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Abstract
This article deals with the problem of high mobility of servants in preindustrial northwest Europe. Although this high mobility frequently has been noted in the literature and sometimes caused great surprise, there has not been much effort of explain these patterns of mobility among servants. By combining a qualitative and quantitative approach this paper analyses the determinants of servant migration in Scania, in southern Sweden, during the nineteenth century. The main conclusion of the analysis is that it is not possible to single out one or two factors that alone explain why servants moved so frequently. It seems as if about half of the moves could have been due to the structure of working life organization, servant hierarchy and marriage. The rest depended on a range of other factors such as the type and structure of the masters household, variations in the demand for labor caused by fluctuations in harvest yields, conflicts in the household, a wish to gain additional training or simply finding a marriage partner. This study clearly shows that servants made well-informed migration decisions on the basis of perceived costs and benefits of moving or staying, although the incentives are mainly connected to the functioning of the local economy rather than inter-regional, or inter-sectoral, economic differences, which are at the center of traditional economic models of migration.

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Introduction

Many parts of rural Western Europe were characterized by the institution of life-cycle service, which implied that adolescents worked as servants and lived in other people's households, between leaving home and marriage (Hajnal 1983; Kussmaul 1981; Laslett 1977; Mitterauer 1986). At least in its classical form, being a servant was a transitory stage of life rather than a distinct social group of its own. After marriage people usually left the servant state to attain the social status of their parents, which made Laslett coin the term "life-cycle servants" to describe the phenomenon (Laslett 1977, p.34; see also Berkner 1972; Hajnal 1983; Kussmaul 1981; Lundh 1999a). During the late nineteenth century, the servant institution declined and taking up service became a first step on the way to permanent wage labor (Lundh 1999a).

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The very high mobility of servants is a well-known phenomenon all over north-western Europe, which has astonished and astounded scholars of the field (see the review in Hochstadt 1999, ch. 1) Nevertheless, the migration pattern of servants has seldom been analyzed in detail and explanations on why servants changed employers are often derived either from deductive arguing or from the functions of the servant system in a general sense. The purpose of this paper is to make a detailed analysis of servant migration in order to shed some light on what factors that influenced individual decisions to move. The area of investigation is Scania, the southernmost province of Sweden, and the period, the nineteenth century, is characterized by increasing commercialization and structural transformation of the agrarian sector. We approach the subject by combining a qualitative analysis of norms and customs with a statistical analysis of servant migration at the micro level. From migration theory and previous studies in the field, important determinants for servant migration are identified, which are used to structure both kinds of analyses. The qualitative analysis is based on retrospective reports of old farmers who were born in Scania in the second half of the nineteenth century. The statistical analysis is based on a sample of four parishes in western Scania, which allows us to conduct longitudinally studies of individual servants for the period 1829-1867.

The servant institution

In the literature several factors have been put forward to explain the institution of life-cycle service. Mitterauer (1992) put the servant institution into the more general framework of various "ecotypes" in preindustrial society. In general an ecotype refers to "the economic, social and ecological framework for individual action" (Gaunt 1977) or "a pattern of resource exploitation within a given macroeconomic framework" (Löfgren 1976, p. 101). Depending on the ecotype, there will be differences in labor organization and thus in labor demand, which in turn will affect family forms, presence of servants, etc.

Mitterauer distinguishes between two ideal types of societies: "servant societies" (*Gesindegesellschaften*) and "day-labor societies" (*Taglöhnergesellschaften*) (e.g. Mitterauer 1992). The former is characterized by the servant institution, i.e. of the integration of living-in servants into the household, while the latter is characterized by a system of labor organization relying primarily on day-laborers, rather than on living-in servants. The two different systems are related to the

"ecotype", or economic structure, of a particular community by the specific conditions this structure produces regarding the demand for labor. At one extreme, cattle raising requires continuous labor but shows very little seasonal variation, which implies that communities dominated by cattle raising typically use hired living-in servants to a high degree. At the other extreme we have viniculture, in which there are pronounced seasonal variations in work intensity and thus in the demand for labor. Hence, vinicultural societies show large numbers of day-laborers and seasonal workers, with only small numbers of living-in servants (Mitterauer 1992).

Grain producing regions can be found in-between these ideal types. Grain production shows marked seasonal fluctuations in work intensity, with a peak in the demand for labor during the harvest. Nevertheless, there is also a demand for continuous labor, working with threshing, supplementary cattle raising and dairy farming, various maintenance tasks, etc. Hence, in grain producing regions we typically find both living-in servants and landless laborers of various kinds. This is also the situation we find in Scania, and many other parts of Sweden. Here, grain production dominated but with quite strong influence of cattle raising and dairy farming, and in the woodland regions also different supplementary activities such as handicraft; and here we also find a large number of servants as well as landless laborers, in addition to the peasant population.

The servant institution can be said to have been an efficient solution to the particular problems facing the peasant economy under the circumstances discussed above, and with a dominance of nuclear family households as the main production units. In situations where small households predominate, as in preindustrial Western Europe, the supply of family labor will vary with the development of the family life cycle. During certain phases of the family life cycle the supply of labor will be lower than the demand, while during other phases there will be an excess supply of family labor. The servant system provides a solution to this problem by making it possible for peasant families to hire servants in times of excess demand for labor, and to let children leave home and go into service in times of excess supply (Berkner 1972, p.410; Kussmaul 1981, p.24; Löfgren 1974).

Under different circumstances, there could be other solutions to the problem of the different phases of the family life cycle. For example in Russia during the nineteenth century the typical farming unit was the peasant family, which, as opposed to the situation in Western Europe,

did not use hired labor at all. This implied that the labor supply of the household was totally dependent on the size and structure of the family itself (Chayanov 1986, p. 53).

It has also been argued that the servant institution can be viewed as a kind of *ex post* family planning under insecure demographic and economic conditions (Wrigley 1978). High infant and child mortality created uncertainties regarding the number of children that would reach adulthood, and economic insecurities and institutional deficiencies together made children a vital asset in the risk management of families, for example in securing their old-age. Taken together, this implied that it was very risky to limit fertility, since one might end up with too few children, with potentially adverse consequences for the welfare of the whole family. The servant institution provided the opportunity to regulate the family size afterwards, by letting "excess children" leave home and go in to service.

The servants lived in their masters' households as integrated household members, and were usually treated in a very similar way to the children of these households (e.g. Mitterauer 1986). They typically worked on a specified contract for a rather short period of time; often a year (Hajnal 1983; Harnesk 1990; Lundh 1999b). As has been shown in a previous study, the pattern of leaving home in Scania seems to fit quite nicely into this servant institution. Children typically left home between the ages of 15 and 20 but did not get married until their late twenties (Dribe 2000, ch. 6; Lundh 1997); meanwhile they were working as servants in other peasants' households. In the following section we will picture the migration pattern of these life cycle servants in more detail.

Migration pattern

The dataset used in this study is based on family reconstitutions carried out within the Scanian Demographic Database[1] for nine parishes in western Scania in southern Sweden. The sample used in this paper consists of four of these parishes: Hög, Kävlinge, Halmstad and Sireköpinge. The social structure of the parishes varied somewhat. Hög and Kävlinge were dominated by freeholders and tenants on crown land, a group rather similar to the freeholders regarding their social

[1] The Scanian demographic database is a collaborative project between the Regional Archives in Lund and the Research Group in Population Economics at the Department of Economic History, Lund University, headed by Tommy Bengtsson. The source material is described in Reuterswärd and Olsson (1993).

characteristics, while Halmstad and Sireköpinge were totally dominated by tenants on noble land (see Bengtsson and Dribe 1997). In addition to the peasant group the parishes also hosted various landless and semi-landless groups, dependent on working for others to cover the subsistence needs of the family. In 1830 the four parishes had 2,333 inhabitants which increased to 3,383 by 1865 (Bengtsson and Dribe 1997).

The family reconstitutions were carried out using data on births, marriages and deaths, for the period from the late seventeenth century up till 1894 and the procedures have been discussed and evaluated in considerable detail elsewhere and need not be reproduced here (Bengtsson and Lundh 1991, 1993; Dribe 2000, ch. 2). The database contains all individuals born in or migrated into the parish. Instead of sampling a certain stock of individuals, for example a birth cohort, each individual is followed from birth, or time of in-migration, to death or out-migration.

