was struck by death every five years and blessed with a new baby every three years on average. People lived close to each other and shared feasts and hardships and drudgery. The high number of births and deaths in itself is therefore the sign of a way of life that plainly differs from the situation at the end of the next century. External factors such as heavy conscriptions or a succession of harvest failures could at any time bring about such sudden changes that were characteristic of these economic and social conditions, but it is not by chance that the birth rate in a population remains at the 44 per thousand level for a whole decade. The death rate is different: it can be influenced by factors outside human control. But an extremely high birth rate presupposes a certain way of life (*genre de vie*) embraced by women and men. A high nativity goes with a certain high mortality, since by far the highest death rate occurs among infants under one year of age.

*The corporate group in the form of extended households emerges as an actual reality*

The Swedish term 'bo-lag' for the complex habitation clusters among these settled peasants is indeed expressive. It denotes that people lived together on the farmstead, though not necessarily in just one household or



dining group (Sw. *matlag* = "eating companionship", G. *Tischgenossenschaft*, "table companionship"). Twentyfour of 58 farmers in Hagestad and 22 of 33 farmers in Löderup village in 1694 represented a type of complex household in which two farmers and their adherents had moved together into one quadrangular farmstead in order to pool their animals and work together in the fields and to share the tax liability of the farm. This phenomenon was frequent in the whole of southeastern Scania. It can be shown that the two farmers in these cases usually possessed only as many draught animals between them — at least two pairs — as was necessary for ordinary ploughing. In some cases one of the two "share-farmers" was the owner of a cow. When each of them kept a cow, one of the animals was usually the property of someone else in the village. The ownership of domestic animals can be established through the Land Surveying Records of 1671. In the 1690's, 30 farmsteads in Hagestad belonged to the Crown, whereas 18 belonged to the nobility or to the Church. The Crown lands had belonged to the neighbouring manor of Ingelstad during the Danish rule, the peasants being under the obligations of several days' labour a week (*corvée*). The custom of compound households can partly be explained as an expedient for the peasants to properly fulfill their day-work without the need of hired labour. Corresponding compound households existed at that time in the Baltic area as well as in the Ukraine in the 18th century.

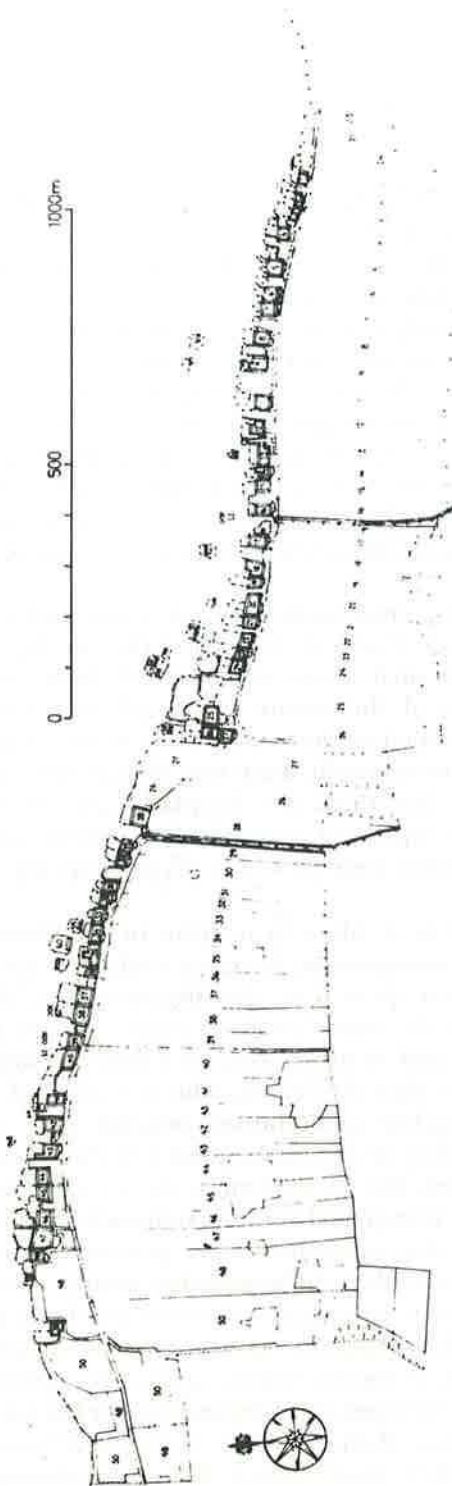
*Co-operation, not kinship, determined the composition of the complex households*

The double households of Löderup in 1694 were not usually composed of farmers related by kinship. This is perfectly consistent with the general situation. When a farm was vacant or deserted, the Crown official often had to resort to persuasion or to threaten with conscription in order to make a young farmhand accept the responsibility for a less fertile farm. The pressure of taxation was severely felt by the peasants. There was no noticeable claim for inheriting farmsteads, nor any real proprietorship of farmsteads and land. Even for a yeoman, three years of failure to pay the taxes led to forfeiture of the farm. Every young and healthy man was thus the potential manager of a farm. The number of male and female hands was small. Every young man and woman served from their teens until they married and settled down as farm managers or as inmates on a farm. All servants came from the farmsteads and were not recruited from any class of cotters. The landless cottages were very few and inhabited by old people, craftsmen, and former or prospective farmers (see table on p. 86). The career of a peasant-farmer would consist of a few years in a cottage in his early life if he married without taking over a farmstead, and later in his declining years. Neither of the two

alternatives, however, was the rule. Instead, people who were not peasant-farmers usually asked permission to live with the farm people as inmates (*gårdfolk*). They would be decrepit old people, former holders of the farm, craftsmen or horse-soldiers with their wives, and occasionally crippled unmarried women. According to my calculation for Hagestad, in 1694 only 20 of a total of 72 such inmates were related to the farm managers. These inmates were not servants but they were expected to do a certain amount of light work in exchange for lodging and some food. In the sample, there were two inmates to one cottier, but then there were inmates with the cottiers as well. I must add that the extremely low number of adult children living at home, according to the Hagestad Book of Communion of 1694, had its counterpart in the Danish villages which I have examined for the year 1645.

An investigation of a great many cases of compound households in Scania in the House Inspection Protocol shows that the two farmers usually divided their housing-space in such a way that each of them had the equivalent of two of the four sides of the square courtyard. The actual living space for both farmers was confined to the one row where the fireplaces were located. Occasionally two farmers would share one living-room, or they would have separate living-rooms but share the fireplace and the oven. The animals, representing the most important capital in that period, were tended separately. The agricultural profits were probably divided equally, as were the taxes.

The peasants lived in serfdom in relation to the Crown, the Church and the nobility, and in comparative equality with one another — which was sometimes forced upon them. For this situation in 17th century southern Scandinavia I suggest the term “serfdom stage“. Its existence can certainly be traced backwards, and in other parts of Europe — including Denmark —, it lasted much longer than in Scania. The situation of the peasantry was characterized by relentless exploitation, regardless of whether they were governed by the nobility or the Crown and whether their land belonged to a nobleman, the Crown, the Church or to the yeoman farmer himself. Conscription, day-work, transportation of commodities and the gentry, and other impositions by the authorities were part and parcel of the peasant's fate. We do not find any class differentiation among the common people of this era: anyone could be a farmer and people lived in a bio-social communion, the poor and feeble living incorporated in the clusters of people on the farmsteads. The saving of money seems to have been directed only towards the possible purchase of oxen as a preparation for the taking over of a farm. No less than 40 per cent of all oxen and steers and 22 per cent of all cows in Hagestad village in 1671 were owned by other persons than those who actually kept them in their stables. The small number of servants and the necessity for the husbands to spend much time on the road left the wives with the inescapable task of tending the cattle, guarding the stores and the



houses and caring for the young and the old; as a consequence, the women must have been on an equal footing with the men in everyday life. They must also have spent a great deal of their time away from the dwelling, in the cow-barns and stables, walking to and from the outbuildings, and working in the fields. The housekeeping was correspondingly simple, marked by an absence of formalities and a daily routine which was broken only by the excessive feasts.

