The Poorhouse as materialized poverty in eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Sweden

Hansson, Martin

Published in:
Poverty and Plenty in Scandinavia and the North Atlantic

DOI:
10.5040/9781350455863.ch-008

2025

Document Version:
Publisher's PDF, also known as Version of record

CHAPTER 8
THE POORHOUSE AS MATERIALIZED POVERTY IN EIGHTEENTH- AND NINETEENTH-CENTURY SWEDEN

Martin Hansson

Introduction

The aim of this paper is to use poorhouses as examples not only to highlight attitudes towards the poor but also to discuss poorhouses as material culture in society in eighteenth and nineteenth-century Sweden. Poorhouses were places where destitute, old and sick people lived when they could no longer support themselves. Many people spent the last days of their lives in poorhouses. How poorhouses were built and planned, by whom they were built and where they were built reflect prevailing attitudes towards the poor. Poor people have traditionally been seen as problematic to study through material culture – a poor person did not possess much, leaving little for the archaeologist to study (Orser 2011). At the same time, specific material culture was used by and made for the poor. This type of material, such as poorhouses, is understudied, especially from a Scandinavian perspective. The people living in the poorhouses belonged to a vulnerable group of subalterns that are otherwise often ignored by archaeological research (Hansson, Nilsson and Svensson 2020). On the other hand, the material expression and location of the poorhouse in the landscape/townscape can among other things reflect attitudes towards the poor. The main questions here are how, where and by whom poorhouses were built.

Poverty is always relative; a person is only poor or rich in relation to someone else. The study of poverty therefore always requires context and chronology. Poverty is also often defined as someone having little or no wealth or material possessions (e.g. Gemerek 1994; Sharpe and McEwan 2011: 4; Taylor 2013: 4). It can also be seen as a lack of surplus that makes it impossible for the individual to contribute to the common affairs of society (Söderberg 1978: 12). Caring for the poor was a Christian responsibility, as reflected in many medieval testaments. While the care of the poor in the Middle Ages was a matter for monasteries, convents and hospitals, a more organized poor relief system emerged in the early modern period. The poor were a group whose numbers increased throughout Europe in the seventeenth to nineteenth centuries. In most contexts, the poor were seen as belonging to one of two categories: the worthy or the unworthy. The worthy poor were those who had become poor through old age, illness or disability. Ex-soldiers, old widows and orphaned children were among those entitled to poor relief. The undeserving, unworthy poor, on the other hand, were poor mainly because they were unemployed.

This was seen as a result of bad morals and laziness. Adults who were able to work but did not do so did not qualify for poor relief. In this case, being poor and unemployed was more of a criminal offence (Gemerek 1994; Blom 1992; Skoglund 1992: 43–50; Spencer-Wood and Matthews 2011).

Deciding which poor people should receive relief thus required many decisions at different levels of society, with parishes and town councils being important bodies. An important starting point for poor relief was that not only worthy poor but also only worthy local poor should receive relief. Much effort was made to ensure that vagrant poor from other towns and parishes were expelled to their hometown or parish. There are many examples of different authorities arguing over which of them was responsible for a particular poor person (Johansson 1984: 156–9; Aronsson 1992: 222–3).

In Sweden there were basically three ways of dealing with the poor. One way was to give the poor regular assistance, such as food and clothing, and leave them to fend for themselves in their own homes. These poor people sometimes had official permission to beg. Another way was to let the poor become *inhysehjon* (boarders) and rotate them among the farmers of the parish, who had to support them for a certain period of time before they were handed over to a neighbouring farm. During their stay on a farm, the poor could be used for whatever purpose they could manage. The last way of taking care of the poor was to put them in a special poorhouse. With some variations, the system of financing poor relief was more or less the same in many parts of Europe. It was seen as a responsibility of the parish or town council (Skoglund 1992: 85–90; Broad 2011; Mauritzen, Philipsen Mølgaard and Hougaard Pedersen 2018).

