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Female migrants, partner choice and socio-economic destiny-Finnish women in Stockholm in the 17th and 18th century

Mujeres migrantes, elección de pareja y destino socioeconómico: las mujeres finlandesas en Estocolmo en los siglos XVII y XVIII

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Abstract

The aim of this paper is to study the structure and nature of female migration from Finland to Stockholm in the 17th and early 18th century and the opportunities in the new urban environment. The study will probe the question of partner choice, regional preferences and the potential of marriage for socio economic advancement

Resumen

El objetivo de este artículo es estudiar la estructura y naturaleza de la migración femenina desde Finlandia a Estocolmo en el siglo XVII y principios del XVIII y las oportunidades en el nuevo entorno urbano. El estudio explorará la cuestión de la elección de pareja, las preferencias regionales y el potencial del matrimonio para el avance socioeconómico.

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BACKGROUND. MIGRATION, OPPORTUNITIES AND RESTRICTIONS

> "As the problem exists that loose people move around the country in large groups and move from one location to the other, settle in towns, mining areas the forestry sector and the navy and by such behaviour avoid the army and the service of the nobility, it is underlined that His Royal Majesty has passed regulations that should be obeyed and observed, but in addition it is ruled that no person of the Crown farming group is to move without the permission of the governor and the authorities and those on land belonging to the nobility to leave without the express permit of their noble lords...". (Answer to complaint made by the nobility in Parliament, 1680).

> "... no farmhands or maids and other loose people are to move without the permit of the governor and leave Finland or Aland, or to be transported, housed and employed, such activity is to be subject to punishment and fines…". (18 November 1693)[1].

Although the Kingdom of Sweden (which included Finland from the 12th to the early 19th century) went through a mercantile phase of favouring strict regulations on mobility in the 17th century this did not necessarily have the desired effect. The problem was primarily linked to the fact that the country had experienced a long period of warfare, climate problems etc. As a result, there was a shortage of persons willing to enter into service in noble households for the wages that were offered. On the one hand, some of the children from the farming families were sought after as assisting within the household, the land inheritance system, however, decreased the economic opportunities of younger sons and daughters, particularly in the western parts of the country. On the other hand, those who were willing to migrate could expect better salary levels in urban areas and in some cases the opportunity of entering the urban guilds. In addition, there could be purely personal reasons. (Jutikkala, 1963: 256-258; Moring, 2004: 45-48).

As it is far easier to move people to work than work to people, even at a time when strict regulation was imposed on movement, some people saw the benefit in moving for economic reasons. While the nobility managed to impose rules on servants in the countryside, the growing capital needed more builders to erect houses and the houses needed servants to run them.

The fact that because of government restrictions the population along the northern Baltic was obliged to trade in Stockholm or in towns near their residence intensified the travel to Stockholm by persons who wanted to engage in for example the trade of fish or tar. The capital had a continuous stream of visitors from coastal areas, for the purpose of buying and selling their produce (Sandstrom, 1992: 96-100; Sandstrom, 1990: 44-59, 185-216). Such visits created contacts and information on opportunities. Therefore, all visitors did not always return to their home parishes.

Contrary to what one might believe rural Scandinavia was far from a static society in pre-industrial time. Although a large share of the mobility was short distance movement

1 Stiernman (1852: 47); Hoppner (1754: 191).

between villages or into nearby towns, some individuals headed towards regional centres or the capital in search of a better income and life. In early modern time Stockholm was the magnet for communities in the western Baltic, by the 19th century communities in the east sought the benefits of the growing St Petersburg. The persons leaving and settling were both male and female (Rosenberg, 1966; Engman, 1983; Tarkiainen, 1990).

1. QUESTIONS AND DATA

Studies of migration have evolved in the past decades from a concentration of push and pull factors towards a more individual centred outlook discussing the networks people left and the networks they entered in a new environment. Tamara Hareven has also demonstrated how the routes of communication encouraged migration from particular regions to specific localities (Bairoch, 1988; Hareven, 1982: 16-17; Lucassen, 1987; Macdonald, 1964; 82-97; Sharpe, 2001; Tilly, 1990). In the past decades, studies have revealed the possibilities of studying the intermixing of kin networks with workplace connections in the process of settling into a new environment. These studies have also highlighted the issue of female migration, sometimes linked to, but at other times independent from that of male migration (Moring, 2016; Sogner, 2011: 31-48; Gordon, 2002: 140-144; Arrizabalaga, 2020).

The aim of this paper is to study the structure and nature of female migration from Finland to Stockholm in the 17th and early 18th century and the opportunities in the new urban environment. With the aid of the Church records (banns registers) the gender proportion among migrants will be analyzed. In addition, partner choice in the sense of marriage with locals or other migrants can be determined. These records will also be used for the study of male occupational distribution and their origin as well as the locality of settlement in the town. Information about previous history of the parties as to life in Stockholm will be probed.

After the reformation the Lutheran Church introduced improved registration. The primary unit of registration was the parish where in the 17th century registers of births, deaths and marriages were kept. In addition, the 17th century saw the introduction of communion books. Knowledge of the Bible was necessary to be allowed communion and reading tests of the parishioners became the norm.

