

**Children of their City: Migration, Resistance, and the Construction of a Working-Class Identity in Late Nineteenth-Century Stockholm**

By Stewart B. Lawrence

A dissertation submitted to the School of Graduate Studies in partial fulfillment of the requirements of the degree of

**Doctor of Philosophy**

Department of History  
Memorial University of Newfoundland

October 2024

St. John's, Newfoundland and Labrador

## Abstract

Formidable economic and social forces shaped the lives of working-class men and women in Stockholm at the end of the nineteenth century as they confronted difficulty in securing consistent work and faced high food and housing costs as well as class-based prejudice in the popular press. These people responded with unique expressions of self-determination and demonstrated a profound resilience in the form of subtle, mundane, and nearly imperceptible acts of resistance. These are revealed in an examination of their daily lives and struggles and situating their experiences within the overall creation of a working-class identity. E. P. Thompson's definition of "class" offers a starting point to understanding the creation of this identity as do post-structural approaches that examine the language used to describe these men and women. Here "class" refers to fluid boundaries delineated more by common experiences and behaviours rather than social standing or occupation.

An ephemeral lure of bright lights and a promising future continued to draw men and women to the city. Biographies of three men and three women who moved from Kalmar County to Stockholm in the 1880s reveal the migration histories and the tactics and strategies they and thousands of others employed to try and survive after they arrived. They and their fellow workers responded to efforts to control them and their behaviour. Some men resorted to drinking as a form of resistance while women forced to resort to prostitution devised their own tactics to avoid police scrutiny and compulsory medical examinations.

Men and women of the working class converged within the space of the tavern. It served as the most important locus of socialisation and networking for many men although women's presence there has been understated but they were integral to the tavern after the passage of the Gothenburg System that required much more stringent scrutiny to cut down on public drunkenness. Workers fought back against this attempt to subdue one of the most important institutions in their lives by re-appropriating this space and using it to construct social networks that transcended occupational and geographic and served as the basis for a working-class identity.

## Acknowledgments

There are countless people and institutions to thank for their role in the completion of this project. I would first like to thank Dr. Stephan Curtis, my primary supervisor and a constant source of wisdom and support who helped guide this project to its end. I would also like to thank the other members of my committee, Dr. Maria Sjöberg and Dr. Kurt Korneski, for their invaluable comments on my dissertation. I would also like to thank the internal reviewer, Dr. Michael Kirkpatrick, and external reviewers, Dr. Lars Edgren and Dr. Tomas Nilson, for their generosity in taking the time to examine my work.

I am indebted to several archives and the institutions that provided funding to visit them. Stockholms stadsarkiv and its wonderful staff provided the documents that serve as the basis for this dissertation. I am forever grateful to the archivists who acted as the custodians for these documents and made them available to me in such an efficient and timely manner during my visits to both of their locations in one of the greatest cities in the world. I also appreciate the work of archivists in Sveriges Riksarkivet at Marieberg and Gothenburg who provided materials for this and other projects. Finally, the wonderful librarians at Kvinnsam in the Gothenburg University Library helped me navigate the collections housed there with extreme knowledge and a professional curiosity that inspired new lines of inquiry and even revealed secondary sources I never would have encountered otherwise.

Memorial University's Department of History and the Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences provided the funding to undertake the major research trips necessary to photograph the sources in some of these archives. The Scholarship in the Arts was

absolutely indispensable in the completion of this project and I could not have undertaken my research without it. The American-Scandinavian Foundation provided me with funds to visit the University of Gothenburg and Kvinnsam. I would also like to thank the University of Gothenburg's Department of Historical Studies for their generous funding that allowed me to present my research to an international coterie of scholars and fellow graduate students who provided essential feedback during the earlier stages of writing. The Adam Cahill Scholarship ensured I could focus on my writing at the end of this project and I am incredibly grateful to the Cahill family for their support of Memorial University's Department of History and its future graduate students. Finally, the staff of QEII Library and those who handle Interlibrary Loans ordered books for me from around the world and ensured they got to me as quickly as possible. They navigated the Swedish language along with me and I am so appreciative of their help!

On a personal note, many people in my life supported and inspired me throughout the project. I would like to thank my mom and my sisters who have always been pillars of strength in my life. My sister Emilee provided abundant conversation and kept me sane during the worst of times. My mom flew me back to Texas towards the tail-end of this project and reminded me of the warmth there. Back in Newfoundland, Angie, Leah, Cameron, Janielle, and Melissa provided endless entertainment and as we played cards I learned so much about the various communities and bays you all represent so proudly. My friends in the department, Allison, Matt, Meaghan, Julia, and Rebecca, all helped me celebrate major milestones, trials, and triumphs during the PhD process.

Wesley Courage, my partner and constant source of strength, has been so important to me and has ensured I made it up to campus any and every time I had a meeting or had

to teach a class. His network of friends and family and particularly Sandra and Ronnie have been so dependable and were there during both the bad and the good times. I would also like to express my gratitude to Bruce Hettinger, my uncle and patron, who passed away in the first semester of this project but whose legacy lives on in these pages and in his wonderful, intelligent, and supportive children, Vanessa and Dennis who, along with their amazing partners have been incredibly supportive throughout this process.

My PhD program started just four months before the beginning of the COVID-19 pandemic. During that time structural forces beyond anyone's control rocked St. John's and the rest of the world. The men and women in the pages that follow served as a source of constant strength and inspiration as they navigated seemingly impossible problems but managed to survive. Their stories are a testament to how little some things have changed including people's ability to persevere even when it feels like the world has turned against them.

## Table of Contents

Abstract .....	ii
Acknowledgments.....	iv
Table of Contents .....	vii
List of Tables .....	ix
List of Figures .....	x
List of Maps .....	xi
Chapter 1 Introduction and Argument, Theory and Method, Historiography .....	1
1.1 Context of Study and Argument.....	1
1.2: Theoretical Approaches.....	8
1.3: Historical Methods and Sources.....	36
Chapter 2 The World of the Docks and the Living Conditions of the Working Class .....	58
2.1 Introduction and Argument .....	58
2.2 The Transformation of Stockholm’s Economy and Merchant Marine and its Effect on Employment Prospects .....	61
2.3 Stockholm in the World’s Maritime Economy .....	64
2.4 The Population of Stockholm.....	70
2.5 Wages, Living Standards, and Housing in Stockholm.....	82
2.6 The Lure of 19 <sup>th</sup> -Century Stockholm .....	102
2.7 Conclusion.....	114
Chapter 3 Worlds Collide: The Working Class Confronts the Middle Class in the Press .....	118
3.1 Introduction and Argument .....	118
3.2 The Language of Class and its Depiction in the Press .....	119
3.3 The Catastrophe of 1885 .....	121
3.4 Perceptions of Culpability and Class Following the Catastrophe of 1885.....	128
3.5 The Great League of Thieves .....	139
3.6 Perceptions of Morality, Temperance, and Prostitution.....	147
3.7 Conclusion.....	164
Chapter 4 The Trials of Migration and the Experiences of Those Who Made the Journey .....	168

4.1 Introduction and Argument .....	168
4.2 The Cohort: A Demographic Analysis .....	170
4.3 Kalmar in the Latter Half of the 19th century .....	184
4.4 Introduction to Biographical Analysis: Controls and Variables of Analysis .....	188
4.5 Biographies.....	193
4.6 Conclusion.....	250
Chapter 5 The World at Street Level: Hidden Forms of Resistance.....	256
5.1 Introduction and Argument .....	256
5.2 Historiography of Drinking and Prostitution as Forms of Resistance .....	258
5.3 Attempts to Regulate Drinking and Forms of Resistance .....	269
5.4 Attempts to Regulate Prostitution and Forms of Resistance .....	286
5.5 “Stockholm Marriages” as a Tactic.....	297
5.6 Conclusion.....	307
Chapter 6 Their El Dorado: The Tavern as a Place of Identity Construction.....	311
6.1 Introduction and Argument .....	311
6.2 The Spatial Distribution of Taverns in Stockholm.....	314
6.3 Women’s Roles in the Tavern.....	321
6.4 The Tavern in Everyday Life, the Creation of Place, and Identity Construction...	328
6.5 Conclusion.....	339
Chapter 7 Dissertation Conclusion .....	343
Bibliography .....	354



## List of Tables

Table 2.1: The Number of Live Births, Deaths, In-Migrants, and Total Population of Stockholm, 1855-1900.....	70
Table 2.2: The Cost of Foodstuffs in Stockholm, 1870, 1889, 1900.....	90
Table 2.3: The Number of Residential Buildings Constructed in Stockholm, 1871-1900.....	93
Table 2.4: The Monthly and Yearly Cost Per Room for Rent in Stockholm, 1885-1900, Swedish Kronor.....	94
Table 2.5: The Average Annual Rent and Number of People Per Room in Different Areas of Stockholm, 1895, 1900, and 1902.....	95
Table 2.6 The Percentage of Residents Receiving Poor Relief, 1885-1895.....	100
Table 3.1 Persons Sentenced to Prison in Stockholm and its Proportion to the City's Population, 1875-1895.....	157
Table 4.1 The Occupational Mobility of Native and In-Migrant Men.....	178
Table 4.2 The Occupational Mobility of Native and In-Migrant Women.....	178
Table 4.3 The Birthplaces of In-Migrant Men and Women, Rural, Semi-Urban, and Urban .....	182
Table 4.4 The Number of In-Migrants by Counties of Birth 1870-1890.....	190
Table 5.1: The Number of Men Aged 15-30 and Convictions for Drunkenness in Stockholm, 1856-1900.....	275
Table 5.2: The Number of Taverns, the Population, and Number of Police Constables Assigned to Each Police District of Stockholm, 1876 and 1889.....	278

## List of Figures

Figure 2.1 Masted and Steam Ships in Stockholm's Merchant Marine, 1870-1890.....	64
Figure 2.2 Number of Swedish, British, and German Ships in Stockholm, 1875-1890...	65
Figure 2.3 Domestic and Foreign Vessels in Stockholm by Tonnage, 1875-1890.....	68
Figure 2.4: The Number of Days Stockholm's Baltic Route Remained Frozen, 1870-1900.....	86
Figure 2.5 "Mortar Women at the Construction of the Opera House in the 1890s." Photographer unknown. 1890-1899.....	87
Figure 2.6 Björken 15 in Östermalm.....	104
Figure 2.7 Bergsprängargränd 8 in Södermalm.....	104
Figure 2.8 Pages from Joseph Leja's Catalogue.....	109
Figure 2.9 Leja's Department Store Clothing Section.....	111
Figure 3.1 Scene from Grand Hôtel.....	125
Figure 3.2 Portrait of "Piggen" Carl Wilhelm Strand.....	144
Figure 3.3 Ture "Turken" Eriksson.....	144
Figure 4.1: The Ages of Men and Women in the 1893 Cohort, N=247.....	174
Figure 4.2: The Duration of In-Migrant Residence in Stockholm, N=180.....	183
Figure 4.3 "Poor Comfort.".....	222
Figure 4.4 Advertisements for P.U.B. and Leja's Department Store.....	234
Figure 5.1 The Number of Licensed Establishments in Stockholm versus the City's Population, 1867-1900.....	273
Figure 6.1 The Tavern "Ekorren" or "The Squirrel" at Götgatan 71.....	320
Figure 6.2 Utskänkningsställe . Roslagstorg Nr 4.....	326

## List of Maps

Map 3.1 Blasieholmen and the Site of the Catastrophe of 1885.....	123
Map 4.1 The Distribution of In-Migrants by County of Birth, N=177.....	180
Map 4.2 The Railroads of Southeastern Sweden in 1874 with Stockholm and Kalmar City Emphasised.....	207
Map 5.1 The Location of the Taverns and Police Nightly Patrol Lines in Stockholm During the 1870s.....	276
Map 5.2 The Robbery of Johan Alfred Andersson.....	284
Map 6.1 The Spatial Distribution of Taverns on Gamla Stan, 1880s and 1890s.....	316
Map 6.2 The Spatial Distribution of Taverns in Norrmalm, 1880s and 1890s.....	318
Map 6.3 The Spatial Distribution of Taverns in Södermalm, 1880s and 1890s.....	319
Map 6.4 Residential Distribution of Dockworker Trade-Union Members (One Dot=One Address).....	337

## **Chapter 1 Introduction and Argument, Theory and Method, Historiography**

### **1.1 Context of Study and Argument**

#### *Context of Study*

This dissertation explores the creation of a working-class identity in late nineteenth-century Stockholm. It represents a radical departure from previous works of labour history that argue that well-documented formal organizations including unions and workers' associations, temperance societies, and religious communities were essential to the formation of that identity. Instead, it employs a multi-disciplinary approach to argue that the informal social networks workers created as they struggled against numerous threats to their survival brought them together and created common ties that transcended occupational differences. Neighbourhood taverns and the streets themselves served as the medium in which these social networks formed and strengthened. Employing diverse qualitative and quantitative sources to investigate workers' agency provides an opportunity to illuminate men's and women's subtle and nearly imperceptible acts to shape the world around them.

This study addresses three methodological and historiographic points of departure that enable a more holistic and nuanced understanding of social integration into the urban environment at the end of the nineteenth century. It combines the approaches of the New Labour social historians with the methodologies explored by cultural historians and addresses the lack of attention paid to historical members of Sweden's urban working class as well as the role of alcohol consumption in bringing workers together prior to the acceleration of the labour movement in the twentieth century. Finally, it incorporates a

gender perspective by providing narratives of working-class women to examine their unique experiences and the tactics and strategies they used to move to the city and then to combat social and economic hardship after they arrived.

Sweden was a predominantly agricultural country until the latter half of the nineteenth century. The Swedish state attempted to foster the country's nascent manufacturing capabilities in the eighteenth century by sponsoring the development of its own industries but this proved ineffective as the Swedish population either could not afford or had little interest in the finished goods these industries produced and even by mid-century private consumption accounted for less than half of the market for the products of industrial production.<sup>1</sup> The lack of a domestic market delayed the growth of major industries. In Sweden's textile industry, for example, the number of looms was the same in 1809 as it had been in 1745 when figures were first recorded.<sup>2</sup> Swedish agriculture remained scattered across small subsistence plots that passed from one generation to another and did not become commercialised until after several land consolidation acts (*laga skifte*) in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.<sup>3</sup> Most Swedes produced what they consumed and the domestic production of goods characteristic of both rural and urban proto industrialisation continued well into the nineteenth century. As long as handicrafts generated an income and provided employment there was no major

---

<sup>1</sup> Lennart Schön, *An Economic History of Modern Sweden* (New York: Routledge, 2012), 46.

<sup>2</sup> Eli Heckscher, *An Economic History of Sweden* (trans. by Göran Ohlin) (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1954), 185, Klas Nyberg, "Staten, manufakturerna och hemmamarknadens framväxt," in *Industrialismens tid: Ekonomiska-historiska perspektiv på svensk industriell omvandling under 200 år*, ed. by Maths Isacson and Mats Morell (Stockholm: SNS Förlag, 2002), 60.

<sup>3</sup> Göran Hoppe and John Langton, *Peasantry to Capitalism: Western Östergötland in the Nineteenth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 111.

impetus to support manufacturing. This remained the case until the middle of the nineteenth century.<sup>4</sup>

Workers in some areas of Sweden such as Mora in Dalarna developed valuable skills and a knowledge of manufacturing sophisticated goods including clocks in their own workshops long before these processes were centralised in the space of the factory. This type of production created a very short bridge between workshop and factory production as it produced capital, company directors familiar with how to manage the manufacturing process, and finally a skilled workforce comfortable engaging with mechanical production.<sup>5</sup> This workforce then passed these skills to their children who drew upon them when they moved to cities in search of work later in the century.

The kingdom's timber and iron industries fostered industrial development around the middle of the nineteenth century as both natural resources and refined goods such as bar iron, paper, and pulp products became Sweden's largest exports.<sup>6</sup> The first steam-powered saw in Sweden began operating in 1849 and the volume of Sweden's timber exports steadily grew up until the turn of the century.<sup>7</sup> The iron industry experienced a similar acceleration due to the adaptation of new technology and iron production increased from a yearly average of 270,000 tons in the 1840s to more than 900,000 tons by the mid-1870s and exceeded more than two million tons in 1896.<sup>8</sup>

---

<sup>4</sup> Lennart Schön, *Sweden's Road to Modernity: An Economic History* (Stockholm: SNS Förlag, 2010), 79.

<sup>5</sup> Maths Isacson and Lars Magnusson, *Proto-Industrialisation in Scandinavia: Craft Skills in the Industrial Revolution* (New York: Berg, 1987), 81.

<sup>6</sup> Schön, *An Economic History of Modern Sweden*, 102-108.

<sup>7</sup> Schön, *An Economic History of Modern Sweden*, 103.

<sup>8</sup> Between 1850 and 1870, the industry switched from the Lancashire method to the Bessemer method, then to the Martin Process before arriving at the Thomas method. See Seppo Hentilä, *Svenska arbetarklassen och reformismens genombrott inom SAP före 1914: Arbetarklassens ställning, strategi och ideologi* (Helsinki: Suomen Historiallinen Seura, 1979), 41.

The development of manufacturing and the construction of railroads in the latter half of the nineteenth century facilitated the movement of people as they sought work in Sweden's growing cities and the surrounding areas. Rapid population growth in certain regions such as the rural parishes surrounding Sundsvall prompted the government to respond to the "Norrland Question" and Sweden's parliament introduced legislation aimed at controlling the wild and promiscuous behaviour of seasonal migrant inhabitants.<sup>9</sup>

The high turnover of seasonal workers in Stockholm led to a similar anxiety and produced numerous pieces of legislation aimed at controlling the in- and out-migration of workers and removing immorality and drunken behaviour from the public eye. For example, the revised Prostitution Regulation Act of 1875 hoped to curtail the spread of venereal disease in the city and forced women to register their status with the Prostitution Bureau if they engaged in or were accused of prostitution. It also forbade the solicitation of sex in public.<sup>10</sup> The municipal government introduced the "Gothenburg System" in 1877 to control the sale and consumption of alcoholic beverages in the city and closed down many taverns by immediately purchasing their licences. The explicit purpose of these reforms was to improve the "moral and material conditions of the working-class."<sup>11</sup> The *rotemans* system of 1878 required residents to register with local clerks in the

---

<sup>9</sup> Maurits Nyström, "Norrlands industrialisering," in *Industrialismens tid: Ekonomiska-historiska perspektiv på svensk industriell omvandling under 200 år*, ed. by Maths Isacson and Mats Morell (Stockholm: SNS Förlag, 2002), 84.

<sup>10</sup> Yvonne Svanström, *Policing Public Women: The Regulation of Prostitution in Stockholm 1812-1880* (Stockholm: Atlas Akademi, 2000), 159.

<sup>11</sup> Great Britain Foreign Office and the Royal College of Physicians of Edinburgh, *Sweden. Report on the Working of the Gothenburg Licensing System Since the Year 1876* (London: Harrison and Sons, 1890), 4-5, 7.

districts in which they lived and provide personal information including their current address, where and when they were born, their occupation, and their smallpox vaccination status.<sup>12</sup> Finally, Sweden's national parliament (Riksdag) passed the Vagrancy Act of 1885 to control transient workers who contributed to Stockholm's remarkable population growth towards the end of the nineteenth century. This law provided the police with an expanded scope of authority and allowed them to control people who disrupted the status quo or threatened "public order" and these threats included public intoxication.<sup>13</sup> Formal social networks and especially unions did not represent the overwhelming majority of the working-class until after the twentieth century began so it is essential to examine the informal networks that emerged and provided workers with some sense of recourse in their lives before trade union representation substantially expanded.

### *Argument*

It is impossible to understand fully the creation of a working-class class identity in late nineteenth-century Stockholm by adopting either a political economic (Marxist) or post-structural approach. Instead, that process can be best understood by illuminating individual men and women's struggles to integrate themselves into a rapidly expanding urban environment while simultaneously trying to avoid the ever-watchful gaze of the police, bureaucrats, and upper classes. Stockholm lagged behind many of the major European capitals both with regard to the size of its population and economic might until

---

<sup>12</sup> 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), 132.

<sup>13</sup> Stewart B. Lawrence, "The Dreaming Boy and the Waking City: Alcohol Consumption and the Construction of a Working-Class Identity in Late Nineteenth-Century Stockholm," (MA Thesis) (St. John's: Memorial University of Newfoundland), 85. Other scholars have noted the role of the Vagrancy Law in policing "deviant" same-sex sexuality. See for example Jens Rydström, *Sinners and Citizens: Bestiality and Homosexuality in Sweden 1880-1950* (Stockholm: Akademityck, 2001), 153.



the late 1800s when it experienced rapid economic and demographic growth due to increased domestic and international trade.

This relatively late development presents an opportunity to examine how a burgeoning metropolis appropriated measures that had been adopted elsewhere to improve its infrastructure, sanitation, and policies designed to regulate the behaviour of the lower classes. Late nineteenth-century Stockholm is also noteworthy because it saw delayed unionism and working-class collective action compared to other urbanising cities that saw similar explosive growth at approximately the same time. This is evident in the city's popular press as bourgeois newspapers constructed prejudices against workers and especially in-migrants and the nascent *Socialdemokraten*, the mouthpiece of the capital's Social Democrats, did not emerge to defend workers' interests until 1885. This period of the city's history provides a window into the creation of working-class identity that challenges other historians' conclusions that unions serve as a necessary prerequisite and medium for developing a class consciousness.

New arrivals in the city were particularly vulnerable to middle-class scrutiny and exploitation as they lacked social networks able to protect them from the myriad dangers that awaited them. Unemployment, unscrupulous employers, criminals and, in some cases, simple misfortune could easily cause some otherwise law-abiding men and women to turn to crime as a last resort. The vast majority of workers survived the city by developing a sense of camaraderie with peers as they articulated similar experiences and shared subtle and nearly imperceptible ways to flout the authority of those who sought to control their everyday lives. This is most clearly seen in the life-histories of in-migrants from Sweden's rural parishes and various case studies that illustrate these struggles. The

local tavern was where that common identity often emerged. The tavern also offered female employees an opportunity to exert some degree of authority over the clientele.

Stockholm's working-class population struggled to find regular employment given the city's position on the Baltic and its seasonal economic rhythms. Each winter the port froze over and cast large swathes of the population out of work. Construction work also relied on the city's economic prosperity and the building cycle fueled by speculation ended in 1885. This devastated many members of the working class who could no longer afford to live in the apartments they had built. Many men and women were forced to cohabitate or bring on boarders to help pay the rent. The high cost of housing and the chronic underemployment in the city made it almost impossible to afford basic foodstuffs.

Newly arrived workers faced these formidable struggles in addition to the constant scrutiny and stereotypes imposed on them by the bourgeoisie. Middle-class publications produced a derogatory image of workers that depicted the alleged depravity of the underworld and women's vulnerability to dangerous influences and alcohol consumption that ultimately led to prostitution. This literature also depicted the tavern as a den of sin. Workers fired back with their own publications such as *Sociodemokraten* that served as one of the earliest arteries of trade union information and ideology and reveals the nuanced values and culture of the working class.

In-migrants came to the capital seeking their fortunes and practiced multiple forms of migration to get there. Biographical analysis of men and women from Kalmar County reveal the unique tactics they used to make their way to the capital and after they arrived. A comparative exploration of men and women's experiences reveals the similarities and differences in resources and avenues for income they could expect in the

city. Women faced particularly precarious conditions as domestic servants as they could be dismissed with little or no cause and faced potential sexual predation from their employer. Extramarital pregnancy also made it difficult for women to secure consistent employment.

Workers from different occupations converged within the space of the Stockholm's taverns. This space provided a sense of constancy for workers and as a refuge from crowded and unsanitary living conditions. Women worked within this space and carefully deployed their sexuality to make their living and served an important role as the moderator of these places. The tavern was ultimately the site of identity construction as workers constantly navigated, defined, and redefined the boundaries imposed upon them using subtle expressions of agency. This provided the foundation for the creation of social networks that acted as the medium for sharing their hardships and the tactics they used to navigate them.

## **1.2: Theoretical Approaches**

Theoretical concepts such as structuration stress the interplay between structures and agency in historical actors' lives and the reshaping of the structures over time. This provides an invaluable perspective when examining the lives of men and women and reveal the complex relationship between people, efforts to control them, and how they respond in kind. Anthony Giddens' concept of structuration acknowledges both the agency of actors and the structural forces that influence their decision making. Time-space geography recognizes the influence of structural forces on the "paths" of historical actors and their "projects" as they transform "spaces" into "places." This is integral to

examining long-term developmental trajectories as people in-migrated and their ability to adapt after they arrived. The approaches of several migration historians also provide perspective on patterns and strategies used by men and women and the merit of focusing on the individual and the multitude of variables that influenced their decision to move in the first place.

Comparing men and women's experiences side-by-side illuminates the unique experiences of both. Gender historians agree that "gender" implies an uneven power dynamic between men and women and Yvonne Hirdman suggests all social institutions reflect a gendered hierarchy in what she describes as "the gender system." Herbert Gutman's "first generation thesis" acknowledges the constant recreation of the working class as new men and women arrive in urban environments and the first generation struggles the hardest to establish itself before raising their children with a new set of skills and tactics. These skills and the multiple attempts to provide a livelihood reveals what Olwen Hufton referred to as the "economy of makeshifts" while the tactics they employed epitomize James Scott's "weapons of the weak."<sup>14</sup>

### *Structuration Theory*

Anthony Giddens introduced his concept of structuration in the late 1970s to address the poverty of theory that recognized both the structural forces in traditional Marxism and the agency explored by the New Labour social historians. He acknowledges the role of structural forces in shaping the lives of historical actors as they respond, adapt,

---

<sup>14</sup> Olwen H. Hufton, *The Poor of Eighteenth-Century France, 1750-1789* (London: Oxford University Press, 1974), James C. Scott, *Weapons of the Weak: Everyday Forms of Peasant Resistance* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1985).

and learn as they move through time and space but refuses to accept the older social theories of Durkheim, Marx, or Weber which he felt treated actors as “dupes” incapable of making their own informed decisions.<sup>15</sup> Giddens defines “structure” as “rules and resources instantiated in social systems.” Here “rules” refer to how individuals interpret events and “resources” are the means they use to accomplish their goals.<sup>16</sup>

Giddens’ “duality of structure” argues that structure is both the medium and the outcome of the reproduction of practices in “cycles of structuration.” Structures both dictate the behaviour of historical actors and are reshaped by the resulting expressions of their agency.<sup>17</sup> Giddens identifies two types of structures. The first are those material conditions or objects necessary to complete an action or “capability preconditions.” Structures also exist virtually in the form of “memory traces” or the competencies, morals, and sentiments that actors develop as they learn from their experiences.<sup>18</sup>

Giddens also devised two types of consciousness to describe the different ways knowledge informs the decisions actors undertake to demonstrate their agency. “Practical consciousness” refers to the knowledge actors bring to new situations in their everyday lives. This is the most important and prevalent form of social knowledge. The alternative is the “discursive consciousness” that actors use to give expression to their knowledge about social conditions and their rationale for performing actions. Actors use both types

---

<sup>15</sup> Barney Warf, “Anthony Giddens,” in *Key Thinkers on Space and Place*, ed. by Phil Hubbard and Rob Kitchin (London: Sage Publishing, 2011), 178.

<sup>16</sup> Omar Lizardo, “Beyond the Antinomies of Structure: Levi-Strauss, Giddens, Bourdieu, and Sewell,” *Theory and Society* 39, no. 6 (2010): 654.

<sup>17</sup> Anthony Giddens, *Central Problems in Social Theory: Action, Structure, and Contradiction in Social Analysis* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1979), 69.

<sup>18</sup> Rob Stones, *Structuration Theory* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005), 23, Giddens, *Central Problems in Social Theory*, 64, 104.

of consciousness in their decision-making process and always reserve the right to act otherwise if their consciousness dictates.<sup>19</sup>

Giddens' structuration theory makes it possible to examine the lives of individuals as they unfolded against the background of Stockholm's industrialisation towards the end of the nineteenth century. Structural forces including industrialisation, urbanisation, modernisation, class, and gender were inescapable and influenced the decision making of men and women as they moved throughout Sweden to the capital city. The decisions that individual actors made including their acceptance of various legislative acts and social boundaries or the tactics they used to resist them came to characterise a common, shared experience in the capital. Workers bonded over this as they created social networks and the formation of these groups encouraged a new, shared working-class identity.

#### *Time-Space Geography and Migration*

The theory of time-space geography emerged from the Lund School of Geography with the work of Torsten Hägerstrand and his disciples including Allan Pred. Hägerstrand helped establish the study of "time-geography" based upon the numerous biographies he examined when studying the migration patterns of residents of the Swedish town of Asby.<sup>20</sup> He emphasised the importance of individual behaviour in geography and created the terms "path" and "project" to describe the movement and motivations of these individuals. "Path" refers to each of the actions and events that consecutively make up an individual's daily existence. These paths have both temporal and spatial attributes.

---

<sup>19</sup> Stones, *Structuration Theory*, 28-29.

<sup>20</sup> Robin Flowerdew, "Torsten Hägerstrand," in *Key Thinkers on Space and Place*, ed. by Phil Hubbard and Rob Kitchin (London: Sage Publications, 2011), 200.

“Project” describes the entire series of tasks, both simple and complex, that are necessary to complete any intention-inspired or goal-oriented behaviour.<sup>21</sup>

Hägerstrand’s framework established several basic propositions. First, individuals draw upon time and space to complete “projects,” and time and space are both finite resources. Second, the completion of any project is subject to various constraints. These include: capability constraints that are based on the amount of time and space resources available to the individual, coupling constraints that dictate the conditions under which people can meet, and authority constraints which limit people’s access to certain time-space domains. Finally, these constraints determine what projects individuals can reasonably complete.<sup>22</sup>

Hägerstrand also acknowledges that the decisions actors made were usually initiated during conditions of uncertainty when they possessed incomplete knowledge and an imperfect ability to calculate the benefits of alternative actions. This bears a striking resemblance to Anthony Giddens’ stipulation that almost all humans reserve the right to “choose otherwise” as they express their agency even in the direst circumstances.<sup>23</sup>

Allan Pred incorporates both Hägerstrand’s “path” and “project” concepts and Giddens’ structuration theory into his own interpretation of time-space geography. Pred recognises the value Giddens’ social theory assigned to the concept of “place.”

Structuration theory acknowledges places as “made,” not given. He uses Hägerstrand’s

---

<sup>21</sup> Torsten Hägerstrand, “Diorama, Path and Project,” *Tijdschrift voor economische en sociale geografie* 73 (6) (1982): 336, Allan Pred, *Place, Practice, and Structure. Social and Spatial Transformation in Southern Sweden: 1750-1850* (Totowa, New Jersey: Barnes and Noble Books, 1986), 10.

<sup>22</sup> Flowerdew, “Torsten Hägerstrand,” 200-201.

<sup>23</sup> Stones, *Structuration Theory*, 29.

terminology and proposes the material continuity of interwoven structuration processes are “perpetually spelled out” by both the intersection of individual paths and institutional projects that occur in specific locations in space and in time.<sup>24</sup> In other words, the duality of structure is perpetuated by individuals influencing social structures in their everyday actions (paths) as they attempt to accomplish short- and long-term goals with other individuals and by using resources (projects). This influence is exercised in cycles of structuration in precise moments in space and time. As individual paths come together in these cycles of structuration, they have the effect of transforming “space” into “place” as they imbue the former with meaning.<sup>25</sup>

Incorporating a biographical analysis of a small sample of in-migrants and examining the decisions those actors made as they migrated to Stockholm illuminates the roles of path and project in cycles of structuration and the placemaking process. Such an analysis is valuable for viewing the actions and everyday lives of individuals as they moved about the city on a daily basis during the late nineteenth-century. Individual decisions may appear disjointed and particular to each man and woman when examined in isolation although when they are brought together it is possible to view a wider “project” of survival in the city. Finally, the concept of placemaking provides an opportunity to analyze particular spaces such as taverns and the different meanings various individuals and groups associated with them. Biographical analysis also bridges the gap between in-migrants’ lives in their home parish and their time in the city as it reveals the different migration strategies they practiced to move to Stockholm.

---

<sup>24</sup> Pred, *Place, Practice, and Structure*, 10.

<sup>25</sup> Pred, *Place, Practice, and Structure*, 11.



E. G. Ravenstein's laws of migration that he devised more than a century ago continue to shed light on patterns of movement as men and women sought out urban areas towards the end of the nineteenth century. In 1885, E. G. Ravenstein published a seminal article in the *Journal of the Statistical Society* in which he presented his "laws of migration" in response to the physician and medical statistician Dr. William Farr who argued migration transpired without any discernable patterns. Ravenstein used comprehensive census data from 1871 and 1881 to identify seven "laws" as well as five different types of migrants that he identified based on the distance they travelled during their movement.<sup>26</sup>

Four years later Ravenstein produced a work of far greater geographical scope that provided useful evidence for his laws of migration but also revealed the one-sided nature of his source material and his lack of attention to more local patterns of migration. His 1889 paper examined the migration patterns of people in no less than 20 countries in Europe and North America and his findings largely reinforced his original seven laws. This later research had implications for the growth of cities and particularly those dependent on in-migration (and in the case of America, emigration) to sustain their growth. Ravenstein found that in-migration rather than natural increase was responsible

---

<sup>26</sup> Four of Ravenstein's seven laws are particularly important for the patterns of migration in this dissertation. His first law dictates that the majority of migrants only travel a short distance and the general movement of a nation's population created "currents of migration" to urban areas where economic opportunity awaited them. His second law took this a step further by suggesting rapidly growing urban centres were fed first by the immediately surrounding countryside and then increasingly from greater and greater distances. His fifth law states migrants travelling long distances tended to gravitate towards cities and his final law posits that women are more migratory than men but women tended to migrate over shorter distances. See E. G. Ravenstein, "The Laws of Migration," *Journal of the Royal Statistical Society* 48 (1885), 167, 182-183, 198.

for the growth of all the major cities he analyzed.<sup>27</sup> He also declared that the primary reason for migration is economic in nature, although other conditions also contribute to migration currents.<sup>28</sup>

His ambitious comparison of such large amounts of aggregate data provides only a small piece of a much greater picture. Subsequent generations of scholars began to investigate the causes and consequences of migration on individuals. Swedish historians Ingrid Eriksson and John Rogers perform a comparative cohort analysis of rural proletarianization in 19<sup>th</sup>-century Uppsala County and the rise of and impact of the *statare* system that reveals important changes throughout the lives of migrants.<sup>29</sup> They follow seven cohorts of men and women who were 20 years of age when they lived in the parishes of Åsunda.<sup>30</sup> The authors use these cohort studies not just to trace major life developments such as marriage or when they encountered the *statare* system for the first time, but also to investigate the social mobility of *statare* and their families. They find that this segment of the population was the most mobile and individuals often continued to move even in advanced age.<sup>31</sup> This demonstrates the importance of performing

---

<sup>27</sup> E. G. Ravenstein, "The Laws of Migration, Second Paper," *Journal of the Royal Statistical Society* 52 (1889), 288.

<sup>28</sup> Ravenstein, "The Laws of Migration, Second Paper," 286.

<sup>29</sup> *Statare* worked year-long contracts with landowners in exchange for housing and a cash wages. After the contract was up, *statare* and their families were free to seek work elsewhere. For this analysis, Eriksson and Rogers build upon data they originally published in 1973 on Uppsala-Näs parish where they observed a high amount of migration and use the terms "in-migrant" and "out-migrant" to describe movement in and out of this parish. See Ingrid Eriksson and John Rogers, "Mobility in an Agrarian Community: Practical and Methodological Considerations," in *Aristocrats Farmers Proletarians: Essays in Swedish Demographic History* (Uppsala: Almqvist & Wiksell Informationsindustri AB, 1973), 62.

<sup>30</sup> Ingrid Eriksson and John Rogers, *Rural Labor and Population Change: Social and Demographic Developments in East-Central Sweden during the Nineteenth Century* (Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1978), 48-52.

<sup>31</sup> Eriksson and Rogers, *Rural Labor and Population Change*, 206.

longitudinal analysis that incorporates later movements and the life developments of the individual as is done in the biographical analysis below.

The American sociologist Charles Tilly complained about the inconsistent terminology used in various disciplines and devised his own based on distance and degree of dislocation. Rather than defining distance solely in geographical terms as Ravenstein had done, Tilly proposes this variable could also be defined by the amount of time and expense required to move from one place to another and the degree of cultural difference between the origin and the destination. The second variable considers the degree to which migrants remain connected to their place of origin after they leave.<sup>32</sup>

Cultural approaches to migration began as early as the 1960s with the work of Stephan Thernstrom as he began to interrogate questions about immigrants' ability to integrate economically and socially into American society. His study of migration to the city of Boston between 1880 and 1970 represents one of the first attempts to draw upon both historical and sociological methods to reveal the process of acculturation following several major waves of migration. It reveals his debt to Tilly's work and particularly what he later calls the "cultural distance" inherent to migration.<sup>33</sup> Thernstrom's conclusions for immigrant social mobility in the nineteenth century are unequivocally negative; immigrants began their occupational trajectory at the lowest strata and fewer were able to climb the social ladder than those born in America.<sup>34</sup> His analysis reveals the value in

---

<sup>32</sup> Charles Tilly, "Migration in Modern European History," in *Time Space and Man: Essay on Microdemography. Reports from the Symposium Time, Space and Man in Umeå, Sweden, June 1977*, ed. by Jan Sundin and Erik Söderland (Stockholm: Almqvist and Wiksell, 1979), 177.

<sup>33</sup> Stephan Thernstrom, *The Other Bostonians: Poverty and Progress in the American Metropolis, 1880-1970* (Cambridge: Harvard University press, 1973), 6, 29.

<sup>34</sup> Thernstrom, *The Other Bostonians*, 119-120.

examining occupational trajectories to better understand the quality of life people could expect by seeking their fortunes in new environments.

David Crew's analysis of the German city of Bochum addresses what he perceives as a lack of attention to the theoretical understanding of the relationship between industrialisation and social change in German historiography. He illuminates the large scale movement of people in and out of a late nineteenth-century industrial urban area and argues this was due to demographic, social, and economic variables since out-migration depended on age, marital status, occupation, individual social mobility, and fluctuations in the local business cycle.<sup>35</sup> This reveals the imperative to consider these variables when examining both individual and group migration patterns. Crew also describes an "occupational community" forged in the mining industry because the dangerous nature of the work inspired solidarity among workers and the neighbourhoods where miners lived remained relatively homogenous as they left after moving on to another occupation.<sup>36</sup> This lends credence to the concept of an occupational identity that transcends workers' geographic identification with their place of birth.

Historians and demographers with a wealth of data at their disposal began to interrogate how cities underwent explosive urbanisation in the nineteenth century and the origins of their new populations. Gerry Kearns and Jörg Vögele examine the "urban penalty."<sup>37</sup> Kearns uses data on several communicable diseases to show a reduction in

---

<sup>35</sup> David Crew, *Town in the Ruhr: A Social History of Bochum, 1860-1914* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1979), 9, 62.

<sup>36</sup> Crew, *Town in the Ruhr*, 193.

<sup>37</sup> Gerry Kearns, "The Urban Penalty and the Population History of England," in *Society, Health, and Population during the Demographic Transition*, ed. by Anders Brändström and Lars-Göran Tedebrand (Stockholm: Almqvist and Wiksell, 1988), 214-215.

what he refers to as the “urban penalty” or the disproportionate number of deaths in urban areas compared to their rural counterparts towards the end of the nineteenth century.<sup>38</sup>

Vögele corroborated these findings but emphasises the role of migration in offsetting the urban death rates in Germany’s ten largest cities in the nineteenth century.<sup>39</sup>

The urban penalty debate represents one facet of the wider standard of living debate and Richard Lawton explores the relation between in-migration and mortality and how it affected the growth of the population in nineteenth-century English cities. Gunnar Fridlitzius finds that between 1850 and 1880, Swedish urban areas including Stockholm witnessed a stable infant mortality rate, a strong but temporary peak in child mortality, and a marked decline in the mortality rates of those of working age (age 20 to 60).<sup>40</sup> These scholars focus on the quantitative evidence of the standard of living debate although a holistic approach that focuses on demographic and numerical data as well as qualitative evidence such as contemporaneous accounts provide a better understanding of conditions in cities at the end of the nineteenth century.

Edward Shorter proposes a radical explanation for major demographic trends in 19<sup>th</sup>-century Europe by highlighting the extent of women’s “freedom” during industrialisation. His provocative article suggests that movement to a new environment

---

<sup>38</sup> Kearns, “The Urban Penalty,” 216.

<sup>39</sup> Jörg Vögele, “The Urban Penalty Revisited: Urban Mortality Change in Imperial Germany,” in *Population Dynamics During Industrialization*, ed. by Anders Brändström and Lars-Göran Tedebrand (Umeå: Demographic Data Base, 2000), 85.

<sup>40</sup> Richard Lawton, “The Components of Demographic Change in a Rapidly Growing Port-City: The Case of Liverpool in the Nineteenth Century,” in *Population and Society in Western European Port Cities, c. 1650-1939*, ed. by Richard Lawton and Robert W. Lee (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2002) 91-123, 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*, ed. by Richard Lawton and Robert W. Lee (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2002), 141.

changed people's sexual behaviours and social and peer pressures encountered by migrants played some role in drawing them into new cultures unique to cities. He attempts to explain parallels in both legitimate and illegitimate fertility patterns in early modern Europe by arguing that they stemmed from women's growing sense of independence or "emancipation" and a growing knowledge of birth control. He suggests young women's arrival in urban centres enabled them to escape old agricultural jobs, the oppressive authority of parents and neighbours, and the old systems of courtship that led to marriage.<sup>41</sup> According to Shorter, as women gained access to wages, they pursued their independence by booking their own lodgings away from their parents' authority. He suggests young men and women in-migrants engaged in pre-marital sex to seek the approval of their peers who validated this "venturesomeness."<sup>42</sup>

Shorter's article inspired immediate backlash, most notably from Louise Tilly, Joan Scott, and Miriam Cohen who note that women held a great deal of power in "traditional" families because of their economic contribution which, even during industrialisation, was most often outside of the factory and in customary women's jobs.<sup>43</sup> They also point out that women's migration was shaped by a set of traditional institutions that resulted in limited individual freedom and sometimes in outright exploitation. Domestic service provided the safest form of migration since women's room and board was already arranged and they did not have to fend for themselves in a strange city as

---

<sup>41</sup> Edward Shorter, "Female Emancipation, Birth Control, and Fertility in European History," *The American Historical Review* 78 (3) (June 1973), 617-618.

<sup>42</sup> Shorter, "Female Emancipation," 620.

<sup>43</sup> Louise A. Tilly, Joan W. Scott, and Miriam Cohen, "Women's Work and European Fertility Patterns," *The Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 6 (3) (Winter 1976), 452.

soon as they arrived although they may well have needed to fend off the advances of male members of the family.<sup>44</sup>

Leslie Moch combines historical demography with sociology and even draws from anthropology in her analysis of the roles of kinship and friendship networks in 19<sup>th</sup>-century Nîmes.<sup>45</sup> The growth of that city was not due to industrialisation but rather the deindustrialisation of the surrounding towns that prompted migration to the city. The city's industrial sector was also in decline so it was the tertiary sector and especially household service, local state bureaucracy and civil service, and railroad administration that helped provide employment.<sup>46</sup> Moch's analysis is particularly useful because it focuses on both migrants' home environment and the cities to which they travelled. Her demographic approach provides a robust, gendered perspective of the differences between women's and men's migration styles, occupational trajectory, and marriage patterns. She traces the streams of migration and combines this with a micro-level analysis of individual "biographies."<sup>47</sup> This research model serves as an excellent way to explore in-migration to Stockholm in the latter half of the nineteenth century.

Sweden boasts some of the most sophisticated census records from the 19<sup>th</sup> century thanks to the meticulous accounts kept by the country's parish priests. Generations of historians, geographers, and ethnologists have used these records to examine the migratory behaviour of the country's inhabitants. The most thorough

---

<sup>44</sup> Tilly, Scott, and Cohen, "Women's Work and European Fertility Patterns," 455. See also Louise A. Tilly and Joan W. Scott, *Women, Work, and Family* (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1978), 108.

<sup>45</sup> Leslie Page Moch, *Paths to the City: Regional Migration in Nineteenth-Century France* (Beverly Hills: Sage Publications, 1983), 159.

<sup>46</sup> Moch, *Paths to the City*, 104.

<sup>47</sup> Moch, *Paths to the City*, 28.

examination of this relationship between Stockholm and its surrounding counties is that of Gösta Ahlberg and Uno Gustafsson. Ahlberg's book serves as part of ongoing efforts to preserve Stockholm's heritage and he examines the composition and geographical origin of the city's population between 1850 and 1950.<sup>48</sup> He discovers there were more women in Stockholm for the entire period and most of them were of working age between 20 and 50 years old. He also traces the geographic origins of Stockholm's population by county from 1860 to 1930. This is discussed further below.<sup>49</sup>

Uno Gustafson investigates the demographic effects of industrialisation on Stockholm and compares the changes in class composition with other Swedish towns and cities from 1860 to 1910. He finds that in 1860, 1880, and 1900, industrial recruitment continued to draw workers from the immediately surrounding counties. More distant counties provided the workforce as the demand for labour in the city grew. He indicates the pattern of labour recruitment was closely tied to the development of the kingdom's railway system.<sup>50</sup>

The Swedish historian Lotta Vikström picks up on the rapidly changing dynamics of Europe's urban centres by applying a gendered perspective to migration patterns to nineteenth-century Sundsvall using data from the Demographic Database in Umeå. She responds to the work of modernization theorists who suggest the nineteenth-century city represents either "Babylon" or "Jerusalem": historical actors either succumbed to the

---

<sup>48</sup> Gösta Ahlberg, *Stockholms befolkningsutveckling efter 1850* (Stockholm: Monografier utgivna av Stockholms Kommunalförvaltning, 1958), 7.

<sup>49</sup> Ahlberg, *Stockholms befolkningsutveckling*, 33, 36, 88.

<sup>50</sup> Uno Gustafson, *Industrialismens storstad: Studier rörande Stockholms sociala, ekonomiska, och demografiska struktur 1860-1910*. Monografier utgivna av Stockholms kommunalförvaltning Nr. 37 (Stockholm: Stockholms kommunalförvaltning, 1976), 32.



dangers of the city or found liberation in the new opportunities it provided.<sup>51</sup> The “Babylon” thesis is of particular importance when addressing prostitution in urban areas and is dealt with in greater length in Chapter Five. Vikström disagrees with both representations and the commonly held belief that women followed male-breadwinners or migrated because of better marriage prospects in urban areas. She performs a life-course analysis to explore their unique reasons for migrating to Sundsvall to address this debate.<sup>52</sup>

Vikström’s study serves as an excellent model for Swedish migration to urban centres during the 19<sup>th</sup> century because she reconstructs the conditions that influenced the individual’s decision to migrate, the patterns they displayed when they did so, and the degree of success they achieved after they settled in their new homes. She uses Giddens’ structuration theory to investigate the structural forces that influenced individuals migrating to Sundsvall and adopts what she refers to as a “meso analysis” that examines both historical actors and the society that surrounded them to explore the interplay between individual actions in response to wider structural changes.<sup>53</sup> She begins by zooming out to focus on the economic opportunities that attracted women from Sweden’s rural areas and the cultural forces that shaped nineteenth-century understandings of gender, the types of work available to women, and their capacity for social mobility. Vikström then narrows her focus to analyze the routes pursued by different women as

---

<sup>51</sup> Mark Girouard, *Cities & People: A Social and Architectural History* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1985), 343.

<sup>52</sup> Lotta Vikström, *Gendered Routes and Courses: The Socio-Spatial Mobility of Migrants in Nineteenth-Century Sundsvall, Sweden* (Umeå: Umeå University, 2003), 32.

<sup>53</sup> Vikström, *Gendered Routes and Courses*, 41, 62.

they travelled to Sundsvall, settled in the city, or returned to their home parishes.

Although her analysis focuses primarily on women she incorporates a comparative discussion with male migrants to examine similarities and differences between the two.<sup>54</sup>

Vikström's work inspires the approach of this dissertation at both the theoretical and methodological levels.

### *Gender*

Joan Scott is credited with providing a working definition of "gender" that incorporates power and reveals the influence of literary scholars. Yvonne Hirdman's near simultaneous articulation of the "gender system" examines the hierarchical primacy of men in all western societies. Both theoretical approaches acknowledge that gender is related to power inequalities between men and women although both fail to address the historical origins of these inequalities. Joan Scott has returned to this subject more recently to produce a more nuanced definition of gender that seeks to address how this ephemeral force was used for political or social purposes. This then requires the historicization of how sex and sexual difference have been conceived in those same contexts.

Joan Scott's *Gender and the Politics of History* represents the most important theoretical shift within the field of gender history as it was Scott's essay "Gender: A Useful Category of Historical Analysis" that signaled the shift from women's history to gender history.<sup>55</sup> She provides a working definition of gender and advocates for the

---

<sup>54</sup> Vikström, *Gendered Routes and Courses*, 41, 136.

<sup>55</sup> Bonnie G. Smith, "Gender I: From Women's History to Gender History," in *The SAGE Handbook for Historical Theory*, ed. by Nancy Partner and Sarah Foot (London: SAGE Publications Ltd, 2013), 276-277.

comparative historical analysis of men and women. Scott was responding to the rise of social history which she criticizes for assuming gender difference can be explained within its existing frame of economic determinism and is, therefore, too integrationist in its treatment of women.<sup>56</sup> She also rejects the practice of “her-story” because it reinforces the particularity of women within the study of a universalistic “his-story.”<sup>57</sup>

Scott provides an alternative framework by defining gender based on two propositions. The first is that gender is a constitutive element of social relationships based on perceived differences between the sexes, and the second is that gender is a primary way of signifying relationships of power.<sup>58</sup> Scott’s use of “power” indicates the influence of what Judith Butler describes as the amalgamation of theories proposed by several French intellectuals to whom American scholars frequently refer.<sup>59</sup> Scott also relies heavily on Michel Foucault and Jacques Derrida for both her definition of gender and her later interrogation of the historical treatment of class.

In the Swedish historiography, Yvonne Hirdman begins by postulating that one’s entire life is divided by sex in what she refers to as the “taboo of separation” where men assume a greater position in the social hierarchy and thus dictate what is the norm and what is universal.<sup>60</sup> She then provides the theoretical concept of the “gender system” suggesting the higher social value assigned to the male sex created a ‘network’ of processes, phenomena, perceptions, and expectations between men, women, and society.

---

<sup>56</sup> Joan W. Scott, *Gender and the Politics of History* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1988), 22.

<sup>57</sup> Scott, *Gender and the Politics of History*, 18.

<sup>58</sup> Scott, *Gender and the Politics of History*, 42.

<sup>59</sup> Judith Butler, *Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity* (New York: Routledge, 2006) X.

<sup>60</sup> Yvonne Hirdman, ”Genussystemet - reflexioner kring kvinnors sociala underordning,” *Tidskrift för Genusvetenskap* 3 (1988), 52.

This dynamic serves as the basis for other systems of power including the social, economic, and political orders.<sup>61</sup>

Scott's definition of gender provides the framework for a side-by-side comparison of the opportunities available to men and women in late 19<sup>th</sup>-century Stockholm and how both had to employ unique strategies to cope with everyday life. It also helps illuminate how men and women influenced different social structures such as class, gender, and morality and the role the state played in enforcing those structures. Hirdman's analysis helps us understand how government policy and social norms were predicated on women's marital status and how some women developed unique strategies for delaying or avoiding marriage while enjoying the social and economic benefits of cohabitation.

Recent scholars have criticized both Hirdman and Scott but more specifically how historians have uncritically adopted their theoretical approaches without properly considering the origins of gendered differences and its implications in unique social and temporal contexts. The historian Sara Edenheim points out that because Hirdman never actually identifies the origins of difference for which she initially criticized biologism, her theory is ontologically unsound and can only reproduce similar research on gendered difference albeit in various times and environments.<sup>62</sup>

Edenheim also highlights Joan Scott's later work that addresses this very same question and attempts to examine the theoretical creation of gender and its relation to sexual difference. Edenheim bemoans historians' lack of attention to Scott's work after 1990 and points out that Scott later altered the definition of "gender" to encompass both

---

<sup>61</sup> Hirdman "Genussystemet," 51.

<sup>62</sup> Sara Edenheim, "Att komma till Scott – teorins roll inom svensk genushistoria," *Scandia* (2012), 24-25.

the relationship between the psychic and the normative attempts to create a force that is deployed for both social and political projects such as nation-building or family structure. It is impossible to understand these projects without historicizing the meanings of both sex and sexual difference. This signalled a reversal from Scott's earlier views and her more recent scholarship calls for historicizing the concept of "woman" which is otherwise reproduced uncritically and as a natural phenomenon that is constantly reinscribed even by historians that contend that "women" are discursively constructed.<sup>63</sup>

The origins of gendered differences are far beyond the scope of this study although Scott, Hirdman, and the views of their critics are useful for recognising the legacies of the institutionalisation of gender at the highest levels such as the state. This is especially evident in archives that have often "silenced" women's narratives. Recovering these voices is no small task and it is essential to recognise that the traces left behind of working-class women in criminal records is inherently problematic as it runs the risk of recreating narratives based on sources that imply deviance rather than representativity. Biographical analysis must combat this by situating these criminal records within a much wider temporal context as is done in Chapter Four.

#### *First-Generation Thesis*

At the time of its original publication in 1973, Herbert Gutman's "first-generation thesis" was pathbreaking for several reasons.<sup>64</sup> Gutman departed from the conventional labour history established in the United States by John R. Commons and his graduate

---

<sup>63</sup> Joan W. Scott, "Unanswered Questions," *The American Historical Review* 113 (5) (Dec. 2008), 1424, 1428.

<sup>64</sup> Herbert Gutman, "Work, Culture, and Society in Industrialising America, 1815-1919," *The American Historical Review* 78 (3) (1973), 531-588.

students at the University of Wisconsin in the 1930s. The first-generation thesis explores the process of acculturation for three different generations of workers and argues that they faced similar challenges despite the vast temporal and cultural differences of each generation. Gutman observes similar behavior among workers from two different industrial and urban contexts in the nineteenth century. Both groups took unsanctioned time away from work and employers responded by introducing different disciplinary measures to control this behavior and condition it out of their workforces.<sup>65</sup> Gutman concludes that the working class constantly remade itself as each generation contributed its own unique customs and exercised similar liberties in response to industrial capitalism to produce “common modes of thought and patterns of behaviour.”<sup>66</sup> Each wave of new arrivals in the city struggled in similar ways as they either accepted or rejected forces that aimed to assimilate them into the urban culture and uphold the productive capacity of the capitalist system.

Gutman’s analysis of the earliest generation of workers who came from America’s rural and preindustrial culture most closely resembles the rural peasantry and proletariat that eventually made their way to the Swedish capital. Drinking patterns and other behaviours transcended geography as workers moved to industrial areas and joined the

---

<sup>65</sup> Herbert Gutman, *Work, Culture, and Society in Industrializing America: Essays in American Working-Class and Social History* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1976), 20-24.

<sup>66</sup> Gutman, *Work, Culture, and Society*, 74-75. To Gutman, industrial capitalists attempted to compromise this constantly evolving working-class culture which prompted the expression of working-class agency. These ideas are direct responses to the work of E. P. Thompson who pioneered scholarship on the imposition of time and work-discipline and the “moral economy” among English villagers which he argues is exemplified by food riots they incited after economic or social conditions threatened their livelihood. See for example E. P. Thompson, “Time, Work-Discipline, and Industrial Capitalism,” *Past & Present* 38 (1) (1967), 56-97 and E. P. Thompson, “The Moral Economy of the English Crowd in the Eighteenth Century,” *Past & Present*, 50 (1971), 76-136.

urban working class thereby revealing the continuity of cultural customs and the structural forces of disciplinary tactics employed by industrial capitalists to ensure a punctual and productive workforce.<sup>67</sup> Gutman's theoretical approach is useful for demonstrating the unique struggles of in-migrants to a city and their common approaches to dealing with hardship.

*"Economy of Makeshifts"*

Several Swedish scholars have drawn upon a wealth of primary source material to examine the role of industrialisation and address the "standard of living debate" in Sweden although many fail to capture the ability of workers to resist structural economic oppression and rampant underemployment especially in urban areas.<sup>68</sup> Olwen Hufton's concept of an "economy of makeshifts" recognizes the multitude of diverse temporary and seasonal employment that enabled workers to survive in the final years of the *ancien régime* in France. The economy of makeshifts took many forms including legitimate and clandestine sources of income such as taking extra work, seasonal migration, smuggling goods, sending children to run errands or even beg.<sup>69</sup>

---

<sup>67</sup> Gutman, *Work, Culture, and Society*, 12, Thompson, "Time, Work-Discipline, and Industrial Capitalism," 81.

<sup>68</sup> The "standard of living debate" dates back to the English Marxists and their disagreement with several economic historians such as William Ashworth who claimed the English standard of living improved with industrialisation. Thompson and Hobsbawm disagreed. Thompson pointed to the contemporaneous descriptions of living and working conditions while Hobsbawm calculated the standard of living using the wages of chronically underemployed workers. See for example *The Standard of Living in Britain in the Industrial Revolution*, ed. by Arthur J. Taylor (London: Meuthen, 1975). For an examination of the living standards of Stockholm's workers in the first half of the nineteenth century, see Johan Söderberg, Ulf Jonsson, and Christer Persson, *A Stagnating Metropolis: The Economy and Demography of Stockholm, 1750-1850* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991). For the latter half see Yvonne Hirdman, *Magfrågan-Mat som mål och medel, Stockholm 1870-1920* (Stockholm: Rabén och Sjögren, 1983).

<sup>69</sup> Hufton, *The Poor of Eighteenth Century France*, 15.

This concept extends far beyond eighteenth-century France and Heather Shore's work reveals Hufton's concept manifested elsewhere in Europe. She examines crime and criminality in London in the first half of the eighteenth century and operates from the premise that crimes such as theft, prostitution, and fencing stolen goods may be considered to be a part of the broader makeshift economy of the poor.<sup>70</sup> Workers in late 19<sup>th</sup>-century Stockholm similarly engaged in multiple sources of income to produce a living wage although it has often been ignored by Swedish labour historians.

The modern study of Swedish labour history falls into two categories. *Arbetarrörelsens historia* refers to the history of the labour movement in Sweden and encompasses its intellectual and political history. In contrast *Arbetslivshistoria* is more characteristic of social history. Historians in the 1970s and 1980s began to experiment with *arbetslivshistoria* based on research conducted in rural, local-area investigations. This generation of Swedish historians was influenced by the work of Harry Braverman who advocates for an analysis of capitalism as it unfolded on the shopfloor.<sup>71</sup> Subsequent studies focused on rural areas and small villages and neglect the collective living and working experiences of men and women across multiple industries such as those found in the capital at the end of the nineteenth century.<sup>72</sup>

---

<sup>70</sup> Heather Shore, "Crime, Criminal Networks and the Survival Strategies of the Poor in Early Eighteenth-Century London," in *The Poor in England 1700-1850: An Economy of Makeshifts*, ed. by Steven King and Alannah Tomkins (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2003), 138.

<sup>71</sup> Mary Hilson, "Swedish Approaches to the Rise of Labour: A British Perspective," *Scandinavian Journal of History* (26) (2001): 116, Lars Edgren and Lars Olsson, "Swedish Working-Class History," *International Labor and Working-Class History* 35 (Spring, 1989), 76.

<sup>72</sup> For a survey of these projects undertaken up until the year 1984, see Bo Stråth's excellent historiographical essay "Recent Development in Swedish Social History of the Period since 1800," *Social History* 9 (1) (1984), 77-85.



Lasse Cornell's examination of the work, standard of living, and recruitment practices of workers in Sundsvall between 1860 and 1890 represents one attempt to explore whether conditions improved during times of explosive industrial growth. Cornell adopts a more holistic approach to viewing workers' quality of life although his analysis fails to capture the wider shared experiences in Sundsvall because he focuses his analysis on permanent workers although this area of Sweden saw extremely high migration during industrialisation.<sup>73</sup> Both qualitative and quantitative approaches are necessary to view the standard of living in 19<sup>th</sup>-century cities especially among in-migrants.

Birgitta Skarin Frykman's *Arbetarkultur—Göteborg 1890* represents an even narrower temporal approach that seeks to identify the social and economic conditions that contributed to the general strike in Gothenburg that occurred in that year. Her background as an ethnologist leads her to explore many areas of working-class life including the characteristics that separated them from the upper classes.<sup>74</sup> She combines her analysis of class perception with an investigation into the unique experiences of men and women to demonstrate the realities of everyday life for the working class.<sup>75</sup> Her qualitative approach and her discussion of working-class culture compliments the quantitative approach used by other scholars who apply demographic approaches to their studies of the Swedish working class.

---

<sup>73</sup> Lasse Cornell, *Sundsvallsdistriktets sågverksarbetare 1860-1890: Arbete levnadsförhållanden rekrytering* (Göteborg: Göteborgs Universitet, 1982), 10-11.

<sup>74</sup> Birgitta Skarin Frykman, *Arbetarkultur—Göteborg 1890*, Skrifter från Etnologiska föreningen i Västsverige 8 (Gothenburg: Etnologiska föreningen i Västsverige, 1990), 33.

<sup>75</sup> Frykman, *Arbetarkultur*, 195.

Several historians find evidence of makeshift economies when comparing Stockholm with other European cities between the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries. Johan Söderberg, Ulf Jonsson, and Christer Persson argue the city's economy stagnated during this period and suggest workers participated in formal and informal economies as they adapted to reductions in real wages and increased competition due to the oversaturation of workers on the job market. They note the gendered nature of the formal economy as women's formal work was primarily found as maidservants in the home of bourgeois merchants and guaranteed relative security in the form of year-long contracts that also provided room and board.<sup>76</sup> There was no equivalent of this in men's formal work and they experienced unemployment based on seasonal patterns of work availability. This was particularly true in the construction industry. These historians also note men experienced considerable competition in the informal economy as many of them produced handicrafts because their salaries were too low to keep up with inflation.<sup>77</sup>

Theft and prostitution were important activities in the makeshift economies of Stockholm's working class at the end of the nineteenth century.<sup>78</sup> These activities do more than demonstrate a pattern of suffering as they also illustrate the tenacity of members of the lower classes and their resilience during times of economic hardship. In other words, they provide some sense of agency in the lives of members of the lower classes while acknowledging the considerable structural challenges that confronted them.

---

<sup>76</sup> Söderberg, Jonsson, and Persson, *A Stagnating Metropolis*, 54.

<sup>77</sup> Söderberg, Jonsson, and Persson, *A Stagnating Metropolis*, 59.

<sup>78</sup> This is argued more fully with examples provided in Chapter 5 of this dissertation.

Demonstrating the agency of individuals is also central to the concept of “weapons of the weak.”

*“Weapons of the Weak”*

James Scott’s “weapons of the weak” provides a methodological approach that departs from many studies conducted by Swedish scholars who emphasized the role of collective action as a unifying force for the working class. Scott’s “weapons of the weak” is a concept that aims to illustrate the agency of people in disadvantaged or oppressed contexts who either do not possess the capacity to organise safely for social or political reform, or have nothing to gain from such agitation. Resistance need not be overtly advertised on banners or in demonstrations but can be seen in acts of false or malicious compliance, the theft of materials, acts of sabotage, foot-dragging or time theft, and desertion.<sup>79</sup>

Scott imagined people’s everyday lives as a series of transcripts that communicated their role in society in either dominant or subordinate positions of power as they interacted in public and in private spaces. Men and women in subordinate positions create “public transcripts” that are shaped by those above them in the social, economic, or political order. In societies with the greatest disparity, these public transcripts assume highly stereotypical qualities as these individuals feign acceptance of various rules of behaviour as a survival strategy.<sup>80</sup> Conversely, people in positions of power adopt their own public transcripts that revolve around and reinforce their control of

---

<sup>79</sup> Scott, *Weapons of the Weak*, XVI, 29.

<sup>80</sup> James C. Scott, *Domination and the Arts of Resistance: Hidden Transcripts* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2008), 2.

those beneath them. This may manifest as violent expressions of domination or carefully cultivated paternalism that underlines their economic superiority.<sup>81</sup>

The antithesis of the public transcript was the “hidden” and this acted as a “weapon of the weak” for those in subordinate positions as they carefully chose in who to confide their rage, dissatisfaction, and personal grievances against those in power. These conversations transpired amongst people in similar circumstances and in secure social spaces far from the eyes and ears of those who held power over them.<sup>82</sup> These rarely came to the fore in open confrontation and thus acted as a unifying sense of expression that also reinforced people’s positions within their society’s hierarchy as it cemented one group against another and implies a sense of agency where none explicitly existed. Men and women in Stockholm employed myriad “weapons” or tactics including airing their grievances in secure social spaces such as the tavern and this created a unifying effect well before workers united under an official organ of class solidarity such as unions or the Social Democrat Party in the 20<sup>th</sup> century.

This approach stands in stark contrast to labour historians in Sweden who viewed the birth of the working class through the lens of strike action. In her seminal analysis of strike action in Stockholm, Jane Cederqvist focuses on the collectivisation efforts of workers between 1850 and 1914 and their efforts to improve their conditions. She echoes the Marxist historical materialism at the heart of “the Formation of the Working Class” project by taking the proletarianization of workers as her starting point. To Cederqvist, the introduction of automation and rationalisation created proletarianized workers and forced

---

<sup>81</sup> Scott, *Domination and the Arts of Resistance*, 56.

<sup>82</sup> Scott, *Domination and the Arts of Resistance*, 8.

them to change their attitudes towards their employers. It was this change in attitude in the “new industrial worker” and not the craftsmen or skilled workers that conferred the working class with its political consciousness and it was these workers who were willing to strike to protect their interests. She argues the strike served as a symbol of a unified political consciousness since it represented action against the established social classes in favour of their own class’s interests.<sup>83</sup> Ingemar Johansson’s study on unions and strikes in Norrköpping between 1870 and 1910 is another example of this emphasis on collective action.<sup>84</sup>

Some historians erred away from this form of analysis by incorporating social historical methods to examine workers’ culture and the unifying effect of shared traditions. Lars Edgren examines the development of capitalist forms of production in the craft industries of Malmö more than a century before the guild system was deregulated in Sweden. He adopts a holistic approach that focuses on workshop size, living arrangements, and marriage rates among apprentices and journeymen and finds the framework of the guild system began to crumble prior to economic deregulation as masters increasingly abandoned the “honour of the craft.”<sup>85</sup> He reveals attempts of collective resistance against new legislation and decrees that threatened to undercut the

---

<sup>83</sup> Jane Cederqvist, *Arbetare i strejk: Studier rörande arbetarnas politiska mobilisering under industrialismens genombrott : Stockholm 1850-1909*, Monografier utgivna av Stockholms kommunalförvaltings Nr. 41 (Stockholm: Liberförlag, 1980), 174-176.

<sup>84</sup> Ingemar Johansson, *Strejken som vapen: Fackföreningar och strejker i Norrköping 1870-1910* (Stockholm: Tiden, 1982).

<sup>85</sup> Lars Edgren, *Lärling - gesäll - mästare: hantverk och hantverkare i Malmö 1750-1847* (Lund: Dialogos, 1987), 236.

craftsmen's honour and this served as a rallying point that provided a sense of commonality among workers.<sup>86</sup>

Workers deployed subtle acts of resistance while on the job or in their dealings with the police and this afforded them a sense of self-determination where they otherwise experienced overwhelming oppression from the state, their employer, and other authority figures that sought to force them into positions of subordination and keep them there. The common deployment of these "weapons" or tactics is what united workers before trade unionism and more visible forms of resistance ever did. This paints a radically different picture of workers' understanding of themselves. It dismisses militancy as the sole expression of solidarity and helps us understand how shared experiences led to the establishment of a sense of class identity after these men and women arrived in the capital.

The American geographer Allan Pred uses Scott's "weapons of the weak" and Michel de Certeau's concept of "tactics" to emphasise the subtleties and nuances of workers' resistance in late nineteenth-century Stockholm. Pred recognises general forms of oppressive forces including police surveillance and more specific transgressions such as when shipowners broke with the customary rhythm of work and called for ever faster unloading of steamships.<sup>87</sup> Workers engaged in both passive and active forms of resistance including drinking on the job or using tactics that slowed the process of unloading ships to maximize the hours for which they were paid.<sup>88</sup>

---

<sup>86</sup> Edgren, *Lärling - gesäll - mästare*, 257-258.

<sup>87</sup> Pred, *Lost Words and Lost Worlds*, 221.

<sup>88</sup> Pred, *Lost Words and Lost Worlds*, 219.

The breadth of Pred's analysis is impressive and he illustrates the constant making and remaking of class as it incorporated new members from the countryside although he rarely explores the experiences of the individual. He claims workers used "survival strategies" although he fails to address the devastating effects of the ebbs and flows of the city's economic prosperity, the state's oppressive treatment of prostitutes, or the perils of homelessness and the constant threat of vagrancy charges and forced labour. Biographical analysis helps address this problem by demonstrating the city's horrors and men and women's triumphs and failures. This also creates a context surrounding these "weapons" which is imperative to distinguish deliberate acts of resistance. The temporal and geographic context decides when people deliberately attempted to flout authority as drinking on the job or otherwise deliberately wasting time may be seen as an act of resistance against an employer or foreman while drinking in the home after working hours does not carry the same implications of resistance. The common deployment of survival and resistance tactics (and the shared suffering that inspired them in the first place) established a sense of commonality among workers despite occupational and geographical differences. This similarity acted as the seedbed for social networks that could accommodate new arrivals and aided in their social integration in the city as they too adopted a shared working-class identity.

### **1.3: Historical Methods and Sources**

Historians rarely combine the methods drawn from the older practices of the New Labour historians and the newer practices of historians following the cultural turn. An approach that incorporates the New Labour methods requires the construction of an

original definition of “class” based on E. P. Thompson’s argument that it is created by shared by experience and Eric Hobsbawm’s observations of intraclass socio-economic diversity. This new definition also responds to Thompson’s and Hobsbawm’s critics who call for a side-by-side analysis of the competing interests of both the working and middle classes while focusing on the similarities that transcended socioeconomic differences within them.

This can then serve as the basis for further analysis that incorporates the post-structural methods explored by Gareth Steadman Jones, Joan Scott, William Sewell Jr., and finally Patrick Joyce to examine the role of language in the creation of class and how both transform across time. These two different approaches are essential for understanding class identity as articulated by Ira Katznelson and Jürgen Kocka, and the role of social networks and other groups in subverting other unique identities in favour of a shared class identity. A demographic analysis of a sample of in-migrants to Stockholm and a biographical approach provide the quantitative and qualitative information necessary to understand the how these social networks emerged and the roles they played in men and women’s survival in the city.

#### *Class Consciousness through Experience*

The English Marxists developed a new methodology for understanding class consciousness in the 1960s and 1970s although some of the most preeminent scholars of the Communist Historians’ Group disagreed about when it developed. E. P. Thompson’s seminal work *The Making of the English Working Class* is the product of his unique upbringing in the post-war atmosphere of the New Left and his concept of “history from



below” reveals the influence of the Communist Party’s Historians’ Group.<sup>89</sup> Thompson and the Group initially inherited two theoretical considerations of class from Marx. The first sense of “class” found in *The Communist Manifesto* refers to “broad aggregates of people which can be classified together by an objective criterion – because they stand in a similar relationship to the means of production.”<sup>90</sup> The second refers to class consciousness, where “class in the full sense only comes into existence at the historical moment when classes begin to acquire consciousness of themselves as such” that appears in Marx’s *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte*.<sup>91</sup> Historians of the Group wanted to push the boundaries of class analysis beyond the conceptualisation of class as a struggle between capitalists and workers punctuated by a series of strikes. They suggest in their internal documents that in addition to these strikes, class struggle was also an ideological battle.

This led Thompson to move away from rigid class distinctions based on the control of the means of production. His analysis of the brief rise of Jacobinism surrounding the London Corresponding Society includes members with widely varying political views and goals and vastly different occupational backgrounds.<sup>92</sup> In addition to identifying the early unifying tenets of Jacobinism, Thompson sketches out his broader methodological concern which is the unifying experience these men shared.

---

<sup>89</sup> E. P. Thompson, *The Making of the English Working Class* (London: Victor Gollancz Ltd ), Eric Hobsbawm, “The Historians’ Group,” in *Rebels and Their Causes: Essays in Honour of A L Morton*, ed. by Maurice Cornforth (New York: Humanities Press, 1979), 44.

<sup>90</sup> Eric Hobsbawm, *Workers: Worlds of Labor* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1984), 15-16.

<sup>91</sup> Hobsbawm, *Workers*, 16.

<sup>92</sup> Thompson, *The Making*, 181.

The very brief consideration Thompson pays to class consciousness in his introduction to *The Making* is frequently cited as proof of his overall theoretical approach. Thompson suggests “class” emerges as a result of shared experiences that led people to articulate an identity amongst themselves and against those with competing or different interests.<sup>93</sup> Thompson returns to this idea and further articulates it after introducing Jacobinism by suggesting this movement provided the consciousness of an identity of interests between diverse groups of working people. He then cites the self-conscious working-class institutions including trade unions, friendly societies, educational and religious movements, political organisations and periodicals, as well as the more ephemeral working-class intellectual traditions, community-patterns, and a working-class structure of feeling as integral components of the working-class consciousness.<sup>94</sup> Thompson’s emphasis on the shared institutions and subsequent lived experience of the working class was his attempt to save it from the “condescension of posterity” that Thompson and the Group criticized other historians of perpetuating.<sup>95</sup>

Hobsbawm and Thompson differ in where they situate the origins of working-class consciousness and the subsequent working-class culture. Thompson places them at the end of the eighteenth century while Hobsbawm locates it in the latter half of the nineteenth century. It was in the nineteenth century that a more stratified class structure evolved in response to the growing industrial economy that still relied primarily on manual labour.<sup>96</sup> This period also witnessed the rise of tertiary employment in the form of

---

<sup>93</sup> Thompson, *The Making*, 9.

<sup>94</sup> Thompson, *The Making*, 194.

<sup>95</sup> Thompson, *The Making*, 12.

<sup>96</sup> Hobsbawm, *Workers*, 184.

the service industry especially in urban areas that disproportionately employed working-class women. Hobsbawm claims that the English working class was not “made” until well after Thompson’s *The Making* ends.<sup>97</sup>

Hobsbawm also established multiple echelons within the working class using the distinction of the “labour aristocracy” to demonstrate economic and social stratification among workers.<sup>98</sup> He establishes six different variables for distinguishing members of the aristocracy of labour from the remainder of the British working class at the end of the nineteenth century. These include the regularity of workers’ earnings, their prospects of social security, the conditions of their work, their relations with the social strata above and below them, their general living conditions, and their prospects for advancement and those of their children.<sup>99</sup> These differences produce blurred lines between a wide stratum of men and women but Hobsbawm defines the aristocracy of labour as primarily comprised of the lower middle class, artisans, and craftsmen.<sup>100</sup>

More recent critiques of Thompson and Hobsbawm provide fruitful perspectives on “class” and how to define it. Theodore Koditschek begins by pointing out that

---

<sup>97</sup> Hobsbawm, *Workers*, 185-186, 196.

<sup>98</sup> The term “labour aristocracy” first appeared in Friedrich Engels’ 1892 edition of *The Conditions of the Working Class in England* in 1844 and although Engels was the first to coin the term, this concept appeared in popular politico-social debates in England in the 1880s. See Eric Hobsbawm, “Lenin and the ‘Aristocracy of Labor,’” *Monthly Review: An Independent Socialist Magazine* 64 (7) (2012), 27. Originally published in the same magazine in August 1970. Vladimir Lenin used the term in 1917 to refer to the effects of British colonialism and the incorporation of indigenous persons into the British workforce as they assumed the unskilled work that fed the empire’s economy. He spoke pointedly about the benefits workers in the labour aristocracy reaped back in the metropole as they continued to receive greater wages while indigenous workers experienced exploitation and poor pay. See Vladimir Lenin, *Imperialism, The Highest Stage of Capitalism: A Popular Outline in Lenin’s Selected Works* (Moscow: Progress Publishers, 1963), 281-282.

<sup>99</sup> Eric Hobsbawm, *Labouring Men: Studies in the History of Labour*. (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1964), 273.

<sup>100</sup> Hobsbawm, *Labouring Men*, 273.

Thompson's narrow focus on artisans fails to capture the shared experience of poorly-paid and underemployed workers. He also claims that Thompson never articulated the bourgeois or middle-class "competing interests" against which the working class was supposed to define itself.<sup>101</sup> Koditschek explores the ideology of the bourgeoisie in relation to the working class and echoes the work of Max Weber by claiming their religion served as the basis for the idea of the "self-made man."<sup>102</sup>

Trevor Lummis provides a critique of the concept of the labour aristocracy by revealing its failure to recognise the similarities in experience between members of the labour aristocracy and the proletarian workers beneath them in the social hierarchy. As does Koditschek, Lummis also emphasises the importance of a side-by-side comparison between traditional "labour aristocrats" such as engineers, and those far below them.<sup>103</sup> Lummis offers an alternative model of social organisation that disregards the distinctions of "skilled" and "unskilled" and emphasises the regularity of work and their tendency towards collective action.<sup>104</sup>

Lummis also criticizes Hobsbawm's theoretical framework for its failure to address the experiences of working-class women. He points out Hobsbawm's original six criteria emphasize the experience of the "skilled workers" whose income relegated women to the home as their income was not needed to supplement the family economy. He laments this neglect of women's experiences in the study of any class experience but

---

<sup>101</sup> Theodore Koditschek, *Class Formation and Urban Industrial Society: Bradford, 1750-1850* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 5, Thompson, *The Making*, 9.

<sup>102</sup> Koditschek, *Class Formation and Urban Industrial Society*, 186-187.

<sup>103</sup> Trevor Lummis, *The Labour Aristocracy, 1851-1914* (Aldershot: Scolar Press, 1994), 28.

<sup>104</sup> Lummis, *The Labour Aristocracy*, 29, 34.

especially those of the working class. These women's waged and unwaged labour, control of domestic resources, operation of neighbourhood networks, and the socialisation of children enabled them to form their own working-class consciousness. Lummis also points out the concept of a labour aristocracy is blind to the cultural values that surrounded women's work in different geographic areas. For example, married women who were employed outside the home in an area where such activity was relatively common would likely have been more accepted than in areas where such activity was rare.<sup>105</sup>

These original ideas and criticisms make it possible to formulate an original definition of class that recognises the role of other social groups in establishing a class consciousness, the heterogeneity of classes themselves, and the importance of establishing commonalities that allow groups to overcome those differences and formulate a class identity. "Class" is best seen as consisting of fluid boundaries delineated by common experiences and articulated against the competing interests of those above and below it in the social order.

### *The Discursive Construction of Class*

Scholars in the 1980s began to acknowledge a transitional phase between traditional methodologies for practicing history using "class" as a category of analysis and new post-structural methodologies drawn from literary theory and progressively adapted to the study of history. This "cultural turn" or "linguistic turn" as it was labelled in Europe was not as abrupt as the label implies since historians practiced several

---

<sup>105</sup> Lummis, *The Labour Aristocracy*, 144.

different cultural approaches as early as the Great Depression. The “cultural turn” began as historians rejected historical materialism and political economy in favour of cultural history with language at its core.<sup>106</sup>

This transition was contentious at times especially as these new methods were retroactively applied to classic Marxists texts to advocate adopting critical theory and rejecting or subverting historical materialism.<sup>107</sup> At stake was the very essence of traditional labour history—political economy—as the concept of “class” came under fire as a useful category of analysis. Some post-structural revisionists claimed the end of “class” altogether and advocated instead for an analysis of how “class” was politically constructed through distinction and exclusion as well as inclusion. Other historians sought a middle ground by examining the role of language in establishing a class consciousness.

Gareth Stedman Jones was one of the earliest historians to engage with the relationship between “class” as an analytic category and language. He takes issue with the depiction of the “social” as pioneered by the English Marxists and examines the language the workers themselves used. He argues that since “class” is embedded in language it should be analysed in its linguistic context and because there are different languages of class that exist simultaneously, this category of analysis can no longer be taken for granted as a social descriptor as historical actors may never have articulated it as such.<sup>108</sup>

---

<sup>106</sup> James W. Cook, “The Kids are All Right: On the ‘Turning’ of Cultural History,” *The American Historical Review* 117 (3) (2012), 751.

<sup>107</sup> Bryan D. Palmer, *Descent into Discourse: The Reification of Language and the Writing of Social History* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1990), XIII.

<sup>108</sup> Gareth Stedman Jones, *Languages of Class: Studies in English Working Class History 1832-1982* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), 7-8.

At approximately the same time as Stedman Jones was developing his methodology, Joan Scott turned her post-structural analysis towards the pillar of contemporary social and labour history—*The Making of the English Working Class*. In her essay on Thompson’s work Scott addresses not just to his depiction of women, but also the current understandings of “class” as an analytic category. She argues that it does not sufficiently address the contributions of women and, therefore, requires “deconstruction” and other post-structural approaches. She does not deny that Thompson includes some women but criticizes the marginal way in which they are presented and argues this only underlines the association of class with the politics of male workers rather than challenging the masculine representation of class.<sup>109</sup> This misrepresentation stems from Thompson’s treatment of the experience of women which he ties directly to the domesticity of the home where a “presumably natural sexual division of labour prevails” rather than the workplace “where relations of production are socially constructed.”<sup>110</sup> This attachment to domesticity thwarts the possibility of political action because, according to Thompson’s interpretation, women cannot experience the same level of exploitation as men that spurs their collective identity of interest that Thompson equates with class consciousness.

Scott advocates for a shift from studying the identifiable phenomenon of consciousness to the discourse surrounding it and that entails a three-pronged approach. The first part of her strategy is to ask how different categories of class were formulated, specifically through attention to various representations at different historical moments.

---

<sup>109</sup> Scott, *Gender and the Politics of History*, 68, 72.

<sup>110</sup> Scott, *Gender and the Politics of History*, 73-74.

She suggests looking for similar and different kinds of expression, definitions, and contests about definition (including why one definition became the primary understanding of an historical subject). The ultimate result becomes a concept of class as a field with multiple (contested) meanings.<sup>111</sup> The second approach asks how different components of class gained gendered meaning, how these meanings became implicit or “naturalized,” and how visions of class as a set of relationships following from economic conditions (as in the case of Marxism) created certain notions of gender. Finally, she asks how conceptions of class organised perceptions of social experience. Scott does not take for granted that material life dictated political thought or that experience necessarily dictated consciousness as Thompson suggests. Instead, she advocates for the analysis of the construction of meaning as a set of events itself.<sup>112</sup>

William Sewell Jr. also interrogates the fluidity in meanings of workers’ language across time. He argues that although the language of the French working class inherited terms from its corporate (guild) system, the meanings associated with those words changed to serve different purposes for the socialists of the nineteenth century.<sup>113</sup> Sewell supports his argument by studying the context of several terms that appear in decrees and ordinances prior to the French Revolution and how they were defined in historical dictionaries. He then compares these definitions with later appearances in socialist literature and new laws prior to the Revolution of 1848. Sewell claims that workers’ and elites’ different usage of words and phrases, metaphors, and rhetorical conventions

---

<sup>111</sup> Scott, *Gender and the Politics of History*, 88.

<sup>112</sup> Scott, *Gender and the Politics of History*, 88-89.

<sup>113</sup> William H. Sewell Jr., *Work and Revolution in France: The Language of Labor from the Old Regime to 1848* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980), 2.



reveals the vicissitudes and the shifting meanings of the working-class language and the competing “visions” of the world that shaped it.<sup>114</sup>

Patrick Joyce acknowledges the work of Stedman Jones and the value of his concept of “populism” in demonstrating that people’s identification with a wider class may be found in their language. However, he does not accept this as evidence of class consciousness.<sup>115</sup> Joyce argues this emphasis on language signals a shift from the economic determinism of “class” to a new series of identities that are extra-economic in character.<sup>116</sup> To Joyce, “the consciousness of a class need not be the consciousness of class,” or an historical actor’s identification with their own class need not indicate their recognition of its role in a greater social order.<sup>117</sup>

Historians abandoned the debate surrounding how to address “class” as a category of analysis or the manifestation of a class identity after the fall of the Soviet Union. The clash between Marxist and cultural historians fizzled although some scholars have called to revive these approaches to analyze modern-day populations, political action, and the capacity for workers to develop a consciousness in the wake of the dominance of financial capital. They also maintain “class” is still best understood in the terms outlined by Thompson and Hobsbawm.<sup>118</sup> The lack of contributions to this debate may be

---

<sup>114</sup> Sewell provides several examples of these “events, activities, and institutions” including the practices of artisans’ organisations, rituals and ceremonies, the shape of political demonstrations, legal regulations, and the details of the organisation of production. See Sewell Jr., *Work and Revolution in France*, 11-13, 278.

