

Peddling in the Nordic Countries

IN OLDER TIMES, a considerable proportion of the exchange of goods was dealt with by travelling salesmen, known as house-to-house pedlars, who dealt in handicrafts or industrial products¹.

Peddling embraced a number of different goods, most of which were home-made. Consequently, a study of peddling entails a review of the handicraft industry in a number of districts. The existence of this industry is well known², but the marketing of the products emanating from it are dealt with to a surprisingly limited degree³. Nor is the peddling of purely industrial products dealt with to any great degree in the literature⁴.

Of the archives which collect material on popular traditions, I have made use of the extensive collections in Oslo, Stockholm and Uppsala but have not seen the collections in Gothenburg, Lund, Copenhagen, Turku⁵ and Helsinki⁶. A penetration of the extensive administrative archive material (such as passport registers, bankruptcy acts, trading licence lists) would probably yield excellent results although it might be difficult to separate peddling from other activities. I have gone through a certain amount of material of this type from Sweden.

A deficiency from which the source material suffers is that it deals almost exclusively with long-distance peddling. Sales in neighbouring districts have not received the same attention. This lacuna must be borne in mind.

Peddling should be studied from both the vendor's and the purchaser's point of view. The material available deals mostly, however, with the vendor and his conditions.

This trade can, when it exploits the raw materials of the district, be described to advantage in *ecological* terms. Furthermore, the transaction always had an *economic* significance. The distribution entailed a *transport* problem. The method of sale entailed a geographic distribution of the goods which means that a *chorological* aspect is included. This trade also entailed *cultural contacts* with effects on many levels. The authorities have tried to control the trade in a number of different ways, thus involving *central control*.

The present paper is intended to give an overall view of the history of peddling in the Nordic countries and to describe those who participated in it, the

1. First of all I wish to thank Lise Mulvad and Holger Rasmussen, Copenhagen, Anne-Lise Svendsen, Gerd Aarsland Sönju and Andreas Ropeid, Oslo, Lea Joskitt, Jyväskylä, and Bo Lönnquist, Helsinki, for their generous assistance.

2. There are several nationwide surveys from the middle of the 19th century. For Denmark: Rom 1871, for Norway: Sundt 1945 (written 1867), for Sweden: The inquiry of the Swedish Society for Industrial Design 1868 (Public Record Office) and material on military geography (Military Record Office).

3. On the other hand there is ample literature on markets and shops. Standard works are: Alanen 1957; Ejdestam 1965; Munch 1948.

4. Normally I have not been able to make use of the Finnish literature except when there has been a summary in another language. The main point deals with Sweden because the sources have been most easily available there.

5. In the cases where names couched in Swedish are to be found, they have been mentioned in brackets.

6. From the latter towns questionnaires have been sent out concerning the Russian-Karelian pedlars. The material has not been studied, but is treated in a paper (see below).

range of goods and the equipment involved, the routes taken, and the consequences for the people concerned. Economic viewpoints are dealt with marginally. Consequently, the reference list comprises a bibliography of the more important literature on handicrafts in the Nordic countries. The presentation covers almost a thousand years but the emphasis is on the middle and latter part of the 19th century, which is the high-water mark of peddling.

GEOGRAPHICAL ENVIRONMENT

THE NORDIC COUNTRIES differ considerably from each other. *Denmark* is a densely populated, agricultural country. Western and southern Jutland contained large peat areas with poor soil. The towns are numerous and equally distributed (with the exception of the districts mentioned). During the last 200 years no more than about ten new towns have come into existence. Denmark had liberal regulations for rural craftsmen⁷.

Norway is a mountainous country with settlements stretched along the valleys in the vast mountain areas. The long fjords have agrarian settlements close to the water. The population density was, admittedly, high in the habitable areas but the country must be regarded as sparsely populated north of Trondheim. Most of the towns (1850: 50 towns) are situated along the coast. The flourishing agricultural districts around Oslo are an exception to this.

Sweden is, for the most part, a low-lying country. The frontier towards Norway is mountainous. The inner part of Norrland is a sparsely populated area while the remainder of the country is comparatively densely populated with excellent agriculture in parts. The northern half of Sweden belongs to the coniferous belt, as does most of Norway and Finland. In the middle of the 19th century there were 87 towns, two thirds of the present number, very few of which were located in the sparsely populated areas.

Finland is a geographically homogeneous country. Formerly, the major agricultural districts were confined to the coasts and, to a certain extent, to the inland lakes. The country was sparsely populated with the exception of the south and west coasts where almost all of the few towns lay.

In 1850 Sweden had 3.5, Finland 1.6, Denmark 1.4 and Norway 1.4 million inhabitants.

THE TYPOLOGY OF PEDDLING. DEFINITIONS

THE FOLLOWING ARE DECISIVE for the typology of the *retail trade*, i. e. trade in which the vendor sells small quantities on his own behalf to the purchaser:

1. Whether the customer visits the vendor or is visited by the vendor.
2. Whether the contact takes place by agreement or sporadically.
3. Whether there is a middle-man between the producer and the customer.
4. Whether the vendor has a permanent shop (workshop) or not.

7. Henningsen 1944, p. 49 et seq.

Whether the transaction is effected by means of barter or by means of money has no significance.

It is characteristic for *peddling* that the customer is visited in his or her home (or perhaps at his or her place of work), that the product is delivered immediately and that the contract is not by direct agreement and is not, consequently part of a stipulated, regular delivery. In addition, the term peddling would seem to entail that the tradesman cannot sleep at home, that his or her absence from home is comparatively long and that his or her resting-place must change almost every night (an exception to this is when journeys can be made daily in different directions from a central point). The means of travelling is, on the other hand, not of direct relevance; a boat may, for example, be used⁸.

The following is my definition of peddling: *By peddling is meant the form of trade in which the vendor seldom, irregularly and without previous agreement, visits the purchaser to sell or barter goods of any kind which he or she brings with him or her. The vendor covers such large areas that he or she cannot spend the night at home.*

There are many variants of peddling and closely related forms of selling.

- I. The customer is visited by a travelling salesman and receives the goods directly (peddling) when
 - a. the vendor owns the stock.

The following should be noted in conjunction with this:

1. the sale takes place on the way to or from the market and is of a casual nature.
2. the sale is a form of disguised begging ("begging trade").
3. professional tradesmen or craftsmen with a permanent shop/workshop set off regularly or occasionally on a peddling trip.
- b. The vendor sells on commission on behalf, for example, of a publisher, a tradesman with permanent premises or on behalf of neighbours.
- c. The vendor is employed and receives a salary (in some cases combined with a commission).

- II. The customer is visited by a traveller who — frequently in combination with peddling —

- a. carries out on-the-spot services (e. g. a glass vendor inserts window panes).
- b. carries out services elsewhere but delivers the goods involved at the door (e. g. tinning).
- c. carries out on-the-spot handicraft work, e. g. scythe forging, weaving-reed manufacture. (This work was sometimes carried out illegally by wandering apprentices.)

- III. Travelling purchasers who purchase or barter — frequently in exchange for small-wares — goods or raw materials —⁹

8. Peasant selling is not to be compared with peddling and is not treated here.

9. For instance worn out objects of copper and brass, further linen rags, human hair, horse-hair, feathers, hides, knitting-wool. Buying up of cattle, corn and other provisions could be included also.

- a. for their own consumption or for processing and selling.
 - b. on commission.
- VI. An employed agent (or sometimes the producer himself) visits the customer and takes orders for later delivery (e. g. a tailor who makes occasional trips from the town). He often brings samples or reproductions of the goods involved. (*Contractual house-to-house selling.*)
 Variant: Large department stores have agents who sell orders (credit accounts) for payment by instalments; against this order the customer can visit the department store and buy goods corresponding to the amount specified in the order¹⁰.
- V. Regular delivery of foodstuffs (e.g. butter) from rural producers to a circle of regular customers in the town.
- VI. Street trading, fixed or ambulatory. May be combined with visiting customers' homes to make sales. The vendors may be countrymen who have travelled into town to sell berries, fish, flowers etc.
- VII. The customer orders the goods by post or by telephone without personal contact with the vendor and having been made aware of the existence of the goods by:
- a. advertisements
 - b. direct mail advertising such as catalogues.
- VIII. The vendor goes to a strategic point in the locality and sells
- a. from a vehicle (a pig truck or a goods truck; the latter may also stop at each house)
 - b. from the stock which he carries with him.
- Variant: The peddler is spontaneously visited by customers in his place of accommodation for the night.
- Sometimes the vendor has his permanent place of abode in the locality, in which case the goods may, for example
- a. have been bought at a market in the same locality
 - b. have been bought regularly in a different locality for selling in the home locality
 - c. been ordered by post.
- Trade can also be located at factory gates on pay day, at seasonal fishing spots etc.

We shall deal mainly with type I with the exception of the fact that peddling with fish will only be mentioned in passing — and, to a certain extent, with types II and III here. The emphasis will be placed on the countryside.

A term which often appears is *kramvaror* (small-wares or trinkets). The significance of this term has changed¹¹. Here, the word means *industrially manufactured products*. In most cases — with the exception of trinkets and objects of copper, brass and glass — the goods are cheap and the size is usually small. This term covers a large number of everyday things: soap, powder, thread, needles, hooks, buttons, pocket mirrors, combs, pens, chalk pipes, jew's harps, lozenges etc.

10. H. P. Hansen 1947, p. 202.

11. KLN M, s. v. *kramhandel*. Cf. also B. Hanssen 1952, p. 203 and large dictionaries.

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

IN OLDER TIMES, no area was so centrally managed as trade and handicraft. A flow of decrees, often quickly undermined through exemptions, meets us down through the centuries. This provides an indirect portrayal of the history of the trade since the rules and regulations must have come about due to the prevailing conditions.

The oldest written sources in the Christian North show that there were selling salesmen tolerated by the authorities¹². The prohibition against trade in the countryside (*rural purchases*) was introduced in all countries during the latter part of the 13th century in conjunction with the establishment of a regulated urban system based on German prototypes. The privileges of the towns were to be protected.

The authorities carried on an unrelenting fight against travelling trade involving merchant goods. There was never any talk of forbidding bartering between producers or direct purchases from producers for personal use. This vindicated handicraft sales to a certain extent. The trade involved here could, however, grow to proportions which were scarcely in agreement with the spirit of the law. Attempts on the part of the town dwellers to have trade of this type limited, on the grounds that it was being carried on professionally (e. g. when the products of neighbours were also sold) failed, however. Under the protection of ancient exemptions and common law, a trade in small wares developed in certain districts and the authorities were forced to turn a blind eye to it. In other respects the position was, however, clear: peddling with merchant goods was not permitted.

It was possible to evade the regulations of rural purchasing. Country people could sometimes formally acquire a burghership in the nearest town and still live in the country¹³.

The authorities had to give special consideration to the sparsely populated areas in the north. In certain parts of Swedish Lapland a strange combination of purchasing and tax collection went on for several centuries until approximately the year 1600. The purpose of this was to acquire the sought-after Lapp products (skins, fish etc). The system had a certain similarity with peddling and was managed by the *birkarlarna* who had royal privileges. No one else was permitted to make trips through Lapland. The *birkarlarna* visited the Lapps in their camps and brought with them foodstuffs and raw materials for textiles etc.¹⁴.

Before any towns were founded in northern Sweden and Finland, rural purchasing was permitted for certain merchants, and the citizens of Bergen and Trondheim were permitted to establish themselves on the south and west coasts as tradesmen (*utliggare*) at a very early stage. The citizens of Bergen also had branches of a type in the fjords. In the 17th century, the merchants of Trond-

12. The following mainly according to Bull 1917; Ejderstam 1965; KLNLM, s. v. *landsköp*; Lindström 1934; Munch 1948; Steen 1933; Utterström 1957, 2, p. 49 et seq.

13. Dahl 1959 b, p. 168; Munch 1948, p. 42. Cf. also A. Hanssen 1906—08, p. 35.

14. Steckzén 1964; KLNLM, s. v. *birkarlahandel*.

heim were granted the right to practise travelling trade for three months each year within their respective districts¹⁵.

The fact that special trading permits were issued by the local authorities can be cited as proof that peddling was accepted through exemption or through the granting of privileges. In addition, a permit issued by the governor was formally required for all journeys outside the home province¹⁶. This regulation was tightened at the beginning of the 19th century but became obsolete by the middle of the century and was abolished in Denmark in 1846 and in Sweden-Norway in 1860. Finland has never had any formal requirements for domestic travel permits.

The trade prohibitions were abolished with the advent of liberalism. New commercial laws were adopted in Denmark in 1857 (valid from 1862), in Norway in 1842 etc. and in 1866 (valid from 1868), in Sweden in 1846 and 1864 and in Finland in 1859 and in 1879. The guild system was abolished and everyone was permitted to devote themselves freely to trade in the towns and in the countryside. Certain stipulations did, however, remain in force for peddling — peddling (with the exception of handicrafts) was, in fact, forbidden in principle in Finland in 1868¹⁷. One of the aims of this was to prevent vagrancy. The licences issued contained personal descriptions until a relatively late date. A licence was issued for a certain period and for a certain area by the police or by the County Administration, and this is still the case. In Denmark, for example, the Restrictive Trade Practices Act of 1931 stipulated that peddling required a special permit issued by the police¹⁸. This permit was valid in the holder's home county only and was confined to members of the family, which meant that no outside help could be used. In Sweden the permission of the County Administration is required for practising peddling from July 1, 1976.

One of the main objectives of the authorities was to keep a check on the purchasers of raw materials for handicrafts and industry (hair, scrap, linen rags etc.) to prevent the sale of stolen goods. These purchasers were often obliged to have a permit from the authorities or from the industrialist involved. This permit or licence could, according to a Danish law from 1845, be granted only to persons of "good repute"¹⁹.

