

Urban Space and Household Forms

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In the printed version of the paper *URBAN EUROPE IN COMPARATIVE PERSPECTIVE* Figure 4 was duplicated as Figure 5. Here it is corrected
Arne Solli, Bergen 2008.

Introduction

Class-based segregated residential or social areas are regarded by many as a product of industrialisation appearing in the second half of the nineteenth century.¹ Contemporary observers, like Friedrich Engels, observed the segregation process in Manchester in the 1840s and rapidly concluded that social areas were an unavoidable outcome of industrial capitalism.² The timing and causes of this process have been debated, and some studies even show that the formation of segregated living areas began at a much later date, they claim the first decades of the twentieth century.³ In 1925 Ernest W. Burgess introduced the model of the modern town as five concentric circles. Each zone had distinct properties with respect to production, social and ethnic groups and residential patterns. This 'Chicago-model' became the key to understanding the relationship between social groups and urban form.

Since the introduction of Burgess' model, the pre-industrial (or pre-modern) town has often been contrasted with the modern city. While the modern industrial city developed a high degree of socially homogeneous areas (for example poor east – wealthy west), the pre-industrial town is looked upon as 'mixed', socially heterogeneous. This conclusion comes partly from the explanation itself, industrial capitalism created social areas. Secondly because there is a lack of evidence, few contemporary commentators in the early nineteenth century describe residential patterns. This may imply that most of the diverse strata of the urban population were interspersed with one another.⁴

An instant reaction to the view of the early modern town as socially 'well' mixed, is that this view could well be analogous to 'the great family of Western nostalgia'. This paper will discuss the possibility of the existence of residential patterns in the early modern town by combining space and social structure, more precisely by analysing the social and spatial characteristics of the households in pre-industrial Bergen (Norway). To what degree can an early modern town be characterised as 'socially heterogenic'? Is it possible that the pre-industrial town also had social areas, but of a different kind than in the industrial city? And if so, how can we explain these patterns? While it is not possible to address all these questions in full length, they do indicate the problems dealt with in this paper. As the title of the paper indicates, part of the study is based on an examination of household types and residential patterns.

As stated above, many industrial cities developed a clear social segregation. The upper and upper-middle classes resided in the open west side of the city, while the working class lived in the east side, crowded, polluted and in various degrees of slum. The typical example in Norway of this type of socially divided town is Oslo (or rather Christiania/Kristiania) which developed an east side and west side from the 1850s.⁵ The west side was that part of Oslo west of the Kings Castle; the east side expanded east of the river Akerselva where rapid industrial development also took place (mills, factories, shipyards).

There is also a clear understanding that the pre-industrial towns of Norway did not have a clear social-spatial segregation. The upper classes of the pre-industrial era did not mind having lower social classes in the close vicinity. It was indeed both necessary and preferred

¹ H. Carter 1983, pp. 189-190. For Norway: K. Kjeldstadli, et al. 1995, p. 153-155.

² D. Ward 1980, pp. 133-134 and note [2]. The original works of Engels are *The Condition of the Working Class in England* and *Engels, Manchester and the Working Class*.

³ D. Ward 1975, D. Ward 1980, H. Carter 1983. For more references see the list of work in H. Carter 1983, pp. 203-204

⁴ D. Ward 1980, p. 135.

⁵ K. Kjeldstadli, et al. 1995, p. 85-96, p. 149-158.

because one needed to have the workers and servants close by, both for paternalistic control and the need for the hands twenty-four hours a day, seven days a week.⁶ This type of social organisation is not only typical of Norway but is found in St. Petersburg in the eighteenth century where Bater's study showed that in a five storey building the upper and middle classes lived in the second, third and fourth floor, while the lower classes lived in the cellar and in the fifth floor (attic).⁷ However, it is claimed that the upper classes of the pre-industrial era had some affinity for the centre of towns, but the main characteristic was social heterogeneity.

Contrary to this opinion Gideon Sjoberg has put forward a different general model of the pre-industrial town.⁸ According to Sjoberg the pre-industrial towns also had social spatial arrangements. The social-political elite resided in and dominated the centre of the town (the symbolic centre, not necessary the physical centre); whereas the area towards the town wall and the outskirts of the town was dominated by lower classes and social outcasts. In Sjoberg's model the social strata can be found in concentric circles with the upper classes of the society at the centre and the lower classes in the periphery. An example of this type of social strata-spatial organisation is found in Newcastle in the seventeenth century.⁹ So the crucial question is residential homogeneity or heterogeneity.

Bergen and Norway

This paper will discuss the problem of social structure and residential patterns by using empirical data from Bergen in Norway. In the seventeenth century Bergen had the largest urban population in Norway and second only to Copenhagen, the capital of Denmark-Norway. The kingdom Norway had been part of Scandinavian unions since the fourteenth century and in 1536, by the infamous election charter of the Danish king Christian III, Norway formally became a part of Denmark and ceased to be a kingdom. This union with Denmark existed until 1814. The population figures of Bergen about 1650 are heavily debated, but a population of between 12,000 and 15,000 is reasonable and with this population Bergen can in the early seventeenth century be characterised as a middle-to-large European town. One of the main reasons for the important economic and political position of Bergen was the Hanseatic Office at Bryggen in Bergen with close ties to Lübeck, Hamburg and Bremen. The Hanseatic Office in Bergen was closed in 1756.

The social structure of pre-industrial Norway

The social structure of early modern Norway has been debated for nearly 100 years.¹⁰ The Marxist inspired historians of the first half of the nineteenth century viewed Nordic society as a two-class society. According to these historians the class-struggle was between the (Norwegian) peasants on the one side against the foreign (Danish) born *embetsmenn* (State officials) and *byborgarane* (literally town citizens, that is merchants). Since the World War II the early modern or pre-1850 society has been termed by most historians as an 'Estate Society' (*Standssamfunn*).¹¹ However, the main interest and focus has not been the early

⁶ K. Kjeldstadli, et al. 1995, p. 153-155.

⁷ H. Carter 1983, p. 175-176.

⁸ G. Sjoberg 1960, p. 91-103. H. Carter 1983, p. 171.

⁹ H. Carter 1983, p. 173.

¹⁰ R. Torstendahl 2000, p. 10-23, O. Dahl 1970, p. 264-265, O. Dahl 1990, p. 318-320.

