



Debates on Household Consumption and Production in the Patriotic Societies in Denmark-Norway (c. 1780-1814)

Maria Halle

Thesis submitted for assessment with a view to obtaining the degree of Doctor of History and Civilization of the European University Institute

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European University Institute
Department of History and Civilization

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Abstract

During the eighteenth century, most families in Northwestern Europe and Colonial America bought more and different goods, such as coffee, tobacco, new types of furniture and clothes. Simultaneously, the family members changed the way they worked. In order to buy the commodities available, many of them prioritised to produce more goods for the market.

The families' changing behaviour receives much attention from historians studying the changes from an economic perspective. This thesis, however, focuses on how a part of the Danish and Norwegian middle class, members of "patriotic societies," experienced and debated the economic changes (c. 1780 -1814). Patriotic societies were local voluntary organisations that wanted to improve the "welfare" of the inhabitants. They wrote many economic and moral writings in which the changing economy was discussed.

The thesis points to other middle class views on the changing economy than detected in previous research. Firstly, it shows that patriotism and intellectuals' concerns about the changing economy influenced the middle class' views on commodity consumption. Secondly, the thesis shows that the members found it important to improve the consumer behaviour in Denmark-Norway. They did not only support the sumptuary laws, as previous studies centre on, they also focused on childrearing in the family. Mainly Lutheran childrearing methods influenced their suggestions on how to teach children patriotic consumerism and the roles of the mother and the father on this issue.

Thirdly, the thesis reveals more positive attitudes to women's economic behaviour than detected in European gender studies. The common misogynist view of women as unable to resist "luxury" was present mostly in the societies' philosophical texts. A systematic study of the members' economic evaluations of rural communities shows that they did not attack women's consumerism more than men's. They also praised women's commodity production and viewed it as vital for the country's progress. Lastly, the thesis focused on norms on household planning and spending. It revealed, as recent British studies also show, that the middle class valued a gender division when the household spending was decided in the family. At the same time, the husband and wife should cooperate close. Moreover, the housefathers had a great interest in the women's part of the management since household consumption was closely connected to their patriotic image.

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1. Introduction: Research questions, historiographical overview, methodology and historical context

During the eighteenth century, most families in Northwestern Europe and Colonial America bought more and different goods and services. Coffee, tea, tobacco, chocolate and other exotic food products and drinks became popular in many households.

Commodities that improved the housing quality, such as windows, bricks, wallpapers and new types of furniture, were purchased too. People also dressed in a different way than before buying more colorful textiles in cotton, linen and silk. Those items did not only increase the comfort of their users, they changed the families' lifestyle since they led to new forms of sociability and gave access to new ideas and thoughts.

Simultaneously, the family members changed the way they worked. In order to buy the many commodities available, many of them prioritised the production of more goods and services for the market rather than for home consumption.¹

The families' changing behaviour receives much attention from historians studying the changes from an economic perspective. This thesis, however, will examine how a part of the Danish and Norwegian middle class, members of so-called patriotic societies, experienced, understood and debated the economic changes between 1785 and 1814. It will examine the moral, economic and health concerns that influenced the members' views on the economy, their attempts to regulate the inhabitants' consumer behaviour and their perceptions on family members' work and consumption practices. The thesis aims to show that the middle class attitudes to these issues were much more *complex* than assumed in previous research. It will revise several assumptions in different historical disciplines, such as gender and family history, history of consumer governance, research on the eighteenth- and nineteenth-century luxury debate and material culture.

¹ Jan de Vries, *The Industrious Revolution. Consumer Behaviour and the Household Economy, 1650 to the present* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008). For Denmark-Norway, see Mikkel Venborg Pedersen, *Luksus. Forbrug og kolonier i Danmark i det 18. Århundrede* (København: Museum Tusulanums Forl, 2013), Ragnhild Hutchison, *In the Doorway to Development: An Enquiry into Market Oriented Structural Changes in Norway ca. 1750-1830* (Leiden: Brill, 2012).

1.1. The changes in economy and culture in Denmark-Norway, 1780-1814

Eighteenth-century Denmark and Norway were a part of a conglomerate state with an absolute monarchy from 1660 onwards.² The countries had almost identical laws and were administered from the same governmental institutions in Copenhagen. Only during war or years of crisis, such as when Denmark-Norway was drawn into the Napoleonic Wars (1807-1814), was Norway ruled from Christiania by a governor appointed by the king.³

Denmark consisted of a peninsula and around 500 islands on c. 43,000 square kilometres.⁴ The population was approximately 800,000 in 1769 and 1.2 million in 1834.⁵ Villages, mansions and towns were spread out over the flat country with fields, meadows, thickets and forests in between.⁶ 80% of the population lived in villages, 10% in small towns (67 in total) and 10% in the capital Copenhagen.⁷

Norway was larger, lengthier and more mountainous than Denmark with its 323 000 square kilometres, fjords and mountains in the west and the long valleys and flat plateaus in the east.⁸ It also experienced a strong population growth. Around 723,000 people lived in Norway in 1769 and 920 000 in 1815.⁹ It had a special settlement pattern compared to the rest of Europe. While the European population lived mostly in villages,

² The state also included the Atlantic islands of Iceland, Greenland and the Faeroe Islands and the two Duchies of Schleswig and Holstein, Fort Christianborg in today's Ghana, Trankebar in southern India, Fredriksnagore in Bengal, the Nicobar Islands north of Indonesia and the Caribbean Islands of St. Thomas, St. Jan and St. Croix. Ole Feldbæk, *Den lange fred 1700-1800* (København: Gyldendal, 1992), 96-101.

³ Feldbæk, *Den lange fred*, 101.

⁴ Feldbæk, *Den lange fred*, 17, 359. Norden, "Fakta om Danmark," available at <http://www.norden.org/da/fakta-om-norden/de-nordiske-lande-og-faeroeerne-groenland-og-aaland/fakta-om-danmark> (retrieved 16 September 2015).

⁵ Aarhus universitet, "Danmarkshistorien" available at http://danmarkshistorien.dk/leksikon-og-kilder/vis/materiale/danmarks-befolkningsudvikling/?no_cache=1 (retrieved 14 September 2015).

⁶ Feldbæk, *Den lange fred*, 17, 359.

⁷ Søren Christensen, "Danish towns as economic agents in the market town system, ca 1600-1850," in *Danish towns during absolutism: urbanisation and urban life 1660-1848*, eds. Søren Bitsch Christensen & Jørgen Mikkelsen (Aarhus: Aarhus University Press, 2008), 49-50.

⁸ Store norske leksikon, "Norges beliggenhet," available at https://snl.no/Norges_beliggenhet (retrieved 14 September 2015).

⁹ Ståle Dyrvik, *Norsk historie 1625-1814: Vegar til sjølvstende* (Oslo: Samlaget, 1999), 105-106.

90% of the Norwegian inhabitants lived on isolated farms. The rest of the population lived in small towns located along the coast or in towns close to natural resources that were used in different market-oriented industries.

Denmark had an aristocracy (c. 1,500 persons) and a couple of hundred landlord families. The landlords owned c. 80% of the Danish land in 1780. The farmers under them were so-called *fæstebønder* (tenant farmers.) They rented – on lifetime basis - house, land and agricultural equipment from the landlord and paid for it with money, work or products. The ownership structure, however, was changing and most tenant farmers had become freeholders in 1810.¹⁰ In addition, the country had growing number of cottagers. They were often poorer than the freeholders, renting a small piece of land from the other farmers (usually in a worse terrain or of worse soil) and paid for it by work or by producing merchandize.¹¹

In contrast to Denmark, there were only a few aristocratic families living in Norway. As in Denmark, there were many tenant farmers and a growing number of cottagers and freeholders.¹² The tenant farmers, however, had other bindings to the landlord (usually the king or other farmers) than in Denmark. They did not have any explicit work duties¹³ to the landowner and merely paid a rent [*landskyld*] every year decided by the government.¹⁴ The rent was often paid in goods produced on the farm, such as grain, butter or a combination of products.¹⁵

¹⁰ Feldbæk, *Den lange fred 1700-1800*, 35-40; Ole Feldbæk, *Danmarks økonomiske historie*, (Herning: Systime, 1993), 159. By 1805, 40 000 of the 60 000 tenant farmers had become freeholders.

¹¹ Dyrvik, *Norsk historie 1625-1814*, 149-143; Feldbæk, *Den lange fred 1700-1800*, 58-60, 275-277.

¹² Around 31% owned their own farm in 1721, increasing to 50% in the 1770s and to 57% in 1801.

¹³ However, as Dyrvik points out, there is a lack of research on the topic. It might be that the Norwegian farmers had more work duties. Dyrvik, 138-139

¹⁴ The rent was based on the size of the farm. In addition, the farmer had to pay a one-time fee when taking over the farm. This fee was also decided by law. In addition, the farmer paid an extra fee every third year, which was also based on the size of the farm. Dyrvik, 138-139

¹⁵ In addition, until 1788 many Danish farmers had *stavnsbånd*, which meant that they had to live on the farm they were born.

Both countries had a small, but growing part of artisans, merchants and civil servants (3-4%)¹⁶ due to increasing state administration and commercial opportunities.¹⁷

Changing consumption patterns, c. 1770-1800

Most families in Denmark-Norway – from poor cottagers to wealthy landlords – purchased more and different goods and services in the eighteenth century than previously. Already at the start of the century, tobacco became cheaply available. Probate inventories, import records and rural traders' archives show that tobacco was smoked, chewed or snuffed in all parts of the countries and by all social groups: From the timber men working in the large forests to the respectable ladies snuffing around the tea table during afternoon visits by friends or family.¹⁸ The use of sugar spread to most households too. Even the weekly menus from an orphanage in Trondheim show that syrup was regularly served in several dishes, such as “bread with syrup” or “beer soup with syrup.”¹⁹

Coffee, tea and chocolate were used in upper rank and wealthy families.²⁰ For many of them, consuming these products became an important part of the day from the 1750s onwards. In the wealthy merchant family of Leuch that lived close to Christiania, tea (from China) coffee (from Java) and cakes (with sugar from the West Indies) were served in teacups of porcelain or faience (from Copenhagen or Amsterdam) at regular hours. The living room was decorated with equipment especially purchased for tea

¹⁶ To my knowledge, no detailed studies exist on the number of artisans, merchants, civil servants and others with a middle class background in Denmark-Norway at that time. However, we know that the majority of such persons lived in towns. In the Norwegian towns, they were in total c. 30,600 in 1801, which was c. 3.46% of the population then. In addition, a small amount of civil servants and artisans were living in the rural districts. Denmark probably had a slightly higher proportion of this social group due to larger civil administration and more commercial opportunities in Copenhagen. Dyrvik, Fossen, et al., *Norsk økonomisk historie 1500-1970*, 210.

¹⁷ Dyrvik, *Norsk historie 1625-1814*, 153-159; Claus Bjørn, *Fra reaktion til grundlov*, (København: Gyldendals Bogklubber, 1993), 67-77.

¹⁸ Ragnhild Hutchison, “In the Doorway to Development. An enquiry into market oriented structural changes in Norway ca. 1750-1830” (PhD theses; European University Institute, 2010), 230-234; Pedersen, *Luksus: forbrug og kolonier*, 141-142.

¹⁹ Import records and price estimates indicate that access to sugar varied in the eighteenth century due to international conflicts, but nonetheless underwent an overall increase. Other sources, such as advertisements, merchant records and pamphlets also show that sugar was a well-known commodity in both rural and urban districts. Hutchison, “In the Doorway to Development,” 221-226; Hutchison, Ragnhild, “Bites, Nibbles, Sips and Puffs: new exotic goods in Norway in the 18th and the first half of the 19th century,” *Scandinavian Journal of History* Vol. 36, No. 2 (2011): 156–185, esp. 161-166.

²⁰ Hutchison, “In the Doorway to Development,” 221- 230.

drinking, such as a “tea maker” or a samovar in silver, brass or copper.²¹ The teatime expressed new ideals of genteel manners and behaviour through the carefully established routines by which the beverage was prepared, served and drunk.²² For the Leuch family, it was important that everybody took part in it. Madame Leuch made it clear to the whole family that they had to meet for coffee and tea, and preferably not more than “10 minutes after the clock struck.”²³

People also dressed in another way than before. Europe had been dominated by hard wearing wool and leather clothes in dark colours that could be handed down through generations. The clothes became replaced with more colourful and lighter fabrics, such as cotton, silk and linen. Some of them were homemade, but an increasing amount of them were purchased from the market.²⁴ In Norway, for example, market production of linen experienced a strong growth due to the high demand from farmers and cottagers in areas where it was difficult to grow flax, such as by the coast.²⁵ Furthermore, probate inventories show that even poor households usually had imported textiles, such as “kirseie” (wool fabric made in England), cattun (printed cotton fabrics,) damask and pleids (Scottish made wool fabrics).²⁶ The cottage wife Anna Ingebriksdotter, for example, had a hat in “damask” and a skirt of pleids. The fisherman Jens Eriksa could choose between a red shirt in “kirseie” with tin buttons and another “klede” (nice woollen shirt) for special occasions.²⁷

Housing changed too. Ovens, windows and bricks made the indoor environment lighter, more spacious and cleaner than before. The walls became decorated with wallpaper, mirrors and paintings. More colourful furniture and other items, such as books and clocks, also became of common use.²⁸ In wealthy households, some of the changes

²¹ Kari Telste, ”Visittstuen som speilbilde av global handel? Handelspatrisiat, selskapsliv og forbruk i Christiania omkring 1760,” *Heimen* 46, no 4 (2009): 317-326.

²² Hutchison, “Bites, Nibbles, Sips and Puffs,” 172.

²³ *Morten Leuchs’ Dagbok 1757-1762*, in Kari Telste, ”Visittstuen som speilbilde av global handel?,” 323.

²⁴ de Vries, *The industrious revolution*, 135.

²⁵ Edgar Hovland, Helge W. Nordvik and Stein Tveite, “Proto-Industrialisation in Norway, 1750-1815: Fact or Fiction?” *The Scandinavian Economic history review* 30, no. 1 (1982): 46.

²⁶ Stein Tveite, ”Den norske tekstilmarknaden på 1700-tallet,” in *Nordiska historikarmötet Helsingfors 1967*, (Helsingfors: Finska Historiska Samfundet, 1968), 120-122.

²⁷ Elstad, Åse, *Moteløvar og heimfjøingar. Tekstilar og samfunnsendringar i Øksnes og Astaffjord 1750-1900*, (Stamsund: Orkana 1997), 30-37, esp. 35-36.

²⁸ Hutchison, “In the Doorway to Development,” 167-193.

occurred already in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. During the eighteenth century, several of those changes occurred also among peasants.²⁹ A tenant farm in Lundager in Denmark, for example, had in the 1790s iron stoves, windows, bed linens, faience, pots and cutlery.³⁰

Why did these changes occur? Firstly, the change was closely linked to individuals' *ideals* and *wishes*, such as a wish for comfort and new types of sociability. Getting windows meant more light in the homes, which increased peoples' physical comfort. Similarly, having an iron stove (instead of an open fireplace) led to cleaner air. Many of the consumer goods could also improve the aesthetic comfort. The porcelain, for example, was decorated with flowers, people, animals or landscapes.³¹ Moreover, new types of sociability, such as "tea time," led to the spread of not only tea, but also other commodities linked to it, such as tea tables, porcelain and the like.

Secondly, many more of the new commodities became available to the Danish-Norwegian population in the mid-eighteenth century and onwards. Copenhagen became at this point one of the premiere centers of exotic goods in Europe because of the many wars that hindered the warring nations to transport their own goods.³² Danish pro forma owners transported goods to Copenhagen under the Danish flag from all over the world, such as sugar and coffee from the West Indies, cotton fabrics from India and silk, porcelain and tea from China.³³ The goods that came to Copenhagen from Asia alone were worth as much as the state income in the same period (1772-1807).³⁴ Even if most of the products were re-exported, many more commodities became available on the domestic market too.³⁵ Moreover, better infrastructure, new retail forms³⁶ and a gradual relaxing of trade laws made goods more easily available to a larger part of the population.³⁷

²⁹ Hutchison, "In the Doorway to Development," 169-179.

³⁰ Pedersen, *Luksus: forbrug og kolonier*, 131-142.

³¹ Hutchison, "In the Doorway to Development," 175.

³² The Seven Years War (1756-63), The American War of Independence (1776-1783) and The French revolution (1789.)

³³ Feldbæk, *Danmarks økonomiske historie*, 142-148.

³⁴ Feldbæk, *Danmarks økonomiske historie*, 147.

³⁵ Pedersen, *Luksus: forbrug og kolonier*, 160-167.

³⁶ There were more towns, rural guesthouses and rural shops. Hutchison, "In the Doorway to Development," 111-115.

³⁷ Hutchison, "In the Doorway to Development," 93-115.

A third reason is that people became wealthier, which made them afford more goods than before, which I will show in the next section.

Changing working patterns, c. 1770-1800

Agriculture was the cornerstone of the economic activity in both countries. In Denmark, the farmers focused on grain production and the surplus was sold in the cities nearby, in the capital or exported. In the period 1750-1800, the prices increased because of a high demand for grain, which meant more income to the families. Grain production increased too due to more use of land with the agricultural reforms that were carried out in Denmark.³⁸ In addition, farmers produced and sold dairy products or other homemade goods, such as wooden shoes in the forests around Himmelbjerget or ceramics in Jylland.³⁹

Peasants in Norway earned more money too. As in Denmark, the prices on agricultural products increased and the output grew too.⁴⁰ Eastern Norway focused on grain⁴¹ and flax production and the western part on livestock farming. The trade between these districts was substantial.⁴² In addition, other industries linked to agriculture grew. For example, in Toten, a variety of market-oriented industries occurred from the end of the eighteenth century, which were adjusted to new needs in the population, such as production of linen clothing, hats, boxes and wooden spoons, watches and knives.⁴³

Most rural households in Norway combined the work in agriculture with work in export-based industries. In the period 1750-1850, the fish, mining, timber and shipping industries experienced a “strong growth” due to an increased European demand for these products. For example, the timber export rose from 170 000 tons in the early 1790s to around 240 000 tons in 1806. The export of herring increased from 170 000

³⁸ Feldbæk, *Danmarks økonomiske historie*, 123-125.

³⁹ Feldbæk, *Danmarks økonomiske historie*, 129.

⁴⁰ Dyrvik, *Norsk historie 1625-1814*, 114-115; Dyrvik, Fossen, et al., *Norsk økonomisk historie 1500-1970*, 142. As in Denmark, the output increase came with more use of land.

⁴¹ The grain production, however, was not large enough for the country to become self-sufficient in it. One-third of the grain consumed in Norway was imported. Dyrvik, *Norsk historie 1625-1814*, 114-115.

⁴² Dyrvik, *Norsk historie 1625-1814*, 114-115

⁴³ Anna Tranberg, “Husindustri i totenbygdene på 1700- og 1800-tallet”, *Heimen* 44 (2007): 179-192.

barrels in 1760 to 620 000 in 1846. The prices of the products also increased. The profit did not only go to the merchants and owners, but also to the workers. As Hovland writes, export-based activities became a “large part of the income of the farming population.”⁴⁴

In the cities⁴⁵ in both countries, the increased international trade created many employment possibilities in manning the ships and in organising the trade.⁴⁶ However, the main economic activity in the cities was the manufacturing of goods. Artisans and other producers benefited from the growing economic welfare. How much was produced and the production value is not known, but the number of artisans indicates a strong growth. In Copenhagen the number of artisans in guilds rose by 73% between 1743 and 1798.⁴⁷ In the Norwegian cities, the artisans and other manufacturers increased from 5,700 persons in 1801 to 31,500 in 1855 (including the families).⁴⁸ In addition, several factories were established in small and large towns, such as tobacco spinner factories or sugar refineries.⁴⁹ Smaller projects were initiated too, as witnessed by Madame Kirstine Munch in Christiania, who earned money on making the new consumer good of anchovy for the local population.⁵⁰

During the Napoleonic Wars, 1807-1814

Denmark-Norway, neutral during the first part of the Napoleonic Wars, was drawn into the conflict on the French side after the British bombing of Copenhagen in 1807. The war affected the market-oriented behaviour of families in several ways. Firstly, it affected the access people had to commodities. British ships blocked the sea, which isolated Norway and Denmark from the international market. In Norway, the population was dependent on grain import and famines occurred in several districts due to a lack of grain. From 1809, however, the international trade could more or less continue due to

⁴⁴ The export industries were 20-30% of the total output of the Norwegian economy in the period 1750-1850. The mining sector did not experience growth, but remained an important part of the economy until the 1850s. Hovland et al., “Proto-Industrialisation in Norway, 1750-1815,” 47.

⁴⁵ In Norway, the original eight cities in 1688 became twenty-three by 1801

⁴⁶ Hutchison, “In the Doorway to Development,” 37.

⁴⁷ Journeymen and other workers in artisan families are not included in the estimates. Feldbæk, *Danmarks økonomiske historie*, 136.

⁴⁸ Dyrvik, et al., *Norsk økonomisk historie 1500-1970*, 208.

⁴⁹ Feldbæk, *Danmarks økonomiske historie*, 132-133.

⁵⁰ Gerd Mordt, “Kristiania-ansjosen og den industrielle revolusjon”, *Heimen*, 40, no 1(2003): 3-16.

permission being granted to purchase from different countries. According to official British statistics, the trade between Britain and Denmark-Norway was then on the same level as in the 1790s despite the war going on between the countries.⁵¹ In addition, alternatives of clothing, food, furniture and such like were produced in Denmark and Norway.⁵²

Secondly, many families experienced economic difficulties due to the war. In Denmark, the wage earners suffered due to inflation. The income of the farm workers on mansions in Århus, Moesgaard and Vilhelmsborg increased by between 100% and 300%, while the prices on grain and butter increased sixfold in the same area.⁵³ The real salaries of civil servants, too, sank drastically during the war. Farmers, manufacturers and other producers, on the other hand, earned good money due to a high demand for their products.⁵⁴ In Norway, however, most of the population was worse off due to the need of grain, inflation and less income from the export-based activities.⁵⁵

A household economy

All the household members – men, women and children- took part in the households' increasing market orientation.⁵⁶ In the agricultural households, women had the responsibility for making textiles; take care of the cattle and for producing dairy products. Men's responsibility was on the fields and with the grain production (even if both sexes were involved in the work).⁵⁷ In addition, men dominated the export industries and could thus be absent for a large part of the year, while women took the responsibility on the farm.⁵⁸

⁵¹ Bjørn, *Fra reaktion til grundlov*, 113-117.

⁵² Ståle Dyrvik og Ole Feldebæk, *Mellom brødre : 1780-1830*, (Oslo: Aschehoug, 1996), 114-115, 122-123; Dyrvik, *Norsk økonomisk historie*, 178-179.

⁵³ Bjørn, *Fra reaktion til grundlov*, 113-117.

⁵⁴ Bjørn, *Fra reaktion til grundlov*, 113-117.

⁵⁵ Sølvi Sogner, "Krig og fred 1660-1780." (Oslo: Aschehoug, 1996), 122.

⁵⁶ A household usually consisted of a nuclear family and, in more wealthy or high ranked households, of servants, relatives and others too. The household was headed by the husband (or a widow) and the rest of the household members were legally subordinated to him. Dyrvik, *Norsk historie 1625-1814*, 129-132; Anne Løkke, *Familieliv i Danmark: 1550 til år 2000*, (Aarhus: Systime, 1997), Chapters 1-4.

⁵⁷ Dyrvik, *Norsk historie 1625-1814*, 129-132; Løkke, *Familieliv i Danmark*, 13-50.

⁵⁸ Hilde Sandvik, "Tidlig moderne tid i Norge 1500-1800," in *Med kjønnsperspektiv på norsk historie*, eds. Ida Blom og Sølvi Sogner (Oslo: Cappelen akademiske forlag, 2006), 117.

In the middle and upper classes, all household members were also involved in market-oriented work. In rich merchant families in Trondheim, for example, the husband took care of the correspondence with business contacts, accounting, travels and contact with authorities. Sons, servants and other workers employed helped him out in these tasks. The wife's tasks were closer to home. She had the responsibility for the local shopping, caring for the animals and the farm, board and lodging for the family and visitors (which was an important part of the employees' salaries). To help her out, she had servants, daughters and other employees. Only in the richest families did women reduce their active participation in commerce towards the end of the century.⁵⁹

1.2. Historiography

Previous research on the discourses of commodity consumption

Consumption studies boomed in the Western world from the 1980s onwards. The 1980s was a period of increasing luxury consumption, being the decade of the yuppies, expensive cars, fashionable clothes, consumer electronics and new technologies. The growth of consumer spending inspired many scholars to try to find the origins of the consumer society and to understand how it affected the culture and politics of the past.⁶⁰ It attracted historians from different fields. Social and economic historians turned their attention to records that could show *who* owned *what*, *when* and *where*. A large body of literature has now revealed many artefacts used in the past and their uneven distribution across regions, social groups and time.⁶¹ Cultural historians and ethnologists have studied closely the artefacts themselves, what function they had and the values they could express.⁶² Scholars of intellectual history and literature studies have also increasingly focused on ideas of consumption in novels, philosophical treatises and other intellectual writings.⁶³ In other words, a multitude of books and articles have been

⁵⁹ Bull, Ida, "De Trondhjemske handelshusene på 1700-tallet. Slekt, hushold og forretning." PhD dissertation, Norwegian University of Science and Technology, 1998), 179-222.

⁶⁰ Cissie Fairchild, "Consumption in Early Modern Europe. A Review Article." *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 35, no 4 (1993): 850-858.

⁶¹ For an overview, see Frank Trentmann, "Introduction," in *The Oxford Handbook of the History of Consumption*, ed. Frank Trentmann (Oxford University Press, 2012); Brewer and Porter, "Introduction," eds. Brewer and Porter, *Consumption and the world of goods* (London and New York: Routledge, 1993), 1-15.

⁶² Mary Douglas and Baron Isherwood, *The World of Goods* (New York, 1979), 5; Daniel Roche, *The People of Paris* (Berkeley: 1987).

⁶³ John Sekora, *Luxury: The Concept in Western Thought, Eden to Smolett* (Baltimore and London: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1977); Christopher Berry, *The idea of Luxury. A Conceptual and Historical Investigation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994).

published all over the world that shows the consumer society of the past from different perspectives.

A growing body of literature also addresses the middle class values and the wishes that consumption could express during the changing economy in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The economic historian Neil McKendrick was among the first ones that briefly touched the topic in his study on marketing skills among entrepreneurs during the “consumer revolution” of the eighteenth century. According to him, the middle and lower classes purchased the newly available goods because they had *emulative motives*, which meant that they wanted to rival or exceed their superiors in social standing.⁶⁴ Later economic and social historians, as well as ethnologists, have pointed rather to the many wishes and ideals that the consumer behaviour could express. These studies are to a large extent based on probate inventories, which are lists of the personal items that a deceased person possessed.⁶⁵ For example, Lorna Weatherhill studied eighteenth-century British private inventories from middle class households. She showed that the house was divided into a “front stage” and “back stage”. While the front stage had items purchased to impress the guests, the items in the private back stage were purchased to increase comfort and reflected values of rationality and order.⁶⁶

⁶⁴ Neil McKendrick, *The Birth of a Consumer Society* (London: Europa, 1982) The emulation theory is built on the theories of the earlier sociologist Thorstein Veblen. (Thorstein Veblen, *The Theory of the Leisure Class*, Macmillan, New York, 1899)

⁶⁵ Lorna Weatherill, *Consumer behaviour and material culture in Britain, 1660-1760* (London, Routledge, 1988); Lorna Weatherill, “Consumer Behaviour and Social Status in England, 1660-1750,” *Continuity and Change* 1, no 2 (1986): 199-204; Stana Nenadic, “Middle rank consumers and domestic culture in Edinburgh and Glasgow, 1720-1840,” *Past and Present* 145 (1994): 122-56; Stana Nenadic, “Household possessions and the modernising city: Scotland c. 1720 to 1840,” in *Material culture: consumption, life-style, standard of living 1500-1900. B4 proceedings Eleventh International Economic History Congress Milan, September 1994*, eds. Anton J. Schuurman and Lorena S. Walsh (Milano, Università Bocconi 1994); Beverly Lemire, *Dress, culture and commerce: the English clothing trade before the factory 1660-1800* (London: Macmillan, 1997); Daniel Roche, *The culture of clothing: dress and fashion in the "ancien régime"* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994); Daniel Roche, *A history of everyday things: the birth of consumption in France, 1600-1800* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000). Studies that point to different consumer motives, but with the use of different source material, see Colin Campbell, *The Romantic ethic and the spirit of modern consumerism* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1987); Woodruff D. Smith, *Consumption and the making of respectability, 1600-1800*, (New York: Routledge University Press 2002).

⁶⁶ Weatherhill, *Consumer behaviour and material culture*, 167-183, 195-196.

In Denmark and Norway, scholars have carried out similar work. For example, Tonje Tjøtta studied the different artefacts in Captain [skipperborger] Knud Jensen Norbergs' reception room [storstue] in the eighteenth century. She pointed to many motives and factors behind the items there, such as a wish for comfort, a longing for the exotic, new forms of social interaction and a desire to impress guests.⁶⁷

Literature studies and the history of ideas also study eighteenth- and nineteenth-century attitudes to commodity consumption in the middle and upper classes. They focus on intellectuals' and novelists' essays on the "luxury debate" in the period. Much research literature reveals how they had a fierce debate about the populations' increasing commodity consumption: some writers feared the moral and social consequences of it while others associated it with moral and economic progress. The scholars point to many factors that influenced the debate, such as readings of philosophical texts from Antiquity, economic theories of the time or new ideas about the body and medicine.⁶⁸

Danish and Norwegian research on the eighteenth century luxury debate is still scarce. The few articles and book chapters written on it focus on writings by educated civil servants and on how they were influenced by the same ideas as other European intellectuals.⁶⁹ The luxury debate is also briefly touched upon in a few studies of the patriotic societies. The scholar Rolv-Petter Amdam detects how the civil servant

⁶⁷ Tonje Tjøtta, "Kapteinens storstue: endringer i forbruk i en skipperborgers hjem ved slutten av 1700-tallet" (Master thesis, University of Oslo, 2012); Kari Telste "An Eighteenth-Century Tea Table. The materiality and Sociability of Tea and Coffee," *Ethnologia Scandinavica* 42, (2012); Telste, "Visittstuen som speilbilde av global handel?" Pedersen, *Luksus: forbrug og kolonier*.

⁶⁸ See for example, Sekora, *Luxury: the concept in Western Thought*; Berry, *The idea of Luxury*, 133; Maxine Berg and Elisabeth Eger, "The Rise and Fall of the Luxury Debates," in *Luxury in the Eighteenth Century*, eds. Berg and Eger (Hampshire: Palgrave Macmilliam 2003), 18-20; Michael Kwass, "Consumption and the world of ideas: consumer revolution and the moral economy of the Marquis de Mirabeu." *Eighteenth century studies* 37 (2003); For Swedish intellectual thought, see Leif Runefelt, *Dygden som välståndets grund. Dygd, nytta och egennytta i frihetstidens ekonomiska tänkande* (Stockholm: Stockholms universitet, 2006). One recent work of the French historian John Shovlin focuses on "patriots" critics of luxury with the French revolution. Shovlin, John, *The political economy of Virtue. Luxury, patriotism and the origin of the French revolution* (London: Cornell University Press, 2006).

⁶⁹ Gerd Mordt, "Luksus som problem i 1743: embetsmennes syn på forbruk i den norske befolkningen i 1743," *Heimen* 47, no 2, (2010); Gerd Mordt, "Gjestebud og silkeklær — og myndighetenes forsøk på å kontrollere bøndernes forbruk på 1700-tallet," *Lokalhistorisk magasin* 1 (2011); Erik Oxenbøll, *Dansk økonomisk tenkning* (København: Universitetsforlaget i København, 1977), 68-71.

members in some rural agricultural societies in Norway (1769-1790) were influenced by “cameralist economic ideas,”⁷⁰ which made them criticise the farmers’ use of “luxury” goods.⁷¹ The scholar Rasmus Glenthøj also finds a cameralist attitude to luxury in his study of civil servants in *The Society for Domestic Industries* (Copenhagen, 1809-1814). In addition, he argues that some civil servants were influenced by an ancient discourse that associated the use of luxury items with moral dangers.⁷²

In all of the above-mentioned disciplines, scholars point out how family and gender ideas influenced middle class views on commodity consumption.⁷³ In later years, gender and family historians have devoted books and articles to the topic. They focus on eighteenth- and nineteenth-century images of women and consumerism. Research on the middle class ideology, the discourse on shopping, household spending and housework argue that women were viewed as the primary commodity consumers in eighteenth century Western thought. The literature also shows how female consumers could be scorned and praised by the observers: they could be admired for their good taste and “wise” consumption decisions for the family or they were attacked in contemporary luxury writings for being more vain and hungrier for goods than men.⁷⁴ No large study on family, gender and consumption has been carried out in Danish or

⁷⁰ Cameralism is described in detail in both Chapter 2 and Chapter 3.

⁷¹ Rolv Petter Amdam, “Den organiserte jordbrukspatriotismen 1769-1790. – Ei jordbrukspolitisk reformrørsele” (Master thesis, University of Oslo, 1985).

⁷² Rasmus Glenthøj, *Skilsmissen: dansk og norsk identitet før og etter 1814*, (Odense: Syddansk Universitetsforlag, 2012). See also Engelhardt, Juliane, *Borgerskab og Fællesskab. De patriotiske selskaber i den danske helstat 1769-1814* (København: Museum Tusulanums Forlag, 2010), 322-329; Maria Halle, “Her er qvindfolkene meget drivtigelige” Topografenes syn på markedsrettet arbeid og forbruk i Norge og Sverige 1750-1800,” (Master thesis, University of Oslo, 2009), 77-93; Ernst Hugo Bjerke, “Uavhengighet gjennom vitenskap: naturhistorie som økonomisk og politisk redskap i opplysningstidens Danmark og Norge.” (Master thesis, history, University in Oslo, 2008).

⁷³ Joyce Appleby, “Consumption in early modern social thought,” in *Consumption and the world of goods*, eds. Brewer and Porter (London and New York: Routledge, 1993), 166; Berry, *The Idea of Luxury*, 133, 256; Jonathan White, “Luxury and Labour: Ideas of Labouring-Class Consumption in Eighteenth-Century England” (PhD dissertation, University of Warwick 2001), 48, 168-201; E.J. Hundert, *The Enlightenment Fable. Bernard Mandeville and the Discovery of Society* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press).

⁷⁴ Elisabeth Kowaleski-Wallace, *Consuming subjects, women shopping and business in the eighteenth century*, (Columbia: Columbia University Press, 1996); Tjitske Akkerman, *Women and Commerce in the French Enlightenment* (Amsterdam: Het Spinhuis, 1992); G.J. Barker-Benfield, *The culture of sensibility. Sex and society in Eighteenth century Britain* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press: 1992), chapter 4; Jennifer Jones, “Couquettes and Grisettes. Women buying and selling in Ancien Régime Paris,” in *The sex of things*, ed. Victoria de Grazia, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1996).

Norwegian research. However, scholars of the luxury debate and family history point to the same mix of positive and negative attitudes to women's consumer behavior in the middle class.⁷⁵

Previous research on the discourses of commodity production

Middle class attitudes to work, family and gender became a popular research topic with the rise of women's history in the 1970s. Scholars wanted to study the status of women's work and their economic opportunities in the past to find explanations for the current inequality between men and women in the workplace.⁷⁶ However, the historians were (and still are) very far from reaching a conclusion on how women's work was perceived in the past. They can roughly be divided into two groups, the ones that point to a change in the status of women's work during the early modern period and those that point to a continuity of attitudes.

One of the scholarly views stretches far back in time, even before the rise of women's history in the 1970s. Already in 1918, Alice Clarks' *Working Life of Women in the Seventeenth Century* pointed to a *change* in the status of British women's work. She studied a wide range of sources, including letters, diaries, account books, wills, pamphlets and literature, and concluded that British women possessed high-status occupations until the seventeenth century. The reason behind the high value of women's work, she argued, was the family structure of the period. The household was not only a unit for consumption and reproduction, but also for production. Clark pointed out that women made an important contribution to the family economy through productive work, which was recognised in society and gave them a powerful position. She further argued that seventeenth century "capitalism" destroyed the family economy by removing the workplace from the home and by subjecting work to schedules that did not harmonise with the rhythms of the household. Hence, women's working opportunities and status diminished and so did their influence on society.⁷⁷

⁷⁵ For condescending attitudes towards women's "luxury consumption", see Mordt, "Luksus som problem i 1743." For women being valued for economic activities in eighteenth-century society, see Hilde Sandvik, "Decision making on marital property in Norway, 1500-1800," in *The marital economy in Scandinavia and Britain, 1400-1900*, ed. Amy Louise Erickson (London: Ashgate, 2005), 111-127.

⁷⁶ Nicola Pullin, "Business is Just Life: The Prescription, Practice and Legal Position of Women in Business, 1750-1850" (PhD thesis, University of London, 2001), 187-217.

⁷⁷ Alice Clark, *Working life of women in the seventeenth century* (London: Frank Cass, 1919).

Later scholars agree with Clark. They argue that “capitalism” diminished the value and opportunities of women’s work, not only in Britain but in other European countries as well. They argue, though, that the change occurred a bit later (usually during the eighteenth century).⁷⁸ This theory also influenced scholars of the European patriotic societies.⁷⁹ For example, the Danish historian Juliane Engelhardt studied one patriotic society in Copenhagen in the 1790s. She argues that the changing work pattern in the middle class made the society members encourage women to only be mothers and “supporters” of their “working husbands.”⁸⁰

The second group of scholars argues that the status of women’s work was *more or less the same* throughout the early modern period (and before and after) all over the Western world. An important contribution to this view is Judith Bennett’s review article “History Stands Still” (1988) where she pointed out that “[T]he history of women's work suggests that women were as clustered in low-skilled, low-status, low-paying occupations in 1200 as in 1900.”⁸¹ According to Bennett, women’s bad working conditions had its origin in the patriarchal organisation of society, which meant that women were subordinated to men in both family and community.⁸² A similar idea has been repeated in many textbooks and studies of women’s work all over Europe. For example, the scholar Deborah Simonton points out that the European family economy

⁷⁸ For Britain, see Margaret George, “From Goodwife to mistress. The transformation of the female in bourgeois culture,” *Science and Society* 37, no. 6, (1973); For Norway, see Sogner, Sølvi, “Ulik i lov og lære; lik i virke og verd? Kvinner i norsk økonomi i by og på land ca 1500-1800,” *Historisk tidsskrift* 68, no 4, (1989); Brit Berggreen, *Idealmønstre og realmønstre. Kryssing av kjønnsrollegrensene i norske bondekultur* (PhD dissertation, University of Oslo, 1991); For Sweden, see David Gaunt, *Familjeliv i Norden* (Malmö: Gidlund, 1982); Ulla Wikander, *Kvinnoarbete i Europa: 1789-1950: genus, makt och arbetsdelning*, (Stockholm: Atlas Akademi, 1999).

⁷⁹ Deborah Valenze, “The art of women and the business of men: Women’s work and the dairy industry c. 1740-1840,” *Past and present* 130, no 1 (1991): 143.

⁸⁰ Engelhardt, *Borgerskab og Fællesskab*, 333-344. Tine Damsholt finds the same gender ideals in the eighteenth-century patriotic discourse as Engelhardt, but she argues that the ideals came because of new views on the male and female body. Tine Damsholt, *Fædrelandskærlighed og borgerdyd, patriotisk diskurs og militære reformer i Danmark i sidste del av 1700-tallet* (København: Museum Tusulanums Forlag, 2000), 171-191.

⁸¹ Judith Bennett, “History that stands still. Women's Work in the European Past,” *Feminist Studies*, 14, No. 2 (1988): 278.

⁸² Bennett, Judith, “History that stands still,” 280.

as a model had “its base in the belief that what men do [for work] is more important than what women do.”⁸³

The research received enthusiastic responses in Nordic research, also among gender scholars that use sources from the patriotic societies. The Swedish historian Rosemarie Fiebranz has briefly studied agricultural writers’ and male farmers’ views on women’s work in western Sweden. She argues that the subordination of women led to a perception of women’s work as “less important” than men’s work.⁸⁴ The historian Ann Catrin Östman also explains late nineteenth century Finnish farmers and agricultural writers’ condescending attitudes to women’s’ work with the patriarchal society they were living in.⁸⁵

There is, however, one study of the patriotic societies that concludes more positively on the middle class views of women’s work in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The historian Nicola Pullin has recently analysed the prizes that members of British patriotic societies gave to businesswomen of all ranks, including those self-employed and those working in a household. She argues that women’s commodity production, invention and trade were “praised” and highly valued by the members since women could “save” the British economy by producing important commodities for the domestic market.⁸⁶

1.3 Research questions

The thesis aims to highlight other middle class views on the families’ market-oriented work and consumption than that detected in previous research. It focuses on the following research questions:

⁸³ Deborah Simonton, *A History of Women’s work: 1700 to the Present* (London: Routledge, 1998), 47.

⁸⁴ Rosemarie Fiebranz, “Jord, linne eller träkol. Genusordning og hushållstrategier. Bjuråker, 1750- 1850” (PhD dissertation, Uppsala, 2002), 134-158.

⁸⁵ Ann Catrin Östman, “Den betydelsesfulla mjölken. Om ett möte mellan kön, arbete och modernisering,” in *Foreställningar om kön. Ett genusperspektiv på jordbrukets modernisering*. (Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell International, 1999), 100-123, esp. 115-117.

⁸⁶ Nicola Phillips, *Women in business, 1700-1850* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2006). Mary O’Dowd has recently found a similar valuation of women’s work in the patriotic movement in Ireland North America. See Mary O’Dowd, “Politics, Patriotism, and Women in. Ireland, Britain and Colonial. America, c.1700–1780,” *Journal of Women’s History* 22, no. 4 (2010): 15-38.

Scholars of intellectual history detect well how statesmen, philosophers and novelists had varied opinions about the inhabitants' increasing commodity consumption in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. However, it remains largely unknown to us whether or not their moral, economic and health concerns spread to other parts of the population.⁸⁷ Did these ideas exist in the wider middle class, namely the diverse members of the patriotic societies? And if so, why were these ideas present?

As the literature above shows, parts of the middle class found the inhabitants' consumer choice of utmost importance for the wellbeing of individuals and states. However, we know less about the ways they thought one should regulate or change individuals' consumer behavior.⁸⁸ Did middle class persons encourage parents to teach their children the right attitude to consumption? What kind of pedagogical method did they suggest? What were the roles of the mother and father? And how did they perceive the relationship between the family, educational system and the sumptuary laws?

Recent studies of consumption practices reveal that both men and women were eager consumers of the new commodities.⁸⁹ However, in studies of the eighteenth and nineteenth century *discourses*, scholars focus on the middle class persons that believed women were the primary spenders.⁹⁰ At the same time, no extensive study on the writers that discussed men's consumer habits are carried out. Could those that closely evaluated consumption practices of both sexes question this assumption? How did they understand and explain the gendered consumption practices observed?

Consumption is not only about using products by individuals, which most consumption studies focus on. Consumption is also about household planning and spending. Did

⁸⁷ Sekora, *Luxury: the concept in Western Thought*; Berry, *The idea of Luxury*; Berg and Eger, "The Rise and Fall of the Luxury Debates"; Kwass, "Consumption and the world of ideas."

⁸⁸ Scholars on consumer governance mainly focus on the sumptuary laws, which were government laws that sought to regulate peoples' behaviour. See for example, Hunt, Alan, *Governance of the Consuming Passions: A History of Sumptuary Regulation*. (London: Macmillan, 1996); Mordt, "Gjestebed og silkeklær."

⁸⁹ Amanda Vickery, *Behind Closed Doors. At Home in Georgian England*. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2009), Jane Whittle and Elizabeth Griffiths, *Consumption and gender in the early seventeenth-century household: the world of Alice Le Strange*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012. Halle, Maria, "Her er qvindfolkene meget drivtigelige" Chapter 5.

⁹⁰ Kowaleski-Wallace, *Consuming subjects*; Akkerman, *Women and Commerce in the French Enlightenment*; Barker-Benfield, *The culture of sensibility*, Chapter 4; Jones, "Couquettes and Grisettes. Women buying and selling."

gender roles influence middle class views on the decision-making process in the household? Could the tastes and preferences of the different family members be more important than the traditional gender roles? How were the consumption decisions taken in households valued?

Gender scholars tend to focus on how male contemporaries found women's market-oriented work of "less value" than men's work towards the end of the eighteenth century.⁹¹ However, parts of the middle class, the members of the patriotic societies, wanted to use all resources available to improve the domestic industries. Did the members notice and value women as an important economic resource too?

1.4. Sources and methodology

The thesis uses an original type of source material to examine middle class views and experiences of the changing economy. It uses publications from patriotic societies in Denmark-Norway. These were voluntary associations established to improve the economic and moral welfare of local communities. Over 500 patriotic societies were established all over Europe and in the colonies. Sixty-four of them were established in Denmark-Norway (1768-1814).

In Denmark-Norway, as in the rest of Northern Europe, the members of the patriotic societies were of different middle class background. Some were wealthy or high positioned, such as civil servants working in the government, university professors, bishops and rich merchants. Other members were of a lower rank, such as tax collectors, police chiefs, military employees, teachers, students, vicars and sextons, small traders, producers and trade assistants.⁹² The societies were involved in a wide range of activities. They awarded prizes for activities they wanted to encourage, established spinning houses and schools. In addition, they published pamphlets, guidebooks, dissertations and other types of writings that closely evaluated and discussed, among other things, the changing economic behaviour of the family.

⁹¹ Östman, "Den betydelsesfulla mjölken," 100-123, esp. 115-117; Sogner, *Far sjøl i stua*, 76. Fiebranz, "Jord, linne eller träkol,"; 134-158; For upper class women, see Damsholt *Fædrelandskærlighed og borgerdyd*, 171-191; Engelhardt, *Borgerskab og Fællesskab*, 333-344.

⁹² See Chapter 2 and the section "members."

The source material is chosen because of the rich descriptions available and the social composition of the members. In the patriotic societies, people with a varied social background discussed and debated *their own* and *others* economic behaviour. The rich and unexamined material available is a good starting point to look for other middle class experiences of the family's changing economy than the ones detected in previous research.

The thesis focuses on patriotic societies in two countries (Denmark and Norway) and studies the patriotic writings from c. 1780 to 1814. I chose to study both countries and in this time period since it makes it possible to detect whether or not the members' attitudes were geographically widespread despite local economic differences, and if the attitudes remained constant over time despite the political and social changes occurring in the period.

Five patriotic societies from Denmark-Norway are selected for the thesis: *The Danish Royal Agricultural Society*⁹³ (Copenhagen, 1769-), *The Topographic Society*⁹⁴ (Christiania, 1791-1800), *The Society of Civic Virtue*⁹⁵ (Copenhagen, 1785-1789), *The Society for Improvement of Domestic Industries*⁹⁶ (Copenhagen, 1807 - 1838) and *The Society for Norway's Wellbeing*⁹⁷ (Christiania, 1807-). These societies had members spread throughout parts of Denmark-Norway and each of the societies published many thousands of pages of text for the members and the general public, which are all systematically examined: the rules of the society, articles, poems, fictional stories, dissertations, topographic literature and speeches.⁹⁸

Most of the chapters, however, focus on a single society or even just on a couple of texts. The focus makes it possible to more closely examine the authors' background, the

⁹³ [my translation] In Danish: Det Kongelige Danske Landhusholdningsselskab.

⁹⁴ [my translation] In Danish: Topographisk Selskab.

⁹⁵ [my translation] In Danish: Selskabet for Borgerdyd.

⁹⁶ [my translation] In Danish: Selskabet for Indenlandsk Kunstflid.

⁹⁷ [my translation] In Danish: Selskabet for Norges Vel.

⁹⁸ I have only studied the journal *Budstikken* (1808-1814) of the source material available from the *Society for Norway's Wellbeing*. I have also only focused on the journal *Transactions* of the material published from *the Danish Agricultural Society*, I did not study any unpublished material of the societies since it would be too time consuming for a PhD.

intended readers, the textual culture and genre demands and to study how these factors influenced the members' attitudes. The design of the thesis is thus based on the belief that an extensive knowledge about the author and the text might reveal layers of ideas and attitudes that would have been overlooked if a quantitative study were carried out. Towards the end of each chapter there is a part discussing whether or not the findings were present in the other societies examined and in the eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Danish and Norwegian patriotic discourse in general.

The approach of the thesis is also inspired by the method (and historical sub-discipline) of *Conceptual History* developed by the German historian Reinhart Koselleck.

Conceptual history started as a critique of the careless transfer of modern expressions to the past where ideas were treated as constant and “fundamentally unchanging.”⁹⁹

According to Koselleck and his followers, concepts that societies employ to describe themselves change deeply, both diachronically and synchronically. When the historical environment changes, the meaning is recast and vocabulary is meaningful only in relation to the setting in which it was articulated.¹⁰⁰ In Koselleck's view, it is completely necessary to study the definitions of the words in order to understand the past.

Inspired by Koselleck's research, the thesis takes the members' use of words seriously. It will be especially important when approaching the members' attitudes to commodity consumption. As the thesis will show, the members seldom used the word *forbrug* [consumption]. Instead, the members described individuals' consumer behavior through expressions such as a *tarvelig* and *sparsommelig levemaade* [a thrifty and frugal lifestyle] or an *overdaadig levmaade* [excessive lifestyle]. How the members defined a “frugal” or “excessive lifestyle” will be of importance to the thesis since the different definitions might reveal different attitudes to the changing economy.

I have decided to use the term “middle class” when describing the social composition of the patriotic societies. It is merely used to identify what the members of the patriotic societies were *not*. They were not part of the privileged aristocracy in Denmark-Norway. Moreover, they were not farmers or workers employed in agriculture or in

⁹⁹ Koselleck, Reinhart, *Futures past: on the semantics of historical time* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2004), 81.

¹⁰⁰ Koselleck, *Futures past*, 75-92.

different industries. They came from the small part of the Danish and Norwegian population (c. 3-4%) that were artisans, civil servants, educated professionals, merchants, university students and the like. The thesis thus aims at detecting widespread values in a heterogeneous but small part of the society.

1.5 The structure of the thesis

Chapter 2 describes the patriotic societies; why they occurred, their aims and activities, members and organisational structure. Chapter 3 focuses on the moral, economic and health concerns that influenced members' views on commodity consumption. Chapter 4 discusses the members' efforts in controlling and spreading the right consumer behaviour. It focuses especially on how they encouraged parents to teach their children the right consumer behaviour. Chapter 5 focuses on the members' views' on men and women's individual consumption, while Chapter 6 centres on attitudes to the household planning and spending. Chapter 7 examines the members' perceptions of women's market-oriented work. Finally, Chapter 8 summarises the findings and points to their larger implications.

2. The Patriotic Societies

This chapter describes the patriotic societies: why and how they were established, their members, organisational structure and activities. The focus is on societies in Denmark-Norway, but I also compare them with the patriotic societies in other European countries (especially those in England and in the German states) to demonstrate how the Danish-Norwegian societies were a part of a wider European movement. The chapter is meant to serve as a background for the next chapters where the members' attitudes to the inhabitants' economic behaviour is studied in detail.

