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Auctioning as a financial instrument. Alternative strategies in overcoming economic hardship in Malmö, 1840-1870.

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Abstract: The impact of economic hardship has been proven to be a substantial factor in how people lived their lives in the 19th century Sweden. Equally the second-hand market has in recent studies been shown to have been a substantial part of the 19th century economy. The second-hand market consisting of market institutions such as peddler merchants, pawnshops and auctions were central to how people bought and sold goods in the 19th century Sweden. Although, little light has been shed on what people during the pre-industrializing Sweden did to overcome economic hardship. This master thesis aims to investigate how economic hardship affected people into auctioning in the period 1840-1870 in Malmö. Furthermore, this master thesis suggest that auctions were an alternative strategy in overcoming short-term economic stress. Using auction protocols from Malmö City Auction House, with 6993 auctions in total and a total selling amount of just above 4.5 million riksdaler, along with data covering grain-production and prices. This research has shown results suggesting that auctions were used as a financial instrument in times of hardship throughout the 19th century Malmö by the broad spectra of socioeconomic group, and also that there were substantial differences in how different socioeconomic groups auctioned. These differences were also fueled by their relation to the agricultural sector, and whether the specific socioeconomic group were net producers or consumers.

Key words: Auctions, Second-hand market, Short-term economic stress, 19th century Scania.

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This thesis is dedicated to my late grandfather Ph.D. Jafaar Abbas, who introduced me to the well of knowledge that is history.

Auctions as a financial instrument

Auctions have been a central institution in human civilization dating back to 500 B.C in Babylonia.¹ Early historical auctions had various structural forms such as candle auctions, i.e. the bidders had the time it took for a candle to burn out to appraise and bid for the items sold. Auctions in the Roman Empire usually sold items from the spoils of war or debtors to the empire.² There is a famous auction that was held during the Roman Empire, where the Praetorian Guard put the entire Roman Empire on auction. The Praetorian Guard first killed the emperor Pertinax in order to then sell the entire Roman Empire to the highest bidder. Similarly famous historical auctions were held by Marcus Aurelius, where he auctioned his entire house to pay off debts, auctions as they were held in the 19th century Europe is a modern phenomenon.³ The first ever auction house registered in modern history was the Stockholm Auction House, which was founded in 1674 by Baron Cleas Rålamb.⁴ The structure and form that the Stockholm Auction House conducted their auctions by is also the most common, called the open ascending price auction, where the bidders bid until only one bidder with the highest price remained. Another type of historical auctions structures have been found in the Netherlands, where the auctioneer starts with a high price and descends until a bidder agrees with the price asked this form is called the open descending price auction. This form of auctioning was common during the great tulip boom in the Netherlands.⁵ Apart from the Stockholm Auction House, several auction houses opened their doors to the population during the 18th century, such as Sotheby's in London in 1744 and Christies in London in 1766.⁶ The expansion of official auction houses continued during the 18th century in the Western World, and auction houses became common in the major cities of Europe in the 19th century.⁷ The pre-industrial auction house in many ways served a variety of needs for the population. In contrast to today's auction houses, where most of the sold items are of immense value, the items sold during the 19th century were as varying as the seller's social

¹ Krishna, Vijay, 2002, "Auction theory", p.1

² Shubik, Martin (March 2004), "The Theory of Money and Financial Institutions: Volume 1", p.214

³ Doyle, Robert A.; Baska, Steve (November 2002), "History of Auctions: From ancient Rome to today's high-tech auctions"

⁴ Shubik, Martin (March 2004), p.215

⁵ Krishna, Vijay, 2002, p.9

⁶ Auktionverket.se; Sothebys.com and Christies.com

⁷ Auktionsverket.se

occupations.⁸ Evidence from previous research has shown that the broad spectra of social groups auctioned their possessions, e.g. furniture, clothes or simple items such as a handkerchief.⁹

Auctions as a financial instrument became increasingly more important during the 18th and 19th century. The alternatives for the 19th century citizen to acquire cash were limited. Among the options people had were pawnshops, second-hand markets and shops, credit markets – either official or unofficial – and auctions.¹⁰ Research has shown that clothes and simple items were very common for pawning or selling second-hand to shops or the market even auction.¹¹ England was particularly developed in this aspect in the 18th and beginning of the 19th century, where it is estimated that the volume of second-hand trading was close to the consuming of new goods.¹² Limited legislation and transparency in pawnshops made the pawnshops attractive for thieves to sell and for pawnbrokers to demand extortionist interest rates in.¹³ Pawnshops in Scandinavia were uncommon until the middle of the 19th century, with locations only in the major cities.¹⁴ As in Britain low transparency and inadequate legislation made the pawnshops a risky business. Pawnshops in general were created for the benefit of the poorest and most destitute, and often regulated or officiated by the state or by the church in central Europe.¹⁵ Historical evidence from France and Mexico has shown that the state often sponsored and erected pawnshops to accommodate the need of fast and easy credits.¹⁶ Continuingly, the second-hand market in pre-

⁸ Mohrmann, Ruth-E, 2005, “Auctions as Multifunctional Systems in the Rhine Valley, Germany, in the Nineteenth”, p.316; see also Lilja, Kristina, Murhem, Sofia & Ulväng, Göran, 2010 ”Klubbade stolar och bord. Auktionshandel med möbler 1720-1890”. p. 50

⁹ Mohrmann, Ruth-E, 2005, p.323; see also Lilja, Kristina, Murhem, Sofia & Ulväng, Göran, 2010, p.110; Van Damme, Ilja, Vermoesen, Reinoud, 2009, ”Second-hand consumption as a way of life: public auctions in the surroundings of Alost in the late eighteenth century”, p.297. also Balch, Emily, 1893, ” Public assistance of the poor in France”, p.159

¹⁰ Abbas, Jaser, “ Varför höll man auktion? En undersökning av auktioner i Södermanlands län år 1860 –1897, Uppsala Universitet, Uppsala,” 2012, p.30; Svensson, Patrick, 1998, ”Agrara entreprenörer: böndernas roll i omvandlingen av jordbruket i Skåne 1800-1870”, p.132-147; Carbonell-Esteller, Montserrat, 2000 “Using Microcredit and Restructuring Households: Two Complementary Survival Strategies in Late Eighteenth-Century Barcelona.”, p.75

¹¹ Carbonell-Esteller, Montserrat, 2000, p.72; see also McCant, 2007, p.234; Francois, Marie, 2004, “Cloth and Silver: Pawning and Material Life in Mexico City at the Turn of the Nineteenth”, p.328

¹² Lemire, Beverly, 1988 “Consumerism in Preindustrial and Early Industrial England: The Trade in Secondhand Clothes”, p.1-2

¹³ Lemire, Beverly, 1990, “The Theft of Clothes and Popular Consumerism in Early Modern England”, p.259; Carbonell-Esteller, Montserrat, 2000, p.74; McCant, 2007; p.231, Francois, Marie, 2004, p.336; Balch, Emily, 1893, p.158

¹⁴ Körberg, Ingvar, Wiséhn, Ian, 1995, “Pantbanker började som välgörenhet”, 5/1995

¹⁵ Körberg, Ingvar, Wiséhn, Ian, 1995; see also Carbonell-Esteller, Montserrat, 2000, p. 74; Francois, Marie, 2004, p.327; Balch, Emily, 1893, p. 157

¹⁶ Francois, Marie, 2004, p.327 and Carbonell-Esteller, Montserrat, 2000, p.74

industrialised Britain stagnated from the mid-19th century and towards the end of it, mainly because of the industrialisation of the country and the shifting consumerism.¹⁷ Research in this area has been difficult to conduct due to the nature of the trade, as it was uncommon to keep records, specifically in pawnshops, second-hand markets and the unofficial credit market. Most records and evidence of second-hand trade or private loans are seen in letters and private diaries, which in general are inefficient enough to create a larger picture of the second-hand trade.¹⁸ The credit market of the 19th century was complex and most credits taken and given were done unofficially between neighbours or relatives.¹⁹ Research has shown that private loans were estimated up to 80 per cent of all credits given, with the official institutions only accounting for a very small amount.²⁰ One central reason behind the inefficiency of the official credit market during its early phases was the lack of clientele, mainly because acquiring credits and loans required some form of security or insurance which most people during the 18th and 19th century lacked.²¹ On the other hand the availability of the auctions and the large market for second-hand goods in contrast to pawnshops and the credit market made them an easy option. Auctions generally guaranteed a fair price, both for the seller and the buyer, and very low risks.²² Furthermore, in contrast to credits and loans, auctioning items could mean a profit and obviously no repayment or interest rates.²³

What were auctions in the 19th century Scania.

Financial institutions and alternative strategies in overcoming economic stress were limited during the 19th century Scania. The pre-industrial society was marked by many transformations, e.g. an altering social structure due to the agrarian revolution as well as the industrial

¹⁷ Lemire, Beverly, 1988, p.3; Nenadic, Stana, 1994, "Middle-Rank Consumers and Domestic Culture in Edinburgh and Glasgow 1720-1840", p.144

¹⁸ Svensson, Patrick, 1998, p.132; Lemire, Beverly, 1988, p.1

¹⁹ Svensson, Patrick, 1998, p.133; Lilja, Kristina, 2004, "Marknad och hushåll: sparande och krediter i Falun 1820-1910 utifrån ett livscykelerspektiv", p.19

²⁰ Lilja, Kristina, 2004, p.139, Svensson, Patrick, 1998, p. 133

²¹ Svensson, Patrick, 1998, p.147; Lilja, Kristina, 2004, p. 141

²² Klemperer, Paul, 2004, "Auctions: theory and practice", p.13

²³ Ibid, p.13

revolution.²⁴ Urbanisation and proletarianization of the people in Scania was another transformation and brought new forms of obstacles for the population.²⁵ Demographic research has shown that the population of Scania reacted strongly to short-term fluctuations in the economy, e.g. would have been increasing food prices or stagnating wages. The population of Scania underwent a number of measures to prevent starvation such as migrating, postponing childbirth, increasing/decreasing the household's labour force or selling possessions.²⁶ The most viable instances of acquiring cash or credits were from the unofficial credit market and the second-hand markets as well as auctions. Official credit institutions and pawnshops, have been depicted as uncommon to acquire credits from in the 19th century Scania. One of the main reasons behind this inefficiency was that they limited the clientele by formal requirements such as security in the form of land in the case of official credit institutions or high extortionist interest rates in pawnshops. Moreover, pawnshops of the 19th century were not common, underdeveloped and lacked legislation as well as transparency, giving them a bad reputation among the population. Previous research has shown that the unofficial credit market, in essence private lenders of different middle and upper ranks of society, increasingly limited their range of lending.²⁷ Their development started in the middle and increased towards the end of the 19th century by requiring security for loans, even if the lender was a relative. Research has also shown that the shops that dealt with second-hand goods decreased their participation of trading in these commodities as the country became more industrialized.²⁸ The development occurred mainly because of increased productivity and efficiency in the industrial sector, where the ability to produce fashionable clothes and items extended during the 19th century, which in turn affected the taste for clothes and items. Nonetheless, research has shown that the lower and middle ranks of the social hierarchy were slower adapting to fashion and style and mode of the upper ranks slowly passed down the ladder of social groups. For instance Beverly Lemire gives in her article "Consumerism in Preindustrial and Early Industrial England: The Trade in Second-hand Clothes", an example of leather breeches being outdated and unfashionable in the urban areas, but very attractive in the

²⁴ Schön, Lennart, 2007, "En modern svensk ekonomisk historia: tillväxt och omvandling under två sekel", p. 61-62, Magnusson, Lars, 2002, "Sveriges ekonomiska historia", p.181-214, Bengtsson, Tommy, Dribe, Martin, 2002, "Fertility Response to Short-term Economic Stress", p.7

²⁵ Bjurling, Oscar, Svensson, Inge, Back, Pär-Erik & Fridlitzius, Gunnar (red.), *Malmö stads historia. D. 3, 1820-1870*, 1981.

²⁶ Bengtsson, 2004, p.35

²⁷ Lilja, Kristina, 2004, p. 42-45

²⁸ Lemire, Beverly, 1990, p. 256; Lemire, Beverly, 1988, p.16-18,

same year in the rural areas of Britain.²⁹ As this development unfolded, auctions became perhaps the central and most common way of acquiring cash. Previous research is divided between recognizing auctions as most commonly done because of deaths of relatives, bankruptcy, or auction most commonly done by free choice.³⁰ The aim of this project is to elucidate this area by giving room to a theoretical approach of regarding the 19th century auctions of as held due to necessity or economic stress without any underlying death or bankruptcy.³¹

Aim and Scope

The aim of this research is to delineate alternative strategies in overcoming economic hardship e.g. specific auctions and their use as a financial instrument in the 19th century Malmö. Furthermore, this thesis aspires to connect auctions as a social meeting place and second-hand trade to measuring living standards. As previously described, auctions have been present in civilisation almost since its beginning, although the structure, nature and instrumental value has not been researched in any extent. Research on auctions has been predominantly focused on its social and cultural aspect rather than on the financial one. This thesis will investigate auctions as a financial instrument and connect it to measuring living standards through the scope of auctioning in the 19th century Malmö. The following research questions will be investigated:

- Can we determine any causal relation between short-term economic stress and increasing auction sums?
- Can we distinguish any differences between different social groups in terms of auctioning?
- Can we distinguish any changes in the development of auctioning?

These questions are based on the theoretical approach of economic historical demography where short-term economic stress impacted the population of the 19th century at large.³² Equally, based on the perspective of short-term economic stress and seasonal fluctuations in the agricultural

²⁹ Lemire, Beverly, 1988, p. 17

³⁰ Lilja, Kristina, Murhem, Sofia & Ulväng, Göran, 2010, p. 102

³¹ Abbas, Jaser, 2012, p. 28

³² Bengtsson, Tommy, Dribe, Martin, 2002, p. 30-32

economy of the 19th century Malmö, there should be some distinguishable evidence of annual differences.³³ Furthermore, social groups had varying reactions to short-term economic stress depending on their status of either net producers or net consumers.³⁴ In terms of auctioning as an alternative strategy in overcoming economic stress, differences between social groups should be palpable. Furthermore, the second-hand trade started to peak in the middle of the 19th century and decreased as industrialisation became more settled in Sweden.³⁵ It is essential to study this development in order to fully grasp auctions as a financial instrument of the 19th century Malmö.

Disposition

This thesis is structured so that in the next chapter a description and discussion of the background and research area is done, followed by a discussion of previous research and how the previous research relates to the thesis in hand. The theoretical framework will be discussed in depth in chapter Theoretical Framework, where the previous research along with the research area discussion will be merged to form the theoretical framework. The data will be described and discussed under chapter Data, followed by a discussion of social groups and the construction of them in chapter Social class. Chapter Social Class will also include descriptive statistics and a characterisation of the social groups along with a discussion of them. The model and method used for this thesis is going to be discussed separately in chapter Model and Method, as this thesis aims to analyse the data through regression analysis in order to establish a causal relationship between economic stress and auctioning as a financial instrument. The hypotheses guiding the model and method used will follow in chapter Hypotheses. The results will be presented in chapter Results, and discussed in depth in chapter Conclusion.

³³ Bengtsson, 1997, p.1-2

³⁴ Ibid, p. 2

³⁵ Lemire, 1990, p. 21, Lilja, Murhem, Ulväng,, 2010, "Tables and chairs under the hammer: Second-hand consumption of furniture in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries in Sweden", p.214

Research area

The southern part of Scania and specifically Malmö was later into industrialization than the two major cities in Sweden, Stockholm and Gothenburg. Malmö in the 19th century was highly reliant on the agricultural sector, and the vast majority of the population worked in the sector.³⁶ The urbanization transformed Malmö between the years 1800 and 1870 causing 550 per cent increase in the city's total population.³⁷ The amount of labour that was released from the surrounding rural areas was staggering. People from all around Malmö rushed into the city in search of a brighter future. By virtue of its close proximity to the continent, especially Denmark, Malmö became a hub of commerce in the late 19th century. The craftsmen in Sweden were as in other Western European countries members of craft specific guilds, which determined who, how and where craftsmanship was to be conducted. This led to that very few apprenticeships were offered to the newly arrived people from the rural areas, making them very susceptible of starvation, due to the lack of income.³⁸ Malmö as described by Malmö cities history, was a town very similar to the rural areas in the Scania region, mainly because it before the agricultural transformation was a small town. Gradually throughout the 19th century, it did change, from being the 6th largest city in Sweden at the shift of the century to becoming the 3rd largest at the end of it. This transformation brought with it a number of complications, starting with the very crowded housing, lack of housing and the lack of employment for the vast number of people streaming in from the surrounding rural areas. Diseases and epidemics of different kinds became common in the city region, where sanitary functions were not adapted for the masses. During the period of 1840 to 1870 covered by this research there were four years of either disease epidemics or harvest crisis. The first one is the year 1847 with a cholera outbreak, followed by a similar outbreak of cholera in 1853, as well as in 1857 which then was accompanied with by an outbreak of dysentery. The last crisis was the period of 1867 to 1868 when there was a harvest failure.³⁹ The state of Malmö

³⁶ Dribe, Martin, Olsson, Mats, Svensson, Patrick, 2012 "Rural transformation and vulnerability to hardship. Production, prices and mortality in Sweden, 1750-1860", p. 3

³⁷ Bjurling, Oscar, Svensson, Inge, Back, Pär-Erik & Fridlitzius, Gunnar, 1981.

³⁸ Ibid.

³⁹ Statistiska centralbyrån, Från befolkningsbrist till en åldrande befolkning. Glimtar ur en unik befolkningsstatistik under 250 år. Fakta inför 2000-talet

and its short-falls improved over the course of the 19th century, and by the 1870s Malmö was turning into an established centre of trade and commerce.⁴⁰

The period 1840 to 1870 is one of great change in terms of trade in Malmö. From the early 1840 Malmö city experienced a boom in trade, specifically in exports of grains, to the industrializing part of the Western World, especially Britain and The Netherlands.⁴¹ Furthermore, the domestic trade, or rather the domestic import and export increased heavily. In the beginning of the 1820s Malmö accounted for 1 per cent of the total export of goods in Sweden, which changed to 6.5 per cent in 1870. Similarly the import changed from 1.7 per cent to 8.7 per cent in the same period, suggesting that trade both domestic and exports experienced large growth.⁴²

The large growth of this period was due to the increasing amount of emerging trade companies. Gunnar Fridlitzius describes the period 1840 to 1870 as the Big Grain Exportation. This growth in exports is explained by a number of factors exogenous to the Swedish market. First the agricultural shifts that occurred in the first half of the 19th century, starting with the Act of Enskifte in Scania 1803, enabled the production of grains in a larger scale, such as rye, oat and barley. Secondly, the Crimean war which began in 1853 and ended 1856 made Sweden one of the largest exporters of grain in the period despite the fact that by the end of the war many merchants and trade companies faced economic hardship, due to underestimating the impact of the ending war. The third reason is the substantial urbanization that occurred in conjunction with the agricultural shifts of the early 19th century. The large amount of people streaming into the city made the market for grains and imported goods larger.⁴³ Similarly the abolition of the Corn Laws of Britain in 1846, immensely expanded Sweden's export to Britain.⁴⁴ These regulations of the trade expressed themselves through an increase of merchants and tradesmen. Regardless of the fact that most of them were coming from the rural areas surrounding Malmö, they still benefitted from the altered import and export regulations in Britain.⁴⁵ Towards the end of this period the export shifted towards exporting increasing amounts of animals and animal products, mainly due to - the Russian grain export regaining its former glory - and the western world relying more on

⁴⁰ Bjurling, Oscar, Svensson, Inge, Back, Pär-Erik & Fridlitzius, Gunnar, 1981.

