PARENTS, CHILDREN AND THEIR FAMILIES

*Living arrangements of old people in the XIX century, Sundsvall region, Sweden*

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ABSTRACT
This study deals with the intergenerational coresidence during the nineteenth century. The main focus is placed on the possible differences in the coresidences among parents and children and whether demographic transition and industrialization changed this relation. Were parents and children living in the same household? It was also important to study the children network; if the children did not live with their parents, where did they live? In the neighbourhoods, in the parish or in another area?

Two perspectives were mainly considered, industrialization and demographic transition. On one hand industrialization gave children the opportunity to work outside the parental household and consequently the relationship between parents and children probably became weaker. On the other hand the fall of infant mortality would have facilitated the creation of a new complex household. Did industrialization with a new labour market change in decline the coresidence among parents and children? Or did the fall of mortality increase the number of coresidences? Two more factors influenced the coresidences, social status of the first generation and number of children born.

The area of study is the region of Sundsvall, situated in middle Sweden. During the nineteenth century this region experienced a fall of infant mortality and in the middle of the century the introduction of steam-sawmills started and it arrived to be one of the largest sawmill districts at the world in the end of the century. The cohort chosen regarded people born between 1770 and 1820 and they lived their old age in the Sundsvall district. The first methodological approach is cross-sectional and analyses the entire cohort. The second method is a longitudinal analysis of a micro study of 135 people.

The results show the decrease of the coresidences between the two generations when parents were 80 years old. In the previous years no difference has been found between the preindustrial and industrial period, thus the decline of mortality did not help the increase of coresidences. Social status was the most determinant factor for the creation of coresidence. People employed in agriculture, peasants and crofters were more likely to coreside with married children compared to the workers’ groups. Social difference increases with the industrialization, workers experienced the decline of coresidence in a stronger way compared to the others groups. The number of children born from the first generation helps in a marginal way the creation of coresidences. The main difference was between one or more children born, but no differences were found among those people who had two children or more.

The micro study put in evidence the life cycle of the family. Peasants and crofters were the most likely to experience the cycle of the stem family. However the coresidence could be interrupted by the death or the migration of the family members. Other alternatives as the presences of children in the neighbourhoods or the coresidence with unmarried children were noticed. Finally, the study showed that sons were more likely to live with their parents compared to daughters but in one third of the cases the first generation constituted the stem family with a daughter.

Keywords: 19th century, Demographic transition, Family planning, Household structure, Industrialization, Life-course analysis, Living arrangements, Old age, Social history, Sundsvall, Sweden

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Sundsvall region, Sweden

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Umeå University
Umeå 2008
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mia nonna Pina e
di Raul Merzario
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More than five years have passed since I first came to Umeå to start to work on this dissertation. One of the many reasons that I decided to apply to study in a foreign country was my desire to “internationalize”. By studying in a foreign country, I had the possibility to experience new ideas, methods and sources of research that are different from what I am used to in my home country. In addition to changing how things influence me, I was also able to offer my Swedish colleagues a different point of view in regard to research. I think that these five years in this university have changed and improved my both my knowledge as well as methods in the field of the historical research. I also hope that my colleagues over these years started to see research from a different perspective.

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Over the last five years I have meet many people that have passed through this city. Some stayed longer than others, but most of them have left. Each individual had a different impact on me, making my life a richer and more enjoyable one. In some ways they remind me of a poem by Bertold Brecht “Questions from a worker who reads”, where Brecht writes about those people (as cookers, masons or soldiers) who are not written in the books of history but without them “no victory, no great man” would have existed. A song by Mercanti di Liquore also reminds me of these people: “I nomi delle stelle” in the sky there are many stars with beautiful names (Sirio Vega Andromeda/ l’Orsa e i due Gemelli) but there are also stars without names in the end of the sky. They are not so famous but thanks to them too “la notte è
meno scura”. For some, it was just for few moments or just a quick greeting. With others I spent many days engaged in interesting or fun activities. Every six months some friends would leave and new people who would later become friends arrived. Every day I was sure to meet some of them in the university or in other places such as down town or at the gym. With others I knew only that they were around Umeå and that we might perhaps meet spontaneously. At this point, in many acknowledgments, it is common to use sentences like “there are so many people to thank for that it would be so difficult to acknowledge without forgetting someone…” as this is a thesis at the Department of Historical Studies, I should consequently at least try to remember those who have been close. It would otherwise be grotesque to write about people lived almost 200 years ago while forgetting people that I have seen in the last five years. The first person that I met in Umeå, and probably the only one that is still here after five years is Giuseppe Nencioni. Nearly daily he patiently listened me and tried to explain how to better integrate my self in the Swedish academic system. Many thanks also go to Chiara Visentin, Marika Dahl, Michele Prisco, Dharshana Perera, Johannes Girmay, Katerina Berger, Antoine Cerdue, Stefanie Leupold, and Dinda Trisnadi.

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1 INTRODUCTION

The period of the first European industrialization, and in particular during the second half of the 19th century, changed not only the political and the economical equilibriums of the population but also the agricultural production on both the national and the local level. These transformations changed everyday life. If previously all members of the family had been involved in production together, for example on a farm, after the changes the household was broken up. The single individual could find work outside the household and consequently the relationship between the family members or between the two generations became weaker. Europe experienced another fundamental change, which has been called “the demographic transition.” Before the French revolution the demographic system was characterised by high mortality and high fertility, but from the Napoleonic era until around 1850 the old continent entered a situation where the long-term mortality began to fall while birth rates remained at the same high levels as before. In the end of the 19th century the birth rates also started to fall. In the 1930s the birth rates stabilised at a level lying immediately above the death rates.

These factors created a problem that the European society never had experienced before: an ageing population. The demographical changes have increased the number and the proportion of old people. The fall of fertility is responsible for an increase of older persons. Furthermore the fall of mortality and consequently the increase in longevity has led to an increasing number of old people in Europe. In 1950 there were fewer than 50 million people older than 65 years, in 1990 their number had doubled and in 20 years the over 65 could reach 150 millions. Sweden is also experiencing the same trend: in 1997 more than 20% of the population were over 60 years old. This transformation has changed not only the age structure in society but also in everyday life. In Sweden today only 2% of the old people live with a child. Industrialization has moved the younger generation from their parental homes. This has caused an abrupt diminution of the roles of the parents. The family’s productive function has reduced the importance and the number of services that the elderly can carry out. In Peter Laslett’s words:

“We uneasily suspect that most of our millions and millions of old people live in reduced circumstances not much cared about by such children and such kin folk as they have left to them and rather distant from the life of any family.”

4 “The proportion of elderly males rose in the urban population from 3.8% in 1860 to 9.6% in 1930. The increase in rural areas was less dramatic, from 8.2% to 12.8%. The corresponding increase in the number of elderly women was from 7.3% to 14.7 in urban areas and from 10% to 14.4% in rural areas” Tedebrand, L.-G. Gender, rural-urban and socio-economic differences in coresidence of the elderly with adult children: the case of Sweden 1860-1940. Ageing and generational relations over the life course. T. Hareven. (ed.) Berlin, New York, 1996. p. 160. In the United States the same tendency can also be observed. In 1850 the proportion of the population aged 60 and over was 4.1 percent. This had risen to 6.4 percent in 1900 and 8.5 percent by 1930, and in 1987 this proportion had reached 26 percent. Haines, M. R. / Goodman, A. C. A home of one’s own: aging and home ownership in the United States in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. Aging in the past: demography, society, and old age. D. I. Kertzer / P. Laslett. (eds.) Berkeley, 1995, p. 204.
The decline in mortality can result in a growth of morbidity. More and more people reach a very old age with the result that more and more people are ill. These men and women need support like pensions and personal assistance. The ageing population is nowadays one of the most discussed political problems. A country with an ageing population will face an increase in costs for public pensions, health care and assistance. Old people require not only financial support but also assistance in their daily lives. These trends have led to a search for alternative forms of care. One possibility could be to move the public assistance to the families. This contemporary debate about the increasing proportion of older people in Europe and in the other industrialized countries has stimulated the recent interest in the elderly in history.

In the past the assistance of old people was completely different: living with children was the primary source of support. The pension system was introduced in the 16th century only in some particular cases, for example for officers in the Swedish army. In the pre-industrial period the elderly, when they became partially or totally unable to work, had to solve the problem by themselves. In 17th century England only a small number of old people received financial support from charities. In Sweden during the 19th century, the Parliament proposed an insurance system for guaranteeing security during the old age but this was rejected. The motivation for the refusal was that too little was known about this institution and that the costs were considered too heavy for the state.

These proposals were rejected mainly because most European parliaments had a liberal background in the 19th century. The “Laissez-faire” tradition regarded welfare as the responsibility of the individuals and not of the government; the state had to operate in a restricted field: the administration of justice, the foreign affairs and the army. The public sphere should not intervene in the private economy and families were responsible for their elderly. Only Bismarck’s social insurance policy in the late 19th century started to motivate criticism of the “Laissez-faire;” the government should be more responsible for the elderly. In Britain too, the question of the pensions was discussed in Parliament in that period and the Old-Age Pensions Act was passed in 1908. From 1st January, 1908 “it provided for a payment of a pension of 5 shillings a week to all British subjects of age 70 whose income did not exceed 26 pounds a year.” Actually it was not until 1913 that the Swedish Riksdag accepted a law setting up a pension for every citizen over 67.

Several historians have analysed the problem of the lack of pensions in old age. Most of them have studied the living arrangements of old people and concluded that the family and first of all the children had a great importance for the elderly.

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7 Högman, A.-K. 2000, p. 89.
good solution for a man, once he realized he was coming to age, was to turn over his property to an adult child in charge of food and dwelling. In this way, a relationship between the young and the old generation was created. The former could build a new family whereas the latter could have a strong guarantee during the last years of life. In Sweden too, these relationships were very strong. The care of old parents was seen as an obligation. The reason is in accordance with the Fourth Commandment: “Honour thy father and thy mother.” Throughout the ancient regime up to 1864 children’s use of violence against their parents led to penalty of death according to the law. However, in practice it was only a few cases concerning violence towards parents that led to death penalty. In any case until 1956 the responsibility of children for the care of their aged parents was prescribed in the Swedish law.

The contemporary problem of the ageing population relates to the crisis of the pension system. The past situation makes it possible to study the relationships between parents and children inside and outside the family more deeply. It may be useful to understand how the lives of persons evolved and how the connection with the people around the adult people was transformed by planned or unplanned events like marriage and childbirths as well as unexpected deaths in the family.

This study deals with the relationships between the two generations in a society that in the second half of the nineteenth century changed from an agricultural environment to an industrial one. The area under study is the parishes surrounding Sundsvall, a town located 400 kilometres north of Stockholm. This area became one of the most important sawmill districts at this time. This study aims to analyze the coresidence between parents and children when the first generation was older than 55 years. Did parents and children live in the same household? It will also be important to study the children’s network; children not living with parents, where did they live? In the neighbourhood, in the parish or in another area? How the changes mentioned above affected the coresidence between the two generations will be analysed in greater detail. Two factors will be mainly considered, industrialization and the demographic transition. The new labour market with the sawmills probably made the relationship weaker between parents and children. Children got the opportunity to work outside the parental households. On the other hand, the fall of infant mortality would have facilitated the creation of new complex households. As already mentioned, industrialization and the demographic transition could have changed the coresidence and the kin network. These two hypotheses are contradictory. Did industrialization, with a new labour market lead to a decrease in the coresidence among parents and children? Or did the fall of mortality increase the number of coresidences? In other words, the question is whether the interpretation might be: if there were changes in the coresidence and children’s network, which factor had a greater influence, industrialization or the demographic transition?

These two factors could have influenced only a part of the elderly population, and thus this study will be devoted to other perspectives that regard the social status of the first generation and the number of children born. Did the coresidence change according to the socio-economics groups? Did the number of children born increase the chances of coresiding with children and kin network? Another point that could have influenced the coresidence is the marital status of the first generation. Did widowhood increase the chances of coresidence with


1 Högman, A.-K. 2000, p. 100.
a child? And finally the study will consider the issue from a gender perspective. Who coresided mostly with the first generation sons or daughters?

Two approaches and two cohorts will be used to answer these questions. The first approach is the analysis of cross-sectional data. The second approach is to analyze the entire life course in relation to coresidence. The first cross-sectional analysis is based on a sample of people born between 1770 and 1820 that spent most of their old age in the region under study. This data file is also used for some life course analysis in the form of a micro study of 135 people that have been followed in the parish records with the aim of analyzing questions that the cross-sectional approach cannot answer. This reduced number of individuals has the advantage of being followed directly in a longitudinal analysis.

The first part of this study will discuss different theories and earlier research done from the 1970s up to now. Basic concepts of household, children’s network, industrialization and demographic transition will be described. The following chapter describes the historical sources used, mainly the Swedish parish records computerized by the Demographic Data Base at Umeå University. The sample and the methods used will be explained. The third chapter provides a historical overview of the two main changes occurring in the studied region during the nineteenth century. The first concerns the industrialization that had its onset in the middle of the century, and the second deals with the fall of infant mortality that started at the beginning of the century. The results of the study will start to be presented in chapter five. First, general results will be shown in order to compare the trends to those found in other European studies. Then the changes in the coresidences will be presented and analysed from an economic and demographic perspective. Thereafter the analysis will be presented with more advanced statistical method. In the final chapter the longitudinal method will be used to investigate when the two generations started to change the structure of the household. In such cases, the entire sample as well as the population of the micro study will be used. Attention will be paid to the setting in of widowhood that represented one of the most difficult circumstances in life that a person had to face. The end of this part will be dedicated to the study of the children that married and coresided with their parents. In particular, an analysis will be made of whether the coresidence was created by a son or a daughter.
2 PREVIOUS STUDIES

The household and the kin network

Households and individuals

The study of relationships between parents and children began with research regarding family history. Households have been analyzed in almost all European countries. The schools that have conducted this sort of study are English, French and American starting from the fifties. Today family studies are spread in the rest of Europe and also in developing countries such as China and India. After the French school with Louis Henry in the 1950s, the Cambridge group gave a large contribution to the method and the research on the household in the past between the middle of the sixties and the beginning of the seventies. In those years, the concept of household was given a definition and a categorization that are still valid and used by researchers of this field. Individuals, who slept habitually under the same roof, shared a number of activities, and were related to each other by blood or by marriage were considered members of the same household. The types of households recommended were mainly three, the simple family household or nuclear family consisted of a married couple, or a married couple with offspring, or of a widowed person with offspring. The second type, the multiple family household, comprised all forms of domestic groups that included two or more conjugal family units connected by kinship or by marriage. The third the extended family household consisted of a conjugal family unit with the addition of one or more relatives other than offspring. A particular case of interest to this study was the upward extension, a conjugal unit with a widowed member of the first generation. An additional group consisted of solitaries, widowed, single and no family coresident siblings, and persons not evidently related.

In other words through this classification it is possible to gain an initial idea about the coresidence among the parents, the first generation, their children, and the second generation. The simple family could be interpreted as the first generation with their unmarried children; the multiple family might consist of the parents with a married child, and finally there was the extended family with one member of the first generation that became widowed, and one married child, who took the headship of the household. The studies that followed described in general that these people lived in a nuclear family. The first generation lived with unmarried children, and only a small part of the population lived in extended or multiple families. In general during the modern age, most English households were comprised of four or five people. High mortality made it impossible to have many living children, and due to low life expectancy, many people died before their children reached adulthood. Not many households had an opportunity for married parents and children to coexist.

However, studies have shown that if someone reached old age, s/he would then live with her/his children. Researchers have identified different types of living arrangements described as living “alone,” “only the spouse,” “with children and spouse,” “living only with children,” “with other relatives,” “with servant.” The category “living with children” has often been

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2 Laslett, P. Household and family in past time: comparative study in the size and structure of the domestic group over last three centuries in England, France, Serbia, Japan and colonial North America, with further materials from Western Europe. Cambridge, 1972, p. 25.
4 Laslett, P. 1972, p. 126.
separated into two parts: “with unmarried children” and “with married children.” The first step towards understanding the relationships between parents and children is the residential isolation that could be interpreted in Laslett’s classification as “solitary.” He concluded that the European population was not used to living “alone.” This is also the main trend in elderly groups. In England as in Sweden, in the middle of the nineteenth century old people living by themselves were a small minority. Most of the elderly were more likely to live with unmarried or married children. The first point that should be considered is the European marriage pattern identified by Hajnal. He noticed that Western Europe was characterised by a high proportion of unmarried people at age 50 as well as a high mean age of marriage around 30 years of age. In this society almost all children were born within wedlock. Consequently this was the first step towards living in a household with one’s own sons and daughters. A couple married around thirty would probably have their first child after two years, and s/he would be adult and ready to marry when the parents were close to 60 years old. The third or the fourth child would have been born around six to eight years later. This means that until age 70 a couple would probably have had at least one offspring in the household. It was an advantage to have at least one child before the husband reached age 30, so the child entered the labour force when the husband’s income was beginning to decline. They also wanted the last child to be born as late as possible, so that this child’s contribution would continue into their old age.

In Sweden, results show that most of the old people were living with unmarried children. This pattern was very dominant, while the living arrangement with married children played a minor role. The sex, age and marital status of old people varied considerably. Looking at the sex of the first generation shows that men were more likely to reside with unmarried children than women, who lived more often with married children. This can be explained by different ages at marriage; females were usually younger than their spouses, and so they had greater chances of seeing their children marrying. Another reason is connected to the marital status and life expectancy. In general women had a longer life than men and the risk of remaining bereaved was higher among the former.

To understand exactly why some people lived with unmarried instead of married children some historians have divided old people by age, which is an idea stressed by George Alter. Around 55 years of age, their first-generation children were too young to enter into marriage. They could marry some years later, and in case the children were born when their parents were in their forties, the first child would be ready for marriage at the time in which the first generation would have been in their seventies. Actually in Verviers, Belgium, around age 70-74, there was a strong decline of coresidence “with unmarried children” and an increase of those “with married children.” This illustrates how age influenced the living arrangements of the elderly. The household was not static, as the members’ age led to changes in the household’s structure. If we were to analyze them as a homogenous age group (for example over 60), we would include in the sample a larger number of persons aged 60-65 and a

1 Wall, R. 1995, pp. 87-89.
smaller number of people around 75-80 years of age. The latter, (probably living “with married children”) statistically speaking, have less power in the sample.

Marital status is also a factor to consider. In the pre-industrial era a dead spouse had to be replaced in some way. One solution was remarriage, and another one could be living with a married child. In Verviers it was very clear that widows were more and more likely to live with a married child rather than with an unmarried one. It is interesting also to look at the general trend for widows and widowers. Widows were more likely to live “with children,” than widowers.  

The family’s life cycle

Laslett’s method was very innovative and the results were surprising, but he received some criticism already in the 1970s. In his studies, Laslett analysed the family as a static unit, and not as a dynamic one. It seems that household members always lived in the same family structure, so a simple family would always have been a simple family. Lutz Berkner, in a study on Austria, developed the concept of the stem family. A household did not experience only one type of household but passed through a life cycle. A new household with a married couple and their young children represented the simple household. Their children grew up, became adults and probably married. In case one of the children stayed to live with the parents, the household became multiple. Finally, if the first generation became old with one of the parents passing away, the household became extended. The stem family was the evolution of this schema: nuclear - multiple - extended (NME). Laslett found a huge proportion of people living in simple households, probably because they spent more time within the simple structure. The problem was discussed by Laslett, who stated, “It is impossible, in reality, to follow any particular domestic group throughout its developmental cycle from the evidence of only one listing of inhabitants of the community to which it belonged.” This sort of analysis requires a long series of historical data, which the English researcher did not have access to. They had only had a census on one occasion. Richard Wall makes an interesting observation: “It is somewhat ironic that households in pre-industrial England have received more attention than have households in other parts of Europe, given that the census material that survives for pre-industrial England is so much more fragmentary and poorer in quality than that which is available for other parts of Europe.”

The socio-economic perspective

Many scholars have seen that the household structure was influenced by the socio-economic status. This analysis can be performed at two different levels. The first is on a geographical and the second on an individual level. Many households probably had the same structure in a community where one type of economy was dominant. Taking as a sample two parishes, where they have different types of economy, it is possible to notice diverse households’ structures. Berkner found two sorts of inheritance patterns in two German villages in Lower Saxony, one with impartible and the other with partible inheritance. In the first case the elderly parents lived together with a son on the same farm, forming a stem family. In the second case, each son inherited a portion of land when he married. The parents

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1 Due to its importance, the marital status is explained in a special section on the history of widowhood.
5 Laslett, P. 1972, p. 32.
6 Wall, R. 1995, p. 82-83.
reserved a little part of the property for themselves. With this system the household’s structure was more similar to the nuclear one. A community that had a specific kind of economy had in general a particular family structure. In Sweden, it was noticed that the coresidence with kin was more common in villages in which agriculture dominated. In areas where the economy was based on fishing, independent living as heads of households was the rule among old people. Studies of fishing districts in Iceland in 1901 arrived at the same conclusion. It was comparatively easier for the elderly to remain in an independent household position in these districts than in the other ones, since fishing in small open boats required neither much capital nor manpower. There, it was possible for married couples to retain their headship longer compared to predominantly rural areas.

On the individual level, researchers have looked inside the community to see whether the different social groups had dissimilar household structures. For example in Italy at the end of the nineteenth century, Kertzer saw that over three-fifths of the sharecropping families lived in multiple family households, while 25% lived in simple family households, for example the agricultural workers (braccianti). A classical work in Sweden by Christer Winberg argues that the economic role of the family differed from group to group. The peasants’ families, owners of the land, had the household as a unit of production and their children were an economic asset. In the case of the landless, the household was a unit of consumption, the work was done outside their households, and children were a cost. Thus landowners, and in particular tenants, had a greater number of children than the landless. The latter had less interest in a large number of children than did the peasants, especially the tenants.

In general the social status and the economic activities could change the structure of a household, and thus the coresidence between the two generations. A family with a large unit production could offer work to the younger generation, who could marry and live with the older generation. In such cases, coresidence or a stem family consisting of parents and children was created. On the other hand, a family that was only a consumption unit, like a worker family, was probably not able to offer work to the younger generation, who would therefore have to move to another place. In such cases the coresidence between the two generations would have been more difficult.

2 Tedebrand, L.-G 1996.
The retirement contract

One point discussed in various studies of old age concerns retirement contracts. In the stem family the younger generation married and lived with the parents. Later on the married child took over the property. This could happen at the time of marriage, when the parents felt too old to continue to head the household or when one of them died. Since the transfer of the property was an official act, it was made through an official document called retirement contract. In these cases old people were officially guaranteed assistance through the family. This happened in particular among peasants and crofters. When the old owner decided to end his working activity, he transferred his property to another person in exchange for board and lodging for the rest of the old farmer's life.1 In this legal contract the privileges of the old couple were possibly specified as the right to live in a room of the house without paying rent and receiving a specific quantity of food.2 In general the system of retirement contracts was profitable for both parties. Firstly the older generation could retire from their work and live peacefully for the rest of their lives, and secondly the younger generation had the opportunity to have their own land and to build their own family without waiting for the death of the landowner.

The “retirement contract” is a part of the mechanism of the stem family described by Berkner in the beginning of the 1970s. The parents had the ability to prolong their headship in the household with unmarried children (nuclear family) until they chose to hand over the property to a child that had married in exchange of assistance to the old parents (multiple or extended family). There has been some discussion about this coresidence. Some researchers state that a room on the farm was reserved for the older generation and that the two generations lived very close to each other but ate and slept in different places. Much depends on the size of the household, according to Josef Ehmer:

"architecturally we find it in the layout of farm buildings, which provided space for the retiring generation, be it a small house near the main buildings of richer farms, a separate apartment in the poorer ones or simply a small room" He concludes writing “Only the larger farms could support two family units. Above all it was dependent on the will, the persistence, and the strategic ability of the older generation, which controlled the property.”3

In Sweden there has been a debate about the kind of accommodation that was given to the elderly couple. Some argue that both generations lived in the same household sharing the same pot and the same fire,4 while others stress that the first generation had a separate house (stuga) near the main house where the second generation lived and headed the household.5

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1 Gaunt, D. 1983. A similar kind of assistance is also found by Michael R. Haines and Allen C. Goodman at the end of the nineteenth and beginning of the twentieth century in the United States. In an environment where the elderly often had to find a solution of their own to the problems in their old age, people “accumulated wealth for the anticipated slowdown or cessation of work. This wealth can take a variety of forms, both real and financial, not a principal one has been a home.” Houses could be a way of having financial help though the rent of houses for example. It seems that there was an increase of the number of owners until the age of 60. After that the owners would sell the house to finance their living as old people. Haines, M. R. / Goodman, A. C. 1995. See also Smith, R. M. The manorial court and the elderly tenant in late medieval England. Life, death, and the elderly. Historical Perspectives. M. Pelling / R. M. Smith. (eds.) London, New York, 1991.
However, in other countries retirement contracts were uncommon. In Hungary, for example, this legal act was exceptional, and also in Iceland elderly people continued to head the household. What surprises the modern observer is that this transfer of property from the old generation to the younger generation was made in such a detailed way. On the one hand it was important to transfer the property from parents to children in a legal way, but on the other hand it seems a little strange to specify all the things that the second generation had to give to the first. Berkner explains this by claiming that once the transfer had been made, the old people were legally powerless. If one day the children decided not to support them any longer, the older couple would have been in a desperate situation. For this reason parents preferred to subscribe to a contract by which they had guarantees about the quantity of food, the dwelling, and other rights. In case these contracts were not respected, the old people could turn to the local court. The real power of this contract has been discussed and debated. David Gaunt supposes that elderly people losing the property had in practice a weaker position in relation to their children than before, and consequently there would be conflicts inside the family. Beatrice Moring stresses the opposite. The retirement contract was totally strong, not only on the legal plane but also in practice:

“If the son took to drinking or there were disagreements, another child could be called in to replace him”, and moreover, “the contracts were also designed to make sure that if the young farmer lost the farm, the new owner had to keep up the retirement payments to the parents. The contract established the existence of a prior claim.”

These studies have mainly considered only the landowner group and few studies have been made of the crofters. The peasants had property and this could be used as an element of “pension” in the old age. As regards the crofters, they did not own the land, had only the right to work the land, and could just transfer this right. Rosemarie Fiebranz has looked at many transfers of property in the middle north of Sweden, and she concludes that normally the transfer of property was made when the owner was still alive, in many cases to a married son.

Mats Olsson and Christer Lundh have looked at tenancy retirement contracts in Scania (the most southern province of Sweden) in the nineteenth century. These contracts were very similar to those stipulated by freeholders with the obvious difference that they did not own the property. They had a lifelong right to occupation and the opportunity of choosing a successor. The latter had to pay the land’s rent and to keep the productivity level as high as possible. The difference between freeholders and tenants was also a matter of succession. The former transferred the property to the children, while the latter was more of a guarantee during old age, and thus it was more common to transfer the rights on the land to non-kin. Gerger and Miller find the same pattern. In a freeholder community there were many more

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3 Berkner reports one example specifying the money that the married son had to pay every 29 September, the right to grow potatoes in the garden, and the supply of grain and wood. Berkner, L. K. 1972.
intergenerational transfers than in a crofter community, “since ownership was not as dependent on performance as the case for torpare (crofters), who had to fulfil the requirements of the torp contract, freehold farmers could maintain control of their farms for much longer periods of time.”

The importance of the collectivity (children’s network)

Up to now the history of the family has only considered the relationships between generations in the household, concluding that parents and children often lived in the same place. They lived in nuclear families with unmarried children. Only a small proportion of the elderly people lived with married people, composing a complex family. The debate has been concentrated mainly on how the household was able or unable to satisfy all the needs of the family members from an economic or personal point of view. Only rarely have historians focused on the immediate offspring’s network. In this way a new perspective can be opened to the world of the family. What were the relationships to children or relatives outside the family? What was the role of the neighbours? If a village is small like the case of Gullholmen in Sweden, where the longest walking distance between two houses was 15 minutes, the independent life could always be integrated by a short visit by a kin in case of emergency. This kin network could be useful especially when difficulties arose, e.g. when a person was faced with such things as widowhood, unemployment, sickness, or senility and the household was too small to solve the problem. In some cases the neighbourhood assisted in productive activities; it was for example possible to share storage or tools such as ploughs.

The study of the kin network in history has had some problems due to the lack of data. Until the seventies Laslett thought that the kin outside the household could provide important support. But there was a problem with recognizing the kin. The nominative lists or the census do not state the kin relations even if they were living in the same building.

It was mentioned that in the stem family one child could have coresided with the parents while the other children could have moved and created their own households. In the case of the landless people, the parents more often lived with unmarried children. If the household was a consumption unit, it was unlikely to contain two married couples. If the second generation wanted to marry they had to move out. If they moved only a short distance, they would have created a children’s network. The size of this depended on the number of children present in the community. Economic studies show that the social group of landowners had more children. On the other hand the peasants had an opportunity to offer work to their children on the farm, while the landless group’s children left home young to go into service for peasants. Thus if one wants to analyze the dimensions of the children’s network, it is important to consider on one hand the demographic results and the number of children born, and on the other hand the possibility that the different social groups had work for the younger generations.

When old people coresided with their children, the children’s network was probably not seen as an instrument of direct support, but it could still be useful in extreme cases, such as when disagreements occurred between the generations or when a child died. Old people could consider the option to move and live with another child or for a child to come back to the parental household. The children’s network had greater importance when old people were

5 Laslett, P. 1972, pp. 36, 37.
6 Winberg, C. 1977, p. 335.
living alone. The short distance between those cared for and the carers could facilitate the independent life of the first generation. A study of people living alone in Verviers, Belgium, has shown that their children lived in the same city and were not farther away than 1.2 kilometres away.\(^1\) In this example independent life could be positive. There were no generational conflicts in the household.\(^2\) Wall supposes that the

“residential isolation might nor be particularly significant if assistance was regularly forthcoming from kin living nearby or from neighbours. Secondly, it could be argued that living on one’s own does not signify vulnerability but its opposite: an ability to cope without the assistance of others.”\(^3\)

Elderly people also had an alternative source of assistance, self-support. An old person in good health could probably continue to work performing small activities. These activities could be done with little effort and could be completed in a few hours per day. Also in the case of retirement, old people were able to contribute to the household production in different ways. In a family farm in that period everything was self-made from food and clothes to even in some cases work equipment. In this way the elderly could accumulate a small amount of money that could give them a feeling of independence.\(^4\)

The children’s network was variable in size due to mortality and migration. Peter Laslett has shown the mean number of living children in relation to the different ages of the women. At 33 years of age (a few years after marriage) 2.05 children were alive. In the following years they could have some more children, and at 44 (just before the menopause) 3.14 children were alive. From that point in time the number of children could only decrease, and at the age of 88 there were 1.82 per woman.\(^5\) Among elderly widows in Iceland in the beginning of the twentieth century, the availability of offspring influenced their living arrangements to a great extent. Those who had more than four children still alive were more likely to live with them than widows that had just one.\(^6\)

The children’s network could be represented also by other kin (like siblings, uncles, aunts, cousins, and grandsons), and not only by married or unmarried children. This network also changed with age in terms of quality and quantity. The age group of 50-59 years in 1851 in Devonshire had mostly unmarried children who were too young to play an important role because they were still young, around 15 years old. There were few married children in the households and thus the household contained different types of relatives. Actually in this age group, people were more likely to care for others than to be cared for themselves.\(^7\) Until the industrialization of Europe there was a general opinion about the growth and the decline of people. Around forty years of age men started to have a strong position, owning and heading a

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\(^2\) As regards the retirement contract and the details written, it is possible that the first generation knew already that the co-residence with their married children could create serious problems. Probably the parents would have found it a difficult situation after the loss of their position as master of the household. Mitterauer, M. / Sieder, R. 1983, p. 167.
\(^5\) Laslett, P. Family, kinship and collectivity as system of support in pre-industrial Europe: a consideration of the “nuclear-hardship” hypothesis. Continuity and Change. Vol 3 (2) 1988, p. 163.
house. This situation could continue until they were sixty and had their greatest power in the household.1

Between 60 and 69 years of age, people still lived with unmarried children, but the latter could contribute to the family production. In this age group, we find a larger number of coresidences with married children, and grandchildren under 16 years of age still formed the main group of relatives. In this period, although many old people were living with at least one child, other children began to move outside the parental household forming a network of assistance. Ten years later, the availability of children was the best chance of assistance that an old person could have. There was still a good percentage of people living with unmarried children and having other married children close by. The number of grandchildren was high but they were probably still too young to provide assistance. They still needed care but they provided company for the grandparents.2

Wetherell, Plakans and Wellman support the idea that, in some specific circumstances, friends, neighbours and co-workers could be useful in case help was needed, “the ties between parents and adult children are the strongest and provide emotional support along with both small and large services. Siblings are similar to friends in providing emotional support whereas extended kin are the least likely of all network members to render any dimension of support.”3

The effects of the industrial development on the household and the kin

The socio-economic status influenced the household structure. If there was work and there was a possibility to maintain people in the household, children would probably stay at home. When the family was just a consumption unit, the children usually moved to another place. These decisions were however influenced not only by the economic situation in the household, but also by the economy of the surrounding area. With a certain type of economy and a large labour market, people had more job alternatives and could find work outside the parental household. Thus coresidence among the two generations would be less likely.

Labour market and household

In nineteenth century, Europe experienced a big change in its economy through industrialization. These transformations affected everyday life. If earlier on all members of the family had been employed in the same working place (in the agricultural world it could be a farm), after the industrialization the household working environment was broken up. In general the single individual could find work outside the household making the connection between members of the family or between the two generations weaker. According to some researchers, the household’s structure changed during this period. The number of complex households diminished while there was an explosion of nuclear households.4 For the city of Sundsvall, strongly affected by the early industrialization in the region, Högman arrives at the conclusion that children did not need to inherit the property of the parents to marry and to have an independent economic life. If they wanted, they could move outside the paternal household, since job opportunities during industrialization increased. In this economic situation there was segregation of the extended family.5

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This kind of new labour market attracted people from all parts of the country. In Ljusne, (a parish 250 km north of Stockholm) and in the Sundsvall area many people arrived to work in the sawmill districts from distant areas. These people were usually young and moved alone. Some studies have shown that the people with the highest migration rate were around 20 years old. In these conditions they had to start a new family by marrying and having children (simple family) leading to an increase in simple families. The case was different for people that were already living in an industrialized area. For those people there was already a family, but with the industrialization it could be split up and changed from a complex household to a simple one.

However this could depend also on the socio-economic status of the family. In case someone owned a large farm, one child would probably stay with the parents. For landless people the situation was different. Probably for these people the two alternatives were equal and some chose the “industrial” one. In this way the new generations could move out from the parents’ place and live an independent life.

One must keep in mind the place where the industries were situated. If people lived a few kilometres from these working places they could go there in the morning and come back in the evening. In this way they could continue to live in the parental household. In case the distance between the parental household and the working place was large, they had to move to the work place, and their coresidence with the parents was interrupted. In the study of the isle of Alnö, Norberg found that the houses of the sawmill workers were occupied by people that did not come from the parish of Alnö.

Two types of jobs to keep in mind are protoindustrialization and seasonal work. These jobs were done by people that normally were employed in agriculture, when they had free periods of time and integrated the income. In the case of protoindustrialization these jobs could be done in the household and thus the household structure would not have been changed, but in the case of the seasonal work, people moved to other places, which means that for periods the coresidence between parents and children was interrupted.

Other studies argue that industrialization changed the structure of the household. Before industrialization the household functioned as a production and consumption unit. All the family members were employed according to their capacities to work in the household. In these conditions people really lived together, in the sense that they slept in the same place, worked in the same area (maybe some in the fields and some in the house) and took their meals together. Industrialization put a stop to this. Even if people were living together, for the rest of the day they were employed in other places. Industrialization had created a different workplace away from home, with money wages, and regular hours of work. However, in those conditions it was just the relationships in the household that changed and not the coresidence. Coresidence would have continued to exist and the children would be close to their parents in case of need.

Labour market and kin network

The new labour market with industrialization changed not only the household structure but also the children’s network. As already stated, young generations began to migrate and to build their own family outside the parental place. On one hand coresidence among two

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generations diminished, and on the other hand the children’s network increased. This happened especially in places where industrialization arrived. It has already been mentioned that people that were already living there, they could just move a few kilometres and thus still keep in contact with the older generation in their everyday life. In an area where there was no labour market, people were more likely to migrate a long distance and thus the contact with their parents would become more complicated or at least less frequent. In his studies about emigration in the Swiss-Italian Alps during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, Merzario found that emigration of men to European cities was common. In a region where agriculture was poor, one solution was to learn a skilled trade and move to places where there was demand. In general only men emigrated, while the rest of the members of the family stayed. During the period of absence the men continued to keep in contact with their families. They asked about their children and about other members of the family, and wanted to be informed about the possibility to buy new land. The new American labour market was also able to attract people from very long distances. During the second half of the nineteenth century, many Europeans moved to America looking for new job opportunities that seemed to be better than those offered in Europe. In such cases the connection with the parents and with the relatives also continued. A specific example comes from the study made by Östman.\(^1\) She analyzed one complex Finnish household composed of the first generation heading the household and an already married son. For some years the son migrated to North America, and during his absence he sent home a lot of letters to his wife asking about the work and the economy of the household.

**Demographic transition**

*Mortality and fertility*

In the first part of the nineteenth century Europe experienced not only industrialization but also "the demographic transition." Until the end of the eighteenth century, the demographic system was characterized by high mortality and high fertility. There were similar fluctuations in both birth and death rates where the number of births was a little higher than the number of deaths. In this way the population increase was very slow. With the new century the mortality rate began to fall, and the birth rate remained at the same levels as before. This means that the population had a strong increase in number. The high fertility rates and declining mortality rates continued until the 1870s. After the 1870s the number of deaths as well as births continued to decline, but there was still a large difference, which resulted in a population increase. Since the 1940s the birth rate has been a bit higher than the death rate.\(^2\)

The decline of mortality has been thoroughly discussed during the last decade. In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries the age group with the highest death rates was the infants.\(^3\) However, they were also the first that experienced a decrease in mortality during the nineteenth century. The mortality in older age groups started to decline many years later.\(^4\) Several explanations of the decline have been suggested. One reason could be the new

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vaccines against diseases like smallpox discovered by Jenner in 1798.\(^1\) Other researchers argue that the economic development with new technologies and methods of preventing and controlling the transmission of disease was the cause of the mortality decline. In the nineteenth century there were improvements in the hygienic conditions in the cities with purer water supplies; the streets were paved and the public places were cleaned up regularly.\(^2\) Another hypothesis concerns the climate. It seems that during the second half of the eighteenth century and the beginning of the nineteenth century, the climate had a lower mean temperature, especially during winter and spring.\(^3\) These hypotheses seem to be important and significant for the decline of mortality, but together they can explain this fall only as regards its second part. Actually, the improvement in agriculture, the introduction of potatoes, the new vaccines, the improvements in public hygiene and the climate change took place when the mortality was already diminishing. Part of the initial decline could be the result of pure luck, which was not under human control. In different historical periods, some infectious diseases may for unknown reasons change their malignity and their virulence. It was only towards the end of the first part of the nineteenth century that the new pattern of the new society started to play an important role in the decline of mortality.

Another point that is important to keep in mind is the Western European marriage system, which is described by Hajnal. George Alter and Lisa Ciglett explain this factor by stating, “In a population with an average age at marriage above age 25 and between 10% and 20% never marrying most parents could count on having at least one unmarried child after they had passed age 65.”\(^4\)

The rise of the extended family

The demographic transition could change the coresidence between the generations. In the first phase mortality and fertility were very high but similar. A couple could have children but these could die in a short time and never reach adult age. This means that when the first generation was old they could not coreside with their adult children. At the time when infant mortality began to decline but the number of births was the same, a couple had a greater chance of seeing their children grow and possibly create coresidence with them later on.

Indirectly Peter Laslett argues that the nuclear family was common because the high mortality obstructed the creation of complex households. On one hand infant and child mortality was high, while on the other hand life expectancy was low, and thus people died before their children were married. With the new demographic trend, children were more likely to reach adulthood and people also to live longer. In the 1980s Steven Ruggles wrote about the rise of the extended family:

“high frequency of extended families is impossible in pre-modern societies because of high mortality. Very short life expectancy prevents widespread residence in three-generation families; most people died before they became grandparents or shortly thereafter.”

The increase of the extended family appeared together with the decline of mortality in the middle of the nineteenth century. Elderly people had a greater chance to see their children and grandchildren become adult in this new demographic environment.\(^5\)

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\(^{2}\) Easterlin, R. 1999, pp. 269-270.


In the beginning of the nineteenth century, if a person had five children it was likely that some of them died in the first years of life. Winberg found that among peasant groups, 321 children per 1000 live births died before reaching five years of age. A survival analysis for men born in Sweden between 1791-1815 found that out of 1,000 born, 640 survived to the age of 10 years. In the middle of the century the infant and child mortality was lower and a person with five children had a greater chance to see all the children reach adulthood. For Iceland Gunnlaugsson and Gardarsdóttir found that all couples with at least five children could see at least one offspring reach adult age.

Gender perspective

In the last few years, interest in gender in family studies has increased. In the case of relationships between two generations, it is important to analyse both parents and children. Within the first generation there is no point in analysing when people were married, both husband and wife lived together and consequently had equal coresidence with their children. The situation was different for the people who were unmarried or widowed. Unmarried people, according to Hajnal’s model in Western Europe, made up 10% of the population at 50 years of age. People had children outside of wedlock, but it was possible for them to marry at an older age. In this sort of study it is not important to see if children were born within or outside of wedlock, here it is only important to see if the first generation was or had been married in their old age. Among the unmarried old people women were probably the group with children and could consequently create coresidence. The other gender difference among the first generation regards widowhood and will be treated in the next section.

The history of widows

Many historians have paid attention to the problem of widowhood and in particular to the widows. They were always considered to be the weakest group, at the same level as children in society. As Ida Blom formulated it, "historical research on widowhood in the United States and in Europe […] is still in its infancy."

In general the history of widowhood has been studied in two different approaches. One is demographic and the other one is economic. The former has analysed issues to do with second marriage and fertility problems. The economic approach has analysed how widowers and in particular widows could solve the problem of a lack of spouse. In the nineteenth century life expectancy was quite low and there were risks of being bereaved when one was still young. This could influence the fertility rate and it induced people to remarry. It has been shown that widowed young people were more likely to marry for the second time than older people. As regards the economic approach, historians have analysed the changing structure and the problems related to inheritance. This last case is interesting only for widows as they could be excluded from the inheritance. In medieval Florence, women did not have the right to inherit: they only received the equivalent value of their dowry. For them the best solution was to remarry if they were still young. In other cases

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widows had the same rights as men. They could inherit the house and continue to live as
widows, and in case there was no male present, they could inherit everything.1

The family in the nineteenth century seemed to live in a difficult equilibrium where all the
members of the household were expected to work according to their skills, abilities, and
strengths. In the case of a sudden bereavement, the others members would have some
difficulties in replacing the work done by the deceased individual. For an old man or woman
the most common cause of mourning could have been the death of the spouse. On such
occasions the solution was a second marriage.2 The old person could try to marry a younger
one that gave better guarantees when the older person needed assistance.3 The second
marriage was a common practice especially within the peasant community because of the
requirements of the domestic economy.4 People tried to remarry as soon as possible, but this
depended to a great extent on the age of the widower/widow and the kind of household in
which they lived. In a sharecrop family or in a peasant family, consisting of two generations,
the absence of one member created fewer problems in the household work compared to a
nuclear family with few individuals. It was more important for the latter to replace the dead
family member as soon as possible. The young widows or widowers faced a long future and
so the necessity to replace the dead spouse was greater than for an old widower, who could
maybe move to the child’s family creating an extended family.5

In Verviers, George Alter saw that with the passing of time widows were more and more
likely to live with a married child instead of with of an unmarried one. The difference was
also gender-related. While widows always had a high percentage of living “with children,”
widowers had a decline until the age of 70, then an increase and after that a new decline.
Among widowers the proportion that lived with unmarried children was larger in each age
group than the proportion “with married children.”6 It is possible to explain this difference
considering headship of the household. For a woman it was not so important to live in the
household of the husband or in the case of his death in the family of a married child. In any
case she would have followed the decision taken by the husband or by the married child for
the household’s production. So she would have been in a household that offered her more
guarantees in terms of assistance and accommodation. In the case of a man it was the
opposite. Probably after many years of leadership inside the family, he would have been less
likely to move to a married child losing maybe the power to decide in the household. He
would have tried to stay in his house until he lost his physical strength.

Gender and the second generation

Looking at the second generation from a gender perspective, it is possible to see which
children were coresiding with the parents. In general the studies regard the transfer of
property. This means that the analysis was made of the landowner groups and without
considering whether the transfer of property was made between kin or not. The myths and
traditions indicate that property usually was transferred to the oldest son. This could be
interpreted as if old people usually coresided with a son and not with a daughter. This could

1 Fauve-Chamoux, A. Aging in a never-empty nest: The elasticity of the stem family. Ageing and generational
2 A book with a wide perspective on marriage and remarriage in populations of the past is Dupâquier, J.
Marriage and remarriage in populations of the past: Mariage et remariage dans les populations du passé:
proceedings of the International colloquium on historical demography “Nuptiality and fertility: plural marriage
3 Pelling, M. Old age, poverty, and disability in early modern Norwich. Life, Death, and the elderly: Historical
be also a problem related to the inheritance law. In those countries where only the male
inherited, this trend was probably stronger, while in the countries where the daughters could
also inherit the parental farm, the daughters were probably more likely to live with the first
generation. This also depends on the rules for the division of the land. In case the land was
impartible, one child, probably a son, inherited everything and bought out the siblings. But if
the land was partible, every child had the right to a portion of the land so the co-residence was
equally probable with a son or a daughter. As regards the semi-landless or the landless,
the circumstances in which they coresided did not involve the inheritance of the property, and
maybe in this case the coresidence with a son or a daughter had equal value.

Theoretical concepts

Strategies as a concept in demographic research

The idea that families and people in the past had a sort of strategy has been discussed for
many years. In general researchers have supposed that, in the past, families and individuals
organized the family cycle through long-term decisions, but these strategies differed. For
example people tried to create strategies in marriage, inheritance, fertility and in migration,
but in the last few years researchers have criticized this concept. The point is to know whether
people were acting intentionally or not in some way. In some cases people might have had no
alternatives and thus did not have a choice. Without any options it is difficult to think that
people had any strategy behind their action. In the cases of the households, all members
involved in a strategy should agree to the plan. Some people were just obliged to follow a
strategy, such as the children that did not inherit the farm. They were “obliged” to move to
another place, and if they did not agree, they were forced to move and for them this was not a
good strategy. In historical sources, there are normally no indications of the possible
alternatives that people had. One possibility to find these indications could be in micro history
and particular documents about the lives of the people.

Theo Engelen sees the strategies proposed by the historians as a justification of their
results. In this way it seems that the strategy is more in the analysis of the historian and not in
the minds of the historical actors. This means that maybe people in a situation did not have
enough knowledge to be able to foresee what could happen or maybe that they did things
without properly thinking of the future consequences. This is a problem of consciousness.
People maybe acted in a certain way without intending to create a strategy, but they knew that
probably with that behaviour they would have met had consequences. Viazzo and Lynch
propose the idea of tactics in the short term. People probably adapted a tactic to solve a
problem in a short term, and only in the long term would they have been conscious of the
possible consequences. The choice of a behaviour would not only give the desired results, but
it was possible in the long term that the tactic or the strategy chosen would bring other

1 Viazzo, P. P. / Lynch K., Anthropology, family history, and the concept of strategy. International Review of
2 Engelen, T. Labour strategies of families: A critical assessment of an appealing concept International Review
4 Merzario in his studies about the migration in the mountains in diocese of Como, Northern Italy, discovered
letters of emigrants in other countries to their families. In many letters the head of the household recommended
his wife to send their sons to school, because when they grew up, they would probably have emigrate and work
like many others in the construction trade. In school they would have to learn the basics of writing, reading, and
arithmetics, which would be very useful in the future with the work of mason. Merzario, R. 1989. Merzario, R.
advantages and/or disadvantages. For this study the tactics-strategies that are more interesting to analyse regard children and inheritance.

Having a child in the nineteenth century could be an important form of support for elderly parents. A strategy would have been to have many children in the fertile period. This would have also been an advantage for the farmers when the children reached adulthood. The disadvantage of having many children concerned their infancy and childhood, as it corresponded only to a cost, and as regards the inheritance, a large number of children could be a

“danger arising from a surplus of potential heirs, which was seen as obvious and posing a threat to the integrity of the family farm. A demographically more sophisticated framework would have brought to the fore the population raised by the scarcity of heirs, showing that in every conceivable population, some families were bound to have too few heirs and others too many and that proportions changed with changing demographic circumstances.”

