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## The Geography of Peasant Ecotypes in Pre-industrial Scandinavia<sup>1</sup>

The enormous variety of social and economic activities and relationships found in traditional peasant society, often within comparatively small geographical areas, makes it necessary to construct some kind of classificatory framework before it is possible to undertake any meaningful investigation of a sizeable region, especially an investigation of a comparative nature.<sup>2</sup> The detail and the criteria adopted will depend largely on the depth desired and the objectives aimed at, and, as with any classification involving a human element and a time dimension, whatever scheme is chosen can only approximate to reality; it must be regarded as no more than a tool of investigation.<sup>3</sup> It is also well to keep in mind that, as Gerd Enequist has observed, the geographer 'always has to resign himself to the fact that boundaries are in fact boundary zones. In geography almost all phenomena have the distributional characteristics of continuous transition.'<sup>4</sup>

In attempting to map the contrasting economic and social regions of peasant society in Scandinavia<sup>5</sup> in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries (before which evidence for the area as a whole is too scanty for any but the most rudimentary assessment), it is necessary to supersede both national boundaries and those of certain traditional divisions within them. While the former have undoubtedly influenced cultural and economic patterns and have in their turn often been dictated by these and by geographical factors which have helped to determine them, such considerations must not be allowed to determine the shapes of zones of a non-political nature. Of the frequently used intranational divisions may be cited for Denmark that between Jutland and the islands of the kingdom; for Iceland the four 'quarters' of Suðurland, Vestfirðir, Norðurland and Austurland; for Norway the regions of Nord-Norge, Trøndelag, Vestlandet, Sørlandet and Østlandet; for Sweden the ancient Norrland, Svealand and Götaland<sup>6</sup>; and for Finland the distinction, favoured in particular by ethnologists, between east and west (more accurately between south-west and north-east with the boundary running from the north Bothnian coast to the mouth of the Kemi river on the Gulf of Finland) or 'Nature Finland' and 'Culture Finland'.<sup>7</sup> These may prove to be based to a certain extent on economic, social and

cultural differences within them, and, because of their very familiarity, do often provide frames of reference which are useful for certain purposes when working within national spheres, but they may be as misleading for the historical geographer and the social and economic historian as purely administrative divisions.

A number of attempts have been made to divide the individual Scandinavian countries into socio-economic, cultural or demographic zones. The Norwegian A.T. Kiær, for example, classified arable, forest, pastoral and fishing areas of his country in the third quarter of the nineteenth century on the basis of the principal occupations recorded in census returns.<sup>8</sup> For Finland, Professor W.R. Mead has used information about the main sources of parish income gathered by Carl Christian Böcker in the early nineteenth century to plot areas dependent principally on grain growing, animal husbandry, forestry, fishing and textiles, while Arvo Soininen and Pentti Virrankoski have both divided the country into three regions according to socio-economic criteria: the former into a western area of field agriculture, an eastern of burn-beat cultivation and a northern of cattle-raising, the latter, however, lumping together Soininen's northern and eastern zones and making of coastal Ostrobothnia a separate zone relying on animal husbandry. Soininen has further subdivided his regions into twelve smaller ones for the early nineteenth century.<sup>9</sup> For Sweden, using a mixture of criteria, Staffan Helmfrid has isolated five, Ulf Sporrang six and Helge Nelson ten divisions.<sup>10</sup> Finally, the division of Sweden by Gustav Sundbärg and Nils Wohlin into three demographic zones — an eastern (with a slow rate of growth before 1860), a western (with a very high rate before 1860) and a northern (with a high rate continuing into the later nineteenth century) — each associated with a particular social structure, has proved a fruitful frame of reference for further research.<sup>11</sup>

Scandinavian scholars have often remarked on similarities between areas of their own and neighbouring Nordic countries (those, for example, between the plains of Skåneland and the Danish islands and between Finland and certain parts of Norway). Professor Helmfrid has gone so far as to suggest a seven-fold division of Scandinavia based on forms of settlement and division of land before enclosure, while for an earlier period participants in the inter-Scandinavian 'Ödegårdsprojekt' have, in selecting regions for special investigation, had to adopt a variety of common criteria.<sup>12</sup> Otherwise, however, attempts at a classification of the kind here envisaged have rarely strayed outside national units, and when they have it has been culturo-ethnographic boundaries within the area which have received most attention. Such boundaries may well have considerable economic and social significance and be helpful in identifying different peasant life-styles, but when based on cultural elements alone (as in the case of Sigurd Erixon's house and farm types) they have to be tested carefully against evidence of a different character.<sup>13</sup>

While keeping in mind the warning by Orvar Löfgren against 'overecologization in explaining cultural adaption and change'<sup>14</sup>, it seems reasonable to begin

an investigation of possible bases for classification with Julian Steward's concept of the 'culture core' or 'the constellation of features which are most closely related to subsistence activities and economic arrangements.'<sup>15</sup> This is in fact close to at least some interpretations of the increasingly familiar concept of the 'ecotype', for which there is as yet no universally agreed definition. Eric Wolf has used the term to describe 'a system of energy transfers from environment to man' and allowed for only five different types of cultivation (long-term fallowing, sectorial fallowing, short-term fallowing, in-field and outfield and permanent (hydraulic) cultivation, of which the first four are to be found in pre-industrial Scandinavia.<sup>16</sup> This has been recently criticized by Sune Åkerman for its lack of refinement and consequently (and most relevantly for the present purpose) for allowing only large geographical areas to be mapped on its basis.<sup>17</sup> Orvar Löfgren's definition as 'different patterns of ecological adaptation and household economy under the same macroeconomic framework' does on the other hand allow for the 'isolation of areas which have created fairly uniform conditions for the population and economy.'<sup>18</sup> While David Gaunt, who expands Wolf's definition to embrace 'the intensity and rhythm of the work load over the year, the labor force requirements, and the utilisation and recruitment of manpower within the household', claims that ecotypes by Löfgren's definition are unmappable and takes Åkerman to task for attempting to map them, but admits the validity of the attempts made by geographers like Åke Campbell and Sven Dahl to map Skåne on the basis of much the same sort of material as he himself uses.<sup>19</sup>

As far as the peasant<sup>20</sup> is concerned, the 'culture core' defining his ecotype must be based on his *relationship to the land*, whether in the form of arable, meadow, rough pasture or forest, on which he is by definition principally dependent for his livelihood. A classification based on such criteria would have at one extreme such categories as fisher-peasants, miner-peasants and carter-peasants, for whom land was of secondary importance as a source of income, and at the other the 'pure' crop-grower or stock-raiser. On investigation, however, it soon becomes apparent that not only were extensive areas made up of either of these types rare in pre-industrial peasant society but that distinctions between such groups as 'carter-peasants' and 'peasant-carters' are often extremely difficult to draw and that the balance between economic forms, even on a microstructural scale, changed with time to an extent which varied from region to region and within a region but which might be quite drastic.<sup>21</sup>

Considering first the fundamental division between crop-growers and stock-raisers,<sup>22</sup> the most important fact to keep in mind is that the vast majority of Scandinavian peasants grew grain in some shape or form; only in Iceland and in the extreme north and east of the mainland were grain-growers wholly absent, largely for climatic reasons.<sup>23</sup> But the way in which the grain was produced and the extent of the peasant's dependence on it, both significant determinants of other economic as well as of social and cultural arrangements, varied considerably, and, unfortunately for the clarity of identification and classification of

areas, there was no necessary connection between method of production and dependence, which must be examined separately.

The main grain-producing areas of Scandinavia have probably always lain within two broad parallel belts — one stretching from the claylands of southern Tavastia, Nyland and south-western Finland (where the grain fields were, however, heavily interspersed with forest), through the central lowlands of Sweden to the western side of Oslofjord (with a northern extension around Lake Mjøsa) and the other from the lowlands of southern Halland, south-western Skåne and easternmost Blekinge through the Danish islands to eastern Jutland. To the north of these lay the isolated protected lowlands of the eastern shore of Trondheimsfjord. Also standing apart and climatically favoured was the area of Jæren to the south of Stavanger, which was able to export grain at the beginning of the nineteenth century.<sup>24</sup> And even the ‘belts’ were by no means continuous. In Sweden, the fertile emergent lowlands adjacent to lakes Mälaren and Hjälmaren were separated from those of central Östergötland east of Lake Vättern by the forestland of western Södermanland and from the rich plains between Vänern and Vättern by the comparatively barren ‘southern Bergslagen’. And the ‘valley country’ of Bohuslän, Dalsland and southern Värmland cut off Västergötland from the Viken lowlands. In Denmark, too readily pictured as an open plain, appreciable areas of forest still remained in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, not only in northern Zealand and southern Fyn, but on all the islands and in southern and eastern Jutland.<sup>25</sup> The areas here identified shared a relatively high density of population made up of small households, an ability to produce in normal years at least a sufficiency of cereals for the producer and his family, an annual work-pattern characterized by a considerable diminution of economic activity in the winter months and, as far as methods of production in the eighteenth century were concerned, were more likely than not to use the open field strip system with a fair degree of communal restriction on the peasant’s initiative and to use the plough. They also generally had a larger percentage of tenanted land and contained most of Scandinavia’s large estates.<sup>26</sup>

In the interior lakeland plateau of Finland, however, lay a huge forest area which was also in the eighteenth century<sup>27</sup> highly dependent on grain production but production by means to a large extent of the extensive swidden or burn-beat system (*svedjebruk* in Swedish; *kaskiviljely* in Finnish) which was associated with a way of life so different from that of the ‘settled’ agricultural districts that it should be treated apart.<sup>28</sup> The burn-beat system was also introduced as a principal means of grain production by Finnish settlers in parts of southern Dalarna, Västerbotten, Ångermanland, Hälsingland, Medelpad, Västmanland and (especially) parts of northern Värmland and even in some neighbouring parts of Norway (especially Solør) from the early seventeenth century.<sup>29</sup> It was used extensively in forest areas elsewhere in Sweden (particularly Småland) and in Norway (where it was known as *bråtebruk*) but only as a supplement to field production (usually for the growing of rye) and in the latter country particularly, as in Finland also, it declined as the value of timber rose.<sup>30</sup>