In order to obtain information on where the families lived and whether they had access to land or not, the poll-tax registers (*mantalslängder*) have been used, and from catechetical examination registers (*husförhörslängder*) information on migration and household context has also been added (see Dribe 2000). Normally only the year of migration was reported in the registers rather than the exact dates. However, from migration records we know that the vast majority of all moves took place in October and November (Dribe 1995; see also Sommarin 1939, p. 99; Utterström 1957, pp. 235-238). Servant contracts in the nineteenth century were usually terminated October 24 while the new contract began November 1. During the week in-between, the so-called free week, servants moved between their old and new employers (e.g. Granlund 1944a, p. 183; Lundh 1999, p. 59) Accordingly, the date of migration was set to October 31. The registers also make it possible to analyze both migration within parish borders and between parishes, which is of great importance when studying servant migration, which in effect concerns households rather than parishes. The availability of information from these registers in the Scanian Demographic Database makes it necessary to limit the period under study to 1829-1867. The analysis is also limited to servants working in peasant and landless households, excluding those employed on the larger estates in the area.

Table 1. Total Migration Rate for servants (10-60 years and 15-30 years) 1829-1867.

Total Migration Rate (TMR)	Males	Females
10-60 years	20.0	16.0
15-30 years	7.8	8.0

Note: TMR is calculated in the same way as TFR (Total Fertility Rate) and gives the average number of times a servant would move.

Table 2. Proportions of servants by duration of stay with the same master.

Duration (years)	Males	Females
Duration ≤ 1	59.7	59.3
1 > duration ≤ 2	23.0	23.2
2 > duration ≤ 3	8.7	8.1
Duration > 3	8.5	9.4
Total	100	100
N	4671	3496

The high mobility of servants in preindustrial Western Europe is a well-established fact. Table 1 reports the Total Migration Rate in two different age groups.[2] On average a male servant would move 20 times between ages 10 and 60. Although this says something about the high mobility of servants, it is slightly misleading since most people did not spend such a long time in service. During the part of the life cycle when service was most prevalent (15-30 years) a servant moved on average around eight times. Another way of picturing the mobility of servants is to look at the duration of stay with the same master. As shown in table 2 almost 60 percent of servants, males as well as females, stayed a year or less with the same master, while another 23 percent left within two years. Less than ten percent stayed more than three years in the same household.

Even if servants were highly mobile, they did not move very far. Over 80 percent moved within a 15-kilometer radius and less than five percent left for a town in the area (table 3). Looking at the geographical origin of servants we get a similar picture, with the vast majority coming

[2] TMR is analogous to the Total Fertility Rate, and gives the average number of times a servant would move in the specified age group.

Table 3. Migration destinations of servants 1829-1867. All ages.

	Males	Females
Intra-parish	43.2	42.9
Inter-parish		
Within 15 km radius	43.6	44.7
Towns in the region	3.8	4.2
Rest of Sweden	4.2	3.3
Abroad	0.7	0.2
Unknown*	4.5	4.6
Total	100	100
N	4224	3230

*Includes migrants disappearing from the registers without any recorded out-migration.

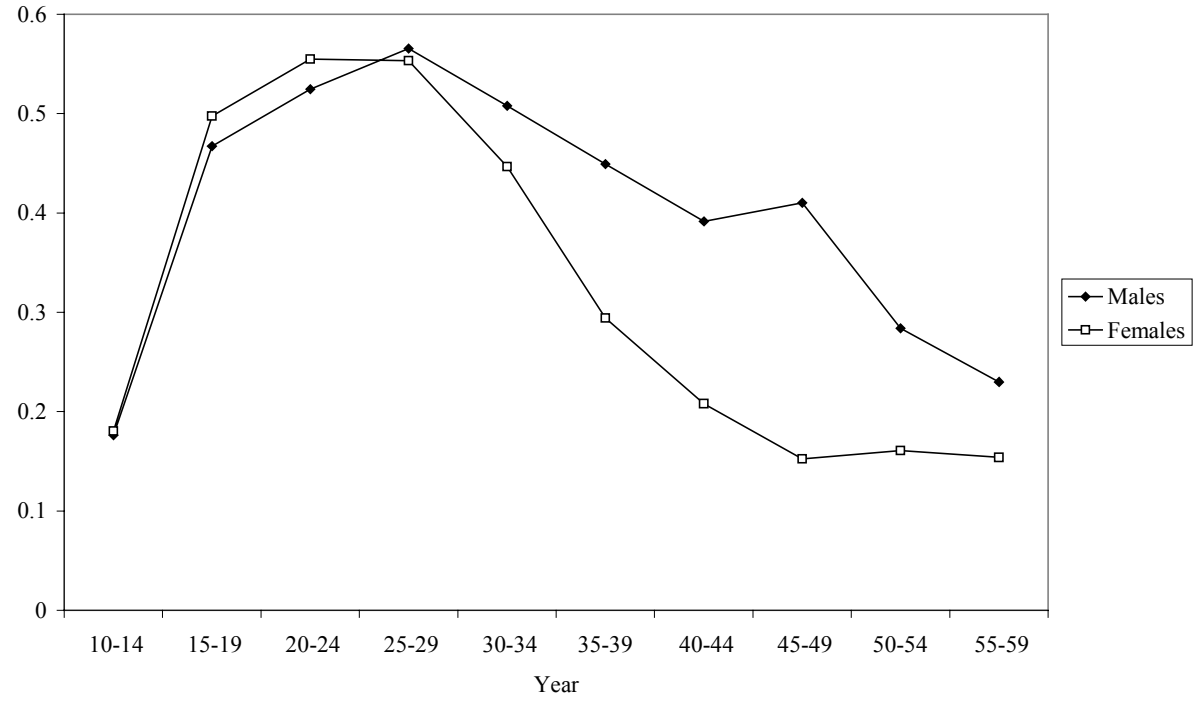
Table 4. Place of birth of servants in the four parishes 1829-1867.

	Males	Females
Parish of residence	31.2	32.0
Outside parish of residence		
Within 15 km radius	52.8	55.3
Towns in the region	1.6	1.9
Rest of Sweden	11.5	8.4
Abroad	0.1	0.3
Unknown	2.8	2.1
Total	100	100
N	4671	3496

from the surrounding parishes (see table 4). Figure 1, picturing the age-specific migration rates for servants, shows that servants were most mobile between 15 and 30.

We now turn to the question of the social origin of the servants. In the classical notion of the servant institution there is the belief that service was a mere phase of life through which children from all social groups passed. Schlumbohm criticizes this view, maintaining that children from landless groups were highly over-represented among the servants. Studying a census for the parish of Belm in northwest Germany in 1812, he found that 78 percent of landless children marrying between 1812 and 1815 were in service at the time of the census, while the corresponding figure for peasant children was only 18 percent (Schlumbohm 1996, p. 85). This led him to conclude that "service was not an institution through which all classes of society

Figure 1. Age-specific migration rates for servants in the four parishes 1829-1867.



exchanged children with each other, but that it was basically a class phenomenon, which allowed land-rich peasants to use young labor from poorer classes of rural society" (Schlumbohm 1996, p. 86). The question now becomes whether or not the same could be said for Scania.

Table 5 shows that around 60 percent of the servants, of whom we know anything about their social origin, came from a landless background, which corresponds fairly well with the proportion landless in the community (see e.g. Dribe 2000, p. 42). Most likely, however, this is an underestimate of the proportion landless among the servants, since we expect landed peasants to have been over-represented among those who remained in the parish of origin, i.e. for those who we have information on social origin.

A previous study on leaving home made it quite clear that there were important differences between social groups in the pattern of leaving home. Children of landed peasants left home considerably later than did children of landless and semi-landless parents. Nevertheless, a high proportion of children also of landed peasants left home to spend some time in service before getting married (Dribe 2000, pp.113-120). What is crucial is that they left home later, which implies that a cross-section of the proportion of children in service in different social groups would

Table 5. Social origin of servants in the four parishes, 1829-1867. Percentage distribution.

Family social status at age 10	Males	Females
Freeholders (≥1/16 mantal)	2.0	1.0
Freeholders (<1/16 mantal)	0.9	0.9
Noble tenants (≥1/16 mantal)	5.6	4.5
Noble tenants (<1/16 mantal)	1.5	2.3
Crofters	3.6	3.6
Other landless/semi-landless groups	12.8	13.8
No information	73.6	74.0
Total	100	100
N	4671	3496

Note: Freeholders also include crown tenants.

underestimate the proportion of children who had ever spent time as servants before marriage. In order to get an estimation of this proportion it is necessary to make a longitudinal analysis. In an effort to do this, Lundh found that 77 percent of males from peasant homes getting married in 1800-1859 had previously been into service, while the corresponding figure for males from non-peasant homes was 90 percent (Lundh 1999a, p. 67). Taken together, this shows that even though there was a clear difference between the social groups, it is evident that, at least until the mid-1860s, a large proportion of children also from peasant homes went into service before getting married.

