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“Economic history, the social ‘sciences’ are not a cumulation of objective knowledge, but the contemporary form of the stories our distant forefathers would tell when they gathered around the campfire. Our theories, our facts – our stories like their stories – are constructs that define and project an image of ourselves; they are shaped by fears and aspirations so deep we do not admit them to our conscious minds, by prejudices so strong we do not recognize them.

So too, specifically, economic history. The process and context that generate an interpretation, and can signal the alternatives that were never allowed a hearing, are as central to its proper evaluation as the more conventional evidence it invokes: we would have a better sense of what there is to be seen if our predecessors had told us not only what they saw, but who they were, where they stood, and how they got there.”

(Stefano FENOALTEA, *The Reinterpretation of Italian Economic History*, Cambridge 2014, preface, p. xix)

The hidden female sphere

In pre-industrial society the collection of economic statistics was not necessarily a high priority issue and by the 19th century information collection was often tainted by middle class values and tended to see women belonging to a non-productive female sphere. The explanation given to us by Davidoff and Hall in *Family Fortunes* (1987), the creation of the separate sphere ideology by the middle class, does certainly ring true in some respects. It is fairly obvious that the 19th century ideologies of the middle classes have had considerable impact on the recording of information and the definition of concepts, as this was the group in society engaged in the collection and recording of data at this time.^[1]

When the 1960s and 1970s saw the emergence of studies of class and social conditions and demographic studies en masse, the female experience did not occupy a central stage. Where reasons for change, evidenced by the numbers, were presented, explanations were sought in medical progress, sanitation projects, food prices or the weather. A dividing line (or even a chasm) could be observed

[1] Leonore DAVIDOFF – Catherine HALL, *Family Fortunes*, London 1987; Higgs EDWARD, *Women’s Occupations and Work in the Nineteenth Century Censuses*, *History Workshop Journal* 23, 1987, pp. 59–82.

between demographers and gender historians from the 1980s onwards.^[2] While the former tended to see development as linked to macro level social and economic change the latter underlined the cultural aspect of women's history and discussed demography primarily as an issue related to sexuality and the subjection of the female body to male desire within and outside marriage.^[3] Even in relation to the family there was a certain tendency to see the power relations as the overruling issue and consequently paying less attention to the documentation of female agency among ordinary women. One cannot deny that even more recently there have been tendencies to cast women in the role of victim (with the exception of certain prominent individuals) and overtly or implicitly define them as passive on the marriage market or within the family.^[4]

In the past decades the use of new sources like court records and account books, have brought to light previously unexplored information about female activity in the past. More attention has also been directed towards mining working class diaries for the everyday family experience.^[5]

By re-evaluating old sources new answers can be available. We may find that unlike the 19th century middle class statisticians who viewed women as dependants, homemakers or decorative additives, the rural or early modern urban concept of the wife and daughters as co-workers represented a long tradition, for example embodied in the words of the old Nordic marriage, where the wife was defined as a person with responsibilities and property rights: *I give you my daughter to honour and to wife, to half the bed, to locks and keys and to third of the money you have and will have in movables and to all the rights of the Law of Upland given by St Eric, in the name of the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit* (12th century).^[6]

[2] Bridget HILL, *The Marriage age of Women and the Demographers*, History Workshop Journal 28, 1989, pp. 129–147.

[3] Olwen HUFTON, *The Prospect Before Her*, London 1995; Susie STEINBACH, *Women in England 1760–1914, a Social History*, London 2004.

[4] Peter STEARNS, *Old Age in European Society*, London 1977, pp.120–122; Frans Van POPPEL, *Widows, Widowers and Remarriage in Nineteenth-Century Netherlands*, Population Studies 49, 1995, pp. 421–441; Koen MATTHIJS, *Frequency Timing and Intensity of Remarriage in 19th Century Flanders*, The History of the Family 8, 2003, pp.135–162.

[5] Jane HUMPHRIES, *Childhood and Child Labour in the British Industrial Revolution*, Cambridge 2010; Amy ERICKSON, *Married Women's Occupations in Eighteenth-Century London*, Continuity and Change 23, 2008, pp. 267–308; Beatrice CRAIG, *Female Enterprise Behind the Discursive Veil in Nineteenth Century Northern France*, London 2017; Nicola VERDON, *Rural Women Workers in Nineteenth-Century England. Gender, Work and Wages*, London 2002.

[6] Olof HULTMAN, *Upplandslagen*, Helsingfors 1915; Rudolf HUEBNER, *A History of German Private Law*, London 1918, pp. 620–621; Scarlett BEAUVALET-BOUTOUYRIE, *Être veuve sous l'ancien régime*, Paris 2001, pp. 190–192, 205, 253, 258, 209–210; Jean BART, *Histoire du droit privée de la chute de l'Empire Romain au XIX^e siècle*, Paris 1998, p. 313; Anu PYLKKANEN, *Puoli vuodetta lukot ja avaimet*, Helsinki 1990, pp. 278–282.

The 19th century definition of work, cemented in economic history as labour force participation (FLP for women), as activity on external premises, full time and in exchange for money often contributes to obscuring female economic input. If we add to this the notion of the male breadwinner equalling the household head we find that only a small fraction of all women in the countryside, the female household heads, were seen as occupationally active. Joyce Burnette has highlighted the variability of the definition of female work, particularly that of married women, in census registration over time. She has also pointed out the inadequacy of censuses capturing rural female work.^[7]

The tendency to overlook the female share of production within the farm economy has also found its way into the thoughts of 20th century economists, and the neo classical school has viewed household production as economically unimportant. Recently the importance of avoiding the dangers of obscuring historical realities by the extrapolating of modern concepts back in time has been underlined by Stefano Fenoaltea among other things in relation to the registration of female work.^[8]

Already the budget studies of Frederic Le Play demonstrated that the economic participation of married women in the 19th century has clear links to the occupation of the husband. Where the family had a farm or a business the wife worked alongside her husband, but in cases of lack of enterprise or capital her options were more restricted. Women did not work less in the countryside than in urban areas, they worked when and where they were able to. The family welfare was a joint issue and the female input in time of the wife could be close to that of her husband.^[9]

We are unfortunate in that the interest in budget studies in the late 19th and early 20th century was often linked to the issue of urban social problems or wages of the working class and therefore tended to focus on industrial populations. Where we have information about the countryside it was usually restricted to the class

[7] Official Statistics of Finland 1875, Economic statistics, 58; Anita NYBERG, *The Social Construction of Married Women's Labour Force Participation; the Case of Sweden in the 20th century*, Continuity and Change 9, 1994, pp. 145–156; Higgs EDWARD, *Women's Occupations and Work in the Nineteenth-Century Censuses*, History Workshop Journal 23, 1987, pp. 59–82; Joyce BURNETTE, *Why We Should Not Try to Measure Female Labour Force Participation Before 1900*, Unpublished paper of Wabash College, <http://persweb.wabash.edu/facstaff/burnettj/homepage.html> (25. 8. 2019).

[8] Laura HARMAJA, *The Role of Household Production in National Economy*, Journal of Home Economics 23, 1931, pp. 822–827; Stefano FENOALTEA, *Spleen: the Failures of the Cliometric School*, MPRA, November 2018, <https://mpra.ub.uni-muenchen.de/90210/> (25. 8. 2019).

[9] Frederic LE PLAY, *Les Ouvriers Européens: Etudes sur les travaux, la vie domestique et la condition morale des populations ouvrières de l'Europe*, Paris 1855; Frederic LE PLAY, *Les Ouvriers Européens: l'organisations des familles*, Tours 1877–1879; Frederic LE PLAY, *Les Ouvriers des Deux Mondes*, Paris 1856–1902; Richard WALL, *Frederic Le Play e il lavoro femminile alla fine dell'Ottocento*, in: Giovanni Aliberti (ed.), *L'Economia Domestica*, Rome 1995, pp. 191–206.

with little or no access to land. The other problem was the concept of the “normal family” created by statisticians, a nuclear family with young non-working children, which resulted in exclusion of families that did not fit the concept and skewing the observations towards families with women in the early stages of child bearing age and little work outside the home.^[10]

Another issue that has been defectively explored is the presence of collaboration within as well as outside the household in the community, as discussed by Richard Wall in 2010. One of his central arguments was that a restrictive focus on the household will not give us sufficient information about internal and external economic links in past societies. Families interacted with neighbours as well as with each other. The presence of community work parties has also been highlighted in some publications by Moring.^[11]

It is the hope that we will be able to explore and illuminate some of the above questions in this volume and produce a more nuanced image of the past.

Approaches and themes

One of the aims of this issue is to expand our knowledge beyond censuses and the data sets that previously normally have been used for mapping female activity. In addition, female activity will not only be limited to economic engagement per se, but also input with positive effect on the wellbeing of family members. We will also try to penetrate the interaction between other household members for the welfare of the family. We will analyze families and individuals within diverse socio-economic and geographic settings including American and Scandinavian farms, the German and Canadian countryside and French urban households.

The contribution by Matt Nelson explores diaries, account books, letters while that of Janine Lanza uses court records in addition to diaries and guild documents. Beatrice Moring relies heavily on oral history records but also includes information from court records, surveys and diaries. The information for the study by Kai Willfuor and Ingrid Dijk has been collected from parish register documents to produce extensive demographic databases that can be explored for numerous aspects of birth death, marriage and family circumstances. Hilde Sandvik highlights the opportunities of exploring the importance of the female input in

[10] Beatrice MORING, *Women, Family, Work and Welfare in Europe in the Long 19th century – Budget Studies, the Nuclear Family and the Male Breadwinner*, *Revista de demografia histórica* 33, 2015, pp. 119–152.

[11] Richard WALL, *Economic Collaboration of Family Members Within and Beyond Households in English Society 1600–2000*, *Continuity and Change* 25, 2010, pp. 83–108; Beatrice MORING, *Female Networks and Cooperation in the Nordic Past*, *Annales de démographie historique* 112, 2006, pp. 57–76.

rural communities with the aid of applications for the right to postpone property division after the death of a spouse.

The contribution of Matt Nelson focuses primarily on one farm in Carver County, Minnesota, USA, but spans more than forty years of the 19th century. The paper explores both the impact of the life course on the engagement in farm work by an individual household head, as well as the engaging and engagement of family members and input from the local community. It explores the issues of family labour, capital, money and responses to crises in life and in history. It addresses the issues of unpaid labour and invisible labour, the input of family and of neighbours, labour exchange, labour for money or goods and even the lending and borrowing of farm equipment.

With the help of diaries and account books work participation and the sharing of work by different individuals and groups such as adult males, adult females and children is probed as is the question of farm work versus housework and the roles of sons and daughters.

Kai Willfuehr and Ingrid van Dijk have chosen to explore demographic mechanisms and the consequences of the presence or absence of certain family members within the family or community on the health and survival of others. The data set is fairly large, no less than the life course of 3,990 women born to families between 1720 and 1810 in the rural pre-industrial Krummhörn region in East-Frisia, Germany and St Lawrence Valley, Canada. While it might seem difficult to highlight new problems and illuminate questions like female strategies and female agency using demographic data, this paper is a good example of what can be achieved. The objectives were to investigate how maternal mortality in connection with child birth has been affected by proximity of paternal and maternal grandmothers. The authors point out that while death in child birth has been the subject of a number of studies little attention has been awarded the question of family composition. The study analyses the impact of siblings, parents, maternal and paternal grandparents, and aunts and uncles and their families on female adult mortality. In addition the distances of places of residence and the life status of the relatives are considered, as well as siblings of the same family.

The authors are able to demonstrate that the presence of maternal and paternal grandmothers in the same village had a positive effect on the risk of female adult mortality. While this appears to be an indication of collaborative strategies the authors also suggest this could be linked to the socio economic position of the families as well as kinship networks. It is however important to note that the combination of disciplines gives the opportunity to explore the past more widely and seek answers to questions that are likely to be affected by multiple factors.

The prevailing view has often been that because the guilds were strictly male controlled and did not allow female members, the crafts were firmly outside the female sphere. In her paper Janine Lanza presents evidence for a revision of this view. Wives, whose work in artisanal enterprises has not been extensively studied,

performed the entire range of tasks necessary to keep their family businesses running.

While the manual labour of wives in shops was important, as they engaged in production, the managerial work they did was perhaps even more crucial. Diaries, court records and secondary sources reveal the craft shop and home as place with working wives, daughters and employees. As a consequence of kinship strategies and family networks the women married to craftsmen in Paris were often born into the craft, trained in the craft and embodied the skill of supervising the work and maintaining authority in the absence of the husband. Female participation was standard in the process of manufacture but in addition they worked in accounts, sales management, client negotiation and general organization. The work provided by the female members of the master's family, was indispensable for business success.

While oral history has primarily been seen as a means to understand the urban working class within a British framework the situation in the Nordic countries and some parts of continental Europe is very different. A search for national identity, linked to the national romantic movement, and a fear for the loss of roots as part of urbanisation, spawned a multitude of organizations collecting information about rural life in the 19th century. Equally the establishment of academic chairs in ethnography, studying the own nation, in countries with few colonial ambitions, has generated considerable collections of information about everyday life, work and work tasks, gender division of labour and production for domestic consumption.

The paper by Beatrice Moring approaches the question of female work within the Finnish agricultural economy by examining oral history data combined with agricultural surveys and court records to chart the scope of female participation. The paper demonstrates that female engagement was vital in a number of tasks in pre industrial Nordic farm production. Some activity was highly gender specific, for example care of animals and textile work belonged to the female sphere. As work related to animals was seen as part of the household economy, female productivity was obscured in economic statistics. However, the division of labour makes possible estimates of female productivity and there are clear indications that female economic activity had elements of both market orientation and market replacement production.

Among economists there is considerable reluctance in including goods consumed within the household into productivity calculations. In countries with an agrarian dominated economy we are dealing with goods that represented large sums of money, saved because of avoiding market price, but also in many cases products sourced in house from start to finish (from flax seed to shirt; from sheep to lamb chops and woolly jumpers). Production within the female sphere of the rural economy was vital for the household. The persistence in preference for in house production, in combination with a high level of independent holdings, actually caused serious problems for the 18th century state sponsored initiatives of

industrialists to engage in factory production of textiles. The in-house production also had other aspects, more difficult to assess economically. Certain parts of the work took place among female collectives that shared in local exchange systems and units of female bonding.

The contribution by Hilde Sandvik about rural work in Early Modern Norway is both an analysis of the nature of Norwegian economy and of gender division of labour. On the one hand we are shown a complicated economic system operating for domestic consumption and the international market while engaging in what has disparagingly been called primary production. On the other hand it is revealed how input of males and females, old and young each were taking on tasks they were able to perform in this tapestry of multi-tasking. Where resources have been far from abundant human ingenuity has been of vital importance. Taking account of the seasons, resources and male and female skill, the intra-familial collaborative economic strategies on rural farms in Norway in the past created a functioning system that could feed a nation with pitiful access to agricultural land. In addition, the presentation reveals how the exploration of a source like supplications for the right to continue farming in widowhood, reveals the trust in female capability on local level.

As can be seen the contributions each have a different take on the task of making the invisible visible. They also highlight the possibilities for future comparative research and the exploration of less used data sets or methods.

Beatrice Moring,
University of Helsinki/Cambridge

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ANOTHER HELPING – A PLEA FOR STUDYING KIN EFFECTS FROM AN INTERDISCIPLINARY PERSPECTIVE

Kai P. Willführ – Ingrid K. van Dijk

Abstract: Having kin and living together with kin influence the individual life course, including a person's marriage, reproductive career, and survival. A wide range of mechanisms are involved in connecting these life course transitions to support and competition between kin, as well as to characteristics of the family environment. How kin affect the life course is perceived differently in evolutionary anthropology than in the social sciences, and these perspectives are seldom integrated into research. In the present article, we review predictions of the influence of in-law relatives on fertility and mortality presented in selected studies. We will then discuss their explanatory power by discussing the influence of the mother-in-law on the mortality of reproductive females in the historical populations of the Krummhörn region in Germany (1720–1874) and the St. Lawrence Valley in Quebec, Canada (1670–1799). Social science studies tend to emphasize the role of kin in economic and social resource availability, and especially the family characteristics that are relevant in providing, accessing, and dividing resources. In contrast, evolutionary anthropology tends to emphasize the evolved inclinations of kin to support as well as to compete with each other. On the one hand, we argue that the social sciences would benefit from integrating the evolutionary theory of human behavior. On the other hand, evolutionary anthropology would benefit from the comprehensive acknowledgment of the socio-environmental factors in population since these may mask evolved inclinations.

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Key words: kin support, kin competition, evolutionary anthropology, female survival, grandmothers, social network, St. Lawrence Valley, Krummhörn

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Introduction

Human life courses are embedded in family networks. Within these networks individual members provide each other with support, while simultaneously competing for resources and for the support of their kin. The outcomes of these

processes strongly affect individual life courses, including the processes of family formation, survival, and reproductive success. For pre-industrial societies that are dependent on kin assistance rather than state assistance with childrearing, kin support is especially relevant during the reproductive years. In such societies, the help of kin greatly affects the survival chances of young children and the well-being of biological parents. However, kin do not provide support unconditionally, and may be expected to pursue their own interests, including their own reproductive interests. The kin group context is therefore marked by both competition and support. Extreme competition within the family is especially likely to occur when two or more individuals have similar needs or have similar motivations. For instance, young children may compete for family resources and parental attention, and older siblings of similar ages and genders might compete for family resources that would enable them to leave home and start their own family.

The impact of kin on the life course has been studied in several social science disciplines, including sociology, economics, history, demography, epidemiology, and evolutionary anthropology. As each of these disciplines has developed distinct approaches for determining the role of human kin in relationship formation, reproduction, and survival, the conception of the role of the family in human lives varies widely across these fields of study. Much of the research on this question has been based on data collected in contemporary developing-world populations, and on historical data on populations in Europe and in regions of the world settled by Europeans, including North America and South Africa. An increasing body of evidence has shown that across these diverse populations, human reproductive careers are greatly affected by kin networks.^[1] In particular, it has been observed that the relationship between the survival of children and the presence of kin indicates that kin are a source of childrearing support for parents.^[2]

In the current paper, we argue that in order to fully understand the impact of kin on the human life course – including the processes of family formation and survival – an interdisciplinary perspective is necessary. In research on the role of kin in the individual life course that is grounded in evolutionary anthropology, specific sociocultural contexts must be included. In social science research on this topic, the motivations of individual kin for providing support should be more carefully assessed: i.e., attention should be given to the effects of competition as well as of support among relatives. If kin are not only a source of help but also of competition, we have to allow for the possibility that their presence – in the same household, village or community – may be related to negative outcomes. In this

[1] Rebecca SEAR – Ruth MACE, *Who Keeps Children Alive? A Review of the Effects of Kin on Child Survival*, *Evolution and Human Behavior* 29, 2008, pp. 1–18; Rebecca SEAR, *Family and Fertility: Does Kin Help Influence Women's Fertility, and How Does this Vary Worldwide?*, *Population Horizons* 14, 2018, pp. 18–34.

[2] For a review, see R. SEAR – R. MACE, *Who Keeps Children Alive?*.

article, we provide an overview of the earlier literature that used social science and evolutionary anthropology approaches to examine how woman's parents-in-law and her biologically related kin affects her health, especially during her reproductive years. We will then illustrate the explanatory power of these approaches by analyzing the effects of the presence of the mother-in-law on the mortality of reproductive females in the historical populations of the Krummhörn region (Germany, 1720–1874) and the St. Lawrence Valley (Canada, 1670–1799).^[3] In our conclusions, we reflect on the advances in the field potentially produced by interdisciplinary approaches to the effect of kin on the life course.

The impact of kin on the life course

The effects of kin on the individual life course are shaped by the supportive or the competitive behavior exhibited in the social interactions of relatives.^[4] However, the extent to which the presence of kin affects the fertility and the mortality of their relatives also depends on non-behavioral characteristics of the kin network, such as the family's socioeconomic status. Although these kin correlations may disguise behavioral kin effects, they have not sufficiently received attention in many existing studies. For instance, while it is expected that for biological reasons, blood relatives will frequently engage in mutually supportive behavior (see below), it has also been shown that members of relatively poor families with high fertility and high mortality tend to live near each other. It is therefore possible that the presence of natal kin might be associated with negative outcomes, including high child mortality and reduced life expectancy, even though natal kin are motivated to help and support each other.^[5]

While the presence of kin can have a positive influence on the individual life course through the provision of mutual support, kin may also compete with their relatives for support and familial resources. Siblings can both compete for family resources and be trustworthy allies in between-family competition. Similarly, mother-child relationships may be characterized by both loving devotion and parent-offspring conflicts. Kin effects can thus be defined as the sum of the impact of supportive and competitive interactions between kin on individual fertility and

[3] Kai P. WILLFÜHR – Johannes JOHOW – Eckart VOLAND, *When the Mother-in-Law is Just as Good—Differential Mortality of Reproductive Females by Family Network Composition*, PLoS ONE 13(3), 2018 :e0193252.

[4] Kai P. WILLFÜHR – Jonathan FOX – Eckart VOLAND, *Historical Family Reconstitution Databases as a Valuable Source in the Study of Kinship Influences on Demographic Outcomes*, invited contribution to Rebecca Sear – Oskar Burger – Ron Lee (eds.), *Human Evolutionary Demography* (in press).

[5] Paul P. ROTERING – Hilde BRAS, *With the Help of Kin?*, *Human Nature* 26, 2015, pp. 102–121.

survival. The challenge for science is to disentangle the kin effects from the non-behavioral characteristics correlated with kin presence.^[6]

Different disciplines of social science have attached different levels of importance to the influence of kin on the life course. At the one extreme is epidemiology, which predominantly considers human behavior to be of interest if it directly affects mortality and morbidity; e.g., hygienic practices and breastfeeding. Epidemiology seeks to identify the factors that affect health and mortality while focusing on non-behavioral characteristics at different levels, including at the household, the neighborhood, and the national level. Among the variables epidemiology may consider are environmental quality, pathogen risk, nutrition, and dietary habits. Economics, on the other hand, takes a materialist approach, and especially considers the impact of kin in terms of their resources. At the other extreme are disciplines such as evolutionary anthropology, which mainly focuses on developing a general theory of human behavior, while putting less emphasis on the social and environmental contexts in which kin interact.

Non-evolutionary social science approaches generally explore the characteristics of individuals and their kin networks in greater detail than evolutionary approaches. From a social science perspective, the ability to help, the division of help within kin networks, and the cultural characteristics that determine how frequently relatives give or receive help and live together or nearby, all contribute to the effects of kin on reproduction and survival. The ability of kin to provide assistance is affected by the timing of reproduction in successive generations, and thus depends on whether the lives of kin overlap. Whether kin are able to invest time and resources in their children's offspring is also affected by how long they remain healthy;^[7] and by the number of offspring, as there may be competition for (grand-)parental care and support among the (grand-)children. The presence of kin who are unhealthy or poor, or of large numbers of kin who are competing for support, does not necessarily have positive effects on the health and survival of the other family members. If additional kin do not augment the family's total resources, or if they consume more than they contribute, the family's resources per family member will decline as the number of kin increases.^[8] Resources may thus be scarcer in larger families, leading kin to compete more intensely for a diminished pool of resources. For instance, grandchildren and grandparents may compete for attention, food, and care from the middle generations, which can lead to negative outcomes for both the young children and the grandparents. Within kin networks, the combination of a large number of reproductive

[6] K. P. WILLFÜHR – J. FOX – E. VOLAND, *Historical Family Reconstitution Databases*.

[7] Rachel MARGOLIS – Laura WRIGHT, *Healthy Grandparenthood: How Long Is It, and How Has It Changed?*, *Demography* 54, 2017, pp. 2073–2099.

[8] Diana HUNT, *Chayanov's Model of Peasant Household Resource Allocation*, *The Journal of Peasant Studies* 6, 1979, pp. 247–285.

kin and a large number of dependent grandchildren is likely to negatively affect the level of assistance grandparents can offer each individual reproducing child and each individual grandchild. Similarly, the more reproductive children a mother has, the smaller the amount of support and attention she can give to each them.

Other social science approaches have looked at adult children's needs for parental assistance and intergenerational solidarity, and at whether instrumental exchanges of support and care across generations can serve as a safety net in old age. Parents may expect a return on investment in the form of future care from their children. Regularly providing assistance to kin is a stronger norm among certain cultural and socioeconomic groups than it is among others. Moreover, needs may differ across these social groups due to differences in the socioeconomic backgrounds of individuals and the prevalence of single parenthood. At the same time, the sheer fact that help is needed does not mean that help will be given. Grandparents may ignore their adult children's requests for help in taking care of their young children. Grandmothers with several daughters may provide less assistance to their adult daughters, either because the sisters are competing for their parents' attention and help, or because the sisters are helping each other, and therefore need less assistance from their parents.^[9] This finding illustrates that the configuration of the kin network strongly affects both competition and support, and thus deserves more detailed attention than it has often received.

Most of the existing approaches to researching the impact of kin on the life course have not examined the motivations of kin for providing support, or the reasons why certain kin group configurations come about. The lack of attention to these issues is apparent in research on family sizes. Disciplines such as demography and epidemiology mainly research the demographic transition, generally using descriptive approaches to the average number of children per family. Although they acknowledge links between mortality and fertility – shorter birth intervals and a tendency to replace deceased children – the mechanisms determining the decision to have a certain number of children is not commonly addressed. Other social science disciplines take motivations and behavior into account to a greater extent, albeit with different levels of comprehensiveness. For instance, in history and sociology the resource dilution hypothesis,^[10] revised resource dilution hypothesis and the human capital theory^[11] are commonly incorporated in research.

[9] Todd L. GOODSSELL et al., *Intergenerational Assistance to Adult Children: Gender and Number of Sisters and Brothers*, *Journal of Family Issues* 36, 2013, pp. 979–1000.

[10] Judith BLAKE, *Family Size and the Quality of Children*, *Demography* 18, 1981, pp. 421–442.

[11] Gary S. BECKER, *Altruism in the Family and Selfishness in the Market Place*, *Economica* 48, 1981, No. 189, pp. 1–15; Lala C. STEELMAN – Brian POWELL, *Sponsoring the Next Generation: Parental Willingness to Pay for Higher Education*, *American Journal of Sociology* 96, 1991, pp. 1505–1529.

Researchers argue that because their resources are limited, parents are confronted with a trade-off between family size on the one hand and the resources they are able to invest in each child – and, thus, the status attainment of their children – on the other. The revised resource dilution model emphasizes that economic conditions and the specific cultural norms and practices also matter for the impact of sibship size on the division of resources. While such theoretical frameworks assume that parents pursue investment strategies, they do not explain the origins of these strategies. Similar considerations apply to the related concept of rational choice theory, which is used widely in sociology and economics to explain human behavior. Evolutionary sciences, however, interpret behavioral strategies as well as the underlying cognitive mechanisms as products of Darwinian evolution, and therefore have a comprehensive approach for explaining (human) behavior itself.

The evolutionary approach differs from other social science approaches in that it argues that evolved inclinations (or evolved behavioral tendencies) predispose the character of kin relationships based on the level of genetic relatedness, which provides a rationale for kin to invest altruistically in the reproduction and survival of relatives. Although these motivations cannot directly be measured, they can be inferred from the effects on the lives of their relatives. From the perspective of evolutionary anthropology, the motivational and emotional capacities of humans to work together with family members is a key biological adaptation that distinguishes humans from the other great apes.^[12] Among these adaptive behaviors is the development of a social system biologists call “cooperative breeding”, in which kin provide alloparental care – childcare by non-parental individuals – in support of the mother and father.^[13] For example, the presence of supportive grandmothers tends to correlate with increased fertility and lower offspring mortality for reproductive females, and this correlation has been specifically attributed to grandmaternal support in childcare and knowledge transfer.^[14] As alloparental care is associated with improved offspring outcomes, its presence can be explained as evolved strategy for maximizing fitness.^[15] However, individuals within a network

[12] Karen L. KRAMER, *Cooperative breeding and human evolution*, in: Robert A. Scott – Stephen M. Kosslyn (eds.), *Emerging Trends in the Social and Behavioral Sciences*, John Wiley 2015, pp. 1–15.

[13] Sarah B. HRDY, *Mothers and Others. The Evolutionary Origins of Mutual Understanding*, Cambridge (MA) 2009.

[14] Mirrka LAHDENPERÄ et. al., *Fitness Benefits of Prolonged Post-reproductive Lifespan in Women*, *Nature* 428, 2004, pp. 178–181; Eckart VOLAND – Anthanasios CHASIOTIS – Wulf SCHIEFENHOVEL (eds.), *Grandmotherhood: the Evolutionary Significance of the Second Half of Female Life*, New Brunswick & London 2005.

[15] But see Paul W. ANDREWS – Steven W. GANGESTAD – Dan MATTHEWS, *Adaptationism – How to Carry out an Exaptationist Program*, *Behavioral and Brain Sciences* 25, 2002, pp. 489–504.

pursue their own (reproductive) interests, leading to competition and conflicts with other members of the kin network. According to kin selection theory, the level of genetic relatedness moderates the intensity of cooperation and altruism as well as the intensity of competition and conflict.^[16] Because of the inclusive fitness benefits that are associated with, for example, investing in one's siblings or their offspring, it may be expected that altruistic and cooperative behavior is more common between genetically closely related individuals than it is, for instance, between in-law relatives.

Evolutionary anthropology predicts that there will be a (genetic) conflict between the offspring's spouse and his or her family because of the absence of genetic relatedness and because of paternity uncertainty on the paternal lineage. Therefore, individuals are at greater risk of being exploited productively as well as reproductively by members of their spouse's family, especially if they are cut off from the support of their natal family after moving into the household of their spouse's family. While individuals and members of the in-law family obviously have a common interest in the offspring, their interests do not overlap entirely, as it may be more advantageous to exploit a married partner of a relative economically and reproductively, than invest in her health and well-being, contrary to her interests. After all, after the loss of a partner of a relative, a new partnership is possible. While many studies have suggested that the presence of the maternal grandmother is associated with increased child survival or greater reproductive success, there is also evidence that the presence of the paternal grandmother has weaker or even detrimental effects on the offspring.^[17] Evolutionary approaches that seek to explain this differential kin effect focus on paternity uncertainty, which may alter the motivation of the paternal grandmother to be involved in raising her grandchildren. While mothers and maternal grandmothers are always sure about their biological relatedness to their children, fathers and grandfathers are not, and paternal grandmothers have an intermediate level of certainty. Thus, maternal grandmothers may give more consistent support to their grandchildren than paternal grandmothers.^[18] Other social science perspectives do not predict such lineage differentials.

It is important to note that evolutionary approaches do not necessarily assume that variation in behavior is due to genetic variation. Rather, evolutionary

[16] William D. HAMILTON, *The Genetical Evolution of Social Behaviour*, *Journal of Theoretical Biology* 7, 1964, pp. 1–16; Jan BEISE – Eckart VOLAND, *Intrafamilial Resource Competition and Mate Competition Shaped Social-Group-Specific Natal Dispersal in the 18th and 19th Century Krummhörn Population*, *American Journal of Human Biology* 20, 2008, pp. 325–336.

[17] Eckart VOLAND – Jan BEISE, *Opposite Effects of Maternal and Paternal Grandmothers on Infant Survival in Historical Krummhörn*, *Behavioral Ecology and Sociobiology* 52, 2002, pp. 435–443.

[18] E. VOLAND – J. BEISE, *Opposite Effects*.

anthropology argues that evolved strategies and mechanisms interact with the prevailing environment and determine the path of the individual over his or her life course, or in biological terms, of the individual phenotype. Within the framework of life history theory and the evolutionary theory of socialization,^[19] evolutionary biology explains how evolved tendencies – including cognitive mechanisms of behavioral regulation and (reproductive) decision-making – respond to environmental conditions and cues, such as perceived mortality risk and personal mortality experience, in order to adapt the individual phenotype (the body and its physiological functions, including cognition) and the individual life history strategy, respectively. Life history theory predicts that the more unpredictable an environment is, the more the future will be devalued; and, hence, the riskier personal decisions about whether to invest in maintenance, social relationships, and reproduction will be.^[20] These life history adjustments are of considerable relevance for kin relations, especially between parents and offspring, as well as for mating behavior. Thus, the composition of the kin network early in life is an important area of research in kinship studies.

The perspective of evolutionary anthropology explains differential grandmother effects through differences in investment motivations that originate from evolved inclinations. However, this approach ignores the reality that grandparents' opportunities for providing support to kin are driven by their available resources; i.e., by their material resources, but also by their health status and time constraints. Kin who are healthier and younger are more likely to be able to contribute positively to the survival of their children, children-in-law, and grandchildren. Furthermore, the lives of younger grandparents are likely to overlap for longer periods of time with the lives with their children and grandchildren, which increases their opportunities to exercise influence and to make a positive contribution. Because in most populations there exists a preference for husbands who are a few years older than the wife, with few exceptions^[21] on average the maternal grandmother is the youngest and fittest grandparent, followed by the maternal grandfather, the paternal grandmother, and, finally, the paternal grandfather. Thus, the ages of kin may explain at least part of the differences that are found in the contributions different relatives make to the survival of children, and should be taken into account in studies on grandparent effects.

[19] Jay BELSKY – Laurence STEINBERG – Patricia DRAPER, *Childhood Experience, Interpersonal Development, and Reproductive Strategy: An Evolutionary Theory of Socialization*, *Child Development* 62, 1991, pp. 647–670.

[20] Marco DEL GIUDICE – Steven W. GANGESTAD – Hillard S. KAPLAN, *Life History Theory and Evolutionary Psychology*, *The Handbook of Evolutionary Psychology* 2015, pp. 1–27.

