

**THE DREAMING BOY AND THE WAKING CITY: ALCOHOL
CONSUMPTION AND THE CONSTRUCTION OF A WORKING-CLASS
IDENTITY IN LATE NINETEENTH CENTURY STOCKHOLM**

by Stewart B. Lawrence

A Thesis Submitted to the School of Graduate Studies in Partial Fulfillment of the
Requirements for the Degree of

Master of Arts in History

Memorial University of Newfoundland

December 2019

St. John's, Newfoundland and Labrador

Abstract

Sweden's capital city of Stockholm grew in commercial importance in the second half of the nineteenth century as the country experienced rapid industrialisation. This resulted in high labour mobility as people migrated to the city seeking work. The sanitary and housing conditions of the working class varied according to income and the availability of employment. Stockholm's administration and middle-class imposed its authority on transitory workers with the passage of the Vagrancy Act of 1885 and the introduction of lease agreements. The working class resisted this oppression by drinking. They actively resisted the authority of their employers and middle-class morality by drinking on the job and during their leisure time in the tavern. The act of consuming alcohol brought men of different occupations together and enabled the construction of a working-class identity.

Acknowledgments

I owe many people and several institutions my gratitude for their assistance in completing this project. I am deeply indebted to my supervisor Dr. Stephan Curtis for the countless hours he invested in helping me develop the ideas in this thesis and for providing feedback during the writing process. I would also like to thank my instructors Dr. Sébastien Rossignol and Dr. Neil Kennedy for encouraging work on the theoretical and historiographical components on this project during their classes. Dr. Mike O'Brien's course introduced me to some of the fundamental texts on labour history and allowed me to engage with alcohol consumption and the working class. I would also like to thank members of my original graduate cohort for sharing my struggles and listening patiently while I chatted endlessly about Swedish history. Thanks especially to Elsa, Anna, Corinne, Andrew, Jeremy, Miranda and J.P.

Outside of our department, I have many patrons that have provided emotional and financial support since moving to Canada to pursue my graduate studies. This project would not be possible without the support I received from my mom and my sisters back down in the United States. I am also grateful to my family in Alberta and British Columbia. Thanks especially to Bruce Hettinger for his help finding this program and his encouragement to pursue my PhD, as well as opening up his home and hosting me for the holidays. Thanks to Vanessa Hettinger and James Derry for their hospitality while I stayed in Edmonton. I am also grateful to Dennis Hettinger and Sheena Duddy for flying me over to Vancouver and reminding me of what life is like in a big city. Back in

Newfoundland, thanks to Wesley Courage for showing me the island and sharing its history.

Finally, I would like to thank the archival institutions which provided access to the materials that inform this thesis. The staff of Stockholm's City Archive were extremely helpful in providing material from several different archives within their collection. The staff of the Centre for Business History in Stockholm were also very helpful during my short time there. I could not have visited these fine institutions without the financial support provided by the Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences' Scholarship in the Arts. I would also like to thank the two anonymous reviewers for providing valuable feedback on this thesis and for their suggestions on directions for further research.

Table of Contents

Abstract	ii
Acknowledgments	iii
List of Tables	vi
List of Figures	vii
List of Maps	viii
Chapter 1: Introduction, Theory and Method, and the Geography of Stockholm	1
1.1 Introduction and Argument	1
1.2 Theoretical Framework	3
1.3 Historiography	7
1.4 Sources and Method	22
1.5 The Geography of Stockholm	28
Chapter 2: Bright Lights, Big City: The Arrival of the Working Man in Stockholm	40
2.1: Seasonal Migration, Industrial Recruitment, and Stockholm's Population	41
2.2: Securing Work in the Big City	50
2.3: The Working Man's Wages	53
2.4: Home and Housing in Stockholm	56
2.5: Acclimating to the Urban Environment and the Working-Class Culture	63
Chapter 3: The Invisible Fist: The Imposition of Municipal Authority on the Working-Class Man and Drinking as an Expression of Agency	70
3.1: The Stockholm Property Owner's Association and Middle-Class Interests	71

3.2: The Expansion of Municipal Authority and Enforcement of the Vagrancy Act	79
3.3: “Drunks” as Vagrants and Drinking as a “Weapon of the Weak”	82
Chapter 4: Consumption, Camaraderie, and Crime: Case Studies of Working-Class Alcohol Consumption in Late Nineteenth-Century Stockholm	90
4.1: The Dockworkers	91
4.2: The Tavern	99
4.3: Five Men and Thirty-Five Crowns	105
Conclusion	112
Bibliography	117

List of Tables

1.1 Number of Warning and Detainment Protocols for Vagrancy Drawn from Archives 1885-1923.	23
1.2 Poverty Ratios and Per Capita Values of Real Property, Income Tax, and Commercial Tax in 1850 (Stockholm = 100)	29
1.3 Stockholm’s Population by District, 1870 and 1900	33
2.1 Stockholm’s Total Population and In-Migration, 1855-1900	48
2.2 County of Birth of People in Interrogation Protocols 1885-1886	49
3.1 Percent of Population Receiving Poor Relief by District, 1868 and 1900	78
3.2 Protocols Issued in October-December 1885	81
3.3 Protocols Issued in January-March 1886	82

3.4	Number of People and Rate/100,000 Hospitalised in Stockholm for Chronic Alcoholism 1870-1885	85
-----	--	----

List of Figures

1.1	Utrikes sjöfart på Stockholm, Göteborg och hela riket 1850-1913. Logaritmisk skala (International Shipping in Stockholm, Gothenburg and the Whole Kingdom 1850-1913. Logarithmic Scale)	35
1.2	Sales of Liquor, Wine and Beer in Liters of Alcohol 100% per Inhabitant 15 Years and Above. 1861-2004	38
2.1	Crude Death Rates and Age Specific Mortality Rates per 1,000 for Malmö, Stockholm, the County Towns, the Rural County of Malmöhus and Rural Sweden, 1811-1820 to 1901-1910	46
2.2	Annual Income of Selected Occupational Groups: Stockholm, 1880-1900	55
2.3	Stockholm Real House Prices 1840-2017, 1840=100	57
2.4	Genomspärning i A-B (Cross-Section in A-B)	59
2.5	Den 27-Ånge Stuverifömannen L's Bostad som Nygift 1890 (The 27-Year-Old Stevedore L's Residence as a Newlywed 1890)	62
2.6	Dans i Haga, 1903 (Dance in Haga, 1903)	65
4.1	The Corporate Pub at 17 Österlånggatan on the Corner of Brunnsgård. Closed in 1901 when the House was Rebuilt.	100

List of Maps

1.1	"The City of Stockholm ca 1890 with Neighbouring Parishes and Royal Ground (Djurgården)"	29
1.2	"Docking Areas of Stockholm as of the Mid 1890s"	36
2.1	The Division of Sweden into Counties	43
3.1	Geographical Spread of Bad Conduct Reports in Stockholm, 1887-1892, According to the 'Black Book'. Grey Colour: Average 5-15 Reports per Year. Black Colour: Average 15-30 Reports per Year.	76
4.1	Location of Arrests of Dockworkers, 1885-1893	93
4.2	Central Stockholm with Österlånggatan Emphasised	101
4.2	Map of Stockholm with Locations in Detective Carl Oskar Andersson's Investigation	107

Chapter One

Introduction, Theory and Method, and the Geography of Stockholm

Introduction and Argument

Sweden experienced a late but intense industrialisation process in the second half of the nineteenth century which dramatically influenced the inhabitants of the country's urban areas. Industrialisation began in Sweden's rural areas with the introduction of new technologies to some of country's largest enterprises in the middle of the century including the lumber and iron industries.¹ These operations expanded in central and northern Sweden and created a surplus of raw materials for export to the international market. The state-sponsored construction of railroads at approximately the same time facilitated the transportation of goods and people between the major commercial cities and towns of Sweden.² The capital emerged as one of the largest and most important port cities in Sweden as the volume of raw materials and later manufactured goods continued to rise in the latter half of the nineteenth century.

Stockholm's growth as a port city towards the end of the nineteenth century created a high demand for labour which created a dynamic and transient working-class population. The influx of people combined with the shortage of affordable housing resulted in precarious employment and living situations and the passage of the Vagrancy

¹ Ingrid Hammarström, *Stockholm i Svensk Ekonomi 1850-1914* (Stockholm in Sweden's Economy 1850-1914) (Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksells, 1970), 31; Lars Magnusson, *Sveriges Ekonomiska Historia* (Sweden's Economic History) (Stockholm, Tiden Athena, 1996) 310; Lennart Schön, *An Economic History of Modern Sweden* (New York: Routledge, 2016), 104-106.

² Hammarström, *Stockholm i Svensk Ekonomi*, 33; Magnusson, *Sveriges Ekonomiska Historia*, 384; Schön, *An Economic History of Modern Sweden*, 98.

Act of 1885. This Act served as a method of municipal control on Stockholm's transient population by removing individuals considered vagrants to work in workhouses or sentencing them to hard labour. Police arrested people found in an intoxicated state for violating the Act by exhibiting behavior that endangered the public welfare. Male members of the working-class used the consumption of strong drinks as a "weapon of the weak" to rebel against this authority.³ Drinking also represented a part of everyday working-class life and leisure. These men came from multiple occupations and employed this "weapon" and drank together to construct a shared working-class identity.

The primary focus of this analysis is on working-class men, though this should not suggest the absence of women or their own lived experiences and contributions to a working-class identity. As will be seen, the theoretical approach taken to understanding these experiences incorporates an analysis of the influences of both structure and agency on historical actors. Different structures influenced women and they consequently expressed agency in unique ways. An inadequate analysis of the female experience runs the risk of perpetuating the descriptive or causal methodologies Joan Scott dismissed in her groundbreaking essay in 1986.⁴ In addition, the lack of representation of women in the primary sources that inform this thesis calls for a methodology which Kathleen Canning describes as working creatively with archival silences and absences, building an

³ Weapons of the weak include everyday rebellious or retaliatory tactics used by people with little economic or social capacity to express agency. See James C. Scott, *Weapons of the Weak: Everyday Forms of Peasant Resistance* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1985), XVI.

⁴ Joan Scott, "Gender: A Useful Category of Historical Analysis," *The American Historical Review* 91, no. 5 (Dec. 1986): 1056.

ensemble with blank spaces and snapshots.⁵ An analysis using this technique is beyond the scope of this work although some considerations will be made towards the end of this thesis concerning the role of women in the tavern.

Theoretical Framework

Anthony Giddens' concept of structuration marries the concepts of structure and agency and the role that both play in the study of history. Prior to the work of the father of structuralism, Claude Lévi-Strauss, the term "structure" served whatever purpose the researcher or theorist using it deemed necessary. Lévi-Strauss assigned a meaning to the term in his work when he imported mathematical models and applied them to kinship and myth in anthropology.⁶ He defined structures as distinct, isolatable constraints, or determinants of behavior.⁷ Giddens augments the definition of structure by expanding it to accommodate his "structures-within-knowledgeability."⁸ These structures exist around actors and fall into three different categories. Domination refers to the means that should be used to accomplish goals. Signification refers to how events should be interpreted by the actor as they are happening. Finally, legitimation equates to what should happen in a given situation according to the system's established norms. Giddens adopts a shorthand term to refer to signification and legitimation by referring to both of these structures collectively as rules and equates domination with resources.⁹ He provides his most

⁵ Kathleen Canning, *Gender History in Practice: Historical Perceptions on Bodies, Class, and Citizenship* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2006), 61.

⁶ Omar Lizard, "Beyond the Antinomies of Structure: Levi-Strauss, Giddens, Bourdieu, and Sewell," *Theory and Society* 39, no. 6 (2010): 652; Anthony Giddens, *Central Problems in Social Theory: Action, Structure, and Contradiction in Social Analysis* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1979).

⁷ Robert Grafstein, "Structure and Structuralism," *Social Science Quarterly* 63, no. 4 (December 1982), 618.

⁸ Rob Stones, *Structuration Theory* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005), 17.

⁹ Lizard, "Antinomies of Structure," 654.

articulate definition of structure as “rules and resources instantiated in social systems but having only a virtual existence.”¹⁰

Giddens’ interpretation of structure carried numerous qualifications and ultimately agreed with the post-structuralist view of structure. His concept of structures exist virtually in two qualities: memory traces, and the material conditions required as ‘capability’ preconditions for an action.¹¹ Memory traces are structures that exist within agents, or individual people acting in history, and can include things such as competencies, morals, or sentiments. The material conditions Giddens refers to are objects that are necessary to complete an action. They are ‘capability’ preconditions because they must be acted upon by the agent in order to complete the action.

The concept of memory traces agrees with the ideas of post-structuralists. Rob Stones summarizes this point well by suggesting that memory traces act as sets of capabilities constantly being drawn upon in social interactions and activities. They are necessary for performing an action yet only exist virtually.¹² Memory traces act as virtual structures that inform the decisions of actors. These decisions represent the agency that English-Marxists championed decades earlier and act as the basis for one of the two main branches in social theory.

¹⁰ Keith Morrison, “Structuration Theory, Habitus and Complexity Theory: Elective Affinities or Old Wine in New Bottles?” *British Journal of Sociology of Education* 26, no. 3 (July 2005): 313; Margareta Bertilsson, “The Theory of Structuration: Prospects and Problems,” *Acta Sociologica* 27, no. 4 (1984): 343; Anthony Giddens, *The Constitution of Society: Outline of the Theory of Structuration* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986), XXXI.

¹¹ Stones, *Structuration*, 22; Giddens, *Central Problems*, 64; Giddens, *The Constitution of Society*, 377.

¹² Stones, *Structuration*, 23-24.

Giddens used objectivism and subjectivism as his point of departure in formulating his theory of structuration. The problem with objectivism and subjectivism is the singular importance they place on structures and agency, respectively. Objectivism removes all agency and reduces the historical actor to a plaything of structures.¹³ Conversely, subjectivism suggests that the actions of actors are exclusively influenced by interactions, goals, and desires.¹⁴ Giddens realized that the agency of actors could be used to illustrate concrete evidence of social change that functionalism previously failed to provide. He introduced structuration as a comfortable medium that incorporated both structures and agency to avoid falling directly into the traps of objectivism or subjectivism. Rules, coupled with resources, interact with agency perpetuated by actors to produce Giddens' most poignant and lasting concept—the duality of structure.

Giddens builds his theory of structuration around the framework of the duality of structure which he defines as “the essential recursiveness of social life as constituted in social practices: structure is both medium and outcome of the reproduction of practices, structure enters simultaneously into the constitution of the agent and social practices, and ‘exists’ in the generating moments of this constitution.”¹⁵ This means there is a constant duality at work with structures constraining the agency of the actor and the outcome of the constrained action constantly modifying those regulatory structures. These cycles have consequences on the systems in which they occur and can be used to describe the

¹³ Ibid, 14.

¹⁴ Ibid, 14.

¹⁵ Giddens, *Central Problems*, 69.

changes that arise in those systems across time. This is the premise of place in time-space geography.

Allan Pred uses structuration theory to help define the concept of 'place' as the setting for the creation of biographies of historical actors. He conceptualizes this process as a single, continuous path through time-space which is subject to constraints.¹⁶ One such constraint is the 'external-internal dialectic.' The biography of an actor is constantly influenced by the dialectic as external influence forces the actor to respond internally. The internal response depends upon the actor's previous experience, or as Pred states, other paths with which the actor's path has intersected. Another constraint is the 'life path-daily path' dialectic that suggests that the everyday experiences, interactions, and encounters shape the path of an actor and leads them to define and redefine themselves, renew or refute strengths and weaknesses, and form intentions.¹⁷ As this occurs in a specific space and time, it creates a 'place.'

As actors are in the process of creating their biographies, their interactions have a bearing on the institutions associated with that place. Pred argues that place requires the intersection of paths to reproduce the conditions that eventually form institutions while actors are simultaneously forming their own biographies. It always involves an appropriation of space and nature and is inseparable from the reproduction and transformation of society in time and space.¹⁸ This concept of 'place' uses structuration theory to demonstrate that specific locations have institutionalized meaning based upon

¹⁶ Allan Pred, "Place as a Historically Contingent Process: Structuration and the Time-Geography of Becoming Places," *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 74 (2) (1984): 281.

¹⁷ Pred, "Place as a Historically Contingent Process," 287.

¹⁸ Ibid, 287.

the interactions that occur there. Structuration theory and ‘place’ will inform this study of the working class and their use of alcohol consumption in public locations such as taverns and streets to construct a common identity.

Historiography

Class and Class Identity

The most fundamental scholarly works on class begin with those written by Karl Marx. He produced several works in his lifetime but the publication often cited to describe class conflict was his work co-authored with Friedrich Engels, *Manifest der Kommunistischen Partei*, (*The Communist Manifesto*) originally published in 1848.¹⁹ The original pamphlet did not receive much immediate attention after its publication in London but it proved influential in many instances as it came to be cited numerous times by Communists across Europe throughout the twentieth century.

The *Manifesto* is not itself an actual portrayal of Marx or Engels’ philosophy with regards to class formation or identity. It describes different classes as they have existed across history to form an argument about oppression and the necessity of revolution. Marx and Engels cite the Romans and medieval feudalism as examples of oppressed peoples within an uneven society.²⁰ The *Manifesto* is the product of several works which together describe the evolution of Marx’s concept of class and its role in the ultimate struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie who profited from it.

¹⁹ Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, *Manifest der Kommunistischen Partei* (London: German Workers’ Educational Society, 1848).

²⁰ Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, *The Communist Manifesto* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2012): 241.

Marx began as a leftist Hegelian as he agreed with Georg Hegel's philosophical idea that history was a dialectical unfolding of *Geist* (spirit) through which rationality and reality would ultimately unite. However, he was dissatisfied with pure philosophy and attempted to apply a more empirical theory in his historical works about England, France, and Germany.²¹ These publications carried a "pragmatological" outlook which stressed the agency of members of the working-class and include *The Holy Family*, *The Condition of the Working Class in England*, and *The German Ideology*.²² The distinction of "pragmatological" would shift in response to the revolutions of the 1840s.

After the publication of *The Communist Manifesto*, Marx began to doubt the ability to educate the proletariat. His later publications, including his 1857 preface to the *Grundrisse*, the first volume of *Capital*, and his letters to Engels after 1848 suggest a skepticism about the agency of the working class and instead articulate the hope of Hegel's notion of the "end of history" and the automatic working out of historical processes.²³ Neither Marx nor Engels ever totally abandoned their pragmatological outlook but rather adopted what later critics refer to as a "nomological" perspective in which historical development is governed by processes that the historian must discover and communicate.²⁴ This shift had a lasting effect on Marx's legacy as later historians adopted and altered his theories about class determination in labour history.

²¹ Walter L. Adamson, "Marxism and Historical Thought," in Lloyd Kramer and Sara Maza eds, *Companion to Western Historical Thought* (Malden: Blackwell Publishers, 2002), 208.

²² Adamson, "Marxism and Historical Thought," 208; Stephen Rigby, "Marxist Historiography," in M. Bentley ed *Companion to Historiography* (New York: Routledge, 1997), 890.

²³ Karl Marx, *Grundrisse* (St. Albans: Paladin, 1971), Karl Marx, *Capital: A Critique of Political Economy* (Moscow: Progress Publishers, USSR, 1887); Adamson, "Marxism and Historical Thought," 213.

²⁴ Rigby, "Marxist Historiography," 890.

Students in England began to look at labour and labour history from new perspectives in the 1930s and 1940s. This generation of historians sought to address many concerns that confronted them following the Second World War. These concerns included the dialectic of desire and necessity and the capacity to obtain both, the morality of socialism and its place in English history, and how to incorporate new sources in logical and appropriate ways to understand the past.²⁵ These concerns and the desire to recuperate the English identity following the Second World War resulted the publication of Maurice Dobb's *Studies in the Development of Capitalism* in 1946.²⁶

Dobb's most profound contribution to the Marxist historiography is his redefinition of the mode of production and his application of this reinterpretation in English economic history. In his essay "Historical materialism and the Role of the Economic Factor in History," Dobb suggests that historians have treated the mode of production too narrowly and argues that it should be treated as society's structural foundation. He separates it into two categories: the forces of production and the social relations of production. The social relations of production are the relationships that form between workers based upon their individual relations to the productive process.²⁷ Dobb continues to apply this theory in his book *Studies in the Development of Capitalism*, in which he suggests that capitalism emerged in three distinct phases in English economic history: the crisis of feudalism in the fourteenth century, the bourgeois revolution of the

²⁵ Keith McClelland, "Introduction" in *E.P. Thompson: Critical Perspectives*, eds. Harvey J. Kaye and Keith McClelland (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1990), 1.

²⁶ Maurice Dobb, *Studies in the Development of Capitalism* (New York: International Publishers, 1963).

²⁷ Maurice Dobb, "Historical Materialism and the Role of the Economic Factor in History," *History* 36 (1951): 10.

seventeenth century and the industrial revolution of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century.²⁸ Future scholarship emerged around this framework and came from a group of English-Marxist scholars referred to collectively as “the Group.”

The members of the Group included Dobb, Victor Kiernan, Christopher Hill, Rodney Hilton, Eric Hobsbawm, John Saville, and Edward Thompson. The range of scholarship within the Group varied widely but a retrospective agenda is evident through Dobb’s description of the emergence of capitalism in England.²⁹ Dobb described three critical moments: The Group tied its scholarship to the phases he identified and Rodney Hilton examined feudalism, Christopher Hill studied the English Revolution, and Hobsbawm and Thompson focused their attention on industrialism.³⁰

E. P. Thompson published *The Making of the English Working Class* in 1963 which reshaped labour history and the interpretation of class.³¹ Thompson did not focus on class as determined by the means of production but rather by class consciousness. In his preface, Thompson states that class is the result of common experiences and interests shared among people that differ and oppose those of others. He borrows terminology from Dobb and summarizes these common experiences as “productive relations.” Finally, he states that class consciousness never emerges in the same way, time, or place.³² This explanation of class is the closest that Thompson comes to explaining the theory that

²⁸ Dobb, “Historical Materialism,” 1; Dobb, *Studies in the Development of Capitalism*, 140-149; David Feldman, “Class,” in *History and Historians in the Twentieth Century*, ed. Peter Burke (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), 191.

²⁹ Gertrude Himmelfarb, *The New History and the Old* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1987), 75.

³⁰ Himmelfarb, *The New History and the Old*, 75.

³¹ E. P. Thompson, *The Making of the English Working Class* (New York: Vintage Books, 1963).

³² Thompson, *The Making of the English Working Class*, 9.

informs his book, but it is sufficient to situate his method in Marxist theory. Rather than using capital or the proletariat and bourgeoisie that are tied to it, Thompson uses class consciousness to establish his understanding of the working class.

Classical Marxism dictates class consciousness as a condition for a class's existence and stated that the class expresses its identity in its struggle with other classes. For Thompson, class consciousness goes beyond the struggle. William H. Sewell Jr. points out that for Thompson class struggle presented the opportunity to band together in the form of resistance such as in political movements, union diplomacy, strikes and boycotts. Class experience was the subjective response of every worker to exploitation.³³ The experience of working-class individuals as a method of analysis represented a novel approach that departed from previous historical method. Thompson chose to study social rituals and collective action that sparked a class identity. He included their leisure-time activities, religious practices and beliefs, and resistance efforts such as the destruction of industrial machinery.³⁴

Studying these social situations called for a different way of dealing with historical sources. Thompson based his examination of the experience of the working-class on the publication of working-class newspapers and pamphlets distributed by the London Corresponding Society. The use of such sources dates to Marx and Engels and their anthropological and historical writings. Thompson's use of such sources represents the beginning of the trend of approaching labour history "from below." This trend

³³ William H. Sewell, Jr., "Thompson's Theory of Working-Class Formation," in *E. P. Thompson: Critical Perspectives* eds. Harvey J. Kaye and Keith McClelland (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1990), 55.

³⁴ Thompson, *The Making of the English Working Class*, 209.

reverberated in the field of social history as historians focused more frequently on what were considered underrepresented figures in history and would contribute to the institutional shift during the cultural turn of the 1970s.³⁵ The shift would result in scholarship less concerned with class formation and more with the culture that surrounding the working class, including the language different classes used to describe themselves.

During the cultural turn, Gareth Stedman Jones introduced a revolutionary article on the working class in his book *Languages of Class: Studies in English Working Class History 1832-1982*.³⁶ This volume contains several essays calling for a re-evaluation of the historical interpretation of the working class, and this is most evident in his prolific essay, "Rethinking Chartism." Stedman Jones argues that too much attention has been paid to class and socioeconomic status rather than treating Chartism as a political movement.³⁷ He looks inward to the Chartist movement and analyzes the language that radicals used in addressing the rest of the participants and rejects previous findings suggesting that Chartism was an assault on the propertied by the propertyless. He suggests instead that Chartists did not view the working classes as propertyless since they viewed labour as the only legitimate means of property and the working class was in full possession of labour.³⁸

³⁵ William H. Sewell Jr., "The Political Unconscious of Social and Cultural History, or, Confessions of a Former Quantitative Historian" in *The Politics of Method in the Human Sciences: Positivism and its Epistemological Others*, edited by George Steinmetz (Durham: Duke University Press, 2005), 28.

³⁶ Gareth Stedman Jones, *Languages of Class: Studies in English Working Class History, 1832-1982* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983).

³⁷ Stedman Jones, *Languages of Class*, 93.