<sup>115</sup> Stedman Jones examines the language of the Chartists and their interpretation of workers as the “the people,” or what he labels “populism.” Patrick Joyce, *Visions of the People: Industrial England and the Question of Class 1848-1914* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 1.

<sup>116</sup> Joyce, *Visions of the People*, 11.

<sup>117</sup> Joyce, *Visions of the People*, 15.

<sup>118</sup> Barry Eidlin, “Class Formation and Class Identity: Birth, Death, and Possibilities for Renewal,” *Sociology Compass* 8 (8) (2014), 1058, Ken Collier, “Class in Monopoly Finance Capital,” *Socialist Studies* 16 (1) (2022), 1.

explained by the fact that the traditional language of class has transformed from criticism aimed at the exploitation by capitalist employers to outrage surrounding precarious work or living conditions and complaints about elitist, out of touch political representatives. Sociologists have also ceased investigating “class” as “new social movements” such as the civil, women’s, and gay rights movements have allegedly displaced class identities as the primary motivators of political action.<sup>119</sup>

Thompson, Hobsbawm, and Scott’s work helps to inform an analysis of the everyday experiences of Stockholm’s working class and illuminate the realities of their shared struggles and their depiction in the city’s popular press. It also reveals how working- and middle-class conceptions of class shaped the perceptions and experiences of their members, especially during times of disaster and panic. This duality bridges the historiographical rift between Marxist and post-structural interpretations of “class” to better address both economic and social structures that influenced workers’ lives and forced them to seek common strategies to adapt and survive.

#### *The Construction of Multi-Faceted Identities*

The development of women’s and ethnic history in the 1970s led labour historians to realise workers possessed identities other than that of their occupation and class. One example of this is Ira Katznelson and Jürgen Kocka’s identity model. This is based on the eventuality of workers’ militancy although its earlier stages suggest a sense of identity before men and women are moved to political action. The first level begins when the capitalist industrial economy makes manual labour the main source for obtaining wages.

---

<sup>119</sup> Eidlin, “Class Formation and Class Identity,” 1051.

The second level develops as a consequence of the first as social, marital, and kinship ties begin to form both within and across occupational groups.<sup>120</sup> Workers then develop a common language before finally taking political action.<sup>121</sup>

Gender identity appears to be closely associated with occupational and class identity especially in the context of rural Sweden prior to industrialisation. Swedish historians used a novel approach to investigate “verb phrases” in the Gender and Work (GaW) Database to examine the gendered division of labour in rural 18<sup>th</sup>-century Sweden.<sup>122</sup> Karin Hassan Jansson, Rosemarie Fiebranz, and Ann-Catrin Östman find that the tasks that people performed helped actors construct their identities regardless of their gender and the surrounding society reinforced this identity.<sup>123</sup>

Kathleen Canning provides valuable perspective on the unique variables dictating women’s work identities and where they fit into the late 19<sup>th</sup>-century working class. She offers a gendered approach to the development of work identities among women textile workers and argues that gender and class constantly influence each other as they are shaped over time. Although historians such as Leonore Davidoff and Catherine Hall argue gender and the relation to one’s home were central to the construction of a middle-class identity, Canning points out the difficulty of distinguishing any monolithic locus of

---

<sup>120</sup> Kathleen Canning, “Gender and the Politics of Class Formation: Rethinking German Labor History,” *American Historical Review* 6 (3) (1992), 742.

<sup>121</sup> Canning, “Gender and the Politics of Class Formation,” 742-743.

<sup>122</sup> The GaW contains 16,182 of these phrases which indicate an action mentioned in various historical sources used by and performed by a living actor. See Maria Ågren, “Introduction: Making a Living, Making a Difference,” in *Making a Living, Making a Difference: Gender and Work in Early Modern European Society*, ed. by Maria Ågren (New York: Oxford University Press, 2017), 13-14.

<sup>123</sup> Karin Hassan Jansson, Rosemarie Fiebranz, and Ann-Catrin Östman, “Constitutive Tasks: Performances of Hierarchy and Identity,” in *Making a Living, Making a Difference: Gender and Work in Early Modern European Society*, ed. by Maria Ågren (New York: Oxford University Press, 2017), 147.

working women's identities such as their workplace because they passed in and out of the workforce at different stages of their lives.<sup>124</sup> She also reveals the role of women in activities typically associated with their male counterparts such as wildcat strikes and collective action to oust workers who upset the status quo. Canning's analysis indicates German working women reached the third level of Katznelson and Kocka's model as they adopted their own language and began to form their own unique identity. Male workers resented the feminization of textile work and the formation of this group identity but still adopted the same language as women to oppose them in the press.<sup>125</sup>

Canning argues women's work identities formed because, or in spite of several variables including age, geographic origin, and kinship networks. She acknowledges the importance of the geographic identity of workers in textile factories but reveals their ability to overcome this in the creation of workplace bonds.<sup>126</sup> She then takes this a step further and argues class assumed primacy as the most important identity of male and female workers.<sup>127</sup> For the purposes here, "class identity" is best expressed as a sense of belonging based on common social and socio-economic experiences that transcends other occupational and geographic identities.

Sociological research on social networks illuminates the fluidity of identity and its shifting nature in different contexts. Men and women possess numerous identities simultaneously, but certain identities dominate over others when people are brought into

---

<sup>124</sup> Leonore Davidoff and Catherine Hall, *Family Fortunes: Men and Women of the English Middle Class, 1780-1850* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987). Canning, "Gender and the Politics of Class Formation," 739-741.

<sup>125</sup> Canning, "Gender and the Politics of Class Formation," 745, 752.

<sup>126</sup> Canning, *Languages of Labor and Gender*, 230-232.

<sup>127</sup> Canning, "Gender and the Politics of Class Formation," 745.

groups and into relation with (and against) others.<sup>128</sup> There is no fixed set of characteristics that dominate actors' identities across social interactions and it is instead defined by the various groups to which they belong including demographic (gender, ethnicity, religion), formal or professional organisations, or voluntary associations. Social identity shifts as actors join or leave organisations, move up or down occupational or social hierarchies, or move into or out of social situations where the lines between these other characteristics are blurred.<sup>129</sup> A working-class identity can, therefore, be situated within social networks as these "blurred" occupational and geographic differences.

Robert Jütte argues social networks served a vital role in the survival of the 19<sup>th</sup>-century urban poor. He adopts a definition of "social network" drawn from sociologists and social anthropologists that includes employer-employee relationships, personal relations such as friendships, neighbourhood ties and kinship. Each of these formal and informal ties proved invaluable during times of economic duress.<sup>130</sup> Men and women in late 19<sup>th</sup>-century Stockholm used networks such as these to integrate themselves into urban society as they sought casual, professional, and even romantic connections to adapt to their new environment and improve their chances for survival in the city. Their shared struggles served as the basis for a working-class identity as workers established a sense of commonality through social and economic hardship and how they responded using similar tactics and strategies. This similarity superseded other identities such as those identified above. In the absence of widespread unionism or other forms of organisation,

---

<sup>128</sup> Eidlin, "Class Formation and Class Identity," 1056.

<sup>129</sup> Martin Kilduff and Wenpin Tsai, *Social Networks and Organisations* (Los Angeles: Sage, 2011), 116.

<sup>130</sup> Robert Jütte, *Poverty and Deviance in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 83.

the tavern provided the space for workers to establish and articulate shared experiences that served as the basis for social networks. Within these groups they expressed common and competing interests from those above them in the city's social order.

### *Sources and Methods*

The biographical analysis of different individuals drawn from a cohort of men and women captured in the city's police records and archives is based primarily on the *förhörsprotokoll*, or interrogation protocols, that Stockholm's police issued to control illicit behavior including vagrancy and prostitution. Stockholm's city archive houses these protocols in two different archives. The Office of the Chief of Police for Police District 3 oversaw the Criminal Department for the 5<sup>th</sup> Rote and Department for Vagrancy and this series in the City Archive houses the vagrancy protocols. This archive divides the protocols based on warnings and detainments or arrests.<sup>131</sup> The Office of the Chief of Police for Police District 4 oversaw the Prostitution Bureau that also issued warnings and arrest protocols to women suspected of prostitution although these are organised according to a number assigned to each woman registered with the Bureau.<sup>132</sup>

The protocols contain valuable biographical information that can be cross-referenced with parish records to establish the movement of men and women in, out, and around the city. The information includes the parish or town and county of birth, their parents' names and the occupation of the suspect's father, a detailed physical description

---

<sup>131</sup> SE/SSA/0023/02/F I a, Överståthållarämbetet för polisärenden 3 (ÖÄ), Kriminalavdelningens femte rotel/ Lösdrivaravdelningen, Protokoll angående varnade och häktade lösdrivare, Stockholms Stadsarkiv, Stockholm, Sweden, SE/SSA/0023/02/F I b, Överståthållarämbetet för polisärenden 3 (ÖÄ), Kriminalavdelningens femte rotel/ Lösdrivaravdelningen, Förhörsprotokoll angående häktade lösdrivare, Stockholms Stadsarkiv, Stockholm, Sweden.

<sup>132</sup> SE/SSA/0024/02 FI, Överståthållarämbetet för polisärenden 4 (ÖÄ), Prostitutionsavdelningen, Förhörsprotokoll, Stockholms Stadsarkiv, Stockholm, Sweden.

of the individual, when they first arrived in Stockholm and their occupational history in the city before their encounter with the police, and finally a detailed account of where and when the police intervened and the nature of the event.

This study cross-references records from the vagrancy protocols with the names of registered persons in the rotemans system archive that has been digitized by the City Archive.<sup>133</sup> This makes it possible to track the addresses of the people captured in the protocols as they moved around the city and settled in different areas of Stockholm.

A sample of 247 men and women who lived in Stockholm in the latter half of the nineteenth century includes a totally random assortment of native Stockholmers and immigrants apprehended by the police and are drawn from an archive compiled beginning in 1893 when the authorities began opening investigations into suspected indigents with long criminal records including warnings and detainments for vagrancy.<sup>134</sup> This, when combined with the Stockholm Historical Database or the Rotemans Archive, provides an exceptional reconstruction of people's lives that goes beyond Stockholm's city limits (where Paul Puschmann and other demographers necessarily stopped their analysis based

---

<sup>133</sup> SE/SSA/0032/03/05, Överståthållarämbetet, Skatteverket. Rotemännens arkiv, Stockholms Stadsarkiv, Stockholm, Sweden. The municipal authorities of Stockholm used the rotemans system to keep track of the city's population and collected information about people's occupation, address, home parish and county, and smallpox vaccination status.

<sup>134</sup> These 247 files were drawn from the first five boxes in the archive. Each box contained 50 files but three had been relocated elsewhere. This archive contains thousands of these files that range in date from 1893 to 1952 but they vary in length based on the individual and the thoroughness of the arresting officers. The first five boxes were selected on the premise that the files would be the most complete since they were compiled when the investigations first began and the officers were likely more stringent in their efforts to document each warning and arrest. SE/SSA/0023/02/F I c, Överståthållarämbetet för polisärenden 3 (ÖÄ), Kriminalavdelningens femte rotel/ Lösdrivaravdelningen, Förhørsprotokoll angående varnade och häktade lösdrivare, Stockholms Stadsarkiv, Stockholm, Sweden. See the description provided by Riksarkivet, <https://sok.riksarkivet.se/nad?Sokord=%c3%96verst%c3%a5th%c3%a5llar%c3%a4mbetet+f%c3%b6r+polis%c3%a4renden&EndastDigitaliserat=false&BegransaPaTitelEllerNamn=false&Arkivinstitution=Stockholms+stadsarkiv&lk=Ladda+kategorier&AvanceradSok=False&typAvLista=Standard&page=4&postid=Arkis+d1377601-b561-4551-ba24-bf1c09bc5929&tab=post&prependUrl=%2fnad&vol=n&s=Balder>.

on the constraints of the Stockholm Historical Database) and follows actors to their parishes of birth in rural Sweden.<sup>135</sup> The geographical origin of actors in the cohort, their various occupations, locations in and around the city, and encounters with the police will serve as the basis for a discussion of shared experiences at the end of the nineteenth century.

A biographical analysis of six individuals from Kalmar County drawn from the sample of 247 men and women captured in the vagrancy protocols makes it possible to analyze the complex reasons for moving to the capital and their experiences during a period of approximately twenty years after they arrived. These biographies depart from the life-course methodology explored by other scholars while at the same time providing a valuable longitudinal perspective and are particularly useful for examining the development of kinship ties.<sup>136</sup>

The biographical analysis draws upon the records from different parishes in Kalmar County including migration and household records to examine each man and woman's movement within their parish and their family structures before they moved to

---

<sup>135</sup> The findings of this dissertation largely agree with several of Puschmann's major conclusions. For example, he finds that unskilled workers experienced exceptional hardship in Stockholm compared to those in Antwerp or Rotterdam and attributes this to their lack of intellectual capital in a burgeoning (and increasingly bureaucratic) capital city. See Paul Puschmann, "Social Inclusion and Exclusion of Urban In-Migrants in Northwestern European Port Cities. Antwerp, Rotterdam & Stockholm ca. 1850-1930," PhD diss., (KU Leuven, 2015), 245.

<sup>136</sup> George Alter, *Family and the Female Life Course: The Women of Verviers, Belgium, 1849-1880* (Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1988), 8, Tamara K. Hareven, "The Impact of Family History and the Life Course on Social History," in *Family History Revisited: Comparative Perspectives*, ed. by Richard Wall, Tamara K. Hareven, and Josef Ehmer (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 2001), 30.



the capital. This is also indispensable for examining if they were preceded by any members of their direct or extended family.<sup>137</sup>

A series of hundreds of interviews conducted in the 1940s by the folklorist and ethnologist Carl-Herman Tillhagen with people who lived in Stockholm during the nineteenth century provides countless anecdotes about their work and lives.<sup>138</sup> This source is particularly useful for shedding light on the space of the tavern as Tillhagen dedicated an entire line of questioning to this subject and revealed the geographic locations of many of the most popular working-class taverns, who frequented them, and how male patrons treated women who worked or visited there. These interviews help demonstrate the cultural stratification of this group of people, how they saw themselves, and how they saw others above and below them.

The Tillhagen interviews provide a working-class perspective that serves to supplement the books and novels of Claës Lundin and Fredrik Lindholm who provide bourgeois perspectives on the lower classes at the end of the nineteenth-century. Lundin's text *Nya Stockholm* describes the city from the perspective of a *flâneur*, a middle-class observer of everyday life, as he walks around Stockholm in the 1880s. His observations range from discussing the level of sanitation and hygiene to the space of the tavern and popular leisure activities. His middle-class perspective provides a sharp contrast to those stories revealed in the Tillhagen interviews.<sup>139</sup> Lindholm provides a less objective

---

<sup>137</sup> The parish priest was responsible for these records and some provide more detail than others. These records are organised by county and are housed in different divisions of the National Archives although many have been digitized by genealogical societies and are available online.

<sup>138</sup> Carl-Herman Tillhagen, *Stockholms Folkminnen*. Available from <https://www.nordiskamuseet.se/artiklar/digital-forskaringang-till-nordiska-museets-arkiv>.

<sup>139</sup> Claës Lundin, *Nya Stockholm* (Stockholm: Geber, 1890).

interpretation of the city's taverns as he used this as the basis for future novels. He combines real-life observations with literary archetypes when describing people and especially the women within the space of the tavern. His descriptions are useful for examining how the tavern and the people who worked and drank there appeared in the popular middle-class imagination.<sup>140</sup>

The depiction of the lower class in working- and middle-class publications relies on several newspapers including *Socialdemokraten*, *Aftonbladet*, *Dagens Nyheter*, *Svenska Dagbladet*, and *Stockholms Nyheter*. Newspapers such as *Aftonbladet*, *Dagens Nyheter*, *Svenska Dagbladet*, and *Stockholms Nyheter* represent middle-class interests as they were subscription based. *Socialdemokraten* first began publication in 1885 to represent working-class interests with an initial circulation of just 5,000 copies. The original editor was August Palm, a well-known labour agitator.<sup>141</sup> Each of these newspapers covered major events in Stockholm including the Catastrophe of 1885 and the Great League of Thieves in their own way and the rhetoric they use provides insight into how they viewed workers and how those men and women viewed themselves.

Official statistics compiled at the end of the nineteenth century, *Bidrag till Sveriges Official Statistik* (BiSOS), include a wealth of social, demographic, and economic statistics for the entire kingdom including its capital. These range from the population growth in the city to the number of foreign ships that arrived in port every year

---

<sup>140</sup> Phocas (Fredrik Lindholm), *Café-Studier i Stockholm, och andra förstudier till romanen* (Stockholm: Bokförlagsföreningen Svea, 1885).

<sup>141</sup> Anne-Marie Lindgren, *Arbetarnas Stockholm, 1880-1920* (Stockholm: Murbruk förlag, 2014), 31.

and are used to provide the quantitative material necessary to understand the economic and demographic growth of the city as well as other areas including Kalmar.

This dissertation also depicts the location of taverns in the city using Geographic Information Software (GIS). A georeferenced map of Stockholm from 1885 is tethered to a modern, highly accurate base-map using five points.<sup>142</sup> The five points are the southwest corner of Ulrika Eleonora Church on Kungsholmen, the southeast corner of Maria Magdalena Church in Södermalm, the northwest corner of the Royal Palace on Gamla Stan, the northwestern corner of Klara Church in Norrmalm, and the northeastern-most point on Hedvig Eleonora in Östermalm. These points were selected because these structures remain unchanged in the years between the creation of the historic map and the modern map rendered using GPS technology. This map reveals a higher saturation of drinking establishments in working-class neighbourhoods and in close proximity to Stockholm's major docks and it provides a way to demonstrate their spatial relationship with men and women's overlapping paths there within space and time.

This study begins by focusing on the various economic structures in Stockholm at the end of the nineteenth century and how men and women responded to systemic hardship before considering why they continued to move there. It then examines how the working-class was depicted in the press and how the upper classes viewed them as well as how they viewed themselves. Next, it examines a cohort of in-migrants and provides a biographical analysis of three men and three women to view their individual successes

---

<sup>142</sup> A. R. Lundgren drafted this map in preparation for the Renaming Act of 1885 and depicts the old names alongside the new names before the Act took effect. See Stockholms Stadsarkiv, "1885 års karta över Stockholm (Lundgren)," <https://stockholmskallan.stockholm.se/post/8975>.

and failures and the role of social networks in their overall journeys. It then uses case studies to illustrate the particular tactics and strategies men and women used to cope with the hardships described in previous chapters. Finally, it focuses on the role of taverns as centres of working-class socialisation and spaces where social networks formed due to the shared struggles and survival strategies that brought men and women together despite their myriad differences. As men and women converged in these constantly shifting groups a working-class identity emerged as they discovered and articulated their shared experiences in the city.

## Chapter 2 The World of the Docks and the Living Conditions of the Working Class

### 2.1 Introduction and Argument

Stockholm completed its breathless transition from a peripheral European backwater to a modern cosmopolitan metropolis during the last decades of the nineteenth century. Working- and upper-class inhabitants experienced the competing sensations that characterised life in modern cities: the desire for European goods, aesthetics and culture, and the “phantoms of modernity” that plagued their city including poverty, homelessness, malnutrition, and disease.<sup>1</sup> The steam whistles of locomotives pierced the air to signal the arrival of people and goods from across Sweden. Enormous steamships began arriving more and more frequently from around the world including the United Kingdom, Germany and even North America and joined smaller vessels waiting at the great lock at Slussen to pass between the Baltic Sea and Lake Mälär.

The chiming bells of the city’s great cathedrals merged with the humming of electricity buzzing through the wires of the city’s ultimate testament to technological progress, the Stockholm Telephone Tower. By the end of the century there were 62 telephone subscribers per 1,000 residents compared to only 18 in Berlin and a mere 6 in Paris.<sup>2</sup> Below the streets, sewers constructed during the sanitation revolution swept away

---

<sup>1</sup> Michael D. Kirkpatrick uses the term “phantoms of modernity” to refer specifically to bourgeois anxieties surrounding the spectre of anarchism in Guatemala City at the turn of the twentieth century. In Stockholm social reformers focused on housing and working conditions before the Social Democrats grew in strength and number after the beginning of the twentieth century. See Michael D. Kirkpatrick, “Phantoms of Modernity: The 1894 Anarchist Furor in the Making of Modern Guatemala City,” *Urban History* 44 (2) (2017): 232.

<sup>2</sup> John Chrispinsson, “Stockholm 1900,” *Populär Historia* (2001), <https://popularhistoria.se/sveriges-historia/1900-tal/stockholm-1900>.

the filth of the masses and water lines brought fresh water to the city's many wells that had once been the source of cholera outbreaks. The new pace of everyday life was unprecedented and the excitement of the city's population reached a fever pitch in anticipation of the General Art and Industry Exhibition, otherwise known as the Stockholm World's Fair. More than 1.5 million people attended the event in 1897 despite the kingdom's relatively small population of just 5 million.<sup>3</sup>

The city thrummed well before sunrise as workers, the lifeblood of the city's newly industrialised economy, began to circulate through the major commercial arteries and venous byways on their way towards Gamla Stan, the heart of the city. Filthy dirt roads gave way to freshly laid cobblestones as workers travelled to their jobs from the fringes of the city. They moved in droves from the steep elevations to the south on the island of Södermalm or to the far-flung neighbourhoods to the north-west on Kungsholmen and in Sibirien, the latter so named because of its poverty-stricken residents and distance from the city's centre.<sup>4</sup>

Working-class men gravitated towards the docks or, if they were fortunate, headed to the one of the city's factories or engineering workshops. Many young maidservants returned from purchasing fresh-baked bread for their employers' breakfasts and disappeared back into the houses of the city's "old money" on Gamla Stan or in the recently constructed homes of the city's 212 nouveau riche families in the newly fashionable area of Östermalm to the north-east.<sup>5</sup> Along the way they passed older women

---

<sup>3</sup> A. Ekström, *Den utställda världen: Stockholmsutställningen 1897 och 1800-talets världsutställningar* (Stockholm: Nordiska museets handlingar, 1994), 119.

<sup>4</sup> Pred, *Lost Words and Lost Worlds*, 95.

<sup>5</sup> Chrispinsson, "Stockholm 1900."

with their own families who carried baskets of laundry to wash in the waters of Lake Mälaren. Some women unlocked the front doors of their tobacco shops while others took chairs down from tables in the city's countless taverns and restaurants to serve breakfast to the men on their way to work.

The cobblestones of the city's quays sang with the clacking of wooden soles and the whooshes of the pneumatic cranes used to help dockworkers load and unload shipments of bricks, grain, and every consumer good imaginable. Conversations here occurred in many different languages as sailors from all over the world worked alongside dock workers to unload the ships they helped bring into port. Fifty years earlier this quiet city sat on the technological, economic, and social fringes of the Baltic. It now sat poised and ready to take its place in a new world order as a metropolis that rivalled any on the continent.

This chapter examines the effects of changes in Stockholm's maritime economy on the employment opportunities of the city's working class. Mechanisation and the introduction of steamships, the downswing of the business cycle and subsequent collapse of the building industry, and the freezing of the port that brought the annual shipping season to an end all resulted in uncertain and seasonal work opportunities. Workers responded to these conditions by saving money in any way they could including seeking out cheap food and accommodations. The chapter concludes by examining all of the reasons men and women continued to come to this "Paris of Sweden" and the various lures of the city.

## 2.2 The Transformation of Stockholm's Economy and Merchant Marine and its Effect on Employment Prospects

Stockholm's economy blossomed in the latter half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century and although some workers initially benefited from better employment prospects, others suffered from the effects of mechanisation as they faced the gradual deskilling and accelerated pace of their work. In 1897, the city contained 156 shipbuilding operations, engineering and mechanical workshops, and factories for manufacturing electrical appliances that employed almost 9,000 workers. Of all the new industries, the city's brewing and tobacco operations employed the largest number of workers.<sup>6</sup> The expansion of these sectors drew upon women's labour specifically and they accounted for about 15% of the city's manufacturing workforce.<sup>7</sup> Mechanisation forced them into low-skill and tedious positions that made them easily replaceable but women continued to seek this work because of the illusion of year-round employment.

Technological innovations accompanied changes to the economy and the growing number of steamships in Stockholm transformed the nature of work onboard ships and on the docks. Some early historians focusing on the transition from sail to steam in the British and German merchant marines lauded this as a remarkable feat of technology that

---

<sup>6</sup> The city's 16 breweries employed 1,255 workers and its 17 tobacco factories employed another 1,400. See K. Key-Åberg, "Sveriges industri. Geografisk, historisk, statistisk öfversikt," *Ekonomisk Tidskrift* (1) (1899): 339.

<sup>7</sup> Women also moved in and out of the workforce as they left to have children and returned after they finished nursing their children or secured childcare. See Anne-Marie Lindgren, *Arbetarnas Stockholm*, 12. Kathleen Canning argues women in 19<sup>th</sup>-century Germany remained tethered to their work despite their temporary absences as they maintained the camaraderie of their fellow workers and employers deliberately hired them back because they recognised the value of good employees. See Kathleen Canning, *Languages of Labor and Gender*, 233-235. This must also have been the case in Stockholm as women returned to work shortly after giving birth. See Chapter Four of this dissertation.



improved the productive capacity of those fleets. More recent research focuses on the negative consequences of this transition and the detrimental effects on the lives of sailors and dockworkers including the gradual deskilling of work aboard these vessels and the reduction in wages as compared to those paid for skilled labour aboard masted ships.<sup>8</sup>

Steamships took on larger crews but until the end of the nineteenth century most seamen did not receive sufficient wages to survive throughout the year. Aimee Chin, Chinhui Juhn, and Peter Thompson's 2006 study of deskilling in the British merchant marine between 1891 and 1912 found that while the average crew size was larger on steam vessels, the crew composition changed dramatically. Steamers employed a rigidly hierarchical crew composed of a large number of unskilled men and a very small number of engineers. Predictably, the former received much lower wages than the latter.<sup>9</sup> A group of researchers in 2016 found a similar process at work in Swedish and Finnish ports between the mid-eighteenth century and the First World War. They concluded that the rising demand for unskilled labour aboard these ships eventually resulted in higher wages for seamen on Swedish and Finnish ships but only after the beginning of the twentieth century.<sup>10</sup>

---

<sup>8</sup> For Britain, see Gerald S. Graham, "The Ascendancy of the Sailing Ship 1850-1885," *Economic History Review* 9 (1) (1956), 83. For Germany, see Ramon Knauerhase, "The Compound Steam Engine and Productivity Changes in the German Merchant Marine Fleet, 1871-1887," *The Journal of Economic History* 28 (3) (1968), 393.

<sup>9</sup> Aimee Chin, Chinhui Juhn, Peter Thompson, "Technical Change and the Demand for Skills during the Second Industrial Revolution: Evidence from the Merchant Marine, 1891-1912," *The Review of Economics and Statistics* 88 (3) (2006), 574.

<sup>10</sup> Jari Ojala, Jaakko Pehkonen, and Jari Eloranta, "Deskilling and Decline in Skill Premium During the Age of Sail: Swedish and Finnish Seamen, 1751-1913," *Explorations in Economic History* 61 (2016), 85-86. The transition to steam also had cultural implications as men on steamers and the unions who represented them attempted to convey respectability, especially through temperance. For British sailors see Valerie Burton, "The Myth of Bachelor Jack: Masculinity, Patriarchy and Seafaring Labour," in *Jack Tar in History: Essays in the History of Maritime Life and Labour*, ed. by Colin Howell and Richard J. Twomey (Fredericton: Acadiensis Press, 1991), 181. For sailors in Stockholm and their first attempts at unionism,

The transition to steam also worsened the employment conditions of dockworkers in Stockholm. Knut Tengdahl, a journalist in Stockholm at the end of the nineteenth century, interviewed some of Stockholm's older dockworkers who lamented the fierce competition for jobs on the docks brought about by the rise of steamships. The older masted vessels took three to five weeks to unload even with working days consisting of twelve and a half hours. Shipowners demanded steam vessels be unloaded in a matter of days using pneumatic winches to help reduce labour costs. This pressure intensified following new legislation that set the working day at a maximum of ten hours.<sup>11</sup>

Stockholm's few shipping companies launched several initiatives to bring the ships of the city's merchant marine on par with European standards in the 1880s which further reduced the opportunities for sailors in the city and forced them to rely on foreign ships for work. Following a brief boom in the first half of the 1870s, Stockholm's merchant marine grew in size before it contracted painfully in the latter half of the decade (see figure 2.1).<sup>12</sup> Stockholm's companies responded in two ways. First, they ceased trans-Atlantic crossings as these voyages proved too risky for shipowners especially as the last few voyages from the city proved disastrous for those who undertook them.<sup>13</sup> Second, the companies began selling their masted vessels and purchasing steam ships as local routes on the Baltic provided more consistent returns on investments. The number of

---

see Sigurd Erixon, *Stockholms hamnarbetare före fackföreningsrörelsens genombrott* (Stockholm: Kommittén för Stockholmsforskning, 1988), 25.

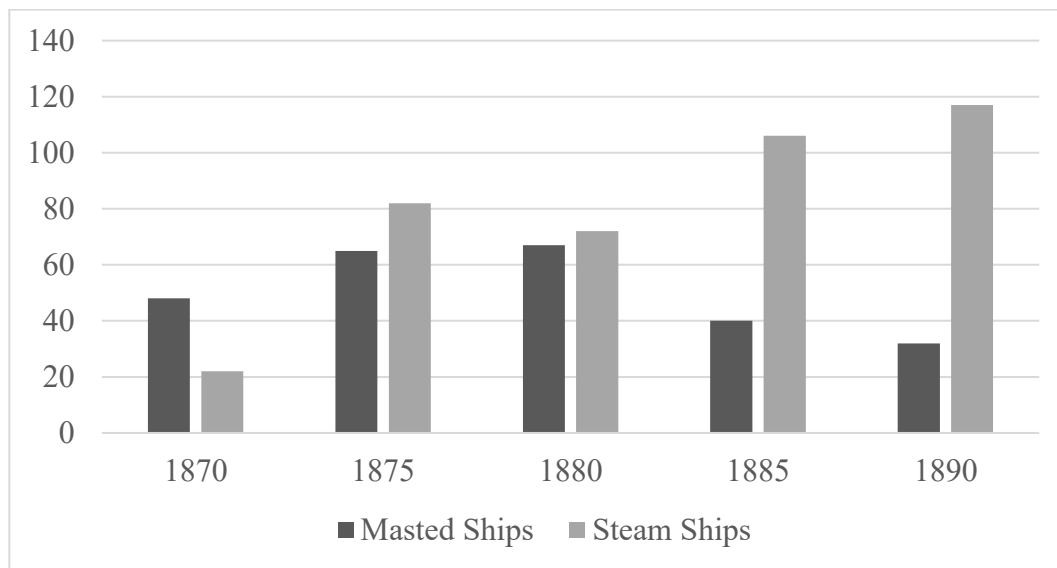
<sup>11</sup> Knut Tengdahl *Material till bedömning af hamnarbetarnes i Stockholm lefnadsförhållanden* (Stockholm: Lorénska stiftelsen, 1897), 16-17, Pred, *Lost Words and Lost Worlds*, 226-227.

<sup>12</sup> This agrees with a national trend described by Martin Fritz as one of expansion for steam- and motor-powered vessels for the entire kingdom at exactly the same time. See Martin Fritz, "Shipping in Sweden, 1850-1913," *Scandinavian Economic History Review* 28 (2) (1980), 152.

<sup>13</sup> Ingrid Hammarström, *Stockholm i svensk ekonomi 1850-1914* (Uppsala: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1970), 172-173.

ships in the merchant marine grew from 70 in 1870 to 149 in 1890. The new steam ships were slightly larger than their masted predecessors and averaged between 200 to 230 tons.<sup>14</sup> These ships quickly became the norm and the number of masted vessels fell for the first time between 1880 and 1885 (from 67 ships to 40 ships). The number of sailors employed on Swedish ships during this same period fell from 2,825 to 1,902.<sup>15</sup>

Figure 2.1 Masted and Steam Ships in Stockholm's Merchant Marine, 1870-1890



Source: Stockholms Sjömanshus, Statistik över Stockholm stads och tulldistrikts fartyg, SE/SSA/0826A/H 1/1

### 2.3 Stockholm in the World's Maritime Economy

The statistical reports published by the Commerce Collegii during the end of the nineteenth century include different types of data from one year to the next although they are remarkably consistent between 1875 and 1890.<sup>16</sup> During that time the presence of

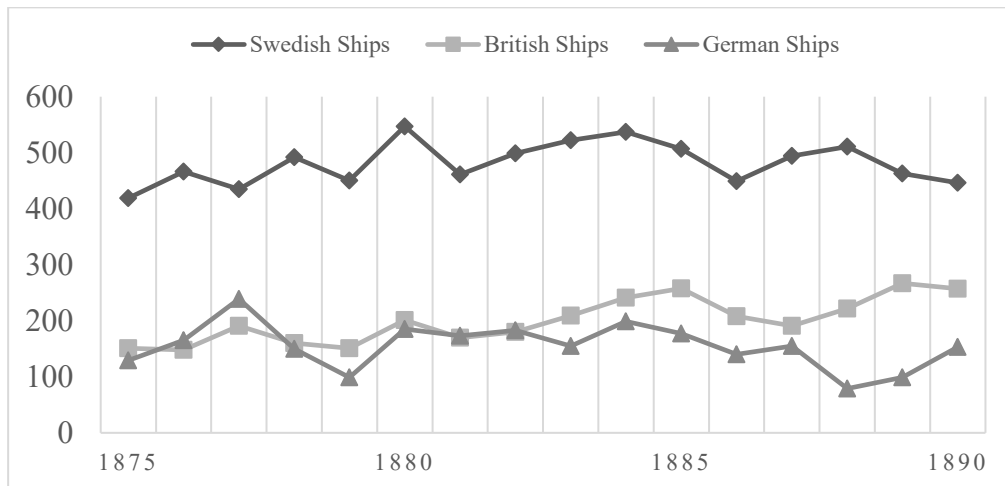
<sup>14</sup> Stockholms Sjömanshus, Statistik över Stockholm stads och tulldistrikts fartyg, SE/SSA/0826A/H 1/1.

<sup>15</sup> Bidrag till Sveriges Officiella Statistik (BiSOS): Series F, Commerce Collegii, "Utrikes handel och sjöfart: Underdåniga berättelse för år 1875-1890."

<sup>16</sup> Bidrag till Sveriges Officiella Statistik (BiSOS): Series F, Commerce Collegii, "Utrikes handel och sjöfart: Underdåniga berättelse för år 1875," 250-253, "1876," 250-253, "1877," 250-253, "1877," 230-237, "1878," 228-233, "1879," 228-233, "1880," 228-235, "1881," 230-237, "1882," 228-233, "1884," 220-225,

foreign masted and steam ships are reported by both number and tonnage. This data demonstrates both the importance of foreign vessels in Stockholm’s expanding maritime commerce and Britain’s dominant presence within the capital’s port towards the end of the nineteenth century. Figure 2.2 reveals the absolute number of Swedish, British, and German ships registered in Stockholm’s port. Not surprisingly, the highest number of ships in the port were Swedish and were primarily engaged in domestic commerce. British ships accounted for the most foreign-owned ships while the next highest number of foreign ships belonged to the Germans.

Figure 2.2 Number of Swedish, British, and German Ships in Stockholm, 1875-1890



Sources: Bidrag till Sveriges Officiella Statistik (BiSOS): Series F, Commerce Collegii, ”Utrikes handel och sjöfart: Underdåniga berättelse för år 1875-1890.”<sup>17</sup>

“1885,” 194-197, “1886,” 190-193, “1887,” 190-193, “1888,” 202-205, “1889,” 198-201, “1890,” 200-203, <https://www.scb.se/hitta-statistik/sok/Index?Subject=allsubjects&Series=BISOS%20F%20Utrikes%20handel%20och%20sj%C3%B6fart%201858-1910&From=&To=&Sort=relevance&Query=&Page=2&Tab=older&Exact=False>. Ingrid Hammarström notes the inconsistencies with the reports of the number of ships in Stockholm’s merchant marine as a result of human error on the part of the Governor’s Office, although her dataset extends back to 1850 when the reports were the least consistent. See Hammarström, *Stockholm i svensk ekonomi*, 139-140. Martin Fritz notes some ships were double-recorded or were not taken off the books after they were sold to foreign nations, but his dataset covers the entire Swedish merchant marine rather than just Stockholm. See Fritz “Shipping in Sweden,” 157, note 7.

<sup>17</sup> The data for international ships is spread across annual reports that begin in 1875 and end in 1890. For 1875, pp. 250-253. For 1876, pp. 250-253. For 1877, pp. 250-253. For 1877, pp. 230-237. For 1878, pp.

Sweden's trade relationship with Britain and Germany was dictated by careful (or reactionary) trade policies during this time rather than diplomatic tensions or conflicts. Sweden and Germany's commercial relationship was not heavily impacted by the formal allegiance between Sweden and Denmark during the Second Schleswig War in 1864.<sup>18</sup> Sweden also resisted the so-called Long Depression which began in 1873 after the Franco-Prussian War and actually benefited from the decline in costs associated with international trade.<sup>19</sup> The first reduction in the number of German and British ships occurred in 1879 and was due partially to an abbreviated shipping season due to ice coverage on the Baltic route (see below) and by the financial crisis that began in 1878 when Stockholm's leading banks and trading houses overextended their loans to the iron and steel works industries that could not expand fast enough to generate a profit. The state chose to save the banks but not the trading houses and a number of them declared bankruptcy. The number of German ships arriving in the city fell again in 1888 when Sweden followed Germany's example and adopted a new tariff policy including corn duties to reduce foreign competition while the number of British ships actually rose because Britain maintained free trade even though its own agricultural sector shrank rapidly.<sup>20</sup>

---

228-233. For 1879, pp. 228-233. For 1880, pp. 228-235. For 1881, pp. 230-237. For 1882, pp. 228-233. For 1884, pp. 220-225. For 1885, pp. 194-197. For 1886, pp. 190-193. For 1887, pp. 190-193. For 1888, pp. 202-205. For 1889, pp. 198-201. For 1890, pp. 200-203. <https://www.scb.se/hitta-statistik/sok/Index?Subject=allsubjects&Series=BISOS%20F%20Utrikes%20handel%20och%20sj%C3%B6fart%201858-1910&From=&To=&Sort=relevance&Query=&Page=2&Tab=older&Exact=False>.

<sup>18</sup> Staffan Tjerneld, *Stockholmsliv. Hur vi bott, arbetat, och roat oss under 100 år, första bandet* (Stockholm: P.A. Norstedt & Söner förlag, 1950), 124.

<sup>19</sup> Schön, *An Economic History of Modern Sweden*, 80.

<sup>20</sup> Schön, *An Economic History of Modern Sweden*, 115-116, 123.

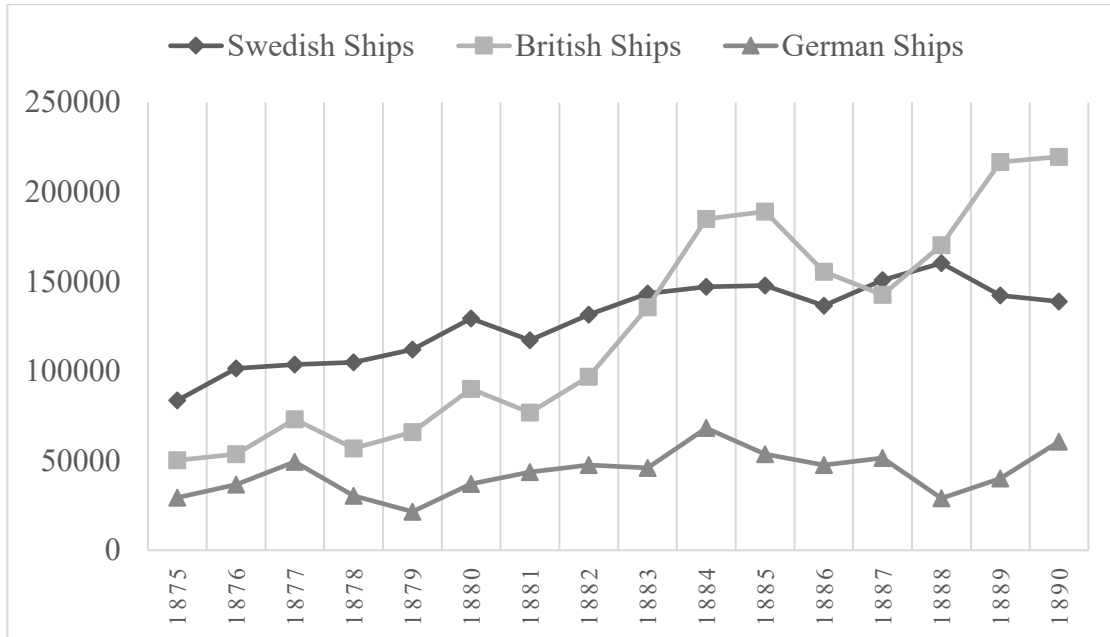
Stockholm served as a convenient waypoint for foreign ships as they passed along the east coast and headed northward to provinces such as Västernorrland. Sawn timber, pulp, and paper accounted for roughly half of Sweden's total exports by value at the end of the century as England, Holland, Belgium, France, and Germany all demanded more and more timber from the kingdom's northern forests.<sup>21</sup> Sweden acted as the most important supplier of softwood to the British until 1900 and Stockholm played an important role as a port of call as Britain secured its dominance of the Baltic timber trade.

Although figure 2.2 reveals that the number of Swedish ships in Stockholm's port consistently surpassed those from Britain during the fifteen years of data, these numbers misrepresent the size of the vessels and consequently the number of men hired to crew them. Figure 2.3 reveals the smaller size of the Swedish ships by displaying the total tonnage of registered ships during the same 15-year period. Many of the ships in the Swedish merchant marine were engaged in local trade on Lake Mälaren and were not equipped for commerce on the Baltic or North Sea. British ships, although fewer in number, surpassed the Swedes in total registered tonnage by 1884. This suggests that British shipowners were a large employer of sailors as their ships were far larger than those in the Swedish merchant marine and required larger crews.

---

<sup>21</sup> Erik Törnlund and Lars Östlund, "Mobility Without Wheels: The Economy and Ecology of Timber Floating in Sweden, 1850-1980," *The Journal of Transport History* 21:1 (2006), 48.

Figure 2.3 Domestic and Foreign Vessels in Stockholm by Tonnage, 1875-1890



Source: Bidrag till Sveriges Officiella Statistik (BiSOS): Series F, Commerce Collegii, "Utrikes handel och sjöfart: Underdåniga berättelse för år 1875-1890"<sup>22</sup>

These ships provided opportunities for Swedish and other foreign sailors to find employment when they stopped to refill supplies and fuel. They likely picked up sailors in Stockholm on their way north and on their way back to Great Britain. One such vessel was the *Jennie Ellingword*, a British ship that registered Canada as her homeport in 1870. This ship was captained by the Englishman H. Hayword and identified Melbourne, Australia as its final destination. This ship stopped in Stockholm to resupply and registered several crew members born in Stockholm as well as two Danes and two

<sup>22</sup> The data for international ships is spread across annual reports that begin in 1875 and end in 1890. For 1875, 250-253. For 1876, 250-253. For 1877, 250-253. For 1877, 230-237. For 1878, 228-233. For 1879, 228-233. For 1880, 228-235. For 1881, 230-237. For 1882, 228-233. For 1884, 220-225. For 1885, 194-197. For 1886, 190-193. For 1887, 190-193. For 1888, 202-205. For 1889, 198-201. For 1890, 200-203. See <https://www.scb.se/hitta-statistik/sok/Index?Subject=allsubjects&Series=BISOS%20F%20Utrikes%20handel%20och%20sj%C3%B6fart%201858-1910&From=&To=&Sort=relevance&Query=&Page=2&Tab=older&Exact=False>

Norwegians.<sup>23</sup> While in Sundsvall, the ship took on J. Nygard, another Swede, who had been born in Malmö. The crew of the *Jennie Ellingword* serves as a convenient example revealing the international nature of maritime commerce as well as the movement of sailors and other workers around Sweden. Between 1870 and 1895, almost 1,000 men who had registered in Sundsvall indicated Stockholm and the surrounding province as their place of birth.<sup>24</sup>

Once this international gateway opened there was no closing it and people and goods from all over the world poured into the city. Curiosities such as Russian vodka and caviar, Danish butter, Dutch fertilizers, exotic hides and skins from Africa (by way of Belgium), cotton grown on the Nile (but sold by the British), French wine, spices from Portugal and Spain, crude oil and tobacco from the United States, and raw sugar from Cuba appeared on Stockholm's docks and connected this city to the far corners of the Earth.<sup>25</sup> By the turn of the century the city had stable trans-oceanic connections with North American ports such as New York and the vibrant trade of the La Plata River area that connected Sweden to Uruguay, Paraguay, and Argentina with Brazil offering convenient ports of call.<sup>26</sup> The city sat poised to join the ranks of great European capitals and people from across the kingdom wanted to experience this new urban utopia for

---

<sup>23</sup> Stockholms Sjömanshus Mönstringsrullor, utmönstringsböcker, SE/SSA/0826A/D I a/124, pp 345-346.

<sup>24</sup> Stephan Curtis, "The Interaction of Technology, Maritime Trade and Cultural Change to the Sundsvall Region's Economic Boom of the Late 19<sup>th</sup> Century," Conference Paper, presented at the 30<sup>th</sup> Annual Nordic Historians Congress, August 9, 2022, n=984.

<sup>25</sup> Bidrag till Sveriges Officiella Statistik (BiSOS): Series F, Commerce Collegii, "Utrikes handel och sjöfart: Underdåniga berättelse för år 1890," 45, 49, 66, 67, 69, 75, 76, 80, <https://www.scb.se/hitta-statistik/sok/Index?Subject=allsubjects&Series=BISOS%20F%20Utrikes%20handel%20och%20sj%C3%B6fart%201858-1910&From=&To=&Sort=relevance&Query=&Page=2&Tab=older&Exact=False>.

<sup>26</sup> Inger Ström-Billing, *Stockholms hamn 1909-1939. Näringsliv och politik i samverkan* (Stockholm: Liber Förlag, 1984), 13.



themselves. However, like most of the major metropolises of late nineteenth-century Europe, this city experienced growing pains and municipal forces and social reformers struggled to contain Stockholm’s promethean fire.

## 2.4 The Population of Stockholm

At the turn of the twentieth century Stockholm’s population had tripled from its size just fifty years prior. Its earlier growth had depended heavily (and in some years entirely) on in-migration as its high mortality rate prevented the city’s natural increase (see table 2.1). In 1855 and 1875 the official statistics provide evidence that the city only grew because of in-migration due to poor sanitary conditions and the proliferation of communicable diseases.<sup>27</sup> Natural increase rose in the 1880s following the introduction of sewerage and clean-water connections to more neighbourhoods across the city.<sup>28</sup>

Table 2.1: The Number of Live Births, Deaths, In-Migrants, and Total Population of Stockholm, 1855-1900

Year	Number of Live Births	Number of Deaths	Natural Increase	In-migrants	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: BiSOS, Series H, 1896-1900.<sup>29</sup>

<sup>27</sup> 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.

<sup>28</sup> Bo Burström et al., “Equitable Child Health Interventions: The Impact of Improved Water and Sanitation on Inequalities in Child Mortality in Stockholm, 1878 to 1925,” *American Journal of Public Health* 95:2 (2005), 209.

<sup>29</sup> Available here: <https://www.scb.se/hitta-statistik/sok/Index?Subject=allsubjects&Series=BISOS%20H%20Fem%C3%A5rsber%C3%A4ttelser&From=&To=&Sort=relevance&Query=&Page=17&Tab=older&Exact=False>

The rapid population increase prompted municipal action as city officials struggled to keep track of highly mobile workers as they passed in and out of the city. The city established the Census Board in June 1877 which then assigned the responsibility of keeping track of the city's residents to local administrative civil servants who monitored their own designated area in what was called the rotemans system. When the system began in 1878 there were 16 administrative areas that each contained approximately 10,000 residents. By 1926, when the system was discontinued, there were no less than 36 administrative areas.<sup>30</sup> The rotemans system required residents to provide extensive information to their local rote man whenever they changed residences including their date and place of birth, occupation and military experience, marital status, vaccination status, education, and an indication of whether they received poor relief.<sup>31</sup>

In-migrants arrived in the city with a sense of optimism and ready to meet the challenges of the city. Towards the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century people began to travel greater distances to reach the capital. In 1870 the census showed just under 6,000 residents had been born in Kalmar County. This number rose to almost 10,000 ten years later representing an increase of 64%.<sup>32</sup> By 1890, Kalmar natives were the second-largest group of in-migrants registered in the capital after Stockholm County.<sup>33</sup>

---

<sup>30</sup> "Rotekarta 1905," published by Stockholmskällan, <https://stockholmskallan.stockholm.se/post/18212>, accessed January 16, 2024.

<sup>31</sup> Pred, *Lost Words and Lost Worlds*, 132.

<sup>32</sup> BiSOS Series H, Femårsberättelser för Stockholms stad, 1881-1885, 6, <https://www.scb.se/hitta-statistik/sok/Index?Subject=allsubjects&Series=BISOS%20H%20Fem%C3%A5rsber%C3%A4ttelser&From=&To=&Sort=relevance&Query=&Page=17&Tab=older&Exact=False>.

<sup>33</sup> BiSOS Series H, Femårsberättelser för Stockholms stad, 1891-1895, 5, <https://www.scb.se/hitta-statistik/sok/Index?Subject=allsubjects&Series=BISOS%20H%20Fem%C3%A5rsber%C3%A4ttelser&From=&To=&Sort=relevance&Query=&Page=17&Tab=older&Exact=False>.

As the population of the city grew, so did its problems. Stockholm began to grapple with what the administrators of other major European cities termed the “social question” to refer to poverty, alcohol consumption, and prostitution.<sup>34</sup> Social reformers, medical doctors, and government officials all feared the explosive growth of the working-class population would result in widespread moral depravity. Poverty was rampant in the capital and the city’s poor houses at Sabbatsberg and Södermalm, foster homes and orphanages for boys and girls, and Dilhström’s workhouse cost the city and taxpayers almost four million *kronor* between 1880 and 1890. Even this extraordinary amount was not nearly enough to care for the city’s indigent and the Poor Relief Board was inundated with ever-increasing petitions for assistance from widows or single mothers.<sup>35</sup> The city’s administrators blamed the large unmarried population (about 36% compared to the 22% of the rest of the kingdom) for committing crimes as well as prostitution.<sup>36</sup>

The city’s doctors encountered the “phantoms of modernity” firsthand although they sometimes took less sympathetic approaches to remedying poverty, alcohol consumption, and prostitution. People came to them suffering from all sorts of ailments ranging from “lung inflammation” to mutilated appendages caused by unsafe working conditions. These doctors observed many cases of chronic alcoholism across the city

---

<sup>34</sup> Chris Leonards and Nico Randeraad, “Transnational Experts in Social Reform, 1840-1880,” *International Review of Social History* 55 (2) (2010): 219, 230, Andrew Lees, “Deviant Sexuality and Other ‘Sins’: The Views of Protestant Conservatives in Imperial Germany,” *German Studies Review* 23 (3) (Oct. 2000): 453. See also Chapter Three of this dissertation.

<sup>35</sup> BiSOS Series H, Femårsberättelser för Stockholms stad, 1886-1890, 100, <https://www.scb.se/hitta-statistik/sok/Index?Subject=allsubjects&Series=BISOS%20H%20Fem%C3%A5rsber%C3%A4ttelser&From=&To=&Sort=relevance&Query=&Page=17&Tab=older&Exact=False>.

<sup>36</sup> BiSOS, Series H: Femårsberättelser för Stockholms stad, 1881-1885, 17, <https://www.scb.se/hitta-statistik/sok/Index?Subject=allsubjects&Series=BISOS%20H%20Fem%C3%A5rsber%C3%A4ttelser&From=&To=&Sort=relevance&Query=&Page=17&Tab=older&Exact=False>

every year although the deaths related to alcoholism recorded in the city's poorhouses reinforced the belief that "drunkenness leads its victims to the poorhouse, or to a misery which leads to death, before the poorhouse is reached."<sup>37</sup> These numbers are probably understated because many doctors refused to write chronic alcoholism on the death certificate as it brought shame to the survivors of the deceased.<sup>38</sup> Alcoholism remained a constant spectre that reformers and administrators blamed for society's problems. In reality the rate of alcoholism and drunkenness per 10,000 inhabitants dropped following the introduction of the Gothenburg System (see Chapters 5 and 6 of this dissertation).<sup>39</sup>

As more in-migrants poured into the city the percentage of women engaging in prostitution also increased. One official report indicates that between 1865 and 1885, the female population of Stockholm increased by 69% while the number of women engaging in prostitution increased by 58% during that same time. This report suggests it was mostly in-migrant women who resorted to prostitution and specifically those from Gotland, Kalmar, and Kronoberg.<sup>40</sup> In-migrants, therefore, were perceived to threaten the city's social and moral order.

As a result of these growing fears and concerns it was difficult to retain any hope for reform or improving the quality of life for the city's ever-growing working class. The provincial doctor in charge of compiling the city's annual report in 1881 lamented the

---

<sup>37</sup> "Det är ett nytt exempel till alla förut kända på huru dryckenskapen förer sina offer till fattighuset eller till ett elände, som leder till döden, innan fattighuset nås." Årsberättelser från Provinsialläkare, 1891, series E5A, [https://ep.liu.se/databases/medhist\\_data/arkivdokument/provlak/1891/P8910180\\_2.htm](https://ep.liu.se/databases/medhist_data/arkivdokument/provlak/1891/P8910180_2.htm).

<sup>38</sup> Årsberättelser från Provinsialläkare, 1891, series E5A.

<sup>39</sup> BiSOS, Series H: Femårsberättelser för Stockholms stad, 1881-1885, 19.

<sup>40</sup> Between 1881 and 1885, physicians working for the Prostitution Bureau performed over 100,000 inspections on women suspected of practicing prostitution and 2,560 women were sequestered to the *kurhus* for the treatment of venereal diseases such as syphilis. See BiSOS, Series H: Femårsberättelser för Stockholms stad, 1881-1885, 8, 18, 114.

living conditions of workers and expressed a sense of hopelessness at improving their health:

Unfortunately, however, a part of the population is so accustomed to disorder that [the introduction of new sanitary practices] has often been preached to deaf ears; in other families with many children, it is almost impossible to do anything in the interest of health, as father and mother must be absent daily to work for the maintenance of the family and the children, left to the care of an older sister, are left to fend for themselves.<sup>41</sup>

As Swedish physicians looked abroad for new knowledge and professional development they saw their contemporaries dealing with the same problems. Some physicians in Great Britain at approximately the same time viewed the poor as an unfortunate consequence of their circumstances. They stressed the degradation caused by urban living and the dangers of working in increasingly mechanised industries:

The gravitation of rural populations to urban centres, the result of new conditions of society, has caused the aggregation of human beings upon areas insufficient to maintain them in health and strength, without the aid of complex artificial contrivances. These conditions, with the unsanitary surroundings inseparable from them, especially among the poor and improvident, coupled with the vices which are largely the outcome of undue pressure of population upon space and the means of subsistence, have become important factors in changing the form and character of many diseases, more especially those of the inflammatory and zymotic classes.<sup>42</sup>

Although this British account of conditions could easily be applied to Stockholm and its new arrivals, the Swedish physician treats Stockholm's impoverished residents with disdain, too ignorant and set in their filthy habits to pull themselves out of the gutter.

---

<sup>41</sup> "Tyvärr är dock en del af befolkningen så invand vid oordning, att det mången gång varit att predika för döfva öron; hos andra familjer med många barn är det nästan omöjligt att verka något i sundhetens intresse, då far och mor dagligen måste vara frånvarande att arbeta för familjens underhåll och barnen, öfverlemnade åt en äldre systers vård, få så godt som sköta sig sjelfva." Benslow, m. fl., Årsberättelser från Provinsialläkare för Stockholm stad, 1881, RA/420177.03, series E5A, [https://ep.liu.se/databases/medhist\\_data/arkivdokument/provlak/1881/P8810180\\_1.htm](https://ep.liu.se/databases/medhist_data/arkivdokument/provlak/1881/P8810180_1.htm)

<sup>42</sup> Frederic J. Mouat and H. Saxon Snell, *Hospital Construction and Management* (London: J & A Churchill, 1883), 3.

Neither of these medical professionals suggested the poor were capable of caring for themselves and implied wealthier citizens needed to do their part to rescue them.

At approximately the same time as professional medical societies emerged to spread these views to the rest of the upper classes, Stockholm offered several formal social networks at the end of the nineteenth century although they only attracted a minority of the working class by the century's end. Many of the earliest activists in the city's Workers' Association or its unions came from the higher echelons of the working class or from the bourgeois intelligentsia and these early organisations failed to attract the vast majority of workers. Temperance societies and religious organisations had more diverse memberships and, although they provided similar social benefits to that of unions through lectures, prayer groups, and social gatherings such as dances, they failed to appeal to those whose social lives and masculine ideals were predicated on the space of the tavern.

Stockholm's labour movement began in earnest in the late 1860s with the rising popularity of the Workers' Association (*Stockholms arbetareförening*). This was the first institution that represented skilled workers from various occupational backgrounds and provided assistance with medical and funeral costs and lectures on many different topics such as equality before the law, suffrage, tax reform, pensions, the dangers of alcoholism, and labour market relations. Membership remained limited to a few thousand individuals during the last third of the nineteenth century and they belonged primarily to the skilled trades.<sup>43</sup>

---

<sup>43</sup> Madeleine Hurd, *Public Spheres, Public Mores, and Democracy. Hamburg and Stockholm, 1870-1914* (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 2000), 100.

The Association's stance on limited suffrage reveals the elevated socio-economic character of its members whose everyday experiences differed greatly from most of those of the lower classes. In the 1880s, the Association split over what the contemporaneous observer and author Claës Lundin referred to as the "400 kronor line." Many of its members believed in a steep property qualification to obtain the right to vote but this excluded many members of the working class from participating in the matters decided in the kingdom's parliament.<sup>44</sup> Those in favour of the qualification enjoyed a completely different standard of living than the majority of workers who struggled daily to survive and made less than 400 kronor per year.

In its earliest stages Stockholm's nascent labour movement relied heavily upon the upper echelons of workers and even members of the middle and upper classes. Unions began appearing all over Sweden after the dramatic sawmill workers' strike in Sundsvall in 1879. Later that year representatives from several unions came together in Stockholm for the first Workers' Congress. The journalist Isidor Kjellberg attended and was immediately dissatisfied by the number of people who attended that he perceived to be outside of the working class. According to Kjellberg, at least 53 of the 135 association representatives were "non-workers" and included manufacturers, bookkeepers, newspapermen, organists, schoolmen, and wholesalers.<sup>45</sup>

Artisans were far more successful in organising and demanding change than were manual labourers. They began using sophisticated strike methods beginning in the 1880s

---

<sup>44</sup> Claës Lundin, *Nya Stockholm* (Stockholm: Geber, 1890), 639.

<sup>45</sup> Isidor Kjellberg, *Svenska arbetaremötet (i Stockholm, 1879) och dess män. Åteberblick af en mötesdeltagare* (Linköping: Isidor Kjellbergs boktryckeri, 1879), 28-29.

including the use of strike meetings and committees while unskilled workers only began a similar approach in the late 1890s and factory workers did not do so until after 1900.<sup>46</sup> In the summer of 1881 during the Great Stockholm Strike the number of participants suggests that this ought to have led to significant improvements for those workers but the labour historian Jane Cederqvist posits that the breadth of occupations represented was ultimately the reason for its failure as workers failed to unite in a way that would benefit all workers. Instead, each group pursued agendas aimed at addressing problems unique to their specific occupations.<sup>47</sup> The number of unions grew by more than 150 in the 1880s alone and the number of strikes rose from 22 during the 1870s to just over 150 during the 1890s.<sup>48</sup> Nevertheless, even at the turn of the twentieth century both the Workers' Association and the city's unions only represented about 2,500 and 3,000 workers, respectively.<sup>49</sup> Union membership expanded beginning in the early twentieth century and representation grew from 10% of the city's working population in 1900 to 50% by 1906. Workers may have found paid membership more attractive as some unions had successfully secured higher wages in the previous century.<sup>50</sup>

The initial lag in union membership may be explained by the fluctuating cost of membership and the relatively high risk of joining when other organisations existed that provided many of the same social benefits. The cost of joining a union was relatively low but workers were required to pay monthly dues to remain active members and be eligible

---

<sup>46</sup> Cederqvist, *Arbetare i strejk*, 136.

<sup>47</sup> Cederqvist, *Arbetare i strejk*, 135.

<sup>48</sup> Cederqvist, *Arbetare i strejk*, 47.

<sup>49</sup> Cederqvist, *Arbetare i strejk*, 63, Madeleine Hurd, "Liberals, Socialists, and Sobriety: The Rhetoric of Citizenship in Turn-of-the-Century Sweden," *International and Working-Class History* 45 (Spring 1994), 49.

<sup>50</sup> Cederqvist, *Arbetare i strejk*, 134.



to receive any benefits. Membership dues differed by profession or occupation and even the time of year. For example, the union representing the men who stacked timber planks temporarily raised its monthly dues from 25 öre per month to 50 öre per month when work was more readily available.<sup>51</sup> This made union membership a more attractive prospect for those workers who remained in Stockholm during summers and planned to leave again during the winter when less work was available.

Workers in the nineteenth century also faced the threat of dismissal for joining unions and several major companies (such as A. F. Söderström, discussed below) undercut union activities by firing workers in droves, employing non-union labour to take their place, and using the police to harass “agitators.” Unions offered a formal structure for workers to engage with others with a similar background at social events and more formal gatherings but they also highlighted differences and reinforced an exclusive occupational identity. The trade-off for this sense of camaraderie and formal representation in wage matters was potential reprisal from employers so workers needed to weigh these benefits against the threat of unemployment.<sup>52</sup> If they did not want to avail of union membership but wanted some of the same social benefits, other organisations offered workers venues to discuss their beliefs and spirituality with people outside of their trade and even members of the opposite sex.

---

<sup>51</sup> “Brädgårdsarbetarefackföreningen,” *Dagens Nyheter*, July 22, 1896, <https://tidningar.kb.se/6qjngghj2n173fv/part/1/page/2?q=facklig%20medlemsavgift>.

<sup>52</sup> There are countless examples of this and advertisements for such entertainment can be seen in many of the city’s newspapers. One such advertisement may be seen in *Socialdemokraten* in which the painter’s union hosted a New Year’s party with free tickets to union members and their families. See “1890 Nyårsfest 1890,” *Socialdemokraten* December 31, 1890, <https://tidningar.kb.se/v47dz67vs2tcnt0t/part/1/page/4?q=f%C3%B6rbundet>.

Temperance societies offered an attractive outlet and social network for those workers who did not avail of the connections that could be found in taverns although even the largest organisations still only represented a few thousand people. In the same year as the first Workers' Congress in Stockholm, the Good Templar Order spread from America to Sweden. This became the largest temperance society in the country and by the end of the nineteenth century Stockholm's membership included over 2,500 adult members and slightly over 500 under the age of 15.<sup>53</sup> One breakaway sect from the Good Templars called Nykterhetsorganisationen Verdandi (N.O.V.) had several branches in Stockholm by century's end and advertised in *Socialdemokraten*. The organisation stated that its goal was to "abolish the use of alcohol as a means of pleasure, and work to ensure that a natural way of life can come within reach of all members of society." Workers who joined promised "not to consume, manufacture or sell intoxicating beverages."<sup>54</sup> In exchange for this membership men and women gained access to many services including free entrance to lectures and discussions as well as socials such as dances where they could interact with members of the opposite sex and bond over their shared passion for a sober society. The demand for complete abstinence from alcohol perhaps explains why this sect's lodges

---

<sup>53</sup> BiSOS Series H, Femårsberättelser för Stockholms stad, 1896-1900, 9, <https://share.scb.se/ov9993/data/historisk%20statistik/BISOS%201851-1917%2FBISOS%20H%20Fem%C3%A5rsber%C3%A4ttelser%2FFem%C3%A5rsber%C3%A4ttelser%20Stockholms%20stad%201856-1905%20%28BISOS%20H%29%2FBefallningshavandes-femarsberattelser-H-Stockholms-stad-1896-1900.pdf>.

<sup>54</sup> "Afskaffa bruket af alkohol som njutningsmedel, samt verka för att ett naturenligt lefnadssätt må komma inom räckhåll för alla samhällets medlemmar. Villkor för medlemskap: att icke förtära, tillverka eller försälja berusande drycker samt ordenligt betala stadgade medlemsafgifter." "Hvad vill N. O. V.?" *Socialdemokraten*, November 27, 1897, <https://tidningar.kb.se/19dg3tg3zwtc6j2h/part/1/page/3?q=facklig%20medlemsafgift>

in Stockholm consisted of only slightly more than 800 members by the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>55</sup>

Temperance societies emerged in lockstep with and in some cases due to the efforts of several of Sweden's relatively new religious denominational sects that emerged during the free church movement and after the passage of the Dissenter Act of 1860. Prior to the passage of this legislation the Lutheran church served as the bedrock for Swedish law and only those who were baptised were recognised as full citizens. This reform allowed men and women to leave the Church of Sweden but only under the condition that they join another officially recognised denomination.<sup>56</sup> The Baptists and the Methodists were Stockholm's oldest and largest dissenting congregations and by the turn of the century their combined membership included almost 5,300 people.<sup>57</sup>

They represented those workers who actively sought out religious groups that aligned better with their ideals and the vast majority showed much less enthusiasm for organised religion. Absenteeism from services became so noticeable by the turn of the twentieth century that it merited comment in state reports. The clergy bemoaned the lack of involvement and sought to retrieve their lost flocks by organising a variety of activities including catechism talks, children's services, groups where people discussed the Bible, sang, and participated in entertainment such as dances.<sup>58</sup> The various dissenting

---

<sup>55</sup> BiSOS Series H, Femårsberättelser för Stockholms stad, 1896-1900, 9.

<sup>56</sup> Yvonne Maria Werner, "The Catholic Danger": The Changing Patterns of Swedish Anti-Catholicism 1850-1965," in Y. M. Werner (ed.), *European Anti-Catholicism in a Comparative and Transnational Perspective* (Leiden: Brill, 2013), 2-3.

<sup>57</sup> BiSOS Series H, Femårsberättelser för Stockholms stad, 1896-1900,

<sup>58</sup> BiSOS Series H, Femårsberättelser för Stockholms stad, 1901-1905,  
<https://share.scb.se/ov9993/data/historisk%20statistik/BISOS%201851-1917%2FBISOS%20H%20Fem%C3%A5rsber%C3%A4ttelser%2FFem%C3%A5rsber%C3%A4ttelser%2>

denominations undoubtedly provided a sense of community and unique social networks resulting from their “outsider” status. This and their dedicated places of worship made it possible for some in-migrants to *resist* integration into Stockholm’s society or its dominant working-class culture.

These various, formal social networks undoubtedly provided members with a group identity that their leaders carefully cultivated and tailored to produce an image of respectability, conscientiousness, and sobriety. However, because they only ever reached a minority of Stockholm’s workers at the end of the nineteenth century and even fewer still of those who flitted between numerous dangerous and temporary jobs, the dominant form of masculinity and the social rituals that defined it remained tethered to spaces such as taverns. It is likely many individuals navigated between the two poles of respectability and unrestrained joviality in search of an identity as they attempted to integrate into Stockholm’s society. Unions and workers’ associations advocated sobriety and temperance societies and religious organisations advocated partial if not total abstinence from drinking. Despite pressures to avoid the numerous drinking establishments that existed in Stockholm, workers could still avail of the space of the tavern to socialize with those who did not object to the consumption of alcohol. By the end of the nineteenth century a more refined and conscientious form of masculinity won out over the more aggressive and irresponsible “drunken lout” as more workers gravitated towards these groups and conformed to their ideals to secure better lives for themselves. The following

---

[0Stockholms%20stad%201856-1905%20%28BISOS%20H%29%2FBefallningshavandes-femarsberattelser-H-Stockholms-stad-1901-1905.pdf](#)

analysis focuses on a large segment of workers and the dominant form of working-class culture that revolved around the tavern before the beginning of the twentieth century.

## **2.5 Wages, Living Standards, and Housing in Stockholm**

Stockholm natives and in-migrants fought to maintain steady and consistent employment as many forces beyond their control continuously shaped their opportunities. Men and women struggled to make ends meet with the wages they earned when work was available as they had to save in anticipation of unemployment during the winter months when the shipping and construction industries ceased operation. Food costs absorbed most of workers' wages and in the 1880s they were so high and wages so low it was difficult to feed oneself and nearly impossible to feed a family and still save for seasonal unemployment. It was also difficult to secure housing despite the decline in rent prices in the latter half of this decade so workers devised several strategies to economize. These arrangements came at the expense of their health as men and women crammed themselves into small and unhygienic spaces.

The city's shipping and construction industries provided inconsistent income for the men and women they employed. Construction work offered men casual employment but the availability of work depended on a building season of approximately eight months per year as well as the strength of the economy.<sup>59</sup> Workers employed on the docks also experienced seasonal underemployment and faced some of the worst working conditions and job competition in the city. The city's maritime commerce constantly raced against

---

<sup>59</sup> Eric Hobsbawm observed a similar loss of work in Leeds where painters, plasterers, and bricklayers lost three months of work every year due to the shorter building season. See Hobsbawm, *Labouring Men*, 81.

the clock and calendar as every shipowner and stevedoring foreman anticipated the freezing of the waters around Stockholm. They worked their employees for as long as they could in all types of weather until the port froze for up to four months a year.

Workers suffered punishing conditions as they laboured for long hours when work was available. Men employed on the docks worked twelve hours a day until 1889 and the division of their shifts made the rhythm of this labour grueling as they finished the last eight hours of their shift without any sanctioned break or rest period.<sup>60</sup> These men were physically conditioned by the rigours of their previous employment and were capable of undertaking the physical exertion of lifting, heaving, and hauling cargo on and off ships and barges.<sup>61</sup> None the less, they faced daily dangers as ship owners demanded faster turnarounds on their ships and accidents could leave workers permanently crippled or paralyzed.<sup>62</sup> In 1888 the annual provincial report on the state of health in the city recorded 193 hospital admissions for broken bones, 5 of which resulted in death. It also recorded 31 deaths by drowning, 14 deaths by crushing, and 20 deaths by impalement.<sup>63</sup> Although it is impossible to know how many of those admitted were dockworkers, the nature of these injuries attest to the dangerous conditions facing the city's work force.

---

<sup>60</sup> In 1889 the length of the workday fell from 12.5 hours to 12 hours. In 1890 this fell again to 10.5 hours and in 1896 it was decreased to 10 hours. See Tengdahl *Material till bedömande af hamnarbetarnes i Stockholm*, 18.

<sup>61</sup> Most of the men surveyed by Knut Tengdahl reported their previous occupation as a member of the military or a building trade where strenuous labour was the norm. See Tengdahl, *Material till bedömande af hamnarbetarnes i Stockholm*, 12-13.

<sup>62</sup> The most severe hazard was unbalanced cargo which could knock men down into the ship's hold and break their backs on the ship's keel. See Tengdahl, *Material till bedömande af hamnarbetarnes i Stockholm*, 97.

<sup>63</sup> Årsberättelser från Provinsialläkare för Stockholm stad, 1888, RA/420177.03, series E5A.

The shipping companies responsible for hiring dock workers ruled the quays with an iron fist and workers were unable to defy them openly by engaging in strikes. An extreme example was the shipping company A. F. Söderström that took advantage of the surplus labour both within and outside the city to undercut collective action and attempts to improve conditions on the docks. The Söderström brothers employed five to seven hundred dockworkers who could only expect two or three days of work per week.<sup>64</sup> The company also reneged on promised wages for both regular and overtime shifts. When the rumbles of collective action threatened to bring things to a halt in 1887, the company hired the poorest of the poor from Dilhström's workhouse to continue unloading ships.<sup>65</sup> It successfully barred attendance at a union organisation meeting in 1889 and had "strike agitators" questioned by the police in 1896.<sup>66</sup> In 1899 it brought in unemployed labour recruits from Småland and Värmland until their employees in Stockholm rescinded their demands.<sup>67</sup>

A. F. Söderström enjoyed an almost total monopoly on stevedoring in the city and, therefore, held nearly all of the hiring power on the docks. This company was responsible for the loading and unloading of steamships on Stadsgården, Södra Skeppsbron, and Värtan. These were the most important docks in the city with the most traffic.<sup>68</sup> They decided who received work and who did not and dismissed anyone who threatened collective action. Their tactics for undercutting worker solidarity were devastating and

---

<sup>64</sup> Tengdahl, *Material till bedömande af hamnarbetarnes i Stockholm*, 15.

<sup>65</sup> Pred, *Lost Words and Lost Worlds*, 224-225.

<sup>66</sup> Pred, *Lost Words and Lost Worlds*, 224.

<sup>67</sup> Pred, *Lost Words and Lost Worlds*, 224.

<sup>68</sup> Tengdahl, *Material till bedömande af hamnarbetarnes i Stockholm*, 18.

their decision to bring in labour from rural provinces fostered hostility towards immigrants during times of strife and after relations between workers and the employer cooled.<sup>69</sup> The nascent (and at times defunct) Dockworkers' Trade Union did its best to ensure only dues-paying members secured work on the docks but the union representatives found its job-protection initiatives consistently undercut by noncooperative foremen and even workers from other unions.<sup>70</sup>

Annual wages for dockworkers depended on the length of the shipping season, the length of the working day, and the company for which they worked. A report from the Social Democrats suggests dockworkers could expect to remain unemployed from December to May although the shipping season differed for international and domestic commerce since these routes ran through different parts of the archipelago.<sup>71</sup> The annual freeze ranged wildly from year to year and made it impossible for workers to plan or save for the months they would be out of work (see figure 2.4).<sup>72</sup> Stockholm suffered one of its worst back-to-back international shipping seasons when ice blocked the port for a combined total of 173 days between 1888 and 1889.

---

<sup>69</sup> Pred, *Lost Words and Lost Worlds*, 224.

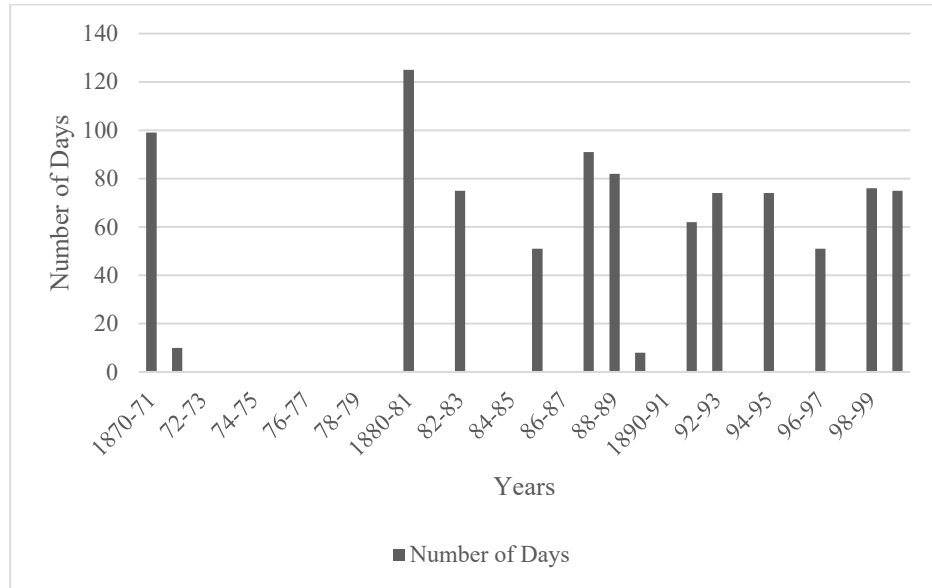
<sup>70</sup> Pred, *Lost Words and Lost Worlds*, 228-229.

<sup>71</sup> Anne-Marie Lindgren, *Arbetarnas Stockholm*, 95. The international route (measured at Sandhamn near the Baltic Sea) typically froze over less often than the domestic route (measured at Furusund). The international route typically froze in January and thawed in April while the domestic route closed a month earlier. See C. J. Östman, *Isförhållandena vid Sveriges kuster under vintrarna 1870/71-1934/35* (Stockholm: Statens Meteorologisk-Hydrografiska Anstalt, 1937), 43.

<sup>72</sup> Östman, *Isförhållandena vid Sveriges kuster*, 43.



Figure 2.4: The Number of Days Stockholm's Baltic Route Remained Frozen, 1870-1900



Source: C. J. Östman, *Isförhållandena vid Sveriges kuster under vintrarna 1870/71-1934/35* (Stockholm: Statens Meteorologisk-Hydrografiska Anstalt, 1937), 43.<sup>73</sup>

During the shipping seasons a worker employed by A. F. Söderström could expect to earn 25 öre per hour for a 12-hour shift. As this company only employed dockworkers on a part-time basis, a typical worker could expect to make a maximum of about 360 kronor per year.<sup>74</sup> If this was the sole source of income for the entire year and the dock worker possessed the ability to save some money in anticipation of the end of the shipping season he would have no more than 30 kronor per month to pay for the costs of food and accommodations.

Some trades employed both men and women and people in the most menial jobs were paid similarly for their work. For example, women who hauled mortar on

<sup>73</sup> If the international route froze between 1872 and 1879 it went unrecorded. Between 1879 and 1880 the number of days the port remained frozen is listed as *tidvis*, or “at times.” There are no recorded dates for 1881-2, 1883-4, or 1890-91.

<sup>74</sup> The shipping season ran from 28 April 1888 to 2 February 1889, or 40 weeks. This would give the worker 120 12-hour work days for an income of 360 crowns.

construction sites faced conditions very similar to dockworkers. In the 1880s they worked exhausting 65-hour weeks hauling up to 60 kilograms of mortar up several stories of precarious scaffolding for the eight months out of the year the construction industry operated (see figure 2.5). For this arduous labour they received 14-16 öre per hour for a weekly salary of between 9.1 and 10.4 kronor, or at most about 330 kronor for the year.<sup>75</sup> If this is adjusted to cover the months they did not work, these women lived on about 28 kronor per month.

Figure 2.5 “Mortar Women at the Construction of the Opera House in the 1890s.”  
Photographer unknown. 1890-1899.



Source : <https://stockholmskallan.stockholm.se/post/34815>

Women typically received lower wages in the manufacturing environment and performed low-paid and repetitive tasks in factories such as Gustavsberg’s Porcelain

---

<sup>75</sup> Lindgren, *Arbetarnas Stockholm*, 94-95.

Factory. Men held the most skilled jobs as turners and kiln operators for which they received between 700 and 900 kronor per year. In contrast, the women who glazed the finished porcelain products earned only 25-30% of that amount.<sup>76</sup>

Female employment grew by 92 percent between 1880 and 1900 in the food, beverage, and tobacco industries although even these women received lower wages than their male counterparts for performing the same work.<sup>77</sup> For example, men who loaded beer kegs onto carts for transport from the breweries received an average weekly income of 16 kronor in 1897 but women who performed this same job received an average of seven kronor per week.<sup>78</sup> For this reason women had no option but to supplement their low wages by taking in laundry, doing needlework, or supervising neighbourhood children while they cared for their own.

The largest employer of women in Stockholm was the domestic service industry which provided menial wages and required long hours under exploitative conditions. Women employed in this sector of the economy could only expect to make a paltry eight kronor per month.<sup>79</sup> Working conditions varied wildly between households although they could generally expect physically exhaustive work beginning in the morning when they purchased and served the food for breakfast and ending when they served the master of the house his evening coffee.<sup>80</sup> The greatest benefit for domestic workers and especially

---

<sup>76</sup> Ulla Wikander, *Kvinnors och mäns arbeten: Gustavsberg 1880-1980. Genusarbetsdelning och arbetets degradering vid en porslinsfabrik*. (Lund: Arkiv, 1988), 145, 160, Lindgren, *Arbetarnas Stockholm*, 93.

<sup>77</sup> Pred, *Lost Words and Lost Worlds*, 28.

<sup>78</sup> Lindgren, *Arbetarnas Stockholm*, 95.

<sup>79</sup> Svante Jakobsson and Sten W. Jakobsson, "*Orons och förtviflans gerningar*" *Ogifta kvinnors vånda för havandeskaps och barnsörds skull. Stockholmsförhållanden 1887-1901* (Stockholm: Stockholmsmonografier, 1987), 42.

<sup>80</sup> Jakobsson and Jakobsson, "*Orons och förtviflans gerningar*," 42.

those who arrived from the country was the provision of room and board although in the worst case this came at the cost of sexual exploitation by the master they served.<sup>81</sup>

Legislation regarding service implemented in 1833 assured young women had very few rights of their own and demanded they be “God-fearing, faithful, diligent, obedient, sober and moral, and not to shirk the work and chores that the master justly prescribed.”<sup>82</sup> This legislation remained in place until 1926 when it was repealed.<sup>83</sup>

Residents of Stockholm had few forms of protection and the forces working against them even extended to their food. Yvonne Hirdman suggests workers in Stockholm suffered from poor-quality yet expensive food in the 1880s that resulted in a daily diet suitable only for malnutrition at best and starvation at worst. She paints a picture of watered-down, tuberculosis-infected milk and sausages prepared with rotten and moldy materials.<sup>84</sup> Hirdman argues the cost of foodstuffs required a substantial portion of workers’ salaries and in the early 1880s the situation was so severe that it required more than an unskilled worker’s daily wages to feed himself, his wife, and two

---

<sup>81</sup> Historians disagree about how common such exploitation was. John Gillis suggests this was “far from common” but agrees with Lawrence Stone’s argument that this was more common in the 18<sup>th</sup>-century when the master-servant relationship was less routinized than in industrial 19<sup>th</sup>-century society. See John R. Gillis, “Servants, Sexual Relations, and the Risks of Illegitimacy in London, 1801-1900,” *Feminist Studies* 5 (1) (1979), 160 and Lawrence Stone, *The Family, Sex and Marriage in England, 1500-1800* (New York: Harper & Row, 1977), 642-647. Leslie Page Moch and Rachel Fuchs disagree and treat this form of exploitation as one of the main dangers facing women when they moved to cities. See Leslie Page Moch and Rachel Fuchs, “Pregnant, Single, and Far from Home: Migrant Women in Nineteenth-Century Paris,” *The American Historical Review* 95 (4) (Oct. 1990), 1019-1020.

<sup>82</sup> *Gudfruktig, trogen, flitig, lydig, nykter och sedlig samt inte undandra sig det arbete och de sysslor som husbonden skäligen föresatte*. Quoted from Jakobsson and Jakobsson, “*Orons och förtviflans geningar*,” 39.

<sup>83</sup> Christer Lundh, “Life Cycle Servants in Nineteenth Century Sweden – Norms and Practice,” *Lund Papers in Economic History* 84 (2003), 2.

<sup>84</sup> Food adulteration plagued northern European cities undergoing rapid expansion and Richard J. Evans observes similar problems in Hamburg with sellers adulterating flour with all kinds of chemicals and minerals to increase its weight or disguise its poor quality. See Richard J. Evans, *Death in Hamburg: Society and Politics in the Cholera Years 1830-1910* (New York: Penguin Books, 1987), 167.

children.<sup>85</sup> Gunnar Myrdal's data reveals the prices for some commodities were comparatively low during the 1880s compared to the 1870s and the 1890s (see table 2.2) although he does not give any indication about the quality of food available at these prices. Klas Linroth, the provincial doctor for Stockholm in the 1880s, expressed his concerns for the quality of food in the capital in his annual report that noted almost 2300 kilograms of pork worth over 1100 kronor was destroyed that year because it contained trichinella.<sup>86</sup>

Table 2.2: The Cost of Foodstuffs in Stockholm, 1870, 1889, 1900

Commodity	Price per Kilogram (öre)			
	1870	1880	1889	1900
Pork	82	84	68	92
Beef (fresh)	69	68	58	68
Salted Cod	35	39	48	38
Smoked Bacon	116	132	124	118
Eggs (score)	100	110	94	116
Butter	158	175	185	193
Sugar	109	102	77	60
Coffee	123	165	180	98
Potatoes	5.2	7.5	5	6.8
Hard Ryebread	22.2	28.4	27	30.5

Source: Gunnar Myrdal, *The Cost of Living in Sweden 1830-1930* (London: P. S. King & Son, LTD., 1933), 205-245.