¹¹ The Dissolution of the Estate Society was the main theme of the Nordiske historikermøte (Nordic Historians Conference) in Åbo in 1954, cf. J. Torbacke 2005, p. 57. The Norwegian historian Ingrid Semmingsen's paper at this conference, Knut Mykland's monography on Trondheim in 1955 and Ottar Dahl's theoretical article in *Historisk Tidsskrift* also in 1955 were the major contributions to the Estate Society model. I. Semmingsen 1954. K. Mykland 1955 and O. Dahl 1955.

modern society itself, but its dissolution and the emergence of a class society: 'From Estate Society to Class Society' is a familiar theme to every undergraduate student of Norwegian nineteenth century social history.¹²

The German and also Norwegian word *stand* was used by Max Weber, and in sociology the concept *stand* was (mis)translated by Talcott Parsons into English as 'status' and 'status groups'.¹³ The Nordic historian's concept and use of *stand* is similar to Max Weber's. The correct translation of *Stand* is estate or class when used in a more abstract sense.¹⁴ But in German and Norwegian, and by Weber, *klasse* (class) and *stand* are not the same. *Klasse* is used by many historians to denote social groups in the industrial society where mainly economic factors define a class, whereas *stand* denotes social groups by legal, cultural and economic factors. And a few has followed E. P. Thompson and want to understand class a historical phenomena, not a category.¹⁵

There are several problems with using the Estate Society as a model in Norway. The first problem is the nobility. The Norwegian nobility were few, almost non-existent, after the Black Death and due to marriage-policy lost their 'nationality'. Secondly the remaining 'Norwegian' nobility lost their political power in two stages, in 1536 and 1660. In 1536 the power of the Norwegian *Riksråd* (The Council of the Norwegian Realm) was put to an end and in 1660 the Danish-Norwegian king established absolutism with the help of the bourgeois. In this process the nobility of Denmark-Norway were partly transferred into civil servants (senior officers) and the king appointed a new aristocracy ('noblesse de robe'). The nobility were throughout the period a minor landowner group, and the State, due to confiscations after the reformation, became the largest and most important landowner. Because of expensive wars (against Sweden) landownership became widespread during the seventeenth century. The State paid for loans by selling farmlands to rich merchants in the seventeenth century, and the merchants sold the farmlands to the peasants in the eighteenth century. Because of this policy a large group of tenancy peasants became freeholders and got *odelsrett* (see below).

The laws and regulations to protect property and the economy of merchants, craftsmen and peasants (Mercantilism) suit a 'modified' Estate model without the nobility. In the Norwegian Estate Society model one therefore speaks about three *stender* (estates):¹⁶

1. *Embetsstanden* - civil, church and military officials (*embetsmenn*), some of whom were of noble descent. The officials are reckoned as a group (*stand*) because, especially in the seventeenth century, they were of foreign birth (Danish, German, Dutch) and therefore were both culturally and socially different from the rest of the population. Due to marriage- and recruitment policy the *stand* was socially closed to other groups.
2. *Borgerskapet* - bourgeois. This stand is divided in two, merchants and craftsmen. In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries the merchants ranked clearly socially above the craftsmen. This *stand* was defined by citizenship, which both merchants and master craftsmen needed to perform their occupations. Merchants, with rights to

¹² T. Pryser 1999.

¹³ J. Böröcz 1997, p. 216.

¹⁴ J. Böröcz 1997. In Harper-Collins dictionary of Sociology *stand* is defined as: ?

¹⁵ E. P. Thompson 1965, F. Olstad 1980

¹⁶ T. Pryser 1999, p. 19-30, J. A. Seip 1974, p. 61-69, S. Dyrvik, et al. 2005, p. 32-49. Dyrvik concludes that only the *embetsstand* (State officials) were a clearly defined estate (*stand*) in a strict sense, and that the other estates rather must be viewed as loosely defined social groups. Dyrvik's argument here is inspired by Peter Laslett and his views on the English society as a one-class society, cf. P. Laslett 1983, p. 22-52.

international trade, formed the top of the stand. Different crafts were protected by guilds and recruitment was controlled by the guilds until mid 19th century.

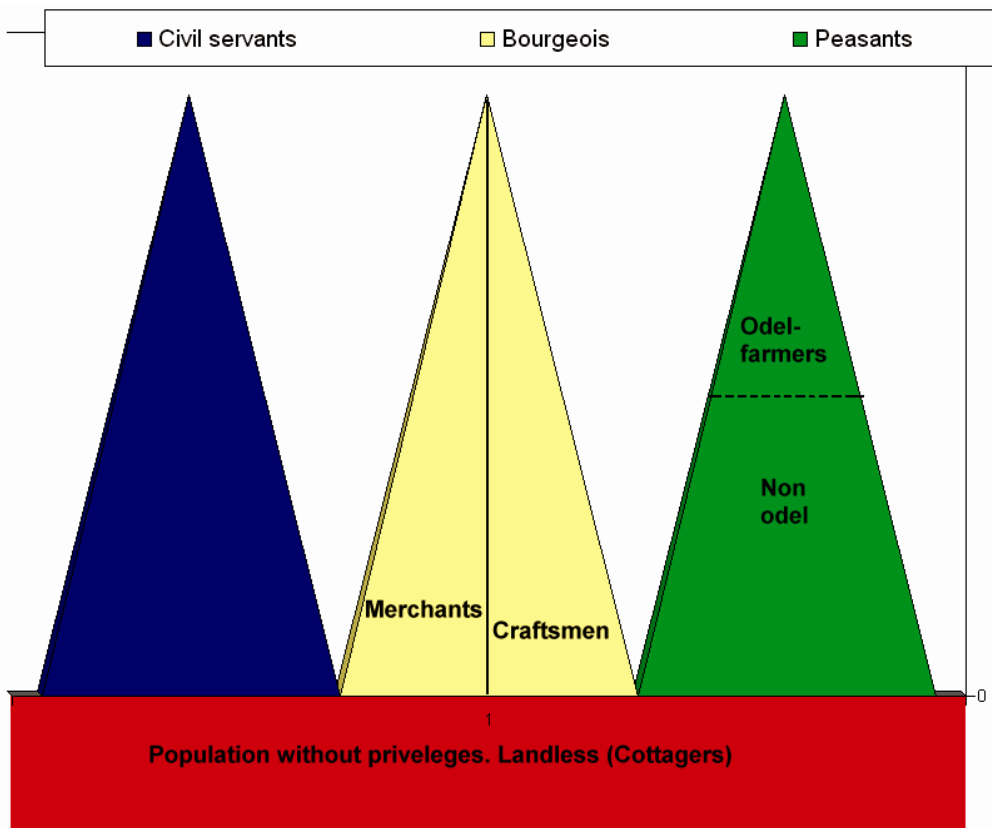
3. Peasants with *odelsrett* – Peasants who had bought their farm and owned it for more than twenty years were protected by the *odelsrett*, which specified both the division and succession of land (patrimony) and also the kin's right to buy land back if it was sold to someone outside the kin group, who did not have the *odelsrett*. Also peasants who rented land (tenancy) were protected by law, but they did not formally have the right to succession as heirs.¹⁷ Only landowners could make 'contracts' with cottagers, not farmers who rented their land.¹⁸