From this example it is possible to understand that even if there was a strategy behind a certain behaviour, it was unlikely to be merely advantageous. The intentions concerning fertility and inheritance could also exist in the minds of the actors, but there was also a far-sighted thought that the long-term strategies were difficult to put into practice. Firstly, people in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries knew that the child mortality was very high and the life expectancy low. The first generation could die before the elderly, who would then not be able to enjoy the support of their children, or the latter could die young before their parents entered into an old age. These long-term strategies also involved difficulties in the application of the changes that people experienced during the nineteenth century. Like every socio-economic change in society, industrialization and the demographic transition were slow processes whose consequences could not be predicted, and would hardly have been understood by the people that were experiencing them. A strategy of having many children because later on they would have inherited property would have vanished because of the decline of mortality and through industrialization. In such cases parents would have had more children of adult age with the relative problems of the division of property or children could find the new industrial labour market interesting and leave the parents for this new alternative. A person born in 1810 and married in 1835 could perhaps have had an intention to create this tactic to use in the future as a sort of support for his old age, but he could certainly not have imagined that the society that he was living in would have changed so radically in a couple of decades and that it would have become more difficult to put his original plans into practice.

**Life course perspective**

Since the 1970s, interest in the life course analysis has increased. In the fields of historical demography this approach attempts to find out whether a past event could have changed a person’s life later on.

Life course analysis is able to show different events of a single life course, unlike the static or cross-sectional method that gives the image at just one moment. To explain the advantage of this method, George Alter used the example of the film. It is composed of a series of photographs, and if only a small number of them is shown, the entire film will not be fully visible to people. The more photographs can be collected, the better will be the understanding of the life course. With this analysis it is possible to study the events that are in

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2 Viazzio, P. P. / Lynch K., 2002 p. 443.
the middle of the life course. The fact that a man is married at 20 years of age and has the same marital status at 70 years of age does not necessarily mean that he has been married for 50 years. It could be that this individual became a widower at 35 years of age and later on remarried. In such cases it is important to know if this event happened and for how long the person was a widower? In theory, knowing only the marital status at 20 years of age and at 70 years of age, one could argue that maybe the spouse died when he was 21 years old and that he remarried when he was 69 years old. Having many different event histories, one will avoid such interpretations. It is like seeing a comedy but only the beginning, which in general depicts a positive situation for the actors, and then the end, which is also positive. But what about the middle? Many troubles could have happened, they might have lasted throughout the film.

The life course analysis could be applied to different dimensions according to the events that one wants to analyse. With a general perspective it could be possible to look at how the life course has changed due to historical circumstances such as wars, or a financial change that could be negative or positive. These events could have changed the individual and the family. Moreover, the individual could have experienced events on the individual plane, (such as migration, work or education) or on the familial plane (such as family, work, number of children born) that could have changed the subsequent life. The life course data can be divided into three dimensions. The first is the timing of events and it means the knowledge of when the events happened. The second is their sequence, or their order, and the third dimension concerns their frequency (how many events happened?)

Sequential life course data has for example been analysed by methods developed from the study of DNA sequences. The life course analysis could be conducted in a statistical way “by defining simple algebras that permit the creation of metric distances between sequences.” This analysis is very complex in a statistical way that in the social fields is still in an experimental phase.

The case is easier when the life course analysis looks at some general historical circumstances, such as war or economic changes or individual biographical events that happened in a moment of the past, and then the analysis “jumps” forward into the future to see whether there is a relation between the past event and the “present” event. In this way it is difficult to see the possible changes of the person between the two events. A solution is to look directly at the entire life of the individuals or of the families. This could be defined a sort of qualitative study of a life course. Here the historian has to “paint” the life course of the different families or individuals. At the beginning s/he sees some previous event experienced by a large group of people and later on s/he notices in their lives whether most of them had the same destiny following maybe the same sequence of events. In the history of art almost every artist from the Middle Ages to the seventeenth century made paintings representing episodes in the life of Jesus. Even if the subject or the people painted are always the same, each painting differs from the others. Each artist has his own style, and every image is different because of the position of the people in the scene, the colours, the types of clothes, and maybe the objects that they hold in their hands. The life course analysis could draw the life course of each individual or family, and later on it could be possible to notice whether the picture is similar or different. What analogy is there? The time spent in experiencing the same circumstance, the sequence of some events or the duration of them?

As already stated in the previous section, the family was not a static unit but a dynamic one and it manifested different types of household structure. This is called the family’s cycle and it

1 Petersen, W. Dictionary of demography, p. 588.
3 Major details about the sequence analysis are in Abbott, A. 2000, p. 5.
could be seen as a part of the life course analysis. The case of the family’s cycle could involve the birth of a child who later on created a coresidence with the parents. The sequence that the historian can try to see in the dynamicity of the family is the stem family cycle constituted at the beginning by a nuclear family, which later on will change into a multiple family and end up as an extended family. Another example could be the work cycle of married women in relation to the familial cycle. Hareven found that the women that had infants did not work regularly. When the children reached adult age and still lived at home, the women worked only occasionally. In the moment that children married and moved outside the home, the women came back to work regularly in the factories. Miller and Gerger speak more about “life line” in their longitudinal method. By means of an annual continuous series of catechetical registers, they looked at the changes of the families and their cycle. With this method it is possible to see better and in a qualitative way how the structure of the families evolved. The analysis follows the regular timing and does not look directly at an expected event but tries to register a series of events.

Nuclear hardship

During the modern period, most people lived at poverty level. The risk of death was high for each age group and the sudden disappearance of a member of the family or even a period of short economic stress could be very serious for the maintenance of the entire household. If the family was nuclear, members of the household could probably have critical moments with opposing points of view, for example about the economy and the support. The loss of the physical capacity of a person could create a problem in the income of the household. At that point families tried to make every effort to get through the situation trying different alternatives. Only in the case when they were not able to survive, the “bureaucratized forms of assistance” would have been used. This could come from two sources, one of which was the extended kin, that is, relatives beyond the household, which Laslett called the “community” and the second was the “collectivity” of friends and neighbours, along with the church and charitable institutions, as well as the village, town or state. The problem of hardship has been discussed after this famous article by the English researcher was published. Some studies supported Laslett’s thesis. Richard Wall wrote:

“It is also worth emphasizing that in the past the family had only a minority role to play in securing the financial well-being of their elderly relatives. Much more common, was for the responsibility of the elderly to be shared between the State, the family and other charitably minded individuals.”

Laslett stressed that in England and the city of Florence, between the eighteenth and the nineteenth century, people applied for public help; and the collectivity was more important than resources coming from people’s own family. During the eighteenth century and in particular near the end of it, England went though a period of wars against France and harvest crises. In that moment the number of people that applied for support from the community increased. For example the number of old people who depended on poor relief was three times larger between 1696-1701 and 1790 in Terling, Essex.

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On the other hand, there are scholars that do not deny the existence and the help of public institutions offered in the course of centuries, but they stress that old people received the most important assistance from their families. In a study by Rudolf Andorka it seems that in Hungarian villages there were no forms of charitable institutions and all the elderly were heads of households with married children who helped their parents in farming. Andorka found that half of the widows were heads of households and the rest lived in households headed by their married children.

Probably the level of hardship depended significantly on the structure and the number of members of the household. In the previous section it was already mentioned that the multiple families had fewer problems than the nuclear families in the case of the death of a member. Theoretically speaking, it is possible to make an example. If there is a household with four people and these people contribute the same proportion to the income of the family, each individual gives a support of 25%. In the same “productivity conditions” but with eight members in the household each individual contributes 12.5% to the income of the household. The loss of a member is much more traumatic in the first case than in the second one. According to Andrew Blaikie, in the Scottish parishes with nuclear families the collective support was high. In the areas with a large number of extended households there was more kin-based support. In this sense it is important to consider that the help could come not only from inside the household but also from the kin network or from friends and neighbours. In case neither the family nor the network could help them to survive the hardships, there was the help of the public institutions.

As regards people that had no kin inside or outside the family and experienced a period of hardship, they probably had to ask for help from the public institutions. The existence of almshouses in the parish or in the area could offer assistance but the amounts received were small and in most cases the help was given to women rather than men. The Poor Act of 1834 in England stressed that the relief could be given in their own home or indoors in the workhouse. This meant that people could only receive a financial type of relief like for example money or food but they continued to dwell in their own household and consequently also took care of the old persons.

Looking at the research on the household structures in the nineteenth century, it seems that very few people lived in houses of assistance. Most people had their own residence (alone or with a spouse) or cohabited with their children. This could support the previous hypothesis that old people preferred to live in a “normal” dwelling and to apply for relief only in marginal cases during their lives. Actually living in a house given by the parish could represent an unpleasant experience in the life of a person. In eighteenth century England, parishes tried to give independent houses to the poor but often people ended up living together in the same habitation. Jill Quadagno reports how people in some cases tried desperate measures to avoid the workhouses.

5 The writer presents some examples of the difficulties for the elderly concerning the decision to apply for outdoor relief or indoor relief. This differed from area to area and especially among the guardians of the poor houses. Reading the description we get a negative impression of this institution and can understand why old people preferred to receive help outside of it. But in the beginning of the chapter Quadagno writes “only 5% of the aged had outdoor relief as their only source of support”. Quadagno, J. 1982, pp. 103-110.
Conclusion

Elderly people in the nineteenth century lived mostly in nuclear families and a small proportion in complex families comprised of married children. These household structures changed over time, as the idea of stem family suggests. In the beginning of the old age, the elderly lived with their spouses and unmarried children, and later on children who became adults married and coexisted with their parents. People experienced different household structures and family cycles. This depended on the socio-economic status of each family. In general, landowners had a larger number of children and their coresidence was more common than in the landless groups. This coexistence was legally approved through a retirement contract. The property was transferred from the parents to a child in exchange of board and lodging for the rest of the old farmer’s life. Children that did not live with the first generation moved outside the parental household. The offspring that lived in the neighbourhood could be seen by the parents as an alternative source in case of need.

The nineteenth century was a period with great changes. Two of these are the most interesting for this work, industrialization and the demographic transition. The steam engine offered the population a new labour market. The younger generations had the opportunity to continue to work in a rural area, maybe in the parental house, or to move to the new industrial areas and break up the coresidence with the parents. The migration to the factories also influenced the children’s network. In the industrial areas the second generation probably continued to be able to have daily contacts with their parents. If the new labour market was far away and the distance was not coverable in a short time, the children had to move closer to it and the relationships with the parents became weaker. The fall of mortality and the high constant fertility contributed to a larger number of children reaching adult age. The parents had greater chances at least one child would reach adulthood, and thus the probability of coresiding with the second generation was higher.

Finally, the research has shown that the gender pattern in the first generation, the sons and daughters, could result in different types of households. Widowers were more likely to keep the control of the household than widows. The latter were more likely to live with married children. In general, sons were the ones that coresided with the parents and took over the property.
3 SOURCES AND METHODS

Parish registers

Like previous historical studies of families in continental Europe and in Sweden, the most useful historical sources are catechetical registers and parish records. In general, these have all the information that is needed to satisfy demographical questions from a statistical point of view and the catechetical registers could reveal much more important information regarding the living arrangement of each person.

Parish records include birth, burial, marriage and migration registers. In Sweden these records were officially introduced in the seventeenth century but they existed already earlier due to the fact that some ministers kept documents quite similar to parish records.1 In 1749 the statistical commission (Tabellverket) was created, and the parish records were regarded not only as religious documents but also as civil and statistic documents.

The birth and baptismal registers contain details concerning all the births in the parish: name, date of birth, date of baptism and parents’ names and their ages. In the register of banns and marriages, the names and ages of the couple, and the date of the marriage are recorded. Finally, in the register of deaths and burials, names of the deceased, as well as dates of birth and death, the age in years, months and days and the cause of death of the deceased are noted by the minister. The migration registers supply information about the immigration and emigration to and from the parish. In both cases the location of origin or destination is included.2 The information from these registers allows for the reconstruction of the three main demographic variables: natality, nuptiality and mortality.

The catechetical registers were originally written as a means of registering the knowledge of the Bible of the population. According to the Lutheran Reformation, people should be able to read the bible and give an interpretation. In 1686 a decree stipulated that every person living in a parish had to be registered in the catechetical registers.3 They were divided according to the place, house, farm or village where they lived. People were entered by family in the following order: household head’s name, wife, children, other relatives and possibly servants. Usually the minister used one page for each family, or he separated the different families with blank lines. In addition to an individual’s name, the most important details for the study of the family were included: occupation and retirement contract. For each person the minister wrote the date of birth in year, month, and day and the relation between the members of the household and the head. Moreover, the dates of entry and exit in the register were recorded with the related reason, e.g. migration inside the village, birth, and death. Marital status, examination of reading and knowledge of the bible, vaccination, and remarks about the possible illnesses were also included.4 These registers lasted ten years and they were updated yearly.5 Every autumn the minister held examinations to test biblical knowledge. Changes in the household were recorded by the minister in the entry or exit column. In case of marriage of a member of the family to a new household, the latter was written below. A practical example might illustrate how the minister wrote and updated the page.

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5 Ulla Nilsdotter argues that in the north of Sweden the registers covered ten or more years, in central Sweden five years, and that in the south of Sweden they were rewritten yearly. Nilsdotter, U. 1993, p. 27.
In 1861 the minister of Njurunda started a new register and on page 258 wrote about the peasant family of Erik Jonsson Nordin. In 1861 the head of the household was Erik, and the other family members were his wife Anna Märta, the first son Jonas Andreas and the second daughter Anna Erika. There were no changes until 1866, when the daughter Anna Erika moved out of the household. The following year many changes happened; first the son Jonas Andreas married Kajsa Stina Olsdotter in July. The minister in these cases wanted to write the new couple together. The name of the son, Jonas Andreas, was moved from the third line to the fifth line and below the name of his wife was written. At this time the first generation and the first son with his wife lived on the farm. In the same year in December, Erik died and the priest noted the date of death in the column of exit. In 1868 the new couple had their first child, Erik August, and the minister updated the register, writing his name and the date of birth under his parents. In 1870 a second son was born and the minister wrote his name below his brother.

The catechetical records are not only difficult to interpret but they could also have some problems. Fogelvik, Gerger and Hoppe have discussed information that could be omitted like the migration of a person. In this way a person that migrated still remained in the household. Two solutions were able to solve these problems: comparing the date with other historical sources, for example the poll-tax registers or to follow the data in a longitudinal way to see if there are possible incongruences.\(^1\)

Another problem that remains is the interpretation of the household in case of additional families on the same page. Usually in the first register, the members of the two families were

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written on the same page, and in the next one the two households were written on two different pages. In case the two households were coresiding also in the next register, they would be listed on the same page. In these cases an additional problem concerns the headship of the household. In the above-mentioned example, the son Jonas Andreas appears twice on the page, the first time as a son of the head of the household, and then when he got married, the minister also wrote that he was a peasant. This means that Jonas Andreas became the head of the household, but it is not possible to know when this happened. It probably happened in connection with his marriage but there is no complete guarantee. On the other hand it is possible now to read in the register that the old father Erik Jonsson was a "previous peasant." In this case too one can make an interpretation. When he was entered in the register, he was recorded as "peasant," but later on, when the son became head of the household, the priest added the word "previous." In these cases it is not possible to understand exactly what had happened in the household group. However, the source material suggests that there had been a change in the property and whether there had been a formation of the stem family.

**DDB files**

The parish records with the catechetical registers contain all the demographic and household variables that occur in this study. This information is spread in the different registers and to obtain a complete demographic knowledge about every single family individual, it is necessary to link the data. Since 1973 the Demographic Data Base (referred to as DDB from now on) has been collecting and copying the registers, and later on it has begun linking the information in the demographic database. At present the DDB has digitalized around 80 parishes in various parts of Sweden, four large regions – the northern inland region, Skellefteå, Sundsvall and Linköping - and some parishes around the country.

Picture 3.1 The parishes linked by DDB.


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It is estimated that the individuals linked will amount to 700,000 which corresponds to three or four percent of the Swedish population in the nineteenth century.¹

All information that the historical register recorded for every individual has been linked. The linking work made it possible to recognize the kinship among people, and thus in the personal information there are also the names and corresponding personal information of the parents, siblings, spouse and children. Moreover, there is also information about the residence in the parish, village, and farm level. The advantage of having several registers at one’s disposal is that it increases not only the quantity of information but also the quality. In case a person migrated in the area, his or her name of course did not appear in the register of births. However, it is possible to find his or her birth through other registers where the date of birth was usually written. The same could be said about the paternity of a child. In case the name of the father was not written in the register of births, it was recorded in the catechetical register. Having registers for the whole century at one’s disposal helps to discover possible errors or deficiencies. Comparing the registers of different years, one can see whether the data for each individual continues to be the same or whether there has been some error. Finally, having linked people in a large area, it is possible to follow their migration and thus to have a large amount of information about them. In a database of one parish, at the time when a person migrated, it was not possible to know the destiny of this person who could have died in a short time or maybe got married and created a new family. Also, in the case of a life course perspective, the lives of the individuals who moved to different parishes would have been fragmented. The registration of an entire area provides a greater possibility to reconstruct the life courses of individuals and to know how much the kin network was spread.

Indiko is another demographic web-based tool provided by DDB and it has the function of showing directly what the parish records look like. People present in the DDB appear also in Indiko with the digitalized original sources. Every page of this “electronic parish records” is linked to the others, so it is possible to see all pages where a single individual was recorded and to follow the individuals through their lives. This tool allows one to make a micro study analysis looking at the quality of the information. However, as Indiko represents the original documents, a critical interpretation is needed. The minister might not have understood on every occasion the actual residence of individuals and errors are present in Indiko, as it has been decided to keep the original writings.²

Method

This study aims at analysing different aspects of the relationships between the two generations, demographic, economic, time and gender. These perspectives are in general connected to the coresidence in the same household and the children’s network. To arrive at a detailed analysis it is necessary to develop different methods and choices. These are economic, demographic, and geographical. According to the particular question that one wants to answer, it is necessary to use an adequate statistical method.

Defining the household /being on the same page

The classical definition of household was made in accordance with the English census. These censuses were written once and not updated for years after, but they were able to define who really slept under the same roof and shared activities. As mentioned above, the structure of the Swedish catechetical registers is different and makes it hard to interpret the proper

definition of a household. Because of updating it is difficult to know whether two married families consisted of one or two households. The minister could have recorded the two couples in a continuous list (an example of this is Erik Jonsson and Jonas Andreas) and this would have led us to think that these people were living in the same household. However, sometimes the minister left a white space between the two married couples. A simple interpretation would be that the two couples were two independent households. It could also be the case that the minister left some space between them because he thought that new members of the first household would have to be added, for example the birth of children or possibly children who returned home after migration. An official documentation from the Swedish authorities explained that when a child was listed together with the married parents, his/her name had to be written again under the list together with the name of the spouse, even if the child did not change residence. In other cases the older couple was registered at the end of a page; at the beginning the minister registered the younger couple that headed the household with their children, under them the servants and finally the old couple. This could be interpreted on one hand as two separate households that did not have any contact, and on the other hand as a coresidence where the two generations were living in the same place and probably sharing some activities. Swedish Authorities spoke about matlag ("people sharing meals"), people having their meals together had to be considered a household. These alternative interpretations refer to Laslett's concept of the houseful, which "means all persons inhabiting the same set of premises, and premises is another word we have found useful to endow with a restrictive usage for our purposes. Premises in our system denotes the accommodation provided by a building, or in certain cases of a number of conjoined or contiguous buildings, say in the case of Western Europe a farmhouse with a yard surrounded with outhouses which can be made suitable for occupation by people."

It could be supposed that people recorded on the same page were living in the same household or very close to one another (possibly only several metres away). This study aims to see how much the two generations were in contact with each other in the nineteenth century. Being in contact does not mean that these people must have lived under the same roof. Close neighbours could have high levels of contact with one another. On the other hand, through the parish records it is not possible to have any idea about relations in the household. They could have been very friendly or very strained; it could also be the case that two generations living in the same household had more differences than two generations living not in the same household but rather in two separate houses very close to each other.

For this study one of the best possible solutions that was found was to consider that people registered on the same page of the catechetical registers were living in a sort of coresidence. The fact that different types of registration of the two generations were written on the same page is open to interpretation as to how to use them for this study. The idea of regarding parents and children as coresiding can confuse the actual records. If the adult married children of two parents lived within the same property as one of the children's parents, they would then be calculated as one coresidence instead of two coresidences, which they in fact were (in such cases it is not sure whether they constituted a household in the classical definition or just

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3. Laslett, P. 1972, p. 36.
a houseful). This might result in an over-evaluation of their relationship. However, in both cases one could confirm that there was at least a close contact between the generations in daily life. Every day they could see each other, associate with each other via job activities, and exchange opinions about the consumption and production of the household. It is possible to assume that people written on the same page of the catechetical registers had a sort of coresidence, and it is possible to use this interpretative method for this study instead of the classical definition of household that would be exact for a part of the sample but would be exaggerated for another part that could not be seen totally as a single household.

To regard people registered on one page as a coresidence could be a problem if the two generations were listed on two different pages but following each other. This happened very seldom and, if one considers a life course, it was found just in a few registers. Cases have been found where in a first register parents and children were recorded on the same page, creating a coresidence for this study. In the new register, the two generations were written on two different pages but perhaps with the same number of registered taxpayers, in which case one could also presume that the coresidence had been interrupted. In another new catechetical record these people were recorded again on the same page. In such cases the interpretation could be that the minister had previously listed the generations on two separate pages for an unknown reason, even if there had been no change in the household structure. Another reason could be that the two generations actually wanted to split the coresidence for some years and that later on they returned to coreside. However it seems strange that this separation started with a new register and concluded with the end of this. From this point of view, the method of considering people on the same page as one coresidence may underestimate the calculation. These people had children who were not written on the following page for each registration, and thus in this case there should not be a large underestimation in the calculation of coresidence between the two generations.

Creating files for analysis

This study uses digitized parish records from the Demographic Data Base, DDB. First, it offers a very good historical sources for this study and second the parish records are digitalized in a way that makes it possible to create a data file with the demographical information that one desires. The area chosen for the research is the parishes around the city of Sundsvall.

Picture 3.2 The parishes linked by DDB in the Sundsvall region.

This area, compared with the others digitalized by the DDB, was industrialized at an early stage, and thus it offers a good chance of seeing whether industrialization influenced the co-residence between parents and children. Detailed information about the economy and demography of the region of Sundsvall is given in the following chapter.

The basic idea of this study is to see whether the first generation had children and whether the offspring co-resided with the parents as adults. The main point is to understand how much the infant and child mortality could influence the co-residence later on. Thus it is necessary to have information about the elderly starting from the time that they could have children. In this way it will be possible to know the number of children born and the number of children still living when the parents were elderly.

Table 3.2 Parish registers linked by DDB in the Sundsvall region.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Parish</th>
<th>Catechetical lists</th>
<th>Births and Baptisms</th>
<th>Banns and Marriages</th>
<th>Deaths and Burials</th>
<th>Migration</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Indal</td>
<td>1814-1900</td>
<td>1780-1894</td>
<td>1814-94</td>
<td>1814-95</td>
<td>1861-94</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ljustorp</td>
<td>1803-1901</td>
<td>1780-94</td>
<td>1803-94</td>
<td>1803-94</td>
<td>1845-94</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hässjö</td>
<td>1814-1901</td>
<td>1780-1895</td>
<td>1814-95</td>
<td>1814-95</td>
<td>1850-94</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tynderö</td>
<td>1811-1900</td>
<td>1780-1894</td>
<td>1811-94</td>
<td>1811-94</td>
<td>1861-94</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lagfors</td>
<td>1860-91</td>
<td>1862-95</td>
<td>1846-60, 1863-97</td>
<td>1862-98</td>
<td>1861-91</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lögö</td>
<td>1819-92</td>
<td>1766-1895</td>
<td>1819-95</td>
<td>1819-96</td>
<td>1861-80*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Njurunda</td>
<td>1816-91</td>
<td>1780-1894</td>
<td>1816-92</td>
<td>1816-92</td>
<td>1852-92</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Svarvik</td>
<td>1860-1900</td>
<td>1780-95</td>
<td>1860-95</td>
<td>1860-95</td>
<td>Missing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Galstöm</td>
<td>1807-91</td>
<td>1780-1894</td>
<td>1803-91</td>
<td>1807-91</td>
<td>1862-91</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Selånger</td>
<td>1813-94</td>
<td>1780-1894</td>
<td>1803-94</td>
<td>1803-94</td>
<td>1858-94</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sättna</td>
<td>1806-99</td>
<td>1780-94</td>
<td>1806-94</td>
<td>1806-94</td>
<td>1858-94</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Skön</td>
<td>1803-93</td>
<td>1784-94</td>
<td>1803-94</td>
<td>1803-94</td>
<td>1850-95</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alnö</td>
<td>1803-94</td>
<td>1780-1895</td>
<td>1803-95</td>
<td>1803-95</td>
<td>1850-95</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Timrå</td>
<td>1803-95</td>
<td>1783-1895</td>
<td>1803-95</td>
<td>1803-95</td>
<td>1850-95</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tuna</td>
<td>1804-96</td>
<td>1780-1898</td>
<td>1804-94</td>
<td>1804-94</td>
<td>1822-95</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Attmar</td>
<td>1814-96</td>
<td>1770-1894</td>
<td>1814-94</td>
<td>1814-94</td>
<td>1869-97</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Since the focus of the thesis is on whether there was co-residence when the first generation was old, it is necessary to have historical sources up to the time when people died or were around 80 years old. Table 3.2 shows the availability of the parish records in the different parishes in the Sundsvall region. The catechetical registers (the ones that give information about the co-residence) stop in DDB in the middle of the 1890s or in 1900. This means that the youngest people who it is possible to analyse from marital age until old age are those born in the 1810s. In this way it will be possible to follow the entire life of individuals (in case they did not emigrate outside the region) and to study all the phases of their older age. People born after 1820 cannot enter properly into this study, because the information about their later years is interrupted by the end of the registrations and not by the natural cause of death.

In order to carry out this study a finishing time limit to the cohort in the year 1820 was decided, and there was of course a need to having a starting point. The catechetical registers were collected for some parishes from the beginning of the century and for other parishes from the 1810s. Birth registers were collected from the 1780s. The information about the first generation that this study requires is the number of children born, the date of marriage, and the occupation of the first generation (at about 40 years of age). The relationships between
parents and children begin to be analysed when the first generation was 55 years old. Having registers since 1800 or 1810 it is possible to go back until 1770. This means that a person born in 1770 could have had children since 1790, and that in such cases these children were noted in the birth registers. In the catechetical registers, he could be registered from the age of 30 or 45, in time to have some information about his life before old age and his social status at around 40 years of age, which could be seen as the highest point in the life of a person. For people born earlier than 1770, problems could arise with getting information about them before the age of 40. People born at this time were 40 years old in 1800, but in some parishes there are no catechetical registers before 1815. This means that the youngest age at which a person’s occupation was registered could be 55 years.

In this way the people chosen represent those individuals that lived most of their lives in the region of Sundsvall. When industrialization arrived in Sundsvall, they were already dead or they had been present in the region for many years. This means that the sample of people studied represents the stable or the indigenous population of the region, and those people that had migrated in the region later in life or had lived just for a few years in those parishes were not considered. These people did not have the demographic qualities to be chosen because it was not possible to know their past, or to follow them after they had moved to another place.

Figure 3.1 Lexis diagram (y=age; x=year of birth. 1770-1803 represents the period with only birth registers, ca.1804-1816 represents the period where some parishes did not have catechetical registers, 1816 onwards represents the period with all the parish records available).

After choosing the population sample – people born between 1770 and 1820 who were registered in the parish records after the age of 55 – this work proceeded to identify the variables useful for the study.

This information consists of stable facts about the person. They refer to the DDB identification number, name, sex, date of birth, date of death and last registration, date of first marriage, identification number of the partner, demographic information about the partner, the number of sons and daughters born and the social group at the age of 40. Through these variables it was possible to create other age-related variables. For example, by knowing the dates of birth and death it is possible to calculate the age of death. In this way variables like age of marriage and age of widowhood can be created.

After the variables before old age were obtained, the ones regarding relationships between elderly parents and their children were created. Fifty-five years of age was considered the starting point of being elderly. The decision to begin the study from 55 years old is purely...
conventional, since previous studies provided various kinds of interpretations and explanations. The age of retirement from work can be another sign of the beginning of old age. David Gaunt has defined it as around 60 years of age.\(^1\) Actually, 55 years of age is a time before the retirement age and in that period children would start to be adults and at a marital age.

From age 55 and then for every five years: 55, 60, 65, 70, 75, 80 and 85, the residence, and marital status of the first generation were noted. The relationship to the second generation, the number of living children and their coresidence were noted, as well as whether the coresidence consisted of living with married\(^2\) or unmarried children and the gender. All the information regarding children was divided into special geographical levels: the address, the village, the parish, and the region. In this way information is provided for each age about the number of children that coresided with the parents, the number of them who lived in the same village, in the parish and in the region. These last three geographical dimensions are considered cumulative. The number of children in the village was counted by adding the coresiding children and those in the village. The same was done regarding the parish, it was calculated by adding the number of children coresiding with the parents, those in the village and the ones in the parish; the number of children living in the region is given by the total number of children living in the parish and the ones in the region.

This study also analyzes which children coresided with the parents and which migrated. To study this, it was necessary to have information on every child. Information about the first five children of each individual of the first generation was gathered. It included the sex and the dates of birth, marriage and death. At the ages of 60, 70, and 80 of the first generation their place of residence was noted. In this part it is important to remember that the order of the children is considered by date of birth. So if a child was born and died after few years, s/he continued to be considered a first child. The second sibling was always the second child even at the time when the first sibling died and s/he became the first in some sense. The reason for this choice is that it is a practical method. For the analysis it is easier to always keep the same order and in this way it is possible to follow the life of every single child during the time. Otherwise a single person could be the third child when s/he was born, then at 60 years of age of the parents, s/he could be the second and 20 years later the first one in case her/his siblings had died. This perspective can be considered in the micro study.

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\(^1\) Gaunt, D. 1983, p. 263.
\(^2\) In the case that children were widowed (a small percentage) they have been considered inside the group married.
The socio-economic status could influence the co-residence and the children’s network of the first generation. At the beginning it was decided to analyse the socio-economic status at the age of 40 years. This age group represented the point in life when an individual can be expected to have reached a peak in society. S/he had passed the average age for marriage and was nearing the end of childbearing years, particularly for women. In the household a person was able to conduct all economic activities and become the head of the household. The DDB states the exact occupation of each individual around the age of 40. Thus a categorization of the socio-economic status was necessary. Many historians have categorized social status according to the aims of their studies and the economic specifics of the area and the historical period. In a rural area like Scania, where most people were employed in agriculture, Martin Dribe decided to sample according to the type of land ownership. In this way, freeholders were separated from tenants. Even if the two categories had almost the same portion of land, the freeholders owned the farm directly while the tenants had only the right to work the land by paying a rent, very often through day labour. Furthermore, Dribe considered two different categories: the crofters (semi-landless) and landless. The first group had a small land property, while the second one had no landownership.1 In a city such as Sundsvall in a period of industrial expansion, Ann-Kristin Högman divided her cohort according to the social status adapted to an urban setting: the first group was made up of large business entrepreneurs and people employed in the higher service class, the second group of people were small-scale business entrepreneurs in trade and industry and the lower service class. The third were craftsmen and artisans, the fourth were unskilled workers, and the last group was employed in jobs not defined in the parish records.2

One method for social categorization of the cohort is based on both of these samplings. The parishes considered were mostly rural and the main economic activity was agriculture. Looking at the occupation of cohorts it was noticed that many of them were peasants (bonde) or crofters (torpare), and that there was a large number of people working outside the agricultural sector, such as artisans, workers or public servants.

A special interest of this study is the way the property of parents was handed over to the next generation. Considering these aims, and the fact that in Medelpad there were people employed in agricultural work and others outside agriculture, it was decided to divide the cohorts according to two general theoretical ideas. One was based on whether the occupation was agricultural or not and the second one on whether the means of production were inheritable or not. Finally five groups were created. The first group was peasants (bonde) who owned land and the possibility to transfer it to the next generation. The other agricultural group was crofters (torpare), who lacked the possibility to hand over land because they just rented it.

For the other category a deeper consideration is necessary. It could be defined as all the people that were working outside of agriculture and could only transfer an immaterial inheritance to the next generation. In many cases this kind of inheritance is difficult to transfer because it could require special intellectual qualities that not everybody would have. In this way a normal unskilled worker like a day labourer and a doctor would have been grouped in the same category. So in this case a social division similar to the one proposed by Ann-Kristin Högman, which divides people into two different groups is used. One consists of a group that had received higher theoretical education such as doctors, engineers or clergymen, and the other of workers in practical and material jobs such as charcoal-burners, day workers or sailors.

1 Dribe, M. 2000, pp. 50-64.
Finally, people without any occupation listed in the parish records were considered. Those were people, who for unknown reasons had no occupational titles in the catechetical registers. Often a minister wrote old people with no title, because they were already retired and the notation was just “father” or “mother.” In such cases, people were 40 years old and thus they could not be considered old and hence they were probably people without a stable job that were living on farms as workers. They should be regarded as individuals without the possibility to transfer any material property or immaterial skills.

If taking only occupation into consideration, we would lack information on women. In the nineteenth century it was normal for a minister to write the occupation of the head of the household even if all members of the household were participating in the same kind of activity. If the head of the household was a peasant, his wife and his children collaborated together in the production of the household and would consequently also be seen as members of the peasant social group. This situation was different for a woman that was married to a worker, and of course she experienced a different life than a peasant’s or a doctor’s wife. For this reason the women without occupational titles were classified according to the husband’s occupation. At any rate, there was a group of women with occupations. Most of them were registered as servants (piga) and belonged to the category of “workers,” or “peasants” in case their husbands were dead (bondenka) and they were registered as peasants.

In conclusion, four socio-economic groups and one without an exact social definition were created: Crofters, Peasants, Officials, Workers and People with no social definition (unknown); the socio-economic groups are described below.¹

**Crofters**

This group was the easiest to categorize. Actually almost all of them are registered as torpare, crofter. At any rate, they do not leave any alternative interpretation with regard to occupation. The crofters are a large group and they were employed in agriculture like the peasants. The difference between them was property, as crofters rented the land and consequently had nothing to transfer to the next generation.

**Peasants**

This is the largest group. It was not difficult to distinguish its members from the other groups. Most of them were registered with the title bonde and other similar titles such as hemmansägare, jordbrukare and landbonde. The research made in Scania divided the peasant society into two different groups: freeholders (skattebonde) and tenants (krono-, kyrko-, noble- bonde). As previously mentioned some differences in households were discovered. In the Sundsvall region a great portion of the land was owned directly by the peasants who were freeholders. Land owned by the church or by the crown was uncommon. Consequently the peasants presented will be regarded as one group.

**Officials**

This class is not homogenous and it is better to explain what kind of people it was made up of. The most numerous group consists of 34 supervisors (uppsyningsman), 13 inspectors (inspectör) and 56 members of the local court (nämndeman). It was also decided to include in this group some people (not more than ten) who were registered as owners of large industries. These people had a very different kind of economy and responsibility within the village compared to the teachers. Anyway these jobs are closer to one another than any other category that will be proposed. Not all the people could have access to these jobs; many of them were based on theoretical knowledge.

¹ It is possible to read a further description of the occupations in agrarian Sweden in Miller, R. / Gerger, T. 1985, pp. 13-15.
Workers

This social group contains all the people who did not have the means for economic production. They were normal workers such as charcoal-burners, seamen and servants. In addition this group includes people that worked in artisan fields but did not have a workshop. The largest group is the servants (dräng or piga). This category of workers could be defined as the lowest on a socio-economic scale and probably did not have any property or working skills to pass on to their children.

Cross-sectional and life course analysis

This study has different aims and should answer a number of questions. The method of investigation may change from question to question, and the same investigation may have different results or conclusions according to the method used.

The method of analysis depends also upon the available sources. As mentioned above, studies of the history of families have usually analysed a single census. In such cases it is not possible to make a life course analysis. The researcher can just look at that point in time and cannot see the evolution in the family structure. It is possible to find other censuses in the following years, but individuals will not be followed and the research is limited to comparing separate census lists. One alternative was proposed by George Alter and Giovanni Levi respectively. Alter divided the sample according to age groups and in this way it was possible to understand that living arrangements changed with age. Levi reconstructed the lives of people through a single list of the principality of Oneglia, Italy, in 1734. With a method similar to the one used by Alter, Levi was able to identify different stages of the lives of individuals from infancy to old age. The problem with this method is that the different age groups are analyzed in the same year and it is hard to predict the living arrangement of children in their future based on the living arrangement of their parents or grandparents. It is difficult to assume that if 80-year-old people in 1800 lived in an extended family, children born in that year would also live in an extended family in 1880.

As already mentioned, the method of this study is on one hand longitudinal, because people are followed during all ages, but on the other hand cross-sectional, because it separates several parts of their older years from 55 years of age onwards. Each part is broken down into five-year periods. The cross-sectional method is also used for a life-course analysis where a particular period in the lives of the people is studied. A subsequent analysis is made of whether there are any changes in the person’s later years.

This life course method is applied in two different directions that consider the number of people specifically treated. The first method can be called quantitative. In this study it is applied to the large cohort of people born between 1770 and 1820. The information about these people was collected directly by the DDB. This data offers the possibility to analyse large numbers of people in a way that renders statistically significant results. This part of the study made use of several statistical methods. First results with simple percentages were created, which helped to put the study in a general perspective. Later on binary logistic regressions were applied. In this way different variables such as gender, socio-economic status, number of children born, and years of birth are considered. The binary logistic regression, in general, offers the possibility to determine in statistical terms which factors (the independent variables) were more decisive for an event (the dependent variable) In such cases this was represented by the probability of coresiding with children. The disadvantage is that it is not possible to see the peculiarities of each person in detail. This is possible with a qualitative study where a strict sample is chosen. For this analysis a random selection of 135

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individuals from the DDB files was made. Unlike the quantitative analysis, this information was not collected directly by the computerized system but was gathered manually through the original parish registers available in Indiko. In this way the information about every single individual was observed directly on the pages of the parish records. Here it was possible to note in more detail the life course of the people. Using the quantitative method shows for example the number of children coresiding with the first generation at different ages of the latter, but does not indicate exactly whether the child that was coresiding was always the same or if there had been a sort of substitution. Moreover, the data file does not explain whether children who married moved in with their parents or if their parents moved in with them. Looking directly at historical material makes it possible to note these particulars, which are filtered and generalized by the computer.

In summary, this study employs a longitudinal, life-course method that looks at the changes in the relationships between the two generations. This is done with two approaches, one of which is quantitative and the other a micro study. In the first case a huge population sample is studied and provides results that are statistically significant. The micro study covers the deficiencies of the previous method. Manually collected data is able to cover these deficiencies by allowing a closer view of the life cycle of the individuals. The disadvantage of this type of study is related to the manual analysis that takes time and does not allow research on large sample of individuals.

Defining the cohorts
As for the method, the cohort can also vary according to the different aims and questions of the research. In this study one cohort was created by the DDB files, and later on this sample of people was modified according to the analysis. As already mentioned the main cohort considers people born between 1770 and 1820. Later on, to make a better analysis of the differences between the pre-industrial and the industrial period, it was divided into two cohorts. Finally a random sample was filtered in order to make a deeper investigation through Indiko, the digitalized parish records database.

Table 3.3 Number of observations according to the age and the gender of the first generation.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>55 years</th>
<th>60 years</th>
<th>65 years</th>
<th>70 years</th>
<th>75 years</th>
<th>80 years</th>
<th>85 years</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Men</td>
<td>3,901</td>
<td>3,437</td>
<td>2,858</td>
<td>2,281</td>
<td>1,540</td>
<td>765</td>
<td>264</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Women</td>
<td>4,642</td>
<td>4,257</td>
<td>3,767</td>
<td>3,134</td>
<td>2,271</td>
<td>1,275</td>
<td>499</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>8,543</td>
<td>7,694</td>
<td>6,625</td>
<td>5,415</td>
<td>3,811</td>
<td>2,040</td>
<td>763</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Computerized parish registers, DDB, Umeå University.

The general aim was to use as many people as possible. In addition to the choice of people born between 1770 and 1820, these people had to be present in the Sundsvall region around the age of 40. Later on in life, they had to be registered in church records of the parishes in the region, (with the exclusion of the town of Sundsvall, after the age of 55 years). The number of individuals that had these characteristics is 9,856. Table 3.3 shows the observations that could be made according to age. The age with the highest number of observations was 55 years; at this age 8,543 individuals are registered and it is possible to find information about their children as well.

The number of people diminishes exponentially with the passing of time, because of mortality and migration. There is a fall in the number at the age of 85, since the registers were
completed in the second half of the 1890s, and hence there is no record of people born in the final years of the cohort. It is possible to see a difference between men and women for each age bracket. Women always represent a higher number, and the older the age group, the higher the difference between the two sexes as a consequence of women’s higher life expectancy.

Table 3.4a Number of observations according to the age and the gender of the first generation in the first cohort (1770-1790).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>55 years</th>
<th>60 years</th>
<th>65 years</th>
<th>70 years</th>
<th>75 years</th>
<th>80 years</th>
<th>85 years</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Men</td>
<td>1,267</td>
<td>1,088</td>
<td>873</td>
<td>668</td>
<td>451</td>
<td>228</td>
<td>87</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>%</td>
<td>45.0</td>
<td>43.8</td>
<td>41.8</td>
<td>40.0</td>
<td>38.3</td>
<td>34.3</td>
<td>31.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Women</td>
<td>1,546</td>
<td>1,394</td>
<td>1,214</td>
<td>1,004</td>
<td>728</td>
<td>436</td>
<td>192</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>%</td>
<td>55.0</td>
<td>56.2</td>
<td>58.2</td>
<td>60.0</td>
<td>61.7</td>
<td>65.7</td>
<td>68.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>total</td>
<td>2,813</td>
<td>2,482</td>
<td>2,087</td>
<td>1,672</td>
<td>1,179</td>
<td>664</td>
<td>279</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Computerized parish registers, DDB, Umeå University.

The entire cohort is useful for presenting general results and for seeing how much the households’ structures changed with the passing of time. This study also aims to analyze different periods in the history of the region, the time before industrialization and the time when industrialization began. In order to achieve this, it is necessary to divide the sample in two cohorts. The first cohort grouped people that grew old and died before the beginning of industrialization and the other those who died during the onset of industrialization. These prerequisites were found in one cohort of those born between 1770 and 1790 and another of those born between 1800 and 1820.

Using this information with the same logic demographic counts, one can conclude that people born during 1770-90 reached the age of 80 years at the latest in 1870. In the second cohort (1800-20), the people who were born earliest were already 60 years old when the process of industrialization started and they were 80 years old in the peak period of sawmill industrialization.

These two groups of people are divided into 3,481 individuals for the first cohort and 5,515 for the second one. The difference in number is due to the fall of the mortality rate at the beginning of the nineteenth century and also due to population development. In terms of age brackets, the two cohorts have the same proportion. Both cohorts have a higher number of women, which increased with age. The two cohorts look substantially homogeneous and allow a statistical comparison between them.
In order to study their life courses during old age in detail, a random sample of 135 individuals born between 1770 and 1820 was chosen from the DDB files. These people have three characteristics in common; they could be followed in the region at least until the age of 80, they had at least one child, and they all spent their old age in the region under study. It was decided to use people that reached the age of 80 in order to be able to follow and to investigate their older years in their entirety. This study required much time, and thus a further time saving limitation was added. No one who had more than six children was studied. This sample consisted of 46 men (34.15%) and 89 women (65.9%).
4 HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

Sweden in the 19th century. General economic, social and demographic developments

After the middle of the eighteenth century, Sweden experienced agricultural, industrial and demographic growth. For a long period of time, food production has increased in Sweden starting in particular in some decades before the 1850s. Until that period, Sweden imported large quantities of cereals, but after 1830 the imports were replaced by exports to Britain.¹

Researchers have attached importance to technical innovations like elimination of fallow land, introduction of continuous rotation of crops and of new crops, improvement of farm implements, selection of seed and breeding of animals, extension and improvement of arable land, introduction of the iron plough, and extensive use of horses.² On the other hand, researchers have argued that an important reform for the development of agriculture was the enclosure movement (Storskifte, Enskifte and Laga skifte).³

Previously each peasant had his own land divided into several pieces of land. This had happened during the eighteenth century, when the inheritance system and the marital alliances changed the farm holdings in the Swedish villages. Many landowners had their properties divided into two or many strips of land that were sparse in the entire village, which created various obstacles to reaching high production.⁴ The first great redistribution of land holdings (Storskifte) was introduced in 1749.⁵ On the basis of this first enclosure movement, if one person applied for the new reform, all landowners in the village were forced to comply with consolidating their land strips.⁶

The agricultural spaces increased and new kinds of crops were cultivated. An important innovation was the introduction of potatoes. It could support the same number of people but

³ Starting from England and moving to the continent papers, experiments, and agrarian academies became increasingly frequent. In France Quesnay founded the physiocratic school where people thought that only agriculture was able to produce richness: Commerce and Industry only transformed the agricultural products. In Sweden too there were similar tendencies; agricultural associations published articles on how to sow. All these technical innovations were however introduced on a large scale only after 1850. This is because they were too experimental and expensive for that time. In 1746 an agronomist, Jacob Faggot, published the work “Svenska landbruks hider och hjelp” where he complained about the open field hampering the agricultural production, and he tried to advocate a great land reform that would improve the Swedish agricultural production. He was probably inspired by the English enclosure acts introduced in the seventeenth century. This movement was widely spread in the middle of the 18th century. The main purpose of English reform was redistribution and consolidation of the land.
⁷ The Enskifte act was signed by the region of Scania. With this act people were able to consolidate all their plots just in one property and many open fields were enclosed. On February 2 1807 Enskifte was introduced in the whole of Sweden, on the basis of local regulations that had been issued earlier in Scania in 1803. But it was only in Scania that these regulations were applied. Only with the Laga skifte in 1827 the land was consolidated in larger units and the wasteland was parcelled out. Bengtsson, T. / Dribe M. Economy and demography in Western Scania. Sweden, 1650-1900. Lund, 1997, pp. 28-31. Magnusson, L. An economic history of Sweden. London, 2000, p. 16.
with a smaller arable area. This vegetable gave people a much greater calorie production than before.\(^1\)

Another economic transformation took place in industry. Two sectors were very important for the industrialization in Sweden, the iron and the forest industries. The iron industry had a long tradition and since the eighteenth century Sweden had extracted and exported metals like copper and iron to Europe and to England in particular.\(^2\) England was experiencing the industrial revolution and the country’s economy was rapidly expanding with an increasing demand for iron. The Napoleonic wars and the competition of Russia led to stagnation of the Swedish export in the beginning of the nineteenth century. With the end of the Napoleonic era new processes arrived in Sweden and the iron industry had a rapid expansion.\(^3\)

The other industry of importance for the Swedish economy was the forestry. It had difficulty in developing in the eighteenth century. The Swedish expansion in this market arrived with the introduction of the steam sawmills in the middle of the nineteenth century, at that time new sawmills were founded in the central and northern parts of Sweden.\(^4\) The production in this field increased ten times from the 1840s to 1897.\(^5\)

Finally, another important development was the demographic one. Like many European countries Sweden too experienced a demographic growth. In 1750 Sweden was populated by 1,700,000 inhabitants. In the end of the eighteenth century the number had grown to 2,300,000. In 1850 the country had 3,500,000 people. And in 1900, 5,100,000 individual lived in Sweden. In general the fertility rates were stable and high from 1720 up to about 1860. After that date the fertility rates began to show a constant pattern until 1930.\(^6\) Regarding the age-specific fertility rates, each age group followed the general trend without large fluctuations (figure 4.1). The curve of the age-specific fertility rates follows the classical trend. Women around 20-24 years of age had a rate between 95 and 130 per thousand, the peak of fertility was reached at 30-34 years of age with between 210 and 250 per thousand, and at the age of 45-49 it was around 20 per thousand.

![Figure 4.1 Age specific fertility rates, all women in Sweden.](image)

Source: Historisk statistik för Sverige, p. 105.

Each woman had 4.6 children in the end of the eighteenth century (figure 4.2). This number continued to be constant throughout the period. In the beginning of the nineteenth century women had in general little more than four children. In the 1820s the number was close to five children and then it began to fall slowly until the 1860s. After that period there were two minimal fluctuations and the average number of children born per woman was between four and four and a half. As to the births of the total population, these were around 30 to 32 per thousand in the period from 1790 and 1870, while the number of stillbirths increased slowly from 24 to 32 per 1,000 births.

Fertility was stable throughout the period, while mortality declined constantly. In the last decade of the eighteenth century the mortality was 25 per thousand in the entire population, in 1861-70 it was 20.5 per thousand. Unlike the birth rates, the mortality rates changed according to the age-specific cohorts. Figure 4.3 shows the age specific mortality in Sweden from 1781 to 1871. In this period mortality was very high in the first years of life. In the following years, for the adolescent group, the mortality started to be at a minimum level, and from 30 years of age the risk of dying started to increase. The youngest age groups, such as the infants, were the first to experience the decline. In 1780 the mortality for the age group up to four years was more than 80 people out of 1,000 each year. This means that after five years 400 infants were dead. The infant-child mortality began to fall at that time. At the beginning of the century the rates were under 80 per thousand and around 1820 they had dropped to around 60, which means that after four years of life 240 children had died. At that time the infant-child rates remained stable or declined slowly.