Both Hirdman and contemporary observers such as the preeminent Swedish novelist and social reformer Gustaf af Geijerstam suggest the diet of the lower-income population in the capital consisted of pork, beef, eggs, butter, sugar, cream and coffee. Potatoes, bread and other baked goods were also central to their diet. The price for these commodities and some others are listed above. Pred presents a daily diet for a

<sup>85</sup> Hirdman, *Magfrågan*, 20.

<sup>86</sup> Linroth, RA/420177.03, series E5A, [https://ep.liu.se/databases/medhist\\_data/arkivdokument/provlak/1888/P8880180.htm](https://ep.liu.se/databases/medhist_data/arkivdokument/provlak/1888/P8880180.htm), accessed 4 January, 2024.

dockworker consisting of an early morning snack, breakfast, a substantial early afternoon meal, and a medium sized supper. Each major meal contained at least one source of protein and at least one source of carbohydrates. The early afternoon meal provided two sources of protein and two sources of carbohydrates.<sup>87</sup>

It is possible to use Pred's description of meals to estimate the daily cost of food items using the above costs of goods and reasonable portion sizes for each meal. If the previously mentioned dockworker who worked for A. F. Söderström in 1889 prepared his own meals with a morning snack consisting of 100 g hard ryebread, 50 g butter, 10 g coffee, a breakfast of 3 eggs and 150 g potatoes, an early afternoon meal containing 200 g pork, 100 g beef, 100 g potatoes and 50 g bread, and finally a supper of 100 g pork and 100 g potatoes, he could expect to pay around 57 öre per day, or the equivalent of just over two hours worth of work. This amounts to about 18 kronor per month, or roughly 56% of the dockworker's monthly income.<sup>88</sup>

If this same diet is examined in other years it is possible to observe the relative cost of food and how this changed over time. This same meal would cost almost 61 öre per day in 1870 or about three hours worth of work and 63% of the worker's monthly wages. Ten years later it cost about 66 öre per day and, because the dockworker's wages remained unchanged, it absorbed almost 68% of the worker's monthly wages. By 1900 this daily diet cost just under 70 öre per day but because dockworkers had secured better

---

<sup>87</sup> Pred's fictitious dockworker began his day with coffee and a bun. He then ate boiling herring, potatoes, and an onion sauce for breakfast. His early afternoon meal consisted of pork soup, rice porridge, *id* (freshwater fish) and potatoes. His final meal of the day consisted of another meat item such as roast pork and more potatoes. See Pred, *Lost Words and Lost Worlds*, 229-235.

<sup>88</sup> This budget does not include alcoholic beverages since the amount workers drank varied widely both from day to day and from worker to worker.

wages for themselves (see note 90) this food cost only represented 51% of their monthly wages.

Workers could substitute meat for cheaper forms of protein such as salted cod during times of hardship or purchase more expensive types of meat when they experienced economic stability and financial success, but they could not control the menu if they ate in taverns on the way to work (which was often the case for bachelors who boarded with other families, see below). These figures do not account for money spent on alcohol although one small-scale survey taken in 1899 revealed unmarried labourers spent 21% of their income on alcohol while married labourers spent 14% of their income on drink.<sup>89</sup> With this added cost, by the mid-1880s a typical dockworker spent about 80% of his wages on food and drink alone.<sup>90</sup>

Gustaf af Geijerstam found that not only dockworkers but even people employed in industries that operated year-round struggled to make ends meet. He discovered that a married man who worked in a machine shop and made a monthly salary of 107 kronor could not support himself, his wife, and his child in 1893. His wife revealed that between weekly staples such as food and milk, monthly expenses including purchasing and repairing clothing, and the one-time cost of a trip to the country the family spent almost

---

<sup>89</sup> This budget does not account for the methods men and women used to stretch their budget and portion sizes. Pred describes cost-saving tactics that included purchasing a mixture of scraps and partially rancid meat, buying stolen bread from army recruits or stale loafs from restaurants, and combining leftovers with fatty sauce to maximize miserably small portions. See Pred, *Lost Words and Lost Worlds*, 64, 89.

<sup>90</sup> In 1896 the dockworkers fought for and won a ten-hour workday and secured a wage increase to 40 öre per hour. This and other rising wages greatly reduced the proportion of workers' wages spent on food despite the slow increase in prices towards the end of the century as shown for most commodities in Table 2.2. See Tengdahl, *Material till bedömande af hamnarbetarnes i Stockholm*, 17.

109 kronor.<sup>91</sup> Af Geijerstam also interviewed a worker at a cotton spinning mill with a wife and three children who made 14 kronor per week. As the family added expenses such as firewood during colder months they spent a total of 16 kronor per week.<sup>92</sup> The family had no alternative but to rely on inconsistent and fleeting temporary work and jobs to make up the difference.

Another significant expense for workers was the cost of housing and Stockholm faced a critical housing shortage towards the end of the century that left many people struggling to find affordable places to live. Building cycles followed periods of high investment and speculation resulting in great spurts of construction such as that in Stockholm during the first half of the 1880s that occurred following the housing crisis of the previous decade (see table 2.3).<sup>93</sup> The number of tenement buildings built between 1886-90 nearly halved compared to the previous five years when speculation ended with the downswing of the business cycle and investment in the industry declined sharply.

Table 2.3: The Number of Residential Buildings Constructed in Stockholm, 1871-1900

Years	Number of Residential Buildings Constructed
1871-75	265
1876-80	662
1881-85	1209
1886-90	646
1891-95	295
1896-1900	586

Source: Birgit Gejvall, *1800-Talets Stockholmsbostad. En studie över den borgerliga bostadens planlösning i hyreshusen* (Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1954), 237.

<sup>91</sup> Gustaf af Geijerstam, *Anteckningar om arbetarförhållanden i Stockholm* (Stockholm: Samson and Wallin, 1894), 69-70.

<sup>92</sup> af Geijerstam, *Anteckningar om arbetarförhållanden i Stockholm*, 75.

<sup>93</sup> Pred, *Lost Words and Lost Worlds*, 122-123.



Workers continued to struggle to find housing in the 1890s although investors focused their new building activity in well-to-do areas that workers could not afford. There were many apartments available to rent when the building cycle ended in 1885 but the problem was that the men and women who built them were suddenly unemployed and could not afford the rent to live in them. This caused the average rent to fall substantially in the city over the next decade before it rebounded at the turn of the century (see table 2.4). Between 1891 and 1895 the relatively wealthy area of Östermalm received the highest number of new tenement buildings in the city (n=118) while the working-class parishes of Katarina and Maria received just 19 and 27 respectively. Adolf Fredrik Parish fared the best of the working-class neighbourhoods with 32 new buildings. Five years later Östermalm again boasted the highest number of new buildings although in Adolf Fredrik the number skyrocketed to 113.<sup>94</sup>

Table 2.4: The Monthly and Yearly Cost Per Room for Rent in Stockholm, 1885-1900, Swedish Kronor

Year	Monthly Cost of a Rented Room in Stockholm	Annual Cost of a Rented Room in Stockholm
1885	14.5	118.3
1890	11.6	94.5
1895	12.3	100.0
1900	16.9	138.0

Source: Gunnar Myrdal, *The Cost of Living in Sweden 1830-1930* (London: P. S. King & Son, LTD., 1933), 133.

At first glance these figures suggest largely consistent costs across the city. But studies conducted in 1895, 1900, and 1902 reveal stark differences between working-class neighbourhoods and wealthier areas in Stockholm. The cost of a single room without access to a kitchen was roughly comparable for all parts of Stockholm in 1895 although

---

<sup>94</sup> Gejvall, *1800-Talets Stockholmsbostad*, 237.

Södermalm was the cheapest. Five years later the rent for the same apartment on Kungsholmen was closer to the that found in the wealthier neighbourhoods than to Södermalm (see table 2.5). Rent was also similar for the wealthiest areas of the city including Staden mellan broarna (Gamla Stan) and the parishes to the immediate north in Nedre Norrmalm (Klara and Jakob) and rooms there were the most expensive in the city in 1900. These rooms likely catered to clerks and other bureaucrats that worked nearby. By contrast, the average rent in Södermalm rose modestly making this the most affordable area in the city and particularly attractive to members of the working class.

Table 2.5: The Average Annual Rent and Number of People Per Room in Different Areas of Stockholm, 1895, 1900, and 1902

Area of Stockholm	Rent Per Room (kronor), 1895	People Per Room, 1900	Rent Per Room (kronor), 1900	People Per Room, 1900	Rent Per Room (kronor), 1902	People Per Room, 1902
Staden Mellan Broarna	129	3	143	3.2	166	3.0
Nedre Norrmalm (Klara and Jakob Parishes)	128	2	140	2.5	181	2.7
Öfre Norrmalm (Adolf Fredrik and Johannes Parishes)	122	3	118	2.9	176	3.5
Östermalm (Hedvig Eleonora Parish)	125	3	133	3.2	174	3.4
Kungsholmen	119	3	112	2.7	160	4.1
Södermalm (Katarina and Maria Parishes)	109	3	115	3.5	139	3.8

Source: Karl Key-Åberg and Joseph Guinchard.<sup>95</sup>

<sup>95</sup> Karl Key-Åberg, *Bihang N:r 40 till Beredningsutskottets utlåtanden och memorial för år 1897*, 21, Joseph Guinchard, *Af Styrelsen öfver Stockholms stads asyler för husvilla föranstaltad statistisk*

Most working-class people moved to Johannes Parish, Södermalm, and Kungsholmen on the edges of central Stockholm and found accommodations that became very crowded as the city's population continued to grow. These areas provided poor-quality albeit inexpensive housing for workers who represented the vast majority of the population living there. In northern Johannes on the edge of the city, workers represented 88% of the population, in Södermalm approximately 84%, and 78% in Kungsholmen.<sup>96</sup> Södermalm offered the cheapest accommodations in the city as many small, dilapidated buildings continued to dot the hilly landscape towards the end of the century.

Karl Key-Åberg's analysis of the living conditions of the working class in 1895 corroborates this description of poor living conditions: families and boarders sharing a room in Södermalm could only expect an average of about 58 square feet (5.4 m<sup>2</sup>) per person. Katarina Parish contained the highest number of apartments and houses without heat, running water, or piped waste disposal of any of the areas Key-Åberg's studied.<sup>97</sup>

Contemporary observers and social reformers viewed working-class homes with horror. Gustaf af Geijerstam's investigation into the housing conditions of 77 workers in the same mechanical workshop revealed an enormous disparity between the way a workshop foreman and his employees lived.<sup>98</sup> The foreman resided in a clean and warm apartment with his wife and a live-in maid who had her own bedroom. In contrast, a worker and his pregnant wife lived under the roof of a four-story walk-up where the only

---

*undersökning angående bostadsförhållandena i Stockholm : åren 1900 och 1902* (Stockholm: Styrelsen öfver Stockholms stads asyler för husvil, 1903), 27, 66-71.

<sup>96</sup> Karl Key-Åberg, *Bihang N:r 40 till Beredningsutskottets utlåtanden och memorial för år 1897*, 13.

<sup>97</sup> Key-Åberg, *Bihang N:r 40 till Beredningsutskottets utlåtanden och memorial för år 1897*, 79.

<sup>98</sup> af Geijerstam, *Anteckningar om arbetarförhållanden i Stockholm*, 27-29.

piece of furniture was a sofa on which they both slept.<sup>99</sup> A single room with a kitchen was the most common living arrangement for workers and one 1897 report suggested 42.2% of the working-class population lived in this type of apartment. The presence of boarders exacerbated these cramped conditions.<sup>100</sup> Workers frequently brought in people to help pay their rent. Rooms in the working-class areas of Kungsholmen and Södermalm in 1902 contained the highest average number of people sharing rooms in an attempt to reduce the amount of money they spent on accommodations.

Young male workers resorted to all sorts of strategies to find a place to live. Some workers slept outside under bridges or on barges when the weather was favourable but they were forced to seek refuge indoors when winter arrived.<sup>101</sup> Most workers joined another full household and paid for a space on the kitchen floor to stay out of the cold and leaseholders packed as many people into these spaces as possible.<sup>102</sup>

The lowest-paid workers had few options at their disposal and if they could not find accommodations with families or start their own households they were forced to rent space in flophouses or seek a bed at one of the city's charity institutions. Single men and women with little or no money frequently "huddled together" in October and married before the coldest winter months to reduce heating and shelter expenses.<sup>103</sup> Men or

---

<sup>99</sup> af Geijerstam, *Anteckningar om arbetarförhållanden i Stockholm*, 9-12.

<sup>100</sup> Key Åberg also observed that 53.4% of working-class homes brought on one or more boarders to help supplement the homeowner's income. See Alf Nordström, "Om arbetarbostäder i Stockholm under 1800-talets senare del," in *Årsberättelser* (Stockholm: K. L. Beckmans Boktryckeri, 1948), 20-21.

<sup>101</sup> Pred, *Lost Words and Lost Worlds*, 229.

<sup>102</sup> An *Aftonbladet* article published in 1878 revealed the ingenuity and extremity of the crisis. The residents described how they took the table out of the tiny kitchen and put it in the garden every night. Then they raised a makeshift cot so that two men could sleep on the floor while two men slept above them. Article Quoted in Nordström, "om arbetarbostäder i Stockholm," by 21.

<sup>103</sup> *Man kryper ihop då det blir kallt*. Pred, *Lost Words and Lost Worlds*, 89.

women could also turn to the so-called “hotels” for temporary housing for 25 öre per night. These flophouses boasted the worst sanitary conditions in the city with up to forty-seven people sharing a poorly ventilated and rat-infested floor in a dilapidated building.<sup>104</sup> Thrifty men and women could secure a *partier* or a person to share the nightly cost.<sup>105</sup> Workers could also use these spaces strategically as it allowed them to avoid police scrutiny and the risk of vagrancy charges if they had nowhere else to go or were not registered in the *rotemans* system. If men were fortunate they could rely on the Salvation Army’s shelter that offered 180 beds in an open dormitory but provided rarely washed sheets and washstands that served as urinals.<sup>106</sup>

The room and board provided by domestic work contracts spared women the same initial conditions that men faced although their accommodations varied from employer to employer and this work was usually only available to young, unmarried women. The quality of the lodgings could range from a sleeping place in the kitchen to a private bedroom in an attic. Homes that employed a large staff expected several women to share the same quarters and even the same bed.<sup>107</sup> If they worked as governesses they slept in the same room as the children with nothing but a curtain for privacy.<sup>108</sup>

Unmarried women who arrived in the city struggled the hardest to find work and housing in their later years. Most women employed as maids in Stockholm towards the

---

<sup>104</sup> Tengdahl observed deplorable conditions when he visited one such flophouse on Gamla Stan. Here he carefully stepped over sleeping bodies with the light of a single lamp and asked one person why they put their belongings in cheap sacks and then tied them to the wall. The man told Tengdahl he had to tie up his belongings to prevent the rats from chewing holes in them. See Tengdahl, *Material till bedömande af hamnarbetarnes i Stockholm*, 81.

<sup>105</sup> Pred, *Lost Words and Lost Worlds*, 89.

<sup>106</sup> Pred, *Lost Words and Lost Worlds*, 229.

<sup>107</sup> Jakobsson and Jakobsson, “*Orons och förtviflans geningar*,” 41.

<sup>108</sup> Jakobsson and Jakobsson, “*Orons och förtviflans geningar*,” 42.

end of the nineteenth century were between the ages of 20 and 25 and those working at older ages in this segment of the economy were far fewer in number.<sup>109</sup> Women who could no longer find work as domestics had to find housing elsewhere despite their paltry wages. If they did not have a partner to help pay for the high cost of rent or family to provide a place to live, their last resort was the poor house. Almost 90% of the 2,581 people admitted to the Sabbatsberg Institution for the Poor between 1872 and 1892 died and 40% of them had never been married. The remaining 60% included both currently married and widowed women. Almost 75% of the female and more than 90% of the male residents were in-migrants revealing that this segment of the population found it extremely difficult to find suitable housing and employment in the city.<sup>110</sup>

The municipal government's scattered and piece-meal efforts at improving the standard of living also reveals the disparity between poor and wealthy neighbourhoods. Towards the end of the century more people looked to the city to provide financial assistance and the distribution of poor relief there reveals the state of desperation in areas such as Södermalm. Poor relief initiatives hoped to protect society's most vulnerable after 1871 including children under the age of 15, the insane, and those who were too old or otherwise unable to work.<sup>111</sup> The highest percentage of residents receiving poor relief between 1885 and 1895 lived in Katarina parish on Södermalm (see table 2.6). In 1895 slightly more than 20% of Katarina's residents received financial assistance from the

---

<sup>109</sup> Tine Susanne Jorde, *Stockholms tjenestepiker under industrialiseringen. Tjenestepikeyrkets funksjon i individets livsløp og i en ekspanderende storby* (Stockholm: Gotab, 1995), 27.

<sup>110</sup> Svante Jakobsson, *Fattighushjonets värld i 1800-talets Stockholm* (Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1982), 83-87.

<sup>111</sup> Nåder förordnade komiterade, *Underdånigt betänkande, med förslag till förordning angående fattigvården i riket m. m.* (Stockholm: A. L. Norman, 1871), 1.

city.<sup>112</sup> In contrast, less than 6% of people living in Klara parish, just north of Gamla Stan, required poor relief.<sup>113</sup>

Table 2.6 The Percentage of Residents Receiving Poor Relief, 1885-1895

Poor Relief District	1885	1890	1895
<i>Storkyrkoförsamlingen (Gamla Stan)</i>	8.2%	9.3%	9.4%
Klara	3.4%	4.4%	5.8%
Kungsholmen	5.4%	5.1%	9.5%
Adolf Fredrik	5.0%	5.9%	9.5%
Jakob and Johannes	5.6%	7.2%	10.2%
Östermalm	4.7%	4.9%	7.5%
Katarina	9.9%	11.37%	21%
Maria	6.3%	6.4%	8.0%

Source: BiSOS Series H, Årsberättelser för Stockholms stad, 1891-1895, 79.<sup>114</sup>

The overcrowded and generally unsanitary housing conditions contributed to the spread of communicable diseases and especially tuberculosis towards the end of the nineteenth century. Britt-Inger Puranen's observations of working-class homes in Eskilstuna and Gothenburg mirror those of Stockholm.<sup>115</sup> Contemporary descriptions paint a picture of damp, cold, and overcrowded conditions with poor or nonexistent ventilation that facilitated the spread of the disease. In 1888, for example, more than

<sup>112</sup> N=8,645 while the parish's population was 41,514 in 1895. See BiSOS Series H, Årsberättelser för Stockholms stad, 1891-1895, 79, <https://www.scb.se/hitta-statistik/sok/Index?Subject=allsubjects&Series=BISOS%20H%20Fem%C3%A5rsber%C3%A4ttelser&From=&To=&Sort=relevance&Query=&Page=17&Tab=older&Exact=False>. For populations of individual parishes see *Statistisk årsbok för Stockholms stad 1923* (Stockholm: K. L. Beckmans Boktryckeri, 1923), 9.

<sup>113</sup> N=1,048 while the parish's population was 18,334 in 1895. See BiSOS Series H, Årsberättelser för Stockholms stad, 1891-1895, 79, <https://www.scb.se/hitta-statistik/sok/Index?Subject=allsubjects&Series=BISOS%20H%20Fem%C3%A5rsber%C3%A4ttelser&From=&To=&Sort=relevance&Query=&Page=17&Tab=older&Exact=False> and *Statistisk årsbok för Stockholms stad 1923*, 9.

<sup>114</sup> <https://www.scb.se/hitta-statistik/sok/Index?Subject=allsubjects&Series=BISOS%20H%20Fem%C3%A5rsber%C3%A4ttelser&From=&To=&Sort=relevance&Query=&Page=17&Tab=older&Exact=False>.

<sup>115</sup> Britt-Inger Puranen, *Tuberkulos. En sjukdoms förekomst och dess orsaker. Sverige 1750-1980* (Umeå: Umeå Studies in Economic History, 1984), 293-295.

15,000 people in Stockholm sought treatment for respiratory diseases.<sup>116</sup> Stockholm's percentage of deaths attributed to tuberculosis plateaued between 1881 and 1900 at 15.3% and this represented one of the highest percentages in the kingdom.<sup>117</sup>

Stockholm's municipal government instituted sanitary reforms following a cholera epidemic in 1853 and the general health of the population noticeably improved by the turn of the century. A new sanitation ordinance in 1874 began closing the city's cesspools and the final one ceased operation in 1894. The number of deaths among children under the age of two related to diarrhea declined steadily as the number of clean-water pipe connections increased.<sup>118</sup> However, even these measures proved insufficient.

The squalid living conditions and lack of access to clean water contributed to several water-borne diseases.<sup>119</sup> For example, 129 people died from gastrointestinal inflammation and diarrhea in Södermalm in 1888 compared to only 15 in the more affluent Östermalm.<sup>120</sup> The city was slow to institute sanitary reforms in the poorer parts of the city. These types of illnesses disproportionately affected people in the city's working-class neighbourhoods. A study of child mortality in Södermalm between 1878 and 1925 found that about 23% of these deaths were due to diarrhea or a disease that

---

<sup>116</sup> Linroth, RA/420177.03, series E5A, [https://ep.liu.se/databases/medhist\\_data/arkivdokument/provlak/1888/P8880180.htm](https://ep.liu.se/databases/medhist_data/arkivdokument/provlak/1888/P8880180.htm), accessed 4 January, 2024.

<sup>117</sup> Puranen, *Tuberkulos*, 274.

<sup>118</sup> Burström et al., "Equitable Child Health Interventions," 209, 211-212.

<sup>119</sup> Burström et al., "Equitable Child Health Interventions," 211.

<sup>120</sup> Linroth, RA/420177.03, series E5A, [https://ep.liu.se/databases/medhist\\_data/arkivdokument/provlak/1888/P8880180.htm](https://ep.liu.se/databases/medhist_data/arkivdokument/provlak/1888/P8880180.htm), accessed 4 January, 2024.



caused it. The overwhelming majority of these children were under the age of two and belonged to working-class families or single mothers.<sup>121</sup>

Stockholm was a dangerous and unpredictable city in which to live towards the end of the nineteenth century partially due to rampant underemployment. Workers in seasonal industries received wages barely sufficient to support themselves but not a family and their wages had to last them throughout the year. Food was an enormous expense and absorbed about 80% of some single workers' wages in the worst years and much more if they had a family that depended on them. Even in ideal circumstances many members of the working-class such as dockworkers could not afford to rent the newly built but small apartments on their own so they took whatever spaces they could in an attempt to save money. Conditions improved incrementally in the 1890s as wages rose and municipal initiatives created a more hygienic environment that reduced the proliferation of tuberculosis and other fatal diseases. For many workers hardship and desperation laid in wait for them during short shipping seasons or the decline of the next business cycle. The siren call of the city had to rise above the thrum of uncertainty before many in-migrants decided to risk the journey and make their way to the bright lights of Stockholm.

## **2.6 The Lure of 19<sup>th</sup>-Century Stockholm**

Stockholm obviously struggled with growing pains towards the end of the century but its burgeoning position on the global stage made it a city to rival any capital on the continent. Steffan Tjerneld, a historian of Stockholm, characterised this city as the “Paris

---

<sup>121</sup> Burström et al., “Equitable Child Health Interventions,” 212-213.

of Sweden” as it began to change after mid-century and the city’s residents began to crave the latest European fashions and forms of entertainment.<sup>122</sup> The novelist Hjalmar Söderberg noted this same desire with his character Martin Birck who walked the snow swept streets of the capital searching for happiness and meaning. Eventually Birck’s melancholic gaze fell upon bright lights shining through wide windows where he observed a jubilant ball filled with men and women in their finest attire as they danced foreign waltzes.<sup>123</sup> This city began to pulse with a figurative and literal energy as electric lights and telephone wires redefined the skyline and created a beacon for young immigrants who flocked to the city like moths to a flame.

Söderberg’s character would have seen stark differences between neighbourhoods and apartment buildings while walking around the capital as the vision of success and prosperity in one part of the city stood in stark contrast to the dilapidation and desperation in another. The ornate tenement buildings built for bourgeois residents in Östermalm likely inspired wonder and envy in their servants who either lived in the attic of the same building or returned to their cramped and crowded apartments in Södermalm, Kungsholmen, or Sibrien (see figures 2.6 and 2.7).

---

<sup>122</sup> Tjerneld, *Stockholmsliv*, 124.

<sup>123</sup> Hjalmar Söderberg, *Martin Birck’s Youth. A Novel*, trans. by Tom Ellet (Norwich: Nordvik, 2004).

Figures 2.6 and 2.7 Björken 15 in Östermalm and Bergsprängargränd 8 in Södermalm



Source: <https://stockholmskallan.stockholm.se/post/4775> and <https://stockholmskallan.stockholm.se/post/26714>

Birck would also have seen great differences in the fine restaurants and cafés in the wealthier areas and the taverns in poorer neighbourhoods. Cafés became increasingly popular after the mid-nineteenth century when Theodor Blanche imported the concept from France and opened his café on Kungsträdgården. Blanche elevated the act of service by outfitting his waiters in fine coats and scarves as they moved about the restaurant's elegant interior serving coffee and pastry. Before long the café became a central part of Swedish intellectual life and formed an important part of bourgeois culture.<sup>124</sup> Sweden received coffee shipments from Brazil, South Africa, East India, and Australia when Blanche opened his café in 1868 and by 1885 Sweden imported more than 3 kilograms of coffee for every person in Sweden.<sup>125</sup> The working-class tavern was the antithesis of the

---

<sup>124</sup> Tjerneld, *Stockholmsliv*, 129.

<sup>125</sup> Marie Clark Nelson and Ingvar Svanberg, "Coffee in Sweden: A Question of Morality, Health, and Economy," *Food and Foodways* 5 (3) (1993): 242, Bidrag till Sveriges Officiella Statistik (BiSOS): Series F, Commerce Collegii, "Utrikes handel och sjöfart: Underdåniga berättelse för år 1868," 73, 82,

café. Alcohol and hearty food was served on dirty tables to men who were little interested in ambiance and simply sought good company and some degree of nourishment as they ate relatively inexpensive food, drank, and laughed.

The city's new cosmopolitan status began right on the docks as international ships spilled people and different cultures onto the wharves. This ever-growing diversity manifested itself in unique variations in the language spoken in Stockholm as the city's residents increasingly incorporated foreign words and expressions into their everyday parlance. Allan Pred describes this mixture of Swedish dialects and foreign languages on the docks as Stockholm's heteroglossia and points to the growing English and German influence as evidence of the city's growing cosmopolitanism at the end of the nineteenth century.<sup>126</sup> These foreign influences diffused between classes as young maidservants carefully adopted the language and dialect of the upper-class women they served and brought it home to their families, used it at the market when sharing the latest gossip, and exchanged ideas in reading groups and sewing circles. Swedes working aboard foreign vessels learned the language of their captains and then introduced these words to the working-class youths in Södermalm who adopted them into their everyday language.<sup>127</sup> The ships in the city's harbours and the goods they carried acted as vectors for international influence that was felt throughout Stockholm's society.

---

<https://www.scb.se/hitta-statistik/sok/Index?Subject=allsubjects&Series=BISOS%20F%20Utrikes%20handel%20och%20sj%C3%B6fart%201858-1910&From=&To=&Sort=relevance&Query=&Page=2&Tab=older&Exact=False>.

<sup>126</sup> Pred, *Lost Words and Lost Worlds*, 12.

<sup>127</sup> Pred, *Lost Words and Lost Worlds*, 12-14.

Foreign languages and music spread to the city's theatre and opera house which were rebuilt and revitalized around the turn of century. The city's theatre (Gamla Dramaten) at Kungsträdgårdsgatan began to host French dramas authored by Victor Hugo and other major European writers around the mid 19<sup>th</sup>-century and they continued into the 1860s as few Swedish playwrights chose to broach the complex social problems that their audience dealt with in their everyday lives. Foreign plays influenced some of Sweden's great contributions to the stage including the native Stockholmer August Strindberg.<sup>128</sup> Eventually the old theatre could no longer host the swells of patrons interested in this form of entertainment and a brand-new theatre, which still stands today, opened in 1908.

Gustav III built the city's first opera house in 1773 and it stood for over a century before it was demolished in 1891 when construction on the spectacular new Royal Opera began just across the water from the Royal Palace. Contemporary observers considered the old opera house outdated and dangerous should a fire occur. Stockholmers' safety concerns were probably motivated by the horror of the Ringtheater fire in Vienna in 1881. Newspapers painted ghastly pictures of the stately theatre engulfed in flames alongside eyewitness accounts of men and women jumping from the balconies where they were trapped killing themselves and the people below.<sup>129</sup> Over the next few days over one thousand people were reported missing to the police and hundreds of bodies were pulled from the ruins.<sup>130</sup> The old Gustav III opera house was built in a style similar to the

---

<sup>128</sup> Tjerneld, *Stockholmsliv*, 132.

<sup>129</sup> "Teaterbranden i Wien," *Dagens Nyheter*, December 12, 1881.  
<https://tidningar.kb.se/vd6b4wn625h6fn5/part/1/page/2?q=ringteater>

<sup>130</sup> "Teaterbranden i Wien," *Dagens Nyheter*, December 14, 1881.  
<https://tidningar.kb.se/p715zqj1397rkbf/part/1/page/2?q=ringteater>

Ringtheater with high galleries so the widely-travelled architect Axel J. Anderberg designed the new opera building inspired by the famous Palais Garnier in Paris which was more modern and safe.<sup>131</sup>

Operas and concerts traditionally segregated the rich from the poor by selling concert tickets based on subscription and at prices only the city's wealthy bourgeois population could afford.<sup>132</sup> In the late 1890s wealthy Stockholmers began to lobby for a permanent symphony to rival those on the continent and began to raise funds to build a dedicated concert hall and endow a symphony. Among these wealthy philanthropists was the Jewish merchant Erik Rubenson who donated 20,000 kronor to the construction of the hall before adding the staggering sum of 750,000 kronor to endow the symphony with enough money to reduce its dependence on ticket sales. He did so to reduce the cost of tickets so people from every social class could enjoy the symphony's performances.<sup>133</sup>

Men and women dressed in their finest clothes to indulge in some of the best entertainment Europe could offer at these and other entertainment venues. The consumer demand for the latest fashions created a niche for the city's first department stores at the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Several of them started as small operations and grew substantially to become fixtures in the city. Paul Urbanus Bergström moved from the capital's suburbs to the centre of Stockholm in 1876 when he was sixteen years old and headed straight to Hötorget where he worked his way up in a toy company and spearheaded targeted advertising in *Dagens Nyheter*. He eventually purchased the entire west block of the

---

<sup>131</sup> Tjerneld, *Stockholmsliv*, 252-253.

<sup>132</sup> Mia Kuritzén Löwengart, *En samhällelig angelägenhet. Framväxten av en symfoniorkester och ett konserthus i Stockholm, cirka 1890–1926* (Uppsala: Uppsala Universitet, 2017), 121.

<sup>133</sup> Löwengart, *En samhällelig angelägenhet*, 195.

public square and by the turn of the century his department store was a staple in the capital with weekly markets taking place in the shadow of his impressive storefront.

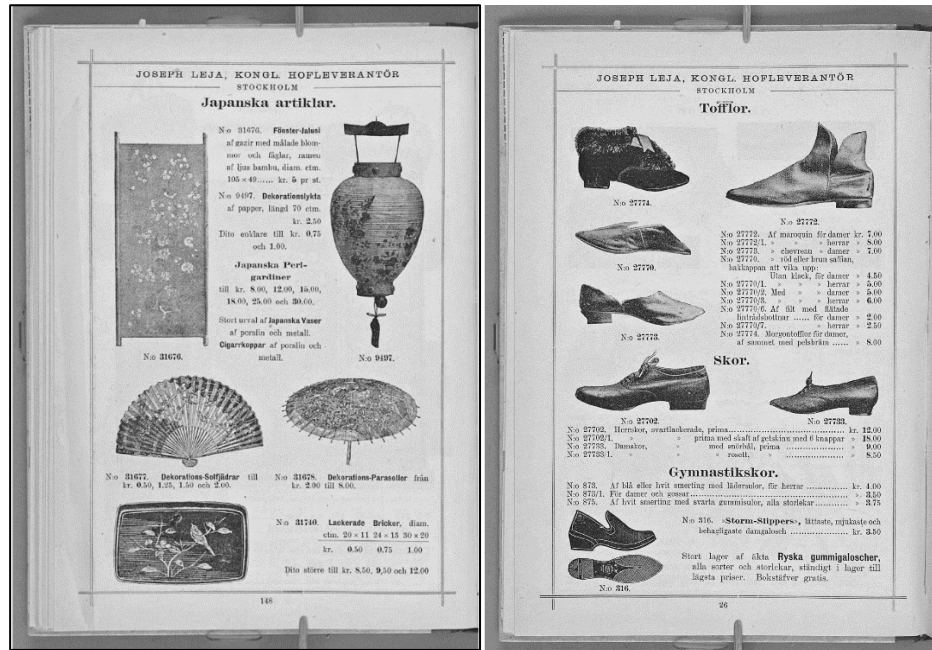
Joseph Leja gently beckoned people to his department store in Norrmalm from all across the city when he published his biannual catalogues displaying the latest fashions and all types of consumer goods.<sup>134</sup> His store displayed countless trinkets and items that many people had never seen in their home parishes and villages in the Swedish countryside. Sweden joined the rest of Europe in developing orientalist tastes and stores such as Leja's began selling international goods to cater to this demand (see figure 2.8). Continental fashions and accessories surged in popularity towards the end of the century as Stockholmers and other cosmopolitan urbanites favoured foreign over domestic products. In 1896, when Leja released this catalogue, textiles and fashion accessories represented 11.47% of the entire nation's imports and were valued at almost 47 million kronor.<sup>135</sup>

---

<sup>134</sup> Leja's department store merged with the competing KM Lundberg in the early twentieth century to form the modern *Nordiska Kompaniet* (NK). See Katalog från Joseph Leja, published online December 2, 2021, <https://stockholmskallan.stockholm.se/post/33487>.

<sup>135</sup> Bidrag till Sveriges Officiella Statistik (BiSOS): Series F, Commerce Collegii, "Utrikes handel och sjöfart: Underdåniga berättelse för år 1897," V, <https://www.scb.se/hitta-statistik/sok/Index?Subject=allsubjects&Series=BISOS%20F%20Utrikes%20handel%20och%20sj%C3%B6fart%201858-1910&From=&To=&Sort=relevance&Query=&Page=5&Tab=older&Exact=False>

Figure 2.8 Pages from Joseph Leja's Catalogue



Source: <https://stockholmskallan.stockholm.se/post/33487>

Leja was careful not to alienate members of the lower echelons, however, and he offered a range of goods of various qualities to cater to the wider population. This can be seen in the range of shoes he offered that ranged from galoshes (sold under the English name “storm-slippers”) for less than four kronor all the way up to velvet morning slippers trimmed in fur for eight kronor, or a month’s salary for a domestic worker. These shoes were neither affordable nor practical for a woman working in service but she may have admired them on the mistress of the household as she served the morning coffee.

This was also part of Leja’s genius since men and women of any social class could peruse these items in sumptuous surroundings and try on items while sitting on plush, comfortable seating as shop attendants waited on their every material desire. He was likely inspired by enterprising minds on the continent such as Aristide Boucicaut who



revolutionised shopping at Le Bon Marché in Paris.<sup>136</sup> Similarly, the goods on display behind the counter and in glass display cases in Leja's department store tempted and dared customers to imagine their lives filled with countless luxuries (see figure 2.9). He offered men and women the opportunity to fantasize about the life they wanted and the act of shopping itself endowed people with a new feeling of power and largesse as mass-produced goods and firm-set prices eliminated haggling and the fear of being cheated by hucksters. Purchases, returns, and everything in between became a pleasure rather than a chore.<sup>137</sup> Stockholm's department stores carefully cultivated their cosmopolitan image through showmanship and displays and vied with each other to attract the business of wider and wider segments of the city's population.

---

<sup>136</sup> Michael B. Miller, *The Bon Marché: Bourgeois Culture and the Department Store, 1869-1920* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1981), 166-167.

<sup>137</sup> Miller, *The Bon Marché*, 166-167.

Figure 2.9 Leja's Department Store Clothing Section



Source: Stockholms Stadsmuseum

Human ingenuity proliferated in the capital as the city's rapid expansion presented unique problems that required clever and novel ideas. When Sabbatsberg Hospital and the rest of Norrmalm began to run out of gas and could not keep their lights on in 1883, an enormous covered gas cannister was proposed to ensure the hospital had adequate access to the fuel it required. The dome for the building came from Berlin while the tank itself came from Birmingham and the bricked exterior of the tank became one of Sabbatsberg's famous features.<sup>138</sup> In 1891 the hospital hierarchy was reorganised to improve efficiency and ensure sufficient support for the nurses. No less than 50 telephone lines were added that year to allow for more effective and timely communication between the hospital's

---

<sup>138</sup> BiSOS Series H, Femårsberättelser för Stockholms stad, 1881-1885, 104, <https://www.scb.se/hitta-statistik/sok/Index?Subject=allsubjects&Series=BISOS%20H%20Fem%C3%A5rsber%C3%A4ttelser&From=&To=&Sort=relevance&Query=&Page=17&Tab=older&Exact=False>.

various wards.<sup>139</sup> This hospital remained on the cutting edge of technology as its patrons revelled in supporting a world-class institution.

In 1893 about 2,700 of the kingdom's top industrialists petitioned the state for an international exhibition to showcase the kingdom's economic and technological progress and celebrate its capital's ascendancy to European standards of culture and worldliness.<sup>140</sup> The General Art and Industry Exhibition of 1897 opened to great fanfare as visitors from all over the world marvelled at the temporary displays of fanciful and ornate pavilions. The Exhibition officially hosted four countries including Sweden, Norway, Denmark, and Russia, but thousands of guests came from far and wide. The exhibit also hosted domestic tourists who arrived in the city on one of the many trains that deposited them at Stockholm's Central Station. The sight of the Hall of Industry, the centrepiece of the exhibit with a quartet of minarets and a central cupola inspired by the Hagia Sofia in Istanbul, would have awed men and women who grew up in tiny hamlets with just a few hundred people and where the tallest structure was the parish church's steeple.<sup>141</sup>

Attendees could visit pavilions such as the Machinery Hall, the Hall of Arts, and the Hall of Industry that were deliberately designed to show the innovations of Swedish industry for all audiences. The Exhibition was not just a vanity project aimed at showcasing Sweden's prosperity but also an educational exercise that compared old and new technologies. Private companies and even municipal committees from several European cities allocated funds to send skilled engineers and factory workers to the

---

<sup>139</sup> BiSOS Series H, *Femårsberättelser för Stockholms stad, 1891-1895*, 74.

<sup>140</sup> Allan Pred, *Recognizing European Modernities: A Montage of the Present* (New York: Routledge, 1995), 39.

<sup>141</sup> Pred, *Recognizing European Modernities*, 43.

exhibit to learn about technological developments perhaps with the goal of adopting the technology themselves.<sup>142</sup>

The Exhibition created a frenzy around a wider range of goods than even the newly expanded department stores could hope to achieve. Attendees saw everything from beers produced by the city's top brewers to fourteen different models of telephones produced by L.M. Eriksson. Eventually 6,781 companies and individuals participated as exhibitors.<sup>143</sup> There were new interpretations of old items and brand-new items never before seen. Those who had never seen electric lights were treated to all kinds of demonstrations and products that used it. There was even a display dedicated to "the old Stockholm" that created a shocking contrast to the modern metropolis enveloping the throngs of crowds attending the Exhibition.<sup>144</sup> Advertisements bombarded men and women from every direction including the sky. Stylized ads designed for this special occasion branded every product and proclaimed it as the industry's finest. A hot-air balloon that arose from in front of the Hall of Industry released leaflets on the awe-struck pedestrians below.<sup>145</sup> Men and women could not escape the siren song of the goods and entertainment Stockholm offered and eventually the gravitational pull became so strong it drew people from their rural homes to the archipelago where the city waited to receive them.

---

<sup>142</sup> Pred, *Recognizing European Modernities*, 42, 52.

<sup>143</sup> Pred, *Recognizing European Modernities*, 52.

<sup>144</sup> *Officiel katalog öfver industriafdelningen af allmänna konst- och industriutställningen i Stockholm 1897* (Stockholm: Central-tryckeriet, 1897), 239.

<sup>145</sup> Pred, *Recognizing European Modernities*, 56.

## 2.7 Conclusion

Stockholm's delayed economic development and demographic explosion offers a valuable case study for revealing the seismic technological and social changes that transformed this late nineteenth-century city. Stockholm was not alone in introducing steam power technology to its port although the response of its workforce was markedly different from other contemporaneous cities undergoing the exact same process. Cities such as Glasgow witnessed working-class militancy that arose to protect jobs in the wake of modernisation.<sup>146</sup> In Stockholm stevedoring companies successfully mitigated against many efforts of collective action until the very end of the nineteenth century and this sets the stage for discussing workers' subtle and nearly imperceptible forms of resistance. This represents a major departure from earlier studies focusing on working-class trade unionism in major urban areas as the primary motor behind the development of a common class consciousness.<sup>147</sup> Instead, this relatively peripheral city charted its own path and illuminates how widespread economic and social struggles created a sense of similarity among workers prior to widespread unionism.

---

<sup>146</sup> See for example William Kenefick, "Technological Change and Glasgow's Dock Labour Force, c. 1860-1914," *International Journal of Maritime History* 13 (2) (2001): 51-72.

<sup>147</sup> Some of the earliest scholarship in labour history focused exclusively on the role of labour unions in bringing together workers under a united banner or what Marx describes as the transition from class "of itself" to class "for itself." Barbara and Lawrence Hammond provide one of the earliest examples in Great Britain. In *The Skilled Labourer*, they reaffirmed Marx's immiseration thesis and suggested that one of the only forms of defense against the exploitation of the ruling classes was friendly societies and trade unions. See Barbara and J. L. Hammond, *The Skilled Labourer, 1780-1832* (London: Longman and Green, 1919), 5. As late as the 1980s scholarship continued to focus on unions and organisations such as the Knights of Labour but emphasised this union's common culture and shared goals as a unifying factor among workers especially in urban areas such as Toronto. See for example Gregory Kealey and Bryan Palmer, *Dreaming of What Might Be: The Knights of Labor in Ontario, 1880-1900* (Toronto: New Hogtown Press, 1987).

The majority of working-class men and women relied on inherently unstable work in some of Stockholm's most important industries including its construction industry and its international maritime commerce. Both of these industries revolved around painfully unpredictable conditions. If the business cycle ended, so too did the demand for new buildings and men and women in this industry struggled to find work. If trading houses and banks overextended their credit and forced the government to adopt protectionist policies, international commerce declined and fewer ships arrived on the docks to be loaded and unloaded. Both industries relied on favourable weather but this was wildly unpredictable and a shorter shipping and building season made it impossible for workers to cope with their cost of living. Men and women were powerless to control the patterns of the economy or the weather but these forces constantly shaped their lives and influenced their work, their wages, and their living standards.

Olwen Hufton's theory of a "makeshift economy" is useful for examining workers' clever tactics and methods to survive the inescapable and unwieldy characteristics of urban life that stemmed from these forces such as the cost of living. Workers' food and accommodation costs absorbed most, if not all, of their wages. Some employed various strategies to help defray costs such as choosing a cheaper diet and boarding in small apartments with several roommates although this endangered their health and subjected them to the risk of violence and the theft of their belongings. These responses reveal the cyclical nature of structuration as historical actors express agency in the midst of overwhelming and uncontrollable forces that threatened their very lives. This theoretical approach is invaluable for addressing major socio-economic hardship caused

by the city's integration into the global maritime economy as well as how this impacted individuals and how their resourcefulness as they responded in kind.

Stockholm's later development also lends valuable perspective on how cities enacted policy to address breakneck demographic and cultural developments including introducing new sanitary and administrative measures to control the spread of disease and a highly mobile population. Stockholm faced many of the same problems or "phantoms of modernity" as other growing cities although its policy makers actively observed the new measures implemented by their British, French, and German counterparts and appropriated the most effective methods for protecting and policing its population. The growing commercial ties and the influence of foreign policy reveals the growing integration of this capital city into the European and global community and provides a new perspective on the effects of these developments on workers' everyday lives.

This integration was also evident in the arrival of foreign ideas such as the café and the revival of institutions such as the new opera house that continued to attract men and women from across Sweden. Workers could daydream about owning a fabulous apartment in Östermalm while they ironed their master's dress shirts or wearing fine jewelry while perusing the showcases and shopping at Leja's Department Store. Consumer goods began to pervade the individual's daydreams and fantasies and replaced art and religion as the medium for the mind's escape from humdrum activities. Commodities such as those depicted in Leja's catalogues became the centre for an imaginary universe of possibilities or what the historian Rosalind H. Williams refers to as

a “dream world.”<sup>148</sup> Various forms of entertainment became increasingly democratised just like Leja’s as members of different social classes increasingly intermingled in both space and time in previously exclusionary venues such as the theatre and even more so the city’s new opera as wealthy benefactors ensured that more people could avail of these icons of “high culture.” The city’s transformation was never more evident than in the General Art and Industry Exhibition in 1897 when entertainment, art, and consumerism reached its apotheosis as Stockholm announced its presence to the world. The city exuded the promise of material success and happiness towards the end of the century even for those who engaged in manual labour for a living. Ultimately these expectations were not realistic for most of Stockholm’s in-migrants.

---

<sup>148</sup> Rosalind H. Williams, *Dream Worlds: Mass Consumption in Late Nineteenth-Century France* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1982), 65-66.



## Chapter 3 Worlds Collide: The Working Class Confronts the Middle Class in the Press

### 3.1 Introduction and Argument

Several of Stockholm's newspapers created and reinforced negative class perceptions as a result of two major events that transpired at the end of the nineteenth century: the Catastrophe of 1885 and the Great League of Thieves in 1895. The city's newspapers displayed sharp class lines as the upper classes blamed workers for an accident that claimed the lives of dozens of people. Similarly, the press coverage of the Great League of Thieves created a largely unfounded hysteria as bourgeois and working-class publications wrestled over the "social question." The firestorm of conflicting opinions provides an invaluable perspective on class-based interpretations of scandals and criminality and reveal the prejudices that shaped the construction of policies aimed at controlling and oppressing workers as the upper classes blamed them for disorder in the city.

The newspapers *Svenska Dagbladet*, *Stockholms Nyheter*, and *Dagens Nyheter* reveal the opinions of the upper class towards workers. *Socialdemokraten* reflects workers' views of the police and more generally the readership of *Svenska Dagbladet* and *Dagens Nyheter*. *Aftonbladet* and *Arbetarens vän* contributed their own opinions without embroiling themselves in the debates surrounding these events and provide a more thorough picture of these events as they unfolded.

No singular publication can sufficiently represent the interests of Stockholm's social classes and their views regarding the various scandals and social problems plaguing

the city. For example, *Svenska Dagbladet* provides some of the most pointed opinions on these matters although it almost completely neglects the subject of prostitution in the city. This may be because the editors of this newspaper viewed this topic as immoral, taboo, and dirty and therefore refused to cover this topic in its pages. *Stockholms Nyheter* had no such qualms and instead printed this sensationalist material almost daily. Similarly, many workers did not view *Socialdemokraten* as their representative in the battles that unfolded across the printed page. In fact, some groups of workers refused to subscribe to this publication in its early days and instead released responses in newspapers that catered to an upper-class readership to ensure their opinions were visible to their accusers. For this reason it is imperative to incorporate the views of multiple newspapers to provide different perspectives and topics as class-based prejudices and competing interests emerged towards the end of the nineteenth century.<sup>1</sup>

### **3.2 The Language of Class and its Depiction in the Press**

These newspapers demonstrate that “class” is politically, socially, and culturally constructed as they reveal the competing views and opinions of different social classes as they appeared in the popular presses.<sup>2</sup> Furthermore, at least one publication reveals evidence of class consciousness as it provided its own definition of a “working class” and took a very clear stance against the upper-class perspective on the Catastrophe of 1885. The analysis of various definitions of words and expressions help to understand the

---

<sup>1</sup> These newspapers were also selected because they were readily available thanks to the digitisation efforts of the Royal Library. The digitisation project deemed these papers important and representative enough to merit inclusion online.

<sup>2</sup> Scott, *Gender and the Politics of History*, 88.

contested meaning of the term “class” and how it was understood by men and women in Stockholm at the end of the nineteenth century.<sup>3</sup>

This understanding of the shifting meaning of terms is essential for examining how words such as “mob” were weaponised by contemporaneous observers in Stockholm at the end of the nineteenth century. George Rudé observes three different meanings for the term “mob” including as a catch-all term for the “lower orders” or common people, a group of hired thugs to promote a political group or faction, or as a word used indiscriminately to refer to crowds engaging in riots, strikes, or political demonstrations. He suggests the third usage is the most common and argues historians have uncritically deployed this term in their analysis. This reinforces the idea that these groups of people acted without any clear motive.<sup>4</sup> As will be shown below, the term “mob” was employed in different newspapers and the meaning of the term was imbued with insidious connotations that created a self-reinforcing image of an unruly and dangerous working class.

Frank Durham’s methodological analysis of *The Knoxville Journal*’s anti-communist agenda demonstrates the relationship between material presented in popular publications such as the *Journal* and how these serve as sites of cultural interpretation as they are consumed by the reader.<sup>5</sup> Durham demonstrates that newspapers report news in a way that the public then accepts as fact. In this way he views newspapers with their own form of agency to enact change, especially through their ability to “create” news rather

---

<sup>3</sup> Scott, *Gender and the Politics of History*, 88.

<sup>4</sup> George Rudé, “The London ‘Mob’ of the Eighteenth Century,” *The Historical Journal* II (1) (1959), 1-2.

<sup>5</sup> Frank Durham, “The Last True Believers. *The Knoxville Journal* in the Late Civil Rights Movement,” *Journal of Communication Inquiry* 31 (4) (2007): 349, 362.

than “report it.” His methods can be extended to reveal how the pro-capitalist *Svenska Dagbladet* and *Stockholms Nyheter* reinforced the popular association between certain areas of Stockholm and criminal behaviour. These newspapers also created and used the spectre of the so-called “league boys,” rampant alcoholism, and prostitution to create a hysteria surrounding criminality and immorality in the city both to push authorities to institute reforms and to entertain their readers.

### 3.3 The Catastrophe of 1885

On the evening of September 23, 1885 a very finely dressed young man named Fredrik sat by himself in the glittering surroundings of the “Porcelain Room” on the ground floor of the Grand Hôtel on Blasieholmen.<sup>6</sup> The room’s three plate glass windows let in large rays of moonlight and the warm glow of streetlamps cast light on his copy of *Svenska Dagbladet*. He carefully turned the pages while sipping his evening coffee. The Porcelain Room looked out onto Stallgatan and Fredrik observed larger and larger groups of people on the move down this narrow thoroughfare. The windows sat waist-high above street level and the easiest thing to make out was the parade of bowlers, stovepipe top hats, and women’s finely feathered headdresses that bobbed along like corks flowing in a river. A crowd of many middle- and working-class people began to gather in the square between Blasieholmen’s various fine buildings and the waterfront.<sup>7</sup> A carriage destined for the hotel’s front doors screeched to a halt as the throngs of people became too thick to

---

<sup>6</sup> This story is based on an account published by *Dagens Nyheter*. The observer in the Porcelain Room is not named in the article and a name was provided by the author for the sake of narrative. See “Efter stormen,” *Dagens Nyheter*, September 25, 1885, <https://tidningar.kb.se/8224221/1885-09-25/edition/0/part/1/page/1/?newspaper=DAGENS%20NYHETER&from=1885-09-01&to=1885-09-30>.

<sup>7</sup> The waterfront ran a length of about 350 metres and was only about 40 metres at its widest.

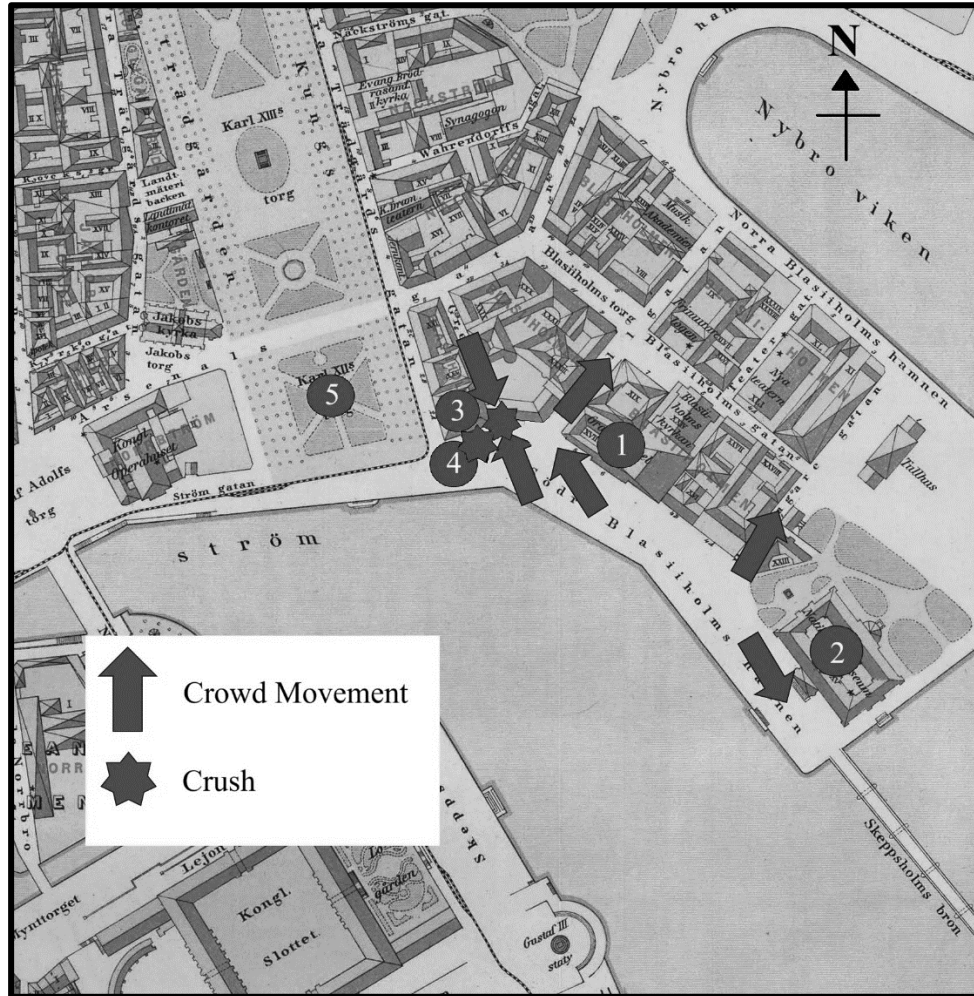
let the passenger through. Inside was Kristina Nilsson, a Swedish folk singer of international renown, who had just finished her performance at the Musical Academy for some of Stockholm's wealthiest citizens.

More people arrived in the square to see their national treasure with their own eyes and Blasieholmen began to fill with over 30,000 people, or roughly 14% of the entire city's population. The Grand Hôtel closed the square off to the northeast (see map 3.1). The only way between the hotel and neighbouring buildings was Stallgatan and Hofslagaregatan that were more like alleyways than proper streets. The National Museum and the Skeppsholm Bridge hemmed in the square to the east and the newly built Palmeska House completed the square to the west. Unusual repairs to the quay wall south of Karl XII's Park created abnormally high traffic around the corner of the Palmeska House and here the leftover construction materials and loose paving stones littered the pavement outside of the building.<sup>8</sup> To the south was nothing but the choppy and frigid water of the Baltic.

---

<sup>8</sup> "Före olyckan," *Dagens Nyheter*, September 24, 1885, <https://tidningar.kb.se/8224221/1885-09-24/edition/0/part/1/page/1/?newspaper=DAGENS%20NYHETER&from=1885-09-01&to=1885-09-30>.

Map 3.1 Blasieholmen and the Site of the Catastrophe of 1885



- 1: The Grand Hôtel. 2: The National Museum and the Skeppsholm Bridge. 3: Palmeska House. 4: Loose Paving Stones and Construction Materials. 5: Karl XII's Park

Far outside of Fredrik's view, Nilsson abandoned her carriage and entered the Grand Hôtel through a back door. Even without seeing her or her carriage, Fredrik knew what was happening because for days the newspapers, and especially *Dagens Nyheter*, had written of nothing by Nilsson's free concert for the people who could not afford to see her perform at the Musical Academy. A worker wrote a letter to her in *Dagens Nyheter* and requested she play something for the commonfolk. The newspaper editor insisted she

could not give a performance on account of her strict tour schedule but to the everyone's surprise Nilsson agreed to sing a third and final concert for free from her balcony.<sup>9</sup>

At about 10:45 PM the noise from the crowd outside swelled as Nilsson appeared on her balcony. Fredrik heard the ethereal sound of Nilsson's angelic voice as she sang *Fjorton år tror jag visst att jag var*, but this was barely discernable above the noise of the crowd and only a few broken lyrics made it through the glass of the windows. The song ended and the crowd again cheered wildly, then went silent again as a muffled voice called out "my dear friends, after this song you can be satisfied, I am so tired after the concert." Fredrik then heard the notes of the beautiful folksong *Ack Vermeland, du sköna*.<sup>10</sup>

Just a few minutes later there was a commotion out in the hotel lobby. Fredrik heard shouts echoing off the marble floors but paid this little attention and did not see the bodies of young women being carried into the hotel away from the chaos that had descended outside (see figure 3.1). He sipped his coffee and as he returned the teacup to its saucer, he heard a piercing scream and then a curious cracking sound. As he looked over the top of his newspaper the three large windows facing the street exploded and showered his suit with glass. He stared in horror at the women's bodies that now littered

---

<sup>9</sup> J. A. Hellgren, "Hvem bär ansvaret för katastrofen utanför Grand Hotel?" *Socialdemokraten*, September 25, 1885, <https://tidningar.kb.se/2092238/1885-09-25/edition/154026/part/1/page/1/?newspaper=SOCIALDEMOKRATEN&from=1885-01-01&to=1885-12-31>.

<sup>10</sup> "En fasansfull olycka," *Svenska Dagbladet*, September 24, 1885, <https://tidningar.kb.se/1767385/1885-09-24/edition/0/part/1/page/4/?q=%22Grand%20Hotel%22&from=1885-09-01&to=1885-09-30&newspaper=SVENSKA%20DAGBLADET&sort=asc>.

the floor. They were cut to ribbons but they had been spared the crushing and trampling that killed their fellow concertgoers.<sup>11</sup>

Figure 3.1 Scene from Grand Hôtel



Source: *Budkaflen*, October 2, 1885

After the performance most people attempted to leave the square towards Karl XII's Park at Kungsträdsgården by going up Grefvgatan and Stallgatan. At the same time another group of people pushed in the exact opposite direction through the partially obstructed path around the Palmeska House and down Grefvegatan. A third group collided with the first two for fear of being thrust into the water.<sup>12</sup> The police could not

<sup>11</sup> "Efter stormen," *Dagens Nyheter*, September 25, 1885, <https://tidningar.kb.se/8224221/1885-09-25/edition/0/part/1/page/1/?newspaper=DAGENS%20NYHETER&from=1885-09-01&to=1885-09-30>.

<sup>12</sup> Staffan Tjernald, *Stockholmsliv. Hur vi bott, arbetat och roat oss under 100 år. Med bidrag av stockholmsforskare, författare och journalister. Band 2, Kungsträdsgården och Blasieholmen* (Stockholm: P. A. Norstedt & Sönders förlag, 1950), 211.



control the flood of people trying to escape the tight confines of the square with so few paths of egress. An interrogation of the Chief of Police and 15 constables present at the accident revealed people tripped and fell in three different places. An older woman carrying a little boy tripped over the loose paving stones and construction material on the sidewalk of the Palmeska House next to a gas lamppost. Some witnesses said 30 people fell on top of her, others said 50. Nearby police officers formed a chain around the pile of bodies so the dead and injured could be recovered and moved to the lawns and park benches of Karl XII's park.<sup>13</sup> Another pile formed just a few steps to the east on the same sidewalk. Here another 50 people fell and were crushed against the Palmeska House as people tried to pull themselves up on the scaffolding left behind by the building's construction workers. A man in a fine brown overcoat was seen smashing one of the Palmeska's pane windows with his cane so more of the dead and injured could be brought into the building.<sup>14</sup> The official inquest and interviews with the constables revealed the panic was probably made worse by screams of "now its going into the sea!" and "the scaffolding is collapsing!" as the crowd doubled back towards Grefvegatan and Stallgatan for fear of being crushed or drowning.<sup>15</sup>

Hours after the panic ended a team of constables sheepishly collected the countless items discarded by people as they fought for their lives to escape the chaos. They brought hats, parasols, children's shoes, and various odds and ends for collection at

---

<sup>13</sup> "Polisförhöret," *Dagens Nyheter*, September 25, 1885, <https://tidningar.kb.se/8224221/1885-09-25/edition/0/part/1/page/1/?newspaper=DAGENS%20NYHETER&from=1885-09-01&to=1885-09-30>.

<sup>14</sup> "Polisförhöret," *Dagens Nyheter*, September 25, 1885.

<sup>15</sup> "Polisförhöret," *Dagens Nyheter*, September 25, 1885.

Jakob's police station.<sup>16</sup> Seventeen women died during the Catastrophe. Most of them had been pulled down by the hems of their skirts or because they carried their small children with them and could not fend off the men and women around them. One man suffered severe injuries when he fell through one of the windows of the Palmeska House and died a couple of hours later.<sup>17</sup> The accident ravaged some families; a wholesaler from Kungsholmen lost his two daughters, aged just 12 and 15 years old. A housewife named Mathilda Magnusson who lived in the very wealthy area near Berzelli Park was killed along with her sister who worked as a domestic servant in another part of Östermalm.<sup>18</sup> The body count continued to climb in later days as those who were taken home or to hospitals died of the injuries they sustained after the concert.

A firestorm of criticism followed as the city's newspapers attempted to assign blame for the Catastrophe. The exchanges between the press reveal how the upper classes viewed those beneath them in the social order and how the working class viewed itself. The bourgeois papers expressed varying levels of respect for both workers and the police as they repeatedly scrutinised the event searching for someone to blame. Several wealthy citizens submitted their own opinions to *Svenska Dagbladet* and their accusations against tinsmiths, masons, and foundation layers revealed their deep prejudice against workers. The first edition of *Socialdemokraten* pointed the finger elsewhere and used Marxist rhetoric to first define and then defend the city's working class. This case study uses these

---

<sup>16</sup> "Efter stormen," *Dagens Nyheter*, September 25, 1885.

<sup>17</sup> "Olyckans vidd," *Dagens Nyheter*, September 24, 1885, <https://tidningar.kb.se/8224221/1885-09-24/edition/0/part/1/page/1/?newspaper=DAGENS%20NYHETER&from=1885-09-01&to=1885-09-30>.

<sup>18</sup> "I sista ögonblicket," *Dagens Nyheter*, September 24, 1885, <https://tidningar.kb.se/8224221/1885-09-24/edition/0/part/1/page/1/?newspaper=DAGENS%20NYHETER&from=1885-09-01&to=1885-09-30>.

perspectives to illuminate the nature of various identities and antagonisms in the city as they appear in the newspapers in the 1880s.

### **3.4 Perceptions of Culpability and Class Following the Catastrophe of 1885**

Stockholm's major papers produced numerous articles and eyewitness accounts from their subscribers about the catastrophe outside the Grand Hôtel. They also covered the subsequent investigation into its cause and constantly speculated about who was responsible. Several newspapers generally blamed one or more groups for the Catastrophe. The first culprit was Stockholm's police whom they blamed for their lack of preparations for the concert, their failure to order the contractors working on the Palmeska House to clear the street of building materials, and their inability to maintain order during the event or to call in the military to re-establish order once the panic began. Other writers blamed their colleagues in the press and especially *Dagens Nyheter* because their promotion of the concert created a media frenzy but failed to warn people they should expect a massive crowd and exercise caution when attending the event. Eventually the city's bourgeois newspapers blamed members of the working class and specifically tinsmiths, foundation layers, and masons who were supposedly distinguished by their clothing and depicted by the press as young, mischievous men.

The newspapers fed these criticisms through several lenses including class and nativism to cater to their readership. Eventually three major papers emerged as the mouthpieces of various classes. *Svenska Dagbladet* represented the views of the city's capitalists and industrialists and had formed in 1884 to propagate anti-union and anti-

tariff views.<sup>19</sup> *Socialdemokraten* emerged a year later on the opposite end of the spectrum to defend workers' rights and denounced the unchecked powers of capital in Stockholm and the rest of the kingdom.<sup>20</sup> *Dagens Nyheter* had begun publication in 1864 and its agenda fell somewhere between the other two newspapers. It generally adopted a liberal stance and attempted to reach a wider audience than the other two with easy-to-read articles and essays.<sup>21</sup>

In the days immediately after the event most of the city's newspapers united in a near universal criticism of the city's police. One notable exception was *Dagens Nyheter* that championed the valiant efforts of the police as they attempted to deal with the chaos. In its first edition after the Catastrophe it carefully outlined the large police presence at the event consisting of 167 police constables on foot, 9 mounted policemen and 30 detectives in civilian clothing. It also pointed out that several of these men had sustained injuries on the night of the concert.<sup>22</sup> The newspaper used the Police Commissioner's report that exonerated the police chief as evidence and concluded that the police force "generally displayed zeal, resourcefulness and courage."<sup>23</sup>

---

<sup>19</sup> Elisabeth Sandlund, "Svenska Dagbladet," *Nationalencyklopedin*, <https://www.ne.se/uppslagsverk/encyklopedi/l%C3%A5ng/svenska-dagbladet>, accessed January 27, 2024.

<sup>20</sup> Redaktionen, "Till allmänheten!" *Socialdemokraten*, September 25, 1885, <https://tidningar.kb.se/2092238/1885-09-25/edition/154026/part/1/page/1/?newspaper=SOCIALDEMOKRATEN&from=1885-09-01&to=1885-09-30>.

<sup>21</sup> Rudolf Wall, "Anmälan," *Dagens Nyheter*, December 23, 1864, <https://tidningar.kb.se/8224221/1864-12-23/edition/0/part/1/page/1/?newspaper=DAGENS%20NYHETER&from=1864-01-01&to=1864-12-31>.

<sup>22</sup> "Polisstyrkan," *Dagens Nyheter*, September 24, 1885, <https://tidningar.kb.se/8224221/1885-09-24/edition/0/part/1/page/1/?newspaper=DAGENS%20NYHETER&from=1885-09-01&to=1885-09-30>.

<sup>23</sup> *i allmänhet ådagalade nit, rådighet och mod*, "Efter olyken utaför Grand Hôtel," *Dagens Nyheter*, September 29, 1885, <https://tidningar.kb.se/8224221/1885-09-29/edition/0/part/1/page/1/?newspaper=DAGENS%20NYHETER&from=1885-09-01&to=1885-09-30>.

Most of the newspapers disagreed with *Dagens Nyheter*'s stance and directly criticized the police. *Svenska Dagbladet* presented the fiercest critique and listed the many failings of the police that began with its inability to anticipate the number of attendees and its unwillingness to order the removal of the building materials outside of the Palmeska House that eventually caused people to trip and resulted in their deaths.<sup>24</sup> It also pointed out the police acted too slowly as the crowd grew in size, especially by failing to cordon off dangerous sites such as the quay to save people from falling into the water (although it was eventually proven this never happened).<sup>25</sup>

Most of the city's newspapers eventually adopted these attacks. A few days after the accident, *Svenska Dagbladet* summarised the chief criticisms released by the city's major papers. *Nya Dagligt Allehanda* condemned the lack of action undertaken by the police but argued nobody could have foreseen the potential size of the crowd or the problems this would create. *Aftonbladet* implied the police had almost a week to prepare for the event.<sup>26</sup> *Norden* drew a comparison with Napoleon Day in Paris when hundreds of thousands of people had safely marched through the streets and questioned why Stockholm's police did not follow similar measures to control the crowd using mounted police. *Tiden* asked why the police did not call upon the military garrisoned in the city to maintain order during the event. Finally, *Svenska Dagbladet* pointed out that *Dagens*

---

<sup>24</sup> "Katastrofen i onsdags," *Svenska Dagbladet*, September 25, 1885, <https://tidningar.kb.se/1767385/1885-09-25/edition/0/part/1/page/1/?q=%22Grand%20Hotel%22%20%22p%C3%B6bel%22&sort=&newspaper=SVENSKA%20DAGBLADET&from=1885-09-01&to=1885-09-30>.

<sup>25</sup> "Katastrofen i onsdags," *Svenska Dagbladet*, September 25, 1885.

<sup>26</sup> "Hvad tidningar sagt." *Svenska Dagbladet*, September 29, 1885, <https://tidningar.kb.se/1767385/1885-09-28/edition/0/part/1/page/1/?newspaper=SVENSKA%20DAGBLADET&from=1885-09-01&to=1885-09-30>.

*Nyheter* probably remained silent on the responsibility of the press as it had played such a large role in creating the media frenzy that contributed to the Catastrophe.<sup>27</sup>

*Socialdemokraten* published its very first edition shortly after the event and blamed both the police and the press for the Catastrophe. It also produced a definition of “working class” that set it in opposition to those who profited from their labour. The editor, August Palm, was committed to ensuring the newspaper’s role in helping the working class achieve emancipation:

The Social Democrat is thus an organ for the most numerous class of society, for the wronged, oppressed working class, to which class must also be counted the small businesses and professionals as well as the lowest paid civil servants, in short all those who to a greater or lesser extent are dependent for their existence [upon] the pillars of current society: the power of capital. All of these have common interests and a common goal to work for, namely the emancipation of labour from the power of capital. For this desperate pursuit of the working class, the Social Democrat must be a strong and unwavering champion. Undaunted, it will work to achieve this goal.<sup>28</sup>

Palm’s writing indicates a strong class consciousness and an embittered attack against the forces of capital. However, it is impossible to discern how popular these ideas were and how many members of the working class shared his vision of Stockholm’s society as the newspaper began with a very modest printing of only 5,000 copies.<sup>29</sup> Newspaper boys

---

<sup>27</sup> ”Hvad tidningar sagt,” *Svenska Dagbladet*, September 29, 1885.

<sup>28</sup> “Socialdemokraten är alltså ett organ för samhällets talrikaste klass, för det förorättade, undertryckta arbetareståndet, till hvilken klass äfven måste räknas de mindre närings och yrkesidkarne samt de lägst aflönade embetsmännen, kort sagdt alla de, som i mer eller mindre mån för sin existens äro beroende af det nuvarande samhällets stödjepelare: kapitalmakten. Alla dessa ha gemensamma intressen och ett gemensamt mål att arbeta för, nämligen arbetets frigörelse från kapitalmakten. För detta arbetareståndets ödla sträfande skall Socialdemokraten vara en kraftig och omutlig målsman. Oförskräckt skall den arbeta på att detta mål varder uppnådt.” Redaktionen, ”Till allmänheten!” *Socialdemokraten*, September 25, 1885, <https://tidningar.kb.se/2092238/1885-09-25/edition/154026/part/1/page/1/?newspaper=SOCIALDEMOKRATEN&from=1885-01-01&to=1885-12-31>.

<sup>29</sup> Lindgren, *Arbetarnas Stockholm*, 28.

had trouble selling them directly to workers as foremen viewed this publication with suspicion and chased the boys away from jobsites.<sup>30</sup>

*Dagens Nyheter* joined the socialist paper in emphasising class differences. This newspaper drew class lines among the attendees in its earliest coverage of the Catastrophe even if it did so inadvertently. It initially referred to several of the victims as belonging to “the more civilized class.”<sup>31</sup> One of the heroic stories it published covered a woman of “noble birth” who stopped to help another fallen woman to her feet.<sup>32</sup> The paper refers to “half-wild youths from the working class” whose whistles and howls added to the screams of anguish and death during the catastrophe.<sup>33</sup> The paper also described the “representatives of society’s scum,” standing in line to identify bodies at the Pathologiseum at the Karolinska Institute.<sup>34</sup> The paper quoted these young men as they sneered to a grieving mother that she should “just give her [deceased daughter] a few sips and she’ll be back on her feet.”<sup>35</sup>

*Dagens Nyheter* also provided the earliest report of “troublemakers” in the crowd based on the account offered by a woman who had been visiting Stockholm. She suggested this crowd differed from similar gatherings in Paris or London as a few hundred men and women had deliberately sought to cause “trouble and disorder” by linking arms and surging into the crowd. The result was “rather like a snowplough

---

<sup>30</sup> Pred, *Lost Words and Lost Worlds*, 220.

<sup>31</sup> “tillhört enn mera burgen samhällsklass.” ”I sista ögonblicket,” *Dagens Nyheter*, September 24, 1885.

<sup>32</sup> “en ung ädelboren dam.” ”Efter stormen,” *Dagens Nyheter*, September 25, 1885.

<sup>33</sup> “Halfvilda ynglingar ur arbetsklassen.” ”Polisförhöret,” *Dagens Nyheter*, September 25, 1885.

<sup>34</sup> “representanter för samhällets afskum.” ”Polisförhöret,” *Dagens Nyheter*, September 25, 1885.

<sup>35</sup> “Ge henne några supar bara, så kryar hon nog till sig igen!” in ”I Pathologiseum å Kungsholmen,” *Dagens Nyheter*, September 25, 1885, <https://tidningar.kb.se/8224221/1885-09-25/edition/0/part/1/page/1/?newspaper=DAGENS%20NYHETER&from=1885-09-01&to=1885-09-30>.

pressing forward, while the snow piles up in high drifts at the sides.”<sup>36</sup> The woman did not provide any description of the men or women but she provided the basis for creating another scapegoat for the Catastrophe.

Predictably the contentious *Svenska Dagbladet* introduced the most inflammatory accounts of the Catastrophe and produced the spectre of a working-class “mob” that eventually included mischievous and even violent workers. Its first article published the day after the event included a reporter’s account that used the generic but incendiary term “mob.”<sup>37</sup> The next day this word reappeared but as a shameful reproach for how this kind of behaviour and lack of accountability reflected negatively on Stockholm’s position in the western world. The article chastised the whole of Stockholm for letting itself succumb to a “blind and sensation-hungry newspaper press” that whipped the city into a frenzy and resulted in “an unlimited mass, among which there were the most dangerous elements,” and ultimately “the mob that rushed from Karl XII’s Square and clashed with [those attempting to flee Blasieholmen.]”<sup>38</sup> The paper then compared this behaviour to “the most barbarous peoples of the east and the south” and asked “who would have thought that exactly the same thing would happen here, in the highly illuminated Sweden, in its capital of Stockholm, so proud of its development!”<sup>39</sup> The historian Tom Eriksson describes

---

<sup>36</sup> “...snarast liknande en snöplog som tränger sig fram, under det att snön vid sidorna hopar sig i höga drifvor.” ”Midt i hvirfveln,” *Dagens Nyheter*, September 25, 1885, <https://tidningar.kb.se/8224221/1885-09-25/edition/0/part/1/page/1/?newspaper=DAGENS%20NYHETER&from=1885-09-01&to=1885-09-30>.

<sup>37</sup> “Här framkallades, åtminstone till en del af okynne och öfverdåd hos den uslaste delen af hufvudstadens pöbel, en sådan sammanpackning af menniskorna, att man snart hörde de allra förfärligaste, de mest hjertslitande nödrop, skrik och skrän om hjälp, till och med af stora, grofva karlar.” ”En fasansfull olycka,” *Svenska Dagbladet*, September 24, 1885.

<sup>38</sup> “förblindad och sensationshungrig tidningspress... en obegränsad massa, hvaribland funnos de allra farligaste elementer... den pöbel som framstormade från Karl XII:s torg och sammandrabbade med de återgående.” ”Katastrofen i onsdags,” *Svenska Dagbladet*, September 25, 1885.

<sup>39</sup> “En civilisation som yttrar sig på det sättet kunna äfven de mest barbariska folken i östern och södern berömma sig af; i vestern är den dess bättre sällsynt...och hvem har väl velat tro att alldeles det samma



nativism as a unifying force among Sweden's middle class towards the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century and it appears *Svenska Dagbladet* attempted to reach those readers specifically.<sup>40</sup>

By the third day the term "mob" had become synonymous with an entire social class that supposedly incited the Catastrophe. The vitriol created by the editor of *Svenska Dagbladet* is also present in the "public opinion" section. One subscriber identified simply as "Doctor" provided a list of culprits that began by implicating the usual suspects (the police and the press) before indirectly blaming the working class:

It hardly needs to be added...that the social classes who claim to be called educated - moreover, in a capital city - go out to participate in mob performances of that kind, and that they, to some extent, are to be blamed for the consequences.<sup>41</sup>

The opinion of this doctor contrasts with those expressed by the physician discussed in Chapter Two who viewed the working class and urban poor as being incapable of bettering their own hygienic and living standards. The doctor in *Svenska Dagbladet* takes a more punitive stance and suggests workers should accept responsibility for the Catastrophe because they actively sought out this form of entertainment. He also implies this represents a pattern of poor behaviour and that despite their education, workers refused to behave in the same manner as the upper classes.

---

skulle inträffa hos oss, i det högt upp lysta Sverige, i dess öfver sin bildning så stolta hufvudstad Stockholm!" "Katastrofen i onsdags," *Svenska Dagbladet*, September 25, 1885.

<sup>40</sup> Ericsson generally refers to the "petite bourgeoisie," or the lower middle class that included shop owners and craftsmen who supported protectionist groups in the Swedish national parliament that ran under slogans such as "Sweden for the Swedes," (*Sverige åt svenskarna*). See Tom Ericsson, *Mellan kapital och arbete: Småborgerligheten i Sverige 1850-1914* (Umeå: Umeå Universitets tryckeri, 1988), 142.

<sup>41</sup> "Det behöfver väl knappt tilläggas, att det väl är utan like att de samhällsklasser, som göra anspråk på att kallas bildade - dertill i en hufvudstad - begifva sig ut för att deltaga i pöbeluppträden af dylik art, och att de, till en del, få skylla sig sjelfva för följderna." "Hvar är felet?" *Svenska Dagbladet*, September 26, 1885, <https://tidningar.kb.se/1767385/1885-09-26/edition/0/part/1/page/2/?q=p%C3%B6bel&newspaper=SVENSKA%20DAGBLADET&from=1885-09-01&to=1885-09-30>, "En billig fordran," *Dagens Nyheter*, October 15, 1884.

Another reader asked the editor of *Svenska Dagbladet* if the chief of police received an offer of assistance from the military and whether this could have prevented the accident. The reader heard a rumour that the chief of police could have procured officers from the Svea Guard but refused out of fear the military might “worry and hurt the respectable members of the working population.”<sup>42</sup> The subscriber insinuated militaries in other European cities were not as concerned with workers’ safety and their decisive action produced a safer environment for the rest of the population. The editor responded by saying he could not provide a definitive answer to the question but the available information suggested that the reader was correct.<sup>43</sup>

An anonymous contributor to *Svenska Dagbladet* took his accusations a step further and blamed specific occupational groups for the panic. He directly implicated tinsmiths, foundation layers, and masons as the troublemakers who rushed at the crowds in packs thereby frightening people and whipping them into a frenzy.<sup>44</sup> He does not indicate if he was present at the event or the source of this information and he casts a wide net by targeting several occupational groups. It is possible he chose these workers because he viewed them as a threat. The masons had their own union and the previous year *Dagens Nyheter* advertised a general meeting among the city’s tinsmiths who later came together and demanded better gutters along the roofs to improve workers’ safety on

---

<sup>42</sup> “för att ej oroa och sårå Stockholms aktningvärda arbetarebefolkning.” ”En insändare frågar:” *Svenska Dagbladet*, September 26, 1885, <https://tidningar.kb.se/1767385/1885-09-26/edition/0/part/1/page/2/?q=p%C3%B6bel&newspaper=SVENSKA%20DAGBLADET&from=1885-09-01&to=1885-09-30>.

<sup>43</sup> ”En insändare frågar:” *Svenska Dagbladet*, September 26, 1885.

<sup>44</sup> “De begge folkmassor som möttes framför Polmeska huset hade icke framkallat olyckan, om de icke pressats och tryckts af flere i svinfyl kingar framrusande plaåtslagre, grundläggare och murare. Det var genom deras våldsamma och ordnade framträngande som svaga qvinnor framvingades och nedtrampades.” N. N. ”Till red. af Svenska Dagbladet,” *Svenska Dagbladet*, September 26, 1885.

the job.<sup>45</sup> Whatever the reason, this contributor's accusations were taken so seriously by the editors of *Svenska Dagbladet* and of *Dagens Nyheter* that they interpreted it as the truth and in this way hearsay became fact.

*Dagens Nyheter* broke its silence on who it thought was responsible when it published its own editorial that supported the above claim although it did not name all of the same occupational groups responsible for the frenzy:

There is now no doubt that the bad elements within the working population of the capital also on this occasion distinguished themselves in their own way...surpassing in said respect the worst *mobs* of the cities of millions... it has been fully established that several bands of such youths and young men who... are called tinsmiths were in the crowd to cause confusion and intimidation - something in which they succeeded all too well. From the statements of several concurring witnesses, it appears that their behavior was, if not the only, then at least a very significant cause of the [untimely] upsetting incident.<sup>46</sup>

The term "mob" transcended the pro-capitalist pages of *Svenska Dagbladet* and found their way into *Dagens Nyheter* as this previously silent newspaper joined in and blamed members of the working class. Within days the violent nature of the "mob" composed of labourers was taken to be self-evident as these bourgeois newspapers succeeded in creating an image of a violent and unruly working class in the city's popular imagination. This and the other contributions to the "public opinion" section of *Svenska Dagbladet*

---

<sup>45</sup> Alla Stockholms Bleck- och Plåtslageriarbetare inbjudas till ett möte Fredagen den 20 Juni kl. 7 e. m. 9 Jungfrugatan, 1. tr. upp. Föreningens Styrelse. *Dagens Nyheter*, June 20, 1884.

<https://tidningar.kb.se/p715zrm131dp6w0/part/1/page/3?q=p!%C3%A5tslageriarbetare>

<sup>46</sup> "Det återstår numera icke något tvifvel om att de dåliga elementen inom hufvudstadens arbetarebefolkning äfven vid detta tillfälle utmärkt sig på sitt sätt... att i nämnda hänseende öfverträffa millonstädernas sämsta pöbel... att åtskilliga band af sådana ynglingas och unga män som man... kallar plåtslagare varit... i folkträngseln för att ställa till förvirring och skrämnel - något hvare de ty värr blott allt för väl lyckades. Af flera samstämmade vittnens utsago framgår att deras uppträdande varit, om icke den enda, så åtminstone en mycket väsenligt orsak till den timade upprörande händelsen." "Efter olyckan utanför Grand Hôtel," *Dagens Nyheter*, September 26, 1885. Emphasis my own.

indicate the readers of these newspapers were aware of their own class status and the competing interests of others in the social hierarchy.

The Mason's Union provides one exceptional example of how group membership and the social networks provided therein created a sense of unity that allowed workers to resist antagonisms in the press. They responded to the accusation immediately and began its own investigation by calling a meeting to establish who was present at the Grand Hôtel. It found that many masons were present at the concert but they were not easily identifiable to journalists or observers as none of them wore clothing distinguishing them as masons. A motion to subscribe to the brand new *Socialdemokraten* failed and this suggests its members did not consider themselves represented by this new, radical newspaper. However, it was decided that a formal protest should be printed in bourgeois newspapers that ensured their rebukes would be read by their accusers.<sup>47</sup> Three days after *Svenska Dagbladet* and *Dagens Nyheter* had published their inflammatory remarks, a column appeared in *Dagens Nyheter* and *Aftonbladet* that shared the union's findings and condemned *Svenska Dagbladet* specifically for the defamatory comments against the masons. It also criticized the use of the word "mob" as this "means something derogatory and hurtful to workers." The authors pointed out that reprehensible behaviour could occur in all social classes, but the use of the word "mob" forced people to think of the "lowest-ranking working population."<sup>48</sup>

---

<sup>47</sup> "Från arbetarnes fält," *Dagens Nyheter*, September 28, 1885, <https://tidningar.kb.se/8224221/1885-09-28/edition/0A/part/1/page/2/?q=murarefackf%C3%B6reningen&from=1885-09-01&to=1885-09-30&sort=asc>.

