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## The Poor Man's Goldmine?

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# Jari Ojala Pirita Frigren Anu Ojala

## THE POOR MAN'S GOLDMINE?

### Career paths in Swedish and Finnish merchant shipping, c. 1840–1950

*This article analyses the career paths of Swedish and Finnish sailors from the mid-19th to the mid-20th century. The article shows that, for the most of the men, the seaman's occupation was just a passing phase before taking up a job on shore, but many of them also created a long-lasting and advancing career by going to sea. There was not necessarily, however, a clear distinction between job opportunities at sea and those on shore in those days: men worked both at sea and on shore. We therefore argue that an individual's advancement in a maritime career was a context-specific socio-economic phenomenon. In Scandinavia, work on board ships was dependent on features that characterized the division of labour in a predominantly agricultural domestic economy on land and emerging industrialization during the turn of the century. Here we present an analysis of the career paths of almost 60,000 men recruited to serve on Swedish and Finnish merchant vessels from the 1840s to late 1940s.*

**Keywords** career paths, maritime labour, social mobility, datamining

#### Introduction

The occupation of merchant seaman is often seen as a chance for poor men to advance socially and economically. This image has been attached to both pre-industrial shipping under sail and early 20th-century shipping under steam. On the other hand, maritime labour in the lowest ranks has equally often been seen only as a precarious stopgap. Was employment on board a merchant vessel the way from rags to riches, or at least a moderate chance for economic and social advancement? This question has always epitomized studies on seafarers and work at sea. Although the image of poor Jack

Tar has always been there, Anglo-American authors, in particular, tend to depict the merchant seaman's occupation as a chance for a smooth career from deck boy to foc'sle – or even further – regardless of social background or lack of formal education. As Daniel Vickers and Vince Walsh have put it, studies on seafarers often ask why people go to sea. Why do they embark on such a risky and dangerous business far from home? In asking this question we tend to think that sailors were a race apart, utterly different from landlubbers.<sup>1</sup> This is the view that also predominated in Scandinavian historical research on work and workers at sea. In the Nordic context, studies on seamen have been numerous, concentrating, for instance, on the socio-economic position of seafarers, maritime working conditions and working culture, the emergence of a female labour force, and seafarers' welfare; all of which are just some examples of popular themes.<sup>2</sup>

Notwithstanding the idea of going to sea as a means of social advancement, the prospects of a self-made man have been less stressed in works underlining the precariousness of the sailor's work and its similarity to any other wage labour in the 18th- and 19th-century capitalizing industries. According to these views, the world of a seafarer was merely the pursuit of ready wages and free housing.<sup>3</sup> In this respect, the sailor's work transformed from a work in a hierarchical, patriarchal but egalitarian ship's company to that of work characterized by despotic discipline and dramatic social barriers between crew and officers. In practice, old and new working cultures emerged.<sup>4</sup> Many scholars also highlight the nature of seafaring as a young man's job, requiring no specific skills or experience, with extreme physical burden and dangers of the work, in addition to poor pay.<sup>5</sup> It is also argued that the 'substance' of mariners changed in the long run. During the 19th century, it is claimed, many of the maritime professionals entered shipbuilding while the work on board ships was left to the migrant rural and urban proletariat.<sup>6</sup>

Pirita Frigren has recently shown that not only were Finnish sailors recruited during their working lives for various tasks on board ships but also that most of them worked ashore during and after their seagoing careers. They were, as David Alexander has pointed out, just 'working men that got wet'.<sup>7</sup> During the steam era, seamen were seen more often as a part of the working population, although this proletarianization already occurred, according to Frigren, during the age of sail. Remarkable heterogeneity characterized the coeval sailor population, however, in terms of their occupational status on board as well as their socio-economic status in seaport communities.<sup>8</sup> The structural change in the economy served to create supply and demand of labour force; emerging industrialization demanded more young and unskilled men both in Sweden and Finland as of the latter part of the 19th century, leaving the older men to continue their careers in the maritime sector.<sup>9</sup> In certain towns in the USA during the late 19th century, the men hired to serve on board merchant vessels were also clearly older than before, as the younger ones were seeking job opportunities in the manufacturing industries; and the physical tasks required on steamers required more physical capacity.<sup>10</sup>

The work and careers of sailors have recently been studied in the broader scope of time and massive recruitment databases. While Jelle van Lottum and Jan Luiten van Zanden have shown that the increase in maritime labour productivity during the 18th century was based on a more highly skilled workforce (in terms of numeracy and literacy), Jari Ojala, Jaakko Pehkonen, and Jari Eloranta, in turn, have argued for a clear deskilling trend in the maritime sector in Sweden and Finland from the late 18th century to WW1. The decreased wage costs in addition to the decline in other costs of transport led to the expansion of the shipping industry and accelerated globalization at

the time. For maritime workers, this meant increased demand for labour and international job opportunities; however, the pay was equivalent to work deemed to require little or no skills.<sup>11</sup> Although there was a decline in wages from the skilled mariners' perspective, maritime wages still exceeded earnings in rural day labour, urban outdoor work, and even work in factories to some extent.<sup>12</sup>

These findings focus interest upon what kind of career paths work on board ships could provide for individual seafarers. This article contributes to this discussion by analysing the career paths of seamen from the mid-19th to mid-20th century. Did being taken on as a seaman mean an actual career, e.g. continuous recruitment for years, or even for over a decade? And did the career mean upward social mobility, e.g. advancing from the lower to the higher ranks, or at least a stable career during the life course? Answering these questions contributes to the discussion on whether we can even talk about actual career paths or if we should regard maritime labour as mere casual work. We are especially interested in whether there were changes in this respect over time. Regarding earlier Nordic historical research on seamen, this article seeks to highlight parallels both from Swedish and Finnish seaports and from various local communities. It, moreover, includes a time-span that covers both the ages of sail and steam. During the period analysed, early modern merchant shipping under sail changed to modern shipping under steam and grew alongside the industrialization and the first era of globalization. At the same time, working life in general was changing in the Nordic countries, and sailors' work as a genuine occupation or profession has to be understood against this context. The prevalence of primary production began to give way to a more multifaceted economy of industries, services, and professions, although the urbanization rate remained low in the Nordic countries and agricultural work dominated the labour markets throughout the timeframe of this article. Additionally, the work itself was changing from patriarchal, supervised subjectivity and undifferentiated seasonal part-time work to time-based, occupational specific paid labour, which also often necessitated mobility. For example, unemployment began only gradually to be understood in other meanings than vagrancy. In early modern working life, people were more likely to suffer from inadequate earnings<sup>13</sup> or seasonal fluctuation of proper jobs than total exclusion from the labour markets.

In the following we will first give a short, source-critical description of the data and methods we are using. Thereafter we analyse seamen's careers from two aspects: bylooking at the career length and career paths of sailors. We provide both descriptive quantitative data and illustrative cases to verify the variety of career-advancers and non-advancers.