The large non-privileged group was a growing group of cottagers who did not own or rent land protected by laws. Often cottagers rented a small plot without any legal contract and the relationship between a landowner and cottagers was not regulated by law until 1855. In the towns the group of non-privileged consisted of servants, day labourers and apprentices, that is all who did not have citizenship. Also in rural areas life-cycle service was common. Life-cycle servants do not conform to the static model of the Estate Society, but the servants were often recruited from cottagers' families, and therefore life-cycle service 'fits' into the model of a society with low social mobility. Servants were recruited from the non-privileged groups. According to Norwegian historians the social mobility between groups was low, marriage partners should be found in the same social group.

¹⁷ R. Høgsæt 1992, pp. 168-170.

¹⁸ K. Tønnesson 1981, pp. 196.

Figure 1 A model of the The Estate Society of Norway until mid 19th century.



The figure does not give an adequate representation of the demography of the groups. A demographic representation would make the green (peasant) and the non-privileged group a lot larger than the ‘Bourgeois’ and ‘State officials’.

Around 1850 the ‘Old society’ was breaking up. Legislation in the 1840s made it possible to start a trade without being a member of a guild. New towns grew up. The first industrial wave struck, especially Christiania (Oslo), in the 1840s. By legislation and economic forces the Estate Society with its privileges turned into a modern class society in five to six decades. The granting of general voting rights for men in 1898 and for women in 1911 are seen as the final stages in the dissolution of the Estate Society.

The Estate Society model has been contested by Marxist or rather Marxist-inspired historians and recently by several social historians in Denmark. The first group would rather use a traditional two-class model where ownership of land defines the classes.¹⁹ The second group also sees the Danish (and Norwegian) society up to 1660 as an Estate Society, but after the establishment of the absolute monarchy in 1660 the Estate Society being replaced by the Rank Society (*Rangsamfunn*).²⁰ This view is especially promoted by E. Ladewig Petersen and

¹⁹ K. Lunden 1997, pp. 421-422; K. Kjeldstadli 1978, pp. 57-60. Neither Kåre Lunden nor Knut Kjeldstadlie dismisses the Estate Society model, but they both see the two-class model as fully adequate for analytical purposes.

²⁰ E. Ladewig Petersen 1980, pp. 422.; K. J. V. Jespersen 1989, pp. 199.

Knud J.V. Jespersen. They focus on the Bill of Rank (*Rangforordning*)²¹, first issued in 1671, which created a new official social system that radically defined estate conceptions. Others, like Peter Henningsen and Ståle Dyrvik, accept that the rank system was more than just a way of organising balls at the royal court. However, both Dyrvik and Henningsen argue that the rank system only affected a small part of the population since no peasants, few burghers and a limited proportion of the clergy could get a rank in the nine class rank system. The rank system therefore first and foremost defined a new social hierarchy among nobles and state officials. Dyrvik also points to the danger of creating social and political corporations from the nine rank classes.²² Neither Dyrvik nor Henningsen accepts that the laws of rank made a revolutionary change, as Ladewig Petersen and Knud Jespersen claim. Henningsen points out that political thinkers of the eighteenth century still used *stand* as the main category for grouping the population. The rank system changed the society based on estates, but it did not dissolve it. (Foot note).

Using the rank system as the main social criteria e.g. in a social analyses for Bergen between 1660 and 1814 would limit the analysis to a handful of burghers and a few local and regional state officials. Lastly, but most important in the author's view, the Bill of Rank is just one of many laws and bills to regulate and conserve the social order and many of them, like 'Christian V Norwegian Law' from 1687 is based on the Estates, not on rank.²³ Because of the empirical and analytical problems and the arguments of Dyrvik and Henningsen, the estate society model is chosen as the proper analytical tool to use for Norway up to mid-nineteenth century.

Spatial arrangements according to Gideon Sjoberg

In 'The pre-industrial city' Gideon Sjoberg put forward a model of the spatial arrangements of the social groups.²⁴ The social and political elite should be found close to the city centre, not always or necessarily the physical town centre, but the symbolic. The symbolic centre would normally be the central market square close to the main church (cathedral).²⁵ By applying this model to Bergen we find the central market, the city hall and the cathedral in close proximity, both in the seventeenth century and today.

²¹ <http://www.vigerust.net/adel/rangforordning1671.html>,

<http://www.vigerust.net/adel/rangforordning1680.html>, <http://www.vigerust.net/adel/rangforordning1693.html>