<sup>48</sup> "På samma gång tillåter sig murarefackföreningen att hemställa, huru vida det icke vore på tiden, att ordet "pöbel", en lemning från fornåra tidevarf, ur artiklar och referater bannlystes, enär detta ord innebär något för arbetarne nedsättande och sårande. Ett påbelaktigt uppförande kan förekomma inom alla samhällsklasser, men ordet pöbel förer dock de flestas tanke till den lägst stående arbetarebefolkningen."

The writers at *Socialdemokraten* refused to let the matter end there. They responded to *Svenska Dagbladet* in their next edition on November 5, 1885 (the first printing had nearly bankrupted them). A writer addressed “Jäderin” and “Lille Norén” from *Svenska Dagbladet* directly and accused them of lying about the tinsmiths and masons. The tongue-in-cheek article continued by suggesting that the men from these trades must be innocent otherwise they would have killed the reporters for correctly identifying them.<sup>49</sup> The article concluded with an impassioned warning:

To the entire upper class, because of the way its writers treat the workers, I have a serious and honestly meant word of warning... you can abuse the patience of the proletariat until it runs out. Be aware, You on high, You mighty and rich, that the proletariat, which no longer lurks in the dark and instigates petty street fights [is the same that] begins to gather, strong and united, to shout louder and louder for enlightenment, freedom and justice. This proletariat will soon be of age and ready to claim the rights of the authorities!<sup>50</sup>

This article’s fiery rhetoric suggests that workers refused to tolerate the daily papers’ scapegoating and implies something far more profound—the working class was ready to end its “petty street fights,” unify against its common enemy, and seize power.

The Catastrophe of 1885 created the spark that ignited class tensions in Stockholm’s newspapers as *Socialdemokraten*, *Svenska Dagbladet*, and *Dagens Nyheter*

---

”Protest,” *Dagens Nyheter*, September 29, 1885, <https://tidningar.kb.se/8224221/1885-09-29/edition/0/part/1/page/2/?q=protest&sort=asc&from=1885-09-29&to=1885-09-29>, ”Protest,” *Aftonbladet*, September 29, 1885, <https://tidningar.kb.se/4112678/1885-09-29/edition/0/part/1/page/2/?q=protest&sort=asc&from=1885-09-29&to=1885-09-29>.

<sup>49</sup> M, “Från den upp- och nedvända världen,” *Socialdemokraten*, November 5, 1885, <https://tidningar.kb.se/2092238/1885-11-05/edition/154024/part/1/page/1/?newspaper=SOCIALDEMOKRATEN&from=1885-01-01&to=1885-12-31>.

<sup>50</sup> “Till hela öfverklassen har jag i anledning af dess skribenters sätt att behandla arbetarne, ett allvarligt och ärligt menadt varningens ord... man kan missbruka proletariatets tålmod tills det tar slut. Betänken, I höge, I mäktige och rike, att det proletariat, som icke längre smyger i mörkret och ställer till små gatuslagsmål, det proletariat, som börjar samla sig, starkt och enigt, för att högre och högre ropa på upplysning, frihet och rättvisa, detta proletariat är snart myndigt och färdigt att göra anspråk på myndigskapets rättigheter!” M, “Från den upp- och nedvända världen,” *Socialdemokraten*, November 5, 1885.

drew battle lines and indicated their positions (and the positions of their readers) in society. These exchanges reveal the thoughts and opinions of the city's elite towards its working population as well as what some workers thought of themselves. These tensions and prejudices shaped the worlds of the upper and lower classes in the city and immigrants confronted this antagonism as soon as they arrived.

### **3.5 The Great League of Thieves**

Stockholm's police arrested dozens of people in 1895 who were involved in a crime ring responsible for committing hundreds of thefts in Gamla Stan, the centre of the city and the heart of the kingdom's administration. This group appeared in the newspapers variously as "the Great Band" or "the Great League of Thieves." The police conducted several raids over the next few months and revealed a substantial criminal network of young thieves, fences who operated out of "junk shops," and even café owners who hosted the thieves on their premises. The young age of the offenders raised a panic as the city's population wondered what could have caused such behaviour and it again fell to Stockholm's newspapers to assign blame.

Many newspapers eventually associated "league boys" with immorality, crime, vagrancy, and drunkenness. These concerns overlapped with discussions of the "social question" as the city attempted to combat poverty, malnutrition, homelessness, and criminality. The upper-class papers blamed parents for their lack of supervision and targeted workers who could not afford to supervise their children throughout the day. These attacks soon lead to questioning the morality of the working class and bourgeois voices in papers such as *Svenska Dagbladet* proposed desperate measures to control what

it perceived as ever-increasing crime, drunkenness, and prostitution especially in the city's taverns. *Socialdemokraten* and other working-class publications did not condone drunken behaviour but disapproved of the bourgeois assumptions of criminality and deviancy in working-class locales.

The revelations surrounding the nature and number of crimes and the subsequent proposals to restore law and order reveal the competing ideologies that crystallized towards the end of the century. Pro-capitalist and socialist voices clashed over what cumulatively became known as the "social question" and culminated in the upper-class condemning socialism for contributing to criminality among the working class.

*Stockholms Nyheter* and *Svenska Dagbladet* released a brief article in April 1895 describing a burglary committed by "a gang of thieves, probably consisting of 'thugs.'"<sup>51</sup> They claimed that this group was "ravaging the city between the bridges, where they have haunted a lot of shops, especially in the area around Stora Nygatan, and thereby seized money and goods."<sup>52</sup> Over the course of the next three weeks the police brought 22

---

<sup>51</sup> "ett tjuvband, antagligen bestående af 'ligister'" "Ett tjuvband," *Stockholms Nyheter*, April 16, 1895, <https://tidningar.kb.se/2811479/1895-04-16/edition/173087/part/1/page/2/?q=tjuvband&from=1895-04-01&to=1895-04-30&newspaper=STOCKHOLMS%20NYHETER>, "Ett tjuvband," *Svenska Dagbladet*, April 16, 1895, <https://tidningar.kb.se/1767385/1895-04-16/edition/0/part/1/page/2/?q=tjuvband&from=1895-04-01&to=1895-04-30&newspaper=SVENSKA%20DAGBLADET>. *Stockholms Nyheter* represented similar interests to *Svenska Dagbladet*. The paper only ran from 1887 to 1895 and in its first edition outlined its stance against tariffs and asserted itself as a paper that promoted liberalism and especially free trade. It also revealed that it represented the interests of industrialists, merchants, dairy owners, cattle breeders, and ship owners. See "Pröfven själfva!," *Stockholms Nyheter*, January 3, 1887, <https://tidningar.kb.se/2811479/1887-01-03/edition/173087/part/1/page/1/?newspaper=STOCKHOLMS%20NYHETER&from=1887-01-01&to=1887-12-31>.

<sup>52</sup> "härjar för närvarande i staden inom broarna, der de hemsökt en hel del butiker särskildt i trakten omring Stora Nygatan och dervid tillgripit penningar och varor." "Ett tjuvband," *Stockholms Nyheter*, *Svenska Dagbladet*, April 16, 1895. Most papers did not bother to reprint the story as only 20 kronor were stolen and there were no arrests to report.

people into custody and actively sought 10 more who were allegedly responsible for approximately 170 crimes dating back to 1890.<sup>53</sup>

Once it was discovered this was the largest criminal ring the city had seen since 1884 all of the city's major newspapers covered the developments and turned this "band of thieves" into the Great League of Thieves as the scale and sophistication of their operations became more apparent. As months passed the detained members confessed to more and more crimes as the police gathered evidence from their parental homes. Two months after the police made its first major arrest, the confirmed crimes committed by the League had risen from just under 200 to almost 900.<sup>54</sup> The police also arrested several "fences" who purchased stolen goods from the "league boys." *Aftonbladet* initially described the police station filled with young people in a room so packed that one young man almost managed to slip out of the station completely unnoticed. *Stockholms Nyheter* reported that at least four of those arrested were younger than 15 years old.<sup>55</sup>

The city's newspapers slowly constructed the spectre of organised crime and its threat to Stockholmers as their coverage revealed the level of coordination and organisation of the "league boys." These included the use of headquarters and meeting places, an accepted code of behaviour, a high level of recidivism, and nicknames and

---

<sup>53</sup> "Ett tjuvband," *Dagens Nyheter*, May 4, 1895, <https://tidningar.kb.se/8224221/1895-05-04/edition/0/part/1/page/2/?q=tjuvband&from=1895-05-04&to=1895-05-04&newspaper=DAGENS%20NYHETER>.

<sup>54</sup> "Den stora tjufligan," *Stockholms Nyheter*, July 18, 1895, <https://tidningar.kb.se/2811479/1895-07-18/edition/173087/part/1/page/3/?q=%22bland%20de%20tilltalade%20i%20tjufligan%22>.

<sup>55</sup> "Det stora tjuvbandet," *Aftonbladet*, May 6, 1895, <https://tidningar.kb.se/4112678/1895-05-06/edition/0/part/1/page/2/?q=tjuvbandet&from=1895-05-06&to=1895-05-06>, "Den stora tjufligan. Unga tjuvar och gamla – lumphandlare." *Stockholms Nyheter*, May 16, 1895. <https://tidningar.kb.se/2811479/1895-05-16/edition/173087/part/1/page/3/?q=tjufliga&from=1895-05-01&to=1895-05-31>.



delegated responsibilities. *Svenska Dagbladet* suggested that the high number of “league boys” across the city revealed their complex organisation that prevented their capture for several years. It also revealed the boys stole “liquors of all kinds in large quantities and consumed [it] at bacchanals in the hideout, a cellar in [Gamla Stan]” where they returned after robberies, traded loot, drank, and played cards.<sup>56</sup> *Stockholms Dagbladet* and other newspapers reported that Anna Josefina Kjällgren’s request to renew her license to run her “ill-reputed café” on Norrlandsgatan just north of Gamla Stan was denied on the grounds that she hosted the League boys and allowed them to lodge there illegally.<sup>57</sup>

*Svenska Dagbladet* also reported evidence of a shared sense of honour after the initial arrest when the police began to interrogate the “league boys.” After the police laid out the crimes they suspected the boys of committing, only one “who obviously had something to avenge” confessed to several of the crimes and named his accomplices. The newspaper reporter claimed the named boys gave him a look promising vengeance for betraying them.<sup>58</sup> This implies there existed an agreed upon sense of loyalty or a sense of trust among individuals not trusted by the wider population that the confessor betrayed.

---

<sup>56</sup> “Spritdrycker af alla slag ha stulits i stora qvantiteter och konsumerats vid bacchanalier i sammankomst lokalen, en källare i staden inom broarna,” ”Unga förbrytare,” *Svenska Dagbladet*, May 24, 1895, <https://tidningar.kb.se/1767385/1895-05-24/edition/0/part/1/page/2/?q=unga%20f%C3%B6rbrytare&newspaper=SVENSKA%20DAGBLADET&from=1895-05-01&to=1895-05-31>.

<sup>57</sup> ”Öfvervålden i Humlegården,” *Stockholms Dagbladet*, September 27, 1895, <https://tidningar.kb.se/2811213/1895-09-27/edition/147683/part/1/page/1/?newspaper=STOCKHOLMS%20DAGBLAD&from=1895-09-27&to=1895-09-27>.

<sup>58</sup> “Endast en, hvilken uppenbarligen hade något att hämnas, anmälde medbrottslingar i de stölder, för hvilka han häktats. De sålunda angifna svarade med en bastig blick som ej bådade godt för förradaren, men gäfvö som svar på domarens fråga om de erkände ett vresigt ja.” ”Unga förbrytare, *Svenska Dagbladet*, May 24, 1895. This adherence to specific locales and a sense of duty (or lack thereof in the case of the informant) parallels the criminal networks Heather Shore observes in 18<sup>th</sup> century London. Shore argues offenders committed crimes in their home parishes and were known to the parish’s residents much like the

None of the newspapers doubted the boys' guilt and in fact emphasised their recidivism and their criminal contacts. *Stockholms Nyheter* complained that several of the "league boys" were repeat offenders and by the time the police arrested the last of the gang several of those who had initially garnered police attention had already been released and arrested again.<sup>59</sup> Most of these young men had been arrested and served prison sentences for petty theft, pickpocketing, unlawful access, and fraud.<sup>60</sup>

The press also focused on the role of the "fences" and stressed their backgrounds as in-migrants to the capital. One of the junkshop owners who purchased the stolen goods also possessed an extensive criminal record. The police had previously charged Jöns Gummesson several times for trafficking stolen goods and selling pornographic photographs.<sup>61</sup> All of the junkshop owners sentenced for trafficking items stolen by the "league boys" were in-migrants.<sup>62</sup> This suggests both the heterogeneous nature of the league's network and the potential economic hardship from in-migration that led them to engage in criminal behaviour.

The newspapers also identified clear responsibilities and unique skills among the "league boys." Some of the boys, such as Carl Wilhelm Strand and Gustaf Hjalmar Ture Kristian Eriksson, had nicknames they had earned either because of their particular

---

members of Stockholm's Great League of Thieves knew and stole together and associated with junkshop and café proprietors. See Shore, "Crime, Criminal Networks and Survival Strategies," 145.

<sup>59</sup> "Dag för dag. Filantropi, brott, och straff," *Stockholms Nyheter*, October 25, 1895, <https://tidningar.kb.se/2811479/1895-10-25/edition/173087/part/1/page/1/?newspaper=STOCKHOLMS%20NYHETER&from=1895-10-25&to=1895-10-25>.

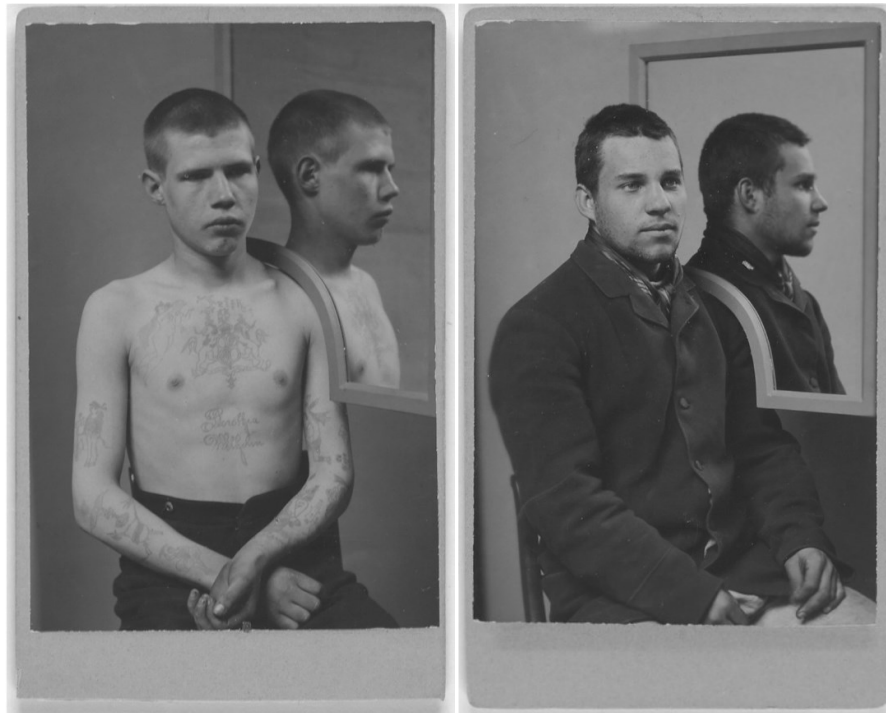
<sup>60</sup> "Det stora tjuvbandet," *Dagens Nyheter*, May 17, 1895, <https://tidningar.kb.se/8224221/1895-05-17/edition/0/part/1/page/3/?q=%22Carl%20Wilhelm%20Strand%22&freeonly=1&from=1895-05-17&to=1895-05-17>.

<sup>61</sup> "Den stora tjuvfligan. Unga tjuvar och gamla – lumphandlare." *Stockholms Nyheter*, May 16, 1895.

<sup>62</sup> "Den stora tjuvfligan," *Stockholms Nyheter*, May 16, 1895.

thieving skills or because of their appearance. Strand was nicknamed *Piggen*, or “the sprightly one” and *Stockholms Nyheter* noted he was an accomplished climber who could break and enter through high windows (see figure 3.2).<sup>63</sup> Eriksson was a successful pickpocket although he probably got his nickname of *Turken* or “the Turk” because of his swarthy appearance (see figure 3.3). These nicknames likely provided a sense of belonging and conferred a unique group identity that transcended occupational status as many of the “league boys” were apprenticed in different industries.<sup>64</sup>

Figures 3.2 and 3.3 Portrait of “Piggen” Carl Wilhelm Strand and Ture “Turken” Eriksson



Source: Stockholmskällan, <https://stockholmskallan.stockholm.se/post/24848> and <https://stockholmskallan.stockholm.se/post/24860>

<sup>63</sup> “Den stora tjufligan,” *Stockholms Nyheter*, May 24, 1895, <https://tidningar.kb.se/vbkh8bh2s9fp1193/part/1/page/3?q=den%20stora%20tjufligan>.

<sup>64</sup> “Det stora tjufbandet,” *Dagens Nyheter*, May 17, 1895.

These hallmarks of a professional organisation contributed to the hysteria surrounding the Great League of Thieves as newspapers created a picture of an extensive and well-organised network capable of targeting the city's population. As was the case regarding the Catastrophe of 1885 when dozens of people died, the newspapers began to search for culprits to blame.

The city's administration blamed the boys' parents for not adequately supervising and disciplining them during their childhood. On May 15 the "league boys" and several of their accomplices appeared in the magistrate's court for sentencing. Several of them laughed amongst themselves during the proceedings and received reprimands from the presiding officer. He pointed to one of the boys and said, "you must have been beaten too little." He then pointed to the boy's crying mother and said, "if you looked after your children, disciplined them properly and put them to work, you would not have to stand here today and cry seeing them stand accused of theft."<sup>65</sup>

*Stockholms Nyheter* and *Svenska Dagbladet* agreed that some boys were beyond saving and even some that came from better homes still possessed an inherent criminal nature. *Stockholms Nyheter* pointed out that some of the "league boys" came from homes with parents that disciplined them although this had no effect on the child's behaviour.<sup>66</sup> *Svenska Dagbladet* revealed that several of the "league boys" came from respectable

---

<sup>65</sup> "Den stora tjufligan," *Stockholms Nyheter*, May 16, 1895.

<sup>66</sup> "Dessa ynglingar äro icke alla förbrytarenaturer, några, som straffats flere gånger från sin temligen späda ålder, räknas till de ohjelpiga, men så finnes det andra, som troligen icke skulle blifvit brottslingar om de tillhållits till ordenligt arbete i stället för att som nu varit fallet få lof att drifva omkring å gator och torg." "Den stora tjufligan. Unga tjufvar och gamla – lumphandlare." *Stockholms Nyheter*, May 16, 1895.

homes that “had everything they needed.”<sup>67</sup> These newspapers suggested it was beyond the control of respectable, hard-working parents when willful young children stayed out all hours of the night and associated with the worst kinds of youths, those who were “predestined to crime and prison from the start.”<sup>68</sup>

These same newspapers also appear to move beyond age as a risk factor and reinforce the association between criminality and the working class. For example, their initial critique suggests it was the children of working parents who were more susceptible to corruption. The parents had to leave the home to work for a living and this left the children unsupervised thus creating an environment where criminal habits and behaviour could proliferate. The newspapers also go to lengths to identify suspects using their occupational titles. *Stockholms Nyheter* in particular printed an expansive article that listed the names and titles of the accused that included an apprentice carpenter, printer, and baker, tinsmiths, metal workers, and labourers. Each of these titles clearly indicated these young men belonged to the working class.<sup>69</sup> This newspaper reinforced the image of an organised network of lower-class criminals that transcended occupational difference and threatened to spread to all echelons of the working class. These accusations opened

---

<sup>67</sup> “Föräldrarna ha den största skulden. Genom deras slapphet fingo de unga tillfälle att å gator och gränder stifta bekantskap med dessa samhällets förlorade barn, hvilka tyckas redan från början predistinerade till brott och fängelse.” ”Unga förbrytare,” *Svenska Dagbladet*, May 24, 1895.

<sup>68</sup> ”hvilka tyckas redan från början predistinerade till brott och fängelse.” ”Unga förbrytare,” *Svenska Dagbladet*, May 24, 1895.

<sup>69</sup> “Snickarelärlingen Hjalmar Löfgren, plåtslagarne Johan August Strand, Otto Hj. Mauritz Sahlberg, förre sjömannen Bengt Gustaf Nordblom, ynglingarne Oskar Vegelius Gryting, Gustaf Henning Eriksson, Rob. Elias Malmström, boktryckarlärlingen Ernst Fredrik Carlsson, metallarbetaren Klas August Mauritz Dahlstrand, bagarlärlingen Joel Otto Palmberg, arbetskarlen Gustaf Hjalmar Ture Kristian Eriksson, Oskar Erik Johan Lundström, Viktor Emanuel Alm, Carl Wilhelm Strand, Klas herman Pettersson, Oskar Wilhelm Berg, jernarbetaren Klas Kristian Petersen, Johan Ludvig Larson, Erik Edvard Gabriel Olsson, arbetskarlen Carl Axel Gideon Flank, hustrun hedvig Euphrosyne Landgren-Aronson, smedarbetaren Carl August Pettersson-Hellström.” *Stockholms Nyheter*, May 16, 1895.

up a heated exchange between working-class and bourgeois newspapers as they began to argue about the nature and spread of crime throughout the city and how best to stop it.

### **3.6 Perceptions of Morality, Temperance, and Prostitution**

The newspapers' coverage of the Great League of Thieves reflects Stockholm's response to the spectre of criminality in what came to be referred to as the "social question" in Sweden and the rest of Europe that represented the collective fear of the dissolution of bourgeois values that defined the social, cultural, and legal norms across the continent. Early experts considered pauperism to be the primary concern from which many others emanated including crime, deviancy, punishment, poor public health and hygiene. It eventually included fears about the moral and political side effects including drunkenness, prostitution, and socialism.<sup>70</sup> During the first half of the nineteenth century concerns remained restricted to the highly educated elite who discussed them at specialised conferences across Europe but this international transmission of reformist ideology failed to translate to social change at the ground level.<sup>71</sup>

In the latter half of the century government commissions increasingly relied on statistical representations of these social problems to serve as the basis for their policy decisions.<sup>72</sup> Statisticians succeeded not just by compiling data in more effective ways but by stimulating the public response to their findings by designing their surveys and studies to reflect popular interests in politics, pedagogy, literature, economics, and medicine.<sup>73</sup>

---

<sup>70</sup> Leonards and Randeraad, "Transnational Experts in Social Reform," 219, 230, Lees, "Deviant Sexuality and Other 'Sins,'" 453.

<sup>71</sup> Leonards and Randeraad, "Transnational Experts in Social Reform," 235.

<sup>72</sup> Leonards and Randeraad, "Transnational Experts in Social Reform," 219.

<sup>73</sup> Anne Løkke, "Creating the Social Question: Imagining Society in Statistics and Political Economy in Late Nineteenth Century Denmark," *Histoire Sociale, Social History* 35 (70) (2002): 419.

Several Swedish journalists, writers, and political activists such as Gustaf af Geijerstam and Knut Tengdahl followed the example of English contemporaries such as Henry Mayhew and James Greenwood to practice this strategy in Stockholm as they sought to alleviate society's ills. They published their eyewitness accounts alongside statistical tables revealing the extent of poverty and deplorable conditions in the city.<sup>74</sup>

Towards the end of the nineteenth century labour conflicts and scandals on the continent and their subsequent press coverage also played an important part in voicing bourgeois concerns and a frenzy of support for government intervention. The Battle of the Northern Green in May 1872 forced Danish authorities to confront the "workers' question" as the outcry from middle-class citizens and civil servants resulted in the Great Workers' Commission of 1875.<sup>75</sup> The growing visibility of clandestine prostitution in Germany prompted the press to conflate it with a violent and criminal underworld that posed a social and political threat. This concern began in earnest in 1891 when a pimp named Heinze and his wife (a former prostitute) broke into a church in Berlin to steal the silver. The publicity and public outcry forced the Kaiser to issue a proclamation condemning leniency against prostitutes and their hangers-on.<sup>76</sup>

Stockholm was no exception to this hysteria and the high visibility of the Great League of Thieves' extensive operations prompted a sense of panic in the city's conservative newspapers. *Svenska Dagbladet* and *Stockholms Nyheter* voiced concerns

---

<sup>74</sup> Rebecka Lennartsson, *Den sköna synderskan. Sekelskiftets Stockholm. Beraktelser från undersidan* (Stockholm: Norstedts, 2007), 140.

<sup>75</sup> Løkke, "Creating the Social Question," 403.

<sup>76</sup> Richard J. Evans, "Prostitution, State and Society in Imperial Germany," *Past & Present* 70 (Feb. 1976): 119.

over the state of the city's morality, the growing visibility of prostitution, and the imperative for greater control over the availability of alcohol to the working masses.

These newspapers built upon the long-standing association between certain neighbourhoods and criminality that had appeared in penny dreadfuls and sensationalist novellas as early as the middle of the century. This trend began when Carl Fredrik Ridderstad published his *Stockholms Mysterier* in 1851 as he explored the lives of the city's worst criminals.<sup>77</sup> Rebecka Lennartsson suggests some of the author's later novellas sought to illuminate the plight of the city's most vulnerable people in an attempt to help inspire public support and change. Other authors such as Fredrik Lindholm (who published under the pseudonym "Phocas") sought solely to entertain their readers.<sup>78</sup> Several of these publications explored the "geography of sin" as readers followed authors down the city's dark alleys and into its fictitious taverns, bordellos, and brothels. These publications tended to focus on specific areas of the city such as Österlånggatan on Gamla Stan. Novellas including *En natt vid Österlånggatan* furthered the associations between these areas and criminality as they depicted prostitutes, dangerous thieves, and widespread drunkenness and inscribed them on the popular imagination of the bourgeoisie.<sup>79</sup>

*Stockholms Nyheter* built upon this sensationalist association in its commentary about the crimes that transpired on Gamla Stan and the people who committed them. In some cases it promoted the intervention of the city's authorities and described the horrific

---

<sup>77</sup> Lennartsson, *Den sköna synderskan*, 138.

<sup>78</sup> Lennartsson, *Den sköna synderskan*, 141.

<sup>79</sup> *En natt vid Österlånggatan. Natliga studier af en Detektiv* (1894). Available from <https://stockholmskallan.stockholm.se/post/6846>.



conditions in which the poorest members of society lived. In August 1895 *Stockholms Nyheter* published an article entitled “in the law enforcement’s own interests” that described the debauchery, drunkenness, and general chaos on Gamla Stan. It emphasized the inability of the police to control criminality or enforce the prostitution regulations and attempted to “help” the authorities by identifying the areas in greatest need of intervention. This included three establishments on Göran-Helsingränd where one tavern in particular sold alcohol illegally well into the night and where “fights, window smashing, screams and noise disturb the nighttime tranquility of surrounding residents.”<sup>80</sup> Later that same year, this newspaper sent a correspondent to spend a night in one of Gamla Stan’s notorious “hotels.”<sup>81</sup> This investigation revealed the deplorable conditions found there and bemoaned the absence of proper housing that assured that “poor, relatively honest people are forced to take refuge in these ‘hotels’ and for the sake of the cheap price hang out with the scum of society.”<sup>82</sup> This article also pointed out that buildings such as these provided housing for “notorious thieves” and were “largely populated by prostitutes.”<sup>83</sup>

---

<sup>80</sup> “Vid denna finnas ej mindre än tre dylika tillhåll för det moraliska eländets koryfeer och i ett af dem en ölkrog, som lagstridigt hålles öppen så godt som natten i ända och der oordning och vilda uppträden, såsom slagsmål, fönsterinslagningar, skrik och oväsen nätterna igenom störa de kringboendes ro.” ”I ordningsmaktens eget intresse,” *Stockholms Nyheter*, August 13 1895, <https://tidningar.kb.se/zfnhcx2kw17rc01j/part/1/page/2?q=I%20ordningsmaktens%20eget%20intresse>.

<sup>81</sup> Knut Tengdahl conducted his own investigation into the “hotels.” This is discussed in Chapter Two.

<sup>82</sup> “Men i dessa "hotell" nödgas dock på grund af bostadsbrist och andra förhåll landen fattiga, relativt hederliga menniskor, taga sin tillflykt och för det billiga prisets skull umgås med samhällets afskum.” ”Sir,” ”Logihusen’ i staden mellan broarne,” *Stockholms Nyheter*, November 12, 1895, <https://tidningar.kb.se/l2946lr1jpvqhwmk/part/1/page/2?q=staden%20mellan%20broarne>.

<sup>83</sup> “Dessa "hotell" befolkas till stor del af prostituerade deras s. k. karlar, merdendels f. d. gardister och långholmare... Ofta blifva resande misshandlade, om de icke bjuda på förtäring eller betala tillräckligt stora drickspengar. Särskildt ett hotell är känt för att det i årtal hyst notoriska tjuftar.” ”Sir,” ”Logihusen’ i staden mellan broarne,” *Stockholms Nyheter*, November 12, 1895.

In contrast, *Svenska Dagbladet* refused to cover the subject of prostitution. The ethnologist Jonas Frykman argues that women of loose or questionable morals and other “dirty” people were shunned for fear they could infect healthy and upright members of society. Towards the end of the nineteenth century the middle class grew stronger and sought to distance itself from those above and below them in the social order. *Svenska Dagbladet* could therefore distance its readers from prostitutes by pretending they did not exist.<sup>84</sup> In this way this newspaper upheld and reinforced classed and gendered stereotypes surrounding women as the middle and upper classes viewed them through a double standard that insisted upon women’s virtue while at the same time maintaining access to women’s bodies through semi-legal prostitution.<sup>85</sup>

In other cases *Stockholms Nyheter* pointed out the inefficiency of the criminal justice system and implied it was partially responsible for the criminals in the streets. For example, in December 1895 the newspaper reported that the proprietor Joahn Albin Johansson, the cleaning lady Anna Mathilda Ax, and the prostitutes Julia Augusta Follin and Emilia Christina Löfgren worked together to plunder the rooms of the Hotel New York on Österlånggatan, the notorious street on Gamla Stan, and together stole 120 kronor from a visitor to the city. The newspaper expressed doubt that the courts could bring this group to justice even though Ax confessed to the crime.<sup>86</sup> The newspaper’s

---

<sup>84</sup> Jonas Frykman and Orvar Löfgren, *Culture Builders: A Historical Anthropology of Middle-Class Life*, trans. by Alan Crozier (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1987), 163-164.

<sup>85</sup> Frykman and Löfgren, *Culture Builders*, 102-103.

<sup>86</sup> “Allmänna åklagaren öfverlemnade målet, yrkande ansvar å Ax för första resan stöld samt för delaktighet i svikligt förfarande, å de öfriga för delaktighet i svikligt förfarande, å de öfriga för dealktighet i olofligt tillgrepp eller, om detta ej kan bifallas, för bedrägligt förfarande. De få sin dom nästa lördag.” ”Plundrade på ’rum för resandehotell,” *Stockholms Nyheter*, December 3, 1895, <https://tidningar.kb.se/wclfhwbptcervlf2l/part/1/page/4?q=Newyork>.

identification of Follin and Löfgren as prostitutes indicates this paper was critical of these women and tried to ensure they would be held publicly accountable despite the failure of prosecutors to sentence them to prison. This newspaper oscillated between its position as helpful, socially conscious observers and as critics of the justice system that failed to hold criminals accountable and maintain order in the city.

The crimes committed by the Great League of Thieves and other criminals began to spread to the rest of the city as the months passed and the conservative press reacted by decrying the infectious immorality of the lower classes that threatened to consume more of their city and members of their own social class. This sense of a contagious criminality began to spread beyond Gamla Stan and the city's newspapers blamed the Great League of Thieves for crimes across the city despite the high number of arrests earlier that year.

The relative security Stockholmers felt after many of the "league boys" were locked away crumbled as robberies continued throughout the summer. *Aftonbladet* pointed out that although these robberies occurred in other wealthy parts of the city including Norrmalm and Östermalm, the opportunism of the crimes and the wide array of stolen goods suggested that the League was still active in the city.<sup>87</sup> Thieves attempted to break into J. Lindman's spice shop on Norrlandsgatan no less than three times in the summer of 1895. Lindman's shop was situated just north of Gamla Stan in Klara, the wealthiest neighbourhood in the city, and the newspaper warned this criminal activity suggested a growing sense of boldness on the part of the "league boys."<sup>88</sup>

---

<sup>87</sup> "Ånyo inbrottsstölder," *Aftonbladet*, July 10, 1895. <https://tidningar.kb.se/4112678/1895-07-10/edition/0/part/1/page/2/?q=tjufbandet&from=1895-07-10&to=1895-07-10>.

<sup>88</sup> "Ånyo inbrottsstölder," *Aftonbladet*, July 10, 1895.

The hysteria surrounding these crimes began to escalate as members of the upper-class became victims. One of the boys' confessions implicated a cigar merchant named Maria Charlotta Löfstedt (also known as Adèle). The police arrived at her shop at Klarabergsgatan in Klara and informed her she was suspected of purchasing stolen silverware, wine, and cigars, among other things.<sup>89</sup> The same paper reported that one "league boy" admitted to stealing the princely sum of 1,000 kronor from an inebriated, well-dressed man on Bangårdsgatan, a small street off of Götgatan which was one of the busiest thoroughfares in Södermalm where several taverns were located.<sup>90</sup> The police declared that although the victim had not submitted a formal complaint, they believed the confession to be true since the boy had a confirmed history of stealing from people.<sup>91</sup>

Criminal networks threatened to entangle both visitors and in-migrants whenever they arrived in the city. In April 1895 shortly after the police began arresting "league boys," the police convicted the 44 year-old labourer from Västmanland County, Lars Fredrik Berggren, for stealing a wheelbarrow worth 50 kronor and selling it to Jöns Gummmesson, one of the fences favoured by the Great League of Thieves.<sup>92</sup> That same day *Stockholms Nyheter* reported that "a very rich and widely-known country patron" was

---

<sup>89</sup> "Hon är en rätt vacker, mycket elegant dam och är temligen känd af det Stockholm som roar sig. Hon kände sig synbarligen generad öfver att stå bland ett sådant sällskap, visade svimningssymtomer och tillåts att sitta under ransakningen." "Den stora tjufligan," *Stockholms Nyheter*, July 18, 1895.

<sup>90</sup> *Götgatan* and the taverns located there are discussed further in Chapter Six of this dissertation.

<sup>91</sup> "Hvem har blifvit beslulen på 1,000 kr.?" *Stockholms Nyheter*, July 18, 1895, <https://tidningar.kb.se/2811479/1895-07-18/edition/173087/part/1/page/3/?q=%22bland%20de%20tilltalade%20i%20tjufligan%22>. The police later established a common tactic among the "league boys" who preyed upon drunk people as they left the taverns on *Gamla Stan* and made their way back to their homes or hotels "Tjufvarnes vänner och hjälpare," *Socialdemokraten*, August 8, 1895, <https://tidningar.kb.se/2092238/1895-08-08/edition/154029/part/1/page/1/?newspaper=SOCIALDEMOKRATEN&from=1895-08-08&to=1895-08-08>. This tactic is explored further in Chapter Five of this dissertation.

<sup>92</sup> "Tjufven och den tjenstaktige lumphandlaren," *Stockholms Nyheter*, April 24, 1895, <https://tidningar.kb.se/ct20q5s19c5pg7gn/part/1/page/1>.

lured to a house on Appelbergsgatan in Östermalm and spent the night with a prostitute who stole a 100 kronor note from him while he slept.<sup>93</sup> Crimes such as this highlighted the danger felt throughout the city and the newspapers fueled the flames of uncertainty for both rich and poor long-time residents and newcomers.

This mounting tension inspired responses from the city's upper-class newspapers to combat the growing moral decay. The meaning of the term "league boy" appears to shift with the seasons in a similar way to what Sewell Jr. observes for terms in early 19<sup>th</sup>-century France.<sup>94</sup> Some writers associated the "league boys" with the entirety of the working class that was vulnerable to the disruptive effects of socialism. One anonymous writer in *Stockholms Nyheter* provided a very conservative viewpoint when lamenting the state of the city's youth "who already at the age of 14-15 are fed up with life, blasé, and nervous, [and] more anxious about their reputation than the full-blooded snobs of the old days."<sup>95</sup> The writer could not understand what caused this anxiety but suggested the "league boys" epitomised this phenomenon and held two contemporaneous social changes responsible for the boys' lack of discipline. The first was the banning of corporal punishment and the second was the creation of socialist youth clubs where the next

---

<sup>93</sup> "en mycket rik och i vida kretar känd landtpatron." "Hvad hade min son på galejan att göra?" *Stockholms Nyheter*, April 24, 1895, <https://tidningar.kb.se/ct20q5s19c5pg7gn/part/1/page/1>.

<sup>94</sup> Sewell Jr., *Work and Revolution in France*, 13, 278.

<sup>95</sup> "Nu ser man pojkar som redan vid 14-15 års ålder äro mätta på lifvet, blaserade och nervösa, ängsliga om sitt utvärtes anseende värre än fullblodssnobbarne voro i gamla dagar." "Utan rubrik," *Stockholms Nyheter*, July 8, 1895, <https://tidningar.kb.se/2811479/1895-07-08/edition/173087/part/1/page/1/?newspaper=STOCKHOLMS%20NYHETER&from=1895-07-08&to=1895-07-08>.

generations were “brought up in contempt for religion, motherland and society and taught to persecute everyone who owns something.”<sup>96</sup>

After the dust settled and most of the “league boys” were incarcerated, the conversation shifted towards the structural causes of poverty and the proliferation of crime in Stockholm’s society. The dialogue that unfolded revolved around the theme of the “dangerous underclass” that threatened the moral sensibilities of the rest of the city’s population with its “criminality, drunkenness, indecency, laziness, frivolity, lasciviousness, fornication, debauchery, vices, boisterousness, disobedience, [and] lewdness.”<sup>97</sup> This moral panic now sprang from the growing geographic spread of the crimes they committed and their indiscriminate targeting of both poor and wealthy victims. This produced a hysteria that was not entirely justified.

The upper-class newspapers greatly exaggerated the extent of crime in the city with its widespread publicity of the Great League of Thieves and its alleged infiltration to other parts of the city and population. *Stockholms Nyheter* in particular continued to stoke the flames of panic months after the police completed their first round of arrests of “league boys.” In July 1895 the newspaper printed an article that began by suggesting that those arrests had not eradicated the problem of theft and issued a desperate plea: “the

---

<sup>96</sup> “De togo och gåfvo stryk, tjöto i himlens sky när de fingo smaka magisterns käpp, men skrattade lika gladt och obesväradt nästa minut, och om de händelsevis råkade flänga sönder sina onämnbare under utöfvan det af något lifvadt nojs, voro de lika spanska för det... Herrar socialister ha, som bekant, stiftat en ungdomskulbb, der det uppväxande släktet skall uppfostras i förakt för religion, fosterland och samhälle samt läras att hata och förfölja alla, som ega något.” ”Utan rubrik,” *Stockholms Nyheter*, July 8, 1895.

<sup>97</sup> “brottslighet, fylleri, oordentlighet, lättja, lättsinne, liderlighet, otukt, utsvävningar, laster, uppstudsighet, olydnad, färekhet,” Birgit Petersson, “Den farliga underklassen”: studier i fattigdom och brottslighet i 1800-talets Sverige (Stockholm: Almqvist and Wiksell, 1983), 268, quoted in Fyrkman, *Arbetarkultur*, 87. Petersson’s analysis is based primarily in the first 60 years of the 19<sup>th</sup> century although her analysis revolves around discussions and interpretations of the “social question” that persisted throughout the century.

‘league boys’ in the capital are starting to get too close. The public can help by remaining vigilant.”<sup>98</sup>

The city’s police force continued to grow with the city’s population while the number of persons sentenced to prison in the city remained largely consistent and even fell between 1890 and 1895 (see table 3.1). The historian Björn Furuhausen calculates that between 1875 and 1895 there were two police officers for every 1,000 residents indicating the size of the police force kept pace with the city’s explosive population growth.<sup>99</sup> The patrolman was a regular feature of everyday life in Stockholm by the time the newspapers began reporting on the “league boys” and the highest number of constables were stationed on Gamla Stan where the newspapers claimed the most crimes were committed.<sup>100</sup> The number of those sentenced to prison in 1895 when the police combatted the Great League of Thieves matched the number of sentences a decade earlier despite the fact the population had increased by 26% during that time. The consistency of the police presence and the decline in convictions during the hysteria surrounding the Great League of Thieves indicate that in reality crime was no worse in the city than it had been a decade earlier.

---

<sup>98</sup> “Ligapojkarne i hufvudstaden börja blifva för närgångna. Allmänheten får hjälpa att taga dem ordentligt i öronen.” *Stockholms Nyheter*, July 20 1895, [https://tidningar.kb.se/129472ztjsl\\_gzvf4/part/1/page/4](https://tidningar.kb.se/129472ztjsl_gzvf4/part/1/page/4).

<sup>99</sup> In 1875 the police force consisted of 293 officers, in 1880 it rose to 324, and in 1885 the number of officers rose to 366 although the number per 1,000 citizens dipped to its lowest at 1.7. In 1890 the police force leapt to 550 before decreasing in 1895 to 521. See Björn Furuhausen, *Ordning på stan, polisen i Stockholm 1848-1917* (Stockholm: Brutus Östlings Bokförlag Symposion, 2004), 58.

<sup>100</sup> Pred, *Lost Words and Lost Worlds*, 131. The assignment of constables is only available for the year 1889. Claës Lundin observes 49 constables stationed on *Gamla Stan*, followed closely by 47 in the Jakob police district. See Lundin, *Nya Stockholm*, 556.

Table 3.1 Persons Sentenced to Prison in Stockholm and its Proportion to the City's Population, 1875-1895

Year	1875	1880	1885	1890	1895
Population	152,582	168,775	215,688	246,154	271,638
Convictions	144	210	164	199	164
Rate of Convictions per City Resident	1:1,059	1:803	1:1,315	1:1,237	1:1,656

Source: Bidrag till Sveriges Officiella Statistik (BiSOS): Series G, Fångvårds-Styrelsens underdåniga berättelse för år 1875, 19, 1880, 23, 1885, 27, 1890, 23, 1895, 25.<sup>101</sup>

Upper-class newspapers offered numerous radical solutions to combat the mostly imagined surge in criminality as incarceration did not appear to quell the moral degradation and proliferation of crime in the city. *Stockholms Nyheter* released a satirical article that advocated reintroducing corporal punishment particularly for recidivists. The newspaper then quipped that the moral consequences for beating offenders paled in comparison to incarcerating them.<sup>102</sup> The newspaper's criticism was aimed at the city's philanthropists who tried to reform offenders rather than incarcerate them for minor offences. The article poked fun at those social critics who lobbied for the construction of "gentile palaces" and modern prisons for the "enlightenment of the people," and who would balk at the idea of reintroducing corporal punishment against young offenders.<sup>103</sup>

<sup>101</sup> <https://www.scb.se/hitta-statistik/sok/Index?Subject=allsubjects&Series=BISOS%20G%20F%C3%A5ngv%C3%A5rden%201859-1910&From=&To=&Sort=relevance&Query=&Page=2&Tab=older&Exact=False>.

<sup>102</sup> "Knappt hafva dessa unga slynglar afjenat sitt straff förr än de åter stjäla och häktas. Några af de först dömda af den s. k. tjufligan hafva redan ånyo häktats för stölder. Och icke är väl det moraliska straffet att hafva varit dömd till kroppsaga mindre än det att under någon tid hafva setat i fängelse?" "Dag för dag. Filantropi, brott, och straff," *Stockholms Nyheter*, October 25, 1895, <https://tidningar.kb.se/2811479/1895-10-25/edition/173087/part/1/page/1/?newspaper=STOCKHOLMS%20NYHETER&from=1895-10-25&to=1895-10-25>.

<sup>103</sup> "Att bygga gentila palats - för "folkets upplysning", som det så vackert heter, samt dyrbara och "moderna" fängelser (för resultatet af denna folkupplysning?), det anse våra dagars hjertnupna filantroper alldeles på sin plats. Men att bakom en väl tillbommad fängelseport piska slyngeln ur en ligapojke, ett anarkistfrö eller dylika - tänk så horribelt!" "Dag för dag. Filantropi, brott, och straff," *Stockholms Nyheter*, October 25, 1895.



The newspaper asserted that “society had a right to protect its law-abiding citizens” against all types of threats to the city’s peaceful order.<sup>104</sup> It concluded by stating that swift action must be taken and that no philanthropic *laissez aller* could solve the city’s moral crisis.<sup>105</sup>

*Svenska Dagbladet* offered its own shocking solution that conveniently served the interests of its industrialist readers by providing them with a cheaper and larger pool of labour. The newspaper reiterated its criticism of the parents of the “league boys” and suggested their inability to supervise their children was because they either had to work during the day or because “the will itself was not particularly great.”<sup>106</sup> It then blamed the Royal Ordinance of 1881 on the Employment of Minors in Factories, Workshops and other Industrial Establishments that prohibited children between the ages of 14 and 18 from working during the night or for more than ten hours a day. The newspaper suggested repealing this legislation as the availability of more working hours would prevent the idleness that led children to turn to a life of crime.<sup>107</sup> This newspaper viewed many members of the working class as apathetic and indifferent towards their children and suggested that the state step in to lift them up and protect their morals by putting them to work in factories.

---

<sup>104</sup> “Men när så är, eger ock samhället rätt att skydda sina rättskaffens medborgare på något effektivare sätt än nu är händelsen mot rånande gardister, ligister förvildade ynglingar och förhårdade bofvar m. fl.” ”Dag för dag. Filantropi, brott, och straff,” *Stockholms Nyheter*, October 25, 1895.

<sup>105</sup> “Men vill man verkligen uträtta något, får man icke stanna vid en slapp och indifferent filantropis ‘laissez aller’”, ”Dag för dag. Filantropi, brott, och straff,” *Stockholms Nyheter*, October 25, 1895.

<sup>106</sup> ”Ligapojk-depravationen och botemedel deremot,” *Svenska Dagbladet*, November 4, 1895.

<sup>107</sup> Ole Hasselbalch, “The Roots – the History of Nordic Labour Law,” *Stockholm Institute for Scandinavian Law*, 25, <https://www.scandinavianlaw.se/pdf/43-1.pdf>, ”Ligapojk-depravationen och botemedel deremot,” *Svenska Dagbladet*, November 4, 1895.

The panic inspired by the visibility of crime and the arrest of the “league boys” soon spread to other sources of immorality including alcohol consumption and prostitution. The city’s upper-class newspapers eventually blamed the decline of morality on the consumption of alcohol and specifically in taverns. *Reformatorn*, one of the city’s preeminent temperance newspapers, was joined by *Svenska Dagbladet* in calling for an outright prohibition of alcohol consumption. It blamed tavern life for the degradation of the state of the arts in the city and suggested legislation was necessary to halt the “unstoppable spread of the destructive plague” of alcohol consumption.<sup>108</sup>

Some publications agreed with the drastic measures these upper-class newspapers proposed and rejected tavern life and even went so far as to advocate for temperance. At approximately the same time as the police first arrested members of the Great League of Thieves, the publication *Arbetarens vän* published an article that denounced the tavern and alcohol consumption for the deleterious effects it had on the body. It warned workers away from such places which it denounced in all its forms:

The palace of taverns as well as the more seedy premises are indeed almost terrible, where all kinds of misery and evil are developed, and from them pour out in abundance sins and crimes, sorrow and curses.<sup>109</sup>

---

<sup>108</sup> “Kunde *Svenska Dagbladets* förslag vinna framgång, skulle icke blott tonkonsten och umgängeslivet vinna därpå, utan en gräns skulle därmed äfven vara satt för den fördärbringande förjdesjukans hittills ohäjdade utbredning, och ett omslag i åskådningen om kroglif och rusdrycksbruk skulle med all säkerhet äga rum inom de större städernas bättre lottade samhällslagar till förmån för det enda verkliga nykterhetssträfvandet.” “Om konstens dekadans,” *Reformatorn*, October 31, 1895, <https://tidningar.kb.se/0jbptlxb2r4s8f8/part/1/page/1?q=konstens%20dekadans>.

<sup>109</sup> “Krogpalatsen såväl som de tarfligare lokalerna äro visserligen fruktansvärda nästen, der allt slags elände och ondska utvecklas, och från dem utströmma i mängd synder och brott, sorg och förbannelse.” “Nykterhetsfrågan från hemmets synpunkt,” *Arbetarens vän*, April 15, 1895, <https://tidningar.kb.se/csrnq1bl95cswq07/part/1/page/2>.

It then encouraged parents and teachers to educate children about the dangers of alcohol as it attacked both the spirit and the body. This newspaper advocated for complete abstinence from alcohol and declared “the best time to stop a drinker is – before he has started to become one.”<sup>110</sup>

These views in no way reflected the entirety of Stockholm’s working class and even the city’s socialists hesitated to embrace temperance. *Socialdemokraten* published an article in March 1895 discussing the proceedings of a meeting that had debated the question of the compatibility between socialism and temperance. One participant argued Sweden’s Social Democrats should embrace the temperance movement because there would be no need for intoxicants in a perfect socialist society. Another debater countered by suggesting socialism was based on fundamental economic principles while temperance was a humanist movement that neglected the problems of poverty and the vast wealth disparity in Sweden and would therefore hinder a class-based socialist revolution. The writer for *Socialdemokraten* summarised the meeting as follows: “in the ensuing discussion, as [is] usual at such meetings, no result was reached. Some long and boring reasoning ruined the whole discussion. No resolution was adopted.”<sup>111</sup>

---

<sup>110</sup> “Den bästa tidpunkten att hejda en drinkare är - innan han har begynt blifva det.” ”Nykterhetsfrågan från hemmets synpunkt,” *Arbetarens vän*, April 15, 1895.

<sup>111</sup> “I den därefter följande diskussionen, kom man, som vanligt på sådana möten, ej till något resultat. En del långa och tråkiga resonemang förstörde hela diskussionen. Någon resolution antogs ej.” ”Nykterhet och socialism,” *Socialdemokraten*, March 12, 1895, <https://tidningar.kb.se/gqt0hgzld52dtvg1/part/1/page/2>. Sweden’s temperance societies produced extensive literature but this accelerated after 1896 when the International Order of the Good Templars established *Svenska Nykterhetsförbundet* that began producing fiction and non-fiction for both children and adults in the form of weekly and Christmas magazines as well as blatant pieces of propaganda. See Kerstin Rydbeck, *Nykter läsning. Den svenska godtemplarrörelsen och litteraturen 1896-1925* (Stockholm: Gotab, 1995), 328.

The city's newspapers also disagreed over the perceived sexual immorality that occurred in Stockholm's taverns. Upper-class newspapers continuously conflated illicit sales of alcohol with the criminal underworld and frequently depicted cafés and taverns as locales promoting immoral behaviour including prostitution. Rebecka Lennartsson points to writers such as Fredrik Lindholm for propagating the association between taverns and prostitution in publications such as his *caféstudier*. Lindholm depicts an older prostitute and a young girl selling oranges (a common signal that communicated a willingness to engage in sexual services) and suggests even the barmaid could be purchased for the right price.<sup>112</sup> Novellas such as these also fed the bourgeois imagination and constructed a picture of filthy and licentious spaces most members of the upper classes never visited.

*Stockholms Nyheter* reinforced this association and commonly connected the space of the tavern to prostitution. This newspaper covered this activity far more extensively than the other daily newspapers and constantly reminded the public of its visibility although there is little evidence that there were any more women engaging in prostitution towards the end of the century than in previous years.<sup>113</sup> In early April 1895 this newspaper reported several women participated in “nocturnal debauchery” by renting rooms to “licentious women.” One such woman also sold them malt liquor and *brännvin*

---

<sup>112</sup> Lennartsson, *Den sköna synderskan*, 141-144.

<sup>113</sup> 487 women registered as prostitutes between 1886 and 1890 while 554 women registered between 1891 and 1895. However, the city's population increased by over 25,000 people between 1890 and 1895. The number of registered women per city resident actually decreased from 1 for every 505 residents to 1 for every 490 residents. See Bidrag till Sveriges Officiella Statistik (BiSOS), Series H: Femårsberättelse för Stockholms stad, 1895, 8, <https://www.scb.se/hitta-statistik/sok/Index?Subject=allsubjects&Series=BISOS%20H%20Fem%C3%A5rsber%C3%A4ttelser&From=1890&To=1895&Sort=relevance&Query=&Page=2&Tab=older&Exact=False>.

at her establishment in Östermalm “by the sip” at 30, 40, or 50 öre per drink.<sup>114</sup> On the same day as this newspaper reported the first rumblings of the Great League of Thieves, *Stockholms Nyheter* reported “a despicable but profitable industry” in which Christina Josefina Elisabeth Jönsson-Landberg was serving prostitutes wine and malt drinks without a license.<sup>115</sup> Just six days later Sofia Kristina Hedin was fined 60 kronor for the same crime.<sup>116</sup> These accounts represented the subversion of extensive legislation aimed at controlling alcohol consumption under the Gothenburg System and the regulation of prostitution. As such they fueled anxiety about the extensive drunkenness of the lower classes and the decline of morality in the city.<sup>117</sup>

An article published in *Svenska Morgonbladet* suggested that the city’s waitresses were ruining the morals of young men but the city’s socialists deeply resented this association between good, working women and the immorality of prostitution. Knut Tengdahl, the journalist and social reformer, denounced the bourgeois associations between serving women and prostitution in an article published in *Socialdemokraten*. Tengdahl fired back by suggesting it was primarily privileged young men who made advances on waitresses who possessed good morals and were only trying to earn a living:

The real situation...is instead that the young rascals, corrupted already in their upbringing, further reduced in and by the environments in which they live, and [who believe] that the whole world exists only for their sake, make it a complete sport to engage waitresses.<sup>118</sup>

---

<sup>114</sup> ”En krona för en sup!” and ”Den olaga nattliga utskänknigen,” *Stockholms Nyheter*, April 9, 1895, <https://tidningar.kb.se/gx53t6r2drlqj3q1/part/1/page/4>.

<sup>115</sup> ”En föraktlig men lönande industri,” *Stockholms Nyheter*, April 16, 1895, <https://tidningar.kb.se/6nwtkz514gtdfjhn/part/1/page/4>.

<sup>116</sup> *Stockholms Nyheter*, April 22, 1895, <https://tidningar.kb.se/7pxv1762568rr6fk/part/1/page/4>.

<sup>117</sup> The Gothenburg System is discussed in greater detail in Chapter Five and Six of this dissertation.

<sup>118</sup> ”Värkliga förhållandet... är i stället, att de unga slynglarne, fördärfvade redan i sin uppfostran, ytterligare neddragna i och genom den miljö, i hvilken de lefva, och dessutom bekajade med den föreställningen, att hela världen är till endast för deras skull, bedrifva det som en fullständigt sport att lägga an på

Tengdahl then pointed out that even if prostitution occurred in some restaurants, waitresses resented this association but tolerated untoward attention because they relied on tips to supplement their meagre wages. He revealed that most waitresses could only expect 10 kronor per month and were fed maggot-ridden meals by selfish tavern owners that allowed this boorish behaviour to transpire on their premises.<sup>119</sup>

*Stockholms Nyheter* believed the police required assistance to regulate prostitution but *Socialdemokraten* took a more radical position by condemning regulation altogether. An article printed in late April 1895 provides rare insight into the newspaper's position when its editors responded to an article in *Sedlighetsvänne*, or *The Moral Friend*. They mocked the author's narrow and elitist view of prostitution and criticized the article's analysis of regulation that was full of "ridiculousness and banalities." It insisted that "even a child should be able to understand that pimping will always exist where prostitution exists, whether it is regulated or not!"<sup>120</sup> They also rejected the article's premise that regulation created a "class of pariahs" and argued that prostitutes would always be pariahs as long as the moral stigma and economic conditions that necessitated prostitution remained unchanged.<sup>121</sup> For the editors of *Socialdemokraten*, there was no

---

serveringsflickor i och för sina syften," Knut Tengdahl, "Om våra servingsflickor. Påstådd farlighet för unga mäns moral," *Socialdemokraten*, July 10, 1895, <https://tidningar.kb.se/hrv06xhtf4fl0g6n/part/1/page/2>.

<sup>119</sup> Tengdahl, "Om våra servingsflickor. Påstådd farlighet för unga mäns moral," *Socialdemokraten*, July 10, 1895. This subject is covered in greater detail in Chapter Six of this dissertation.

<sup>120</sup> "fast naturligtvis t. o. m. ett barn bör kunna begripa, att koppleri alltid kommer att finnas, där prostitution fins, vare sig denna är reglementerad eller inte!" "Sedlighetsvännen," *Socialdemokraten*, April 22, 1895, <https://tidningar.kb.se/z7bh0wb2wjqb8zlg/part/1/page/2>. Evans suggests the German Social Democrats seized every opportunity to publicise scandals involving the Vice Police and took a firm stance against prostitution since *The Communist Manifesto* decried prostitution as the final phase of moral degradation facilitated by unchecked capitalism. See Evans, "Prostitution, State and Society in Imperial Germany," 124.

<sup>121</sup> "Sedlighetsvännen," *Socialdemokraten*, April 22, 1895.

“fixing” the problems of prostitution, drunkenness, and criminality until social and political intervention addressed the structural causes of poverty in the city.

### 3.7 Conclusion

Newspapers at the end of the nineteenth century reveal the shifting meaning of certain words as one class turned against another. Different newspapers represented different interests and the language present in bourgeois and working-class papers reveal the meaning imbued in terms such as “mob” and “league boy” that middle-class publications weaponised to present an overtly negative image of workers. Readers of *Svenska Dagbladet* constructed an understanding of “class” that they presented in their accusations against the crowd in the Catastrophe of 1885. *Dagens Nyheter* then placed masons, tinsmiths, and foundation workers into a single, unruly “mob” as it uncritically repurposed the account of a reader from *Svenska Dagbladet*. These newspapers manufactured news to suit their readers’ interests and in this way these bourgeois papers constructed an image of workers that their readers would accept.

There is also a gendered dimension to the press’s coverage of the scandals towards the end of the century. The expansive coverage of women’s experiences and testaments after the Catastrophe is notable since women were the primary victims and this fueled people’s outrage as they sought a culprit in its aftermath. The newspapers created an image of fragile and unfortunate wives, daughters, and sisters and appear to suggest that women in the public sphere posed a danger to themselves and others as they congregated and lost their lives in the general chaos of the concert. Women’s depiction in the papers continued in a sensationalist manner as *Stockholms Nyheter* cultivated an association

between prostitutes and the space of Gamla Stan while other bourgeois papers such as *Svenska Dagbladet* pretended prostitution did not exist. In this way the press upheld and reinforced emerging stereotypes that relegated women to the private sphere.

*Socialdemokraten* rarely commented on prostitution but maintained that the regulation of it and women's bodies was both illogical and impractical.

The dialogue between newspapers such as *Svenska Dagbladet* and *Socialdemokraten* surrounding crime, culpability, and the sensationalist depiction of the city's moral degradation demonstrates another palpable moment of class conflict.

Bourgeois newspapers such as *Svenska Dagbladet* and *Stockholms Nyheter* condemned children they considered hopeless cases while implying they came from the working class. They also suggested they could endanger their peers and infect them with poor morals by association. *Socialdemokraten* advocated on behalf of workers and emphasised their desperation that forced them to participate in immoral activity. "League boys" eventually became a descriptor that bourgeois papers used to refer to the lower classes and the spectre of criminality in the city similar to how Rudé defined "mob."

These two case studies also reveal the importance of establishing networks within the city and their usefulness in not only providing a sense of belonging but also resisting the implication of culpability when tragedy arose. The press acted as a device for the tinsmiths who called a general meeting to protest against unsafe working conditions while the Mason's Union managed to rebuff accusations from a bourgeois observer in *Svenska Dagbladet* who had blamed masons and other workers for the Catastrophe of 1885. The members of this union decided not to subscribe to *Socialdemokraten* and this indicates they did not consider themselves represented by the fiery, Marxist rhetoric of this



newspaper or its portrayal of a proletariat organised around the means of production. Instead, they chose to respond with an article of their own. Their response does not suggest they saw themselves as soldiers ready for class warfare and in fact they reacted against those who depicted them as an unruly and belligerent “mob.” However, their condemnation of this term as being harmful to the perception of all workers indicates they felt some sense of solidarity with others. It is therefore impossible to situate “class” within language alone and identity as solely tied to occupation. It must also be sought elsewhere.

This is why a combined approach that focuses on political economy as well as language is imperative to understanding the ultimately fluid and constantly shifting concepts of class and other structures. Workers necessarily responded to shifts in the city’s economy as well as changing perceptions as members of the upper classes formulated prejudices against them. Structuration theory again proves valuable because it can successfully accommodate both forms of analysis. In addition to workers’ expressions of agency, it reveals how newspapers possessed an agency of their own as they *created* news rather than just simply reported it.

It is clear from *Svenska Dagbladet*, *Stockholms Nyheter*, and *Dagens Nyheter* that the upper classes viewed working-class organisation and the creation of these networks with suspicion and even anxiety as is seen in their coverage of the Great League of Thieves. The League demonstrated some characteristics of a professional organisation and raised concerns about organised crime in the city, but the real members of the network referred to as “the League” probably laid claim to many more crimes than they actually committed to bolster their image as accomplished criminals with greater clout or

credibility than they actually possessed. This suggests they and the perception of criminality were mere “phantoms of modernity” as described above. The newspapers also focused their attention on the young men from the working class specifically and this suggests they viewed all forms of working-class networks with suspicion. As will be seen below, the creation of social networks was fundamental for the social integration of immigrants and they eventually laid the foundation for the articulation of a working-class identity.

## **Chapter 4 The Trials of Migration and the Experiences of Those Who Made the Journey**

### **4.1 Introduction and Argument**

In-migrants to Stockholm practiced several different methods for moving to the city. The biographies of six in-migrants from Kalmar County reveal the unique experiences of men and women, some of their migration strategies, and their relative success after they arrived in the capital. A side-by-side comparison of men and women's experiences provides deep insight into some of the unique struggles that women faced after they arrived in the city as compared to their male counterparts. This included the relative importance of protected forms of migration such as those offered by domestic service although this could also pose a unique risk in the form of sexual predation from the master of the house. The risk of extra-marital pregnancy represents another unique struggle women faced and this required them to resort to both legal and illegal tactics to survive.

The six biographies are drawn from a cohort of 247 men and women as they appear in the police records for vagrancy in 1893.<sup>1</sup> This cohort represents the vast array of geographic origins, exposure to urban environments, and the various lengths of time that people stayed in the city although certain patterns in their geographic and social trajectories may be discerned from these police records. In-migrants from Kalmar County are highly representative of the growing demographic groups in the city and the

---

<sup>1</sup> These six biographies were selected from the database of 247 files because they matched the parameters of what characterised the average in-migrant to Stockholm at the end of the nineteenth century. These parameters are outlined in section 4.4 below.

biographical analysis provides a robust context for their decision to leave their home parish and how their unique characteristics aided or hindered their success in the city.

Working-class women's narratives are largely absent from official archives compiled by the state and its agents including the military and the police. This has the effect of compiling and reinforcing narratives that align with those powerful groups that maintained political dominance in the past and this influence continues into the present as dissenting views are suppressed both in the historic record and the continued silence of the archive.<sup>2</sup> It is possible to recover women's narratives in the context of late nineteenth-century Stockholm using the detailed but chronologically limited records in the vagrancy protocol archive. The criminal nature of these records risks creating the illusion of deviance or at best suggesting a pattern of unlawful behaviour. However, a biographical analysis that follows these women's journeys for roughly twenty years reveals the shifting nature of their fortunes and the fluid nature of their identities. As shown above, men and women frequently changed occupations in response to economic conditions. This was also the case when they broke the law and rather than developing any form of criminal identity, it is clear that many women only resorted to crime during their most desperate moments.

These cases also reveal the importance of establishing social networks in the city and the role they played in each man and woman's relative success in socially integrating in their new urban environment. Each man and woman drew upon various forms of connections and the most fortunate arrived with networks already in place when they

---

<sup>2</sup> Rodney G. S. Carter, "Of Things Said and Unsaid: Power, Archival Silences, and Power in Silence," *Archivaria* 61 (61) (2006), 218-219.

were preceded by family members and possessed stability through kinship ties. Others developed what Mark Granovetter refers to as “weak ties” or casual connections to people known tangentially through stronger connections such as friends or kin. The strength of these “ties,” or interpersonal relationships, is defined by time, emotional intensity, the willingness to confide in one another, and reciprocal services. These loose and often temporary associations provided useful advice or insider information that would otherwise be unavailable to new arrivals in the city.<sup>3</sup> They proved indispensable in securing work and housing and those who failed to establish such networks suffered crippling hardship and loneliness.

These forms of connections are largely obscured in conventional sources although Leslie Page Moch and Rachel G. Fuchs provide one methodological solution using the autobiographies of working-class women.<sup>4</sup> A biographical analysis that follows men and women across time and provides a robust context of their experiences in the city is therefore the most effective way to uncover these networks. It also reveals their role in workers’ relative social integration and success after they arrived.

## **4.2 The Cohort: A Demographic Analysis**

### *Introduction to the Database and Cohort*

Stockholm’s police began conducting investigations into men and women suspected of living without means and subsistence in 1893. After the Vagrancy Act was amended in 1885, the Office of the High Commissioner for Police Affairs 3

---

<sup>3</sup> Mark S. Granovetter, “The Strength of Weak Ties,” *American Journal of Sociology* 78 (6) (May 1973), 1372-1373.

<sup>4</sup> Leslie Page Moch and Rachel G. Fuchs, “Getting Along: Poor Women’s Networks in Nineteenth-Century Paris,” *French Historical Studies* 18 (1) (Spring, 1993), 38.

(*Överståthållarämbetet för polisärenden 3*) organised the records for warnings and detainments in separate locations until they began conducting independent investigations that resulted in a separate archive.<sup>5</sup> The police retrieved the criminal records of repeat offenders from the old system and replaced them in this new archive under a newly assigned case number.<sup>6</sup> The police continued to place protocols for every subsequent warning and incarceration up to 1952 in each offender's file and each record may contain files dating between 1885 and 1952.

The cohort used here draws from the first five volumes of the Commissioner's investigation archive containing the protocols for a total of about 250 men and women. The protocols contain a wealth of information and the duration of some of the records facilitates long-term analysis. Because the men and women contained in the files are either native Stockholmers or in-migrants, the cohort enables a comparative analysis of many variables including gender, socio-economic background, and geographic origin. This comparative analysis also illuminates the types of migration practiced, the length of time migrants spent in Stockholm, and finally whether any patterns of migration or settlement are discernable between any of the counties that contributed migrants to the city.

---

<sup>5</sup> Warnings appear in the series SE/SSA/0023/02/F I a, *Överståthållarämbetet för polisärenden 3 (ÖÄ)*, Kriminalavdelningens femte rotel/ Lösdrivaravdelningen, Förhörsprotokoll angående varnade lösdrivare, Stockholms Stadsarkiv, Stockholm, Sweden. Detainments appear in the series SE/SSA/0023/02/F I b, *Överståthållarämbetet för polisärenden 3 (ÖÄ)*, Kriminalavdelningens femte rotel/ Lösdrivaravdelningen, Förhörsprotokoll angående häktade lösdrivare, Stockholms Stadsarkiv, Stockholm, Sweden.

<sup>6</sup> These new files are located in the series SE/SSA/0023/02/F I c, *Överståthållarämbetet för polisärenden 3 (ÖÄ)*, Kriminalavdelningens femte rotel/ Lösdrivaravdelningen, Förhörsprotokoll angående varnade och häktade lösdrivare, Stockholms Stadsarkiv, Stockholm, Sweden.

The extensive information contained in the protocols required the construction of a database for both purposes of accessibility and comparison. The information found in the protocols included their date and place of birth, their father's name and occupation, their occupational history, migration information, and a description of the circumstances surrounding their arrest or warning. This information was then compared with data obtained from *rotemansarkivet* or the rotemans system archive. This rotemans system was introduced by the municipal administration in 1878 and contains additional information that provides more information about when, where, and what jobs these men and women took and where they lived in the city.<sup>7</sup>

#### *In-Migrants and Native Stockholmers in the Cohort*

The cohort is composed overwhelmingly of in-migrants who represent more than 73% (n=182) of the men and women in the protocols. In the 1850s, 60s, and 70s, Stockholm relied heavily on in-migration to expand its population but as sanitary conditions in Stockholm improved markedly by the 1880s the population grew without relying on in-migration.

By that time a series of structural changes “pushed” men and women off of farms in the countryside and towards cities. One dramatic change was the plummeting value of agricultural products in the early 1880s and counties such as Kalmar whose economies relied on agriculture and rearing livestock were devastated.<sup>8</sup> Even during the best of times agricultural work was seasonal and Stockholm's growing industrial manufacturers and

---

<sup>7</sup> Anna Götlind, “Tillfällighet i förändring: Herrarbetande Djurakvinnor i Stockholm runt sekelskiftet 1900,” in *Tillfälliga stockholmare: Människor och möten under 600 år*, ed. by Anna Götlind and Marko Lamberg (Stockholm: Stockholmia, 2017), 183.

<sup>8</sup> BiSOS Series H, Femårsberättelser för Kalmar län, 1886-1890, 9.

factories provided steady (but repetitive) work. Many in-migrants in the cohort chose to settle in Stockholm rather than moving on to other opportunities or returning to their home parish.

The high amount of recorded in-migration may also be a product of the extensive legislation and regulations aimed at curtailing it. The protocols that document the existence of these men and women are based on violations of the Vagrancy Act of 1885 including being found without means of subsistence or permanent housing. Newly arrived in-migrants, especially those that did not possess any contacts or a network of kin in the city, were particularly vulnerable because they were unlikely to have employment and housing. Women seemed to be better protected from vagrancy charges than were men and one potential explanation was the existence of “women’s networks” or “collectives” that supported newly arrived in-migrant women. The historian Anna Götlind suggests groups of in-migrant women could rent an apartment together or secure a room from relatives or acquaintances.<sup>9</sup> Other scholars note the importance of prearranged contracts of labour (especially in the service industry) that provided young women with both employment and housing, thereby abating the potential for a warning or detainment for vagrancy.<sup>10</sup>

#### *Gender Composition of the Cohort and Age Structure*

The gendered composition of this cohort supports the idea of such networks because it consists mostly of men who make up nearly 80% (n=197) of the people captured in the protocols although women consistently outnumbered men in the city in

---

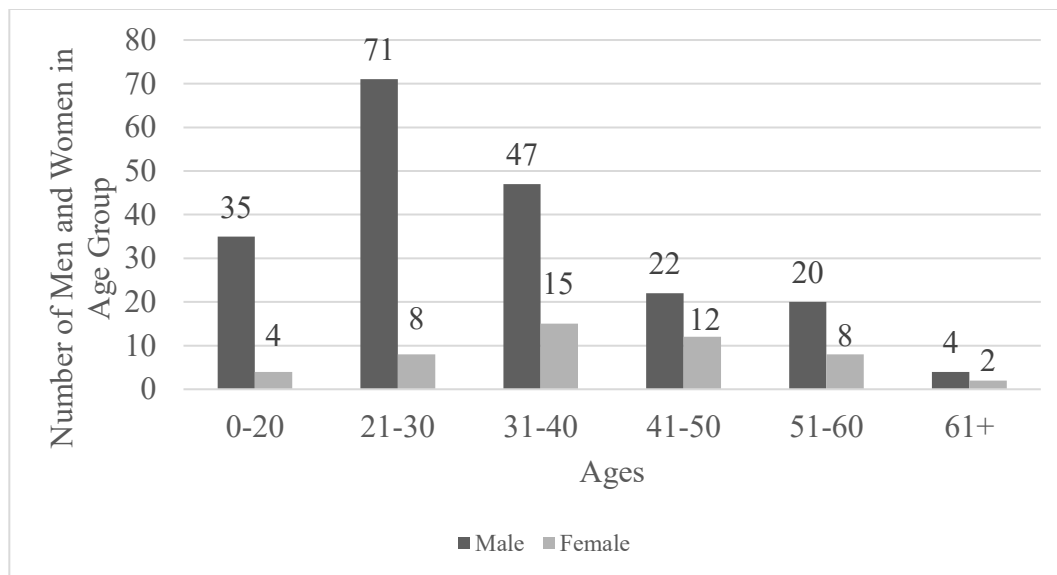
<sup>9</sup> Götlind, “Tillfällighet i förändring,” 189.

<sup>10</sup> Louise A. Tilly and Joan W. Scott, *Women, Work, and Family* (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1978), 108, Moch, *Moving Europeans*, 99, Lotta Vikström, *Gendered Routes and Courses*, 283.



the latter half of the nineteenth century.<sup>11</sup> The total number of women aged 20-30 surpassed the number of men the same age between 1870 and 1900.<sup>12</sup> The composition of the cohort therefore reflects the male but not the female population of Stockholm as women aged 21-30 are underrepresented compared to older age groups (see figure 4.1).

Figure 4.1: The Ages of Men and Women in the 1893 Cohort, N=247



The high number of young men suggests this group experienced the greatest difficulty securing work and housing and explains why they received more warnings and incarcerations for the crime of vagrancy. Ahlberg estimates that men in their 20s comprised about 11.3% of the city's population during the 1890s.<sup>13</sup> Men included in the sample who belong to this age group account for a disproportionately high percent of 28.7% and this is more than double the expected percentage based on the random sampling provided by the protocols. The high representation may also be explained by the

<sup>11</sup> Ahlberg, *Stockholms befolkningsutveckling efter 1850*, 159.

<sup>12</sup> Ahlberg, *Stockholms utveckling*, 159.

<sup>13</sup> Ahlberg, *Stockholms befolkning*, 159.

high number of young men leaving their rural parishes to seek their fortunes in the city. There were a number of “pulling forces” including the possibility of finding employment as well as several “push” factors that are discussed below in greater detail. The larger number of women in the higher age groups suggests they experienced greater insecurity in old age than did their younger counterparts while the smaller number of younger women suggests they managed to resist vagrancy charges more successfully than their older counterparts.

### *The Marital Status of the Cohort in 1893*

The overwhelming majority of individuals in the cohort of 247 individuals did not identify as married in 1893. Only 40 are listed as married and of these, 10 were women. Marriage and the dual income it provided acted as a source of stability and protection against vagrancy charges. It is possible that the men and women are not listed as “married” but simply cohabitated in what is referred to as “Stockholm marriages.” These were “incomplete marriages” as the banns had been read but no actual wedding ceremony had taken place. Stockholm marriages emerged for two main reasons. The first was to prevent or delay the husband from assuming “guardianship” over his wife and her finances.<sup>14</sup> Legislation introduced in 1874 allowed women to retain their property after they married and dispense with their own wages as they wished although the concept of the husband as the head of the household did not end until 1920.<sup>15</sup> The second reason

---

<sup>14</sup> Margareta R. Matovic, *Stockholmsäktenskap: Familjebildning och partnerval i Stockholm, 1850-1890* (Stockholm: Monografier utgivna av Stockholms kommun, 1984), 366.

<sup>15</sup> Matovic, *Stockholmsäktenskap*, 367.

Stockholm marriages emerged was simply to allow the young couple to save money until they wed.

### *Occupational Mobility*

The analysis of occupational mobility draws upon two different sources of information. The protocols contain the occupational history for Stockholm natives and immigrants but vary widely in both the clarity and amount of detail provided. The local roteman frequently included more specific occupational information than did the police and this was especially true for women. After identifying the different occupational titles, each title was assigned a corresponding code obtained from the Historical International Standard Classification of Occupations (HISCO). The original purpose of the HISCO system was to facilitate comparative analyses for similar types of work performed in different countries but it is also useful for identifying the level of skill and prestige associated with different types of employment within a single country.<sup>16</sup> This coding system provides an opportunity to examine the cohort's upward or downward social mobility.

Some of the occupational titles provided in police records present problems when fed through the HISCO system. Women are usually referred to only by their marital status. Men frequently appear simply as *arbetskarl* or *arbetare* (workman or labourer). As the authors of the HISCO coding system point out, these terms are too generic to assign a specific code indicating skill level and relation to production, but the vagueness of the terms "workman" or "labourer" indicate unskilled or manual labour which falls at the

---

<sup>16</sup> Marco H. D. van Leeuwen, Ineke Maas and Andrew Miles, *HISCO: Historical International Standard Classification of Occupations*, (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2002), 9.

bottom of the HISCO designation for skill.<sup>17</sup> The same could be said of the title *dräng* which could denote anything from a civil or bond servant (*statsdräng*) to a stableboy (*stalldräng*).<sup>18</sup> One way to address this problem was to interpret the relative skill and nature of these positions based on the geographic context surrounding the individual when the occupational title was recorded.

Occupational mobility was determined based on the first occupation listed by the police or by the roteman after the individual began work in the city and the final occupation listed for the individual before the turn of the century in 1900. The purpose for this was to avoid including social mobility before the individuals arrived in the city. Ending the analysis in 1900 avoids the possibility of giving any individual an unfair temporal advantage to improve their trajectories.

These sources produced very clear patterns indicating primarily lateral occupational mobility for male natives and in-migrants, and for female in-migrants but not for those native to the city (see tables 4.1 and 4.2). One of the most striking similarities is the occupational trajectory for men born in the city and those who in-migrated. Both groups experienced predominantly lateral occupational mobility. This means the majority of men in both groups managed to secure work with similar skill requirements and levels of prestige. Both groups of men also experienced similar percentages of downward and upward social mobility.

---

<sup>17</sup> van Leeuwen, Maas, and Miles, *HISCO*, 28.

<sup>18</sup> Annika Westberg, "Principles of Coding Swedish Historic Occupations," *SwedPop Documentation* (June 28, 2021), 4.

Table 4.1 The Occupational Mobility of Native and In-Migrant Men

	Downward (n)	Downward, %	Lateral (n)	Lateral, %	Upward (n)	Upward, %
In-migrants	51	35%	81	57%	11	8%
Natives	20	38%	30	54%	5	9%

Table 4.2 The Occupational Mobility of Native and In-Migrant Women

	Downward (n)	Downward, %	Lateral (n)	Lateral, %	Upward (n)	Upward, %
In-migrants	15	38%	21	54%	3	8%
Natives	5	50%	3	30%	2	20%

The women in the cohort present more interesting occupational trajectories than do men and in-migrants appear to have secured work with a consistent level of skill and prestige. The number of women native to Stockholm is very small and this makes it impossible to identify any clear trend but the occupational histories of these women appear to show a tendency to take less skilled work than their in-migrant counterparts. This is despite theoretically possessing the greatest access to kinship and social networks in the city that should have secured them access to at least comparable work opportunities.

#### *The Geographic Origins of In-Migrants*

The cohort's in-migrants came primarily from the counties of Kalmar, Stockholm, and Östergötland although most of Sweden's counties are represented (see map 4.1). Many (although not most) of the in-migrants came from the county immediately surrounding the city. Twenty-one individuals or about 11.6% of the in-migrants came

from Stockholm County. Indeed, Stockholm County's contribution to the city's population remained the highest until at least 1890 when it accounted for 14.7% of all in-migrants.<sup>19</sup>

---

<sup>19</sup> BiSOS Sereis H, Femårsberättelser för Stockholms stad, 1891-1895, 5.



The other counties that contributed the most in-migrants were also relatively close to the capital and support Ravenstein's conclusion that most migrants travelled short distances. Kalmar County accounted for about 15.4% of the cohort's in-migrants and the unique relationship between Kalmar and the capital is explored in greater detail below. Although Södermanland and Uppsala are geographically the closest to the capital, they may be underrepresented in this cohort because in-migrants could travel between their home parish and the city with relative ease and seek accommodations and work there rather than face vagrancy charges in Stockholm.

#### *Exposure to Urban Environments*

In-migrants that appear in the cohort came from many different backgrounds and their experiences in the densely populated, fast-paced, and dangerous environments of the capital city varied greatly. Many originated in very rural areas while others grew up in some of Sweden's other burgeoning cities. Some men and women moved between different locations of varying size and practiced careful and deliberate migration strategies as they learned how best to survive in villages, then towns, and even small cities before they made their way to the capital. Others chased the promise of quick cash and hopped on the next train headed for Stockholm.

The database compiled using information obtained from the protocols uses three criteria to indicate the varying levels of urbanisation men and women experienced before they came to the capital. Instead of relying upon varying qualitative descriptions of cities, villages, and boroughs, "urban" is here defined as a population centre with more than 10,000 residents. These centres carried the hallmarks of industrialisation including numerous service and manufacturing industries, higher levels of urbanisation and the



infrastructure and sanitary problems that accompanied it. They also had stringent local legislation that sought to monitor and control the movement of people in and out of them. “Semi-urban” locations are those with between 1,000 and 9,999 inhabitants. Rural areas are those with less than 1,000 inhabitants. This typically refers to the smallest villages and hamlets that characterised Sweden’s more agricultural counties such as Kalmar and isolated communities in its heavily forested northern regions. The database only distinguished exposure to different areas when the actor voluntary moved between them and excludes those moves when the state relocated men and women sentenced to forced labour.

Predictably, the cohort reveals that Stockholm’s in-migrants were primarily born in rural areas and this reflects Sweden’s population as a whole as the number of Swedes living in urban environments remained relatively low throughout the nineteenth century (see table 4.3). For example, in 1885, only 18% of Sweden’s population lived in its cities.<sup>20</sup>

Table 4.3 The Birthplaces of Men and Women In-Migrants Arrested for Vagrancy, Rural, Semi-Urban, and Urban (N=182)

	Rural	Semi-Urban	Urban
Men	98	28	17
Women	28	6	5

It is possible the number of people born in urban areas is underrepresented here as those born in cities likely were more familiar with life in the city and knew the risk of vagrancy charges if they could not provide an address to inquisitive police officers. Some individuals gained knowledge of urban settings by moving to places with increasingly

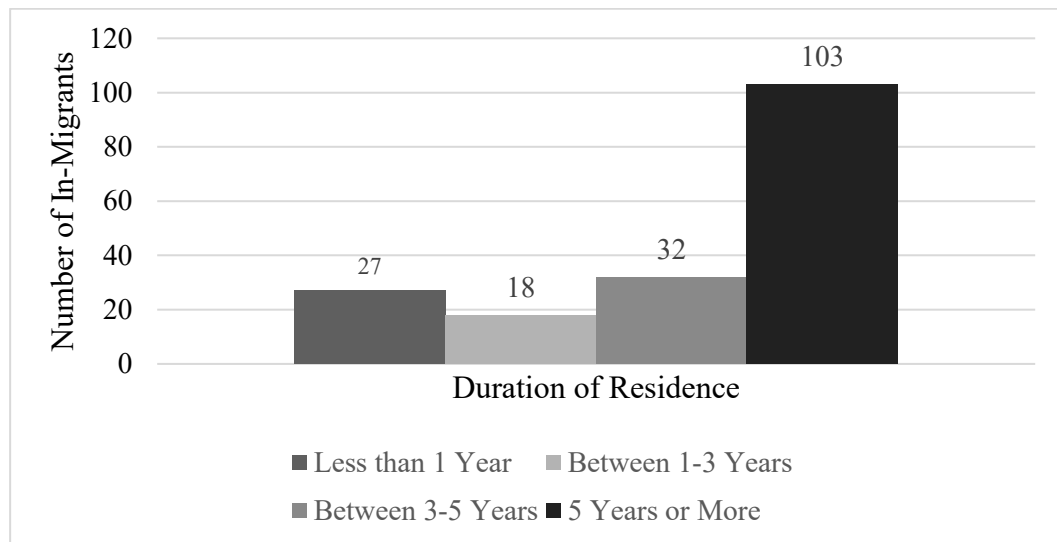
<sup>20</sup> BiSOS Series A, Befolkningsstatistik för år 1885, II.

larger populations. Regardless, these numbers highlight the importance of rural in-migration to the growth of Stockholm.