Materiality of poverty

Poorhouses are among the most obvious material evidence of society's response to poverty. Provisions for poor relief, including the building of poorhouses, appear in various royal decrees in Sweden from 1571 onwards. In 1642 an order was issued requiring poorhouses to be built next to churches, both in towns and in the countryside. Despite these orders, many parishes did not have a poorhouse until well into the nineteenth century. When an inventory was made in 1829, there were 1,279 poorhouses in rural Sweden, in just over half the parishes in existence at the time. Many parishes argued that they could get by without one, as they rotated the poor between farms (Skoglund 1992: 100; Ehlton 2015).

In parts of Europe and the Americas, poorhouses were often large architectural complexes. Larger institutions had architecturally elegant main buildings with two or three adjacent outbuildings forming rectilinear complexes, whereas in Scandinavia many of the poorhouses, especially in rural areas, were much simpler complexes consisting of just a single building. While some poorhouses were for the worthy poor, others were more like correctional institutions, workhouses designed to punish the unworthy poor and teach them a trade. Workhouses were established throughout much of Europe and America in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Most poorhouses

and workhouses segregated the inmates by gender, age and condition, for example keeping the sick and mentally unstable away from the rest of the inmates (Huey 2001; Spencer-Wood 2001, 2010; Baugher and Spencer-Wood 2002; Baugher 2009; Tomkins 2011; Thomas 2017).

Often research has focused on the architecture of poorhouses or the material culture of excavated poorhouses. However, the excavations that have been carried out have often only covered small parts of a poorhouse, and several projects have been carried out as community archaeology with limited resources (Huey 2001: 148; Baugher 2009; Høst-Madsen 2018; Søndergaard 2018). Many studies based on preserved buildings have also focused on large complexes of poorhouses and workhouses (Huey 2001; Newman 2013; Thomas 2017), institutions that were quite different from the average Scandinavian poorhouse. Other studies have focused on a single well-preserved object, while analyses of poorhouses as a collective are lacking (Tomkins 2011: 263). Surprisingly little work has been done on the subject of surviving and extant poorhouses.

Firgårde in Ry on Jutland, Denmark, is one of the very few poorhouses in Scandinavia that has been the subject of archaeological excavation. The poorhouse was in operation between 1880 and 1916, and the excavation revealed an enclosed site with a main building that housed the inmates and the caretaker and his family. When the poorhouse was established, one of the ordinary farms in the area, outside of a village context, was bought by the parish and made to function as a poorhouse. The idea was that the inmates would work on the farm and support themselves. Hard work would cure their bad behaviour and lack of morals. The excavation yielded a large amount of small finds. Finds of tobacco pipes and bottles for beer, wine and alcohol show that smoking and drinking took place, although it was strictly forbidden (Mauritzen, Philipsen Mølgaard and Hougaard Pedersen 2018; Søndergaard 2018; Thyrring Nielsen and Schrøder Hansen 2018).

Poorhouses in the Swedish countryside

An inventory of poor relief in 1829 provides information on the size of over 400 rural poorhouses in Sweden. Most of the poorhouses, about 85 per cent of the total, were between 20 and 60 square metres (Skoglund 1992: 101). The smallest poorhouse was only 6 square metres, while the largest were over 140 square metres. The latter represented only a few per cent of the total and were all associated with manors. Written records from Shropshire and Huntingdonshire in eighteenth-century England show that most poorhouses in England were also simple one- or two-room, single-storey buildings (Broad 2011: 246).

The 1829 inventory also shows that poorhouses were mostly built in the same way and with the same materials as ordinary buildings. The exceptions were the large ones, which could be built in brick. Otherwise, timber houses with one or two rooms dominated. One room was used as a kitchen and the other for the inmates. Sometimes the parish used a building that had originally belonged to a parishioner who had become insolvent and needed the parish's help to survive. When this person died, the parish

'inherited' the house and continued to use it as a poorhouse. In other cases, the parish built a poorhouse. A poorhouse might have some outbuildings where the inmates could keep a single cow or pig and some chickens. There might also be a garden for growing vegetables (Skoglund 1992: 100–2).