Within the main grain-growing areas livestock was maintained largely for the purpose of traction and the provision of manure.<sup>31</sup> Outside them dependence on animals ran through an almost infinite number of gradations, but it seems possible to identify four main degrees. Iceland, where dependence on cattle and sheep excluded grain production altogether, and the interior of northern Finland, where reindeer herding was also practised by both Lapps and Finns, represent the most extreme.<sup>32</sup> The Faroe Islands and the islands of northern Norway, where the peasants' wealth lay to a much greater extent in their sheep than in the meagre returns from tiny fields of barley, form a second.<sup>33</sup> A rather more balanced economy (with the balance depending to a large extent on climatic conditions) but still with heavy dependence on livestock and distinctive economic and cultural patterns was found in the *fäbod* areas of northern Sweden and the 'full' *seter* regions of western and central Norway, which, together with the lower valleys of the Ii, Kemi and Torne rivers in northern Ostrobothnia constitute a third.<sup>34</sup> Finally, in the non-agrarian areas of southern Sweden, the coastal plains of southern Ostrobothnia, the forest and coastland of southern Norway and the forest and Jutish heathland of Denmark as well as the island of Fyn, the balance is more difficult to determine.<sup>35</sup> Such 'mixed' areas were more varied in character than the cereal growing, but they tended to favour more scattered settlement in single farms or small hamlets with larger households than in the agrarian regions and either rotation systems with long periods of fallow or (thanks to the plentiful manure available from cattle and sheep) to continuous cultivation with the use of spade or *ard* rather than the plough.<sup>36</sup>

A number of *non-agricultural pursuits* were, however, often as important as or even more important as a means of subsistence or source of income than grain-growing and /or animal husbandry in many areas, especially in the zones of mixed farming. And, as Sune Åkerman has suggested, these are particularly valuable in refining further the three broad categories just discussed.<sup>37</sup> Fishing, an occupation with a particularly strong influence on cultural patterns,<sup>38</sup> was important as a means of subsistence or source of income on the west and southern coasts of Norway, the western and parts of the southern Baltic coasts of Sweden (particularly Bohuslän), the Limfjord region of Denmark, and the archipelagoes of south-western Finland and central Ostrobothnia, as well as in the rivers of northern Finland (especially the Kemi and Torneå) and Sweden, where salmon were trapped in large numbers in season.<sup>39</sup> Peasants living away from the coast might themselves move down to it at the appropriate time of year leaving their livestock and fields to be tended by the women and children of the family or send servants to help crew the boats in exchange for part of the catch; in Iceland large fleets of open boats so crewed moved out from Faxaflói and Breiðarfjörður every year, although at the beginning of the eighteenth century only 16 % of the island's population claimed to live off both their animals and fishing against 69 % from farming alone.<sup>40</sup> Hunting of game in the northern forests of Sweden (especially Härjedalen, Jämtland and Medelpad, whence large quantities of birds were taken to the markets of the central lowlands

and Stockholm) and of Finland or of seals off the north Bothnian coasts often involved long periods away from the farm, while a similar impact was made by work carried out at a distance from the home parish (*herrarbete* as practised by the inhabitants in particular of Upper Dalarna but also of Värmland and other poor agricultural areas of Sweden as well as Österbotten and south-west Finland) or of long trading journeys (e.g. from Jämtland and other parts of Norrland or from Gudbrandsdal, Valdres, Hallingdal and Numedal in Norway, where certain *bygder* (like Grytten and Lesja) were given special privileges in this connection).<sup>40</sup> Trading by sea in their own or others' ships from parts of the Baltic coast of Sweden, the southern and Ostrobothnian coasts of Finland and the coast of Norway between Tønsberg and Kristiansand also falls under this head.<sup>42</sup>

Timber from their forest land provided from the seventeenth century the main source of income for most of the peasantry of easternmost Norway (Hedmark) and of the lower south-eastern slopes of the southern Norwegian highlands, while forest products were also important in a large part of Trøndelag and the inner reaches of some of the western fjords.<sup>43</sup> In eighteenth century Finland timber played some part in the economy of farms with easy access to the south-eastern coast, and in Satakunta timber-cutting developed into a specialized industry. In southern and central Ostrobothnia timber as such was of greatest importance near the coast; in the interior the main peasant occupation based on the forests was tar-burning, which fitted in well with the annual workrhythm of the inhabitants. Tar-burning was important also in Småland, an area which in other ways (e.g. the prevalence of burn-beat cultivation) had parallels in the Finnish forestland, and in western Norway.<sup>44</sup> In other forest areas, like parts of northern Zealand and of Skåne on the edge of the open agrarian country, peasants would often engage in the collection of firewood and bark for sale and in the burning of charcoal.<sup>45</sup> The latter, as well as carting and other occupations connected with mine or *bruk* if not mining itself, might take up much of a peasant's time when not tending his fields and cattle in and around mining and metal-working areas like Røros and (until its closure in 1805) Kongsberg in Norway, Bergslagen in Sweden and western Nyland in Finland as well as in the poorer regions bordering on them (such as Upper Dalarna).<sup>46</sup> Carting over considerable distances in various produce, as that in goods from the forest in Romerike, Østfold and along the valley of the Drammen in south-eastern Norway or in the early nineteenth century from south-eastern Finland to St Petersburg often led to complaints from the authorities that agriculture was being neglected.<sup>47</sup> Handicrafts of various kinds, usually exploiting local resources, took the place of or supplemented such occupations, often with a high degree of local specialization, in a large part of southern Västergötland, Halland, southern Småland, south-western Södermanland, Dalarna and parts of southern Norrland (especially Ångermanland) in Sweden, the heathland of Jutland, Vestlandet in Norway, the Faroes and Iceland (in the last four of which areas knitted hose was an important trading item) and of south-western and central

Finland as well as parts of Ostrobothnia, on the coast of which ship-building was a highly-developed peasant industry up to the 1860s.<sup>48</sup>

It would thus seem possible not only to categorize the pre-industrial peasantry of Scandinavia broadly into field grain-producers, burn-beat cultivators and livestock-tenders or mixed farmers according to the main accent of their economic existence, but also to refine these classifications to account for non-agricultural pursuits outlined above. In theory it would be possible to nuance the schema still further by distinguishing between 'main' and 'subsidiary' occupations (e.g. between the 'fisher-herder' and the 'herder-fisherman'). But, as has already been suggested, it is in practice exceedingly difficult often to identify what was main and what subsidiary even in a small area. And relationships between occupations tended to be fluid over even a comparatively brief period (a subsidiary occupation might grow in importance in the wake of a poor harvest, and a decline in fish stocks might lead to greater attention being paid to farming), while, as Gerd Enequist has demonstrated for the lower valley of the Luleå in Norrland, they might vary from village to village in a small region.<sup>49</sup> The very definition of the terms 'main' and 'subsidiary' is, in any case, problematic. Is the criterion to be time spent on the activity or its importance as a source of income? It may often be easier to build up a picture on the basis of the latter, as Böcker did for early nineteenth-century Finland. The former seems on the other hand, more relevant to an investigation of the peasant's pattern of life rather than purely his economic circumstances.

There might, of course, be more than one non-agricultural occupation of importance in a region. But this is a less serious complication than the possibility that the character of a region might change so fundamentally that even the boundaries of the three major sub-divisions of agricultural occupations move appreciably during the century and a half which is under review. The boundary of burn-beat cultivation was, for instance, in many parts of Finland in retreat before the advance of field agriculture from at least the middle of the eighteenth century, while in other parts it was advancing into virgin forest. Also in Finland, the tar-burning area shifted northward and north-eastward in Ostrobothnia from the later eighteenth century, while in the early nineteenth century the centres of the timber industry moved away from the coast towards the lakeland interior in the south and from the south to north in Ostrobothnia.<sup>50</sup> The depletion of the forest remaining on the Danish islands created new 'classical' agrarian settlements,<sup>51</sup> land elevation in Sweden (especially in Uppland and Östergötland) encouraged the conversion of meadow to arable with a consequent decline of stock-raising<sup>52</sup>; and the development of a market economy encouraged the development of fishing as a full-time occupation in many coastal districts when there were good stocks of fish to catch, indeed to a greater degree of specialization all round.<sup>53</sup>

Nevertheless, the main and (though to a lesser degree) the 'subsidiary' economic occupations were reasonably stable during the period and offer promising criteria for distinguishing peasant ecotypes. Differences in other respects might,

however, affect quite profoundly the peasant's way of life and are therefore worth considering either as providing opportunities for nicer analyses within the primary economic zones, or, if found to coincide to an appreciable extent with occupational areas, strengthen the usefulness of the latter. As Steward has, however, warned, such 'secondary features are determined to a greater extent by purely culturo-historical factors' and 'have great potential variability because they are less strongly tied to the core.'<sup>54</sup> They may therefore do no more than provide alternative bases for categorization at a less fundamental level and with a much briefer temporal validity.

