

South Sweden, it is possible to discuss the reasons why noble families gradually abandoned their manors from the early-eighteenth century onwards.

The Nobility and the Manors

Since the Middle Ages, the Swedish population was divided into four estates, all of which were represented in the parliament: the nobility, the clergy, the burghers and the freehold farmers. From the Middle Ages and onwards, freehold farmers owned at least 30% of the land, which increased in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries to around 60%.⁵ The nobility of Sweden has its origins in an act of 1280, in which the Swedish king formalized a pre-existing relationship between the king, the landowning lords and the freehold farmers. Tax exemptions and the right to found tax-exempt manors or noble 'seats' (*sätessgårdar*) were promised to those who could pay for horses and armoured men-at-arms to serve in the cavalry.⁶ When Sweden became a nation state in the sixteenth century, noble families began to serve as officers and civil servants in a more complex and better organized administration which had higher expectations for skills and education. In order to establish a more continental style of nobility, necessary for the expanding kingdom, which desired to become a great power equal to those on the continent, two new titles were introduced in the 1560s: count (*greve*) and baron (*friherre*). The nobility was then divided into two; the titled nobility (*höqadel*) consisting of counts and barons, and the untitled nobility (*låqadel*). From this point noble status also became hereditary, meaning that all sons and daughters inherited their fathers' titles. In 1625, the noble families founded the House of Nobility (*Riddarhuset*), an organisation for defending noble privileges, which from the beginning kept records of all members of the noble families associated with the House of Nobility.⁷

In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the nobility increased their ownership of land in the Kingdom from 22% in 1550 to 65% in 1680, by donations and purchases from the crown.⁸ This came to an end in 1680, when the king and non-noble members of parliament voted to reclaim most of the land that had been given away. After this, the crown, the nobility and freehold farmers each owned one third of the land.⁹ In this process, the nobility also lost some of their privileges. They were no longer allowed to found new tax-exempt manors, *säterier*, or to create counties or baronies.¹⁰ Instead, they were granted the right to entail property (*fideikommiss*), mean-



4.1 | The Swedish kingdom before 1660 During the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries Sweden became the leading power in the Baltic region. In the long run, Sweden could not compete with the Russian Empire, and lost its Baltic provinces in 1721 and Finland in 1809.



4.2 | Map showing the area of Sweden where the six counties analysed in this chapter are to be found The manors mentioned in the chapter are marked out on the map.

Social Group	Population 1751		Population 1805		Population 1855		Distribution of land 1845	
	Numbers	%	Numbers	%	Numbers	%	Mantal	%
Nobility	9,208	0.51	9,458	0.39	11,742	0.32	10,511	17.6
Non-noble families of rank	36,225	2.01	68,730	2.85	70,564	2.18	6,210	10.4
Clergy	15,651	0.87	14,992	0.62	15,362	0.42	257	0
Farmers and servants	1,736,765	96.6	2,318,398	96.1	3,541,332	97.1	42,734	65.3
Total population/Land	1,797,849	100	2,411,578	100	3,639,000	100	59,712	100

Table 4.1 | The distribution of different social groups

in 1751, 1805 and 1855, and the distribution of land in 1845. Mantal was the main tax measure in Sweden, established in the sixteenth century (1571), when one mantal was equal to the amount of land needed to support one peasant or freehold household. After land recuperation by freehold farmers and land reforms in the following centuries, however, one mantal changed, as the area of land farmed and the crop yield grew, and one “mantal” would therefore in later centuries yield enough to support several households. (Source: Carlsson [1949] pp. 12–33 and 169)

ing that the property could be passed in its entirety to just one child, in most cases the eldest son.¹¹ The Swedish law of inheritance otherwise stipulated that all property should be divided almost equally between children, although sons inherited double shares.¹²

There were many reasons why the influence of the nobility continued to decline in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, including the increased economic and political power of non-noble groups that led to restrictions on the nobility’s privileges. In 1789 and 1809 almost all noble privileges were abolished, such as the sole right to tax-exempt land. The nobility increasingly took up offices in the expanding state administration, or engaged in trade, leading to an increasingly urban lifestyle with its advantages and pleasures.¹³ These factors, coupled with the growing possibility of selling land on an open market at high prices, enabled landed families to choose between investing in their manors, or selling their property and transferring the money into industrial and urban projects.¹⁴ In the parliamentary session of 1809, further restrictions on hereditary ennoblement were brought in, resulting in a decline in the number of noble families over the nineteenth century.¹⁵ The abolition of noble privileges was part of a greater process whereby Sweden gradually turned from a mercantilist and regulated economy to a liberal one. The guild system was abolished in 1846, and in 1864 for example free trade was introduced. From the latter date, anyone, irrespective of status, could run or own a business, and successful owners rapidly became members of the local elite. In 1866 the estate system was repealed and replaced with a bicameral parliament where wealth replaced estate for determining eligibility. This was a blow for the nobility in general, but actually favoured the wealthy landowning nobility, who became even more powerful.¹⁶

Non-noble persons of rank (*ståndspersoner*), a group that consisted of

people with a stately lifestyle but without titles, such as priests or burghers, military officers, and civil servants, increased considerably during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries with the expansion of the nation state's civil administration, the commercialisation of agriculture, and an increasingly industrialized economy. Marriages between the classes also became more commonplace, with the percentage of women from noble families who married into the non-noble group rising from nearly 50% in the mid-eighteenth century to 65–70% during the first half of the nineteenth century.¹⁷ The result of this social and economic change was that whereas in 1750 the elite consisted of 9,000 noble persons and 36,000 non-noble persons, by 1855 the corresponding numbers were 12,000 and 70,000 respectively.¹⁸

The noble families who were most profoundly affected by the changing economic and social circumstances were the poorest: those who had been minor officials or non-commissioned officers with no possibility of acquiring or keeping land, and who had been dependent on privilege to uphold their status.¹⁹

The Transfer of Noble Land to Non-noble Families

This chapter will study patterns of manorial ownership in six counties, all in the southern part of Sweden, where the majority of manors were to be found between 1750 and 1950. The selected counties represent six markedly different areas in terms of their geography, economy and history, but all consist of both grain-producing and forested areas, and all changed during the agrarian revolution of the mid-eighteenth century and the industrial revolution of the mid-nineteenth century (Table 4.2). Uppland, located on the east coast and home to the nation's capital, Stockholm, was a significant grain-producing region, with many ironworks and much trade and, crucially, had a high concentration of noble estates. Östergötland is further south, and as well as grain production also had some mines and ironworks. Even further south is Småland, which was mostly covered by forest, but which had a long tradition of producing meat, butter and timber. Småland was home to small-scale iron, glass and paper industries, which became increasingly important in the nineteenth century. In the far south is the former Danish-held region of Skåne, where the most fertile arable land in the kingdom was to be found and which was an area dominated by noble

County	Districts	1750	1900	1950
Uppland (E)	Champion country	Grain	Grain, dairy, vegetables	Grain, dairy, manufactured goods
	Woodland	Iron	Iron, timber, paper	Iron, timber, paper, manufactured goods
Östergötland (SE)	Champion country	Grain	Grain, dairy	Grain, dairy
	Woodland	Timber, iron	Paper, timber, manufactured goods	Paper, timber, manufactured goods
Småland (SE)	Champion country	Grain	Grain, dairy	Grain, dairy
	Woodland	Meat, timber, Iron	Timber, glass, dairy	Timber, glass, paper, manufactured goods
Skåne (S)	Champion country	Grain	Grain, dairy, sugar	Grain, dairy, sugar
	Woodland	Timber	Timber	Timber
Västergötland (SW)	Champion country	Grain, Meat	Grain, dairy	Grain, dairy, manufactured goods
	Woodland	Textiles	Textiles, glass	Textiles, glass
Värmland (W)	Champion country	Grain	Grain, dairy	Grain, dairy
	Woodland	Iron, timber	Paper, timber, manufactured goods	Paper, timber, manufactured goods

Table 4.2 | The different counties used in the investigation The geography and economy of the countries referred to in this chapter around 1750, 1900 and 1950. (Source: Gadd [2000] and Morell [2001])

landowners. On the west coast to the north of Skåne is Västergötland, another of the main grain-producing counties. Although distinctively feudal in character, the county was also home to a small-scale textile industry, which became more important in the nineteenth century. Finally, further north, on the same latitude as Uppland, is Värmland, dominated by woodland and mines and with a low degree of noble presence.

