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## **The Middle Class Patriarch in the Bourgeois Public**

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## **The Middle Class Patriarch in the Bourgeois Public. Paper to University of Tokyo 2008**

### **Introduction**

During the second parts of the nineteenth century and the first part of the twentieth century the middle class patriarch played an important role in the formation and transformation of the bourgeoisie in Sweden – especially in the upper middle class dominated by industrialists, wholesalers and owners of “bruk”.<sup>1</sup> According to the comic press in the early twentieth century appearance was characteristic. Obviously he was a man. In the caricatures he often carried a high cylinder, wore a sturdy moustache à la Bismarck, was evidently thick and because of that a back leaned posture, and had a authoritative appearance. Often he smoked a fat cigar.

Here we will discuss his world view. First of all we discuss him on the basis of the changes in the bourgeois public and its patriarchal relations. Then we consider important parts of the world view and lastly we discuss the middle class patriarch as an industrialist.

### **The middle class patriarch and the bourgeois public**

The middle class patriarch played an important role in the formation of the bourgeois public – a concept we borrow from Jürgen Habermas.<sup>2</sup> As the British historian Simon Gunn points out the bourgeois public is a gendered ordered formation and organization of a bourgeois collective interest. The purpose is to dominate the state and the society and to develop a bourgeois hegemony which means that the bourgeoisie strived for making its concept of reality as a norm. In the same time it established a relation to subordinated groups based on this interpretation.<sup>3</sup> The power of the state shows which role the state received in the late

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<sup>1</sup> “Bruk” is a special form of rural industry in Sweden, Norway and Finland, especially iron mills and saw mills, which dominates a village. There is no direct British or American equivalent.

<sup>2</sup> Jürgen Habermas 1984. For using the same concept, see Å Abrahamsson 1990 and L Båtefalk 2000.

<sup>3</sup> S Gunn 1999. This concept of hegemony is also used by B Horgby 2007.

nineteenth and the early twentieth century.<sup>4</sup> The formation of the relation of domination created a class conflict in society. When this conflict developed problems the state had the responsibility to solve these problems. During the first half of the twentieth century the state gradually took over the liability for the voluntary undertaking of social security and welfare, which earlier was embedded in the patriarchal relation between the patriarch and his subordinates.

In Sweden the bourgeois public was created in the 1830<sup>s</sup>, when the middle class patriarch and the remaining members of the upper middle class needed public arenas for internal and external communication; for strengthening and practicing social and political power; for strengthening internal solidarity; and for creating and shaping norms and identity, among other things in cultural practices and in different kinds of consumption. As a consequence the formation also resulted in a demarcation to other classes – up and down in the hierarchy.

The bourgeoisie could use the liberal press as a public arena and as a tool in the discussions of norms, conceptions, communication of these conceptions and for political acting during a period in the history of Sweden when the possibilities of collective acting was very limited.<sup>5</sup> The world of voluntary associations and public culture also played an important role in creation of solidarity and identity. Several studies show how theatre and other cultural institutions were constructed from mid nineteenth century and after.<sup>6</sup> In the same time the upper middle class organized in voluntary associations. Even consumption played a larger role in identity making – especially as demarcation against other social groups. The affluent public used shopping for a social delimited consumption. And lastly, the bourgeois lounge was utilized for pleasure and relationships.

According to the sociologist Pierre Bourdieu the concept of good taste was a crucial part of the middle class culture and identity. Taste excluded in the same time as it became universal in public consumption. The criterions of taste delimited against those who “lacked taste” or had “wrong taste”.<sup>7</sup>

The identity policy also was expressed in the physical environment. In the major cities and towns the public space was organized by architecture and planning.<sup>8</sup> De social clashes were most frequent in the end of nineteenth century and in beginning of the twentieth. Now the

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<sup>4</sup> Compare with B Stråth & R Torstendahl 1992.

<sup>5</sup> Å Abrahamsson 1990.

<sup>6</sup> K Hallgren 2000, B Olsson 1994, R Qvarsell 1988.

<sup>7</sup> P Bourdieu 1986 xxx

<sup>8</sup> H Sheiban 2002.

upper middle class began to announce power, which gave form to the prestige buildings of the time. Sightseeing in central Norrköping show this very clear, the shopping street Drottninggatan, in the town center, is dominated by hotels, palatial bank buildings and the town hall. These buildings were erected at the turn of the century and characterized by heavy power architecture. The upper middle class houses at the Södra Promenaden mediate the same impressions. So do the buildings intended to cultural activities.<sup>9</sup> Corresponding walks in Örebro, Stockholm or Gothenburg accentuates that boulevards and prime shopping streets from the turn of the century in the city centers also communicate power and identity with the assistance of the architecture.<sup>10</sup>