⁴¹ Bjurling, Oscar, Svensson, Inge, Back, Pär-Erik & Fridlitzius, Gunnar, 1981.

⁴² Ibid.

⁴³ Ibid.

⁴⁴ Ibid.

⁴⁵ Ibid.

maize imported from the Americas.⁴⁶ Rendering the export of rye, oat and barley to be less lucrative.

The trade merchants

The Big Grain Exportation, as Fridlitzius coined it, transformed Malmö city in a number of ways. Central to this research are trade merchants, which during the course of the period covered by this thesis, underwent a large transformation. Fredrik Sandgren has in his article "*För allt vad heligt är skicka ej mera spannmål. Spannmålshandel i Norrköping vid 1800-talets början*" depicted the trade merchants both as a social group but also as a profession. Sandgren has through letter correspondence, and account books between two trade merchants depicted their social status and position in the agrarian society. Sandgren argues, that these trades merchants were central to the economy in large, as the Swedish 19th century society was dependent on agricultural output. Research has shown that grain production and grain prices have been central in the agrarian and pre-industrial society, and impacted the everyday lives of the population. Import and export increased during the course of the 19th century and many port towns became trading centers.⁴⁷ However, most trade merchants could not afford to return home with an empty ship. Sandgren shows in his research that trade merchants usually returned with a variety of goods, ranging from grains to coffee and sugar.⁴⁸ Furthermore, these trade merchants heavily suffered from uncertainties in issues such as storage, fluctuations in the economy and transportation. Sandgren argues in his article that to overcome the obstacle of storage, which most commonly would spoil the goods stored, they would seek to sell them as fast as possible.⁴⁹ The data that is used for this thesis contains a large amount of trade merchants as sellers in the auction records, suggesting that trade merchants commonly sold goods at auctions to avoid storage and transportation costs. Research on the Auction House of New York during the 19th century depicts a similar picture.⁵⁰ Trade merchants commonly sold their imported goods to auctioneers at the auction house of New

⁴⁶ Bjurling, Oscar, Svensson, Inge, Back, Pär-Erik & Fridlitzius, Gunnar, 1981.

⁴⁷ Bjurling, Oscar, Svensson, Inge, Back, Pär-Erik & Fridlitzius, Gunnar, 1981; Sandgren, 2010, "För allt vad heligt är skicka ej mera spannmål". *Spannmålshandel i Norrköping vid 1800-talets början*", p. 246-249

⁴⁸ Sandgren, Fredrik, 2010, p. 250

⁴⁹ Ibid

⁵⁰ Cohen, Ira, 1971 "The Auction System in the Port of New York, 1817-1837", p. 490.; Sandgren, 2010, p. 264-266

York to avoid middle hands and custom fees. Patterns like these are also found in Dutch Auction Houses as well as English ones.⁵¹ In essence there is perhaps a possibility that trade merchants used auction houses as a final resort or an easy alternative. Continuingly, Sandgren finds evidence of trade merchants acting as grain suppliers in times of economic stress. In accordance to Fridlitzius description of Malmö during the 19th century, the trade merchant occupation expanded along with the grain exportation.⁵²

Previous research

Demographic history

To assess the importance of demographic research and its relevance to this specific thesis, it is natural that we start with a discussion on the short-term economic stress during the 19th century and its impact on the population. Studying short-term economic stress and its effect on the population, reveals how the population struggled trying to fulfil long-term plans. Short-term economic stress affected mortality, fertility and nuptuality, variables that were essential in long-term planning. Short-term economic stress affected mortality, nuptuality and fertility, variables that were essential in long-term planning.⁵³ In his article on rural Scania “Mortality and Social Class in Four Scanian Parishes, 1766-1865” Bengtsson argues that short-term fluctuations, either in food production, food prices or real wages, strongly affected mortality and fertility, suggesting that the population of the 19th century Scania was highly sensitive to the economy at large.⁵⁴ Similar results of short-term economic stress can also be seen in large parts of Europe during the 17th, 18th and 19th century.⁵⁵ In essence short-term economic stress affected the everyday life of the population, and ultimately giving a depiction of their living standards. Furthermore, research has shown that there were significant differences in the response to short-term economic stress

⁵¹ Cohen, Ira, 1971, p. 491

⁵² Sandgren, 2010, p. 247-248

⁵³ Bengtsson, 1997, p. 2; Bengtsson, Tommy, Dribe, Martin, 2002, p.11; Bengtsson, Tommy, 2004, “Mortality and Social Class in Four Scanian Parishes, 1766-1865”, p. 135-138;

⁵⁴ Bengtsson, Tommy, 2004, p. 163-170

⁵⁵ Bengtsson, Campbell, Lee, 2004, ”Economic stress and mortality”, p.82; Bengtsson, Broström, 2010, “Mortality Crisis in Rural Southern Sweden 1766-1860”, p. 13; Dribe, Martin, Olsson, Mats & Svensson, Patrick, 2010 “Economic crises, Manorialism, and Demographic Response: Southern Sweden in the Preindustrial Period”, p. 41

between different social groups.⁵⁶ These differences, according to Bengtsson, were hinged upon whether the individual was a net producer or net consumer. The theoretical approach is based upon if the person in question was working within the agricultural sector or not, and whether they produced food. Furthermore, Bengtsson has shown that there also were differences within the agricultural sector and on whether the individual rented, owned or simply worked on the land.⁵⁷ As Bengtsson describes it “The harvests have often been described as the heartbeat of the agricultural society”⁵⁸. Previous research have in great majority shown that the economic indicator that shows for the strongest response on the population was grain prices and grain production.⁵⁹ Strengthening this theoretical approach is Myrdal’s budget estimation of a day labourer’s wage, where 83 per cent of the day wage was spent on foodstuff and 59 per cent on grain in particular during the 19th century.⁶⁰ Similar estimations have also been shown by several researchers in several European countries.⁶¹ Essentially short-term economic stress serves as an indicator of living standards in the past. The ability to overcome short-term economic stress is by definition, compared between the social groups of the 19th century society, a benchmark for living standards. Research by Martin Dribe, Mats Olsson and Patrick Svensson on rural Scania has revealed regional differences depending on the land type. Their study on rural Scania evolved around the agricultural differences within Scania and the different regions. The results they presented showed clear differences depending on whether the land type was intermediate, forest or plain land.⁶² Their conclusions were based on the theoretical approach of Bengtsson among others, where the ability to secure food were dependent on the closeness to the agriculture. Dribe, Olsson and Svensson argue that forestry and intermediate land types were not solely producing grains as in plain land, but mixed their production output with timber, fish and animal products. Essentially this diversification proved, according to Dribe, Olsson and Svensson, to be more lucrative in times of economic stress compared to plain land where the grain production was the major employment.⁶³ Dribe, Olsson and Svensson reveal that in general, regions that were

⁵⁶ Bengtsson, Tommy, 2004, p. 167; Dribe, Martin, Olsson, Mats & Svensson, Patrick, 2010, p. 41-42

⁵⁷ Bengtsson, Tommy, 2004, ”Living Standards and Economic Stress”, p.49

⁵⁸ Bengtsson, Tommy, 1996, ”Combined Life Event and Time Series Analysis: The impact of Economic Fluctuations and Household Cycles on Mortality in Rural Sweden, 1750-1850”, p. 3

⁵⁹ Dribe, Martin, Olsson, Mats & Svensson, Patrick, 2010, p. 21; Bengtsson, Tommy, 2004, p.45

⁶⁰ Bengtsson, Tommy, 2004, p.45; Livi Bacci, 1991, “Population and Nutrition”, p.87

⁶¹ Bengtsson, Tommy, 2004, p.45

⁶² Dribe, Martin, Olsson, Mats & Svensson, Patrick, 2010, p. 41

⁶³ Ibid

intermediate or forest land, suffered to a lesser extent of economic stress, due to a diversification of the production.⁶⁴ Dribe, Olsson and Svensson also reveal several key results regarding the structure of land ownership in Scania. Their results point towards a clear distinction between the volume of estate and ownership structure and the degree of manorialism in the region.⁶⁵ Essentially, their research further strengthens the assumption of grain being central in the agricultural society, and in specific Scania. Bengtsson along with Dribe, Olsson and Svensson has shown results that reveal differences in manorialism, and furthermore, in the structure of the ownership of land. Previous research of the above mentioned, have shown that the key defining concept to the ability to overcome economic stress within and between social groups that were net producers, was defined by whether the individuals were tenants, sharecroppers and if they were paid their rent in kind or cash.⁶⁶ Equally, Bengtsson and Dribe, Olsson and Svensson point towards a greater weakness in terms of living standards among the middle and lower ranks, and specifically so in social groups that were outside of the agricultural sector, and hence net consumers.⁶⁷ Research in economic historical demography in general point towards similar results. Ronald Lee has shown similar results in his article “*The Demographic response to economic crisis in historical and contemporary populations*” as his Swedish colleagues. Lee’s results show in a similar fashion as Bengtsson among others, that short-term economic stress in general affected the landless and industrial workers in a greater extent than the landed and higher ranks of social hierarchy.⁶⁸

If we shift our attention purely on the responses of short-term economic stress in previous research, there are a few key concept that need to be incorporated into the thesis in hand. Previous research have all measured living standards through analysing the impact short-term economic stress had on the population. Among the alternatives, or strategies the population, specifically Scania, had to overcome short-term economic stress are listed below as defined by Tommy Bengtsson.

⁶⁴ Dribe, Martin, Olsson, Mats & Svensson, Patrick, 2010, p. 41

⁶⁵ Dribe, Martin, Olsson, Mats & Svensson, Patrick, 2010

⁶⁶ Bengtsson, Tommy, 2004, p.49

⁶⁷ Ibid, p.49

⁶⁸ Lee, Ronald D.,1990, “The Demographic response to economic crisis in historical and contemporary populations*.”

Table 1 Economic and demographic responses to short-term economic stress

Economic and demographic responses to short-term economic stress
1. Spending of savings (foodstuff, money, and saleable items)
2. Borrow from kin, neighbours, employer, church, or bank)
3. Receive relief (rent, tax, poor)
4. Adjust household labour supply (firing servants, out migration of family members)
5 Postpone consumption (marriage, births)
6. Reallocate consumption within the family (mortality)

⁶⁹ Source: Bengtsson, Tommy, 2004, "Living Standards and Economic Stress", p.35

Although, this table does not represent a specific order in what people of the 19th century Scania would do during times of hardship, it is a guideline. Research has shown that even small increases or decreases in wages and or food prices and food production strongly impacted the population. Research in general, on the Scanian rural 19th century, have shown that even marginal fluctuations in food prices and food production would affect mortality and fertility. However, the grain production and grain prices were central to household survival, and especially so for the net consumers.⁷⁰ Bengtsson has shown that artisans and social groups that belonged to the middle ranks of society were affected by fluctuations to economy because their products were not bought in times of hardship.⁷¹ In total, short-term economic stress, can be described as a driving force of which the majority of the population was controlled by in the large part of the 19th century Scania. Furthermore, measuring the impact of short-term economic stress in terms of auctioning is essentially measuring the population's living standards. Larger auction sums or increasing number of auctions in periods of economic stress, is by definition a greater weakness to exogenous shocks in the economy. Nevertheless, short-term economic stress and its theoretical concept of measuring fertility, mortality and nuptuality response to changes in the economy is essential in understanding living standards of the past.

⁶⁹ Bengtsson, Tommy, 2004, p.35

⁷⁰ Bengtsson, Tommy, 2004, p.45; Dribe, Martin, Olsson, Mats & Svensson, Patrick, 2010, p. 41; Bengtsson, Tommy, 2004, p. 163-170

⁷¹ Bengtsson, Tommy, 2004, p.45

Second-hand trade

As for the second-hand market of the 19th century, previous research is limited. This limitation is expressed in the depth of the field, due to the nature of the second-hand market. The second-hand trade of the 19th century is difficult to trace and estimate. Although, researchers such as Nenadic and Lemire have shown that the second-hand market was substantial and of central importance to the middle and lower ranks of society. Nenadic has shown in her article “Middle-Rank Consumers and Domestic Culture in Edinburgh and Glasgow 1720-1840” that the majority of goods in the 18th and 19th century Scotland were bought in second-hand.⁷² She also discusses a shift in how the 19th century shifted towards consumerism and a transformed household structure. Nenadic argues that the household, and in particular the dining room, transformed from being exclusively private towards being a place for entertainment and entertaining guests.⁷³ This transformation, as Nenadic states it, did not take long to be transmitted from the middle and upper ranks of society to the lower ranks.⁷⁴ Following this transformation was increased consumerism and in specific of second-hand goods. Nenadic shows that the bourgeois of Scotland were more inclined to buy second-hand goods because of several key reasons. First, they lacked social stature, and goods in large parts of the Western World of the 19th century were more commonly judged by their quality of materials rather than their appearance while ⁷⁵ in the pre-modern and agrarian society quality of materials used and the craftsmanship of items bore with them the social stature, and equally so the fashion. In essence, Nenadic argues, that second-hand goods were not only bought because of lower prices and better quality of materials, but also because of their social symbolism which in the pre-modern society was synonymous with these features.⁷⁶

Beverly Lemire has in her research on the second-hand trade of Britain during the 19th century shown that theft of clothes was common and accounted for 30 per cent of all thefts in London.⁷⁷ Lemire has found that theft of clothes were usually done because of two primary reasons, one of

⁷² Nenadic, Stana, 1994, p. 129 and 132-134

⁷³ Ibid, p.146

⁷⁴ Ibid, p. 146-150

⁷⁵ Ibid, p. 135-139

⁷⁶ Ibid, p. 138-139

⁷⁷ Lemire, Beverly, 1990, p. 257

them being stealing to sell, and the other one being stealing to wear.⁷⁸ Lemire argues that most stolen clothes were pawned or sold, and that the expanding second-hand market is evidence for this development.⁷⁹ In the beginning of the 19th century there was around 300 pawnshops in London, which increased to around 700 at the turn of the century.⁸⁰ Lemire as many others argues that fashion and mode was slow into penetrating the agricultural and pre-industrial society and that the middle and lower ranks of society bought most of their clothes and items in second-hand.⁸¹ In general thieves knew, according to Lemire, that second-hand clothes had a large market and were easily saleable. A large wardrobe during the 19th century Britain would equal a savings account according to Lemire.⁸² Most items such as furniture and clothes of good quality were until the dawn of industrialization not produced in mass amounts, but a general deficiency of such items was common in Britain.⁸³ Lemire argues that this deficiency fuelled the market for second-hand goods.⁸⁴ Nevertheless, the second-hand market made it possible for even the lower ranks of society to bolster their appearances and buy items and clothes that, if they were new, would be economically inaccessible. Most stolen items were either sold to pawnshops for petty cash or worn.⁸⁵ Lemire shows that it was common in Britain most pawned items never to be retrieved, and similarly to pawnshops in Europe, these items were commonly sold at auctions.⁸⁶ An example of the extent of the second-hand market and the fashion and mode value of it can be found in the historical event of King George when he auctioned his wardrobe to pay off debts and sold a pair of shoes for five shillings.⁸⁷ This example gives perspective of the broad spectra of available second-hand goods, ranging from luxury items to petty coats. Lemire has shown, as other scholars, that the fashion and taste of the 19th century did not incorporate all social classes, but was rather divided between them and each social group had separate fashion and mode.⁸⁸ Nonetheless, the middle and lower ranks of society was those who visited and bought in the second-hand most frequently. Lemire argues that this pattern was not solely due to the

⁷⁸ Lemire, Beverly, 1990, p. 270

⁷⁹ Lemire, Beverly, 1990, p. 259; see also Francois, Marie, 2004, p. 349

⁸⁰ Lemire, Beverly, 1990, p. 259

⁸¹ Lemire, Beverly, 1988, p. 4; Nenadic, Stana, 1994, p. 123

⁸² Lemire, Beverly, 1990, p. 270

⁸³ Nenadic, Stana, 1994, p.133; Lemire, Beverly, 1988, p. 3

⁸⁴ Lemire, Beverly, 1988, p.3

⁸⁵ Ibid, p. 13

⁸⁶ Ibid, p. 13; see also Balch, Emily, 1893, p. 159

⁸⁷ Lemire, Beverly, 1988, p. 3

⁸⁸ Lemire, Beverly, 1988, p. 4-5; Nenadic, Stana, 1994, p. 132; Lilja, Kristina, Murhem, Sofia & Ulväng, Göran, 2010, p. 113; Van Damme, Ilja, Vermoesen, Reinoud, 2009, p. 297

availability of the items and clothes economically, but also because of their fashionable status for each social group.⁸⁹

The social aspect of the second-hand market has in general been neglected by researchers. Second-hand trade during the 18th and 19th century across Europe had several key functions of society. Modernity and consumerism brought with it the notion of dispensable items and a modern aspect of consumerism, although this pattern was not present before industrialisation really had established itself. The discussion of what was seen as “new” and old during the 19th century Sweden is discussed in depth by Martin Wottle in his article “*What’s New? Legal Discourse on Second-Hand Goods in Early Nineteenth-century Stockholm*” where the line between old and new items is surprisingly hard to distinguish.⁹⁰ Pre-modern society, or the agricultural society, was not defined as a consumerist society. As previously mentioned, second-hand items were judged by their quality in materials rather than their appearance, which changed toward the end of the century. However, Wottle argues that items were ultimately judged by their appeal in social stature to social groups and the durability of the items.⁹¹ A similar theoretical approach has been used by a number of scholars such as Lemire, Nenadic and Sara Pennell. Pennell argues that second-hand items sold at auctions in general were judged by their durability and longevity through the scope of social stature.⁹² Nevertheless, research in general depicts a solid understanding of the pre-modern second-hand trade as one of modest consumerism and driven by the notion of qualitative materials which during the 18th and 19th century radiated social stature.⁹³ Clive Edwards and Margaret Ponsonby have in their article “The Polarization of the Second-Hand Market for Furniture in the Nineteenth Century” shown that the middle ranks of society were hesitant in acquiring new goods as their social stature was unsure, and preferred second-hand goods that carried with them symbolic capital.⁹⁴ Gradually, this mentality of the middle ranks changed during the course of the 19th century and the second-hand goods that were essential to the social stature of social groups were replaced by new and industrialised products

⁸⁹ Lemire, Beverly, 1988, p. 4

⁹⁰ Wottle, Martin, 2010, “What’s New?: Legal Discourse on Second-Hand Goods in Early Nineteenth Century Stockholm.” p. 32

⁹¹ Wottle, Martin, 2010, p. 33; Pennell, Sara. 2010, "All but the Kitchen Sink": Household Sales and the Circulation of Second-hand Goods in Early Modern England." p. 51-52

⁹² Ibid; Nenadic, Stana, 1994, p. 133

⁹³ Nenadic, Stana, 1994, p. 132-133

⁹⁴ Edwards, Clive, Ponsonby, Margaret, 2010, "The Polarization of the Second-hand Market for Furniture in the Nineteenth Century." p. 107

that towards the end of the century started mimicking the social capital of second-hand goods.⁹⁵ As this development unfolded, the mentality of the middle ranks of society shifted to incorporate a sense of modernity, eventually turning into a sense of novelty in appearance.⁹⁶ This novelty also later became the mode and fashion, and the approach of buying goods through the scope of durability and quality was replaced by specific novelty.