According to many descriptions, the inmates kept their personal belongings in a chest under their bed. In addition to clothing, these belongings included household utensils and food, as the poor cooked their own food. In some cases, there was a storage room. There does not appear to have been any communal cooking, which means that at mealtimes there would have been a huddle around the stove and everyone had to fend for themselves. Sick and infirm people who were unable to cook for themselves could be looked after by another inmate in return for a salary from the parish (Skoglund 1992: 102–3). In 1829 almost 6,000 people lived in 1084 poorhouses. This gives an average of five to six people per poorhouse. In those parishes where the gender composition of the inmates is known, it appears that 78 per cent of them were women (Skoglund 1992: 102). They were mainly elderly widowed women lacking relatives who could cater for them. Since the most common poorhouse was about 40 square metres in size and perhaps accommodated five to six poor people, each inmate had about 5 to 7 square metres of personal space. The bed would take up about 2 square metres of this space.

An example of a well-preserved poorhouse from 1816 can be found in the parish of Norra Mellby in Scania. The first known poorhouse in the parish is mentioned already in 1715. At the end of the eighteenth century, written records show that it usually housed between six and eight people, mainly elderly widows. The size or construction of this first poorhouse, which was located on the outskirts of the village, is not known. By the 1800s it had fallen into disrepair, and after some discussion, a new combined poorhouse and school building was erected in 1816 (Figure 8.1). By combining the public affairs of poor relief and schooling, the parish saved money. The idea was also to use the poorhouse as a residence for a teacher. The building project was financed by the parishioners, who contributed money, materials and labour. The new poorhouse was a rather large building, measuring eighteen by ten metres, originally single-storey and built of stone, unlike the usual farm buildings in the area, which usually were made of timber. Apart from the two school rooms, one for teaching and the other for housing the teacher, there were two other rooms for the poor. These would accommodate six poor people in great need. The rooms for the poor were about 40 square metres in total, giving each inmate 6 to 7 square metres of living space. The room used for teaching was also used by the parish for Sunday meetings after Mass (Hammarlund 1994). In this way, the poor were publicly displayed in the parish.

In 1842, schooling for younger children became compulsory in Sweden and the responsibility was given to the parishes. Norra Mellby already had a school, but now the number of children attending the school increased dramatically. In 1849 a second floor was added to the building, this time made of timber. The upper floor had a separate entrance at the back of the building and was used for teaching up to ninety children. The teacher was also given new and better accommodation on this floor. The ground floor was left entirely to the poor. At that time there were still six poor people living here: two men and four women. The poorhouse was never staffed (Hammarlund 1994).

Figure 8.1 The combined poorhouse/schoolhouse in Norra Mellby built 1816. In 1849 the second floor was added. Photo: Martin Hansson, 2024.

Unlike the first poorhouse, the one built in 1816 had a central location in the village, next to the church along the main road. It was built in a slope, which means that its eastern long side was dug into the slope. When the upper floor was added, the building took on its present appearance and, together with the church, formed the public centre of the parish. While the vicarage and the church represented the religious well-being of the parishioners, the combined school and poorhouse represented a social consideration for both young and old. The large, partly stone-built poorhouse also materialized and symbolized the parish's collective efforts to care for the needy. While the well-built poorhouse tells one story, the lack of staff to care for the poor and the reluctance of the parish to fund staff tells another story about the parishioners' interest in caring for the poor (cf. Baugher 2009: 7–9).

However, even if the poorhouse at the church in Norra Mellby was a joint venture of the whole parish, there were other poorhouses in the parish as well. In the village of Sösdala, about four kilometres south of Norra Mellby, another poorhouse was built at the same time. Unlike the well-preserved poorhouse by the church, only a few foundation stones remain of this building. It was located about one kilometre south of the village of Sösdala, on the village's common, along the main road. This poorhouse was a much more modest building, similar to the crofts in the area (Månsson 1956; Carlie, Ericsson and Lagerås 2018). Today, the foundations of a small building, 8 by 4.5 metres, can be seen, making it a building of approximately 35 square metres.