The authorities have obviously been somewhat arbitrary with regard to peddling. Existing licences were extended, for example, but no new licences were granted²⁰. Those who sold "indispensable" goods (drapery goods, small-wares, forgings, glass etc.²¹) had little difficulty in obtaining licenses. The same applied to those who were handicapped. The authorities could also refuse permission to sell goods in conjunction with court sessions and cattle markets. This limitation was stipulated in the licence²².

15. KLNLM, s. v. *Norrbottenshandel*; Ytreberg 1941, p. 8, 41.

16. Regarding Swedish conditions see Rosander 1967, p. 32 et seq.

17. Alanen 1957 pp. 256—257.

18. Enevig 1964, p. 29.

19. Enevig 1964, p. 27.

20. *Resehandlaren* 1924:1. — The variety in practice can be seen in SOS. Litt. H. from the end of the 19th century, the sections on trade.

21. Lhb 1891—95, the state summary report, p. 111.

22. According to a preserved permit for peddling (Göteborg. The archives of the Museum of History).

One possibility of avoiding the need to apply for a licence of this type is recounted in the Swedish parliamentary debate of 1904. The method adopted was to apply to the Trade Register for permission to "carry on business activities" with branches in dozens of places, but the "branches" consisted of a table with goods which was moved from place to place²³.

The products sold by the pedlars consisted, of course, of handicrafts in the earliest times. As early as the 16th century, however, goods which are derived from more advanced forms of production, viz. booklets and prints from Germany and small wares from Nuremburg, began to emerge. A fairly wide range of small wares and trinkets, intended for country people, was sold at the markets in the 18th century. This range had an impressive breadth by the beginning of the 19th century. Börje Hanssen, who has produced information from Scania, maintains that the market hawkers also began to practice peddling with their small wares around this time²⁴.

A new group of pedlars came into existence around this period — the Jews²⁵. Immigration to the Nordic countries, which had been going on for a couple of centuries, had been limited geographically by law. From the middle of the 19th century onwards, Jews were, however, allowed to settle anywhere they liked. Immigration increased considerably from around 1870 (when the compulsory passport system was abolished) in conjunction with the pogroms in Eastern Europe, and later on there were numerous waves of immigrants. Many of these were Jews. In addition, a number of Jews, who traded in trinkets, arrived here illegally at an early stage. (They are mentioned in a Swedish decree of 1712.) Jewish peddling ceased almost completely in Norway in the 1930s due to legislation. This decade also seems to have formed a concluding period in Sweden. Jewish pedlars were still active in Finland during the 1950s²⁶.

The shops which appeared in the countryside from the middle of the 19th century had no real effect on peddling for several decades. There were too few of them for this. Nor did the incipient trade and consumer associations comprise a threat. Rather, the population increased markedly thus increasing the number of potential customers. Customers also had more money at their disposal. Railways and shipping lines appeared during the 1850s and facilitated the journeys undertaken by the pedlars (as well as the journeys made by the rural population to the towns). The range of goods was broadened. Peddling reached its peak during the last decade of the 19th century.

Handicraft peddling was undermined by the disappearance of folk costumes from the middle of the 18th century (the change-over from frieze to cloth) as well as by the general increase in demand for factory goods, an increase which resulted to a considerable extent from the effects of advertisting. Some articles could be sent for by post. From the end of the 19th century the mail-order business — with illustrated catalogues — meant a certain competition, even if

23. *Öfverläggning i riksdagens första kammare*, p. 4.

24. B. Hanssen 1952, pp. 203—204, 289 et seq., 295.

25. The following according to Mendelsohn 1969; Valentin 1924.

26. Letter from Lea Joskitt.

this form of purchasing was no more than a small percentage of the retail trade. Mail-order trade is oldest and most extensive in Sweden and Denmark²⁷.

If one were to set a limit for handicraft peddling it would be 1910—15 when many products disappeared. From then on the range consisted almost entirely of industrial products. At the same time, peddling moved towards the sparsely populated areas.

As a group, pedlars now began to take on a more stabilized form. Two short-lived magazines were, for example, started in Sweden for pedlars during the 1920s²⁸. One of these was a journal for a cooperative movement, started in 1924, with the aim of forcing down prices for goods purchased from the wholesalers. Two pedlars' associations have been found in Sweden. These were founded in 1928 (Dalarna) and 1941 (Norrköping). The travelling wool-dealers' association in Denmark was founded in 1921. The central association had 273 members in 1946²⁹.

There is very little data on the number of pedlars. With the exception of Sweden during the period 1865—1910, there are no official statistics. It goes without saying that the figures given are minimum figures³⁰, since a large number did not, in all likelihood, apply for licenses. There were, for example, an unknown number of Jewish pedlars of foreign birth. Despite the limited value they may have, the following figures are worth mentioning: 1865: 1426, 1880: 1046, 1900: 769, 1910: 878. The figures 725 for 1915 and approximately 2200 for 1923 have been obtained from other sources³¹. It is difficult to determine whether the drop at the beginning of the century was a real drop or whether it was a result of a reduced tendency to apply for licences³². There are indications that many "pedlars" now visited markets, fairs and cattle sales. One thing which is certain is that the number of pedlars increased during difficult times. Many unemployed seized this chance of making a livelihood. This would indicate that the authorities turned a blind eye to the fact that they did not have licences³³.

The overall view I have obtained of Swedish peddling around the middle of the 19th century leads me to the following tentative and approximate value for the number of pedlars who were active during that period. From a number of sources, some of which are mentioned below, and using estimates, a figure of 5 500—6 000 \pm 25 % is obtained for a normal year³⁴. These figures should be compared with the number employed in the retail trade in the same period —

27. Aldri varehusutsalg på postordre; Conradson 1975; Daells varehus; Grimsgård 1942; Kristensson 1949.

28. Gårdfarihandlaren (1923); Resehandlaren (1924—28).

29. Kopparbergs läns gårdfarihandlareförening. Årsbok 1945, p. 14; Hansen 1947, p. 112.

30. Checking the provincial passport journals (before 1860) and the registers of the authorities issuing permits would give a better basis but this has not been possible.

31. SOS. Litt. E (1865—90), Litt. F (1895—1910); Nordisk Familjebok, title-word gårdfarihandel; Gårdfarihandlaren 1923:1, p. 1.

32. According to the narrative in SOS. Litt. H the amount of pedlars increased in many provinces about 1895.

33. ULMA 15055, p. 16.

34. Knallar 500—1500, South Småland-North Scania 600—700, Dalecarlia 2000—2500, other novelty dealers 600—700, resande 500 (?), others 500. — Regarding the figures for Dalecarlia cf. Utterström 1957, 2, p. 244.

approximately 7 300. The number of craftsmen together with their assistants lay around 66 000³⁵.

There are no statistics for pedlars today. The number of "ambulatory salesmen" reported in Sweden for 1970 is 284 together with 56 employees. This figure does not, however, include hawkers, hot-dog sellers etc. The number of pedlars is not likely to be in excess of about 100. Nor is the number likely to be greater in other countries. An interesting point was raised during a parliamentary debate in the Swedish Riksdag in 1975 when the importance of pedlars for the sparsely populated areas was emphasized. This importance is due to the fact that rural shops are closing down because of diminishing circles of customers³⁷.

The numerous agents who, particularly in the newly built suburbs, take orders for venetian blinds, carpets, books, vacuum cleaners etc. may be regarded as the successors to the pedlars.

PEDDLING IN TIME AND SPACE

THE SELLING OF HANDICRAFT GOODS IN DENMARK has almost completely emanated from Jutland. This can be ascribed to natural circumstances. Considerable parts of Jutland comprise non-fertile land with bogs and heaths. In addition, the only real forest district in Denmark is located west of Aarhus and gave rise to a rich tradition of woodwork.

Pottery on Jutland dates from the Middle Ages. In a large district near Varde, in the neighbourhood of Randers, and also at four other places in older times, black pottery (*jydepotter*) was produced without the use of a potter's wheel. This black pottery was burnt in primitive peat-fired ovens. The whole procedure was managed by women. The climax for this form of handicraft occurred around 1840 (when there were at least 450 manufacturers). In 1880 there were approximately 80 manufacturers. Sales ceased in 1916. Exports abroad were carried on from the 18th century. The goods were transported by wagon within the country and also to such far-flung places as Vienna and Leipzig. Some of the goods were sold by peddling all over Denmark. This form of selling disappeared, however, towards the end. The selling activities were always carried on by men. Some of the sellers continued for half a century. Profits were good³⁸. It was also common for pottery vendors to sell brooms³⁹. The other handicraft products of the Varde district were sold only locally.

Red ceramics were also produced in some quarters. There were 70 red-ceramics' producers in the village of Serring in the parish of Dallerup, to the east of Silkeborg, in 1870. The products were mainly sold at markets⁴⁰.

Knitting for sale was an important industry for the poor population of the central Jutland heath area from the end of the 17th century. The district of

35. Minnesskrift . . . , pp. 142, 146 et seq.

36. After consulting the statistical bureaux in respective countries.

37. Riksdagstrycket, Näringsutskottets betänkande 1975/76:3.

38. Jensen 1924; Matthiessen 1939, p. 116 et seq; Steensberg 1939.

39. Rom 1871, p. 388.

40. Asbæk 1924.

Hammerum was the centre for this industry. Ninety parishes, in which two thirds of the 40 000 inhabitants (both men and women) knitted, participated in 1834. The broad range of goods was sold by travelling salesmen. These salesmen mostly visited the towns, however. Considerable amounts were transported by purchasers all the way to Leipzig. The raw material was obtained from the sheep bred on the heath or was purchased at markets. Stockings, gloves, sweaters, trousers, hoods etc. were manufactured. The districts specialized in certain products to a certain extent. The authorities acknowledged the industry in 1741 and 1755. In the course of time, it took on the character of a cottage industry. Individual purchasers existed as early as 1750. The manufacturers were reimbursed with new wool, dyes and with soap and tobacco. The number of purchasers in 1841 amounted to 25 in Hammerum and 13 in Lysgård. They sold products to travelling pedlars and to firms in Copenhagen and in Germany. Jutland wooldealers established themselves in Copenhagen from the end of the 17th century to the considerable annoyance of the citizens, who never managed to stop them, however⁴¹.

In addition to the wool products, the district also produced linen goods. Soon, drapery goods, ribbons, silk, sewing materials etc. were also sold. Some young men went over for half the year or full-time to illegal small-ware selling. The travelling salesmen with their packages of goods held in a strap or a cross-sack, became a well-known sight. Up until approximately 1860, most of the products were sold in the towns. After that date, they were also sold all over the countryside since home-weaving began to diminish around that time. The wool-handicraft in Hammerum ceased around 1875 and was succeeded by machine-knitting in the homes. The machines were owned by the knitted-goods factories. There are examples of men with other occupations who went around during the winter and sold the knitted-goods⁴². Roughly around the same time, a large number of wooldealers went to Norway as pedlars. But when times grew worse, they became agents for department stores.

The third large ancillary industry in Jutland was lace-making, which started in the neighbourhood of Tønder at the end of the 16th century. It is not unlikely that this was due to the fact that Dutch merchants taught the technique to the women of the area. Lace now began to become an important fashion article. The industry was promoted at an early stage by reductions in customs duty on imported thread (mainly from Westphalia) and also later by the fact that tradesmen were permitted to make rural purchases. This industry reached its climax during the 18th century. From the latter half of the 17th century onwards, the trade lay in the hands of up to 2 000 wholesalers in the town who kept 12 000 women at work at a low rate of pay. Sales were effected by male travellers in the service of the merchants. These travelling salesmen sold the products in the towns, including Hamburg-Lübeck. Sales were also permitted in the countryside from 1769 onwards and increasing numbers of country dwellers received permission to carry on the manufacture of lace in cottage-industry form. A formal requirement was that they should have at least 50 lace-makers in their service, but this was evaded