*Forms of settlement and degrees of shared enterprise* in arable and meadow, forest and stream (described by Åkerman as 'one of the most important variables in the whole ecological drama') depended on geographical, economic and demographic factors, but cultural and legal (especially inheritance) factors also played decisive roles.<sup>55</sup> In Iceland single farms with little or no common land were (and have remained) the rule, to which the *margbýli*, consisting of two farms sharing pasture land in some areas, are not important exceptions. Single farms with only a limited degree of common enterprise with other farms in the district (e.g. in pasture and forest alone) were also found on the plains of Østlandet, although in favoured regions here settlement might be extensive enough to give the appearance of loosely organized villages, and elsewhere in Norway some form of multiple (*mangbølte*) farm involving a complex pattern of communal work, even extending to common ownership of arable, was more usual. Dispersed farms were dominant in parts of western and northern Jutland and on Bornholm, and they were frequently found on the southern Swedish highlands (e.g. in Bohuslän, Dalsland and Värmland), in the interior of Norrland and in lakeland Finland. The difficulty in using such a criterion for the mapping of ecotypes is that not only was the single farm the *exclusive* form in only very limited areas outside Iceland but that what appears in records as an individual farm might well be inhabited by more than one family and was liable to be divided within a short period of time into a number of smaller farms to form *släktbyar* in Sweden or *mangbølte tun* in Norways as population grew in accord with local inheritance practices. This usually also involved division of the attached land, and, in Sweden and Finland at least, a form of settlement only distinguishable by an expert from hamlets and small villages formed in other ways.<sup>56</sup>

At the other end of the scale were large villages of twenty or more farms subject to detailed regulation of economic life such as were to be found before enclosure in the agrarian areas of the Danish islands and Skåne, in Västergötland, on Öland and in south-west Finland.<sup>57</sup> Unfortunately there is no significant correlation between such forms of settlement and primary economic occupation. The richer grain-growing districts did tend to encourage village organization with a high degree of communal regulation, while the single farm or small farm cluster with a low level of communal activity is found largely in mixed farming zones. But single farms might be common in important grain-growing regions



(as in Norway), while mixed farming areas might have large villages (as did the Lake Siljan region of Dalarna and the river valleys of Norrland and southern Ostrobothnia) or both scattered and village settlement within a restricted compass.<sup>58</sup> As Viggo Hansen has suggested in his study of Vendsyssel in north Jutland, types of settlement are generally much more dependent on geographical factors than on economic activities. But other influences may also operate; the large village of the Siljan region was, for example, partly the outcome of a lucrative handicraft industry and the operation of partible inheritance.<sup>59</sup>

*Demands made by superiors on the labour services available to peasants* appear to constitute an important element in David Gaunt's definition of an ecotype.<sup>60</sup> These varied not only in accordance with the prevalence of agrarian estates with large demesnes in the vicinity but also with the existence of industrial undertakings such as mines and ironworks or centres of administration such as castles and royal palaces with claims on farms in the neighbourhood. For a number of reasons this particular category of classification, although undoubtedly an important component of the peasant's life-style, is again, however, of rather limited value in delimiting ecoregions. The areas in which labour services were made a condition of tenancy were geographically restricted. They tended to coincide in Denmark and Sweden with the regions of intensive agriculture, while in Finland only a few manors in the eighteenth century, when the landlord was turning already more and more to smallholders (*torparrit/torpare*) to provide labour, called on tenant farmers for this purpose, and services performed for officers' holdings and for *rusthållare* (wealthier peasants responsible for providing cavalry troopers) was limited. In Norway, although in the vicinity of certain mines peasants might be compelled to supply charcoal against payment, agricultural labour services were confined to a handful of estates. And in Iceland, while other limited labour services might be required of the tenants on royal episcopal estates in the eighteenth century, the most irksome demand was that made of tenants in the south-west of the island to provide crews for government fishing boats in the winter months.<sup>61</sup> And the factor was considerably less stable than any so far considered; in Denmark manors created over a long period of time might well fall into the hands of tenants in the early nineteenth century, and much manorial land also in Finland and western and southern Sweden disappeared at this time. Further, from the late eighteenth century a larger and larger number of such services were commuted for rent in money or kind throughout the area.<sup>62</sup>

A related factor, of considerable importance for demographic development as well as for the composition of a peasant's household,<sup>63</sup> is the *availability of labour* to him and his dependence on assistance from outside his family. At first sight this is attractive for our purpose. In Norway from the later seventeenth century onwards smallholders (*husmenn*) owing appreciable labour services to landlords were largely confined to the agricultural districts in Østlandet, Opland, southern Telemark and parts of Trøndelag. In the early nineteenth century they were most numerous in lowland Østlandet, but they outnumbered

the peasantry by two to one even in the mixed farming areas in the valleys, and were numerous in inner Trøndelag, while they were few in Vest Agder, a region of small farms, and in Sunnmøre, where, as in Vestlandet generally, such as there were had more the character of small tenant farmers owing very limited labour services to a peasant from whom they were socially and economically not very far removed. Servants with little or no land were, on the other hand, common in Romerike, where many were probably engaged in carting, and in northern Vestlandet, where many were involved with fishing, but they were as rare as *husmenn* in Sørlandet. Generally servants were most numerous in regions where *husmenn* were rarest. Where agriculture was important, the accent was on *husmenn*, in fishing areas on landless labour, while elsewhere there was a rough balance between the two categories. In both agricultural and fishing areas there was a high proportion of labour per farmer, but in the west of the country the labourer was more likely to be treated as part of his employer's family than in Østlandet.<sup>64</sup>

There is an interesting comparison to be made between the situation as described in Norway and that in Finland. In the early years of the nineteenth century the field-agricultural province of Satakunta had the highest proportion of smallholders to peasants but was closely followed by the burn-beat area of Savolax. In the latter, on the other hand, the *torpparit* and even the cottagers (*mäkitupalaiset/backstugusittare*) below them owned rent in kind rather than in labour to the peasant on whose land they lived. Smallholders were rarest in northern Ostrobothnia and the south-east of the country, both of which areas had at the same time a high proportion also of labourers, although in the latter, as Savolax, they were more likely to have lived in with the peasant's family than further west, and a large number were probably employed, as in Romerike, as carters.<sup>65</sup>

In Sweden the strongest development of smallholding was in the eastern grainproducing regions, where, however, *torpare* were overtaken in the nineteenth century by labourers (*statare*), while in much of Norrland (where many, as in Vestlandet, were in practice small peasants with few or no service obligations) living in servants were more prominent. Both groups were thin on the ground in Dalarna, which may thus be compared with Sørlandet. In Denmark peasants exceeded *husmænd* nearly everywhere far into the eighteenth century, but at the end of the century there were nearly twice as many of the latter as of the former in Zealand, where some 60 % of peasants had at least one servant. In the early nineteenth century the situation in western Jutland, where smallholders were still outnumbered by peasants proper, appears to have been rather similar to that in western and northern Norway with little distinction between smallholders and peasants, but in the remainder of the country the gulf between smallholder and peasant appears to have been widening even before the reforms at the end of the eighteenth century which accelerated the process.<sup>66</sup>

In Iceland smallholders (*hjáleigubændur*) made up a sixth of all types of landholder at the beginning of the eighteenth century. They were commonest in

the south and south-west of the island, where a *lögbyli* (peasant farm) might share its land with four or five of them and where *hjáleigur* constituted nearly half of all holdings (compared with only 15 % in the north-eastern country of Suðurlingeyjarsýsla). In the early nineteenth century peasants near the western and south-western coasts could use the services of the growing number of poor fishermen, who at harvest time often became *tomthúsmenn*, who hired huts from them.<sup>67</sup>

For a long time the number of servants which a peasant was allowed to employ was limited in Sweden and Finland, and the establishment of smallholdings on peasant land was legally permitted only after the middle of the eighteenth century. But the extent to which the peasant could use such labour as he had at his disposal both there and in Denmark would depend on the burden of labour services which he owed to his landlord or another authority and on the character of his economy, the all-year-round work pattern of areas with a 'mixed' economy making different demands compared with those of agrarian regions. And while in Norway and most of Finland it can be assumed that the majority of labourers and cottagers were employed by peasants after the middle of the eighteenth century, in regions with large estates (as in most of Denmark and central Sweden) an appreciable proportion would be used by the owners of these directly.<sup>68</sup> More precision on this point must await further work on household composition at a local level.

By the nineteenth century at least, however, it would seem possible to divide Scandinavia into at least three divisions in accordance with such 'labour supply' criteria: a) Areas where the peasant family relied largely on its own members for its labour needs (e.g. on the small farms of Agder and Dalarna) with the extended families found in dispersed settlements in eastern Finland and parts of Norrland forming a subdivision. Such could be expected to be areas of recent settlement and of farms with little arable, although in the latter a peasant might use servants for supplementary occupations like fishing and carting. Areas where tenants had heavy labour services to perform for others for which outside help had to be hired might be of a similar character.<sup>69</sup> b) Areas where labour was provided largely by servants living on the farm itself and sharing much activity with the family (as in Vestlandet). And c) areas where labour was performed largely by smallholders having their own plots to tend and united to their employers by purely economic ties.

As with other divisions which have been discussed, however, conditions of labour supply varied even after 1800 to such an extent that even when the information which is available has been analysed sufficiently to obtain a clearer picture than we possess at present for large parts of Scandinavia, it will be possible to draw boundaries for only very limited periods. The striking increase in the number of cottagers and labourers without land in the later eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries and the rise and decline of the large estate in various areas of the region caused very considerable changes in conditions.<sup>70</sup> Within areas where there were marked social distinctions within the peasantry itself the ac-

cessibility of labour also varied very much from farm to farm.<sup>71</sup> Nevertheless the relationship between these changes themselves and criteria which have already been considered are worth examining closely and the extent to which boundary zones correspond noted.

