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The Enclosure Movements – A Path towards Social Differentiation?

Lessons from Southern Sweden in the 19th Century

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Abstract

From the end of the 18th century, agriculture in Sweden changed dramatically due to enclosures in the parishes with freeholders. In the parishes with noble tenants, land was instead redistributed according to a manorial landlords' decision. The first aim of this paper is to analyze the impact of the enclosure movements on social differentiation. The second aim of this paper is to compare the social differentiation in parishes with freeholders and noble tenants.

A sample of 13 parishes is used in which the social differentiation is studied 20 years before and after the parishes were enclosed. The effect of the enclosures is also studied with panel data in a general least square regression with the share of landless and semi-landless people as the dependent variable along with the independent variables enclosure, type of district, population growth, a lagged variable for population growth and ownership structure in the parishes.

Overall, a limited effect is found in this paper regarding the impact of enclosures on social differentiation. The results reveal that the type of district and ownership structure mattered. Evidence here indicates that social differentiation was most pronounced in the plain districts and in the manorial parishes.

Key Words: enclosure, social differentiation, freeholders, noble tenants, landless and semi-landless people, parish.

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1. Introduction

1.1 Research Problem

The agricultural revolution was one of the major changes that occurred in many Western European countries in the early 19th century. It meant a change from a rural sector with low productivity and self-subsistence to a rural sector with high productivity and production for the market. This transition started to take place gradually in Sweden from the middle of the 18th century but intensified at the beginning of the 19th century. This eventually paved the way for the industrial revolution in the middle of the 19th century in Sweden (e.g. Gadd 2000 *passim*; Schön 2000, pp. 50-62; Magnusson 1997, pp. 209-214).

Researchers have focused on the increasing social differentiation that took place in the 19th century as a crucial element in the agricultural revolution. It has been argued that a fast population growth was a major cause of the social differentiation. This meant that the children of peasants experienced social downward mobility, mainly due to problems of acquiring land (Winberg 1975, pp. 55-56). Others have stressed the importance of lower taxes and ownership of land, which allowed peasants to accumulate capital. There were some fortunate peasants who seized these new opportunities and made investments in their land, while other peasants were disadvantaged by the competition and instead became dependent on wage labor to cover their subsistence needs (Fridholm et al 1976, pp. 20-21, 42-43).

It has also been widely recognized that the radical enclosures in the beginning of the 19th century strengthened individual initiatives among freeholders. The implementation of the enclosures, however, differed depending on the type of parish. In parishes with noble tenants, enclosures were imposed from above by manorial landlords who redistributed land among noble tenants (Olsson 2002, pp. 72, 314-316), while in parishes with freeholders the enclosures were initiated from below by peasants who seized the opportunity to make their landholdings more efficient (Svensson 2006).

The effects of the enclosure movements have also been discussed in the literature, and it is clearly illustrated that a more rapid commercialization occurred after the enclosures but was remarkably stronger on freehold land than on noble land. Production increased faster on freehold land than on noble land (Olsson & Svensson 2007). Population growth was also considerably stronger in parishes with freeholders than in parishes with noble tenants (Fridlizius 1979).

This paper examines the effects of the enclosure movements on social differentiation, a factor that so far has been overlooked as an explanation of the rapid increase in semi-landless and landless groups, despite its radical impact. The differences between parishes dominated by freeholders and parishes dominated by noble tenants following the enclosures are also considered in this study. The effects of the enclosures are studied at the micro-level in 18 parishes in Scania, a Swedish county, 20 years before and 20 years after the parish was enclosed. This method makes it possible to see the exact year of the enclosure and examine the effects more closely. The parishes also display a variation in socio-economic and topographic conditions, which means that the geographical context is taken into account as well.

1.2 Aim, research issues and limitations

The purpose of my study is to examine the impact of the enclosure movements on the rural occupational structure in the first half of the 19th century, in order to trace the long-term as well as short-term changes in social differentiation. I also intend to compare, and attempt to establish whether there were differences between, parishes that were dominated by freeholders and by noble tenants. The aim here is to see if the enclosure movements contributed to speeding up the social differentiation that took place at the beginning of the 19th century, by which is meant an increase in the share of semi-landless and landless groups, measured as a share of the labor force employed in agriculture. These semi-landless and landless groups may be expected to be dependent on wage labor to cover their subsistence needs.

A long-term study of how social differentiation developed over time in 18 parishes in Scania, a Swedish county, 20 years before and after the parish was enclosed enables me to analyze the impact of the enclosures more closely. Other structural factors in the parishes that may have influenced social stratification are also considered in this paper. An examination of the impact of the enclosure movements on the rural occupational structure is likely to provide a clearer picture of how social differentiation came about in 19th century Sweden, how this process differed between parishes with freeholders and noble tenants as well as of the effects of the enclosure movements. An increase in the proletarianization following the enclosures must be regarded as a clear indicator of agricultural commercialization. Similarly, a higher share of landless and semi-landless groups in either parishes with freeholders or noble tenants

should also be considered a sign of a more rapid commercialization. To this end, I have formulated two principal questions that I address in my paper, which are summarized as follows:

1. What was the impact of the enclosure movements (*Enskifte Enclosure Act 1803* and *Laga Enclosure Act 1827*) on social differentiation?
2. Were there differences between parishes with freeholders and parishes with noble tenants?

My analysis is narrowed down to deal with the enclosures at the beginning of the 19th century, the *Enskifte Enclosure Act* of 1803 and the *Laga Enclosure Act* of 1827. These enclosure movements changed the rural landscape dramatically. The villages were broken up, and this paved the way for a privatization of the land, at least in the parishes with freeholders (Gadd 2000, pp. 288-291, 293-295). In contrast, the enclosure at the middle of the 18th century, *Storskiftet*, had a limited effect on the rural break-up of the village – even if there were a few exoduses from the village by peasants. Here the landholdings were instead rearranged with fewer strips of land (Gadd 2000, p. 279).

1.3 Definition of the rural classes

The social groups are categorized according to occupation in this paper. In the 19th century Sweden's rural occupational structure contained various social groups. They were somewhat heterogeneous. There were lifecycle movements of individuals between social groups and existence of different sizes of landholdings existed within each group; in other words, living standards could vary considerably within each occupational group (Persson 1992, pp. 95-102). In particular, land size is a problem, since the size of the farm, although not proportionally, decided the tax base (*mantalsskatt*) (Olsson 2005, p. 76-80). This means that the marginalized, impoverished people are those failing to pay tax, rather than belonging to a certain occupational group. These are, according to this definition, dependent on wage labor (Söderberg 1978, pp. 126-127). Regardless of these problems, I utilize occupation as a measurement of socio-economic status, since occupation is widely known as a key determinant for social well-being in a wider sense, such as inheritance, marriage and care in times of old age and sickness (Lundh 1995). Consequently, this will allow me to see the social

changes that the rural groups experienced following the enclosures. I use a three-category occupational structure, summarized as follows:

- The first group includes freeholders and crown tenants, who had full ownership of their land. They disposed of their own surplus of production, but still paid taxes to the crown for the use of their land. Furthermore, the freeholders had the right to sell, buy, transfer and subdivide their landholdings. The possession of land was important for securing support in times of old age as well as for marriage for future generations in the household. Crown peasants cultivated land that belonged to the Crown and paid land rent for the use of it, and their socio-economic situation was similar in many respects. Both groups had equal political rights and had occupied a place in the four estates since the 15th century. There were, however, differences, e.g. inheritance and subdivision of crown land (Gadd 2000, pp. 71-74, 81-82, 198-202). Servants were also hired, both on crown land and on freehold land, usually on a yearly basis, to extend the households' labor supply (Lundh 1999).
- The second group consists of noble tenants who were part of a manorial system. Noble tenants did not own their land; instead they leased land from a manorial landlord and paid rent in money, in kind or through labor duties. Noble tenants' property rights were rather uncertain, and the manorial landlord could evict the peasants if the production required it (Gadd 2000, pp. 76-78; Olsson 2002). In spite of the insecure possession of land, a retirement contract (*undantag*) could often be negotiated for the old people. Equally, a possibility could also emerge for the children in the household, even though it required the consent from the manorial landlord (Lundh & Olsson 2002). Furthermore, servants were also hired on a yearly basis to assist the noble tenants in their production (Lundh 1999).
- The third and final group consists of both semi-landless and landless people. The semi-landless is a somewhat heterogeneous group and included crofters (*torpare*) and cottagers (*gatehusmän*). They often owned a small plot of land, but it was not enough to support the family, so extra work was required, often for another peasant or a manorial landlord, which makes their socio-economic situation similar to that of the landless (Gadd 2000, pp. 87-89). The landless people include servants, agricultural workers with families, non-subsistence peasants, people on retirement contracts, old and sick people, and poor people. The landless are also a rather diverse group, even though it was a common denominator that they lacked land altogether. Apart from old

people and sick people, the rest of the landless were potential workers (Gadd 2000, pp. 79-80, 90-91). Furthermore, servants were not really an occupational group but rather represented a phase in the life cycle, between being a teenager and getting married. Some of the servants were future managers of farms, while others became landless and experienced downward social mobility. This makes it hard to categorize the servants as a socioeconomic group. In addition to this, servants were gradually replaced by married farmhands, *statare*, during the beginning of the 19th century as a result of the commercialization in agriculture (Lundh 1999).

1.4 Outline of thesis

My paper is structured in the following way. I begin Chapter 2 by describing the historical background of the agricultural transformation with the general features related to the development in Scania. This description provides an understanding of the context in which the enclosures were conducted and how the social stratification occurred. Then I move on to review previous research with a focus on the effects of the enclosures on social structure, the enclosures in Sweden, social stratification in Sweden and the specific differences between parishes with freeholders and parishes with noble tenants. The aim here is to discuss the relevance of studying the impact of the enclosures on the rural occupational structure. After that I present my theoretical framework. Emphasis is laid on the causes behind the social differentiation, what the enclosures meant and why they were implemented, along with the social and economic effects on the enclosed parishes. This theoretical framework is developed in order to interpret the potential effects of the enclosures and to distinguish the effects on different types of parishes. In Chapter 2, finally, with the theoretical framework as a point of departure, I discuss what possible hypothesis can be made about the impact of the enclosures.

I introduce my source material in Chapter 3. Attention is here paid to the source material's validity and reliability. A discussion also follows in which I present the sample that I utilize in my investigation and discuss why this sample has been selected. The overall purpose of this chapter is to discuss potential implications for the results.

The methods that I plan to use are described in Chapter 4, where I present my statistical method. Then I move on to discuss the choice of variables and the definition of variables. From the presentation in this chapter it will be clear how I intend to answer my research questions.

The empirical analysis is presented in Chapter 5. I begin my empirical analysis by introducing descriptive statistics that show the share of semi-landless and landless groups in each parish. These graphs illustrate the development 20 years before and after the enclosures. After that I measure the impact of the enclosures on the social differentiation with another set of independent variables in a general least square regression. This chapter ends with a discussion where I summarize aim, theoretical framework, method and results.

In the final chapter I discuss how the results should be interpreted in relation to the hypothesis. I end the final part by suggesting further research that can be carried out in the future, and how this is related to my research questions.

2. Background

2.1 Historical background

The agricultural sector in Sweden witnessed dramatic changes from the middle of the 1700s up until the end of the 1800s. Economic, demographic and institutional changes went hand in hand and revolutionized the agricultural sector step by step. This gradually transformed Sweden into a net producer of agricultural products, particularly grain, with increasing exports of oats during the 1840s and 1850s.

This transformation started already in the 1680s with the *reduction*, which blocked the transformation of crown land and freehold land into noble land. In addition, the Crown started to sell land to freeholders to increase its revenues following the wars. Furthermore, a new tax system, *indelningsverket*, was also established at the same time, by the end of the Great Powers era. This new system was stable, since freeholders paid taxes directly to the soldier and the tax was tied to the *mantal*¹, which inhibited sudden tax increases – as opposed to previously. Sales of crown land to freeholders also continued throughout the 18th century, except for the period 1773-1789 when sales ceased. Taken together, all this created a more secure environment for improvements and investments in the landholdings (Gadd 2000, pp. 45-47; Magnusson 1997, pp. 204-205). For the noble tenants, though, particularly in Scania, labor duties (*hoveli*) on the demesne for the manorial landlord – as part of the feudal rents – continued to be a significant element throughout the 18th and, in some parishes, until the middle of the 19th century (Olsson 2002).