### *The data*

In this work, we have used the database compiled by the Swedish National Archives project that combined data from nine Swedish and one Finnish Seamen's Houses enrolment records.<sup>14</sup> The Seamen's House was a formal, public institution introduced in Sweden in the mid-18th century to towns that were engaged with foreign trade. The primary functions of the Seamen's Houses were: firstly, to offer modest social benefits to the retired seamen and to the families of dead sailors or those who had jumped ship; secondly, to serve as a labour exchange, namely to be a place where ship owners recruit crews to work on board; and thirdly, to compile information on the

seamen and ships of each town for the state authorities. This information was, in turn, available for military use in the event of war. For these purposes, Seamen's Houses compiled detailed data on seamen hired and available in each town. Although Seamen's Houses were obligatory, it took decades rather than years before small towns such as those used in this study could establish such institutions. The Seamen's Houses continued their work up to the mid-20th century, but with gradually diminishing functions as the governmental pension institutions took over most of the social security duties previously the purview of the Seamen's Houses, and other duties also ceased as recruitments were no longer handled through Seamen's Houses, and the numbers of ships and seamen were registered by the statistical offices.<sup>15</sup>

The analysis is based on 649,627 recruitments to serve on Swedish and Finnish merchant vessels from 1751 to 1950, available at the Swedish National Archives Seamen's House database.<sup>16</sup> This data gives precise information on the occupations of sailors during each enrolment. As the data is based on the enrolments it means that the same men could be hired several, even dozens of, times. Thus, the database enables us to trace the career paths of individual sailors (Tables 1 and 2). With the help of computerized datamining we were able to identify 269,517 cases in which the same seaman was hired more than once; 41.5% of all cases in the dataset. From this data, we were able to create career paths for 57,637 individual sailors. The maximum number of enrolments per man was over 100, the average being around five. The youngest to be hired were six years old and the oldest 78 years.

The computerized datamining from the original database created for genealogical use was a challenging task; however, all available differentiating variables in the data were used to elucidate the individual career paths of the sailors. The data as such is rich in detail, including information such as place of birth and residence, date of birth, age, marital status, rank, salary, and so forth. Thus we could use the detailed data on a person's name (Christian name and surname), domicile, and date of birth to trace the individual sailors and combine the recruitment data into the career paths. Filtering comparisons were made by using name, date of birth, domicile, and area code data to achieve the best possible match between the data units. The data units with missing

**TABLE 1** Descriptive statistics of the sub-sample career path database.

<i>Years with career information</i>	<i>1840–1899</i>	<i>1900–1950</i>	<i>1840–1950</i>
Number of hiring cases	80,046	187,015	269,517
Number of individual seamen	21,030	35,747	57,597
Average number of hiring cases per man	3.8	5.2	4.7
Minimum number of hiring cases per man	2	2	2
Maximum number of hiring cases per man	99	112	112
Average length of career (years)	4.2	6.5	5.6
Minimum length of career (years)	1	1	1
Maximum length of career (years)	50	62	62

*Source:* Seamen's House database.

*Note:* Includes only cases with two or more hiring cases. Years are according the final year of the career in the dataset.

**TABLE 2** Careers in the sample data and the data coverage.

Rank	No. of hiring	% of hiring	No. of men	% of men	Year coverage	No. of hiring cases in total data	% of hiring cases in sub-sample
Captain	29,006	10.8	6,037	10.5	1839-1947	63,167	45.9
Steam engineer	16,970	6.3	3,838	6.7	1869-1942	24,924	68.1
Mate	17,532	6.5	5,814	10.1	1840-1943	35,737	49.1
2nd Mate	8,541	3.2	3,209	5.6	1845-1942	14,055	60.8
Constable (3rd mate)	4,923	1.8	2,381	4.1	1842-1940	11,766	41.8
Boatswain	12,913	4.8	5,059	8.8	1840-1948	34,395	37.5
Carpenter	5,346	2.0	1,859	3.2	1841-1941	18,866	28.3
Catering personnel*	5,799	2.2	2,152	3.7	1866-1941	10,848	53.5
AB ( <i>matros</i> )	27,276	10.1	10,665	18.5	1840-1948	91,542	29.8
AB low ( <i>lätmatros</i> )	31,336	11.6	14,444	25.1	1840-1942	74,511	42.1
OS ( <i>Jungman</i> )	40,946	15.2	19,253	33.4	1840-1942	114,802	35.7
Trimmers and firemen	38,651	14.3	10,949	19.0	1869-1942	67,655	57.1
Cook	15,953	5.9	8,021	13.9	1840-1942	52,216	30.6
Cabin boy	3,434	1.3	1,512	2.6	1850-1946	8,884	38.7
Deck boy	25	0.0	20	0.0	1842-1925	3,119	0.8
N/A	10,906	4.0	4,664	8.1	1840-1942	23,140	47.1
Total	269,517	100.0	57,597	100.0	1839-1948	649,627	41.5

Source: Seamen's house database.

Note: The same man might be hired for different occupations. The period covered in the data as a whole is 1751-1950. \*Passenger ship personnel, which includes catering crew, stewards, cleaners, etc. These also include occasional women hired to work on board these ships.

data in the key variables were excluded from the data, as the analysis of this study was not intended to examine the statistical inference from a random sample but rather to examine the historical cases of 60,000 men recruited to serve on Swedish and Finnish merchant vessels from the 1840s to the late 1940s.<sup>17</sup>

Most certainly, computerized datamining failed to find a number of careers, as there are obviously mistakes in the data (such as spellings of names), missing data, and so on. This is especially problematic with the 18th-century and early 19th-century data as some of the categories are not well presented in older data. Dates of birth in particular were frequently missing, which made it impossible to include the men from the late 18th and early 19th century in our sample at this stage. Therefore, we could identify with certainty individual sailors only from the period 1840–1950. Challenges also occurred when tracing extraordinarily long career paths, such as those of captains. This is due to mistakes in the spelling of names in the database, and to a certain extent due to the mistakes in the original sources.

Another serious challenge with the data is that we do not know whether the same men were hired to serve on board vessels of seaports other than those included in our database. Namely, the men may have been hired to serve on the vessels of other Swedish ports and even foreign ports even though they were listed in the seamen houses in our dataset. Maritime-related migration was typical for this period, as Scandinavian seafarers sought work, in particular, on board British and North American vessels.<sup>18</sup> In addition, they took advantage of internal mobility between domestic coastal towns involved in shipping. Seamen's mobility was part of a bigger entity of foreign and internal – both rural to urban and rural to rural – labour migration, which increased in the latter half of the 19th century.<sup>19</sup>

Although the major Swedish seaports of Stockholm and Gothenburg are missing from the data,<sup>20</sup> the towns included in the database at best accounted for up to one-third of the Swedish foreign trade tonnage during the 19th century. Moreover, as the ships in the case towns were engaged rather typically in northern European shipping, some general conclusions can be drawn from the data, especially as the number of cases is relatively high.<sup>21</sup> Nevertheless, the case towns were rather small and thus offered fewer job opportunities, other than those available in the maritime sector. Thus, these small towns were highly granular local economies, dependent on one industry, namely shipping, and even shipping was in most cases confined to a few large shipping companies or merchant houses.<sup>22</sup> Therefore, before industrialization really accelerated from the late 19th century onwards, a career path in the maritime sector was rather a necessity than an opportunity.<sup>23</sup>

The data covers the recruitment from urban seaports only. Thus the vast and utterly different short-distance peasant seafaring (restricted to coastal waters and the Baltic Sea), which played an important role up to the turn of the 20th century, is more or less excluded.<sup>24</sup> The dataset shows, however, the influence of peasant seafaring in migration from coastal rural parishes to towns.