[21] See John B. CASTERLINE – Lindy WILLIAMS – Peter MCDONALD, *The Age Difference Between Spouses: Variations among Developing Countries*, *Population Studies* 40, 1986, pp. 353–374.

In considering both evolutionary and social science perspectives that focus on the motivations and capacities of kin to provide support, it is important to keep in mind that although grandparents or other relatives can make positive contributions to the survival of their young relatives, it is not common in all populations for relatives to live nearby or to be part of extended households. If kin are living together in an extended household – for example, if adult children are living with a mother-in-law or natal mother – in a society in which extended households are uncommon, this may be a sign that the family is experiencing hardship, such as the illness of a grandparent or parent, rather than an indication of intergenerational support.^[22] In such cases, increased mortality may be a consequence of underlying problems in the family, rather than a consequence of a lack of parental support and resource competition. The scenario described above has been referred to as a kin correlation.^[23] Likewise, unions and marriages are not formed randomly. There are individual, parental, and social group-specific preferences and constraints in partner choice. These constraints affect family composition through assortative mating and selection. Men and women tend to marry individuals who are relatively healthy and prosperous, but also tend to look for partners who share their preferences and social background, as well as their lifestyle and interests. Furthermore, due to assortative mating, well-off individuals may be selected into well-off families, which can result in a phenotypic correlation between individual and family characteristics – for instance, both the individual and their families are relatively healthy or fertile – that contributes to mortality and reproductive success differentials between families.

Returning to the biological investment strategies, we may expect to observe that (grand-) parents invest in the well-being of their own biological children and grandchildren more than in their children-in-law. Therefore, the presence of the parents in the household may result in the exploitation of children-in-law. For instance, a mother-in-law may push her daughter-in-law to reproduce quickly even if she has not yet fully recovered from earlier pregnancies. The resulting relatively short birth intervals and large offspring groups can lead to maternal depletion syndrome and adverse outcomes among the mothers and among their young offspring. By studying the mortality of women of reproductive ages – which may be considered a vulnerable stage of life – alongside the reproductive outcomes of women and men, we can gain insight into parents' motivations for supporting or exploiting kin and in-law kin that are not necessarily beneficial for all family members.

[22] Peter LASLETT, *Family, Kinship and Collectivity as Systems of Support in Pre-industrial Europe: A Consideration of the 'Nuclear-Hardship' Hypothesis*, *Continuity and Change* 3, 1988, pp. 153–175.

[23] K. P. WILLFÜHR – J. FOX – E. VOLAND, *Historical Family Reconstitution Databases*.

TABLE 1. SUMMARY OF SELECTED EXPLANATION ATTEMPTS OF EVOLUTIONARY ANTHROPOLOGY AND OTHER SOCIAL SCIENCE DISCIPLINES

Theory	Prediction of in-law kin effects	Behavior-driven?	Notes	Literature
Evolutionary anthropology				
Kin selection theory	No or only conditional support because of missing close genetic relatedness; increased risk of productive and reproductive exploitation	Yes	Consanguinity will tend to reduce genetic conflict. For instance, in first degree cousin marriage one of the parents-in-law is a biological aunt or uncle to each partner	Beise & Voland, 2008; Hamilton, 1964
Paternity uncertainty	Less investment in offspring	Yes	Paternity uncertainty might be highly affected by social factors. For instance, it is expected that paternity uncertainty is higher among patrilocal unions	Danielsbacka, 2011; Euler & Weitzel, 1996
X-chromosome relatedness	The father's mother will invest more in her female grandchildren	Yes	This is a special case of kin selection theory and grandmother hypothesis	Fox et al., 2010
Phenotypic correlation	Social assortment; high-quality women succeeded in attaining high-quality positions	No		Willführ et al., 2018
Social science				
Household inequality	Low mortality is correlated because of household or environmental characteristics of the household and early-life conditions, leading to a relation between kin survival and survival within another household	No		Roterig & Bras, 2015
Resource dilution model	In-laws add numbers to the household, and resources need to be divided over more individuals	No		Downey, 2001; Riswick, 2019
Revised resource dilution model	In-laws can be both deplete and add to household resources	Yes		Gibbs, Workman, & Downey, 2016; Riswick, 2019

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Cultural aspects of marriage including cousin marriages and age at marriage	Potential exploitation and abuse in marriage	Yes	Marriages at higher ages and with smaller age differences between the spouses are beneficially related to power balances vis-à-vis the parents-in-law; cousin marriages are associated with stronger protection of spouses in marriage	Bhatti & Jefferi, 2012; Carmichael, 2011; Weinreb, 2008
Social capital and social network approaches	In-law relatives are a source of assistance and resources	Yes	Other kin and friends constitute alternative resources	Taylor et al., 1988
Capacity approaches	In-law health, proximity, resources	Partially		Goodsell et al., 2015; Hunt et al., 1976; Margolis & Wright, 2017

An illustration using two historical populations

In this section, we illustrate the two fields of research summarized above using results from a historical study. The findings are considered in the light of evolutionary and social science frameworks, emphasizing both evolutionary biological theories and socio-structural division lines in societies. We discuss findings from earlier studies and introduce new results using historical databases on two regions: the historical population of the Saint Lawrence Valley, Quebec, Canada (1621–1799) and the second on the historical population of the Krummhörn region, East Frisia, Germany (1720–1874). Both databases are family reconstitutions which contain individual life courses reconstructions within the family networks.

The Krummhörn and the St. Lawrence Valley were substantially different in their social and ecological characteristics. These differentials have been used in past work to investigate how kinship effects may vary across, for example, occupational structures and geographic and demographic characteristics.^[24] During the study

[24] Eckart VOLAND – Jan BEISE, “*The Husband’s Mother is the Devil in House*” – *Data on the Impact of the Mother-in-Law on Stillbirth Mortality in Historical Krummhörn (1750–1874) and Some Thoughts on the Evolution of Postgenerative Female Life*, in: Eckart Voland – Anthanasios Chasiotis – Wulf Schiefenhövel (eds.), *Grandmotherhood: The Evolutionary Significance of the Second Half of Female Life*, New Brunswick & London 2005, pp. 239–255; Kai P. WILLFÜHR – Alain GAGNON, *Are Stepmothers Evil or Simply Unskilled? Infant Death Clustering in Reconstituted Families*, *Biodemography & Social Biology* 58 (2), 2012, pp. 149–161; Kai P. WILLFÜHR – Alain GAGNON, *Are Stepparents Always Evil? Parental Death, Remarriage, and Child Survival in Demographically Saturated Krummhörn (1720–1859) and Expanding Quebec (1670–1750)*, *Bio-*

period, the St. Lawrence Valley was a frontier society. Most of the inhabitants were living in the rural parts and depended on farming. Availability of workforce was a major obstruction for development, as clearing land at new farms took many years of hard work. In the early years of the settlement of the St. Lawrence Valley, the colony had a low level of in-migration. After the last immigration wave from France in 1671, the population was mainly growing through natural increase. At the beginning of the colonization female individuals married early, and fertility was natural. The Krummhörn region was also agricultural but offered almost no expansion possibilities as its borders were determined by natural barriers and the area was demographically saturated since the late Middle Ages. The average age at marriage was high, and in combination with long interbirth intervals the number of children tended to be low (4–5 births per woman). Outmigration of young adults was common. The population was a typical early-capitalistic agricultural society in which the socioeconomic structure was stratified and for a large part based on ownership of land. About 70 percent of the families were working on land owned by someone else for at least part of their subsistence. A detailed description of the context and the databases for the Krummhörn and for the St. Lawrence Valley may be found in Appendix 1. An overview of the relevant characteristics of the regions can be found in Table 2.

TABLE 2. SHORT PROFILES OF THE STUDY POPULATIONS

Krummhörn region 1720–1874 (East Frisia)	St. Lawrence Valley 1670–1799 (Quebec)
Demographically saturated	Good expansion possibilities
Low fertility	Natural fertility
Low child and adult mortality	General higher mortality than Krummhörn
Slow population growth (net migration out of the Krummhörn)	Exponential population growth due to births within the colony
Information on socio-economic status	No information on socio-economic status
Mainly Calvinistic, but also Lutheran	Catholic
Study area not affected by famines or wars	Conflicts in the younger period of the colony (7-years-war; American revolution)

We here estimate to what extent the mother-in-law was affecting her daughters-in-law's survival during the reproductive period. A more detailed methodological description may be found in Appendix 2. In short, we model the survival of reproductive females between the beginning of their marriage and age 45. In estimating

demography and Social Biology 59 (2), 2013, pp. 191–211; Jonathan FOX – Kai P. WILLFÜHR – Alain GAGNON – Lisa DILLON – Eckart VOLAND, *The Consequences of Sibling Formation on Survival and Reproductive Success Across Different Ecological Contexts: A Comparison of the Historical Krummhörn and Quebec Populations*, *The History of the Family* 22, 2017, pp. 364–423.

kin effects on the mortality of reproductive women, we relied on a combination of models adjusted by clustering at the family level, and models stratified at the family level, also known as family fixed effects.^[25] Clustered survival models estimate the association between having kin and individual survival, adjusting for the fact that in the analysis several women may share one mother in law. The stratified survival models compare sisters and sisters-in-law who originate from the same families, but differ in whether or not their mother-in-law was alive and living nearby. Thus, unobserved heterogeneity between families in which mothers-in-law tend to be alive or live nearby and families in which this is less common is accounted for. By comparing between the two types of models, it is possible to disentangle which part of the association between presence of kin and survival may be related to structural differences between families in which presence of kin are common or not, and what part may be related to behavior and support from kin. The information on the availability of the mother-in-law is included as categorical variables in the model. The reference category is the period in which the mother-in-law was deceased. Periods in which she was present in the same parish, where she was living in another parish, or where her survival status is unknown because of missing death dates are then compared to the reference category.

In both studied populations, we found evidence that the mother-in-law was associated with reduced mortality for the reproductive daughter-in-law (Figure 1 and 2). However, the association between the mother-in-law and her daughters-in-law's mortality might due to different mechanisms. Like Willführ et al. reported,^[26] our models suggest that reproductive females in the Krummhörn region had statistically significantly lower mortality when they were living with their mothers-in-law in the same parish (Figure 1). If the mother-in-law was living somewhere else in the Krummhörn region, no statistically significant association is found (Figure 2). We interpret therefore that close spatial proximity of the mother-in-law is directly reducing mortality of reproductive females.

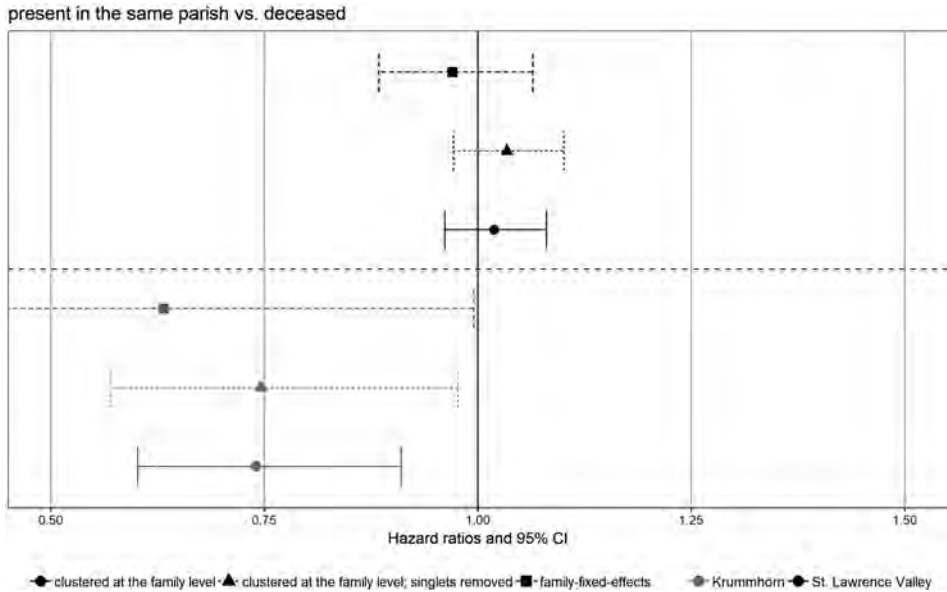
In the St. Lawrence Valley close spatial proximity of the mother-in-law did not affect her daughters-in-law's survival (Figure 1). If the mother-in-law was alive, but living somewhere else in the colony, her reproductive daughters-in-law had lower mortality, as indicated by both models clustered on the family level (Figure 2). Crucially, this association is not suggested by the family fixed-effect model version, which indicates that the association is due to shared family characteristics. In other words, the analysis does not support the perspective that mother-in-law's survival status is directly related to her daughters-in-law's mortality.

For the Krummhörn case, the following question arises: Was there an active motivation for the mother-in-law to support her daughter-in-law, or was this association attributable to factors other than the behavioral actions of the

[25] Paul D. ALLISON, *Fixed Effects Regression Models*, Thousand Oaks 2009.

[26] K. P. WILLFÜHR – J. JOHOW – E. VOLAND, *When the Mother-in-Law*.

FIGURE 1. COEFFICIENT PLOT SHOWS THE EFFECT OF MOTHER-IN-LAW'S PRESENCE IN THE SAME PARISH ON THE MORTALITY OF REPRODUCTIVE FEMALES.

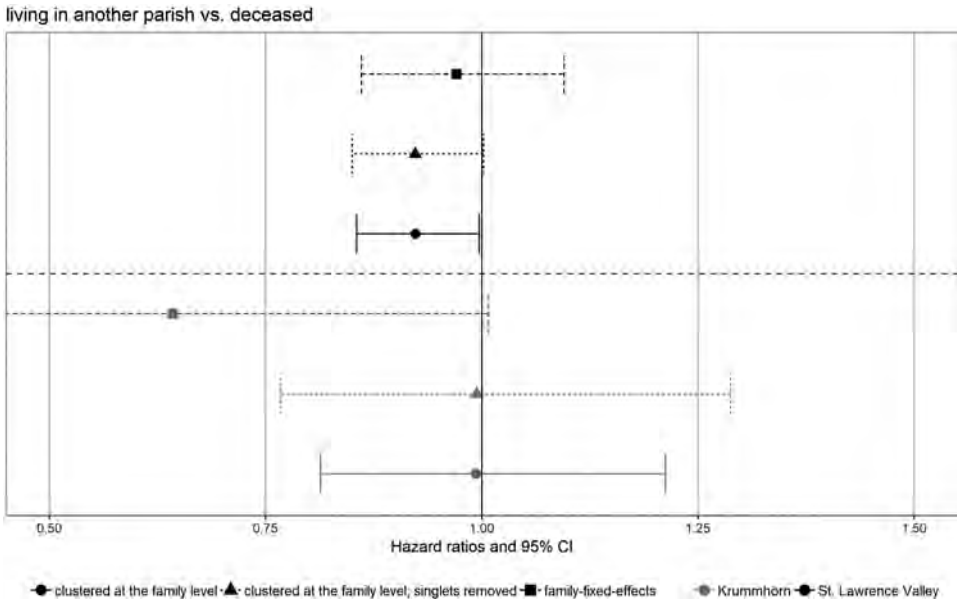


Source: Krummhörn: GESIS data archive ZA8630; St. Lawrence Valley: *Registre de la Population du Québec Ancien* (Historical Population Registers of Quebec); own calculations.

mother-in-law? The finding by Willführ et al.^[27] that the positive effects were particularly strong among the economic elite does not contradict the assumption that the mother-in-law was providing active support. The authors emphasized, however, that this finding suggests that on the one hand, mothers-in-law in richer households may have had more opportunity to support; while on the other hand, some of the characteristics of the son's wife might have been selected. Because of the social assortment of spouses, high-quality – for instance, healthy and from a prosperous background – women may have succeeded in attaining high-quality positions. Nevertheless, these mechanisms are not mutually exclusive. Moreover, for evolutionary anthropologists, the finding that the genetic in-law conflict had no measurable consequences is important. A potential explanation for this lack of conflict is that levels of consanguinity were significantly higher among socio-economically privileged large farmer families than they were among the landless

[27] K. P. WILLFÜHR – J. JOHOW – E. VOLAND, *When the Mother-in-Law*.

FIGURE 2. COEFFICIENTPLOT SHOWS THE EFFECT OF THE MOTHER-IN-LAW WHO IS ALIVE BUT ABSENT ON THE MORTALITY OF REPRODUCTIVE FEMALES.



Source: Krummhörn: GESIS data archive ZA8630; St. Lawrence Valley: *Registre de la Population du Québec Ancien* (Historical Population Registers of Quebec); own calculations.

portion of the population.^[28] Here, marriage between relative, e.g. between cousins, was much more common than in other social layers of the population. Increased consanguinity may have significantly weakened the in-law conflict (see discussion section), and could explain why the effect was predominantly observed among the economic elite.

The mortality differentials that were observed in the St. Lawrence Valley are likewise in need of explanation. It is unlikely that in this French-Canadian population the effect of the mother-in-law was direct or behavior-related, because in such a scenario it is expected that spatial proximity would matter next to a detectable effect using a sibling comparison approach (family-fixed-effect). Obviously, unobserved characteristics which are correlated with whether the mother-in-law

[28] Johannes JOHOW – Kai P. WILLFÜHR – Eckart VOLAND, *High Consanguinity Promotes Intergenerational Wealth Concentration in Socioeconomically Privileged Krummhörn Families of the 18th and 19th Centuries*, *Evolution & Human Behavior* 40, 2019, pp. 204–213.

is alive must have been responsible. Unfortunately, no reliable measurements of socioeconomic statuses are available for this population; thus, we can only speculate about whether a husband's socioeconomic status was associated with the survival of his wife. However, the general socio-environmental context of the St. Lawrence Valley might help us interpret these findings. In the frontier society, where important tasks such as clearing land involved more labor than one family could provide, families benefited from forms of solidarity that could be observed indirectly in a number of ways. For example, nearly one-quarter of all families contracting marriages for their children between 1675 and 1799 organized unions between sets of brothers and sisters, an arrangement known as an "exchange marriage."^[29] Indeed, the analysis showed that the reproductive women in such a marriage had lower mortality, but that the positive effect of exchange marriages did not interact with the effect of having a mother-in-law on survival (data not shown). Similarly, given the high fertility of the mothers in the St. Lawrence Valley, it is likely that many of these women had several married sons, sometimes while they were still engaged with their own dependent offspring. Therefore, a reproductive woman might have shared the effects of any supportive or competitive behavior of her mother-in-law with the other women who had married into the same family. This might in turn have resulted in a dilution effect.

Discussion

Humans organize their productive as well as their reproductive activities in kin networks. Kin support and competition affect the life course and demographic patterns of families and societies, including their mortality risk and fertility levels. Evolutionary anthropology and the social sciences have proposed different approaches for explaining kin effects. Evolutionary anthropology focuses on the evolved tendencies that not only enable humans to live and to reproduce within kin networks, but also modify individual life history strategies in response to environmental conditions. Evolutionary anthropology therefore provides a general theory of human behavior and predicts why certain kin may be expected to exhibit certain behaviors and to affect their family members in certain ways. The social science approaches that seek to explain kin effects are dominated by resource perspectives that focus on the access to and the division of these resources, as well as by sociocultural approaches that emphasize traditions and variation across societies. These approaches can be used to investigate the resources that may be accessed through kin, the conditions under which these transfers occur, and the exact configuration of the kin networks.

[29] Marianne CARON – Lisa DILLON, *Exchange Marriages Between Sibsets: A Sibling Connection Beyond Marriage, Québec 1660–1760*, Paper presented at the IUSSP International Conference, Busan, South Korea, 2013, p. 14.

At the first glance, an evolutionary – or even any biological – approach that attempts to explain social phenomena such as the advanced mean age at marriage in historical Western Europe (Western European marriage pattern)^[30] appears to be destined to fail. Given the overwhelming influence of socioeconomic and cultural conditions on human marriage, fertility, and survival patterns, it appears that evolved behavioral tendencies would have only a minor, if any, role in determining such trends. However, culturally determined patterns are relevant for evolutionary anthropology as well, and should therefore be reflected in studies that take evolutionary factors into account. Moreover, the important influence of culture does not negate the role of the biological imperative. Humans exercise functional behavior to the purpose of survival and optimization of their reproduction within their specific cultural and socioeconomic contexts. Thus, kin effects on survival and fertility are derived from social interactions and conscious or unconscious efforts to affect the survival and the reproduction of family members. While evolutionary anthropology alone is not able to explain major social, cultural, and economic developments per se or the variation in demographic patterns and living standards across societies, it can provide evidence that individual human behavior responds to living conditions as a result of evolved inclinations. After all, human culture remains dependent on evolved inclinations such as the human tendency to support close kin. For instance, while there is significant variation in family forms across time and space, in all human societies the biological family unit is the core model for raising children. Experiments with collective social models in the 20th century in which close biological relationships were devalued for ideological reasons – such as the parent-child relationship in kibbutzim in Israel – have not survived in the longer term.

Despite cultural variation in the role of kin in individual life courses, evolutionary biology can seek for universal patterns in the influence of presence of kin on human lives. At the same time, it is crucial to evaluate such patterns in each population with specific attention for specific sociocultural patterns and effects that originate from non-evolved tendencies, such as practices with regard to living together with relatives, caretaking practices of children and the elderly, marriage patterns, power differences within families and marriages, and a great range of other social, cultural and economic aspects. Without such detailed attention, evolutionary anthropology risks overgeneralizing findings that, in fact, signal other processes within families, unrelated to human tendencies. For the field of historical demography, it is crucial to incorporate the notion that some observed patterns may have a relation to functional patterns in human history in research.

Many concepts of evolutionary anthropology such as kin selection theory predict that a (genetic) conflict will occur between a wife and her husband's family.

[30] John HAJNAL, *European Marriage Pattern in Historical Perspective*, in: David Glass – D. E. C. Eversley (eds.), *Population in History: Essays in Historical Demography*, London 1965.

Especially in patrilocal societies, in which the wife is cut off from the support and help of her natal family after marriage, she might be exploited for reproductive and economic reasons by her in-law family. Thus, a woman's in-law family may encourage her to perform labor on their behalf and have large numbers of children, even at the expense of her own health and survival. These in-law conflicts of interest are related to paternity uncertainty, as the parents of the mother tend to be more invested in the well-being of their grandchildren than the in-law parents because they are more certain of their biological relationship. From the perspective of evolutionary anthropology, it may therefore be expected that the presence of the mother-in-law will lead the daughter-in-law to have more children with shorter birth intervals.^[31] In turn, reproductive careers with these characteristics are negatively related to the survival of the children and to maternal health. The extent to which these negative effects exist also depends on other household characteristics, such as its wealth.

The findings of the present study emphasized that in the St. Lawrence Valley population, the positive effect of the presence of the mother-in-law on the survival of her daughters-in-law was not caused by her behavioral actions. As we noted above, the population of the St. Lawrence Valley was expanding exponentially during the study period as a result of high fertility and neo-locality, as the French settlers had easy access to new land. An observation that is related to these population dynamics and spatial aspects – and that is, unfortunately, often ignored by evolutionary anthropology studies – is that the effects of the behavior of kin depend on family size, as the time and resources of a mother-in-law are limited and spatially bound. If negative effects of the presence of the mother-in-law on her daughter-in-law are found that are in line with the perspective of evolutionary anthropology, it should be noted that this negative impact is likely to be shared by all daughters-in-law, and is therefore diluted with the number of married sons. Similar considerations apply to other kin studies, such as those motivated by the grandmother hypothesis, which often ignore dilution effects in large families or average age differentials between paternal and maternal kin that could help to explain why the assistance of a woman's mother appears to be more beneficial than the assistance of her mother-in-law.

In the Krummhörn region, the presence of a mother-in-law was found to be associated with lower mortality among reproductive females.^[32] The analysis indicates that this association was due to the behavioral support of the mother-in-law rather than to family characteristics, including the family's socioeconomic background. Furthermore, this positive contribution of the mother-in-law to the daughter-in-law's survival was reported to be particularly strong among the

[31] E. VOLAND – J. BEISE, *The Husband's Mother*.

[32] See also K. P. WILLFÜHR – J. JOHOW – E. VOLAND, *When the Mother-in-Law*.

economic elite.^[33] Proponents of non-evolutionary perspectives might interpret this finding as evidence that evolved inclinations are irrelevant to explanations of kin effects, since the costs of living with members of the in-law family are weighed against the benefits, such as having access to wealth. Indeed, in-law conflicts may be weaker or absent in families of the upper social strata because of their more abundant resources and economic opportunities. To some extent, such a compensation scenario might be relevant when analyzing the historic Krummhörn region. But within specific socioeconomic groups, socio-cultural patterns may strongly affect the setup and the outcome of conflicts shaped by evolutionary factors.

In the case of the Krummhörn, consanguinity was shown to play an important role. Johow et al.^[34] found that consanguinity was significantly higher among socioeconomically privileged large farmer families than it was among the landless portion of the population. This increased consanguinity went hand in hand with an increased intergenerational transmission of landholdings through the patriline. From this perspective, it may be argued that the conflict was resolved not only by beneficial household characteristics (kin correlations) that compensated for the genetic conflict between the wife and her family-in-law, but by consanguinity. For example, in marriages between first cousins, the mother-in-law could be a biological aunt. Thus, in the Krummhörn region, the impartible inheritances of land could be interpreted as a cultural factor that enabled landowning families to concentrate their wealth through consanguineous relationships. At the same time, this strategy came at a cost, since consanguineous relationships produced fewer offspring and were linked to increased prevalence of (rare) hereditary diseases.^[35] Such strategic marriage behavior cannot be seen as evolved in the biological sense of the selection pressures that were written into the genes of our ancestral populations. However, Darwinian evolution gave humans the capacity to deal consciously as well as subconsciously with complex social circumstances, and of calculating an optimal cost-benefit ratio on the basis of perceived information.^[36]

The Krummhörn case demonstrates that findings that initially appear to challenge the importance of anthropological inclinations in human societies can turn out to be consistent with the predictions of evolutionary anthropology if the family context is carefully taken into account. At the same time, the Krummhörn case demonstrates why culture and socioeconomic circumstances can influence kin effects derived from evolved inclinations.^[37] Here, we considered cultural

[33] Ibidem.

[34] J. JOHOW – K. P. WILLFÜHR – E. VOLAND, *High Consanguinity*.

[35] Ibidem.

[36] K. P. WILLFÜHR – J. FOX – E. VOLAND, *Historical Family Reconstitution Databases*.

[37] For the sake of completeness, it should be noted that anthropological inclinations and kin

and socioeconomic factors as part of the environment. From the perspective of evolutionary anthropology, environmental factors are not ultimately responsible for (kin) behavior, but instead provide a set of constraints and opportunities in which supportive or competitive behavioral actions – which are in turn derived from evolved inclinations – are taken.

Appendix 1. Data description of the Saint Lawrence Valley, Quebec, Canada (1621–1799) and the Krummhörn, East Frisia, Germany (1720–1874).

In this paper, we present results based on two databases: the first on the historical population of the Saint Lawrence Valley, Quebec, Canada (1621–1799) and the second on the historical population of the Krummhörn, East Frisia, Germany (1720–1874). Both databases identify relatives both vertically – such as parents, children, and nieces and nephews – and horizontally – such as brothers, sisters, and cousins. Thus, the data allow us to follow up on the life events of the individuals of interest and of their relatives.

First of all, we used the *Registre de la Population du Québec Ancien* (Historical Population Registers of Quebec, RPQA), created by the Programme de Recherche en Démographie Historique (PRDH) at the University of Montreal. The RPQA is a family reconstitution database with more than 700,000 linked Catholic baptisms, marriages, and burials registered in the Quebec parishes of the St. Lawrence Valley. It contains records starting from the settlement of the region in 1621 up to 1799, as well as the death records from 1800 to 1850 of persons who died at age 50 or older.^[38] The population was very small in the early years of the settlement, with 3246 inhabitants at the time of the first census in 1666.^[39] As Quebec had relatively low levels of immigration, and only a minority of this small group of immigrants founded families within the colony, Quebec grew largely through natural increase, reaching a population size of more than 70,000 by 1760.^[40]

behavior shape cultural and socioeconomic developments in the long run, and vice versa. A detailed discussion of the evolutionary approaches that address cultural evolution would go beyond the scope of this paper. We refer the interested reader to the concept of niche construction; e.g. F. John ODLING-SMEE – Kevin N. LALAND – Marcus W. FELDMAN, *Niche Construction: the Neglected Process in Evolution*, Princeton 2003.

[38] Lisa DILLON et al., *The Programme de Recherche en Démographie historique: Past, Present and Future Developments in Family Reconstitution*, The History of the Family 23, 2018, pp. 20–53.

[39] Hubert CHARBONNEAU – Jacques LÉGARÉ, *La population du Canada aux recensements de 1666 et 1667*, Population (French edition) 22, 1967, pp. 1031–1054, p. 1033.

[40] Hubert CHARBONNEAU – Bertrand DESJARDINS – Jacques LÉGARÉ – Hubert DENIS, *The Population of the St. Lawrence Valley, 1608–1760*, in: Michael R. Haines – Richard H. Steckel (eds.), *A Population History of North America*, Cambridge 2000, pp. 99–142, here p. 104.

Patterns of settlement in the Quebec colony were initially circumscribed by dependence on the St. Lawrence River for transportation and the need to avoid Amerindian raids, which were more frequent on the south side of the river.^[41] The western part of the St. Lawrence region around Montreal was favored for settlement because of its longer growing season and proximity to one of the two cities of the colony.^[42] As conflicts with Amerindians subsided, colonization progressed along both sides of the St. Lawrence, creating a series of settlements between Quebec City and Montreal.^[43] The majority of Quebec's inhabitants were farmers, with smaller groups of artisans, merchants, officers, professionals, and the ruling elite living in urban areas. Montreal and Quebec City were the only urban regions in the St. Lawrence Valley, and nearly 80 percent of the children were born in the countryside. Along the banks of the St. Lawrence River, the development of the land was limited by the available workforce.

The work required to clear new land of trees, pull stumps, burn vegetation debris, remove rocks from the soil, and create farm fields could take a French-Canadian family 15 to 20 years.^[44] This need for intensive labor led to patterns of cooperation among sibling groups and between parents and children. Furthermore, the demands of settlement as well as conservative cultural expectations fostered early ages at marriage and high fertility. Individuals who belonged to a large sibship and who settled on the pioneer frontier tended to encourage large numbers of their own children to live nearby. The settlement of the St. Lawrence Valley by families in extended kin groupings is evident in the concentration of particular last names within the seigneuries.^[45] Immigration of non-Catholic individuals was extremely limited, and marriage arrangements were therefore culturally endogamous.^[46] Alongside the demands of settlement, Quebec society was dominated by both a strong Catholic Church and a patriarchal family system, which together enforced religious observance and paternal familial control, thereby limiting the number of prenuptial conceptions and promoting high birth rates.^[47] Average

[41] Alain LABERGE – Jacques MATHIEU, *L'expansion de l'écoumène*, in: Serge Courville (ed.), *Atlas historique du Québec: Population et territoire*, Sainte-Foy 1996, pp. 45–54, here p. 47.

[42] A. LABERGE – J. MATHIEU, *L'expansion de l'écoumène*, p. 48.

[43] Alain LABERGE – Lina GOUGER – Michel BOISVERT, *L'expansion de l'écoumène*, in: Serge Courville (ed.), *Atlas historique du Québec: Population et territoire*, Sainte-Foy 1996, pp. 58–59, here p. 58.

[44] Claude BOUDREAU – Serge COURVILLE – Normand SÉGUIN, *Atlas historique du Québec: Le territoire*, Sainte-Foy 1997, p. 55.

[45] A. LABERGE – J. MATHIEU, *L'expansion de l'écoumène*, p. 53.

[46] H. CHARBONNEAU – B. DESJARDINS – J. LÉGARÉ – H. DENIS, *The Population of the St. Lawrence Valley*, pp. 110–111.

[47] Réal BATES, *Les conceptions pré-nuptiales dans la vallée du Saint-Laurent avant 1725*, *Revue d'histoire de l'Amérique française* 40, 1986, pp. 253–272, here pp. 263 and 268–269; Gérard

ages at first marriage were especially low for the early cohorts; in 1660, the mean age at marriage for women was under 15.^[48] In addition, French Canadians had relatively high infant mortality rates^[49] as a consequence of high fertility, short birth intervals and maternal depletion, and increasing population density.

Second, we use the Krummhörn dataset, which is drawn from a family reconstitution database of information from Protestant church registers and tax rolls of the Krummhörn region. The historical Krummhörn was divided into 33 neighboring parishes, all of which are included in the dataset. In total, the dataset contains 118,778 individuals who were in 34,708 marriages.^[50]

Geographically, the region was bordered to the north and west by the North Sea; to the south by the river Ems; and to the east by sandy soil and moorlands, which were impenetrable at that time. The Krummhörn region itself had very fertile marsh soil that was suitable for raising both crops and livestock. The settlement of the area had been completed in the late medieval period,^[51] and there was no significant population growth during the study period.^[52] As the region was a saturated habitat with a finite amount of arable land, the population faced local resource competition.^[53] Because access to land was limited, a stratified social structure arose among the population of the Krummhörn. The large-scale farmers with capital and status were at the top of this social hierarchy, while the small-scale farmers, craftsmen, and landless workers occupied the lower end of this social structure. About 70 percent of the families in the 18th century had either no land at all or

BOUCHARD, *La sexualité comme pratique et rapport social chez les couples paysans du Saguenay (1860–1930)*, Revue d'histoire de l'Amérique française 54, 2000, pp. 183–217, here p. 195; Marie-Aimée CLICHE, *Filles-mères, familles et société sous le Régime français*, Histoire Sociale 21, 1988, pp. 39–69, here p. 66.

[48] H. CHARBONNEAU – B. DESJARDINS – J. LÉGARÉ – H. DENIS, *The Population of the St. Lawrence Valley*.