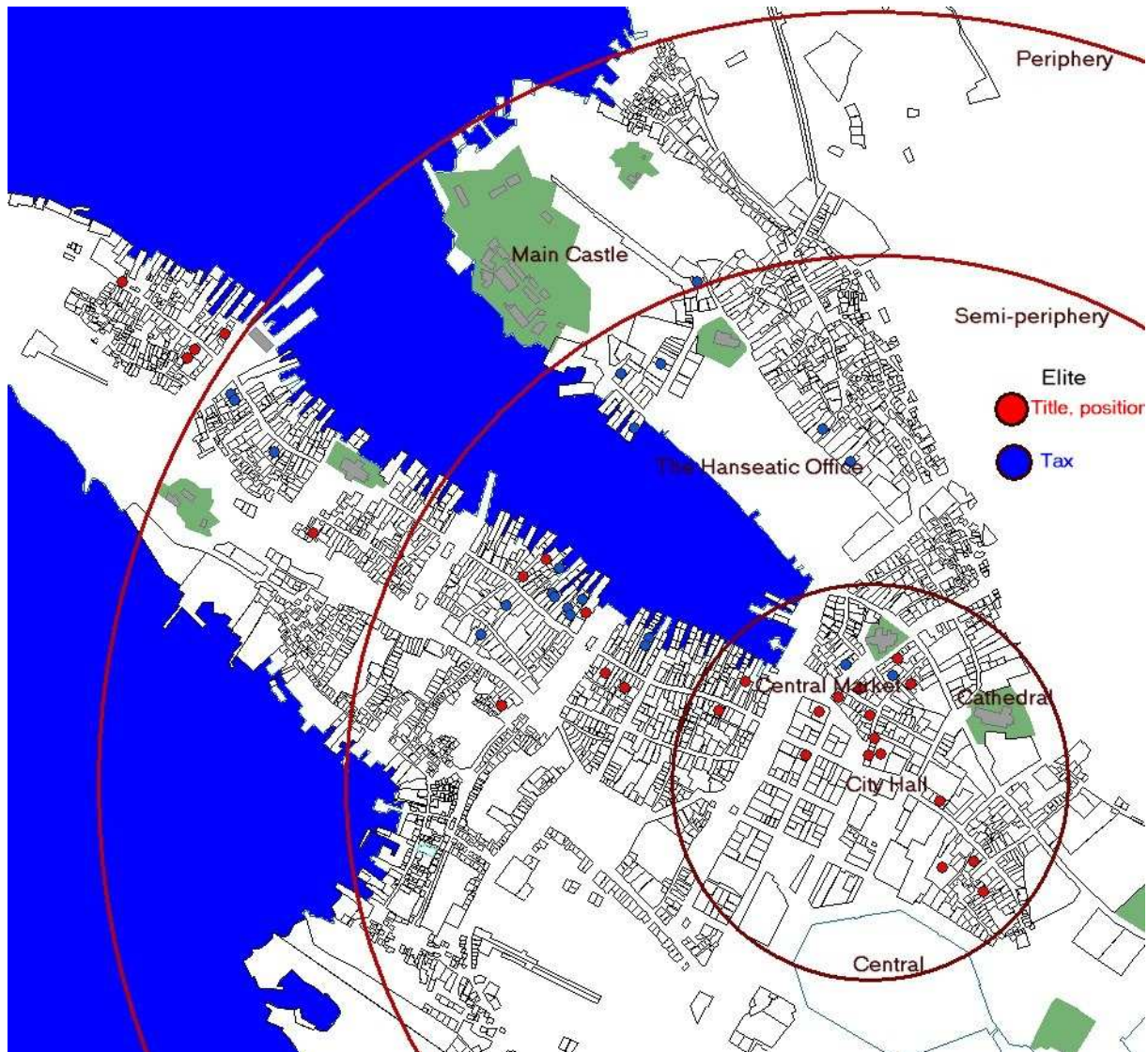
²² S. Dyrvik, et al. 1998, pp. 168-170; P. Henningsen 2001, pp. 337-341. A brief summary in English at: http://www.historisktidsskrift.dk/summary/101_343.html. See also: E. Hreinsson 2005; S. Olden-Jørgensen 2002; L. Jespersen 2002.

²³ Privileges of towns, general and for each town 1661-1662, Saw mill privileges of 1688, Guild privileges, King Christian V. Norw. Law 1687, <http://www.hf.uio.no/PNH/chr5web/chr5home.html>

²⁴ Sjoberg, G. (1960). *The preindustrial city: past and present*. New York, The Free Press.

²⁵ Sjoberg: 1960, pp. 91-103.

Figure 2 Spatial arrangements of the political elite, Sjöberg's model and empirical evidence. Bergen Property Book of 1686 and Poll Tax of 1689, Bergen.



According to Sjöberg we should find the social and political elite dominating central properties and with buildings that accompanied their power, politically, economically and socially. Figure 2 shows roughly the three zones, central, semi-periphery and periphery as concentric circles laid over pre-industrial Bergen. The city hall constitutes the centre of the circles. The main market and the cathedral are also found in the inner circle.

To test Sjöberg's model of the three zones the Poll Tax of 1689²⁶ and the Book of Properties 1686 have been used to find and locate the political and economic elite. The red and blue dots symbolise the residences of the elite. The red dots are the elite defined by title; vicars, bishop, local and regional government, mayor, members of the city council and merchants/industrialists with royal privileges. As can be seen from figure 2 there is in fact a higher density of red dots close in the area which is bounded by the central market, the city hall and the cathedral. The blue dots symbolise tax payers that were levied six or more *riksdaler* as Poll Tax but did not have a title or a position in local or regional institutions. The blue dots are distributed all over the town, both at the 'Stranden' and by the Hanseatic Office.

²⁶ Poll Tax 1689, *Koppskatten 1689*, <http://digitalarkivet.uib.no/>, Bergen Property Book of 1686, *GBB1686*, <http://bergis.uib.no/sources/>

This is an indication that Sjoberg's general model makes sense, but it must be 'locally' adjusted to the topography and economy.

If we test the model with data from the census of 1801 we can develop the general model to understand the spatial arrangements of the elite. In 1801 Bergen was still a pre-industrial town and the political system was roughly the same as in the 1680s.

Choosing units of analysis

Choosing **geographical** units for analysing and comparing social and social-spatial structure is always difficult. In a pre-industrial town there are often two possibilities: church parishes, if the data sources are mainly vital records, enumeration or tax districts if the data sources are primarily census or tax records. A second problem arises if one tries to combine data from church with that from civil administration, the areas do not fit into each other; for example a tax district can belong to two parishes. Quite often it is difficult to identify a 'higher resolution' than parishes and tax districts because addresses, street names or other finer identification of people and places are not recorded before the middle of the nineteenth century. Parish or tax district is quite often the normal addressing level of people and objects in the seventeenth and eighteenth century.