#### *The Duration of Time In-Migrants Resided in Stockholm*

One of the most surprising observations of the in-migrants in this cohort is the large number of individuals who chose to stay in the city for several years rather than moving back to their rural parishes or elsewhere. Approximately one quarter stayed in the city for less than three years while more than half stayed for more than five years.

Figure 4.2: The Duration of In-Migrant Residence in Stockholm, N=180\*



\*Does not include two individuals whose duration of stay could not be confirmed using the protocols or rotemans system database.

The high number of men and women who chose to stay in Stockholm for more than five years reveals the growing trend of taking permanent work and settling in the city rather than continuing the tradition of seasonal migratory labour. This was probably because the city offered the prospect of year-round work in the city's workshops and factories although these were poorly paid and not as stable as many hoped.

Based on the evidence from the cohort, the stereotypical in-migrant was male and between the ages of 20 and 30. He probably came from a rural background or a village with a population of fewer than 1,000 people in the counties of Stockholm, Kalmar, or Östergötland. He was most likely single when he arrived in the city and he probably chose to stay more than five years and typically experienced lateral occupational mobility.

This data identifies the demographic characteristics of the standard in-migrant but a qualitative approach is necessary to understand their experiences and for this reason Lotta Vikström's work on Sundsvall, Sweden serves as an excellent point of departure. She acknowledges the importance of viewing migration from both "the macro" and "the micro" perspective to understand why people moved to urban areas and this approach easily applies to in-migration to Stockholm at the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>21</sup> Structural economic forces in Kalmar County created different types of migration patterns and a biographical analysis can help illuminate the "push factors" that influenced men and women's decision to move to Stockholm rather than other, and oftentimes closer, urban areas.

### **4.3 Kalmar in the Latter Half of the 19th century**

#### *Economic Background*

Kalmar was primarily a rural, agricultural county by the latter half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century and its economy was based on farming and raising livestock. Some of the growing manufacturing and mechanised industries included textiles, leather goods, paper, stonecutting, chemical production, metal and engineering, and book publishing and

---

<sup>21</sup> Vikström, *Gendered Routes and Courses*, 279.

printing. In addition to agriculture and industrial activity, Kalmar also acted as a hub for exporting goods and as a waypoint for naval commerce between Stockholm and other major ports on the Baltic Sea. This ensured that many of these industries were prone to fluctuations in the global market as most of Kalmar's commerce relied on exports. This dependence would set the stage for economic catastrophe in Kalmar towards the end of the century as the value of labour in the county declined and men and women were "pushed" to seek work elsewhere to survive.<sup>22</sup>

Kalmar's economy was rocked by a series of seismic changes after mid-century that changed the nature of employment in the city. Craftwork fell dramatically as changes to municipal legislation systematically eliminated privileges that the craft guilds had enjoyed before they were eliminated in 1847. The Decrees of Extended Freedom of Trade abolished the privileges entirely in 1864.<sup>23</sup>

This marked the beginning of a contraction in the employment opportunities offered in Kalmar's urban areas including the port in its municipal seat. With few exceptions craft workshops shrank in size even in urban areas such as Kalmar City.<sup>24</sup> This city represented the largest port in the county. At its peak in 1860 when its population was just 8,000, its seamen's house registered 114 captains and 1,114 *sjöfolk*.<sup>25</sup> Shipping

---

<sup>22</sup> Rolf Hagstedt, "Sjöfart, handel, hantverk och industri under 1800-talet," in *Kalmar stads historia, del III: Från 1700-talets stad till det moderna Kalmar*, ed. by Ingrid Hammarström (Kalmar: Kulturnämnden i Kalmar, 1984), 116.

<sup>23</sup> Hagstedt, "Sjöfart, handel, hantverk," 164.

<sup>24</sup> The exceptions to this were several master builders such as Joel Ohlsson, J. A. Kjellberg and Gustaf Svensson who together employed no fewer than 151 workers in 1910. Other large craft employers included the tinsmith Kaleb Elgqvist who employed 12 men and the master painter C. O. Wahlström who employed 41 people. See Hagstedt, "Sjöfart, handel, hantverk," 167.

<sup>25</sup> This generic term refers to a number of specialised roles aboard ships besides the captain. Hagstedt, "Sjöfart, handel, hantverk," 110.

networks emerged and eventually proliferated after the introduction of steam power and the growth of international commerce on Sweden's east coast. The regular transfer of people and cargo along the Kalmar-Stockholm route proved central to maintaining contact with migrants' home parishes and facilitating the movement of men and women back and forth in patterns of cyclical migration.

In the 1870s Kalmar's rural population witnessed a sharp decline in the value of its agricultural products and especially wood products. Foreign demand for Swedish timber plummeted in 1874 and resulted in an economic crisis between 1878 and 1879. This crisis had disastrous effects on Stockholm's economy but more so for Kalmar's. The bottom fell out of the market in 1879 and this year represents the lowest valuation of Swedish timber products and the culmination of the first decline in the city of Kalmar's foreign shipping since 1850.<sup>26</sup>

Important crafts, and especially tailoring and shoemaking, experienced a decline in the 1880s as a result of mechanisation and foreign competition but the value of labour appears to have fallen precipitously as the entire county of Kalmar reverberated from the effects of the economic fallout. Figures reveal that between 1881 and 1885 a "fully able-bodied man" living in Kalmar could expect to earn an average of one krona and 75 öre per day for performing agricultural labour.<sup>27</sup> By 1887, this fell to the lowest level for the

---

<sup>26</sup> Hagstedt, "Sjöfart, handel, hantverk," 114-115.

<sup>27</sup> Bidrag till Sveriges Officiella Statistik (BiSOS), Series H. "Överståthållarämbetets Underdåniga Berättelse för Kalmars län, Åren 1881-1885, 9.

entire decade with men receiving an average of one krona and 22 öre per day during the summer and only 78 öre per day in the winter.<sup>28</sup>

The average wages in Kalmar increased very slightly at the end of the decade and its neighbouring counties saw a similar trend. The historian Lennart Jörberg's calculations suggest the average wages for agricultural workers in Kalmar and neighbouring Kronoberg increased by a paltry 15 öre per day between 1879 and 1889.<sup>29</sup> In contrast, agricultural workers in Stockholm County earned one krona 35 öre per day in the 1880s.<sup>30</sup> The poor employment prospects and paltry wages offered to agricultural labourers in the 1880s coincided with a shift in the migration practices of the county's men and women as they began to forgo seeking work in the county's municipal seat and largest city, Kalmar, in favour of the distant capital of Stockholm.

#### *In- and Out-Migration*

Kalmar saw its first population decline in twenty years during the early 1880s primarily due to out-migration from the countryside and most of these men and women reappear in Stockholm. Between 1860 and 1880, the county's total population had risen from 230,101 to 245,105 with the most pronounced increase occurring in the cities and villages. The urban areas continued to grow in the first half of the 1880s while the

---

<sup>28</sup> BiSOS Series H, Femårsberättelser för Kalmar län, 1886-1890, 10, Bidrag till Sveriges Officiella Statistik (BiSOS), Series H. "Överståthållarämbetets Underdåniga Berättelse för Kalmars län, Åren 1896-1900, 11.

<sup>29</sup> Lennart Jörberg, "The Development of Real Wages for Agricultural Workers in Sweden during the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> Centuries," *Economy and History* (1972), 51.

<sup>30</sup> Jörberg, "The Development of Real Wages," 51.

population in the countryside fell due to out-migration.<sup>31</sup> Towards the end of the decade the growth of Kalmar's total population fell further as more people moved to Stockholm.

The 1870 census shows the highest number of in-migrants to Stockholm, excluding those from the immediately surrounding Stockholm County, came from Östergötland which provided over 8,400 residents to the city. This pattern was still true ten years but by 1890 the number of Kalmar natives surpassed those from Östergötland as the second-largest group of in-migrants registered in Stockholm.<sup>32</sup> The historian Margareta Matovic observes this pattern and suggests the increasing passenger steam traffic between Kalmar and Stockholm explains this pattern although there were far more complex motivations at play and these resulted in different forms of migration that created this unique relationship between the capital and this rural county.<sup>33</sup>

#### **4.4 Introduction to Biographical Analysis: Controls and Variables of Analysis**

Lotta Vikström notes that previous historic and demographic analysis typically associates “push” and “pull” factors, business cycles, and labour markets with men and marriage prospects with women, but here economic forces dominated the decision of both men and women to leave Kalmar County and seek new lives in Stockholm.<sup>34</sup> The following analysis adopts several “controls” to ensure the representativity of the average in-migrant to Stockholm.

---

<sup>31</sup> The population in urban areas increased by an additional 6% and the population of the countryside decreased by about 3% from 219,632 residents to 213,460. BiSOS Series H, Femårsberättelser för Kalmar län, 1881-1885, 7, 1886-1890, 6.

<sup>32</sup> In 1890, 15,471 men and women listed Kalmar as their county of birth while 14,394 listed Östergötland. Bidrag till Sveriges Officiella Statistik (BiSOS), Series H. “Överståthållarämbetets Underdåniga Berättelse för Kalmars län, Åren, 1891-1895, 5.

<sup>33</sup> Matovic, *Stockholmsäktenskap*, 206-213.

<sup>34</sup> Lotta Vikström, *Gendered Routes and Courses*, 86.

The biographical analysis of 3 men and 3 women are drawn from the 1893 vagrancy protocols and meet three criteria:

1. They were born and raised in the county of Kalmar in parishes with populations of less than 10,000 individuals.
2. They left for Stockholm in the 1880s when they were each between the ages of 15 and 25.
3. They were unmarried when they arrived in the city.

Table 4.4 reveals that between 1870 and 1890 people were travelling greater distances to reach the capital, so the strategies employed by those in Kalmar with access to railroads and regularly running steamships were likely representative of those the typical in-migrants to Stockholm used in the 1880s. Each of the individuals included in the biographical analysis is documented within the rotemans system for the entire duration of their residency in the city. The consistency of its documentation provides another method for tracking their movement across time and this is particularly valuable for following those with very limited police records.



Table 4.4 The Number of In-Migrants by Counties of Birth 1870-1890

County	1870	1880	1890
Stockholm County	10,368	12,768	21,023
Uppsala	5,606	6,018	8,897
Södermanland	7,881	8,853	13,201
Östergötland	8,430	10,652	14,394
Jönköping	3,594	4,056	5,267
Kronoberg	1,663	2,465	3,481
Kalmar	5,967	9,780	15,471
Gotland	1,427	1,932	2,604
Blekinge	2,074	2,700	3,996
Kristianstad	1,024	1,341	1,960
Malmöhus	1,912	2,505	3,934
Halland	327	506	696
Göteborg & Bohus	1,718	2,034	2,767
Älfsborg	1,543	2,416	3,553
Skaraborg	4,067	6,248	10,623
Värmland	3,095	4,475	6,654
Örebro	4,824	6,124	8,789
Västmanland	4,106	4,461	6,562
Kopparberg	1,763	2,259	3,762
Gäflborg	1,021	1,237	2,202
Västernorrland	648	803	1,318
Jämtland	175	188	318
Västerbotten	522	479	688
Norrbottn	483	480	562

Source: *Stockholms stads statistiska kontor, Statistisk årsbok för Stockholms stad 1912* (Stockholm: K. L. Beckmans Boktryckeri, 1912), 77.

The 15-25 year old age group was selected for two reasons. The first is that this age group saw substantial growth in Stockholm in the 1880s as a result of in-migration. The number of men aged 15-25 years old increased by about 25% (from 16,507 in 1880 to 21,116 in 1890) while women in the same age bracket increased by about 24% (from 17,502 in 1880 to 22,198 in 1890).<sup>35</sup> The second reason is that their youth required these men and women to be dynamic and responsive to shifts in the economy and the city's job

<sup>35</sup> Ahlberg, *Stockholms befolkningsutveckling efter 1850*, 159.

market because they did not have years to accumulate savings, property, or “social capital.”<sup>36</sup>

The biographical analysis initially focuses on unmarried men and women as they represent the majority of people in this age group and are, therefore, more representative of the common experience of the in-migrant to Stockholm. Marriage was an economic partnership in which each partner brings to the union either material resources or the ability to support each other.<sup>37</sup> Men and women also sought comfort in romantic partners and this emotional support undoubtedly acted as a major source of strength for in-migrants especially those with little to no access to social networks in the city. This dissertation treats marriage as a device of economic and social stability for working-class families which grew more resilient against hardship by building a two-income household.

The following biographies do *not* necessarily represent the *average* worker although they are the closest approximation of the characteristic experience of in-migrants based on both the available records and creative license drawn from contemporaneous and more recent fictitious narratives. The only records available documenting Stockholm’s working class run the risk of creating an overtly negative image of life in the city although some paint a more negative picture than others. For example, those with records documenting their entry into the poor house had absolutely no other option at their disposal. These members of the working class possessed little to no recourse in their lives and that misery and drudgery were the eventual terminus of workers’ urban experience. In contrast, the interrogation protocols used here are by their

---

<sup>36</sup> Matovic, *Stockholmsäktenskap.*, 371.

<sup>37</sup> Tilly and Scott, *Women, Work, and Family*, 43.

nature premised on people's actions as they attempted to resist this exact fate as they combatted poverty and hardship through various methods including devising social networks. The biographical analysis that extends before the circumstances or event documented in the protocols further shows the "deviance" implied by the police record was a mere aberration in some people's lives. Finally, the use of creative imagery and in some instances fictitious encounters adds to the approximation of the characteristic experience and is based on the work of Natalie Zemon Davis who adopts a similar approach when confronted with a lack of formal archival sources in the context of sixteenth-century France.<sup>38</sup> This is not only to improve the narrative and readability of these biographies but is also intended to reconstruct the likeliest series of events using primary sources, popular fictitious accounts of 19<sup>th</sup>- and 20<sup>th</sup>- century writers and the author's own knowledge of the social characteristics of Stockholm at the turn of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. Although some of the biographies incorporate fictitious events, these accounts are by no means impossible.

These biographies begin by illustrating the experiences of three men followed by three women and the various means they used to devise and use social networks in the city. The purpose of these deeply detailed biographies is to illustrate informal methods for social integration as opposed to more formal (and better documented) means such as marriage that has been explored in much greater depth by demographers.<sup>39</sup> The use of biographies rather than life-course analysis provides a richer understanding of the highly individualised experiences of men and women and brings gendered differences into

---

<sup>38</sup> Natalie Zemon Davis, *The Return of Martin Guerre* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1983), 4-5.

<sup>39</sup> See for example Puschmann, "Social Inclusion and Exclusion of Urban In-Migrants," 110.

sharper relief. This also treats actors as active agents in the making of their own destiny and ensures their stories are given proper attention rather than reducing them to numbers as the city's population exploded towards the end of the century.

#### **4.5 Biographies<sup>40</sup>**

##### *Erik the Sailor*

Erik's experience as a sailor and a dockworker in the capital represents the struggles and resistance of men like him who preferred to remain mobile as they sought work on the seas. Several structural changes such as the annual freezing of the port and the falling exports of Swedish goods such as rye resulted in reduced maritime traffic in Stockholm and the increased competition for jobs aboard vessels and for positions loading and unloading them when they arrived in port. Erik's behaviour sometimes became violent as he clashed with other workers as he competed for work. During times of conflict, his identity as a Kalmar native flared, and his ties to his home parish were maintained by his regular trips back and forth to his native county and the network of Kalmar natives he lived with while in the capital. He finally established some roots and a sense of social and economic stability when he met and married his partner after nearly two decades of hardship. Together they managed to cobble together a living to support themselves and their children in the capital.

---

<sup>40</sup> Since the biographical analysis utilises criminal records, the names of the men and women and their relatives have been changed to protect their identities and preserve their and their descendants' privacy. The parish of birth was also changed to prevent identification although it possessed a roughly comparable population size and economic conditions during the birth and childhood of the candidates of the biographical analysis. Further information on the candidates or the source material used in the analysis may be obtained upon request to the author. It will be shared at the author's discretion based on the nature and circumstances of the inquiry.

Erik was born in a sleepy parish on the northern part of the island of Öland in the latter half of the 1860s. Here the air smelled of the sea, and the only noise besides the ocean and gulls was the clang of hammers and chisels coming from the parish's several quarries. The population grew around the mid-19<sup>th</sup> century but this was still a parish where everyone knew everyone.<sup>41</sup>

Commerce and maritime traffic accelerated after the people of the town of Sandvik constructed a harbour in 1868. Its purpose was to ship stone from what would become the "stone coast" where stone cutting mills cropped up due to the profitability provided by the harbour.<sup>42</sup> As Erik grew older, the sea was never far away, and from either side of Öland, islanders increasingly saw both deep water vessels and large steamships sail over the countless wrecks preserved by the cold, brackish water of the Baltic Sea. Erik's father was a mate aboard one of these vessels but he died before he could show his son how to sail and left his wife with four young mouths to feed.<sup>43</sup> Erik was still an infant. Even his eldest sibling, a sister named Anna, was just eleven years old when her father died but she was expected to help out with the household chores.

Even before Erik's father died the family had trouble feeding everyone. He and his wife sent their second daughter to live with relatives in Karlskrona when she was only eight years old to reduce the size of the household. Amidst this hardship, Erik grew up as fast as he could and when he was just fifteen years old, he signed aboard one of the tramp

---

<sup>41</sup> Magdalena Jonsson, "Persnäs kyrkogård. Persnäs församling, Växjö stift, Kalmar län," part of *Kulturhistorisk inventering av kyrkogårdar/begravningsplatser i Växjö stift* (Kalmar: Kalmar läns Museum, 2006), 9.

<sup>42</sup> Allt på Öland, "Gammal utskeppningshamn för sten," <https://alltpaoland.se/platser/sandviks-hamn/>.

<sup>43</sup> Genline AB; Stockholm, Sweden; Swedish Church Records Archive; GID Number 10.18.10600; RollFiche Number Vs-741; Volume Number Ai9; 185.

steamers that travelled along the east coast of the mainland and passed through the Kalmar Strait. These steamers sailed to the far reaches of the north of the country and travelled back south carrying timber and wood products to international destination. Many stopped in Stockholm along the way. Erik gained experience in the basics of mechanical engineering and steam power technology as a crewman aboard these ships. He served aboard various ships for two years before he decided to apply his mechanical and nautical skills to a military position.

He decided to join the Royal Pontoon Battalion, later renamed the Svea Engineering Corps, but for this he had to travel to the capital. He left his home parish and arrived in the capital in the autumn of 1883. Unfortunately, Erik only lasted in the Battalion for a few months and he was discharged late in the spring of 1884 due to illness.<sup>44</sup> Now without even the paltry income provided by the army, or the barracks to live in, Erik returned home.<sup>45</sup> By then, the family household had shrunken further; his eldest sister had moved to the city of Kalmar a year before Erik left and his other sister, who returned briefly from Karlskrona, moved to Mönsterås, a rural parish in Kalmar County on the mainland's coast. All that were left were his mother and his two brothers.

Erik was not content to stay on the island and again took to the sea. He resumed his position as a crewman aboard various steamers that passed along the Swedish coast but always returned to his home on Öland between journeys. This was a time of adventure and exploration for Erik—he saw much of the kingdom from the shore and aboard these steamers, and he always had a place to stay at his childhood home. Unfortunately, he ran

---

<sup>44</sup> 30 October 1894, SE/SSA/0023/02/FIc, Box 5, Folder 228, Item 228.

<sup>45</sup> SE/VALA/00211/BI 5, 1861-1888.

into trouble after a couple of years when his ship docked in Stockholm. He was arrested for theft and sentenced by the Stockholm Council of Justice to eight months of hard labour.<sup>46</sup>

This was Erik's only encounter with the police for several years and he continued to serve aboard steamers during that time. He decided to pursue this line of work when he moved back to the capital, a city to which he had grown accustomed when travelling by sea, and he moved to the area most familiar to sailors—Gamla Stan, right in the heart of the city and within walking distance to some of the city's most important docks. Erik found the competition for jobs aboard ships here in Stockholm much more intense than on his native Öland. When he was not serving aboard ships, he was seeking work by “free footing” about the docks, inquiring at each and every ship whether they were fully crewed or could take on another man. If there was no employment aboard ships, he tried to secure a position on the teams that unloaded them.

There were only so many ships on the docks waiting to load or unload so when he made his rounds for the day, he returned to Gamla Stan to his favourite tavern in the hope that his acquaintances might know of ships taking on crew or casual work closer to the city centre. If this failed, he might have a chance of joining one of the stevedoring teams who took on different casual workers day by day. When even this work became unavailable, he might find work shovelling snow or performing other such tasks. For this he was paid a paltry sum, and the police did not consider this as steady work. Erik began to form a reputation with the police as he walked the streets day after day. This led to no

---

<sup>46</sup> SE/SSA/0023/02/FIc, Box 5, Folder 228, Item 228.

less than five encounters with patrolling constables and he spent a total of three years either in prison or performing hard labour outside the capital.<sup>47</sup>

Erik's first warning for vagrancy came towards the end of 1889 and coincided with reduced traffic on Stockholm's docks that increased competition for work both aboard ships and unloading them. Harsh winters also posed a threat to employment and two of Erik's later arrests occurred when ice either reduced traffic or prevented it entirely. The Furnsund-Stockholm route which led northward through the archipelago froze in December 1890, and the ice did not break until the following April.<sup>48</sup>

One of Erik's strategies for finding work amidst this period of reduced traffic was to leave Stockholm and try the job market in another port city but this strategy ultimately proved unsuccessful. At the beginning of the 1890s, Erik travelled to Gävle, a major port city about 175 kilometers north of Stockholm and registered with the *sjömanshuset* (the seaman's house) there and declared Nikolai Parish on Gamla Stan as his home.<sup>49</sup> He must have thought his prospects for getting hired aboard ships was better here than in Stockholm but he was warned for vagrancy in Gävleborg's County. He must have experienced a stroke of luck as he found work aboard a steamer bound for Sundsvall but there his lucky streak ended. He was arrested for theft and served six months of hard labour there before returning to Stockholm.

In addition to this strategy, Erik resorted to violence in an attempt to secure work on the docks. Towards the end of 1889, he was in a desperate state. After fortifying

---

<sup>47</sup> 13 November 1889, SE/SSA/0023/02/FIc, Box 5, Folder 228, Item 861.

<sup>48</sup> Östman, *Isförhållandena vid Sveriges kuster*, 43.

<sup>49</sup> SE/HLA/1170001, Diba:15, DIca: 2 s. 352.



himself with drink, he marched down to Skeppsbron, the busiest port in the city. Here he stopped at the wharf where the steamship *Gefle* was docked and began gathering as many planks of wood as he could. Perhaps he was trying to fall in with other workers or was acting as someone who filled in for another worker for an hour or two while he went to go for a drink.<sup>50</sup> Maybe he intended to burn the wood to stave off the winter cold. A helmsman told a constable that when he disembarked the *Gefle* Erik attacked him with the piece of wood he was holding and chased him back aboard the ship. The constable attempted to apprehend Erik but he resisted so forcefully the constable had to call for help from surrounding civilians to subdue him.<sup>51</sup> Erik received a warning for vagrancy for lacking consistent work.

This was only the first reported instance of Erik's violence on the docks. Several years later the police arrested him for threatening another dockworker with a knife. Two officers received a call for help early in the evening at Skeppsbron. The helmsman of the steamship *Söderhamn* accused Erik of threatening a labourer to prevent him from working on the ship and then himself after he tried to intervene. When the police tried to apprehend Erik, he flailed his arms and resisted so wildly they needed handcuffs to restrain him and take the knife away. He later denied resisting the police and assaulting the dockworker, but according to witnesses, when he was apprehended he uttered menacingly that "if he could raise the knife, he would see their heart's blood flow."<sup>52</sup> He

---

<sup>50</sup> Pred, *Lost Words and Lost Worlds*, 73.

<sup>51</sup> SE/SSA/0023/02/FIc, Box 5, Folder 228, Item 861.

<sup>52</sup> "att om han kunde få upp knifven så skulle han se deras hjartsblod rinna." 3 October 1893, SE/SSA/0023/02/FIc, Box 5, Folder 228, Item 228.

eventually developed a reputation with the police and the chief constable referred to him as:

a person dangerous to public unrest and safety, the one who has been repeatedly fined in this police court for various misdemeanors and in many minor cases been a great obstacle and discomfort to the constables in the 1st district [Gamla Stan], when they were forced to arrest people for some misdemeanor, since [he] was always on the side of the arrested, harass[ing] the constables with insults and injustices.<sup>53</sup>

The violent behaviour exhibited by Erik was exceptional but his reliance on casual employment was characteristic of men of his socioeconomic position towards the end of the nineteenth century. Men turned to the docks for a number of reasons ranging from bad luck to a descent into drunken vagabondage. Knut Tengdahl's survey of a sample of dockworkers in 1895-96 revealed that 80% of men held one or more jobs for at least three years prior to finding work on the docks. Most of them came from the manufacturing and construction industries but those from the military and seamen accounted for the next highest percentage.<sup>54</sup> The long duration spent in these occupations suggests these men were reliable workers who were laid off because of downturns in the market, the completion of building projects, or the financial ruin and bankruptcy of their previous employer.<sup>55</sup> Erik turned to the docks because work aboard steamers was unavailable but trading one seasonal job for another did not provide the stability he needed to avoid vagrancy charges.

---

<sup>53</sup> "Bemålde [Erik], hvilken sedan längre tid tillbaka gjort sig känd för ett syslölöst och synnerligen oordonslogt lefnadssätt och såsom en för all mänska ordningen och säkerheten vådlig person, den der upprepade gånger blifvit i härvarande polisdomstol ådömd böter för olika förseelser samt i öfrigt vid flerfaldiga tillfällen varit konstaplarna i 1ste distriktet till stort hinder och obehag, då de för någon förseelse nödgats anhålla personer, enär [Erik] då alltid tagit de anhållnes parti oskafverlopat konstaplarna med qvädinsard och ofidigheter." 8 March 1891, SE/SSA/0023/02/FIc, Box 5, Folder 228, Item 139.

<sup>54</sup> Tengdahl, *Material till bedömande af hamnarbetarnes i Stockholm*, 12-13.

<sup>55</sup> Pred, *Lost Words and Lost Worlds*, 207.

Erik also became violent during the time he was left idle by Stockholm's freezing winters. Back in Gamla Stan, he got into a fight at a hostel located on Österlånggatan after he began acting disorderly and the person in charge of the hostel ordered him to leave. His rage focused on a single man whom he beat severely. Two witnesses, an iron worker and a lithographer, said the two men did not know each other so they had no idea what provoked Erik. However, Erik claimed he heard the man say "what a fool you are, you devilish Smålander," and rushed to attack him.<sup>56</sup>

Erik's outburst may be explained in two ways. It is possible he attacked the man because he felt defensive about his rural origins and did not appreciate this comment because it dismissed his grit and all his efforts to survive in the city. It is also possible he maintained a strong sense of identity with his birthplace given his regular returns to Öland and his use of his parental home as a base of operations while he participated in the maritime traffic along the east coast. He was regularly immersed in the cultural and linguistic environment of his home parish, and there were even characteristics of his life on Öland that accompanied him to the city such as the use of nicknames as identifiers.<sup>57</sup> Erik's tenure aboard ships and on Stockholm's docks may have had the effect of reminding him of his home as the men around him used playful or geographically oriented nicknames to identify one another. The use of nicknames also helped Erik find other people who came from his home county and develop friendships that made his time in the capital more enjoyable.

---

<sup>56</sup> "Hvad du er dum sitt din djefla småländig." SE/SSA/0023/02/FIc, Box 5, Folder 228, Item 139.

<sup>57</sup> Pred, *Lost Words and Lost Worlds*, 174.

The people Erik stayed with also helped him preserve his Småland identity. Erik rarely lived alone—this may have been by choice or because of economic necessity. Every once in a while he lived with someone who was born and raised in Kalmar and sometimes even his home parish. Erik frequently lived in crowded conditions with as many as thirteen other people sharing the same space. He moved into these environments when facing poor occupational prospects and when he had little money to pay for his own apartment. When he began to get into trouble with the police after falling on particularly hard times, he sought familiar faces that reminded him of home and he moved into an apartment with the Johansson family.<sup>58</sup> The matriarch of this family, Christina, was born and raised in the same birthplace as Erik. They were approximately the same age so it is possible they had grown up together. By the time Erik moved in she already had three children so the conditions were probably just as cramped as Erik faced elsewhere, but Christina and her husband may have offered Erik a more favourable price to stay there than he would receive anywhere else in the city. He also benefited from engaging in conversation with Christina in the familiar *Smålandsk*a accent with which he was familiar. Christina offered Erik a helping hand and this aided in his struggle to socially integrate into Stockholm's society rather than face homelessness and vagrancy charges.

After he left home, Erik willingly moved a grand total of nine times. When he officially resided in the city he took whatever housing he could find until he could make better arrangements either with friends or through their connections. This explains why he also resided in both Maria and Katarina Parish on the island of Södermalm with people

---

<sup>58</sup> Rote 1, häfte 315 (1883-1890), sida 10, rad 22, Överståthållarämbetet, Skatteverket: Rotemännens arkiv (SE/SSA/0032/03/01), DIa.

from Kalmar. These were primarily working-class neighbourhoods that experienced explosive growth because of the surge of in-migrants such as Erik.<sup>59</sup>

After his final arrest, Erik sought stability in old acquaintances and rejoined Christina Johansson and her household with whom he had lived several years earlier. Around this time, he began seeing a woman named Magdalena who gave birth to her first child on Kungsholmen in Stockholm, then sent the young babe to live with relatives outside of the city for several years.<sup>60</sup> It appears that Erik and Magdalena's relationship was based on true affection rather than economic concerns. Neither could offer much in terms of social status or material wealth. Erik's income was too infrequent and Magdalena's work as a maid, while consistent, did not earn enough money to support a family. Both were in-migrants and did not have the same access to social networks in the city as did native Stockholmers.

There were also advantages to remaining unmarried. Erik and Magdalena could pool their labour and improve their chances of survival by creating a two-income household while mitigating the responsibilities marriage imposed. In the extra-legal family, or what some people in the Swedish countryside called the "Stockholm marriage," the man was not legally obligated to support the family financially and the woman retained a greater sense of freedom since Swedish law gave the husband guardianship over his wife.<sup>61</sup> Despite these material advantages, Magdalena must have lived a painfully

---

<sup>59</sup> BiSOS, Series H, 1870, 1905.

<sup>60</sup> Rote 17, häfte 43228 (1892-1897), sida 22, rad 15 Överståthållarämbetet, Skatteverket: Rotemännens arkiv (SE/SSA/0032/03/17), DIa.

<sup>61</sup> Matovic, "The Stockholm Marriage," 387, 391. Erik and Magdalena's marriage is described in greater detail in Chapter Five of this dissertation.

lonely life without her daughter or her romantic partner while she toiled as a maid. She lived by herself for several years although it appears she continued to see Erik—she became pregnant again and had another daughter in early 1898.

By then, Erik had given up his life at sea. He found a job as a cement worker and this allowed him to put down roots in the city. This was Erik's fifth occupation since he moved to the capital, and after twenty years of economic instability and a total of three years in prison and serving hard labour, Erik finally managed to find economic and social security in Stockholm. Cement work was stable and consistent because it represented a growing industry as more buildings and infrastructure required concrete foundations as the city swelled in population. This, coupled with Magdalena's income, ensured enough stability to start a proper life together. Erik and Magdalena married at the end of 1898 and set up a house together on the edge of Maria Parish in Södermalm. Once they were established, Magdalena's baby returned from her relatives in the countryside and reunited with her mother.<sup>62</sup> As the family continued to grow, they moved up to Norrmalm to Jakob Parish, and by 1903, after twenty years in and out of the capital, Erik had a stable job, a large family and loving wife, and a home to call his own.

Erik's first job as a crewman led him to live a transient life during his early years and it was in his youth that he encountered the police the most often. He returned to his home parish and this address stayed his main residence in the sjömanshus records until he formally moved to Stockholm. There he faced the structural economic pressures of the fickle shipping industry that ebbed and flowed until the shipping routes froze over. This

---

<sup>62</sup> Rote 16, häfte 15460 (1891-1900), sida 15, rad 7 Överståthållarämbetet, Skatteverket: Rotemännens arkiv (SE/SSA/0032/03/16), DIa.

forced him to seek other forms of work to compensate for his seasonal job loss. He managed to persevere in this city although the most remarkable thing about his ability to do so was that he relied on violence where many other sailors and dockworkers did not. The scrutiny of the police, vagrancy charges, and the threat of forced labour typically kept violence to a minimum on the docks although Erik brazenly taunted constables when he felt they arrested people unfairly. He encountered the police so often he developed a reputation with the officers in the first police district on Gamla Stan and it was during one of his altercations in the tavern that his geographic identity flared when he took offence to what he thought was a disparaging comment about his birthplace. Erik was rewarded for his violent grit when he settled down with Magdalena but not every worker could be so lucky.

#### *Sven the Machine Operator*

Sven's experience of hardship and desperation is characteristic of many members of the Swedish working class who were forced to endure their struggles alone. He arrived in the capital with practical knowledge of machines and found immediate work in several of the city's great factories and construction sites. These positions were short-lived as Stockholm's business cycle experienced downswings in the mid-1880s, between 1889-91, and again in 1899.<sup>63</sup> He struggled to cobble together a living for many years and came under police surveillance when he was caught begging for money during his most desperate moments. He never qualified for any form of relief and this left him in a constant state of destitution. Sven decided to leave the city when he faced dire

---

<sup>63</sup> Pred, *Lost Words and Lost Worlds*, 32.

circumstances and sought work back in Kalmar but doing so hindered his ability to establish any sense of social or economic stability in the capital and he faced poor prospects when he decided again to try his luck. After his return he moved from one short-term job to the next including working on the docks. This precarious employment would ultimately contribute to his downfall and he did not live to the end of the century. His experience reveals the danger of living in the capital without access to any support networks and the inherent economic instability resulting from a dependence on manufacturing and construction jobs before unions emerged to protect workers in these industries.

Sven was born in the early 1860s into a crofter family and was raised in Thorsås in the Södra Möre district of Kalmar County. Thorsås had served as a centre for trade since the Middle Ages because of its strategic position between the coast and the kingdom's southern hinterland. The expansion of trade beginning in the 1860s made the family croft a more viable enterprise as the demand for agricultural products grew.<sup>64</sup> Sven and his father toiled on the land while his mother tended to the family's livestock or spun and weaved cloth. During good times the animals grew healthy and even fat; their milk could be used to make butter which someone was always willing to buy. During hard times, the animals could be sold for cash or could be slaughtered for food. Brewing or distilling was another way to use surplus crops during the good years and was also a very profitable venture to help pay the rent on the croft during the bad years. Sven's household was well equipped to resist hardship and even thrive. His parents kept the family croft for

---

<sup>64</sup> Ellen Olsson, "Olssonska gården – brygghuset," part of *Kalmar läns museum Byggnadsantikvarisk rapport, april 2018* (Kalmar: Kalmar läns museet, 2018), 5.



the duration of Sven's childhood and long enough for him and his two older siblings seek their fortunes outside the parish.

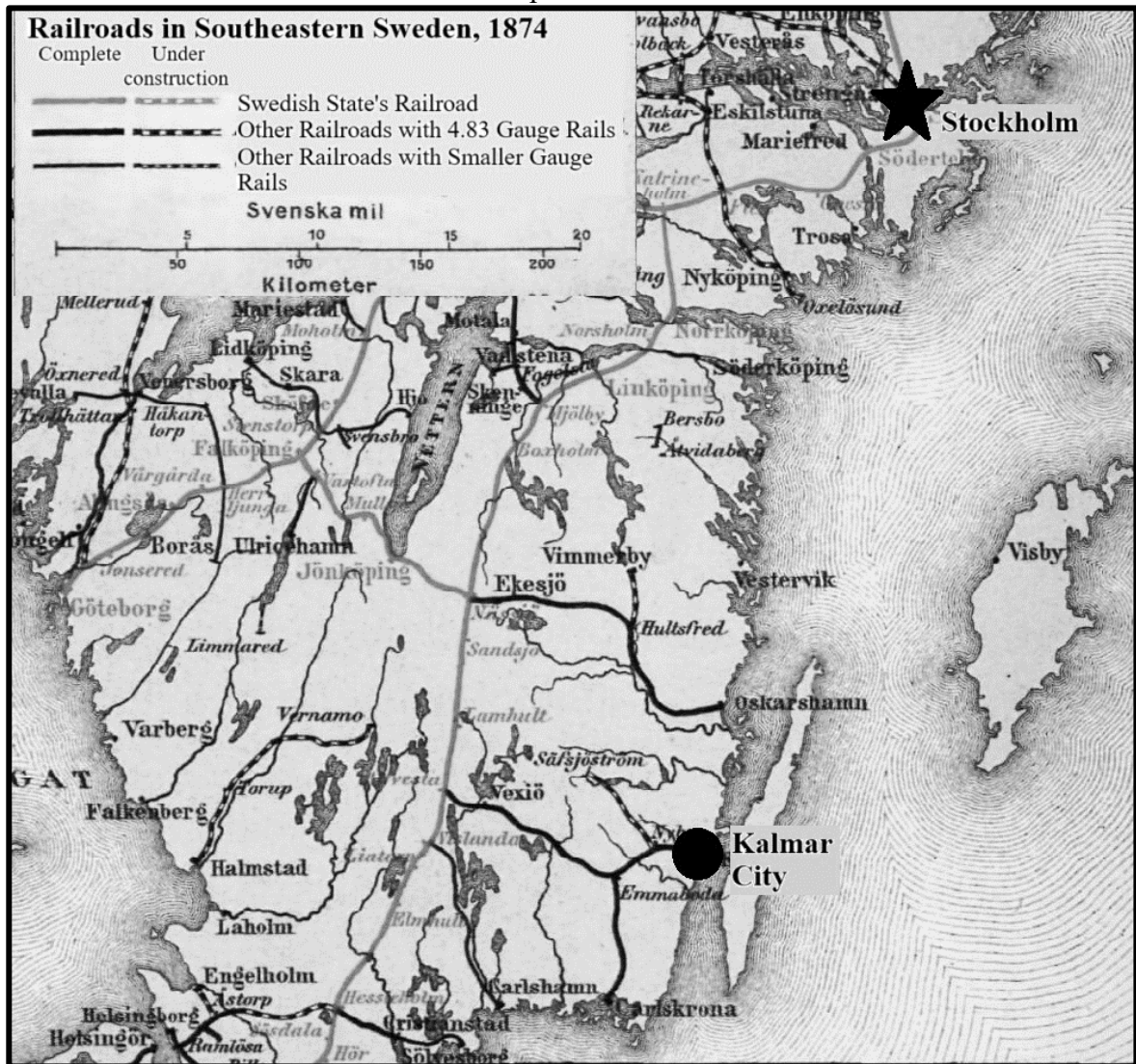
The first whispers of the mighty Swedish State Railway began to find their way to his home parish of Thorsås when Sven was just a baby (see map 4.2). The Southern Main Line bisected the southern part of the kingdom in the early 1860s and spread in great spurts every year until it connected with the Western Main Line at Falköping. By the end of the decade, construction began on the first line in the county. It ran from Oskarshamn on the coast and would eventually connect to the Southern Main Line at Nässjö. Next came the line between Karlskrona and Växjö in 1871 that cut directly through Södra Möre and linked Kalmar County to the kingdom's main lines. The main juncture at Emmaboda was less than 50 kilometers from Sven's home parish.<sup>65</sup> He watched as the tendrils of Sweden's railway system spread deeper and deeper into Kalmar County. To him it must have seemed as if he could reach any corner of the kingdom just by stepping out of his front door. Sven developed an affinity for locomotives and managed to find work as a pumper at the Örsjö train station on the Emmaboda-Kalmar line which eventually connected Kalmar to the Southern Mainline and was completed in 1874.<sup>66</sup>

---

<sup>65</sup> Bidrag till Sveriges Officiella Statistik (BiSOS), Series L, "Trafikstyrelsens underdåniga berättelse för år 1880," 20.

<sup>66</sup> BiSOS, Series L, 20.

Map 4.2 The Railroads of Southeastern Sweden in 1874 with Stockholm and Kalmar City Emphasised



Source: Bidrag till Sveriges Officiella Statistik (BiSOS), Series L, "Trafikstyrelsens underdåniga berättelse för år 1880," 20.

The renowned Swedish novelist Kerstin Ekman describes the 19<sup>th</sup>-century Swedish train station as a world apart from the rest of the town. Men and women from first, second, and third-class carriages descended onto the platform looking for food at mealtimes and rest at the station hotel when they caught a late train. Here the first-class passengers, finely dressed in sharply tailored clothing and speaking strange and

cosmopolitan dialects characteristic of the kingdom's great cities, brushed passed the humbly dressed and oftentimes dirty pumpers and navvies born and raised deep in Sweden's countryside.<sup>67</sup>

This inspired a sense of wonder in Sven and men like him, and the press helped fuel this curiosity with promises of wealth and romance in the big city. The area's most readily available newspaper, *Kalmar*, contained important domestic and international news and had a dedicated section for the goings-on in the capital including everything from updates on the royal family to reports of suicides and suspicious deaths. Stockholm was a city on the rise, and according to one article from December 1880, the Chamber of Commerce was beginning to organise an industrial exhibit in the capital with participants from all over Scandinavia.<sup>68</sup> The event would include pavilions, follies, and other visual spectacles which meant steady, competitively paid contracting work for years to come. Another story printed in January 1881 detailed a love affair between a gardener's daughter and a cobbler in Upland. The two planned to steal away and elope in the capital but the woman's father and brother intervened and dragged her back to the family farm.<sup>69</sup> The lure of the city, the promise of success, and the prospect of romance proved too great to resist and Sven left for Stockholm three months later.

Train travel was becoming increasingly affordable but the trip to Stockholm could not be undertaken spontaneously. The distance to Stockholm by train was about 450 kilometers and a third-class, one-way ticket cost about 18 kronor, or the equivalent of

---

<sup>67</sup> Kerstin Ekman, *Witches' Rings*, trans. by Linda Schenk (Norwich, Norvik Press, 1997), 49.

<sup>68</sup> "Ifrågasatt industriutställning i Stockholm," *Kalmar*, 1 December 1880, 2.  
<https://tidningar.kb.se/tc5h3jv50qwvvlj/part/1/page/2>

<sup>69</sup> "Stockholm," *Kalmar*, 12 January 1881, <https://tidningar.kb.se/2ldqbd8d01351lt/part/1/page/2>

more than ten days of work for an able-bodied worker in Kalmar County between 1881 and 1885.<sup>70</sup> Sven had to save for this trip and for expenses along the way, but because he was unmarried and only had to pay for himself, he could save the necessary money if he was careful. When the day came, he returned to Örsjö where he had spent about three years of his life and purchased his ticket to his new life.

A baby bundled up on its mother lap in the train's crowded and overheated third-class carriage began to scream as the piercing sound of the locomotive's whistle announced the train's arrival at Stockholm Central Railway Station in Norrmalm. As he descended the train he picked up an old copy of *Stockholms Dagbladet* and he saw a modest advertisement that said "Some skilled Carpenters can get employment at Ligna Woodworking Company, Hornstullsgatan."<sup>71</sup> The bright spring sun shone in Sven's eyes as he exited the station and when they adjusted, what he saw would have surprised and even frightened him. He was used to loud noises and busy people from his time at the train station, but nothing he had seen compared with the seemingly chaotic streets of the capital. The large square in front of the station called Centralplan was a hive of activity with all manner of people and animals hurrying to get someplace else. Sven stopped a nearby uniformed policeman and asked him for directions to Hornstullsgatan.

---

<sup>70</sup> The estimate for the train ticket is based on a pricing model devised by a parliamentary committee investigating the cost of train fares in 1898. The committee agreed the price for a one-way third-class ticket cost 4 öre per kilometre travelled, second-class cost 6 öre per kilometre, and finally first-class cost 8.5 öre per kilometre. See Komitén för uppgörande af förslag till ny taxa för personbefordringen å statens jernvägar, *Betänkande afgifvet den 1 oktober 1898* (Stockholm: K. L. Beckmans Boktryckeri, 1898), 92. For the wages of men between 1881 and 1885, see Bidrag till Sveriges officiella statistik (BiSOS), Series H, "Överståthållarämbetets Underdåniga Berättelse för Kalmars län, Åren 1881-1885, 9.

<sup>71</sup> "Några skickliga Snickare kunna få anställning vid Ligna Snickerifabrik, Hornstullsgatan." *Stockholms Dagbladet*, March 29, 1881, 4, <https://tidningar.kb.se/14xccrgx0qt5145/part/1/page/4?q=%22Ligna%20Snickrifabrik%22>.

The officer took one look at Sven and his provincial clothing and sneered, then pointed vaguely to the south and told him it was on the western end of the island of Södermalm. Sven took careful and quick steps to fall into the pedestrian traffic. He jumped as a horse neighed shockingly close to his ear and he feared he might be trampled. On his way to the woodworking company Sven saw the sharp class disparity throughout the city. As he prepared to cross Norrbro onto Gamla Stan, he saw the imposing wealth of the royal family and a well-guarded palace so large it occupied the entire northeast corner of the island. He carefully navigated the slippery cobblestones of Västralånggatan but did his best to stay apace with the throngs of people and animals around him. This street, though wider than the countless alleyways he passed, was quite narrow and felt claustrophobic as the brightly painted stuccoed façades of the four-storied buildings loomed over the crowds. These grand buildings fell away as he crossed Slussen, the dock separating Lake Malär from the Baltic Sea. Through the forest of ship masts and smokestacks bobbing up and down at anchor on Skeppsbron, Sven saw the steep cliffs and modern brick buildings of Södermalm. He headed west and walked the remaining two kilometres to the edge of the island where Ligna and several other large workshops operated.

These workshops were a testament to modern times and Sven stared in wonder at the whirl of lathes and the buzzing of steam powered saws after working around mighty locomotives. However, the conditions in factories and workshops in Stockholm in the early 1880s were poor and even dangerous; large and heavy machinery constantly

operated and created a deafening din.<sup>72</sup> In addition to the noise, workers and passersby alike choked on the vast amounts of sawdust and could easily be blinded by it if the wind changed in an unfavourable direction. The dusty environment at Ligna and other workshops and factories destroyed the lungs of the men who worked there and several factories also became known as “tuberculosis facilities” because this disease spread quickly in drafty, dusty, and smoky environments.<sup>73</sup>

This was the last thing on Sven’s mind, however, and he was grateful for the work. His everyday job was to use these industrial saws and lathes to work on the various contracts and commissions the company received from builders around the city and beyond. Similar to the bakery workers who came home covered head to toe in flour, Sven finished his day covered in sawdust. He probably lived in housing provided by Ligna as competing companies such as Ekman’s Woodworking Company provided workers with housing to ensure a sober and reliable workforce.<sup>74</sup> From his isolated room on the far edge of Södermalm, Sven remained insulated from both the dangers of the city and the opportunities it presented. He preferred to stay to himself while his fellow workers snuck off to the tavern, socialised, and built meaningful networks.

Sven lost his job at Ligna after about a year of working there. He was most likely laid-off as Ligna struggled for years and eventually went into receivership by the middle of the decade. It only continued to operate after creditors deemed it necessary to

---

<sup>72</sup> Pred, *Lost Words and Lost Worlds*, 50.

<sup>73</sup> Lindgren, *Arbetarnas Stockholm*, 89.

<sup>74</sup> See ”Ritning till arbetarbostäder, ’Ekmanska husen’ på Kungsholmen 1877,” *Stockholmskällan*, <https://stockholmskallan.stockholm.se/post/33362>.

recuperate their investments.<sup>75</sup> Now without an income or a place to live, Sven weighed his options carefully. Without anyone to turn to in the city he decided to leave the capital and return to his home parish. He was only gone for about seven months before he decided to try his luck in the capital again.<sup>76</sup>

Sven returned with all of the knowledge he had gained about the city's carpentry industry and found several short-term jobs with Ligna's competitors such as Wengström's Woodworking Company located less than a kilometer away from his old stomping ground on Södermalm. After he lost this job, he found work at Ekman's Woodworking Company and later at Axelberg's Engineering Workshop. After this his luck ran out as he was unable to find employment in any of Stockholm's factories or manufacturers. He took casual positions on several constructions sites whenever he could and these sustained him until the beginning of 1886. After just five years in the city, Sven had worked for no less than seven different employers.<sup>77</sup>

These short-lived positions were a symptom of the times as the downswing of the business cycle near the middle of the decade hit the city's industrial manufacturers and builders hard. More than 1,200 residential buildings were constructed in Stockholm between 1881 and 1885 but the rate at which new residences were built over the next fifteen years dropped by 60%.<sup>78</sup>

Sven's casual employment meant he did not qualify for any of the forms of financial relief available at this time. The effects of the downswing of the business cycle

---

<sup>75</sup> "Ligna Snickerifabrik," *Stockholms Adress- & Varu-Tidning*, September 27, 1884.

<sup>76</sup> SE/VALA/00241/BI 3 1861-1894.

<sup>77</sup> 12 February 1886, SE/SSA/0023/02/FIc, Box 4, Folder 193, Item 249.

<sup>78</sup> Pred, *Lost Words and Lost Worlds*, note 87, 265.

were so severe in the construction industry that a notice in *Tiden* in 1884 announced worker-sponsored financial support for those dismissed from Ligna and several other prominent Stockholm factories.<sup>79</sup> Unfortunately, Sven was not employed at any of these institutions at that time (although he had been in the past) so he did not qualify for this form of relief. After he was laid off from a job as a brick carrier and had nowhere else to turn, Sven applied for poor relief from Stockholm's Poor Welfare Committee. However, under the 1871 Poor Relief Ordinance, relief was only available to the "deserving poor," i.e. children under the age of fifteen, the insane, or those who could not work as a result of old age or mental or physical illness.<sup>80</sup> The Committee rejected Sven's application because he did not satisfy any of these criteria.

Sven approached his predicament in the best way he could by first appealing the Poor Welfare Committee's decision but they again rejected his application.<sup>81</sup> Faced with no other options and in a state of true desperation, he turned to begging, and this led to his first encounter with the city's police who suspected him of vagrancy. Now that he had become a person of interest, Sven fell under the constant surveillance and scrutiny of the police. They warned him for vagrancy less than two weeks later after they received complaints that he was disturbing the peace and bothering pedestrians by asking them for money.

Begging was unfortunately endemic among the lowest echelons of Stockholm's working class. Men and women "knocked on doors" or went begging from one house or

---

<sup>79</sup> A. H. Oxelgren and E. F. Sjöberg, "Redovisning," *Tiden*, 20 May 1884.

<sup>80</sup> Nåder förordnade komiterade, *Underdånigt betänkande, med förslag till förordning angående fattigvården i riket m. m.* (Stockholm: A. L. Norman, 1871), 1.

<sup>81</sup> SE/SSA/0023/02/FIc, Box 4, Folder 193, Item 98.



apartment to the next when they had no other options.<sup>82</sup> The only other alternative for people in such dire straights was to voluntarily offer themselves at Dohlströms, a workhouse in Södermalm. Most people considered this institution both demoralising and dehumanising as inmates were forced to respond immediately to bells signalling different work activities and mealtimes ten times a day from 5 a.m. to 9:30 p.m.<sup>83</sup> Sven chose to preserve his freedom and left the city altogether rather than face the indignity of a workhouse or forced labour camp. He returned to the Örsjö train station where he stayed with relatives and took up temporary employment.

This sojourn from the capital did not last long and he soon returned to the city for the third time. He rented an apartment in the shadow of the Katarina Cathedral and shared the rent with another in-migrant like himself—a labourer from Västmanland County.<sup>84</sup> This was the only record of him living with another person and this arrangement did not last for more than a few months. Sven continued to live at this address by himself for about seven years. He never married or had children and this was undoubtedly a very lonely and solitary arrangement. Sven constantly returned to this address even after he was sent away to perform forced labour as punishment for vagrancy.

Sven turned to other common tactics as well as illicit methods to supplement his income. The police caught him with stolen property three times between 1887 and 1890. On the first two occasions, he stole an item of clothing but pleaded innocent as he was

---

<sup>82</sup> *Knacka dörr*, see Pred, *Lost Words and Lost Worlds*, 76.

<sup>83</sup> Pred, *Lost Words and Lost Worlds*, 88, see also note 113, 267.

<sup>84</sup> Rote 13, häfte 13315 (1887-1890), sida 10, rad 5, Överståthållarämbetet, Skatteverket: Rotemännens arkiv (SE/SSA/0032/03/13), D1a.

drunk at the time of the crime.<sup>85</sup> He most likely intended to sell or pawn these clothes as this was a very common tactic for supplementing one's income especially for those who could not receive poor-relief or charity. This was so common that between 1881 and 1885, 1.8 million loans were secured from pawnbrokers in Stockholm even though the population at the end of 1884 was just 200,000.<sup>86</sup> Sven was sentenced to six months of hard labour in Jönköping for theft and vagrancy.

He began "footing about" the city's docks in search of work after he served his time. This form of employment was a last resort because of the physical toll and the seasonality of the industry but he was well accustomed to backbreaking work and coping with chronic underemployment. He also lived in close proximity to the docks in his apartment in Södermalm so he would have no trouble walking the city or "free footing" along the docks searching for ships that required men to load and unload their cargo. He could only put up with the physical demands and the financial instability for so long and the uncertainty of the work left him back on the street begging for money. This brought him into contact with the police as they continued to bring him in and charge in him with vagrancy.<sup>87</sup> This resulted in longer and longer sentences and by 1896 he had served a total of 27 months of forced labour. After his last encounter with the police they sentenced him to an additional 15 months but his sentence was commuted after he spent a month in the hospital before his sentence began.<sup>88</sup>

---

<sup>85</sup> 16 November 1889, SE/SSA/0023/02/FIc, Box 4, Folder 193, Item 686, 27 March 1890, SE/SSA/0023/02/FIc, Box 4, Folder 193, Item 184.

<sup>86</sup> Pred, *Lost Words and Lost Worlds*, 88.

<sup>87</sup> SE/SSA/0023/02/FIc, Box 4, Folder 193, Item 184.

<sup>88</sup> 17 June 1896, SE/SSA/0023/02/FIc, Box 4, Folder 193, Item 193.

Sven then returned to his lonely apartment for the last time. There he sat reflecting on his time in the city from when he first arrived and started his job at Ligna. He was no better off than when he first stepped foot off the train a decade earlier. Sven's experience illuminates the struggles and survival tactics of many aspirant Stockholmers. He constantly fought to find gainful employment as downswings in the economy left him without work. He never worked in the right place at the right time and he fell through the cracks when workers began to try to provide aid for one another. He also suffered from administrative pitfalls since he did not qualify for poor-relief which left him vulnerable to abject poverty and resulted in a recidivist cycle of begging, theft, and incarceration. His experience was not unfamiliar because so many structural forces aligned to produce an overwhelming sense of oppression and hopelessness among workers. Sven was crushed under constant, successive waves of misfortune and could never seem to keep his head above water. There was nobody to lend him a hand and pull him out. He decided the city had chewed him up and spit him out for the last time and, just 18 days before his 34<sup>th</sup> birthday, Sven was found dead in his apartment. The cause of death was ruled a suicide by hanging.<sup>89</sup>

#### *Gustaf the Mounted Guard*

Gustaf began his journey in the capital with high hopes and expectations after a recruitment officer convinced him to join the Mounted Guards in Stockholm.<sup>90</sup> He arrived as an innocent and perhaps naïve young man but quickly succumbed to the corrupting

---

<sup>89</sup> Genline AB; Johanneshov, Sweden; *Swedish Church Records Archive*; Reference: 100002.16.14900.

<sup>90</sup> The literal translation of *Livgardets till häst* is "Lifeguards on horseback" but the term "Mounted Guard" is used for purposes of readability.

peer pressure of his fellow guards. After a grueling basic training, he graduated to guard duty which afforded him status but not much money. During the day, he rubbed shoulders with royalty amid the glittering uniforms of the Mounted Guards but at night he and his comrades descended into Stockholm's underworld. Here they spent what money they had on diversions such as drinking and sexual liaisons. After his discharge from the Mounted Guards, Gustaf turned to the underworld to make a living and pimped women to cobble together a living. He attempted to turn back to a legitimate and lawful way of life after his first prison sentence but ultimately the allure of taverns and the precariousness of low-skilled, seasonal employment forced him back into a life of crime. Gustaf abandoned the city and returned to rural life after having struggled for several years and having grown tired of spending more and more time in prison.

Gustaf was born in the early 1860s in Fliseryd, a parish in the Handbörd Fiefdom in Kalmar County. Fliseryd rests on the edge of a fertile valley between two winding arms of the Emån River and its rich clay soil made it ideal for agriculture although Gustaf's father formally worked as a painter. Gustaf was the youngest of four children but the eldest child left for Kalmar City when Gustaf was five and his next oldest sibling left for Stockholm a year later. He spent most of his youth with his brother who was only three years his senior. Nourished by the healthy soil and the bounty of the Emån, Gustaf grew to be over six feet tall.

It was probably his height that caught the attention of a visiting corporal sent by the Mounted Guards into Kalmar to find new recruits for the regiment in Stockholm. Potential bodyguards typically came from the kingdom's peasantry and had to satisfy

several physical, medical, and even moral criteria.<sup>91</sup> The corporal ensured Gustaf satisfied all of the requirements before weaving a tale of heroism, valour, and duty to one's country in escorting the king and other high officials in the capital city. He painted a picture of romance and chivalry and showed Gustaf coloured prints of the Mounted Guards in their impressive uniforms—the very picture of modern-day knights in shining armour.

The recruiter finished his pitch by revealing that as a Mounted Guard, Gustaf would receive 6 kronor per month with free room and board as well and an additional krona every month if he served for over three years. The state would also pay for his third-class train ticket to the capital and provide a small allowance to help pay for other expenses on the trip to the capital.<sup>92</sup> The corporal was not permitted to lie to coerce men to join, but he could be very selective in the information he chose to share. He did not have to tell Gustaf how difficult the training was, the conditions of the barracks, or that he received a bonus of 20 to 40 kronor for every recruit that joined the regiment.<sup>93</sup> With all of the paperwork in order and a hearty handshake in congratulations, the recruiter left him with his train ticket and three shiny krona coins to help pay for his travel expenses. Gustaf prepared to depart for the capital by packing a sack with things to eat so he could save the money the recruiter gave him. After he kissed his mother goodbye, he hopped onto the back of an

---

<sup>91</sup> Recruits had to be between the ages of 17 and 26, they had to be confirmed in the Lutheran Church and be well-groomed, they had to be at least 1.65 meters in height, and they must be free of any disease or physical defect. Claës Lundin, *Nya Stockholm* (Stockholm: Geber, 1890), 522. This analysis is based on Claës Lundin's description of the recruitment process for the *Svea livgard*, another regiment stationed in Stockholm. Both the *Livgardets till häst* and *Svea livgard* were eventually recruited in the same newspaper advertisements in the 1890s. See for example V. Törnqvist, "Ynglingar," *Kalmartidningen: Barometern*, October 21, 1895.

<sup>92</sup> Lundin, *Nya Stockholm*, 523-524.

<sup>93</sup> Lundin, *Nya Stockholm*, 523.

open cart bound for the nearest train station at Bohult about 15 kilometres away.<sup>94</sup> There he boarded a train that carried him to the capital.

Gustaf's train arrived as the sun began to set and the splendor of the city fell beneath an inky darkness as shadow enveloped the capital. He felt bitter disappointment in his unfortunate timing—he had hoped to see the city before he reported to the barracks over in Östermalm. In his pocket, Gustaf felt the three coins he managed to save from the recruiter and decided to find a tavern to buy some food and ask for directions. He was about to become initiated into Stockholm's underworld.

Gustaf walked less than a kilometre to the mouth of Norrbro that connected Gamla Stan to the mainland. He followed the light just as the moths hovering around the glowing streetlamps. After the novelty of seeing the grand and enormous Royal Palace wore off he followed the more sizable crowds looking for a place to eat. Throngs of people seemed to pulse from a nearby thoroughfare and Gustaf could barely make out a street sign which read Österlånggatan. The sound of this crowd alone was enough to create a sense of awe and wonder. The sleepy hamlet of his home parish could not possibly compare to the cacophony of animated conversations, the bustle of carts and carriages, the sound of music coming from pianos entertaining rowdy crowds in restaurants, and the sounds of cooking and scrubbing from the residences high above which echoed off the cobblestones and reverberated against the buildings on either side of the street.<sup>95</sup>

---

<sup>94</sup> "Tidtabell," *Oskarshamns-Posten*, November 4, 1874.

<sup>95</sup> Peter Payer uses the author Felix Salten's term of *Großstadtwirbel* (city whirl) to refer to the new urban soundscape in industrialising Vienna which experienced rapid growth towards the end of the nineteenth

The congested space was filled with animated people and Gustaf watched out of the corner of his eye as new life began to emerge from the alleys. As he walked up Österlånggatan groups of women began to spill out into the street. They seemed to have a language of their own that was so peppered with obscenities he felt himself blush. He also observed small but deft movements of their hands as they appeared to be communicating something to another group up the street.<sup>96</sup> They disappeared in an instant as a uniformed police officer brushed passed Gustaf and headed north in the opposite direction. The small group of women reappeared after the threat had passed. He did not know it yet, but these captivating women stood guard over the illicit and tantalising mysteries housed beyond where the eye could see in the shadowy courtyards, the dark alleyways, and the secrets of the medieval labyrinth that was Gamla Stan.

Gustaf decided to stop at a basement tavern called Stjärnan which was indicated by a swinging sign with a star on it.<sup>97</sup> He descended down the steps into a smoky, poorly ventilated room that reeked of tobacco smoke and body odour. His boots stuck to the floor and in addition to the noisy conversations surrounding him, he also heard the distinct rattle of well-used spittoons interspersed throughout the barroom. He sat at the only unoccupied table available and a woman stopped at his table to serve him. He decided to treat himself to a beer with his leftover money. After he pulled out his three coins to pay the woman, someone noticed his extra cash and pulled up a chair to his table.

---

century. See Peter Payer, "The Age of Noise: Early Reactions in Vienna, 1870-1914," *Journal of Urban History* 33 (2007), 774.

<sup>96</sup> Per Anders Fogelström, *En resa till Stockholm 1871* (Stockholm: Esselte Tryck, 1971), 29.

<sup>97</sup> Tillhagen, *Stockholms folkminnen*, 77.

Gustaf's new "friend" was a *bondfångare*, or a "peasant catcher" or "confidence man" who specialised in tricking recent arrivals from the countryside.<sup>98</sup> These con artists used many tactics to separate unsuspecting victims from their money including selling them stolen or shabby goods or insinuating themselves with newcomers and convincing them to pay for their food and drink.<sup>99</sup> The man began talking with Gustaf and insisted he knew him. When Gustaf explained that could not possibly be the case as he had only arrived that day, the man inquired why he had come to the city. Gustaf replied that he was recruited to join the Mounted Guards. The man's expression changed and he excused himself from the table to try his luck on another unsuspecting victim without connections to the city's authorities. Gustaf had much to learn about the workings of the underworld.

Gustaf's first year must have been gruelling while he endured the demands of his basic training in the school for recruits. While other pristine barracks were constructed on Kungsholmen and elsewhere in Östermalm, Gustaf's regiment remained stationed at their old and outdated facilities on Storgatan that dated from 1811. His day started with the reveille at 5 a.m. as he and other recruits woke up in crowded, foul-smelling dormitories with beds stacked atop each other and no proper bathing facilities or running water. After a small, bland tasting breakfast, the exercises began for Gustaf and those like him in the recruit school. He was conditioned both physically and mentally with exercises ranging from gymnastics to fencing and drilled in the principles of service required to become a soldier.<sup>100</sup> This training was made all the more miserable by constant hunger given the

---

<sup>98</sup> There is no record of Gustaf visiting this tavern or this meeting although his presence there and this encounter are based on police records of *bondfångare* that are discussed in much greater detail in Chapter 5.

<sup>99</sup> Pred, *Lost Words and Lost Worlds*, 74.

<sup>100</sup> Lundin, *Nya Stockholm*, 523-524.



notoriously poor diet soldiers endured during their training (see figure 4.3). After a year of basic training, Gustaf joined the ranks of the illustrious (and often nefarious) Mounted Guards.

Figure 4.3 “Poor Comfort.”



The Corporal: What's up with you, man? You're sitting around and crying? The Recruit: Ah, I care little about all the other things, but the food... the diet... The Corporal: That is certainly something to cry about! The food is the least of our concerns! Source: Gustaf Wahlbom, *Söndags-Nisse*, March 25, 1866.

The Mounted Guards straddled the worlds of respectability and debauchery as their daytime duties carried the prestige of service to the king while their nighttime responsibilities immersed them into the violent underworld. The Mounted Guards were officially responsible for escorting the royal family and other high officials in their movements around the city. They also performed night patrols on Djurgården which Stockholmers frequently used for secret nighttime meetings, courtships, and illicit

dealings, especially at night.<sup>101</sup> Their efforts to control this behaviour frequently resulted in friction between them, civilians, and the police. Most of these altercations did not appear in the press since they were handled internally by the military but one police report from 1888 documents three Mounted Guards threatening to attack a man at 2:30 in the morning. They then chased him through the streets after he tried to avoid them. When a police constable arrived almost an hour later, he found no fewer than twenty Mounted Guards actively engaged in a brawl with several civilians. One of the guards punched the constable during the melee but the others dragged the perpetrator away before he could face justice.<sup>102</sup>

Gustaf and men in his regiment frequently indulged in a number of vices to escape the tedium of life in military service and the relentless humdrum of their daily routine. Drinking was both expensive and unsanctioned although it still occurred among younger recruits in very seedy taverns especially if others were willing to pay for their drinks (see below). Members of the military also provided the widest customer base for regulated and unregulated prostitution in the city. Both military and city administrators were well aware of military men seeking illicit sexual relations and constantly fought over jurisdiction in combatting the problem.<sup>103</sup> The spread of disease and especially syphilis prompted attempts to regulate prostitution throughout the nineteenth century and were further fueled by horror stories such as when a single woman was blamed for infecting eleven

---

<sup>101</sup> Bidrag till Sveriges officiell statistik (BiSOS) Series H: Femårsberättelsen för Stockholms stad, 1871-1875, 27, Chevalier, "Våra parker," in *Boken om Stockholm* (Stockholm: Nilsson & Berglings Förlag, 1901), 507.

<sup>102</sup> SE/SSA/0029/01/B1a Överståthållarämbetet för Polisärenden 9, Polismaktdistrikt 7

<sup>103</sup> Svanström, *Policing Public Women*, 136.

men in the same military company.<sup>104</sup> The Mounted Guards were as much a part of the city's underworld as they were responsible for controlling it.

Gustaf's taste for drink, sexual services, and healthy food must have been expensive and he and other members of the military needed to find other ways to supplement their income and prepare themselves for their eventual discharge from the armed forces. Men in Stockholm's various military regiments frequently practiced handicrafts and drew upon skills developed during their childhoods such as tailoring or shoemaking to earn extra money. This practice began to dwindle as industrial work and mass production became more commonplace and fewer soldiers could fall back on these skills to help cobble together a living.<sup>105</sup> When legitimate means to secure an income failed them, horse guards and other servicemen turned to crime. Police reports from the early 1880s documented soldiers hanging around the urinal between Kungsträdsgården and Berzelii Park where they engaged in prostitution to supplement their incomes. Further investigations revealed soldiers visited a seedy tavern called Flaggan where they negotiated sexual services with wealthy, well-dressed gentlemen.<sup>106</sup> This tavern and the various parks where this practice occurred were about one kilometre from Storgatan, a short walking distance from the barracks.

Gustaf was discharged after serving as a Mounted Guard for five years but after this he was no better off than when he started.<sup>107</sup> Despite slightly better wages towards the

---

<sup>104</sup> Fogelström, *En resa till Stockholm*, 30.

<sup>105</sup> Söderberg, Jonsson, and Persson, *A Stagnating Metropolis*, 53.

<sup>106</sup> Rydström, *Sinners and Citizens*, 130.

<sup>107</sup> "Släktforskarna och Krigsarkivet: En vägvisare till de militära källorna," part of *Meddelanden från Krigsarkivet XIX* (Stockholm: Tryck AB, 2006), 15.

end of his time in the guards, it does not appear that he saved any money for his discharge. This may be because he was indoctrinated with a culture of spending from his peers who regularly engaged in frivolity and got him into trouble. Towards the end of near five and half years of service, he was sentenced to serve two months in prison in Långholmen for assault. He was given the choice of paying a fine to commute his sentence or serve the full term of his prison sentence. He chose to serve the time and he was discharged from the guards after his sentence was complete.

Gustaf finally realised how precarious his situation had become now that he did not have the barracks to live in or the mess hall's food to sustain him. He faced vagrancy charges if he could not find work to pay for his meagre apartment on Jakobsbergsgatan so he turned to Stockholm's underworld. He officially registered as a carter or a carrier's assistant but relied upon the networks of prostitutes he met while in the Mounted Guards to establish contact with women he could exploit to provide him with an income. Gustaf's documented encounters with prostitutes indicate two potential roles in the pimp-prostitute relationship and both benefited him financially. The first was that of the *amant de coeur*, or the "lover" who was "kept" by the prostitute. This relationship was romantic in nature and satisfied the woman's needs for affection and companionship. It might have entailed her giving him gifts or money but she was never financially dependent upon him.<sup>108</sup> Towards the end of the 1880s, Gustaf received money from a woman named Matilda and the police brought him in for questioning after he attempted to use it to purchase new clothing. They revealed that this money, along with a gold watch, had been stolen but

---

<sup>108</sup> Alain Corbin, *Women for Hire: Prostitution and Sexuality in France after 1850*, trans. by Alan Sheridan (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1990), 155.

Gustaf denied knowledge of this. He also denied acting as her pimp or instructing her to steal.<sup>109</sup> If Gustaf was acting in the role of the *amant de coeur*, it is possible this was a simple gift and Matilda had acted of her own volition but it is also possible Gustaf lied about his relationship with her and forced her to steal from her clients.

If the latter was true, Gustaf more fully embodied the archetype of the violent pimp or the *souteneur* who systematically exploited women by using violence or the threat of it to control them and coerce them to sell sex. This required physically intervening when customers became aggressive or when police officers arrived looking to arrest them.<sup>110</sup> It also entailed attacking and threatening men who did not pay for the woman's services, and Gustaf's first warning for vagrancy came after he tied a lamplighter to a chair in his home and severely beat him. The police suspected Gustaf of profiting from prostitution and when they brought him in for questioning, he admitted to receiving money from prostitutes and that he lacked any formal work himself since he left the Mounted Guards. Although he did not admit to assaulting the man for lack of payment, he did later admit to actively prostituting a woman named Emilia. Pimping was illegal in Sweden but this act continued to exist and the police sentenced him to six months of hard labour.<sup>111</sup>

Upon his release Gustaf did not have a penny to his name and had a tarnished reputation from his connections to the criminal underworld. He needed a helping hand to

---

<sup>109</sup> 11 October 1887, SE/SSA/0023/02/FIc, Box 4, Folder 165, Item 716.

<sup>110</sup> Corbin, *Women for Hire*, 156.

<sup>111</sup> Yvonne Svanström, "Prostitution in Stockholm: Continuity and Change," in *Selling Sex in the City: A Global History of Prostitution, 1600s-2000s*, ed. by Magaly Rodriguez Garcia, Lex. Heerma van Voss, and Elise van Nederveen Meerkerk (Leiden: Brill, 2017), 212.

find legitimate work and a place to live and he found both thanks to someone from his home parish in Kalmar named Konrad Johansson, a man just a few months older than himself and born and raised in Fliseryd.<sup>112</sup> He may have helped Gustaf secure a job since he had connections to a master builder who owned the home he lived in and worked in the construction industry. This brief moment of security gave Gustaf the support he needed to re-establish himself in the city. When he had saved enough money he moved back to Österlånggatan that he knew well.

Gustaf calculated this move carefully as he transitioned from one social network to another. He shared his new apartment with several in-migrants including another man from Kalmar, and other Kalmar natives lived elsewhere in the building.<sup>113</sup> Gustaf's new roommate also worked as a labourer on construction sites which may have been useful for finding construction work closer to his new home. At this point he went to greater lengths to secure a legitimate income and stay out of trouble. He found temporary work as a painter's assistant which lasted for four months and then by working on the docks during the summertime and snow shovelling during the winter.

When Gustaf found himself without steady employment, the siren's song of Österlånggatan proved too powerful to resist and his later years in the city were marred with episodes of drunken violence. On a cool March evening in 1891, the sound of broken glass brought constables running to Stjärnen, the same tavern Gustaf visited when he first arrived in the city. The police found Gustaf in a drunken state and brawling with

---

<sup>112</sup> Rote 12, häfte 12743 (1887-18941121), sida 23, rad 21, *Överståthållarämbetet, Skatteverket: Rotemännens arkiv* (SE/SSA/0032/03/12), DIa.

<sup>113</sup> "Erik the sailor" lived in this same building while Gustaf did.

several other patrons. The seriousness of this offense earned Gustaf one year of hard labour at Svartsjö.<sup>114</sup> The police found him back on Österlånggatan in May 1892 but this time he was drunk and causing trouble at a tavern named Remmaren. A notary reported that he had threatened him and others on the street for money. The police learned that Gustaf was again without work and sentenced him to a year and three months of hard labour.<sup>115</sup> Gustaf clearly began to contemplate his options after he was released when he went to live with his brother in the rural environment of Uppsala County for about three months where he had time to think and plan.

He decided to make one last attempt to conquer the capital before leaving it forever. He returned in October 1892 but luck was not on his side and he found it impossible to find work on the docks because the water around the city froze relatively early that year.<sup>116</sup> As a last resort, Gustaf turned to theft to make ends meet. The police caught Gustaf selling some stolen items to a pawnbroker in Södermalm. Gustaf fled when the constable on the scene questioned him about the provenance of the items. For this final crime Gustaf was sentenced to one year and six months of hard labour although it appears he was released early.<sup>117</sup>

After about thirteen and a half years, his fourth incarceration, and over three years served in prison or performing hard labour, Gustaf had had enough of the city. After packing his belongings in his apartment on Österlånggatan, he walked out into the street and stood off to the side careful to avoid the bustling traffic. This street was where he was

---

<sup>114</sup> 5 March 1891, SE/SSA/0023/02/FIc, Box 4, Folder 165, Item 129.

<sup>115</sup> 20 May 1892, SE/SSA/0023/02/FIc, Box 4, Folder 165, Item 266.

<sup>116</sup> Östman, *Isförhållandena vid Sveriges kuster*, 43.

<sup>117</sup> 28 February 1893, SE/SSA/0023/02/FIc, Box 4, Folder 165, Item 165.

introduced to the fleshpots of the city and where he encountered the criminal underworld for the first time. This street provided countless hours of amusement in its many taverns, but these memories were scarred by his arrests and the painful memories of his loss of freedom. The sun was beginning to set again, but he wanted to leave before the shadows grew too long. At the Central Railway Station he boarded the third-class carriage on the next train bound for his home parish. He officially left the city in July 1894 and after a short stint in Fliseryd he moved to Vimmerby where he met his future wife. The two moved to a small village in Malmöhus County where he spent the rest of his life.<sup>118</sup> Gustaf eventually found stability, happiness, and success, but for him it was not in Stockholm.

Gustaf's biography reveals the role of direct recruitment in bringing people to the capital. His success was partially predicated on the exploitation of others and although he began his journey with a respectable position in society he eventually turned to a life of crime. Like Erik, Gustaf leaned on fellow workers from his home parish to assist him in finding a place to live and work when he fell on hard times. In the end he chose to leave the city rather than continue to struggle there and returned to his home county before moving on again after he married.

#### *Wilhelmina the Maid*

Wilhelmina's experience reveals the dynamism and versatility of young immigrant women as they adapted to survive in the urban environment. She began her journey in the respectable position of maidservant and practiced a protected form of

---

<sup>118</sup> SE/VALA/00419/B I/2, volume 6, 1895-1924, page 24.



migration that should have afforded her better security in the city only to turn to theft and prostitution as she found it impossible to maintain steady work and cobble together a living. She resorted to stealing from shops just two years after living in the city. This was either to supplement her income, provide a financial bridge between positions, or simply to enlarge her wardrobe and allow her to express herself through fashion. After five years in the city she became pregnant and gave birth to an illegitimate child and sometime thereafter she began to practice prostitution to support herself. Ultimately Wilhelmina managed to secure a well-paid position that elevated her beyond her previous jobs but this did not last long and she found herself remarkably close to where she first began her life in the city.<sup>119</sup>

Wilhelmina was born in Oskar Parish in Södra Möre, about 40 kilometres west of Kalmar City on the coast. When she was born, her mother was betrothed to her father and the young couple went to live with Wilhelmina's maternal grandmother. Her parents never married and her father abandoned the family while she was still a baby.<sup>120</sup> She and her mother worked as labourers on the same croft for the duration of her childhood. In this small world the gossip flowed freer than the *brännvin* and by the time she turned fifteen and was confirmed in the parish church she had set her sights on the capital.<sup>121</sup>

Wilhelmina's mother probably tried to arrange a position locally for her by reaching through kinship networks, visiting local farms, or asking around about available

---

<sup>119</sup> "Wilhelmina's" biography runs into the 20<sup>th</sup> century since she left for Stockholm later than any of the other subjects on analysis on the very last day of the 1880s.

<sup>120</sup> Husförhörslängder, SE/VALA/00252/A I, 1871-1877, Riksarkivet i Vadstena.

<sup>121</sup> This is based on Kerstin Ekman's description of a small rural town in Sweden in the nineteenth century where the restaurant owner collected gossip for entertainment. See Ekman, *Witches' Rings*, 51.

positions on market days as was the custom.<sup>122</sup> After local positions proved unavailable she reached out to her sister living in Stockholm who by then was married and with five children of her own.<sup>123</sup> By the 1880s more and more women were travelling further distances seeking domestic work and the historian Tine Jorde's sample of female servants in Nikolai Parish in Stockholm reveals that less than 30% were born in the city or the surrounding county. By 1900 this percentage fell to about 24%.<sup>124</sup>

Her journey only lasted a few days but her decision to travel alone could have been treacherous. Her timing was quite fortuitous since the area around Kalmar experienced an exceptionally mild winter which would have made travel much easier.<sup>125</sup> Wilhelmina took this as a sign of good fortunes to come and gathered her references, packed them in a carpet bag, and bundled up in layers against the winter cold.

Wilhelmina was filled with optimism as her train pulled into Stockholm's Central Railway Station. This was a new year and a new chapter in her life and she was ready to start her new line of work. The upper-class demand for domestic servants made this the most viable form of employment for young women in the city. Domestic servants could also expect gifts in the form of castoff or hand-me-down clothes from the bourgeois women they waited on in addition to the free room and board. Some even got to travel

---

<sup>122</sup> Tilly and Scott, *Women, Work, and Family*, 36.

<sup>123</sup> Rote 8, häfte 8035 (1886-1892), sida 15, rad 2, *Överståthållarämbetet, Skatteverket: Rotemännens arkiv (SE/SSA/0032/03/08)*, *Dia*.

<sup>124</sup> Jorde, *Stockholms tjänstepiker*, 67.

<sup>125</sup> That December, Kalmar only saw four days of snow and received about a third of the normal precipitation for that time of year. See "Meteorologiskt. December månad 1889." *Kalmar*, February 19, 1890, 4, <https://tidningar.kb.se/7rkwj6k2vkv5xb/part/1/page/4>.

between country houses and the city and even to the continent if they worked for wealthy families.<sup>126</sup>

As she stepped off the train and onto the platform, she made her way to the ticket counter where her aunt was waiting for her although she did not recognise her as she had never seen her before. Luckily her aunt could identify her since she wore characteristically provincial clothing and had a look of wonder in her eye. She greeted her with a warmth that caught Wilhelmina off guard and she was surprised to find her aunt spoke much quicker than she or anyone else did in Kalmar. Wilhelmina wanted to walk around the snow-capped capital but her aunt insisted they head straight for her house so she could rest and start work as soon as possible.

They arrived at the block of flats about two kilometres from the station on Tulegatan where her aunt and her family lived. Wilhelmina carefully avoided the heaps of frozen rubbish and dirty snow piled high along the street. She heard babies crying and the occasional glass bottle break as they crossed a courtyard and entered a foul-smelling stairwell crowded with hanging laundry where some woman had left it to dry.<sup>127</sup> They arrived at her aunt's door and Wilhelmina heard the screaming of children on the other side. Inside the small but homey apartment Wilhelmina smelled meat cooking and was greeted by a large man she took to be her uncle.<sup>128</sup> Small children ran circles around her but behaved when their mother said so. This home was overflowing with love and

---

<sup>126</sup> Gillis, "Servants, Sexual Relations," 149.

<sup>127</sup> This description of apartment buildings is inspired by Émile Zola's depiction of a Paris apartment building at the end of the nineteenth century. See Émile Zola, *L'Assommoir*, trans. by Margaret Mauldon (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995).

<sup>128</sup> Rote 8, häfte 8035 (18861211-18921228), sida 15, rad 2  
Överståthållarämbetet, Skatteverket: Rotemännens arkiv (SE/SSA/0032/03/08), DIa.

Wilhelmina confided in her aunt she wanted a life just like it. Her aunt told her seriously she could have such a life if she remained “in honest work.” At the time, she had no idea what she meant.

Wilhelmina began to work in homes that looked completely different than the block of flats where her aunt lived. She worked with several people within the space of a year and it is unclear why she did not stay in each position for very long. It was common for maidservants to seek employment in a new house about once a year to avoid becoming too close to their employers or the children in their care.<sup>129</sup> She was eventually taken on as a servant for an upholsterer on Storgatan in Östermalm, a pristine area of Stockholm occupied by the burgeoning middle class in newly constructed homes with all of the modern amenities.

Wilhelmina was completely unprepared for the plethora of goods on display in the city and the barrage of advertisements designed to sell them. Advertisements appeared in every newspaper, on posters in shop windows, and on leaflets and pamphlets. By the 1890s Stockholm was assuming its position on the global stage and like other cosmopolitan cities fashion and consumerism developed a cult following with men and women emulating the latest designs from Paris (see figure 4.5). This desire for finer material things was by no means unique to the upper classes and one Swedish survey conducted in 1869 suggested that the desire for material luxuries such as clothing precipitated the “fall” and led young women to begin casual prostitution to provide the money to purchase those luxuries.<sup>130</sup> The plethora of shops provided her with ample

---

<sup>129</sup> Jorde, *Stockholms tjänstepiker*, 164.

<sup>130</sup> Svanström, *Policing Public Women*, 252.

opportunity to steal and after she was dismissed from her position working for the upholsterer on Storgatan, the police caught Wilhelmina stealing from a women's clothing store on Hornsgatan down in Södermalm.<sup>131</sup>

Figure 4.4 Advertisements for P.U.B. and Leja's Department Store



Source: Stockholms Adresskalender 1890,  
<https://stockholmskallan.stockholm.se/post/9065>, Stockholmskällan,  
<https://stockholmskallan.stockholm.se/post/19303>

This initial theft was calculated and not motivated by opportunism. Most of Wilhelmina's time in Stockholm was spent in the north where she served the city's wealthy families that could afford domestic servants. She chose to steal from a shop outside of the wealthy neighbourhood where she lived and worked and where she was unknown to the store owner who chose to hand her over to the police rather than forgive her transgression. The moral code of the working-class neighbourhood in which the store

<sup>131</sup> Contemporary observers such as Émile Zola critiqued the owners of department stores for their predatory tactics on new consumers. Each store sought to undercut competitors by spending more on advertising and creating an atmosphere that made it impossible for shoppers to resist purchasing more goods. This contributed to an unprecedented mass consumerism and its epicentre was the late 19<sup>th</sup>-century department store. See Émile Zola, *The Ladies Paradise*, trans. by Ernest Alfred Vizetelly (London: Hutchinson & Co., 1895).

was located never forgave those who stole from the poor.<sup>132</sup> She served two months of hard labour for this crime and was sentenced again in May 1892 for the same offence.