It may seem surprising that no consideration has so far been given to *peasant land-tenure*, correlations between which and the economic conditions of an area have been quite frequently noted, freeholding being associated with poorer areas of mixed farming.<sup>72</sup> Not only, however, was there a considerable change in the pattern of land tenure between the mid-eighteenth and mid-nineteenth centuries with the general movement throughout Scandinavia in favour of peasant proprietorship,<sup>73</sup> but conditions on which land was held do not appear to have had easily measurable effects on other factors. While in theory freehold might bring benefits such as greater confidence in the future, it did not necessarily create greater material prosperity or even greater social prestige. It was, in any case, often so hedged about with restrictions as to deprive it of many of the attributes now associated with it; in eighteenth-century Sweden and Finland it could be forfeited as a consequence of tax-arrears for three years, and in Norway was usually subject to *odal* right, while in Denmark the small proportion of legally defined 'freeholders' were for most of the eighteenth century heavily dependent on the local lord, to whom they were even obliged to provide labour services (though at half the rate owed by his tenants). Conditions of tenancy also varied widely; in Denmark and Norway leases were generally for life, in Sweden were often at will and in Iceland were frequently taken up for only one or two years. The fact that a peasant might be both freeholder and tenant for different parcels of land is a further complication which makes comparisons well-nigh impossible.<sup>74</sup> The restrictions imposed on peasant movement, such as the *stavnsbånd* to which most Danish peasants were subjected in the eighteenth century, is equally unlikely to have had such a significance for the way of life of the vast majority as did many other factors.

The size of the average peasant holding and other elements which governed his *standard of living* might appear to be useful in the present context. Even, however, where sufficient evidence available,<sup>75</sup> it is very difficult in practice to balance the value of one peasant's assets against another's in different regions and to adjudge one poorer or richer than another. In areas, for instance, where animal husbandry, fishing, forestry, transport services or handicrafts were as important as or more important than agriculture in the peasant's economy, the extent of his cultivated land and/or its yield would be of less significance than in areas relying more heavily on the growing of crops; fishing regions were less dependent on the state of the harvest than were those with only grain on which to rely, although the spread of the potato in the nineteenth century may have helped to restore the balance. In all areas the varying quality of the soil and even climatic conditions within quite restricted regions makes any information on the extent of holdings in any case of only limited value.<sup>76</sup> Tax-assessments can provide useful evidence for at least the period immediately after they were made, though even then various factors dictate caution in handling them (they

were, for example, usually based on whole or fractional units of *gård*, *hemman* or *mantal* which were often, especially before restrictions on partition were relaxed, shared by a varying number of families over a period of time). And they were revised only infrequently.<sup>77</sup> Changes in local conditions caused by the subdivision of holdings would obviously be much greater in areas of partible inheritance and flourishing non-agricultural pursuits, like Dalarna, the western and southern coastal regions of Norway and southern Ostrobothnia, than in, for example, the 'classical' *odal* valleys of southern Norway, where a much greater effort was made to retain the family farm intact from one generation to another, and the younger brothers and sisters might easily lose peasant status altogether.<sup>78</sup>

Another objection is that in a number of regions there was a considerable difference in wealth within peasant communities. Although this was of rather greater significance towards the end of the pre-industrial period, when the increase in population, relaxation of laws against the subdivision of holdings and the break-up of large estates caused in many areas a division of farms to the level of cottager holdings and the emergence of very large peasant properties, than in the eighteenth century, the Swedish and Finnish *rusthållare* responsible for providing a trooper for the royal army was from the seventeenth century in a social group distinct from his fellow peasants who gather together in *rotar* to provide a single infantryman, and the owner of the major share of the *landskyld* on a Norwegian freehold farm was in a considerable more advantageous position than his partners, who might not even be able to pass on their property to their children; it was from similar groups of wealthy peasants that the government chose officials like *lensmenn* in Norway and from which came the peasant representatives who sat in the *Riksdag* or in the provincial assemblies established in Denmark after 1830.<sup>79</sup> The tendency towards social differentiation is, on the other hand, more marked in some areas than in others; it was held back and even reversed in Denmark in the eighteenth century by the estate owners, and in Norway the *kakse* was a phenomenon especially of Østlandet and Trøndelag. And it would be worthwhile to examine this feature on a macroscopic scale, for, although differentiation generally, and especially in the early nineteenth century, appears to have been associated with the wealthier grain-growing areas of Scandinavia, this cannot be assumed to be an invariable rule.<sup>80</sup>

In assessing living standards, weight should also be given to the *frequency of natural disasters* in a region; the difficulties faced by the Icelandic peasant living in the shadow of Mount Hekla, by the Norwegian peasant dwelling in a valley liable to landslip, by a Danish farmer faced by the threat of sanddrift, or by a Finnish farmer troubled by frequent summer frosts and the likelihood of having to eat bark-bread even in a normal year were appreciably greater than those of the inhabitants of the southern Danish islands with their mild climate and rich soil, while an apparent prosperity might conceal a heavy load of debt to merchant, landlord or *bruk* such as might crush the victim in years of adversity which would spare his debt-free neighbour.<sup>81</sup> Some assessments of wealth and poverty can be attempted within limited regions where sufficient evidence

(e.g. in probate records) has survived, and some regions were undoubtedly 'wealthier' in crude terms than were others (e.g. Falbygden than the interior of Norrland, Hedmark than any part of Agder or even in Denmark Fyn, where the burdens were appreciably easier to bear even if class divisions may have been more marked, than Zealand).<sup>82</sup> But so many factors would have to be taken into consideration that it would be virtually impossible to make any objective assessment of Scandinavia as a whole over even a limited timespan.

It has thus been necessary to reject altogether a number of criteria which might appear at first sight suitable for mapping peasant ecotypes during the century and a half under consideration and to emphasize the limitations involved in the use of others. There remain, however, a variety of other categories which are at least worthy of further examination. Some of these are based on factors inherent in the physical nature of the countryside, some on human factors and some on a combination of the two. They can be used in general with rather more confidence for the eighteenth century than for the nineteenth century when resistance to change was rapidly decreasing, even though information is appreciably more plentiful for the later period. And they may all be ranged in terms of stability and durability. Economic bases changed more slowly than others to which they were more or less related. Thus, while a predominantly grain-growing area tended to remain so, it might develop in the course of less than a hundred years from a community of close-knit villages inhabited by farmers of roughly equal status and wealth working their land in accordance with a commonly-agreed annual timetable to one of individual farms of varying size each run with little reference to its neighbour. It must at the same time be recognized, however, that economic conditions affecting the countryside might also change markedly even before the transformation associated with industrialisation, especially in regions whose degree of self-sufficiency was low; changing market opportunities might lead a mixed farming area to concentrate more heavily on either grain-growing or animal husbandry (even though physical features and climate usually limited the extent to which this could be done), the technique of production within the same branch might change in such a way as to affect significantly the life of the peasant (as with the retreat of burn-beat before the spread of field-cultivation in Finland), and (most commonly) subsidiary occupations rose and declined.<sup>83</sup>

Much inter-disciplinary research remains to be done on the problem for Scandinavia as a whole before agreement is likely to be reached on a rank-order of criteria within and beyond the 'culture core' and on the periods for which they are valid; on the detailed mapping of types based on such criteria and various combinations of them; and on models which might help more adequately to explain social and economic structure and the process of change in the pre-industrial countryside, for which Scandinavia, with its wide variety of conditions, appears to be a particularly attractive 'laboratory'. All that has been possible in the above has been to suggest some of the difficulties and the opportunities involved in such work and to propose some ways forward.<sup>84</sup>

## A suggested framework for the classification of Scandinavian peasant ecotypes.

### A. "CULTURE CORE"

#### 1. *Main Economic Occupation*

- |                      |                                    |
|----------------------|------------------------------------|
| i) Grain-growing     | a) Field agriculture               |
|                      | b) Burn-beat cultivation           |
| ii) Animal husbandry | a) With full <i>seter/fäbod</i>    |
|                      | b) With partial <i>seter</i>       |
|                      | c) Without <i>seter/fäbod</i>      |
| iii) Mixed farming   | a) With accent on grain-growing    |
|                      | b) With accent on animal husbandry |

#### 2. "Secondary" Occupations

- i) Sea-fishing or hunting
- ii) Work outside the parish
- iii) Carting
- iv) Forestry
  - a) for timber
  - b) For tar or charcoal
- v) Mining
- vi) Handicrafts

### B. "SECONDARY FEATURES"

#### 1. *Settlement Patterns*

- i) Single farms
- ii) Multiple farms or hamlets
- iii) Villages

#### 2. *Organisation of Land Use*

- i) Enclosed infield and outfield
- ii) Enclosed infield and communal outfield
- iii) Communal infield and outfield

