‘God! Let me not waste a moment of This year’

An Intersectional Perspective on the Practices of Time-use in Gentry Women’s Households in Sweden 1793 to 1839.

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Abstract in English:

This study aims to broaden the knowledge and provide new answers to what people did with their time in early modern Sweden. This will be achieved by studying the division of tasks and chores in the diaries of four chosen women, belonging to the higher social strata of society from 1793 to 1839. A theoretical framework of gender and intersectionality has been chosen in order to understand the meanings being created through the performance of tasks. Through the practice of work differences, similarities and hierarchies were constantly created between people working around the diary-writing women. Not simply through gender, but also through other categories such as position in the household, social status, civil status and age. The diary-writing women were very active by performing a vast range of tasks themselves, and the role of the housemother was an important framework in how they understood their own work role. For these women important work areas included tasks focused on the maintenance of the household, textile work, social obligations, and the garden.

Abstract in Swedish:

Denna studie syftar till att utöka kunskapen och tillföra nya svar till vad människor gjorde med sin tid under tidigmoderna Sverige. Detta ska uppnås genom att studera uppdelningen av uppgifter och sysslor i dagböcker av fyra utvalda kvinnor, som tillhörde samhällets högre skikt från 1793 till 1839. Ett teoretiskt ramverk av genus och intersektionalitet har använts för att kunna förstå meningskapandet som etablerades genom utförandet av sysslor. Genom utövandet av arbete blev olikheter, likheter och hierarkier konstant skapade mellan människor som arbetade runt dagboksförfattarinnorna. Inte enbart genom genus utan även genom andra kategorier såsom position i hushållet, social status, civil status, och ålder. Dagboksförfattarinnorna var själva väldigt aktiva genom utförandet av ett stort antal sysslor och rollen husmodern var ett viktigt ramverk i hur de själva förstod sin egen arbetsroll. För dessa kvinnor var viktiga arbetsområden som inkluderade sysslor fokuserade på underhållande av hushållet, textilt arbete, sociala förpliktelser, och trädgården.

Key words: Time-use; intersectionality; gender; practices of work; Sweden; eighteenth-century; nineteenth-century; verb-oriented method
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Introduction

In the winter of 1795, Lisa Wilhelmina one day forbade all visitors to the house. Instead she planned to spend the day sewing a shoulder-stitch. However, as the main door was closed, Magister Lindblad and young Norberg – to Lisa Wilhelmina’s great distress – came through the second door. Lisa Wilhelmina now had to put aside her plans of sewing and instead she entertained the company with games until the late evening. Lisa Wilhelmina’s frustration was observed by her mother, the old brukspatronessa, Lisa Mullberg, and written down in the latter’s diary.¹

The daily life of noble and wealthier bourgeois women was full of different tasks, chores, and obligations that took up most of their waking time. These did not always coincide, as Lisa Wilhelmina had to experience. The line between work and leisure was narrow and highly diffuse, and even though today’s society would not perceive entertaining company as “work”, it was an obligation that was often perceived laborious and stood in the way of other tasks that needed to be done by these women.² Social obligations is only one aspect in the lives of these women. As Lisa Wilhelmina showed, getting the sewing done was deemed so important she felt the need to close down the house for visitors.

It has often been argued that during the end of the early modern period – 1750 to 1850 – women belonging to the higher strata of society, like Lisa Wilhelmina, were distancing themselves from the productive activities within the family and household. The home, a space for both living and especially working, was shrinking, and productive work was beginning to be placed largely outside it. Along with this transition came the notion that women belonged in the private, the home, while men’s place where out in the public.³ This development is primarily found in countries such as England during the end of the eighteenth century and the start of the nineteenth century. This study will focus on Sweden, which in many respects had a much slower development, and the changing gender roles is said to had a wider breakthrough during the latter parts of the nineteenth century.⁴

Even though we today have information from advice books and household literature where ideals were presented which told people in early modern Sweden of different social belonging what they should be doing, there still is not enough knowledge about how they interpreted these

¹ Mullberg, 9 Dec 1795, vol. 9, ämnessamling dagböcker, NMA.
² Steinrud 2004, p. 76.
ideals, and what they actually did with their time. With the help of diaries written by women belonging to the higher strata of the society in Sweden this investigation will examine the practices of work; the tasks and chores they performed. It is my belief that these texts can be seen as carriers of cultural values surrounding the authors. However, this study will not only focus on women belonging to the higher strata. By focusing on who performed what task, and how these were delegated, it will also focus on the multitude of people surrounding these women, and how intersectionality was established amongst them and created differences and similarities. The aim of this investigation is to provide new answers, and broaden the knowledge of what people did with their time in early modern Sweden, and how they perceived the practices of time-use.

What is Work? Discussions about Gender and Work

In order to investigate and understand the chores and tasks performed during the early modern period, a discussion about how work was interpreted is needed. Gender has been an important perspective when studying the perceptions of work during the early modern period.

Historian Deborah Simonton argues that female work often has been based on a male definition of work, and in order to understand women’s chores, work and livelihood, we must understand the ideas about gender that existed during the time period. Simonton argues that if women’s chores and work were not perceived as “work” during the early modern period, it implies that a hierarchy existed in what was viewed as important work. Historically work has varied in different contexts and value systems.

In order to understand how women’s work was contributing, it is necessary to emphasize women’s role inside the household and their relationship to their family. By being held responsible for the survival of the entire household women had power within the family. Women highly participated in the strategies made for the household’s survival by choosing the most efficient way to maximize work and the use of knowledge. Examples of strategies could be to hire help and child rearing. Therefore, Simonton claims, it is necessary to highlight the importance of “strategies” when understanding women’s work. Women often worked in households, with chores and tasks highly connected to the running of the home. Housework was important when defining the value of women’s work, not only for the household but also for the women themselves. The early modern period’s housework was more widely defined than it is

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5 The lack of knowledge of what people did with their time has been raised by the Uppsala based “Gender and Work” project, Fiebranz, Lindberg, Lindström & Ågren 2011. In Stadin 2004, we are provided with this ideological perception of what people should be doing, but much of what they perceived or did themselves.


8 Simonton 1998, pp. 18–22, 26.
today. Simonton is not the only researcher to discuss household as an important unit during the early modern period.

Swedish historians Christopher Pihl and Rosemarie Fiebranz have also argued for the importance of the household. Pihl says that during the early modern period the household could be seen as a social model, through which humans organized their understanding of the world. The social relations and hierarchies established within the household had a large effect on the organization of work. Position within the household, determined by different factors such as gender, age and especially civil status, affected the possibilities of the individual. However, Pihl criticizes that focusing on households has often lead to a focus on couple based households, and by this, certain people in the early modern society has been overlooked by researchers, especially unmarried women. With this said, during the late eighteenth century the household as behavioral pattern for people was slowly being replaced by a more individual behavioral pattern.

Fiebranz emphasizes the importance of the household, similar to Simonton and Pihl. Fiebranz argues that the individuals’ actions were shaped by the circumstances that existed within the household. She focuses on couple economy as the basis for the household and argues that all the individuals inside the household fought for its survival and reproduction. However, the household should not be seen as being in consensus. The strategies made for the households survival was the result of different conflicts of interest between its inhabitants based on norms and hierarchies, such as “gender, generation and position”. Fiebranz also discusses the division of labor between men and women in Sweden. She believes that the division of work and its historical changes is a part of a cultural process, in which gender is an important element. Work becomes a part in the process of gender where notions about what is typically feminine and masculine are constructed. She states that work tasks were often polarized between the sexes. Her study suggests that the gendered division of work expressed and reproduced the basic features of a gender system; separation and hierarchy between men and women.

Art Historian Rozsika Parker writes about how embroidery was involved in the construction and reshaping of femininity since the Middle Ages until present day. During the earliest parts of the early modern period embroidery and other textile tasks were seen as work. However, during the nineteenth century, the view of embroidery as work changed and it was rather seen as leisure,
an aristocratic occupation.\textsuperscript{14} Parker demonstrates what the others have discussed, that the perception of work is culturally and historically changeable.

Several elements interacted in the notions surrounding work and the use of time. Gender roles are emphasized by several historians as one of the main keys to understand how women and society perceived women’s chores. It has been highlighted that perceptions of work should be viewed as historically changeable, and culturally constructed. During the early modern period the household and the family are highlighted as important references for interpreting women’s work and understanding division of work. Households that were coupled-based, which is criticized by Phil, are fundamental to many researchers. It would be interesting to see in more detail how this appears in the diaries. Did all the subjects in this study partake in a coupled-based household?

\textbf{Diaries, Work and the Housemother}

Studies that have used Swedish women’s diaries with the purpose of analyzing what people in the early modern period did with their time are few. Instead diaries are often used as complementary sources. There have been a small number of articles and studies that use diaries for the purpose of studying division of work. What is, however, not an uninvestigated area is studying the lives and work role of women belonging to the higher strata of society. These studies have often focused on the latter half of the nineteenth century; a time period from where more source material is available.

Historian Marja Keinänen analyses the earliest part – 1793-1812 – of the diary of Swedish gentry woman Mårta Helena Reenstierna, focusing on the complex role of the housewife ideal of the time period, the housemother\textsuperscript{15}, by using Pierre Bourdieu’s term habitus.\textsuperscript{16} The recording of work and chores was important for Mårta Helena because it demonstrated her competence and contribution to the family’s and the estate’s livelihood.\textsuperscript{17} Reenstierna executed tasks that were necessary in the contribution to the female economy, whilst marking her position within the household by delegating heavier tasks to the servants and commending herself when the work was done.\textsuperscript{18} One of the most relevant conclusions Keinänen makes, at least for this thesis, is that the importance of the housemother was not simply constructed by Mårta Helena’s own ideas, but also in relationship to her servants and acquaintances.\textsuperscript{19} The same diary will be used in this

\textsuperscript{14} Parker 1984, pp. 6, 11, 138.
\textsuperscript{15} The housemother is defined by Keinänen as; a married woman who was the female head of the family, which had responsibility for the home and household, and was also the hostess of the household, Keinänen 2001, p. 9.
\textsuperscript{16} Keinänen, 2001 pp. 8–9, Keinänen 2003, pp. 155–156.
\textsuperscript{17} Keinänen, 2003 p. 162.
\textsuperscript{18} Keinänen, 2003 pp. 166–168.
investigation. However, this study will investigate a larger portion of the diary, with a different theoretical approach; will my investigation validate the results of Keinänen?

Literary scholar Christina Sjöblad also analyses Reenstierna’s diary. She mainly focuses on the classification of diaries as genres; however, she cannot escape the presence of work and chores in the diary. Sjöblad believes that Märta Helena was anything but passive in the household, though passive, the ruling contemporary female ideal. Märta Helena instead actively worked in collaboration with her husband. The spouses had well-defined work areas; they complemented each other by doing different kinds of work.\(^{20}\)

Diaries have not only been used as a source to the lives of Swedish women of high position. Internationally they have been used to a greater extent when studying the practices of work, and also to investigate agricultural gender roles. An example of this is historian Nancy Grey Osterud who addresses agricultural work by women and men during the nineteenth century’s latter half in an area in the United States. While the time period she investigates is later than in this study, Osterud argues that the agricultural society was not affected by the strong middle class ideology of private and public spheres,\(^ {21}\) perhaps similar to Sweden. Osterud observes that the interpretation of what was female or male work varied between families in the area she researches.\(^ {22}\) Although men and women had their gender-specific tasks and areas, in practice they often had to abandon their roles for the greater good of the farm and household. The work was, however, still identified in the diaries as belonging to the person, or gender, which ordinarily performed the work. Men and women perceived the performances of each other’s tasks differently, since they wrote about this differently in their diaries. The men perceived it as a capital investment, where working hours was reevaluated into money, while women perceived it as mutual help.\(^ {23}\)

This demonstrates that diaries are a very usable source material when studying gender roles, and the perception of work. Many kinds of sources are often used when investigating women in the higher social strata, from memoirs, letters, diaries to other materials. Ethnologist Angela Rundquist focuses on women of the highest noble families, known as the aristocrats, by studying their memoirs, calendars and letters, from 1850 to 1900 in Sweden. She studies the complete lifecycle of these women, from birth to death, analyzing patterns, symbols and meanings in their lives.\(^ {24}\) Rundquist found, similar to Keinänen, that the role of the household leader, the housemother, was highly important in how these women performed and perceived the tasks and

\(^{20}\) Sjöblad 1997, p. 296.
\(^{22}\) Ostenid 1991, pp. 141–142, 150.
\(^{23}\) Ostenid 1991, pp. 139, 186, 212.
\(^{24}\) Rundquist 2001, p. 22.
chores performed in the household. Management and decision making was vital and their power as leader of the household was almost absolute, rarely needing their husbands’ approval.25 Rundquist’s investigation highlights the role of the servant to a large extent. The households she studies are large in the sense that they had a big staff of servants divided by rank and status. The status of the servants was based on the tasks they performed and where it was performed, indoors or outdoors, and how close to the family they worked.26

Ethnologist Marie Steinrud followed four sisters from a Swedish gentry family during the whole of nineteenth century. She found that women’s work was highly versatile and adjusted around seasonal rhythms, much alike agricultural work. Social obligations and textile occupation were just a few of the areas which these women found important. Steinrud also found that the skills of the housemother had a large effect on the knowledge and tasks that were performed. Since they were role models for their servants, they needed to know every task performed in the household themselves.27 Similar is argued by Historian Eva Helena Ulvros who focuses on bourgeois women in southern Sweden from 1790-1870. She studies these women’s lives through letters and diaries and how women as individuals acted in relation to the time period’s gender structure.28 Ulvros emphasizes the skill to be a household supervisor, but also setting a god example by performing the tasks alongside the servants, was highly important for these women. Similar to Steinrud, Ulvros also argues that textile occupations were important.29

Both the studies made by Steinrud and Ulvros have wide timespans including larger parts of the nineteenth century, which covers this study’s time period as well. However, their studies still end up shining a large light on 1830 and forward, since the women they study were adults during that time. This has been a contributing factor as to why this study is focused on the period of 1790 to 1840, as it brings attention to an earlier period. Will this reaffirm the results of Steinrud and Ulvros?

One can say that few in Sweden have examined primarily diaries from the late eighteenth century and early nineteenth century in a larger context and looked at how the individuals themselves perceived work, chores and occupation. With this said, nearly all researchers presented here, who have studied diaries show that this source material contains cultural perceptions about work and gender, making it a good source material for studying practices of work. Previous studies focused on women belonging to the higher strata of society in Sweden

26 Rundquist pp. 232–239
28 This gender structure is based on Yvonne Hirdman’s “gender contract”, which consists of two elements; men and women being kept separate, and in a hierarchy where men is the norm, Ulvros 1996, pp. 13–18.
have highlighted the role of the housemother to be vital in how these women performed work. Even though there is a clear consciousness of several people creating differences, the term intersectionality is rarely used as a perspective in similar studies, which is how my research can contribute.

**Public/Private; a way of understanding the world?**

There are different ways of understanding how gender shaped the lives of people in the eighteenth and nineteenth century. Feminist and gender researchers have often discussed the value of viewing the nineteenth century bourgeois – and sometimes the upper class – gender roles as connected with private and public. This was briefly mentioned in the introduction.

To be more specific, the time period from 1750 and onwards has often been described as a period containing both change and transitions economically, politically and culturally in Europe. The age of revolution, industrialization, urbanizations and the development of new social classes is just a few of these large developments that took place during this period.30 With these changes, the discourse of gender also is said to have changed. This new discourse meant that women and men were so different, that they needed different sphere to move in. Men moved about in public, where the notions of masculinity were established, while women withdrew to the home, to a private sphere where femininity was maintained. In this private sphere, it was said that women were somewhat closed off and devoted all their time to chores of “decorative display”.31 This way of understanding the nineteenth century’s middle class has often overshadowed the understanding of people belonging to other classes during the same period and most relevant for this study is that it has also affected the understanding of late early modern period’s middle and upper class.

Historians Lawrence E. Klein and Amanda Vickery have criticized the use of the concept of separate spheres when studying gender roles. Klein states that researchers have often used the terms “private” and “public” while assuming “a common knowledge of the meaning of these words without investigation”.32 Klein believes that these two terms should be seen as having different meanings in different contexts and periods because they are vaguely put. What is, after all, private and what is public? He also argues that just because women’s work and lives took

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30 Caine & Sluga 2000, pp. 7–10, 32, 34.
32 Klein 1996, p. 102. Klein’s inspiration for the article was Amanda Vickery and her article “Golden age to separate spheres? A Review of the categories and chronology of English women’s history” in Historiographical review, 36; 2, 1993.
place inside the home, does not mean that they were private; a word which he argues is often interpreted as shut up or hidden from others and society.\textsuperscript{33}

Vickery’s book \textit{The Gentlemen’s Daughter} could be read as a study criticizing this way of interpreting the gentry’s world in England between 1780 and 1850, prove that the analytical terms private/public are insufficient to describing their lives. Vickery does not contest that women and men moved about in different spheres; women lived their lives in close associations with home and children while men moved more freely in the public sphere. She argues that if this is the only definition of “separate spheres”; then the concept of private and public is a phenomenon that has been around since ancient times and is not particular to the eighteenth and nineteenth century.\textsuperscript{34} This means that both Klein and Vickery criticize the use of private and public since they believe the concepts have been used without discussion on what they actually mean. This critique was raised in the 1990’s but is still relevant today since gender scholars actively work with the concept and finding new ways of viewing “private and public”, an example of this is presented by Steinrud.

Steinrud tackle the concept of “private and public” in a different way. She views the private and public terms not as fixed markers, but as a process in which private and public represents two poles on a scale. By viewing these as a process there is space for discussions and negotiations. This means that the meaning of public and private could constantly change and develop.\textsuperscript{35} This makes the concept of “private and public” less rigid and more usable. With this said, several researchers have attacked the problem by referring to a third space.

Vickery is inspired by the American researcher Dallet Hemphill, who argues that another sphere should be mentioned for the gentry and upper classes in England and America; the social sphere. This was a sphere connected to women but neither completely private nor domestic. Amanda Vickery believes that sociability’s role is to intertwine both public and private, creating a space where these two meet.\textsuperscript{36} The use of the term “a social sphere” is also supported by Karen V. Hansen, who believes that the understanding of gender will be broadened by using a third sphere, the social sphere. For Hansen the social aspect includes “that range of behaviors that mediates public and private activities, linking households to neighbors and individuals to institutions”.\textsuperscript{37} This demonstrates that the social aspects in the lives of the bourgeois, gentry and nobles had a way of blurring private and public lines, making “social sphere” an interesting addition.

\textsuperscript{33} Klein, 1996 pp. 103–104.
\textsuperscript{34} Vickery 1998, pp. 7–10.
\textsuperscript{35} Steinrud 2008, pp. 21–22.
\textsuperscript{36} Vickery 1998, p. 196.
\textsuperscript{37} Hansen 1994, pp. 5–11.
There is also another perspective that needs to be addressed in order to understand “private and public” during this period. Men and women are not the only ones being divided by the notion of private and public. By studying all sorts of entertainment in public spaces which the local gentry in England took part in, Vickery saw that the constructions of public/private could not exclusively be applied to gender, but should also be applied to the social order in the society. Here public meant the places where almost all sorts of people mixed, while private was where only the richer people socialized.\(^{38}\) This means that private and public are constructed with more denominators than gender. I see this as an intersectional way of understanding the time period. The meaning of private and public were based on more categories than gender.

This thesis time period falls within the range of time when the discourse of “private and public” is said to have developed. This is a large contribution as to why the time period has been chosen for this thesis in the first place. The period of 1750 to 1850 is one of change and transition in larger parts of Europe, and makes for an interesting study when focusing on the different cultural contexts that shaped the lives of people, such as gender. With this said, Sweden had a slower development of transitions such as the industrialization, and gender roles has been argued not to have been that rigid during the chosen time period as in countries such as England.\(^{39}\) Investigating the concrete practices of work people performed could in some aspects contribute to the discussions regarding gender during the period of 1750 to 1850 in Sweden.

Although this study’s focus is not to investigate the borders of “private and public”, it is still necessary to bring light to a discussion which has shaped much of gender-related studies, especially those who focuses on women from the higher social strata from 1750 and onwards. Since this study will be similar to Steinrud’s and Vickery’s it is needed to raise the critiques of the established dichotomy and also present other ways of viewing “private and public”. With this, the idea of a social sphere is important in expanding the discussion about gender during this period and the “private and public” dichotomy.

**The Importance of Tasks and Chores**

In order to provide new answers and broaden the knowledge of what people did with their time in early modern Sweden, this study will focus on the practices of time-use. This will be achieved by investigating diaries written by women belonging to the higher strata of society from different parts of Sweden at the end of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. The main question is;


\(^{39}\) Hedenborg & Kvarnström 2006, pp. 15–20. Both Ulvros 1996 and Steinrud 2008 argues that it was less rigid.
What did these diary-keeping women perceive as important tasks and chores for their household and social surroundings?

To answer this inquiry I have designed minor questions related to two themes. The first set of questions focuses primarily on the diary-keeping women, and what tasks and chores they performed. The first question asked is what these women actually did during their days or, to be more accurate, what they wrote that they did. Since it is of interest to study how their tasks and chores were perceived, it is also important to analyse how they were described by the authors of the diaries. Where possible, I will be investigating both how the task itself was described and how the performance of the task was described. Additional interest is if there are any moments visible in the material when different ideals of gender, social belonging and other cultural categories are being challenged or negotiated. Is there evidence of any specific strategies being used, when ideals were threatened? What this question really aims to answer is if there were conscious actions performed in order to maintain, negotiate or survive in accordance to ideals. The questions related to the first theme are therefore;

- What chores and tasks did the diary-keeping women perform?
- How were these described and commented on by the women?
- Were there any strategies executed in order to facilitate tasks, chores and work according to ideals?

The study will not only focus on tasks that the diary-writing women took part in. The next set of questions focuses on other people that were mentioned in the diaries. The first question is what tasks and chores other people performed, followed by the question of how these were described. The third question is aimed at investigating how people interacted with each other. This is to be achieved by studying how tasks and chores were distributed – meaning both shared and delegated – between different people. Another step is to analyze if there were any conflicts between different people whilst performing tasks. Where there any moments when conflict arose because people did not do what they were supposed to do? It is especially interesting to see if there were any conflicts based on different ideas about gender, social belonging and other cultural categories in relation to the performance of certain tasks. The questions asked are;

- What chores and tasks did other people perform?
- How were these described and commented?
- How were chores distributed between different groups of people that came in contact with each other?
Were there any conflicts regarding performances of specific tasks?

Even though this set of questions focuses on two different groups – the diary-writing women and other people they came in contact with – the thesis aims to investigate how tasks and chores were performed through the interaction of these people, and what cultural meanings are thereby being established, and not to study them separately. I believe it is through interactions between individuals that perceived importance is constructed. In this study a theoretical framework consisting of the term “performance” hailing from queer theory and intersectionality will be used.

**Gender and Intersectionality**

Gender has been an important factor in studying and understanding people’s lives and cultures in the early modern era, and especially how work and chores were perceived. Gender is a well-established concept, which argues that what we perceive as feminine or masculine is socially and culturally constructed. Historical studies with a gender perspective have often emphasized that gender should also be seen as historically changeable. What we define as feminine or masculine is constantly changing. With this said, there is no existing, commonly accepted theory of how gender is constructed. What is often discussed is whether gender should be seen as something one has – fixed and secure – or if gender should be perceived as something one does, something we constantly create and reshape through various cultural manifestations.

Philosopher Judith Butler argues that gender is never fixed or secure. Instead, gender is constantly performed and reshaped in language and in different social practices. Butler refers to this constant ongoing process as performance. She argues that a performance includes both how one controls one’s body and how one speaks about gender. A performance does not consist of a singular act, but is constantly repeated into a repertoire. In repeated performances different sets of meanings are socially established, which means that the social stability of gender is maintained, and different norms are upheld. However, a performance can also challenge norms and change the perception of gender. Butler argues that it is possible to perform gender both “right” and “wrong”. Following Butler, gender is not something one is, but something one does, or more specifically something one performs.

Using a definition of gender in line with Butler, as presented above, is quite new in historical studies, especially when studying the daily practices of work. The Uppsala based project “Gender and Work” uses the concept of performance when studying what people did with their time.

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41 A similar discussion is raised by Judith Butler in; Butler 2006[1999], pp. 8–10.
They argue that Butler’s theory sheds new light on the designation of tasks and chores. Through being seen performing certain tasks rather than others, one was not simply making a living but taking part in social interactions whereby one signalled certain meanings connected with the task. In this study the concept of performance will be used. Through performing and repeating certain tasks and chores, ideas of gender, and with this, differences between men and women, are being produced and upheld. The writing of diaries is a performance in itself that should be accounted for, in taking notes and choosing what to write, the informants’ repertoire surrounding chores and tasks were expanded. With this said, gender is not a sufficient category for studying how early modern Swedes interpreted and performed work. Categories such as social belonging, civil status and age were just as important for how people perceived their surroundings, themselves and organized their lives. Butler herself says that it is difficult to separate gender from other “cultural intersections”.

The term intersectionality is well established in several academic fields – such as gender studies – but still not very much used in history. Intersectionality is commonly explained as the process by which several categories, for example gender, ethnicity, class and sexuality, together create processes of difference related to identity and experience. Ethnologist Maria Vallström argues that the categories that intersect with each other are never fixed or determined, but rather constructs each other in a constant, on-going process of differentiation. According to Vallström, one should avoid describing who the individuals are, but instead describe them based on what they do and in what location they do it in. This is similar to the idea of performance, and fits rather nicely with my purpose here, which is to study what people did. Problems can arise, however, with intersectionality. Gender scholar Nina Lykke argues that if the researcher does not understand the term correctly, she or he risks using the term additively. That is to say, study categories that occasionally interact as separate entities rather than as parts of an intersectional process that constantly creates power structures.

I will use the concept of intersectionality in this thesis because it allows for a more complex understanding of how work was performed in early modern Sweden. Studying gender alone may imply that all women performed the same tasks and had the same experiences, and this is simply not the case. The concept of performance will be used on this intersectional process, since I believe that categories such as social belonging, civil state and others were also performed

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43 Gräslund Berg et. al. unpublished, p. 10.
45 Tolvhed 2010, p. 59.
46 Tolvhed, 2010, p. 60.
through practices of work. Besides gender, several categories have already been mentioned by previous research as important in the understanding of the division of work during the early modern period, especially position within the household and civil status. In the forthcoming study social belonging will be used as a category since class is a difficult term for a non-capitalistic society. Social belonging will stand for social estate, such as noble and bourgeois, and social status. With this said, can one perform categories such as civil status or age? It is my belief that one can perform certain sets of ideals and norms around age and civil status.