41. Grandt-Nielsen 1963, p. 558; Hansen 1947; Kühle 1936—38; Matthiessen 1939, p. 120 et seq.

42. Steensberg 1943, 1, p. 292.

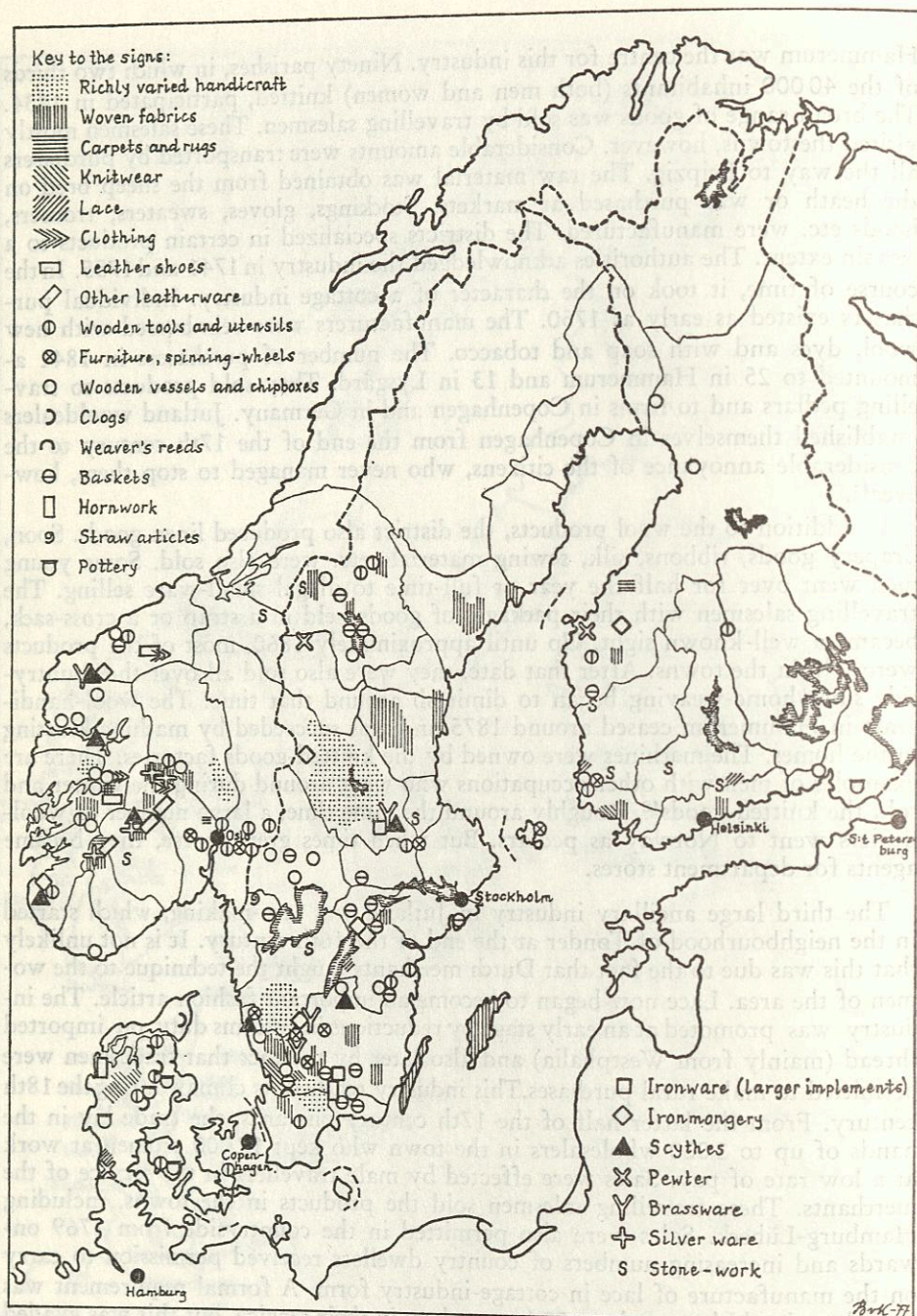


Figure 2: Survey map of the domestic handicraft regions (mid 19th century) from which the products were sold by peddling. (Manufactures otherwise distributed have not been marked.) Only the names of capitals have been entered. The names of other localities of importance are indicated on figure 1.

by inducing the women to deliver the products to them without being employed. They then sold the lace themselves or through travelling girls in their service. In Tønder those supplying the raw material to the cottage industries continued to use male pedlars, frequently relatives. As a rule, these pedlars invested their profits in lace stocks of their own which they, in turn, sold through relatives and friends. The establishment of rural businesses in this way led to the decline of artistic lace-making since the women did not have access to patterns which were in vogue and with which the pedlars could not afford to provide them. The decline began in the middle of the 19th century⁴³.

Several districts on the forested ridge from Aalborg to Vejle provided the forestless areas to the west with all types of households utensils, furniture and wood tools. These products reached up to Limfjorden where sailing traders (*krejlerne*) sold them by boat⁴⁴.

The forest district also contained the raw materials for wooden clogs. The centre for the manufacture of wooden clogs was Rye parish where most of the farm-owners had workshops with several employees. In 1781 the farmers jointly purchased the forest and organized sales. 281 people were employed in the production here and in the neighbouring districts in 1840. The products were mostly sold to purchasers who then sold them to shops and at markets and also, sometimes, through pedlars. The production ceased at the beginning of the 1900s. It was carried on without any official control whatsoever⁴⁵. Wooden clogs were also manufactured in Sæby in northern Jutland during the 19th century. These may have been sold by pedlars in areas which were sparsely forested⁴⁶.

There were other handicrafts in Jutland. In Nes, on the west coast, some 50 agricultural labourers made horn spoons which were sold all over the province by pedlars⁴⁷. Pewter buttons were moulded east of Tønder and straw vessels and rush products were manufactured in many places⁴⁸. Sales seem, however, to have taken place locally for the most part.

The rich fishing along the Danish coasts naturally entailed extensive sales in the interior of the country. Most of this trade, however, took forms which lie outside our definition of peddling. Salted herring could, however, be offered for sale on the farms by vendors from afar and smoked eel from Limfjorden has been sold over a considerable part of Jutland since at least the 17th century. Most of the smoked eel was sold at markets but some of it was also sold en route⁴⁹.

The inhabitants of the Danish islands have seldom practised handicrafts and peddling to any notable extent. Some black ceramics and brooms were sold in Fyn⁵⁰, as were wooden spoons (from the district of Faaborg, where there were woods) which were sold in Sjælland. Hops were another wellknown product from

43. Schoubye 1968, West 1901, 1909.

44. Matthiessen 1939, pp. 110 et seq, 135—136; A. Nielsen 1943—44, 1, p. 188.

45. Bording 1915; Jansen 1937—38; Jørgensen 1973; H. Nielsen 1944; Matthiessen 1939, p. 136 et seq.

46. Rom 1871, pp. 333—334.

47. Rom 1871, p. 424.

48. Grandt-Nielsen 1963, p. 564; Steensberg 1943, 1, p. 293 et seq.

49. Rasmussen 1968, p. 350, 357; Rasmussen 1967.

50. Kragelund 1956, p. 60; Jensen 1924, p. 47.

Fyn. Purchasers went around the farms and then transported the hops all over the country. At the turn of the century, foreign hops took over the market⁵².

HANDICRAFTS IN FINLAND have been extensive and important until relatively recent times⁵³. Pohjanmaa (Ostrobothnia) stands to the fore as a centre. Quite a lot of the products were sold by peddling⁵⁴.

The production of wooden vessels in the neighbourhood of Uusikaupunki (Nystad) is best known. This poor area is known as Vacka-Finland (from *vakka*, "winnowing vessel") and exported wound, coopered, hollowed and turned wooden vessels and ladles and spoons as early as the middle ages. These products were, of course, also sold to the neighbouring districts, partly through peddling⁵⁵. Each district manufactured its own types of vessels and the various handicraft operations were said to have been carried out by different people on the farms. When the demand was reduced after the middle of the 1750s, the craftsmen turned to the manufacture of chairs instead and later to furniture of all kinds. Handicraft has continued into the present century.

Other large districts involved in the production of wooden vessels have been Säkkijärvi near Viborg, Kiiminki near Oulu (Uleåborg) and Satakunda and Pohjanmaa. Small household utensils of wood, spinning-wheels, carding combs and root baskets were also manufactured in the southern part of Pohjanmaa (Jutvan and Isojoki). Wooden products were also manufactured in Vasanti west of Kuopio. Birch-ware handicraft products and basket manufacture were common everywhere. On the whole, sales were limited since most people manufactured their own products.

Toys were manufactured in Pohjanmaa and Savo.

Metal handicraft for sale was rare. Sheath-knives were made, particularly in Kauhava east of Vaasa (Vasa), pewter plates were also made in the parishes close to Vaasa.

Millstones were hewn in several places (Säkylä in Satakunda, Isojoki in Pohjanmaa, Orimattila in Häme/Tavastland/), whetstones were manufactured in Kalvola in Häme. Pottery was made in Muolea in southern Karjala (Karelia), which is now Soviet territory.

Horn work was carried out in a number of parishes in the centre of Finland.

Female handicrafts were more important than male handicrafts. Woollen textiles were woven for sale around Turku and Porvoo (Borgå) from the beginning of the 17th century. These textiles were influenced by the urban handicrafts. Cotton was also woven in the same districts during the 19th century and in a number of districts close to Jyväskylä. A number of parishes just to the east of Vaasa had an extensive textile commercial handicraft since the 18th century⁵⁶. Frieze weaving occurred, particularly in Savo, fibre flax was used mainly in

51. Rom 1871, p. 224.

52. Grandt-Nielsen 1963, p. 550; Lund 1930.

53. The following foremost according to Hemslöjdskommitténs betänkande, 1, p. 305 et seq.; Virrankoski 1963, p. 505 et seq.

54. Available sources are lacking in detail.

55. KLNm, title-word *vackafinnar*; Sahlberg 1954.

56. Lönnquist 1972, p. 47.

Häme and in Kuortane parish in Pohjanmaa. Stockings were knitted in, for example, Naantali (Nådendal) while carpets of cow-hair were manufactured in the Porvo district.

Pedlars from Pohjanmaa still sell homespun textiles⁵⁷.

Rauma (Raumo) south of Pori (Björneborg) has been the centre for lace-making, perhaps since the days of the medieval monastery. These products were sold in western and southwestern Finland. A couple of other, minor lace-making centres also existed⁵⁸.

HANDICRAFTS IN NORWAY have been extensive. A great deal seems to have been sold through peddling. Three centres can be distinguished: Vestlandet (Western Norway), the mountain regions in Telemark, Buskerud and Oppland and the area south of Hamar.

Wooden handicrafts (cases, dishes, bowls, herring barrels etc.) were carried out at Vik near Sunnfjord in Vestlandet. The products were sold mostly to Bergen. Herring barrels were, in the main, a common product in the inner parts of many fjords. Sales were made along the forestless coastal skerries⁵⁹. Barrels and spinning wheels were manufactured at Guddal close to Vik. Turned products were manufactured at Breim (Nordfjord). Scythes were manufactured in Hornindal as were other edge-tools, horseshoes and brass articles⁶⁰.

All of the inner part of Hardangerfjord, was a handicraft district. Chests, cases, wooden clogs, woven quilts, linen, frieze, woven ribbons, woollen gloves and shoes came from this district. The goods were partly sold by boat but were also sold inland in the adjacent mountain region. Voss was the centre for these activities. Edge-tools, hooks, weaving tools, small silver articles, pewter and brass buttons, linen, and coarse woollen textiles such as coloured frieze were manufactured. (These products were also bought from other quarters, to a certain extent, and sold.) Sales of small-wares, bought in Bergen, were also started. Trade was carried on during the early summer and in the autumn and took place along the coast, for the most part, and northwards up to the districts between Trondheim and Lofoten⁶¹.

Peddling was so common that Voss (a man from Voss) was sometimes used as a synonym for pedlar.

The mountain valleys up towards Hardangervidda contained many craftsmen. Gloves, shawls, ribbons and small silver articles were manufactured in Hallingdal. Handicraft was also carried on in Valdres by both men and women⁶². Scythes for sale came from Tinn in Telemark. Some 75 forges were in use there at the turn of the century. The upswing started here around 1830 when the forgings were improved technically. A considerable part of the products was sold through peddling. Some smiths travelled about and sold the products to the farms. The

57. Letter from Lea Joskitt.

58. Vilkuva 1952.

59. Kloster 1972, p. 130 et seq.

60. Ljaasmedningen, p. 125.

61. Trættemberg 1952, p. 108 et seq.

62. Trættemberg 1952, p. 113, 115; Sundt 1945, p. 101.

same conditions prevailed in Leikanger in Sogn up to 1860⁶³. From Eidsborg in Lårdal, Telemark, peddling in whetstones was practised up to the turn of the century⁶⁴. The people of Tinn and the people of upper Setesdal manufactured ribbons, silver hooks and harnessry which were sold in the area down towards Hardangerfjord. The silversmiths from Setesdale sometimes brought tools with them and carried out work at the farms. The inhabitants of Numedal were primarily small-wares salesmen but also sold knives and spoons from Toten, leatherwork from the mountain areas and fish from the fjords as well as belts and ribbons produced in their home districts. The mountain dwellers often combined peddling with horse and cattle dealing after circa 1840. During their extensive travels to purchase animals, they brought frieze, hats and tallow with them. Many of them also combined this with selling small-wares (see below)⁶⁵.

The populous Östlandet district north of Oslo contained a large circle of potential customers. Toten together with its neighbouring parishes emerges here as a centre of production⁶⁶. Manufacturing activities were manyfaced. Clocks were made around 1730—1915 (mainly for local needs), hats around 1730—1880 (mainly for selling at the markets). Buttons were manufactured around 1800. This was followed by various kinds of handicraft in brass (Kolbu parish). During the latter part of the 19th century, wooden vessels and small, turned wooden articles were manufactured in large numbers and sold all over the country. Yellow, varnished wooden spoons (circa 1830—1900) were a speciality. These were mostly sold to travelling traders. The number of craftsmen active during the 1860s was approximately 200. The manufacturers also travelled as pedlars themselves. They sold their spoons in Sweden, amongst other places. Knives were important from approximately 1850 onwards and reached a climax around 1890 (130 manufacturers). The knives were sold to merchants and to the local pedlars who also sold products from the district. The manufacturing activities ceased around 1910. Household utensils of tin were produced around 1840—1930. These were mostly sold at markets and in rural shops but were also sold through pedlars all over Östlandet and partly in Sweden. The pedlars also sometimes travelled as far as northermost Norway. Carding combs were manufactured, particularly in Vardal, from around 1800. Saddlery products occurred as did the manufacture of hooks, small nails, sheet metal bells and brushes. Linen and wooden products were manufactured by women craftsmen from earlier times and coloured cotton clothes were manufactured from around 1825 up to 1870—1880. This latter work took on the character of a cottage industry. In addition to the sales made by the craftsmen themselves, a body of specialized travelling traders also sold products in the district.

Brass handicrafts, which were sold by the pedlars from Toten as far away as Trøndelagen during the winter, occurred further to the north in Fåberg. Precision forgings, baskets and horn handicraft products were also manufactured and sold to merchants⁶⁷.

63. Ljaasmedningen, pp. 7—8.

64. Letter from H. Landsverk.

65. Trøtteberg 1952, pp. 114—115, 119.

66. The following according to Tollersrud 1952, p. 256 et seq.; Sundt 1945, pp. 21, 161 et seq.; Svendsen 1975; I manns minne, p. 87 et seq.

67. Sundt 1945, pp. 168—169.

As late as 1966, a man from Os in Østerdalen travelled round in southern Norway selling home-forged sheep bells⁶⁸.