For this article we translated all the Swedish seafaring ranks into English; however, in a number of occupations, there is no clear translation from Swedish to English.<sup>25</sup> Thus, we used the term 'lower level able-bodied seaman' (AB low) for the Swedish term *lätmatros* and 'ordinary sailor' (OS) for the Swedish occupation *jungman*.



As Table 2 shows, two-thirds of the recruited men in our database were crew members; the rest were officers or engineers. Most hirelings were ordinary sailors (OS, *jungman*), representing 15% of hiring cases and one-third of all the men. As the sub-sample data is biased to the late 19th and early 20th centuries, it has the best coverage for steam engineers (almost 70% when compared to the whole database) and lowest with deck boys (below 1%).

There are obvious shortcomings in the data, even though it is extensive and enables us to trace the career paths of thousands of sailors. Nevertheless, the data at hand and the methods applied enable us to draw some tentative and explorative conclusions on seamen's careers.

## Analysis

### *Length of career*

The seaman going to sea is often viewed as a passing phase in a man's life; something typical of young men. As men got married, they settled down and rather sought job opportunities on shore. The typical length of service for the early 20th-century Nordic seaman was around 5–10 years.<sup>26</sup> Even today, careers in seafaring are, on average, quite short; a recent survey in Sweden showed that the average time the men serve on board Swedish vessels is no longer than eight years.<sup>27</sup> This has been explained as a dilemma in the discourse of recruiting on board: 'Seafaring is not only a satisfying and worthwhile career choice in itself, it is also a passport to a huge variety of related jobs ashore for which experience at sea will make one eminently qualified'.<sup>28</sup> Thus seafaring is usually seen both today and historically as a stopgap.

This stopgap work as seamen is also apparent in our dataset. As Table 3 shows, the vast majority of the careers that we were able to analyse lasted less than five years. The dataset includes a great number of men who made only one or two voyages, and, at the other end of the spectrum, men whose careers lasted 40 years or more. A less significant factor that affects estimating the length of career in years is that the length of voyages varied greatly, depending on the vessel and the destination. While the shortest voyages may have taken only couple of days or weeks (on the Baltic Sea), the longest may have taken years at high seas. That way, participating in only one deep-sea voyage may make the career appear more established than regular involvement in short distance transportation on the Baltic Sea. Therefore, the length of career should also be

**TABLE 3** Length of seamen's careers in the dataset.

<i>Length</i>	<i>N</i>	<i>%</i>
40 years or more	300	0.5
20–39 years	3,106	5.4
10–19 years	7,010	12.2
5–9 years	9,591	16.7
Less than 5 years	37,590	65.3
Total	57,597	100.0

Source: Seamen's House database.

**TABLE 4** Number of cases of hiring in the database.

	<i>N</i>	%
40 or more	286	0.5
20–39	1,373	2.4
10–19	3,961	6.9
5–9	9,728	16.9
Less than 5	42,249	73.4
Total	57,597	100.0

*Source:* Seamen's House database.

analysed in terms of number of recruitments (Table 4). In 73% of the cases, men were hired less than five times (Table 4). Furthermore, we have excluded from our sample the men that were recruited only once; by including them, the average length of career would diminish further. Moreover, we do not know about the seamen's possible careers in towns other than those included in our database; thus this might increase the average career lengths.

Long careers with more than ten voyages were quite unusual, according to our data. The total number of men with the longest careers (over 40 years) was 300; that is, around 0.5% of all cases (Table 3). Almost three-quarters of the cases that we were able to identify were recruited less than five times and 90% less than 10 times to serve on board vessels. Thus, the men with the 'real' careers on board ship were a rather extraordinary group: men hired more than 10 times and whose careers lasted over 10 years (c. 18% of all the men in our dataset). Unfortunately, the Seamen's House database does not reveal what happened to the men who were no longer recruited; most likely they sought work ashore, retired, or changed the seamen's house and town they lived in. In our subsample, 753 (1.3%) men died on board their ships and 4,148 (7.2%) jumped ship illegally; of the latter, however, some may have returned to their home ports later and continued their seafaring careers.<sup>29</sup>

The average age of first going to sea was 25 years in our data, although the youngest sailors were only around six years old. Men also stopped seafaring quite young, as the average career hardly lasted a mere six years.<sup>30</sup> With the advent of industrialization, other job opportunities on shore became an option, possibly making seafaring less attractive than before. The number of hiring cases per man shown in Table 4 may also reveal possibilities for other job opportunities. The average number of hiring cases per man in the whole data was almost five (Table 1); however, in towns in which the manufacturing industries grew earlier (like Gävle and Karlskrona), this number was below three per man. Thus in these early industrializing towns, working as a seaman was more of a stopgap than it was in towns that industrialized later. Our findings appear to corroborate the note by Vickers and Walsh, according to which there were different roles, positions, and identities in one seaman's life course. These varied both during their sailing life and during their life on land. Rarely, they claim, is it noted that the majority of sailors spent more time on shore than at sea. In seafaring communities, the times that men (and sometimes also women) spent at sea were hardly perceived to be exceptional or distinct from other forms of daily life. It is the

researchers and outsiders who are more likely to isolate ocean-going from life ashore.<sup>31</sup>

As also suggested earlier, the sailor's occupation should be compared to other salaried occupations of the time. It was particularly common for domestic servants and farm hands to go from one place of work to another. According to Martin Dribe and Christel Lund, circa 60% of Swedish male and female servants changed their places of work every year. That way, their career path was full of changes and also interruptions. Although the perception of service as a life-phase occupation predominates the new occupations in the 19th century, the contract workers (*statare*) made this insecure occupation a job that they took even after marrying.<sup>32</sup> A sailor's career path could also be partly seaward, partly landward. Even a couple of years at sea could benefit him through improved skills and status required in landward occupations. Relinquishing sailing could actually extend personal working years by reducing the risk of dying at work; much higher in maritime than in landward work. Thus, leaving the sea should therefore not only be seen as drifting away from the maritime career but also in some cases as a rational decision.

Those in high-ranking occupations (captains, steam engineers, and mates) had the longest careers. The average length of a career increased by a couple of years from the 19th to 20th century. This reflects the increase in the average age of the men and changes in the skill demands and occupation structures. Obviously, the fact that men starting their careers in the 19th century are included to 20th century figures somewhat increases the average career length. It is interesting, however, that careers, especially in the lowest ranks (AB low, OS etc.), increased the most. This may be because of there being fewer opportunities to advance to the next level as the share of middle-skilled jobs declined. Moreover, there may not even have been a motivation to do so, as the wages of low-skilled men, in particular, increased.<sup>33</sup> The increase in the average length of career in the lowest-skilled group, however, can be mainly explained by the increase of firemen and trimmers in the dataset, due to the expansion of steam shipping and their lengthy careers compared to other low-skilled occupations. Thus the increase in the average length of career was at least partly related to the technological change from sail to steam that occurred in the Swedish merchant fleet around the turn of the 20th century.<sup>34</sup> Moreover, the captains' and other officers' career lengths are clearly underestimated in the data, as will be discussed in detail below.