The industrial communities were also constructed in the same way, which made it possible to announce cultural codes of the upper middle class and demands for power. The planning in these bruk-villages often expressed symmetric forms with straight main streets lined with houses for the employees in neat rows, mostly with the long sides to the street. Within the house were outhouses and garden patches. The houses of the employees and the country estate often were separated by a watercourse – a prerequisite condition for the iron mill. The framework of the bruk created a harsh limit to the surroundings. In the same time the internal milieu opened up.<sup>11</sup>

Elizabeth Langland shows an increasing strives for class and gender hierarchies also in the design of the upper middle class houses. The kitchen was separated from the dining room as their tastes were associated to the body and the needs of the body were tabooed. The man had his smoking room. The dining room was male coded with heavy furniture and carpets. This can be explained by the important representative role of the dining room, as dinners and dinner parties were placed there. Both the smoking room and the dining room were partly public. In contrast the living room of the woman and her boudoir belonged to the private sphere. That's why the furniture announced femininity. The limits between the classes could be observed by the separation of the servant areas. The servants should be invisible. So, also the housing of the upper middle class was design as it could fit in the context of the bourgeois public.<sup>12</sup>

The bourgeois public was gendered. During the late nineteenth century the women of the upper middle class became more visible and important. This was a consequence of growing

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<sup>9</sup> B Horgby 1989

<sup>10</sup> E Eriksson 1990

<sup>11</sup> C Ericsson 1997

engagement in philanthropically organizations and in increasing symbolic importance in the public sphere. Women were visible at cultural events and consumed goods in a social demarcating way. To be dressed in the right way and at the right time of the day was a challenge. If you were dressed to properly you showed lack of cultural competence. Clothing was an important cultural trap.<sup>13</sup>

The hierarchy was connected to the patriarchal relation. You could see hierarchy at home and at work. The extensive social life made the servants necessary in the household. They provided the private services. The wife, the manager of the household, conducted the servant staff, which took care of most of the work in the upper middle class home. For example, the children had nannies.<sup>14</sup> In the same way the company was organized as a hierarchy in several levels.

### **The bourgeois public in Norrköping**

The upper middle class of the late nineteenth century was a mixture of a cultural and an economical bourgeoisie. The economical elite were presupposed to possess necessary cultural knowledge. Especially women in the economical elite played an important role as bridges between the two groups. They possessed the cultural capital, the arranged parties and dinner parties and also achieved main parts of the cultural consumption.<sup>15</sup>

The first example from how the middle class patriarch handled the bourgeois public we collect from Norrköping at the turn of the century. During the early phases of the industrial revolution in the nineteenth century and early twentieth century Norrköping was one of the leading industrial towns in Sweden. The families of the leading wholesalers and textile mill owners dominated the upper middle class, connected by economical relations, by the same moral values and participation in mutual companies. They also had similar interests in the cultural events and participated in the same voluntary organizations. According to Pierre Bourdieu they shared social and cultural capital.

The Swartz' family played the leading role in the upper middle class in the nineteenth and early twentieth century. The family saved a rich source material of letters from several generations. This source material shows insights in social life and beliefs. In the beginning of the twentieth century Carl Swartz was the patriarch. During the conservative government's

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<sup>12</sup> E Langland xxxx.

<sup>13</sup> S Gunn 1999:17-19, E L Bjurman 1998:84 ff, 89

<sup>14</sup> B Horgby 2000.

1904-17 he was the minister of finance and during a short period in 1917 he was the prime minister of Sweden. When he visited Stockholm his wife Dagmar Swartz controlled the frontier at home – both in the company and as the person organizing the social relations. The costume of the patriarch suited Carl Swartz. As many other patriarchs his father taught him to take the responsibilities. Carl Swartz talked about this transferring of responsibility in a letter to his mother: “the responsibility to my mother my dear Father ordered me.”<sup>16</sup>

The social relations played an important cultural significance in defining and integrating the upper middle class. One Monday in January in the beginning of the twentieth century Carl and Dagmar Swartz arranged a dinner for some acquaintances and friends. The gold medal of the Royal Patriotic Society was delivered to the factory chief J F Gehlin, who was employed by Swartz. According to the list of invitation the other participants at the dinner party was the town mayor C J Stolpe, the town mayor E Grenander, the vicar J P Fogelqvist, the assistant vicar C J Petersson, the town court judge T M Bååeth, the chairman of the town council C Eberstein, the town architect C F Malm, the town engineer B L Hellström, the industrialist Johannes Ringborg, the industrialist G Ringborg and Edward Ringborg. The relatives the wholesaler L Ringborg and the wholesaler Johan Gustaf Swartz were invited together with their wives. The guests were some of the leading representatives of different kinds of interests.