Peasant sailing occurred, particularly along the south and east coasts, from around the year 1700. The captains of the vessels involved carried on trading in a manner reminiscent of peddling⁶⁹.

Small handicraft centres also existed. Scythes were produced for local sale on the south coast between Stavanger and Mandal and in Leikanger in Sogn⁷⁰. A small part of the millstone production may have been sold at Selbu, to the east of Trondheim, by pedlars; most of this production was, however, sold at markets and directly to purchasers from the middle of the 1800s⁷¹. Shoes and readymade clothes were sold from Romsdal⁷².

Wooden vessels, baskets and small wooden articles were made in Vestnes at Romsdalsfjorden and sold along the coast. A certain amount of wood handicraft goods and bast ropes also came from Søgne on the south coast. Wooden handicraft products of various sorts were manufactured in many quarters around Oslo but were mostly sold in the city. Wooden products, scythes and small forgings were produced at Gjesdal near Stavanger⁷³.

Human manure was sold at the beginning of the 20th century by pedlars in south-western Norway. It probably came from Bergen⁷⁴.

HANDICRAFTS IN SWEDEN reached a considerable size⁷⁵. Three districts in particular emerge in which products were sold, to a marked degree, through peddling: south Västergötland, the border area between Småland and Skåne and Dalarna.

The *knallar* or *västgötar* from Västergötland are best known in connection with peddling. They came from an area which was not particularly poor⁷⁶. During the middle ages the population practised ox driving. They may also have brought handicraft products with them. In any case, market trading and peddling based on their own products was started after 1550. Soon this also encompassed purchased handicraft products and processed raw materials from all over southern Sweden. At the beginning, forgings, wooden handicraft products, skin preparation and wool and linen spinning comprised the manufacturing activities. When peace was concluded in 1648 and Sweden received the southern and western provinces of the Scandinavian peninsula, this district lay fairly centrally in the kingdom. Trade grew to such an extent that the town of Borås was founded

68. NEG 20286.

69. Munch 1948, p. 34, 42.

70. Ljaasmedningen, p. 34.

71. Rolseth 1947, pp. 108, 112, 119.

72. Flatin 1939, p. 50; Isachsen 1930—31, p. 180.

73. Sundt 1945, pp. 76—77, 131—132, 156 et seq., 184, 189, 197.

74. NEG 14028, 14032.

75. Cf. Hemsjödkommitténs betänkande, 1, p. 326. Table 9 in op. cit. part 2 gives figures for the total number of sloyders in 1911. However, it does not show how many sold their products themselves. Summary comparisons with the handicraft in other Scandinavian countries are given in op. cit., 1, p. 304 et seq. — The Swedish sources, mentioned in note 2 above also give some statistics on the extent of handicraft during the 19th century.

76. The following according to Boger 1963; Dahl 1959 a; Dahl 1959 b; Nelson 1963, p. 108 et seq.; Nylén 1969, notice maps pp. 21, 98, 99; Sterner 1949; Sterner 1970; Utterström 1957, 2, pp. 72, 83 et seq. Vallin 1935.

(1622) with the aim of enticing the peasants to move in and become citizens. In this way, the industry was to be adapted to the prevailing doctrine. The citizens were granted the privilege of carrying on rural trade. Many peasants followed the exhortation to move to Borås and, later on, the neighbouring town of Ulricehamn became centre for the trading district. Other peasants remained in the country, however, and continued their peddling activities. A number of gradual acknowledgments and privileges were also later granted to those living in the country. In 1822 the farmers of the district were finally officially permitted to practise market peddling under certain conditions. Their goods were, for example, to be declared for duty purposes in Borås and the necessary permit was then granted.

The *knallar* reached Norway and Finland at an early stage and also, to a certain degree, Denmark. They seem to have covered all of Sweden from circa 1800. They became a well-known feature all over the countryside; the towns were visited to a smaller extent. In many places the word *knalle* became synonymous with pedlar.

Handicraft production was many-faceted. Specialization by district occurred to a certain extent and the *knallar* frequently sold only one type of goods. They did not necessarily live in the villages in which their products were manufactured. Before the 1800s, all *knallar* from the same district usually carried the same range but this was not the case later on. Bowls and dishes are particularly noteworthy amongst wooden handicraft products. Some *knallar* brought portable lathes with them. Later on barrels, sieves and baskets came to the fore. Simple furniture was added to the range during the 19th century. The metal products consisted of small forgings and scythes and tin products from the 1850s onwards. (There were approximately 100 manufacturers in 1912.) Small silver articles from Borås were also sometimes carried as were snuff boxes of pewter. Cloth, woven fabrics of many kinds, articles of clothing and ribbons can be noticed amongst the textiles. The materials used were linen and wool and, during the 19th century, cotton. Knitted products were purchased from southern Halland, wool from Öland and Gotland, lace from the town of Vadstena. Weaving-reeds and other weaving tools were acquired from Markaryd (see below). From around 1850 onwards these were manufactured in the district, as were carding combs. Prepared skins were also sold. The *knallar* frequently took goods in exchange (wax, feathers⁷⁷, flax, wool, human hair, iron) which were later processed.

The trend towards the cottage-industry system in which goods and capital were supplied on credit occurs during the 17th century in the forging sector and towards the end of the 18th century in the textile sector. At least 4 000 weavers were said to have been active around 1825. They later became tricot knitters. Those supplying the credit lived mainly in Borås. Many of them had salaried or more or less independent trading servants from the neighbouring districts or from Småland. Many of the citizens devoted themselves completely to creditgiving or wholesaling activities from around 1840.

The number of permits granted to the rural dwellers was around 1500—2000 per year at the end of the 18th century. Most of these were granted to inhabitants from Ås and Kinda districts. Many hundreds were granted to inhabitants from Borås. Several people could have a joint permit.

77. Genrup 1975, p. 143.

From 1847 onwards, the peasants in the area were granted the right to market textile factory products. The inhabitants of Borås had this right since 1822. This meant that imports increased and drapery goods became the major products up until 1910. In addition, many people devoted themselves to other small-wares (see below).

In fact, the entire area from Västergötland to central Scania can be regarded as one continuous handicraft district. Handicraft for marketing purposes has been carried on in the forest districts of Göinge (Scania) and Sunnerbo (Småland) since at least the 16th century. This is also true of the adjacent Småland areas. The location of the area close to the old border between Sweden and Denmark may have favoured this trade.

The inhabitants of Göinge mainly manufactured wooden articles, baskets and forged goods. The wooden products include barrels, ladders, ladles, rakes, scythes, pump barrels, boxes, chests, furniture and wooden horses. Baskets are manufactured from around 1850 onwards and were mostly sold in Scania and in Denmark, where there were approximately 100 salesmen in 1880. When the Danish tariff restrictions were introduced in 1888, the baskets began to be sold in central Sweden. Some salesmen reached Norway and Finland. A handful of manufacturers are still active. For a long time, scythes were a well known product from northern Göinge, and widely varied forgings, covering both tools and small products, were manufactured around 1840–1910. Woollen textiles were manufactured in the districts of Göinge and Åsbo. Bast rope was sold from central Scania to the fishing villages of the east coast. All of these products, with the exception of the baskets, were mainly sold in the densely populated Scania, mostly at markets and fair-days in the towns but also through peddling⁷⁸.

Some textile and wood handicrafts were also carried out in southern Scania⁷⁹.

Markaryd is the best known handicraft parish in southern Småland. Weaving-reeds were manufactured from the end of the 18th century, mostly by small-holders, in parts of the neighbouring districts. These products were sold by 300–400 men towards the middle of the 19th century, mostly through winter peddling. The pedlars usually walked and carried a sack on their backs. Sometimes 15 year old boys went out alone. The pedlars reached all over the Nordic countries and eastern Europe, even as far south as Hungary. Soon, local purchasers began to appear and the first weaving-spoon factory was constructed in the locality in 1891. Handicraft manufacture ceased around 1915. Many of the inhabitants of Markaryd also sold a general range of products (e. g. textiles) up until 1910–1920, much as the *knallar* did and some of them took up employment in Borås as trading servants. Barrels and scythes were also manufactured in the parish⁸⁰.

78. Bringéus 1962, Bringéus 1964; Ehrnst-Bäckstrand 1973; Nylén 1969, p. 349; Utterström 1957, 2, pp. 223–224; EU 47171. Regarding distribution in Scania see B. Hanssen 1952, p. 167 et seq.

79. Utterström 1957, 2, p. 240. An idea of the varied sloyd in central Scania is given in a table in Bringéus 1962.

80. Svedenfors 1949–54, 2, p. 247; Svedenfors 1952. Most peasants who obtained provincial governors' passports were probably pedlars. In 1845 for instance 360 peasants took out domestic passports, while 11 went to Finland and 26 to Norway (Vadstena, Landsarkivet, Kronobergs läns landskanslis arkiv, B I:77).

The parishes bordering on Markaryd manufactured forged goods as well as barrels, baskets, ladders and turned products. These products were sold by means of peddling. Particularly during the 18th century, coarse woven fabrics are also mentioned⁸¹. In 1840—1930 Göteryd parish was Sweden's main producer of horn products. These were sold to weaving-reed salesmen, to purchasers and also, to a certain extent, through peddling. Some of the pedlars seemed to have manufactured the horn spoons in the customer's premises⁸².

The wire drawing carried on at Gnosjö parish (Småland) became famous. This existed as early as the beginning of the 17th century and reached a major climax from the end of the 18th century onwards. The wire was used for carding combs, needles, hooks, sieves etc. Brass objects were also manufactured from 1870 onwards. The products were sold through peddling⁸³. Later on, a series of industries grew up in the parish.

Cooper and other wooden vessels were manufactured in other parts of Småland (and also in Halland), as were baskets (also in Blekinge), furniture, rough forgings and small forgings, cast brass articles and a certain amount of linen fabrics, woollen products, frieze and pottery. Wax, hops and foodstuffs were also sold. A considerable proportion of these products were sold to Scania and Öland⁸⁴.

Dalarna, particularly the Siljan district, is the classical area for handicraft products. Thousands of inhabitants of the Siljan district devoted themselves to handicraft work. The handicrafts can be traced back to the 17th century, and may be still older. The variety of products was enormously rich. There was a considerable amount of parish and even village specialization. Mora parish, where 12 widely differing handicraft branches occurred on a large scale, had the largest variety. The products were sold at markets and, above all, through peddling, often over very extensive regions. Pedlars often visited Norway. The following were the most important products⁸⁵:

Barrels were manufactured in Ovensiljan and were sold from sledges or sleighs. Weaving-reeds were also produced here. These were sometimes carved in the evenings during the sales trips. Vessels made of overlapping wooden bands were a speciality of Våmhus parish. The manufacture of baskets and articles made from hair was also probably started here during the 1830s⁸⁶. Both of these forms of handicraft were carried on until around 1940. The hair articles (ornaments, "flowers", snoods) were made by women. For the most part, the customer's own hair was used. The number of saleswomen amounted to 100—200; they reached places as far away as Russia, Germany and England. A number of basket-makers also travelled abroad. Furniture (cupboards and chairs) was produced in Nedansiljan, where small objects were also turned. The preparation of fur skins and leather handicrafts was a speciality of Malung in Västerdalarna⁸⁷.

81. Svedenfors 1949—54, 1, pp. 277—278; 2, p. 254.

82. Svedenfors 1952, p. 134 et seq.; ULMA 13572, p. 8.

83. Eneström 1906.

84. Kjellberg 1943, p. 506; Nylén 1969, *passim*; Svedenfors 1949—54, 2, pp. 254, 258; Utterström 1957, 2, pp. 81—82.

85. The following foremost according to Levander 1944; Levander 1953; Nylén 1969; Rosander 1967, ch. 5 (an over-all study by parishes).

86. Björklund 1966, p. 83 et seq.; Rosander 1964—65; K. Andersen 1971.

87. Matsson 1976.

Here, in Ovensiljan and in the south-eastern part of the province innumerable smiths were to be found. Grandfather clocks were made in Mora 1750—1860. They were transported in a dismantled state and were assembled by the salesman in the customer's home. Each part was made by a specialist. With time, a marked trend towards production through cottage-industry methods could be noted⁸⁸. Woven goods of cotton and flax were manufactured — principally in Nedansiljan. Woven ribbons and lace were other well-known products from certain villages. The manufacture of boats, wooden horses⁸⁹, small wooden tools, ropes, brass articles, wire products, savings boxes, grindstones, whetstones and millstones⁹⁰ was also carried on. In addition, a number of pewter and silver articles were produced, as were brooms. The sale of medicinal plants also took place⁹¹. In certain parishes there was extensive peddling with small-wares (see below).

Most of the Dalecarlian handicraft ceased towards the end of the 19th century.

In Jämtland, too, there were varied handicraft activities up until this period, although on a smaller scale. Most of the products seem to have been sold at markets, particularly in Norway, since the middle ages. The Jämtlanders were well-known for carrying on a comprehensive transit trade with Norwegian products down to the markets of central Sweden⁹². Some of these products were, in all likelihood, sold to the farms on the way. Rough and fine forging, wooden handicraft (particularly spoons, stoups and cases), the preparation of animal skins and the manufacture of linen, frieze and soap-stone goods were practised in the province⁹³.

Flax cultivation and weaving were widely practised along the Norrland coast. Sales were mostly dealt with by the peasants themselves but a certain proportion of goods were sold by agents, including citizens from the coastal towns who transported the goods during the winter to the markets of central Sweden. Some of these goods were sold en route at farms and at lodging places. The town dwellers also brought salt, tobacco and hemp with them. The numerous peasants who transported frozen birds and poultry southwards may also have sold some of them on their way. The Norrland peasants also surreptitiously offered textiles for sale to the houses in Stockholm⁹⁴.