In the early-eighteenth century, noble lands exempt from taxation made up 33% of all land in Sweden, but 150 years later noble ownership comprised only around 18% (Table 4.3). Almost half of this tax-exempt land was transferred from noble ownership to non-noble groups between 1718 and 1850.

The transfer of land to non-noble groups was more common in counties where the noble classes were not the predominant landowners. In Skåne (S) and Uppland (E), where the nobility possessed half of the land in the early-eighteenth century, land transfer was markedly lower, and in 1845 the nobility still owned one third of the land. It was mostly non-nobles who gained from the transfer of land; by around 1850 they owned one third of the tax-exempt land and 10% of all land, and they were particularly strongly represented in counties related to the mining districts. In

Ownership of tax-exempt land in 1845						
County	Tax-exempt (noble) land in 1700 (%)	Ownership in 1845				Sum
		Nobles (%)	Non-nobles of rank (%)	Freehold farmers (%)	Others (%)	
Uppland (E)	49	31	14	46	9	100
Östergötland (SE)	38	24	15	53	8	100
Småland (SE)	29	15	10	73	2	100
Skåne (S)	49	32	7	54	7	100
Västergötland (SW)	40	9	13	71	7	100
Värmland (W)	24	8	15	63	14	100
Sweden	33	18	10	65	7	100

Table 4.3 | The percentage of tax-exempt noble land in 1700, and the distribution of owners of all land in 1845 in the selected counties. Until 1789, the nobility had the sole right to noble tax-exempt land, but after a parliamentary decision in that year, this became available for all estates. In 1845 the nobility owned only 18% of the land. (Source: Carlsson [1949] pp. 12 and 169)

County	Tax-exempt (noble) land in 1700 (%)	Noble (%)			Non-noble of rank (%)			Freehold farmers (%)		
		1718	1805	1850	1718	1805	1850	1718	1805	1850
Uppland (E)	49	89	81	70	11	16	27	0	3	3
Östergötland (SE)	38	80	74	56	20	23	34	0	3	10
Småland (SE)	29	76	63	62	21	28	20	3	9	18
Skåne (S)	49	(94)	(95)	?	(6)	(4)	?	(0)	(1)	?
Västergötland (SW)	40	97	(59)	?	3	(31)	?	0	(10)	?
Värmland (W)	24	(94)	(55)	?	(6)	(41)	?	0	(4)	?

comparison, freehold farmers probably possessed around 10% of manorial tax-exempt land by 1850 (Table 4.4). The transfer of tax-exempt land was thus a process that had been ongoing since the beginning of the eighteenth century, and with this in mind, we may now venture into a study of manorial ownership patterns in the mid-twentieth century.

Definition and Method

The definition of manor used here aims to include legal, economic, social and constructional aspects, and is based on six criteria, of which a minimum of four of must be met in order for something to be recognized as a manor.²⁰

Table 4.4 | The distribution of *ypperligt frälse* (manorial tax-exempt land) in 1718, 1805 and 1850. Most manors were founded on so-called *ypperligt frälse*, tax-exempt land, and could only be owned by the nobility or of non-noble persons of rank with special permission. When this privilege was abolished in 1810, manors were sold to non-nobles and freehold farmers. (Source: Carlsson [1949] pp. 112, 142 and 161)

Table 4.5 | Definitions of the social groups of owners used in the study The definitions are based on those of Carlsson (1949).

Social group	Definition
Titled Nobility	Swedish noble persons who were members of the House of Nobility, with the titles of Count or Baron, or foreign persons with titles such as Baron, Count, Duke etc.
Untitled Nobility	Swedish noble persons who were members of the House of Nobility, and foreign noble persons.
Non-noble of rank	Non-noble persons who were officers, civil servants, businessmen, burghers, and who usually used family names.
Farmers	Non-noble persons with a background in a peasant family, and generally using patronymic family names (Carlsson, Andersson, Persson), and titles such as <i>landstingsman</i> (regional politician) or <i>nämndeman</i> (juryman in the local court), or the title <i>godsägare</i> (manor owner), a neutral title often used by non-noble owners.
Companies	Joint stock companies (after 1848), or family-owned companies (before 1848).
Others	Manors owned by the government (royal manors, officers' residences) or manors owned by organisations.

Thus, in a Swedish context, a manor should have:

- an owner who belongs to the elite (either noble or non-noble) class.
- landed property that is exempt from taxes (*säteri*).
- an estate consisting of tenant farms with rent-paying farmers (*ränta*), and/or smallholders (*torpare*).
- a differentiated labour force, whose work is overseen by a steward or foreman and is undertaken by farmhands (*arbetare*), bond servants and cottagers (*torpare*). There were also specialist workers such as gardeners, carpenters, footmen and maids.
- a substantial main building which includes a hierarchy of rooms, such as a hall and drawing room and bedchambers for the family, as well as servants' quarters.
- gardens and/or a park.

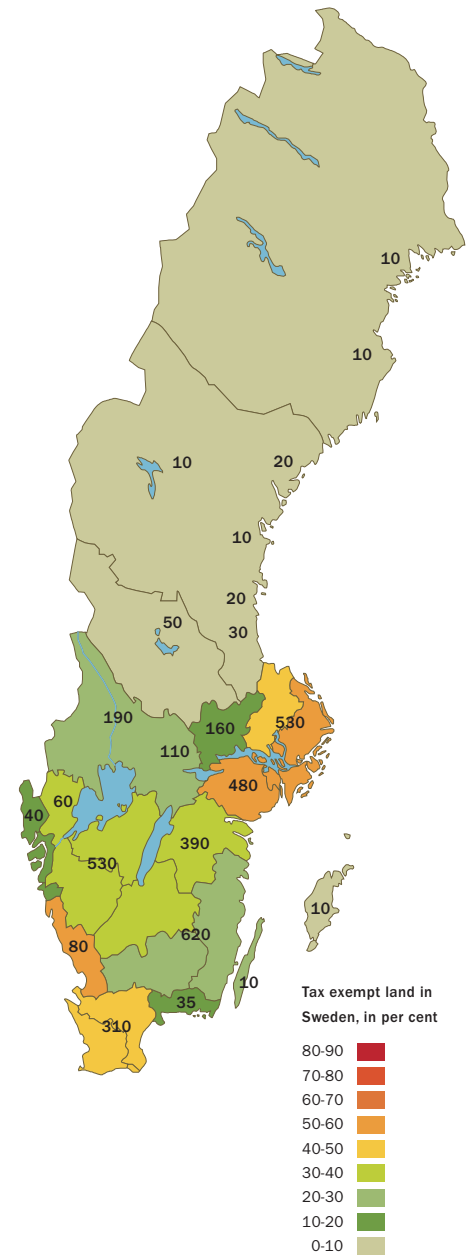
Using these criteria, we can ascertain that there were around 3,700 manors in Sweden during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. In addition to the manors, there were also some 10,000 smaller large farms in Sweden, many of them owned by the crown. These relatively large farms were homes for officers, civil servants and the clergy, as well as successful businessmen, burghers and craftsmen. Although some had stately main buildings, they were not defined as manors because they were often not tax-exempt, were

much smaller in acreage since they had no estates belonging to them, had few servants, and did not employ tenant farmers or smallholders.