2.1 *The rise of European patriotic societies*

There were many types of associations in eighteenth-century Europe, such as salons, coffeehouses, freemasons, clubs, scientific and patriotic societies. The associations differed from each other in activities, membership and organisational structure. In the salons, coffeehouses and clubs, people met informally to discuss literature, art, politics or other topics. The freemasons, scientific and patriotic societies were of a more formal character, with a presidency, rules and member admission criteria. The freemasons kept many of their members and activities secret. The scientific societies consisted of university-educated persons who wanted to improve their communities by doing research and spreading their scientific results beyond the university borders. They held public lectures and published their results as dissertations or articles. In the patriotic societies, however, the members were not only university-educated, but of a varied middle class background. Furthermore, they tried to reach out to a wider audience. They organised, among other things, prize-givings, established schools and published guidebooks and pamphlets for the middle and lower classes, which they hoped would improve the moral and economic welfare of local communities and the state.¹⁰¹

The first patriotic society, *The Society of Improvers in the Knowledge of Agriculture*, was established in Edinburgh in Scotland (1723-1746). In the 1690s, a series of poor harvests and harsh winters devastated Scottish agriculture and led to both famine and emigration. The state treasury was almost empty and the union with

¹⁰¹ Engelhardt, *Borgerskab og Fællesskab*, 53-65.

England in 1707 further damaged the Scottish economy.¹⁰² Several of the largest domestic industries, such as the textile, brewing and paper industries became substantially damaged by the sudden competition within the more advanced British economy and a dramatic increase in taxations.¹⁰³

In 1723, the Duke of Athol and other “Persons of great Distinction” decided that they would establish a voluntary organisation that would try to save the Scottish economy.¹⁰⁴ They managed to quickly attract more than three hundred people from all over the country. While later societies would have members of a varied background, the first society attracted people from the Scottish elite, such as landowners, university professors and leading persons from the public administration. The members met quarterly in Edinburgh and between the meetings an elected president and his council carried out the practical work of the society.¹⁰⁵ During the society’s existence, the members did research on how to improve Scottish husbandry and manufactures, invited Dutch and English speakers to teach the members the newest techniques in the linen industry and awarded prizes to persons that tried to improve it. However, the ones that adopted the new techniques were mainly the members themselves and many of them went bankrupt due to failed investments. Nonetheless, the society was important for creating a countrywide network of improvers that would help facilitate a large transformation of the Scottish industries in the latter part of the eighteenth century.¹⁰⁶

The Scottish idea spread fast to other areas. The second society was established in Dublin (1731) and was modelled on the Scottish association.¹⁰⁷ During the 1750s

¹⁰² The state treasury was almost empty also because of the Company of Scotland’s unsuccessful attempt to establish a trading economy in Panama. Brian Bonnyman, “Agrarian Patriotism and the Landed Interest. The Scottish Society of Improvers in the Knowledge of Agriculture, 1723–1746,” in *The Rise of Economic Societies*, eds. Stapelbroek and Marjanen (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012), 29-32.

¹⁰³ Brian Bonnyman, “Agrarian Patriotism,” 26-32.

¹⁰⁴ Bonnyman, “Agrarian Patriotism,” 32.

¹⁰⁵ Bonnyman, “Agrarian Patriotism,” 32-38.

¹⁰⁶ Bonnyman, “Agrarian Patriotism,” 38-51.

¹⁰⁷ *The Society of Improvers* wrote that their influence over the founding of the *Dublin Society* was among their greatest achievements and referred to its publications and praised its activities. However, the society has received little attention from the historians of the patriotic movement. (Bonnyman, “Agrarian Patriotism,” 27.) Thus, *how* and *to what extent* the Scottish society influenced the Dublin society and other ones is still unknown to us.

and 1760s, societies popped up in many cities, such as London (1754), Berne (1759), Zurich (1759), Leipzig (1764), Hamburg (1765), St Petersburg (1765), Vergara (1765), Stockholm (1766) and Copenhagen (1768). Many more were founded in European towns, villages and rural districts from the 1770s onwards.¹⁰⁸ At least 562 societies were established before 1814, mostly in Europe, but also some in the European colonies.¹⁰⁹ The first ones, such as the Edinburgh, London, and Dublin societies, often worked on a state or country level. The members came from a large area and they organised activities all over the country or empire. Later societies were more locally oriented: most members lived so close to one another that they could easily attend the meetings and they focused on improving the areas nearby, such as a parish or a city.

What caused this large wave of patriotic societies? As mentioned above, the societies were much influenced by each other. In fact, the aims, activities and rules were to a large extent copied from each other. It was especially personal experience of *The Society of Arts* (London, 1754) that inspired many people to establish similar associations in their home country in the 1750s and 1760s.¹¹⁰ *The Society of Arts* wanted to attract “enlightened” people from different areas and advertised their activities across cultures and borders. They increasingly had many “corresponding members”, which were people living far away that participated in the society through letters. In addition, the society had many foreign members that were active in the society while staying in London.¹¹¹ The people that established the later societies, however, often got the idea from similar associations nearby.¹¹²

¹⁰⁸ Engelhardt, *Borgerskab og Fællesskab*, 421- 433.

¹⁰⁹ Koen Stapelbroek and Jani Marjanen, “Political Economy, Patriotism and the Rise of Economic Societies,” in *The Rise of Economic Societies in the 18th century*, eds. Stapelbroek and Marjanen (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2012), 16.

¹¹⁰ Stapelbroek and Marjanen, “Political Economy, Patriotism and the Rise of Economic Societies,” 12.

¹¹¹ David Allan, “The Society for the encouragements of arts, manufactures and commerce. Organisation, membership and objectives in the first three decades (1755-1784) An example of voluntarily and social policy in the eighteenth century” (Ph.D. dissertation, The University of London, 1979), 103-106.

¹¹² Amdam, “Den organiserte jordbrukspatriotismen,” 43; Ernst Bjerke, “Selskabet for Norges Vel.- Tiden og forutsetningene,” in *Vekst gjennom kunnskap: Det kongelige selskap for Norges vel 1809-1814: ved 200-årsjubileet*, eds. John Peter Collett og Ernst Bjerke (Oslo: Det kongelige selskap for Norges vel, 2009), 43-61; Hans Erich Bödeker, “Economic Societies in Germany, 1760–1820: Organisation, Social Structures and Fields of Activities,” in *The Rise of Economic Societies*, eds. Stapelbroek and Marjanen (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012),

Moreover, the societies would not have been established had it not been for the economic and political changes that occurred in eighteenth-century Europe. The social group that created the patriotic societies, the middle class, first became numerous in the eighteenth century. Europe experienced a growth in commerce in the period and this led to more merchants, manufacturers, artisans, shop keepers and the like. Parallel with this development, the state administration grew, which led to an increase in the number of civil servants. It was persons from this newly numerous group, the middle class, that responded to the idea of patriotism.¹¹³ From being an activity that a few intellectuals dealt with, patriotic activities now spread to all parts of Europe and colonial America, including the Danish conglomerate state.

The societies in Denmark-Norway

In Denmark-Norway, the first society was created in Copenhagen in 1768. The Danish university student Christian Martfelt became a member of *The Society of Arts* while visiting England to investigate its industry and commerce for the wealthy merchant Niels Ryberg in the mid-1760s.¹¹⁴ His task was to write back to Ryberg about different aspects of English society, such as the road system, flax cultivation and responses to poverty. He concluded in the letters that the living standard in England was much higher than in Denmark and he explained it, among other things, with the lack of civil participation in Denmark. When he returned home, he founded the *Danish Royal Agricultural Society* – a voluntary association that would award prizes to people improving agriculture, commerce or manufacturers.¹¹⁵ He was much influenced by the *Society of Arts* when he

188; Kenneth Hudson, *Patriotism and Profit. British Agricultural Societies in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Century* (London: Evelyn, 1972), 1-24, 95-113.

¹¹³ Engelhardt, *Borgerskab og Fællesskab*, 58-60.

¹¹⁴ He visited Schleswig Holstein, Hamburg, Lübeck, Amsterdam, Ireland and France too. (Juliane Engelhardt, "Patriotic Societies and Royal Imperial Reforms in Denmark, 1761–1814," in *The Rise of Economic Societies*, eds. Stapelbroek and Marjanen (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012,) 214). Maybe he was inspired by patriotic activities in these areas too when establishing the *Danish Royal Agricultural Society*.

¹¹⁵ Also the lawyer Martin Hübner was active in the establishment of *The Danish Royal Agricultural Society*. He was also well aware of the activities going on in the other patriotic societies. He was a member of *The Society of Arts* while staying in London and he also wrote about the patriotic societies in Edinburgh, Dublin, London and France in letters home to Denmark. Engelhardt, "Patriotic Societies and Royal Imperial Reforms in Denmark," 215.

suggested the aims, organisational structure and working methods of the society, which were later approved by the other members.¹¹⁶

In theory, the *Danish Royal Agricultural Society's* aim was to focus on the whole conglomerate state and on a wide range of activities, but its attention was mainly on the agricultural reforms that were carried out in different parts of Denmark in the period. The lack of focus on the Norwegian area, combined with local agricultural problems, motivated Norwegian civil servants to initiate local societies modelled on the Danish one from the 1770s onwards.¹¹⁷ Eleven small societies were established along the coast and in other parts of Norway.¹¹⁸

From the mid-1780s onwards, twenty-five local patriotic societies were established in Denmark and Schleswig-Holstein.¹¹⁹ The increase in the number of patriotic activities occurred alongside political changes in Denmark. Crown Prince Fredrik assumed power in 1784, as his father, the absolute monarch King Christian VII, was schizophrenic. The crown prince gave much support to voluntary activities in Denmark and he also eased the restriction of the press, which led to the creation of many patriotic societies.¹²⁰

In both countries, the societies became less active after the state changed its policy in 1799 with less support and stricter censoring of public debate.¹²¹ However, the associations increased their activities again (and new ones were founded) during the Napoleonic Wars (1807-1814). Social and economic problems occurred in both countries as a result of the wars, which created a sense of solidarity in the Danish middle class that in turn led to the many patriotic activities.¹²²

¹¹⁶ Engelhardt, *Borgerskab og Fællesskab*, 214-215.

¹¹⁷ Amdam, "Den organiserede jordbrukspatriotismen," 17-44; Knud Espelid, *Til medborgernes sande vel. Det Nyttige Selskab 1774-1974* (Bergen: Grieg, 1975) Chapter 3; Engelhardt, *Borgerskab og Fællesskab*, 77-80.

¹¹⁸ Engelhardt, *Borgerskab og Fællesskab*, 66-67.

¹¹⁹ Engelhardt, *Borgerskab og Fællesskab*, 66-67.

¹²⁰ Engelhardt, *Borgerskab og Fællesskab*, 77-80.

¹²¹ Engelhardt, *Borgerskab og Fællesskab*, 77-80.

¹²² Engelhardt, *Borgerskab og Fællesskab*, 77-80. Glenthøj, *Fælles Kultur*, 80-91.

2.2 Organisational structure

The organisational structure in most European patriotic societies was democratic, with elected presidents, meetings where the members discussed possible activities, and commissions that carried out the tasks that the members decided to focus on.¹²³

In Denmark-Norway, Germany and England, the societies had different types of meetings: the general meetings, ordinary meetings and “unofficial gatherings.” The general meetings were one to four times a year and the most important decisions were taken at these meetings. All the members were encouraged to attend and everybody had the right to speak and vote. Ballots were taken to make the final decisions. The ordinary meetings were more frequent and this is where the members discussed and planned possible activities. In addition, societies organised informal gatherings, which were often weekly (or even several times a week) where they read newspapers, shared news or socialised with each other.¹²⁴

The president was elected by the members and had merely an administrative function: he should run the meetings, open the mail, register members, sign contracts and overlook the society’s finances.¹²⁵ The societies also delegated tasks to different commissions. The number of commissions varied by how much and what the society planned to organise.¹²⁶ *The useful society* [Det nyttige selskab] in Western Norway, for example, had five commissions working on the improvement of (1) agriculture and fishing, (2) factories and house industries, (3) commerce, (4) the society’s regulations and (5) other, miscellaneous, issues.¹²⁷ However, all

¹²³ Allan, “The Society for the encouragements of arts,” 40-92; Im Hof, *The Enlightenment*, 105-106; Bödeker, “Economic Societies in Germany, 1760–1820,” 186-187; Engelhardt, *Borgerskab og Fællesskab*, 97-117.

¹²⁴ In the German societies, however, the “ordinary meetings” were only open for the inner circle of (elected) members. Moreover, in some societies, in which the members lived far from each other, there were only general meetings and ordinary meetings. Allan, “The Society for the encouragements of arts,” 40-92, 137-157, 208; Bödeker, “Economic Societies in Germany, 1760–1820,” 187; Engelhardt, *Borgerskab og Fællesskab*, 113-114.

¹²⁵ In larger societies the presidency was delegated to several people. Allan, “The Society for the encouragements of arts,” 49-88; Engelhardt, *Borgerskab og Fællesskab*, 97-117; Bödeker, “Economic Societies in Germany, 1760–1820,” 189.

¹²⁶ Allan, “The Society for the encouragements of arts,” 40-92; Engelhardt, *Borgerskab og Fællesskab*, 97-117; Bödeker, “Economic Societies in Germany, 1760–1820,” 188.

¹²⁷ Espelid, *Til medborgernes sande vel*, 91. According to Espelid, the fifth commission was working on all other issues that did not belong in the other groups

members could at anytime come with proposals to the commissions and the commissions could not act on its own without the consent of the other members.¹²⁸

Why did the members implement such an organisational structure? The scholar Juliane Engelhardt reads the organisational structure in the Danish and Norwegian patriotic societies as a hidden protest to the absolutist political system in Denmark-Norway. The democratic structure was chosen because it was thought of as a model to be followed in a future organisation of the state.¹²⁹ Her explanation, however, is questionable since many societies had royal members, received economic support from the state and expressed loyalty to the existing political system.¹³⁰ Instead, they might have chosen the organisational structure out of practical necessities.

According to the scholar Peter Clark, British voluntary associations suffered with internal differences, poor attendance, unsatisfactory accommodation and financial instability. As a response to these difficulties, the “clubs and societies developed complex administrative regulations and organisational structures.”¹³¹ The patriotic societies in Denmark-Norway and Germany also experienced similar problems.¹³² In order to tackle these problems, society members might have chosen to adopt a complex administrative structure as well.

2.3 Members

Who joined the patriotic societies and how large was the patriotic movement? The members were mainly male civil servants, artisans, clergymen, merchants and the like. Only a few members came from the aristocracy or the lower classes. Hence, the majority of the members of the patriotic societies were drawn from a heterogeneous *middle class*, which meant that they were below the privileged and wealthy aristocracy, but above the farmers and the labouring poor.

In England, where commerce and industry was strong, the eighteenth century middle class was large, c. 20-25 % of the population. The majority of these were

¹²⁸ Engelhardt, *Borgerskab og Fællesskab*, 115-117.

¹²⁹ Juliane Engelhardt, "Patriotism, nationalism and modernity: the patriotic societies in the Danish conglomerate state, 1769–1814," *Nations and Nationalism* 13, no 2 (2007): 217-219.

¹³⁰ See the part "state patriotism" in this chapter.

¹³¹ Clark, *British Clubs and Societies*, 235.

¹³² Espelid, *Til medborgernes sande vel*, 203-227.

property-owning individuals who put their energy into trade and industry.¹³³ In Germany and Denmark-Norway, which did not experience the same social and economic changes, the middle classes were much smaller.¹³⁴ As in England, the privately employed in Denmark-Norway was a larger group than the publicly employed.¹³⁵ In Germany, however, there were many civil servants and protestant clergymen (who were state officials by another name) and the share of merchants and craftsmen was small.¹³⁶

In England and the German states, the membership structure in the societies reflected the social composition of the middle class. Local studies of the English societies indicate the majority of the members consisted of “men of trade and industry” and that they were the most active members. For example, in 1800, *The Society of Arts* had around 2,000 members and at least half of them were merchants, tradesmen and craftsmen.¹³⁷ In Germany, where the proportion of merchants and craftsmen was small, the societies consisted of mostly educated civil servants. Around 35% of the members were working in the government,¹³⁸ 17% worked with research and education¹³⁹ and 8.8% were country clergyman belonging to the ministry.¹⁴⁰ Less than 10% were craftsmen, merchants and farmers.¹⁴¹

¹³³ Margaret R Hunt, *The Middling Sort: Commerce, Gender, and the Family in England, 1680-1780* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1996), 15-18.

¹³⁴ In Denmark-Norway, persons of this background consisted of c. 3-4% of the population. (see Chapter 1)

¹³⁵ In the cities of Norway, the wealthy, privately employed (including their families) were c. 4,700 persons. The lower middle classes, such as small traders, skippers, ship guides, craftsmen, manufacturers, journeymen and apprentices, pensioners, salesmen, ordering men amounted to 21,200 people. In comparison, the civil servants were only 4,700 persons. (Dyrvik et al., *Norsk økonomisk historie*, 210.) To my knowledge, there are no similar studies on the Danish social composition.

¹³⁶ Boyle, Nicholas *German Literature: A Very Short Introduction* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), 8-9.

¹³⁷ Colley, *Britons: forging the nation, 1707-1837*, 85-98, esp. 94; Allan, “The Society for the encouragements of arts,” 290.

¹³⁸ In military, mining, forestry or with jurisdiction, Lowood, *Patriotism, profit, and the promotion of science*, 71- 73.

¹³⁹ University professors, teachers, librarians and others from academia. Lowood, *Patriotism, profit, and the promotion of science*, 71- 73.

¹⁴⁰ As opposed to the episcopate and religious orders. Lowood, *Patriotism, profit, and the promotion of science*, 71- 73.

¹⁴¹ Lowood, *Patriotism, profit, and the promotion of science*, 73.

In Denmark-Norway, the social composition of society members is known in fifteen of sixty-four societies. The proportion of state officials was higher than the proportion of those privately employed.¹⁴² Many of the civil servants joining were the ones working in the central or local administration, such as *amtmenn* (the top civil servant in a local administration), magistrates, bailiffs, tax collectors and police chiefs. The societies also consisted of a high proportion of clergymen (chaplains, vicars, deans and bishops). In addition, several lawyers, military employees, university professors and teachers joined.¹⁴³ The background of the privately employed is to a large extent unknown since they are mainly mentioned as “merchants,” “producers” or “proprietaries” and the like.¹⁴⁴ The names on the member lists, however, indicate a varied background. Some of the richest merchants in Denmark-Norway, such as Niels Ryberg, were members of several patriotic societies. Smaller merchants and producers joined too, such as bakers, wine merchants, brewers and shoemakers.¹⁴⁵

Did a large proportion of the middle class join the patriotic societies?

Unfortunately, no total numbers on the society members exist. Lowood concludes that between 25,000 to 30,000 people joined the societies in eighteenth-century Germany, which was a larger group of people than the people working for the German states at the time.¹⁴⁶ Taken into account that civil servants were the most numerous group in the middle class, the numbers indicate that a large part of them joined.

¹⁴² The civil servants were the majority in almost all of the patriotic societies where the social composition is known: Selskabet for Norges Vel, Sunnmøre Praktiske Landhusholdningsselskab, Det Romsdalske praktiske Landhusholdningsselskab, Næstved patriotiske selskab, Det Korresponderende Topographiske Selskab for Norge, Det Patriotiske Præmieselskab i Kalundborg, Akershus Stifts Patriotiske Selskab, Det Kongelig Selskab for Norges Vel, Selskabet for Efterslegten, Det Bornholmske Selskab for Efterslegten, Selskabet for Borgerdyd, See Engelhardt, *Borgerskab og Fællesskab*, 377-413; Bjerke, Bjerke, Ernst, ”Selskabet for Norges Vel.- Tiden og forutsetningene”, 53; Amdam, ”Den organiserede jordbrukspatriotismen,” 75; Odd Arvid Storsveen, “Fornuftig Kierlighed til Fædrelandet: en analyse av norsk patriotisme mellom 1784 og 1801 ” in *Norsk patriotisme før 1814*, eds. Odd Arvid et al. (Oslo: 1997), 68.

¹⁴³ Engelhardt, *Borgerskab og Fællesskab*, 377-413.

¹⁴⁴ Engelhardt, *Borgerskab og Fællesskab*, 379-413.

¹⁴⁵ See for example the member list in *the Society for Civic Virtue*. Lund, Holger. *Selskabet for Borgerdyd. Et Bidrag til dansk Kulturhistorie* (København, 1885), 125-135.

¹⁴⁶ Lowood, *Patriotism, profit, and the promotion of science*, 69.

In Norway, the participation was less widespread. The historian Odd Arvid Storsveen studied the proportion of patriotic activities among civil servants in Norway. He concludes that there were around 3,500-4000 people working as civil servants in Norway in the period 1784-1814. He concluded that a little less than 50% of all church employees (349 of 801 people)¹⁴⁷ joined patriotic activities, 28% of those working in the civil administration (324 of 1,220 people)¹⁴⁸ and 11% of those working in the military (173 of 1,580 people). In total, 24% of all civil servants were actively participating in the patriotic movement.¹⁴⁹ Unfortunately, we do not have similar numbers on the privately employed. We know, however, that the privately employed were a larger group than the publicly employed in eighteenth-century Norway¹⁵⁰ and that they were a minority in the patriotic societies. Thus, it is likely that patriotic activities were less widespread in this part of the middle class.

The preliminary numbers for Norway thus indicate that participation was something a minority of the middle class was involved in. Nonetheless, the *patriotic discourse* might be much more widespread in Norwegian society than the participation lists show. There is usually a gap between the ones that *want* to do voluntary work and the ones that actually get actively involved in it. The middle class was highly exposed to patriotic values through the church, enlightenment writings and the activities promoted by the societies. Thus, the views in the patriotic societies could be representative of a larger part of the middle class than the participation lists suggest.

Unfortunately, we lack similar membership numbers for the Danish area. However, the proportion of the members might be more or less the same as in Norway.

¹⁴⁷ 794 vicars and 7 bishops.

¹⁴⁸ 57% of the high positioned civil servants, 45.5% of the magistrates and lawyers, 26.6% of the bailiffs and amtsforvaltere, 9% of the custom officers, 32% of the medical doctors, 49.2 % of the city administration workers. Storsveen, "Fornuftig Kierlighed til Fædrelandet," 123.

¹⁴⁹ Storsveen defined patriotic activities as membership in voluntary associations, publications of journals and other writings on "useful topics", subscriptions on them and the establishment of schools, reading societies, local associations and larger endowment foundations. (Storsveen, "Fornuftig Kierlighed til Fædrelandet," 122.) Thus, not all of the activities were organised by the societies.

¹⁵⁰ Dyrvik et al., *Norsk økonomisk historie, 1500-1850*, 210.

Denmark, especially Copenhagen, had more commercial possibilities, more manufacturers and a larger state administration, which made the middle class larger in this area than in Norway.¹⁵¹ Correspondingly, the patriotic societies were more numerous in this district too and had more members. While the whole of Norway had sixteen patriotic societies, nineteen were founded in Copenhagen alone and twenty-three patriotic societies in other towns, villages and rural districts of Denmark.¹⁵² Many of the Danish societies also had a larger number of members than in the Norwegian societies.¹⁵³

The lack of female members

Women were not excluded in the societies, but the numbers nonetheless were low.¹⁵⁴ None of the secondary works on the patriotic societies discuss in detail *why* this was the case.¹⁵⁵ However, discussion in formal meetings and publishing political and economic writings was something that was commonly regarded as a man's task in early modern Europe. Apart from a few female rulers, women had mostly been excluded from any formal political role in early modern European society. As Wiesner writes: "They did not hold office, sit in representative institutions, serve as judges or in any other way participate in any formal political institution."¹⁵⁶ In Denmark-Norway, the civil servants that represented the monarchy were male, with only a few exceptions, as when a feudal lord's widow held court sessions in Stavanger County in 1634, or when the wife of a tax

¹⁵¹ For more about the Danish manufactures and commerce, see Feldbæk, *Danmark økonomiske historie*, 130-148, 176-189.

¹⁵² Engelhardt, *Borgerskab og Fællesskab*, 65-70.

¹⁵³ Engelhardt, *Borgerskab og Fællesskab*, 379-413.

¹⁵⁴ Clark, *British Clubs and Societies*, 198-204; Hall, *Sexuality, State and Civil Society in Germany 1700-1815*, 211; Dülmen, *The society of the Enlightenment*, 57; Engelhardt, *Borgerskab og Fællesskab*, 59-123.

¹⁵⁵ Some secondary literature suggests the lack of female participants was due to negative attitudes to women. Dülmen argues, for example, that all "enlightenment Societies" thought it was "natural" to have no female members and that the male members thought the women were "incapable" of making any independent decisions (Dülmen, *The society of the Enlightenment*, 129). Clark just explains the exclusion in most eighteenth-century British associations with uninterested women and a general notion of women being thought of as "vain and silly" in addition to their inferior legal status. (Clark, *British Clubs and Societies*, 202-203). In my opinion, none of these explanations fits the patriotic societies since, as the thesis will show, a great admiration existed for women's decision making.

¹⁵⁶ Wiesner, *Women and gender in early modern Europe*, 239.

collector, in absence of her husband, organised the collection in eighteenth-century Trondheim.¹⁵⁷

The early modern European laws also disadvantaged women's legal rights to administration and inheritance of the marital estate compared to their male counterparts, though local and regional differences in laws existed.¹⁵⁸ This was also the case in Denmark-Norway. According to the law, daughters inherited half of what their brothers inherited, and in a marriage the husband should manage all property. There were also laws, which restricted women in making contracts and buying on credit.¹⁵⁹ However, in Denmark-Norway, as in most parts of Europe, the laws were not followed. There is evidence of women trading independently, or on behalf of their husband, keeping their own salary and sometimes inheriting as much as their brothers.¹⁶⁰ Nonetheless, the legal disadvantages and limited political role made political theorists overlook or exclude women when new ideas of political citizenship developed.¹⁶¹ Similarly, it probably led the society members to think that discussing political, economic and moral issues in public was a task that belonged to men. This did not mean, however, that the members found women's patriotic activities unimportant. On the contrary, the members found women crucial for the countries' wellbeing and encouraged them to be patriotic in many ways, as the following chapters will show.

The members from the aristocracy and the lower classes

The patriotic societies in Denmark-Norway, Germany and England had members from the lower classes, such as peasants, sailors and fishermen. In most societies, the lower classes were just a small minority of the members. For example, ten of the 319 members were peasants in the Danish Royal Agricultural Society.¹⁶² There,

¹⁵⁷ Sandvik Hilde, Sogner Sølvi and Cronberg Marie: "Women in court," in *People meet the law. Control and conflict-handling in the courts* (Oslo: Universitetsforlaget, 2000), 167-202; Bull, "De trondhjemske handelshusene," 297.

¹⁵⁸ Wiesner, *Women and gender in early modern Europe*, 35-41.

¹⁵⁹ Sandvik, "Decision making on marital property" 111-127.

¹⁶⁰ Merry Wiesner, *Women and gender in early modern Europe*, 38-39; Sandvik, "Decision making on marital property," 111-127.

¹⁶¹ Wiesner, *Women and gender in early modern Europe*, 244.

¹⁶² Engelhardt, *Borgerskab og Fællesskab*, 381

were some exceptions, as for example *Åmots patriotiske selskab* (1782) in eastern Norway where the peasant members were in majority.¹⁶³

Why lower class involvement was so low? As with women, the patriots thought the inhabitants should be patriots in different ways. Farmers were first and foremost patriots when they did their job as farmers in the best possible way. Discussing and voting on political and economic issues at meetings rather belonged to the educated and propertied than to the low ranked.¹⁶⁴ Thus, none of the societies did much to attract the members of the lower classes. Moreover, they had high fees, which made it impossible for less wealthy individuals to become members.¹⁶⁵

Some persons from the aristocracy took part in the societies too. In Norway, there were only a few aristocrats¹⁶⁶ and several of them were active members. For example, the count Herman Wedel Jarlsberg helped initiating *The Society for Norway's Wellbeing* (Christiania, 1809.) Also the rich patrician and knight, John Collett, were among the most active members of *Aker Parish Society* (Christiania, 1807) He did not only participate in the activities of the society, but also paid for several of the societies' dinner parties.¹⁶⁷ Many more aristocrats were living in Denmark, England and Germany, but their participation was low. One reason might have been, as Engelhardt points out, that the aristocracy was criticised in several

¹⁶³ Also *The Society for Norway's Wellbeing* experienced an increase of farmer members during the Napoleonic Wars. In addition, several "frugality associations" were established (see Chapter 3) For *Åmot patriotiske selskab*, see Amdam, "Den organiserede jordbruks-patriotismen," 67-69; Ragnhild Hutchison, "Enigheten - tekstilfabrikken i Østerdalen : fabrikkdrift og teknologioverføring i det norske bondesamfunn på slutten av 1700-tallet" (Master thesis, University of Oslo, 2003).

¹⁶⁴ Gray, *Productive Men, Reproductive Women*, 131-132; Engelhardt, *Borgerskab og Fællesskab*, 97-117; Dülmen, *The society of the Enlightenment*, 67-68; For Europe in general, see Im Hof, *The Enlightenment*, 123-139.

¹⁶⁵ Bödeker, "Economic Societies in Germany, 1760–1820," 190, Engelhardt, *Borgerskab og Fællesskab*, 97-117, Dülmen, *The society of the Enlightenment*, 67-68, For Europe in general, see Im Hof, *The Enlightenment*, 123-139 However, Bödeker points to the fact that the nobility played an important part in rural societies in Germany.

¹⁶⁶ To my knowledge, there are no overviews of the number of aristocrats living in Norway (1770-1814). However, we know that around thirty men with aristocratic backgrounds lived in Norway in 1660 and that the number continued being low during the eighteenth century. See "Ola Teige, "Eliter i dansketida," in *Norgeshistorie*, available at <http://www.norgeshistorie.no/enevelde/artikler/1223-eliter-i-norge-i-dansketida.html> (retrieved 7. January, 2016)

¹⁶⁷ Daae, Anders, *Akers sogneselskab 1807-1907: festskrift i anledning af 100-aars-jubilæet*, (Kristiania: Grøndahl, 1907), 44

societies for their birth privileges and their aristocratic culture. The criticism made nobles less interested in participating and many members were probably less interested in recruiting them as well.¹⁶⁸

2.4 Aims and activities

The societies in Germany, England and Denmark-Norway expressed similar aims with their activities. Opening speeches, organisational plans and individual writings show that the members used such terms as “welfare”, “happiness”, “prosperity” and “the common good” when describing their main purpose. The word patriotism reveals a similar connotation. The word *patriotism* derives from the Latin word *patria*, which means “fatherland.”¹⁶⁹ In ancient classical literature, a patriot was a person who put the interests of the *fatherland* above his own.¹⁷⁰ What area did the members mean by fatherland? And what did working for the “common good” mean to them?

State patriotism

Different allegiances and identities existed in England, the German states and the Danish conglomerate state since population within each area was different in culture, language and history. Correspondingly, people could use fatherland to denote a region they were a part of, the district, the country and/or the state. Often, the same person could use the word in varied ways,¹⁷¹ which probably occurred in the patriotic societies too. Nonetheless, the members made it clear that they hoped their (local) activities would in the end benefit both the king and state. Loyalty to the king and state was repeated in the official plans and speeches that the societies published.¹⁷²

¹⁶⁸ Engelhardt, *Borgerskab og Fællesskab*, 316-322.

¹⁶⁹ In Danish: patriotisme.

¹⁷⁰ Tine Damsholt, *Fædrelandskærlighed og borgerdyd*, 76.

¹⁷¹ Conway, Stephen, “War and National Identity in the Mid-Eighteenth-Century British Isles”, *English Historical Review* CXVI (2001): 863-893; Colley, *Britons: forging the nation, 1707-1837*; 85-98; Rasmus Glenthøj, *På fædrelandets alter: national identitet og patriotisme hos det danske borgerskab 1807-1814* (København: Museum Tusulanum, 2007), 48-64.

¹⁷² Bödeker, “Economic Societies in Germany, 1760–1820,” 206-207; Engelhardt, *Borgerskab og Fællesskab*, 240-243. Another meaning of fatherland, however, is detected in one patriotic society, *Selskabet for Norges Vel (The Society for Norway’s Wellbeing, 1808)*. Due to the many difficulties that occurred between Denmark and Norway during the years of war (1808-1814), some patriots in this society replaced the former loyalty to the conglomerate state with loyalty to Norway. The patriots thought the welfare of Norway was dependent on a political separation from Denmark because of the many political and economic difficulties that had occurred during

There were strategic and perhaps also emotional reasons behind the state patriotism expressed in the society writings. Harsh punishment could await people who publicly opposed the political regime, and the members' opinions could easily be read as a criticism of the regime if loyalty was not publicly expressed.¹⁷³

Expressing state patriotism also increased the chance to receive economic support from the government. In fact, many of the European patriotic societies were dependent on it and partly adjusted their local activities to the policy of the state in order to receive it.¹⁷⁴ It might be that several of the members had some emotional ties to the state as well. The early modern governments held several parties and other rituals, which were meant to evoke feelings of loyalty and love of the state and/or king. Moreover, the middle class in England, Germany and Denmark-Norway organised theatre, music, poems, flower parades, memorials and parties to express the same love.¹⁷⁵ Thus, the many rituals might have created an emotional attachment among some members too.

Working for the “common good”

Working for the common good meant working for economic progress. The overall goal in most societies was *protectionist*, which was according to the mercantilist or cameralist principles that influenced economic writers and governments of the period. The members wanted to improve and expand domestic industries and trade, so imports decreased and exports increased. This was believed to lead to a positive

the Napoleonic Wars. (Bjerke, “Uavhengighet gjennom vitenskap”, 104). Similarly, state patriotism was probably not expressed in patriotic societies where the middle class wanted to separate from the state, such as in the American colonies.

¹⁷³ Censorship varied in different countries. England had one of the most liberal ones in Europe, while censorship in the German states varied from territory to territory. (James Van Horn Melton, *The rise of the public in Enlightenment Europe* [Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001], 64-76.) In Denmark-Norway, censorship changed over time. After 1773, the regime turned to “*ettersensur*,” which meant that the texts were published freely, but if they opposed the regime, church or public morals, harsh punishments could be carried out. However, it rarely happened. See Trine Nickelsen, “Tidsskriftene blomstret under eneveldet” *Apollon* 2012 (retrieved 9.12.2015) <http://www.apollon.uio.no/artikler/2012/tidsskrifter.html>. See also Ellen Krefting, Ellen Krefting, Aina Nøding & Mona Ringvej. *En pokkers skrivesyge: 1700-tallets dansk-norske tidsskrifter mellom sensur og ytringsfrihet* (Oslo: Scandinavian Academic Press, 2014)

¹⁷⁴ Bödeker, “Economic Societies in Germany, 1760–1820,” 206-207.

¹⁷⁵ Damsholt, Tine, *Fædrelandskærlighed og borgerdyd*, 126-171.

national balance of trade and in turn secure the economic welfare of the state and population.¹⁷⁶

Working for the common good also meant working for the *moral wellbeing* of the population. The welfare of the state and the happiness of individuals were dependent on the spread of patriotic feelings, which meant that the whole population should *want* to work for a common good. It was believed that patriotic feelings would make the inhabitants internalise important virtues, such as industriousness and frugality, which in turn would improve the wellbeing of both themselves and society.¹⁷⁷ In this way the societies were a condensation of the early modern “civilising process” in Europe as described by Norbert Elias. They wanted people to exercise self-control and subordinate the selfish and more “animalist human activities” for the welfare of their communities.¹⁷⁸

However, behind these aims lay traditional notions of rank. Most patriotic societies in Northern Europe wanted to preserve the hierarchy of early modern societies. For example, fishermen were patriotic when they fulfilled their duty as fishermen in the best possible way. The members did not encourage too much education, social mobilisation or participation of the lower ranks in any learned debate.¹⁷⁹

Activities

The societies organised various activities. Most of them awarded monetary prizes to people for the economic or social behaviours they wanted to encourage or for essays written on topics that the members wanted more knowledge on. We know in detail the activities of forty-eight patriotic societies in Germany and twenty-one of them awarded prizes.¹⁸⁰ In Denmark-Norway, the activities of nineteen patriotic

¹⁷⁶ Engelhardt, “Patriotism, nationalism and modernity,” 210; Pullin, “Business is just life,” 209.

¹⁷⁷ For England, see Clark, *British Clubs and Societies*, 102-115. For Germany, see Lowood, *Patriotism, profit, and the promotion*, 12-22; Bödeker, “Economic Societies in Germany, 1760–1820,” 11. For Denmark-Norway, see Engelhardt, “Patriotism, nationalism and modernity,” 209, 211-212.

¹⁷⁸ Frank W. Elwell, *The Sociology of Norbert Elias*, available at <http://www.faculty.rsu.edu/users/f/felwell/www/Theorists/Essays/Elias1.html> (retrieved 8 February 2015). Juliane Engelhardt has interpreted the patriotic societies in a similar way. See Engelhardt, *Borgerskab og Fællesskab*, 244-248.

¹⁷⁹ See Engelhardt, *Borgerskab og Fællesskab*, 270-275; Gray, *Productive Men, Reproductive Women*, 120-145, esp. 130-132, 139-140; Hudson, *Patriotism and Profit*, 3.

¹⁸⁰ Lowood, *Patriotism, profit, and the promotion of science*, 103-107.

societies are known and eleven of them awarded prizes.¹⁸¹ In England, many agricultural societies organised prize-giving activities too.¹⁸²

As mentioned above, the societies copied the rules from each other. Hence, at first glance, prize-giving activities in different societies look almost identical to each other. Most societies in Germany, Denmark-Norway and England wanted to award prizes to people working or writing about “Agriculture”, “Manufactures” and “Commerce.” The larger societies had additional activities they wanted to support. The *Danish Royal Agricultural Society*, for example, also gave prizes to people working or writing about “instruments and chemistry”, “mathematics,” and “beautiful”¹⁸³ arts.¹⁸⁴

Many different kinds of activities were organised under each topic. In Sunnmøre, for example, families made and sold goods such as textiles, dairy and fish products. Most households lacked grain because of the short summers, and few fields were available in the mountainous district. The patriotic society in this area awarded peasants for traditional and new methods in agriculture, such as expanding the fields, digging ditches and trying to grow potatoes, flax and linen. Prizes were given for building cowsheds, making fish barrels, roe, dried fish and for the fishing of herring.¹⁸⁵ The patriotic society in Hamburg rewarded farmers for clearing marshland, planting new vegetables such as potatoes, imitating English beer, acclimatizing foreign species of trees and crops, and for improving farm tools. In addition, located in a large city of over 100 000 inhabitants, they were also interested in improving the “management of a bourgeois household,”

¹⁸¹ Det Kongelige Danske Landhusholdningsselskab, Det kongelige Norske Videnskabers Selskab, Det nyttige Selskab for Bergenhus, Sunnmøre Praktiske Landhusholdningsselskab, Det Romsdalske praktiske Landhusholdningsselskab, Stavanger Amts Landhusholdningsselskab, Næstveds Patriotiske Selskab, Det Patriotiske Præmieselskab i Kalundborg, Det Økonomiske Velfærdsselskab, Akershus Stifts Patriotiske Selskab, Fyns Stift Patriotiske Selskab, Præmieselskabet til at Anføre den Jødiske Ungdom til Kunster og Handtværker, Det Kongelig Selskab for Norges Vel.

¹⁸² Hudson, *Patriotism and Profit*, 10, 18, 21, 51.

¹⁸³ Beautiful arts mean history, literature and languages. Brita Brenna ”Part 1,” in *Aemula Lauri: the Royal Norwegian Society of Sciences and Letters, 1760-201*, ed. Håkon With Andersen (Mass.: Science History Publications, Sagamore Beach 2009), 15.

¹⁸⁴ Dan Ch. Christensen, *Det moderne projekt* (København: Gyldendal, 1996), 139-149.

¹⁸⁵ Amdam, “Den organiserte jordbrukspatriotismen,” 98-118.

skilled trades, trade, navigation, and the newer industrial manufactures encouraged by the state.¹⁸⁶

There were also large differences in the resources a society had. In the 1770s, *The Society of Arts* (London) had funding from several hundred members and received private gifts and much financial support, which allowed them to give out monetary prizes of £4000 in total each year. In 1777, the society awarded 342 people and the largest prize was £80, which was as much as an English middle class man would earn during a year.¹⁸⁷ In contrast, *Sunnmøre Society*, with its twenty-five members, could afford to give out twelve prizes annually. The most prestigious prize amounted to 10 *riksdaler*, which would be a servant's salary for one year.¹⁸⁸

There were also large differences in what the societies prioritised to use their resources on. The economic situation of the countries influenced the societies' policy. England was a part of a large empire in contrast to Denmark-Norway and the German states. Correspondingly, the English patriotic societies focused on refining goods that came from the colonies, while the societies in Denmark-Norway focused on producing alternatives with raw materials from the country.¹⁸⁹ The natural resources or local problems in different regions influenced the society policy as well. As mentioned above, the western part of Norway experienced several famines due to a lack of grain in the 1770s. Hence, much of the societies' resources were used on awarding inhabitants of the region who found ways to increase the grain production.¹⁹⁰ Moreover, different views on technology,¹⁹¹

¹⁸⁶ Lowood, *Patriotism, profit, and the promotion of science*, 186.

¹⁸⁷ Hunt, *The Middling Sort*, 15.

¹⁸⁸ Amdam, "Den organiserte jordbrukspatriotismen," 270.

¹⁸⁹ See Allan, "The Society for the encouragements of arts," 119-133, 188-203; Engelhardt, *Borgerskab og Fællesskab*, 132-137; Bödeker, "Economic Societies in Germany, 1760-1820," 194-200. The difference is detected by comparing the *Society of Arts* (London) with the Danish and German patriotic societies. However, the differences were probably smaller between the local agricultural societies in the rural districts of Britain and the Danish and German ones.

¹⁹⁰ Amdam, "Den organiserte jordbrukspatriotismen," 98-109.

¹⁹¹ Some members encouraged traditional methods, while other members (or patriotic societies) encouraged inhabitants to try out new equipment and methods. Amdam, "Den organiserte jordbrukspatriotismen", 153-178; Monica Aase "Patrioter og Bønder. Det Kongelige Norske Videnskabers Selskabsarbeid med landbrukspremier 1772-1806." (MA-thesis, Norwegian University of Science and Technology, 1987)137-147; Christensen, *Det moderne project*, 780-782; Bjerke, "Uavhengighet gjennom vitenskap," 100-101.

different economic ideas or the members' private interests¹⁹² influenced the activities of the societies too.

Most societies in Germany, England and Denmark-Norway combined the awarding of prizes with publishing different kinds of texts on behalf of the society, such as journals, speeches, leaflets, books, member lists, plans and visions for the society and reports of their activities. The publications were to inform the members about what was going on in the society and to attract new members. But more importantly, the members thought that the awarding of prizes alone could not change the local communities. It was also important to *inform* and *convince* the inhabitants, which many did in writing. For example, the *Danish Royal Agricultural Society* published guidebooks and pamphlets for farmers, speeches and member lists. In addition, their journal *Transactions* came out several times in the period 1775-1804. Each issue was several hundred pages long and consisted of the award winning essays (on various issues, from coffee consumption to the uses of a certain type of stone) and information about the society's activities.¹⁹³

In Denmark-Norway, a minority of the societies organised different activities besides (or instead) of awarding prizes. They were mainly established around Copenhagen. At least six societies established schools for children of different social backgrounds,¹⁹⁴ two societies published topographic descriptions,¹⁹⁵ one society established stores and exhibitions that sold Danish-made products,¹⁹⁶ and two societies purchased and gave out for free equipment to farmers,¹⁹⁷ fishermen or

¹⁹² The many timber merchants in *Akershus Landhusholdningsselskab* and *Åmots patriotiske selskab* worked to improve the situation of farmers who worked part-time for them with chopping, driving and cutting timber for export. (Amdam, "Den organiserede jordbrukspatriotismen", 151). *Selskabet for Borgerdyd* wanted to promote locally produced products, and the many artisans, manufactures and traders in this society hoped that the society would promote their own products as well. See Chapter 3.

¹⁹³ Engelhardt, *Borgerskab og Fællesskab*, 445, 419.

¹⁹⁴ Næstveds Patriotiske Selskab, (1780-1809) Det Åmotske Patriotiske Selskab (1782), Det søsterlige Velgørenhedsselskab. (1790), Selskabet for Borgerdyd (1785-1790), Selskabet for Efterslegten, Det Bornholmske Selskab for Efterslegten (1805-still exists).

¹⁹⁵ Die Schleswig-Holsteinische Patriotische Geschellschaft, (1782-1790, 1812-1848), Det Korresponderende Topographiske Selskab for Norge (1791-1808), Det Patriotiske Præmieselskab i Kalundborg (1791-1819).

¹⁹⁶ Selskabet for Indenlandsk Kunstflid (1808-1825).

¹⁹⁷ Det Bornholmske Selskab for Efterslegten (1805-still exists), Randers Amts Husholdningsselskab (1810- still exists).

poor women. One society established a factory.¹⁹⁸ Several societies in Germany and England were organising similar activities, but how widespread they were are so far unknown.¹⁹⁹

2.5 Why did people join the patriotic societies?

Work and duties

What made the members join the societies and organise so many activities? The reasons for joining voluntary associations are often diverse, reflecting different personalities and predilections.²⁰⁰ Nonetheless, it is possible to detect some similar motives among the members in Denmark-Norway, Germany and England. Many of them joined out of work-related reasons. For the civil servants, participation in the societies was a way to get promoted.²⁰¹ For example, the bishop Gunnerus established *The Royal Norwegian Society of Sciences* in Trondheim in 1760 and he remained the driving force behind the society for many years. Letters to him show that many vicars were involved in patriotic and scientific activities in hopes of getting a promotion from the bishop. For example, Chaplain Fredrik A. Bødtker, who lived in Tromsø, a poor district in Northern Norway, described in detail a *runebomme* (a saami ritual drum) for the bishop. He added a small comment: “I offer myself to be enveloped in your memories of promotion.” This was a normal phrase, but Bødtker was even making more out of his case. He also wrote “Pious Father! Do something for the sake of my minor children!”²⁰² The priests’ patriotic activities proved fruitful, at least for those who worked for bishop Gunnerus. Many

¹⁹⁸ Det Åmotske Patriotiske Selskab (1782).

¹⁹⁹ However, Lowood gives us an overview of the 502 activities in the German patriotic and scientific societies: 34% of the activities were prize awardings, 28% published journals, leaflets, books and maps, 24% was informing the general public through natural history collections, exhibits, observations, libraries, botanic gardens, travels, instrument collections and conducted experiments, 7 % administering and governing schools or social welfare programmes, 5% was producing and managing gardens and farms, manufactures, beekeeping and engineering. The societies were often involved in several of these activities. Lowood, *Patriotism, profit, and the promotion of science*, 88.

²⁰⁰ Clark, *British Clubs and Societies*, 194.

²⁰¹ Similar motives are detected in patriotic societies in different parts of Europe, see Marjanen and Koen, “Political Economy, Patriotism and the Rise of Economic Societies,” 19.

²⁰² Brenna ”Part 1,” 48.

of the letters written to him were from grateful vicars who had obtained a better position.²⁰³

Moreover, the society meetings were an excellent place for creating networks and friendships between people working in the same business or in similar occupations. *The Society for Civic Virtue* (Copenhagen, 1785), for example, had informal gatherings three times a week where the members could read newspapers, relax and discuss the society's issues. Manufacturers or merchants within the same business joined the society, which indicate that they saw an opportunity to meet each other there. Civil servants working on promoting the same industries were also members, so the manufacturers, artisans and merchants would have plenty of opportunities to discuss their business matters with state officials in a more informal setting.²⁰⁴

Many members also joined out of a sense of duty, at least in Denmark-Norway. It has been detected that the Lutheran reform movement of pietism influenced the patriotic discourse. The members grew up in a time when pietistic values were promoted by the state, church and civil society. Pietism focused on the lifestyle of the believer. The inner religious feelings should be visible through the acts of the individuals, through their effort to influence their local surroundings and through their exemplary lifestyle.²⁰⁵ As the scholar Damsholt shows, the participants of the patriotic movement expressed their patriotic feelings in a similar way. It was not enough to have patriotic feelings; the persons' feelings had to correspond with his or her lifestyle too.²⁰⁶ In other words, it was necessary to act in order to call yourself a patriot.

...and a search for meaning and happiness?

The members also joined out of personal enjoyment and the pursuit of individual happiness. As the London journal *The Spectator* wrote, men joined voluntary associations since they were "knit together by a love of the society, for their own

²⁰³ Brenna "Part 1," 48; Storsveen, "Fornuftig Kierlighed til Fædrelandet," 66-70; Supp Steinar Supphellen, "Historisk-topografisk litteratur ca 1750-1800," *Heimen* 18 (1979-81): 198-209, esp. 202.

²⁰⁴ Lund, *Selskabet for Borgerdyd*, 125-135.

²⁰⁵ Dyrvik, *Norsk historie 1625-1814*, 145.

²⁰⁶ Damsholt, *Fædrelandskærlighed og borgerdyd*, 126-127.

improvement or for the good of others, or at least, to relax themselves from the business of the day.”²⁰⁷ The informal gatherings, parties and other social events were a place for relaxation and to have a happy and meaningful time together with like-minded people. The vicar Pavel described how meetings in *Aker Sogneselskap* (Christiania, 1809) were the highlight of the year for him and his fellow members.²⁰⁸ He praised the rich merchant John Collett that paid for a dinner party after every regular meeting. According to him, it was not the food they ate or the wine they drank that made the event so important for the members. It was

[...] the patriotic songs that are sung in a harmonious choir and our solemn toasts together. [We] clink our glasses together for our beloved Norway, for the progress of our little country, for the [patriotic] societies and the men that are working for enlightenment, ennoblement and people’s happiness. The happy atmosphere [...] that spreads around the table [make] the meeting in Aker society a festivity!²⁰⁹

For Pavel and the other members in the *Aker society*, doing important deeds together led to a certain type of happiness that made participation in the society a festivity. Similar ideas have been detected by Linda Colley in her studies of British societies. For a thousand lesser men coming together in patriotic associations was a means of acquiring a degree of influence and importance, which they would never have managed as individuals.²¹⁰ It probably created a feeling of contentment that made it worth the effort, whether it worked or not.

2.6. Summary

The patriotic societies were similar in aims, activities, membership and organisational structure. The members mentioned in rules and speeches that they wanted to improve the local area they were living in. They wrote (and encouraged

²⁰⁷ The *Spectator*, London, p. 42, from Clark, *British Clubs and Societies*, 230.

²⁰⁸ Anders Daae, *Akers sogneselskab 1807-1907: festskrift i anledning af 100-aars-jubilæet* (Kristiania : Grøndahl, 1907), 44.

²⁰⁹ [...] de patriotiske sange, der istemmes i harmoniske Chor, de høitidsfulde skaaler under glassens samklang for vort elskede Norge [...] for de selskaber der fremstæbe til samme maal, og de mænd der paa denne og anden maade arbeide for oplysning, forædling og folkehæld, den glade stemming, tanken om vel fuldendt dagværk udbreder rundt om Bordet iblandt dem, der tog del i arbeidet, [...] der gjør mødet i Agers vel til en høytidsdag!” (Pavel, quoted in Daae, Anders, *Akers sogneselskab 1807-1907: festskrift i anledning af 100-aars-jubilæet*, (Kristiania: Grøndahl, 1907), 44.

²¹⁰ Colley, *Britons: forging the nation, 1707-1837*, 97.

others to write) articles to improve the knowledge on moral and economic issues and awarded prizes to people for behaviours they wanted to promote. The organisational form was democratic, as most of the decisions were based on ballots and commissions carrying out the tasks the members decided to focus on. Merchants, artisans, shopkeepers, producers and civil servants of different positions were the ones attracted to the societies. For many, patriotic activities suited well their private occupations since it could lead to a promotion or put them in contact with people working in similar occupations. However, many joined out of a sense of duty too, at least in the protestant areas, where the “patriotic” feelings should correspond with actions. In addition, the feeling of doing “meaningful” activities together led to a sense of joy and individual pleasure for many of the members.