In addition to these major handicraft districts, there were occasional parishes which specialized in certain products for sale. Furniture of many different types was manufactured from the end of the 17th century at Lindome (Halland) and the surrounding parishes. Simple kitchen furniture was sold by means of peddling. Joiners were said to have travelled around the west coast from the beginning of the 19th century manufacturing furniture at the farms. Furniture was also manufactured in Östervåla (Uppland) from 1820 on (mainly chairs). The simplest of this furniture was sold by peddling⁹⁵.

88. Trotzig 1937; Utterström 1957, 2, pp. 236—237.

89. Scotte-Frödin 1939.

90. Petterson 1977.

91. ULMA 3269:4, p. 3; ULMA 12221:1, p. 158.

92. The literature is abundant. Notice for instance Jämtlands och Härjedalens historia, 2, p. 50 et seq.; 3, p. 372 et seq.; 4, p. 19 et seq.; Hedlund 1941; Utterström 1957, 2, p. 51 et seq.

93. Fahlbeck 1947; Binäringar i Jämtland; Hedlund 1941; Hedlund 1946.

94. Heckscher 1935—49, 3:2, p. 730; Hedlund 1946, p. 78; Nylén 1969, p. 132; Utterström 1957, 2, p. 37 et seq.

95. von Schoultz 1942, pp. 82, 95; Lagerquist & von Schoultz 1942, p. 25.

Millstones were hewn in Lugnås (Västergötland) and Årsunda-Ovansjö (Gästrikland)⁹⁶ in addition to Malung.

From the middle of the 17th century or even earlier the lace-making centre was the town of Vadstena (Östergötland). This art spread from around 1825 to the surrounding countryside. The lace products were sold by *knallar* from Västergötland and by 30—40 *spetsgångare* ("lace pedlars") from the district. Some women also sold lace at bathing resorts as late as the 1950s⁹⁷.

Woollen goods were manufactured on the islands of Öland and Gotland, frieze and linen goods were manufactured in Vingåker and the surrounding parishes⁹⁸.

Lerbäck parish (Närke) specialized in tacks, scissors and scythes. There were at least 600 smiths manufacturing tacks in 1825. Some of the tacks was sold through peddling. Pedlars included *knallar* and inhabitants from Vingåker. There was also a lively manufacture of small-scale forgings in the neighbouring parishes in Östergötland, as there was in the manufacture of barrels, linen goods etc.⁹⁹. In addition, scythes were forged in Lindome and in the surrounding parishes as well as in Bälaryd in north western Småland¹⁰⁰.

Pottery was seldom sold through peddling. Glass pedlars did, however, sometimes take earthen-ware with them. On other occasions, tradesman from the towns travelled out to the countryside or pedlars in small-wares brought purchased vessels with them¹⁰¹.

Other goods which were said to have been sold by means of peddling (though mostly over short distances and to a limited scale) are frozen pike-perch, dried perch and pike¹⁰², birch bark, pitch and tar¹⁰³, pitch-oil and train-oil¹⁰⁴, "medicine" (by Lapps), tinder¹⁰⁵, lingonberries¹⁰⁶ and juniper wood for fences¹⁰⁷. Other products were, in all likelihood, also sold through peddling.

PEDDLING WITH INDUSTRIAL PRODUCTS

GLASS WAS A UTILITY ARTICLE which the authorities had to permit to be sold by peddling. Before the domestic glass industry had a sufficient capacity, glass-ware was sold by Germans and Bohemians. These pedlars can be found in Denmark from the end of the 17th century (13 pedlars in 1697) and up to 1761, when imports were prohibited. Not until the end do the pedlars seem to have reached the rural areas. The foreign glass dealers in Copenhagen used 20—30 of their fellow countrymen as glass salesmen in rural areas around 1750. Later on

96. Pettersson 1977.

97. Uppsala. Etnologiska institutionen. Metelius 1972; Nylén 1969, p. 302 et seq.

98. Kjellberg 1943, p. 506; Heckscher 1935—49, 3:1, p. 573; Utterström 1957, 2, p. 222.

99. Nyman 1964; Heckscher 1935—49, 3:1, p. 573; Utterström 1957, 2, p. 239.

100. Lamm 1977.

101. Hedlund 1946, p. 78; ULMA 19518, p. 5.

102. ULMA 12739, pp. 272, 283 (Österåker in Södermanland).

103. ULMA 11457, p. 7; 15704, p. 16 (Vibygerå in Ångermanland, Tiveden in Närke).

104. ULMA 5486, p. 40 (Degerfors in Västerbotten).

105. ULMA 12739, p. 726 (Källunge in Västergötland).

106. ULMA 18613, p. 1.

107. Ejdestam 1965, pp. 55—56.

sales (now of Norwegian glass) probably took place, for the most part, in towns and at markets¹⁰⁸.

Glass production began on rather a large scale in Norway in 1739. Most of this glass seems to have been sold by the merchants but regular peddling is known to have occurred in occasional cases. There is a story of how a glassworks in 1770 had to pay the workers with window panes and bottles which the workers then sold in the surrounding district¹⁰⁹.

German and Bohemian glass vendors can be shown to have been in Sweden during the 1660s¹¹⁰. At the same time, a large glassworks was founded on Kungsholmen in Stockholm (1676) and import almost ceased. Innumerable glassworks were set up later on and selling by means of glass pedlars is noted from the 18th century onwards. In particular, *knallar* sold glass from the Limmared glassworks (founded 1740) in their home district. The services of *knallar* and pedlars can be assumed to have diminished once glaziers were permitted in rural areas in 1766. As a rule, the glass vendors purchased their stocks from the works, but sometimes they also worked on commission.

The authorities ignored the illegality of the trade and inspection was not tightened up until 1802 when the glassworks owners were permitted to employ no more than a certain number of people of irreproachable character. (The reputation of the vendors has always been bad; many were drunkards.) In addition to window-panes and household utensils, the glass vendors also sold clay vessels and — surreptitiously — arsenic¹¹¹. They got hold of the arsenic in the glass works where it was used for decolouring purposes. Arsenic was used to give horses a livelier temperament when being inspected by respective buyers — but it was also used by women to make their eyes more lustrous! The number of glass vendors was relatively large. Kosta, one of the largest glassworks, had approximately 40 vendors in 1854. Most of these came from Algutsboda parish in Småland. A couple of decades later, the glassworks started to change over to sales through country shops and glass stores in the towns and the selling activities of the vendors shifted from the farms to the country shopkeepers and the markets. The last vendor disappeared around 1915.

Very few references to glass vendors are to be found in Finland despite the fact that Finland had large-scale glass production since 1748 (Åvik). The country was sparsely populated and the demand was weak¹¹².

In relatively recent periods enterprising individuals could purchase earthenware from the manufacturers and sell them from trucks¹¹³.

Industrial *small-scale forgings* comprised goods which were mainly sold through peddling and at markets. The reasons for this were that the numerous smiths in the Swedish town of Eskilstuna had far-reaching privileges concerning manufacture and sales. There were more than 150 workshops with widely varying production in Eskilstuna in 1850. Most of the vendors were from Dalarna (Malung, Älvdalen, Järna) during a period of about half a century up until 1870.

108. Boesen 1961; Christiansen 1939, 1, p. 196.

109. Christiansen 1939, 1, p. 263; 2, p. 268; Bleken-Nilssen 1956, p. 665.

110. The following according to Seitz 1937; Fogelberg 1973.

111. Hedlund 1946, p. 78; Nilsson 1962.

112. Ahlskog 1956, p. 65; 1970—71, p. 58.

113. Letter from A. Ropeid.

The vendors, who included a number of women, numbered at least a hundred. Quite a number of vendors also appear to have come from Småland. Most of these acted as agents for the smiths but they probably sold a certain quantity of products independently too. At the beginning of the 19th century many Dalecarlian women frequented the public-houses of the town and bought stolen forgings which they later sold¹¹⁴.

The brass works at Skultuna sold a small quantity of its products through kettle vendors¹¹⁵. Presumably this was also true of other copperworks and brass-works. Conditions were different in Denmark. Copper and brass trade was exempted from the regulations concerning rural purchasers, particularly if the vendors were citizens of a town. The sale of copper vessels was dominated from the beginning of the 17th century until around 1875 by a guild-like union of men from Luiksgestel, a village in southern Holland. The products were obtained from a factory in Flensburg (Schleswig) and later on from Danish copper-mills. The Dutchmen had large carriages and employed coachmen and manservants. The members of the "guild", which was run on a cooperative basis, numbered a maximum of 21 (1805). They held an annual meeting. From 1821 onwards, all members had to be unmarried according to an internal resolution. The country was divided into districts, each of which had a supervisor who was responsible for the accounts. This supervisor settled down in a fairly large village from which he could easily reach various parts of the district. The kettle vendors had a special aura about them. Amongst other things, they were believed to have royal privileges. In 1839 the "guild" purchased a copper factory in Vejle which, later on, also manufactured iron products which they sold¹¹⁶. Other Danish copper-mills also had kettle vendors, though their numbers were small¹¹⁷.

The oldest products which come under the designation small-wares were probably various fine products from industrially managed handicraft activities, namely the famous *Nürnbergerkramet* (small-ware from Nuremberg), a term which, at least later on, came to be used for toys. According to the dictionaries, the word was recorded in Scandinavia during the 16th century. The continental glass vendors sometimes brought small-ware from Nuremberg with them. Vendors from Nuremberg were said to have been active in Norway during the 18th century¹¹⁸.

In many cases, small-ware peddling involved a further development of handicraft peddling, insofar as the handicraft pedlars began to carry small-wares with them at the same time. It was even more common for certain individuals from the large handicraft areas to specialize in small-wares. This is particularly the case with the Dalecarlians¹¹⁹, and the *knallar*¹²⁰ and vendors from south Småland¹²¹ in Sweden, people from Voss and Hallingdal in Norway¹²² and vendors of knitted goods in Denmark¹²³.

114. Rosander 1965 b.

115. Levander 1944, p. 342; Ljung 1957, p. 77.

116. H. Andersen 1919—20; A. Hanssen 1906—08.

117. Amstrup 1960, p. 54.

118. Boesen 1961, p. 130; Bleken-Nilssen 1956, p. 664.

119. Levander 1944, pp. 391—392.

120. Boger 1963, p. 57 et seq., 93.

121. Svedenfors 1952, p. 90.

In Denmark, fish buyers with boats sold small-wares in Limfjorden¹²⁴.

One pattern seems to have been to combine horse and cattle driving with small-ware sales. This was sometimes the case with the men who drove oxen from Jutland to Schleswig in the summer. In the winter they sold small-wares which they had bought in Schleswig¹²⁵. This combination was particularly true of Numedal in Norway (the parish of Uvdal and Nore). Cattle sales there date from medieval times. Small-wares probably began to be sold around the beginning of the 19th century, perhaps by specialized pedlars to begin with and later by cattle dealers. Stocks were mainly purchased in Bergen (drapery goods, small products) while handicraft products were bought in, for example, Toten. Up until 1880—90 sales journeys were, for the most part, undertaken towards the east, even into Sweden, and later towards the north and the northwest. Only young men (17—25 years of age) participated. As a rule, a few of them joined forces to hire a servant with fixed pay. The servant could sometimes establish a business himself if his former masters provided security for the stock. During the trading trips, which were started after the autumn farming, horses and cattle were booked for later purchasing, deposits were made and the animals were then fetched during the early summer and were brought in drives to various localities. Both types of trade disappeared shortly after the turn of the century¹²⁶. Roughly the same conditions appear to have prevailed in Voss.

Some of the Numedal inhabitants got as far as Lofoten, but they mostly carried on market trading there. Products were bought in Trondheim. Trading was sometimes carried on from boats along the coast.

Pedlars in Äppelbo, Dalarna also combined peddling with horse trading. Swedish iron was sold in Norway and horses and various small-wares and handicraft products were bought instead¹²⁷.

A special form of small-ware trade occurred when enterprising country people acted as purchasers of farming products in their home districts, sold these products in the large towns and then brought small-wares home with them which they sold to the farms. This was, for example, the case in Hedmark county in Norway¹²⁸ and also, in all likelihood, in many other quarters.

The trading peasants from Jämtland carried on much the same form of trade. When they had sold the products which they had acquired in Norway (e.g. dried fish and salted herring which they had bartered for products from their home district) in central Sweden, they loaded their sledges with tobacco, groceries, shawls etc. which they could peddle on the way home¹²⁹.

The full-time small-ware dealers from the towns sometimes made occasional trips out to the countryside¹³⁰.

122. Isachsen 1930—31, pp. 166, 171; Trætterberg 1952, pp. 113—114. The same seems to have been the case in the district of Hedmark at the end of the 18th century (Bull 1917, p. 250).

123. Hansen 1947, p. 145.

124. Feilberg 1922, p. 252. For these *krejlere* see Rasmussen 1968, p. 357.

125. Sandholm 1948, p. 9.

126. Flatin 1939, p. 48 et seq.; Isachsen 1930—31, p. 167 et seq.; Trætterberg 1952, p. 114.

127. ULMA 12882, pp. 5, 13, 16.

128. Bleken-Nilssen 1956, pp. 659—660.

129. Jämtlands och Härjedalens historia, 4, p. 208.

130. According to a notice in a decree, 1822 (Danckwardt 1823, p. 218).

The small-ware vendors travelled everywhere, even into the Lapp tents and all the way up to the Arctic Ocean¹³¹.

The regional presence of pedlars with small-wares, mainly textile goods, around the turn of the century can, to a certain extent, be established in Norway and Sweden. Records in Norway¹³² indicate that small-ware vendors mainly started from the area between the mountain parishes in upper Setesdal and Oppland. A large number of them also came from Hardangerfjord and the villages to the west of the Mjøsa lake. A small number started from certain parishes in Sogn and the fjords as well as in Möre and Romsdal and from Rödöy (Nordland), Buksnes and Hol (Lofoten) and from certain neighbouring parishes towards Sweden in the vicinity of Saltdal (Nordland) and Eidskog (Hedmark). The fact that peddling was seldom carried out in Eastern Norway is probably due to the competition from Swedish *knallar*¹³³.