It is difficult to detect any future-oriented family planning in the form of inheritance and wills or any pride of patriarchal descent. "The peasant-farmer does not know his great-grandfather", reads a Swedish poem from the 1890's.

When a farm became vacant through illness or death, it was taken over by somebody who happened to be at hand, and very often he took over the widow as well. If the new peasant was too poor, two men could join forces. The economic conditions which were part of the pronounced nonfamilistic egalitarian and co-operative attitudes in the small community of neighbours were reinforced by the biological conditions of life: children were propagated not for the sake of family planning but instinctively for the survival of the kind. A feeling of unity may have tied together the inhabitants of a number of adjacent farms and even villages, where people were conscious of each other as in a nomadic tribe and where one accepted partnership, spouses, fosterlings, inmates, and successors as matters of course, irrespective

#### Map No. 1 Hagestad 1732

Geodetical surveyor's map of Hagestad village, Löderup Parish, in 1732. Archive of the National Land Survey Board, Gefle.

This map shows the 48 chiefly quadrangular farmsteads of the village and the 16 small cottages that were inhabited by dragoons, poor discharged soldiers, humble herdsmen paid by the village community, fence-keepers (*vångavakt*) and simple labourers. The parcels covered by the map are the "home-parcels" (*toft*) close to the courtyards; according to the law such home-parcels determined the size and location of all other parcels of a particular farmstead.

These other parcels were scattered on the many fields of the village. The parcels were tilled individually but most jobs, such as sowing and harvesting, had to be carried out jointly. The fields were, moreover, separated by fences into three major divisions, one for autumn-sown rye, one for spring-sown barley, and one fallow where the village cattle grazed.

The arrangement of the farmsteads in one row has a geological explanation. The Baltic moraine clay, rich in limestone deposits, was first cultivated in this area. Exactly where the road ran, the moraine bed is interrupted by a streak of stony, less fertile land. It was practical to erect the buildings on this stony ground with its building materials close at hand, and to have the road follow the geological borderline between tussocky waste land to the north and easy-to-plow fertile clay to the south. In neighbouring villages they used to say that Hagestad farmers were slow, and that all they had to do was to carry their dung across the road. In this stony area the first cottages were also erected, only farther to the north. In 1816, their number was 48, according to a military map of that time.

of kinship. When an old person died, death had often taken all his children. The apparent difference in status between the holder of a farm and a beggar was more often than not a question of different phases in the life cycle of one individual. Thus, the distinction was not as tangible as if race, language or "blood" (= class) had been involved.

If, by chance, old parents could live with their son or daughter or if two brothers could join forces on the farmstead it was certainly regarded as pleasant, mainly because the shared childhood memories made such relationships easier. In view of the position of kinship interpretation as one of the superpowers in anthropology, a detailed investigation into the quantitative impact of kin relations resulting in kinship coefficients for different historical and ecological situations is sorely needed. How close — numerically expressed — were the kinship ties between the members of the average habitation cluster in a given total population? I have the impression that villages in central Sweden were more often characterized by kin groupings such as parents and married children living together than were the Scanian and Danish villages of the 17th century. Because of the lack of a kinship ideology among the peasants this difference may be explained by a lower migration intensity than that of Österlen and Zealand. A person by person comparison between the 1694 and 1702 Books of Communion shows that in eight years 50 per cent of the peasant farmers had disappeared as managers. If, theoretically, a farmer could remain on his farm for thirty years on average, the figure of mobility, stated as a change of domicile or change of status, would have been 27 instead of 50. In these eight years, 73 per cent of the cotters and practically 100 per cent of the peasants' servants had changed their position.

The transition which took place at the beginning of the 18th century was not restricted to the peasantry in Scania. I have concluded that equally deep-going metamorphoses affected the higher social strata and that the bourgeois way of life emerged during approximately the same decades. Politically, the powerful Carolingian monarchy was succeeded by the aera of the omnipotent parliament, after the death of Charles XII in 1718.

## *B. THE MASTERY STAGE*

"Now servant has entered his service: doeth then with diligence and fidelity those chores which his master reasonably puts before him. And if somebody is negligent and refractory; he should first be corrected amicably and otherwise with modest domestic beating. Should he still not improve, then let him be sacked from his service without passport and character and be deprived of his salary. It is not allowed for male or female hand to have their

chest elsewhere than where they serve" (The Statute Book of Sweden of 1734).

By using the term "mastery stage" I want to emphasize one characteristic of the whole period from the 1730's up to around 1920 in southeastern Scania, namely the hierarchical organization of the peasant households with servants and occasional workers grouped around, and highly dependant upon, the master and mistress of the farm. It is possible that this non-egalitarian structuring increased parallel with the population growth up till 1870. The quintessence of the secular process which took place during the 18th and 19th centuries can be characterized as an ever increasing appropriation of authority and economic power by the master and mistress of the individual farm. In order to gain an impression of this, however imperfectly, we need only observe the number of farmers in Hagestad in 1694 and 1771. They were 58 in 1694 and 51 in 1771, whereas the number of farmsteads remained at a constant 48. The total adult population was, in the same years, 217 and 427 respectively. While the total number of adults in the farm households amounted to 201 persons in 1694, servants and inmates included, the corresponding figure for 1771 is 276. We must not forget that the cotters were also, by and large, dependent on the farmers. Their number was 16 in 1694, compared with 136 in 1771. At the beginning of the 18th century, the authorities initiated the new, depreciating term of "dependent dwellers" (*inhysesjon*) for what had earlier been called "farm-folk" (*gård-folk*). Since the adult daughters living at home and the femals hands had multiplied from 14 to 56 between 1694 and 1771 in a decreasing number of households, the farmer's wife certainly had more time to look after her infants and to arrange the dwelling more neatly, as well as to cook and, to a certain extent, to set a more elaborate table.

On the basis of these structural changes it seems highly probable that the elaborate folk costumes and other expressions of an ornamental folk culture were restricted to the same period of 150 years, beginning with the first part of the 18th century. This should not obscure the fact that some elements of the folk culture were age-old, some may be traced to the 17th century, and some were invented or remodelled at the very time of their heyday. When, on an average, there was one surviving adult son or daughter to each farm, it was possible to plan for the taking over of the farm by someone who had grown up there as a member of the stem family.

*A new time perspective developed among the peasants in the 18th century*

An average of 1/2 son plus 1/2 daughter actually implies that older farmers kept several adult children, since the younger couples only had young children. The central factor probably was that arable land became an eco-

conomic asset for the individual farmer and that the cultivation of land became the main aspiration of the growing generation. This development was all the more logical since the yields increased or could be marketed to the town merchants, whereas the burden of taxation did not increase to the same extent. The peasant now had a certain scope for planning the future of his farmstead so that a feeling of ownership could develop. In the 1740's, the Marriage Register for the first time reflects the new peasant self-assertion by listing the farmer-peasants with a title in addition to the customary *dräng* (young man, hand) and *bonde* (farmer). "Homestead farmer" (*hemmans-åbon*) was one such title that had been unknown during the feudal stage. At the same time, conversely, more stress was now put on the fact that somebody was a servant hand or a cotter. The first crofter (*torpare*) was noted in the Marriage Register of 1769. The mere fact that the number of farmsteads remained constant despite a rapid increase in the population during the 18th century, implies the development of a competitive situation with regard to the right to be a farmer. The people's main source of livelihood was, of course, still the farm land.