What does the use of the term performance mean for the conclusions in this thesis? Well, through performing certain tasks people played out a gender, a position within the household or other categories. However, cultural notions also preceded the performances; people already knew what kind of tasks they were supposed to perform. This can be exemplified with heavy tasks in the household, strongly connected to the maids, which is an important reason why the maids performed these heavy tasks. In such cases the performance reaffirmed and strengthened the identity one already had. What a one already is and what one becomes through performances is intertwined with each other and very difficult to separate.

Lastly, Historian Christopher Pihl, who has studied work as difference making in sixteenth century Sweden, uses a similar theoretical approach to that presented above. He avoids words such as gender and intersectionality, but they are implicitly present in the study. He found that categories such as gender, age, civil status, social position and knowledge were important categories in difference making. Pihl argues that these categories cannot be understood individually, but must be seen as interacting. However, he concluded that in some cases one category became more important than the others. This demonstrates the fruitful nature of using this as a theoretical framework.

**Diaries – a Collective Experience**

To provide answers for what people did with their time and what chores and tasks women from the higher social strata in Sweden found important I have chosen one single source material; diaries. This choice is based on several factors. A diary is a personal record written almost in on a daily basis, and therefore, giving access to information about the small and mundane everyday, information much harder to obtain through public records. Diaries can also give an insight into the way specific persons interpreted and experienced the practices of work that they, and the people around them, participated in. Letters could also have been chosen since they as well often reveal small and mundane everyday information. However, letters have already been used as

sources in similar studies surrounding women of the higher strata. Diaries, then, are a source not yet systematically explored in Sweden in relation to questions about work and identity.

This study has chosen to focus on diaries written exclusively by women. This also has its reasons. Steinrud argues that women seldom left as much traces as men in public records, and are often mentioned only in relation to men. In this thesis I will focus primarily on texts written by women from the higher social strata to shed a light on the practice of work they and the people around them performed, and how these women perceived it themselves. Men’s diaries seemed rarely to focus on the life at home but instead large events taking place outside the household. This in itself is quite an interesting observation. It would have been rewarding to study diaries written by male family members from the same household to get two perspectives, but unfortunately such texts do not exist. Furthermore, considering the limits of a master thesis a close study of more diaries would have been too time-consuming. Sjöblad says that diaries are important for women’s history and she believes that the eighteenth century’s diaries can give us important knowledge about women’s lives and mindset. Even though this study uses only diaries written by women, the investigation will focus on information about both genders – as well as people from different social positions.

Literary scholars Eva Haettner, Lisbeth Larsson and Christina Sjöblad lists over 100 diaries and autobiographies written by Swedish women in the bibliography Kvinnors självbiografier och dagböcker i Sverige 1650-1989. However, most of these books were written from 1850 and onwards, after this study’s time period. Haettner, Larsson and Sjöblad explain that it was after 1850, with the growth of bourgeois culture, that keeping journals and diaries became increasingly popular, especially for women. This gives a background to the low availability of diaries in Sweden from the early modern period. Diaries written by women are also few in relations to other countries, such as Great Britain, where historians have been able to conduct studies with a larger source base from a quite small area. The low availability has been an influential factor on the time period chosen for this study. There were not many diaries written prior to 1790, and those that were written rarely noted the practices of work but instead largely focused on topics such as family and genealogy.

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50 Some of these studies have already been mentioned, such as Ulvros 1996, and Steinrud 2008.
51 Steinrud 2008, p. 36.
52 Sjöblad 1997, p. 37. This is also supported by the vast range of male written diaries inspected for this study.
53 Sjöblad 1997, pp. 34, 74.
54 Haettner, Larsson, Sjöblad 1991, p. 15.
55 This can for example be seen in Vickery 1998, where she has access to a large amount of material of diaries and autobiographies from a small area, Lancashire, in England.
56 Only 18 diaries were registered by Haettner, Larsson, Sjöblad, for their bibliography, to have been written before the nineteenth century, Sjöblad 1997, p. 36.
In today’s society a diary is used for writing private thoughts, feelings and self-reflection and is not meant to be shared with anyone. Does this mean that I will be prying into the private emotions and thoughts of these early modern women? Well, no - during the eighteenth and early nineteenth century diaries were a collective experience. Diaries, similarly to autobiographies, were meant to be read by family and friends. They rarely contained deep secrets and often lacked long passages of self-reflection. Diaries had a more practical intent as well; often they recorded how the day was spent and who came to visit.

Diaries can be difficult to distinguish from its cousin, the autobiography. A diary is written in present time while an autobiography is written in retrospect. An autobiography shows a clearer awareness of exclusion of events; often highlighting what is important for the writer’s life story, while diaries are often hastily written day to day. Sjöblad has discussed the diary as a genre and observed some basic features. Notes in diaries were normally dated and chronological and they were written in first person about “events she has gained knowledge about or personally experienced”. The diaries should also include the writers own thoughts and his or her emotions are reflected in what is told.

With this said, diaries are to a great extent private documents, driven by personal interests. Does this make them problematic as historical sources? It depends on what they are used for. A common theme in criticizing these types of sources is their relation to the “truth”, meaning what really happened. Sjöblad writes that diaries represent an active choice by the writer in a process of selective exclusions of specific events. It does not provide an absolute truth about the time or events, but reveals more about the subjective experience of them. Ulvros, who uses a few diaries in her investigation, is skeptical of them as sources because the diaries do not reveal everything. She emphasizes that the truth claim in the diaries is difficult to interpret, since it is easy to lie and fabricate information in them.

However, I will not study the absolute “truth”, as it is not the main focus in this study. Since the investigation focuses on the cultural notions surrounding chores and tasks, the subjective tendency, and selection could help to understand what was perceived as important and how an individual interpreted these cultural notions. It is likely that the information in the diaries was what the diary-writers found important, and the information left out of them was not deemed as important. It is also logical to draw the conclusion that since this was a text read by others, the information should be socially acceptable. This means that diaries and autobiographies may

59 Sjöblad 1997, p. 57.
60 Sjöblad 1997, p. 74.
reveal cultural ideas about how one should act, and what was viewed as important not only by the writers but also by the people around them.

Several of the diaries chosen for this study were found through the – previously mentioned – bibliography Kvinnors självbiografer och dagböcker i Sverige 1650-1989. Of the diaries available I have chosen for this study all contain my demands; they were written in the Swedish kingdom, and they contain daily chores and tasks that were performed. Also, they should not have been written by women from the absolute highest of society. The women in this study belonged to what is known as the gentry, lower socially ranked noble, and higher bourgeois. This means that autobiographies have been excluded, since these focus mainly on larger life events, and not on the mundane everyday tasks.

Consequently several types of diaries which otherwise contains interesting information have been excluded from the investigation. For example, travel-journals and journals written by Swedish people living abroad have been excluded. The well-known archive of the religious order called Evangeliska Brödraförsamlingen (also known as Herrnhutare), which contains a large collection of “life-stories” have also been excluded. These short autobiographies focus on religious aspects and contain little – if any – information about daily life. However, these are not the only source material unfit for this study; other diaries have been excluded simply because they hardly contain any information about the daily activities – chores and tasks – in their household.

Primarily, I wanted diaries written by society’s lesser women, but because the level of literacy was low and material from society’s higher people has been better preserved, this is a challenge. Of the diaries preserved the lowest women are generally those who belonged to the gentry and wealthier bourgeois. Diaries written by society’s highest ranking women, meaning queens or court ladies, have therefore not been chosen for this thesis. Their diaries are often also more focused on social and political aspects connected to the crown and court, which are interesting but not for this study. Finally, I have also chosen to exclude the diary genre known in Sweden as “peasantry/farmers diaries”. These were often written after 1850 and primarily by men.

62 Besides these short autobiographies, due to the limitations of the time period and a master thesis this has also lead to an exclusion of the diary of Christina Charlotta Hjärne, written 1744 to 1803, Sjöblad 1997, pp. 315–325.
63 Instead other information such as travels, whereabouts of their kin, luxury consumption and social dinner-parties are revealed. Diaries I have excluded are for an example; the diary of Marie-Louise af Forsell – written, 1839–1852 – her diary is consists most of social aspects and not of practices of work, and self-reflection and emotions similar to present time diaries, besides this, the diary was also not written inside this thesis time period, Forsell, 1915. The diary of Metta Lillies – written 1737–1750 – which instead contain information about family’s whereabouts and consumption, and is also outside the study’s timeline, Mette 2008.
64 This means that the well-known diary of Duchess – later Queen – Hedvig Elisabet Charlotta will not be used in this investigation, Sjöblad 1997, pp. 214–217.
belonging to an agricultural context, a different social context then the women in the higher social strata.\textsuperscript{65} The diaries chosen will be presented below.

\textbf{Four diaries and four different women}

Four diaries have been chosen as the primary sources for this study. All of them where started and finished between the years 1793 to 1839, giving an explanation to the specific years chosen for this study. The diaries where written by women who lived in different parts of the country and had different statuses and family situations, although some similarities existed between them. The most significant similarity between these women was the structure of their diaries. The diaries consisted of short notes primarily focusing on the practical events of the day, such as what tasks and chores they performed and whom they met. Below I will present them two and two, starting with the older women, and finishing with the younger ones.

In 1793 and 1794 respectively, noblewoman Märta Helena Reenstierna (1753-1841) (married von Schnell), and Brukspatronessan\textsuperscript{66} Lisa Mullberg (born Lundberg) (1742-?)\textsuperscript{67} started keeping diaries.\textsuperscript{68} These women did not know each other and lived in different parts of Sweden. Reenstierna lived on the Årsta estate, which was situated close to Stockholm, giving her diary both an urban and a countryside aspect. Mullberg, on the other hand, lived in the inlands of Sweden, an area characterized by industrial communities, known as bruk. This means that the countryside is represented in her diary. Information about Mullberg is difficult to obtain since there is little evidence of her. For example, contradictory information exists as to where she lived. According to the introduction to the typed version of her diary, she lived at the “Lundgrenska” estate in Filipstad, her father’s old estate, while the biography of her grandchild claims that she lived on Lesjöfors bruk, her son’s estate.\textsuperscript{69} Through investigating her diary it is evident that she mostly lived in Filipstad, not in Lesjöfors.\textsuperscript{70}

Both these women were widows during the greater part of their writings. When Reenstierna started her writing she was married to Captain Henrik von Schnell, who had made his carrier in the Russian army but left in 1767 to settle down in Sweden after he bought the Årsta estate. They

\textsuperscript{65} These diaries have also been used in previous studies where practices of work have been explored, such as Liljewall 1995, who studies the everyday life of peasants during the nineteenth century in relation to social changes.

\textsuperscript{66} She was married to a brukspatron, meaning an owner of an industrialized facility (bruk), which processed raw materials (often known as iron works), NE, \url{http://www.ne.se/} (accessed 27 March 2013).

\textsuperscript{67} Unfortunately, there are no records of when Lisa Mullberg passed away.

\textsuperscript{68} Märta Helena von Schnell, will hence fort be referred to as Reenstierna, this is chosen since it is the name she is best known by. Lisa Mullberg will be referred to as Mullberg, since this is the name the archives have chosen to reference her by.

\textsuperscript{69} Mullberg, vol. 9, ämnessamling dagböcker, NMA. The biography of Johan Wilhelm Dalman, SBL, \url{http://www.pad.riksarkivet.se/sbl/} (accessed 26 March 2013).

\textsuperscript{70} The diary also states that Mullberg’s son’s mansell often took care of her grandchild, this could explain why the biography says Lesjöfors, Mullberg, vol. 9, ämnessamling dagböcker, NMA.
had one son that survived childhood, Hans Abraham.\textsuperscript{71} Both her husband and son passed away during the years 1811 and 1812. Märta Helena never remarried and wrote the rest of her diary as a childless widow. Mullberg was also a widow, having lost her husband \textit{Brakspatronen} Johan Wilhelm Mullberg several years before the diary’s start. Together they had lived on Lesjöfors \textit{bruk}. Her daughter, Lisa Wilhelmina, and grandchildren, such as Johan Wilhelm, lived periodically in her household.\textsuperscript{72}

Reenstierna’s diary – written 1793-1839 – covers an impressive length of time and is the longest diary in this study. Due to this, a selection has been made, and only eighteen of these years, divided into three periods, will be investigated. The first period, 1793-1798, covers the years during which she was a wife and a mother. The second period, 1813-1818, occurs when she recently had lost her husband and son. The last period, 1834-1839, comprises the very end of the diary, where she is old and progressively going blind. These selections have been made in order to capture and study how these different life events affected Märta Helena’s tasks and chores. The diary can be found in Nordiska Museet’s archives, both the original diary and a typed copy.\textsuperscript{73}

Mullberg’s diary – written from 1794-1802 – is somewhat problematic, just as finding information about her life is. The original is heavily damaged, and therefore it has not been used. There is a typed copy of the diary, which instead has been used for this study, but is seems to have been badly handled over the years and lacks pages.\textsuperscript{74} However, over 100 pages of the diary are available, which contain enough information to justify its inclusion in this investigation. The machine written copy, which is stored in Nordiska Museet, has been used in this study.\textsuperscript{75}

In 1799 and 1818, noble women Jacobina Charlotta Munsterhjelm (never married) (1786-1842) and Hedvig Eleonora Ortiliana Liljencrantz (later married Ehrensvärd) (1797-1858), started writing their diaries.\textsuperscript{76} These women were much younger than Reenstierna and Mullberg, and were unmarried while writing their diaries. Munsterhjelm lived in an estate in Tavastby, in Elimä

\textsuperscript{71} Together with her husband she had eight children, who seven died during childhood, Broman, “Inledning”, in Reenstierna, 1985a, pp. 16-18, Sjöblad, 1997 pp. 275, 280.

\textsuperscript{72} This was estate was given over to her children, and run by her oldest son Nils Pihl-Mullberg, De Geer 1975, pp. 33–34. Mullberg, vol 9, ämnessamling dagböcker, NMA.

\textsuperscript{73} The original is kept in Nordiska Museet archive through vol. 69–94, machine written copy, ämnessamling dagböcker, NMA. The copy itself, made by Gunnar Broman, does not have a volume number but is however stored with the original which does have a volume number. Selected parts of the diary has also been printed and released in three volumes by Sigurd Erixon, Arvid Stålhane and Sigurd Wallin. The selection and commentaries are done by Gunnar Broman, Reenstierna 1985a, Reenstierna 1985b, Reenstierna 1985c.

\textsuperscript{74} Since I will be studying the everyday performed tasks and chores I still believe that these pages cover enough to draw conclusions. The missing pages and damages covers; 3/7–9/8 1794, 2/10–17/11 1794, 29–31/12 1794, 1–24/1 1795, 23/4–12/11 1795, 10/1–16/8 1796, 30/8–12/9 1796, 17–24/9 1796, 6–12/10 1796, 4–12/12 1796, 12–20/7 1797, 1/1 1798 – 26/7 1800, 17/8–7/9 1800, 15–27/9 1800, 1–12/10 1800, 28/10–6/11 1800, 18–30/11, 1/1 1801 – 25/3 1802.

\textsuperscript{75} The original, along with another copy, is found in Lunds University Library archive; “Fahlbeckskal slaktarlivet, Serie A, Äldre familjebrev, dagböcker och journaler; 2:2 Fru Lisa Mullbergs dagbok”, the copy used in this thesis seemed to be made by Augustin Ehrensvärd, and is found through vol. 9, ämnessamling dagböcker, NMA.

\textsuperscript{76} Both these women were unmarried while writing and will therefore be referred to their maiden names.
parish, near the Russian border, being in the periphery of Sweden at the time. Her father, former
Captain Anders Gustav Munsterhjelm, and mother Ester Sofia Nohrström lived at this estate.
She had five siblings but only three occur in the daily events of the diary; these were her three
sisters Anna (called Annette), Ulla and Beata, and also her cousin Ulla, who lived with the
family. Liljencrantz on the other hand, at no point lived in her own home during her writings.
The purpose of her diary was to record for her sister how she spent her days. Liljencrantz lived in
different places with her unnamed aunt and uncle, whom Gunhild Nylén Hillbo believes to be
her aunt Hedvig von Engeström and her husband the French General Pierre André Geoffrenet
de Rodais. Large parts of the year were spent as visitors at Bällsta estate outside of Stockholm,
owned by Countess Charlotte LeFebure, a family acquaintance, and during the winters at her aunt
and uncle’s townhouse in Stockholm. These two women had highly different living situations.

Both diaries have been chosen because they were written by younger women, providing a
broader perspective for the investigation. Liljencrantz’ diary – written 1817-1819 – was originally
written in French, but has been translated and exists as a typed copy in Riksarkivet, the copy has
been used in this study. The diary was written in several small journals, which were sent to her
sisters, and all these parts, except for two, are accounted for. Munsterhjelm’s diary – written
1799-1801 – is published in its entirety by the Swedish Literate Society in Finland, commented by
Bo Lönnqvist, and it has been used in this study. The last pages of the original diary have been
damaged, which means that a few entries from the end of 1800 and the beginning of 1801 consist
only of half sentences. Both diaries have small gaps in them, but most of the notes are still
available.

These four women lived, as mentioned, different lives, but there are some similarities between
them, such as two of the diary-writers being widowed, older and leaders of their own household,
and two of the diary-writers being unmarried, younger and not leader but instead members of a
household, and the ways they wrote their diaries. There are also significant differences, such as
were they lived, all of them lived in different parts of the country not knowing each other, and of
course their social standing. It is important to highlight that Liljencrantz differed from the other

77 Both her brothers did not live at home since they were in the military. Lundqvist, “Inledning” in Munsterhjelm
78 Liljencrantz father Governor Count Johan Willhelm and mother Jeanne von Engeström had passed away before
the diary started and remaining was the father’s second wife Helena Meldercreutz, and her siblings Gösta, Charlotte,
Louise, Calle and Augusta. The sons were in the military and getting education in Uppsala, the rest of the siblings
79 Hilbo, ”Introduktion” in Liljencrantz 2002, pp ii–iii.
80 Number 14 and 15 are missing. There is no name to who translated and typed it. Can be found through; vol. 41, II
ehrensvardks papper, d. Biogr handled rorande flera medlemmar av Ehrensvardks fam, tosteruppsamlingen, RA. It
has also been printed in its entirety as well; Liljencrantz 2003.
81 Munsterhjelm 1970. Henceforth it will be referenced to the date of the diary entry, not to the book page. These
references are constructed such; Munsterhjelm, 12 Dec 1800, 1970.
women in her social standing. She was highest on the social ladder, even attending the same parties as the royal family. This makes the diary interesting to study in order to see if she differed in her notations from the other women.

Munterhjelm, belonging to a gentry family, was not as high up on the social ladder as Liljencrantz. According to Bo Lönnqvist, Munterhjelm’s household was characterized by semi-noble and semi-bourgeois surroundings.\textsuperscript{82} This is very similar to that of Reenstierna, who also was gentry.\textsuperscript{83} Mullberg on the other hand was not even of noble ancestry, but she was part of the social elite. Economic historian Ylva Hasselberg argues that in noble-sparse areas, such as ironwork areas, estates such as Mullberg’s filled similar roles to noble estates, meaning places where wealth and power rested.\textsuperscript{84} These differences and similarities should not been seen as a weakness, but instead as giving the investigation a broader spectrum. If similarities in the practice of work are found between these different women’s diaries it only becomes more interesting and could perhaps indicate to a larger norm in the practice of work.

This thesis is based only on the diaries of four women. Even though they did not live shockingly different lives from other women of similar status, they are hardly representative for women belonging to the higher strata. The results gained from this should not be seen as general to every woman of the same social status or all people during the early modern period. With the focus I have chosen – a close study of all the tasks and chores performed in the households of the diary-keeping women – a larger study is difficult to conduct. Limiting the scope to a few women is needed in order to capture the small every day details. This micro focus gives an insight into these specific households and the multiple concrete tasks and chores people actually did there. With this said, these women did not live in a vacuum. They met and socialized with women of similar status, and took part in a social and cultural context of shared norms. Consequently, this study sheds some light on these norms and the intersectional process shaping the lives of people during the late early modern period. Even though it has been possible to see some patterns in these processes, studying these four women and the people around them practices of work give an insight into how complex it actually was.

\textit{The Verb-Oriented Method and Categorization}

Locating what people did with their time in early modern Sweden is difficult. Several reasons are behind this. For example, the lack of sources describing work (especially women’s work), and

\textsuperscript{82} Lundqvist, “Inledning” in Munsterhjelm 1970, pp. 7–8, 18-21.
\textsuperscript{83} Broman, “Inledning” in Reenstierna 1985a, pp. 27–29.
\textsuperscript{84} Hasselberg 1998, p. 79.
what should constitute as work in the first place.\textsuperscript{85} The Uppsala University based project “Gender and Work” argues that for the early modern period a broader definition of the term work is needed, since it is not apparent what work stood for. The project therefore chooses to define work as “the use of time with the goal of making a living”.\textsuperscript{86} By choosing such a broad definition of work the focus is set on what people actually did with their time, the practices of work, and not on occupational titles or lack of them, or if work was paid or unpaid. These aspects can often be misleading as to how people made their living. To be able to locate these practices of work the project suggest a new method; “the verb-oriented method”.\textsuperscript{87} This means that the method focuses on words describing concrete practices of work done in order to make a living. Examples of such verbs given by the project include: ploughing a field, ironing clothes, doing bookkeeping and watching children.\textsuperscript{88}

The verb-oriented method will be used in this investigation, since it helps me to locate the practices of time-use. Words describing concrete tasks and chores performed by various people will be identified in the four diaries. To clarify, the verbs will not be studied without context. Information surrounding the verbs is also included such as who performed it and where and how it was performed. These different verbs and information has been collected in to a database\textsuperscript{89} in order to facilitate an overview of who did what, and other comparative information. A concrete demonstration of the fruitful nature of the verb-oriented method; over 350 individual tasks and chores have been located in four diaries (see appendix). These tasks and chores ranged from being mentioned a few times to over a hundred times. Besides these practices, relevant information such as comments or value-based remarks about specific tasks and performances has also been explored. This information will be analysed in the forthcoming study qualitatively, and quantitative results will only be used on a few occasions to emphasize how common certain tasks were.

To be able to organize and create a framework around all these verbs, this study has created four distinctive categories. Categorizing tasks and chores may cause problems to arise, depending upon what criteria one chooses. One possible idea would be to separate different tasks into household work and leisure; however, the idea of leisure is highly problematic. Having leisure as a category would risk making a category based upon present time values, and not on the diary-keeping women’s ideas of work. An example of this can be made in relation to gardening; both

\textsuperscript{85} Gräslund Berg et. al. unpublished, p. 2–3.
\textsuperscript{86} Fiebrantz, Lindberg, Lindström & Ågren 2011, pp. 279.
\textsuperscript{88} Fiebrantz, Lindberg, Lindström & Ågren 2011, p. 280.
\textsuperscript{89} This is a database constructed for this thesis and used only by myself. However, this database is still not complete, large sections of the second and third parts of Reenstierna’s diary still needs to be included. So far around 7100 individual activities have been added. The restoring material is managed through lists instead.
Mullberg and Reenstierna spent large amounts of time in their gardens, planting plants for aesthetic pleasure, eating, and providing for the household. The gardening can be seen as a necessity since the garden was an extension of the social room, a place where company was often entertained during the warmer seasons, making planting aesthetic flowers important. One could in fact argue that gardening was not leisure but part of the household work. Therefore, I will not categorize tasks and chores after work or leisure. Another possible problem is that certain tasks could be placed in several categories. Different forms of textile work could occasionally be regarded both as household chores and as social activities. I chose not to see this as a problem but instead as an indication as to the complexity of how chores and tasks where performed during the early modern period.

In this thesis four categories will be used in order to manage and discuss the different tasks. The context for these categories has been constructed out of themes visible in the source material, for example areas where many tasks were performed, but also with the inspiration from discussions raised in earlier research. Common features in the categories are often a shared space where tasks and chores were performed.

The first category is focused on textile work, and consists of tasks that are associated with both making fabric and working with textiles. Textile work’s important role in the construction of gender roles during the eighteenth and nineteenth century is a reason why these tasks should be in a separate category. Parker argues that textile work – mainly embroidery – was important in the shaping of “domestic femininity” during the eighteenth and nineteenth century. She argues that embroidery was connected to both gender and social belonging in establishing femininity for the noble, gentry and bourgeois. Textile researcher Pernilla Rasmussen claims that textile work – mainly sewing – was one of the most time consuming household tasks for women in the higher social strata, a the task could take multiple days’ to complete for these women and several other people in the household. Textile work also has a prominent role in the diaries, making a separate discussion appropriate. Examples of tasks in this category are spinning, embroidery, sewing and mending clothes.

The second category contains tasks, chores and activities taking place in or connected to the social sphere. The category draws its main inspiration from discussions about private and public, where the importance of a social sphere has been stressed. This category will cover activities conducted for the purpose of maintaining friendships and acquaintances. Examples of tasks and activities analyzed here are writing letters and visiting. Investigating women’s work in relation to

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90 Both Mullberg and Reenstierna often noted socializing in the garden, Reenstierna, vol. 69–94, machine written copy, ämnessamling dagböcker, NMA, Mullberg, vol. 9, ämnessamling dagböcker, NMA.
91 Parker 1984, pp. 6, 11, 138.
92 Rasmussen 2010, p. 100.
social obligation has previously been done by Steinrud, who observed that the two were often difficult to merge.\textsuperscript{93} There will also be room for a discussion dealing with the significance of tasks performed in this social setting, for example while entertaining guests or on a visit, and also performed collectively.

The two final categories have been constructed in light of the ongoing debate about the household, and the discussion around what exactly should be categorized as household work. Instead of creating one massive category dealing with household or estate work, I have separated the tasks into two main areas. This is done in order to give more space to the different discussion about tasks and chores. The first category of these two will deal with tasks and chores performed in relation to gardening, farming, and managing animals. Examples of tasks and chores in this category are overseeing, sowing, reaping and butchering. Some of these tasks were performed both indoors and out; for example sprouting peas was a task often performed indoors. This category will also include other tasks that were not performed in the gardening and farming area, but still connected to the matter, such as selling fruit and vegetables.