Up until the beginning of the 19th century, the contributions of technical changes to the growth in agriculture were small. Two technical changes – the iron plough and the increased use of the horse as a beast of burden, enabled work on new land; in combination with draining and ditching, they permitted a fast reclamation of new land during the 18th century. Estimations indicate that the amount of arable land doubled between 1750 and 1850 (Magnusson 1997, pp. 190, 192, 197). There were, however, large regional variations. Most of the land was reclaimed in the sparsely populated areas, in particular in the north, while in the densely populated areas – such as Scania, where 50% of the total land was used for cultivation already in the middle of the 18th century – the opportunities for cultivation of new land were limited (Gadd 2000, pp. 231-232).

¹ Tax unit based on land size but not proportionally, see Olsson (2005), pp. 76-80.

From the middle of the 18th century the Swedish state initiated several important reforms that further enhanced agricultural production. In 1747 it became legal to subdivide farmsteads into smaller units (Hecksher 1957, p. 185). The enclosure, *Storskifte Enclosure Act*, of 1757 was also a way to further encourage the development of agriculture. The aim was to reduce the number of strips, which had increased notably with the reclamation of new land, for each farm within the open-field system (Gadd 2000, pp. 274-275). Furthermore, the grain trade was also deregulated in 1775 and 1780, which enabled peasants to sell their surplus to whomever they wished. In the beginning of the 19th century trade restrictions on exports of grain were removed, and from then it was easier to export agricultural products (Martinus 1982, p. 13). One other important change was the strengthening of property rights in 1789: freeholders had the right to sell and buy land and pass it on as inheritance to their children (Magnusson 1997, p. 207).

The agricultural revolution intensified at the beginning of the 19th century, especially during the Napoleonic wars when grain prices were high. This made investments in the landholdings profitable. During this period, land was also more intensively cultivated. More radical enclosures were implemented, new tools were used in the production, new crops were planted and a system of crop rotation was also introduced, which increased agricultural productivity rapidly. It has been estimated that the GDP growth rate increased by 0.4 % annually during the period 1800-1850 (e.g. Gadd 2000 *passim*; Schön 2000, pp. 13, 50-62; Magnusson 1997, pp. 209-214). The agricultural revolution gained speed earlier in Scania than in the rest of Sweden due to both an early introduction of enclosures and a system of crop rotation. In addition to this, a credit market started to emerge early in Southern Sweden at the beginning of the 19th century (Svensson 2001, pp. 13-14).

From the middle of the 18th century to the middle of the 19th century, population growth also increased rapidly in Sweden. In the year of 1750, Sweden's population size was estimated at 1.8 million inhabitants, and it has been calculated that this amount had doubled by the year 1860 (Magnusson 1997, p. 211). Nevertheless, infant mortality remained high throughout the 18th century, and almost half of the children never became adults (Bengtsson & Ohlsson 1993, p. 116). Thus, there were some signs of stabilizing mortality patterns emerging already in the 1780s with fewer severe childhood diseases, even though the decrease in infant mortality did not start to accelerate until the 1820s. A number of different reasons have been stressed. One was that childhood diseases became less virulent, and the cohorts who escaped the diseases developed a better immune system and hence had better chances for survival of fatal diseases (Bengtsson & Ohlsson 1993, p. 124). Furthermore, the

agricultural transformation also contributed to evening out some of the large fluctuations. Improvements in the internal infrastructure also enhanced the internal market integration. Food surplus could be transferred from surplus regions to deficit regions (Thomas 1941, p. 87-88), which also meant that local harvests failures had a less severe impact on mortality, at least for some parts of the population.

2.2 Previous research

Previous research: Enclosures and proletarianization

There has not been much research devoted to studying the impact of the enclosures movements on social differentiation in Sweden, even though the radical enclosures broke up the villages. It has been stated in a number of studies that the demand for labor increased after the villages were enclosed, mainly due to the introduction of new crops and reclamation of new land, which probably opened up new opportunities for the landless and semi-landless to support themselves through wage labor (Fridlizius 1979; Gadd 2000, pp. 302-303). Most of the previous research has focused on the enclosures in England in the 18th and 19th century. The enclosures were, however, less radical in England than in Sweden. They involved a gradual privatization of common land in favor of private cultivation and grazing. The presentation here deals with earlier research on the effect of the enclosures on the social differentiation, and describing the social differentiation and the enclosure movement in Sweden. On the basis of this, I discuss why my topic is a relevant one to study.

In a seminal article, Chambers (1953) studied whether the enclosures contributed to releasing surplus labor for the industrial sector, which can be interpreted as an indirect measure of the growth of the number of the landless. Enclosed and open parishes were compared over time from the beginning to the middle of the 19th century. The fact that the population increased at the same rate in the open and the enclosed parishes and the fact that similar labor-intensive investments were made in the land, regardless of whether the parish was enclosed or not, do not support Chambers' notion that enclosures were a main cause behind the increase in surplus labor.

Crafts (1978) studied the same issue but used a slightly different approach. This included out-migration from the enclosed parishes and a comparison of parishes that underwent parliamentary enclosures during the period 1797-1806 with unenclosed parishes during the same period. He found a somewhat higher out-migration from the enclosed parishes than from

the open parishes, even though the out-migration was only slightly larger in comparison with the open parishes, which means that Crafts reached similar conclusions to those of Chambers.

Humphries (1990) used another method to study the effects of enclosures on proletarianization in England by comparing enclosed and open parishes. The effect was evaluated by calculating the opportunity costs of keeping cows on common land instead of engaging in wage labor. Overall the results revealed that land rents were higher for the enclosed land, which gradually limited other income sources than wage labor, in particular for women, who lost most of their daily chores and therefore had to earn supplementary incomes.

On the other hand, other findings have indicated that social differentiation did not increase after the enclosures. Using qualitative data from the 1834 *Report of the Poor Law Commissioners* and the 1843 *Select Committee on Allotments*, Moselle (1995) evaluated the land concentration after the enclosures. Here it was found that allotments of land performed the same role as common rights before the enclosure, since landowners redistributed land to cottagers after the enclosures in order to ensure increased efficiency on the land at the same time as cottagers' incomes decreased when production stagnated. In sum, Moselle reached the conclusion that cottagers were not exclusively dependent on earning extra incomes by working for landlords after the enclosures.

Shaw-Taylor (2001) also analyzed the growth of proletarianization in England by exploring to what extent agricultural laborers did, or did not, have ownership of common land before the enclosures. Data were derived from militia ballots containing information about rural occupations in the parishes, which in turn was linked to local tax records in order to establish which occupational groups owned land before the enclosures. Results in this study indicated that wealthy landowners owned the majority of the common land already before the enclosures, which indicated that agricultural laborers were not, to any significant degree, affected by loss of access to common land.

Previous research: Sweden

The process of social differentiation in Sweden at the beginning of the 19th century has also been a popular subject among Swedish scholars. Changes in the social structure were first acknowledged by Wohlin (1909) in a large official report on emigration from Sweden. He used the population censuses from 1749 and onwards to the 1850s, and found that the semi-landless and landless groups increased by 400 %, while the peasants only increased by 10 %.

Several other studies - using more detailed data on the parish level and also taking into account the type of parish - have also shown that a strong social differentiation occurred in the

early 19th century. Persson (1992) studied how the production and ownership of land changed in a parish in Småland (a county in Sweden). His results indicated that the social differentiation was caused by a slow subdivision of land, which caused intergenerational downward social mobility. Similarly, Hoppe and Langton (1994) found in a study of Western Östergötland (a Swedish county) that consolidated landholdings had an impact on social differentiation. The consolidated landholdings also raised the demand for labor, which offered the semi-landless and landless groups job opportunities. Studies of different parts of Sweden have also focused on social stratification in the manorial parishes. It has been shown that married farmhands - *statare* - replaced noble tenants, crofters and servants on some of the large manorial estates (Eriksson & Rogers 1978; Möller 1989)².

Most of the earlier research on enclosures has debated whether manorial landlords or freeholders were the driving force behind the implementation of enclosures. According to previous research, Heckscher (1957) for instance, manorial landlords played a leading role when it came to initiating enclosures in Swedish agriculture. His conclusion was based on the fact that a large landowner, Rutger Maclean, was first to enclose his landholdings in Scania during the 1780s. Furthermore, Heckscher also saw the legislation acts, the *Enskifte Enclosure Act 1803* and the *Laga Enclosure Act 1827*, as signs of the peasants' reluctance to reorganize their production. This view has, nevertheless, been disputed in later research. Using more detailed data on the parish level, it has been shown that parishes with freeholders were earlier to enclose their land in which the landholdings were consolidated. These enclosures were initiated by peasants who possessed writing ability, had access to social networks and owned the largest landholdings. Enclosures were typically later in manorial parishes since decision-making concerning the introduction of enclosures was restricted to the manorial landlord's initiative (e.g. Svensson 2001; Svensson 2006).

Summary

In this section some of the earlier attempts to study the impact of enclosures on social differentiation have been reviewed. Previous studies from England do not, unfortunately, reveal what to expect of the Swedish enclosures, but they indicate how the issue has been addressed before. These studies have employed various measurements, producing somewhat different results. Another potential setback is the use of cross-sectional data, which makes it

²The noble tenants were evicted in at least 70 Scanian parishes during the period 1780-1849, where the evicted peasants' land was incorporated under the manorial landlords' production. The noble tenants were totally erased from these parishes, and semi-landless and landless groups were created on the manorial landlords' initiative through the establishment of satellite units (*Plattgårdar*), Olsson (2002), pp. 71-72.

hard to rule out time effects and geographical differences in the social differentiation. In addition to this, the effects of the enclosures have not been studied over a longer period of time. Consequently, it is difficult to know whether extreme years have been studied. Lack of valid and reliable data on the rural occupational structure is probably one major reason.

From earlier research in Sweden, it is evident that the potential impact of enclosures on social stratification needs to be examined more closely, in particular if they raised the demand for labor and thereby led to an increased social differentiation. It is mainly long-term changes in population growth and strengthening of landownership that have been studied, which makes it relevant to consider the short-term changes caused by enclosures. Furthermore, from earlier studies it also appears that differences existed between parishes with freeholders and manorial parishes, which is a relevant issue to investigate. Social differentiation has not been studied explicitly in manorial parishes where noble tenants remained. A secondary aim of this study is, therefore, to uncover what happened in these parishes.

From previous research, it seems that the impact of the enclosure movement should be studied by using panel data in which both time effects and geographical differences are taken into account. The lack of previous research as well as access to valid and reliable data on this topic in Sweden makes it suitable to study. It is the aim of this study to work in this direction by using panel data that distinguishes between types of parishes. The use of panel data also rules out potential effects of time. This, in turn, will create a basis for further studies of social stratification, both in a methodological and in an analytical sense.

2.3 Theoretical framework

2.3.1 Causes behind social differentiation

The discussion about the causes behind social differentiation in agriculture relates to the different paths towards a capitalistic mode of production. Three ways have been identified in different European countries and America and are summarized as follows³:

- The first way refers to the capitalistic transformation in England taking place already in the 16th century. One important element here is the manorial landlords'

³ This entire discussion is based on Magnusson (1980), pp. 14-15. See also Magnusson (1980), p. 14 for a definition of capitalism, which he defines as a [...] "social system in which the society's producers, through an historical process, have been separated from the means of production and hence been forced to sell their labor to a capitalist".

initiative to privatize and consolidate their landholdings and thereafter to redistribute land to noble tenants. In this process, some of the tenants are evicted from the manorial land and become landless, which means that they have to sell their labor to cover their needs. On the other hand, some of the tenants' landholdings were enlarged, and they could use the evicted tenants as wage labor on their farms. This meant that the peasant class was differentiated from above, with capitalistic tenants and peasants dependent on wage labor. Furthermore, the land rents that the peasants paid to manorial landlords were no longer identical with the product of labor but rather a smaller share of the profit in a capitalistic enterprise. This way is referred to as the *classic* way.