Thus, the conclusion concerning the situation in Scania must be that being a servant in the first part of the nineteenth century was really a transitory phase of life, through which a large majority of children from all social groups passed, even though there were some social-group-specific differences in the recruitment of servants. The servant institution was one way of solving the problem of securing a sufficient supply of household labor in a situation in which the supply of family labor varied in accordance with the family life cycle

Over the nineteenth century the agrarian economy of Sweden went through quite dramatic changes. Commercialization and structural change in the agrarian sector also brought changes in the organization of labor, with married servants (*statare*) replacing the life-cycle servants of the past. Thus, from being a phase of life the servants turned into a social group of their own; with the important difference that they now got the opportunity to marry and form a household (Lundh 1999a). During the nineteenth century being a servant also became more and

more connected to downward social mobility. For peasant children, who went into service, it became more and more difficult to later attain the social status of their parents, thereby contributing to the process of proletarianization taking place in this period (Lundh 1999a, Winberg 1975). Thus, in the second half of the nineteenth century, the classical servant institution, where a majority of children from all social groups spent at least some time as living-in servants before getting married, yielded to a new system in which service became something people remained in for life.

Explaining servant migration – theoretical considerations

Within neoclassical migration theory the decision to move is seen as the result of a strictly individual utility maximizing process in which the net costs and benefits of migration is compared. At the macro level migration streams from one region to another is viewed mainly as the result of differences in labor productivity, and thus in wages, which creates incentives for people to move to the high productivity, high wage area. Eventually, as more and more people move from the low- to the high-productivity area the initial differences in productivity and wage is diminished and a new equilibrium established (e.g. Harris and Todaro 1970; Lewis 1954). At the micro level the individual decision to move has been seen as equivalent to an investment in human capital implying costs as well as benefits (Sjaastad 1962). The benefits are mainly the higher expected wages earned in the destination area (adjusted for the probability of obtaining employment), while costs of migration include direct costs of moving as well as indirect costs (e.g. foregone earnings while traveling and searching for employment) and psychic costs of breaking with family and friends (Todaro 1969; Sjaastad 1962).

In the literature on the servant system the high mobility is often taken for granted as part of an institutional pattern, implying that people moved often because they were expected to do so (see e.g. the review in Hochstadt 1999, ch. 1). We believe, however, that the decision of servants whether to move, or to stay for another year with the present master, can be seen as a rational decision comparing costs and benefits of moving, although the mechanisms behind these costs and benefits might look very different from the case of long-range migration streams as pictured in the standard theoretical models.

One undoubtedly important factor behind the high mobility of servants was that the cost of migration was very low. Servants did not have much belongings to carry with them, and few, if any, dependants, and since the farming technology was quite homogeneous there were no large differences in quality between different servants of a certain sex and age (Kussmaul 1981, p. 55). This does not, of course, explain why they actually moved, but serves to indicate that there was little that inhibited frequent migration.

The benefits that could be earned from moving is a function of the present situation and the expected situation in the new location regarding a multitude of factors, such as housing conditions, wages, social status, fringe benefits etc. The conditions in the present location can be labeled as push-factors, potentially making a migrant move due to dissatisfaction with the present situation. Pull-factors, on the other hand, are the factors present in other places that provide incentives to move.

Turning first to the push-factors there are a number of reasons why a potential migrant would want, or could be forced, to leave the household in which he is presently residing. Dissatisfaction with the present situation concerning food, treatment, clothing, etc. may have been an important factor driving a servant out to look for better conditions (Kussmaul 1981, p. 55; Martinius 1977, p. 106-109; Mitterauer 1986). As was discussed above, one of the main reasons behind the servant institution was to supplement family labor in the household in times of excess demand. Naturally, a changing balance of family labor as children grew up would then lower the demand for servant labor as children substituted for servants in the household labor force (Berkner 1972; Dribe 2000; Harnesk 1990; Lundh 1995). Thus, the demand for extra-family labor, and changes in this demand following changes in the age structure of the family, gives one important reason for a servant to move. The demand for extra-family labor is not only a function of the supply of family labor, however, but also of other factors such as the size of the landholding, and fluctuations in harvest outcome or grain prices which influence the general demand for labor in the economy.

It is also conceivable that migration in some instances resulted from conflicts between different persons in the household of residence. Servants lived highly integrated into the families in which they worked and it is easy to imagine how conflicts, sexual tensions, etc. could have arisen between various family members and non-family servants. It has even been argued that particularly female servants by frequently

changing masters lowered the risk of the master becoming too personal, which otherwise might have increased the risk of sexual abuse, etc. (Kussmaul 1981, p. 55). There could also be problems in the relation between servants and children in the household, especially in the case when grown-up children were residing in the parental home, which might cause a servant to move. It could also be the other way around, i.e. that parents did not want to risk a son or daughter to become too closely involved with the servants in order to avoid premature marriages or pregnancies, and therefore made the servant move.

Turning to the pull-factors, wage differences play a dominant role in most neoclassical economic theories of migration. For preindustrial rural society, however, some have argued that wage differentials were not a very important factor in their own right for the high mobility of servants, since wages were quite homogeneous between different masters (Martinius 1977, p. 109). Nevertheless, migration could have been a way for servants to climb the hierarchical ladder of servants (Kussmaul 1981, p. 55). Especially in areas with a large servant population, moving to a new employer could have meant a bettering of ones position, giving higher status as well as better pay (Mitterauer 1986). Working at different farms also provided for more all-round and comprehensive training in running a farm than serving at one place alone, making migration one form of investment in human capital. Frequent migration was also a way for servants to safeguard their interest in relation to their masters. Especially in times of labor scarcity, which was common during more prosperous years in the agricultural sector (see e.g. Utterström 1957), the threat of migration could perhaps bring forth better conditions for the servants (Harnesk 1990, p. 165). By moving around between different households, adolescents also enlarged their social networks, which might have been of considerable importance not only for future employment opportunities but also for finding the right marriage partner.

Ethnological Evidence

This section analyses retrospective accounts of relationships between masters/mistresses and servants during the informants' childhood and youth at farms in Scania in the latter half of the nineteenth century. Source material is available from the Folk Life Archives in Lund. From the 1920s onwards information has been collected on conditions in the countryside, through interviews or notes made by the informants

themselves. The accounts have been structured around special lists of questions drawn up by ethnologists. At times the reports range over a number of question areas, and at other times they are concerned with narrower themes. Here, use is made of material from Scania, taken from a question list dealing with various aspects of the relationship between masters and servants (LUF 105), as well as all other information regarding combinations with the word ”servant” in the Archive’s database. Altogether, 109 reports have been used, in which the conditions that concern servants range from one or two pages to more than a hundred.

In the interpretation of such source material it is important to establish the character of the reports. From these we can make some inferences on the occurrence of norms and phenomena, but it is not possible to say anything about their frequency. It is easy to be skeptical of material that is characterized by retrospective reports on conditions that existed a long time ago, where dates are vague, or missing altogether, and the informants are restricted by the formulation of questionnaires. However, it is reasonable to argue that the reports provide us with information on norms and phenomena that were part of the rural life of Scania in the latter part of the nineteenth century; information which is often absent in other sources. Here, this material is used to investigate, against a background of the theoretical discussion above, the norms and relationships that influenced servants’ propensity to migrate.

As was mentioned above, servants were typically employed on a yearly contract, from November 1 to October 24 the following year. Employment agreements were made in the summer, often in connection with a local market, and confirmed by a wage advance. If the servants wanted to give notice of termination, they did so during the year of employment and were given a written character they could show to new potential employers. The head of household could also serve notice on his servants. If notice was not served, employment continued for another year (see also Granlund 1944a).

The accounts clearly show that changing employment too often was not recommended and provide examples of how masters favored maids and farmhands they were satisfied with and wanted to keep or reward for loyal service. This could be a matter of better wage conditions, clothing or payment of wedding costs (see also Wigström 1891). Such things indicate that a large turnover of servants was not favored by the peasants, and it has been shown in a study from northern Sweden that

they often complained over the high mobility of servants (Harnesk 1990).

Several of the reports indicate that giving up a job before the contracted time was up was a shame, and even illegal to boot. According to the labor statutes, servants who absconded could be fined and brought back to work by the county constable. However, this seldom happened in practice, but those who terminated their services were punished with deduction of wages and no character, which made finding a new position difficult. Forcing a farmhand to return to work was not regarded as desirable, even if lawful means were available. There were also examples of servants who were fired for neglecting their duties before their contracts ran out.