This means that the fourth and last category will centre on chores and tasks related to the maintenance of the household mainly performed indoors. The other categories also consisted of household work. Textiles were made and produced for the household, social obligations performed for the betterment of the household and gardening was an extension of the household. This category will try to intercept other tasks and chores that were performed but did not fall into the former categories. Examples of such chores are baking, cooking, cleaning and candle making. Other tasks included inventorying and managing the estate through paperwork such as counting and writing inventories. However, some of these chores did not exclusively take place indoors. The informants had to leave their house in order to perform some of them, for example, going to the nearby lake to wash clothes.

Lastly, these categories will also work as the outline of the following analytical part of the thesis. It will have four chapters consisting of subsections based on themes in the empirical material and each section will have a short concluding summary. Within these chapters the sources will not be handled chronologically or by each diary on its own, but in a joint discussion based on all the diaries. These analytical chapters are followed by a last chapter consisting of a final discussion bringing the results together in a wider discussion.

\textsuperscript{93} Steinrud 2008, p. 75.
Making, mending and sewing; textile work

Over 70 verbs related to different textile tasks, chores and work have been located in the diaries. Some, such as coloring fabric, appear only a few times while others reappear often, for example spinning or weaving (see appendix). Since this study will focus on the performances of people mentioned in the diary, I will focus on the tasks that appear most frequently and discuss who performed them. Some tasks which are mentioned only a few times will not be discussed to the same extent.

**Needlework – A decorative task?**

Textile work – mainly needlework – as a decorative occupation has been a subject of discussion for a long time, heavily entangled with discussions about gender and the dichotomy of “private and public”. Embroidery was one of the tasks highlighted within these discussions. During the seventeenth century, embroidery went from being seen as a productive task to a decorative art, and its usefulness in the home was often debated. This debate has continued until the present time. Even though it was interpreted as decorative, Roszika Parker argues that it was still an important task for the women belonging to society’s higher strata. Both Amanda Vickery and Parker discuss its major role in creating and reshaping femininity during the late early modern period. Vickery argues that decorative work such as embroidery “demonstrated female duty”, while Parker writes that it was a way of “cultivating submissive femininity in women”. In a Swedish context embroidery was one of the tolerated ways for noble women to earn an income during the same period. So the question is; did embroidery have a large presence in the diaries?

It is surprising, given its history, how absent the use of the word “embroidery” is in the diaries. It is only in Hedvig Eleonora Liljencrantz’s diary that the word appears repeatedly in. On several occasions she recorded working on embroidery, and was even asked to embroider a garment for an acquaintance’s wedding, which she declined. However, in Reenstierna’s diary, for example, embroidery is completely absent as something she performed herself. Rather, it is mentioned when she receives fabric and garments that a Fröken Vrangell had embroidered for

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95 Parker 1983, pp. 2-12, however, both quotations are from Vickery 2009, p. 240.  
97 Liljencrantz, 15 Sep 1817, 23 Sep 1817, vol. 41, det äldre arkivet; II ehrensvärdska papper, d. Biogr handl rörande flera medlemmar av ehrensvärdska fam, Tosterupssamlingen, RA (since I will be using the same source throughout this analysis I have chosen to shorten the reference, henceforth it will only say the diary writer's name, date, and archive). Liljencrantz also recorded receiving gifts for her embroidery – an example of this, is when she receives silk fabric from her friend Hedda Boije, Liljencrantz, 13 March 1818, RA. More examples of her mentioning embroidery; Liljencrantz, 2 Oct 1817, 12 Sep 1817, RA.
her. Rasmussen, who has studied a longer period of the same diary, argues that Reenstierna used semi-professional women for embroidery, such as Fröken Vrangell, who was of noble birth. She also argues that Reenstierna used women of lower social status living on the estate. The limited presence of embroidery can be observed in both Mullberg’s and Munsterhjelm’s diaries as well. Even though this study does not have access to the entire diary of Mullberg and has chosen not to study the entirety of Reenstierna’s diary, the evidence is still enough to draw the conclusion that embroidery was not recorded as a regularly performed task.

This raises several questions – such as the most obvious one – why was the term embroidery absent? One possible explanation is that Reenstierna, Mullberg and Munsterhjelm referred to the task by other words. Sewing in Sweden has historically been used as a broader term for different sorts of textile techniques, including embroidery. Sewing was a term commonly used in the diaries, making this a likely conclusion. A small possibility could also be that the women did not perform embroidery. However, this seems rather strange in the light of the discussion raised by Vickery and Parker. It does not, however, mean that other textile tasks and terms were uncommon in the diaries. Other needlework and textile techniques occurred frequently, such as the aforementioned sewing.

Sewing was a task that took up plenty of time in the different households. Every diary-writing woman in this study performed the task, and performed it regularly. It seemed, however, to be a task that the younger women could spend more time on than did the older ones. Rasmussen explains this in Munsterhjelm’s case; as she was only 14 at the time she could spend extensive time with sewing while she was still too young to fulfill social obligations. Reenstierna, who, according to Rasmussen, demonstrated a “broad competence” with the sewing she performed, could not prioritize it in the household as other tasks needed to be done. Experience and knowledge of sewing was found with all the diary-writing women.

The diary-writing women noted using female servants for sewing. The servants were ranked and described with different titles: mansell, jungfruer and pigor (maids). Mansells, the highest ranking servant, were mostly used for the task of sewing. Reenstierna used her mansell when her eye sight

98 Reenstierna, 22 May 1793, 5 Dec 1793, vol. 69–94, machine written copy, ämnessamling dagböcker, NMA (since I will be using the same source throughout this analysis I have chosen to shorten the reference, henceforth it will only say diary writer’s name, date, and archive).
99 Rasmussen 2010, p. 101. Rasmussen references to dates not studied in this thesis for this conclusion.
101 Examples of sewing: Liljencrantz, 10 Sep 1817, 12 Feb 1819, RA, Munsterhjelm, 27 July 1799, 1 Sep 1800, 1970, Mullberg, 29 Aug 1794, 28 Sep 1796, vol. 9, ämnessamling dagböcker, NMA (since I will be using the same source throughout this analysis I have chosen to shorten the reference, henceforth it will only say diary writer’s name, date, and archive.), Reenstierna, 25 Feb 1794, 10 Aug 1814, NMA.
102 Both examples can be found; Rasmussen 2010, pp. 114-116.
failed – which Rasmussen pinpoints as well – and Mullberg also used mamsell for sewing.\footnote{Mamsell is short for; housemamsell, which is a fancier housekeeper. Rasmussen 2010, p. 95. Mullberg, 6 June 1797, NMA.} Jungfrun – a fancier servant, similar to a mamsell – was an uncommon servant in the diaries, only Reenstierna seemed to have one. The jungfrun was not skilled in sewing since Reenstierna noted redoing the work she had performed.\footnote{Reenstierna, 6 May 1796, NMA.} The use of maids – pigor – was highly unusual when it came to sewing. If they were mentioned it was often as assisting others or sewing rougher types of fabric.\footnote{Munsterhjelm only mentions the maids sewing one single time, and they were assisting her sister sewing furniture, Munsterhjelm, 22 Dec 1799, 1970. Mullberg also only one time mentions a maid sewing. The fabric the maid was sewing is called “blaggarn”, this is a rougher sort of fabric often used for work clothes, Mullberg, 1 Sep 1794, NMA. “blaggarn” is another word for “blångarnsväv”, NE, \url{http://www.ne.se/} (accessed 26 Nov 2012).} Hence, it was most common to use servants of higher rank for sewing.

The only men found performing the task of sewing were professionals. Rasmussen has studied the use of tailors in Reenstierna’s diary. Tailors had a more advanced skill set, and, according to Rasmussen, they lived in Reenstierna household while performing work for her.\footnote{Rasmussen 2010, pp. 108–112. An example of this is Herr Lundqvist who lived in the household while working, Reenstierna, 22 July 1814, NMA.} Rasmussen also highlights that the Reenstierna and Munsterhjelm families used women from their local community for sewing. In Munsterhjelm’s household they used mamsell Charlotta Fortelin. Rasmussen drew the conclusion that she performed this work as compensation for the expenses she caused when she visited, making her a semi-professional.\footnote{Rasmussen 2010, p. 106.} As I understand Rasmussen, she uses the concept of semi-professional to describe women who made a periodical living from sewing, unregulated, and outside the guilds. Rasmussen points out that Reenstierna used both semi-professional women and seamstresses – mainly bourgeois women – and Reenstierna had sporadic contact with these women, only hiring them a few times.\footnote{Rasmussen noted that Reenstierna only used a noble woman once for sewing. Rasmussen argues that the seamstresses and semi-professional women had a much wider social and working field than tailors, sewing both female and male clothes. Rasmussen 2010, pp. 120–122.} I have found that professionals and semi-professionals were not only present to take orders and sew; at times they also acted as teachers and advisers for the diary-writing women.\footnote{Liljecrantz refers to a “our seamstress” Mrs Straës, who gave advice in the question of “toilett”, meaning on what to wear, Liljencrantz, 4 Nov 1817, RA. Reenstierna also noted visiting Bandfabrikerenskan Lenger to learn “tamboursöm,” a sewing technique, Reenstierna, 17 Feb 1793, NMA.} The household used both men and women when placing the responsibility of sewing outside the household since these people often had a greater skill set than could regularly be found within households.

Reflections on how the diary-writing women perceived the task of sewing are difficult to find, though the performance of the task was shortly commented upon. The word “diligently” was
used when someone had done a good day’s work with sewing. They also commented when the day’s work had not been so good, as when Reenstierna wrote: “I sewed a little, however the day’s work was insignificant and hardly worth the day’s bread.” The women commented mostly on the industriousness of the performance of the task. Sewing seemed to be viewed as important enough not to have it handled by the maids. However, finding time for or prioritizing sewing was difficult, as Rasmussen argued in Reenstierna’s case. This is visible in the other diaries as well. Liljencrantz noted how unusual it was for her to occupy herself with sewing for an entire day in 1817; “today I sewed the entire day, which nowadays rarely happens”. Lisa Wilhelmina – mentioned in the introduction – had to close down her household in order to get the sewing done, which demonstrates the difficulties of prioritizing sewing when juggling several tasks. These examples demonstrate that even if sewing was an important task, in the rank of chores needed to be performed it was not always prioritized.

Besides sewing, mending was an often performed task. Three different words were used for mending, fixing and correcting clothes and other textiles; “laga”, “lappa”, and “stoppa”. They do not appear in every diary. “Laga”, for example, cannot be found in Mullberg’s diary, while “stoppa” cannot be found in Liljencrantz’ or Munsterhjelm’s diaries. However, one of the three verbs can be found in every diary, and they all referred to methods of mending clothes, indicating that every diary-writing woman had the ability to mend clothes. Similar to sewing, it was chiefly the women themselves who performed this task, though in old age Reenstierna had to hand over this task to the mamsell. In 1835 she wrote; “Mamsell mended linen for me, who does not myself see.” All the women then, of different ages, could mend. Mending was left even less commented upon than sewing. It is only Reenstierna who reveals any sort of view on the task; she found it slow and tedious. She also used the word diligently when it had gone well and also left irritated comments when the task had not gone so well. The comments often remarked upon the industriousness of the task, which is similar to the comments about sewing.

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110 The Swedish word for diligent is “flitigt”. Notes of this; Mullberg, 28 Sep 1796, 29 Sep 1796, NMA, Reenstierna, 4 April 1793, NMA.
111 Reenstierna, 8 March 1796, NMA; “Jag sydde litet, dock var dagsväret obetydligt och knappast värdt födan.” All the quotations in this study have been translated by myself, the original will be left in the footnote.
112 Reenstierna, 4 April 1794, 6 May 1795, 13 Nov 1817, NMA.
113 General uses of “laga” and “lappa” and “stoppa” have been presented in the SAOB database. http://g3.spraakdata.gu.se/saob/ (accessed 2 Feb 2013).
115 “Laga” has a translation of mending, mostly done on clothes, “lappa” is mending by patching, mostly done on clothes, “stoppa” is mending by first sewing around the edges and then filling the gap with threads of textile materials alternatively over and under each other, mostly done on socks and occasion on clothes, SAOB, http://g3.spraakdata.gu.se/saob/ (accessed 2 Feb 2013).
116 Reenstierna, 2 Jan 1835, NMA; “Mamsell lagade linne åt mig, som ej själ ser.”
117 Reenstierna, 31 Oct 1794, NMA.
It is only in Reenstierna’s diary that servants are noted as mending textile objects. In the years when Reenstierna had the responsibility of mending, before losing her eye-sight, she most often used the mansell for mending if the task was delegated.\textsuperscript{118} The jungfru was recorded twice as mending a horse blanket.\textsuperscript{119} The maids were only described three times mending. At the end of 1835 Reenstierna recorded that her maids said that they needed to patch, “that is, mend their aprons and other needs,” a task they had performed the day before as well.\textsuperscript{120} In 1837 the maid Brita Caijsa was sent to town to buy hemp fabric for mending – “laga” – sacks.\textsuperscript{121} This reveals that the type of mending lower servants seemed to do was concentrated to rougher fabric or upon their own clothes, and never their employers’ clothes. Professionals and women outside of the households were also used for the task of mending. Munsterhjelm mentioned on four different occasions that Mamsell Fortelin mended clothes for her household.\textsuperscript{122} Reenstierna used a Fru Malm and a Mamsell Degen once for similar tasks.\textsuperscript{123} Reenstierna also used a sock knitter, who mended socks and mittens for her.\textsuperscript{124} Both Munsterhjelm and Reenstierna noted at least once that they or family members used tailors to mend clothes.\textsuperscript{125} This means that the responsibility of mending could be delegated to different people, however most often women of higher position.

The task of hemming – “fälla” – does not differ greatly from sewing or mending. The task appeared in every diary except that of Liljencrantz. Hemming was most often performed by the diary-writing women, and could be delegated to the mamsells on occasion.\textsuperscript{126} An example is Munsterhjelm, who seemed to be rather good with hemming, even performing the task for family members, such as her sister.\textsuperscript{127} Unlike with sewing and mending, no maids or professionals were recorded performing the task. Yet again the diary-writing women’s involvement with practical textile work is established.

In this section I have focused on needlework, starting with embroidery and ending with hemming. Women performed the tasks inside and outside the household, while men were present only as professionals. This did not mean that all women performed the same work. It was mainly the diary-writing women themselves who performed the tasks. When delegated it was

\textsuperscript{118} Notes of Reenstierna’s mansell performing the task of “stoppa”; Reenstierna, 24 Sep 1813, 14 June 1817, NMA.
\textsuperscript{119} Examples of the mansell doing the task of “lappa”: Reenstierna, 28 June 1814.07.28, 1 Oct 1814, NMA.
\textsuperscript{120} Reenstierna, 14 Nov 1794, 20 Nov 1794, NMA.
\textsuperscript{121} Reenstierna, 30 Dec 1835, 30 Dec 18350, NMA; “det vill säga, laga sina förkläden och andra behofver”.
\textsuperscript{122} Reenstierna, 18 March 1837, NMA.
\textsuperscript{123} Munsterhjelm, 26 Nov 1799, 13 Feb 1800, 10 April 1800, 9 May 1800, 1970.
\textsuperscript{124} Reenstierna, 7 Dec 1815, 25 Jan 1835, 31 Jan 1835, NMA.
\textsuperscript{125} Reenstierna, 6 Sep 1813, NMA.
\textsuperscript{126} Munsterhjelm’s sister Ulla used a tailor for mending a vest for their father, Munsterhjelm, 12 Dec 1799, 1970.
\textsuperscript{127} Reenstierna hired Herr Lundqvist for reshaping and mending clothes that were to small and on another occasion for sewing and patching clothes, Reenstierna, 28 July 1814, 28 Sep 1815, NMA. Notes of Reenstierna’s mansell hemming; Reenstierna, 12 June 1813, NMA.
most often the mansells, the highest ranked servant, who performed it. Maids performed rougher types of work, such as working with tougher fabric. What about decorative needlework? In letters, Vickery found reflections on the needlework women performed and perceptions of them as useful or decorative.\(^{128}\) Since my material often lacks personal reflections about the tasks being performed, it is difficult to say if the diary-writing women found the task of embroidery decorative. It is clear, however, that embroidery had a low presence while other tasks such as sewing and mending were more frequently represented. I would like to argue that the tasks noted in the diaries are hard to interpret as decorative or ornamental, since they seemed to have the main purpose of mending and creating clothes and fabric, and not to be ornamental. The diary-writing women instead commented upon the industriousness of the performance of the task, establishing themselves as active women.

**The Meaning of “Work”**

When describing tasks, the diary-writing women on occasion used the word work (“arbete”), both as a noun and as a verb. For example Liljencrantz wrote: “I have worked all afternoon”.\(^{129}\) What did she work with? Angela Rundqvist, who studied women of even higher social standing than the ones in my investigation, found that when the term work was used it was equal to manually performed tasks, and if it was unspecified it meant handwork, such as embroidery or knitting.\(^{130}\) This seems to be the case in the diaries of this investigation as well.

Liljencrantz used the term most frequently, and in her diary it is used in a textile context. The sentences were often constructed like this: “I worked with changing and mending my colored dresses, my linens.”\(^{131}\) Mullberg also used the word, without explaining what she worked with. In the two notes where she explains, it was sorting wool and cotton.\(^{132}\) An interesting aspect to this was that both Liljencrantz and Mullberg wrote that they “worked” while visiting, often describing collective tasks. It is most likely that this work was needlework, such as embroidery, sewing and garniture.\(^{133}\) An example of this was when Liljencrantz and her friend, during a visit to Countess Adlercreutz, worked on the Countess’ garniture.\(^{134}\) The term was not exclusively used for textile

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\(^{129}\) Liljencrantz, 19 Sep 1817, RA; "Hela eftermiddagen har jag arbetat". Notes of the word “work” being used; Liljencrantz, 4 Aug 1818, 8 Jan 1818, RA, Mullberg, 17 June 1794, 15 Nov 1796, NMA.

\(^{130}\) Rundquist 2001, p. 223.

\(^{131}\) Liljencrantz, 22 Sep 1817, RA; “arbetar jag med att ändra och laga mina kulöra klädningar, mitt linne.”

\(^{132}\) Mullberg, 23 May 1794, 29 Aug 1796, NMA.

\(^{133}\) Notes of this; Liljencrantz, 14 Sep 1817, 29 Sep 1818, 18 Feb 1819, RA, Mullberg, 6 June 1794, NMA. Garniture was often ribbons, embroidery or laces which ornamented dresses, called “garnityr” in Swedish, NE, http://www.ne.se (accessed 4 Jan 2013).

\(^{134}\) Liljencrantz, 10 May 1818, RA. Tasks and chores performed during visits will be developed in the chapter Social Obligations.
work. It was used for other chores as well. For example, it was used on two separate occasions by Mullberg to describe what seemed to be chores in the garden.\textsuperscript{135} This means that when the word work was used as a verb mostly referred to textile work, however, it was also used as a noun.

The 7th of October 1818 Liljencrantz was given a gift by her aunt and uncle, a box to store her “work” in for visits.\textsuperscript{136} On another occasion she writes that she was occupied with her “work”.\textsuperscript{137} This did not mean that Liljencrantz carried around equipment for work she received payment for. When Liljencrantz used the noun work, it meant needle- and handwork. Thus work was often used as a verb signifying textile tasks and chores, but it could also be used as a noun, such as the fabric or equipment the women were working with. The word should not be interpreted as paid work.

\textit{Producing fabric}

Households during the early modern period not only repaired their own clothes but also produced their own fabric. In this paragraph I will focus on different tasks done in order to create fabric.

Weaving was performed both within the diary-writing women’s households, and also left to people outside it. Since weaving is not mentioned in Mullberg nor Liljencrantz’ diary, this discussion will focus on information from Munsterhjelm and Reenstierna. Weaving incorporated several minor tasks only mentioned in Reenstierna’s diary. These tasks regarded the preparations of weaving, such as dressing the loom.\textsuperscript{138} Out of the four women, Märta Helena Reenstierna noted weaving most frequently. She often performed it herself, and she used both her mamsell and her maids for the task.\textsuperscript{139} During the last years of her diary she relied heavily on the mamsell to perform the weaving for her household; in 1837 Reenstierna wrote that she prays to God for the health of her mamsell so the weaves could be finished.\textsuperscript{140} This demonstrates the importance of the task. Munsterhjelm, on the other hand, never noted herself or any family member performing the

\textsuperscript{135} Mullberg, 17 June 1794, 18 June 1794, NMA.
\textsuperscript{136} Liljencrantz, 7 Oct 1818, RA, on another occasion she writes that she was occupied with her work, which interested her more than social company, Liljencrantz, 12 April 1818, RA.
\textsuperscript{137} Liljencrantz, 12 April 1818, RA; “ty jag håll på med mitt arbete, som intresserade mig.”
\textsuperscript{138} The different verbs are; “bomma” (Reenstierna, 3 Feb 1817, NMA), “trä skeden” (Reenstierna, 2 July 1835, NMA), “uppsätta väv” (Reenstierna, 8 July 1835, NMA), “tramper” (Reenstierna, 13 June 1835, NMA), “binda upp väv” (Reenstierna, 13 June 1835, NMA), “uppränna väv” (Reenstierna, 8 July 1835, NMA), “solva” (Reenstierna, 29 July 1837, NMA). They all were a part of weaving, and will not be discussed individuality since they only appear on a few occasions as separate verbs.
\textsuperscript{139} Notes of Reenstierna performing the task herself: Reenstierna, 13 Nov 1816, 7 Feb 1835, NMA. Notes of the maids and the mamsell weaving; Reenstierna, 7 Nov 1816, 23 July 1835, NMA.
\textsuperscript{140} Reenstierna, 17 May 1837, NMA.
The only note she made of weaving being performed in the household was when the maid Stina wove fabric for the family’s undergarments. It is not, however, evident that every woman in early modern society knew how to weave.

It is only after 1835 that Reenstierna noted her maids weaving, because during this year she herself taught the maids how to weave. She even commented on one of the maids’ quick progress; “last year disciple – now master”. It was not only maids whose knowledge was lacking in the task of weaving. In the same year, 1835, she writes: “I also wind cotton yarn for myself, so that if God is willing and I will be alive, I will give it to the little girls for dresses, namely my siblings’ children, whose mothers are not able to weave.” This means that Reenstierna weaved for relatives, who were housemothers, who could not produce fabric for their own household. Being the housemother was not a determining factor in knowing how to weave. Reenstierna’s diary reveals that the knowledge of weaving did not have to be connected to social belonging; both in the lower and higher social strata the knowledge could be present or lacking.

When weaving was done within the household, only women were recorded as performing it. This gender division is not surprising. Fiebranz concluded in her study, on the production of linen in agricultural households in Bjuräker during 1750-1850, that weaving was often a strongly gendered task performed mainly by women. In this study there were men who could perform the task but they were professionals, meaning they had the title weaver and a shop. This also means that the responsibility of the weaving could be placed outside the household. In the diaries both Reenstierna and Munsterhjelm and her sisters often visited weavers to leave specifications, yarn or to retrieve fabric. These men seemed to often weave finer fabric, of cashmere or for clothing. They did not only hire professional men to weave for the households. Reenstierna used the wives of tenants or employees – who lived on the estate – for the task. She would often visit these women during the production to leave yarn or to check and discuss the weave.

141 She does learn a new amusement in 1799, which is weaving hair. This was done for ornamental purposes, such as making necklaces and bracelets of family members’ hair. This task was first introduced to her Munsterhjelm, 26 Oct 1799, 1970.
142 Munsterhjelm, 13 Sep 1799, 1970.
143 Reenstierna, 22 June 1836, NMA; “förledit år lärjunge – nu mästarina.” Reenstierna writes on the 18th of June 1835 that she has decided to teach the maids, and also an elder women working temporary in the household at the time, to weave, Reenstierna, 18 June 1835, NMA.
144 Reenstierna, 26 June 1835, NMA; “Efven nystade jag bomulsgarn åt mig att om Gud vill och jag lefver gifva det åt små flickor till klädingar nemligen mina Syskons barn, hvilkas mödrad ej kunna väfva.”
146 Notes of this; Munsterhjelm, 4 May 1799, 6 Sep 1799, 1970, Reenstierna, 30 March 1796, 13 April 1796, 6 March 1813, 13 May 1817, NMA.
147 Reenstierna noted receiving cashmere fabric from a weaver; Reenstierna, 14 Oct 1816, NMA. The weavers Munsterhjelm’s household hired always weaved fabric for clothes, Munsterhjelm, 19 Sep 1799, 5 March 1800, 1970.
148 Examples of this can be found; Reenstierna, 30 March 1794, 25 May 1815, 10 Jan 1816, NMA.
While Reenstierna noted herself weaving ribbings and stripes, these women seemed to weave tougher and longer fabric. This meant that the professional weavers consisted only of men, while the non-professionals hired were women. Perhaps they should be called semi-professional, the term Rasmussen used on women who worked unregulated with textiles, with textile work.

Yarn was necessary for weaving, since fabric could not be made without it, and yarn was created through spinning. This task was – just as weaving – highly present in the various diaries. The yarn created out of spinning was produced for both personal use and for the professional weavers they hired. Spinning is mentioned in every diary, except Liljencrantz’s. The diary-writing women noted the task being performed for the most part in their own household, but also on a few occasions as being performed outside the household by hired people. The task was mainly performed by the diary-writing women themselves. Knowledge of spinning was found with women of different ages, as evidenced by the fact that Mullberg, Reenstierna, and Munsterhjelm, the youngest diary-writer, performed the task. Munsterhjelm mentions the task with much less frequency; this most likely due to the fact that she was not running a household. It could be her mother who most often spun; Munsterhjelm rarely noted what her mother did during the days.

In the last years of Reenstierna’s diary, a few reflections seep through about spinning. She was old – over 80 years – and the range of tasks she could perform was limited, but spinning was one, and at times she performed it on a daily basis. It was through this task that she could be useful to the household, find exercise and also find some personal enjoyment. An example is seen in the entry of the 15th of June 1835: “In lack of other occupation and saddened to be without a task, brought in my spinning wheel, to the same as the bee or spider move my God giving limbs, to my own and others use.” She was useful through spinning yarn and creating fabric and these she wanted “to leave behind for survivors,” as heirlooms after she died. For Reenstierna spinning was obviously very important, and it was not left to the mansell in her elder days.