The list of invitation showed the hierarchy and patriarchy in the bourgeois culture. Carl and Dagmar Swartz had to give a small party for a distinguished employee and invited some of the town leaders. The titles marked the social hierarchy and place at the table. Some of the men were knights or commanders – marks of distinguished honor – and this played importance for ranging. The women were appendages to their husbands. The guest of honor conducted the hostess to the table and made a speech to the hostess. The dinner relations were parts of the social exchange, which strengthened the social relations. The extravagant menus were a part of the social exchange.

The upper middle class was connected in a social network. The wives of the patriarchs played important roles in creating and maintaining these networks. The indication of the highest rank to conduct the hostess was not just a social convention but also a way of accentuating the important role of the wife. Relatives, family, friends, business associates and members of voluntary associations met at the regular dinner parties. At weddings and some birthdays mayor parties were arranged. These kinds of relations created and maintained brotherly bounds. Among

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<sup>15</sup> B Horgby 2000

“brothers” it was easy to simplify processes of decisions and to reach mutual benefits.

The philanthropical soiré was a special female dominated party with music speaks and company. In the world of women visits and parties played an important role as social ties. Relatives and friends visited each other on regular basis. The visitors could stay for a short time or could guest someone’s summerhouse for a couple of month. Children often visited a relative or a friend in summer time. At a time when telephone calls were unusual and expensive everyone wrote regular letters. In connection to visits one gave visit cards, also used for short messages. Mutual presents, wishes, congratulations and participation in sorrow strengthened the relations.

The public consumption of pleasure and culture also played an important role for the social belonging. The upper middle class actively participated. Some patriarchs were also important mecenats, who granted the theatre, the town library and the collections of the art museum.<sup>17</sup>

### **The patriarchal relation**

The patriarchal relation structured the social relations in the family, the household, the company and in society. On the level of the company the late nineteenth century patriarchal relation can be described as a non-equal “contract” between the fatherly patriarch and his workers. The contract was not formally written and cannot be mixed up with the written individual contracts of employment. The patriarchal contract reached much further. It regulated how the internal relations should be, the internal commitments and responsibilities, and what each party ought to expect of the counter-party.

In a broad sense the workers belonged to household of the patriarch. The patriarch saw himself as a father, who had obligations to his workers and their families regardless of their capability of work. In this way the workers accessed a system of social security, which granted a minimum level of supplies for survival, also when they were old and ill and had lost their strength. They still could live in the factory houses and besides that could get a minor pension or sickness benefit.

In the environments of the bruk the system of social security was distributed directly by the patriarch. Workers got get subsidy rents in the factory houses, wood and other payments in kind, free medical care, sickness benefits and pensions. Sometimes the patriarch would pay for midwives and schools. The system of welfare could be more or less extensive. In the towns and cities the face-to-face-relation was not quite as close as in the bruk. Some of the responsibilities of the patriarch were taken over by the municipality or by philanthropical organizations. The

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<sup>16</sup> Carl Swartz’ letter to his mother 18/12 1901.

liberal voluntary association Norrköpings arbetareförening (The voluntary associations of workers in Norrköping), founded in 1860, was soon incorporated in the bourgeois public and in the patriarchal system of welfare. During the 1870<sup>s</sup> and 1880<sup>s</sup> the association consisted of between 1400-1700 members, mostly workers and petty bourgeoisie. Approximately between one fourth or half of the male population of workers in Norrköping were members in the association. The purposes of the association were self-education and self-help. Until 1890 the health insurance office of the association, which was the largest health insurance office in Norrköping, was equally financed by the members and by donations from patrons.<sup>18</sup> This support was a part of the patriarchal support of the employees. The philanthropic associations also were extensively supported by the patriarchs, who also granted public institutions as a children's hospital.<sup>19</sup> The extensive philanthropic care was an important complement to the poor relief of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century's. The philanthropic care also was an important condition when upper middle class women took steps out in the public. The wives of the patriarchs dominated the female philanthropic committee during the early 1920<sup>s</sup>.<sup>20</sup>

As a consequence of the face-to-face-relation the patriarch could take care of his own subordinated and protégées. The Swartz' dinner for factory chief Gehlin was one example. When a relative of Gehlin was buried Dagmar Swartz brought a garland of flowers. It was expected some of the wealth should "spill over" to the protégées.

The patriarchal system of social security was not unproblematic as it was built on philanthropy. Only the patriarch's personal voluntary undertaking guaranteed the support. The patriarch could be a benevolent father, but he could also be a despot regularly insulting the workers. These regular insults of dignity were the prime argument of the early labour movement against the patriarchal system of welfare. You should not bow and receive scolding or charity.<sup>21</sup>

The answer to the patriarchal system of social security was to work well, accept a male dominated gender order, live a conscientious life, accept the patriarch as a father who made decisions of major and minor things and most important to undertake to stay at the bruk or the company. The workers made a rational choice to invest in this unsafe security system, because of the survival as individual and family when you become old and could not provide for yourself. Older persons without a pension had to rely on support of the relatives or of a humiliating poor

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<sup>17</sup> B Horgby 2000.