Thence followed an inclination to plan ahead prudently in order to keep possession of the farm and to pass it on to one's children, now that there was an abundance of prospective heirs. The right of exploitation that had been connected with noblemen's estates had evidently long ago given rise to manifest inheritance customs within their privileged stratum. Correspondingly, as the holding or possession of a farm gave means as well as status, and as a farmer could afford to keep several servants, the attitude towards proprietorship was bound to bring forth a new class feeling in relation to those not entitled to a farmer's status. The proletarians grew more and more numerous as farm hands married and became cotters. The family and kinship ideology among the peasants must have developed parallelly with the proprietorship ideology, centered around the primary ecological unit — the Farmstead. Did the attitude towards one's own son or daughter change, gaining a time dimension as the children were regarded as presumptive heirs? In the feudal stage a widow of, say, fifty would remarry within weeks and she would pick a young man who could step into the former peasant's shoes. The more self-important widow of the mastery stage was not similarly disposed, or compelled, towards remarriage since there were always male hands available for the chores. Typically, she would convey the farm to her son, who would then get married, while the widow would legally retain free board and lodging on the farm where she would stay as an inmate (*sojourner* in 16th century English). While in 1694 57 out of 67, or 85 per cent of all inmates of the two Löderup villages were not closely related to the farmer of his wife, in 1771, only 12 out of 49, or 24 per cent, were not related to the master or mistress.

Interior decoration became a new element in the folk culture when houses with ceilings and chimney succeeded the smoky dwellings with an open hearth around and before 1700. Deepseated changes in women's traditional roles occurred as the household was gradually transformed.

As long as there was a lack of manpower so that any able-bodied person could be a farmer, the contribution of women's work was of equal economic importance to that of men's. But the egalitarian balance between the spouses changed as the husband had male hands and adult sons for helpers. A more pronounced division of labour crystallized, placing more domestic duties with the mistress of the house. Female hands and daughters could be put to outdoor work in the stables and the fields. This development gave the housewife more authority over the women while the husband had a certain advantage over his wife, as his work carried the greatest economic weight. Whether the balance of power between husband and wife was changed is difficult to establish. On the whole, in the peasant society, the prestige of the mistress of the house seems to have lasted through the 18th and 19th centuries. If, however, the husband succumbed to the excessive use of home distilled spirits, which spread like an epidemic during the 18th century and partly displaced beer, the wife may have taken charge of the whole household.

More mastery authority and proprietary rights meant more conflicts. The vicar of Löddeköpinge and Borgeby in Scania has given several examples of serious quarrels caused by daughter-in-laws moving into the house. Identical information from two different Scanian vicars, given in 1775 and in 1759, indicates that during this century a change took place as regards the length of time a farmer retained his position as master. According to contemporary reports it had become the custom for the sons or sons-in-law to take over the government of the farm at an early stage, their fathers or fathers-in-law retiring at a fairly early age. This tendency is confirmed by Table 2. The number of potential masters, comprising adult children, servants, lodgers and cotters, grew from 55 persons in relation to 58 farmers in 1694 to 240 persons in relation to 51 farmers in 1771 (from 1:1 to 5:1). It is true that some of the cotters of 1771 were old people, but as a whole the group now consisted of quite different categories than in the 17th century, namely young or middleaged and healthy persons who had married without being owners of a farmstead. It is possible that there was a certain patrilocal tendency in Österlen — meaning that the eldest or the youngest son succeeded to the farm. But this is not the same as patriarchy. According to the Löderup Parish Catechetical Register of 1771, there were 20 cases where the farmer's father or mother still lived on the farm, mostly as in-mates, as against 12 cases where the wife's father or mother did so.



Table 2. Composition of households between 1645 and 1978.

	Sørbymagle and Kirke- rup, Zealand 1645		Svensköp, Scania 1694	
	Number of per- sons	% (ad- ults only)	Number of per- sons	%
PEASANT-FARMERS <sup>1)</sup>	50 <sup>3</sup>	20	30	30
Peasants' wives	47	19	28	28
Double farms	—	—	11 <sup>6</sup>	= 23 househ.
Children under 15 years of age	128	—	42	—
Adult sons	6	2	8	8
Adult daughters	2	1	9	9
Farm hands	21	8	1	1
Younger farm hands under 15 years of age	3	—	—	—
Maid-servants	19	6	2	2
Male inmates, related to the master or mistress	—	—	1	1
Female inmates, related as above	—	—	—	—
Male inmates, unrelated	10	4	5	5
Female inmates, unrelated	19	8	9	9
Inmates, under age	15	—	5	—
Average of persons per nuclear family	4,5	—	3,3	—
Average of persons per nuclear + extended family	4,9	—	3,9	—
Average of persons per stem household	5,5	—	4,0	—
Average of persons per stem + extended household	6,4 (3,4)	—	4,7 (3,1)	—
Average of persons per household + double household	—	—	7,8 (5,2)	—
COTTERS	19	8	—	—
Wives, widows or spinsters	18	7	—	—
Children	27	—	—	—
Adult sons	—	—	—	—
Adult daughters	1	0	—	—
Male inmates	2	1	—	—
Female inmates	8	3	—	—
Inmates, under age	2	—	—	—
Average of persons per stem + extended household	3,9 (2,4)	—	—	—
CRAFTSMEN	8	3	—	—
Wives	7	3	—	—
Children	18	—	—	—
Adult sons	—	—	—	—
Adult daughters	—	—	—	—
Journeymen + apprentices or hands	—	—	—	—
Farm hands (to craftsmen running farm)	4 <sup>5</sup>	1	—	—
Maid-servants	3 <sup>5</sup>	1	—	—
Male inmates	1	0	—	—
Female inmates	2	1	—	—
Inmates, under age	2	—	—	—
GENTRY & CIVIL SERVANTS	3	1	1	1
Members of gentry/households	11 (4 ch)	3	9 (1ch)	9
ADULTS, SUM	251	100	101	100
Totals of main categories:				
Peasant-farmers <sup>2)</sup>	105	42	75	74
Inmates	42	17	17	17
Servants (adults only)	45	18	7	7
Cotters <sup>2)</sup>	38	15	0	—
Craftsmen <sup>2)</sup> with helpers	15	6	0	—
Gentry and civil servants <sup>2)</sup>	6	2	3	3
TOTAL POPULATION	456	100	150	100