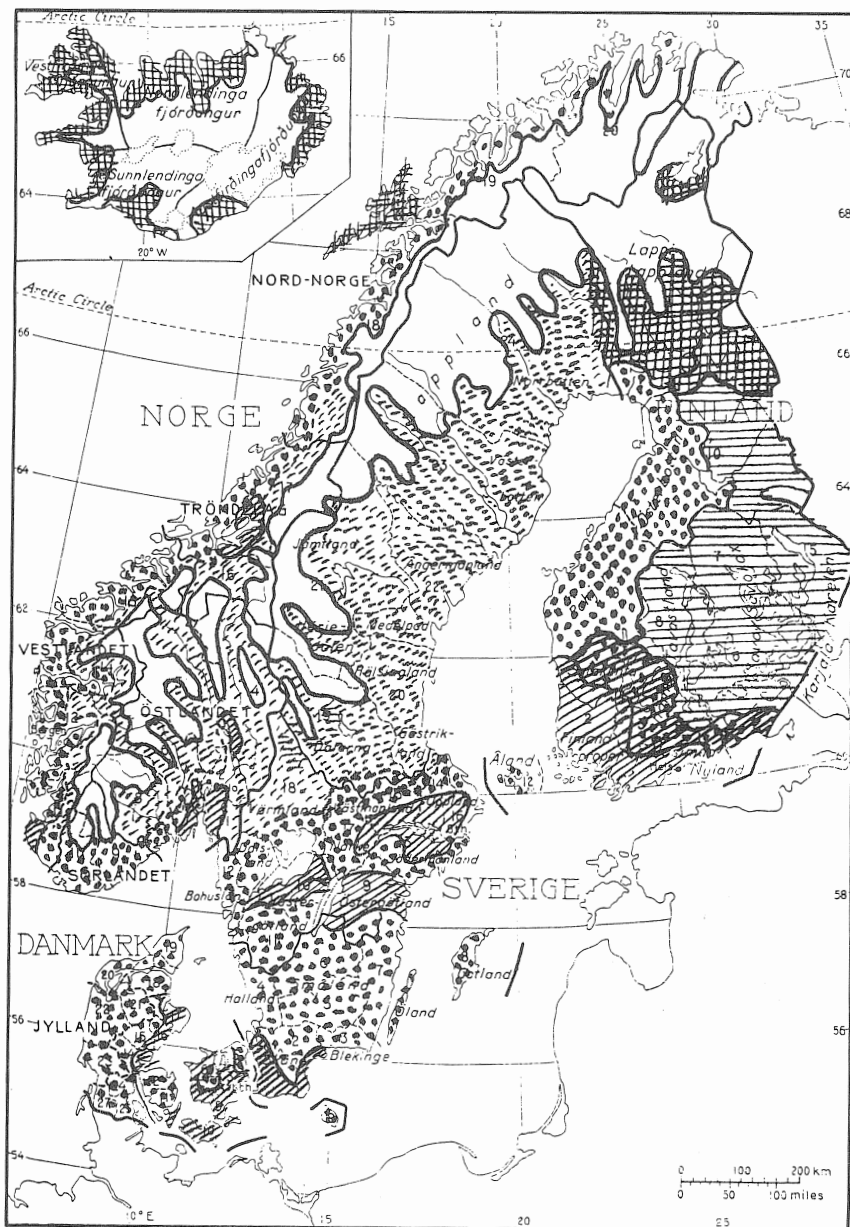
#### 3. *Organisation of Labour*

- i) Labour services performed on other's land
- ii) Labour performed solely on own land by members of
  - a) Nuclear family
  - b) Extended family
- iii) Outside labour employed

4. *System of Landholding*


- i) Leasehold
  - a) Short lease
  - b) Life tenancy
  - c) Copyhold
- ii) Freehold





 MAIN AGRARIAN AREAS

 MIXED FARMING AREAS

 AREAS WITH OR COMPLETE DEPENDENCE ON LIVESTOCK

 BURN-BEAT AREAS

 DO. WITH *FÅBOD* OR FULL SETER

## NOTER

1. I wish to acknowledge the invaluable help given to me in the preparation of this article by Dr. Claus Bjørn (University of Copenhagen), Professor Staffan Helmfrid (University of Stockholm), Professor Birgitta Odén and Dr. Eva Österberg (University of Lund) and Professor Pentti Virrankoski (University of Turku). For all errors, omissions and conclusions, however, I take sole responsibility.
2. Sune Åkerman, 'Människor och miljö' (*Scandia* 44 1978), p. 131.
3. Sune Åkerman has recently stressed the difficulties of defining such geographical zones (*Ibid.* pp. 134—40).
4. Gerd Enequist, 'Geographical changes of rural settlement in northwestern Sweden since 1523' (*Uppsala universitets årsbok* 1959:8), p. 4.
5. Scandinavia is here understood to include Finland and Iceland, both of which has such strong cultural, economic and political ties with the other three countries as to form with them an area increasingly referred to as 'Norden'. The latter term has not, however, completely acclimatized itself in the English-speaking world.
6. Axel Sømme (ed.), *A Geography of Norden* (London, Melbourne and Toronto, n.d.), pp. 7, 293.
7. Kustaa Vilkuna, 'Natur och folkkultur' (in V. Zilliacus (ed.), *Bonde-Finland* (Stockholm, 1949), p. 7 and the same author's 'Geographical areas of Finnish peasant culture' (in *Suomi: A General Handbook of the Geography of Finland* (Helsinki, 1952), pp. 309—10. J.G. Granö, 'Settlement of the country' (in *Ibid.*, p. 341). Gabriel Nikander, 'Kulturskeden och bebyggelseformer i Finland' (*Folk-liv*, 1950—1), pp. 103-4. U.T. Sirelius, 'Väster och öster i Finlands materiella kultur' (*Rig* 1923), pp. 97—110.
8. Michael Drake, *Population and Society in Norway 1735—1865* (Cambridge, 1969), pp. 81—2 and map on p.xiv. The latter is not dissimilar to the map in Axel Sømme's article 'Norwegian agriculture and food supply' (*Geography* 35 (1950) which shows the situation in the middle of the twentieth century.
9. Arvo Soinen, *Vanha maatalaoutemme* (Historiallisia Tutkimuksia 96; Helsinki, 1974), pp. 17—18 and map on p. 19. Pentti Virrankoski, *Suomen taloushistoria kaskikaudesta atomiaikaan* (Helsinki, 1975), pp. 63—4. W. R. Mead, 'Land use in early nineteenth century Finland' (*Turun Yliopiston Julkaisuja* A XIII:2, Turku, 1953) with maps on p. 9, 19—21. And the same author's 'Carl Christian Böcker' (*Näkökulmia menneisyyteen*; Porvoo, 1967) with maps on p. 90.
10. Staffan Helmfrid, 'Det äldre agrarlandskapet' (in H. W. Ahlmann et al. (eds.), *Sverige. Land och Folk* I (Stockholm, 1966), p. 170. Ulf Sporrang, *Jordbruk och landskapsbild* (Lund, 1970), pp. 18—36. Helge Nelson, 'Sveriges kulturgeografiska provinser' (*Ymer*, 1918, pp. 346—53).
11. G. Sundbärg, *Emigrationsutredningen. Betänkande i utvandringsfrågan... Bil. V. Byggestatistik* (Stockholm, 1910), p. 4. Nils Wohlin, *Den jordbruksidkande befolkningen i Sverige 1751—1900* (Stockholm, 1909), pp.111—2. O. Lundsjö, *Fattigdomen på den svenska landsbygden under 1800-talet*, (Stockholm, 1975), pp 62—3. Christer Winberg, *Folkökning och proletarisering* (Gothenburg, 1975), pp. 17—18, 49.

12. Staffan Helmfrid, 'Europeiska agrarlandskap: en forskningsöversikt' (mimeo.), pp. 43-4. Andreas Holmsen, 'Det nordiske ødegårdsprojekt' (*Historisk Tidsskrift* 2f.:34 (Stockholm, 1971), pp. 533—50. Eva Österberg, *Det Nordiska Ödegårdsprojektet. Nordisk Slutrapport: Komparation, Huvudavsnitt 1:4 Metoder. Hypoteser. Urval av Undersökningsområden* (mimeo., 1978), pp. 29, 55—60.
13. Sigurd Erixon, 'Hur Sverige och Norge mötas' (in J. Frödin et al., *Bidrag til Bondesamfundets Historie II: bosetning og kulturforbindelser* (Oslo, 1933), pp. 183—219. Åke Campbell, *Skånska bygder under förra hälften av 1700-talet* (Uppsala, 1928), pp. 1—5.
14. Orvar Löfgren, 'Peasant ecotypes' (*Ethnologia Scandinavica* 1976), p. 100.
15. Julian Steward, *Theory of Culture Change* (Urbana, 1955), p. 37.
16. Eric Wolf, *Peasants* (Englewood Cliffs, N. J., 1966), pp. 19—21.
17. Sune Åkerman, 'Människor och miljöer. Synpunkter på ekotypen som forskningsinstrument' (*Scandia* 44 (1978), p. 124.
18. Orvar Löfgren, 'Family and household among Scandinavian peasants; an exploratory essay' (*Ethnologia Scandinavica* 1974, p. 48 note 11. Åkerman (1978), p. 124.
19. David Gaunt, 'Människans villkor: replik till Sune Åkerman om ett ekologiskt synsätt' (*Scandia* 45 (1979), pp. 134—140. David Gaunt, 'Household typology: Problems, methods, results' (Sune Åkerman et al. (ed.), *Chance and Change. Social and Economic Studies in Historical Demography in the Baltic Area* (Odense, 1978), p. 69.
20. Peasant is used throughout this essay as the equivalent of the Scandinavian 'bonde', the owner or tenant of the whole or part of a tax-assessed farm and thus excludes the smallholder and cottar class.
21. Löfgren (1976), p. 101. These matters are discussed further below, p 37.
22. Åke Campbell's division of Skåne into *slättbygder*, *skogsbygder* and *risbygder* (pp. 15—17) is difficult to apply to Scandinavia as a whole even if valuable for certain areas. It seems best for the present purpose to combine his last two categories and redivide them into areas with forestry and handicrafts as secondary activities (see below).
23. Þorkel Johannesson, *Bunaðarsamtök á Íslandi 1837—1937* (Reykjavik, 1937), p. 18. Mead (1953), p. 22. Soininen, p. 16.
24. Granö, p. 356. Soininen, pp. 17—19. Virrankoski, p. 64. S. Hasund, 'Korndyrkninga i Norge i eldre tid' (in A. W. Brøgger et al. (eds.), *Bidrag til Bondesamfundets historie I* (Oslo, 1933), pp. 225—7. Stein Tveite, *Jord og Gjærning: Trækk av norsk landbruk i 150 år* (Kristiansand, 1959), pp. 16—17, 22. Simen Skappel, *Trækk af det norske agerbruks historie i tidsrummet 1660—1814* (Kristiania, 1904), pp. 28, 32, 35, 39. Sven Björnsson, *Blekinge. En studie av det blekingska kulturlandskapet* (Medd. från Lunds universitets geografiska institution. Avh. IX; Lund, 1946), pp. 17—19, 55. Arthur Montgomery, *The Rise of Modern Industry in Sweden* (London, 1939), p. 8. The small region of Lo-Sjåk in the northern Gudbrandsdal also had a reputation for cereal production (Tveite, p. 17), while the area around Storsjön in central Jämtland was pedologically and climatically more favoured for grain growing than elsewhere in Norrland (Mårta Hedlund, 'Bondehandel i Jämtland under 1800-talet' (*Folk-liv*, 1941).
25. Helge Nelson, *Studier över svenskt näringsliv, säsongarbete och befolkningsrörelser under 1800- och 1900-talen* (Skrifter utg. av Kungl. Humanistiska Vetenskapssamfundet i Lund LXIII; Lund, 1963), p. 469. Bjarne Stoklund, 'Ecological succession: reflections on the relations between man and environment in pre-industrial Denmark' (*Ethnologica Scandinavica* 1976), pp. 87—91. Axel Steensberg, 'Bebyggelse paa landet i Danmark i historisk tid' (in *Nordisk Kultur XIII: Landbrug og Bebyggelse* (Copenhagen, Oslo & Stockholm, 1956), p. 255. O. H. Larsen, *Landbrugets historie og statistik: kortfattet fremstilling af det danske landbrugs tekniske og økonomiske udvikling* (Copenhagen, 1929), pp. 136—8.