19th-century Scandinavian sailors lived in a society in which there were only a few of such actual paid labouring occupations like that of mariners. As the importance of industrial work and middle-class occupations entailing formal education grew only towards the end of the century, the roughly comparable occupations on land were those of urban outdoor workers, apprentices, and male and female domestic servants on rural farms and in the cities. Most of the landless population, e.g. those not owning a farm or independent bourgeois business as merchants or artisans, scraped together their livelihoods from mixed casual sources and the contributions of the household members. They might have rented farm land, taken jobs in other people's service as day labourers, made ends meet by some cottage industry, and, in times of extreme devastation, resorted to begging, poor relief, and support from others. These are just some examples depicting the unspecialized, agricultural-dominated economy in Scandinavia, and also in many places in Europe. Free movement of labour was restricted and the landless people's

lives were under the control of landowning peasants, the nobility, and bourgeoisie, who were their masters and employers.<sup>35</sup>

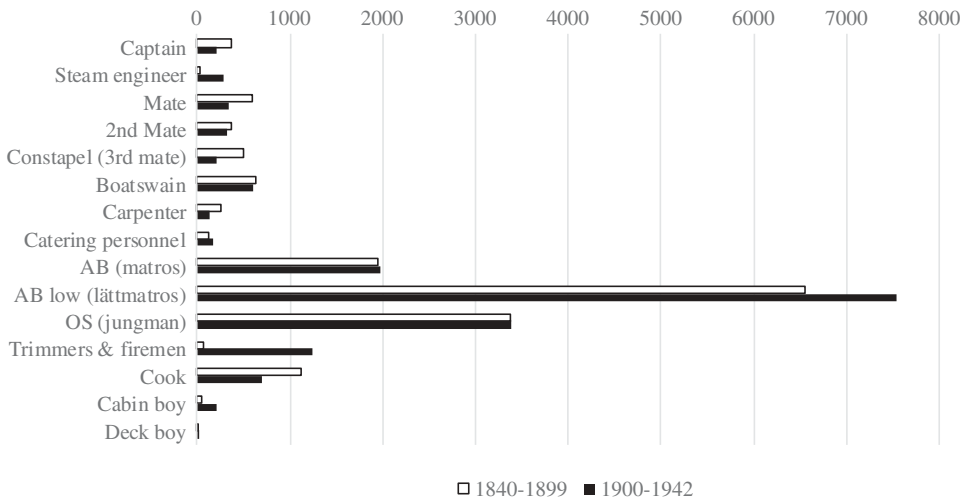
That way, seamen's careers depended on the socio-economical surroundings they lived in when taken on to go to sea. Working on board ships, nevertheless, meant opportunities for social advancement; as can be seen in our data. The question of social advancement also raised the question of the individual and his social background, but this data does not allow us to trace the social and economic backgrounds of sailors' parents. As earlier research has shown, however, sailors were likely to originate from the working class and lower-middle class (craftsmen and petty bourgeoisie), and sailors' sons were often likely to follow in their fathers' footsteps.<sup>36</sup> Earlier studies suggest that, for the Nordic landless rural population in the coastal villages, there were two main ways to climb up the social ladder: going to sea in an attempt to advance to become a mate or skipper, or getting engaged to a woman of higher social status, i.e. typically a landowning peasant's daughter.<sup>37</sup> In this respect, it is logical to expect that for some, going to sea, even as a non-skilled sailor, might accompany the expectation and pursuit of social advancement.

### *Career paths of lower-level ABs*

Here we want to scrutinize possible advancement or non-advancement within the seafaring hierarchy during the maritime career. We selected two professions to analyse the careers of sailors in more detail: namely, the lower-level able-bodied (AB low) sailors (*lätmatros*) and captains. For lower-level ABs we can trace both the preceding and succeeding careers, as this rank is typically a 'mid-career' occupation.

Around 60% of the AB lows had previously worked in lower-level occupations. As the data is to some extent unreliable, this share may actually have been somewhat higher. Nevertheless, although lower-level AB was mainly an early-middle career occupation, for a number of sailors it was also an entry-level occupation. Lower-level ABs did not have much experience of sailing or specific skills.<sup>38</sup> As Figure 1 show, about half of lower-level ABs had previous experience as ordinary sailors (*jungman*), and over 10% had worked as ship's cooks. Cook was a typical entry-level profession for young men or boys with no particular experience of either cooking or sailing. Some of the lower-level ABs started out as cabin boys. Those starting their careers in the 20th century more often also had experience of shovelling coal into bunkers as firemen and trimmers.<sup>39</sup> Around 43% of lower-level ABs in our dataset managed to advance in their careers. One-third found higher-level occupations as crew members (as ABs, boatswains, or carpenters), some of these (16%) ended up as officers, and 4% (589 men) even as ships' captains. During the 20th century, however, lower-level ABs tended to become steamships' officers more often than captains.

According to our analysis, there was thus a career path open to lower-level able-bodied seamen; before the typical mid-career position, but also after it. Nevertheless, the majority of men in this position did not continue their careers. Lower-level AB was typically only a short-term occupation for mariners; on average, men only continued in this occupation for less than two years, although those hired for this position at some stage in their careers had an average career length of almost seven years. Thus, men hired for this occupation had longer careers than the average in our dataset.



**FIGURE 1** Career paths of lower-level able-bodied seamen, 1840–1942, number of men.

Source: Seamen's house database. Years according to first year in each occupation.

Some illustrative examples might clarify typical and atypical career paths of lower-level ABs. J. F. Ejmänder of Visby (recruited 10 times between 1880 and 1897), Martin Törnblom of Västervik (recruited 10 times between 1922 and 1939), and E. A. Palm of Hudiksvall (recruited five times between 1899 and 1916) were typical cases, in the sense that they all had started their careers as ordinary sailors, worked some years as lower-level ABs, were promoted to AB, and also worked in the higher position of boatswain.<sup>40</sup> In the dataset, there are 265 of such career paths. These three men, however, were extraordinary in the sense that all of them served 18 years on board ships of the same town.

Some men, however, continued as lower-level ABs for even longer periods of time. K. Halberg of Västervik is a peculiar case in this sense. Halberg, born in 1886, appeared for the first time in our dataset in 1903 at the age of 17, when he was hired as an ordinary sailor (*jungman*) on board the schooner *Victoria*, which mainly sailed on the Baltic Sea. The following year, he worked one voyage as a fireman on board a steamer, and thereafter got his first lower-level AB position on a brig bound for Antwerp. He was hired a number of times for this position, and occasionally also as (full) AB up to 1915, when he got his first job as boatswain. In 1920 he was hired as constable (third mate), then again from 1924 to 1926 as boatswain and AB, and, in 1927, suddenly again as a lower-level AB. Something had obviously happened, as his salary also dropped, which was not typical for a man aged 42. On the other hand, his ship this time was quite a large steam liner bound for Europe. After that, he continued as AB up to 1931, when he left the steamer *Betula* after two years' sailing to Europe. Halberg was 44 years old when he disappeared from our sources; most probably he left the sea and instead sought opportunities ashore. Even though Halberg was listed at the Västervik seamen's house, he was mainly hired on ships from other towns, including a number of ships from Stockholm and Helsingborg. As a whole, Halberg's career as a lower-level AB lasted from 1904 to 1927, 24 years; although