[49] Marilyn AMOREVIETA-GENTIL, *Les niveaux et les facteurs déterminants de la mortalité infantile en Nouvelle-France et au début du Régime Anglais (1621–1779)*. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, Université de Montréal, Montréal 2009. <https://core.ac.uk/download/pdf/55646477.pdf>

[50] Eckart VOLAND, *Family Reconstruction of Krummhörn (East Friesland), 1720–1874*, GESIS Data Archive, Cologne 2016. ZA8630 Data file Version 1.0.0.; Eckart VOLAND, *The Families of the Krummhörn (Ostfriesland) in the 18th and 19th Centuries. Description of the Database. Version: 14 march 2017*, <http://www.eckart-voland.de/pdf/Datenbankbeschreibung-kurz-e.pdf>.

[51] Gerhard OHLING, *Kulturgeschichte des Krummhörn*, in: Jannes Ohling (ed.), *Die Acht und ihre sieben Siele*, Emden 1963, pp. 17–288.

[52] R. KLÖPPER, *Die Bevölkerungsentwicklung in den ostfriesischen Marschen*, Deutsche Geografische Blätter 45, 1949, pp. 37–77.

[53] Eckart VOLAND – R. I. M. DUNBAR, *Resource Competition and Reproduction – The Relationship between Economic and Parental Strategies in the Krummhörn Population (1720–1874)*, Human Nature 6, 1995, pp. 33–49.

farms too small to ensure subsistence, and were thus forced to supplement their income by working for the large-scale farmers.^[54] Although there are no records indicating that the region was affected by famine or war during this period, as in all other parts of Europe, smallpox and other infectious diseases took a significant toll on the population of the Krummhörn over the course of the 18th century.^[55]

The families of the region practiced a form of ultimogeniture in which the youngest son inherited the undivided farm from the father,^[56] while the siblings had to be compensated, often with cash. A daughter could expect to receive half as much as a son. As a consequence of these social institutions, families in the Krummhörn region tended to have a high mean age at first marriage^[57] and the number of children tended to be low; on average, there were four to five births per woman.^[58]

Appendix 2. Description of the methods

We used Cox regression to model the life course of reproductive females from the date of their first marriage to the age of 45.^[59] Therefore, all women were married at the start of observation, but depending on their husbands' survival, they could have experienced periods of widowhood and/or of remarriage within the study age range (see below). We have chosen the date of first marriage as the start of the observation, because in the historical populations on which the current work is based reproduction took place almost entirely within marriages. The age of 45 is widely used in female life course studies as an average age of menopause. Thus, potentially reproductive women are defined as women who were married at least once before the age of 45. In estimating kin effects on the mortality of reproductive women, we relied on a combination of models adjusted by clustering at the family level, and models stratified at the family level (also known as family fixed effects).^[60] The former models investigate the general association between having kin and mortality among reproductive females, and thereby estimate the net result

[54] Kai P. WILLFÜHR – Charlotte STÖRMER, *Social Strata Differentials in Reproductive Behavior among Agricultural Families in the Krummhörn Region (East Frisia, 1720–1874)*, *Historical Life Course Studies* 2, 2015, pp. 58–85.

[55] K. P. WILLFÜHR – Ch. STÖRMER, *Social Strata Differentials*.

[56] G. OHLING, *Kulturgeschichte des Krummhörn*.

[57] K. P. WILLFÜHR – Ch. STÖRMER, *Social Strata Differentials*.

[58] E. VOLAND – R. I. M. DUNBAR, *Resource Competition and Reproduction*; K. P. WILLFÜHR – Ch. STÖRMER, *Social Strata Differentials*.

[59] D. R. COX, *Regression models and life tables (with discussion)*, *Journal of the Royal Statistical Society, Series B* 34, 1972, pp. 187–220; Paul D. ALLISON, *Event history and survival analysis*, Thousand Oaks 2014.

[60] See P. D. ALLISON, *Fixed Effects Regression Models*.

of kin effects. The latter models estimate likelihood functions with separate terms for each of the families in the dataset, and thus allow each family to have their own individual baseline hazard function.

The key difference between the stratified and the clustered Cox regression models is that the stratified models identify kinship effects using the variation within families, but not between families. These stratified models control for unobserved heterogeneity shared within sister groups. By comparing the results of the clustered models with the results of the stratified models, we disentangled kin effects that were attributable to common causes from those that were directly linked to family members' behavior or accompanying factors. For example, having a large number of siblings could have been associated with reduced mortality due to parental characteristics (common cause), such as parental skills and the quality of the household, and not because of direct interactions between siblings. However, one disadvantage of the fixed-effects approach is that the models exclude singleton births (in our case, IDs with no reproductive sister in the dataset) from the analysis. Depending on the structure of the data, the number of cases may be substantially smaller in the fixed-effects model than in the clustered model. Thus, if the findings of the two models are inconsistent, we have to test whether this is due to the exclusion of cases or to the different estimations of the likelihood function. This can be done by re-running the cluster models with exactly the same number of cases as those included in the fixed-effects approach.

To assess the impact of the level of genetic relatedness on kin support, we included information about the presence (see below) of each individual's natal and in-law relatives. Each change in the kin composition caused by life course transitions such as births, deaths, and marriages in the family are events that are dynamically observed in the model. These linkages result in a large data setup; on average, there are almost 88 changes in the kin group composition for each woman between the date of her first marriage and the date of her exit from the sample (upon reaching age 45 or death). The effects of kin belonging to the natal family are estimated based on all periods during which a woman is observed, including after a woman's widowhood or remarriage. The effects of the in-law kin are, however, estimated only during a woman's first marriage. Observations after the husband's death are excluded from the analysis, as it is unclear how the relationship between the reproductive woman and her in-law kin would have been affected by her husband's death or by her remarriage.

For the current work, we are interested in analyzing both behavior-related kin effects that arise from direct social interaction and non-behavior-related (structural) kin effects. A key question is whether having many relatives was linked to lower mortality because having a large network of kin support was itself beneficial, or because in the Krummhörn having a large family was an indication that the family had relatively high socioeconomic status. We may expect to find that behavioral and kin support effects are only relevant if the family members live in relatively

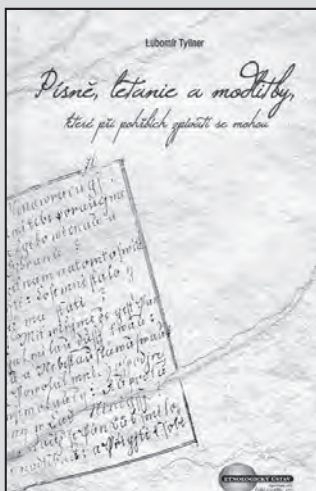
close spatial proximity. On the other hand, kin effects that are related to the family's socioeconomic status do not require spatial proximity. To disentangle these mechanisms, we have created two sets of models. In the first set of models, we consider all living relatives, regardless of the distance between ego's and the relatives' place of residence. In the following, these models are referred to as "alive models". In a second set of models, we include only relatives who were living in the same parish as the individual of interest. In the following, these models are referred to as "spatial models". In the spatial models, we assume that family members who lived in close proximity to each other provided each other with structural support, which may have affected mortality among women of reproductive age. In other words, for each woman and at every age, the alive models provide an assessment of the number of relatives alive, whereas the spatial models provide such an assessment for kin living in the same parish.

In both models, we include a set of covariates that control for potential confounding conditions based on the family context into which a woman was born and was living. These characteristics may be correlated with both the dependent outcome – survival in the reproductive years – and the size and location of the kin group. These potential confounders include whether a woman was in a postpartum period and her birth cohort. Women are especially vulnerable during postpartum periods (42 days after the birth). We therefore include a time-varying dummy covariate that indicates exposure to postpartum periods. The individual's birth cohort, coded in decades, is included to control for changes in the population over time, and for the individual's birth rank.^[61]

For further details regarding the modeling strategies, please see the paper by Willführ, Johow, Voland from 2018.^[62] While the basic analyses presented in this paper are almost the same for the two populations, for the St. Lawrence Valley population there is no information on the family's socioeconomic status (SES). Therefore, we had to omit analyses that investigated the interaction between alleged kin effects and SES.

[61] S. O. RUTSTEIN, *Infant and Child Mortality: Levels, Trends and Demographic Differentials. Revised Edition*, Voorburg 1984.

[62] K. P. WILLFÜHR – J. JOHOW – E. VOLAND, *When the Mother-in-Law*.



Lubomír Tyllner

Písně, letanie a modlitby, které při pohřbích zpívati se mohou

Vydal Etnologický ústav AV ČR, v. v. i.,
Praha 2017, 162 s., jmenný rejstřík, anglické
resumé, příloha CD

Ještě v 70. letech 20. století na jihočeských Blatech se udržel tradiční pohřební obřad, jehož rozměrnou část tvoří zpěvy nad otevřenou rakví zemřelého. Tento obřad se koná v domě nebožtíkově a scházejí se k němu všichni pozůstalí a dále nejbližší přátelé z příslušné obce. Vedle modliteb jsou zde zpívány pohřební lidové duchovní zpěvy, které svým vznikem sahají až do 16. století, zejména do kancionálů různých konfesí doby baroka.

Thus in the 1970s in the South-Bohemian region of Blata we could still find a traditional burial ceremony a large part of which consists of songs performed above the open coffin of the deceased. This ceremony takes place in the house of the deceased where all the family and closest friends from the village meet. Besides prayers, funeral spiritual songs are sung which date back to 16th century and appeared mainly in hymn books and various confessions. Besides prayers, funeral spiritual songs are sung which date back to 16th century and appeared mainly in hymn books and various confessions of the Baroque period.

Cena 190 Kč

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Objednávky vyřizuje B. Gergelová: gergelova@eu.cas.cz

Abstract: This article examines the role of women in artisanal enterprises in early modern Paris, arguing that female labor, and particularly that provided by the master's family, was indispensable for business success. Wives, whose work in artisanal enterprises has not been extensively studied, performed the entire range of needed tasks to contribute to the success of their family businesses. While wives manual labor in shops, performing production tasks, was important, perhaps more crucial was the managerial work they did. Using guild statutes, archival records and secondary sources, this article will expound upon the range of women's work in artisanal shops.

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Key words: gender, guilds, household economy, business

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Introduction

Prior to the advent of large-scale workplaces and production, most businesses relied on family labor and familial partnerships to survive and succeed. This practice was essential to artisanal enterprises organized by guilds, in part due to the demands of production but also due to the paternalistic ideology that informed the culture of early modern guilds. The patriarchal character of guilds across Western Europe is well known; the vast majority of guilds allowed only men to become members and prevented women from participation in skilled trades as mistresses, apprentices and, in some instances, even finding employment in artisanal enterprises.^[1] Corporate ideology, which reflected masters' perception of themselves and their organizations, upheld masters as not simply the most skilled and experienced workers in their shops, but also as paternal figures who watched over, cared for and disciplined their workers as a father would his children.^[2] Artisanal production

[1] Clare CROWSTON, *Women, Gender, and Guilds in Early Modern Europe: An Overview of Recent Research*, *IRSH* 53, 2008, Supplement, pp. 19–44.

[2] Michael SONENSCHER, *Journeyman's Migrations and Workshop Organization in Eighteenth-Century France*, in: Steven Laurence Kaplan – Cynthia J. Koepf (eds.), *Work in France: Representations, Meaning, Organization, and Practice*, Ithaca 1986, pp. 74–96, here 76; Steven Kaplan discusses the importance of hierarchy, and the Great Chain of Being, to French guilds in the same volume: Steven Laurence KAPLAN, *Social Classification and Representation in the Corporate World of Eighteenth-Century France: Turgot's Carnival*, in: Steven Laurence Kaplan –

often overlapped with the domestic space of the master's family, further blurring the lines between the master's dual role as boss and father-figure and apprentices and journeymen as employers and figurative children. In terms of how guilds imagined their members, the family constituted a powerful metaphor; in terms of how guild workshops produced goods and services, the family constituted a valuable source of labor and expertise.

In such family-centered enterprises, women, whether wives, daughters or employees, were indispensable workers in the eighteenth-century skilled trades. This article argues that while guild statutes, rulings and other official documents did not acknowledge women's contributions to upholding the guild system or their crucial role in artisanal production, other sources show how active women were in artisanal workshops, performing work ranging from production tasks to managerial oversight and bookkeeping. Focusing on female family members – daughters, wives and widows – this article shows that rather than working in other trades or pulling back from work destined for sale (as opposed to domestic labor), female family members were active and indispensable participants in the family-run artisanal shop.

Furthermore, women have long been understood as providing the unacknowledged, by guild officers and discourse, labor that supported family production and family survival. But in addition to their productive efforts, women also provided the expertise, knowledge, experience and investment capital that a successful business needed just as much as the manual labor that directly produced goods. The available data is not complete enough to draw quantitative conclusions, in part because women are so often invisible in the archives that reveal the work practices of the skilled trades.^[3] But sources suggest that many wives worked in the family shop in multiple capacities rather than striking out on their own in other professions. Moreover, the labor provided by wives and daughters in particular made possible the success of many enterprises. Women were present in these male corporate spaces; their presence was indispensable to business success and development.

Specifically, it was wives' expertise and managerial skills, and the trust husbands could place in them, even more than the manual labor performed by their hands, that made them the most crucial resource in a successful enterprise. The understanding wives possessed of their family enterprises and the production and selling processes was most useful, and these dependable and capable women performed the entire range of tasks, supervisory and manual, in artisanal enterprises. While

Cynthia J. Koepp (eds.), *Work in France: Representations, Meaning, Organization, and Practice*, Ithaca 1986, pp. 176–228, here pp. 183 and 197.

[3] Amy Louise Erickson finds a similar pattern of wives working with their husbands in a common trade in her work on eighteenth-century London. Amy Louise ERICKSON, *Married Women's Occupations in 18th Century London*, *Continuity and Change* 23, 2008, pp. 267–307, esp. pp. 269 and 272.

it is commonplace to recognize the role of wives and daughters in artisanal enterprises, the particular shape their labor took and the ways it affected the workings of family businesses has not been widely explored.^[4] Their presence is noted but the appearance and significance of female labor has not been fully explored. Here I examine the crucial contributions women, and in particular wives and widows, made in family-centered establishments, and show how women's labor, intellectual as much as manual, was required to support successful businesses.

While this article focuses on Parisian artisanal production and the role women played in guild enterprises, historians have shown that women across France and Europe worked in virtually all capacities in shops and other sites of economic production, despite the ambivalence the presence of women sometimes produced.^[5] Merry Wiesner discusses the acceptance of masters' wives in workshops even while the attitudes of journeymen in German guilds was becoming more hostile to women workers. Clare Crowston also remarks upon the male ideology that underlies French guilds even while women consistently worked in the trades. Amy Louise Erickson finds that wives frequently worked alongside their husbands in the London livery companies, although their contributions were not often recognized. Women, and in particular female family members, not only served as a low-wage source of skilled and unskilled labor, but they could also perform other required tasks, including managing workers, handling finances and leading businesses when necessary, playing key roles in keeping businesses productive and profitable. For the most part, women's working contributions were not condoned by guild statutes; they were often invisible in the formal writings that defined these institutions and their functioning. As Arlette Farge has characterized this gendered arrangement, "however routine women's work might be, it was only acceptable in the context of a patriarchal workshop".^[6]

[4] Jacob D. Melish in *The Power of Wives* looks at several cases of women managing the finances in a family business. Jacob D. MELISH, *The Power of Wives: Managing Money and Men in the Family Businesses of Old Regime Paris*, in: Daryl M. Hafter – Nina Kushner (eds.), *Women and Work in Eighteenth-Century France*, Baton Rouge 2015, pp. 77–90.

[5] Clare CROWSTON, *Fabricating Women: The Seamstresses of Old Regime France, 1675–1791*, Durham 2001; Daryl HAFTER (ed.), *European Women and Preindustrial Craft*, Bloomington 1995; Sheilagh OGILVIE, *A Bitter Living: Women, Markets and Social Capital in Early Modern Germany*, Oxford 2003; Merry WEISNER, *Wandervogels and Women: Journeymen's Concepts of Masculinity in Early Modern Germany*, *Journal of Social History* 24, 1991, pp. 767–782, here p. 768; C. CROWSTON, *Women, Gender and Guilds*, p. 20; A. L. ERICKSON, *Married Women*, p. 272.

[6] Arlette FARGE, *La vie fragile: Violence, pouvoirs et solidarités à Paris au XVIII^e siècle*, Paris 1986, pp. 134–135, quoted and discussed in Judith G. COFFIN, *Gender and the Guild Order: The Garment Trades in Eighteenth-Century Paris*, *Journal of Economic History* 54, 1994, pp. 768–793, esp. p. 774.

One of the aims of this article is to explore how a “*patriarchal workshop*” functioned and, in particular, the significance of women’s work in guild production. This article relies on several sets of sources to explore the question of the gendered nature of guild work. The collection of statutes, rulings and other official documents produced by early modern Parisian guilds themselves reveal how they framed their functions and their identity.^[7] As much as these documents laid out corporate structure, production techniques, approved materials and other such technical details, they also reveal how guild members conceived of themselves, their institutions and their relationship to wider society.^[8] In these texts, the guilds have little to say about the role of women, and in some instances affirm women’s exclusions from the ranks of these corporations. However, statutes do show how the family was important to craft production, and allow us to understand how institutions that excluded women acknowledged in other ways that families, women included, were key to a profitable and orderly shop.

Main findings

Turning from prescriptive sources to those that reflect production and lived experience, police records and notarial contracts show what women did when they worked in artisanal enterprises. In early modern Paris one part of the police structure, with its own police commissioners, was dedicated to overseeing the guilds and their workers.^[9] The records of those interactions provide a rich recounting of the activity within shops and in the neighborhoods where they were located. These sources show women working in myriad roles in trades regulated by guilds. Despite the restrictions on female involvement in the trades, women, wives and widows in particular, took part in virtually every aspect of running a business from production to client interactions to financial accounting. These police records do not simply record women’s commercial activities; they also demonstrate the broad acceptance of women working in multiple roles, and not simply engaging in domestic labor, in artisanal businesses.

Notarial contracts signed by wives, daughters and widows of master craftsmen provide another glimpse of the workings of artisanal businesses. Contracts of various kinds show how families used and allocated resources as well as how they structured their businesses in terms of partnerships and other kinds of associations. While we do not know how active women were in determining the content of such

[7] In addition to the printed sources gathered in the volumes edited by René de Lespinasse, cited below, the Bibliothèque Nationale de France contains many printed guild documents.

[8] S. L. KAPLAN, *Turgot’s Carnival*, p. 183.

[9] Records of the pre-Revolutionary police as well as notarial contracts are found in the collection of the Archives Nationales in Paris. The printed work *Châtelet de Paris : Répertoire Numérique de la série Y*, Paris 1993 catalogues parts of these archival sources.

contracts, as signatories they were expected to actively live up to the agreements made.

Certain judicial records, such as those cited below from the Y series in the Archives Nationales, also reveal how women played a part in the work of family enterprises. Women regularly made complaints to authorities about recalcitrant workers or belligerent clients. Their testimony was heard and acted upon, even when their husbands were not present. The totality of this evidence demonstrates the breadth of female participation in artisanal production, in ways that were not acknowledged or sometimes even forbidden in guild statutes. It also establishes that authorities and local communities accepted women as legitimate representatives of their families' businesses, recognized the roles they played in those work spaces, and allowed them to advocate for those enterprises.

Guilds and Gender

Guilds existed in multiple forms in early modern Europe. The majority of guilds in Paris as elsewhere admitted only men to their ranks as masters, journeymen and apprentices. For many of those guilds, even hiring women as wage laborers was discouraged, although we know that most artisanal shops drew upon hired female labor.^[10] A small number of guilds were mixed gender, admitting both women and men into the corporation. For example, in Paris, as in Rouen, the grain merchants were a guild that included both men and women. In other cities such guilds existed in small but varying numbers. In several French cities where seamstresses did not have their own corporate body, the tailors guild included both men and women. Finally, several cities including Paris, Rouen, and Gouda incorporated guilds that were exclusively female. Chief among these were seamstresses guilds but linen drapers and flower sellers also existed in Paris as female guilds. In Gouda, the guild that organized production of hemp and flax for rope making, a key product in this trade oriented economy, was all female.^[11] Cologne, York and Bologna, among other cities, saw both all-female guilds and mixed gender guilds in the early modern period as well.^[12] The question of who would govern these guilds was contentious at times. But there were also wealthy and influential guilds, such as the seamstresses guild in Paris, that were self-governing and included only women as officers.^[13]

[10] Ariadne SCHMIDT, *Women and Guilds: Corporations and Female Labour Market Participation in Early Modern Holland*, *Gender and History* 21, 2009, pp. 170–189, here p. 183; Deborah SIMONTON, *A History of European Women's Work: 1700 to the Present*, Routledge 2002, pp. 77–78.

[11] A. SCHMIDT, *Women and Guilds in Early Modern Holland*, p. 173.

[12] *Ibidem*, p. 183.

[13] C. CROWSTON, *Fabricating Women*, see especially chapter four.

Despite the existence of female and mixed gender guilds in many early modern European cities, the ideology of guild labor as male and patriarchal winds through corporate statutes of the vast majority of trades organized as male only. The patriarchal family model of production and privilege, with the married master on top, while not explicitly defined in statutes and regulations, appears as an assumption within those texts. For example, according to guild ideals, only after being received as a master should a man take a wife and start a family, simultaneous with the establishment of his own corporate family of journeymen and apprentices. Journeymen were encouraged to remain single while they completed their training in their craft, a near inevitability given their highly mobile lives.^[14] Guild statutes did not make this norm explicit, but certain elements of guild life did support this order of action.

Most notably, nearly all guilds offered entry to the children of masters, whether sons or sons-in-law, on advantageous terms. In place of onerous masterpieces and substantial reception fees, sons and sons-in law executed simplified masterpieces and paid modest fees in order to access the status of master. Most other guilds provided such eased entry to mastership for sons and sons-in-law, confirming the value of family bonds for advancing in Parisian trade corporations.^[15] Going further than other trades which provided advantageous entry terms to masters' sons, the goldsmith's guild limited apprenticeships, and eventual reception as a master, to sons of current masters.^[16] This focus on the privileged connection between father and son, and the way guilds facilitated the passing down of privilege from an older man to a younger one, fits in well with the patriarchal ideology of guilds. Journeymen who married and had children before becoming masters deprived their sons and daughters of this remunerative opportunity.

Despite the patriarchal ideals expressed in guild statutes and decisions, sources that provide a view of life in artisanal workshop make clear that women, in particular members of the master's family, were not "*mere servants of their husbands*".^[17] Guild statutes did not acknowledge the many ways that wives were essential to

[14] James R. FARR, *The Work of France: Labor and Culture in Early Modern Times, 1350–1800*, New York 2008, p. 85; Jacques-Louis Ménétra's account of his life as a journeyman also illustrates this point: Jacques-Louis MÉNÉTRA, *Journal of My Life*, New York 1986.

[15] René de LESPINASSE (ed.), *Les métiers et corporations de la ville de Paris : XIV^e–XVIII^e siècle*, Paris 1886–1897. For one example of the different requirements for mastership see the 1650 statutes of the locksmith's guild, R. de LESPINASSE (ed.), *Les métiers*, vol. II, p. 484. James Farr also sees limited access to mastership in eighteenth-century Dijon: James FARR, *Consumers, Commerce, and the Craftsmen of Dijon: The Changing Social and Economic Structure of a Provincial Capital, 1450–1750*, in: Philip Benedict (ed.), *Cities and Social Change in Early Modern France*, London 1989, pp. 134–173.

[16] R. de LESPINASSE (ed.), *Les métiers*, vol. II, p. 38. 1632 Châtelet decision on apprentices.

[17] J. D. MELISH, *The Power of Wives*, p. 78.

running family enterprises. In fact, the few examples of guild statutes that explicitly discussed women's roles generally pertained to limiting or forbidding their contributions. For example, the 1752 ordonnances of the mercers' guild forbade masters from having more than one boutique, stressing that wives could not be qualified stand-ins for their husbands: "*whatever the pretext, even supposing that their wives were capable of working on their behalf*".^[18] The 1754 statutes of the printers guild stated that guild officers would "expel the wives of journeymen" found working in print shops.^[19] Notwithstanding these dictates, husbands trusted their wives with serious responsibilities within the family business.

One question that emerges from this dissonance between the statutes that sought to define and limit the activity that took place in corporate spaces and the actual labor that took place there is what motivated guilds to marginalize women when their contributions to guild production were so necessary to a master's success. We have already touched upon the role that patriarchal ideology played in the gendered definition of guilds, now we turn to some of the economic motives behind this exclusion before moving to examine women's specific contributions to family businesses.

One aspect of the formal prohibition on women working in shops had to do with managing already fraught labor relations in the artisanal sector of the economy; journeymen saw female labor as undercutting wages and prestige in a time when those aspects of their work, under pressure from changing consumer tastes and market forces, were in decline. The eighteenth-century French economy was becoming more responsive to consumer demand that shifted with an accelerating fashion cycle.^[20] The response by master artisans to the instability of demand was to hire and fire workers to maintain profitability in the face of shifting consumption patterns.^[21] Such an uncertain labor market created anxiety among masters and journeymen alike, an anxiety that shaped their attitudes toward workers brought into shops, particularly women who were seen as undercutting men's wages.

[18] *Recueil d'ordonnances, statuts et règlements concernant le corps de la mercerie*, Paris 1752, p. 60.

[19] *Statuts et règlements de la communauté des maîtres imprimeurs en taille-douce*, Paris 1754, p. 74.

[20] Jan de VRIES, *The Industrious Revolution: Consumer Behavior and the Household Economy, 1650 to the Present*, Cambridge 2008, p. 10; Cissie FAIRCHILDS, *The Production and Marketing of Populuxe Goods in Eighteenth-Century Paris*, in: John Brewer – Roy Porter (eds.), *Consumption and the World of Goods*, Routledge 2013, pp. 228–248, here p. 231; J. FARR, *Work of France*, p. 87. On the resentment of journeymen toward the women of the master's family see Béatrice CRAIG, *Women and Business since 1500*, Palgrave 2016, pp. 20–21.

[21] J. FARR, *Work of France*, p. 86.

Several in-depth studies of particular guilds show that women earned lower wages for their work alongside men.^[22] These examples from several guilds that restricted work to men provide concrete examples of the pattern in the overall in the labor market where women, working in all-male trades despite their formal exclusion, earned less than men did. In turn, using women as cheaper labor in guild enterprises also pushed down the wages of the men employed there.^[23] The material interest for journeymen and other male workers in keeping women out of the workplace dovetailed with the ideological interest in doing so. Also, journeymen who lamented their falling wages saw in female labor an easy scapegoat for why their earnings were not keeping up with the cost of living.

Of course, masters benefitted from using less costly female labor. Even beyond pocketing greater profit from using cheap female labor, masters could sometimes benefit in other ways from the work of their female kin. For example, Daryl Hafter has shown that in eighteenth-century Lyon, master silk weavers profited from female labor in multiple ways. The wives of weavers operated a loom in the shop; their work, performed under the watchful eye of their husbands, received guild sanction. But Hafter shows that as the silk industry underwent dramatic, and expensive, changes, with new techniques and machines challenging masters in their quest for profitability, these same masters sometimes hired women in the underground weaving market to augment their production at rock bottom cost.^[24] Masters thus juggled several different interests when dealing with female labor, even that provided by wives and daughters.

Family life and workshop production

Despite the complications that could arise from having women in the shop, they took on many roles in production, both in doing labor tasks for production of goods but also in managing the shop and its finances either in their husbands' absences or as part of their habitual roles in their businesses. Wives rolled up their sleeves and did whatever needed to be done in part because they generally came from artisanal families themselves, growing up in the trade and learning from

[22] Michael SONENSCHER, *The Hatters of Eighteenth-Century France*, Berkley – Los Angeles 1987; Elizabeth MUSGRAVE, *Women in the Male World of Work: the Building Industries of Eighteenth-Century Brittany*, *French History* 7, 1993, pp. 30–52; Leonard N. ROSEN BAND, *Papermaking in Eighteenth-Century France: Management, Labor, and Revolution at the Montgolfier Mill, 1761–1805*, Baltimore 2000.

[23] Peter EARLE, *The Female Labour Market in London in the Late Seventeenth and Early Eighteenth Centuries*, *The Economic History Review*, New Series 42, 1989, pp. 328–353, here p. 342; C. CROWSTON, *Fabricating Women*, pp. 212–215; James R. FARR, *Artisans in Europe, 1300–1914*, Cambridge 2000, pp. 50–51.

[24] Daryl M. HAFTER, *Women in the Underground Business of Eighteenth-Century Lyon*, *Enterprise and Society* 2, 2001, pp. 11–40, here pp. 17, 21.

their parents. Daughters, as well as sons, learned the trade at their parents' sides, engaging in ever-more complex tasks as they grew in age and competence, partly to contribute to the family's support but also with a view to marriage.^[25]

As historians have shown, and as the archival sources below will substantiate, in terms of concrete tasks, wives of Parisian guild masters did a bit of everything. These women paid bills, made complaints to the police, and oversaw production in the shop without the slightest hesitation over whether that was an appropriate role for a woman. They sometimes even hired labor if it was needed and their husbands were not available to take care of certain tasks. In brief, they used their hands to felt hats or gather wood or arrange type; as often, women used their brains to keep accounts, manage workers, engage with clients and organize production and output of the business. Officials from the guild offices or city government recognized a wife's right to act on behalf of the business, even while statutes did not permit women to engage in these kinds of tasks. Nonetheless, women appeared frequently in sources that describe life in artisanal shops; several examples will serve to show the range of activities that women undertook, either in a husband's absence or as part of her assigned role in the business.

One of the few artisanal voices from the early modern period is the glazier journeyman Jacques-Louis Ménétra. Ménétra recounted the story of his time as an itinerant journeyman doing his Tour de France on the way to achieving his mastership and establishing his own workshop. He provides accounts of his experiences working in various glaziers' shops, giving a sense of the business practices he encountered. One common thread that joins Ménétra's stories is the active role women played in the places where he worked. In the shops, women were active partners; in some instances wives essentially ran shops while men were out on work sites. For example, when Ménétra worked for Monsieur Vilmont, a Parisian master glazier, he usually had to ask Vilmont's wife for his wages rather than the master himself. When Ménétra came to her asking for 6 livres, "(s)he only wanted to give me three claiming that (he) wasn't going to work the next day".^[26] She appeared to be in charge of tracking the time of the workers in her husband's employ, keeping the books while Vilmont was engaged in the labor of glassmaking. In her management role, Madame Vilmont would not allow the workers to harass her, nor did she behave timidly in her dealings with them. Indeed, after Ménétra became a master and established his own shop, his own wife was actively engaged in their glazing business; Madame Ménétra handled most of the shop's accounting, and often dealt with their clients.^[27] She kept the books and knew the finances.

[25] David GARRIOCH, *Neighbourhood and Community in Paris 1740–1790*, Cambridge 1986, pp. 62–63.

[26] J.-L. MÉNÉTRA, *Journal of My Life*, p. 111.

[27] *Ibidem*, pp. 161, 166.

Ménétra's and Vilmont's wives were not alone in taking over the responsibilities in the shop when their husbands were away. The wives of masters in many occupations could stand in for them as head of the enterprise if left alone in the shop. The records of the police commissioner in charge of guilds are full of women working and leading businesses. When guild officers were refused entry for inspection by a mistress poultry-roaster accused of hiring casual labor, the men dispatched someone to the nearby shop of a locksmith so they could force the door. The nearest master locksmith, Martin Fourain, was not there, so the jurés asked Fourain's wife to open the door. She did not hesitate to use the tools of the trade to comply with their request, collecting a fee for her services from the men after opening the door.^[28] A similar situation arose when the jurés of the tailors' guild sought to seize the goods of one of their noncompliant masters. They too sought a locksmith to help them carry out their writ and secured the services of Madame Troucher who used the tools from the shop to open the door for the guild officers.^[29]

Jurés did not simply acknowledge masters' wives when they needed their services. They also heard and acted upon complaints brought to the guild by wives, just as they did from masters. Asking guild officers to help with collecting debts seemed to be a common way that wives interacted with their husbands' corporations. A few examples will illustrate this claim. Marie André, the wife of a master carpenter went to the jurés of her husband's guild to ask for assistance in collecting money from a client as she was trying to settle some of the business' debts. The client, Sieur Lambert, had taken home a small cabinet from the André workshop after signing a promissory note for 30 livres. However, Lambert had not made any payments against the note, and still had possession of the cabinet, despite repeated requests to settle the bill. Madame André asked the guild to help her collect the payment due for the cabinet. The jurés did not hesitate to help when approached by the wife of a master, and they did not demand to ask the master himself about the case as well. They accepted that the wife's role in this business was to deal with clients, and acted to look into her case without any apparent hesitation. The jurés investigated Madame André's claim, although they did not fully settle the debt according to the records of this case.^[30]

In a similar situation, the wife of Marc Caffin, master locksmith, asked the guild to help her collect a debt incurred for mounting two locks in the house of a sieur Pelletier. Madame Caffin did not tell the guild masters where her husband was, but she did explain that she had requested payment from Pelletier several times

[28] Archives Nationales, Y 15804, 25 March 1753.

[29] Archives Nationales, Y 7500, 31 January 1761.