- The second way refers to the transformation in the Eastern part of Europe, east of the Elbe, in the middle of the 19th century. The mode of production was here organized as a feudal system that was dominated by large manorial estates with a labor force of serfs that performed labor duties on the estates. The labor duties were accompanied by moving restrictions, meaning that this group was not free. This feudal organization of agriculture was maintained up until the middle of the 19th century. An emerging industrialization, however, raised the demand for agricultural products. This stimulated the manorial landlords to expand their production, but the feudal system restricted the possibilities for the production to expand. The serfs were freed from labor duties in order to increase efficiency on the estates. Some peasants also had the opportunity to buy land from the estate but became leveraged in the process and had to leave their small-scale farms. These peasants were instead forced to support themselves through wage labor on the large manorial estates. This way is known as the *Prussian* way, in which social differentiation is initiated from above.
- Finally, it is common to speak of the *American*, or sometimes the *French*, way. Here the social stratification takes place within the peasant class and is driven from "below" by free peasants who, accordingly, possessed better opportunities to act on the market. Some of these peasants were consequently transformed into capitalistic "farmers", while other peasants failed to remain competitive and instead sold their labor to capitalistic farmers. The requirement is that feudal relations did not exist – as in the United States – or that feudalism was eliminated by means of a revolution – as in France (1789) – with free peasants cultivating their own land.

The social differentiation that occurred in the parishes with freeholders in Sweden followed the *American* way. Peasants' production surplus increased in the 18th century and was invested in their landholdings. The new and rigid tax system that was established by the end of the 17th century basically meant that taxes were fixed for freeholders (Olsson 2005, p. 180), that grain prices increased during the second half of the 18th century (Olsson & Svensson 2007), and that the development of good harvests facilitated and stimulated investments in agriculture, which increased agricultural production considerably (Fridholm et al. 1976, p. 30)

The increased production involved increased competition among peasants, some of whom were strengthened economically and others were squeezed out by the competition, which resulted in a social differentiation within the peasant class. The peasants who survived made investments in their land, while the unfortunate peasants became landless and semi-landless and had to sell their labor to the producing peasants. Furthermore, the rising incomes among the surplus-producing peasants also raised the demand for consumption and capital commodities, which further strengthened the division of labor in the rural classes (Fridholm et al. 1976, pp. 20-21, 42-43).

A strong population growth also resulted in an increase in the proletariat. The increase in the landless people was not due to high fertility among the proletarianized groups, but rather the opposite. Fertility was in fact higher in the landed groups than in the semi-landless and landless groups. A growing proportion of the semi-landless and landless groups originated from children of landed peasants who could not maintain the social status of their parents. This was more severe for children of noble tenants, who could not split their farms to the same extent as the freeholders, since the consent of the landowner was required (Winberg 1975, pp. 55-56, 249). This was also related to the custom of the heritage procedure, in which one of the potential heirs remained as manager of the farm, while the siblings had to find support in other ways, often with downward social mobility as a consequence (Gadd 2000, p. 206). Furthermore, the development of agriculture at the beginning of the 19th century also made it possible to establish an independent household based entirely on wage labor, which had been much more difficult, almost impossible, before the agricultural transformation. This enabled the landless groups to grow on their own (Lundh 1999).

The introduction of a capitalistic mode of production in the manorial parishes took a somewhat different path. Besides eviction of noble tenants and the introduction of satellite production units – the *Prussian* way (Eriksson & Rogers 1978; Möller 1989) – wage labor was also introduced in parishes with noble tenants. The noble tenants' labor duties on the demesne were a contributory factor. The total number of days that the noble tenants worked at

the demesne also increased rapidly at the beginning of the 19th century as an effect of the larger production volumes and rising trade in agriculture, even though the noble tenants' share decreased and other groups started to perform labor duties on the demesne. More days' work at the demesne meant that nearly one person in the household worked entirely for the manorial landlord, which prompted the noble tenants to hire a servant to perform labor duties on the manorial estate. A rising productivity on the noble tenants' land also contributed; it enabled the manorial landlord to extract larger amounts of land rents from the same area of land. In combination with declining labor costs, it was more rational for the manorial landlord to raise land rents than to increase the number of days worked at the demesne. This gradually transformed the noble peasants into tenants, and in the process the landlord started to hire his own employees. This way has several similarities with the *classic* way in England (Olsson 2002, pp. 286-293).

The enhanced social differentiation and importance of land were also noticeable in the 19th century, especially when it came to vulnerability to short-term economic stress, where differences existed between the landed groups – both freeholders and noble tenants – on the one hand, and the semi-landless and landless groups on the other hand. Landed groups could smooth out their consumption during short-term economic stress, whereas lower socioeconomic groups in the countryside experienced higher mortality and had to adjust their fertility when food prices increased. The standard of living for these groups did not rise until the 1850s, when the industrial revolution started to materialize (Bengtsson & Dribe 2005).

There were, however, clear social differences in writing ability between freeholders and noble tenants in the Scanian parishes. Almost 50 % of the male freeholders could write in the year 1800, while only 30 % of the male noble tenants possessed writing skills. Freeholders found it worthwhile to invest in their writing skills, something that possibly had an impact on agricultural development, since they were better equipped to get hold of new information as well as to draw up contracts and thereby had better opportunities to act on the market (Svensson 2001, pp. 33-38).

2.3.2 Implementation of the enclosures

Up until the enclosure movement was conducted at the beginning of the 19th century, land was cultivated in the open-field system. In this system each peasant owned a piece of land in each field with the same cultivation of crops and the same use of technology. Different scholars have attempted to explain why the open-field system was rational. The open-field system,

Dahlman states, offered returns to scale on pasture and fertilizer as the people in the village cultivated the land collectively. Joint decision-making in the village council ensured that the resources were used as efficiently as possible. It was also possible to introduce new crops and new technology, given that the village council agreed. There were also rules governing when animals were let out into the fields and the use of common land, but each peasant could overuse the common resources in case of bad decisions in the village council (Dahlman 1980). An alternative explanation is stressed by Fenoaltea. A difference in soil conditions and climate types between landholdings in the village created an uneven demand for labor, in particular during peaks in the sowing and harvest seasons. One way to avoid these peaks, Fenoaltea argues, was for the peasant to divide the ownership of land into strips. In this way the open-field system contributed to smoothing out demand for labor as well as to stabilizing the food output for each peasant (Fenoaltea 1976). The open-field system, according to McCloskey, was rather a way to pool risks in the village – a crop failure, for instance, could strike one peasant's landholding by a whim of fate – as the peasants lacked alternative markets for insuring against risks. These risks were avoided by distribution of land ownership and sharing crops with the other community members. The open-field system was abandoned when alternative ways to insure against risks emerged (McCloskey 1991).

The main purpose of the enclosures was to rearrange the landholdings, so that each peasant would have his land arranged into one single unit according to the household's rent. Another aim was to divide, and more clearly regulate, ownership of the common land by privatizing it. Legislation in the 19th century improved conditions for a consolidation of the landholdings considerably, first with the *Enskifte Enclosure Act* of 1803 in Scania and then with the replacement of *Laga Enclosure Act* of 1827. The *Enskifte Enclosure Act* included a rule that gave the peasant the right to move out his farm and gather his landholdings, if the owner wished to enclose his land, but all village members were not forced to move their farms. However, in practice the procedure implied that once someone applied for enclosure, the rest of the village would be enclosed as well. In the *Laga Enclosure Act* the legislation went further and made it easier to enclose a village. According to this act, only one applicant in the village had to apply for enclosure in order for the whole village to be enclosed. The enclosure acts – both the *Enskifte Enclosure Act* and the *Laga Enclosure Act* – reduced transaction costs significantly for a change of the village structure. Procedures were standardized as to how the enclosures should be implemented, which reduced bargain costs and distributed the costs of enclosures among the village members (Gadd 2000, pp. 288-289, 292-293). Similarly, the legislation also meant that one single, market-oriented peasant had the possibility of forcing

through an enclosure of the entire village's landholdings – regardless of whether the majority of the villagers were opposed to the enclosures or not – which accelerated the process of the enclosures (Fridlizius 1979, p. 9; Svensson 2001, pp. 23, 100-102, 126-128 *passim*; Svensson 2005, pp. 104-115; Svensson 2006)

There were many reasons behind the implementation of the enclosures at the beginning of the 19th century. One important reason was the growing commercialization. Further market integration leveled out the food supply, across both time and space; this weakened the open-field system as a provider of risk insurance. It also required clearly defined property rights in order for the peasant to produce a surplus for the market (Schön 2000, pp. 62-63). This was related to the fact that it was hard to introduce new crops and new technology in the old system, where decisions were made collectively in the village council. Moreover, the increasing social differentiation starting already at the end of 18th century was another important cause behind the break-up of the open-field system. A possibility emerged for peasants to form their own production team with landless and semi-landless laborers. Population growth, along with the reclamation of new land, also involved considerable costs for fencing in new land. Taken together, all this weakened the need for the open-field system and paved the way for a privatized cultivation of land (Gadd 2000, pp. 283-285). Besides these long term-changes, short-term changes were also discernable. Increased revenues from the grain production, especially during good harvest years, meant that the costs of the enclosures could be financed. High grain prices also made it easier obtain credit that could cover the expenses for the enclosures. This was the case during the Napoleonic Wars, when high inflation wiped out the interest rates of the loans and several parishes were enclosed. The location of the parish was also important. If the parish was located close by a commercialized area with rising grain prices, this strengthened the incentives for peasants to enclose their land and thereby produce a surplus for the market. Similarly, to be located near an enclosed parish provided the necessary impulses and information for the parish to implement an enclosure (Svensson 2001, pp. 24-27).

The enclosures in the manorial parishes deviated notably from the parishes with freeholders. Even after the enclosures acts, both the *Enskifte Enclosure Act* of 1803 and the *Laga Enclosure Act* of 1827, the power of decision-making still remained in the hands of the manorial landlord, which meant that a conservative landlord could not be forced to enclose his landholdings. This too implied that noble tenants did not have a right to initiate an enclosure of the village's landholdings. During the 19th century, landholdings were rearranged on the manorial landlord's initiative. Each noble tenant received a landholding of the same size and

thereafter paid the same rents to the landlord. The purpose was to reduce transaction costs - both negotiation and monitoring costs were lowered, since the perceived injustices among the tenants would, at least logically speaking, decline due to the equal allotments for the noble tenants (Olsson 2002, pp. 71-72; Olsson 2005, p. 151; Svensson 2005, p. 151).

2.3.3 Effects of the enclosures

The radical enclosures had a profound impact on the village. In the parishes with freeholders, the entire village's structure changed and, consequently, so did the village as a social organization. The strips of land were rearranged into one unit, which strengthened the peasant's property rights. In this process farms were also moved out from the village. A rearrangement of the village structure also meant that new agglomerations of settlements appeared. Land that was considered less valuable by the peasants, due to a large distance from the farm, could now be claimed by the new groups, e.g. small peasants and cottagers. Subdivision of land among smallholders – which was easier after the enclosures with the gathered landholding – also increased the possibilities for the cottagers to live in the parishes (Svensson 2005, pp. 162-174). In the manorial parishes, however, the farm structure was maintained. New settlements and also the subdivision of land were consequently rarer in these parishes. The manorial landlord's initiative was important here. The manorial landlord's initiative to redistribute land inhibited a more radical reorganization of the village (Svensson 2005, pp. 175-182). The different arrangements of the villages after the enclosures had a clear impact on population growth. It was significantly faster in parishes that were dominated by freeholders than in those dominated by noble tenants. The faster population growth has been related to decreasing mortality, mainly due to improved housing and reduced risks of infectious diseases being spread following the break-up of the village (Fridlizius 1979, pp. 24-27).