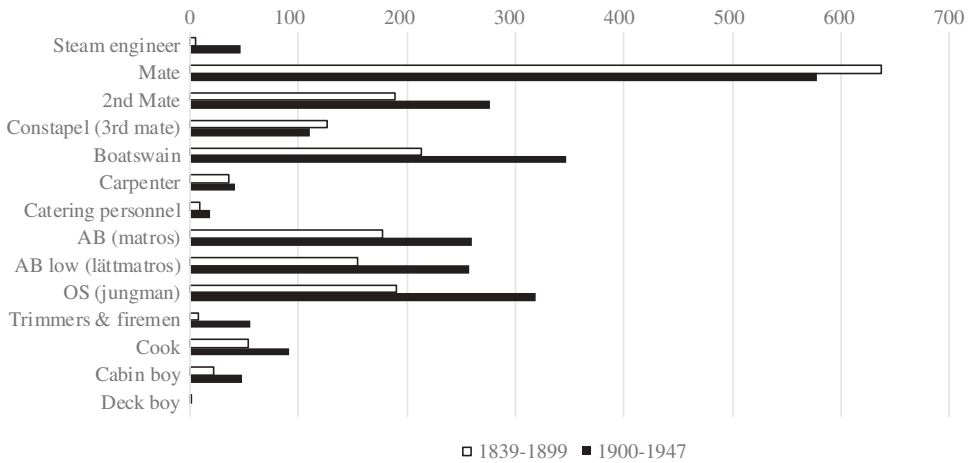
he mainly worked in other positions between these years.<sup>41</sup> After such a long career, he should have been regarded as a skilled mariner. We do not know whether it was a matter of significantly more demanding tasks on board a steamer or if men were simply hired for unskilled jobs regardless of their skills and experience. Employment contracts between maritime workers and employers were still largely made orally and in person in the early 20th century. Thus, personal views and physical limitations due to ageing may have made a difference.

### *Career paths of captains*

Another career path we traced is that of captains. The position of captain was the ultimate top end in a sailor's career; thus we can only estimate the previous experience of captains. As emerges from Table 2, about one-third of the men in our dataset worked at some stage of their careers as lower-level ABs and 10% became captains. The individual captains are slightly overrepresented in the data, as they usually had the longest careers of all the men: their whole career lasted, in our dataset, on average 12 years (of which seven years were as captains); in practice, however, their careers were longer, as our data does not reveal their previous experience on board ships from other towns. The longest career was up to 62 years, of which 49 years were as a captain. The average length of career in our dataset was 5.6 years (see Table 1). We were able to triangulate the results of captains' careers with the case of Härnösand by using a study that offers descriptions of the career paths of 151 captains. In this data, the average length of a captain's career was 38 years; thus considerably longer than in our data.<sup>42</sup> In this Härnösand data, the typical age for captains to first be recruited to serve on board ship was 18 years, and the average retirement age was 54.

As noted above, many captains were hired in our case towns from other (larger) towns, thus we do not know their previous career paths. To get a captain's certificate, however, the men had to have considerable experience of working on board ships in different occupations, in particular as an officer. Moreover, captains needed to have formal education and have passed navigational exams. In the late 18th and early 19th centuries, sea captains on Finnish and Swedish merchant ships might well be former Swedish, Danish, or Dutch naval officers.<sup>43</sup> On ships bound for foreign countries, the navigational examination had been obligatory since the early 1830s in Sweden. As the towns in our case are mainly small and remote, it was quite usual for masters to be recruited from larger towns that had navigation schools; the first one was established in Stockholm as early as in 1662. Later on, however, navigation schools were also established in the case towns: Karlskrona had the second one in Sweden in 1794; Gävle gained such a school in 1841; the following year, both Härnösand and Visby; and Västervik in 1859. During the years 1842–1941, the Härnösand navigation school alone administered exams to 4,628 officers and 1,228 steamship engineers.<sup>44</sup>

Thus our data cannot give a whole picture on the past career paths of captains; rather, the results can be interpreted only as tentative and approximate. Nevertheless, as Figure 2 shows, one-third of the captains in our data had previous experience as officers or engineers on board our case town ships. Two-thirds had, therefore, either worked previously elsewhere, or we were not able to identify them from the database. Around 40% of captains had worked previously as crewmembers on board our case town vessels; 74 of them had started their careers as young cabin boys. There were



**FIGURE 2** Previous occupations of captains, 1839–1947, number of men.

Source: Seamen's House database.

Note: Time from the beginning of the career as captain.

some changes over time in regard to the previous experience of captains. During the 20th century, captains had more often worked as engineers; obviously, as in the case towns, too, steam replaced sail around the turn of the century.<sup>45</sup> Moreover, 56 of the captains hired during the 20th century had previously worked as trimmers or firemen. Even more interesting is that, in both absolute and relative terms, captains more often than before had experience as boatswains during the 20th century, and also as second mates. Moreover, experience as crew members was more pronounced during the 20th century.

A couple of 'typical' and perhaps more extreme career paths might illustrate the working lives of captains. E. F. Öhman of Härnösand, A. G. Edlund of Västervik, and Jonas Albert Gerdin of Härnösand were fairly typical cases in the sense that they all started their careers as teenagers, served many years before the mast as ordinary sailors and in other positions, and, after taking their navigation exams, worked their way up as captains. About 10% (N = 756) of all captains in the database had similar career paths; namely, rising from the lowest ranks in their home towns to the top position. Öhman was recruited 23 times to serve on board Härnösand vessels, 14 times of which as a captain, between 1874 to 1888. After 18 years, he disappears from the Seamen's House listings; either he was recruited in some other town as a captain or retired from the sea altogether.<sup>46</sup> Edlund, in turn, was recruited 53 times to serve on board Västervik ships, 11 times of which as a captain, during the years 1893–1934. He started his career at the age of 16 as an ordinary sailor and retired at the age of 57. He served occasionally as a captain on small coastal vessels and as mate and AB on board larger ships; he even retired as mate, serving on board the steamship *Tjust*.<sup>47</sup> J. A. Gerdin started his career at the age of 15 as an ordinary sailor, and after taking mate and captain exams during the late 1880s, he worked as mate for 10 years and another 10 years as a ship's captain. In total, he served on board Härnösand vessels for 28 years. In 1909, at the age of 43, he retired from the sea and stayed at home as

harbourmaster in Härnösand and continued in this profession until to his retirement in 1934 at the age of 68.<sup>48</sup>

J. A. Bachér of Visby is also an example of a captain who advanced his career from before the mast to the position of captain. Namely, he was first recruited to serve as OS (*jungman*) at the age of 12 in 1889. After a couple of years, he disappears from the Visby seamen's house records as he continued his education at navigation school. In 1889, he was first mate on board the Visby-based steamer *Gotland*. According to the Seamen's House records, he had a first-class officer's certificate and also a steamer engineer certificate.<sup>49</sup> He took his first position as captain in 1912 and thereafter commanded steamers operating in the Baltic until 1936. In the whole of his career, he was recruited 54 times for Visby vessels, and presumably also vessels sailing from other towns. He died at the age of 58 during a Baltic passage that started in May 1935.<sup>50</sup> Another captain, J. A. Sjöblom from Härnösand, started his career as a ship's cook at the age of 15 in 1889, advanced in his career first to OS (1890), AB (1892), mate (1899), and finally to captain (1902<sup>51</sup>), first aboard sailing ships and from 1914 aboard steamships. During his last passages in our data he was working as second mate aboard steamships bound for the North Sea. He disappears from our sources in 1939 at the age of 65. Sjöblom is an interesting case also because he was hired to serve on ships sailing from Härnösand, Örnsköldsvik, and Visby. Thus, most probably many others had similar careers on board ships sailing from many towns, including from those that are not listed in our database.