The analysis is based on information on owners and property size in 1950 from 524 manors in six counties, which equates to around 20% of all manors existing at that time. Between seven and eleven *härader* (roughly equivalent to the English ‘hundred’, the administrative level above parish) have been selected from each county, half of which are situated in grain-producing districts, and half in woodland districts – in total, between 65 and 100 manors from each county. The main source is the two sets of volumes of *Svenska Gods och Gårdar* and *Sveriges Bebyggelse* (published between 1935 and 1966), which contains detailed descriptions of every manor and farm in Sweden.²¹

In order to discuss changes in ownership over time, the owners have been categorized into various social groups, based on the categorisation developed by Carlsson, which is based in turn on the old estates-system in Sweden: nobility and non-noble persons of rank (*ståndspersoner*), which includes clergy, burghers and freeholders. In addition, however, the nobles are divided into the (higher) titled nobility (*högdadel*), and the (lower) untitled nobility (*lågadel*). In general, as great landowners and holders of the highest offices, the titled nobility had a somewhat different agenda from the larger group of lower nobles.²² Furthermore, burghers and clergy have been included in the group of non-noble persons of rank. One reason for this is that the burghers were more or less dissolved when the guild system was abolished in 1846 and freedom of business was introduced in 1864. Thirdly, a group simply called ‘companies’ has been included, which primarily consists of joint stock companies (*aktiebolag*), the foundation of which was allowed after an act of 1848.

This categorisation is inevitably still somewhat coarse as there were no sharply defined boundaries between the different groups, not to mention the fact that families and individuals moved between the groups as a result of career changes and marriages. When ennoblement more or less ceased in the early-nineteenth century and after a bicameral parliament was introduced in 1866, these boundaries became even more permeable. However, it is a categorisation that has at its core distinct features that defined each group. Finally, the owners’ social status has been defined according to social affiliation of the males in the family, meaning that a noblewoman who owned a manor and was married to a non-noble man of rank is defined as a non-noble of rank, since until 1921 husbands held legal rights over their partners.



4.3 | Map The distribution of tax-exempt land at the beginning of the eighteenth century, and the number of manors in 1850. (Map by Renée Edlund, based on Gadd [2000] p. 43 and information from www.svenskaherrgardar.se)

County	Area	N	Total area (ha)			Total area arable (ha)		Proportion of manors by size in hectares (%)		
			Max	Mean	Median	Mean	Median	0-499	500-999	1,000 -
Uppland (E)	Champion country	53	2,030	456	386	163	150	68	26	6
	Woodland	45	34,000	2,967	630	470	165	42	16	42
Östergötland (SE)	Champion country	48	1,216	303	270	159	160	88	10	2
	Woodland	54	53,333	2,072	571	205	93	44	24	32
Småland (SE)	Champion country	37	4,000	607	380	151	115	68	19	13
	Woodland	39	12,300	1,634	894	119	62	31	26	43
Skåne (S)	Champion country	45	4,992	898	280	545	248	73	9	8
	Woodland	44	11,500	1,350	540	515	222	50	18	32
Västergötland (SW)	Champion country	58	2,744	499	350	199	150	72	14	14
	Woodland	38	1,500	524	423	73	72	55	34	11
Värmland (W)	Champion country	42	1,269	419	384	113	108	71	23	6
	Woodland	18	10,000	1,756	260	111	72	44	0	56

The Ownership of Manors in Sweden 1750 to 1950

Table 4.6 | Total area and total area of arable land in six counties in Sweden around 1950 in hectares and the proportion of manors by size in hectares. (Source: Database on Swedish manors, www.svenskaherrgardar.se)

A large entailed manor (*fideikommiss*) could more readily be transferred to the eldest son through many generations, while a manor of a similar size, which was not entailed, would be divided, and the possibility of keeping it intact within the family then depended on the possibility of buying shares from the other heirs. However, owners of smaller manors were more vulnerable. The return was much lower and they were more exposed to price fluctuations, something which could force them into selling or even into bankruptcy.²³ Most of the manors in Sweden around 1950 were comparatively small (Table 4.6). Around 60% (n. 314) of all manors had fewer than 500 hectares, with arable land of between 70 and 250 hectares, depending on the region in which the manor was located. In general, manors in champion districts were smaller, most of them comprising 300 to 400 hectares, with 100 to 150 hectares of arable land. The exception is Skåne in the south,

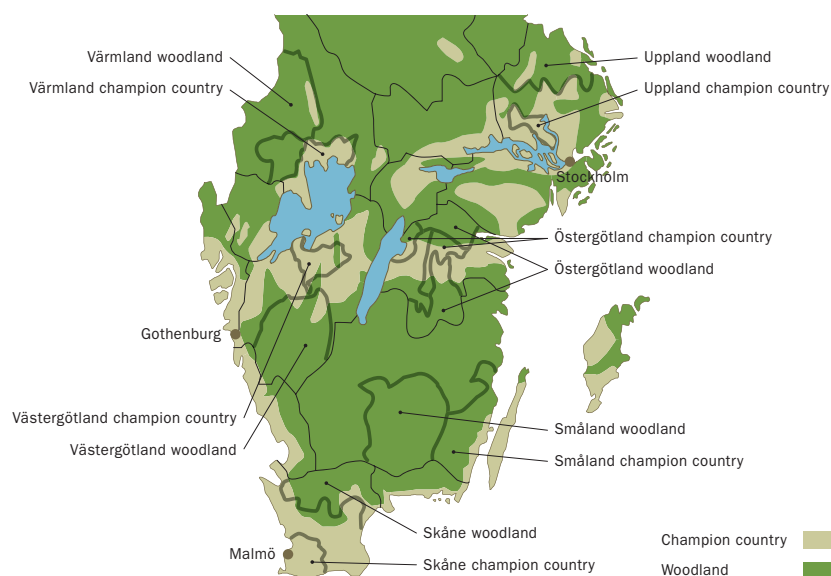
Social group	Owners, social groups 1750 to 1950 (%)					Entailed in 1950 (%)	Proportion of manors according to size (hectares) 1950 (%)		
	1750	1800	1850	1900	1950		0-499	500-999	1000 -
SIX COUNTIES									
Champion country							N: 197	N:52	N:33
Titled nobility	33	29	28	23	17	19	10	35	27
Untitled Nobility	49	45	27	15	9	13	7	6	23
Non-noble of rank	12	21	39	39	34	0	35	33	27
Farmers			1	16	27	0	35	13	3
Companies				1	3	0	3	2	9
Other	6	5	5	6	10	0	10	12	9
	100	100	100	100	100		100	100	100
Woodland							N: 117	N: 48	N: 75
Titled nobility	30	34	36	26	13	35	9	15	21
Untitled Nobility	47	42	27	19	5	9	4	6	11
Non-noble of rank	21	20	32	24	31	0	37	39	16
Farmers			1	9	22	0	38	13	
Companies		1	1	18	20	0	3	17	47
Other	2	3	3	4	9	0	9	10	5
	100	100	100	100	100		100	100	100

where the average manor was generally smaller, with 280 hectares, but with arable land of 250 hectares. The yield per hectare in Skåne was higher than in most of the counties, and considerably higher than in Värmland.²⁴ In general, woodland manors were larger. Between 32 and 56% of them had more than 1,000 hectares of land and many included former ironworks. The only exception was Västergötland, where there were no mines, and where there were very few grand woodland estates. Here, the limited size of estates and low returns also meant that most manor houses were built in modest architectural styles and had simple layouts. The main building of an average manor in Sweden had 10 to 15 rooms, a couple of adjacent wings, some dwellings for employees, and grounds of one to two hectares.²⁵

The ownership of manors continued to change during the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries (Table 4.7), with land shifting from noble to non-noble ownership. In 1950, the noble families as a whole possessed only 26% (n.73) of the manors in the champion districts and 18% (n.43) in the woodland areas, compared with around 80% ownership 200 years earlier.