A more theoretical approach to this phenomenon of consumerism and novelty is captured by Jan de Vries in his “The industrious Revolution” where he argues that the pre-industrial society was marked by increasing industriousness.⁹⁷ This industriousness as de Vries labelled it, is in essence the driving force of industrialism and consumerism, where the mentality of new and old changed towards the modern meaning of modern, as well as an increasing need and will to consume.⁹⁸ Consuming during the 18th and early 19th century has been depicted as being in majority to survive and to withhold a sense of social stature which slowly changed during the course of the later. Nevertheless, De Vries has shown substantial theoretical perspective of how to view the increasing consumerism of the 19th century. In conjunction with Nenadic, Lemire, Wottle and Edwards and Ponsonby a general picture of the changes of consumerism in the 19th century appears. The second-hand trade stood for, as mentioned, a variety of functions in the 19th century society. One of them being the need for middle and lower ranks to certify their social position through symbolic goods. Nevertheless, this theoretical perspective gives the second-hand trade new and deeper meaning when analysing its mechanisms. Auctions, as the second-hand trade hubs of commerce for the broad spectra of social hierarchy, sought to increase their social stature through appearance even though , the second-hand trade’s function, in specific auctions’ and pawnshops’ was not restricted to this only. Thieves have, according to Lemire, been the first to tap into this instrument of pawnshops.

⁹⁵ Edwards, Clive, Ponsonby, Margaret, 2010, p. 107; Nenadic, Stana, 1994, p. 134

⁹⁶ Ibid.

⁹⁷ De Vries, Jan, 2008, “The industrious revolution: consumer behavior and the household economy, 1650 to the present”

⁹⁸ De Vries, Jan, 2008.

Pawnbrokers and Pawnshops

Pawnbrokers and pawnshops of the 19th century Scania were uncommon institutions.⁹⁹ Research has shown that private lenders usually acted as pawnshops and pawnbrokers.¹⁰⁰ This structure or rather institution was more common in central Europe.¹⁰¹ Carboneller-Esteller has in his research on pawnshops at the end of the 18th century Barcelona shown substantial evidence on how pawnshops served as a financial instrument.¹⁰² However, the pawnshops of Barcelona, and in central Europe, in general, were organised and operated by the state, solely in purpose to benefit the poor.¹⁰³ Research has shown that most pawnshops during the 18th and 19th century Europe did not require any form of interest rate, but was rather a specific institution backed by the state to provide the poor and destitute with an alternative to starvation.¹⁰⁴ Their research is primarily focused on the landless urban inhabitants of Barcelona. Among the clientele of the pawnshops of Barcelona, women and especially widows, consisted of 15 per cent of the total.¹⁰⁵ Furthermore, Carbonell-Esteller show that about 55 per cent of all pawned items were never retrieved by the owner.¹⁰⁶ In addition, the majority of clientele was amongst the lower ranks of society, especially the landless. Although Carbonell-Esteller does not analyse the pawnshops in Barcelona in conjunction to economic stress, the focus is on a different perspective of multiunit households and how pawnshops were used.¹⁰⁷ Multiunit households were common in Spain and in particularly Barcelona. Carbonell-Esteller show that households which did not constitute of multiple families were the ones that pawned the most.¹⁰⁸ Results also show that the majority of items being pawned by multiunit households, were not done by the head of the household, or the owner of the lease or house.¹⁰⁹ These results point towards a general description of the poorest and most destitute and their everyday struggle of surviving. As the thieves in Britain, the majority of landless in Barcelona used the pawnshops as financial instruments to expand their budgets.

⁹⁹ Körberg, Ingvar, Wiséhn, Ian, 1995.

¹⁰⁰ Körberg, Ingvar, Wiséhn, Ian, 1995; Svensson, Patrick, 1998, p.132-134; Lilja, Kristina, 2004, p. 42-45

¹⁰¹ Carbonell-Esteller, Montserrat, 2000

¹⁰² Carbonell-Esteller, Montserrat, 2000, p. 73-75; Francois, Marie, 2004, p. 327; Balch, Emily, 1893, p. 158

¹⁰³ Carbonell-Esteller, Montserrat, 2000, p. 73-75; Francois, Marie, 2004, p. 327; Balch, Emily, 1893, p. 157

¹⁰⁴ Carbonell-Esteller, Montserrat, 2000, p. 73-75; Francois, Marie, 2004, p. 327; Balch, Emily, 1893, p. 158-159

¹⁰⁵ Carbonell-Esteller, Montserrat, 2000, p. 75

¹⁰⁶ Ibid, p. 78-79

¹⁰⁷ Ibid, p. 91-92

¹⁰⁸ Carbonell-Esteller, Montserrat, 2000, p. 87

¹⁰⁹ Ibid, p. 88

Similarly to Carbonell-Estellers research, Marie Francois has shown that pawnshops in Mexico City resembled the model of central Europe.¹¹⁰ The pawnshops in Mexico City were in many regards very similar to their counterparts in Europe. They were either sponsored or facilitated and regulated by the state, with the sole purpose of benefiting the poor and destitute.¹¹¹ Francois estimates that some 65 per cent of all pawned items were done by females,¹¹² this quite contrasting result points towards a difference in the household structure of South America. However, most pawned items in similarity to Corbonell-Esteller were not retrieved by the lower ranks of society, but in a greater extent by the middle and higher ranks.¹¹³ Francois, shows that the average sum loaned for a pawned item was some 6.5 pesos which is comparable to a day's budget for a family of 5 persons.¹¹⁴ Research in the field of auctions have shown similar results were most auctioned items were of low value.¹¹⁵ Francois argues that the main reason behind pawning in Mexico City was a form of survival strategy or supplementing the budget.¹¹⁶ Francois also presents results that artisans were common to pawn their crafted goods to stretch their budget.¹¹⁷ Similar results have been shown in Scandinavia, where artisans often auctioned their crafted goods or even sold them to peddler merchants.¹¹⁸ Essentially, pawnshops in Europe and in the Americas were similar to the structure of pawnshops in France during the 18th and 19th century, where they were solely institutions in the benefit of the poor. Emily G. Balch has in her research "*Public assistance of the poor in France*" shown similar results as Carbonell-Esteller and Francois. Pawnshops, much like in Mexico City and Barcelona, were regulated by the state, and forbidden if not regulated by the state.¹¹⁹ The French pawnshops of the 18th and 19th century often required no interest, which changed towards the 19th century, where the interest rates reflected the rates of normal loans. The French pawnshops of the 18th and 19th century often required no interest, which changed in the 19th century, where the interest rates reflected the rates of normal loans reaching as far as twelve per cent..¹²⁰ Nonetheless, pawnshops were regularly

¹¹⁰ Francois, Marie, 2004, p. 327-328

¹¹¹ Ibid, p. 328

¹¹² Ibid, p. 333

¹¹³ Ibid, p. 337-339

¹¹⁴ Ibid, p. 331

¹¹⁵ Abbas, Jaser, 2012, p. 27; Lilja, Kristina, Murhem, Sofia & Ulväng, Göran, 2010, p. 112-113

¹¹⁶ Francois, Marie, 2004, p. 359-361

¹¹⁷ Francois, Marie, 2004, p. 357; see also Bengtsson, 2004, p. 48

¹¹⁸ Lundqvist, Pia, 2008 "Marknad på väg: den västgötska gårdfarihandeln 1790-1864"

¹¹⁹ Balch, Emily, 1893, p. 158

¹²⁰ Ibid, p. 158-159

used by the poor and destitute in France during this period. Balch estimates that some three million items were pawned for an amount of sixty million francs in 1889.¹²¹ Balch has estimated that on average pawnshops in Paris went on a loss in seventy-six per cent of all the loans.¹²² Figures like these represent the charitable nature of the pawnshops in Europe at large, and especially France. Anne E.C. McCants has in her article “Goods at Pawn, The Overlapping Worlds of Material Possessions and Family Finance in Early Modern Amsterdam” shown that the majority of items pawned in early modern Amsterdam were clothes and small items. Furthermore, McCants has shown that the majority of the clientele spent their gained credits on everyday items such as food.¹²³ Similar results are shown by Alexander Jendi in his thesis on pawnshops in Uppsala, where he estimates that 64 per cent of all items pawned were clothes and the amounts given in credit usually were very low.¹²⁴ In essence, the second-hand trade in pawnshops point significantly towards the instrumental nature of them. The research done in this field is in unison in the description of pawnshops as a financial instrument for the poor and destitute. Equally, evidence has been shown that most items were never retrieved and most credits given were very low, and only covering a day’s need or perhaps a week. The nature of pawnshops is arguably synonymous with auctions, at least in their instrumental nature. However, auctions unlike pawnshops did not require repayments or interest rates.

Credit markets during the 19th century

The credit market of the 19th century Scania was in many aspects limited in their reach of clientele. Previous research by Patrick Svensson as well as Kristina Lilja, has shed light on the inadequate official credit market. The official credit market did not penetrate the middle and lower ranks of society until the end of the 19th century.¹²⁵ Svensson argues that this shortcoming of the official credit market was mainly due to its structure and requirements. Acquiring credits during the 19th century from official institutions required security, and most commonly in the

¹²¹ Balch, Emily, 1893, p. 158

¹²² Ibid, p. 159

¹²³ Mccant, 2004, p. 227

¹²⁴ Jendi, Alexander, 2008 “Svensk pantbelåning: Nedslag år 1873 och 1900”, p.23

¹²⁵ Svensson, Patrick, 1998, p. 152-154; Lilja, Kristina, 2004, p. 180, 147

form of land.¹²⁶ Svensson has shown that the majority of loans were given to the higher ranks of society and to middle rank individuals with land properties in general.¹²⁷ This structure and formal requirements of the official credit market made them unavailable for the majority of the population during the 19th century. Svensson as well as Lilja have argued that some 80 per cent of all credits taken in the 19th century were done so between relatives or private unofficial lenders, which in most cases did not require security.¹²⁸ However, Lilja has shown in her research that this structure of the credit market slowly changed during the course of the 19th century. And by the middle of the 19th century security became a common requirement between relatives and in the private and unofficial credit market.¹²⁹ Demographic research done on Scania, has shown that the poor relief of the 19th century was inadequate and it mainly supported the poorest and most destitute. Research has shown that the poor relief only supported some 2.1 per cent of the population during the 19th century Sweden, proving it insufficient.¹³⁰ However, Svensson discusses and sheds light on numerous institutions where the poor and those in need could acquire loans. For instance, the churches, parish grain storage, trade merchants and trade houses, funds of different types along with employers would give credits to those without land or any form of security.¹³¹ Svensson has shown that it was common for the middle and higher ranks of society but unusual for the lower ranks to take a loan from these institutions.¹³² The amount of loans from these institutions were high, although the vast majority were done against security and by the middle and higher ranks. The loans that were given ranged from small amounts such as 10 to high amounts such as 3000 riksdaler.¹³³ Similar evidence is provided by Kristina Lilja in her research on the credit market in Falun during the 19th century. Most loans were done by the middle and higher ranks of society. However this structure changed towards the end of the century, and the official credit market expanded and at the turn of the century it had a substantial share of the market.¹³⁴ One form of security that was used by the middle and lower ranks of

¹²⁶ Svensson, Patrick, 1998, p. 158; Lilja, Kristina, 2004, p.181

¹²⁷ Svensson, Patrick, 1998, p.158, 165, 175; Lilja, Kristina, 2004, p. 180, 53

¹²⁸ Svensson, Patrick, 1998, p. 174-175; Lilja, Kristina, 2004, p. 138-139

¹²⁹ Lilja, Kristina, 2004, p. 43-44

¹³⁰ Bengtsson, Tommy, Broström, Göran, 2010, "Mortality Crises in Rural Southern Sweden, 1766-1860", p. 4

¹³¹ Svensson, Patrick, 1998, p. 130-154

¹³² Ibid, 1988, p. 130-154

¹³³ Ibid, 1998 p. 152-154

¹³⁴ Svensson, Patrick, 1998, p. 196; Lilja, Kristina, 2004, p. 180-182

society was guarantors, although the official credits institutions were thrifty in their approvals of loans against guarantee.¹³⁵

Research has shown that the network of individuals during the 19th century was crucial for their survival and prosperity. Ylva Hasselberg has in her research on Carlson family in Furudal shown that networking was central for the survival and maintenance of social stature. In conjunction to the credit market, a larger network would according to previous research secure an easier access to credits.¹³⁶ Lilja as well as Svensson have in their researcher showed that owning land or any form of property, simplified the possibility to loan, whether it was from unofficial private lenders or official credit institutions.¹³⁷ This formal and informal requirement that was needed to loan cash dramatically decreased the possibilities of the lower ranks of society to acquire credits.

Auction theory

To further investigate the phenomenon of auctions, we should discuss the auction theory.

Auctions are an institution where seller and buyer directly meet, and the buyer unlike many other consumer institutions, has direct competition over the goods being sold. This means that in comparison to an ordinary shop, a buyer can buy another buyers already spoke upon goods.¹³⁸

The auction type that was conducted in Malmö City Auction house was the ascending-bid auction. In this case, bidders bid on an object in an ascending fashion, until only one bidder remains. Thus, one last bidder is left who has to pay the same amount as his last bid. The ascending-bid auction can often be described as the “normal” auction type and most commonly practiced World Wide.¹³⁹

According to Paul Klemperer the ascending-bid auction is profitable for the bidders. As an object is bid upon, the bidder’s optimal or highest value of that item is determined, leaving the bidder with the option to continue or not bidding depending on whether the bidder feels that his optimal

¹³⁵ Lilja, Kristina, 2004, p. 44

¹³⁶ Lilja, Kristina, 2004, p. 182; Hasselberg, Ylva, 1998 ”Den sociala ekonomin: familjen Clason och Furudals bruk 1804-1856 = [The embedded economy] : [the Clason family and Furudal ironworks 1804-1856],” p. 180; Svensson, Patrick, 1998, p. 134

¹³⁷ Lilja, Kristina, 2004, p. 147; Svensson, Patrick, 1998, p. 147

¹³⁸ Klemperer, Paul, 2004, p. 13-14

¹³⁹ Klemperer, Paul, 2004, p. 13-14; *Malmö City Auction House, Malmö City Archives, A-1, 1840-1870.*

or highest value has been reached. If the value then reaches the bidders highest value one can then decide to drop out or continue bidding to win the object. Comparing this to other auction types such as the first-price sealed bid or descending-bid auction, the ascending-bid auction is fairly risk free for the bidder.¹⁴⁰ Two general reasons contribute to the fairly low risk. One being that bidders can evaluate the item for themselves and drop out at any moment. The other one being is that the competition over the item is fairly straightforward, and depending on the item the increase in value of bid is not too high. This in turn, means that a bidder never exposes himself to bid on an item that is far above his optimal value. Combining this with the auctions in 19th century Sweden, a bidder will gain more when visiting the Malmö City Auction House than the street market in search of second-hand goods. As for the sellers the ascending-bid auction still means a profit. Klemperer argues that ascending-bid auctions are lucrative for the sellers, meaning that an object is sold to the bidder with the highest marginal-revenue. As mentioned above, bidders have to set the highest value of an item, which in ascending-bid auctions is a private information, i.e. the bidders do not know how high the other bidders are willing to bid on a specific object, as a result, leaving the seller to expect the highest revenue-marginal.¹⁴¹ In terms of the 19th century Malmö City Auction House, this meant a lucrative trade, and an easy way of acquiring cash. In comparison to for instance contemporary pawnshops or second-hand shops, the majority of clientele that the 19th century auction house received were looking for a bargain. Hence, no predetermined price was labelled on the items up for auction neither were there any minimum price announced to the structure of the auction type. In essence auction in terms of value and functionality would therefore be supreme compared to pawnshops.

Auctions as a social and financial instrument

Researchers such as Göran Ulväng, Sofia Murhem and Kristina Lilja are in a sense the pioneers of research on auctions in Sweden. They have recently published some key studies on auctions in Sweden, analyzing auction records from Stockholm, rural Uppsala county and Enköping. The main focus of their research was to identify the buyers and the volume of auctions, and by whom

¹⁴⁰ Klemperer, Paul, 2004, p. 13-14

¹⁴¹ Klemperer, Paul, 2004, p. 13-14

the auctions were sold, in other words, to determine the scope and scale of auctions in the 19th century economy. Ulväng, Murhem and Lilja argue that the vast majority of the auctions in Stockholm was done by the middle and higher social classes, which in contrast to Uppsala and Enköping was different, with the majority of the buyers and sellers being from the lower ranks of society. An interesting finding of Ulväng, Murhem and Lilja was that the absolute majority of items sold and bought at the auctions, both in the urban and rural regions, was social furniture. This furniture was bought by the lower and middle range of the social groups, suggesting the beginning of changes in the social habit of the lower social groups.¹⁴² These changes came as a consequence of the growing agricultural and industrial sector, as well as the real wage of the Swedish people increased, along the health and life expectancy. This suggests that the Swedish people were focusing more on consuming and socializing despite the harsh conditions in the pre-industrial society. According to Ulväng, Murhem and Lilja, the majority of auctions in Stockholm, Uppsala and Enköping were performed with a specified cause, e.g. bankruptcy, death or death of family members. Although, a recent study made by Jaser Abbas shows that the majority of the auctions in rural Strängnäs County were made without a specific cause, so called freely done auctions, to acquire cash. This research was focused on Strängnäs counties rural region, including some 300 unique auctions. The results showed that the majority of auctions that were made in the 19th century rural Södermanlands län, were of single objects and often of low value,¹⁴³ i.e. sold in an auction, in a rush to acquire cash in order to sustain the seller's cash flow. The social and cultural aspect of auctions was central to their existence during the 19th century Sweden. Research as well as historical accounts have depicted auctions as social events where people of all ranks of society met and socialized, as people during the 19th century were keen to express their social status outwards.¹⁴⁴ Similar descriptions of auctions as a social event has been done by Ruth-E. Morhmann. Morhmann has shown that the auctions of 19th century Ruhr-valley first and foremost were social meetings. Historical accounts show that it was common that auctions served drinks and food, and in many aspects were festivities in the 19th century Ruhr-valley.¹⁴⁵ Although, the serving of food and drinks was later banned in auctions, as it seemed as a

¹⁴² Lilja, Kristina, Murhem, Sofia & Ulväng, Göran, 2010, p. 112-114

¹⁴³ Abbas, Jaser, 2012, p. 27

¹⁴⁴ Lilja, Kristina, Murhem, Sofia & Ulväng, Göran, 2010, p. 112-114; Morhmann, Ruth-E, 2005, p. 316

¹⁴⁵ Morhmann, Ruth-E, 2005, p. 316-317

bribe and to enhance the bidder's willingness to bid on items.¹⁴⁶ Mohrmann discusses the social aspects of auctions in depth as she focuses on how the bidding and presenting of items were done. Usually items of low value went under the hammer first followed by high value items and finally the middle value items. Mohrmann has noted that this structure of putting items under the auction hammer was mainly done for the amusement of the event.¹⁴⁷ She argues that the spectacle of auctions in essence was a bidding war over social stature, and that each social group almost exclusively only bought items from their own social group or individuals belonging to a higher social group. Although, a variety of social classes were mixed in auctions even if the sellers social stature was low.¹⁴⁸ Nevertheless, auctions in general during the 19th century Ruhr-valley were mainly done in times of economic hardship, and as in previous research on second-hand markets as well as in auctions, her result are similar to the Scandinavian auctions.¹⁴⁹ The structure that the Ruhr-valley auctions had was identical to the auctions in Sweden, where most auctions of deceased persons or bankruptcies was done in their home, and only smaller movable items were sold in the Auction House.¹⁵⁰

Auctions during the 19th century also served as a fast and easy trading point for trade merchants. Research on auction houses in the United States during the 19th century has shown that a large portion of all imported goods were sold at auctions.¹⁵¹ Similarly, trade merchants in Sweden used auctions to a large extent. Sandberg as well as Roberts and Cohen point towards an extensive use of auctions as a means to bypass the costs of storage and transportation.¹⁵² Equally, research has shown that shop-keepers and artisans of different kinds bought directly from the auction houses rather than from wholesales, to increase their profits.¹⁵³ In summation, auctions had during the 19th century Europe, and in specific Malmö, several functions to fill. First and foremost the

¹⁴⁶ Mohrmann, Ruth-E, 2005, p. 321

¹⁴⁷ Ibid, p. 321

¹⁴⁸ Ibid, p. 321-322

¹⁴⁹ Mohrmann, Ruth-E, 2005, p. 323; Lilja, Kristina, Murhem, Sofia & Ulväng, Göran, 2010, p. 112-114; McCants, Anne E.C., 2007, "Goods at Pawn: The Overlapping Worlds of Material Possessions and Family Finance in Early Modern Amsterdam." p. 230; Abbas, Jaser, 2012, p. 27

¹⁵⁰ Mohrmann, Ruth-E, 2005, p. 315-317; Van Damme, Ilja, Vermoesen, Reinoud, 2009, p. 277-278; Abbas, Jaser, 2012 p. 27; Lilja, Kristina, Murhem, Sofia & Ulväng, Göran, 2010, p. 110-111

¹⁵¹ Robert, Clarke Joseph., 1933 "Rise of the Tobacco Warehouse Auction System in Virginia, 1800-1860"; Cohen, Ira, 1971

¹⁵² Sandgren, Fredrik, 2010, p. 264-268

¹⁵³ Cohen, Ira, 1971, p. 504

function of a social meeting place, where social class was maintained and pronounced. Secondly, and most importantly, auctions served as a financial institution and instrument.