New and more rational cultivation of the land was another outcome of the enclosures in the parishes with freeholders. The individual cultivation of land contributed to this: it was easier to ditch new land, introduce new crops and tools and to adjust the sowing and harvesting according to the peasant's needs. A system of crop rotation was also introduced, which reduced the period of fallow for arable land. In addition to this, new land was cultivated. Peasants who moved out claimed land at the outer edge of the village by converting meadows into arable land (Svensson 2001, pp. 103-104; Olsson 2005, p. 127). These improvements were first and foremost carried out on freehold land, where the property rights were stronger.

Noble tenants had uncertain rights of possession and faced the risk of increased land rents or eviction (Olsson & Svensson 2007).

The strengthened property rights, along with the reclamation of new land, also had other effects. This made it easier for freeholders to mortgage their land for a loan, which paved the way for a credit market. The loans could be used for investments in the land. Furthermore, this also enabled purchases and sale of land, which expanded the land market (Svensson 2001, pp. 27-31, 105-106). A consolidation of larger farms also took place after the enclosures due to purchases of small landholdings. This was related to the break-up of the village. It was mostly small farms that moved out from the village, often with higher costs for the enclosures to begin with. The small peasants had to sell their land if they could not cover the expenses involved for enclosing their land (Fridlizius 1979, p. 15; Svensson 2001, p. 105).

2.4 Hypothesis

It is quite clear from the previous discussion that conditions differed significantly among freeholders and noble tenants. On the one hand, a group of freeholders became a driving force in the agricultural transformation and made considerable investments in their landholdings. A possibility emerged for market-oriented peasants to accumulate capital by means of a rigid tax system, good harvests and rising grain prices. These peasants also found it worthwhile to invest in their human capital and enclose their landholdings. The social differentiation was here driven from “below” by peasants’ disparate opportunities to accumulate capital and act on the market. On the other hand, noble tenants’ possession of land was less secure, and they were exposed to the manorial landlords’ measures – whether it be an eviction, increasing land rents and labor duties, and/or redistribution of land. The social differentiation was here initiated from “above” by the manorial landlords’ decisions.

It is obvious from my previous discussion and what I know about the enclosures and social differentiation that the implementation of enclosures, in the parishes with freeholders as well as those with noble tenants, could be expected to have an obvious impact on social differentiation. There are several changes in the parishes with freeholders that speak in favor of an increasing social differentiation: a more rapid population growth, new agglomerations of settlements, a more rational cultivation of land, stronger property rights, a consolidation of large landholdings, and an improved credit market. Taken together, I expect these improved possibilities for the market-oriented peasants to accumulate capital to lead to a higher

proportion of landless and semi-landless people – i.e. a social differentiation from below. It is also reasonable to assume that the faster population growth after the enclosures would lead to a share of the peasants' children experiencing downward social mobility. In the manorial parishes I also assume that the share of landless and semi-landless people increased after the enclosures, but with quite different mechanisms at work. I anticipate that the manorial landlords' decisions to redistribute equal allotments among noble peasants and to extract the same amount of land rents contributed, since a few noble tenants may become landless in the process. I assume that this transformed noble peasants into “capitalistic” tenants with an increased wage labor on their farms as a result. The more specific hypotheses addressed in this paper may be summarized as follows:

H1: I expect social stratification to be stronger in parishes with freeholders, since the peasants had different opportunities to accumulate capital, while social differentiation in the manorial parishes was initiated from “above” by a manorial landlord’s decision, which would be more rigid.

H2: The radical enclosures caused an increase in the share of landless and semi-landless groups. Better possibilities to accumulate capital for the market-oriented peasants and a faster population growth, led to higher shares of landless and semi-landless people in the parishes with freeholders. The manorial landlord’s decisions to redistribute equal allotments among noble peasants and to extract the same amount of land rents triggered a social differentiation in the manorial parishes.

3. Data

3.1 Source material

The data of the rural occupational structure are obtained from the *Swedish population census (Tabellverket)*. The source material from the Swedish population census has been digitized by the Demographic Database of Umeå and is available on the Internet (<http://www.ddb.umu.se/tabellverk>). As indicated, this source contains data regarding the rural occupational structure in each Swedish parish with a three year-interval during the period 1751-1775 and with a five-year interval during the period 1775-1850, i.e. the time period studied here. It is possible to extract the parishes' population sizes from this source as well. By using the *Swedish population census* I am able to see how the rural occupational structure changed over time.

The *Swedish population censuses* dates back to 1749 and was originally collected and processed by a local clergyman in each parish. The clergyman usually received a standardized form, which was the same for all parishes, with clear instructions for how to categorize different occupations. It is, therefore, possible to compare the occupational structures in each parish. However, the occupational forms were not constant over time, and more refined subcategories were utilized at different times, in particular during the periods 1775-1800, 1805-1825, 1825-1835 and 1840-1850 for a number of rural groups, which included widowers, landless groups (poor), and semi-landless groups (crofters and cottagers). Married farmhands – *statare* – were also added to the records (Wohlin 1909, p. 305-323).⁴

There are several problems in connection with the data. One potential problem is the reliability of the dataset. There are reports that local clergymen's incentives for and care in filling in the records varied, which is evidenced by the lack of data for some in-between years.⁵ This problem is solved by means of interpolation by taking the mean of two known data points. A potential risk may be large differences in the data point's values, which might overestimate, or underestimate the actual number for the missing year, in particular if the parishes experienced a rapid population growth. Another difficulty is that some of my

⁴ See also <http://www.ddb.umu.se/tabellverk/Material/Formularinnehall/folkmangdsformular.htm>, for a more detailed discussion of how the procedures changed during the periods 1775-1800, 1805-1820, 1825-1835, 1840-1850 (the time period that I study). See Wohlin (1909), pp. 321-323 for a more detailed discussion of how the categorization of rural groups changes over time and how they can be compared. His discussion is my point of departure for comparing the rural classes over time.

⁵ The following years are missing in each parish: Hög (1800), Sankt Ibb (1820), Sankt Peters Closter (1790, 1800).

parishes have been merged in the occupational registers⁶, which means that they are merged together in my investigation as well. Again, if there are large differences between the parishes' occupational structures, these may be smoothed out when they are merged. It is thus important to underline that these parishes are similar in several aspects: they were enclosed in the same year; they have the same ownership structure (freehold or manorial) and are located in the same geographic area. This makes it possible to include these parishes in my investigation, since the potential biases are ruled out.

The timing of the enclosures in the parishes is derived from the *Historical Database of Scanian Agriculture*⁷, a database that is developed at the Department of Economic History in Lund. These data provide me with information regarding the exact year when the parishes were enclosed, which enables me to examine the enclosures' impact on social differentiation.

3.2 Area and sample

The area under study is Scania, located in southern Sweden. Its most notable feature, as far as agricultural production in Scania is concerned, is the varying conditions for agricultural cultivation. On the extensive plains in the western part of Scania, soil conditions are favorable. The major staple crops here were rye and barley. The forests and wastelands, however, made up the majority of the land in Scania, and had poorer soils, as these parts were both forested and hilly. Rye and barley were the major staple crops in these parts of Scania as well (Gadd 2000, pp. 26-31, 36, 51, 131-134, 155).

The sample consists of 18 parishes, but the actual sample size is 13, since four of the parishes have been merged in my investigation. Ten of these parishes were dominated by freeholders (Hög/Kävlinge, Västra Karaby/Saxtorp, Bodarp/ Håslöv, Flädie/Fjelie, Väsby, and Lockarp) and five were dominated by noble tenants (Törringe, Sankt Peters Closter, Igelösa, Östra Vram and Österslöv), while ownership is mixed in the rest of the parishes (Sankt Ibb and Hemmesdynge/Södra Åby). A potential bias in the sample is that the majority are parishes with freeholders, which might produce less valid results for the noble parishes. The sample of

⁶ The following parishes are merged together: Hög/Kävlinge, Västra Karaby/Saxtorp, Bodarp/Håslöv, Flädie/Fjelie.

⁷ The *Historical Database of Scanian Agriculture* is a collaborative project between Associate professor Mats Olsson, Assistant professor Patrick Svensson and the PhD student Magnus Bohman at the Department of Economic History, Lund University. Besides information about the enclosures, this database contains data about the farms' annual production, name, age and gender of the farm's manager, as well as other preconditions for agricultural cultivation. In total, the database comprises information about 2000 farms in Scania during the period 1702-1860. Each farm is followed at least during a coherent time period of at least 25 years.

parishes is rather small and has been limited by the number of parishes in the *Historical Database of Scanian Agriculture*. The small sample in my study means that the conclusions must be interpreted with caution. Nevertheless, the parishes have been selected to enable a comparison. All of these parishes also enclosed their landholdings, more or less, in one year, which makes it possible to study the impact of the enclosures in detail. The parishes where manorial landlords evicted social groups prior to enclosures have been excluded⁸ from my sample.

The enclosure movements gained considerable speed in Scania with the *Enskifte Enclosure Act* of 1803. The implementation of the enclosures was fastest in the Scanian plains, where parishes with freeholders dominated. Almost all of these parishes were enclosed one decade after the *Enskifte Enclosure Act* was issued. In the woodlands and the intermediate area in Scania, the enclosures were more problematic to conduct, since it was stipulated in the *Enskifte Enclosure Act* that all landholdings had to be gathered into one unit. This requirement was eased in the *Laga Enclosure Act* of 1827, and the parishes that were located in these areas followed suit and enclosed their landholdings as well (Olsson 2005, p. 125).

These parishes have also been chosen to represent different parts of Scania's countryside. The purpose is here to see if the geography mattered. Four of the parishes are located in the intermediate district (Sankt IBB, Österslöv, Väsby and Östra Vram), while the rest of the parishes are located in the western parts of Scania, in the plains district.

It is quite clear from the discussion that the sample displays rather large differences, both when it comes to ownership structure, geographic location and the time of the enclosure. One disadvantage of my sample is that it is more difficult to isolate how an independent variable affects a dependent variable, which, in my case, is the impact of the enclosures on social differentiation. This sample has, however, been chosen to have a high degree of representativeness. The large differences in the sample also make it possible to find a common denominator in the differences and it is, therefore, easier to establish causality. My sample may also be used to generate new hypotheses about the specific in the local context, which can be tested on a larger sample. Furthermore, my sample is randomly selected, which means that the results can be generalized beyond the local context.

⁸ See note 2.

4. Methods

4.1 Statistical model

My method is divided into two statistical methods. The first approach is to analyze the long-term trend in the share of landless and semi-landless people in each parish after it was enclosed. One aim here is to see if this share increased after the village was enclosed. This is carried out by using descriptive statistics in which the share of landless and semi-landless people is presented in a graph for each parish. These graphs show the development 20 years before and after the village was enclosed with a five-year interval, which makes it possible to discern long-term as well as short-term changes. The exact year for the enclosure is also presented. This approach enables me to see if an enclosure in the village has an impact on the social differentiation. Furthermore, these parishes are in turn compared with Malmöhus County (the eastern part of Scania) – due to the small sample size in my study – to see if the chosen parishes deviate from the general development.

The second approach is an attempt to reveal the factors that cause a change in dependent variables, which here is the share of landless and semi-landless people. This is conducted by means of econometric analysis. The strategy is to estimate the changes in the share of landless and semi-landless groups, using independent variables suggested by the literature, supplemented by a dummy variable (Enclosure) to distinguish the “enclosed” years from the “unenclosed” years, as well as a dummy for the type of district. The independent variables are described in greater detail in the next section. In order to explain changes over time, a panel analysis is used with the share of landless and semi-landless people as the dependent variable 20 years before and 20 after the village was enclosed. Panel data are used in order to obtain a large number of observations before and after the enclosures and to reflect changes between the parishes. The general least square regression (GLS) with random effects appears to be the most appropriate choice for the research problem at hand. This allows me to control for independent variables that differ between cases but are constant over time (type of parish and the district the parish is located in), and variables that change over time but are constant between the cases (enclosures).