Table 4.7 | Owners of manors by social group between 1750 and 1950 in all six Swedish counties referred to here, the percentage of entailed manors in 1950, and the proportion of manors according to size in hectares in 1950, in the champion country and woodland districts. The nobility were still to a large extent owners of the largest manors in 1950, partly because these manors were entailed and could not be sold or divided. (Source: Database on Swedish manors, www.svenskaherrgardar.se)

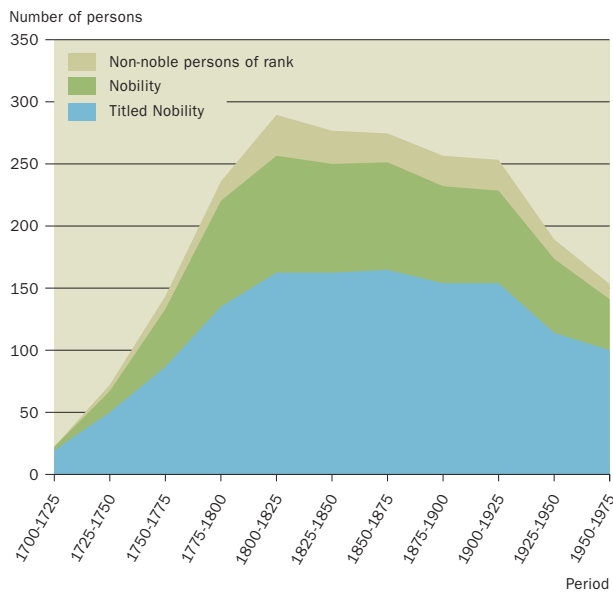
4.4 | Map of Sweden with the selected counties and the chosen hundreds (häradet) within them, representing both champion and woodland districts. (Map by Renée Edlund)



However, their share in the woodland areas was probably slightly higher by 1950, as several noble families were also owners of ironworks, which were turned into joint stock companies from the late-nineteenth century onwards.

As some earlier research has also shown, the titled nobility seem to have managed the turbulent nineteenth century quite successfully. As owners of larger estates, they benefited from the increased price of food and had advantages when turning to capitalistic farming since their property was relatively easy to rationalize with enclosures and mechanisation.²⁶ In 1950, they owned 17% (n.48) of the champion manors and 13% (n.31) of the woodland manors, but 21% of the manors with more than 1,000 hectares of land in the champion and 27% of those in the woodlands. The main factor behind this was of course the high proportion of entailed manors – in 1950 19% (in the champion) and 35% (in the woodlands) of the manors were still entailed.

Entailed estates were also quite common among untitled noble families. In 1950, 9% of the manors owned by families in the champion districts were entailed, and 13% in the woodland, while untitled noble families still owned 15% of the largest manors over 1,000 hectares. In general, however, untitled families suffered severely during the long nineteenth century. In 1750, they owned nearly half of the manors, by 1800 it was 40% and by 1850 it was 27%, but by 1950 it was just 8%. Despite legislation of 1789 and 1810



4.5 | The number of entailed manors in Sweden from 1700 to 1975, by social group

The titled nobility were the predominant founders and owners of entailed manors and most of them were entailed during the eighteenth century, when competition for land and officials increased. (Source: Segerstråle [1979], Elgenstierna [1925–1936] and Database on Swedish manors, www.svenskaherrgardar.se 2015-04-01)

that afforded non-noble persons the right to buy tax-exempt land, and the increased rate of marriages between untitled noble families and non-nobles of rank in this period, the period saw crop failures and fluctuations in food prices that hit the smaller manor owners hard.²⁷

However, non-noble persons of rank benefitted over the same period. In 1750 they owned 12% of the manors in the champion districts and 21% in the woodland – a high proportion, given the fact that tax-exempt land was only rarely sold to non-noble persons. The main cause was that many ironworks were in the hands of wealthy merchants, some of whom would be ennobled at a later date. Their share of ownership increased in the early-nineteenth century to one third of the manors, a share that remained unchanged in 1950, although they probably controlled more through ownership of joint stock companies. Many of the manors were of considerable size – in 1950 non-nobles owned nearly 60% of estates over 500 hectares.

Freehold farmers (*självägande bönder*) started to become owners in the second half of the nineteenth century, and generally owned smaller manors. Their arrival on the market coincided with a fall in agricultural incomes, the depopulation of the countryside and increased wages from the 1870s onwards. One of the reasons why farmers took over so many manors over a short period of time – their share increased from 1% in 1850 to over 20% in 1950 – was their use of family members rather than wage labour.

It must also be remembered that the freehold farmers benefited from increased economic and political capital during the agricultural revolution, which now enabled them to enjoy a comfortable lifestyle.²⁸

Joint stock companies were founded in the latter part of the nineteenth century, and almost all were founded on capital-intensive ironworks, which during this period started to suffer from international competition that, a couple of decades later, would force many of them into bankruptcy. Attracted to the vast forests in the north, timber and paper mill companies became new manor owners, and in the south, glassworks and sawmills were founded.²⁹ In 1950, companies controlled 20% of the manors in woodland areas, and 47% of all manors over 1,000 hectares. Joint stock companies were uncommon in champion districts, but some noble and non-noble owners transformed their estates into companies in the late-nineteenth century, although many of them dissolved after just a few decades.

Finally, we come to the group termed 'others', which, until the late-nineteenth century, were primarily state-owned officers' residences. Between 1900 and 1950, when both ironworks and farming suffered from falling returns, some manors were sold and used as schools or rest homes, whilst others were converted into colleges for agriculture or domestic science by municipal councils.

Regional Differences in Ownership

Uppland

Historically, the county of Uppland has been a county of power, as it is home to the capital Stockholm, and the archdiocese of Uppsala. In some parts of the county, the nobility owned almost all of the land, especially in areas close to Lake Mälaren, where feudal estates were established from the twelfth century, and in the mining districts to the north, where noble families such as De Geer, Grill, Tamm, von Essen, Beck-Friis and Ugglas controlled most of the land.

In 1950, the titled nobility still enjoyed a strong position in champion districts, owning most of the grander estates, and still owned some ironworks in the woodlands – both areas with a high proportion of entailed manors. Most of the former ironworks had, however, been taken over by joint stock companies by the 1910s and 1920s: such companies owned

Social group	Owners, social groups 1750 to 1950 (%)					Entailed in 1950 (%)	Distribution of manors according to size (hectares) 1950 (%)		
	1750	1800	1850	1900	1950		0-499	500-999	1000 -
UPPLAND									
Champion country							N:36	N:14	N:3
Titled nobility	45	33	42	35	21	36	11	43	66
Untitled nobility	35	35	25	14	6		9		
Non-noble of rank	11	27	25	37	48		56	29	34
Farmers			2	8	13		17	7	
Companies					4		2	7	
Other	9	6	6	6	8		5	14	
	100	100	100	100	100		100	100	100
Woodland									
Titled nobility	45	49	50	23	13	50		14	26
Untitled nobility	39	34	16	33					
Non-noble of rank	16	17	30		27		37	58	5
Farmers				3	29		63	14	
Companies			4	41	31			14	69
Other									
	100	100	100	100	100		100	100	100

69% of the manors with more than 1,000 hectares. These companies were mainly interested in forests and industries, and between 1910 and the 1930s, sold many smaller manors and some of their land to freehold farmers and non-noble persons of rank. In contrast, the untitled nobility owned practically nothing in 1950. In grain-producing areas, they had been replaced by non-noble persons of rank, many of them successful, Stockholm-based businessmen or high officials. In woodland districts, ownership was passed to companies or freehold farmers.

Östergötland

As with Uppland, Östergötland was a county that had strong feudal features in the past, and in 1950 the titled nobility still owned large manors in grain-producing areas. However, in woodland areas a number of companies had replaced the titled nobility as manor owners, although the majority of woodland manors remained in private ownership. The titled nobility

Table 4.8 | Owners of manors by social group between 1750 and 1950 in Uppland county in the east, the percentage of entailed manors in 1950, and the distribution of manors according to size in hectares in 1950, in the champion country and woodland districts. (Source: Database on Swedish manors, www.svenskaherrgardar.se. Champion country hundreds: Bro, Håbo and Lagunda. Woodland hundreds: Frösåker, Norunda, Oland, Våla, Örbyhus.)