After these crimes she found it impossible to secure work as a domestic servant and she had nowhere else to turn after he aunt and uncle left the city and disappear from the record.<sup>133</sup> The panoptic surveillance by servants in the area and their sense of duty to protect their employers from disreputable employees ensured she would not find work in this area for years.<sup>134</sup> According to a police report she secured work in a pasta factory until later in 1893 when the police detained her again for stealing a woman's hat on Humlegårdsgatan in Östermalm.<sup>135</sup> This represents a departure from her previous pattern of stealing outside the area of prospective employment as the police apprehended her on one of busiest streets in this wealthy area.

In the early summer of 1894 Wilhelmina found herself pregnant. It is impossible to discern who her partner was since the baby was registered as "illegitimate" in the parish books and she did not live with a man around the time of the beginning of her pregnancy. This lack of support may have led her to steal again. The police were called to Storgatan in July when she attempted to pawn a pair of brand-new shoes but could not explain how she came by them. The pawnbroker would have known she could not afford

---

<sup>132</sup> Heather Shore observes this moral code in 18<sup>th</sup> century London although the concept of tight-knit communities where everyone knows everyone closely parallels working-class neighbourhoods in Stockholm. See Shore, "Crime, Criminal Networks, and Survival Strategies," 146.

<sup>133</sup> Rote 8, häfte 8035 (18861211-18921228), sida 15, rad 2

Överståthållarämbetet, Skatteverket: Rotemännens arkiv (SE/SSA/0032/03/08), DIa.

<sup>134</sup> Magda Fahmi notes that loyalty and friendships formed between maidservants and their mistresses, especially in isolated areas and where only one maid worked in the household although antagonistic relationships were common. She also notes examples of contentious relations between servants and one example of a maid framing another servant for theft. See Magda Fahmi, "'Ruffled' Mistresses and 'Discontented' Maids: Respectability and the Case of Domestic Service, 1880-1914," *Labour / Le Travail* (1997), 90-91, 95.

<sup>135</sup> 19 July 1894, SE/SSA/0023/02/FIc, Box 3, Folder 115, Item 115.

such luxuries. In this case her reputation may have worked against her and she was likely known in the area since she previously worked for the upholsterer on that same street. She was sentenced to two months in the county jail in Norrmalm. She delivered the baby in January 1895 but it died less than two months later of a congenital defect. The police suspected Wilhelmina of supporting herself through prostitution between the loss of her child and her last arrest record in 1906.<sup>136</sup>

Wilhelmina was arrested at least five times for theft over fifteen years and spent a total of almost 22 months in prison or performing hard labour for theft or the crime of vagrancy. Her later arrests cannot be explained by economic hardship alone since she managed to pay a fine of 25 kronor to keep herself out of prison in 1906.<sup>137</sup> This represented a substantial sum of money equivalent to over three months' wages for a domestic servant. Either she was earning a relatively high income from prostitution or she successfully pawned the items she stole.

Wilhelmina managed to survive for years without consistent employment and this suggests she managed to derive an income that transcended conventional occupations that the police or the rotaman would otherwise have documented. She disappears from the city's records until 1914 when she secured steady and even prestigious employment when she began working for an architect on Drottninggatan, then a watchmaker on Rosengatan in Adolf Fredrik Parish. She stayed in each position for about a year which was characteristic of maidservants at the time.<sup>138</sup>

---

<sup>136</sup> 4 April 1906, SE/SSA/0023/02/FIc, Box 3, Folder 115, Item 115.

<sup>137</sup> 4 April 1906, SE/SSA/0023/02/FIc, Box 3, Folder 115, Item 115.

<sup>138</sup> Jorde, *Stockholms tjenestepiker*, 164.

Wilhelmina's experience is unique because it reveals young women's remarkable ability to navigate the social and economic constraints that characterised life for the working class in Stockholm at the end of the nineteenth century. She initially began as a domestic servant but when her crimes excluded her from this occupation she managed to find work in a factory. When even this avenue was closed off she engaged in prostitution and somehow managed to make a substantial sum of money when she paid off her fine and avoided jailtime. Her motivations for theft cannot be discerned given the wide array of what she stole, where she did it, and her occasional efforts to pawn stolen items but her geographic mobility suggests she planned when and where she intended to steal things. She likely weighed her chances against whether or not she would be recognized and be prosecuted for her crime. She experienced a precipitous decline towards the end of her life and it is worth noting that her final residence was very close to where she began her journey in the city.

#### *Anna the Barmaid*

Anna's experience reveals the effects of criminality and shame as a "push" factor that forced her to take incremental steps into larger and more complex environments until eventually she reached the capital city. She moved from her small parish of less than 3,000 people to Kalmar City where she had committed petty thefts while developing the 'thick skin' she would need later in life. The subsequent media attention led her to the rural suburbs of the capital until she succumbed to the lure of the city. Along the way, she learned to take care of herself and devised strategies to cope with life on her own. She arrived in Stockholm where she worked in one tavern after another. Within her first year in the city she gave birth to her first child. This would be the first in a series of



pregnancies. Eventually she committed a crime that severed her connections to her previous life and she was forced to start again elsewhere in the city as she quietly became another anonymous face behind the bar.

Anna was born in the late 1860s in Gullabo Parish close to the city of Kalmar to a single mother. Anna's mother did everything in her power to help raise the children on her own and worked herself into an early grave leaving both children orphaned. Parish authorities sent Anna, who was just ten years old, to the other side of the parish to live with her maternal aunt, her husband, and the aunt's blind younger brother.

Anna left her aunt's home a few months after she turned fifteen and set out for the city of Kalmar, about fifty kilometres from her home parish. Kalmar City boasted a population of almost 12,000 people when Anna arrived in the mid-1880s.<sup>139</sup> This was four times the population of her home parish and was certainly a dramatic change from the shack she remembered as a child. She entered the city from the south and saw the mighty Kalmar Castle watching over the Kalmar Strait as masted ships passed back and forth between the city and Öland as they had for centuries.

Kalmar's culture more likely reflected that of a large village rather than that of a bustling city and the transition from her home parish to this municipal seat was not too jarring. Neighbours and employers could still act as informants to her aunt and uncle who still lived close by and the press ensured any crimes were quickly reported in the local paper. Anna's time in the city tempered her resilience and the tenacity she developed since childhood as she navigated the city's economic transformation along with the rest of

---

<sup>139</sup> Bidrag till Sveriges officiella statistik (BiSOS), Series A: Befolkningsstatistik. "Statistiska centralbyråns underdåniga berättelse för år 1885," III.

its inhabitants. She quickly found work serving a baker named Olsson and held this position for two years. She then secured a position working for a shoemaker named Widenborg but this job only lasted one year as several people began linking Anna to several stolen items. In October 1886, the city council called Anna in for questioning regarding the theft of several clothing items and fabric worth about 15 kronor in total. Anna confessed to these crimes as well as purchasing bread for herself on Widenborg's credit.<sup>140</sup> The city council found her guilty and sentenced her to one month in prison for theft and a fine of 25 kronor for fraud.<sup>141</sup> This was the equivalent of over a month and half's wages for women working in Kalmar in 1886.<sup>142</sup>

With her name splashed across the regional newspaper and her reputation in tatters, Anna found it difficult to find a position and pay her fine. She cobbled together laundry work and other odd jobs to pay off the remainder of her debt to the city council. At the end of 1887, Anna decided to move to Täby, a rural parish over 400 kilometres away on the outskirts of the capital city. It is unclear how she secured the position of maid.<sup>143</sup>

It appears that Anna knew exactly what she was doing when she moved here. She revelled in her newfound anonymity and now lived right on the threshold of the capital. She could make trips into the city when she was not working on Sunday afternoons and

---

<sup>140</sup> "Rättegångs- och Polisärenden. Rådhusrätten måndagen den 18 okt. Snatteri m. m." *Kalmar*, 23 October, 1886.

<sup>141</sup> "Rättegångs- och Polisärenden. Rådhusrätten måndagen den 1 nov. Olofligt tillgrepp och bedrägeri." *Kalmar*, 6 November, 1886.

<sup>142</sup> BiSOS Series H, Femårsberättelser för Kalmar län, 1886-1890, 12.

<sup>143</sup> Leslie Page Moch and Rachel G. Fuchs observe several casual encounters such as a spontaneous meeting in a rural market which resulted in a friendship that ultimately led one woman to migrate to a large city following her friend. See Moch and Fuchs, "Getting Along," 41.

each time she travelled further and further into its depths. She only resided in Täby for about four months but this was enough time to cultivate some connections in the city.

Anna's first year in Stockholm is a mystery although it appears she became pregnant soon after her arrival and gave her baby away two months after giving birth.<sup>144</sup>

Anna moved into the apartments above a tavern on Artillerigatan on January 3, 1890 and began working there in exchange for cheap rent and an income.<sup>145</sup> The tavern below brought Anna into contact with all sorts of men but most likely soldiers given its proximity to the Andra Lifsgards barracks and the artillery and engineering college. Upstairs, the servants' apartments served as a nexus of sociability, especially for a woman relatively new to the city and eager to build connections that could help her secure steady employment. These "weak ties" helped them secure work when they fell upon hard times and were especially important for women without family living in the city.<sup>146</sup>

Almost exactly nine months after moving into the apartments above the tavern on Artillerigatan, Anna gave birth to her second child. It is unclear if she was dismissed because of that but by the time she gave birth, she had already moved to another building in northeastern Stockholm on the appropriately named Jungfrugatan nearby the Svea Artillery barracks. Later that year, the baby disappears from the household. Neither Anna's first child nor this second one appear in her aunt's home back in Kalmar so she could not or chose not to lean on her family to help raise the children.

---

<sup>144</sup> Rote 6, häfte 6299 (1878-1890), sida 70, rad 5, *Överståthållarämbetet, Skatteverket: Rotemännens arkiv* (SE/SSA/0032/03/06), Dia.

<sup>145</sup> Rote 10, häfte 10398 (1884-1890), sida 7, rad 5, *Överståthållarämbetet, Skatteverket: Rotemännens arkiv* (SE/SSA/0032/03/10), Dia.

<sup>146</sup> Granovetter, "The Strength of Weak Ties," 1372-1373.

Placing children in the city's foster homes was quite common and by 1894 foster children represented 1.34% of the entire city's population.<sup>147</sup> Foster children and homes played an important role in the survival strategies of some working-class women. Lisa Öberg suggests many single women surrendered their children to foster homes because they could not afford to pay someone to care for their children while they worked outside of the home.<sup>148</sup>

Anna managed to find a job at another tavern on Holländargatan after the birth of her child. In December 1891 Anna moved back to Jungfrugatan and again gave birth in March 1892.<sup>149</sup> She found a way to keep this child for far longer than her others.<sup>150</sup> She then found employment at the tavern "the Painter's Corruption" on Mästersamuelsgatan.<sup>151</sup> She and her child moved into the apartments on its upper floors and it appears she held a similar arrangement with her previous employer where she worked in the tavern in exchange for part or full room and board. This arrangement was

---

<sup>147</sup> Lisa Öberg, "Fosterhem i Stockholm vid 1800-talets slut," in *Studier och handlingar rörande Stockholms historia VI*, ed. by Sven Sperlings (Stockholm: Stockholms stadsarkiv, 1989), 187.

<sup>148</sup> Öberg also suggests that for better established working-class families, adopting foster children brought in additional cash which could help pay for their biological children. Her methodology encompasses both ends of the spectrum running from altruism to exploitation. See Öberg, "Fosterhem i Stockholm," 187.

<sup>149</sup> Rote 11, häfte 11493 (1889-1895), sida 18, rad 5, *Överståthållarämbetet, Skatteverket: Rotemännens arkiv* (SE/SSA/0032/03/11), Dia.

<sup>150</sup> Public assistance for children was still mostly provided by private resources at then end of the nineteenth century. In Hedvig Eleonora where Anna gave birth, a public nursery was opened in 1868 or 1869. There was also a branch of the "General Protective Society" (*allmänna skyddsförening*) by 1866. However, access to these institutions required knowledge of them in the first place—this information was often transmitted by midwives after delivering babies to mothers in need and this formed a vital component of women's informal networks or "weak ties." See Moch and Fuchs, "Getting Along," 46 and Granovetter, "The Strength of Weak Ties," 1372-1373. For information on poor relief in Hedvig Eleonora, see Lars Asklund, "Sammanfattning Hedvig Eleonora församlings fattigvårdsstyrelse," <https://sok.riksarkivet.se/nad?Sokord=Hedvig+Eleonora+f%c3%b6rsamling&EndastDigitaliserat=false&Be-gransaPaTitelEllerNamn=false&AvanceradSok=False&typAvLista=Standard&page=1&postid=Arkis+7a41946b-9a17-4988-89ad-daef57d21966&tab=post&s=Balder>.

<sup>151</sup> *Målarfördärvet*. According to Carl-Herman Tillhagen, this tavern was located on the corner of Norrlandsgatan and Mästersamuelsgatan where Anna was living. See Tillhagen, *Stockholms folkminnen*, 79.

ideal for Anna and her son but it was to be short lived as she lost her job at the end of January 1893.

Now without a home and without an income, Anna was in dire straits and was prepared to turn to crime. A couple of weeks later, on the night of 12 February, a housewife living on Krukmakaregatan down in Södermalm noticed the shoes she left outside were missing and caught a glimpse of a lone figure carrying something into a nearby alleyway. She followed the figure until it disappeared into the darkness. Her brow furrowed when the figure reappeared sometime later, this time with nothing in its arms. After the figure had gone, the housewife investigated where the spectre might have stashed her stolen property in a snow covered courtyard when she heard a cry from a nearby woodshed. She opened the shed door and discovered a young infant now blue from the freezing cold.

The housewife later testified that the shadowy figure had been Anna and that the freezing infant was her little boy. The police brought her in for questioning and Anna admitted to being without work for six weeks, stealing a pair of galoshes worth 20 kronor, and attempting the infanticide of her son. For all of this, she was sentenced to 6 months of hard labour.<sup>152</sup> In addition to her formal punishment, her name and crime were published in every major paper in the kingdom including *Kalmar*, the paper that reached her home parish and her widowed aunt.<sup>153</sup> This effectively severed any remaining ties she had to her home parish and her reputation that had been previously tarnished by petty thefts would

---

<sup>152</sup> "Det utlagda barnet," *Dagens nyheter*, 1 April, 1893.

<sup>153</sup> "Det utlagda barnet," *Kalmar*, 18 March, 1893.

never recover. Her only option was to seek the anonymity that only the big city could provide.

When Anna returned from her forced labour sentence she sought work in a new neighbourhood where her face and reputation were unknown. Any friends or connections she once had in Norrmalm had disintegrated as she committed a crime abhorred by the middle and working classes alike. She found an apartment on the far western side of Gamla Stan where she took a job at one of the many taverns in this part of the city. None of her regulars from her previous positions drank in these taverns so nobody recognised her. After about a year here she moved a few blocks away and she must have found steady employment as she put down roots and stayed here for about seven years. By this time Anna had managed to survive in the city by herself for a full twenty years. In the end it was disease that felled her. After she moved for the final time back in Norrmalm, she lived by herself for the last five years of her life. During this time she was hospitalised twice, and it appears she struggled with chronic respiratory problems. She died in November 1913 after being admitted to St. Göran's hospital.<sup>154</sup>

After running from a soured reputation in her home county, Anna sought the refuge of anonymity in Stockholm. She only encountered Stockholm's police once—they issued a vagrancy warning when deposing her because she admitted to lacking work for six weeks—but otherwise she maintained steady employment in taverns. Although she never had another child after her attempted infanticide, Anna managed to survive on her own without any kinship in the city for almost thirty years. She never married and none of

---

<sup>154</sup> Genline AB; Johanneshov, Sweden; *Swedish Church Records Archive*; Reference: 2798.1.27500, Genline AB; Johanneshov, Sweden; *Swedish Church Records Archive*; Reference: 2698.430.45700.

her children rejoined her when she established a much more stable life while living on Gamla Stan or after she returned to Norrmalm. It was her sheer determination and her ability to adapt to changing circumstances that she had developed during her early years that enabled her to survive in the uncaring urban environment.

*Agnetha the Maid and Seamstress*

Agnetha's biography reveals women's unique experiences navigating the differences between rural and urban courtship practices, the effects this could have on immigrants, and some of the alternative ways women resisted the social and economic stigma of illegitimacy. She moved several times before she arrived in Stockholm but only between different rural areas with small populations. She struggled with the norms of urban courtship and she found herself alone with three children to raise. Agnetha adapted to survive and she changed occupations and found a partner to help support her children after she was pushed out of domestic service. In her most desperate moments she stole clothes for her children but the nature of this crime shielded her from social ostracism in her neighbourhood. Ultimately she was successful in resisting the dangers of the city and built a life for herself and her family.

Agnetha was born in Tryserum Parish to an agricultural labourer and his wife in 1860. She was raised in a household of boys after her mother died and this left her with her father and her four brothers and most of them remained in the household throughout her childhood. Agnetha lived in this sheltered environment with several men looking out for her before she left to pursue domestic service jobs in other peasant households.

She left home when she was nineteen and moved to work in the neighbouring parish of Hannäs about twenty kilometres from her birthplace. One of her older brothers

had moved there when Agnetha was three years old so she had a family member there to receive her. About two years later she moved again to Valdemarsvik to live with her aunt who was a baker in the village.<sup>155</sup> The distance was again less than twenty kilometres and she stayed here for another two years. Eventually she got restless and tired of the safe, predictable, provincial way of life and set her eyes on the capital.

Agnetha secured a position as a domestic servant in the esteemed household of a police chief constable on Djurgården,<sup>156</sup> Here one could find the villas of the well-to-do and countless amusements enjoyed by people from every social class. Every night Agnetha gazed out over the waters of the Baltic Sea and could see the reflection of twinkling lights at the nearby amusement park called Tivoli located just a stone's throw away at Gröna Lund. She could also hear music while she performed her humdrum chores and daydreamed about this frivolous amusement enjoyed by countless courting couples.

Every unmarried in-migrant interested in finding a partner while in the city had to learn the rules of urban courtship and there were some similarities between this process in the city and in the country. The Swedish peasantry treated courtship as a serious matter and viewed marriage as a binding contract founded on participants' ability to support a family. Rural labourers searched for their marriage partners "at the barn door rather than the church door" as they sought proof of their domestic abilities before committing to the

---

<sup>155</sup> Department Detective Per Johan Pettersson, 10 December 1886, SE/SSA/0023/02/FIc, Box 3, Folder 111, Item 111, Förhörprotokoll angående varnade och häktade lösdrivare, Stockholms Stadsarkiv, Stockholm, Sweden.

<sup>156</sup> Rote 11, häfte 11236 (1878-1884), sida 4, rad 25, Överståthållarämbetet, Skatteverket: Rotemännens arkiv (SE/SSA/0032/03/11), DiA.



courtship process and strict social norms discouraged physical contact between courting couples.<sup>157</sup> These traits were also desirable in the city and women who possessed domestic skills or could support themselves were highly sought after.

The nature of Agnetha's romantic pursuits is unknown but she gave birth to her first son while still living in the home of the police chief constable. The birth record indicates she was a single mother and she conceived the child just one month after she arrived in the city.<sup>158</sup> The birth of an illegitimate child threatened to ruin her reputation and she either left or was forced out of the constable's household. She could not work and look after her child so she sent him away. She then moved into another service position in a wealthy area of the city before moving from home to home for several years. Eventually she left for the city's suburbs about 14 kilometres to the south to Huddinge where she stayed for about half a year.<sup>159</sup> After she returned to the city she lived in the parishes of Klara, Jakob, and Adolf Fredrik. She never stayed in any neighbourhood long enough to establish any meaningful connections. She gave birth to her second son about ten months after she returned to the city and became a seamstress. This son's birth record also lists Agnetha as a single mother.<sup>160</sup>

Agnetha's occupational prospects were quite limited although she does not appear to have experienced a difficult transition from one occupation to the other as she took up

---

<sup>157</sup> Frykman and Löfgren, *Culture Builders*, 93-94. Variations of this proverb also appear in northern Sweden as demonstrated by Daniel Andersson, "'Courting is Like Trading Horses, You have to Keep Your Eyes Open' Gender-Related Proverbs in a Peasant Society in Northern Sweden," *Journal of Northern Studies* 6 (2) (2012), 16.

<sup>158</sup> Födelse- och dopböcker, SE/SSA/0006/C I/31 (1884-1886), Hedvig Eleonora kyrkoarkiv, Stockholms stadsarkiv.

<sup>159</sup> Rote 7, häfte 7443 (1878-1895), sida 4, rad 20, Överståthållarämbetet, Skatteverket: Rotemännens arkiv (SE/SSA/0032/03/07), DiA.

<sup>160</sup> Födelse- och dopböcker, SE/SSA/0010/C I d/5 (1888-1891), Klara kyrkoarkiv, Stockholms stadsarkiv.

work as a seamstress. It appears she did not construct her identity around her occupation and took the work that best suited this next stage in her life. Seamstresses frequently worked from home and this enabled Agnetha to supervise and nurse her child when he was hungry. Women engaged in this form of employment typically occupied the same dreary and dim dormitories as domestic servants but their ability to change residences without compromising their employment provided the opportunity to seek consensual unions more easily.<sup>161</sup>

Agnetha moved in with a shoemaker who attempted to support her and her child in 1889. Cohabiting before marriage was by no means uncommon in Stockholm and forty percent of marriage partners lived together before their formal wedding as early as the mid-nineteenth century.<sup>162</sup> Her decision was also accepted by the surrounding community as she began to form more meaningful connections with her neighbours in the working-class parish of Katarina in Södermalm. She and her burgeoning family thrived here as she regularly engaged with other mothers as they took turns watching each other's children and this may also have supplemented her income. Agnetha gave birth to her third and final child in January 1892 but again there is no record of this child's father.<sup>163</sup> It is around this time that her first son who she had sent to live elsewhere rejoined her and her partner's household.<sup>164</sup> The family still suffered economically despite Agnetha's income from sewing and her partner's work as a shoemaker.

---

<sup>161</sup> Fuchs and Moch, "Pregnant, Single, and Far from Home," 1020.

<sup>162</sup> Margareta R. Matovic, *Stockholmsäktenskap*, 336-345.

<sup>163</sup> Födelse- och dopböcker, SE/SSA/0009/C I/26 (1891-1892), Katarina kyrkoarkiv, Stockholms stadsarkiv.

<sup>164</sup> Rote 14, häfte 15126 (1885-1894), sida 30, rad 27, Överståthållarämbetet, Skatteverket: Rotemännens arkiv (SE/SSA/0032/03/14), DiA.

The police issued Agnetha her first and only warning in February 1893 after they caught her committing a string of thefts from several shops in Norrmalm. This was a totally different environment and a world apart from the working-class neighbourhood in which she lived. A shopkeeper called the police from his store because she had caught the shopkeeper's attention for one of several reasons including her appearance, the fact she was a relative stranger in this neighbourhood, or perhaps her ineptitude as this was the only time she was documented as having committed a crime.<sup>165</sup> The police recovered numerous items but realised these were children's clothes. She admitted to stealing the items and confessed she lacked consistent work since the summer of 1889 after she moved in with her partner, the shoemaker.<sup>166</sup>

The newspaper *Fädernslandet* printed the circumstance of the theft and revealed the court's decision after Agnetha was sentenced. It encouraged the authorities to show leniency toward her because she stole to clothe her children. She was fined 15 kronor—slightly more than the value of the clothes she stole but was spared prison time.<sup>167</sup> This was a substantial amount of money for a seamstress in 1893 who could expect to earn a mere 75 öre per day and at that rate it would take all her wages for almost three weeks to pay her fine. Moreover, she still faced the problem of keeping her children warm in the middle of winter because the authorities confiscated the items she had stolen.<sup>168</sup>

---

<sup>165</sup> Matt Neale suggests one of the most important reasons men and women fell under suspicion for theft was because they were “out of place” and did not fit in with their surroundings. See Matt Neale, “Making Crime Pay in Late Eighteenth-Century Bristol: Stolen Goods, the Informal Economy, and the Negotiation of Risk,” *Continuity and Change* 26 (2011), 451.

<sup>166</sup> SE/SSA/0023/02/FIc, Box 3, Folder 111, Item 111.

<sup>167</sup> “Nöd och brott och lindrigt straff.” *Fädernslandet*, 25 February, 1893.

<sup>168</sup> This wage is based on an advertisement placed by “a single seamstress” in *Dagens Nyheter* in April, 1893. The advertisement reads: “en enkel sömmerska, van att ändra och laga, äfven att sy enklare

It does not appear this crime damaged her reputation among her neighbours. This neighbourhood was filled with men and women in economic situations similar to hers. People here commanded respect from their neighbours by demonstrating a willingness to work even when there was none to be had.<sup>169</sup> Agnetha consistently demonstrated this work ethic but the low income she received as a seamstress meant she simply could not afford the clothes necessary to shelter her children from the winter cold.

In the most desperate situations it appears there was a tolerance for some crimes in the moral economy of working-class neighbourhoods but it depended on where these crimes fell “on the continuum linking poverty and criminality.”<sup>170</sup> Agnetha’s neighbours were probably more tolerant of her because they knew of her dire circumstances and her need to provide for her children so they attributed her behaviour to her poverty rather than immorality or malice. They may also have been more willing to look the other way as she stole goods in another neighbourhood rather than in her own and against her own people.<sup>171</sup>

Agnetha’s willingness to commit this crime despite the potential for social ostracism reveals how desperate her situation was and how far she was prepared to go to ensure her children had the clothes necessary to survive the winter. She went to extraordinary lengths to raise her family and to care for her children and even brought her

---

klädningar, barnkläder, kappor m. m., önskar arbete i familj mot 75 ör pr dag.” See *Dagens Nyheter*, 14 April, 1893.

<sup>169</sup> Fyrkman, *Arbetarkultur*, 214.

<sup>170</sup> Shore, “Crime, Criminal Networks and Survival Strategies,” 144.

<sup>171</sup> Heather Shore suggests that even in a metropolis like London, crime was not committed by anonymous characters but by members of the neighbourhood who were plugged into its kinship and community networks. This inspired the ire of respectable residents of these neighbourhoods who then petitioned to have them removed. See Shore, “Crime, Criminal Networks, and the Survival Strategies of the Poor,” 145-146.

son back into her home after they had lived apart for nearly fifteen years. The role of her partner and his contributions are unclear and he never appears as Agnetha's spouse or a member of her family even after she left Södermalm. In 1902 Agnetha moved to Klara, then on to Jakob parish before she finally settled in Kungsholmen where she moved into an apartment all by herself in April 1908. Five days later, Agnetha died of respiratory disease.<sup>172</sup>

Agnetha successfully navigated the city and its trials in the twenty-five years she lived there. After she became pregnant within the first year she managed to carry on working in service for several years by sending her son away. She took up another occupation so she could work and care for her second child herself while at home. She did everything she could to care for her children despite the social and economic difficulties that caused her to resort to theft to ensure their survival in the winter. She found safety and security in her home in Katarina, one of the largest working-class neighbourhoods in the city and her neighbours either ignored or dismissed her petty crime rather than ostracising her and forcing her to move. In this way she coped with her initial lack of kinship ties in the city that had hindered and nearly ruined her when she first arrived.

#### **4.6 Conclusion**

The biographical analysis of these three men and three women offers a unique perspective on migration practices at the end of the nineteenth century by revealing the complexity of the decision-making process as migrants chose to leave their home parish.

---

<sup>172</sup> Her cause of death is listed as “*Lungsot.*” *Genline AB; Johanneshov, Sweden; Swedish Church Records Archive; Reference 2699.173.74400.*

Those decisions far transcended simple “push and pull” economic causes. This approach also uncovers several different types of migration that could not be captured without following these individuals on their journeys.

These highly-qualitative but statistically insignificant accounts demonstrates similar patterns to the quantitative analysis performed by historical demographers who examined in-migration and social inclusion at approximately the same time. Several demographers investigating social inclusion and in-migrants to port cities find that new arrivals in Stockholm experienced greater social exclusion than their counterparts in Antwerp or Rotterdam. They find that men were more likely to integrate than women in Stockholm and postulate this was because of the higher population of women in the city that increased the opportunities for male in-migrants to marry and establish roots there.<sup>173</sup> Lotta Vikström finds that few men and women stayed in Sundsvall permanently and suggests that preexisting social networks drew men and women back to the countryside as they reunited with the kin they left behind.<sup>174</sup> The longitudinal analysis of the biographies reveal that several of the men remained mobile although for different reasons. Sven presents evidence for Vikström’s conclusions as he returned to Kalmar and lodged with relatives while he sought familiar work on the railroad. Erik continuously returned to his home parish because this served as a base of operations while he continued to seek work on the seas and the tramp steamers that plowed the coastal waters between Kalmar and Västernorrland. Gustaf eventually left the city altogether and sought the rural

---

<sup>173</sup> Paul Puschmann et al, “From Outsiders to Insiders? Partner Choice and Marriage among Internal Migrants in Antwerp, Rotterdam and Stockholm, 1850-1930,” *Historical Social Research / Historische Sozialforschung* 40 (2) (2015), 345.

<sup>174</sup> Vikström, *Gendered Routes and Courses*, 174-175.

environment of his upbringing. None of the women returned to Kalmar and only Wilhelmina left briefly to find work in the city's suburbs. This limited sample suggests women moved on a more permanent basis while the men practiced transitory migration strategies after they arrived in Stockholm for the first time.

The qualitative comparison also departs from these other studies by revealing the nature of life in Stockholm and richly illustrates the struggles both men and women faced as well as the tactics they used to cobble together a living by engaging in many different types of legal and illegal activities. Herbert Gutman postulated that the first generation of new arrivals to urban areas struggled the hardest and needed to adapt in order to survive. They then passed these skills onto their children to improve their quality of life and improve their chances for success. The biographies reveal this struggle and the practices these men and women devised would remain obscured if this same population was viewed from a macro- or demographic perspective. Workers devised these in response to the overwhelming lack of institutional support either in the form of trade unions or a comprehensive social welfare system that cared for anyone beyond the "deserving poor."

The greatest advantage of studying individual biographies is that they situate that person in geographic, historic, and political space which provides an opportunity to explore the possible importance of their upbringing and how early transitions during their life had implications as they aged.<sup>175</sup> This is also one of the only effective ways to demonstrate the agency of in-migrants faced with unimaginable hardship. These six

---

<sup>175</sup> Paul Boyle, Keith Halfacree, and Vaughan Robinson, *Exploring Contemporary Migration* (New York: Longman, 1998), 110.

individuals had limited options at their disposal but demonstrate remarkable determination and perseverance.

This is particularly valuable for uncovering the narratives of working-class women and gendered differences since they demonstrated unique patterns of movement in response to social and legal expectations and restrictions. Domestic servants faced the potential exploitation from the men they served and although there is no evidence of this in the protocols, it is clear that Agnetha became pregnant very shortly after she arrived in the city while serving in the home of a police chief constable. Women sought different forms of recourse to cope with unique struggles and their ephemeral and fleeting presence in the archives is a testament to their often undocumented movements that the city authorities sought to control either through official means (within the rotmans system) or unofficially (with accusations of prostitution, see below). Working women could not avoid this scrutiny as in many cases they necessarily needed to leave the home to earn a wage to support themselves or to help support a family. This brought them into contact with the police and captures their lives within the official archival record.

Rodney Carter argues that the “silences” within archives can be determined and defined by those voices that are represented there. He suggests the feminist literary tactic of “listening to silences” may be useful for recovering women’s narratives as well as those of other marginalised groups although he cautions that some marginalized groups (as some feminist scholars have argued) may find power in this silence as the traditional narratives of oppression and exclusion are reversed.<sup>176</sup> In this case, the women’s

---

<sup>176</sup> Carter, “Of Things Said and Unsaid,” 223, 227.



narratives captured in the vagrancy protocol archive depict them committing illegal acts that run the risk of casting them solely in a criminal light. However, the biographical analysis illuminates these as mere moments of nearly unbearable hardship and reveal a much more nuanced and prolonged struggle similar to those experienced by the men captured in the exact same documents. In this way working-class women are brought into parity with their male counterparts as they all illustrated profound resilience albeit in different ways.

The men and women's biographies also reveal the importance of social networks in socially integrating into Stockholm's society and the different methods they used to construct them. Erik relied on connections to fellow Kalmar natives to help him get along in the city. His biography also reveals his shifting relationship with his fellow workers and their relative importance during the peaks and troughs of his time in the city. When he prospered he defended his fellow workers from the scrutiny of the police and even developed a reputation for his combative attitude. When he faced hardship he resorted to outright violence and intimidation to get a position on the docks. Gustaf also leaned on Kalmar natives although he relied on the criminal network he developed during his time in the Mounted Guards more frequently before abandoning the city. Agnetha also constructed a valuable network in her neighbourhood and the men and women there understood her plight when she resorted to theft to clothe her children to protect them from the freezing cold. Her neighbours looked beyond this indiscretion because they likely faced similar challenges and because she attempted to steal from a shop in a different and wealthier neighbourhood rather than from fellow workers.

These networks proved important during times of hardship but they did not necessarily guarantee long-term success in the city. Even though Wilhelmina's aunt preceded her to the capital and was there to receive her when she arrived, she still accrued more vagrancy charges than either of the other women examined in the biographical analysis. Anna's biography represents the hardship that awaited those who could not develop or sustain networks. If she managed to establish contacts with other working-class women such as those described by Moch and Fuchs she may have gained knowledge of how to terminate her pregnancy before she gave birth and avoided attempted infanticide.<sup>177</sup> Once she violated this sensibility she experienced complete ostracism and was forced to move to a new neighbourhood. Sven suffered a similar lack of networks and slipped through all social and administrative cracks with tragic consequences. The shared reliance on networks both for economic stability and social integration bridges the gap between men and women's experiences and reveals the basis for a shared class identity.

---

<sup>177</sup> Moch and Fuchs, "Getting Along," 48.

## Chapter 5 The World at Street Level: Hidden Forms of Resistance

### 5.1 Introduction and Argument

Stockholm's working class faced numerous forms of oppression towards the end of the nineteenth century including economic hardship, overbearing employers that ruthlessly sought to control the rhythm of their day, and the stereotypes of criminality and moral depravity constructed by the bourgeois press. The municipal government and the city's police also sought to document and monitor workers for any "deviant" behaviour including the overconsumption of alcohol and prostitution with the introduction of the Gothenburg System in 1877 and the 1875 Revised Regulation of Prostitution in Stockholm. These crushing forms of social and legal suppression and surveillance applied to all members of the lower classes and greeted in-migrants upon their arrival. If they could not develop sufficient knowledge of the city, its urban geography, and the unwritten rules enforced by the police, they risked vagrancy charges and even sentences to hard labour.

These men and women could not openly resist many of these forms of oppression as it could lead to their dismissal from their jobs or imprisonment.<sup>1</sup> Instead, they were forced to rely on non-confrontational forms of demonstrating their agency against the overwhelming social and economic forces dictating the conditions of their lives.

One of the most effective and subtle forms of resistance for men was the consumption of alcohol. They resisted legislation imposed under the Gothenburg System

---

<sup>1</sup> The threat of collective action, especially on the docks against companies such as A. F. Söderström, is discussed in greater detail in Chapter Two of this dissertation.

that tried to restrict when, where, and how much alcohol was consumed.<sup>2</sup> Workers drank on the job as part of traditions inherited from the guild system and to flout the authority of domineering bosses and foremen. They also snuck off the job site when their supervisors had their backs turned to visit their favourite drinking establishments. They drank at their favourite taverns after work. If they wanted to escape the scrutiny of a barmaid who refused to serve them under the new laws they could try to sneak past the omnipresent police and try their luck at another tavern. Some workers recognised the importance of this method of self-expression and took advantage of others when they became drunk. These “confidence men” either robbed their drunken victims or coerced them to buy drinks.

Women who were forced to resort to prostitution to survive had their own “weapons” at their disposal. Prostitution became a strategy for those without sufficient means to provide for themselves and they used several tactics to avoid registered status with the Prostitution Bureau and to circumvent its strict rules that restricted their movement and appearance in Stockholm’s busiest areas. The Bureau required women suspected of prostitution, or those already registered, to submit to regular physical examinations with an appointed physician. Many women avoided this humiliation either by providing written excuses feigning illness or asking their relatives to submit their exemptions in their stead. They also provided false addresses and remained highly mobile when they used “party hotels” to host clients. Some women moved in groups and successfully resisted the police by hurling insults making it difficult for the police to

---

<sup>2</sup> Foreign Office, *Sweden*, 1.

apprehend them. Other women passed on and off the police radar for years at a time although they constantly returned to their familiar territory or regular customers to supplement their income.

In the latter half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century “Stockholm marriages” emerged to cater to the needs of the city’s growing working-class population. Men and women entered into “Stockholm marriages” for several economic and social reasons ranging from the high cost of a marriage ceremony to the desire to get to know one another better before starting a family. They appropriated marriage on their own terms as an everyday “tactic” as they pursued their own emotional and romantic trajectories in the city.<sup>3</sup>

## **5.2 Historiography of Drinking and Prostitution as Forms of Resistance**

One of the most severe problems plaguing nineteenth-century society was the overconsumption of alcohol. Scholars began to express an interest in the subject following the rise of social history in the 1960s. They initially viewed alcohol consumption as a crutch for the working class as they attempted to cope with miserable urban conditions and relentless rhythms of work. Subsequent historians focused on the social interactions that surrounded alcohol consumption and the bonds that formed as working-class men drank to celebrate promotions and other social occasions.

Peter Stearns provided the first social historical approach to the intersections of the working-class experience and alcohol consumption in 1970 when he argued German

---

<sup>3</sup> De Certeau suggests the power subjects or the oppressed use “tactics” or artful maneuvers to operate and move within the “strategies” of the power holders. These tactics are not premeditated and are often times isolated incidents as the weak reshape oppressive forces to suit their needs, or “turn to their own ends forces alien to them.” See de Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life*, XIX, and Allan Pred, *Lost Words and Lost Worlds*, 70-71.

workers drank and used other coping mechanisms while adapting to life in the big city.<sup>4</sup> Stearns treats industrialization as a structure that oppressed unskilled workers and reveals the large amount of money miners spent on alcohol and thus treats alcohol consumption as a form of escape.

Four years later W. R. Lambert offered a more nuanced analysis of perceiving alcohol consumption as a way for workers to escape the oppressive structures of industrialisation. He links the structures of industrialization and urbanization in Wales to increased drunkenness among transient workers. He then suggests that the industrial employers responded to this phenomenon by radically restructuring working habits to promote the adoption of a more regimented and sober culture while simultaneously spurning the old one.<sup>5</sup> Lambert also reveals workers' agency by discussing their ability to obtain alcohol within the truck system by switching goods they received in payment for another commodity such as tobacco or beer.<sup>6</sup> Male members of the working-class are seen to possess some self-determination but he continues to treat alcohol consumption as a coping mechanism. Stearns and Lambert attributed the workers' alcohol consumption to the drudgery and hopelessness of industrial living as part of the ongoing standard of living debate that peaked around the time of the publication of their articles.

Michael R. Marrus completely departs from Stearns' and Lambert's treatment of alcohol as a means of escaping working-class drudgery in an industrializing and urbanizing environment. He argues that previous historians focused their analysis on

---

<sup>4</sup> Peter N. Stearns, "Adaptation to Industrialization: German Workers as a Test Case" *Central European History* 3 (4) (Dec. 1, 1970), 321.

<sup>5</sup> Lambert, "Drinking and Work Discipline," 294.

<sup>6</sup> Lambert, "Drinking and Work Discipline," 301.

times of economic difficulty that exacerbated poor living conditions and contributed to higher rates of alcohol consumption. He also criticizes other historians for exploring historic alcohol consumption solely from the point of view of reformers rather than from the perspective of the popular classes who represent the overwhelming majority of the drinking population.<sup>7</sup>

James S. Roberts' analysis of drink and industrial work discipline in Germany addresses a subject similar to that explored by Lambert although he approaches alcohol consumption among industrial workers both as an expression of their agency and as a problem for industrial employers. He exposes the limitations of one-sided source material such as factory inspectorate reports, temperance literature, union and socialist press publications, and medical and contemporaneous scientific writings on the Drink Question and instead proposes using sources from the perspectives of the workers and their employers that can produce a better representation of the struggle between them.<sup>8</sup>

For example, he discusses the lingering influence of the guild system on the industrial worker and suggests that they continued to drink *snaps* to celebrate promotions just as they did when moving up from apprentices to journeymen.<sup>9</sup> Roberts also reveals the implementation of new policies and the efforts of industrial employers to curtail drinking on the job and overconsumption during leisure time.<sup>10</sup>

---

<sup>7</sup> Michael R. Marrus, "Social Drinking in the 'Belle Epoque,'" *Journal of Social History* 7 (2) (Winter 1974): 116-117.

<sup>8</sup> James S. Roberts, "Drink and Industrial Work Discipline in 19<sup>th</sup> Century Germany," *Journal of Social History* 15 (1) (Fall 1981): 25.

<sup>9</sup> Roberts, "Drink and Industrial Work Discipline," 27.

<sup>10</sup> Roberts, "Drink and Industrial Work Discipline," 29.

Björn Horgby views alcohol consumption and other tenets of working-class culture through the lens of discipline in Norrköping during industrialisation. He asserts that the imposition of discipline was not a simple, unidirectional extension of employers' authority but was instead part of a power relationship where workers could defend themselves and resist efforts to eliminate their culture and traditions.<sup>11</sup> He notes that alcohol consumption was fundamental to skilled craftsmen who viewed "blue Mondays" as part of their craft traditions. Their valuable labour meant they could continue these customs until the beginning of the First World War while their unskilled counterparts in factories succumbed to workplace discipline as mechanisation made them easily replaceable and they faced immediate dismissal if found to have consumed alcohol.<sup>12</sup>

Ronny Ambjörnsson examines a similar arrangement in the Holmsund mill and the workers it employed. Ambjörnsson acknowledges drinking as a form of protest that preserves a sense of personal integrity despite social conditions that threaten it.<sup>13</sup> His interpretation of the dual nature of alcohol consumption reveals the deeper meaning it assumed in some workers' lives although he emphasises the role of workers' conscientiousness and temperance in shaping Sweden's modern-day political framework.<sup>14</sup> Although workers appreciated drinking and the comradery it inspired, they also strove to be seen as respectable and reliable workers and this antagonism continued

---

<sup>11</sup> Björn Horgby, *Den disciplinerade arbetaren. Brottslighet och social förändring i Norrköping 1850-1910* (Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1986), 251.

<sup>12</sup> Horgby, *Den disciplinerade arbetaren*, 153.

<sup>13</sup> Ronny Ambjörnsson, "The Conscientious Worker: Ideas and Ideals in a Swedish Working Class Culture," *History of European Ideas* 10 (1) (1989): 60.

<sup>14</sup> Ambjörnsson, "The Conscientious Worker," 66.



into the twentieth century. Other scholars such as Madeleine Hurd also present sobriety and temperance as the bedrock of the labour movement in Sweden.<sup>15</sup>

Johan Edman focuses less on why workers drank and instead examines the Swedish state's efforts to construct policies that forced alcoholics to undergo treatment in the middle of the twentieth century to protect the kingdom's productive capacity.<sup>16</sup> This approach is useful to examining the top-down, structural influence of policies and how they impact large swathes of the population.

Anthropologists have been instrumental in exploring the social meanings of alcohol consumption. *Alcohol, Gender, and Culture*, edited by Dimitra Gefou-Madianou and published for the first time in 1992 is an example of this multi-faceted approach.<sup>17</sup> Adrian Peace's contribution to this anthology offers another perspective on the role of alcohol consumption in social settings and his perspective is the most valuable for this work. He argues that the knowledge that Irish fishermen gained from conversations they had with their peers in taverns was vital to their commercial success.<sup>18</sup> Gerald Mars offers a similar explanation for the drinking habits of longshoremen in Newfoundland. He suggests that access to job opportunities was tethered to a sense of trust and cohesion cultivated through the act of drinking together while those who drank alone or did not drink at all were viewed with mistrust and were relegated to lower-paid and inconsistent

---

<sup>15</sup> Hurd, *Public Spheres, Public Mores, and Democracy*, 230.

<sup>16</sup> Johan Edman, *Torken: Tvångsvården av alkoholmissbrukare i Sverige 1940-1981* (Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell, 2004), 430-432.

<sup>17</sup> Dimitra Gefou-Madianou, ed., *Alcohol, Gender, and Culture* (New York: Routledge, 1992).

<sup>18</sup> Adrian Peace, "No Fishing Without Drinking: The Construction of Social Identity in Rural Ireland," in *Alcohol, Gender, and Culture*, ed. by Dimitra Gefou-Madianou (New York: Routledge, 1992), 171.

jobs on the docks.<sup>19</sup> Both anthropologists situate drinking at the centre of male sociability in spaces such as taverns.

In the early 2000s the field of alcohol studies underwent substantial changes as it expanded to include drug historians although one of its key debates remained at the forefront of the direction of future scholarship. In 2004 scholars in the International Congress on the Social History of Alcohol renamed the group to the Alcohol and Drug History Society. This change accommodated new interdisciplinary approaches to examine continuities and discontinuities in how societies treated alcohol, drugs, temperance, and addiction.<sup>20</sup> Even amidst these changes one central debate remained in the field that continues to influence the production of scholarship: whether to continue the historical or sociological study of social and religious movements advocating temperance, or to adopt new interdisciplinary approaches to alcohol studies.

Paul Michel Taillon's analysis provides a useful theoretical approach to viewing the consequences of temperance to class solidarity. He argues that alcohol consumption in the late 19<sup>th</sup>-century United States created a divide between "rough" workers who drank and "respectable" workers who did not. This social schism stemmed from competing ideas of masculinity.<sup>21</sup> Taillon begins by suggesting railroad workers faced considerable social pressure to drink and alcohol consumption became a component of the workers'

---

<sup>19</sup> Gerald Mars, "Longshore Drinking, Economic Security and Union Politics in Newfoundland," in *Constructive Drinking: Perspectives on Drink from Anthropology*, Vol. X, ed. by Mary Douglas (New York: Routledge, 2003), 91.

<sup>20</sup> Nancy Campbell, David Herzberg, and Lucas Richert, "Forty Years On," *The Social History of Alcohol and Drugs: An Interdisciplinary Journal* 33 (2) (Fall 2019), 161.

<sup>21</sup> Paul Michel Taillon, "'What We Want is Good, Sober Men: Masculinity, Respectability, and Temperance in the Railroad Brotherhoods, c. 1870-1910,'" *Journal of Social History* 36 (2) (Winter 2002): 320.

masculinity which unions combatted by constructing an alternative identity based on the bourgeois concept of respectability. This revolved around self-control, self-improvement, and the responsibility to defend hard-won rights from tyrannical oppression. Wives, sisters, and daughters reinforced this new identity by speaking at rallies, writing articles, and providing commentary to glorify respectable behavior as heroic.<sup>22</sup>

This interpretation adds another dimension to the rituals surrounding alcohol consumption by revealing the power of traditions and rituals to establish subgroups with alternative identities within the broader working class. The sociologist R. W. Connell suggests that multiple forms of masculinity exist simultaneously although one hegemonic form will emerge in different environments and spaces.<sup>23</sup> Tomas Nilson incorporates this argument in his examination of sailors in Gothenburg in 1920. He finds their drunken visual displays of fist fighting to protect their honour and resistance to police arrests reinforced a working-class masculinity that predominated on the city's waterfront.<sup>24</sup> This presents a compelling comparison with workers in late nineteenth-century Stockholm as workers who drank in moderation struggled to create an image of "conscientiousness" or respectability that competed with the "rough" image perpetrated by workers that drank in excess.

Recent scholars adopted an interdisciplinary approach in their analysis of alcohol consumption. Many of these scholars belong to the Drinking Studies Network that began

---

<sup>22</sup> Taillon, "What We Want is Good, Sober Men," 324.

<sup>23</sup> R. W. Connell, *Masculinities* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993), 12.

<sup>24</sup> Tomas Nilson, "Hey Sailor, Looking for Trouble? Violence, Drunkenness and Disorder in a Swedish Port Town: Gothenburg 1920," in *Port Towns and Urban Cultures: International Histories of the Waterfront c. 1700-2000*, ed. by Brad Beaven, Karl Bell, and Robert James (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016), 70-71.

in 2010 as the Warwick Drinking Studies Network and now includes over 350 members around the world. Their work is invaluable to illuminating the rituals and sociability surrounding the consumption of alcohol and its effect on transforming spaces such as taverns into places.

While some men consumed alcohol as a form of resistance, some women similarly challenged the state's efforts to control their bodies. The scholarly treatment of historic prostitution varies widely in both space and time but most approaches fall into two categories: the discourses surrounding prostitution and its regulation, and studies of the act as it transpired at the ground level using case studies and even autobiographies to explore the causes and decision to sell sex.<sup>25</sup> This historiography of prostitution is not exhaustive but includes studies related to the regulation of prostitution in Great Britain, Sweden, and Germany. These countries employed regulations that focused on preventing the spread of venereal disease in response to common problems in their port cities and garrison towns.

Judith Walkowitz and Tommie Lundquist's work reveal the benefits and limitations of comparative studies as they vary in geographic scope. Walkowitz focuses her analysis on the passage and reception of the Contagious Diseases Acts and how these were implemented at the municipal level in late 19<sup>th</sup>-century Plymouth and Southampton. By doing so she demonstrates the imposition of national legislation on the women it

---

<sup>25</sup> For a discourse analysis on prostitution, see Corbin, *Women for Hire*. For studies of prostitution based on comparative case studies see Judith R. Walkowitz, *Prostitution and Victorian Society: Women, Class, and the State* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980), and Tommie Lundquist, *Den disciplinerade dubbelmoralen: Studier i den reglementerade prostitutionens historia i Sverige 1859-1918*, PhD Diss., (Gothenburg: The University of Gothenburg, 1982). Some scholars incorporate cohort studies and discourse analyses in their examination of prostitution. See Svanström, *Policing Public Women*.

invariably targeted: those from the working class.<sup>26</sup> Lundquist uses a social historical perspective to explain the various approaches to regulating prostitution in thirteen of Sweden's port and garrison towns between 1859 and 1918. He finds no cohesive economic or demographic explanations for the sharp decline in prostitution after the start of the twentieth century and instead attributes it to the zealotry of municipal administrators and the police.<sup>27</sup> The breadth of Lundquist's analysis is impressive but his approach forces him to miss some of the local causes and nuances of prostitution.

Rebecka Lennartsson's exclusive focus on Stockholm provides a more thorough analysis of these variables and she uses this reduced geographic scope to reveal differences from one neighbourhood to the next. Her work reveals a "geography of sin" that followed the class-based boundaries that divided the city and women in well-to-do areas charged more for their services than did their lower-class counterparts.<sup>28</sup>

The renowned historian Richard Evans bases his analysis of prostitution in Germany's underworld on a scandalous autobiography allegedly written by a prostitute herself under the pseudonym "Thymian Gotteball." He points out this was targeted at a middle-class audience and above all else revealed that women were often forced into prostitution by insufficient poor relief.<sup>29</sup> In a similar case in the Swedish historiography, Lennartsson draws upon the autobiography of Anna Johannesdotter who suffered a

---

<sup>26</sup> Walkowitz, *Prostitution and Victorian Society*, 4, 7.

<sup>27</sup> Lundquist, *Den disciplinerade dubbelmoralen*, 438.

<sup>28</sup> Lennartsson, *Malaria Urbana*, 141-142.

<sup>29</sup> Richard J. Evans, *Tales from the German Underworld. Crime and Punishment in the Nineteenth Century* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998), 170.

similar downward social trajectory to “Thymian,” to frame her ethnographic analysis of the struggles and fates of many prostitutes in turn-of-the-century Stockholm.<sup>30</sup>

Lennartsson argues that many of the women who practiced prostitution were not easily identifiable by their clothing but the gaze of middle-class men, women, and policemen that formed a “panopticon” resulted in both the formal and informal regulation of prostitution. She references writers such as Claës Lundin and Fredrik Lindholm who authored accounts of Stockholm by walking the streets as flâneurs and processed what they saw through their middle-class gaze. They critiqued lower class neighborhoods and open displays of what they perceived to be overt and rampant promiscuity as prostitutes advertised their services.<sup>31</sup> Lennartsson also draws upon the Prostitution Agency Archive to demonstrate the informal policing conducted by members of Stockholm’s middle-class who wrote to the Prostitution Bureau to complain about women they suspected of violating the prostitution regulations.<sup>32</sup> This constant scrutiny of the movement and actions of women in public spaces served as another force regulating women’s behaviour.<sup>33</sup>

---

<sup>30</sup> Lennartsson, *Malaria Urbana*, 24. This dissertation also incorporates Anna Johannesdotter’s autobiography that passed through the hands of the middle-class editor Klara Johanson who claimed to have only revised the grammar of the work. The opposite could also be true if Johanson sought to improve the plight of prostitutes by exaggerating the contents of Johannesdotter’s autobiography or edit it to fit middle-class expectations. The extent of Johanson’s revisions is unknown but this source is still useful for describing some of the conditions prostitutes faced in late nineteenth-century Stockholm. Natalie Zemon Davis illustrates the merit of using disparate sources such as the rulings in other court cases and notarial contracts to depict rural life on the Iberian Peninsula in 16<sup>th</sup> century. Although her evidence is fragmentary her work represents the closest depiction to the truth the sources allow. See Svanström, *Policing Public Women*, 32, ff. 83, Davis, *The Return of Martin Guerre*, 4-5.

<sup>31</sup> Lennartsson, *Malaria Urbana*, 80.

<sup>32</sup> Lennartsson, *Malaria Urbana*, 126.

<sup>33</sup> Lennartsson, *Malaria Urbana*, 89.

Anna Jansdotter examines the religious forces shaping the reform movement that sought to eliminate prostitution in Sweden between 1850 and 1920. She focuses on the religious ideology that motivated and shaped the reform movement but emphasises how discourses found in journals, annual publications, and brochures of the New Evangelists and Salvation Army shaped this ideology.<sup>34</sup> Jansdotter rejects the idea that historical actors constructed power relationships based on “class” and argues instead that prostitutes and social reformers formed their power dynamic within the context (and in some instances the language) of religion.<sup>35</sup>

Yvonne Svanström’s analysis of the intersections between vagrancy and prostitution is largely informed by vagrancy protocols (*förhörsprotokoll*). She notes how the Vagrancy Law of 1885 created two categories of vagrants: those who roamed around from place to place, and those whose lifestyles were perceived to threaten the sense of decency held by the surrounding society.<sup>36</sup> She also finds two different life-story trajectories evident in the records of the late nineteenth century and early twentieth century. The first resulted in the creation of “professionalized” public women while the other trajectory was far more tumultuous and included several arrests and detentions in the lock hospital or *kurhus*.<sup>37</sup>

Svanström states that even though this latter group may be considered “disorderly” women, their repeated arrests and detentions could have been the result of

---

<sup>34</sup> Anna Jansdotter, *Ansikte mot ansikte. Räddningsarbete bland prostituerade kvinnor i Sverige 1850-1920* (Stockholm: Brutus Östlings Bokförlag Symposion, 2004), 388.

<sup>35</sup> Jansdotter, *Ansikte mot ansikte*, 393.

<sup>36</sup> Svanström, “Prostitution in Stockholm,” 203-204. See also Yvonne Svanström, “Prostitution as Vagrancy: Sweden 1923-1964,” *Journal of Scandinavian Studies in Criminology and Crime Prevention* 7 (2006), 142-163.

<sup>37</sup> Svanström, “Prostitution in Stockholm,” 213-214.

two different causes. The first was their difficulty adapting to the system and this is especially plausible for in-migrants who failed to learn the nuances in the regulation system and refused to cooperate with the police. The second explanation “can be seen as an active way of protesting against rules that circumscribed their lives.”<sup>38</sup> She does not substantiate this with any qualitative evidence and while it may be true that some women sought to subvert the Prostitution Bureau by brazenly disregarding the rules, the vast majority of women must have both feared and resented the forced examinations and detention in the lock hospital and sought ways to avoid it.

Svanström’s approach runs the risk of reducing women to statistics based on the number of arrests and internments in the lock hospital and disregards the emotional and physical trauma of repeated compulsory medical examinations. In contrast, Lennartsson provides evidence of the horrors of medical inspection from the clinical perspective of the Bureau doctors and the women they inspected. Her analysis reveals the stark difference on either side of the inspection as doctors recalled a matter of fact and methodical procedure while the women recollected countless details of the inspection as though it were seared into their minds.<sup>39</sup>

### **5.3 Attempts to Regulate Drinking and Forms of Resistance**

Attempts to curtail drinking proliferated across Europe and the United States throughout the nineteenth century and urban planning emerged as one of the solutions for solving the crises associated with the “Social Question.” In Britain, Ebenezer Howard

---

<sup>38</sup> Svanström, *Policing Public Women*, 385.

<sup>39</sup> Lennartsson, *Malaria Urbana*, 240-242.



spearheaded efforts with his utopian vision of a Garden City that acted as both a community and an economic unit. In these Garden Cities (which were realised in Letchworth and to a lesser extent at Welwyn Garden City) tenants paid rent sufficient to provide public services and farmers produced primarily for the local market. His ideology was informed by a prevailing urgency among reformers who sought to reconnect with nature to combat the evils of the “Social Question” as rampant poverty developed in lockstep with industrial capitalism.<sup>40</sup> In Germany, one of Howard’s contemporaries, Theodor Fritsch, also condemned the moral depravity of cities although his rejection of urbanisation was partly based on his idea that the city was the “seat of the Jewish lending business” and implied its harmful effects on the Germanic race.<sup>41</sup>

These ideas of urban reform soon found support in Sweden as Swedish city planners, engineers, and lawyers began advocating for an overhaul in the layout of the capital. In 1866 a committee chaired by the lawyer Albert Lindhagen presented a plan for a new city that sought to solve the problems of the city’s communication network, water supply, waste collection, pollution, high death rates, and overcrowded conditions by reorganising the layout of the main thoroughfares and rationalising new building plots in outlying areas.<sup>42</sup> This plan drew upon reforms instituted in London, Paris, and Vienna. It called for the creation of several parks to establish natural oases mimicking the kingdom’s countryside. In this way the city’s population could reap the benefits of rural life

---

<sup>40</sup> Alan March, “Democratic Dilemmas, Planning and Ebenezer Howard’s Garden City,” *Planning Perspectives* 19 (2004), 410-411, 416.

<sup>41</sup> Dirk Sshubert, “Theodor Fritsch and the German (*Völkische*) Version of the Garden City: The Garden City Invented Two Years Before Ebenezer Howard,” *Planning Perspectives* 19:1 (2004), 10.

<sup>42</sup> Catharina Nolan, “Stockholm’s Urban Parks: Meeting Places and Social Contexts from 1860-1930,” *The European City and Green Space. London, Stockholm, Helsinki, and St Petersburg, 1850-2000*, ed. by Peter Clark (Aldershot, UK: Ashgate, 2006), 113.

including clean air and sunshine without taking expensive excursions out of the city. The construction of four major parks took several decades to complete as tremendous amounts of soil and garbage were used to level the ground before it was planted with indigenous trees to mimic the Nordic forest.<sup>43</sup>

The most radical appropriation of the continent's urban planning strategies appeared around the turn of the century when the City Council considered the complete demolition of Gamla Stan similar to what Georges-Eugène Haussman had done in Paris.<sup>44</sup> The proposal called for rebuilding the centre of the city to banish its poor inhabitants to the capital's periphery where they would continue to exist although outside of the public view and where they were removed from the city's most important economic and administrative area. Ultimately this demolition never occurred and the government chose instead to institute more stringent policing and harsher legislation against alcohol consumption and prostitution.<sup>45</sup>

Legislation aimed at controlling the sale of alcohol for purposes of bringing consumption to heel began in the town of Falun and was followed by the city of Jönköping as early as 1850 and 1852.<sup>46</sup> Gothenburg followed suit in 1865 when the findings of an independent committee blamed proletarianization and the general poverty of the city's working population on the consumption of brännvin. This city introduced its own system to control drinking that stipulated that the sale of alcohol could not generate a

---

<sup>43</sup> Nolan, "Stockholm's Urban Parks," 114-115.

<sup>44</sup> This area of the city caused moral panic towards the turn of the twentieth century as discussed in Chapter Three.

<sup>45</sup> Hossein Sheiban, *Den ekonomiska staden: Stadsplanering i Stockholm under senare hälften av 1800-talet* (Lund: Arkiv förlag, 2002), 226.

<sup>46</sup> Karl Vilhelm Viktor Key-Åberg, *Stockholms utskänkningsaktiebolag, dess organisation och tjugofemåriga verksamhet* (Stockholm: P.A. Norstedt & Söner, 1902), 90.

profit, sales on credit were forbidden, the shops where it was sold were to be “bright, spacious, healthy, and attractive,” and good, cheap food was to be available to customers when they purchased alcoholic beverages.<sup>47</sup> Stockholm adopted this system in 1877.

These attempts to regulate alcohol consumption were well-intentioned as the government sought to eliminate what it deemed to be the disastrous effects of alcohol on the city’s working-class population but it had unintended consequences. New legislation led to the immediate shuttering of a large number of drinking establishments (see figure 5.1). The number of licensed taverns fell and then remained low rather than keeping pace with a steadily growing population. In the first year the system was introduced, the number of establishments licensed to sell alcohol in the city fell from 270 to 176 or a reduction of about 35%.<sup>48</sup> Moreover, legislation adopted in 1891 stipulated that bottles of liquor could only be sold on weekdays from 8 AM to 7 PM and taverns could only serve liquor from 9 AM until 10 PM.<sup>49</sup> These restrictions reduced workers’ ability to access alcohol legally because they worked for most of the time the shops were open and there were fewer taverns in which to drink after they finished their workday.

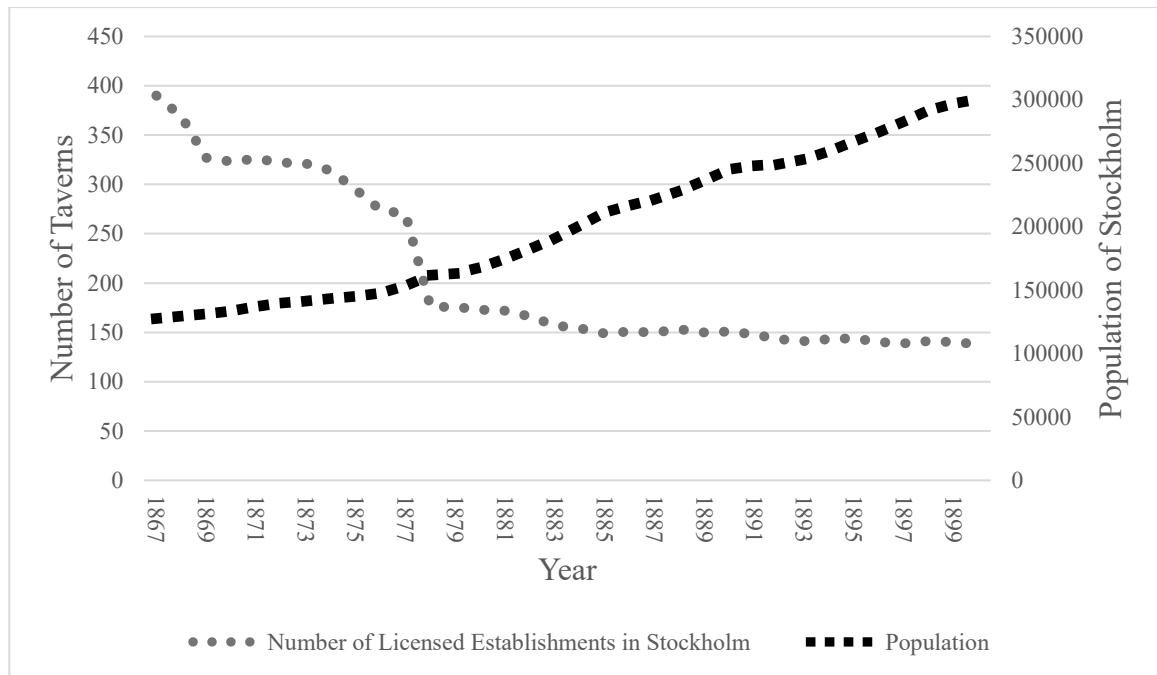
---

<sup>47</sup> Key-Åberg, *Stockholms utskänkningsaktiebolag*, 92.

<sup>48</sup> Stockholms stads statistiska kontor, *Statistisk årsbok för Stockholms stad, 1912* (Stockholm: K. L. Beckmans Boktryckeri, 1912), 42-43.

<sup>49</sup> Key-Åberg, *Stockholms utskänkningsaktiebolag*, 200-201.

Figure 5.1 The Number of Licensed Establishments in Stockholm versus the City's Population, 1867-1900



Source: *Stockholms stads statistiska kontor, Statistisk årsbok för Stockholms stad, 1912* (Stockholm: K. L. Beckmans Boktryckeri, 1912), 42-43, "Befolkning i Stockholm 1252-2005 - Från 1721 enligt stadens statistiska årsböcker" (Stockholm: USK, 2005), 55.

Many opportunities emerged that enabled workers to circumvent these rules and even facilitated alcohol consumption on the job. For example, horse-drawn carts carried barrels of beer to worksites and workers could purchase a drink and finish it before their foreman caught them. Workers could also sneak away from their jobsite while their foreman had his back turned and visit their favourite drinking spot to enjoy a quick shot of aquavit or small glass of beer.<sup>50</sup> People also purchased large quantities of liquor that they sold clandestinely whenever the liquor stores were closed. This was popular with

<sup>50</sup> Pred, *Lost Words and Lost Worlds*, 74, 234.

older working-class women who sold liquor by the sip and by the half bottle to supplement their income.<sup>51</sup>

Workers drank for many reasons that ranged from leisure to resistance. Many drank in moderation as a way to punctuate their day or to avail of the space of the tavern while they socialised with friends and colleagues. Others drank more heavily as a subtle act of resistance as they controlled when, where, and how much they were consuming. Those who drank on the job reclaimed some of their authority by pushing back against oppressive foreman who ruthlessly regulated the rhythm of their day. When drinking in the evenings, they were exercising their self-determination during a time when their employers could not control their actions by threat of dismissal.

The police began cracking down more than ever on public drunkenness after the introduction of the Gothenburg System. Rather than rising apace with the population, the average number of arrests more than doubled after 1877 and increased again substantially towards the end of the century (see table 5.1). The number of convictions also increased among men aged 15 to 30 who were typically single and devoted more of their time to the tavern and their income to drink than did their older, married counterparts.

---

<sup>51</sup> Erixon, *Stockholms hamnarbetare*, 143.

Table 5.1: The Number of Men Aged 15-30 and Convictions for Drunkenness in Stockholm, 1856-1900

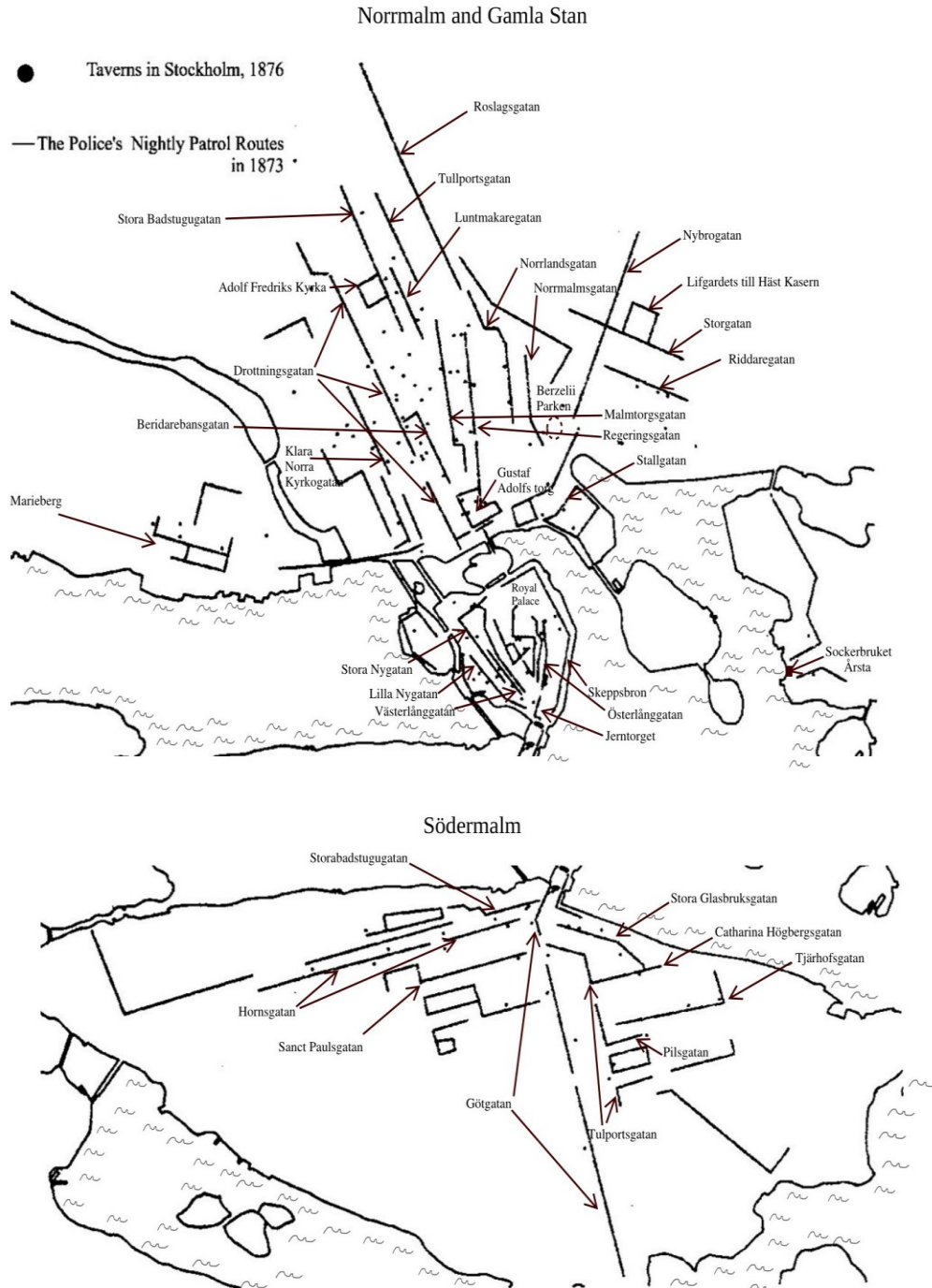
Years	Number of Men in Stockholm, Aged 15-30	Number of Convictions for Drunkenness	Rate of Convictions for Drunkenness among Men Aged 15-30 / 1,000
1856-1860	18,105	2,320	128.14
1861-1865		2,174	
1866-1870	17,020	1,765	103.7
1871-1875		2,945	
1876-1880	25,538	6,198	242.7
1881-1885		6,148	
1886-1890	34,133	7,511	220.1
1891-1895		8,266	
1896-1900	45,643	11,066	242.4

Source: Karl Vilhelm Viktor Key-Åberg, *Stockholms utskänkingsaktiebolag, dess organisation och tjugofemåriga verksamhet* (Stockholm: P.A. Norstedt & Söner, 1902), 67, Gösta Ahlberg, *Stockholms befolkningsutveckling efter 1850* (Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1958), 159.

This pattern can be attributed to many different variables including the growth in the population of young men in the city as they sought work and made connections in the city's taverns. The larger police presence around taverns towards the end of the nineteenth century also inflated the number of arrests for public drunkenness. The historian Hossein Sheiban suggests the efforts to control drinking, prostitution, and other behaviour that offended middle-class sensibilities resulted in more concentrated police patrols that focused specifically on taverns even before the introduction of the Gothenburg System in 1877 (see map 5.1).<sup>52</sup>

<sup>52</sup> Sheiban, *Den ekonomiska staden*, 223.

Map 5.1 The Location of the Taverns and Police Nightly Patrol Lines in Stockholm during the 1870s



Source: Based on Hossein Sheiban, *Den ekonomiska staden: Stadsplanering i Stockholm under senare hälften av 1800-talet* (Lund: Arkiv förlag, 2002), 223.

Police patrols in the 1870s focused on areas that contained a high number of taverns and this map reveals their preoccupation with controlling drunken behaviour. At the same time it reveals how much territory these constables were expected to cover. On Södermalm for example patrols covered the whole of Hornsgatan and Gotgatan that spanned several police districts and parishes. The police also encountered large numbers of men and women heading to the rural areas just outside the city. Several very popular taverns were located along this path and the long patrols undoubtedly created gaps that made it possible to become drunk but avoid police detection.

The city's police force grew towards the end of the nineteenth century and developed more sophisticated patrol strategies to monitor the city more effectively. The police force consisted of about 370 men in 1885 but by 1890 this number increased to more than 500 men.<sup>53</sup> The number of constables grew to maintain control over the city's growing population but the higher concentration of officers in some areas cannot be explained solely by population growth. When Claës Lundin recorded the number of constables in each police district in 1889, he found that a disproportionately high number of constables were assigned to areas such as Gamla Stan despite a decline in its population (see table 5.2). The number of taverns in 1876, the only other year for which data is available, reveals that the number of taverns on Gamla Stan remained high over the next two decades. This suggests the police continued to focus their attention on areas where drinking and the ramifications of criminal behaviour caused by it was more likely to occur.

---

<sup>53</sup> Bengt Järbe, *Polisen i Stockholm förr och nu* (Stockholm: Tidens förlag, 1975), 109.



Table 5.2: The Number of Taverns, the Population, and Number of Police Constables Assigned to Each Police District of Stockholm, 1876 and 1889

Police District	# of Taverns (1876)	Population (1876)	Taverns (1880s & 1890s)	Population (1889)	Number of Police Constables (1889)	Inhabitants per Constable (1889)	Constables per tavern (1889)
1 Gamla Stan	18	12,762	24	11,718	49	239	2.0
2 Maria Parish	14	21,242	6	29,590	24	1233	4.0
3 Kungsholmen	10	10,569	4	24,900	18	1383	4.5
4 Klara Parish	26	18,548	5	18,501	30	617	6.0
5 Adolf Fredrik Parish	7	16,587	1	40,379	29	1392	29.0
6 Jakob Parish	20	18,900	4	28,671	47	610	11.8
7 Östermalm	10	25,398	1	46,468	41	1133	41.0
8 Katarina Parish	12	23,516	15	36,123	31	1165	2.1

Source: Tillhagen, *Stockholms folkminnen volym I*,<sup>54</sup> Lundin, *Nya Stockholm*, 556, Sheiban, *Den ekonomiska staden*, 223, Stadens statistiska kontor, *Statistisk årsbok för Stockholms stad, år 1904* (Stockholm: K. L. Beckmans Boktryckeri, 1905), 16.

This table reveals the almost universal population growth in each police district but a disproportionately high number of constables assigned to certain areas of the city. There is a very weak mathematic correlation both between the number of constables assigned to each district and the population and number of taverns located there.<sup>55</sup> This indicates that the police concentrated their forces in particular districts for some reason other than population growth or a greater concentration of taverns. One potential explanation for Gamla Stan's greater police presence was the popular perception of criminality among its labyrinthian alleys. The city's newspapers associated it with

<sup>54</sup> Available from [https://dokument.nordiskamuseet.se/collection/504ef3ae-9deb-40ce-9954-97f7bf8713b1?index=text\\_sv\\_ns\\_t&query=krog&searchOffset=0](https://dokument.nordiskamuseet.se/collection/504ef3ae-9deb-40ce-9954-97f7bf8713b1?index=text_sv_ns_t&query=krog&searchOffset=0)

<sup>55</sup> The correlation between the population and the number of constables is in fact negative (-0.1323), as is the correlation between the number of taverns and the number of constables (-0.1520).

drunkenness, prostitution, and theft and even proposed ways to help reduce criminality in the area.<sup>56</sup> Rebecka Lennartsson points out the size and labyrinthine character of the city and asserts that there were never more than five patrols out on the streets at the same time. Those who knew where the police patrolled could easily avoid these areas and subsequent police scrutiny.<sup>57</sup>

Workers with urban knowledge and experience drinking in the city knew how to evade police patrols by taking back-alleys and shortcuts to and from their favourite drinking establishments.<sup>58</sup> They could actively subvert the regulations of the Gothenburg System by leaving one tavern after a barmaid refused to serve them any more alcohol to try their luck elsewhere by attempting to hide their state of drunkenness. However, each time they left an establishment they chanced running into the police who patrolled Stockholm's main thoroughfares and especially those used by members of the working class. This made it difficult to engage in extended drinking sessions as the workers and police played a constant game of cat and mouse.

Although many workers may have initially evaded arrest for drunkenness, some are captured in the vagrancy protocols for committing other crimes while under the influence of alcohol. One crime that appears several times is the notorious *lördagsstryk*, a popular working-class term used to describe Saturday-night wife beating. This notorious practice followed heavy drinking sessions after men received their week's wages and

---

<sup>56</sup> See Chapter Three of this dissertation.

<sup>57</sup> Lennartsson, *Malaria Urbana*, 151, Lundin, *Nya Stockholm*, 551.

<sup>58</sup> Pred suggests groups of dockworkers could resist the police if they travelled in groups as doing so would make arrests for public drunkenness too difficult. These encounters were still tense, especially with onlookers who could jump in to assist the police or their fellow dockworkers if necessary. See Pred, *Lost Words and Lost Worlds*, 235.

could afford to purchase drinks for themselves and their friends.<sup>59</sup> For example, on Saturday, January 14, 1893, a drunk Adolf Fredrik Robert Rehnlund appeared at his estranged wife's home in the working-class parish of Sofia in Södermalm at approximately eleven o'clock in the evening. His wife did not open the door to him but Rehnlund forced his way in and was intent on staying the night. He behaved "so irregularly" that she feared for herself and the safety of her children and fled to the police station on Tjärhovsgatan approximately nine hundred meters away. When two officers arrived at the house to arrest Rehnlund he flew into a rage, attacked one of officers, and screamed that he "wanted to strike [her]."<sup>60</sup>

In some instances the police treated abuse as disorderly conduct and did not convict offenders until they repeatedly violated the Vagrancy Act. In the worst cases this meant drunken abuse continued for years. The former language teacher Johan Petter Olai arrived in Stockholm with a wife and three daughters although he appears to have fallen on hard times after a few years in the capital.<sup>61</sup> After losing his teaching position in 1882 he took on work as a labourer to make ends meet as he struggled to become a successful artist. Olai's wife must have left him before 1890 and another woman reported him to the police for the first time on March 9, 1892. She claimed he had harassed her for no less than three years and during that time he frequently broke into her home on Uplandsgatan near the poor neighbourhood of Sibirien while in a drunken state. He destroyed her

---

<sup>59</sup> Pred, *Lost Words and Lost Worlds*, 66.

<sup>60</sup> SE/SSA/0023/02/FIc, Box 1, Folder 38, Item 38.

<sup>61</sup> Rote 9, häfte 9399 (1878-1881), sida 3, rad 19, Överståthållarämbetet, Skatteverket: Rotemännens arkiv (SE/SSA/0032/03/09), DIa.

property and threatened and abused her if she tried to force him out.<sup>62</sup> Exactly one year later she reported him for breaking into her apartment again, this time creating such a ruckus the neighbours complained loudly. He punched and slapped her until she left him alone and when he laid down to sleep he hugged a knife to his chest and threatened to cut anyone who disturbed him.<sup>63</sup>

Crimes committed in public were more likely to bring drunken men into contact with the police and often revealed their crimes that transpired in private. On the evening of March 20 1893 the former guard Jakob Wilhelm Sandberg was arrested on the premises of the tavern named Masis Knosis which was a very popular drinking establishment for working-class men.<sup>64</sup> Sandberg was a regular at this tavern and frequently bothered customers by staying there all hours of the day and begging for money to purchase his next drink. For this reason he became well-known to the police. The tavern owner called the police when Sandberg stumbled into the room he was renting and urinated there.<sup>65</sup> Evidence of other crimes emerged in the subsequent interrogation. The police officer interrogating Sandberg recalled that he had been brought into the police station the previous Christmas Eve when he threatened his brother's partner, the seamstress Charlotta Andersson. His brother intervened before the altercation escalated.<sup>66</sup>

Another consequence of drinking was the increased likelihood of becoming victims of criminal activity for native Stockholmers and newcomers alike although those

---

<sup>62</sup> SE/SSA/0023/02/FIc, Box 4, Folder 196, Item 397.

<sup>63</sup> SE/SSA/0023/02/FIc, Box 4, Folder 196, Item 196.

<sup>64</sup> This tavern was located at 47 *Kocksgatan* on the corner shared with *Götgatan*. This street is covered in great detail in Chapter Six of this dissertation.

<sup>65</sup> SE/SSA/0023/02/FIc, Box 5, Folder 231, Item 231.

<sup>66</sup> SE/SSA/0023/02/FIc, Box 5, Folder 231, Item 231.

unfamiliar with the urban environment were particularly susceptible to the criminal dangers that lurked there. The police frequently received reports of so-called confidence men or conmen (*bondfångare*) who were known to ingratiate themselves with countryfolk when they first arrived in the city. The police made it clear that a nefarious type of criminal was using alcohol to “persuade” their victims to pay for their food and drink, or to fall into such a drunken stupor that they could be easily robbed.<sup>67</sup>

Drunken and distressed people were particularly vulnerable to pickpocketing. One example of this occurred on the evening of October 28, 1886. A police constable intervened when he saw the young foundation worker Joahannes Gustaf Johansson chasing after a drunken older man carrying a large package. Johansson repeatedly offered to help but the man refused and told Johansson to leave him alone. None the less, Johansson relentlessly pursued him. After the constable apprehended Johansson, the victim found that Johansson had stolen a snuff box from his pocket while his hands were occupied carrying the package.<sup>68</sup>

Another well-documented example of the *bondfångare*'s tactics occurred on the night of January 11, 1893 when a very well-paid worker lost thirty-five kronor after getting mixed up with a band of cattle herders.<sup>69</sup> The complainant, the iron worker Johan Alfred Andersson, went to the police the following morning which prompted an investigation into the events of the previous night. The police arrested former sheet metal worker Johan Konrad Gustafsson and the labourer Jonas Ludvig Jonsson for robbing the

---

<sup>67</sup> SE/SSA/0023/02/FIc, Box 5, Folder 223, Item 1345,

<sup>68</sup> SE/SSA/0023/02/FIc, Box 5, Folder 223, Item 1345.

<sup>69</sup> This sum was the same as about two months' rent for a standard room and kitchen on the island of *Södermalm* in 1900. See Tengdahl, *Material till Bedömande af Hamnarbetarnes*, 20.

man. The former artillerist Johan Petrus Lönnqvist who was with them received a stiff warning. Each of these men were in-migrants but became associates on the job when they turned to cattle herding to gain some income during the winter months when they would otherwise have been unemployed.<sup>70</sup> Gustafsson and Lönnqvist lived in the same residence but all three men probably worked together before they encountered Andersson. The tactics used by the *bondfångare* appear sophisticated enough to lend credence to the idea that they robbed Andersson—if they did, they knew exactly who to target and when as Andersson had just been paid.<sup>71</sup>

On the evening of the night in question, Gustafsson and Lönnqvist left their home at 46 Torsgatan, (see map 5.2). They lived in one of the shacks or tenement buildings that characterised Sibirien, the poor neighbourhood on the northern periphery of the city. They walked about two kilometres to Jonsson's place at 54 Apelbergsgatan and from there they descended upon Hötorget where the police believed common and thugs lay in wait for the unsuspecting victim. The trio encountered the already inebriated Andersson as he walked east passed Hötorget towards Kungsholmen where he lived. He was waylaid on Östra Järnvagsgatan by the three men and he agreed (or was convinced) to join them at the tavern *Svanen* or "The Swan" located at 46 Gamla Kungsholmsbrogatan.

---

<sup>70</sup> 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 33, Item 33.

<sup>71</sup> Lawrence, "The Dreaming Boy and the Waking City," 108.

Map 5.2 The Robbery of Johan Alfred Andersson



1: Johan Konrad Gustafsson and Johan Petrus Lönnqvist's residence in Sibirien, 2: Jonas Ludvig Jonsson's residence on Apelbergsgatan, 3: Hötorget, 4: Johan Alfred Andersson's residence on Kungsholmen, 5: Svanen.