4.2 Definition of variables

I have gathered data for the 13 parishes and constructed the following variables:

- The dependent variable study concerns the share of semi-landless and landless people according to the classification of the *Swedish population censuses*. This measure has been obtained by dividing the total number of semi-landless and landless people by the number of peasants in each parish. This means that children and non-rural occupation groups have been excluded. The semi-landless are crofters, while the landless group includes poor people, old-aged people and married farmhands. However, the size of the land varied among the semi-landless people, and it is difficult, to establish the socioeconomic status of that group on the basis of the occupational registers. Some of these people could, in fact, have a piece of land that was large enough to support a family without wage labor. It is not possible either to establish if the size of the freeholders' landholdings varied. The share of landless and semi-landless people is thus a rough measurement of the share in each parish that was dependent on wage labor. Furthermore, this measurement also enables a comparison between the parishes.

The independent variables, the factors that explain the changes in the dependent variable, are summarized as follows:

- A dummy variable has been constructed for the enclosed years. The aim here is to examine whether the enclosure has an impact. The enclosed years are coded as “1” and the unenclosed years are coded as “0”.
- A dummy variable is also added for the type of district the parish is located in. Data on the district types are derived from Campbell (1928). This variable is intended to capture potential geographical differences. If the parish is located in the plains district, it is coded as “1” whereas a location in the intermediate district is coded as “0”.
- Population growth is another independent variable. The purpose is to see if a rapid population growth – which includes both births and internal migration - caused social downward mobility for parts of the population. This variable is obtained by

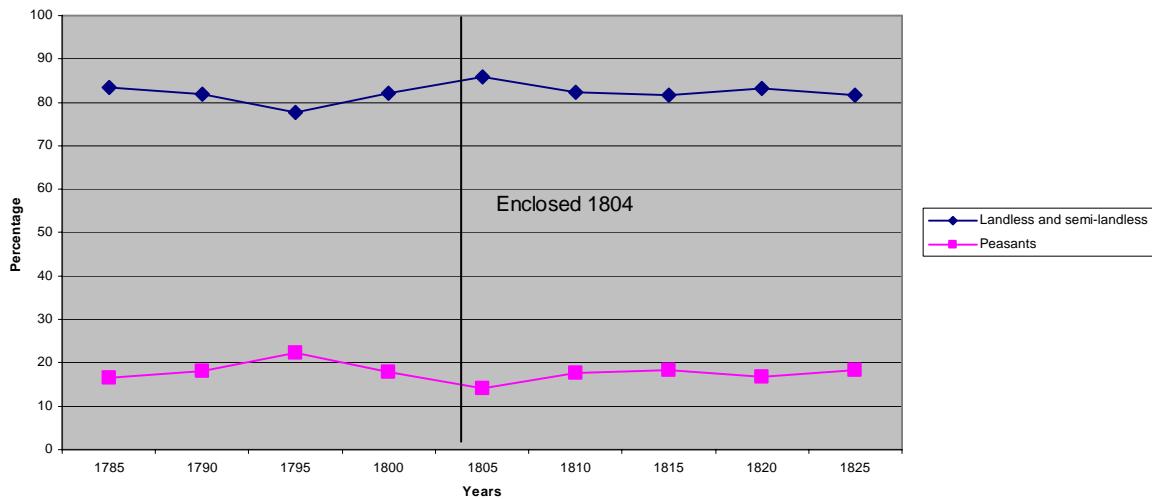
dividing the population size in the parish for a specific year with the population size in the parish five years previously.

- One additional independent variable for population growth is also used, which is lagged with 25 years. This allows me to controls for a “cohort effect”, i.e. whether births 25 years previously create a crowding in the labor market 25 years later. Part of these variables is calculated with the older parts of the *Swedish population census*, which means that a six-year interval is used instead of a five-year interval.
- The ”degree of manorialism” is used as a variable to distinguish what type of ownership dominated. This is measured as the share of peasants that possessed land, in which 1.0 means that all peasants are noble tenants and 0.0 that all peasants are freeholders.

5. Empirical analysis

5.1 Descriptive statistics

Table 1: The development of the rural classes, Hög/Kävlinge 1785-1825

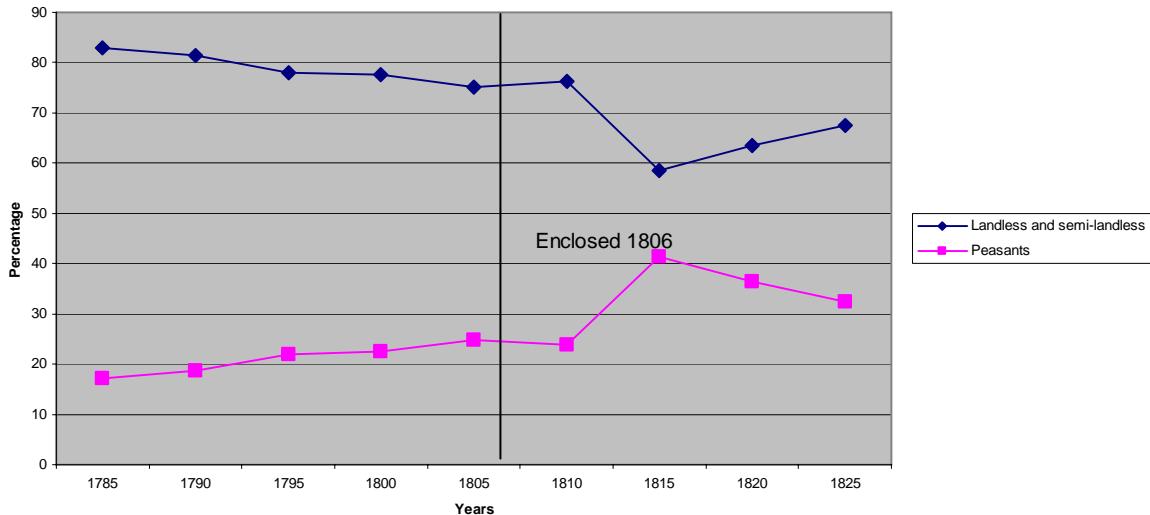


(Source: <http://www.ddb.umu.se/tabellverk> (my own calculations))⁹

The development of the rural classes in the parishes of Hög and Kävlinge, two parishes that were totally dominated by freeholders, over time and for both the categories of landless and semi-landless together with peasants is shown in Table 1 above. It is evident that the landless and semi-landless group made up a large share of the entire total rural labor force. The same general pattern as before the enclosure in 1804 does, however, appear, as its share was still around 80 % - albeit with small fluctuations during the time period. A somewhat lower share of the landless and semi-landless than 80 % can thus be observed in the year 1795, and a modest increase is noticeable after that with a peak in the year 1805, right after the enclosure, but this increase cannot be related to the actual enclosure of the parish. From then on, the share of landless and semi-landless people is relatively stable.

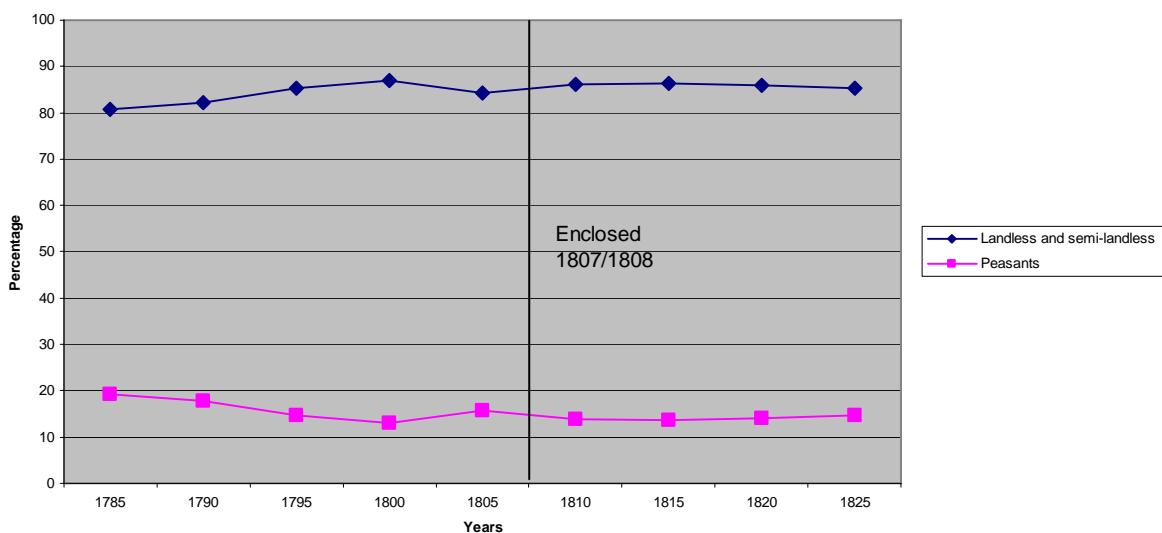
⁹ This source is the same for all tables

Table 2: The development of the rural classes, S:t IBB 1785-1825



The changes in S:t Ibb, a parish with mixed ownership, are rather unexpected. As seen in Table 2 above, the share of landless and semi-landless people is quite large initially. In the year 1785 they account for around 80 %, but this share decreases steadily until the year 1805 and remains intact in the year 1810, even though the village is enclosed. A large decrease may then be discerned, and the share of landless and semi-landless people is considerably smaller during the entire period after the enclosure in 1806.

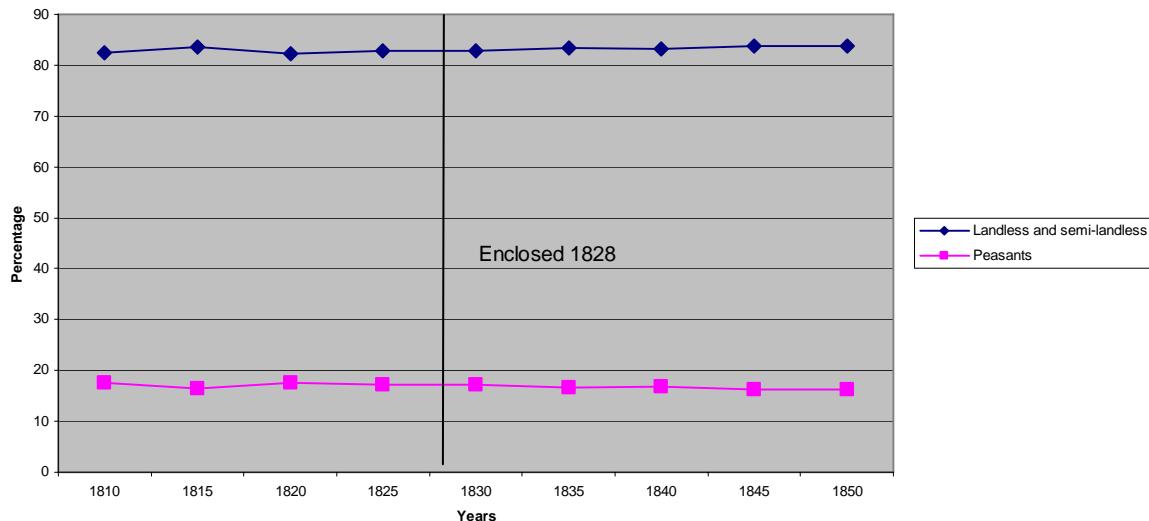
Table 3: The development of rural classes, Västra Karaby/Saxtorp 1785-1825



A majority of the peasants, i.e. those who had landholdings, were freeholders in the parishes of Västra Karaby and Saxtorp. The share of landless and semi-landless people seems to grow steadily in these parishes, which becomes apparent in Table 3. Their share increases from somewhat over 80 % in 1785 to a somewhat less than 90 % before 1800 only to decrease to