[30] Archives Nationales, Y 15365, 12 April 1757.

and had been refused. The guild jurés agreed to investigate her claim and secure payment for the work her business had performed.^[31]

Another wife left to run a shop by herself also asked for assistance from her husband's guild when he was away on business. Marie Luce, wife of a master lemonade-seller sent for the jurés of the guild when a chocolate seller came into her shop and tried to intimidate her into buying some of his merchandise. Madame Luce refused to deal with Monsieur Maillard, the merchant, telling him that she did not believe he was a legitimate chocolate-seller and that he should leave her shop. Luce also accused Maillard of being drunk which provoked him to become verbally abusive. Maillard shouted at her, telling her that all lemonade sellers were bastards, especially her husband. Madame Luce asked the angry Maillard to leave her shop, but he continued to insult her, so she asked a neighbor to fetch the guild jurés. Madame Luce made a formal complaint once they arrived, while Maillard became angrier. After hearing her account, the guild jurés supported her complaint. They told Maillard he did not have the right to sell chocolate, confiscated his wares and turned him out of the shop.^[32]

Marie Cassot faced a comparable concern when she was working in her family's spice shop while her husband was away. She fought strenuously, by her account, with a customer after he refused to pay for his merchandise. Again, the police commissioner who came to take a complaint both supported her right to "*manage the shop while her husband was away*" and forced the customer to pay.^[33] When Angélique Letûmier's husband, a master pastry maker, left her in charge of their shop, one of her employees began to fight with and threaten her, saying that he did not wish to listen to a woman. Madame Letûmier sent someone to fetch a police commissioner so she could lodge a complaint against the apprentice who "*raised his hand to her and refused to obey*".^[34] In his notes, the commissioner wrote that he reprimanded the apprentice and ordered him to heed his mistress. In these instances neighbors alerted the authorities on behalf of these women and helped them stand up to belligerent men. In this way, neighbors also recognized the rights of women to manage family shops.

Police commissioners hearing complaints supported such actions by women. As part of a married couple, wives and husbands both had the authority to lead a business and through practice they both understood its workings well enough to handle all the facets of the trade and enterprise. Women paid wages and clearly understood and often directed the finances of family businesses. The wife of Mé-nétra provides one example. Another complaint made to a police commissioner

[31] Archives Nationales, Y 6782, 29 June 1755.

[32] Archives Nationales, Y 15365, 23 December 1742.

[33] Archives Nationales, Y 9528, 14 March 1771.

[34] Archives Nationales, Y 15352, 1 August 1753.

also illustrates this point, highlighting the independence of wives to hire workers and take on debt on behalf of a family enterprise. A complaint lodged by Jacques Guidet against Madame Joyal explains that when her husband was ill, and she was running the family wine shop alone, Joyal hired the domestic to serve as a low-skilled worker to help her in the wine shop she ran with her husband. As her husband's health deteriorated, Joyal, scrambling to keep the business afloat while paying for her husband's medical expenses, borrowed 200 pounds from Guidet in order to "*lay up two casks of wine for the cellar*".^[35] After Joyal's death, his widow kept on Guidet for several months to assist her in her shop. After nearly a year, Guidet left in order to seek out better employment, although all of his pleas for repayment of the 200-pound loan fell on deaf ears. The debt remained open until 1750 when Guidet tried to use a formal complaint to force Widow Joyal to repay him. While the complaint does not tell whether the money was ever returned, it does confirm that Widow Joyal continued to run the family wine shop, despite her husband's illness and eventual death. While her continued refusal to repay her debt suggests that with the expenses of her husband's death she did not have spare capital, the shop remained afloat.

Conclusion

At times women could be active in business even without the collaboration of their husbands. One Parisian mercer complained that his wife, by engaging in that trade without either his permission or a license, forced him to obtain a mastership and pay fines due to her commercial activities.^[36] Peter Earle has found that many women in his sample of London working women performed what he calls 'women's work' and did not work with their husbands in skilled trades. Despite the fact that many women working with their husbands would have been invisible in the archival record, as Amy Louise Erickson has pointed out, his findings suggest that many women worked on their own account.^[37] In some instances, women signed and issued letters of credit in favor of a family enterprise on their own initiative.^[38]

The biggest group of independent women working within the guild structures were widows. Even masters who balked at the intrusion of women into their skilled trades staunchly supported the rights of widows to maintain themselves by continuing to run the family business after their husbands' deaths. During the debate in 1776 over the proposal to abolish craft guilds in France, one major point

[35] Archives Nationales, Y 10860, 20 December 1750.

[36] Archives Nationales, Y 11941, 5 May 1758.

[37] P. EARLE, *Labour Markets*, p. 377; A. L. ERICKSON, *Married Women*, p. 272.

[38] Robert BEACHY, *Business Was a Family Affair: Women of Commerce in Central Europe, 1650–1880*, *Histoire Sociale/Social History* 28, 2001, pp. 307–330, p. 312; Clare Haru CROWSTON, *Credit, Fashion, Sex: Economies of Regard in Old Regime France*, Durham 2013, pp. 233–234.

of debate among masters was the fate of widows in such a radical reorganization of the skilled trades. A major change that the royal government proposed was levying a fee against widows who chose to continue managing the family business after the deaths of their husbands. No Parisian guilds had ever required payment by widows in order to maintain control of their husbands' workshops. This issue remained a point of major contention between guild masters and the royal government for years, even as the government relented and allowed the guilds to reconstitute themselves despite the 1776 legislation abolishing craft corporations. In 1774, a group of masters wrote to the Royal Procurator, reiterating the need to permit widows to practice a trade without paying for that right. The letter signed by multiple masters lamented that "*in the case of widowhood, their wives become outsiders to the community*".^[39] This language suggests a sense that women, first as wives and then as widows, did constitute part of the community of the guilds, despite the lack of formal recognition for them. This letter also supports the assertion made here that women were recognized as competent workers in artisanal shop, both as assistants to male family members and then potentially as widows running the business alone.

That sense of competence seems to have been shared by widows of master artisans themselves. They married much less often than widows of men in other professions, and they often continued working in their family trade until their own deaths, either as independent widow mistresses or, less often, as the wives of masters after remarrying.^[40] The years of working beside their husbands, taking care of the necessary production tasks so that the family business could remain profitable, showed their benefit when widows successfully helmed shops on their own. The documented success of widows demonstrates not only the competence of artisanal women but also community acceptance of independent working women. Just as we saw the support wives of masters enjoyed when they made complaints to guild officers or performed services in their husbands' absences, we also see this acceptance when clients continued to frequent shops headed by widows, or when creditors continued to extend borrowing terms.^[41]

The economic, social and legal landscape of early modern Paris provided space for women to participate in and run businesses, and, in fact, many businesses relied on female labor and management to survive and flourish. Wives and daughters, while they were not received as members by patriarchal guilds, nonetheless made crucial contributions to family artisanal enterprises. Women's labor helped keep family enterprises profitable, although their support was taken for granted without being fully appreciated.

[39] Bibliothèque Nationale, Joly de Fleury collection 555, folio 269.

[40] Janine LANZA, *From Wives to Widows in Early Modern Paris: Gender, Economy, and Law*, Ashgate 2007, p. 101.

[41] J. LANZA, *From Wives to Widows*, p. 102.

The practical, economic needs of artisanal enterprises required the expert, trustworthy labor of female kin. Masters could not succeed without their wives to do sensitive tasks like keeping the books, holding money, working with clients and paying workers. And when a master needed to absent himself from his shop he could have confidence that his wife would properly manage their affairs while he was away. These efforts paid off in practical terms for the guilds, for masters and for their families. Women enjoyed vital and respected roles in family businesses. They helped ensure the continuity of the institution of the guild. And they show how women navigated the strictures and limitations placed on them in other spheres to act as much as possible within restrictive and patriarchal societies.

THE ECONOMIC NECESSITY OF FAMILY CO-OPERATION. THE NORWEGIAN CASE

Hilde Sandvik

Abstract: Family co-operation can be studied as a necessary adaption to certain economic conditions. The adaption in early modern Norway was similar to the North West European pattern regarding household formation. Regarding gender division of work pre industrial Norwegian households differ from some trends in other European countries. Because of geography the households had to invent and keep to a very extensive mode of household production to exploit natural resources. This extensive mode of production was also a way of the households' mode of risk handling. In this article the author discusses the gender implications of such an adaption. It would seem that the benefits of family co-operation and risk handling have been funded in and fostered an acknowledgment of women's contribution to the household economy.

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At the northern outskirts of early modern Europe the Norwegian rural population based its existence on a combination of agriculture, husbandry and income from the export trades. The gender division of labour made this combination possible. In this article we will discuss the organisation, outcomes and problems of such an economy, and finally the acknowledgement of family co-operation by presenting some studies that have been done on supplications and on the question of political rights.

The sources most commonly used by historians to study people and production in early modern Norwegian rural household economy, are censuses and tax- and custom records. The author has also found court records and supplications to be valuable sources for the study of gender and cooperation as well as of conflicts within and between households.

The article focuses on early modern Norway. However, some of the points that will be made also have relevance for rural families until the second half of the 20th century. Norway has a long rural history with dominated by small farms. In 1929 Statistics Norway reported that 36 per cent of farms had an arable area

of only 1–4 acres.^[1] Households made their living by a combination of women tending the small farms and men receiving wages, partly as migrant workers, in industries and construction or as sailors in the Norwegian fleet. Even 20th century families seem to have considered small farming and the combination of income to be a sort of risk handling in a labour market that was challenged by economic crises and closures.

Population, Production and Trade

In 1801 Norway had a population of 883 000 persons, 90 per cent of which lived in the countryside. Since 1660 the population had doubled. By the mid-17th century all the land that had been cultivated before the catastrophic plague in 1349 was again being farmed. Historians have asked how it was possible to double the population without any agricultural or industrial revolution during the next 150 years. The answer lies in the income from the export of fish, forestry products and metals, and the organization and distribution of these trades. This income made it possible for Norwegian households to buy imported grain. Historians have therefore highlighted the combination of agriculture, husbandry and income from exports as the key explanation to how population growth beyond the pre-plague level was possible in a preindustrial society in the high north.^[2]

Only 3 per cent of the land in Norway is arable. The yield of grain in early modern times was only 5 in this area close to the Arctic Circle with harvest once a year. Norway regularly suffered from shortages of grain and had been connected to the Hanseatic grain trade since the Middle Ages. In the 18th century about 1/3 of the grain needed was imported, mostly from Denmark – as the countries were politically united at this time.^[3]

Norway exported fish, timber and minerals to pay for the grain imports. The trade and exports of stock fish, salted herring and other fish products had continued for centuries. From the 16th century trade in new products commenced. Planks, timber, semi-finished iron and copper was transported to ports and exported to Britain and continental Europe. Thanks to new technologies, sawmills, ironworks and watermills appeared by the southern coast and in the inland areas. In short – more of the natural resources of Norway were exploited to feed a growing population and an ambitious state that claimed more taxes for war and government.^[4]

Family or rather household co-operation is at the very core for understanding the economy. Those who sailed north to the fisheries were not fulltime fishermen, and

[1] Statistics Norway, “Holdings by size of agricultural area”, Table 14.1.

[2] Ståle DYRVIK et al., *Norsk økonomisk historie, Band 1. 1500–1850*, Oslo 1979, pp. 246–248.

[3] *Ibidem*, pp. 68–69.

[4] *Ibidem*, pp. 34–53.

those who cut the timber were not fulltime lumberjacks. It was the members of the households who organised production and allocated time to combine agriculture, husbandry and income from export trade. Households: family and servants – were co-operating units who made their living by sometimes working together, sometimes far apart. They were farmers, living in the countryside on farms. But during the summer, women – daughters, trusted maids or the wife – would take the animals up to summer farms in the mountains and produce cheese and butter: valuable products, sometimes enough to pay both taxes and rents. While the cattle were away, the remaining household members, male and female, would finish haymaking and harvest during the long summer days at the farm. In the winter, husbands, sons and male servants would sail and row north to fisheries for months or go to the forests for weeks to fell and transport timber to the riverbanks, for the timber to be floated down to the sawmills by springtime. In other words, the Early Modern Norwegian household economy was based on an extensive use of natural resources and on family co-operation which sometimes meant working close together, sometimes far apart.^[5]

Landownership

Landownership is the key to understanding the nature of such an economy. The flexible allocation of time and resources was possible because no lord or estate owner claimed corvée labour or restricted physical mobility. Norway had no estates or estate villages similar to continental Europe. Since the reformation the crown had been the largest landowner, controlling more than 50 per cent of the land. After the costly Nordic wars of the 17th and the early 18th centuries, the king had paid off his creditors with land. The creditors resold the land, and the tenants bought the farms they cultivated into their own hands. By the mid-18th century about 60 per cent of inland farmers owned their farms and forests, or the rights to use the forest. Along the coast most farmers, however, remained tenants and paid their land rent to the crown or other distant landlords.^[6]

In inland areas from the early 18th century, a growing class of rural workers – crofters – rented a plot of land from the farmers and paid their rent in work. This new proletarian class had neither individual rights to the forests nor grazing rights for their cattle on mountain summer farms. They did not have the same rights as

[5] Sølvi SOGNER, *Krig og fred. 1660–1780*, Oslo 1996, pp. 128–145, 217–218; Ragnhild Aarsæther HØGSÆTH, *Kvinner som familieforsørgere og sjølforsørgende belyst ved nordnorske skattelister på 1500- og 1600-tallet*, in: Hedda Gunneng – Birgit Strand (eds.), *Kvinnans økonomiske ställning under nordisk medeltid*, Göteborg 1981; S. DYRVIK, *Norsk*, pp. 246–248; Lars REINTON, *Sæterbruket i Noreg*, Oslo 1961.

[6] Kåre LUNDEN, *Norsk Landbrukshistorie II, 1350–1814. Frå svartedauden til 17. mai*, Oslo 2002, pp. 95–115, 279–290.

tenants, and were dependent on the good will of the farmers for access to forests and mountains. By 1800 about a third of all rural households were those of crofters, most of them on living on the land of extensive farms in inland Norway, where a larger labour force was needed in forestry and farming.^[7]

Households and merchants

Norway was not an isolated economy. In the 18th century most Norwegian households were connected to the commercial network. Merchants exported copper to Amsterdam, stock fish to French and Iberian ports and planks and timber to Britain and Netherlands. On their way back to Norway their ships brought grain, salt, tobacco, and other semi luxury products. Norwegian producers and merchants were connected via credit relations: When the fishermen-farmers of the high north arrived in Bergen with dry stock fish by mid-summer, their merchant contacts would value the fish and furnish them with grain and other equipment for the return home. A solid credit-relation was established, almost never-ending for the fisher-farmer who had to bring fish to “his” merchant to get grain.^[8]

A growing fleet of Norwegian ships took part in this international trade. In parts of southern coastal Norway farmers also built small or bigger ships and took part in the trade on Denmark. They exported timber and returned with grain. However, most of the Norwegians who did take part in direct international trade were crew or skippers on bigger merchants’ ships.^[9]

The international trade also made possible a growing inland transportation. A lot of transport could be conducted during winter by horse and sledge or in the intense weeks during spring time when the rivers ran high. In the early 17th century Dutch and Scottish merchants had traded directly in grain and timber with Norwegian farmers along the South West coast. However, the old coastal forests were soon depleted and timber from inland forests had to be transported to sawmills close to the ports.

Household and government

Taxes, customs, service, conscription of soldiers and sailors for the army and fleet were heavy burdens on the households. Warfare made the burdens even heavier. In early modern times Norway was governed from Denmark. The union lasted between 1397 and 1814 and historians have for centuries discussed the burdens and benefits for the Norwegian population. The Danish kings involved their Norwegian

[7] S. DYRVIK, *Norsk økonomisk historie*, pp. 187–190.

[8] Ståle DYRVIK, *Norsk historie 1536–1814*, Oslo 2011, pp. 135–136.

[9] S. DYRVIK, *Norsk økonomisk historie*, pp. 176–183.

subjects in seven wars with Sweden during the period 1563–1720. After this followed an almost peaceful century during which the Danish government used neutrality to prosper from warfare elsewhere in Europe.

The consequences of conscription of young men, during the many wars, were an increasing workload for the women. At peacetime the military service was not onerous; exercise on Sundays and sometimes construction work on garrisons and fortresses. Conscripted soldiers would often work as servants on farms, and were not supposed to marry. Historians have observed a very low population growth in the coastal areas of West Norway during wartime and before 1720. This can probably be explained both by the heavy conscription rates to the fleet and the army, but also by emigration to the Netherlands.^[10]

The consequences for women of this wartime gender division of work, when men were taken away and taxes doubled, is a question still to be investigated. Tax deficits and tax riots constitute clear evidence of perceived and real burdens on the households. On the other hand custom lists reveal how women tried to make an income from textile production with knitted socks for distant markets during The Great Nordic War.^[11] Military archives reveal that there was neither enough wool, nor a female workforce, to satisfy a hasty order to produce 10 metres of thick woollen cloth, for the purpose of uniforms, for each of the 30 000 soldiers, in the short winter months of 1812.^[12] Even if this order came with a promise of payment, the farmers explained humbly in supplications that the year's wool production had already been used for the textiles the household needed.

Allocation of time and resources: The work year

In rural areas the households tend to adjust time and resources to the seasons. In a European context spring, summer and autumn have been the busy seasons in agriculture and husbandry, while winter was the low season devoted to necessary repairs and construction. In early modern Europe winter also became the season for the “putting out” textile industry: Poor rural households were engaged in spinning for textile merchants and early manufactures. The phenomenon called “proto industries” by historians was based on manufacture in the countryside and hiring of the surplus, mainly female, rural workforce during low seasons. Such putting-out or proto industries seem to have been a rather marginal phenomena in Norway, and Norwegian historians have explained the Norwegian case by pointing to that there probably did not exist a surplus of female workers during winter. Winter was

[10] Sølvi SOGNER, *Ung i Europa. Norsk ungdom over Nordsjøen til Nederland i tidlig nytid*, Oslo 1994; Ståle DYRVIK, *Norsk historie 1537–1814*, Oslo 1999, p. 111.

[11] Else BRAUT, *Frå spinnelin til lerret. Kvinnearbeid i Stavanger ca. 1700–1775*, Oslo 1994.

[12] Anna TRANBERG, *Og da vi ikke kan giørenoget af intet – bondekvinne verer vadmæl til norske soldater 1812–1814*, *Historisk tidsskrift* 93, 2014, pp. 125–150.

the time of the year when the men were away and the women took care of the farm and produced textiles for the households. The gender division of labour can therefore be seen as the explanation of lack of putting out or proto industry.^[13] As mentioned before; winter was the time when women on inland farms had to manage the farms while men and horses were away in the forests. On the small farms along the northern coast, men and boys would sail away in January and not return until April from the northern fisheries.

By the mid-18th century the work for the export trade absorbed even more time of the male work year: sawmills ran most effectively during spring when the rivers flooded. Fishing for distant markets during summer became possible because merchants secured the availability of sufficient quantities of salt. Spring, summer and fall were the seasons for sailing, not the months with ice in ports and heavy storms. The civil servants observed that much farm work was left to women and complained that men should use more time on agriculture. Similar complaints were repeated during the 18th and the early 19th century, which can be seen as an indication that the households continued to base their existence on gender division of labour.^[14]

Whether this intensified gender division of labour should be labelled an “industrious revolution”, as Jan de Vries has suggested for Dutch and English 18th century market oriented households, depends on how the concept is used.^[15] It is certainly not correct to imply that people before the 18th century were not hard working, market oriented, industrious and concerned about making a better living.

The value of women’s work

A closer look at early modern Norwegian women’s work reveals how they allocated their time during the work year. It included both repetitive daily routines and what in Norwegian and old Norse is called “*omn*”, meaning “hard work”; intensive hard work. This can be illustrated by work related to grain and meat: The daily food for almost every meal was porridge. Bread was only made twice a year. This thin, dry bread “*flatbrød*” was stored in high stacks. In October animals were slaughtered and meat preserved by salting, smoking or drying. After this the brewing for the Christmas holidays could begin. During winter the cows and the sheep had to be fed and watered indoors in sheds because of the climate. A cow drank 30 litres

[13] Edgard HOVLAND – Helge NORDVIK – Stein TVEITE, *Proto-industrialisation in Norway, 1750–1850: Fact or Fiction?*, Scandinavian Economic History Review 30, 1982, pp. 45–56.

[14] Maria HALLE, *Her er Qvindfolkene meget drivtuge: topografenes syn på markedsrettet arbeid og forbruk i Norge og Sverige 1750–1800*. Master thesis in history, University of Oslo, 2009, <https://www.duo.uio.no/handle/10852/23775> (12. 7. 2019).

[15] Jan DE VRIES, *The Industrial Revolution and the Industrious Revolution*, The Journal of Economic History 54, 1994, No. 2, pp. 249–270.

a day and the water had to be carried or dragged on sledges. Piped water to the sheds were a 20th century invention.^[16] Winter was also the time for weaving. On the other hand spinning and preparing wool, flax and hemp had to be done all year round. In spring calving, lambing and kidding happened in a short but intensive space of time. Spring, summer and early autumn would be busy, both for women who stayed at the farms in the lowlands, with cultivating, haymaking and harvesting, and for the women of the household who took the animals to summer farms, often 1000 meters above sea level.

Work would vary during the life span of a woman. Norway generally followed the logic of the European marriage pattern and the average age of marriage for women would be around 26.^[17] Girls and young women would take part in production both at home and as servants in other households. Married women shared the conjugal responsibility as head of household and in addition had to manage the heavy workloads intersected by births every second or third year during their fertile period. On average six children would be the normal and the intervals between the births indicate that mothers nursed their children themselves.^[18] Widows would alone carry on the heavy household responsibilities and keep up the production, to maintain the household needs, as well as the state's and landowners' demands for taxes and fees. Work would continue to the very end of everyone's life, depending in nature and heaviness on the level of poverty or what was considered solid, normal prosperity.

Any calculation of what was the value of women's work is bound to fail. The comprehensive nature the function and level of production of the early modern household is overwhelming. However, one example can be provided. Tending and milking cattle were women's work. An early modern Norwegian cow produced about 700 litres of milk per year, which would give about 20 kilos of cheese or butter. The land rent for a good farm at the west-coast could be paid with one "laup" (15 kilos) of butter. One "laup" was a normal sum in early modern Norwegian tax rolls and according to the tax rolls' equations of kinds, 15 kilos of butter was the equivalent of 185 kilograms of grain (one *skippund*).^[19]

The example underscores the importance of focusing on value of production rather than comparing wages when discussing the evaluation of women's work. Early modern Norway was not an exception when it comes to the gender gap in wages: Normally the nominal wage of a female servant would be 2/3 or 1/2 of that

[16] Anna AVDEM, *Gjort så gjerast skulle. Om arbeid og levekår for kvinner på Lesja ca. 1910–1930*, Oslo 1984, p. 334.

[17] Michael DRAKE, *Population and Society in Norway 1735–1865*, Cambridge 1969; Sølvi SOGNER, *Far sjøl i stua og familien hans*, Oslo 1990.

[18] S. SOGNER, *Far sjøl*, p. 57.

[19] *Skattematrikkelen 1647, Rogaland fylke*, Universitetsforlaget 1978, p.10.

of a male servant.^[20] However, a thrifty dairy maid could make the equivalent of a male wage. The logic of the European Marriage system should also be considered in this case: The North-West type of servant was a life-cycle servant. The wages women received as young, obedient workers should not be confused with the value and evaluation of female and male production in general.

The presentation has so far relied on existing research on the early modern Norwegian household economy. Below, however, two empirical studies regarding the acknowledgement of women's' contribution to the economy will be presented. First the supplications from widowers and widows in relation to landholding will be analysed and secondly the debate of the question of vote for female household heads will be discussed.

The acknowledgement of the economic necessity of family co-operation

In previous publications the author has asked if it is possible to trace acknowledgements of family co-operation in court records, supplications and later on – when the union with autocratic Denmark was abolished and an independent Norway got a parliament – in politics.^[21] The conclusion has been that it is possible. The awareness of the household mode of production is obvious in almost every genre of historical sources from this time: The supplications referred to right to trade for “*the life of myself and my wife*”. The taxation was based on a calculation of income from the production of a man and a wife in field, fences and forest. In court both a man and his wife could appear in household economy matters. The military provisions were based on the supposition that those few who had the right to marry were supported economically by their wives. In addition the laws made arrangements for widows to continue a farm or a trade. Similar observations are described in recently published Swedish research from the Gender and Work project in Uppsala.^[22]

It would appear that there were many different ways to handle widowhood which illuminate the economic benefits of family co-operation. As recently research has showed there were many strategies.^[23] Remarriage were chosen for many reasons

[20] Sølvi SOGNER – Kari TELSTE, *Ut og søkjeteneste – historia om tenestejentene*, Oslo 2005, p. 20.

[21] Hilde SANDVIK, *Decision-making on Marital Property in Norway, 1500–1800*, in: Maria Ågren – Amy L. Erickson (eds.), *The Marital Economy in Scandinavia and Britain 1400–1900*, Ashgate 2005, pp. 111–126.

[22] Maria ÅGREN (ed.), *Making a Living, Making a Difference. Gender and Work in Early Modern Society*, Oxford 2017, pp. 80–102.

[23] Beatrice MORING – Richard WALL, *Widows in European Economy and Society 1600–1920*, Woodbridge 2017.

and widows with farms seem to have been attractive marriage partners. In rural Norwegian areas about a 15 per cent of first time married farmers were married to widows.^[24] However widows and widowers could choose not to remarry or wait for a short or longer time.^[25] Remarrying or not – the death of a husband or a wife were followed by questions of inheritance and the registration of debts and valuables. This could be done in private if all heirs were present and grown up (age 18 for men), but since the 17th century public inventories had been compulsory when there were minor or non-present heirs. The preserved early modern inventories illustrate that this regulation was followed and give us an understanding of the importance of transfer of property between generations in rich as in poor homes.

In the early 19th century the confirmation by the vicar was needed on a supplication for postponing the compulsory inventory and division of an estate between the heirs by a widower or a widow. Both widowers and widows explained that for the benefit of their children they wanted to keep the estate undivided and had no intention to ruin their children's inheritance. The vicars' attestation confirmed the ability of the widower or widow to run the farm or the firm. They described the supplicants, male and female, with the same wording as *thrifty* and *frugal*. What really is interesting with this routine is that, due to fact that the supplication had to be sent within 30 days of the spouse's death, the vicar had to recommend the widow's supplication on his knowledge of her as a married woman. And as a result of this routine widows all over the country became heads of household and the undivided estate for shorter or longer time.^[26]

During the years 1815–1850, about 20 000 permissions for widowers and widows were given with about equal sex ratio.^[27] Because a small fee had to be paid to the

[24] H. SANDVIK, *Decision-making*, 2005, p. 115.

[25] Sølvi SOGNER, *Gifte kvinner i bondesamfunnet på 1700-tallet i demografisk perspektiv*, in: *Kvinnekår i det gamle samfunn ca. 1500–1850*, Oslo 1985, pp. 103–104. Family reconstitution studies from 18th century in land Norway shows that about a third of widows remarried, and more than half of the widowers. However, age had impact on the choices: Young widows under 30 remarried almost as often as widower (80–90 per cent), but less than 10 per cent of old widows above age 50 remarried. Remarriage became less frequent in the 19th century.

[26] I have published results from Agder (the Southern coast) and from Trøndelag (mid-Norway). Hilde SANDVIK, *Råderetten over hele boet. Skipperenker og kjøpmannsenker i uskiftet bo*, in: *Årbok Norsk Maritimt Museum 2017; Volume 2016*, pp. 193–210; Hilde SANDVIK, *Fra trøndersk kvinnehistorie*, in: Ola Alsvik – Hans P. Hosar – Marianne Wiig (eds.), *I dørtrekken fra Europa. Festskrift til Knut Sprauten i anledning 70-årsdagen 22. juni 2018*, Oslo 2018, pp. 420–487.

[27] A reform in 1851 freed widower from the obligation to divide the estate with the children and the system was changed in a very interesting “new-gendering” of generation turn over. The argument for this reform is analysed in Hilde SANDVIK, *Myndighet og ansvar: historisk kjønnsperspektiv på politiske og personlige rettigheter*, in: Kari Nordberg et al. (eds.), *Myndighet og medborgerskap. Festskrift til Gro Hagemann, Trykkeår 2015*, pp. 57–70.

county for such permissions, the routine is possible to trace for a period of 35 years (1815–1850). The vicars' confirmation and the supplications were documents attached to the county accounts that were sent to the new Norwegian treasury in Christiania (today Oslo). These accounts are today in the Norwegian National archive.^[28] Until 1814 such accounts were submitted to the treasury in Copenhagen, but to my knowledge the same amount of documentation is not preserved.

People with a small or no fortune (the law mentioned workers, crofters, fishermen) were since a reform in 1799 not obligated to set up public inventories. This reform had lifted the burden from about a half the population, because costly registration of small items often had rather ruined than benefitted the heirs. After the reform public inventories became compulsory only for those who had property: farmers, burghers and officials, and a supplication about postponing registration and the splitting of the property came from this half of the population. In other words: the vicars' statements on the ability and frugality of the supplicants were statements about those who were to manage property and valuables, farms and workshops, widows as well as widowers. It would seem that the non-gender discrimination in this routine can be seen as a continuous confirmation of women's management capacity. Widows were given the authority to run early modern economic units of production, farms and shops, as best they could. This can be regarded as an important statement about how women's economic competence was regarded. If there had been great doubt about women's ability to manage farms and shops, more regulations would have been added to circumscribe the permission, than the phrase that now and then appeared "*with a good man's advice*".

It is of some importance to note the expressions used in widows' supplications. The supplications are about "*our farm*", "*our trade*" or "*my trade*", not "*his farm*" or "*his trade*". This can be interpreted as a way to express that this was an economy that was well known to the supplicant. However, many widowers and widows received help when writing such a supplication. For them this was an application they sent once in their life, and both men and women tended to use assistance when writing to the king.

From the northern county of Nordland (at the 68. latitude) 31 supplicants received permission between 1814–1823. 18 of them were widows. The supplicants explained that a division of the property would harm their trade ("*bruk og næring*") and prevent their support and care for children. In 1815 Andrea Eliasdatter, widow of Peder Hansen Schjeldstad from Bodø parish in Salten county sent her supplication. Her husband had drowned while fishing at Lofoten. She had four children; the oldest was ten, the youngest ten weeks. Her application was written for her, but the words must have sounded right both for her, the writer and the vicar who confirmed the supplication. It said: "*If mine and my husband's humble property*

[28] Riksarkivet, Revisjonsdepartementet 1. kontor, (katalog 1257/11) Bevillingsregnskaper.

should be divided between me and my children according to the law, I would be driven from my trade, that is fishing and farming, and I would be incapable to provide for my young children.”^[29]

In 1821 Ane Catharina, widow of burgher and skipper Anders Christensen Huseby in Nesna parish in Helgeland county, sent her supplication. She had eight children; two sons were over 18 years. She wrote herself that she would be “*driven from my trade*”.^[30] The vicar confirmed her supplication and wrote that if she was to divide the estate now both the fish trade and the store would suffer and decline. She was known as a good housewife who had experience and knowledge of the trade.^[31]

Supplications involved local civil servants, regional authorities and central government. A supplication had to seem reasonable during all steps in the process to succeed, from the confirmation by a local civil servant, to the resolution by the regional authorities and in some difficult cases by the central government. The general approval of widows’ supplications in this process is well evidenced. Authorities on all levels accepted that wives had the competence to manage the household – and to be trusted with inheritance of the heirs. The short description of the economic situation in both widowers and widows’ supplications made it clear that these were applications from *producers* that had to keep the production going to produce the household’s necessities that on a later stage could be divided between the heirs. It was not supplications about fortunes of a certain value in danger to being wasted, but they describe an economy that had to be maintained – grain to grow, cattle to breed and wool to be cut and spun. The producer argument seems to have gained the trust of both local, regional and central government. In other words; they acknowledged the family mode of production, including women’s ability to be household heads and the importance of keeping the means of production together; cows and land, horses and boats.

In a family history perspective it is also important to underline that the supplication was about *postponing* the inventories and the division of inheritance. Remarriage was on the decline during the 19th century, but 10 per cent of marriages

[29] “Dersom mit og afg mands ringe boe skulle skiftes og deles imellem mig og mine børn efter loven, ville ieg derved oprykket af min næring, som bestaar i fiskerid og jordebrug og ieg derved sadt ud af stand til at forsørge mine umyndige børn.” Riksarkivet, Revisjonsdepartementet 1. kontor, (katalog 1257/11) Bevillingsregnskaper, Nordlands amt 1814–1823. Andrea Eliasdatter, sal. Peder Hansen Schjeldstad.

[30] “Ville blive oprykket af min næring og brug.” Riksarkivet, Revisjonsdepartementet 1. kontor, (katalog 1257/11) Bevillingsregnskaper, Nordlands amt 1814–1823, Ane Catharina, sal. Anders Christensen Huseby.

[31] “Vilde naturligvis saavel Jægte, som Handelsbruget blive meget svækkes og tabe sig.” She was known as “som en duelig husmoder, der tillige har øvelse og indsigt i handelen.” Vicar Christian Qvale’s confirmation on Ane Catharina, sal. Anders Christensen Huseby’s supplication.

still involved widower or widows in the 1840s.^[32] To form a new household either by remarriage or by generation shift would be the option in the shorter or longer time, and then an inventory and a formal division of values had to take place. But when death of a spouse happened before a new generation was ready to take over, delaying the division of the estate could be considered to be the best solution.

The value of this material as a source for understanding the family economy lies in the acknowledgment of the ability of a widow to manage – clearly considered with a loss of the work the husband had performed, but partly solved by help of children or hired hands – for a shorter or longer time, until a new household was established either by remarriage or by generation shift.