At migration the expectation was that a document was brought from the parish priest to the new parish stating marital state, confirmation and possible criminal charges or moral transgressions, later other issues like vaccinations were included. These documents are rarely preserved but formed the basis for introduction in a new place.

When embarking on marriage a couple visited the priest who was to read the banns and he made notes of their place of birth and anything relevant. In urban areas occupations for men were usually noted. The quality of the banns registers vary considerably and an examination of registers of a number of Stockholm parishes reveal either a lack

of registers or the absence of information about birth place for the 17th century. The parish of Katarina in southern Stockholm, however, has preserved registers with information of the birth place starting in 1654 and going on into the 18th century.

By the seventeenth century, a number of Scandinavian towns had started to inventory the property of a person after his or her death. In addition to listing the assets, the inventories also included information about the heirs and their shares of the inheritance. From 1734 inventories became compulsory in Sweden and Finland, for the purpose of a just and legal division between the heirs. Particularly in cases of remarriage the assets had to inventoried, and the shares of children protected. However, it was not until the 1790s that copies of the inventory were submitted to the local court (Juva, 1955: 91-94). As the authorities in Stockholm maintained relatively good records of the assets at death from the 17th century onwards, the chances of economic success or lack of same will be studied through the use of inventories of persons of Finnish origin dying in Stockholm 1650-1750.

2. PRE-INDUSTRIAL STOCKHOLM

The town of Stockholm experienced astounding population growth in the 17th century. In 1620 the population barely reached the 10.000 mark, but by the 1690s it had grown to 60.000 (Utterstrom, 1949: 271-273). While many came from the Swedish countryside close to or far away from Stockholm a not insignificant part of these people originated in the Finnish side of the kingdom, across the Baltic, and a large proportion of these migrants were women. The 17th century Stockholm was a town of economic as well as geographic stratification. Civil servants and merchants formed the upper stratum of society, craftsmen, engaging in manufacture and sales, formed an intermediate category. The building and sea faring groups included both reasonably opulent individuals and poor sailors, builders' apprentices and labourers. The army and navy personnel, relying on the crown as paymaster, were generally not very wealthy and sometimes suffered from abject poverty (Soderlund, 1943: 177, 274-275, 293; Soderlund, 1944: 271; Erixon,1946: 55-56).

From the 16th century the central administration had gradually become located to the capital instead of travelling around the country with the king. During the 17th century the nobility holding royal office started building urban residences for themselves. The need for services increased and work in the building sector work was generally available.

The (old) Town had restrictions as to what kind of buildings could be constructed, stone buildings were favoured and the location was both desirable and more expensive than other areas. The inhabitants were generally wealthier than those in the south or the north. On the other hand, space was very restricted and entrepreneurs often settled in other (less regulated) parts of town, particularly in the south, as these were the days when home and business were often to be found cheek by jowl.

The north was primarily crown land and a large part of the inhabitants were engaged

by the navy or worked on the naval shipyards or in transport, the north east, was the home of soldiers or anybody working for the crown in some other capacity. The southern hills, had since the 16th century been the centre for builders and carpenters. However, this region was an area of expansion and became the centre for the new textile manufacture establishments in the 17th and the 18th century (Pursche, 1979: 90-94; Hansson, 1946: 24-26: Samuelsson, 1953: 31-34).

The parish of Katarina was located in the southern part of the town. In the 17th and 18th century the southern region was the home of builders, carpenters, fishermen and sailors. In addition to the main house extra buildings for diverse use could be erected. Some families, particularly builders, acquired extra income by keeping lodgers either sharing their own house or in additional buildings. Sometimes a plot had two houses with or without basement and loft, workshops, baking houses and outbuildings could be jogging one another (Meyerson, 1943: 91-92; Pursche, 1979: 314-321; Moring, 2004).

2.1. Migrants in Katarina parish

A study of the parish registration in Katarina reveals that between 1654 and 1711 between 28 and 5 percent of those putting their banns up had been born on the Finnish side of the Baltic. The early part of the period, particularly the mid 17th century shows particularly high percentages, while the migration seems to taper off towards the 1700 hundreds (Table 1). The percentages do not, however, only reflect the size of the cohort of migrating Finns but also the fact that the parish, as most parishes in Stockholm, experienced an influx of people from the Swedish countryside and particularly from neighbouring parishes. The presence of Finns in the southern part of town has been seen to be reflected in certain street names like 'Tavastgatan' (the street of those from Tavastland, a region in central Finland). The local tradition also incorporated expressions like 'the Finns in the South' (Meyerson, 1943: 104; Pursche, 1979: 101). The guild records of builders in1645 also demonstrates that 50 percent of the guild registers builders in southern Stockholm were of Finnish origin (Roll of the guild of Timber men 1645).