The Agricultural and Industrial revolutions

The agricultural revolution that struck Sweden during the 18th and 19th century is defined by the enclosure movements of Enskifte, Lagaskifte and Storskifte.¹⁵⁴ Before these enclosure movements land was in majority co-cultivated by peasants, tenants and sharecroppers.¹⁵⁵ Leaving very little room for profitability or a surplus of agricultural output. The cultivatable land was farmed in small parcels, much like the structure in Britain before the enclosure movement, which after the Swedish enclosure movements was reconstructed towards re-dividing the small parcels and scattering the peasants into larger land pieces.¹⁵⁶ Scholars like Lennart Schön and Lars Magnusson have described these enclosure movements as essential for the Swedish industrialisation.¹⁵⁷ The shift in land pieces and redeveloped agricultural system, introduced during the 18th century new technology in the form of improved agricultural techniques as well as equipment.¹⁵⁸ However, this shift in ownership and land partition disconnected the ways of the old agrarian society. Bengtsson and Svensson among others have discussed the proletarianization of the landless and agricultural workers that after the enclosure movements found themselves without any opportunities in the agricultural sector¹⁵⁹. In essence the old agrarian society was built upon the collective system of co-cultivation and co-habitat in many ways. People in the rural regions of Sweden lived close to each other and had ties between themselves through the agricultural sector.¹⁶⁰ The re-division of land into larger parcels and fewer owners and cultivators proletarianised a large portion of the rural population, which in the search for work urbanised.¹⁶¹ Urbanisation was a large part of the later industrialisation and the agrarian revolution, giving

¹⁵⁴ Schön, Lennart, 2007, p. 62-72; Magnusson, Lars, 2002, p.183-214; Svensson, Patrick, 2001, "Agrara entreprenörer på kreditmarknaden: en studie av tre skånska socknar 1820-1870", p. 21-27

¹⁵⁵ Schön, Lennart, 2007, p. 62-72; Magnusson, Lars, 2002, p.183-214; Svensson, Patrick, 2001, p. 21-27

¹⁵⁶ Ibid

¹⁵⁷ Ibid

¹⁵⁸ Ibid

¹⁵⁹ Dribe, Martin, Olsson, Mats & Svensson, Patrick, 2010, p. 23; Bengtsson, Tommy, 2004, p. 142-149; Magnusson, Lars, 2002, p. 213

¹⁶⁰ Lilja, Kristina, 2004, p. 147

¹⁶¹ Bengtsson, Tommy, 2004, p. 135

labour force from one sector to another. Equally, the decreasing number of workers and the increasing parcel sizes, gave way to a capitalist way of thinking among the peasants of Sweden.¹⁶² The agrarian revolution gave with it room for profits and room for a surplus from the agricultural sector, in a degree that before the enclosure movements was limited.¹⁶³ Equally, this increasing productivity and increasing profitability made the land owning population increase in social stature and political power.¹⁶⁴ Nevertheless, the increased productivity and profitability of the sector also integrated it with the international market and limited the before large imports of agricultural products.¹⁶⁵ In essence the agrarian revolution that took place in Sweden during the 18th and 19th century paved the way for increasing labour supply for the industrial sector and improved domestic markets for industrialised products.¹⁶⁶ Even so, the large urbanisation that took place has been describes as both a favourable and non-favourable outcome for the landless and newly proletarianised portion of the population.¹⁶⁷ Malmö as described by Fridlitzius, was not adapted for large numbers of urbanising people, which brought with it a number of complications.¹⁶⁸ The network that the old agrarian society had, could and would to a large extent cover the landless through loans and credits by friends, family and neighbours, which in the pre-modern urbanised society was more difficult.¹⁶⁹ The landless, as argued by Bengtsson among others, were cut off from their security network of the old agrarian society and were now more vulnerable to economic pressure.¹⁷⁰ This perspective of the agricultural and industrial revolution is essential to account for when discussing living standards of the past.

Theoretical model

The theoretical framework of this thesis is built upon economic historical demography. Previous research has shown a variety of key results regarding the living standards of 19th century Scania.

¹⁶² Svensson, Patrick, 2001, p. 12-27

¹⁶³ Ibid, 2001, p. 12-27

¹⁶⁴ Svensson, Patrick, 2001, p. 12-27

¹⁶⁵ Schön, Lennart, 2007, p. 73-74; Sandgren, Fredrik, 2010, p. 279-281

¹⁶⁶ Schön, Lennart, 2007, p. 62-72

¹⁶⁷ Bengtsson, Tommy, 2004, p. 143; Bengtsson, Tommy, 2004, p. 49

¹⁶⁸ Bjurling, Oscar, Tomner, Lennart, Ersgård, Hans & Helander, Olle (red.), Malmö stads historia. D. 2, Malmö stad, Malmö, 1977.

¹⁶⁹ Bengtsson, Tommy, 2004, p. 144; Lilja, Kristina, 2004, p. 182

¹⁷⁰ Ibid

The most pronounced of them being the impact of short-term economic stress on the population. Furthermore, demographic research has shown that grain production and prices were central in how people lived year to year, and that people focused on their short-term survival rather than the long-term planning. Central to this theoretical framework is the absence of adequate official credit markets, and increasing urbanisation along with the second-hand trade through the course of the 19th century Scania. Furthermore, research on the credit markets of the 19th century has shown that acquiring loans was limited to a specific range of the social hierarchy, along with the inadequate poor relief that in general was not equipped to sufficiently accommodate the needing masses. Equally, research in the fields of the second-hand trade, whether it would have been pawnshops, second-hand shops or auctions, have shed light on the cultural and social aspect of these institutions. In a similar way as the unofficial and official credit market, the pawnshops of Scania were in essence not preferred due to unreliability. Research on auctions in Sweden has shown that all social groups attended these auctions, although not all social groups bought items from each other. On the contrary, social groups bought within their groups or from the social groups higher up the social hierarchy. Research on auctions in Sweden as well as the second-hand trade has shown that the population in general evolved during the 19th century towards consumerism. Nenadic and Lemire have pointed out that the majority of items bought in second-hand in Britain was done to accommodate increasing consumerist and fashionable life-styles. Similar evidence has been shown by Lilja, Murhem and Ulväng who argue that the majority of lower rank buyers at the auctions of Stockholm, Uppsala county and Enköping bought social furniture that would increase their social stature. Previous research has also shown that private pawnbrokers and pawnshops in general were risky business due to insufficient legislation and state control, rendering pawnshops uncommon and not preferred by the population. Although, in the countries that had a functioning pawning institution the majority of pawns done were in fact as a means to overcome economic stress.

In total, the ability to overcome short-term economic-stress is an indicator of living standard. Meaning that, much like short-term economic stress impacted fertility and mortality, increases in food prices or declining real wages or food availability should affect individuals to auction their items. Hence, if a social group would respond to economic-stress, of which in our case is food prices, real wages and agricultural output, they show for what has been proven by demographic studies. In essence this also shows that economic-stress forced people to take any means

necessary to overcome economic-stress, giving auctions as a financial instrument legitimacy as a means to overcome economic-stress. If we then apply this theoretical framework on Scania and Malmö in specific there should be similar responses to previous research on mortality and fertility but now instead on auctions. However, demographic research has shown that there is differences within and between the social groups, which should reflect in how they auctioned. A scheme of how different social groups would respond to high food prices according to Tommy Bengtsson is presented below in Table 2.

Table 2 Influence of high food prices on household budget by socioeconomic group

Influence of high food prices on household budget by socioeconomic groups	
<i>Net producers</i>	
Freeholders paying a fixed tax in money	Very favourable
Tenants with long-term contracts paying fixed rent in kind	Favourable
Tenants with long-term contracts paying fixed rent in money	Very favourable
Tenants with short-term contracts paying a fixed rent in kind	Less favourable
Tenants with short-term contracts paying a fixed rent in money	Favourable
Sharecroppers with short-term contracts paying a share of the harvest in rent	Favourable
Sharecroppers of non-staple cash crops (e.g., tobacco, cotton, olives)	Not favourable
<i>Net consumers</i>	
Crofters with small plots who needed to work as day labourers	Unfavourable
Servants mainly paid in kind	Neither

Day labourers mainly paid in cash	Very unfavourable
Artisans	Unfavourable

¹⁷¹ Source: Bengtsson, Tommy, 2004, "Living Standards and Economic Stress", p. 49

The scheme that Bengtsson hypothesised over the responses of different social groups in rural Scania can be extended further. Malmö during the 19th century did not deviate much from the rural society, but was comparable to it at least until the middle of the 19th century. However, the thesis in hand is studying Malmö City which in some aspects did deviate, especially in the composition in the number of land owning agricultural workers and in the amount of day labourers. Equally, the data collected for this thesis has a large portion of people belonging to the noble and upper end of bourgeois social groups. To adequately account and analyse for this portion of the population within the data collected they need to be sorted within the frame of net producers and net consumers. Previous research has shown that in general these two social groups were above the impact of economic stress.¹⁷² Although, they should still be considered as net consumers, as they did not produce food as their primary product. Auctions and the second-hand market, as depicted by previous research, points towards a double sided institution in auctions. Auctions were social events as well as a means to acquire cash, and equally a means to acquire items. However, the dividing line in this thesis is the presence of auctions done without a specific reason recorded and bankruptcy auctions. Previous research in general has described auctions as done because of deaths and bankruptcies, although this thesis argues that auctions that were done without any specific reason should be seen as a means to overcome economic stress. Nevertheless, the question of why some parts of the population would sell and others buy appears. The answer to this is based on the fact that most auctions that were done without a specific reason are very low in value, and in that instance comparable to pawning items in a pawnshop. Reasonably, items auctioned for low values reflects certain portions of the population that would be in a greater economic stress than the buyers. Furthermore, historically speaking,

¹⁷¹ Bengtsson, Tommy, 2004, p. 39

¹⁷² Bengtsson, Tommy, 2004, p. 144-145; Dribe, Martin, Olsson, Mats & Svensson, Patrick, 2010, p. 19-24; see also Breshi, Fornasin, Gonano, Manfredi & Seghieri, 2010, "Demographic Responses to Short-Term Economic Stress in a 19th Century Sharecropping Population"; Breshi, Fornasin, Gonano, Manfredi & Seghieri, 2010, "Demographic Responses to Short-Term Economic Stress in North East Italy: Friuli, 18th – 19th Century"

Malmö city was marked by a large growth during the course of the 19th century, where the population and trade boomed. Urbanisation was a factor during the time period that this thesis examines, and Malmö had very low opportunities for the newly arrived, rendering them more exposed to short-term economic stress and would thus be more inclined to auction.

Data

The data collected for this thesis is auction records excerpted from Malmö Stadsarkiv. The auction records are records held at each auction conducted by Malmö Auction House. These records are highly detailed containing name, surname, address, occupation, auction type and total sum of the auction seller. The amount of auction records excerpted is 6995 auctions, which are all the auctions held by Malmö Auction House during the time period between 1840 to 1870. The total value of the auctions records excerpted amounts to 4 381 637.4 riksdaler. The range of auctions sums range from 0.22 riksdaler to 65 689.92 as the highest recorded sum, with the average being 590.38 riksdaler regardless of auction type. However, all observations with a sum above 6 000 riksdaler, 80 in total, have been dropped. The reason behind this is mainly that they are extreme values that distort the averages and that there is a substantial amount of auctions, 432 in total that are between the value of 1000 and 6 000 riksdaler.¹⁷³ The dividing line is also based on the concept of total bankruptcy and severe economic pressure to auction. If the limit was to be lowered it might lose out on information that could be found in auctions done that require selling the entire household. Furthermore, auction that are done with a sum above 1 000 riksdaler are done by all social groups in both auction types, suggesting that they are essential for the interpretation of auctions. Continuingly, there is only one year missing records for, which is 1861. These records have also been cross checked for validity through the auction house's year book of which each auction is noted with sellers name and auction sum, in which the year 1861 is not included.¹⁷⁴ The records also contain the name and occupation of the buyers, as well as the amount paid for each item sold. However, this thesis has not collected any information of the buyers or the items sold, except the total auction sum. This thesis aims to shed light on auctions

¹⁷³ Malmö City Auction House, Auction protocols, A1, 1840-1870.

¹⁷⁴ Malmö City Auction House, Auction protocols, A1, 1840-1870.

as an alternative strategy in overcoming short-term economic stress, which per definition does not include the buyers. Auctions in Sweden during the 19th century consisted of four different auction types in general. The first two types are auctions done because of death either by the person in question or by a deceased relatives, which amount to 705 in total. The difference between these two auction types is difficult to assess and to analyse. However, auctions done on the behalf or because of a deceased relative were sold by a custodian or by a proxy who was a relative or a person within the deceased person's network. There also are evidence from previous research that creditors could auction deceased person's belongings, in the purpose to retain their capital.¹⁷⁵ This is however one of the main reasons why analysing these two types of auctions further would be inefficient and give no meaningful results, and they have therefore been dropped. The two other types of auctions are bankruptcy auctions and auctions without any specific reason amounting to 4 623 auctions in total. These two types of auctions are central for this thesis. Auctions done because of bankruptcy fall within the scope of his thesis and its theoretical approach. Bankruptcies were normal and auctioning items to pay off debts has been common throughout history. In essence, bankruptcies can be viewed as the result of economic stress. Auctions done without a specific reason recorded are viewed as freely done auctions. This does not, however, imply that they were in fact freely done without any exogenous economic pressure. Demographic research has shown that the 19th century Scanian population was highly sensitive to even small fluctuations in the economy.¹⁷⁶ Hence, auctions that were done without a specific reason recorded, should be viewed as done out of necessity. This perspective of viewing bankruptcy and freely done auctions, is in terms of demographic research logical. Although, to shed light on why bankruptcy and freely done auctions were done this thesis needs to analyse the data through the scope of regression analysis, to see whether there was a causal relation between economic stress in the form of increasing prices or decreasing wages and food production and auctioning. This thesis focuses on the auction sum in total, because the need to auction and the reason behind it, is reflected by the auction sum. In terms of economic stress there should be a stronger response in increasing auction sums, hence selling more valuable items, rather than just the number of auctions. Essentially, the auction sum represents the sellers need for cash, rather than his need for selling used items that the seller wants to replace. Previous research has shown

¹⁷⁵ Van Damme, Ilja, Vermoesen, Reinoud, 2009, p. 82; Mitchell, Ian, 2010, "Old books – New Bound"? Selling Second-Hand Books in England, c. 1680–1850", p. 143;

¹⁷⁶ Bengtsson, Tommy, 2004, p. 45-46

that clothes and items were judged by their quality rather than their fashion and mode stature during the 19th century. Mode and fashion was also slow to become permanent properties of society and did not penetrate the population at large until the very end of the 19th century. Therefore it is arguable that most freely done auctions, at least by the middle and lower ranks of society, were done out of necessity, and their value judged by the quality of materials used to craft the item, rather than it's fashionable appeal.¹⁷⁷ A closer look into how the spread of auction types and seasonal fluctuation was is presented below in Table 3.

Table 3 Total freely done and bankruptcy auctions tabled by month for the entire period of 1840-1870.

Auction type	Month												Total
	January	February	March	April	May	June	July	August	September	October	November	December	
Bankruptcy	46	65	142	135	104	108	90	85	136	100	74	70	1,155
Freely done	160	240	392	349	300	275	260	279	426	324	234	228	3,467
Total	206	305	534	484	404	383	350	364	562	424	308	298	4,622

¹⁷⁸ Source: Malmö City Auction House, Auction protocols, A1, 1840-1870.

The data collected clearly shows that the majority of auctions were done without a specific reason, followed by bankruptcy auctions. Not surprisingly the largest amount of auctions were held during the autumn and spring, with a generally high amount during the summer but decreasing during the winter months. Previous research, as mentioned, has shown that the population of Scania had knowledge of the grain output and economy at large. Furthermore, research on auctions in Germany, Sweden as well as the United States, have shown a similar picture, where most auctions were done during the autumn and spring. Sandberg has shown in his depiction of the trade merchants of Norrköping, that their activity increased during the autumn

¹⁷⁷ Nenadic, Stana, 1994, p. 133

¹⁷⁸ Malmö City Auction House, Auction protocols, A1, 1840-1870.

just before and after the harvests and in the spring when most grain storages and personal savings would run out.

Auctions in general were held at the seller's household within Malmö City. Advertisement was done through the newspapers of the time as well as pamphlets and by word.¹⁷⁹ The data collected consists in many of the observations of multiple auctions done in one and the same date. For instance on the ninth of September in 1854, five auctions were held. The first off these auctions was a bankruptcy auction by an upholsterer named Funt in surname, who sold his belongings to a total sum of 3536.40 riksdaler. After the bankruptcy auction by Mr.Funt, two trade merchant's one butcher and one widow auctioned items of 500.13, 69.20, 253.69 and 163.88 riksdaler respectively. All of the smaller auctions following the upholsterer Mr.Funt were auctions done without a specific reason recorded.¹⁸⁰ This example gives a picture that large auctions such as after deceased persons or bankruptcy auctions usually incorporated several small auctions within the same day and probably location. Even so, the data collected has observations where several smaller auctions were held on one day without any larger auctions done preceding them. Moreover, the structure of the data collected does not conform to a day to day activity, but rather clustered around the beginning of the month and the end, which is when most people in the 19th century received wages. Following the agricultural cycles it is also reasonable that the auction total sums should be at their highest just before and after the harvests as well as during the spring when the availability of food was low.¹⁸¹ Below in Table 4, the average auction sum for freely done auctions is shown for each month by social group.