³⁸ Ibid, 108.

This observation suggests a new methodology for studying class consciousness. Rather than assuming a class consciousness developed through shared activity such as the Chartist movement, Stedman Jones uses their own words to understand how they viewed and labeled themselves. He suggests that the Chartist movement failed because of the poverty of a unifying rhetoric that could encompass both the middle and working classes. This approach indicates that a unifying class identity stems from the language members use to describe themselves and each other. It allows for the reconstruction of an identity using the language and lived experience of actors and can be applied to other areas of everyday life such as drinking in the tavern.

Public Drinking

Historical treatment of drinking has shifted numerous times over the past several decades and this thesis seeks to situate consumption within several of these approaches to argue the role of alcohol in everyday life and in establishing a working-class identity. Scholarship towards the public consumption of alcohol began to shift after E.P. Thompson's empathetic study of the English working class. Before Thompson and later the cultural turn, historians relied heavily on contemporary accounts to address drinking and its place in popular culture. This resulted in a bias that suggested drinking was a moralistic crisis and a hazard to public health and to society more generally.³⁹ Early historians argued that drinking served as a convenient escape from the toils of industrial life which could be true in some cases but this explanation fails to situate alcohol

³⁹ Thomas Brennan, *Public Drinking and Popular Culture in Eighteenth-Century Paris* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1988), 3.

consumption into the culture that surrounds it.⁴⁰ Social historians such as Michael Grüttner and W. R. Lambert turned away from this conclusion during the 1970s.⁴¹ They rejected a total reliance on contemporary accounts to avoid the bias of a primarily middle-class concern projected downwards on the working-class while later scholars countered with a far more complex depiction of class identity and popular culture.

The argument suggesting temperance as a middle-class cause is evident as early as 1971. W. R. Lambert suggests that the process of industrialization in South Wales called for a sober working-class as the factory system demanded regular and reliable labour in response to the commodification of time. Lambert borrows an 1835 description of the working-class that identifies workers, fresh from agricultural and cottage industries, as ‘transient, marginal, and deviant,’ who could otherwise be described as ‘volatile.’⁴² Lambert argues that factory owners and management began to indoctrinate workers with a sense of respectability in an effort to enforce the sobriety that industrialists believed would combat absenteeism. These industrialists used various “carrot and stick” methods to reduce alcohol consumption including incentives such as money for the construction of domiciles and lobbying officials to refuse liquor licenses near the gates of the factories. Lambert also points out that some industrialists greeted drunkenness with indifference as they felt it kept efforts of unionization to a minimum.⁴³

⁴⁰ Rod Phillips, *Alcohol: A History* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2014), 174.

⁴¹ Lynn Abrams, “Drink and the Working Class in Late Nineteenth-Century Bochum,” *German History* 3 (Spring 1986): 4.

⁴² W. R. Lambert, “Drink and Work-Discipline in Industrial South Wales, c. 1800-1870,” *Welsh History Review* 7 (3) (1975): 297.

⁴³ Lambert, “Drink and Work-Discipline,” 297-299.

The role of alcohol consumption and efforts at unionization would resurface later in the labour historiography.

James Roberts also believes that industrialists believed alcohol consumption posed a threat to the industrial process in Germany but took the relationship between the worker and alcohol a step further by suggesting that drinking together formed social bonds between workers. It was a medium of social exchange and a component of the rituals associated with the guild system when apprentices and journeymen advanced their training.⁴⁴ Roberts also differs from Lambert in that he stresses the role of alcohol as an important source of calories in the workers' diet which early factory owners used in their favor by sometimes providing alcoholic beverages to workers in an effort to exploit more labor from them under intense and dangerous conditions. It was also a safe alternative to the typically unsafe water available to workers.⁴⁵ This attitude changed later in the nineteenth century with the emergence of the German temperance movement. Roberts also makes use of the "carrot and stick" metaphor to describe the measures the German industrialists employed. Management offered reasonably priced nonalcoholic beverages to workers while simultaneously introducing harsh disciplinary measures that included fines and even immediate dismissal for those who consumed alcohol.

One of Roberts' greatest contributions to the dialogue of workplace discipline and alcohol consumption is his discussion of workers' insubordination in response to the new measures management undertook. According to Roberts, workers that resented

⁴⁴ James Roberts, "Drink and Work-Discipline in 19th Century Germany," *Journal of Social History* 15 (1981): 26.

⁴⁵ Roberts, "Drink and Work-Discipline," 28.

management for these newly imposed regulations displayed dissent in two ways. The first was to smuggle alcohol into work and consume it discreetly. The second method was to engage in work stoppages and strikes.⁴⁶ Roberts points out that the latter of these methods hinged upon the condition of the local labor market and required both workers and management to change tactics in response to the labour that was available. Management lifted restrictions when new labor was unavailable and reasserted them when the job market was saturated with new workers.⁴⁷ If the job market and economy are considered a structure with a profound bearing on the lives of both workers and management, then the response of the two groups represents their agency. Collective action as an expression of agency was taken up in earnest a decade later.

Lars Magnusson explored Roberts' association of alcohol consumption and the guild system in the Swedish context ten years later in 1991. Magnusson argues that the act of social drinking enabled lower class individuals to express conflict between their peers, free themselves of the control of their masters, and conduct informal commerce within the strict confines of the putting-out system. The tavern was an integral part of lower-class life as it served as one of the only 'free' places where workers and apprentices socialized free from the scrutiny of their masters. It also acted as a space where masters could negotiate business deals and their apprentices and journeymen could sell clandestine wares produced in their master's workshop without the master's

⁴⁶ Ibid, 29.

⁴⁷ Ibid, 30.

permission.⁴⁸ According to Magnusson, societal concerns towards overconsumption threatened this practice. Middle class fears of compromised morality resulted in measures aimed at controlling consumption such as the establishment of the public company which regulated the sale of strong liquors.⁴⁹ Magnusson contends that reform efforts came from the educated classes as well as self-improvement efforts from below. But his survey of court records, police reports, by-laws, sermons and newspaper articles suggest a condemnation not only of consumption, but also a disdain for the culture that surrounded it. This criticism of lower-class culture prompted a strong response from the working-class in Sweden during industrialization.⁵⁰

Madeline Hurd shifts attention away from the consumption of alcohol as a possible source of class identity and instead analyzes how temperance movements served the political enfranchisement of the working-class in Sweden towards the end of the nineteenth-century.⁵¹ She traces the rise and interaction of several temperance movements and early unions in Sweden's major urban areas and continues by examining how workers within various industries learned organization and mobilization tactics from temperance movements. Hurd also argues that temperance houses served as venues for education and union and political organization, whereas pubs and taverns in Sweden were

⁴⁸ Lars Magnusson, "Markets in Context: Artisans, Putting Out and Social Drinking in Eskilstuna, Sweden 1800-50," in *Markets and Manufacturing in Early Industrial Europe* edited by Maxine Berg (London: Routledge, 1991): 308-309.

⁴⁹ Magnusson, "Markets in Context," 300.

⁵⁰ Madeline Hurd, "Liberals, Socialists, and Sobriety: The Rhetoric of Citizenship in Turn-of-the-Century Sweden," *International Labor and Working-Class History* 45 (1994): 44; Svante Nycander, "Ivan Bratt: The Man Who Saved Sweden from Prohibition," *Addiction* 93 (1) (1998): 17.

⁵¹ Hurd, "Liberals, Socialists, and Sobriety," 44.

exclusively for drinking and singing rather than education.⁵² Finally, she suggests that temperance movements played an important part in establishing the Socialist Party, as raising workers' wages, promoting unions, and raising the standard of living reflected the interests of the party as well as the respectability that temperance movements promoted. Hurd thus demonstrates the agency that abstaining from alcohol consumption lent working-class individuals and provides an alternative explanation for the creation of an identity among working-class individuals. She concludes her article by suggesting that temperance movements and ultimately prohibition failed because the overall quality of life improved after the first decade of the twentieth century. However, scholars such as Allan Pred and Thomas Brennan question the importance of temperance houses by emphasising the importance of taverns as social locales.

In the Swedish context, Allan Pred's monograph explores the working-class of Stockholm in the late nineteenth century. A large part of his analysis encompasses the culture surrounding the language of the working class and draws on time-space geography to situate workers in Stockholm's urban landscape including its taverns. Pred argues that alcohol was a large part of working-class life as it was consumed throughout the working day and during times of recreation.⁵³ He begins by discussing drinking in taverns and at job sites and on the docks. Pred focuses primarily on the Stockholm's dockworkers although his analysis also encompasses other members of the working class. He argues they used tricks and tactics to avoid work or retaliate against overbearing or

⁵² Ibid, 49.

⁵³ Allan Pred, *Lost Words and Lost Worlds: Modernity and the Language of Everyday Life in Late Nineteenth-Century Stockholm* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 82.

harsh supervisors. These tricks included clandestinely drinking on the jobsite by smuggling in liquor, purchasing beer from a “beer shark” who sold tankards near the place of work, or taking unauthorized breaks and sneaking away from work to cafes or taverns to drink.⁵⁴ Pred articulates this as well as other “retaliatory tactics” surrounding alcohol consumption as dockworkers and other members of the working class challenged their bosses and other authoritarian figures such as the police. He borrows James Scott’s concept of “weapons of the weak” to conclude his discussion and suggests these behaviors helped create a sense of identity among workers.⁵⁵

Pred’s argument suggesting an identity among workers limits the majority of his analysis to broad groups within the working class and he neglects the formation of an identity on the individual and interpersonal level. He focuses primarily on dockworkers despite demonstrating the multiplicity of occupations they held prior to arriving at work on the docks.⁵⁶ He brings his analysis down to the individual level by following the path of a fictional dockworker throughout his day traveling along the streets between home, work, and to a public bar during his break. Pred provides a wealth of qualitative information although the dockworker and the people he interacts with are never named.⁵⁷ This thesis seeks to address the concept of an occupational identity at the individual level using interrogation protocols and analysing its formation through the shared experience of drinking in the street and in the tavern. Pred did not focus extensively on individuals in the tavern. This line of inquiry was conducted by Thomas Brennan.

⁵⁴ Allan Pred, *Lost Words and Lost Worlds*, 70.

⁵⁵ Ibid, 243-244.

⁵⁶ Ibid, 208.

⁵⁷ Ibid, 229-235.

Thomas Brennan uses a wide variety of sources to situate public drinking among the working and middle classes of Paris in the popular culture before the French Revolution.⁵⁸ One of Brennan's major goals in analyzing the "popular culture" of Paris is to move away from the top-down, elitist perceptions of drinking and instead understand the experience of the much larger middle- and working-class individuals that frequented taverns and cafés.⁵⁹ Brennan draws on the Parisian Chatelet commissioner's records, death inventories, guild records, and literary sources to distance his analysis from the elitist perceptions. His use of death inventories is particularly illuminating as he reconstructs popular taverns and more exclusive cafés based upon the furnishings identified in these sources. Brennan argues that the quality of furnishings and decorations, as well as their arrangement, attracted clientele of different classes and shaped the comportment of the institution's patrons.⁶⁰ He then suggests that patrons tended to sit with their companions and associates in similar professions, and this analysis informs this thesis. Brennan draws this conclusion from testimonies taken after scuffles that resulted in the intervention of the police. This thesis draws upon Brennan's spatial analysis to discuss the interactions of the working class in Stockholm's taverns. It uses contemporaneous imagery and literary sources to recreate a tavern at the end of the nineteenth century. It then discusses the compartmentalisation of space and the effect of the arrangement of furniture on socialization and how alcohol played a role in such

⁵⁸ Thomas Brennan, *Public Drinking and Popular Culture in Eighteenth-Century Paris* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1988).

⁵⁹ Thomas Brennan, *Public Drinking*, 22.

⁶⁰ *Ibid*, 77.

interactions. The interrogation protocols used in this thesis allow a discussion of who drank with whom in the tavern.

Scholars such as Kathleen Lord and Ritta Liatinen analyse the streets near taverns to demonstrate that different classes competed for control of the space. In “Permeable Boundaries: Negotiation, Resistance, and Transgression of Street Space in Saint-Henri, Quebec, 1875-1905,” Kathleen Lord argues that the local officials in charge of rue-Saint-Henri wanted to increase order on it but the vibrant street culture perpetuated by the vast majority of working-class tenants resisted this regulation and this conflict resulted in a contested space.⁶¹ The street culture contained both antagonism and excitement in the form of binge drinking, prostitution and sexual liaisons, brawls, and protests and strikes. In addition to this, the street was the location of everyday activity such as travel to and from work and leisure activities, shopping, and religious celebrations. Lord argues all of these activities were part of a middle-class culture that contributed to the clash between the municipal government which represented the propertied classes, and the street culture of the working-class.⁶² Lord also discusses the tavern as the intersection between work and the home for working-class men and the conflict that arose between anglophones and francophones as the municipal government attempted to limit the number of liquor licenses to stem the arrests for drunken behavior.⁶³

⁶¹ Kathleen Lord, “Permeable Boundaries: Negotiation, Resistance, and Transgression of Street Space in Saint-Henri, Quebec, 1875-1905,” *Urban History Review* 32 (2) (2005): 19.

⁶² Lord, “Permeable Boundaries,” 24.

⁶³ Ibid, 24-25.

Ritta Laitinen also addressed class conflict in the space of the street in her study of seventeenth-century Turku.⁶⁴ A journeyman and a student at the university clashed after a confused and drunken provocation on a street that resulted in the accidental death of the student. Laitinen suggests that the street belonged to both men in theory: to the journeyman as part of his drunken nightlife, and to the student as part of the rowdy nighttime behavior for which the university students held a reputation. Laitinen then shows that the two representatives of their classes did not share the street but actively competed for it late in the evening.⁶⁵ Lord and Laitinen's analyses of the space of the street as both a philosophically and physically contested space is important to understanding the urban experience of Stockholm. This thesis uses primary sources to situate people within the contested space of Stockholm's streets.

Sources and Method

This thesis is primarily informed by information contained in *förhörprotokoll* (interrogation protocols). These documents are police accounts of citizens found in violation of the Vagrancy Act of 1885. A committee proposed the Act in 1882 and provided several templates for officers to document the events surrounding an arrest as well as the individual's previous offences so that an appropriate punishment or fine could be imposed. In late 1885, Stockholm's police force began using two of these templates: one to issue a warning for vagrancy, and the other to detain the offender for it. The

⁶⁴ Riitta Laitinen, "Nighttime Street Fighting and the Meaning of Place: A Homicide in a Seventeenth-Century Swedish Provincial Town," *Journal of Urban History* 33 (4) (2007): 602.

⁶⁵ Laitinen, "Nighttime Street Fighting," 613.

protocols contain a wealth of qualitative material including the date of the infraction, a physical description and name of the offender, a summary of the event and the penalty imposed by police in response to the offense. The protocols also contain information necessary to identify the person in other municipal records. This includes the parish of birth, the names of the offender’s mother and father, and the current or last known address and occupation of the offender.

Stockholm’s police force only issued fifty-two warnings and detained sixteen people for vagrancy. After 1885 until 1923 when the vagrancy law changed, the filing system for those repeatedly found in violation of the law changed and the police filed both the warning and detention forms together. The police issued many more warnings for first time-offenders and they filed these documents in separate yearly folders. This thesis draws from protocols drawn from the 1885 archives, the archive of repeat offenders between 1886 and 1923, and a sampling of the warnings issued in 1886 (see Table 1.1).

Table 1.1: *Number of Warning and Detainment Protocols for Vagrancy Drawn from Archives 1885-1923.*

Archive	Number of Protocols
Warned, 1885	52
Detained, 1885	16
Warned, 1886	236
Repeat Offenders, 1886-1923	313
Total	617

The first section of the Vagrancy law defines a vagrant as a person “without a means of subsistence and not looking for work.” The second section expands this

definition by suggesting that in addition to those without work, people deemed dangerous to public safety or interfering with public order or morality should also be treated as vagrants.⁶⁶ This broader definition of vagrancy put at risk a much wider segment of the population including people who made their living through methods considered immoral such as prostitution.⁶⁷ The protocols also include people exhibiting drunken conduct after consuming “strong drinks” and these sources inform this thesis by providing case studies of members of the working-class including descriptions of a short period of their everyday lives.

The summary of the arrest allows a reconstruction of events in both space and in time and the background information provides context for the event. Officers documented the day of the event and in some cases even the precise time of day. All the protocols provide at least the street name or square where the warning or arrest occurred, and some give the exact house or building number where the infraction transpired. The location of the arrest and its proximity to both the home and place of work help demonstrate the movement of workers and their relation to their lived environment as they footed about the city. Repeat offenders collected extensive arrest records which follow major developments in their lives including new occupations and residences.

The qualitative information the protocols provide reveal the eclectic and fluid population of Stockholm’s working-class. The occupations of the working-class changed

⁶⁶ Dertil i Nåder Förordnade Komiterade (The Graciously Appointed Committee), *Underdånigt Förslag till Förordning Angående Lösdrifveri (Humble Proposal for Regulation Regarding Vagrancy)*, Statens Offentliga Utredningar 1885:1, (Göteborg: Göteborgs Handelstidnings Aktiebolags Tryckeri, 1882).

⁶⁷ Yvonne Svandstöm, “Prostitution as Vagrancy: Sweden 1923-1964,” *Journal of Scandinavian Studies in Criminology and Crime Prevention* 7 (2006) 145.

frequently in response to new economic pressures. People took jobs in trained professions such as those previously associated with the guild system as well as temporary work in labour-intensive industries. These documents list the various occupations and workplaces of individuals both inside and outside of Stockholm. Many of the people captured in the protocols migrated to the city from around Sweden and the protocols trace their movement around the country until their arrival in the capital. This information, coupled with the details documented in response to the infraction, provide a holistic view of the lives of historical actors.

In addition to providing information about the origins and occupations of the working-class, the interrogation protocols document the consumption of alcohol and the offender's known associates. The police describe persons found in an inebriated state as "drunk of strong drinks" (*bersuad av starka drycker*). Numerous protocols mention specific areas such as East Long Street (Österlånggatan) on *Gamla Stan* where police warned or remanded drunken persons into custody. A high volume of arrests suggest these areas served as popular drinking locales for members of the working-class. The protocols also mention other people associated with the offender or surrounding them at the time of the event. The documents identify them by their complete names and their occupation and provide insight into the social lives of workers away from their place of employment. The protocols therefore describe who was drinking, when and where they were drinking, and with whom they were drinking.

The large amount of qualitative data and the quantitative amount of protocols required the construction of a database to organise and access it. Construction of the

database began using several fields and data extracted from the protocols including the given and family names, occupation, parish of birth, and the last known address or place of arrest. A field indicating alcohol consumption within the summaries of arrests in the protocols required extensive translations from Swedish to English. The database also included the age of individuals and the designation of “warned” or “detained.” These designations helped trace repeat offenders across several documents. Different police officers responsible for transcribing the protocols frequently altered the spelling of names and following repeat offenders required cross-referencing names with different spellings and home parishes and birthdays. The database organized the information from hundreds of protocols spread across four different archives in Stockholm’s City Archive and brought it together in a single location. Linking high definition pictures of the protocols to the entries in these fields further eased access to the information.

The chosen fields of the database follow the filing system used by Stockholm’s administration to keep track of individuals with the same or similar names. These fields enabled the cross-referencing between the protocol database and the Roteman Archive which dates back to 1877. The *rotemans* system (district registrar system), imposed obligations on new urban inhabitants and required them to provide extensive amounts of information to the registrar of their district whenever they changed residences. This information included their date and place of birth, occupation and military experience, marital status, prior education, character references, health information such as previous smallpox infection, and whether the inhabitant received poor relief.⁶⁸ The documentation

⁶⁸ Pred, *Lost Words and Lost Worlds*, 132.

within the archive represents the efforts of Stockholm's government to tax the population of Stockholm effectively despite the frequent movement and changing employment status of its inhabitants. This database makes it possible to trace people through space and time.

A query regarding the number of protocols mentioning alcohol consumption revealed seventy-six documents. This thesis draws upon several of these documents to construct case studies of working-class life in late nineteenth-century Stockholm. The protocols situate workers in space and in time by providing street names and addresses as well as dates and the times of arrests. Information drawn from these documents as well as other sources provide the basis for case studies examining alcohol consumption as a part of everyday life in working-class neighbourhoods.

In order to understand the geospatial relationship between the residences of actors and the location of arrests, geographic information software (GIS) was used to plot data on an 1885 map of Stockholm. The electronic file of the map was georeferenced to superimpose it over modern-day Stockholm before the arrests could be plotted. The corners of several of Stockholm's cathedrals were used as points for georeferencing the map. The locations of the arrests were obtained from the protocols and the location of residences from the protocols and the Roteman Archive. The information appeared as house numbers paired with street names. These locations were then tagged on the 1885 map.

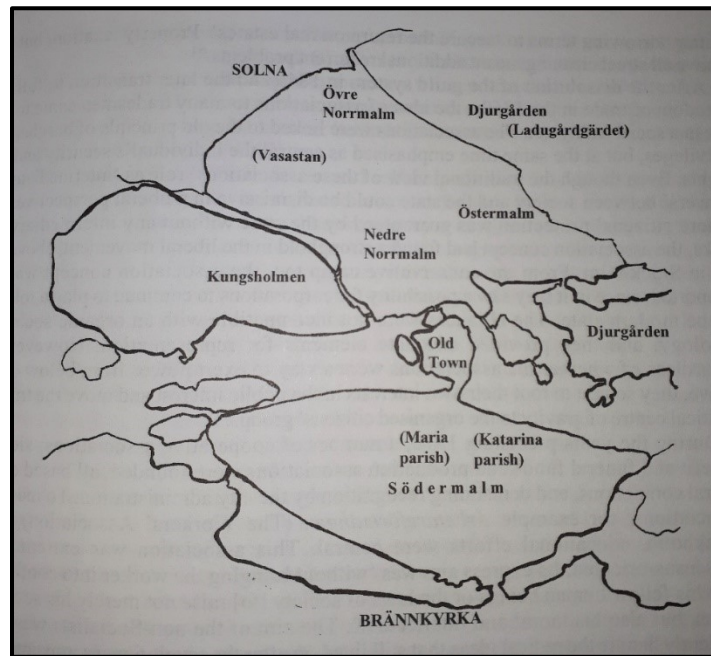
The Geography of Stockholm

Stockholm's success as a port city was partially due to its unique geography and location. Central Stockholm is spread across several islands that were then further divided into districts that fell under the authority of different Lutheran parishes (see Map 1.1 and Table 1.2). The city radiates from *Gamla Stan* (the "Old Town") which dates back to the middle of the thirteenth century and served as the centre of commerce and administration for the city.⁶⁹ The city expanded both outwards to the surrounding islands of the archipelago and eventually upwards with buildings reaching five stories in height. Wealthier families lived on the first and second floors of buildings while the poorest families occupied the attic space in a phenomenon that scholars refer to as "vertical stratification."⁷⁰ This pattern repeated itself as the population of Stockholm extended beyond *Gamla Stan* to the surrounding islands although it remained the commercial hub of Stockholm.

⁶⁹ Sten De Geer, "Greater Stockholm: A Geographical Interpretation," *Geographic Review* 13:4 (Oct. 1923): 498.

⁷⁰ Johan Söderberg, Ulf Jonsson and Christer Persson, *A Stagnating Metropolis: The Economy and Demography of Stockholm, 1750-1850* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 105; Pred, *Lost Words and Lost Worlds*, 115.

Map 1.1: "The City of Stockholm ca 1890 with Neighbouring Parishes and Royal Ground (Djurgården)"



Source: Håkan Forsell, *Property, Tenancy and Urban Growth in Stockholm and Berlin, 1860-1920* (Burlington: Ashgate, 2006), 63.

Table 1.2: *Poverty Ratios and Per Capita Values of Real Property, Income Tax, and Commercial Tax in 1850* (Stockholm = 100)

District	Poverty Ratio, %	Real Property	Income Tax	Commercial Tax
Nikolai South/West	19	191	147	275
Nikolai Inner/East	32	126	96	181
Klara/Kungsholmen	25	142	178	105
Jakob/Adolf Fredrik	32	119	128	97
Maria	31	83	74	94
Johannes/Ladugårdslandet	41	48	55	33
Katarina	42	62	46	77
Stockholm	34	100	100	100

Source: Söderberg, Jonsson and Persson, *A Stagnating Metropolis*, 106.

Tax records from 1850 indicate that the western portion of *Gamla Stan*, or the Nikolai South/West tax district, had the highest property values and exhibited the most centralised commercialisation of the city based upon its real property value and the commercial tax paid (see Table 1). It also had the lowest poverty ratio in the city.⁷¹ Nikolai Inner/East on *Gamla Stan* ranked third by real property value but brought in a lower income tax rate than the western district. Both districts paid the highest rates in commercial taxes of any others in the city. This was because of the central location of the island and its valuable waterfront property. The population spread outwards as residential housing and industries began to compete for space and several districts began to adopt a class characteristic based on the populations that could afford to live there.