A scrutiny of the origin of the migrants reveals a distinct regional pattern. The areas delivering the largest proportion of migrants were those with the most intensive trade contacts, along the western coastal areas of Finland. The Aland Islands and the southwestern archipelago, that furnished the town with firewood and fish, figure particularly prominently. These, along with the northern coastal region, were the localities that had more or less continuous shipping with Stockholm. We can here see an early parallel to the effect of transport routes on migration described by Hareven (1982: 16-21) for Canada and New England.

Table 1
Finnish born persons in Katarina banns register 1654-1711

Year	*Nr*	*% Finnish born*	*Year*	*Nr*	*% Finnish born*
1654	68	28	1683	172	11
1655	100	26	1684	184	9
1656	74	23	1685	146	8
1657	66	23	1686	234	10
1658	106	22	1687	222	7
1659	94	24	1688	294	9
1660	108	16	1689	248	6
1661	108	12	1690	298	10
1662	94	14	1691	222	8
1663	134	14	1692	214	9
1664	84	11	1693	212	10
1665	146	12	1694	238	8
1666	152	18	1695	180	12
1667	132	13	1696	220	8
1668	190	16	1697	242	8
1669	204	11	1698	272	7
1670	228	12	1699	278	8
1671	238	11	1700	228	6
1672	230	9	1701	250	8
1673	236	14	1702	238	10
1674	234	12	1703	180	5
1675	182	13	1704	218	9
1676	210	11	1705	270	8
1677	178	11	1706	278	6
1678	172	10	1707	224	10
1679	158	13	1708	208	11
1680	314	9	1709	192	15
1681	196	8	1710	146	8
1682	142	11	1711	548	6

Sources: Banns registers, Katarina parish, Stockholm 1654-1711, The Municipal Archive Stockholm.

3. FINNISH FEMALE MIGRANTS. TIME IN TOWN, WORK AND MONEY

While women have often been viewed as dependant on men, particularly after marriage, the registration of women has historically tended to be in accordance with marital status rather than with occupation, thereby obscuring information about female economic activity. One should also remember that the legal position of a woman varied with marital status. While the regulations of town life in the past tended to see women as dependants rather than as independent individuals there were exceptions. Widows had the right to carry on the craft or profession of their husbands and many workshops in the late 17th century Stockholm were run by widows (Moring and Wall, 2016). However, women without connections to the guilds were also engaged in economic activity. According to

the taxation lists of the 1670s women were working at spinning, lace making and stocking knitting but they were also engaged in other types of manufacture, service and manual work. Foreign visitors were amazed at the women rowing people between the islands of Stockholm as well as seeing women on building sites in jobs that elsewhere might be performed by little boys, like mortar carrying (Meyerson, 1943: 105-106; Bladh, 1992: 52; Magalotti, 1986: 11).

A common field of employment for women in the past was working as in living servant. When working as a servant the wages were often low and a considerable part of the remuneration was board and lodging. On the one had there was a lack of freedom, on the other security in knowing one would be fed and have a roof over one's head. Being a servant did not necessarily mean being engaged in domestic work. While the nobility could have servants with specific duties like cooks and chambermaids, a servant could be engaged in almost anything. Craftsmen and shopkeepers had servants who could be working in sales, bakers and brewers had servants who were engaged in production in addition to servants who were doing housework. Over time of a 'career' in service one could progress from one stage to the other, from an untrained 'girl' to a skilled servant with experience of different types of work. Institutions had servants who maintained buildings and tended gardens while some were cooking and cleaning. Although the majority of servants lived in there were also some who maintained their own households (Utterstrom, 1978; Moring, 2004; Hedlund, 1980: 96-97; Erixon, 1946: 56).

The banns register divides women into 'maids', widows and 'female persons' i.e., women who had a pre marital child or had been living with their husband to be. Being called 'maid' (piga) in clerical or administrative documents did not, however, necessarily mean that the person was a servant, but that the woman was unmarried and presumed to be a virgin[2]. In some cases, however, information was included about employer, employment history and the duration of the stay in Stockholm.

For one of the maids working for bakers, it was actually stated that she was baking. In other cases, we find 'maid, worked for 9 years for the baker David Ribbing' or 'worked for the baker Christoffer one year' or 'maid of Staffan the baker'. Considering that the tax records reveal that the 36 bakers in Stockholm had no less than 140 maids in 1740, and that the 56 brewers had 137 maids and 159 male helpers who were not apprentices, one would be inclined to think that all these maids might not have been engaged in housework (Soderlund, 1943: 299, 318).

There are some other examples that indicate that maid did not necessarily mean domestic servant. The maid Anna Svensdotter Berg, had worked at her brothers' shop before marrying Clas Olofsson, a tobacco manufacturers' labourer, in September 1690.

The maid Christina Martensdotter, worked for the cloth maker Master Joran, when she met and married his apprentice Erich Johanson in January 1691. Margareta Nilsdotter,

2 Similarly, the word 'maid' in 18th century English indicated an unmarried woman (and virgin) who ceased to be so at the loss of her 'maidenhead', see for example Johnson (1966; 80-81, 88-89).

had worked as maid in Stockholm for 4 years, but had transferred to the glass factory run by Melker Jung. There she met her husband to be Jacob Mattsson who had worked at the glass factory for 7 ½ years.