149 There was one exception, a woman weaving silk; Reenstierna, 24 March 1814, NMA. Notes of semi-professional women weaving tougher fabric; Reenstierna, 30 March 1794, 17 March 1814, 15 Feb 1816, NMA, of herself making stripes; Reenstierna, 26 Oct 1795, 28 March 1797, 10 Jan 1817, 3 Feb 1835, NMA.

150 With this said, there is a broad variety in how often it is mentioned in each diary. Reenstierna’s diary dominates with mentioning spinning over 400 times during the investigated periods, while Munsterhjelm only mentions it four times and Mullberg mentions it 26 times, However Reenstierna’s diary is much richer in text than the other diaries, this could account for the often mentioning of the task. Mullberg, 1794–1802, NMA, Munsterhjelm, 1799–1801, 1970, Reenstierna, 1793–1797, 1813–1817, 1835–1839, NMA.

151 Notes of the diary writing women spinning; Mullberg, 15 April 1794, NMA, Munsterhjelm, 18 June 1800, Reenstierna, 12 Feb 1814, NMA.


153 Reenstierna, 16 June 1835 NMA; “i brist af annan sysselsättning och ledsnad att vara utan göromål, tog jag in min spinräck, att lika som sommaren eller spindelen röra mina af skaparen gifna lemmar, till egna och andras nytan.” Other examples; Reenstierna, 9 Jan 1835, 28 March 1835, NMA.

154 Reenstierna, 7 Nov 1835, NMA; “spann litet för efterlevande.” More notes where she mentions spinning for survivors: Reenstierna 28 March 1835, 1 Dec 1835, 5 May 1836, 7 July 1839, NMA.
The other group within the household that spun was the female servants, the *mamsell* and maids. Mullberg noted on two occasions that her maids spun, and even commented that the maid, Agneta, was superior to the others, producing the most yarn. Reenstierna wrote, on more occasions than Mullberg, about her maids and *mamsell* performing the task. Reenstierna often noted that the maids were given a certain amount of wool or flax to spin. This reveals her role as manager, the housemother, distributing and controlling material for the task. In the diaries, the ability to spin was found with every woman of varying position within the household. The responsibility for spinning could also be placed outside the household. Both Munsterhjelm and Reenstierna used elderly women – “gummor” – in the local community, who spun for their households. Reenstierna also used a specific facility several times, and this was the *spinnhus*. This facility was only used for making thread out of wool, and she often left large amounts of wool with them. In 1816 she writes “to the *spinnhuset* and fetched wool yarn, better as well and sooner spun than with women from the countryside.” Reenstierna obviously found *Spinnhuset* much better at spinning than women in the local community. In the diaries only women were recorded as being used for spinning outside the household, unlike weaving.

In these diaries spinning was a clearly gendered task. No man, not even a professional, was mentioned performing the task. This is not a shocking result. Spinning has been associated with women, and has been known as a symbol for women’s work for a long time. The information found in these diaries consolidates this. Fiebranz, who studied households that made an extra living through weaving fabric, noticed in her study that women dominated the spinning of yarn. Men could be found at the spinning wheel or the loom if the survival of the household demanded it. In this study the households produced weaves for their own use and they had finances enough to hire extra female help, from elderly women or from other facilities, instead of using male assistance within the household. This most likely allowed the task to stay exclusively female.

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155 Mullberg, 26 Jan 1795, 19 March 1795, NMA.
156 Reenstierna, 25 Jan 1814, 16 Dec 1836, NMA, of the maids; Reenstierna, 17 April 1795, 19 March 1816, NMA.
157 Notes of Reenstierna handing out fabric to the maids; Reenstierna, 1 Feb 1794, 18 Feb 1813, 21 April 1835, NMA.
158 Notes of this; Munsterhjelm, 24 Jan 1800, 22 March 1800, 1970, Reenstierna, 10 Dec 1815, NMA.
159 *Spinnhus* was a penitentiary facility for women, where they occupied themselves with spinning, NE, http://www.ne.se/ (accessed 21 Dec 2012).
160 Notes of going to the *spinnhus*; Reenstierna, 8 Nov 1794, 5 Nov 1793, 6 July 1793, 21 June 1816, 8 July 1816, 8 Feb 1817, NMA.
161 Reenstierna, 8 July 1816, NMA; “till spinnhuset och hämtade ulgarn, bättre att så väl och snart spunnit än hos kjärringar på landet.”
There were other tasks related to the production of yarn and fabric. For example, a task that was time consuming was picking wool and cotton. In the spring of 1797 Mullberg and her maids were all occupied with picking and straightening wool. This task took her household eight days to complete.\textsuperscript{164} This task was also performed by Munsterhjelm, but not to the same extent.\textsuperscript{165} The last task, however, that will be discussed here is the task of winding (“nysta”), the step between spinning and weaving. It was heavy, tearing up the hands and leaving them sore for the one who performed it.\textsuperscript{166} It was often done by the diary-writing women themselves. Winding seemed not to be divided by age, since all the women, who belonged to a range of different ages, performed the task.\textsuperscript{167} Reenstierna, in her older days, complains that she was too old to wind; however, she continued to perform it until the end of her diary.\textsuperscript{168} The responsibility was not left to \textit{mamsell}, as with many other tasks.

Winding was often done collectively.\textsuperscript{169} For example, the only time Liljencrantz mentions the task, she and Countess LeFebure, who she lived with, performed it together.\textsuperscript{170} It was a task that often incorporated several members of the household, even men. Reenstierna noted the tutor of her son \textit{Herr} Kindberg and her coachman Boberg on separate occasions assisting her with winding.\textsuperscript{171} The maids were also present when the task was performed collectively.\textsuperscript{172} However, the diary-writing women rarely used outside help to wind. Munsterhjelm notes that a woman from the area Jonso came to wind for her mother, while Mullberg noted \textit{Frö} Salmodin and a \textit{Frö} Lönberg on separate occasions coming to the household to wind.\textsuperscript{173} The last two were acquaintances to Mullberg; it is not revealed whether they did it out of friendship or if they were paid. With this said, winding was mostly performed by people belonging to the households of the diary-writing women.

Women generally performed the tasks involved in making fabric. Men were only present as professionals or when the tasks were being carried out collectively. Both the diary-writing women and the \textit{mamsells} performed textile tasks. The maids were more involved in creating fabric than

\textsuperscript{164} The 4\textsuperscript{th} of April she writes: “It was such a hot weather that I was plagued by the heat, and that wool!” Mullberg, 1797.04.10, NMA; “Det var ett så varmt väder att jag plågades af värmen, och den ullen!”
\textsuperscript{165} Munsterhjelm, 10 June 1800, 13 Oct 1800, 1970.
\textsuperscript{166} This is revealed in Reenstierna’s diary when she on separate occasions complains on the wear of her fingers; Reenstierna, 19 April 1814, 29 Nov 1815, NMA.
\textsuperscript{167} Notes of winding; Munsterhjelm, 5 Oct 1799, 1970, Reenstierna, 21 April 1795, NMA.
\textsuperscript{168} In 1837 she writes; “and I was going to wind but could not too old”, Reenstierna, 26 June 1837, NMA; “och jag skulle nysta men kunde ej för gammal”.
\textsuperscript{169} In the making of fabric collective task seemed to be quite common. For example heckling was also performed collectively by the women in the household, Munsterhjelm, 18 Nov 1799, 1970, Reenstierna, 12 Oct 1815, NMA.
\textsuperscript{170} Liljencrantz, 11 Oct 1817, RA. Other examples of winding being done collectively; Munsterhjelm, 11 March 1800, 1970.
\textsuperscript{171} Reenstierna, 6 Aug 1796, 13 Oct 1794, 26 March 1814, NMA.
\textsuperscript{172} Reenstierna, 4 July 1814, 12 July 1814, NMA.
\textsuperscript{173} Munsterhjelm, 19 May 1800, 1970, Mullberg, 10 March 1797, 23 May 1797, NMA.
mending and sewing clothes. The reason could be that these tasks were much heavier and time consuming than needle-work. Steinrud found that several people, both children and men, from the household assisted when performing heavy tasks in the household she investigated. Norms could be crossed with heavier or time-consuming tasks.

**Conclusions**

This chapter has shown that the performance of textile work was clearly gendered. Women dominated the performance of textile tasks. This is no surprise and has been argued in previous studies. Steinrud argues that textile work was one of the most strongly gendered areas of work. However, there are historians who argue the opposite, that textile occupation in noble households was not strongly gendered during the eighteenth and nineteenth century. When studying letters written by men belonging to society’s higher strata, Rasmussen observed that these men wrote that they knitted and sewed, and it was not thought of as unusual. In this study, men are only mentioned as professionals, or when chores were done collectively. Besides these men, only two men were described performing textile tasks as individually. One of them worked in Reenstierna’s household, a tutor for her son, Herr Kindberg, and he was recorded assisting with and finishing textile projects Märta Helena started. The only diary-writing woman describing a male family member performing textile work was Mullberg. Her young grandson Johan Wilhelm, living in her household, described as weak and sick, seemed able to both sew and knit and Mullberg does not comment on this as strange or out of place. These two men should be interpreted as exceptions, since there are dozens of men – family members, servants, hired help and acquaintances – mentioned in the diaries that have not been recorded in relation to textile work. It shows, however, that men were able to perform these tasks, to cross the gender norms.

The highly gendered nature of textile work allowed women to earn extra income to their household, as seen in this study by the range of women used from outside the household. Women could also find employment in this area. Historian Agneta Helmius demonstrates this with the unknown biography of Anna Greta Vieland’s. She came from a very poor background, made her living through textile work, teaching needlework to wealthy bourgeois families’ daughters. Helmius argues that her textile knowledge and skills gave Anna Greta a “life

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175 Steinrud 2008, p. 144.
177 Notes of Herr Kindberg’s textile work; Reenstierna, 9 Sep 1793, 3 Oct 1794, 13 Oct 1794, NMA.
178 Mullberg, 6 Feb 1795, NMA, he asks to be brought sticks and thread, and on Mullberg, 9 Feb 1795, NMA, he is reported to receive a lace pillow and was sewing a fabric made of nettle (“nättleduk”).
insurance”, a way of creating “a career” for herself.\textsuperscript{179} This reveals that families of the lower bourgeois would pay to have their daughters learn to sew, but also that textile work was a respectable way of earning a living for a low status woman, thus demonstrating the importance of the textile knowledge and skill.

Gender was not the only difference created through textile work. Differences were also enacted between women based on their position within the household, age and social belonging. The diary-writing women often had the responsibility for the tasks, relying most often on mamsells, and delegated heavier types of works to the maids, or excluded them from many other tasks. No textile tasks were presented as being done only by the maids. Even between the diary-writing women, there were differences. Age was highly relevant, the housemothers, Reenstierna and Mullberg, were more active in producing fabric than the younger writers. Since Munsterhjelm was young she did not have social obligations and could occupy herself with textiles to a larger extent than the other diary-writing women. Liljencrantz, who belonged to the higher nobles of society, only performed needle-work and did not make fabric. There was also tasks that created similarities between these women, for example spinning, a task almost every woman was familiar with.

Throughout this section on textile work, the use of professional and semi-professional people has reoccurred. The professional men were described with titles, often received customers in their shops, and were connected to the guilds. In contrast, women carried out the tasks from their homes, they lacked titles and their work was unregulated. Therefore, the term semi-professional, as Rasmussen uses, is a good concept for describing these women since they were not a part of the guilds, but they still made a living through the same tasks. It does not, however, reveal if these semi-professional women performed the tasks to a lesser extent than the professionals, just as these men’s titles does not reveal other tasks they could have done.

While several researchers have discussed the changing nature of textile work during the eighteenth and nineteenth century – towards a more decorative and ornamental status – the investigation of these diaries has shown that the tasks were instead being put forward as industrious and necessary. Never were they described as decorative, nor was their usefulness questioned. This is exemplified with the fact that mending was more often performed by the diary-writing women than embroidery, and that the women did it themselves, not leaving it to the maids. Mending is a task one would think would have been left to the maids, but that was simply not the case. Both Parker and Vickery argue for embroidery’s role in shaping femininity. Does this mean that the women in my study – except Liljencrantz – found productive work to be more

\textsuperscript{179} Helmius 2002, pp. 116–117.
appropriate to their femininity? The lack of notes about embroidery could indicate that.

I would argue that textile work was an area important for the diary-writing women. By being active with every task, and not delegating all of them to servants and other women, they made the textile tasks important. However, as shown with sewing, it was not always important enough to be prioritized in the different rankings of tasks needed to be done.
Social Obligations

Viewing social obligations, such as entertaining guests, making visits, or writing letters as work may be strange for someone belonging to the 21st century, as we often associate these pursuits with leisure. However, during the early modern period, social obligations formed a large part of daily routines. Steinrud argues that it is possible to view these activities as practice of work. They were performed in order to create and maintain friendships and acquaintances that in various ways could benefit the family. Socializing, as presented in the diaries, was never homogenous, crossing both gender lines and social hierarchies. For example Munsterhjelm and Reenstierna’s family socialized with people from the local community, which ranged from lower standing families and the bourgeois to higher noble families. The households did not just entertain visitors of similar social standing or wealth, but also received visits from old employees and poorer members of the local community. However, they rarely made contra visits to these people. Both Mullberg and Reenstierna socialized over gender lines, often receiving male visitors. There are many aspects of social obligations worth investigating; however, in this study, I have chosen to study the practices of socializing, the tasks and chores required in order to socialize and performed during visiting, as well as tasks and chores that conflicted with socialization. I have, as Steinrud, chosen to view these practices of social obligations as tasks and chores, meaning practices of time-use.

Visiting and writing letters

There were several tasks and chores that were performed in order to maintain relationships, and the most common was visiting. Visiting could be both formal and informal. Formal visits were expected visits such as announcing your return home or visiting a new born child, and these were

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181 Bo Lönnqvist argues that common visitors to Munsterhjelm’s household was relatives, who were almost all noble, and also close friendships were made with lower standing people in the community, mainly civil servants, Lönnqvist, “Inledning” in Munsterhjelm 1970, pp. 9–11. Gunnar Broman noted that Reenstierna most often socialized with people of lower standing, mainly the richer bourgeois. However, on occasions she also visited higher noble families, Broman, “Inledning” in Reenstierna 1985a, pp. 27–29.
182 Reenstierna often recorded being visited by employees that used to work on the estate; example of this is the old maid Stina who came for a visit in 1793, Reenstierna, 24 July 1793, NMA. Liljencrantz recorded receiving visits from poor people out of the community, such as the local pastor’s wife, Liljencrantz, 10 April 1817, RA.
183 An example is Lieut. Sivers who often came to read for Reenstierna; Reenstierna, 22 March 1835, 1 April 1839, NMA. Mullberg often socialized with male neighbours; Mullberg, 15 Feb 1797, 17 Oct 1800, NMA. Steinrud also found that women often socialized over the gender lines, Steinrud 2008, p. 85.
184 This means that I will not dig deeper into who visited who, and how intersectionality was established through it. A very interesting topic that should be investigation, however, there is no room for it in this study. More information about other aspects of social obligations, such as gift giving and networking can be viewed in Hasselberg 1998, and also the chapter “Umgängeslivet” in Steinrud 2008.
In 1817, after returning home from a trip, Liljencrantz writes; “our first round of visits, have been at more than 20 doors, without being received in a single place.” This demonstrates the large scope formal visiting could take, and how time consuming it could be. In the diaries informal visits occurred several times daily, and to such an extent that recording them and analyzing them all would be an investigation of its own. Therefore, I have chosen to highlight the diary-writing women’s participation and responsibility in visiting and their thoughts of it.

Receiving visits was such a common element in daily life that on days when they did not receive guests, it was seen as a strange anomaly and noted in the diaries. For example, Reenstierna in her old age wrote; “all previous week have no sorts of guests visited me or haunted me.” This note reveals that a lack of visitors could also be a positive thing, as meant more time to devote to other chores. The diary-writing women rarely complained about their obligations, with the exception of Reenstierna, who in her old age became weary of receiving visitors daily and commented upon this in her diary. In 1838 she writes; “I am not amused by daily company that in no way is of use to the house – and I feel best alone.” To a certain extent this reveals that entertaining company was not always seen as industrious.

All the women made visits of their own, and age seemed to play a role in how frequently this was done. Liljencrantz and Reenstierna, while married, made numerous visits almost daily. However, as Reenstierna became older the number of visits she made dropped, and during her old age she never made any visits due to poor health; people came to her instead. Mullberg made a few visits during the years, but it was a more common for people to come to her. Munsterhjelm did not visit that much either as, to repeat what Rasmussen argued, her young age relieved her from social obligations. Age and civil status were important factors for the amount of visits made.

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185 Steinrud argues that not making formal visits could lead to disagreement between acquaintances, Steinrud 2008, pp. 78–79.
186 Liljencrantz, 11 June 1817, RA; “vår första omgång av visiter, hvafva varit vid mer än 20 dörrar, utan att blifva mottagna på ett enda ställe.”
187 The other women also made formal visits. For example, Reenstierna often went to visiting newly born children; Reenstierna, 25 April 1793, 16 March 1797, NMA. Munsterhjelm mentioned her mother and aunt going to a visit for a new born child; Munsterhjelm, 2 Nov 1800, 1970, similar can be found: Mullberg, 23 June 1797, NMA.
188 Reenstierna, 28 Jan 1838, NM; “hela föregående veckan hade ingen sort främmande besökt eller hemsökt mig.” Similar notes; Reenstierna, 4 June 1815, 5 Feb 1835, 10 Feb 1838, NMA. Reenstierna’s husband even fled to the house roof in a enraged state over the unexpected visitors, ending up with him hurting himself; Reenstierna, 6 June 1795, NMA.
189 Reenstierna, 18 Feb 1838, NMA; “Jag är ej så road af så dageligt särskap som på inter sätt är till nytta i huset – och jag trifs bäst allena.”
Finding out who had the responsibility of receiving and entertaining visitors in the home is difficult, since the entries about visiting were low on information, often revealing only the names of the day’s visitors. The diaries of Liljencrantz and Munsterhjelm contain little information about who received visits in the households. Mullberg lived without a husband and the responsibility seemed to be her own. Reenstierna is the only married woman writing (in the first part of her diary). Her husband was often not at home, since he went to town during the day. This means that Reenstierna was left with the household, and the responsibility of taking care of visitors. Reenstierna rarely noted her husband postponing performed tasks due to visits, something she did several times (this is discussed below). On a few occasions during her old age, the mamsell seemed to entertain company for her, and also visiting Reenstierna’s relatives, however, it is not described if the mamsell only required for people’s health and news for Reenstierna, or if she stayed for a longer visit and socialized. In conclusion, receiving and entertaining visitors in Reenstierna’s household seemed to be primary the housemother’s responsibility.

Visiting was not the only task performed in order to maintain relations with acquaintances; writing letters was a common task as well. The task of writing letters could be very time-consuming, as well as difficult to prioritize, something which almost all of the diary-writing women experienced. It was common to write to family members and very close friends, for example Reenstierna wrote her mother monthly. Mullberg – the youngest – also wrote letters. Ylva Hasselberg argues that writing letters was part of a socialization process within the higher social strata, by which the younger family members learned the rules of communication. This gives a larger understanding to Munsterhjelm’s letter writing, which was often addressed to friends or family members. Writing letters was a task connected to social belonging; people outside the higher strata often lacked the ability to write letters. Munsterhjelm’s diary reveals that she wrote letters for her servants who were not able to do it themselves. This reveals that servants did not only perform tasks for their superiors, but there were certain tasks the superiors could perform for their servants.

191 What her husband did in town is not specified. Examples of this; Reenstierna, 17 June 1794, 15 Sep 1794, 15 Feb 1797, NMA.
192 Reenstierna, 22 March 1835, 18 Aug 1836, 15 April 1838, NMA.
193 For example Liljencrantz often started the day early in order to find time to write letters, and some of them took several days to finish; Liljencrantz, 16 Sep 1817, 21 Sep 1818, RA. For Reenstierna it could take several days to finish a letter with all the interruptions, and if allowed she would write letters an entire day; Reenstierna, 24 April 1817, 15 Dec 1817, 12 Jan 1835, NMA.
194 Examples of Reenstierna writing to her mother; Reenstierna, 15 March 1793, 6 March 1795, NMA.
196 For example Munsterhjelm wrote almost monthly to her close friend Ottiliana who lived in Stockholm; Munsterhjelm, 27 July 1799, NMA.
197 Munsterhjelm, 17 Nov 1799, 5 Oct 1800, 1970. She also wrote for her young sister; Munsterhjelm, 19 Jan 1800, 1970.
Visiting and Tasks – an Impossible Combination?

How did the obligation of socializing fit with other tasks the diary-writing women needed to perform? Steinrud argues that daily work and social life were often entangled with each other. Visits were received in rooms close by to where work was being performed and people tried as much as possible to avoid conflict between the two.198 What image is given by the diaries?

According to the diaries, three tasks were often performed in a social setting; playing games, reading, and textile work. Playing games – often cards – was a way of entertaining guests collectively and for Mullberg gambling was a must at every visit to her household. She always noted what money was won or lost.199 Reading was also a common task, sometimes they would read one by one in the same room or aloud. Liljencrantz’s uncle often read aloud to his family and guests, and this is actually one of the few tasks he is noted performing in her diary.200 The other women also noted reading being performed during social visits.201 The third task being performed was textile tasks.

Textile occupation, mainly women’s needlework, during visits has been discussed in historiography. Vickery argues that textile work was often performed during social engagements, as a way for women to pass the time during tedious company.202 Both Liljencrantz and Mullberg complained on separate occasions that they were left without handwork during visits, and found it tedious.203 In Liljencrantz’ diary, working with textiles during visits is a reoccurring theme, often the women would work together while conversing.204 Rasmussen found a specific note in Reenstierna’s diary recording that Reenstierna changed textile task when she received a visit. Reenstierna stopped sewing clothes and instead took up the task of garnishing sled nets. An explanation to this, Rasmussen argues, could be that working with nets was seen as more compatible with entertaining guests.205 Thus not all textile tasks where compatible with visits.

198 Steinrud 2008, p. 75.
199 Examples of gambling; Mullberg, 29 June 1794, 5 March 1795, NMA. It was also common in Munsterhjelm’s household; Munsterhjelm, 14 Jan 1800, 7 Sep 1799, 1970.
200 Examples of her uncle reading; Liljencrantz, 15 Sep 1818, 3 Oct 1818, RA.
201 Munsterhjelm had an acquaintance Mammell Alm who visited her household during a period and entertained the females of the house with fortune telling and reading aloud, Munsterhjelm, 9 Jan 1800, 10 Jan 1800, 1970. Reenstierna noted reading being done during trips out in the nature; Reenstierna, 31 July 1794, NMA.
202 Vickery 2009, p. 244.
203 Mullberg instead walked the gardens on the estate they visited; Mullberg, 6 June 1794, NMA, Liljencrantz, 27 Feb 1818, RA.
204 Examples of working collectively and conversing; Liljencrantz, 29 Sep 1818, 10 Oct 1818, 18 Feb 1819, RA. Munsterhjelm also once noted herself and the younger women making different creations out of beads during a visit, Munsterhjelm, 5 Sep 1800, 1970. Mullberg also mentioned herself and her sisters working on a garment together on a visit, Mullberg, 19 June 1794, NMA.
205 Another explanation given by Rasmussen is that Reenstierna was also performing work that was not allowed, meaning doing textile work that should be performed by tailors. The date in question is 15 Dec 1796. Rasmussen 2010, p. 116.
These three tasks performed while entertaining visitors were all tasks which involving several people, making them collective.

There were a large proportion of tasks in the household that could not be performed during visits. I found that social obligations were almost always prioritized over other chores and tasks. There was evidence of this everywhere, for example Liljencrantz putting aside her letter writing in order to entertain a guest, and Lisa Wilhelmina (from the introduction), who had to postpone her sewing. None of the diary-writers revealed more about this conflict than Reenstierna.

Reenstierna had to put aside a large range of tasks, from baking to spinning, even going on visits and dinner parties had to be postponed in favour of a visiting party. Reenstierna rarely complained unless it was tedious company that she disliked, and she would even a few times perform tasks while this company was present, such as spinning. She even went so far as to let the company know how she felt, in 1814 she wrote that Captain Ingman visited and noted; “was rather frank to say that I was much hindered and pained by his company.” However, this was only done with company she disliked, otherwise she held her tongue. Another factor which allowed her to bend the “rules” was her old age. In the last part of her diary she reveals that on a few occasions she performed heckling and spinning whilst entertaining company. However, most often she did prioritize visitors, by postponing other tasks. This result confirms that of Steinrud, as she found that the women she studied were raised with the belief that social obligations should always take priority. Entertaining visitors was prioritized above all other tasks.

There were exceptions to the rule, ways of getting around the conflict, and this was to close down the house to visitors. Through this, social obligations were completely eliminated for the moment. This is what Lisa Wilhelmina tried to do, but she failed. Liljencrantz uncle’s household also used this method. In 1817 she writes; “immediately after dinner we took our work in Mon Oncles salon and spent the entire evening there to read and sew. There were many visits, but we did not receive.” This demonstrates that there were possibilities for escaping social obligations. It was not always a good solution, however. Reenstierna writes in anger in 1795 over the acquaintance Palméer who had closed his doors when her husband tried to call on him, the

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206 Liljencrantz, 29 Nov 1817, RA.
207 Baking, heckling, writing, reading, preserving food, and spinning is just a few of the tasks put aside. Examples of this Reenstierna, 21 April 1794, 7 May 1796, 23 March 1814, 15 April 1816, 8 Aug 1837, 28 Aug 1839, NMA.
208 She often referred to the company as ”fatal”, Reenstierna, 19 March 1814, 7 Jan 1815, 2 July 1815, 24 April 1816, NMA.
209 Reenstierna, 17 April 1814, NMA; ”var tämmeligen uprigtig att säga att jag var mycket hindrad och besvärad af hans sällskap.”
210 Reenstierna, 27 Feb 1835, 4 April 1835, NMA.
212 Liljencrantz, 14 Nov 1817, RA; ”Genast efter middagen togo vi in våra arbeten uti Mon Oncles salon och tillbringade hela kvällen der med att läsa och sy. Det kom många visister, men vi togo ej emot”.