From production to politics

A consequence of the early modern Norwegian family mode of production, based on gender division of labour and use of all natural resources from mountain pastures to the fish in the fjords, was that it was possible to prise a livelihood out of rather small plots of “farms”. Not only the families knew this, but for centuries also the kings residing far away in Copenhagen, Denmark. The civil servants of the king had for a long time taxed, “*matriculated*”, and collected land tax yearly from tenants and owner occupiers on very small farms. When the founding fathers of the Norwegian constitution discussed the right to vote in 1814, they ended up with deciding that all who owned or rented a “*matriculated*” farm of any size should have the vote. The proposed limitation of the vote to only owner occupiers of farms of a certain size was defeated. Tax triumphed size. The constitutional assembly, composed of farmers as well as civil servants, shared a common knowledge of how economic values were produced in rural Norway.

Gender and vote were not discussed at the constitutional assembly in 1814. The 1814-constitution was one of the last revolutionary constitutions with clear inspiration from the French 1791-constitution. In this revolutionary tradition the vote was for men, or rather for *active citizens*, meaning male taxpayers – one male taxpayer, one vote. It was not a universal suffrage for men. Neither the proletarian cottars nor retired farmers gained the vote, only the men who were taxpaying household heads on farms, normally in the age bracket 30–60. Female taxpayers’ right to vote was not discussed in the constitutional assembly, even though probably everybody knew that the king’s civil servants had, for centuries, collected the same land tax on farms without concern for gender. About 5–10 per cent of those who had paid tax were widows. In the neighbouring country Sweden, widows had been listed in the census for voters for the diet, and in some places this continued

[32] Ståle DYRVIK, *Remariage en Norvège au dix-neuvième siècle*, in: Jacques Dupâquier et al., *Marriage and Remarriage in Population of the Past*, London 1981, p. 298.

during the 19th century for local council votes.^[33] However, Norway, under Danish absolutism until 1814, had no tradition for voting and constitutional assemblies. The new Norwegian political system was to be based on a French 1791-model, not the estate-model of Sweden.

The gender-argument had not been brought forward in the constitution debate. However, when the debate on a law for local council vote started only ten years later, the argument about vote for taxpaying widows was launched and met no disapproval. In the 1833-communal law the Norwegian Parliament included votes for widows as household heads who paid taxes for their farms or trade. However, the king did not pass the law because he disliked the tendency of local council self-government – the widow's vote was not questioned. A revision of the law gained the kings approval in 1837. To make it simple, the legislators this time had chosen to use the same censuses as in national elections, and this meant no vote for taxpaying widows. The vote for women did not become a political issue until the debate on universal suffrage in the late 19th century, and not until 1901 did Norwegian taxpaying women receive the vote. The first version of the Communal Law in 1833 belongs not to the democratic universal vote tradition, but to a political system based on votes for taxpaying household heads. When tax trumped gender it reflected an understanding of the responsibility widows held in household economy.^[34]

Conclusion

In many studies Norwegian historians have documented that family co-operation and the household mode of production is the key to understanding early modern Norwegian economy. A challenge for historians has been to find historical evidence that can enlighten the contemporary acknowledgment of women's contribution to household economy. The author of this paper has previously approached this question from many perspectives. In this publication the acknowledgement of widows as household heads, both as a continuum and as a political event has been in focus. The well-established *routine* with supplications about postponing public inventories reveals widespread acknowledgment of women's economic abilities. All over the country vicars approved widows' initiative to manage the whole estate and gave their statements about widows' ability to manage without loss for the family. A similar acknowledgement can be found in the political *events* in the steps to

[33] Åsa Karlsson SJÖGREN, *Männen, kvinnorna och rösträtten*, Stockholm 2006, pp. 68–71, 155–196.

[34] Hilde SANDVIK, *Gender in Politics Before and After 1814*, in: Pasi Ihalainen (ed.), *Scandinavia in the Age of Revolutions*, Ashgate 2011; Hilde SANDVIK – Peter LINDSTRÖM – Åsa Karlsson SJÖGREN, *Gender, Politics and Voting in Early Modern Scandinavia*, in: James Daybell – Svante Norrhem (eds.), *Gender and Political Culture in Early Modern Europe*, Routledge 2017.

the local authority vote and the lack of objections among males to include votes for taxpaying widows. Tax trumped gender because widows' responsibilities as household heads were acknowledged. The right for women to vote on local level reflected an understanding of the responsibility widows held in the household economy. Family cooperation was the background for such an attitude. The benefits of family co-operation and risk handling both seem to have been based on and fostered an acknowledgment of women's contribution to the household economy and family welfare.



AGRICULTURAL FAMILY AND NEIGHBOR LABOR IN NINETEENTH-CENTURY MINNESOTA^[1]

Matt A. Nelson

Abstract: Expanding production with limited resources challenged nineteenth-century farm families, particularly young couples with newly established farms. For many farms in this early life cycle stage, networks of neighbors and kin were critical to success. Using letters, farm diaries, and account books, the author explores the roles and relationships of family labor and neighbor labor on the farm over the life course. In particular, the author relies heavily on the diary of Andrew Peterson to provide a microhistorical view of farm labor. Andrew Peterson provides a valuable resource as he represents an average Minnesota farmer during this time period. Yet his unique place as a pomologist, an inspiration for Vilhelm Moberg's *"The Emigrants"* series and his 43-year diary provide a large primary, secondary, and fictional literature to understand the context of the Peterson farm family. Social networks of neighbor labor, defined as labor or capital exchanged between neighbors in conjunction with monetary or commodity payment, were relied upon both as a function of maintaining community ties and as a resource during times of need and crisis. Finally, the diaries describe the labor of Andrew's wife Elsa and their children, who according to the Census were not working. The diaries reflect Victorian gender norms, where Andrew did not record Elsa's household work. When including household work, conservative estimates show the importance of Elsa's labor on the farm. While we need to be cautious when extrapolating these findings to a larger population, neighbor labor for this particular farm family suggests the importance of community ties and invisible labor.

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Introduction

Sophie Bost, a French-Swiss pioneer from Minnesota, wrote a letter home to France that: *"Theodore has not been able to find a hired man at a reasonable price and is doing all the spring work by himself, apart from a little help (with sowing the*

[1] I would like to thank Jan de Vries, Antoinette Fauve-Chamoux, J. David Hacker, Deborah Levison, Beatrice Moring, Evan Roberts, Steven Ruggles, and anonymous reviewers for their valuable feedback on this project. I received additional feedback from participants at the Social Science History Association Annual Meeting in 2016, European Social Science History Conference in 2018, and a seminar at the Écoles des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales in 2018.

wheat) from our neighbor Mike.”^[2] Around the same time, her husband Theodore wrote: “Here the great thing is to pay for things with what you can produce on your own farm and sell [your crops] for cash.”^[3] In his diary in October 1845, William R. Brown wrote: “Martha made a pot of soap, used 22 lbs Tallow in making it. Charles & I. Daubed the Hen House. Bridsette took his Prairie Plow away. Belland sent for his ox yoke.”^[4] Andrew Peterson recorded in his diary on March 2, 1863: “Mended boots for Andrew and he hauled rails.”^[5] In these letters home and matter-of-fact diary entries, the Bosts, Brown, and Peterson articulated different forms of agricultural labor.

Family and neighbor labor did not appear clearly in sources such as the Census because national statisticians had little interest in measuring unpaid labor which led to their underreporting.^[6] This invisible labor was important for agricultural success given the challenges of farming in Minnesota in the nineteenth century. One farmer, Andrew Peterson, recorded in his extensive 43-year diary how the labor of neighbors, women, and children varied based on the family life cycle. Social networks bonded communities together, and in Peterson’s case, social networks of neighborhood exchange supplemented low labor supply during the early family life cycle while Peterson’s sons fulfilled the required labor in the later family life cycle. While the diary is limited by not reporting the number of hours worked and excluding his wife Elsa’s work within the household, the diary is a rich resource to describe invisible forms of labor not captured in the Census. Examining the data compiled from the diary suggests male neighbor labor made up the primary labor force beyond the household for the Peterson family. Peterson used male neighbor labor even after hiring labor and his children’s increased labor

[2] Theodore BOST – Sophie BOST, *A Frontier Family in Minnesota: Letters of Theodore and Sophie Bost. 1851–1920*, Minneapolis 1981, p. 228 (tr. Ralph Henry Bowen).

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 173.

[4] Rodney C. LOEHR (ed.), *William R. Brown. Minnesota Farmers’ Diaries*, St Paul 1939.

[5] Andrew PETERSON, *Andrew Peterson and Family Papers 1850–2007*, (St. Paul: Minnesota Historical Society, 2007), [Microfilm], M231 Reel 2, p. 120 (tr. Emma M. Ahlquist).

[6] Claudia GOLDIN, *Household and Market Production of Families in a Late Nineteenth Century American City*, *Explorations in Economic History* 16, 1979, pp. 111–131; Nancy FOLBRE – Marjorie ABEL, *Women’s Work and Women’s Households: Gender Bias in the U.S. Census*, *Social Research* 56, 1989, pp. 545–569; Nancy FOLBRE, *The Unproductive Housewife: Her Evolution in Nineteenth-Century Economic Thought*, *Signs* 16, 1991, pp. 463–484; Margo ANDERSON, *The History of Women and the History of Statistics*, *Journal of Women’s History* 4, 1992, pp. 14–36; Nancy FOLBRE, *Women’s Informal Market Work in Massachusetts. 1875–1920*, *Social Science History* 17, 1993, pp. 135–160; Nancy FOLBRE – Barnett WAGMAN, *Counting Housework: New Estimates of Real Product in the United States. 1800–1860*, *Journal of Economic History* 5, 1993, pp. 275–288; Matt A. NELSON, *Relieved of These Little Chores: Agricultural Neighbor Labor, Family Labor, and Kinship in the United States 1790–1940*. Dissertation: University of Minnesota, 2018.

later in the family life cycle suggests neighbor labor was not simply a frontier response but supplemented the lack of family laborers and reinforced community bonds.

Brief history of Minnesota 1850–1880

The Minnesota Territory was first organized by the United States in September 1849. With aspirations to “open” the land and expand the few settlements already in place, the Treaty of Traverse des Sioux and the Treaty of Mendota were signed by United States commissioners and the chiefs of the Sisseton, Wahpeton, Mdewakanton, and Wahpakoota bands in 1851. While payment as stipulated in the treaties by the United States to the different Indian bands were delayed or misappropriated, the two treaties effectively opened up Minnesota for large-scale white settlement. Minnesota obtained statehood in the United States on May 11, 1858.^[7]

Minnesota is broadly separated into four ecological areas: The Prairie Parkland, Eastern Broadleaf Forest, Tallgrass Aspen Parkland and the Laurentian Mixed Forest. The Eastern Broadleaf Forest, more popularly described as the “Big Woods” by Laura Ingalls Wilder, had the highest population and improved acre densities in Minnesota in the nineteenth century.^[8] The transformation from woodlands to improved farmsteads in the “Big Woods” proved extremely challenging, taking as long as 20 years to convert forests into a large farm.^[9] During harsh Minnesota winters however, forests provided a source of fuel and building materials. Sophie Bost described in a letter to her sister-in-law in 1860: “*Imagine to yourself a man in the middle of a dense forest which he has to clear. Tree after tree falls under his ax; some are used to build his house, and from the others he splits rails to build his fences; most of them are put in piles to be burned and removed... then you harrow it...and the pioneer grows rich with his fine fields and abundant harvests. Now you understand why the first years are so hard... he doesn't even have time to think about making sugar in the spring or to plant fruit trees. No, he must clear land, he must break the soil, and even in the event that the first crops don't turn out particularly well, he has confidence – first of all in God, and then in*

[7] Edward NEILL – Charles BRYANT, *History of the Minnesota Valley: Including the Explorers and Pioneers of Minnesota*, Minneapolis 1882, pp. 167–168, 180–181; Susan GRANGER – Scott KELLY, *Historic Context Study of Minnesota Farms, 1820–1960*. Vol 1, Minnesota Department of Transportation 2005.

[8] Minnesota Department of Natural Resources, *Ecological Provinces of Minnesota*, 2000, http://files.dnr.state.mn.us/natural_resources/ecs/province.pdf; U.S Census Bureau, *Population Density*, 1860.

[9] Steven R. HOFFBECK, *The Haymakers: A Chronicle of Five Farm Families*, Minneapolis 2000, p. 23; Lucy Leavenworth Wilder MORRIS, *Old Rail Fence Corners: Frontier Tales Told by Minnesota Pioneers*, St. Paul 1976.

the future, to reward him for his efforts. I've been telling you about the woodland, but there are also open prairies where there are no trees, hence no difficult clearing to be done, but by the same token no wood to burn in winter, no sugar, no shade, no shelter! I like the woods better, but then, I'm not the one who chops down the trees!"^[10]

With the failure of the Ohio Life Insurance and Trust Company in 1857 and rampant land speculation in the western United States, the resulting panic led to a depression of farm prices and land values which hurt Minnesota in particular, as Minnesota just opened up for broader white settlement in the early 1850s.^[11] Theodore Bost wrote in a letter to his parents in February 1859 that: "*The business outlook is still very dark for us Minnesotans. This makes me sorry for you, dear Parents; after drawing for you so attractive a picture of Minnesota, it is painful for me not to be able to send you better news. The frightful rise in land prices having stopped, or rather collapsed, all the investors have withdrawn their capital from the territory, so at the moment we are in a bad slump. However, the capitalists will soon see that they can make more money and do the country more good by setting up manufacturing of all kinds. We have magnificent pasturage for sheep, but since there are no woolen mills, nobody raises any. We have magnificent forests containing all sorts of wood, but no barrel factories, wagon factories, etc...*"^[12]

The Panic of 1857 ended with the beginning of the American Civil War in April 1861 which brought about an economic recovery by increasing the demand for wheat, corn and oats. In the midst of the Civil War, the Dakota Conflict began in central Minnesota in August 1862, when four Dakota hunters killed five white settlers. The Dakota Conflict's origins go back to the original treaty signings of Traverse des Sioux and Mendota. The United States government agreed to pay the tribes a set amount of money and provide food, supplies, and land to the signing tribes. However, corruption and broken promises led to the United States not making payments as promised, which resulted in increased tensions between the Dakota and white settlers. After the initial attack, the Dakota attacked white farms and settlements over the next several months. In his diary, Andrew Peterson wrote on August 20, 1862: "*We had an Indian scare and fled out on the island in Clearwater Lake.*"^[13] Four days later, the community discussed forming a volunteer force to fight the Dakota tribes, but ultimately decided to wait for further instruction from the state government. After writing that tensions about potential Dakota conflicts had diminished by September 7, Andrew wrote nothing more regarding

[10] T. BOST – S. BOST, *A Frontier Family*, p. 159.

[11] Charles W. CALOMIRIS – Larry SCHWEIKART, *The Panic of 1857: Origins, Transmission, and Containment*, *The Journal of Economic History* 51, 1991, pp. 807–834, here p. 809.

[12] T. BOST – S. BOST, *A Frontier Family*, p. 134.

[13] A. PETERSON, *Andrew Peterson and Family Papers 1850–2007*, [Microfilm], p. 111.

the conflict. The uprising continued for several months, ending with the execution of 38 Dakota men on December 26, 1862 – the largest mass execution in United States history.^[14]

The American Civil War affected local communities directly in 1863 with the drafting of men for the army. Men could avoid the draft by providing a substitute or paying \$300. When drafts were announced, meetings were held in Scandia to raise money for families and provide substitutes for people whom were drafted but did not wish to go to war. Peterson, too old to be drafted, spent some of his time at his brother-in-law, Per Daniel's farm while Per Daniel fought in 1864 and 1865.^[15]

The United States agricultural economy suffered lower prices in the post-Civil War period, high prices for shipping goods to markets, and the grasshopper plagues of the 1870s.^[16] The grasshopper plagues were an adversary in various works of fiction such as Laura Ingalls Wilder's *On the Banks of Plum Creek*. In her autobiography, Wilder described how: "We raised our faces and looked straight into the sun. It has been shining brightly but now there was a light colored, fleecy cloud over its face so it did not hurt eyes. And then we saw that the cloud was grasshoppers."^[17] In a similar account, Andrew Peterson described in August 1876 on "The 19th the grasshoppers began to come and since then more have come each day. By the 31st, the air was so full of them that when you looked at the sun, it looked as if it was snowing."^[18] From *The Settlers*, Vilhelm Moberg wrote: "Then, about harvest time, came the locust plague. There had been no grasshoppers in Minnesota since 1849, and the settlers were in hopes they would never return. One day, however, they appeared

[14] Duane SCHULTZ, *Over the Earth I Come: The Great Sioux Uprising of 1862*, New York 1992, pp. 5, 8–12, 20; James M. McPHERSON, *Ordeal by Fire: The Civil War and Reconstruction*, Boston 2001,³ pp. 139–153; Minnesota Historical Society, *Andrew Peterson and Family Papers 1850–2007*, 2007, pp. 138, 142–143.

[15] National Archives and Records Administration (NARA), Washington, D.C., *Consolidated Lists of Civil War Draft Registration Records (Provost Marshal General's Bureau, Consolidated Enrollment Lists, 1863–1865)*, Record Group: 110, NAI: 4213514, Archive Volume Number: 3 of 4; James McPHERSON, *Battle Cry of Freedom: The Civil War Era*, Oxford 1988, pp. 600–601, 604, 758.

[16] E. NEILL – Ch. BRYANT, *History of the Minnesota Valley*, pp. 357, 381, 396; T. BOST – S. BOST, *A Frontier Family*, pp. 285–286; Christopher HANES, *Wholesale Price Indexes, by Commodity Group: 1749–1890 [Warren and Pearson]*, in: Susan B. Carter – Scott Sigmund Gartner – Michael R. Haines – Alan L. Olmstead – Richard Sutch – Gavin Wright (eds.), *Historical Statistics of the United States, Earliest Times to the Present: Millennial Edition*, New York 2006, Table Cc113–124.

[17] Pamela Smith HALL (ed.), *Laura Ingalls Wilder. Pioneer Girl: The Annotated Autobiography*, Pierre 2014, p. 79.

[18] A. PETERSON, *Andrew Peterson and Family Papers 1850–2007*, [Microfilm], p. 342.

in immense, ravenous swarms. Like a rain of living black-gray drops they fell over the earth."^[19]

The grasshopper plagues of the 1870s represented one of the largest crises in Minnesota history. Private charity and state aid to help out farmers with no harvests because of the plagues found limited success. The Minnesota legislature debated whether to compensate farmers by requiring additional work, bounties on grasshoppers, or seed and food to replant and survive. By the late 1870s, the plagues largely ended with only minor local occurrences of grasshoppers. Gilbert Fite discussed how families wrote to Minnesota's governor for additional assistance, and often referenced being unable to help neighbors. Other than legislators concerned about state aid encouraging laziness and dependence, most letters tended to cite the inability of neighbors to care for each other and in particular, widows, elderly persons or children starving due to a lack of aid.^[20]

Family labor and neighbor labor exchange in Minnesota

Family values about neighbor labor exchange as a complement to family and hired labor can be seen through the letters and diaries of farm families in the 19th century. Theodore Bost migrated to Carver County, Minnesota in November 1855. During his time in Minnesota, he and his future wife Sophie wrote several letters to family in France and Switzerland through the 1880s. The Bosts discussed major events and their daily life in these letters, including the labor and tasks involved on the farm. While some of the letters were ambiguous regarding hired labor and exchanged labor, other times Theodore distinguished between the two forms. Theodore hired unnamed laborers in July 1860 whom he paid with honey, livestock and grain. An example of neighbor labor exchange for Bost occurred in September 1860 where Theodore shocked his wheat with a man named Sarver and the next day, helped Sarver stack hay. The Bosts were in debt to their parents for hundreds of dollars for several years but used the money to pay for hired labor throughout the 1860s.^[21]

When Theodore worked with others, he named his neighbors such as Sarver and Powers, but Theodore never named the wage laborers. For the Bosts, exchanging labor and livestock with local neighbors complemented household and wage labor. Theodore aspired for economic independence, expanding the farm to pay back debts and live more comfortably. In April 1860, the Bosts attempted to hire a workman to clear more land, but "*all of the available young men had already*

[19] Vilhelm MOBERG, *The Settlers*, St. Paul 1995, pp. 589–590 (tr. Gustaf Lannestock).

[20] Gilbert FITE, *Some Farmers' Accounts of Hardship on the Frontier*, *Minnesota History* 36, 1961, pp. 205–211; Walter N. TRENNERY, *The Minnesota Legislator and the Grasshopper. 1873–1877*, *Minnesota History* 33, 1958, pp. 56–61.

[21] T. BOST – S. BOST, *A Frontier Family*, pp. 167–169.

found jobs, so we shall simply press forward under God's protection".^[22] In cases such as this, the Bosts did not rely on neighbor labor. Sophie and Theodore both offer suggestions in their letters on the limits of neighborhood exchange.

Referring to older settlers whom had lived in the immediate area longer, Theodore wrote in a letter back home in June 1856: "*I can see that this year I'm going to have to do what many newcomers do – be satisfied to watch my neighbors enjoy their large, rich fields. I haven't yet been able to get my field plowed and have only an acre and a half planted. If it pleases God, I'll be able to plow two acres this week and plant them to potatoes and buckwheat. It takes four yokes of oxen to break the land and tear up the roots of small trees, and the older 'settlers' have made arrangements this past year to help one another; the new settlers don't yet have any oxen and so have to be content with admiring other people's fields. That causes me more pain on your account that on my own because I'll have enough to live on if I buy meat with what I can grow on my one and one-half acres, and I'll have more time to work on my house and get more land ready for planting next year.*"^[23]

Theodore suggested these established farmers excluded new farmers such as himself, and he could not borrow from other recent migrants because they did not have livestock. Older settlers' livestock were already exchanged for work, thus not available to lend to Theodore. Community, while binding local neighbors together, excluded others. In November 1856, Bost came upon a community of Swedish Baptists, including Andrew Peterson.

Andrew Peterson, born in Sweden in 1818, provided a unique account of his time in Minnesota. Peterson first migrated to the United States in 1850. Many Swedes migrated for better economic opportunities or religious persecution due to the enforcement of the Konventikelplakatet of 1726.^[24] Andrew migrated to Burlington, Iowa for the former reason as he was not baptized within the outlawed Baptist faith until 1854. After a community Lutheran/Baptist split in 1854, Peterson migrated with several neighbors north to Scandia, Minnesota, on the western edge of the Big Woods. It is unclear whether this group migration was religiously based, as there is evidence that Peterson planned on migrating north to Minnesota before his religious conversion. Peterson was unique as an immigrant

[22] Ibid, p. 156.

[23] Ibid, p. 94. The word "settlers" was written in English rather than French in the original letter. Underlined words were underlined in the original letter. Théodore BOST – Sophie BOST – Charles Marc BOST, *Les derniers puritains, pionniers d'Amérique, 1851–1920: lettres de Théodore Bost et Sophie Bonjour*, Paris 1977, p. 78.

[24] David Eric JESSUP, *The Language of Religious Liberty in the Swedish Constitution of 1809*, Scandinavian Studies 82, 2010, pp. 176–180; Josephine MIHELICH, *Andrew Peterson and the Scandia Story: A Historical Account about a Minnesota Pioneer Whose Diaries have been "Reborn as a piece of world literature" through Wilhelm Moberg and his writings*, Minneapolis 1984, p. 127.

in that his familial ties to the church ensured he received a better education than most Swedish farmers.^[25]

After his migration to the United States in 1850, Peterson recorded his daily life in a diary and account book. This diary contains records of over 43 years of daily life from the age of 36 until Andrew's death in 1898 at the age of 79. Peterson represents an interesting historical figure because, though he produced an "average" economic output, his records were preserved due to his contributions towards Minnesota pomology, the study of apples. For instance, in 1860 Peterson produced within one standard deviation of all measures from the agricultural census within Carver County except number of cattle owned and molasses. While relatively more successful in 1870 with slightly higher farm values and production rates than other farmers, Peterson's agricultural production was similar to an average farmer in Carver County. Because of his reputation as a renowned horticulturalist, Peterson's diaries were preserved after his death in 1898. These diaries provided the details that Vilhelm Moberg used to create Karl Oskar, the main protagonist of *The Emigrants* tetralogy. A musical *Andrew Peterson: The Genuine Pioneer Story* premiered in Sweden based on Andrew Peterson's diaries in 2006.^[26]

Included in his accounts were records of who owed Andrew work and vice versa. In the early years, work primarily comprised of building homes and barns, but later transitioned to breaking land, gathering hay and threshing wheat. During harvest season, the usual family supply of labor was insufficient, and hiring the necessary labor either prohibitively expensive or unavailable. The exchange of labor allowed farmers to redistribute their labor in a manner that allowed them to fulfill labor supply shortages without the expense of hiring labor.^[27] Peterson discussed on May 11, 1857, how Jonas Peter harrowed his wheat field and the very next day, Andrew went to Jonas Peter's and grubbed to pay for his harrowing.^[28] In a more detailed entry on November 28, 1856 Peterson wrote: "*I borrowed Jonas Broberg's oxen to haul logs for the fence on the other side of the maple. Alfred was also here with his oxen and hauled logs. He owed me two and a half days work, one day I counted off for the oxen and the half day I counted off for the sinkers he made for the seine and the mending of the net. In the evening Nilsson and I settled our*

[25] Heidi GOULD, *Peterson, Andrew (1818–1898)*, <http://www.mnopedia.org/person/peterson-andrew-1818-1898> (February 4, 2016); J. MIHELICH, *Andrew Peterson*, pp. 10–13.

[26] The calculations used data entered from the 1860 and 1870 agricultural censuses. Data available upon request. Matt A. NELSON, *Manuscript Censuses of Population and Agriculture for 1860 and 1870: Carver County*, Minnesota 2010; Vilhelm MOBERG, *The Emigrants*, St. Paul 1995 (tr. Gustaf Lannestock); Vilhelm MOBERG, *Unto A Good Land*, St. Paul 1995 (tr. Gustaf Lannestock); Vilhelm MOBERG, *The Last Letter Home*, St. Paul 1995 (tr. Gustaf Lannestock).

[27] George A. POND – Jesse W. TAPP, *A Study of Farm Organization in Southwestern Minnesota*, University of Minnesota, Agricultural Experiment Station 1923, pp. 101–103.

[28] A. PETERSON, *Andrew Peterson and Family Papers 1850–2007*, [Microfilm], pp. 30, 33–34.

account for the last period of boarding and the six and a half days of work I had done during that."^[29]

In his account books, Andrew Peterson recorded these labors and crossed out entries of labor as he settled accounts with other farmers. Peterson wrote whether he exchanged labor, measured in days, money, or commodities to pay for different exchanges of neighbor labor. Peterson used this method of crossing out entries when the accounts were "made" until September 1875. Peterson then switched to the traditional debit and credit style of accounting at this time, reflecting a shift in his approach to neighborhood exchange. Whether due to success, the family life cycle, or the changing economic climate of Minnesota, Peterson relied on his sons and paid for labor rather than exchanging it. While Andrew still worked at neighboring farms, it is clear that by the 1870s his work at nearby farms declined.^[30]

Peterson followed Theodore Bost's strategy of hiring labor and paying with money or goods. Peterson wrote in the names of almost all workers, even laborers he paid in cash.^[31] This reflects differences in the type of sources (letters vs. account books) but also values of the two farmers. While Peterson did not work exclusively with Swedes, the majority of his work outside of his family largely remained within the religious-ethnic community that grew around and with him. Bost worked with many neighbors whom were American or British since Bost lived in the United States for several years and had already learned English. Peterson, on the other hand, learned English with local Swedes at weekly language meetings.^[32]

The roles of these social networks should not be overemphasized or considered as complete substitutes for family labor on the farm. Theodore Bost wrote "*I ought to get married, and the sooner, the better. I am very happy as I am at present, but all these little household chores take a great deal of time – time that could be devoted to men's work. It doesn't make so much difference in the winter, but in the summer when I'll have the cows, pigs, hens, etc., to take care of, it will be more inconvenient, and if I could find a good, strong girl to marry, I would be relieved of these little chores and my outlay for food wouldn't be much greater, while there would be big savings in other respects.*"^[33]

[29] Ibid, p. 30.

[30] Andrew PETERSON, *Andrew Peterson and Family Papers 1850–2007*, (St. Paul: Minnesota Historical Society, 2007), [Microfilm], M231 Reel 3 (tr. Emma M. Ahlquist).

[31] Occasionally, Peterson will name the laborer based on geography such as "the German" or "the Dalecarlian". He also referenced individuals based on kinship such as "Broberg's son" or "Carl's wife".

[32] A. PETERSON, *Andrew Peterson and Family Papers 1850–2007*, [Microfilm], 32; T. BOST – S. BOST, *A Frontier Family*, pp. 70, 140; David E. SCHOB, *Hired Hands and Plowboys: Farm Labor in the Midwest. 1815–1860*, Urbana 1975.

[33] R. T. BOST – S. BOST, *A Frontier Family*, p. 74.

There was an absence of information in Peterson's diaries about "female spheres" of the family farm, and Andrew failed to mention his wife Elsa's housework. For example, Peterson sold eggs and butter, but never described the production of eggs and butter in his diary, suggesting that Elsa and his children were responsible for this work. This follows the generalization of nineteenth century dairy production where men were responsible for the care of the animals while women and children were responsible for milking cows and producing butter.^[34] While domestic housework to Peterson and Bost was a part of the "women's sphere", women were not excluded from "male" farm work. This largely reflects the historiography of previous work on the roles of farm women and farm work in the pre-World War II era.^[35]

Farmer diaries alluded to the exchange of labor and capital alongside commodities in lieu of or in tandem with monetary exchange. This exchange is well documented in the historiography, but often considered as a pre-capitalist form of exchange that slowly disappeared with the rise of market agriculture. The problem with this argument is that agriculture did not follow a clear pre-determined path of economic development.^[36] On the contrary, agriculture in the United States followed different paths regionally. Additionally, farmers did not achieve complete self-sufficiency.^[37] Many farms were composite farms, both engaged with formal

[34] Joan JENSEN, *Loosening the Bonds: Mid-Atlantic Farm Women, 1750–1850*, New Haven 1986; Joan M. JENSEN, *Butter Making and Economic Development in Mid-Atlantic America from 1750 to 1850*, *Signs* 13, 1988, pp. 813–829.

[35] Ruth Schwartz COWAN, *More Work for Mother: The Ironies of Household Technology from the Open Hearth to the Microwave*, New York 1983; Rachel ROSENFELD, *Farm Women: Work, Farm, and Family in the United States*, Chapel Hill 1985; Paul C. ROSENBLATT, *Farming is in Our Blood: Farm Families in Economic Crisis*, Ames 1990; Nancy Grey OSTERUD, *Bonds of Community: The Lives of Farm Women in Nineteenth-Century New York*, Ithaca 1991; Jane Marie PEDERSON, *Between Memory and Reality: Family and Community in Rural Wisconsin, 1870–1970*, Madison 1992; Mary NETH, *Preserving the Family Farm: Women, Community, and the Foundations of Agribusiness in the Midwest, 1900–1940*, Baltimore 1995; Sally McMURRY, *Transforming Rural Life: Dairying, Families and Agricultural Change, 1820–1885*, Baltimore 1995; Lu Ann JONES, *Mama Learned Us to Work: Farm Women in the New South*, Chapel Hill 2001; A. PETERSON, *Andrew Peterson and Family Papers 1850–2007*, [Microfilm], pp. 63–130, 228; Jan De VRIES, *The Industrious Revolution: Consumer Behavior and the Household Economy, 1650 to the Present*, Cambridge 2008.

[36] Richard Lyman BUSHMAN, *Markets and Composite Farms in Early America*, *The William and Mary Quarterly* 55, 1998, p. 361; R. Todd WELKER, *Neighborhood Exchange and the Economic Culture of Rural California in the Late Nineteenth Century*, *Agricultural History* 87, 2013, p. 410.

[37] Michael MERRILL, *Cash is Good to Eat: Self-Sufficiency and Exchange in the Rural Economy of the United States*, *Radical History Review* 4, 1977, pp. 42–71; James A. HENRETTA, *Families and Farms: Mentalité in Pre-Industrial America*, *The William and Mary Quarterly* 35, 1978, pp. 3–32.

market exchanges, informal exchanges between neighbors, and producing goods for their own families. Focusing solely on market exchange ignores the contributions and value of women, children, and neighbors.^[38]

In Peterson's diaries, neighborhood exchange reinforced ties of religious kinship and helped the family in times of limited labor supply. Furthermore, early developments in agricultural machinery often required multiple workers. For example, threshing machines required several laborers to run as well as the livestock to pull the machines before the tractor. Threshing machines were prohibitively expensive to many farmers, and cooperation necessary when farmers used these new technologies.^[39]

Neighbor labor exchange was a necessity for many farm families as families could not provide all of the labor or capital investment necessary to harvest crops or raise animals. Given this, families worked together, and the strongest ties of community were based on families, religion, schools, and geographical proximity.^[40] With the diary entries being consistent, this primary source lends itself well to quantification which captures the vastness of the diary to answer questions such as how various forms of labor were organized and when.

While the letters discussed above provide insights into the exchange of labor in Minnesota, the family life cycle mechanisms and timing of exchange labor are still unclear. Given the detailed diary, a study of the work organization of the Peterson farm provides a wonderful micro-history opportunity. The exquisite details of who, what, and where the family worked allows for a reconstruction of the work life course. With a vast literature on the contributions of women and children on family farms, what does it matter if we have one farmer to describe similar work-life patterns? I contend that the details of Peterson's diaries describe several factors that are not explored in the historical literature.^[41]

First, Peterson's diary described work beyond his farm systematically. The exchange of neighbor labor formed a fundamental aspect of the Midwestern family farm identity in the nineteenth and twentieth century, but it has been unclear

[38] Jeremy ATACK – Fred BATEMAN, *To Their Own Soil: Agriculture in the Antebellum North*, Ames 1987; Lee A. CRAIG, *The Value of Household Labor in Antebellum Northern Agriculture*, *The Journal of Economic History* 51, 1991, pp. 67–81; Lee CRAIG, *To Sow One Acre More: Childbearing and Farm Productivity in the Antebellum North*, Baltimore 1993.