There is no doubt that the need for people who would perform housework was great in an environment where water and firewood was carried in and everything was done by hand. Studies of the crafts in pre-industrial Stockholm have, however, revealed that the craft shops made liberal use of female labour while excluding women (and sometimes men) from the positions of apprentice (Soderlund, 1943: 177, 304-306, 318-319). The arrival of manufacturing enterprises, particularly in the textile sector, in the early 18th century increased the demand of female workers outside the housework sector. Some of these enterprises were however run on the lines of traditional craft shops with the workers living on the premises, and as subject of the master some women would be called 'maid, spins', while others would be called 'spinner'[3].

Although we do not have information about the age of bride and groom in the 17th century one might dare to assume the migrants were more often young than elderly. In the 1780s when church records include information about age, we find that Finnish born women working as maids in Stockholm generally were between 21 and 39 years old. Similar ages have also been recorded for female long-distance migrants the 19th century (Tarkiainen, 1990: 313; Virtanen, 1979: 115-17). However, it did not seem to take particularly long for some of the people to find a partner. Where there is information about time of arrival, we find that median time at work for unmarried women, before marriage, seems to have been 4 years with a maximum of 15 years and a minimum of 1 year.

Table 2
Examples of female occupations registered in Stockholm taxation records 1676

Textile	*Other manufacture*	*Service*	*Manual labour*
Spinning	Wig making	Midwifery	Bark crushing
Stocking knitting	Broom-making	Wet nursing	Mortar mixing
Lace making		Washing	Bricklaying
Dressmaking		Preparing bodies for funeral	Sand-and salt - carrying
		Bath house work	Water carrying
		Rowing	Street sweeping

Sources: Meyerson (1943: 73-106, 105-106); Magalotti (1674: 10-11; Bladh (1992: 52).

While the employment opportunities for females were inferior to those of males the chances to earn twice or even four times as much as back home while living in might by

3 Stockholm, Tax register, 1760.

some have been seen as a powerful reason for trying ones luck in Stockholm (Table 2b, Moring, 2004: 48). In the 18th century, it became legal for a woman to apply for a licence from the magistrates to engage in a craft. Sewing, the knitting of stockings, lace making and spinning were not subject to guild regulations and could therefore be practiced by anybody to produce extra earnings.

Table 2b
Female earnings in daler copper 17th and 18th century urban Sweden

Occupation	*Earnings per day (daler)*	*Earnings per year (daler)*
Wet nurse, 1698		40-50
Female servant, 1734		15-24 + board, lodging, clothes
Maid, 1730s		40 + board, lodging, clothes
Cook, 1730s		50-60 + board, lodging
Laundry maid, 1730s		40 + lodging
Textile manufacture mid 18th century		185-265 + board and lodging
Female day labourer, 1698	¼	40
Female municipal builder labourer, 1719	1 ¼	
Female builder assistant, 1763	1.24 summer	336 (8 months) *
Female builder assistant, 1763	1.16 winter	

Sources: Utterström (1978: 171-172); Ilmakunnas (2006: 99); Hedlund (1980: 96-97); Andersson and Davidsson (1978: 114); Heckscher (1943: 633); Probate inventories, Stockholm Municipal Archive.
*The building season did not last the whole year because of snow and ice obstructing the work.

4. LOVE BEFORE MARRIAGE

It is unknown that there exists a stereotype of the innocent young girl coming from the countryside, being seduced and going to rack and ruin in the wicked town (Murray 1943: 174). Judging by the banns registers some girls did have boyfriends or even children before getting married, but this behaviour should be seen against the backdrop of traditional Nordic courtship behaviour.

The regional medieval laws of the Nordic countries included multiple rules about marriage, property and inheritance. As the regional laws, and legislation for hundreds of years later, stipulated, that any child born before the marriage to the parents jointly, gained legitimacy and inheritance rights, equal to those of siblings born after the wedding, at the time when the parents married, the question of illegitimacy should be viewed in a different light.

> "If a man has a child with a woman and then takes, her to be his legal wife then the child takes inheritance like the child of a legally married woman... If a man, ill or healthy, plights his troth to a woman legally and in the presence of witnesses, a woman who has previously been his concubine and has child with, if he has plighted his troth as here stated then the child is the child of a legally married woman, irrespective if the man is alive or dead. If a child is conceived by an engaged couple such a child will take inheritance". (Holmbak and Wessen, 1936: 52; Hultman, 1916: 55).

In the countryside, it was customary for couples to sleep together before marriage once the engagement had taken place. As the structure of the engagement, or betrothal, was identical with the pre-Christian marriage (clasping hands and exchanging gifts in front of witnesses) many local communities did not see the timing of the wedding as essential. The Church was, however, not pleased with these customs and fought them unsuccessfully for centuries. Civil law was clear on the subject, however, a pre marital child gained legitimacy at the time of the marriage of the parents. The Church fined the parties for untimely intercourse and as can be seen from the banns register, made sure that such transgressions were recorded. Even when the parties had not produced a child, gaining information about cohabitation before marriage could also result in disciplinary action by the Church (Boetius Murenius).