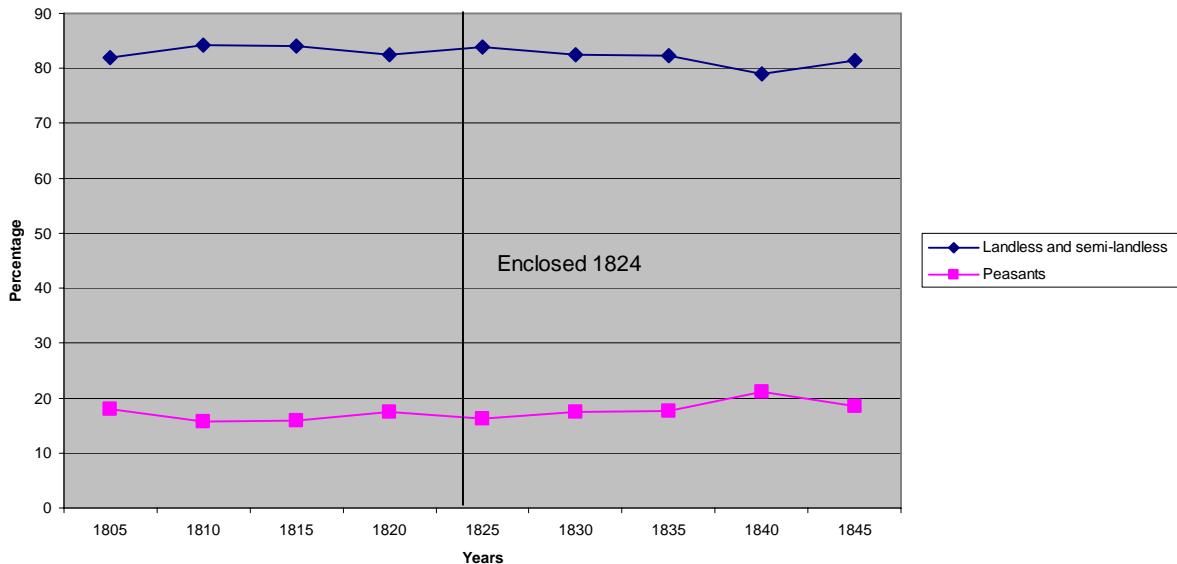
around 85 % in 1805. After that, the share of landless and semi-landless people display quite a stable pattern in spite of the enclosures in 1807 and 1808, which suggests that the enclosure had a limited impact on social differentiation.

Table 4: The development of the rural classes, Österlöv 1810-1850



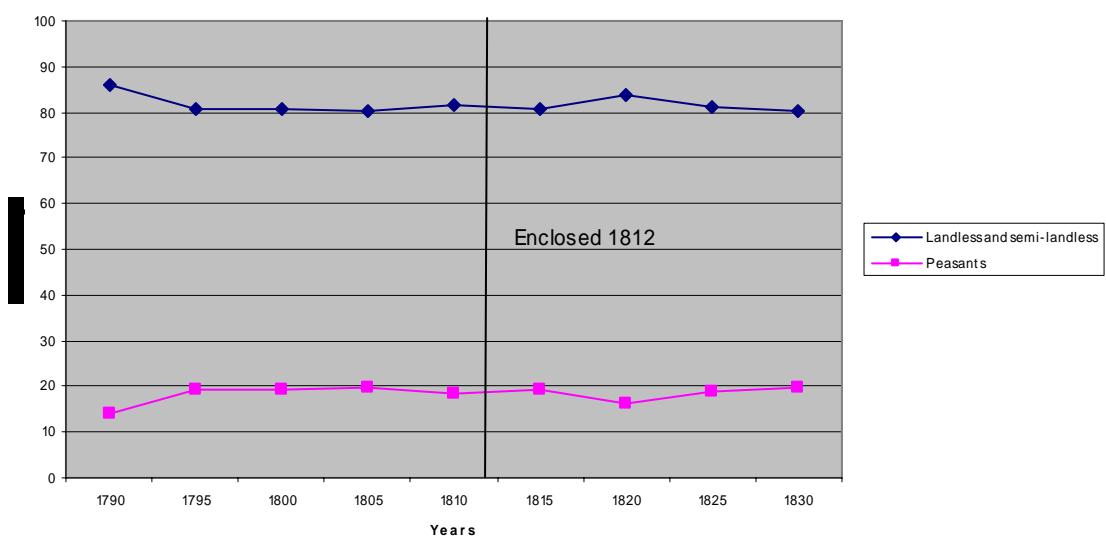
The development of the rural classes in the parish of Österslöv, a parish with a clear majority of noble tenants, is presented in Table 4. A relatively late enclosure in 1828 is noticeable. A similar general pattern can be identified, both in the period before and after the village was enclosed. Even though small fluctuations can be seen in Table 4, the share of landless and semi-landless people constituted about 85 % of Österslöv's rural labor force during the whole period. This indicates that the enclosure played a marginal role.

Table 5: The development of the rural classes, Väsby 1805-1845



A similar development can be observed for the parish of Väsby. This parish was dominated by freeholders, but it was also enclosed late, in the year 1824 to be more exact. The landless and semi-landless groups constituted somewhat more than 80 % during the entire period studied. It is also evident in Table 5 that their share did not increase very much after the enclosure was implemented. The share of semi-landless and landless people was the same after the village was enclosed, and the lowest share of these groups in fact occurred in the year 1840.

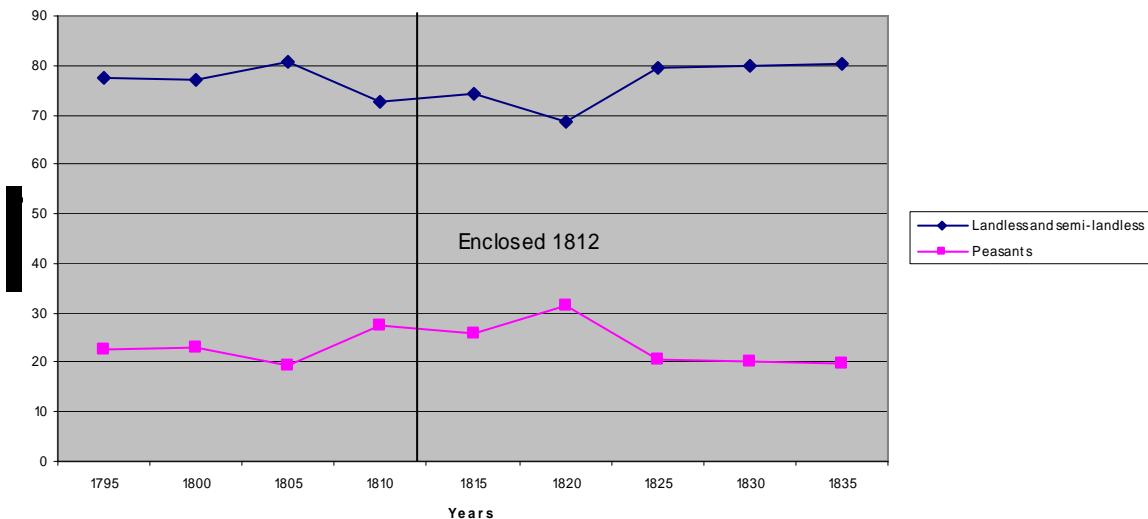
Table 6: The development of the rural classes, Bodarp/Håslöv 1790-1830



The parishes of Bodarp and Håslöv, in which the land was owned by freeholders, display a rather different development, as can be seen in Table 6. The share of landless and semi-

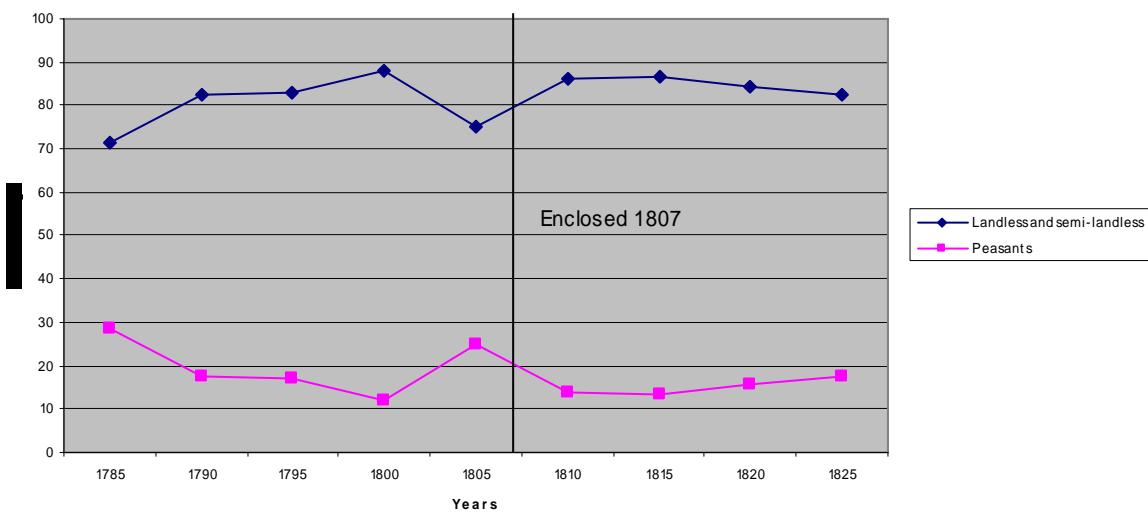
landless people was at its highest in the year 1790 with around 85 %. It then decreases to around 80 % and remains intact, even after the village was enclosed in 1812. Thus, a small increase in the share of landless and semi-landless occurs in the year 1820. All in all, however, there is not much to support that a growth in the share of landless and semi-landless people was influenced by an enclosure in the parishes.

Table 7: The development of the rural classes, Hemmesdynge/Södra Åby 1795-1835



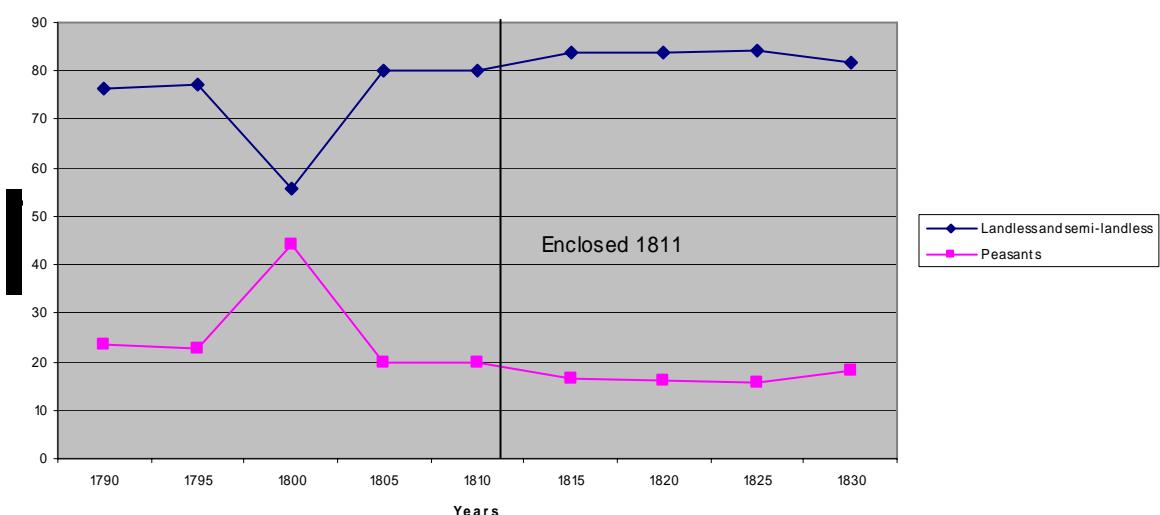
The development of the rural classes in the parishes of Hemmesdynge and Södra Åby is presented in Table 7. Both of these parishes displayed a mixed ownership, although there was a majority of freeholders. Large fluctuations are here noticeable in the share of landless and semi-landless people. Their share is slightly below 80 % in both 1795 and 1800 only to increase to 80 % in 1805. Then, regardless of the parishes' enclosure in 1812, a decline takes place until 1820 down to slightly less than 70 %. Subsequently the group of landless and semi-landless groups increases to around 80 %, where it stays for the remaining 15 years.