[39] R. T. WELKER, *Neighborhood Exchange*, pp. 391–392, 410–411; G. A. POND – J. W. TAPP, *A Study*, pp. 101–103.

[40] Carolyn Earle BILLINGSLEY, *Communities of Kinship: Antebellum Families and the Settlement of the Cotton Frontier*, Athens 2004, p. 5; Catharine Anne WILSON, *Reciprocal Work Bees and the Meaning of Neighbourhood*, *The Canadian Historical Review* 82, 2001, pp. 431–464; Richard WALL, *Economic Collaboration of Family Members Within and Beyond Households in English Society, 1600–2000*, *Continuity and Change* 25, 2010, pp. 83–108.

[41] John Mack FARAGHER, *History from the Inside-Out: Writing the History of Women in Rural America*, *American Quarterly* 33, 1981; R. T. WELKER, *Neighborhood Exchange*.

whether the networks operated primarily for economic necessity or the maintenance of social ties.^[42] As shown in California by Welker, this 19th century economy differed from the modern wage economy as it reflected a barter system within an emerging capitalist framework.

Second, a fundamental problem with historical statistics at the national level is labor of groups such as women and children were not well identified. Elsa had her own social networks as Peterson occasionally mentioned Elsa going elsewhere to quilt. As seen from other diaries such as Martha Ballard in post-Revolutionary War Maine, Elsa's social networks and extensive work were invisible in Andrew's accounts.^[43] While a diary from Elsa and/or the children would be preferred to measure their labor, Andrew's daily logs are the next closest source. Finally, the diary of a male figure showed what Andrew thought important to record. As pointed out earlier, some tasks were ignored, showing not only the bias of Peterson's farm diary, but also why national occupational statistics ignored the contributions of women and children.^[44]

Overall, the diary provides over 15,000 days of data. Currently, all of the available diary entries between June 1855 and December 1876 have been digitized and coded. This represents over half of the diary at 8,116 total days with approximately 5,742 work days.^[45] I measure the labor contributions of different labor groups called Labor Task Equivalents (LTE). Conceptually, instead of the measure being based on *time*, it is based on *tasks*. I use this measure due to data limitations, but also to accurately describe the contributions of different groups of labor. For example, in examining the following diary entry: "*I husked corn. Per Daniel and Broberg helped. In the afternoon I went to a language meeting.*" One can infer that Andrew and the two male neighbors husked corn in the morning and Andrew attended the non-working afternoon language meeting. Because each person worked 1/2 a labor task equivalent, this would lead to the calculation of one male neighbor labor task equivalent and 1/2 labor task equivalent for Andrew. While LTE is not

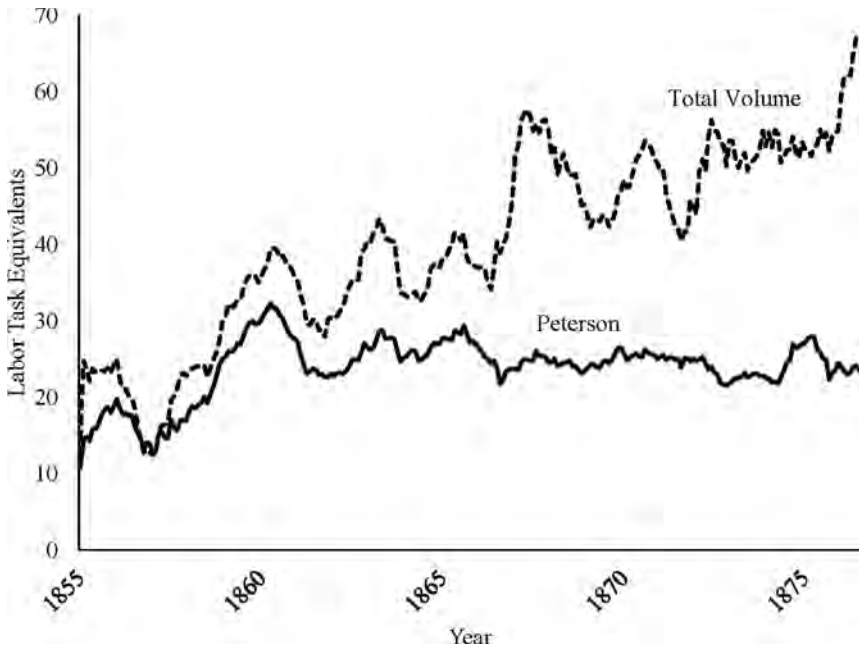
[42] Sonya SALAMON – Kathleen M. GENGENBACHER – Dwight J. PENAS, *Family Factors Affecting the Intergenerational Succession to Farming*, *Human Organization* 45, 1986, pp. 24–25; Marian DEININGER – Douglas MARSHALL, *A Study of Land Ownership by Ethnic Groups from Frontier Times to the Present in a Marginal Farming Area in Minnesota*, *Land Economics* 31, 1955, pp. 359–360; Stephen John GROSS, *Handing Down the Farm: Values, Strategies, and Outcomes in Inheritance Practices Among Rural German Americans*, *Journal of Family History* 21, 1996, p. 193.

[43] Laurel THATCHER ULRICH, *A Midwife's Tale: The Life of Martha Ballard, Based on Her Diary, 1785–1812*, New York 1990, pp. 76–80.

[44] Jon GJERDE, *The Minds of the West: Ethnocultural Evolution in the Rural Middle West, 1830–1917*, Chapel Hill 1997.

[45] A more detailed discussion of labor task equivalents can be found in M. A. NELSON, *Relieved of These Little Chores*, pp. 157–166. Data available upon request. Matt A. NELSON, *Andrew Peterson Diary of Work 1855–1888*, [dataset] 2018.

FIGURE 1. 12 MONTH MOVING AVERAGE TOTAL LABOR TASK EQUIVALENTS, 1855-1876

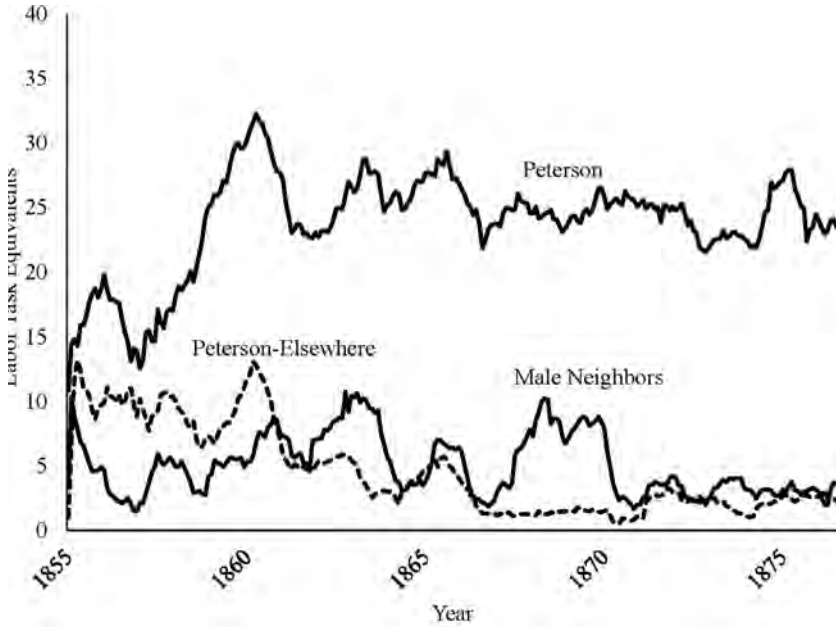


Source: M. A. NELSON, *Andrew Peterson Diary of Work 1855-1888*, [dataset], 2018.

a perfect measure, LTE represents the best measure available with the given data and the interpretation remains roughly the same as a labor productivity measure based on time.

Figure 1 summarizes the 12-month average of the total volume of labor task equivalents at the Peterson family farm between 1855 and 1876. The volume of work increased until late 1856 when there was a sharp decline in the volume of work. While it's possibly related to the Panic of 1857, the timing of the decline in volume and the panic do not match up. Starting in late 1857, the volume of work increases back to the original 1856 levels and continued increasing due to Andrew and Elsa's marriage. This is important because Andrew did not record Elsa's housework, but their marriage allowed Andrew to primarily focus on agricultural labor as the volume of work nearly triples. There is a decline in the volume of labor during the Civil War, but surprisingly increased dramatically in 1863 and 1864 after the Dakota Conflict but before the end of the Civil War. After the Civil War, there was a huge increase in volume of work, which is primarily due to hired laborers and male neighbors. The volume continued to steadily increase after 1872 when Andrew's sons began agricultural work.

FIGURE 2. 12 MONTH MOVING AVERAGE LABOR TASK EQUIVALENTS OF EXACHNGE LABOR, 1855–1876



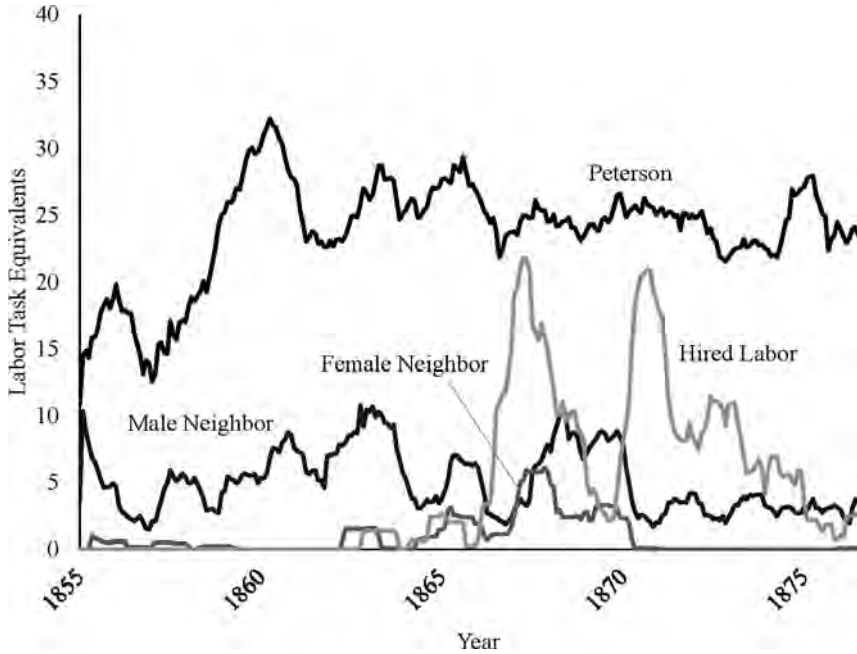
Source: M. A. NELSON, *Andrew Peterson Diary of Work 1855–1888*, [dataset], 2018.

Figures 2 through 6 shows the LTE trends for 1855–1876. The data is presented as a 12-month moving average of the LTE for different forms of labor for each month. For example, the high point of Andrew’s Labor Task Equivalents was in 1860, where he averaged approximately 32 labor task equivalents each month. The data is separated into 6 different forms of labor: Andrew Peterson’s labor, male neighbor labor, female neighbor labor, hired labor, female family labor, and male family labor. All of the measures are for work performed at Andrew Peterson’s farm unless stated otherwise.

From his first years in Minnesota until he married in September 1858, Andrew Peterson spent most of his time working on his own farm. Figure 2 shows the distribution of work on Peterson’s farm between himself and his male neighbors. His neighbors on average contributed approximately 4 working task equivalents each month prior to 1859. During this same period, Andrew on average provided 10 work task equivalents on other farms per month.

Starting in the year and a half prior to his marriage to Elsa in September 1858, Andrew spent significantly more time working on his own farm. Figure 3 shows Peterson’s work on the home farm averaged around 24 LTEs. Even with the decline

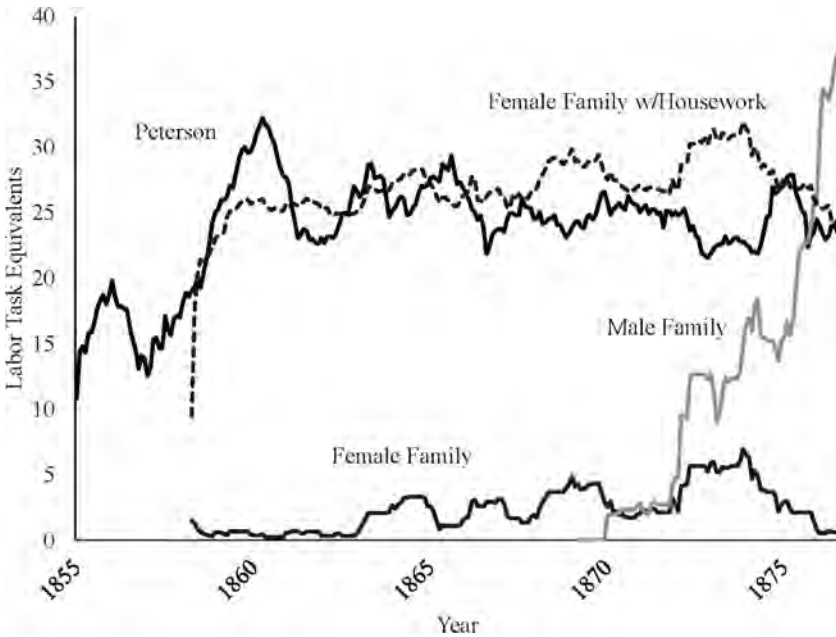
FIGURE 3. 12 MONTH MOVING AVERAGE TOTAL LABOR TASK EQUIVALENTS OF NEIGHBOR AND HIRED LABOR, 1855–1876



Source: M. A. NELSON, *Andrew Peterson Diary of Work 1855–1888*, [dataset], 2018.

of male neighbor labor in 1864 due to the Civil War, male neighbors averaged around 7 LTEs between 1858 and 1865. While Elsa recorded an average of 3 LTEs during this time period, she kept house as many women did during the time period (Figure 4), and Elsa performed some work that Peterson did not record. As mentioned earlier, Peterson recorded selling eggs and butter at the local market, yet never wrote about collecting eggs or making butter. It is certainly possible this labor was included in his vague “*odds and ends*” or “*various tasks*”, but more likely that Elsa (and later the young children) performed this task. To correct for this bias, I adjust the Female Family LTE, shown in Figure 4 as the “Female Family w/ Housework” line. To adjust for Elsa’s housework, I simply added one LTE to every single day for Elsa. The only occasions 1 LTE was not added were if Elsa was not present or if Elsa was sick. This is likely a conservative estimate, as I’m treating all housework as essentially one Labor Task Equivalent rather than separating cooking and washing as multiple tasks. Elsa’s contributions often exceed Andrew’s even with this conservative assumption.

FIGURE 4. 12 MONTH MOVING AVERAGE LABOR TASK EQUIVALENTS OF FAMILY LABOR, 1855–1876



Source: M. A. NELSON, *Andrew Peterson Diary of Work 1855–1888*, [dataset], 2018.

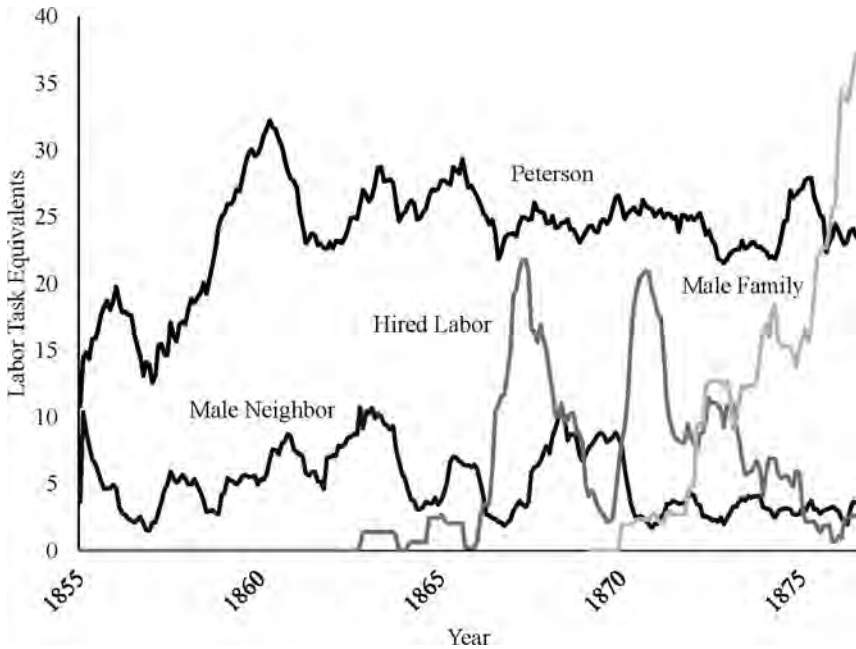
Women typically performed labor around the milking of cows and making of butter. Children eventually assisted with these tasks.^[46] In one case, Andrew wrote how he helped Elsa with the shearing of sheep, rather than the typical “*Elsa and I cocked hay*”. “Helping” Elsa implied that Elsa was responsible for the shearing of sheep, and Andrew helped whenever she needed assistance rather than the other way around. Furthermore, this showed both Andrew and Elsa were involved with the wool production process, where Andrew focused on raising the sheep and Elsa on the production of wool, comparable to other agricultural processes.^[47]

During this entire time period, female neighbor labor contributions were relatively low. There would be short spurts of extensive contributions (including in late 1864 during the war drafts). I originally hypothesized that female neighbor labor contributions increased when Elsa was pregnant. During some pregnancy spells, female neighbors were present more often during the third trimester of

[46] S. McMURRY, *Transforming Rural Life*.

[47] R. S. COWAN, *More Work*; J. JENSEN, *Loosening the Bonds*; L. T. ULRICH, *A Midwife’s Talke*.

FIGURE 5. 12 MONTH MOVING AVERAGE LABOR TASK EQUIVALENTS OF MALE LABOR, 1855–1876

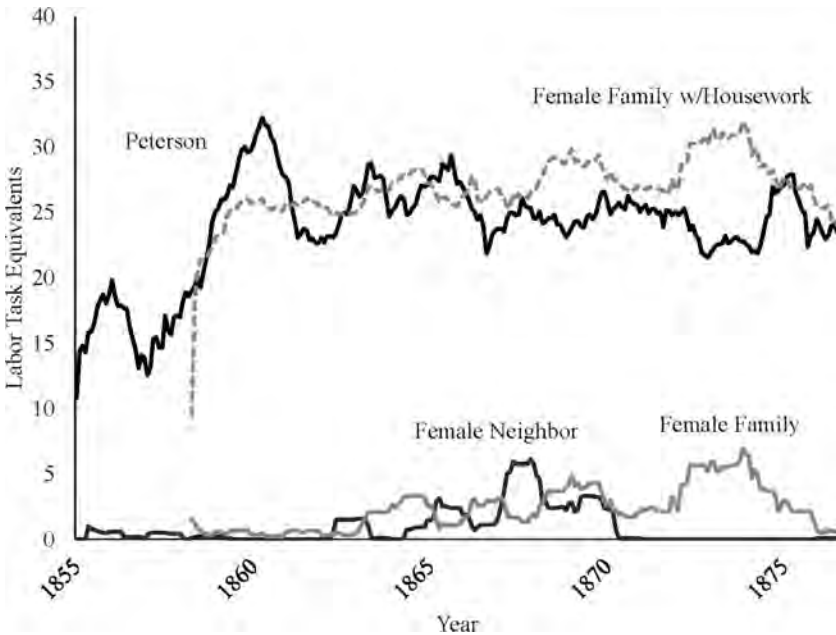


Source: M. A. NELSON, *Andrew Peterson Diary of Work 1855–1888*, [dataset], 2018.

Elsa’s pregnancies. However, this did not occur during every pregnancy, and the fact that this labor contribution occurred primarily during the Civil War raises questions about the precise mechanism. Furthermore, some of the largest increases in female neighbor labor occurred during times when Elsa was not pregnant. Based on this, the results about pregnancy and female neighbor labor are inconclusive. Another hypothesis that cannot be tested with this diary is that Elsa had a separate exchange network, and that women’s labor on the Peterson farm coincided with Elsa’s network. This can be seen when Andrew records Elsa traveling to other houses to quilt, but Andrew rarely records women coming to their farm in a similar manner.

Male neighbor labor fluctuated during the early years of the Civil War, increasing from approximately 6 labor task equivalents to as high as 12 labor task equivalents. Male neighbor labor contributions declined dramatically in 1864 due to the Civil War drafts. While Peterson’s contributions to other farms spiked during harvest in 1864, there was not a large increase on the average time spent at other farms by Andrew compared to previous harvests. Andrew spent 16 labor task equivalents

FIGURE 6. 12 MONTH MOVING AVERAGE LABOR TASK EQUIVALENTS OF FEMALE LABOR, 1855–1876



Source: M. A. NELSON, *Andrew Peterson Diary of Work 1855–1888*, [dataset], 2018.

on other farms in October 1864. Previously, he spent $15 \frac{2}{3}$ LTEs on other farms in August 1860, $16 \frac{1}{2}$ LTEs in August 1861, and $15 \frac{1}{3}$ LTEs in August 1862. This suggests that rather than responding to a crisis, Peterson typically exchanged labor at harvest time.

In the late 1860s through early 1870s, hired labor increased dramatically (Figure 5). During this period, Andrew hired labor on a regular basis. Some of the hired labor assisted with tasks in the fields, but some of the work, such as a large spike in 1871 were associated with the construction of a new house. These cases can be defined as hired labor because Peterson’s account book described directly paying them for their work or implied a boarder relationship where the laborer comes to stay with them, and later listed by Peterson as “*they left today*”.^[48] Finally, Andrew distinguished them by stating clearly “*Lars started work for me today*”.^[49]

[48] A. PETERSON, *Andrew Peterson and Family Papers 1850–2007*, [Microfilm], p. 258.

[49] *Ibid*, p. 240.

Andrew and Elsa's daughter Ida turned 10 in August 1869. Andrew did not record much work from Ida in his diary, but their first son George "Sture" turned 10 in 1870. The male family labor excluding Andrew represented a dramatic transformation in the organization of labor on the Peterson farm. Beginning in 1872 the boys (Sture, Carl, Axel, and later Frank) contributed 15 work task equivalents on average, the same as male neighbors and hired labor contributed in 1872 as seen in Figure 5. Elsa still contributed work in the fields at this time, suggesting that the Petersons had not yet substituted the boys' labor for their mother entirely. Through the 1870s, Elsa's labor declined while the boys increased dramatically, finally overtaking Andrew's contributions in 1876. The boys' work at other farms did not increase at the same rate as most of their work occurred on the home farm.^[50] At the same time, the contributions of male neighbors and hired labor declined dramatically. With the boys working, Peterson no longer required neighbor assistance. While some exchange of labor still occurred, it appears male neighbors provided relatively unimportant economic contributions other than the maintaining of social ties.

While Andrew captured some work by Elsa, he failed to describe most of the housework Elsa completed. Assuming Elsa worked within the household every day excluding days she travelled or was sick, Figure 6 shows the work performed by Elsa often meets or rivals the work Andrew performed.^[51] Like any source, we must consider the viewpoint of the writer and their inherent biases and what interests them in their recordings of events. To Peterson, the running of the household held little interest. Given that Elsa could not write, we lose all of her insights and rely solely on Andrew's.^[52] Given the increase in the volume of work after their marriage, it's safe to assume that Elsa's work in the home allowed

[50] Pamela RINEY-KEHRBERG, *Childhood on the Farm: Work, Play and Coming of Age in the Midwest*, Lawrence 2005.

[51] I assume one "housework" day as one task equivalent. This still likely underreports Elsa and the children's contributions. This assumption is based on the number of hours of time use studies in the 1920s being similar to the number of hours worked by men in the fields. Carle C. ZIMMERMAN – John D. BLACK, *How Minnesota Farm Family Incomes are Spent: An Interpretation of One Year's Study, 1924–1925*, University of Minnesota, Agricultural Experiment Station 1927, pp. 48–49; Maud WILSON, *Use of Time by Oregon Farm Homemakers*, Oregon State Agricultural College, Agricultural Experiment Station 1929, pp. 5, 9; G. E. WASSON, *The Use of Time by South Dakota Farm Homemakers*, South Dakota State College of Agriculture and Mechanic Arts. Agricultural Experiment Station 1930, pp. 6–8; Lucy A. STUDLEY, *Relationship of the Farm Home to the Farm Business: A Study in Cottonwood and Steele Counties, Minnesota*, University of Minnesota, Agricultural Experiment Station 1931, pp. 4, 14, 18, 20.

[52] We know this from both Census Enumeration and that the "last letter written home" after Andrew's death was written in Swedish by a neighbor, not Elsa. J. MIHELICH, *Andrew Peterson*, p. 140; Ancestry.com and The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, *1880 United States Federal Census [database on-line]*, Lehi, UT: Ancestry.com Operations Inc, 2010.

Andrew to spend more time in agricultural work. While the home economy and farm economy were clearly separated in terms of work, the two are also dependent on one another.^[53] Finally, a hidden contribution of Elsa's childbearing as work was important for the family. Without the contribution of Elsa giving birth to and raising the children, the large spike in total volume of work after 1872 would not have been possible.

Conclusion

Andrew Peterson's diary shows neighborhood exchange was entwined within the family life cycle. Peterson utilized neighbor labor primarily in the early years of his family, and only with the aging of his sons did neighbor labor see a permanent drop. This does not stand in contrast to previous evidence of neighborhood exchange, but shows that previous arguments around profitability or pre-capitalist exchanges require further examination and context.^[54] Unfortunately, the diary's shortcoming of Andrew not reporting Elsa's house work does not fully allow for an examination of the importance of women's labor on farms.^[55] However, if we assume that Elsa worked every day in the house as previous historians have shown, then Elsa's contributions often exceeded Andrew's own.

While we need to be careful with this micro-historical example as representative of farmer *mentalités* nationally, young farm families had fewer laborers, and with limited cash and capital, relied more on neighbor labor than family labor in the early family life cycle. Based on his account books and diary, Andrew used neighbor labor to maintain the ethnic enclave and augment the small family labor force to maintain farm production in the early years of settlement. This appears to be in line with the time-use studies from nearly 50 years later, suggesting that even with further mechanization in agriculture, neighborhood exchange was still a strategy farmers used.^[56] With these periods of neighborhood exchange during the early life cycle, historians must look beyond the household when discussing the economic and demographic arrangements of family agriculture.

Furthermore, this particular case describes beneficial social networks to the Peterson family. We must be careful not to romanticize the economic and social benefits of the community on farm families. As shown by Bost, communities and social networks were not always inclusive, whether that is based on gender, religion, ethnicity, race, past misdeeds or time of arrival to the area. Secondly, the existence of a community does not imply tranquility or a harmonious place of interaction

[53] R. S. COWAN, *More Work for Mother*; L. T. ULRICH, *A Midwife's Tale*.

[54] R. T. WELKER, *Neighborhood Exchange*.

[55] N. FOLBRE, *The Unproductive Housewife*; N. FOLBRE, *Women's Informal Market Work*.

[56] G. A. POND – J. W. TAPP, *A Study of Farm*.

but can be the site of power struggle and negotiations by many different parties. This culture could lead to conflict and hurt rather than helped some individuals and families. Finally, the perspective of these social networks in this paper has primarily come from male farmers. Neglecting the observations of women and children mean that the full social network colored by the views of the white male patriarchal figure is not representative of all individuals within the family or the community. Reading into silent populations is fundamental to narrating the story of neighborhood exchange and labor as women and children also employed social networks.



Jaroslav Otčenášek

**Etnografický atlas Čech, Moravy
a Slezska VIII.**

**Reflexe vybraných aspektů lidové
zbožnosti ve slovesném folkloru**

[Ethnographical Atlas of Bohemia,
Moravia and Silesia VIII.: Reflection of
Selected Aspects of Folk Religion in
Folk Narratives]

Vydal Etnologický ústav AV ČR, v. v. i.,
Praha 2018, 78 stran, příloha 10 mapových
listů, anglické resumé

Tento svazek atlasu zpracovává údaje o slovesném folkloru a způsobu, jakým zachycuje lidovou spiritualitu a prvky s ní spojené. Vzhledem k limitovanému rozsahu jednotlivých čísel atlasu byly vybrány ty nejpodstatnější oblasti lidové slovesnosti (pohádky a pověsti o poustevnících, o ideálním panovníku Josefu II., o mesianismu, o tajných protestantech a Martinu Lutherovi, o spiritismu, o Kristu a svatých, o ďáblu atd.). Jako informační základna sloužily především zaznamenané pověsti, legendy a fabuláty, okrajově pak pohádky a humorky. Součástí publikace je deset mapových listů.

This volume of atlas is processing data on verbal folklore (folk narrative) and the way it depicts the folk spirituality and elements associated with it. Due to the limited range of individual numbers of the atlas, the most important areas of folkloric verbs were selected (Tales and legends about hermits, the ideal ruler Joseph II., Messianism, secret Protestants and Martin Luther, Spiritism, Christ and their Saints, Devil etc.). As an information platform utilized primarily to record legends and fabulae, then marginally folktales and anecdotes. The publication also contains ten map sheets.

Key words: ethnocartography, folk belief, folk narrative, folk legend, folk anecdotes, Christian religion

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PRODUCTIVITY WITHOUT LABOUR MARKET PARTICIPATION, NON-CENSUS DATA, WOMEN, WORK AND THE RURAL ECONOMY IN 19TH AND EARLY 20TH CENTURY FINLAND

Beatrice Moring

Abstract: The aim of the paper is to discuss gender division of labour in Finnish rural society in the past. By describing a system where some tasks were shared between men and women, while others were gender specific, the intention is to demonstrate the complementary nature of the rural economy, where the female input was not only important but necessary. The issue will be analysed against questions of registration of female activity and the possibility of illuminating female work by using oral history information, local history narratives and other data outside those of censuses and the official statistical series.

Historická demografie, 2019, 43:2: 233–256

Key words: women, work, rural economy, gender division of labour, oral history

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Introduction

In a recent article Stefano Fenoaltea has highlighted a set of shortcomings in the field of economic history. He particularly deplores the mechanical use of GDP and statistical data collection systems that were generated for a specific purpose at a specific time, but now have a normative status. He also points out how this type of information use systematically makes for the underrepresentation of female work.^[1]

Today we find the concept of labour market participation self explanatory and synonymous with working, even though it is related to notions intertwined with industrialization and the transformation of society. It has, however, through its existence had the caveat that there are people who are self employed i.e. their own employer, for example proprietors of small shops, craftsmen and above all farmers. In economic history it has, however, had a general application that has revealed how badly it is suited to analysing pre-industrial rural agrarian economies and particularly the areas of Europe dominated by family farms. It is the aim of this

[1] Stefano FENOALTEA, *Spleen: the Failures of the Cliometric School*, MPRA, November 2018, <https://mpra.ub.uni-muenchen.de/90210/> (25. 8. 2019).

paper to demonstrate that particularly in the case of females in a pre-industrial rural setting, labour market participation and productive work are two different things.

Censuses and female work

In pre-industrial time the family was generally viewed as a production unit with the male household head as the representative in society, but with the expectation that all household members participated in the activity. Therefore locating economic statistics revealing information about female economic engagement can be difficult. However, on community level some calculations have been made capturing considerable female activity levels for the 18th and early 19th century.^[2]

If we look at censuses and the series of economic statistics we find a certain amount of differences between females in registered employment in Europe. One reason is the variation in registration and age barriers. Another, changes introduced for the definition of work and occupation. The definition of occupation was in most cases permanent work outside the home. Therefore women in England who made a vital contribution to the rural economy, particularly in places like Kent in the form of hop and fruit picking, were never registered as in occupation, although the fruit found its way to the market. Such rules naturally also contributed to the low percentages of women registered as engaged in agriculture.^[3] Even though the importance of the agricultural sector as an employer had been radically reduced in England by the time of the first reliable censuses, it remained important in the rest of Europe. The nature of the agricultural enterprises also varied considerably.

[2] Ivy PINCHBECK, *Women Workers and the Industrial Revolution 1750–1850*, London 1930, pp. 1–2; Bridget HILL, *Women Work and Sexual Policy in Eighteenth Century England*, London 1994, pp. 28–29, 48; Pamela SHARPE, *The Female Labour Market in English Agriculture during the Industrial Revolution: Expansion or Contraction?*, in: Nigel Goose (ed.), *Women's Work in Industrial England*, Hatfield 2007, pp. 51–75, on pp. 52–54; Robert B. SHOEMAKER, *Gender in English Society 1650–1850*, Harlow 1998, pp. 151–153; Richard WALL, *Some Implications of the Earnings and Expenditure Patterns of Married Women in Populations of the Past*, in: John Henderson – Richard Wall (eds.), *Poor Women and Children in the European Past*, London 1994, pp. 312–335, on pp. 326–328; Elizabeth ROBERTS, *Women's Work*, London 1988, pp. 18–21; Nicola VERDON, *Rural Women Workers in 19th Century England*, London 2002, pp. 117–119.

[3] Josef EHMER, *Frauenarbeit und Arbeiterfamilie in Wien*, in: Hans-Ulrich Wehler (ed.), *Frauen in der Geschichte des 19 und 20 Jahrhunderts*, Gottingen 1981, pp. 438–473, on p. 440; Edward HIGGS, *Women's Occupations and Work in the Nineteenth Century Censuses*, *History Workshop Journal* 23, 1987, p. 59–82; Gilda O'NEILL, *Lost Voices, Memories of a Vanished Way of Life*, London 2006, pp. 16–20, 23–24; Nicola VERDON, *Hay, Hops and Harvest: Women's Work in Agriculture in Nineteenth Century Sussex*, in: Nigel Goose (ed.), *Women's Work in Industrial England*, Hatfield 2007, pp. 76–96; I. PINCHBECK, *Women Workers*, pp. 58–63; Jane HUMPHRIES – Jacob WEISDORF, *The Wages of Women in England 1260–1850*, *Oxford Economic and Social History Working Papers* 33, 2014, p. 2.