A large proportion of the migrants from Finland and elsewhere originated from rural areas where pre marital relations were accepted as normal. Therefore, the presence of untimely babies should not be seen as the corrupting influence of the town but as persistence of rural customs even in an urban environment. According to the banns register 4 percent of the couples had a child or had started a child before they married and it would seem that this was more common when a woman married a local man than a migrant. Pre marital relations during engagement seems to have taken place not only among Finnish migrant women but there are also examples of this among Swedish women who married migrants from Finland, in some cases children were born to the couple before the wedding. The register might not, however, accurately record premarital pregnancies that were not yet apparent (Table 3).

Table 3
Marital status of Finnish female migrant brides, Katarina parish 1654-1711

	Unmarried	*Widow*	*Marriage status unknown*	*Pre marital relations*
Groom born in Sweden	152	86	40	15
Groom born in Finland	64	42	10	2
Total 411	216	128	50	17
	52.5%	31%	12%	4.1%

Sources: Banns registers, Katarina parish, Stockholm 1654-1711, Stockholm Municipal Archive.

Among the offenders we find Maria Erichsdotter, who married the sailor Anders Erichsson in June 1706, Elisabeth Thomasdotter who married Jons Jonson in February 1673 and Margreta Johansdotter who married the sailor Jacob Jacobs in June 1708. In some

cases the clergyman attached the note that the child had been conceived under a promise to marry[4].

5. PARTNER CHOICE

When studying migrants one of the questions that has been seen as important is the choice of partner (Sogner, 2011). Did people seek somebody with a similar geographic background, did women go to join boyfriends or did they look for somebody with roots in the environment that they settled? (Arrizabalaga, 2020). As the parish was in an area known for cheap housing and the presence of Finns (Tarkiainen, 1990: 99-101) it is by no means surprising that one in five of the partners of men and more than one in four of the partners of women were born in Finland. While Finnish males seem to have married into local families with greater frequency, Finnish women seem to have had a higher tendency to marry other migrants. These included both men who came from nearby parishes and further away in Sweden. It was not either seen as impossible for a woman to marry a Norwegian or a German (table 4).

Table 4
Origin of marriage partners of Finnish migrants, Katarina parish Stockholm 1654-1711

Male			*Female*		
Place of birth	*N*	*%*	*Place of birth*	*N*	*%*
Finland	116	28	Finland	116	21.2
Stockholm	44	10.6	Stockholm	151	27.6
Surrounding area	35	8.5	Surrounding parishes	33	6.0
Sweden elsewhere	151	36.5	Sweden elsewhere	194	35.5
Abroad*	20	4.8	Abroad*	2	0.3
Not clear	47	11.3	Not clear	50	9.1
Total	413	100	Total	546	100

*Abroad= Norway, Denmark, Germany.

Sources: Banns registers, Katarina parish, Stockholm, 1654-1711, Stockholm Municipal Archive.

The southern part of Stockholm was hilly and partly unregulated. The majority of plots were owned by the municipality and rented by the inhabitants. On these plots houses were erected, built of wood and sometimes made partly out of kits brought in from the islands. The quality of many houses was not particularly good and fires were fairly frequent (Wester, 1946: 122-124). The area had particularly attracted fishermen and fish

4 Banns Registers, 1673, 1695, 1706, 1708.

traders, because they could anchor their bots close by and dry their nets on the rocks. It also had a sprinkling of builders, as these could construct their own houses. Generally speaking, the area could be called 'working class' unless such an expression would not be slightly out of place in pre-industrial time (Meyerson, 1943).

The occupational structure of the area is reflected in the banns registers. The men marrying here often had had sea related occupations. Of the Finnish grooms of Finnish brides 23% were boatmen and 9% sailors. Of those born on the Swedish side of the Baltic 15% were boatmen and nearly 10 percent sailors. Close to 8% of both groups were soldiers and a sizable share, 10 versus 7% worked in the building trade. Despite the fact that the guilds tended to dislike apprentices being married, we find that many of the grooms were apprentices of the different urban crafts. A comparison of the grooms born in Finland with those having been born in the Swedish countryside or even Stockholm shows very little difference. These were the people who maintained the different sectors of the urban economy; craft, trade and manual labour (Tables 5a and 5b).

Table 5a
Employment of Finnish husbands of Finnish female migrants

	N		*N*		*N*
Boatmen	27	Trade	3	Transport	4
Sailors	11	Baker	1	Port	2
Skippers	5	Brewer	3	Labourer	5
Fishermen/trader	3	Miller	1	Printer	1
Timber men	8	Butcher	2	Service	8
Other building	3	Barrel maker	3		
Soldier/guard	9	Weaver	9	Unknown	6
Soldier/guard	9	Shoemaker	2		
				Total	116

Sources: Banns registers, Katarina parish, Stockholm 1654-1711, Stockholm.