To the north of *Gamla Stan* were the areas known as Norrmalm and Östermalm which represent the concentration of wealth closer to the centre of the city and the gradual decline in socioeconomic status towards the edge of the city. Norrmalm and Östermalm contained a total of six taxable districts in 1850. For the purpose of taxation, the district of Klara was combined with the island of Kungsholmen further west, the district of Jakob was taxed along with Adolf Fredrik, and Ladugårdslandet taxed with Johannes. Klara and Kungsholmen held the second highest real property value in Stockholm but paid a lower commercial tax than either tax district in Nikolai on *Gamla Stan*, indicating a greater concentration of more expensive residences. These two districts also paid the highest income tax in the entire city which suggests a greater concentration

⁷¹ Poverty here is defined as people over the age of seventeen incapable of paying the most basic capitation tax, or the hospital tax. See Söderberg, Jonsson and Persson, *A Stagnating Metropolis*, 105.

of wealth by profession than anywhere else in the city. Jakob and Adolf Fredrik also exhibited a higher income tax paid than the eastern district of Nikolai but fell behind the three leading districts in every other category other than poverty ratio. The districts of Klara and Jakob housed and catered to the upper and middle classes.⁷²

The remaining tax districts were largely working-class neighbourhoods.

Johannes-Ladugårdslandet ranked low among the districts for several reasons.

Ladugårdslandet served as both the place of employment and as the housing district for members of the military and their families, as well as the craftsmen that serviced the military. The government paid soldiers very little prior to an 1874 amendment to the remuneration system and they could not afford to maintain families without taking up handiwork to supplement their incomes.⁷³ The population of Ladugårdslandet rose greatly at the end of the nineteenth-century (the city renamed the district Östermalm and the parish Hedvig Eleonora in 1885) and initially consisted mostly of wooden shacks inhabited by impoverished people.⁷⁴ The population of Johannes fared no better. Centred in Johannes was a neighbourhood ironically nicknamed “Sibirien” (Siberia) because it consisted of wooden buildings and shacks situated so far away from the city centre.⁷⁵ Kungsholmen emerged as a working-class district as development of the island grew between 1880 and 1890 (see Table 1.1). The increasing size of the working-class earned

⁷² Pred, *Lost Words and Lost Worlds*, 16.

⁷³ Söderberg, Jonsson and Persson, *A Stagnating Metropolis*, 83.

⁷⁴ Monica Fredriksson, “Ladugårdslandet: före Östermalm” (“Ladugårdslandet: Before Östermalm”) in *Stadsvandringar* (City Walk) (Stockholm: Stockholms Stadsmuseum, 1992), 25.

⁷⁵ Pred, *Lost Words and Lost Worlds*, 95.

the island the informal name *Svältholmen*, or the Starvation Islet.⁷⁶ As the distance from *Gamla Stan* increased, the socioeconomic status of residents decreased.

This decline is mirrored to the south of *Gamla Stan* on the island of Södermalm, where its combined districts of Maria and Katarina housed the largest portion of the working-class in Stockholm. The early construction of textile factories proletarianized the island as working-class neighborhoods grew around them.⁷⁷ The rise of working-class neighbourhoods continued through Stockholm's population explosion. In 1870, Södermalm had 39,360 residents and in 1900 the number of residents had risen to 85,703 (see Table 1.3). This rapid increase in population coincided with the rise in manufacturing in Stockholm during the second half of the nineteenth century.

⁷⁶ Ibid, 95.

⁷⁷ Söderberg, Jonsson and Persson, *A Stagnating Metropolis*, 99.

Table 1.3: *Stockholm's Population by District, 1870 and 1900*

Parish	Population in 1870	Population in 1900
Nikolai	12,841	12,135
Klara	17,869	17,624
Jakob and Johannes	18,535	32,702
Maria	19,068	39,494
Katarina	20,292	46,209
Kungsholmen	8,261	35,065
Ladugårdsland/Hedvig Eleonora	22,726	66,697
Adolf Fredrik	14,005	50,597
Total Population of Stockholm	133,597	300,523

Sources: Bidrag till Sveriges Officiella Statistik (BiSOS), Series H. "Överståthållarämbetets Underdåniga Berättelse för Stockholms Stad, Åren 1866-1870," 1870; "Bidrag till Sveriges Officiella Statistik (BiSOS), Series H. "Överståthållarämbetets Underdåniga Berättelse för Stockholms Stad, Åren 1896-1900," 1905.

Industries such as metalworking and machinery, printing and publishing, food, beverage and tobacco processing, and textiles and apparel emerged in Stockholm by the 1870s and employed a large amount of unskilled and semiskilled labour.⁷⁸ The labourforce necessary to carry out the production process changed with the introduction of more extensive mechanisation in the manufacturing sector. Workers' responsibilities now narrowed to one or two mundane tasks in the production process and they were no

⁷⁸ Pred, *Lost Words and Lost Worlds*, 29.

longer paid by the amount they could produce by the end of the day but by the hour. This strict time discipline resulted in the reduction of mental and reflective labour and the disappearance of worker self-determination on the job.⁷⁹

The volume of manufactured goods exceeded domestic consumption and joined raw materials as important Swedish exports. This resulted in government intervention to modernise trade regulations.⁸⁰ The Swedish government took several steps towards deregulating the Swedish economy and establishing trade relations with other countries. In 1860 it lifted most requirements for passports which facilitated the movement of people between Sweden and other countries. This influenced the development of the lumber and textile industries as British immigrants brought new technologies to Sweden.⁸¹ The 1864 Statute on the Freedom of Trade exempted several agricultural products from duties and lowered duties on consumer goods. The government fostered positive economic relations with other European countries by implementing trade agreements such as the 1865 Treaty of Commerce with France.⁸² The number of foreign ships in Sweden's port cities of Stockholm and Göteborg rose steadily between 1850 and 1913 (see Figure 1.1). The amount of foreign tonnage was so high that in 1890 English ships surpassed domestic ships in registered tonnage in Swedish ports. English ships represented 41% of total tonnage, followed by Swedish tonnage at 23%. The remainder belonged to Finnish, German, and Norwegian sailing and steam vessels.⁸³ Stockholm

⁷⁹ Pred, *Lost Words and Lost Worlds*, 28.

⁸⁰ Ingrid Hammarström, *Stockholm i Svensk Ekonomi*, 31.

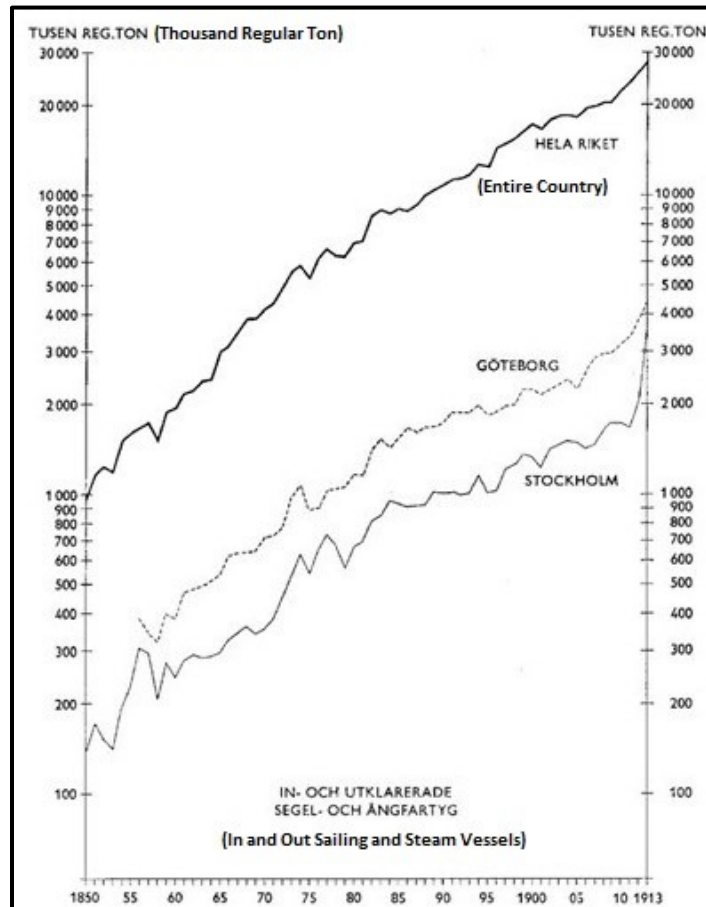
⁸¹ Schön, *An Economic History of Modern Sweden*, 58.

⁸² Schön, *An Economic History of Modern Sweden*, 92-93.

⁸³ Hammarström, *Stockholm i Svensk Ekonomi*, 136-137.

served as one of the country's most active ports and expanded to accommodate this new international commerce.

Figure 1.1: "Utrikes sjöfart på Stockholm, Göteborg och hela riket 1850-1913. Logaritmisk skala." ("International Shipping in Stockholm, Gothenburg and the Whole Kingdom 1850-1913. Logarithmic Scale")

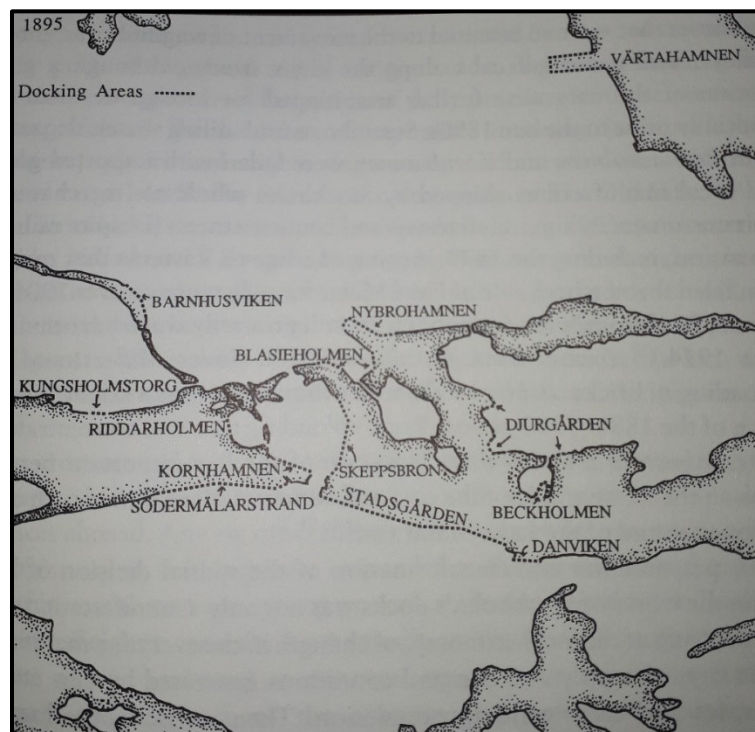


Source: Hammerström, *Stockholm i Svensk Ekonomi*, 133.

The geography of Stockholm provided the opportunity for ample quays to accommodate the high volume of ships necessary to export Swedish goods on the international market. Large ships arrived at the heart of the city to pick up and unload cargo. They loaded at Fiskarehamnen on Slussen, the thin strip of land connecting *Gamla*

Stan and Södermalm, where railroad tracks dropped off goods from Sweden's interior. Ships from foreign ports unloaded at Stadsgården and Skeppsbron (see Map 1.2).⁸⁴ The increased congestion of these quays and the high cost of remaining anchored offshore prompted the expansion of Stadsgården. Before the quay expansion was finished in 1882, construction began on Värtahamnen, a new deep-water docking area. This area became the most important dock area for exports in Stockholm.⁸⁵

Map 1.2: "Docking Areas of Stockholm as of the Mid 1890s"



Source: Pred, *Lost Words and Lost Worlds*, 201.

Stockholm's commercial fleet expanded and modernised after the 1870s to keep pace with foreign demand for Sweden's manufactured goods. Between 1850 and 1885,

⁸⁴ Hammerström, *Stockholm i Svensk Ekonomi*, 129.

⁸⁵ *Ibid*, 129.

Stockholm's fleet grew in size by about five thousand tons.⁸⁶ Steamships increased in size after the 1870s and Swedish ships began to appear in greater numbers in foreign ports. In 1880, four hundred and sixty-six ships were cleared to unload in ports all over the world including North and South America and East Asia.⁸⁷ The majority of ships remained in Europe with Germany, Ireland, and France having the most popular ports for Swedish goods.

Ships from other nations also took advantage of steam technology and the number of foreign ships arriving in Stockholm steadily increased in the second half of the nineteenth century.⁸⁸ The country became aware of this increasing global presence and leading Stockholm figures attempted to capitalize from it by launching an international exhibition. Sweden began to vie for international attention in earnest in the 1890s which culminated in Stockholm's hosting of the World Fair in 1897. The General Art and Industrial Exhibition demonstrates the newfound success Sweden acquired in the second phase of its industrialisation. The featured exhibit was held on Djurgården and featured stalls showing Swedish culture and an industrial hall featuring prominent Swedish manufacturers and their innovations.⁸⁹ The city profited from the waves of tourists and the international attention. Both Stadsgården and Skeppsbron were expanded again in the mid-1890s, and by 1899 Stockholm controlled 20% of all of Sweden's international

⁸⁶ Ibid, 139.

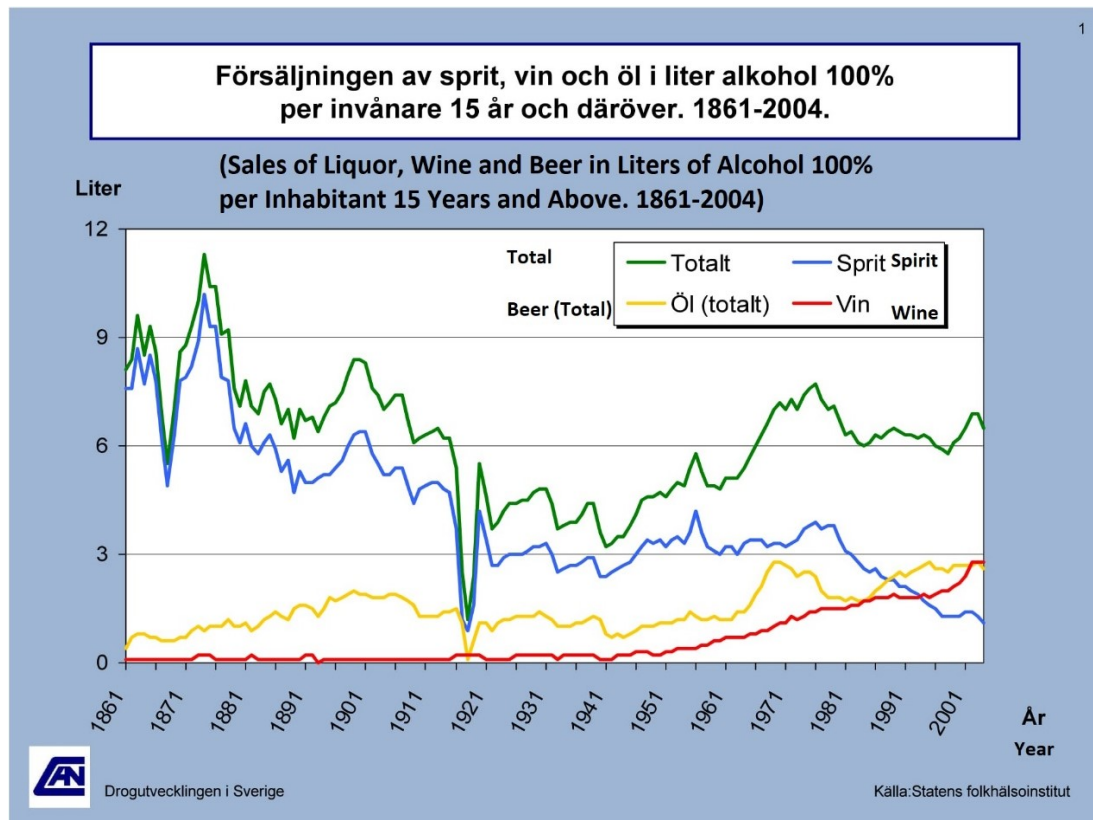
⁸⁷ Ibid, 156.

⁸⁸ Ibid, 136.

⁸⁹ Anders Ekström, *Den Utställda Världen: Stockholmsutställningen 1897 och 1800-talets Världsutställningar (The Exhibited World: The Stockholm Exhibition 1897 and 19th Century World Exhibitions)* (Stockholm: Nordiska Museet, 1994), 110.

commerce.⁹⁰ By this time imports and exports including foodstuffs and alcoholic beverages such as beer, wine, and liquor began to pass through Stockholm to meet domestic demand.

Figure 1.2: "Sales of Liquor, Wine and Beer in Liters of Alcohol 100% per Inhabitant 15 Years and Above. 1861-2004."



Source: The Swedish Council for Information on Alcohol and Other Drugs (CAN),
retrieved from
<https://www.can.se/contentassets/3359b53f1d6b4ab99a6e95c6d5be0501/can-rapportserie-91-drogutvecklingen-i-sverige-2005-overhead.pdf>

⁹⁰ Madeleine Hurd, *Public Spheres, Public Mores, and Democracy: Hamburg and Stockholm, 1870-1914* (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 2000) 94-95.

Most of the population preferred spirits with an alcohol content up to 50% (see Figure 1.2). This included *brännvin*, which refers to either vodka or aquavit depending on how it is distilled and flavoured. More than ten million liters of spirits were imported to meet demand in 1885.⁹¹ In that same year, Stockholm was responsible for the consumption of 514,390 liters of *brännvin* and only had one local distillery to supply it.⁹² The amount of spirits purchased following 1870 spiked and remained high into the twentieth century. This rise in consumption prompted greater police intervention and arrest records provide a unique insight into the culture surrounding drinking in late nineteenth-century Stockholm.

⁹¹ Bidrag till Sveriges Officiella Statistik (BiSOS), Series F. "Utrikes Handel och Sjöfart Commerce Collegii Underdåniga Berättelse för år 1885," 1887.

⁹² Bidrag till Sveriges Officiella Statistik (BiSOS), Series V. Brännvins Tillverkning och Försäljning Underdänig Berättelse för tillverkingsåren 1884-1885 och 1885-1886," 1887.

Chapter Two

Bright Lights, Big City: The Arrival of the Working Man in Stockholm

The people outside might fear and hate the city, might talk about the plague hole and the abscess, the giant who devoured human lives. But still many of them sought their way there—and made their mortal sacrifice... The city was dependent on all who were drawn to it by roads and water: without this constant supply of blood it would die. Fewer people were born in the city than died there. It waited for him, the city that had lain in his dreams for so long.¹

This chapter examines in-migration to Stockholm from surrounding counties and the process of settling into it. The capital experienced low population growth until the middle of the nineteenth century due to its weak economy and poor sanitary conditions but workers still migrated to it seeking work. Seasonal migratory labour eventually spread to cities as industrial recruitment began and people began to settle in the city but moved around and changed occupations in their “economies of makeshifts.”² Upon arrival in the capital city, workers confronted several challenges including securing employment, finding housing, and acclimating to the new urban environment. Housing shortages and temporary labour contributed to the tenuous balance between employment

¹ Per Anders Fogelström, *Stockholm: The City of My Dreams*, trans. by Jennifer Brown Bäverstam (Iowa City: Penfield Press, 2000) 11-12.

² Olwen Hufton first described the concept of economies of makeshifts in the French context in two different ways. The first referred to an economy of makeshift on a regional or national scale where workers took temporary work in response to underemployment as a simple survival tactic. The second referred to localised begging. Both contexts apply to nineteenth-century Stockholm. The former describes Sweden's working class at the end of the nineteenth century while the latter strand describes workers either incapable of working or the chronically unemployed. See *The Poor of Eighteenth-Century France 1750-1789* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1974).

and homelessness. Stockholm's working-class identity was created through shared experiences.

Seasonal Migration, Industrial Recruitment, and Stockholm's Population

During the first half of the nineteenth century seasonal migration revolved around agriculture in Sweden's rural provinces as farmers and their families took on additional work following the harvest of crops to supplement their income. Women and children remained at home during the winter months and spun fabric and produced handicrafts which enterprising merchants sold for a profit in Sweden's commercial centres.³ Men took physically demanding jobs which often removed them from their family's farm and the growing rural industries supplied ample opportunity for employment. The iron, lumber, and other labour-intensive industries offered seasonal employment and the expansion of the railroads facilitated the movement of workers across around the country. The iron industry spanned several counties in the region historically referred to as Bergslagen, which included all of Västmanland and parts of Örebro, Värmland, and Kopparberg (see Map 2.1). The lumber industry drew a highly mobile labour force during the sawing and shipping seasons. It also drew heavily from the population of agricultural workers in Värmland and Kopparberg.⁴ The railroads both facilitated the movement of workers between these counties and acted as a seasonal employer. Its labourforce of "navies" was constantly replenished in the spring and summer with migratory workers

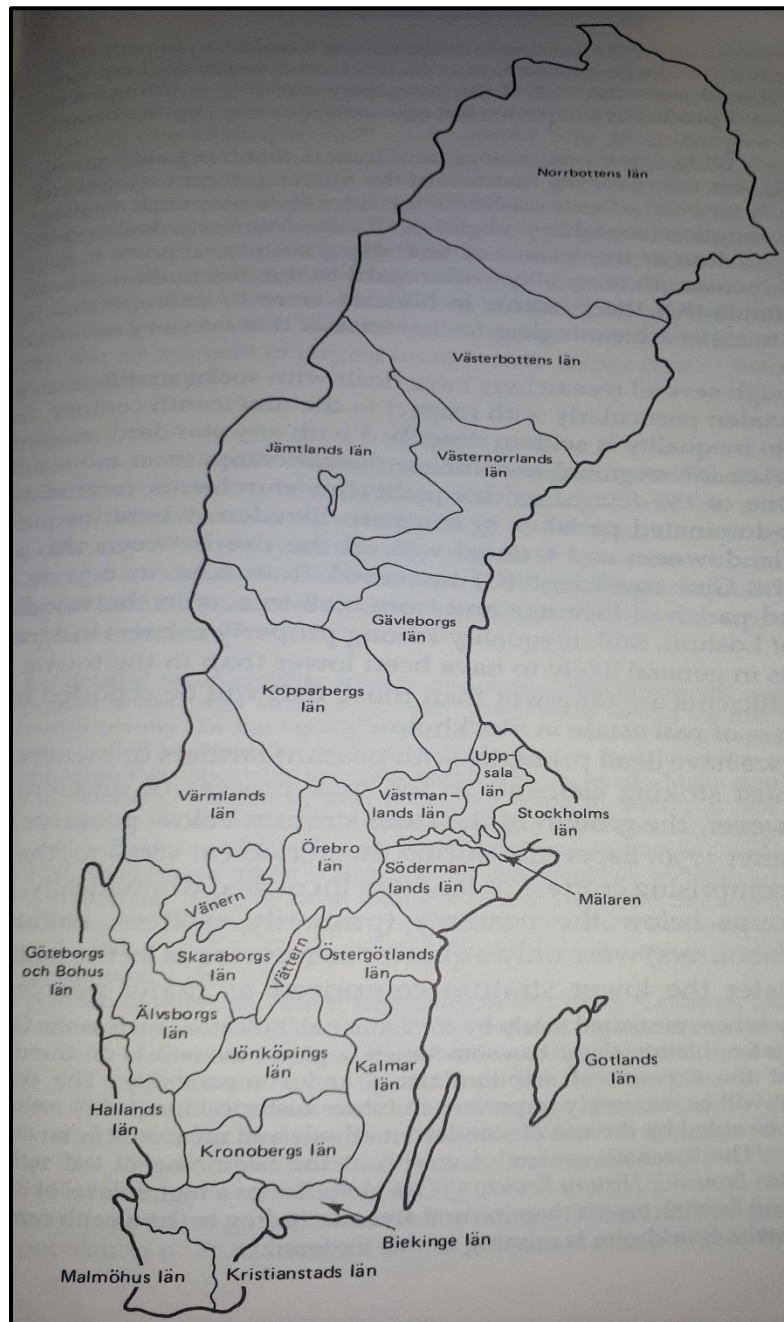
³ Schön, *An Economic History of Modern Sweden*, 23.

⁴ Ibid, 112.

known as “summerbirds.”⁵ The mechanisation of agriculture acted as another push factors on agricultural workers, though urban areas such as Stockholm offered less attractive prospects due to economic stagnation.

⁵ Ibid, 112.

Map 2.1: The Division of Sweden into Counties



Source: Söderberg, Jonsson, and Persson, *A Stagnating Metropolis*, 127.

Stockholm suffered a slow population increase between 1800 and 1850 during a period of economic stagnation which offered less work for new arrivals and potential inhabitants. Stockholm experienced a period of deindustrialisation as the textile industry declined prior to 1850.⁶ Real wages fell and poverty was rampant. Seasonal migrants from the nearby counties surrounding Lake Mälaren filled the positions in Stockholm's few remaining factories.⁷ People continued to pass through the city as Sweden's rural population felt increased pressure with the growing mechanisation of agriculture. The introduction of new technology such as sowing machines and harvesters reduced the need for labour and pushed young men and women loosely tied to the land towards the city.⁸ Chris Galley argues that the populations of early modern cities hinged upon migration from the surrounding countryside, though potential inhabitants generally only stayed in the city if it possessed sufficient economic opportunities to sustain them.⁹ Companies remained reliant on seasonal labour since the sanitary conditions of Stockholm remained poor in the first half of the nineteenth century and the population born in the city could not grow fast enough to sustain the emerging economy.

Poor sanitation and insufficient sewage systems resulted in the high mortality rates which contributed to Stockholm's slow population growth. Both human and animal waste collected in large open pits. Rainwater fell on these pits and the runoff

⁶ Söderberg, Jonsson, and Persson, *A Stagnating Metropolis*, 34.