<sup>18</sup> B Horgby 1989 and 1993

<sup>19</sup> B Plymoth 2002

<sup>20</sup> Ingemar Johansson ongoing research.

<sup>21</sup> C Winberg 1989.

relief. When you could chose between different kinds of dependency, the patriarchal system of social security was one rational alternative, which was not connected to shame as the poor relief. As we shall see later in this paper the social security also could be an effective strategy of the company maintaining the skilled workers – who were highly asked for – and also to create niter, personal ties between the company and the workers.<sup>22</sup>

After the mechanization processes during the late parts of the nineteenth century some employers tried to exchange the patriarchal relations to capitalistic market relations. The companies would not take care of their workers any more, but only buy the commodity of work. This was partly a consequence of weakened personal ties, when the mayor companies grew and became more bureaucratic. Then, one patriarch could not overview everything. The direction towards the market and the capitalistic competition resulted in a wish of many patriarchs to rewrite the contracts. Forms of security, early were embedded as salary benefits, now were exchanged to compensations in money or just disappeared.<sup>23</sup>

These one-sided rewritings of the patriarchal contracts were often followed by workers protests. Sometimes they organized in labour unions. Then the companies were brought to new challenges, which they in the beginning mostly reacted to with repression and oppression. Instead of collective agreements with the labour unions companies tried to do personal agreements with the workers. Union workers were sacked and blacklisted. Especially the blacklists after the general strike in 1909 affected the workers very hard. Now the benevolent father showed his strict and punishing side. As the patriarch found out the rationality of having an opponent, possible to negotiate with, and who also could have coincided interest, many companies rewrote the contracts and incorporated the trade unions in the patriarchal contracts.<sup>24</sup>

### **The Foundry patriarch and the bourgeois public**

The paternalistic relation was strong in the Swedish (bruk) foundry works. Therefore the scenographic configuration at the works principally answered to an “ideal type”. The external scenography, or architecture, had a function over and above that of the closeness of the settlement to the units of production as rational solution. The architecture at these communities was intended to emphasize the power relations of manufacturing paternalism. The architectonic frame expressed the messages “hierarchical power structure and local

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<sup>22</sup> C Ericsson 1997, 2004, B Horgby 1997:58-61, 2000

<sup>23</sup> B Horgby 1989:39-46, 1993, 1997, I Johansson 1982

<sup>24</sup> C Ericsson 1997, B Horgby 2000.

fellowship”. The social and hierarchical boundaries were clearly demonstrated in the scenography to appear as a self-evident ordering of society; an order whose aim was that of upholding discipline and stability within “the room”. The manorial estate dominated the settlement and was generally placed so that the master had the entire community before his eyes. The remaining settlement was planned so that “*a network of glances controlled each other*”.<sup>25</sup> The scenography of the production settlement supported the power configuration of paternalism, which was based on a face-to-face relationship – direct exercise of power without any intermediaries.

The other purpose behind this architectonic framework, which in time became more emphatic, was its function of creating a “we-feeling”. The foundry works communities, through their architecture, is viewed as a vital unity between individuals and society, an indivisible society, an organism. The external scenographic visibility compelled the master to live up to the ideal he himself formulated for the inhabitants. He should be fair - minded and god, but also rigorous. He should also be practical and energetic. As the communities god example he stressed responsibility and devotion to duty. The paternalistic father had to be a powerful person with a strong will.<sup>26</sup> The paternalistic father credibility was interlocked with his visibility. Therefore he had to act a theatrical performance, a role many masters self-consciously took on.<sup>27</sup> This role was the coming masters educated in from their childhood. It was his duty to take care of his subordinates. A relatively well developed social system existed. It was, as mentioned, a paternalistic social system which provided for the inhabitants of the (bruk) work from the cradle to the grave. Another element in the paternalistic system was the gift. The gifts can be divided into three categories. Incidental gifts were given to individuals for various reasons – for special efforts or to injured workers or sick children; other incidental gifts could be more manifest and hold considerable symbolic meaning, such as the distribution of bonuses to all workers or gifts in connection with centrally initiated conflicts.<sup>28</sup> The symbolic meaning of these gifts can, in such cases, be interpreted as attempts to confirm the fellowship within the “family” and to legitimize power. The father is seen as the distributor of that which is good even in time of crisis. Incidental gifts with this symbolic meaning were common. Gifts of a more manifest and institutionalized character were the

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<sup>25</sup> M Faucault

<sup>26</sup> P Sonden , 1925, T Nordlund, 2005, C Ericsson, 1997

<sup>27</sup> C Ericsson 1997, T Nordlund 2005

<sup>28</sup> C Ericsson, 1997, U Magnusson 1996, L Nyström 2003

celebration of midsummer, Christmas gifts and excursions. The celebration of Midsummer took place at all works and intensified at the turn of the century.<sup>29</sup> This celebration was intimately coupled to the owner of the works and the paternalistic exercise of power, which he represented. It was the master who arranged the feast for his employees and their families, it was he who gave the gift and he himself participated in the festivities. The feast was to symbolize society as “one great big family” where the “father” was the great giver of gifts. The highly symbolic and ritual feast can be seen both as a tool in the struggle against the growing socialist movement and as a means to stave off the fragmentation of modern capitalistic society, which threatened the local “family fellowship”.