In Bergen around 1800 there were three parishes and twenty-four tax or enumeration districts for a population of about 18,000. Only three parishes makes quite a crude division of the town but twenty-four enumeration districts could be close to perfect with about ninety households and 450 people and in each. However, history is seldom perfect, and there are two further sets of problems: the size of the tax/enumeration districts both geographically and demographically varies a lot. The reason is because tax districts were laid out in the early seventeenth century and not changed even when the population density changed. So there are small districts in size with a large population and vice versa. The second problem is more complicated, because of the layout of some of the districts one find rich areas and poor areas in a tax district, in other words they are socially, economically and topographically heterogeneous. When analysing by social and economic differences many of the tax districts therefore gives results close to the average, because of the layout, they are cross-sections of the town. In small scale studies this is an advantage, one can chose one or two tax districts and get a good, representative sample. However, in larger scale studies of the whole town, this makes the tax districts unsuitable as the analysing unit.

Large urban households – children and servants

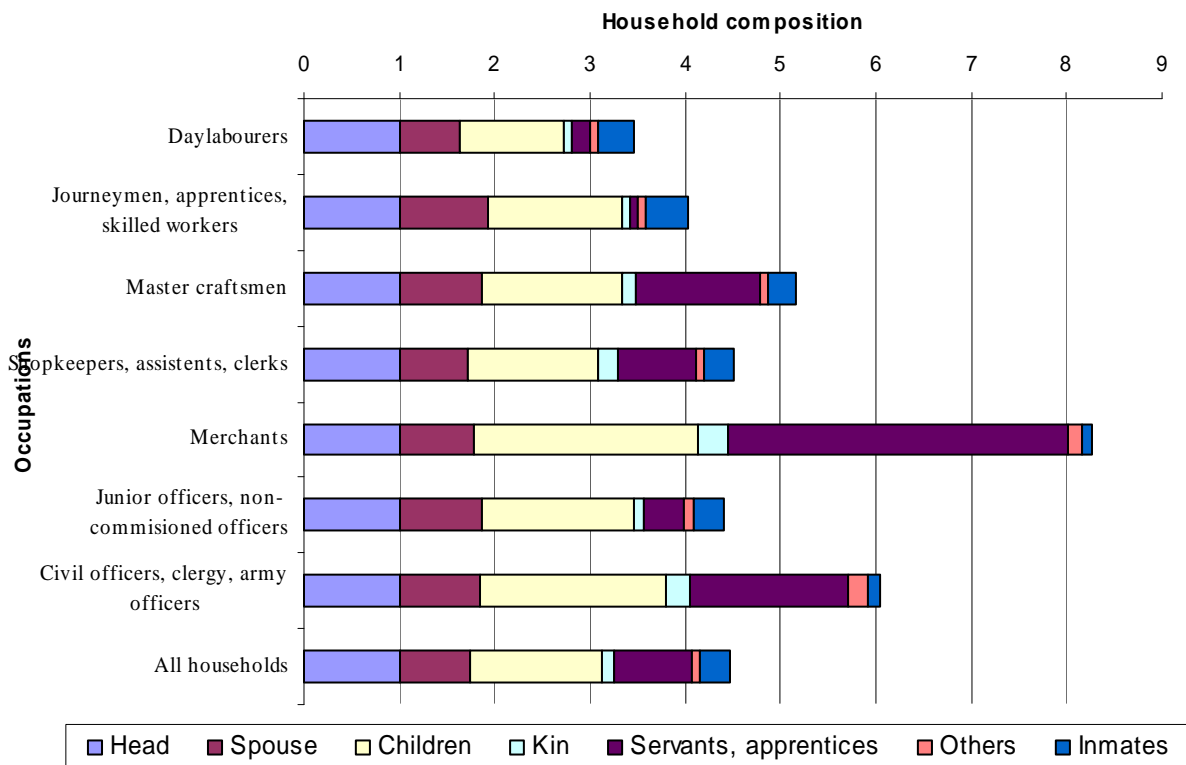
In "London in the 1690s – A Social Atlas" Craig Spence gives an analysis of the household structure of London based on the 1692 Poll Tax. Craig demonstrates that the largest households can be found in the central areas like the wards of Cheapside, Cornhill and Brigde, that is the historic City, the area between the Tower of London and St. Paul's Cathedral. The smallest household can be found outside the walls of medieval London, for example the area around Holborn towards the British Museum, north-west of the City and to the northeast where currently Liverpool Street Station and Bethnal Green lie. What made the households large were simply children and servants. In the central areas of London in 1690 the mean number of children per household was 2.0 to 2.1 and the mean number of servants was 2.25 to 2.50. In the outskirts of London (Holborn and Bethnal Green) the mean number of children per household was 1.55 to 1.65 and 1.5 to 1.7 servants. This gives a household size for the central areas close to 6 compared with less than 4 in the outskirts of London.²⁷

²⁷ Craig p. 91

Household structure and occupation in Bergen

This section examines the household structure of Bergen. The first complete nominative population census of Norway was held in 1801. This census has enough detail to make a household analysis as proposed by the Cambridge Group for the History of Population and Social Structure.²⁸ Several household studies have been conducted in Norway based on censuses from 1762 to 1920.²⁹

Figure 3 Household composition of Bergen, 1801



Sources: 1801 census, <http://www.digitalarkivet.no/>

Figure 3 shows the household composition in Bergen in 1801 for different occupational groups. Three occupational groups clearly differ from the overall household structure: a) The governmental employees in top positions (clergy, administrators and officers), b) merchants and c) master craftsmen. The important difference between these groups and the rest of the population is the number of own children and servants (other people's children). In a society where production was organised within the household clearly the number of hands was of great value. The merchants category differs from the shopkeepers because they had the legal right to international and nationwide trade. In Bergen around 1801 the merchant group consisted of about 250 heads of household, about a tenth or less of those who had citizenship

²⁸ R. Wall, et al. 1972; J. Robin, et al. 1983.