⁷ Schön, *An Economic History of Modern Sweden*, 112.

⁸ Ibid, 121.

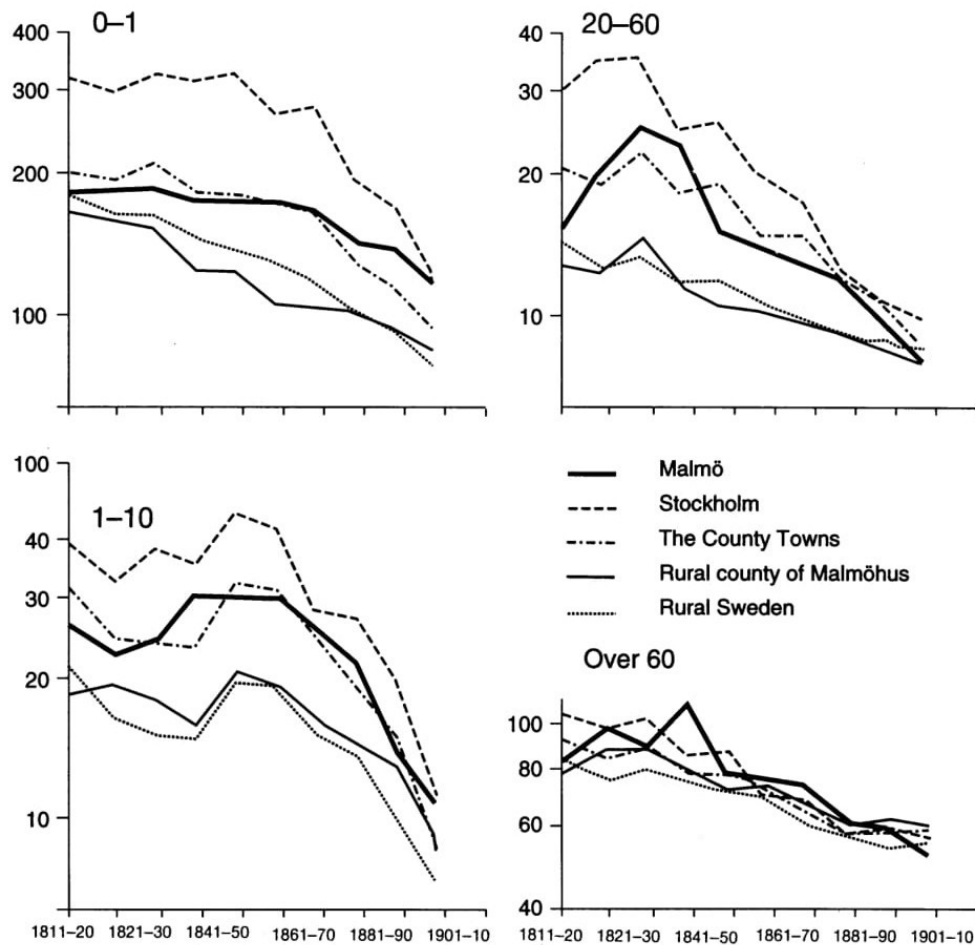
⁹ Chris Galley, "A Model of Early Modern Urban Demography," *The Economic History Review* 48:3 (Aug. 1995): 460.

contaminated the wells.¹⁰ The concept of “urban penalty” suggests that the city relied on in-migration to sustain the population, since these poor conditions, Stockholm’s dense urban geography, and its international traffic as a port-city likely accelerated the transmission of communicable diseases within the capital and resulted in higher mortality rates than in rural Sweden (see Figure 2.1).¹¹ This concept is supported by the decline in mortality following sanitary improvements in the capital.

¹⁰ Schön, *An Economic History of Modern Sweden*, 96.

¹¹ Nicholas Freudenburg, Sandro Galea, and David Vlahov, “Beyond Urban Penalty and Urban Sprawl: Back to Living Conditions as the Focus of Urban Health,” *Journal of Community Health* vol. 30 no. 1 (February 2005): 1.

Figure 2.1 "Crude Death Rates and Age Specific Mortality Rates per 1,000 for Malmö, Stockholm, the County Towns, the Rural County of Malmöhus and Rural Sweden, 1811-1820 to 1901-1910



Source: Gunnar Fridlitzius, "The Mortality Development of a Port-Town in a National Perspective: The Experience of Malmö, Sweden, 1820-1914" in *Population and Society in Western European Port-Cities, c. 1650-1939*, edited by Richard Lawton and Robert Lee (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2002), 129.

Cholera epidemics wreaked havoc on Stockholm's population in 1836, and a series of efforts to improve urban conditions began in the 1850s with the construction of a municipal gasworks, followed by the construction of a municipal waterworks in the

early 1860s, and covered sewers by the mid-1860s.¹² Improved sanitary conditions, coupled with a general decline in mortality and better nutrition positively influenced the health of Stockholm's population and mortality rates across all ages fell after the middle of the century. This coincided with an upswing of Stockholm's economy and companies in the city reached beyond the counties surrounding Lake Mälaren to satisfy the demand for labour.

The recruitment process operated along similar principles as the former guild system and brought rural workers into urban areas such as Oskarshamn and Stockholm. A survey of workers in Oskarshamn's shipyards approximately 340 miles from the capital suggests that forty percent of workers came from households in which the father was employed as an industrial worker. An additional quarter of the workers were poor farmers, or agricultural workers who did not own their land. The remaining workers came from the homes of craftsmen and a very small minority came from the homes of civil servants and municipal service personnel.¹³ Thus, the experience of their fathers provided workers with exposure to their work prior to their arrival in the shipyards. Stockholm-based companies replicated this pattern and the recruitment of workers significantly added to the city's population (see Table 2.1).

¹² Ibid, 95.

¹³ David Papp and Bo Öhngren, *Arbetarna vid Oskarshamns Varv Kring Sekelskiftet: Två Studier (Workers at Oskarshamn Shipyard around the Turn of the Century: Two Studies)*(Stockholm: Sjöhistoriska Museet, 1973), 22.

Table 2.1: Stockholm's Total Population and In-Migration, 1855-1900

Year	Number of Live Births	Number of Deaths	Natural Increase	Population Moving into Stockholm from Outside the City	Stockholm's Total Population
1855	16,276	21,337	-5,061	10,451	97,952
1865	22,175	21,022	1,153	16,610	126,180
1875	23,457	25,418	-1,961	15,719	144,974
1885	31,364	23,195	8,169	39,591	211,139
1895	35,552	25,699	9,853	20,585	267,100
1900	36,432	26,464	9,968	24,898	300,523

Source: Bidrag till Sveriges Officiella Statistik (BiSOS), Series H. "Överståthållarämbetets Underdåniga Berättelse för Stockholms Stad, Åren 1896-1900," 1905.

Companies in Stockholm continued to draw from Kopparberg and the Lake Mälaren valley to satisfy the need for industrial workers following the rise of mechanical manufacturing between the years 1860 and 1900 as manufacturing and commerce continued to expand in Stockholm.¹⁴ The recruitment of workers spread over to the west coast of Sweden to Värmland and down to the south east coast through Kalmar to Blekinge.

¹⁴ See *Stockholms Folkmängd efter Födelseorter 1860, 1880 and 1900 (Stockholm's Population After Births 1860, 1880 and 1900)* in Uno Gustafson's *Industrialismens Storstad: Studier Rörande Stockholms Sociala, Ekonomiska och Demografiska Struktur 1860-1910 (City of Industrialism: Studies on Stockholm's Social, Economic and Demographic Structure 1860-1910)*(Malmö: Göteborgs Offsettryckeri AB, 1976), 219.

Table 2.2: County of Birth of People in Interrogation Protocols 1885-1886

County	Number of Persons Born in County	Percentage of Sample
Stockholm (City)	63	15.5%
Stockholm (County)	56	13.8%
Örebro, Södermanland, Västmanland, Uppsala	52	12.8%
Kalmar	65	16%
Göteborg & Bohus	35	8.6%
Östergötland	29	7%
Skaraborg	19	4.7%
Biekinge, Gotland & Värmland	18	4.4%
Unlisted	70	17.2%
Total	407	100%

The interrogation protocols place working-class individuals born in different counties in Stockholm and demonstrate the mobility of the working-class population (see Table 2.2). Omitting the protocols of repeat offenders reduces the number of protocols to just over four hundred unique individuals but produces a more representative sample of Stockholm's working-class population and verifies the recruitment pattern drawing from the counties of the Lake Mälaren valley. The noticeable difference in Stockholm's natural increase between 1875 and 1885 demonstrates the decline in the city's mortality rate, and the percentage of workers born in the city demonstrates the growing trend of settling in the capital. At the same time, the percentage of workers born outside of the city demonstrate the diversity of Stockholm's working-class population and the mobility of workers in the nineteenth century. Workers initially moved to find seasonal work but

began to settle in the city as jobs in manufacturing became more specialised and more numerous after 1870 and into the 1880s. Employment opportunities in Stockholm existed in several different industries, but holding permanent employment proved difficult for fresh arrivals in the capital.

Securing Work in the Big City

One of the most difficult tasks that workers faced after arriving in Stockholm was securing permanent employment. Seasonal work did not provide an adequate salary to live on after 1870 and seasonal workers could not remain in the city if they could not find employment. Finding a full-time job in Stockholm outside of a craft proved difficult as manufacturers and industries that relied on physical labour hired workers during times of prosperity and laid them off in times of decline.

The extensive changes proposed to improve Stockholm's sanitary conditions required vast amounts of labour.¹⁵ Occupations in the building industry relied on physical labour and included pavers, bricklayers, masons, and carpenters. The building industry started to expand after the completion of Stockholm's municipal projects and addressed the housing concerns facing the city's expanding population. The shortage of housing and safety concerns towards the shanty towns on the edges of the city fueled speculation in land and property until the construction crash following the decline of the business cycle in 1885.¹⁶ Unskilled employment opportunities in the construction industry declined as

¹⁵ Gustafson, *Industrialismens Storstad*, 35.

¹⁶ Gustafson, *Industrialismens Storstad*, 39.

houses and apartments remained unoccupied into the 1890s, and unemployed labourers often struggled to find what work remained.

The decline of manufacturing and the downswing of the business cycle resulted in high occupational turnover as workers scrambled to find work. Some workers took several jobs in unrelated fields and had high occupational mobility. One such person worked as a baker, a plate-maker, a pipe worker, a worker in a piano factory, a carpenter, an artillerist, a valet, an arborist, a founder, a stonemason, and an agricultural worker within his lifetime until his death at the age of forty-seven.¹⁷ This example demonstrates the challenge workers faced to eke out a livelihood and their willingness to take any jobs available to contribute to their “economies of makeshifts.”¹⁸

Unemployed workers gravitated towards the city’s docks as sea traffic continued to grow and companies needed more workers. A sample of 385 dockworkers in 1895-1896 suggest that the majority of them came from previously physically demanding jobs such as the iron and metal industry, heavy labourers from the construction industry, seamen, and army and servicemen who rotated out of service.¹⁹ Some dockworkers came from white-collar jobs despite the backbreaking work on the docks. Two men in the sample previously worked as writers and one had been a language instructor.²⁰ Men from

¹⁷ Knut A. Tengdahl, *Material till Bedömande af Hamnarbetarnes i Stockholm Lefnadsförhållanden* (*Material for Assessment of Dockworkers in Stockholm Living Conditions*)(Stockholm: Lorénska stiftelsen, 1897), 8.

¹⁸ Alannah Tomkins and Stephen King, “Introduction,” in *Poor in England, 1700-1900: An Economy of Makeshifts* eds. Alannah Tomkins and Stephen King (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2003) 12.

¹⁹ Tengdahl, *Material till Bedömande af Hamnarbetarnes*, 12-13, *Pred, Lost Words and Lost Worlds*, 208-209.

²⁰ Knut A. Tengdahl, *Material till Bedömande af Hamnarbetarnes*, 12-13, *Pred, Lost Words and Lost Worlds*, 208-209.

different backgrounds continued to flock to the city's docks and the number of jobs failed to accommodate the growing population of unemployed men.

Workers competed for temporary positions on the docks as the shipping industry provided a limited number of jobs to the rapidly growing urban population. Around 1850 the number of dockworkers was small enough that employers recognised the merit of dependable workers and there was less competition for work on the docks. In 1892, Knut Tengdahl published his report on the dockworkers and noted that one of the largest employers on the docks, A. F. Söderström, reported employing 500 to 700 workers, although the employees could only expect a few scheduled days of work a week.²¹ By the time of the report, the number of dockworkers outpaced the demand for labour and they could only expect part-time work with little security. Workers constantly sought additional employment at the docks beginning early in the morning and some visited Stadsgården ten times a day waiting for ships to arrive and possible employment to appear.²² The work involved shoveling coal, lifting sacks of grain, carrying bricks, and other labour intensive activities which pushed the workers to their physical limit. Age surveys of the dockworkers suggest that workers found these jobs difficult after the age of thirty-five and almost impossible after the age of fifty.²³ In addition to the poor job security and difficult work, dockworkers received poor financial wages for their efforts.

²¹ Knut A. Tengdahl, *Material till Bedömande af Hamnarbetarnes*, 15.

²² Tengdahl, *Material till Bedömande af Hamnarbetarnes*, 9.

²³ Allan Pred, *Lost Words and Lost Worlds*, 208-209.

The Working Man's Wages

Dockworkers received little financial compensation during the time of year they were able to work and had to supplement their income when possible in order to survive. Over the course of about nine months, depending upon the weather, dockworkers could expect to make an average income between 421 to 651 crowns between 1890 and 1894 compared with an engineering labourer who earned about 700 crowns, or typesetters who made nearly 1400 crowns during that same time period. The small amount that dockworkers made in those nine months had to last them the entire year.²⁴

Tengdahl began his report on the dockworkers by addressing the public misconception that those employed on the docks made more money than most other workers. He pointed out that seasonal dockworkers had to spread whatever they earned while working across those days of unemployment and the winter months when they could not work. Overall, the dockworkers received a wage that was much less than it appeared.²⁵ Workers at A. F. Söderström earned 35 cents (öre) per hour during their twelve hours shifts beginning at 6:00 p.m. and ending at 6:00 a.m. with a half hour break for their evening meal between 8:00 and 8:30 and an hour break between midnight and 1 a.m. Workers also made 50 cents per hour of overtime although overtime was never guaranteed.²⁶ Tengdahl explained that between 1890-1895 dockworkers never made more

²⁴ Stevedores did not work Stockholm's docks during the winter months when the Baltic Sea connecting Stockholm to global traffic was frozen. For more details on the financial compensation, see Tengdahl, *Material till Bedömande af Hamnarbetarnes*, 31.

²⁵ Tengdahl, *Material till Bedömande af Hamnarbetarnes*, 8.

²⁶ Ibid, 18.

than 2 crowns (kronor) and 53 cents (öre) a day in total seasonal wages were spread across three hundred working days.²⁷

The shipping companies that employed dockworkers exercised a vast amount of power over their lives and offered small wages very little or no security in return.

Shipping companies frequently employed dockworkers for overtime work on Sunday mornings and after midnight and offered a small wage in return.²⁸ These companies offered no job security for dockworkers. Several of the largest shipping companies in Stockholm refused to negotiate with strikers or entertain efforts to form unions. They sidestepped the situation by importing cheaper labour from the port of Gävle or labour from Småland or Värmland.²⁹

The disparity in wages between several unskilled, physically demanding jobs reveals the disadvantage dockworkers faced in Stockholm's labour market. Workers in the engineering industry earned nearly twice as much as dockworkers in the beginning of the 1890s and nearly three times as much in the middle of the decade (see Figure 2.2). Wine porters earned two to three times as much as dockworkers between 1880 and 1900 but securing employment in these occupations was difficult. Engineering firms in the city recruited new workers through kinship ties and the lucrative, stable jobs went to the family and friends of employees who the firms already hired.³⁰ Wine porters represented another occupation that required personal contacts. Wine porters maintained a guild that

²⁷ Ibid, 30.

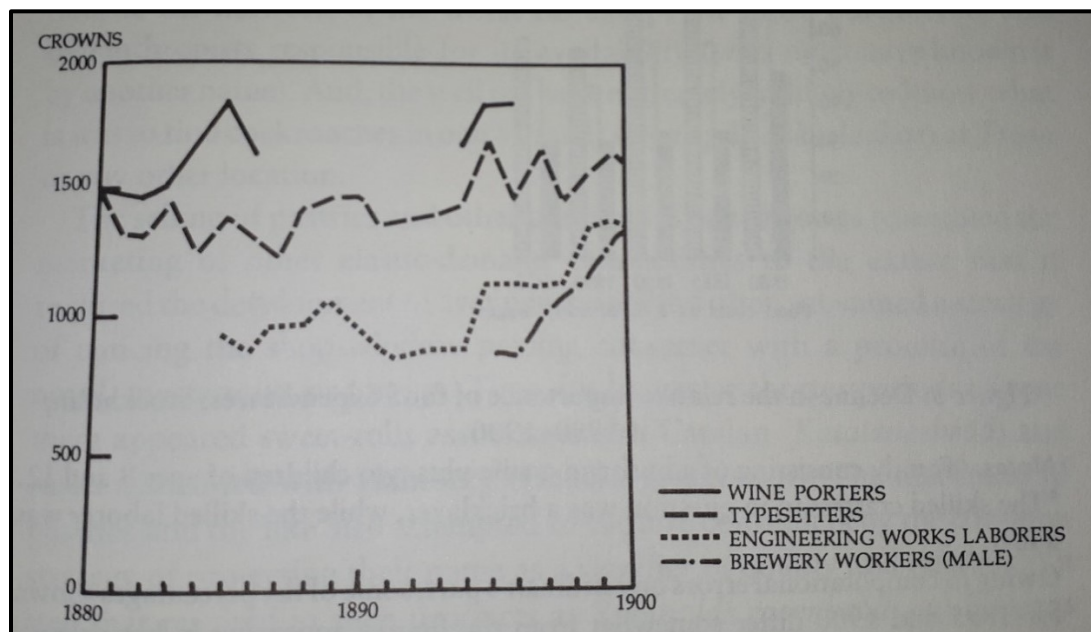
²⁸ Ibid, 224.

²⁹ Ibid, 224.

³⁰ Schön, *An Economic History of Modern Sweden*, 112.

dictated prices and wages and who could be employed. Workers could only join the guild after making connections within the guild and establishing a sense of trust with at least one member.³¹ Dock work did not share these qualifications and stevedores did not receive job protection prior to 1895. Their precarious employment and lower wages made daily life challenging, and basic staples such as food and safe drink proved difficult to obtain with regularity.

Figure 2.2: Annual Income of Selected Occupational Groups: Stockholm, 1880-1900



Source: Pred, *Lost Words and Lost Worlds*, 53.

Dockworkers frequently ate in taverns because they did not have kitchens of their own and skimped on meals to save money when they were desperate. Countless restaurants, cafés and taverns arose around the docks to cater to the appetites of the

³¹ Pred, *Lost Words and Lost Worlds*, 212.

dockworkers and served them during their breaks in the evening and early morning. They could get a decent meal which included bread, butter, and bacon as well as beer or coffee for about 30 cents, or about the equivalent of an hour's wages.³² During times of hardship when workers could not find work on the docks, they ate very lightly and very cheaply. One dockworker recounted eating soup with his friend and drinking half beers to save money and leaving the pub with an empty stomach, finding it difficult to walk and nearly impossible to shovel coal once back at the dock.³³ A dockworker's diet was not the only feature of daily life that suffered because of unreliable work and low wages, as the housing a dockworker could afford worsened towards the end of the century.

Home and Housing in Stockholm

Finding housing was one of the first tasks for workers arriving in Stockholm and their wages determined the choices they had. Newly arrived workers experienced great difficulty finding safe, clean, affordable housing after the population of Stockholm began to explode after 1870. Between 1870 and 1885, Stockholm's population increased by over sixty-thousand people and rent levels rose by approximately 60 percent.³⁴ The situation eased somewhat between 1886 and 1893 when rent levels fell by 25-30 percent at the tail end of the a building cycle that resulted in almost three thousand new

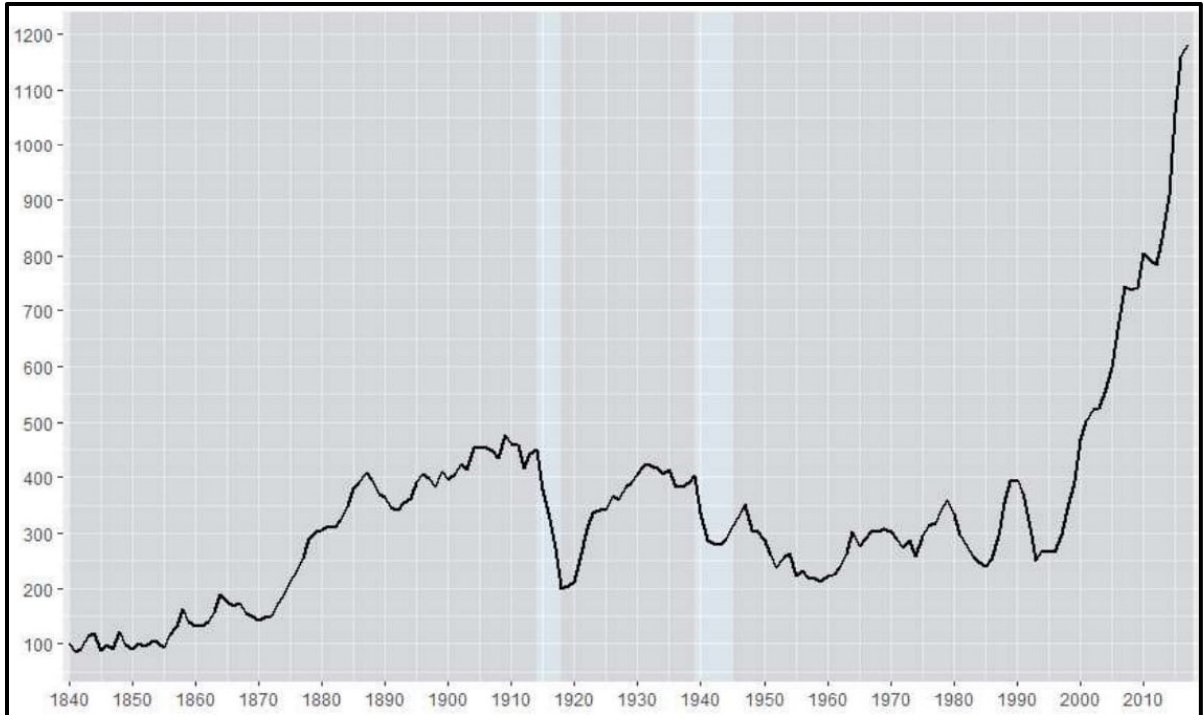
³² Sigurd Erixon, *Stockholms Hamnarbetare före Fackföreningsrörelsens Genombrott* (Stockholm Harbor Workers before the Trade Union Movement Breakthrough)(Stockholm: Kommittén för Stockholmsforskning, 1988), 142.

³³ Tengdahl, *Material till Bedömning af Hamnarbetarnes*, 9.

³⁴ Håkan Forsell, *Property, Tenancy and Urban Growth*, 176.

buildings.³⁵ This surplus of tenement buildings brought down both the rent and the real house prices after the bubble burst (see Figure 2.3).

Figure 2.3: Stockholm Real House Prices 1840-2017, 1840=100



Source: Rodney Edvinson, Klas Eriksson, and Gustav Ingman “A Housing Price Index for Stockholm 1840-2017: Putting New Light on the ‘Hockey Stick’”(Paper presented at the National Conference in Economics, Linneuniversitetet, Kalmar, Sweden, October 4-5 2018) 8-9.

Workers often stayed with the relatives who had initially brought them into the city with the understanding that such accommodation was only temporary until they could find a place of their own.³⁶ Bachelors who arrived in the city without familial ties or other connections slept in the kitchens of households drawing a partial income from

³⁵ Edvinson, Eriksson, and Ingman, “A Housing Price Index for Stockholm,” 11.

³⁶ Schön, *An Economic History of Modern Sweden*, 112.

renting the space, or in squalid flop-houses and crowded hotels.³⁷ Income severely restricted the housing options for young arrivals and the salary of a dockworker could not provide the same accommodations as those employed in more stable occupations.