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reason for doing so being that he was sleeping. Reenstierna writes; “amusingly enough, since our doors have always been open to him.”

Over all, visiting and a broad variety of tasks could not coexist, meaning they could hardly ever be performed simultaneously, and gave way to small conflicts of interest in what needed to be done.

Conclusions

In this chapter I have chosen to view the practices of social obligations as task and chores. Investigating social obligations has been troublesome since it occurred several times daily, resulting in a large portion of entries which were often low on information. With this said, information found about social encounters, such as visits, demonstrates the importance of social obligations in these diary-writing women’s lives.

The focus in this section has mainly been the diary-writing women, their family members, and acquaintances. The employees have been largely absent; the diary-writing women rarely noted the social obligations of their servants or employees. To conclude, all the diary-writing women were involved in, and observed, different forms of social obligations. Age was an important factor in determining the scope and the practices of social obligations. Munsterhjelm was not heavily involved in visiting since she was young, while Reenstierna old age kept her from making visits. The latter’s old age also allowed her to break certain rules, such as performing tasks during visits, as well as complaining about the visits.

Even though certain tasks were performed simultaneously with social interaction, such as reading, most of the tasks and chores these diary-writing women performed could not coexist with entertaining guests. Tasks had to be postponed and turning away guests was rarely an option. In relation to the many tasks and chores these women had to perform, social obligations were prioritized, ranking the highest. By prioritizing visits and other tasks of socialization, irrespective of if the diary-writing women found them useful or not, social obligations were being established as highly important.

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213 Reenstierna, 6 Dec 1795, NMA; "Roligt nog, då våra dörrar för honom altid varit öpna."
Gardening, Farming, and Managing Animals

I have located over 140 individual verbs describing tasks and chores related to gardening, farming and managing animals (see appendix). Before discussing these it is vital to state that Liljencrantz’ diary did not mention any verbs in this area whatsoever, which explains her absence from the following discussion. Another observation was that often, the women did not write who performed tasks, especially when it came to farming.

The Garden – a Diverse Work Space

During the early modern period the garden was undergoing a transformation, both as a landscape and as a social and gendered area. Gardening had previously been performed mainly for subsistence, as a way of securing food and income for the household, but now plants were being introduced for aesthetic purposes. Jennifer Munroe, a scholar of English literature, argues, through a study of English gardening literature, that the garden was becoming a male responsibility within noble households, and a space for specialization through the introduction of the gardener, a male profession. Ideological perception was, however, not always reality. Through studying manuscripts and account books written by women, Munroe found that women had a wide range of knowledge and were both active and an authority in the garden. Historian Kekke Stadin argues that in Swedish noble households the garden was – unlike gardens in England – viewed as a female responsibility. Stadin explains that the garden was an area where noble women could work, both planting and introducing new plants. This discussion by Stadin and Munroe is focused on the seventeenth century. However, Munroe argues that the garden space was changing during the end of the eighteenth century and was now becoming a “feminine” area, since men were distancing themselves from decorative tasks such as planting aesthetic flowers.

The garden had a large presence in the diaries, especially for Reenstierna. Over 65 individual verbs have been located, which is more than the number of verbs referring to the managing of animals or farming (see appendix). The diary-writing women also described the individuals who performed the tasks in the garden to a much greater extent than with farming or animals. It is difficult to achieve a good overview of the garden since there is such a broad variety of verbs and activities taking place within the same area and many different people performed these tasks. This

214 Munroe 2008, p. 44.
218 Munroe 2008, p. 44.
being said, there are evidence which demonstrates that certain differences but also similarities was being done.

Who had responsibility for the garden in the diary-writing women’s households? There is no simple answer to this question as it varied in each household. Mullberg was a widow and no of-age male family member lived in her household; this could imply that by default the garden was her responsibility. She recorded overseeing the space and giving orders to people working in the garden. The garden was most likely her responsibility, as she did not record anyone else performing tasks indicative of authority. In Reenstierna’s diary it is easier to determine who had responsibility simply because she wrote more extensively about the garden. She made and drew plans over the garden, oversaw and controlled the work performed in the space, hired the gardener and gave him orders, strongly indicating that the garden was her responsibility. She also recorded her husband overseeing work in the garden, such as the maintenance of paths and passages. He did not have complete responsibility for the garden, but rather was responsible for certain specific tasks. Reenstierna kept this area as her responsibility until she became old, and it then fell to the mansell. Reenstierna continued to record the work performed in the garden, but often wrote that the information was second hand, and this also meant that certain days she did not know what happened in the garden if she received no information. In these two cases the major responsibility was held by women.

Munsterhjelm’s household differs from those of Mullberg and Reenstierna. She lived in a household run by a married couple, her parents. The responsibility for the garden seemed to be placed on her father, a conclusion drawn from the fact that her father was the only one recorded as working in the garden. A possibility could be that her father carried out orders from her mother; however, Mullberg and Reenstierna, who had responsibility, were constantly found in the garden area, making this a doubtful suggestion. Overall, the garden was an area run by the person with the highest position within the household. Judging from the few diaries in this study, the garden seemed to be a female responsibility, where women oversaw and directed workers, but as Munsterhjelm’s diary implies there were men who had responsibilities for the garden as well.

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219 Examples of overseeing the garden; Mullberg, 16 June 1797, NMA, ordering the people; Mullberg, 5 Dec 1794, NMA.
220 Examples of writing and planning the garden; Reenstierna, 20 May 1794, NMA, overseeing the gardens; Reenstierna, 23 March 1794, 20 May 1814, NMA, hiring the gardener; Reenstierna, 2 Feb 1814, NMA, giving orders; Reenstierna, 13 April 1797, NMA.
221 Example of her husband having responsibility; Reenstierna, 13 June 1796, 23 June 1797, 26 May 1797, NMA.
222 There are several noted of the mansell performing tasks that were Reenstierna’s earlier, such as observing work in the garden, and packing in and checking fruit and vegetables for sale; Reenstierna; 4 Aug 1837, 3 Sep 1838, 4 Sep 1839, NMA. Notes about second hand information or not knowing what happened in the garden; Reenstierna, 4 March 1835, 12 Aug 1835, 11 May 1836, NMA.
223 She recorded her father “fixing/mending” the garden, however not specifying which tasks, Munsterhjelm, 17 May 1800, 1970, and also picking berries in it, Munsterhjelm, 12 Oct 1799, 1970.
The garden was a space in which people of differing gender and position worked. This can be illustrated with the task of picking fruit, vegetables, berries and peas, which were sold or kept for the household’s use. Reenstierna noted several people engaging in this task over the years. She herself, her son, her husband, her mother, maids, mamsells, the gardener, the tutor Herr Kindberg, farmhands, and also the latter’s wives, were all recorded as performing the task, demonstrating that the garden was an area where everybody regardless of gender, position, and age pitched in. It is obvious that Reenstierna herself worked in the garden, as did Mullberg. Besides picking fruit and vegetables, they planted, cleaned the garden, husking peas and berries, and managed the care of trees. Reenstierna’s family – husband, son, and mother – also accompanied her in tasks such as picking and husking peas. Munsterhjelm’s diary reveals that learning to plant and take care of crops began at a young age. In 1799 she writes “18. [date] I was and cleaned my and Biata’s garden.” Both she and her younger sister Beata had their own small garden patch. She also did other work in the garden such as dragging earth, sowing, and “mending” the garden. Gardening knowledge was found among all the diary-writing women, and they and family members were often found working in the garden.

Besides the diary-writing women, another authority figure worked in the garden, namely the gardener. Mullberg hired Hr Jolander who seemed to function as a gardener seasonally. He was noted working with unspecified tasks in the garden on several occasions, and also as having the maids as his assistants. Reenstierna had a fulltime gardener on her estate. His tasks varied from planting different types of plants, trimming hedges, taking care of trees, and cleaning in the garden. Reenstierna noted a handful of conflicts with the gardener. For example, in 1814, Reenstierna, her mamsell and the coachmen plucked and cut carrots, a task the gardener

224 Examples of several family members picking vegetables; Reenstierna, 10 Sep 1795, 29 Aug 1797, NMA, of maids; Reenstierna, 18 Aug 1794, 16 July 1839, NMA, of gardener; Reenstierna, 30 Aug 1796, 10 Oct 1839, NMA, of mamsell; Reenstierna, 4 Sep 1813, NMA, of farmhands; Reenstierna, 3 Aug 1814, NMA, of farmhands wives; Reenstierna, 8 Aug 1814, NMA, of Herr Kindberg; Reenstierna, 8 Sep 1793, NMA.

225 Examples of taking care of trees; Reenstierna, 27 May 1797, NMA, planting; Reenstierna, 20 Oct 1797, NMA, Mullberg, 11 May 1797, NMA, picking; Reenstierna, 19 Aug 1793, NMA, sowing; Mullberg; 10 May 1797, NMA, cleaning; Mullberg; 13 Oct 1800, NMA, husking; Reenstierna, 28 Aug 1813, NMA, Mullberg, 9 Sep 1794, NMA. The exact verb used is “rensa”, it seemed however to be another word for “sprita”, and therefore the term husking has been used.

226 Picking fruit and other vegetables can be seen above. Examples of husking peas; Reenstierna; 17 Nov 1795, 22 March 1797, NMA. The exact verb used is “rensa”, it seemed however to be another word for “sprita”, and therefore the term husking has been used.

227 Munsterhjelm, 18 June 1799, 1970; “18. var jag och rensade min och biatas tredgård.” Munsterhjelm spelled Beata different everytime.


229 He was also hired to plant roses in the garden on her sons estate Lesjöfors; Mullberg, 2 May 1794, NMA. Notes of Hr Jolander; Mullberg, 30 April 1794, 7 April 1795, 20 April 1795, NMA.

230 Notes of planting; Reenstierna, 17 Aug 1797, 26 April 1813, NMA, trimming hedges; Reenstierna, 16 June 1794, 29 April 1813, NMA, taking care of trees; Reenstierna, 23 May 1837, NMA, cleaning the garden; Reenstierna, 15 July 1797, NMA.
interpreted as his own, resulting in the gardener leaving and returning in an intoxicated state whereupon he threatened to drive everyone out of the garden. This demonstrates that there were certain tasks in the garden he regarded as his own and protecting them – his privilege – was more important than submission to the woman who had authority over the garden.

Another task that was primarily the gardener’s responsibility was selling gains from the garden in Stockholm. He was sometimes accompanied by maids and farmhands. That was the case in 1814, when Reenstierna forced the gardener to bring the maid Stina with him to Stockholm, so she could count the goods and the money. This was done because Reenstierna believed that the gardener and his wife stole from her. The maid became an extension of Reenstierna’s housemother authority. I cannot, however, conclude with certainty that this was the case every time a maid or a farmhand assisted the gardener. Farmhands and maids, along with the gardener’s wife, dalkullor, and the jungfru, were also recorded performing the task on their own if the gardener could not himself perform the task. The task of selling grains involved a broad variety of people, but never Reenstierna herself.

The diary-writing women and the gardener did not work alone in the garden. Both Reenstierna and Mullberg noted women working in the garden more frequently than men. The maids were the most common workers; both Mullberg and Reenstierna recorded them performing several tasks such as assisting with planting, and cleaning the garden. Beside the maids, Reenstierna noted farmhands’ wives assisting with watering, and she also hired extra personal such as dalkullor, who assisted in the garden with planting, digging and picking fruits and vegetables. Gender lines seem to have existed with regard to work performed in the garden. In Reenstierna’s household the men often planted larger trees, moved larger portions of soil, reaped in the garden, and cleaned paths. These sorts of tasks were performed mainly by farmhands, but on occasion

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231 Reenstierna, 24 Sep 1814, NMA, a similar conflict happened when Reenstierna picked pears; Reenstierna, 3 Aug 1814, NMA. The gardener also refused to perform tasks, which lead to conflict; Reenstierna, 30 Aug 1793, 1 Feb 1814, NMA.

232 Examples of the gardener selling; Reenstierna, 11 Sep 1795, 22 July 1814, 2 Sep 1837, NMA.

233 Reenstierna, 6 Aug 1814, NMA. More examples of the maids assisting the gardener; Reenstierna, 9 Aug 1796, 4 Aug 1814, NMA, of farmhands assisting; Reenstierna, 22 Aug 1815, 22 June 1837, NMA. Examples of other men working in the garden being assisted by maids; Reenstierna, 16 Aug 1814, 8 Nov 1836, NMA.

234 Women from the Swedish province Dalarna, who was periodically hired to help on the estate, SAOB, 234 http://g3.spraakdata.gu.se/saob/ (accessed 4 Feb 2013).

235 Examples of individuals selling alone; maids; Reenstierna, 13 July 1814, NMA, of jungfru; Reenstierna, 21 Sep 1795, 24 Aug 1796, NMA, the gardeners wife and a maid; Reenstierna, 22 July 1835, NMA, dalkulla; Reenstierna, 5 Aug 1836, NMA, of farmhands; Reenstierna, 21 Aug 1795, 8 Nov 1836, 13 Oct 1837, NMA.

236 Notes of maids working; Munsterhjelm, 31 Aug 1799, 1970, Mullberg, 30 April 1794, 3 Dec 1794, 21 April 1802, NMA, Reenstierna; 13 Aug 1795, of working alongside the diary-writing women; Mullberg; 13 Oct 1800, 25 Oct 1800, NMA, Reenstierna, 13 Aug 1796, NMA.

237 Notes of dalkullor; Reenstierna, 11 April 1796, 16 April 1796, 13 April 1797, 27 July 1839, NMA, of wives; Reenstierna, 23 June 1836, 14 Feb 1837, NMA. Both dalkullor and wives working; Reenstierna, 12 April 1813, NMA.
also by the miller, the coachman and the tutor. Both Mullberg and Reenstierna also had male workers whose work was unspecified. For example, Reenstierna had garden-farmhands ("trädgårdsdrängar"), and Mullberg hired extra men, *dagskarlar*. These men probably worked alongside the gardener or performed work assigned by the gardener; this could also provide a possible explanation for the lack of specification. Still, maids were the most commonly recorded workers in the garden, often assisting the diary-writing women and the gardener.

As has been observed, the garden was an area where many different people intersected. However, certain differentiations between people were made. Authority and responsibility were often placed on the diary-writing women, the gardener, or on a higher servant. When work was being performed in the area, the women often worked with the plants and crops, while the men focused on planting trees, or maintenance of the paths. The garden was deemed an important area, as demonstrated by the number of verbs and persons connected to it in the diaries. It is obvious that this was an area the women took an active interest in.

**Working in the Fields; Farming**

Farming took place on all the diary-writing women’s estates, but it was not a centre stage topic in the diaries. Why it was such a neglected topic in the diaries is hard to determine. Both Munsterhjelm and Reenstierna noted observing the farming; for example, Reenstierna wrote in July 1814 that it was the first time she missed out on watching the harvest. Meanwhile, Munsterhjelm and her family often had picnics and observed the harvest. The women were thus probably well aware of what took place with the farming and who, most likely, performed it. The absence of such information could indicate that farming was not a topic of interest for them, and perhaps not a topic for women of their position to write about.

The responsibility for farming often seemed to be placed in male hands, such as those of family members and relatives. For example, in Munsterhjelm’s household, her father had the responsibility, while Reenstierna’s husband had the responsibility until he passed away. The responsibility did not become Reenstierna’s after his death; instead she leased the farming, with its attendant responsibility, to her brother and later on to her nephew. What did responsibility for the farming imply? It meant making decisions and taking initiative for such events as the harvest and sowing, as well as overseeing work in the field, counting and measuring the gains of

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238 Examples of farmhands; 16 Aug 1793, 20 June 1795, 16 June 1797, 8 Dec 1813, 22 July 1835, NMA, of Herr Kindberg; Reenstierna, 15 April 1794, 9 May 1795, NMA, of Boberg; Reenstierna, 27 June 1814, 29 June 1813, NMA, of the miller and Boberg; Reenstierna, 21 June 1817, NMA.
239 Reenstierna, 28 May 1813, NMA, Mullberg, 3 Dec 1794, NMA.
240 Reenstierna, 26 July 1814, NMA.
the harvest. Mullberg’s diary did not contain notes of such character, which makes it difficult to conclude who had the responsibility in her household. Was it Mullberg herself, a male relative, or an employee? Perhaps the paragraphs missing from her diary contain the answer. As far as we can tell from the diaries, farming was primarily a male responsibility placed with people of high position.

The men who held responsibility were never found in the fields themselves, but rather oversaw the work. A large portion of the entries in the diaries describing work in relation to farming did not include any description of who performed it. The diary-writing women sometimes referred to large groups working in the fields, such as “the people” or “the farmers”, leaving few details about specific individuals. These large groups could include different people from the estate, both men and women. Some tasks only appear in one or two notes, making it difficult to draw any conclusions.

According to the rare information given about field work in the diaries, it was most often men who performed the tasks on their own. Driving in grains on the estate was recorded by Mullberg – who otherwise rarely recorded farming – to be performed by her farmhand Magnus and, a second time, as being performed by two men, loaned from a neighbour. Reenstierna noted that her coachman and her son performed this task. No other family member – neither in her own nor the other women’s diaries – is recorded as taking part in the field work, making him an interesting exception. In 1837, Reenstierna noted a vast collection of people – even the local beadle (“kyrkvaktare”) and the mansell – “driving in hay”, however, without specifying exactly what they did. Hence, even though it was a male dominated area, women were found. It was the same with reaping with a scythe.

In Reenstierna’s household reaping was performed typically by farmhands, and on a few occasions by her coachman. Munsterhjelm, on the other hand, noted “the farmers” involved with reaping, a term possibly including both farmers and their wives. In 1837, Reenstierna mentioned that “the people” reaped grass, and finished this vague description by revealing that

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243 Munsterhjelm, 11 July 1799, 30 July 1799, 27 July 1799, 1970. Examples of Reenstierna’s husband; Reenstierna, 21 July 1794, NMA, of her brother; Reenstierna, 7 Nov 1815, NMA, of her nephew Abraham; Reenstierna, 26 July 1837, 17 Aug 1837, NMA.
244 Examples of the people (“folket”); Reenstierna, 27 July 1796, 1 Sep 1835, 8 Aug 1837, NMA, Mullberg, 6 Aug 1799, NMA, of the farmers; Munsterhjelm, 11 July 1799, 28 Sep 1800, 1970.
245 Mullberg, 19 March 1795, 17 March 1797, NMA.
246 Notes of her son, Hans Abraham; Reenstierna, 29 Aug 1795, 1 Aug 1797, 31 Aug 1797, NMA, of Boberg; Reenstierna, 9 Oct 1816, 12 March 1817, 10 July 1835, NMA.
247 Reenstierna records that her mansell, the farmhand Nordström, two dalkullor, a husband to the latter, and the local Kyrkvaktare Lindholm being active. Reenstierna, 20 Aug 1837, NMA.
248 Notes of Boberg; Reenstierna, 26 July 1814, NMA, of farmhands; Reenstierna, 13 July 1794, 18 July 1796, 30 July 1796, NMA.
249 Munsterhjelm, 11 July 1799, 1970.
the maids and *dalkullor* joined in for a while. This indicates that the men performed the greater part of the work, with the women only helping. Reenstierna never specified if the women performed the same tasks as the men when it came to driving in grains and reaping. Simonton argues that women’s work in agriculture often involved assisting men or performing work instead of men, she also argues that reaping with a scythe was strongly identified with men, since it was thought of as a heavier task. It could be likely that the women noted in the diary performed assistive tasks, such as collecting grains or grass that was driven in or reaped.

In Reenstierna’s household there were also other chores dominated by men, such as driving manure. Reenstierna bought manure that was transported to her estate by employees, primarily the gardener or a farmhand; the farmhands would both assist the gardener and perform the task on their own. *Dalkullor* were often found performing the task alongside the men; however, since they never performing the task on their own it is reasonable to assume that they had more of an assisting role. Besides this, they and the maids also were noted shuffling the manure. Driving was a task strongly connected to men since it included dealing with horses, giving an explanation to why both driving manure and driving in grains were male dominated tasks. There was one task performed only by men, and this was selling the gains from the harvests, including grains and tobacco. Reenstierna's coachman and her farmhands, as well as also her husband, performed this task. Yet again men are established as the main actor in farming, and women as assisting.

In the notes from Reenstierna’s diary, different groups of women assisted in the field work, mainly maids and *dalkullor*. *Dalkullor* were used not only in the garden, but also in agricultural work, they assisted with such tasks as threshing and making ditches. Were there any areas within agriculture where women dominated and also worked on their own? There aren't many recorded. However, in Reenstierna’s estate there was one area in which women seemed to be more active than in others, and this was managing the tobacco. Reenstierna took a large interest in tobacco, mostly because it was one of the largest sources of income to the household, and a

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250 Reenstierna, 24 July 1837, NMA.
252 Notes of the gardener driving; Reenstierna, 11 Nov 1815, NMA, of Farmhand driving; Reenstierna, 9 Feb 1815, NMA.
253 Examples of *Dalkullor* helping; Reenstierna, 18 May 1815, 23 Oct 1817, NMA, of maids helping; Reenstierna, 11 Dec 1813, NMA.
255 Notes of her husband selling; Reenstierna, 16 Dec 1795, NMA, of Boberg; Reenstierna, 30 Sep 1814, 10 Dec 1817, NM, of farmhands; 24 Oct 1795, 12 Feb 1813, 22 March 1836, NMA.
256 Examples of threshing; Reenstierna, 1 Oct 1835, NMA, making ditches; Reenstierna, 18 April 1836, NMA. They were also recorded collecting hay; Reenstierna, 9 May 1835, NMA.
highly fragile plant. However, when it came to “working” with tobacco, a task she did not specify in further detail, she recorded only women – dallkullor, maids, and wives of employees – performing the task. Reenstierna even mentioned that the gardener’s wife had the responsibility of overseeing planting the tobacco, which was performed by maids and dallkullor. No other women were given the responsibility of overseeing farm work, indicating that managing the tobacco was an area where women could take high responsibility, similar to the garden area. To conclude, it was most often women with lower position within the estate that worked with the different parts of farming.

Employees of different gender and position within the estate were active in the fields. All the above mentioned people/individuals were adults. A short note in Munsterhjelm’s diary reveals that children could also be active in the fields. Her father used local children – 10 girls and one boy – for cutting caraway. Hired help did not always need to be adults.

Farming was a male dominated area. The responsibility laid with the men related to the diary-writing women, while their farmhands, farmers and other employees on the farm performed the work in the fields. Aside from Reenstierna’s son, no family members worked in the fields, but instead oversaw the work. As demonstrated, women were often found assisting the men with almost every task, and they even had their own area of work; tobacco.

**Animal Maintenance**

Managing animals has been described by historians as an area with strict gender polarization. For example, Fiebranz argues that horses were a male responsibility, while the other animals were a female responsibility in rural settings in Sweden. Fiebranz noted that the managing of horses allowed men to perform female chores such as spinning in order to create necessities for the horses, for example reins. This gender polarization is to a great extent visible in the diaries.

Managing horses was a male dominated area, according to information retrieved from Reenstierna’s diary. She had a fulltime coachman, and one of his primary tasks was to drive her, and if he became ill or had other obligations this responsibility fell on farmhands, the gardener

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257 Reenstierna for example made notes when the tobacco was being planted (Reenstierna, 14 May 1813, NMA), and the state of the crops (Reenstierna, 4 June 1814, NMA), and also recorded overseeing the tobacco several times (Reenstierna, 19 July 1817, NMA), Broman, “Inledning” in Reenstierna 1985a, p. 24.

258 Reenstierna, 31 May 1816, NMA.

259 Notes of dallkullor working with tobacco; Reenstierna, 2 Oct 1797, 1 Sep 1816, NMA, of maids; Reenstierna, 17 Aug 1836, 30 Aug 1837, NMA, of wives; Reenstierna, 31 Aug 1814, NMA, Reenstierna also mentioned “womenfolk” working with tobacco; Reenstierna, 12 Sep 1817, NMA.

260 Reenstierna, 7 June 1836, NMA.

261 Munsterhjelm, 30 July 1799, 1970.

262 Fiebranz 2002, pp. 138-142.

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and, on one occasion, even her son, but never on female servants. Tending to the horses was also the coachman’s responsibility. In 1794, her coachman, Nils, became angry because he felt it was not his responsibility of tending to the horses. Boberg, whom she hired after Nils, had the same responsibility and also performed it often; the gardener took care of the horses when Boberg was ill. However, in 1817 Boberg, neglected the task, and Reenstierna noted that the farmhand Hagberg had to tend to the stables as usual “as if he was Boberg’s servant,” implying that Boberg was improperly delegating tasks. Getting the coachmen to perform this task seemed to be highly problematic, which implies that there was a clash between Reenstierna and her coachmen over whose responsibility it was to take care of the horses. Besides the daily care of the horses, Boberg was also responsible for shoeing them, and for making sure the wagons were in good condition. The only woman found tending to the horses, was a barn maid who looked after a foal in 1793. Reins and nets for the horse sleighs were produced by Reenstierna herself, and on some occasions by Herr Kindberg. Besides this, tasks connected to horses were a responsibility that was divided and delegated primarily amongst men of different position.

The care for the rest of the animals on the farm was mainly a female responsibility. Reenstierna often took care of the poultry, both the geese and turkeys, which she cherished greatly; she would both feed them and clean up after them. Mullberg was involved with the management of her sheep, which she took an interest in. In 1794 she wrote, “I was up 5 o’clock, was in the barns and oversaw and counted the sheep that after my calculation was 63.” This was a task of overseeing, fitting to her position within the household, and she never performed other tasks in the barn. However, she recorded trimming the sheep once, alongside with her mansell. These were the only tasks Reenstierna and Mullberg performed related to the maintenance of the animals.