Even more typical, though, are the cases in which the man appears for the first time as a captain in the database; that is in almost half of all cases (N = 2,667). Namely, these are captains who were either hired to serve from some other towns or we were not able to trace their previous experience from the database with our computerized datamining due to the lack of or contradictory information in the database. Lars Engman, for example, was hired to serve as ship's captain on board a Söderhamn steamer in 1874 at the age of 45. He obviously had the experience and also the education that was required to serve as the captain of a steamer. As he was born in Söderhamn, he had presumably worked on board this town's vessels before, but we were not able to trace him in the database. He continued his career until 1892, thus serving on board Söderhamn vessels for 19 years.<sup>52</sup>

Ships' masters had, on average, the longest careers on board vessels in the database. Captains' entire careers on board the case towns' ships lasted on average 12 years, and as captains seven years. The longest captain's career, however, was 49 years. The greatest number of recruitments, 117, was recorded for J. R. Andersson, who first appeared as AB seaman in Västervik's seamen's house in 1869. He was, at the time, 25 years of age, and obviously already had a long career behind him, as rising to the rank of AB required skill and experience. In a couple of years he had already received a boatswain's title. The reason for the large number of enrolments can be explained by the fact that he mainly worked aboard small vessels (schooners and sloops) and was recruited a number of times each year. The ships mainly plied the Baltic Sea, but he also frequently sailed to England and even to Spain. In 1874, he got his first officer's position as mate, and from 1875 he worked as a captain on board ship. The ships grew bigger along the way; at the turn of the 20th century he sailed as captain on the 210-ton schooner *Patria*, sailing regularly (usually twice a year) to England. He ended his career in 1913 as captain on board the



steamships *Odin* and *Ran*; both were used only in domestic coastal trades. At that time, he was already 69 years old.

An even longer career is that of Leo Bernhard Granlund of Härnösand. He was first hired in 1877 as an ordinary sailor (OS, *jungman*) at the age of 15, and worked in lower positions up to the age of 19. After that, he disappears from the Seamen's House records used in this study for 15 years, as he jumped ship in South Africa and worked for a while as a gold miner, but got a berth on board a vessel from Gothenburg bound for Australia. He served continuously on board ship for 10 years, until the turn of the 20th century, when he took his mate's and captain's exams and returned to serve on board Härnösand vessels. His very last voyage was as captain of the steamship *Turisten* in 1939; at that time he was 77 years old. He therefore served on board ship for over 60 years.<sup>53</sup>

## Discussion

We argue that the question of sailors' advancement in a maritime career was a socio-economic context-specific phenomenon. It was simultaneously affected by various global, societal, and local features. For example, in Scandinavia, work on board ships was related to international maritime labour markets, opportunities to enter these, and the conditions of seaman's occupation elsewhere, but also to many factors that marked the division of labour in a predominantly agrarian domestic economy. It was also tightly connected to the prevailing control over labour and the social order, based on inherited social rank. Thus we assume that what was going in the labour market on shore and in society in terms of increasing opportunities for upward social mobility also affected maritime occupations. Though the results with the data in hand seem to be relevant, there are some challenges, especially with the data that goes beyond the 1840s. Thus, further analysis of the missing data would improve the validity and reliability of the analysis.

Indeed, our results imply that most of the major changes in terms of seafaring careers took place at the turn of the 19th and 20th centuries. Overall, some of the possible explanatory factors may apply throughout the entire period studied.

Firstly, *local factors and varying characteristics of the maritime economy* probably played significant roles in whether seafaring was a mere stopgap or an actual career. Here the character of the local seafaring community should be seen as remarkable. Karel Davids divides maritime communities into endogenous and exogenous types, and mixtures of the two. In endogenous seafaring communities, the whole population takes up seafaring, be it fishing, whaling, or sailing for commercial purposes. This has been especially apparent in small seafaring communities, with a tradition for seafaring to be handed down from father to son with almost all the families involved in shipbuilding and ship owning, and having shares in the cargo. In these communities, the decision of whether or not to go to sea was beyond question. Many of our dataset seaports can be regarded as at least semi-endogenous maritime communities, as they hardly had other industries offering employment other than shipping. Thus, they were often granular local economies in which ship-owning was concentrated in a few hands. In exogenous communities, in turn, the maritime industry was about to play a major role in the community; the seafaring lifestyle was not shared by all the inhabitants, but often by numerous immigrants who moved to seaports in order to be recruited on board ship or

alternatively to find any other sources of income.<sup>54</sup> These communities also witnessed a clearer social and economic division between crew (belonging clearly to the working class) and officers (belonging to the gentry). In our dataset, we can see this emergence of the captain's occupation as a distinctive pathway to the upper social strata and to a serious maritime career, but also the process in which great numbers of seamen never rose higher than able-bodied seaman is also discernible. Had our dataset included the purest examples of exogenous maritime communities, namely the large seaports of Stockholm and Gothenburg, this dichotomy might have been even more pronounced. Per Hallén has shown that in Majorna (part of modern Gothenburg), one of the most important Swedish maritime communities of the 18th and 19th centuries, the value of a mate's household – according to probate inventories – might be around eight times larger than that of an ordinary seaman.<sup>55</sup>

On the other hand, moving to urban seaports from the rural parishes in any case meant more options for making a living compared to their place of birth, and this also includes jobs other than seafaring. Both Sweden and Finland experienced dramatic population growth during the late 19th and early 20th centuries, which led to a shortage of farming land and agricultural working options. Hence, migration or moving to urban centres could mean a better life than staying in the small coastal (or inland) villages. Those harbours in which steamship traffic and transportation became important were also likely to provide good working options for sailors, while the importance of other seaports diminished due to the gradual decline in sailing.

Secondly, the question of how career advancement could be realized in practice can be discussed. Our data shows that the demarcation regarding the opportunities for upward social mobility were, on the one hand, between lower-level ABs and ABs and, on the other hand, between the crew and those who managed to advance to become ship's officers (constables, first and second mates, captains). Although sailing was an occupation that one could learn by doing, *the emergence of formal marine education*<sup>56</sup> has to be seen as a crucial factor in terms of seafaring, as a stepping stone to social advancement when it comes to aspiring to officers' posts.

As elsewhere, navigation schools started to operate during the 18th century in Sweden and Finland and, by the end of the century, it became compulsory to have a mate's and captain's certificate to serve aboard deep-sea vessels. Vocational education for the crew started in the latter half of the 19th century.<sup>57</sup> In the early-modern era and into the 19th century, it was the captain or the ship owner who assessed the seaman's competence. Even if he met the AB standards, this did not necessarily mean that he would be hired for AB posts, as it was more profitable for the ship owner to hire men to do lower jobs so that they still could manage the requirements of the tasks.<sup>58</sup> In these circumstances, personal human capital, reputation, and ability to work were pivotal in terms of whether the path from a deck boy to sea captain was open.

The emergence of formal qualifications may have reduced the chances of social advancement among seamen from poorer circumstances because it was expensive to enter to navigation schools. The opportunity to cover the costs by taking a loan, however, improved during the century, due to many social institutions, banks, and private entrepreneurs extending loans to promising young men. Additionally, the formal qualification made the requirements for upper maritime posts clearer and more universal, instead of personal or social qualifications or opinions. In future, the question of taking advantage of education should be considered more widely.