²⁹ Norwegian household studies (or part of) published in English: S. Dyrvik 1996; S. Dyrvik 1986; J. Lee, et al. 1986; S. Sogner 1984; M. Drake 1969. Household studies only published in Norwegian: S. Dyrvik, et al. 1987; A. Døssland 1981; M. J. Erikstad 1979; E. Fure 1986; J. Oldervoll 1979; H. B. Randsborg 1979; S. Sogner 1979; S. Sogner 1983; S. B. Sogner 1978; A. Solli 1995; A. Solli 2003; O. Tysdal 1990; L. Higley 1976; H. Hals 1981. This list is not complete. Additionally elements of household analysis have been used in both local history monographs, e.g. K. Mykland 1996, and in several primarily demographic oriented (mortality, fertility, nuptial) studies, and economic studies: S. Dyrvik, et al. 1979. Aspects of the method of Household analysis on Norwegian census material: S. Dyrvik 1983.

and thereby the right to manufacture or trade. However, this was not a legal right, most of those who got citizenship got restricted rights of trade and in this way the mighty merchant group controlled the economic life of the town. In that way this group can clearly be seen as the real political elite of Bergen. The master craftsmen were another strong group, politically as members of the city council and by the guild organization. Their privileges and monopoly of manufacture were strong in the mercantilist state of Denmark-Norway. The different guilds, one for each craft, legally and de facto regulated the number of master craftsmen and who could be accepted as master. The council of each guild consisted of all the masters of that specific guild or craft. These three groups: the government officials, merchants and master craftsmen were the political elite of a pre-industrial town in Norway. Figure 3 also shows clearly that the size of households of the workers (day labourers, seaman, unskilled workers) were smallest, normally man, wife and one or two young children. Inmates (lodgers and borders) could serve as an extra income to these households.

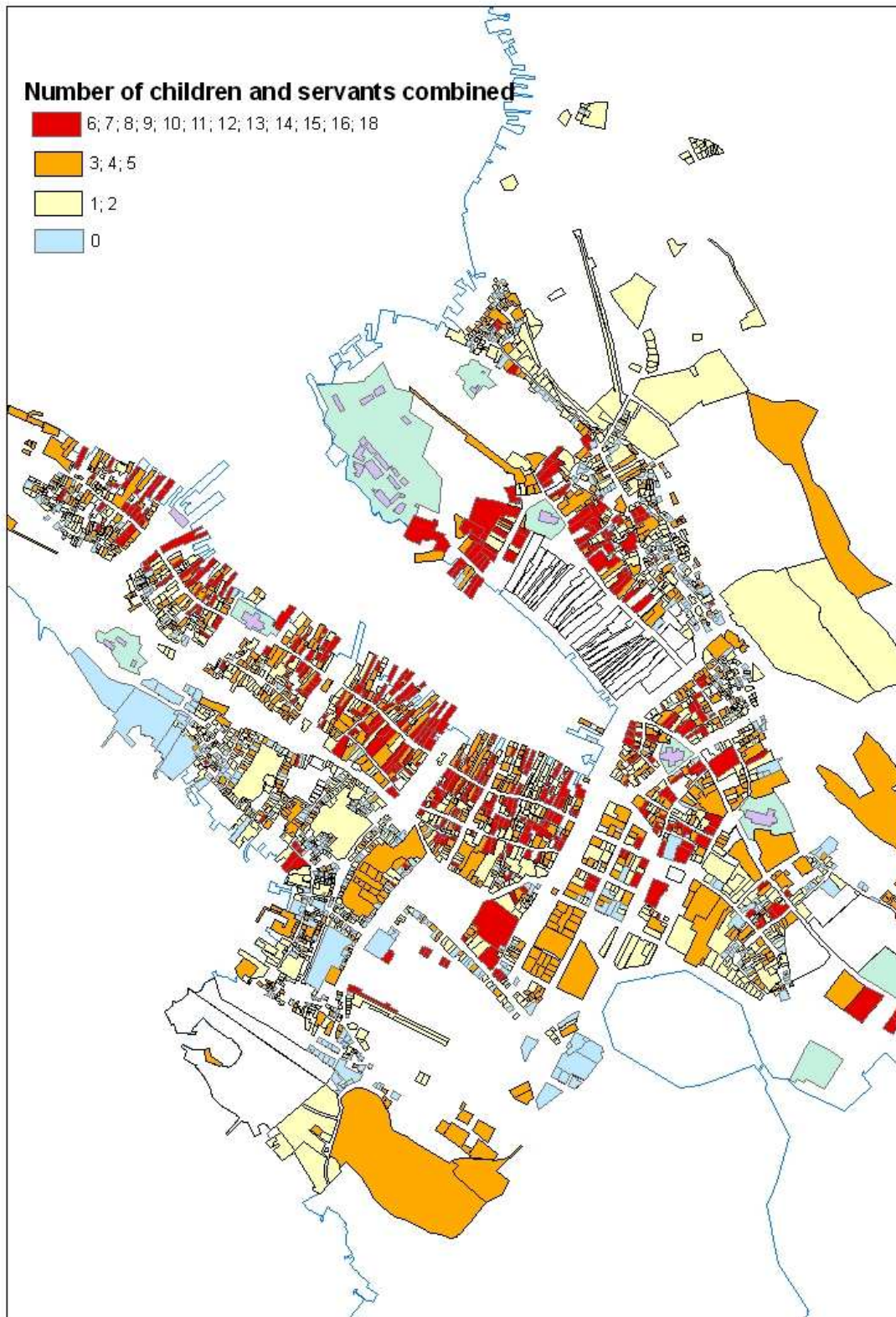
Figure 3 shows that household structure corresponds with political power. It gives also a clear indication of the social and economic determinants of household size, composition and structure. The large, extended family is common in the homes of merchants. In 1801 over one fifth of the households of merchants and local government top officials were extended by kin. In the lower social groups, kin were almost absent; only one in twenty were extended. Large households, with kin, children and servants were typical in the well-off eighteenth-century household. Perhaps this is an important reason why the large extended family became a 'myth' in the social history and sociology of the 1950s. Therefore it is quite possible that Peter Laslett was fighting against an ideal not a 'myth', and an ideal is sometimes as real as reality.

The spatial distribution of household size, or rather that special part of the household size – the numbers of children and servants combined, is considered next. Figure 4 shows the number of children and servants in the households. Properties coloured red have households with more than six servants and own children. Properties coloured orange have three to five children and servants and properties coloured yellow have one or two children or servants. Blue coloured properties have households with no children or servants and properties with no colour (white) the data is missing. Only inhabited properties in 1801 are shown on the map.

The map shows clearly that the households with many children and servants are close to the inner part of the town, towards the harbour. The households with few children and servants (less than three) or no children and servants are at the outskirts of the town.