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263 Reenstierna could herself drive as well (Reenstierna, 31 March 1817, NMA), however, when a servant had the task it was men. Notes of the coachmen driving; Reenstierna, 11 March 1794, 22 Sep 1813, 1 May 1835, NMA, of farmhands; Reenstierna, 15 Oct 1797, 12 Sep 1813, 26 March 1836, NM, her son; Reenstierna, 26 Nov 1797, NMA.
264 Reenstierna, 9 Dec 1794, NMA.
265 Reenstierna, 24 April 1817, 9 March 1835, 13 March 1835, NMA.
266 Reenstierna, 25 May 1817, NMA; “ungefär som han vore dess dräng”.
267 What tasks this actually implied is hard to establish, since the verb “tending to” or “take care of” (in Swedish “ansa”) is a very broad verb.
268 Notes of managing wagons; Reenstierna, 24 April 1813, 7 May 1813, 16 Feb 1816, NMA, shoeing; Reenstierna, 21 April 1813, 25 Jan 1815, 18 Oct 1816, NMA.
269 She received a gift for this task from Reenstierna and her husband, Reenstierna, 14 Dec 1793, NMA.
270 Notes of herself making reins and nets; Reenstierna, 15 Dec 1794, NM, note of Herr Kindberg; Reenstierna, 27 Dec 1794, NMA.
271 Information surrounding larger livestock, mainly cows, on the different estates is extremely low, with the exception for slaughter.
272 Reenstierna, 5 July 1793, 27 May 1796, 4 May 1797, NMA.
273 Mullberg, 27 May 1794, NMA; “Jag var uppe kl 5, var uti lagårdena såg öf. Och räknade faren som efter min uträkning var 63.”
274 This task was not performed in the barn, Mullberg, 1 Aug 1800, NMA.
Both Munsterhjelm and Reenstierna’s households had maids that worked specifically with the barns, however the chores they performed were often unspecified. An exception is found in Reenstierna’s diary, who wrote in 1796, “wolves had at night up at the barn clawed to death and eaten our big pig and another swine, who Stina in the evening forgot to lock up.” This reveals that it was the maid’s responsibility to lock the barn at night. In Reenstierna’s household maids also trimmed sheep. Taking care of poultry was not only Reenstierna’s task; it was sometimes places on maids, but most often on elderly women, who periodically worked on the estate with a range of different tasks and were primarily old servants or mothers to servants or tenants on the estate. Often, these tasks were mismanaged.

Both the maid Greta and Mor Svahn had responsibility for taking care of the geese, and both mismanaged this task by not counting goslings, which lead to several losses. In addition, young children could take care of the animals; in 1794, Reenstierna’s husband fired a young boy, Jan, for not herding goose properly. The same boy had also gotten a spanking earlier that year for not looking after smaller animals on the estate. This meant that people of low status – young boys, elderly women, and maids – took care of animals. This could mean that all these were low status tasks. However, Reenstierna herself, the woman of the highest status, took care of some of the animals as well, making it a strange case. Perhaps Reenstierna’s love for poultry explains why she performed something that otherwise seemed to be a low ranked task.

Slaughtering was a task performed by several people of different positions and gender, even the diary-writing women themselves. Mullberg slaughtered a calf, while Reenstierna slaughtered geese. Mullberg described on several occasions her absence at slaughtering, indicating that it was a task she often attended. Steinrud also found that noble women were often present at slaughters, and could alone slaughter smaller animals. They were not the only ones who slaughtered. Reenstierna noted different types of men on the estate slaughtering pigs, lambs and

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276 Reenstierna, 7 Dec 1796, NMA; “Om natten hade vargar uppe vid ladugården ihjälrifvit och uppätit vår stora fargalt och ett annat svin, hvilka stina om aftonen fört glömt att inlocka.”
277 Reenstierna, 26 April 1813, NMA.
278 These elderly women were often referred to by Reenstierna as “mother” (“mor”) or “grandmother” (“farmor”), they also appear often with the tasks performed in the maintenance of the household. Mor Maija was noted taking care of the poultry in 1813; Reenstierna, 19 May 1813, 10 June 1813, NMA. Mor Hamberg looked after chickens in 1836; Reenstierna, 31 May 1836, 3 June 1836, NMA.
279 Reenstierna, 26 Aug 1796, 16 April 1795, NMA. The maid Stina also complained that the maid Maija Greta worked for herself while watching the chickens; Reenstierna, 22 July 1817, NMA.
280 Reenstierna, 21 April 1794, 19 Nov 1794, NMA.
281 Mullberg, 16 Aug 1797, NMA. Reenstierna, 1816.12.14, NMA. In 1797 Mullberg noted being present with slaughtering, which ruined her fingers, without specifying the animal slaughtered. Mullberg, 23 Oct 1797, NMA.
282 Mullberg, 3 Nov 1796, 10 Dec 1794, NMA.
calves, such as the farmhands, the gardener, the coachman, and the foreman on the estate. Mullberg noted her farmhands slaughtering, but did not note what type of animal. Women often slaughtered poultry in Reenstierna’s household, a task performed by the maids, her mansell and an elderly woman called Mor Maija. However, there were exceptions, such as a maid slaughtering pigs and a farmhand’s wife slaughtering an ox. This meant that a woman slaughtered the biggest animal recorded in the diaries. Mullberg recorded a maid butchering, without specifying the animal. Various people of different positions butchery, and gendered patterns are visible: men tended to slaughter livestock, while women slaughtered poultry. However, there was room for crossing the gender lines, as with the women also slaughtered larger animals.

When studying the division of work during the early modern period related to animals there is one area that has been highlighted as strongly identified with women, not just in Sweden but across the European continent; namely, dairying. Dairying was not a central topic in the diaries. They reveal surprisingly little information, about milking, for example, which was a major task in dairying. The verb milking with information about a specific person performing it was only mentioned once in the diaries. This was in Mullberg’s diary, when she observed a maid milking. Reenstierna, on the other hand, mentions women with work titles, such as milk-mother, milk-wife, and milk-maid working on the estate. They were not described performing the task of milking; instead Reenstierna recorded them performing other tasks for her, such as errands to town. One could perhaps speculate that it was they who milked the animals every day, since they had milk in their title.

The responsibility of the product milk seemed however to be places on women with higher position. Mullberg observed the milking in the barn several times, and also distributed milk to people on the estate. This indicated that she had a responsibility for the milk. In 1797 Reenstierna wrote in anger that she had given the responsibility of looking after the milk to the

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284 Notes of the gardener slaughtering; Reenstierna, 13 Nov 1837, 20 April 1839, NMA, of the foreman; Reenstierna, 11 April 1815, of farmhands; Reenstierna, 20 Oct 1815, 26 Aug 1837, NMA, Boberg; Reenstierna, 21 Oct 1837, NMA.
285 Notes of the smithy butchering; Reenstierna, 26 Sep 1814, 16 March 1815, 20 Nov 1837, 22 April 1839, NMA.
286 Mullberg, 12 Dec 1800, NMA.
287 Examples of the Mansell; Reenstierna, 9 Oct 1837, NMA, of a maid; Reenstierna, 17 Nov 1794, NMA, of Mor Maija; Reenstierna, 23 Feb 1813, NMA.
288 Notes of slaughtering pigs; Reenstierna, 15 Sep 1815, 14 Aug 1817, NMA, the ox; Reenstierna, 16 Nov 1797, NMA.
289 Mullberg, 22 Aug 1796, NMA.
290 Fiebranz 2002, p. 138, Simonton 1998, pp. 31, 122–125. In America however it was different, Osterud observed that both men and women had the responsibility together during the nineteenth century, Osterud 1991, pp. 149–155.
291 Mullberg, 22 July 1797, NMA.
292 She recorded them doing errands, going to town or receiving money for chores not described. Notes of these women; Reenstierna, 16 Nov 1793, 17 Oct 1794, 20 June 1794, 1 July 1796, 31 Oct 1815, NMA.
293 Mullberg, 28 Aug 1794, 23 Dec 1794, 22 July 1797, NMA.
mamsell, who did not perform the task. It is hard to determine if this was a reoccurring responsibility or temporarily performed, since this was only one note. Reenstierna, during 1813-1815, leased the cow barn to the tenants Ekmark and received milk from them, and it was then Ekmark’s wife who decided and had responsibility over the milk. Judging from these accounts, women with a higher position within the household seemed to be responsible for the milk.

The only task in dairying that appears frequently is churning, most likely since it was performed inside the house. Both Munsterhjelm and Reenstierna noted maids churning, and Reenstierna also noted her mamsell performing the task a few times. In Munsterhjelm’s household she and her sister owned small churns of their own, which she used to make butter. Munsterhjelm demonstrates that some abilities were learned at a young age, and that the other women probably knew themselves how to milk and churn. Steinrud observed in her study that dairying was deemed such an important area for her noble women, that they did almost everything themselves, and were highly reluctant to leave it to others. This investigation of dairying contradicts Steinrud’s result. The absence of verbs surrounding dairying, especially milking, indicates that these tasks were not important enough to be performed by the diary-writing women themselves, but could be delegated to women of lower position (unlike textile tasks). However, dairying was a task strongly connected with women, a conclusion which supports previous research.

Conclusions

In this chapter I have studied tasks and chores performed in relation to gardening, farming, and taking care of animals. These were areas where a large number of diverse people worked; men and women with different positions within the household and of different ages performed a vast variety of tasks in order to get the areas running. These areas did not have as clear a division of work as that of textile work, where different women were the principal executers of work. Tasks performed in these three areas often created similarities between men and women of different position, as they performed similar tasks, such as with the case of planting, harvesting and selling produce from the garden, selling them, and slaughtering animals. However, a closer look reveals that between people hierarchies and differences were being made.

294 Reenstierna, 6 May 1797, NMA.
295 Ekmark was a clerk, who hired a place on the grounds from 1811 to 1815, Broman, “Personförteckning” in Reenstierna 1985a, p. 487. Reenstierna often had conflicts with Fru Ekmark, since she did not receive correct amount of milk, Reenstierna, 25 April 1814, NMA. In 1814 Ekmark moved the cows from Årsta to another farm. Reenstierna, 7 June 1814, NMA.
296 Notes of churning; of maids: Reenstierna, 27 Feb 1794, 13 Aug 1814, 5 Aug 1836, NMA, of the mamsell; Reenstierna, 6 May 1814, 18 Dec 1837, NMA. Munsterhjelm, 12 March 1800, 1970.
297 Munsterhjelm, 10 March 1800, 1970.
In farming, the women seemed primarily to assist men, while in the garden there seem to have been gender lines dividing the servants between working with the plants and working with the paths. Animal care was also largely divided by gender. Males performed work related to the horses while women took responsibility for the care of the rest of the animals. Gender-based differences were being enacted. With this said, not every man or women performed the same task. Position within the household became noticeable with responsibility and overseeing work. It was always placed on the highest positioned person, the diary-writing women or her family members, but there were gender differences. Women were primarily responsible for the garden, whilst men were responsible for the farming. The lack of information about animals makes it hard to establish whose area of responsibility they were; perhaps the responsibility was often given to women of lower position in the household. It has also been found that there was room for exception in most of the tasks, as we have seen in the case of a woman butchering an ox, or Reenstierna taking care of the poultry. This means that the norms based on gender, position within the household, and other factors, could be crossed.

The results of this study have also provided information about specific persons. Munsterhjelm demonstrated that several of the tasks were learned at a young age, such as having responsibility and working with her own garden, demonstrating a learning process that younger women undertook to prepare them for when they themselves had a household. It is also noteworthy that several of the workers on Reenstierna’s estate performed tasks outside their designated work area; the coachman was present for a number of tasks, not just taking care of horses, and the miller also helped out with reaping, performing tasks outside his field. Work titles did not create boundaries for the range of tasks that were performed on the estate.

From all these factors, I draw the conclusion that the garden was a highly important area. All three diary-writing women worked in the garden from a young age and a broad variety of verbs were used to describe the tasks performed there. They also often noted who performed the work in the garden, unlike the other areas. The women wrote very little about farming, with almost all the information coming from Reenstierna, indicating that farming was not an area they prioritized, and perhaps did not find important to write about; the same is true of animal management. Perhaps this indicates that these areas were not for them but for their male family members, or not of interest to them but instead to be delegated to others.
The Maintenance of the Household

Over 110 individual verbs describing tasks and chores connected to the maintenance of the household have been found in the diaries; they range from cleaning to cooking to writing letters (see appendix). In contrast to the previous chapter, all the diary-writing women performed tasks and chores within this area, so they will all be present in the following text. The diary-writing women also noted to a much greater extent who performed the tasks pertaining to the maintenance of the household, than was the case in the previous chapter.

Fighting dirt

During the early modern period keeping clean was viewed as the essential core in women’s domestic tasks, and as domestic ideals during the nineteenth century grew stronger so did the fight against dirt. A clean house became more important than previously, and Simonton refers to this as the “battle against dirt”. I have chosen to use the term fighting dirt, inspired by Simonton, since it involves several different tasks and chores. Cleaning was a large part of the chores performed in the household of the diary-writing women; these tasks were often heavy, and often performed by women of lower position within the households.

Scrubbing the floors is a good example of this. Reenstierna very often noted maids performing the task of scrubbing, and the only time Mullberg specified who performed the task it was done by maids. Scrubbing the floors was a heavy and uncomfortable task, and a probable reason as to why the maids performed it. Munsterhjelm, on the other hand, wrote only that “they” performed the task. A likely conclusion is that “they” were maids, since they were the group most commonly employed in this task. Sometimes the diary-writing women’s households used women from outside the household. The only time Munsterhjelm specified who performed the task it was girls from a local village who cleaned the hall before a wedding. Reenstierna also used women on the estate, wives of tenant’s and employees, as well as temporary workers who lived on the estate, such as dalkullor, and elderly women. This shows that scrubbing the floor was always delegated by the diary-writing women to the maids, and if they could not perform all of the work, help was hired from outside. The diary-writing women never assisted.

300 Mullberg, 16 April 1802, NMA, Reenstierna, 28 Sep 1793, 13 March 1813, 2 May 1835, NMA.
301 Notes where she noted “they”; Munsterhjelm, 29 July 1799, 5 April 1800, 1970.
302 Munsterhjelm, 25 Oct 1800, NMA.
303 Examples of assisting wives scrubbing; Reenstierna, 25 April 1795, 20 Jan 1813, 25 Nov 1837, NMA, of dalkullor; Reenstierna, 3 July 1835, 21 Aug 1835, NMA, of elderly women (these women are explained on page 55); Reenstierna, 17 April 1813, 11 Feb 1815, 4 Aug 1815, NMA.
There was other cleaning being done besides scrubbing the floors, such as dusting, polishing, and putting things in order. Both Reenstierna (and later her mansell), and Mullberg noted performing cleaning. Mullberg does not specify what areas she cleaned, but Reenstierna’s reveals that her tasks seemed to focus on keeping clothes in order, polishing the silver, dusting windows and paintings, and cleaning cupboards. Her maids would often assist in the cleaning, but if they performed the task themselves the information available reveals that it was in the kitchen area, such as scrubbing tin. When the maids could not perform their tasks, Reenstierna (and later the mansell) would write that she or the mansell had been the “cleaner” (“städerska”) of the day. It is not, however, not specified what tasks she performed that made her the cleaner, perhaps it was oriented towards the kitchen, since this was usually the maids’ cleaning area. Cleaning could then be performed by Reenstierna in times of need (unlike scrubbing). Men could assist with cleaning in the household, their tasks primarily focused on moving or putting up new furniture that eased the cleaning for Reenstierna or her female servants. They did not intrude on the women’s task, but assisted it. In certain kinds of lighter cleaning the diary-writing women were more active.

Washing fabric was, like scrubbing the floors, also heavy and unpleasant. In Reenstierna’s household, for example, washing fabric meant two things; dragging the fabric to the nearby lake – year around – and washing it, or to “byk,” that is to say boil it. In her household the maids stood for the heavy washing, and if extra help was needed Reenstierna would use wives of her employees or elderly women. This did not mean, however, that the diary-writing women had nothing to do with washing fabric. In 1797 Reenstierna wrote; “Anna and Catharina [the maids] washed the rougher and I the finer clothes.” Both Munsterhjelm and Reenstierna noted performing finer types of washing, such as washing delicate dresses, ribbons, and other finer

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304 When describing cleaning or putting things in order different types of verbs were used, they however, had similar meanings. “Stiåda”; Mullberg; 4 Dec 1794, NMA, Reenstierna, 25 Feb 1794, 13 Feb 1816, 28 July 1836, NMA, “stoåka”; Mullberg, 5 Dec 1794, 16 Dec 1796, NMA, Reenstierna, 14 Dec 1794, 22 Oct 1814, 24 May 1836, NMA, “i ordningstålla”; Mullberg; 23 May 1797, NMA, Reenstierna, 5 April 1796, 1 Nov 1797, NMA, “ rangerå”; Reenstierna, 10 Feb 1817, 10 June 1835, NMA, “putså”; Reenstierna; 3 Nov 1797, 2 Sep 1839, NMA, “röja”; Reenstierna, 8 May 1795, 7 Dec 1814, NMA, “rustå”; Reenstierna, 16 Feb 1795, NMA, “damma”; Reenstierna, 9 June 1796, 4 July 1813, 23 May 1835, NMA.

305 Keeping order of clothes; Reenstierna, 4 Sep 18174 29 Aug, 1835, NMA, of silver; Reenstierna, 28 July 1796, 19 Dec 1815, 18 Aug 1817, NMA, of Cupboards; Reenstierna, 8 April 1795, 28 June 1814, NMA, of windows/paintings; Reenstierna, 29 Oct 1795, 3 July 1835, 6 May 1836, NMA.

306 Notes of the maids assisting; Reenstierna 27 July 1793, 19 July 1795, NMA, of tasks focused towards the kitchen; Reenstierna, 1 Oct 1793, 31 March 1815, 22 Dec 1816, 16 May 1817, 25 June 1835, NMA.

307 Reenstierna, 22 July 1796, 18 Oct 1817, 17 May 1836, NMA.

308 Notes of Boberg assisting; Reenstierna, 19 March 1814, 14 Oct 1815, 2 Jan 1816, NMA, of her husband; Reenstierna, 2 Oct 1795, NMA.

309 Notes of maids boiling clothes; Reenstierna, 9 April 1793, 9 July 1794, NMA, of maids washing fabrics; Reenstierna, 5 May 1794, 13 May 1816, 15 April 1835, NMA. Notes of elderly women washing fabrics; Reenstierna, 16 Dec 1793, 29 Aug 1814, NMA, of employees’ wives; Reenstierna, 10 Sep 1814, 26 Sep 1814, NMA. Mullberg wrote once of a maid being up early because she needed to do “byk”; Mullberg, 13 Dec 1797, NMA.

310 Reenstierna, 29 March 1797, NMA; “Anna och Catharina tvättade de gröfre och jag litet finare kläder.”
clothes.31 They never seemed to leave the house for this task, unlike the maids, who often had to go to the lake with the washing. Reenstierna also chose, and counted, which fabrics would be washed, and also returning the newly washed fabric back to their assigned places. These tasks were gradually taken over by the mamsell.312 Reenstierna was establishing her leadership as the housemother, by overviewing which fabric was washed and making sure that the valuable fabric was returned in its rightful place.313 Rundquist argues that the noble woman’s close overseeing of the fabric most likely occurred because of the fabric’s economic worth, and because it was the product of important female work time.314 In relation to washing, difference was established between the diary-writing women and their maids when the former performed finer washing indoors and supervised the fabrics, while they delegated the heavier tasks to be washed outdoors by the maids or hired women.

A task connected to washing clothes was mangling.315 In Reenstierna’s household this task was demanded the help of several people on the estate. It was primarily maids who performed the task, assisted by, tenants and servants’ wives, and also by extra help such as elderly women and dalkullor.316 Men also mangled alongside the women, both farmhands and the gardener were recorded as assisting on a few occasions.317 The highest-positioned servant the mamsell also performed the task; in 1814 Reenstierna noted the mamsell’s presence at the mangling, overseeing and assisting where possible.318 It is likely this was often her role when she was present. Even if Reenstierna was not found performing the task, however, she was engaged with how effective the task was. In 1816 she went to the mangle to demonstrate to the maids better and quicker ways of folding clothes while mangling.319 Through demonstrating her knowledge to the other women she was also asserting her authority as the housemother in how mangling was performed.

311 Munsterhjelm, 5 Aug 1799, 28 Aug 1800, 1970, Reenstierna; 19 May 1794, 11 May 1796, NMA, and when Reenstierna could no longer perform this, her mamsell took over; examples of this; Reenstierna, 14 April 1835, 12 Aug 1837, NMA.
312 Notes of putting away clothes; Reenstierna, 14 Feb 1794, 1 Oct 1814, 11 Feb 1835, NMA, of the mamsell; Reenstierna, 15 July 1839, NMA, of counting laundry; Reenstierna, 20 June 1795, 16 June 1817, of the mamsell; Reenstierna, 8 Dec 1836, NMA.
313 Rundquist argues that taking care of fabrics such as undergarments and linens have been female responsibility for centuries, Rundquist 2001, p. 201.
315 Munsterhjelm mentioned mangling, without specifying who performed the task. She did however, mentioned that women from the nearby community came to mangle their own fabric on the households mangle, Munsterhjelm, 7 Dec 1799, 12 Dec 1799, 5 March 1800, 1970.
316 Examples of maids mangling; Reenstierna, 16 Dec 1797, 18 Dec 1813, 11 July 1839, NMA, of the mamsell; Reenstierna, 29 May 1813, 18 Dec 1837, NMA, of assisting wives; Reenstierna, 16 June 1814, 1 July 1836, 21 April 1837, NMA, of dalkullor; Reenstierna, 6 May 1815, 22 May 1835, NMA, of elderly women; Reenstierna, 16 May 1795, 26 Sep 1815, NMA.
317 Notes of farmhands mangling; Reenstierna, 29 May 1813, 28 Sep 1835, 28 March 1839, NMA, of the gardener; Reenstierna, 23 Sep 1813, 31 March 1835, NMA.
318 Notes of the mamsell being present; Reenstierna, 16 June 1814, 22 July 1836, NMA.
319 Reenstierna, 10 Oct 1816, NMA.
Cleaning the household was a female enterprise, in which the diary-writing women performed lighter and delicate tasks in order to keep clean, while the heavier tasks, such as scrubbing floors or washing the heavier clothes, were being delegated to lower positioned women. There was room in some of the tasks for lines based on gender and position in the household to be crossed, such as men mangling and Reenstierna taking over the role as cleaner.

**Producing Sustenance**

Households in the early modern period were self-producing to a large extent, and even if food was bought it needed to be processed by the household. It has been argued that this was largely a female activity.\(^{320}\) The first sets of tasks I will discuss are focused on food production and processing. These tasks took place to a large extent in the kitchen, and as I will demonstrate this area were dominated by women. The two most common tasks in food production were baking and making sausages from the meat from the slaughtering. Women from several positions within the household were involved in these activates. The diary-writing women and other women from their families were highly active in these tasks. For example both Mullberg and Reenstierna baked (primarily) bread and made sausage themselves, and when Reenstierna became old the mamsell took on the responsibility.\(^{321}\) Munsterhjelm never mentioned making sausage, but her mother and her sisters baked ginger breads, pastries, crisp bread, and rusk.\(^{322}\) Munsterhjelm often assisted her mother and sister in baking, most likely learning how it was done in the process.\(^{323}\) This demonstrated that the diary-writing women had knowledge and experience in producing food.

Even though they could perform the task on their own, they often worked with mamsells and maids, women who could also perform the task on their own although they rarely did so.\(^{324}\)

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\(^{320}\) Hunt 2009, p. 146.

\(^{321}\) Reenstierna noted to a much large extent baking and making sausage, since this was something she did continuously throughout the years, while Mullberg left sporadic notes. Notes of baking; Mullberg, 17 Dec 1794, 24 Dec 1794, 14 April 1795, NMA, Reenstierna, 16 April 1794, 11 March 1814, 16 Aug 1817, NMA, of making sausage; Mullberg, 12 Dec 1794, NMA, Reenstierna, 28 Nov 1795, 19 Nov 1817, NMA, of the mamsell; baking; Reenstierna, 9 April 1839, 10 June 1839, NMA, of making sausage; Reenstierna, 30 Jan 1835, NMA.


\(^{324}\) Notes of baking with the diary-writing women; Reenstierna, 31 Aug 1793, 22 Dec 1797, NMA, of making sausage; Mullberg, 16 Dec 1794, 29 Sep 1800, NMA, Reenstierna, 18 Nov 1797, 8 March 1814, 13 April 1835, NMA. Notes of these women performing the tasks on their own; baking; Mullberg, 19 April 1794, 2 April 1795, 22 Dec 1796, NMA, Reenstierna, 9 Oct 1795, 22 Dec 1813, 18 June 1814, 18 May 1816, NMA, of making sausage; Reenstierna, 30 Nov 1814, NMA. Mullberg often referred to a “L.C.” who has not been found in the records (FiKA, AI6, VA), however, L.C. often performed female-oriented tasks such as making food and picking wool (Mullberg, 16 Dec 1794, 7 April 1797, NMA), it is therefore my conclusion that she was a mamsell, and a small possibility a maid. Notes of her baking; Mullberg, 7 April 1795, 21 April 1795, NMA, of making sausage; Mullberg, 12 Dec 1794, NMA.
Reenstierna was sometimes accompanied by employees’ wives and elderly women. She also noted being assisted by her coachmen, the gardener, and a garden farmhand, however, these men only carried bread to and from the oven, or managed the oven, never making the buns. With this said, Reenstierna most often performed the task of baking on her own. It is possible that servants assisted her while she took credit for the baking, since the household produced a large amount bread, sometimes a few days baking could result in 2000 pieces of bread. She could not have produced this large amount and still performed other tasks, indicating that she most likely was assistance. Knowledge of making bread and sausages was thus widespread among the women of the diary-writers’ households.

On a few occasions the households of Munsterhjelm and Reenstierna used outside help in order to get their baking ready in times of celebrations. Munsterhjelm’s household relied on Fru Ottelin who assisted them with baking pastries. Bo Lundqvist commenting on the published version of Munsterhjelm’s diary draws the conclusion that Fru Ottelin was most likely highly knowledgeable when it came to finer baking and this was probably the reason why she was asked to assist. Simonton has referred to this as being “skilled”, as possessing certain knowledge. Reenstierna’s household received assistance from a tenant on the estate. This was Herr Gahm, a baker, who baked bread both alone and assisting Reenstierna. His work-title explains why he performed a task mostly performed by women. With this said, it is not revealed if Herr Gahn and Fru Ottelin received payment for baking, or if it was in Gahm’s lease contract. These were people the household socialized with. Perhaps Herr Gahm and Fru Ottelin performed these tasks in order to maintain a good relationship with the households (this would be similar to that of mamsell Fortelin with Munstehjelm’s household).