As in Norra Mellby, the building was partly dug into a slope. This poorhouse was built in the mid-nineteenth century and intended to house two homeless and destitute families. Assuming that each family consisted of one adult and two children, each inmate had a living space of approximately 6 square metres. The building had three dry-stone walls dug into the hillside and a wooden front wall. The kitchen was in the middle of the house, with a small room for each family on either side. Compared to the main poorhouse in Norra Mellby, this was a rather anonymous, much simpler and smaller building, no different in any way from other houses in the area where subalterns such as crofters lived. It was also far from the village of Sösdala (Månsson 1956: 211–13; Hansson et al. submitted). Unlike the poorhouse by the church, these poor were not welcome in the centre of the village. Thus, two examples from the same parish reflect two different ways of dealing with the poor.

In other parts of Scania, manor houses dominated the rural landscape. Here we find several examples of the lord of the manor donating money, land and/or building materials for the construction of an impressive poorhouse. In these cases, the poorhouse not only solved the problem of caring for the poor, but the building itself helped to reinforce the dominance and patriarchal order of the estate. In Harlösa, northeast of Lund, the lord of Hjularöd built a poorhouse for the estate's old workers in 1823. According to the donation, the building was to house eight old and destitute workers (Westerlund 1987).

The building was erected next to the parish church and vicarage in Harlösa, in the centre of the village, in a position where it definitely would be noticed. It was a rather unusual quadrangular single-storey brick building, thirteen by thirteen metres in size, with four apartments centred around a central fireplace (Figure 8.2). The ground plan of the building was approximately 169 square metres, giving each of the eight intended inmates a living space of approximately 21 square metres, which was spacious compared to most other poorhouses. Each flat originally had a separate entrance and consisted of an entrance room, a living room and a smaller chamber. Each flat was designed for two people. There was a small fireplace for cooking, which was connected to the central fireplace, which contained a communal oven. From the beginning, the poorhouse had a small kitchen garden where the inmates could grow vegetables. The poorhouse had no staff (Westerlund 1987).

The square ground plan gave the building an unusually steep and large roof, which distinguished it from other buildings in the area. The building's function is also revealed by a stone plaque on the north side of the building (facing the church), which states that it was built as a poorhouse by the lord of the manor in 1823 and 1824. As such, it not only served the poor of the estate but was also a material reminder of the local lordship.

Poorhouses in towns

Town councils were responsible for caring for the urban poor. Written records of the city of Lund in Scania mention '*själabodar*', a type of poorhouse, already in the middle of the

Figure 8.2 Harlösa donationshus built 1823–4. Photo: Martin Hansson 2023.

sixteenth century. The exact location and appearance of the sixteenth-century poorhouses is not known. At the beginning of the nineteenth century, there were three poorhouses in Lund, one run by the city council, one by the Torslow Foundation and one run by the University (Persson 1967). In the early nineteenth century, several charitable institutions, including the three poorhouses, were grouped together in the same town block, Kvarteret Själabodar, in the eastern part of the town (Figure 8.3). The municipal poorhouse was located along Själabodsgatan in the west. It had been here since the seventeenth century. The University poorhouse was to be found along Stora Tomegatan to the east. To the north, along Lilla Algatan, the poorhouse of the Torslow Foundation was located. In 1835, the city council bought a plot of land in the southern part of the city block, where a combined workhouse, school and poorhouse was built along Magle Stora Kyrkogata. To the north, on the corner of Lilla Algatan and Själabodsgatan, a new two-storey brick poorhouse and workhouse was built in 1860 and extended in 1882, when the 1835 poorhouse on Magle Stora Kyrkogata was solely used for schooling. Above the entrance at Lilla Algatan, a stone slab with an inscription originally read: '*Ho der icke vill arbeta skall heller icke äta*' (He who does not want to work should not eat), which was clearly a derogatory statement towards the inmates (Persson 1967; Lund Stads Bevarandeprogram, Kv Själabodar, Krafts Rote).