Hagestad village, Löderup Parish 1771		Hagestad village, Löderup Parish 1870		Hagestad village, Löderup Parish 1870		Ditto, small- holders with less than 12 acres 1870		Hagestad village, Löderup Parish 1978	
Number of per- sons	%	Number of per- sons	%	Number of per- sons	%	Number of per- sons	%	Number of per- sons	%
58	27	51	12	49	5	28	3	43 <sup>13</sup>	(64 <sup>14</sup> ) 11(17)
55	25	49	11	49 <sup>10</sup>	5	29 <sup>12</sup>	3	37 <sup>13</sup>	(52 <sup>14</sup> ) 10(14)
4=24 househ.		4= 8 househ.		3=6 househ.				10=20 househ,15	
—	—	101	—	109	—	62	—	25 <sup>16</sup>	4
5	2	31	7	22	2	5	1	16 <sup>13</sup>	—
6	3	31	7	27	3	9	1	8 <sup>17</sup>	2
20	9	40	9	51	5	6	1	4 <sup>18</sup>	1
—	—	2	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
8	4	25 <sup>8</sup>	6	45	5	5	1	—	—
1	0	10	2	5	1	—	—	—	—
1	0	14	3	5	1	—	—	—	—
19	9	5	1	15	2	—	—	—	—
24	11	5 <sup>9</sup>	1	15	2	—	—	—	—
—	—	7 <sup>9</sup>	—	1	—	—	—	—	—
—	—	3,9	—	4,2	—	3,9	—	2,7	—
—	—	5,6	—	5,2	—	4,3	—	—	—
—	—	6,3	—	6,9	—	4,6	—	—	—
— (3,4)	—	7,1 (5,0)	—	7,7 (5,5)	—	4,6 (2,6)	—	—	—
— (4,3)	—	7,7 (5,4)	—	8,2 (5,9)	—	—	—	3,2	—
9	4	53	12	216	22	—	—	—	—
7	3	60	14	216	22	—	—	—	—
—	—	72	—	367	—	—	—	—	—
—	—	4	1	52	5	—	—	—	—
—	—	19	4	57	6	—	—	—	—
1	0	5	1	1	0	—	—	—	—
3	1	8	2	3	0	—	—	—	—
—	—	7	—	2	—	—	—	—	—
— (2,2)	—	3,6 (2,3)	—	3,6 (2,2)	—	—	—	—	—
—	—	7	2	21	2	—	—	—	—
—	—	6	1	16	2	—	—	—	—
—	—	13	—	25	—	—	—	—	—
—	—	—	—	4	0	—	—	—	—
—	—	—	—	4	0	—	—	—	—
—	—	2	0	3	0	—	—	—	—
—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
—	—	—	—	1	0	—	—	—	—
—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
—	—	3	1	—	—	—	—	—	—
—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
—	—	—	—	4	0	—	—	—	—
—	—	—	—	12 (6ch)	1	—	—	—	—
217	100	427	100	969	100	—	—	381	—
124	57	162	38	147	15	+71	+ 7	145	38
49	23	50	12	44	5	—	—	—	—
28	13	64	15	108	21	—	—	—	—
16	7	136	32	541	56	—	—	88 <sup>19</sup>	23
—	—	15	4	48	5	—	—	148 <sup>20</sup>	39
—	—	—	—	10	1	—	—	—	—
—	100	630	100	1541	100	—	—	441	100

## Notes to table 2

Figures in parentheses represent adults only. The category 'adult daughters' includes adult female relatives not given as inmates.

- 1) 'Nuclear family' – husband and/or wife + children under 15 years of age.  
'Extended family' includes adult children staying at home + relatives of the master and mistress.  
'Stem household' comprises the manager of the household + minor and adult children or fosterlings + servants.  
'Extended household' includes inmates, too.
- 2) Including wives, housekeepers and adult children.
- 3) Including four wealthier "cotters".
- 4) Including four children.
- 5) Including one child.
- 6) One farm comprised the households of three related peasants.
- 7) One female housekeeper who was not related to the master was listed under 'adult daughters'.
- 8) Including one minor maid servant.
- 9) Three children, listed as inmates, were relatives of the master's.
- 10) Including two farmers' widows.
- 11) Two maid servants.
- 12) Including three widows.
- 13) In this column I have tried to make visible the conditions of the present farming population as that sector of the population that corresponds to the peasant-farmers of earlier centuries. Forty-three persons were active farmers; the figure 64 includes the non-active farmers, mostly pensioners, living in the Hagestad area. Of the active farmers, 21 per cent were over 65 years of age. The percentages in the column refer to the total adult population of 381 persons. No detailed analysis has been made of the other professional groups. Of the farm women, three were engaged in work outside the farms at the time. There is a tendency for males to stay on the farms as compared with females who, to a greater extent have moved to more urbanized conditions.
- 14) No less than 20 households formed a new kind of co-operative units, each composed of a young couple with their children and the parents of either husband or wife, living separately but meeting daily for contacts and co-operation. They either live on the same farm or on two separate farms which belong to the same owner. In the latter case the car and the telephone are the uniting media.
- 15) Of the adult sons living at home, four worked outside the farm and some had not completed their education or lived elsewhere in spite of being formally registered as living in their parents' home.
- 16) The same holds true for daughters living at home. Only one of them was engaged in work outside the farm.
- 17) None of the farm hands actually lived on the farms.
- 18) I have established this group of agricultural labourers, smallholders, and fishermen (adults only). Of the males, 42 per cent were over 65 years of age.
- 19) This group comprises the rest of the adult population, labourers, craftsmen, local businessmen and some urban people who have their summer houses or pensioners' homes in the Hagestad area.

Please note that the percentage of children of the total population was, for 1645, 45; for 1771, 32; for 1870, 37; and for 1978, 14. It is my impression that the rise in the number of children during the 19th century is connected with a considerable difference as to child propagation between the farmers and the cotters. Interviewers have reported that agricultural labourers and crofters consistently had very large families as compared with farmers at the turn of the last century. I find it probable that the demographic situation was markedly different for farmers and for cotters from the time when the two groups split into two different classes during the second part of the 18th century. I have investigated the mortality during the period 1760-1782, differentiating between peasants and cotters. The outcome was a mortality coefficient of 32.1 for cotters and 18.5 for peasants and their households. The total number of deaths was 490. See also my paper "The Oicological Approach" in *Chance and Change*, ed. S. Åkerman, H.C. Johannsen, and D. Gaunt; Odense 1978, p. 156.

As regards central Sweden, the 'kvarntullslängd' (Mill Duty Register) of 1628 for the Fogdö Parish shows a predominance of twelve to five for sons-in-law as compared to daughters-in-law living with their respective parents-in-law. In the parish of Jäder the proportion was 11:5 in 1688, and in the parish of Lundby near Västerås 12:2 in 1775. The rule there seems to have been that a son who married moved away, whereas a daughter who married stayed home, brought her husband there and took over the farm, in spite of the law which stipulated that a daughter should take only one third as compared to a son. (The National Law Code of 1442 and the Law of 1734.) Ordinary people were probably well aware of the dangers of confrontations between women endowed with authority within the same house. As long as the women had to work outdoors such confrontations were of minor consequence. The new obstinacy of the young masters towards their retired parents as it is reported from 18th century Österlen may have been an elements of the same social syndrome.

#### *Household communion and class opposition*

In dealing specifically with the kinship relations within the peasant households it is easy to overlook the fact that the farm servants and casual workers were of increasing numerical importance during the 18th century and that much of the *Gemeinschaft* in everyday life remained undisturbed by the new structures.

No doubt servants and other farm people were treated the same way as the children and relatives of the master and mistress. Commensalism still included eating from the same pot, and part of the servants still came from among the farmer's children. At the same time married cotters emerged as a new class, and feelings of condescension and envy between farmers and cotters arose, enhanced by the inveterate begging of the cotters' children. The self-interests of the farmers were probably brought to the fore especially in connection with the planning for the future and the marriage prospects for their children. The privileged members of the peasant household were, after all, the master and mistress, who had the power to arrange feasts, travel to the city, rest in a screened-off double bed — and to give orders. The cotters, to a large extent surplus children from the farms, now for their part had a chance to marry and build a home for themselves. These unfavoured adult farm children now had something to look forward to outside the realm of farmsteads; as servants and labourers they had somewhere to go back to, something to earn money for, in short an identity which the farm inmates of the preceding century had lacked. Here was another reason for a certain class opposition, as yet slight, between the landed and the landless

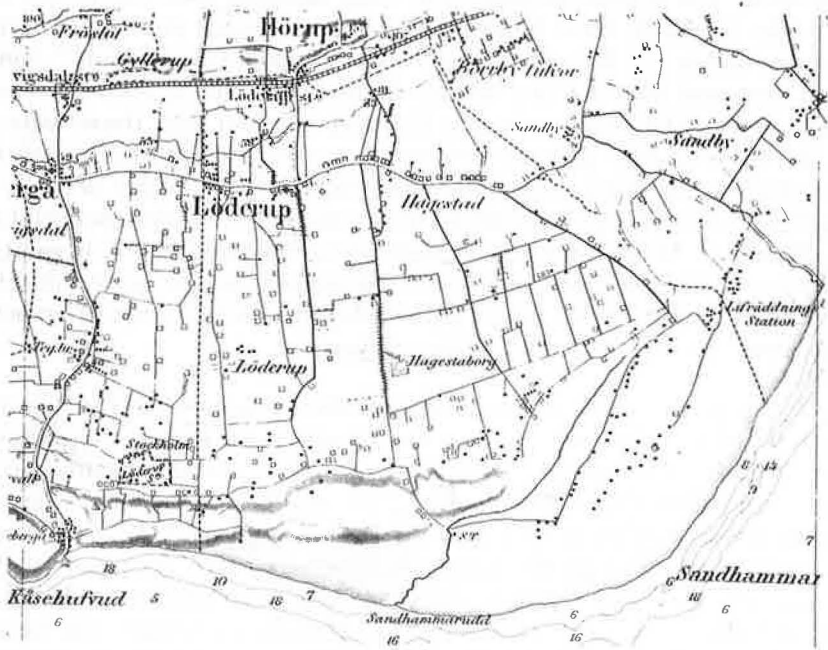
people of these village around 1800. The principle of economic calculation for private benefit was slowly replacing the old corporate principle of equal sharing.