The other age groups experienced the fall of mortality in a different way. Until the 1820s it fluctuated softly. For example the age group 10-14 years had a mortality of 7.72 per thousand in the 1780s, after ten years it dropped to 5.09 per thousand, and in 1801-1810 the mortality increased to 7.18. After 1820 all the age groups experienced a continuous decline and the middle-age groups and the elderly had the most evident decline. The group 10-14 declined from 5.6 in the 1810s to 4.18 in the 1870s, while the age group 40-44 had a decline from 15.62 to 9.8.

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1 Hofsten, E. /Lundström, H. 1976, p. 27.
This population increase also had social consequences. According to Christer Winberg, the lowest social groups increased four times while the landowners’ group increased by about 10%. The consequence was proletarization of society. Fewer and fewer people owned land and the choice that they had was to be employed in industries or in farms. When individuals did not own property, they rented a house and worked on a farm or in an industry for a salary. This social class called statare had a family to maintain unlike the servants that were unmarried, so they were more dependent and easier to control.

**The Sundsvall district**

The Sundsvall region is part of the Medelpad province and is situated about 400 kilometres north of Stockholm. The eastern part of the area is on the coast of the Baltic Sea. This part has a low coast, but in the west the terrain begins to be higher and the average altitude is around 200 metres on the sea level. The area is crossed from west to east by two rivers, Indal and Ljungan, which has been beneficial for the sawmill activities.

**Economic development**

The aim of this section is to present some data about the number of sawmills and the production of wood, which will justify and help to understand better the reason why this study has chosen the Sundsvall district and in particular the reason for dividing the sample of old people into two cohorts, one pre-industrial (1770-1790) and another one industrial (1800-1820). Furthermore, with the description of the parishes, it will be noticed that they experienced industrialization in different respects, with the cutting down of trees and with the sawmills.

This region was mainly rural and the agriculture had always dominated. However, before the onset of industrialization in the area there were some iron foundries and the forest activity was not completely unknown, but it was only small-scale production. Different factors helped to increase the wood industry. In the first half of the century, liberal laws for the trade

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were introduced and better roads were constructed. Moreover, England and France increased their demand for timber.¹

Earlier on there had been some water sawmills on two rivers, Indal and Ljungan, but they were located far from the coast, which meant that production was closed for many months of the year, as they did not work because of the frozen water. The first steam sawmill was introduced in 1849 in the parish of Skön and it was the first in Sweden. In 1851 and 1852 other two steam sawmills opened,² and after some years there were six steam sawmills in the Sundsvall district. Until the 1850s the new sawmills that opened were not only those with steam power, but also some with waterpower. Since 1870 the steam sawmills dominated in the area and the water sawmills disappeared.³

Table 4.1. Number of sawmills for every parish and in parenthesis the number of steam sawmills.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Indal</th>
<th>Ljustorp</th>
<th>Hässjö</th>
<th>Tynderö</th>
<th>Njurunda</th>
<th>Selånger</th>
<th>Sättna</th>
<th>Skön</th>
<th>Alnö</th>
<th>Timrå</th>
<th>Tuna</th>
<th>Attmar</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1850</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1862</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1871</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1880</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1890</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1900</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Table 4.2 Water and steam sawmills in Medelpad 1861-1860, the amount of sawn timber in yearly average.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Water sawmills</th>
<th>Steam sawmills</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1861-65</td>
<td>275,600</td>
<td>358,800</td>
<td>634,400</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1866-70</td>
<td>354,600</td>
<td>1,030,402</td>
<td>1,385,002</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1871-75</td>
<td>279,337</td>
<td>2,082,079</td>
<td>2,361,416</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1876-80</td>
<td>34,056</td>
<td>2,2565,170</td>
<td>2,599,226</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1881-85</td>
<td>99,424</td>
<td>4,134,763</td>
<td>4,234,187</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1886-90</td>
<td>112,408</td>
<td>5,081,607</td>
<td>5,194,015</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Already in the first five years of the 1860s, the production was higher in the steam sawmills, although these were lower in number than the water sawmills (table 4.2). In the 1870s it was very evident that steam power had a much higher production than waterpower.
The steam sawmills were both much more efficient and larger and had a higher number of workers. These sawmills had a large capital of investment on the base, while the water sawmills could be headed by some rich local families.

From this point of view it is possible to confirm that industrialization in the area arrived between the 1860s and 1870s. This means in the perspective of this study that people born between 1770 and 1790 did not experience or just saw the onset of industrialization during their old age. People born between 1800 and 1820 lived instead throughout their old age in an industrialized environment.

Not every parish increased the number of sawmills in the second half of the century or introduced the steam sawmills. Indal, for example, always had a water sawmill and Ljustorp, which in 1862 had a high number of water sawmills, decreased the number of sawmills, and Tynderö and Selänger never had any sawmills. In general the parishes where the wood industry expanded were on the coast, to facilitate the transport on the boats. In particular, these were Njurunda, which in 1850 had one sawmill and nine in 1890, Skön, which increased from one to ten, and Alnö, which in the beginning had no sawmills but 16 in 1900.

The industrialization did not involve only the parishes on the coast and the town of Sundsvall. The process in the wood industry involved the whole area. The wood was cut in the forests of the region and then transported on the rivers to the sawmills. The inland parishes experienced the new economic activity in a different way, as in that area the large timber companies bought or rented the forests.
Table 4.3: The number of hectares sold to the timber companies in each parish in the second half of the nineteenth century.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Parish</th>
<th>1846-1871</th>
<th>1872-1881</th>
<th>1882-1900</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Parish’s total hectares</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Indal</td>
<td>146</td>
<td>2,846</td>
<td>2,329</td>
<td>5,321</td>
<td>30,536</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ljustorp</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>55,347</td>
<td>9,538</td>
<td>24,885</td>
<td>48,125</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hässjö</td>
<td>1,605</td>
<td>1,301</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2,909</td>
<td>15,948</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tynderö</td>
<td></td>
<td>0</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>5,240</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Njurunda</td>
<td>76</td>
<td>5,472</td>
<td>619</td>
<td>6,167</td>
<td>32,693</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Selånger</td>
<td>929</td>
<td>483</td>
<td>460</td>
<td>1,872</td>
<td>14,797</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sättna</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>5,100</td>
<td>2,056</td>
<td>7,156</td>
<td>21,613</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Skön</td>
<td>133</td>
<td>197</td>
<td>398</td>
<td>728</td>
<td>4,732</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alnö</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>146</td>
<td>93</td>
<td>239</td>
<td>6,933</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Timrå</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>341</td>
<td>117</td>
<td>865</td>
<td>10,211</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tuna</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1,068</td>
<td>572</td>
<td>1,440</td>
<td>22,036</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Attmar</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>739</td>
<td>10,783</td>
<td>11,522</td>
<td>38,337</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>2,896</td>
<td>28,391</td>
<td>26,768</td>
<td>61,808</td>
<td>246,485</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


In almost all of the parishes under study the timber companies acquired forests in a large quantity and in particular during the 1870s. (Table 4.3)

The export of sawn planed board battens and deals was around 100,000 cubic metres in 1861. In 1876 200,000 cubic metres were exported, over 400,000 in 1881, 500,000 cubic metres. In 1885 700,000 cubic metres were exported, and in 1887 900,000 were sold abroad. In the 1880s there were some fluctuations, but the export was always around 900,000 and 700,000.1 This data also indicates that in the 1870s economic changes took place in the Sundsvall district. The region was not only an area where agriculture dominated, since after the arrival of industrialization, people had more job opportunities than before.

People born between 1770 and 1790 lived in a pre-industrial environment, while people born between 1800 and 1820 lived in their old age in a society that had changed and could be called industrialized. The latter lived in two different economic environments. In some parishes industrialization arrived in a direct form with the building of sawmills, while in others the industrialization was an indirect effect experienced through the timber cutting. The above-mentioned data show that the industries were located mainly on the coast. Parishes such as Alnö, Skön and Njurunda had a great impact on industrialization, while parishes such as Selånger, Tuna, Ljustorp, Sättna, Tynderö and Attmar had some sawmills, but industrialization never arrived on a large scale as in the other parishes. Lars-Göran Tedebrand had the same opinion and divided these parishes into industrial parishes, agricultural parishes and parishes that furnished the industries with timber.2

Demography in Sundsvall district

The aim of this section is to present the demographic aspects that changed during the nineteenth century. The first aspect is the growth of population, then the fertility and the mortality will be described, and finally the changes of the age groups and of the social groups.

With the increase of sawmills, people from other parts of Sweden began to migrate to the Sundsvall region looking for work. A first consequence was a population increase that accelerated from the 1870s. Figure 4.4 shows the population increase in the parishes under

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study, divided according to the industrial and non-industrial parishes. At the beginning of the century slightly more than 10,000 people were living in the district. At that time more individuals were living in the “agricultural” parishes also because they were more than the “industrial” ones. The population was constantly and slowly increasing until the 1850s when it reached 20,000. This growth is probably due to the effect of the natural increase. With the advent of the steam sawmills the industrial parishes had an acceleration in population growth compared to the non-industrial ones. The latter continued to increase the number of people constantly reaching 20,000 in 1900. In the industrial parishes the number of immigrants that came to work in the sawmills increased exponentially and in particular between the 1870s and 1880s. These parishes had less than 4,000 inhabitants at the beginning of the century and had reached more than 30,000 in 1900. The parish of Ljustorp, in which the agriculture and the forestry always dominated, had 936 inhabitants in 1810, and forty years later in 1850, it had 1,611 people, and in 1900 Ljustorp had 2,695 inhabitants. The parishes that experienced industrialization directly were the ones where the sawmills had an exponential growth. In Skön, the first parish with a steam sawmill, there were 713 inhabitants in 1810. In 1850 there were 1,100 people, and at the end of the century there were 11,744 inhabitants. There had thus been an increase of 16 times in ninety years.¹

The reason for this demographic explosion was mainly the migration. People from all of Sweden moved to the region to work, and Sundsvall was also called Little America. The town of Sundsvall also had a great expansion. In the 1840s 2,500 people lived in Sundsvall and about thirty years later the town counted 8,000 inhabitants.²

Figure 4.4 Population development in the parishes in the Sundsvall area.

![Graph showing population development](http://www.ddb.umu.se/folknet/result (Folkmängd 1810-1990)).

Fertility

The fertility in the region of Sundsvall was high and stable in the first part of the nineteenth century. However, the rates were lower than in Sweden as a whole. From 1796 to 1870, the total fertility rates in the country were always from a minimum around 4 children per woman in 1806-1810 to a maximum in 1821-25 of 4.8 children per woman. In Sundsvall, the rates were generally around 4 children per woman, but in some period they dropped under 4 down to 3.3 children per woman in 1836-40. The curves of the age-specific fertility rates for

¹ [http://www.ddb.umu.se/folknet/result (Folkmängd 1810-1990)] (18th February 2008).
² Vikström, L. 2003, p. 70.
Sweden and for the Sundsvall district look similar. In both cases the age group with the highest fertility is women between 30 and 34 years of age. The age group 25-29 years of age is slightly higher.

Figure 4.5a Age-specific fertility for birth cohorts of women born 1790/91, 1795/96, 1800/1801, 1805/1806 etc. in the industrial parishes (Skön, Timrå, Njurunda, Hässjö, Alnö) (y=per thousand, x=age).

Source: Alm-Stenflo, G. Demographic description of Skellefteå and Sundsvall regions during the 19th century. Umeå, 1994, p. 117.

Figure 4.5b Age-specific fertility for birth cohorts of women born 1790/91, 1795/96, 1800/1801, 1805/1806 etc. in the agricultural parishes (Tuna, Attmar, Selänger Sättna, Tynderö, Ljustorp and Indal).

Source: Alm-Stenflo, G. Demographic description of Skellefteå and Sundsvall regions during the 19th century. Umeå, 1994, p. 118.

Figures 4.5a and 4.5b show the age-specific fertility rates divided into cohorts in the Sundsvall district. The two tables are divided into industrial parishes and non-industrial parishes. The industrial parishes (Timrå, Njurunda, Hässjö, and Alnö) had different curves of fertility rates and this could be because the number is not significantly high. As to the non-industrial parishes, it seems that there was no great difference among the age groups. For
almost each group the highest fertility was reached at the age of 30-34 and then there started a fast decline that was between 70 and 100 per thousand at the age of 40-44 and around 10 per thousand at the age of 45-49. In the perspective of this study, it is important to remember that women had their first child around the age of 30. This means that when the parents were 60 years of age their children were around 30 years old.

Figure 4.5c Total fertility rates fertility for birth cohorts of women born 1790/91, 1795/96, 1800/1801, 1805/1806 etc. (y=number of births per 1,000 women years, x=birth cohort).

Source: Alm-Stenflo, G. Demographic description of Skellefteå and Sundsvall regions during the 19th century. Umeå, 1994, pp. 117-118.

Figure 4.5c indicates the total fertility rates for women born from 1795 to 1825, who represent a large part of the cohort considered in this study (1770-1820). Here it is evident that the number of born children was similar for the studied age groups. The variation was around 0.3 child per woman. Only the women born in 1825-26 increased the number of children born up to 4 children per woman. Moreover, it seems that the women had a higher number of children in the industrial area. From this point of view it is possible to confirm that the fertility in the Sundsvall district was stable for the whole period, and consequently people born in the pre-industrial cohort and people born in the industrial cohort had the same number of children.

Mortality
The population growth in the district was not due only to the migration but also to the fall of mortality. In Sundsvall, as in the rest of Sweden, the fall of mortality started with the infants. However, there are some differences and it seems that in the Sundsvall district the infant mortality was above the national average. In the first decade of the century in the whole country the rate was 199, while in the two areas of the Sundsvall district the rate was 232.8 (industrial) and 184 per thousand (non-industrial) for the other. In 1821-30 the rate for Sweden was 167 per thousand, while in the industrial area it was 178 and in the non-industrial area 184. It seems that the decline began later in Sundsvall than in the rest of the country, and at any rate it was higher in the district. With regard to the other age groups, the mortality was similar in the rest of the country and the decline happened in the second part of the century.

1 The available data for the district of Sundsvall have divided the region in two parts according to the advent of industrialization. The industrial part of Sundsvall region comprises Skön, Njurunda, Timrå and Hässjö, while the Non-industrial part of the region comprises Tuna, Attmar, Ljustorp, Tynderö, Sättna, Selånger and Indal.
Figures 4.6a and 4.6b show the mortality in birth cohorts, divided according to industrial and non-industrial areas. People born in 1801-10 were the age group with the higher mortality rate in the first years of life. After ten years, around 40% of them were dead. The mortality rate seems to have been higher in the industrial area. At the age of 30, 40% and 50% of the people in the non-industrial and in the industrial were alive respectively. Ten years later, in the industrial area 40% of the people were alive while in the non-industrial area 50% were alive.

In the perspective of this study, one can consider that in general people born in the 1770s and in the 1780s could have children in the 1800s. When those people were around 60 years of age, their children were around 35-40 years of age and according to the figures 4.6a and 4.6b only around 50% of them were alive.

Figure 4.6a Age-specific mortality (age 0-50 years) in the industrial part of the Sundsvall region (1801-1861) (y=Number of survivors each year, X = age).

Source: Alm-Stenflo, G. Demographic description of Skellefteå and Sundsvall regions during the 19th century. Umeå, 1994, p. 128.

Figure 4.6b Age-specific mortality (age 0-50 years) in the agricultural part of the Sundsvall region (1801-1861) (y=Number of survivors each year, X = age).

Source: Alm-Stenflo, G. Demographic description of Skellefteå and Sundsvall regions during the 19th century. Umeå, 1994, p. 128.
The infant and child mortality declined in the following years. People born in the 1820s and 1830s had a larger chance of surviving than those born in the beginning of the century. After 10 years from birth 20 or 30% of the children were dead. Around 30% and 40% were dead at the age of 30 and 60% of them were alive when they were 40 years of age. The parents of these children were probably born in the beginning of the century and when they became elderly, the number of their living children was 20% higher compared to those that had children at the beginning of the century. The last cohort considered here regards people born in the 1860s. Because of a famine that happened in 1867 and 1868 and an increase in childhood diseases like diphtheria and scarlet fever, the mortality rates rose to a level similar to that in the beginning of the century. However, this “new” increase of mortality should not influence this study. Actually in the 1860s the youngest people in this study (born in 1820) were in their forties and the number of their born children was minimal, as figures 4.5a and 4.5b of the fertility have shown above.

**Age groups**

The fall of mortality and the migration changed the age structure of the region. In 1820 the population pyramid appeared with the classical structure of modern society, with the wide base that is diminishing progressively. People between 0 and 9 years of age were around 20% of the population, while people between 40 and 49 years of age represented 11% of the population, and elderly over 80 years of age were less than 1%. Regarding gender, there was no difference until the age of 50. Later on, there were more women than men in every age group. This data show that until that period the area was still in a phase before the demographic transition. The mortality was high for all the groups and in particular among the youngest ones.

In 1850, the effect of the demographic transition was more evident. The first three age groups (from 0 to 30 years) are very similar. The age group 20-29 was larger than 10-19, and the other age groups still had the traditional demographical structure with more women than men in the oldest age groups.

The population structure changed completely in 1880, in the most intensive peak period of sawmill industrialization. The two areas started to be different. The agricultural area still had a traditional structure with the age group 0-9 years as the largest one. The other groups from 10 to 29 years were also similar and the same could be said for the age groups between 40 and 59. It seems that in that area the fall of mortality had some effects on the age groups just mentioned.

Figure 4.7a Age population in Sundsvall area in 1820. (y=age, x=percentage) Number of observations 0-9=2,861, 10-19=2,524, 20-29=2,371, 30-39=1,834, 40-49=1,511, 50-59=1,249, 60-69=909, 70-79=477, 80-=122.

Source: Computerized parish registers, DDB, Umeå University.
The structure of the industrial parishes is very special. It is evident that the influence of the migration in this area affected the youngest age groups. The groups from the age of 10 to 39 have in practice the same proportion. This is the result of people migrating to the area. A large number of people moved to the area to work in the sawmills, and probably they married and created new families. This explains why there is a large proportion of people aged under 10 years. Looking instead at the elderly age group, there are differences between the two areas. In the agricultural parishes the number of people over 50 years is larger than in the industrial parishes. This means only that the proportion of elderly was smaller because of the large number of young people that moved there. Considering only people that originated from that area, the difference between the agricultural and the industrial area should be minimal. In terms of age structure, the area was affected more by the arrival of the migrants than by the demographic changes of the indigenous population.

Figure 4.7c Age population in the agricultural parishes in Sundsvall area in 1880. (y=age, x=percentage) Number of observations 0-9=5,108, 10-19=3,828, 20-29=3,469, 30-39=2,749, 40-49=2,089, 50-59=2,101, 60-69=1,242, 70-79=637, 80+=173.

Source: Computerized parish registers, DDB, Umeå University.
The fertility rates were stable throughout the period, while the mortality rates declined slowly and constantly. People born in the last decade of the eighteenth century had the same number of children as individuals born in the first decades of the nineteenth century. In general at the birth of children both cohorts had the same opportunity to coreside with children in the future. However the mortality rates were dissimilar. People born in the beginning of the nineteenth century had smaller chances of reaching adulthood than people born in the 1830s and 1840s. Consequently, and theoretically, if a person born in 1780 that had children around 30 years of age, that is, around 1810, had 5 children, two of them probably died before the age of 30 and 3 children could coreside with him. If a person born in 1810 also had children at the age of 30, that is, around 1840 had 5 children one or two children probably died before they were 30 years of age, and thus he could have one more child when he was 60 years old compared to the person born in 1780.

The confirmation is also based on the age structure. In 1820, the population had the classic pyramid before the demographic transition. Later on, in 1850, the youngest generation could begin to benefit from the fall of mortality. With the arrival of industrialization the age structure was modified more by the migration than by the demographical changes. In the industrial area there were more people between 20 and 40 years than in the agricultural area. The increase of young migrants age had thus diminished the proportion of old people in the industrial parishes.

Social structure

The innovation in agriculture caused by the land reforms that involved the south and centre of Sweden and transformed the agriculture into capitalistic production affected the Sundsvall district just marginally. In the middle of the century the agrarian sector was dominated by small-scale production. The land-owning farmers were at that time the largest class, and the agriculture was combined with forestry activities mainly in winter. The onset of industrialization had some effects on the agriculture. The production level of the agriculture in the region was low and the opportunities to earn more through the forest industry caused the small farmers not to invest in their sector, in particular when the forest companies started to acquire forests in the 1870s. These purchases transformed the properties of the freeholders

accelerating the parcelling of the land. However, the increase of people employed in the industries may have improved the income in the local agriculture. The sawmill workers earned wages with which they also had to buy food, which may have increased the demand for agricultural products on the local market.

Figure 4.8 show the social structure of men in different years of the nineteenth century. In 1820 men aged between 15 and 29 were mainly workers. They were probably employed in agriculture as servants and were waiting to marry and create a family. After the age of 30 most of them were peasants and crofters. This trend continued also for the other older groups. The difference is only that after the age of 60 more and more people ceased working.

![Figure 4.8a](image_url) Social structure of men divided by age in Sundsvall area in 1850. (y= percentage, x= age) Number of observations 15-19=671, 20-29=1,748, 30-39=1,326, 40-49=1,013, 50-59=789.

Source: Computerized parish registers, DDB, Umeå University.

Thirty years later, in 1850 it is possible to see some changes in the social structure and in particular among people aged between 30 and 60 years. In the middle of the century there were more people employed as workers. Moreover, the number of peasants diminished by around 10% and the number of crofters increased. In some way this confirms Winberg’s thesis, according to which the number of landowners increased much more slowly than the number of the landless.

![Figure 4.8b](image_url) Social structure of men divided by age in the agricultural parishes in Sundsvall area in 1880. (y= percentage, x= age) Number of observations 15-19=706, 20-29=1,786, 30-39=1,428, 40-49=1,046, 50-59=1,004.

Source: Computerized parish registers, DDB, Umeå University.
The arrival of industrialization radically modified the social structure in both the industrialized area and in the agricultural one. The number of peasants further diminished and there was a strong increase of the number of workers. In the agricultural area, in particular, the landowners’ group decreased but they were still around 30%. As regards the crofters’ group, it continued to be stable compared to 1820. The proportion of workers increased strongly. They were present in every age group and they had an important presence in the middle-age group between 30 and 60 years of age.

The increase of the groups of workers was much more evident in the industrial area. In that area most of the males over 15 years of age were employed as workers, and it seems clear that people with agriculture as their main activity were a minority. The effect of industrialization is evident in the youngest groups. As already mentioned, most of the people that came to the area as workers were young, and thus the oldest groups were not affected by this trend. Actually, in the group older than 60 years the presence of peasants is very strong. On the other hand, it has to be said that the number of people at that age was so small that it may not be statistically significant.

**Swedish laws and practices**

*Inheritance laws*

In an agrarian society, land and properties changed ownership. This could happen through a normal sale of the land, the owner selling the property to another person or through the inheritance system. When the owner of the property died, the successor took over the land. The old owner could decide to transfer the property to the heir when he was still alive or to write a testament stating who would inherit the property after his death. But who was the heir? Or who had the right to claim the inheritance? This transfer was regulated by the inheritance law. The main inheritance law valid for the rural areas until the first half of the nineteenth century was introduced in 1734. In general the property was divided among the children, but in a unequal way, since sons had the right to inherit 2/3 of the parental property while daughters 1/3.¹ To avoid parcelling the land, it was possible for the person with the right

to inherit the largest part of the land to buy out the other successors with a sum of money. In this way the size of the farm remained the same.\(^1\) If there were no sons, the daughters could inherit all the property. This law was changed in 1846, so that sons and daughters could have the same proportion of land as inheritance. However, sons continued to have the right to take over the property and buy out the sisters. In 1890 this system was changed and the sons lost the priority to take over the parental property.\(^2\) Since 1734, in case there were more siblings that had the same right to inherit the property of the parents, a drawing of lots was usually made. In this way it was decided which child took the property and which child was bought out. Sons had the right to take and to head the property if they were at least 21 years of age. If the father died when the successor was still young, the mother was responsible for the property until the son reached the age of 21. As regards the daughters, it was a matter of marital status. Women could inherit the land if they were married. The law was changed in 1858 and unmarried daughters could inherit the property if they were older than 25 years.\(^3\)

In 1857, there was a reform of testaments. Previously, the rule said that the first generation could not decide the proportions to distribute to the children. In this way children already knew how large parts of the property they had the right to inherit, so that it was just a matter of deciding which part of the property each child could receive. After the reform, the parents had the choice to give the inheritance to the children that they preferred through a testament. The law prescribed that 25% of the property went to the son, another 25% to the daughter and the remaining 50% was decided through a testament by the first generation. The father could decide to give this 50% just to one son, to divide it into equal parts or to give more to one child than to another one.\(^4\)

**Care of the elderly**

The care of the elderly in the past could be seen from two sides, one institutional and the other individual, but both were regulated by law. The first institutional care was introduced in Sweden in the seventeenth century. It concerned particular cases, for example officers of the Swedish navy. This benefit system was extended also to the army a century after. In 1798 it was decided that civil servants such as employees of post offices, railways, the state church, public schools could receive a pension after the age of 70 years.\(^5\) In 1847-48 and in 1853-58 proposals for introducing some kind of social security system for old people were made, but the Parliament decided to reject these proposals. The reasons for the rejections were that too little was known about this institution and that the cost would probably be too heavy for the state. Actually it was in 1913 that the Swedish Parliament accepted a law setting up a pension for every citizen over 67 years of age.

The personal care of the elderly was also regulated by law. It was seen as an obligation. The reason was related to the Fourth Commandment of the bible: “honour thy father and thy mother.” Since 1608 the law considered violence against parents a crime and later on it was stressed that children were obliged to provide for the assistance of their aged parents. Until 1864 in Sweden the use of violence by children against their parents led to penalty of death according to the law. However, in practice the legislation was not so strict and few cases of violence against parents led to death penalty. Until 1956 the Swedish law prescribed that children were responsible for the care of their aged parents.

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\(^1\) Zernell-Durhán, E. 1990, p. 2.
The retirement contract was also regulated by a law written in 1734. Previously the property passed to the younger generation after the death of the owner. The retirement contract was not a transfer of ownership but a way of putting the property at the younger generation’s disposal, and from then on the younger generation could head the farm and the elderly could receive their pension privileges. After 1734, the effective transfer of the property happened through the retirement contract. In such cases the younger generation directly became the owner of the property without awaiting the death of the older generation.¹

5 THECORESIDENCES BETWEEN THE TWO GENERATIONS

This chapter analyzes the results of the coresidence between the two generations in the Sundsvall region during the process of industrialization. Here, one of the main questions of this study will be answered. Did the coresidences between parents and children change with industrialization? Before addressing this question, data will be presented to show the demographic and the family structure of the sample. This introductory data is useful for two main reasons. First it shows that the sample chosen has generally the same characteristic of the family structure as the other studies. Second, it provides background information for readers that perhaps are not very familiar with this field of study and consequently need further knowledge to understand this research. Moreover, some readers may be more interested in a general overview of the analyses than in the particular details.

The chapter is divided into three sections. The first section presents the cohort from a demographic and economic point of view, including the number of children that people had and the social status of the first generation. The second part presents the coresidences and the children’s network, first by presenting the entire cohort with no particular division, and second by presenting a demographic and economic analysis. The results of this study are compared with other studies of the structure of the households. The third part presents the changes of the coresidences with the arrival of industrialization. Here the study deals with its real topic and presents an original analysis. Two kinds of statistical methods are used. The first regards the simple percentage and the second one handles the analyses with a more advanced statistical method. These sections first present the results of this study and then compare them with other studies followed by a final summary. The summary will give the reader a comparative analysis of previous studies, to see whether this study has found similarities with or differences from the other studies. A final discussion will attempt to synthesize and to align previous theories and the present results.

Introductory results

This section aims to present general basic information about the cohort. These numbers are important in order to understand and to follow the next results that treat the relation between parents and their children in the nineteenth century. How many people had at least one child in their lives? How many of these children died or migrated before the parents became elderly? These are the questions that this section attempts to answer.

One of the principal aims of this study is the analysis of whether the fall of mortality in the nineteenth century contributed to the increase of the coresidences between the two generations. The first step to reach this point is to discover how many people had at least one child during their fertile period. Table 5.1 presents the number of children born in the first generation. 949 individuals, 10.6%, had no children. This group of people were on one hand people that were unmarried and had no children, and on the other hand there were cases of sterility among married couples. In the classical work by Hajnal, 10% of the people were unmarried; however, this does not mean that all of them had no children. In general in the Sundsvall region children born out of wedlock were between 5 and 10 per cent. It could be that these people married later. In this cohort the majority of unmarried people were probably also childless. Jean Robin has also noticed that nine people out of ten had only one child alive during their old age in a study of Lancastershire.1

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Table 5.1 Number of children born (in percentage).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number of Children</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>0 children</td>
<td>949</td>
<td>10.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 child</td>
<td>1,000</td>
<td>11.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2-3 children</td>
<td>2,548</td>
<td>28.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>More than 3 children</td>
<td>4,459</td>
<td>49.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>8,956</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Computerized parish registers, DDB, Umeå University.

The majority of people with children had more than one child and 49.8% (4,459 cases) had more than 3 children. Only a small proportion of people had one child (11.2%), while a larger proportion had 2 or 3 children (28.5%). In this case it is important to remember that a very large part of the sample had children and this study will focus on those individuals.

Of course these children could die a few years after birth and were thus never able to coreside with their elderly parents. Table 5.2 illustrates this problem. 276 individuals (3.5%) had at least one child during their lives, but when they were 55 years of age, they had no children. This number, logically, increased with time, so that at 70 years of age it was 7.0% and at 85 years of age 14.2% that had children in the fertile period but had lost them all.

Table 5.2 Number of observations of people in the first generation at different ages that had at least one child, but had no living children alive in their old age.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age</th>
<th>People that had children, but later on became childless</th>
<th>Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>55</td>
<td>3.5%</td>
<td>7,789</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60</td>
<td>4.6%</td>
<td>7,007</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>65</td>
<td>5.9%</td>
<td>6,018</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>70</td>
<td>7.0%</td>
<td>4,896</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>75</td>
<td>8.5%</td>
<td>3,446</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>80</td>
<td>11.3%</td>
<td>1,843</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>85</td>
<td>14.2%</td>
<td>694</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Computerized parish registers, DDB, Umeå University.

There are two possible reasons why people completely lost their children. One is the mortality and the other is the migration. The mortality was very high in the first years of life but then it diminished to a minimum around 25 years of age, after which it increased again. People of the first generation had children around 30 years of age, and thus they had the highest risk of dying at that age. When the parents were 55 years of age the possibility of dying before their children (they were around 15-25 years of age) was low. Actually at that age there were few people that had no children anymore. The number began to increase strongly after the age of 75, when the children started to experience higher and higher mortality. However, this increase of people without children cannot be explained only by the mortality of the second generation. The migration could be a reason why old people had no children, according to the database. The DDB has collected and linked the information of people around the Sundsvall region. Consequently, if a child moved inside the region, s/he was followed and considered alive by the DDB. If children moved outside the region and there is no trace of their return, it has been decided to regard them as definitive migrants. Maybe they died some time after their migration or they continued to stay outside the Sundsvall region but remaining in contact with their parents.

The death of infants was experienced by many people. However, not all families were left without children and there were people who did not experience the death of even a single offspring. The infant mortality affected many parents in the sense that they lost children, but they continued to have some others. Table 5.3 shows on average how many children were alive, dead, or had migrated when their parents were elderly. In general each individual had four children during the fertile period. At 55 years of age an individual had lost on average one child. At this age the reproductive period of women is concluded and there is no possibility (if one excludes adoption or second marriages) to fill this lack of children. Looking at the age of parents when the last child was born showed that in 1.3% of the cases the mother
was older than 50 years, and in 5.5% of the cases the father was older than 55 years. From the age of 55 to 85 years, old people lost another child, resulting in two children still being alive. During these 30 years the number of dead children increased slowly, from 0.9 to 1.2. This means that an individual had the largest risk of losing his/her children during the fertile period, when this person could replace a dead offspring with another one. The number of lost children increased much more in the last part of the life of a person, probably because of migration of adult children. At the age of 55 years, 0.2 children had migrated and probably these children were registered in the birth records but without any registration in the other records such as catechetical or death registers. The number of migrated children increased over time arriving at 0.7 at 85 years of age of the first generation.

Table 5.3 Number of children alive, dead and migrated (on average) at the different ages of the whole first generation. For the number see table number 3.3.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age (years)</th>
<th>Living children</th>
<th>Dead children</th>
<th>Migrated children</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>55</td>
<td>2.9</td>
<td>0.9</td>
<td>0.2</td>
<td>4.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60</td>
<td>2.7</td>
<td>1.0</td>
<td>0.2</td>
<td>3.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>65</td>
<td>2.5</td>
<td>1.1</td>
<td>0.4</td>
<td>3.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>70</td>
<td>2.4</td>
<td>1.1</td>
<td>0.4</td>
<td>3.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>75</td>
<td>2.3</td>
<td>0.5</td>
<td>0.5</td>
<td>3.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>80</td>
<td>2.1</td>
<td>1.2</td>
<td>0.6</td>
<td>3.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>85</td>
<td>2.0</td>
<td>1.2</td>
<td>0.7</td>
<td>3.9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Computerized parish registers, DDB, Umeå University.

Laslett has made a similar study in England for the end of the eighteenth century. At the age of 33 a women on average had 2.05 children alive. When she was 44 years old 3.14 children were alive. At the age of 66 the number had decreased to 2.60 and at 88 years of age this person had 1.82 children alive. In conclusion, the first generation of this cohort had a very high number of children born, which was on average 4. Only 10% of the parents never had any children and in general those who had children could see at least one of them reach adulthood.

Social status

Several studies have shown that the different social groups had different impacts on the number of children born and on the coresidence between two generations. Table 5.4 presents the number of people in the first generation employed in different economic activities at the age of 40. In this cohort it is possible to see that the main social group was the peasants with 34.7% of the cohort. The second largest group consists of the crofters with 26.1%. These two groups that were employed in agriculture made up 60% of the entire cohort. The other important groups were the workers with a proportion of 19.1% and people whose occupation cannot be defined, the unknown, with 14.3%. The smallest group was the officials that actually could not represent a large part of the sample.

Table 5.4 The different social groups at the age of 40 of the first generation.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Social Group</th>
<th>Crofters</th>
<th>Peasants</th>
<th>Workers</th>
<th>Officials</th>
<th>Unknown</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Men</td>
<td>1,152</td>
<td>1,480</td>
<td>722</td>
<td>295</td>
<td>414</td>
<td>4,063</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Women</td>
<td>1,182</td>
<td>1,627</td>
<td>987</td>
<td>227</td>
<td>870</td>
<td>4,893</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Computerized parish registers, DDB, Umeå University.

1 Laslett, P. 1988, p. 163.
It is also important to see which of these social groups were more likely to have children and if there were any differences in child mortality among them. Table 5.5 is divided according to the work of the first generation at the age of 40 and represents the number of children born in their entire life and the number of children still alive, dead and absent at the ages of 60, 70 and 80 years. The group with the most children born was the peasants with 4.5 children. Crofters and officials had the same number of children, a little more than four. Workers and those with unknown jobs were the ones with fewer children born, 3.3 and 2.9 respectively, around one child less compared to the other social groups, while the crofters’ group was in the middle. Differences could be found also from the point of view of mortality. The one with the highest mortality in the region was the peasants. At the age of 60 they had lost 1.2 children and at the age of 80 they had lost 1.4. The group that experienced the minimum mortality was the workers from 0.8 to 0.9. The reason could be the number of children born. The differences in the socials groups can be found also in the children that migrated. Peasants had from 0.2 to 0.4 children who had migrated, while the workers and the group of people with unknown jobs had the highest number of migrated children.

Table 5.5 Number of children alive, dead and migrated (on average) in the different social groups at 60, 70 and 80 years of age of the first generation.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Crofters</th>
<th>Peasants</th>
<th>Workers</th>
<th>Officials</th>
<th>Unknown</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>60 years</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alive</td>
<td>2.8</td>
<td>3.1</td>
<td>2.2</td>
<td>2.8</td>
<td>2.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dead</td>
<td>1.1</td>
<td>1.2</td>
<td>0.8</td>
<td>0.9</td>
<td>0.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Migrated</td>
<td>0.3</td>
<td>0.2</td>
<td>0.4</td>
<td>0.3</td>
<td>0.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>4.1</td>
<td>4.5</td>
<td>3.4</td>
<td>4.3</td>
<td>3.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number</td>
<td>2,115</td>
<td>2,749</td>
<td>1,472</td>
<td>438</td>
<td>920</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>70 years</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alive</td>
<td>2.5</td>
<td>2.8</td>
<td>1.9</td>
<td>2.5</td>
<td>1.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dead</td>
<td>1.1</td>
<td>1.3</td>
<td>0.8</td>
<td>1.1</td>
<td>1.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Migrated</td>
<td>0.5</td>
<td>0.3</td>
<td>0.5</td>
<td>0.6</td>
<td>0.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>4.1</td>
<td>4.4</td>
<td>3.2</td>
<td>4.2</td>
<td>3.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number</td>
<td>1,478</td>
<td>1,953</td>
<td>995</td>
<td>286</td>
<td>703</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>80 years</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alive</td>
<td>2.3</td>
<td>2.5</td>
<td>1.6</td>
<td>2.3</td>
<td>1.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dead</td>
<td>1.2</td>
<td>1.4</td>
<td>0.9</td>
<td>1.3</td>
<td>0.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Migrated</td>
<td>0.8</td>
<td>0.4</td>
<td>0.8</td>
<td>0.6</td>
<td>0.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>4.3</td>
<td>4.3</td>
<td>3.3</td>
<td>4.2</td>
<td>2.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number</td>
<td>563</td>
<td>778</td>
<td>350</td>
<td>82</td>
<td>267</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Computerized parish registers, DDB, Umeå University.

The outcome of mortality and migration of children is the number of children that stayed in the region of Sundsvall. These had the opportunity to live with their parents or create a network. Here, the differences among social groups are evident. Workers and the unknown group had a living child less when elderly than the peasants, while the crofters and the officials had a number slightly lower than that of the peasants.

Marital status

Normally, the elderly could not only lose their offspring, these actually had the highest probability of losing their spouse. Tables 5.6a and 5.6b show the marital status of the first generation in the different ages with respect to children in percentage. The marital status unmarried/unknown1 had a very low percentage, around 5%. Within this group the majority

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1 DDB has not really found really so many people in the first generation that were unmarried. If it is not possible to follow a person throughout her/his life because of migration and there is no information in the parish registers about the marital status, DDB assesses this person as “marital status unknown”. Anyway, it is reasonable to assume that s/he was in reality unmarried.
had no children. The two main groups were the married and the widowed. The married
decreased and the widowed increased more and more. For natural and logical reasons married
people declined in percentage while the widowed increased over time. At the age of 55,
marrned people made up 78.7% per cent of the cohort while the widowed constituted 15.4%.
These two marital statuses decreased and increased more and more, until at the age of 70
years a majority of the sample were married, 53.7%. As for the widowed group, 40.7%, at the
age of 85 years the majority were widowed with 68.7, while the married group were reduced
to 21.9%. The percentage of those having children was always very high as already shown in
tables 5.1 and 5.2.

Table 5.6a The marital status and the age of the first generation with access to children. In percentage (Men)
(for the number of observations, see Table 3.3).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Unmarried/unknown</th>
<th>55 years</th>
<th>60 years</th>
<th>65 years</th>
<th>70 years</th>
<th>75 years</th>
<th>80 years</th>
<th>85 years</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>With children</td>
<td>0.4</td>
<td>0.3</td>
<td>0.4</td>
<td>0.5</td>
<td>0.6</td>
<td>0.1</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>With no children</td>
<td>3.6</td>
<td>3.6</td>
<td>3.6</td>
<td>3.3</td>
<td>3.2</td>
<td>3.3</td>
<td>1.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>4.0</td>
<td>3.9</td>
<td>4.0</td>
<td>3.8</td>
<td>3.8</td>
<td>3.4</td>
<td>1.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Married</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>With children</td>
<td>84.7</td>
<td>80.6</td>
<td>73.8</td>
<td>65.9</td>
<td>54.6</td>
<td>44.4</td>
<td>34.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>With no children</td>
<td>4.3</td>
<td>4.2</td>
<td>4.1</td>
<td>3.5</td>
<td>3.5</td>
<td>2.5</td>
<td>2.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>89</td>
<td>84.8</td>
<td>77.9</td>
<td>69.4</td>
<td>58.1</td>
<td>46.9</td>
<td>37.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Widowed</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>With children</td>
<td>6.4</td>
<td>10.5</td>
<td>17.0</td>
<td>24.6</td>
<td>35.6</td>
<td>46.4</td>
<td>36.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>With no children</td>
<td>0.5</td>
<td>0.8</td>
<td>1.2</td>
<td>2.1</td>
<td>2.5</td>
<td>3.3</td>
<td>4.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>6.9</td>
<td>11.3</td>
<td>18.2</td>
<td>26.7</td>
<td>38.1</td>
<td>49.7</td>
<td>61.7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Computerized parish registers, DDB, Umeå University

Table 5.6b The marital status and the age of the first generation with access to children. In percentage (Women)
(for the number of observations, see Table 3.3).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Unmarried/unknown</th>
<th>55 years</th>
<th>60 years</th>
<th>65 years</th>
<th>70 years</th>
<th>75 years</th>
<th>80 years</th>
<th>85 years</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>With children</td>
<td>3.2</td>
<td>3.2</td>
<td>3.1</td>
<td>2.9</td>
<td>3.0</td>
<td>2.7</td>
<td>2.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>With no children</td>
<td>3.9</td>
<td>3.9</td>
<td>4.0</td>
<td>4.0</td>
<td>3.9</td>
<td>3.1</td>
<td>3.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>7.1</td>
<td>7.1</td>
<td>7.1</td>
<td>6.9</td>
<td>6.9</td>
<td>5.8</td>
<td>6.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Married</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>With children</td>
<td>66.1</td>
<td>58.1</td>
<td>49.0</td>
<td>39.3</td>
<td>30.7</td>
<td>21.2</td>
<td>13.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>With no children</td>
<td>4.1</td>
<td>3.5</td>
<td>3.2</td>
<td>2.9</td>
<td>2.5</td>
<td>1.9</td>
<td>1.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>70.2</td>
<td>61.6</td>
<td>52.2</td>
<td>42.2</td>
<td>33.2</td>
<td>23.1</td>
<td>14.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Widowed</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>With children</td>
<td>21.6</td>
<td>29.4</td>
<td>38.5</td>
<td>47.5</td>
<td>34.0</td>
<td>66.0</td>
<td>75.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>With no children</td>
<td>1.0</td>
<td>1.7</td>
<td>2.2</td>
<td>3.3</td>
<td>5.2</td>
<td>5.1</td>
<td>5.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>22.6</td>
<td>31.1</td>
<td>40.7</td>
<td>50.8</td>
<td>55.9</td>
<td>71.1</td>
<td>80.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Computerized parish registers, DDB, Umeå University.

In conclusion, the sample chosen has a good number of people that had one or more
children. The different social groups could have different impacts on the coresidences due to
the fact that the access to children was different according to the diverse social groups.
Agricultural work required more labour in the household and consequently the families
needed many more children. The latter were not only a source of consumption but after the
age of ten years they were part of the production as well. The workers’ families instead had to
support the children and when on entering adulthood they did not find a job in the parental
place, then the probability of their migrating increased.
The coresidence and the children’s network in general

Here, the coresidence with children for all the samples is presented and also the presence of children in the neighbourhood, such as the village and the parish. In this way it is possible to move a step forward in the research and discover in general whether there was good coresidence and children’s network to be used in order to develop the main aim of the research. The main questions addressed in this section are to know how many elderly coresided with their children? Did children that did not live with their parents live in the neighbourhood? And moreover, what was the marital status of the children?

The first point to analyze concerns the presence of children in the same house as their parents. For doing this it was assumed that the two generations registered on the same page were living in close contact as a coresidence.

The coresidence of children in figure 5.1 shows that at least half of the population had a child living close to them in every age group. At the beginning of old age the percentage was high, almost 80% of the people registered had at least one child. This percentage decreases with the passing of time. As for the number of children, at the age of 55, people were more likely to live with more than one child and almost 15% of them coresided with more than three children. This multiple number in the second generation decreases more and more. Among the very old, this group almost disappears, while people with just one offspring continue to be stable. This could indicate that many children, when they became adults, preferred to leave the place where their parents lived and moved away to another place.

Many previous studies have considered children a homogeneous group of individuals without considering that if a child was too young, s/he was a burden more than an asset and a source of production. Only after a certain age was an individual able to be productive and to help the household in various ways. The beginning of this age is difficult to identify, but here it was decided to consider it to be the age of fifteen. In historical documents like poll-tax registers (mantalslängder) people were divided according to that age: those under 15 were exempted from paying. These young children constituted a small percentage, and they lived in the same household as the parents, and after the first generation aged 60, they became older than 15 years. Practically, in the former results and in the ones following, every individual

Figure 5.1 The coresidence with children at different ages of the first generation. (x = age of the first generation; y = percentage) (for the number of observations, see Table 3.3).

Source: Computerized parish registers, DDB, Umeå University.

after this year had children over 15. So it is assumed that the second generation was more a source of production than of consumption.

Other studies analyzing the coresidence between two generations have reached similar results. In Europe, it seems that at least half of the elderly people were living with their children. Concerning pre-industrial and industrial England, Richard Wall noticed that people older than the age of 65 coresided with their children, which was the most common living arrangement. Data is difficult to compare, in particular because he considered just one age group. George Alter has studied people in Verviers, in 1831, in age categories similar to those in this study. In this Belgian city a similar trend was found: “the proportion of people who lived with a child declined with age.”

Regarding Sweden, and especially the town of Sundsvall, during the period of industrialization, a good proportion of people over the age of 60 shared the household with the second generation. In such cases it is difficult to compare precisely the results with this study. The first problem has to do with the cohort. This covers people born between 1770 and 1820 whereas other studies include other periods. Secondly, it is the question of the environment. The area under study was predominantly rural until the second half of the century, when some parishes began to experience industrialization. In comparison, other studies analysed people living in the city. Finally, as was already mentioned, this study has not considered the coresidence in the household but rather whether people were living in the same place. Consequently in this study there might be some over-registration of children in the same household compared with other studies. What is possible to describe is the general proportion and the trends with the passage of time, which seems to be similar to other studies.

The network

One aim of this study is to discover the possible network of children that the first generation could have outside the household. This kind of research is not developed and the subject has not been studied much because of limited access to historical sources and to computerized material. The first step is to get access to catechetical registers of an entire area to identify where the second generation moved outside their parents’ households. The second step is to create a database that is able to identify and to trace the movements of all members of a family. Fortunately, the DDB is able to recognize locations in the Sundsvall region (the village or the parish) of children outside the parental place. Those people who had children living in the same area could be taken care of, as well as those who had children living in the same household. In this way it was possible to have daily contact. People could have shared the same agricultural tools, diminishing also the cost of production.

The first level, outside the house, is the village. In a parish there were from 20 to 30 villages, each one having no more than 20 pages recorded in the catechetical registers. Figure 5.2 shows in percentage the presence of children in the household and in the village at different ages of elderly people. The first noticeable thing is the consistent percentage decline over time as in figure 5.1 (the coresidence with children), but in figure 5.2 more than 60% of the old people had at least one child in the neighbourhood in different age categories.

1 Wall, R. 1995, pp. 89-93.
4 In the DDB material there was found in the parish of Ljustorp a man named Jon Jonas Johansson (DDB Pnr 783000987) who lived throughout his old age in a household with his wife and two children, who lived in the same parish. At the age of 84 he became a widower and continued to live alone until he died when he was 89, although he had only two married children, Johan Jonsson (DDB Pnr 810001643) and Lisa Jonsdotter (DDB Pnr 815001927) in Ljustorp.
5 If an old man had one child on the same page and one in the village and two in the parish, here it has been considered that he had two children in the village and four in the parish. See picture 3.3.
Regarding the difference between children who coresided according to figure 5.1, it is possible to see that in the first years of old age there is no such big difference.¹

Figure 5.2. The presence of children in the same village at different ages of the first generation. (for the number of observations, see Table 3.3).

This is due to the fact that the children were still young and they lived in the household of their parents without yet being able to migrate. From the age of 70 and onwards people began to find their children in the same village. It is interesting to compare the number of children in the two figures. There is no difference if one looks at the “category” for one child. The variation between figures 5.1 and 5.2 is in the “2-3 children” and “more than 3 children”, which occurs especially among the “very elderly.” Most likely all the children moved to the surrounding areas when they became adults and were able to work outside the parents’ household. Another explanation can be seen in figure 5.3. It shows the access to children living in the parish. This is an area much larger than the village and could possibly offer more attractive economic opportunities.

Figure 5.3. The presence of children in the same parish at different ages of the first generation. (for the number of observations, see Table 3.3).