Table 5b
Employment of Swedish and foreign-born husbands of Finnish female migrants

	N		*N*		*N*
Boatmen	44	Trade	13	Transport	10
Sailors	28	Brewer	2	Port	7
Skippers	7	Miller	2	Labourer	13
Fishermen/trader	4	Blacksmith	1	Apprentice	40
Timber men	17	Tobacco worker	3	Clerical	5
Other building	2	Weaver	4	Service	14
		Other textile	6		
Soldier/guard	22	Shoemaker	5	Unknown	31
				Total	280

Sources: Banns registers, Katarina parish, Stockholm 1654-1711, Stockholm.

In some cases, however, occupational information is not provided and there was also the tendency to assume knowledge of local conditions as we find information like 'works for N.N.' with no information about in what capacity (Banns registers).

In most cases, the occupational information indicates that the grooms seem to have been well settled in the local economy.

6. WIDOWS AND REMARRIAGE

Stockholm has been called an urban graveyard and it would seem that the loss of a husband was far from unusual whether you were local or a migrant. One characteristic that distinguished urban populations from their rural counterparts was the propensity to re-marriage among both women and men (Moring and Wall, 2016), no less than 31 percent of the women in the banns register were widows (Table 3). A more detailed analysis, however, shows that the eagerness to remarry seems to have been a characteristic of the economically less fortunate, while opulent widows seem to have found remarriage a less attractive prospect. Although the widow of a town burgher inherited a part or even all of his property, engaging in active pursuit of a regulated trade could pose some problems. In Scandinavia a woman running a shoemaking business or a smithy needed a trained man do the work, on the other hand no restrictions were put on a widow in trade as long as she did not remarry outside the guild or fraternity. In the 1780s and 90s about 9 percent of the trading burghers in the Finnish town of Turku, were widows and in 1745 12 percent of those applying for the right to run a shop or a workshop in Christiania, Norway, were widows (Wuorinen, 1959: 213-214: Sandvik, 1985: 72). The 18th century taxation records of Stockholm reveal that about 10 percent of the craft shops were run by widows (Soderlund, 1943: 304-305, 318-319).

The problem for many widows was not lack of experience but keeping within the boundaries of the regulations. The widows who had an adult son or son in law trained in the craft did in many cases hand the operations to him or she could employ a journeyman. In the parish of Maria, adjacent to that of Katarina, 25 percent of the widows in 1755 were running a business, half of which were guild regulated. After the abolishment of guild monopoly on inn keeping in 1747 women flocked to this activity and by 1810 only six out of 692 inn keepers were men (Meyerson, 1943: 105-107; Bladh, 1999: 90, 93, 109).

At the time of death, the property of a person had to be inventoried and these inventories give us some insights into the chances of succeeding as a widow in business. For example, the widow of a merchant and inspector, Margareta Steen, who left a house-property worth 9000 daler copper, money, items of gold and silver and textile merchandise worth more than 6000 daler, when she died in 1734, clearly had seen no need for remarriage[5].

5 Inventories (1734/2: 179).

Similarly, the widow of the brewer Erich Erichsson Strom, Christina Ludvigsdotter did not look for a new husband but ran the brewery business successfully and augmented the property she had been left[6].

The banns registers show only a couple of examples of widows bringing a man into the business through marriage. In January 1684 Karin Johans, a butcher's widow married the apprentice Oluf Martenson and in 1696 Elisabet Matsdotter, the widow of a flax weaver married the flax weaver Jorgen Simons. Otherwise, examples of conservation of a business, through marriage, are not apparent. Unfortunately, we do not always have information about both the occupation the previous husband and the husband to be.

When we examine the remarriage patterns of Finnish born widows, we tend to find that the majority represented groups with limited access to capital and valuable property. We also notice that certain occupational groups were more prone to occupational endogamy than others. For some reason among the sea related occupational groups we find a number of examples, sailors married the widows of sailors or boatmen but fishermen and soldiers also seem to have favoured such behaviour[7].

It is possible that such families knew one another or resided close to one another. The parish was not particularly large. As sailors of the navy, boatmen and soldiers had to rely on the crown as paymaster their economic situation could be difficult and at the best of time variable. The boatmen of the Royal Navy were paid 128 daler per year, in addition they were provided with housing. The conditions for soldiers were similar. The ship's carpenters for the navy had wages of between 170-270 daler copper per year. The crown was, however, an unreliable paymaster. Because of the constant shortness of funds, the wages in the army and navy could be converted into payments in kind and occasionally they never materialised (Zettersten, 1903: 213-214, 222; Sandklef, 1973: 134-135). The standard of living of soldiers was also known to be precarious. To ameliorate their situation rules had been set up to allow them to engage in crafts when not occupied by their ordinary duties. While they could not set up a shop and train apprentices, they were allowed manufacture goods with their own hands, even items that were subject to guild regulations, like shoes and textiles. We therefore find that the cold part of the year saw unemployed sailors, building workers and port workers looking for any odd jobs that were available and sometimes, together with soldiers, encroaching upon the privileges of the craft guilds to find some source of income.