The great secular change which doubled the population of the villages between 1694 and 1790 and then again multiplied it up till 1870 – Löderup had 550 inhabitants in 1694, 1057 in 1790, 2472 in 1870 – had definitely nothing to do with the government policy with regard to the dividing of farms which was launched in 1747, or the pious concern for as large a population as possible. The custom for women to bear many children survived to the 1870's and 1880's, although on a lower level than during the feudal stage. It is probable that we would discover marked differences between farmers and cottagers in these respects, were it possible to calculate the individual birth rate for each group. (See also under notes to table 2, p.102) Great epidemics were less numerous and the death rate came down to 25 per thousand as early as at the beginning of the 19th century. While the birth rate was 30 per thousand of the mean population in the 1870's, the death rate at the same time came down to 18 per thousand. The population increase behind these figures was almost certainly related to the better supply of food and, secondarily, to an increased disease resistance among children and in the whole population.

### *Socio-economic and cultural changes in the 19th century*

One reason for the accentuation of the role of family and kinship during the 19th century was the desire of the farmers to draw a line between themselves and the great mass of cotters, crofters and smallholders. In the feudal stage, pastors and merchants did the same in relation to common folks. Contributing factors were the breaking up of village communities, the concentration of farm lands, and the new opportunities for farmers to buy and sell land and to litigate over their rights to strips of land. In Löderup Parish the Enclosure Law was effectuated in 1821. About half the farmsteads of Hagestad Village were moved from the long row along the road to separate locations in the fields; the remaining farmsteads today constitute a relatively dense old-fashioned village, unusual for Sweden. The joint planning and execution of the cultivation became obsolete, as did the common pasture in the fallow fields. Thus the farmstead turned into a more closed economic unit, in most cases served by four to five cottages in the neighbourhood. To 49 farmsteads with 52 households in Hagestad in 1870, there were 251 households of cotters and smallholders. The population pressure during the 19th century had lead to great land reclamation and to the rise of smallholdings with barely enough land and cattle to carry the holders through the

seasons when work at the wealthy farms was scarce. When the farmers of the late 19th century became involved in the money economy and established a regular market for milk and butter, as well as for cattle and swine for slaughter, many of the previous domestic handicrafts were discarded. The style of dress and furniture was shared with the growing crowds of urban buyers of the 1860's and 1870's. The occupational specialization in the larger society led to a standardization of that consumption. It is significant for the continuous change in this direction that even the agrarian village of Hagestad in 1870 accommodated 21 craftsmen with 3 journeymen. In 1694 only the church village housed any craftsmen at all – there were four of them and at the time this was considered a lot.



Map No. 2 Hagestad 1861 (revised 1907) (scale 1:100.000)

The Ordnance Survey Map of 1861, shows the extent, to which the formerly barren land north of the road was rendered arable in the highly effective and intense land reclamation during the 19th century.

The cottages were deserted and torn down and the landless population was moved to another area south of the village fields, the so-called 'moss', which was made habitable if not exactly fertile through a co-operative draining operation in the 1820's. Still further south there is a sandy hillside. Even there, many cottages were built in the time of scarcity and overpopulation in the 19th century. Beyond that, the land of Löderup Parish ends along a curved line of dunes and seashore, the 'Sandhammar'.

On the cartographical picture of the Hagestad area today, the main elements of the ecological history are well discernible.

*Breaches in the solidarity of the households*

The structural changes, already noted for the 18th century, were accentuated towards the end of the 19th century. Adult farmers' daughters did not have to take part in heavy work to the same extent as female servants. The farmer's family slowly emerged as a separate group in everyday life. In some cases separate quarters for servants and casual labourers were built, the so-called folks' room (*folkastugan*). Another differentiation of the dwelling was the addition of a bedroom for the master and mistress and their small children.

The old companionship that arose from sleeping in a common room was now broken. The female servants had their sleeping quarters in the folks' room while the male farm hands still slept in a small unheated room adjoining the stable — "but they used to have a maid for company". One informant reported that he saw female hands walk naked over the yard to the stable room. This was meant to illustrate the fact that those were days when, in spite of the pastors' neverending efforts, there were fewer sex taboos than in our days. The number of illegitimate children actually rose during the 19th century, in Löderup Parish from 4 % of all new-born babies in the 1840's to 14 % in the first decade of the 20th century; it began to decline in the 1940's. We must not draw the conclusion that sexual liberty increased but that the social control loosened as the mobility between districts rose, perhaps because of the rise of the railways.

In the 1890's and at the beginning of the 20th century, the custom of eating from a common bowl was gradually given up. It was considered unsavoury to put one's spoon into the same porridge bowl as a snuffchewing cotter. (The habit of chewing snuff grew rapidly in Sweden among the common people during the latter half of the 19th century.) Another old habit was to defecate on the dunghill. This was given up when, between 1880 and the beginning of the 20th century, the farmers built separate privies (*provitt*). On large farms such as Hagestaborg, with 135 hectares, folks' privies were located separately from the more elaborate ones of the farmer's family.

On the whole, the farmers around 1900 displayed a cultural level which clearly distinguished them from the cotters and other landless people. The farmer could now spend more time on convivial gatherings at the inns. His role as an employer was more pronounced. Rich farmers would appear as squires, carrying a walking stick for dignity, wearing high boots, and with a certain martial touch to the dress. The economic dealings with buyers of live stock and grain as well as with sellers of machines and seed required much time during this epoch of private enterprise.

The relative absence on the farms of manual work for the managers gave them an opportunity to get involved in the planning and organization of the economy for the whole district. Many road-owners' associations, co-operative dairies, companies for steam threshing-machines, breeders' associations and farmers' unions were founded in the 1890's and earlier. (Österlen was, however, late in this respect as compared to the central southern and western part of Scania.) Now the foundation was laid for the farmers' organisation movement that was to lead to an integration of another dimension than that of the village communities. Denmark's farmers had paved the way in this field two or three decades earlier. The farmers accomplished much organisational work of this kind without other remuneration than the festive meetings which were as obligatory after every proper meeting as they had been after the village working parties.

### *The new kinship culture*

Intercourse with relatives now took on a new importance as a way of spending the extended leisure time of the farmers and their families, who had access to horses for their Sunday excursions. It was more interesting to visit siblings and cousins in neighbouring villages and parishes now, when the visiting could be done with a certain ostentation. The black-varnished carriages, often with a couchbox, upholstered seats, mudguards, hoods and a holder for the metal mounted and bright coloured whip, were common in Österlen at the beginning of this century. They were considered appropriate for visits to relatives and they signified that on Sundays the farmer was a patron's equal. It was only the family of the farmer that counted: the servants had to stay home. This leisuretime and kinship ideology of the farmers around 1900 was partly modelled on the life style of pastors and the rural gentry one hundred years earlier.