26. For these factors, see below.
27. Cattle grew in importance in Savolax and Karelia in the nineteenth century to supply dairy produce to St Petersburg (Virrankoski, pp. 111, 120. Eino Jutikkala, 'History of Finland's rural trade and tradesmen' (*Scandinavian Economic History Review* VI (1958), p. 102. Mead (1953), pp. 16—17. 22. Soininen, pp. 201, 215—18.
28. Soininen, pp. 54—76. Eino Jutikkala, *Bonden i Finland genom Tiderna (Stockholm, 1963)*, pp. 19—20. Kustaa Viikuna, 'Talonpojan maa- ja kotitalous' (in Gunnar Suolahti (ed.), *Suomen kulttuurihistoria* II (Jyväskylä-Helsinki, 1934), pp. 264-70. S. Montelius, 'The burning of forest land for the cultivation of crops' (*Geografiska annaler*, 1953), passim.
29. Yngve Nilsson, *Bygd och näringsliv i Norra Värmland. En kulturgeografisk studie* (Meddel. från Lund universitets geografiska institution 18; Lund, 1950), pp. 56—64. Skappel, pp. 10—11, 49. Oscar Albert Johnsen, *Norwegische Wirtschaftsgeschichte* (Jena, 1949), p. 287. S. Hasund, *Vårt Landbruks Historie* (Oslo, 1932), pp. 76—8. Montelius, pp. 42, 46—9, 53 and his 'Finnish settlement in central Sweden' (*Geografiska Annaler* 42), pp. 285—8. G. Rudie, *Bygdebok for Eidsberg: Bygdehistorie 1537—1800* (Mysen, 1966), p. 16.
30. Johnsen, pp. 314—5. Skappel, pp. 48—55. Rudie, pp. 16—17. Hasund, pp. 115—6. E. Ingers, *Bonden i svensk historia* II (Stockholm, 1948), pp. 119—22. Ragnar Jirlow, 'Bodenbau' (in *Schwedische Volkskultur: Quellen-Forschung-Ergebnisse. Festschrift für Sigfrid Svensson zum sechzigsten Geburtstag am 1 Juni 1961* (hereafter '*Schwedische Volkskultur*') (Uppsala, 1961), pp. 184—6. Nils-Arvid Bringéus, 'Jordbruk' (in N.-A. Bringéus (ed.), *Arbete och Redskap* (Lund, 1973), p. 19. David Hannerberg, *Närkes landsbygd 1600—1820* (1941), p. 195. Jutikkala (1963), pp. 382—3. Outside forest area moorland might be burnt in a similar way (e.g. in south-west Norway and in Halland (G. Berg and S. Svensson, *Svensk bondekultur* (Stockholm, 1969), p. 29. Skappel, p. 51. Virrankoski, p. 55).
31. Soininen, pp. 16, 200. Gustaf Utterström, *Jordbruksarbetare: levnadsvillkor och arbetsliv på landsbygden från frihetstiden till mitten av 1800-talet* (Stockholm, 1957), I, p. 507.
32. Jóhannesson, p. 18. Þorvald Thorodssen, *Lýsing Íslands* IV (Copenhagen, 1922), p. 196. Soininen, p. 18. Virrankoski, p. 59. Nikander, pp. 123—4. Maps in Mead (1953), p. 17.
33. Oscar Albert Johnsen, *Norges Bønder* (Oslo, 1936), p. 320. Peder Hansen Resen, *Atlas Daniicus. Færøerne* (ed. Jørgen Rischel and Povl Skårup; *Færoensia* IX; Copenhagen, 1972), p. 34. Thomas Tarnovius, *Færøers beskrivelser* (ed. Håkon Hamre; *Færoensia* II; Copenhagen, 1950), p. 54.
34. Enequist, p. 17. Sam Owen Jansson, 'Kulturgrenzen und Kulturwegen' (in *Schwedische Volkskultur*), pp. 115—6. Utterström, p. 508. Bertil Boethius, *Skogen och bygden* (Stockholm, 1939), p. 47. Sigurd Erixon, 'Betesvandring och flyttsystem' (*Folk-liv* 1955—6), p. 49. G. Enequist, 'Bebyggelse' (in H. W. Ahlmann et al. (eds.), *Sverige. Land och Folk* I (Stockholm, 1966), p. 193. Lars Reinton, *Til Seters* ((Oslo, 1969), where the various types of *seter* are described on pp. 28—31. Johnsen (1936), p. 321. Tveite, pp. 22, 27. Virrankoski, pp. 58-9. Soininen, pp. 207, 209, 213—4. A form of *seter* was also employed in parts of Ostrobothnia (Michael Jones, *Finland. Daughter of the Sea* (Folkestone & Hamden, 1977), pp. 77-8. Virrankoski, p. 64. Jutikkala (1963), p. 54) and in Iceland (Arnór Sigurjónsson, *Þættir úr islenzkri bunaðarsögn*' (*Árbók landbunaðarins* 1970), p. 32), but the 'full' *seter* with the whole family migrating to the pastures for a large part of the year appears to have been confined to the Swedish and Norwegian fells.
35. Stoklund, p. 86. Larsen pp. 129—30.
36. Skappel, pp. 14—16. David Gaunt, 'Familj, hushåll och arbetsintensitet' (*Scandia* 42 (1976), pp. 52—4, 57. David Gaunt (1978), pp. 75—8, 81—2. For settlement patterns, see below.

37. Utterström, p. 75. Eli F. Heckscher, *Sveriges ekonomiska historia från Gustav Vasa II* (Stockholm, 1949), pp. 556—60. Virrankoski has, however, pointed out that in Finland, unlike Sweden, handicrafts usually flourished in the richer agricultural districts with better communications and access to markets (*op. cit.*, p. 126 and his *Myyntiä varten harjoitettu kotiteollisuus Soumessa autonomian ajan alkupuolella (1809— noin 1865)* (Historiallisia Tutkimuksia LXIV; Helsinki, 1963), pp. 453—4. Åkerman (1978), pp. 131—2.
38. Stoklund, p. 87.
39. Skappel, pp. 42—3. Tveite, pp. 14—5. Sverre Steen, *Den Norske Folks liv og gjerning gjennom tidene VI* (Oslo, 1932), p. 222 and his *Det gamle samfunn (Det frie Norge 4; Oslo, 1957)*, pp. 48—9, 116—20, 128. Orvar Löfgren, 'Fiskelägen och sjöfartssamhälle' (In Mats Hellspång and Orvar Löfgren, *Land och stad* (Lund, 1976), pp. 100—121. Olof Håsslöf, 'Fische-rei' (in *Schwedische Volkskunde*), pp. 267—71. Utterström, pp. 148—9, 156—7. Björnsson, pp. 71, 111. Nikander, p. 123. Hugo Matthiesen, *Limfjorden*, Copenhagen, 1941), pp. 101-3. Virrankoski (1975), p. 26. Armas Luukko, 'The Annual Budget of North Finnish farmers at the end of the seventeenth century' (*SEHR VI* (1958), p. 137. Mead (1953), p. 20, 22.
40. Þorsteinn Þorsteinsson, 'Manntalið' 1703' (Hagskýrslur Íslands II:21 (Reykjavík, 1960), pp. 17-18. Lyður Björnsson, *Frá síðaskiptun til sjálfstæðisbaráttu* (Reykjavík, 1973), pp. 74, 81. Þorkil Johannesson, 'Næringsfang på Ísland under Medeltiden' (in *Nordisk kultur XI-XIIA* (Stockholm-Oslo-Copenhagen, 1955), p. 108. Björn Þorsteinsson, 'Fiskelägen (Ísland)' (in *Kulturhistorisk Leksikon for Nordisk Middelalder IV* (Copenhagen, 1959), p. 313. Rigmor Frimannslund Holmsen, *Gardssamfunn og Grannesamfunn* (Mimeo.), pp. 18—19. Tveite. p. 15. Berg & Svensson, pp. 36—7. Steen (1933), p. 242.
41. Nelson (1963), pp. 25—30, 35, 342—64. Ingers, pp. 162, 164. Jansson, p. 115. Utterström, pp. 165, 176—9, 729—81. Boëthius, pp. 146—50. Hedlund, pp. 105—6 and his 'Jämtlands-handeln och den jämtska folkkulturen' (*Folk-liv*, 1946), pp. 91—3. Hans Aldskogius, 'Changing land use and settlement development in the Siljan region' (*GA* 1960), pp. 251—3. Göran Rosander, *Herrarbete. Dalfolkets säsongvisa arbetsvandringar i jämförande belysning* (Skr. utg. genom landsmåls och folkminnesarkivet i Uppsala. Ser. B13; Uppsala, 1967), pp. 55—6 195—6 and his *Dalska arbetsvandringar före nya tidens genombrott* (Stockholm, 1976, passim. Berg & Svensson, pp. 41, 44—6. J. Ejdestam, N. Hedin, & E. Nygren, *Bilder ur landshandelns Historia* (Västerås, 1943), pp. 17, 20—5, 40—4. Virrankoski (1975), pp. 26, 67, 72. Steen (1933), p. 285. Heckscher, pp. 354—7, 579—80, 722. Wilhelm Keilhau, *Det norske folks liv og gjerning VIII* (Oslo, 1929), pp. 28—30.
42. E. E. Kaila, *Pohjanmaa ja meri 1600 ja 1700-luvuilla* (Hist. Tutkimuksia XIV; Helsinki, 1931), pp. 330-54. Gabriel Nikander, 'Kauppa ja meriliikenne' (*Suomen kulttuurihistoria II*) pp. 155-6. Yrjö Kaukianen, *Suomen talonpoikaipurjehdus 1800-luvun alkupuoliskolla* (Hist. Tutkimuksia LXXXIX; Helsinki, 1970), *passim*. Steen (1933), p. 249-50.
43. Andreas Holmsen, 'The Old Norwegian Peasant Community: I General Survey and Historical Introduction' (*SEHR IV* (1956), p. 20. Tveite, p. 15. Steen (1933), pp. 245—6. Steen (1932), p. 221.
44. Soininen, pp. 256—8, 287—8, 292. Kustaa Vilkkuna, 'Suomen päävientitavara terva' (*Suomen kulttuurihistoria III* (Jyväskylä-Helsinki, 1935), pp. 112-9. Heckscher, p. 335. Steen (1933), p. 244. Virrankoski, (1975), pp. 62-3. Jutikkala (1963), pp. 354. Tarburning in the interior of lakeland Finland declined after the loss of the Viipuri region to Russia in 1721 (Jutikkala (1963), p. 325, Virrankoski (1975), p. 62 and Soininen, p. 256).
45. Stoklund, pp. 90, 94—6. Boëthius, p. 325. G. O. B. Begtrup, *Beskrivelse over Agerdyrknings Tilstand i Sjælland og Møen II* (Copenhagen, 1803), p. 466. Campbell, pp. 15—16, 156. Steen (1957), p. 48. The collection and sale of firewood was a significant peasant occupation near the coast of Finland and the Åland Islands, whence large quantities were exported to Sweden in the eighteenth century (Soininen, pp. 283—4).