3. The Meanings of Frugality in the Patriotic Societies

The economic and social changes in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries sparked public debate. The debate on “luxury consumption” involved many intellectuals and novelists, including some of the most famous philosophers of the time, such as David Hume (1711-1766), Jean-Jacques Rousseau (1712-1778) and Adam Smith (1723-1790). Luxury consumption was portrayed and discussed in essays, dissertations, novels, poems, dramas and other writings.²¹¹ In Denmark-Norway, educated civil servants participated too, deeply inspired by the debates going on in other European countries.²¹² All over Europe, writers feared the moral and social consequences of commodity consumption while others associated it with moral and economic progress. Many factors influenced the debate, such as readings of philosophical texts from antiquity, economic theories of the time or new ideas about the body and medicine.

It remains largely unknown to us, however, whether or not the intellectuals’ and novelists’ moral, economic and health concerns were present in other parts of the population. The chapter discusses the attitudes to commodity consumption among the diverse members of the patriotic societies, from the university-educated civil servants to the rich merchants, innkeepers, tailors and copyists. Previous brief studies show that the inhabitants’ changing economy was of great concern to many of the members. According to this research, the members were influenced by “cameralist” economic theories and (among some civil servants) Greek and Roman philosophical writings when discussing the inhabitants’ consumer behaviour.²¹³ The chapter will re-examine whether or not such attitudes were present in the societies selected for the thesis. Moreover, it will examine if other

²¹¹ See for example, Sekora, *Luxury: the concept in Western Thought*; Berry, *The idea of Luxury*, Berg and Eger, “The Rise and Fall of the Luxury Debates,” 18-20; Kwass, “Consumption and the world of ideas”; Runefelt, Leif, *Dygden som välståndets grund*.

²¹² Mordt, “Luksus som problem i 1743”; Mordt, ”Gjestebud og silkeklær”; Oxenbøll, *Dansk økonomisk tænkning*, 68-71.

²¹³ Amdam, Rolv Petter, “Den organiserte jordbrukspatriotismen 1769-179,” 137-138; Glenthøj, “Fælles kultur – forskellige nationaliteter,” 79-90; Horstbøll, “Den ubanede og sporløse sti mod borgerdyd. En borgerlig bevægelse i Kronprinsens København 1785,” in *Magasin fra Det kgl. Bibliotek* 5, no 3, (1990); Lund, *Selskabet for Borgerdyd*; Bjerke, “Uafhængighet gjennom vitenskap.”

factors or ideas influenced the members too, such as healthcare theories²¹⁴ and the religious discourse of *pietism*.

The chapter focuses on the discussions on commodity consumption in *The Society for Civic Virtue* (Copenhagen, 1785). Towards the end of the chapter, I will study if the attitudes found there were present in the other societies spread all over Denmark-Norway (c. 1770-1814).

3.1. Presenting *The Society for Civic Virtue*.

On the 21st of March 1785, an anonymous author put out an advertisement in the local newspaper in Copenhagen, *Adresseavisen*. The advertisement invited persons that were “neither rich [...] nor poor” to establish a patriotic society that should fight the “excessive consumption” present in Copenhagen.²¹⁵ The author complained to the readers that “We Danish, especially here in Copenhagen, have finally come to a point, that we can feel and see the disaster but do not use the means available [to fight it].”²¹⁶ The author further suggested that the society should make some frugality rules that the members should follow. A frugal lifestyle among the members would serve as a good example for the rest of the population, who would eventually follow.²¹⁷

The advertisement was met with enthusiastic response in Copenhagen. Within the first months, 287 merchants, higher and lower civil servants and manufacturers became members.²¹⁸ However, tensions soon occurred between the members about the intention of the society. On 2nd May, the prominent member Tyge Rothe gave a speech. He was a well-known economic writer, a former teacher for the heredity

²¹⁴ Signe Mellempgaard shows that healthcare was an important topic in the patriotic societies. The rich material from the society, however, makes it possible to go beyond her study and widen our understanding on how health beliefs influenced debates on commodity consumption. See Signe Mellempgaard, “Diætetisten J. C. Tode i det 'ædekære København,’” in *Syn på mad og drikke i 1800-tallet*, ed. O Hyldtoft (København, Museum Tusulanum), 11-37.

²¹⁵ [my translation] “hverken rig mand, hverken en [...] fattig mand” Anonymous author, *Kjøbenhavns Aftenpost* no 22, (1785), unnumbered.

²¹⁶ [my translation] “Danske og især Kiøbenhavns invaandere, have endelig bragt det saavidt, at vi kiendelig see og føle vor Ulykke [...] men gripe ikke til de sikre og ubedragelige Milder, som vor fornuft og hensyn til de ældre dager fremstille.” Anonymous author, *Kjøbenhavns Aftenpost*, unnumbered.

²¹⁷ Lund, *Selskabet for Borgerdyd*, 1.

²¹⁸ Lund, *Selskabet for Borgerdyd*, 74.

prince of Denmark-Norway, Fredrick, and a former professor at Copenhagen University.²¹⁹ Rothe suggested that the society should work to encourage patriotic feelings [borgerdyd] among the Danish-Norwegian population rather than focus on frugality alone. In addition, Rothe thought that the society would better serve the welfare of the state and people by directing their activities towards the population at large instead of focusing on the behaviour of its members.²²⁰

The first regulations of the society were passed in May 1785 and they reflected Rothe's opinions. The society agreed to work mostly on developing patriotic feelings among the Danish-Norwegian population. But these regulations were only preliminary. The society's intentions were much debated among the members throughout the summer of 1785.²²¹ In August, new regulations were issued and these reflected the original intentions of the society. The society would now promote a frugal lifestyle by establishing consumer rules that the members should follow: All the members had to subscribe to at least one of the twenty-five consumer rules in order to continue being a member. The members also decided that they would exclude all people who participated in dramatic societies.²²² These new regulations led to much dissatisfaction. Twelve members left the society in protest at the end of August and early in September, including Tyge Rothe. After the consumer rules were passed at a society meeting on the 14th of September, many more members resigned. A total of 133 members left the society before April 1786.²²³

However, at the same time, the society attracted eighty-eight more members drawn from a similar background to that of the previous members. In addition to imposing the frugality rules, the society established a school named *Borgerdydsskolen* [The Civic Virtue School] in 1787. They also published

²¹⁹ "Tyge Rothe", *Dansk biografisk leksikon*, (København: Gyldendal, 2009), available at [http://www.denstoredanske.dk/Samfund, jura og politik/%C3%98konomi/%C3%98konomi, biografier/Tyge_Rothe](http://www.denstoredanske.dk/Samfund,_jura_og_politik/%C3%98konomi/%C3%98konomi,_biografier/Tyge_Rothe) (retrieved 12 July 2015).

²²⁰ Lund, *Selskabet for Borgerdyd*, 30-40.

²²¹ Lund, *Selskabet for Borgerdyd*, 49-50.

²²² Lund, *Selskabet for Borgerdyd*, 50-63.

²²³ Lund, *Selskabet for Borgerdyd*, appendix 1. The protesters established another patriotic society, *Selskabet for Efterslegten*, which explicitly distanced themselves from the *Society of Civic Virtue*. Engelhardt, *Borgerskab og Fællesskab*, 398-405.

pamphlets for the lower ranks, which contained advice concerning topics such as agriculture, marital relationships, the raising and education of children, and tobacco smoking.²²⁴

From 1789, the members gradually stopped attending the meetings. This occurred despite several requests to attend that were published in local newspapers during 1789 and 1790. After 1790, there is no evidence of any activity in the society.²²⁵ Why the society dissolved has not been studied in detail, but the scholar Holger Lund suggests that new quarrels among the members might have led to its closure. By studying private letters from some of the members, he shows how, as of 1789, conflicts about the management of the school increasingly occurred in the society.²²⁶ The school, however, survived and still exists today as a high school outside Copenhagen.²²⁷

Members and organisational structure.

In the period 1785-1789, 497 people joined the society, almost all of them from Copenhagen. There were no female members or people from the lower classes, such as peasants or fishermen. One member of the gentry is registered. One of the largest occupational groups was the merchants (ninety-five persons). The wealthy merchants Niels Ryberg and Niels Brock were among them, but the rest were mainly small traders, such as wine, clothing, herbs, and linen traders. The artisans and producers were also a large group (seventy persons). They also had mainly small workshops, being bread makers, wax candle makers, brewers or linen weavers.²²⁸ The persons working in the central or local administration or at the court were also numerous (ninety-nine persons). Except for the “hofmarskal” Johan Bülow and the court doctor, Johan Clemens Tode, the rest of these members were mainly copyists and office workers. There were also students, (forty-one persons) military workers (thirty-three persons), church employees (twenty-two

²²⁴Munck, “Literacy, Educational Reform and the Use of Print in Eighteenth-Century Denmark”, *European History Quarterly*, no 25, (2004): 275.

²²⁵ Lund, *Selskabet for Borgerdyd*, 125.

²²⁶ Lund, *Selskabet for Borgerdyd*, 125-135.

²²⁷ Engelhardt, *Borgerskab og Fællesskab*, 398.

²²⁸ Producers within and outside guilds were represented in the society. Several factory workers (and owners) were members too. See the member list printed in Lund, *Selskabet for Borgerdyd*, 125.

persons), doctors (sixteen persons), lawyers (sixteen persons), and researchers (twenty-one persons).²²⁹ Forty-two persons did not state their occupation.²³⁰

People probably joined the society due to business or career interests besides the patriotic reasons I will later turn to. The member list shows that the meetings were an excellent place for creating networks and friendships between people working in the same business or in similar occupations. For example, there were many civil servants in Copenhagen employed in trade with commodities from the Danish colonies.²³¹ In addition, many members were merchants, trading in wine (plus a “tapster”), tea and porcelain, clothes, spices, and running taverns.²³² As the chapter relates further on, the protectionist policy of the society suited many that joined too, since this would support their own industries.

The organisational structure of *The Society for Civic Virtue* was democratic, as in other patriotic societies. All members were encouraged to participate at meetings, an elected president took care of administrative tasks, and decisions of the society were taken by ballot in “ordinary” meetings. The society had no rules regarding the frequency of “ordinary meetings”: they were always announced in the newspapers beforehand. The informal gatherings were often. The regulations stated that gatherings would take place three times a week, from 5pm to 8pm. At these meetings, members were to discuss possible activities and to socialise.²³³

3.2. The Meaning of Frugality in the Society for Civic Virtue

What were the consumer regulations that the members were encouraged to follow?

The first three rules were a criticism of current dinner and supper parties of the upper middle classes. Dining habits in Copenhagen were changing due to fashion impulses from Britain and France and the new exotic food products becoming available. For a supper party, tea and cake would be served when the guests arrived at around 9pm. Afterwards, marmalades would be served to the ladies and

²²⁹ In addition, there were one teacher and a small group working within aesthetic occupations (painters, architects, etc.). Engelhardt, *Borgerskab og Fællesskab*, 398.

²³⁰ Lund, *Selskabet for Borgerdyd*, 125-135; Engelhardt, *Borgerskab og Fællesskab*, 398. 42 persons did not write down their occupation on the member list.

²³¹ Lund, *Selskabet for Borgerdyd*, 125-135.

²³² Lund, *Selskabet for Borgerdyd*, 125-135.

²³³ Engelhardt, *Borgerskab og Fællesskab*, 114.

the men would be offered rum or cognac together with meat, fish or cheese. This part of the evening was often combined with card games, piano playing, reading, singing or just conversation.²³⁴

At eleven o'clock the supper would be served. All the dishes would be put on the table at once. However, there were strict rules regarding what should be eaten first, as the scholar Ole Hyldtoft describes:

First, the guests enjoyed of warm fowl pate with sauce. Then they would eat sweetbread fricassee of veal with oysters. The next dish would be veal chops with cauliflower and then chicken with mushroom sauce, followed by fish (preferably pike, carp or bream), which would again be followed by roast (rabbit, turkey, venison etc.). After that it was finally time for dessert, which was usually a selection of cakes and tarts followed by jellies and blancmange. Red wine or the more fashionable champagne was served with the main dish and often (in the middle classes) a hot punch with the dessert.²³⁵

The supper parties were time consuming and entailed high expenses for the families hosting them. Nevertheless, they were popular since they helped build social networks between families and it was a way for the hosts and guests to show their wealth and good taste through behaviour and appearance.²³⁶

That sort of meal was not popular with *The Society for Civic Virtue*. The subscribers of the first rule promised “to never eat more than three dishes of warm food at dinner, soup included, and no warm meal in the evening.”²³⁷ This rule was among the most popular: 128 members subscribed to it.²³⁸ With the second

²³⁴ Ole Hyldtoft, *Mad, drikke og tobak 1800-35: forbrugsmønstre, kultur og diskurser*. (København: Museum Tusulanums forlag, 2012), 237-241.

²³⁵ [my translation] “Først nød gjestene en varm fuglepostei med sauce. Derefter kom en frikasse af kalvebrissel med østers. Så kom turen til kalvekoteletter med blomkål. Derpå spiste gæsterne kyllinger med champignonsauce og senere fisk der kunne være karper, gjedder, brasen eller andre sorter fisk. Nu var man nået til stegen, der kunne være hare, kalkun-, dyre eller andre slags steger. Derpå fulgte desserten, der bestod av to tærter eller kager efter behag, efterfulgt av geleer eller blanc manager. Til de egentlige retter fikk man normalt rødvin, men finere var det at få champagne. I det mindste i middelstanden blev der serveret varm punch til kagen” Hyldtoft, *Mad, drikke og tobak 1800-35*, 238-239.

²³⁶ Hyldtoft, Ole, *Mad, drikke og tobak 1800-35*, 237-241.

²³⁷ [my translation] ej at have flere end tre retter varm Mad [...] om Middagen, og slet ingen varm Mad om Aftenen” *The Society for Civic Virtue, De første fem og tyve vedtægter som ere antagne af Selskabet for Borgerdyd. Den XIV September 1785* (København: 1785), 53.

²³⁸ Lund, *Selskabet for Borgerdyd*, 74-85.

consumption rule, the signatories promised to never “have dinners where more than four, maximum five, dishes are served, soup and cake included. In the evening there should be no more than two dishes and not more than four plates with jam and baked confectionery.”²³⁹ This rule was also quite popular, with 103 subscriptions.²⁴⁰

The next rules instructed members on clothes and the use of accessories. These regulations were a response to the British fashion trends that came to Copenhagen in the 1780s. The lower gentry in Britain originally created it to express modesty and simplicity, which at the time was a reaction to the luxurious and adorned clothes in courts and salons. The fashion included a replacement of silk with other simpler fabrics such as wool and felt. The adorned and colourful clothes were also replaced with monochrome clothes, notably black.²⁴¹ Furthermore, it was common for men to wear belt buckles, pocket watches (some carried several) and shoe buckles.²⁴² Most accessories had a practical function, but were often worn for aesthetic reasons or to show wealth.

The members seemed to like the simpler British fashion that had arrived in Copenhagen, but they disliked the accessories that gave/were signs of something other than functionality and simplicity. In addition, they disliked the ones that were produced abroad. Fifty-three people committed to not wear “any other clothes than black for fine occasions. [But] we reserve the right to [wear] a white silk waistcoat.”²⁴³ Fifteen members decided to “keep to one colour for our everyday clothes. We can, however, choose which colour we like.”²⁴⁴ Twenty-

²³⁹ [my translation] “[ved] Middagsmaaltid at give flere end fire eller i det højeste fem retter Mad, Suppe og Kage inbefattet og om Aftenen ej flere end to Retter; saa og til Dessert i det højeste fire Tallerekner med Syltetøj og bagte Konfiterer” The Society for Civic Virtue, *De første fem og tyve vedtægter*, 54.

²⁴⁰ Lund, *Selskabet for Borgerdyd*, 74-85.

²⁴¹ Andersen, Ellen, *Moden i 1700-årene*. (København: Nationalmuseet, 1977), 95-99, 133-156.

²⁴² Cancelliraad Hiorthøy always carried with him two pocket watches, for example. Lund, *Selskabet for Borgerdyd*, 77.

²⁴³ [my translation] “ej at anskaffe os til Hæders Brug andre end sorte Klæder, dog forbeholdes vi os i særdeles Tilfælde at kunne vælge [...] hvid Silkevest” The Society for Civic Virtue, *De første fem og tyve vedtægter*, 55.

²⁴⁴ [my translation] “at vælge og uforanderligen beholde en vis Farve til vore daglige klædes klæder; dog forbeholde vi os enhver især at vælge sin.” The Society for Civic Virtue, *De første fem og tyve vedtægter*, 54

three promised to renounce silk stockings and thirty-seven to only buy Danish wool products. Furthermore, 170 persons promised not to wear more than two watches and 153 members promised to use simple watch chains instead of decorated ones.²⁴⁵

The next rules were about housing equipment, interior decoration, and household goods. Windows, stoves, paintings, wallpapers, different types of furniture, kitchen equipment and other household items became common in many households in Denmark-Norway from the eighteenth century onwards. Many of these new consumer goods were imported, but a growing number of Danish ones became widely accessible as well.²⁴⁶ The members' rules regarding housing and the interior restricted the use of *foreign* commodities, such as wooden products (eighty-two subscriptions), faience and porcelain (sixty-six subscriptions), kitchen equipment (seventy-four subscriptions), and the use of foreign glass, or brass moulding (seventy-one subscriptions).²⁴⁷

The last part of the rules regarded different types of leisure activities common to the middle classes. Twenty-four members decided not to go to the public park *Dyrehaven* "only for enjoyment".²⁴⁸ The avoidance of another leisure activity, to carriage drive around Copenhagen for fun, was one of the more popular, with 104 subscriptions. Fifty-six members promised to stay away from the "unhealthy" dance *Kehraus* and the English dances with more than 10-14 couples.²⁴⁹ Thirty-six

²⁴⁵ The Society for Civic Virtue, *De første fem og tyve vedtægter*; Lund, *Selskabet for Borgerdyd*, 76-77

²⁴⁶ Tjøtta, "Kapteinens storstue." See Chapter 1.

²⁴⁷ Lund, *Selskabet for Borgerdyd*, 74.

²⁴⁸ [my translation] "ej for Lyst" *Dyrehaven* was a large garden that opened in 1756, the garden became open for everyone and it was a popular place for "recreation" and leisure time in Copenhagen. It consisted of a large forest and green area where the visitors could watch deer, go riding and "relax".

²⁴⁹ *Kehraus*, common in Germany, Denmark and Norway, was the last dance of the evening and illustrated that the guests were "thrown out" of the house. The dance went through all the rooms of the house, outside into the street and then back into the house again. Sometimes, the dance ended in a circle, where the participants tried to make the circle smaller and smaller until "ladies and gentleman were rolling around in one big heap". The dance occurred in all social groups, but was most common in the upper- and middle classes. English dances were the most common at weddings and feasts, and consisted of couples dancing. They were long-lasting dances and took a long time to learn since they were complicated. Torp, Lisbeth, "Kerhaus" *Gyldendal Den store danske*, available at

of the members promised to avoid the Shrove-tides of *Amager*²⁵⁰ and 152 persons promised to stop gambling high amounts of money in card games.

To sum up, the rules show that attitudes varied according to how the objects were used or where they had been produced: they were characterised as bad luxury commodities when used excessively or if imported.

All rules had subscribers of varied social backgrounds. For example, the brewer D.C.E Wulff, copyist Jacob Hegelund, master tailor Andreas Brendstrup, the Eastern and Guinean trade assistant Niels Ellegaard, the wine tapster Paul Lorentzen and the naval officer Andreas Stibolt protested towards large evening meals.²⁵¹ Persons against multi-coloured clothes were, among others, the accountant Döllner, the court painter and sculpture maker Jens Karlebye, the jeweller Lars Olsen Lund and the professor Abraham Kall. The subscribers against card games were also a varied group, such as the copyist Ebbe Sletting, the war department secretary²⁵² Georg Westerberg, the engraver²⁵³ Gran, the office worker by Royal Brewery House²⁵⁴ Niels Brink, and the herb trader Johan Casse.²⁵⁵

How popular were the rules? In total there were 454 members who had signed up to them, and the total signatures amounted to 1,862. This means that an average

http://www.denstoredanske.dk/Kunst_og_kultur/Dans/Folkedans/kehraus) (retrieved April 5, 2015,

²⁵⁰ Amager was an island just outside Copenhagen, where *fastelaven* (carnival) had been celebrated since the 1500s, mainly by farmers. It consisted of wild games, much alcohol drinking and *karneval*. One of the most important games was *Hit-the-cats-out-of-the-barrel-game*. The barrel was put on a horse and the participants would try to throw a spear at the lock of the barrel, so it would open and the cats would fall out. Another game was that men pulled the head of a goose or a hen. Lone Palm Karlsen, "Fastelavn på Amager" *Glemmer du* (Tårnby: Tårnby Kommunes lokalhistoriske tidsskrift, 2013), 2-13.

²⁵¹ Also other subscriptions were popular among persons of varied background. For example, among the the subscribers of rule nb 2 were the "jewler" Lars Olsen Lund, "court baker" Christian Henriksen, the "kleskræmmer" [cloth trader] Peder Gleerup, justisråd og første depertemantssekretær ved søetaten Erich Christian Dan, the "kiøbmand" Johan Christian Orlamundt, herb trader Johan Casse. The Society for Civic Virtue, "Vedtægter" (1785) Available at The Royal Library in Copenhagen.

²⁵² [my translation] "Krigskancellisekretær"

²⁵³ [my translation] "obergraver"

²⁵⁴ [my translation] Fuldmægtig ved det Kongelige Bryghus

²⁵⁵ The Society for Civic Virtue, "Vedtægter"

member would subscribe to four or five rules.²⁵⁶ The most popular one seemed to be the easiest to follow, namely, to carry only one watch. Similarly, the most unpopular one was the avoidance of foreign dessert wines, which shows a strong predilection for wine compared to alternative products, such as “ribsvin” (red currant wine), beer or spirits.

Did the members abide by the rules? I have not been able to find any diaries, letters or autobiographies that shed some light on their economic behaviour. However, more general studies indicate that several citizens decided to follow a simpler lifestyle out of patriotism. The scholar Tine Damsholdt describes how dominant “patriotic” dressing, expressing simplicity and industriousness, was in fashion in Copenhagen towards the end of the eighteenth century.²⁵⁷ Furthermore, in 1810 Wincent Sebbelow noticed that previously women had dressed in clothes from England, but they changed to home-made clothes out of patriotism, which “did not decrease their beauty” in Sebbelow’s eyes.²⁵⁸

²⁵⁶ However, it varied greatly how many each of them subscribed to. The member Karlebye, for example, subscribed to twenty-three, while Schwartz subscribed to only two. Lund, *Selskabet for borgerdyd*, 83.

²⁵⁷ Damsholdt *Fædrelandskærlighed og borgerdyd*, 136-144.

²⁵⁸ Glenthøj, “Fælles kultur – forskellige nationaliteter,” 88.

The Twenty-Five Principles

Meals

1. We, the signatories, hereby commit to never eating more than three dishes of warm food at dinner, soup included, and no warm meal in the evening [...] Exceptions are sauce, salad, cheese, butter and fruit. *128 subscriptions.*
2. We, the signatories, hereby commit to never having any extravagant dinners where more than four, maximum five, dishes are served, soup and cake included. In the evening there should be no more than two dishes and no more than four plates with jam and baked confectionery for dessert. *103 subscriptions*
3. We, the signatories, hereby commit to never serving or enjoying foreign dessert wines or liqueurs except on travels or when [we are] sick. *36 subscriptions.*

Clothes, watches, accessories

4. We, the signatories, hereby commit to wearing domestically produced wool and homemade clothes and consider this a true honour. *37 subscriptions.*
5. We, the signatories, hereby commit to not getting any other clothes than black for fine occasions. In some cases we reserve the right to choose silk lining or a white silk waistcoat. *53 subscriptions.*
6. We, the signatories, hereby commit to choosing and keeping to one colour for our everyday clothes. We can, however, choose which colour we like. *15 subscriptions*
7. We, the signatories, hereby commit to not wearing silk stockings on an everyday basis. *23 subscriptions*
8. We, the signatories, hereby commit to not getting watch chains and “Berlocquer” except simple watch chains and “signet”. *153 subscriptions*
9. We, the signatories, hereby commit to not carrying more than two watches. *90 subscriptions*
10. We, the signatories, hereby commit to not purchasing any foreign watches, tins, etuis, water bottles, buckles, buttons, rapiers or other [goods] of gold, silver or other metals. *99 subscribers*

**Kitchen
equipment,
interior and
housing.**

11. We, the signatories, hereby commit to not acquiring any foreign coaches, “chaise, diable,” foreign harnesses, saddles, “chabraque” or other of such [equipment] for horses. *99 subscribers*

12. We, the signatories, hereby commit to not acquiring any wooden products to use for ourselves, our wives or children, which is produced outside the country. *82 subscribers*

13. We, the signatories, hereby commit to not purchasing any kind of foreign porcelain, “faience” or glass products as long as it is possible to purchase domestically produced commodities. *66 subscribers.*

14. We, the signatories, hereby commit to not purchasing any kind of foreign kitchen equipment, except the Finnish “lappekar”, as long as it is possible to buy domestically produced equipment. *74 subscribers.*

15. We, the signatories, hereby commit to not using any [...] foreign blacksmiths or brass moulders. *71 subscribers.*

16. We, the signatories, hereby commit to not covering our walls with any other items than paper, oil cloth or painted canvas. *90 subscribers.*

17. We, the signatories, hereby commit to not having any special hall or room for fine occasions only, but will instead welcome our friends in the everyday rooms. *34 subscribers.*

**Social
gatherings**

18. We, the signatories, hereby commit to not having any wedding ceremony for our families and for our servants in other places than the church and [the ceremony will be] at dinnertime. *35 subscribers.*

19. We, the signatories, hereby commit to not appearing dressed up in extravagant clothes for church services, baptisms, after baptism or to follow to the maternity lounge [Barselsstuen] but instead we will send a useful gift. *52 subscribers.*

20. We, the signatories, hereby commit to not attending any feasts or balls on summer- and winter days except weddings. We also promise not to participate in the wild Shrovetides at *Amager*. *36 subscribers.*

21. We, the signatories, hereby commit to not attending any balls, which last longer than 12 pm and to not attending parties where warm food, ice cream or other cold refreshments are served. We also promise not to attend any English dances where more than ten to fourteen couples are dancing. We also promise not to participate in the so-called *Kehraus* or in other unhealthy dances. *56 subscribers.*

22. We, the signatories, hereby commit to not participating in any kind of game inside or outside our house, neither in secret nor in public. Therefore, we promise not to play *L'hombre*, *Quadrille* and *Cinquille* where the bets are

higher than one *skilling* [...], in *Piquet* the bets will not be higher than four *skilling* [...]. In *Whist*, the bets will not be higher than eight *skilling*. [...] In *Triset*, the bets will not be higher than eight *skilling* and in *Tarot* one *skilling*[...] In *Toccatagli* the bets will not be higher than four *skilling* [...], in *Billard* [...], the bets will not be higher than two *skilling* per ball. All other games will [also] have similar rules. *152 subscribers*.

23. We, the signatories, hereby commit to not driving to the *Dyrehaven* only for enjoyment. *24 subscribers*.

24. We, the signatories, hereby commit to not driving around in the streets of the city only for enjoyment. *104 subscribers*.

Toys

25. We, the signatories, hereby commit to not buying any Nürnbergger dolls. *79 subscribers*.

3.3. Why were these attitudes present in The Society for Civic Virtue?

The sumptuary law from 1783

The members followed closely the state's sumptuary law from 1783 when they drew up the consumer rules in the society. Sumptuary laws sought to regulate the way inhabitants dressed, their eating and drinking habits, as well as other kinds of personal consumption and social activities. Such regulations can be traced back to Greek and Roman communities. They became common in other European states in the late medieval and early modern period. In Denmark and Norway the first sumptuary legislation came into force in 1253 and more followed regularly until 1799.²⁵⁹

What were the purposes of the 1783 law? Firstly, the law stated that the "King" was afraid that luxury consumption would make families "weak".²⁶⁰ The idea that luxury consumption made citizens weak has a long history: Greek and Roman philosophers already introduced the idea in antiquity. According to them, a man who was addicted to luxury was "somebody who is so soft that he cannot endure

²⁵⁹ Leon Jespersen, "At være, at ville og at have. Træk af luksuslovgivningen i Danmark i 15-1600-tallet," *Temp* 1 (2010): 32; Engelhardt, *Borgerskab og Fellesskab*, 132-133.

²⁶⁰ [my translation] "svækkede" Schou, Jacob Henric, *Chronologisk Register over de Kongelige Forordninger og aabne Breve samt andre trykte Anordninger som fra aar 1670 af ere udkomne : tilligemed et nøiagtigt Udtog af de endnu giældende, for saavidt samme i Almindelighed angaae Undersaatterne i Danmark og Norge : forsynet med et alphabetisk Register* (Kjøbenhavn: Breum, 1795) volume 8, 378-380.

pain nor resist temptations of pleasure.” Such weak characters would in turn lead to the destruction of society, since weak citizens lose the ability to defend themselves against internal or external danger. The later Christian churches adopted the negative view of luxury and regarded it as one of the cardinal sins. The Roman-Christian tradition further influenced the sumptuary laws all over Europe.²⁶¹

Secondly, the 1783 law was supposed to improve the national balance of trade. It stated that;

There is in [the King’s] countries an excessive consumption of foreign goods. It is far beyond what is necessary. [It] gives the foreign countries a fortune and it deprives our country of precious goods that should be sold to others.²⁶²

Similar arguments are found in sumptuary laws in most European countries from 1600 onwards, due to cameralistic/mercantilistic influences on economic policy.²⁶³ An important goal for cameralists and mercantilists was to accumulate a trade surplus in gold and silver at the national level by expanding exports and limiting imports.²⁶⁴ Therefore, the use of foreign commodities had to be avoided and citizens had to live as simply as possible so more domestic goods could be exported.²⁶⁵

There were two important differences between previous Danish-Norwegian sumptuary laws and the one introduced in 1783. Previously, citizens were punished if they did not adhere to them. In Denmark and Norway fines were common. For example, if more than thirty-two people showed up for a peasant

²⁶¹ Berry, *The idea of Luxury*, 86-90.

²⁶²[my translation] “det er I Hans lande en Overdaadighed som ved at forbruge fremmede sager fremmede sager, endog langt over det nødvendige, udbringer til fremmede Landets formue, og ved at forøde Landets egne varer, berøver os en vigtig del, af hvad til Fremmede skal sælges.” Schou, *Chronologisk Register*, vol 8, 378-380.

²⁶³ Cameralism and mercantilism were specific ways of dealing with economic problems developed by advisors for various kings and princes in the early modern period.

²⁶⁴ Wagner, Richard E. *The Cameralists: Fertile Sources for a New Science of Public Finance*, available at <http://mason.gmu.edu/~rwagner/cameralist.pdf> (retrieved 26/09-2012); Buchner, *The Idea of Work*, 193-196.

²⁶⁵ During the Napoleonic Wars, it was only the protectionist notions in the sumptuary laws.

wedding, the bride and groom would have to pay 2 *riksdaler* per extra person.²⁶⁶ In other countries, laws were sometimes stricter. For example, persons could get death penalties for breaking some sumptuary laws in France in the early eighteenth century.²⁶⁷

No one would get punished for breaking the 1783 sumptuary law, it was only a “moral guidance”. The law states that:

The King has trust in his subjects, he believes that they know their own good, and will be happy with the simplicity demanded by the law, thus ensuring it is respected. Therefore, he will not ensure its enforcement by police or other means of force.²⁶⁸

Probably practical difficulties were the reason for this, although the law stated that the king had trust in his subjects. The sumptuary laws had caused problems for the authorities over a period of time. *Kommercekollegiet* (The Board of Trade) in Copenhagen received many complaints from persons all over Denmark and Norway who found it difficult to follow them.²⁶⁹ Considering the many problems the laws created, it was easier for the ministry to just issue a “moral guidance” instead of a statutory law.

The second difference between the 1783 law and the former ones regarded the preservation of a social hierarchy. In early modern society, appearance had to correspond with the estate or the class the person belonged to, which the previous sumptuary laws sought to preserve.²⁷⁰ The 1783 regulation, on the other hand, allowed *all* citizens the same economic behaviour. Mads Bertelsen suggests that “a

²⁶⁶ These fines were mentioned in a sumptuary law that was issued for farmers later that same year. See Mordt, ”Gjestebed og silkeklær,” 4-6. For fines mentioned in earlier sumptuary laws, see for example Schou, *Chronologisk Register*, vol 3, 266.

²⁶⁷ Alan Hunt, *Governance of the Consuming Passions*, 369.

²⁶⁸ [my translacion] ”Aarligen i alle Kjøbstæder i de kg. Riger og Lande oplæses af alle Præderikerstole Men siden Kongen har Tilid til sine undersaaater at de skjønnende deres eget Gavn, skal selv glæde sig ved denne Tarvelighedforskrifte og vaage derover, sa vil han ikke ved Politi eller andre tvangsmidler nu for første se dets inværsættelse befordret.” Schou, *Chronologisk Register*, vol 8, 370.

²⁶⁹ Mads Bertelsen, *Fornuftens parykk. En mentalitetshistoris undersøgelse af 1700-tals Klædemåder*. (Master thesis in history, Copehagen University, 2000), 15-16.

²⁷⁰ Notions of class were present in most European sumptuary laws from medieval time. For example, in 1530 the *Augsburg Diät* drew up detailed dressing regulations “to ensure that each class should be clearly told apart.” Hunt, *Governance of the Consuming Passions*, 121.

new public sphere” had developed, where rank and social position were of less importance. All citizens should live simply since they shared the same responsibility for the welfare of the state.²⁷¹ Bertelsen’s interpretation seems to overstep the mark, given that the state enacted a new sumptuary law just a few months later, directed at Danish and Norwegian peasants only (punishing them with fines if they did not adhere to it). Thus, the government still wanted the hierarchy of society to express itself through appearance.

I suggest that contemporary ideas about individuals’ emulative behaviour might have caused lawmakers to promote frugality. The law stated that “Families” were weak and poor since they “followed the example of the rich.”²⁷² Many civil servants were frustrated at the fact that lower classes tried to copy the economic behaviour of the higher ones, including the civil servants that drew up the sumptuary law.²⁷³ This idea might have influenced the law commission and induced them to promote a frugal lifestyle to all inhabitants. Further, it might simply have been easier for the government to enact the law since it was only a “moral guidance”. They proposed a frugal lifestyle, but did not need to punish citizens that did not comply.

The members’ adherence to the sumptuary law

A comparison with the *Twenty-Five Principles* and the sumptuary law show that eleven of the principles were almost identical to the law. For example, Article 5 of the 1783 sumptuary law obliged the inhabitants to serve no more than eight dishes for dinner and no more than four dishes for dessert. The members could only serve a maximum of five if they subscribed to consumption rule number two. Both rules mentioned foreign horse equipment, wallpaper, porcelain, silver, gold and other metals.²⁷⁴

Why did the members adhere to the laws? Firstly, the members adjusted the rules

²⁷¹ Bertelsen, *Fornuftens parykk*, 10-19.

²⁷² [my translation] “nødes til å følge de riges Exempler” Schou, *Chronologisk Register*, vol 8, 363

²⁷³ The Minister of Trade, Martfelt, and ”de facto prime minister” Ove Høegh-Guldberg took the initiative on the law.

²⁷⁴ Schou, Jacob, *Chronologisk Register*, vol 8, 378-380; The Society for Civic Virtue, *The Twenty-Five Principles*.

to the sumptuary laws because they *needed royal support*. During the autumn of 1785, the president of the society, the naval officer Andreas Stibolt,²⁷⁵ sent several letters to the Lord Chamberlain (“hofmarskal”) Bülow.²⁷⁶ Bülow was working closely with Crown Prince Fredrik, and Stibolt hoped the letters would reach the crown prince through him. In the first letter, he described the intention of the society and its consumption rules. He applied for a royal title for the society, and asked if the crown prince would honour them with his presence at the meeting in September when the rules were to be signed. He further wrote:

The establishment and the activity of the society is a consequence of the knowledge that our Royal Highness finds pleasure in it and supports it.²⁷⁷

In other words, the society had made sure that its activities were in accordance with the state’s intentions. The frugal intentions of the state were expressed in the laws. Thus, the letter shows that the sumptuary laws were much in force when the law commission decided what frugal lifestyle to promote.

Why did the society need royal support? Stibolt explained this in another letter to Bülow. It was written after no support had been forthcoming from the crown prince. He did not attend the meeting, he did not respond to the letter, nor to another one sent in November. As a result, the third letter, sent in December 1785, was of a slightly more desperate character:

There are many proofs of the society’s good and right intentions, virtuous thoughts and actions, but progress is slow for us because we have many enemies. We do not ask for money, no, but for your powerful Hand, I mean, we solicit our beloved Prince’s blessing

²⁷⁵ In 1785, the year the Society was founded, he was working as “equipage master” at a military facility in Copenhagen. Moreover, he was a well-known writer on economic issues in Copenhagen. See “Andreas Stibolt” Hans Christian Bjerg, *Dansk biografisk leksikon*, available at http://www.denstoredanske.dk/Dansk_Biografisk_Leksikon/Forsvar_og_politi/Søofficer/Andreas_Henrik_Stibolt, (retrieved 20 of August, 2011)

²⁷⁶ A “hofmarskal” is the chief of the royal court.

²⁷⁷ [my translation] Selskabets bliv er en umiddelbar aarsag og følge af den tanke, vi have givet os med saa megen vished, at hans Kgl. Høyhet allernaadigst finder velbehag I denne handling og understøtter den. Stibolt, Andreas, “Letter to Bülow 10/12-1785,” in *Bulow’s manuskriptsamling*, nr 181b, quoted in Lund, *Selskabet for borgerdyd*, 93.

and approval. One wave from Your Highness' hand and everyone follows.²⁷⁸

Stibolt points out in the letter that the society needs support because of its many “enemies.” This was not an overstatement. The society received criticism throughout the whole period of its existence. As previously mentioned, the prominent author, Tyge Rothe, was an early member of the society and gave a speech in May 1785. He then tried to convince the members to focus more generally on developing “*civic virtue*” instead of focusing on the promotion of frugal living only. When he failed, he left the society during the summer months, along with several other members.²⁷⁹ In addition, the journal *Minerva* had heard rumours about the rules of the society and printed critical comments about them during the summer and autumn months.²⁸⁰ Thus, the society was losing members due to their powerful enemies, and felt the need for a strong support from the crown prince.

The crown prince never replied to the letters, nor did he give the society protection or attend a meeting. Why is not clear, but it seems to be connected with internal changes in the state administration. The main promoter of the 1783 law was the “in facto pro” Prime Minister Ove Høegh-Guldberg who was no longer in power when the society was established two years later. He had been ousted that same year due to a *coup-d’etat* by the crown prince and his followers.²⁸¹ The new government did not change the sumptuary laws. Nevertheless, they were not

²⁷⁸ Lund, *Selskabet for borgerdyd*, 94. [my translation] ”Slike prøver paa selskabets paa selskabets gode og retskafne vilje og dydige Tænke og Handlemaade vil ikke Mangle; men det maa gaa langsomt for os, som ere faa og have fiender, [we ask] ikke Pængehjælp nu- nej, den mægtige Hand jeg mener, eralene vores elskede dyre Prins, hans bifald, saaledes at og alle vidsket at Landets Haab ynder dem, som stoltelig gaa frem til landets Bedste. Et vink fra han, saa følge alle. “Letter to Bülow 16/12-1785.” *Bulow’s manuskriptsamling*, nr 181b, quoted in Lund, *Selskabet for borgerdyd*, 94.

²⁷⁹ See the part “The protests to the consumer rules” in this chapter for more information.

²⁸⁰ On the 1st of August, the journal, *Minerva*, attacked the society because they had heard rumours that the society would not include any persons from clubs and dramatic societies. In a new article later in August, *Minerva* criticised the consumer rules they had heard rumours of. In *Minerva’s* opinion, they were “strange”, “funny” and would harm domestic industries. Again, they criticised the society for excluding members of dramatic societies, which in *Minerva’s* opinion was a honourable activity. New critical comments about the exclusions of people from dramatic societies were also published in the September and October issues. Rahbek, *Minerva, et Maanedsskrift* (August, September and October, 1785) Quoted in Lund, *Selskabet for Borgerdyd*, 69, 86-90.

²⁸¹ Feldbæk, *Den Lange Fred*, 231-233.

willing to support a voluntary association promoting them. It is not clear why but the amount of criticism the society received was probably a contributing factor: criticism of the society might lead to criticism of the state, which in turn could weaken the newly established political power.

Secondly, the members' adopted the sumptuary laws because *they agreed with the policy* of the government. This is mainly demonstrated through the *ways* the patriots described the sumptuary legislation.²⁸² In his introductory speech at a society meeting in mid-April 1785 Andreas Stibolt referred to these laws by first describing the “dangerous” increase of luxury consumption in the “state.” He then said to the members:

There are no laws that force us to live in excess, but on the contrary ones that request frugality, modesty and restriction. Do we really want the King, the Father of the Country, to decide what everyone should eat, drink and wear? The King has both the power and the right to do so. But he has not yet done so because he is a gentle father. We, on the other hand, we have shown ourselves to be acting against our own sense, advice and our own good, we are like spoiled children. And do not mention the rules of fashion, habit and taste! Away with all the excuses and then you will see the truth!²⁸³

Here Stibolt referred to the moral guidance in the law enacted by the state two years previously, describing the king as a gentle king, who had the power to but did not force his citizens to eat and dress decorously. The above quote further

²⁸² The members' loyalty to the sumptuary laws was even more explicit in the rules of the society: “Everything what the king has commanded and for the future want to restrict on excessive and voluptuous behaviour should be among the most important ground rules of the society. If the member does not follow, he will be expelled from the society.” [my translation] Alt hvad kongen har befalet og for Fremtiden maatte behage at befale, Overdaadigheds og Yppogheds Indskrænking angaaende, skal altsammen henhøre til Selskabets vigtigste Grundlove, saaledes at det Medlem, som, imod al formodning skulde befindes at have overraadt saadan kongelig Befaling, strax efter at være derom bleven overbevist, uden al Advarsel om Forbedrin, uden Ballottering skal udelukkes af Selskabet.” Selskabet for Borgerdyd, *Bestyrelseslove*, 42.

²⁸³ [my translation] ”Vi kiender hveken Love eller Bud, som [tvinger oss til å være yppige] men tvært imod nok, som raader, som befaler Tarvelighed, Maadelighed og Indskrænkelse. Ville vi da, at Kongen, Landets Fader, skal bestemme hvorvidt enhver af os maa gaa i dette: i Mad og Drikke, i Klæder og Linnet, I Huse og Hugseraad? - Kongen kan dette. – Han har baade Magt og Ret dertil. Men fordi han ikke gjør det, ikke har gjort det endnu, - derfor viser han sig som en øm Fader, men vi! – vi vise os, som dem der handle imod Overbevisning, Formaning, eget Bedste – vi vise os som forkiælede Børn” A.H. Stibolt, *Talen hvormed Selskabet for Borgerdyd blev aabnet, den 15. April 1785*, (Kjøbenhavn, 1785), 3.

implies that he thought his audience would agree with the king. He stressed that if people followed their own common sense, they would see the truth.

Similar arguments were presented in other parts of the speech. Stibolt argued that “everyone knew” about the dangerous increase in consumption through “righteous economic writings” and their own experiences. He further said, “we know” that “we are” responsible for these damaging circumstances and that “we could be our own saviors if we wanted to be.”²⁸⁴ Other members, such as the anonymous “*Author From the Countryside*” and Professor Fabritius revealed similar attitudes.²⁸⁵

What attitudes did the members share with the government? There were no long descriptions of luxury consumption weakening the population or other references to philosophers from Antiquity. Instead, it was rather the *cameralist* intentions that the members shared with the government, and these will be the topic of the next section.

Cameralism

Protectionism

As previously mentioned, the sumptuary laws were protectionist. The protectionist ideas were also present in the documents from *The Society for Civic Virtue*. For example, it was written in the *Ground Rules* that all members “should give domestic goods and work the priority in front of the foreign goods and work.”²⁸⁶ Anyone that broke this rule would be “expelled” from the society.²⁸⁷ This rule functioned as an oath. All incoming fellows had to stand in front of the rest of the society with the president. The president read the rule aloud, the member repeated

²⁸⁴ ” Vi –hver enkelt deel af staten – hele staten, ere eenige I dette, maae og være eenige om, at intet er mere nödvendigt end indskrænkelse [...] vi selv allene ere Aarsagen til vore Daarligheder, hvis virkingene vi føle, men og vi selv kunde blive aarsagene til vaar redning om vi ville.” Stibolt, *Talen hvormed Selskabet for Borger-Dyd blev aabnet*, 3.

²⁸⁵ [anonymous author] ”Hædersmand paa Landet,” *Trende Breve fra En Hædersmand paa Landet til sin Ven I Kiöbenhavn I Anledning af Selskabet for Borgerdyd*. (Kiöbenhavn, 1785). J.C. Fabritius, *Hvorii Bestaaer Borgerdyd?* (Kiöbenhavn: 1786).

²⁸⁶ “landets vare og landets arbeide det billige fortrin, de bør have, for fremmede vare og fremmed arbeide.” Selskabet for Borgerdyd, *Grundlove antagne af Selskabet for Borgerdyd, Den XVII August* (Köbenhavn: 1785)

²⁸⁷ Selskabet for Borgerdyd, *Grundlove*, 42

it and afterwards shook hands with the president.²⁸⁸ In other words, it was among the most important rules of the society and thus, a rule difficult to disagree on. Private interests probably boosted the protectionist notions. As previously mentioned, many of the members of the society were Danish candle makers, brewers, herb traders, bakers and textile makers, and they would benefit from such a policy.

Work ethic and time discipline

Another important issue for the *cameralists* was individuals' *industriousness* and *diligence*. Although not expressly mentioned in the laws, it nevertheless played an important part in official social policy: human work was responsible for finding raw materials, turning them into manufactured goods, and selling them. Spending time working instead of indulging in leisure activities was fundamental at all levels of society for progress in general. Consequently, the state maintained schools and workhouses to promote industry and efficiency among citizens.²⁸⁹

The rules were according to the *cameralists*' view on work and time. Most of the activities or goods the members disliked were time consuming and expensive. Participating in the shrovetides of *Amager*, for example, entailed many days of preparing meals, horses and costumes. In addition, the horse equipment, the many dishes and the costumes could be quite costly.²⁹⁰ Similarly, watches might be expensive and time consuming because they seldom worked well, needed much tinkering with and constantly had to be brought back to the shop to be serviced.²⁹¹ Hence, having two of them was necessarily viewed by some patriots as completely ridiculous.

²⁸⁸ Selskabet for Borgerdyd, *Grundlove*, 45-46

²⁸⁹ Hrefna Róbertsdóttir, *Wool and Society. Manufactural Policy, Economic Thought and local production in 18th century Iceland*, (Gothenburg: Makdam publishers 2008), Chapter 4; Ingrid Markussen, *Til Skaberens Ære, Statens Tjeneste og Vor Egen Nytte - pietistiske og kameralistiske idéer bag fremvæksten af en offentlig skole i landdistrikterne i 1700-tallet*, (Odense: Odense Universitetsforlag, 1996), 72.

²⁹⁰ Lone Palm Karlsen, "Fastelavn på Amager," 2-13.

²⁹¹ Vickery, *Behind Closed Doors*, 257-291.

The member Fabritius, a professor in “cameralism” at Kiel University,²⁹² signed several of the rules where he promised to refrain from time consuming and expensive activities.²⁹³ The same year, he gave a speech in *the Society for Civic Virtue*, where he argued that time and money should be spent with care: being hard working and “*modest*” with expenses were among the most important “*civic virtues*.” He further advocated that the members should use their time and money on activities that

...would increase your own and the state’s wealth. [...] Your whole life should be devoted to work in accordance with your power and conditions. Only in the grave may you rest [...] and even [death] will be more pleasant knowing that your activities were useful to your fellow citizens and the state. Everyone should therefore, according to his condition, try to increase his business and augment the welfare of the fatherland. Its inner strength will then grow, and Denmark will surpass most countries in Europe in true happiness, population and wealth.²⁹⁴

For Fabritius, working for the common good would be to invest time and money on activities that would increase one’s own income and that of the state. His speech and career leave little doubt that he signed the rules due to his *cameralist* beliefs.

Could other members, such as the tapsters, copyists, vicars and shoemakers, sign the rules for similar reasons? Several factors point in this direction: Firstly,

²⁹² He joined the society in December 1785 and was a member until the society dissolved in 1789-1790 J. C Fabritius, *Dansk Biografisk leksikon*, http://www.denstoredanske.dk/Dansk_Biografisk_Leksikon/Naturvidenskab_og_teknik/Zoolog/J._C._Fabricius, (retrieved 20th of August-2011).

²⁹³ One person called “Fabricus” subscribed § One, Two, Eight, Ten, Sixteen, Twenty-Two and Twenty-Four. However, since the spelling is not completely correct, this person was probably someone else. Many signatures are unreadable and Fabritius’ signatures were probably among them. As already mentioned, all members had to subscribe to at least one rule in order to continue being a member. Most of them subscribed several, as mentioned above. The Society for Civic Virtue, “Vedtægter.”

²⁹⁴ [my translation] forøge eders Rigdom, og forstørre statens Vel. [...] Eders hele liv være Arbeide og Vikrsomhed, i forhold til eders Omstændigheder og Kræfter. Kun i Graven er Roe uden kiedsommelighed, og endog den vil være behageligere naar i tage Bevidstheden om en Virksomhed med eder, det var eders Medborgere og Staten nyttig. Enhver søge derfor efter sin forfatning at forøge sin drivtighed, og at formere Fædrelandets Velstand. [...] Da vil Dannemarks indvortes styrke atter tiltage, og da vil dannemakr overgaae de leste stater i europe i sand lykke, i folkemængde og rigdom.“ Fabritius, *Hvorii Bestaaer Borgerdyd?* (Kjøbenhavn; Chr. Frid Holm, 1786), 12-15.

anonymous members came with similar arguments in letters to the society.²⁹⁵ Secondly, Fabritius' speech shows that the cameralist principles were talked about at the society meetings and in that sense, the society functioned as a "school" in cameralist ideas for the members, which might have convinced some of them. Thirdly, the work ethic promoted was, as the next section will show, very similar to important principles in the Lutheran state church, which most persons in Denmark-Norway grew up with. The similarities between them might have made it easier for several members to agree with Fabritius and other cameralists in the society.

Pietism

There are some differences between the cameralist policy of the state and the rules that the patriots decided to follow. Firstly, the patriots' rules were stricter. For example, while the sumptuary laws instructed people not to have more than eight dishes for dinner, the society members restricted theirs to five. The members also drew up some extra regulations that were not included in the law: they wanted to restrict the practice of card games, participation in dramatic societies, driving around in Copenhagen "for fun", "unhealthy dances", shrovetides and visits to the public park, *Dyrehaven*.

Such a strict lifestyle had been promoted before. A central element in Danish pietism, a reform movement within Lutheranism, was to avoid dancing, card games, the theatre, other kinds of "worldly amusements", and luxury consumption.²⁹⁶ Pietism developed among German Protestants from 1600 onwards. A central part of pietism was that religious feelings should correspond with the lifestyle of the believer. The German Lutheran pastor and the "father of pietism", Philip Spener, introduced this idea in the 1670s. He wanted "a spiritual renewal from within" and argued that this was far more important than to passively follow a theological system. In *Pia Desidera* (Pious desires), Spener wrote:

²⁹⁵ See for example letters from the anonymous member, "The Author From the Countryside" *Trende breve fra en Hædermand paa Landet til sin ven I Kiøbenhavn I anledning af Selskabet for Borgerdyd* (København: Simmerkiærs forlag, 1785); Unknown, *En anonym piece om selskabet for borgerdyds virksomhed* (København: 1789).