Even if the norm was that servants should not change employers too often, the evidence presented above shows that they in fact moved very often. The reports contain ample evidence of the push-and-pull factors discussed above, which can help us understand the mechanisms behind the frequent movements of servants between employers.

There is support in the reports for the hypothesis that migration costs were low. Since the local labor market was quite small, transportation costs were low. Information costs were also low, since information about different farmsteads and vacancies was spread through the network of servants, at markets and through special local labor intermediaries (see also Granlund 1944a). From the peasant's viewpoint, costs of employing and training a new servant were small, especially since the work tasks were similar at other farmsteads. The servant's age and work recommendations from a previous employer were good indications of the suitability of a maid or farmhand.

The demand for labor at a farmstead with mixed farming was determined by the acreage and the number of horses or oxen and other animals (colts, cattle, pigs, sheep, geese etc.). On small farms of about 10 to 15 acres and a pair of horses/oxen, the need was generally just one maid and farmhand. On middle-sized farms of about 50 to 60 acres of flat land, and somewhat smaller in woodland areas, where there were two pairs of horses there were often two maids and two farmhands. In addition, there was a young girl or boy who helped to look after the children or the animals.

The reports state clearly that grown-up children were substitutes for servants, as was also hypothesized in the theoretical section above. "If there were own sons and daughters, these took part in the tasks at hand. In these cases the number of servants were fewer", wrote one of the

reporters (M15053). It was a norm for the farmer's own children to participate in the work, first as a lad herding geese or sheep, or as a nursemaid when they were between 10 and 12 and fulfilling the work tasks of a farmhand or maid. In cases where there were far too many children in a farmer's family, some of them were forced to seek work with another homestead. As an exception, it was reported that peasant children sometimes moved away from home even though there was sufficient work for them.

The fact that peasant children grew up and started competing with the servants for work can thus be seen as a factor contributing to a termination of servants' contracts thereby forcing them to move to new employment. Another push-factor mentioned in the retrospective accounts was that poor harvests or crop failure could reduce the need for labor in the local community and give rise to migration. One report maintains, for example, that a crop failure around 1870 affected southeast Scania rather badly, leading to temporary migratory movements of young people who sought work as servants in the north and west. (M14100). We will return to a more detailed discussion of this relationship between migration and economic fluctuations in the next section.

Another push-factor mentioned in the theoretical section above was poor board and lodging, which left servants dissatisfied and sometimes resulted in a change of employer. As in other countries, board and lodging were part of the servants' employment conditions and to these were added the other agreed benefits. Up to the end of the nineteenth century it was normal for a part of the wage to be paid in the form of clothes, shoes and cloth, or a right to plant potatoes or raise a sheep for wool. It was possible to choose a larger cash part and a smaller in-kind part and vice versa. At the end of the nineteenth century the in-kind part started to disappear and was eventually replaced by a totally cash wage.

The servants were given accommodation on the farms. On large and middle-sized farms, maids were given a special maid's room in the main house, while farmhands had a room connected to the stable. These rooms contained beds attached to the walls but were otherwise sparsely furnished. In Scania servants' rooms lacked fireplaces before the twentieth century, and they could be extremely cold in the winter. The reports often mention the poor housing standards for servants but do not give the impression that conditions varied much. Thus, differences in the quality of lodgings may not have constituted a reason for moving, but might have been a reason to avoid the occupation of servant altogether.

The overriding reason for changing employers, according to the retrospective reports, was that the fare was too poor. The one report after the other points out that the food varied between farms depending on wealth, thrift and the housewife's competence. These things affected the servants' propensity to remain. One report says that "a place known for its good fare found it easy to attract servants for a lower wage, and they stayed a long time". (M15375) Other reports also mention that the food was considered more important than the cash wage, which is credible in view of the fact that the food was a daily concern and the cash wage was rather small in any case. Farms with poor food therefore found it difficult to keep their servants. Another report mentions that there were farms "where the meals were so bad that one could say that the servants were underfed. No servant stayed more than a year at these farms" (M15641) Some reports maintain that the food in general was better on smaller farms, where it was common for the servants and the master's family to eat together, than at large farms where they ate separately. In the latter situation it was naturally easier to serve better meals to the master's family and poorer food to the servants. Nonetheless, there are reports of smaller farms where the masters were mean and not only served worse food to the servants, but also made sure they did not eat too much. (M14029; M14459; M15638; M15641)

There is also information in the reports about other varying conditions between farms, e.g. the quality of the benefits in kind and possibilities of free time in which to do their own work or visit their parents. On a smaller farm with only one farmhand it was probably more difficult for the farmhand to be free on a Sunday than on larger farms where the farmhands could take it in turns to feed the horses. It is not difficult to imagine that the propensity to stay for another year with a generous master, who paid adequately in kind and provided opportunities to be free, was greater than with a less generous one.

Even bad relations between master and servant constituted a push-factor, especially on large farms and estates, where the social gap between them was larger. Work instructions were given in the form of orders and the master did not participate much in the physical work. Punishment in the form of dismissal or pay deduction was a common occurrence when the farmer was dissatisfied with a servant, and corporal punishment was meted out particularly when it came to underaged servants. Severe or unfair treatment from the master could thus have been a factor preventing the servant from renewing his contract. Conflicts between masters and servants or between the peasant children

and the servants usually ended, according to the reports, in an agreement to break the contract earlier to allow the servant to move.

On smaller and middle-sized farms the relationships between masters and servants were probably quite close, especially since they worked and ate together and often spent evenings together, particularly in the winter when it was cold in the maids' and farmhands' rooms. Some reports mention that the farm's boys shared sleeping quarters with the farmhands and the girls with the maids. (M14026, M15375). The farm's youngsters and servants mixed on fairly equal terms. A female reporter was, as a child, so attached to a maid that, when the latter took up service in another household, her parents, to save her feelings, told her that the maid had left to visit her relatives. Only after some time they admitted that the maid was gone for good. (M14459)

A special push-factor was constituted by the household head's fear that his children would have sexual relations with the servants, which in turn might lead to unwanted pregnancy or marriage. The reports make it clear that peasants were against such liaisons, because the servants were mainly recruited from landless families[3] and, in any case, they themselves wanted to be involved in choosing a partner for their children. The reports go on to say that marriage between the farm's youngsters and servants was not common, but did occur. In such cases it seemed that the farmstead parents eventually accepted marriage, but some reports contain information showing that marriage was denied in spite of pregnancy and that threats of disinheritance were made. (M13986, M14101)

We know from other studies that the second half of the nineteenth century was a time of downward social mobility, which by definition means a number of misalliances. On the other hand, the reports indicate that the farmers at that time thought it was shameful if the daughter or son were forced to get married to a servant because of a pregnancy. Therefore, this moralist attitude, even if it did not always reflect reality, may have constituted a push-factor. It can also be imagined that the farmer, when he realized that his daughter had become a little too interested in a certain farmhand of landless origin, made sure that the work contract was not extended for a further year. The farmer could react similarly if his son became interested in a maid.

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[3] It should be noted that most of the reports refer to the period after 1860, when the traditional service system had begun to dissolve, and when going into service became a first step to permanent wage labor for peasant children and the majority of servants were recruited from landless households.

Let us now move on to a discussion about how potential pull-factors are illustrated in the retrospective reports. When it concerned lads and maids under the age of 15, wages were paid to the father, but otherwise to the servant him/herself. Compared to remaining in the parental home, work as a servant meant that one exercised control over one's own wages, which could have influenced the decision to move away from home. One reporter mentions a farmer who refused to give in to a request by his son to be paid a wage for his work at the family farm. The son then moved away from home and took up employment as a servant, whereupon the father had to employ a farmhand. (M13988)

In so far as variations in the wage level were concerned, this is only mentioned by way of exception in the reports. Nothing is mentioned in the reports to suggest that differences in cash wages between farms influenced the short-range movements, which could have been expected from a neoclassical point of view. This might have been due to the fact that farms in the area paid almost the same wages, and that the cash wage was of little significance compared to wages in the form of in-kind benefits and board and lodging. However, some of the reports do mention that youngsters from the woodland areas in the north of Scania moved to the flatland area where they were better paid, and that young people from southern Scania took up work in Denmark where the wages were much higher. (M13986, M15054)

On the other hand the reports give the impression that it was the quality of the food that was decisive, not only to keep old servants, as we have already mentioned, but also to recruit new ones. The farms that had a reputation for providing good and plentiful food had no difficulty recruiting labor, while it was more difficult for those farms known to be mean with small helpings of poor food. Referring to the latter category, a reporter said: ”it was always difficult for these farms to obtain servants”. (M15641)

A prerequisite for things to work in this way was the spread of information on food conditions on the farms. Most of the reports in which variations in conditions are discussed indicate that this was a subject of much discussion, and some of the reports have accounts of how the information was spread. One reporter recalls the home of his childhood ”the farmhand told us about his former workplace where the housewife was very stingy. She always stood over the servants while they ate to see that they did not eat too much”. (M14459). Because such rumors quickly spread, farms were careful not to become known as stingy, since it would make recruitment difficult. Likewise, the

expectation of getting to a household with good food conditions probably gave rise to a move in a number of cases, especially in combination with discontent over the food in the present household.