46. Ingers, p. 163. Utterström, pp. 185, 423, 426. Nils Friberg, 'Growth of population and its economic-geographic background in a mining district in central Sweden 1650—1750' (*GA* 38 (1956), pp. 408—22. Aldskogius, pp. 251—3. Gaunt (1978), p. 72. Skappel, pp. 94, 96—7, Kjell Hårstad, *Selbu i fortid og nåtid I* (Selbu, 1972), pp. 141—2, 222—4, 229—37. Holmsen, p. 19. Tveite, p. 13. Steen (1933), pp. 246—7. Heckscher, p. 453. Steen (1957), pp. 157—9. Keilhau, pp. 43—4.
47. Ingers, pp. 178—9. Skappel, p. 32. T. H. Aschehoug, *Statistiske Studier over folkmængde og jordbrug i Norges landdistrikte i det syttende og attende aarhundrede* (Kristiania, 1890), pp. 142—3, 146, 152. Virrankoski (1975), pp. 123, 157—8, 165—6. Soininen, pp. 303, 365. Heckscher, p. 572. Steen (1957), p. 48.
48. Ingers, pp. 164—7, 176—7. Bengt Bengtsson, 'Hantverk' (in *Schwedische Volkskultur*), p. 286. Phebe Fjellström, 'Hantverk' (in *Arbete och Redskap*) pp. 162—3, 166—80. Gertrud Grenander-Nyberg, 'Textilier' (in *Ibid.*), p. 183. Utterström II (Stockholm, 1957), pp. 3—374. H. P. Hansen, *Hedebønder* (Copenhagen, 1959), pp. 145—59. Berg & Svensson, pp. 42—3. Bjørnsson, p. 85. Virrankoski, (1975), pp. 66—7, 73, 76—7, 124—5, 161, 164. Steen (1933), pp. 247—8. Heckscher, pp. 572—5. Löfgren, pp. 121—2. Virrankoski (1963), especially maps on pp. 78, 199, 313.
49. Utterström, pp. 231—2. Boëthius, pp. 153—4. Skappel, p. 99. A. Holmsen, *Gard Bygd Rike. Festskrift i anledning Andreas Holmsens 60års-dag 5 juni 1966* (Oslo, 1966), p. 168. Gerd Enequist, *Nedre Luledalens byar* (Geographica 4. Uppsala, 1937), pp. 224—6, 275—8.
50. Virrankoski (1975), pp. 52, 63, 110. Kaila, pp. 29—37. Soininen, pp. 51—2, 55—8, 256—7, 288—92. Even in the eighteenth century burn-beat cultivation may have been the dominant form of grain production only in northern Savolax and north Karelia (Vilkuna (1934), p. 270).
51. Stoklund, pp. 87—91, 94—8.
52. Bertil Boëthius, 'New light on eighteenth century Sweden' (*SEHR* I) pp. 169—70. Utterström, pp. 78—9, 97.
53. Löfgren, pp. 134—6. Orvar Löfgren, 'The potato people' (in Sune Åkerman et al. *Chance and Change* (Odense, 1978), pp. 98—9, 102). Enequist (1966), p. 194. Steen (1933), pp. 251—2. The expansion of population in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries encouraged the breaking of much new ground, and a case could be made out for regarding the 'pioneer area' as an additional category. It was, however, normally a case of the extension of the type of economy practised in the neighbouring region into virgin or thinly populated territory, and on a large scale the changes were not of great significance, especially if the concept of 'boundary zones' rather than 'boundaries' is kept in mind. (Enequist (1969), p. 6. Steen 1932), pp. 202—3. Skappel, pp. 55—6).
54. Steward, p. 37.
55. Åkerman, p. 143.
56. Thorødsen, p. 25. Halvard Björkvik, 'The old Norwegian Peasant Community II: The farm territories' (*SEHR* IV (1956), p. 48. Andreas Holmsen, 'Eldre norsk tunskipnad' (*Heimen* XIV (1969), p. 465 and (1956), pp. 21—2, 29—31 and (1966), pp. 104—6, 118. Hårstad, p. 366—7. Skappel, p. 27. Steen (1933 *Bidrag*), p. 233, and (1957), pp. 40—2. In the mid-nineteenth century only 0.3 % of the farms in Østfold and 3.3 % of those in Telemark were 'i felleskap', against 89.6 % of those in Møre, over 40 % in Agder and about 30 % in Troms. (Keilhau, pp. 38—9). Axel Steensberg, *Den danske landsby gennem 6000 år* (Copenhagen, 1973), pp. 106—7 and (1956), p. 255. Utterström, p. 72. Campbell, pp. 16—17. Svend Aakjær, 'Bosættelse og bebyggelseform i Danmark i eldre tid' (in *Bidrag til Bondesamfundets Historie* II (Oslo, 1933), p. 123. E. Jutikkala, 'Entisajan talonpoikaiskylä' (in *Suomen talous- ja sosialhistorian kehityslinjoja* (Porvoo & Helsinki, 1968), p. 39. Granö, p. 372. Jutikkala (1963), p. 15. Berg & Svensson, p. 54. Sporrang, p. 23. J. Frödin, 'Den nord och mellansven-