### **The moral of the upper middle class patriarch**

So far we have touched the moral of the upper middle class patriarch. Now we will discuss the moral more systematic. The patriarchal relation reached its power from the moral convictions of the patriarch, who believed he was in his full right to be superior and his duty made him to take care of the subordinated. The world-view of the patriarchs in the late nineteenth century and early twentieth century was often made on a strict, religious moral. Duty and responsibility were the leading concepts. The individual was responsible for his own actions. He had to provide for himself and for his family.

The strict moral was benchmark when own and others actions were reviewed. The man who did not work well was not worth rewards on earth or in heaven. The man – or woman – who did not fulfill the moral limits of an honorable life was not worth any rewards. This kind of thoughts resulted in a priority of the achievements and moral of the individual. As a sexual moral the upper middle class was two folded. The patriarch could have sexual relations besides his marriage (but not his wife). The famous Swedish working class author Moa Martinsson was born Helga Swartz and claimed she was daughter of Carl Swartz. This kind of moral problems was often discussed in popular culture.<sup>30</sup>

The patriarch wore his honor and his name. The upper middle class family and relatives had to defend this name, so it was not soiled. Bankruptcy, fraud and moral transgressions soiled the name. The family member who could not full fill the norms could be depicted as a “black sheep” and be moved out of the public views.<sup>31</sup>

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<sup>29</sup> U Magnusson 1996, Ericsson C 1997, CH Tillhagen 1981

<sup>30</sup> B Horgby 2000

<sup>31</sup> For examples see the archives of the Swartz' family.

The concept of moral also guided views of family and especially the upbringing of the children. The upper middle class patriarch was a family father who protected the family as an institution. The children of the upper middle class were trained to be successful. Often they went to private schools instead of the public schools. Furthermore the children sometimes were educated at home besides the studies. Dagmar Swartz was very critical to the school system.<sup>32</sup>

The strict disciplined education of the children included norms of silence and well behavior at meals. Politeness was one guiding rule. One member of the upper middle class in Norrköping in late nineteenth century tells in her memories about the exaggerations.<sup>33</sup>

The children were supposed to be moral examples always obeying the orders of their parents. Politeness also included being master of own feelings. In this way discipline and self-surveillance were vaccinated. The child also was taught to take care of him or herself. The children were to a large extent brought up by servants. A plausible conclusion the relation between the child and the parents was not as close as in other parts of the middle classes and in the working class. You could expect a certain distance between parents and child. This distance probably was reinforced by the strict upbringing.

Through upbringing and education the children learned the non-written rules of the upper middle class culture both in the towns and in the bruk milieus. They learned how to perform at dinners and in public life; how to behave in the family and work; and to use taste and style to distinguish themselves from other social groups. The emphasis of duty, self-surveillance and a puritan, Victorian heritage resulted in believing thrift to be a duty. You should not act extravagant, which was an expression of bad taste and something upstarts did; those who were not masters of the rules. In the delimitation also belonged to know who to show respect and who to ignore according to the circumstances.

The upper middle class also delimited the small from the larger life, the intimacy private from the public and the family from work. The limits also separated gender. That's why the girls first of all were upbringing in social competence. It was an advantage if they could play piano, so they could entertain the family and friends at private social gatherings. Another social advantage included knowledge in different languages and basic parts of classical education. This meant they should be familiar with the culture of antique Greece and Rome and also with cultural

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<sup>32</sup> Dagmar Swartz' letter to Carl Swartz 31/5 1901.

<sup>33</sup> Elsa Fehrman, LUF.

expressions affected by this culture. The young boys were prepared for their working lives. They also needed basic social competence, for example for socializing in the venues of the upper middle class. Classical culture was more important for those who thought of a career in the state government. Coming textile industrialists needed knowledge in economy and science.<sup>34</sup>