According to the official statistics in Sweden¹³⁴ most peddling licences were granted in Dalarna, Västergötland and south Småland which were, of course, the well-known peddling areas. Relatively high figures are also noted for south-eastern Norrland, Södermanland, Västmanland, northern Småland and Gothenburg. The range of products is not, however, listed and many vendors probably sold handicrafts during the first decades.

A somewhat different version of peddling was practised around the turn of the century by salesmen known as *kappsäckshandlarna* ("suit-case vendors") who brought coffee, sugar and samples of cloths and household articles with them. The customers made a deposit and then received the goods C. O. D. through post¹³⁵.

The most important factory product for the pedlars from the middle of the 19th century became cloth. The *knallar* were permitted to carry cloth in Sweden from 1847 onwards. For the most part, they bought imported cloth in Gothenburg but domestic cloth from Borås and Norrköping was also sold.

Later on, clothes and other garments were also sold. Some of the products were made by means of knitting machines in the countryside. This was the case in the old knitting districts of Jutland, where the number of pedlars in wool and linen products was around 500 in 1940¹³⁶.

Small-ware vendors also brought coffee and sugar and, on occasion, wine and spirits with them. Foodstuffs were used as barter for rags and bones¹³⁷.

Songs, almanacs, letters of congratulation, cheap novelettes, pictures, chromolithographs, Christmas decorations, visiting cards and other products from the graphic industry formed a special line of goods. Not very much is known about how these products were spread. Most of them were probably sold at markets

131. Levander 1953, p. 288; Calenius 1929, p. 50.

132. Oslo. Instituttet for sammenlignende kulturforskning. Bondesamfunnsavdelningen. Garder og gardssamfunn, answer to question I:8 b. — The country has been divided into roughly one hundred districts. From each district there is a record. The immediate question concerns the adult youth occupations.

133. Cf. Munch 1948, p. 33.

134. SOS. Litt. E (1865—90), Litt. F (1895—1910).

135. Öfverläggning i riksdagens första kammare, pp. 3—4.

136. Hefte 1942.

137. Stockholm. Nordiska museet. Klipparkivet, heading *Handelsresande*, notice from 1963;

(by, for example, market singers), by street hawkers directly from the printing offices and in the snuff shops of the towns; but sales were also made through pedlars either together with handicraft products and small-wares or as a sole line of goods. Poor women who bought hair for the wigmakers also sometimes brought songs with them as barter goods, as did the purchasers of rags and bones¹³⁸. The earliest vendors came from Germany where production was started at an early stage. Wandering apprentices also sold these products¹³⁹.

The largest printer of songs in Denmark marketed his products through a number of pedlars who wrote to him and obtained the publications cash on delivery¹⁴⁰. The vendors also urged the printers in various towns through which they passed to print popular songs they had heard so that they could take a packet of the printed songs with them¹⁴¹.

The production of popular prints was very small in Norway and Finland. These were mostly introduced from the neighbouring countries¹⁴². Towards the end of the last century, vendors who sold religious literature and cheap novelettes began to appear¹⁴³.

PEDDLING PRACTICED BY ETHNIC AND SOCIAL MINORITY GROUPS

IN EARLIER TIMES, peddling was surprisingly international. In particular, pottery, lace, weaving-reed, hair-article and basket vendors have sold their products outside the Nordic countries. Within the Nordic countries, Swedish pedlars in particular (as we have already seen) reached as far as Norway and Finland and a number of pedlars from Uvdal and the border parishes in Norway reached Sweden. Swedish hair-article and basket vendors travelled through Denmark. Danish pedlars are sometimes mentioned in Norway¹⁴⁴. Swedish Lapps, who regularly travelled through Norway looking for grazing for their reindeer, brought with them, for example, reindeer meat, copper vessels, scythes and, sometimes, silver-ware which they bartered or sold on the Norwegian side of the border. This probably took place for the most part at markets but peddling probably occurred also¹⁴⁵. A certain amount of bartering also took place by means of pedlars between northern Norway and Finland¹⁴⁶.

Numerous foreign pedlars reached the Nordic countries. Particularly Denmark, with its southern situation, seems to have received a large number of visits even if little material can be found to support this in the sources. The Nurembergers and the glass vendors from Germany and Bohemia have already been

SOS. Litt. H, Västerbottens län 1871—75, p. 17; ULMA 15607, p. 6.

138. Braaten 1938, p. 121; Clausen 1973, p. 20; Ejdestam 1965, p. 101; Jersild 1975, pp. 14, 25.

139. Clausen 1973, p. 8; Jersild 1975, p. 15.

140. Piø 1974, p. 22. Cf. Rosander 1965 *a*.

141. Jersild 1975, p. 25.

142. Clausen 1973, pp. 94—95.

143. Heinestad 1946, p. 121.

144. E. g. NEG 1597.

145. E. g. NEG 14601.

146. E. g. NEG 1584.

dealt with. There are 16th century accounts of how foreign mercenaries sold merchant goods in the south Swedish provinces¹⁴⁷. Italian pedlars sometimes are found in the older sources¹⁴⁸. The Chinese and Tartars, who appeared in the south east of Finland in connection with their visits to St. Petersburg, must have seemed even more exotic¹⁴⁹.

In Finland small-ware peddling was dominated by Karelians and Russians from Kem and Olonets. They are mentioned already in medieval sources. During the latter part of the 19th century they were about 1000. They sold not only small-ware but also for example leather goods, certain food-stuffs, medicine, and lace. The goods had sometimes been brought from the continent via Archangelsk or had been bought from wholesale dealers in Finland. Well-to-do peasants could have as many as ten servants for their trade. Other peasants joined into a kind of company and made their purchases in common. The pedlars used to have a big leather knapsack and *laukeuryssä*, the name commonly given to them, alludes to that fact. Many of them travelled by sledge, skis, boat or by carriage.

Usually the journeys were made during the winter half but sometimes they lasted several years. The traffic ceased about 1917, and some of the pedlars then settled in Finland and became shopkeepers, which had happened sometimes also before¹⁵⁰.

Some of the Russian pedlars bought human hair, horsehair, and pig's bristle, and sold tobacco and spirits¹⁵¹. Many of them also travelled about as knife-grinders, glaziers, tin-smiths, gelders, and saw-filers¹⁵².

Russian pedlars¹⁵³ and saw-filers¹⁵⁴ travelled as far as North Sweden.

In Finnmark in the north of Norway, widespread commerce grew up after a treaty in 1796 and was carried out by *pomorer* from the province of Archangel. This trade seems, however, to have taken place at markets for the most part¹⁵⁵.

Many of the first of the immigrant Jews¹⁵⁶ were granted permits to carry on trade in trinkets with the aid of assistants. Others did so in secret. Around 1870 there were 550 foreign Jews in the southern and western parts of Sweden alone, while the number of Jewish pedlars with Swedish citizenship was estimated at approximately 500 in 1920.

The Jews travelled everywhere. The first Jews were said to have reached Northern Norway around 1860. A few decades later, numerous Jews had sought out the richest fishing areas there. They were domiciled in Trondheim. Jews also seemed to have a special preference for the Swedish west-coast fishing areas¹⁵⁷.

147. Boger 1963, p. 6.

148. Dankwardt 1823, p. 232. — Catholic "knife-grinders" are mentioned in 1757 (af Sillén 1886, p. 217).

149. Karste-Liikkanen 1968, p. 307.

150. Nyman 1970; Kirkinen 1970, p. 124.

151. Letter from Lea Joskitt. Cf. also Lönnqvist 1972, p. 317.

152. Alanen 1957, p. 99 et seq., 177 et seq.; Karste-Liikkanen 1968, p. 306. For the early 20th century peddling in Finland see in general Alanen 1957, p. 451 et seq.

153. ULMA 20521, p. 3.

154. Rosander 1967, p. 63. Cf. also Kjellberg 1943, p. 247.

155. E. g. Ytreberg 1942, p. 178 et seq.

156. The following mainly according to Mendelsohn 1969, specially pp. 302, 331, 390 et seq.

For the public discussion on the Jewish pedlars in Sweden see Hammar 1964, p. 54 et seq.

157. See e. g. Öfverläggning i riksdagens första kammare, p. 57; Valentin 1924, p. 452.

They specialized in certain products such as cloths, clocks and watches, trinkets and jewels. The clocks and watches and cloths were considered to be of poor quality and the Jews were, in general, regarded with suspicion. Many of them purchased or bartered for goods such as hair (these were known as *hårjudar* or hair-Jews), objects of precious metal and antiques. They gave cloths or silver-plated stones in exchange¹⁵⁸.

Gypsies are not particularly numerous in the Nordic countries with the exception of Finland. It is true that they travelled from farm to farm but they made their living mainly as tinkers or through purchasing metal¹⁵⁹. In Finland they are, for example, permitted to sell factory-manufactured lace or embroidery work of their own today¹⁶⁰.

Only in exceptional cases are Lapps known to have acted as pedlars. That social distillate, *travellers*¹⁶¹, lived a strolling life and partly earned their living by peddling in combination with repair work, purchases and handicrafts. Two recently published studies from Sweden and Norway¹⁶² have analyzed the occupational activities of these *travellers*. In Norway in 1845 they lived mostly on the sale of weaving reeds¹⁶⁴, tin vessels, brass buttons, wire products, combs (of horn and brass) and baskets. Other metal handicrafts also occurred. At the end of the 1940s, the tin-smiths dominated completely (they now occupy themselves with roof gutters and valves etc). Trading in watches is also popular. The selling of glass is mentioned in Sweden during the 18th century, the selling of pottery (Halland) and the selling of forgings (e.g. from Eskilstuna¹⁶⁵) are mentioned in the 19th century and the selling of tin and copper vessels, baskets and small-wares are mentioned in 1922. Mention is also made of the manufacture of hooks, buttons, needles, brooms and horn products. *Travellers* in Denmark also lived mainly on tin-smith work and on glazier work. The sale of brushes, wire products and artificial flowers is mentioned in 1965¹⁶⁶.

Other social outcasts have also devoted themselves — and still devote themselves — to selling, purchasing and providing services (like knife-grinding) by travelling from customer to customer¹⁶⁷. Many have a criminal background. It was not unusual for prison sentences in youthful years to give rise to a vagabond life. No clear boundary lines can be drawn up for *travellers*. Many of them were active over small areas, often in towns, and therefore fall outside our definition. The products which they sold consisted mainly of small-wares such as wire

158. ULMA 20810; Nelson 1963, p. 114.

159. Tillhagen 1965, pp. 36, 40.

160. Letter from Lea Joskitt; Vehmaa 1961, p. 285.

161. *Resande* is an epithet they use themselves. The following epithets have been used for them, i. a. Danish: *tater*, *matmand*, *kæltringer*; Finnish: *kulkurit*, *mustalainen*; Norwegian: *fanter*, *tater*; Swedish: *tattare*.

162. E. g. chimney-sweeping, knife-grinding, tin-smithing, scrap-iron and ragpeddling.

163. Heymowski 1969, pp. 40—41, 48; Moe 1975 a, p. 42 et seq., 136—137. Of great interest are also the well-known publications by Sundt from the middle of the 19th century about the Norwegian *resande* (specially Sundt 1852) and those by Hansen about the Danish ones (1959—1960).

164. Moe 1975 b, p. 29. — Handicraft is believed to have become an occupation for the *resande* through contact with the Swedish reed-makers in Norway, who lived a peripatetic life.

165. ULMA 1757, p. 55; Ernvik 1951, p. 408.

166. Hansen 1959—60, *passim*; Enevig 1965, p. 80.

products and songs. Their trade can be said to consist of disguised begging. A whole series of regulations against peddling has been aimed at restricting vagrancy.

Many handicapped people also lived in a similar manner.

THE PEDLAR AT WORK

THE TRADING SEASONS VARY CONSIDERABLY, depending on a number of circumstances — the manner in which trading was combined with other occupations, the weights and freight possibilities for the products (by boat, sleighs and sledges), the fluctuation in the number of customers available (e.g. seasonal fishing), adaptation to markets which were to be visited etc. Pedlars who also cultivated land arranged their absence to suit the cultivation work unless other family members could take care of this. The authorities regulated the travelling periods for the *knallar* who lived in the country (1822) so that the harvest was first taken care of¹⁶⁸. In old times, the cold and the hardships to be encountered did not constitute an obstacle to the pedlars, but pedlars in recent times usually stayed at home or at least in urban areas during the winter.

The length of the seasons was, of course, linked to whether the trade was a main occupation or an ancillary occupation. Very little reliable information is available. Semi-professional pedlars, such as the *knallar*, were allowed to travel for three periods (from 1822 two periods) of three months each according to the regulations in force. If they were travelling to Norway, their permits were made out for four months. The hop vendors from Fyn are an extreme case. They travelled for a period of two weeks. The woodworkers in Scania, who travelled for periods of two-three days on bicycles, comprise another extreme case¹⁶⁹. At the other end of the scale we have those pedlars who travel for several years, e.g. those from Uvdal, who stayed in Northern Norway or the weaving-reed vendors from Markaryd who stayed on the continent.