Table 4 Total number of auctions and average auction sum for freely done auctions and each social group by month.

			Social group				
Month	Nobility	Administrative and managerial workers	Bourgeois	Trade merchants	Agricultural workers	Landless	Total

¹⁷⁹ Mohrmann, Ruth-E, 2005, p. 317; Murhem, Sofia, Lilja, Kristina & Ulväng, Göran, 2010, p. 200

¹⁸⁰ Malmö City Auction House, Auction protocols, A1, 1840-1870.

¹⁸¹ Sandgren, Fredrik, 2010, p. 269; Bengtsson, Tommy, Dribe, Martin, 2002, "New Evidence on the Standard of Living in Sweden during the 18th and 19th Centuries. Long-Term Development of the Demographic Responses to Short-Term Economic Stress among Landless in Western Scania", p. 14; Mohrmann, Ruth-E, 2005, p. 318

January	285.11	367.56	378.36	240.52	26.83	491.61	329.92
Total nr.	19	15	39	55	4	28	160
February	330.20	275.70	302.86	248.08	170.67	244.72	269.31
Total nr.	26	21	61	66	10	56	240
March	277.52	241.29	394.68	242.82	264.47	282.74	306.31
Total nr.	43	37	138	106	12	56	392
April	326.52	329.34	352.50	224.37	157.2	478.87	324.69
Total nr.	44	33	120	96	8	48	349
May	203.47	100.97	366.48	258.26	34.69	531.78	298.27
Total nr.	53	22	87	98	4	36	300
June	342.50	156.09	295.11	466.45	314.58	467.97	357.28
Total nr.	55	28	77	76	9	30	275
July	319.57	425.10	383.33	214.99	268.66	292.64	310.21
Total nr.	34	28	74	85	7	32	260
August	283.25	192.16	274.12	230.72	287.19	288.84	257.34
Total nr.	29	29	95	76	5	45	279
September	341.93	432.05	246.54	228.57	203.44	269.57	278.21
Total nr.	55	51	135	119	9	57	426
October	152.07	269.88	280.59	382.04	171.90	379.87	303.37
Total nr.	41	24	106	98	12	43	324
November	181.70	551.83	349.58	224.15	114.49	287.35	299.88
Total nr.	40	26	73	51	6	38	234
December	226.38	396.65	331.95	191.56	229.56	171.70	263.74
Total nr.	36	38	55	60	8	31	228
Total	272.55	321.30	326.24	264.72	201.58	339.55	299.43
Total nr.	475	352	1060	986	94	500	3467

¹⁸² Malmö City Auction House, Auction protocols, A1, 1840-1870.

¹⁸² Malmö City Auction House, Auction protocols, A1, 1840-1870.

The data exhibits expected patterns, with generally increasing auction sums and total number of auctions during the spring and fall. Furthermore, we can also establish that the overall auction sum for freely done auctions is fairly low. Historical records has shown that an average yearly day labourers wage was around 100 to 200 riksdaler, which puts the auction sums in perspective.¹⁸³ For instance it is reasonable to argue that recently unemployed labourers would auction more to secure even a year's wage to secure their lives until they could be employed again. Patrick Svensson has argued that most credits taken during the 19th century Scania, who were above 1 500 riksdaler, can be considered to have been done to invest. Furthermore, a cow during the 19th century priced between 50 and 100 riksdaler, and a piece of land that would barely keep a household over subsistence could cost around 400 riksdaler.¹⁸⁴ Nevertheless, most of these auction sums point towards to have been done out of necessity rather than to invest. As previously mentioned there is some 432 auctions that are above the value of 1 000 riksdaler that skews the averages quite a bit. Furthermore, the number of auctions increase during these months, which in terms of auction sums could decrease the means during the fall and spring, as most auctions usually were done were of low value items. The monthly fluctuations of bankruptcy auctions and their average auction sum by social class is presented below in Table 5.

Table 5 Total number of auctions and average auction sum for bankruptcies and each social group by month.

			Social group				
Month	Nobility	Administrative and managerial workers	Bourgeois	Trade merchants	Agricultural workers	Landless	Total
January	374.56	1090.04	581.05	384.31	11.22	2092.37	675.95
Total nr.	7	9	14	11	2	3	46
February	1061.73	536.93	652.53	90.58	743.84	575.69	516.58
Total nr.	8	6	18	19	2	12	65
March	992.36	596.66	559.26	385.82	95.214	767.94	614.07
Total nr.	14	18	48	28	2	33	143

¹⁸³ Murhem, Sofia, Lilja, Kristina & Ulväng, Göran, 2010, p. 211; H. Befallningshavandes femarsberättelser, Södermanlands lan, Historisk statistik 1800-talet 1886-1890.

¹⁸⁴ Svensson, Patrick, 1998, p. 147, 165

April	610.37	432.76	797.91	946.28	276.88	549.90	685.53
Total nr.	19	16	45	24	6	25	135
May	269.80	295.12	909.72	466.95	956.64	539.70	606.50
Total nr.	16	7	37	27	3	14	104
June	905.74	913.37	514.56	354.37	22.37	596.77	604.01
Total nr.	26	9	33	21	4	15	108
July	796.92	259.88	692.75	607.67	27.36	730.70	636.37
Total nr.	13	10	26	24	1	16	90
August	509.12	675.90	491.48	306.68	90	1240.45	525.54
Total nr.	15	8	29	24	1	8	85
September	486.19	578.19	663.14	652.60	236.81	986.76	649.61
Total nr.	19	15	41	35	7	19	136
October	865.26	259.94	602.28	429.59	22.21	371.88	508.75
Total nr.	14	13	31	25	1	16	100
November	227.77	506.59	642.35	225.85	311.29	645.54	516.70
Total nr.	10	9	25	8	2	20	74
December	798.93	78.11	467.35	509.63	182.23	611.17	500.15
Total nr.	12	7	17	21	4	9	70
Total	668.70	520.84	646.70	477.70	270.57	702.67	594.94
Total nr.	173	127	364	267	35	190	1156

¹⁸⁵ Source; Malmö City Auction House, Auction protocols, A1, 1840-1870. Authors design.

The average sums for bankruptcy auctions are substantially higher, naturally, than those for freely done auctions. Nonetheless, the pattern of increasing auction sums in the spring and autumn is still present. However, it is also notable that the land owning agricultural workers, nobility and administrative and managerial workers had lower numbers of bankruptcy auctions than the

¹⁸⁵ Malmö City Auction House, Auction protocols, A1, 1840-1870.

landless, bourgeois and trade merchants. Similarly to the freely done auctions, the number of auctions would increase during the months in the spring and fall and with that pattern possibly decrease the averages due to larger amounts of auctions and lower amounts of auction sums.

Grain prices, harvest data, day wages as well as yearly harvest yield reviews are also incorporated into this research. The grain prices and wages are collected from Jörberg 1972, harvest yield reviews from Utterström 1957, and harvest data from Olsson and Svensson 2010.¹⁸⁶ The grain price series, harvest data and day wages have been used in a number of previous research and have been found to significantly correlate to living standards in the past. The grain prices consists of rye, oats and barley. Real wages are constructed by using the day wages and deflating them by the grain prices, similar to how Bengtsson, Dribe, Olsson and Svensson have constructed real wages. The harvest data is unfortunately not complete for the time period of this thesis as it ends in 1864. However, research done in demographic studies has shown that harvest data has been significant in regression analysis, and will therefore be incorporated in this thesis. Furthermore, the harvest yield reviews have also been used in previous research with significant and reliable results, therefore they will also be used in this thesis.

Social class

To better understand living standards through the scope of auctions as a financial instrument, this thesis needs a sufficient social classification. The majority of previous research in demographic historical studies have divided their social groups between being net producers and net consumers and in relation to owning or leasing land and wage structures as well as social stature.¹⁸⁷ This approach is going to be deployed in this research as well. The social groups classified in this research are six in total ranging from Nobility, Administrative and managerial workers, Bourgeois, Trade merchants, Agricultural workers and Landless. This structure is replicated from the research of Kristina Lilja, Sofia Murhem and Göran Ulväng.¹⁸⁸ Their classification of social

¹⁸⁶ Jörberg, L. (1972). ”A history of prices in Sweden 1732–1914”; Utterström, G. (1957). *Jordbrukets arbetare*.

¹⁸⁷ Bengtsson, Tommy, 2004, p. 49

¹⁸⁸ Murhem, Sofia, Lilja, Kristina & Ulväng, Göran, 2010; Lilja, Kristina, Murhem, Sofia & Ulväng, Göran, *Den glömda konsumtionen: auktionshandel under 1700- och 1800-talen*, Ekonomisk-historiska inst., Uppsala univ., Uppsala, 2005

groups according to occupation accounts for the individual's relation towards the agricultural sector as well as their occupational social stature. However, this thesis has made one modification to their classification, by adding one more social group: trade merchants. The reasoning behind this is that trade merchant's amount to some 1424 auctions, and according to previous research and historical accounts trade merchants deviate from the bourgeois social group. Therefore there is a need to analyse and account for the trade merchants in the data separately.¹⁸⁹ Continuingly, there is a portion of the data that has been collected consisting of organisations, firms and state owned institutions which will not be included in any analysis. The reasoning behind this, is mainly due to that no theoretical explanation can be applied to why this group would auction. This portion of the data collected have multiple auctions done by the Malmö prison, Coast guard, Malmö poor relief, Malmö hospital, The Women's Association and the State, some auctions have also been recorded to have been done in the name of his majesty the King. In some auctions of these organisations and institutions I have noted that the items they were selling were abandoned or forgotten items or crafted items to fund the organisations. I have also noted that some of these organisations and enterprises auctioned leases and contracts of various kinds.¹⁹⁰ Nonetheless, it is impossible to analyse the reasoning behind these auctions and they would not correspond to any theoretical approach, therefore they will be left out. A total description of the classification of each occupational title can be seen in the appendix in Table 8. A closer look in to how the social classes are constructed and their characteristics will be discussed below. Furthermore, the next segment will also incorporate time series graphs to assess their development over time and within the context of economic stress and historical events.

Nobility

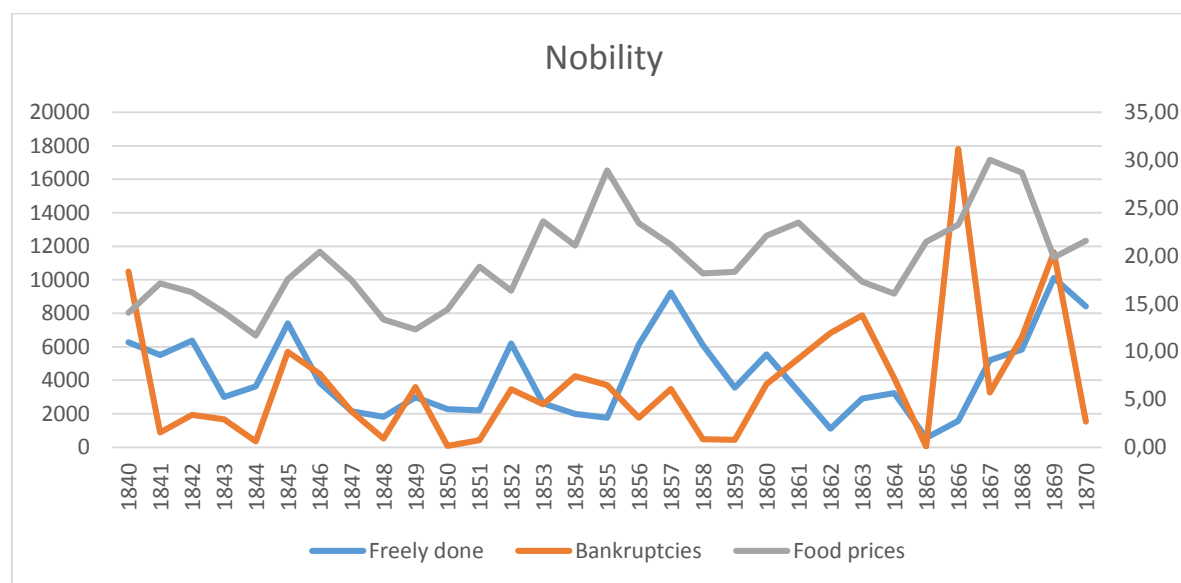
Previous research on Scania has revealed that the majority of land was owned by this social group in Scania, although the Enskifte, Lagaskifte and Storskifte slowly changed this structure throughout the 19th century. The data that has been collected includes 768 individuals that have been classified as nobility. This social group has mixed individuals of noble descent with

¹⁸⁹ Sandgren, Fredrik, 2010, p. 278

¹⁹⁰ Malmö City Auction House, Auction protocols, A1, 1840-1870.

bourgeois stature, all the occupations included in this social group are according to previous research, described as land owners.¹⁹¹ Furthermore, previous research has shown that this social group was well above the reach of short-term economic stress.¹⁹² Below in graph 1, the development of how the nobility auctioned through the period is shown.

Graph 1 Total annual auction sums from freely done and bankruptcy auctions by the Nobility, with food prices for the period 1840-1870



¹⁹³ Malmö City Auction House, Auction protocols, A1, 1840-1870.

The graphed series is the total sums for both bankruptcy and freely done auctions done by the nobility aggregated on a yearly basis. From the graph we can distinguish that, as previous research has pointed out, the nobility was well above economic stress compared to for instance the landless. The average auction sum for freely done auctions and bankruptcies are 272.55 and 668.70 respectively. The historical events such as the disease epidemics of 1847, 1853 and 1857 do not seem to have had any significant impact on their need to auction or auction more valuable items to any greater extent. The bad harvests during 1867 and 1868 do not either seem to have

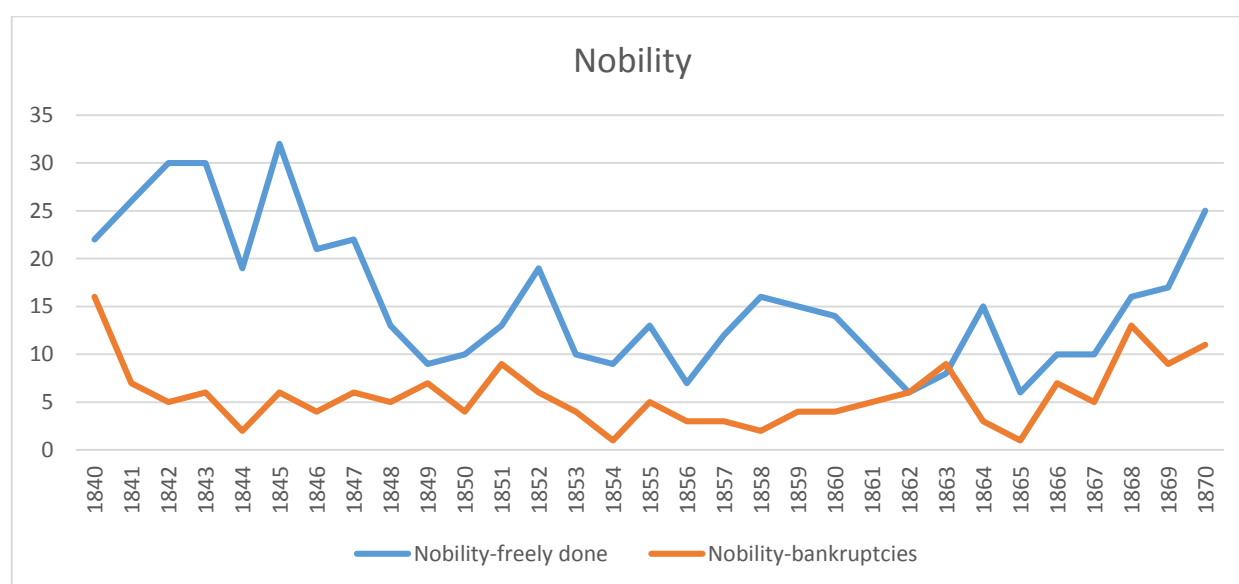
¹⁹¹ Dribe, Martin, Olsson, Mats & Svensson, Patrick, 2010, p. 20-24; Lilja, Kristina, Murhem, Sofia & Ulväng, Göran, 2005

¹⁹² Dribe, Martin, Olsson, Mats & Svensson, Patrick, 2010, p. 20-24; Bengtsson, Tommy, 2004, p. 142-149

¹⁹³ Malmö City Auction House, Auction protocols, A1, 1840-1870.

had any significant impact over the pattern of auctioning. At least not in such a fashion that would give way of interpreting this social group as weak in terms of living standards. Ocular inspections of the grain production graphs as well as day/real wages seem to have not been in any way related to the pattern of auctioning for the nobility. If we look at the total number of bankruptcy and freely done auctions, instead of the total sums per year, the pattern seems the same.

Graph 2 Total annual number of auctions by the Nobility, between the period 1840-1870.



¹⁹⁴ Malmö City Auction House, Auction protocols, A1, 1840-1870.

Graph 2 above show the total number of auctions done by the nobility each year. There is however no direct sign of that the nobility as a social group would react to any exogenous economic stress. Although, there seems to be a gradual stagnation of the number of auctions from 1846 to about 1867, which would correspond to the Corn law changes in Britain suggesting that this social group could have benefitted from that event and would decrease the need to auction. This possible outcome of the Corn Laws in Britain seems to not have affected the bankruptcy auctions during the time but only the freely done auctions. Previous research has depicted this

¹⁹⁴ Malmö City Auction House, Auction protocols, A1, 1840-1870.

social group as unaffected by economic stress and not inclined to auction to buy second-hand goods to any larger extent. Nenadic, Lemire as well as other research in the field of historical second-hand trade, have discussed this social groups incline to buy second-hand items as limited and only within their social ranks or social group above them.¹⁹⁵ In essence their need to exhibit their social stature and establish themselves as the elite would first and foremost not have been done through second-hand trade, which in terms of auctioning does not seem to have been any different.¹⁹⁶

Administrative and managerial workers

This social group of administrative and managerial workers is in majority bourgeois with some individuals of noble descent. However, the occupational titles classified under this social group are in general not land owners, or at least not owners of large parts of land such as the nobility. Previous research has often depicted this social group as the upper end of the middle ranks of society, and in essence net consumers.¹⁹⁷ The bourgeois of Sweden increased their social stature in the 19th century, much like the expansion and establishment of the industrial world, the bourgeois expanded their power and by the end of the century competed with the nobility for social stature.¹⁹⁸ Nonetheless, most of the occupations that are classified under this social group in this thesis were not land owning occupations but high up in the social hierarchy as managers and administrators of different kinds, a table including all occupational titles of this social group can be found in table in the appendix. The total number of auction records held after auctions by this social group is 480 during the time period. The average auction sums for freely done and bankruptcy auctions is 321.30 and 520.84 respectively. Below in Graph 3, the auction sum for bankruptcy and freely done auctions are graphed along with grain prices for the period.