²⁹⁶ Markussen, *Til Skaberens Ære*, 26.

It is not enough that we hear the word of God with our ears. We must let his word penetrate our hearts. [...] The individual must serve God from deep within the temple of his soul.²⁹⁷

The strong feelings described above should be associated with *good deeds*. According to Spener, individual renewal made good works possible. And, conversely, good works were evidence of a spiritual renewal from within. Spener wrote: “Even fate must be verified through action. This is again the highest proof of the power of faith.”²⁹⁸

The emphasis on social activism and religious feeling was nothing new. They were central elements in Luther's writings as well. However, the pietists did not criticise Luther's message. Instead they criticised the Protestant Orthodox Church, which they believed had forgotten Luther's original message. According to the pietists, the Orthodox Church and its followers had experienced a decline in inner spirituality because of their attachment to “worldly pleasures” such as dancing, the stage, opera, popular festivals and excessive consumption. These pleasures had diverted attention from what was important in life: man's spiritual state and salvation.²⁹⁹ Thus, most pietists thought such activities should be avoided at all costs.³⁰⁰

King Christian VI (1699–1746) had a pietist upbringing and tried to spread pietistic ideas to all parts of Denmark and Norway from the time he became king in 1730. He was supported by several civil servants who had been influenced by pietism during their studies at the universities of Halle and Jena. The state had many ways of advancing it, such as compulsory schooling and confirmation, as well as stricter regulations regarding church service attendance. In addition, books of pietistic character were published and distributed to most parishes of Denmark

²⁹⁷ Spener, “Pious Desires”. Ed. Kurt Aland, Berlin 1955, 151 Quoted in Melton, *Absolutism and the Eighteenth-Century. Origins of Compulsory Schooling in Prussia and Austria*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University, 1988), 26.

²⁹⁸ Spener, “Pious Desires” (ed. Kurt Aland, Berlin 1955, p. 151), quoted in Melton, *Absolutism and the Eighteenth-Century*, 26.

²⁹⁹ Spener was in this aspect influenced by his friendship with the ex-Jesuit Labadie. Labadie and Spener met in Geneva in the 1650s and Spener heard his public speeches on the “decline of public morals and condemnation of luxury, dancing, the theatre and display.” Melton, *Absolutism and the Eighteenth-Century*, 24-28.

³⁰⁰ Melton, *Absolutism and the Eighteenth-Century*, 24-28.

and Norway. Furthermore, the state forbade theatre plays in Denmark and Norway from 1738 and this ban remained in force until Christian's death in 1746.³⁰¹ Most of the members of *The Society for Civic Virtue* had grown up when teachers, priests and writings promoted the pietistic message all over Denmark and Norway. Thus, the negative attitudes to the above-mentioned activities probably originated in the religious discourse that had dominated their early years.³⁰²

Historical research has previously documented a connection between pietism, cameralism and patriotism. Ingrid Markussen points to many similarities between pietism and cameralism in her study of compulsory schooling in eighteenth-century Denmark.³⁰³ In addition, Damsholdt emphasises a close connection between pietism from before the 1750s and the later secular concept of patriotism. Although patriotism was a secular and pietism a religious movement, they both had the same characteristics: personal commitment, an emphasis on feelings, and "inner feelings" should be associated with concrete activities in both movements.³⁰⁴ The consumption rules, however, reveal a new mix of pietism, cameralism and patriotism. In addition to the above-mentioned elements, some of the patriots had adopted the strict lifestyle promoted by the pietists.

Healthcare

Popular texts on dietetics³⁰⁵ were published Denmark-Norway from the end of the 1770s onwards.³⁰⁶ The most important person behind the literature production was

³⁰¹ Henrik Horstbøll, "Pietism and the politics of catechisms," *Scandinavian Journal of History*, no 29 (2004).

³⁰² It was not only the Protestants that criticized the lifestyle of the Orthodox Church. Similar criticism also occurred within the Catholic Church. (Melton, *Absolutism and the Eighteenth-Century*, 24-28) Whether or not the criticism influenced the patriotic movements in other European countries could be interesting to study further.

³⁰³ Markussen, *Til Skaberens Ære*, 29.

³⁰⁴ Damsholdt, *Fædrelandskærlighed og borgerdyd*, 76, 126-127. The scholar Vammen suggests that the similarities between *civic virtue* and pietism were a consequence of the raising of the "bourgeoise", of which the members of the patriotic societies were part. Many of them grew up in the 1720s-40s, when pietistic values were promoted by the state. Hans Vammen, "Bourgeois Mentality in Denmark 1730-1900," in *Language and the construction of Class Identities*, ed. Bo Stråth (Göteborg: Göteborgs Universitet 1990), 287.

³⁰⁵ Dietetics had a wider meaning in the eighteenth century than today. Instead of focusing only on diet, dietetics also included the science of exercise, sleep, mental health and clothing. In short, the word could be used on everything that helped in improving peoples' health. Mellempgaard, "Diætetisten J. C. Tode i det 'ædekære København," 15.

³⁰⁶ Mellempgaard, "Diætetisten J. C. Tode i det 'ædekære København," 11-37.

an active member of the *Society for Civic Virtue*, Dr. Clemens Tode (1738-1806). He had much practical and theoretical knowledge of medicine and dietetics. Tode worked as a surgeon for many years (including a span as a “travelling surgeon” for Prince Fredrik V of Denmark) and studied medicine in Paris, Leiden, Edinburgh and London. In 1769, he took a doctoral degree at Copenhagen University. From 1774 onwards, he was employed as a professor at the university. At the time of the establishment of the society, he was among the most distinguished medical and dietetic authors of the city.³⁰⁷

Tode’s magazines *Healthy Times*, [Sunhedstidene, 1778-1781] *New Healthy Times* [Nyere Sundhedtidene, 1782] and *The Healthcare Magazine* [Sundhedsbladene, 1785] were the first popular magazines on dietetics in Denmark-Norway.³⁰⁸ The magazines were modelled on other popular European healthcare journals.³⁰⁹ They were sold as a four-page pamphlet every week and contained writings on varied issues: anatomy and physiology, scientific news from abroad and overviews of current diseases and medicines. Most of the space, however, was used on advices regarding diet, clothing, sleeping, excretions and exercise.³¹⁰

Tode was the editor and the author of most of the magazines’ texts. He hoped to spread a healthy lifestyle through the magazines, which he considered a condition for creating the “useful and thrifty” inhabitants Denmark needed.³¹¹ The journals became popular. The subscription list was c. 600 persons from Copenhagen of various backgrounds: members of the royal family, pharmacists, medical doctors and students, copyists, baliffs, merchants and artisans.³¹²

³⁰⁷ Øivind Larsen & Bengt I. Lindskog, ”Sunhedstidende og Johann Clemens Tode. Vårt første medisinsk-hygieniske folkeblad og dets redaktør,” in *Sundhedstidende 1778-1781*, eds. Øivind Larsen & Bengt I. Lindskog (Oslo: University of Oslo, 1991), 7-16.

³⁰⁸ Øivind Larsen & Bengt I. Lindskog, ”Sunhedstidende og Johann Clemens Tode,” 8-9.

³⁰⁹ Among them *Gazette salulaire* and *Gazette d’epiduaire*, Larsen & Lindskog, ”Sunhedstidende og Johann Clemens Tode,” 8-9.

³¹⁰ Mellemsgaard, ”Diætetisten J. C. Tode i det 'ædekære København,” 15-16.

³¹¹ Mellemsgaard, ”Diætetisten J. C. Tode i det 'ædekære København,” 13, 32. He wrote them to earn a bit of money as well. His professorship at Copenhagen University was unpaid and he based his income on the writings and on practicing as a doctor for the wealthy people of Copenhagen.

³¹² Most of the subscribers, however, were probably from the wealthier part of the population in Copenhagen since the subscription fee was high. A person had to pay one *riksdal* for the magazine annually. Mellemsgaard, ”Diætetisten J. C. Tode i det 'ædekære København,” 23, 34.

The lifestyle Tode recommended to his readers corresponded with the society's consumer recommendations and the rules Tode signed. As previously mentioned, dinner or supper parties in the middle classes included the consumption of numerous drinks and dishes. Tode promised, as many others did, to avoid them.³¹³ Reducing the meals was one of the main topics in *Healthy Times* and *New Healthy Times* too. Several issues were dedicated to the topic during the period the journals were published.³¹⁴ According to the articles, the fat and spicy food usually eaten was unhealthy since it was difficult to digest.³¹⁵ However, to mix and consume everything in large quantities in the evening was even worse since it certainly impeded digestion, a good night's sleep and led to dangerous diseases. "Many have paid with their life for a good meal" warned Tode to his readers.³¹⁶ "The author to this magazine [on the other hand, is] cheerful and healthy [...] since he does not eat anything in the evening and only drinks water with his food."³¹⁷ Tode further advised the readers to do as he did.

Tode also subscribed to principles where he promised to refrain from any party where warm food or "ice-cream or any intense cooling refreshments" were served.³¹⁸ In *Healthy Times*, he presented eating too warm or too cold food – especially in the evening – as highly problematic. Eating too warm food increased

³¹³ The Society for Civic Virtue, "Vedtægter."

³¹⁴ Clemens Tode, "Om de selskabelige Aftensmaaltiders Skadelighed," *Sundhedstidende*, no. 7-8, 25th (1779); Clemens Tode, "Noget meere om Aftensmaaltider," no. 9 -10, (1779). Both articles are printed in *Sundhedstidende 1778-1781*, Facsimile edition by Øivind Larsen & Bengt I. Lindskog (Oslo: University of Oslo, 1991), 329-341, 337-341; Clemens Tode, "Lad din Aftensmad være let," in *Sundhedstidende For Aaret 1782* (København: Johan Rudolph Thiels, 1782).

³¹⁵ Moreover, spices were unhealthy because they created an "unnatural appetite, weakened the blood and dissolved the liquids, which could lead to many diseases." Also the coffee, tea and alcohol drinking removed "life strength" and gave rise to "worries, angst and melancholy." Tode, *Sundhedstidende*. Quoted in Mellempgaard, "Diætisten J. C. Tode," 17.

³¹⁶ "Derfor har så mangen en betalt for et godt maltet med livet." Tode, *Sundhedstidende*, 565. Quoted in Mellempgaard, "Diætisten J. C. Tode," 16.

³¹⁷ "Forfatteren til disse Blade har selv erfaaret denne Fraholdens Nytte: siden han intet Spiser om Aftenen og drikker Vand til sin Mad, befinder han sig munter of frisk" Tode, *Sundhedstidende 1778-1781*, 332.

³¹⁸ [my translation] "Iis-Krem eller andre heftig kølende Forfriskninger." Tode, *Sundhedstidende*, 34-35.

the “night fever” people easily suffered from.³¹⁹ Ice cream could only be healthy when consumed in

...warm countries where the constant heat weakens and exhausts the body. The poor in Naples use their alms received to purchase ice cream. For the sons of the sun, it is useful [because of its] cooling effect on the stomach and intestines.³²⁰

Tode further mentioned that in “our cold climate,” on the other hand, it was unnecessary. It was even unhealthy because of the vanilla added to the Danish ice creams. He did not mention what diseases it could create, but just warned his readers that vanilla was “one of the most insidious, drowsy-making substances in nature.”³²¹

Tode also subscribed to a rule where he promised to reduce his participation in card games and gambling. He wrote in *Healthy Times* that card games and gambling did not only destroy a “holy” friendship by making each other broke, but also the opportunity to have a meaningful conversation. But the worst; it led to a lack of exercise. People of Copenhagen, he complained, spent most of their days sitting and the evening meals and card games made it worse. “When sitting the whole day, how can sitting in the evening as well be an ‘delassenment’ [relaxation]?” he wrote sarcastically.³²²

It may be more than one that are so hardened to this form of life that they do not feel any effects [of the meals and card games]. Are they therefore unpunished? No, truly not. The penalty can be late, but it will not be gone. The ones who despise the first warnings will fail the later medical treatments when the constipations, ‘fit’ and ‘vatterfot’ is gathered [in stomach and guts], It will be a bitter death [for them].³²³

³¹⁹ “nattlige Feber” Tode, Johann Clemens Tode, *Sundhedstidende For Aaret 1782*, (København: Johan Rudolph Thiels, 1782,) 130.

³²⁰ "hvor den bestandige Heede svækker og udmatter Legemet. Den fattige i Napolis anvender den Almisse han har faaet, til at kiøbe sig Iis for [...] Hos hine Solens Sønner kan denne kiøling i Magen, ja, I Indvolden have sin Nytte.” Tode, *Sundhedstidende For Aaret 1782*, 34-35.

³²¹ “lumskeste mest ophisende, døsiggjørende substanser i Naturen” Tode, *Sundhedstidende For Aaret 1782*, 38.

³²² “Naar man har sitted en heele dag, saa skal sidning om Aftenen være en delassenment”. Tode, *Sundhedstidene 1778-1781*, 335.

³²³ [my translation] “Imidlertid kan der virkeligen være fleere en een, som ere saa afhærdede I denne Levemaade, at de intent mere fornemme til de omtalte umiddelbare Virkinger. Skulde de derfor slippe gandske ustraffet? Nei, sandeligen ikke. Straffen kan være seen; men den vil ikke

Taking the above comments into account, it is likely that Tode did not only sign the rules above because of its economic effects.³²⁴ He also signed them due to health reasons.³²⁵ He might even have suggested the principle in the first place since he was a part of the law committee that made the rules during the summer of 1785.³²⁶

Tode did not mention what he based his opinions on, but took it for granted that the readers knew his suggestions had been common knowledge among dieticians since Ancient times. After the first issue on evening meals, he got some complaints from readers that thought his advices were too strict. He answered that it was fine to enjoy a good, unhealthy meal once in a while, as long as one did not make a habit out of it. “Let Hippocrates close his eyes!” he wrote.³²⁷ The ancient Hippocratic theories emphasised (as Tode did) that a good diet, exercise and sufficient sleep was important to avoid diseases. Moreover, Hippocrates and his followers believed that good health was the result of a balance of four natural humours in the body, namely black and yellow bile, phlegm and blood. Weather, temperature and diet were thought to influence the balance of humours and they could cause different forms of diseases. Too much coldness, for example, could cause too much phlegm, which would lead to colds and coughs.³²⁸ The temperature theories (in varied forms) were much in use among university-educated doctors in eighteenth-century Europe, including Denmark-Norway. Thus, it is likely that Tode built on them when declaring a war on too warm and too cold food in the evening.

blive borte: og den som foragter de første Advarsler, vil forgiæves falde til sit medisinske Livs forbedring, naar allerede forstoppelser i Underlivet, samlinger af Fitt, vatterfot osv. ere tilstedet og bane veien for den bitre Død.” Tode, *Sundhedstidene 1778-1781*, 335-340

³²⁴ In *Healthy Times*, he also wrote that the evening meals made “en god Huusholdning mere gaaer tilbage” Tode, *Sundhedstidene 1779-1781*, 330.

³²⁵ Tode warned his readers about the dolls purchased in Copenhagen. According to him, they had too small parts, which were dangerous for small children. Moreover, the colours used on them were unhealthy. The Society restricted the use of “Nürneberger dolls”, probably since they were imported. However, if dolls had the same elements as Tode protested against, it might be that several of the members wanted to avoid these dolls because of their bad health effects as well. Tode, *Sunnhedstidene 1778-1781*, 649-651.

³²⁶ Lund, *Selskabet for Borgerdyd*, 49.

³²⁷ Tode, *Sundhedstidene 1778-1781*, 339.

³²⁸ Vivian Nutton, *Ancient medicine* (London: Routledge, 2004), Chapter 5.

Tode was not the only doctor in the society. In fact, he was joined by at least sixteen doctors and others employed in healthcare.³²⁹ Several of them were active in the public debate on dietetics in Copenhagen. For example, Dr. Rudolph Buchave published a dissertation of five hundred pages on coffee consumption and discussed its effects on the human body. (He was very sceptical to the spread of coffee. According to him, coffee was one of the worst “human killers” in history.)³³⁰ Many of the doctors subscribed to the same rules as Tode.³³¹ Taking into account the fact that they were well aware of the medical theories of the time, they probably signed them out of health worries too. They might even have done it to be a good example to others, whom they hoped would follow.³³²

What about the persons that were not educated as doctors, could they have signed the rules because it would improve their health? As mentioned above, *Healthy Times* and *New Healthy Times* had many readers. The members lists of the *Society for Civic Virtue* and the health magazines show that around thirty-five of the society members subscribed to *Healthy Times* and *New Healthy Times*.³³³ Several of them subscribed to the above-mentioned principles too, such as the “fabriqueur” Roggow working at the glue factory in Amager, the royal painter and sculpture maker Jens Karlebye, the copyist Christian Friederich Andreas Wulf, the book

³²⁹ “Abonenternes Navne,” *Sundhedstidende: 1778-1781*, Facsimile edition by Øivind Larsen & Bengt I. Lindskog (Seksjon for medisinsk historie, Universitetet i Oslo, 1991), 7-16; Tode, “Abonenternes Fortegnelse,” 25-28, 299-300; Tode, Johann Clemens, *Sundhedstidende For Aaret 1782*, (København: Johan Rudolph Thiels, 1782); The list of the society for civic virtue members are printed in Lund, *Selskabet for Borgerdyd*, “bilag 1,” unnumbered.

³³⁰ Rudolph Buchave. “Afhandling om Caffé i Besynderlighed om dens Skadelighed for Mennesket og Staten. Et af det Kongelige Landhuusholdnings-Selskab belønnede Prisskrift,” in *Det Kongelige Danske Landhuusholdningsselskabs Skrifter. Anden Deel*, (København: Gyldendals Forlag, 1790), 590.

³³¹ For example, “Pleje og Hospitalkirurgus” Jacobsen, the doctor Rudolph Buchave and the “surgeon” Ernst Ludewig Pfriem promised to avoid large meals (principles One and Two) and to avoid too warm or too cold food. (Principle Twenty-One) See The Society for Civic Virtue, “Vedtægter” (1785) Available at The Royal Library in Copenhagen.

³³² As above-mentioned, the purpose of the consumer rules was to be a good example to others, whom the members hoped would follow suit. See the part “Presenting the Society for Civic Virtue” in this chapter.

³³³ “Abonenternes Navne,” in *Sundhedstidende: 1778-1781*, eds. Øivind Larsen & Bengt I. Lindskog (Seksjon for medisinsk historie, Universitetet i Oslo, 1991), 7-16; Tode, “Abonenternes Fortegnelse,” 25-28, 299-300; Tode, Johann Clemens, *Sundhedstidende For Aaret 1782*, (København: Johan Rudolph Thiels, 1782). The list of the members is printed in Lund, *Selskabet for Borgerdyd*, “bilag 1,” unnumbered.

binder Møller, the watch maker Brandt and the “silk trader” Schmidt.³³⁴ That they subscribed to the rules indicates that they had taken Tode’s health worries seriously.

3.4. The protests to the consumer rules in The Society for Civic Virtue

Some members protested towards the consumer recommendations in the society. These members also wanted to avoid the use of imported goods. However, they perceived buying domestic products as a patriotic virtue instead of as a vice. Among them was the prominent writer Tyge Rothe,³³⁵ the previously mentioned member who protested against the intention and the methods of the society in a speech given on the 2nd of May 1785. In the speech, he argued that the use of products in the state was too small.

I dare to hope **that every fellow citizen** all over the realm could, without impoverishing themselves and the state, enjoy the surplus, and spend 2, 3 times more or the double of what he uses of Gold and Silver now. Our luxury consumption is not distinctive. It hardly exists. Even in the capital, where are the houses in which the people live in pride? Where is the splendour in clothes or in other things? I don’t know, but I think it is because we have a low income that we use much of foreign goods and have less to sell to foreigners. Therefore, our small spending on [Danish] luxury commodities rather reflects poverty.³³⁶

In Rothe’s view, consumption of luxury items hardly existed in Denmark-Norway. He also thought that if the inhabitants started spending more money, it would be a sign of societal progress rather than decline.

³³⁴ The Society for Civic Virtue, “Vedtægter”.

³³⁵ As mentioned above, Rothe was a well-known economic writer and previous teacher for the Crown Prince of Denmark-Norway and had also previously worked as a professor at Copenhagen University

³³⁶[my translation and my emphasize] Jeg tør lydeligen ønske, **at hver vor Medborger**, det hele Rige over, kunde uden at forarme sig og uden at forarme Staten, nyde Vellevenet, der kostede ham 2-, det 3-, det mer dobbelte, imod hvad, han ny bruger af Sølv og Guld. Vor Yppighed er ikke Mærkelig, den er end ikke en Virkelighed, uden alene i Forhold med vor ringe Stats Utkomme. Hvor mange ere Husene, endog i Hovedstaden, hvor man lever stolteligen? Hvor er Pragten i Klæder: I andet? Jeg vet det ikke, men det ved jeg at, men fordi vi have lidet Udkomme, bruge meget af Fremmedes Vahre, have lide at sælge til Fremmede, derfor kan den endog ringe grad af vort Velleved angripes som Ødselhed. Tyge Rothe, “Tale fremsagt i Selskabet for Borgerdyd,” in *Minerva, et Maanedsskrift* 7, no1 (1786): 8-9.

Rothe further argued that all inhabitants, from nobles to peasants, should enjoy luxury products since it created an income for the workers in the luxury industries.

We should not restrict any industry or trade, my gentlemen! Any [industry or trade] that is not improper would improve the common good because it creates an income for human beings. And who does not know how much the state needs this? Let the Danish hands work for luxury! Let the skilled gardener have products to satisfy a luxurious sweet tooth! Danish, Danish hands should make the product, the more, the better! [...] Yes, much political knowledge tells me that any strict requests about a low living standard are a sad proof that there is little industriousness and little work in the industries, little profit among the people since they are so anxious to give away their surplus.³³⁷

Intellectuals and commercial writers defended luxury consumption already at the end of the seventeenth century in Britain, France and other European countries. Intellectuals, like the British authors Barbon and North, thought that domestic consumption of luxury items by the rich led to economic progress since it created employment. These writers argued a larger workforce allowed for more goods to be produced for export.³³⁸ From the mid-eighteenth century onwards, many intellectuals like Hume, Voltaire and Melon came to the conclusion that people of all backgrounds should buy luxury products because it led to increased production, trade and hence economic progress. These philosophers also thought luxury represented an increasing refinement of taste, the development of the arts and sciences and the expansion of human happiness.³³⁹ Gerd Mordt argues that Danish-Norwegian intellectuals read these authors closely and were influenced by them when they discussed the economic issues of the state.³⁴⁰ This might have been the case with the well-read and intellectual Tyge Rothe.

³³⁷ [my translation] “Endnu, mine herrer, intet, der kunde trykke paa nogen slags Nærings-Flid eller Handel! Enhver saadan, der ikke er usædelig, den gavner Allmennvæsenet, thi den skaffer Mennesket udkomme, og hvo ved ikke, hvor høiligen Staten trænge i dette Fald? Lad danske Hænder kun arbejde for Overdaad Lad den kyndige gartner have Produkter for yppig Lækkermund! Med danske, danske hænder skulle frembringe Produulterne, og da, jo flere, jo finere, jo kostbarere produktene er, jo bedre for stat og land. [...] Ja, mine Herrer, efter min Politiske Kunnskabs Maade kan jeg ikke andet end at anse hver streng Opfrodring om en almindelig knap Levemaade, som sikkert og sørgelig Beviis, at det er ringe Flid, ringe Næringsarbejde, ringe Udkomme blandt det folk, der saa ængsteligen skulde knappe af i sit Velleevnet. Rothe, “Tale fremsagt i Selskabet for Borgerdyd,” 13-15.

³³⁸ Ann Firth, “Moral supervision and autonomous social order: wages and consumption in 18th-century economic thought.” *History of the Human Sciences* 15, no 1 (2002): 39-57

³³⁹ Kwass, “Consumption and the world of ideas,” 191.

³⁴⁰ Mordt, “Luksus som problem,” 143.

As previously mentioned, 133 members left the society in protest at the strict rules of the society. It could have been private economic interest behind the protests. Many society members were merchants and producers of products that the society tried to restrict the use of. *The Twenty-Five Principles* restricted the use of silk stockings, clothes in different colours and certain forms of food. Members should also avoid “*unhealthy dancing*”. Members, like the dancing teacher, the tailors and wine merchants, were probably dissatisfied with the societies’ attempts to restrict their own livelihood, and might thus have left the society in protest.³⁴¹ However, many people also probably left because they had another view on what was patriotic: they might have listened to Rothe and other intellectuals and became convinced that buying Danish commodities – luxury or not – was patriotic.

3.5 The other patriotic societies: Thinking about patriotism and commodity consumption, 1780-1814

As mentioned in Chapter 1, numerous social and economic changes occurred in the period 1770-1814. Denmark-Norway was drawn into the Napoleonic Wars from 1807 onwards which affected the households’ private economy. Wage earners in Denmark, and a large proportion of the Norwegian population, became poorer due to lower real salaries, problems in the export-based industries and because of a lack of grain. Others, such as producers and grain merchants, became wealthier because of a high demand for their products.³⁴²

The state continued trying to govern peoples’ consumer behaviour, but in a different way than before. The sumptuary law from 1783 was abolished in 1799, but the authorities continued encouraging people to live “frugally.” It was written in the

³⁴¹ Others probably left since the society excluded people that were members of dramatic societies and clubs. This part of the rules received the most criticism in newspapers, journals and by some society members. See several articles in *Minerva, et Maanedsskrift* (August, September and October 1785) Anonymous author, *Sex ubedragelige Kiendetegn paa en hæderlig danneqvindes borgerdyd forsvarede mod Bagtalelsen ved Steffen Stokfisk*, København 1785 [Anonymous author,] *Adskilligt i anledning af Selskabet for Borgerdyd tilligemed et par forfløine Ord til Een og Anden*, København 1786, Rothe, Tyge “ Tale fremsagt i Selskabet for Borgerdyd.”

³⁴² See the part, ”During the Napoleonic War”, Chapter 1.

1799 sumptuary law that “frugality in combination with industriousness”³⁴³ was the “secure” way to “welfare” and “honour”.³⁴⁴ Moreover, the law mentioned that the king “still expected” of his “subjects” that they should meet “the wishes” of their king. During the whole Napoleonic Wars, king Fredrik continued to issue new decrees where he encouraged the population to “frugality” and, especially, to avoid foreign products.³⁴⁵

Patriotic consumerism was an important topic in most patriotic societies until the wars ended in 1814.³⁴⁶ The members of the other societies used similar arguments as in the *Society for Civic Virtue*. Most of the societies had members expressing diverse views with both condemnation and support of consumption of domestically produced “luxury”.³⁴⁷ Some members showed health worries too. The vicar Wilse in *Topographic Society*, for example, discussed the health effects of coffee consumption in the “middle class” in his topographic description of the Seljord parish in southern Norway.³⁴⁸ Pietism is another source of influence visible in the society writings. Those views were expressed not through the condemnation of theatre, dance and entertainment, but more indirectly *in the way* the members should be patriotic consumers: the patriotic feeling should always

³⁴³ [my translation] “anstendig tarvelighed, i forening med [...] flid [er] sikkert middle til varig velstand og fortient agtelse” Schou, *Chronologisk Register*, vol 12, 759-760.

³⁴⁴ [my translation] “gaae hans landsfaderlig ønske i møde” Schou, *Chronologisk Register*, vol 12, 759-760..

³⁴⁵ These were also without any detailed list of items and activities that the population had to avoid. See the regulations issued by the state 14 December 1808, 24 January 1809, 29 December 1810. Schou, *Chronologisk Register*, vol. 15, 119, 174, 621.

³⁴⁶ According to Engelhardt (who has done the largest empirical work on the patriotic societies,) discussions about “luxury” consumption were one of the most central elements in them. (Engelhardt, *Borgerskab og Fællesskab*, 253) Amdam examined the societies in Sunnmøre, Romsdal in western Norway and Akershus in eastern Norway. Also he found a luxury debate among its members. (Amdam, “Den organiserte jordbrukspatriotismen” 130-133. See also Bjerke, “Uavhengighet gjennom vitenskap,”) Patriotic consumerism was a central element in all the patriotic societies selected for this dissertation too. For *Topographic Society*, see for example Topographic Society, “Fortale”, *Topographisk Journal for Norge* 1, unnumbered. For The Society for Domestic Industries, see Hellfried, *Indbydelse til Danmarks og Norges patriotiske mænd og kvinder fra selskabet for indenlandsk kunstflid*, København 1808, 8. For the *Society for Norway's Wellbeing*, see “brev fra Ridder Arentz i Bergen”, *Budstikken* 2 (1811): 187; For *Danish Royal Agricultural Society*, see Buchave, “Afhandling om caffe.”

³⁴⁷ See Engelhardt, *Borgerskab og Fællesskab*, Chapter 3, Amdam, “Den organiserte jordbrukspatriotismen” 130-133; Bjerke, “Uavhengighet gjennom vitenskap.”

³⁴⁸ J.N Wilse, *Physisk, oekonomisk og statistisk beskrivelse over Spydeberg Præstegield og egn i Aggershuus Stift udi Norge* (Christiania: 1779), 381-390.

correspond with actions.³⁴⁹ A religious dimension was also found through priests writing to the lower classes. They argued that “living in excess” was not compatible with being a good Christian, a widespread view I will return to in the next chapters.³⁵⁰ In addition, some educated civil servants used Antique Greek and Roman arguments about excessive consumption making people soft and lazy.³⁵¹

Those views on consumerism prevailed after Denmark became involved in the Napoleonic Wars in 1807. In addition, two differences occurred. Firstly, patriotic consumerism was considered to be a powerful weapon by members in several societies. For example, The *Society for the Improvement of Domestic Industries* (Copenhagen, 1807) was initially founded to help the state in the war against Britain by organising a boycott of British goods. The initiator behind the society, the civil servant Carl Gottlob Rafn described how the wealth of Britain was based on worldwide trade. If they managed to destroy the trade, the workers would become unemployed, die of hunger and the domestic problems would weaken Britain. Rafn concluded that avoiding British goods was a more “efficient weapon” in war than armoury.³⁵²

Secondly, patriotic consumerism increasingly involved Norwegian farmers. *The Society for Norway's Welfare* (Christiania, 1808) was an umbrella organisation for many small parish societies. In 1812, the editors of *Budstikken* (the society journal) described how the “honourable” local vicar Aamodt had established a voluntary association that promoted frugality in Valle in southern Norway in 1804.³⁵³ All the farmers in the parish signed a document with detailed consumption rules on behalf of their household. The editors of *Budstikken* wrote that this association had been functioning for seven years and greatly improved the

³⁴⁹ Topographic Society, “Fortale,” 6-7.

³⁵⁰ Stou Platou, “Inberetninger fra Christiansands District,” in *Budstikken* 3 (1811): 210

³⁵¹ For more about the classical views, see Glenthøj, “Fælles kultur – forskellige nationaliteter,” 80-89

³⁵² Rafn, Gottlieb, *Inbydelse til alle Danmarks og Norges mænd forende at understøtte de indenlandske manufacturer og skade Fienden ved højtidelige at firokugte sig til hereafter at at købe engelske varer af Carl Gottlob Rafn*. (København: 1807). For more about these attitudes in the patriotic societies, see Glenthøj, “Fælles kultur – forskellige nationaliteter,” 85-89.

³⁵³ Valle district lays Aust Agder, a valley district in southern Norway and consisted of c. 1500 inhabitants in 1801. “Digitalarkivet 1801-telling”, Digitalarkivet, www.digitalarkivet.no (Retrieved 30/9-2012)

“morality” in the district. In addition, the district saved 800-900 *riksdaler* in yearly expenses.³⁵⁴ During the following years, *Budstikken* announced that many more similar associations were founded in different parts of Norway; Råde (November 1811),³⁵⁵ Gjerrestad (1812),³⁵⁶ Ramnæs (1812),³⁵⁷ Lyster (1812),³⁵⁸ Biri (1812),³⁵⁹ Vågå (1813)³⁶⁰ and Sunndal (1813).³⁶¹ All of them were initiated by local civil servants.³⁶²

All of the agreements were similar to the sumptuary laws issued for the farmers in 1783.³⁶³ As with the sumptuary law, the local agreements wanted to reduce the use of beverages (such as spirits, wine and coffee), clothing (mainly of imports, such as silk and velvet) or “expensive gifts” at weddings, funerals and baptisms.³⁶⁴ In both the law and the local agreements, economic arguments were used for the reduction. In addition, the consumer agreements had a religious rhetoric. For

³⁵⁴ Stou Platou, “Inberetninger fra Christiansands District,” 210-211.

³⁵⁵ Dahl, ”Brev af 3die Januar fra Mosse Districts-Commision hvormed indsendtes Frivillig Forening imellem Beboerne udi Raade Præstegjeld i Smaaleneenes Amt,” *Budstikken 4* (1812): 188.

³⁵⁶ Søren Georg Abel, “Forening imellem Beboerne i Gjerrestad Hovedsogn, Nedees Leen, Christiansands Stift,” *Budstikken 4* (1812): 455-460. See also Søren Georg Abel, “Gjerrestad og Sønneføvs selskab,” *Budstikken 5* (1813): 416-420.

³⁵⁷ Chaplain Borch, “Efterretninger,” *Budstikken 4* (1812): 591-596.

³⁵⁸ Hans Urdahl, [Voluntarily association promoting Frugality in Lyster,] *Budstikken 5* (1813): 171-174.

³⁵⁹ Schytt, “Selskabet for Biri Sogns Vel,” *Budstikken 5* (1813): 29, 226-232. See also “Kgl Approbation paa en af Sognselskabet i Biri Sogn indgaaet Forening ang. Tarvelighed,” *Budstikken 5* (1813): 171-174.

³⁶⁰ J. Hagenstad, “Forestilling til Vaage-Præstegjelds Almue,” *Budstikken 5* (1813): 260-265.

³⁶¹ Peter Martin Ottesen, “Frivillig forening imellem Almuen i Sundals Præstegjeld, Romsdals Amt om Inskrænkelser ved Gjestebud, Brylluper, Begravelser o.s.v.,” *Budstikken 5* (1813): 441- 444.

³⁶² For example, “Pastor” Aamodt founded the Valle society (1804), the vicar Dahl founded the Råde society (1811), the “pastor” Søren Abel founded the Gjerstad society (1811). The policeman Hans Urdal founded a society in Lyster and a civil servant working in the local administration founded one in Biri (1813).

³⁶³ Why did the sumptuary laws from 1783 influence some local consumer agreements in 1813? In my opinion, it might have been the easiest for them to look back to the old detailed sumptuary legislations for instructions when deciding what a “frugal” behaviour was.

³⁶⁴ The first agreement from Walle district (1804) focused mainly on alcohol restrictions at weddings and funerals. The associations from 1811 and onwards, however, were similar to the sumptuary legislation from March 1783. The agreements mentioned restrictions of same type of clothes, food and beverages at weddings, funerals and baptisms. It was also written that the parties should not last more than one day, which was also according to the legislation from March 1783. The associations had also similar punishment for the rule breakers, which was to pay a fine to the “poverty box” in the district. Schou, *Chronologisk Register*, vol 8, 378-380.

example, it was written in the consumer rules from Valle that living excessively was to throw “Gods gifts” away.³⁶⁵

The associations involved a large part of the local population. The society in Gjerstad and Søndeleiv, for example, had 117 members in 1811, which all signed the consumer rules on behalf of their household.³⁶⁶ An average household was c. 5.4 persons,³⁶⁷ which means that around seven hundred people of the 2,600 inhabitants had (directly or indirectly) promised to follow the rules.³⁶⁸

Why did so many farmers participate? Some of them might have joined due to private interests. Most of the associations were established during the Napoleonic Wars when many households experienced economic problems. Farmers usually had costly and long-lasting weddings, funerals and baptisms, which had to be problematic for many farmers during the war. Joining the association might have made it easier for the farmers to justify simpler and less expensive celebrations. Secondly, social pressure might have played a role. The consumer agreements were to be read aloud in church once a month. The constant reminder of the existence of these regulations, combined with pressure from local authorities, might have forced some persons to become members.

Third, some farmers might have signed the agreements out of religious and patriotic feelings. As mentioned above, the rules had a patriotic and religious rhetoric, which indicate that such motives were important to some of them. Moreover, Norwegian farmers were familiar to the talk about patriotism through the church. Ambitious vicars did not only cite the bible during sermons, but lectured about citizenship and patriotism.³⁶⁹ Furthermore, farmers were exposed to the patriotic values also outside the church due to numerous local patriotic associations that were founded all over Denmark-Norway.

³⁶⁵ Stou Platou, “Inberetninger fra Christiansands District,” *Budstikken* 3 (1811): 210.

³⁶⁶ Søren Georg Abel, “Gjerrestad og Sønneløvs selskab,” 416-420.

³⁶⁷ Ingeborg Fløystad, ”Husholdsøkonomi og forbruk i tidlig nytid. Generelle trekk og eksempler fra Agder,” *Fortid* 1 (2009): 69-74.

³⁶⁸ “Digitalarkivet 1801-telling”, Digitalarkivet, www.digitalarkivet.no Downloaded 30/9-2015

³⁶⁹ Øystein Lydik Idsø Viken, ”Frygte Gud og ære Kongen: preikestolen som politisk instrument i Noreg 1720-1814,” 207-209; Damsholt, *Fædrelandskærlighed og borgerdyd*, 296.

3.6 Contact between societies and foreign examples?

Were the societies inspired by each other when mentioning their moral, economic and health worries? None of the members referred to each other. However, several factors indicate that the members knew about each other's attitudes and activities and that they inspired each other. In Norway, news about the farmer consumer agreements was published in the journal *Budstikken* in 1812. The subsequent local agreements popped up all over the country after information about the first ones was published.³⁷⁰ In other words, it is likely that local civil servants initiated consumer agreements for farmers after reading about such associations in *Budstikken* (or they heard about the agreements from persons who had read or heard about them). The consumer agreements were almost identical to each other, which also supports this claim. In addition, the extensive copying of each other's activities all over the state indicates that an informal contact between societies existed. In other words, the focus on patriotism and commodity consumption probably increased due to knowledge and experience with such patriotic activities in other areas.³⁷¹

What about the consumer movements abroad, could they have inspired the members? So far, it is unknown if moral, economic and health concerns influenced patriotic societies' views on commodity consumption in other European countries. We know, however, that some British, Irish and Scottish societies urged their members to boycott foreign goods so that the domestic industries could be improved.³⁷² And, as I will return to in the conclusion, it is likely that the "protectionist" attitudes were even more widespread due to the attention these

³⁷⁰ See the last section

³⁷¹ It might be that the activities in *The Society for Civic Virtue* and the farmers' consumer agreements were inspired by similar associations founded in Vestre Moland in Nedenes, Gjerstad and Vegårdshei in southern Norway in the early 1780s. The farmer Tellef Nielsen Froholt wanted to abolish the habit of giving each other expensive wedding presents and he managed to reach an agreement on this matter with other local farmers in 1782. The parishes Gjerstad and Vegårdshei followed their example in June 1782 (initiated by the local vicar Lars Eskildsen). Thirteen farmers in these districts promised to reduce costly weddings and parties. The activities were noticed by the Danish *Royal Agricultural Society*. The society rewarded the people in Vestre Moland in Nedenes (represented by the bailiff Nils Scythe) with a silver cup for their frugal behaviour in 1782. Amdam, "Den organiserte jordbrukspatriotismen" 130-133

³⁷² Colley, *Britons: forging the nation, 1707-1837*; Mary O'Dowd, "Politics, Patriotism, and Women in Ireland, Britain and Colonial America, c.1700-1780"; Brian Bonnyman, "Agrarian Patriotism and the Landed Interest." 41.

issues received in the public debates, the overall goal of the societies and the close contact they had with each other. For similar reasons, other moral, economic and health concerns were probably widespread too. As mentioned in Chapter 2, the members in Denmark-Norway were well aware of patriotic activities abroad and copied them extensively. Hence, *if* such concerns were present in the foreign societies, it is likely the society members in Denmark-Norway knew about them and that they were a source of inspiration.

In addition, other kinds of consumer protests occurred in British Colonial America (1768), Ireland (1770s,) England (1780s) and in Northern America (1790s). The individuals involved in these movements thought, as the Danish-Norwegian patriots did, that they could choose among commodities according to certain beliefs and thus influence social and political conditions by manipulating the economic markets. In other words, they thought they had “consumer power.”³⁷³

The movements had a different goal than the patriotic societies in Denmark-Norway. In British Colonial America, American settlers protested against the Navigation Act (an increase in numerous taxes) by boycotting British imports in Boston and New York in 1768.³⁷⁴ In the years that followed, consumer protests against the Colonial powers spread to other parts of British Colonial America, involving large parts of society.³⁷⁵ A similar movement has also been detected in Ireland in the 1770s. British restrictions on Irish trade were believed to lead to economic distress in Ireland. Upper and middle class women and men in Dublin protested to the restrictions by boycotting British products.³⁷⁶ And in the 1780s

³⁷³ Sussmann, Charlotte, *Consuming anxieties*, 32; Colley, *Britons: forging the nation, 1707-1837*; T.H. Breen, *The Market Place of Revolution* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2004), 88-89, 93, 206, 241.

³⁷⁴ Eighteenth century Colonial America got used to imported commodities from Britain, such as clothes, tea, porcelain and coffee. The new consumer goods were available at low prices, as in Europe, so a broader part of the population could afford them. However, several earlier Navigation Acts prohibited trade with countries other than England. In the 1760s, with the victory in the French and Indian war, the British government had a massive war debt. In order to pay off these debts, Parliament strengthened the enforcement of the Navigation Acts and passed numerous taxes on the imports, which increased the prices on the products. Breen, *The Market Place of Revolution*, 88-89, 93, 206, 241.

³⁷⁵ Breen, *The Marketplace of Revolution*, 88-89, 93, 206, 241.

³⁷⁶ Higgins, “Consumption, Gender, and the Politics of “Free Trade in Eighteenth-century Ireland.” *Eighteenth-century Studies* 41/1 (2007): 87–105.

and 1790s, many people in Northern America and Britain protested against slavery by boycotting slave-produced products, such as sugar.³⁷⁷

The foreign consumer protests are not mentioned in patriotic societies' writings. The only exception is Carl Gottlob Rafn in *The Society for Improvement of Domestic Industries* who referred to the American consumer boycotts when urging Danish and Norwegians to boycott British commodities during the war.³⁷⁸ Nevertheless, it is likely that knowledge about such actions was widespread among patriotic societies. In *the Society for Civic Virtue*, several of the members had travelled a lot, including the most powerful members of the society. The president, Andreas Stibolt was married to Christiane Hammer who had grown up on St. Croix in the West Indies as a daughter of a plantation owner. He travelled widely as a sea officer in the navy.³⁷⁹ The previously mentioned doctor and healthcare writer, Clemens Tode had travelled alot too and read a wide selection of international literature.³⁸⁰ The journalist Balling worked as a translator and wrote many texts of different kinds that show he was well-read on international news.³⁸¹ The American and Irish consumer boycotts received much attention in the press and were also greatly advertised by the boycotters themselves. In other words, it is likely that the news reached Copenhagen and helped members to realise that commodity consumption could be a powerful tool to change the local communities.

3.7 Summary

The chapter studied if varied ideas from the intellectual debate on luxury had spread to the patriotic societies. It focused on *The Society for Civic Virtue* and the consumer rules the members of this society subscribed to to promote a frugal

³⁷⁷ Sussmann, *Consuming anxieties*, Chapters 4, 5 and 6.

³⁷⁸ Rafn, Gottlieb, *Inbydelse til alle Danmarks og Norges mænd*, 4

³⁷⁹“Andreas Stibolt”, *Dansk Biografisk Leksikon*

http://www.denstoredanske.dk/Dansk_Biografisk_Leksikon/Forsvar_og_politi/Søofficer/Andreas_Henrik_Stibolt, (Entry 20th of August, 2011).

³⁸⁰ “Clemens Tode” *Dansk biografisk leksikon*, available at

http://www.denstoredanske.dk/Dansk_Biografisk_Leksikon/Sundhed/L%C3%A6ge/Johann_Clemens_Tode (retrieved 24. September, 2015).

³⁸¹ “Emmanuel Balling,” *Dansk biografisk leksikon*, available at

http://www.denstoredanske.dk/Dansk_Biografisk_Leksikon/Kunst_og_kultur/Litteratur/Forfatter/Emanuel_Balling?highlight=emmanuel%20balling (Entry, 24. September, 2015).

lifestyle in Copenhagen (1785). The chapter revealed that both ideas and practical reasons were behind the subscriptions. Many members probably joined the societies since it would benefit their own work, while the rules were aligned with the sumptuary laws since the society was in need of royal support for their activities. However, it is also evident, through letters and speeches and other writings, that some members shared the cameralist *economic principles* of the government in which expensive commodities and leisure activities should be avoided. Others, however, were inspired by the luxury debate abroad and argued that purchasing domestic luxury should be considered patriotic since it led to employment and economic progress. In addition, *health worries* and *pietism* influenced the members. Readings of health magazines and the fact that most of the members grew up in a time when pietism was strongly promoted by the state led to such views. The chapter further mentioned that many of these attitudes were widespread in all the patriotic societies in Denmark-Norway. Two differences, however, occur. Firstly: patriotic commodity consumption could be used as a weapon during the Napoleonic Wars. Secondly, it shows that patriotic consumerism spread to farmers' households in the Norwegian districts.

4. Teaching Children the Right Consumer Behaviour in the Family

The last chapter showed that the society members found the inhabitants' consumer behaviour of utmost importance for the wellbeing of the population and state. This chapter focuses on how the members wanted to spread the "right" consumer behaviour in the state. Previous research on consumer governance focuses on how states tried to "force" the population to adopt the desired behaviour through sumptuary laws until the end of the eighteenth century and the support it received from many political and economic writers.³⁸² However, other methods suggested and used to control consumer behaviour are largely unknown to us. This chapter aims to fill this gap: I examine how the members of the patriotic societies encouraged parents to teach their children the right attitude to consumption. It focuses on the pedagogical methods they suggested and the imagined role(s) of the mother and father on this issue. Towards the end of the chapter, it discusses the members' views on the relationship between the sumptuary laws, the family and the educational system. The sources will be childrearing books, pamphlets and other society writings in which childrearing, consumer behaviour and parental responsibilities are discussed and debated.

4.1 Lauritz Hasse (1785-1786): *The Commoners' Teacher* [Allmuens Lærer]

One of the central texts of this chapter is *The Commoner's Teacher*³⁸³ [Allmuens Lærer] by vicar Lauritz Hasse.³⁸⁴ *The Commoner's Teacher* was an advice book for Danish farmers that was published by *The Society of Civic Virtue* in 1785 and 1786.³⁸⁵ The book was based on a German (unknown) text that Hasse had translated and "adjusted" for a Danish readership. The advice was on both practical and moral matters, such as "the use of oxen in breeding and driving", "on hops growing", on childrearing, "praying", "on honour", tobacco smoking, on marriage and "on

³⁸² For studies on sumptuary laws, see Hunt, *Governance of the Consuming Passions*. For Denmark-Norway, Mordt, "Gjestebed og silkeklær."

³⁸³ Lauritz Hasse, *Allmuens lærer, en nyttig læsning for meenigmands i Dannemark og Norge*, (København: Gyldendals Forlag, 1784-1787) vol. 1 and 2.

³⁸⁴ Unfortunately, not much information is available on Lauritz Hasse since he is not mentioned in any biographic lexicon or other secondary works.

³⁸⁵ First as pamphlets (1785) and later as two bound volumes (1786).

chastity.”³⁸⁶ Hasse wanted the “useful” advice to be told in an “entertaining” way, which was probably why he chose to combine detailed instructions with fictional example stories that highlighted his points throughout the book. This led to a substantial piece of work. The two volumes in total consisted of c. 1,200 pages.

That Hasse wrote for farmers was not a coincidence. In the eighteenth century, the level of literacy increased in all social classes and parallel to this development, the production and sales of books, newspapers, journals and pamphlets grew as well.³⁸⁷ However, the majority of the publications were written for, and read by, the middle and upper classes. Hasse wanted to inform the lower classes as well. He addressed the authors of Danish magazines, such as *The Spectator* [Spektator] and *The Patriotic Observer* [Patriotisk Tilskuer], and pointed out that:

I have for a long time seen how your writings are circulated among the wise and distinguished, but that none of the commoners’ read or understands them. It comes from the fact that they are too complicated for them. You have, my gentlemen, really done a great deal in spreading knowledge in the upper classes. But the commoners in the countryside are children of Adam as much as us and there is still darkness around them, so we should tie up among them as well.³⁸⁸

Hasse mentioned that the farmers would become “useful, pious, virtuous and wiser” by reading his text. This would also make God “love” and “honour” them and they would gain “respect” from “all the good and righteous people.”³⁸⁹ Thus, he wanted to improve the farmers’ wellbeing, in both a spiritual and worldly manner, which was a common motive behind patriotic activities initiated by vicars in the late eighteenth century. Many vicars did not contrast enlightenment activities with theological

³⁸⁶ Hasse, *Allmuens lærer*, vol. 1, 504-508 and vol. 2, 519-520.

³⁸⁷ Outram, *The Enlightenment*, 15-16.

³⁸⁸ [my translation] “Jeg har længe seet paa hvorledes Deres skrifter løbe om i lærde og fornemme Folks Hænder, men ingen [...] af Almuen læser eller kiender dem, og det kommer deraf, at der er for høytravende for Smaafolk. De har virkelig, mine Herrer, stiftet meget godt blant vore kiere Danske, og udbrede megen oplysning blant Folk af høiere Klasser. [...] Men siden dog Almuen paa landet er ogsaa endnu Adams Børn, ligesaavel som vi andre, og der er endnu saa mørkt omkring dem, [så vi må få] ryddet op hos disse godtfolk.” Hasse, *Allmuens lærer*, vol. 1, 3-4.

³⁸⁹ Hasse, *Allmuens lærer*, vol. 1, 7-8.

activities since the vicar ought to have the responsibility for the “general welfare” of his parishioners.³⁹⁰

The Commoner's Teacher was distributed widely in Denmark in the late eighteenth century, mainly because of the support it received from the upper classes. It was strongly recommended in popular newspapers, journals and in the patriotic societies.³⁹¹ Local civil servants in different parts of Denmark also recommended the book to farmers and it was used by teachers in several schools in the Danish districts.³⁹² An anonymous person also gave a substantial contribution to the publishers, which made it possible to sell the book cheaply.³⁹³ *Bornholm Society* (1805), a small patriotic association from an island close to the Swedish mainland, distributed the books for free to peasants in their local area. *Randlev District Society* (1810), which had members from agricultural households, bought several copies for its library.³⁹⁴ Whether or not *The Commoners Teacher* reached Norway remains an open question. The title of the book [*The Commoners Teacher, a useful reading for the commoner in Denmark and Norway*] shows that Hasse aimed at spreading the book to this area too.³⁹⁵ Moreover, the wide distribution of the book in Denmark and a close contact between Danish and Norwegian civil servants indicates that copies reached the country.

Some evidence indicates that the book became popular among the farmers from the end of the 1780s onwards. The priest and author, Niels Blicher, wrote that he had twenty-three subscriptions in Randlev parish, but he could not get hold of any books at all because they were sold out. We further know that farmers in Sjælland, the largest and most populous Danish island, ordered at least 773 books.³⁹⁶ However, many more people probably read it since it was common to read books aloud for all the family

³⁹⁰ Arne Apelseth, *Hans Strøm-eit utsnitt fra norsk opplysningstid* (Volda: Arbeidsrapport nr 81. Høgskulen i Volda, 1999), 19

³⁹¹ Ingrid Markussen, *Til Skaberens Ære*, 158-163.