The *knallar* had a highly characteristic costume for a long time. It varied somewhat but in the mid-19th century comprised, for example, a blue body-cloak or jacket, a long waistcoat of multicoloured cloth with large pockets, an undulating hat and a checked woollen scarf¹⁷⁰. Those who sold copper vessels were not likely to be confused with anyone else. They wore a leather jacket with iron hooks from which their wares hung¹⁷¹. The handicraft vendors who came from districts in which folk costumes lived on for a long time, e.g. Dalarna, were also easy to recognize. In these cases, the costumes acted as a sort of advertisement. The cloth vendors carried an *aln* (measuring stick) with them and the *aln* was almost a trade symbol for the *knallar*. The personal equipment of the *knalle* is well known: a food box, a money bag, shaving equipment, a notebook and, possibly, a bible and a hymn-book¹⁷². Those pedlars who practised handicraft

167. Ribsskog 1963, p. 7 et seq.; Moe 1975 a, p. 170. For knife-grinders see Nyman 1967.

168. Boger 1963, p. 42.

169. Boger 1963, pp. 26, 42; Lund 1930, p. 88; EU 47171.

170. Boger 1963, p. 89.

171. A. Hanssen 1906—08, p. 15.

172. Boger 1963, p. 90.

work during their travels also brought their tools with them, of course and, in some cases, their raw materials (hook makers).

Many of them carried their stocks on their backs. The Dalecarlians and the Norwegian pedlars from the mountain districts had, for example, rucksacks of leather. The *knallar* used a cross-sack with a slit. The sack was twisted in the centre where the opening was situated. The Jews often carried a bundle, a pack or a wooden box with many compartments¹⁷³. The wool pedlars from Jutland carried their rolls of cloth in a cross-sack or in a strap. In recent times, pedlars on bicycles often had a suitcase. Mention is also made of a long bag, carried on the back, with an opening in the centre and with a wooden box on each side¹⁷⁴, and of a white linen bag, carried across the back (*knallar*), a leather case carried in the same way (lace vendors) or a wooden chest for trinkets.

The weight of the burden could be considerable. A report of 90 kilos must, however, be an exception¹⁷⁵. The weights otherwise given vary between 30 and 70 kilos¹⁷⁶.

Fragile goods were sometimes kept in baskets (drinking glasses) or in a wooden chest which was narrow at the bottom and wide at the top (window glass). Pottery was, for example, packed in heather¹⁷⁷.

All sorts of vehicles were used: hand-drawn sledges, pack horses, horse-drawn loads of furniture or copper vessels, boats, cars, bicycles (with loads of 150 kg¹⁷⁸). The horse-drawn loads were protected by means of covers, skins or impregnated cloth¹⁷⁹.

Some *knallar* had a sledge and a wagon stationed at some farm in the district and changed vehicle according to the weather. Those who used a boat sometimes sold the boat during the autumn and retained only the mast and the sail until the following year.

We know nothing about the travelling speeds involved. Daily distances of 50–60 kilometers are reported for a glass driver with a horse in 1890 but this can scarcely have left them with time to visit customers. A *knalle* is said to have driven a packed sledge 400 kilometres in 4 days¹⁸⁰.

Many different ways were used to acquire the goods sold. Some pedlars sold products made in their own households, others purchased products from neighbours or sold products on commission. Some craftsmen manufactured their products during their journeys. In those cases in which the handicraft products assumed capitalist forms, in a system in which capital was advanced from a creditor, the pedlar sometimes worked for a wage or on commission. The same conditions applied to the trading servants who assisted the salesmen.

Small-ware vendors had corresponding positions and conditions. Here, too, there were a number of "servants", particularly in the case of travelling Jewish merchants or in the case of salesmen sent out by resident merchants.

173. ULMA 20810.

174. ULMA 2680.

175. Munch 1948, p. 33.

176. Bohuslänningen 1970—12—14; Hansen 1947, p. 127; Trætteberg 1952, p. 109.

177. Fogelberg 1973, p. 69; Jensen 1924, p. 86.

178. Stockholm. Nordiska museet. Klipparkivet, heading *Handelsresande* (1971).

179. Boger 1963, p. 92.

180. Fogelberg 1973, p. 74; Boger 1963, p. 77.

Small-wares were purchased in large towns where merchants or wholesalers who specialized in goods suitable for peddling were usually active¹⁸¹. Here, credit could often be obtained.

Since the stocks carried by the pedlars on their backs soon ran out, some goods were often sent in advance by train or by boat to some central locality where they formed a depot¹⁸².

It could take 1—2 weeks to sell a load of small-wares. The pedlar then had to visit his store or a wholesaler¹⁸³.

Once the parcel post and cash on delivery system had been introduced, the pedlar could also order goods from his merchant¹⁸⁴. When mail-order companies began to grow up with tempting catalogues, many ambitious young men became pedlars on a small scale in their home districts, selling goods ordered from Germany or from domestic mail-order companies¹⁸⁵.

Pedlars found it easy to get hold of smuggled goods, particularly when import prohibitions prevailed against luxury goods. A lot of small-ware was bought in the northern German towns and smuggled into Denmark. The *knallar* were also well-known for selling contraband goods¹⁸⁶.

The procuring of raw materials for continued production was a problem for some pedlars. During their journeys they took the opportunity to purchase or barter for what they needed: copper, brass, feathers, wool, flax etc. The *knallar* and the Dutch kettle vendors, in particular, had a thoroughly developed system for bartering for raw materials¹⁸⁷. It was also possible to buy, for example, rags for sale to the paper manufacturing industry¹⁸⁸.

The circle of customers consisted of practically all those living in the rural areas, whether their position was high or low, possibly with the exception of the very poorest people¹⁸⁹. Town dwellers were, on the other hand, visited to a considerably lesser extent by pedlars. Here, the pedlars had to compete with the tradesmen and hawkers in the town — and also, perhaps, run the risk of arrest. The kettle vendors, the German and Bohemian glass vendors, the *knallar*¹⁹⁰ and many pedlars from Dalarna etc. did, however, enter the towns.

The pedlars made their way, naturally enough, to places in which large numbers of customers gathered — markets, assizes, seasonal fishing stations and railway

181. E. g. Levander 1953, p. 302 et seq., 309, which has a detailed account of the pedlars' business with the whole-sale dealers.

182. E. g. Levander 1944, p. 342.

183. Isachsen 1930—31, p. 170.

184. Cf. Boger 1963, p. 86.

185. Conradson 1975, p. 14 et seq.

186. Feilberg 1922, p. 250; Hansén 1947, p. 145; Sandholm 1948, p. 9.

187. Boger 1963, p. 76; A. Hansén 1906—08, p. 33.

188. Karste-Liikkanen 1968, p. 311; Sterner 1970, p. 131.

189. B. Hansén (1952, p. 170) points out that a certain clergyman in Scania in 1623—36 only bought 1.5 % from pedlars compared to what he bought at markets.

190. Cf. Dahl 1959 a, p. 52.

construction sites. They also stood at factory gates or at ironworks on payday and spread out their stocks¹⁹¹.

Most pedlars had fixed districts in which they circulated. These districts were also so small that the pedlars returned several times during the same season.

Even if the division into districts was not usually the result of a joint agreement, the territories seem to have been observed fairly strictly¹⁹². For an unknown pedlar to try to win over customers was probably regarded with disfavour. Clients sometimes even refused to make purchases from the wrong pedlar¹⁹³. In a corresponding way, there are reports that a weaving-reed maker from Älvdalen refused to sell if he was stopped by anyone outside his own district¹⁹⁴. The Dalecarlian reed makers, in particular, had strictly divided geographical territories. These territories were sometimes passed on from father to son¹⁹⁵. A similar division existed between certain other Dalecarlian pedlars¹⁹⁶ and we have seen how the Dutch kettle vendors divided Denmark into areas, each of which had a supervisor.

Due to lack of material, almost no charting has been carried out of the pedlars' districts. One possibility has been indicated by Dahl, who analyzed the bankruptcy acts for *knallar*. The debtors are mentioned in these and the respective trading districts can, consequently, be established¹⁹⁷.

Good relationships were, of course, easily established between the pedlar and his customers. This is reflected in the extensive granting of credit which took place. It is particular true of domestic servants, although mention is sometimes made of masters who had to provide surety. Payment was made on the next visit or on the last visit of the season¹⁹⁸. The *knallar* were noted for their willingness to give credit. The manner in which the pedlars could remember their claims was said to be incomprehensible, but they often kept secret records¹⁹⁹.

It is frequently emphasized that the small-ware vendors liked the master to be away since it was easier to persuade the women to buy. What was important was to take plenty of time about the transaction. Even if the customers said no, the vendor usually opened his case — "Looking doesn't cost anything" — and,

191. Öfverläggning i riksdagens första kammare, p. 4 et seq.; ULMA 15557, p. 75.

192. It is recounted from Älvdalen in Dalecarlia that the year's trade-route in fact was planned in broad outline, but that the plans might be altered due to snow-falls, competition etc. (Levander 1953, p. 290 et seq.).

193. "It was considered quite first-class to have a pedlar of one's own" (Resehandlaren 1927:4); Ejdestam 1965, p. 92; Svedenfors 1952, p. 101.

194. Levander 1944, p. 362.

195. Levander 1944, p. 362.

196. Levander 1944, p. 343—344. Cf. also Boger 1963, p. 72 (before the foundation of Borås town in 1622, according to tradition, the peasants are supposed to have met, in order to apportion the trading areas); Rom 1871, pp. 291—292.

197. Dahl 1959 a, p. 52. Cf. also Dahl 1959 b; Rosander 1965 a; Levander 1953, p. 291.

198. Ernvik 1951, p. 403; Isachsen 1930—31, p. 170.

199. Boger 1963, p. 96.

after a time, a sale was made²⁰⁰. In addition, pedlars usually had the gift of the gab and could follow a rehearsed rigmarole.

Bargaining took place, of course, but some pedlars boasted of never lowering their prices²⁰¹. In particular, the Jews were notorious for starting at a very high price and then permitting considerable bargaining to take place.

Many pedlars, particularly those who sold handicraft work, also carried out small repairs.

Accommodation was provided at the farms, often at the same place and time, and the people from the surrounding locality often gathered there to make their purchases and also, in all likelihood, to hear the news. The wool traders from Jutland, however, had a reputation for lodging at inns²⁰².

As payment for the accommodation, the pedlar usually sold something cheaply or gave money or a trifle. The famous wooden horses from Dalarna were used for that purpose. Frequently, pedlars could stay free of charge in exchange for news.

During these trips, the pedlars often found it convenient to be able to speak to their partners without those round about understanding what was said. The secret language of the *travellers*, mixed with Romany, was well known. Secret languages were also used amongst *knallar* (*månsing*), the skimmers from Malung and the pedlars from Älvdalen in Dalarna²⁰³. Like the tramps, the *knallar* would also lay out stones and other secret signs at cross-roads and would make marks on door frames. Maps of a certain type and "travel books" were also well known²⁰⁴.

Earnings varied. One may wonder how much those who sold only shoe nails can have earned²⁰⁵. Others made a good profit. The pottery vendors from Jutland could make profits of more than 200 % during the latter part of the 19th century. The prices were partially proportional to the freight distances. During the same period, a small-ware vendor in Uvdal made a profit of 25—33 % while the Swedish glass vendors calculated with a profit of 20 %²⁰⁶.

The sums of money and the stocks which the pedlars carried with them constituted a temptation to criminals. There are innumerable stories of robbed or murdered pedlars. In many cases they appear to be based on reality.

200. Feilberg 1922, p. 250. Cf. also e.g. Heft 1942, p. 93, Haspe 1959; Levander 1953, p. 321 et seq.

201. E. g. Heft 1942, p. 93.

202 Hansen 1947, p. 139.

203. Bergman 1931, p. 34 et seq.; Boger 1963, p. 138 et seq.; Björklund 1976; Levander 1953, p. 325 et seq. Among these languages the skimmers' one did not have the quality of argot.

204. Boger 1963, p. 81.

205. Levander 1953, p. 300.

206. Jensen 1924, p. 108; Isachsen 1930—31, p. 172; Fogelberg 1973, p. 75.

THE PEDLAR HIMSELF

WHO BECAME PEDLARS? There is no evidence that those who were most enterprising did so. Tradition must have played a strong part in many districts and families. A division between producers and vendors of handicraft work, based on practical considerations, has also been pointed out: those who did not have the right knack for producing goods generally became vendors.

Pedlars were almost always male. The hardships and risks involved are amongst the reasons for this. There were, of course, occasional exceptions²⁰⁷. In one district the number of female pedlars was almost as great as the number of male pedlars in the district. This was in *Dalarna*²⁰⁸, which was known for its robust women who did not hesitate to do manual seasonal work in other localities. The regional sex pattern should be studied in closer detail.

Pedlars were usually active when in their prime, but the age spread was considerable. Quite a number of children accompanied their parents, but a far more notable phenomenon is the fact that Jutland ceramics vendors were sometimes no older than 16—17 years of age²⁰⁹. Cases of pedlars of 70 years of age also occurred.

The Dutch kettle vendors and the vendors from Uvdal were all unmarried.

Socially, pedlars in older times, probably frequently belonged to well-off families. The small farms required the economic support of handicrafts. The trading servants and others in regular employment stood on a lower social level, of course, either under a credit supplier or a principal who was active as a pedlar himself. Travelling combined with begging has often been mentioned previously. During the present century, the pedlars belonged, with few exceptions, to the social level which did not own landed property.

Peddling sometimes acted as a spring-board for social climbing. Many a young man — who, perhaps, was not a handicraft worker himself — bought the products of this home district and sold them in turn. He may have ordered goods from elsewhere. A transition to permanent shops lies close at hand²¹⁰. Others acquired capital by trading and then became suppliers themselves.

An internal social order can sometimes be glimpsed amongst the pedlars. Wire-drawers and hook-makers, for example, had a low status, probably because their trade was frequently a disguised form of begging and was, to a certain extent, carried out by outcast groups. The *knallar* were often named according to the goods they principally sold: *finkenallar* (silk-cloths etc.), *tygknallar* (textiles), *skållknallar* (bowls etc.). The groups probably had different statuses. Around

207. E. g. lace-sellers. — Munch's statement (1948, p. 32) that women often took part in the selling of handicraft and novelties is not verified in my material.