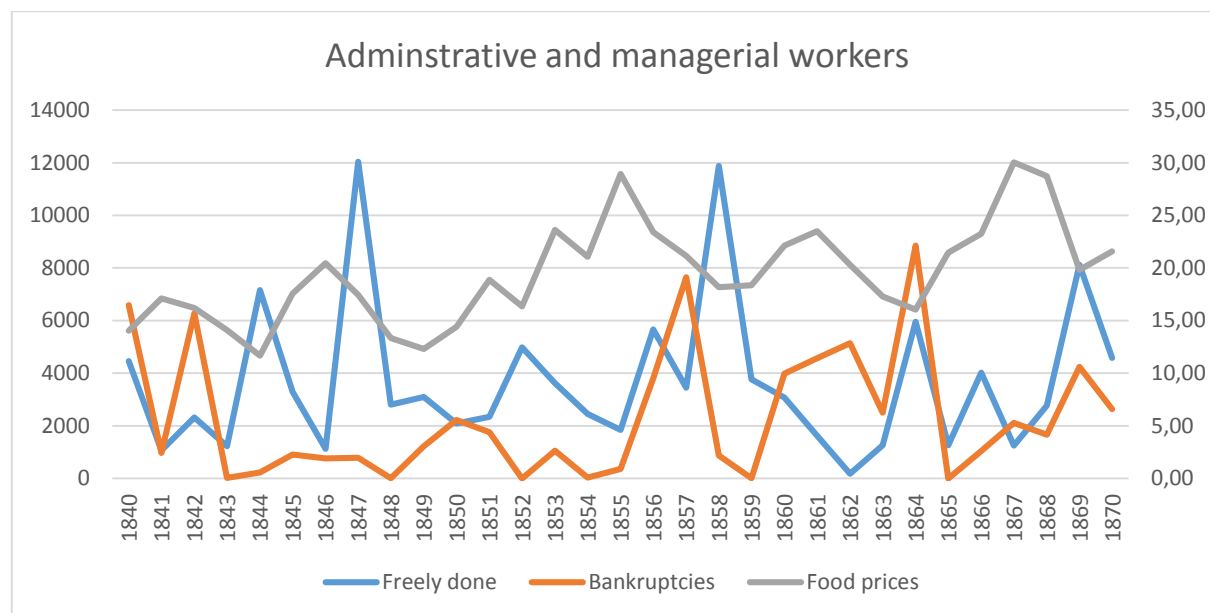
¹⁹⁵ Nenadic, Stana, 1994, p. 132-134; Lemire, Beverly, 1988, p. 4-6; Murhem, Sofia, Lilja, Kristina & Ulväng, Göran, 2010, p. 215

¹⁹⁶ Murhem, Sofia, Lilja, Kristina & Ulväng, Göran, 2010, p. 215

¹⁹⁷ Bengtsson, Tommy, 2004, p. 49; Bengtsson, Tommy, 2004, p. 142-149

¹⁹⁸ Norrby, Göran, 2005, "Adel i förvandling: adliga strategier och identiteter i 1800-talets borgerliga samhälle"; Hasselberg, Ylva, 1998, p. 180

Graph 3 Total annual auction sums for freely done and bankruptcies by Administrative and managerial workers with food prices.



¹⁹⁹ Malmö City Auction House, Auction protocols, A1, 1840-1870.

The series in the graphs are given in riksdaler for all the series. In comparison to the nobility this social group seems to exert some signs of weakness to disease epidemics. The year of 1847 and to some extent 1853 as well as 1857 and the following year of 1858 all seem to have had some impact on auctioning for this social group, and in specific freely done auctions. Previous research has, however, depicted this social group as the nobility in terms of their independence towards economic stress. If we then focus on the fluctuations of grain prices there seems to be little response to increasing prices within this social group, which is much in line with previous research.²⁰⁰ As this social group in majority were wealthy and had substantial economic securities, both in the ability to acquire credits and in terms of networks of relatives, it seem plausible that they should not be affected to a larger extent.²⁰¹ This group seems to have been strong against failing agricultural output and prices but weak against disease epidemics, even though there are viewed as net consumers. However, their auctioning pattern does not either seem

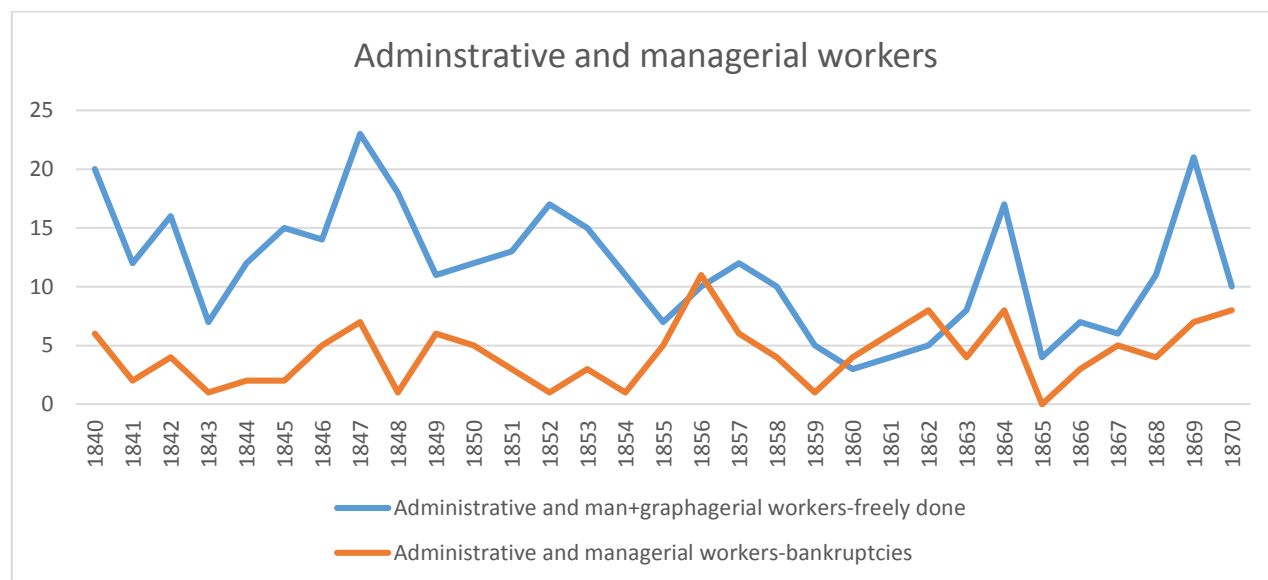
¹⁹⁹ Malmö City Auction House, Auction protocols, A1, 1840-1870.

²⁰⁰ Bengtsson, Tommy, 2004, p. 49

²⁰¹ Bengtsson, Tommy, 2004, p. 49; Svensson, Patrick, 1998, p. 147-148

to change substantially during this time period. Below in graph 4 the total number of freely done auctions and bankruptcy auctions are presented.

Graph 4 Total annual number of auctions by the Administrative and managerial workers, between the period 1840-1870.



²⁰² Malmö City Auction House, Auction protocols, A1, 1840-1870.

The total number of auctions done for this social group during the period studied, does not seem to alter the perspective of this social group as above economic stress. However, as in the previous graph 4, the years of disease epidemics seem to have had an impact. Nonetheless, a possible explanation for this increase of total number of auctions and auction sums during the epidemic years is complex. Several possible explanations could be applied to why this social group would increase their auctioning by number and sums are available, one of them being that this social group was slightly less wealthy than the nobility and perhaps could have been more affected by epidemics.²⁰³ Secondly, it is plausible that the occupations of this social group to larger extent required face-to-face relation and a larger exposure to the portion of the population that would have been transmitting the disease.²⁰⁴ Nonetheless, Bengtsson among others have argued that the

²⁰² Malmö City Auction House, Auction protocols, A1, 1840-1870.

²⁰³ Bengtsson, Tommy, 2004, p. 41-45

²⁰⁴ Ibid

nutritional aspect of was key in interpreting mortality and fertility in terms of the susceptibility to diseases with lower levels of nutrition. In this aspect this social group would then have had less availability of food than the nobility and rendered them weaker than the nobility.²⁰⁵ Continuingly, this social group exhibits similar decline in total number of auctions from the instalment of the Corn Laws in Britain, suggesting that their need to auction decreased. Nevertheless, the graph exemplifies a somewhat stability over the period studied.

Bourgeois

In contrast to the administrative and managerial workers, this social group consists mainly of artisans, shopkeepers and inn-keepers of different kind. Essentially this social group was in majority paid in cash or made their living outside of the agricultural sector. Previous research has shown that those social groups that were paid in cash, who were not of noble descent or the very upper end of the middle ranks, suffered the most in times of economic stress.²⁰⁶ However, research on auctions, pawnshops and the second-hand market has shown that it was common for artisans to sell their crafted goods in auctions or pawn them in times of economic stress.²⁰⁷ Bengtsson among others, have argued that artisans in general and craftsmen of different kinds were amongst those who suffered most in times of economic hardship, as the products they produced were not demanded in times of economic stress.²⁰⁸ And to some extent they needed to pawn them or auction them to survive.

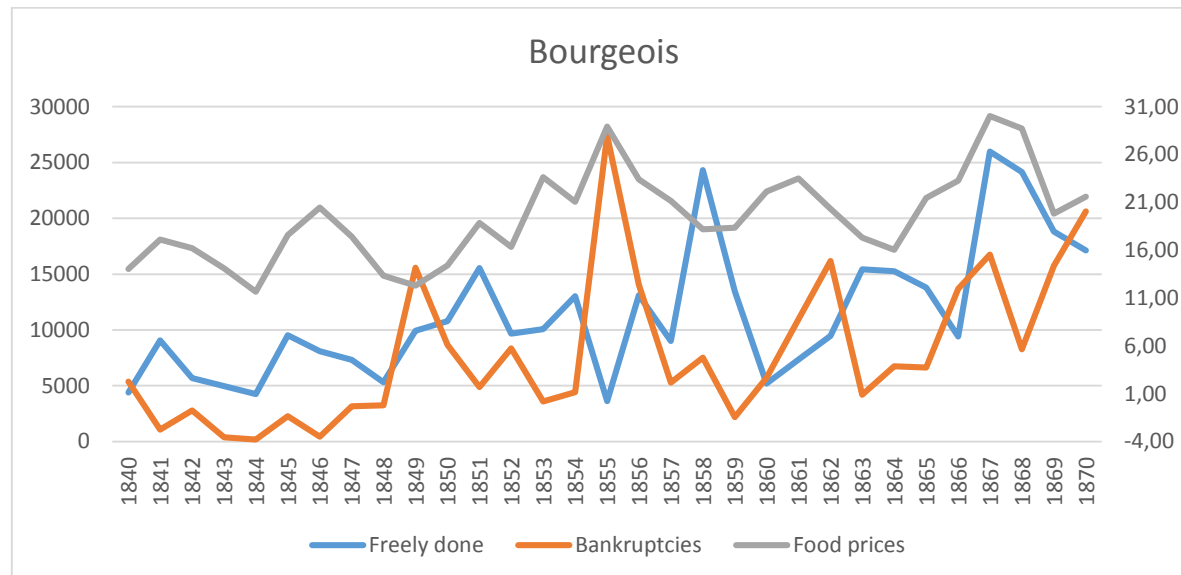
²⁰⁵ Bengtsson, Tommy, 2004, p. 41-45

²⁰⁶ Ibid, p. 48-50

²⁰⁷ Francois, Marie, 2004, p. 357

²⁰⁸ Bengtsson, Tommy, 2004, p. 49

Graph 5 Total annual auction sums from freely done and bankruptcy auctions by the Bourgeois, with food prices for the period 1840-1870



²⁰⁹ Malmö City Auction House, Auction protocols, A1, 1840-1870.

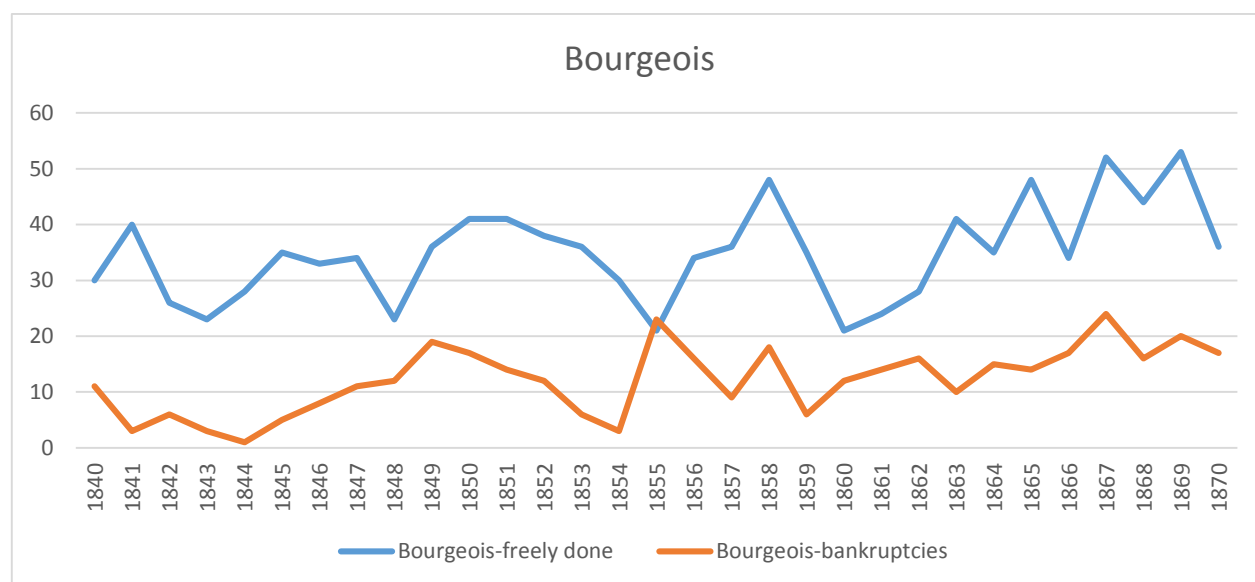
In the graph 5 above, the total yearly sums for bankruptcy and freely done auctions are given along with food prices for the period. In contrast to the nobility and the very highest end of bourgeois social ranks, the bourgeois in this research seem to have had a closer relation to food prices. In essence the graphs gives us reason to argue that the bourgeois to quite a large extent were weak towards economic stress in the form of grain price fluctuations. Previous research in historical demography has shown that the bourgeois class suffered in general all over Europe from the fluctuations of the agricultural output.²¹⁰ Noteworthy is the overall increase in auction sums throughout the period for this social group, starting at some 5 000 riksdaler at the beginning of the period and steadily increasing towards 15 000 – 20 000 riksdaler at the end of it. Research in second-hand trade has shown that this social group would change their consumer habits during the 19th century from being modest to an exhibitionistic and outwards proclamation of social stature. Several researchers such as Nenadic, Lemire, De Vries as well as research on auctions from Lilja, Murhem and Ulväng have all shown that the consumer patterns of this social group gradually increased to buy more social furniture and establish their social stature amongst them

²⁰⁹ Malmö City Auction House, Auction protocols, A1, 1840-1870.

²¹⁰ Bengtsson, Tommy, 2004, p. 45-47

and towards the society at large.²¹¹ Furthermore, the graph exhibits a close relation between freely done auctions and the fluctuations of grain prices of the period, but less in bankruptcies. Furthermore, the bourgeois seem to not have reacted to the exogenous events of the Corn Law instalment as well as the Crimean War, but instead increased their auctions sums throughout the period.

Graph 6 Total annual number of auctions by the Bourgeois, between the period 1840-1870.



²¹² Malmö City Auction House, Auction protocols, A1, 1840-1870.

In unison with the previous graph, the total number of auctions for this social group increased during the time period. Although, the graph above does not exhibit any large visual responses to the disease epidemic years of 1847, 1853 and 1857, but do show for a small response on the harvest failures of 1867. Equally this social group does not seem to respond to the Corn Laws or the Crimean War, but more to the grain prices in general. Nevertheless, historically speaking the

²¹¹ Nenadic, Stana, 1994, p. 132; Lemire, Beverly, 1988, p. 4; Murhem, Sofia, Lilja, Kristina & Ulväng, Göran, 2010, p. 215

²¹² Malmö City Auction House, Auction protocols, A1, 1840-1870.

increase in the number of auctions and the total yearly sum of auctions from this social group points towards a gradual shift in their consumer behaviour by increasing their need for novelty.²¹³

Trade merchants

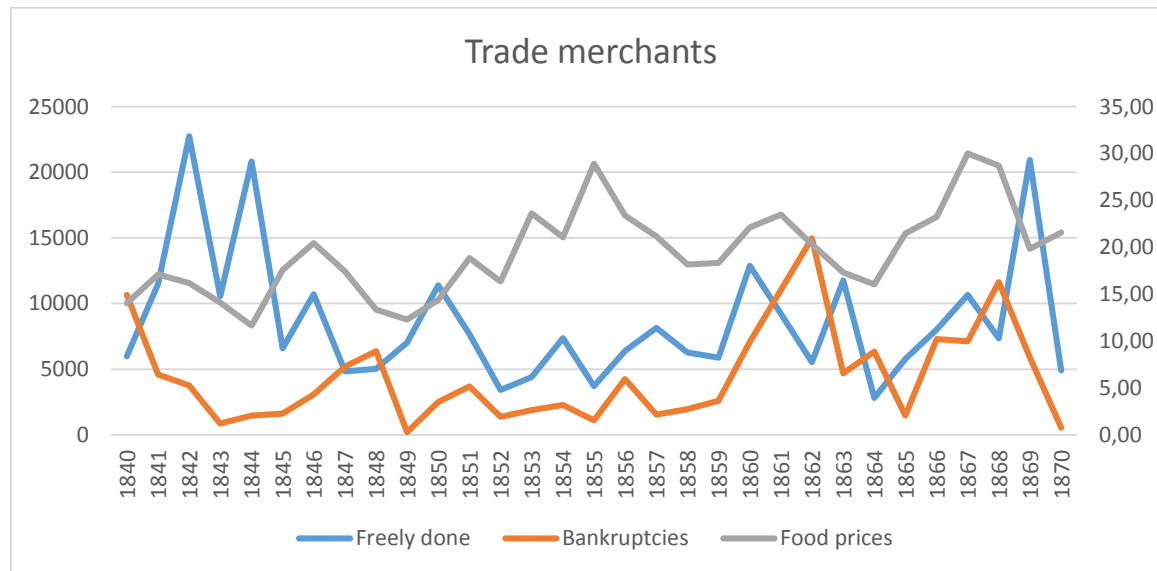
The trade merchants of Scania were essential to the Big Grain export during the 19th century. The increase of this social group started along with the proletarianization and urbanisation of the population in Scania during the 19th century. Previous research has shown that a large part of the urbanizing proletarians sought to establish themselves as trade merchants as the sector was booming during the 19th century.²¹⁴ As this social group made their living out of the agricultural sector they were even more so attached to it. Sandgren has shown in his research that this social group were volatile in their relation to the agricultural sector. Speculating in the economy and agricultural output at large was common in this occupation, which in many cases led to bankruptcies and failing ventures.²¹⁵ Their close relation to the agricultural sector would give this social group similar characteristics as land owning peasants, as they would trade with grain as their main product and would be affected in a similar fashion in times of increasing prices and decreasing agricultural output. However, the trade merchant were eager to speculate and to make a profit which would render them more volatile than peasants and perhaps difficult to assess.