There is an aspect of the wage issue that probably had a pull-character, i.e. the connection between on the one hand wage and status, and on the other work tasks and skills. Work tasks on the farm were divided first and foremost according to gender, and within each gender according to age, employment duration and skill. In the normal case the master and mistress were the oldest and filled the positions requiring the greatest skills in their respective areas. The head of household would administer the farm, give instructions to the first farmhand and oversee the work at the same time as carry out the most qualified tasks. The housewife would fill corresponding positions when it came to household duties and the maids' work. At larger farmsteads the master often did not take part in the physical work.

Farmhands took care of the horses and worked in the fields in the summer, and threshed grain in the winter, while the maids took care of the milking, looked after the animals and did the household chores. The first farmhand was the oldest and most qualified. He was about 22 or older and was familiar with the qualified work tasks on the farm. He was the work leader for the other farmhands, could sow by hand, repair equipment and was a craftsman. The second farmhand was usually aged between 16 and 22 and could plow with horses and carry out other tasks meant for grown men, but was not as experienced and skillful as the first farmhand. There could also be younger boys, around 10-15 years old, who took care of geese and sheep. These were often only employed in the summer, while farmhands were employed on a yearly basis. On larger farms there could be several farmhands with roughly the same tasks, status and wage as second farmhands. There were also younger helpers who ran errands and fed the animals (see also Granlund 1944b).

The maids could be divided into the following categories: The first maid, most often over 20 years old, fed all the animals except the horses, milked the cows and was responsible for the work in the barn, helped in the fields at harvest time and led, with the housewife, the work involved in washing, baking, brewing, spinning and weaving. The second maid could be between 16 and 20 years old, took care of the household work indoors under the supervision of the housewife and looked after the children. On larger farms there could also be younger maids aged between 10 and 15 who took over the task of looking after the children from the second maid. The maids were employed on a yearly basis,

while young nursery maids sometimes were employed only in the summer, especially if they were very young.

It is difficult to establish from the reports exactly what the wage levels were, partly because the possible combinations of cash wages and benefits in kind were so numerous, and partly because it is difficult to judge the quality of the in-kind benefits. However, the reports do make it clear that there were wage differences between the mentioned servant categories. The overall impression is that the wage for herdsmen and very young nursemaids was very small, that the first farmhand earned more than the second farmhand and that the first maid earned more than the second maid (see also Granlund 1944a; Wigström 1891).

Only two reports contain more precise information about the size of wages for different employee categories. One of them is based on a notebook belonging to the farm, where wages for 1850-51 were noted. The farm in question was middle-sized, lay in west Scania and wages were made up entirely of benefits in kind. The note book mentions that wages for the first farmhand were ”grey clothes, coat and trousers, blue shirt, a pair of linen trousers, socks and mittens, a pair of boots, 25-35 liters of seed potatoes, 2-3 liters schnapps” while the second farmhand in the same year received ”a coat, 2 shirts, socks and mittens, a pair of linen trousers”. The first maid received ”a russet dress, an apron, 4 meters rough fabric, 2.5 meters flax fabric, a pair of boots, 250 grams wool”, while the second maid was given "a dark blue dress, a shift, an apron”. (M10287)

The other report concerns conditions on a middle-sized farm in southern Scania in the 1880s. Here, the whole wage was in cash. The first farmhand earned about a third or twice as much as the second farmhand (150 and 70-100 kronor respectively), who in turn earned three or four times as much as a herder lad (25 kronor). A maid was paid considerably less than a farmhand, about half (40-50 kronor). (M13986)

Parallel with the wage differences between the servant categories there was a status difference reflected in the rituals and treatment. The first farmhand would e.g. sit beside the farmer at the dinner table and cut bread for the others, drive the best horses and sleep on the outside edge of the bed in the farmhands’ room. A report tells a story set in southwest Scania around 1890, where a farmer for some reason employed two first farmhands. The reporter maintains that when both were called to breakfast in the house on the first day of their employment ”one of them rushed in first and could sit closest to the master. By doing this he won the coveted place and became the first farmhand for the year. But a

bitter enmity developed between the two for the duration of their employment". (M14026)

Searching for a marriage partner could also be a motive behind frequent migration. We have already seen that farmers were negatively inclined towards their children entering into alliances with servants of landless origin. If, on the other hand, the servant in question came from peasant origin, the fact that he/she worked as a servant was not regarded an impediment to marriage. For the farmers' children, moving away from home could function as a building up of a network and search for a marriage partner. But the servant system also meant the possibility of two servants of landless origin meeting and marrying each other. A report tells of how farmhands keen on getting married remained as long as they could at the dinner table in order to study the girls when they cleared the table after the evening meal. (M14100). Another report claims that there used to be a saying that if the first farmhand cut a slice of bread in one stroke, he was grown up and ready to get married. (M14023)

The servants' contact areas were not only the household where they worked, but also the whole village and sometimes even further. They met other youngsters in church, at parties on the farms during feasts and in the village youth teams, which included both servants and farm youngsters, and which occasionally organized dances and youth parties. During the free week in October between employment periods and on market days the circle of acquaintances could be extended beyond the village. Even though there were places and situations that made contact between prospective partners possible, it is clear that migration increased the possibility of finding the right one.

Besides seeking a marriage partner, education and training was a factor that encouraged servants, especially those from a peasant background, to move. Two reasons are given in the reports for peasant children to go into service. One was that there were many children in the family and there was not enough work for everyone. The other was that they wanted to further their education. It does not appear that it was regarded as degrading for peasant children to work as servants. Quite the contrary, it could be a merit to have been out, be influenced by new impressions and learn. Several reports point out that farmstead youths and in particular boys tended to move further away than the next village, preferably to larger farms and estates. They even went as far Denmark, since it was a leading country in agriculture. "To serve as a farmhand until one can become a farmer is a very important development and one

often marries a girl who has also served farmers", says a reporter from northern Scania. "They learned, during their years of service, the whole art of farming and knew what to do before they began farming their own land/…/" (M15375)

One informant takes up an interesting social difference when it comes to the educational motive with regard to southern Scania at the end of the nineteenth century. The reason that servants from peasant backgrounds were treated better than those from a landless family was that they were older when they moved from the family home, and also that they were better educated at home. As children on the farm they learned all sorts of tasks, and found it easier to fulfil the demands placed on servants on the farms. Children of cottars or laborers were usually given the task of looking after the small children while their parents worked, and were thus less well informed when they became servants. (M14100)

The educational motive contributes to an explanation of why peasant children left home to go into service. It is also probable that they wanted to work at different agricultural places to learn different things, in which case moving was the obvious solution.

Multivariate analysis

In this section the effect of factors, that from a theoretical point of view could be assumed to influence a servant's decision to leave the household where he or she was employed, are tested. Since it is difficult to operationalize pull factors, the model focuses on what factors that increased or decreased the risk of pushing the servant to move out of the household.

We estimate a multivariate model using a longitudinal dataset containing information on individual, household and community level. The dataset is based on a family reconstituted population of the four parishes already described and analyzed in section 3 above. In the analysis combined time-series and event history analysis is used, which allows us to estimate the effects of various covariates at individual and family level as well as of aggregate fluctuations at the community level on the likelihood of migration (see e.g. Bengtsson 1993). We use the Cox proportional hazards model, which does not require any

specification of the underlying hazard function (Cox 1972).[4] The model can be written as:

$$h_i(a) = h_0(a)\exp[\beta_1 X_1+\beta_2 X_2+\ldots+\gamma Z(t)]$$

$h_i(a)$ is the hazard of the event for the ith individual at time a. Time in this case refers to the time spent in the household of residence.
$h_0(a)$ is the "baseline hazard", i.e. the hazard function for an individual having the value zero on all covariates.
βs are the parameters for the individual covariates (X_1, X_2, **…**), that are estimated.
γ is the parameter for the external covariate ($Z(t)$, where t is calendar time.