³⁹² Markussen, *Til Skaberens Ære*, 158-163.

³⁹³ Markussen, *Til Skaberens Ære*, 158-163.

³⁹⁴ Markussen, *Til Skaberens Ære*, 27, 158-163.

³⁹⁵ *Allmuens lærer, en nyttig læsning for meenigmands i Dannemark og Norge*.

³⁹⁶ Markussen, *Til Skaberens Ære*, 158-163. The only known criticism it received was from Bishop Reventlow who found the content more similar to a sermon than a guidebook. Markussen, *Til Skaberens Ære*, 163.

members, to buy and sell used books and they were also often lent to friends and acquaintances.³⁹⁷

4.2 The importance of teaching children a “frugal lifestyle.”

Early modern Protestants viewed excessive living as a dangerous sin. It was written in their teachings that living in excess made individuals so weak that he or she became unable to resist temptations of pleasure. The lack of self-control would in turn make it difficult for individuals to follow the word of God, which was necessary for a happy life and to reach salvation.³⁹⁸

The protestant views on excessive living influenced Hasses’ advice on childrearing. One of the worst mistakes a parent could do, he argued, was to give children too many things or too much attention from infancy. He told a fictional story about a married couple, Jens the Tailor and Marie. They had been longing for a child for a long time and their “happiness” was “complete” when Marie finally gave birth to a son, Johannes. The boy was “more dear to them than all the wealth in the world.”³⁹⁹ Whenever the child cried, Jens and Marie let whatever they had in their hands go, ran towards the cradle and carried him until he was calm or fell asleep. When he became a bit older, they made it a habit to give him everything he wanted, including sugar and candies. Hasse concluded, “so he became used to it and every time Johannes had an eye open, he wanted to be carried around or eat candies. He was screaming until he got what he wanted.”⁴⁰⁰

His parents continued spoiling him throughout his childhood. They gave him all the things he desired and Johannes’ temper just became worse and worse. After he finished school,

[he] was supposed to learn his father’s occupation, but he did not want to and the father could not force him either. He was idle and drunk most

³⁹⁷ Lis Byberg, ”Brukte bøker til bymann og bonde : bokauksjonen i den norske litterære offentlighet 1750-1815” (PhD diss, University of Oslo, 2007); Outram, *The Enlightenment*, 14-16.

³⁹⁸ Sekora, *Luxury: the concept in Western Thought*, 39-47.

³⁹⁹ [...] denne Dreng var dem Kierere end al Verdens Rigdom (Hasse, *Allmuens lærer*, vol. 1, 36)

⁴⁰⁰ [my translation] Dermed blev han saaledes forvent, at saasart han havde et Øie aabent, vilde han enten bæres eller have noget Slikkeri, ellers var der intet Ophør på Skrigen.” Hasse, *Allmuens lærer*, vol. 1, 38.

of the time and towards the end, he was in such a state that he even lost all his clothes in a card game. When nothing could help him, of good or bad, his father had to put him on a ship to the West Indies as a soldier due to the daily shame and sorrow he brought to his family.⁴⁰¹

Hasse called individuals like Johannes wilful [egensindig] and the problem with such people was that they never got used to doing things other than what they themselves wanted. Hence, Hasse argued, they would never be able to refuse themselves any “pleasures,” obey their parents, other humans or God.”⁴⁰² Hasse was well aware of the dangers of such a lack of self-discipline. He pointed out repeatedly in his advice book that the only way to live a happy life and reach salvation was by obeying God and the rules of the state.⁴⁰³

Other members, who addressed the middle and upper classes, also mentioned that it was important that parents taught their children to live frugally. However, they focused more on secular reasons behind it. As mentioned Chapter 3, avoiding the use of imports to protect domestic industries was considered a patriotic duty in the societies, which the “happiness” of the state depended on. This protectionist idea influenced the members’ views on childrearing in *The Society for Civic Virtue* and the *Society for Norway’s Wellbeing*.⁴⁰⁴ The rules of *The Society of Civic Virtue* obliged its members to teach their “children to love every virtue that can improve the [...] happiness of their

⁴⁰¹ [my translation] Han skulde lære Faderens Haandverk, men det havde han ingen Lyst til og med Magt kunde Faderen nu ei tvinge ham. [...] den meeste Tid fordrev han med Leddigang og Svir, saa han tilsidts blev saa liderlige at han spilled og drak Klæderne af Kroppen og hans Fader maatte tilsidst, da hverken ondt eller gode kunne hielpe, sætte ham paa et Skib bog sende ham til Vestindiaen som Soldat, for ikke at have daglig Skam og Hjertesorg af ham.” Hasse, *Allmuens lærer*, vol. 1, 40.

⁴⁰² Hasse, *Allmuens lærer*, vol. 1, 38.

⁴⁰³ Hasse, *Allmuens lærer*, vol. 1, 38

⁴⁰⁴ The rules of the *Society for Norway’s Wellbeing* mentioned that the society wanted to educate husbands and wives so they would be a good example to their children and servants. They should learn to “appreciate national art and industriousness, which should be shown in their use of equipment, housing, clothes and lifestyle and prefer what is made in the country instead of the foreign [commodities]” (Frederik Julius Bech, *Vejledning for Districts-Selskaber i Norge til Jorddyrkningens, Huusflidens, Culturens og Sædelighedens Fremme: et Priisskrift* [Christiania: Selskabet for Norges Vel, N. Wulfsberg, 1810], 15) [my translation] “[Vi må uddanne] husbonder og madmødre, [så] at deres eksempler igjen kunde frembringe de samme virkinger hos Børn og Tjenestefolk; Exempler paa alt det, der kan have gavnlig indflydelse paa opnaaelsen af de store Hovedhensigter man arbejder for: hvortil da naturligen hører [til] at man sætter høi pris paa national kunst og vindskibelighed, og viser det sine redskaber, sit bohøve, sine klæde sin levemaade, saae man [...] foretrækker hvad der i landet selv har fabrikeret [fremfor] det fremmede.”

fellow citizens. They should learn to feel *contempt* for foreign necessities and *discontent* with luxury products.”⁴⁰⁵ Other members used even stronger words. An anonymous member of *The Society for Civic Virtue* wanted parents to teach their children an “unlust” and “disgust” for foreign goods and luxury, while they should “love” Danish products.⁴⁰⁶

Why did the members view childrearing in such different ways? Hasse wrote for *The Society for Civic Virtue*, where the avoidance of foreign goods and luxury were considered patriotic. Thus, he probably agreed with the ideas and found them important as well. Maybe he focused on the religious reasons because he wanted to keep it simple for the farmers. In the introduction to *The Commoners Teacher*, he mentioned that the problem with enlightenment writings so far was that no one from the lower classes could understand them. He wrote in the foreword, “while you [the authors of the enlightenment magazines] are like a court preacher, I am like a village priest, simple and straightforward.”⁴⁰⁷ In addition, as a vicar, Hasse was much more familiar with the religious views than with the economic doctrines of the state, which probably made it more comfortable for him to write about the first topic rather than the latter.

Other vicars were more ambitious. The vicars’ sermon could include natural rights theories, ideas about citizenship and patriotism. A few controversial priests even talked about human rights (in relation to the French Revolution) and the pros and cons of different forms of government.⁴⁰⁸ The sumptuary laws were read aloud to all congregations in Denmark-Norway several times a year until they were abolished in 1799 and were read again when they were re-enacted during the Napoleonic Wars. The sumptuary laws not only stated which commodities to avoid, they also explained the ideas behind them, such as the national balance of trade theories and ideas from antiquity regarding the luxury debate.⁴⁰⁹ Thus, it would not be a surprise if the

⁴⁰⁵ [my translation] “De skulle tidlig lære dem, at elske Fædrelandet, dets Producter og Landets Indfødtes Arbeide. De skal venne dem til at føle Ulyst til fremmede Unødvendigheder og Væmmelse for yppighed.” Selskabet for Borgerdyd, *Grundlove*, 45.

⁴⁰⁶ [my translation] Anonymous author, *Adskilligt*, 37-38.

⁴⁰⁷ Hasse, *Allmuens lærer*, vol. 1, 5-8.

⁴⁰⁸ Damsholt, *Fædrelandskærlighed og borgerdyd*, 296.

⁴⁰⁹ See Chapter 3

“patriotic” vicars took the time to try to teach the parishioners the economic doctrines of the state and the other secular reasons for why parishioners should live frugally.

4.3. The pedagogical methods.

As mentioned above, none of the members wanted children to adopt the economic behavior passively; they wanted children to choose a frugal lifestyle out of patriotism or religious feelings. This idea influenced the pedagogical methods the members suggested for the parents. Hasse did not come with any specific advice on how to make children live frugally, but argued, on a more general level, that a too strict upbringing would create “hatred” towards the rules and parents instead of “love”, which was why parents should choose the “middle course” instead.⁴¹⁰ The “middle course” was, in his opinion, to “never” spank the children. The only exception was when no other methods worked or if they

were too small to have any reason, but then only in the worst cases [of misbehaving]. However, from the time when children can understand faults, one should explain to them their mistakes instead. This should be done with affection and without swearing or bad words. With such loving instructions, one accomplishes much more than with the spanking. [...] It is even worse to punish older children with spanking since loving interaction, pious instructions, sensible explanations and the parents’ good examples always work best.”⁴¹¹

Other members suggested similar mild methods as well. For example, the rules of *The Society for Civic Virtue* said members should teach children to live frugally by using “loving instructions, encouragements and by being good examples to them.”⁴¹² In the main regulations of *The Society for Norway’s Welfare* (Christiania, 1810), it was mentioned that parents could spread a frugal lifestyle to servants and children by being “good examples” to them.⁴¹³ Thus, the members thought parents should strive to *show*

⁴¹⁰ Hasse, *Allmuens lærer*, vol. 1, 38.

⁴¹¹ [my translation] Saa længe Børnene er smaa og har ingen ret Forstand, [...] men man bør begynde saa tilig som mueligt at at forestille dem paa en fornuftig maade deres Feil, eftersom de kan begribe det, og det endog med Kierlighed uden Hidsighed, uden Banden og Skiildsord, med saadanne kierlige Erindringer udretter man tidt meget mere end med Hug, men vil det ei hielpe, maae man tage til Riset. [...] Endnu værre er det, at straffe voxne Børn med Hug, thi paa den alder skal en kierlig Omgang, gudfrygtige Formaninger, fornuftige Forestillinger og gode Exempler af Forældrene gjøre det beste. Hasse, *Allmuens lærer*, vol. 1, 23, 25.

⁴¹² [my translation] Saa paalægger Selskabet Medlemmer, som en særdæles Hellig Pligt, at opdrage og danne deres Børn ved Undervisning, Formaning og gode Exempler.” Selskabet for Borgerdyd, *Grundlove*, 45.

⁴¹³ Frederik Julius Bech, *Vejledning for Districts-Selskaber i Norge*, 15.

children how to live frugally and to *convince* them by explaining to children why it was the best way of behaving. Only if that failed, the parents should *force* them to live frugally.

The discipline followed the Danish ideas on childrearing in the 1780s and 1790s. They were not new, though. Already in the sixteenth century, Lutheran advice books mentioned that teaching children religious feelings was most efficient through an “affectionate and loving” interaction with the child.⁴¹⁴ The *focus* on these pedagogical methods became much more intense with the birth of pietism and cameralism in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, first in the German speaking areas and later in Denmark. The famous German pietist August Hermann Francke (1663-1727) argued that children had to understand the consequences of their choices and reflect upon them in order to reach spiritual awakening.⁴¹⁵ The pietist schooling was much milder in discipline compared to the Lutheran Orthodox schools in Germany. Corporal punishment should be reduced to the minimum and the teachers had to give their pupils several warnings before it was carried out. The same pedagogical method was used when the secular goals of *cameralism* influenced the school system in the eighteenth century. The schools should then improve the quality of the human resources, so agriculture, manufactures and commerce could be improved. Mild pedagogical methods were an important way to increase the patriotic feelings in pupils and it was believed that love for the state would increase people’s effort and make the country prosper.⁴¹⁶

Private and public Danish schools to a large extent copied the German cameralist school goals and methods when reforms were carried out in some districts of Denmark-

⁴¹⁴ The protestant guidebooks produced for parents in Europe in the early modern period, inspired by the earlier humanist tradition, argued that harsh punishment would create fear and anger rather than love and a wish to follow God’s will. Menius (an “archetypical” Lutheran) advised fathers in all their dealings to seek a middle course between harsh arbitrary discipline and complete permissiveness. To treat household members “like axes of hatchets that required no special care or maintenance and suspected that such men were also lacking as husbands and fathers.” Justus Menius, *Erinnerung wass denen so sich inn Ehestand begeben, zu bedencken*, Wittenberg. 1528, p C 2 b, Quoted in Steven Ozment, *When fathers ruled: family life in Reformation Europe* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1983), 146.

⁴¹⁵ Melton, *Absolutism and the Eighteenth-Century*, 24-28.

⁴¹⁶ Melton, *Absolutism and the Eighteenth-Century*, 109-119.

Norway in the 1780s and 1790s.⁴¹⁷ For example, the *Christian Ditlev Reventlow School*, which was established in rural Lolland in the early 1790s, forbade many different forms of corporal methods that had been common in Danish schools until then. The teacher was never allowed to slap with the hand, tear or pull the hair or ears. Only in the worst cases was spanking allowed and then only after the approval of the school board. Instead, methods that gave shame and encouragement should be used. According to the school protocols, one of the most common shaming-methods was to make the pupil kneel on the knees with a “hat of shame” on. Parallel to this, “industrious and clever” pupils would be rewarded with book prizes when they finished school.⁴¹⁸

The patriotic societies, much inspired by the Danish school reforms and German intellectuals, also established their own schools based on the same pedagogical principles. For example, *The Society for Civic Virtue* established a school in 1786 where the same mild pedagogical methods were used.⁴¹⁹ The members’ writings on the pedagogical methods at home could be inspired by the reforms taking place in the schools. The fact that Hasse’s book was based on a German text, as well as the fact that it presented the same pedagogical methods as the ones that were simultaneously carried out in the schools points in this direction. Also, the fact that the members had a close connection with the pedagogical methods, evidenced by establishing German-modelled schools, supports this claim.

Thinking about the innocence of the child

There were some differences between the members too. A widespread protestant belief in early modern Protestantism was that human nature has been ethically and morally corrupted due to the fall of Adam and Eve and that every child was therefore born into the world sinful. Hence, their eternal soul was in grave danger until they managed to follow the word of God.⁴²⁰ Hasse did not mention Original Sin, but he pointed out that

⁴¹⁷ Markussen, *Til Skaberens Ære*, Chapters 4 and 5; Damsholt, *Fædrelandskærlighed og borgerdyd*, 298-300.

⁴¹⁸ Markussen, *Til Skaberens Ære*, 213-215.

⁴¹⁹ Holger Lund, *Borgerdydsskolen i Kjøbenhavn 1787-1887: et Mindeskrift i Anledning af Skolens Hundreårsfest* (Kjøbenhavn: Otto B. Wroblewsky, 1887), 18-19.

⁴²⁰ Encyclopædia Britannica, “The original sin,” available at <http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/432565/original-sin> (retrieved July 11, 2014).

children were born with the above-mentioned wilfulness [egensindighed] and it was important to start “bending” the will of the child from an early age:

Many parents find it difficult, yes even sinful, to refuse the children things they want. [After the child is born], it will soon show wilfulness [egensindighet.] It is [then] important to start bending its will. [This should happen with] a sensible interaction [with the child]. And that is: Give the child what they need, such as food, drink and care. One should never let them long for such things. But as soon as they cry to get other things, such as toys, one should never give it to them before they stop crying or stop craving for attention. If everyone manages to follow such rules, the child will soon lose its’ wish to be wilfull and will become quite obedient.⁴²¹

However, Hasse was the only one that mentioned that children were born with *wilfulness*. The other members rather pointed out that children developed good or bad behaviour *through their upbringing*. Thus, most of the members viewed children as born innocent and rather portrayed them as (in the British philosopher John Locke’s⁴²² words) *tabula rasa*, namely, that a child is a blank slate and should be “considered as a white Paper or Wax, to be moulded and fashioned as one Pleases.”⁴²³ Locke argued that “Nine out of Ten are what they are, Good or Evil, useful or not, by their Education.” Locke’s ideas were not original, but they carried greater force in enlightenment Europe and probably influenced the members’ views on children as well. Nonetheless, the solution for the members seems to be more or less the same despite the different views on the children’s soul, namely, to try to influence the child as much as possible from when they are born, so they get used to a frugal lifestyle from an early age.

⁴²¹ [my translation] [...] saasart et Barn har Forstand til at vise Egensindighed, saa er det tid at begynde at bøie dets Villie. [...] fornuftig Omgang gjør det allerbest, og det bestaaer deri: Det som et Barn skal have, nemlig Mad, Drikkke, Oppvarting, det maae man aldrig lade det bie længe efter [...] Men saasart det derimod græder eller viser viser sig opsat paa at faae andre Ting, Legetæøi eller deslige, maae man aldrig give det slikt førend det holder opp at græde, eller gjøre sig Umage for at faae det til at tie. Agtes det kun nøie af alle som, som omgaaes Barnet, skal det snart tabe lysten at vise Egensinding og blir ganske Føielig. Hasse, *Allmuens lærer*, vol. 1, 43-44.

⁴²² John Locke: *An Essay Concerning Human Understanding*. Quoted in Cunningham, *Children and childhood in western society since 1500* (London: Longman, 1995), 63.

⁴²³ John, Locke, “Some Thoughts Concerning Education,” Quoted in Cunningham, *Children and Childhood*, 63.

New ideas on childrearing?

What about the famous philosopher Jean-Jacques Rousseau's (1712-1778) teachings on childrearing? Did his pedagogical methods influence the members' views on how to teach children the right consumer behaviour? Upper class families in Denmark-Norway had a great interest in Rousseau's teachings from the 1760s onwards. For example, Queen Caroline Mathilde (1751-1775) was so enthusiastic for his writings that she brought up Crown Prince Fredrik (1768-1839) according to Rousseau's principles. Many individual writers also gave out advice and speeches to housewives that were based on Rousseau's *Emile*.⁴²⁴ Hence, several society members probably knew about him and probably had an opinion about his childrearing methods as well.

There are, however, more differences than similarities between Rousseau's childrearing advice and the ones published by the members. Both Rousseau and the members wanted children to become good adults, but Rousseau was radically different in regards to the ways it should be done. Rousseau wanted children to grow up in accordance with nature, and without the imposition of moral rules and learning upon them.⁴²⁵ The members of the society starkly contrasted this idea with their weight on "loving" instructions, teachings and with bending children's will into a frugal lifestyle. The society members and Rousseau criticised corporal punishment, but the members thought it was necessary if no other methods worked. Rousseau, on the other hand, thought the teacher or an adult should never lay a hand on the child. Instead, the punishment should always come as a natural consequence of their fault.⁴²⁶ Thus, it seems that the members were quite reserved to his theories. However, one should not underestimate the "mild" methods that Rousseau advocated. It might at least have led to an increased focus on affection and love as efficient methods among the patriots, even if they disagreed with other parts of his teaching.

⁴²⁴ Lars Roar Langslet: *Våre konger – En vei gjennom norgeshistorien* (Oslo: J.W. Cappelens Forlag, 2002), 205; Damsholt, *Fædrelandskærlighed og borgerdyd*, Chapter 3; , Elisabeth Aasen, *Driftige Damer. Lærde og ledene kvinner gjennom tidene* (Oslo: Pax forlag AS, 1993), 156-160; Engelhardt, *Borgerskab og Fælleskab*, 227. Rousseau's ideas, however, became more widespread in the middle and upper classes after 1800. Christian Larsen, Erik Nørr og Pernille Sonne, *Da skolen tog form: 1780-1850* (Aarhus: Aarhus Universitetsforlag, 2013), 50.

⁴²⁵ Cunningham, *Children and Childhood*, 66-69.

⁴²⁶ Cunningham, *Children and Childhood*, 66-69.

4.4 Thinking about the role of the mother and the father

Many members pointed out that *both parents* had to teach children correct consumer behaviour. An anonymous author in *The Society for Civic Virtue* wrote in a pamphlet about the societies' activities that the "parents" had to "imprint" their children to "love" Danish products and make them "feel" disgust for foreign necessities.⁴²⁷ The rules in *The Society for Norway's Welfare* also mentioned that mothers and fathers should teach their children to live frugally.⁴²⁸ Hasse did not mention specifically how active the mother and the father should be when the child is taught the right consumer behaviour. However, his general comments indicate that he also thought that the responsibility lay on both parents. He advised them to teach their children "the will of God", be good examples to them, correct "every" mistake of the children and "care and love" them from an early age. He further advised them to agree on the childrearing "in ideas and behaviour" since if one parent is strict and the other mild "the consequence is that the child will hate the first one and refuse to obey the other one."⁴²⁹

Early modern European states and churches encouraged both parents to be involved in childrearing even if the father had the overall responsibility for the household.⁴³⁰

Luther himself had said that both mothers and fathers should be "apostles and bishops" for their children,⁴³¹ which was repeated in Danish and Norwegian central religious writings.⁴³² Several members referred to the parental responsibilities given by the state and church, which shows that the members' beliefs were closely linked to the family ideology of these institutions.⁴³³

The members encouraged the shared responsibility for practical reasons too. In the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, 80-90% of the population were living in rural areas and parts of the income was based on farm work. Thus, most parents lived

⁴²⁷ [my translation] [Anonymous author,] *Adskilligt*, 37-38.

⁴²⁸ Frederik Julius Bech, *Vejledning for Districts-Selskaber i Norge*, 15.

⁴²⁹ [my translation] "hvad bliver da følgen end at de hade den første og neppe adlyde den andre i noget." Hasse, *Allmuens lærer*, vol. 2, 270.

⁴³⁰ However, some differences are detected in the protestant households. The mother could also be found too unstable and irrational to take care of the children. Cunningham, *Children & Childhood*, 50.

⁴³¹ Cunningham, *Children & Childhood*, 50.

⁴³² Hanne Marie Johansen, "Familien som omsorgsfelleskap," in *I gode og vonde dagar: familjeliv i Noreg frå reformasjonen til vår tid*, ed. Sølvi Sogner (Oslo: Samlaget, 2003), 188.

⁴³³ Anonymous author, *Adskilligt*, 37-39; Selskabet for Borgerdyd, *Grundlove*, 45.

and worked close to their children during parts of the year. In many rural families, the mother, father and children would sleep together in the same room and eat at the same table or even the same plate until the late nineteenth century. The care for children went hand in hand with the work on the farm. In many upper-class merchant families, the children spent parts of their childhood at home and learned a profession from their parents or other household members.⁴³⁴ Thus, the family members, who were probably also in the members' own households, had a close interaction with each other on a daily basis, which made it natural that the members thought both parents should be actively involved in the childrearing, including teaching them a frugal lifestyle.

Changing ideals about parenthood?

Early scholarship on fatherhood in Europe and Colonial America argues that changes in the work patterns led to new ideals on parenthood in the late eighteenth century. The increasing commercialisation and production “outside” of the family home made fathers more distant in the family life. Simultaneously, women were praised for their “natural” abilities to take care of children and consequently it was acknowledged that they should have the main responsibility for this task.⁴³⁵ Juliane Engelhardt argues that these new ideals were present in patriotic societies in Copenhagen at the end of the eighteenth century due to the many new civil servant positions and other salaried positions in the city. Engelhardt writes that “in contrast to the man, the mother had a tight bond with her children [...] and she was the one responsible for their upbringing. It should therefore be the woman’s task to make sure that the children become aware of their duties to the country.”⁴³⁶

⁴³⁴ Bull, *De trondhjemske handelshusene*, 142-146. Johansen, Hanne Marie, “Familien som omsorgsfelleskap,” 192-195.

⁴³⁵ John R. Gillis, *A world of their own making: a history of myth and ritual in family life* (Oxford: Oxford University Press 1997); Mary P. Ryan, *Cradle of the middle class: the family in Oneida County, New York, 1790-1865* (Cambridge, N.Y. : Cambridge University Press, 1981); Peter N. Stearns, “Fatherhood in historical perspective: The role of social change,” in *Fatherhood and families in cultural context*, eds. Frederick W. Hanson Bozett and M.H Shirley (New York: Springer Publishing Co, 1991), 28-52; Griswold, Robert, *Fatherhood in America, A history*. (New York: 1993).

⁴³⁶ “I modsetning til manden havde kvinden et tæt forhold til børnene fra de var små, det var hende, der havde ansvaret for deres opdragelse. Det var derfor kvindens opgave at sørge for, at børnene blev beviste om deres pligter for fædrelandet.” Engelhardt, *Borgerskab og Fællesskab*, 333-344.

If this was the case, the members would view teaching children a frugal lifestyle as the mothers' responsibility. I doubt this was the case. Firstly, Engelhardt's sources are not rich enough to actually reach a conclusion about the parental gender division in the patriotic discourse. She focuses on one patriotic society, *The Sisters' Welfare Society* [The Søsterlige Velgørenhedsselskab] where male members gave speeches to the female members on what kind of patriotic duties they had in the household. Thus, the intended audience was women and the duties they talked about were only women's. In my opinion, it is likely that men's duties in the home were underestimated because it was not the topic of the speeches.

Secondly, none of the society writings I have examined idealised the above-mentioned gender division on parenthood, neither in discussions on children's consumer behaviour nor in any other writings. Some of the members noticed that fathers spent more time away from his family than before. However, they *worried* about the change instead of approving of it. Professor Schow, a former member of *The Society for Civic Virtue* mentioned that if the "father is so overwhelmed by his occupational duties that he doesn't have any time for his children", the parents should consider boarding school for them. However, the best solution, he argued, would be that the father managed to spend more time with his children.⁴³⁷ Another anonymous member also mentioned that fathers in civil servant or merchant families had "almost unbeatable difficulties" due to "time and money problems" and he further suggested that the members should meet and discuss how fathers could overcome it.⁴³⁸ In the *Society for Norway's Welfare*, it was argued that one of the biggest problems with the development of the factory system was that the "[man does] not establish a real family. He just gets married and gets children, but does not educate them [...] His work keeps him removed from home and the upbringing is left to the one-sided way of the mother."⁴³⁹

⁴³⁷ N. Schow, *Tale holdt i Selskabet for Efterslegten den 4 Martii 1802* (København: Schuborhes Forlag, 1802)

⁴³⁸ [Anonymous author,] *Adskilligt*, 31-33.

⁴³⁹ [my translation] "ingen egentlig Familie danner, [...] Hans arbeide holder ham næsten altid bortfjernet fra dem, og deres opdragelse overlades næste ganske til Moderens eensidige førelse." Kongl. Livmedicus Etatsråd J. D Brandis "Om Industrie og Midler til den Befordring", *Budstikken* 4, (1812): 307

One might wonder if the members were worried so much because they found the mothers incompetent in their tasks. But most members praised mothers for their abilities to raise children, as Engelhardt well documents.⁴⁴⁰ Instead, the responsibility that the father should have for the child came from the above-mentioned church and state ideologies. The anonymous member that suggested one should find “solutions” to the time problems of the father in *The Society for Civic Virtue*, referred to the laws of the church and state and mentioned how “every housefather” would know about them and would agree on them.”⁴⁴¹ He also mentioned fathers’ responsibilities in a patriotic context since he wrote that “everyone” knew how important childrearing was for the welfare of the state.⁴⁴² This is according to new research on masculinity and fatherhood in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries in other European countries.⁴⁴³ In order to be a good man and citizen, it was essential to raise your children well and to be actively involved in their daily life despite a busy lifestyle.⁴⁴⁴ Hopefully, future research will reveal much more of the images of fatherhood and their patriotic duties in the home in both Denmark and Norway in the years to come.

4.5 Why the focus on the family?

The focus on childrearing and consumer behaviour was probably a response to the economic changes taking place. New dangers and temptations coming from the newly available goods made patriots convinced about the importance of starting the education at early age. The fact that most of the documents on childrearing and consumerism were written in Copenhagen, the place where most economic changes occurred and the commodities were most available, supports this hypothesis. However, the family policy

⁴⁴⁰ Engelhardt, *Borgerskab og Fællesskab*, 333-344.

⁴⁴¹ [my translation] *Adskilligt*, 31-33.

⁴⁴² [Anonymous author,] *Adskilligt*, 31-33.

⁴⁴³ See for example, Joanne Baily, “A Very Sensible Man’: Imagining Fatherhood in England c.1750–1830” *History* 95, no. 319 (2010): 267–292, Tomas Berglund, *Det goda faderskapet i svenskt 1800-tal*, (Stockholm: Carlsson bokforlag 2007); For a later period, see John Tosh, *A man's place: masculinity and the middle-class home in Victorian England* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1999).

⁴⁴⁴ The gender scholar Jørgen Lorentzen has studied the images of fatherhood in Norway (1850-2000). The belief that an active and involved father was irreplaceable for the children was present in late nineteenth century diaries, letters and novels. According to Jørgensen, the fathers place in the home “weakened” only in the mid twentieth century since the workplace moved out of the home then in both agricultural and “bourgeoise” families. Thus, he more or less follows the previous explanations, but argues that the changes came later. Jørgen Lorentzen, *Fra farskapets historie i Norge, 1850-2012* (Oslo: Universitetsforlag, 2012), 11.

was also closely linked to changing ideas about the sumptuary laws and school system, which the next sections will show.

The relationship between the sumptuary laws and childrearing

For a few members, the family policy was closely linked to their negative views on the sumptuary laws. The topic was mentioned in speeches of *The Society for Civic Virtue* during the year that the society established the consumer rules for its members. A few members argued that they were *inefficient*. One of the members with such a perception anonymously published a pamphlet in the autumn of 1785. He had a lengthy introduction where he made fun of the detailed regulations, from the avoidance of horse equipment to the boycott of dolls. At the end of the pamphlet he reached his point. The author concluded that the main problem was that small regulations did not sparkle the patriotic eagerness to work for the welfare of the state. Patriotism was rather sparked by “love, consideration and confidence in each other and the state. [...] How can these noble feelings be created through regulations that forbid children and the elderly to play on trumpets from Nurnberg,” asked the author rhetorically.⁴⁴⁵ Instead, such “insignificant regulations [rather make] wise men laugh. And regulations that make men laugh seldom have any binding power.”⁴⁴⁶ Thus, in this author’s view, it was rather patriotic feelings that would make people act properly and make them wise consumers. The frugality rules were too petty to lead to such feelings.

Another member, the prominent civil servant Tyge Rothe, also argued that the consumer regulations were too timid, “so overwrought that they were close to unwise”⁴⁴⁷ and pointed to how the members should try to make people work for the common good out of “happiness” and not being “forced”.⁴⁴⁸ Thus, Rothe also emphasised the importance of the right inner feelings in order to develop a suitable economic behaviour.⁴⁴⁹ None of the members discussed in detail how to develop patriotic feelings, but suggested that the society should focus, among other things, on

⁴⁴⁵ [my translation] Man dømm, om disse ædle følelser kan udledes af Vedtægter, som forbyde Børn og gamle at blæse paa nürnbergske Trompeter” [...] [Anonymous author,] *Sex ubedragelige Kiendetegn*, 13

⁴⁴⁶[my translation] “sindige Gamle kunne let falde paa at lee af slige Vedtægter, og de Love man le ad, have sielden fobindene Kraft.” Anonymous author, *Sex ubedragelige*, 21

⁴⁴⁷ [my translation] “saa overspændt, at den nærmede sig til Kleinmodighed?” Rothe, ”Tale fremsagt i Selskabet for Borgerdyd,” 8.

⁴⁴⁸ Tyge Rothe, *Til Publikum: om selskabet for Borgerdyd* (København:1785), 8

⁴⁴⁹ Rothe, “Tale fremsagt i Selskabet for Borgerdyd,” 8.

faults in childrearing, which indicates that they considered it an important way to develop the right attitude to economic behaviour.⁴⁵⁰

In addition, Rothe and the anonymous member thought the rules *overstepped peoples' rights for privacy*. Rothe argued that the society had no right in interfering with “freedom” and stated that every man has the “right to enjoy the pleasures of life. [...] It should be free, totally free for all of us to decide what kind of frugality and restriction of expenses one [...] would introduce in his house.”⁴⁵¹ The satirical author argued that such regulations “would treat men like children,” would “raise people up backwards” and that they were “unnatural”.⁴⁵²

At first glance, it seems that Rothe and the anonymous member were rather ambivalent in their attitudes: they found the economic behaviour of the population of utmost importance and complained about the inefficiency of the sumptuary laws, but at the same time they wanted the population to decide for themselves what they wanted to buy. But the ambivalent attitudes become understandable when one is reminded of *the way* they wanted to change economic behaviour, through self-governance. By internalising the right feelings in individuals, there was a possibility to combine privacy and control since the control was *not* done by force, but out of the individuals' own free will. The authors' thoughts are similar to the concept used by Foucault: “government of the self”. He mentions how a large state apparatus during the eighteenth century disciplined the population in another way than before. Instead of forcing people through external rules, one hoped that the right behaviour would be adopted through *socialisation*. “For example, table manners and politeness are consciously transmitted through family socialisation. Similarly, punctuation is learned

⁴⁵⁰ Rothe, “Tale fremsagt i Selskabet for Borgerdyd,” 5. The anonymous author also mentioned that patriots' should make sure that children were brought up well and reminded the parents that “their example formed the child every hour each day.” [anonymous] “Steffen Stokfisk,” *Sex ubedragelige Kjendetegn*, 20.

⁴⁵¹ [my translation] “Det matte staae frit, aldeles frit til enhver af os at anmelde, hvad Tarvelighed eller Udgifts Indskrænkelse han i et eller andet Stykke for en, bestemt Tid, vilde inføre i sit Huus,” Rothe, “Tale fremsagt i Selskabet for Borgerdyd”, 19.

⁴⁵² [my translation] “At behandle Manddom som Barndom, at opdrage Mennesker bag fra, synes at være et svært vanskelig Foretagende siden det er unaturlig.” [Anonymous author,] *Sex ubedragelige kiendetægn*, 11.

in school and becomes internalised in a universe of time-pieces and time watching.”⁴⁵³
To sum up Foucault’s argument, individuals are exposed to certain values that over time they come to take over themselves.

How widespread the criticism to the sumptuary laws was is difficult to know. As mentioned in the last chapter, there were many people in *The Society for Civic Virtue* who protested against the consumer rules and later left the society. Maybe some of them left because they did not believe in the governance method, as Rothe did. Other intellectuals and middle class writers had similar attitudes to Rothe and the anonymous author, but in other areas that the government sought to control. The state-initiated agricultural reforms were based on the same principles. Until the 1760s, 65% of rural land belonged to 700 private estates owned by the gentry, while the rest of the estates mostly belonged to the king. The reforms mainly consisted in making the peasants freeholders and to abolish the *stavnsbånd*, a feudal-like law that obliged men between the ages of eighteen and thirty-six to live on the estate where they were born.⁴⁵⁴ In other words, the farmers became more independent and “free”. The intellectuals believed that this freedom would make them develop “love” for the country and that this love would make individuals use the freedom in a specific way: to voluntarily sacrifice his own self-interest to the common good.⁴⁵⁵ In other words, the “self-governance” arguments were well known in the period, which makes it likely that similar protests to the sumptuary laws occurred too.

The parents and the schools

From the 1770s onwards, Danish landlords (who were obliged to set up schools), Danish vicars (who had to inspect the schools) and civil servants working in the central administration initiated private and public school reforms in Denmark. The reformers wanted additional subjects to be taught to primary school children besides the Christian duties, which had been in focus so far. The goal was to make the inhabitants as competent as possible within their future occupation, whether it was within farming, manufacturing, or commerce. Moreover, the children should also become good patriots

⁴⁵³ Foucault, Michel, *Seksualitetens historie, 1, Viljen til viten*, (Halden: EXIL, 1995), 147-159, [Original title: *Histoire de la sexualité La volonté de savoir*, 1976],

⁴⁵⁴ Feldbæk, *Danmark-Norge. Nærhed og adskillelse* (Oslo: Universitetsforlaget, 1998), 234; Feldbæk, *Danmarks økonomiske historie*, p. 149-161.

⁴⁵⁵ Damsholt, *Fædrelandskærlighed og borgerdyd*, 294-298, 329-347.

and be taught to love their country and their duties towards it.⁴⁵⁶ Some of the reformers wanted to teach children a frugal behaviour too. It was at least mentioned by one, Professor Andreas Schytte, in a lecture at Sorø Akademie (a university in Sjælland) in the 1770s.⁴⁵⁷ Moreover, it was also mentioned in some popular schoolbooks introduced on the reform schools.⁴⁵⁸

The school reforms were also based on the idea that childrearing was neglected in the families. As the scholar Markussen shows, Andreas Schytte, who early expressed a wish for school reforms in his lectures in Sorø Akademie, wrote that:

The goal with the upbringing is to make good citizens, which means that we need to imprint on the children the principles and ideas that correspond with the government. Upbringing is such an important matter that it cannot be left to the parents alone. If the state would have good citizens, they need to make them good [themselves].⁴⁵⁹

Other school reformers repeated the idea too. Ludvig Rewentlow, also one of the most central reformers and who carried out school reforms in Fyn in southern Denmark, said “the upbringing should not be left to the parents alone since both the children and the state are suffering by the neglect in childrearing.”⁴⁶⁰

⁴⁵⁶ Moreover, practical subjects should be introduced as well, such as geography, natural science, agriculture, arithmetic, reading and writing. The curriculums, however, should be adjusted to the social background of the child. In addition, they wanted to improve the pedagogical methods. Inspired by “filantropisme” Christian Larsen, et al., *Da skolen tog form: 1780-1850*, 50-91

⁴⁵⁷ Markussen, *Til Skaberens Ære*, 72-75, see esp. 75.

⁴⁵⁸ See, Jacob Friederich Feddersen, *Levnetshistorie for Børn* (København: 1777) and *Christelig Sædelære* (København: 1784).

⁴⁵⁹ [my translation] Opdragelsen er det fornemste Middel til at preparere Folket til at blive gode Borgere. [...] Hvoraf følger at man derved maae indprente Børnene de Principia og en saadan en Tænkemaade som komme overens med den Regiering man lever i. [...] Educationen er saa vigtig en sag at den ikke bør være overladt til Foreldrene allene, men til Staten, Staten bør ha gode Borgere, den bør have Omsorg til at gjøre dem gode” Andreas Schytte, *Staternes indvortes Regiering*, (Kjøbenhavn: Gyldendal, 1773-1776), vol 4, 155. Quoted in Markussen, *Til Skaberens Ære*, 109.

⁴⁶⁰ “Opdragelse ikke er Forældrenes Sag alleene, men især Børnenes og Statens, thi begge lider ved den forsømte Opdragelse.” Johan Ludvig Rewentlow wrote it during his work on trying to implement the school reforms on a national level in the 1790s. In Markussen, *Til Skaberens Ære*, 127-128 [She does not mention any reference, but it might be from Landsarkivet for Sjælland, “Sager vedr. kommissionen af 22/5 1789 om det danske skolevæsen,” 1793]

An interesting finding in my material is that the members saw clear limitations to what the school system could offer children in teaching them the right consumer behaviour and on “moral upbringing” in general. The former member of *The Society for Civic Virtue*, Professor Schow, thought that childrearing should be divided between schools and parents. The most important part, he argued, “the moral upbringing” (which included teaching the children a frugal lifestyle), belonged to the parents and “that is how it should be.”⁴⁶¹ Their unique position, he argued, made them more capable of teaching children these issues than anyone else. Firstly, they had the ability to start disciplining children from when they were born. Secondly, one needed to “know the children very well and have their whole affection and trust” to be able to teach them good habits. “And who should not have this more than the parents?” he asked rhetorically.⁴⁶² Schools could only help parents, he further pointed out, and argued that the school was “very much against vices, laziness and carelessness. We do not tolerate such behaviour here. But our efforts will not bear any fruits if they are not initiated by you [the parents].”⁴⁶³

The Lutheran vicar Høegh also pointed out in the 1790s how parents were much more important than the teachers. He did not focus on how parents could better teach the right consumer behavior to the child, but more on how important they were for improving the general moral wellbeing of the child.

Dear mothers and fathers in the farmers rank! You are the one that make the ‘ground wall’ on which the rest of the building should be built. [...] You have to make their hearts bend to God, to virtues and to duties. The teacher can build on this, but without the parents [...] it will never become a stable building. The parents can demolish everything. [...] Many parents are guilty in this horrible crime.⁴⁶⁴

⁴⁶¹ [my translation] “den moralske dannelse” N. Schow, *Tale holdti Selskabet for Efterslegten*, 8

⁴⁶² [my translation] De maae begynde tidlig, jo tidligere de begynder, desto sikrere Regning kunne de gjøre paa heldigt Udfald. For at opfylde denne Pligt maa man kiende Børnene meget nøie, og besidde deres hele Hengivenhed og Fortrolighed: og hvo skulde komme til at besidde disse i høiere grad end Foreldrene selv?” Schow, *Tale holdti Selskabet for Efterslegten*, 8.

⁴⁶³ [my translation] Vi ivre meget mod Udyder, mod Efterladenhed og Skiødesløshed; og stige de til en vis Grad, taaes de ikke her i Skolen. [Men alle våre formaninger] frugte kun lided, hvis de ei kraftigen undersøttes af Eder.”Schow, *Tale holdti Selskabet for Efterslegten*, 10.

⁴⁶⁴ [my translation] Den andet raad jeg vil give eder, i Kiære Fædre og Mødre i Bondestanden! til at fremme denne saa vigtige Sag, Ederes Børns Opdragelse, førere endnu nærmere tilsagen selv. At besørge dem rigtige, gode og nyttige Kundskaber, er vigtigt og saa at sige Grundvolden hvorpaa den øvrige Bygning skal opføres. Meget udrettes, naar børnene bringes tidlig til

Both texts were addressed to parents, clearly, to encourage parents to contribute as much as they could. Therefore, they might have exaggerated how important they thought parents were to children. However, we also have to remember that Schow was an experienced teacher and the current headmaster of a new school, *Efterslegten*. He had personal experience with teaching children and might have felt the differences between children that came from homes that worked according to the goals of the school and the ones that came from homes where such ideals were neglected. Høegh probably also had experience with local schools since it was the church that had to inspect them.⁴⁶⁵ Thus, the focus on families (and the parental responsibility for teaching children a frugal lifestyle) could also be a response to a growing awareness of the schools (and its reforms) being dependent on the active support of the parents to succeed.

4.6. Summary

The chapter examined a so-far unexplored subject within the topic of consumer governance, namely how parents were encouraged to teach their children the right consumer behaviour. In the patriotic societies in Denmark-Norway, “Protestantism” and “cameralist” economic theories inspired the childrearing goals and methods. To make children adopt a frugal lifestyle was considered important for their individual salvation and/or for the economic wellbeing of the state. Moreover, the parents should follow the “middle course” in doing so, which was according to Lutheran pedagogical methods. “Loving instructions, encouragements and being good examples to them” should be the main methods when teaching them a frugal lifestyle. Corporal punishment was presented in the writings as the last option. The members also expressed a wish that both parents should be involved in the childrearing. I further argued that the focus on the family came as a negative response among some members to the sumptuary laws (which were considered inefficient) and to a growing awareness

Tænksomhed, og efterhaanden faaer deres Forstand mere og mere beriget med riktige kundskaber. [...] det gielder i sær at faae deres unge Hierter bøjede og faststæmte til at være Gud, Dyden og Pligterne troe. Forældrene kunde nedbryde alt, hvad Lærerne opbygge. Og hvor mange Forældre gjøre dem ikke skyldige I denne græsselige Forbrydelse” Hans Jørgen Høegh, “Veivisning for en Bonde som har faaet sine Jorder udskiftede af Fællesskab. Et priisskrift som vandt den kongelige guldmedalje i aaret 1794.” *Det Kongelige danske Landhusholdningselskabets skrifter* 5 (1797): 541-542.

⁴⁶⁵ Larsen et al., *Da skolen tog form*, 83

on how the schools system was dependent on an active support by the parents in order to create a future “patriotic” people, including future patriotic consumers.

5. Men, Women and their Consumer Desires. The Views in the Patriotic Societies.

Men and women's consumption *practices* in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries have received much attention from scholars in recent years. The research reveals that both genders were deeply engaged in purchasing and using newly available commodities.⁴⁶⁶ Studies on *discourses*, however, tend to focus on novelists and intellectuals that argued that women desired and purchased commodities for themselves more than men did. For example, the literary scholar Elisabeth Kowalski-Wallace writes that British women in the eighteenth century were considered "more hungry for things [...], for dresses and furniture, for tea cups and carriages, for all commodities that indulged the body and enhanced physical life".⁴⁶⁷ Scholars of the European luxury debate, shopping discourses, middle class culture and economic thought point to similar attitudes: women were attacked or praised for being the primary commodity consumers in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.⁴⁶⁸

The aim of this chapter is threefold. Firstly, it studies *if* the above-mentioned attitudes were present in the Danish-Norwegian patriotic societies. We still lack the gender approach to ideas on consumption in Danish and Norwegian economic writings, and the chapter aims at filling this gap.⁴⁶⁹ Secondly, it examines whether or not many members *questioned* the idea that women were the most "hungry" for goods. Much of the previous research relies on texts that discuss women's consumer behaviour and it might be that the authors who also evaluated men's commodity consumption were less

⁴⁶⁶ Vickery, *Behind Closed Doors*; Whittle and Griffiths, *Consumption and gender*; David Hussey, 'Guns, Horses and Stylish waistcoats? Male consumer activity and domestic shopping in late C18th and C19th England,' in *Buying for the home: shopping for the domestic from the seventeenth century to the present*, edited by Margaret Ponsonby and David Hussey, (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2009), 69; Margot Finn, "Men's Things: Masculine Possession in the Consumer Revolution" *Social History* 25, no. 2 (2000): 133-155; Pia Lundqvist, "Marknad på väg: den västgötska gårdfarihandeln 1790-1864," (PhD-dissertation, University of Gothenburg, 2008); 240-244; Halle, Maria, "Her er qvindfolkene meget drivtigelige," Chapter 5.

⁴⁶⁷ Elisabeth Wallace, *Consuming subjects*, p. 5-8.

⁴⁶⁸ Walsh, *Shopping in early-modern London*; Barker-Benfield, *The culture of sensibility*, see Chapter 4 "Women and Eighteenth century consumerism"; Berry, *The idea of Luxury*, 133; Berg and Eger, "The Rise and Fall of the Luxury Debates," 18-20.

⁴⁶⁹ Gerd Mordt is currently working on an overview of the luxury debate in Denmark-Norway in which the debaters' attitudes to women are also mentioned. Hence, more on the topic will be published in the next few years.

convinced about the idea that women were the most covetous.⁴⁷⁰ Thirdly, the chapter examines how the members understood and explained the gender differences in consumer behaviour.

The source material will consist of members' writings on luxury and descriptions of the local economy by members living in different districts of Norway and Denmark.

5.1. Christian Sommerfelt (1772): Women's care for unnecessary things.

The attacks on women's luxury consumption have a long history. In Greek and Roman philosophical and political writings, a man who was addicted to luxury was considered soft and effeminate. Courage, bravery and the ability to endure hardship (as the opposite of being soft and luxury-seeking) were virtues that only men could obtain. Women, on the other hand, would always be "slaves to luxury".⁴⁷¹ For example, the Censor Cato the Elder (151 BC) wrote that women were "untamed creatures" with "uncontrollable natures" and with no restrictions on their luxury spending.⁴⁷² Later novelists, religious and Enlightenment writers were influenced by these ancient texts and adopted this view on women as well. The famous Dutch philosopher, Bernard Mandeville (1670-1733), for example, depicted that women were so addicted to fashion and luxury that they were the driving force behind the spread of consumerism in eighteenth-century society.⁴⁷³

Some members of the patriotic societies had a similar negative view on women. One of them was the civil servant Christian Sommerfelt. He was the son of a district judge [sorenskriver] in the rural county of Toten in Norway and was sent at an early age to one of the "Latin schools" in Christiania. He later attended Copenhagen University

⁴⁷⁰ Elisabeth Wallace, *Consuming subjects*, 5-8. Barker-Benfield, *The culture of sensibility*, see the chapter "Women and Eighteenth century consumerism" esp. 190. Further, other scholars that mention the attacks on women do not study the gender notions in detail, but uncritically quote contemporary observers without studying the genre, the author or the purpose of the text closely. Joyce Appleby, "Consumption in early modern social thought", 166; Howell, Martha, "The Gender of Europe's Commercial Economy 1200-1700" *Gender & History* 20, no 3 (2008): 521.

⁴⁷¹ Berry, *The idea of Luxury*, 14.

⁴⁷² Cato Elder, Quoted in Berry, *The idea of Luxury*, 14.

⁴⁷³ Laura Mandell, *Misogynous Economies: The Business of Literature in Eighteenth-century Britain* (Kentucky: University Press of Kentucky, 1999), 66.

and the Academy in Sorø where he studied theology, history and geography. The reading of Latin and Greek texts, including the ones that attacked women for their luxury addiction, took up much of the schooling. Many texts were even learned by heart from an early age.⁴⁷⁴

He was newly graduated from the Sorø Academy when he wrote a twenty-eight page long pamphlet, *On Excessive Consumption and its' Consequences*, that was published for the *Danish Royal Agricultural Society* in 1772.⁴⁷⁵ The pamphlet was an evaluation of the consequences of luxury consumption, both good and bad. He gave an excellent overview of the current European debate on this issue since he referred to many well-known arguments for and against luxury and to the famous luxury debater, the French political economist Jean-Francois Melon. He nonetheless distanced himself from the new positive attitudes that had occurred among European intellectuals. Most of the pamphlet systematically attacked the arguments that defended luxury. In addition, he described and supported the ancient arguments that condemned it.

Sommerfelt argued, just as the ancient philosophers did, that luxury made humans “soft and effeminate” [blødt og qvindagtig]. He further wrote that

We can blame the [women themselves] for the use of this word since they spend too much time on unnecessary things and neglect the important things. Unnecessary and unimportant things are just the work of luxury. The ones that love luxury seldom care for the important.⁴⁷⁶

As the quote shows, Sommerfelt agreed with the use of the word “effeminate” about the luxury consumers since it was a fact that women spent more time on luxury and “unnecessary things” than men.

⁴⁷⁴ For example, the texts of the Roman poet Ovid was on the students reading list. (C. Schnitler, *Slegten fra 1814* [Kristiania: 1911], 419–420.) Ovid mocked women for their addiction to luxury. (See Magda El Nowieemy, “The Red Sea and the Luxury of the Roman Women: A Literary Study,” in *Festschrift in Honour of Prof. Dr. El-Sayed Felefel*, ed. Hussein Morad, [Cairo: Institute of Research and African Studies, 2013], 6-7)

⁴⁷⁵ Christian Sommerfelt, *Tanker om Overdaadighed og dens Virkninger*. (Sorø: Jonas Lindgrens Enke, 1772), 19.

⁴⁷⁶ [my translation] “skal man forbinde noget fast Begrep dermed, da maa det vel betegne deres Feil, der anvende for megen Omhue paa ubetydelige Ting, forsømmende derved de vigtige. Ubetydelige og unyttige Ting ere just Yppigheds Arbeide. [...] de, som elske Overdaadighed, saa sielden ret iagttage det vigtigere” Sommerfelt, *Tanker om Overdaadighed og dens Virkninger*, 19.

As mentioned above, what he and the other luxury debaters argued was in clear contrast to the reality. Recent research shows that men were as addicted to “unnecessary things” as women in Denmark-Norway and in the rest of the Western world.⁴⁷⁷ His systematic summary and support of the ancient arguments on luxury (in which the one related to gender was just one of many) indicate that he was so affected by ancient ideology and so focused on defending it that it influenced the way he portrayed women. In other words, *the purpose of his text and the impact the classic teachings* had on him from an early age shaped his view on the female consumers.