According to the barmaids Elin Augusta Johansson and Hilma Theresa Thulin, Gustafsson, Lönnqvist, and Jonsson were attempting to “make themselves intimate” with the already drunk Andersson.<sup>72</sup> Before long he became so drunk that Lönnqvist and Jonsson carried him out to the street with Gustafsson hurrying after them. Andersson later

---

<sup>72</sup> Lawrence, “The Dreaming Boy and the Waking City,” 110.

reappeared in the tavern and told the barmaids he had been robbed by the men that had accompanied him there.<sup>73</sup>

The city's newspapers tried to warn people to the dangers of bondfångare well before Andersson encountered them. For example, an 1891 article in *Aftonbladet* reported that a former artillerist and bondfångare had lured an unsuspecting farmer into the doorway of a house on Österlånggatan and stole his wallet containing 12 kronor.<sup>74</sup> Later that year the newspaper *Socialdemokraten* reported that a bondfångare was arrested and sentenced to hard labour for posing as a detective and following a country trader to Södermalm and robbed him of 65 kronor and a gold watch.<sup>75</sup> The newspapers made it clear to Stockholm residents that danger lurked in the shadows but suggested it was visitors, tourists, and rubes who were most susceptible rather than long-time Stockholmers with urban knowledge.

In-migrants who arrived in the city with little practical knowledge of potential predators in the city were easy targets especially if they were drunk. This lack of know-how also made in-migrant women the subject of bourgeois stereotypes that characterised them as naïve and susceptible to sexual exploitation. Middle-class publications suggest these characteristics pushed them to engage in prostitution.

---

<sup>73</sup> SE/SSA/0023/02/FIc, Box 1, Folder 32, Item 32.

<sup>74</sup> "En 'bondfångare' dömd. *Aftonbladet*, March 6, 1891.  
<https://tidningar.kb.se/g0swlfws2k6hrpd/part/1/page/4?q=bondf%C3%A5ngare>.

<sup>75</sup> "En bondfångare." *Socialdemokraten*, September 11, 1891.  
<https://tidningar.kb.se/9knstfrs7mvcms65/part/1/page/4?q=bondf%C3%A5ngare>



#### 5.4 Attempts to Regulate Prostitution and Forms of Resistance

Stockholm's municipal government considered prostitution to be one of society's greatest threats and sought to control it using both national and local legislation. It experienced tremendous difficulty doing so as these women increasingly defied both its laws and its expectations of how they should behave. The 19<sup>th</sup>-century bourgeois imagination constructed an image of the typical prostitute who was young, naïve, vulnerable, and who had experienced the metaphoric "fall" after men seduced her following promises of devotion and matrimony. Narratives and autobiographies produced by women such as Anna Johannesdotter reinforced these stereotypes. Johannesdotter had come to the city at a young age unaware of its dangers and took a job in a hotel although many people warned her about the dangers of working in such a dubious place. She was seduced by a man and after her "fall" she began to engage in prostitution.<sup>76</sup> She registered as a prostitute at the age of 22 and later experienced a literal fall when she attempted suicide by jumping into the water just north of Gamla Stan. She ultimately died in a poor relief institution.<sup>77</sup>

Anna Johannesdotter's age at the time of her registration with the Bureau is highly representative of other prostitutes in Stockholm at the end of the nineteenth century.<sup>78</sup> After her first incarceration in a lock hospital Johannesdotter began working for a madame who informed her that because she could pass for 17 years old she was likely to

---

<sup>76</sup> Anna Johannesdotter, *Den undre världen: en lifshistoria* (Stockholm: Wahlström & Widstrand, 1907), 32-33.

<sup>77</sup> Johannesdotter, *Den undre världen*, 33, 59.

<sup>78</sup> Between 1870 and 1904, 1,958 of the 4,651 slightly more than 42% of women who registered with the Bureau were aged 20 to 25. J. E. Johansson, "Statistisk utredning angående reglementeringen i Stockholm 1859-1905," in *Underdånigt*, vol. iii (Stockholm: Isaac Marcus' Boktryckeri-Aktiebolag, 1910), 63.

attract many customers.<sup>79</sup> This suggests a youthful appearance was both highly coveted and exceedingly rare among prostitutes in the city.<sup>80</sup>

The preeminent syphilologist Edvard Welander conducted one of the first investigations into prostitution in Sweden and used data from Stockholm to inform policymakers' decisions about how best to combat the spread of venereal disease. His analysis of registered women from the beginning of the Regulation of 1859 to 1884 shows that only 48 of the 2,541 women, or approximately 2%, were identified as being married.<sup>81</sup>

Johannesdotter's final occupation before she began engaging prostitution is dissimilar to most women when they registered with the Bureau. Between 1885 and 1889, most women (52.6%, n=262) listed "maidservant" as their previous occupation when they first appear in the records followed by seamstresses (19.1%, n=95) and women who performed manual labour (19.1%, n=95).<sup>82</sup> When Johannesdotter registered in 1898, very few women (7.5%, n=42) came from similar service jobs in hotels and other businesses as she did.<sup>83</sup>

The high proportion of women from domestic service may be explained by the difficulty of obtaining work in this industry if they could not secure a strong reference from their previous employer.<sup>84</sup> Women could also continue to engage in prostitution in

---

<sup>79</sup> Johannesdotter, *Den undre världen*, 36.

<sup>80</sup> According to the statistician J. E. Johansson, women aged 17-18 never represented more than 9% of all women registered during each five-year period he examined. See Johansson, "Statistisk utredning angående reglementeringenk," 63.

<sup>81</sup> Edvard Welander, *Bidrag till de veneriska sjukdomarnes historia i Sverige* (Stockholm: Wilhelm Billes Bokförlags Aktiebolag, 1905), 265.

<sup>82</sup> Johansson, "Statistisk utredning angående reglementeringenk," 75.

<sup>83</sup> Johansson, "Statistisk utredning angående reglementeringenk," 75.

<sup>84</sup> Gillis, "Servants, Sexual Relations," 164.

addition to other forms of employment. This dual source of income provided casual prostitutes with some degree of economic stability so they could accept said sexual activity at their discretion.

Women who registered with the Bureau included both in-migrants and Stockholm natives and the authorities found it difficult to attribute the growth of prostitution in the city to any one county. J. E. Johansson's statistics reveal most registered women were born outside of Stockholm although the capital provided the single-highest percentage of women of any other county in Sweden. Kalmar County supplied the second highest percentage of prostitutes between 1875 and 1894.<sup>85</sup> Yvonne Svanström argues that most prostitutes were from the city because of the difficulty of travelling to Stockholm although this does not account for Kalmar's relatively high representation.<sup>86</sup>

Rebecka Lennartsson suggests that in-migrants appear disproportionately in the Prostitution Bureau's register because they were unaware of various regulations Stockholm's police required women engaging in prostitution to follow. These included 11 rules that forbade registered women from visiting taverns, restaurants, cafés, inns, theatres or any places of entertainment, and prohibited them from soliciting clients on the street or from open windows. They were also required to wear decent attire and avoid provocative clothing that drew attention to themselves, stay off the streets after 11 P.M., report for inspection at their appointed times, and undergo treatment at the lock hospital if

---

<sup>85</sup> Johansson, "Statistisk utredning angående reglementeringen," 69.

<sup>86</sup> Svanström, "Prostitution in Stockholm," 209, 211.

the physician saw signs of infection.<sup>87</sup> The city's police also posted the following notice inside the office of the Prostitution Bureau where only registered women could see it:

For prostituted women, it is forbidden:

To visit the prostitution agency, located in No 3 Trädgårdsgatan, in vehicles travel[ling along] Storkyrkobrinken and Trångsund and pass through the Royal Palace. When walking on the street, [stay to the right side of the pavement]. [It is also forbidden] to stay on streets, alleys or other public places in the city within the bridges [Gamla Stan] on Hamngatan, Norra Smedjegatan in Strömparterren or Kungsträdgården, as well as on the sidewalk outside the Royal Opera, Hotel Rydberg or any other hotel.<sup>88</sup>

This unfamiliarity with Stockholm's regulations might explain why Ellen Sofia Dybäck from Uppsala County was repeatedly arrested for loitering outside of the Royal Theatre and the Hotel Rydberg presumably while trying to solicit high-paying and wealthy clients.<sup>89</sup> Alma Sofia Constantina Cevén from Norrköping attempted a similar strategy outside the Hotel Rydberg and was subsequently arrested.<sup>90</sup>

Women exhibited several forms of resistance to the police and public's panopticon and the Bureau's ability to find and arrest them. A room or apartment where they could receive customers was essential to avoid violating the regulations and receiving a warning, fine, or even a sentence of forced labour from the police. Many prostitutes remained highly mobile to avoid detection and subsequent inspection, and the majority of

---

<sup>87</sup> Lennartsson, *Malaria Urbana*, 63-64.

<sup>88</sup> "För prostituerade qvinnor är förbjudet:

Att för besök på prostitutionsbyrån, belägen i No 3 Trädgårdsgatan, i åkdon färdas Storkyrkobrinken och Trångsund samt gående passera genom Kongl. Slottet. Att vid gående å gata passera sin högra trotoar. Att uppehålla sig å gator, gränder eller andra allmänna platser i staden inom broarna å Hamngatan, Norra Smedjegatan i Strömparterren eller Kungsträdgården, samt å trotoaren utanför Kongl. Operan, hotell Rydberg eller något annan hottell." See Lennartsson, *Malaria Urbana*, 116.

<sup>89</sup> Överståthållarämbetet för polisärenden 4 (ÖÄ), Prostitutionsavdelningen Förhörprotokoll SE/SSA/0024/02/F I/1, Box 1, Folder 22, Item 22, 2 November 1885, 18 March 1886.

<sup>90</sup> Överståthållarämbetet för polisärenden 4 (ÖÄ), Prostitutionsavdelningen Förhörprotokoll SE/SSA/0024/02/F I/1, Box 1, Folder 47, Item 47, 2 October 1889.

registered women (58%, n=232 in 1904) took rooms at so-called “party hotels” to entertain clients and avoid the scrutiny of neighbours. These rooms cost between one and six kronor with the cheapest rooms on Gamla Stan and the most expensive in Östermalm.<sup>91</sup> Women moved about the city trading one “party hotel” for another to avoid the scrutiny of the police.

Women also had the option of staying at *flickställen*, or “girls’ places” run by women who charged high rent but provided room and board to known prostitutes and essentially performed the same function as brothels. These generally cost about 5 kronor per day and the madam supplemented her income by illicitly selling alcoholic drinks to the women’s customers.<sup>92</sup> Prostitutes paid for her protection as she could alert prostitutes if a policeman arrived looking for them and hide them in closets.<sup>93</sup>

Brothels offered the worst accommodations and the highest traffic of clients. Walkowitz places women living in brothels in Plymouth and Southampton at the lowest level in the hierarchy of prostitutes because their freedom belonged to the pimp or madame who ran the brothel in which they lived and worked and brothels served as a last resort for prostitutes.<sup>94</sup> Lennartsson also discusses a similar hierarchy in place in Stockholm that followed a “geography of sin” defined by the socio-economic conditions of different parts of the city. Women who rented spaces at flickställen or sold sex on the

---

<sup>91</sup> Johansson, “Statistisk utredning angående reglementeringen,” 176-177.

<sup>92</sup> Johansson, “Statistisk utredning angående reglementeringen,” 175.

<sup>93</sup> Lennartsson, *Malaria Urbana*, 151.

<sup>94</sup> Walkowitz, *Prostitution and Victorian Society*, 24.

streets of Gamla Stan were considered to be the lowest of the low and were referred to as “street fleas,” “gnomes,” or “alley ladies.”<sup>95</sup>

Emma Sofia Andersson suffered such exploitation soon after she moved to the capital. She served time in a workhouse at the age of 19 soon after arriving in Stockholm from Kristianstad and served as a maid, then a seamstress, and finally as an ironing girl less than a decade later.<sup>96</sup> She then married Karl Werner Karlsson, an in-migrant from Skövde in Skaraborg County.<sup>97</sup> The police soon discovered that he was living on the proceeds of his wife’s prostitution. He was also found to be letting rooms to several prostituted women.<sup>98</sup> He may not have been running a brothel *per se* but he clearly profited from the proceeds of his wife and his tenants.<sup>99</sup>

Prostitutes used their knowledge of police operations both in the Bureau and on the streets to avoid detection. They developed nicknames or pseudonyms for themselves and their friends and sometimes provided them in lieu of their legal names to avoid charges after the police arrested them.<sup>100</sup> Constables also expressed consternation when they sought women at the addresses they had been given only to find the street number

---

<sup>95</sup> *GatlafSOR, gnoor, grändkÄrringar*. Lennartsson, *Malaria Urbana*, 143.

<sup>96</sup> Rote 3, häfte 3010 (1882-1890), sida 9, rad 18, Överståthållarämbetet, Skatteverket: Rotemännens arkiv (SE/SSA/0032/03/03), DiA.

<sup>97</sup> Rote 3, häfte 3010 (1882-1890), sida 9, rad 17, Överståthållarämbetet, Skatteverket: Rotemännens arkiv (SE/SSA/0032/03/03), DiA.

<sup>98</sup> SE/SSA/0023/02/FIc, Box 3, Folder 124, Item 486.

<sup>99</sup> Brothels were officially outlawed by the Regulation of Prostitution in Stockholm Act and pimping during this time was relatively uncommon. See Lundquist, *Den disciplinerade dubbelmoralen*, 439.

<sup>100</sup> Sometimes these nicknames were flattering and meant to help solicit customers such as “the noble lady,” “the countess,” “the doll,” and “the figure.” Other times they were slightly exotic and elicited fantasies of English or American women including Doris, Dolly, and Sally. See Lennartsson, *Malaria Urbana*, 152. Pred also finds that some women gave each other damaging nicknames that made it difficult to secure clients. These included names like *Bult-fia* (“Screw Sophia”), *DödgrÄfvarn* (“The Grave Digger”), and *Vampyren* (“The Vampire”). Pred, *Lost Words and Lost Worlds*, 184.

did not exist.<sup>101</sup> Women also deployed their practical knowledge of the city's geography when soliciting in the streets. Per Anders Fogelström suggests prostitutes used hand signals and codes to communicate with one another when a police officer was near so they could avoid them altogether.<sup>102</sup> Those in-migrants forced to engage in prostitution were at a disadvantage because they had neither an intimate knowledge of the city nor networks of other prostitutes to communicate the presence of nearby officers and this left them more vulnerable to arrests and forced medical examinations.

Prostitutes also wrote letters to excuse themselves from examinations or asked their relatives to write the Bureau on their behalf to avoid these forced examinations. Johansson calculated that between 1885 and 1904 at least 40% of women registered with the Bureau avoided inspection and less than half of the expected examinations were actually performed.<sup>103</sup>

Registered women were not the only ones who resented the forced examinations under the regulation system. It came under severe scrutiny in the 1880s as international and domestic women's rights groups grew increasingly critical of the system and published their opinions in the popular press. Reformers who sought to repeal the regulatory system in Sweden rallied under the flag of *Federationen*, an organisation with its roots in Josephine Butler's organisation by the same name in Great Britain.<sup>104</sup>

---

<sup>101</sup> Lennartsson, *Malaria Urbana*, 152.

<sup>102</sup> Fogelström, *En resa till Stockholm*, 29.

<sup>103</sup> Johansson calculated this based on the women's legal requirement to submit for inspections twice a week, or 104 times per year. J. E. Johansson, *Reglemertingen i Stockholm* (Stockholm: Wahlström & Widstrand, 1913), 79.

<sup>104</sup> Yvonne Svanström, *Offentliga kvinnor. Prostitution i Sverige 1812-1918* (Stockholm: Ordfront, 2006), 190-191.

These social reformers clashed with medical professionals who viewed regulation as the only way to halt the spread of disease in the capital and beyond. The prominent Stockholm physician Anton Nyström published a thesis that addressed Federationen directly. He stated that the organisation and physicians wanted many of the same things including the end of prostitution altogether to improve the health and morality of society. However, he criticized their main initiative to abolish regulatory boards altogether and argued most physicians agreed that regulation was the only way to control the spread of venereal diseases.<sup>105</sup>

Nyström and his colleagues viewed prostitutes as the problem that needed to be addressed rather than the system meant to regulate them. He held prostitutes in a particularly low regard and treated them as hopeless causes that did not know any better and who represented a dirty and dangerous group that threatened the physical and moral health of the city:

"I don't know" is often the only answer they manage to give to all questions. That their life is miserable, need not be said, and by many among them prison is not much feared; there some of them at least have the advantage of being washed clean, getting rest and making a break in the constant alcoholism in which they find themselves. Like some thieves and vagabonds, prostitutes often end up preferring prison to freedom.<sup>106</sup>

Nyström's peer, Edvard Welander, was one of the most vocal defenders of the regulatory system because he viewed prostitutes as the primary vectors of disease throughout the

---

<sup>105</sup> Anton Nyström, *Om äktenskapet, pauperismen och prostitutionen - en medicinsk social undersökning* (Stockholm: Looström & Komp, 1885), 60-61.

<sup>106</sup> "'Jag vet inte' är ofta det enda svar de förmå gifva på alla frågor. Att deras lif är eländigt, behöfver ej sägas och af många bland dem fruktas fängelset ej mycket; där hafva somliga af dem åtminstone den fördelen att blifva rentvättade, få hvila och göra ett afbrott i den ständiga alkoholism, hvori de befinna sig. Liksom somliga tjuftar och kringstrykande, sluta de prostituerade ofta med att föredraga fängelset framför friheten." See Nyström, *Om äktenskapet*, 54.



city. He provided an example of the unwitting man “forgetful of his duty” who contracted syphilis and other venereal diseases by engaging the services of prostitutes. He then spread the disease to his wife who passed it on to her children in childbirth.<sup>107</sup>

After the turn of the century the resentment towards the compulsory medical examinations and vitriolic class hostilities resulted in outright threats against the Bureau that received the following letter in 1905:

To Upper Class Men and Women,

We no longer allow that the daughters of the working class, because they work for wages of prostitution and therefore live in free glory as all men do, [to] be sacrificed to the spoiled men of the upper class. Do you want to stop forcing our daughters into the prostitution agency, which you set up to protect the upper-class men so that they can significantly trample on our women[?]

We know [the] devil vomited the doctor that works at the upper-class' Prostitution Bureau, and beware, doctor, that one day you don't get maimed on your way to the Bureau. We are watching over you and an agitation is in progress among us workers to end women being forced into your devilish Bureau....

-A Coterie of Socialist Men and Women.<sup>108</sup>

---

<sup>107</sup> “...och fråga vi oss huru han blifvit sjuk, kunna vi finna, att han, glömsk af sin pligt, hos en prostituerad ådragit sig sin sjukdom... Fråga vi oss nu huru detta barn fått syfilis, finna vi kanske, att dess moder varit en prostituerad qvinna eller kanske ock att hon mer eller mindre oskyldigt blifvit smittad af barnafadern, hvilken åter i sin tur ådragit sig sjukdomen af en prostituerad.” See Edvard Welander, “Till belysning af prostitutionsfrågan,” *Hygiea* 51 (3) (March 1889), 134. See also Svanström, *Policing Public Women*, 305-306. Neither Nyström nor Welander were unique in their opinions and these were shared across Europe as many states struggled with controlling the spread of syphilis and other venereal diseases. Nyström in particular was influenced by international discourses as he spent extensive time on the continent studying dermatology and syphilis in Copenhagen, Vienna, Paris, and London. He also travelled to Switzerland, Stettin, Berlin, Munich, and Rome. See A.J. Bruzelius ed. *Sveriges Läkare-Historia ifrån Konung Gustaf den I:s till Närvarande Tid*. 3rd edition, Vol. 2 (Stockholm: P.A. Norstedt & Söner, 1899), 626.

<sup>108</sup> “Till öfverklassens män och qvinnor,

Vi tillåta inte längre att arbetsklassens döttrar för att de arbeta för prostitutions löner och därför lefva i fri härlek som alla män gör skall offras åt öfverklassens utlevade män. Vill ni låta bli att tvinga våra döttrar till horbyrå, som ni inrättat för att skydda öfverklassens män så att de skall kunna viktigt förtrampa våra qvinnor.

Vi vet hvilka djöfla kräk till läkare det är som tienstgöra på öferklassens horbyrå och akta er läkare att ni inte en dag blir lemlästade på er färd till horbyrå. Vi vahar öfver er och en agitation är i görningenr bland oss arbetare för att få slut på att qvinnor skall tvingas till er djäfla horbyrå...

-Ett kotteri socialister män och qvinnor.” See Överståthållarämbetet för polisärenden 1 (ÖÄ), Polismästaren Handlingar angående lösdrevare och prostituerade SE/SSA/0021/04/F IV/1, April 26, 1905.

In addition to the various non-violent tactics to avoid arrest, registered women also had more aggressive resistance strategies at their disposal. They verbally abused and attacked plain-clothes policemen when they were discovered and gained the sympathies of onlookers by feigning illness and falling to the ground or pretending the policemen had attacked them.<sup>109</sup> Prostitutes also travelled in groups and this ensured that even if the police constables conducted their patrols in pairs they were still outnumbered.<sup>110</sup> When police encountered these groups they had to decide if it was worth the risk of physical injury both to themselves and to the women if they attempted to arrest them.

Anna Carolina Bergman was an exception to the stereotypical prostitute in Stockholm because she registered early and continued to engage in prostitution even after she married. She registered with the Prostitution Bureau just shy of her 16<sup>th</sup> birthday and received her final warning for violating the regulations in May 1914 just before she turned 47.<sup>111</sup> She most likely engaged in casual prostitution as she intermittently passed in and out of the Bureau's records for years at a time. She either stopped engaging in prostitution or remained undetected immediately after she married the metal worker Emil Carlsén in 1895 but reappears in the Bureau's records after the turn of the twentieth century when the police arrested her for solicitation. Her extensive police record reveals her growing desperation later in life as she gravitated towards Gamla Stan.<sup>112</sup>

---

<sup>109</sup> Svanström, *Policing Public Women*, 405.

<sup>110</sup> Svanström, *Policing Public Women*, 406.

<sup>111</sup> Överståthållarämbetet för polisärenden 4 (ÖÄ), Prostitutionsavdelningen Förhörsprotokoll SE/SSA/0024/02/F I/1, Box 1, Folder 14, Item 14, 26 October 1885, SE/SSA/0024/02/F I/1, Box 1, Folder 14, Item 14, 27 May 1914.

<sup>112</sup> Rote 2, häfte 2396 (1888-1895), sida 8, rad 14, Överståthållarämbetet, Skatteverket: Rotemännens arkiv (SE/SSA/0032/03/02), DiA, SE/SSA/0024/02/F I/1, Box 1, Folder 14, Item 14, 25 May 1903.

Bergman's earliest arrests occurred in a wealthy area of the city and she likely solicited here because the "party hotels" there made it easier to avoid the police and she could charge more money from wealthier clients. Each of her earlier encounters with the police occurred on streets that were within one or two blocks from each other in the parishes of Östermalm and Jakob. This pattern persisted even after she moved out of the neighbourhood. The police issued a warning when they found her in Berzelli Park and then arrested her nearby about two months after she and Carlsén moved to the other side of the city in September 1903.<sup>113</sup> This area also had the finest and greatest number of shops in the city and perhaps she enjoyed admiring the luxuries in shop windows while she walked the streets.

Bergman's case reveals the lived relationship between individuals and the environments that surrounded them and case studies such as this reveal how this relationship shifted across time. As Bergman grew older she eventually crossed the threshold onto Gamla Stan and began to solicit in the worst area of the city's "geography of sin." To the people who knew the trade, she officially became a "street flea," or one of the older women who solicited from the shadowy alleyways of this old part of the city and entertained clients in the cheapest "party hotels" available.<sup>114</sup> In 1906 the police warned Bergman for solicitation on various streets on Gamla Stan.<sup>115</sup> Here the lowest of the low assumed the highest risk for the least amount of money.<sup>116</sup> Her downward

---

<sup>113</sup> SE/SSA/0024/02/F I/1, Box 1, Folder 14, Item 14, 7 November 1903, SE/SSA/0024/02/F I/1, Box 1, Folder 14, Item 14, 26 July 1905.

<sup>114</sup> Lennartsson, *Malaria Urbana*, 143.

<sup>115</sup> SE/SSA/0024/02/F I/1, Box 1, Folder 14, Item 14, 4 September 1908.

<sup>116</sup> Lennartsson, *Malaria Urbana*, 143.

trajectory and growing desperation may have been due to her separation from her husband.<sup>117</sup> At this point she lost part of her financial security as well as the companionship she had enjoyed for years. Although not all marriages lasted people still pursued them to suit their own needs and purposes as they struggled to survive in the city.

### 5.5 “Stockholm Marriages” as a Tactic

“Stockholm marriages” offered greater financial stability to some members of the working class. These arrangements acted as a “tactic” to contest the expectations of the church and state so men and women could pursue romantic engagements that benefited them socially and economically. Others continued to suffer economic hardship despite cohabitating although the arrangement enabled those men and women to remain committed to one another despite major obstacles including prison sentences and forced separations such as when one partner wound up in the poorhouse. The trials and tribulations they faced together and their ability to persevere suggests a romantic dimension to their relationships that was important to surviving in the city.

The church imposed its own restrictions on the population that encouraged men and women to marry. It required a formal reading of the banns before the church’s congregation three times to ensure nobody objected to the union. It was exceptionally rare for a couple to receive permission to wed without following this procedure.<sup>118</sup> If a parish priest believed a couple engaged in sexual contact before they announced the banns of

---

<sup>117</sup> Rote 15, häfte 42335 (1898-1926), sida 131, rad 7, Överståthållarämbetet, Skatteverket: Rotemännens arkiv (SE/SSA/0032/03/15), DIa.

<sup>118</sup> Matovic, *Stockholmsäktenskap*, 39-40.

matrimony they owed the church a steep fine equivalent to a month's salary for an agricultural labourer.<sup>119</sup>

Members of upper classes had their own expectations surrounding marriage and used it as a device for the transmission of capital and maintenance of social control. Although many relationships developed out of genuine affection and romantic feelings, members of this social and economic stratum required a formal marriage to control the transfer and inheritance of property.<sup>120</sup>

“Stockholm marriages” were predominantly a feature of working-class life. Margareta Matovic argues bourgeois mores surrounding virginity and legitimacy rarely influenced workers' decision to marry as they were more concerned with survival than abiding by the propriety of those in a different class than their own.<sup>121</sup> Those who had few belongings did not need to worry about inheritance, and women with property benefited from the freedom of extralegal family formation because they retained control over what assets they had and their children while they cohabitated with their romantic partner. Both men and women could use “Stockholm marriages” to try out a more permanent relationship to see if they made good match.

Some men and women may have improved their socioeconomic circumstances through marriage and Matovic finds that upward social mobility through marriage was gendered. Men initially experienced great success at marrying women far above them in the socio-economic order. In the 1860s 20% of skilled craftsmen (n=94) and 23.5% of

---

<sup>119</sup> Matovic, “The Stockholm marriage,” 392.

<sup>120</sup> The 1734 marriage law ensured a woman's guardianship and property flowed from her father to her husband after she married. Matovic, “The Stockholm Marriage,” 390-391.

<sup>121</sup> Matovic, “The Stockholm Marriage,” 398-399.

unskilled craftsmen (n=45) married women from the upper middle class.<sup>122</sup> She explains this pattern by pointing to the daughters of rural property owners who represented the majority of these matches. These women made attractive marriage partners to young skilled and unskilled labourers in the capital because of their dowries and because young women from peasant families possessed the skills necessary to run a household and raise a family.<sup>123</sup> The rate of intermarriage between women of the upper middle class and skilled and unskilled male workers eventually dropped to 15.2% (n=114) and 14.5% (n=85) in the 1880s as skilled and unskilled workers increasingly married women whose fathers were also skilled and unskilled workers in greater numbers.<sup>124</sup> The percentage of intraclass marriage increased from 16% (n=75) in the 1860s to 19.4% (n=146) in the 1880s.<sup>125</sup> Matovic also notes that in-migrant proletarian women faced worse prospects than their propertied counterparts.<sup>126</sup>

In-migrant women's lack of social mobility may also be explained by the social and spatial constraints they faced in finding a partner after they arrived in the city. Many of these women entered domestic service upon arrival in the capital as they sought the security of the room and board it offered. The trade-off for this convenience was extremely limited free time that was usually confined to Sunday afternoons.<sup>127</sup>

Unaccompanied women at the opera, theatre, or outside of establishments such as the

---

<sup>122</sup> Matovic, *Stockholmsäktenskap*, 231.

<sup>123</sup> Matovic, *Stockholmsäktenskap*, 240.

<sup>124</sup> Matovic, *Stockholmsäktenskap*, 233.

<sup>125</sup> Matovic, *Stockholmsäktenskap*, 231, 233, 238.

<sup>126</sup> Matovic claims about 75% of in-migrant women married unskilled and skilled workers with most marrying the former. However, the number of women represented by this percentage is not clear since she does not provide the number of proletarian in-migrants in her graphs showing partner selection. See Matovic, *Stockholmsäktenskap*, 231, 238.

<sup>127</sup> Jakobsson and Jakobsson, "*Orons och förtvivlans gerningar*," 42.

Hotel Rydberg or in Berzelli Park ran the risk of being mistaken for prostitutes. The police assumed women walking the streets at night intended to sell sex although the Prostitution Bureau received letters from women or their relatives complaining this was the only time they could get some fresh air.<sup>128</sup> After a woman successfully met a love-interest she had very little leisure time to get to know him. This made the prospect of a “Stockholm marriage” very attractive for young women and men who needed more time to assess whether they made a good match before they formally married.

In-migrants rarely sought companionship that reminded them of their home county. Matovic’s quantitative analysis finds it was very uncommon for marriage partners in the capital to come from the same parish or even the same county.<sup>129</sup> Leslie Paige Moch and Lotta Vikström offer two different explanations for why in-migrants married other new arrivals. Moch argues that the high level of in-migration to Nîmes created a large marriage pool of young migrants from different regions but who worked in the same types of jobs, lived under similar arrangements, and had similar constraints on their social lives.<sup>130</sup> Vikström suggests it was in-migrants’ desire to form new networks and to make

---

<sup>128</sup> The Bureau received one such letter on September 25 1894 from Klara Wedin who insisted that the Bureau leave her daughter alone since she could only take walks at night and had a rich fiancée so she had no need to prostitute herself. See SE/SSA/0024/02/E I 1, Överståthållareämbetet, Prostitutionsavdelningen, Stockholms stadsarkiv. Available from <https://stockholmskallan.stockholm.se/post/30389>.

<sup>129</sup> Her sample of 1,249 couples who married in the capital between 1860-1869 reveals that only 2.1% (n=26) were born and raised in the same parish before coming to Stockholm. This increased modestly to 2.9% (n=66) between 1880-89. It was slightly more common for married couples to be born in the same county; 7.9% (n=97) in the 1860s, 9.1% (n=147) in the 1870s, and finally 10.6% (n=236) in the 1880s. Matovic notes in-migrants from Kalmar were the only exception to this pattern. By 1890 there were enough men and women from Kalmar in Stockholm that they could find marriage partners from their home county. See Matovic, *Stockholmsäktenskap*, 205, 337-339.

<sup>130</sup> Moch, *Paths to the City*, 153.

friends with their new neighbours and workmates that ultimately influenced their choice of spouses.<sup>131</sup>

Men and women's often delayed marriages reveal their ability to adapt the process of matrimony to fit their own social and economic needs. John Hajnal and Christer Lundh observe that social customs in Sweden and elsewhere in Western Europe dictated that young men and women start households of their own when they married. This could require substantial resources and it took some young couples several years to save enough money before they could start a life together.<sup>132</sup> This was even more difficult for young in-migrants as they struggled to survive in the city.

There are numerous examples of men and women deferring marriage until their social and economic prospects improved. The blacksmith Lars Erik Andersson moved to Stockholm in 1885 and six years later he moved to Gamla Stan to a building with 15 other residents including Gustava Sjöqvist from Blekinge County.<sup>133</sup> The next year he lived and worked at Dihlström's, the poor house in Södermalm. It was during this time the police warned Andersson for vagrancy after they suspected him of stealing winter clothing.<sup>134</sup> After his fortunes improved and he had left the poor house he returned to the same apartment on Gamla Stan but this time the only occupants were Andersson,

---

<sup>131</sup> Vikström, *Gendered Routes and Courses*, 197.

<sup>132</sup> John Hajnal, "European Marriage Patterns in Perspective," in *Population in History. Essays in Historical Demography*, ed. by D. V. Glass and D. E. C. Eversley (London: Edward Arnold Publishers Ltd, 1965), 132-133, Christer Lundh, "Swedish Marriages. Customs, Legislation and Demography in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries," *Lund Economic Papers* 88 (2003), 13.

<sup>133</sup> Rote 1, häfte 479 (1882-1892), sida 10, rad 22, Överståthållarämbetet, Skatteverket: Rotemännens arkiv (SE/SSA/0032/03/01), DiA.

<sup>134</sup> SE/SSA/0023/02/FIc, Box 3, Folder 134, Item 134, 20 February 1893, Förhörsprotokoll angående varnade och häktade lösdrivare, Stockholms Stadsarkiv.



Sjöqvist, and her two children.<sup>135</sup> Their banns were read in April 1894 and the two married in June of that year.<sup>136</sup>

Andersson and Sjöqvist both brought unique life experiences to their relationship. The parish priest noted that Andersson was divorced when the banns were read and he only managed to dissolve his previous marriage in 1891. The priest also noted Sjöqvist brought three children to the marriage and none of them were Andersson's.<sup>137</sup> Andersson and Sjöqvist's "Stockholm marriage" enabled the couple to defer marriage until his prospects improved.

Erik the sailor and Magdalena discussed above provide another example of an economic incentive to delay marriage.<sup>138</sup> The two cohabitated for about nine months before they married on Christmas Eve, 1898 and Magdalena brought her baby daughter who had been born more than a month earlier.<sup>139</sup> Both Erik and Magdalena were immigrants so they had to rely on each other for support as Erik switched occupations following his final forced labour sentence and secured more stable work in the capital as a cement worker.<sup>140</sup>

Agnetha the maid exemplifies the social benefits and sense of belonging that Stockholm marriages brought to the couple. She flouted middle class expectations when

---

<sup>135</sup> (SE/SSA/0032/03/01), DIa.

<sup>136</sup> Storkyrkoförsamlingens kyrkoarkiv, Lysnings- och vigselböcker, huvudserie, SE/SSA/0016/E I a/16 (1890-1896), Rote 1, häfte 480 (1892-1913), sida 3, rad 15, Överståthållarämbetet, Skatteverket: Rotemännens arkiv (SE/SSA/0032/03/01), DIa.

<sup>137</sup> SE/SSA/0016/E I a/16 (1890-1896).

<sup>138</sup> See Chapter Four.

<sup>139</sup> Rote 16, häfte 15460 (1891-1900), sida 15, rad 8, Överståthållarämbetet, Skatteverket: Rotemännens arkiv (SE/SSA/0032/03/16), DIa.

<sup>140</sup> Rote 16, häfte 15460 (1891-1900), sida 15, rad 7, Överståthållarämbetet, Skatteverket: Rotemännens arkiv (SE/SSA/0032/03/16), DIa.

she cohabitated for several years although she never faced social reprisal from other workers in her neighbourhood.<sup>141</sup> Agnetha cohabitated with a shoemaker after she delivered a child out of wedlock and there is no record of their engagement before or after they moved in together in Katarina parish in Södermalm.<sup>142</sup> Neither her crime of stealing clothes for her children nor her “Stockholm marriage” violated the social code of her neighbourhood and it appears the community accepted her. Agnetha and her partner may never have formally married although he remained in her life for years indicating some sense of romantic attachment between the two.

Edward Shorter suggests the growing convergence in age between men and women reveals that they started to marry for romantic love during the period of industrialisation and urbanisation. Martin Dribe and Maria Stanfors find little evidence of age homogamy in their demographic surveys of southern Sweden and this suggests the preservation of property remained at the forefront of peasant marriage patterns in nineteenth-century Sweden.<sup>143</sup> Vikström investigates the age difference between men and women when they married before and after industrialisation in Sundsvall, Sweden and discovers that the average age difference between men and their partners remained largely unchanged.<sup>144</sup>

Marriage patterns in Stockholm appear to have differed from those in southern Sweden. Margareta Matovic observes a reduction in age difference between lower-class

---

<sup>141</sup> See Chapter Four.

<sup>142</sup> SE/SSA/0023/02/FIc, Box 3, Folder 111, Item 111, 10 February 1893, Förhørsprotokoll angående varnade och häktade lösdrivare, Stockholms Stadsarkiv.

<sup>143</sup> Martin Dribe and Maria Stanfors, “Age Homogamy and Modernization: Evidence from Turn-of-the-Century Sweden,” *The Journal of the Economic & Business History Society* 35 (1) (2017), 268.

<sup>144</sup> Vikström, *Gendered Routes and Courses*, 189.

married couples in the capital city. She draws a random sample across all social strata and notes the age difference between the husband and wife was greater at the higher echelons of society as these groups sought to preserve the generational passage of wealth and property. In the lower classes the age difference between spouses drew closer together between the 1860s and the 1880s and she explains this in socio-economic terms by suggesting that young bachelors no longer courted older women with more accumulated wealth and housekeeping abilities since younger women increasingly gained access to both of these assets in the domestic service industry.<sup>145</sup>

In contrast to Matovic's findings there was no discernable pattern of age homogamy among the small number of men and women from the cohort of 247 individuals who married during the period of examination. The marriages in the arrest records do not provide the quantitative evidence necessary to discern any patterns of age difference between couples towards the end of the nineteenth century. Instead, the case studies drawn from the police records provide evidence of Stockholm marriages and romantic attachments that transcend age differences. While these records do not support Shorter's thesis they provide qualitative support for the idea that romantic love helped couples resist the economic and cultural hardships they faced in the city.

There are several examples of wide age differences between couples drawn from the arrest records although couples with both small and large age differences experienced hardships regardless of their age disparities. The perseverance of these relationships suggests a vital romantic element that aided in their ability to survive in the city. For

---

<sup>145</sup> Matovic, *Stockholmsäktenskap*, 374.

example, there was about an 8 year difference between Erik and Magdalena although he adopted her child before they had several more of their own and this may again suggest genuine affection and a romantic basis for their “Stockholm marriage.”<sup>146</sup>

Karl Otto Pettersson and Alma Amanda Carlsson’s relationship suggests a romantic commitment that survived long separations and perhaps even infidelity.<sup>147</sup> Pettersson came to Stockholm when he was 17 years old. Carlsson arrived with her family when she was a young girl and she lived with them until she was 19 years old. When she left she took an infant daughter with her for whom she cared until she eventually found work as a brewery worker. Shortly thereafter she officially became engaged before she married her first husband, a fellow brewery worker and Stockholm native who died in 1884.<sup>148</sup> Pettersson met Carlsson a few years later and the two began a romantic relationship.

As soon as Pettersson moved in with Carlsson and her three children from her previous marriage in 1887 they became engaged. In October of that year she gave birth to Petterson’s daughter.<sup>149</sup> Three months later the police sentenced Pettersson to four years in prison for committing perjury.<sup>150</sup> Her fourth child, a son, was born just four months after Pettersson was released from prison indicating the child was not his.<sup>151</sup> He rejoined

---

<sup>146</sup> SE/SSA/0012/E II a/15 (1898).

<sup>147</sup> SE/SSA/0023/02/FIc, Box 3, Folder 109, Item 109, Förhörprotokoll angående varnade och häktade lösdrivare, Stockholms Stadsarkiv.

<sup>148</sup> Rote 5, häfte 5415 (1880-1887), sida 21, rad 19, Överståthållarämbetet, Skatteverket: Rotemännens arkiv (SE/SSA/0032/03/05), DIa.

<sup>149</sup> Rote 8, häfte 8520 (1886-1890), sida 12, rad 16, Överståthållarämbetet, Skatteverket: Rotemännens arkiv (SE/SSA/0032/03/08), DIa.

<sup>150</sup> SE/SSA/0023/02/FIc, Box 3, Folder 109, Item 109.

<sup>151</sup> Rote 17, häfte 43233 (1887-1894), sida 30, rad 9-1, Överståthållarämbetet, Skatteverket: Rotemännens arkiv (SE/SSA/0032/03/17), DIa.

her household that same year and by 1898 she had given birth to three more sons. The two finally wed in February 1899, about twelve years after their initial engagement, and this legitimised all of Carlsson and Pettersson's children that had been born during the interim years including the child that was not his. Their ability to endure such a long separation and engagement, and Pettersson's willingness to adopt a child conceived by another man during his prison sentence provides further evidence of genuine affection and the flexibility "Stockholm marriages" offered to men and women who, in this case, were driven apart for long periods of time.

Another example is that of Margareta Olivia Blomgren and Carl Johan Jonsson who both struggled during their long engagement and after their formal marriage. The two were constantly separated by economic hardship and their subsequent attempts to remedy it. In 1893 Blomgren was warned for vagrancy when the police found her begging.<sup>152</sup> The two experienced a few years of relative stability but in October 1900 Jonsson entered barracks established by the city to provide free emergency housing.<sup>153</sup> Over the next five years he was admitted to three different workhouses leaving Blomgren to fend for herself and her children.<sup>154</sup>

Blomgren's struggles overlapped with her separation from her husband. The police warned her in 1902 and again in 1905 when they found her in a hut in the park near St. Göran's hospital on Kungsholmen.<sup>155</sup> Each of her warnings coincided with her

---

<sup>152</sup> SE/SSA/0023/02/FIc, Box 5, Folder 204, Item 204, 11 March 1893.

<sup>153</sup> "Arbetslösa, hemlösa och lösdrivare," *Stockholmskällan*, Stockholms stad, retrieved 1 May 2024, <https://stockholmskallan.stockholm.se/teman/stockholms-sociala-historia/hemlosa-och-losdrivare/>.

<sup>154</sup> Rote 23, häfte 20174 (18971001-1912), sida 3, rad 22, Överståthållarämbetet, Skatteverket: Rotemännens arkiv (SE/SSA/0032/03/23), DIa, Rote 23, häfte 20163 (18971001-1909), sida 12, rad 21, Överståthållarämbetet, Skatteverket: Rotemännens arkiv (SE/SSA/0032/03/23), DIa.

<sup>155</sup> SE/SSA/0023/02/FIc, Box 5, Folder 204, Item 204, 10 October 1902, 11 November 1905.

husband's time in a workhouse. This couple's long engagement and commitment to marry reveals a strong romantic attachment that transcended several separations as they endured economic hardship in the capital.

## **5.6 Conclusion**

These case studies reveal the tactics men and women employed as part of their everyday resistance to considerable structural forces that threatened to crush them or sought to control them. Scholars such as Allan Pred and Margareta Matovic identify tactics such as alcohol consumption and the "Stockholm marriage" but they do not demonstrate how workers deployed them in actual scenarios such as those captured in the police protocols. Pred demonstrates the tactics of an average dockworker while Matovic's case study of Maria Parish, although impressive, provides a macro-level analysis of an entire population rather than demonstrate how "Stockholm marriages" transpired in individual relationships and circumstances. Each case study reveals unique motivations and practical deployments of tactics to cope with unique and unforeseen circumstances and several illuminate how useful various forms of networks including those used by prostitutes and romantic connections such as those seen in "Stockholm marriages" were to socially integrate into the city's society.

One of the most important similarities between men and women's tactics is their ability to circumvent laws aimed at controlling them. Men faced the oppressive nature of the Gothenburg System, a well-intentioned but no less stifling measure that dictated how they consumed alcohol. They playfully skirted restrictions on their drinking by purchasing drinks while on the job or sneaking away to do so and by buying liquor

illicitly. Women found ways to resist the application of the 1875 Revised Regulation of Prostitution. These laws sought to control when and where women could sell sex in the city and demanded the state be given regular access to their bodies in the form of medical inspections. For example, they resisted this intrusion by giving false names and addresses to throw the police off their scent.

Without a thorough knowledge of the environment in which they lived men and women faced severe consequences. Some developed networks to prey upon their fellow workers but the majority used their networks and the knowledge gained from them to avoid the police altogether. Gangs of *bondfångare* or confidence men emerged with the shared goal of taking advantage of other workers either by robbing them or coercing them into paying for food and drink. Women forced to engage in prostitution could dodge the police and stay off their radar for months using clever tricks but when they were eventually apprehended they were forced to undergo compulsory medical inspection. They also constructed networks with fellow prostitutes to monitor and avoid police patrols. This could mean the difference between apprehension and inspection especially for women new to the city who were not familiar with the Bureau's rules and regulations.

“Stockholm marriages” provided an invaluable tactic to lower-class men and women that enabled them to achieve some degree of economic and social stability in the capital. These arrangements are best revealed through a qualitative approach such as those provided by arrest records that demonstrate their value and illuminate another facet of everyday life that is otherwise obscured by official records. In the best cases they provided companionship that was indispensable for men and women who struggled to survive every day. The case studies reveal an intangible quality to these arrangements as

men and women sought the comfort and support from their partner who in many cases was a fellow outsider. This agrees with Lotta Vikström and Leslie Page Moch's assessment that in-migrants sought the company of other new arrivals because they both experienced similar hardships and devised common methods to resist them.

James C. Scott's "weapons of the weak" is a valuable theory for examining nearly imperceptible forms of resistance that workers engaged in within their everyday lives. Women forced to engage in prostitution displayed forthright "weapons" as they actively evaded the police and in some instances physically resisted arrest by travelling in groups. It is imperative to examine the context in which practices such as drinking and "Stockholm marriages" occurred if we are to interpret them as evidence of Scott's "weapons of the weak." Consuming alcohol constituted resistance when it was done on the job or used to defy employers during workers' free time. A longitudinal analysis of various "Stockholm marriages" reveal these extended engagements often persisted despite prolonged periods of hardship and suggest deeply romantic feelings that survived separations and infidelity. These tactics allowed workers to express agency when they lacked formal representation from unions and similar formal social networks.

These tactics undoubtedly became commonplace as the city's population continued to surge due to in-migration and this became the foundation upon which a working-class identity formed. Men and women's occupational titles and identities shifted with the economy and even the season. At the same time in-migrants came from increasingly greater distances and arrived with unique geographic identities. The final piece of the puzzle was a place where these differences fell away and where common bonds and networks could form based upon workers' shared struggles, tactics, and



strategies. It was in the city's taverns where men and women realised and expressed their shared experiences and this place emerged as one of the most important for the formation of a class identity.

## Chapter 6 Their El Dorado: The Tavern as a Place of Identity Construction

### 6.1 Introduction and Argument

In 1885, Fredrik Lindholm, writing under the penname “Phocas,” published a sensationalist novella describing a working-class tavern in Stockholm, noting that “in all its repulsive abomination, however, the tavern room is a veritable El Dorado for the guests who usually visit it.”<sup>1</sup> Taverns remained an integral part of everyday routines even after the introduction of the Gothenburg System in 1877 that dramatically reduced their number. Their position on main thoroughfares created a unique mixture of clientele from all occupational backgrounds throughout the day.

Before the introduction of the Gothenburg System in 1877 taverns were rowdy and dangerous spaces. The journalist Claës Lundin visited one in the latter half of the 1850s and describes in somewhat sensationalist prose how one risked life and limb by going there.<sup>2</sup> Upon entering one saw “the worst slobs, wretched people, shrouded or barely shrouded in rags.” All of the customers were completely drunk and some were passed out on the floor. Others were thrown out but managed to return.<sup>3</sup> The proprietors of these establishments did not bother cleaning the tables, the bar, or the glasses. The floor was strewn with sawdust to disguise the smell and dry out any waste or refuse the patrons brought in on their boots.<sup>4</sup> Lundin described a completely different environment

---

<sup>1</sup> *i all sin motbjudande vederstygglighet är dock krogrummet ett verkligt Eldorado för de gäster, som vanligen besöka detsamma. Phocas, Café-Studier i Stockholm, 193.*

<sup>2</sup> Lundin, *Nya Stockholm*, 75.

<sup>3</sup> *Gästerne utgjordes af det värsta slödder, uslingar, höljda eller knapt höljda i trasor. Hela sällskapet var vanligtvis öfverlastadt, några sofvo ruset af sig på golvet, andra sparkades ut då och då, men raglade snart åter in.* See Lundin, *Nya Stockholm*, 75.

<sup>4</sup> Nordström, *Årsberättelser*, 20-21.

when he returned to a tavern on Österlånggatan a few decades later. He observed a bright space with clean floors and walls and furniture in good condition and suggested all taverns looked similar to this example.<sup>5</sup>

The Gothenburg System created a series of regulations aimed at curtailing drinking and reducing drunkenness in the city while at the same time ensuring the money from the sale of alcohol reverted back to the state. The scheme entailed establishing a liquor dispensing company using money from investors to purchase licenses to sell alcohol and redistribute them to those who agreed to pay for the privilege on a regular basis and abide by the rules for dispensing drinks in a responsible manner.<sup>6</sup>

The new dispensing company offered licenses to taverns on the condition they obey a series of regulations that included reduced hours of operation, maintaining strict control and monitoring of drunk customers, and to only serve liquor to customers who were prepared to eat.<sup>7</sup> Taverns were open on weekdays from 6 AM to 10 PM and on holidays and Sundays they closed intermittently for several hours to ensure people could not spend all day in the tavern. They adopted the Sunday restrictions specifically to combat the overconsumption of alcohol before the beginning of the workweek.<sup>8</sup> These new regulations were upheld by an inspector hired by the dispensing company to ensure

---

<sup>5</sup> Lundin, *Nya Stockholm*, 75.

<sup>6</sup> The liquor dispensing company released advertisements offering to purchase the dispensing rights from drinking establishments. After they obtained most in the city they sold 165 licenses back, mostly to new establishments that could afford them and agreed to uphold the license rules. The remaining 11 in operation refused to sell the dispensing company their license privileges. Key-Åberg, *Stockholms utskänkningsaktiebolag*, 150.

<sup>7</sup> Key-Åberg, *Stockholms utskänkningsaktiebolag*, 196.

<sup>8</sup> Key-Åberg, *Stockholms utskänkningsaktiebolag*, 196-198.

proprietors obeyed the terms of their contract and failure to uphold them resulted in the forfeiture of their license.<sup>9</sup>

Barmaids also upheld these obligations and deftly navigated the spatial arrangement of the tavern as they served customers and used their “parasexuality” to maintain order and ensure they received the tips they needed to survive.<sup>10</sup> Both barmaids and their customers maintained a socially constructed boundary that influenced their behaviour within this space and became more sharply defined after the introduction of the Gothenburg System. Workers responded to the imposition of authority within this space by continuing their traditions and re-appropriating the tavern as a place of central importance to their culture. Their constant efforts to negotiate structural oppression and exercise clandestine or subtle forms of resistance transcended geographic and occupational differences and created a wider working-class identity that manifested in the various groups and social networks that formed in the city’s taverns.

This chapter draws upon original examples in Stockholm at the end of the nineteenth century and performs an analysis of the various dynamics and groups that formed in the tavern using scholarship that focuses on comparable examples across Europe. Stockholm’s taverns shared many attributes with those in eighteenth-century Paris or nineteenth-century London or Edinburgh and as Sweden’s capital became increasingly integrated into Europe’s economic and social order its municipal policy makers saw the need to regulate these spaces using the examples drawn from their

---

<sup>9</sup> Key-Åberg, *Stockholms utskänkningsaktiebolag* 171.

<sup>10</sup> Peter Bailey defines “parasexuality” as “sexuality that is deployed but contained, carefully channelled rather than fully discharged.” Peter Bailey, *Popular Culture and Performance in the Victorian City* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 151-152.

continental counterparts. The spaces themselves looked alike and they remained largely unchanged for hundreds of years until new legislation was introduced to control them. Similarly, many scholars maintain these were strictly gendered spaces although the archetypal image of “barmaid” and their role in the tavern merits much greater consideration in exploring their agency and ability to exercise influence within those locales. It is, therefore, imperative to draw upon international examples to illuminate an otherwise deeply obscured and sparsely documented but nonetheless indispensable place where members of the working class came together to establish social networks.

## **6.2 The Spatial Distribution of Taverns in Stockholm**

Stockholm’s working population adapted to their urban environment and appropriated the space of the city as they walked its streets. Policy makers were aware of this relationship and sought to modify the geographic proliferation of taverns to reduce drunkenness in the city. Mapping the location of taverns provides an opportunity to examine spatial relationships that otherwise go unnoticed. This is invaluable when examining the relationship between the lived environment, actors’ movement as they navigated them at the street level, and how policy changes forced actors to renegotiate their relationship with the city.<sup>11</sup>

Many dockworkers walked Gamla Stan on their way to work or in search of it.

This helps explain why this area supported the greatest concentration of taverns in the city

---

<sup>11</sup> David Beckingham explores how Liverpool’s municipal authorities adopted new policies surrounding alcohol consumption and prostitution and how people responded by operating within and around these new policies. His work is also useful for demonstrating the spatial relationship between taverns and hotels and why this inspired policy changes in the first place. See Beckingham, “Gender, Space, and Drunkenness: Liverpool’s Licensed Premises, 1860-1914,” *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 102 (3) (2012): 647-666.

(see map 6.1). The visible overlapping of people from different social classes created a sense of urgency to police this part of the city and protect the administrative nerve centre of the kingdom. The frequency of sailors and dockworkers influenced the “moral geography” of this area and endowed it with a reputation for prostitution, drunkenness, and criminality.<sup>12</sup> The bourgeois perception of immorality was shaped across the nineteenth century. Tensions manifested as early as the 1830s when riots forced the closure of two short-lived semi-official brothels called the London and the Stadt Hamburg that were both situated on Gamla Stan near the docks.<sup>13</sup> Newspaper articles frequently highlighted accounts of drunkenness and criminal activity in this part of the city.<sup>14</sup>

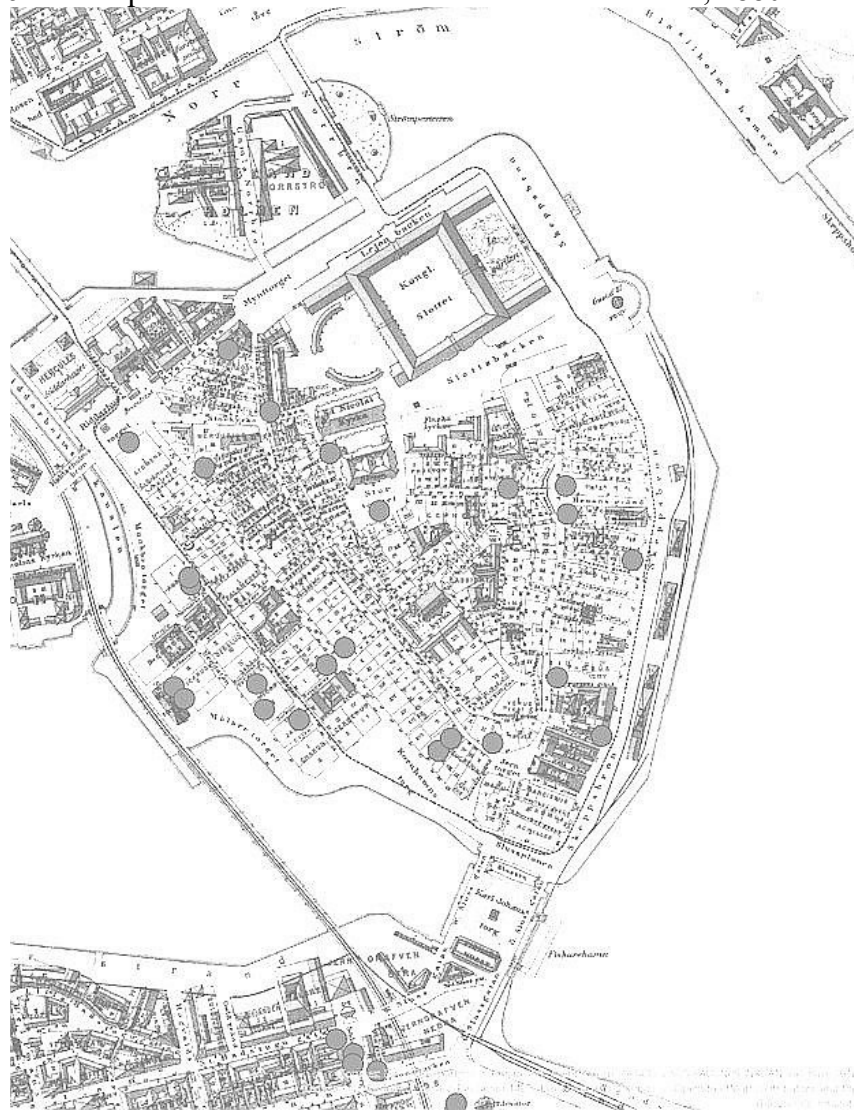
---

<sup>12</sup> Felix Driver uses the term “moral geography” to describe the overlapping discourses of morality, health, and space. See Driver, “Moral Geographies: Social Science and the Urban Environment in Mid-Nineteenth Century England,” *Transactions: Institute of British Geographers*, 13 (1988), 275-287. Robert Lee argues the popular imagination overemphasised sailors’ ability to seek taverns and prostitutes since they only received short shore-leaves and faced reprisal from their captains if they returned drunk to their ship. See Lee, “The Seafarers’ Urban World: A Critical Review,” *International Journal of Maritime History* XXV (1) (June 2013): 32.

<sup>13</sup> These brothels closed after just a few months after rioting mobs attacked both establishments. See Yvonne Svanström, *Policing Public Women*, 269-272.

<sup>14</sup> This is discussed extensively in Chapter Three of this dissertation.

Map 6.1 The Spatial Distribution of Taverns on Gamla Stan, 1880s and 1890s



Source: Carl-Herman Tillhagen, *Stockholms folkminnen volym I*, 65-79.<sup>15</sup>

There are two explanations for the relatively high concentration of taverns on Gamla Stan after the introduction of the Gothenburg System. The first is that this area required more taverns to service the highest traffic in the city throughout the day and this

<sup>15</sup> Available from [https://dokument.nordiskamuseet.se/collection/504ef3ae-9deb-40ce-9954-97f7bf8713b1?index=text\\_sv\\_ns\\_t&query=krog&searchOffset=0](https://dokument.nordiskamuseet.se/collection/504ef3ae-9deb-40ce-9954-97f7bf8713b1?index=text_sv_ns_t&query=krog&searchOffset=0).

reinforced the popular association between this area and vice. However, this also meant officials could more easily observe drinkers in controlled environments with more stringent regulations and reduce clandestine drinking and public drunkenness in the area.<sup>16</sup> The second is that policy makers considered the financial advantages these taverns presented and selected those that earned the municipality the most money. Key-Åberg points out that after the system was introduced the liquor dispensing company reopened 94 taverns that had been closed while the remaining locations were opened in new, more suitable premises.<sup>17</sup> The city's 176 taverns generated a little over 800,000 kronor for the state in its first year of operation.<sup>18</sup>

In Norrmalm, workers remembered taverns along some of the main thoroughfares including Regeringsgatan that ran north from Gustav Adolf's Torg to the less-developed peripherals of Jakob parish (see the centre right of map 6.2). The poorest workers could pass through any one of these taverns on their way back to the sheds and shacks that characterised Siberien in the northwest of the city.<sup>19</sup> There is also a cluster of taverns located towards the centre-left of the map on Hötorget which the police associated with immoral and criminal behaviour.<sup>20</sup> The tavern located near the Grand Hôtel on

---

<sup>16</sup> Dan Malleck observes a similar practical approach used by the Liquor Control Board of Ontario (LCBO) in Toronto and St. Catherines, Ontario. The LCBO sought to control the number of licences it issued to hotels, especially those near sports arenas for fear it could corrupt the youths that played there. See Malleck, "When Beer was Off-Side: Drink, Sport, and the Ideals of Civic Citizenship in Two Ontario Cities, 1934-44," *Journal of Canadian Studies* 49 (3) (Fall 2015): 145.

<sup>17</sup> Key-Åberg, *Stockholms utskänkningsaktiebolag*, 180.

<sup>18</sup> Key-Åberg, *Stockholms utskänkningsaktiebolag*, (Appendix 7), 59.

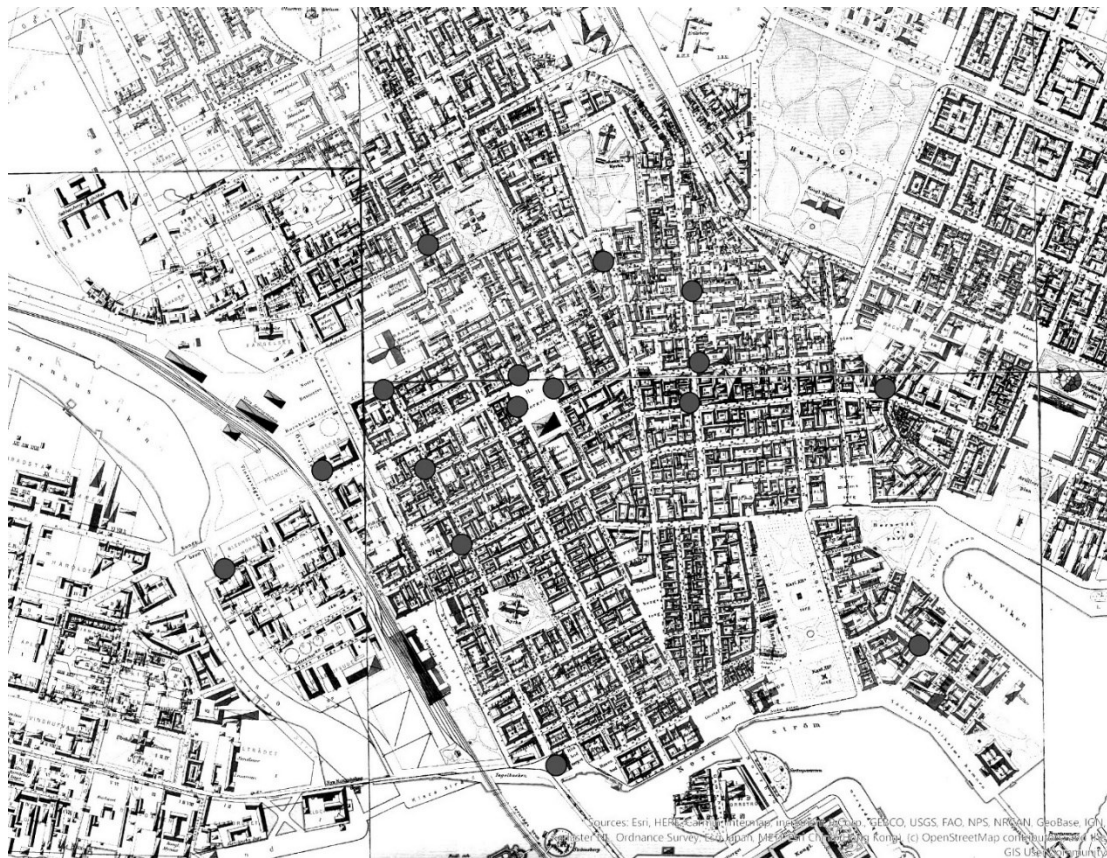
<sup>19</sup> Pred, *Lost Words and Lost Worlds*, 95.

<sup>20</sup> The preamble to the arrest reports for the conmen who robbed Johan Alfred Andersson warned "In recent times, a number of punished and ill-known men, connected in leagues, have had their haunts at Hötorget." Original: *Under senare tiden har en mängd straffads och illa kända manspersoner, sammanslutire i ligor, haft sitt tillhåll å Hötorget*. 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 33, Item 33.



Blasieholmen was referred to as Kristi Lidande or “Christ’s Suffering” and catered to dockworkers at the nearby Nybroviken. The tavern named Elefanten to the north was most likely frequented by soldiers since the artillery college was just down the street. These taverns probably did not attract wealthy men despite their positions in the well-to-do neighbourhood of Östermalm as those from the upper classes had better appointed options at their disposal including the Operakällaren which boasted a fine dining room and its own wine cellar.<sup>21</sup>

Map 6.2 The Spatial Distribution of Taverns in Norrmalm, 1880s and 1890s



Source: Tillhagen, *Stockholms folkminnen volym I*, 65-79.

<sup>21</sup> See for example <https://stockholmskallan.stockholm.se/post/7234>.

The distribution of taverns on Södermalm reflects the large clientele to be found along the docks and from the centre of the city to its periphery. Dockworkers frequented the cluster of taverns located on the northern shore near Skeppsbron where the most important docks were located (see map 6.3). These provided refreshment to the construction workers that expanded Stadsgården's quays in the early 1880s, and the dockworkers that unloaded the cargo from the international ships that docked there after construction was completed.<sup>22</sup> Taverns also emerged along the island's most important thoroughfares including Hornsgatan and Götgatan.

Map 6.3 The Spatial Distribution of Taverns in Södermalm, 1880s and 1890s



Source: Tillhagen, *Stockholms folkminnen volym I*, 65-79.

Götgatan ran southward from Skeppsbron to the two primarily agricultural parishes of Brännkyrka and Sicklaö with a population of small land-holding farmers and landless labourers. The parishes were also popular with men who worked in the construction industry. Farm workers travelled daily to the centre of the city to sell fresh

---

<sup>22</sup> Hammarström, *Stockholm i svensk ekonomi*, 129.

agricultural produce and especially dairy products while construction workers followed work located mainly in central Stockholm. Many of these men and women stopped at the taverns along this street either on their way into or out of the city.<sup>23</sup> Figure 6.1 shows the exterior of a tavern called ‘the Squirrel’ that was mentioned several times in the Tillhagen interviews. The former sailor and dockworker Per Ludvig Lindgren reveals that the primary clientele included peasants, butchers, and farmhands as well as scumbags and conmen.<sup>24</sup>

Figure 6.1 The Tavern "Ekorren" or “The Squirrel” at Götgatan 71



Source: Stockholms Stadsmuseum

---

<sup>23</sup> Pred, *Place, Practice and Structure*, 99-100.

<sup>24</sup> “De va riktig bonkrog. De där hölls bönder, slaktare, åkardrängar och lite av varje slödder, bondfångare, det var Viderkvistens stora bondkvarter. En skylt med en målad Ekorre med svans, som stack opp. Plåtskylt med järnstång. Gästrummet var in på gården.” Sören Lindström, *Gamla krognamn i Faktarummets slagordsregister* (Stockholm: Stockholms stadsmuseet, 2013), 5, 33. The clothing of the men in this photo reveals different groups of tradesmen and brick carriers who wore distinctive shawls to protect their clothes from brick dust.

Men from various occupations intermixed in these spaces as they sought refreshment at the same times throughout the day. Dockworkers and construction workers frequently passed through the tavern as they managed to sneak away from job sites to drink a small beer or a shot of brännvin.<sup>25</sup> They sat alongside farmers and agricultural workers who drank throughout the day and stopped in for a quick drink on their way to and from town.<sup>26</sup> The instant recognition of fellow workers and other men who drank in taverns during working hours reinforced their sense of camaraderie as they were united by their ability to successfully dupe their foremen to drink during working-hours.

### 6.3 Women's Roles in the Tavern

Several historians have shown that the space of the tavern was almost always gendered as female customers were often assumed to be prostitutes as soon as they entered. Far less attention has been placed on identifying the various roles they played or their importance to this space. Lennartsson reveals this bias in middle-class publications in Stockholm.<sup>27</sup> Yvonne Svanström acknowledges women's presence in Swedish taverns but stops short of recognising them as central actors in this space. She argues they only served the customers and did not engage in the wider conversations that transpired at the bar and at the tables.<sup>28</sup> Instead, barmaids played an integral part in the cultivation of an orderly environment as they enforced the new regulations of the Gothenburg System.

---

<sup>25</sup> Literally “the eleven o’clock bell toiler” and “toast worker,” i.e. a person who filled in for a docker so he could leave the jobsite for a while to drink. See Pred, *Lost Words and Lost Worlds*, 73.

<sup>26</sup> Pred suggests Swedish peasants men consumed a sandwich and a shot of aquavit before leaving the house, then snacked and drank at approximately 6 am, 7:30 am, 10 am, 12 pm to 1 pm, 3 pm, 5 pm, and then sometime later in the early evening. See Pred, *Place, Practice and Structure*, 66-67.

<sup>27</sup> Lennartsson, *Malaria*, 76-79, 136.

<sup>28</sup> Yvonne Svanström, *Policing Public Women*, 63-64.

The Tillhagen interviews and bourgeois observers suggest they participated in elaborate, flirtatious exchanges with their customers and this “parasexuality” and the physical presence of the tavern’s wooden bar acted as a mediating device that kept this relationship (and the customers) under control.<sup>29</sup> Although Peter Bailey’s framing of the concept of parasexuality revolves around “gin palaces” that catered to wealthier patrons, it is useful because it explains the casual but restrained use of sex appeal as a device that was deployed in the service industry to help women secure regular, well-paying customers. This provides women with some agency as it acknowledges their conscientious decision to flirt without implying their intention to act upon these interactions. Bailey suggests this careful flirtation provided barmaids with a sense of “glamour” or an enchanting allure that could only be maintained through physical distance and this established an important dynamic between barmaids and their customers.<sup>30</sup>

One of the most fundamental distinctions about women’s role in the tavern and how they were perceived was whether they stood in front of the bar as a customer or behind it as a barmaid or proprietress.<sup>31</sup> The Tillhagen interviews reveal that women served on both sides of the bar and that those serving customers were subject to (sometimes consensual) sexually charged interactions with their customers. The tavern’s

---

<sup>29</sup> Bailey, *Popular Culture and Performance*, 151-152.

<sup>30</sup> He argues that physical distance “heightens desire through the tension generated by the separation of the glamour object and the beholder, a separation that only functions to limit the expression or consummation of desire.” Bailey, *Popular Culture and Performance*, 156.

<sup>31</sup> The Gothenburg System awarded several licenses to women and several of them operated the newly-built facilities owned by the dispensing company. These women were free from moral reproach and their position behind the bar ensured their working-class patrons treated them respectfully. See Key-Åberg, *Stockholms utskänkningsaktiebolag*, 98-99.

bar created an important boundary between barmaids and their customers as they could fantasize about the barmaid but could not act on their desires for fear of facing reprisal from the barmaid or the proprietor, and ultimately being thrown out of the tavern. The most effective way for women to maintain their physical distance and glamour was to remain behind the tavern's bar.

Bailey compares barmaids to actresses and suggests the bar acted as a stage that heightened the presence of its attendants both "as social actors and objects of display." The gas lights and mirror behind the bar heightened the dramatic appearance of the barmaid and aided in creating a theatrical aura. This stage enabled barmaids to engage the customers from a safe distance as they appeared alongside the bottles of alcohol and other goods for sale and "suggesting that she herself might be an article for purchase and consumption."<sup>32</sup>

The bar also physically regulated the behaviour of the customers, especially towards the barmaids. The high traffic in front of the bar meant men competed for the barmaid's attention hoping for a furtive glance as they constructed elaborate fantasies that simultaneously acknowledged barmaids' respectability as well as the hope they would act otherwise.<sup>33</sup> On the other hand, the Tillhagen interviews reveal that when workers sat in groups they treated barmaids with ridicule. One worker laughed when Tillhagen asked him what the men called the barmaids. He replied "it depended on the mood, what they call[ed] them. It wasn't always too pretty. 'Waitress' was common. They were probably

---

<sup>32</sup> Bailey, *Popular Culture and Performance*, 154.

<sup>33</sup> Bailey, *Popular Culture and Performance*, 154, 169.

also called bitches.”<sup>34</sup> Customers propositioned barmaids as they waited on tables and vice versa. One worker recalled a coterie of barmaids behind the bar although those who served him at the tables were particularly provocative. He recalled a time when he was 16 or 17 years old and tried to pull a passing barmaid into his lap only for her to reject him because he was too young for her.<sup>35</sup>

As customers approached the bar their behaviour changed and the veritable arsenal of crass jokes and expressions that they readily deployed with each other fell away as they stood before the barmaid. As the architectural theorist Mattias Kärrholm points out, certain objects regulate the flow of traffic within a space and people’s actions and movement in response to these barriers establishes the “territorialisation” or expected behaviour within the borders of that space.<sup>36</sup> In Stockholm’s taverns the placement of furniture as well as the bar moderated the traffic. A lack of tables and chairs ensured patrons were served and quickly exited thus regulating consumption by ensuring a short temporal engagement with the space. The bar demarcated one side as exclusive to the barmaids and proprietor while the other side was for customers. The barmaids constantly navigated both sides and on one side they possessed far more authority than on the other.<sup>37</sup> From behind the bar she poured the drinks and monitored the space. If workers

---

<sup>34</sup> “Ja ha, ha. Det berodde på sinnesstämningen, va dom kalla dom, inte var det så vackert alltid. 'Krogpiga' var ju vanligt, och 'subba' fick dom nog heta. Tillhagen, *Stockholms folkminnen volym I*, 74.

<sup>35</sup> En gång då jag var en 16-17 år kom jag in på Rösbokrogen. Där fanns en sabla stilig fjälla, och som hon gick förbi, sökte jag dra ner henne i knäet.

-Nej, du Putte! Du är allt för liten än, dul, sa hon bara och gick. Men jag satt ju där som en pannkaka.” Carl-Herman Tillhagen, *Stockholms folkminnen volym VI*, 165.

<sup>36</sup> Mattias Kärrholm, “The Territorialisation of a Pedestrian Precinct in Malmö: Materialities in the Commercialisation of Public Space,” *Urban Studies* 45 (9) (August 2008), 1911-1912. Kärrholm uses actor-network theory (ANT) as well as the examples of concrete plinths, road signs, speed bumps, benches, paving, shops and shop windows to demonstrate how these objects reinforce the commercial nature of several 21<sup>st</sup>-century pedestrian precincts in Malmö, Sweden.

<sup>37</sup> Kärrholm, “The Territorialisation of a Pedestrian Precinct,” 1914.

offended her she could eject them from the premises.<sup>38</sup> On the opposite side of the bar she faced aggressive and even abusive customers and in the worst cases “received both boxes on the ears and punches.”<sup>39</sup>

Figure 6.2 depicts the interior of a tavern in Stockholm near the turn of the century. This photograph reveals the spatial arrangement of this space and where the customers and staff congregated (see figure 6.2). The barmaids are clustered behind the small bar with the liquor bottles on display behind them. The man standing in front of the bar may be a waiter as one worker recalled that waiters regularly worked in taverns.<sup>40</sup> It may also be the tavern’s proprietor. One customer is sitting at one of the tables. The woman stood in the corner in front of the bar may be the proprietor’s wife or she could be a customer.

---

<sup>38</sup> Pred, *Lost Words and Lost Worlds*, 195.

<sup>39</sup> *Det hände nog att servitriserna fick båda örfilar och slag*. Tillhagen, *Stockholms folkminnen volym I*, 68.

<sup>40</sup> Tillhagen, *Stockholms folkminnen*, 77, Nordström, *Årsberättelser*, 24.



Figure 6.2 Utskänkingsställe . Roslagstorg Nr 4



Source: Key-Åberg, *Stockholms utskänkingsaktiebolag*, 329.

Contemporary workers mocked women who drank heavily and created derisive nicknames such as *Fyll-Marie*, or “drunk Marie” to demonstrate their disapproval.<sup>41</sup> Bourgeois observers sexualised women who entered the tavern and associated them with prostitution. Fredrik Lindholm published a “study” he conducted as part of his research for a novel where he visited a working-class tavern. Lindholm objectifies and sexualises these women to create more compelling characters that eventually appeared in his

---

<sup>41</sup> “Hon tупpa visst av men klara sig, för hon var ju van vid starkvarer.” Tillhagen, *Stockholms folkminnen*, 70.

novels.<sup>42</sup> His “study” describes the barmaid in flattering terms but suggested she may be swayed to perform sexual favours for her customers:

The pub maid is also a creature who clearly differs from the misery that surrounds her. A healthy, red-cheeked peasant girl, with strong bare arms, large plump breasts and wide hips, strong so that she can at any time throw out a noisy customer, if necessary, hardened against all the roughness of the pub guests and willing to meet their demands if those who present them look reasonably good. She doesn't demand much, a strong body that can do anything is all she wants.<sup>43</sup>

Lindholm's description of the barmaid reveals the bourgeois idealisation and fetishization of women in the tavern.

The Gothenburg System provided barmaids with the authority to eject visibly intoxicated customers or customers who were causing them too much trouble. If publicans did not obey the new laws they risked forfeiting their license so the women they employed upheld high standards or risked losing their job.<sup>44</sup> The Tillhagen interviews reveal that barmaids commanded respect because of their ability to haul grown men up by their ear, drag them from their chair or their place at the bar, and throw them out onto the pavement.<sup>45</sup> Barmaids became moderators of these spaces as they were tasked with constantly monitoring the conversations and the behaviour of the patrons, scrutinising them for slurred speech or eyes that did not focus. In this way their gaze became another structure dictating the behaviour of the men who drank under their watch. For example, the police interviewed Elin Augusta Johansson and Hilma Theresa Thulin

---

<sup>42</sup> Phocas, *Café-Studier*, 196-199.

<sup>43</sup> “Krogpigan är också en varelse, som bjert.afsticker mot eländet, som omgifver henne. En frisk, rödkindad bondtös, med kraftiga nakna ar mar, stora fylliga bröst och breda höfter, stark så att hon när som helst kan kasta ut en bullersam kund; om så behöfves, härdad mot alla kroggästernas grofheter och villig atf tillmötesgå deras anspråk, om nemligen de, som framställa dem se någorlunda bra ut. Hon fordrar icke mycket, en stark kropp, som kan något, är allt hvad hon önskar.” Lindholm, *Café-Studier*, 199-200.

<sup>44</sup> Foreign Office, *Sweden*, 13.

<sup>45</sup> Tillhagen, *Stockholms folkminnen*, 75.

who served at Svanen when Johan Alfred Andersson was robbed. The watchful eyes of these barmaids provided the account that enabled the police to reconstruct the events of the previous night.<sup>46</sup>

#### **6.4 The Tavern in Everyday Life, the Creation of Place, and Identity Construction**

The transformation of Stockholm's taverns from simple physical spaces into places imbued with meaning was the result of the mixture of patrons' many identities during the nineteenth century.<sup>47</sup> Workers responded to new regulations in their own subtle ways. They re-appropriated taverns for their own purposes and their pushing of legal and social boundaries reveals shared traits and attitudes that characterise a working-class identity.

Time-space geography provides a theoretical approach to describing how spaces are imbued with meaning and are transformed into "places." Historical actors compile biographies as they follow a single, continuous path through time and space. They react and adapt to internal and external sources and as they cross paths with others. The interactions between people have a bearing on the institutions associated with the space surrounding them. Placemaking requires the intersection of paths to produce the

---

<sup>46</sup> Lawrence, "The Dreaming Boy and the Waking City," 110.

<sup>47</sup> "Space" here may be defined as the proximate distance of things in relation to one another and to humans. In this case the space of a tavern is composed of four walls filled with a bar, tables, chairs, customers and the people who serve them. "Place" is therefore the values and practices that surround a particular location. This location can be either real or imagined. Hence, the basic space of the tavern is transformed into a place where common norms and mores are practiced and upheld by the customers who drink there. See Leif Jerram, "Space: A Useless Category of Historical Analysis?" *History and Theory* 52 (October 2013): 403.

conditions that eventually form religious, ceremonial, and political institutions that reproduce and transform society in time and space.<sup>48</sup>

The tavern served a vital role as a space for socialisation. Several scholars have turned their attention to the space of the tavern and other drinking establishments and used novel approaches to illuminate the importance of those spaces to the people that drank there beyond providing food and drink. Peter DeLottinville provides some of the earliest scholarship that focused exclusively on the tavern and its centrality to working-class culture. He focuses his attention on the tavern named “Joe Beef” in late nineteenth-century Montreal to demonstrate its importance as an institution where men congregated either to seek work or to relax after they finished for the day.<sup>49</sup> He highlights the sensational entertainment that drew workers from all over the city but also points out the proprietor played a part in helping his customers secure work and housing, seek medical care, and even mediated labour disputes.<sup>50</sup>

Other scholars remark on the importance of the interpersonal interactions that transpired within the tavern and similar drinking spaces. Thomas Brennan’s pathbreaking analysis of public drinking in eighteenth-century Paris reveals the effect of furnishings and décor on the comportment of the clientele. He notes differences in the fine cafés with expensive furnishings and the *guingettes* or wine bars similar to beer gardens on the outskirts of the city.<sup>51</sup> His use of arrest records resulting from conflicts between

---

<sup>48</sup> 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): 283, 287.

<sup>49</sup> Peter DeLottinville, “Joe Beef of Montreal: Working-Class Culture and the Tavern, 1869-1889,” *Labour/Le Travailleur* 8/9 (1981/82): 10.

<sup>50</sup> DeLottinville, “Joe Beef,” 18.

<sup>51</sup> Thomas Brennan, *Public Drinking and Popular Culture in Eighteenth-Century Paris* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1988), 84-85.

customers or proprietors enables him to reveal the forms of sociability that transpired at these different types of venues and deduce the contemporaneous “popular values” from the conflicts that arose.<sup>52</sup> His approach is invaluable because it demonstrates the reciprocal influence between practices such as drinking and the space in which it occurred. Such an approach makes it possible to examine how the physical layout of taverns and the people who ran them maintained order. He also finds that regular patrons who resided nearby felt a sense of belonging and a loyalty to their local drinking establishment.

Dockworkers, sailors, and men from other trades intermingled in this space that also acted as a venue for networking and securing work during times of hardship. Here men could develop “weak ties” through friends and associates and this could provide them with leads on potential jobsites or ships with available positions.<sup>53</sup> In these cases occupational background was of secondary importance to the ability of the original contact to vouch for the prospective employee and their ability to consistently and reliably perform hard work.

Workers also relied on the tavern to air their grievances against their employers. Members of the working class could not legally hold spontaneous meetings regarding unionisation or collective action and meetings instead were held in specific locales under police supervision.<sup>54</sup> Unions were largely non-existent prior to the turn of the century so the tavern acted as one of the only venues where workers could share their complaints

---

<sup>52</sup> Brennan, *Public Drinking*, 230.

<sup>53</sup> Granovetter, “The Strength of Weak Ties,” 1372-1373.

<sup>54</sup> Jenny Langkjaer, “Skrif ni edra tecken”: Polisövervakning av arbetarrörelsens möten i Stockholm 1885-1918,” *Arbetarhistoria* 132 (2009): 28.

about their employers.<sup>55</sup> Men could mutter under their breath to one another about employers such as A. F. Söderström and these *soto voce* jabs acted as verbal “weapons of the weak.”<sup>56</sup>

The temporary nature of work in Stockholm and the frequent desperation in resorting to the docks brought men together and created a mutual connection between them. One dockworker, although perhaps an extreme example, had experience as a baker, a sheet metal worker, a pipe worker, a worker in a piano factory, a carpenter, an artilleryman, a valet, an arborist, a founder, a stonemason, and an agricultural worker all before his death at the age of forty-seven.<sup>57</sup> As men drank in the tavern their mutual connections at various tables could, therefore, yield job connections on the docks or elsewhere.

Transient workers such as sailors who could not join regular drinking groups still managed to find a sense of belonging in the space of the tavern despite their infrequent visits. The high turnover rate at sea and the changing composition of crews from port to port made it nearly impossible for sailors to forge meaningful social connections while ashore. Nonetheless, the tavern provided an indispensable service to sailors beyond providing a place to rest before catching the next ship out of port. The tavern provided lodgers with a sense of continuity and consistency that was otherwise lacking from their lives.<sup>58</sup>

---

<sup>55</sup> Pred, *Lost Words and Lost Worlds*, 194.

<sup>56</sup> Pred, *Lost Words and Lost Worlds*, 195.

<sup>57</sup> Tengdahl, *Material till bedömning af hamnarbetarnes i Stockholm*, 8.

<sup>58</sup> Michael Seltzer, “Haven on a Heartless Sea: The Sailors’ Tavern in History and Anthropology,” *The Social History of Alcohol and Drugs* 19 (2004): 79.

Sailors and other workers also felt a sense of attachment to their favourite drinking establishment as it acted as a “home away from home” and they developed relationships with the proprietors, their families, and their staff.<sup>59</sup> Many workers sought refuge from the overcrowded and unsanitary conditions of working-class apartments or other accommodations such as “hotels” and stopped at the tavern immediately after work before returning to their wives and children.<sup>60</sup>

The tavern and its surroundings also acted as “hot spots” or stages where workers engaged in violent behaviour to display one form of working-class masculinity.<sup>61</sup> This is exemplified by Erik the sailor who regularly engaged in drunken brawls and violently resisted arrest.<sup>62</sup> This was part of an elaborate performance as dock workers, sailors, and other members of the working class participated in contests of endurance and strength including drinking binges and brawls.<sup>63</sup>

Although drinking, fighting, and carousing all characterised part of the working-class masculinity, other men of that class frowned upon those who drank too much. The former dock worker Per Ludvig Lindgren remembered that the norm was to pop into the tavern for a quick drink or a “nip.” He spoke disapprovingly of those who never left the

---

<sup>59</sup> Seltzer, “Haven an a Heartless Sea,” 83-84.