In Lund in the nineteenth century, several public social institutions were thus concentrated in the same city block. The number of buildings with social functions

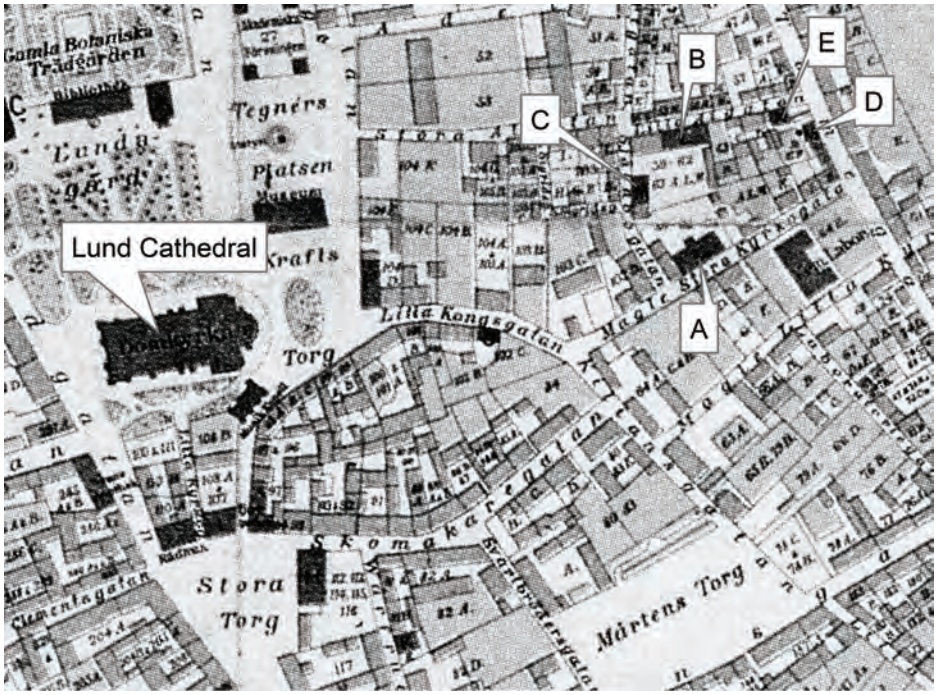

Figure 8.3 In nineteenth-century Lund, poorhouses and other social institutions were grouped together in one block in the eastern part of the town. A. Combined work/poorhouse/school/bath. B. Work/poorhouse. C. City council poorhouse. D. University poorhouse. E. Torslow Foundation poorhouse. Extract from F. V. E. Palmcrantz' map of Lund printed 1878, adapted by Martin Hansson.

gradually increased as existing buildings along the streets were given new functions or new buildings were erected. The concentration of social institutions also led to the recruitment of staff to work in the new poorhouse in 1860. The school, workhouse and poorhouse, built in 1835 and 1860 respectively, were large two-storey brick buildings that differed from ordinary townhouses in size, with a long façade along the street. Although not in the central part of the city, they were located within the medieval city limits (Persson 1967; Lund Stads Bevarandeprogram, Kv Själabodar, Krafts Rote).

The concentration of social institutions in a specific area, often outside the city limits, also existed. In Gothenburg, Sweden's second-largest city, a two-storey timber poorhouse for about 150 inmates was built in 1767 at Stampen, 700 metres east of the moat that surrounded the city. Here the poor formed their own parish with a church and cemetery. A few years earlier, in 1759, an orphanage and school for poor children had been established in Stampen, but a little closer to the town. A description of the poorhouse from 1787 mentions 151 inmates, 115 women and 36 men. It was run by a staff of four. The inmates lived in fourteen rooms of varying sizes. While some rooms were for one person, others could be shared by more than twenty people, in a mix of men and women

(Andersson 1996: 341–4, 362–3). As in Lund, the social institutions were clustered, in this case outside the city, which to some extent removed the problem of seeing poverty on the streets of the city.