In discussing the results below relative hazards are used as a measure of the difference between groups with different values on the covariates. The relative hazards indicate the difference in the hazard of the event for the group under consideration relative to the reference category. A value of 1.50 implies that the hazard, or risk, of migration in the group is 50 percent higher than in the reference category, while a figure of 0.50 implies that the hazard is 50 percent (or half) of the hazard in the reference category.

The covariates of this model are designed to capture three sets of push mechanisms. The first mechanism is the demand for labor in the household, which is indicated by several variables. Social status of the household in which the servant presently lives serves as a basic indicator of the productive potential of the household and thus of its demand for labor. Peasants are expected to demand more labor than landless, although this does not necessarily imply that servants in these households need to be less mobile. Family composition of the present household might also give an indication of the demand for labor. Households with a higher consumer demand will, other things being equal, demand more labor than households with lesser consumer demand provided that they have enough land. We have previously

[4] Model estimations were made using Mlife, a software designed to integrate time-series and event history analysis (see http://capa.stat.umu.se/~gb/MLife/). Due to the large number of tied observations a full maximum likelihood approach to Cox regression was used instead of the standard partial maximum likelihood approach. This model is in effect a discrete event history model and functions very well with datasets with a large number of tied observations. For more details on this approach see Broström (1998).

shown that peasants, and especially freeholders and crown tenants, increased the amount of land under cultivation when the number of children increased, which would increase the demand for labor (Dribe 2000). In the present analysis we include different covariates to indicate the number of household members in different categories. The number of children and elderly are expected to reflect the consumer demand of the family, and more people in these categories would thus indicate a higher demand for labor.

Prices and harvest yields of grain are included to measure the effect of economic fluctuations on the risk of migration. As has been shown elsewhere there was not a very strong relationship between harvests and prices at the local level because other factors, such as trade, mediated the price response of the local harvest outcome (Dribe 2000, ch. 7). The harvest yield serves as a direct indicator of the demand for labor. Bad harvests implied a lower demand for labor because less labor was needed to harvest and thresh, investment activities often declined, and the number of livestock had to be reduced due to lack of fodder, which in turn also lowered the demand for labor (Abel 1980, p. 9; Dribe 2000, p. 170; Jörberg 1972II, p. 63; Lundsjö 1975, p. 105; Utterström 1957, p. 276). Grain prices, on the other hand, serve as a more indirect measure of the demand for labor. Controlling for the harvest outcome, higher grain prices meant prosperous times for market producing peasants, which, to the extent that investment activities increased, may have led to a higher demand for servant labor. It has also been argued that freeholders responded to economic stress (low grain prices) by keeping their sons longer at home in order to economize on hired labor (Dribe 2000), which may led us to expect higher migration propensities of servants in times of low grain prices.

Since we are mostly interested in the short-term variations we have used deviations from a medium-term trend (Hodrick-Prescott). The prices and harvest indexes used are weighted to reflect both the relative importance of different crops and differences between the crops in level as well as variability (see Dribe 2000, ch. 7).

The second push mechanism included in the model is the interchangeability of servants and grown-up children of the peasant family. Any effect of supply of labor can be expected to be gender-specific so that the number of adult children of the same sex would be expected to be of greatest importance for servant incentives to move. The supply of family labor is indicated by the number of males and females in the family aged 15-54 and the number of sons and daughters

above 15 living in the parental household. A higher supply of family labor is expected to work as a push-factor on servant migration.

The third push mechanism is the different possible problems in the relations between the peasant's own children and his servants. In the model this is measured by the presence of grown-up children in the household.

The social origin of servants is indicated by the social status of their father when they were 10. Due to the high geographical mobility, however, we lack information on social origin in a majority of cases. As was pointed out before, it is also likely that servants for whom we have information on social origin are socially selected in such a way that peasant children are over-represented. Age of the servant as well as year of birth is also included to control for age-specific differences and changes over time. Parish of residence is included to control for differences between the parishes not accounted for by the other variables in the model.

Table 6 reports the results of the basic model and tables 7 and 8 show results for different interaction models.[5] Male servants in freeholder/crown tenant households seem to have been more mobile than those living in other households. The social origin seems to have made made more of a difference for females than for males. Female servants from a landless background had a higher mobility than those from peasant background. The interaction model in table 7 also shows that this effect was strongest in the age group 25-29. As was indicated above, part of the explanation behind this difference may lay in the fact that servants from peasant background were considered of higher status and better educated, which may have led to a better treatment, and thus lower incentives to migrate. Servants for whom we lack information on social origin had a considerably higher mobility than other groups, most likely because they were selected among the landless, and thus more mobile, groups. Moreover, the lack of social networks in the parish, and thus less information about conditions in different households, may also

[5] All proportional hazards models rest upon the assumption hazards are proportional between groups. This assumption was tested both formally, using the test proposed by Grambsch and Therneau (1994), and graphically by the Nelson-Aalen plots (log cumulative hazards against log time). These tests show that for both males and females age is not proportional. For males there is also a problem with the parish covariate, where "Kävlinge" is non-proportional. The formal test was carried out in STATA using the 'stphtest' procedure.

Table 6. Cox regression estimates of servant migration 1829-1867. Duration 0-5 years in the household. Model 1.

	Males			Females		
Covariates	Average	Rel.risk	P-value	Average	Rel.risk	P-value
Individual characteristics:						
Soc.stat of parental household						
Freehold/Crown	2.8%	1	(ref.cat.)	1.6%	1	(ref.cat.)
Noble_tenants	5.7%	0.991	0.944	5.2%	1.089	0.641
Landless	19.2%	1.020	0.848	20.3%	1.334	0.075
Unknown	72.3%	1.204	0.056	72.9%	1.394	0.035
Age						
15-19	29.9%	1	(ref.cat.)	29.9%	1	(ref.cat.)
20-24	33.2%	1.051	0.216	35.7%	1.033	0.467
25-29	20.5%	1.154	0.002	19.0%	1.130	0.025
30+	16.3%	1.022	0.707	15.4%	0.772	0.000
Birth date	1824.49	1.009	0.000	1825.16	1.013	0.000
Conditions in the household of residence:						
Social status						
Freehold/Crown	53.4%	1	(ref.cat.)	50.8%	1	(ref.cat.)
Noble_tenants	19.5%	0.834	0.002	18.0%	0.979	0.741
Landless	27.1%	0.916	0.040	31.2%	0.925	0.116
#Children under 15						
0	20.8%	1	(ref.cat.)	22.5%	1	(ref.cat.)
1-2	36.5%	1.006	0.909	32.9%	1.039	0.518
3-4	25.0%	1.032	0.544	24.9%	1.135	0.042
5+	17.7%	1.109	0.077	19.7%	1.146	0.045
#Sons over 15						
0	83.8%	1	(ref.cat.)	81.8%	1	(ref.cat.)
1+	16.2%	0.961	0.408	18.2%	0.998	0.976
#Daughters over 15						
0	79.0%	1	(ref.cat.)	84.0%	1	(ref.cat.)
1+	21.0%	1.069	0.116	16.0%	1.027	0.632
#Male family members 15-54 (excl.sons)						
1	79.3%	1	(ref.cat.)	79.3%	1	(ref.cat.)
0	13.4%	1.191	0.001	15.8%	1.199	0.004
2+	7.3%	0.862	0.107	5.0%	1.080	0.503
#Female family members 15-54 (excl. daughters)						
1	77.1%	1	(ref.cat.)	75.4%	1	(ref.cat.)
0	16.0%	1.140	0.008	18.7%	1.095	0.116
2+	6.9%	1.136	0.172	5.9%	1.021	0.842
#Family members over 55						
0	83.9%	1	(ref.cat.)	82.9%	1	(ref.cat.)
1+	16.1%	0.701	0.000	17.1%	0.797	0.000

Table 6. Continued.

		Males			Females		
Covariates		Average	Rel.risk	P-value	Average	Rel.risk	P-value
Community characteristics:							
Parish							
	Hög	18.7%	1	(ref.cat.)	18.0%	1	(ref.cat.)
	Kävlinge	31.2%	1.138	0.005	29.4%	1.105	0.060
	Halmstad	18.6%	1.333	0.000	21.6%	1.270	0.000
	Sireköpinge	31.5%	0.769	0.000	31.0%	0.755	0.000
Price		-0.25	0.999	0.464	-0.25	1.002	0.244
Harvest		0.03	0.998	0.072	0.03	0.998	0.182
		CMR		0.511	CMR		0.511
		Events:		4153	Events:		3117
		Total time:		8131.8	Total time:		6099.1
		Log likelihood		-12542.0	Log likelihood		-9473.5
		Chisq. test		331.1	Chisq. test		296.3
		df		24	df		24
		Overall p-value:		0.0000	Overall p-value:		0.0000

Table 7. Cox regression estimates of servant migration 1829-1867. Duration 0-5 years in the household. Model 2.