A look at the inventories reveals that the situation of widows of boatmen and sailors could be difficult. For example, Brita Nilsdotter, the widow of a boatman ended her days with clothes, bedding and some cash to the sum of 116 daler, while the debts amounted to 106 daler. Gertrud Erichsdotter, who had been married to sailor, had a golden ring, pots and pans, some clothing and bedding worth 182 daler[8].

6 Inventories (1736/2: 75; 1739/2: 535).

7 Banns Registers 29.9 1660, 26.1 1696, 3.8 1690, 15.12 1688, 24.10 1683, 12.6 1680, 23.1 1660, 18.12 1658, 4.5 1673, 16.9 1711, 16.6 1716, Dec. 1687, Nov 1688.

8 Inventories (1745/2: 416; 1734/1: 122).

The widows clearly had some means of survival, as we can see from the banns register that while some married within a year, the median time was 3 years and there are examples of as much as 30 years before remarriage. The only case where the banns register is informative on this point is for Elin Andersdotter, the widow of a builder. During her 8 years of widowhood, she worked as a career at the poorhouse (a parish appointment). She then decided to marry a second husband, the boatman Daniel Mats.

The 18th century tax registers, however, can provide some information about the situation of widows. In 1760 32% of the widows of soldiers in the southern parishes were engaged in various types of service work, while 26 percent worked in textiles and14 percent earned an income from basket trade. One out of three widows of builders did textile work while 8 percent were engaged in inn keeping. This reflects what has been said about the 17th century and links in to the expanding textile enterprises in this part of town[9].

Table 6
Property of Finnish born widows dying in Stockholm 1650-1750

Occupation of husband	*House value*	*Estate total*
Inspector and merchant	9.000	26.047
Master blacksmith	2.200	3.189
Officer	-	1.665
Civil servant	1.200	2.180
Tailor	-	2.082
Tailor	2000	2.157
Tailor	450	946
Corporal in the guard		1.345
Gravedigger		1.229
Bailiff		927
Skipper		1.902
Skipper		416
Fish trader	800	1.167
Fish trader	450	641
Fish trader		306
Soldier	300	523
Farmer	200	457
Brick maker	250	250
Button maker		988
Broom maker		125
Boatman		116
Carpenter		63
Gardener		45

Sources: Stockholm Municipal archive, Inventories.

9 Tax Registers, 1760; Meyerson (1943).

Another way of making a living was to utilize the house for economic purposes. Where it has been possible to locate the inventory of female Finnish migrants, we find that about one half had been left with a house after the death of the husband (table 6).

7. THE HOUSE AS A MEANS OF INCOME

Because lodging and keeping lodgers or renting out rooms was common practice in Stockholm at this time, having a house created the possibility of generating an income. The rents varied considerably depending on the size of the property and the amount of lodgers.

In 1674 the travelling Italian gentleman Magalotti described buildings in Stockholm in the following manner: "... most houses are built of wood... The poor live in houses of inferior quality. They only have fireplaces made of bricks, the roofs are covered with bark from the trees and grass is grown on top" (Magalotti, 1986: 10-12). The structure of buildings varied, for example the property of a carpenter's widow in 1667 had two rooms with earth floors and a cold chamber. She had a storage building with a cellar and at the other end of the plot she had a second house made of wood (a house would mean a building with heating facilities) (Meyerson, 1943: 92). The carpenter Hans Birk had a house with his workshop on the ground floor and a kitchen with a chimney. The house had a porch with the stairs to the first floor with two rooms and a chamber and another chamber by the porch. On the second floor the loft had been converted to two bedrooms for the apprentices with a loft on top. The house had a cellar. Further on the plot was a second building with a woodshed and porch on the ground floor and 2 bedrooms, one with a tiled stove and a small chamber upstairs (Magalotti, 1986: 10; Meyerson, 1943: 91-92). It is easy to see that this kind of building was conducive to keeping lodgers.

The town made some unsuccessful efforts, starting in the 1720s to regulate the building stock. Mostly the owners erected the buildings themselves (Wester, 1946: 136, 149-152, 155). Extra buildings for diverse use could be erected. Sometimes a plot had two houses with or without basement and loft, workshops, baking houses and outbuildings situated next to one another, reflecting the fact that some families engaged in cultivating garden and keeping animals (Meyerson, 1943: 91-96; Pursche, 1979: 314-21; Moring, 2004: 57-58)10.

The complication of the housing structure could also mean that a whole building or a part of a building was rented. In the 18th century it was far from impossible for those with limited means to acquire a house (Table 7). Landlords could be sailors, skippers, builders, butchers, tailors, cobblers, fish traders, tobacco spinners or porters. The female landlords could be widows of carpenters and porters and soldiers and bricklayers' (Pauli

10 Inventories, Stockholm, 1731:1046; 1742/2: 691; 1740/4: 405; 1747/2: 301; 1735/2:560; 1748/2: 280).

accounts). The general impression is, however, that there was little social difference between landlord/lady and lodger in this part of Stockholm.