Conclusion

Poorhouses can be a starting point for analysing the living conditions of the poor in the past. If the material culture survives, archaeology can provide important insights into attitudes towards the poor. The location and architecture of the poorhouses varied greatly. Some were located outside villages and towns in an attempt to remove the poor from the central parts of towns and society, as the cases of Göteborg and Sösdala show. In other cases, the poorhouse was built centrally as an obvious and somewhat extravagant structure that stood out from the usual building culture. This can be seen in Harlösa and Norra Mellby as well as in Lund. As in other parts of the world, poorhouses could sometimes be distinguished by their architecture (Huey 2001), but they could also resemble ordinary farm buildings. With a strong patron, either a lord or the parish/town council, poorhouses could be given a prominent and highly visible location where they would be noticed by both the local community and those passing by. In Harlösa, the lord of the manor gave his poorhouse the same prominent position that a manor house often had in relation to the church in the Middle Ages (Hansson 2006). The poorhouse helped to underline the local patriarchal dominance – the lord of the manor took care of his people from the cradle to the grave. The poorhouse was thus not only made for the poor, even if they were the ones who directly benefited from it, but it also commemorated its instigator and financier, either an individual or a collective such as a parish or a town. The poorhouse materialized that people in the parish or town were good Christians who cared for the poor. At the same time, it was a bit of an exaggeration, as most poorhouses had no staff. An impressive school and poorhouse like the one in Norra Mellby probably contributed to the self-esteem of the parishioners (cf. Baugher 2009: 9). As the examples of Norra Mellby, Lund and Gothenburg show, the poorhouse was also part of the embryo of the modern welfare state, in which several social institutions were concentrated. In a large city like Gothenburg, this even led to the creation of a separate parish for the poor, destitute and sick in Stampen.

Poorhouses varied greatly in appearance, depending on context, time and prevailing attitudes towards the poor. While some poorhouses were simple houses for one or two families living on alms, others were large complexes where the poor could live in large halls, ten to twenty people, in mixed households. The living conditions for the poor in Stampen in Gothenburg were probably quite different from those in Sösdala. In Göteborg the rooms were rather cramped, but there was staff to help the poor, while in Sösdala the poor were left to their own devices, but perhaps less bound by daily regulations. The variability in the poorhouses was therefore immense (Baugher 2009: 12). More research on the topic is needed, but poorhouses can be an excellent source for studying poverty in the past.

References

Andersson, B. (1996), *Göteborgs historia I. Näringsliv och samhällsutveckling. Från fästningsstad till handelsstad 1619–1820*, Göteborg: Nerenius & Santérus Förlag.

Aronsson, P. (1992), *Bönder gör politik. Det lokala självstyret som social arena i tre smålandssocknar, 1680–1850*, Lund: Lund University Press.

Baugher, S. (2009), 'Historical Overview of the Archaeology of Institutional Life', in A. M. Beisaw and J. Gibb (eds), *The Archaeology of Institutional Life*, 5–13, Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press.

Baugher, S. and S. M. Spencer-Wood (2002), 'Poorhouses', in C. Orser Jr (ed.), *Encyclopedia of Historical Archaeology*, 15–17, London/New York: Routledge.

Blom, C. (1992), *Tiggare, tidstjuvar, lättingar och landstrykare. Studier av attityder och värderingar i skrån, stadgar, ordningar och lagförslag gällande den offentliga vården 1533–1664*, Lund: Lund University Press.

Broad, J. (2011), 'The Parish Poor House in the Long Eighteenth Century', in J. McEwan and P. Sharpe (eds), *Accommodating Poverty: The Housing and Living Arrangements of the English Poor c. 1600–1850*, 246–62, Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

Carlie, A., A. Ericsson and P. Lagerås (2018), *Väg 23 mellan Ekeröd–Sandåkra, Arkeologisk utredning steg 1, 2017, Skåne, Höör och Hässleholms kommuner, Höör, Tjörnarp och Norra Mellby socknar*, Med bidrag av Magnus Andersson och Annika Knarrström, Rapport 2018:35, Lund: Arkeologerna, Statens historiska museer.

Ehlton, F. (2015), 'Från fattigstuga till ålderdomshem. Två byggnader på Julita gård', *Fataburen*, 225–37.

Gemerek, B. (1994), *Poverty – A History*, Oxford: Blackwell.

Hammarlund, A.-M. (1994), *Fattigstugan i Norra Mellby*, Sösdala: Sösdala hembygds- och fornminnesförening.

Hansson, M. (2006), *Aristocratic Landscape: The Spatial Ideology of the Medieval Aristocracy*, Lund: Almqvist & Wiksell International.

Hansson, M, P. Nilsson and E. Svensson (2020), 'Invisible and Ignored: The Archaeology of Nineteenth-Century Subalterns in Sweden', *International Journal of Historical Archaeology*, 24 (1): 1–21.