¹ It could be also a problem with historical sources. In some cases the minister listed the two generations on two different pages and consequently the children were recorded as living in the same village and not as coresidents. This point will be considered in detail in the Chapter 6.
Obviously, there is an increase in children in two directions. The first direction regards their presence in the parish; in more than 70% of the cases, even people over 85 had at least one child in the parish. The second is the number of children over one that most of the elderly had in the area. At this level, one can argue that almost everybody had a large network of adult children during their old age that could be useful in case of need and when changing households. This confirms the hypothesis that most of the second generation, once adults, left their parents' place, but did not move far away mainly relocating within the parish.1

As already mentioned, not enough research has been performed on the children's network. Alter has noticed that in Verviers children outside the parents' house lived on average only 1.2 kilometres from the house.2 Other historians have analysed how the kin network changed in different phases during life and concluded that a person had the largest social network when children married and lived in the same town.3 Ruggles supposed that when a couple had many children, usually only one stayed with them and consequently the others moved outside the parental household, and if they decided to continue living in the same area a children's network would automatically have been created.4

Marital status of the children

The purpose of this section is to show the marital status of the children coresiding with their parents or living in their neighbourhood. According to Peter Laslett's classification, the types of households changed with the marital status of the two generations. A “simple household” was the title used when there was a married couple and unmarried children. In case one of the children was married, Laslett defined it as a “complex family.”5 The change of household type from simple family to complex family is the first step towards the identification of the stem family. This is also a question of headship. When the first generation was living with unmarried children, it was easier to keep control of the household's production, while if both generations were living in the same place, problems pertaining to the coresidence might arise. A young married couple with small children would probably have liked to participate in the economic decisions. An elderly man who had owned a farm for a long time would have found it hard to hand over everything to a child possibly engaged in new and different ideas, which would involve arranging the farm work in a new way. In his book about the property in Neckarhausen, Sabean reports the difficulty that the two married generations had when they were in close contact. Both generations wanted jealously to stick to their rights, and in doing so they often referred to the local courts.6

Figure 5.4 shows the coresidence of unmarried compared to married children for the entire cohort according to different age categories. The first point to keep in mind is the decrease of unmarried children and the increase of married children. It is not only the first generation that became older, but that the second generation also grew older and approached marriageable age. Married couples usually had children before they reached the age of 40. As a consequence, the second generation was already married or close to marriage when the first

1 I tried to look at the presence of the children in the entire region (including the town of Sundsvall) and the results that I got were very similar to those for the parish level. This could mean that there was no widespread migration and that people lived very close to the place where they were born. Another reason is that it was very difficult to follow individuals when they moved to another parish: they could have changed their name or surname and in some cases the date of birth could have been changed by some days, and consequently the DDB is not able to recognize these as the same individuals.
5 Laslett, P. The world we have lost. London, 1964.
one was around 65. It was actually around the age of 65 to 70 that more married than
unmarried children coresided with their parents.

Figure 5.4 The coresidence with unmarried and married children according to the age of the first generation. (x= percentage y= age of the first generation) (for the number of observations, see Table 3.3).

![Figure 5.4](image)

Source: Computerized parish registers, DDB, Umeå University.

Another result that figure 5.4 shows was the changing presence of unmarried children. It dropped from 60% at the age of 55 to almost 10% at the age of 85. As to the married ones, their presence increased until 65 and then their presence in the parental house remained constant. This could mean that the creation of a complex household occurred during that period, and that there were not too many changes afterwards. It is also interesting to note the number of coresiding children. There was almost never more than one married child, whereas there were initially several unmarried ones later on decreasing to only one.

This coresidence with married children has been found in many parts of Europe. In rural Hungary married children lived for many years in the household of their parents.\(^1\) The same can be seen in France, where almost 50% of the people lived with the married second generation.\(^2\) George Alter has tried to explain this coresidence according to the marital status of the children in a longitudinal perspective:

"the decline in co-residence with unmarried children indicates the movement of these children out of the parental household. The later rise of co-residence with married children represents a movement of widowed parents into households headed by those same children who had now married."\(^3\)

In the Sundsvall region, which mainly was a rural area, there was probably no “relocation” for the first generation into their house. In such cases it might also be possible to speak of the “stem family” discussed by Lutz Berkner. The parents kept control of the farm as long as they had enough energy. But once one of the children married they would relinquish control of the property.\(^4\) As already mentioned, this situation seems to have been common among the

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1 Andorka, R. 1995, p. 137.
Scandinavian agricultural social groups in the course of history and it is referred to as the retirement contract.¹

*Parental access to children in the village and in the parish*

Figure 5.4 has shown the change in coresidence from unmarried to married children when the parents were around the age of 60. Some of them married and lived in constant contact with the first generation, while others started to be registered on other pages of the catechetical registers.² Figure 5.5 shows a trend very similar to the previous figure. When children grew older and could not stay in the parental house, they married and moved elsewhere in the parish. This marital change is repeated at the age of 65 of the first generation.

From this moment onwards there are more and more married children, while the number of unmarried children declines to around 15%. This percentage is in line with the western European marriage pattern described by Hajnal, where the age of first marriage was around 30 years and 10% of the population never actually married.

Comparing figure 5.5 with figure 5.4 (the coresidence between the two generations), some similarities and differences appear. In both figures, the proportion of married children increased until the parents reached the age of 70 and then the percentage stayed quite constant. Thereafter the same can be noticed for the unmarried children that had a consistent decline. The main difference appears among married children; in each age category their presence was much stronger in the parish. In the last period, 70% of the elderly could count on at least one married child in the parish, while only 40% co-resided with one of them. A second point to keep in mind is that most old people had at least one child close to them and another one in the same area. This could be considered an advantage and an alternative solution to the living arrangement.

Figure 5.5. The presence of unmarried and married children in the parish according to the age of the first generation (x= percentage y= age of the first generation) (for the number of observations, see Table 3.3).

¹ This point has been debated for a long time and in two different directions. The first one regards the efficiency of the contracts. Some researchers, like David Gaunt, have considered the existence of the contract only in theory. The contract was not always respected by the second generation, who entered into conflict with the first one. On the other hand, Beatrice Moring noticed that parents could also go to court to petition for respect for their rights. The second study’s view regards the effective co-residence between the two generations. Birgitta Odén has argued that the retirement contract gave to the old parent an undantagstuga (‘retirement cottage’) close to the main house where the children were living. Gaunt, D. 1983. See also Lundh, C. / Olsson M. 2000. See also Moring, B. 2003 and Odén, B. 1993, pp. 36-39.

² As already mentioned, most of the children were living in the same parish and not so many migrated to another place.
Finally, it is interesting to study the married children at the age of 55 and 60. 20% and 30% respectively of the old people had one married child coresiding with them. In the parish the numbers are higher: almost 40% at the age of 55 and more than 50% at the age of 60 had one or more married children in the parish. This might mean that it was not the first child to marry that went to coreside with the parents. It could be that some proportions of the second generation married and went to live outside the parental house.

**The coresidence and the number of children born**

One of the perspectives of this study is to find out what demographic changes occurred in nineteenth century society. The coresidence and the network of children depended on the number of children who were born and able to survive. The more children a person had, the more possible it is for a him/her to live with their offspring. A person that had five children had more chances that one of them could become adult compared to someone that had just one child. In a society with high infant mortality, having just one child could result in ending up childless during old age. The first step towards understanding this concept is to consider the relation between the number of children a person had during his or her entire life and the children that coresided with them or lived in the neighbourhood.

Figure 5.6 shows the coresidence of the two generations at the ages of 60, 70, and 80 for parents in relation to the total number of children that the first generation had in their entire life. What is interesting in this section is to see that people with many children (>3 children) actually lived longer together with them than the ones that had only one child in their lives. A higher number of born children increased the chances of coresiding with children. At the age of 60, 90% of the people with more than three children coresided with at least one of them. In this group most of them lived with more than one child. Other people (1 child and 2-3 children born) had a higher proportion of living with the second generation, 60% and 80% respectively. The difference is that fewer children coresided with them. In the other age groups (70 and 80 years of age) the differences among the groups is more in the presence than in the number of children registered on the same page.

![Figure 5.6](image-url)

Source: Computerized parish registers, DDB; Umeå University.
In summary, having a large number of children during one’s lifetime influenced the coresidence with the second generation later in life. This occurred especially when the parents were 60 years old. Later, at the age of 80, living with a child was less influenced by the number of children born even when there was more than one child. People with one child were less likely to live with children than the other groups, but this difference is small with respect to the age groups of 60 and 70. Probably, for a person it was enough to have one or two children, and once they became adults, only one stayed with the old parents in the same place. After the age of 70 years of the first generation, the coresidence between the two generations was almost always with one married child. The other children that did not find space in the parental household moved within the parish.

Figure 5.7 shows the presence in the parish of the two generations at the ages of 60, 70, and 80 for the parents considering also the total number of children that the first generation had in its entire life.

What is interesting in this figure is the difference among the groups of people with different numbers of “children born.” In every age group the presence of children is larger among the “>3 children” than “one child.” The number of children present in the parish also differs very much. Most of the individuals with many “children born” had more than one child in the same area. This means that they probably had a child on the same page and at least another one some kilometres away. This happened especially among the “80 years old.” Figure 5.6 (80 years old with “> 3 children”) shows that 60% had children coresiding with them and that it usually was only one child. In figure 5.7 the presence of children was around 90% and furthermore 70% of the older generation had more than one child in the parish.

In conclusion, having many descendants influenced especially the children’s network outside the household. People in the end had the opportunity to get alternative support or help from offspring even outside their place of residence. Those who had one or two children had no access to a large kin network outside the residential place. Their children married and lived in the same place as their parents.
The coresidence and the social status of the first generation

This section will analyze how the socio-economic status of the first generation changed the coresidence and the presence of offspring in the parish. Each group had different characteristics. This could be due to two factors, the first of which concerns the demography and the number of children that were born. These people needed labour and probably they knew from the moment of marriage that in order to have an effective production force it was necessary to employ other people on the farm. Actually, when the children were still young and could not fully take part in the farm activities, their parents employed servants. Consequently, the best solution was to have a number of children that could work in the parental household. The other factor concerns the working opportunities in the place of residence for the first generation. A peasant family could offer a job activity to the children on the farm as opposed to a worker’s family that was not a production unit. People who had an economic interest in having children also had an opportunity later on to offer them work and to keep them in the household.

Figure 5.8 First generation grouped according to the occupation and the coresidence with their children at 60, 70, and 80 years of age according to the occupation of the parents, at the age of 40. In general one can conclude that the social group with most children was the peasants, and it was between 80% at 60 years of age and 60% at 80 years of age. The workers were the group with the lowest number of coresiding offspring.

The difference between the groups is that the latter was just a consumption unit and that the “agricultural” groups (production unit) were in some cases more than 30% and increased more and more when the first generation became older. This confirms the hypothesis that, when the household was a production unit, children were more likely to stay there and to be employed. To understand this point it is useful to analyze the marital status of the children and

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in particular the presence of married children. The general idea is connected to the stem family: one child married and took over the property of the first generation living with the parents in the same place.

Figure 5.9 shows the presence of married children living in the parental place according to the occupation and the age of the first generation. In such cases one can see that at age 60 the group with most married children in the same place of residence were the peasants. The crofters had a lower presence than the peasants, while workers and the unknown ones had the lowest coresidence. In the following years, at 70 and 80 years of age, the coresidence of the elderly peasants with their married second generation children increased considerably.

![Figure 5.9 First generation, grouped according to the occupation and the coresidence with their married children at 60, 70, and 80 years of age of the parents in percentage. For the number of observations, see figure 5.8.](image)

Source: Computerized parish registers, DDB, Umeå University.

The gap is huge between the agricultural groups and the workers and the unknown group, around 30%. The possession of a property and an economic activity encouraged the coresidence with married children.

Comparing the two agricultural groups, it is possible to understand more clearly whether the transfer of the property or the work on the farm influenced the coresidence between the two generations. Figure 5.9 shows, actually, that peasants were more likely to live in the same place with their married children than the crofters. The latter, anyway, had a higher presence of married children than the workers. A similar analysis was made by Lars-Göran Tedebrand in three parishes, one of which was Tuna: “coresidence was more common among the landowning agricultural classes” compared to the industrial workers and the crofters. Winberg found similar results also in western Sweden. Tenants and freeholders were the ones with the largest households. As to the “complex family” in England in 1841 and 1891, farmers lived more often in an extended family than agricultural workers. In Italy, in the second half of the nineteenth century, the sharecrofters (mezzadri) lived more in extended households while the agricultural workers (braccianti) lived in nuclear households. These results that regard unmarried children are not so significant; when the parents were around 65 and 70 years old their children married and consequently there is a very low percentage of unmarried children registered on the same page after the age of 70 years.

1 The results that regard unmarried children are not so significant; when the parents were around 65 and 70 years old their children married and consequently there is a very low percentage of unmarried children registered on the same page after the age of 70 years.

2 Tedebrand, L.-G. 1996, pp. 164, 188.


studies have analyzed the family in an entire area. However, it is possible to conclude that there was a difference among the social groups according to the findings of the present analysis.

In conclusion, the possession of a property favoured the constitution of a stem family. The parents transferred the farm to the children through a contract. This guaranteed that the old couple could continue living on the same farm with a yearly amount of food. On the other hand, renting a piece of land and working in the agricultural field probably provided an opportunity to employ people. Consequently, a crofter couple could offer work to the second generation. When the contract for renting the land expired, it could possibly be renewed by a child.

In the previous section on the demographic perspective, the way in which the occupation could influence the offspring’s network within the parish was analyzed. The same difference was found among the socio-economic groups as in figure 5.8 concerning children coresident with parents. The occupation did not influence the residence of children outside their own place of residence. There might have been a relation between the socioeconomic status and the number of children born. Peasants, crofters and officials had more children than the workers, and the unknown group.

In the Sundsvall region the number of people who had at least one child was around 90% and on average each individual had four children. In such cases the possibility to create a coresidence or a network with children after the age of 55 was good. In general the children were adults (over 15 years old) and consequently the elderly had access to the first generation in case of need. Children had a strong presence in coresidence with the parents. It seems that no more than one child lived in the same household, and this was the case especially among the oldest age category for the first generation. Children went on to live outside the parental household settling down in the neighbourhood, some in the same village and most of them in the same parish. This means that many people of the first generation had a very good children’s network that could be an alternative place of residence in case of emergency.

As to the marital status of the children, the trend was similar to that of other studies. At the beginning of the old age, coresidence was most common with unmarried children. But later on these became adult and got married and consequently changed their type of living arrangement. The parental house, from being a place with just one married generation (simple family), became one where both generations were or had been married (complex family). Other children that did not find a place in the original family married and lived in the vicinity. These changes in marital status took place when the first generation was around 65 and 70 years old. Such changes probably transformed the headship of the household. The old parents handed over the ownership of the property to their married child through a legal contract that guaranteed food and dwelling for the rest of their lives.

Later on a demographic study was presented of whether the number of children that the first generation had in the fertile period improved the chances of coresidence later in life. This happened only when the first generation was 60 years old. Later on, at the age of 80, living with a child was not so much influenced by the number of children born. At that age only one child lived with the parents. Consequently it was not so important to have two or more children. A high number of offspring helped to create a large children’s network within the parish, and this meant the possibility to have alternative support or help from offspring also outside the place of residence.

The last part of this chapter has dealt with the economic perspective. Differences were found among the social groups in the coresidence between the two generations. On one hand the agricultural groups were the ones with the highest number of children born. On the other hand those groups and in particular the peasants were more likely to live with their children, while the workers were the ones with fewer children born and with less coresidence with the
second generation. As regards the constitution of the children’s network within the parish, there were almost no differences. If there were, they were due to the fact that some socioeconomic categories had more children and consequently the number of children in the parish could be larger.

The coresidence in the pre-industrial and the industrial period

This section discusses whether the onset of industrialization in the Sundsvall region changed the coresidence between the two generations and the children’s network. This part of the study is organized in the following way: the first part describes in general the cohorts and also the coresidence and the children’s network. Then, with the help of statistical analysis, it will analyze the aim from the demographic and economic points of view. The second part presents a demographic study, the aim of which is to find out whether people in the second cohort (with the general possibility to have fewer dead children) lived more with children compared to the first cohort. The third part is an economic study that tries to analyze which socio-economic groups changed the coresidence within the place of residence before and during industrialization.

As in the previous part, firstly it is important to know whether there were any differences in the access to children. Around 10% of the people were childless, as shown in table 5.1. The number of people that had no children is similar for both the cohorts; the difference is just around 1.6%. As for the number of children born (table 5.7), the pre-industrial cohort had a slightly lower number of children born. There were more people in the second cohort that had more than 3 children than in the pre-industrial cohort. The fertility seems not to have changed in the first half of the century.1

Table 5.7 Children born in the two cohorts pre-industrial (1770-1790) and industrial (1800-1820).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Pre-industrial</th>
<th>Industrial</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Number</td>
<td>Percent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No children</td>
<td>294</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 child</td>
<td>352</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2-3 children</td>
<td>872</td>
<td>29.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>More than 3 children</td>
<td>1,413</td>
<td>48.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>2,931</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Computerized parish registers, DDB, Umeå University.

The changes were more evident in the mortality. Table 5.8 shows the average of children “still alive,” “dead” and “migrated” for the two cohorts at different ages for the first generation. Looking only at the number of children still alive, one can notice that there was no significant difference between the two cohorts. In theory a person born in 1770 and another born in 1820 had the same number of children that could live with them. At any rate, there is a difference in the number of deaths and migrations. In the second cohort it is larger.

There are two hypotheses that can explain these results, which are opposite to the demographic transition. The death records are not digitalized until the beginning of the nineteenth century. Consequently, there is now information of children born, but in case these people died before or in the first years of the nineteenth century, there is no information of their deaths. However, it is possible to suppose that they died, because at the same time there is no information of them in the catechetical registers. In such cases they are regarded as migrated children. In the second cohort, it may be that we get a better coverage in the

1 See the section on fertility in chapter 4.
recording of the dead infants. This can explain why in the second cohort there are more dead children than in the first one.

Table 5.8 The number of children “alive”, “dead” and “migrated” (on average) at the different ages for the whole first generation in the two cohorts. (For the number of observations, see tables 3.2a and 3.2b).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>55 years</th>
<th>60 years</th>
<th>65 years</th>
<th>70 years</th>
<th>75 years</th>
<th>80 years</th>
<th>85 years</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Pre-industrial</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Living children</td>
<td>2.8</td>
<td>2.7</td>
<td>2.5</td>
<td>2.4</td>
<td>2.3</td>
<td>2.1</td>
<td>2.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dead children</td>
<td>0.7</td>
<td>0.8</td>
<td>0.8</td>
<td>0.9</td>
<td>0.9</td>
<td>0.9</td>
<td>0.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Migrated children</td>
<td>0.2</td>
<td>0.2</td>
<td>0.3</td>
<td>0.4</td>
<td>0.4</td>
<td>0.4</td>
<td>0.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Average</td>
<td>3.8</td>
<td>3.8</td>
<td>3.7</td>
<td>3.7</td>
<td>3.5</td>
<td>3.5</td>
<td>3.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Industrial</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Living children</td>
<td>2.9</td>
<td>2.7</td>
<td>2.5</td>
<td>2.4</td>
<td>2.3</td>
<td>2.2</td>
<td>1.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dead children</td>
<td>1.0</td>
<td>1.1</td>
<td>1.2</td>
<td>1.3</td>
<td>1.4</td>
<td>1.5</td>
<td>1.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Migrated children</td>
<td>0.1</td>
<td>0.2</td>
<td>0.3</td>
<td>0.4</td>
<td>0.6</td>
<td>0.8</td>
<td>1.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Average</td>
<td>4.1</td>
<td>4.0</td>
<td>4.0</td>
<td>4.1</td>
<td>4.3</td>
<td>4.4</td>
<td>4.4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Computerized parish registers, DDB, Umeå University.

The second hypothesis regards the increase of children that migrated in the second cohort when the parents were older than 70 years (this means between 1870-1890). In such cases it may be supposed that industrialization and the migration to other areas were the reasons.

In conclusion it seems that there were similar chances of coresiding with children in the two cohorts. The fall of mortality and the larger number of children seen in the second cohort were cancelled out by the migration.

**Children in the household and in the parish**

The number of children at disposal for coresidence was the same for the first and the second cohort from a general demographic perspective. Consequently the coresidence between the two generations could have been the same between the two cohorts. The first analysis regards just the presence of children in the same place of residence. Figure 5.10 shows, in percentage, how many children were coresiding with the old parents for the two cohorts. The same proportion of children lived in the place at the age of 60 for the first generation. Later on a difference starts to be evident and at the age of 80 it is clear that people born between 1800 and 1820 lived less often with children than those born in the cohort between 1770 and 1790. The difference was around 15% and it concerns only the presence of children in the parental house and not the number of coresiding children. In both cohorts most of the elderly lived with one child at the age of 80 years. People in the pre-industrial cohort were 80 years old in 1850 and 1870, while people in the industrial cohort reached that age in 1880 and 1900. In that period the region of Sundsvall was being industrialized and this could

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1 Looking in detail at the average number of children at different ages one can notice that in the industrial cohort this number is increasing with the increase of the age of the first generation. In this way one could suppose that it was people at 80 years of age that were able to increase the number of children that they had. Probably the explanation of this "unnatural" result is due to the death of old people with no children. In this way people that survived had more children and consequently the average also increased. For example if there are two people, one with no child and the other with 4 children, the average at that moment will be 2 children. If the person with no child dies, from that point onwards the average will be 4. Moreover, it could be said that the number of people in the last age groups was so small that they could have been problematic from a statistical point of view.
influence the coresidence with children. The latter had started having job opportunities and moved outside the parental household.

Figure 5.10 The coresidence with children at different ages of parents for the pre-industrial and industrial cohort. (x=age of the first generation divided by the two cohorts; y=percentage). (For the number of observations, see Tables 3.4a and 3.4b).

Source: Computerized parish registers, DDB, Umeå University.

From figure 5.11 (children in the parish) one can see that the second cohort had fewer children even in the parish and in particular at the age of 80. At any rate, the difference is lower than in figure 5.10. The industrial cohort had around 8% fewer children present in the parish than the pre-industrial one. This could indicate that, as a consequence of industrialization, children moved outside the parental home but some of them continued to live close to the parents.

Figure 5.11 The presence of children in the parish at different ages of parents for the pre-industrial and industrial cohort. (For the number of observations, see tables 3.4a and 3.4b).

Source: Computerized parish registers, DDB, Umeå University.

In relation to these two figures, when the children were adult they did not prefer, as before, to share the place of residence with their parents. And they also moved outside the parish.
This could be caused by the children of the second cohort migrating abroad or moving to the nearby parishes where there were job opportunities in the sawmills. The industrialization in the late nineteenth century led to a decrease in the number of the coresidences between the two generations and diminished the offspring’s network.

Coresidences between parents and children in a statistical analysis

This section will analyze the changes in the coresidence with the onset of industrialization in a statistical way by binary logistic regression. Different factors, statistically speaking called variables, will be considered at the same time: the gender, the cohort, the number of children born, the social status of the first generation, and the region (whether people were living in the industrialized or in the agricultural parishes). The section will be concentrated on the coresidence between the generations. The regressions consist in the analyses of the coresidence with all the children and then with only the married children. The following tables will give first a general analysis of the coresidence indicating which variables influenced more the presence of children in the same place of residence. Then some regressions will be presented that will show whether the variables had more impact in the pre-industrial or industrial cohort, whether there were differences among the variables regarding people that had the same number of children, and finally whether there were differences among people within the same social group.

Table 5.9 represents the odds ratios of coresidence respectively with all children and with married children for the first generation at the ages of 60, 70 and 80. A value of 1.50 implies that the hazard of coresiding with children is 50 percent higher that in the reference category, while a figure of 0.50 implies that the hazard is 50 percent (or half) of the hazard in the reference category. The first variable analyzed is the gender of the first generation that could help to understand whether men or women were more likely to live with children. The second concerns the cohort and it is a continuous variable that has to be interpreted as yearly changes. Another variable is about the number of children born as it was already used for the entire sample as the variable of the social position. The last variable analyses the region and aims to see whether the coresidence changed in the parishes with the sawmills compared to those that continued to be rural but were affected in an indirect way.

As to the coresidence of children, no large difference between the genders was found; men were more likely to live with children than women and this tendency did not change over time. Men were rather more likely to coreside with unmarried and married children than women, while the latter lived more often with married children than men at the ages of 60 and 70 years. This data is difficult to interpret, because until a couple was married, the husband and the wife had the same type of coresidence. In such cases, the women, being younger than their husbands, might have experienced coresidence with married children at a younger age than the men. The differences could arise when they became widowed, and this happened especially after the age of 70, as tables 5.6 (the marital status and the age of the first generation with access to children) show.

At the age of 60 years an individual living in the pre-industrial period had the same opportunity to coreside with his offspring as someone of the same age born at the beginning of the nineteenth century. With rising age, however, people in the pre-industrial cohort began to have more opportunities to coreside with children, the chances being doubled at the age of 80. At the age of 60 years there was an increase of chances to coreside with children of 3 per thousand for every year that passed. This means that a person born in 1770 had an index of 1 to coreside with children, a person born in 1780 (ten years after) would have had a greater

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1 This table and the following figures present groups of coresidence. The one called “all children” accounts for the total number of coresiding children. This means that married children and unmarried children are counted together. The second group is called “married children” and the coresidence with married children is counted.
possibility to live with children of 3% than a person born in 1770. People born in 1820 had an increase of chances of 15% (3 per thousand in 50 years) than people born in 1770.

Table 5.9 Binary logistic regression of coresidence with children at 60, 70 and 80 years of age of the first generation.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Gender</th>
<th>Any child 60 years old</th>
<th>Married child 60 years old</th>
<th>Any child 70 years old</th>
<th>Married child 70 years old</th>
<th>Any child 80 years old</th>
<th>Married child 80 years old</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Men</td>
<td>Ref</td>
<td>Ref</td>
<td>Ref</td>
<td>Ref</td>
<td>Ref</td>
<td>Ref</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Women</td>
<td>0.79 ***</td>
<td>0.82 ***</td>
<td>0.75 ***</td>
<td>1.28 ***</td>
<td>1.16 **</td>
<td>0.94</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Year of birth</td>
<td>1.003</td>
<td>0.997</td>
<td>0.979 ***</td>
<td>1.002</td>
<td>1.005</td>
<td>0.981*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Children born</td>
<td>***</td>
<td>***</td>
<td>***</td>
<td>***</td>
<td>**</td>
<td>**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 child</td>
<td>Ref</td>
<td>Ref</td>
<td>Ref</td>
<td>Ref</td>
<td>Ref</td>
<td>Ref</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2-3 children born</td>
<td>2.92 ***</td>
<td>2.23 ***</td>
<td>2.09 ***</td>
<td>1.13</td>
<td>1.63 ***</td>
<td>1.59***</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&gt;3 children born</td>
<td>6.37 ***</td>
<td>3.54 ***</td>
<td>2.34 ***</td>
<td>0.92</td>
<td>2.20 ***</td>
<td>1.55***</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social position</td>
<td>***</td>
<td>***</td>
<td>***</td>
<td>***</td>
<td>**</td>
<td>**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Crofters</td>
<td>Ref</td>
<td>Ref</td>
<td>Ref</td>
<td>Ref</td>
<td>Ref</td>
<td>Ref</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Peasants</td>
<td>1.78 ***</td>
<td>1.63 ***</td>
<td>1.32 **</td>
<td>1.84 ***</td>
<td>1.89***</td>
<td>1.57***</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Workers</td>
<td>0.57 ***</td>
<td>0.53 ***</td>
<td>0.47 ***</td>
<td>0.55 ***</td>
<td>0.58***</td>
<td>0.40***</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Officials</td>
<td>0.90</td>
<td>1.00</td>
<td>1.25</td>
<td>1.25 *</td>
<td>0.97</td>
<td>1.03</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>0.65***</td>
<td>0.71***</td>
<td>0.51 ***</td>
<td>0.63***</td>
<td>0.60***</td>
<td>0.44***</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Region</td>
<td>Agricultural</td>
<td>Ref</td>
<td>Ref</td>
<td>Ref</td>
<td>Ref</td>
<td>Ref</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Industrial</td>
<td>1.25***</td>
<td>1.25***</td>
<td>1.32**</td>
<td>1.15***</td>
<td>0.89*</td>
<td>1.08</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No. Of events</td>
<td>7,007</td>
<td>4,896</td>
<td>1,843</td>
<td>7,007</td>
<td>4,896</td>
<td>1,843</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*p<0.10, **p<0.05, ***p<0.01

Source: Computerized parish registers, DDB, Umeå University.

At 80 years of age the difference is strong for every year of birth, and there is a decrease of around 2% for both the coresidences with “all of children” and “married children.” A person born in 1770 had an index to coreside with children of 1, people born 10 years later in 1780 had 10% fewer chances (0.90) to coreside with children and people born in 1820 had half of the chances (0.50) to live with children. In such cases one can confirm that industrialization did not favour the coresidence between the two generations. The latter of the two generations did not need to work in the household. The younger generations preferred to move outside the parental place and live independently.

As to the number of children born, having more than one child increased the possibility to coreside in old age. In such cases there is also a variation according to the age. If at 60 years a man with more than three children had six times the chance to coreside with them compared to an individual that had one child; at 80 years of age the same person had 2.34 possibilities compared to the man with one child. At this age it seems that there is no difference in coresidence between people with 2-3 children and those with more than three children. In some way it seems that in the last part of life the number of children born was less important as regards coresidence with them.

At this point it is useful to see the effect of the social status on the coresidence with children. Here one must keep in mind the number of children born in each social group presented in table 5.5. People living longer with their children are the groups employed in agriculture, the crofters and in particular the peasants who probably had more chances to offer work opportunities to their children. In addition, it is important to mention that these groups are also the ones with more children born, even if the part of the research that shows the number of children born indicates that there was not a very large difference in having a
greater number of children in the coresidence with them. The ones who had the most problems with coresiding with children were the workers and the unknown group. They probably had no property and thus the presence of children did not influence the domestic economy. Thus having a child would not have been profitable, and consequently it would not be economically possible to feed more children. For the groups of the unknown and the officials there are some statistical problems with interpretation. Their p-value in these cases is high, which means that the results are not statistically significant. The problem is that these two groups were small compared to the other social groups and consequently the binary logistic regression did not find the exponent reliable for all the cases analyzed.

The final section dealt with people living in the industrial part of the region and people that lived in the parishes that experienced industrialization directly. In such cases there are no large differences between the two parts of the region. Children in the industrial part were more likely to live with elderly parents and in particular children in general, while the coresidence with married children was almost the same. This could indicate that people living near to the sawmills could easily live with the parents and work outside the parental household. This explains why there is a greater difference among the children in general (married and unmarried) than just among the married ones. However, in this case too, the p-value does not give reliable information. It could be also be the case that these parishes were so close to each other that people moved to the industries daily, and consequently it is difficult to make a precise division.

At this point it is useful to discuss more about the coresidence with married children. They were the ones who could take over the property. With married children the household changed from simple to complex. With regard to the differences among people living before industrialization and those during the onset of industrialization, the same trend is noticed. With the passing of time, people in the industrial cohort were less likely to coreside with a married child than those in the pre-industrial cohort. Högman has found the same result. In Sundsvall there is a constant fall in coresidence from 1845 to 1910. The young generations preferred to live without parents and the latter lived more and more “alone” or “with the spouse.” Högman explains this with the tradition of individualism characterizing Scandinavia. On the other hand, before the arrival of industrialization there was a good proportion of coresidence between the two generations. Both Winberg as well as Eriksson and Rogers noticed a great increase of the nuclear households in the last part of the nineteenth century. In these cases, the entire population in an area was studied. With the increase of the population and of the number of children that survived, it was natural that some children had to move outside the parental home, and consequently they would have created a new nuclear household. Industrialization changed something in the cooperation between parents and children in the agricultural world. Before, young individuals saw their future and adult life in the inheritance of the parents. Alternatively, they could move outside the home for a while and after having saved money, they could marry and rent a croft not so far from the parental house. When industrialization started in Sundsvall, young people had new alternatives, like working in the sawmills.

It is very interesting to notice the hazard of the children born. In the case of married children it is much less pronounced. Of course people with more than one child were more likely to coreside with a married child, but the difference is not as evident as the coresidence with all the children. At this point one could suppose that the number of children born did not influence the coresidence with married children and the likelihood to hand over the property to the next generation. It seems that to have one child was enough to see him/her reach

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adulthood and marry and to live with him/her later in life. As mentioned earlier, the death of a
child happened in a period of life where it was still possible to compensate the loss of a child
with the birth of another. The first generation was probably conscious of the importance of
children during old age and consequently the parents would have tried to raise a child to
adulthood. In such cases, demographically speaking, the possibility of the child’s death would
have diminished and the coresidence of the two generations was more realizable.

Significant differences are found also in the social groups. Comparing the two agricultural
groups it is possible to understand more clearly whether the transfer of the property or the
work on the farm influenced the coresidence between the two generations. The peasants were
more likely to live in the same place with married children than the crofters; the latter anyway
had more married children than the workers. The gap between peasants and workers is larger
in such cases than in the coresidence with all children.

In conclusion, the possession of a property helped the constitution of a place of residence
with the two married generations. The parents transferred the farm to the children through a
contract. This guaranteed that the old couple could continue to live in the same farm with a
yearly amount of food. On the other hand, renting a piece of land and working in the
agricultural field probably made it possible to employ people, and consequently a crofter
couple could offer work to the second generation. It is possible that when the contract for
renting the land expired, it could be renewed by a child, and in some cases in the northern part
of Sweden some crofters owned the land they cultivated. Crofters and peasants are the ones
with more chances of living with married children, and the workers had a very low ratio
compared to the agricultural groups. This confirms once more that social groups with no work
opportunities within the place of residence did not have the same opportunity to create a
complex family composed of two married generations.

Pre-industrial and industrial perspective

These first results confirm that something had changed in the coresidence of the two
generations. In particular, this happened with regard to the demography and the social status.
Right now an analysis has been made looking at the entire cohort and trying to understand
whether there were differences in the coresidence between people born before and during
industrialization. An alternative analysis is to see what the relations and differences were like
among the variables in the pre-industrial cohort and see if these relations and differences
changed in the industrial cohort. Did the gap between the social groups increase due to
industrialization? Another hypothesis that could be tested is: In the pre-industrial period
mortality was higher and maybe the number of children born influenced more the coresidence
with children.

These regressions have the advantage of showing whether the differences and the distances
among the socio-economic or the demographic groups in the pre-industrial and the industrial
cohort increased or decreased. It is like making a comparison between two races with the
same participants A, B, C. In both the races the classification at the arrival is first A, second
B, and third C. However, the differences in the delay can differ. It could be that in the first
race the competitor B arrived 15 seconds later and the competitor C 30 seconds later. In such
cases one could confirm that the three participants made a very similar performance and that
their condition was similar even if A was the winner. In the second race A was again the first
but B arrived 2 minutes later and C 5 minutes later. In such cases, even if the places were the
same as in the previous race, the delay was very different. If before it was just 30 seconds
between A and C, the difference was now 5 minutes, which means that the performance and
the condition were different, and for competitor C it was almost impossible to win the second
race. The same could be said about the socio-economic groups. Table 5.9 showed that the first
group with greater chances of living with children was the peasants; the second was the
crofters and the third the workers. However, it does not show the gap among them before and during industrialization. It could be that it was always the same or that with industrialization it became greater as in the example of the second race.

Table 5.10. Binary logistic regression of coresidence with married children at 60, 70 and 80 years of age of the first generation. Pre-industrial and industrial cohort.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Pre-industrial (1770-1790)</th>
<th>Industrial (1800-1820)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>60 years old</td>
<td>70 years old</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Gender</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Men</td>
<td>Ref</td>
<td>Ref</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Women</td>
<td>1.41***</td>
<td>1.30***</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Cohort</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Year of birth</td>
<td>0.992</td>
<td>1.010</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Children born</td>
<td>***</td>
<td>***</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 child</td>
<td>Ref</td>
<td>Ref</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2-3 children born</td>
<td>1.14</td>
<td>1.46**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&gt;3 children born</td>
<td>0.79</td>
<td>1.65***</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Social position</strong></td>
<td>***</td>
<td>***</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Crofters</td>
<td>Ref</td>
<td>Ref</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Peasants</td>
<td>1.92***</td>
<td>1.98***</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Workers</td>
<td>0.45***</td>
<td>0.66**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Officials</td>
<td>1.27</td>
<td>1.44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>0.69*</td>
<td>0.69*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Region</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agricultural</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Industrial</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No. Of events</td>
<td>2,275</td>
<td>1,529</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*p<0.10, **p<0.05, ***p<0.01
Source: Computerized parish registers, DDB, Umeå University.

Table 5.10 shows the binary logistic regression of coresidence with married children at different ages of the first generation born in 1770-1790 and 1800-1820. As to gender, with industrialization there was less difference in the coresidence with children between men and women and in particular among people who were 60 and 70 years old, while at 80 years of age, women were less likely to coreside with children than men. As regards the variable “year of birth”, people born in 1770 and 1790 had no significant differences; both had the same chance to live with children during their old age. In the industrial cohort the dissimilarities are more evident. At 80 years of age the decline in the coresidence was 3.4% annually, representing a decrease of approximately a third for persons born 1800 to those born 1820. This analysis indicates that, until the arrival of industrialization, the coresidence with children was almost stable and that people born in 1770 or in 1790 had the same chances. With the industrialization there had been an exponential acceleration of the decline of coresidence. The more industrialization advanced, the more seldom people lived with married children. Probably, for people born in the 1830s or 1840s (they were 80 years of age in 1910 and 1920), the chances of living with children were even smaller than for people born in the 1810s.

The variable number of children born shows that there were slight differences in all the age groups and in particular from the age of 70 years. In the pre-industrial cohort having more than three children increased the chances of living with them by about 50% compared to those with just one child. In the industrial cohort people with more children had more chances to coreside with them than those in the pre-industrial cohort. This means that even with the fall of mortality (consequently for a person with just one child it was easier for him/her to become
adult and to coreside with the parents), the number of children born influenced more the 
coresidence than in the pre-industrial period when infant mortality was higher.

Probably the greatest change caused by industrialization happened within the social 
groups. Crofters and in particular peasants were the groups more likely to coreside with 
children in both of the cohorts, while the workers and the unknown group were less likely. 
The difference at 80 years of age was about 0.55 between workers and crofters in the pre-
industrial period. During industrialization the gap increased. Workers had 0.71 less chances to 
live with children than the crofters. Moreover, the gap between peasants and crofters further 
increased and this means that there was a huge difference between peasants and workers 
during industrialization.

In conclusion, one can confirm that the arrival of the sawmills in the region changed the 
coresidence with children. In the pre-industrial cohort people born in 1770 or in 1790 had the 
same chances to coreside with children, while for every year people had gradually fewer 
chances to live with their children in the industrial cohort. Moreover, it seems that 
industrialization increased the distances that already existed for the creation of the 
coresidence with children among the different social groups. Before industrialization it was 
evident that the property of the land was a good prerequisite to start a coresidence with 
mated children. People that had the household only as a source of consumption, such as the 
workers, had a great disadvantage in the coresidence. This disadvantage became much more 
accentuated with industrialization. The three main social groups were much more separate 
than before. The number of children born and the fall of infant-child mortality influenced only 
partially the coresidence with children. In the second cohort having more children gave more 
chances than in the first cohort. This result is the opposite of the expected hypothesis. With 
low mortality, people with one child, on one hand, and people with more than three children, 
on the other hand, would have had almost the same probability of living with children. 
Having more children in the second cohort could probably make it easier to find among the 
children one that was more likely to live with the elderly parents. If there was just one child, 
s/he might have found a better alternative than living with the parents, while with four 
children the parents would have found one that wanted to live with them or had no better 
choice. Moreover, there might have been a problem caused by a person’s behaviour. Not 
every child would have liked to coreside with the parents. In general, it could happen that a 
child had a very bad relation to the parents due to a difference of character. If this happened in 
a family with one child, the latter would maybe have preferred to move away because the 
coresidence with the parents could have been very hard. Consequently, the first generation 
would have stayed with no offspring in their own household. If a couple had many children, 
probably one of them could have a good relation with the parents and thus he would have had 
no difficulty in starting a coresidence with the parents also after getting married.

Demographic perspective

One of the hypotheses of this thesis concerned the fall of mortality, which could have 
increased the coresidence with children. It was already shown in figure 5.6 that the number of 
children born later on partially influenced the coresidence between the two generations. Those 
with more children born were more likely to coreside with children than those that had just 
one child. However, it is not clear whether there were any differences among people in the 
different cohorts with the same number of children. In theory those who had just one child in 
the pre-industrial cohort should have had more difficulties in coresiding with him/her than 
people with one child in the industrial cohort. The risk of losing a child before 
industrialization was higher than in the later period. Having only one child in the first period 
could mean a high risk of being without children during old age.
Table 5.11 shows the people that had one child or more children than one child in the usual variables, according to the different ages of the first generation. As to gender, females were less likely to live with children at all the ages, and this difference increased especially among people of 80 years of age.

As regards the year of birth, there was no difference among people 60 or 70 years old. In such cases, having a child in a period with less child mortality did not increase the chances of creating a coresidence in comparison to those that had one child in a period with higher infant mortality. The situation is also different when the first generation reached the age of 80 years. As already seen, people in the industrial cohort had fewer chances to coreside with children than those in the pre-industrial cohort. These chances decreased by around 2% annually, so that people born in 1770 had twice as great a chance to coreside as those born in 1820. This point is surprising because it concerns an analysis of people with only one child born. The risk for them of being childless in old age was larger in the pre-industrial period than in the industrial one, but this was not the case. The difference concerns people aged 80 years while before there is not any change.

Table 5.11 Binary logistic regression of coresidence with married children at 60, 70 and 80 years of age of the first generation. People with one child born and more than one child born.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Gender</th>
<th>One child</th>
<th>More than one child</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>60 years old</td>
<td>70 years old</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Males</td>
<td>Ref</td>
<td>Ref</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Females</td>
<td>1.04</td>
<td>0.94</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cohort</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Year of birth</td>
<td>1.000</td>
<td>0.997</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social position</td>
<td>***</td>
<td>***</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Crofters</td>
<td>Ref</td>
<td>Ref</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Peasants</td>
<td>2.06***</td>
<td>1.80***</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Workers</td>
<td>0.29***</td>
<td>0.65*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Officials</td>
<td>1.17</td>
<td>0.62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>0.28***</td>
<td>0.58*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Region</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agricultural</td>
<td>Ref</td>
<td>Ref</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Industrial</td>
<td>1.03</td>
<td>1.25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No. Of events</td>
<td>852</td>
<td>588</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*p<0.10, **p<0.05, ***p<0.01
Source: Computerized parish registers, DDB, Umeå University.

As to the social groups, there is no particular difference between the coresidence with all the children and with only married children. As usual the peasants were the group that was more likely to coreside with children than the officials and the crofters, and the workers and the unknown group were the less likely to coreside with children. However, the gap among the social groups is different compared to the previous regression and in particular the gap between workers. At the age of 60 years, the crofters were twice more likely to live with children than the workers, but this gap was reduced at the age of 80.

Moreover, table 5.11 also shows the regression among people that had more than one child. In this case too, the fall of mortality in the nineteenth century did not help to create a better coresidence with children. The results are similar to the regressions with one child born. At the ages of 60 and 70 years there was no difference in living between the pre-industrial and the industrial period, and when people reached the age of 80 years, those born in the
eighteenth century were more likely to live with children than those that experienced industrialization.

The social position in this case yields other different results. The gap between peasants and crofters was smaller and the officials had the same probability of living with children as the crofters. On the other hand, the workers had a larger gap here than those with one child, in particular in the age group of 80 years. One would have expected that, among people with more children, the differences in coresiding with children would have been smaller, because at least one child out of many would have coresided with the parents, and consequently mortality would have played a minor role, but in this case too, people growing old during industrialization were less likely to coreside with children.

These regressions have shown that the fall of mortality did not influence or increase the coresidence with children and that people at 80 years of age in the industrial period were less likely to coreside with children than those in the pre-industrial cohort. Moreover, it was not possible to see clearly whether the different numbers of children born in the two cohorts also led to different proportions of coresidence. The regressions only showed whether there was coresidence between the two generations, without showing how many children coresided with the old parents. In theory people with many children in the second cohort should have lived much more frequently with them than people in the first cohort with just one child.

Figure 5.12 First generation divided into the two cohorts grouped according to the total number of children born and the coresidence with all children at 60, 70, 80 years of age of the parents in percentage. (for the number of observations at 60 years of age, pre-industrial 1 child 297, 2-3 children 763, >3 children 1,215; industrial 1 child 852, 2-3 children 2,254, >3 children 3,901; at 70 years old pre-industrial 1 child 199, 2-3 children 537, >3 children 793; industrial 1 child 281, 2-3 children 768, >3 children 1,421; at 80 years old pre-industrial 1 child 91, 2-3 children 224, >3 children 282; industrial 1 child 93, 2-3 children 256, >3 children 554.

![Figure 5.12](image)

Source: Computerized parish registers, DDB, Umeå University.

Figure 5.12 shows the coresidence between the two generations at 60, 70, and 80 years of age considering also the total number of children that the first generation had in their entire life. Here it is important to note that the number of coresiding children decreased as the parents grew older. In theory, comparing people of the two cohorts with the same number of children born, people in the industrial cohort with a lower mortality rate could more easily create a coresidence with children. However, in reality, looking at the two cohorts, the coresidences are different.

The group with one child born shows that the fall of mortality did not favour the rise of coresidence between the two generations. In theory, an individual with one child had a greater risk of losing him/her at a young age and thus of not having a chance of coresiding. This risk
was higher in the first cohort than in the second one. At age 80, people in the first cohort coresided longer with their children than those in the cohort that experienced industrialization. As to the first cohort with one child and the second cohort with >3 children at 80, one has the impression that the number of children born and the mortality rates did not influence the coresidence between the two generations. However, people in the first cohort with one child coresided with them almost with the same percentage as the ones in the second cohort with more than 3 children.

To recapitulate, this section aimed to analyse how the fall of mortality during industrialization influenced the coresidence between the two generations. In the region of Sundsvall there were no benefits. In some cases it was found that parents with one child in the first cohort were more likely to live in the same place than the old people in the second cohort with more than three children.

**Socio-economic perspective**

The last analysis concerns the social groups. The main question is to see whether something changed among them with industrialization. Did a crofter (or a peasant or a worker) in the pre-industrial cohort have the same chances of coresiding with children as a crofter in the industrial cohort? Were there differences within the same social group regarding the number of children born? Table 5.12 shows the regression considering the three main social groups, crofters, peasants, and workers. The gender differences were minimal, as it was found in the other regression that women were less likely to coreside with all the children, but they had a somewhat greater chance to coreside with married children than men. It also considers the changes over time, and it seems that people at the ages of 60 and 70 had the same chances both before and during industrialization. At 80 years of age people born in the last decade of the eighteenth century were more likely to coreside with children. This decrease is calculated at about 1 or 2 per cent for every year that passed. The number of children highly influenced the coresidence among the crofters. The more offspring people had, the greater were the chances of living with them. In particular, this is significant for the coresidence of all the children.

Table 5.12. Binary logistic regression of coresidence with married children at 60, 70 and 80 years old of the first generation. Different social groups.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Crofters</th>
<th>Peasants</th>
<th>Workers</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Gender</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Men</td>
<td>Ref</td>
<td>Ref</td>
<td>Ref</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Women</td>
<td>1.17</td>
<td>1.23*</td>
<td>1.09</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Cohort</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Year of birth</td>
<td>1.007*</td>
<td>1.012***</td>
<td>0.990***</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Children born</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 child born</td>
<td>Ref</td>
<td>Ref</td>
<td>Ref</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2-3 children born</td>
<td>0.97</td>
<td>1.79***</td>
<td>2.58***</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&gt;3 children born</td>
<td>0.75*</td>
<td>2.00***</td>
<td>2.56**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Region</strong></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agricultural</td>
<td>Ref</td>
<td>Ref</td>
<td>Ref</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Industrial</td>
<td>0.94</td>
<td>0.72**</td>
<td>0.96</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No. Of events</td>
<td>1,992</td>
<td>1,399</td>
<td>248</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*p<0.10, **p<0.05, ***p<0.01

Source: Computerized parish registers, DDB, Umeå University.
As regards the peasants, the differences between men and women were more evident, and it seems that peasant women were much less likely to live with children compared to the situation with the crofters, and in particular with regard to the coresidence with all the children. Peasants before industrialization had the same possibility to live with children as those that experienced industrialization; as already shown, the difference concerns the time when they reached the age of 80 years. The decrease is similar to that among the crofter group, which was found to be around 2% for each year. The difference between them lies in the number of children born. For the peasants it was less significant to have one or more children in order to live with them later on. This in particular happened with the coresidence with married children; at the age of 60, people with one child were more likely to live with them than people with many children.

The last group that has been considered is the workers. Female workers were the ones among the other female groups with the greatest difference from men. For example crofter women had an index of 0.9 as regards the coresidence with all the children, while the worker women’s index was between 0.6 and 0.7. At the ages of 60 and 70 years, there was no difference between people born in 1770 and 1820. The difference is larger, however, among those who reached the age of 80 years. Peasants and crofters were negatively affected by industrialization and the difference between people born in 1770 and 1820 was around 50%. However, the workers had the worst impact, registered at around 4% annually. As regards the number of children born, these did not influence the coresidence with children at a significant level. Those who had more children of course also had greater chances of coresiding with them, but the difference was slight just as in the case of the peasants.