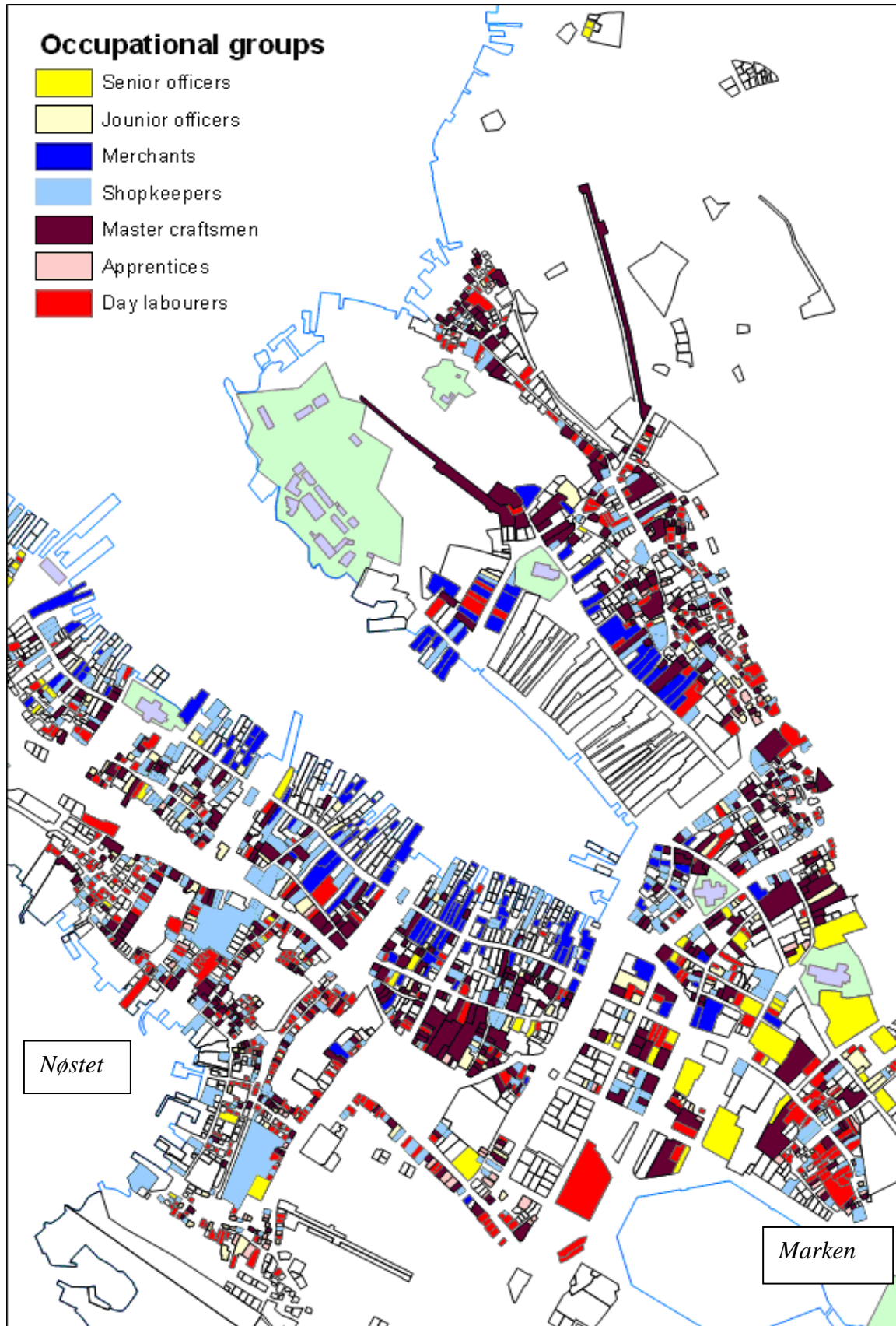
Combining Figure 2 and Figure 4 it is reasonable to believe that the rich merchants dominate the areas with most children and servant. Figure 5 shows the household heads by occupational groups spatially distributed.

Figure 4 Number of children and servants combined and spatially distributed. Bergen 1801.



Source: The BerGIS-database, <http://bergis.uib.no/>

Figure 5 Household heads by occupational groups spatial distributed. Bergen 1801.



Source: The BerGIS-database, <http://bergis.uib.no/>

Figure 5 shows that the merchants dominated the inner part of the town, towards the harbour on both sides of the bay 'Vågen'. It also shows that petty shopkeepers and master craftsmen dominated the middle area 'behind' the merchants, while day labourers dominated the outermost parts of the town. This is the general pattern. Senior and junior officers can be found in two-three 'pockets' and these pockets are generally close to the respective institutions; churches, schools, hospitals and custom house (mercantile).

Comparing Figures 2, 4 and 5 we can see how the powerful merchant group dominated the inner part of the bay and had the largest households. The household size and the social status decreased from the 'Vågen' area towards the outskirts of the town. The Merchants dominated the inner town around *Vågen* (the bay). Day Labourers (red polygons) dominated the western (*Strangehagen, Nøstet, Sydnes*), eastern (*Stølen*) and southern (*Marken*) part of the town. However, there are no clear borders and each of the areas is not homogeneous.

A modified model: The harbour town of merchant capitalism

Most of the large pre-industrial towns in Europe between 1450 and 1850 were 'coastal' towns, build along large waterways, e.g. London, Paris, Amsterdam. Also in the second largest group of towns we find the waterside towns, in England: Newcastle, Hull, Bristol and Exeter; in Scandinavia: Copenhagen, Bergen and Stockholm. In these the harbour was the heart of the town. If the pattern of Bergen is a general pattern for the town of merchant capitalism we must therefore modify the Sjoberg model somewhat and define four zones:

- Zone 0: The Harbour – the heart of a town; a public but regulated space
- Zone 1: Warehouses and living houses of the merchant capitalist class
- Zone 2: Living houses and workshops of craftsmen and petty (local) traders
- Zone 3: Living houses of the non-privileged; gardens of the merchants and large scale manufacturing areas, e.g. rope making and other space demanding industry

Clearly this model differs in two respects from that of Sjoberg.³⁰ Firstly, the type of capital which defines the central area of the modified model. In Bourdieu terms the focus is on the economic capital, more than social prestige and political power. It seems as if controlling the way to the harbour and waterways are more important than living close to each other around the political, symbolical and physical centre of the town. The bay or harbour – *Vågen* – is the economic centre, not the central market close to the cathedral and city hall. There is a clear functional diversification of the pre-industrial town. Some areas are solely for warehouses, some living quarters and in the outskirts the space-demanding industries (like rope making) find their place along with the gardens of the wealthy merchants and mayors. In Bergen these four zones take the shape of a four 'concentric' horse shoes. To further develop the model we can also speak of pockets, the civil servants living close to their institutions. Maybe in zone 2 we can also find pockets, pockets of certain trades (like shoemakers and butchers). However, this is not a general pattern, because bakers would be found well distributed throughout the town.