Certain regions had moved towards ever larger arable units, while others still remained firmly part of a system of family farms with mixed economic activities. In places where the family retained its position as a productive unit, women were indeed working, but the view that the male household head and agricultural servants were the only productive persons resulted in the statistics not recognising female family members as economically active.^[4] Therefore an improvement in registration or a change in the definition of 'active' could have a radical impact on the proportion of females in the labouring population. In Finland the change in the economic statistics from 1880, to include daughters over 15 working on the parental farm, as assisting household members, improved information about female work. The wives of farmers were accepted by the statisticians as assisting in 1920, but were not registered as in full time work until 1950. Even so, these improvements make it possible to correct existing figures showing an increase of the female share of the active population from 30 to 41 percent and the activity of females over 15 from 48 to 56 percent. In France the wives of farmers were not registered as working in 1901 but were included among the occupationally active in 1906, which increased the numbers of working women with nearly a million.^[5]

Narrative non-census data

The interest in oral history^[6] as a source for social history was inspired by Paul Thompson (*The Edwardians, the Remaking of British Society* and *The Voice of the Past, Oral History*)^[7] and a group of social historians who have contributed to the field of history such seminal works as John Burnett, *Useful Toil, Autobiographies of Working People from the 1820s to the 1920s* (1974), *Destiny Obscure* (1982),

[4] Michael MITTERAUER, *Former landlicher Familienwirtschaft, Historische Okotypen und familial Arbeitsorganisation im osterreichischen Raum*, in: Joseph Ehmer – Michael Mitterauer (eds.), *Familienstruktur und Arbeitsorganisation in landlichen Gesellschaften*, Bohlau 1986, pp. 185–324, on pp. 200–204; Martine SEGALLEN, *Love and Power in the Peasant Family*, Oxford 1983, pp. 82–83, 85–91; N. VERDON, *Hay, Hops and Harvest*, pp. 84–92; Christina BORDE-RIAS, *Entre Lineas, Trabajo e Identidad femenina en la Espana Contemporanea*, Barcelona 1993, p. 19; Jane WHITTLE, *Introduction*, in: Jane Whittle (ed.), *Servants in Rural Europe 1400–1900*, Woodbridge 2017, pp. 1–18, on p. 2.

[5] Kaarina VATTULA, *Kvinnors forvärvsarbete i Norden under 100 år 1870–1970*, *Studia Historica Jyväskyläensia* 27, 1983, pp. 35–51, on pp. 38–39; Kaarina VATTULA, *Lähtöviivallako? Naisten ammatissatoimivuudesta, tilastoista ja kotitaloudesta*, in: Leena Laine – Pirjo Markkola (eds.), *Tuntematon työläinen nainen*, Tampere 1989, pp. 13–38, on pp. 21–22; James F. McMILLAN, *France and Women 1789–1914*, London 2000, pp. 160–161.

[6] History preserved not in state produced archive records but collected as the spoken word and narratives of the life of ordinary people.

[7] Paul THOMPSON, *The Edwardians, the Remaking of British Society*, Bloomington & London 1975; Paul THOMPSON, *The Voice of the Past, Oral History*, Oxford 1978.

Plenty and Want (1966)^[8] and Thea Thompson, *Edwardian Childhoods* (1981)^[9] to mention some examples. In addition they also created archive collections of phenomenal value to posterity.^[10] More recently we have seen how such data can expand our horizons in the publications of Jane Humphries, particularly in her study *Childhood and Child Labour in the British Industrial Revolution* (2010).^[11]

While this movement inspired activity in relation to working class history, the field of oral history extends its roots into the 19th century and the movements of national romanticism on the European continent and in the Nordic countries. Looming urbanization and industrialization were seen as a threat to the old society created: and created the need to collect the expressions of rural popular culture. The life of our forefathers and mothers in everyday toil and in celebration of the milestones in life was seen as important. To this end academics collected information of their own initiative, or as part of a number of societies that were founded for the explicit purpose of documenting the past and present of rural life. These collections now preserved in archives, and in some cases published, form a rich source for those interested in local life and customs of the past. In addition, the 19th century was a period of increasing interest in statistics and as a consequence the state funded initiatives to collect numerical data about the economic conditions in society, providing insights beyond those of the census.

In the analysis below it is my intention to use non-census, often narrative data, to demonstrate the vital position of women in the rural economy of Finland in the past. The datasets themselves and the way they were collected will also be described to illuminate the various ways in which alternative information about the past has been gathered. Although a considerable amount of the narratives are from the 19th and the early 20th century, there are also examples from earlier centuries indicating a long tradition of female input and indeed control over certain sectors of the rural economy. The aim of the paper is to focus on the organization of work and the division of labour between men and women. It will also address the effect of the economic structure in specific ecological environments on gender based labour participation. The nature of female work, production for domestic consumption and for the market, the integration of women with each other and with men in work groups, and the specific Nordic trait of women being the prime carers of animals will be discussed.

[8] John BURNETT, *Useful Toil, Autobiographies of Working People from the 1820s to the 1920s*, London 1974, John BURNETT, *Destiny Obscure*, London 1982; John BURNETT, *Plenty and Want*, London 1966.

[9] Thea THOMPSON, *Edwardian Childhoods*, London 1981.

[10] Trevor LUMMIS – Paul THOMPSON, *Family Life and Work Experience before 1918, 1870–1973*, UK Data Service 2009, 7th Edition.

[11] Jane HUMPHRIES, *Childhood and Child Labour in the British Industrial Revolution*, Cambridge 2010.

From early modern time to the 19th century

The earliest available data sets from Finland that describe people and work are 17th century court records. For the present study 122 observations of female activity were collected for the period 1630–1700 to shed some light on the spectrum of female activity as it emerges from the pages of judicial documents.^[12] It would seem that the presence of women in the fields was far from unusual, both at harvest time and other parts of the year. We also find that while work with animals appears to have a prominent position in the field of activity, milking, feeding and tending to them, hard work like threshing, ploughing and dung spreading could fall on the shoulders of females (see Table1).

TABLE 1. 17TH CENTURY COURT RECORDS AND FEMALE WORK TASKS PERCENTAGES

Fieldwork	11.5	Milking cows	14.7
Haymaking	12.2	Feeding cows	0.8
Harvest	7.3	Tending animals	3.2
Threshing	4.1	Going to the mill	0.8
Field clearing	0.8	Fishing	8.2
Slash and burn	3.2	Chopping wood	2.4
Ploughing	2.4	Picking berries	0.8
Fencing	0.8	Collecting bark	0.8
Spreading dung	1.6	Carrying water	0.8
Other agricultural work	3.2	Making and selling alcohol	1.6
Textile work	18.0		

Sources: National Archives, Helsinki, Finland, Court district of northern Ostrobothnia, 1662, rr11:202, 1664, rr11:383, 1665, rr94:69, 1670 rr12: 479, 1671, rr12:552, 1672, rr13, 1674, rr13:693, 1674, rr13:679, 1678, rr15:242, 1678, qq 1:122, 1680, rr17:177, 1689, vv26:121, 1698, vv35:126; Court district of Ala-Satakunta and Vehmaa, 1640, m:5, 1647, m6:306, 1647, m6:621, 1655, m9:173, 1657, m9:508, 1681, m12:920, 1688, m16:336, 1688, m17:65, 1691, m21:503, 1693, m23:421, 1699, m35:557, 1699, m35:1310; Court district of Jaaski, Ranta and Ayrapaa, 1640, jj3:35, 1663, jj10:145, 1664, jj11:23, 1666, jj13:232, 1667, jj13:232, 1667, jj14:194, 1668, jj15:170, 1668, jj15:201, 1669, jj15:447, 1672, ii2:36, 1681, ii3:262, 265, 1685, jj25:213, 1688, jj26:172, 1688, ii6:216, 1691, ii7:328, 1694, ii9:97.

[12] The aim of the court records was naturally not to chart economic activity but to determine the position of individuals at the time when a crime was committed. As the documents aimed to paint a coherent picture a lot of incidental information was included which can be used to exemplify what kind of work women could be engaged in.

As the methodology used was one similar to that in other Nordic projects, i.e. recoding activity patterns as far as the documents allowed, it is perhaps not surprising that the results resembled those recently discovered for Sweden in projects charting male and female work.^[13]

While Sweden–Finland adopted a system of collecting population statistics from the mid-18th century and a certain amount of information of socio-economic division of the population was tabulated, information on economic activity in the sense of what people were doing is not available. On the other hand, an increasing interest in economic advancement and agricultural improvements inspired the collection of information from some regions.^[14]

In the early decades of the 19th century a project was initiated to publish an atlas of economic statistics of Finland. The secretary of the *Society for economic advancement* Carl Christian Böcker (1786–1841) was engaged as the sole employee and money was found from the public purse. The project suffered from delays and misfortunes but spawned a survey in 1833–1834 designed as a form with questions about every aspect of the rural economy; fields, and field work, arable area, field improvement, number of animals, produce, consumption etc. The forms were sent to tax officials, judicial representatives, clergymen and local dignitaries of the farming class in hundreds of parishes all over the regions. The material is considerable as forms were returned in large numbers and even some additional information provided.^[15] For the purpose of the present study the questions about work participation have been utilized. The questions were phrased in the following manner: “If the total number of workdays is seen as hundred, how many do women perform?” The replies revealed an economic system including women as well as men and high levels of female participation.

As can be seen there is evidence of regional variation in female input. While participation in haymaking, harvest and threshing shows a fairly uniform profile of half the work being undertaken by women, the North West generally has higher levels of female engagement than other regions. Not only do we find women digging ditches but also ploughing, as was revealed by the court records of earlier centuries. Overall the survey results reflect the long history of shared work between men and women in rural society.

[13] Jonas LINDSTRÖM – Karin JANSSON – Rosemarie FIEBRANZ – Benny JACOBSSON – Maria ÅGREN, *Mistress or Maid: The Structure of Women's Work in Sweden 1550–1800*, *Continuity and Change* 32, 2017, pp. 225–252, on pp. 238–242.

[14] Holger WICHMAN, *Norrländskt arbetsliv under 1700-talet, länsmannens berättelser 1764 om allmogens arbeten i Medelpad, Ångermanland och Jämtland*, Stockholm 1968.

[15] Georg Luther http://www.blf/artikel_print.php?d=5785; The data collection is situated at the National Archives in Helsinki.

TABLE 2. THE FEMALE SHARE OF AGRICULTURAL WORK IN 1830s RURAL FINLAND, PERCENTAGES

	South	South west	Central	South east	East central	North central	North west	North
Ploughing	0	0	0	0	0	0	50–75	0–75
Ditching	0–10	25–50	20–30	0	5	0	50–75	0–25
Haymaking	0–50	25–50	50	50	50	40–100	50	50
Harvest	50	50	50	50	50	50	50	50
Threshing	50	50	50	50	50	50	50	50
Tar burning	0	10	0	10	0	0	10–20	0–20
Transport	0	0	0	0	0	0	10–20	0–20

Source: National Archives, Helsinki, Carl Christian BÖCKER, Survey of Female Work Input in Rural Parishes 1830s.

The Böcker survey did not probe animal husbandry and dairy production in any greater degree, as for a long time statisticians had viewed this part of the economy as domestic and therefore in the female domain. Butter had, however, always been an important commodity, as it was sold on the market and also part of medieval and early modern taxation. By the second half of the 19th century the situation had changed in the sense that the awareness of animal husbandry and particularly butter production had come to the forefront. The Russian markets had opened and the connection established between Finnish agriculture and the consumers in the East. The rising importance of cattle in the multifaceted image of farm production was of course not only a Finnish, but a North European, phenomenon. As the late 19th and early 20th century also was a period of intense interest in statistical documentation of society, purely agricultural surveys became available. Labour input as well as output became the focus of interest. The rich literature from the period (1870–1920) provides ample data on male and female workdays in the different sectors of farming. These studies reveal that about 30 percent of the workdays on a farm were related to animal husbandry. By the early 20th century the increasing importance of the dairy sector also increased the need for work input to between 33 and 46 percent of the total female workdays.^[16] Interestingly enough, similar information has been discovered for farms situated

[16] In the mid-16th century as much as 18 percent of the Finnish taxes were paid in butter. Eli HECKSCHER, *Sveriges ekonomiska historia från Gustaf Vasa*, Stockholm 1935, pp. 6–7; Matti PELTONEN, *Maataloustyö ennen traktorin aikaa, arvio maatalouden työllisyydestä 1860–1948*, Helsinki 1987, p. 14–15, 27; Hugo NIINIVAARA, *Maatalouden kannattavuudesta Tutkimuksia maataloudenliikesuhteesta ja kannattavuudesta Itä-Hämeen maanviljelysseuran alueella*, Helsinki 1914, p. 38; Matti PELTONEN, *Talolliset ja torpparit*, Helsinki 1992, p. 216–217; K.T. JUTILA, *Maatalouden tyosuhteet*, Porvoo 1922, pp. 300–310.

in the eastern part of the United States, where the dairy production was highly female dominated.^[17]

The message that these studies and surveys deliver is that male and female activity was intertwined and the female sphere far from domestic. The discussion will be continued in presenting information from individual parishes and farms about the division of labour and female productivity.

Local parishes

While the role of women in pre-industrial Nordic economic life was bypassed by statisticians, it was never questioned on local level. The complicated system of making use of every asset made it particularly necessary for all adults to participate in production. With men preoccupied with fishing in coastal communities, the input of women in agriculture and animal care was absolutely vital. Oral history collections and ethnographic datasets reveal information on the structure and gender division of economic activity. While fishing had a crucial input in economic life since the Middle Ages it was combined with animal husbandry, cereal cultivation and where possible, auxiliary economic pursuits like boat building, logging, hunting of seals and sea birds etc. Contact with the mainland and Stockholm, and later with Helsinki and St Petersburg, plus other minor towns and marketplaces has been of essence for the sale of fish and animal produce and purchase of grain.^[18]

In 1750 the Crown sent twelve land surveyors to the county of Ostrobothnia in North Western Finland, to geometrically measure the agricultural and non-agricultural land of the parishes for the purpose of a planned land tax reform. One of these surveyors was Erik Klingius (1710–1781) who worked in the parish of Malax between 1750 and 1756. He later returned to assist with the land division as part of the enclosure in 1763. During his second sojourn in the parish (1763–1781) he wrote *A Historical Description of the Parish of Malax* (1767).^[19] Klingius was

[17] Grey OSTERUD, *Putting the Barn Before the House*, New York 2012, pp. 90–93. The input of the wife and children of the farmer essential, particularly in care of animals and milking in early 20th century north eastern USA, surveys 1915 revealed that on 86 percent of farms women or women and children took care of the animals. An estimate provided by the farmers themselves of the work input by their wives recorded their own work as 40 percent and that of their wives as 30 percent. In addition the work of the wives was seen as more valuable than that of hired hands.

[18] The coastal communities on the Finnish side of the Baltic can consist of islands, some only a rock in the sea, others large enough to contain many villages and large areas of arable cultivation. In the 16th century the tax was paid in grain, hay, butter, meat, cows, sheep, fish and birds. Beatrice MORING, *Skargardsbor, hushall, familj och demografi i finlandsk kustbygd pa 1600, 1700 och 1800-talen*, Helsingfors 1994, pp. 32–35.

[19] The original manuscript is kept at the University Library of Helsinki but because of local

a keen observer and he found the life in the parish interesting, although he did not always comprehend the local customs. His description of work and social interaction gives good insights into life in the parish and into how work tasks were divided between men and women, old and young. While both sexes shared harvest work and haymaking the men gave priority to fishing, sea transport and seal hunting at other times of the year. Because of their absence from the homesteads the women became the prime movers in agricultural tasks as well as those linked to animal care, food, drink and textile making.

TABLE 3. MALE AND FEMALE TASKS IN N-W FINLAND, 1767

Female tasks	Male tasks
Haymaking	Haymaking
Harvest	Harvest
Sowing	Fishing
Ploughing	Transport
Care of animals	Net binding
Milking	Tar burning
Butter making	Seal hunting
Making alcohol	
Spinning	
Weaving	
Making clothes	
Cooking	

Source: Erik KLINGIUS, *Historisk beskrifning over Malax forsamling* (1767), Vasa 1986, pp. 48–49, 54–55, 83–86.

We are fortunate enough to have not only one but two 19th century accounts from the same region. The earlier one stems from the 1870s and was written by the local clergyman. Although, written by a person who is not directly part of the local community, in the sense of being a son of the parish, the account is based on living and interacting with people for decades. The second series of documents is a collection, from the late 19th to the early 20th century that describes life, work and customs including fishing, boat building, agriculture, milk production, textile production, food, drink, clothing, the milestones in life and the feasts during the

interest a verbatim version was published in 1986, Erik KLINGIUS, *Historisk beskrifning over Malax forsamling* (1767), Vasa 1986.

year.^[20] The author, Hugo Sjöberg, a prolific collector of folk life, made an effort to document everyday life in his home parish around him, but also to describe changes in production, collaboration and customs as could be gleaned from the memories of older parishioners.

TABLE 4. MALE AND FEMALE TASKS IN A COASTAL PARISH OF N-W FINLAND, 1890s

Female tasks		Male tasks
Haymaking	Brewing	Haymaking
Harvest	Baking	Harvest
Net binding	Cooking	Net binding
Sowing	Butter making	Fishing
Ploughing	Spinning	Transport
Muck spreading	Weaving	Seal hunting
Threshing	Making clothes	Boat building
Care of animals	Spinning yarn for nets	Clearing new fields
Milking		Ditching

Sources: Hugo R.A. SJÖBERG, *Livet bland Kvarkens soner och dottrar* (1890–1907), Vasa 1925/1984; Archive of Popular Culture (FKA), Carl Johan ROOS, *Nagra underrättelser om Replot kapell* (1872).

The story we can read from these accounts seems vaguely familiar. Men and women shared in haymaking and harvest, but fishing, boat building and transport took the men away from the farms, leaving women to get on with things. In addition, farm animals, dairying and all textile related activities fell into the female domain. It is doubtful whether it is possible to talk about a female domain, except for the fact that there was work a man would not do. Such a pattern is characteristic for the coast. A description of the situation in the south western areas by Fagerlund^[21] from the 1860s and 70s paints an identical picture (Table 5). In an area

[20] The comprehensive collection *Livet bland Kvarkens soner och dottrar* (1890–1907), is stored at the Archive of Popular Culture (FKA) in Helsinki, it was published in 1925. The account by Carl Johan ROOS, *Nagra underrättelser om Replot kapell* (1872), is also to be found at the Archive of Popular Culture (FKA), manuscript 361.

[21] The subtitle of L.W. Fagerlund's, *Anteckningar om Korpo och Houtskärs socknar*, Helsingfors 1878, is "summer studies". Fagerlund was a doctor who spent summer in the parishes by the coast where he amused himself by making notes about the life, work and customs; fishing, farming, textile work, weddings, holidays, poetry etc. of the people around him. He decided to publish his observation in the series *Bidrag till kannedom om Finlands Natur och Folk* (Contributions to the knowledge of the nature and population of Finland) in 1878.

where access to good quality land was scarce, animals were particularly important. In the 19th century the view was held that an island that could feed a cow and two sheep was habitable, if it did not fulfil these requirements it was only fit for grazing or hunting. Several farms or whole villages could share grazing islands and the animals were ferried from the one to the other during the summer. One woman per household had to row out to these islands twice a day for the milking. Joint boats were used to share the work. Sheep were also transported to uninhabited islands for summer grazing. An 18th century diary from the south western coastal area describes male activity in the following manner: March–April: seal and bird hunting; April: fishing; May: cattle out for grazing, ploughing, fishing; July: hay making, harvest, fishing; September: threshing and in the winter: winter–fishing. The diary also repeats the story of men cutting and women raking and binding at haymaking, harvest and the special coastal activities of harvesting sea grass and twigs from bushes as animal winter fodder. Men did not participate in care of animals (apart from transporting them to grazing islands), never mind milking. They harrowed and ploughed the potato plots and the flax fields but from that on the work was the responsibility of women. The female potato planting and picking was a general phenomenon in Finland as in northern Sweden.^[22] This is not a unique phenomenon. Studies of coastal and island communities in Norway and Denmark have reinforced the image of the farmers' wife as a person who could handle anything and did so.^[23]

It would seem that the female activity spectrum in the North West was very far reaching. However, the results of the Böcker survey had indicated that some geographic variation existed in work patterns. To tackle this issue we will now focus on a different region. The following account comes from the south east. The parish under scrutiny has a coastal strip but the predominant economic activity in the 18th and 19th century was agriculture and slash and burn agriculture nonetheless. Such activity has always been identified as having a particularly male edge, with a tendency to favour work groups made up of co-residing male kin.^[24]

[22] John GARDBERG, *En drangs dagbok fran Seglinge*, Budkavlen 1946; John GARDBERG, *Hushållning och byväsen kring norra delen av Skifter*, Helsingfors 1948; Phoebe FJELLSTROM, *Kvinnoliv och måltidsglädje, kosthåll och resurser inom det nordliga rummet*, Umeå 2002.

[23] Brit BERGGREN, *The Female Peasant and the Male Peasant, Division of Labour in Traditional Norway*, *Ethnologia Scandinavica* 1984, pp. 66–78; Bjarne STOKLUND, *Economy, Work and Social Roles. Continuity and Change in the Danish Island of Laeso c. 1200–1900*, *Ethnologia Europaea* 15, 1985, pp. 129–163.

[24] Beatrice MORING, *Land, Labor and Love*, *Continuity and Change* 4, 1999, p. 165; Eino JUTIKKALA, *Suomen talonpojan historia*, Turku 1958, pp. 51–52, 144–150.

TABLE 5. MALE AND FEMALE TASKS IN COASTAL S–W FINLAND, 1860s, 1870s

Female tasks	Male tasks
Haymaking	Haymaking
Harvest	Harvest
Fishing	Fishing
Baking	Sea transport
Cooking	Seal hunting
Butter making	Boat building
Care of animals	Fish trade
Milking	Hunting sea birds
Spinning	Sowing
Making clothes	Logging
Spinning yarn for nets	Tool repair

Source: L.W. Fagerlund, *Anteckningar om Korpo och Houtskars socknar*, Helsingfors 1878; Archive of popular culture, collection 226.

The man who tells the stories is Eljas Raussi (1800–1866), the son of a farmer. As a young man he spent some time in St Petersburg but he returned to his home parish and married there, later he moved to a nearby town. He was always interested in the traditions and folk life and the documentation of the work and customs of ordinary people. In the 1840s he wrote a manuscript of 1300 pages about everyday life in his home parish of Virolahti (on the present day border of Russia).^[25]

When we analyse the information Raussi provides about 1840s Virolahti, the interesting thing is that the division of labour does not differ from that in the west to any considerable degree. All family members participated in harvest, haymaking and slash-and-burn activities. In general women could participate in most tasks. The mistress of the house handled the milking and care of cows with the assistance of the women in the house. We find a custom of women in the extended family owning special sheep that had come as part of their dowry, but otherwise they worked with all animals. They sheared the sheep several times per year and took care of the sheep and cows with no assistance from men. As far as animals were concerned, men only repaired the buildings and tended to horses.^[26] In the 1770s the parish had on average more than 7 cows per farm. The cows were, however,

[25] The manuscript was donated to the Society for Finnish Literature and was published with the title “folk life in Virolahti in the 1840s”. Eljas RAUSSI, *Virolahden kansanelämä 1840 luvulla*, Helsinki 1966.

[26] E. RAUSSI, *Virolahden kansanelämä*, pp. 46–52; T. G. MURTO, *Lappeen historia II*, Lappeenranta 1929, pp. 336–339.

the property of the women and were, for example, not entered into the inventory after the head of household. The economic importance of the dairy activity can be viewed in light of the fact that still in the 1820s the taxes were paid partly in butter, but more importantly, in the late 19th century butter and other milk products were transported to the growing market of St Petersburg.^[27]

TABLE 6. MALE AND FEMALE TASKS IN S-E FINLAND, 1840s

Female tasks	Male tasks
Haymaking	Haymaking
Harvest	Harvest
Slash and burn	Slash and burn
Grow cabbages and Swedes	Transport and haulage
Grow flax	Trade
Care of animals	Fishing
Milking	Logging
Butter making	House repair
Sheep shearing	Ditching
Spinning	Ploughing
Weaving	
Making clothes	
Cooking	

Source: Eljas RAUSSI, *Virolahden kansanelämää 1840 luvulla*, Helsinki 1966.

The cultivation of root crops fell into the female domain. Likewise the growing, harvesting and working flax was women's work, as of course spinning, weaving and making clothes, time consuming tasks that occupied them most weekdays. The only male input was ploughing the fields after the women had decided where the flax should be grown.^[28]

In 1936 a parish in the south east, Vehkalahti, celebrated the 600th anniversary of its foundation. A publication was generated for the occasion.^[29] Local men provided descriptions of contemporary economic efforts and improvements in agriculture, number of tractors and other mechanical advances, local dairies etc. However, documenting the past was also part of the remit. To achieve dynamics in

[27] Yrjö KAUKIAINEN, *Virolahden historia I*, Lappeenranta 1970, p. 552, 561; Greta KARSTELI-KKANEN, *Pietari-suuntaus Kannakselaisessa elämänkentässä 1800-luvun loppupuolelta vuoteen 1918*, Helsinki 1968, pp. 167–70.

[28] E. RAUSSI, *Virolahden kansanelämää*, pp. 86–87, 93–95, 253.

[29] Vehkalahtien juhlatuimikunta, *Vehkalahti, 600-vuotisjuhlan muistojulkaisu*, Hamina 1936.

the narrative old farmers and wives of farmers were interviewed about work and life in the parish in their youth. These interviews included detailed descriptions of animal care, field work, food production, textile work, threshing etc. As the interviewees were in their 60s or older in 1936 the information gives us insights in life during the second half of the 19th century. To our, perhaps not great surprise, we find that haymaking and harvest were shared tasks, so were threshing and turnip harvest, indicative of a society with less male absence than in the west. Here ploughing as well as ditching, care of horses and transport are described as part of the male domain. All cow and dairy related work fell into the female sphere with housework and textile work. As the story relates to the late 19th century and the turn of the century the potato is an important part of the economy and firmly defined as part of women's work (Table 7).

TABLE 7. MALE AND FEMALE TASKS IN S-E FINLAND 1860s TO EARLY 1900s

Female tasks	Male tasks
Haymaking	Haymaking
Harvest	Harvest
Threshing	Threshing
Harvest turnips	Harvest turnips
Potato harvest	Ploughing
Care of animals	Care of horses
Milking	Logging
Butter making	Transport and haulage
Milk sale	Tool repair
Cooking	Slash and burn
Spinning	Ditching
Weaving	
Making clothes	
Trade	Trade
Washing	

Source: Vehkalahten juhlatoimikunta, *Vehkalahti, 600-vuotisjuhlan muistojulkaisu*, Hamina 1936, pp. 84–87,101.

The parish level descriptions will be concluded with with a study from the south, a parish today seen as part of the greater Helsinki area. At the turn of the century a society for the collection and preservation of local customs and history was founded in the parish of Esbo. Enthusiasts from the local history society arranged a seminar and information gathering meeting on the 25th and 26th of March 1916. They invited representatives of the older generation, farmers, wives of farmers,

crofters and old parishioners with experience of life and work in the parish. The aim was to collect and document information about life in the parish before the poor harvests and famine of the late 1860s. The local historians and folklorists involved in the initiative could see the potential threat to the rural nature of the parish by the ever growing capital. This was also a time of general activity for the preservation of cultural manifestations in the region.^[30] The descriptions of different kinds of work were very detailed and include drawings of equipment. The narrative was, however, familiar, with women sharing in haymaking, harvest and threshing but shouldering the care of animals, housework and textile production without male assistance (Table 8).

TABLE 8. MALE AND FEMALE TASKS IN THE PARISH OF ESBO SOUTH FINLAND, 1850s

Female tasks		Male tasks
Haymaking	Butter making	Haymaking
Harvest	Baking	Harvest
Care of animals	Cooking	Sowing
Milking	Spinning	Muck spreading
Threshing	Weaving	Threshing
Flax work	Making clothes	Care of horses
Malting	Candle making	Alcohol
Brewing		

Source: *Om gångna tiders odling, Förhållandena i Esbo för fatiären på 1860-talet*, Esbo 1996, pp. 44–46, 50–52, 72–75, 78–79, 81–86.

Individual farms

While the parish level accounts are detailed and describe tasks minutely, it is even possible to cross check the information using another type of source, based on observations of people at work, by outsiders with notebooks.

In the early years of the 20th century doctors as well as economists and social reformers took an interest in the questions of food consumption, quality and quantity of food products and the needs of humans to be able to engage in productive

[30] The names and farms of all the old ladies and gentlemen present were recorded and there are indications that information was discussed and evaluated by all those present. The data collection was called 'Work in old times, conditions in Esbo before the crisis years in the 1860s', and was later published on the anniversary of the society in 1996 as *Om gångna tiders odling, Förhållandena i Esbo före fatiären på 1860-talet*, Esbo 1996; Nils MALMBERG, *Ungdomsföreningsrörelsen i svenska Nyland*, in: Ulf Kjerin – Nils Malmberg – Raul Nyström – Henry Rask (eds.), *Efter tusen talkotimmar*, Helsingfors 1990, pp. 7–28.

work. Sigfrid Sundstrom, a medical man, was inspired by studies on the European continent as well as in Scandinavia.^[31] The methods used in some of these studies involved the presence of the person conducting the research in the same room and by the same table as the people participating in the study. To acquire reliable data, the food consumed was weighed and analysed and the (103) persons observed and their everyday tasks recorded during the week of observation. The aim was not only to find out what people ate and how much, but also relate it to their body size and the physical activity they engaged in. Because of the method of direct observation the data in *Untersuchung über die Ernährung der landbevölkerung Finnlands* (1908),^[32] can also be used to chart the work and activity patterns of men, women and children in the Finnish countryside and the way it illuminates the gender division of labour.

Most of the observation weeks are from the less intensive part of the agricultural year, the winter months figure prominently. No observations are available for harvest time, possibly because the families would be unwilling to have strangers in the house when too busy. The work patterns, however, are relatively clear. The female engagement in care for animals, milking, housework and textile work stands out as an undisputable fact. There is also evidence of task division between adult and adolescent females, when available (Table 9). The mistress, it would seem, would in certain situations continue taking care of the animals and the housework while sending her daughter, or maid, out to participate in field work. Overall these data confirm the story already told by the parish studies about the division of labour in rural areas and what is known from time use studies of the early 20th century.^[33] For children under 12 years we find that while boys generally were playing or engaging in school work, girls were sometimes occupied with child care, housework or sent out into the potato field (Table 9, last column).

Source for Table 9: Sigfrid SUNDSTRÖM, *Untersuchung über die Ernährung der Bevölkerung Finnlands*, Helsingfors 1908, pp. 28–45.

[31] J. FORSTER, *Beiträge zur Ernährungsfrage*, Zeitschrift für Biologie 9, 1873, pp. 381–410; Christian JÜRGENSEN, *Zur Frage über die Grosse der Nahrungszufuhr erwachsener Menschen und die Verteilung derselben auf Mahlzeiten*, Zeitschrift für Biologie 1886, pp. 489–497; H. LICHTENFELT, *Ueber die Ernährung der Italiener*, Archiv für die Physiologie 1903, pp. 1–29; E. O. HULTGREN – Ernst LANDGREN, *Untersuchung über die Ernährung schwedischer Arbeiter bei freigewalter Kost*, Stockholm 1891.

[32] Sigfrid SUNDSTROM, *Untersuchung über die Ernährung der landbevölkerung Finnlands*, Helsingfors 1908.

[33] Elli SAURIO, *Maalaisemännän ajankäyttö suhteessa talouden laatuun ja henkilörakenteeseen*, Helsinki 1947; Liisa SAULLI, *Viljelijä perheiden elintaso maataloushallituksen kirjanpitolitoilla tilivuosina 1935/36–1948/49*, Hameenlinna 1951.

TABLE 9. MALE AND FEMALE TASKS ON FINNISH FARMS, SPECIFIC WEEKS 1905–1906

Month	Male adult	Female adult	Young male 14–25	Young female 15–25	Child–12, male or female
January 3–9	Transport	Animal care, milking, housework	Transport	Animal care, spinning, weaving	Play
January 10–16	Hay transport, shoe repair	Animal care, housework	Hay transport		School
January 14–20	Logging, transport	Animal care, house- work, textile work	Logging, Transport ×2	Animal care ×2, Knitting	School, skiing
January 22–28	Transport	Animal care, housework, spinning			School, skiing
January 24–30		Milking, housework ×2		Housework, textile work	Skiing
February 6–12		Animal care	Transport ×2, Chopping wood		Skating
February 17–23		Milking housework	Chopping wood		Play
February 17–23	Logging, transport	Animal care, housework	Logging, transport		School ×2
February 28–6 March	Transport	Milking, Housework	Animal care		Play ×2
April 8–14	Transport	Milking	Transport	Housework, child minding	Play
April 31–6 May	Transport	Animal care, housework		Child minding	School ×3, play ×2
June 17–23	Fieldwork	Animal care, housework		Field work	Play ×5
July 25–27	Haymaking		Haymaking	Haymaking, milking, housework	Housework
August 10–16	Ploughing	Milking, housework, butter making		Fieldwork, rough, housework	Childcare, play
August 22–25	Threshing	Animal care, milking, housework		Field work	House, ch. care, berry ×1, play ×1
September 22–25	Threshing, potato work	Potato harvest, housework			Potato work ×1, play ×2
October 2–8	Small tasks	Housework	Ploughing, transport ×2*		Housework, school
October 12–15	Field work	Housework		House work ×2, sewing	School
October	Small tasks	Field work	Field work	Animal care, house work×2	

Note: Empty boxes indicate that no person of the category in question was present in the household that week, ×1 or ×2 indicates the number of persons present of the category in question, child–12 may include 1, 2 or 3 children, in case there was variation in activity it is stated in the column.