Employment in manufacturing factories in Stockholm provided sufficient wages to rent a reasonable space, but access to basic amenities depended on the worker's position in the factory. Gustaf af Geijerstam discussed the shocking disparity in the standard of living between a labourer and a foreman in a mechanical workshop.³⁸ In 1894 he visited the home of the foreman and described a splendidly appointed three room apartment. It cost 300 crowns annually, and Geijerstam suggested it "gave the impression of a prosperous citizen's home" which befitted the home of a skilled man who mediated between workers and employees.³⁹

Geijerstam then described the horrific conditions of the labourer's flat. The labourer's pregnant wife greeted him and welcomed him into the single room apartment in the attic space on the fourth floor of the building. The room was so small Geijerstam did not bother to try to estimate its dimensions. The room had a low roof that met the wall at the edge of the room a meter from the ground (see Figure 2.4). Geijerstam asked her where she cooked the couple's food and she led him to a tiny room with a hole in the ceiling that let in the freezing cold. This apartment cost 150 crowns annually, and

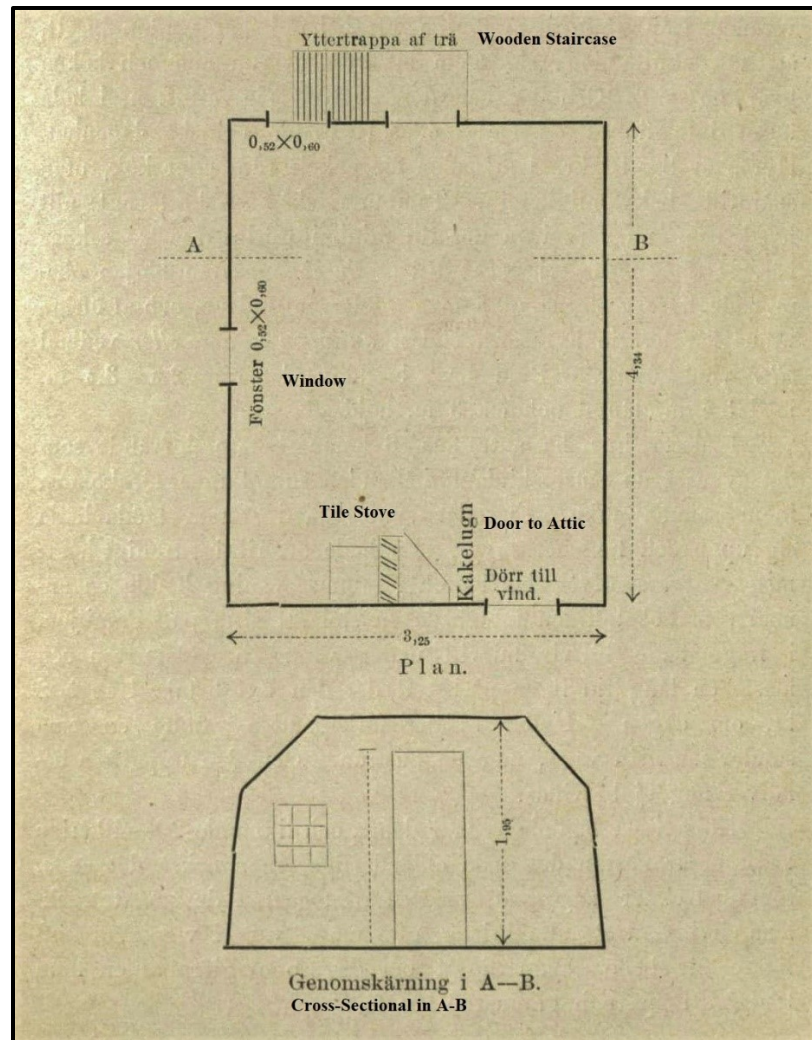
³⁷ Pred, *Lost Words and Lost Worlds*, 64.

³⁸ Gustaf af Geijerstam, *Anteckningar om Arbetarförhållanden i Stockholm (Notes on Working Conditions in Stockholm)*(Stockholm: Samson and Wallin, 1894), 9-11.

³⁹ af Geijerstam, *Anteckningar om Arbetarförhållanden*, 11-12.

because it contained an area for cooking, it was considerably better than the shelters and hotels in which dockworkers could afford to live.⁴⁰

Figure 2.4: *Genomspärning i A-B (Cross-Section in A-B)*



Source: Tengdahl, *Material till Bedömande af Hamnarbetarnes*, 70.

Dockworkers inhabited numerous different types of housing including relief houses or shelters, “hotels,” shared apartments, and cottages. During the summer months,

⁴⁰ Ibid, 12.

some dockworkers had no permanent residence and slept under quays, in barns on the outskirts of town, or under bridges.⁴¹ They stayed close to their worksite, enjoyed Stockholm's warm climate, and saved money for the winter months and for leisure activities. However, this practice largely disappeared towards the end of the nineteenth century due to the efforts of private charities and the opening of relief houses. The Salvation Army operated three relief houses in *Gamala Stan* and offered spartan accommodations. The building on Benickebrinken accommodated 90 men, the house on Österlånggatan 60 men, and the most expansive house on Köpmangatan provided beds for 150 men.⁴² Workers slept in crowded dormitories lined with only iron beds and received a breakfast meal of hot milk and bread, but it was dispensed while dockworkers would have been at work.⁴³ Once all the beds were taken, the proprietors of the relief houses turned men away and they were forced to sleep elsewhere including "hotels."

"Hotels" were the least desirable option before vagrancy and the accommodations they provided were the worst in the city. Workers paid about 25 cents per night to either share a couch or sleep on the floor.⁴⁴ Health authorities determined how many occupants could safely occupy these establishments but proprietors overbooked the space and it was difficult to navigate the few poorly lit rooms without kicking a sleeping body. Tengdahl visited one hotel deemed fit to house twenty-seven people but he counted forty-seven lodgers.⁴⁵ He was horrified by the number of rats even on the fourth floor of the building

⁴¹ Tengdahl, *Material till Bedömande af Hamnarbetarnes*, 70.

⁴² Ibid, 70.

⁴³ Ibid, 71.

⁴⁴ Ibid, 70.

⁴⁵ Ibid, 83.

and heard that the larger rats attacked the exposed faces of lodgers during the night and belongings had to be hung on nails to keep them safe.⁴⁶

These conditions are not completely representative of the standard of living for some dockworkers as those who were married frequently sought apartments and houses as they advanced in age and in their profession. Sigurd Erixon presents a case study of “L.”⁴⁷ He became a dockworker in 1883 at the age of 20. He lived with his parents on Skåne Street in Katarina district in Södermalm until the age of 29 when he married and moved into a one-room apartment on Mountain Path Street, also in Katarina, which cost 1 crown and 75 cents a week, or 91 crowns a year (Figure 2.5). The apartment was well appointed with numerous amenities and decorations. In 1893 he became the foreman at Dahlgvist & Andersson and the birth of his first child prompted him to move his family to a two-story stone house on Customs Port Street, still in Katarina, for which he paid 10 crowns per month, or 120 crowns a year.⁴⁸ His decision to stay in Södermalm is not surprising as it was both affordable and close to his work.

As the cost of rent rose around Stockholm, more workers moved to the island of Södermalm as it became the most affordable place to live in the city. By 1900 this part of the city housed 85,700 people of which fifty-four percent made less than 1,000 crowns per year and the government considered them impoverished.⁴⁹ The average rent for a standard room with a kitchen in Södermalm cost 215 crowns per year, but in other

⁴⁶ Ibid, 81.

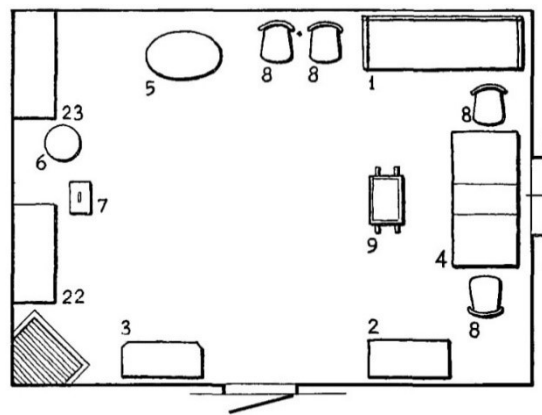
⁴⁷ Erixon, *Stockholms Hamnarbetare*, 121.

⁴⁸ Ibid, 124.

⁴⁹ Oscar Heimer and Torsten Palmér, *Bilder från Södermalm 1895-1912 (Buildings from Södermalm 1895-1912)*(Stockholm: Sveriges Radio, 1979), 16.

working-class neighborhoods such as Kungsholmen or up in “Siberia” the cost for similar accommodations was approximately 245 crowns per year.⁵⁰ Accommodations represented the largest expense in the working-man’s life, and failure to pay rent usually resulted in eviction.

Figure 2.5: Den 27-Ånge Stuverifömannen L's Bostad som Nygift 1890 (The 27-Year-Old Stevedore L's Residence as a Newlywed 1890)



1=Gustavian Style Bed, 2=Chest of Drawers, 3=Shank (tool), 4=Folding Table, 5=Table, 6=Flower Stand, 7=Stool, 8=Four Wooden Chairs, 9=Cradle, 22=Sink, attached to Tile Stove, 23=Wood Pile and Two Shelves.

Source: Erixon, *Stockholms Hamnarbetare*, 122.

The unpredictable availability of work on the docks and the rising cost of housing created a tenuous balance between being gainfully employed and having a home and being destitute and homeless. Dockworkers frequently moved between employment and unemployment and could easily find themselves penniless. This compromised their ability to pay for housing and they either relied on charity for a place to sleep or subjected themselves to the deplorable conditions of hotels. Dockworkers needed to

⁵⁰ Heimer and Palmér, *Bilder från Södermalm*, 17.

adjust to this uncertainty as well as their new urban environment. They did this by creating a culture of their own through common pastimes and leisure activities. These helped dockworkers construct their shared occupational identity.

Acclimating to the Urban Environment and Working-Class Culture

After securing a job and finding housing, workers participated in popular pastimes and leisure activities with fellow members of the working-class to root themselves in Stockholm's society. Industrialisation and the mobility of workers created a confused social order in Stockholm. The meetings and confrontations between different social groups became more tangible and intense within the shared space of the street as urbanisation hastened the breakup of the more traditional, polarized form of society with visible class distinctions and codes of behavior between the upper and lower classes.⁵¹ The rural identity of workers competed with a new urban identity as they adapted to their urban environment.

The majority of the working-class population could not afford to spend money on leisure activities and instead participated in free events and celebrations. At the end of the nineteenth century, residents of Stockholm collectively celebrated many national milestones with large events in which workers participated. These included marriages, births, or coronations of the royal family.⁵² Parades and processions filled public spaces during these celebrations and members of any class could attend for free.

⁵¹ Ekström, *Den Utställda Världen*, 83.

⁵² Svante Jakobsson, *Fattighushjonets värld i 1800-talets Stockholm: de glömda (The World of the Poor Boy in 19th Century Stockholm: The Forgotten)* (Uppsala: Almqvist and Wiksell International, 1982), 140.

Members of the upper working class and middle class had disposable income which influenced how they spent their leisure time. Their activities included day trips to Stockholm's public parks and weekend sailing excursions around its archipelago. During the summer months, young dockworkers visited Stockholm's public parks at Haga or the island of Djurgården for a trip to the tavern (see Figure 2.6). Foremen took advantage of boats available for rent to take weekend excursions to smaller islands surrounding Stockholm.⁵³ The multitudes of people from different classes coming together created a tension as different classes began to compete for space in the streets of Stockholm.⁵⁴

⁵³ Erixon, *Stockholms Hamnarbetare*, 123.

⁵⁴In "The Politics of Hanging Around and Tagging Along: Everyday Practices of Politics in Eighteenth-Century Stockholm," Karin Sennefelt discusses the role of the street in Stockholm's eighteenth-century politics by discussing chance or planned meetings between people of all classes in an effort to exert influence on the Swedish parliament. She also discusses the behaviors of the lower classes in addressing their superiors on the streets. By the late-nineteenth-century, people no longer practiced these behaviors.

Figure 2.6: *Dans i Haga, 1903* (Dance in Haga, 1903)



Source: Erixon, *Stockholms Hamnarbetare*, 137.

This conflict is evident in the leisure activities that the working and middle classes shared, such as concerts performed in Stockholm's public venues.⁵⁵ One such performance in 1885 resulted in the deaths of nineteen people outside the Grand Hotel in Stockholm. The world-renowned Swedish folk singer, Kristina Nilsson, announced to the public that she would perform for the people for free and the Grand Hotel was set as the venue in anticipation of a massive turnout.⁵⁶ The concert catered to the cultures of both

⁵⁵ Riitta Laitinen, "Nighttime Street Fighting," 606. Riitta Laitinen discusses how class status and resentment triggered fights in the space of the street and alcohol frustrated this relationship. Her paper is set in the context of 17th century Turku in Finland, though her analysis of the conflict between a working class journeyman and a middle class university student demonstrates the street as a conflicted space because it fit into the cultures of both the working and middle classes.

⁵⁶ "Olyckshändelsen den 23 september" ("The Accident on the 23 September"), *Aftonbladet*, September 26, 1885.

the working and middle classes and the thousands of attendees drew from both classes. Folk music appealed directly to the working class because it played an important part in daily village life and it appealed to the middle class because of the romantic idealisation of provincialism. Folk music was an important component to many rituals including the celebration of the completion of haymaking, wall-repair, and different stages of house construction. It was also played at important ceremonies such as weddings and christenings.⁵⁷ Members of the working class attended the concert because it reminded them of the life they left in their home villages before moving to the capital. The concert attracted members of the middle class because folk music and an artistic return to provincial life became popular with the rise of romanticism at the end of the nineteenth century.⁵⁸ Both groups carried an interest in the event, although when panic struck the crowd and people struggled and were trampled trying to disperse, the accusations of who was responsible inspired contention.

The catastrophe outside of the Grand Hotel resulted from a state of confusion among the public but both classes blamed the other for the deaths that occurred. The middle class denigrated working-class attendees by suggesting their behavior caused the catastrophe. They described the workers in the crowd as the bad elements of the working-class population of the capital and compared them to “the worst mobs” of the larger European cities.⁵⁹ The newspaper *Aftonbladet* sided with the working class by

⁵⁷ Allan Pred, *Place, Practice and Structure: Social and Spatial Transformation in Southern Sweden: 1750-1850* (Totowa: Barnes & Noble Books, 1986) 167.

⁵⁸ Pred, *Lost Words and Lost Worlds*, 135.

⁵⁹ “Olyckshändelsen den 23 september” (“The Accident on the 23 September”), *Aftonbladet*, September 26, 1885.

speculating about the failure of the police to prepare for crowd control despite having a week's notice to plan for it and concluded they were at fault.⁶⁰ The conflict surrounding the catastrophe suggests a middle-class mistrust of newly arrived migrants from the country. It also mirrored the struggle of the working class to situate their provincial culture into their new urban lifestyle, and workers brought several other components of their culture with them to the city.

Provincial culture competed with Stockholm's urban culture as dietary and drinking habits clashed. The preparation of food unique to the province or county of birth was one example of workers bringing their own customs and traditions to the city. Bread served as the basis of the Swedish diet and accounted for 20 percent of total monthly food costs for the working-class, and several provinces developed unique recipes for different types of breads, rolls, pastries, cakes, and cookies based on the grains and ingredients available locally.⁶¹ Workers baked *Smålandskringlor*, or twists from the Småland and *Skåns kuse*, or soft bread from the province of Skåne. Some of these traditional specialties probably lost their regional distinction as bakers modified them for greater consumption.⁶²

Workers retained their provincial drinking habits though they differed sharply from the socially sanctioned behavior in Stockholm. Alcohol consumption in rural Sweden happened periodically throughout the day. Workers drank brännvin to punctuate

⁶⁰ "Olyckshändelsen den 23 september" ("The Accident on the 23 September"), *Aftonbladet*, September 26, 1885.

⁶¹ Pred, *Lost Words and Lost Worlds*, 54.

⁶² Ibid, 55.

the day and facilitate the harvesting process. They believed aquavit invigorated the body and provided medicinal benefits both for the body and the mind.⁶³ During the spring, summer, and autumn, the day began at three or four in the morning and ended at nine or ten in the evening. Men consumed a sandwich and a shot of aquavit before leaving the house, then snacked and drank at approximate 6 am, 7:30 am, 10 am, 12 pm to 1 pm, 3 pm, 5 pm, and then sometime later in the early evening.⁶⁴ This custom continued in Stockholm despite growing support towards prohibition. Workers frequently consumed alcohol on the job, either stealing away to take a shot of aquavit or consuming beer while on break at local cafes.⁶⁵ Workers in labour-intensive and factory settings also practiced periodic alcohol consumption throughout the day. Stone breakers exerted enormous amounts of energy in their work and could drink between ten and twelve bottles of beer a day.⁶⁶ After the working day finished, drinking served as a popular pastime and facilitated socialisation between members of the working-class.

The roots of alcohol consumption and sociability extend from the guild system and continued in Stockholm's pubs and taverns. Public drinking facilitated business transactions between craft masters and clients and allowed journeymen to socialise with their peers.⁶⁷ The influence of this practice remained following the formal abolition of the

⁶³ Ibid, 64.

⁶⁴ Pred, *Place, Practice and Structure*, 66-67.

⁶⁵ Magnusson, "Markets in Context," 308-309.

⁶⁶ Pred, *Lost Words and Lost Worlds*, 81.

⁶⁷ Magnusson, "Markets in Context," 308-309.

guild system. After working hours or during holidays or times of unemployment, young working-class men spent their free time in taverns drinking and singing with their peers.⁶⁸

The tavern also offered a comfortable space away from the married man's crowded apartment or the deplorable conditions of hotels and relief houses available for workers.⁶⁹ The tavern acted as a place of refuge for the working-class man. Swedish taverns served as places of merriment and enjoyment, rather than as places of intellectual discourse or union formation.⁷⁰ It was in the tavern and the surrounding public space that the shared experience of consuming alcohol allowed members of the working-class to forge an identity.

Workers came to Stockholm from all over Sweden and brought their own individual customs and traditions. Some of these traditions survived in the big city, while others were muted by the dominant urban culture and eventually disappeared. The occupation of workers changed following the rise and decline of business cycles which effected the construction industry and influenced the availability of housing. Workers had access to different types of housing based on their income, and dockworkers often stayed in charity houses or in hotels because of their low wages and job insecurity. With the occupational turnover of workers, the best way to approach a common identity is to trace it through shared experiences and struggles.

⁶⁸ A small survey from 1899 suggests that unmarried labourers spent 21 percent of their income on beer and brännvin compared to the 14 percent of their married peers.

⁶⁹ Pred, *Lost Words and Lost Worlds*, 64.

⁷⁰ Hurd, "Liberals, Socialists, and Sobriety," 44.

Chapter Three

The Invisible Fist: The Imposition of Municipal Authority on the Working-Class

Man and Drinking as an Expression of Agency

Some of those who came would always long to get out, away from the city, back to life outside the stone walls. Yet they stayed. There was always something that prevented them leaving, and their children and grandchildren became the city's, and loved the stones. When they said that summer was approaching, they meant they had noticed the heat of the stones and not the scent of the flowers.¹

This chapter examines the various forms of municipal pressure imposed on the working-class at the end of the nineteenth century and how they consumed alcohol as an act of resistance and for pleasure. Workers faced the oppression and regulation of the Stockholm Property Owner's Association and its middle and upper-class landlords who considered drinking immoral. "Drunks" and people found in an intoxicated state violated the Vagrancy Act of 1885 and workers faced the crackdown of municipal authority with the increased enforcement of the Act. Working-class labourers used the consumption of alcohol to fight this oppression and to form bonds with other workers. Drinking on the job, drinking during times of unemployment, and drinking after work with peers served as "a weapon of the weak" as it enabled workers to express this agency by rebelling against societal norms and their oppressors.

¹ Fogelström, *Stockholm: The City of My Dreams*, 11.

The Stockholm Property Owner's Association and Middle-Class Interests

Middle and upper-class citizens established the Homeowners Association of Stockholm in 1870 to protect their interests as property owners with the intention of operating with an “outsider perspective” and influencing change within the municipal government as private citizens. They wanted to effect change in the city by petitioning the Stockholm City Council in matters of obtaining credit for construction projects, building regulations, and street cleaning.²

The concerns of the Property Owner's Association affected all of Stockholm. Property speculation that resulted from increased attention to the housing crisis in the early 1870s made it more difficult to obtain credit for building tenement buildings as more people obtained leases on land and scrambled to build on the plots. Between 1864 and 1868, inadequate building regulations posed a threat to the safety of new buildings since the government did not require credentials or a formal education to work as a contractor. People also feared the effect of tall new buildings enclosing narrow streets and the City Council grappled with the question of suitable housing less than five stories into the twentieth century.³ Street cleaning benefited the health of the entire population of Stockholm. Decisions regarding these concerns directly affected members of the working-class, but they had little chance of influencing municipal decisions as

² Forsell, *Property, Tenancy and Urban Growth*, 68.

³ Mats Deland, “The Social City: Middle-Way Approaches to Housing and Suburban Governmentality in Southern Stockholm 1900-1945” (PhD diss., University of Stockholm, 2001) 141.

membership to groups such as the Property Owner's Association were exclusive and limited to wealthy and socially connected property owners.

The members of the Association included the upper echelons of Stockholm's society including wealthy merchants and industrialists that used their social and economic position as leverage to gain attention and sympathy for their petitions.⁴ Potential members also required two references from people already in the Association.⁵ These requirements limited the membership of the Property Owner's Association to middle and upper class men which prompted the creation of another organisation to protect the interests of the lower, less-connected middle class.

The House Owner's Society formed in 1887 and included people of the lower middle class that did not have the connections or resources of the Property Owner's Association but who owned property on the outskirts of the city in working-class neighborhoods of Stockholm. The membership of the society grew quickly because it did not require entry fees and it allowed women to join. Its members included skilled craftsmen and some lesser members of the military.⁶ Property ownership and a common commitment to charity proved to be a unifying force throughout the middle and upper classes, and the Society and the Property Owner's Association merged in 1891 under the name of the latter.⁷ The combined association increased the middle-class base of the organisation while still disenfranchising members of the working-class that did not own

⁴ Forsell, *Property, Tenancy and Urban Growth*, 68.

⁵ Ibid, 68.

⁶ Ibid, 69.

⁷ Ibid, 69.

property. The middle and upper classes of Stockholm assumed a philanthropic responsibility to care for the poor which influenced their housing and guided policy surrounding the treatment of working-class tenants. Wealthy citizens of Stockholm adopted the causes of marginalised segments of the population including the poor, the working-class, and single women towards the end of the nineteenth century following the decline in the influence of the Lutheran Church.⁸

The state recognised the importance of private contributions to poor relief and passed the 1862 Swedish Municipal Act which changed the economic responsibilities of municipalities and treated each district as a limited company with power directly related to the amount of money an individual contributed while the state remained as the ultimate overseer.⁹ The change in policy and the rise of philanthropic involvement coincided with changing standards of living and ideology regarding the construction of new tenements.

The philanthropic concerns regarding the health of the marginalised population included housing conditions and the Property Owner's Association lobbied the City Council to improve them. Mat Deland argues that several different themes related to living standards emerged among the middle and upper classes towards the end of the nineteenth century on both the individual and societal levels. On the individual level, austerity and careful living as well as "cosiness" represented the health standards considered necessary by the population.¹⁰ The upper classes considered austerity to be the

⁸ Deland, "The Social City", 111.

⁹ Ibid, 112.

¹⁰ Ibid, 119.

logical way of lifting people out of poverty, but also saw purchasing material comforts and creating a warm and livable space as conducive to health. On the societal level, the upper classes considered the dispersion and separation of the population and the preservation of nature as being necessary to the health of Stockholm's population.¹¹ The development of these themes coincided with Stockholm's sanitation revolution in the 1870s. Knowledge about communicable diseases spread with the easier transmission of information, and decentralising and separating the population became a top priority. The romantic ideal of the return to nature became more relevant as Stockholm continued to expand outwards new suburbs.¹²

Members of the Association imposed their sense of morality on their tenants and violation of this moral code served as grounds for eviction. Landlords punished their tenants for behavior they considered inappropriate or immoral, such as consuming alcohol without permission in dry households, and unruliness or insubordination even from a tenant's own children.¹³ The Association began to standardize rental agreements in the mid-1880s.¹⁴ They became more important in the following decade as the Association began to protect its members from losing money when renting to people who fell behind in their payment. In an effort to protect the financial interests of their fellow property owners, landlords experiencing problems with their tenants logged their names

¹¹ Ibid, 120-122.

¹² Ibid, 122.

¹³ Deland, "The Social City," 118; Forsell, *Property, Tenancy and Urban Growth*, 213.

¹⁴ Forsell, *Property, Tenancy and Urban Growth*, 215.

into a register which further disenfranchised the working-class by making it more difficult for some workers to find new housing.

The majority of documented evictions came from the working-class neighborhoods in Södermalm, western Kungsholmen, and from Siberia in Norrmalm (see Map 3.1). Between 1887 and 1892, landlords entered over 5,400 evictions into the Bad Conduct Registry, although this figure underrepresents the total number of evictions because some landlords did not maintain formal agreements with their tenants.¹⁵ Failure to pay rent served as the primary grounds for eviction especially towards the highly mobile working-class population. Consequently, some landlords demanded weekly rent for single rooms or single rooms with a shared kitchen to which the working-class gravitated.¹⁶ Evicted tenants either attempted to lease another space under a false name or turned to poor relief.

¹⁵Ibid, 215.

¹⁶ Ibid, 210.

Map 3.1: Geographical Spread of Bad Conduct Reports in Stockholm, 1887-1892, According to the 'Black Book'. Grey Colour: Average 5-15 Reports per Year. Black Colour: Average 15-30 Reports per Year.



1: Nikolai, 2: Katarina, 3: Maria, 4: Kungsholmen, 5: Adolf Fredrik, 6: Klara, 7: Johannes, 8: Ladugårdslandet/Hedvig Eleonora, 9: Jakob

Source: Forsell, Property, Tenancy and Urban Growth, 214.