In conclusion, the internal differences the social groups were different from one another. The one that had the strongest negative impact from industrialization was the workers, while the other two groups had a decline that was on average. The number of children born influenced the crofters the most, while the number of children born did not have a great impact on the peasants and workers.

The constitution of a stem family had almost the same convenience for the generations before and during industrialization for crofters and peasants. This could indicate that people involved in agriculture continued to have a sort of attraction in the household. A child with the possibility to inherit and to become an owner did not risk losing this opportunity to look for income in a sawmill. People with no connection to agriculture decreased instead. These individuals did not have an economic interest in staying in the place of residence of the parents. On reaching adulthood they could find work or a house in another place. This indicates that for the peasants the number of children born was not so important, because if there was at least one child that survived, s/he would probably have stayed with the parents. The workers had a different situation. As there was no space to share by the first generation and a married child, the latter moved away and consequently it was not important whether the parents had one or four children. Thus, not finding space in the parental household they moved away. In particular, the crofters’ situation was that the more children they had, the greater were the chances of living with them. Crofters were a group employed in agricultural production but without owning the land. In this situation the crofters’ families probably had an opportunity to create a stem family, as their families could be considered a production unit, but this option was not the most optimal, and some children could refuse to stay, thinking they would find something better. In these cases it was useful to have more children, because there was the possibility that some of them would have accepted the coresidence with their parents.

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1 The regressions for the groups of the officials and the unknown have not been presented. Officials represented a small part of the sample and consequently the regressions would not have had a significant level, while the unknown group did not represent a real homogeneous group.
Conclusion and relation to other studies

At the beginning of this section it was shown that the Sundsvall region had a good presence of elderly people that coresided with their children. In the first years of their old age, people also had more than one child living with them. Later on the children started to marry and moved outside the parental household, but in general one remained, married and constituted a stem family. Other children moved outside the parental place and lived in the village or in the same parish and in this way they could provide valuable support in case of need. It seems that this movement from the household to other places and the creation of a multiple family happened when the first generation was around 60 and 70 years of age. The number of children born contributed only partially to the creation of the coresidence. In the end only one child stayed in the household, so for the first generation it was enough to raise only one child, and later on this child would probably have married and coresided with them. More significant were the different social groups. Crofters and in particular peasants were the groups more likely to coreside with married children. Their households, which were production units, were able to offer the younger generation a job opportunity. The children of the groups, in particular the workers (they were also people with a smaller number of children born), that were only consumption units, had great difficulties in staying with them. In such cases the second generation moved to the neighbourhood.

The third part of the chapter was dedicated to the changes that happened with the arrival of industrialization. The main scope of the analysis was to discover whether industrialization and the demographic transition changed the coresidences between the two generations. People around 60 and 70 years of age had the same presence of children in the household before and during industrialization. The difference was much more evident among the people of 80 years of age, in the case where the difference between a person born in 1770 and one in 1820 was double. This decrease of the coresidence was much more accentuated, in particular among people born between 1800 and 1820. In this cohort the elderly had the advantage of having more children alive due to the effect of the decline of mortality. However, this advantage was deleted by industrialization. People with one child in the pre-industrial cohort (thus with a higher risk of being childless) had almost the same proportion of coresidence as those in the industrial cohort and with many children. This changes of coresidences differed by the different social groups and industrialization increased the distances that already existed among them. All of them had a decrease in the coresidence, but the peasants and crofters were those that experienced less negative impact of industrialization. They were probably able to find a valid alternative to the work in the sawmills and to own a farm, and an opportunity to head a croft continued to be an attractive solution for the younger generation. For the peasants, in particular, it was enough to have one child and probably this child would have lived with them. For the crofters it was more difficult, as some children would take the chance of finding a better alternative, so for them it was safer to have more children, so that if some of them wanted leave the parental household, at least one accepted to live with the first generation. This was not the case for the workers that during industrialization became less and less likely to coreside with children and especially with the married ones. Their households were small and there were no interesting job opportunities, so the work in the sawmills provided a good chance to move and to start a new life with maybe different opportunities.

In general, one can confirm that there was a decrease in the coresidence with children and in particular with married children. This means that there were fewer and fewer multiple and complex families in the period of industrialization. This trend has also been observed by other researchers that noticed the increase of nuclear families or of people living alone in society during the nineteenth century. In England old people were more likely to live alone or with unmarried children (nuclear family) after the industrialization than before. As regards
Sweden, Högman made a similar study of the city of Sundsvall showing that, in the second part of the nineteenth and at the beginning of the twentieth century, people over 60 years of age more often lived alone or with unmarried children and that the coresidences with married children diminished. Other studies have looked at the entire population and noticed the increase of nuclear families or solitaries. Eriksson and Rogers compared the different social groups in 1790 and 1890, with the result that in 1790 the households of peasants and of the landless had more members than those in 1890. As to the household structure, peasants and crofters had an increase of people living alone and this increase was more marked among the landless group. The number of extended families diminished and the single people increased. Christer Winberg showed that the increase of the population was not equal for every social group; in general the landowners increased by only 10% while the landless quadrupled their number. Usually the landless were the ones that experienced the complex household to a lesser extent, and as consequence of the increase, the proportion of simple and solitary families increased drastically during the eighteenth century. This might be the reason why scholars suppose that industrialization diminished the coresidence between the two generations. With the decline of mortality, people saw more children growing up; one child could live with parents but the other children moved outside home. They probably married and lived in simple families, which might be the reason why during the nineteenth century there was an increase of the simple families.

In this study, people in the industrial cohort experienced a fall in coresidence at 80 years of age, and this decrease was probably not as strong as in the rest of the population. The sample studied focused on people that lived at least a part of their lives in the region of Sundsvall before the arrival of industrialization. These people had a basic social structure composed of their parents and siblings. Many of them could inherit properties from the previous generations. All of this could help to create the base for a possible coresidence with offspring. The area of Sundsvall at the time of industrialization was “invaded” by young migrants who arrived without having parents with them (their only contacts were probably friends or relatives of the same age who could help them in the first period in Sundsvall), and consequently the number of simple families increased. This factor was probably the one that mostly influenced the growth of non-coresidence with parents, but industrialization contributed at any rate to the decline among people aged 80 years that remains a fact.

In the 1980s Steven Ruggles showed that with the decline of infant and child mortality people had more chances of constituting extended families. These results support, on one hand, Steven Ruggle’s thesis about the “rise of the extended family” in the first years of the old age. On the other hand, at 80 years of age the differences between those who had a larger number of children (>3 children) and those with one child were minimal. It was shown above that the death of children happened in a period of life where it was still possible to compensate the loss of a child with the birth of another. The first generation was probably conscious of the importance of children during old age and consequently the parents would have tried to have an adult child when they were over 40 years old. In such cases, demographically speaking, the possibility of the child’s death would have diminished and the coresidence of the two generations was more realizable. However the fall of mortality and the possibility of having more children in adult life gave the parents a greater chance to “choose” which child could live with them. Probably, not every child wanted to live with his parents for different reasons, like for example differences in behaviour, or because s/he found a better

1 Högman, A-K 2000, pp. 103-120.
5 Ruggles, S. 1987, pp. 60-83.
living arrangement. Thus it could be the case that an only child preferred to live in another place, and consequently a greater number of living children gave the first generation an opportunity to establish a coresidence with the child who was best suited to living together with the parents.

Moreover, Ruggles has recently argued that parents coresided with children in dependent circumstances and because they did not have any secure better way of living as elderly. “In the twentieth century with rising incomes, more and more of the elderly could afford to maintain themselves, and did not have to move in with their children.”1 This hypothesis could explain better the decline of the coresidence during industrialization among the peasants groups. Actually, the possibility to inherit a farm was a great chance for a person in the nineteenth century, and thus it seems peculiar that there was a slightly decline in coresidence among peasants. With the arrival of industrialization the economic circumstances changed. Migrants that arrived to work needed food supplies and these were probably provided by the local agriculture. Moreover, the forests in the area started to be used intensively with the consequence that their value increased. Peasants could be the owners of these forests and consequently their income and ownership value increased together with the increasing sale of agricultural products. In this way peasants were in a stronger position and they could be more independent than before and hence able to live separately from the children. Through this economic development the value of the entire farm probably also increased, and maybe parents claimed more services and privileges in the retirement contract. Another possibility connected to the increase of the economic value is that not only children were interested in heading the parental farm because other third individuals maybe tried to offer better living conditions to the parents.

1 Ruggles, S. 2003, p. 150.
6 LIFE COURSE ANALYSES

The previous chapter presented results with a method that could be defined as cross-sectional. The analysis considered the different ages of people in a separate way. Moreover, individuals were analyzed without seeing if their coresidences had a connection or a continuation among the different ages of people. The present chapter contains three types of analyses and questions and it is divided into three parts. The first part addresses a longitudinal analysis with a statistical method. The main point is to study the changes in coresidences that happened when the first generation was widowed. These results connected to the widowhood will be compared with those people that did not change their marital status during their old age, and who in general were those people who had always been married and who died before their spouse. The second part of the chapter has different aims and questions. It is a micro study with a life course analysis. 135 individuals are considered and it aims at understanding whether the first generation was able to create a stem family together with the second generation and whether the coresidence with married children was created in conjunction with the death of one member of the first generation. Moreover, an attempt is also made to find out what other relations parents and children could have in case they did not establish a stem family. The last part of the chapter consists of a gender study. Which child coresided with the parents and by means of examples explain how each stem family could have different destinies and solutions to the unfavourable events of life.

Part one
The changes in coresidence in a longitudinal analysis

Nils Engström was born in 1797, and got married at the age of 25 with Maria Stragman. They had four children. The last of the children to marry was Aron in 1860, at the age of 26. He moved with his wife into the household of Nils and Maria. At that time Nils was 63 years old and registered as a crofter. The year after, the first generation appeared in a new register as crofters with a retirement contract and the son Aron as a crofter. In 1867 Maria died when Nils was 71 years old, and in the following years Nils continued to be in the register as retired in the same household where the son Aron was living as a crofter. Aron died in January 1887, at the age of 54 years. His father, Nils, died in March of the same year at the age of 90 years.

Lisa Nordstrand, born in 1782 married Pehr Höglund when she was 24 years old. They had eight children between 1808 and 1823. Her husband, a charcoal burner, died when she was 61 years old. At that time the two youngest children Per (born in 1821) and Nils (born in 1823) lived in the household. The other children were living outside the household and two of them were married. In 1846 Per married. Lisa was 64 years old. The new family was headed by Per and lived in the same place with Lisa until 1868 when she died at the age of 86 years.

These two examples show that old people experienced widowhood and the coresidence with married children in different ways. The formation of the multiple or extended family could be seen as the first step towards transferring the property between the two generations. Many of

1 DDB Pnr 797001541.
2 DDB Pnr 782001149.
them have looked at the living arrangements of widows/widowers without considering how long they experienced this marital status. Others have looked at the changes in household structure from the moment of widowhood to one year after and in some way they have studied whether people remarried or whether the household structure changed. This part of the research aims at relationships between the beginning of widowhood of the first generation and the coresidence with married children. One important point is to discover whether the first generation was still married when the children married or whether the children married only after a member of the household had died.

The first results presented here are cross tabs that start to introduce the main question of the research: the age when people lost their spouses. Later on regressions are presented about this study. Here other variables that could have influenced the changes in coresidence between the two generations at the moment of and after the widowhood will be analyzed. The variable concerns the occupation, the gender, the year of birth, and the number of children born of the first generation, and also the age of the second generation at the time of the death of the parents. After an analysis of the widowhood, a similar study but with the marital status will be made to see whether at the same age there were differences between the widowed and the married elderly people.

In general two types of widowhood studies have been found, demographic studies that analyse in particular the loss of the partner at a young age, and economic ones that are of more interest to this research. Historians have analysed the changing structure of and the problems related to inheritance. The last case was interesting for widows as they could be excluded from the inheritance that the husband left. In these cases the best solution was remarriage if they were still young. In other cases widows had the same rights as men. They could inherit the house and continue to live as widows, and if there were no men, they could inherit everything. This approach considered also the influences of the living arrangements on the widowhood. Especially the elderly bereaved preferred not to remarry, and in this condition it is possible to study the living arrangements of people that were widowed during their old age. Some studies have looked at the coresidence of individuals that lost the spouse compared to people that were still married. In Northern Italy the widowed people were much more likely to live in extended family households than married people that were living in simple families. In the Nordic countries, widows were guaranteed an adequate standard of living through the retirement contract. This contract was valid not only for the owner of the farm, usually a man, but also for his wife. Anderson actually saw that 50% and 41% of widowed males and females aged 65 and over were living with married children in the city of Preston in 1851. George Alter considered only people without any spouse after the age of 55 years. His research on a Belgian city, Verviers, elucidated that widowed people lived more often with children than married people of the same age. However, he noticed a difference between the two sexes, “Widows were much more likely to live with their children, especially married children and these differences increased with age. The pattern for widowers is similar, but the percentages living with married children are lower.” In this case Alter

3 Fauve-Chamoux, A. 1996, p. 79.
5 Moring, B. 2006.
pointed to another matter to do with age. At the beginning of old age a widowed person maybe had children still too young to be married who would only later be of marital age.

The history of widowhood also concerned the headship of the household. In the particular case of Hungary, widowed parents either continued to live in their households together with their unmarried and married children or entered the households of married children after widowhood. Not only the male parent of the household headed but in some cases also the widowed mother of the head’s spouse lived in the household. In Belgium old widows also continued to head the household. They were likely to move into the household of a married child and thus lose the headship only when there was no other alternative.

“The widowers headed their own households, which included a child 58% of the time. Widows however, were only slightly more likely to continue to head a household that included a child than to move in with a married child.”

In this case historians have considered more the transfer of the property than the living arrangements of old people.

As regards Sweden, Ann-Kristin Högman looked at the town of Sundsvall and the living arrangements of widowers and widows when last recorded.

“Half of the widows and widowers in the pre-industrial cohort still had children living in the same household when they were last recorded in town. Half the elderly who lived with married children had moved into the household of the child. A higher proportion of the widowers compared with the widows coresided with married children. The time between widowhood and co-residence with married children varied considerably depending on age at widowhood and the age at which the child married.”

These above-mentioned studies looked at the living arrangements of widowhood in a static way. They considered just the type of household and of headship where the widowed people lived. Other studies have instead applied a dynamic or longitudinal method. They have looked at the household’s structure at the moment that the spouse died and the changes that happened in the following years. Especially among old people, the death of the other spouse could occur. Smith noticed that in a traditional English society, 25% of times both of the spouses died after 25 years of marriage. Kertzer found that in many cases dissolution of the family in the year after the death of the head of household took place. In other cases, if the family was nuclear, the new head of the household was the widow, while in the multiple family it was the son that took over the headship. Other scholars have argued that the economic equilibrium of the household was very weak and that the death of a member of the household could be very tragic. The family needed a substitute in a short time. This happened especially within the nuclear families where after a short period the widow would have remarried or, in case she was too old, a child married and took control of the household. It seems that in the large families, such as the extended ones, the death of a member was not so traumatic. Fauve-Chamoux seems to be of the same opinion. Analyzing a village in the Pyrenees in the nineteenth century she concluded:

1 Andorka, R. 1995, p. 145.
3 Högman, A.-K. 2000, p. 130.
“In a stem family, nothing unexpected should happen when the dad dies. The choice of the privileged heir was usually settled at his marriage, when a contract was concluded with the chosen partner who “entered” the house. […] We notice that the father was more prone to consider retirement in his son’s favor than in his son-in-law’s. […] Another observation is the frequent transmission of headship to the widow and not directly to the designated heir, after the father’s death. 56% of the transmissions after the father’s death go to the widow. I suspected that an explanation of this tender transmission was the fact that these widows were often inheritors of the landed property, heiresses of the native house.”

Richard Wall looked at the survivor when the husband had died and the widow for a short period took over the household in the area of Colyton. However, he noticed that:

“just under a third of households terminated with his death (or shortly after) as there was no visible trace of this household in the next census. Very few households were classified as abandoned due to remarriage by the widow or through the remaining member of the household joining the households of relatives or becoming servants, boarders or lodgers.”

In the same study he made some interesting remarks about the sudden death of the head of the household. In these cases the fathers were still supporting the young children and consequently the impact might be significant. Only some years later, when the children had grown up and married, would the household again have reached an economic equilibrium.

Beatrice Moring in Finland saw that in some way the death of the head of the household was not tragic if the eldest child had married earlier.

“In this situation the young and the old family resided together, sometimes for a decade or two while a new generation grew up. When the old father died, the adult, sometimes a middle-aged son resumed headship and the responsibility for the well-being of his mother. Neither the mother nor the son changed residence at this point but the internal hierarchy of the household changed.”

These studies opened up for a dynamic analysis. Were there any changes in the household when the head of the household, usually a male, or his wife died? The structure of the household changed over time and a classical evolution could be seen in the following way: nuclear, multiple and extended family. A young couple married and had children constituting a nuclear family. Later on when one child married, there was a change to a multiple family with two married couples in the household, and finally when one of the first generation died, then the remaining family would have lived in an extended family. In this example one can see that there was no change in the family during the years after the widowhood of the first generation because it had happened earlier.

From these studies it is possible to identify the different phases of life in the household: one with unmarried children and another with married children. This phase, of course, depended on the age of both of the generations, which could increase or decrease the period of coresidence with unmarried or with married children, (if both generations had a low age at

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1 Fauve-Chamoux, A. 2002, pp. 131-134.
marriage and at the birth of the first child, the first generation would have a longer period of coresidence with married children.

The change of coresidence from unmarried children to married children means, from a family perspective, a transition from a nuclear family to a complex family. The aim is to discover whether the first generation was still married when the children married or when one of the first generation died. Later on it would have been the marriage of the children. In summary there are two cases. One is composed of a nuclear family at the beginning (married parents and unmarried children), then there is a multiple family (married parents and married children), and finally an extended family (widowed parent and married children). The second hypothesis concerns firstly a nuclear family (married parents and unmarried children), later on a nuclear family (widowed parent and unmarried children) and finally an extended family (widowed parent and married children). These two models of life course can help to understand how the transfer of property could have happened across the two generations. In the first case it seems that the family was already preparing to hand over the property to the child first with a de facto procedure first and later on with a de jure procedure, while the second evolution seems to reflect an unexpected death of the parent that could be lost directly with a de jure situation when later on a child married. In this hypothesis the social-economic factor is very relevant. In the case of a family with a land property, the transfer would probably have been planned in some way. In these households there might have been a place for a new married couple, while in a landless family there was no possible space for two married generations, and thus the young generation would have married after the death of a parent.

The main aim in this part of the study is to see the changes in marital status of the second generation in the household before the death of the partner and in the following years. What happened to the surviving partner in the years after the death of the spouse as regards the coresidence with his/her children? Did the children marry and coreside with the parents before or after the death of the spouse? People in this situation had four alternatives to choose among, as illustrated in the following schema:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Coreidence with married children</th>
<th>Death of the partner</th>
<th>Coreidence with married children</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Before the death of the spouse</td>
<td>Death of the spouse</td>
<td>After the death of the spouse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1) With no married child</td>
<td>With no married child</td>
<td>With married child</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2) With married child</td>
<td>With married child</td>
<td>With no married child</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The four different alternatives that people had concerning the coresidence with married children before and after the widowhood.

The first two alternatives are connected to the fact that the first generation lived with no married children. When one of the parents, died the survivor could continue to live with no married children or start a coresidence with a married child. In the opposite case there is the fact that parents were already living with married children, and after the death of the spouse the survivor would have continued to live with the married child or the two generations would have lived in two separate places.
These alternatives that people had regarding the coresidence with married children have to be considered on the basis of the consideration mentioned above that concerns the age of widowhood, the social status, and the gender.

Table 6.1 Cross tab with the marital status of the first generation at 55 years of age and the marital status (with the cases of migration or death) in the following years (60, 65, 70, 75, 80 and 85). Division between men and women with results in percentage.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Marital status at 55 years old</th>
<th>Men</th>
<th>Women</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Married</td>
<td>Widowed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60 years old</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dead</td>
<td>11.5</td>
<td>13.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Migrated</td>
<td>1.6</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Married</td>
<td>81.1</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Widowed</td>
<td>5.7</td>
<td>68.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0.7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| 65 years old                  |         |         |           |       |         |         |           |       |
| Dead                          | 26      | 27.5    | 30.1      | 26.2  | 18.7    | 20.5    | 18.7       | 19.1  |
| Migrated                      | 2.4     | 4.8     | 8.8       | 2.8   | 2.2     | 2.6     | 6.2        | 2.6   |
| Married                       | 61.1    | 12.2    | 0.6       | 55.3  | 57.6    | 1.1     | 0.3        | 40.7  |
| Widowed                       | 10.4    | 54.2    | 0         | 13    | 21.4    | 75.6    | 0          | 32.1  |
| Other                         | 0       | 1.1     | 60.3      | 2.5   | 0       | 0       | 74.7       | 5.4   |

| 70 years old                  |         |         |           |       |         |         |           |       |
| Dead                          | 40.5    | 42.3    | 47        | 38.4  | 32.2    | 34.1    | 34.8       | 32.8  |
| Migrated                      | 2.5     | 5.5     | 5.6       | 2.8   | 2.5     | 2.8     | 5          | 2.7   |
| Married                       | 62.8    | 11.5    | 3.7       | 39.1  | 38.2    | 0.9     | 0.6        | 27.1  |
| Widowed                       | 14      | 39.4    | 0         | 15.2  | 26.9    | 0.1     | 0          | 32.8  |
| Other                         | 0.1     | 1.1     | 43.3      | 1.8   | 0       | 0       | 59.5       | 4.3   |

| 75 years old                  |         |         |           |       |         |         |           |       |
| Dead                          | 57.9    | 61.3    | 64.7      | 58.5  | 48.3    | 51.5    | 52.9       | 49.5  |
| Migrated                      | 3.5     | 7       | 8.1       | 4     | 3.9     | 3.8     | 6.5        | 4.1   |
| Married                       | 23.9    | 7.4     | 0         | 21.8  | 21.6    | 0.4     | 0.3        | 15.3  |
| Widowed                       | 14.4    | 23      | 0         | 14.4  | 25.8    | 43.4    | 0          | 27.9  |
| Other                         | 0.1     | 1.1     | 26.4      | 1.2   | 0       | 0.3     | 40.2       | 2.9   |

| 80 years old                  |         |         |           |       |         |         |           |       |
| Dead                          | 34.8    | 74.3    | 79.2      | 74.8  | 65.9    | 87.4    | 68.4       | 66.4  |
| Migrated                      | 5.9     | 10      | 6.8       | 6.2   | 7.3     | 6.9     | 10.1       | 7.4   |
| Married                       | 9.6     | 3.7     | 2.5       | 8.9   | 8.3     | 0.2     | 0.3        | 0.1   |
| Widowed                       | 9.6     | 11.5    | 0         | 9.3   | 18.2    | 25.2    | 0          | 18.5  |
| Other                         | 0       | 0.4     | 11.3      | 0.5   | 0       | 0.2     | 21.1       | 1.4   |

| 85 years old                  |         |         |           |       |         |         |           |       |
| Dead                          | 85      | 83.6    | 87.4      | 85    | 79.1    | 80.4    | 77.1       | 79.3  |
| Migrated                      | 8.1     | 12.2    | 10        | 8.4   | 10.4    | 9       | 13.1       | 10.3  |
| Married                       | 2.5     | 1.1     | 1.2       | 2.3   | 2       | 0       | 0          | 1.4   |
| Widowed                       | 6.2     | 2.9     | 0         | 3.9   | 8.3     | 10.4    | 0          | 8.1   |
| Other                         | 0       | 1.2     | 0.1       | 1.1   | 0       | 0.1     | 8.9        | 0.6   |
| Total                         | 3,473   | 269     | 158       | 3901  | 3,260   | 1,047   | 336        | 4,643 |

Source: Computerized parish registers. DDB. Umeå University.

1 In this table the marital status “Unmarried” must be interpreted as people that in the parish records were recorded as “unmarried” as well as those that had no definition of their marital status.
In table 6.1 the marital status of people at the age of 55 is shown and their following marital statuses, deaths or migration after every five years. In general, there was a difference in marital status between men and women. The latter experienced widowhood more frequently because they were younger than their spouses. Another interesting point concerns the second marriage. Around 13% of the men and 2% of the women remarried. In such cases, remarriage was less common than in the younger age group. The difference in remarriage between men and women could be in a factor related to work:

“The complementary of work roles meant that both sexes had their own parts to play in the production unit of the farming household. A widow or widower could not usually continue without the aid of a partner of the opposite sex for long. A widower’s situations was perhaps more difficult than that of a widow, as the male sex role pattern was more rigid than the female.”

For this study it is very important to look at how many people passed from the marital status “married” to “widowed” in the following years. In total 2,522 individuals were found that were married at 55 years of age or at the first registration after that age, and that later on became widowed. In particular, this study wants to see the possible changes in the coresidence between parents (first generation) and children (second generation) when the first became widowed. Thus it was necessary make a further filtration excluding people in the first generation that had no children. The remaining individuals numbered 2,375. In practice 147 people became widowed after the age of 55 and had no children. These childless individuals were part of the group of people that were not married (here in the groups of “unmarried”) and also people that were married but due to sterility had no children.

After having chosen the sample of people of the first generation, it was sorted according to the coresidence with married children some years before the widowhood and the years after until the first generation died or migrated. In this case the file at disposal also allowed identifying the coresidence of children every five years. In this way it was possible to find out whether a person was living with a married child at the age of 55, 60, 65, 70, 75, 80 and 85 years. If an individual of the first generation was recorded as married at 55 years of age and widowed at 60 years of age, this means that s/he became widowed between these years. At this point it was possible to look for the presence of married children. If at 55 years of age the person was living with no married child and at 60 years of age the same person was living with a married child, this means that this change had occurred within five years from the moment of widowhood. Furthermore, looking at the coresidence at 65 years of age makes it possible to know the presence of married children in the period between five and nine years after the widowhood.

The coresidence before and after the widowhood

Table 6.1 just presented a division of gender and age of widowhood without analyzing the coresidence with the second generation. Table 6.2 instead presents the four cases of coresidence with married children that a person had within five years from the start of the widowhood. The table is divided according to the gender and in particular according to the

“age group” in which people became widowed. The first interesting point is the alternatives that consider whether widowed people after the age of 55 continued to live with no married children, or whether they began to coreside with them, or whether they already had been living with married children. For the most part, people continued to live with no married children for the first five years before the death of their spouse. As to the gender, in general it seems that there is no significant difference between men and women. In a few cases women had a higher percentage than men. It is much more interesting to look at the different age groups.

When people became widowed between 55 and 60 years of age, 57% of them continued to live with no married children. This proportion is smaller among people that became widowed at an older age. The reason may be connected to the age of the second generation. It is possible that when a person was 55 or 60 years old, the children were still too young to be married. The unmarried children then simply continued to live in the household of the parent.

The other two alternatives (to start to live with a married child or to continue to live with a married child) can be examined together. One can see that people who chose to start an extended family were much more numerous among those individuals that lost the partner at a “younger” age, while those that became widowed at an “older” age were more likely to coreside with an already married child.

Table 6.2 Cross tab with the changes of coresidence with married children before and after the widowhood of the first generation (in different age groups) within the first five years of this event. Men, women and total in percentage.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Zero married children before the widowhood</th>
<th>Zero married children after the widowhood</th>
<th>One married child before the widowhood</th>
<th>One married child after the widowhood</th>
<th>N</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>55 years married and 60 widowed</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Men</td>
<td>56.9</td>
<td>19.1</td>
<td>6.3</td>
<td>17.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Women</td>
<td>57.7</td>
<td>19.1</td>
<td>5.2</td>
<td>17.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>57.4</td>
<td>19.1</td>
<td>5.6</td>
<td>17.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60 years married and 65 widowed</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Men</td>
<td>46.9</td>
<td>17.2</td>
<td>6.9</td>
<td>28.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Women</td>
<td>42.5</td>
<td>18.2</td>
<td>6.8</td>
<td>32.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>44.1</td>
<td>17.8</td>
<td>6.8</td>
<td>31.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>65 years married and 70 widowed</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Men</td>
<td>33.8</td>
<td>16.1</td>
<td>11.2</td>
<td>38.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Women</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>14.8</td>
<td>9.1</td>
<td>32.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>39.4</td>
<td>15.3</td>
<td>10.1</td>
<td>35.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>70 years married and 75 widowed</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Men</td>
<td>42.2</td>
<td>9.6</td>
<td>9.0</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Women</td>
<td>43.2</td>
<td>8.4</td>
<td>5.9</td>
<td>42.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>42.7</td>
<td>8.9</td>
<td>7.3</td>
<td>40.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>75 years married and 80 widowed</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Men</td>
<td>44.7</td>
<td>4.1</td>
<td>7.2</td>
<td>43.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Women</td>
<td>46.2</td>
<td>3.0</td>
<td>10.6</td>
<td>40.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>45.6</td>
<td>3.5</td>
<td>9.2</td>
<td>41.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>80 years married and 85 widowed</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Men</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>2.8</td>
<td>14.2</td>
<td>42.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Women</td>
<td>64.1</td>
<td>2.5</td>
<td>2.5</td>
<td>30.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>52.7</td>
<td>2.7</td>
<td>8.1</td>
<td>36.4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Computerized parish registers, DDB, Umeå University.

This means that the coresidence with married children depended on the age of the widowhood and probably also on the age of the second generation. If people became widowed at a young age, they would likely still have been able to run the household, and hence there was no place or need yet to take in another married child. If a spouse died after some years, a member of the first generation would have married and coresided with the
survivor of the first generation. A couple that were still married at old age would have thought that maybe it was time to retire and probably also the children were pressing to marry and to take over the headship of the household. At this point a multiple family (two married generations) was created, and when a parent died many changes did not happen.

Actually 17% of the people that became widowed between 55 and 60 years of age were already living with a married child. As to the older ages, there was a higher percentage of people that were already living with married children at the moment of widowhood. The opposite is true in regard to people that began to live with married children once the spouse died. Of the people widowed at a younger age, 19% started a multiple family after the death of the partner, but for the people that were widowed at an older age, the number is small, in particular among people that lost the partner after the age of 70 years.¹ The last observation concerns the possibility that the first generation coresided with a married child and then, after the loss of the partner, the survivor lived with no children. This solution was applied in very few cases in the different age groups. In some way this confirms that it was unpopular for the old people to come back to a nuclear family after the creation of a complex family. There might be many reasons for this choice. Firstly, the second generation might have died leading to segregation of the multiple family. Secondly, there are choices that had been planned. The generations might have started living together, but for personal or economic reasons they preferred to split up after some years.

Table 6.3 shows the living arrangements of the first generations from five to ten years after the loss of the partner. Here, as in table 6.2, the trend is decreasing among people that started to live with married children. And there is an increase among people that were already coresiding with married children according to the increase of the age at the widowhood. However, there are differences in the number. The possibility that people continued to live with no married children within 10 years after the widowhood was 11% less among the age groups 55 and 60. In general there were fewer people that continued to live with zero children within ten years compared to the situation within five years after the bereavement. The opposite is true in regard to the number of people that began to live with married children after the widowhood. Here there was an increase of around 10% among the younger widowed group. And also in this case the gap among different age groups between table 6.2 and 6.3 diminished more and more with the increase of age at the bereavement.

Another question concerns people that already had a married child. In such cases it happened that these complex households had split up and there was actually an increase of people that had a married child and from five to ten years after the widowhood lived without any married children.

Probably the structure of the household was so dynamic and it was difficult to maintain the same coresidence for a long period. In some cases a person might have planned a coresidence with a married child but later on one of the two generations preferred to change the plan. In the second half of the nineteenth century the Sundsvall region experienced a period of industrial expansion. Some small households containing two generations might have preferred to split up when there were more opportunities in the labour market.

However, as regards a long-term perspective from ten to twenty years, it seems that the changes in the coresidence were not significant. This suggests that there was a phase where the two generations transformed and changed the structure of the household and then a phase where there were no further changes in the structure of the household. The first generation in this moment of life was older than 70 years, and thus also the adult children could already be married. In such cases there was no movement from a structure with no married children to one with married children. On the other hand, people were already living with a married child.

¹ Alter, G 1996.
They would have experienced after many years whether this living arrangement was stable and secure or whether it was better to split the household into two families.

Table 6.3 Cross tab with the changes of coresidence with married children before and after the widowhood of the first generation (in different age groups) within five and ten years of this event. Men, women and total in percentage.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age Group</th>
<th>Zero married children before the widowhood – zero married children after the widowhood</th>
<th>Zero married children before the widowhood – one married child after the widowhood</th>
<th>One married child before the widowhood – zero married children after the widowhood</th>
<th>One married child before the widowhood – one married child after the widowhood</th>
<th>N</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>55 years married and 60 widowed</td>
<td>Men 45.6</td>
<td>29.8</td>
<td>10.5</td>
<td>13.9</td>
<td>151</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Women 47.1</td>
<td>30.1</td>
<td>4.4</td>
<td>18.2</td>
<td>312</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Total 46.6</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>6.4</td>
<td>16.8</td>
<td>463</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60 years married and 65 widowed</td>
<td>Men 43.3</td>
<td>16.5</td>
<td>13.3</td>
<td>26.7</td>
<td>157</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Women 38.0</td>
<td>24.2</td>
<td>9.5</td>
<td>28.1</td>
<td>284</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Total 39.9</td>
<td>21.5</td>
<td>10.8</td>
<td>27.6</td>
<td>441</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>65 years married and 70 widowed</td>
<td>Men 26.8</td>
<td>23.1</td>
<td>15.9</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>138</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Women 41.8</td>
<td>18.4</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>30.6</td>
<td>222</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Total 36.1</td>
<td>20.2</td>
<td>11.6</td>
<td>31.9</td>
<td>360</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>70 years married and 75 widowed</td>
<td>Men 31.1</td>
<td>16.6</td>
<td>12.2</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Women 38.1</td>
<td>8.3</td>
<td>11.4</td>
<td>41.9</td>
<td>131</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Total 35.2</td>
<td>11.7</td>
<td>11.7</td>
<td>41.1</td>
<td>221</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>75 years married and 80 widowed</td>
<td>Men 33.3</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>12.1</td>
<td>45.4</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Women 44</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Total 39.7</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>13.2</td>
<td>40.9</td>
<td>83</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Computerized parish registers, DDB, Umeå University.

At the beginning of the analysis it was assumed that widows were more likely to start a coresidence with married children or were already living with them. It was assumed that once the head of the household died, the property would be transferred to a married child. But the evidence does not support this. In many cases in the previous tables no large difference between men and women was found. This analysis considered the changes in coresidence with married children and not the question of the inheritance. When men and women lost their partners, men continued to keep the headship of the household with married or unmarried children, while widows saw part of the property passing to the second generation, but this did not mean an immediate marriage of children.

From these tables, one may assume that the changes from a simple to a complex household (and in some case the opposite) happened within ten years after the death of the partner and especially if this event occurred when the survivor was around 60 years old. This may be a logical and natural consequence of life cycle, and the data will later on be analyzed taking into consideration also the age of the second generation at the moment of the widowhood of the parent.

The following regressions explain better the changes in coresidences that happened at the moment of the widowhood of the first generation and in the next few years. Different variables are presented here. The age groups in which the widowhood had occurred are presented as well as the gender. These variables have already been treated in the previous tables. Moreover, there is a variable that concerns the exact time passed from the death of the partner to the following registration in this data. In the third chapter it was explained how the

moment of widowhood was recognized. The solution was to consider only the moment within an interval of five years. This method cannot show exactly how much time had passed between the death of the partner and the next. In case a person became widowed at 61 years of age, s/he was classified among the group “married at 60 and widowed at 65 years of age.” The same is the case for a person that was widowed at 64 years of age. However, in the first case four years had passed from the bereavement while in the second case it was one year. While some studies have analyzed the changes in family structures just a short time after the widowhood, it could be interesting to know if these changes happened in close connection to the death of the partner or some years later. The last variable concerns the age of the children or the difference of age between the widowed parent and the second generation.

Table 6.4 presents the odds ratios of changes or no changes in coresidence with married children within five years after the widowhood of the first generation. Occupations often influenced changes in household structure, as was shown in the previous chapter. Workers and “unknown” were the most likely to continue to live with no married children after the widowhood (column A), while peasants were less likely to continue to live with no married children. Some studies have analyzed this question concluding that the peasants’ and crofters’ families could offer the second generation a job opportunity within the place of residence (in particular peasants), and that with the death of a member of the first generation, the household had to replace him/her as soon as possible, since all the members of the household had an important role for reaching full production. Workers, being a consumption unit, did not need to replace the work of the dead spouse with the marriage of a child. This is confirmed by looking at the change from no married children to married children (column B). In such cases widowed peasants and crofters had the best chances of starting a coresidence with a married child compared to the workers. It is also interesting to note people living and continuing to live with a married child after the death of the spouse (column D). Peasants were the ones with the largest possibilities. This is the case of the stem family, where the second generation did not wait for the death of the head of the household to marry and to take over the property. This process was anticipated. Probably peasant families were large production units that had the opportunity to maintain both married generations. This situation happened seldom among the workers or the “unknown.”

In these regressions, the age of widowhood is very significant in the coresidences with married children. The older that people were at the time of their widowhood, the higher the possibility that they were already living with married children. And they were less likely to start to live with married children after the widowhood. Regarding the gender, men and women seem to have been equally likely to change or not to change the coresidences with married children once widowhood had begun. Women were more likely to continue living with no married children (column A) and it was less often the case that they were already living with married children. In such cases the reason might be that the women were younger than their husbands. Another point concerns the transfer of the property. Usually when the head of the household died, a child would have inherited the property and would have married. The discussion here is about the changes in coresidence at the time when the first generation became widowed and not about the changes in property between the two generations. So it might be the case that the ownership was transferred to the second

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2 A value of 1.50 implies that the hazard of coresiding with children is 50 percent higher that in the reference category, while a figure of 0.50 implies that the hazard is 50 percent (or half) of the hazard in the reference category. In the case of “years of birth”, “years passed from the widowhood to the next registration”, and “age on average at the birth of children” the variables are continues. This means that the risk of an event occurring is, on average, some per cent lower or higher for variables 4, 6, and 7.
generation at the moment of widowhood, but the marriage of a child had occurred before the death of the father.

Table 6.4 Binary logistic regression. Odds ratios of changes (or no changes) in coresidence with married children within five years after the widowhood of the first generation.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Column A</th>
<th>Column B</th>
<th>Column C</th>
<th>Column D</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Zero married children before the widowhood</td>
<td>Zero married children before the widowhood – one married child after the widowhood</td>
<td>One married child before the widowhood – zero married children after the widowhood</td>
<td>One married child before the widowhood – one married child after the widowhood</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Var 1) Occupation</td>
<td>***</td>
<td>**</td>
<td>***</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Crofters</td>
<td>Ref</td>
<td>Ref</td>
<td>Ref</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Peasants</td>
<td>0.51***</td>
<td>1.00</td>
<td>1.13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Workers</td>
<td>1.98***</td>
<td>0.58***</td>
<td>1.12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>1.77***</td>
<td>0.69</td>
<td>0.76</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Officials</td>
<td>0.87</td>
<td>0.70</td>
<td>1.14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Var 2) Age of widowhood</td>
<td>***</td>
<td>***</td>
<td>***</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Married 55 widow 60</td>
<td>Ref</td>
<td>Ref</td>
<td>Ref</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Married 60 widow 65</td>
<td>0.55***</td>
<td>0.96</td>
<td>1.22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Married 65 widow 70</td>
<td>0.44***</td>
<td>0.79</td>
<td>1.79**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Married 70 widow 75</td>
<td>0.51***</td>
<td>0.40***</td>
<td>1.27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Married 75 widow 80</td>
<td>0.61***</td>
<td>0.14***</td>
<td>1.69*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Married 80 widow 85</td>
<td>0.86</td>
<td>0.10***</td>
<td>1.47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Var 3) Gender</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Men</td>
<td>Ref</td>
<td>Ref</td>
<td>Ref</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Women</td>
<td>1.14</td>
<td>1.03</td>
<td>0.82</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Var 4) Year of birth</td>
<td>1.00*</td>
<td>0.99*</td>
<td>1.01**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Var 5) Number of children born</td>
<td>**</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 child</td>
<td>Ref</td>
<td>Ref</td>
<td>Ref</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2-3 children</td>
<td>0.70**</td>
<td>1.35</td>
<td>1.34**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&gt;3 children</td>
<td>0.65***</td>
<td>1.55**</td>
<td>1.81</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Var 6) Years passed from the widowhood to the next registration</td>
<td>0.90***</td>
<td>1.11**</td>
<td>1.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Var 7) Age on average at the birth of the first child</td>
<td>1.04***</td>
<td>1.04***</td>
<td>0.99</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No. Of events</td>
<td>2,375</td>
<td>2,375</td>
<td>2,375</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*p<0.10, **p<0.05, ***p<0.01
Source: Computerized parish registers. DDB. Umeå University.

One important point in this dissertation is the changes in household structures before and during industrialization. Some researchers have stated that during industrialization fewer old people were living with married children than before industrialization. In the fifth chapter the same results were presented, especially among 80-year-old people. In such cases the problems and the coresidence with the second generation connected to the widowhood seem to be the same. The variable “years of birth” shows this. All the four alternatives increase or decrease with the increase of the year of birth. It seems clear that, as in other studies, the first generation was living much less with married children during industrialization. People born in the last year of this sample, 1820, had 50% fewer chances of coresiding with a married child.

However, there are some differences in the method of analysis. The previous chapter considered the entire sample, while here only the people that became widowed are considered. In this study the number of children of the first generation is important. With the high mortality rate during the nineteenth century, having more children meant in theory a greater chance of coresiding with them. As regards people that lived “always” with no married children (column A), the possibility decreases with the increase of the number of children born. The opposite is the case where old people began to live with married children after widowhood. It is interesting to consider people that lived with married children before widowhood. In such cases the first generation with more children was more likely not to live with married children after the widowhood. This could perhaps be explained by the fact that this event in general occurred so seldom that these results do not have statistic relevance. Regarding the last alternative, living before widowhood with married children and continuing to do so after widowhood, the coresidence with married children indicates that there was no large difference among the first generation with one or with many children. The number of children that a person had probably influenced the chances of coresiding with married children. The marital status of the first generation did not affect the point at which this type of coresidence began.

It was discussed above how the age at the time of the widowhood could influence the beginning of the coresidences with married children. A person that was widowed at 75 years of age was more likely to be already coresiding with married children than one that became widowed at 55 years of age. This depends mainly upon the age of the children. The older the children were, the greater the possibility that they were already married when one of their parents died. The continuous variable “age on average at the birth of the first children” shows this. When one knows the age of the first generation when the children were born, one can also find out the age of children, as the difference of age between the two generations remains constant. Here, it is possible to see that people with younger children at the time of their widowhood were more likely to continue to live with no married children after the widowhood. This was also the case with people that lived with no married children before the widowhood and later on started to coreside with them (column B). In such cases there might be children of marital age, and when one of their parents died, they decided that it was the right time to marry. The opposite is true in regard to the case of coresidence with married children before the widowhood. If the first generation had children in old age, the possibilities were smaller compared to people that had children at a younger age. In other words, it is possible that the alternatives in columns A and B are directly proportional to the increase of the age of the first generation at the time of birth of their children. The older the parents were when the second generation was born (increase of the age), the greater the possibility. In the case of column D, the possibilities are indirectly proportional; the older the first generation was at the moment of the birth of children, the smaller was the risk. From this perspective it is possible to develop a general hypothesis concerning the age of widowhood of the first generation and the age of children when the parents died. These two ages are strongly connected. The older the first generation was when they lost their partner, the greater were the possibilities that they were already living with married children. Thus, the younger the first generation was at the time of the widowhood, the more they continued to live with no married children or the more the first generation changed the coresidence from no married to married children. On the other hand, the younger the children were, the less likely was the first generation to coreside with married children; and the older the children, the more likely it was that they were already married and lived with their old parents. These two factors are connected. A person that lost the partner in old age probably also had adult children who were already married or ready to marry, while a person that became widowed early in old age probably had children close to marital age. Thus some years later they would
have married, but in this case the widowhood would have influenced or predated the marriage of the second generation. Richard Wall has explained this concept with the following words:

“Another issue to consider is the age of the father at the time of his death. It is obvious that the impact of this death will be different depending of whether he dies young with children to support or alternatively in old age with most of his children married and established with households of their own.”

Table 6.5 Binary logistic regression. Odds ratios of changes (or no changes) in coresidence with married children within five and ten years after the widowhood of the first generation.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Var 1) Occupation</th>
<th>Column A</th>
<th>Column B</th>
<th>Column C</th>
<th>Column D</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Zero married children before the widowhood</td>
<td>Zero married children before the widowhood</td>
<td>One married child before the widowhood</td>
<td>One married child before the widowhood</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Crofters</td>
<td>Ref</td>
<td>Ref</td>
<td>Ref</td>
<td>Ref</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Peasants</td>
<td>0.52***</td>
<td>0.97</td>
<td>1.30</td>
<td>1.88***</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Workers</td>
<td>2.12***</td>
<td>0.58**</td>
<td>1.08</td>
<td>1.01***</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>1.80***</td>
<td>0.71</td>
<td>0.84</td>
<td>0.55**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Officials</td>
<td>0.65*</td>
<td>0.90</td>
<td>1.05</td>
<td>1.75**</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Var 2) Age of widowhood</th>
<th>Column A</th>
<th>Column B</th>
<th>Column C</th>
<th>Column D</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Married 55 widow 60</td>
<td>Ref</td>
<td>Ref</td>
<td>Ref</td>
<td>Ref</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Married 60 widow 65</td>
<td>0.72**</td>
<td>0.65***</td>
<td>1.74**</td>
<td>2.03***</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Married 65 widow 70</td>
<td>0.62***</td>
<td>0.60***</td>
<td>1.80**</td>
<td>2.55***</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Married 70 widow 75</td>
<td>0.62***</td>
<td>0.25***</td>
<td>1.79**</td>
<td>4.05***</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Married 75 widow 80</td>
<td>0.76***</td>
<td>0.14***</td>
<td>2.25**</td>
<td>3.92***</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Var 3) Gender</th>
<th>Column A</th>
<th>Column B</th>
<th>Column C</th>
<th>Column D</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Men</td>
<td>Ref</td>
<td>Ref</td>
<td>Ref</td>
<td>Ref</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Women</td>
<td>1.23*</td>
<td>1.05</td>
<td>0.58***</td>
<td>1.01</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Var 4) Year of birth</th>
<th>Column A</th>
<th>Column B</th>
<th>Column C</th>
<th>Column D</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>0.00***</td>
<td>0.99*</td>
<td>1.01**</td>
<td>0.99*</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Var 5) Number of children born</th>
<th>Column A</th>
<th>Column B</th>
<th>Column C</th>
<th>Column D</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 child</td>
<td>Ref</td>
<td>Ref</td>
<td>Ref</td>
<td>Ref</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2-3 children</td>
<td>0.57***</td>
<td>1.90**</td>
<td>3.11***</td>
<td>0.84</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&gt;3 children</td>
<td>0.58***</td>
<td>2.19***</td>
<td>3.18***</td>
<td>0.74</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Var 6) Years passed from the widowhood to the next registration</th>
<th>Column A</th>
<th>Column B</th>
<th>Column C</th>
<th>Column D</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>0.96***</td>
<td>1.00***</td>
<td>1.01</td>
<td>1.03</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Var 7) Age on average at the birth of the first child</th>
<th>Column A</th>
<th>Column B</th>
<th>Column C</th>
<th>Column D</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.04</td>
<td>1.04***</td>
<td>0.96**</td>
<td>0.92***</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No. Of events</th>
<th>Column A</th>
<th>Column B</th>
<th>Column C</th>
<th>Column D</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1,568</td>
<td>1,568</td>
<td>1,568</td>
<td>1,568</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*p<0.10, **p<0.05, ***p<0.01

Source: Computerized parish registers, DDB, Umeå University.

The changes in coresidences happened some years after the death of the partner but infrequently long after. Table 6.5 presents these changes within an interval from five to ten years after the widowhood.

years after the death of the partner. This table reports the same results as the previous table. In such cases it seems that people changed to coresidence with married children in a period not longer than ten years after the widowhood. This is due to the age of both of the generations. In such cases people in both generations were from five to ten years older. This means that the youngest of the first generation was 65 years old, and thus their children were already in a period of full marital age or just beyond. In this situation the changes reported in this regression are mainly the ones already reported in the previous regression (table 6.5).

The changing in coresidence regarding different marital statuses

The fundamental point that probably influenced the beginning of these coresidences was the relationship of age between the two generations. There were higher chances that the first generation already lived with married children if the widowhood occurred later in life. This depends of course also upon the age of the children or, in other words, upon the age of the first generation when the children were born. In cases where the children were already adult, they were probably already married when one of their parents died, and thus no changes took place in the place of residence. But if the children were young, they would have married later after the death of a member of the first generation. In these cases it is possible to note that the beginning of coresidence with married children was not dependent on the marital status of the first generation but more upon their age. In some cases the widowhood probably favoured the constitution of extended families by some years. This could have happened when the first generation was at the beginning of their old age and the children were just entering into marital age. The marital status of the parents could not, however, delay the decision of the second generation to marry for very long.