### **The middle class patriarch as an industrialist**

The middle class industrial patriarch cherished the patriarchal relation. The aim was that everyone should "move in the same direction" and identify with the company and venues. If that could be obtained also the prerequisite to keep skilled workforce improved. During the 1920s social worry, with lots of strikes and lockouts and a growing radicalisation of the organised labour, the middle class patriarchs discussed how to integrate labour and create consensus. In many foundry communities several informal and formal meeting-places for personal contacts between the company and its employees were formed in order to overcome the state of opposition between labour and capital. The company's proprietors believed that hegemony would be secured via integration through the consent of the other classes in society. Integration and consensus would be achieved through education; among other things the workers were to study national economic and social questions and discuss the problems of trade and industry at discussion clubs. The way to hegemony could be established through local contacts, everyday conversations and discussions in the neighbourhood about everyday problems. As long as the company's showed interest in the workers, it could count on increased loyalty. The importance of building solidarity, unity and a consensus within the established system was emphasized for "the common good". Sports and above football, were much used in this project from the beginning of the 1920s. Football was one and an important instrument for establishing so-called "bruksanda" (foundry spirit) or we-spirit.<sup>35</sup> The industrial leaders adopted an instrumental view in which sports were seen as a means to level out class distinctions and create solidarity. The company supported among other things sports actively by granting land and making financial contributions for sports grounds. In the foundry community Åtvidaberg there was a conscious strategy within the foundry management to use football to create a foundry spirit, which would lead to a strengthened solidarity between the community and the company. The image, which the management

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<sup>34</sup> The archives of the Swartz' family.

<sup>35</sup> C Ericsson 2004

wanted to create, was one of a society in harmony or a model society.<sup>36</sup> In this model society, football functioned as a link between the management and the inhabitants. In another big foundry community Sandviken, the master Karl Fredrik Göransson thought that sports was closely linked to, and an important part of, the didactic task of creating “the good spirit” – “Sandviksandan”. According to him, sport could instil in individuals good moral fibre and a belief in fair play, as well as a sense of honour, justice, honesty and thoughtfulness and tactfulness and he/she was to sympathize with others. Karl Fredrik claimed that if “Sandviksandan” was observed, the foundry community would gain not only great material wealth, but people in society and company would also “gain culturally and ideally higher living standard”.<sup>37</sup>

It is not difficult to see several positive effects for the company from the clubs activities. Involvement in sport encouraged discipline and respect for authority. They rejected alcohol and other demoralizing wastes of time, such as gambling. The members were fostered into a collective and democratic ways of life through the culture of meetings at clubs where discipline and order was regular topics of discussion.<sup>38</sup> The players of the various teams were also taught not to question the order of the team captain. The recipe for success was hard work, steadiness, discipline and order. The company’s interest in sport was not confined to the elite level since its proprietors felt that we-spirit should be encouraged in as many people as possible. Thus provision was made for a breadth of sports which created a more widespread sense of solidarity between individuals in the foundry. The foundry management used sports, especially football, as a means of strengthening local community spirit in order to create a strong social solidarity.

### **The industrial and Right-wing man**

The middle class patriarch did also act inside the party politics. 1904 was the year when AVF (Allmänna valmansförbundet) the Swedish conservative party was founded. In that process the middle class patriarchs had a prominent role although they properly thought that a labour organization as well as political party was unnecessary. The ideal thought was that the patriarch and “his” labour could solve their problem better without any involvement from outside. The patriarchal welfare system was, they meant, obvious evidence that there was no

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<sup>36</sup> T Andersson, 2002

<sup>37</sup> RA, The archiv of the Göransson family: private correspondence , vol 33

<sup>38</sup> T Andersson, 2002. C Ericsson, 2004

need for social reform for the working class. For the early 20<sup>th</sup> century conservative industrial patriarchs, moderate or conservative, was the mission as an owner of a company and heritage they had to conduct. It was a responsibility taking towards the family, the company and the society. Although there was some important difference between the moderate and conservative patriarchs they were united in the struggle for a free commercial and industrial life and opponents to socialism where the rising labour movement was seen as a real threat towards the private ownership. They were engaged in activities that promoted modernization, and in the same time they advised continuous democratically reforms to avoid radical changes in society. Contradistinction between employees and the employers should also henceforth be viewed as something that was best solved “in the little local world”.<sup>39</sup> For the common welfare a company leader and “his” workers was dependent on a close and trustfully co-operation. As the famous right-wing politician and company owner in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century Christian Lundberg expressed; “united we stand sunder we fall”.<sup>40</sup>

The patriarchal system begun to loosen up during the first decades of the 20<sup>th</sup> century and the breakthrough for big industry caused that new company groups with new modern views on business grow rapidly and dispirited the old company culture. The breakthroughs for big industry also open on to that interest union come into existence, which did not take any consideration to patriarchal solidarity. The modernization of society contributed to that the company owner who where organized in the right- wing was successive forced to give up their opposition against political democratic reforms.