People turned out onto the streets had few options available to them. Three different types of poor relief existed during the nineteenth in Sweden. The first included closed institutions such as workhouses, children's houses and spin houses that promoted their own concepts of morality and mirrored middle-class interests. These confined the poor and exerted disciplinary measures to promote a middle-class moral agenda.¹⁷ The Poor Law Board (*Fattigvårdsnämnden*) dispensed relief to morally upstanding citizens. The third type of aid relied on private charitable organisations such as the Salvation Army to dispense the aid.¹⁸

The conditions of the workhouses matched those of the relief houses operated by the Salvation Army although the workhouses aimed at re-establishing people in their crafts or professions and offered workshops so they could continue to work as normal. Facilities such as the Dihlström establishment on Södermalm offered work and accommodations to skilled and unskilled labourers such as dockworkers during the winter. The Dihlström facility maintained enough beds to support about five hundred workers a year who slept in dormitory style barracks similar to those offered by the Salvation Army.¹⁹ People worked in exchange for their room and board.

The statutes of the Dihlström establishment clearly stated that the workhouse should only provide temporary relief to the unfortunate of the capital city and that the ultimate goal should be the rehabilitation of the workers and their return to their original

¹⁷ Deland, "The Social City," 112-113.

¹⁸ Ibid, 113.

¹⁹ Erixon, *Stockholms Hamnarbetare*, 132.

occupation.²⁰ This focus on rehabilitation rather than unconditional support mirrors the middle-class idea of living in austerity and raising oneself from poverty. The number of positions available in workhouses, however, could not support the growing population of people requiring poor relief (see Table 2). The percent of the population that required poor relief in Stockholm's working-class districts, such as Katarina, rose dramatically. Those people who could not find positions in workhouses were left out on the street fell under the scrutiny of a growing police charged with enforcing the new Vagrancy Act.

Table 3.1: Percent of Population Receiving Poor Relief by District, 1868 and 1900

District	Number Requiring Poor Relief 1868	District's Population 1870	Percent of District's Population	Number Requiring Poor Relief 1900	District's Population 1900	Percent of District's Population
Nikolai	175	12,841	1.4%	1,118	12,135	9.2%
Klara	160	17,869	0.9%	907	17,624	5.1%
Kungsholmen	51	8,261	0.6%	2,671	35,065	7.6%
Adolf Fredrik	119	14,005	0.8%	2,593	50,597	5.1%
Jakob and Johannes	200	18,535	1.1%	2,580	32,702	7.9%
Ladugårdsland ²¹	166	22,726	0.7%	3,588	66,697	5.4%
Katarina	200	20,292	1.0%	7,193	46,209	15.6%
Maria	168	19,068	0.1%	2,785	39,494	7.1%

Source: BiSOS, Series H. 1866-1870, 33-39; BiSOS, Series H. 1896-1900, 86.

²⁰ Erixon, *Stockholms Hamnarbetare*, 132; Pred, *Lost Words and Lost Worlds*, 88.

²¹ The city of Stockholm renamed Ladugårdsland to "Hedvig Eleonora" in 1885.

The Expansion of Municipal Authority and Enforcement of the Vagrancy Act

Stockholm's police force expanded to impose law and order on the growing population in the second half of the nineteenth century. An official proposal to reorganise police districts brought the newly restructured system into place on September 1, 1850. The new system introduced 80 guard districts with 16 dedicated to *Gamla Stan*, 24 for Södermalm, and 40 for Norrmalm. These guard districts required a police force of at least 320 patrolmen. The more densely populated districts required two men for the day patrol and four for the night patrol. The rest of the districts allowed more flexibility with guards patrolling several guard districts while on duty.²² The increase in Stockholm's population required a greater police force and further reform to the policing districts in the 1870s and 1880s.

The size and diversity of Stockholm's police force increased further to regulate the influx of people towards the end of the nineteenth century. At the time of the General Art and Industrial Exhibit in 1897, the state reported a police force of 367 patrolmen and 544 men total.²³ Other members of the police included the mounted patrol that patrolled the outskirts of most of the inner districts and police inspectors who handled casework and carried out investigations. The patrolman became a ubiquitous feature of everyday life in Stockholm.²⁴

²² Hj. von Sydow, "Stockholms Polis" (Stockholm's Police) in *Stockholm: Sveriges hufvudstad skildrad med anledning af allmänna konst- och industriutställningen 1897* (Stockholm: Sweden's Capital City Dedicated on the Occasion of the General Art and Industrial Exhibit 1897), (Stockholm: J. Beckmans Förlag, 1897), 267.

²³ von Sydow, "Stockholms Polis," 289.

²⁴ Pred, *Lost Words and Lost Worlds*, 131.

In addition to a larger and more diversified police force, communication between different police districts in Stockholm, as well as with other cities in Sweden, continuously improved. In the 1850s they adopted the electric telegraph and by 1885 had a dedicated telephone station.²⁵ The sharing of information aided investigations and contributed to the ability of Stockholm's police to reduce crime. Over a thirty-five-year period examined in the statistics for 1900, the crime rate for serious offenses (larceny, shoplifting, assault) fluctuated from 195.5 per 100,000 people in 1870 to 174.9 per 100,000 people in 1900.²⁶ The police also began gathering more sophisticated intelligence, which enabled them to keep better track of the criminal histories of citizens even after they moved or left the country.

The establishment and publication of the newspaper *Police Intelligence* (*Polisunderrättelser*) in 1878 enabled police to follow the progress of criminal cases and vagrancy by sharing information about suspected criminals and the internment and release of vagrants from hard labour. Stockholm's police published two types of information in "Police Intelligence" and printed the newspaper three times weekly which was then circulated among Sweden's police departments as well as the police boards in Kristiana, Helsinki, Copenhagen and Berlin. The newspaper was not available to the public.²⁷ The first section gave information about ongoing criminal cases and the second gave lists of the warnings issued and people detained for vagrancy. The availability of

²⁵ von Sydow, "Stockholms Polis," 298.

²⁶ BiSOS, Series H. 1896-1900.

²⁷ von Sydow, "Stockholms Polis," 281-282.

this information with relative ease and regularity facilitated Stockholm's crack down on vagrants following the passage of the Vagrancy Act of 1885.

The increase in Stockholm's police force coincided with the new Vagrancy Act and the enforcement of the Act skyrocketed immediately after its passage. After the Act came into effect in October 1885, Stockholm's police issued a total of 69 protocols consisting of warnings and detainments for vagrancy in that year alone (see Table 3.2). Enforcement of the Act exploded in the following year when a total of 1,444 protocols were issued.²⁸ There were an average of 23 protocols issued per month for the last three months of 1885 and the average number issued for the first three months of 1886 rose to 65 (see Table 3.3). The small number of detainments in the first three months of 1886 suggests that either very few people suspected of vagrancy had previously been warned for it, or the police deliberately neglected to remand people into custody and sentence them to hard labour.

Table 3.2: *Protocols Issued in October-December 1885*

	Warned	Detained
October	19	2
November	21	10
December	13	4
Total	52	16
		68

²⁸ Marie Aronsson, "Lagar mot lösdriveri: en vägledning till hur man finner handlingar från svensk lagstiftning på Riksarkivet" ("Laws Against Vagrancy: A Guide to How to Find Documents from Swedish Legislation in the National Archives"), (Master's Thesis, Uppsala University, 2011), 7.

Table 3.3: *Protocols Issued in January-March 1886*

	Warned	Detained
January	56	0
February	77	2
March	57	2
Total	190	4
		194

A direct comparison between the months is not possible given the sample and several variables probably influenced the number of warnings or detainments including the availability of seasonal work and poor relief. Dock work was not available for two of the three months in the 1886 sample so there would have been a large population of unemployed men waiting for the ice to melt on the Baltic and Lake Mälär. They might have been able to survive in hotels until the spring and saved themselves from a vagrancy warning but if they ran out of money they had nowhere to go. In addition to environmental and economic factors, the second section of the Vagrancy Act expanded the definition of vagrancy to include people who violated or compromised social welfare.

“Drunks” as Vagrants and Drinking as a “Weapon of the Weak”

The fear of the widespread over consumption of alcohol appeared early in Sweden, although alcoholism as a disease was not fully understood until the mid-nineteenth century. Prior to empirical medical investigation, social commentators argued that spirituous liquors had moral and social ramifications and damaging effects on the

body. Drunkenness was seen by the middle class as dangerous to a moral and respectable society.²⁹ This sentiment began to change in the nineteenth-century when the Swedish physician Magnus Huss introduced the concept of *alcoholismus chronicus* with his book of the same name in 1851.³⁰ Huss treated heavy alcohol consumption as a medical condition based on the patients “manner of living” or their lifestyle and how frequently they imbibed alcohol. He concluded from his study of 139 cases that the prolonged misuse of alcohol resulted in six different subcategories of independent chronic poisoning disease (*alcoholismus chronicus*).³¹ The change in the perception towards alcohol consumption and the medicalisation of it prompted the government to try to regulate the availability of alcohol.

Stockholm’s municipal authority and city council tried numerous tactics to reduce the quantity of alcohol consumed by its population. Efforts did not aim to eliminate drinking entirely but instead to reduce the amount consumed during the working day and the ability of workers to continue drinking by visiting more taverns within a close proximity once a drunk person was turned out. In 1877 the Stockholm municipality adopted the “Göteborg system” (*Göteborgssytemet*) which established the Liquor Retailing Corporation. This corporation handled the sale of *brännvin* and the profits from

²⁹ Arto Ruuska, “Consequences and Behaviour Problematised: The Establishment of Alcohol Misuse as an Object of Empirical Inquiry in Late 18th- and Early 19th-Century European Medicine” *Nordic Studies on Alcohol and Drugs* 30 (2013): 20.

³⁰ Magnus Huss, *Alcoholismus chronicus eller chronisk alkoholssjukdom* (Alcoholismus chronicus or Chronic Alcohol Sicknes) (Stockholm: Beckman, 1851).

³¹ Ruuska, “Consequences and Behaviour Problematised,” 22.

sales went directly back to the municipality.³² This change reduced the number of taverns allowed to sell liquor but it did not stop consumption.

The municipality attempted to decentralise taverns by restricting who could sell alcohol. The introduction of another measure, the Liquor Retailing Corporation (*Stockholmsstads utkänningsbolag*) removed the sale of the hard liquor aquavit from common taverns and instead began selling it exclusively at retail shops.³³ By October 1877, 106 taverns in Stockholm had closed. These taverns had lost their ability to sell *brännvin* but corporate stores did not and workers continued to queue up by the dozens on Saturday night to stock up for the entire week.³⁴ The municipality passed successive restrictions in 1882 and 1885 which further limited the time, place, and manner of alcohol sales.³⁵ The presence of alcohol and its availability in the capital persisted despite these regulations.

Workers could purchase liquor and beer through clandestine methods when official retailers closed in accordance with the new restrictions. Residents of Nytorrgsgatan in the Katarina district sold cases of *brännvin* to workers in alleyways near the docks. They resold the *brännvin* on Sundays when it was not available from the official retailers at a rate of 10 cents per sip and a quarter of a bottle for 50 cents.³⁶ Workers obtained beer through even easier channels. Cafes remained unaffected by the Göteborg system and continued to sell beer throughout the day. “Beer sharks” (*ölhajar*)

³² Svante Nycander, “Ivan Bratt,” 19.

³³ Pred, *Lost Words and Lost Worlds*, 64.

³⁴ Heimer and Palmér, *Bilder från Södermalm*, 49.

³⁵ Pred, *Lost Words and Lost Worlds*, 131.

³⁶ Erixon, *Stockholms Hamnarbetare*, 143.

brought the drink even closer to worksites and sold it from large barrels on horse-drawn carts near and around worksites.³⁷ The municipal controls failed to reduce the amount of alcohol consumed, and the rate of treatment for chronic alcoholism in Stockholm actually rose in the 1880s (see Table 3.4).

Table 3.4: Number of People and Rate/100,000 Hospitalised in Stockholm for Chronic Alcoholism 1870-1885

Year	Number of People	Population (Mean)	Rate per 100,000 People
1870	59	135,836	43.4
1871-1875	683	144,848	94.3
1876-1880	1,323	165,287	160.1
1881	272	172,760	157.4
1882	293	181,035	161.8
1883	262	189,897	138.0
1884	369	199,799	184.7
1885	350	210,408	166.3

Source: Bidrag till Sveriges Officiella Statistik (BiSOS), Series H.

“Överståthållarämbetets Underdåniga Berättelse för Stockholms Stad, Åren 1881-1885,”¹⁹.

People displaying drunken behavior violated the second section of the Vagrancy Act which expanded the definition of a vagrant as anyone who endangered public safety and disrupted public order or morality.³⁸ Seventy seven of the interrogation protocols upon which this thesis is based were either issued to an intoxicated person or to someone

³⁷ Pred, *Lost Words and Lost Worlds*, 227.

³⁸ Dertil i Nåder Förordnade Komiterade, *Underdånigt Förslag till Förordning Angående Lösdrifveri*, Statens Offentliga Utredningar 1885:1, 1882.

in the company of drunk persons. More than half of these protocols involved warnings for vagrancy, but the remaining forty-five percent resulted in detainment. Some of the detainees had multiple charges of vagrancy spanning years and police detained them on several different occasions. The government's increased enforcement of the Act and the warning and detention for intoxicated behavior mirrored the sentiments of the small prohibition movement in Stockholm.

The concept of prohibition represents the beginning of the new morality imposed on the lower working class. The prohibition movement in Stockholm began in the 1880s and gained support from the lower-middle and upper-working-classes. In 1884, 5,000 dissenters and 4,000 temperance members (the two groups often overlapped, and 2,600 of the combined groups identified as Goodtemplars).³⁹ Temperance found a receptive audience in Stockholm's nascent unions and the Stockholm Workers' Association. It provided the organisational base to help unions gain public support. They also used their collective sobriety as a bargaining device to fight oppression and leverage superior benefits from management.⁴⁰ Unions played a minimal role prior to the turn of the century, however. Membership in the unions only included approximately 3,000 members and the Stockholm Workers' Association sat at 2,500 members.⁴¹ This population represents a small minority of Stockholm's working-class population.

³⁹ Madeline Hurd, *Public Spheres, Public Mores, and Democracy*, 202.

⁴⁰ Madeline Hurd, "Liberals, Socialists, and Sobriety," 51-52.

⁴¹ Madeline Hurd, *Public Spheres, Public Mores, and Democracy*, 202.

Members of the lower working class drank on the job to rebel against their supervisors without provoking a fight and losing their job. Men who worked in unskilled occupations such as stevedores on the docks faced the immediate oppression of foremen who demanded higher productivity and policed their activity. Verbal protest or smart remarks resulted in dismissal so dockworkers demonstrated their subtle resistance in the few unsupervised seconds they might find by pilfering loose goods from damaged shipping crates or stealing some refreshment by stabbing a cask and drinking from it.⁴² Other occupations, such as those in construction offered more ample opportunities to sneak away from the jobsite and consume a drink from a beer café. Depending on the location of the job, workers also purchased refreshment from a friendly beer shark or brännvin peddler if the foreman was not too strict or observant.⁴³ Shipping companies as well as companies from many other industries expressly banned alcohol consumption on the job for fear that it sapped productivity. So, drinking while working served as resistance to both the company and the foreman.

In addition to drinking on the job, members of the lower working class drank in taverns after work and on the weekends to cope with the imposed routinisation of urban and working life. In-migrants from the countryside experienced the regimentation of time before arriving in Stockholm with the promptness of the train and the static regularity of working regimented shifts.⁴⁴ Dockworkers worked twelve hours a day from six o'clock in the morning to six o'clock in the evening and they could lose their job if they failed to

⁴² Pred, *Lost Words and Lost Worlds*, 80.

⁴³ Ibid, 220.

⁴⁴ Ekström, *Den Utställda Världen*, 80.

arrive on time. People employed in workhouses experienced similar working hours, as the rationale behind a packed schedule suggested it balanced the body and mind of the economically wayward.⁴⁵ In-migrants found little respite from the rigid schedule of life even in their rented homes. Tenement agreements often stipulated that the front door of the apartment building must remain closed between ten o'clock in the evening to six o'clock in the morning.⁴⁶ This, coupled with the possibility of a ban on alcohol in a "dry" building, meant that consumption had to happen elsewhere, outside of the home in social settings. During times of unemployment or on Saturday nights when not working overtime, it was necessary to stay out till the early morning if they wanted to continue drinking.

In addition to drinking on and after the job, the lower-working-class rebelled against municipal law and drank during periods of unemployment with friends who found themselves in a similar situation. This behavior served the purpose of self-identification and placed them in the social hierarchy of their craft.⁴⁷ Due to the social segregation of many drinking establishments in areas of high commercial traffic such as *Gamla Stan*, the heteronormative behavior of drinking with peers encompassed the sharing of similar experiences despite the possible occupational difference due to job volatility.⁴⁸

Members of the lower-working class fell victim to numerous forms of oppression. Municipal organisations such as the Property Owners' Association disenfranchised the

⁴⁵ Pred, *Lost Words and Lost Worlds*, 88.

⁴⁶ Forsell, *Property, Tenancy and Urban Growth*, 206.

⁴⁷ Magnusson, "Markets in Context," 306.

⁴⁸ Pred, *Lost Words and Lost Worlds*, 117.

working-class by actively excluding them from their organisation and protecting their own interests. The City Council and the municipality of Stockholm increased the size of its police force to enable it to enforce the Vagrancy Act of 1885 more comprehensively. The upper classes and civic authorities believed intoxicated people and chronic drinkers threatened public welfare and consequently they fell under the definition of vagrant. The heightened awareness of alcoholism prompted a municipal response which contributed to clandestine drinking but did not stop the increasing rates of chronic alcoholism. Alcohol was omnipresent on jobsites and easily accessible to the working-class, that used it to retaliate against oppression from their employers, maintain an occupational identity, and socialise with their friends while flouting municipal authority.

Chapter Four

Consumption, Camaraderie, and Crime:

Case Studies of Working-Class Alcohol Consumption in Late Nineteenth Century

Stockholm

The city waited. Waited for the fifteen-year-old boy who had not yet seen any of its splendor, and for all the others who were coming. It lived in their dreams and offered every opportunity. But a young boy neither could see nor wanted to see that most were dark ones, that the opportunities for joy and life were far fewer than those for sorrow and death. The boy dreamed. The city waited.¹

This chapter presents case studies of dockworkers and other members of the working-class as captured by the Interrogation Protocols. Stockholm's dockworkers "free footed" around the city in search of work as ships docked and required unloading. This constant presence on the streets brought them into frequent contact with the police, but they were not warned or detained unless they created a public disturbance and violated the second section of the Vagrancy Act of 1885. Dockworkers mingled with other members of the working-class in taverns when they did not face the same strictures as on the streets. The tavern acted as a place where workers formed relationships and connections. Workers developed these friendships within their own temporary occupation and used alcohol to reinforce this occupational identity. Some workers known as "confidence men" preyed on their peers by using alcohol to ingratiate themselves with people outside of their occupations and stole as a way to make ends meet.

¹ Fogelström, *Stockholm: The City of My Dreams*, 12.

The Dockworkers

Many dockworkers violated the Vagrancy Act of 1885 by disturbing the peace with their drunken behavior, which included begging, the destruction of property, and violence. Other forms of disruptive behavior ranged from smashing glasses in cafes to the threatening of wives and children. Workers that continuously moved in and out of Stockholm struggled to maintain a residence in the city and found themselves charged with violating the Vagrancy Act and many obtained long criminal records as the availability of work on the docks fluctuated and they struggled to afford accommodations.

Dockworkers clashed with the Vagrancy Act by migrating back and forth between the capital and rural areas looking for work. The police arrested Olaf August Laurentius Ahlstedt for vagrancy several times as he migrated between Stockholm and his hometown and he had a long police record as a result. Ahlstedt arrived in Stockholm at the age of eighteen after leaving his home parish of Visby on the island of Gotland. He identified himself in police documents as a labourer, though he “free footed” around Stockholm seeking work as a dockworker and moved between the capital and his hometown where he worked with his parents in their butchery business.² His frequent travels left him without a permanent residence in Gotland, and Ahlstedt was sentenced to hard labour seven times for vagrancy there.

² Interrogation Protocol of Olaf August Laurentius Ahlstedt by Policeman Jonas Albin Jansson, 6 December 1885, SE/SSA/0023/02/FIb, Box 1, Folder 1, Item 67, Förhørsprotokoll angående häktad lösdrivare, Stockholms Stadsarkiv (Interrogation Minutes Regarding Detained Vagrants, Stockholm’s City Archive), Stockholm, Sweden.

While in Stockholm, Ahlstedt established a reputation for drunken behavior with the police force in the city's first police district covering *Gamla Stan*. In 1885 he was arrested Ahlstedt twice for public intoxication and each time he was fined 10 crowns, although he chose to serve time in jail because he could not afford the charges.³ In December of that same year, an officer witnessed him drunkenly walking up and down the length of Österlånggatan on *Gamla Stan*. Ahlstedt was probably just looking for work and the policeman chose not to intervene since arresting him would mean disrupting the traffic on one of the city's busiest streets. To the north, Österlånggatan terminated at the massive Royal Palace.⁴ To the south, Österlånggatan opened to Järntorget (Iron Square) and the masts of ships docked at *Skeppsbron* obscured the view of the north shore of the island of Södermalm.

People from all occupations and professions shared this narrow street but its proximity to the docks and trading houses located on the southeast wharves of *Gamla Stan* ensured a high saturation of dockworkers as well as the merchants responsible for bringing the ships to Stockholm in the first place. Women employed as housemaids shared the space with prostitutes lingering in the alleyways. The unemployed mingled with the employed, and everyone avoided the constant stream of horse and ox-drawn carts.⁵ Ahlstedt was only one of many people footing about *Gamla Stan*, and if he was looking for work, he was not alone.

³ SE/SSA/0023/02/F1b, Box 1, Folder 1, Item 67

⁴ *Österlånggatan norrut från Järntorget. T.h. vakt utanför Gamla Riksbanken (Österlånggatan North From Järntorget. T.H. Guard Outside Gamla Riksbanken)*, 1901, Stadsmuseet, Stockholm.
<http://digitalastadsmuseet.stockholm.se/fotoweb/archives/5000-Alla-fotografier/Skiss/SSMF034078S.JPG.info>

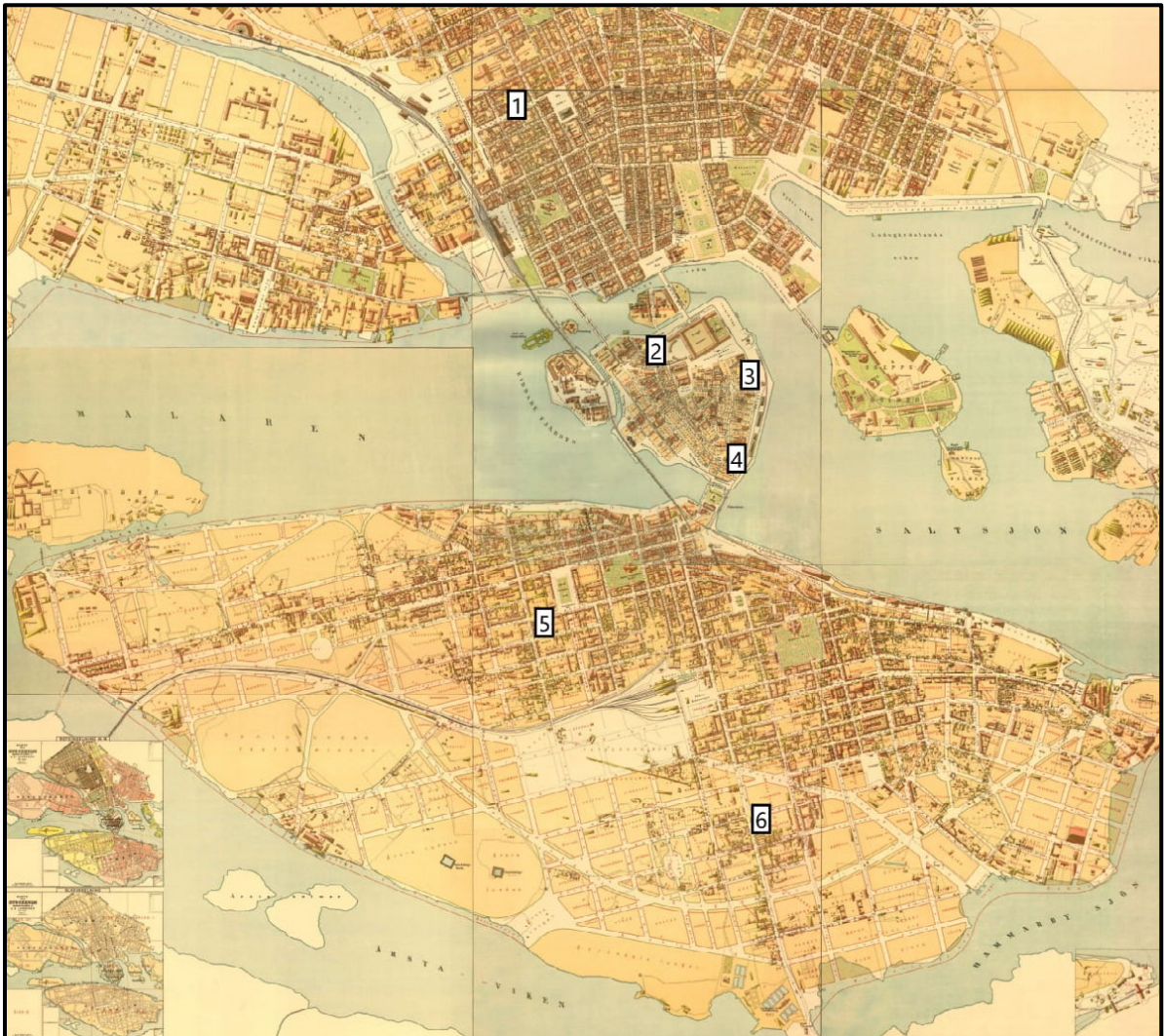
⁵ Pred, *Lost Words and Lost Worlds*, 233.