Domestic production, consumption and textiles

The tables presented above make fairly clear that female input on the farms was remarkable. Not only did women care for animals, engage in dairy work, potato and root crop growing and the growing of flax. They also shared in other farm work while handling textile production and the preparation of food items for consumption or for sale. While a considerable amount of goods was consumed in the house, and some bartered locally, some did reach the market. Urban tolls have captured some of these items as did whatever found its way into customs notes. However, the few existing 18th century and early 19th century rural budgets reveal that a considerable income (1/2 of household production) was generated through the sale of textiles and animal products.^[34]

For the 19th century the importance of household production on farms has been documented locally for some areas by studying the purchases made by farmers, who had continuous and stable trade relations with certain merchants. The study covered merchants in different parts of the country. In the 1850s we find that farmers bought grain, salt, sugar, coffee, tools, tobacco and alcohol and produced all other items in house. Urban labourers on the other hand had to spend their money on flour, meat, fish, cheese, butter, peas, carrots and other food items.^[35] When the economic importance of in house production was debated in the early 20th century it was pointed out that GDP had a gaping hole, as domestic production never saw its way into national statistics.^[36]

Today we might find it difficult to understand the economic importance of domestic textile production but a couple of examples might throw some light on the issue. 19th century oral history collections, from different parts of the country, all repeat that everyday apparel was without exception produced in house from wool and linen grown on the farm. Flax was grown for the shirts and underwear

[34] Jussi PUUMALA, *Satakunnan maataloudellista historiaa 1700 luvulla*, Pori 1936, p. 91; John GARDBERG, *Hushållning och byvasen*, pp. 561–563; Saini LAURIKKALA, *Pietari Adrian Gadin kertomus, Relation om Landets Beskaffenhed och Landtmanna Naringarnes tillstand i Abo och Bjerneborgs lan med Aland*, Turun Historiallinen Arkisto 5, Turku 1936, (9000 farms) pp. 108, 112, 117–118; The Municipal Archive of Turku, Finland, Port duty registers of the town of Turku 1836, 1843, 1853, 1863, 1873.

[35] Vappu IKONEN, *Normi vai nalka, 1800-luvun eri sosiaaliryhmien kulutuksesta*, Helsinki 1991, pp. 70, 81–84.

[36] Calculations, based on surveys as late as the 1920s, revealed that of goods and services consumed in Finnish households no less than 75 percent were also produced within the household. The value of the total household production could be estimated (conservatively) to 13 billion marks, however never included in calculations of GDP; (Laura HARMAJA, *The Role of Household Production in National Economy*, Journal of Home Economics 23, 1931, pp. 822–827, on pp. 822–5; Laura HARMAJA, *Onko kotitalous vahapatoisys?, Kansantaloudellinen Aikakauskirja* 25, pp. 417–429.

and wool for trousers, skirts, socks, jumpers etc. The manufacture of clothes, including growing flax and tending sheep, belonged to the female domain and absorbed a considerable share of the working day of women particularly during the non intensive part of the agricultural year. In coastal areas yarn was spun and the fishing nets made on the farms. Such manufacture demanded specific skills, which the oral history collections describe as particularly found among elderly women.^[37]

Until the early 20th century the remuneration of farm servants in Finland and Sweden consisted of payments in kind as well as in cash; one full set of clothes per year. Male servants were provided with one shirt, underpants, one pair of trousers, one jacket, 2 pairs of socks, boots and shoes and gloves. The female servants had a skirt, a top, a cardigan, one shawl, stockings, undergarments, boots and shoes. The system has been documented as fairly uniform from the late Middle Ages until the 1920s in both Finland and Sweden. Usually the shoes and boots were bought from a craftsman while the rest was made in house.^[38] In the early 20th century the garments still formed 16 percent of the wages of a woman and 18 percent of the wages of a man in full time employment on a farm. The system was retained because it saved on payments in real money and it fitted in with the agricultural year, giving women work in winter time.^[39]

The dimensions of the domestic textile production can be illuminated by a statement of the inspector of industrial activity Lennart Gripenberg on the subject. In his report to the Industrial Board in 1889 he wrote: “*At the moment sheep are kept widely in rural areas and because of this wool is a product readily available all over the countryside. Therefore the spinning of wool and manufacture of different types of woollen garments is the most common of all textile related activities in the home. Such domestic produce include yarn, woollen fabrics, thinner for female garments and thicker for male garments, tricot, readymade clothes etc. To estimate in numbers the size of this activity is as impossible as it is to make similar estimates about linen production.*”^[40] The level of self-sufficiency was very high indeed.

[37] Fredric W. RADLOFF, *Beskrifning ofver Aland*, Åbo 1795, p. 246; Elias LONNROTH, *Vael-taja, Muistelmia jakamatkalta Hameesta, Savosta ja Karjalasta* 1828, Helsinki 2002, pp. 34–35, 53; Johannes HAYHA, *Bilder ur folkets lif i ostra Finland, vintersysslor*, Helsingfors 1897, pp. 110–114; Birger TORNROOS, *Stenbadan*, Jacobstad 1980, pp. 31–35.

[38] J. GARDBERG, *Hushållning och byvasen*, pp. 570–572; *Om gångna tiders odling*, pp. 89–90; Wilmi JORMA, *Isantavaet ja palvelusvaen pito 1600–luvulla ja 1700–luvun alkupuolella*, Jyväskylä 1991, p. 193–195; Arvo M. SOININEN, *Maataloustyovaen palkkakehitys 188–luvun lopussa ja 1900–luvun alussa*, Helsinki 1981, p. 22; Mats HELLSPONG – Orvar LOFGREN, *Land och stad*, Lund 1988, pp. 81–82.

[39] Edvard GYLLING, *Maanviljelysvaen taloudellisista oloista ikaalisten pitajassa v. 1902, Taloustieteellisia tutkimuksia III*, Helsinki 1902, pp. 91–95, 174–175.

[40] Lennart GRIPENBERG, *Textilindustrin i Finland*, in: *Meddelanden fran industristyrelsen i Finland* 10 häftet, Helsingfors 1889, pp. 9–51, on p. 25.

The household

The economy on mixed farms created a need for man or woman power to be available in several places at the same time during the intensive part of the working year. In addition the animals had to be taken care of whatever the season or situation. The many tasks included in the female domain were not easily handled by one woman.

An examination of the household composition in rural Finnish parishes of the past reveals a pattern dominated by the presence of at least two adult women in a household (Table 10). Over time the landless class multiplied and the increase of this group with limited access to land and natural resources had an effect on mean household size and composition. However, if we separate the farming households from those with restricted opportunities for in house production we find little change in the presence of 2 or more adult women per household.^[41] A comparison of the households in, for example, the south western parish of Korpo–Houtskar in 1770 reveals that the average number of adult women in farmers' households were 2.9 and in the landless households 1.1. In 1920 the households of farmers still contained 2 women while the landless only 1.^[42]

A brief look at a selection of parishes, representing both eastern and western Finland, seems to indicate a reasonably uniform pattern of adult females in the households in past centuries. Over time one might detect a decrease of a mean from 3 towards 2 women in the west while the eastern parishes seem to maintain 3 even in the 19th century (Table 11). Before the mid-19th century the majority of the households in the countryside tended to be engaged in farming and have access to land. Although the social division and sliding into the landless group commenced earlier in the west, in the east the landless did not increase rapidly until the end of the 19th century.^[43] Similar information has been gleaned in studies of communities in the south in the 18th and 19th and in the northwest in the early 20th century.^[44]

[41] Beatrice MORING, *Female Networks and Cooperation in the Nordic Past*, *Annales de démographie historique* 112, 2006, pp. 57–75, on p. 62; Beatrice MORING, *Nordic Family Patterns and the North West European Household System*, *Continuity and Change* 18, 2003, pp. 77–110, on pp. 94–97.

[42] National Archives, Helsinki, Tax registers for Korpo Houtskar 1770 and 1920.

[43] Beatrice MORING, *Land, Labor and Love: Household Arrangements in Nineteenth Century Eastern Finland – Cultural heritage or Socio-Economic Structure*, *The History of the Family* 4, 1999, pp. 159–184, on pp. 170–175.

[44] Gabriel NIKANDE, *Byar och gardar i Helsingfors*, Helsinki 1975, pp. 68–70; Outi TUOMI-NIKULA, *Keskipohjalaisen kalastajan vuosi*, Helsinki 1982, pp. 52–53.

TABLE 10. PERCENTAGE OF HOUSEHOLDS WITH 2 OR MORE WORKING AGE WOMEN IN FINNISH PARISHES, 17th TO 19th CENTURY

West	2+ women over 15	East	2+ women over 15
Korpo 1694	93 %	Lavansaari 1818	91 %
Lapua 1723	93 %	Lavansaari 1860	83 %
Replot 1795	100 %	Virolahti 1818	87 %
Replot 1860	72 %	Virolahti 1838	85 %
Kumlinge 1790	92 %		
Kumlinge 1859	78 %		
Brando 1790	87 %		
Brando 1859	72 %		

Sources: Tax registers and communion books.

TABLE 11. MEAN NUMBER OF ADULT FEMALES AND MALES PER HOUSEHOLD IN FINNISH RURAL COMMUNITIES, 17th TO 19th CENTURY

West	Adult females	Adult males	East	Adult females
Korpo 1694	2.2	2.3	Virolahti 1818	3.2
Houtskar 1697	3.5		Virolahti 1876	3.0
Houtskar 1770f	2.9	2.6	Lavansaari 1818	3.0
Houtskar 1856	2.3	1.9	Lavansaari 1838	3.0
Kumlinge 1859	2.3		Lavansaari 1851	3.0
Lapua 1723	3.1	2.3		
Replot 1855	2.0			

Sources: Tax registers and communion books.

It would therefore seem that the farmers' wife needed some help and had some help from a mother or mother in law, an adult or teenage daughter, a maid or a sister. The position of authority of the mistress of the house, underlined since the Middle Ages through the symbol of the keys^[45] handed over at marriage, was not only symbolic. The mistress was in control of a large part of the workings of the household.^[46] While publicly questioning the master would not be in accordance

[45] K. Rob. V. WIKMAN, *Om de fornnordiska formerna for aktenskapets ingaende, Societas Scientiarum Fennica Arsbok XXXIV B:3, 1959*, pp. 5–26, on p. 14; *A man marries a woman to honour and to mistress of the house, to half the bed, to locks and keys and to third of the goods he has and will have in movables and to all the rights of the Law of Upland given by St Eric, in the name of the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit* (12th century definition of marriage), O. F. HULTMAN, *Upplandslagen*, Helsingfors 1916, p. 44.

[46] Boetius MURENIUS, *Acta Visitationis 1637–1666*, Porvoo 1908, pp. 110, 113, 284, 517–519.

with decorum, a house without a mistress could not function, while if the master was away the mistress handled his tasks as well as her own. Where the economic life necessitated a lot of male absence, like in coastal areas, the hard working and sometimes bossy women were not always to the taste of middle-class observers. In their view the men should stay on land and maintain the natural order.^[47]

Conclusion

In the field of economic history certain concepts, like labour market participation and GDP, have developed into standard tools for analysis, as has the use of censuses when determining occupational distribution. These tools have been generated, however, within the time frame and geographic environment of industrial urban society. Therefore their efficacy in analysing rural pre industrial societies is highly debatable. The systematic exclusion of domestic production for domestic consumption from any calculation of GDP means that the further back in time we go and the more rural our locality for study is the higher percentage of production falls outside the calculation. The consequence of such an approach particularly affects the observations of the female contributions to the household and the national economy. Ergo, statistical studies tell us that only a small number of women were working in the past. As such a statement seems ludicrous to anybody engaged in the study of rural economies it is obvious that there is a need for new sources and new tools to illuminate the realities of life and work in the past.

The aim of this article has been to present and analyse the kind of sources that can be used to find out more about women and their work in the farm economy. It has been possible to demonstrate that surveys have been conducted that can aid us in our quest for information about division of labour. Efforts have also been made to present the rich source of oral history that can be explored to make the invisible work of women visible. Within the scope of the present study only a small number of data sets could be presented and analysed in detail, but it should be pointed out that they only represent a fraction of a large body of information, particularly for the second half of the 19th century. Because of the nature of the data it has primarily found interest within the field of ethnography, there however, the crucial input by women on Finish farms has been seen as self evident as manifested in overviews like those of Talve, Vilkkuna and others.^[48]

[47] Erik KLINGIUS, *Historisk beskrifning over Malax församling* (1767), Vasa 1986, pp. 48–49, 54–55, 83–86; Carl Johan ROOS, *Nagra underrättelser om Replot kapell* (1872).

[48] Ilmari TALVE, *Finnish Folk Culture*, Helsinki 1997; Kustaa VILKUNA, *Varsinas Suomen historia* III, Porvoo 1935, pp. 114–117, 172–174, 202–209; Kustaa Vilkkuna, *Tyo ja ilonpio* (Helsinki 1983); Vaino Perala, *Maarian historia II*, Turku 1949, pp. 176–180; Maarit KNUUTTILA, *Kansanomainen keittamisen taito*, Helsinki 2006; Phoebe FJELLSTROM, *Kvinnoliv och maltidsgladje*,

The aspect that cannot be emphasized enough is the uniform story we find. In locality after locality women handle the care of animals and all dairy work, they participate actively in haymaking and harvest and in other agricultural tasks. They shear sheep, sow and grow flax, anything textile or food related is within their domain. The production covered both domestic consumption and articles that found their way to the market. In the 18th century a man without a wife was not considered capable of heading a farm and after being widowed men remarried while women often did not.

The importance of female activity within the economic life in Finland and the Nordic countries cannot be underestimated. While women were economically active in all rural areas and responsible for animals in general, the nature of male mobility on the coast made it vital that women should be able to replace men when there was a need, and shoulder all agricultural work. Both men and women were multi-tasking but when a large number of people were needed the villagers would join in work groups (men in hunting, women in textile work and everybody at harvest).

Economic activity was therefore engaged in on household basis and across household lines, jointly by men and women and also with gender divided tasks. Crossing the gender barrier was easier for women and until the 20th century they remained the prime carers of animals and producers of clothes. The share of the production that did not enter the market has never been estimated. Therefore it was still possible for middle class statisticians to classify the wife of a farmer as 'dependant', and not engaged in the labour market at the end of the 19th century. *"Women's work in agriculture consists of the easier tasks like, breaking up clots of soil in the fields, spreading dung, cleaning ditches, gathering twigs for the animals, haymaking, weeding, all potato work apart from ploughing. But women are essential and better than men in harvest, when using the sickle and in threshing, where a woman considers herself useless, if a man can keep pace with her. On the other hand a man would consider it as an imposition if women would dig ditches, engaged in ploughing, would cut at haymaking or chopped wood. However, one does often see that women have the capacity for this as well, if there is a need. Sometimes you can see a woman guiding the plough, using the scythe or the axe with great success. More often you see her transport muck, chop twigs, partake in fishing or transport, but only if nobody else can be spared... I have often wondered how women, even in hard work are able to maintain an atmosphere of joy, totally absent at gatherings for the purpose of enjoyment by Society. It is interesting to see a farmer's daughter joyfully throwing sheaves of grain in a devilishly hot threshing barn, standing in the dust separating the corn and some hours later see her sitting clean and neat with her*

kosthall och resurser inom det nordliga rummet, Umeå 2002; Orvar LOFGREN, *Arbeitsteilung und Geschlechterrollen in Schweden*, *Ethnologia Scandinavica* 1975, pp. 49–72.

textile work.” (Account by a clergyman of the work of women sent to the Society for Economic Advancement from a parish in western Finland 1824.)^[49]

We should, however, keep in mind that the female input in the rural economy on the family farm was not exclusive to Finland or Sweden, but a part of normal life in the Nordic countries. The European continent also demonstrates numerous examples of active female participation in agriculture and related pursuits.^[50] As the economic and ecological conditions varied considerably within the European past it is of course not possible to pronounce anything about the level of participation or its economic importance. One might, however, wish that more research and new data exploration, perhaps on the line of some examples in this paper, would reveal some of the hidden female input within a wider European framework. It would be desirable to be able to supply more specific information about the reality that underpins proverbs like the French: “*No wife, no cow, hence no milk, no cheese, no hens, no eggs...*”^[51]

[49] Kustaa VILKUNA, *Suomen kulttuurihistoria*, 1934, pp. 310–311.

[50] Ingeborg FLOJSTAD, *Kvinnene i arbeidslivet id et gamle bygdesamfunnet*, in: Anna Tranberg – Harald Winge (eds.), *Kvinnekar i det gamle samfunn 1500–1850*, Oslo 1985, pp. 45–64, on pp. 47–50; Ole HOJRUP, *Landbokvinden*, Copenhagen 1964, pp. 13–18, 64–67, 73–77, 181, 186–227; Rachel FUCHS – Victoria THOMPSON, *Women in Nineteenth-century Europe*, London 2005, pp. 62–64; M. MITTERAUER, *Former landlicher Familienwirtschaft*, pp. 200–204; Deborah SIMONTON, *A History of European Women’s Work, 1700 to the Present*, London 1998, pp. 30–33; M. SEGALIN, *Love and Power*, pp. 82–83, 85–91.

[51] Louise TILLY – Joan SCOTT, *Women, Work and Family*, New York 1978, p. 45.

RECENZE A ZPRÁVY

Elena Glavatskaya – Gunnar Thorvaldsen – Georg Fertig – Mikolaj Szoltysek (eds.), *Nominative Data in Demographic Research in the East and the West*, Ural Federal University, Ekaterinburg 2019, 222 pp. ISBN 978-5-7996-2656-3.

on-line: http://elar.urfu.ru/bitstream/10995/73898/1/978-5-7996-2656-3_2019.pdf

In September last year a conference bringing together international experts on big datasets took place at the Ural Federal University in Ekaterinburg. It is precisely the creation of large sets of data based on sources containing information on tens or hundreds of thousands of people that represents one of the important approaches of modern historical demography. The chief aim of the organizers was to offer the participants a platform to discuss issues of methodology of database creation and to compare resources and excerption methods. Similar meetings can also help start or promote a deeper cooperation, which is another desirable effect of conferences in general.

Given that working with big datasets is becoming ever more widespread, a broadest possible access to the presentations given at the conference is highly desirable. In this context, it needs to be appreciated that the organizers managed to publish the presented conference materials in print in record time, in the form of a collection of highly stimulating texts, in which the readers can find both methodological inspiration as well as numerous practical pieces of advice, including links to specific projects and existing databases.

The conference proceedings contain eleven texts by 21 authors and co-authors from eleven countries. The collection is divided into three parts: Demographic data, Family and fertility and Migration and mortality. Part I, focusing on methodological issues connected with the building of databases, contains three articles. In the first one, Georg Fertig deals with a well-established tradition of data collection in the German area. He presents the Association for computerized genealogy (<http://compgen.de>), comprising a number of projects. In his contribution Georg Fertig focuses especially on the opportunities presented by the use of the unique Ortsfamilienbücher (Ortssippenbücher), which have existed in Germany since the 16th century for the purposes of the reconstruction of family ties. Thanks to the project (<http://www.online-ofb.de/>) more than 700 of these records have been made accessible. The second text by Joana Maria Pujades-More, Alícia Fornés, Josep Lladós, Gabriel Brea-Martínez and Miquel Valls-Fígols describes the Ball database (The Baix Llobregat Demographic Database), which comprises data collected in

censuses carried out in the 19th and 20th centuries in Catalonia (the description of the research methodology can be found at <http://dag.cvc.uab.ex/xarxes/>). The third contribution, by Marius Eppel and Oana Sorescu-Iudean, introduces a database created in the Framework of the project Social and Professional Trajectories in Concurrent Confessional Spaces: Transylvania (1850–1918). In its concept the database continues a previous successful research project, which resulted in the Historical Population Database of Transylvania (<http://hpdt.ro:4080/>).

The contributions contained in the latter two parts of the conference proceedings focus on research outcomes of specific projects, which were also based on extensive data excerpts giving rise to individual databases. The text by Sigfried Gruber presents results of a research project on Marital fertility in Albania during WWII, using the so-called Mosaic database. The article by Elena Glavatskaya, Alexander Bobitsky, Elizaveta Zabolotnykh and Anastasia Vishnevskaya discusses to what extent marriage patterns in Ekaterinburg in the first quarter of the 20th century were influenced by the religion of the future spouses. Mark Gortfelder deals with changes in fertility and its links to child mortality in Estonia in the last decades of the 19th century. The remaining two texts in Part II reach deeper into the past, using sources from the 18th century. Maria Markova focused in her presentation on differences in family structure between various population groups living in the Saint Petersburg province, namely merchants and low-middle class city dwellers on one hand and peasants on the other hand. Péter Öri's text covers the longest time period, concentrating on first marriages in Zsámbék in Hungary in 1720–1945.

Two out of three texts in Part III discuss various aspects of demographic behaviour in Norway. The text by Gunnar Thordvaldsen describes changes in internal migration in 1865–1960, while the article by Hilde L. Sommerseth and Evelin C. Walhout concerns the reasons of death recorded in the Trondheim civil registers in 1866–1895. Dmitrij Bakharev and Elene Glavatskayam, whose research is part of the Ural Population Project, focus on infant mortality at the turn of the 19th and 20th centuries.

The published conference proceedings show that in recent years the interest in historical sources offering large amounts of individual data has significantly increased. Also, the progressing digitalization of these sources is exploited not only by experts but also by the general public. It is undoubtedly in the interest of both these user groups to have access to new information as soon as possible and to enjoy databases that are user-friendly and open to all types of potential users. This is why cooperation among all stakeholders is so important. The book under review here can be considered as an excellent example of such cooperation.

Alice Velková



International Commission for Historical Demography
Commission Internationale de Démographie Historique

XXIIIRD CONGRESS OF THE ICHS – XXIII^{ème} CONGRÈS DU CISH

Call for papers – Appel à contributions

International Commission for Historical Demography
Commission Internationale de Démographie Historique
Poznań, Poland

27th–28th August, 2020 / 27–28 août 2020

<https://ichs2020poznan.pl/en/>

deadline: 31th December 2019

ICHHD 2020 – List of sessions

1. «Female Contribution to Human Migration and Mobility Process. Sources to find them, Past and Present», Dr. Claudia Contente, Dr. Joana Maria Pujadas-Mora and Dr. Isabelle Seguy
2. «Female Strategies of Family Continuity over Generations: the Long View in Time and Space», Prof. dr. Antoinette Fauve-Chamoux and Dr. Grażyna Liczbińska
3. «Marriage and Migration from the 17th to the early 20th Century – Gender, Economy and Origin», Dr. Beatrice Moring
4. «Marriage and Celibacy, Marital and Non-marital Fertility in Past and Present: Laws, Norms and Living Conditions», Prof. dr. Peter Teibenbacher
5. «European family cultures, their Origins and Connectivities in Historical Global Perspectives», Dr. Mikolaj Szoltysek
6. «Colonial populations: Census-taking processes, Health and Urbanization (17th–20th centuries)», Dr. Paulo Teodoro de Matos and Dr. Evelien Walhout
7. «Mixed Families in the History: Interfaith, Interethnic and International Marriage», Prof. dr. Ioan-Aurel Pop and Prof. dr. Ioan Bolovan
8. «Civilians in the War. Women, Children, Refugees and Prisoners-of-War on the Eastern Front during World War I», Dr. Ana Victoria Sima and Prof. dr. Ioan Bolovan

SESSION DESCRIPTIONS AND ORGANIZERS

Session 1. Female Contribution to Human Migration and Mobility Process. Sources to find them, Past and Present

Organizer(s): Dr. Claudia Contente, Dr. Joana Maria Pujadas-Mora and Dr. Isabelle Seguy

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In the last decades, much progress has been made in the study of recent women's migration and mobility from a gender perspective. However, we know less about this topic in past times. Historiography has tended to ignore the presence and prominence of women in migrations, mainly for medieval and modern times. This bias is partly consequence of the social perception of women's role out of the domestic sphere.

The study of historical migration and mobility, either temporary or definitive, individual, with the partner or with the family, especially for ancient periods and if they concern women, requires imaginative solutions. These may lie in the use of non-conventional sources to approach women's mobility in order to (try to) reconstruct the reasons of their displacements – for work, marriage or security reasons. Sources that can allow the study of migrations, were not originally conceived to report this vital event, are wide ranging. They can be individual and nominative sources, non-nominative or even archaeological or bioarchaeological, as long as they help to make visible women's participation in population movements. In other words, new or old sources with new questions about female migration and mobility will facilitate to uncover the possibilities of the topic in order to stimulate their study. Another perspective to take into account is the women's role play as facilitators of migration processes.

This session seeks to bring original interdisciplinary perspectives that enable its study which cover long periods and wide and varied geographic and cultural spaces.

Session 2. Female Strategies of Family Continuity over Generations: the Long View in Time and Space

Organizer(s): Prof. dr. Antoinette Fauve-Chamoux and Dr. Grażyna Liczbińska
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The session will consider female strategies – to keep going the family – not only in time of war and crisis (socio-economic, sanitary, political crises including catastrophes, epidemics, famines, high mortality, migration/exodus etc.), but also

in time of peace and golden/glorious/prosperous periods, all this under various demographic regimes. The organizers expect panelists from various disciplines and countries to present the complex European, Asian, American, Australian and African experience so that the session will be an exciting challenge, comparing models of family continuity over generations in historical space and time.

The session will focus explicitly on female agency, as arranged marriages, remarriages, polygamy, adoption, circulation of children, sex selection etc. Particular attention will be given to socio-differentiation, religion, and cultural backgrounds. The role of the State and the role of religious authorities in these matters of family reproduction (laws, customs and rituals) will be fully taken into account. This session intends to highlight the way families, thanks to females, adapt their strategies of reproduction, applying or rejecting old practices or imposing new practices of reproduction, in order to achieve their goal of family continuity over generations. The panel that we propose transcends history, comprising an interdisciplinary approach: anthropology, historical demography, economy, theology, history of mentalities and gender. In such a context, the approach should combine statistical data, family reproduction studies (including family structure and transmission systems), legislative knowledge and theology/religious believe.

Session 3. Marriage and Migration from the 17th to the early 20th Century – Gender, Economy and Origin

Organizer(s): Dr. Beatrice Moring Email: bke.moring@ntlworld.com

Migration, in the past as in present society, has been linked to a number of questions. Has the primary reason for leaving been a desire for improved economic status? Were people in the past able to gain information about the localities where they migrated or did they leave with hope for a better life? Can we establish connections between those who left and individuals residing in the localities to which they went? To what extent was migration a male or a female choice? Did particular areas have specific economic opportunities for certain groups? Which are the data sets that can give us information about who migrated, where they migrated and particularly why they migrated?

Some questions that will be addressed: Who migrated?, migration for economic reasons, economic and nuptial opportunities in place of destination, economic success, partner choice, marriage to migrants or to original population, non-marriage or non-remarriage out of choice, migration instead of marriage, networks among migrants.

Session 4. Marriage and Celibacy, Marital and Non-marital Fertility in Past and Present: Laws, Norms and Living Conditions

Organizer(s): Prof. dr. Peter Teibenbacher Email: peter.teibenbacher@uni-graz.at

Marriage and illegitimacy is dependent on three factors, namely laws, norms and living conditions. For example law, that non-married mothers also can receive public subsidies can promote illegitimate births (bottom-down). For example, religious norms can have an impact on nuptiality and illegitimacy from a collective/institutional perspective (top-down). For example marriage restrictions as norms (or even laws) can have an impact on illegitimacy from a collective/institutional perspective (top-down). For example poverty can have an impact on nuptiality and illegitimacy from the individual perspective (at the bottom).

Session 5. European Family Cultures, their Origins and Connectivities in Historical Global Perspectives

Organizer(s): Dr. Mikolaj Szoltysek Email: mszoltis@gmail.com

Twenty years since Reher's seminal paper from 19983, scholars generally contend that socio-demographic contrasts between macro-regions in Europe – and particularly between the northern and southern halves of Western Europe – not only had existed in the past but persisted in the present, thus pointing to the historical as well as anthropological origins of this cleavage. Though he paid hardly any attention to Eastern Europe, Reher's contrast between 'weak' and 'strong' family cultures has soon encompassed also the distinction between the 'individualistic' west and north of Europe, and the allegedly familialistic East. With the unprecedented Eastern expansion of the European Union in 2004, which transformed the face of Europe more radically than anything before, different European cultural normative systems and patterns of family behavior have come into close contact with each other. Yet, notwithstanding the ever increasing migration from the new accession countries and European multicultural growth, research of the 2000s has continued to bring out evidence of 'families of nations,' i.e. the spatial clustering of specific demographic and familial behavior across the continent. Tracing the historical roots of this familial variation, however, has so far not been successfully concluded. While Reher's generalisations provide a ready framework for scholars and policy makers wishing to understand recent family or even socio-political developments, they also carry out the danger of a reductionist view of history by assuming that what is at stake are ancient and long standing divisions and forms especially resistant to change. With these concerns in mind, we propose to organize an interdisciplinary session at the 23rd Congress of the CISH shedding new light on the European patterning of familial and demographic landscapes, past and present. To be held in Poznań, the city whose very name testifies to the

changing parameters of European geography over the centuries, the session invites papers dealing with 1) evolution and diversity of family patterns within Europe, 2) common trends and diversities in both contemporary and historic Europe and 3) themes of convergence versus divergence in demographic behavior in the long run. The session is intentionally broad, either encompassing Europe in its totality, or dealing with specific spatio-demographic gradients at the meso- or macro- level (west-east; north-south, etc). The session's thematic focus will be broad, encompassing not only spatio-structural constellations of household structures and residential proximity, life course, fertility and mortality patterns, but also family practices regarding child-care, intergenerational solidarity, and patterns of exchange and support, both along kinship and nonkin ties. Another theme could be the role of values and the normative climate regarding family behavior across space and over time.

Session 6. Colonial populations: Census-taking processes, Health and Urbanization (17th–20th centuries)

Organizer(s): Dr. Paulo Teodoro de Matos and Dr. Evelien Walhout Email: plmatos@fcs.unl.pt / evelienwalhout@gmail.com

Since the late 1960s, much in the wake of pioneering work such as Cook and Borah and Nicolas Sanchez Albornoz, historians, demographers and anthropologists have highlighted the particularities overseas societies colonized from Europe. Social, ethnic and religious diversity, as well as the slave populations in these colonial spaces, has stimulated a rich debate about the possible existence of different demographic regimes. This session focuses on three key areas for the study of these societies:

- Processes of census-taking and its normative framework
- Health, living standards and demographic transition
- Colonial cities: urbanization and public health

Session 7. Mixed Families in the History: Interfaith, Interethnic and International Marriage

Organizer(s): Prof. dr. Ioan-Aurel Pop and Prof. dr. Ioan Bolovan Email: ioanleruapop@gmail.com / ioanbolovan62@gmail.com

Belonging to an inherited or assumed ethnic or religious community is an important element of human identity. Under the influence of historical and political factors, in areas characterized by ethnic and religious diversity, this belonging

often determined an adversative and competitive attitude towards “the Other.” This ethnic and religious diversity shaped certain demographical behaviours.

This session intends to highlight the way the inhabitants of many countries all over the world looked at interfaith, interethnic and international marriages and the way they look at them nowadays. How did the Church, the state, societies and families succeed/or fail to deal with the problem of interfaith, interethnic and international marriages? The panel we propose transcends history, comprising an interdisciplinary approach: anthropology, historical demography, theology and history of mentalities. In such a context, it would be interesting to see how people looked at interfaith, interethnic and international marriages, basically a way in which, alongside other social and political mechanisms, one could gradually change his or her ethnic and confessional identity. We perceive the mixed families as a scene where the ethnic and the religious diversities act as a positive force and how they generate social cohesion. The period under observation: 16–21 centuries.

Session 8. Civilians in the War. Women, Children, Refugees and Prisoners-of- War on the Eastern Front during World War I

Organizer(s): Dr. Ana Victoria Sima and Prof. dr. Ioan Bolovan Email: ana.sima@ubbcluj.ro / ioanbolovan62@gmail.com

Today, one century after WWI, it is widely recognized that WWI involved both direct combatants and civilian populations. Besides the soldiers, those whom the war affected, directly or indirectly, also included the population left behind, on the home fronts. Women, children, the elderly, refugees and prisoners-of-war: all these had to suffer because of the global conflagration. Their participation in the war remained neglected in scholarship for a long time. Only over the past three decades has Western historiography broadened the perspectives and interpretations on WWI, going beyond aspects of political, military and diplomatic history and focusing also on the effort of “the many”, who thus came out of anonymity for the first time, becoming subjects of history.

What are, however, still relatively unknown are the realities of the Eastern Front, where the civilian population endured the horrors of the war in forms and at levels that were sometimes different from those on the Western front. This is why the present session aims to recapture the manifestations and effects of the war among the civilians from the Eastern Front. Several issues will be examined, such as: the plight of the refugees from the occupied territories and of the prisoners held in war camps; the situation of women, children and the elderly, left without support on the home front; religious and philanthropic assistance; the role of institutions such as the Church and the School in supporting the war effort.

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