208. In 1865 169 out of 191 female pedlars in Sweden with official permits came from Dalecarlia. The total number of men was 1235. In 1910 the corresponding figures were 10, 79 and 799. (Source as in note 134.)

209. Jensen 1924, p. 87. A diagram of the ages of the hair-work sellers is to be found in Rosander 1964—65, p. 87.

210. Munch 1948, pp. 31, 33.

1940, drapery goods vendors were considered to be the aristocrats of the branch as distinguished from the vendors of soap, needles etc. The *resande* (travellers) in Norway were divided into *storhandlare* (large-scale traders with wagon, car) and *småhandlare* (small-scale traders, stationary)²¹¹.

Bearing in mind the exaggerated importance of cloths as an expression of social rank, it is not surprising that the pedlars were often accused of enticing country people to dress above their class. Innumerable imprecations were flung around by those who felt threatened, i. e. those with higher social rank. Fancy-wares and small-wares were also looked upon with disfavour. The competition which the town merchants and, later on, the country shopkeepers must have felt also probably played a part in this. Furthermore, the pedlars constituted a group which was difficult to supervise from the point of view of the authorities (smuggling etc). They were sometimes accused of dissipation and spreading infectious diseases²¹². Peddling was also sometimes regarded as demoralizing to the vendor himself since it prevented him from going into fixed employment.

How did the customers regard the pedlars? Many records indicate that the farmers looked down on those who had to travel about to earn their living²¹³. According to Christian views, trade was not advantageous to the salvation of the soul²¹⁴. Records do, however, indicate that successful pedlars have a fairly high social status; money gave prestige. The Jews, *travellers*, and, of course, drop-outs of various sorts had a particularly poor reputation. Their poor reputation did not, however, prevent pedlars from being well regarded in their particular districts. "Their visits were generally regarded as a pleasant break in... the solitude²¹⁵."

The pedlars were, occasionally, regarded as so different that supernatural powers were attributed to them. This was the case with the Dutch kettle vendors, who enjoyed such respect that they did not have to protect their expensive loads during the night since it was believed that they had the power to retain the thief at the load until morning²¹⁶.

PEDDLING IN ITS SOCIAL-ECONOMIC CONTEXT

THIS REPORT HAS USED MATERIAL from various periods and environments. Certain general traits can be abstracted²¹⁷.

To begin with, it has been confirmed that the Nordic peasant, with the exception of those from the completely flat areas, had a wide range of occupations.

211. Ejdestam 1965, p. 91; ULMA 15055, p. 15; Moe 1975 a, p. 184.

212. Svedenfors 1949—54, 2, p. 247.

213. E. g. the answers from Rana, Indre Nordmøre, Stranda and Northern Hedmark in the source mentioned in note 132. A further reason for looking down upon pedlars could be their dialect, clothes or other deviating traits (cf. Levander 1953, p. 318).

214. Pointed out by Trøtteberg 1952, p. 126.

215. Ernik 1951, p. 203.

216. A. Hanssen 1901—1908, pp. 10, 40—41.

217. Cf. also Utterström 1957, 2, p. 231 et seq.

The farms were often too small to feed a family. A number of subsidiary occupations had to be adapted and the pattern for these varied considerably. Cattle trading, peasant sailing, hunting, fishing, animal driving, charcoal-burning for the mines, work migration etc. all occurred, in addition to making handicraft products for sale and selling small-wares. This meant that the peasants were mobile over large areas.

The extent to which this peddling took place reveals that talk of self-sustenance was partly a myth. At least since the latter part of the 18th century, all farms, except those in sparsely populated areas, had hordes of salesmen knocking on their doors and there was obviously a market for the products. Even if the goods could be produced on the farms, it was simpler to buy them. Specialized society had begun to emerge.

How often were customers visited? Let us begin with the calculated figure of 5 500 pedlars in Sweden during a normal year around 1850. We then subtract 5 % of these who visited towns only or worked abroad. The number of households in Sweden was about 399 500²¹⁸. 15 % of these must be subtracted — dwellings which were too remotely situated and households in the large handicraft districts which are not likely to have been visited to the same extent. This leaves 340 000. If we assume that each vendor was out selling for approximately 4 months (105 working days) and that he could visit 6 households a day and that travelling to the district and visiting markets in towns took 4 weeks, we can then calculate that each household had an average of 7—8 visits a year. The centrally situated households probably had far more visits than this. In addition, there were probably frequent visits by vendors from the neighbourhood. Judging from numerous sources²¹⁹ there were large numbers of people, particularly children, who sold brooms, berries, fish, knitted garments, headgear etc. There were also handicapped vendors who sold goods made by, for example, widows. On the whole, peddling often comprised a sort of replacement for social welfare assistance since it did not, in its simplest form, require know-how or capital. If all the visits paid to the farms by wandering apprentices, carters, job-seekers, beggars and other wayfarers are taken into account, it can be seen that talk of isolation and lack of information can scarcely be said to be supported, at least not within the main districts. "There was scarcely a day that vendors or beggars did not come"²²⁰.

Peddling comprised an important social contact. The customer had the goods brought to his or her home and had company for a time with news from outside. Services of various types was also, sometimes, available. The stock of small-wares changed hands quickly and was more up-to-date and, in all probability, sometimes more varied than that offered by the local shop. The surplus products of

218. Wohlin 1909, p. 256 et seq. The amount does not include the paupers' widows, aged peasants and crofters and Lapps.

219. For instance shown in many reports in ULMA.

220. ULMA 13426, p. 19 (Vingåker in Södermanland).

the farm could sometimes be sold or given in exchange. If the stranger stayed overnight, the hosts usually received a revenue of some form and also, perhaps, verbal entertainment. "I became something of a wandering local newspaper, maybe even better as a storyteller since I could tell so much they couldn't write in the newspapers²²¹."

The customers and the district in which the pedlar worked could also obtain other advantages, directly or indirectly. I have not met with reports of the spread and news of working techniques, but such things must, in all likelihood, have occurred. The pedlar also acted as a matchmaker on occasion²²², and pedlars sometimes found a partner of their own during their journeys²²³. Some pedlars remained in the district and opened shops.

In a corresponding way, the pedlars brought advantages to their home districts, particularly by bringing back seeds etc. In the main, the economic gains could be considerable²²⁴. It is difficult to find figures, but according to a report from 1770, the handicraft products in Ovansiljan in Dalecarlia (2 500 households, 13 500 inhabitants), i. e. one of the most important handicraft districts of the country, gave 3 000—5 000 bushels of corn in exchange in good years (the annual requirement was 2.5 bushels per capita). A government employee calculated in 1855 that the revenue to the same district from handicraft products was 80 000 *riksdaler* while the large number of trips made for seasonal work gave a revenue of 35 100 *riksdaler* and the mining gave a revenue of 119 500 *riksdaler*. It is unclear whether he based his calculations on cash only or whether he also included the value of payment in kind or barter wares. A report from the same time indicates that journeys for seasonal work was more profitable than peddling handicraft products²²⁵. The savings due to the fact that those who were away did not consume the provisions in their home districts, must be added to the visible gain.

In some districts peddling, or rather handicraft work, was significant in the long term for industry and commerce insofar as vigorous trading enterprises arose from it. The textile and ready-made clothing industry and mail-order companies, which are mainly concentrated on textiles, in Borås district probably comprise the best example of this.

We know from Dalecarlia that the times for assize sessions, parish catechetical meetings and weddings were sometimes adapted to the migration periods; in addition to pedlars, there were numerous seasonal work migrants here²²⁶. Nor is there any evidence that peddling brought material or social innovations to the home districts, with the exception of the fact that folk costumes fell into

221. Bohuslänningen 1970—12—14.

222. ULMA 15556, p. 28.

223. E. g. Flatin 1939, p. 52.

224. Heckscher 1935—49, 3, pp. 561—562.

225. Rosander 1967, pp. 364—365.

226. Rosander 1967, p. 360 et seq.

disuse at an early stage and that the inhabitants assumed urban surnames instead of the patronymics²²⁷. Despite this, I feel I can propose the following hypothesis: the pedlars did not obtain economic advantages alone. Even if they only moved in the neighbouring districts, they became familiar with the ways of the world compared with those who remained at home. Their horizons were extended, they had an opportunity to see and experience things which they found useful at home. In this way, their values and, in the last analysis, their personalities were changed. It is, of course, difficult, not to say impossible, to provide evidence for this but there seems to be every reason to believe, at least with regard to the handicraft vendors, who may be assumed to have been thoroughly integrated in their districts, that they "acted as intermediaries in spreading opinions and comprised the reference group in their districts, forming a standard for others by virtue of their greater experience"²²⁸.

Why do certain districts give evidence of a rich production of handicraft goods for sale? Sometimes there are historical reasons, as in regard to lace-making in Jutland, but in most cases an individual initiative must have proved to prosper, thus leading to the development and rationalization of the production. Certain favourable factors must also have occurred: a local supply of raw material (or, sometimes, an imported supply), technical know-how, and a demand. Motivation (a need for secondary incomes) must also have played an important part as did the absence of legal sanctions strong enough to be experienced as a threat. Different ecological conditions in two adjacent regions favour the development of handicraft products for sale. This explanation model is, however, a rough one; each individual case must be analyzed. Why, for example, have only certain districts in Fennoscandia, which is rich in forests, wooden handicraft products for sale? Why has a handicraft, which was once general, been "monopolized" by a certain district?

Sometimes certain factors may have directly counteracted the existence of a handicraft. The lack of firewood, which is necessary to provide light for the craftsman, in the flat country, is such a factor²²⁹.

The handicraft districts were not necessarily poor. The *knalle* district of Västergötland is an illustration of this. This condition was also true of the coastal districts in Finland where, however, a pronounced monetary economy existed, partly due to the nearness of St. Petersburg, which means that a good market existed²³⁰.

Once handicraft production for sale was started, the latent energy of the district was liberated at the same time as the large amounts of free time, which seem to have occurred during the winter in many quarters, could be converted into money (or goods). The niche concept of cultural ecology could be applied here:

227. Hansen 1947, p. 127; Boger 1963, p. 77.

228. Rosander 1967, pp. 368—369.

229. Utterström 1957, 2, p. 5.

230. Detailed discussion in Virrankoski 1963, pp. 508—509.

the population in question reached a certain position through its exploitation of a resource in competition with other groups. In certain cases, the resource is exclusive; in others it is not. In the latter case, a lead is gained through adequate technical know-how, expertise in sales, perhaps by a symbiotic relation to other groups in the form of developed bartering connections (e. g. handicraft for grain), and perhaps, in time, through obtaining legal rights.

This last factor is of importance for peddling. The central control was considerable. The authorities — and the professional trade — often try to counteract spontaneously developed industry. This opposition should not be regarded only as a type of class legislation in which those in power try to protect their privileges but also as a legitimate effort on the part of the state to control trade from which, in older times, most of the income of the kingdom came in the form of custom and excise charges.

If handicraft production can partly be explained by ecological facts, it can be so done only indirectly and in certain cases with regard to small-ware trade. In several quarters handicraft sales were, admittedly, combined with or succeeded small-ware trade but, on the other hand, certain districts with small-ware trade with no historical tradition seem to have occurred in late periods.

The transition from peddling as ancillary industry to a full-time occupation took place slowly. Roughly speaking, the process began during the middle of the 19th century. The *knallar* and the people from Uvdal were probably the first to be involved in this, with the exception of Jews.

The manner in which the chorological pattern developed in conjunction with sales seems to have been determined by irrational factors to a considerable extent. In many cases pedlars did, admittedly, make their way towards districts in which attractive charter goods could be found or where their own goods were needed, but in other cases chance seems to have determined the goal. Knowledge about and surveys of the market were deficient. It seems reasonable to assume that rumours or information from neighbours guided the direction taken by many pedlars in a sort of snow-ball effect. Once a territory had been established, the pedlar continued. In this way, the traditional concentration on a certain, perhaps remote, region which many districts had, grew up.

The physical pattern which the journeys within the district took is unknown. Theoretically, this is a matter of optimizing the relationship between distance and sales total. In the field of geography, this problem is known as "the salesmen's problem". How is the shortest route to be drawn up? Is it worthwhile to make an excursion to a small freeholding in the forest? Should one visit sparsely located farms far away from a trading centre (farms which have an insufficient supply of goods and may be assumed to show considerable willingness to make purchases) rather than central districts where large numbers of competitors may also operate?

231. Haggett 1961, ch. III, specially pp. 65—68.

ABBREVIATIONS

EU	Etnologiska undersökningen vid Nordiska museet (The department of Ethnological Field Research at the Nordic Museum).
KLNM	Kulturhistoriskt lexikon för nordisk medeltid (Encyclopaedia of Nordic medieval culture).
Lhb	„Landshövdingeberättelser“, see Sveriges officiella statistik, Litt. H.
NEG	Norsk Etnologisk Gransking (The Institute for Norwegian Ethnological Research).
ULMA	Dialekt- och folkminnesarkivet i Uppsala (The Uppsala Institute for Dialect and Folklore Research).

SOURCES

Gothenburg

- Historiska museet (The Historical Museum).
- Tillståndsbevis för gårdfarihandlare (Pedlar Licences).

Oslo

- Norsk Etnologisk Gransking (NEG) (The Institute for Norwegian Ethnological Research). Records.
- Instituttet for sammenlignende kulturforskning (The Institute for Comparative Research in Human Culture). Records.

Stockholm

- Krigsarkivet (The Royal Military Record Office). Material on military geography.
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- In the author's possession. Letters from Lea Joskitt, Vaajakoski, 1976—01—09; H. Landsverk, Skien, 1975—12—10; A. Ropeid, Oslo, 1976—09—01.

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Vadstena

- Landsarkivet (The County Record Office).
- Kronobergs läns landskansli (The County secretariate of Kronoberg). Passport ledgers.

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