For those who had to walk, visits with kin outside the neighbourhood were less frequent. A threshing-man who lived in the Vallby Village in the 1890's had not seen his parents for five years, although they lived in Stiby, five kilometers away. When he finally went to visit them they had, without his knowledge, moved to another parish.

In everyday life the neighbourly contacts were still of main importance. During these years, when the blacksmith's iron age succeeded the wooden age in agriculture, the village smithy served as a common meeting place for all farmers in the area. Everybody had an errand there, if only to fetch a bolt.



If we regard the marked growth of contacts between relatives from the end of the 19th century as an ecological manifestation of a relatively leisured situation and improved transportation facilities for farmers and their families, the many statements that "people used to claim kindred with more distant relatives in olden times" or that "kinship used to be more important than now" can be fitted into the historical development. In villages or districts like Hagestad and Löderup, cousinhood and neighbourhood were of course often identical, and a farmer who tried to establish equally frequent relations with all his siblings and cousins would soon have enough of his kin. It is true that the nearest neighbours and most relatives expected to be invited to the after Christmas parties, and even to birthdays, but the intimate and frequent contacts were restricted to just a few relatives with whom the mutual identification was particularly strong for historical or psychological reasons. The kinship ideology also had a social dimension: equality of status was important for actual kinship intercourse. The historical aspect was noticeable as well. A strong memory of the childhood situation went parallel with pronounced feelings for one's family of orientation; a genuine genealogical interest in the past of one's parents and grandparents generated close ties with cousins and second cousins (Sw. *sysling*). The intensive cemetery culture, characteristic for the Löderup church-yard of to-day, had its origin in the early 20th century.

#### *Survival of subsistence economy and co-operative habits*

The strong local integration with its daily social and economic contacts between neighbours was not broken up by the enclosure reforms. The old community spirit survived, in part, to the turn of the century, although diluted in comparison with conditions at the beginning of the mastery stage. The eleven farms of eastern Hagestad shared a threshing machine and a traction engine around 1910. The meeting for the checking of accounts and the subsequent feast was held at Christmas time, each year on a different farm by rotation. To a certain extent, the traditional interdependence between the cotters and the farmers was also upheld.

Considerable quantities of food were given away at Christmas time. Bread was the staple food and the receiver was given the quality of bread which corresponded to his status (in the 1890's). In the early days of November it was customary to drive to the windmill with two barrels (120 kg) of rye and one barrel of wheat, to have it ground whole or finebolted. One baking was made of coarse rye bread, one baking of home-bolted sweet-sour bread, one baking of fine-bolted rye bread and one baking of wheat bread. The sweetened "coffee bread" was baked from the finest flour from the steam-mill. The stock of bread had to be plentiful because there was going to be a pro-

cession of food beggars. All cotters' wives, whose husbands had done seasonal work on the farm, as well as the wives of the shoemakers and the tailor, found a pretext to visit the farmstead before Christmas, with a milk can "to buy handskimmed milk". On leaving the farm they were invariably provided with an extra bundle. Servants and threshing men received so-called Christmas food to be brought home to parents and wives. It consisted of a cake of bolted bread of both kinds, and in addition salted and cooked pork and salted and dried mutton. Needy widows who made a living by spinning and by knitting stockings and who received support from the municipality in the form of grain also came to the farmsteads and were not supposed to go away empty-handed; they were given slices of two kinds of bread and some meat. Bread was, however, also payment for work. Those cotters' wives who spun for "poundbread" (*pungabröd*) received one round loaf for one *lispund* (= 20 pounds = 8,5 kg) of yarn.

Much of the old congeniality and companionship survived in the households, and the excessive drinking and eating habits certainly contributed to this. The master used to come out and serve *schnaps* with coffee at the ditch-bank when the servants worked in the fields. The adult son still had to sleep in the farm-hands' quarters, in order not to be spoiled (in the 1890's) and the daughters took part in the milking of cows. Much practical as well as verbal joking was done during work and on the days of rest. The servants were expected to join the master and mistress of the house when they attended church on Sundays. The hierarchical order was at its climax, which also meant that everybody accepted his status. This was, in turn, a condition for the solidarity on another level of life. On a certain Hagestad farm in the 1910's the following order was followed at the table: first sat the master and mistress at the head of the table, then followed the first hand, the second hand and the third hand in due order. Beneath them sat the groom. At the opposite side of the table sat the "biggest (= eldest) senior maid" and the "small junior maid". The children had to stand at the bottom of the table. Only after Confirmation and equipped with a watch and long trousers did they reach the status of a grown-up, with the right to sit at the table.

### C. THE NUCLEAR STAGE

In the completely new economic situation after the Second World War, village co-operation collapsed and the exploitation of the poor cottagers disappeared. The former agrarian class society was replaced by interest associations, rural depopulation and an affluent standard of living for all. The farm household as well as the farmer's family has consequently shrunk to nuclear size.

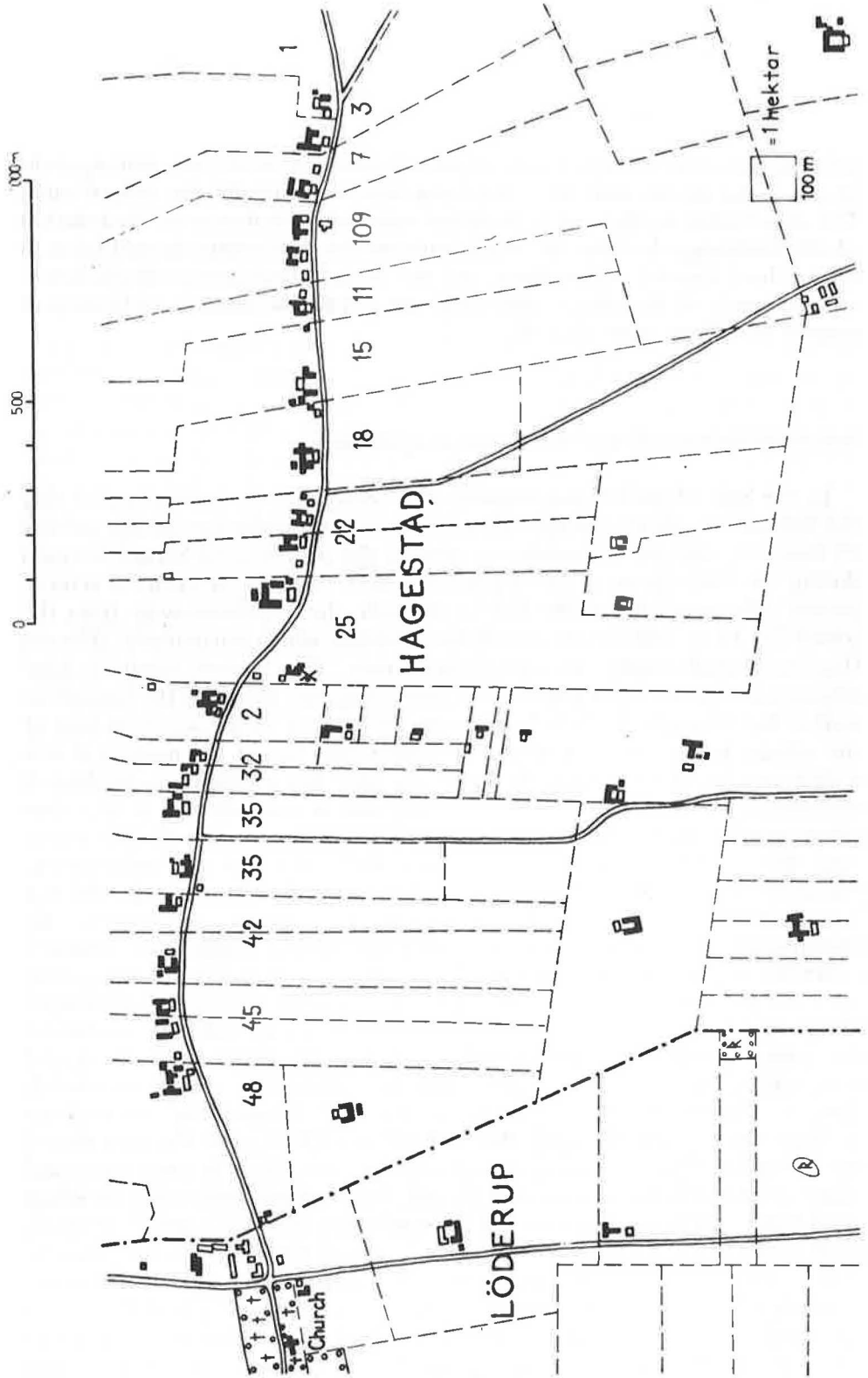
While the farmers' economy in the 18th and 19th centuries consisted only partly of the growing exchange with the towns and cities, the situation of 20th century agriculture can only be fully understood within the macro-ecological context. At the beginning of this century the farmer was, it is true, like a king on his homestead. But change was a characteristic of the capitalist economy, and if the servants went around looking for new employment around 1890, the masters themselves were forced to search for labourers around 1905. Gradually, the employees' market obtained predominance, and the farmers had to put up with hands of 17 and 18 years. This refers to a transitional period. The present organized farm workers constitute, of course, a highly qualified labour force, as for instance tractor drivers or dairymen. While a farm hand's salary used to be an insignificant part of the farm turnover (for example: 137 crowns per year of a total sum of 14,525 crowns in a Salarp farm north of Hagestad in 1882), one dairyman's fixed annual income in fact used up the whole surplus production in the 1960's. Today, most farms in Hagestad have abandoned dairy-farming; some farmers have specialized in the fattening of pigs or beef cattle or broilers. Egg-laying hens was an ancillary industry in the 1950's. The two-storied large barn (cowbarn) at the farm of Hagestaborg was then adapted to the raising of 28.000 broilers per batch and was leased by the multinational Ivo Food AB with integrated stages of production. The employed specialists are completely outside the control of the farmer. Presently there are four agricultural labourers in Hagestad and not a single housemaid; occasionally unqualified charwomen are hired. The exploitation of the farm labourers by the farmers has disappeared in our time of agro-business. The farmer himself is again the main worker in his agricultural enterprise, and his wife will