Thirdly, the various maritime reforms in the late 1800s no doubt influenced the seamen's career paths. While the late 19th century in general was the era of liberalizing of trades, mobility of labour, and a laissez faire attitude in welfare and poor relief policy, there appeared great number of new regulative legislative and social reforms in regard to seafaring occupations. As Richard Gorski has suggested, the late 1800s left seafarers among the most patronized occupational groups. On the other hand, many charitable endeavours, such as missionary work among sailors, hospitals, sailors' homes, orphanages, and various forms of aid, arose from the rising general interest in voluntary work in society, conducted by both religious actors and private people.<sup>59</sup>

The concern over sailors that occurred in Britain took place in Scandinavia, too. The late 19th century witnessed ground-breaking interest in seafarers' spiritual and physical wellbeing. This was the era of establishing seamen's pension systems (in Sweden 1869, in Finland 1879), trade unions, and sailors' banks for foreign currency transfers, in addition to widespread seamen's missions and the production of statistics of seamen.<sup>60</sup> Moreover, new legislation, governing sailors' employment contracts and limitations on working hours and safety on board, was passed both in Finland and Sweden. As free movement of labour was realized throughout Scandinavia during the 19th century, sailors, too, could now legally enter international maritime labour markets instead of jumping ship in foreign ports. These reforms reflected, as Leon Fink has stated, the radical shift from the world of crimps, shanghaiing, and harsh physical discipline on board to a world that was market-oriented and imitated working culture on shore.<sup>61</sup> All this was about to show that seafaring occupations were regarded as one career option among others, and it was thought that the sea could offer an actual long-term career rather than being a mere stopgap.

What is more, work on steamship liners offered both better pay and the chance to work closer to home and to be at sea for shorter periods. The work itself took place in much safer, and better, living quarters on board compared to those of sailing ships.<sup>62</sup> In general, there was a notable growth in real wages and improvement in living standards during this era. Working people, and not just maritime workers, could now consider their living in terms of future prospects instead of a constant hand-to-mouth struggle. Career paths on many shore occupations now seemed possible. In these circumstances, those who had already started as sailors were likely to stay at sea longer. Young men could now choose between other occupations or tried seafaring only casually.

## Conclusion

This article showed that, for most of the men, seafaring was a mere stopgap; however, for many it was also a fully-fledged career option, including prospects for advancement over time. Almost three-quarters of seamen were recruited less than five times and 90% of them a maximum of 10 times on board ships. Some 18% of all the men in our dataset were hired more than 10 times. Thus, those having 'real' careers on board ship, those whose careers lasted over 10 years, were a rather extraordinary group. Many interesting cases, however, show that there were always men whose careers lasted from boyhood to old age. Although ship's officers tended to have the longest careers, not all the 'old salts' advanced to the forecabin but continued as crew, sometimes lower level ABs. However, it was just the lower-level AB post that was

typically only a short-term occupation for mariners; on average, men had this occupation for less than two years.

Even though many sailors left the sea before their 10th hiring, as many as 43% of lower-level ABs managed to climb up the social ladders during their careers. Thus there was a career path available to lower-level AB seamen. One-third found higher-level occupations as crew members (as ABs, boatswains, or carpenters). Of those who first sailed in the lower ranks, 16% later ended up as officers and 4% of these men even obtained captain's posts. Towards the 20th century and the steamship era, it appeared much more likely for a lower-level AB to end up a steamship's officer than a captain. The emergence of formal education may be one explanation for this, as not everyone was able to enter the schools. Even so, it is equally possible that officer's berth aboard a steamer already meant a dramatic social and economic rise and made the pursuit of a captain's post less inviting. Education, in general, should be regarded as a tool for social advancement among mariners. This suggestion is supported by the notion that, during the 20th century, captains more frequently had experience as crew members, such as trimmers, boatswains, or firemen; however, more data is needed to study captains' career paths in earlier centuries.

As the data is limited to seafaring recruitments, it does not cover other, i.e. onshore, occupations that many men very likely took as supplementary jobs to tide them over between sailing seasons, recession, or periods of war. Moreover, the data lacks information about seamen's possible other occupations before and after their time at sea. Particularly before industrialization, the small towns analysed offered fewer job opportunities elsewhere than those at sea. Despite these shortcomings, we have been able to provide tentative results of many features of seafaring from the early modern to the modern era. Seafaring was seen as a lucrative alternative to rural and urban casual work, industrial work, and even emigration overseas.<sup>63</sup> Indeed, it has been seen as a brake of mass migration to North America and one of the reasons why the climax of Scandinavian emigration took place only at the end of the 19th century, although it has to be borne in mind that seafaring itself caused both internal and overseas mobility.<sup>64</sup>

Jobs on shore could likewise be characterized as short-term, stopgaps, casual, and a mixture of many forms of earning a living; not all apprentices advanced to become master artisans. Hence a sailor's occupation was largely equivalent to onshore options during the 19th century. What happened in society and the domestic labour markets in general was also reflected in the maritime working environment.

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## Notes

- 1 For example, Alexander, 'Literacy', 1–34; Sager, *Seafaring Labour*, 3–6; Vickers, 'Beyond Jack Tar', 418–24; Vickers and Walsh, *Young Men and Sea*, 17–38; Millne, *People*, 31–62.
- 2 See, e.g., Weibust, *Deep Sea Sailors; Historisk Tidskrift för Finland*; Hinkkanen, 'Survey of Mentality'; Steel, 'Risteäviä eroja'; *Historisk Tidskrift*; Bergholm, *Työ merellä*.
- 3 Alexander, 'Literacy', 1–34; Ommer and Panting, *Working Men*; Rediker, *Between Devil*.
- 4 Fink, *Sweatshops at Sea*; Linebaugh and Rediker, 'Many Headed Hydra'; Kaukiainen, 'Five Years Before the Mast', 48; Kindleberger, *Mariners and Markets*, 81–90.
- 5 Kindleberger, *Mariners and Markets*; Sager, *Seafaring Labour*. See also Bruijn, Lucassen, and van Royen, *Those Emblems of Hell*, providing suggestions that many seafarers were actually aged and had long careers behind them.
- 6 Kaukiainen, 'Five Years Before the Mast', 58–9.
- 7 Frigren, *Kotisatamassa*, 201–12; Alexander, 'Literacy', 1–34. See also Tenold 'Globalisation and Maritime Labour', 788–90; Lybeck, *Rauman merimiesväestö*, 19–23, 251–6. On literature combining Nordic sailors' careers both at sea and on land, see Ahlström, 'Sjömän', 511–34; Kaukiainen, 'Finnish Sailors', 211–32.
- 8 Frigren, 'Kotisatamassa'; Kaukiainen, *Ulos maailmaan*, 403. See also Alexander, 'Literacy', 32; Lemisch, 'Jack Tar in Streets'; Vickers, 'Beyond Jack Tar'.
- 9 Ojala, Pehkonen, and Eloranta, 'Nuorten miesten ammatti'.
- 10 Battick, 'Study of Demographic History', 242–3; Kennerley, 'Seafarer Education', 202.
- 11 Van Lottum and van Zanden, 'Labour Productivity'; Ojala, Pehkonen, and Eloranta, 'Deskilling and Decline'.
- 12 Ojala, Frigren, and Eloranta, 'Lönade det sig'.
- 13 On early modern working life see, e.g., Jacobsson and Ågren, *Levebröd*; Heikkinen, 'Labour and Market'; Soininen, 'Maataloustyöväen palkat', 94–7; Hoffman, 'Työvoimatarpeen kausivaihteluista', 115–34.
- 14 The database is available at: <https://sok.riksarkivet.se/sjomanshus>. The included towns are: Kokkola (from Finland), and Örnsköldsvik, Härnösand, Hudiksvall, Söderhamn, Gävle, Västervik, Visby, Oskarshamn, and Karlskrona. This article is a part of a larger project that has previously analysed seamen's desertions (Ojala and Pehkonen, 'Not Only for Money'; Ojala, Pehkonen, and Eloranta, 'Desertions'), technology changes (Hynninen, Ojala, and Pehkonen, 'Technological Change'), seamen's wages (Ojala, Frigren, and Eloranta, 'Lönade det sig'), seamen's skill (Ojala, Pehkonen, and Eloranta, 'Deskilling and Decline'), and seamen's age structure (Ojala, Pehkonen, and Eloranta, 'Nuorten miesten ammatti').
- 15 See, in particular, Norden, *Skepp, Skeppare och Skeppsredare*, 24; Lybeck, 'Rauman merimiesväestö', 21–4; Frigren, 'Kotisatamassa', 56–7; Hoffman, *Merimieskirstusta eläkelaitokseen*, 49–50.
- 16 On the data and source critical concerns and whole data coverage, see, in particular, Ojala, Frigren, and Eloranta, 'Lönade det sig'; Ojala, Pehkonen, and Eloranta, 'Deskilling and Decline'.
- 17 The linkages were mainly done using MS Excel database.