²¹³ Nenadic, Stana, 1994, p. 132; Lemire, Beverly, 1988, p. 4; Murhem, Sofia, Lilja, Kristina & Ulväng, Göran, 2010, p. 215; Wottle, Martin, 2010, p. 32-35

²¹⁴ Fridlizijs, Gunnar, "Swedish corn export in the free trade era: patterns in the oats trade 1850-1880";

²¹⁵ Sandgren, Fredrik, 2010, p. 268-274

Graph 7 Total annual auction sums from freely done and bankruptcy auctions by the Trade merchants, with food prices for the period 1840-1870



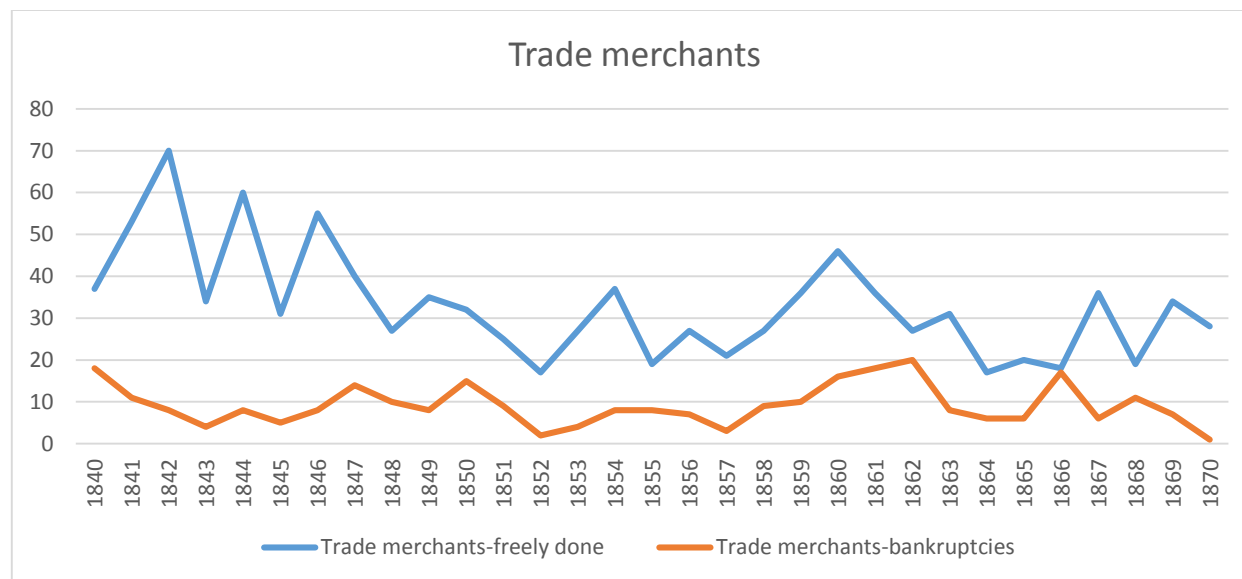
²¹⁶ Malmö City Auction House, Auction protocols, A1, 1840-1870.

Trade merchants overall seem to have had a complex relation to grain prices and agricultural output. However, the graph above seem to show no real tendencies in trade merchants increasing their auctions sums in times of increasing prices. Harvest data and day wages seem to have low relevance too. The only real response that could be argued is the small increase between 1866 and 1867. However, bankruptcies show for an increase between 1867 and 1868, which could be due to this social group's volatile and speculative relation to the grain trade. Nonetheless, there is a large increase in the total yearly sums of freely done auctions, accompanied by a decrease in bankruptcy auctions, in 1869 which is simultaneous with a large decrease in grain prices. The disease epidemics of 1847, 1853 and 1857 do not show for any visual increases of auction sum. The Corn Law instalment and the Crimean war on the other hand seem to show for a visual response in the graph above, with a steady but small increase of both freely done auctions. The bankruptcy auctions do increase in their total sums by quite a large amount between 1859 and 1862, which could correspond to decreasing demand for Swedish grain in the Western World.

²¹⁶ Malmö City Auction House, Auction protocols, A1, 1840-1870.

The total number of freely done and bankruptcy auctions throughout the period is shown in graph 8 below.

Graph 8 Total annual number of auctions by the Trade merchants, between the period 1840-1870.



²¹⁷ Malmö City Auction House, Auction protocols, A1, 1840-1870.

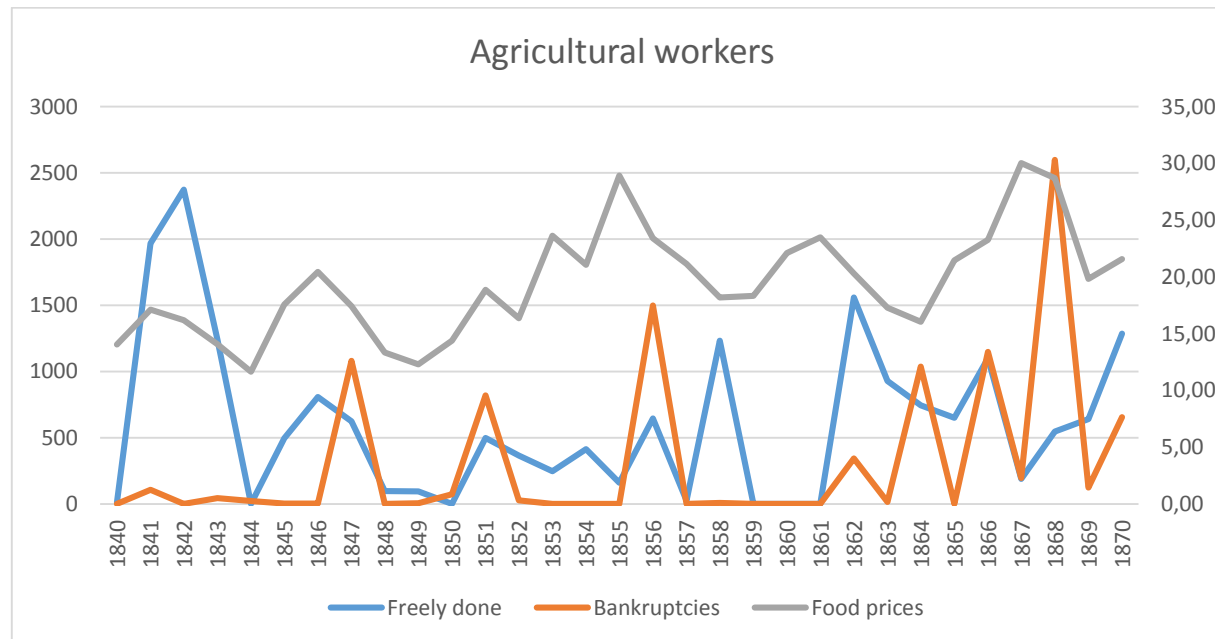
The number of auctions do not seem to either have a connection to the exogenous shocks such of epidemics. In summation, the trade merchants seem to have had a separate and unique relation to auctioning, at least in terms of the number of auctions and the sum of them. The total number of auctions do exhibit a quite volatile nature during the first eight years of the period with heavily increasing and decreasing yearly sums of freely done auctions. Bankruptcy auctions on the other hand are somewhat stabile until the end of the Crimean War which reinstated Russia as the largest grain exporter of Europe. This development would and did naturally, and according to previous research, increase the number of trade merchants that under-estimated the significance of decreasing demand for Swedish grain.

²¹⁷ Malmö City Auction House, Auction protocols, A1, 1840-1870.

Agricultural workers

Although the social group is named agricultural workers they are indeed land owning peasants. The dividing difference between this social group and for instance landless or the bourgeois is that this social group owned or leased their land. Previous research has shown that there is large differences between freeholders, tenants and sharecroppers and whether they paid their rents in kind or cash. The central difference is that the tenants and sharecroppers that had short-term contracts and paid their rents in kind had less favourable conditions in times of economic stress compared to those who had long term contracts and paid their rents in cash. However, the majority of occupations classified under this social group seem to have been tenants or freeholders with long term contracts. A closer description of the occupational titles can be seen in the appendix in Table 8. Therefore their response to economic stress should be limited and even favourable. Bengtsson among others have shown that freeholders, tenants and sharecroppers on long-term contracts that did pay their rents in a fixed amount of cash would gain a surplus that they would later sell or at least store in times of failing harvests. Nevertheless, this social group should exemplify very limited response to economic stress, and in essence even auction in times of hardship. Much like the trade merchants, this social group would benefit from increasing prices and failing harvests, and would therefore be more inclined to sell at a higher price.

Graph 9 Total annual auction sums from freely done and bankruptcy auctions by the Agricultural workers, with food prices for the period 1840-1870



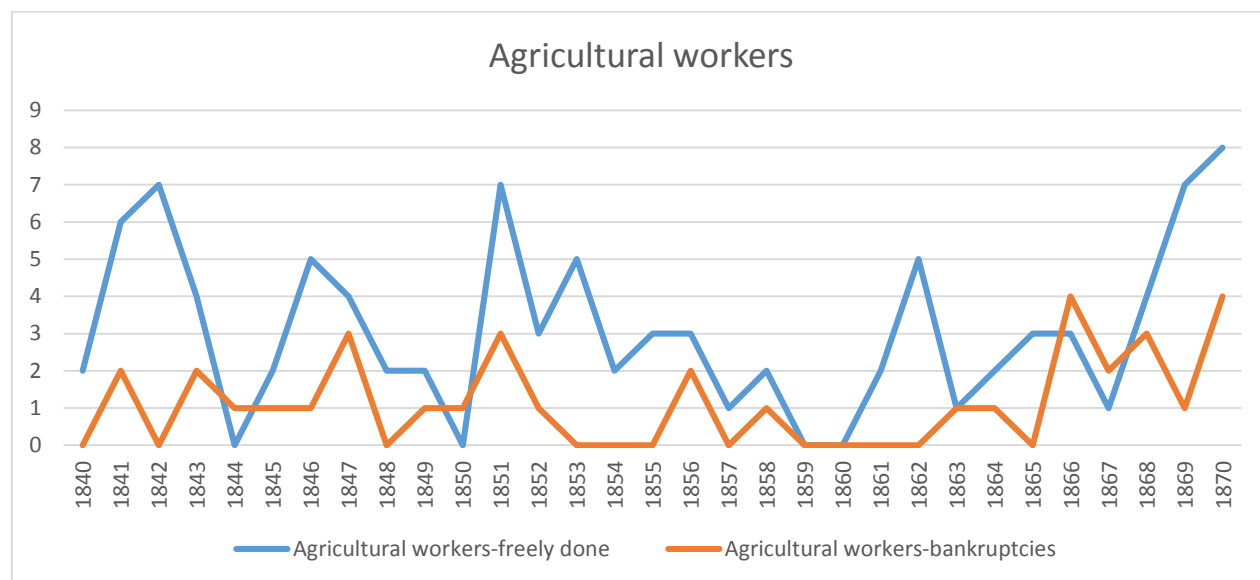
²¹⁸ Malmö City Auction House, Auction protocols, A1, 1840-1870.

The land owning agricultural workers exhibit very low amounts of auctions sums over all. Nevertheless, they seem to have a somewhat grain price driven auctioning, and increasing their auction sums in times of economic stress. The land owning peasants, as described by Patrick Svensson, had an entrepreneurial relation to credits and the economy at large. Land owning peasants could perhaps have invested in their land or acquired more land or even speculated in grain prices. The graph also exhibits regular increases in the sums of bankruptcy auctions simultaneously when grain prices would fall. For instance the years between 1852 and 1855 saw an increase in grain prices from 16.36 riksdaler to 28.93 riksdaler, which also decreased or had the bankruptcy auction sums stable until 1855 when the auction sums increased from 0 to 1 497.87 riksdaler. This pattern further strengthens the assumption of the land owning agricultural workers as grain price driven and entrepreneurial. The period between 1867 and 1868 show for a quite dramatic increase in total auction sums for bankruptcies, which roughly coincides with increasing prices in 1866 followed by a large decrease in 1867 and 1868, which could possibly be

²¹⁸ Malmö City Auction House, Auction protocols, A1, 1840-1870.

along the perspectives of Svensson theoretical approach of peasants exhibiting an entrepreneurial mentality and by that over speculating.

Graph 10 Total annual number of auctions by the Agricultural workers, between the period 1840-1870.



²¹⁹ Malmö City Auction House, Auction protocols, A1, 1840-1870.

From the ocular inspection of the above graph the disease epidemics do not seem to have had any significance for this social group in terms of auctioning. The number of freely done auctions and bankruptcy auctions exhibit a steady decline from the beginning of the Crimean War until roughly the end of it in 1857 to then steadily increase to previous levels. In total the land owning peasants seem to have had a fairly stable economic situations in terms of auctioning, and only auctioning when prices either sky rocketed or plummeted.

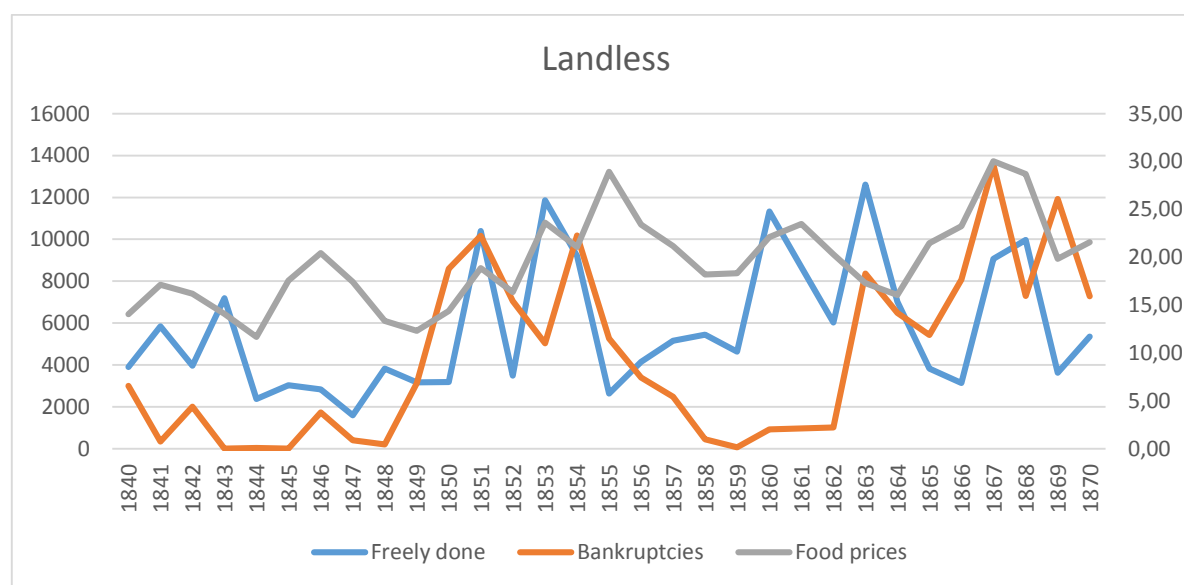
Landless

The landless population of Scania has been described as limited in their alternatives in times of economic stress. Their ability to acquire credits, whether they would have been from official or

²¹⁹ Malmö City Auction House, Auction protocols, A1, 1840-1870.

unofficial institutions, was limited and depending on if they had security. Equally, pawnshops were not as common as in central Europe during this period in Scania. However, the occupations classified under this social group are in majority unskilled day labourers and people without land properties. Several studies has shown that this social group was strongly affected by fluctuations in the economy, and this would in terms of auctioning express itself as increasing auction sums in times of increasing prices or decreasing agricultural output.²²⁰

Graph 11 Total annual auction sums from freely done and bankruptcy auctions by the Landless, with food prices for the period 1840-1870



²²¹ Malmö City Auction House, Auction protocols, A1, 1840-1870.

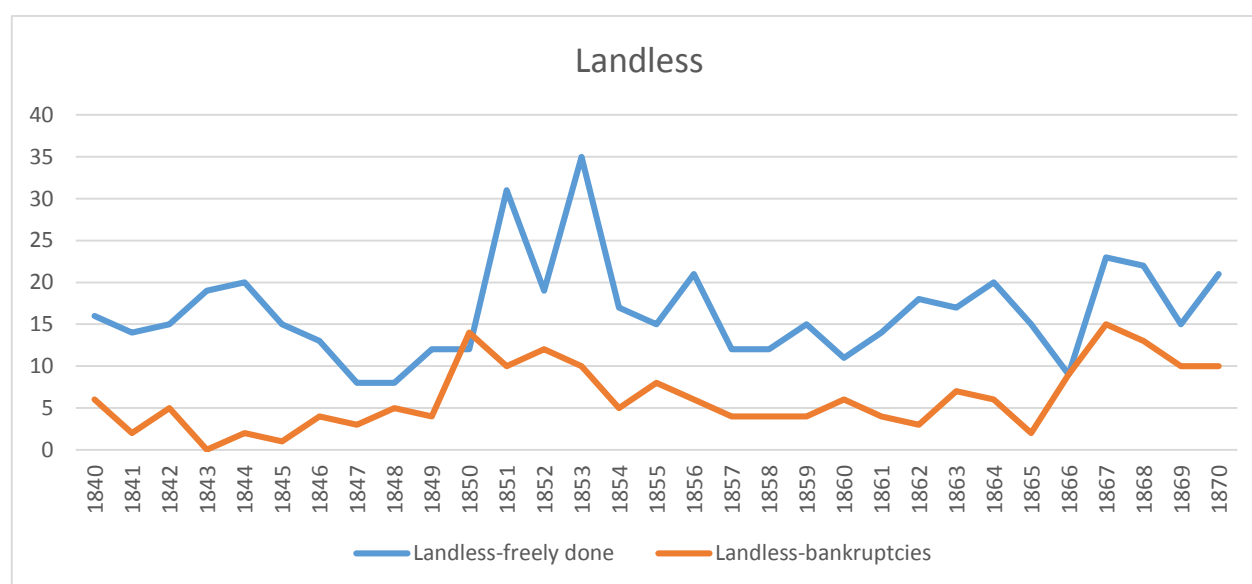
The graph above is showing the total annual auction sums for freely done and bankruptcies along with food prices. The characteristics of this social group is tightly connected to their status as landless and without any sufficient security networks. The landless seem to exhibit a somewhat closer relation to the fluctuations in grain prices than the other social groups, and seem to have reacted to diseases as well as harvest failures. Although, their reaction to the disease epidemic in

²²⁰ Bengtsson, Tommy, 2004, p. 163-170; Bengtsson, Tommy, Dribe, Martin, 2002, p. 32; Bengtsson, Tommy, Dribe, Martin, 2006, "Deliberate Control in a Natural Fertility Population: Southern Sweden, 1766-1864", p. 742; Bengtsson, 1989, "Reallönevariation och vuxendödlighet. Livsförlopp I Västanfors 1750-1849", p. 15

²²¹ Malmö City Auction House, Auction protocols, A1, 1840-1870.

1847 does not seem to have had a large impact, and possibly none. The following year has an increase in freely done auctions that could possibly be a lagged response. Nonetheless, the total annual auction sums for both bankruptcies and freely done auctions peak at the same year as the grain prices peak, 1867, and equally increase in 1853. This pattern of auctioning is expected from this social class and described as normal reactions to economic stress.

Graph 12 Total annual number of auctions by the Landless, between the period 1840-1870.



²²² Malmö City Auction House, Auction protocols, A1, 1840-1870.

If we shift focus on the total number of auctions done annually we see a similar picture as in the total sums. The peaks in number of auctions coincide with the year of 1853 which was a large cholera outbreak, and the years of 1867 and 1868 which are harvest failures. The alternatives this social group had in overcoming short-term economic stress were limited. The credit market was undeveloped and limited in their clientele, equally the poor relief systems of Sweden were in many aspects only helping the poorest and most destitute. Moreover, changing patterns in the unofficial credit markets as well as increasing urbanisation and proletarianization made this social group, in terms of living standards, the weakest. The graphed series seem to support these

²²² Malmö City Auction House, Auction protocols, A1, 1840-1870.

arguments at least by visual inspection. Equally, the international events of the Corn Law instalment and the Crimean War do not seem to have effected this social group, and naturally so because they were not producers of grain or trade merchants.