The purpose of democratization was to give all equal rights, access to a material security and reduced differences between social classes. This democratization process was closely linked with one of the modern industrial capitalistic society’s most central problem: the social integration. A moderate conservative idea during the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century was that industrial growth not only produced welfare but also caused social misery. The material and intellectual misery among the industry workers was understood as a threat. Therefore was it necessary to integrate the workers in the society. They should have the same rights and obligations as everybody else and to a “certain state” accessorial in the nation concerns. The moderate right-wing believed that social reforms were required to promote social trouble. They were afraid of a social transformation that went too fast and where too radical and in the end threaten to throw the whole traditional social structure overboard. A threat was that the

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<sup>39</sup> K Molin, 1998

company owner lost both their social privileges and the control over their own company. The strategy to oppose that kind of development was to treat the workers in a way so that the radical criticism appeared as groundless. The conservative industrial leaders thought that the best way to maintain free commercial and industrial life, market economy, ownership and leadership was to solve the problems in “the small local world”. In that world could the right wings opinion on industrial democracy be successful. With this strategy they created prerequisite to preserve hegemony. The “little small world” constituted a fundamental conservative fellowship that functioned as a shield towards both the threat of socialization and the ultimate consequence of the liberal market economy. This strategy stood in sharp contrast to the Social–Democrats willingness to decide this kind of questions on national political level.

### **A new patriarch in a changeable bourgeois public**

During the 1930s the conditions for the bourgeois patriarch changed. After that the Social democratic party had chosen their political way during the 1920<sup>s</sup> they initiated the political project named – folkhemmet (peoples home). In the new welfare state took the state gradually over the social responsibility from the civil society and especially from the bourgeois patriarchs. Patriarchal relations could not in the future be building on company and patriarchs had the responsibility for welfare distribution.

Along with these transformations a “new” and more professional and modern factory leader appeared. They had, in difference to the old traditional patriarch, formal competence and knowledge in sense of degree. A prominent exponent for the new factory leader (Liljeholmens stearinfabrik AB) who also was member of the parliament representing the Right – wing party between 1930 to the beginning of 1950<sup>s</sup> was Harald Nordenson. Nordenson was pronounced intellectual and a strong feeling for family and traditions.<sup>41</sup> At that time when most of the industrial leaders left the party politics Nordenson stressed the importance of being organized. They where needed because otherwise there was no hope that important questions for the business world could reach a breakthrough in the political decisions. The society regulated more and more the company as well as the individuals working conditions through new laws, decrees and control. The game rules were decided by politician therefore was it necessary for the industrial leaders to realize the importance of

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<sup>40</sup> B G Hall, 2005

participates in politics. A flourishing business world needed political active industrial leaders.<sup>42</sup> Although Nordenson representing the new modern industrial leader he was at the same time by means of his conservative ideology still a man who supported patriarchal relations. The patriarchal strategy dominated, as in many Swedish companies, at Liljeholmens Stearinfabrik AB, still during the 1930<sup>s</sup>. Nordenson was the main owner and could therefore control the company. He also stayed at the factory ground and could therefore exercise daily control over the activity. The company organized two stuff funds for the purpose to support the workers and their families in crisis, pay their medical and hospital bills and give benefits to travel and studies. The company also provided employees with holiday house where they could rest during vacation days.

The next step in the development of the patriarchal ideology was lead by another famous Swedish industrial leader, Christian von Sydow. He was managing director at Holmens bruk och Fabriks AB and member of the parliament where he represented the Right-wing party in the 1960<sup>s</sup>.<sup>43</sup> The cooperation minded but patriarchal Right – wing industrial leaders tried with him to repel not only the Social democrats endeavour to socialization but also to find new opportunities in how to save patriarchal relations. They hoped that this was possible thorough industrial democracy. From a conservative point of view industrial democracy was the same as togetherness. Christian von Sydow as a conservative emphasized the importance of united different social classes. He strongly opposed against to the ideas of class struggles, which had changed the natural but narrow contradistinction in interest between industrial leaders and labour to a big problem.<sup>44</sup> As we noted earlier played the “we-feeling” and “bruksandan” (foundry spirit) a central role in the bourgeois patriarchs ideology. When the Right – wing saw industrial democracy as a way to success they meant that it tied employees closer to the company. Industrial democracy should bring employees influence over, for example, technique and social questions. To give employees a feeling of being a co-worker it was required that the factory management gave the employees continues information, not at least questions concerning the company future.

In his memories he describes how he during several visits to different companies noticed that the company leader neglected his duty to meet and “*have a nice and cosy chat with his*

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<sup>41</sup> K Norlander 2000. O Ehrenkrona, 2002.

<sup>42</sup> H Nordenson, Ekonomisk revy 1944

<sup>43</sup> C Ericsson, 2002.