The police later took Ahlstedt into custody at a wine shop located at 38 Järntorget following a disagreement between him and a stonecutter named Ernst Carl Otto Jonsson after Ahlstedt was refused service (see Map 3.1).⁶ In the arrest report, the policeman recognised Ahlstedt as a character who frequented the area. During the interrogation after his arrest, Ahlstedt admitted to being intoxicated during the altercation and also admitted that he had been unable to find stable employment since June of the previous year.⁷ The interrogating officer sentenced him to six months' hard labour for his inability to support himself. His is an example of police not targeting drunk dockworkers until they turned violent or disturbed public welfare.

⁶ SE/SSA/0023/02/F1b, Box 1, Folder 1, Item 67.

⁷ SE/SSA/0023/02/F1b, Box 1, Folder 1, Item 67.

Map 4.1: Location of Arrests of Dockworkers, 1885-1893



1: Hjalmar Bäckman arrested at 60 Apelberggatan, 2: Hjalmar Bäckman arrested at 2 and 4 Myntgatan, 3: Robert Anton Lundqvist arrested at 6 Skepper Karls Gränd, 4: Olaf August Laurentius Ahlstedt arrested at 38 Järntorget, 5: Hjalmar Bäckman arrested at 37 St. Paulsgatan, 6: Adolf Fredrik Robert Rehnlund arrested at 59 Blekingegatan

Hjalmar Bäckman was a dockworker with a long criminal history of minor offences that threatened the public welfare including begging and the destruction of property. As did Ahlstedt, Bäckman struggled to find permanent work for decades and

the police arrested him several times for vagrancy. He first arrived in Stockholm in 1884 at the age of sixteen after living with his parents in Motala southwest of Stockholm. After working for several builders and spending a brief stint working in a factory, Bäckman began to “free foot” about the city seeking work on the city’s harbors and later joined the Royal Pontoon Battalion as a pontonier.⁸ The police first warned Bäckman for vagrancy in December of 1887 at the age of nineteen after they caught him begging. They then detained him for the first time on Wednesday, August 22 1888. Bäckman was arrested while in the company of the unmarried Angelique Sofia Glader at Carl Axel Andersjon’s pawnshop in house number 37 on St. Paulsgatan (see Map 4.1).⁹ He was extremely drunk and was attempting to pawn a dress shirt reported stolen by the housewife Amelie Mathilda Gollberg to help secure a loan for Glader. The police ordered Bäckman to return the stolen property and sentenced him to six months of hard labour. Police detained Bäckman again in December 1889 for begging outside house number 60 on Appelbergsgatan. He was again in the company of Glader but the report does not indicate whether they were in a relationship.¹⁰

After a few years Bäckman’s bad luck began again and he reappeared in the police records in 1893. On Monday, January 16, Bäckman stumbled into the third atrium of the police station located within houses 2 and 4 on Myntgatan at 1:30 p.m. in an extremely drunken state. He told police officers he was responding to a request for

⁸ Interrogation Protocol for the Detainment of Hjalmar Bäckman by Detective Per Johan Pettersjon, 22 August 1888, SE/SSA/0023/02/FIc, Box 1, Folder 43, Item 573, Förhørsprotokoll angående varnade och häktade lösdrevare, Stockholms Stadsarkiv (Interrogation Minutes Regarding Warned and Detained Vagrants, Stockholm’s City Archive), Stockholm, Sweden.

⁹ SE/SSA/0023/02/FIc, Box 1, Folder 43, Item 573.

¹⁰ SE/SSA/0023/02/FIc, Box 1, Folder 43, Item 762.

interrogation regarding a homicide but became extremely irate and belligerent when police attempted to remand him into custody. In the struggle, Bäckman fell through a plate-glass door and shattered it.¹¹ In May of that year, he lost his position with the Royal Pontoon Battalion and served time for desertion. The police detained him in December and twelve more times over the next two decades.¹²

Bäckman's experience demonstrates the precarious nature of employment on the docks and some of the ways dockworkers attempted to cope with this uncertainty. Bäckman faced hardship three years after his arrival in the capital and resorted to begging to supplement his income after losing his job at the factory. His first warning for vagrancy in December 1887 coincides with the slowing of maritime traffic in Stockholm during the winter months before the freezing of the Baltic. A dockworker could expect an average of three crowns per day, but due to the reduction in traffic, the amount of work available to all dockworkers fell and only a few days of work was available. Bäckman's incarceration in August of 1888 coincided with the season with the highest amount of available dock work.¹³ His income at the time was sufficient enough to purchase liquor but not enough to help Angelique Sofia Glader so he resorted to pawning stolen goods as a result. The lack of work in the winter months continued to prove problematic given his drunken episode in January of 1893. Dock work was completely unavailable for that month, but he could have taken other work in or around the city and he may have been using drinking as a coping mechanism to deal with this uncertainty. His trouble with the

¹¹ SE/SSA/0023/02/FIc, Box 1, Folder 43, Item 573.

¹² SE/SSA/0023/02/FIc, Box 1, Folder 43, Item 43.

¹³ Tengdahl, *Material till Bedömande af Hamnarbetarnes*, 20.

police continued, and in the years between his first warning for vagrancy in 1887 and his final warning in 1921, Bäckman spent a total of nine years and two months sentenced to hard labour as each conviction carried a heavier punishment.¹⁴ Bäckman's frequent incarceration for vagrancy was not unique and other dockworkers endured similar circumstances as they searched for work.

Robert Anton Lundqvist found himself with a substantial police record of warnings and detentions for vagrancy after moving to the capital. He lived with his parents on the west coast of Sweden until he turned 15 years old and he worked his way across the country on the state's railway in 1878. When he arrived in the capital he joined the King's army as a soldier.¹⁵ Lundqvist left the army in March 1884 and took up work on the docks. Work must have been difficult to find after he left the army and his vagrancy record began when the police warned him on April 10, 1888.¹⁶ On Friday, January 13, 1893, the police arrived at a bakery in house number six on Skeppar Karls Gränd just off Österlånggatan in response to Lundqvist's violent drunken behavior. He managed to smash a water pitcher and a coffee pot before the police had a chance to detain him for disturbing the peace and violating the Vagrancy Act.

Lundqvist did not face serious repercussions for the infraction since his previous offence occurred almost five years earlier, but the severity of punishment increased as the police charged him with vagrancy more frequently as he came to their attention. He was arrested and detained in October 1893.¹⁷ His record continuously grew throughout the

¹⁴ SE/SSA/0023/02/FIc, Box 1, Folder 43, Item 43.

¹⁵ SE/SSA/0023/02/FIc, Box 1, Folder 36, Item 36.

¹⁶ SE/SSA/0023/02/FIc, Box 1, Folder 36, Item 36.

¹⁷ SE/SSA/0023/02/FIc, Box 1, Folder 36, Item 36.

decade as he scrambled to find work in different occupations. The protocols identify Lundqvist as a former iron worker in 1895, as a former soldier in 1897, 1898, and 1899, and finally as a labourer in 1903 and 1905.¹⁸ His violent drunken outburst in 1893 represented an isolated incident as none of the later records mention alcohol consumption. This does not suggest that Lundqvist only drank on that single occasion but it was the only time he drank and the police found him without means.

Another dockworker that makes a single appearance in the records threatened his wife and children and this prompted a police response. Adolf Fredrik Robert Rehnlund trained under several glass masters while growing up in Stockholm and continued to work with them into adulthood at least during the winters. He otherwise worked on the docks. He lived at home with his parents until 1890 but police warned him for vagrancy in September of that same year.¹⁹ In April 1891, the police detained Rehnlund in response to a complaint from his wife, Amanda Rehnlund, who claimed that he did not contribute to the household and did not support her or their two young children.²⁰ Rehnlund served six months hard labour as a result of the complaint and Amanda moved the family to the only housing she could afford on the underdeveloped outskirts of the Katarina district.

On Saturday, January 14, 1893, a drunk Adolf appeared at his and Amanda's home at 59 Blekingegatan at approximately eleven o'clock in the evening. Amanda did not open the door to him, but Adolf forced his way in and was intent on staying the night. He behaved "so irregularly" that Amanda feared for herself and the safety of her children

¹⁸ SE/SSA/0023/02/FIc, Box 1, Folder 36, Item 36.

¹⁹ SE/SSA/0023/02/FIc, Box 1, Folder 38, Item 544.

²⁰ SE/SSA/0023/02/FIc, Box 1, Folder 38, Item 221.

and fled to the eighth police district station on Tjärhovsgatan approximately nine hundred meters away. When two officers arrived at the house to arrest him, Adolf flew into a rage, attacked one of officers, and screamed that he “wanted to strike the wife.”²¹ This was Rehnlund’s only incidence of drunken violence on record. He was given another warning for vagrancy but received no formal punishment. Rehnlund’s violence towards his wife was common enough that a term existed to describe this exact situation. The working-class used the term *lördagsstryck* to describe Saturday-night wife beating and understood this behavior as the consequence of heavy drinking.²² Many married workers chose to consume alcohol away from their families and the tavern became a necessary space for sociability outside of the domestic sphere.

The Tavern

Taverns served as recreational space for Stockholm’s working-class population and those taverns located in high-traffic areas such as Österlånggatan brought people from different occupations together but reinforced class lines by physically separating working and middle-class patrons. In this space, the shared experience of establishing camaraderie over drink helped reinforce an occupational identity. Tavern patrons acted as a second family to working-class men as they established connections. Some men took advantage of this space and preyed on their drunken peers by coercing them to purchase more drinks or by stealing from them.

²¹ SE/SSA/0023/02/FIc, Box 1, Folder 38, Item 38.

²² Pred, *Lost Words and Lost Worlds*, 66.

Figure 4.1: The Corporate Pub at 17 Österlånggatan on the Corner of Brunnsgård.

Closed in 1901 when the House was Rebuilt.



Source: Stockholms Stadsmuseet (Stockholm's City Museum)

Österlånggatan's location on *Gamla Stan* attracted a diverse population from different classes (see Map 4.2). As patrons entered the tavern, the shared space of the street fell away and different classes gravitated towards different rooms within the same building. Many publicans separated the space based on their targeted clientele and the services they could provide them. A novella published in 1894 described a tavern on Österlånggatan with two rooms. The first contained the sparsely furnished public bar similar to the one pictured in Figure 4.1. This bar served *brännvin* and weaker alcoholic

drinks to dockworkers and other members of the working-class.²³ The second room located above the public bar housed “the better class” (*bättre klassen*) with a private dining room for more expensive and elaborate meals.²⁴ People from different classes navigated between the different spaces depending on how much money and time they could spend in the bar.

Map 4.2: Central Stockholm with Österlånggatan Emphasized



²³ *En natt vid Österlånggatan: Natliga studier af en Detektiv (A Night on Österlånggatan: Nightly Studies by a Detective)*(1894), 1.

²⁴ *En natt vid Österlånggatan* (1894), 9.

The arrangement of tables within the tavern facilitated socialisation and working-class patrons enjoyed an open dialogue with people in their own and other occupations. As Thomas Brennan argues, the structure of space in taverns, the arrangement of rooms, and the positioning of tables shaped the comportment of customers.²⁵ In Figure 4.1, the public bar has patrons distributed around the edges of the room in small clusters, in the center of a cleared floor, and congregated against the bar awaiting service. The 1894 novella provides a similar description of the fictional bar on Österlånggatan with people filling up the tables and standing at the bar as well as at least one man moving from table to table. This man, referred to as a “red haired Hercules,” converses with men from several different tables, all of them dockworkers.²⁶ He jokes with his friends sitting at different tables before he moves outside his circle of dockworker buddies by engaging in verbal conflict with a young man who managed to offend the dockworkers by shouting at the bar matron. The young man eases the tension by buying shots of brännvin for everyone.²⁷ The dockworkers united against the young man because of his behavior, then accepted him into their group after he purchased them drinks.

The tavern served as an intersection between work and the home and peers acted as a second family to workers. Young men could relax after work before returning to their bed in a relief house or workhouse, and older men could drink in good company before returning home to their wives and children.²⁸ The informal setting and the presence of alcohol fostered familiarity between members of the working-class. The

²⁵ Brennan, *Public Drinking and Popular Culture*, 71.

²⁶ *En natt vid Österlånggatan* 3.

²⁷ *En natt vid Österlånggatan*, 5.

²⁸ Pred, *Lost Words and Lost Worlds*, 64.

tavern provided a “home away from home” to workers by offering a space for community events such as wedding parties and wakes. It also provided a homosocial environment where men of different occupations could come and go as they pleased without social stigma.²⁹ Women did not enjoy this same privilege and faced moral scrutiny upon entering the tavern.

The tavern represented a gendered space which morality reinforced by stigmatizing unaccompanied women as prostitutes. Women appeared within the space, but they faced restrictions tied to their marital status. Widows frequently ran public houses as a means of extra income in Stockholm, though these taverns could double as brothels and attracted the attention of police.³⁰ The wives and daughters of tavern owners likely helped serve customers, though they themselves did not drink on the job. This agrees with the appearance of the bar matron who serves the dockworkers in the novella. The woman is described as an older, temperamental woman who takes offense when the young dockworker shouts at her. The other patrons initially protect her, then dismiss her by saying “so calm down with the young child, old rowdy lady!” after he buys them drinks.³¹ She is afforded a certain amount of respect before male comradery overpowers the interaction. The bar matron is not the only woman who makes an appearance in the novella.

A young woman appears among the “better class” patrons, though she is accompanied by a group of young men. The young woman’s name is Rosalie and she is

²⁹ Patricia Fumerton, “Not Home: Alehouses, Ballads, and the Vagrant Husband in Early Modern England” *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies* 32 (3) (Fall 2002): 495.

³⁰ Söderberg, Jonsson and Persson, *A Stagnating Metropolis*, 54.

³¹ *En natt vid Österlånggatan*, 6.

accompanied by a man named Frans. Frans refers to Rosalie as his “goddess in the holiest shrine of bottles,” and orders her to turn water into wine, to which she agrees.³² Rosalie is therefore allowed to enter the tavern but she is escorted by Frans. She also serves the men by pouring their drinks. The two women appear in the space of the tavern but do not consume alcohol and serve the male clientele. The experience of the women differed sharply from those of the men who enjoyed a mostly homosocial, male dominated environment. Different structures influenced the experience of women such as the concept of respectability which allowed an older woman to tend the bar but dictated a male escort for the young woman. Both men and women expressed familiarity within the tavern by using nicknames although the nickname used to describe the bar matron was derogatory.

Playful nicknames punctuated the conversations within the tavern and helped patrons identify the occupations of their acquaintances. Some generic names such as “old man” (*gubbe*) and “big pig” (*stora svin*) expressed familiarity with new associates.³³ Other nicknames emerged as identifiers of both occupation and place of work. For example, *Söderströmare* referred to dockworkers who worked for Stockholm’s largest stevedoring company, A. F. Söderström.³⁴ Nicknames played an integral part in the parlance of the working-class. They helped workers identify each other on job sites when they did not know each other’s baptismal names. Those names were reserved for very

³² Ibid, 12.

³³ Ibid, 1.

³⁴ Pred, *Lost Words and Lost Worlds*, 145.

familiar people and settings.³⁵ Nicknames in the tavern helped workers become acquainted with each other and created a more relaxed environment.

The lack of a police presence in the tavern removed the threat of arrests for vagrancy and excessive drinking that threatened public order but also provided an opportunity for the proliferation of fighting and petty crimes. The closed setting of the tavern also reduced the strictures placed on working-class behavior the police imposed in the streets. This resulted in the increased likelihood of violence to escalate from small altercations such as the misunderstanding between the dockworkers and the young man in the fictional pub on Österlånggatan, and publicans frequently threatened to call the police for belligerent patrons or for drunken brawls.³⁶

Five Men and Thirty-Five Crowns

The association between drinking and camaraderie enabled some members of the working-class to take advantage of their peers by robbing them after leaving the tavern. In the 1890s, police officers added a standard introduction to detainment protocols which stated that men of ill-repute had begun to congregate in Hötorget and other city streets in large numbers (See Map 4.3). These men preyed on country folk and inebriated people by taking advantage of their unfamiliarity with the city or their impaired judgement. The police referred to these predators as “confidence men” (*bondfångare*).³⁷ These confidence

³⁵ Ibid, 173.

³⁶ *En natt vid Österlånggatan*, 5-7.

³⁷ Interrogation Protocol for the Detainment of Jonas Ludvig Jonsson by Detective Carl Oskar Andersson, 12 January 1893, SE/SSA/0023/02/FIc, Box 1, Folder 33, Item 33, Förhörprotokoll angående varnade och häktade lösdrevare, Stockholms Stadsarkiv (Interrogation Minutes Regarding Warned and Detained Vagrants, Stockholm’s City Archive), Stockholm, Sweden.

men gained the trust of men by drinking with them and establishing a false sense of camaraderie before either stealing from them or from their home.

Map 4.3: Map of Stockholm with Locations in Detective Carl Oskar Andersson's Investigation



1: Jonas Ludvig Jonsson's Residence, 2: Ernst Josef Adolf Svensson's Residence, 3: Johan Petrus Lonnqvist's Residence, 4: Hötorget, where confidence men gathered, 5: Johan Alfred Andersson's Residence, 6: Pub where Andersson, Jonsson, Lonnqvist and Gustafsson drank together, 7: Ernst Josef Adolf Svensson walks with Andersson, 8: Wilhelm Carlsson's House (Svensson's Alibi)

Such was the case on the night of January 11, 1893 when four men stole thirty-five crowns from a fellow worker outside of their band of cattle-herders. The victim of the attack, an iron worker named Johan Alfred Andersson, filed a complaint with police which prompted an investigation and resulted in the detention of two men and warnings to two others. The day after the attack, Detective Carl Oskar Andersson arrested labourer Jonas Ludvig Jonsson, former sheet metal worker Johan Conrad Gustafsson, and former artillerist Johan Petrus Lonnqvist for robbing Andersson. Four days later, he also arrested former paver Ernst Josef Adolf Svensson for his possible connection with the crime but he was later released without charges. While the protocols suggest a wide variety of occupations, all men listed their last means of income as cattle herding.³⁸ This one shared occupation probably brought these four men who travelled along four different paths together and served as the basis for their association.

Different backgrounds created different paths for these men although they all ended up in the same occupation to make ends meet. Their paths that led them to Stockholm also differed but then intersected in the same space and time surrounding the robbery of Johan Alfred Andersson on the night of January 11, 1893. Each man arrived in the capital by different means and pursued different occupations prior to cattle herding. Jonsson, for example, was born in Estuna in Stockholm county in 1870 and worked as a butcher's assistant before taking a job in Hornberg's factory and finally ending up at Stockholm's Northern Train Station as a cattle herder.³⁹ Gustafsson was born in

³⁸ SE/SSA/0023/02/FIc, Box 1, Folder 33, Item 33; SE/SSA/0023/02/FIc, Box 1, Folder 32, Item 32; SE/SSA/0023/02/FIc, Box 1, Folder 34, Item 34; SE/SSA/0023/02/FIc, Box 1, Folder 42, Item 42.

³⁹ SE/SSA/0023/02/FIc, Box 1, Folder 33, Item 33.

Fagerhult in Kalmar county south of Stockholm in 1860. He trained as a sheet metal worker before turning to cattle herding after arriving in the city. He resumed this same work after serving time doing forced labour in 1885.⁴⁰ Lonnqvist was born in Lungsund in Värmland in western Sweden in 1867. He grew up in an orphanage and left at the age of fifteen when a local farmer employed him. He continued to work his way across Sweden on different farms until he arrived in Stockholm in 1888. He joined the army as an artillerist and served until March 9, 1890. He then worked as a butcher until the fall of 1892 when he found himself without work and took temporary employment herding cattle.⁴¹ Svensson was born in the capital city in 1863 and lived with his parents until he turned fifteen and began working in two bakeries before training as a paver in the construction industry. He engaged in other occupations such as ice deliveries and cattle herding when the building season wound down in the winter.⁴²

The four men interacted with Andersson in both the tavern and the street as they footed about the city. On the evening of the night in question, the already inebriated Andersson walked along Östra Järnvagsgatan (East Railroad Street). He was in the company of the four men later questioned about robbing him. Svensson separated from the group after a short while and headed south in the opposite direction of his home in the district of Johannes. The rest of the troupe continued to the tavern located at 46 Gamla Kungsholmsgatan. Andersson may have been headed home as his house was located at the far end of the still-developing Fleminggatan on the island of Kungsholmen and the

⁴⁰ SE/SSA/0023/02/FIc, Box 1, Folder 32, Item 32.

⁴¹ SE/SSA/0023/02/FIc, Box 1, Folder 34, Item 34.

⁴² SE/SSA/0023/02/FIc, Box 1, Folder 42, Item 42.

bridge to the island was only a few blocks away. Instead he ended up in the tavern still in the company of Gustafsson, Lonnqvist and Jonsson. According to the barmaids Elin Augusta Johansson and Hilma Theresa Thulin, Gustafsson, Lonnqvist, and Jonsson were attempting to “make themselves intimate” with the very drunk Andersson.⁴³ He became so drunk that Lonnqvist and Jonsson carried him out to the street, with Gustafsson hurrying after them. Andersson later reappeared in the tavern and told the barmaids he had been robbed by the men that had brought him there.⁴⁴

Andersson’s statement to the two bar maids and the police suggests he believed he was encouraged to enter the tavern by Gustafsson, Lonnqvist and Jonsson, which would indicate these were confidence men the police were monitoring.⁴⁵ If they did coerce him, they used the tavern as a place of manipulation to lure Andersson into a false sense of security so they could rob him. Their efforts to ingratiate themselves with Andersson would suggest they were confidence men with a premeditated plot to rob the already inebriated man from the moment they met on Östra Järnvagsgatan. But it is also possible that the theft was a spontaneous act with no motivation other than opportunity and, as Andersson was already inebriated before they even entered the tavern, he may not have required coercion to continue drinking. Either way, the stolen wallet contained thirty-five crowns which was more than a month’s salary for a dockworker on a slow month.⁴⁶ This represented a substantial sum for a member of the working-class and a major loss for Andersson.

⁴³ SE/SSA/0023/02/FIc, Box 1, Folder 32, Item 32.

⁴⁴ SE/SSA/0023/02/FIc, Box 1, Folder 32, Item 32.

⁴⁵ SE/SSA/0023/02/FIc, Box 1, Folder 32, Item 32.

⁴⁶ Tengdahl, *Material till Bedömande af Hamnarbetarnes*, 20.

The resulting investigation provides insight into the lives of everyone involved. Andersson enjoyed drinking in the company of others within the space of the tavern. He felt comfortable drinking with people he did not know and this resulted in the loss of a month's wages. Three of the men questioned in connection with the crime had previously violated the Vagrancy Act and violated it again after the robbery. The exception was Lonnqvist who appeared for the first and last time in the Interrogation Protocol archive, though he lived closest to the crime scene.⁴⁷ All the others subsequently violated the Act although Gustafsson violated it only once more in 1897 before disappearing from the records. Svensson appeared many times after the robbery but he may have had nothing to do with this particular incident. In his interrogation he testified that he could not possibly have robbed Andersson since he was in the company of the labourer Wilhelm Carlsson at his home in house 186 A Hornsgatan, almost four kilometers away in Södermalm, during the time of the event.⁴⁸ He also lived to the extreme north of the event and headed south after last seeing Andersson.⁴⁹ Perhaps Jonsson had the best motive as he lived on the furthest edge of town in a very underdeveloped area.⁵⁰ Both Svensson and Jonsson appeared many times after the robbery and it represented the beginning of extensive criminal records for them both as they continued to turn to stealing and begging for money.⁵¹

⁴⁷ Rotemännens arkiv, SE/SSA/0032/03/05, Series DIa

⁴⁸ SE/SSA/0023/02/FIc, Box 1, Folder 42, Item 42.

⁴⁹ Rotemännens arkiv (SE/SSA/0032/03/06), DIa.

⁵⁰ Rotemännens arkiv (SE/SSA/0032/03/06), DIa.

⁵¹ SE/SSA/0023/02/FIc, Box 1, Folder 33, Item 33; SE/SSA/0023/02/FIc, Box 1, Folder 42, Item 42.

Stockholm's dockworkers appear in many cases involving the consumption of alcohol which brought them into violation of the Vagrancy Act of 1885. Drunken behavior did not merit an immediate response from police in busy areas such as Österlånggatan where dockworkers such as Olaf August Laurentius Ahlstedt footed about in search of work. Disruptive activities such as the destruction of property and physical violence towards family prompted action from the police. These actions, such as the violence displayed by Adolf Fredrik Robert Rehnlund towards his wife, represent the insidious side of alcohol consumption in working-class life.