Social group	Owners, social groups 1750 to 1950 (%)					Entailed in 1950 (%)	Distribution of manors according to size (hectares) 1950 (%)		
	1750	1800	1850	1900	1950		0-499	500-999	1000 -
ÖSTERGÖTLAND									
Champion country							N:42	N:5	N:1
Titled nobility	29	32	29	18	21	0	17	40	100
Untitled nobility	51	29	9	16	6	0	5	20	
Non-noble of rank	16	35	58	49	31	0	31	40	
Farmers				11	31	0	36		
Companies				3		0			
Other	4	4	4	3	10	0	12		
	100	100	100	100	100		100	100	100
Woodland							N: 24	N: 13	N: 17
Titled nobility	29	33	24	22	8	50		8	18
Untitled nobility	56	52	42	12	13	0	8	15	18
Non-noble of rank	15	15	34	35	33	0	46	32	18
Farmers				7	22	0	42	15	
Companies				17	13	0		15	28
Other				7	11	0	4	15	18
	100	100	100	100	100		100	100	100

Table 4.9 | Owners of manors by social group between 1750 and 1950 in Östergötland county in the south east, the percentage of entailed manors in 1950, and the distribution of manors according to size in hectares in 1950, in the champion country and woodland districts. (Source: Database on Swedish manors, www.svenskaherrgardar.se. Champion country hundreds: Aska, Dal, Gullberg, Hanekind, Valkebo and Åkerbo. Woodland hundreds: Finspånga län, Hanekind, Kinda and Ydre.)

owned only 8% of the manors in 1950, but several of them were entailed in the baronial family of Adelswård.

The untitled nobility still owned a great proportion of woodland manors, probably also through company ownership, but owned little in the grain-producing district, where they only accounted for 6% (n.3) of the manors in 1950. This loss of manor ownership took place early, before the late-eighteenth century, when non-noble families of rank gradually took over ownership. These, in turn, gave way to freehold farmer-owners from the mid-nineteenth century. A reason for this early and swift transfer of property to non-noble groups was probably due to the small size of the manors – in 1950 the average area was only 270 hectares.

Småland

Småland county, south of Östergötland, has a belt of fertile champion districts along its eastern coast, while the inland region is predominantly a

Social group	Owners, social groups 1750 to 1950 (%)					Distribution of manors according to size (hectares) 1950 (%)		
	1750	1800	1850	1900	1950	0-499	500-999	1000 -
SMÅLAND								
Champion country						N: 25	N: 7	N: 5
Titled nobility	30	10	24	15	8		29	20
Untitled nobility	50	67	57	25	8	8		20
Non-noble of rank	15	19	14	30	30	40		20
Farmers				20	35	40	42	
Companies					8	8		20
Other	5	4	5	10	11	4	29	20
	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Woodland								
Titled nobility	14	24	32	23	10		20	12
Untitled nobility	36	30	24	15				
Non-noble of rank	47	38	39	34	33	33	30	35
Farmers			3	10	15	50		
Companies		5		15	27		20	47
Other	3	3	3	3	15	17	30	6
	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

highland area covered with forests, lakes and rivers. Historically, the flatlands were dominated by the nobility: in 1750 they owned 80% (n. 30) of the manors, a proportion that they maintained in 1850 – significantly more than the nobility in contemporary Uppland and Östergötland. However, within this group, most manors were owned by the untitled nobility, whereas ownership by titled noble families decreased over the nineteenth century.

Non-noble and freehold farmers began taking over manors after 1850, and the latter group was predominant by 1950, owning most of the smaller manors as well as some grander manors. In the woodland districts, the nobility as a whole owned around 50% (n. 20) of manors in 1750 and maintained that share until the late-nineteenth century. Non-noble families of rank were the other major owners and were deeply engaged with the iron industry, owning around 40% (n.13 to 18) of manors in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. In the late-nineteenth century, these turned into

Table 4.10 | Owners of manors by social group between 1750 and 1950 in Småland county in the south east and the distribution of manors according to size in hectares in 1950, in the champion country and woodland districts. (Source: Database on Swedish manors, www.svenskaherrgardar.se. Champion country hundreds: Nora Möre, Stranda and Södra Möre. Woodland hundreds: Kinnevald, Konga, Norrvinge and Uppvidinge.)

Social group	Owners, social groups 1750 to 1950 (%)					Entailed in 1950 (%)	Distribution of manors according to size (hectares) 1950 (%)		
	1750	1800	1850	1900	1950		0-499	500-999	1000 -
SKÅNE									
Champion country							N: 22	N: 8	N: 14
Titled nobility	58	67	52	48	42	26	36	75	36
Untitled nobility	33	26	24	16	18	25	9	13	36
Non-noble of rank	9	7	17	22	16	0	23	12	7
Farmers			7	14	12	0	23		
Companies					5	0			14
Other					7	0	9		7
	100	100	100	100	100		100	100	100
Woodland							N: 33	N: 4	N: 8
Titled nobility	37	48	60	61	36	38	27	25	75
Untitled nobility	56	41	23	21	11	60	6	25	25
Non-noble of rank			9	5	27	8	30	50	
Farmers				5	18	0	24		
Companies					4	0	6		
Other	7	11	8	8	4	0	6		
	100	100	100	100	100		100	100	100

Table 4.11 | Owners of manors by social group between 1750 and 1950 in Skåne county in the south, the percentage of entailed manors in 1950, and the distribution of manors according to size in hectares in 1950, in the champion country and woodland districts. (Source: Database on Swedish manors, www.svenskaherrgardar.se. Champion country hundreds: Bara, Oxie, Skytt, Torna and Vemmenhög. Woodland hundreds: Gärd, Norra Åsbo, Södra Åsbo, Villand, Västra Göinge and Östra Göinge.)

joint stock companies, which invested in the glass, timber and paper industries. By 1950, these families owned 60% of all manors and 82% of those over 1,000 hectares in size.

Skåne

The county of Skåne (Scania), until 1658 a part of Denmark, had strong feudal features and was totally dominated by the nobility in 1750.

By 1950, the nobility still owned around 50% of the manors due to the high percentage of entailed manors – 19% in 1950, far more than any of the other counties.³⁰ Skåne's economy was almost completely agricultural, with very little industry, and the highly fertile land is linked to the region's early transition to capitalistic demesne farming on consolidated farms close to the manors, which made the owners economically strong. Finally, the larger average size of the manors made it expensive and difficult for non-noble persons of rank or farmers to acquire the estates.

Social group	Owners, social groups 1750 to 1950 (%)					Entailed in 1950 (%)	Distribution of manors according to size (hectares) 1950 (%)		
	1750	1800	1850	1900	1950		0-499	500-999	1000 -
VÄSTERGÖTLAND									
Champion country							N: 42	N: 8	N: 8
Titled nobility	23	24	15	9	7	0	3	25	13
Untitled nobility	64	55	26	15	10	17	7	13	25
Non-noble of rank	3	10	49	45	33	0	26	50	50
Farmers				19	29	0	38	12	
Companies				2	4	0	5		
Other	10	11	10	10	17	0	21		12
	100	100	100	100	100		100	100	100
Woodland							N: 21	N: 13	N:4
Titled nobility	43	21	25	13	3	0		8	
Untitled nobility	48	58	39	17	11	25	5		75
Non-noble of rank	5	17	32	47	38	0	38	46	25
Farmers				17	26	0	33	23	
Companies				3	11	0	5	23	
Other	4	4	4	3	11	0	19		
	100	100	100	100	100		100	100	100

Västergötland

The county of Västergötland is located to the north of Skåne and has similar features to Småland. It is characterized by a fertile champion district towards the north, close to Lake Vänern, and a highland forest in the south, interspersed with lakes and rivers. Unlike Småland, however, Västergötland had no mines or ironworks, and most of the manors in the woodlands were comparatively small.