A further point that could be developed concerns all the marital statuses. If the changes in coresidences from unmarried children to married children occurred mostly for people that became widowed before the age of 70, these changes might have happened also for people that continued to be married in that age. This is a hypothesis that should be analyzed. In this way it is possible to test statistically the constitution of the stem family more accurately. Searching for people that became widowed, only a part of the sample was analyzed. People that became widowed before the age of 55 years and those that never became widowed were not analyzed. This is analyzed in a longitudinal way by explaining what happened in the coresidences from one age to another of the first generation.

Three variables are considered. The first one concerns the marital status of the first generation. In this variable the marital status of the parent at a certain age and then after five or fifteen years was recorded. Four types were recorded, the first of which concerns people that were married at the beginning of the registration and were still married after five or fifteen years. The second consists of people that were married at the beginning but lost their partner later on, the third one concerns people that were already widowed and continued to be widowed. The last one is a small group that includes the other different possible combinations, such as people who never married, people that married later, people that remarried, etc. The second variable concerns the gender of the first generation and the last one the years of birth of the parents. The dependent variable considers whether there was a coresidence with married children at two points in time that are related to the age of the first generation. The alternative solution here considers when the first generation lived with no married children and continued to live with no married children, the second is when they
started with no married children and in the end of the observed period they lived with married children, and when they already lived with married children and continued to live with them. 1

Table 6.6 shows the coresidence of people at 55 years of age and later on at 60 years of age (the first three columns) and 70 years of age (the second three columns). As to the marital status at 55 and 60 years of age, it seems that being married or widowed contributed more to creating a coresidence with married children. The people that had a different marital status were actually those with a higher risk of always living with no married children and those with fewer probabilities of living with married offspring. As regards the others combinations of marital status, it seems that there were slight differences. For example people “always” married were more likely to live with no married children than those that experienced widowhood between 55 and 60 years of age. As to the regression that indicates the creation of a stem family (no children at 55 and one child at 60 years of age), there are no differences between those always married and those that lost the partner. The widowhood had greater influence in case people were already living with married children. Here, there was a slight difference. People that were widowed were more prone to continue the coresidence with married children than those that had always been married. Probably, the widowhood did not help to create a stem family but was able to keep married children in the household. At the moment that the parents died, they inherited a part of the property and hence they were more likely to continue to stay with the widowed parent.

Fifteen years later the results seemed to be similar. The “others” were less likely to live with married children and this condition increased over time. As regards the other marital status, it is possible to note that there were no differences among those that were living with no married children at the age of 55 and continued to live with no children at the age of 70. The choice to create a stem family between 55 and 70 years was not due to fact that the first generation was married or widowed. In such cases, to continue to be married or to become widowed gave the same chances to create a stem family. As regards people that were already living with married children, there is an increase that indicates once more that the widowhood could help to continue the coresidence with married children.

Table 6.6 Binary logistic regression. Odds ratios of the coresidence between children and the first generation at 55 years of age and later on at 60 years of age (the first three columns) and at 55 years of age and later on at 70 years of age (the second three columns).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>55-60 or after 5 years</th>
<th>55-70 or after 15 years</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>0 children 0 children</td>
<td>0 children 1 child</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1 child 1 child</td>
<td>0 children 0 children</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1 child 1 child</td>
<td>0 children 1 child</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1 child 1 child</td>
<td>1 child 1 child</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marital status</td>
<td>***</td>
<td>***</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Married married</td>
<td>Ref</td>
<td>Ref</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Married widowed</td>
<td>0.82**</td>
<td>1.02</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Widowed widowed</td>
<td>0.92</td>
<td>0.80**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Others</td>
<td>2.95***</td>
<td>0.33***</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gender</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Men</td>
<td>Ref</td>
<td>Ref</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Females</td>
<td>0.84***</td>
<td>1.17**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Years of birth</td>
<td>1.000</td>
<td>1.001</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No. Of events</td>
<td>6,883</td>
<td>6,883</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*p<0.10, **p<0.05, ***p<0.01
Source: Computerized parish registers, DDB, Umeå University.

At the age of 55 years the children were around 25 and 30 years or even younger and consequently many of them were still unmarried. Five years later those children entered into

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1 The option for people to live with married children and later on with no married children has been excluded here. This option was uncommon and it is not statistically relevant.
marital age. This moment was also analyzed starting with the age of 60 for the first generation and then looking at the coresidence at 65 and 75 years of age. In this case too there are many similarities to the previous table. The differences among the diverse marital statuses are small (if one does not consider the “others”). People already widowed at 60 years of age probably were the ones living already in a stem family, while there were no differences among people always married and those who lost their partners in those years. Five or fifteen years later there was no change and people that had experienced widowhood continued to live with married children as before compared to those that were always married. As regards the other variables, it is possible to see that females were the ones with fewer chances of living without married children, and consequently they were the most likely to live all the time with married children. This could indicate that widows were those that, once a married child was in the household, and the male of the first generation had died, bequeathed the property to this child, who was more likely to continue to live with the widowed mother. As regards the year of birth, there are no particular changes with the onset of industrialization. Within five years there are no differences while some changed between 60 and 75 years of age. In such cases it is confirmed that more and more people lived without married children in this interval and fewer and fewer people created or continued to live in a stem family.

Table 6.7 concerns a very sensitive period in the life of the first generation. This is the moment when people started to consider ending their full economic activity and retiring. On the other hand, all the children (from the oldest to the youngest) were married or of a full marital age. In such cases the changes in marital status could also influence the creation or the continuation of the coresidence with married children. As usual the marital status “others” was the one with the greatest probabilities of living without married children. People that were already widowed or became widowed were less likely to live without married children than those that continued to be married. There is also a slight difference among those that lived with no married children at 65 years of age and coresided with married children at 70 years of age. In such cases it seems that the widowhood contributed to the creation of the coresidence.

Table 6.7 Binary logistic regression. Odds ratios of the coresidence between children and the first generation at 65 years of age and later on at 70 years of age (the first three columns) and at 65 years of age and later on at 80 years of age (the second three columns).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Marital status</th>
<th>65-70</th>
<th>65-80</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>0 child 0 child</td>
<td>0 child 1 child</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Married married</td>
<td>Ref</td>
<td>Ref</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Married widowed</td>
<td>0.74***</td>
<td>1.26*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Widowed widowed</td>
<td>0.93</td>
<td>0.74***</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Others</td>
<td>3.65***</td>
<td>0.36**</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Gender*  

- Men: Ref  
- Females: 0.93

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Years of birth</th>
<th>65-70</th>
<th>65-80</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.004***</td>
<td>0.995</td>
<td>0.99*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0.99*</td>
<td>1.011***</td>
<td>0.986***</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0.984***</td>
<td>0.984***</td>
<td>0.984***</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

All data are from the computerized parish registers, DDB, Umeå University.

The same could be said about the continuation of the stem family. People that were widowed were more prone to continue to live with married children. This trend continued over time and widowed people were actually more likely to continue to live with married children that those that were still married at 80 years of age. As to the gender, the picture is different compared to the previous tables. Women were less likely to live with married
children than men, in particular concerning the change from no married children to a married child between 65 and 80 years of age. There is also an increase in the loss of coresidence with the arrival of industrialization.

The following period concerns the ages between 70 and 80 of the first generation, for which there is an indication that old people left their headship of the household and that the children had been married for several years. In such cases the difference is more accentuated between people that continued to be married and those that experienced widowhood in those years. People that lost their partners were less likely to live without married children. It is interesting to see that these people did not start coresiding with married people between 70 and 80 years of age as much as those that continued to live as married. It seems that widowed people were already living with married children.

Conclusions

The beginning of this part tried to illustrate from different studies how the household structure of people that became widowed could be transformed. Some studies looked more at the household structure of people that were widowers without considering what the situation was like before the loss of the partner. Others analyzed the situation of the household at the moment of the death and then looked at the changes within one year.

This study wanted to consider more the coresidence with married children, which is a step towards the creation of a complex family. In this case four events were studied: 1) living without married children before the widowhood and continuing to live without married children after the widowhood; 2) living without married children before the widowhood and starting to live with married children after the widowhood; 3) living with married children before the widowhood and starting to live without married children after the widowhood; 4) living with married children before the widowhood and continuing to live with married children after the widowhood. These four events were tested at different times from the moment of the widowhood. First the changes that occurred were analyzed in a simple statistical way considering only the age at the widowhood of the first generation. Then it was also important to consider the age of the second generation at the moment of the widowhood, the occupation, the number of children born and the gender in a more developed statistical way.

The social groups had an important role in determining the coresidence with married children. Those with an occupation outside agriculture (particularly workers) had the largest risk of not living with married children before and after the widowhood, while first and foremost peasants and then crofters were the ones with the greatest opportunities to start or continue a coresidence with married children after the widowhood.

As to the different marital statuses during old age, it was seen that the marital status of the first generation only partially influenced the coresidence with married children. In the first years of the old age, the children were probably just entering into marital age and consequently there were not so many changes. It seems only that people that already lived with married children and experienced widowhood were more likely to continue to live with the children. In these conditions their position in the household probably became stronger and they preferred to continue to live with the widowed parent. These differences were always slight and in some cases not so relevant. This could just indicate that the death of the partner anticipated or made stronger the coresidence with married children. The factor that had a greater influence on the creation of the stem family was probably the desire of the children to marry, which was connected more to the age of the children. The death of the parents could probably only accelerate a process that would have happened anyway.
Part two

Parents and children

From the analysis made until now one might suppose that people started to spend their old age with unmarried children. When children became adult, they married and one of them continued to live with their parents. This was more common among the peasant group, while workers or people that had no property or rights to transfer it were less likely to coreside with married people. Until now the sample has been analyzed in a statistical way without considering some points that only a micro study focused on a few individuals could analyze. In the previous part it was assumed that people that lived with married children constituted a stem family with only one child. According to the methodological structure of the research, it could also be the case that it was not always the same child who lived with the parents. Another methodological problem concerns the fact that the information about the coresidences was gathered at five-year intervals. In theory a person could live with a child only in the year of the registration and consequently this individual has been considered to have lived all the time with a child, when in reality s/he coresided in the years of the registration.

This part of the study explains the real movements from and into the residence of the first generation as regards the second generation. In that way it was not possible to see some peculiarities that every single case could represent. In this study there is a very small number of people that have been looked at through the parish records digitalized in Indiko by DDB. In this way it was possible to study in more detail the evolution of the coresidences of the first generation. Did the elderly always live with married children? How did people live who did not live with married children? Was the choice determined by strategy or was it just coincidental? It is important to study for what reasons some people did not create a stem family.

This kind of longitudinal or life course study is not so developed. The first problem concerns the historical sources. Researchers should have at their disposal a long series of data, which is not easy to accomplish. The second point concerns the method of analysis, which is more complicated than the static one. Every person is followed from the first registration to the last registration, which for many is their death. The classical demographic information about the life of the first generation was selected: year of birth, marriage, death, the age of retirement and migration to other places. For each child of the second generation data was recorded on the year of birth, the year of death, the year of marriage and the year of the “migration” from the parental household and the year of the return of the household, and finally the year when the child took over the parental household. Furthermore, for both generations the gender, the social status and the place of residence were recorded.

These registrations of dates provides information that enables construction of many variables that allow discovering the general trend in residence between the two generations. For example it was possible to see for every child how long they were living with the parents, if they married and coresided with the first generation, or if they married when they were already outside the parental place.

During this manual data registration, a short biography of the first and the second generation was written, describing the particulars of every person. In this way it was possible to note later on the possible anomalies in the stem families. This part of the study analyzes how the entire life of a person could be from the point of view of the coresidence and the contact between the two generations. To do this, people who had reached at least the age of 80

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1 55, 60, 65, 70, 75, 80 and 85 years of age of the first generation.
were selected and were present in the DDB continuously from the age of 55. Another principle of selection was that the first generation had from one to six children. The limitation to six children was decided for reasons of time. This manual research took a lot of time and to limit this it was decided to choose people with no more than six children. After these two elements of limitation the computer sampled 135 individuals, 46 men (34.1%) and 89 women (65.9%). The difference is due to the higher life expectancy of the women, who had much greater chances of arriving at 80 years of age than the men. As to the social group of the first generation, the sample consisted of 49 crofters (36.3%), 65 peasants (48.1%) and 21 workers (15.6%). The social class division is similar to the one presented in the previous results. The number of children has been counted in table 6.8. Of course everybody had at least one child and, almost everybody (123 individuals) had a second child. About two thirds of the cohort had a third child. Here there is a strong decrease in the birth of the fourth child and only one third of the first generation had a fourth child. Only 18% and 10% of this cohort had a fifth and a sixth child respectively. As to the gender of the second generation, one can see that there was an equal number of sons and daughters. Only for the fourth child was there a majority of girls.

Table 6.8 Number of children born according to the gender of the second generation.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>First child born</th>
<th>N</th>
<th>%</th>
<th>Second child born</th>
<th>N</th>
<th>%</th>
<th>Third child born</th>
<th>N</th>
<th>%</th>
<th>Fourth child born</th>
<th>N</th>
<th>%</th>
<th>Fifth child born</th>
<th>N</th>
<th>%</th>
<th>Sixth child born</th>
<th>N</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sons</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>50.4</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>49.6</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>48.3</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>41.1</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>100</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Daughters</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>49.6</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>50.4</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>51.7</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>58.8</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>100</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>135</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>123</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>87</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>100</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Computerized parish registers, DDB, Umeå University.

Table 6.9 Mean age of the parents and the children at the moment of the marriage of the children.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>First child born</th>
<th>N</th>
<th>Mean</th>
<th>Second child born</th>
<th>N</th>
<th>Mean</th>
<th>Third child born</th>
<th>N</th>
<th>Mean</th>
<th>Fourth child born</th>
<th>N</th>
<th>Mean</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Age of the child</td>
<td>90</td>
<td>28.2</td>
<td>76</td>
<td>26.9</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>27.3</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>27.8</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age of the parent</td>
<td>90</td>
<td>36.7</td>
<td>76</td>
<td>58.9</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>61.4</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>64.6</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Computerized parish registers, DDB, Umeå University.

Another point is the marriage of the second generation and to know how old the children and the parents were when the second generation married (table 6.9). The children married on average around 27-28 years of age and there is no particular difference between birth orders. The number of children that did not marry is around 6%, and this percentage is valid from the first to the last children. The main and most interesting difference concerns the first generation that on average was 56 years when the first child married, but this increased reaching 64 years of age when the fourth child married. On one hand, the constant age of marriage of the second generation and on the other hand the higher age of the parents mean that the marriage and the creation of a stem family were dependent on the age of the children and not on the desire for retirement or the necessity caused by the widowhood of the parents. In the opposite case one would have seen different ages for the children and the same age of the parents. In the relationships between the two generations, constructing a coresidence was greatly dependent on the age difference between the two generations.

The micro study

Until now general aspects of the life cycle of the families have been presented. At the beginning of old age, people were living with young unmarried people that in the following years would become adult and coreside as married with their parents, while other children
moved outside the household. When a child married and lived with the parents, did the coresidence last all the time or did the child move to another place? Did only the married child reside in the stem family or did other children live there? When in the household there were married and unmarried children, did the unmarried child coreside for a long time or just for a few years waiting for an occasion to marry? The other children that moved outside home, when and why did they migrate? Did they migrate to work or to marry? Who was the child that created the stem family? These questions will be answered considering also the social status and the factor of industrialization.

Observing and reading the biographies of the sample by a longitudinal method made it possible to identify five main types of relation between the first and the second generation. The first is the most interesting and it is the stem family, the second is when the first generation lived all the life with unmarried children, the third is the return, children moving outside the parental home but coming back after many years, the fourth is called the children’s network when all the children moved in the parish or in the region when they were adults, the last one is the “childless”, those individuals that had children but the latter died leaving the parents alone. The next pages present these five groups trying to explain the particulars and how every single person had a story of his/her own.

The stem family

After the famous article of Berkner in 1972 many researchers tried to look at the family cycle to find the stem family. The idea of the stem family is considered to be very popular among the landowner groups. It was a cycle that the different generations repeated. A generation was born and lived with the parents (nuclear family) and possibly with the grandparents. When they became adult, some of them migrated and married outside the parental house and one member of this generation continued to stay with the parents that started to be elderly. The two generations started to collaborate in a new phase in the household, the old parent decided to leave the leadership of the farm to the child that married and became the owner of the household (multiple family). Meanwhile the new owner had children and his old parents died (extended family). At this point there was a repetition of the cycle: children became adult, one of them remained with the old parents and later on he married and took over the property.

In this sample 78 people were able to create a stem family in the last part of their lives. They married, they had some children, these became adults and one of them married and started living together with the first generation. This means that 58% of the sample constituted a stem family and probably the relation between the two generations was very strong.

An example that could represent the classical structure of the stem family that is repeated through some generations is presented here. Anders Bergström1 was born in 1806 in the parish of Njurunda. His father was a peasant and had two daughters. The first, Brita, was born in 1800 and the second, Cajsa, in 1814. The catechetical registers for this parish started in 1816, and from this year is possible to follow the life of Anders and his family. The family lived as a nuclear household in the first years; there was the father Paul, the mother Brita and the three children that were still in their childhood and there were also some servants. In 1824 Anders’s father died at the age of 60 years. The children were still young (the oldest Brita, b. in 1800, was 24 years old) and Anders’s mother took on the responsibility of heading the farm. Actually, in the next registration she was recorded as a peasant’s widow on the first line of the page. The first member of the household that moved out was the oldest daughter, Brita, who in 1828, at the age of 28, got married to a peasant of the same parish and moved to another

1 DDB Par. 806001352.
village with him.\textsuperscript{1} In 1831 Anders married Segrid Cajsa and their first child was born in 1832. At that time the household consisted of Anders’s mother who was a widow, the couple who were heading the farm, Anders’s youngest sister, Segrid, and the second generation represented by the new born Paulus (b. 1832) and Peter (b. 1837). In 1839 the youngest sister got married at the age of 25 years to a peasant and moved to another village.\textsuperscript{2} At that time there was an extended household with the widowed mother and the head of the household with his wife and their children. In 1852 the first child, Paulus, died at the age of 20 and Anders’s mother died in 1862 at the age of 90. With these events the family became a simple household with the married couple aged around 60 years and one child, Petter, around 25 years old. In 1864 the family became complex because Petter married Kajsa Bredberg at the age of 32 years. After some years two children were born, Katarina (1965) and Sigrid (1966). The dynamics of the household is confirmed some years later in 1869 when Anders’s wife Segrid Cajsa died at the age of 68. At this point the household became again extended and there were no changes in the structure for many years. However, in 1884 Petter’s first daughter, Katarina, married creating again a new complex household. In such cases the minister wrote no information about the owner of the farm, and Anders Bergström was actually always registered on the first line as a peasant, and in the last registration in 1893-1892 both Anders and the son Petter were recorded as peasants. Consequently it is not possible to define exactly when the transfer of the household happened. The next important change was in 1889 when Anders died 83 years old.

The history of Anders Bergström is similar to many others and he can serve as the general example of at least 44 other people in this sample. From these events, it is possible to reconstruct general aspects of four generations and to see clearly how the transmission of the household happened from the beginning to the end of the nineteenth century. At the beginning there was a nuclear household with a couple and three young children living on a farm. The death of the head of the household when the children still were young left the headship of the farm to the widow for some years until the children started to be of marital age. When the younger generation was in their 20s, they started to leave the parental household and to marry, but one child remained with the mother, married and took control of the property. In such cases this was the moment when a sort of stem family was created.

\textsuperscript{1} She got married to Eric Erson (b. 1794) and they lived in his place, which was located in a different village. The new couple lived with the husband’s family, whose members at that time were the grandmother and the mother, who died a few years after the marriage. Brita and Eric continued to live in the same place and they had no children. In 1869 at the age of 75 years Eric died and Brita continued to live alone with some servants. In the last registration 1883-1885, on the same page a new couple with children appeared with the title of Arrendator, which probably means that these people were renting the land from Brita.

\textsuperscript{2} Cajsa got married to Jonas Majström, born in 1812, and they lived in his place. When she moved into the new household, Jonas’s parents and his brother were residing there. Some years later both the parents and the brother moved to another place. Cajsa and Jonas had two children, Petter born in 1840 and Paul born in 1842. The family continued to live in the same place. In 1857 her husband died and she became a widow at the age of 43 years. In the registration 1861-1871 the minister recorded that the first son Peter had moved to Kalmar, in the south of Sweden, and that Paul became the owner. In 1874 Paul married Anna Nordling at the age of 32 and they had three children. In 1882 Paul died and his mother Cajsa continued to live with her daughter-in-law and her grandsons.
Family line 6.1 Anders Bergström (DDB- Pnr 806001352).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Birth Name</th>
<th>1815</th>
<th>1820</th>
<th>1825</th>
<th>1830</th>
<th>1835</th>
<th>1840</th>
<th>1845</th>
<th>1850</th>
<th>1855</th>
<th>1860</th>
<th>1865</th>
<th>1870</th>
<th>1875</th>
<th>1880</th>
<th>1885</th>
<th>1890</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Paul</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Brita</td>
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<td>Sister</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cajsa</td>
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<tr>
<td>Anders</td>
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<tr>
<td>Segrid</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paulus</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Petter</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Katarina</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Computerized parish registers, DDB, Umeå University. Code explanation: F = Birth; D = Death; * = Birth and death at the same year; I = Immigration; U = Outmigration; X = Out- and immigration in the same year; V = Marriage; o = Relocation; # = In- and outmigration at the same year; == On the same page as the head person.
Continuing to follow these individuals it was possible to see once more the stem family cycle. The new generation had some children and lived with the old mother, and when she died her grandson was of marital age. Actually a couple of years after this event the younger generation married creating for a second time the stem family cycle. In the last 30 years of the century, the generation under study reached old age and probably transferred the property to the child. The last events of the century were the death of the oldest generation and the creation of a third stem family cycle when a grandson married some years before the end of the registration.

The particular stem family

As regards details of each single case of stem family, it was found that every family had a particular evolution. Some of them were not properly a classical stem family corresponding to the definition found in the classical works of Berkner or Gaunt and discovered in 44 cases in this study. For some people the second generation died before the first one, or the children did not spend their entire lives with their parents. In other cases the second generation worked outside the parental household before marrying and creating a coresidence. For this reason the following part analyzes in detail the cases of stem families with the aim of seeing if there are any differences.

In general 34 cases were found divided into two types of stem family that cannot be described in terms of the classical definition. The first case concerns those people of the first generation that did not live all their lives in the parents’ place. They moved away some years before (to work in another place) and then they returned for good and created a coresidence with the parents. In other cases it was the opposite, the second generation moved out from the parental household after many years of coresidence as married children. The second group concerns those children that married and lived with their parents, but after some years the latter died thus distorting the classical stem family cycle.

Migration of the children from the parental household

In the nineteenth century it was normal that people around twenty years of age experienced a period of their lives as servants in an unrelated family. ¹ The main reason for this temporary migration was that the original family could not offer a job opportunity to their children and thus by migrating they could earn some extra money. On the other hand, people that came from a family with a farm also migrated, even if they had an opportunity to work in the parental household. In many cases they wanted to accumulate an amount of money that would be used to marry and to create a new family. In the perspective of the family cycle, the parents and the children would have been separated for a period before the creation of the multiple household. A classical definition of a stem family could be that a child always stayed in the parental household. Thus if a child was outside the household for some years, the definition of the stem family is not properly correct for this case. On the other hand, the real stem family or the constitution of the multiple household with two married couples started when the second generation married, and thus it could be possible to consider the beginning of the stem family from that time. In the methodological study it is also difficult to define whether migrations interrupted the stem family’s pattern, because in some cases they lasted only a few years, and in some way the family cycle consisting first of a nuclear family, then of a multiple family and finally of an extended family did not change.² In other cases the migration lasted for many years and consequently the first generation might have lived for some time without children in their household. However, in the perspective of this study it is possible to see that

² The nuclear family consists of a married couple with unmarried children. So in case a child migrated but there were other children in the household, this definition cannot be applied.
later on a coresidence with married children was created and thus it is difficult to define the
cycle as not being a variation of the stem family.

In this sample some cases were found that experienced this sort of premartial migration for
some years. In such cases the explanation is focused on the migration of the children without
entering into details of the stem family in general, because they are very similar to the
examples reported above. The main point is to see and comment on the fact that at a certain
point of the cycle the two generations were not living in the same place.

Anna Cajsa Ersdotter\(^1\) (crofter) had two sons, Lars (1825, she 30) and Erik (1827, she 32)
and two daughters called Anna Lena (1830, she 35) and Ingrid (1835, she 40). The third
daughter migrated to North America in 1868 while the other children lived with their mother.
The second and the fourth did not marry. The stem family was constituted by the first son,
Lars, who married in 1862 at the age of 37 years. On this occasion the catechetical register of
Njurunda recorded the transfer from the mother’s page to another place in the same parish but
after four years he was listed again on his mother’s page. From 1864 he always lived with his
mother and he took over the croft while the two siblings continued to live with his mother and
him.

Family line 6.2 Anna Cajsa Ersdotter (DDB- Pnr 795001330).

These two cases show that when the second generation moved outside the parental
household, there was always a child that coresided with the parents and thus the stem family
cycle was not affected. In this way there was always at least one child that was living with the
parents. The only observation that could be made is that there was a time when the child
designated to live as married with the first generation was not in the parental house.

Another example is about Maria Nilsdotter,\(^2\) married to a fisherman and crofter that died
when Maria was 44 years old. They had three children. The first two, Anna and Christina,
born when Maria was 26 and 29 years old, moved outside the parish very young, 16 years of
age for Anna and 17 for Christina.\(^3\) From then on the two daughters did not come back to the
parental household, they stayed for a period outside the parish but later on they came back.
The third child was a son, Michael, born when the mother was 30 years old. In 1837, he was
26 years old and migrated to an unknown place. Two years later in 1839 (the mother was 58
years old) he came back with a wife and from then on the young couple always lived with his
mother in the same household. This is a particular case because it seems that there was no

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\(^1\) DDB Pnr 795001330.
\(^2\) DDB Pnr 781000790.
\(^3\) The mother Maria was 42 years old when the first daughter Anna moved and 46 years old when the second
Christina moved.
plan at the beginning to create a stem family. Actually the son moved away probably to work; he married outside home and after some years he came back.

Family line 6.3 Maria Nilsdotter (DDB- Pnr 781000790).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Birth Name</th>
<th>1781 Maria</th>
<th>1798 Erik</th>
<th>1807 Anna</th>
<th>1810 Christina</th>
<th>1811 Michael</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Birth Year</td>
<td>1815</td>
<td>1815</td>
<td>1815</td>
<td>1815</td>
<td>1815</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Husband</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Daughter</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Son</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Computerized parish registers, DDB, Umeå University. Code explanation: F = Birth; D = Death; * = Birth and death at the same year; I = Immigration; U = Outmigration; X = Out- and immigration at the same year; V = Marriage; o = Relocation; # = In- and outmigration at the same year; = = On the same page as the headperson.

Migration away from the parental home took place not only before the wedding. In some cases the co-residence with children was interrupted after many years in which the household could be classified as complex. In these cases the definition of a stem family is weaker than in the case of migration before the marriage. In that case there was probably an intention to stay outside the parental household for a limited time and then come back and create a co-residence between the two generations. In case the second generation moved away after many years of co-residence, this could mean that the parents and the married child had some conflict and in this way the stem family was interrupted.

Family line 6.4 Cajsa Stina Danielsdotter (DDB- Pnr 816001634).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Birth Name</th>
<th>1816 Cajsa Stina</th>
<th>1807 Hans</th>
<th>1822 Henrik</th>
<th>1841 David Johan</th>
<th>1843 Anna Stina</th>
<th>1847 Anders</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Birth Year</td>
<td>1816</td>
<td>1807</td>
<td>1822</td>
<td>1841</td>
<td>1843</td>
<td>1847</td>
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<td>Husband</td>
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<tr>
<td>Daughter</td>
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<tr>
<td>Son</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

Source: Computerized parish registers, DDB, Umeå University. Code explanation: F = Birth; D = Death; * = Birth and death at the same year; I = Immigration; U = Outmigration; X = Out- and immigration at the same year; V = Marriage; o = Relocation; # = In- and outmigration at the same year; = = On the same page as the headperson.

There was another stem family that experienced the migration of married children in very particular circumstances. At first there was a co-residence with three married children, but then two of them out of the household. Cajsa Stina Danielsdotter1 (born in 1816) lived in Indal as a crofter’s wife and had two sons and one daughter. The first son married in 1863, the daughter in 1869 and the other son in 1874. In these years the two sons lived all the time with their parents while the daughter migrated some years before and after her wedding. She came back for good in 1871. After three years in 1874 the last son married and at that time three married

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1 DDB Pnr 816001634.
members of the second generation lived together with their parents. It was probably a temporary situation, and in 1876 the first son migrated in the same parish and in 1881 the other son moved into the parish and five years later to Timrå. At this point the one that lived with the mother and the father was the second daughter.

**Death of the second generation**

Sometimes the stem family was interrupted because of the death of the second generation. In these cases there was no plan to interrupt the coresidence, but it just was an accidental event and not a specific desire of any member of the household. In this situation the coresidence sometimes continued with the widowed person, while on other occasions the surviving partner preferred to leave the family of the spouse.

In such cases the widowed person moved outside and left the first generation alone. Brita Larsdotter 1 (crofter) was born in 1790 and had five daughters between 1825 and 1835. 2 The first daughter, Märtä, married in 1849 at the age of 34 years. From then on the other three sisters were in another place, and they were 29, 26 and 24 years old. When their father died in 1852 they come back at different intervals. The youngest one was the first to come back to her mother and the married sister while the fourth came back just for a couple of years. For these years it is very difficult to reconstruct exactly the coresidence of the family, as the unmarried sisters were highly mobile, moving out of and coming back to the parental household, and when they were away they did not have a stable residence. The situation appears clearer when the first sister (who created the stem family) died. Her husband moved to another place and the fifth daughter settled with the mother. So did also the third sister, who lived with them until 1865 when she moved out for good.

**Family line 6.5 Brita Larsdotter (DDB- Pnr 790001150).**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Birth Name</th>
<th>Märtä, Brita</th>
<th>1790 Brita</th>
<th>1793 Johan</th>
<th>1815 Märtä</th>
<th>1818 Brita Christina</th>
<th>1820 Brita Nina</th>
<th>1823 Segrid Lina</th>
<th>1825 Anna Greta</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Husband</td>
<td>V</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>F</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Daughter</td>
<td>o</td>
<td>o</td>
<td>o</td>
<td>o</td>
<td>o</td>
<td>o</td>
<td>o</td>
<td>o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Date</td>
<td>1849</td>
<td>1825-1852</td>
<td>1849</td>
<td>1852</td>
<td>1852</td>
<td>1855</td>
<td>1855</td>
<td>1855</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In other cases the stem family was continued by the son-in-law or by the grandson. A case of early death involved Anna Greta Lögberg, 3 who lived in Attmar and married a rich peasant that was a member of the Swedish Parliament. She married in 1812 when she was 21 years old and she had two sons and one daughter between the age of 22 and 28 years. The second son died after a few months. The first son lived in the parental household until 1852 when he died unmarried at the age of 39. The sister, Engla Margreta, instead married Aron in 1842,

---

1 DDB Pnr 790001150.
2 The second daughter, Brita Christina, died in the year she was born, 1818.
3 DDB Pnr 791000969.
when she was 22 years old.\(^1\) In 1852, the year of the death of the brother, her husband became the head of the household. In 1870 Engla died at the age of 54 and the mother, Anna Greta, widow since 1867, continued to live with the son-in-law Aron, but the farm and the property were inherited not by him, who was just the husband of the owner, but by the son or the grandson of Anna Greta Jonas August Flodén born in 1845.

Family line 6.6 Anna Greta Lögberg (DDB- Pnr 791000969).

| Birth Name     | 1791 Anna Greta | V = Marriage | 1852 Engla Margreta | 1813 Lars | F = Birth; D = Death; * = Birth and death at the same year; I = Immigration; U = Outmigration; X = Out- and immigration at the same year; V = Marriage; o = Relocation; # = In- and outmigration at the same year; = = On the same page as the headperson.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Husband</td>
<td>1813 Lars</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Son</td>
<td>1815 Engla</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Daughter</td>
<td>1819 Johan</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Computerized parish registers, DDB, Umeå University. Code explanation: F = Birth; D = Death; * = Birth and death at the same year; I = Immigration; U = Outmigration; X = Out- and immigration at the same year; V = Marriage; o = Relocation; # = In- and outmigration at the same year; = = On the same page as the headperson.

These cases show that on some occasions a dead son could be replaced by a grandchild. Here the second generation that coresided consisted of daughters, and when they died, the property was transferred to their sons and not to the husbands, who continued to be widowers. The decision of the widowed person to continue the coresidence or to move to another place was probably influenced by the value of the property. If the value of the household in question was high, the widowed person probably remained with the parents of the spouse. In case there was an occasion to remarry and to move to a better living arrangement, the widowed person probably considered this option. The historical material available for this study does not explain in detail the value of each property and consequently it is not possible to proceed with this kind of research. However, the above-mentioned example of Anna Greta Lögberg could support this hypothesis, since the farm in question was owned by a member of the Swedish parliament, which makes it likely that the value of the property was high.

The stem family with the presence of unmarried children

There could also be differences in the stem family structure when there were both married and unmarried children in the household. This could mean that the household was a large production unit and that consequently there was room for several members of the second generation. In this way the relationship between the two generations might be good and it could be an indication of good collaboration among the members of the family. On the other hand, it could be the opposite and with the passing of time the members could have discovered that there were too many conflicts and the unmarried children preferred to migrate. For this reason it is important also to consider the age of the unmarried child and the number of years of coresidence in the parental household with the parents and the married sibling. In total it was found that 37 stem families had both married and unmarried children in their household for some time. Jack Goody has seen in the stem family cycle periods when there were married and unmarried children in the household:

\(^1\) The mother was 51 years old.
in principle, these phases should follow this sequence. 1 parents with unmarried children (nuclear phase) 2 the married heir as the head of the household living with the retired parents and perhaps some unmarried brothers and sisters; 3 the married heir with a widowed parents and or unmarried siblings, 4 married heir with only his wife and children.1

Actually two types of coresidence with unmarried children were found. The first concerns a short period and later on the unmarried children moved away, and the second concerns a long period that in same cases lasted a whole lifetime.

The presence of unmarried children for a short time

In this situation there was probably no plan to live with both a married and an unmarried child. The latter lived with the parents because they did not yet have a stable position in society. Once they were ready to start an independent life outside of the family, they migrated and often married. In many cases the unmarried children in question were young and not ready to move to another place. In the 78 stem families found, 21 experienced the coresidence with unmarried children for a short period, which was between 1 and 5 years.

Anna Lögdahl, born in 1791, had five children who were crofters.2 The stem family was created with the third son Anders, born in 1821, when she was 30 years old, and he married in 1851. At that time the fifth son was dead, the first daughter lived in the parish and after two years she married moving to another place. After the marriage of the third son, Anders, the second son and the fourth daughter were recorded outside the household as unmarried, but they came back in 1855 and 1856 aged 38 and 35 years respectively. They stayed with the parents and the married brother no more than four years and then they married and moved outside the parish.

Family line 6.7 Anna Lögdahl (DDB- Pnr 791000971).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Birth Name</th>
<th>Birth Year</th>
<th>Death Year</th>
<th>Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Anna Juliana</td>
<td>1791</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lars</td>
<td>1784</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Husband</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Daughter</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Claes</td>
<td>1817</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Son</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anders</td>
<td>1821</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Son</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anna Johanna</td>
<td>1826</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Daughter</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lars Eric</td>
<td>1831</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Son</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Computerized parish registers, DDB, Umeå University. Code explanation: F = Birth; D = Death; * = Birth and death at the same year; I = Immigration; U = Outmigration; X = Out- and immigration at the same year; V = Marriage; o = Relocation; # = In- and outmigration at the same year; = = On the same page as the headperson.

Coresidence with married and unmarried children for a long period

In 16 other cases the coresidence with married and unmarried children was significantly long. This means that probably there was an intention to live with two children and consequently one could suppose that the household was a large unit production. On the other hand, the unmarried child that lived with the parent and with the married sibling might have

2 DDB Pnr 791000971.
wanted to migrate and create his/her own household but for various reasons\(^1\) s/he was not able to and thus had no better option than to live with the original family.

Brita Ersdotter\(^2\) was a wife’s crofter born in 1791 who had two daughters, Stina in 1822 and Anna in 1825 at 31 and 34 years of age. After a couple of years as servants outside the household they come back and the second, Anna, married in 1853. The first sister lived unmarried until 1858 when she married. In these situations a member of the second generation would have moved after some years in many crofters’ families. In this case the two sisters were recorded on the same page for the following years as well.

Family line 6.8 Brita Ersdotter (DDB- Pnr 791001006).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Birth Name</th>
<th>Husband</th>
<th>Daughter</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1791</td>
<td>Brita Stina</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1798</td>
<td>Anders</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1822</td>
<td>Stina</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1825</td>
<td>Anna</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Computerized parish registers, DDB, Umeå University. Code explanation: F = Birth; D = Death; * = Birth and death at the same year; I = Immigration; U = Outmigration; X = Out- and immigration at the same year; V = Marriage; o = Relocation; # = In- and outmigration at the same year; = = On the same page as the headperson.

Henric Ingemarsson\(^3\) was a peasant born in 1799 who lived all his life with the first son and the third daughter (the second son died at birth). The daughter Lisa married in 1847 at 27 years of age and constituted the stem family. In 1866 she took over the farm with her husband. The son Ingemar did not marry and lived in the same place.

Family line 6.9 Henric Ingemarsson (DDB- Pnr 799001556).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Birth Name</th>
<th>Wife</th>
<th>Son</th>
<th>Daughter</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1799</td>
<td>Henric</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1800</td>
<td>Märta</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1828</td>
<td>Ingemar</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1829</td>
<td>Anders</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1830</td>
<td>Lisa</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Computerized parish registers, DDB, Umeå University. Code explanation: F = Birth; D = Death; * = Birth and death at the same year; I = Immigration; U = Outmigration; X = Out- and immigration at the same year; V = Marriage; o = Relocation; # = In- and outmigration at the same year; = = On the same page as the headperson.

When a child married and created a stem family with the first generation, the other children were already usually out of the parental household. At the time of the marriage of the child that later on would take control of the parental household, there was another unmarried child.

\(^1\) It could be that he had physical or mental problems and was consequently unable to head a household of his own.

\(^2\) DDB Pnr 791001006.

\(^3\) DDB Pnr 799001556.
living with the second generation in less than half of the cases. In a few cases the child who was present was very young and not able yet to migrate or start an independent life. In other cases the child stayed with the married sibling for a short period and later on migrated and married. This seems to have been the rule. A small number of the cases lived for a long time with married and unmarried siblings and for some of them this kind of coresidence lasted until the first generation died. In other cases the unmarried children stayed for a long period before moving to another place. In these circumstances the unmarried children were still very young or they married at an age over the average. Only in a very few cases did the unmarried children marry and continue to live with their parents. Probably the rural families did not have enough resources in the production and in dwelling for the first generation and two couples of married children. Thus when a child constituted a stem family, the other siblings knew that for them there would come a time when they would have to move and start a new independent life in another place. Many of them decided to do so after a few years; others needed more time to choose a place and organize this sort of migration.

A socio-economic consideration

In conclusion, 78 people experienced coresidence with married children and created a stem family cycle. This means that around 58% of the people in this sample had the possibility once married to live with their young and unmarried children. Later on one of them married and the complex household was created. In these cases some people did not live in accordance with the full definition of the stem family. In 25 cases, the child who married and created the stem family did not spend all his/her life with the first generation, while in 9 cases the child died.

Until now this micro study has not considered the three social groups, crofters, peasants and workers. The first step aimed at showing the number of people that were living with children and illustrating that the planning to create a stem family could be interrupted by some factor such as the migration or the death of the second generation. The second step is to consider the social groups and illustrate whether there were any differences. Table 6.10 summarizes this economic perspective. It is important to remember that, when a stem family was found in the life course analysis, there were no differences concerning these three social groups. So in this way the general examples that have been presented here are valid for these social groups. The great difference concerns how the stem family cases are distributed among the social groups. Peasants were the ones with the highest number of stem families. 50 peasants created a coresidence with married children, and there were 65 people in this group, which means that 76% of the peasants lived in a stem family. There were 24 crofters (48%) with stem families out of a total of 49 and only 4 workers (19%) that lived with married children for a great part of their lives. This data clearly explains and confirms that peasants were the group that could easily create a stem family. More than three fourths of them experienced this living arrangement. Their households were production units and they probably needed two married couples to work on the farm. In this way the first generation could continue to live in their household and have guarantees for their old age. The second generation had the possibility to have a social position desired by many people at that time. The child married and headed for some years the farm with the parents and later on he inherited the farm and became the head of the household.

For the crofters this was a real possibility, because they were not in practice the owners of the land on which they were living and working, but they had the right to stay. They paid a rent to the owner of the land, so they had an interest in having a high production. In these conditions some children probably continued to live in the parental household. However, the presence of stem families in the crofters’ group was less common than in that of the peasants.
As regards the workers, it seems that this group was not likely to live with married children for a long time.

Table 6.10 The different types of stem family according to their social status.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Crofters</th>
<th>Peasants</th>
<th>Workers</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Classical stem family</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Migration</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dead</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>78</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Computerized parish registers, DDB, Umeå University.

Four cases, 21% of the workers, experienced a stem family. In this case too, as in the previous chapter, it seems that the social position of the first generation influenced the creation of the stem family. When parents had some property or part of land to transfer to their offspring, these were more likely to live with them. In the case of the workers, who did not have any economic asset to transfer to the second generation as inheritance, it was very difficult to keep children in the same place, and they probably moved out looking for better economic opportunities.

In general it is possible to confirm the results presented in the previous analysis. The peasants were the most likely to live with married children, while the workers were the group with the greatest difficulties in creating this double coresidence. Now one can also confirm that the peasant group was the one where married children were coresiding for a long time and where there was no coresidence just for some years and then this was broken.

The difference among the social groups is due also to the quality of the stem family. More than 60% of the peasants experienced the classical stem family. The child that inherited the farm never moved outside the parental household. In 19 cases the stem family did not exactly correspond to the definition. In six cases the children died before the parents and in 13 cases the children did not spend their whole lives with the parents. Some of them migrated and came back before their marriage, while others left the parental house after marriage and many years of coresidence with the first generation. In such cases 32% of the peasants experienced the stem family but in a particular way. In six cases the coresidence with children was interrupted by the death of the second generation and consequently it is not possible to explain this factor as a direct desire to stop the stem family.

The main cause of the break-up of a stem family was the migration of the children. Among the crofters the second generation moved before marrying to have some money to start the new coresidence with a spouse and the first generation. In such cases the proportion of people that did this was larger in the crofters’ group than in the peasants’ group. The children of the peasants instead migrated after many years of coresidence. The reasons why the two generations wanted to interrupt the coresidence are unknown. However, it was found that for three of them it was just an error of interpretation of the minister, who listed the two generations on two separate pages for a decade. The number of missing stem families may therefore be reduced. There were three children that migrated before the constitution of the coresidence, which could indicate that peasants’ families did not need to work in another place in order to accumulate a small capital for the wedding. Probably children working on the parental farm had a right or access to the capital saved.

In the case of the death of the children, it was also possible to see some differences. In the crofters’ group the spouse that became a widow/er moved away and left their parents-in-law. For the peasants’ group the in-laws continued to live with the parents of the dead spouse, probably because the financial situation was good enough to allow such an arrangement. The first generation could continue to receive support in the household and the second generation was not obliged to move to another place and start a new life. The position on a farm at that
time could be considered one of the most popular ambitions that a person could have in a rural society and once obtained a person would have wanted to keep it.

Differences in the social groups were searched for as regards the presence of married and unmarried children at the same time. Among the crofters in 13 cases the first generation lived for some time in households where there was one married and one unmarried child. Among the peasants 24 people lived for some time with married and unmarried children. Proportionately there is no difference. As regards the coresidence with unmarried children for a short period, this was a sort of physiological step. The other children were probably still young and they had to wait some more years before moving from the parental household.

Table 6.11 Number of cases of coresidence with married and unmarried children at the same time.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Crofters</th>
<th>Peasants</th>
<th>Workers</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Short period</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Long period</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stem family in general</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>78</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Computerized parish registers, DDB, Umeå University.

The number of children born did not differ among the crofters and the peasants, so it was normal that both the social groups had some child that had to move outside the parental household. As to those that lived for a long period with unmarried and married children, the results are surprising. In theory one would have expected that peasants were more able to offer work also to an unmarried child. Actually, in this social group there were many servants living in the household, and consequently the first generation could employ a child instead of a servant. In the case of crofters, it was probably more difficult to employ other people in addition to the two married generations. The results give the impression that both crofters and peasants had the same number of cases that lived with unmarried and married children for a long period. Having those unmarried children in the household was perhaps not a matter of planning, but there were people that probably desired to marry and build their own household but for different reasons were unable to do so.

The workers had no experience of coresidence with unmarried and married children at all. This further confirms that people that had the household as a consumption unit had great difficulty in starting a stem family. In their case two married generations probably had difficulties in coresiding and consequently it was hard to live with a further unmarried child.

The previous studies: An attempt at comparison

After the presentation of the coresidence in the Sundsvall area in the nineteenth century through a micro study, it could be interesting to make a comparison with previous studies. The first point to underline concerns the method and the aim that the other studies had. The method of this study was to reconstruct the life of individuals in their old age. The selected people were followed during their lives observing whether they stayed in one place or moved to different places. The focus was on the individuals. The last works done in Sweden similar to this research studied the properties. This means that they looked at the different farms in a certain parish and at the transfer of this property. Consequently these studies focused on the single properties and the different owners that passed. Moreover, the present study selected people that had reached 80 years of age and had always lived in the parish linked by the DDB including landowners as well as workers and crofters. For this reason it is not easy to make a clear comparison between this study and the others. The part that could be most interesting to consider concerns the peasants. Considering the transfer of the property, it is logical to think that when there was a stem family among the peasants, the property was transferred through the two generations. In such cases, it seems that most of the peasants coresided with married children.
children and consequently it could be supposed that the property passed to the younger generation and that this probably happened with a retirement contract. Martin Dribe and Christer Lundh found that this practice was common among the landowners in Scania during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. There were many contractual transfers in the first period, and all the transfers to children were connected to retirement. It seems that transfers to others than children became more important in the first half of the nineteenth century, and that the traditional forms of land transmission yielded to more modern transfers through the market. Retirement was important for the transferring parents’ children but not for other people. Moreover, they found that the age when the transfer took place was 40 for the seller and 32 for the buyer. If we think about the retirement contract, we can say that it was set up when the contracting parties were 58 and 29 years old respectively. Madeleine Bonow is of the same opinion. She saw that the land was transferred among the peasants inside the family and in some cases a cousin could also be involved. In her study it was possible to see that the land normally could be transferred through two centuries in the same family. Some years earlier Magnus Perlestam investigated a community in the south of Sweden and found that most of the properties were owned by the same family during two centuries. This type of study could not have been made of the present sample, but some cases were noted where the stem family continued from the end of the eighteenth century to the end of the nineteenth century, as for example the case of Anders Bergström mentioned above. Another work that considered the transfer of property was done by Sofia Holmlund, who assumed that the main part of the property was transferred to the younger generation. But it seems that the property was not owned by the same family for a very long period. For example, out of 110 properties in 1810 only 42 were still owned by the same family in 1850. In such cases the destiny of the properties was also studied. People might have changed farms moving from one place to another but the coresidence with married children was not interrupted. Moreover, the researchers spoke about transfer of property, so it is not possible to know if the two generations were living together, and moreover it is also not possible to know if the parents and children coresided after the transfer. In the present research, more than half of the people coresided or at least lived in the same place. According to Sabaen, if two generations were living in the same farm it was normal that

“over the entire period it was usual to charge for services with a plow or wagon of for labor by hand. Parents charged children, children parents. All of the evidence shows that people with farm inventory relied on kin to offer them the opportunity to work their land. In many situations, reciprocal, non monetary arrangements could have been made, or people could have worked for each other to pay off their debts.”

The same opinion is held by Persson, who in a study of the south of Sweden found that old peasants lived with their adult children creating a stem family:

“These were often stem families, where the eldest son had taken over his father’s farm in exchange for free lodging for the rest of his life. During the early phases of a new family cycle

the young farmer’s parents were still living under his roof, but after a time their importance as consumers and a source of labor decreased, or they died. In some cases they were then replaced with ordinary lodgers, who probably used the rooms the old people had previously lived in.”