- ska byns organisationsform och upplösning' (in *Bidrag til Bondesamfundets Historie* II), pp. 70—2, 75. Helmfrid (1966), p. 169. Enequist (1966), p. 185. Sigurd Erixon, *Svenska byar utan systematisk regulering: en jämförande historisk undersökning* (Stockholm, 1960), pp. 196, 198—9. Björn Teitsson, *Eignarhald og Ábuð á jörðum i Suður-Þingeyjarsýslu 1703—1930* (Reykjavík, 1973), pp. 23—4.
57. Steensberg (1973), pp. 106—110. Jutikkala (1968), p. 39. Helmfrid (1966), p. 159. Enequist (1966), p. 185. Enclosure did not seriously affect village organisation outside Denmark and Skåne until well into the nineteenth century (Jutikkala (1963), pp. 335—8). Helmfrid, 'The storskifte, enskifte and laga skifte in Sweden — general features' (*GA* 1961), p. 125. Utterström, pp. 558—71. Eino Aaltonen, 'Kyläyhteiskunta isoajosta alkaen' (*Suomen kulttuurihistoria* IV (1936), pp. 82—8).
  58. Campbell, p. 17. Skappel, p. 27. Fröding (1933), pp. 80—1. Enequist (1969), p. 159. E. Jutikkala, 'Development of settlement in the historical era' (in *Suomi*), p. 306. Jutikkala (1963), pp. 28, 267. Nikander, pp. 115—6.
  59. Viggo Hansen, *Landskab og bebyggelse i Vendsyssel* (Kulturgeografiske skrifter 7; Copenhagen, 1964), p. 132. Aakjær, pp. 123—8. Hellspong, pp. 55—6.
  60. Gaunt (1979), p. 138.
  61. Heckscher, p. 277. F. Skrubbeltrang, *Den danske Bonde 1788—1938* (Copenhagen, 1938), p. 19. E. Jutikkala, 'Finnish agricultural labour in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries' (*SEHR* X (1962), pp. 203-4. Jutikkala (1963), p. 234. Conditions were very different on the noble estates in the part of Finland returned by Russia in 1812. Here labour services were heavy and increased in the early nineteenth century (Jutikkala (1963), pp. 396—9), Hårstad, pp. 141—2. Steen (1933), pp. 266-8. Jón Jónsson, 'Fæstebondens Kaar paa Island i det 18. Aarhundrede' (*Historisk Tidsskrift* (Copenhagen), 6.R: IVB (1892—4), pp. 582—601, 638, 643—5).
  62. Axel Nielsen, *Dänische Wirtschaftsgeschichte* (Jena, 1933), pp. 177, 320. Aksel E. Christensen, 'The development of large-scale farming in Denmark 1525-1744' (*SEHR* VIII), pp. 180—1. Christer Winberg, *Folkökning och proletarisering* (Meddelanden från historiska institutionen i Göteborg 10; Gothenburg, 1975), pp. 52, 162, 167, 169—75. Jutikkala (1963), p. 370. Larsen, p. 160.
  63. Lutz K. Berkner, 'The stem family and the developmental cycle of the peasant household: an eighteenth-century Austrian example' (*American Historical Review* LXXVII (1972), pp. 410—8).
  64. Rigmor Frimannslund, 'The Old Norwegian Peasant Community III: Farm community and neighbourhood community' (*SEHR* IV (1956), p. 64. Holmsen, (1956), p. 32, n. 14. S. Skappel, *Om husmannsvæsenet i Norge. Dets oprindelse og udvikling* (Kristiania, 1922), pp. 85—9, 154—161. Steen (1957), pp. 59—63, 66—8. Keilhau, p. 40. Sogner, pp. 195—6. (Sogner posits a significant correlation between tax assessments of farms and the proportion of *husmenn* in the area (her 'Freeholder and cottar: Property relationships and the social structure in the peasant community in Norway during the eighteenth century' (*Scandinavian Journal of History* I (1976), p. 197). Michael Drake notes the difference between south-eastern Hallingdal, where over 60 % of farms had no servants living in but a large number of *husmenn*, the islands of Herøy off the coast of Sunnmøre, where only 43.8 % of farms had no servants living in, and the agricultural district of Hedemarken (*op.cit.*, p. 115).
  65. Jutikkala (1962), pp. 206—7. Jutikkala (1963), p. 283. Jutikkala, 'Väestö ja asutus 1500-luvulta 1800-luvun puoliväliin' (*Suomen kulttuurihistoria* II), pp. 117, 123, 129—30, 133—5. Soininen, pp. 45—9. Social cleavages were greatest in Satakunta (Jutikkala (1963), p. 373).
  66. Utterström, pp. 28—9, 35—6, 50—5, 57. Winberg, p. 50. V. Falben Hansen, *Stavnbaands-Løsningen og Landboreformerne* (Copenhagen, 1899), p. 129. F. Skrubbeltrang, *Husmænd i*

- Denmark gennem 300 Aar* (Copenhagen, 1942), pp. 11—12, 63, 71—2. F. Skrubbeltrang, *Husmand og Inderste* (Copenhagen, 1940), pp. 68—71. Skrubbeltrang (1938), pp. 17, 30, 74—5. Palle Ove Christiansen, 'The household in the local setting' (Sune Åkerman et al. (eds.), *Chance and Change* (Odense, 1978), p. 56. Skrubbeltrang finds greater class divisions in those areas which were less dependent on a landlord (i.e. Bornholm, northern Slesvig, Fyn, Koldinghus amt and parts of western Jutland) (Skrubbeltrang (1938), pp. 38—9, 40—1).
67. Björnsson, pp. 40, 42,—3. Teitsson, p. 75. Thoroddsen IV, pp. 346—7.
  68. Jutikkala (1962), pp. 203—4. Jutikkala (1963), pp. 257—9. Utterström, pp. 249—51, 309. Gaunt (1978), p. 82. Börje Hanssen, 'The oikological approach' (Sune Åkerman et al. (eds.), *Chance and Change* (Odense, 1978), pp. 148, 153.
  69. Berg & Svensson, p. 53. Winberg, pp. 208—9. David Gaunt, 'The Swedes we have lost: social, economic and ecological determinants of population structure in pre-industrial society' (Paper read to Sigturna Conference on Family and Social Change, October 1976), pp. 28—9. As Gaunt has suggested, many families might go through extended stages (pp. 17—20).
  70. Steensberg (1940), pp. 64—6. Skappel (1922), pp. 154, 162—3, 168—70. Nielsen, pp. 335, 395, 413—4. Utterström, pp. 24—5, 26, 39—40, 46—7, 67. Jutikkala (1963), p. 371. Jutikkala (1934), pp. 186—7. Skrubbeltrang (1942), pp. 11, 14, 53—4. Skrubbeltrang (1938), p. 73.
  71. Winberg, pp. 208—9.
  72. Sture Bolin, 'Medieval agrarian society in its prime: Scandinavia' (in M. M. Postan (ed.), *Cambridge Economic History of Europe I* (Cambridge, 1966), p. 659. A. Holmsen, 'Landowners and tenants in Norway' (*SEHR VI* (1958), p. 128. Jutikkala (1963), pp. 216—7.
  73. Larsen, pp. 160—1. (in Norway the movement began even earlier (O. A. Johnsen, 'Fra leilending til selveier' (*Nordisk Tidsskrift* 1910), pp. 220—63. Simen Skappel, 'Den norske jordleivesens geografiske udbredelse i eldre tid og overgangen fra leie til selveie' (*Historisk Tidsskrift* (Oslo) 30 (1935—5), pp. 277—86. Andreas Holmsen, 'From tenancy to freehold peasant ownership' (*SEHR XI* (1961), *passim*. Sogner, p. 183). Jutikkala (1963), pp. 324—6. Skrubbeltrang (1938), pp. 76—9. Steen (1957), pp. 35—7. In some areas, such as Bergslagen, there was a contrary movement in the eighteenth century (Gaunt (1978), p. 82).
  74. Sogner, p. 184. Jutikkala (1963), p. 158. Holmsen (1961), pp. 153—7. The threat of confiscation for tax arrears was abolished, together with other restrictions on freehold, in 1789 (Jutikkala (1963), p. 318). Jutikkala has observed that in the seventeenth century at least the Finnish peasants do not appear to have understood the significance of the loss of freehold in this way (see his 'Die Veränderungen in der Agrargesellschaft Finnlands in die ersten Hälfte des 17. Jahrhunderts' (*Die Bauerngesellschaft im Ostseeraum und im Norden um 1600* (Visby, 1965), p. 105). Both Gaunt (1976, p. 26) and Winberg (p. 38) however, attach importance to the effect of freehold on the birthrate.
  75. As David Hannerberg claimed for Sweden, 'knowledge of the peasants' consumption and living standards two hundred years ago or more is still very incomplete.' (*Svenskt agrarsamhälle under 1200 år* (Stockholm, 1971), p. 253.
  76. Heckscher, pp. 560—2. Steen (1932), p. 189. Calculations include 9 acres for a mixed farming area of Västmanland (Gaunt, (1976), p. 8) and 12—15 ha. for the best land on the mid-Swedish plain against only 1.5 —3 ha. for Norrland in the seventeenth century (Helmfrid (1966), p. 160) and 18.5 ha. in late seventeenth-century Zealand (Christiansen (1978), p. 54.) The actual amount of land sown depended on the rotation systems in use.
  77. Holmsen (1966), pp. 117, 126, 140, 158 (note 9). Hannerberg, pp. 34, 37—8. Winberg, pp. 38—41, 179—82. Erixon (1960), p. 199. Steen (1933), p. 233. The Norwegian *matrikkel* was not revised between 1669 and 1836 (Johnsen (1949), p. 308.
  78. Frimannslund (1956), p. 68. Jutikkala (1963), p. 388. Sogner, p. 189.



79. Winberg, pp. 40—1, 44—5, 48—9, 176, 189—90. Jutikkala (1963), pp. 119—20, 135, 225, 374—5.
80. Holmsen (1966), p. 146. Holmsen (1961), pp. 153—5. Gaunt (1976), p. 11. Steen (1957), p. 58. Keilhau, pp. 15—19. Christiansen, pp. 55—6. Bodvall discovered considerable social differentiation among the peasants of northern Hälsingland in the middle of the seventeenth century (*Bodland in norra Hälsingland* (Uppsala, 1959), pp. 147—52. Österberg, *Det Nordiska Ödegårdsprojektet*, pp. 58—9.
81. Viggo Hansen, 'Sandflugt i Thy' (*Geografisk Tidskrift* 56 (1957), pp. 80—3. Johnsen (1949), pp. 330—3. Steensberg (1940), pp. 77—8. Virrankoski (1975), pp. 80—1. Toinia Aunola, 'The indebtedness of North Ostrobothnian farmers to merchants 1765—1809' (*SEHR* XIII (1965), *passim*. Jutikkala (1963), pp. 181—2. Eino Jutikkala, 'The distribution of wealth in Finland in 1800' (*SEHR* I (1953), pp. 89—92). Heckscher, pp. 467—9. Steen (1957), pp. 46—7, 120—2. Steen (1932), pp. 206—8.
82. Skrubbeltrang (1938), pp.40—1. Steen (1957), p. 57. Jutikkala has made an interesting attempt in his 1953 article to assess the wealth and poverty of different areas of Finland at the beginning of the nineteenth century by analysing the records of the capital levy imposed in 1800.
83. Löfgren, (1976), p. 101.
84. The 'synthetic' method proposed by J. F. Unstead (in 'A synthetic method of determining geographical regions' (*Geographical Journal* XLVIII (1916) could, in spite of the objections raised against it, be applied to such regions for which sufficient information is available. Even if the result would be at present extremely patchy, the popularity of local studies (at one level for student dissertations) promises the reduction of many gaps within a reasonable time once a framework has been established.