Is it possible to argue that the pattern found in Bergen is a more general pattern of the Northwest European coastal town. One argument is to have a look at the prospects of the Scandinavian towns in the late sixteenth century publication *Civitates orbis terrarum* by Braun and Hogenberg. With the exception of Lund in Sweden, all of the prospects of Scandinavian towns focus on the harbour and the way streets 'flow' into the harbour area. The same goes for London, where the Thames dominates the focus of the prospect. One could

³⁰ Sjoberg: 1960, pp. 95-98.

argue however, that Bergen being the staple for the North Atlantic fish trade, the harbour was more important than in most other North European towns. The length of the late sixteenth century harbour area was totally abt. 2 km, 1 km on each side of the bay.

Concluding remarks

The social structure of Norway before 1850 can be understood by the Estate Society model. The towns were dominated by two of the privileged groups; a) the bourgeoisie, divided into merchants and master craftsmen and b) civil servants, the local and regional government. The largest group demographically, the non-privileged, consisted of unskilled workers, day labourers, servants and apprentices. Most Scandinavian historians have concluded that a two-class model based on purely economic factors would be ahistoric. The 'Rank Society' is a key concept to understanding the social structure of pre-industrial Denmark-Norway, however the level of abstraction is too low in order to use it as a general model.

The outcome of combining the two major abstractions is now considered: the Weberian Estate Society model and Gideon Sjöberg's spatial model of the pre-industrial city. Spatially the merchants with privileges for international trade dominated the inner part of Bergen and resided at the three sides of the bay (*Vågen*). The warehouses (*Pakkboder*) were built into the bay and the living houses of the merchants and their households were placed in the street immediately behind the warehouses, in Strandgaten and Øvregaten (behind *Bryggen*). The craftsmen dominated the middle belt and the non-privileged groups dominated the rim of the city. We can conclude that this evidence from Bergen challenges the thesis of the social spatial heterogeneous pre-industrial town. The harbour is one important key to understand the social areas of the pre-industrial town.

The third conclusion is methodological. In the Estate Society model occupational, economic, legal, political and cultural factors have been used to define the social groups and describe the social structure. In this paper I have tried to show how household analysis as advocated by the Cambridge-group³¹ is a powerful way of analysing social status and social groups in a pre-industrial city. Analyses of the household unit can therefore bring a deeper understanding of the pre-industrial social status, of course along with the 'traditional' analytical entities, such as economic factors (property owning, occupation, control over means of productions), language, ethnicity, legal sub-divisions (rank), political rights and so on. We have also seen how space tells a social story: The harbour is the key.

³¹ The Cambridge Group for the History of Population and Social Structure, R. Wall, et al. 1972, J. Robin, et al. 1983.

Appendix: Categories and tables

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Appendix I: Occupational categories

The Norwegian Census of 1801 is coded into thirty-nine main occupational codes with a various number of sub-codes (second occupation). Many of the codes and sub-codes for occupations are not relevant for an urban population (esp. farmers, cottagers) or have very few instances in Bergen. In this study I have categorised the most relevant of the thirty-nine codes for occupation into seven categories. The seven categories are:

1. Senior officers: Clergy, Senior local administrative officers, Army officers, Doctors, and midwives.
2. Junior officers: Junior local administrative officers, non-commissioned officers and soldiers
3. Merchants: Merchants, millers, landowners, industrialists.
4. Shopkeepers: Shopkeepers, innkeepers, clerks, ship captains
5. Master craftsmen
6. Apprentices: Journeymen, apprentices, mill workers (skilled workers)
7. Labourers: Day labourers, servants, seamstresses, laundresses, merchant seamen, other occupations

Not categorised: Farmers, fishermen, pensioners, retired, recipients of assistance (of some kind), paupers, no occupation. The total number of non-categorised heads of household is 215, less than six per cent of the household heads.

The principle for the categorisation of occupation is:

Category 1: This confirms the *embetsstand* in the estate society model figure 1

Categories 3 and 5: The Bourgeoisie, *borgerskapet* in the estate society model figure 1

Category 8: Non-privileged groups. Cf. figure 1.

Categories 2, 4 and 6: Persons which later in the life-cycle or by career mobility can move into corresponding category (2->1, 4->3 and 6->5)

The 1801 census of Norway was coded by Jan Oldervoll, Department of History, University of Bergen as part of the 1801-census project.³²

³² Norges Offisielle Statistikk 1980, preface. See also: <http://digitalarkivet.uib.no/1801/1801koda.htm> and <http://www.uib.no/hi/1801dok.html>

Appendix II: Tables

Table 1 Household composition by occupation group. Bergen 1801.

Occupation	Head	Spouse	Children	Kin	Servants, apprentices	Others	Inmates	MHS	Number of households
Civil officers, clergy, army officers	1	0,84	1,97	0,23	1,67	0,20	0,13	6,05	90
Junior officers, non- commissioned officers	1	0,88	1,58	0,11	0,43	0,09	0,32	4,40	268
Merchants	1	0,79	2,35	0,31	3,57	0,16	0,10	8,27	225
Shopkeepers, assistants, clerks	1	0,73	1,36	0,21	0,81	0,08	0,31	4,51	571
Master craftsmen	1	0,87	1,45	0,16	1,30	0,08	0,29	5,16	903
Journeyman, apprentices, skilled workers	1	0,92	1,41	0,09	0,08	0,09	0,42	4,02	179
Daylabourers	1	0,64	1,09	0,09	0,19	0,08	0,37	3,46	1224
Not categorised									215
All households	1	0,75	1,37	0,14	0,80	0,09	0,31	4,47	3675

Source: 1801 census of Norway, <http://digitalarkivet.no/>

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