As regards crofters there are not many studies that could refer to the coresidence between the two generations. The problem is that in the last few years interest has been focused just on the land and not on the people. Crofters could not transfer the property and thus they have been excluded from this study. They had only the right to live on a property owned by another person, but may have been able to live on the croft throughout their lives and to transfer this right to their children. An interesting study was made by Gerger and Miller in the middle of the eighties analyzing the parish of Locknevi in the south of Sweden. In that area there were crofters and peasants. The ownerships helped to create a more secure form of tenure than did the croft contract; peasant families were better able to maintain control of farms than the crofters. Care during old age among peasants was much closely connected to intergenerational transfers of ownership than was the case for the crofters. Farmers could maintain control of their properties for much longer periods of time. They had a greater ability to transfer ownership than did the crofters. The two scholars noticed that the value of the land was very important for the transmission of the properties to the younger generations. This happened in particular among the crofters. The largest crofts were usually transferred to their children, “those at the top solidifying and maintaining a better social and economic position were strong incentives for stability and intergenerational transfer. For those near the bottom, on the poorest torp [croft] the alternatives were simply too unacceptable, functioning as an equally strong negative incentive.”

The coresidence with exclusively unmarried children

The previous section analyzed the stem family in different aspects. Around half of the people experienced this kind of familiar structure and the other half never had a married child in the household. The presence of unmarried children in the stem family has already been mentioned, and here the coresidence merely with unmarried children will be described. In total 15 people spent their old age for a long period with unmarried children. As to the real aim of this study, the coresidence with unmarried children should be considered similar to that with married children. In both cases old people had the potential support of the second generation. However, in terms of the classical categorization these two coresidences are not the same. The first generation living with an unmarried child has to be considered a nuclear family, while if the parents were living with a married child, the family has to be considered a complex family. Moreover, the coresidence with two generations that lived in the same place could create conflicts in the decision-making of the household. But on the other hand having a younger couple in the same place could have helped the first generation to keep the production of the household at a higher level.

2 Löfgren, O. / Hellspong, M. 1972, pp. 76-77.
3 Miller, R. / Gerger, T. 1985, p. 112.
5 Miller, R. / Gerger, T. 1985, p. 73.
In general, the same cycle of the stem family was found with the difference that the second generation never married. Some of the parents’ children moved from the parental household and married, while one child remained in the parental household without marrying.

Olof Ljusberg\(^1\) was a crofter born in 1785 who had four sons between 1812 when he was 27 years old and 1826, when he was 41 years old. The first son soon died, and the second and the third child moved outside home when they were 20 years old. The fourth son, Frans Gustav, did not move from the parental household and was recorded as worker; when Olof died at the age of 81 in 1866 Frans was 40 years old.

Family line 6.10 Olof Ljusberg (DDB- Pnr 785000761).

Catrina Henriksdotter\(^2\) (crofter) was born in 1800 and had one daughter and one son. The first daughter, born in 1834, married in 1860 at the age of 26, and lived for some years with the first generation and then she moved in the same parish, Tuna. The second son, Jonas, was born in 1838 when Catrina was 38 years old and lived all the time with his parents. When Catrina died, he was 46 years old.

Family line 6.11 Catrina Henriksdotter (DDB- Pnr 800001186).

As to the social status, 7 crofters, 4 peasants and 4 workers coresided with unmarried children. These peasants had more than one child and in general the second generation moved outside the parental household and married, while one son instead stayed in the household without marrying. The four workers that lived with unmarried children created this sort of

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\(^1\) DDB Pnr 785000761.  
\(^2\) DDB Pnr 800001186.
coresidence with daughters instead, but it has to be said that only one of them had two sons who moved to another place younger than 21 years old and after some years married.1

These numbers indicate once more that the social status could influence the coresidence with children. Actually there were not so many peasants proportionately that experienced this sort of nuclear family compared to the crofters or to the workers. In particular, the latter groups may not have had the possibility to have an extra family in the household and consequently they could only keep an unmarried child, but not the spouse and any children.

The return home or the transfer

Another solution that some people experienced was the return of the second generation to the parental place. A child reaching adult age migrated from the household and later on after many years he came back to the parental place or the parents went to him. This sort of category could be very difficult to define, but in some sense it could be defined as a very particular stem family where there is a long period with the two generations living in two different places. During this period of separation, the two generations probably continued to have a close contact. This could be proved by the fact that after some years they decided to reconstruct the multigenerational family. The definition of a long period is very subjective and in some cases the decision not to define these following cases as stem families was difficult and is still uncertain.

Thirteen individuals have been found that first lived for a period with their children, then with the children being away and finally for some time with the children when they had returned. Eight of them belonged to the crofters’ group, three to the workers’ group and two to the peasants’ ones. In these cases it is important to know whether the children that came back home were married or not.

Olof Berglund2 was a crofter born in 1794; he had three daughters in 4 years between 1821 and 1825. All of them migrated from the parental household before 20 years of age and everyone came back. The oldest one was the first to return the year after the death of the mother. She stayed for some years, later on she went away to marry, and after some years she died. With the marriage of the first daughter, Olof and the second daughter moved to the third daughter, Brita, who was living with a peasant in the same village. The second daughter migrated in 1864 and after few years she died. Olof continued to live in the household of the third daughter until he died.

Family line 6.12 Olof Berglund (DDB-Pnr 794001159).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Birth Name</th>
<th>1794 Olof V</th>
<th>1790 Catharina V</th>
<th>1821 Maria Lena F</th>
<th>1823 Anna Cajsa F</th>
<th>1825 Brita Christ F</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Birth</td>
<td>V</td>
<td>I</td>
<td>D</td>
<td>V</td>
<td>D</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Y 1790</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wife</td>
<td>V</td>
<td>I</td>
<td>D</td>
<td>V</td>
<td>D</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Y 1821</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Daughter</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>I</td>
<td>D</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Y 1823</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Daughter</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>I</td>
<td>D</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Y 1825</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Computerized parish registers, DDB, Umeå University. Code explanation: F = Birth; D = Death; * = Birth and death at the same year; I = Immigration; O = Outmigration; X = Out- and immigration at the same year; V = Marriage; o = Relocation; # = In- and outmigration at the same year; = = On the same page as the headperson.

1 The person in question is Elin Andersdr: DDB Pnr 813001084.
2 DDB Pnr 794001159.
Anna Larsdotter (worker) had three children. The first daughter, born when she was 31, left the parental home young. After some years of work in different places she married and later on moved outside the region. The second child was a son, who died at birth. The third was a daughter, Brita. She also moved outside home very young and she married in 1848 at the age of 35 when the mother was 68. Eleven years later, when Anna was a widow, she moved to the daughter at the age of 79.

In four cases (three crofters and one worker) the parents moved to children and in nine cases (five crofters, two peasants and two workers) children came back to the parental household. In such cases the social classes differed from one another. For example, reuniﬁcation of the two generations was uncommon among the peasants, who had a better chance to offer a stable work opportunity to the second generation, and consequently it was easier continuing to coreside with children. Among the other two social classes, the stem family could be weaker from an economic point of view and the two generations could experience periods in their lives when a coresidence among them was not convenient, so that they might have preferred to separate and to reunite at a later stage. Another interesting point concerns the fact that children normally came back to the parental household and not the opposite, which could mean in a sense that the old parents had a sort of independent life and did not really need the presence of their children, otherwise the ﬁrst generation could also have moved to the child’s place. However, to reach this point in a clearer way one should look also to the economic possibility that children and parents had. The generation that moved to the other was probably the one with the worst economic position.

Children’s network
This group consists of those that had children but the latter once adult moved outside the parental household to work and they did not come back. However in some cases this sort of children’s network could help old parents in case of need. In general 25 people spent their old age with children outside the household. The crofters that only had children outside home were 11, the peasants were 5 and the workers were 9. However, in some cases it is difﬁcult to deﬁne this sort of relation among the two generations. Some children spent the ﬁrst part of their lives with the ﬁrst generation and maybe they married and lived some years with their parents before moving for good to another place.

In general children moved outside home at different ages and for different reasons. Some of them migrated very young, around 18, and some around 25 years of age, in some cases in

1 DDB Pnr 780001003.
order to work and in others in order to marry. In the same family there were children that
moved outside very young to work while their siblings left the parental household to marry.
In other cases children left home when recently married. Brita Nilsdotter1 (crofter) had
three children and a foster-daughter. The first daughter left home to work when she was 17
and came back and married later on. Finally she moved for good. The second child married in
1820 at the age of 24 and after a few years he moved within the same parish. The third
daughter had the same destiny as the first. She started to work outside very young and later on
she come back married to stay a couple of years before she moved outside the parish. The
adopted daughter stayed in the household until she was 27 years old and then married and
moved.

Family line 6.14 Brita Nilsdotter (DDB-Pnr 771000617).

Birth Name

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>1771 Brita</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Husband

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>1765 Lars</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Daughter

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>1793 Siri</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Son

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>1797 Perh</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Daughter

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>1802 Anna Brita</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Fosterdaughter

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>1818 Caja Brita</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Computerized parish registers, DDB, Umeå University. Code explanation: F = Birth; D = Death; * = Birth and death at the same year; I = Immigration; U = Outmigration; X = Out- and immigration at the same year; V = Marriage; o = Relocation; # = In- and outmigration at the same year; = = On the same page as the headperson.

The destiny of the other people is very similar to the one mentioned. For example Helena
Holm2 married a worker and they had a son and a daughter. The first son moved to another
parish in 1844 when he was 21 and he never came back. The mother was 51 years old at that
time. The second daughter moved outside in 1850 when she was 18 and Helena 57. She came
back for one year and then she married at 24 years of age and lived in the same village as her
mother.

Family line 6.15 Helena Holm (DDB- Pnr 792001102).

Birth Name

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>1792 Helena</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Husband

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>1798 Perh</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Son

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>1823 Perh</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Daughter

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>1832 Sara Greta</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Computerized parish registers, DDB, Umeå University. Code explanation: F = Birth; D = Death; * = Birth and death at the same year; I = Immigration; U = Outmigration; X = Out- and immigration at the same year; V = Marriage; o = Relocation; # = In- and outmigration at the same year; = = On the same page as the headperson.

1 DDB Pnr 771000617.
2 DDB Pnr 792001102.
Differences among social groups could be found. Peasants' children generally moved outside the parental household to marry. This means in general that these children moved outside home at around 25 and 30 years of age. To some extent they spent more time with the parents than those crofters whose children moved outside home when they were teenagers.

It is curious to see that these people had a property that could be inherited by the second generation, but these children still lived outside the parental household. Actually looking at the catechetical registers, four of these peasants were registered as retired. The children may have had better opportunities than in the parental household and consequently they had left home. The parents could always transfer the property to other people.

The condition of the crofters and of the workers was very similar in such cases. Some of the children left home to marry and others to work and only later on the married. This indicates that these two social groups had no possibility to offer their children a job opportunity and consequently they moved to work as servants in another place as soon as they had grown up.

Without children

The last group of people that have been noticed are people that had children who died young or moved from the region and are thus impossible to follow in the DDB records. Three people experienced this situation and they spent their old age alone.

Catarina Mårtensdr\(^1\) (crofter) had two children at the age of 35 and 43 years and both died within one year of life. After some years the husband died and she became a widow at the age of 57 years. She remarried at 60 years of age in 1847 with a man who was 31 years younger than she. They lived together until in 1879 the husband died and after one year Catarina also died.

Stina Byström\(^2\) was married to a peasant and they had one daughter and one son. The daughter left the parental place to marry when she was 28 years old and after three years she died. The son Elias stayed with the parents until the age of 33 and then he moved to a parish outside the DDB’s region and after that there is no information about his destiny. The elderly couple lived alone but it the register indicates that they had a retirement contract. The only person that was possible to recognize was the husband of the dead daughter, who was living in Sundsvall. Maybe he still had some legal role in the retirement contract and was helping them in some financial way. The last case was Pehr Brundin,\(^3\) who had one son when he was 28 years of age. The son Jöns married and lived for 8 years with the parents and then he moved to Indal. In 1858 when Pehr was a widower and 73 years old, Jöns moved outside the region.

These examples show that even if the child mortality and the risk of dying in the adult age were high, most people were usually able to have a living adult child. People probably knew the importance of children, and when they lost a child and were still in the fertile period, they tried to have some more children to replace the dead one. It seems that the risk that all the children would have moved far away was also minimal. This discussion is however connected more to the ability to follow the individuals today than to the real relationship that people had outside the Sundsvall region. Living outside this region did not mean that people could not have any contact with their parents that remained. The point is that it is not possible to know if the people outside the region died after some time or if they continued to keep in contact with their parents and possibly came back them.

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\(^1\) DDB Pnr 786000053.
\(^2\) DDB Pnr 807001149.
\(^3\) DDB Pnr 782001121.
Widowed parents and their children

This part of the study aims at the widowhood and addresses what happened within the families when a member of the first generation died. In particular it wants to discover whether the constitution of the coresidence was influenced more by the age of the second generation or by the fact that a parent died and that there thus was transfer of property. It was already discussed that with the DDB file it was not possible to capture the exact moment of the widowhood and of the marriage of the second generation. Looking at the people in a dynamic way makes it possible to see the exact sequence of the events.1

In the sample for the micro study, 114 individuals (84.4%) lost their partners. The number is very high because in this case all the selected people died older than 80 years of age. There were 78 women and 36 men. The mean age of widowhood from the last partner was 68.4. Thus in the following years the individual lived as a widow/er. Men become widowed older than women because they were older than their wives.

The previous section discussed how people could experience the widowhood of the first generation in a longitudinal way. Four alternatives were found: the first generation lived and continued to live with unmarried children, the first generation started to live with married children after the death of the spouse, the first generation lived with married children but later on this coresidence was broken, and finally the first generation was already living with married children and continued to live with them after the widowhood. The previous analyses were not able to see in detail the age of children at the death of the parents. Maybe they were still young and thus were unmarried and only later on they married, or the opposite, the parents died very old, and the children were adult and already married. Moreover the structure of the data files created by the DDB was not able to identify the exact moment of the widowhood and to see whether there were any changes in proximity to the death of the member of the first generation. With the study of 135 individuals it is possible to determine the age of the two generations at the moment of the death of the parents and at the moment of the marriage of the children.

Table 6.12 Changes of coresidence with married children before and after the widowhood of the first generation.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Zero married children before the widowhood – zero married children after the widowhood</th>
<th>Zero married children before the widowhood – one married child after the widowhood</th>
<th>One married child before the widowhood – zero married children after the widowhood</th>
<th>One married child before the widowhood – one married child after the widowhood</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>32</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Crofters</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>Crofters</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Peasants</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>Peasants</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Workers</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>Workers</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Computerized parish registers, DDB, Umeå University.

Table 6.12 shows the four possibilities that the first generation could have before and after the death of the partner. As was shown previously, it was difficult for people that lived with married children before the widowhood to stop this coresidence. In general it seems that people were already living with married children and this stem family continued also after the widowhood. There is also a large proportion of the sample that was living with no married children before the death of the partner. Some of them (24) started a stem family later on.

1 This part of analysis answers in a different way some questions proposed at the beginning this chapter. It would probably have been better to present these results after the first part. However, it was preferred to present them here with regard to the method and cohort, which are the same as those used in this section.
People who coresided with no married children before and after the death of the partner

It was found that 32 individuals did not live with married children before or after the death of the partner. In two cases these were people that had children who soon died, thus making it impossible to create a stem family. In 15 other cases the children had already left home when the parent died and later on they did not come back. They had already created a family of their own and probably they did not have any reason to change the place of residence again.

Catharina Fransdotter1 (crofter) had five children none of whom was present when her husband died. They moved outside home in their twenties and they married. This happened between 1846 and 1853. Her husband died in 1873 when she was 77 years of age. At that time the children were between 39 and 52 years of age and had had their own families for many years in the parish or in the surrounding area.

Family line 6.16 Catharina Fransdotter (DDB-Pnr 796001155).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Birth Name</th>
<th>1796 Catharina</th>
<th>1798 Olof</th>
<th>1821 Lars</th>
<th>1824 Cajsa</th>
<th>1827 Nils</th>
<th>1829 Brita</th>
<th>1834 Fram</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>V = Birth</td>
<td>D = Death</td>
<td>V = Birth</td>
<td>V = Birth</td>
<td>V = Birth</td>
<td>V = Birth</td>
<td>V = Birth</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

Source: Computerized parish registers, DDB, Umeå University. Code explanation: F = Birth; D = Death; * = Birth and death at the same year; I = Immigration; U = Outmigration; X = Out- and inmigration at the same year; V = Marriage; o = Relocation; # = In- and outmigration at the same year; = = On the same page as the headperson.

In 11 other cases old people lived with unmarried children that never married. In this way a real stem family was not created and after the death of the parent they continued to stay with the family. Carin Ersdotter2 (crofter) became a widow in 1847 when she was 48. The first son stayed with her and sometimes he moved outside the household. In 1876 when the mother was 68 years old he came back definitively without marrying. The other daughter stayed with the mother until 1875 and then she moved to the parish and married.

Family line 6.17 Carin Ersdotter (DDB-Pnr 808000711).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Birth Name</th>
<th>1808 Carin</th>
<th>1787 Nils</th>
<th>1823 Anders</th>
<th>1843 Erik Jonas</th>
<th>1846 Son</th>
<th>1849 Brita Josefin</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>V = Birth</td>
<td>D = Death</td>
<td>V = Birth</td>
<td>V = Birth</td>
<td>V = Birth</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Computerized parish registers, DDB, Umeå University. Code explanation: F = Birth; D = Death; * = Birth and death at the same year; I = Immigration; U = Outmigration; X = Out- and inmigration at the same year;

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1 DDB Pnr 796001155.
2 DDB Pnr 808000711.
Four other cases are special. When Nils Danielsson, a crofter, became a widower, the three children had been outside home for many years. At the time the third son was unmarried and came back to his father and they moved together to another place. In other cases the children were too young when the parents died and moved out and married later on, or they moved and married outside the parental place in the same period as the widowhood occurred. In conclusion, it seems that there were two reasons why people did not live with married children. One was connected to the fact that the children already had their own marital life outside the parental place and thus had no interest in coming back, and the second one was due to fact that the children lived with the parents but they were unmarried. This indicates that in general the second generation did not move outside the parental place to marry or to work at the time when a parent became widowed. Actually, few cases were found where children moved outside home to marry after the death of the parents.

People that started the coresidence with children after the death of the spouse

This group of people represents the creation of the stem family after the death of one member of the first generation. The evolution of this family system could be summarized in this way: at the beginning there was the simple family with a married couple and unmarried children, later on the household was composed of a widow/er and unmarried children (still a simple family) and finally of an extended family, the first generation widowed and the second generation married. In 24 cases people married and lived with the widowed parent. As to their characteristics, some important differences emerged as well as the way in which this development took place. In seven cases the children married and constituted a stem family shortly after the death of the parents. These cases could represent the classical idea of children that waited for the death of the father to inherit the property and marry. Their age at the moment of the marriage was around 27 years and the parents were 62 years of age. This could indicate that it was the right moment for the children to marry but also when many parents was in the age to become widowed. At this point one might suppose that the marriage of the children was somehow connected to the death of the parents, or at least that the wedding had been anticipated for some years. Catarina Halvarsdotter (peasant) became a widow at the age of 57 and had three children. The first child married the year after the death of the father at the age of 27 and he created a stem family with the mother.

Family line 6.18 Catarina Halvarsdotter (DDB- Pnr 775000709).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Birth Name</th>
<th>Birth Date</th>
<th>Father</th>
<th>Mother</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1775 Catarina</td>
<td>1800</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1772 Pehr</td>
<td>1802</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1802 Olof</td>
<td>1816</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Son</td>
<td>1809</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Son</td>
<td>1816</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Daughter</td>
<td>1816</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Computerized parish registers, DDB, Umeå University. Code explanation: F = Birth; D = Death; * = Birth and death at the same year; I = Immigration; U = Outmigration; X = Out- and inmigration at the same year; 1 DDB Pnr 787000495. 2 DDB Pnr 775000709.
In seven other cases the children married and started a stem family many years after the death of the parent. These people married around the age of 40 and thus it is not likely that they waited so long time in order to marry and create the stem family. A particular case is that of Märta Eliaedotter, born in 1790 (crofter).¹ She had just one son when she was 27 years old, but she married in 1834. Her husband died when she was 54 years old. At that time the son was living unmarried in the household; he married around 15 years later at the age of 43. After some years he died and his wife left the household.

Family line 6.19 Märta Eliaedotter (DDB- Pnr 790001055).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Birth Name</th>
<th>1790 Märta</th>
<th>V = o==== ==== = ===== ===== ===== ===== ==== = D</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Husband</td>
<td>1799 Pehr</td>
<td>V = o==== ==== = D</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1817 Elias</td>
<td>o U I - o == oo o == ===== ===== ===== = V == == D</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Son</td>
<td>1790 Märta</td>
<td>V = o==== ==== = ===== ===== ===== ===== ==== = D</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Computerized parish registers, DDB, Umeå University. Code explanation: F = Birth; D = Death; * = Birth and death at the same year; I = Immigration; U = Outmigration; X = Out- and inmigration at the same year; V = Marriage; o = Relocation; # = In- and outmigration at the same year; = = On the same page as the headperson.

In six cases it is difficult to understand whether people married because of the death of the parent or because they decided to marry in any case. This concerns those people that lost the spouse quite young and had children that had not reached marital age. Catarina Ersdotter (peasant)² lost her husband when she was 40 years of age, and the oldest son was 17 years old and the youngest was 1 year of age. The fifth son created a stem family with Catarina when he was 20 years of age, 14 years after the death of the father. On one hand one can imagine that he married very young, as soon as possible to compensate for the loss of his father, but on the other there were the older children that could have married years earlier. The first child was 17 when the father died, so if there had been a real necessity to have a new married couple in the household, he could have married just a few years after the death of the father, but this was not the case. Maybe Catarina, who was 40 years old, was anyway able to head the farm with these six children, some of whom were able to help her (the first three children were over 14 when the father died) and some of whom were still young.

Family line 6.20 Catarina Ersdotter (DDB- Pnr 781001036).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Birth Name</th>
<th>1781 Catarina</th>
<th>V = o==== ==== = ===== ===== ===== ===== ===== ===== = D</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Husband</td>
<td>1804 Eric</td>
<td>F = ===== ===== ==== o - o - D</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1806 Jon</td>
<td>F = ===== ===== = U I o o o o - o - D</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Son</td>
<td>1808 Nils</td>
<td>F = ===== ===== = U I o o o o - o - D</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Son</td>
<td>1811 Anna Lisa</td>
<td>F = ===== ===== = U I o o o o - o - D</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Son</td>
<td>1815 Johan Peter</td>
<td>F = ===== ===== = U I o o o o - o - D</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Son</td>
<td>1820 Ingrid Caja</td>
<td>F = ===== ===== = U I o o o o - o - D</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Computerized parish registers, DDB, Umeå University. Code explanation: F = Birth; D = Death; * = Birth and death at the same year; I = Immigration; U = Outmigration; X = Out- and inmigration at the same year; V = Marriage; o = Relocation; # = In- and outmigration at the same year; = = On the same page as the headperson.

¹ DDB Pnr 790001055.
² DDB Pnr 781001036.
In two cases the children married after the death of the parent but after few years they moved to another place. Margareta Jonsdotter (peasant)\(^1\) became widowed when she was 54 years and the only son alive, Jonas, married at age 24 5 years after the death of his father and then moved to another place.

The last two cases regard children who married and moved outside the parental household when the first generation was still married. When one of the parents died they returned home. Eva Jonsdotter (peasant)\(^2\) had two children that married at 28 and 24 years of age. They lived together in the household (at the time there were three married couples in the same house) and then they left. When Eva became a widow at 74 years, the second son came back after 4 years and stayed with his mother until she died.

In conclusion, children married and lived with the first generation after the death of a parent, died not waited properly that moment to create their own family. They married when they wished.

People living with married children before widowhood and living with no married children after

This evolution of the familiar structure was uncommon and actually only eight cases were found. In seven of these the children left the parental household before the first generation was widowed or died before the widowhood of their parents. These seven cases indicate that, if there was a movement of the married second generation from the parental household, this happened before the death of the parent. This could support the hypothesis that, once there was a married child in the household and a member of the first generation died, this child would not have moved to another place. Probably because of the chance of taking on the headship of the household, and if there were no heavy conflicts in the household, the married child did not see any reason to move to another place.

There was just one case where a married child left home after the death of the parents and this person was a stepson. Erik Bolin, a peasant\(^3\) was married to Ingeborg, who was a widow with a son, Nils, from the previous marriage. Nils married in 1883 and moved outside home until 1886. Later on he came back in 1887. In 1891 Ingeborg died, Erik was 80 years old and Nils was 31 years of age. The year after he left home.

\[\text{Family line 6.21 Erik Bolin (DDB- Pnr 811001390).}\]

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Birth Name</th>
<th>1811 Erik</th>
<th>1809 Anna</th>
<th>1822 Ingeborg</th>
<th>1839 Stina</th>
<th>1859 Nils Olof</th>
<th>Stepson</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Birth Year</td>
<td>1835</td>
<td>1840</td>
<td>1845</td>
<td>1850</td>
<td>1855</td>
<td>1860</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mar.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Death</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| Source: Computerized parish registers, DDB, Umeå University. Code explanation: F = Birth; D = Death; * = Birth and death at the same year; I = Immigration; U = Outmigration; X = Out- and immigration at the same year; 1 = DDB Pnr 788000836.
2 = DDB Pnr 774000608.
3 = DDB Pnr 811001390.

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**People that lived with married children and continued the stem family after the widowhood**

This group is the largest one in the sample and it consists of 50 individuals. The main characteristic of this group is the higher age of the first generation at the time of the widowhood and the fact that it happened after many years in which the second generation had been married and had coresided with the parents. 13 of them were in their 50s and 60s when they lost the parent, and 37 were over 70 years of age. In theory, their children were already adult and probably married. 37 children married before 30 and 11 between 30 and 35 years of age. Only two children married at the age of 38 and 34 years. This explains once more that the decision to create a coresidence with married children did not depend on the marital status of the first generation but on the second generation that decided to marry according to their desire. The marital status of the parents probably influenced the marriage of the children only for some years. Brita Ersdotter’s (peasant) third son (peasant) married at 38 years of age when Brita was 68. Eight years later, in 1878, her husband died. The son and Brita continued to live together until Brita died in 1886 at the age of 84.

Many cases in this category are similar to the one mentioned above. Children married and then continued to live with their parents in the classical stem family. The time that passed between the marriage of the second generation and the widowhood of the first one differed widely. In some cases it was just a question of a couple of years and in other cases the two married couple lived more than 20 years together. In 12 cases the death of the parents happened within five years after the constitution of the stem family, in 18 cases it was between 5 and 15 years and in 20 cases the widowhood took place more than 15 years later.

In conclusion, this analysis confirms the results and supports some hypotheses made before. In general people were able to live with married children for at least a short period of their lives. This coresidence was influenced more by the decision of the second generation to marry than the necessity of the parents once they became widowed. The second generation did not change in general their “family plan” on the occasion of the death of one of the parents. Married children, outside the household at the time of the death of the partner, continued to live in the neighbourhood keeping up the children’s network. There were some

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1 DDB Pnr 802000667.
children that for an unknown reason lived unmarried with the parents and continued with this marital status also when one of the parents died. Only in seven cases did the children marry and start a stem family after the death of a parent, but it is also true that they were in full marital age, and maybe the widowhood of the first generation speeded up the marriage by a few years. In other cases the children waited for some more years before marrying. Once married it was not common for these children to move from the parental household, and in the cases that it happened it was when the first generation was still married. In general, if the children coresided with the married parents and one of them died, the second generation did not move to another place. This was the case in particular when the widowhood occurred after many years and the household was complex (two married generations in the same household). During these years the possible conflicts between the two generations were solved or were not longer considered a problem. Once a parent died (and most of the time it was the father), the survivor was in a weaker position in the household and the second generation would have acquired more leadership. In such circumstances married children had no motivation to move to another place and they had a great deal of interest in staying with their parents.
Part three

A gender study

Coresidence with sons or daughters?

The last part of this study addresses the question of which child coresided with the parents. Was it a son or a daughter? Moreover, was it the oldest or the youngest child? Previous studies have looked at these questions from a different perspective. Scholars have studied the transfer of properties and they have considered only the landowner group and the transfer of properties and not of coresidences among parents and children. They have also looked at the transfer of properties from the first generation to other people that were not relatives.

The method used here considers the same order of children from birth. The first-born child is always regarded as the first child, even if s/he died in infancy. In such cases s/he continues to be counted as the first child in the following years. His/her sibling, (the one born after him/her), is regarded as the second child and continues to be regarded as such and not as a first child even when his/her brother or sister died. As with every other method it was possible to have different alternatives. For example scholars that have studied the transfer of property speak about, primogeniture or ultimogeniture when the land is transferred from one generation to another. With this method they consider only children present at a certain point of life and they “delete” from the study those children who died previously. The chance to continue to count all the children in the different periods of life of the second generation has advantages and disadvantages. The most interesting benefit concerns an easier treatment of the data from a statistical point of view. As this study considers the coresidences in different periods of the life of the first generation, it might be easy to keep the same number of births of the second generation. Otherwise the same person could be considered the third child born during the infancy, and then, if an older sibling died, s/he would be regarded as the second child, and finally, if the other older sibling died, s/he would become the first child.

Another advantage of this method is connected to one of the aims of this study. In theory, with the decline of the mortality, people that experienced the first industrialization had more chances of seeing their first child (as well as the other children) reaching adulthood. Always keeping the same order makes is possible to see these changes, in contrast to merely looking at the children present in a certain period of life. Thus this method of analyzing the primogeniture makes it possible to discover how the mortality could influence the rules of transferring the land.

The last advantage is connected to the choice to consider only the first five children born. Most of the people (5,686) did not have more than five children, but some individuals with more than 10 children (366) were however found. In case one wanted to analyse the primogeniture and the ultimogeniture, it was necessary to consider all the children from the first to the last with many difficulties and energy and time spent on following people that in some cases had a very large number of children. At this point it is not necessary to see which was the first or the second child at the different points of life of the first generation, because it is not possible to see the ultimogeniture anyway. However, 8,007 people had at least one child, 7,007 had at least a second child, and finally, as table 6.13 shows, 3,310 had at least five

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1 Here is an example that may help to describe better the problem of the order of children. Johan Isaksson (DDB Pnr 812001806) had four sons born between 1830 and 1839, in order of birth Henrik, Olof, Isak, and Petter. The first son died in 1846. Olof then became the oldest son in the family but in this analysis he continues to be the second child. In 1864 Olof died, and thus there were two sons alive, Isak (now the oldest) and Petter. In this case too, Isak and Petter continue to be the third and the fourth child and not the first and the second.
children. The age of the parents when the different children were born is important to consider. The first child was born when the parents were almost 28 years old. The other children were born later at intervals of two or three years, and consequently the fifth child was born when the parents were 37 years old. This data is important to study later on in order to see at what age of the parents the children reached marital age and could move to another place.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>N</th>
<th>Age of the parents when the first child was born</th>
<th>Age of the parents when the second child was born</th>
<th>Age of the parents when the third child was born</th>
<th>Age of the parents when the fourth child was born</th>
<th>Age of the parents when the fifth child was born</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>First child</td>
<td>8,007</td>
<td>27.7</td>
<td>Second child</td>
<td>7,007</td>
<td>30.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Second child</td>
<td>4,459</td>
<td>33.3</td>
<td>Third child</td>
<td>4,459</td>
<td>35.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Third child</td>
<td>4,459</td>
<td>37.4</td>
<td>Fourth child</td>
<td>3,310</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fourth child</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Fifth child</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 6.13 Number of children born and age of the parents at the moment of birth.

Source: Computerized parish registers, DDB, Umeå University.

Another important point about the order of the children concerns the gender. To create less confusion in counting the children, priority has been given to the order of the children in general without considering the gender of the second generation. The first child born is categorized as the first-born and later on, in an independent variable, the gender is written. In this way two siblings, a son (born as first) and a daughter (born as second), cannot be recorded both as the first son and the first daughter, as the son will be regarded as the first son and the daughter as the second daughter, even if from a certain point of view this daughter could be interpreted as the first daughter.

The first part of this study presents general results. This analysis introduces the entire sample without any division between the pre-industrial and the industrial cohort. Here the main point presents in practice the method of study and sees in general whether the first generation was more likely to live with sons or with daughters, and secondly it tries to understand which child was living with the parents, the first, the second, and so on. Which child was more likely to live and create a stem family? When did children (the first, the second, the third and so on) start to migrate? Is there any difference between sons and daughters in the coresidence and in the migration from home? The second part addresses this question with a more detailed statistical method, binary logistic regression, and there will be an explanation of why people chose sons instead of daughters.

Figures 6.1a and 6.1b show the coresidence between the first generation and unmarried sons and daughters. In every age category, especially at the beginning, there are more male than female children. This difference decreases over time. The reason is also in this case the fact that daughters married some years younger than sons or maybe that females moved out from the parental household to work as servants at a younger age. This could explain why the gap declines over time.

Probably, these children were still young when living at home but they were already planning to move outside one day. Figure 6.1b shows the coresidence with married children. Old people were more likely to coreside with married sons than with married daughters. When the parents were 55 years old, on one hand the second generation was probably still too young to marry, and on the other, the parents did not yet want to hand over their property. Consequently, there are no large differences if one knows that daughters married some years younger in life.
It is after the age of 60 that a stem family was created with a married son. The first generation lived more with married sons also in the following years.

The presence of married sons and daughters in the parish was analyzed. In such cases there are no large differences between the genders of the second generation except that the daughters married some years earlier. From these first results it is possible to notice that there was a precise choice in wanting a married son in the same place where the old parents were living. At marriage daughters found a place to live in the parish like the other sons that were not “chosen” to live with the first generation. Figure 6.1b shows that there was a good proportion of people living with only one married daughter. There are various reasons for this type of coresidence. In the first place it could be the case that the parents only had daughters or that the sons had died and the only adult children were daughters. Secondly, the sons might have found a better opportunity from an economic point of view and moved to and married in another place, or the parents might simply have preferred to live with the daughters.

The next step to introduce in the study is to look at which children lived with parents. In this way it is possible to see whether the first children were preferred as coresidents with the parents compared to their younger siblings.
Figure 6.2a First child at home, outside home or dead or missing. Sons N=3,593 at 60, N=2,537 at 70, N=963 at 80. Daughters N=3,630 at 60, N=2,553 at 70, N=1,000 at 80.

Source: Computerized parish registers, DDB, Umeå University.

Figure 6.2a shows the presence of the first child, (sons or daughters) according to the different ages of the first generation. In these cases children are recorded as living at home, which means that they were coresiding with the parents. “Outside home” means that they were living somewhere else and that consequently they could have possibly supported their elderly parents. The last alternative concerns when children were dead or missing. This category includes children that are considered dead here as well as those children who left the DDB’s region without coming back.

In such cases the sons and daughters had a slight difference in the coresidence in favour of the sons. It seems that the daughters were more likely to stay closer to their parents than their brothers, on one hand because the sons were more likely to live with their parents and consequently the daughters were forced to leave the parents’ household, and on the other hand it seems that the mortality or the distant migration among the sons was larger than among the daughters. This difference becomes larger and larger and reaches a peak at 80 years of age of the first generation. This indicates that there was not any higher mortality among the sons. When the parents were 80 years old, the children were adult and consequently the critical moment had already been passed. At this point one can suppose that the sons were more likely to migrate outside the region of Sundsvall and consequently were more distant from the parental household.

The same work has been done with the micro study of the 135 individuals. In this study it was possible to follow in general the coresidences and the migrations outside the parental household of the second generation from the moment when they were born.

Figures 6.2b and 6.2c show the first son and daughter and their coresidence with the parents. Almost all the first children were born before the first generation was 30 old, but a small number of them were born between 30 and 40 years of age, and then there are some exceptional 60-year-old people who married young widows with children. On average the first generation had the first child at the age of 28 years. As the studies of infant mortality show, there are people that lost the primogenitor after a short time, and actually the progressive number of dead first children increased strongly when the parents were younger than 40 years of age. Later on the number continued to increase but slowly and this trend seems to be similar for both the first sons and daughters.
Until the age of 40 years (for the parents), the children were still young and consequently they lived with them. Only a small number migrated and they were children who were born when the parents were around 20 years of age. Later on sons and in particular daughters began to move outside the parental household, when the parents were 50 years old and the children were around 20 years old, a perfect age to move outside home and start to work in some other place. This “migration” continued in the next decade, for sons it stopped at that point while for the daughters it continued in the following decades. When the parents were 60 years old, the first children were around 30 years old and many of them were married or were planning to marry soon. From this moment more than half of the first children were not living at home, some of them had died, a large proportion were living outside the parental household, and only around one third were living with parents. From then on the figures give a precise idea of the coresidence as regards sons and daughter. At 50 years of age of the first generation, the daughters started to migrate more than the sons, and in the following years the migration of the first sons began to stabilize while the daughters continued to migrate. The

1 Here migration is considered as in tables 5.2 and 5.3 at pages 68, 69.
sons were probably already married and knew that they would have to co-reside with their parents and create a stem family. The daughters probably lived with their parents until another sibling was married, and then they moved outside. At 80 years of age of the first generation, twice as many sons as daughters were living with their parents. At this point one can confirm that the first generation lived more frequently with first sons than daughters when the latter were adult and married. This confirms the traditional view that the stem family is constituted with a son and not with a daughter. On the other hand, it was shown that most of the first children were living outside of the parental household and thus the tradition that defines the stem family in terms of primogeniture cannot be supported.

Figure 6.3a concerns the second child and looks very similar to the one about the first child. The main difference is in the gender. The previous figure did not show a great difference in the coresidences between the first son and the first daughter. Here it is much clearer that the difference started already with parents who were 60 years old. And this difference continues constantly over time. In figure 6.2a this difference was not so marked. Here it seems that there was an intention to privilege sons over daughters. One similarity concerns the distribution of children living in the household and outside. At each age of the first generation, the first and the second children were living with the parents at a similar percentage. Just at 60 years of age there was probably a slight difference due to the fact that the second children were younger and consequently were more likely to be still at the parental place.

As to figures 6.3b and 6.3c, which concern the micro study of the birth and the co-residence of the second child born, it is possible to see additional similarities but also some other differences. In general it seems that the mortality among the second children was higher among sons and not similar as was the case of the first children. The second children were born mainly when the parents were younger than 30 but there is a good number who were born when the parents were between 30 and 40 years of age. The mean age of the parents when the second child was born was 31 years. In such cases the migration outside the parental household started between 40 and 50 years of age of the first generation, and a decade later more than half of the second children had left home. In this circumstance the number of sons and daughters that co-resided in the parental household seems to be the same until 70 years of age of the first generation. In the last period of their lives, there was a strong migration of daughters, and in this case too, sons were more likely to live with their parents than daughters.
Another point similar to the case of the first children is the general trend. This means that the events that the first children experienced occurred later here, because the second children were born some years later. As for the number of first and second children living with parents who were between 70 and 80 years of age, it is more or less the same. Probably the tradition of the first generation living with the first son (primogeniture) was not so common. However, the fact that parents were more likely to live with sons than with daughters continues to be confirmed.

The figure with the third sons or daughters is very similar to the others. There is a slight difference between son and daughters and the proportion of children that coresided with parents is similar. It seems that these children, being younger than their siblings, experienced the same destiny but with some years of delay.
Figure 6.4a The third child at home, outside home or dead or missing. Son N=2,632 at 60, N=1,827 at 70, N=704 at 80. Daughters N=2,497 at 60, N=1,770 at 70, N=694 at 80.

Source: Computerized parish registers, DDB, Umeå University.

Actually figures 6.4b and 6.4c indicate the relations between the third children and the first generation. It is clear that most of the third children were born when the parents were older than 30 years. Thus many of them were under 20 years of age when their parents were 50 and with this age the migration started. The third daughters were more likely to migrate than the third sons. When the parents were between 70 and 80 years of age, the number of sons living in the parental place was three times higher than that of the daughters. On one hand this could be due to the classical reason that the first generation preferred to live with male children rather than daughters, and on the other hand one can consider the age difference between the two generations. These children were born when the parents were between 30 and 40 years of age (the mean of the first generation at the birth of the third child was 34.6 years and 45% of them were born after the parents were 35 years old ). This means that when the parents were 70 years old, these children were around 35 years old or younger, and maybe the daughters, who usually married younger than the sons, already had their own family in another place, while some sons were still unmarried.

Figure 6.4b The destiny of the third son in numbers according to the age of the parents.

Source: Computerized parish registers, DDB, Umeå University.
In this case too the third children experienced the same trend as the first and the second children but just postponed for some years. It is also confirmed here that the first generation also lived with third children and this means once more that the primogeniture was not the only solution for the creation of the stem family.

From these first figures and results two points are clear. The first point shows that the first generation preferred to coreside with sons rather than daughters and the second indicates that the first son was not highly favoured as a coresident with his parents. There could be various reasons for this and they could be studied through a deeper analysis. For example, it could be interesting to see if the choice between sons and daughters depended on the genders of the other children, and to find out whether the coresidence with the first son was due to the fact that he was the only son, in which case it is better to speak about unigeniture. This analysis was made of the entire sample and without considering that industrialization could have changed the coresidences in some way.

**Coresidence and gender**

The following tables analyse the variables that could influence the choice in the coresidences of one child instead of another. It is important to see and to understand the years of birth of the parents, which indicates how much the first generation was involved in the industrialization process. As usual the occupation could also have influenced these choices, but in particular it is interesting to see the gender of all children born and the variable concerning whether the children were alive or were missing. Table 6.14a concerns the coresidences between the first married child and the parents.

It is possible to notice that, especially at 80 years of age, people during industrialization were less likely to live with the first children than the elderly that were 80 years old before the onset of industrialization. It is also evident that first sons were preferred to the first daughters. This proportion is very large, as the sons were more than twice more likely to coreside with the parents than the daughters and this gap increased over time. The same could be said about the other siblings. In case these were dead, never born or missing in general, the chance of the first child of living with the parents was twice as high.
Table 6.14a Binary logistic regression of coresidence with the first child married at 60, 70 and 80 years of age of the first generation.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>60 years old</th>
<th>70 years old</th>
<th>80 years old</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Gender</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Men</td>
<td>Ref</td>
<td>Ref</td>
<td>Ref</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Women</td>
<td>0.94</td>
<td>0.99</td>
<td>0.97</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Region</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non industrial</td>
<td>Ref</td>
<td>Ref</td>
<td>Ref</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Industrial</td>
<td>1.12</td>
<td>1.07</td>
<td>1.23</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Year of birth</strong></td>
<td>1.003</td>
<td>0.99</td>
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<td>***</td>
<td>**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Crofters</td>
<td>Ref</td>
<td>Ref</td>
<td>Ref</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Peasants</td>
<td>2.11***</td>
<td>1.93***</td>
<td>1.68***</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Workers</td>
<td>0.67***</td>
<td>0.62***</td>
<td>0.87</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>0.78</td>
<td>0.83</td>
<td>0.89</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Official</td>
<td>1.42*</td>
<td>1.20</td>
<td>1.48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Gender of the first child</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Ref</td>
<td>Ref</td>
<td>Ref</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>0.52***</td>
<td>0.48***</td>
<td>0.45***</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Second child</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Living</td>
<td>Ref</td>
<td>Ref</td>
<td>Ref</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Missing</td>
<td>2.02***</td>
<td>2.21***</td>
<td>2.47***</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Third child</strong></td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Living</td>
<td>Ref</td>
<td>Ref</td>
<td>Ref</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Missing</td>
<td>2.03***</td>
<td>1.94***</td>
<td>2.54***</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Fourth child</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Living</td>
<td>Ref</td>
<td>Ref</td>
<td>Ref</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Missing</td>
<td>2.07***</td>
<td>2.29***</td>
<td>2.85***</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Fifth child</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Living</td>
<td>Ref</td>
<td>Ref</td>
<td>Ref</td>
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<tr>
<td>missing</td>
<td>2.11***</td>
<td>2.52***</td>
<td>2.71***</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No. Of events</td>
<td>3,145</td>
<td>2,497</td>
<td>889</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*p<0.10, **p<0.05, ***p<0.01
Source: Computerized parish registers, DDB, Umeå University.

Looking instead at the pre-industrial and industrial cohorts presented in table 6.14b, it is possible to see that the decline in coresidence with the first children was very strong in the industrial cohort, while in the pre-industrial cohort it is constant and at 80 years of age it also higher. It is interesting to see the variable for the gender of the children. In both cohorts sons were much more likely to coreside with parents but the difference is larger in the pre-industrial cohort. In such cases one may assume that with industrialization and with the new inheritance law in 1845, daughters had slightly greater chances to coreside with their parents. This law probably had some effect on the choice of the child with whom later on the first generation coresided creating the stem family. However, a tradition that had lasted for centuries could be not changed in a short time by a law. Few people started to apply it in the beginning and the rest of the population were probably sceptic. Only later, when people looked at who applied the new law and noticed that this alternative did not create a problem for the household, did they begin to take it into consideration. On one hand the law of 1845 was an important step towards improving the equality among son and daughters, but on the
other hand, sons, who were used to expecting that they would have two thirds of the property, lost their privileges and they might have pressed their parents to give them the best part of the inheritance or considered the possibility of continuing to stay in the parental household.

Table 6.14b Binary logistic regression of coresidence with the first child married at 60, 70 and 80 years of age of the first generation. Pre-industrial and industrial cohort.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Pre-industrial</th>
<th></th>
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<td>70 years old</td>
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<tr>
<td>Men</td>
<td>Ref</td>
<td>Ref</td>
<td>Ref</td>
<td>Ref</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Women</td>
<td>0.82</td>
<td>1.09</td>
<td>1.27</td>
<td>1.01</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Year of birth</td>
<td>0.975*</td>
<td>0.997</td>
<td>1.02</td>
<td>0.99</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Region</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non industrial</td>
<td>Ref</td>
<td>Ref</td>
<td>Ref</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Industrial</td>
<td>1.16</td>
<td>1.09</td>
<td>0.80</td>
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<tr>
<td>Gender of the first child</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Ref</td>
<td>Ref</td>
<td>Ref</td>
<td>Ref</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>0.40***</td>
<td>0.39***</td>
<td>0.35***</td>
<td>0.52***</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Second child</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Living</td>
<td>Ref</td>
<td>Ref</td>
<td>Ref</td>
<td>Ref</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Missing</td>
<td>2.31***</td>
<td>1.67***</td>
<td>3.00***</td>
<td>1.81***</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Third child</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Living</td>
<td>Ref</td>
<td>Ref</td>
<td>Ref</td>
<td>Ref</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Missing</td>
<td>1.98***</td>
<td>1.64***</td>
<td>2.02**</td>
<td>1.83***</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fourth child</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Living</td>
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<td>Missing</td>
<td>1.69***</td>
<td>2.97***</td>
<td>3.85**</td>
<td>2.32***</td>
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<tr>
<td>Missing</td>
<td>2.91***</td>
<td>1.89***</td>
<td>2.12</td>
<td>1.87***</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| No. Of events         | 1,069          | 839                   | 330        | 1,490                 | 1,195       | 384

*p<0.10, **p<0.05, ***p<0.01

Source: Computerized parish registers, DDB, Umeå University.

As to the coresidence with a married second child, it is possible to see some differences compared to the coresidences with the married first child. The variable “year of birth” in this case does not have a large decline; it is 1% yearly while the first child had a decline of 3%. This could mean that with industrialization the traditional primogeniture started to be weaker and also that the second and the other sons began to coreside much more with the parents. As to the occupation and in particular, crofters and peasants, the difference is smaller. This could mean that the peasants were more likely to choose the first child (primogeniture) as coresident while there was no difference with other children.

The gender of the children is interesting to see because here it is possible to see the gender of the first and the second child born. The point of view in this respect concerns the second child. When the child had a sister the possibility to coreside with the parents increased, while if she was herself a daughter, the chances to create a stem family with the parents strongly decreased. As regards the existence or absence of other siblings, it is confirmed that the chances to coreside with parents increased if there were no other children.

156
Table 6.15 Binary logistic regression of coresidence with the second child married at 60, 70 and 80 years of age of the first generation.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>60</th>
<th>70</th>
<th>80</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Gender</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Men</td>
<td>Ref</td>
<td>Ref</td>
<td>Ref</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Women</td>
<td>0.97</td>
<td>0.99</td>
<td>0.94</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Region</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non industrial</td>
<td>Ref</td>
<td>Ref</td>
<td>Ref</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Industrial</td>
<td>1.27**</td>
<td>1.18</td>
<td>0.84</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Year of birth</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.001</td>
<td></td>
<td>0.99***</td>
<td>0.990*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Occupation</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Crofters</td>
<td>Ref</td>
<td>Ref</td>
<td>Ref</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Peasants</td>
<td>1.14</td>
<td>1.11</td>
<td>1.25</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| Workers | 0.52****| 0.50***| 0.48*
| Unknown | 0.55***| 0.56***| 0.46*
| Official | 1.65**| 0.89| 1.39|
| **Sex of the first child** |     |     |     |
| Male | Ref | Ref | Ref |
| Female | 1.27**| 1.62***| 1.33|
| **Sex of the second child** |     |     |     |
| Male | Ref | Ref | Ref |
| Female | 0.39***| 0.30***| 0.32*|
| **First child** |     |     |     |
| Living | Ref | Ref | Ref |
| Missing | 1.31***| 1.49***| 1.50**|
| **Third child** |     |     |     |
| Living | Ref | Ref | Ref |
| Missing | 1.91***| 1.99***| 2.20***|
| **Fourth child** |     |     |     |
| Living | Ref | Ref | Ref |
| Missing | 1.66***| 1.91***| 1.82***|
| **Fifth child** |     |     |     |
| Living | Ref | Ref | Ref |
| missing | 1.89***| 2.03***| 2.06***|
| No. Of events | 2,444 | 2,247 | 867 |

*p<0.10, **p<0.05, ***p<0.01
Source: Computerized parish registers, DDB, Umeå University.