Map No. 3 Hagestad 1974

Houses: open markings = dwellings, bold markings = outbuildings.

Map. Nr. 3 covers a section of Hagestad according to 'The Economic Map of 1971'. The scale is identical with that of Map No. 1 of 1732. The line of farms along the village street is still there, although the separation between dwellings and outbuildings is more pronounced than in the 19th century when the custom of building the farm in a quadrangular form was first broken. Most dwelling houses in the densely built village as well as on the scattered farmsteads are oriented with their long sides in an eastwest direction, in accordance with pre-historic traditions. North of the village the fields are partly enclosed by stone fences built in the last century. The scattered farms are still relatively closed habitations with their outbuildings arranged in some kind of incomplete quadrangle. Trees, hedges, and gardens are imperative. In some cases additional dwelling houses for retired farmers have been erected on or near the farmsteads. The former cottages in the moss area and on the sandy hills are now inhabited by summerguests, if they have not been demolished. There is on the whole a tendency for town people to buy houses and even farms for vacation homes, thereby causing the prices to rise drastically. The only essentially new phenomenon after the Second World War is the considerable concentration of summer houses on the dunes, representing planned tracts for townspeople, some of them relatives of the "native" population.

These recreation areas are situated outside Map No. 3, and so is the municipality of Löderup by the railway station. The railway is now shut down and motor cars, buses, lorries, and tractors have taken over the transportation.



join him as a tractor driver only in periods of hectic work. The principal objective is no doubt that of crop production, traditionally the task of men. The attachment to the soil is therefore essential as is shown by the location of the buildings close by the fields both on the 20 farmsteads still lying in a row along the old village street and the 36 detached farmsteads (*G. Streusiedler*) south of the village. (See map on p.111). The number of farms is at present (1978) no more than 41.

#### *Individual farmsteads and inter-local co-operation*

In the light of present-day business economic, it seems to be essential that the typical farmstead of Hagestad, which nowadays comprises on the average 25 hectares, was able to survive in spite of the pronounced hunger for land during the 19th century. The tendency is now to unite the farms to achieve greater efficiency. From the 1880's onwards, the migration away from the parish led to a continuous population decrease which particularly affected Hagestad, traditionally an agricultural area. The cotters made a huge achievement in the 19th century by cultivating new lands for the farmers as well as for themselves. Their habitations are located in the southern part of the village, in the so-called *Moss*. No matter how unjust the mastery domination was for the majority, the relatively large size of the farms facilitated investments in machines, in tile drainage, and in outbuildings at the time when specialization succeeded subsistence economy in the 20th century. And the operations were run by fairly well educated and independent managers who brought their whole ability to their tasks and who did not hesitate to work hard and to take risks in order to get good results. This entrepreneurial attitude is, however, combined with an equally pronounced collective organization on the inter-local level, so that practically everything the farm produces is sold and distributed through the economic associations of the agricultural co-operative movement. There are specialized associations for grain, sugar-beets, potatoes, milk, eggs, forestry products, livestock and beef cattle, oil plants, seeds and canned vegetables. The transfer of capital, also, is channeled largely within the farmers' co-operative associations through the General Mortgage Bank of Sweden (1861) and the agricultural credit banks. This huge co-operative organization which became more and more centralized, was not created by any Government authorities or urban specialists: it was the result of the farmers's own initiatives and their small, local voluntary associations. The appearance of farm squires can thus be fitted historically into a secular process: without the economic margin available at the end of the 19th century, the farmers might have fallen into the hands of private creditors. The absence of any feudal oppression was certainly on the whole a decisive factor for the rise of an independent and

politically active farming population (Sw. *bondestand*). The noteworthy education granted by the Church since the 17th century probably contributed to the appearance of, first, an affluent folk culture (which was "sacral" in comparison with the contemporary bourgeois culture) and, later, such an occupational group of qualified and effective specialists as the Hagestad farmers after World War II.

Those cotters who would have been eligible for landshares at the end of the 19th century, if a social revolution had taken place, soon emigrated to railway settlements and towns, and the difficult adjustment to their new conditions was undoubtedly made less painful by the fact that they had no strong ownership or kinship ties to their place of origin. Such sudden and destructive changes did not affect other parts of the agricultural population during the 19th century. For the cotters and craftsmen the various pietistic movements became a substitute for the local integration in their native area. These organisations and ideological identifications — utopian or revolutionary — also presupposed a certain level of education. In the rural world the disintegration of the social and economic network between neighbours took place in the 20th century for complicated economic reasons. The destruction of one sector after the other of the subsistence economy of the farms and villages during the industrialization from the 1870's onwards meant that commodities could be produced more cheaply in factories. This was one reason why the rural households grew smaller. Still more important in the long run was the fact that in the new money economy the industrial workers received their wages in cash, which in turn brought about the same payment system for farm hands. The less developed specialization and money economy on the farmsteads made this cash payment system quite painful for the farmers, even if housemaids and farm labourers constituted a low-income group. For this reason the number of servants was drastically cut during the first decade of the 20th century. The money economy and the businesslike cost estimates carried out by the farmers from the late 19th century on brought about that people were more particular about what was given away and, conversely, that the work obligations of the seekers of relief towards the farm lapsed. A personal dependence on the neighbour with regard to the exchange of labour, of commodities, of draught animals, and of equipment came to be regarded as an economic and psychological burden, from which one wanted to free oneself when these services came to be counted in money. In this new situation many who had been used to the generosity and group solidarity of pre-industrial times reacted with invectives as "greedy peasants" or "disobliging, conceited neighbours" towards those who combined businesslike calculation with family-egotism.