<sup>44</sup> C von Sydow, 1980

*co-workers at the shop floor*".<sup>45</sup> He also thought that company leaders seldom show themselves at the workplace. His standpoint was that an employer had a very important mission to create a good relation to the employees, "*a mission he should never forget*".<sup>46</sup> Christina von Sydow himself lived as he learned. The employees at Holmens Bruk saw him as the model for an industrial leader. "*He was popular and took a daily walk through the workplace and said hallo to his worker. He shook their hands and asked them about their health, how things was at work and so on*".<sup>47</sup> At Holmens Bruk several social reforms were developed which purpose was to create comfort and we-spirit. The employees had for example free healthcare including dental care. They also had heavy economic support from the company to build their home-croft. The company also build several community centres as well as a sport centres including a football ground for employees to use for recreation. If a company leader was to be successful and reach prosperity he had to establish interplay and a good industrial democratic relation with the employees. The interests in common were to create comfort and job satisfaction which would lead to both increased production and a stronger we-spirit.

During the 1960- and 1970s continued the Right-wing party and the industrial leaders to establish industrial democracy from their conservative standpoint. At this time Erik Hovhammar owner of a glassware factory was the spokesman for business interest in the party. He was chairman for a special institution inside the party that was established during the late 1960s and had the mission to spread the Right-wing politics among business man. According to Hovhammar a business man had to "*arrange it enjoyable for the employee*".<sup>48</sup> That could be arranged with a good salary, good communication inside the company, good housekeeping and leisure-time activity. At Lindshammar glasbruk the company owned by Hovhammar the employees who wanted to build their one home-croft were heavily supported by the company. The company also ordered a modern lodge for washing, sauna and a sports field for the employee. The outspoken purpose was that it would improve the comfort and the stability among the workers. An assembly hall "Peoples House" was build where the communities inhabitants could meet, have parties, and look at movies and theatre. Hovhammar connected to the old "brukskulturen" foundry community's culture in organize

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<sup>45</sup> Von Sydow 1980, Ericsson 2002.

<sup>46</sup> Same as note before

<sup>47</sup> C Dominder & B Horgby 1997

<sup>48</sup> Filipstad and Bergslagens tidning (newspaper) 30/8 1956

feast like midsummer with dance, music, eating and drinking for the purpose to improve we-spirit.<sup>49</sup> Hovhammar and the Right-wing party standpoint was that industrial democracy “*in a profound meaning*” could be established thorough “*human fellowship, respect and deference between employee and employer*”.<sup>50</sup> The employees needed a positive place to live and work in and in return the masters could count on a loyal workforce. Erik Hovhammars view of the society was common among other business leaders in the Right-wing party in the 1950 and 1960s. An ideological figure in the concept of industrial democracy was to look at the employee as co-workers and to integrate them in the company.

### **Summary**

The formation of the Swedish bourgeois public began in the 1830<sup>s</sup>. Until late nineteenth century the male, upper middle class patriarch played a central role in this public. The relation between the patriarch and his subordinates was mostly a face-to-face-relation, build on the fatherly social and economical liabilities of the patriarch for the well being of the subordinated, as long as the subordinated accepted the relation and did a good job. In the end of the nineteenth century the bourgeois public began to change. Now the women of the upper middle class also achieved an increasingly central role as symbolic consumers, philanthropically actors and those who tightened the network relations.

The progresses of the labor movement contributed to change the bourgeois public. The authoritarian patriarchs did not tolerate the competitions from the growing labor movement public. In the same time the breakthrough of the big enterprises diminished the possibilities for the individual industrialist to create a face-to-face-relation to his employees. Capitalistic market relations partly substituted the patriarchal relations. The conditions also changed because of the democratic processes in the turn of the century and the breakthrough of democracy 1918-21. These economical, social and political processes forced a new negotiation between the bourgeois and the labor public, which contributed to make far-sighted upper middle class patriarchs to rewrite the patriarchal contract with their employees. The good and punishing father, who subordinated his children, was replaced by a new upper middle class patriarch, who tried to overcome the class conflicts, by educating the workers in solidarity and fellowship with the company and the place of the company. The relation between labor and capital became a condition of competition between the iron mills. The

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<sup>49</sup> Smalandsposten, 17/5 1961

authoritarian patriarchs refused to acknowledge the labor movement. This started series of devastating conflicts. The educational patriarch's way of success prevented these kinds of conflicts. Instead they created a concept of negotiations and cooperation over classes. This is called "the spirit of the bruk" and shall be interpreted in the context of a bourgeois hegemonic position.

The third displacement of the bourgeois public occurred in the 1930<sup>s</sup>, when the labor movement public according to the successes in the elections reached the power of the state apparatus and began to create a welfare state. In that time the educational patriarch's policy overshadowed the conservative parts of the upper middle class. The bourgeois public and the labor movement public began to cooperate about a concept of rationalization and economical growth, which could be transformed to social and political welfare reforms. Christian von Sydow further developed this cooperation policy during the 1950s and other patriarchs, who redeveloped the cooperation concept of the bruk by pleading for industrial democracy – a concept also interpreted according to a bourgeois hegemonic perspective.

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