	Males			Females		
Covariates	Average	Rel.risk	P-value	Average	Rel.risk	P-value
Individual characteristics:						
Soc.stat of parental household						
Freehold/Crown	2.8%	1	(ref.cat.)	1.6%	1	(ref.cat.)
Noble_tenants	5.7%	0.899	0.636	5.2%	0.738	0.296
Landless	19.2%	1.180	0.339	20.3%	0.984	0.947
Unknown	72.3%	1.475	0.020	72.9%	1.012	0.961
Age						
15-19	29.9%	1	(ref.cat.)	29.9%	1	(ref.cat.)
20-24	33.2%	1.216	0.363	35.7%	0.823	0.582
25-29	20.5%	1.857	0.026	19.0%	0.431	0.074
30+	16.3%	2.100	0.075	15.4%	0.437	0.184
Birth date	1824.49	1.009	0.000	1825.16	1.013	0.000
Conditions in the household of residence:						
Social status						
Freehold/Crown	53.4%	1	(ref.cat.)	50.8%	1	(ref.cat.)
Noble_tenants	19.5%	0.836	0.002	18.0%	0.984	0.803
Landless	27.1%	0.915	0.039	31.2%	0.934	0.169
#Children under 15						
0	20.8%	1	(ref.cat.)	22.5%	1	(ref.cat.)
1-2	36.5%	1.005	0.923	32.9%	1.028	0.632
3-4	25.0%	1.033	0.540	24.9%	1.125	0.059
5+	17.7%	1.110	0.075	19.7%	1.133	0.067
#Sons over 15						
0	83.8%	1	(ref.cat.)	81.8%	1	(ref.cat.)
1+	16.2%	0.962	0.416	18.2%	1.001	0.983
#Daughters over 15						
0	79.0%	1	(ref.cat.)	84.0%	1	(ref.cat.)
1+	21.0%	1.068	0.121	16.0%	1.021	0.701
#Male family members 15-54 (excl.sons)						
1	79.3%	1	(ref.cat.)	79.3%	1	(ref.cat.)
0	13.4%	1.196	0.001	15.8%	1.187	0.007
2+	7.3%	0.870	0.131	5.0%	1.070	0.556
#Female family members 15-54 (excl daughters)						
1	77.1%	1	(ref.cat.)	75.4%	1	(ref.cat.)
0	16.0%	1.137	0.009	18.7%	1.097	0.111
2+	6.9%	1.134	0.178	5.9%	1.034	0.749
#Family members over 55						
0	83.9%	1	(ref.cat.)	82.9%	1	(ref.cat.)
1+	16.1%	0.700	0.000	17.1%	0.802	0.000

Table 7. Continued.

			Males			Females	
Covariates		Average	Rel.risk	P-value	Average	Rel.risk	P-value
Community characteristics:							
Parish							
	Hög	18.7%	1	(ref.cat.)	18.0%	1	(ref.cat.)
	Kävlinge	31.2%	1.144	0.003	29.4%	1.110	0.050
	Halmstad	18.6%	1.339	0.000	21.6%	1.262	0.000
	Sireköpinge	31.5%	0.774	0.000	31.0%	0.751	0.000
		-0.25	0.999	0.462	-0.25	1.002	0.251
Price		0.03	0.998	0.074	0.03	0.998	0.188
Harvest							
Interactions:							
Age*Soc.stat. of parental household							
	15-19		1	(ref.cat.)		1	(ref.cat.)
	20-24						
		Freehold/Crown	1	(ref.cat.)		1	(ref.cat.)
		Noble_tenants	1.293	0.368		1.266	0.573
		Landless	0.887	0.602		1.343	0.419
		Unknown	0.825	0.384		1.243	0.544
	25-29						
		Freehold/Crown	1	(ref.cat.)		1	(ref.cat.)
		Noble_tenants	0.807	0.537		3.504	0.018
		Landless	0.677	0.189		2.340	0.081
		Unknown	0.590	0.062		2.693	0.037
	30+						
		Freehold/Crown	1	(ref.cat.)		1	(ref.cat.)
		Noble_tenants	0.719	0.503		1.984	0.320
		Landless	0.473	0.091		1.351	0.641
		Unknown	0.468	0.070		1.876	0.316
		CMR	0.511		CMR		0.511
		Events:	4153		Events:		3117
		Total time:	8131.8		Total time:		6099.1
		Log likelihood	-12536.0		Log likelihood		-9466.7
		Chisq. test	343.0		Chisq. test		309.9
		df	33		df		33
		Overall p-value:	0.0000		Overall p-value:		0.0000

Table 8. Cox regression estimates of servant migration 1829-1867. Duration 0-5 years in the household. Model 3.

	Males			Females		
Covariates	Average	Rel.risk	P-value	Average	Rel.risk	P-value
Individual characteristics:						
Soc.stat of parental household						
Freehold/Crown	2.8%	1	(ref.cat.)	1.6%	1	(ref.cat.)
Noble_tenants	5.7%	0.985	0.900	5.2%	1.074	0.696
Landless	19.2%	1.018	0.863	20.3%	1.317	0.089
Unknown	72.3%	1.198	0.062	72.9%	1.372	0.045
Age						
15-19	29.9%	1	(ref.cat.)	29.9%	1	(ref.cat.)
20-24	33.2%	1.044	0.357	35.7%	0.971	0.570
25-29	20.5%	1.106	0.056	19.0%	1.060	0.349
30+	16.3%	1.015	0.818	15.4%	0.756	0.001
Birth date	1824.49	1.009	0.000	1825.16	1.013	0.000
Conditions in the household of residence:						
Social status						
Freehold/Crown	53.4%	1	(ref.cat.)	50.8%	1	(ref.cat.)
Noble_tenants	19.5%	0.835	0.002	18.0%	0.979	0.744
Landless	27.1%	0.915	0.039	31.2%	0.925	0.117
#Children under 15						
0	20.8%	1	(ref.cat.)	22.5%	1	(ref.cat.)
1-2	36.5%	1.003	0.945	32.9%	1.036	0.550
3-4	25.0%	1.033	0.540	24.9%	1.134	0.043
5+	17.7%	1.108	0.078	19.7%	1.151	0.040
#Sons over 15						
0	83.8%	1	(ref.cat.)	81.8%	1	(ref.cat.)
1+	16.2%	0.880	0.146	18.2%	0.860	0.096
#Daughters over 15						
0	79.0%	1	(ref.cat.)	84.0%	1	(ref.cat.)
1+	21.0%	1.072	0.369	16.0%	0.978	0.834
#Male family members 15-54 (excl.sons)						
1	79.3%	1	(ref.cat.)	79.3%	1	(ref.cat.)
0	13.4%	1.190	0.001	15.8%	1.202	0.004
2+	7.3%	0.862	0.106	5.0%	1.064	0.595
#Female family members 15-54 (excl. daughters)						
1	77.1%	1	(ref.cat.)	75.4%	1	(ref.cat.)
0	16.0%	1.138	0.009	18.7%	1.105	0.083
2+	6.9%	1.131	0.189	5.9%	1.015	0.890
#Family members over 55						
0	83.9%	1	(ref.cat.)	82.9%	1	(ref.cat.)
1+	16.1%	0.704	0.000	17.1%	0.795	0.000

Table 8. Continued.

		Males			Females		
Covariates		Average	Rel.risk	P-value	Average	Rel.risk	P-value
Community characteristics:							
Parish							
	Hög	18.7%	1	(ref.cat.)	18.0%	1	(ref.cat.)
	Kävlinge	31.2%	1.132	0.006	29.4%	1.103	0.066
	Halmstad	18.6%	1.327	0.000	21.6%	1.270	0.000
	Sireköpinge	31.5%	0.767	0.000	31.0%	0.757	0.000
		-0.25	0.999	0.454	-0.25	1.002	0.274
Price		0.03	0.998	0.070	0.03	0.998	0.182
Harvest							
Interactions:							
Age*#Sons over 15							
	15-19		1	(ref.cat.)		1	(ref.cat.)
	20-24						
		0	1	(ref.cat.)		1	(ref.cat.)
		1+	1.068	0.573		1.294	0.028
	25-29						
		0	1	(ref.cat.)		1	(ref.cat.)
		1+	1.270	0.061		1.213	0.178
	30+						
		0	1	(ref.cat.)		1	(ref.cat.)
		1+	1.088	0.573		1.123	0.513
Age*#Daug over 15							
	15-19		1	(ref.cat.)		1	(ref.cat.)
	20-24						
		0	1	(ref.cat.)		1	(ref.cat.)
		1+	0.989	0.912		1.060	0.664
	25-29						
		0	1	(ref.cat.)		1	(ref.cat.)
		1+	1.023	0.839		1.152	0.355
	30+						
		0	1	(ref.cat.)		1	(ref.cat.)
		1+	0.976	0.849		0.970	0.868

CMR	0.511	CMR	0.511
Events:	4153	Events:	3117
Total time:	8131.8	Total time:	6099.1
Log likelihood	-12539.6	Max log likelihood	-9469.3
Chisq. test	335.9	Chisq. test	304.7
df	30	df	30
Overall p-value:	0.0000	Overall p-value:	0.0000

have been a disadvantage when trying to choose the "best" employer. Later on, failures in this respect may have caused dissatisfaction and a quick move away.