Table 8: The development of the rural classes, Flädie/Fjelie 1785-1825



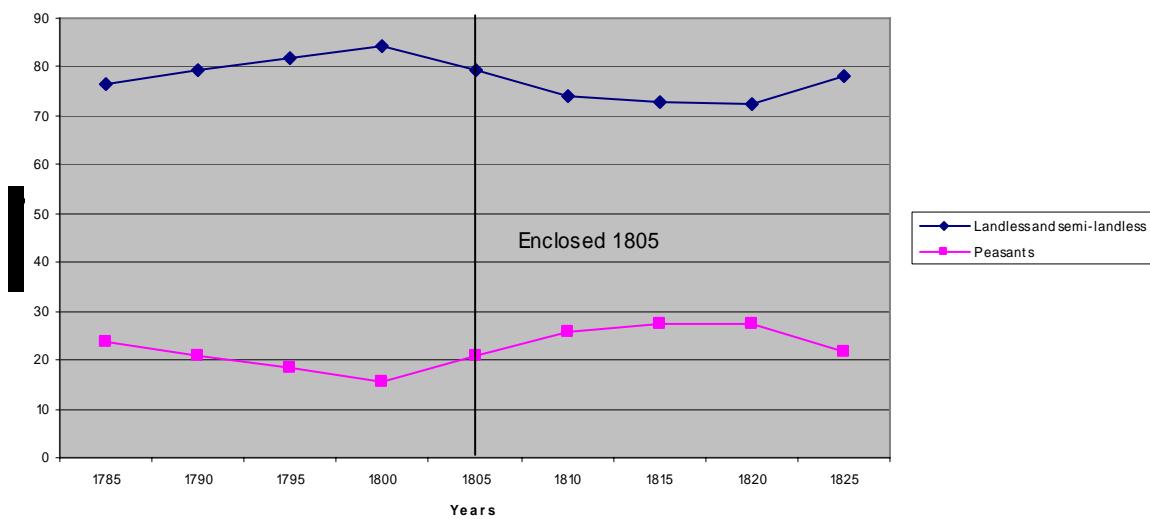
The development of the rural classes in the parishes of Flädie and Fjelie, two parishes that were dominated by freeholders, over time and for both the categories of landless and semi-landless together with peasants is shown in Table 8. These parishes also show large variations in the share of landless and semi-landless people. The pattern in Table 8 points to a great increase from around 70 % in 1785 to almost 90 % in 1800, that is before the villages were enclosed in 1807. A considerable decrease in the share of landless and semi-landless people takes place from 1800 to 1805, from about 90 % to a somewhat less than 70 % in 1805. A growth in these groups occurs from that year up to around 85 % in 1810, but the share steadily decreases to somewhat more than 80 % in 1825.

Table 9: The development of the rural classes, Östra Vram 1790-1830



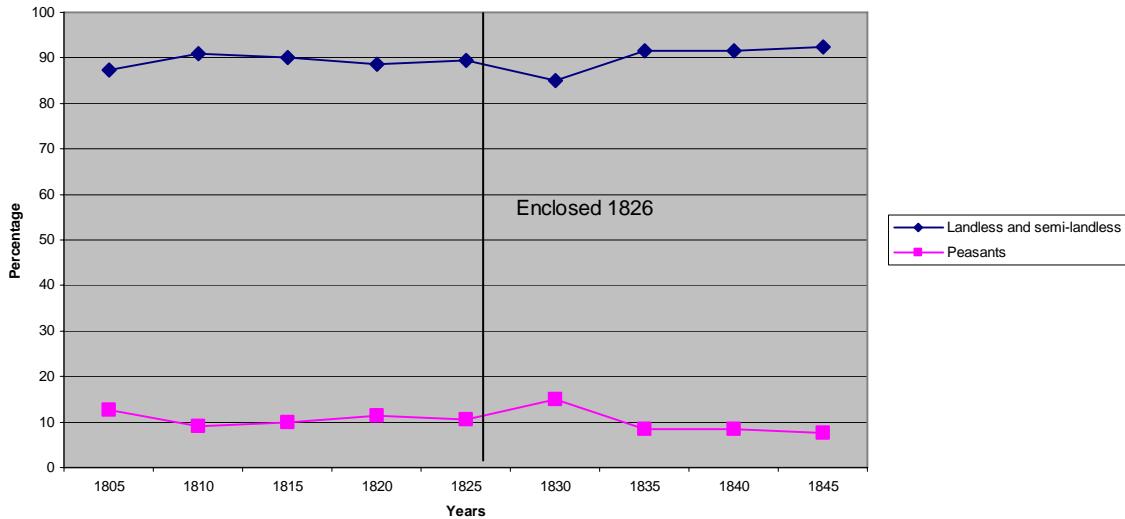
The parish of Östra Vram, with a majority of noble tenants, shows a rather remarkable pattern, as evidenced by Table 9. This village was enclosed in 1811. In both 1790 and 1795, landless and semi-landless people account for somewhat less than 80 %, but then there is a rapid decline down to less than 60 % in 1800. The share then increases to 80 % in 1805 and 1810. There is an increase after Östra Vram was enclosed up to a share slightly above 80 % in 1825 - albeit a small decrease may be discerned in 1830. This could indicate that the enclosure had an impact on social differentiation.

Table 10: The development of the rural classes, Lockarp 1785-1825



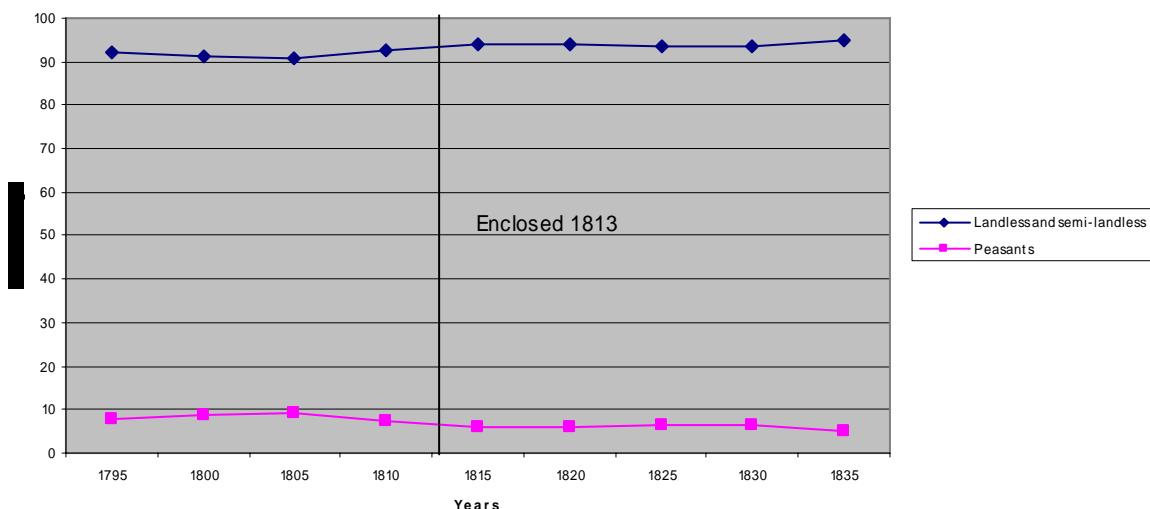
The development of the rural classes in the parish of Lockarp is presented in Table 10. This parish was dominated by freeholders and was enclosed in 1805. Large fluctuations are here noticeable in the share of landless and semi-landless people. Their share is slightly below 80 % in 1785 and is then increases to around 85 % in 1800. Then a decline takes place until 1820, in spite of the enclosure in 1805, with a share somewhat higher than 70 % in 1820. Subsequently the group of landless and semi-landless people grows to almost 80 % in 1825. Nevertheless, the enclosures' effect on the social structure seems to be limited.

Table 11: The development of the rural classes, Igelösa 1805-1845



The share of landless and semi-landless people in the parish of Igelösa, a parish in which the noble tenants made up the majority of the peasants, is presented in Table 11. A relatively late enclosure in 1826 is also noticeable here. A similar general pattern can be identified for the periods both before and after the village was enclosed. A high share of landless and semi-landless people of around 90 % during the whole period is thus apparent in Table 11, even though small fluctuations occurred. In the case of Österlöv parish, it also seems that the enclosures played a marginal role in social differentiation.

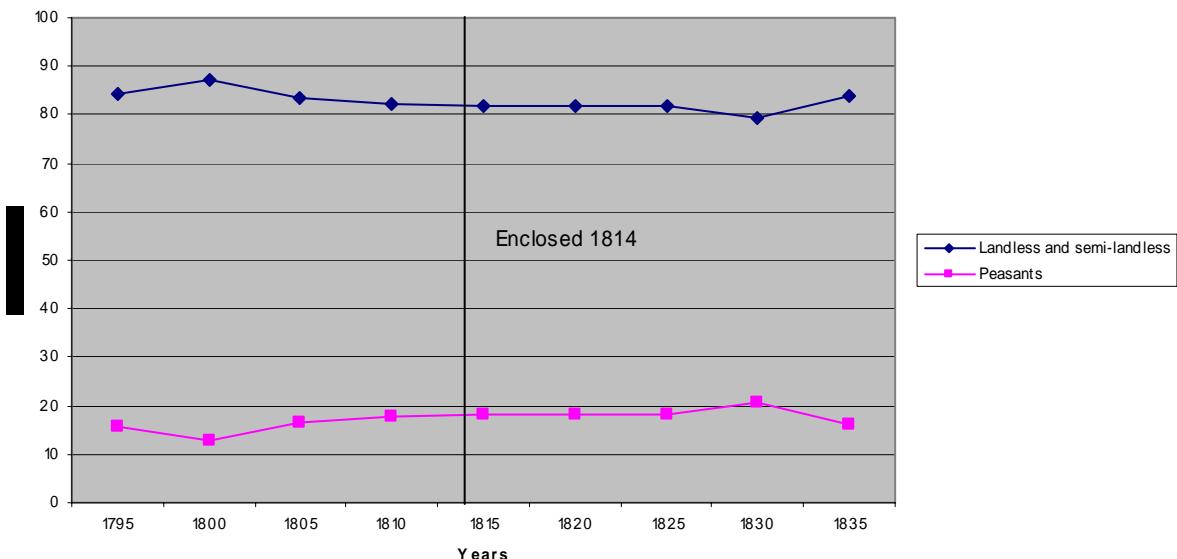
Table 12: The development of the rural classes, Sankt Peters Closter 1795-1835



A similar development can be observed for the parish of Sankt Peters Closter. This parish was also dominated by noble tenants, but it was enclosed earlier, in the year 1813 to be more exact. Landless and semi-landless people accounted for more than 90 % during the entire

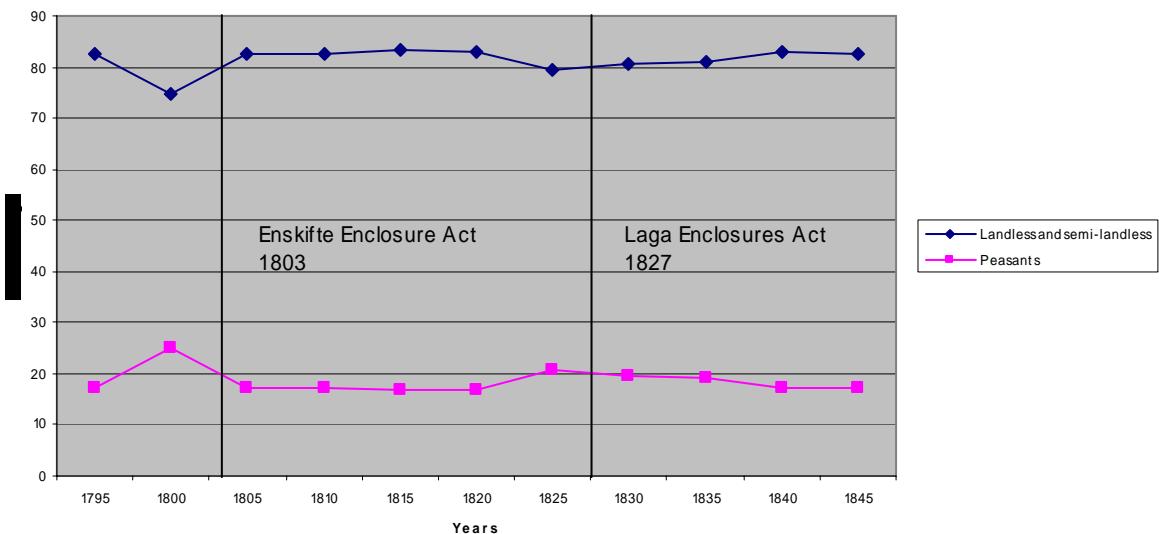
period, which is evidenced by Table 12. This share did, however, increase somewhat after the enclosure was implemented to reach almost 95 % in 1815 and then remained relatively stable until 1835.