As a consequence, there is no longer any co-operation between the average farmers in Hagestad. Only small farms of up to 10 hectares practise a certain mutual aid as regards expensive machines. Independence is appreciated both

as an economic advantage, because it allows an efficient adjustment to prevailing conditions of weather and soil, and as a release from moral restraint. The sizes and types of agricultural machinery have been adjusted to the separate farmstead as the standard unit. The productivity and the flexibility of the pattern of production which are achieved with this form of management, innovativeness, and advanced anonymous interlocal co-operation, make this system the most effective economic variant for the time being.

An inverse correlation exists between two deepgoing processes, one towards less personal collaboration between neighbours, the other towards more impersonal co-operation between different economic and geographic sectors of the larger society. The present stage in this balance between two separate levels of socio-cultural integration — one negative, the other positive — makes our village represent an advanced socio-economic structure in comparison with rural areas in other parts of the world.

The predominant attitude is that it is a privilege to live on lone farmsteads with fields covering the space between neighbours. And it is difficult to notice any difference in behaviour between the farmers in the village and those on the detached farmsteads. In neither case is proximity any reason for social contacts. On the other hand, one can note a certain traditionalism in present day Hagestad that is markedly different from that of urban areas in Sweden. The church is visited by about fifty attendants every Sunday. The graves are looked after very reverently, although that is not specific for Löderup. The attitude towards death is realistic in an old-fashioned way, and the tombstone and other details are often prepared during one's life-time. The newest dwelling-house of the village was built in 1921. To live in a farmhouse that was built in the mastery stage gives a certain status and a low ceiling is considered cosy, but indoors everything has been modernized and every house has a W.C., a bathroom, an electric stove, hot and cold running water, refrigerator and freezer.

The most thorough modernization has, however, taken place in the out-buildings: automatic cleaning and feeding and — where there are still milk cows on the farm — release systems for milking. Mutual entertainment clubs are formed by parishioners on an equal footing. The "easterners", or the neighbours from the eastern part of Hagestad village have, to a certain extent, kept up their social contacts and meet — wives included — once a month for entertainment. This custom is in fact a continuation of the milk-income account meetings mentioned above. Formerly there used to be a common breeding bull for the eastern part of Hagestad. Now there is an association called "The memory of the bull". The farmers meet and celebrate by playing cards, drinking coffee laced with brandy, and arranging meals together. The "westerners" are said to be a little more religious — they

live nearer to the church. These traditional meetings do not, however, interfere much with everyday life and the ordinary friendship relations of people who are not close neighbours.

*Succession, inheritance, local solidarity, and family relations*

It never happens that a farm is divided. In some cases a farm without a manager is leased by the neighbour. No land is sold to people outside the extended village. Neighbours have an option according to law, should a farm be offered for sale. The Hagestad farmers are very conscious of their ancestors and there is a strong patrilocal tendency. During the last decades wives have moved in from quite distant places, and this is considered a factor that brings in new customs.

The parish solidarity thus lives on embracing social contacts, as does the age-old antagonism toward the adjacent parish of Borrbý. The educational level is high, and all farmers' children are supposed to pass senior high school or junior college (*gymnasium*). This goes together with an exodus of young people.

In the era of automobiles, telephones and television, the former kinship contacts with brothers, sisters, cousins, and second cousins have decreased in favour of countless new relationships with the surrounding world. Most farmers now have two cars, one for the wife and the young ones. The women who were housewives during the 1920's and 1930's, nowadays do not accept the role as farm mistress only. They tend to go into jobs as office employees or hospital attendants after their period of child-rearing. The isolated nuclear family has completely displaced the extended household, and tendencies of disintegration can be noted even within the small family. Young people do not willingly accompany their parents on a visit to relatives; they prefer their own companions. The cohesion of the family is not the same if the wife has employment outside the farm and has a car at her disposal. But the exclusive relations among the family members are intense due to the long period of child-rearing, the sharing of leisure time, and due to the fact that meals are taken without any servants.

*Household structure and fiscal policy*

The farming population and their household, being the main operating units for agricultural labour, have been in the focus of interest for exploiting landlords and State authorities right from the early Middle Ages, as can also be seen from the zealous interest in establishing population registers and



taxation lists. As long as the inmates were serfs, their control was left to their lords. The abolition of serfdom should be seen as a policy to further land reclamations and the growth of the number of taxpayers. Inmates were not easily tolerated by the medieval legal codes; they were supposed to become regular servants or, had they been able to accumulate some cattle or other possessions, to take up farming together with an established peasant-farmer. Thus, the law made provisions for double households, Sw. *bolag*.

During the 16th and 17th centuries repeated Royal Ordinances forbade the inveterate keeping of sound and healthy inmates. This measure was meant to reduce the size of the farming households, as was the suppressing of laterally extended families. These Karelian type extended families existed in peripheral forest areas of Sweden like Dalsland and Värmland (and Dalecarlia) during the 16th century and even later. Only in the 18th century, when some of the symbiotic aptitude of people was fading away, were inmates and cotters regarded with more tolerance by the authorities. Especially the cultivation of new land and the establishment of cottages was encouraged, to the benefit of farmers-employers as well as conscription officers. However, the effectiveness of such policies was not great. The size of the population in general and of the poor cotters in particular grew rapidly in central Sweden even during the 17th century when the dividing of farmsteads was restricted. The number of farms, on the other hand, did not increase the fertile areas in spite of the later liberal rules for the splitting of farm land.

One dispiriting measure taken by the Danish authorities during the 17th and 18th centuries was the equalization of all farmsteads in villages, meaning that all should cultivate the same amount of land. This may well have negatively influenced the initiative and mood of the peasant-farmers. Such restrictions were unheard of during the 19th century. They cropped up again with the rational planning fervour after World War I.

### LITERATURE

The original research for this paper was done in the late 1940's as a reconstitution of households on the basis of church records and taxation lists from Denmark and Sweden. The first draft, with its attempt at integrating demographic and cultural phenomena in a secular perspective, was written in 1950. It remained unpublished until 1976 when a recast Swedish version was printed in *Rig*, vol. 59:2, pp. 33-61. In my treatise *Österlen*, Ystad 1952, reprinted Stockholm 1977, some of the demographic material from the late 18th century was included. A shorter English version than the present one was published in Göttingen in 1958 under the title "Group Relations of Peasants and Farmers".

See *Recherches sur la famille*, vol III, ed. Nels Anderson. Schriftenreihe des Unesco-Instituts für Sozialwissenschaften, Band 7, pp 57-92. A Russian version was published in *Skandinaavia Kogumik*, vol III (*Skandinavskij sbornik III*) Tallinn 1958, pp 53-85, under the title "Semejnye, chozjajstvennye i trudovye krest'janskije obedinenija v jugo-vostočnoj Skone v 1690-1950 godach". An extensive literature on the problems dealt with in this study has been published since 1950. The following is a short list of titles for comparison.

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*POSTSCRIPT*

Börje Hanssen died on November 29, 1979. The proofs of his article were read by the editor, by Karin Marcusson (Sweden), and by Palle Christiansen (Denmark). The article is as closely as possible in accordance with the original manuscript. However, a few passages and sub-headlines had to be omitted.

It should be pointed out that by describing the period up to ca. 1730 as 'serfdom stage', B. Hanssen does not use the term 'serfdom' as it is commonly used in literature. In earlier papers, he had called this period 'The feudal stage', but he felt that the term 'feudal' had too many irrelevant connotations. The same objections can be made against the term 'serfdom', though. Finding an exact term for that period was not his intention, however; he merely wanted to emphasize the basic structural differences between the social and cultural conditions of that period and the one he labeled 'The mastery stage'.

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