As in Småland, the nobility as a whole dominated ownership in the grain-producing districts up to the early-nineteenth century and in the woodlands up to the mid-nineteenth century, but titled nobles owned the smaller share in both districts. In 1950, the nobility still owned 17% (n.10) of manors in champion districts and 14% in the woodlands, out of which 17% and 25% were entailed manors, including the largest manors in the area.

The untitled nobility in champion districts suffered severely during the first half of the nineteenth century. Their share of 55% (n.31) of manors in 1800 had decreased to just 26% by 1850, with most of the lost manors being

Table 4.12 | Owners of manors by social group between 1750 and 1950 in Västergötland county in the south west, the percentage of entailed manors in 1950, and the distribution of manors according to size in hectares in 1950, in the champion country and woodland districts. (Source: Database on Swedish manors, www.svenskaherrgardar.se. Champion country hundreds: Gudhem, Kålland, Skåning, Valle and Vilske. Woodland hundreds: Bollebygd, Kinds, Marks, Redväg, Veden and Ås.)

Social group	Owners, social groups 1750 to 1950 (%)					Distribution of manors non-noble persons of rank 1950 (%)		
	1750	1800	1850	1900	1950	0-499	500-999	1000 -
VÄRMLAND								
Champion country						N: 30	N: 10	N: 2
Nobility, titled	10	3						
Nobility, untitled	61	67	38	10	2	3		
Non-noble of rank	26	27	62	45	43	37	60	50
Farmers				34	48	56	20	50
Companies				3				
Other	3	3		8	7	4	20	
	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Woodland								
Titled nobility								
Nobility, untitled	46	45	7	6				
Non-noble of rank	54	56	86	47	22	37		10
Farmers			7	18	11	25		
Companies				29	56	13		90
Other					11	25		
	100	100	100	100	100	100		100

Table 4.13 | Owners of manors by social group between 1750 and 1950 in Värmland county in the west and the distribution of manors according to size in hectares in 1950 in the champion country and woodland districts. (Source: Database on Swedish manors, www.svenskaherrgardar.se. Champion country hundreds: Grums, Karlstad, Näs and Väse. Woodland hundreds: Fryksdal, Jösse and Nordmark.)

acquired by non-noble persons of rank. This is noteworthy as the area benefited significantly from a boom in the export of oats during this period, however, many of the region's estates were quite small with just a couple of tenant farms, and scattered across a wide area, making them more difficult to modernize.³¹ The increased price of grain also attracted owners from the ranks of merchants and clerks associated with trading companies in the western coastal city of Gothenburg. The second major group of owners by 1950 were freehold farmers, who began purchasing manors during the second half of the nineteenth century. Non-noble persons of rank also began taking over ownership of manors in woodland areas after 1850, some of which were turned into joint stock companies. Many of these were Gothenburg-based trading families, such as Ekman, Evers and Kjellberg, who had interests in timber exports, while others were textile industrialists.³²

Värmland

Finally, Värmland, situated north of Västergötland on the border with Norway, was dominated by vast forests, although some grain-producing districts existed in the centre of the county next to Lake Vänern, where the county town of Karlstad is located. Historically, like Västergötland and Småland, the county did not attract the titled nobility, and the few titled families who lived there had already left by the early-nineteenth century. In 1750, ownership was dominated by the untitled nobility and by non-noble families of rank, who increased their share of manors considerably between the years 1800 and 1850, when these families owned 62% (n.26) of the champion manors and 86% (n.15) of the manors in the woodlands. In the latter part of the century, the manors were transformed into joint stock companies, which by 1950 owned 90% (n.9) of the manors over 1,000 hectares in size. While non-noble owners of rank continued to dominate in the woodlands, the group declined in the grain-producing champion districts after 1850. By 1900, freehold farmers owned 34% (n.14) of manors (mostly small in size) increasing to 48% (n.20) by 1950.

Conclusion: decline or continuity?

Having examined the changing profile of Swedish manor ownership between 1750 and 1950, several themes are apparent. The development charted above generally shows strong similarities to those in other states across western and northern Europe, with non-noble owners competing with noble families, thereby contributing to the nobility's diminishing economic and political influence. However, an important difference compared to Germany and Russia, for example, is the early presence of non-noble families as owners of manors. By the mid-eighteenth century, non-nobles already owned around one fifth of the manors, which by 1950 had increased to three quarters. For the nobility as a whole, this rapid retreat must be seen as a decline not only in ownership, but also in economic and political terms, since land was a key determinant of status and – after 1866 – also of eligibility to the parliament. These results also confirm, as Sten Carlsson and Ingvar Elmroth have shown, that the Swedish nobility gradually became part of the urban middle class as government officials.³³

The titled nobility (*högadel*) were the exception. In 1950 they were still prominent landowners in three of the areas studied: in Skåne and Östergöt-

land, which were old feudal counties with high-yield grain-producing districts; in the county of Uppland, home to Sweden's capital; and in areas with ironworks. Many of the manors held by the titled nobility were larger than average, with areas of 1,000 to 5,000 hectares of land, some of them even of 15,000 to 20,000 hectares; thus, in terms of ownership in hectares, they controlled a greater proportion of the land. With an average ownership of 22% (but around 50% in the old feudal areas) of the manors in 1750, the group expanded their ownership of manors and ironworks during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, benefiting from an increased demand for both food products and iron. This was also made possible by the fact that many of the families had entailed their property in the mid-eighteenth century, ensuring that estates were not broken up and were instead maintained as economically profitable entities with a strong continuity of ownership. The decline in their ownership began in the late-nineteenth century, when the prices of grain and iron fell, and many owners turned their ironworks into joint stock companies and sold off smaller manors to non-nobles of rank or to freeholders and farmers. The importance of large entailed manors with ironworks for the possibility of retaining land cannot be underestimated.

In historically feudal Västergötland (W), which was characterized by smaller non-entailed manors and no ironworks, the titled nobility had already left by the early-nineteenth century. In the forest counties with low-yield grain-producing districts, the titled nobility was less dominant in 1750, and gradually left these districts over the nineteenth century, owning just 5% of the manors by 1950. One reason was probably the difficulty of making profits from farming due to the scattered nature of arable land in this region, and this in turn probably led to few manors becoming entailed, since the main objective of entailment was to secure the future a profitable manor, and with it the family's social position. Finally, the early and strong presence of non-noble industrialists, who expanded their ownership by founding ironworks, and the great distance to Stockholm may also have played a significant role.

In 1750, the majority of manor owners in all counties were from the untitled nobility (*lågadel*), but over time they decreased in number and by 1950 they were in a minority in almost all counties, owning between 5-9% of manors on average. Only in high-yield grain-producing districts, where some of the noble families owned larger entailed manors, did the nobility own more than half of the manors by 1950. The decline began after the year

1800, and was probably due to the fact that the elite as a whole consisted of more non-noble persons of rank, and that the land market opened up in 1789 and 1810, enabling non-nobles to buy tax-exempt land. The fact that most noble manors seem to have been of an average size or smaller, at least in 1950, made them more vulnerable to crop failures and estate division; however, this also made them accessible to upcoming non-nobles and freehold farmers. This process accelerated after 1850, when returns from agricultural production began to decrease. Emerging opportunities to earn a living as civil servants in state and regional administrations also attracted many members of noble families.