- 18 Fischer, 'Dereliction of Duty'; Kaukiainen, 'Kun suomalaiset olivat filippiinoja', 104–19.
- 19 On internal migration in 19th and early 20th century Sweden and Finland see, e.g., Lento, *Maassamuutto*; Dribe, 'Migration of Rural Families'; Uotila, 'Kulkutyöväki'.
- 20 The data includes, however, some occasional sailors from these towns, as well as those were serving on board ships from the case towns. Namely, in 15,339 cases of men recruited to serve on board vessel shipping out of Gothenburg or Stockholm, representing c. 5.7% of all enrolments.
- 21 Discussed in detail in Ojala, Pehkonen, and Eloranta, 'Deskilling and Decline', 87–9.
- 22 On ship owning in the time period see, for example, Nikula, *Malmska handelshuset*. On granularity, see Gabaix, 'Granular Origins', 733–72.
- 23 See also Frigren, 'Kotisatamassa'.
- 24 Kaukiainen, *Suomen talonpoikaispurjehdus*.
- 25 We used old maritime dictionaries for the translations. Especially Stjerncreutz, *Suomalainen meri-sanakirja*.
- 26 Björklund and Papp, *Sjöfartsyrken*, 37
- 27 Jonsson, *Arbetsmarknadsutskifter*, 9.
- 28 IMO, *Circular letter*, annex 2, 3; Hult, 'Inför Sjöfarnas År', 1.
- 29 On desertions, see Fischer, 'Dereliction of Duty', 51–70; Kindleberger, *Mariners and Markets*, 20–4.
- 30 See also Ojala, Pehkonen, and Eloranta, 'Nuorten miesten ammatti'.
- 31 Vickers and Walsh, *Young Men and Sea*, 1–6.
- 32 Dribe and Lund, 'People on the Move', 53–91.
- 33 More detail in Ojala, Pehkonen, and Eloranta, 'Deskilling and Decline'.
- 34 Fritz, 'Shipping in Sweden', 147–60.
- 35 On early paid labor and mixed means of earning a livelihood see, e.g., Sager, *Seafaring Labour*; Hynninen, *Ulkotyöväen*; Heikkinen, 'Labour and the Market'; Lundh and Olsson, 'Contract-Workers', 298–323; Frigren, 'Kotisatamassa'; Voutilainen, *Poverty*.
- 36 Kirby and Hinkkanen, *Baltic and North Seas*, 193.
- 37 Hoffman, *Merimieskirstusta eläkelaitokseen*, 38; Lybeck, 'Rauman merimiesväestö'.
- 38 Kennerley, 'Writing History', 1–22.
- 39 Kennerley, 'Stoking Boilers', 191–220.
- 40 Visby Seamen House March 1, 1880 – April 5, 1897; Västervik Seamen House, May 30, 1922 – February 2, 1939; Hudiksvall Seamen House, January 1, 1899 – December 8, 1916, hiring documents.
- 41 About his last voyage: Västervik Seamen House, May 13, 1930, hiring documents.
- 42 Norden, *Skepp, Skeppare och Skeppsredare*, 62–155.
- 43 Kaukiainen, 'Five Years Before the Mast', 55–9.
- 44 Norden, *Skepp, Skeppare och Skeppsredare*, 39–40; Vinge, *Elever i skolor*, 181–7.
- 45 On engineers in merchant shipping, see Milburn, 'Emergence of the Engineer', 559–75.
- 46 Härnösand Seamen House June 23, 1874 and July 7, 1888, hiring documents.
- 47 Västervik Seamen House May 12, 1893 and December 27, 1934, hiring documents.
- 48 Härnösand Seamen House October 16, 1882 and May 11, 1909, hiring documents. Gerdin's career is also described in Norden, *Skepp, Skeppare och Skeppsredare*, 81.
- 49 Visby Seamen House April 5, 1907, hiring documents.

- 50 Visby Seamen House May 28, 1935, hiring documents.
- 51 He got his captain's exam in 1902. Örnköldvik Seamen House 9 September 1939, hiring documents.
- 52 Söderman Seamen House March 9, 1874 and April 15, 1892, hiring documents.
- 53 Härnösand Seamen House, August 16, 1877, September 12, 1881 and May 17, 1939. Norden, *Skepp, Skeppare och Skeppsredare*, 82–3.
- 54 Davids, 'Local and Global'; Hundstad, 'Maritime Monocultures'.
- 55 Hallén, 'Majorna – A Seafaring Society', 21–3.
- 56 See, in particular, Kennerley, 'Writing History'.
- 57 Of other Nordic countries, Norway introduced navigation schooling in the 1840s. In Britain, 16 navigation schools started to operate in 1862. Vinge, *Elever i skolor*, 181–7; Hoffman, *Merimieskirstusta eläkelaitokseen*, 41; Kindleberger, *Mariners and Markets*, 68–9; Kennerley, 'Writing History', 4–5.
- 58 Kaukiainen, 'Five Years Before the Mast', 47–62.
- 59 Gorski, 'Protecting British Seafarers', 75; Kindleberger, *Mariners and Markets*, 67–8, 170–1.
- 60 Kansanaho, *Kirkko ja merenkulkijat*; Kverndahl, *Seamen's Missions*.
- 61 Fink, *Sweatshops at Sea*.
- 62 E.g. Kindleberger, *Mariners and Markets*, 89.
- 63 On this emigration, see, for example, Kero, 'Sjömän från Finland som emigranter'; Engman, 'Sjömän från Finland i Ryssland'.
- 64 Van Lottum, 'Some Thoughts about Migration'.

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