The age pattern shows that servants were most mobile in the age group 25-29, while female servants over the age of 30 had the lowest mobility. In many cases these older women were at the top of the servant hierarchy, and even if they were not, they had probably lost any opportunity to advance in the future. Moreover, some of these women had reached ages where the likelihood of getting married sharply declined. Both these factors imply lower incentives for further migration for these older women.

Turning to the effects of the composition of the master family, more children under 15 clearly have a positive effect on mobility, and the effect gets stronger with more children. This seems unexpected if we are to interpret this covariate as a proxy for the consumer demand in the family, so that more children under 15 imply a higher consumer demand and thus demand for labor. Although this seems reasonable, more children under 15, and especially the category five children and more, also should have meant that there were at least some children who were approaching the age when they could start replacing hired labor. In other words, families with five or more children under 15 most likely had at least one child approaching teen age, which must be interpreted as an increased supply of family labor. This in turn might account for the higher mobility of servants in these families. For females there is also a positive effect of living in a family with 3-4 children. In this case it is conceivable that it was a higher workload for these female servants taking care of young children in addition to the household that made them leave early. It is also possible that older children took care of the younger, which reduced the need for a nursery maid.

The presence of adult children in the household also has clear effects on the mobility of servants. For both males and females there are only effects of grown-up children of the opposite sex, and not of the same sex. This must be interpreted as indicating that the main effect of adult children in the household was not that it increased the supply for family labor, which should have manifested itself as an effect of grown-up children of the same sex, but rather the result of conflicts or relations between young people of the opposite sex. For males the effect seem to be independent of age, while for women the effect is visible only in the age group 20-24 (see the interaction model in table 8). Male servants in households with adult daughters living in the parental household were

more likely to migrate, which may be explained by a fear of premature pregnancies or undesired marriages following the interaction between the daughter and the male servant. Although the family needed the labor of the male servant they might have encouraged a shorter stay of each servant to avoid these kinds of problems. Similarly, female servants aged 20-24 had a higher mobility if they lived in households with adult sons living at home. This may be explained in the same terms as for males, but an additional possibility is that it was the female servant who chose to leave because of unwanted attention, sexual harassment, etc. in cases when adult sons were present in the household.

The number of family adults (other than children) also affected the likelihood of migration. Servants in households that were lacking either males or females in adult ages had a higher mobility, which may be due to higher risk of these households to dissolve. Similar effects have been shown for children leaving home of parental death. Instead of providing new opportunities for children by taking over parental responsibilities, the death of a parent meant a higher risk of leaving home in most cases (Dribe 2000, pp. 191-197). It is also possible, of course, that serving in this type of household meant harder work and more responsibilities, which in turn made the servant move. What speaks against such a conclusion, however, is that the effects are not gender specific, i.e. that a male servant is equally affected by living in a household lacking a male as in a household lacking a female, and the same is true for females.

The number of people over 55 in the family had a negative impact on mobility. These households were either in the beginning or at the end of the family life cycle, i.e. either the elderly belonged to the parental generation to the head couple, or the head couple were themselves in their old age. In both cases they needed extra labor and apparently made their servants remain longer in the household.

The positive effect of birth year shows that servant mobility increased over time. One important reason behind this finding might be that the proportion of older unmarried servants, who also had the lowest migration propensity, declined following declining ages at married for landless (Lundh 1998). Another reason could be that servants increasingly came to be recruited from the landless, more mobile, segments of society following the changes in the servant institution discussed above.

Turning to the effects of economic fluctuations, there is a negative effect of harvest yields on male migration (same, but not statistically significant, effect for females), while we find no statistically significant

effects of grain prices. As was pointed out above short-term variations in harvest yields can be seen as an indication of variations in the demand for labor. Following bad harvests demand for labor declined because less labor was needed to harvest and thresh the crop, less investment activity was carried out in these years, and the number of livestock was reduced due to lack of fodder, which also reduced the demand for labor since animal production was relatively labor intensive. In our case the negative effect of harvest fluctuations on migration of males servants show that migration of servants increased in times of bad harvest and thus low demand for labor, which should be interpreted as a push factor. The finding that males were more affected also supports findings on leaving home, which have shown that mainly the male labor market was affected by variations in demand for labor following bad harvests (see Dribe 2000, ch. 8).

Conclusion

As was previously mentioned, the frequent migration of servants has puzzled scholars in the field of historical demography. In the area of investigation in this study, servants moved on average around eight times during the phase in life when service was most prevalent (15-30 years). This may seem extreme, but when servant mobility is analyzed in more detail, we find a number of reasons for the high servant mobility, although we need to go beyond the focus of many traditional migration theories on inter-regional, or inter-sectoral, differences in wages, employment opportunities, risk environment, etc. Instead, and not very surprisingly, we find the basic incentives behind this pattern of extensive local mobility deeply rooted in the local rural economy.

In southwestern Scania, boys usually left the parental home at the age of 16-17 and married in the late twenties. Since there was at least three, and at large farms and estates four or more, distinct categories of farmhands as far as work tasks, wage and status are concerned, only the change of employment in order to get a better position would explain two or more moves. Together with the move when marrying, this means that three or four moves were due to advancement within the social hierarchy that characterized rural life. The career started with the employment as a herder lad, later to become a second farmhand and a first farmhand, and finally ended when the servant left life cycle service to get married and establish a new household on a farm, croft or in a

cottage. Three of four years on average would then be spent on one and the same farm.

Women usually stayed in the parental home a little longer than males and on average married when they were about two years younger. The usual numbers of different maid categories were two, sometimes three, and on the estates sometimes more. Therefore, the number of moves caused by social advancement within the service hierarchy and by marriage was less than for males, but since the service period was shorter, the time spent per employer was about the same as for males or somewhat longer.

However, it could be argued that one could advance from a lower to a higher category of servant without moving around. As we have in this study, peasants were in favor of keeping competent and loyal servants, and would gladly promote them if possible. Of course this must have happened in some cases, but in many other cases it was not possible because if somebody were to be promoted then someone else would have to have died, been degraded or forced to leave by the master. In the last case it would simply mean that the avoidance of one move caused another one.

Besides this structural basis for the frequent changes of employment by servants, this study indicates other contributing factors. In some cases, we were able to verify the influence statistically, while in other cases it was indicated in the retrospective reports by elderly informants.

The possibility of a servant to stay for one more year was dependent on the wealth and demand for labor in the household. Hence, the turnover of servants was less in peasant households than in landless. Bad harvests meant less work to do in the fields and by threshing during winter, thereby increasing the risk of moving out of farmhands. The demand for female servants, who had other kinds of tasks, was not as dependent on the harvest fluctuations.

A grown-up peasant child living in the parental household tended to increase the probability of out-migration of servants of the opposite sex, which could be interpreted as an indication of a fear of unwanted marriages or pregnancies. In the case of female servants it could also be the maid who wanted to leave herself because of unwanted attention, sexual harassment, etc. in cases when adult sons were present in the household.

Another determinant of servant migration was the standard of the board and lodging, benefits in kind and treatment in general in the employer's household. Dissatisfaction in these respects pushed for a

change of employer, and the reputation of better conditions somewhere else was a pull-factor. A conflict with the master, the children of the house or other servants was also reason not to stay one more year in the same employment. To children of peasant households, one motive to move and change employer was the desire to get new impressions and learn how to administer a farm. Finally, the seeking for a marriage partner was a motive to many a young servant to move around expanding his or her social network.

One of the main conclusions of this study is that it is not possible to point out one or two factors that alone explain why servants moved so frequently. About half of the moves were due to the structure of working life organization and marriage. The rest depended on a range of supplementary determinants that together help to explain why a servant would move. With this in mind there is no need to be puzzled over the large turnover of servants.

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