Some members from different patriotic societies were as negative to women as Sommerfelt. For example, the bishop Niels Bech depicted how especially women were watching the “many beautiful rarities” with “lustful gaze and desirous hearts” when the traders visited families in Oppland (1815, Norway).⁴⁷⁸ All of them discussed individuals’ “excessive consumption” and had a similar knowledge about the luxury debate. Thus, they might have been influenced by the luxury discourse as well. However, it was only a *minority* of the members that expressed such views. Most of the writers had a more nuanced view on the topic, as the next section will show.

5.2. Topographic descriptions: Men, women and their different consumer desires

Topographic descriptions are detailed descriptions of natural resources, industry and inhabitants of a local district. Civil servants wrote them on a voluntary basis from the 1760s onwards to aggregate knowledge about the districts, so that new natural resources might be discovered and industry and commerce improved. In 1791, a patriotic society was founded in Norway focusing on writing topographic literature.

⁴⁷⁷ Vickery, *Behind Closed Doors*, 128; Whittle and Griffiths, *Consumption and gender*, Chapter 2; Hussey, “Guns, Horses and Stylish Waistcoats”, 69; Margot Finn, “Men’s Things: Masculine Possession”, 133-155; Halle, Maria, “Her er qvindfolkene meget drivtigelige”, Chapter 5.

⁴⁷⁸ [my translation] “mange skjønnere rariteter” [that especially women] gjennomstredte med lystne blik og begjærlige hjerter.” Biskop Bech, “Om en Kjøbstad I Opplandene” *Budstikken* 4 (1812): 563 See also Stibolt’s negative comments about women in *Atter ikkun Tanker*. A. Stibolt, *Atter ikkun Tanker* (Kjøbenhavn: 1790), 1.

All of the members (most of them civil servants too)⁴⁷⁹ had to submit descriptions and a board consisting of six well-known topographical authors evaluated the submitted dissertations.⁴⁸⁰ The selected descriptions were published in *Topographic Journal*, which was read by the members and other civil servants working in local districts or in the central administration in Copenhagen.⁴⁸¹

The topographic literature should be based upon close observation and precision in describing the object, experience of the topic, and an extensive reading of relevant literature. The authors did not merely provide an overview of the important aspects of the subject under consideration, but engaged in in-depth descriptions and analysis of the subject.⁴⁸² The textual convention of precision led to the production of long dissertations, some of them over one thousand pages long.

The accounts discussed the same topics following the example set by Hans Strøm in the 1760s. The literature was usually divided into four parts. The first two parts were usually on landscape and history. The third part was a so-called “economic description” that described the “the grain fields”, “garden growing”, “the cattle care”, “the fisheries,” “the servants,” “food and drinks,” “trade and prices” and such like. The last part was a description of the inhabitants, of their “virtues, faults and habits”, “superstitions”, “festivals”, and “sickness and local medicine”. Men and women’s commodity consumption was usually described and discussed in parts three and four.

In the topographic literature (and in other descriptions of the local economy), the majority of the authors pointed to men and women’s *different* consumer desires and practices. The members usually complained about the agricultural households’

⁴⁷⁹ 31% of the members were working for the Lutheran state church. 14% were military workers and 37.6% in the civil administration. Only 7% were private employees or others. Storsveen, “Fornuftig Kierlighed til Fædrelandet,” 68.

⁴⁸⁰ In contrast to most other societies, the organisational structure of *the Topographic Society* was not democratic. It was difficult to hold regular meetings where the members could vote since they were spread all over Norway.

⁴⁸¹ Supphellen, “Historisk-topografisk litteratur ca 1750-1800,” 198-209.

⁴⁸² Jørgensen, Lene: “Omkring en litterær genre – Danske egnstopografier publiceret i årene 1755- 1845,” *Unifol, Årsberetning 1980* (1981): 40-41; Anne Eriksen, *Topografenes verden: forninner og fortidsforståelse*, (Oslo: Pax, 2001), 301-302; M.L. Brekke, “Merkverdige ting i naturleg orden: ein presentasjon av Hans Strøms Fysisk og Oeconomisk Beskrivelse over Fogderiet Søndmør,” (Master thesis [hovedoppgave], University of Bergen, 1996), 95-96.

“excessive” consumption of imported tobacco, spirits, coffee, tea and clothing. Tobacco, alcohol and textiles were mentioned in a gender perspective: women were described as the primary consumers of imported textiles and finery⁴⁸³ and men of tobacco and alcohol.⁴⁸⁴ In several of these writings, however, it was men’s consumer practices that were considered more expensive and dangerous for the families and the area.

Hans Strøm (1726-1797) was among the authors that worried about men’s commodity consumption in his topographic work, *Description of Sunnmøre* (1762-1768).⁴⁸⁵ He grew up as the son of the local vicar in Sunnmøre, a mountainous district in the northwestern part of Norway, where most households lived off fishing, farming and as sailors. After theology studies at Copenhagen University, he returned to Sunnmøre and took over as priest after his father’s death (1745). His education and the people he met abroad inspired him to write the first Norwegian topographic description, which inspired many other topographic authors after him.⁴⁸⁶

Description of Sunnmøre was a work of 1,200 pages that followed the scheme above. Commodity consumption was mentioned in the subchapter “About the clothing and lifestyle of the Sunnmøre people.”⁴⁸⁷ He focused mainly on the inhabitants’ use of

⁴⁸³ For women buying more textiles than men, see Gerhard Schøning, *Reise som giennem en Deel af Norge i de Aar 1773, 1774, 1775 paa Hans Majestets Kongens Bekostning er giort og beskrevet* (Trondheim: Tapir forlag, 1979), vol. 1, 313 and vol. 2, 24-25, 85-96; Peder Holm, “Forsøg til en Beskrivelse over Lister og Mandals Amt i Norge,” in *Topographisk Journal for Norge* 10 (1794): 45-47, 92; Bassøe, “Försög til Bidrag for det Topographiske Selskabs Samlinger,” in *Topographisk Journal for Norge* 18 (1796): 93-95; Hans Strøm, *Physisk-Oeconomisk Beskrivelse over Eger-Præstegjæld i Aggershuus-Stift i Norge: tilligemed et geographisk Kort over samme* (Kiøbenhavn: Gyldendal, 1784), 234.

⁴⁸⁴ For men buying more tobacco and alcohol than women, see Jacob Nicolaj Wilse, “Topographisk Beskrivelse af Edsberg Præstegjæld efter egen Undersøgning forfattet,” *Topographisk Journal for Norge* 16 (1796): 125; Axel Christian Smith, “Beskrivelse over Trysild præstegjæld i Aggershuus Stift i Norge,” *Topographisk Journal for Norge* 23 (1798): 29-31. Originally published in 1784. Høegh, “Vejvisning for en Bonde,” 218-240; “Prost” Kirchhoff, “Om skydsvæsenet.” in *Budstikken* 2, no. 40 and 41(1811): 158-164.

⁴⁸⁵ Strøm, Hans: *Physisk og Oeconomisk Beskrivelse over Fogderiet Søndmør, beliggende i Bergens Stift i Norge. Oplyst med Landkort og Kobberstykker.* (Sorø: Jonas Lindgren, 1762-1766) vols. 1 and 2. *Sunnmøre description* was not published by the patriotic societies because it was written before the patriotic societies were founded. However, Strøm was a member of the *Topographic Society* and the text is similar to the other topographic descriptions in purpose, structure, and in the topics it discusses

⁴⁸⁶ Arne Apelseth, *Hans Strøm*, 19

⁴⁸⁷ “Om Søndmørs Indbyggere i Almindelighed, [...] Leve-Maade, Klæde-dragt” Strøm, *Physisk og Oeconomisk Beskrivelse over Fogderiet Søndmør*, vol 1, 491.

imports. As with most members, he viewed the imports from a cameralist perspective and thought the use of them damaged the population and the state the most. According to him, the area “lost” most money on the use of alcohol and tobacco.⁴⁸⁸ He did not write much on the gender distribution of alcohol drinkers, but made it clear that tobacco users were mainly men.

Next to the foreign spirits, I should mention tobacco since it in the same way as the spirits, withdraws a big amount of money out of the country and in great quantities is used. [...] In Sunnmøre, there are around 3,260 male farmers. Only around 1/3 of these do **not** use tobacco. [...] A part of the male cottagers, a few old women and many young boys should be added too.⁴⁸⁹

He also mentioned women’s attachment to foreign textiles, but did not describe in detail how much money they used on it and how widespread it was.⁴⁹⁰ Nonetheless, Strøm’s description of men’s tobacco consumption as the most damaging and expensive consumption practice, second only to foreign spirits, shows that he thought it was worse than women’s purchases of foreign clothes. Other topographic authors described men’s attachment to tobacco in a similar way, such as the vicar Axel Smith in his description of Trysil (close to the Swedish border)⁴⁹¹ and the vicar Høegh in his description of farmers living close to Copenhagen.⁴⁹²

Not everyone that evaluated the local economy thought men’s attachment to tobacco and alcohol harmed the district the most. For example, the topographic author, *amtmann* Peder Holm (whom I will return to below) hardly mentioned the use of tobacco or alcohol in his description of Lister and Mandal. Instead, he mentioned that

⁴⁸⁸ Strøm, *Physisk og Oeconomisk Beskrivelse over Fogderiet Søndmør*, vol. 1, 550-153.

⁴⁸⁹[my translation] ”Næst efter disse fremmede Drikke-Vare fortiener især Tobak at anføres, fordi den ligeledes trækker en Hoben Penge ud af Landet i stor Mængde forbrukes [...] Paa Søndmør ere omtrent 3260 Jordbrugende Mænd, af hvilke maaske den tredie Deel ingen Tobak bruger; men derimod bør en Deel Husmænd og gamle Qvinder item en Hoben unge Drenger tillægges,” Strøm, *Physisk og Oeconomisk Beskrivelse over Fogderiet Søndmør*, vol. 1, 551-552.

⁴⁹⁰ [my translation] “But the largest amount of foreign textiles are purchased by the women, who for special occasions always have to wear read skirts with shirts, velvet hats, corset [...] cotton hats [...] and other ribbons and laces.” “Men den største Mængde af Udenlandkse Tøi kjøbes af Qvinde-kjønnen, som altid til Stads maa have røde Klædes Skiørter [...], Hue af sort Fløvel, Trøier, [...] Snørelive, [...] foruten Cottons huer, [...] og adskillige Slags Baand og Kniplinger.” Strøm, *Physisk og Oeconomisk Beskrivelse over Fogderiet Søndmør*, vol. 1. 552.

⁴⁹¹ Smith, Axel Christian, “Beskrivelse over Trysild præstegjeld,” issue 23, 29-31.

⁴⁹² Høegh ”Vejvisning for en Bonde,” 218-240.

women's (but also young men's) purchase of clothing was so widespread that "parents and the husband have to starve because of it".⁴⁹³ Thus, the attitudes varied and the members' ideas about men and women's consumer habits seem to be dependent on how widespread they thought the use of imported tobacco, alcohol and textiles were in their area.

Did the writers describe the circumstances more or less correctly? The areas average spending on imported textiles, tobacco and alcohol is difficult to estimate without any local studies done on the topic. Norwegian probate inventories of farmers' households from different districts of Norway, however, indicate that women were buying more imported textiles than men did.⁴⁹⁴ We know even less about the differences between men and women regarding the use of alcohol and tobacco in Denmark-Norway. Studies so far, though, show that these goods were consumed in great quantities at social gatherings or places where more men were present, such as taverns, alehouses and out at sea, which indicate that they were using more of them than women.⁴⁹⁵

Thus, it is difficult to know if the gendered consumption patterns were correctly described. But the majority of the members had at least a more nuanced view than the ones that attacked women for their luxury addiction. In my opinion, the purpose of the texts and its genre demands led to the more nuanced portraits. The topographic descriptions (and the other economic writings) should be based on close observation, experience of the topic and an extensive reading of relevant literature. This was also mentioned in the prefaces of the different authors. Hans Strøm, for example, wrote that his description was based on "conversations" with locals (both men and women), travels and observations, reading of relevant works and talks with other "local scientists". He had also lived in the district most of his life and gathered the information over ten years.⁴⁹⁶ As with most civil servants with a long university

⁴⁹³ [my translation] "hvilke gaaer saa vidt at Manden og forældrene maae sulte derfor." Holm, Peder, "Forsøg til en Beskrivelse over Lister og Mandals Amt", vol. 10, 46.

⁴⁹⁴ Tveite, "Den norske tekstilmærknaden på 1700-tallet", *Nordiska historikarmötet Helsingfors 1967*, (Helsingfors: Finska Historiska Samfundet, 1968), 113-123, 120.

⁴⁹⁵ Hyltdoft, Ole, *Mad, drikke og tobak 1800-35*, 274-281.

⁴⁹⁶ He also hoped that the readers would forgive any small mistakes due to the difficult circumstances it was written under; no libraries and limited access to scientific books, colleagues and no academic "supervision". Strøm, *Physisk og Oeconomisk Beskrivelse over Fogderiet Søndmør*, vol. 1, preface.

education, he probably knew about the luxury debaters' attacks on women. Such views, however, were of less importance to him since they contrasted with the reality he described.

In my opinion, the findings suggest that it might be a contrast in gender views between the practical and descriptive literature and the more theoretical and ideologically oriented works. Of course, the topographic authors did not view the economy with neutral eyes. For example, they only pointed to the gendered differences in tobacco, alcohol and textiles and did not mention any other goods. As I will return to in the next section, this was probably due to the “feminine” and “masculine” attachment to these products. Nonetheless, the literature was of such a practical nature that it forced them to look beyond the famous stereotypes of women as the most “hungry” for commodities. Many topographic descriptions (and similar writings) were produced in different districts all over Europe, but so far have not been studied in detail. Perhaps a detailed study of such literature would reveal widespread alternative views on gender and consumption than the ones that have been in focus so far.

5.3. The members' attempts to explain women's textile consumption.

How did the members understand and explain the consumer differences between men and women? In most of the cases, the textile and tobacco consumption was neutrally described and the authors did not speculate on why such differences occurred. However, a few comments shed light on how the members thought these gendered patterns were created, which the next sections will discuss.

Women's “attachment” to textiles

Some members wrote that women bought more textiles and clothes because they had a stronger “hengivenhed” [attachment to] or “lyst” [desire] for them. For example, the travel writer Gerhard Schøning came to Ørland in Trøndelag in the mid-1770s and observed that “especially the farming wives and girls” had an “attachment” to clothes used on “nice occasions, such as silk-hats, silk-handkerchiefs, silk-shirts, silk-skirts and even silk coats. The latter, though, is rare.”⁴⁹⁷ The “auctions director” J.L.

⁴⁹⁷ [my translation] “Af endeel virkes ogsaa lidt Lerret, Vadmæl, men det meeste kjøbes i Byen, især hva som skal bruges til Stats, hvortil Bonde-Koner og Piger ere meget hengivne. Her bruges av dem Silke-Huer, Silke-Tørklæder, Silke-Trøier, ja endogsaa Slike-Skiørter og Silke-

Tommesen (1810) was of a similar opinion when he described the trading pedlars and the local women in the rural district of Lemvig in southern Denmark. He argued that it was not without reason that the pedlars preferred to open their trunks to women than to men, which indicates that he meant it was easier to sell to them than to men.⁴⁹⁸

Unfortunately, none of the members explained why they thought women had this stronger attachment. The words they chose to use (“*attachment*” and “*desire*”) indicate that they were influenced by the above-mentioned luxury discourse. However, none of the members came with any angry comments about women’s uncontrollable nature or their general weakness for luxury. Thus, the members might have understood women’s attachment otherwise.

Perhaps they just described the facts. It might be that many women showed a stronger attachment to imported clothes, fabrics and accessories. In early modern society, a woman’s fabrics and clothing was a symbol of her industriousness, skilfulness and worth. For example, when women in agricultural households received female visitors in Denmark in the 1790s, it was common to take them to the *storstue* (the room for special occasions) where the family’s wealth was displayed in chests and cupboards. It was the households’ nicest homemade clothes and fabrics that were shown to the guests.⁴⁹⁹ Amanda Vickery points out that such ideas did not change when the households became more market oriented in eighteenth century Britain. The purchased fabrics were still a symbol of a woman’s skilfulness and industriousness.⁵⁰⁰ The rural women that the members observed might have felt the same. Purchasing high-quality silk could be an important symbol of women’s’ skilfulness in a similar way as making fine woollen clothes. If that was the case, women showed more attachment to fine fabrics and judged and valued textiles differently than men, which was what the writers observed.

Kaaber, lade være det sidste er endnu rart.” Schønning, Gerhard, *Reise som giennem en Deel af Norge*, vol. 1, 313.

⁴⁹⁸ J.L Tommesen. “Om kunstflidens tilstand i egnen af Grevskabet Fryenburg, 1810” *Efterretninger* 1 (1812): 455-456.

⁴⁹⁹ Yde-Andersen, “Bondens huse og boliger,” in *Dagligliv i Danmark*, ed. Axel Steensberg (København: Nyt nordisk Forlag Arnold Busck, 1982,) 170.

⁵⁰⁰ Vickery, *Behind Closed Doors*, Chapter 4.

Peder Holm (1791): The lack of female beauty

Peter Holm (1733-1817) was an *amtmann*, (the top civil servant in a district) and had vast experience in the service of the state. He had been an *amtmann* in the most northern part of Norway, Nordland, and in the eastern part of the country (Bratland) before he came to Lister and Mandal in southern Norway in 1773.⁵⁰¹ Lister and Mandal was a coastal and mountainous district where the locals based their income on agriculture, fishing, mining and employment in the export trades. As in most of Denmark-Norway, the households were increasingly buying new types of textiles and finery, such as lighter fabrics (including cotton and linen) and more colourful clothes. Accessories, such as handkerchiefs, stockings, aprons, caps and petticoats, were also used to add novelty to the clothes.⁵⁰²

In 1791, Holm published a topographic description on Lister and Mandal. He clearly disliked the changing textile consumption among farmers and repeatedly criticised women and young men's use of the commodities. In his opinion, imported textile and finery had led to high expenses and poverty in the region. Nonetheless, he fully understood why the servant girls needed to buy it. Describing their income and expenses, he wrote:

[The Salary suffices] to some finery, which admittedly goes further than circumstance and position demands for, but it can be necessary here since it has to make up for the lack of female beauty. [Female beauty] in this district is not common.⁵⁰³

In other words, Holm thought it could be necessary to put some finery on the girls in the district since female beauty was uncommon there.

⁵⁰¹ H.J Huitfelt-Kaas. "Peder Holm" *Dansk biografisk Lexicon*, (Kjøbenhavn: Gyldendalske Boghandels Forlag, 1887 - 1905.) Vol. 7, 586, available at <http://runeberg.org/dbl/7/0588.html> (retrieved 7 July 2014)

⁵⁰² In Lister and Mandel, some of the clothing habits were probably inspired by Dutch customs too, since many young girls from this district went there to work and brought back with them new ideas and practices. Gustav Sætra, "Markedsøkonomi i Agders bygder 1650-1850," in *Norsk bondeøkonomi*, eds. Anna Tranberg and Knut Sprauten (Oslo: Universitetsforlaget, 1996), 66-67; For more about Dutch customs in Lister and Mandal, see Kristin M. Røgeberg, *Hollandsk klesskikk i norsk drakt*, available at <http://www.kristinmathilderogeberg.net/22691927> (retrieved 7 July 2014).

⁵⁰³ [...] de ønske de saa gjerne, at det kunde strække til noget Stads, som vel gaær videre end stand og vilkaar udfordrer; men kan dog være fornødent til at böde paa Qvindekjønnets smukhed, som ikke her er almindelig. Holm, "Forsøg til en Beskrivelse over Lister og Mandals Amt", vol. 10, 57

As mentioned above, Holm had lived in the northern and eastern parts of Norway, which gave him the possibility to observe populations in different areas of Norway over many years. He probably also compared the female servants in the different districts to the beauty ideals present in his social group, the upper class. Women in this social group should have “porcelain” white skin, a tiny waist and a “doll-like” look. Corsets, “*hofteputer*” (that make the hips wide) and white cream on the face was used to enhance these features. From the 1780s onwards, the beauty ideal was changing towards that of a more natural character. Fewer women used corsets and white cream, but a tiny waist, a fragile and sensitive look (and character) was still in fashion.⁵⁰⁴ The beauty ideal was in contrast to what many of the farm girls looked like. Especially servant girls had to be very strong due to hard work on the farm and their skin was marked by both the sun and harsh weather. Holm’s comparison, however, shows that the servant girls he observed in other areas fitted slightly better his view on beauty, which led to his compassionate description of women’s finery purchases.

Critical comments on the body and the looks of women were present in the other topographic writings too. However, in contrast to Holm’s writing, none of the other authors used the lack of female beauty as an excuse for the women to buy more finery. Several of them emphasised the benefits of women being less pretty; they were big, strong and hard-working, which was what the country needed.⁵⁰⁵ One of them was “kapellan” Hans Jacob Wille. He wrote a topographic description on Seljord in the coastal part of Norway and described the women there:

There are not many beautiful women here since most of them have big and rough faces, huge breasts, big hands, big feet and wide hips. The art of pleasing are for them unknown. On the other hand, they are the more hardened against coldness, severe labour and other kinds of hardship. Many of them ski well and they are very strong. They can even fight with the men and win.⁵⁰⁶

⁵⁰⁴ Damsholt, *Fædrelandskærlighed og borgerdyd*, 142-144.

⁵⁰⁵ See for example Schøning, *Reise som giennem en Deel af Norge*, 61.

⁵⁰⁶ [my translation] “[Det finnes] meget faa smukke Fruentimmer, da de fleste have store, grove, uproportionerede Ansigter, tykke Bryster, store Hænder og Fødder, brede Hofte. Den Kunst at behage, er dem for det meste ubekjendt, men derimod ere de desto mere hærdede mot Kulde, strænge Arbeider og Strabatser. Adskillige kan endog løbe paa Ski og have Kiempekræfter til at brydes med Mandfolkene og overvinde dem” Hans Jacob Wille,

According to Wille, the women in Seljord were not particularly pretty and they did not know how to please men, but they were big and strong, which was as important as the other characteristics. The topographic authors wanted to increase the economic wellbeing of the population and, as the next chapters will show, they thought every single individual should work hard to achieve this, including the women. Women's beauty was of less importance to reach such a goal, which probably made female beauty less important for the authors too.

Did the members care about female beauty in other social groups too? There were no critical comments about their appearance despite middle and upper class ladies' economic activities being described in a similar manner. More practical concerns might explain it. The upper classes in the different rural districts of Denmark-Norway were rather small, and many of them knew each other. Evaluating and criticising the appearance of people you could meet (or met regularly) would probably not benefit the patriotic community or create a warm atmosphere. The local population was numerous and the local vicars, the *amtman* or other civil servants had a more distant relationship to them, which made it easier to judge and evaluate them.

J.L Tommesen (1810): Women's compassionate nature

J.L Tommesen had a completely different explanation for why women bought more textiles and finery than men in Frysenborg in Denmark. Not much is known about him, except that he (as he wrote himself) was from the "middle rank"⁵⁰⁷ and that the evaluation of local industries and artisans in Frysenborg was written on request by *The Society for Improvement for Domestic Industries* (1810).⁵⁰⁸

According to Tommesen, there were two issues that hindered the progress of the industries in the district. Firstly, the lazy men that were smoking, drinking and eating so much that the household production did not go into surplus. Another problem was the many illegal traders who came to the district and lured money from the local women by selling finery to them. He wrote:

Beskrivelse over Sillejords Præstegield i Øvre-Tellemarken i Norge: tilligemed et geographisk Chart over samme (Kjøbenhavn: Gyldendal, 1786), 229.

⁵⁰⁷ "middelstand" Tommesen. "Om kunstflidens tilstand," 445

⁵⁰⁸ Tommesen. "Om kunstflidens tilstand," 445

Oh, let the good country ladies be freed from the overflow of traders and scammers that often, without permission, sell their finery to them. The trader especially seeks out the women and their silver money. They press finery on them that they don't need or never thought of before. Often, women buy out of compassion for the poor trader. However, [it should be said that] the trader does open his trunk without a reason.⁵⁰⁹

Tommesen indicated that women had a desire for textiles since he wrote that there was a reason that they opened the trunk to them in the first place. However, the purchase happened to a large extent because the pedlars “pushed” the finery on them and generally made such a pitiable impression on the ladies that they bought out of compassion. Thus, Tommesen pointed out a mix of desire and compassion as important consumer motivations for the women in the area.

The idea that women were more compassionate than men was widespread in the eighteenth- and nineteenth-century middle classes. Such ideas have a long history. Speculation about the psychology of the sexes can be found in the very earliest Western philosophical and religious writings. Aristotle wrote around 330 BC that “Woman is more compassionate than man, more easily moved to tears, at the same time, they are more jealous, more querulous, more apt to scold and to strike.”⁵¹⁰ Such views were repeated during the medieval and early modern periods, in texts of both popular and academic character.⁵¹¹ Also, in the widespread protests towards slavery in North America in the 1790s, the initiators especially aimed their arguments at women since they believed that women had a special capacity for empathy and that their identification with the suffering of others would lead them to abstain from slave-produced commodities.⁵¹² In the nineteenth century philanthropic societies, the involvement of women was also based on the belief that they were more kind-hearted,

⁵⁰⁹ [my translation] “Gid og vore gode Landboe Damer maatte befries for Overløb af omløbende Kræmmere og Snydere, som often uden Tilladelse udkramme deres Vare og Flittestads for dem og paanøde Folk det de ikke behøve og aldrig havde tænkt paa, men som de stunodm kiøbe af Medlidenhed mod den stakkels Kræmmer, der dog ikke for intet skal have aabnet sin Kramkiste. At Kræmmeren igjen fortrækker med Damernes Sølv og Sølvpenge, er ligefrem.” Tommesen. “Om kunstflidens tilstand I egnen af Grevskabet Fryenborg,” Tommesen. “Om kunstflidens tilstand,” 455-456.

⁵¹⁰ Aristotle, *History of Animals*, book IX, part 1 Quoted from Stephanie Shields and Kristen Eyssell, *Encyclopedia of Women and Gender: Sex Similarities and Differences* (San Diego: Academic Press, 2002,) vol. 1, 594.

⁵¹¹ Shields and Eyssell, *Encyclopedia of Women and Gender*, 594.

⁵¹² Sussmann, *Consuming anxieties*, 8-9; Higgins “Consumption, Gender, and the Politics of “Free Trade”, 91

benevolent and giving than men.⁵¹³ In other words, arguments and ideas about women's compassionate nature circulated in the European middle classes, and Tommesen's description indicates that he was influenced by this widespread perception.

The greedy and cheating pedlar

Much creativity was used to sell products among travelling pedlars in early modern Europe, such as shouting, convincing speeches and the "three for two" method. Economic historians have shown how the trader's skills in advertisement contributed to the spread of commodity consumption in eighteenth-century Europe.⁵¹⁴ Several pedlars, at least in the Norwegian districts, specialised in items for women. For example, the scholar Gunvor Trættestad detected how Swedish pedlars visited farmers' households in the Norwegian district Hedmark selling "women's stuff" [kvinnfolkstas] to the locals. They went to different farms with a double rucksack, on the back and on the stomach, filled up with different kinds of textiles, such as ribbons, kerchiefs, and duvets.⁵¹⁵

The members of the societies noticed how pedlars aimed especially at women and partly explained women's high textile consumption with the pedlars trading tricks. As mentioned above, J.L. Tommesen wrote how "traders and cheaters" came to the district without permission, aimed at the "ladies and their silver money". They "pushed"

⁵¹³Ruth Croker, *Mrs. Russell Sage: Women's Activism and Philanthropy in Gilded Age* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2006), 3

⁵¹⁴ For Norway, see Gunvor Trættestad, "Omfarshandel. Skreppekarere, driftekarere og jekteskipperere i Hordaland," *Norveg* 2 (1952), 107-108. About selling techniques of pedlars in England prior to 1900, see Christine Harris, "An Examination into the Retail Skills of Itinerant Retailers before 1900." in *15th Conference of the European Association for Education and Research in Commercial Distribution (EAERCD), 15-17 July 2009*, University of Surrey, England. Unpublished paper. Available at http://eprints.bournemouth.ac.uk/12192/2/An_Examination_into_the_Retail_Skills_of_Itinerant_Retailers_before_1900.pdf (retrieved 7 December 2015) For studies on pedlars and their role in the early modern economy, see for example Laurence Fontaine, *History of pedlars in Europe* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1996); Margaret Spufford, *The great re-clothing of rural England: petty chapmen and their wares in the seventeenth century* (London: Hambledon Press, 1984). For Sweden, see Pia Lundqvist, "Marknad på väg," 118

⁵¹⁵ Trættestad, "Omfarshandel," 118. Trættestad documents pedlars targeting women in later periods. However, it is likely that the targeting is older. Men travelled more through their work and thus had more access to different markets. Women, on the other hand, were more tied to the farm and it was therefore easier for them to buy directly from the peddler. (Hutchison, "In the doorway to development," 106). Thus, many pedlars might have seen that a specialising on "women's stuff" were profitable.

unnecessary “flittestas” [finery] on them and managed through their “poor look” to get the women to pity them so much that they bought the products.⁵¹⁶ Peder Holm (who described Lister and Mandal) also mentioned, “The ones that create poverty in the district are the illegal traders that settle in Lister or travel through the area.” The “traders with finery [Galanteri Kram] especially “sought out” farmer’s wives and daughters.⁵¹⁷ As seen in previous sections, Holm and Tommesen noticed that women wanted the products too, so they were not completely innocent. But to a certain extent they were viewed as victims of the bad merchant, which partly explained their high textile consumption.

Tommesen and Holm portrayed women as more passive consumers than they really were. Studies on consumer behaviour point to the fact that the consumer does not passively follow what is imposed on them. Instead, they often choose consumer patterns that express their own tastes and identity.⁵¹⁸ Some of the pedlars were probably skilful and cheated, lured and tricked women, but the picture was definitely not as black and white as portrayed above. The civil servants’ hostility to the pedlars was probably due to their “unpatriotic” behaviour in two ways: (1) They undermined the state’s countless efforts to try to move the trade to the cities, and (2) they sold illegal products, mainly imports that were believed to harm both the state and the population. In other words, the anger towards the pedlars due to their “unpatriotic” behaviour drove the authors to see women as more exploited consumers than they actually were.

5.4 The members attempts to explain men’s tobacco and alcohol consumption

Male sociability

Men’s attachment to tobacco and alcohol was explained in a different way than women’s textile consumption. According to many members, men’s excessive tobacco and alcohol use came as a consequence of different kinds of male gatherings. For

⁵¹⁶ Tommesen. “Om kunstflidens tilstand,” 445

⁵¹⁷ [my translation] “De som eller bidrager til Bonden ringe Vilkar, er de mange uberettigede Handlere, som deels nedsætte sig paa Landet især i Lister-Amt, deels ved Gjennemrejser gjøre Bondens Koner og Døttre besøg med Galanterie-Kram, ved hvilken Lejlighed de maae lukke Pungen op” Holm, Peder, ”Forsøg til en Beskrivelse over Lister og Mandals Amt”, vol. 10, 46

⁵¹⁸ Jan de Vries, *The industrious revolution*, 52

example, according to the *prost*⁵¹⁹ Kirchhoff, male farmers' regular visits to the inn were the biggest "moral"⁵²⁰ problem in the Thune district of Norway since it led to a high intake of alcohol in the area (1810). Farmers visited inns when they transported goods or people, which led to much time and money being "wasted" on drinking and card playing. Kirchhoff further wrote that the worst was that they also brought a son, a servant boy or "even a daughter" to the inn. The inns thus became a school in bad habits for the coming generations.⁵²¹ The above-mentioned J.L Tommesen noticed the same phenomena in Denmark, but this time it was in the farmers' own home. While women were "industriously" making frieze, linen, stockings and gloves by the fireplace, the men were playing cards, drinking and smoking, which threatened men's house industries in the district. He mentioned, however, that a "few" boys wanted to work instead of drink, but they could not do it, since they were afraid their friends would mock them.⁵²²

The members' observations are what scholars' today call *sociability*. Sociability has been identified as one of the most important reasons for why tobacco and new types of alcohol became so popular in the eighteenth century. Use of such commodities with others gave a possibility for social interactions. As Hutchison argues in her study of the consumer behavior in rural Norway in the same period, "the positive experiences of sharing a pipe [...] helped bind friends closer together and could break the ice between strangers, irrespective of whether one was in a large and merry crowd, or a quiet twosome in a ramshackle forest shelter."⁵²³ Consumption and sociability could also be closely connected to work. The many dinner parties that middle class families joined in Copenhagen, for example, were as much about maintaining and building business networks as it was about enjoying the food.⁵²⁴

While the members were negative to the sociability that was going on between the farmers, they were rather positive to their own. The vicar Pavel mentioned the topic in

⁵¹⁹ A "prost" was a head of several vicars and parishes.

⁵²⁰ [my translations] "moralitetens største fordærver" Kirchhoff, "Om skydsvæsenet." *Budstikken 2* (1811): 158 – 164.

⁵²¹ Kirchhoff, "Om skydsvæsenet," 158 – 164.

⁵²² Tommesen. "Om kunstflidens tilstand," 446-447.

⁵²³ Hutchison, "In the doorway to development," 238.

⁵²⁴ Hylltoft, *Syn på mad og drikke*, 237-241.

a memorial speech about John Collett, a rich merchant member that had supported *Aker Society* [Aker sogneselskab] economically over several years.⁵²⁵ According to him, Collett was “wise” since he understood how important it was to combine the “serious” meetings with “good meals” and “drinks” afterwards.

It was not for his own good that he persuaded the society to end the regular meetings with a cheerful “tilstelning.” [social event/dinner party] It was because he realised that the members would become more closely tied to the organisation than if they only had the meetings together. It is not really the food we care about or the wine. No, we do not have such unworthy thoughts.⁵²⁶

Pavel further wrote that the meals and meetings combined would create such a “happy atmosphere” and a feeling of joy when “the patriotic songs” were sung in “a harmonious choir” and glasses were clinking “for our beloved Norway.”⁵²⁷ In other words, the atmosphere created during the meals was important for keeping people in the society. Most societies had a couple of such dinner parties during the year. If they were fully aware of the beneficial effects the meals had for the members’ attachment to the patriotic societies remains uncertain. However, the practical experiences they had with it might indicate so.⁵²⁸

The perceptions of women’s tobacco and alcohol use.

The gendered meanings of tobacco and alcohol are constantly changing. When tobacco was introduced to Europe in the wake of the Spanish conquests, both women and men started snuffing, chewing and smoking tobacco. However, in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the idea of smoking as an unfeminine practice spread in the

⁵²⁵ *Aker society* was a part of the *Society for Norway’s Wellbeing*.

⁵²⁶ [my translation] Det var visselig ikke for sin egen Skyld han fik gennemført den Bestemmelse, at Selskabets regulære Møder skulde afsluttes med en liten festlig Tilstelning; det var fordi han indsaa, at mange herved vilde knyttes fastere til Selskabet end dets egentlige Forhandlinger kunde formaa. Det er ikke Maden de smage, ikke Vinen de drikke, bort med al sliig lav, uværdig Tanke.” [...] “Slotsprest Pavel” Quoted in Ludvig Daae, *Akers sogneselskab 1807-1907: festskrift i anledning af 100-aars-jubilæet* (Kristiania : Grøndahl 1907), 44.

⁵²⁷ “de patriotiske Sange, [...] i harmoniske Chor, [...] de høitidsfulde Skaaler under Glassenes [...] vort elskede Norge. Slotsprest Pavel, Quoted in Daae, *Akers sogneselskab 1807-1907*, 44.

⁵²⁸ As Brian Cowan argues, the link between sociability, commerce and consumption were all mentioned in the writings of eighteenth-century intellectuals, such as Shaftesbury, Mandeville and Smith. The link between them was of “major concern” to the eighteenth-century famous writers (that many of the society writers might have read). Maybe the texts made members more aware of the effects of sociability as well. Brian Cowan, “Public Spaces, Knowledge, and Sociability,” in *The Oxford Handbook of the History of Consumption*, ed. Frank Trentmann (Oxford : Oxford University Press, 2012), 251-266.

European middle classes. It happened when respectability became an important value to them. (Women's tobacco snuffing, on the other hand, was considered "respectable"). Smoking tobacco was then associated with the rational, respectable man discussing important topics, such as politics and business, with a pipe in his mouth. It was assumed that women avoided this habit since it was "offensive to ladies sensibilities [...] mainly because of its undeniable dirtiness and smell."⁵²⁹ This gave birth to a set of smoking rituals with gender differences. For example, women should withdraw after dinner so the men could smoke together.

The gendered meaning of the use of alcohol consumption went through similar changes. In Scandinavia in the sixteenth century, it was "natural" that women were as excessively drunk as men. They were seen publicly drunk in church, in the convent, and at the local court.⁵³⁰ In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, however, the meaning of alcohol consumption changed, also when the ideas about "respectability" spread in the middle classes. It was considered "unfeminine" or even "unnatural" for women to have strong alcoholic drinks.⁵³¹

Such new ideas were spreading to the patriotic societies as well. Nothing was mentioned regarding the use of alcohol, but the engineer and commandant E. Hoff (*Topographic Society*, 1791) described the young women smoking in rural Idde (a parish close to the Swedish border) as rather unfeminine and should be avoided:

It is not unusual to see [women] along the road, in an errand, knitting stockings or gloves. It is not pretty to see that many of them go with a tobacco pipe in the mouth, especially if the face is [pretty].⁵³²

⁵²⁹ Woodruff Smith, *Consumption and the making of respectability, 1600-1800* (New York: Routledge 2002,) 168.

⁵³⁰ Troels Troels-Lund, *Dagligt Liv i Norden i det sekstende Aarhundrede* (Copenhagen: Gyldendal, 1908), vol. 5, 256–257.

⁵³¹ Sidsel Eriksen "Alcohol as a Gender Symbol," *Scandinavian Journal of History* 24 no. 1 (1999): 45-73; Hanna Enefalk "Alcohol and Respectability," *Scandinavian Journal of History* 38, no 3 (2013): 296-317. Milder alcoholic drinks, however, like *miød* (honey, milk and spices), warm fruit drinks and punch were considered suitable for women.

⁵³² [my translation] Fruentimmere ere i Almindelighed mere arbejdsomme og flittige, end Mandfokene; thi foruden deres huuslige Sysler ere de stedse beskjeftiget med at spinde, væve, sye og knytte Strømper, ja endog ej usædvanligt at see dem ved et eller andet Ærende, gaaende paa Vejen og knytte Strømper eller Vanter, men at see en stor Deel af dem tillige med en Tobakspibe i Munden, synes slet ikke smukt, i sær om Ansigtet er det." Hoff, "Idde prestegjeld," *Topographisk Jorunal* 8 (1794): 2-3.

The vicar Hans Arentz also wrote that “even” the women are chewing and smoking in his topographic description of Kristiansund (a northwestern part of Norway), which indicates that he also regarded it as a male activity. If these authors thought women should avoid tobacco smoking because it was “offensive to their sensibilities” or for other biological reasons is not clear. However, it is documented that ideas about women’s specific “sensibility and vulnerable nerves” were present in middle class writings from Copenhagen in the mid-1790s.⁵³³ Thus, it is likely that ideas about “respectable” ladies avoiding smoke due to their “sensibility” might have occurred in some Danish-Norwegian middle class circles.

In most descriptions, however, the members did not problematise women smoking and drinking because of their sex. For example, the above-mentioned Strøm mentioned how “old women” were snuffing and smoking in Sunnmøre and he did not problematise the phenomena (1762).⁵³⁴ Also, the topographic author and vicar Axel Smith (1784) briefly mentioned that a “large part” of the women in Trysil spent their money on smoking tobacco.⁵³⁵ Peder Holm wrote that “married women were drinking until they became happy” at parties in Lister and Mandal (1791).⁵³⁶ Instead of reacting to the fact that they were women, these authors had the same worries as when evaluating men’s tobacco and alcohol consumption: the health and money problems caused by it and how it damaged the national balance of trade.

5.5. Summary

The chapter examined how the members in the patriotic societies compared men and women’s consumer desires. The findings suggest that we need to revise contemporary ideas about gender and consumption in European social discourse. By using a new type of source material, the widespread topographical literature, the chapter revealed that many members had a much more nuanced view on men and women’s “excessive consumption.” Instead of using the famous stereotypes, where especially women were attacked as addicted to the new goods, the members varied in their opinions. In the areas where tobacco and alcohol consumption was most widespread, men’s commodity consumption was often more harshly criticised than women’s. This

⁵³³ Damsholdt, *Fædrelandskærlighed og borgerdyd*, Chapter 3.

⁵³⁴ Strøm, *Physisk og Oeconomisk Beskrivelse over Fogderiet Søndmør*, vol 1, 551-552.

⁵³⁵ Axel Smith, ”Beskrivelse over Trysild præstegjeld,” vol 23, 29, 115-8.

⁵³⁶ Holm, ”Forsøg til en Beskrivelse over Lister og Mandals Amt”, vol. 10, 42.

literature was based on close observation over many years and knowledge about the topic, which made the authors go beyond the famous stereotypes. More studies on similar material from other countries might reveal that there were important alternative discourses present in eighteenth- and nineteenth-century societies besides the ones that have been in focus so far.

The chapter also examined how the members understood and explained the gender differences they observed, namely women's use of textiles and finery and men's use of tobacco and alcohol. The members understood the differences in varied ways. Some members' thought women bought more textiles since they had a stronger attachment to the goods. The member J.L Tommesen, however, offered additional reasons; he pointed to how the pedlars could partly be blamed since they exploited women's compassionate nature and tricked and cheated them. Peder Holm partly blamed the pedlars as well, but he also mentioned that the servant girls tried to meet the contemporary beauty expectations. Further, many authors argued that different types of male sociability contributed to the high intake of tobacco and alcohol. Thus, the findings suggest that the members did not find the gender differences "natural." Instead, they detected a mix of different factors (biological and social) that constructed the differences in consumer behaviour.

6. Buying for the Home: The Norms and Practices on Gendered Patterns of Spending in the Patriotic Societies.

This chapter discusses the members' advice on household planning and spending. Still, the internal decision-making in eighteenth- and nineteenth-century households is largely unknown to us, both on the level of ideologies and practices. A few recent studies focus on the level of practices and they show that gender ideas influenced the control of the household spending in early modern households. Account books and diaries of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century British gentry families reveal that men were likely to decide on house repairs, private forms of transport and "the bigger expenses", while women would control the spending on food, clothes and smaller items for household use.⁵³⁷ Studies of Danish and Norwegian families also indicate similar gendered patterns of spending.⁵³⁸ Did gender views also influence the patriots' ideas on household spending? And how did the members value the consumption decisions taken by the husband and wife?

The source material will consist of advice to farmers on household spending, the members' evaluations of local economies in different parts of Denmark-Norway and of the members' speeches and pamphlets addressed to the middle and lower classes (1770-1814). Especially the Lutheran vicar Peter Høegh (1738-1805) discussed household spending in detail in an advice book he wrote for Danish farmers (1794).⁵³⁹ His writing will therefore be of much use in this chapter.

⁵³⁷ Vickery, *Behind Closed Doors*, Chapter 4; Whittle and Griffiths, *Consumption and gender in the early seventeenth-century household*, Chapter 2; Karen Harvey, *The Little Republic: Masculinity and Domestic Authority in Eighteenth-Century Britain* (Oxford, Oxford University Press 2012), Chapters 1, 3 and 9.

⁵³⁸ The focus in this research is on the gender division of labour, but it also touches briefly on the control of household expenses in the family. So far, they have only focused on the decision-making of women. Anna Jorunn Avdem og Kari Melby, *Oppe først og siste i seng : husarbeide i Norge fra 1850 til i dag* (Oslo, Universitetsforlaget, 1985), 57-67; Bull, "De trondhjemske handelshusene," Chapter 4.

⁵³⁹ Hans Jørgen, *Vejvisning for en Bonde*.

6.1 Presenting Peter Høegh's book on household advices to Danish farmers (1794)

Danish Royal Agricultural Society was founded in Copenhagen in 1768. The society gave prizes to inhabitants involved in the exploitation of different natural resources or engaged in industries and commerce. It also conferred prizes to authors of dissertations about these topics, which were then published in the journal of the society, *The Transactions of the Danish Royal Agricultural Society* (1768-1807).⁵⁴⁰ The 350 members were civil servants (75%), merchants (17%), and nobles and peasants (8%). Many members worked on economic issues as civil servants in the state administration in Copenhagen and they often suggested the subjects of dissertations in areas or on subjects that were of interest to the Danish-Norwegian state.⁵⁴¹

It is therefore no surprise that one of the prize-winning dissertations was an advice book written for Danish peasants (1794) following the state's agricultural reforms. The author of this dissertation was the Lutheran vicar Peter Høegh. Since 1781, he had been working as a vicar in the Gentofte parish, which was one of the areas in which the reforms had been implemented.⁵⁴² Høegh's motives corresponded with the policy of the society: he wrote that the changes that had been introduced would "double" the profit on the farm. However, the peasants needed guidance in order to succeed, which was why his advice book was needed in the rural districts.⁵⁴³

He also wanted to improve morality among the Danish peasants. He argued that the advice book would lead to better work habits, which were also of religious value:

Oh, dear peasant! Let me encourage you to industriousness. My whole book is a guide to you for this. [...] Work is God's own [...] road to [...] refinement of life. If we follow this [...] oh, we will become so happy.⁵⁴⁴

Høegh thus combined the suggestions on agriculture with his clerical duties.

⁵⁴⁰ Engelhardt, *Borgerskab og fællesskab*, 60-70, 199-209.

⁵⁴¹ Engelhardt, *Borgerskab og fællesskab*, 70.

⁵⁴² Felbæk, *Danmark-Norge. Nærhed og adskillelse*, 230-235; Engelhardt, *Borgerskab og fællesskab*, 123-142.

⁵⁴³ Høegh, *Vejvisning for en Bonde*, 3-4.

⁵⁴⁴ [my translation] "O! Min kjære bonde! Lad min Opmuntring til Arbeidsomhed i Dit Kald giennemtrengte Dig! Min hele Bog er en Vejviisning for Dig dertil [...] Arbeidsomheds-Vejen er Guds egen forelagte Vej til Forædning i Livet. Følge vi den, hver i sit Kald, med det Overlæg, vi som Fornufitge kan og bør, lade vi Religiones Bevæggrunde oplive og opmuntre os dertil: o! Hvor lykkelige er vi da ikke?" Høegh, *Vejvisning for en Bonde*, 454

Høegh's scientific method in gathering and presenting the information about Danish agriculture was the same as that used by the topographic authors. The guidebook was based on close observation and long experience with the subject discussed. Like most vicars in Denmark-Norway, he combined his clerical duties with farming and he wrote that his suggestions for improvement were based upon "several years" of experience and a close contact with farmers. The suggestions ranged from how to make butter that the farmers could make money on to advice about the correct appearance of farmhouses. These detailed suggestions for improvement and descriptions of agriculture led to a long treatise, which amounted to approximately 500 pages.⁵⁴⁵ Around fifty of these pages were advice on the internal household management, including household spending.

A modern reader might wonder why household management was included in a book about agriculture. Høegh answered this question himself:

Some of you might think [...] I go beyond what is required when I also mention the household management. [...] But since I have already won the peasants' trust and confidence, I want to tell them about this topic too. I am convinced that if the household management is not cared for, farmers will not have any success in any of the other topics mentioned no matter how much they follow my advice. And he will never become happy before he, his wife, children and servants are fulfilling their tasks well inside the house and are working well together, hand in hand.⁵⁴⁶

Høegh's views were in accordance with the family ideologies of the period. The households in early modern society were considered the smallest unit of society and it had to be working well for the rest of society to function.

⁵⁴⁵ The different topics were on receiving a new farm, the soil and on deciding what to do with fields and meadows, about the divisions of the fields, on cereal seed treatment, on clover growing, on "feeding, grassing and cattle breeding," about the small animals on the farm, on sheep, on manuring, on gardening, on the household tasks. Høegh, *Vejvisning for en Bonde*, VII-XVI

⁵⁴⁶ [my translation] "Det kunde maaske forekomme nogen, at jeg ved denne Materies Afhandling gaer videre, end Bogens Titel fordrer. [...] Hadde jeg vundet min Bondes tillid og fortroelighed [...] saa maatte jeg ogsaaa benytte mig af denne erhvervede fortroelighed og endnu tilføie en Vejvisning for ham i hans Huusgjerning. [...] Jeg er overbevist om, at saafremt Huusgjerningen ej bliver tilbørlig paaaget af min Bonde, da vil intent af alt det, jeg har anvist ham, blive fuldkomend udført og han vil aldrig, i hvor meget han end følger min øvrige andvisning kunde vente at blive den ret lykkelige Bonde, med mindre hver huusgjerning, som inden dørre tilkomer ham, Kone og Børn samt tjenestefolk udrettes tilbrørlig af hver især og af den ene, haaand I hand, med den anden." Høegh, *Vejvisning for en Bonde*, 449.

The book received good reviews. Besides winning the gold medal in the society, it received good reviews in the Danish journal *Minerva*. It was also published in several editions: as a book in 1794, in *Transactions* (the journal of the society) in 1795 and a couple of years later, in translated versions in Swedish and German.

Some evidence points to farmers finding the book useful too. At least the farmer Peder Nielsen Knudstrup (1781-1858) followed several of Høegh's recommendations when he got a farm in 1812 and wrote in detail about his experiences to the society (1819-20).⁵⁴⁷

6.2 The housemother's household spending

The household head was legally responsible for the other household members in early modern Europe. This individual had the right to dispose of the household's wealth as she or he wished. The laws assigned this task to the husband and at the husbands' death, to the widow. In other words, women (and other household members) did not have rights to independently purchase, trade and sell commodities in early modern Europe.⁵⁴⁸ In the case of Denmark-Norway, Christian V Law (1687) stated "The husband is not under obligation to pay his wife's or children's contract when they live in a joint estate, unless it can be clearly proven that the contract was made with the husband's knowledge and consent or was for common use and undeniable need."⁵⁴⁹

Nonetheless, court records show that women of all ranks frequently bought wares (both for household use and for trade) and that it was not treated as problematic in court. Practical reasons explain why this law was overlooked in society. In a society that was based on credit and where the husband was often away, it would ensure social exclusion to declare one's own wife untrustworthy of trade. Also, the judges themselves were involved in commerce and they would hardly promote a law that encouraged people to withdraw from their contracts. In addition, court records reveal that the court

⁵⁴⁷ Hertel, H. "Peder Nielsen Knudstrup," in *Dansk biographisk lexikon*, vol. IX, 290-191, available at <http://runeberg.org/dbl/9/0292.html> (retrieved April 3, 2015).

⁵⁴⁸ Some European laws secured trading wives more independence as a "femme sole trader" or *Kau Frau*. A similar paragraph appears in Magnus Lagabøters Bylov from 1276. The urban women could trade and make contracts, but not in relation to land or farms. It remains unclear, however, for how long the Norwegian city laws were actually used. Sandvik, "Decision making on marital property," 118.