By 1750, non-nobles of rank (*ofrälse ståndspersoner*) were already well established in counties where the nobility as a whole were weaker, in woodlands and low-yield grain-producing districts, as owners of iron or glass works, many of them merchants connected to international networks. Their share of the manors generally increased between 1800 and 1850, including in high-yield grain-producing districts, but it increased mostly in the areas where they had always been strong, and after 1850 they also invested in sawmills and paper-mills. In the late-nineteenth century, many of these families transferred their ownership to companies. The share of non-noble owners of rank decreased in general after 1850, when freehold farmers started to buy manors, except in the grain-producing districts of Uppland, where Stockholm-based, high-ranking officials still predominated. After the 1850s, freehold farmers expanded their ownership when the nobility started to sell their manors as a consequence of the late nineteenth-century crisis in farming, especially in woodland areas and low-yield grain-producing districts where manors were relatively small. The non-noble families of rank owned at least one third of manors in 1950, and probably more, since they also controlled manors through companies, and the distribution shows a slight bias towards manors in grain-producing districts, with fewer in woodland areas, where manors were generally larger.

The decline in noble ownership seems undeniable, but there was also a strong continuity in ownership, with an older elite being replaced by a new one made up of non-noble persons of rank including industrialists, merchants, officials or officers, who in many cases were related to noble families by kinship or marriage. Many of those ennobled in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries were descended from non-noble families of rank, and marriages between noble and non-noble families were common. By



1950 about 75% of manors were still owned by a remodelled elite made up from noble or non-noble families of rank, if companies whose owners belonged to noble or non-noble families of rank are included.

This, however, leaves the question of the 25% of manors owned by freehold farmers. Many of them were smaller manors; the average total size of a farmer-owned manor in 1950 was 313 hectares and 118 hectares of arable land, with quite modest main buildings. But for some farmers the status of the manor house was of minor interest – their primary interest was the land, which they managed as a family concern. Many of the freehold farmers who bought manors seem to have sought a stately lifestyle, however, and were already a part of the regional or local elite as members of parliament, the county government or local courts, and after a few generations, some families became accepted as members of the elite and married into both noble and non-noble families of rank.³⁴

Regardless of status, most manor owners seem to have been interested in maintaining their manor houses and grounds, judging from the pictures in the two sets of volumes of *Svenska Gods och Gårdar* and *Sveriges Be-*



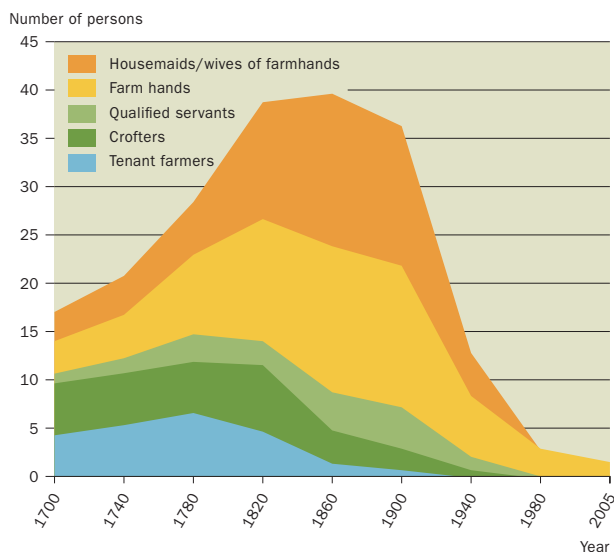
byggelse from the 1940s and 1950s. Almost all pictures depict beautiful main buildings with well-kept gardens, gravel paths, flowerbeds and trimmed hedges. As a neutral power in both world wars, Sweden was never exposed to war's attendant devastation, and very few of the manors were further subdivided, destroyed, or became derelict over the first half of the twentieth century. However, some manors, especially in woodland areas of the southeastern and western parts of the country, were converted into schools or rest homes in the first three decades of the century. This was also the case for manors close to Stockholm, which had been sequestered by the city council in the early-twentieth century.³⁵ One reason contributing to their survival was probably the fact that most of them were rather small and well built, well adjusted to the harsh climate, and enjoyed relatively low maintenance costs.

By 1950, however, all manor owners were under pressure from declining financial returns and increased taxes, and for many owners, the period between 1910 and 1950 was the worst ever, before farming subsidies became more reliable. It was during this period that a nostalgic literature about

4.6. and 4.7 | Grönö manor, in Västmanland county, in ca. 1890 and ca. 1910, is a good example of how freehold farmers presented themselves as members of the local elite. The main building and wings were erected by the nobleman and ironworks owner Jakob Tersmeden in 1740, while the second storey was added in 1850 by the nobleman Adolf Gyllencreutz. In 1874, it was bought by the freehold farmer and MP Carl Erik Carlson, and his son Adolf Carlson erected a new main building in 1899, designed in a Rococo style by the architect Erik Hahr. (Source: Pictures in Ullvi estate archive, Uppsala landsarkiv [ULA], Uppsala)

4.8 | The number of employees on an average-sized manor between 1700 and 2005

(Source: Ulväng [2008])



manors flourished, including memoirs written by the nobility, with descriptions of the wonderful past, now gone forever, as well as nationwide inventories of manors published in lavish multi-volume sets, whilst museums were created to document manorial lifestyles and houses.³⁶ But the period also saw rapid mechanisation and the emergence of trade unions, and witnessed farm-workers and cottagers fighting for their rights.³⁷

The next generation of manor owners, who took over after the Second World War, were more prepared for what was to come. Sweden's social-democratic vision and its emergent welfare state favoured the industrial sector, while the countryside in general, and the manors in particular, suffered. Growing international competition in food production, as well as increased taxation of labour, land and inheritance made it difficult to keep up both the lifestyle and the maintenance of the buildings and grounds. The necessary rationalisation of the agricultural sector primarily affected the most work-intensive parts of the manors, such as gardens, orchards and avenues, while houses could be managed with fewer or no staff with the introduction of central heating, vacuum cleaners and other household appliances.³⁸ In 1964 new legislation abolished entailed manors, but did so gradually in order to protect Sweden's rich cultural heritage.³⁹

The last three decades have seen a reawakening of the manors and manorial culture and heritage. Sweden's membership of the EU allowed access to the Common Agricultural Policy (CAP) with its subsidy system, which favoured manors because of their larger acreage and large-scale farming, but also because of their rich heritage landscape of pastures, ponds and av-

venues with high ecological diversity. The wealth created by the expanding global economy and the deregulation of the financial markets has resulted in more business people buying and investing in manors.

This chapter has sought to demonstrate how the ownership of manors in Sweden changed between 1750 and 1950, but there are still many questions to be answered. The focus here has been on shifting social groups within an economic context, in order to establish the broad outlines of historical change. The abolition of most noble privileges in 1789 and 1809 was part of a greater process through which Sweden gradually turned from a mercantilist and regulated economy to a liberal one. The abolition of the guild system in 1846 and the introduction of free trade in 1864 triggered a proliferation of businesses and companies in towns, small communities and in the countryside, and successful owners rapidly became members of the local elite. Parliamentary reforms in 1866 created a bicameral parliament in which wealth, rather than title or status, was the criteria for eligibility. This was another blow for the nobility in general, but favoured the wealthy landowning nobility, who became even more powerful.⁴⁰ However, to understand this transfer from noble to non-noble ownership more fully, we have to dig much deeper, using both quantitative methods with factors such as marriage, number of children, and distances to urban centres (for example), along with qualitative methods that draw upon correspondence and diaries.