<sup>60</sup> Patricia Fumerton, “Not Home: Alcohouses, Ballads, and the Vagrant Husband in Early Modern England” *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies* 32 (3) (Fall 2002): 495. For housing conditions in Stockholm see Chapter Two of this dissertation.

<sup>61</sup> John E. Archer, “‘Men Behaving Badly’?: Masculinity and the Uses of Violence, 1850-1900,” in *Everyday Violence in Britain, 1850-1950: Gender and Class*, ed. by Shani D’Cruze (Oxfordshire, England: Routledge, 2014), 89. See also fn 946.

<sup>62</sup> SE/SSA/0023/02/FIc, Box 5, Folder 228, Item 861, November 13, 1889, SE/SSA/0023/02/FIc, Box 5, Folder 228, Item 228, March 17, 1893, SE/SSA/0023/02/FIc, Box 5, Folder 228, Item 228, October 3, 1893.

<sup>63</sup> Tomas Nilson, “Hey Sailor, Looking for Trouble?” 70-71.

tavern and referred to them as *jävla latoxar* or “damned lazy people.”<sup>64</sup> Similarly, workers that Tillhagen interviewed looked unfavourably upon men who hung around the tavern all day and begged for money. These men violated the other working-class masculinity by shirking their responsibilities, avoiding work, and failing to provide for their families.<sup>65</sup>

The tavern was also the site for the deployment of shared and common tricks and tactics that many workers used as subtle acts of defiance. The barmaids’ gaze from across the bar had the power to control men’s behaviour when they entered their domain so men who wanted to continue drinking after they were already intoxicated had to fool the barmaid into serving them. Their best chance at success meant moving from one tavern to the next and trying their luck with the next barmaid. Once the customer passed the test and the glass of beer or *brännvin* crossed the polished surface of the bar, he had officially “gotten away with it”—his tricks had worked.

Workers used their own tactics to reappropriate the space of the tavern when and where they could and these included how they arranged themselves in drinking groups. Men consciously selected their drinking companions and they typically drank with their colleagues and social peers. These drinking groups acted as a distinct unit that revolved around the shared cost of a pitcher and those at the same table typically came from the

---

<sup>64</sup> “Va di gjorde på krogen, ja för de mesta så slank di ju bara in å fick sej en nubbe. Men de va ju såna jävla latoxar som hängde därinne hela dan me. Di satt å söp å spelte kort å singla slant å fördrev tiden bast di kunde.” See Nordström, *Årsberättelser*, available from <https://stockholmskallan.stockholm.se/post/7790>.

<sup>65</sup> “Nej, sång tåldes inte. Då åkte man ut. Men skälla och slåss kunde man ju. Och tiggare fanns det gott om, som kom och tiggde ett eller två öre.” Tillhagen, *Stockholms folkminnen*, 71. John Tosh’s historiography of masculinity in 19<sup>th</sup> century Britain reveals that the centrality of hard work and dedication to supporting the family that was traditionally associated with the middle class eventually extended to the working class, especially as factory work threatened hard-earned craft skills. See Tosh, “Masculinities in an Industrializing Society: Britain, 1800-1914,” *Journal of British Studies* 44 (2) (April 2005): 332.



same social levels.<sup>66</sup> Drinking groups that contained day labourers or other casual occupations engaged in relatively isolated sociability with other men who held temporary jobs. In contrast, groups of men belonging to the same trade or craft socialised with men of all skill levels.<sup>67</sup>

These drinking groups gravitated towards individual tables within the space of the tavern and men selected the table composed of their immediate peers. Similar groups formed among sailors who had served on the same ship. They drank together and defended each other's honour when they went ashore.<sup>68</sup> Longshoremen created hierarchical drinking groups based on the regularity of the participants' work and their position within work gangs. For example, members of the same gang sat together at the same table and within that group were those with whom they normally interacted while on the job. If two men from the same gang but different parts of the unloading process entered a tavern at the same time they sat together but later moved to different tables with closer colleagues.<sup>69</sup> These groups resisted interlopers such as temporary workers who often drank by themselves or in separate groups in different taverns. Membership in these groups was dictated by prestige and reciprocity and those who could not contribute were relegated to marginal and tenuous positions. "Prestige" was decided by workers' role in the stevedoring gang.

Different tables represented permeable barriers that workers navigated based on their common experiences such as their relation to the maritime world. The tavern

---

<sup>66</sup> Brennan, *Public Drinking and Popular Culture*, 240-242.

<sup>67</sup> Brennan, *Public Drinking and Popular Culture*, 243-244.

<sup>68</sup> Nilson, "Hey Sailor," 84.

<sup>69</sup> Gerald Mars, "Longshore Drinking," 93-94.

became a space of social mediation where alcohol provided the means to achieve an air of sociability between men as they drank.<sup>70</sup> This is exemplified in an 1894 crime novella that describes a fictitious tavern on Österlånggatan in Gamla Stan. The principal figure, and the only customer given a speaking role, is a “red-haired Hercules” who socialises comfortably among those sitting at all the tables as the tavern begins to fill.<sup>71</sup> When a young dockworker insults the barmaid by referring to her as an “Easter witch” she calls upon the customers to throw him out before the red-haired Hercules calms the crowd.<sup>72</sup> The young man apologizes and offers to buy his fellow port workers some brännvin and this is met with resounding approval.<sup>73</sup> The red-haired Hercules then orders two shots from the barmaid. As he extends the shot to the young dockworker, the younger man takes the opportunity to punch him and a brawl ensues as the patrons turn against the young interloper.<sup>74</sup>

This interaction displays several dynamics including those between senior tavern patrons, this group of drinkers and the young dockworker, and between the barmaid and her customers. The “red-haired Hercules” dominates this space perhaps as a regular with the most seniority or because of his imposing appearance. The young man insults the barmaid’s honour and in doing so crosses the boundary of propriety. She does not leave her position of safety behind the bar and entreats the customers to throw him out for her. The young dockworker tries to buy his way back into their good graces and secures re-

---

<sup>70</sup> Brennan, *Public Drinking and Popular Culture*, 258.

<sup>71</sup> *Rödhårig Herkules. En natt vid Österlånggatan: Natliga studier*, 1 (1894). Available from <https://stockholmskallan.stockholm.se/post/6846>.

<sup>72</sup> *påskkäring. En natt*, 4.

<sup>73</sup> *En natt*, 5.

<sup>74</sup> *En natt*, 6.

entry into this spontaneously tight-knit and exclusionary group.<sup>75</sup> This interaction reveals the constantly shifting boundaries and the fluid identities that manifested in the tavern. These could change almost instantly as workers either obeyed or violated the unspoken code of this “place.”

Some drinking groups revolved around the neighbourhood of residence and most men who drank in groups lived within a third of a mile from each other.<sup>76</sup> This was also the case for many dockworkers and sailors in Stockholm who lived near the centre of the city with other in-migrants (see map 6.4).<sup>77</sup> Others concentrated in Södermalm and in Katarina Parish where they could secure cheap places to live. This proximity influenced the composition of drinking groups as these men lived and worked with and near one another. Gamla Stan boasted the highest concentration of taverns in the city and workers connected to the maritime world there had many choices when picking which one to frequent.

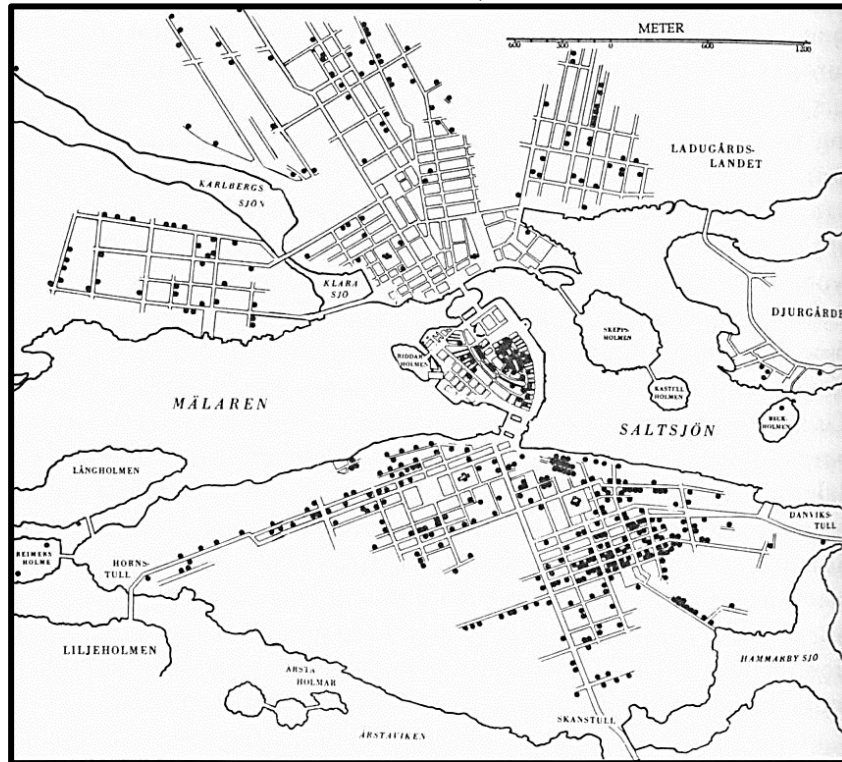
---

<sup>75</sup> Brennan, *Public Drinking and Popular Culture*, 260.

<sup>76</sup> Brennan, *Public Drinking and Popular Culture*, 245.

<sup>77</sup> Nilson observes many sailors stayed at boarding houses within a close vicinity of Järntorget, the centre of working-class sociability and pleasure in Gothenburg. It is reasonable to assume sailors in Stockholm did the same thing on Gamla Stan. See Nilson, “Hey Sailor, Looking for Trouble?” 77-78.

Map 6.4 Residential Distribution of Dockworker Trade-Union Members (One Dot=One Address)



Source: *Pred, Lost Words and Lost Worlds*, 230.

Workers' choice of tavern was either decided by convenience and proximity during their working hours or by preference after they finished work. Dockworkers chose taverns in closest proximity to their jobsites to avoid detection when they snuck away for a quick drink. Many in-migrants opted for convenience even during their leisure time and drank at the establishment nearest to where they lived before they became familiar with their adoptive city.<sup>78</sup> Workers continuously returned to their preferred tavern and this "space" transformed into a "place" as it became imbued with meaning. This process

<sup>78</sup> Brennan, *Public Drinking and Popular Culture*, 246.

created a local identity for which men were willing to fight against those considered to be “outsiders.”<sup>79</sup>

The interior of the tavern reveals a complex social web where men constantly evaluated and reevaluated their individual and group identities. The table at which men chose to sit when they entered indicated which identity they accessed. They might choose to sit with people who worked in the same industry or they might gravitate towards particular workers within a work gang. The fluidity of their identities was revealed as they navigated between the tables and occurred in the presence of different individuals and groups. As they commiserated their occupational and geographic identities assumed secondary importance and a unified working-class identity assumed salience.<sup>80</sup>

This was undoubtedly because of their shared experiences, their struggles to find constant work and housing in the city, and their shared use of strategies such as clandestine drinking to resist the oppressive demands of a capitalist economy. As Madeleine Hurd points out, economic and political structures alone do not create collective identities and one must also recognise the importance of rituals in that process.<sup>81</sup> In late nineteenth-century Stockholm it was the ritual of drinking together that facilitated the articulation of this common identity and workers constantly reinforced this as they maintained their day-to-day solidarity. These men played with the boundaries that restricted them to carefully regulated and constantly policed positions at the bottom of the

---

<sup>79</sup> Chris Ealham, “An Imagined Geography: Ideology, Urban Space, and Protest in the Creation of Barcelona’s ‘Chinatown’, c. 1835-1936,” *International Review of Social History* 50 (2005): 385.

<sup>80</sup> Eidlin, “Class Formation and Class Identity,” 1056.

<sup>81</sup> Madeleine Hurd, “Introduction – Social Movements: Rituals, Space and Media,” *Culture Unbound: Journal of Cultural Research* 6 (2014), 287-288.

social order. Legislation such as the Gothenburg System sought to control their behaviour and their characteristic, subtle responses are what united them and created a working-class identity. Consuming alcohol in a tavern provided the worker with an opportunity to become a part of something larger than what that figure was in the city—namely, a stranger in a strange place, an in-migrant in an unforgiving city.<sup>82</sup>

## 6.5 Conclusion

A “bird’s eye view” of Stockholm and the geographic spread of the taverns most popular with members of the working class reveals the paths they undertook in their everyday lives. These paths overlapped throughout the day and taverns served heterogenous and diverse customers from various backgrounds. Men visited taverns for a number of reasons other than eating and drinking. One of the most important functions of the tavern was to create a place where men could utilise their “weak ties” to find work when they were unemployed. These social pathways were lubricated by alcohol and it was the common experiences of hardship and the myriad forms of resistance that acted as the bridge that brought people together across occupational and geographic divides. The pattern of network development and camaraderie served as the foundation for a shared working-class identity.

These taverns were as exclusive as they were inclusive and this makes them the perfect venue in which to examine class dynamics. Fredrik Lindholm’s bourgeois perspective and interpretation of this space reveals the extent of middle-class prejudices against the tavern that was partially constructed by novelists such as himself as well as

---

<sup>82</sup> Claude Fischler, “Food, Self and Identity,” *Social Science Information* 27 (2) (1988): 280-281.

the city's popular press that created criminal associations with these spaces as they depicted taverns as "dens of sin." Workers chose to drink in these establishments and Lindholm's observation that this was their "El Dorado" was indeed true. They defended this space and did not welcome interlopers such as Lindholm who did not understand or respect the boundaries that workers and barmaids carefully constructed and obeyed. Upper-class men typically drank at completely different venues such as the Hotel Rydberg, the Operakällaren, or in any of the city's fine French-styled cafés like Blanch's. There the fine marble-topped tables, expensive tableware, and tuxedoed waiters rather than the watchful eye of the barmaid moderated their behaviour and insisted on a high level of decorum and propriety.<sup>83</sup>

The barmaids tasked with upholding the Gothenburg System played a vital role in policing what previous scholars have dismissed as the exclusively masculine space of taverns. Here women took an active role in monitoring the behaviour of patrons and regulated consumption in accordance with this new system or they risked their place of employment losing its license which could jeopardize their livelihood. Peter Bailey's concept of "parasexuality" acknowledges the role of barmaids' sexual appeal and provides an explanation of how this served them as they incorporated tips into their makeshift economies. In this way they are no longer mere objects of visual consumption within the male gaze but are instead agents of their own fate with their own part to play in the placemaking and identity construction of the tavern. This approach also acknowledges the spatial relationship between barmaids and their customers. The physical distance

---

<sup>83</sup> Brennan, *Public Drinking and Popular Culture*, 131-132.

created by the tavern's bar allowed barmaids to cultivate a sense of "glamour" that they could use to their advantage to ensure their customers remained on their best behaviour before ordering another drink.

Even after the municipal government closed many establishments and regulated customers' behaviour more closely, these men fought back to retake the places that meant so much to them. The Swedish statistician Karl Key-Åberg deemed the liquor dispensing company a terrific success as the annual average consumption fell from almost 24 litres to under 17 litres per resident. The liquor dispensing company produced a profit of over a million kronor for the first time in 1880 and by the turn of the century this had more than doubled.<sup>84</sup> The new regulations effectively extended the state's panoptic gaze into the previously private space of the tavern as they sought to curtail drinking in the city.

Male workers in late nineteenth-century Stockholm developed a complex and mutually influential relationship with their favourite taverns as they used the devices they had at their disposal to reassert their control over this place. Time-space geography reveals how these spaces became imbued with meaning as the paths of individual men from various occupations overlapped in taverns such as "the Squirrel." As the state introduced new measures aimed at subduing workers and curtailing their consumption they responded by devising new tactics to resist this domination. In the case of sailors who visited a tavern once or twice it was simply a space in which to drink while ashore. However, when groups of sailors or other workers continuously returned to a specific

---

<sup>84</sup> Key-Åberg, *Stockholms utskänkningsaktiebolag*, 265-266.



tavern it became an “anchoring point” in their social lives. In other words, “they shape this tavern culture and it, in turn, shapes them.”<sup>85</sup>

This mutual influence transformed the tavern from a “space” into a “place” and men’s navigation of implicit and explicit boundaries there brought them together in a way that made all other differences fall away. This led some to develop a complex mixture of identities to their old homes and their new.<sup>86</sup> They also further developed their identity as they took occasional employment during times of economic hardship. This created a “double identity” as sailors and other workers connected to the docks carefully navigated their sense of belonging to any one occupation or geographic location. They constantly reconciled and renegotiated their identities as they responded to the temporal nature of maritime trade, geographic and occupational changes, and fell in with different drinking groups that forced them to recognise their similarities to their fellow workers.<sup>87</sup>

---

<sup>85</sup> Seltzer, “Haven an a Heartless Sea,” 79. Seltzer is describing sailors but the same process occurred for other workers.

<sup>86</sup> This is referred to by some anthropologists and archeologists as “translocalism.” See Magdalena Naum, “Premodern Translocals: German Merchant Diaspora Between Kalmar and Northern German Towns (1250-1500),” *International Journal of Historical Archaeology* 17 (2) (June 2013): 378.

<sup>87</sup> Lee, “The Seafarers’ Urban World,” 45.

## Chapter 7 Dissertation Conclusion

Shared hardships that took the form of uncontrollable economic shifts and unbridled social changes and workers' shared responses to them served as the basis for a working-class identity in late nineteenth-century Stockholm. This identity emerged thanks to the creation of informal social networks that spontaneously developed in predominantly lower-class neighbourhoods and taverns. In-migrants attempted to join these social networks to help them integrate into Stockholm's society. The shared struggles that many workers faced and their clever attempts to resist them acted as a powerful enough force to overcome differences in occupation or geographic origin. These competing identities fell by the wayside during workers' social interactions and especially those that occurred within the space of the tavern. It was in these drinking establishments that a shared sense of belonging or working-class identity arose as workers articulated their struggles and laughed about the similar, yet subtle ways they managed to combat them.

Previous labour historians emphasised the role of formal social networks in constructing a common identity and eventually a consciousness that led to working-class militancy and political action. In many ways the approaches of those forerunners are still valid. E. P. Thompson, for example, examined how political societies and religious groups helped establish a common culture that served as the basis for the formation of the English working-class.<sup>1</sup> This approach survived for decades and crossed the Atlantic as the next generation of historians examined the roles of unions and workers' associations

---

<sup>1</sup> Thompson, *The Making*.

in bringing together disparate groups of workers and uniting them under banners that ranged from the Knights of Labour to various political action groups. These historians drew upon sources that captured many workers in membership roles, minutes and roll calls, newspapers and even private correspondence.<sup>2</sup>

The major fault with such an approach is that it runs the risk of misrepresenting the experiences of the entirety of the working class by focusing on the organisations that were started and strengthened by the upper echelons of workers including artisans and skilled craftsmen. Eric Hobsbawm rightfully acknowledged the vast differences in workers' everyday experience but his emphasis on wages suggests it was income alone that dictated each worker's success and happiness rather than wider, structural developments in the local and national economy that caused wage levels to fluctuate.<sup>3</sup> This form of analysis remains relevant as it reveals the various economic structures that threatened workers' very existence as they fought to find consistent employment, housing, and reasonably nutritious food.

Despite these shared similarities, "class" could not be constructed in a vacuum so one must identify the perception of workers and the competing interests of those above them in Stockholm's social order. The most effective way to examine this was through the language that appeared in the city's popular press. Cultural historians such as Gareth Stedman Jones and William Sewell Jr. provide the framework for interrogating language and its vicissitudes across time. They acknowledge the importance of viewing language and the ideas it represents within its proper context rather than assuming workers viewed

---

<sup>2</sup> Kealey and Palmer, *Dreaming of What Might Be*.

<sup>3</sup> Hobsbawm, *Labouring Men*, 273.

themselves and were viewed by others in the same way as today. These scholars followed the example of their predecessors by examining the deployment of certain words and ideas in specific political contexts such as those used by Chartists in Britain, or guilds and later socialists in Marseilles. Although these groups represented the interests of workers, their ranks did not necessarily consist of the majority of workers themselves as many kept their heads down and carried on with their daily lives. They were aware of, but not necessarily involved in, the politics of their day. These innovative approaches are still useful for unlocking shifting societal perceptions as certain words and phrases assumed new meaning, sometimes within days, and became installed as part of class-based prejudices and biases. Rather than dismissing the accomplishments of the political-economists or cultural historians, an approach that draws from both provides an effective way forward for reviving the concept of a “class identity.”

This dissertation uses a multidisciplinary approach to examine what many scholars might dismiss as the ephemeral and fleeting social networks that were constantly made and remade as workers moved in and out of the city, jobsites, neighbourhoods, and taverns. It draws from sociology as its theoretical approaches that include structuration theory and social network theory before combining this with time-space geography to view the overlapping paths of workers in the space of the tavern.

Structuration theory offers the opportunity to view major structural forces in late-nineteenth century Stockholm that ranged from the unemployment caused by the freezing of the port to downswings in the business and construction cycle. In their responses to these forces, workers developed what Olwen Hufton refers to as an “economy of makeshifts” or cultivated several (if temporary) streams of income to cobble together a

living wage.<sup>4</sup> An analysis of almost 250 individuals arrested by the police and various case studies clearly reveal fleeting employment opportunities and the tenacity of men and women as they availed of whatever opportunities they could to provide for themselves and their families.

Structuration is also invaluable for examining the discursive construction of class. As Frank Durham demonstrates, newspapers possess an agency of their own as people write, consume, and respond to the news and this gives newspapers the power to create and legitimise new thoughts and ideas.<sup>5</sup> After the Catastrophe of 1885 bourgeois observers blamed several occupational groups for the crush outside of the Grand Hôtel and because these accusations were printed in a seemingly reputable newspaper, other news outlets accepted them as fact and reprinted them. In this way a large group of concertgoers became a “mob.” Similarly, the emergence of the Great League of Thieves a decade later provided the fodder for widespread critiques against the working class. The press identified young workers and their parents as a criminal pathogen that threatened to spread throughout the city to other young individuals. This reveals a prime example of a “phantom of modernity” as the press created a largely unsubstantiated frenzy that grew to encompass everything associated with the “social question.”<sup>6</sup> In-migrants suffered from this prejudice and were nearly powerless to combat it.

Workers grappled with both these economic and social structures that threatened to subordinate them and found recourse in what the sociologist James C. Scott calls

---

<sup>4</sup> Hufton, *The Poor of Eighteenth-Century France*, 15.

<sup>5</sup> Durham, “The Last True Believers,” 349, 362.

<sup>6</sup> Kirkpatrick, “Phantoms of Modernity,” 232.

“weapons of the weak.”<sup>7</sup> These nearly imperceptible forms of resistance are distinguished by the context in which they appear; the primary distinction between these and normal behaviour is that their position in time and space reveals a deliberate attempt to challenge authority. This transforms an otherwise mundane act into a form of agency and represents a major departure from previous labour historians that only saw evidence of resistance in militant, highly publicised, and well-documented acts such as strikes. Men and women availed of these “weapons” to resist structural oppression and their actions illuminate how in-migrants managed to unite before trade unionism accelerated in the first decade of the twentieth century.

Ultimately these survival and resistance tactics served as the basis for a common identity as workers formed spontaneous but nonetheless meaningful social networks where this identity rose to the fore. Social network theory suggests that as heterogeneous groups form, one identity will supersede all others to provide a sense of unity and cohesion to the group. This helps explain how so many in-migrants from all over Sweden, with various geographic and occupational backgrounds, could come together and find some sense of commonality. This camaraderie often arose and developed in local taverns.

Time-space geography offers a theoretical approach for viewing the differences between “spaces” and “places” and how one is transformed into the other. Time-space geographers such as Torsten Hägerstrand and Allan Pred recognise that individuals make decisions and experience events throughout their daily, conscious lives. They refer to these as “paths.” At the same time, individuals come together and consume resources to

---

<sup>7</sup> Scott, *Weapons of the Weak*, XVI, 29.

fulfill complex and collaborative goals or “projects.” These powerful theoretical concepts lend themselves to an analysis of in-migrant workers in late nineteenth-century Stockholm who navigated their daily lives and the city’s streets as they sought work, camaraderie, and romantic companionship. Their urgency to find a sense of belonging contributed to their overall “project” of identity construction. As their paths overlapped in their various neighbourhoods or in their local tavern, that project was realised as men formed spontaneous drinking groups and fluid social networks.

The act of drinking, especially when interpreted as a “weapon of the weak,” served as a ritual that continuously circumscribed meaning on these spaces and reinforced workers’ new identity.<sup>8</sup> This new meaning transformed these taverns from “spaces” into “places.” As the sociologist Barry Eidlin points out, identities constantly shift in response to the surrounding environment and especially when people congregate into groups. Certain identities become dominant over others as each member of the group articulates their similarities to each other and their differences to outsiders.<sup>9</sup> In this way the working-class identity rose to the fore within drinking groups that constantly transformed as they welcomed or rejected new members. These groups and their identities were as fluid as the brännvin they consumed together although shared hardship and their tenacity brought them together. Women also participated in this arena as they carefully deployed their allure both to garner better tips and maintain order in this space when the dominant form of working-class masculinity threatened to erupt out of control in episodes of drunken violence.

---

<sup>8</sup> Hurd, “Introduction,” 287-288.

<sup>9</sup> Eidlin, “Class Formation and Class Identity,” 1056.

The sources used as the basis of analysis for the dissertation's biographical analysis and case studies provide the clearest and most detailed information about the vast majority of workers who were not represented by the formal social networks found in unions, workers' associations, temperance societies, or even dissident religious congregations. The most important documents for this analysis are the interrogation protocols issued by the police following the passage of the Vagrancy Act of 1885. Of the tens of thousands of protocols located in the archive, 247 files containing the criminal histories of men and women provide both qualitative and quantitative information that is invaluable for a biographical analysis of in-migration and social integration. These sources offer a window into the lives of men and women as they actively attempted to cope with the hardships of the city and the reprisal they faced as a result. Alternative sources that encompass both working men and women's narratives include the poor and workhouse records although these represent the stories of those who had absolutely nowhere else to turn and submitted themselves to state custody. These poor and workhouse records also have the drawback of seeing these men and women forcefully stripped of their individuality as they performed highly regulated tasks to condition their minds and bodies.<sup>10</sup> In contrast, the protocols maintain that individuality by providing brief occupational histories and insight into the migration paths of those who came to the city. They enable an analysis of the characteristic in-migrant that was arrested for vagrancy in the year 1893.

---

<sup>10</sup> Pred, *Lost Words and Lost Worlds*, 88.



The abundance of protocols provides interesting but limited insight into the demographic characteristics of those who appeared most in the arrest records in 1893. The sample of 247 people arrested in 1893 suggest it was primarily young men from rural backgrounds and especially those from Kalmar that experienced the greatest difficulty securing social and financial capital in Stockholm. These findings support those of Paul Puschmann who reveals that rural-to-urban in-migrants to Stockholm in the nineteenth century experienced very little upward social mobility and suffered worse than their counterparts in Antwerp or Rotterdam.<sup>11</sup> However, Puschmann and other demographers possess much more extensive data for some demographic characteristics than the protocols could possibly provide. The largest shortcoming of the demographic analysis was the lack of data on marriages and the inability to identify the numerous “Stockholm marriages.”

A biographical analysis was necessary to shed light on this tactic, the local economic and social conditions that encouraged men and women to move to the capital in the first place, and finally other forms of social integration beyond marriage. Although demographic data on marriages in Stockholm can be derived from the Stockholm Population Database or the Rotemans Archive, the popularity of “Stockholm marriages” as a tactic for economic survival, planning for the future and evidence for the pursuit of romantic love in the city means this data is likely skewed to a somewhat older age group. Margareta Matovic performed a quantitative analysis of the number of “Stockholm marriages” in Maria Parish and revealed thousands of couples over three decades that

---

<sup>11</sup> Puschmann, “Social Inclusion and Exclusion,” 245.

employed this tactic. Biographical analysis and the case studies used here provide qualitative evidence that romantic love kept people tethered together in similar arrangements despite many hardships that threatened to tear them apart.

An examination of the social and economic conditions of the home parishes and county of the men and women captured in the biographies provided further insight into their decision to move to Stockholm in the 1880s. Kalmar County suffered economic depression during this time due to plummeting prices of agricultural products but this alone did not explain the migratory paths undertaken by these men and women. Two of the men left to engage in the military or naval service and one was directly recruited into the Mounted Guards. One of the women followed the path of an aunt who was waiting for her in Stockholm to help facilitate work and find housing although this arrangement did not seem to provide “Wilhelmina” with any long-term security. One young woman fled a poor reputation in Kalmar City and sought the anonymity of the big city although she was fated to suffer the widest opprobrium of all the in-migrants because of her attempted infanticide. Without diaries explicitly outlining the individual’s decision to leave their home parish, the biographical analysis provides the best possible explanation for their actions.

Previous historians and demographers have emphasised marriage as the metric to explain in-migrants’ integration into urban society. Leslie Page Moch, Lotta Vikström, and more recently Paul Puschmann examine marriage rates among in-migrants to assess their relative integration, especially if they married a native of the city.<sup>12</sup> However,

---

<sup>12</sup> Moch, *Paths to the City*, 153, Vikström, *Gendered Routes and Courses*, 197, Puschmann, “Social Inclusion and Exclusion of Urban In-Migrants,” 110.

marriage was only one form of companionship in the city and many in-migrants waited years before they eventually married. In the interim they necessarily needed to find some sense of belonging and several of the biographies illuminate how they managed to do so. The men typically found camaraderie through their occupation while women gained a stronger foothold in the city through neighbourhood networks. Some leaned on natives from their very own home parish when they needed a place to stay in the capital especially after returning from forced labour following vagrancy charges. Finally, some participated in long-term romantic relationships and several left the city altogether, although not necessarily permanently.

The biographical analysis provided the greatest insight into in-migrants' lives, what brought them to the capital, and the hardship they endured after they arrived. The wealth of historical material in Swedish archives and the availability of birth and death records to punctuate these narratives makes this an incredibly effective form of qualitative analysis. Despite the advantages of this approach, its prospect in future scholarship will probably be limited by the researchers' time-constraints.

The examination of the struggles experienced by many of Stockholm's workers as well as their tactics reveal that social networks served as both the medium and the outcome of working-class resistance. In-migrants relied on networks to survive when they first arrived in the city and during their time in it. These could take the form of relatives or friends that preceded them and provided them with a place to stay or valuable advice on where to seek work. Some in-migrants developed networks through their occupation such as the Mounted Guards. This did not necessarily improve employment prospects but initiated some in-migrants into the city's underworld. Networks of women forced into

prostitution protected one another from the police and this offers one example of how shared struggles and efforts to resist them produced a social network. Other networks formed in the space of the tavern as men made connections while seeking work and expressing their shared hardships and struggles.

Many, if not most, of those who arrived in Stockholm faced innumerable hardships but the siren call of the city and the promise of adventure continued to draw men and women from across Sweden. Stockholm offered all manner of new and exciting prospects such as access to the world's luxuries that were unavailable in the rural villages and hamlets as Stockholm assumed its role as one of Europe's great metropolises. It offered a palpable energy that country life simply could not match and this attraction proved vital to transforming both the lives of the men and women who braved the journey as well as this late nineteenth-century city.

## Bibliography

### Official Statistics

Bidrag till Sveriges Officiella Statistik (BiSOS)

- Series A. Befolkningsstatistik. Statistiska centralbyråns underdåniga berättelse för år 1885, 1887.
- Series F. Commerce Collegii. Utrikes handel och sjöfart: Underdåniga berättelse för år 1868, 1875-1890, 1897.
- Series G. Fångvårds-Styrelsens underdåniga berättelse för år 1875, 1880, 1885, 1890, 1895.
- Series H. Femårsberättelser för Kalmars län, åren 1861-1865, 1866-1870, 1871-1875, 1876-1880, 1881-1885, 1886-1890, 1891-1895, 1896-1900.
- Femårsberättelser för Stockholms Stad, Åren 1866-1870, 1880-1890, 1896-1900, 1901-1905.
- Series L. Trafikstyrelsens underdåniga berättelse för år 1880.

### Archival Sources

*Stockholms Stadsarkiv (SSA)*: <https://stadsarkivet.stockholm/sok-och-bestall/sok-i-stadsarkivets-databaser/>

Hedvig Eleonora kyrkoarkiv  
Födelse- och dopböcker CI

Katarina kyrkoarkiv  
Födelse- och dopböcker CI

Klara kyrkoarkiv  
Födelse- och dopböcker CI

Rotemännens arkiv  
Överståthållarämbetet, Skatteverket DIa

Storkyrkoförsamlingens kyrkoarkiv  
Lysnings- och vigselböcker, huvudserie EIa

Överståthållarämbetet för polisärenden 1 (ÖÄ)  
Polismästaren handlingar angående lösdrivare och prostituerade FIv

Överståthållarämbetet för polisärenden 3 (ÖÄ)  
Kriminalavdelningens femte rotel/ Lösdrivaravdelningen  
Protokoll angående varnade och häktade lösdrivare FIa  
Förhörprotokoll angående häktade lösdrivare FIb  
Förhörprotokoll angående varnade och häktade lösdrivare FIc

Överståthållarämbetet för polisärenden 4 (ÖÄ)  
Prostitutionsavdelningen, Förhörprotokoll FI

Överståthållarämbetet för Polisärenden 9  
Polisvakt-distrikt 7 BIa

Stockholms Sjömanshus arkiv  
Statistik över Stockholm stads och tull-distrikts fartyg HI  
Mönstringsrullor, utmönstringsböcker DIa

*Riksarkivet i Härnösand (HLA):* <https://sok.riksarkivet.se/nad>

Sjömanshusets i Gävle arkiv  
Sjömanshus – matrikel DI

*Riksarkivet i Vadstena (VALA):* <https://sok.riksarkivet.se/nad>

Högsby kyrkoarkiv  
Husförhörslängder BI

Köpings kyrkoarkiv  
Inflyttningslängder BI

Mortorps kyrkoarkiv  
Husförhörslängder AI

Madesjö kyrkoarkiv  
Inflyttningslängder BI

### Newspapers

*Aftonbladet*, September 1885, March 1891, May-July 1895.

*Dagens Nyheter*, December 1864, December 1881, October 1884, September 1885, April-May 1895, July 1896

*Fädernslandet*, February 1893.

*Kalmar*, December 1880, January 1881, October-November 1886, December 1889, March 1893.

*Socialdemokraten*, September 1885, November 1885, December 1890, September 1891, March-April 1895, July-August 1895, November 1897.

*Stockholms Dagbladet*, March 1881, September 1895.

*Stockholms Nyheter*, January 1887, April-May 1895, July-August 1895, October-December 1895.

*Svenska Dagbladet*, September 1885, April-May 1895, November 1895

#### Online Databases

*Ancestry.com*

Swedish Church Records Archive,

<https://www.ancestrylibrary.ca/search/collections/2225/>

*Medical History Database, Linköpings universitet*: <https://ep.liu.se/databases/medhist/>

Series E5A

Årsberättelser från Provinsialläkare för Stockholm stad, 1881, 1888, 1891.

[https://ep.liu.se/databases/medhist\\_data/arkivdokument/provlak/1881/P8810180\\_1.htm](https://ep.liu.se/databases/medhist_data/arkivdokument/provlak/1881/P8810180_1.htm),

[https://ep.liu.se/databases/medhist\\_data/arkivdokument/provlak/1888/P8880180.htm](https://ep.liu.se/databases/medhist_data/arkivdokument/provlak/1888/P8880180.htm),

[https://ep.liu.se/databases/medhist\\_data/arkivdokument/provlak/1891/P8910180\\_2.htm](https://ep.liu.se/databases/medhist_data/arkivdokument/provlak/1891/P8910180_2.htm).

#### Published Primary Sources

af Geijerstam, Gustaf. *Anteckningar om arbetarförhållanden i Stockholm*. Stockholm: Samson and Wallin, 1894.

Bruzelius, A. J. ed. *Sveriges Läkare-Historia ifrån Konung Gustaf den I:s till Närvarande Tid*. 3rd edition, Vol. 2. Stockholm: P.A. Norstedt & Söner, 1899. 626-628.

*En natt vid Österlånggatan. Natliga studier af en Detektiv*. 1894. Available from <https://stockholmskallan.stockholm.se/post/6846>.

- Foreign Office and the Royal College of Physicians of Edinburgh. *Sweden. Report on the Working of the Gothenburg Licensing System Since the Year 1876*. London: Harrison and Sons, 1890. Available from <https://wellcomecollection.org/works/s5bd4vdd>.
- Guinchard, Joseph. *Af Styrelsen öfver Stockholms stads asyler för husvilla föranstaltad statistisk undersökning angående bostadsförhållandena i Stockholm : åren 1900 och 1902*. Stockholm: Styrelsen öfver Stockholms stads asyler för husvil, 1903.g
- Johannesdotter, Anna. *Den undre världen: en lifshistoria*. Stockholm: Wahlström & Widstrand, 1907.
- Johansson, J. E. *Reglemertingen i Stockholm*. Stockholm: Wahlström & Widstrand, 1913.
- Johansson, Johan E. "Statistisk utredning angående reglementeringen i Stockholm 1859–1905," in *Underdånigt*, vol. iii. Stockholm: Isaac Marcus' Boktryckeri-Aktiebolag, 1910.
- Key-Åberg, Karl. *Bihang N:r 40 till Beredningsutskottets utlåtanden och memorial för år 1897*.  
[https://sok.stadsarkivet.stockholm.se/Kommuntryck/Visare?filename=KTR0045001\\_ps.pdf&documentid=8d78677ea89acec17bb8ae45836bc726#search=%22%22](https://sok.stadsarkivet.stockholm.se/Kommuntryck/Visare?filename=KTR0045001_ps.pdf&documentid=8d78677ea89acec17bb8ae45836bc726#search=%22%22)  
2
- Kjellberg, Isidor. *Svenska arbetaremötet (i Stockholm, 1879) och dess män. Åteberblick af en mötesdeltagare*. Linköping: Isidor Kjellbergs boktryckeri, 1879.
- Komitén för uppgörande af förslag till ny taxa för personbefordringen å statens jernvägar. *Betänkande afgifvet den 1 oktober 1898*. Stockholm: K. L. Beckmans Boktryckeri, 1898.
- Lundin, Claës. *Nya Stockholm*. Stockholm: Geber, 1890.
- Nordström, Alf. "Om arbetarbostäder i Stockholm under 1800-talets senare del." In *Årsberättelser*. Stockholm: K. L. Beckmans Boktryckeri, 1948.
- Nyström, Anton. *Om äktenskapet, pauperismen och prostitutionen - en medicinsk social undersökning*. Stockholm: Looström & Komp, 1885.
- Nåder förordnade komiterade. *Underdånigt betänkande, med förslag till förordning angående fattigvården i riket m. m.* Stockholm: A. L. Norman, 1871.
- Officiel katalog öfver industriafdelningen af allmänna konst- och industriutställningen i Stockholm 1897*. Stockholm: Central-tryckeriet, 1897.



Phocas [Fredrik Lindholm]. *Café-Studier i Stockholm och andra förstudier till romanen*. Stockholm: Bokförlagsföreningen Svea, 1885.

Stadens statistiska kontor, *Statistisk årsbok för Stockholms stad, år 1904*. Stockholm: K. L. Beckmans Boktryckeri, 1905.

Stockholms stads statistiska kontor, *Statistisk årsbok för Stockholms stad 1912*. Stockholm: K. L. Beckmans Boktryckeri, 1912.

*Statistisk årsbok för Stockholms stad 1923*. Stockholm: K. L. Beckmans Boktryckeri, 1923.

Tengdahl, Knut. *Material till bedömning af hamnarbetarnes i Stockholm lefnadsförhållanden*. Stockholm: Lorénska stiftelsen, 1897.

Tillhagen, Carl-Herman. *Stockholms folkminnen volym I*.  
<https://dokument.nordiskamuseet.se/>.

Tillhagen, Carl-Herman. *Stockholms folkminnen volym VI*.  
<https://dokument.nordiskamuseet.se/>.

Welander, Edvard. *Bidrag till de veneriska sjukdomarnes historia i Sverige*. Stockholm: Wilhelm Billes Bokförlags Aktiebolag, 1905.

Welander, Edvard. "Till belysning af prostitutionsfrågan." *Hygiea* 51 (3) (March 1889), 133-177.

Zola, Émile. *L'Assommoir*. Translated by Margaret Mauldon. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995.

Zola, Émile. *The Ladies Paradise*. Translated by Ernest Alfred Vizetelly. London: Hutchinson & Co., 1895.

Östman, C. J. *Isförhållandena vid Sveriges kuster under vintrarna 1870/71-1934/35*. Stockholm: Statens Meteorologisk-Hydrografiska Anstalt, 1937.

### Secondary Sources

Ahlberg, Gösta. *Stockholms befolkningsutveckling efter 1850*. Stockholm: Monografier utgivna av Stockholms Kommunalförvaltning, 1958.

Allt på Öland. "Gammal utskeppningshamn för sten,"  
<https://alltpaoland.se/platser/sandviks-hamn/>.

- Alter, George. *Family and the Female Life Course: The Women of Verviers, Belgium, 1849-1880* Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1988.
- Ambjörnsson, Ronny. "The Conscientious Workers: Ideas and Ideals in a Swedish Working Class Culture." *History of European Ideas* 10 (1) (1989): 59-67.
- Andersson, Daniel. "'Courting is Like Trading Horses, You have to Keep Your Eyes Open' Gender-Related Proverbs in a Peasant Society in Northern Sweden." *Journal of Northern Studies* 6 (2) (2012): 9-36.
- "Arbetslösa, hemlösa och lösdrivare." *Stockholmskällan*. Stockholms stad. Retrieved 1 May 2024. <https://stockholmskallan.stockholm.se/teman/stockholms-sociala-historia/hemlosa-och-losdrivare/>.
- Archer, John E. "'Men Behaving Badly?': Masculinity and the Uses of Violence, 1850-1900." In *Everyday Violence in Britain, 1850-1950: Gender and Class*. Edited by Shani D'Cruze. Oxfordshire, England: Routledge, 2014. 41-54.
- Bailey, Peter. *Popular Culture and Performance in the Victorian City*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998.
- Beckingham, David. "Gender, Space, and Drunkenness: Liverpool's Licensed Premises, 1860-1914." *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 102 (3) (2012): 647-666.
- Boyle, Paul, Keith Halfacree, and Vaughan Robinson. *Exploring Contemporary Migration*. New York: Longman, 1998.
- Brennan, Thomas. *Public Drinking and Popular Culture in Eighteenth-Century Paris*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1988.
- Brown, M. Craig and Warner, Barbara D. "Immigrants, Urban Politics, and Policing in 1900." *American Sociological Review* 57 (3) (June 1992): 293-305.
- Burström, Bo, Gloria Macassa, Lisa Oberg, Eva Bernhardt, and Lars Smedman. "Equitable Child Health Interventions: The Impact of Improved Water and Sanitation on Inequalities in Child Mortality in Stockholm, 1878 to 1925." *American Journal of Public Health* 95:2 (2005): 208-216.
- Burton, Valerie. "The Myth of Bachelor Jack: Masculinity, Patriarchy and Seafaring Labour." In *Jack Tar in History: Essays in the History of Maritime Life and Labour*. Edited by Colin Howell and Richard J. Twomey. Fredericton: Acadiensis Press, 1991. 179-198.

- Butler, Judith. *Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity*. New York: Routledge, 2006.
- Canning, Kathleen. "Gender and the Politics of Class Formation: Rethinking German Labor History." *American Historical Review* 6 (3) (1992): 736-768.
- Canning, Kathleen. *Languages of Labor and Gender: Female Factory Work in Germany, 1850-1914*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1996.
- Campbell, Nancy, David Herzberg, and Lucas Richert. "Forty Years On." *The Social History of Alcohol and Drugs: An Interdisciplinary Journal* 33 (2) (Fall 2019): 161-163.
- Carter, Rodney G. S. "Of Things Said and Unsaid: Power, Archival Silences, and Power in Silence." *Archivaria* 61 (61) (2006): 215-233.
- Cederqvist, Jane. *Arbetare i strejk: Studier rörande arbetarnas politiska mobilisering under industrialismens genombrott : Stockholm 1850-1909*. Monografier utgivna av Stockholms kommunalförvaltings Nr. 41. Stockholm: Liberförlag, 1980.
- Chevalier, "Våra parker." In *Boken om Stockholm*. Stockholm: Nilsson & Berglings Förlag, 1901. 504-512.
- Chin, Aimee, Chinhui Juhn, Peter Thompson. "Technical Change and the Demand for Skills during the Second Industrial Revolution: Evidence from the Merchant Marine, 1891-1912." *The Review of Economics and Statistics* 88 (3) (2006): 572-578.
- Chrispinsson, John. "Stockholm 1900." *Populär Historia* (2001), <https://populärhistoria.se/sveriges-historia/1900-tal/stockholm-1900>.
- Collier, Ken. "Class in Monopoly Capital." *Socialist Studies* 16 (1) (2022): 1-16.
- Commons, John R. "Introduction to Volumes III and IV." In John R. Commons et al, *History of Labour in the United States*, Vol. 3. New York: MacMillan, 1935.
- Connell, R. W. *Masculinities*. Berkley: University of California Press, 1993.
- Cook, James W. "The Kids are All Right: On the 'Turning' of Cultural History." *American Historical Review* 117 (3) (2012):746-771.
- Corbin, Alain. *Women for Hire: Prostitution and Sexuality in France after 1850*. Translated by Alan Sheridan. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1990.

- Cornell, Lasse. *Sundsvallsdistriktets sågverksarbetare 1860-1890: Arbete levnadsförhållanden rekrytering*. Göteborg: Göteborgs Universitet, 1982.
- Crew, David F. *Town in the Ruhr: A Social History of Bochum, 1860-1914*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1979.
- Curtis, Stephan. "The Interaction of Technology, Maritime Trade and Cultural Change to the Sundsvall Region's Economic Boom of the Late 19<sup>th</sup> Century." Conference Paper. Presented at the 30<sup>th</sup> Annual Nordic Historians Congress. April 9, 20200.
- de Certeau, Michel. *The Practice of Everyday Life*. Translated by Steven Rendall. Berkley: University of California Press, 1984.
- DeLottinville, Peter. "Joe Beef of Montreal: Working-Class Culture and the Tavern, 1869-1889." *Labour/Le Travailleur* 8/9 (1981/82): 9-40.
- Dribe, Martin, and Maria Stanfors, "Age Homogamy and Modernization: Evidence from Turn-of-the-Century Sweden," *The Journal of the Economic & Business History Society* 35 (1) (2017): 265-289.
- Driver, Felix. "Moral Geographies: Social Science and the Urban Environment in Mid-Nineteenth Century England." *Transactions: Institute of British Geographers*, 13 (1988), 275-287.
- Durham, Frank. "The Last True Believers. *The Knoxville Journal* in the Late Civil Rights Movement." *Journal of Communication Inquiry* 31 (4) (2007): 347-365.
- Ealham, Chris. "An Imagined Geography: Ideology, Urban Space, and Protest in the Creation of Barcelona's 'Chinatown', c. 1835-1936." *International Review of Social History* 50 (2005): 373-397.
- Edenheim, Sara. "Att komma till Scott – teorins roll inom svensk genushistoria." *Scandia* 78 (2) (2012): 23-32.
- Edgren, Lars and Lars Olsson. "Swedish Working-Class History," *International Labor and Working-Class History* 35 (Spring, 1989): 69-80.
- Edgren, Lars. *Lärling - gesäll – mästare: hantverk och hantverkare i Malmö 1750-1847*. Lund: Dialogos, 1987.
- Edman, Johan. *Toriken: Tvångsvården av alkoholmissbrukare i Sverige 1940-1981*. Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell, 2004.
- Eidlin, Barry. "Class Formation and Class Identity: Birth, Death, and Possibilities for Renewal." *Sociology Compass* 8 (8) (2014): 1045-1062.

- Ekström, A. *Den utställda världen: Stockholmsutställningen 1897 och 1800-talets världsutställningar*. Stockholm: Nordiska museets handlingar, 1994.
- Ericsson, Tom. *Mellan kapital och arbete: Småborgerligheten i Sverige 1850-1914*. Umeå: Umeå Universitets tryckeri, 1988.
- Eriksson, Ingrid, and John Rogers. "Mobility in an Agrarian Community: Practical and Methodological Considerations." In *Aristocrats, Farmers, Proletarians: Essays in Swedish Demographic History*. Uppsala: Almqvist & Wiksell Informationsindustri AB, 1973. 60-87.
- Eriksson, Ingrid, and John Rogers. *Rural Labor and Population Changes: Social and Demographic Developments in East-Central Sweden During the Nineteenth century*. Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1978.
- Erixon, Sigurd. *Stockholms hamnarbetare före fackföreningsrörelsens genombrott*. Monografier utgivna av Stockholms kommunalförvaltning Nr. 85, 2nd edition. Stockholm: Stockholms kommunalförvaltning, 1988.
- Essemyr, Mats. *Bruksarbetarnas livsmedelskonsumtion: Formarks bruk 1730-1880*, Uppsala Studies in Economic History Nr. 30. Uppsala: Uppsala University, 1989.
- Evans, Richard. *Death in Hamburg: Society and Politics in the Cholera Years 1830-1910*. New York: Penguin Books, 1987.
- Evans, Richard J. "Prostitution, State and Society in Imperial Germany," *Past & Present* 70 (Feb. 1976): 106-129.
- Evans, Richard J. *Tales from the German Underworld. Crime and Punishment in the Nineteenth Century*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998.
- Fahmi, Magda. "'Ruffled' Mistresses and 'Discontented' Maids: Respectability and the Case of Domestic Service, 1880-1914." *Labour / Le Travail* (1997): 69-97.
- Fairchild, Cissie. "Female Sexual Attitudes and the Rise of Illegitimacy: A Case Study." *The Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 8:4 (Spring 1978): 627-667.
- Fischler, Claude. "Food, Self and Identity." *Social Science Information* 27 (2) (1988): 275-292.
- Flowerdew, Robin. "Torsten Hägerstrand," in *Key Thinkers on Space and Place*. Edited by Phil Hubbard and Rob Kitchin. London: Sage Publications, 2011. 199-204.
- Fogelström, Per Anders. *En resa till Stockholm 1871*. Stockholm: Esselte Tryck, 1971.

- Fraser, Nancy. *Unruly Practices: Power, Discourse, and Gender in Contemporary Social Theory*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1989.
- 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.
- Fridlitzius, Gunnar. "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 W. Lee. Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2002. 124-175.
- Fritz, Martin. "Shipping in Sweden, 1850-1913." *Scandinavian Economic History Review* 28 (2) (1980): 147-160.
- Frykman, Birgitta Skarin. *Arbetarkultur – Göteborg 1890*. Skrifter från Etnologiska föreningen i Västsverige 8. Gothenburg: Etnologiska föreningen i Västsverige, 1990.
- Frykman, Jonas and Orvar Löfgren. *Culture Builders: A Historical Anthropology of Middle-Class Life*. Translated by Alan Crozier. New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1987.
- Fuchs, Rachel G. and Leslie Page Moch. "Pregnant, Single, and Far from Home: Migrant Women in Nineteenth-Century Paris." *The American Historical Review* 95 (4) (Oct. 1990): 1007-1031.
- 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.
- Furuhagen, Björn. *Ordning på stan, polisen i Stockholm 1848-1917*. Stockholm: Brutus Östlings Bokförlag Symposion, 2004.
- Gee, James Paul. *An Introduction to Discourse Analysis: Theory and Method*. New York: Routledge, 2011.
- Gefou-Madianou, Dimitra, ed. *Alcohol, Gender, and Culture*. New York: Routledge, 1992.
- Giddens, Anthony. *Central Problems in Social Theory: Action, Structure, and Contradiction in Social Analysis*. Berkely: University of California Press, 1979.

- Gillis, John R. "Servants, Sexual Relations, and the Risks of Illegitimacy in London, 1801-1900," *Feminist Studies* 5 (1) (1979): 142-173.
- Girouard, Mark. *Cities & People: A Social and Architectural History*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1985.
- Graham, Gerald S. "The Ascendancy of the Sailing Ship 1850-1885." *Economic History Review* 9 (1) (1956): 74-88.
- Granovetter, Mark S. "The Strength of Weak Ties." *American Journal of Sociology* 78 (6) (May, 1973): 1360-1380.
- Gustafson, Uno. *Industrialismens storstad: Studier rörande Stockholms sociala, ekonomiska, och demografiska struktur 1860-1910*. Monografier utgivna av Stockholms kommunalförvaltning Nr. 37. Stockholm: Stockholms kommunalförvaltning, 1976.
- Gutman, Herbert. *Power and Culture: Essays on the American Working Class*. New York: The New Press, 1987.
- Gutman, Herbert. *Work, Culture, and Society in Industrializing America: Essays in American Working-Class and Social History*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1976.
- Gutman, Herbert. "Work, Culture, and Society in Industrialising America, 1815-1919." *The American Historical Review* 78 (3) (1973). 531-588.
- Göransson, Anita. *Från familj till fabrik: Teknik, arbetsdelning och skiktning i svenska fabriker 1830-1877*, Umeå Studies in Economic History Nr. 11. Lund: Tryck Studentlitteratur, 1988.
- Götlind, Anna. "Tillfällighet i förändring: Herrarbetande Djurakvinnor i Stockholm runt sekelskiftet 1900." In *Tillfälliga stockholmare: Människor och möten under 600 år*. Edited by Anna Götlind and Marko Lamberg. Stockholm: Stockholmia, 2017. 179-204.
- Hagstedt, Rolf. "Sjöfart, handel, hantverk och industri under 1800-talet." In *Kalmar stads historia, del III: Från 1700-talets stad till det moderna Kalmar*. Edited by Ingrid Hammarström. Kalmar: Kulturnämnden i Kalmar, 1984. 95-198.
- Hajnal, John. "European Marriage Patterns in Perspective." In *Population in History. Essays in Historical Demography*. Edited by D. V. Glass and D. E. C. Eversley. London: Edward Arnold Publishers Ltd, 1965. 101-143.
- Hammarström, Ingrid. *Stockholm i svensk ekonomi, 1850-1914*. Stockholm: Almqvist and Wiksell, 1970.

- Hammond, J.L. and Barbara. *The Skilled Labourer, 1780-1832*. London: Longman and Green, 1919.
- Hareven, Tamara K. "The Impact of Family History and the Life Course on Social History," in *Family History Revisited: Comparative Perspectives*. Edited by Richard Wall, Tamara K. Hareven, and Josef Ehmer. Newark: University of Delaware Press, 2001. 21-39.
- Harzig, Christiane. "Introduction: Women Move from the European Countryside to Urban America." In *Peasant Maids, City Women: From the European Countryside to Urban America*. Edited by Christiane Harzig. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1997. 1-21.
- Hasselbalch, Ole. "The Roots – the History of Nordic Labour Law." *Stockholm Institute for Scandinavian Law*. (2009): 11-35. <https://www.scandinavianlaw.se/pdf/43-1.pdf>.
- Heckscher, Eli. *An Economic History of Sweden*. Translated by Göran Ohlin. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1954.
- Hentilä, Seppo. *Svenska arbetarklassen och reformismens genombrott inom SAP före 1914: Arbetarklassens ställning, strategi och ideologi*. Helsinki: Suomen Historiallinen Seura, 1979.
- Hilson, Mary. "Swedish Approaches to the Rise of Labour: A British Perspective." *Scandinavian Journal of History* (26) (2001): 103-121.
- Hirdman, Yvonne. "Genussystemet - reflexioner kring kvinnors sociala underordning," *Tidskrift för Genusvetenskap* 3 (1988): 49-63.
- Hirdman, Yvonne. *Magfrågan-Mat som mål och medel, Stockholm 1870-1920*. Stockholm: Rabén och Sjögren, 1983.
- Hobsbawm, Eric. *Labouring Men: Studies in the History of Labour*. London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1964.
- Hobsbawm, Eric. "Lenin and the 'Aristocracy of Labor.'" *Monthly Review: An Independent Socialist Magazine* 64 (7) (2012): 26-34. Originally published in the same magazine in August, 1970.
- Hobsbawm, Eric. "The Historians' Group." In *Rebels and Their Causes: Essays in Honour of A L Morton*. Edited by Maurice Cornforth. New York: Humanities Press, 1979. 21-48.



- Hobsbawm, Eric. *Workers: Worlds of Labor*. New York: Pantheon Books, 1984.
- Hoppe, Göran and John Langton, *Peasantry to Capitalism: Western Östergötland in the Nineteenth Century*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994.
- Hufton, Olwen H. *The Poor of Eighteenth-Century France, 1750-1789*. London: Oxford University Press, 1974.
- Hurd, Madeleine. "Introduction – Social Movements: Rituals, Space and Media." *Culture Unbound: Journal of Cultural Research* 6 (2014): 287-303.
- Hurd, Madeleine. "Liberals, Socialists, and Sobriety: The Rhetoric of Citizenship in Turn-of-the-Century Sweden." *International Labor and Working-Class History* 45 (Spring 1994): 44-62.
- Hurd, Madeleine. *Public Spheres, Public Mores, and Democracy: Hamburg and Stockholm, 1870-1914*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2000.
- Hägerstrand, Torsten. "Diorama, Path and Project." *Tijdschrift voor economische en sociale geografie* 73 (6) (1982): 323-339.
- Hägerstrand, Torsten. "On the Definition of Migration," *Finnish Yearbook of Population Research* 11 (1969): 63-72.
- Isacson, Maths, and Lars Magnusson, *Proto-Industrialisation in Scandinavia: Craft Skills in the Industrial Revolution*. New York: Berg, 1987.
- Jackson Jr., James H. and Leslie Page Moch. "Migration and the Social History of Modern Europe." *Historical Methods: A Journal of Quantitative and Interdisciplinary History* 22:1 (1989): 27-36.
- Jakobsson, Svante, and Sten W. Jakobsson. "*Orons och förtviflans gerningar*" *Ogifta kvinnors vånda för havandeskaps och barnsbörds skull. Stockholmsförhållanden 1887-1901*. Stockholm: Stockholmsmonografier, 1987.
- Jansdotter, Anna. *Ansikte mot ansikte. Räddningsarbete bland prostituerade kvinnor i Sverige 1850–1920*. Stockholm: Brutus Östlings Bokförlag Symposion, 2004.
- Jansson, Karin Hassan, Fiebranz, Rosemarie, and Östman, Ann-Catrin. "Constitutive Tasks: Performances of Hierarchy and Identity," in *Making a Living, Making a Difference: Gender and Work in Early Modern European Society*, ed. by Maria Ågren. New York: Oxford University Press, 2017. 127-158.
- Jerram, Leif. "Space: A Useless Category of Historical Analysis?" *History and Theory* 52 (October 2013): 400-419.

- Johansson, Ingemar. *Strejken som vapen: Fackföreningar och strejker i Norrköping 1870-1910*. Stockholm: Tiden, 1982.
- Jonsson, Magdalena. "Persnäs kyrkogård. Persnäs församling, Växjö stift, Kalmar län." *Kulturhistorisk inventering av kyrkogårdar/begravningsplatser i Växjö stift*. Kalmar: Kalmar läns Museum, 2006.
- Jorde, Tine Susanne. *Stockholms tjenstepiker under industrialiseringen. Tjenstepikeyrkets funksjon i individets livsløp og i en ekspanderende storby*. Stockholm: Gotab, 1995.
- Joyce, Patrick. *Visions of the People: Industrial England and the Question of Class 1848-1914*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991.
- Jörberg, Lennart. "The Development of Real Wages for Agricultural Workers in Sweden during the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> Centuries," *Economy and History* (1972): 45-57.
- Jütte, Robert. *Poverty and Deviance in Early Modern Europe*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994.
- Kealey, Gregory and Bryan Palmer. *Dreaming of What Might Be: The Knights of Labor in Ontario, 1880-1900*. Toronto: New Hogtown Press, 1987.
- Kearns, Gerry. "The Urban Penalty and the Population History of England." In *Society, Health, and Population during the Demographic Transition*. Edited by Anders Brändström and Lars-Göran Tedebrand. Stockholm: Almqvist and Wiksell, 1988. 213-235.
- Kenefick, William. "Technological Change and Glasgow's Dock Labour Force, c. 1860-1914." *International Journal of Maritime History* 13 (2) (2001): 51-72.
- Key-Åberg, K. "Sveriges industri. Geografisk, historisk, statistisk öfversikt." *Ekonomisk Tidskrift* (1) (1899): 329-354.
- Key-Åberg, Karl Vilhelm Viktor. *Stockholms utskänkningsaktiebolag, dess organisation och tjugofemåriga verksamhet*. Stockholm: P.A. Norstedt & Söner, 1902.
- Kilduff, Martin and Wenpin Tsai. *Social Networks and Organisations*. Los Angeles: Sage, 2011.
- Kirkby, Diane. *Barmaids: A History of Women's Work in Pubs*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997.

- Kirkpatrick, Michael D. "Phantoms of Modernity: The 1894 Anarchist Furor in the Making of Modern Guatemala City." *Urban History* 44 (2) (2017): 231-252.
- Knauerhase, Ramon. "The Compound Steam Engine and Productivity Changes in the German Merchant Marine Fleet, 1871-1887." *The Journal of Economic History* 28 (3) (1968): 390-403.
- Koditschek, Theodore. *Class Formation and Urban Industrial Society: Bradford, 1750-1850*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990.
- Korpi, Walter. *The Working Class in Welfare Capitalism: Work, Unions, and Politics in Sweden*. London: Routledge and Keagan Paul, 1978.
- Kärholm, Mattias. "The Territorialisation of a Pedestrian Precinct in Malmö: Materialities in the Commercialisation of Public Space." *Urban Studies* 45 (9) (August 2008): 1903-1924.
- Lambert, W. R. "Drinking and Work Discipline in Industrial South Wales, c. 1800-1870." *Welsh History Review* 7 (1974): 289-306.
- Langkjaer, Jenny. "Skrif ni edra tecken": Polisövervakning av arbetarrörelsens möten i Stockholm 1885-1918." *Arbetarhistoria* 132 (2009): 26-30.
- Lawrence, Stewart B. "The Dreaming Boy and the Waking City: Alcohol Consumption and the Construction of a Working-Class Identity in Late Nineteenth-Century Stockholm." Master's Thesis. St. John's: Memorial University, 2019.
- Lawton, Richard. "The Components of Demographic Change in a Rapidly Growing Port-City: The Case of Liverpool in the Nineteenth Century." In *Population and Society in Western European Port Cities, c. 1650-1939*. Edited by Richard Lawton and Robert W. Lee. Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2002. 91-123.
- Lawton, Richard. "Urbanization and Population Change in Nineteenth-Century England." In *The Expanding City: Essays in Honour of Professor Jean Gottmann*. Edited by John Patten. London: Academic Press, 1983. 179-224.
- Lee, Robert. "The Seafarers' Urban World: A Critical Review," *International Journal of Maritime History* XXV (1) (June 2013): 23-64.
- Lees, Andrew. "Deviant Sexuality and Other 'Sins': The Views of Protestant Conservatives in Imperial Germany." *German Studies Review* 23 (3) (Oct. 2000): 453-476.
- Lennartsson, Rebecka. *Den sköna synderskan. Sekelskiftets Stockholm. Beraktelser från undersidan*. Stockholm: Norstedts, 2007.

- Lennartsson, Rebecka. *Malaria Urbana: Om byråflickan Anna Johannesdotter och prostitutionen i Stockholm kring 1900*. Stockholm: Brutus Östlings Bokförlag Symposion, 2001.
- Lenin, Vladimir. *Imperialism, The Highest Stage of Capitalism: A Popular Outline*. In *Lenin's Selected Works*. Moscow: Progress Publishers, 1963. 187-301.
- Leonards, Chris and Nico Randerad, "Transnational Experts in Social Reform, 1840-1880," *International Review of Social History* 55 (2) (2010): 215-239.
- Lindgren, Anne-Marie. *Arbetarnas Stockholm, 1880-1920*. Stockholm: Murbruk förlag, 2014.
- Lindström, Sören. *Gamla krognamn i Faktarummets slagordsregister*. Stockholm: Stockholms stadsmuseet, 2013.
- Lizardo, Omar. "Beyond the Antinomies of Structure: Levi-Strauss, Giddens, Bourdieu, and Sewell," *Theory and Society* 39, no. 6 (2010): 651-688.
- Löwengart, Mia Kuritzén. *En samhällelig angelägenhet. Framväxten av en symfoniorkester och ett konserthus i Stockholm, cirka 1890–1926*. Uppsala: Uppsala universitet, 2017.
- Lummis, Trevor. *The Labour Aristocracy, 1851-1914*. Aldershot, England: Scolar Press, 1994.
- Lundh, Christer. "Life Cycle Servants in Nineteenth Century Sweden – Norms and Practice." *Lund Papers in Economic History* 84 (2003): 1-14.
- Lundh, Christer. "Swedish Marriages. Customs, Legislation and Demography in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries." *Lund Economic Papers* 88 (2003): 1-63.
- Lundqvist, Åsa. "Conceptualising Gender in a Swedish Context." *Gender & History*, Vol. 11 (3) (November 1999): 583-596.
- Lundquist, Tommie. *Den disciplinerade dubbelmoralen: Studier i den reglementerade prostitutionens historia i Sverige 1859-1918*. PhD Dissertation. Gothenburg: The University of Gothenburg, 1982.
- Løkke, "Creating the Social Question: Imagining Society in Statistics and Political Economy in Late Nineteenth Century Denmark," *Histoire Sociale, Social History* 35 (70) (2002): 393-422.

- Malleck, Dan. "When Beer was Off-Side: Drink, Sport, and the Ideals of Civic Citizenship in Two Ontario Cities, 1934-44." *Journal of Canadian Studies* 49 (3) (Fall 2015): 144-169.
- March, Alan. "Democratic Dilemmas, Planning and Ebenezer Howard's Garden City." *Planning Perspectives* 19 (2004): 409-433.
- Markkola, Pirjo. "The Long History of Lutheranism in Scandinavia. From State Religion to the People's Church." *Perichoresis* 13 (2) (2015): 3-15.
- Mars, Gerald. "Longshore Drinking, Economic Security and Union Politics in Newfoundland." In *Constructive Drinking: Perspectives on Drink from Anthropology*. Vol. X. Edited by Mary Douglas. New York: Routledge, 2003. 91-101.
- Matovic, Margareta R. *Stockholmsäktenskap: Familjebildning och partnerval i Stockholm 1850-1890*. Monografier utgivna av Stockholms kommun Nr. 57. Stockholm: Liberförlags, 1984.
- Matovic, Margareta R. "The Stockholm Marriage: Extra-Legal Family Formation in Stockholm 1860-1890." *Continuity and Change* 1 (3) (1986): 385-413.
- Moch, Leslie Page. *Moving Europeans: Migration in Western Europe since 1650*. Second Edition. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2003.
- Moch, Leslie Page. *Paths to the City: Regional Migration in Nineteenth-Century France*. Beverly Hills: Sage Publications, 1983.
- Moch, Leslie Page and Rachel G. Fuchs. "Getting Along: Poor Women's Networks in Nineteenth-Century Paris." *French Historical Studies* 18 (1) (Spring, 1993): 34-49.
- Moch, Leslie Page and Rachel Fuchs, "Pregnant, Single, and Far from Home: Migrant Women in Nineteenth-Century Paris," *The American Historical Review* 95 (4) (Oct. 1990): 1007-1031.
- Molitoris, Joseph. "Life and Death in the City: Demography and Living Standards during Stockholm's Industrialization." PhD Dissertation. Lund: Lund University, 2015.
- Mouat, Frederic J, and H. Saxon Snell, *Hospital Construction and Management*. London: J & A Curchill, 1883.
- Myrdal, Gunnar. *The Cost of Living in Sweden 1830-1930*. London: P. S. King & Son, 1933.

- Naum, Magdalena. "Premodern Translocals: German Merchant Diaspora Between Kalmar and Northern German Towns (1250-1500)." *International Journal of Historical Archaeology* 17 (2) (June 2013): 376-400.
- Neale, Matt. "Making Crime Pay in Late Eighteenth-Century Bristol: Stolen Goods, the Informal Economy, and the Negotiation of Risk." *Continuity and Change* 26 (2011): 439-459.
- Nelson, Marie Clark, and Ingvar Svanberg. "Coffee in Sweden: A Question of Morality, Health, and Economy." *Food and Foodways* 5 (3) (1993): 239-254.
- Nilson, Tomas. "Hey Sailor, Looking for Trouble? Violence, Drunkenness and Disorder in a Swedish Port Town: Gothenburg 1920." In *Port Towns and Urban Cultures: International Histories of the Waterfront c. 1700-2000*. Edited by Brad Beaven, Karl Bell, and Robert James. London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016. 69-89.
- Nolin, Catharina. "Stockholm's Urban Parks: Meeting Places and Social Contexts from 1860-1930." In *The European City and Green Space. London, Stockholm, Helsinki, and St Petersburg, 1850-2000*. Edited by Peter Clark. Aldershot, UK: Ashgate, 2006. 111-126.
- Norberg, Anders, and Sune Åkerman. "Migration and the Building of Families: Studies on the Rise of the Lumber Industry in Sweden." in *Aristocrats, Farmers, Proletarians*. Uppsala: Almqvist and Wiksell Informationsindustri AB, 1973. 88-119.
- Nyberg, Klas. "Staten, manufakturerna och hemmamarknadens framväxt." In *Industrialismens tid: Ekonomiska-historiska perspektiv på svensk industriell omvandling under 200 år*. Edited by Maths Isacson and Mats Morell. Stockholm: SNS Förlag, 2002. 59-80.
- Nyström, Maurits. "Norrlands industrialisering." In *Industrialismens tid: Ekonomiska-historiska perspektiv på svensk industriell omvandling under 200 år*. Edited by Maths Isacson and Mats Morell. Stockholm: SNS Förlag, 2002. 83-111.
- Ojala, Jari, Jaakko Pehkonen, and Jari Eloranta. "Deskilling and Decline in Skill Premium During the Age of Sail: Swedish and Finnish Seamen, 1751-1913." *Explorations in Economic History* 61 (2016): 85-94.
- Olofsson, Gunnar. *Mellan stat och klass. Om arbetarrörelse, reformismen och socialdemokrati*. PhD dissertation. Lund: Lund University, 1979.
- Olsson, Ellen. "Olssonska gården – brygghuset." Part of *Kalmar läns museum Byggnadsantikvarisk rapport, april 2018*. Kalmar: Kalmar läns museet, 2018.

- Palmer, Bryan. *Descent into Discourse: The Reification of Language and the Writing of Social History*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1990.
- Pateman, Carole. *The Sexual Contract*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1988.
- Payer, Peter. "The Age of Noise: Early Reactions in Vienna, 1870-1914." *Journal of Urban History* 33 (2007): 773-793.
- Peace, Adrian. "No Fishing Without Drinking: The Construction of Social Identity in Rural Ireland." In *Alcohol, Gender, and Culture*, ed. by Dimitra Gefou-Madianou. New York: Routledge, 1992. 167-180.
- Perlman, Selig and Philip Taft. *History of Labor in the United States*, Vol. 4. New York: MacMillan, 1935.
- Petersson, Birgit. "*Den farliga underklassen*": studier i fattigdom och brottslighet i 1800-talets Sverige. Stockholm: Almqvist and Wiksell, 1983.
- 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 a Historically Contingent Process: Structuration and the Time-Geography of Becoming Places." *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 74 (2) (1984): 279-297.
- Pred, Allan. *Place, Practice, and Structure. Social and Spatial Transformation in Southern Sweden: 1750-1850*. Totowa, New Jersey: Barnes and Noble Books, 1986.
- Pred, Allan. *Recognizing European Modernities: A Montage of the Present*. New York: Routledge, 1995.
- Puranen, Britt-Inger. *Tuberkulos. En sjukdoms förekomst och dess orsaker. Sverige 1750-1980*. Umeå: Umeå Studies in Economic History, 1984.
- Puschmann, Paul, Nina Van den Driessche, Per-Olaf Grönberg, Bart Van de Putte and Koen Mattijjs. "From Outsiders to Insiders? Partner Choice and Marriage among Internal Migrants in Antwerp, Rotterdam and Stockholm, 1850-1930." *Historical Social Research / Historische Sozialforschung* 40 (2) (2015): 319-358.
- Puschmann, Paul. "Social Inclusion and Exclusion of Urban In-Migrants in Northwestern European Port Cities. Antwerp, Rotterdam & Stockholm ca. 1850-1930," PhD diss. KU Leuven, 2015.

- Rau, Susanne. "Public Order in Public Space: Tavern Conflict in Early Modern Lyon." *Urban History* 34 (1) (2007): 102-113.
- Ravenstein, E. G. "The Laws of Migration." *Journal of the Royal Statistical Society* 48 (1885): 167-235.
- Ravenstein, E. G. "The Laws of Migration: Second paper." *Journal of the Royal Statistical Society* 52 (1889): 241-305.
- Reddy, William M. *Money and Liberty in Modern Europe: A Critique of Historical Understanding*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987.
- "Ritning till arbetarbostäder, 'Ekmanska husen' på Kungsholmen 1877," *Stockholmskällan*, <https://stockholmskallan.stockholm.se/post/33362>.
- Roberts, James S. "Drink and Industrial Work Discipline in 19<sup>th</sup> Century Germany." *Journal of Social History* 15 (1) (Fall 1981): 25-38.
- Rudé, George. "The London 'Mob' of the Eighteenth Century." *The Historical Journal* II (1) (1959): 1-18.
- Rydbeck, Kerstin. *Nykter läsning. Den svenska godtemplarrörelsen och litteraturen 1896-1925*. Stockholm: Gotab, 1995.
- Rydström, Jens. *Sinners and Citizens: Bestiality and Homosexuality in Sweden 1880-1950*. Stockholm: Akademitryck, 2001.
- Sandlund, Elisabeth. "Svenska Dagbladet." *Nationalencyklopedin*. <https://www.ne.se/uppslagsverk/encyklopedi/l%C3%A5ng/svenska-dagbladet>, accessed January 27, 2024.
- Saville, J. "E. P. Thompson (1924-1993)." *International Review of Social History* 38 (3) (1993): I-VI.
- Schubert, Dirk. "Theodor Fritsch and the German (*Völkische*) Version of the Garden City: The Garden City Invented Two Years Before Ebenezer Howard." *Planning Perspectives* 19:1 (2004): 3-35.
- Schön, Lennart. *An Economic History of Modern Sweden*. New York: Routledge, 2012.
- Schön, Lennart. *Sweden's Road to Modernity: An Economic History*. Stockholm: SNS Förlag, 2010.
- Scott, James C. *Domination and the Arts of Resistance: Hidden Transcripts*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2008.



- Scott, James C. *Weapons of the Weak; Everyday Forms of Peasant Resistance*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1985.
- Scott, Joan W. *Gender and the Politics of History*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1988.
- Scott, Joan W. "Unanswered Questions." *The American Historical Review* 113 (5) (Dec. 2008): 1422-1429.
- Seltzer, Michael. "Haven an a Heartless Sea: The Sailors' Tavern in History and Anthropology," *The Social History of Alcohol and Drugs* 19 (2004): 63-93.
- Sewell Jr., William H. *Work and Revolution in France: The Language of Labor from the Old Regime to 1848*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980.
- Sheiban, Hossein. *Den ekonomiska staden: Stadsplanering i Stockholm under senare hälften av 1800-talet*. Lund: Arkiv förlag, 2002.
- Shepherd, John. "Eric Hobsbawm, 1917-2012." *Labour History* 104 (May 2013): 221-224.
- Shore, Heather. "Crime, Criminal Networks and the Survival Strategies of the Poor in Early Eighteenth-Century London." In *The Poor in England 1700-1850: An Economy of Makeshifts*. Edited by Steven King and Alannah Tomkins. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2003. 137-165.
- Shorter, Edward. "Female Emancipation, Birth Control, and Fertility in European History." *The American Historical Review* 78 (3) (June 1973): 605-640.
- Skarin Frykman, Birgitta. *Arbetarkultur – Göteborg 1890*. Gothenburg: Etnologiska institutionen, Göteborgs universitet, 1990.
- "Släktforskarna och Krigsarkivet: En vägvisare till de militära källorna," part of *Meddelanden från Krigsarkivet XIX*. Stockholm: Tryck AB, 2006.
- Smith, Bonnie G. "Gender I: From Women's History to Gender History." In *The SAGE Handbook for Historical Theory*. Edited by Nancy Partner and Sarah Foot. London: SAGE Publications Ltd, 2013. 266-281.
- Stearns, Peter N. "Adaptation to Industrialization: German Workers as a Test Case." *Central European History* 3 (4) (December 1, 1970): 303-331.
- Stedman Jones, Gareth. *Languages of Class: Studies in English Working Class History 1832-1982*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983.

- Stone, Lawrence. *The Family, Sex and Marriage in England, 1500-1800*. New York: Harper & Row, 1977.
- Stones, Rob. *Structuration Theory*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005.
- Ström-Billing, Inger. *Stockholms hamn 1909-1939. Näringsliv och politik i samverkan*. Stockholm: Liber Förlag, 1984.
- Stråth, Bo. "Recent Development in Swedish Social History of the Period since 1800." *Social History* 9 (1) (1984): 77-85.
- Svanström, Yvonne. "Prostitution as Vagrancy: Sweden 1923-1964." *Journal of Scandinavian Studies in Criminology and Crime Prevention* 7 (2006): 142-163.
- Svanström, Yvonne. *Offentliga kvinnor. Prostitution i Sverige 1812-1918*. Stockholm: Ordfront, 2006.
- Svanström, Yvonne. "Prostitution in Stockholm: Continuity and Change." In *Selling Sex in the City: A Global History of Prostitution, 1600s-2000s*. Edited by Heerma van Voss, Lex, Elise van Nederveen Meerkerk, and Magaly Rodríguez García. Leiden: Brill, 2017. 201-229.
- Svanström, Yvonne. *Policing Public Women: The Regulation of Prostitution in Stockholm 1812-1880*. Stockholm: Atlas Akademi, 2000.
- Svanström, Yvonne. "Prostitution as Vagrancy: Sweden 1923-1964." *Journal of Scandinavian Studies in Criminology and Crime Prevention* 7 (2006): 142-163.
- Svanström, Yvonne. "Prostitution in Stockholm: Continuity and Change." In *Selling Sex in the City: A Global History of Prostitution, 1600s-2000s*. Edited by Heerma van Voss, Lex, Elise van Nederveen Meerkerk, and Magaly Rodríguez García. Leiden: Brill, 2017. 201-229.
- Söderberg, Hjalmar. *Martin Birck's Youth. A Novel*. Translated by Tom Ellet. Norwich: Nordvik, 2004.
- Söderberg, Johan, Ulf Jonsson, and Christer Persson. *A Stagnating Metropolis: The Economy and Demography of Stockholm, 1750-1850*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991.
- Söderström, Göran. "Den manliga prostitutionens värld." In *Sympatiens hemlighetsfulla makt. Stockholms homosexuella 1860-1960*. Edited by Göran Söderström. Stockholm: Stockholmia förlag, 1999.

- Taillon, Paul Michel. "‘What We Want is Good, Sober Men:’ Masculinity, Respectability, and Temperance in the Railroad Brotherhoods, c. 1870-1910." *Journal of Social History* 36 (2) (Winter 2002): 319-338.
- The Poor in England 1700-1850: An Economy of Makeshifts*. Edited by Steven King and Alannah Tomkins. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2003.
- The Standard of Living in Britain in the Industrial Revolution*. Edited by Arthur J. Taylor. London: Meuthen, 1975.
- Thernstrom, Stephan. *The Other Bostonians: Poverty and Progress in the American Metropolis, 1880-1970*. Cambridge: Harvard University press, 1973.
- Thompson, E. P. *The Making of the English Working Class*. London: Victor Gollancz Ltd, 1963.
- Thompson, E. P. "The Moral Economy of the English Crowd in the Eighteenth Century." *Past & Present*, 50 (1971): 76-136.
- Thompson, E. P. "Time, Work-Discipline, and Industrial Capitalism." *Past & Present* 38 (1) (1967): 56-97.
- Tilly, Charles. "Migration in Modern European History." In *Time Space and Man: Essays on Microdemography. Reports from the Symposium Time, Space and Man in Umeå, Sweden June 1977*. Edited by Jan Sundin and Erik Söderlund. Stockholm: Almqvist and Wiksell, 1979.
- Tilly, Louise A., Joan W. Scott, and Miriam Cohen. "Women's Work and European Fertility Patterns." *The Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 6 (3) (Winter 1976): 447-476.
- Tilly, Louise A., and Joan W. Scott, *Women, Work, and Family*. New York: Holt, Rinehard and Winston, 1978.
- Tjerneld, Staffan. *Stockholmsliv. Hur vi bott, arbetat, och roat oss under 100 år, första bandet*. Stockholm: P.A. Norstedt & Söner förlag, 1950.
- Tomkins, Alannah, and Steven King. "Introduction." In *The Poor in England 1700-1850: An Economy of Makeshifts*. Edited by Steven King and Alannah Tomkins. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2003. 1-38.
- Tosh, John. "Masculinities in an Industrializing Society: Britain, 1800-1914," *Journal of British Studies* 44 (2) (April 2005): 330-342.

- Törnlund, Erik, and Lars Östlund. "Mobility Without Wheels: The Economy and Ecology of Timber Floating in Sweden, 1850-1980," *The Journal of Transport History* 21:1 (2006): 48-70.
- Utrednings- och statistikkontoret. *Befolkning i Stockholm 1252-2005 - Från 1721 enligt stadens statistiska årsböcker*. Stockholm: USK, 2005.
- Vikström, Lotta. "Before and After Crime: Life-Course Analyses of Young Offenders Arrested in Nineteenth-Century Northern Sweden." *Journal of Social History* 44 (3) (2011): 861-888.
- Vikström, Lotta. *Gendered Routes and Courses: The Socio-Spatial Mobility of Migrants in Nineteenth-Century Sundsvall, Sweden*. Umeå: Umeå University, 2003.
- Vögele, J. "The Urban Penalty Revisited: Urban Mortality Change in Imperial Germany," in *Population Dynamics During Industrialization*, ed. by Anders Brändström and Lars-Göran Tedebrand (Umeå: Demographic Data Base, 2000). 85-116.
- Warf, Barney. "Anthony Giddens," in *Key Thinkers on Space and Place*. Edited by Phil Hubbard and Rob Kitchin. London: Sage Publishing, 2011. 178-184.
- Walkowitz, Judith R. *Prostitution and Victorian Society: Women, Class, and the State*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980.
- Werner, Yvonne Maria. "'The Catholic Danger': The Changing Patterns of Swedish Anti-Catholicism 1850-1965." In *European Anti-Catholicism in a Comparative and Transnational Perspective*. Edited by Y. M. Werner. Leiden: Brill, 2013. 135-148.
- Westberg, Annika. "Principles of Coding Swedish Historic Occupations," *SwedPop Documentation* (June 28, 2021), <https://swedpop.se/wp-content/uploads/2021/06/Principles-of-Coding-Swedish-Historic-Occupations.pdf>.
- Wikander, Ulla. *Kvinnors och mäns arbeten: Gustavsberg 1880-1980. Genusarbetsdelning och arbetets degradering vid en porslinsfabrik*. Lund: Arkiv, 1988.
- Williams, Rosalind H. *Dream Worlds: Mass Consumption in Late Nineteenth-Century France*. Berkely: University of California Press, 1982.
- Young, Michael, and Peter Willmott, *Family and Kinship in East London* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1957).
- Zemon Davis, Natalie. *The Return of Martin Guerre*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1983.

Öberg, Lisa. "Fosterhem i Stockholm vid 1800-talets slut." In *Studier och handlingar rörande Stockholms historia VI*. Edited by Sven Sperlings. Stockholm: Stockholms stadsarkiv, 1989.

Ågren, Maria. "Introduction," in *Making a Living, Making a Difference: Gender and Work in Early Modern European Society*, ed. by Maria Ågren. New York: Oxford University Press, 2017. 1-23.