Looking at the coresidence with the third child, it is possible to see an important difference in regard to the variable year of birth. In such cases there is not a decrease in coresidences but a quite visible increase. At 80 years of age, the first generation had an increase of 1% yearly. At this point it is possible to confirm that the more people experienced industrialization, the more the rule of primogeniture weakened. People started more and more to coreside with the youngest children. Looking also at the occupation, there is a small difference between crofters and peasants, and this is another confirmation that there was a “strategy” for having as coresident the first child among the peasants, but the other children had the same possibility to coreside with their parents independently of the occupation. As regards the gender of the first child there is also some difference. For the third child there was no advantage or disadvantage.
in having a sister or a brother as the oldest sibling. The same could be said with regard to the second child, even though having a second sister increased the chances to coreside with the parents. As for the gender of the third child, it continued to be obvious that daughters were disadvantaged.

Table 6.16 Binary logistic regression of coresidence with the third child married at 60, 70 and 80 years of age of the first generation.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>60</th>
<th>70</th>
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</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Gender</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Women</td>
<td>0.98</td>
<td>1.10</td>
<td>1.48*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Region</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Industrial</td>
<td>1.02</td>
<td>0.93</td>
<td>1.15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non industrial</td>
<td>Ref</td>
<td>Ref</td>
<td>Ref</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Region</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Year of birth</td>
<td>1.007*</td>
<td>1.008*</td>
<td>1.01*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Occupation</td>
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<tr>
<td>Crofters</td>
<td>Ref</td>
<td>Ref</td>
<td>Ref</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Peasants</td>
<td>1.65***</td>
<td>1.56***</td>
<td>1.09</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Workers</td>
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<td>0.53***</td>
<td>0.51*</td>
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<td>Unknown</td>
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<td>0.44*</td>
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<td>1.01</td>
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<tr>
<td>Sex of the first child</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Ref</td>
<td>Ref</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>0.97</td>
<td>1.10</td>
<td>0.93</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sex of the second child</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Ref</td>
<td>Ref</td>
<td>Ref</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>1.30**</td>
<td>1.36***</td>
<td>1.85***</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sex of the third child</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Ref</td>
<td>Ref</td>
<td>Ref</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>0.39***</td>
<td>0.33***</td>
<td>0.39***</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>First child</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Living</td>
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<td>0.83</td>
<td>1.08</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Missing</td>
<td>1.32**</td>
<td>0.77**</td>
<td>1.07</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Second child</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Living</td>
<td>Ref</td>
<td>Ref</td>
<td>Ref</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Missing</td>
<td>1.42***</td>
<td>0.69***</td>
<td>1.59**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fourth child</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
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<td>Ref</td>
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<tr>
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<td>2.53***</td>
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<tr>
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</tr>
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<td>1,552</td>
<td>1,775</td>
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</table>

*p<0.10, **p<0.05, ***p<0.01
Source: Computerized parish registers, DDB, Umeå University.

In summary, from this table it is possible to say that there was a clear aim to coreside with sons instead of with daughters and this trend was much more evident among the peasants than among the crofters. In general, daughters started to have slightly better chances to coreside.
with the parents as a result of the industrialization and at the time when the inheritance law started to influence the coresidences. The tradition and maybe the pressure of sons could, however, have blocked to some extent the possibility of women to take over the farm of the parents. The primogeniture has also been analysed. This analysis was not applied very extensively and it seems that with industrialization the first child has fewer and fewer chances to coreside with the parents, while the second and the third child had more and more chances.

Looking briefly at the fifth and the sixth children, one has the same impression about the other children. They were born when the parents were around or older than 40 years and later on they started to migrate (in particular daughters), while some of them stayed at home. The difference is that these children, once they were adult, probably had no place in the parental household, because their older siblings were already married, and thus they preferred to move when young to another place. Proportionately, more fifth daughters actually migrated than first daughters when the parents were between 50 and 60 years old. At that time all the fifth daughters were younger than 30 years while the first daughters were almost 10 years older.

**Gender in the micro study**

After the study of the entire sample, it could be interesting to analyze 135 individuals in this micro study. Here one can precisely see the conditions that made the first generation prefer to live with sons rather than daughters. Was it because they only had daughters at their disposal or because the male children were still too young to take over the parental property? This is the case for some French communities where, if no male was available, daughters could inherit the land.  

The problem connected to the transfer of the farm has also been considered. In general only the people that coresided with married children and created a stem family were analysed. As already mentioned in the previous chapter, 78 people that spent their old age with a married child were counted. In 44 cases sons were coresiding with parents, while in 34 cases the elderly coresided with daughters. Furthermore, it seems that most of the people that lived with daughters had no sons. In 21 cases the first generation only had daughters and in 4 cases the parents had some sons but those died in the first years of life. In general it was found that 25 people over 34 lived with daughters just because they did not have any possibility to transfer the property to sons. Only in 9 cases was there a son, but a daughter was preferred as coresident. In two cases the sons remained at home unmarried, but it was the daughter’s husband who was heading the farm. In other cases the sons were already married outside the parental place or had married in the same period as the daughters.

As regards people that were coresiding with sons, it is possible to say that 12 of them only had sons and that four had daughters, but they died young and thus it is not possible to find out whether there was a strategic choice to coreside with a son or not. 27 other individuals had the opportunity to choose between sons and daughters and the choice was for the son. In summary, 36 people could choose between sons and daughters and most of them chose a son. At this point it is possible to confirm that there was an aim to transfer the property to a son instead of a daughter. Probably the tradition continued strongly in practice also when daughters had the same right to the inheritance.

As regards the rule of primogeniture, it was found that 29 people out of 44 lived with the oldest son. In this calculation the oldest living son was regarded as the primogenitor. He may have been the third at birth, but if the two eldest sons were dead, he was regarded as the primogenitor. In this calculation, the daughters were not counted. For example, if the first

---

1 In this case the number of children born is so small (25 for the fifth and 14 for the sixth children) that it is not possible to present as a figure or to form a general conclusion.

2 Fauve-Chamoux, A. 1996.
child born was a daughter and the second was a son, this second child was regarded as the primogenitor. In eight other cases the oldest son was not chosen because he was already registered as married in another place; and in two cases the oldest son lived with the parents but he never married.

Some examples of coresidence with sons or daughters

Anders Jönsson

Anders Jönsson was born in 1790 in the parish of Tuna as the son of a peasant. 1 Anders was the second son and the first son, Nils (or his brother), was born in 1782. In 1810 Nils married and started a stem family with his parents. The minister of Tuna during the period 1814-1823, registered Nils with his wife as a peasant, under his father’s and his mother’s names. Anders Jönsson was registered among the servants that lived on the farm until 1816. In that year, Anders moved to other places in Tuna working as a servant. In 1821 he started to work on a farm in Tuna. The previous owners were Nils Jonsson (born in 1758) and his son Eric Nilsson (born in 1789), who was married to Stina Persdotter (born in 1790). Both the father and the son died in 1820 and Stina probably took the control of the farm from that moment. She had a son, Nils, who was two years old. Anders and Stina married in 1821, the same year that Anders moved to that farm. In the next register (1824-1834) Anders was recorded on the first line as a peasant and his wife Stina on the second line. The children were listed under the parents’ names: first Anders’s stepson, Nils (b 1818), and then two biological sons, Erik (b. 1822) and Olof (b. 1826). According to the new registration (1834-1843) it is possible to see a change in the family. The stepson Nils was registered twice. The first time he was probably recorded on the third line under the stepfather Anders (considered a peasant) and the mother Stina. Thereafter the minister wrote his name on the top of the page. The poll-tax registers of these years can explain the circumstances better. Up to 1842 Anders was registered as the owner of the farm and the stepson Nils as a son. In the register of 1843 (when Nils was 25 years old), Nils was registered as the owner and Anders as his father. At that time Nils was probably an adult able to take the control of the property left to him by his biological father. In the next register (1844-1851), Nils is actually recorded on the first line as a peasant and later on in 1847 he married at the age of 29 years. The father Anders and the mother Stina continued to be registered on the lines under. 2 It is interesting to see the destiny of Anders’s two other sons, Erik and Olof. The second, Erik born in 1822, moved away in 1845 (he was 23) and later on became the village tailor. The third child, Olof moved away in 1848 at the age of 22 years; he worked at first as a servant and then he became a blacksmith. In 1858 he married the daughter of an artisan and in 1865 they moved to Attmar, the parish that the wife came from. The stem family continued during the next year, Nils continued to be the owner of the household with his wife and children, while Anders and Stina continued to live with them. In 1863 Stina died but in the next register too, (1865-1876) Anders continued to live with his stepson. The minister recorded Anders as a previous peasant. Anders died in 1874 at the age of 84 years. To conclude the story of these people it is possible to see that the Nils’s son, Erik (born in 1850), took over the farm later on, and that Nils started to be registered as a previous peasant.

1 DDB Pnr 79000930.
2 Härnösands regional archive: Poll-tax registers.
Family line 6.23 Anders Jönsson (DDB- Pnr790000930).

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Source: Computerized parish registers, DDB, Umeå University. Code explanation: F = Birth; D = Death; * = Birth and death at the same year; I = Immigration; U = Outmigration; X = Out- and immigration at the same year; V = Marriage; o = Relocation; # = In- and outmigration at the same year; = = On the same page as the headperson.
Here it is possible to see two groups of families that created a stem family. One is Anders’s original family. He had to move but the property was transferred to the primogenitor. The second family is the family to which Anders moved. The previous owner had inherited the farm from his father and the same farm was transferred to the son and from the latter to the next generation. In this case the transfer of the farm crossed four generations. It was possible also to notice the destiny of the two children that had no right to the inheritance from the father. Actually the father was a sort of tutor on the farm where they were living. These children moved away and did not become landowners but started working as artisans.

The last point of interest to discuss from a methodological point of view is the transfer of the property in the historical documents. First of all, thanks to the database and to the previous parish records, it was possible to understand that Anders was not the real owner of the farm. If one had looked only at the parish record where Anders was registered as the previous owner, one would have supposed that Anders decided to give the farm to that son. The second point concerns the difficulty in interpreting the catechetical registers. In the registration between 1834-1843, it is not possible to understand exactly when the transfer of the property happened. The minister recorded the movements within and outside the family only with the dates, but the changes of headship are not recorded. It is now only possible see that a person within the family became the new owner but it is not possible to understand when this happened.

In summary, one can notice from this story that the inheritance of the children was strongly protected by the law, and that a person who entered through a second marriage into another household had the right to coreside but not the right to become the new owner.

Brita Stina Ersdotter

Brita Stina Ersdotter was born in 1806 in the parish of Skön. Her father, Eric Larson, was a peasant who died in 1809. Brita was the last daughter among 9 children born between 1792 and 1806. Her mother remarried Olof Mårtensson in 1811. The fourth son, Lars, married and lived with his mother and stepfather. As regards the other children, Brita moved outside the parental house once she became an adult. At the age of 18 Brita moved for the first time to another place and worked as a servant. During that period, she went for some years to Timrå and Sundsvall. In 1832, at the age of 26, she married Olof Mårtensson, a son of a peasant born in 1808, and moved to Attmar. Olof’s father, Mårten Olsson, had been widowed since 1828. The young couple, Brita and Olof, lived on that farm for the rest of their lives.

They had two daughters, the first of whom, Helena, was born in 1844, when Brita was 38 years old, and the second Anna, was born in 1849, when Brita was 43 years old. In those years the family lived on the farm. The minister registered them regularly during the years 1866-1876 up until the new register. Here it is possible to see important changes that could be interesting to interpret. In 1869 the first daughter got married to Martin Svensson. Martin was a son of another peasant. The minister recorded the new couple some lines under Helena’s parents. The minister probably updated the page. Now the first generation (Olof and Brita) was recorded as previous peasants, while the young couple were recorded as peasants. In 1875 the second daughter was recorded again on the same page but under the two couples with a group of servants. The minister in that case listed her as a farm owner. As to the poll-tax registers, the first generation was recorded as the owner until 1875, and after that date the new owner was Martin with his wife Helena.

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1 DDB Pnr 806000630.
2 Härnösands regional archive: Poll-tax registers.
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* = Birth and death at the same year; F = Marriage; # = In and outmigration at the same year; V = Out and immigration at the same year; U = Outmigration; I = Inmigration; X = Out- and inmigration at the same year; O = Relocation.
At this point one may suppose that there had been a transfer of property. With the new register, valid from 1877 to 1886, the second daughter appeared on page 304, one page after the first generation and the new owner of the farm. The second daughter was registered as a peasant and she married in 1883. Anna Lisa’s husband was registered on the same page as a worker but some lines under Anna Lisa. Brita and Olof probably transferred the property to the two daughters and the latter continued to live in the same farm. In 1886 Olof, Brita’s husband, died and the year after there was a new register in which Brita was registered on the same page as the second daughter, Anna Lisa, while the first daughter was registered three pages earlier. As to the poll tax-registers of that period, it is possible to see a different interpretation. In 1876 the owner of the farm became the husband of the first daughter, Helena, and both the first generation and the second daughter lived with them. From 1877 the writer registered the two sisters as two different owners: the first daughter with her husband and the first generation, while the second sister, Anna Lisa, was registered alone on another line as the owner. In 1882 a change took place; the first generation started to be written together with the second daughter and the registration continued in this way in the following years as well, until Brita’s husband died in 1886 (according to the parish records Brita was recorded on the same page of the first daughter from 1877 to 1886). When Brita became a widow she continued to be recorded in the poll-tax registers together with the second daughter (the parish records support the same interpretation) until she died in 1890.

Brita Stina’s history is useful for understanding how the transfer of property happened among women and in a stem family with a daughter coresident with the first generation. Brita married and moved to her husband’s place because in her original family she was the youngest one, and she also had some brothers who took over the parental farm. Brita had two daughters that lived all the time in the parental farm. The transfer of the property could be seen in two different historical sources, which yields two different interpretations. In the catechetical registers it seems that the property was transferred to the first daughter and to her husband, while the second daughter had a portion of land and lived in a place close to the first generation. At a later stage, when Brita became a widow, the coresidence was between Brita and the second daughter. This coresidence is different according to the poll-tax registers. Brita was registered from the beginning with the second daughter and the owner of the farm. This example shows that the transfer involved the two daughters and that their husbands were just heading the property, while the real owners were the two daughters, who had divided the property but continued to collaborate and be in contact.

Stina Mårtensdotter

Stina Mårtensdotter was born in 1800.1 Her father was a peasant and she was the oldest child. Two brothers, Michael (born in 1803) and Per (born in 1806) and one sister, Engela (born in 1810), were born after her. The second child (or the first male child) was chosen to live with his parents, while the other siblings moved away. Stina married Mathias Andersson in 1831 and they started to live in his parental household. Matthias was a widower whose first wife had died in 1830, and he had a daughter, Greta (born in 1824) and a son, Anders (born in 1827). When Stina arrived in Mathias’s household, his parents and the two children were present. In the following years Stina had two children, named Martin (born in 1833) and Ingrid (born in 1838). The family continued to have these coresidents until 1836, when Mathias’s father died. In 1843 Mathias died and Stina took control of the farm. She was recorded as the owner in the poll-tax registers.2 In the register from 1852 to 1864 it is possible

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1 DDB Pnr 800001190.
2 Härnösands regional archive: Poll-tax registers.
Family line 6.25 Stina Mårtensdotter (DDB- Prnr 800001190).

| Birth Name | 1774 | 1774 | 1774 | 1774 | 1774 | 1774 | 1774 | 1774 | 1774 | 1774 | 1774 | 1774 | 1774 | 1774 | 1774 | 1774 | 1774 | 1774 | 1774 | 1774 | 1774 | 1774 | 1774 | 1774 | 1774 | 1774 | 1774 |
|------------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|
| Father     |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |
| Mother     |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |
| Brother    |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |
| Sister     |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |
| Father-in-Law |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |
| Mother-in-Law |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |
| Husband    |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |
| Stepdaughter |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |
| Stepson    |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |
| Son        |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |
| Daughter   |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |

Source: Computerized parish registers, DDB, Umeå University. Code explanation: F = Birth; D = Death; *= Birth and death at the same year; I = Immigration; U = Outmigration; X = Out- and immigration at the same year; V = Marriage; o = Relocation; # = In- and outmigration at the same year; = = On the same page as the headperson.
to see some change. The stepdaughter married a crofter and moved to Stöde, and from then on there is no registration of her. The other stepson married in 1855 (28 years of age) with a daughter of a peasant. In the same year the other son, Martin, married a daughter of a peasant. The young couple lived on the same farm with the mother until 1864 when the registration ended. Both sons were registered as peasants. With the new register 1865-1876 a new change happened. Stina and the stepson Anders were recorded on the same page (page 77), while the other son, Martin, was listed with his wife on the following page; both siblings were registered as peasants. The poll tax registers of those years confirm this separation to some extent. Until 1857 the family was still registered in the name of the father, “Mats Andersson’s widow” and the names of the sons. After 1858 the owners were the two sons, recorded on two separate lines, and in the middle Stina was registered with a retirement contract. Stina continued to be registered on the same page (page 104) as her stepson in the next catechetical register (1877-1886) as well. When the other son died in 1876, his wife continued to live on his farm and was registered on the next two pages.

The example of Stina Mårtensdotter shows that when there was a son, the daughters had to marry and move to another place. Moreover, if the husband was a widower and the owner of the property with children from the first marriage, the division of the land involved all the children of the old owner without any distinction as to whether the children were from the first or the second marriage. Stina’s husband died when the children were still young and she started to head the farm alone. In the poll-tax registers she was actually recorded as Mathias’s widow. When the children became adult and married, two of them became the owners of the farm and probably divided their father’s property. Stina went to live with her stepson and not with her son who was recorded on the following page.

In general, one can confirm that children of the owner had the same right to inherit the property, and in this case one can see that even if the property was divided, the old generation continued to keep in contact with the two new owners. Finally, the daughters of the family moved outside the parental household and married.

Erik Michaelsson

Erik Michaelsson was born in 1780 in the parish of Njurunda. The information about his family is unaccounted for up to 1816, when there is the first registration for the parish. These parish records show that he married Segrid Ersdotter in 1803 when he was 23 years of age and he was recorded as a peasant. After the wedding he had six children (five sons and one daughter) from 1804 to 1815 none of whom died in infancy. Until 1825 all the children stayed at home, but then they started to move out of the parental household. The first to migrate was the second son Erik (born in 1807). He went to some farms in the parish of Njurunda for some years, and in 1833 at the age of 29 he married and became a peasant within the parish. After Erik’s migration, the other children moved away from Erik Michaelsson’s household between 1827 and 1835. The next son to migrate was the third, Nils (born in 1809), who moved away in 1827. He was away until 1838, came back to the parental household. He married in 1837 and began to be a crofter in the parish of Njurunda in the following year. The first son Michael had a similar destiny, as he worked from 1831 to 1833 outside the parental household and later on married and became a peasant in the same parish. In 1835 it was the turn of the fourth daughter Anna (born in 1811). She got married to a crofter and in 1847 they moved to the parish of Alnö. In 1836 at the age of 23, Jonas, the fifth child, moved to the parish of Timrå and in 1839 he married and continued to work in the church as an organist. All these children moved away and they married when they were between 23 and 29 years of age. At that time the father was between 50 and 56 years old. The last son stayed at home and married

1 Härnösands regional archive: Poll-tax registers
2 DDB Pnr 78000966.
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in 1844 at the age of 29 when his father was 64 years old. In that year the minister started a new registration (1844-1851) and Erik was recorded on the first line as a previous peasant with his wife Sigrid, while the last son Pehr was on the third line with his wife Anna. In 1852 in a new register, which ended in 1857, the son was recorded on the first line, while Erik was on the third line. In the registration between 1857 and 1861 the minister also continued to record this family in the same order. In the period between 1861 and 1871 something changed. The last son continued to be registered on the first line as a peasant, while Erik, who was 80 years old, was registered with his wife at the end of the page separated by the rest of the family. In 1867, his wife died and he was 87 years old. Erik was registered separately from his last son and his other children, and he died in 1873 at the age of 93.

This example presents two points that are interesting to notice, the migration of the children and the interpretation of how the transfer of the property could take place. Erik had six children and none of them died young. These children could not find a place within the parental property and consequently they migrated to other places. They probably understood that they had to wait for a long time before being able to marry and take over the property. For example the first son married when his father was 53 years of age and he probably did not want to stay and head the farm. The five children that moved away continued to live in the same parish or in the parishes around the town of Sundsvall. In this way a children’s network was created that could be useful in case of need. In such cases the youngest son (ultimogenitor) took over the farm and constituted a stem family. The catechetical registers show that the two generations changed the property of the land at a certain point in their lives, but it is not possible to see exactly in what year. Three phases could be captured. The first was when the first generation was still recorded on the first line of the pages and the father probably still had control of the farm. The second, in a new registration, was when the son started to head the household and the father was still in close contact with the second generation and was considered a previous peasant. Finally, Erik was registered at the end of the page separately from the rest of the family, which could indicate that he was retired and did not contribute anymore to the production of the farm.

Märta Larsdotter

Märta Larsdotter was born in 1805.\(^1\) Her father and her mother had two other daughters, Cajsa Lena born in 1802 and Anna Greta born in 1808; thus Märta was the second daughter. The family worked as peasants and it is possible to follow their coresidence since 1803. In this first registration, M ärta’s father was recorded as a peasant together with his wife Brita. Under the parents’ name there were a couple of names of elderly people, who were probably Märta’s\(^2\) grandparents and then the above-mentioned daughters together with Märta. The minister did not make any changes until the registration between 1821 and 1831. At that time M ärta’s elder sister got married to a peasant and moved away in 1821 at the age of 19 years, while M ärta married Jonas Nilsson in 1827 at the age of 22 years. This couple stayed with her parents, a type of coresidence that may be called uxorilocality. The registration for the years between 1831 and 1840 was almost the same with the notation that M ärta’s sister married a peasant at the age of 23 and moved with him in 1833. They moved to a parish outside the region of the DDB and consequently it was not possible to follow their destiny. In those years M ärta had two daughters, Stina who was born in 1828 and died in 1836, and the second daughter, Cajsa born in 1833, when M ärta was 28 years of age. The record between 1841 and 1849 presented important changes. When the minister registered the page, M ärta and her

\(^{1}\) DDB Pnr 805001616.
\(^{2}\) The DDB was not able to identify this couple Olof Nilsson and Magdalena Larsdotter as relatives of the owner of the household. However, it might be supposed that they were the parents because they are registered after the couple recorded as owners of the household.
Family line 6.27 Märta Larsdotter (DDB- Pur 805001616).

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Source: Computerized parish registers, DDB, Umeå University. Code explanation: F = Birth; D = Death; * = Birth and death at the same year; I = Immigration; U = Outmigration; X = Out- and immigration at the same year; V = Marriage; o = Relocation; # = In- and outmigration at the same year; = = On the same page as the headperson.
husband were recorded on the first and second lines, while the parents Lars and Brita were written on the third and fourth lines. This means that there had been a transfer of property between the two generations. In 1844 the father, Lars, and in 1847 Märta’s husband died. In 1850 the mother was 75 years and Märta 45 years of age, and in the new registration, Märta was on the first line while her mother was on the second line. In such cases a possible interpretation is that the young couple had become the owners of the farm. 1856 is another important year for the family. Brita’s mother died at the age of 81 and Märta’s daughter got married to Lars Larsson, who became the owner of the farm when Märta was 51 years of age. In the registration 1861-1870 it was clear that the younger generation became the owner of the farm, Lars and Cajsa were recorded on the first and second lines, while Märta was recorded on the third line. In 1874 the husband Lars died at the age of 48. In this registration Märta was written separately from the rest of the family (Lars, the daughter Cajsa and their two children Jonas (born in 1858) and Erik (born in 1870). The registration 1881-1891 is particular. The daughter Cajsa was registered on the first line with her sons on page 95, while Märta was registered alone on the following page. In 1882 one of Cajsa’s two sons (thus Märta’s grandson) married. In the last registration (1892-1901) these three generations were recorded on the same page. Märta was 87 in 1892, and she was recorded as the first person. Her daughter Cajsa was 59 years old in 1892 and her grandson Jonas 34. Both Märta and Cajsa were recorded with a retirement contract.

The case of Märta Larsdotter illustrates the transfer of property among women and two cases of uxorilocality. The first concerns Märta, who coresided with her parents and later on with her daughter. This is another confirmation that women could be owners and head a farm when necessary. The history of this person explains how the household could react to the widowhood of the head of the household. Actually, within three years the two men of the first and the second generation (Märta’s father and husband) died and the parish records show that the farm was headed for some years by Märta’s mother and Märta. Märta’s daughter married a man who died at 48 years of age and in this case too, the two women were able to head the farm. The last years of Märta’s life illustrate the problem of the interpretation of the historical records. Märta was recorded on the same page as her daughter Cajsa until 1880. This means that the two generations were coresiding or at least had a close contact. In the new registration Märta and her daughter were recorded on two separate pages and in the last registration they were recorded again. In a long-term perspective Märta and her daughter constituted a stem family and there was probably an ambiguous interpretation made by the minister for the years 1881 and 1891. If one had looked at the registration only for those years, it would have been logical to think that the two generations were living in two separate places. This is a further confirmation that the computerized data can help to create valid statistical results, but these questions should be answered also through a micro study that allows seeing in detail the particularities that every single individual had in his/her life.

**Conclusion and relation to other studies.**

In general the first generation had their first child before 30 years of age and then the others at intervals of around two or three years. Later on the youngest children repeated the life events of the older brother. The first or the second children were those that were more likely to coreside with the first generation than the others, but for various reasons the other children, if for instance the oldest sibling died or married and had an opportunity to have a farm outside the parental home, were able to coreside and create a stem family together with their old parents. Of course if the youngest children were the most “chosen” to live in the parental place, the others most often migrated. One child probably started to coreside in the parental home as the future head of the household and the other children moved away. The last children might also have started to work outside the household at a younger age than their
sibling. As regards the gender perspective, sons were more likely to live with parents but daughters were not excluded and this was probably not only a question of birth order, because in every group of children there was the same proportion; around one third were daughters and two thirds were sons.

Industrialization and the new inheritance law in 1845 changed only in part the coresidencies among the two generations. The youngest children were more likely to coreside with their parents in the last part of the period under study. As regards daughters, they always had a disadvantage in creating a stem family together with the parents, but this gap was reduced in the second part of the cohort. However, most people that coresided with a daughter did so because the first generation had no sons. However, the transfer and the possibility to be the owner and to head a property for women were fully guaranteed by law. Actually, one example showed that women (the mother and the daughter) were the owners and able to head their farm for years when their husbands died.

Other studies in Sweden have arrived at similar conclusions. In his study of the parish of Locknevi, Persson saw that the property was transferred to the eldest son in exchange of a retirement contract that consisted of free lodging for the rest of the older generation’s life. In 46% of the cases the eldest son took over the farm. Ewa Zernell Durhán found that parents left the farm during their lives to move to an already chosen child. Bonow found evidence of the relation regarding the difference of age between the two generations. If the first child was born when the parents were very young, the first child reached marital age when the parents were not too old. In such cases the parents were not inclined to transfer the property, nor did the child want to wait for the retirement of the first generation, and consequently the child preferred to take over another farm. This theory was probably supported in practice by the above-mentioned case of Erik Michaelsson: the eldest son was in marital age when the father was in his 50s, so the eldest son preferred to move to another place. Daughters inherited the parental property when there were no sons available according to Sofia Holmlund’s study. In her study she noticed that during the first part of the nineteenth century, the eldest son was preferred, while in the beginning of the twentieth century the younger sons were more likely to be chosen for the transfer of the property.

Another issue that could have modified and decided which child had the right to take over the property is the drawing lottery. In northern Sweden it was sometimes normal to have a lottery to decide which of the children should inherit the property. The child chosen to take over the farm had to buy out the siblings that were excluded from the transfer. It is clear that in these conditions the destiny factor played a very important role and consequently the idea that the eldest child had to take over the property was less significant. The destiny played another important role at the birth of every single child. It has been shown that in many cases the first generation only had daughters and that consequently it was not possible to choose a son. Moreover, the destiny could also influence the adult life. The case of Märta Larsdotter represented a good example. The two women (Märta and her mother) lost their husbands and consequently they were forced to head the farm. In general many factors influenced the constitution of the stem family. These factors concerned the economy (the social status and probably the dimensions of the property), the demography (the number of children born), and the death of the two generations, and the possibility for the second generation to find another job opportunity (which could be a job in a saw mill or in another farm). The single individuals had to meet these factors in different periods of their lives, and even if there was an ambition

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3 Bonow, M. 2005.
4 Holmlund, S. 2007, p. 89.
5 Holmlund, S. 2007, p. 98.
to create a traditional stem family, this strategy could be changed at every stage. In different forms the destiny transformed every life into something similar but never quite the same. The researcher should first find the general trends and aspects but later on he should look at the singular stories to understand that every person had a unique story as the above-mentioned cases have shown. Everybody in this group created a coresidence that could be defined as a stem family but everybody had a different way of arranging the coresidence with their children.
7 SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

This study aimed at a particular sector of the household structure with a special interest in the coresidences between generations during the nineteenth century, a period with important demographic and economic changes. The main point was to see the possible differences in the coresidences among parents and children and to discover whether the demographic transition and industrialization changed this relationship. The study could indirectly also be regarded as an effort to find and present a new method of interpretation of the Swedish historical sources such as the parish records and to make a longitudinal analysis of a kind that for different reasons is still not so well developed in historical studies focusing on periods before the twentieth century.

The first three chapters described at what stage our knowledge about the households is at the moment. The method and the cohort and finally the description of the area from a demographic and economic point of view were presented. Many studies have analyzed the households of the entire population of an area arriving at the conclusion that most of the families consisted of a married couple with unmarried children. Only a minimal part of them were multiple or extended families, which generally means the old parents (or just one widowed parent) with a married child. Some of these studies were able to show that the structure of the family was dynamic and that during his/her life a person lived in different households, at the beginning with the parents and possibly with the grandparents. Thereafter, he married and created his own household with children. When these were adult they moved away and only one remained with the old parents concluding the cycle of the stem family. From these studies was born the idea of looking at and analyzing the last part of the individual’s life with particular regard to the relationship between these elderly people and their children. As every historical study, this one should help to give some answer to or explanation of some contemporary problem in society and in this case it is connected to the aging population. With Europe experiencing a growing number of elderly people with the related problems of taking care of them, it could be interesting to study how people lived in their old age in the nineteenth century, which was a period with a welfare system that was at a minimum level. In the traditional agricultural society, coresidence among the two generations was very common, but probably with the beginning of industrialization, the idea of the stem family started gradually to weaken. Moreover, in the nineteenth century in Europe there was a decline of mortality and thus it could be easier to coreside with children. At this point the main question of this study started to be clear. On one hand there was the industrialization that offered new job opportunities to young people and consequently these people could interrupt the coresidence with the parents to move to the sawmills, and on the other hand the decline of mortality made it possible for more people to have living children also during their old age, while before with a very high infant mortality, it could happen that people remained childless. Two factors that offered opposite results were analyzed, industrialization and the decline of mortality. Which of these two factors had a greater effect on the coresidences among parents and children? Did industrialization break up these relationships to a greater extent or did the decline of mortality lead to an increase of these coresidences?

To make this analysis, an area was needed where industrialization arrived during the nineteenth century. Moreover, good availability of historical sources (parish records) was needed. The Sundsvall region offered this sort of availability. It was one of the first regions in Sweden that introduced the steam wasmills and in the second part of the nineteenth century it was one of the largest sawmill districts in the world. As regards the availability of historical documents, the DDB has collected the parish records from the 1770s to the end of the nineteenth century, and consequently it was possible to study how the area changed from a pre-industrial society with high mortality to an industrial society with lower mortality rates.
The cohort chosen comprised people born between 1770 and 1820 leading most of their lives in the Sundsvall district. It was possible to analyze the coresidences of these people before the start of industrialization and the demographic transition and later on to see the possible changes. The introduction of the steam mills happened in the 1850s, and in the following decades the district was fully industrialized. This means that people born in the first two decades of the cohort had children and became elderly in a community that still had a traditional environment, while after 1800 the elderly lived in a world that had changed from a demographic and economic point of view. This cohort was very large in comparison to previous population studies. It covered almost 10,000 individuals, which was enough to yield results with good statistical relevance. Two methods were used. The first one analyzed the entire cohort looking at different variables such as the gender of the generations, their social status, the number of children and their year of birth. In this way it was possible to generalize about the changes in the coresidences. A longitudinal method was then used, which tried to discover the particular reasons that caused single individuals to coreside or not with their children.

After this theoretical presentation of the method and the historical context, the study wanted to see if the region had similar coresidences as the rest of Western Europe and thus to show that this study could be used in the general discussions about the history of the family. It was found that the Sundsvall district had similar characteristic as the European and Swedish families in the nineteenth century. The first step was to see how many people had children and how many of them continued to have children alive also during their old age. How many of these children died or migrated before the parents grew old? In general, almost every person was able to have a child. Only 10% of the parents never had any children, and most of those who had children could also see at least one of them reach adulthood. Actually, people had four children on and with the passing of time they reached old age with two children.

As to the existence of elderly people that coresided with their children, the Sundsvall region seemed to be similar to the regions dealt with in other studies. How many people coresided with children? Where did the children move if they did not live with their parents? When the parents were around 55 years old, more than one child was living with them and usually the coresidence was with unmarried children, which means a simple family. When the children became adult, they married and moved outside the parental household. Normally, one offspring remained, married and constituted a complex family. This event probably transformed the headship of the household. The old parents handed over the ownership of the property to the married child through a legal contract that guaranteed food and dwelling for the rest of their lives. Other children moved to other places such as the village or the parish and in this way they could create valuable support in case of need. The creation of the stem family and the movement from the household to other places happened when the first generation was around 60 and 70 years of age.

The study attempted also to understand from the first moment the possible differences that could be caused by the number of children born and by the social status of the first generation. At the beginning it was supposed that people that experienced high infant mortality could have had difficulties in creating a coresidence between the two generations. The number of children born contributed only in part to the constitution of the stem family. Later in life only one child stayed in the household, so for the first generation it was enough to raise only one child to adulthood. The high number of children helped to create a children’s network that could be useful in case of need.

The study that considered the social status was more significant. Were there any differences among the different social groups? As in other studies of this subject the answer was positive. Firstly, people employed in agriculture, peasants and crofters, had more children born than the workers or those with an unknown occupation. Secondly, crofters and in
particular peasants were the groups more likely to coreside with married children. Their households, which were production units, could offer the younger generations a job opportunity. Agricultural work required more labour in the household and consequently the families needed more children and eventually also a spouse for one of the children. The children of the groups, in particular the workers (who were also people with fewer children born), which were only consumption units stayed to a much lesser extent in the households. In such cases the second generation moved to the neighbourhood.

When it was shown that the Sundsvall region and the sample had similar trends compared to the other European studies, the research started addressing its real aim. Did the coresidence between the two generations change during the nineteenth century? With the arrival of industrialization, old people started to coreside less and less with their children, and this happened particularly among people that were 80 years of age, while this decline was not so strong in the rest of population. Other studies saw a very strong increase of nuclear families during industrialization. In such cases the decline was less evident. The studied sample concerned people that spent a great part of their lives in this district and they were resident before the arrival of industrialization. This meant that they had a strong kin network composed not only of kin but also of other relatives. Some of them could inherit the property from their parents and thus offer a guarantee to their children. With industrialization, the area of Sundsvall was “invaded” by young migrants that arrived without any strong kin connection. Consequently the area started to have an increase of families that could be described as simple and had had no familial roots in the region. In general, it could be said that the demographic transition with the fall of mortality did not contribute to or was not an important factor for the rise of the extended family. The increasing number of children helped the constitution of a wider kin network. The death of a child happened in general when the parents could still compensate for the loss of a child with the birth of another. The first generation was probably conscious of the importance of children during old age and consequently the parents would have tried to raise a child to adulthood. Actually very few people were found that had children who had died before the parents started getting old. The question could only be that people in the pre-industrial cohort had fewer children available than people in the industrial cohort. However, this could be an advantage, as people in the second cohort had a greater chance of “choosing” which child could live with them. For different reasons such as differences in behaviour or a better dwelling than the parental one, not every child wanted to coreside with the parents. Consequently having only one child could mean that the offspring preferred to move to another place; but having a greater number of children alive gave the first generation an opportunity to create a coresidence with the child who was more suited to living together with.

The creation of new working activities in the sawmills gave the second generation an opportunity to move outside the parental place and create their own households without the support of the first generation. On the other hand, the parents might not have needed any longer the help or the presence of children in their households. The new value of the properties and the increase of the incomes contributed to making the elderly more independent.

The decline in coresidence affected all the social groups but it happened in different ways. As already mentioned, there were differences among the occupational groups of the first generation. The peasants and the crofters had coresidences with children much more frequently than the workers and the unknown group. It was important to see whether industrialization widened the gap between the social groups. However, industrialization increased the distances that already existed among them. All the social groups decreased the coresidences but the ones employed in agriculture experienced it to a lesser extent. They were probably able to offer a valid alternative to the work in the sawmills. The ownership of the
land or the possibility to head it remained an attractive solution for the second generation. It was maybe enough for the peasants to have one child in the same residence. The crofters had a different situation, as some children could take the chance of finding a better alternative, so for them it was safer to have more children. If some of the children wanted to leave the parental household, at least one might be willing to live with the first generation. As regards the workers, with the industrialization their coresidence with children became less and less frequent and in particular with the married ones. Their households were consumption units with limited job opportunities, and thus the work in the sawmills could provide a better opportunity to move and to start a new life. Another interpretation was given considering also the point of view of the first generation. The migration of people to the Sundsvall region probably led to an increase in commerce. The migrants needed food, clothes and all the necessities of life, and in this case the demand for agricultural products increased. These were offered by the local suppliers, who were the peasants and the crofters. The sawmills in the industrial parishes demanded more and more wood, which arrived also from the nearby parishes and the price of the timber could have increased. One consequence of this new market was an increase of the income of the landowners. The old people found a stronger position and could be more independent than before, so they had less need for the second generation. In this economic context, it was probably not only the children that were interested in taking over the parental farm, but other people could also have given good offers to the owners. In such cases the peasants could choose to give the farm to their children or to sell to a third person who offered more money. In the latter case the old parents could continue to live on their farm, and instead of the children receiving the farm as inheritance, they could be given a sum of money useful for buying another property.

Until this point the changes in coresidences were studied with a cross-sectional method without analyzing whether the creation of the coresidence with married children happened in a special period of the life of the first generation. A study was then made trying a longitudinal method. The aim of this section was focused on the problem of the widowhood, a period very sensitive for the surviving partner. The main questions were: What happened to the surviving partner in the years after the death of the spouse in terms of coresidence with his/her own children? Did the children marry and coreside with the parents before or after the death of the spouse? To answer these questions, the “statistical” cohort was first of all used, elaborating the data available every five years of life of each individual. In this way it was possible to capture the marital status of the parents and the coresidence with children at a certain point and then to see the eventual changes in the following five-year intervals. Four logical alternatives could happen: the first when people did not coreside before and after the death of the partner; the second when people started to coreside after the death of the partner; the third when people coresided before the death of the partner but later on interrupted the coresidence; the fourth when people were already coresiding before and after the death of the partner. In general this depended on the age at which the first generation lost the partner. In case they became widowed at a young age, the children were probably still young, thus marrying later and creating the coresidence after the widowhood. When the first generation became widowed later in life, it was more common that the coresidence with married children already existed. This suggests that there was a phase where the two generations transformed and changed the structure of the household and then a phase where there were no further changes in the structure of the household. The first generation in this period of life was older than 70 years and thus the adult children could also be married already. In practice people that became widowed at 75 years of age were more likely to be already coresiding with married children than those that lost the partner at 55 years of age. This depended mainly upon the age of the children. The older the children were, the greater the possibility that they were already married when one of their parents died. Thus, the younger the first generation was at the time
of the widowhood, the more they continued to live with no married children. The widowhood did not influence so much the creation of the stem family. The children married when they were ready to do so, without waiting for the death of one of their parents, especially when the parents died at a very old age. If a parent died when the children were in marital age, the widowhood could have speeded up the marriage with some years, but it would have happened anyway. The widowhood made it possible to keep married children in the household. When the parents died they inherited a part of the property and were hence more likely to continue to stay with the widowed parent. In these conditions their position in the household became stronger and they preferred to continue to live with the widowed parent.

In this analysis it was also possible to see that with industrialization there were more and more people that continued to live with no married children after the widowhood, and that, on the other hand, there were fewer and fewer people that started or continued a coresidence with married children. From this analysis it was also clear that the different social groups reacted in different ways to the widowhood. Workers, being a consumption unit, did not need to replace the work of the dead spouse with a married child. In such cases widowed peasants and crofters were much more likely to start a coresidence with a married child than workers. The same could be said about the continuation of the coresidence for the peasants that had the greatest chances of continuing this type of coresidence. Peasant families were probably large production units that were able to maintain both married generations.

Through a micro study it was possible to study more closely the reason why people changed or did not change the coresidence after the widowhood. The sample chosen comprised 135 individuals that reached at least the age of 80 years. Out of these 114 people became widowed. Another aspect was that their children were already married and lived in the same parish. There were 24 children that married and coresided with the widowed parent. Only in a few cases do they seem to have waited for the bereavement to marry. Some of them married many years after the death of the parent, while it was difficult to determine when some others married, because they were still very young when the first generation died. In the group of people that were already living with married children and continued this coresidence after the widowhood, the main characteristic was that the widowhood happened late in life and consequently the stem family was already formed.

This micro study was important for two reasons, the first because in this way it was possible to get another confirmation of the results found in the large cohort, and the second because in this way one could see better and more closely what happened among the two generations. Actually this study was used to answer some questions that were still obscure. Did the elderly always live with married children? How did people live who did not live with married children? Was the choice determined by strategy or was it just a coincidence? Observing and reading the biographies of the sample with a longitudinal method made it possible to identify five types of relations between the first and the second generation. The first is the most interesting and it is the stem family; the second is when the first generation lived all their lives with unmarried children; the third is the return, children leaving the parental home but coming back after many years; the fourth is called the children’s network and refers to the cases where all the children moved in the parish or in the region when they were adults; the last one is the “childless”, those individuals that had children but the latter died leaving the parents alone.

The most common life course during old age was the stem family. More than half of the sample experienced it. It was interesting to notice that people did not coreside in the same way with children. Peasants were the most likely to create a classical stem family, where a child who never moved from the parental place married creating a complex household. In such cases, after the marriage he became the new owner of the property and the old couple retired. It seems that the peasants had a solid structure for creating a complex household and
this plan was less obstructed by factors such as the death or the migration of the second generation. The other group that also experienced the stem family was the crofters. Among them the creation of a co-residence with children was less common and in some way more complicated. In many more cases than in the peasants’ group, children were found to migrate from the parental home at a young age, working as servants, probably to collect money for the marriage. Later on they came back to the parental household to marry and start to head the croft. In some cases, the stem family was particular because of the death of the married child.

Some differences were noticeable in such cases. Among the peasants the child-in-law continued to live with the first generation, while in the crofters’ groups the second generation move to another place. Very few cases of stem families were found among the workers. This was another confirmation that the landless people had many difficulties in co-residing with the married children, and that the possession or the lease of land was a strong tool for the creation of co-residence with children. The analysis of the characteristics of the stem family continued with the observation of the presence of other children in the parental household. It was important to see whether the household was large enough to accommodate other members of the family. In this respect no difference was noticed between the crofters and the peasants. The first generation lived for some time with both married and unmarried children. This period was very short in many cases, often just a couple of years. The unmarried children were probably in the household because they were still young.

Besides the stem family there was also co-residence merely with unmarried children. This was very particular because it cannot be regarded as a classical stem family described in other studies, but technically for this aim it could have resulted in the same type of co-residence, considering that a married or an unmarried child could support the old first generation in the same way. This co-residence was more common among the crofters. Their household was probably not a great production unit and they could not support two married couples.

Another co-residence that cannot be regarded as a clear stem family but represents a sort of co-residence with married children was “the return home.” The two generations separated for a long period, and after many years they reunited. In some cases the children, already married, came back to the parental household, and in other cases it was the parents that moved to the house of a married child. These cases were interesting because they showed that the two generations continued to be in contact also when they did not live together. However, in some cases they found it a better solution to reunite the family. The children’s network was important, and actually a good proportion of people were found that lived with no offspring but the latter were registered in the same area. In these cases some differences were also found in the way the second generation left home. Crofters’ and workers’ children moved out of the family to work as servants, and later on they married creating their own household, while peasants’ children were more likely to stay in the parental household until they married and moved to another place. In such cases it was also shown that the peasants were able to offer a job on the farm and that thus the children did not need to work as servants on another farm. In the end the group of people that lost their children was presented. In such cases it was possible to support the idea that if people wanted to have children in their old age, they could see at least one of them reach adulthood. Even with a high infant mortality rate, individuals were able during their fertile period to replace a dead child with another, which made it possible for them to co-reside with a child during their old age.

The micro study also provided an analysis of the gender of the second generation. With the new inheritance law in 1845, sons and daughters had the same right to the inheritance from the parents. Traditionally, the oldest son usually took over the property and the other children, in particular the daughters, moved outside the parental household. The general results actually showed that most of the people co-resided with sons rather than daughters. The micro study showed that the people who co-resided with a married daughter only had daughters or had had
a son who had died at a young age, so that when the first generation became old, they did not have any son to transfer the property to. An analysis was also made of the large cohort dividing the children according to their order of birth and their gender. The main question was: Had anything changed because of the new inheritance law with respect to the “choice” of children for the creation of the stem family? During industrialization people continued to coreside more often with sons, but it seems that daughters had more opportunities to live with their parents than before. Once again the social groups had different patterns of coresidence between sons and daughters in. The peasants were normally more likely to live with the first son than the crofters. However, a great deal depended on the number and the gender of the siblings that the second generation was composed of. Of course having no siblings increased the chances of living with the parents. And when there were a daughter and two sons, it was very difficult for her to coreside with her parents both before and after 1845. However, this gap decreased slightly in the industrial cohort. The primogeniture also continued to be common throughout the studied period. To be the first son born greatly increased the opportunity to create a stem family together with the parents. This depended significantly on whether there was a unigeniture or whether the other siblings were dead or had never been born. However, it was possible to notice that with the passing of time the second and the third child started to have greater chances of coresiding with the first generation. The traditional attitude to living with sons probably did not change suddenly because of the introduction of a new law.

As every other study, this one can also be further developed. For a historical work the first step is to control whether there are other historical documents that could offer new information, and the second step is eventually to understand what kinds of questions the historical material could answer. In Sweden it is possible to have three directions in the research of historical sources. The first one is about improving and extending the geographical area under study. In this way the research could be statistically more significant. For example in this study the number of people aged 80 years turned out to be small, which created some problems. Another advantage concerns the possibility to make a better comparative analysis considering areas that experienced the changes in the nineteenth century in different ways. The disadvantage of this sort of research is the originality of the aim and questions that continue to be very similar. The second way to improve the historical material is extending the temporal span of the research. It could probably be difficult to find historical documents before the nineteenth century, but it could be possible to have records of the twentieth century. This study stopped at the end of the nineteenth century at the peak of sawmill industrialization, and it could be interesting to see how the relationships between the two generations changed in a new historical phase. The study could employ a longitudinal method where a family could be followed in a region for several generations. This would also involve looking for new documents. In this way there would be no improvement on the geographical or temporal levels, but it would be more a matter of looking for documents that could show in a deeper way the lives and the relations of people who lived in the nineteenth century. This sort of study has been made on several occasions with good final results. For example a study in the archives could bring out sources of the transfer of property, the dimension of the houses, the production of the different farms, etc. The records of the local court registered the conflicts that people had with the other parishioners, and consequently they also indicate if the coresidences among the two generations were also good. Actually this study could not find out whether parents and children that lived together experienced many conflicts. In this way it could be possible to understand if the choice to coreside with one child rather than another was strategic from an economic or traditional point of view or if it was a choice determined by the good relationship between the two generations. Moreover, a better interpretation of the parish records as regards their coresidences could be achieved. In
the second part of the study it was shown that by studying people by means of large statistical numbers, their individual particularities tend to vanish. With the help of these documents it could be really discovered that everybody had their own history, which could be the similar to but not the same as those of other individuals. The problems with this type of research concerns the energy that have to be spent on the study of these new documents in the archive and the way in which they could be linked to the DDB material. However, with the ongoing improvement of computer technology, future researchers will probably be able to apply and to improve the three directions proposed here.
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