Notes

- 1 Lieven, Dominic: *The Aristocracy in Europe, 1815-1914*. Basingstoke. 1992, pp. 21-100; Dewald, Jonathan: *The European Nobility 1400-1800*. Cambridge. 1996, pp. 60-89. See also the discussion in O'Brien, P. K. and D. Heath: "English and French landowners 1688-1789", in: F. M. L. Thompson (ed.): *Landowners, Capitalists and Entrepreneurs*. Oxford. 1994. When comparing England and France.
- 2 Lieven 1992, *The Aristocracy in Europe*, pp. 243-53.
- 3 Carlsson, Sten: *Ståndssamhälle och ståndspersoner 1700-1865*. Studier rörande det svenska ståndssamhällets upplösning. Lund. 1949; Elmroth, Ingvar: *Från överklass till medelklass. Studier i den sociala dynamiken inom Sveriges adel 1600-1900*. Lund. 2001. This transformation was extremely conspicuous in the countryside, where noble families were replaced as owners by non-noble families of rank and farmers: see Winberg, Christer: *Folkökning och proletarisering. Kring den sociala strukturomvandlingen på Sveriges landsbygd under den agrara revolutionen*. Göteborg. 1975; Åström, Anna-Maria: *Sockenboarne. Herrgårdskultur i Savolax 1790-1850*. Helsingfors. 1993; Ulväng, Göran: *Herrgårdarnas historia. Arbete, liv och bebyggelse på uppländska herrgårdar*. Uppsala. 2008.
- 4 Norrby, Göran: *Adel i förvandling. Adliga strategier och identiteter i 1800-talets borgerliga samhälle*. Uppsala. 2005, pp. 313-20; Mayer, Arno: *The Persistence of the Old Regime. Europe to the Great War*. London. 1981.
- 5 Gadd, Carl-Johan: *Den agrara revolutionen 1700-1870. Det svenska jordbrukets historia 3*. Stockholm. 2000, pp. 42-45.
- 6 Myrdal, Jan: *Jordbruket under feodalismen. Det svenska jordbrukets historia 2*. Stockholm. 1999, pp. 106-15; Konow, Jan von: *Sveriges adels historia*. Karlskrona. 2005, p. 27.
- 7 Konow 2005, *Sveriges adels historia*, p. 81. This was an adaptation of the common system of Northern Europe including Russia, with a titled "high" nobility and a "low", and in which all the children inherited the noble dignity and the titles: see Lieven 1992, *The Aristocracy in Europe*, introduction xiv-xv.
- 8 Myking, J. R. and Carsten Porskrog Rasmussen: "Scandinavia 1000 - 1750", in: B. J. Van Bavel and R. Hoyle (eds.). *Social Relations: Property and power*. Turnhout. 2010, p. 290.
- 9 For a summary of the research of the Reduction, see Magnusson, Lars: *Reduktionen under 1600-talet*. Malmö. 1985.
- 10 For a summary of the research of the Reduction, see Magnusson 1985, *Reduktionen*.
- 11 Segerstråle, Nils: *Svenska fideikommiss*. Berling, Lund. 1979, pp. 7-9. This was a general act and was to some extent also used by non-noble families, but the

noble families dominated as founders of fideikommiss. Around 10 per cent of the manors in Sweden were entailed: see www.svenskaherrgardar.se.

- 12 Konow 2005, *Sveriges adels historia*, pp. 198-200.
- 13 Dewald 1996, *European Nobility*, pp. 49-50 and 93-97; Carlsson 1949, *Ståndssamhälle och ståndspersoner*, pp. 269-74; Elmroth 2001, *Från överklass till medelklass*, pp. 215-41.
- 14 Dewald 1996, *European Nobility*, pp. 93-97; Gadd 2000, *Den agrara revolutionen*, p. 203.
- 15 Konow 2005, *Sveriges adels historia*, pp. 252-53.
- 16 This is parallel to what took place in Prussia and Russia: see Lieven 1992, *The Aristocracy in Europe*, p. 244.
- 17 Carlsson 1949, *Ståndssamhälle och ståndspersoner*, p. 184.
- 18 Carlsson 1949, *Ståndssamhälle och ståndspersoner*, pp. 35 and 39.
- 19 The members of the Walkendorff and von Walden families, for example: see Elgenstierna, Gustaf, *Den introducerades svenska adelns ättartavlor*. Stockholm. 1925-1936.
- 20 Ulväng, Göran: "Betydelsen av att äga en herrgård. Herrgårdar, ståndsgårdar och gods i Uppsala län under 1700- och 1800-talen", in: *Historisk Tidskrift för Finland* 2013, pp. 292-93.
- 21 *Svenska Gods & Gårdar (1935-1947)*, *Sveriges Bebyggelse (1945-1966)*. The selected hundreds are the following: Småland champion country district: Norra Möre, Södra Möre, Stranda. Woodland district: Kinnevald, Konga, Norrvidinge, Uppvidinge. Skåne champion country district: Bara, Oxie, Skytt, Torna, Vemmenhög. Woodland district: Gärd, Norra Åsbo, Södra Åsbo, Villand, Västra Göinge, Östra Göinge. Uppland champion country district: Bro, Håbo, Lagunda. Woodland district: Frösåker, Norunda, Oland, Våla, Örbyhus. Värmland champion country district: Grums, Karlstad, Näs, Väse. Woodland district: Fryksdal, Jösse, Nordmark. Västergötland champion country district: Gudhem, Kålland, Skåning, Valle, Vilske. Woodland district: Bollebygd, Kinds, Marks, Redväg, Veden, Ås. Östergötland champion country district: Aska, Dal, Gullberg, Valkebo, Åkerbo. Woodland district: Finspånge län, Hanekind, Kinda, Ydre. I also used the *Database on Swedish Manors* (www.svenskaherrgardar.se), which contains information on the owners and size of almost all manors in Sweden.
- 22 Norrby 2005, *Adel i förvandling*.
- 23 Ulväng 2008, *Herrgårdarnas historia*, pp. 129-36.
- 24 Gadd 2000, *Den agrara revolutionen*, pp. 26-36.

- 25 Hofrén, M.: *Herrgårdar och boställen. En översikt över byggnadskultur och heminredning å Kalmar läns herrgårdar 1650-1850*. Nordiska museets handlingar 6. Stockholm. 1937; Ulväng 2008, *Herrgårdarnas historia*, p. 67; Ulväng, Göran: "Herrgårdsbyggandet i Mälardalen under 1700- och 1800-talet: när, var och av vem?", in: *Bebyggelsehistorisk tidskrift* 2011/60, p. 49. This is also confirmed by the photographs of the main buildings in the two set of volumes of *Gods och Gårdar* and *Sveriges Bebyggelse*.
- 26 Jonsson, Ulf: "Den jordägande aristokratin och moderniteten i Europa under 1800- och början av 1900-talet – en spänningsfylld och motsägelsefull relation", in: *Historisk tidskrift* 1997/4, pp. 655-80; Olsson, Mats: *Storgodsdrift. Godsekonomi och arbetsorganisation i Skåne från dansk tid till mitten av 1800-talet*. Lund. 2002.
- 27 Ulväng, Göran: "Godsägarens dilemma – att bruka själv eller arrendera ut?", in: Anders Wästfelt (ed.): *Att bruka men inte äga. Arrende och annan nyttjanderätt till mark i svenskt jordbruk från medeltid till idag*. Stockholm. 2014, pp. 88-96.
- 28 Gadd 2000, *Den agrara revolutionen*, pp. 194-208.
- 29 Magnusson, Lars: *Sveriges ekonomiska historia*. Stockholm. 1996, pp. 325-26.
- 30 The percentage of entailed manors were 7% in Uppland, 2% in Östergötland and Västergötland, and 0% in Småland and Värmland.
- 31 Gadd 2000, *Den agrara revolutionen*, p. 36.
- 32 Magnusson 1996, *Sveriges ekonomiska historia*, pp. 328-30.
- 33 Carlsson 1949, *Ståndssamhälle och ståndspersoner*; Elmroth 2001, *Från överklass till medelklass*.
- 34 This seems to be the case, according to the information in the Database on Swedish Manors on www.svenskaherrgardar.se, but there is no known scientific study to confirm it.
- 35 Selling (1977) and information from the Database on Swedish Manors.
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- 37 Morell, Mats: *Jordbruket i industrisamhället 1870-1945. Det svenska jordbrukets historia 4*. Stockholm. 2001.
- 38 Ulväng 2008, *Herrgårdarnas historia*, pp. 239-46
- 39 Segerstråle 1979, *Svenska fideikommiss*.
- 40 This is a parallel to what took place in Prussia and Russia: see Lieven 1992, *The Aristocracy in Europe*, p. 244.

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