⁵⁴⁹ Christian V Lov (5.1.13) Sandvik, "Decision making on marital property," 118.

participants to a large extent considered women as reliable persons with economic sense and that they were able to make contracts.⁵⁵⁰

Account books also show that the wife kept an overview of parts of the household expenses and paid them for the family. When the merchant's daughter Anna Dorothea Brodtkorp married a rich merchant, Høe, in Trondheim in 1772, she received several account books from her husband. They were much used during their marriage and she wrote down expenses of different kinds: payment to the workers that bleached clothes, baked, brewed and slaughtered animals for the family. She also noted the spinning, weaving and knitting expenses and the expenses for soap and candle making as well. She wrote down the salaries given to the people who were graining, weeding in the garden, and the expenses for the doctor and midwife visits. In addition, food and beverages purchased in Trondheim were mentioned in the book too. However, much foodstuff was imported through her husband's company and was therefore mentioned in his books.⁵⁵¹ Mrs Høe was no exception. Recent studies of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century gentry households in Britain point to great individual differences, but they also show that parts of the household expenses were written down and overviewed by the wife herself.⁵⁵²

Did the members notice this practice and did they encourage it? The members knew that wives often paid the household expenses on behalf of the family and that they kept an overview of the budget. Moreover, the members praised women's competence in these matters. Høegh, the author of the advice book, mentioned that

“[Many] husbands entrust a large part of the household income and expenses to their frugal and wise wives. Where I have found this, it has been delightful. The expenses have been paid on time and the surplus has been wisely put aside, and the husbands have found themselves happy with their wives' management. If you have such a wife, dear farmer, give her the task [as well.] You will not regret it! She will reward your trust and you will at anytime

⁵⁵⁰ Around 1814, however, the legal rhetoric changed slightly. Instead, they actually insisted that wares, such as tobacco, should be included as an item of “undeniable need”, for which a wife could contract. Sandvik, “Decision making on marital property,” 118-119.

⁵⁵¹ Bull, “De trondhjemske handelshusene,” 198-199.

⁵⁵² Vickery, *Behind Closed Doors*, Chapter 4; Whittle and Griffiths, *Consumption and gender*, Chapter 2.

have enough, yes, she will often delight you with unexpected profit.⁵⁵³

In Høegh's eyes there was no need to keep wives' outside the economic affairs of the household since most of them were wise and frugal in their work. However, paying the household expenses is not the same as *deciding* what the money should be spent on. An important question in the historiographical literature has been if women were *subordinated* to their husbands' decisions in all matters or if there was a *division* of household responsibilities that gave status and power to the wife. Most of the Norwegian and Danish studies, however, point to the fact that husbands delegated much of the decision making to their wives.⁵⁵⁴ In the case of the above-mentioned merchant family Høe, letters from the family indicate that much of the decision making lay with the wife. As Ida Bull shows, decisions regarding food provision and preparation, the cattle, clothing, washing and the garden were delegated to Mrs Høe and her competence in these matters was valued and respected by the other household members, including her husband. Only when the wife was sick would the husband take over these duties and he performed the tasks with detailed instructions from his wife.⁵⁵⁵

The members in the societies also noticed and valued the fact that purchasing decisions lay with the wife. The above-mentioned Høegh (1791) also wrote that wives' would "surprise" their husbands with an "unexpected" surplus, which indicates that he wanted husbands to delegate some of the decisions to the wife and that the household would benefit from it.⁵⁵⁶ Also, the board of *The Society for Norway's Wellbeing* (1811) wrote in an article that they wanted female members since they had a great knowledge and influence on "the whole household economy."⁵⁵⁷ What kind of purchasing decisions did the members find the wives so excellent in?

⁵⁵³ [my translation] "Man finder ikke sieldent i vor Bondestand, at Mændene for en stor Deel overlade deres kloge og sparsomme Koner Bestyrelsen af Indægt og Udgift. Men hvor jeg har fundet dette, [...] har jeg mærket, at alt har gaaet saare Herligt. Utgivterne har været tilrede rette tid og Overskuddet er klogelig henlagt, og Mænderne have fundne sig ret lykkelige ved deres Koners Bestyrelse." Høegh, *Vejvisning for en Bonde*, 486.

⁵⁵⁴ Amy Louise Erickson, *Women and Property in Early Modern England* (London: Routledge, 1995), 24, 100; Hunt, *The Middling Sort*, 138-42.

⁵⁵⁵ Bull, "De trondhjemske handelshusene, 198.

⁵⁵⁶ Høegh, *Vejvisning for en Bonde*, 486.

⁵⁵⁷ Ludvig Stoud Platou, "Om Medlemmers Optagelse i det Kongelige Selskab for Norges vel indtil 1ste September, in *Budstikken* 3, no. 19 and 20 (1811): 141-142.

The mother of the food [madmoderen]

Women decided much of what food and drink was put on the table and how the household members were dressed in early modern European households. In the Scandinavian mentality, the idea of the *madmoder* [the mother of the food] was an important concept. When a girl got married to a farmer, she would become a *madmoder* of the household and get the keys to all the storerooms on the farm. It was her task to make sure that the food and other parts of the household wealth were wisely used over the year and kept safe. Swedish and Norwegian court cases show that wives were proud of their keys along with the power and the responsibility they gave. If the husband removed them, it was regarded as a great shame and insult to her and an important reason for marital disputes and problems.⁵⁵⁸

The *madmoders'* decision making extended to purchasing decisions when the families turned to retail consumption of foodstuffs. The British scholar Amanda Vickery shows how the British account books for gentry homes reflected “deeply held and consistent categorisations of material responsibility, property and expertise.” She found that a greater recourse to shopping did not undermine women’s material obligations.⁵⁵⁹ Also, Mrs Høe’s account book indicates that expenses she should control replaced productive tasks that the wife should be responsible for. She mainly wrote down the expenses for the food and cooking, cleaning, textiles, doctors and midwives.⁵⁶⁰ Studies undertaken on housewifery in Norway in the late nineteenth century also show the same pattern.⁵⁶¹ Did the members’ also think that the purchasing decisions of the wife should be closely related to their productive tasks?

Høegh mentioned that the “mother of the food” was “responsible for the food, drinks and clothes for family use and she has to make and be sure that the house has enough of it at all times.”⁵⁶² He described how the task involved many components, from making sure that the animals were slaughtered on time to the estimation of how much grain the family needed. In his view, it was an important and “difficult art” and “the wife that

⁵⁵⁸ Marklund, Andreas, “In the Shadows of his House: Masculinity and marriage in Sweden, c. 1760 to the 1830s,” (PhD dissertation, European University Institute, 2002), 161-168, esp. 163

⁵⁵⁹ Vickery, *Behind Closed Doors*, 128.

⁵⁶⁰ Bull, “De trondhjemske handelshusene,” 198.

⁵⁶¹ Melby, *Oppe først og siste i seng*, 59-64.

⁵⁶² Høegh, *Vejvisning for en Bonde*, see the part “Om husgjerningen.”

does this well, should be highly respected!”⁵⁶³ He further advised the wife “not to visit the slaughter markets and fishing markets on a daily basis even if one has the possibility since it would become too costly and certainly lead to disaster.” Instead, one should try to produce most of what one needed on the farm.⁵⁶⁴ So, for Høegh, it was natural that the wife could decide for herself whether the food should be made or purchased. In other words, the purchasing decisions were a part of the “mother of the food’s” tasks.

Moreover, Høegh tried to get the wife to understand that she had the *power* to change the economic behaviour of her family through this position. She could “save” the household from dangerous commodities through her wise management. As shown in Chapter Three, spirits and coffee were considered dangerous for the state and families due to their high costs, bad health effects and since it – as an imported commodity – removed money from the country. Høegh wrote to the mothers:

Dear mothers of the food! You that are so thrifty and wise in your household management. Oh! Be aware of a beverage that has entered the household: Namely the spirits! Try to reduce the use of this expensive commodity in your house by making good beer yourself. And be aware of another beverage and make sure that you do not introduce this in your house. You can probably imagine that I do think about coffee. Truly, if this drink penetrates our peasants’ houses, and becomes as common as the spirits, we cannot hope any more for the peasant’s prosperity and progress. Dear honourable wives! Avoid the introduction of this beverage. It is in your power to do so. If you don’t, you will see so unhappy consequences of it as with the spirits and it will be impossible for you to expel it from your house.⁵⁶⁵

⁵⁶³ [my translation] “Og vor agtverdig er ikke den Bondekone, som kan den og øver den!” Høegh, *Vejvisning for en Bonde*, 523-524.

⁵⁶⁴ [my translation] “Her kan man ikke daglig gaae til Slagterbode og Fisketorve, og om man end kunde dette, naar de være i Nærheden, bør man dog ikke; thi det var den visse Undergang. Høegh, *Vejvisning for en Bonde*, 524.

⁵⁶⁵ [my translation] “Men I kiære madmødre [...]! I som vise saa megen Flid og sund Overleg i Eders Husholdnings førelse. O! vaager imod denne Drikkevare som har indtrængt sig: Brændevinden nemlig! Seer til at i kunde indstrænke dens Brug, som en dyr Kiøbevare i Eders Huse, og det ved at have got Øl, I selv kunne brygge. Men seer endnu meere til at den anden Dyr Drik ei ved dere selv indføres i deres Huse. At jeg her tenker paa Kaffen kan man let indse. Sandelig skal denne drikk trænge ind i vore Bondegaarde og vorde almindelig ved siden af Brændevinen, da er det omsonst at tænke på vor Bondestands i Opkomst og Fremskrit til Velstand. Nei, I hæderlige koner I bondestanden! Skyer som en pest denne Driks Indføsel i Eders Huse. I kunne holde den ude; det sataer gandske I Eders magt. Men indføre de den først, kan I komme til at see den ulyksalige Virkinger, ligesom nu Brændevinens uden at være i Stand til at forjage den igjen.” Høegh, *Vejvisning for en Bonde*, 524-525.

Høegh thought the mother had the ability to reduce the consumption of spirits and “save” the family from a possible disaster by making good alternatives to them and by avoiding introducing new dangerous commodities. Speeches, pamphlets and descriptions of local economies by other society members also described the housewife as a powerful decision-maker within the family.⁵⁶⁶

The members also suggested different strategies that would make it easier for the wife to change the family’s consumer behaviour. As mentioned above, they pointed out the importance of making good *alternatives* at home and that they should *avoid* introducing bad commodities in the first place. Hence, this was an *indirect* strategy that would not come into conflict with the authority of the household, the husband. However, Høegh also mentioned more forceful means when writing about the topic of cleanliness. He pointed out that the wife could “demand” cleanliness from the other household members:

If the wife is her rightful self, she makes the food and sets the table well. If that is the case, she should never tolerate that anyone comes to the table dirty. They should not have dirt on their face or on the hands or have visible spots on the clothes. She has the right to chase it [the dirt] out of her house.⁵⁶⁷

⁵⁶⁶ For example, in Rothe’s speech, given on the 2nd of May, he warned the members about letting any of the regulations interfere with the wife’s part of the household. “There should be no regulations concerning [the wife’s] part of the household without their positive consent, and we should not obtain this consent without considerable discussion.” The wife’s power should instead be “strong” since they had the ability to “refine the manners [of the family].” According to Rothe, too much interference in the wife’s tasks would lead the “brave Danish women” to lose their “glory and honour” and the members of the patriotic society their “truthful and noble minds.” (Rothe, “Tale fremsagt i Selskabet for Borgerdyd,” 11.) Another example is the “auctions director” J.L. Tommesen who wrote in 1810 about middle class women in the district of Lemvig in southern Denmark. “Our wives understand, in order to save on the wine, lemon and sugar, to make juice og syrup and make their own vinegar and starch. We would be very ungrateful, if we do not recognise their important industriousness [my translation].” Tommesen. “Om kunstflidens tilstand,” vol. 1, 446-447.

⁵⁶⁷ [my translation] Men naar en Kone er den sande renfærdige sev og viser tillage dette i hendes Madlagning, som og hver dag i hendes anretning til Maaltid [...] at nogen kommer til Bordet utøet, enten i Ansigt eller paa Hænderne, eller med kiendelig Skarn på Klærne, som foraarssager Stank og Væmmelse. Denne Uskik maa hun forjage af sit Huus. (Høegh, *Vejvisning for en Bonde*, 505.) Similarly, Høegh wrote that she should make sure that when her husband and children were “out of the house and together [with other persons], that they were shaved, wearing clean linen and be beautifully dressed according to their social position”. Høegh, *Vejvisning for en Bonde*, 504.

So if the family had unhealthy and primitive habits, it should be allowed for the wife to force them to become more civilised, even if it went against the authority of the husband. Taken into account how important the right economic behaviour was for the members, for moral, economic and health reasons, it is likely that Høegh would approve of the same methods if the husband used a lot of the “dangerous” commodities in the household too. Similar comments were present in other society writings as well. Local economic writers praised housewives for their “wise” household management by replacing imports with homemade products, which was considered important for the family, local community and the national economy.⁵⁶⁸

Furniture for the *storstue* [reception room]

Not all of the purchasing responsibilities were linked to the previously productive tasks of the housewife. During the early modern period, it was men who traditionally made the furniture for the farmhouses. However, the farmers often purchased the best furniture from local artisans, such as decorated chests and cupboards for the *storstue*. This was the best room of the house and only used for special occasions or when the family received visitors. The family wealth was stored in the chests and cupboards; the finest textile they had, the silver and other handicrafts made on the farm.⁵⁶⁹ Diaries illustrate the interaction between artisans and farmers. They show that many men supplied artisans with wood for their furniture, negotiated with them on how they should look, purchased them and brought them home.⁵⁷⁰

Høegh’s advice to wives contrasted with common practice in agricultural households. He thought that purchasing furniture for the *storstue* was the wife’s responsibility and advised the “*young wife*” to

purchase beautiful furniture, one by one. You should rather wait a bit instead of buying something that is old and old fashioned. If you do this slowly, you will be [more]sure in your decisions. Your *storstue* should show your prosperity. When God has blessed you with it [prosperity], first then can you enjoy true happiness and have your *storstue* decorated with beautiful furniture and have it so

⁵⁶⁸ See for example Bassøe, ”Førsøg til Bidrag for det Topographiske Selskabs Samlinger”, 78; Tommesen, “Om kunstflidens tilstand.”

⁵⁶⁹ Axel Steensberg, *Dagligliv i Danmark i det syttende og attende århundrede* (København: Nyt Nordisk Forlag Arnold Busck, 1969-1971) Axel Steensberg, *Danske bondemøbler* (København: Nyt Nordisk Forlag Arnold Busck, 1989), vol. 1, 23.

⁵⁷⁰ Steensberg, *Danske bondemøbler*, vol. 1, 23.

clean, tidy and orderly that you can receive whomever it could be.⁵⁷¹

Why was furniture purchased for the *storstue* described as the wife's task? It might be connected to the changing perceptions on furniture in the eighteenth century. The French rococo style influenced the interior in many Danish farmhouses in the same period.⁵⁷² It has been argued that French rococo furniture was associated with femininity since it was more comfortable and intimate than the previous styles.⁵⁷³ However, taking into account how much men enjoyed the comfortableness and intimacy in the home too, the link between femininity and rococo seems weak. Moreover, it was not comfortableness that the *storstue* should symbolise. As mentioned above, it should show the wealth and status of the household.

In my opinion, Høegh linked the *storstue* to the wife because of the function of the room. The household wealth, hidden in the cupboards and the chests, was to a large extent comprised of items made by women. The dowries for the daughters were kept there together with the best clothing and also the tools needed for textile production, such as a *spinning wheel* and the *weave*. The tools had an aesthetic function besides the practical one, being nicely painted and decorated. The upper classes living in the countryside also used the *storstue* in a similar way.⁵⁷⁴ Thus, the room seems to be closely associated with female industriousness, which might be the reasons why Høegh viewed it as the wife's responsibility to decorate it.

If the other members of the societies were of the same opinion remains an open question since none of them wrote anything on gender and furniture. However, the close association of the *storstue* and female industriousness might have been widespread in

⁵⁷¹ [my translation] "Anskaf dig da, eftersom Du formaaer, et got og smukt Stykke Boeskab efter det andet. Du maa heller bie noget, end kiøbe hvad der er gammelt og gaaet af Brug. Gaaer du end i dette langsomt til Værks, du gaaer da og desvissere. Din Storstue skal vidne om din Velstand. Naar Gud har velsignet Dig med det samme, kan du først nyde sand Glæde i at have Din Storstue besat med smukt Boeskab, og Du vil da og have alt i den til enhver tid saa afpudset, reent og ordelig, at du i den kunde modtage, hvem det skulde være." Høegh, *Vejvisning for en Bonde*, 502.

⁵⁷²The style was adapted to local styles and tastes. The roccoco curves were mixed with religious symbols or flowers of more "baroque" character, Norse symbols or stories from fairytales, of dragons and princesses. Steensberg, *Danske bondemøbler*, 9-23.

⁵⁷³ Witold Rybczynski, *Hemmet: boende och trivsel sett i historiens ljus* (Stockholm: Bonniers, 1988), 115.

⁵⁷⁴ Yde-Andersen, "Bondens huse og boliger," 170 .

famer and upper class households in rural districts all over Denmark-Norway. Hence, it might have had similar connotations in the early modern peasant and upper class mentality, at least in the countryside.

The husbands' involvement in the women's "decision-making"

The texts published from the patriotic societies show that they valued and respected wives' power to make decisions on the household expenses. However, this did not mean that they encouraged husbands and other household members to be absent in the decision making process, as research on household planning and spending argues.⁵⁷⁵ For example, Høegh pointed out that if the wife introduced coffee, it would be difficult for her to "*expel*" it from her household. This shows that he knew that the families' consumer behaviour also depended on the household members' tastes and preferences. Høegh advised wives to do their best to meet these expectations. Regarding meals, he advised the wife to make sure that she "should satisfy the ones that eat and drink at her table. You should never forget their taste. If so, you will cause yourself and them misery."⁵⁷⁶

The documents from *The Society for Civic Virtue* also show that male members were involved in the consumption decision-making that traditionally belonged to the women. Many members promised to never put more than three dishes of warm food on the table (129 subscriptions). Other members promised to never purchase any foreign porcelain (66 subscriptions), glass products (34 subscriptions), wooden products for "*themselves, spouses or children*" (60 subscriptions) or dolls from Nurnenberg, (30 subscriptions). Similar organisations established in Norway (1806-1813) also focused on restricting the use of beverages, clothes, wine, coffee, punch and other foreign spirits.⁵⁷⁷

⁵⁷⁵ Such arguments are mainly present in British research. Amanda Vickery writes: "Whilst men were useful proxies in the absence of female superintendence, and could be relied on to undertake specialized commissions for goods that could be easily procured through their activity in the wider commercial world, *husbands were not expected to interfere with the daily organization of household consumption.*" [my emphasis]. Vickery, *Gentleman's Daughter*, 164-167. See also Whittle and Griffiths, *Consumption and gender*, Chapter 2. A couple of British scholars protest against this strict gender division too. Hussey, 'Guns, Horses and Stylish waistcoats?,' 69; Margot Finn, "Men's Things: Masculine Possession" 133-155.

⁵⁷⁶ [my translation] "hun skal fornøie dem hun bespise og disses Smag bør hun aldrig trodse, hun vilde kun derved forvolde sig selv Græmmelse" Høegh, *Vejvisning for en Bonde*, 506.

⁵⁷⁷ Selskabet for Borgerdyd, *De første fem og tyve vedtægter*.

It might be tempting to read the regulations as a direct interference with wives' tasks (which husbands had a right to do since they were formally the head of the household). However, by studying the society rules more closely, they show signs of *cooperation* between the wife and husband. §15 stated that the subscribers should not buy any foreign kitchen equipment. It was added, however, "one exception is the Finnish pot, *lappekar*."⁵⁷⁸ The exception can be interpreted in two ways. Firstly, it might show that one or several members had an interest in the quality of pots and pointed out for the law committee that it was impossible to find a good alternative to the Finnish *lappekar* in Denmark-Norway. Another interpretation, which is more likely, is that the wife, daughters or others that used the pot pointed out this fact to them.

Why this close cooperation? Firstly, because the men (and other household members) had as much interest in what was served on the table as the wife, as Høegh noticed. When the theologian J.C Lavater visited the Schimmelman family in Copenhagen in 1801 he mentioned to the readers of his travel account that he had been at a "splendid meal – with all the plates and dishes in silver!"⁵⁷⁹ It was not only the meal, but also how the meal was served that impressed the theologian. The composer C.E Weyse described in detail a dinner party at Admiral Holsteen's in Christiania in the 1840s: "I tasted a very interesting and pleasurable meal tonight, a lovely soup with fish balls and asparagus [...] We even had a great champagne throughout the meal." He further noted down every single main dish and sidedish that had been served during the evening, which amounted to almost thirty different ones.⁵⁸⁰ In other words, his interest in what was served, how it was served and how it tasted was as great as that of the ones who were responsible for it.

The husband's interest in the wife's tasks was also caused by their wish to be patriotic at home (at least for the members in *The Society for Civic Virtue*). A recent study by David Hussey points to such ideas also in the "ordinary middle classes" in eighteenth

⁵⁷⁸ "We, the signatories, hereby commit to not purchasing any kind of foreign kitchen equipment, except the Finnish 'lappekar', as long as it is possible to buy domestically produced equipment". 74 subscribers [my translation]. "Vi underskrene forpligte os til ej at anskaffe os nogen slags udenlandsk Kjøkkenredskab, finlapperkar, undetagen, saa længe af det Indenlandske er at bekomme." Selskabet for Borgerdyd, *De første fem og tyve vedtægter*, § 15, 57. The number subscriptions are available in Lund, *Selskabet for Borgerdyd*, 74-76.

⁵⁷⁹ Lavater, *Travels through Denmark* 1801. Quoted in Hyldtoft, *Mad, drikke og tobak*, 229-247.

⁵⁸⁰ C.E Weyse, [letter] Quoted in Hyldtoft, *Mad, drikke og tobak*, 229.

century Britain. He has studied men's diaries and argues that "ordinary men" were regularly shopping for food, beverages and other commodities that the wife traditionally had responsibility for. Moreover, they had a deep interest in these commodities. One reason was that it gave them pleasure and comfort, but also because it was linked to ideals of masculinity. The home was an "*internalised extension of the public face.*"⁵⁸¹ In other words, the man one wanted to be was reflected in household consumption, whether one wanted to impress with excessiveness or show oneself as a frugal man. For the members of the patriotic societies, patriotism was closely linked to commodity consumption and their own identity, which also made them want to cooperate closely with their wives.

6.3 Views on husbands' consumer responsibilities.

As mentioned in the introduction, recent studies reveal quite stable gendered patterns of spending in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Scholars show that husbands paid for house repairs and decoration, private forms of transport and other "bigger" expenses that were bought to uphold the families' status. Amanda Vickery argues, "Yet a wife's responsibility for basic provisions exposed her to accusations of vanity [...], it was the big spender John Hinde Cotton who had the free hand and used most of his spending on expensive items."⁵⁸² Did gender practices influence the patriots' views on the control of these expenses?

Unfortunately, the material does not answer the questions properly since it does not give a full overview of the husband's purchasing decisions and how the members evaluated them. Only the housing expenses were mentioned in the society writings. In this period, the inhabitants increasingly purchased stoves and chimneys, tiles, bricks and windows for their houses. The changes led to a more comfortable lifestyle indoors, to cleaner air and a lighter and more spacious environment. The changes also had an aesthetic side and were used to show wealth. For example, the stoves were decorated with biblical motifs, rococo ornaments and even statutes. Also, painting houses gradually became popular, not only because it preserved the wood from rot, but also because it decorated the house.⁵⁸³

⁵⁸¹ Hussey, "Guns, Horses and Stylish waistcoats", 69; Finn, "Men's Things: Masculine possession," 133-155.

⁵⁸² Vickery, *Behind Closed Doors*, 128.

⁵⁸³ Hutchison, *In the doorway to development*, 169-179.

The topographic author Wilse described his work on his *våningshus* [main house] in Spydberg in eastern Norway in 1779. He gave a detailed overview of what was needed for his house, including many of the above-mentioned commodities, such as windows, roof tiles, a chimney, “lime, tiled stove and tile stove-equipment.”⁵⁸⁴

Witse’s description shows that he found it self-evident that he was the one with the responsibility for the everyday management of the building process and that he was much involved in it. He said he had “much experience” with building houses and associated costs due to his own house project, which was why he could give such a detailed overview of the expenses in the topographic literature. He further told the readers about some ups and downs during the process and showed frustration about different aspects that had turned out differently than he wanted them. It was the storm of 14th of December (in which many trees fell on his land) that made him build the house, but “then I realised” there was so little wood that was usable “that I anyway had to buy most of the boards and ‘stokke’.”⁵⁸⁵ Further, he had also tried to attach the new building to the old one, but failed in the process. He admitted to the readers, “The many difficulties with combining the new building with the old one taught me that life is more than rules.”⁵⁸⁶ In other words, he had learned during the process and not all of the lessons were of the positive kind. It might be that Wilse was talking on behalf of the household, as he was legally and economically responsible for it. However, the personal tone used when he described the house building process indicates that he was the one who made the purchasing decisions for the family.

⁵⁸⁴ Wilse, *Physisk, oekonomisk og statistisk Beskrivelse over Spydeberg Præstegield*, 351-352.

For Wilse and his family, it seems that increased comforts was the main motivation behind the changes. He explained to the reader that he “had to build a new home at my own expense since I have suffered in drafty rooms for over twenty years. Only the living room had seven doors!” [my translation] “For at meddele Læseren et slags Bygnings Anslag efter som dette Land fordrer, vil jeg her af egen Erfaring anføre, hvade den nye Vaanings-huus koster, som jeg har maattet gribe til paa egen Bekostning at bygge, efter at jeg nu en 10 Aar har udholdet I disse utætte Værelser hvoraf Dagligstuen allene har hidtil haft 7 Dørre [...] Wilse *Physisk, oekonomisk og statistisk Beskrivelse over Spydeberg Præstegield*, 350.

⁵⁸⁵ Wilse, *Physisk, oekonomisk og statistisk Beskrivelse over Spydeberg Præstegield*, 350.

⁵⁸⁶ [my translation] “De mange hindringer i at tømte og foreene Bygningen med den gamle lærte mig meer enn Regler” Wilse, *Physisk, oekonomisk og statistisk Beskrivelse over Spydeberg Præstegield*, 350-351.

In my opinion, ideas of a gender division of labour influenced the idea of who should control the building process and the expenses that came with it. Since medieval times, or even before, the male household members were usually responsible for building houses. However, it was normal that women helped out, even if it was “men’s work.” (In fact, many women took care of it themselves, since the men were away, working in the export industries or in other occupations).⁵⁸⁷ In the case of Wilse, he delegated most of the work to the carpenters, timber-men, glass master and a building inspector.⁵⁸⁸ In addition, he purchased many of the commodities, such as the glass, tiles, bricks and paints himself. As with the women’s tasks, the work extended to purchasing decisions when something was needed from the market.

Witse probably had to listen to the other household members and take their wishes into consideration as well. Unfortunately, we do not know what his wife, Anna Cecilia Thorup, his eight children and servants thought about the house-building or the purchasing decisions taken on behalf of the family. However, letters from the merchant Thomas Angell and his wife (Trondheim, 1770s) reveal that there was much discussion on how their house should look. The letters also show that Angell took his wife’s (and his mother’s) ideas into account when they built a home in Trondheim after the former one burned down in 1772. “My wife wants a room for the servants to eat in since it is then possible to have the everyday room for the family.” His mother, Angell wrote, found this suggestion “strange,” but Angell was nonetheless willing to sacrifice a part of the kitchen to be able to make a big room for all the servants.⁵⁸⁹ In other words, both the wife and husband as well as the mother of Angell was involved in the decision making process, which shows that there was seldom *one voice* behind the decision making, but rather several.

⁵⁸⁷ A. L. Christensen, *Den norske byggeskikken. Hus og bolig på landsbygda fra middelalderen til vår egen tid*, (Oslo: Pax, 1995).

⁵⁸⁸ Wilse, *Physisk, oekonomisk og statistisk Beskrivelse over Spydeberg Præstegield*, 350-351.

⁵⁸⁹ [My translation] “Min kone har ønsket sig et værelse for tjenestfolkene at spise i, da man hellers nesten aldrig kan have sin daglig stue skikkelig, og som saa meget hellere bør at være det, som at man daglig selv oppholder sig i den” Dette forekom han mor noget “sælsom”, mend Brodtkorb var innstilt på å ta litt av kjøkkenet for å få et rom som var stort nok til et spiserom for mange av tjernerne” Statsarkivet i Trondheim, privatarkiv 280, H. Høe, & co, 17.14, letter 1.5.1792, Quoted in Bull, “De trondhjemske handelshusene,” 204.

Were the men's consumer responsibilities more associated with pleasure, like Vickery and Whittle point to in their studies of British gentry households? As mentioned above, my material only points to the responsibility for building expenditures and not other consumer responsibilities that the husband might be involved in. Nonetheless, Wilse's comments on the household spending are in sharp contrast to the leisure and pleasure activities that the scholars Vickery and Whittle describe in the gentry households. As mentioned above, Wilse described how the process of building a house had been very difficult and more costly than imagined. He thought the storm would provide him with timber, but it turned out to be a wrong assessment since he had to buy most of the timber new anyway. Further, he also realised that attaching buildings together was much more difficult than the "rules" he learned had indicated. In addition, he had postponed rebuilding for twenty years, which also shows that he did not regard it as the most pleasurable experience. Much of these worries thus indicate that he rather looked at it as "work" as much as leisure and status seeking activities.

Of course, one should be careful with comparing such different households as a poor vicar's household in *Spydberg* and the rich British gentry households in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Vickery and Whittle did a much wider study and point out how the consumer activities included buying horses and carriages, wine and sports equipment, musical instruments and other commodities for the household.⁵⁹⁰

Nonetheless, the contrasts between the households might not be as big as first glance indicates. For example, it is likely that Sir Hamon Strange, who designed his own house and oversaw the whole building process⁵⁹¹ for many years felt it to be tiresome and viewed it as much as work for the family than as a leisure activity.⁵⁹² In general, we should be careful with creating stereotypes about household spending as many of the eighteenth century luxury debaters did: to associate one sex with selfish spending. The

⁵⁹⁰ Vickery, *Behind Closed Doors*, Chapter 4; Whittle, *Consumption and gender*, Chapter 2

⁵⁹² "A gentleman's estate was his wealth and status. His house was not only a place to live, but also an expression of his taste and values. The majority of Sir Hamons activities concentrated on Huntington Hall and its park and buildings elsewhere on the estate. His notebook shows that he was personally involved in designing details and commissioning the workmen himself. Between 1610 and 1653, 11 per cent of the Le Stranges expenditure was on building work, peaking at 17 per cent in the 1620s, when Huntington Hall was enlarged" Whittle and Griffiths, *Consumption and gender in the early seventeenth-century household*, 203.

motives behind consumption decisions are often complex and often done as much for the family as for themselves.

6.4 Summary

The topic in this chapter has been the member's views and practices on household planning and spending. It has examined the members' opinions on the role of the husband and wife in these matters and how the members valued their decision-making. Previous studies indicate that men were likely to decide on house repairs, private forms of transport and "the bigger expenses", while women would control the spending on food, clothes and smaller items for household use.⁵⁹³ The members of the patriotic societies had similar attitudes. The Lutheran vicar Peter Høegh, for example, described how the housewife should be responsible for having enough food, drinks, and clothes. Within these fields, the decision making extended to purchasing decision when the households turned to retail consumption. Moreover, it was argued that the wife had great power through her decision-making since she could (and had) "saved" the household from economic ruin with her frugal housekeeping. Not many descriptions are present on the purchasing decisions of the housefather, but a topographic description of the vicar J.F. Wilse indicates that the purchasing decisions were an extension of his productive tasks as well.

I further also showed that it did not mean that the members encouraged husband and wives to be absent in each other's decision making. The writings show that a *close cooperation* between the husband and wife were valued due to the different tastes and preferences of the wife, husband and the other household members. As Høegh wrote, not listening to each other would lead to "misery" in the household. Moreover, men's interference with women's decision-making was closely connected to their own patriotic identity: For them, how patriotic they were was generally reflected in the household consumption.

However, I also pointed out that gender scholars should be careful not to generalise husbands' household decisions on bigger items with "selfish spending," as pointed out

⁵⁹³ Vickery, *Behind Closed Doors*, Chapter 4; Whittle and Griffiths, *Consumption and gender in the early seventeenth-century household*: Chapter 2; Harvey, Karen, *The Little Republic: Masculinity and Domestic Authority*, Chapters 1, 3 and 9.

by some gender studies. As the topographic description of Wilse shows, purchasing decisions were regarded as much as “work” for the housefather as the housewife.

7. Commodity Production and Gender: The Debates in the Patriotic Societies.

The chapter discusses how the members understood and debated women's commodity production. As mentioned in Chapter 1, the brief Nordic research on the topic argues that members had condescending attitudes to women's work in the period. It is posited in this research that the patriots regarded women's work as "low-status" compared to men's work or that their ability to "please the man" was more important than their working capacities.⁵⁹⁴

I will study whether or not more positive attitudes existed besides those mentioned above. The members wanted to use all resources available to improve the domestic industries, which, maybe, made them notice and value women as an economic resource. The chapter will first focus on the members' views on women in agricultural households by studying three descriptions of rural districts in Denmark-Norway in the 1790s. Secondly, it will focus on the members' views on upper-rank women's market-oriented work by studying a shop of one society established to encourage women to sell their home-made commodities.⁵⁹⁵ The end of the chapter discusses if the attitudes revealed in the case studies were present in the wider Nordic patriotic discourse.

7.1 Presenting the topographic descriptions of agricultural households

The first text is district recorder Hieronymus Bassøe's (1726-1807) topographic description of the small parish of Rakkestad in the eastern part of Norway published by *The Topographic Society* in 1794. As mentioned in Chapter 5, topographic descriptions were detailed writings on the local nature, industry and inhabitants in one local area. The goal of the literature was to gather information about the local circumstances so the economy could be improved. Bassøe's description covered one and a half volumes of

⁵⁹⁴ For economic writers attitudes towards women in agricultural households, see Östman, Ann Catrin, "Den betydelsesfulla mjölken," 100-123, esp. 115-117, Sogner, *Far sjøl i stua*, 76. Fiebranz, "Jord, linne eller träkol," 134-158. Fiebranz's primary object of study is peasant mentalities. However, she uses poems and agricultural descriptions made by local patriotic civil servants and argues that the civil servants' attitudes were representative of the local male farmers too. (Fiebranz, "Jord, linne eller träkol," 133.) For upper class women, see Damsholt *Fædrelandskærlighed og borgerdyd*, 171-191; Engelhardt, *Borgerskab og Fællesskab*, 333-344.

⁵⁹⁵ *Society for Improvement of Domestic Industries*, Copenhagen, (1807-1838). [Selskabet for Indenlandsk Kunstflid]

the *Topographic Journal* and was about 200 pages in length. The information was gathered over the course of several years and based on many meetings with “commoners.”⁵⁹⁶ Hence, Bassøe concluded, the description was not based on “guesswork, [...] but on truth and personal experience.”⁵⁹⁷ He thus followed the scientific ideas of the society (see Chapter 5) which emphasised how the description should be based on close observation and experience with the inhabitants.

Bassøe was eager to satisfy the society’s demands. He wrote that he hoped the work would “contribute to [the society’s] collection and patriotic intentions”⁵⁹⁸ and systematically followed the society’s suggested guidelines⁵⁹⁹ for its writers. As the scheme of the society prescribed, the first and second parts discussed nature, natural resources and the history of the parish, while the third and fourth parts concerned the local industries, trades and the inhabitants.

The scholar Supphellen has argued that many topographical authors hoped their patriotic activity would lead to promotion within the civil service.⁶⁰⁰ However, Bassøe wrote his topographic description late in his career and continued to work as a district recorder in Rakkestad. This suggests that promotion or moving to another district was not an underlying motivation for Bassøe. Rather, it seems that he wished to share his long experience in Rakkestad with other civil servants. Bassøe wrote that his forty-three years in the parish had left him with knowledge of the place, and argued “I do not write about my own experiences to boast, but because I hope to offer a good course of action to [civil servants] here and in other districts.”⁶⁰¹

The second text is Christian Sommerfelt’s topographic description of the larger area of Christian County, which also lies in the eastern part of Norway (*Topographic Journal*,

⁵⁹⁶ “samlinger med Almuen.” Bassøe, ”Försøg til Bidrag”, issue 17, 78.

⁵⁹⁷ [my translation] paa Gisninger, [...] men paa Sandhed og egne Erfaringer.” Bassøe, ”Försøg til Bidrag”, issue 17, 78.

⁵⁹⁸ [my translation]”tjene til Bidrag for dets samlinger og patriotiske Formaale” Bassøe, ”Försøg til Bidrag”, issue 17, 78.

⁵⁹⁹ See Chapter 5.

⁶⁰⁰ Suphellen, ”Historisk-topografisk litteratur ca 1750-1800,” 203.

⁶⁰¹ [my translation] ”Det sker sandelig ikke for at fremkomme med nogen Selvrees, [...] men fornemmelig i Hensigt til, om nogen i lige Fag skulde finde mine Bestræbelser og min Handlemaade i nogen Deel fölgeværdigt, at samme da kunde tjene dem, efter locale og andre Omstændigheder til nogen Vejlendning.” Bassøe, ”Försøg til Bidrag”, issue 17, 78-79.

1795.)⁶⁰² This is the same Christian Sommerfelt that published the pamphlet about luxury for the *Danish Royal Agricultural Society* in 1772. In 1790, he moved up to Toten in Christian County to work as *amtman* for the district. In the 1790s, Norway was divided into sixteen *amts*, and the *amtman* was the top civil servant in an *amt*.

Sommerfelt's main goal with the description was, as with most topographic authors, "[...] to help the district to prosper" and also he focused mainly on how to improve the economy.⁶⁰³ His work was of the same length as Bassøe's, running to about 200 pages in length. However, the geographical area he covered was much larger. While Bassøe only wrote about one parish, Sommerfelt described the whole of Christian County, an area consisting of seventeen parishes.

Furthermore, Sommerfelt did not follow the demands of the *Topographic Society* as systematically as Bassøe. Instead of dividing the description into four parts, as the society suggested, he divided it into two. The first part contained a detailed description of different subjects in Christian County, such as geography, the appearance of nature, mountains, lakes, climate, animals, "languages, houses and lifestyle",⁶⁰⁴ agriculture, the peasants expenses, and "the character of the civil servants".⁶⁰⁵ The subject here was in accordance to the requests of the society. The second part, however, was different from what the *Topographic Society* advised its writers to do. It was dedicated to concrete suggestions to improve the economy in the area, such as "Free grain trade"; a higher number of grain magazines, encouragement of additional industries and more restrictions on the peasant's consumption of luxury goods.⁶⁰⁶

⁶⁰² Sommerfelt, "Efterretninger angaaende Christians amt", *Topographisk Journal* 14 (1795): - 136 and 15 (1796): 1-75

⁶⁰³ [my translation] "Öyemedet af mine Undersøgninger om dette Amts naturlige Beskaffenhed og oeconomiske Forfatning har været at gavne." Sommerfelt, "Efterretninger angaaende Christians amt," issue 15, 3.

⁶⁰⁴ [my translation] "sprog, boliger, levemaade" Sommerfelt, "Efterretninger angaaende Christians amt" issue 14, 89.

⁶⁰⁵ "noget om Embetsmændene," Sommerfelt, "Efterretninger angaaende Christians amt" issue 14, 134.

⁶⁰⁶ [my translation] "Fri Kornhandel" Sommerfelt, "Efterretninger angaaende Christians amt" issue 15, 6.

Why this break with the textual culture? Topographical descriptions were not only read by the members, but also by the central administration in Copenhagen and Christiania.⁶⁰⁷ As the titles in the second part show, many of the suggestions were towards the laws and policy of the conglomerate state, and the text contained criticism of current practice. Thus, Sommerfelt might have viewed his description as an opportunity to influence the agricultural and economic policy of the area for which he was responsible, which made him choose another structure than what the society had prescribed.

The third text is an advisory book for Danish peasants written by the Lutheran vicar Høegh for the *Danish Royal Agricultural Society* in 1797.⁶⁰⁸ A detailed presentation of this book is included in Chapter 5.

7.2 Viewing women's work in agricultural households

The “feminine” industries versus the “masculine” industries

The Finnish historian Ann Cristin Östman argues that male farmers and local agricultural writers considered products from “feminine” livestock farming of less importance to the economy than the “masculine” grain production in pre-industrial Österbotten in nineteenth century Finland. This attitude was present even though the households earned more from the former activity than from the latter: livestock farming was first and foremost important as it provided manure for the fields. According to Östman, women's subordinated position in society influenced the status of the dairy industry.⁶⁰⁹ Did Bassøe, Sommerfelt and Høegh portray the market-oriented industries dominated by men as more important than the female-dominated industries?

Rakkestad parish lies close to the Swedish border and c. 4,000 inhabitants lived in the district.⁶¹⁰ The production of grain was low in the area and selling other products was necessary to purchase it. The inhabitants sold dairy products, cattle and timber.⁶¹¹ There are no detailed studies of the gender-based division of labour in this area, but more

⁶⁰⁷ Supphellen, ”Historisk-topografisk litteratur ca 1750-1800,” 200.

⁶⁰⁸ Høegh, *Vejvisning for en Bonde*.

⁶⁰⁹ Östman, ”Den betydellesfulla mjölken,” 115-117.

⁶¹⁰ ”Digitalarkivet 1801-telling for 0128 Rachestad”, *Digitalarkivet*, available at www.digitalarkivet.no (retrieved 20/11-2011).

⁶¹¹ Aage B. Lunde, *Rakkestads Historie*, (Rakkestad, Rakkestad kommune, 1990), issue 2, 159; Sven G Eliassen, *Østfolds historie. Små len, ett amt*. (Østfold: Østfold fylkeskommune, 2004) vol.3, 132- 133.

general studies show that women had the responsibility for cattle and dairy production, while men worked in the timber industry.⁶¹²

Bassøe described the local economy close to the actual economic circumstances. He wrote how the timber industry gave important income to the households, but that “livestock farming gives most to the commoners’ livelihood, and the income from it covers most of their expenses.”⁶¹³ Moreover, he also encouraged the trade based on these products since “one district [in Norway] has certain goods, that the other [district] lacks and vice versa.”⁶¹⁴

Christian Sommerfelt also thought the industries traditionally dominated by women were one of the most important ones in his topographic description of Christian County. In the northern mountainous district of Christian County, the inhabitants focused mainly on the sale of cattle and dairy products. In the southern districts, however, there was extensive grain production, and the surplus was sold. In addition, most households in the southern parts combined the sale of grain with the production of other commodities based on agriculture, such as linen fabrics and clothes, dairy products, hats, boxes and spoons.⁶¹⁵ As in Rakkestad, the women had the responsibility for the dairy commodities. In addition, they produced different kinds of merchandise.⁶¹⁶

According to Sommerfelt, the main industry in the mountainous districts of Christian County was cattle breeding, from which peasants sold most of their production. The peasants sold “butter, cheese and tallow” and “also big groups of slaughter-animals” at the markets and cities nearby,⁶¹⁷ which in his view was beneficial. “This is a trade,

⁶¹² Sandvik, ”Tidlig moderne tid”, 122.

⁶¹³ [my translation] “Denne [kvegavlingen] afgiver det meste til Almuens Underholdning og indbringer meget til deres Udgifters bestridelse” Bassøe, “Försøg til Bidrag,” issue 18, 71.

⁶¹⁴ [my translation] “Det var at ønske, den indenlandske Handel med Landmandens egne Producter blev mere opmuntret end indskænket. [siden de] frembyder adskilligt, som det [ene området] mangler og saaledes omvendt.” Bassøe, ”Försøg til Bidrag,” issue 18, 87.

⁶¹⁵ Anna Jorunn Avdem, ...*gjort ka gjerast skulle. Om arbeid og levkår for kvinner på Lesja ca 1910-1930* (Oslo: Universitetsforlaget, 1984) 323; Holmsen, Andreas, *Før bonden ble forretningsman* (Oslo: Universitetsforlaget, 1982), 25-29; Tranberg, ”Husindustri i totenbygdene,” 179-192; Dyrvik et al., *Norsk økonomisk historie 1500-1970*, 150-153.

⁶¹⁶ Avdem, ...*gjort ka gjerast skulle*, 323.

⁶¹⁷ [my translation] “de afhænde ej aleene Smør, Ost, Talg, saltet Kjöd og Skin, men og store Drifter af Slagteqvæg”. Sommerfelt, ”Efterretninger angaaende Christians amt,” issue 15, 112.

which nature has created in order to profit all parts of the country”, he concluded.⁶¹⁸ He complained about men’s lack of initiative to produce wooden products. “Women”, on the other hand, had “honour and industriousness” since they produced a considerable amount of linen and canvas which were sold annually in the cities.⁶¹⁹

Høegh also encouraged the peasants to produce a surplus for sale in the agricultural sector. He described grain production (which he portrayed as men’s work) as the main income of the agricultural households.⁶²⁰ However, he also emphasised livestock farming as necessary because it generated both income and manure:

The benefit of cattle [...] is the milk, which becomes a surplus both in [...] winter and summer, partly as daily food for the people on the farm, which saves more grain for sale, partly to produce butter and cheese for the family, which can also be sold, as [well as] the many calves. Oh! What benefits!⁶²¹

Thus, Høegh noticed that grain production currently gave most income to families but he saw great economic benefits with the cattle industry and advised farmers to focus more on it.

Thus, there are few signs of patriots viewing female-dominated industries as less important to the economy than industries where men dominated. Only Høegh considered grain production in the Gentofte parish as more important than the dairy industry. On the other hand, this was an area where the sale of grain was the most important income to the agricultural households. Hence, it is rather the social circumstance that explains

⁶¹⁸ [my translation] ”Dette er en handel, som Naturen har stiftet til Fordeel for alle Dele af Landet”, Sommerfelt, ”Efterretninger angaaende Christians amt,” issue 15, 113.

⁶¹⁹ Sommerfelt, ”Efterretninger angaaende Christians amt,” issue 14, 118.

⁶²⁰This is also in accordance with studies of the local economy in Gentofte and the Danish economy in general. Export of grain was one of the largest export trades in Denmark. Besides grain production, peasants were involved in other industries in which the surplus was sold. This included products from cattle, sheep, goats, textiles and wooden products. However, how extensive this production was varied from district to district. Feldbæk, *Dansk økonomisk historie*, 122-123.

⁶²¹ [my translation] ”Og dessuden er [...] Fordelen af Qvæget [at] Melk maae blive overflødig i hans Huus baade Vinter og Sommer; deels til daglig Føde for alle hans Gaards Folk; hvorved spares meget Korn til Salgs, deels ved at frembringe Smør og Ost [...], baade til hans Families egen Fornødenhed, og til at sælge; og deels til at opføde Kalve til salg. O! hvilke Foredele!” Høegh, *Vejvisning for en Bonde*, 168-170.

Høegh's illustration than gender norms. The authors were well aware of how important the diary and textile industry was to the local district and encouraged the activity.⁶²²

None of the authors, however, wanted the agricultural trades to become too specialised. They thought peasants should be involved in many different industries, so that the households could survive if some of the industries failed. In Sommerfelt's description of the livestock farming in Valdres, an isolated mountainous parish with almost no grain production, he complained about livestock farming becoming too specialised: "Both sexes" left the farm and went up to the mountain pastures during summertime, which would be dangerous if other industries failed.⁶²³ The authors portrayed the peasants' involvement in the Norwegian export industries in a similar way. Peasants earning money through selling fish or timber was necessary for the economy, but specialising too much was dangerous in case of bad years.⁶²⁴ In their view, an efficient household divided its attention among several industries and produced a surplus.

Viewing women's working capacities and skills

Did the members also notice and value women's competence and skills? Or did the hierarchical relationship between husband and the rest of the household members make the writers overlook them?

Høegh noticed a hierarchical relationship between the husband and wife. He did describe the industries traditionally dominated by females as their responsibility, but gave the impression that the farm belonged to the husband, who therefore had the final word in any decision. In describing the farm animals he argued that: "I have shown how the sheep, pigs and small farm animals may be useful [...] but even *if the man* makes a smart investment, it rests on the wife to make the farm profit from it."⁶²⁵

⁶²² Dyrvik, *Norsk historie 1625-1814*, 150-153.

⁶²³ Sommerfelt, "Efterretninger angaaende Christians amt," issue 14, 98.

⁶²⁴ Sommerfelt, "Efterretninger angaaende Christians amt," issue 14, 50-60. Bassøe, "Försög til Bidrag," issue 17, 20-40.

⁶²⁵ [my emphasis] Jeg har viist, hvorledes Faaer, Sviin og alle smaae Creature med Nytte kunde holdes paa en udskiftet Lod; men lad Manden end gjøre den klogeste Indretning til alt dette, det hviler dog gandske paa Konen, som denne sag skal kunne udføres til deres sande Fordeel. Høegh, *Vejvisning for en Bonde*, 487.

Nonetheless, I find it unlikely that this also implied that women's working capacities and skills were valued less than those of men. The authors emphasised how dependent the area was on both men and women's competence and hard work in order to make the community prosper. When Høegh concluded his discussion about the agricultural reforms in Denmark, he stated that

if the agricultural reforms shall turn out well, the wives have [to work] as much as the men. [...] Shortly, whatever I think about the farmer in his new state, I see that as much depends on the wives as the husbands if the agricultural reform should reach the benefits, which it can potentially achieve.⁶²⁶

The weight the authors placed on the income from female industries, and their description of female producers as “industrious”, “honourable”, “wise”, and “competent,” shows that women as commodity producers were recognised by Bassøe, Sommerfelt and Høegh.⁶²⁷

Also, attention was also given to the tools and the skills that women could use to improve the industries even more. One example is Høegh's description of butter production. In addition to a long and detailed description of how female workers should refine the milk to butter, he had experimented with different types of diet for the cattle and found that one certain type of diet would make the butter better. He concluded that:

How much could our peasants' wives gain for themselves and for the country, if they would learn, practice and treat their butter as they should! An increase in butter production may become a [beneficial] consequence of the agricultural reforms, if the wives take the opportunity.⁶²⁸

⁶²⁶ [my translation] “Skal de hyppige udskiftninger [...] naae deres tillagte Nytte [...] da maae Konene paa deres Side virke ligesaameget dertil som Mændene. [...] Kort, hvad jeg end vender mine Tanker til Bonden i hans nye Forfatning, seer jeg at det vil ligesaameget beroe paa Konen som paa Manden om de skal naae de Fordele, som Udskiftning unægtelig kan give.” Høegh, *Vejvisning for en Bonde*, 486-487.

⁶²⁷ Høegh, *Vejvisning for en Bonde*, 490. Bassøe argued that it was the “women” who did the “hardest work” on the farms in Rakkestad, since they had the responsibility of the cattle and their products, which needed much supervision and water supply. Sommerfelt wrote, as above-mentioned, that “women's” textiles production was an important income in the southern districts in Christian County and how the trade of these products gave women “honour and industriousness.” Bassøe, “Försøg til Bidrag,” issue 18, 74; Sommerfelt, “Efterretninger angaaende Christians amt,” issue 14, 118.

⁶²⁸ [my translation] “Hvor meget kunde vore Bønderkone baade gavne dem selv og Landet, dersom de vilde lære og omhyggelig øve dem i, at behandle deres Smør, som de burde! Smørrets Formerelse maa blive en vis Følge af Udskiftningerne, saafremt Konen vil gribe sig ret

The authors viewed women's agricultural tasks as a field which should be closely observed, and where scientific methods should be applied. Encouraging women to use new tools in order to increase production was given much attention in the text.⁶²⁹

It was a traditional gender division of labour that Bassøe, Sommerfelt and Høegh portrayed. Would they support a more untraditional division of labour too? They did not discuss the topic, but other members viewed economic prosperity as more important than the traditional view of a gender division of labour. One example is Gerhard Schøning's account of his visit to Overhalla in the 1770s, where he observed that

the women are as industrious as the men are in their fieldwork. In order that women not to be hindered from the spinning wheel or loom, the men watch the children and take care of the cattle in the wintertime. [...] A peasant can therefore sell canvas [and other textiles] for 20, 30, 40 riksdaler, which his wife has made with one girl.⁶³⁰

Taking into account that 3 *riksdaler* was the value of a cow in the 1780s, 40 riksdaler was a great deal of money in the period. The profit the households earned made Schøning praise the untraditional gender division of labour, where men took care of the cattle and children while women were spinning and weaving. Monica Aase's study of the *Norwegian Society of Sciences and Letters* also reveal that these patriots also encouraged "unfeminine" activities. She describes how the society gave prizes to wives,

an og vise hvad hun kunne udrette, naar man kun giver hende Leilighed." Høegh, *Vejvisning for en Bonde*, 194.