Table 7
Property and houses in 17th and 18th century inventories of men from the building sector, soldiers, guardsmen or with maritime occupations, Stockholm, daler copper

1650-1699	*No property*	*Movable property only, mean daler*	*House value, mean daler*	*Inventories, Nr*
Guild carpenter			408	70
Non guild carpenter			378	26
18th century				
Building trade			207	6
Builder/carpenter		187		3
Soldier/guardsman	3			3
		750		1
			332	4
Corporal		1345		1
Skipper		996		3
Skipper/pilot			1000	7

Sources: Inventories, Stockholm; Stockholm (1979: 313); Söderlund (1943: 270-275).

The value of a house did not necessarily reflect the size. The two key factors were location and whether or not it was on leased land. From the point of view of usage this was of little importance. It would seem that the amount of money one could earn from keeping lodgers or renting out an extra cottage varied depending on the size, quality and location of the premises. While there is no coherent long term information about rents and lodging in 17th and 18th century Stockholm inventories sometimes contain information about rent owed to the person whose property was inventoried. Our findings do not differ very far from information about rents and cost of lodging documented in inventories and in other studies on economic conditions in 18th century Stockholm (table 8). It was possible to get a roof over ones head for the modest sum of 12 daler per year. Renting a whole house was a matter of a different type of investment.

Table 8
House rent and cost of lodging in 18th century Stockholm

	Part of town	*Nature of property*	*Comments*	*Sum listed*	*Duration*	*Per year*
1704	North	Stone house		480	2 years	240
1704	North	Stone house		200	1 year	200
1704	North	Cottage with kitchen		60	1 year	60
1730	Central			15	½ year	30
1730	"			6	½ year	12
1730	"			24	1 year	24
1730	"			15	½ year	30
1730	"			30	1 year	30
1730	South	Inner cottage	Old building	16.16	Remaining part of rent	
1730	South	Night chamber	Old building	12		
1730	South	South room		12	½ year	24
1735	South			24	½ year	48
1735	South			18		
1735	South			6	½ year	12
1735	South			22		
1735	South			17.24		
1765		Chamber, office and woodshed				144
1765	South	Lounge, 2 chambers, kitchen, woodshed, cellar				300

Sources: Inventories, Stockholm 1700-1750; Utterström (1978: 165-166).

In the 18th century the rent income in the south could vary from five daler or less, to more than a hundred, more commonly between 5 and 40 daler. Therefore, it was perfectly possible for a landlady who did not mind a bit of crowding to generate reasonable cash injections from her property. In actual fact one out of three builders' widows in southern Stockholm registered house ownership as their means of income in 1760[11]. We also find evidence in the inventories of Finnish born women that they had lodger or rented out rooms in their house. For example, the widow Margareta Rase had no less than tree lodgers in her house[12]. Therefore, the information from the 18th century, that the house provided a measure of security for the less fortunate groups in Stockholm is indeed very credible. The family economy might well have rested on income from lodgers plus extra from keeping a pig or cultivating a garden.

11 Tax Registers, 1760.

12 Inventory dated the 6 of July 1730.

CONCLUSION

In the 17th century Stockholm, the capital of Sweden and Finland, experienced considerable population growth. The concentration of the expanding administration in addition to trade and manufacturing created an environment with a multitude of economic opportunities and an increasing demand for services and people to perform such services. Because of this, wages were also higher. Despite the efforts of the nobility in parliament, to restrict migration, people were flocking into the capital from all parts of the country.

The migrants from the Finnish side of the Baltic came primarily from the west, i.e., the areas with intense shipping connections.

Although there were exceptions, generally both male and female migrants seem to have amalgamated with the less opulent groups in the town. There was considerable settlement in the 'working class' parts of southern Stockholm.

An examination of the banns register in Katarina parish reveals that women and men married both other Finnish migrants, locals and persons who had migrated from other parts of Sweden (the majority of these born outside Stockholm). There were, however, few examples of husband and wife coming from the same town, region or even parish. This would indicate that these persons got acquainted in Stockholm, and that the girls were not brought in as brides from the home parishes of the males.

It would seem that the women often married relatively soon, i.e., 3-4 years after migration but in some cases decades later. The marriage partners represented most occupational groups but with a considerable proportion of sea related occupations and a certain amount of builders. The occupational distribution is however, more indicative of southern Stockholm than of a specific behaviour among migrants.

While pre marital relations were in evidence one should not assume this to be the result of corruptive town mores but rather the retaining of rural courtship patterns.

It is interesting to note that there are indications that although remarriage was common, widows seem to have remarried soon if they had little money, but the opulent widows showed less interest in acquiring a new husband. Houses could be and were in some instances used to generate income by couples, but this also seems to have been an economic strategy favoured by widows.

While one must assume that the reason for migration was linked to the hope for economic opportunities the level of success was far from uniform. Judging by inventories there was variation in the level of economic success by the migrants. It would seem they performed well within the parameters of the local community, enough property could be accumulated for a comfortable life and there were even some stories of considerable economic success.

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1731:1046; 1742/2:691; 1740/4:405; 1747/2:301; 1735/2:560; 1748/2:280; 1682:763

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