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325 Example of helping wives baking; Reenstierna, 3 Dec 1814, 10 July 1835, NMA, by elderly women; Reenstierna, 2 March 1815, 9 Oct 1817, NMA, of making sausage; helping wives; Reenstierna, 30 Nov 1814, 2 Dec 1814, NMA.
326 Reenstierna, 17 May 1813, 20 Dec 1837, NMA.
327 Over 50 notes is of her doing it herself, while around 15 is of her being assisted, Reenstierna, 1793–1797, 1813–1817, 1835–1839, NMA.
328 Reenstierna, 14 June 1816, NMA.
329 Fru Ottelin, the wife of a surveyor, was an acquaintance to the household. Lundqvist, “Kommentar” in Munsterhjelm 1970, p. 119.
331 This conclusion was drawn from the range of finer pastries she was asked to bake, Lundqvist, “Kommentar” in Munsterhjelm 1970, p. 119.
332 Simonton writes; “To be skilled was to be possessed of ‘skill or knowledge properly trained or experience’”, Simonton 1998, p.76.
333 Broman, “Personföretekning” in Reenstierna 1985b, p. 488. Notes of assisting, Reenstierna, 7 July 1813, 23 Dec 1814, NMA, of on his own: Reenstierna, 22 Dec 1813, 21 Feb 1814, 14 April 1815, NMA. He was also recorded baking for other tenants on the estate; Reenstierna, 22 Dec 1815, NMA.
Besides baking and making sausage there was also the daily cooking. This was left unnoted in every diary except for Reenstierna’s.\(^{334}\) Reenstierna was very able to cook, she noted several times, cooking food or supervising the food preparations.\(^{335}\) When entertaining guests or having dinner parties the task was primarily the mansells, as revealed in an entry from 1813, in which Reenstierna writes that the mansell had taken offence when she had allowed a Jungfru Holm to cook the food for a dinner party.\(^{336}\) She clearly saw this task as her own. Reenstierna also recorded using a female cook from the city.\(^{337}\) When age restricted Reenstierna, the mansell performed the everyday cooking for the household, and Reenstierna noted more frequently who cooked the food.\(^{338}\) A few entries also reveal that the maids both assisted, and took over the responsibility if the mansell was preoccupied with other tasks.\(^{339}\) At the same time, there seemed to be certain tasks in the cooking that were perceived as the maids’ responsibility. Reenstierna noted several times that she (and later on the mansell) took over responsibility for the food and was “the cook” for the days when the maids had other obligations.\(^{340}\) Since Reenstierna used the same verb – cooking – every time, it is difficult to draw any conclusions about what specific tasks these maids performed. This, however, means that women of higher position could perform the task which women of lower position regularly performed.

The food in the household often had to be stored for longer periods, making preservation techniques necessary. Liljencrantz lived in the Countess LeFebure household for larger parts of the year, and she rarely noted household tasks being performed around the estate (except for textile). She did, however, note on several occasions that the Countess needed to preserve food and while she did this Liljencrantz was free to follow her own schedule and not that of the hostess.\(^{341}\) The task appears important since the Countess prioritized it over entertaining her company rather than leaving it to servants.\(^{342}\) This image is not supported by the other women. Preserving food is not presented as a prioritized task. They did perform the task themselves, but

\(^{334}\) Mullberg noted once that the maids of her household were in charge of the kitchen, however not specifying what they did in the kitchen, Mullberg, 21 March 1795, NMA.
\(^{335}\) Reenstierna, 5 Dec 1796, 18 Aug 1797, NMA.
\(^{336}\) Reenstierna, 3 Aug 1813, NMA.
\(^{337}\) Reenstierna, 3 March 1797, NMA.
\(^{338}\) Notes of the mansell cooking (“koka mat”); Reenstierna, 15 Nov 1836, 14 Feb 1838, NMA, of cooking (“laga mat”); Reenstierna, 21 Feb 1836, 9 July 1836, NMA.
\(^{339}\) Notes of accompanied by the maids; Reenstierna, 22 Aug 1837, 19 April 1839, NMA, of taking over responsibility; Reenstierna, 15 Aug 1836, NMA, of performing it on their own, though highly unusual; Reenstierna, 21 Jan 1838, NMA.
\(^{340}\) Notes of herself being the cook; Reenstierna, 5 April 1795, 22 July 1796, 17 Sep 1796, NMA, of the mansell; Reenstierna, 24 June 1835, 27 Nov 1837, NMA.
\(^{341}\) Notes of preserving food; Liljencrantz, 23 Sep 1817, 6 Aug 1818, 15 Sep 1818, RA.
\(^{342}\) Steinrud highlights preserving food along with other tasks to be important tasks performed by the noble women of her study, Steinrud 2008, pp. 145, 148.
it was also often left to servants, both mamsells and maids. It is interesting that the Countess, who was higher up in society, did the task herself while women of lower birth left it to servants.

The households also produced alcoholic beverages, for example bear and punch. Brewing was a vital task in producing bear and it is mentioned in every diary except Liljencrantz, however, Munsterhjelm does not specify who performed it. Brewing was only performed by women. Both Mullberg and Reenstierna noted performing brewing themselves, but it was most common for the latter to have her maids do it. This result differs from that of Steinrud who found that the noble women in her investigation distanced themselves from every aspect of the production of alcoholic beverages, leaving it to men. However, Christopher Pihl, who investigates brewing in sixteenth century Sweden, found that when brewing was done on a small scale close to the household women often performed the task, whereas when it was done in large scaled and professionalized it was male dominated. In Reenstierna’s household men only assisted with the alcohol production in the household, for example her coachman Boberg assisted in rarefying and drafting beer. Conversely, men in Reenstierna’s household had responsibility for alcohol production taking place outside the household, for example brännvin. Gender lines divided alcoholic production, between the type of alcohol being produced and if it was done inside or outside the household.

The last task that will be discussed here is making candles, not related to food but still an important product produced in the households. This was a large enterprise including several people from the household. Both Mullberg and Reenstierna performed it, as did Munsterhjelm’s mother. Maids and mamsells in Mullberg’s and Reenstierna’s households performed the task both with and without the diary-writing women, and it was very common for the maids to assist. In Reenstierna’s diary a male worker also assisted in the process of making candles, for example Herr

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343 Notes of Reenstierna performing on her own, Reenstierna, 1794.07.28, 1816.08.13, NMA, of both mamsell and maids; Mullberg, 24 Oct 1800, NMA, Reenstierna, 10 March 1817, 11 Sep 1817, NMA.
344 Munsterhjelm notes that her Cousin Ulla watched the brewing in the brewery; Munsterhjelm, 18 Nov 1799, 1970.
345 Mullberg even noted being interrupted by company who came in when she brewed, implying that it was not shameful to be seen brewing. Mullberg, 17 March 1795, 19 April 1802, NMA, Reenstierna, 18 Dec 1793, 19 Dec 1796, NMA. Notes ofmaids brewing; Reenstierna, 24 March 1794, 22 Nov 1814, 22 April 1836, NMA.
347 Pihl argues that when it became specialized, meaning large scale, regulated and “skilled” it became male-coded. Pihl 2012, pp. 82-87.
348 Reenstierna, 7 July 1814, 6 May 1817, NMA.
349 Reenstierna was the only one who mentioned this, and she recorded men having the responsibility of the distilling, and her husband took contact with these men who performed these tasks; Reenstierna, 26 Aug 1794, 11 July 1795, 7 Feb 1797, NMA.
350 Examples of the diary-writing women making candles; Mullberg, 24 March 1795, NMA, Reenstierna, 19 Oct 1797, 16 Dec 1815, 26 Sep 1837, NMA, Munsterhjelm, 18 May 1799, 2 Dec 1799, 28 Nov 1800, 1970.
351 Notes of the mamsells making candles; Mullberg, 14 Jan 1797, NMA, Reenstierna, 21 Jan 1797, 20 Jan 1835, NMA, of maids; Mullberg, 17 Dec 1796, NMA, Reenstierna, 10 Nov 1815, 9 Oct 1837, NMA.
Kindberg assisted her with making candles. In Reenstierna’s household specialized candles, such as wax candles, was placed outside the household to a Frn Frantz. In the diaries producing candles was mostly a female enterprise.

Producing and preserving food and making candles were female work areas, and although men appeared they were the exception rather than the rule. It was men from the workforce that joined in, demonstrating that men could assist in female dominated areas. The tasks were performed by women of different positions in the household, and the diary-writing women were very active themselves. Women of different positions often performed each other’s tasks and the lines between the women were often blurred.

The Sick and Poor

Taking care of the sick and the poor was included in the wide range of responsibilities for women belonging to the higher strata. With inspiration from Steinrud, who discussed these responsibilities under the headings “work”, I have chosen to discuss them as tasks and chores, with the focus on the tasks of teaching children to write, and nursing.

Charity existed in different forms and shapes, for example as donating food to the poor on Christmas. Here I have chosen to focus on only one task; teaching children to read. This chore was performed by Liljencrantz, and was highly time consuming. Liljencrantz, who rarely mentioned any servants in her diary, did nevertheless have daily interactions with one, a chambermaid called Little Lotta. Liljencrantz taught Little Lotta how to write and count. Liljencrantz did not only teach Little Lotta but also another “student”, left unnamed in the diary. She writes that the girl was thirteen years old and her mother could not afford to let her learn writing. A few days later her teaching had grew and she took on a new “student”; the gardener’s youngest daughter, “the little one so willingly wants to learn how to write.” Almost every day – from 10 to 11 – these girls came to learn how to write, making it a significant part of Liljencrantz daily routine. It is obvious that this was a form of charity, since these girls could not afford it otherwise, and Liljencrantz did not appear to receive any form of payment.

Another task that fell on female members of the household was taking care of the sick; they would hand out medicine and stay up entire nights watching over ill patient. For Reenstierna the

352 Notes of Herr Kindberg assisting; Reenstierna, 1 Nov 1793, 29 March 1794, 10 Oct 1794, 12 Nov 1794, NMA.
353 Reenstierna, 22 March 1793, 19 Nov 1813, NMA. Candles produced in the household were made out of animal fats.
355 For example Reenstierna donated food to the poor every Christmas, see Reenstierna, 1793-1797, NMA.
356 Liljencrantz, 15 Sep 1817, 9 March 1818, RA.
357 Liljencrantz, 2 Oct 1818, RA.
358 Liljencrantz, 5 Oct 1818, RA; “den lilla vill så gärna lära sig skrifva.”
obligation of taking care of the sick extended to her entire household, even estate, showing the wide responsibility of the housemother. She gave medicine to her sick employees and took care of them with her own hands when they were ill, a responsibility the mansell later took over.\textsuperscript{359} Mullberg also took care of the sick, mainly members of her family. She was the one who watched over and took care of the grandchildren when they got sick.\textsuperscript{360} Munsterhjelm, much younger than Reenstierna and Mullberg, reveals that she and her sisters performed several tasks in order to take care of sick people. For example her sisters took care of a boy in the nearby village, giving him medicine and looking after him, in addition she, her sisters and the maids, sat by their grandmothers side as she was dying, watching over her at nights.\textsuperscript{361} Liljencrantz also mentioned her aunt staying up every night taking care of her husband as he was ill.\textsuperscript{362} This reveals that women belonging to the diary-writing families of different ages were active in nursing.

The diary-writing women did not often reveal their thoughts on nursing. However, in 1818 Liljencrantz writes a few lines on the matter. She visited Lady Strangford, who she found nursing her ill son, Liljencrantz writes, “when I saw her, I thought of how many women, who sees these cares as too troublesome sacrifices and voluntarily deprive themselves of the sweet joy, which they would experience through fulfilling their duties, which God has assigned to us.”\textsuperscript{363} The statement shows that Liljencrantz regarded nursing as a suitable and pious occupation for women of her position.

If the women could not perform the task of nursing they could seek the assistance of other women. Reenstierna noted relying on Mor Svahn, an elderly woman who worked sometimes in the household, and the estates miller’s wife to look after her son, who lived in Stockholm and was ill.\textsuperscript{364} She also noted farmhands’ wives watching over sick employees on her estate.\textsuperscript{365} Mullberg called for assistance from acquaintances such as Fru Roman\textsuperscript{366} to take care of her grandchildren when she could not.\textsuperscript{367} This result is similar to that of Steinrud, who found that women often took care of ill family members, and if this could not be done female family

\begin{footnotes}
\item[359] Examples of herself nursing people on the estate or handing out medicine; Reenstierna, 16 Feb 1813, 8 Sep 1816, NMA, of the mansell; Reenstierna, 28 Jan 1836, 3 July 1837, 8 April 1839, NMA.
\item[360] Mullberg, 4 June 1794, 30 June 1794, 6 Nov 1796, NMA.
\item[361] Notes of taking care of the sick boy; Munsterhjelm, 7 Feb 1800, 8 Feb 1800, 1970, of watching over the grandmother; Munsterhjelm, 2 Feb 1800, 6 Feb 1800, 9 Feb 1800, 1970.
\item[362] Liljencrantz, 3 Jan 1818, RA.
\item[363] Liljencrantz, 7 June 1800, RA; “När jag såg henne, tänkte jag på hur många kvinnor, som betrakta dessa omsorger såsom alltför besvärliga uppoffringar och frivilligt beröfva sig sjelva denna ljufva lyckan, som de skulle erfara genom att uppfylla de pligter, som Gud ålagt oss.”
\item[364] Reenstierna writes that she wished to have Mor Svahn to watch over her son, but since she occupied the miller’s wife was used instead, Reenstierna, 6 July 1797, NMA.
\item[365] For example, the wife of a farmhand watched over Boberg when he was ill, Reenstierna, 18 Jan 1836, NMA.
\item[366] This was most likely the local tailors wife; Sophia Lisa Roman, since this was the only married women in the area with the last name Roman, FiKa, Af6, VA.
\item[367] Mullberg 7 Nov 1796, NMA.
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members were called in. The women called in by the diary-writing women were not family members, but even so they were women, which demonstrates that these tasks could be delegated among women if necessary.

Taking care of the sick and the poor were chiefly female tasks, performed primarily by the diary-writing women or family members, they could also be delegated to women of lower standing. The object of care need not only be a family member. Employees and people from the local community also received nursing care.

**Management**

The maintenance of the household demanded several tasks keeping the household in order. These tasks, what one could call management, included hiring servants, making sure the household ran smoothly when the housemother was not present, as well as keeping accounts of household expenses. These tasks were performed by the housemother or her husband, the housefather. The following discussion will primarily focus on Mullberg and Reenstierna, since they were housemothers, leaders of their households. Both these diary-writing housemothers were largely widowed during their writings and explains why men are to large extent absent in the discussion following.

One example of management is the hiring of servants. In the earliest part of Reenstierna’s diary, she was still married, and the hiring of staff was divided between her and her husband. Reenstierna’s husband most often stood for the hiring of male workers on the estate, mainly farmhands, and this responsibility seemed to fall on Reenstierna when he passed away. Hiring of the female servants were Reenstierna’s responsibility, similar to Munsterhjelm’s household, where she noted her mother hiring female servants. One should not forget that it was Reenstierna’s responsibility to hire the gardener. Not a surprising division, since farming was a more male oriented area whiles the household and the garden was primarily female work areas.

I have already discussed writing letter as a social task, however, it was also connected to the chores performed in the household. The diary-writing women rarely noted what topics were raised in the letters, however, on some occasions they would leave a small inkling of what the letters were about. Mullberg had corresponded frequently with the *mamsells* of her household when she was away for longer periods. The topics of the letters were left out, however, in 1795

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369 Reenstierna did, however, hire one farmhand herself during the years her husband was alive, Reenstierna, 8 Aug 1795, NMA. Reenstierna, 3 Aug 1794, 4 Aug 1795, NMA.
370 Munsterhjelm, 3 Jan 1800, 1970. Herself hiring; Reenstierna, 5 March 1795, 2 Aug 1814, 4 Aug 1817, NMA.
she noted writing to L.C. (most likely the mamsell) about “household affaires”\textsuperscript{271}. It is reasonable to assume that this often the topic when she wrote home, indicating that even though she was not present she was still active in the management of the household. The housemother still had control. The diary-writing women also wrote several letters in business, sending money or ordering things for themselves or the household.\textsuperscript{272} For the housemothers letter writing had several functions.

To run a household and be the housemother required several types of accountancy that allowed for overviews of the household and the running of it. Both Mullberg and Reenstierna kept different forms of inventories, ranging from lists of the gifts they gave to different people, eggs produced on the estate, and lists describing the food served at dinner parties and their cost.\textsuperscript{273} Besides this, Reenstierna also noted in her diary that she made lists of the silver, the glass, the porcelain and the linens she owned.\textsuperscript{274} Rundquist argues women performing these tasks, making inventories, were emphasizing their areas of power within the household.\textsuperscript{275} They seemed highly capable of keeping these lists, but according to their diaries they sometimes needed male assistance accounting during their widowhood. Mullberg noted relaying on Director Magnelius\textsuperscript{276} for counting her money, while Reenstierna in her elder days relied on both her nephew and on the acquaintance Herr Lundberg\textsuperscript{277} for overseeing her bills and paperwork.\textsuperscript{278} Besides this, there is one form of accountancy that all the diary-writing women did, where they noted costs, incomes, how time had been managed, namely their diaries. Mullberg and Reenstierna always noted financial gains and losses of the households in their diaries. The younger diary-writing women rarely noted any financial matters but they still wrote how they spent their time, implying that all of the diary-writing women kept some form of accountancy.

The tasks presented in this section all focused on different aspects of management over the household and estates. The tasks were primarily performed by the female heads of the

\textsuperscript{271} For information about “L.C.”, and why she was a mamsell, see note 324. Mullberg, 14 March 1795, NMA.

\textsuperscript{272} For example, ordering construction material for the household; Mullberg, 12 Jan 1797, 29 Sep 1797, NMA, sending money; Reenstierna, 12 Nov 1800, NMA. Munsterhjelm, who was not a housemother also ordered things by letters, mainly textiles; Munsterhjelm, 4 April 1800, 1970.

\textsuperscript{273} These different lists can be viewed in the published versions of Reenstierna’s diary, “Biolagor” in Reenstierna 1985a, pp. 470-483, in Reenstierna 1985b, pp. 520–583, in Reenstierna 1985c, pp. 397–427, and the machine written version of Mullberg’s diary, Mullberg 1794–1802, NM. Example from Reenstierna, in 1835 she recorded counting incomes and spending’s of the previous year, Reenstierna, 1 Feb 1835, NMA.

\textsuperscript{274} Reenstierna, 10 April 1795, NMA.

\textsuperscript{275} Rundquist 2001, p. 205.

\textsuperscript{276} Magnelius used to be inspector on her father’s bruk, and now seemed to be neighbours with Mullberg, FiKA, A1-4, A1: 5, VA.

\textsuperscript{277} Gustaf Fredrik Lundberg, was an choral singer, and cousin to the gardeners wife, Broman, “Personförteckning” in Reenstierna 1985c, p. 431.

\textsuperscript{278} Mullberg, 19 Oct 1800, NMA. Reenstierna’s nephew helped her sum the bills of the year, Reenstierna, 13 March 1837, NMA, whilst Herr Lundberg helped her with sorting out the papers she had collected over the years, Reenstierna, 13 Aug 1839, NMA.
 households. It gives an insight into the range of power these housemothers had over their household, but also to what responsibilities were seen as their own.

**Conclusions**

Investigating tasks and chores performed indoors for the maintenance of the household I have found that this was an area dominated by women. Different women in the households mixed in this area, often working as a team, assisting and covering for each other. Women of different position could perform the same tasks, such as baking or brewing, even if it was more common for one group of women to perform it. This demonstrates that tasks were open to be performed by many different women, creating similarities between them, as women. There seemed to be a large flexibility among the women performing these tasks, such as Reenstierna performing the tasks of her maids, something rarely observed previously in this study. Men seldom performed these tasks, but sometimes did the tasks along the women, illustrating that there was room for individual men to cross the gender lines.

However, there were some differences between groups also in this area. When it came to especially light and especially heavy tasks, position within the household was being enforced. The heavier tasks, such as washing and scrubbing, were being delegated to women of lower position. If help was not found within the household they would find it elsewhere, relieving the diary-writing women from having to perform the tasks themselves. The diary-writing women’s presence were however, never far away, they counted clothes for washing and oversaw work, establishing their leadership. This role was also established in hiring and taking care of the paperwork of the estates or the spending of the household. Men also distanced themselves from women in some aspects. They assisted women in heavier tasks, including managing the oven or moving furniture, but not performing the same tasks as women, for example baking and cleaning. This established gendered norms. Between the diary-writing women age seemed to matter, the older women were very active the area of household maintenance, while the younger ones were not. Even though they were present in such tasks as baking and taking care of the sick and the poor, their presence was nevertheless quite low. This could indicate two things, that they were not that active in the household work, or that it was not of great importance to note it.

The maintenance of the household was important, especially for the housemothers Mullberg and Reenstierna. The maintenance of the household was a common theme in theirs, and to some extent Munsterhjelm’s, diaries. Both Mullberg and Reenstierna were active themselves in a wide range of tasks. Moreover, the diary-writing women often noted who performed the tasks and chores when they were delegated or performed by others. Besides this, the tasks were important
for women in general, since they dominantly performed the tasks, often delegating tasks to women of different rank. This confirms previous research, which stresses the importance of household work for women. Simonton, for example, argues that domestic work, such as cleaning and cooking, was very important in giving value to women’s work.\footnote{Simonton 1998, p. 18.}
Final Discussions and Conclusions

The purpose of this thesis has been to provide new answers and broaden the knowledge about what people did with their time, and how they perceived this, during the end of the eighteenth and early nineteenth period in Sweden. By focusing on the practises of work, meaning concrete tasks and chores, and the division of work, I have shown that differences, similarities, and hierarchies were constantly being constructed in the performing of different tasks. There were several categories intersecting with each other in these performances; the most visible being gender, position within the household, social status, civil state, and age. This does not exclude other possible categories, but in this study these have been the most observable. This result is very similar to Pihl’s conclusion that one category became slightly more visible and important than others in certain situations.

The diaries present a division of work largely free from conflicts. On those few occasions’ conflict arose it was mainly about whose responsibility or privilege it was to perform certain tasks.\textsuperscript{380} It has been observed that even though work was divided amongst groups based on several cultural categories, such as gender or position in the household, there was often one person not belonging to the normative task-performing group; an exception. Osterud found in her investigation that when people crossed gender lines and performed a task it was often referred to as helping or assisting, identifying the task as belonging to the other. Osterud argues that this “reinforces the distinction between men’s and women’s work at the same time that it records the crossing of the boundary between the two.”\textsuperscript{381} The diaries in this study rarely used this type of language to connect tasks to a certain gender or position, besides when using women from outside the household.\textsuperscript{382} The diary-writing women rarely expressed concerns about these “transgressions”. The norms and hierarchies being established through performing tasks and chores seemed not to be thought of as rigid, instead there was room for boundaries to be constantly crossed.

In the performance of tasks and chores the household was an important unite for the diary-writing women. They all belonged to a household, and it created a framework around the tasks and chores they performed. Pihl argued that the household can be interpreted as a social model, through which people understood hierarchies. This has been observed in this thesis; position within the household was constantly present and being established with other cultural categories and, through this, creating hierarchies between individuals. However, to make time for all the

\textsuperscript{380} This was exemplified with Reenstierna’s gardener, coachmen and manuelli, see pages 48–49, 54 or 64.
\textsuperscript{381} Osterud 1991, pp. 140, 161, Fiebranz also observed similar in her study, Fiebranz 2002, p. 149.
\textsuperscript{382} Reenstierna only noted being “helped” by women from outside the household; Reenstierna, 24 Dec 1796, 27 March 1839, NM.
tasks in the household, the diary-writing women used a specific strategy, hiring primarily women from outside the household. These women were wives of employees living on the estate or tenants, but also married and widowed women from the local community, demonstrating the concrete tasks and chores women performed in other households, in order to get extra income to their own households. Simonton argues that during the early modern period hiring extra help was a common strategy performed by women so they could put aside domestic responsibilities in search for a living.383 For the diary-writing women’s perspective it became a strategy in the sense that it prevented them from performing heavy and dirty tasks themselves, allowing them to maintain their position as the housemother who oversaw the work.

Throughout this investigation it has been notable that people with occupational titles, mainly on Reenstierna’s estate, often performed tasks outside their work area, for example the gardener and the coachmen. The occupational title did not create boundaries for the work these people performed. Instead they were flexible performing work both inside and outside their work areas. The “Gender and Work” project criticizes studying occupational titles in order to understand people’s work or the use of time during the early modern period, since the titles do not reveal what people actually did, or if their occupation was the only way through which people made a living.384 This study gives evidence to the importance of studying the practices of work individuals performed in order to obtain a more complete picture of what people did with their time.

Although there has been a desire to centre as much as possible on the multiple of people performing work in the diaries, the focus on the diary-writing women is still great. It was after all they who observed and noted the different practices of work, especially their own. Judging from the diaries, the diary writers portrayed themselves as highly active in performing a variety of different tasks, ranging from garden work to textile work. Even if tasks were delegated they were continuously present with advice and supervision. In that way both Mullberg and Reenstierna were constantly establishing themselves as leaders, and this role, the housemother, was vital as a framework for their tasks. The housemother should be seen as a creation of the intersectional process; since it could not exist without the multitude of people, especially the servants, they delegated and divided tasks amongst. My study has in this respect confirmed previous research which has focused on women of similar statue, for example Rundquist, Keinänen, Steinrud and Ulvros. They have all highlighted the importance of the idea of the housemother, and emphasized that the responsibility of the housemother was not only to be able to supervise the household, but also to decide when and how work should be executed and most importantly to

be able to perform every task themselves. This has been visible throughout my study. With this said, something that is made clear from this study, but not observed in earlier research, is when the leader could no longer perform the role of the housemother and had to hand over leadership to a servant.

A common theme throughout the empirical study has been that of Reenstierna’s *mamsell*\(^{386}\) taking over a large range of responsibilities and tasks as Reenstierna became too old and progressively turned blind. Reenstierna had to resign the role of the household leader, a role for which she most likely been trained for since her youth and to which she had been accustomed since her marriage. Now she had to place this role on a woman with lower position, a servant.