⁶²⁹ However, it was not only the agricultural writers who could enlighten women and other members of the household. Knowledge and methods could also be gathered from women and spread by the writers to other districts. Høegh stressed that the 'wives' had provided him with much information about the agricultural household: "I have now come to a part of the dissertation which gives me much pleasure, as it allows me to recall the large number of competent, calm, righteous wives, whom I know and have known in many parts of the country. They are efficient and wise in relation to their households and have evoked my sincere respect. [...] It is from these [that] I have gathered much of what I have written down. Yes, fatherland, be grateful for your women. And especially for those of the peasant rank." [my translation] Høegh, *Vejvisning for en Bonde*, 485.

⁶³⁰ [my translation] Her er Qvind-Folkene meget drivtuge, ligesom Mandfolkene, i deres Aandarbeider. Paa det hine ei skulle hindres, fra deres Spinde-Rok eller Væve-Stol, passe Mændene her, om Vinteren, gemeenligen Børnene og Rygte Qvæget; hvilket er, mod den her i Landet, ellers overalt vedtagne Sædvane. Med Hestenes Rygt have Mandfolkene at bestille: men at rygte andet Qvæg, ansee de næsten for skammelig. [...] En Bonde kan her derfor, om Aaret sælge Lerreder for 20, 30, 40 Rdlr som han Kone med 1 Pige have spundet og vævet. Schøning, *Reise som giennem en Deel af Norge*, vol 2, 144.

servants and widows for a range of activities, from inventing machines to killing wolves, since it improved the economy.⁶³¹

Why the valuation of the women working in agricultural households?

The economic intention of the literature, combined with its genre conventions, led to the positive evaluation of women's work. The focus the authors had on improving all industries and increasing the surplus production in the household made them notice women's contribution to the local economy. A contributing factor was probably the fact that the writings were based on close observation and experience with the object described. Working in such detail on the local economy helped make the authors aware of the women's working capacities too.

Moreover, the wish to replace foreign imports with domestically produced products seems to have initiated the valuation of women's work and the industries they dominated in. Neither Bassøe, Sommerfelt nor Høegh argued this, but other members in patriotic societies compared the merchandise made by women with imported goods. On his travels through Norway in 1804, Christen Pram wrote: "domestic textile merchandise cannot be worse in quality and price since they are sold beside the [textiles] from [the British] islands."⁶³² The civil servant Gerhard Schøning noted that the cheese made in the parish of Tydal would be much better than the English variety if only the women "understood to salt and press it and in general to make it properly."⁶³³ Sommerfelt, Bassøe and Høegh's wish to reduce foreign textiles and beverages and encourage the domestic production of similar merchandise indicates that they also viewed domestic surplus production as a way to replace imported commodities on the domestic market.

⁶³¹ Monica Aase, "Kvinnens premiesøknader," in *Norsk litteraturhistorie. Sakprosa fra 1750 til 1995*, eds. Johnsen og Eriksen (Oslo: Universitetsforlaget, 1998), vol 1, 85-91. Linda Pullin shows that women occasionally won prizes within "unfeminine" categories too. The commission for Chemistry, for example, awarded Mrs Jane Gibbs for inventing a starch made from non-edible materials as part of the society's drive to find an alternative to costly wheat flavour and Mrs Richards for a new method of cleaning feathers (1782). Pullin, "Business is Just Life", 212.

⁶³² [my translation] "Man [...] her i landet debiterer og forbruger indenlandsk Fabrikat, som ej kan være hverken i Værd eller Pris langt under det Engelske, siden det finde Afsetning ved siden af det der som kommer in fra hin Øe." Pram, Christen, *Kopibøger fra reiser i Norge 1804-1806* (Oslo: Norsk kunst og kulturhistoriske museer, 1964), 9. Quotation from Halle, "Her er qvindfolkene meget drivtuge," 65.

⁶³³ [my translation] "dersom [kvinnene] kun ret forstode at salte, presse, og paa anden Maade behørig at behandle dem" Schøning, *Reise som giennem en Deel af Norge*, vol 1, 38. Quotation from Halle, "Her er qvindfolkene meget drivtuge," 65.

As mentioned above, *The Society for the Encouragement of Arts, Manufactures and Commerce*, *The Norwegian Society of Sciences and Letters* and the *Danish Royal Agricultural Society* rewarded women for making a wide range of products.⁶³⁴ And, as I will return to, women's contribution to the economy was mentioned in many economic writings produced by the societies. Bassøe, Høegh and Sommerfelt read a wide range of relevant literature while working on their topographic description, which probably made them aware of the attention women received by other economic writers, which helped them to notice women in their own area.

Finally, the authors' positive attitudes to women's production of market goods can be explained by their background and the gender division of labour in their own households. Sommerfelt and Bassøe do not say anything about their own background, but Høegh refers to his own wife's experiences with the sale of wool.⁶³⁵

7.3 Views on upper class women's commodity production in the patriotic societies

This subchapter discusses the members' views on upper-class women's economic behaviour. As with the female agriculturalists, previous studies tend to neglect the patriots' praising rhetoric of upper rank women's involvement in market production.⁶³⁶ This part shows that the praising rhetoric was present also when describing this group. It will further argue that the patriots encouraged the upper rank women to a form of *civic engagement* through their market participation: Members of a patriotic society in Copenhagen encouraged the women to help reduce poverty in Denmark and to build up domestic industries by supporting and maintaining a shop that sold Danish commodities (1811-1825).

⁶³⁴ Aase, "Kvinnens premiesøknader," 85-91; Pullin, "Business is Just Life", Chapters 8; Engelhardt, *Borgerskab og Fællesskab*, 160-161.

⁶³⁵ "When my wife has wanted to sell the wool the last day of cutting the sheep, she gets 40 skilling for the wool" [my translation] Naar min Kone har villet sælge af den egentlige Uld ved sidste klipning itil Michelsdag, og leveret den udsøgt, har hun faat 40 sk." Høegh, *Vejvisning for en Bonde*, 224.

⁶³⁶ Damsholt *Fædrelandskærlighed og borgerdyd*, 171-191; Engelhardt, *Borgerskab og Fællesskab*, 333-344.

Presenting *The Shop for Female Works of a Nicer Kind*

The Society for Improvement of Domestic Industries was a response to the social problems that occurred in Copenhagen with the bombing of the city (1807) and the on-going war with Britain. Its purpose was twofold: to boycott British products, which they hoped would harm the British economy and their military strength (see Chapter 3) and to improve Danish industries. The roughly 200 members established two shops where men and women could sell their homemade commodities and organise exhibitions where Danish artisans and manufacturers could show their products. In addition, they published *Reports* - a journal on varied issues, from inventions and reports from meetings to the societies' speeches, regulations, recipes and economic descriptions of different agricultural districts.⁶³⁷

*The Shop for Female Works of a Nicer Kind*⁶³⁸ (Copenhagen, 1810) was initiated by one of the prominent members of the society, the lawyer Johan Hendrich Bärens. He was the editor of *Penia* (a well-known magazine on poverty, health and educational issues) and as a secretary of *Københavns poverty box*⁶³⁹ (a government institution that tried to reduce the poverty in Copenhagen). Bärens suggested establishing a store for upper-class women at a society meeting in May 1810. He presented a detailed plan on how it could operate. The plan was listened to with “lively participation”⁶⁴⁰ and enthusiasm and passed on a later meeting with only minor adjustments.⁶⁴¹

It was decided that the society should find a “beautiful” place in central Copenhagen. The shopkeeper should be a “clever” woman, preferably a wife, daughter or widow of a civil servant and she should receive 5-10% of the selling price of each commodity. She was to have the responsibility for the store, which included pricing the items, making a detailed inventory list and writing down the list of producers and customers. The society, however, should regularly control the shopkeeping to make sure it was according to the society's intentions and regulations. The members should also do the advertisements for the store, including putting up a sign in central Copenhagen that

⁶³⁷ The two volumes from this journal were published in 1812 and 1816 and consist in total of circa 1,500 pages.

⁶³⁸ [my transation] *Industrimagasinet for De Kvindelige Haandarbeider af det Finere Slags*

⁶³⁹ [my transation] *Kjøbenhavns fattigkasse*.

⁶⁴⁰ [my transation] “levende deltagelse” Fode, Henrik, “Selskabet for Indenlandsk Kunstflid, 79.

⁶⁴¹ Fode, Henrik, “Selskabet for Indenlandsk Kunstflid, 79-85.

would, hopefully, attract customers. In addition, a commission should write a report on the shop annually, about its finances, its customers and producers.⁶⁴²

The shop opened on the 17th of October 1811. Unfortunately, the protocols from the shop are lost, so a close knowledge about the customers and producers is no longer available. However, the reports of the store's activity show that it attracted many people. By the end of 1812, i.e. in just over a year, the store had received 1,882 items from 190 persons. Of them, 1,500 items were sold. On average, the store sold items amounting to around 20 000 *riksdaler* a year,⁶⁴³ which was a good amount of money taken into account that a civil servant salary was c. 600 *riksdaler* a year.⁶⁴⁴ The customers were from a varied background – the royal family, “fine ladies with taste” and wives and daughters of civil servant families. Also, most of the producers came from the middle and upper classes.⁶⁴⁵ It was mainly luxury items and handicrafts that were sold, such as “white tulle shawls, baby hats, embroidered belts, a gold embroidered tobacco pouch”, but also other items such as oil paintings, dolls and “a statue of Christ.”⁶⁴⁶

When the store closed remains an open question. However, it was more successful than the society. In the 1820s and 1830s, the society had fewer members and also less economic support. From c. 1825, there is no evidence of any activity and, in 1838, the society decided to dissolve. The shop, on the other hand, survived the period of decline and continued operating without much support or contact with the society. Also, after the society dissolved, the shop continued selling products and did not show any signs of decline.⁶⁴⁷

Family interests.

The patriots thought that the store was a good opportunity for women to combine family interests and other patriotic activities. The war led to increasing prices in the conglomerate state, which harmed the wage earners, especially the civil servants in

⁶⁴² Fode, Henrik, “Selskabet for Indenlandsk Kunstflid, 79-85.

⁶⁴³ Fode, Henrik, “Selskabet for Indenlandsk Kunstflid,” 79-85.

⁶⁴⁴ Bjørn, *Fra reaction til Grundlov*, 113-117. The salaries, however, varied greatly, due a high inflation during the war.

⁶⁴⁵ Bärens, “Indberetning fra Comiteen i Selskabet for Indenlandsk kunstflid, der bestyrer udsalget af fruentimmer-arbeide,” 691-694.

⁶⁴⁶ “hvite tylsjaler, barnehuer, broderte seler, en guldbrodert tobakspung.” Fode, Henrik, “Selskabet for Indenlandsk Kunstflid,” 80.

⁶⁴⁷ Fode, Henrik, “Selskabet for Indenlandsk Kunstflid,” 79-85.

Copenhagen.⁶⁴⁸ In *Plan for a shop*, Bärens mentioned the economic difficulties and how many female household members would like to help their families by earning some money if they got the opportunity.

In these bad times, it is [...] hard, yes, an almost impossible [situation] for most families, especially civil servant families. Not all housefathers can double their efforts to earn more money. [...] and merchants give so little for the fine female work that they cannot even buy dry bread for it. [...] But there are many wives and daughters that would like to earn something if they only had the possibilities to do so.⁶⁴⁹

He further wrote, “Many Danish women want to improve the situation of their fellow beings [and] would like to sacrifice both sleep and leisure time to help out.”⁶⁵⁰ In Bärens’ view, many women would happily work for the welfare of their family.⁶⁵¹

Bärens’ rhetoric fits well with the rhetoric found in Engelhardt and Damsholdt’s studies of middle class views on women’s patriotic responsibilities in Copenhagen: The women should sacrifice themselves for the welfare of the family. But neither Engelhardt nor Damsholdt mentions working for the market and earning money as a *civic virtue* for women. They only wrote how housewives’ responsibilities were to raise children, “please” their man and to take care of household management.⁶⁵² However, as Damsholdt points out, women’s patriotic duties could become extended under difficult

⁶⁴⁸ Bjørn, *Fra reaction til Grundlov*, 113-117.

⁶⁴⁹ [my translation] ”I disse dyre Tider er der [...] vanskeligt, ja næsten umuligt for de fleste, især Embetsmænds Familier[...] Ikke enhver Husfader kan fordoble sine Anstrængelser for at erhverve mere. [...] Derimod findes det ikke faa Hustruer eller Døttre, der gjerne kunne og ville fortjene noget til Hjelp, naar de kun faae Udveje aabnede dertil.” Bärens, “Plan til en kunst og industriinteretning for Qvindelige Arbeider af det Finere slags”, *Efterretninger fra Selskabet for Indenlandsk Kunstflid* 1 (1812): 189-191.

⁶⁵⁰ [my translation] Mangen Danneqvinde ønskede at kunne bidrage noget til at lette hendes Medmenneskers Kaar, [og] med Penge kunne faa spare fra de nødvendige udgifter. [...] Å afknappe sig et Par Timers Søvn eller Adspredelser, det [vil] mange. Bärens, “Plan til en kunst og industriinteretning for Qvindelige Arbeider,” 191.

⁶⁵¹ Bärens was fully aware of the condescending attitudes to upper class women earning money for the family. He suggested that women could be anonymous when handing in goods to the store, so it would not be publicly known that they earned money, “which for many would be uncomfortable.” [“forbunden med Ubehageligheder”, see Bärens, “Plan til en kunst og industriinteretning.”] However, as the chapter will show, this rhetoric was not present in *The Society for Improvement of Domestic Industries*. As I will return to in the end of the chapter, such negative rhetoric is absent in almost all the society documents examined. Instead, women’s market participation was praised.

⁶⁵² Damsholt *Fædrelandskærlighed og borgerdyd*, 171-191; Engelhardt, *Borgerskab og Fællesskab*, 333.

circumstances. She shows how the military historian Ove Malling (1777) praised the wife of Hans Rostgaard for her bravery during the war against Sweden (1700-1721). Malling wrote that she spied on the Swedish soldiers and gave the authorities all the information they needed.⁶⁵³ Bärens wishes for the female patriots to be less dramatic: What the civil servants families needed was an alternative income, because of the increasing prices and the female household members could easily help out if a shop was established. But, as the next sections will show, this was only one of many goals that Bärens had for the store.⁶⁵⁴

Expanding the domestic industries

The members describing the shop also argued that female producers could improve the countries' economy by their commodity production for the store. Bärens did not state this explicitly, but just argued that the store would help increase the production of Danish products. The poet Anders Löve was more explicit in his praising poem about the shop, published in 1812. Under the headline "*The shop for Female Works of the Nicer Kind*" he wrote:

And Fredrik, the friend of art and the people's father
Who loves industriousness and happily protects it,
But luxury and laziness loathes yes hates,
Shall be delighted to see that brave Danish men
In companion with noble Danish women
Work for one aim, the fatherland's success,
[Fredrik] will also be delighted to see.
The people beautifully dressed in Danish clothes
He will be pleased to see,
That lust for deed hunts the laziness away,
That wealth, welfare,
Success will grow and breed

⁶⁵³ Damsholt *Fædrelandskærlighed og borgerdyd*, 173-175.

⁶⁵⁴ Bärens, "Plan til en kunst og industriinteretning for Qvindelige Arbeider," 189-204.

In an independent people,

[Because the people's] happiness is his pleasure.⁶⁵⁵

According to the poet, Crown Prince Fredrik was now witnessing how men and women worked together towards a common goal; the welfare of the fatherland. The women did this by producing textiles for the shop that would help clothe the Danish inhabitants. This would contribute to wealth and welfare, which would also make the crown prince happy.

Hopes, wishes and requests for women's patriotic commodity production were also expressed in the general policy of the society. One of these requests was mentioned in the opening speech of the society by the "postmaster general," von Hellfried. It was probably mainly men listening to him, but the speech was later published in the journal of the society, *Efterretninger*, which perhaps had some female readers.⁶⁵⁶ He directed the speech directly at the "honourable housewives" and described how the country was dependent on their help:

But you, dear honourable housewives, the society hope for the most forceful support from you. You, that are so wise in your household purchase, are of great help in reducing the use of [foreign imports in our country]. Another important way [of reducing the imports] is in your

⁶⁵⁵ [my translation] Og Fredrik, Konstens Ven og Folkets Hulde Fader,

som elsker Flittighed og blid beskytter den,
med Overdaadighed og Ladhed affskyer, hader,
skal frydes ved at se at brave Dannemænd
i tro Samening med de ædle Danneqvinder
kun virke til et Maal: Fødelandets held;
[han] skal frydes ved at se,
[...] Og dansk, forædlet skal det skjønne Legem pryde,
[Kronprins Fredrik] skal frydes ved at see,
at Lyst til Daad skal jage den fule Ladhed bort, [...]
med Rigdom, Velstand,
Held fremspire og tiltage
hos et Selvstændig Folk
hvis Lykke er hans Fryd.

Løve, Anders, "Industriemagasinet for Qvindelige Haandarbejder af det finere slags. Fortsættelse af mit poetiske Forsøg om indelandsk Kunstflid," in *Indenlandsk Kunstflid*, ed. Anders Løve (København: Th. Rangel, 1812), 7

⁶⁵⁶ No studies have been done on the readership of *Texts*. However, general studies show that middle class women read varied literature in the period, including literature on economic issues. Gold, Carol, *Danish cookbooks: domesticity & national identity, 1616-1901* (Seattle, University of Washington Press, 2004).

hands; it is the glorious house industry, which for such a long time honoured the matrons of all ranks and classes. This industriousness is not dead among us, not even in the capital. And [with your effort] it will soon gain new worth and life. It also gives a good opportunity for [...] the families to earn money for living.⁶⁵⁷

Hellfried described how women could combine private interests with patriotic ones in two ways: by purchasing Danish commodities and by producing more household goods and commodities, which would lead to an “exclusion” of foreign products, which fitted the protectionist ideas of society. In addition, the authors might also have wished to harm the British economy with their encouragements. As already mentioned, the society was founded just after the bombings of Copenhagen in 1807 and an extreme hatred towards British goods and industries is visible in the other documents.⁶⁵⁸

Improving the “taste” of Danish products.

The members also wanted the upper class women to help out with some tasks they had special expertise in. One of the challenges Danish manufactures met in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries was to produce items with the same aesthetic quality as the ones produced abroad. One of the main goals of the society was to improve the “taste” (meaning the aesthetic) of the Danish products. In *Texts*, the periodical of the society, it was stated that one of the journal’s purposes was to “improve the imperfect, to improve taste [...] and create ideas about new fashions”. A “perfection” of the products would lead to “national wealth.”⁶⁵⁹

In Bärens eyes, the store could “improve the taste among the producers and customers”⁶⁶⁰ and he further argued that the women of the upper classes were needed in this respect since they “knew nice tastes.” Therefore, he hoped that

⁶⁵⁷“Med I, ærværdige husmødre, det er fornemmelig fra eder, selskabet haaber og venter den kraftigeste understøttelse, Det er ei blot I alle indkiøb, at det paaligger eder at udføre det, [...] endnu et stort, et edelt middel til undværelige fremmede varers udelukkelse, til hiemvelstandens befordring er I eders hænder: dette er den gyldne husflid som sa længe og saa almindelig hædrede nordens matroner af alle stænder og klasser. Denne vindskibelighed er langt fra ikke idød blant os, endog ikke I hovedstaden, den [kan] hastigen, høist gavnlige vinde nyt liv og ny verd.” Hellfried, *Indbydelse*, 8.

⁶⁵⁸ See for example, Rafn, Gottlieb, *Inbydelse til alle Danmarks og Norges mænd*.

⁶⁵⁹ [my translation] forbedre det ufuldkomne, at frembringe smag [...], at vække ideer om nye moder.” Bärens, “Plan til en kunst og industriinteretning,” 189-204.

⁶⁶⁰ [my translation] “fremvirke til større smag hos arbejdere og publicum.” Bärens, “Plan til en kunst og industriinteretning,” 189-204.

Ladies with finer taste [could] help the [producers] of the store with advice and instruction. [They] should [also] now and then visit the shop, so they could point the managers of the store towards which works that has novelty, duration, taste or otherwise distinguish [itself from others].⁶⁶¹

A couple of years later, Bären's was also very satisfied with the development of the store. He wrote in a report about the shops' activities that the quality of the products had

improved so much in goodness and beauty that the manager now regards the previous work mediocre, while the current ones are beautiful and excellent. The royal house and several others that possess taste and expertise are regular customers and this proves that the store is improving.⁶⁶²

In other words, the quality and taste of the products were improving. It is not entirely clear if Bären's meant the women in the store had helped improve the "taste" of the products, but he at least understood them as a resource that could be used in this respect.

Being good examples to lower-rank women

Bären's described how upper class women producing quality commodities could also influence women of the lower classes to do the same. In the report about the store in 1813, Bären's wrote it had been a pleasure to observe the high quality works that had been handed into the store:

It has been comfortable [...] to observe the manufactured items handed in to the store. They are excellent and the women have been industrious and earned much money. Many of the women working for the shop are of higher ranks, first and foremost widowers, wives and daughters of civil servants. All of them have acted as a worthy example for lower ranks.⁶⁶³

⁶⁶¹[my translation] "Nogle Damer, derhos have fiin smag, gaae [arbejderne] tilhaande med Raad og Vejledning; til nu og da at besøge Butikene, for at lægge mærke til det arbejde som ved nyhed, varighed, smag eller paa anden maade udmærke sig." Bären's, "Plan til en kunst og industriinteretning," 189-204.

⁶⁶² [my translation] "tiltaget saa meget i godhed og skjønighed at bestyrerinden nu kun anseer det arbejde for middelmaadigt, hvilke hun ved udsalgets begyngelse maatte antage for smukt og udmærket. At det kongelige Huus og adskillige som henhøre til hoffet ere vedblevne og kjøpe i magasinet, at mange som besidde smag og kyndighed have kjøbt meget, [...] næsten alt hvad de behøvede, er en behagelig overbevisning for comiteen, at indretningen er tiltagende. Bären's, "Indberetning fra Comiteen i Selskabet for Indenlandsk kunstflid, der bestyrer udsalget af fruentimmer-arbeide," 691-694.

⁶⁶³ [my translation] Lige behagelig har det været komiteen, deels at enkelte fruentimmere have indleveret meget arbeide, og dermed vist udmærket flid og fortjent betydeligt, og deels, at blandt de fruentimmer, som arbeide for magasinet, findes endel, der henhøre til de høiere

According to Bärens, many of the producers had been women of “*higher classes*”, acting as good examples for women of lower ranks, whom he hoped would follow their lead.

The above-mentioned idea was also present in a description of the economic behaviour of the family of Count Winterfelt in 1815. As mentioned in Chapter 1, studies on women’s economic role in noble families show that they could have an important role in market production and trade on the estates in Denmark in the early modern period. This seems also to be the case in the counts’ family. Count Winterfelt thoroughly described the work tasks of his wife, Lady Gemaldine, and her cleverness in trade and work in a letter published in *Efterretninger*:

My wife [...] has for several years never received any money for expenses concerning the household management or servants. She has rather paid these expenses with the money she got from the sale of flax and hemp. [...] In addition to the income she gets from flax and hemp, she also earns much money from selling dairy products.⁶⁶⁴

According to Winterfelt, his wife sold so much of the goods made on the farm that she had no problems with paying the other household expenses. Winterfelt continued that the farmers in the area had “sometimes copied” her work effort and methods on their own farm.

The editors of *Texts* commented on the letter and described the couple’s work on the farm as “honourable”. They further wrote that the letter had met a lot of interest at the meeting of the society and that the members decided to publish it without any hesitation. In a second letter from Winterfelt, describing more of the economic activities on the farm, as well as his and his wife’s work habits, the editors wrote that both the wife and

klasser og endeel embedsmænds enker, koner og døtre, hvilke samtlige have foregaat [...] de lavere klasser med følgeværdig eksempel.” Bärens, “Indberetning fra Comiteen i Selskabet for Indenlandsk kunstflid, der bestyrer udsalget af fruentimmer-arbejde,” 691-694.

⁶⁶⁴ [my translation] Min kone [...] har I flere aar aldrig af mig faaet penge til husholdning eller pige-løn, men besørget disse udgifter af de penge hun fik for hør og hamp. [...] og foruden den hør og hamp, har min kone solgt meget [andet] Min kone besturer [også] sit hollænderie paa en maade at der indbringer meget. [...]. Alt hvad vi selv kan forfærdige og dyrke købe vi ikke, dette er vores grundlov.” Winterfelt, “Brev fra hr. Winterfelt 25. August,” *Efterretninger 2* (1815): 514.

husband had been “a glorious example for their people.” Their activities had, in the editors’ eyes, been of “true usefulness for the country.”⁶⁶⁵

Scholars have well documented that an idea of *emulative behaviour* (the lower ranks of society copying the higher ranks) was present in descriptions of market-oriented behaviour in eighteenth- and nineteenth-century novels and political and economic writings. The social reformer Jonas Hanway’s pamphlet “An Essay on Tea” (1765) for example, wrote how the habit of tea drinking spread to all classes of English society because of the servants’ desire to emulate their masters and mistresses, which was destroying English society.⁶⁶⁶ And, as mentioned in Chapter Three, fear of emulation made the law-makers suggest the same economic behaviour to everyone when a sumptuary law was issued in 1783.

In the patriotic societies, emulative behaviour was turned into something positive. The members hoped that by good behaviour they would influence the other inhabitants to follow. As shown in Chapter Three, the members of *The Society of Civic Virtue* hoped that their own frugal lifestyle would make others follow. Monica Aase shows how the civil servants used agricultural techniques that they hoped the nearby farmers would adopt.⁶⁶⁷ The above-mentioned comments show that women of higher social ranks were considered as individuals that could reform the local society by acting as good examples for other inhabitants through their patriotic economic behaviour.

The store – a war phenomenon?

The special position the upper rank women had in the society, their “fine taste” and working possibilities made the society members view them as a valuable economic resource that should be used in building up Danish industries. In the members’ opinion, the country would improve with their civic participation. One might think that the positive attitude to women’s involvement in the store was only an exception under difficult circumstances for Denmark-Norway. However, the society continued supporting the activities also after the war, which indicate that the positive attitudes were

⁶⁶⁵ [unknown authors], [comments on the letter,] *Efterretninger* 2 (1815): 515.

⁶⁶⁶ Sussmann, *Consuming anxieties*, 25-27.

⁶⁶⁷ Aase, “Patrioter og Bønder,” 137-145.

there on a permanent basis, or at least until Danish industries had reached a sufficient level in Denmark.

Did the women get involved in the store because of patriotic feelings? It is difficult to know the motives of the producers without much information on them. Letters from upper class women to *The Norwegian Society of Sciences and Letters*, however, show that women eagerly applied for the prizes and that they also used patriotism as a motive behind household manufacturing. A wife of a distinguished shoemaker applied for a prize for teaching other women spinning, weaving and making wedding costumes. In this letter, the female applicant stated: "I have done this out of patriotism."⁶⁶⁸ Thus, a patriotic rhetoric existed among women, which indicates that it was used among the ones working for the store too.

7.4 Widening the scope of time and space

Many society members living in different parts of the country encouraged, supported and praised women's working capacities and their economic contributions to the family and country (c. 1780-1814). For example, the *amtman* Schumacher admired women's large textile production in Fyn (1811). According to him, the women, "from the most distinguished ladies to the small cottage wife," were working so much that it was not possible to extend the industry anymore. Especially the high ranked ladies "earned large money" on it and "eagerly" "showed themselves as excellent housemothers" that were a good example to others with their "order, economic sense, industriousness and other virtues."⁶⁶⁹ Support was given to women to initiate businesses too. In *The Society for Norway's Welfare's* journal, it was mentioned that the "girl" Anna Regstad Aaningstad in Stange (eastern Norway) made so "tasteful" and "high-quality" scarves that the society contacted her and offered her money so she could start a "small factory" that produced them for sale.⁶⁷⁰ Imported scarves were one of the accessories that continued

⁶⁶⁸Aase,"Kvinnens premiesøknader," 85-90.

⁶⁶⁹ [my translation] "give Exempler paa Orden, fornuftig sparsomhed, arbeidsomhed og alle mulige mulige huuslige dyder, hvilke det gandske er tilfælde her i Fyen, Schumacher "Indberetning fra Hr Kammerherre og amtmand Schumacher om Kunstflidens fremskridt i hans amt," 683

⁶⁷⁰ Rosenkrantz, M.R. Flor and Paul Thrane. "Erklæring af 13de Marts fra Sjette Classe af dette Indhold." *Budstikken* 5 (1813): 192-193.

being in use during the war despite the attempts to limit the imports.⁶⁷¹ Hence, making sure domestic alternatives existed was important to the members.

Could similar attitudes be widespread in the Nordic patriotic discourse? Several factors point in this direction. Firstly, the brief studies that point to negative attitudes to women's work becomes problematic with a closer look at it. The analyses rests largely on the language; the agricultural writers were "concrete" in describing male work, while "vague" in describing women's traditional tasks, which imply that women's work in agriculture was given less value than that of men.⁶⁷² In my opinion, there could be different reasons for why women's work was described more vaguely, for example the authors' lack of knowledge about those industries. About the views on women in the upper rank, it is argued that the removal of the workplace from the home made the members of some patriotic societies in Copenhagen think that women's patriotic duties were first and foremost as mothers, wives and household managers.⁶⁷³ However, as shown in Chapter 1, it was only a tiny minority of the upper class households in which this change took place. Thus, if we follow this argument, it would only be a tiny minority who would have such attitudes.

But in my opinion, the patriots' attitudes to women were *not influenced* by how the household economy was organised. A recent study of *The Society for Commerce* (London) shows that the members rewarded women for all kinds of economic activities, whether it was for setting up factories, working in them or for producing homemade products. For them, all contributions that could improve the economy were welcome and the sex of the contributor was of less importance. According to the scholar Pullin, these encouragements continued into the nineteenth century "and beyond".⁶⁷⁴ The fact that Danish-Norwegian societies awarded women for non-feminine activities, such as inventing machines and killing wolves, indicates that similar encouragements did occurred in Denmark-Norway. In other words, patriotism gave a good opportunity to women of all ranks to still be economically active in a time when the economy and ideas about women's economic behavior were changing.

⁶⁷¹ Rosenkrantz, M.R Flor et al., "Erklæring af 13de Marts," 192.

⁶⁷² Fiebranz, "Jord, linne eller trækol," 149-150.

⁶⁷³ Engelhardt, *Borgerskab og Fællesskab*, 333-344.

⁶⁷⁴ Pullin, "Business is Just Life," 217.

7.5 Summary

The economic writings from the patriotic societies show that the members' wish to expand and improve domestic industries and their knowledge about the local economy made many of them praise women of all ranks and occupations for their competence in the domestic industries. The female agriculturalists were admired and considered an important resource for the local and national economy through their production of textiles and dairy products. Many society members also encouraged urban women of higher ranks to become involved in market-oriented work. A study of a shop established by the *Society for Improvement of Domestic Industries* in Copenhagen shows that the members thought upper-class women had special abilities that could be of use in building up domestic industries, such as "taste" that could help improve the aesthetic quality of the commodities. The members also believed that upper class women's market production and consumption of Danish commodities would be a good example for lower rank women who would eventually follow their lead. Thus, the chapter widens our understanding of work and patriotism compared to what has been found in previous studies.

8. Conclusion

The thesis showed how a significant part of the middle class, members of the so-called “patriotic societies”, experienced, understood and debated the households’ market-oriented work and consumption in Denmark-Norway (c. 1785-1814). It focused on the moral, economic and health concerns that influenced the members’ views on the changing economy, their attempts to control and to regulate the inhabitants’ consumer behaviour and their perceptions on different household members’ work and consumption practices. *The aim of the thesis was to highlight the middle class views on these issues that have been omitted in the previous research.* A largely unexamined material – publications of five patriotic societies established in different parts of Denmark-Norway – was used for this purpose. Patriotic societies were voluntary associations that worked towards improving the economy and culture of their local area. Their members consisted of varied middle-class persons, from educated civil servants to shoemakers, copyists and rich merchants. The societies published rules, articles, poems, fictional stories, speeches and dissertations in which the households’ increasing market orientation was described and debated.

8.1 Patriotism and commodity consumption

Studies on the luxury debate reveal that intellectuals had varied opinions about the changing commodity consumption in eighteenth-century Europe and Colonial America.⁶⁷⁵ The thesis showed that those views and theories were present in the wider middle class. Or to put it more correctly, the patriotic societies’ consumer recommendations (on clothing, food, housing and social activities) and other society writings revealed that both *private interests* and *intellectual theories* influenced what the members thought was a good, “patriotic” consumer behavior.

In the *Society for Civic Virtue* (Copenhagen, 1785), the consumer recommendations in the *Twenty Five Principles* were in line with the members’ private interests, since the recommendations protected the members’ industries against foreign competition. Furthermore, society meetings were a good place to network for persons working in similar occupations. However, the society texts also showed that their actions were also

⁶⁷⁵ Sekora, *Luxury: the concept in Western Thought*; Berry, *The idea of Luxury*; Berg and Eger, “The Rise and Fall of the Luxury Debates”; Kwass, “Consumption and the world of ideas.”

driven by a belief in the *economic theories of the time*. The calls to avoid unproductive activities (such as shrovetide participation) and to limit unnecessary consumption (such as having two watches instead of one) received a positive response among diverse members, from trade assistants and silk traders to shoemakers and military workers. At the society meetings, mainly *cameralist* arguments were used to support the avoidance of such items and activities, which indicates that many members believed in the economic theories. Other members, such as anonymous letter writers and the economic writer Tyge Rothe, were inspired by other ideas on economic progress. They argued that buying “luxury”, as long as it was produced domestically, was patriotic since it created employment and supported industries.⁶⁷⁶ In addition, *pietism* (a reform movement within Lutheranism) and *healthcare theories* influenced the members’ views too. Readings of economic writings, healthcare magazines and the fact that most of the members grew up when pietism was strongly promoted by the state led to such views. In addition, the society had several members that were well-known economic and healthcare writers and some of them presented and spread their views in the meetings. The focus on patriotic consumerism was probably reinforced by similar interests of other patriotic societies.

Similar attitudes to the changing economy are found in most of the societies examined. However, some changes occur over time. Firstly, the members, inspired by consumer movements abroad, began to perceive consumption decisions as a “weapon” in the war against Britain (1807-1814). This resulted in calls to boycott British goods. Secondly, the war triggered the spread of patriotic consumerism to peasants. In some Norwegian districts, similar associations to *The Society for Civic Virtue* were established with mainly farmer members. They joined out of private economic problems due to the war, social pressure and because of religious and patriotic feelings.

“Patriotic” protectionist consumer boycotts involving men and women of different backgrounds were present in America, England, Ireland and Scotland in the eighteenth century.⁶⁷⁷ However, it is likely that the protectionist consumer movement was even more widespread. Research on patriotic societies focuses on the debates of the

⁶⁷⁶ Rothe, “Tale fremsagt i Selskabet for Borgerdyd.”

⁶⁷⁷ Colley, *Britons: forging the nation, 1707-1837*; O’Dowd, “Politics, Patriotism, and Women”; Bonnyman, “Agrarian Patriotism and the Landed Interest,” 41.

“production” side of the economy. It is widely discussed in the literature how the members wanted to develop agriculture, establish factories and the like so that the domestic industries could compete against the foreign ones.⁶⁷⁸ But given that buying foreign items when domestic alternatives were available this could be equated to destroying this project. In other words, consumption decisions – the other side of the same coin – had to be important for at least some of the members. In addition, the societies knew about each other’s projects. Taking into account how much they influenced each other, boycotts organised by one society might have inspired others to avoid foreign goods as well.

It is likely that the other moral, economic, and health concerns were present in the middle class families outside Denmark-Norway too. These issues gained much attention in the luxury debate, one of the most popular topics in the European public debate at the time. In France alone, 3,232 new books, brochures, pamphlets and treaties were published between 1750 and 1800 on patriotism and luxury. Authors were producing new books on this topic at a faster pace than novels and they sold remarkably well.⁶⁷⁹ *The Affiches de Province*, a provincial advertising sheet, remarked in 1754 that the philosopher Hume’s luxury writings were being “snapped up as fast as the most agreeably frivolous book.”⁶⁸⁰ The Marquis de Mirabeau's *Lámi des Hommes* went through as many as forty editions between its initial publication in 1756 and the end of the century. His work made him an instant celebrity. As the scholar Michael Kwass writes, “admirers hung his portraits in salons and provincial halls of state, churchgoers paid twelve sous to sit near him in mass; fathers offered up their daughters to marriage [...] shopkeepers appropriated the book title for their sign; and the dauphin himself claimed to know the text by heart.”⁶⁸¹ Literary historians also detect the rise of importance of ideas on “luxury consumption” in poems, novels and advertisements.⁶⁸²

Were the moral, economic and health concerns similar or different than in the Danish and Norwegian societies? The different views on the purchase of domestically produced

⁶⁷⁸ See Chapter 2.

⁶⁷⁹ Shovlin, *The Political Economy of Virtue*, 1-10.

⁶⁸⁰ Claude Labrosse, “Reception et commination dans les periodiques litteraires” (1750-1760) Quoted in Shovlin, *The Political Economy of Virtue*, 2.

⁶⁸¹ Kwass, “Consumption and the world of ideas,” 188.

⁶⁸² See for example, Berg and Eger, “The Rise and Fall of the Luxury Debates,” 18-20.

“luxury” are detected in different European economic and religious discourses⁶⁸³ and they probably created similar tensions in patriotic societies and among other middle class persons all over the western world. The health worries could also be widespread since they received much attention by luxury debaters.⁶⁸⁴ However, there would also be differences. The debaters in France and Great Britain focused to a larger extent on how the new commodities could create a refinement of taste and the development of arts and sciences.⁶⁸⁵ Hence, such aspects probably had a bigger impact on the middle class in these countries than in Denmark-Norway.

This thesis has focused on the ideas that became popular among the members of the patriotic societies. However, most people do not only passively adopt views presented to them. In other words, some ideas on commodity consumption were probably rejected or transformed in the middle class too. More knowledge about these issues could broaden our understanding on how the middle class experienced and understood the changing economy.

8.2 Teaching children the right consumer behaviour in the family

The thesis discussed how the members should spread the “right” consumer behaviour to people. In particular, it focused on one topic that has largely been overlooked in consumption studies, namely how middle class writers encouraged parents to teach their children the right consumer behaviour. Childrearing books, rules and speeches from the patriotic societies showed that the family policy was based on economic and religious worries and the belief that parenting could determine whom the child would become as an adult. For some (anonymous) members, childrearing became an alternative to the sumptuary laws as a way to control consumerism in a more efficient manner.⁶⁸⁶

Moreover, several members, such as the teacher Schow and the vicar Høegh, argued

⁶⁸³ See Herbert Applebaum, *The Concept of Work. Ancient, Medieval and Modern*. (New York, State University of New York Press, 1992,) Chapters 14, 15 and 16.

⁶⁸⁴ Kwass, “Consumption and the world of ideas”; Barker Benfield, *The Culture of Sensibility*, Chapter 4.

⁶⁸⁵ Daniel Roche, *France in the Enlightenment* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1998), 564-574; Berg and Eger, “The Rise and Fall of the Luxury Debates,” 18-20; Berry, *The idea of Luxury*, 133.

⁶⁸⁶ Anonymous author, *Sex ubedragelige Kiendetegn*, 13; Anonymous, *Adskilligt*.

that the role of the parents was indispensable in supporting the educational system in creating future “patriotic” inhabitants and consumers.⁶⁸⁷

Lutheran pedagogical methods influenced the members. The vicar Hasse, for example, thought that the right consumer behaviour should be taught through “loving instructions, encouragements and by being good examples to [the children].”⁶⁸⁸

Corporal punishment was presented in the writings as the least preferred option since it created “hatred” towards the parents and made it difficult to internalize the right values. The mild version of Lutheran pedagogical methods received increased attention since the 1780s when such methods were implemented in the private and public schools in Denmark.⁶⁸⁹ The patriotic societies were actively involved in changing the schools, which inspired the members’ childrearing advices.

The members, according to central Lutheran and state writings on parenthood, expected both the mother and the father to be actively involved in childrearing. The engagement of both parents was also expected when teaching children patriotic consumerism. Given that most parents lived and worked close to their children, the joint parental responsibility also seemed practical to the members. But even if fathers had to spend more time away from home, it was considered an important Christian and patriotic duty to be involved in the everyday childrearing. In other words, in line with the recent research on parenthood,⁶⁹⁰ there was no idealisation of a division of labour between the mother and father, in which the mother took care of childrearing while the father had important “patriotic duties” elsewhere, as previously suggested in studies on the Danish patriotic discourse.⁶⁹¹

The idea that parents should teach children the “right” consumer behaviour must have been important to many European intellectuals, statesmen and middle class families too. Most people, from the parents themselves to intellectuals such as John Locke (1632-

⁶⁸⁷ Schow, *Tale holdt i Selskabet for Efterslegten*; Høegh, ”Veivisning for en Bonde.”

⁶⁸⁸ Hasse, *Allmuens lærer*, vol. 1, 38.

⁶⁸⁹ Markussen, *Til Skaberens Ære*, Chapters 4 and 5; Damsholt, *Fædrelandskærlighed og borgerdyd*, 298-300.

⁶⁹⁰ See for example, Baily, “A Very Sensible Man,” 267–292; Berglund, *Det goda faderskapet*; For a later period, see John Tosh, *A man's place*.

⁶⁹¹ Engelhardt, *Borgerskab og Fællesskab*, 333-344.

1704) and Jean-Jacques Rousseau (1712-1778), knew that childrearing to a certain extent shaped who the children would become as adults.⁶⁹² Taking into account that many contemporary middle class persons found consumer behaviour of utmost importance, it is likely that they saw childrearing as a great way to create the desired consumer behaviour.

In addition, the negative views on the sumptuary laws could have led to an increased focus on the family. As Allan Hunt argues, no one “gave up” controlling consumerism with the end of the sumptuary laws. They rather lost its importance and were abolished since new, more effective methods of influence were found.⁶⁹³ The sumptuary laws were increasingly regarded as inefficient while childrearing was a powerful governance tool, hence it is likely that focus on the family policy and childrearing as an alternative control-method increasingly received attention from individuals and state-officials, as seen in the patriotic societies.

However, there might have been differences in the pedagogical methods suggested and used. The moral state of children was of great concern to most childrearing authors and middle class parents, but there were different ways to reach the same goal. The disciplining of the child varied from harsh corporal punishment to no punishment at all. Moreover, some focused on conversations and instructions, such as the patriots, while other childrearing authors and parents believed that children should learn through trying and failing on their own. The involvement of the parents could also vary a lot, from distant parents with children in boarding schools to parents being deeply involved in the child development on an everyday basis.⁶⁹⁴ Thus, the attempts to create patriotic consumers were probably suggested and done in a multitude of ways.

8.3. Perceptions on gender and commodity consumption

Another important topic in the thesis was the views on men and women’s “consumer desires” in the patriotic societies. I looked for other opinions on gender and consumption than the one being in focus so far, namely the European contemporary

⁶⁹² John Locke, *An Essay Concerning Human Understanding*. Quoted in Cunningham, *Children and Childhood*, 63.

⁶⁹³ Hunt, *Governance of the Consuming Passions*, 358.

⁶⁹⁴ Cunningham, *Children and Childhood*, 45-69.

belief that women by nature were the most addicted to luxury.⁶⁹⁵ In the patriotic societies, some members attacked women for being more addicted to “excessive consumption” too, as seen in the well-educated Christian Sommerfelt’s philosophical treaty on luxury.⁶⁹⁶ But by focusing on a new type of literature that was of a more descriptive and practical character, the thesis revealed that less misogynist views were widespread among the members. In the topographic literature, the members attacked not only the women for the use of purchased clothes, but also heavily criticised men for their “excessive” use of tobacco and alcohol. In some areas where tobacco and alcohol were the most widespread, men’s consumption practices were even more harshly condemned than women’s.

The authors detected a mix of different factors (biological and social) behind the gender differences in consumption patterns. Many authors argued that *different types of male sociability* contributed to the high intake of tobacco and alcohol. Some members thought women bought more textiles since they had a stronger attachment to goods. This was probably also the case, since choosing and purchasing textiles could be a symbol of women’s skilfulness and good taste in the period.⁶⁹⁷ Other members, such as the inspector J.L Tommesen, offered additional reasons; the pedlars could partly be blamed since they exploited women’s compassionate nature and tricked and cheated them.⁶⁹⁸ Peder Holm assigned part of the guilt to the pedlars as well, but he also thought the servant girls’ consumption was driven by the pressure to meet beauty expectations.⁶⁹⁹ Thus, the members were more nuanced in their views than the authors of the theoretical treaties on luxury. The topographic literature was based on close observation over many years and knowledge about the topic, which made the authors gain a better understanding of the local economy than in the more ideologically oriented work that attacked women.

It is likely that economic writers all over Europe *questioned* the idea that women were the most covetous and “hungry” for goods. Recent economic studies reveal that many

⁶⁹⁵ Kowaleski-Wallace, *Consuming subjects*; Akkerman, *Women and Commerce in the French Enlightenment*; Walsh, *Shopping in early-modern London*.

⁶⁹⁶ Sommerfelt, *Tanker om Overdaadighed*, 19.

⁶⁹⁷ Yde-Andersen, “Bondens huse og boliger,” 170.

⁶⁹⁸ Tommesen. “Om kunstflidens tilstand,” 455-456.

⁶⁹⁹ Holm, ”Forsøg til en Beskrivelse over Lister og Mandals Amt”, vol. 10, 57.

men eagerly purchased and used commodities available. For example, in eighteenth-century Britain, traders prospered on selling wigs, hats, watches, men's clothing, tobacco, wine, swords, saddles, coaches and many other objects to bachelors, married men and widowers.⁷⁰⁰ Similarly, the Swedish pedlars earned good money on selling watches, tobacco pipes and other products to men.⁷⁰¹ Topographic literature and other economic descriptions were published all over Europe and they were of the same descriptive, detailed and practical nature as the ones published in Norway. In other words, it is likely that they might have noticed that men were as eager commodity consumers as women and explained the consumer differences in a similar nuanced way.

Consumption is not only about the individual use of items or activities (which most consumption studies focus on). It is also about household planning and spending. An advice book written by the vicar Høegh, topographic descriptions and other society writings revealed that the members valued gender division in the household planning and spending. The housewife (and to help her, the servants and daughters) was responsible for having enough food, drinks and clothes and she should purchase it when needed. Not many descriptions were present on the tasks of the housefather, but the society documents indicate that men were responsible for house repairs, private forms of transport and “the bigger expenses.”

Nonetheless, no members encouraged husbands and wives to be “absent” in each other's decision making, as previous studies suggest.⁷⁰² The society documents revealed that the members valued a *close cooperation* between husband and wife when the spending was decided. They argued that the household members had wishes, tastes and preferences that had to be taken into consideration to avoid “misery” in the household. Moreover, the housefathers (at least in *the Society for Civic Virtue*) had a great interest in the women's part of management since household consumption was closely connected to their patriotic image.

Whether or not such close cooperation was common in other middle class households in Denmark-Norway or in other parts of Europe needs to be confirmed in future studies.

⁷⁰⁰ Vickery, *Behind Closed Doors*, 106-129, 257-290.

⁷⁰¹ Lundqvist, “Marknad på väg,” 240-244.

⁷⁰² Vickery, *Gentleman's Daughter*, 164-167.

However, a recent article by David Hussey on household spending in eighteenth-century Britain indicates that it might have been the case. He shows that “ordinary” middle class husbands were deeply involved in the “female part” of the household management since the commodities were important for their comfort, pleasure and public image.⁷⁰³

8.4. Work, gender and patriotism.

The thesis also widened the meanings of gender and work previously found in the Danish and Norwegian patriotic discourse. The members did *not* find women’s market-oriented work of “less worth” than men’s work, as the brief previous Nordic studies suggest.⁷⁰⁴ The economic writings from the patriotic societies show that the members’ wish to expand and improve domestic industries, combined with their knowledge about the local economy, made them praise women of all ranks and occupations for their competence in the domestic industries. The female agriculturalists were admired and considered an important resource for the local and national economy through their textile and dairy production.

Furthermore, the praise of women’s skills and economic value extended to other social groups. Many society members encouraged urban women of higher ranks to become involved in market-oriented work. A study of a shop established by the *Society for Improvement of Domestic Industries* (1807-1808) in Copenhagen shows that the members thought upper-class women had special abilities that could be of use in building up domestic industries: They had “*taste*” that could help improve the aesthetic quality of the commodities. In addition, their market production and their consumption of Danish commodities would be a good example for lower rank women who would eventually follow their lead.

These views were probably widespread in the European patriotic societies. As previously mentioned, the historian Nicola Pullin points out that the British association, *The Society of Commerce*, awarded prizes and praised independent businesswomen of all ranks for their commercial activities because they contributed to economic growth.⁷⁰⁵ Many societies copied rules and activities from this society and had a similar wish to

⁷⁰³ Hussey, 'Guns, Horses and Stylish waistcoats?' 69.

⁷⁰⁴ Fiebranz, “Jord, linne eller träkol,” 134-158; Östman, ”Den betydelsesfulla mjölken,” 100-123, esp. 115-117.

⁷⁰⁵ Pullin, “Business is just life,” 188, 209-217.

use all resources available to expand and improve domestic industries.⁷⁰⁶ Moreover, it is likely that the patriotic rhetoric was used by women to continue their market-oriented activities at a time when negative attitudes to women's work were growing.

8.5. The impact of patriotism on the economy

Could the views on the economy in the patriotic societies have any implications on the eighteenth and nineteenth century culture and economy? The middle classes were just a small percentage of the population in most countries. But the members affected a large part of the population through the many activities they initiated. They published speeches, books and pamphlets for the farmers. They founded libraries, schools and awarded different household members with prizes for their economic activities. Through those actions, they spread their ideology and views on the economy. The scholar Joel Mokyr argues that the enlightenment institutions played an important part in the rapid economic development of eighteenth-century England.⁷⁰⁷ The Norwegian scholar Kristine Bruland also argues that the spread of new technology through institutions, such as scientific societies, schools and exhibitions, was a condition for the economic growth Norway experienced in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.⁷⁰⁸

In a similar way, the patriotic societies could have had an effect on the culture and economic development in Denmark and Norway. The societies might have helped local industries to prosper and patriotism might have affected why some goods became popular and others not. Moreover, the societies might have helped women to continue being economically active and to be proud of their working capabilities and competences. The impact they had on the economy remains to be studied in detail and goes beyond the scope of this dissertation. Nonetheless, the dissertation has given necessary background for future studies where the effects of enlightenment activities on culture and economy can be studied closer.

⁷⁰⁶ See Chapter 2.

⁷⁰⁷ Mokyr, Joel, *The enlightened economy: an economic history of Britain 1700-1850* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2009).

⁷⁰⁸ Bruland, Kristine, "Kunnskapsinstitusjoner og skandinavisk industrialisering," in *Demokratisk konservatisme: frihet, fremskritt, fred : festskrift til Francis Sejersted på 70-årsdagen*, ed. Fredrik Engelstad (Oslo, Pax, 2006), 272.

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