The tavern emerged as a space to avoid the scrutiny of the police and enjoy the company of fellow workers. Publicans split the space to cater to their different clientele which contrasted with the shared space of the street, but the arrangement of public bars facilitated interactions and the formation of relationships among the working class. The lack of a police presence within the tavern allowed confidence men to prey on ignorant or inebriated patrons. People such as Johan Alfred Andersson mistook comradeship for manipulation and wound up as victims of robbery. His experience represents the complex interwoven paths of members of the working class during the late nineteenth century.

Conclusion

The working-class population of Sweden's capital city of Stockholm began to form an identity through the shared experience of drinking at the end of the nineteenth century. Workers migrated to the city from all over Sweden but faced similar challenges when they arrived. The population remained fluid and middle-class property owners and

the government responded by introducing lease agreements and enforcing the new Vagrancy Act of 1885. This reaction imposed middle-class morality on workers and they drank on the job and performed other small acts of resistance to defy it. They also drank as an act of sociability, and the tavern acted as a space where workers came together and established a working-class identity. The experience of these workers provides valuable insight into daily life within industrial society. Analyzing the different lived paths of Stockholm's working-class and where they overlap helps to understand the establishment of an identity by considering the motivations of workers and variables that influenced their decisions.

New arrivals to Stockholm came from all over Sweden and upon their arrival in the capital they needed to find permanent work, housing, and adjusting to their new urban environment. Farm workers migrated around the country in search of work following the harvest and increasingly sought work in the cities during winter months to supplement their family's income. They either settled in the capital after finding permanent work or continued to migrate back and forth between the city and the countryside with the seasons. Interrogation protocols of those who came to the attention of the police trace workers as they moved back and forth attempting to find work and make ends meet.

The city offered different types of housing to the working-class. Workers shared apartments or even rooms, rented space in hotels, secured lodgings in relief houses or workhouses, or risked violating the Vagrancy Act by sleeping outside under bridges or in other rough shelters. The transitory working-class then started to adjust to the urban environment and culture by partaking in free activities that transpired in the streets. They

navigated the clash between their rural and urban culture by maintaining parts of both such as going to see a folk music concert because it reminded them of village life.

People throughout the working-class faced similar oppressive structures such as the rising imposition of municipal authority in the form of the police, the morality of their middle-class landlords, or the authority of their foreman. The constant movement of the working-class prompted middle-class and municipal action which resulted in the formation of the Stockholm Property Owner's Association and the greater enforcement of the Vagrancy Act. Middle-class landlords sought to reduce the number of apartments left empty as tenants abandoned apartments at the end of the working season and introduced lease agreements which included imposing conditions that demonstrated their sense of their morality on their working-class tenants.

This morality discouraged alcohol consumption. The rising support of temperance resulted in municipal efforts to reduce the availability of alcohol and the Stockholm's municipal authority introduced the Göteborg system and other measures making it more difficult to procure *brännvin*. Workers responded by purchasing and consuming it clandestinely. They used subtle forms of resistance to rebel against foremen such as sneaking off to buy beer in cafes or from beer sharks. They also broke casks and drank what they could before they were noticed.

Dockworkers frequently violated the Vagrancy Act by engaging in drunken theft, begging, or violence. They frequently consumed alcohol in their daily paths including when they were between jobs or during times of unemployment as they walked the city looking for work. Dockworkers and other members of the working-class congregated in

taverns which served both the working and middle classes. The space within the tavern facilitated socialisation within and outside of working-class occupations. Some people took advantage of this space, as was the case with Johan Alfred Andersson and the confidence men who robbed him.

Examining late nineteenth century Stockholm through lived experiences provides valuable insight into the nuances of the concept of class and the vastly different levels of comfort available to workers. The standard of living differed dramatically between people in the upper-working class such as foremen in factories or on the docks, and people of the lower working-class such as dockworkers. The foreman could comfortably start a family while dockworkers struggled with the precariousness of their position in the city and took whatever employment or money-making opportunities available.

As occupations changed, drinking remained a common pastime that reinforced a working-class identity. The arrangement of the public bar facilitated socialisation outside of a worker's occupation and provided the opportunity to forge relationships beyond those with co-workers or their family. On the jobsite, workers imported the act of drinking throughout the day from their home counties and parishes and folded this tradition into their occupational identities by drinking on the job. Their new urban identity competed with their rural one and remained malleable as workers continued to move in and out and around the city in search of work. Attempting to understand the fluidity of identity requires tracing the movement of workers through Stockholm's urban environment across time.

This research demonstrates that the paths of people from different working-class occupations created as they consumed alcohol as a “weapon of the weak” to express agency within situations where they had little control, such as on the job or against the police. Their paths converge in locales such as taverns that served as the locus of socialisation in the shared project of identity construction. This project manifested itself differently among different groups within the working-class. Nonetheless, the shared experience of alcohol consumption within the tavern and overlapping cycles of structuration helped transform the tavern from a space where people drank to a place where people interacted, business transpired, people met and camaraderie formed and was sometimes betrayed.

Understanding the concept of the tavern as a place requires situating people in space and time and tracing the paths of workers in their everyday lives. The fluidity of Stockholm’s working-class makes this task difficult but the use of interrogation protocols helps pinpoint the approximate location and time of arrests. They also provide valuable information about the origins of workers and how they arrived in the city. These variables help address the question of identity. Understanding the paths and everyday lives of historical actors provides a holistic view of Stockholm’s new industrial society where class lines blurred and different identities emerged.

Bibliography

Archival Sources

Stockholm City Archives

Kriminalavdelningens femte rotel/ Lösdrivaravdelningen, Series FIb: Förhörsprotokoll angående häktade lösdrivare

Jansson, Jonas Albin. Interrogation Protocol of Olaf August Laurentius Ahlstedt. 6 December 1885, SE/SSA/0023/02/FIb, Box 1, Folder 1, Item 67, Förhörsprotokoll angående häktad lösdrivare, Stockholms Stadsarkiv (Interrogation Minutes Regarding Detained Vagrants, Stockholm's City Archive), Stockholm, Sweden.

Kriminalavdelningens femte rotel/ Lösdrivaravdelningen, Series FIc: Förhörsprotokoll angående varnade och häktade lösdrivare

Andersson, Carl Oskar. Interrogation Protocol for the Detainment of Johan Conrad Gustafsson. 12 January 1893, SE/SSA/0023/02/FIc, Box 1, Folder 32, Item 32, Förhörsprotokoll angående varnade och häktade lösdrivare, Stockholms Stadsarkiv (Interrogation Minutes Regarding Warned and Detained Vagrants, Stockholm's City Archive), Stockholm, Sweden.

Andersson, Carl Oskar. Interrogation Protocol for the Detainment of Jonas Ludvig Jonsson. 12 January 1893, SE/SSA/0023/02/FIc, Box 1, Folder 33, Item 33, Förhörsprotokoll angående varnade och häktade lösdrivare, Stockholms Stadsarkiv (Interrogation Minutes Regarding Warned and Detained Vagrants, Stockholm's City Archive), Stockholm, Sweden.

Andersson, Carl Oskar. Interrogation Protocol for the Warning of Ernst Josef Adolf Svensson. 16 January 1893, SE/SSA/0023/02/FIc, Box 1, Folder 42, Item 42, Förhörsprotokoll angående varnade och häktade lösdrivare, Stockholms Stadsarkiv (Interrogation Minutes Regarding Warned and Detained Vagrants, Stockholm's City Archive), Stockholm, Sweden.

Andersson, Carl Oskar. Interrogation Protocol for the Warning of Johan Petrus Lonnqvist. 12 January 1893, SE/SSA/0023/02/FIc, Box 1, Folder 34, Item 34, Förhörsprotokoll angående varnade och häktade lösdrivare, Stockholms Stadsarkiv (Interrogation Minutes Regarding Warned and Detained Vagrants, Stockholm's City Archive), Stockholm, Sweden.

Boije, Anders. Interrogation Protocol for the Warning of Robert Anton Lundqvist. 27 January 1905, SE/SSA/0023/02/FIc, Box 1, Folder 36, Item 36, Förhörsprotokoll

angående varnade och häktade lösdrivare, Stockholms Stadsarkiv (Interrogation Minutes Regarding Warned and Detained Vagrants, Stockholm's City Archive), Stockholm, Sweden.

Jacuson, Axel. Interrogation Protocol for the Warning of Jonas Ludvig Jonsson, 5 February 1909, SE/SSA/0023/02/FIc, Box 1, Folder 33, Item 33, Förhørsprotokoll angående varnade och häktade lösdrivare, Stockholms Stadsarkiv (Interrogation Minutes Regarding Warned and Detained Vagrants, Stockholm's City Archive), Stockholm, Sweden.

Jansson, Johan. Interrogation Protocol for the Detainment of Robert Anton Lundqvist. 28 October 1893, SE/SSA/0023/02/FIc, Box 1, Folder 36, Item 36, Förhørsprotokoll angående varnade och häktade lösdrivare, Stockholms Stadsarkiv (Interrogation Minutes Regarding Warned and Detained Vagrants, Stockholm's City Archive), Stockholm, Sweden.

Jansson, Johan. Interrogation Protocol for the Warning of Robert Anton Lundqvist. 13 January 1893, SE/SSA/0023/02/FIc, Box 1, Folder 36, Item 36, Förhørsprotokoll angående varnade och häktade lösdrivare, Stockholms Stadsarkiv (Interrogation Minutes Regarding Warned and Detained Vagrants, Stockholm's City Archive), Stockholm, Sweden.

Jonsjon, Johan. Interrogation Protocol for the Detainment of Adolf Fredrik Robert. 21 April 1891, SE/SSA/0023/02/FIc, Box 1, Folder 38, Item 221, Förhørsprotokoll angående varnade och häktade lösdrivare, Stockholms Stadsarkiv (Interrogation Minutes Regarding Warned and Detained Vagrants, Stockholm's City Archive), Stockholm, Sweden.

Jonsjon, Johan. Interrogation Protocol for the Warning of Adolf Fredrik Robert Rehnlund. 14 January 1893, SE/SSA/0023/02/FIc, Box 1, Folder 38, Item 38, Förhørsprotokoll angående varnade och häktade lösdrivare, Stockholms Stadsarkiv (Interrogation Minutes Regarding Warned and Detained Vagrants, Stockholm's City Archive), Stockholm, Sweden.

Nordenberg, Oscar. Interrogation Protocol for the Warning of Ernst Josef Adolf Svensson, 18 December 1905, SE/SSA/0023/02/FIc, Box 1, Folder 42, Item 42, Förhørsprotokoll angående varnade och häktade lösdrivare, Stockholms Stadsarkiv (Interrogation Minutes Regarding Warned and Detained Vagrants, Stockholm's City Archive), Stockholm, Sweden.

Pettersjon, Per Johan. Interrogation Protocol for the Detainment of Hjalmar Bäckman. 22 August 1888, SE/SSA/0023/02/FIc, Box 1, Folder 43, Item 573, Förhørsprotokoll angående varnade och häktade lösdrivare, Stockholms Stadsarkiv (Interrogation

Minutes Regarding Warned and Detained Vagrants, Stockholm's City Archive), Stockholm, Sweden.

Wahlberg, Hjalman. Interrogation Protocol for the Warning of Adolf Fredrik Robert Rehnlund. 16 September 1890, SE/SSA/0023/02/FIc, Box 1, Folder 38, Item 544, Förhørsprotokoll angående varnade och häktade lösdrivare, Stockholms Stadsarkiv (Interrogation Minutes Regarding Warned and Detained Vagrants, Stockholm's City Archive), Stockholm, Sweden.

Wahlström, Klas Robert. Interrogation Protocol for the Warning of Hjalmar Bäckman. 25 May 1921, SE/SSA/0023/02/FIc, Box 1, Folder 43, Item 43, Förhørsprotokoll angående varnade och häktade lösdrivare, Stockholms Stadsarkiv (Interrogation Minutes Regarding Warned and Detained Vagrants, Stockholm's City Archive), Stockholm, Sweden.

Överståthållarämbetet, Skatteverket

Rotemännens arkiv SE/SSA/0032/03/05, Series DIa

Rotemännens arkiv SE/SSA/0032/03/06, Series DIa

Rotemännens arkiv SE/SSA/0032/03/06, Series DIa

Official Legislation

Dertil i Nåder Förordnade Komiterade (The Graciously Appointed Committee). *Underdånigt Förslag till Förordning Angående Lösdrifveri (Humble Proposal for Regulation Regarding Vagrancy)*. Statens Offentliga Utredningar 1885:1. Göteborg: Göteborgs Handelstidnings Aktiebolags Tryckeri, 1882.

Official Statistics

Bidrag till Sveriges Officiella Statistik (BiSOS): Series F. "Utrikes Handel och Sjöfart Commerce Collegii Underdåniga Berättelse för år 1885." (Contribution to Sweden's Official Statistics Foreign Trade and Shipping Submitted for the Year 1885.) 1887.

Bidrag till Sveriges Officiella Statistik (BiSOS): Series H. "Överståthållarämbetets Underdåniga Berättelse för Stockholms Stad, Åren 1866-1870." ("His Majesty's Commander's Five Year Reports, Contribution to Sweden's Official Statics: The Supreme Courts Offices Submissive Report for Stockholm, Years 1866-1870.") 1870.

Bidrag till Sveriges Officiella Statistik (BiSOS): Series H. "Överståthållarämbetets Underdåniga Berättelse för Stockholms Stad, Åren 1895-1900." ("His Majesty's Commander's Five Year Reports, Contribution to Sweden's Official Statics: The Supreme Courts Offices Submissive Report for Stockholm, Years 1895-1900"). 1900.

Bidrag till Sveriges Officiella Statistik (BiSOS): Series V. "Bränvins Tillverkning och Försäljning Underdänig Berättelse för tillverkingsåren 1884-1885 och 1885-1886." ("Contribution to Sweden's Official Statistics: Bränvin's Production and Sales for the Manufacturing Years of 1884-1885 and 1885-1886.") 1887.

Secondary Literature

Adamson, Walter L. "Marxism and Historical Thought" in Lloyd Kramer and Sara Maza eds, *Companion to Western Historical Thought*. Malden: Blackwell Publishers, 2002. 205-225.

af Geijerstam, Gustaf. *Anteckningar om Arbetarförhållanden i Stockholm (Notes on Working Conditions in Stockholm)*. Stockholm: Samson and Wallin, 1894.

Aronsson, Marie. "Lagar mot lösdriveri: en vägledning till hur man finner handlingar från svensk lagstiftning på Riksarkivet" ("Laws Against Vagrancy: A Guide to How to Find Documents from Swedish Legislation in the National Archives"). Master's Thesis, Uppsala University, 2011.

Bertilsson, Margareta. "The Theory of Structuration: Prospects and Problems." *Acta Sociologica* 27, no. 4 (1984): 339-353.

Brennan, Thomas. *Public Drinking and Popular Culture in Eighteenth-Century Paris*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1988.

Canning, Kathleen. *Gender History in Practice: Historical Perspectives on Bodies, Class, and Citizenship*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2006.

De Geer, Sten. "Greater Stockholm: A Geographical Interpretation." *Geographic Review* 13:4 (Oct. 1923): 497-506.

Deland, Mats. "The Social City: Middle-Way Approaches to Housing and Suburban Governmentality in Southern Stockholm, 1900-1945." PhD diss., University of Stockholm, 2001.

Dobb, Maurice. "Historical Materialism and the Role of the Economic Factor in History." *History* 36 (1951): 1-11.

- Dobb, Maurice. *Studies in the Development of Capitalism*. New York: International Publishers, 1963.
- Edvinson, Rodney, Eriksson, Klas, and Ingman, Gustav. "A Housing Price Index for Stockholm 1840-2017: Putting New Light on the 'Hockey Stick.'" Paper Presented at the National Conference in Economics, Linnenuniversitetet, Kalmar, Sweden, October 4-5.
- Ekström, Anders. *Den Utställda Världen: Stockholmsutställningen 1897 och 1800-talets Världsutställningar (The Exhibited World: The Stockholm Exhibition 1897 and 19th Century World Exhibitions)*. Stockholm: Nordiska Museet, 1994.
- Engels, Friedrich. *The Condition of the Working Class in England*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1968.
- En natt vid Österlånggatan: Natliga studier af en Detektiv (A Night on Österlånggatan: Nightly Studies by a Detective)*. 1894.
- Erixon, Sigurd. *Stockholms Hamnarbetare före Fackföreningsrörelsens Genombrott (Stockholm Harbor Workers before the Trade Union Movement Breakthrough)*. Stockholm: Kommittén för Stockholmsforskning, 1988.
- Feldman, David. "Class." In *History and Historians in the Twentieth Century*, edited by Peter Burke. Oxford: The University of Oxford Press, 2002, pp. 181-206.
- Forsell, Håkan. *Property, Tenancy and Urban Growth in Stockholm and Berlin, 1860-1920*. Burlington: Ashgate, 2006.
- Fredriksson, Monica. "Ladugårdslandet: före Östermalm" ("Ladugårdslandet: Before Östermalm") in *Stadsvandringar (City Walk)*. Stockholm: Stockholms Stadsmuseum, 1992, pp. 25-35.
- Fumerton, Patricia. "Not Home: Alehouses, Ballads, and the Vagrant Husband in Early Modern England" *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies* 32 (3) (Fall 2002): 493-518.
- Giddens, Anthony. *Central Problems in Social Theory: Action, Structure, and Contradictions in Social Analysis*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1979.
- Giddens, Anthony. *The Constitution of Society: Outline of the Theory of Structuration*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986.
- Grafstein, Robert. "Structure and Structuralism." *Social Science Quarterly* 63, no. 4 (1982): 617-633.

- Gustafson, Uno. *Industrialismens Storstad: Studier Rörande Stockholms Sociala, Ekonomiska och Demografiska Struktur 1860-1910 (City of Industrialism: Studies on Stockholm's Social, Economic and Demographic Structure 1860-1910)*. Malmö: Göteborgs Offsettryckeri AB, 1976.
- Hammerström, Ingrid. *Stockholm i Svensk Ekonomi, 1850-1914*. Uppsala: Almqvist and Wiksells, 1970.
- Heimer, Oscar, and Palmér, Torsten. *Bilder från Södermalm 1895-1912 (Buildings from Södermalm 1895-1912)*. Stockholm: Sveriges Radio, 1979.
- Himmelfarb, Gertrude. *The Old History and the New*. Cambridge: The Belknap Press of the University of Harvard Press, 1987.
- Hurd, Madeleine. "Liberals, Socialists, and Sobriety: The Rhetoric of Citizenship in Turn-of-the Century Sweden." *International Labor & Working-Class History*, 45 (1994): 44-62.
- Hurd, Madeleine. *Public Spheres, Public Mores, and Democracy: Hamburg and Stockholm, 1870-1914*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2000.
- Huss, Magnus. *Alcoholismus chronicus eller chronisk alkoholssjukdom (Alcoholismus Chronicus or Chronic Alcohol Sickness)*. Stockholm: Beckman, 1851.
- Jakobsson, Svante. *Fattighushjonets värld i 1800-talets Stockholm: de glömda (The World of the Poor Boy in 19th Century Stockholm: The Forgotten)*. Uppsala: Almqvist and Wiksell International, 1982.
- Jones, Gareth Stedman. *Languages of Class: Studies in English Working Class History, 1832-1982*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983.
- Laitinen, Ritta. "Nighttime Street Fighting and the Meaning of Place: A Homicide in a Seventeenth-Century Swedish Provincial Town," *Journal of Urban History* 33 (4) (2007): 602-619.
- Lambert, W. R. "Drink and Work-Discipline in Industrial South Wales, c. 1800-1870." *Welsh History Review*, 7 (3) (1975): 289-306.
- Lizardo, Omar. "Beyond the Antinomies of Structure: Levi-Strauss, Giddens, Bourdieu, and Sewell." *Theory and Society* 39, no. 6 (2010): 651-688.

- Lord, Kathleen. "Permeable Boundaries: Negotiation, Resistance, and Transgression of Street Space in Saint-Henri, Quebec, 1875-1905." *Urban History Review* 33 (2) (2005): 17-29.
- Magnusson, Lars. "Markets in Context: Artisans, Putting Out and Social Drinking in Eskilstuna, Sweden 1800-50," in *Markets and Manufacturing in Early Industrial Europe* edited by Maxine Berg. London: Routledge, 1991, pp. 292-320.
- Magnusson, Lars. *Sveriges Ekonomiska Historia (Sweden's Economic History)*. Stockholm: Tiden Athena, 1996.
- Marx, Karl. *Capital: A Critique of Political Economy*. Moscow: Progressive Publishers, USSR, 1887.
- Marx, Karl. *Grundrisse*. St. Albans: Paladin, 1971.
- Marx, Karl, and Engels, Friedrich. *Manifest der Kommunistischen Partei*. London: German Workers' Educational Society, 1848.
- Marx, Karl, and Engels, Friedrich. *The Communist Manifesto*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2012.
- McClelland, Keith. "Introduction," in *E.P. Thompson: Critical Perspectives*, edited by Harvey J. Kaye and Keith McClelland. Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1990, pp. 1-11.
- Morrison, Keith. "Structuration Theory, Habitus and Complexity Theory: Elective Affinities or Old Wine in New Bottles?" *British Journal of Sociology of Education* 26, no. 3 (July 2005): 311-326.
- Nicholas Freudenburg, Nicholas, Galea, Sandro, and Vlahov, David. "Beyond Urban Penalty and Urban Sprawl: Back to Living Conditions as the Focus of Urban Health," *Journal of Community Health* vol. 30 no. 1 (February 2005): 1-11.
- Nycander, Svante. "Ivan Bratt: The Man Who Saved Sweden from Prohibition." *Addiction* 91 no. 1 (1998): 17-25.
- Papp, David and Öhngren, Bo. *Arbetarna vid Oskarshamns Varv Kring Sekelskiftet: Två Studier (Workers at Oskarshamn Shipyard around the Turn of the Century: Two Studies)*. Stockholm: Sjöhistoriska Museet, 1973.
- Phillips, Rod. *Alcohol: A History*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2014.

- Pred, Allan. *Lost Words and Lost Worlds: Modernity and the Language of Everyday Life in Late Nineteenth-Century Stockholm*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1990.
- Pred, Allan. "Place as Historically Contingent Process: Structuration and the Time-Geography of Becoming Places." *Annals of the American Association of Geographers* 74(2) (1984): 279-297.
- Pred, Allan. *Place, Practice and Structure: Social and Spatial Transformation in Southern Sweden: 1750-1850*. Totowa: Barnes & Noble Books, 1986.
- Rigby, Stephen. "Marxist Historiography" in *Companion to Historiography*, edited by M. Bentley. New York: Routledge, 1997.
- Roberts, James. "Drink and Industrial Work Discipline in 19th-Century Germany." *Journal of Social History*, 15 (1981): 25-38.
- Ruuska, Arto. "Consequences and Behaviour Problematised: The Establishment of Alcohol Misuse as an Object of Empirical Inquiry in Late 18th- and Early 19th-Century European Medicine." *Nordic Studies on Alcohol and Drugs* (30) (2013) 13-32.
- Schön, Lennart. *An Economic History of Modern Sweden*. New York: Routledge, 2016.
- Scott, Joan. "Gender: A Useful Category of Historical Analysis." *The American Historical Review* 91 no. 5 (Dec. 1986): 1053-1075.
- Sennefelt, Karin. "The Politics of Hanging Around and Tagging Along: Everyday Practices of Politics in Eighteenth-Century Stockholm." *Past and Present* 203 (2009): 172-190.
- Sewell Jr., William H. "Thompson's Theory of Working-Class Formation," in *E. P. Thompson: Critical Perspectives* edited by Harvey J. Kaye and Keith McClelland. Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1990, pp. 50-77.
- Sewell Jr., William H. "The Political Unconscious of Social and Cultural History, or, Confessions of a Former Quantitative Historian," in *The Politics of Method in the Human Sciences; Positivism and its Epistemological Others*, edited by George Steinmetz. Durham: Duke University Press, 2005, pp. 173-206.
- Stones, Rob. *Structuration Theory*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005.
- Svandstöm, Yvonne. "Prostitution as Vagrancy: Sweden 1923-1964." *Journal of Scandinavian Studies in Criminology and Crime Prevention* 7 (2006): 142-163.

Svante Nycander, "Ivan Bratt: The Man Who Saved Sweden from Prohibition," *Addiction History* 93 (1) (1998): 17-25.

Sydow, Hj. von. "Stockholms Polis" (Stockholm's Police) in *Stockholm: Sveriges hufvudstad skildrad med anledning af allmänna konst- och industriutställningen 1897* (*Stockholm: Sweden's Capital City Dedicated on the Occasion of the General Art and Industrial Exhibit 1897*). Stockholm: J. Beckmans Förlag, 1897.

Söderberg, Johan, Jonsson, Ulf and Persson, Christer. *A Stagnating Metropolis: The Economy and Demography of Stockholm, 1750-1850*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991.

Tegndahl, Knut A. *Material till Bedömande af Hamnarbetarnes i Stockholm Lefnadsförhållanden* (*Material for Assessment of Dockworkers in Stockholm Living Conditions*). Stockholm: Lorénska stiftelsen, 1897.

Thompson, E. P. *The Making of the English Working Class*. New York: Vintage Books, 1963.

Tomkins, Alannah and King, Stephen. "Introduction," in *Poor in England, 1700-1900: An Economy of Makeshifts*, eds. Alannah Tomkins and Stephen King. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2003, pp. 1-38.