Reenstierna seemed to appreciate the work the *mamsell* performed. In 1837 she wrote, “*mamsell* managed everything – God bless all honest and modest people.”\(^{388}\) It is quite obvious that Reenstierna relied deeply on the *mamsell* performing her tasks. Perhaps it was not evident that the *mamsell* should be taking this responsibility, acting outside her own work-role. However, Reenstierna did not fully accept stepping back. Often Reenstierna called herself; “old”, “useless” and “a wretch”, since the ways in which she could contribute to the household had become extremely limited.\(^{389}\) Reenstierna also lost her say in how tasks were performed around the household, instead certain employees, such as the *mamsell*, began to make decisions, and in 1835 she writes; “were not amused by them which now are half younger and governs everything.”\(^{390}\) Reenstierna could not perform those tasks that were listed previously; she could no longer supervise, distribute work, and definitely could not take part in the execution. By not performing the role of the housemother Reenstierna was no longer the absolute leader and her usefulness to the household largely decreased.

The investigation shows the importance of being useful, a recurring theme with both Mullberg and Reenstierna. Even though they had servants that who theory could perform all the tasks, they needed to be industrious. Vickery argues that female household leaders belonging to the elite had

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385 Ulvros 1996, p. 57, Steinrud 2008, p. 145, Vickery argues similar in an English context, that in order for the servants work to be of good quality, the elite mistress of the household needed to be able to perform the tasks themselves, Vickery 1998, p. 147.
386 The *mamsell* in question was Lovisa Leufstedt, the sister of a wholesaler, and worked on the estate from 1821 to 1841, Rasmussen 2010, p. 95.
387 She refers to the *mamsells* work performance as “good” (“god”), “diligent” (“arbetsam”), and with “a good will” (“med en god vilja”), examples of this; Reenstierna; 12 Sep 1835, 10 May 1836, 28 Jan 1837, NMA.
388 Reenstierna, 23 March 1837, NMA; “mamsell bestyrde alt – Gud välsigne alla ärliga och beskedliga menniskor.” A similar quote can be found in; “only *mamsell* troubles with everything, and God let her keep good health!” Reenstierna, 21 April 1837, NMA; “Endast mamsell träkar med alt, och Gud låte henne få behålla hälsan!”
389 An example of this was “mamsell manages everything – in the household and me the wretch sat and spun some,” Reenstierna, 25 July 1837, NMA; “mamsell bestyde om alt – i husåallet och jag usla satt och spann litet.” The Swedish work for old is “gammal”, for useless is “usling”, for a wretch is “stackare”, examples of this; 6 Jan 1835, 20 June 1837, 24 Oct 1839, NMA.
390 Reenstierna, 16 July 1835, NMA; “hade ej roligt af dem som nu äro hälften yngre och styr allt.” Other examples of this; Reenstierna, 10 Sep 1836, 12 July 1839, NMA.
to be active and knowledgeable in order to assurance that the household tasks were being performed. In the Swedish case, there seemed to be more than just getting the households tasks performed, being hands on and industrious seemed also to reflect the image of oneself.

Time should be spent usefully, as revealed by Reenstierna with the words she chose to start her diary with in 1801; “In heaven the writing says; Every moment used poorly/ God! Let me not waste a moment of This year!” Both Mullberg and Reenstierna were quick to note in their diaries if days passed in which they had not been useful. These comments were often found when visits from acquaintances had prevented them from performing tasks inside the household. This means that even though entertaining company was important enough to be prioritized, it was not always seen as industrious. Reenstierna also felt the need to record in her diary that she had been occupied and useful even though she had nothing concrete to write. For example; “I cleaned and had all sorts of tasks though nothing real appeared to be accomplished.” For Reenstierna real work was often housework-oriented tasks and chores that she performed with her own hands and social obligations or supervising were not always counted amongst these. It is also visible in Reenstierna’s diary that if one was not useful or performed “real” work one risked being “vain”. The importance of being useful is reconfirmed, and it seemed as being useful and performing real work meant doing textile or indoors oriented tasks, but also performing it themselves with their own hands.

This discussion has focused on Mullberg and Reenstierna who were leaders of a household, but what about Liljencrantz and Munsterhjelm? Several researchers have argued that the upbringing of young women of the higher strata of society focused on learning the tasks in the household, to be able to lead it when married. Munsterhjelm has proved over and over again that she could perform a large set of tasks at a young age, for example working with textile, gardening, and baking. With this said, she rarely provides us with information of learning them, of describing older women within the household teaching her the ways of the household, or the role of the household leader. Her mother was, as already mentioned, a quite rarely mentioned in the daily activities that Munsterhjelm part took in. Liljencrantz diary hardly mentions any tasks indicating she was learning the ways of the household. This could be because she was away from

392 Reenstierna, 1 Jan 1801, NMA; “I Himlen skriven står;/ Hvar stund som nyttjas illa/ Gud! Lät mig ej förspillas/ En stund av Detta årt”!
393 Notes of not being useful; Mullberg, 6 April 1794, 15 Sep 1794, 24 March 1795, 11 April 1795, NMA, Reenstierna, 1 Sep 1794, 4 Nov 1797, 10 Feb 1817, 4 Feb 1836, NMA.
394 Reenstierna, 31 March 1796, NMA; ”Jag städade och hade allehanda syslor fast inret reelt syntes därmed uträttat.”
395 Reenstierna, 16 Aug 1796, 5 May 1813, 16 Dec 1815, NMA.
396 Reenstierna, 15 Sep 1796, 5 Jan 1797, 10 June 1797, NMA.
397 For example, Stadin argues that even the richest noble girl had to learn the tasks of the household, only the heaviest tasks were she spared from. Stadin 2004, p. 148. Similar conclusions can also be found in Steinrud 2008, p. 140.
home during the writing of the diary. Hence, there is little evidence in the diaries of a learning process for the younger women; instead tasks were often presented as already known.

Although the borders of “private and public” have not been investigated in this study it is still relevant to comment on the concept or else I would ignore a very relevant historiographical discussion. This investigation has shown that the homes of the women studied were still a place for diverse work and wide production, as it has been during larger parts of the early modern period. Different people worked together on in the home and on the estates in order to produce for the household. In several parts of this thesis the “decorative” woman has been mentioned as entangled with the concept of “private and public”; she only produced items for ornamental purposes for the household. This is not supported in this study. The diary-writing women, especially Reenstierna and Mullberg, presented themselves as anything than idle, instead, as mentioned, they were active, and highly valued performing work seen as industrious and useful. They also took great part in the management of not simply the home, but the whole estate, and in the production of items needed for the household, often assisting with their own hands in a range of different tasks. Their work can hardly be interpreted as strictly “decorative”.398

The diary-writing women did often work in relation to the home; did this mean they were private? Steinrud, whose study actually does investigate the boarders of “private and public”, argues that these women were public, “because their activities affected several people than just themselves.”399 I would like to agree, these women came in constant contact with such a large range of people both during the practises of work and with social obligations, and through this taking part in several cultural contexts. Seeing their occupations as strictly private, as in closed up or shut away, would be to disregard all this.

This highlights the diary-writing women’s role within the household, of being a housemother and their role in dichotomy “private and public.” Which areas of tasks and chores did they find important? Through studying the four diaries I found that certain sorts of tasks and chores were perceived as more important than other, but what made these areas important varied.

Through presenting a wide range of verbs being performed and in a higher extent naming who performed the work certain areas became important; examples of these areas are the garden, and the work performed inside the household. Certain areas also seemed important since the diary-writing women were highly active themselves in these areas, performing most of the work themselves. In textile work, for example they seemed less willingly to delegate. Other areas, as socializing, were important since they were prioritized, even if the diary-writing women did not

398 Similar conclusions were drawn by Ulvros about the bourgeois women in southern Sweden during the nineteenth century, Ulvros 1996, pp. 333–334.
always described it as useful work. In this, roles seemed to come in conflict with each other, the women wanting to perform their work but also having to entertain company, the housemother seemed not always to mesh well with the role of the hostess. This demonstrates that there was different aspects shaping and forming what was deemed as important. Did this make others areas less important? It does not need to imply that the other areas were of less importance for the household, but instead that these areas were either someone else’s responsibility, such as farming, a clear male area, or that it was an area where they could delegate tasks, such as with animals.

Finally, diaries become a window into the complex ideas and practices governing the way these women, and the people around them, spent their time. These diaries were also a part of an ongoing conversation, a way for these women to feel useful by noting time spent and their own industriousness. They produced a framework around what was seen as important and highlighting the areas of responsibility. In the final years of Reenstierna’s writings, when she was losing the role as the housemother, there was one task which no one could take away from her, a task which made her useful and let her keep a sense of supervision; the writing of her diary. 400 Diary-writing truly was a performative act in its own right.

**Questions for future research**

My thesis can contribute to future research with the rewarding aspects of using an intersectional perspective when focusing on the daily practices in people’s lives in the early modern period. Intersectionality has made it possible to highlight the different categories that together constantly shaped the practice of work and the perception of the work role people performed. However, this study has only studied a small part of this intersectional process in a small period in the early modern period, and more knowledge is needed. Expanding to other people’s diaries, and other personal documents such as letters, could increase the knowledge in how various people performed tasks and perceived them.

For example, men who belonged to the same social strata as this study’s diary-writers. What did they perform or perceive as important? How much did they interact with people in the household and delegate tasks and chores to the people around them? Were their roles as leaders as important in defining themselves and their work role as it was for these women? There are also two periods in the diary-writing women’s life which this study missed, the period as newly married, and the period in which they had small children. For future studies it would be of interest to see how women newly married or with young children performed and delegated tasks, and which they saw as important.

400 Reenstierna, 18 June 1836, 3 June 1837, NMA.
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Appendix: Verb Lists

The translation of the verbs from Swedish to English is an ongoing project, and not finished.

List of Verbs for Making, Mending and Sewing; Textile Work

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Translation</th>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Produce fabric:</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bomma</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Göra koaffyr</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Häckla</td>
<td>Heckle</td>
<td>Göra en hatt</td>
<td>Make a hat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hämta väv</td>
<td>Fetch weave</td>
<td>Göra en kappa</td>
<td>Make a coat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Karda</td>
<td>Carding</td>
<td>Göra en klädning</td>
<td>Make a dress</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Koka garn</td>
<td>Boil yarn</td>
<td>Göra en lappsömnm</td>
<td>Do a patch stitching</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lämna väv</td>
<td>Leave weave</td>
<td>Göra en nåldyna</td>
<td>Make a pincushion</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nysta</td>
<td>Wind</td>
<td>Göra hårhalsband</td>
<td>Make hair-necklace</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plocka bomull</td>
<td>Pick cotton</td>
<td>Hämta tyg</td>
<td>Fetch fabric</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reda ull</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Handla/köpa textilier</td>
<td>Buy textiles</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Räkna almnar</td>
<td>Count almnar</td>
<td>Kanta</td>
<td>Rim/Edge</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Solva väv</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Klippa</td>
<td>Cut</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spinna</td>
<td>Spin</td>
<td>Laga</td>
<td>Mend</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trä i skeden</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Lägga i blött</td>
<td>Soak</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tvinna garn/tråd</td>
<td>Twine yarn/thread</td>
<td>Lägga upp strumpa</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Upplägga väv</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Lappa</td>
<td>Patch</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Varpa</td>
<td>Warp</td>
<td>Lära sy</td>
<td>Teach to sew</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vinda garn</td>
<td>Wind yarn</td>
<td>Märka tyg</td>
<td>Mark fabric</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Väga</td>
<td>Weigh fabric/cotton/yarn</td>
<td>Påbörja textiltarbete</td>
<td>Start textile work</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tyg/bomull/garn</td>
<td></td>
<td>Rengöra tyg</td>
<td>Clean fabric</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Väva</td>
<td>Weave</td>
<td>Skära tyg</td>
<td>Cut fabric</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Skoda</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Needlework and Working with fabric</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ändra klänning</td>
<td>Modify dress</td>
<td>Stoppa kläder/tyg</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ändra päls</td>
<td>Modify fur</td>
<td>Stoppa strumpor</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arbeta</td>
<td>Work</td>
<td>Stryka</td>
<td>Iron/press</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arbeta med broderi</td>
<td>Work with embroidery</td>
<td>Sy</td>
<td>Sew</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arbeta med garnering</td>
<td>Work with mending</td>
<td>Ta mätt</td>
<td>Take measurement</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arbeta med laga</td>
<td>Work with patching</td>
<td>Trä strumpor</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arbeta med lappa</td>
<td>Work with garnish</td>
<td>Tränsa</td>
<td>Braid</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Avsluta band</td>
<td>Finish ribbon</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Avsluta en dräkt</td>
<td>Finish costume</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Avsluta en garnityr</td>
<td>Finish a garniture</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Avsluta en mössa</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Binda strumpa</td>
<td>Bind sock</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brodera</td>
<td>Embroider</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fälla</td>
<td>Hem</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Flåta</td>
<td>Braid</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Garnera</td>
<td>Garnish</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gnida tyg</td>
<td>Rub fabric</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Other</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dra ut lin</td>
<td>Pull out linen</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Färga</td>
<td>Colour</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rita mönster</td>
<td>Draw pattern</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sätta upp väv</td>
<td>Put up weave</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trä pärlor</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Väva Hår</td>
<td>Weave hair</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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### List of Verbs for Social Obligations

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verbs</th>
<th>Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Arbeta med textilt arbete</td>
<td>Working with textile work</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Besök/visit</td>
<td>Visit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dress a bride</td>
<td>Klä brud</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gå eller ha middagsbjudningar</td>
<td>Have or attend dinner parties</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gå i bodar/handla</td>
<td>Walk in shops/shopping</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gå på teater/opera</td>
<td>Attend the theatre/opera</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lära sig dansa</td>
<td>Learning to dance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Läsa</td>
<td>Reading</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mottaga visit</td>
<td>Receiving visits</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Skriva brev</td>
<td>Writing letters</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Skriva inbjudningar</td>
<td>Writing invitations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spela kort/lekar</td>
<td>Playing cards/games</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### List of Verbs for Gardening, Farming, and Managing Animals

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Gardening</th>
<th>Translation</th>
<th>Gardening</th>
<th>Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Anlägga blomsterlist</td>
<td>Lay flower list</td>
<td>Klippa häck</td>
<td>Cut hedge</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anställa dalkullor</td>
<td>Hire dalkullor</td>
<td>Kratta trädgård</td>
<td>Rake the garden</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anställa trädgårdsmästare</td>
<td>Hire gardener</td>
<td>Laga driftkur</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arbeta i trädgården</td>
<td>Work in the garden</td>
<td>Laga trädgård</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Beslå lådor till trädgården</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Lägga bär/frukt bönor/ärtor/kärnor</td>
<td>Plant berries/fruit beans/peas/seeds</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Binda grenar/växter</td>
<td>Tie branches/plants</td>
<td>Mätta ärtor</td>
<td>Measure peas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dika</td>
<td>Ditch</td>
<td>/frukt/grönsaker</td>
<td>/fruit/vegetables</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Flytta krukor</td>
<td>Move pots</td>
<td>/frukt/grönsaker</td>
<td>/fruit/vegetables</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Flytta träd</td>
<td>Move trees</td>
<td>Packa in frukt</td>
<td>Pack fruit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fylla på med jord</td>
<td>Fill with soil</td>
<td>Packa in krukor</td>
<td>Pack pots</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Föra spänjord</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Planera trädgård</td>
<td>Plan the garden</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gnugga frö</td>
<td>Rub seeds</td>
<td>Plantera/sätta växter</td>
<td>Plant plants</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gräva</td>
<td>Dig</td>
<td>/grönsaker/frukt</td>
<td>/vegetables/fruit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gödda</td>
<td>Fertilize</td>
<td>Plira med bönor</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gör balja</td>
<td>Make bowl</td>
<td>Plocka bär/frukt/bönor/grönsaker/ärtor</td>
<td>Pick berries/fruit beans/vegetables/peas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gör grant</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Ploga gångar</td>
<td>Plow paths</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gör trädgårdskarta</td>
<td>Make garden chart</td>
<td>Putsa jord</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Handla sand till trädgård</td>
<td>Buy sand for the garden</td>
<td>Putsa krukor</td>
<td>Polish pots</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Harkla</td>
<td>Rake</td>
<td>Putsa träd/växter</td>
<td>Polish trees/plants</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hugga upp</td>
<td>Chop up</td>
<td>Rangera krukor/träd</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hämta träd</td>
<td>Fetch tree</td>
<td>Rengöra/städa/putsa trädgård</td>
<td>Clean/polish garden</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hyfsa gård</td>
<td>Clean yard</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kara ogräs</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Swedish</td>
<td>English</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------</td>
<td>---------</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rensa trädgård</td>
<td>Clear the garden</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rensa ärtor/bönor/frö</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/grönsaker/bär/frukt</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Repa linfrö</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Röja trädgård</td>
<td>Clear the garden</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Skära bönor</td>
<td>Cut beans</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Slå trädgård</td>
<td>Reap the garden</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Släppa mell</td>
<td>Drag earth</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Soppa gängar</td>
<td>Sweep paths</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sortera frukt</td>
<td>Sort fruit</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sprita ärtor/bönor</td>
<td>Husk peas/beans</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stöka</td>
<td>Clean</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sälja avkastningar från trädgården</td>
<td>Sell gains from the garden</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sätta bär/bönor</td>
<td>Plant berries/beans</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ta upp buskar</td>
<td>Remove bushes</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ta upp potatis/rotfrukt</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Torka bönor</td>
<td>Dry beans</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nyta träd</td>
<td>Washing trees</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vakta trädgård</td>
<td>Guard the garden</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vattna</td>
<td>Water</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Väga ärtor</td>
<td>Weigh peas</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vända jord</td>
<td>Turn soil</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Överse/inspektera</td>
<td>Oversee/inspect</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Farming**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Swedish</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Anställa dräng</td>
<td>Hire farmhand</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arbeta med tobak</td>
<td>Work with tobacco</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Binda korn</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bryta tobak</td>
<td>Break tobacco</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bunta tobak</td>
<td>Bundle tobacco</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dika</td>
<td>Ditch</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Granska bodar</td>
<td>Examine sheds</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gräva efter morötter</td>
<td>Digg for carrots</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gryna korn</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hugga vete</td>
<td>Chop wheat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Häva hö</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Köra gödsel</td>
<td>Drive manure</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Köra jord</td>
<td>Drive soil</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Köra in sädesslag</td>
<td>Drive in grains</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lägga höllass</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lägga/sätta potatis</td>
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<tr>
<td>Lämna sädesslag</td>
<td>Leave grains</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mätta av sädesslag</td>
<td>Measure grains</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plantera/sätta tobak</td>
<td>Plant tobacco</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plocka i bod</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plocka tobak</td>
<td>Pick tobacco</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plöja</td>
<td>Plough</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pålasa gödse</td>
<td>Shuffle manure</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rengöra</td>
<td>Clean</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rensa tobak</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rensa vete</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Räfsa</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sikta korn</td>
<td>Sieve barley</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Skära sädesslag</td>
<td>Cut grains</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Skära tobak</td>
<td>Cut tobacco</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Skörda</td>
<td>Harvest</td>
</tr>
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<td>Slå</td>
<td>Reap</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sprida ut gödsel</td>
<td>Spread manure</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Städa/stöka i bodar</td>
<td>Clean sheds</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Så</td>
<td>Sow</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sälja sädeslag</td>
<td>Sell grains</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ta upp korn</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Taga av tobak</td>
<td>Take off tobacco</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Torvhaka</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tröska</td>
<td>Thresh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tvätta vete</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Välja tobak</td>
<td>Weigh tobacco</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vända hö</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Överse arbete</td>
<td>Oversee work</td>
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**Animals**

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Swedish</th>
<th>English</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ansa fåglar</td>
<td>Tend to birds</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ansa fårtarmar</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ansa hästar/stall</td>
<td>Tend to horses/stable</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arbeta med nät</td>
<td>Work with net</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Flytta fåglar</td>
<td>Move birds</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fläta tömmar/nät</td>
<td>Braided reins/net</td>
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<tr>
<td>Fånga råttor</td>
<td>Catch rats</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ge fåglar mat</td>
<td>Give birds food</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gå i ladugården</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Göra tofsar på hästnät</td>
<td>Make tassels to horsenets</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Handla djur</td>
<td>Buy animals</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Handla till hästar/vagn</td>
<td>Shop for horses/wagon</td>
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<tr>
<td>Hugga kött</td>
<td>Chop meat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hämta oxe</td>
<td>Fetch ox</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hämta vagn</td>
<td>Fetch wagon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Klippa får</td>
<td>Cut sheep</td>
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<tr>
<td>Knyta hästnät</td>
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<tr>
<td>Kärna</td>
<td>Churn</td>
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<tr>
<td>Köra mjölk till stan</td>
<td>Drive milk to town</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Köra vagn</td>
<td>Drive carriage</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Laga hönshus</td>
<td>Fix henhouse</td>
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<tr>
<td>Låsa in djur</td>
<td>Lock in animals</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mjölka</td>
<td>Milk</td>
</tr>
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<td>Märtja grisar</td>
<td>Brand pigs</td>
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<td>Mjölka</td>
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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verbs</th>
<th>Translation</th>
<th>Verbs</th>
<th>Translation</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Fighting dirt</td>
<td></td>
<td>Producing Substance</td>
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<tr>
<td>Avskrapa smuts</td>
<td>Scrape of dirt</td>
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<td>Byka</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Göra hylla</td>
<td>Make a shelf</td>
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<tr>
<td>Bära/flytta möbler</td>
<td>Cary/move furniture</td>
<td>Klappa byk/tvätt</td>
<td>Beat wash</td>
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<tr>
<td>Damma</td>
<td>Dust</td>
<td>Lägga in linne</td>
<td>Put away clothes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dra ut kläder</td>
<td>Pull clothes</td>
<td>Lägga i ordning kläder</td>
<td>Put to order clothes</td>
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<tr>
<td>Fjäskal</td>
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<td>Mangla</td>
<td>Mangle</td>
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<tr>
<td>Få ordning</td>
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<td>Putsa</td>
<td>Polish</td>
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<td>Rangera</td>
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<td>Ranger a i skåp</td>
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<tr>
<td>Rangera kläder</td>
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<td>Ranger a tyg</td>
<td>Bränna kaffe</td>
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<td>Rappa</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Rangera tyg</td>
<td>Dekorera bakelser</td>
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<td>Rengöra</td>
<td>Clean</td>
<td>Rengöra tyg</td>
<td>Destillera brännvin</td>
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<tr>
<td>Rengöra/Skura köksutrustning</td>
<td>Clean/scrub</td>
<td>Rengöra skura köksutrustning</td>
<td>Distil brännvin</td>
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<td>Rusta i köket</td>
<td>Prepare the kitchen</td>
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<td>Räkna kläder</td>
<td>Count clothes</td>
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<td>Röja</td>
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<tr>
<td>Skura golv</td>
<td>Scrub the floor</td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Skura silver</td>
<td>Scrub the silver</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Skura ten/köksutrustning</td>
<td>kitchenware</td>
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<td>Sopa</td>
<td>Sweep</td>
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<td>Stryka kläder</td>
<td>Iron clothes</td>
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<td>Ståda i ordning</td>
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<td>Stålla i ordning</td>
<td>Put in order</td>
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<td>Stärka kläder</td>
<td>Starch clothes</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stöka</td>
<td>Clean up</td>
<td></td>
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*Lists of Verbs for The Management of Household*
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Swedish</th>
<th>English</th>
<th>Swedish</th>
<th>English</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Inlägga mat</td>
<td>Preserve food</td>
<td>Poor and sick</td>
<td>Hand out medicin</td>
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<tr>
<td>Insalta fläsk</td>
<td>-</td>
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<tr>
<td>Koka enelag</td>
<td>Boil fruit/berries</td>
<td>Dela ut medicin</td>
<td>Nurse</td>
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<tr>
<td>Koka frukt/bär</td>
<td>Boil sausage</td>
<td>Omvårdna</td>
<td>Nurse</td>
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<tr>
<td>Koka korv</td>
<td>Cook/boil food</td>
<td>Undervisa</td>
<td>Teach</td>
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<tr>
<td>Koka mat</td>
<td>Boil wine</td>
<td>Vaka över</td>
<td>Watch over</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Laga bakelser</td>
<td>Cook food</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Laga mat</td>
<td>Put away drink</td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Laga till dryck</td>
<td>Make drink</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Lägga in ljus</td>
<td>Grind coffee</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lämna bort mat</td>
<td>Give away food</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Mala kaffe</td>
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<tr>
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<td>Salt food</td>
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<tr>
<td>Skira talg</td>
<td>Cut meat</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
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<td>Fry food</td>
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<tr>
<td>Sno ljusvekar</td>
<td>Stuff sausage</td>
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<tr>
<td>Steka mat</td>
<td>Sprinkle spices</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stoppa korv</td>
<td>Make/dip candles</td>
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<tr>
<td>Stöpa/doppa ljus</td>
<td>Preserve</td>
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<td>Sylta</td>
<td>Tar out bread</td>
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<tr>
<td>Tappa dryck</td>
<td>Dry bread</td>
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<td>Hang up bread</td>
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<tr>
<td>Upphänga bröd</td>
<td>Being cook</td>
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<tr>
<td>Varo kokerska</td>
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Management

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Swedish</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Anställa/Städja</td>
<td>Hire</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Betala lönn</td>
<td>Pay salary</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Göra räkning</td>
<td>Make bill</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Räkna inkomst/utgift</td>
<td>Count income/costs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Se genom dagbok</td>
<td>Look through diary</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Se genom papper</td>
<td>Look through papers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Skriva av texter</td>
<td>Copy texts</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uppsteckna ägodelar</td>
<td>Note possessions</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Överse hushållsaffärer</td>
<td>Oversee household affairs</td>
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Other

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Swedish</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Beställa varor</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Betala varor</td>
<td>Pay goods</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bryta serverter</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Elda</td>
<td>Light a fire</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Göra förberedelser</td>
<td>Make preparations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Klä andra</td>
<td>Dress others</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Klä möbler</td>
<td>Dress furniture</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Packa saker</td>
<td>Pack belongings</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Passa upp</td>
<td>Wait on</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vara på ärende</td>
<td>Being on errands</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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