Table 13: The development of the rural classes, Törringe 1795-1835



The development of the rural classes for the parish of Törringe, a manorial parish with noble tenants, is presented in table 13. A stable pattern with small variations is discerned here. Around 90 % of the rural labor force here were semi-landless or landless. A small decrease in the share of landless and semi-landless people even occurred after the parish was enclosed in 1813. In sum, there is not much that indicates that the enclosures had an impact on the share of landless and semi-landless people.

Table 14: The development of the rural classes, Malmöhus County 1795-1845



(Source: Calculations based on N. Wohlin, *Den jordbruksidkandebefolningen i Sverige 1751-1900: statistisk-demografisk studie på grundval av de svenska yrkesräkningarna, Emigrationsutredningen IX*, pp. 220-255)

The development of the rural classes in Malmöhus County is found in table 14. The landless and semi-landless groups made up around 80 % of the rural labor force, but there were variations – albeit small ones. A decrease from slightly above 80 % in 1795 to around 75 % in 1800 occurs. After the *Enskifte Enclosure Act* of 1803 was issued, a modest growth takes place with a peak in that year and is somewhat higher than 80 % from 1805 to 1825, just before the *Laga Enclosure Act* of 1827. The share of landless and semi-landless groups then remains around 80 % in both 1830 and 1835 that is followed by a modest growth in 1840.

Conclusion

In conclusion, the southern parishes reveal quite different developments in the rural classes. Some of the parishes show a rather large variation in the share of landless and semi-landless people before they are enclosed, while there are other parishes that display noteworthy fluctuations after they are enclosed. There is only one parish that displays a steady increase in the share of landless and semi-landless people after it is enclosed. The general development in the rural classes in Malmöhus County does not deviate from the parishes studied here, although it is worth mentioning that the share of landless and semi-landless people increases slightly after the *Enskifte Enclosure Act* of 1803. The factors that have an impact on the share of landless and semi-landless people are presented in the next section.

5.2 Statistical results

The statistical results are reported in Table 15 below. As may be seen, the overall r-square value for the regression is 0.262, which means that the independent variables explain 26 % of the changes in the dependent variable. The dependent variable is the share of landless and semi-landless people in each parish. However, the value of explanation in the regression is much - very much - higher between the parishes than within them, i.e. 0.398 as compared to 0.07. This indicates that the difference in the share of landless and semi-landless people is found between the parishes and is also indicative of a relatively constant share of landless and semi-landless groups over time relative to the peasants.

Table 15: GLS regression, determinants of the share of landless and semi-landless people of the rural labor force, 20 years before and 20 years after (five-year interval) the parishes' enclosures (Random-effects, Gaussian)¹⁰

	Coeff.	Std. Err.	P> z
Pop Growth	0.015807	0.0518859	0.761
Pop Growth 25 years	-0.0273691	0.0437647	0.532
District	0.0528217	0.0234266	0.024*
Manorialism	0.0617289	0.0260451	0.018*
Enclosed	0.0000123	0.0087355	0.999
Constant	0.7695895	0.0727746	0.000
Group variable: parish			
Number of observations:	112		
Number of groups:	13		
R-Square	within: between: overall:	0.0072 0.3985 0.2629	
Wald chi2(5):	9.50		
Prob > chi2:	0.0907		
* = significant at 0.05 (5 %)			

¹⁰ The GLS regression contains nine observations over time and thirteen observations over space. There are years missing, though, for the variable lagged population growth in the parishes Hemmesdynge/ Södra Åby. The following years in the official records are missing: 1795, 1800, 1805, 1810 and 1815. This means that the total number of observations is 112 in the regression.

The strongest effect on social differentiation is found in the variable manorialism (degree of manorialism), but this effect is not very strong. One interpretation of the coefficient is that the landless and semi-landless groups were larger than in the parishes with freeholders – a social differentiation from “above”. The somewhat larger social differentiation in the manorial parishes is not easily explained. It is thus possible that noble tenants’ possibilities to subdivide land were more restricted than in the parishes with freeholders (Winberg 1975, p. 249). It may also be that the manorial landlords raised land rents considerably during this period, which forced the noble tenants to hire labor to help out with the production. These explanations are, however, hard to verify in this paper.

The effect found for type of district is, as could be expected, also statistically significant. This is most likely related to the good quality of the soil in plain district, which improved food output already at the end of the 18th century with production of grain before the enclosures, regardless of whether the parish was dominated by freeholders or by noble tenants. It probably raised the demand for labor, which led to a growth in the share of landless and semi-landless people. The parishes located in the plains probably had a more advantageous location, which facilitated specialization in grain production, as opposed to the more isolated parishes in the intermediate district (Olsson & Svensson 2007). It should be mentioned, though, that this effect is not very strong.

There is no statistical significance for the population growth variable, as seen in Table 15. Similarly, there is a lack of statistical significance for the population growth that is lagged with 25 years. Even so, population growth should not be ruled out as an explanation for an increase in the landless and semi-landless groups. Furthermore, the enclosure variable is statistically insignificant. This relates to the previous discussion, in which the Tables reveal that there is no enlargement in the social differentiation.

5.3 Summary

The purpose of this study has been to examine the impact of the enclosure movements on social differentiation, measured as the share of the landless and semi-landless people in the rural labor force, in the first half of the 19th century in order to examine the long-term and short-term changes in social differentiation. Another aim of this paper has been to study the differences between parishes with freeholders and noble tenants. Studying the impact of the enclosure movements on rural occupational structure reveals the causes of the growth in the

landless and semi-landless groups more clearly as well as the differences between parishes with freeholders and noble tenants and the effects of the enclosure movements. A large share of landless and semi-landless people has here been interpreted as a high degree of commercialization.

In the theoretical discussion a few points were made regarding the causes behind the growth in the lower socio-economic classes as well as the effects of the enclosures including the break-up of the village. It was here stated that in parishes with freeholders, the increased social differentiation was mainly due to peasants' different capabilities to accumulate capital along with a population growth. This differed somewhat from the manorial parishes with noble tenants. The causes behind the growth in the lower socio-economic group identified here were related to decisions made by the manorial landlord – in terms of eviction of noble tenants, increasing land rents and labor duties, and/or redistribution of land. As far as the effects of enclosures in the parishes with freeholders are concerned, it seems that the privatized landholdings in combination with faster population growth should lead to an increase in the share of landless and semi-landless people. Instead, the enclosure in the manorial parishes – with redistribution of land and a change in land rents - was believed to be a reason for an increase in social differentiation.

Two methods have been employed in studying the issues involved. The first method was to use descriptive statistics, in which the share of landless and semi-landless people was shown in tables for each parish. The aim was to see if there was an increase after the enclosure in the parish. This was compared to the general development in Malmöhus County. The second method used in this paper was general least square regression with panel data. The dependent variable here was the share of landless and semi-landless people in the rural labor force with the independent variables degree of manorialism, population growth, and population growth lagged with 25 years, a dummy for the enclosed years and a dummy for type of district. This was carried out in order to control for spatial differences as well as time differences.

The first part of the empirical analysis revealed quite different developments in the parishes. Some of the parishes show a rather large variation in the share of landless and semi-landless groups before they were enclosed, while there are other parishes that display noteworthy fluctuations after they were enclosed. It was also found that the development in Malmöhus County did not deviate considerably from the parishes studied. The results in the second part of the empirical analysis confirmed this picture. There was no statistical significance for the enclosure variable. A positive effect was, however, found for a manorial parish and a parish being located in the plain districts.

6. Conclusion

The aim of this study has been to undertake a preliminary study of the effects of enclosures on social differentiation in southern Sweden. The results must be interpreted with caution, since the sample of only 13 parishes is rather small. Moreover, some approximations have also been carried out in which some of the parishes have been merged in the analysis. In spite of these shortcomings, some preliminary results have been obtained in this study.

The results presented in this paper indicate that the share of landless and semi-landless people was higher in the manorial parishes than in the parishes with freeholders, which would support the notion that social differentiation was initiated from above by the manorial landlords' decisions on how to organize production on the demesne, especially with rising land rents on the demesne, which forced the noble tenants to hire labor. This must, nevertheless, be interpreted with caution. Before a more definite conclusion can be drawn about the differences between the parishes, a more thorough analysis has to be made in order to control for the effect of time and how this affected the increase in the share of the landless and semi-landless people.

A safer conclusion that can be drawn on the basis of this paper is that the location of the parish matters, both for the parishes with freeholders and for those with noble tenants. The results indicate that social differentiation was more pronounced in the plains districts, even though the effect was not very strong. This is probably related to the fact that grain production increased in these parts of Scania already at the end of the 18th century, an increase that raised the demand for labor and enabled a more enhanced division of labor.

There is, however, little support in this study for the hypothesis that the share of landless and semi-landless people increased following the enclosures, regardless of whether the issue is studied with descriptive statistics or in a regression. This is rather surprising, considering the strong, positive effects found elsewhere in the literature on commercialization after the enclosures, at least in the parishes with freeholders. However, it may be the case that the semi-landless group is actually underestimated. It has been suggested by Gadd (2000, p. 207) that many freeholders were semi-landless; since the freeholders divided their land into small plots, in particular after the enclosures, and cultivated an area of land that was equal to 1/64 *mantal*, they were in fact recorded as peasants in the official records. Furthermore, it is also possible that a differentiation occurred within the peasant class, at least among freeholders, in which large landowners seized opportunities that privatized landholdings offered after the

enclosures, while a group of smallholders emerged that produced for their own subsistence only. This pattern has been observed elsewhere in Sweden, although it has not been explicitly related to the enclosures (Hoppe & Langton 1994).

As has been made evident in this paper, this is probably the first attempt to study the impact of the enclosures on social differentiation. I have tried to shed further light on the increase in the landless and semi-landless group during the agricultural transformation in Sweden. This opens up for new research, where this issue deserves to be studied further and more thoroughly. Above all, a larger sample size is needed in order to draw safer conclusions about the impact of the enclosures, something that has not been possible within the scope of this paper. In addition, future research should also control for land size in order to see whether there is under-recording of the semi-landless group. The focus here should also be to examine whether there is differentiation within the peasant class of freeholders. The large differences found in this paper should also be investigated in greater detail. In this case, attention should be paid to explaining the causal mechanisms more carefully. Moreover, the geographic variable should be further explored by also taking distance to ports into account and by comparing the impact of commercialized regions on less commercialized regions.

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Appendix.

Table 16: General characteristics of the parishes

Parish	County	Enclosure year		District	"Degree of manorialism"
		Major parts	Minor parts		
Hög/ Kävlinge	Malmöhus county	1804	-	Plains	0 %
S:t Ibb	Malmöhus county	1806	1792	Intermediate	41 %
Västra Karaby/Saxtorp	Malmöhus county	1807/1808	1799-1800, 1816, 1832	Plains	13 %
Österslöv	Kristianstad County	1828	1832	Intermediate	100 %
Väsby	Malmöhus county	1824	1835	Intermediate	7 %
Bodarp/ Håslöv	Malmöhus county	1812	1806	Plains	0 %
Hemmesdynge/Södra Åby	Malmöhus county	1812	1811-1815	Plains	33 %
Flädie/Fjelie	Malmöhus county	1807	1804	Plains	11 %
Östra Vram	Kristianstad County	1811	-	Intermediate	78 %
Lockarp	Malmöhus county	1805	-	Plains	9 %
Igelösa	Malmöhus county	1826	-	Plains	100 %
Sankt Peters Closter	Malmöhus county	1813	-	Plains	100 %
Törringe	Malmöhus county	1814	1808	Plains	100 %