Hansson, M, S. Williamsson, C. Rosén, E. Svensson and P. Nilsson (submitted), 'Archaeological Narratives of Rural Subalterns', *Oxford Handbook in Post-Medieval Archaeology in Scandinavia*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Høst-Madsen, L. (2018), 'Fattiggården', *Gefjon*, 3: 202–7.

Huey, P. R. (2001), 'The Poorhouses in Dutch and English Colonial North America and Its Precedent in the Old World: Historical and Archaeological Evidence', *International Journal of Historical Archaeology*, 5 (2): 123–54.

Johansson, U. (1984), *Fattiga och tiggare i Stockholms stad och län under 1700-talet*, Stockholm: Stockholms kommun.

Lund Stads Bevaringsprogram, https://bevaringsprogram.lund.se/wiki/Huvudsida (accessed 2024-01-03).

Månsson, N. (1956), 'Fattigvården', in E. Göransson and N. Månsson (eds), *Norra Mellbys sockenbok*, 208–14, Hässleholm: Svantessons boktryckeri.

Mauritzen, M., M. Philipsen Mølgaard and M. Hougaard Pedersen (2018), 'Livet på kanten – en fattiggård ved Firgårde', *Museum Skanderborg Aarbog*: 49–60.

Newman, C. (2013), 'An Archaeology of Poverty: Architectural Innovation and Pauper Experience at Madeley Union Workhouse, Shropshire', *Post-Medieval Archaeology*, 47 (2): 359–77.

Orser, C. (2011), 'The Archaeology of Poverty and the Poverty of Archaeology', *International Journal of Historical Archaeology*, 15 (4): 533–43.

Persson, J. (1967), *Fattig i Lund. Vad protokollen berätta om äldre tiders fattigvård*, Skrifter utgivna av föreningen det gamla Lund, Årsskrift XLVIII, Lund: Föreningen Gamla Lund.
Sharpe, P. and J. McEwan (2011), 'Introduction: Accommodating Poverty: The Housing and Living Arrangements of the English Poor c. 1600–1850', in J. McEwan and P. Sharpe (eds), *Accommodating Poverty: The Housing and Living Arrangements of the English Poor c. 1600–1850*, 1–24, Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.
Skoglund, A.-M. (1992), *Fattigvården på den svenska landsbygden år 1829*, Stockholm: Stockholms universitet.
Söderberg, J. (1978), *Agrar fattigdom i Sydsverige under 1800-talet*, Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell International.
Søndergaard, L. (2018), 'Frivillige børn og voksne på sporet af fattiggårdens glemte historie', *Museum Skanderborg Aarbog*: 63–74.
Spencer-Wood, S. M. (2001), 'Introduction and Historical Context to the Archaeology of Seventeenth- and Eighteenth-Century Poorhouses', *International Journal of Historical Archaeology*, 5 (2): 115–22.
Spencer-Wood, S. M. (2010), 'Feminist Theoretical Perspectives on the Archaeology of Poverty: Gendering Institutional Lifeways in the Northeastern United States from the Eighteenth Century through the Nineteenth Century', *Historical Archaeology*, 44 (4): 110–35.
Spencer-Wood, S. M. and C. M. Matthews (2011), 'Impoverishment, Criminalization, and the Culture of Poverty', *Historical Archaeology*, 45 (3): 1–10.
Taylor, E. B. (2013), *Materializing Poverty: How the Poor Transform Their Lives*, Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield.
Thomas, L. (2017), 'Manifestations of Institutional Reform and Resistance to Reform in Ulster Workhouses, Ireland, 1838–1855', *International Journal of Historical Archaeology*, 21: 867–900.
Thyrring Nielsen, L. and K. Schrøder Hansen (2018), 'Et liv på en fattiggård – genstande fra Firgårde Fattiggård', *Museum Skanderborg Aarbog*: 75–85.
Tomkins, A. (2011), 'Retirement from the Noise and Hurry of the World? The Experience of the Almshouse Life', in J. McEwan and P. Sharpe (eds), *Accommodating Poverty: The Housing and Living Arrangements of the English Poor c. 1600–1850*, 263–83, Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.
Westerlund, L. (1987), *Harlösa donationshus*, Malmö: Länsstyrelsen.