Method and model

As previously mentioned, the data collected for this thesis is complex and full of valuable information. However, it does not conform to a day-to-day time line but rather cluster around the ends of each month throughout the period in this thesis. The nature of the data problematizes any attempts of doing a time series analysis on the data on a daily or monthly time line. Firstly because the data on economic indicators collected is yearly observations. Secondly because several auctions were done on the same date. Aggregating the auctions into yearly observations enables the use of the economic indicators. However, experiments were done using the data in its entirety and using a cross-sectional regression model, and modelling the economic indicators as categorical variables rather than continuous. The results from the experimental model gave much the same output results as the time-series regressions with aggregated data into yearly observations. The model used, and which will be presented in this thesis, for the regression analysis is an OLS regression model, and is written:

$$Y_{social\ group / auction\ type} = \alpha + \beta_1 X_{economic\ indicator} + u_t$$

The dependent variable Y is denotes the auction sum for each social class and auction type separately. Our independent variable X denotes the economic indicator, in which we have either grain prices, grain production, harvest reviews or real wages. All regressions have been done on each group separately, meaning that the dependent variable, auction sum, has been modelled for each social group and auction type and then regressed against the economic indicators. The main reason for this is to separate and shed light on eventual differences between the social groups depending on auction type rather than to compare the social groups. If the data would not have be modelled this way it would not be possible to separate the social classes. Moreover, this enables

the research to see how fluctuations in the economic indicators affected the social groups to auction. All variables have been transformed into their natural logarithms, rendering the interpretation of the coefficients as elasticity's rather than unit changes. The data has also been de-trended using first differences calculations. The data has gone through several formal tests to verify its validity. The tests performed are White's, Breusch-Pagan, Durbin Watson, Phillips-Peron as well as Dickey Fuller tests for all regressions done. All regressions suffered from heteroskedasticity although it all can be contributed to excess kurtosis as the normality distribution for the data seem normal. Moreover, all variables do not exhibit any form of autocorrelation and neither multi-collinearity. Furthermore, tests and graphic inspection of all the regression outputs have been tested for normality using the Jarque-Bera test. Nonetheless, all regressions done have included robust standard errors to compensate for heteroskedasticity in the models.

Hypotheses

The hypotheses that this thesis will deploy is based on the theoretical framework. As this thesis is measuring living standards in terms of auctioning as an alternative strategy to overcome economic stress, the expected results do not deviate from the previous research or the theoretical framework. The social groups that are composed for this research will also guide the expected results. The social groups are defined by this approach and the differences between them is their status on whether the occupational titles render them as net producers or net consumers. A hypothesised scheme of the expected results is presented below in Table 6.

Table 6 Hypothesized responses to increases in economic indicators in terms of auction sum.

Social Group	Reaction to economic stress (in terms of auction sum)			
	Food price increase	Food production increase	Real wage increase	Harvest reviews increase
Nobility	0	0	0	0

Administrative and managerial workers	+	0	0	0
Bourgeois	+	-	-	-
Trade merchants	+	+	0	+
Agricultural workers	+	+	0	+
Landless	+	-	-	-

²²³ Author's own design

Following the previous research, theoretical framework and the description of the research area, the hypothesised outcomes of changes in the economic indicators would follow the scheme above. The nobility were in general well above any fluctuations in the economy and practically immune to harvest failures and increasing prices. The graphs in chapter, do also provide some assistance to this argument. The administrative and managerial workers on the other hand could suffer some reaction to disease epidemics if viewed by the visuals of the graphs. Although this research cannot possibly analyse the causal effects of increasing diseases as it lacks the data for it. Nonetheless, this social group should exemplify similar reaction to economic stress as the nobility in general. The bourgeois social group, of which in the data for this thesis consist mainly of artisans, shop keepers and in-keepers, would react in many aspects as the landless to harvest failures and increasing food prices. As discussed the trade merchants of Scania and especially in Malmö were closely connected to the agricultural sector and should behave in a similar fashion as the land owning peasants by benefitting in times of economic stress. The landless on the other side should be those mostly affected by fluctuations in the economy rendering them most vulnerable with inadequate credit markets and insufficient poor relief systems. Essentially the social group's status as net producers and net consumers is key to understanding their expected responses.

²²³ Author's own design. The hypothesis responses are in large based on Bengtsson, Tommy, 2004, p. 49

Results

Following the discussion of the social groups and how they are constructed in conjunction with the theoretical framework as well as the hypothesis of this thesis, the following results should be in line with them. Previous research have in majority pointed towards a strong difference between net producers and net consumers, which within this thesis have been its core perspective.

Table 7 Effects of increases in each economic indicator on auction sum for each social class, 1840-1870.

Social class	Food prices		Food production		Real wages		Harvest reviews	
	Freely done	Bankruptcies	Freely done	Bankruptcies	Freely done	Bankruptcies	Freely done	Bankruptcies
Nobility	-0.607	-0.0957	0.258	0.663	0.567	1.840	0.099	0.786
T-values	(-0.84)	(-0.05)	(6.70)**	(8.11)**	(0.99)	(1.09)	(0.48)	(1.38)
R2	0.030	0.01	0.186	0.16	0.050	0.065	0.046	0.037
Administrative and managerial workers	2.478	3.890	-0.271	-1.266	-1.456	-2.365	-0.703	0.366
T-values	(2.77)**	(1.05)	(5.10)**	(5.26)**	(2.68)**	(-0.78)	(2.29)**	(0.30)
R2	0.188	0.042	0.077	0.153	0.119	0.029	0.086	0.021
Bourgeois	1.944	0.554	-1.38	-0.005	-0.978	-0.485	-1.57	-0.591
T-values	(1.87)*	(1.48)	(1.95)*	(0.13)	(-1.81)*	(-1.56)	(2.22)**	(1.62)
R2	0.032	0.011	0.062	0.051	0.018	0.015	0.019	0.068
Trade merchants	-0.269	0.642	0.108	0.242	0.169	0.327	0.057	0.591
T-values	(-0.41)	(0.80)	(4.38)**	(6.92)**	(0.34)	(0.49)	(0.22)	(1.62)
R2	0.073	0.014	0.041	0.069	0.053	0.068	0.019	0.068
Agricultural workers	3.206	-2.796	0.056	-1.319	-1.356	3.721	1.656	-1.293

T-values	(1.07)	(-1.85)*	(1.55)	(-6.98)**	(-1.70)*	(1.55)	(1.46)	(-1.03)
R2	0.039	0.022	0.043	0.171	0.013	0.073	0.059	0.027
Landless	1.984	0.346	-0.91	-0.08	-1.812	-0.724	-1.695	-0.767
T-values	(1.90)*	(1.19)	(-4.37)**	(-0.07)	(-1.95)*	(-1.56)	(-2.90)**	(-2.53)**
R2	0.087	0.072	0.025	0.017	0.108	0.074	0.246	0.136
Nr. of observations	29	29	29	29	29	29	29	29

²²⁴ Note: *=0.100 in p-value, **=0.05 in p-value. Source: Malmö City Auction House, Auction protocols, A1, 1840-1870.

The regression results seem to follow the hypothesised model for this thesis. The nobility that has been depicted as above economic stress does not exhibit any significant weakness towards increasing prices, at least not statistically significant. However, the majority of the nobility were large land owners and usually rented their properties to tenants and sharecroppers, which could have been the reason behind their increase in auctions when food productions increased, as they would often receive the rent in kind. The regression output suggests that a 10 per cent increase in food production would increase the auction sums for freely done and bankruptcy auction by 2.46 and 6.32 per cent respectively. Moreover, all other economic indicators do not seem to have had any impact on the pattern of auctioning of the nobility. The administrative and managerial workers on the other hand seem to have had a closer relation to the agricultural sector as net consumers in terms of auctioning. Increases in food prices, food production, real wages as well as harvest reviews all seem to have had a significant impact on their patterns in auctions. A 10 per cent increase in food prices and real wages for instance would equal 23.62 and -13.88 per cent changes respectively in auction sums. Previous research has depicted this social group as above short-term economic stress, at least in terms of decreasing fertility and increasing mortality compared to other net consumer social groups.²²⁵ Nonetheless, administrative and managerial workers, as net consumers, seem to have had a close relation to economic stress in terms of auctioning in times of hardship. This does not, however, mean that they should be seen as

²²⁴ Malmö City Auction House, Auction protocols, A1, 1840-1870.

²²⁵ Bengtsson, Tommy, 2004, p. 163-170; Bengtsson, Tommy, Dribe, Martin, 2002, p. 32; Bengtsson, Tommy, Dribe, Martin, 2006, p. 742; Bengtsson, 1989, p. 15; Bengtsson, Tommy, 2004, p. 49

exposed in times of economic stress, but rather as frequently using auctions as a financial instrument to supplement their budgets. The bourgeois social group exhibit expected results as net consumers, all economic indicators seem to have had statistically significant impacts on their auctioning patterns in freely done auctions. For instance increasing food prices of 10 per cent would have increased the auction sums of the bourgeois social group by 18.53 per cent. Similarly an increase of 10 per cent in real wages would decrease their auction sums of freely done auctions by -9.32 per cent. Previous research has shown that grain prices and food production could decrease with larger amounts than just 10 per cent and that the effects in grain prices would dramatically increase with 80 per cent.²²⁶ In the context of auctioning a 20 per cent increase of for example grain prices would increase the bourgeois auctioning sum by 35.44 per cent. Fluctuations like these in the economy do impact the net consumers which do not have sufficient means to overcome economic stress quite dramatically, at least those who did not own large parts of land or had sufficient property to secure credits. To put this in further into context, the 35.44 per cent increase would equal approximately some 90 more riksdaler in auction sum. Changes like these in the economy would without a doubt force a large portion of the population to auction even their most valued items to survive and maintain their life-style.

The trade merchants of 19th century Malmö, as described, are complex and hard to analyse with just one perspective. Their relation to the agricultural sector, although volatile and speculative in nature, renders them uncompliant with the perspective of net producer and net consumer. Nevertheless, they have more in common with the land owning agricultural workers of the time, rather than the nobility and higher end of the bourgeois. Patrick Svensson, as discussed, has argued that an entrepreneurial spirit was to be found within the land owning agricultural portion of the rural Scania, and that they would often invest and acquire credits to do so.²²⁷ Equally, Fredrik Sandgren has described the trade merchants of Stockholm and Norrköping as equally speculative and entrepreneurial.²²⁸ Continuingly, the regression results show for a quite volatile relation to economic stress. For instance, increasing food production by 10 per cent would increase the trade merchant's auction sums by 1.03 per cent, even though the response is small it suggest an auctioning pattern that is contradictive with the perspective of net consumer and net

²²⁶ Bengtsson, Tommy, 2004, p. 46

²²⁷ Svensson, 2001, p. 223-234

²²⁸ Sandgren, Fredrik, 2010, p. 278

producers for this social group. Increases in harvest reviews show for increasing auction sums, which compared to the bourgeois is the opposite pattern. However, research has shown that trade merchants in general would use auction houses as an easy way of releasing their imported goods and even lowering the amount of stored goods.²²⁹ The land owning agricultural workers on the other hand show for what Bengtsson among others have argued,²³⁰ these net producers, which with the expansion and growth of the agricultural sector would even benefit from increasing prices and harvest failures, increased their auction sums when prices would go up and decreased their auction sums in bankruptcies. For instance a 10 per cent increase of harvest data would for the landless according to the regression output equal a -16.1 per cent decrease in their auction sum, but equals an increase for the land owning agricultural workers by 15.78 per cent. A pattern like this would suggest that high food prices would benefit this social group and that the bankruptcy auctions that were held after land owning peasants in times of high food prices did not sell as much compared to the other social groups. The landless social group exhibits expected results as the weakest social group to economic stress. All economic indicators show for the expected results, for instance a 10 per cent increase of real wages would decrease their freely done auction sums by -17.27 per cent. Equally a 10 per cent increase of prices would increase their freely done auction sums by 18.91 per cent. Essentially, the regression results are in majority what this thesis expected. The impact of economic stress was during the 19th century life altering for those without large networks to acquire credits easier or security in the form of land or property. Furthermore, the urbanisation process that began with the enclosure movements cut a large portion of the population out of their safety nets and the major cities in Sweden of the time did not have sufficient means to cover their needs.

²²⁹ Ibid, p. 254-268

²³⁰ Bengtsson, Tommy, 2004, p. 45-50

Conclusion

In summary, the characterization of the social groups through the view of the data collected along with previous research points towards that auctions as an institution was for the middle and lower ranks of society central as a financial instrument in times of economic stress. The graphs in chapter Social class, show for a dividing line between net consumers and net producers for the middle and lower ranks of society with the Landless and Bourgeois being those who suffered the most in times of economic stress. Equally, the nobility and higher end of the bourgeois show for a limited if not non-existent response to economic stress. Furthermore, the trade merchants and land owning agricultural workers seem to have, as described by previous research, been more inclined to use auctions as a financial aid instrument in times of entrepreneurial spirit. Although, the land owning agricultural workers have a generally low amount of auctions as well as low auction sums, they exhibit what Patrick Svensson describes as entrepreneurial spirit.

Nevertheless, these two groups had a sufficient security system and would thus only use auctions as a financial instrument to go around transportation and storage problems, rather than using auctions as a means of acquiring their daily necessary cash to survive. Equally, their bankruptcy auctioning patterns seem to follow this argument of entrepreneurial spirit and speculative nature. Moreover, the Bourgeois and Landless are in many aspects those who were most effected by fluctuations in the economy. The graphs shown in chapter Social class, represent their inability to secure their long-term plans due to economic stress. The regression results paint a similar picture as previous research and the visual interpretation and characterization of the bourgeois and landless. In total it is perhaps valid to argue that freely done auctions above all other were a means to secure their survival and life-style. Previous research has in majority argued that auctions were mostly done after deaths or bankruptcies, but this research shows that the majority of the auctions done in Malmö city were without any specific cause except overcoming economic stress. Moreover, the bankruptcy auctions analysed in this thesis are difficult to pinpoint. There are several possible reasons to this, one of which could be that people during the 19th century had debts. These debts could have been formally requested to be repaid and rendered the debtor bankrupt. Nonetheless, the bankruptcy auctions have proved to be of some significance in the interpretation of auctions as a financial instrument, as they would show for statistically significant coefficients that fall within the theoretical framework and hypotheses. Furthermore,

the graphs in chapter Social class in majority show that for the agricultural workers, trade merchants, landless and bourgeois the bankruptcy auctions did to some extent follow the general fluctuations of grain prices.

Auctions have been described as filling several functions of the 19th century Swedish society, one of them being a social event where people from all social groups would gather and communicate their social stature. Equally, research has shown us that the middle and lower ranks of society evolved their consuming habits towards more openness of the household as well as striving for a more outgoing exemplification of their social belonging. Several researchers have pointed out that the second-hand market was central in the establishment of social status and in some ways identity for the people. However, auctions did for some social groups increase in importance in times of economic stress and during the period studied. This increase in total number of auctions for the bourgeois in particular is what perhaps Stena Nenadic and Beverly Lemire argue is the increasing socializing habits of the bourgeois. Similar development in the use of auctions can be seen in the landless social group who also increased their total number of auctions throughout the period studied suggesting that, as previous research has pointed out, their social stature and consumerism changed during this period. Continuingly, the nobility and higher end of bourgeois show for a general decrease of auctioning during this period, which like the bourgeois and landless falls within the interpretation of a shifting society. Research in general has shown that the social groups that were first into accustoming themselves to the novelty of industrialised products and fashion were the nobility and higher end of the bourgeois social groups.²³¹ Nonetheless, the results of this research has shown that there were substantial differences in how the social groups used auctions, and differences of how auctions became more important for some social groups. Furthermore, this research has shown that short-term economic stress expressed itself in auctions for almost all social groups, however, the effect of increasing prices or increasing real wages did not have the same effect on all social groups. This was especially the case for the nobility and administrative and managerial workers, who both in the graphs and regression output showed for limited response to economic stress.

In retrospective studies like this are important for the academic world to be able to fully grasp the nature of the second-hand trade as well as the mechanisms of social stature in the past and

²³¹ Lemire, Beverly, 1988, p. 2-5

strategies in overcoming economic stress. Furthermore, research like this enables us to go deeper into the second-hand trade, especially in auctions but also in the nature of pawnshops as well. Further studies should be conducted for us to better understand the nature of the 19th century second-hand trade, and in extension the second-hand trade of the modern world in underdeveloped countries.

Appendix

The table of social groups is as mentioned constructed with the perspective of net consumer and net producers. The occupational titles included in this table are the general names of the occupations that usually occur in the data collected. The description of them is based on their social stature and their property in particular. All occupational titles have also been translated into their English counterparts.

Nobility
= Persons who would have senior positions in organisations or own large pieces of land, and with noble or bourgeois descent.
Doctor
Lord
Landlord leaser
Landlord
Earl
Chaplain
Judge
Captain
Surgeon
Marshall
Lieutenant
Mayor
Professor
Manufacturer
Minister
Cavalry Captain
Colonel
Vicar
Administrative and managerial workers
= People with official but lower employment than the nobility, within the service and governmental sector in towns. Usually of bourgeois descent.
Custom officer
Bookkeeper
Sergeant
Prosecutor
Officer
Second officer
Officer
Inspector
Forester
Chamberlain
Treasurer
Curate
Quartermaster
Bailiff
Magister
Notary
Organist
Preacher
Principal
Armourer
Clerk
Scribe
Fiscal
City marshal
City cashier
Customs officer

Bourgeois
= People often active in towns and operating their own businesses or shops. Usually active within the commercial or craftsmanship sector. This group of people could include some individuals who owned small plots of land in the city. Most of the people in this group are of bourgeois descent.
Bookbinder
Bourgeois
City mayor
Builder
Boat craftsman
Demoiselle
Maker
Dyer
Tanner
Glazier
Wholesaler
Goldsmith
Innkeeper
Moulder
Glover
Hatter
Farrier
Maiden
Stove builder
Coppersmith
Madame
Mason
Painter
Alderman
Saddler
Skipper
Shoemaker
Tailor
Butcher
Carpenter
Chimney sweep
Turner
Gardener
Watchmaker
Wainwright
Hauler
Owner
Agricultural workers
= People who own or lease the land they work on in the rural areas. These do not however belong to the nobility or administrative and managerial worker class.
Peasant
Farmer
Miller

Juryman
Parliamentarian
Layman
Landless
=People who were did not own land and usually worked unskilled jobs in the city, or as servants.
Servant
Patrolman
Farmhand
Journeyman
Stable lad
Corporal
Maid
Parish worker
Foreman
Soldier
Crofter
Porter
The children of peasants (usually served as servants later in life)
Gardener (in manors)
Owner = Owned a small plot of land in the city, usually day labourers.
Trade merchants
= People who worked strictly with trade and trading. All of them had occupational titles of merchant. Most of them are from bourgeois descent.
Trade merchant
Merchant

Table 8 The major occupational titles and most occurring in the data collected.

Source: Lilja, Kristina, Murhem, Sofia & Ulväng, Göran, "Den glömda konsumtionen: auktionshandel under 1700- och 1800-talen"

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