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Early Working-class Literature and the Literary (c. 1910).
The Case of Maria Sandel

Working-class literature, not unnaturally, is primarily investigated from political, ideological, and sociological points of view, while literary and aesthetic perspectives have been played down. Admirable efforts have been made, indeed, but they have been oriented towards modern and modernistic concepts of the literary, that have not always been compatible with the peculiarities of working-class literature – autodidactic and developed beside canonized literary tradition as it often is. Therefore this literature often has been conceived as “artistically immature” or “aesthetically defective”.

This paper deals with the peculiarities of the early Swedish working-class literature 1910–20, especially the narrative prose. The issue is how these peculiarities should be interpreted and what literary and cultural traditions are involved. This early working-class prose is interesting because it is contemporary with the most explosive phase of the modernization process, the peak of urbanization, industrialization, proletarization, secularization, democratization, massmedialization, and so on. At the continent the various modernist movements are forming, but dominating in Sweden is the epoch of bourgeois realism, folk-high schools, and most of all the popular movements. What kind of proletarian literature could grow from such conditions?

I want to try the possibility of a new sensuous and pragmatically oriented concept of literature that is anchored in the unique ability of literature to depict and bring to life realities, ideas, ideologies, and at the same time inscribe a strong political-existential address. The depiction portrays the alleged well-known in a recognizable way, but – I imagine – also defamiliarizes what is depicted by displaying it in words. Depiction to that extent is also connected to a rhetorical function, a dimension of address – oriented to internalizing ideas, conjure up change of aspect, and found pragmatic attitudes, rather than to Kantian principles about disinterested pleasure and literary autonomy.

In order to give concretion to my reflections I will concentrate on one single short story, written by one of the few early female proletarian writers, namely Maria Sandel (1870–1927). She made her debut in 1908 with a short story collection, *Vid Svältgränsen* (At the limit of Starvation), and then a number of novels followed.¹ The short story I will deal with here is “Draksådd” (A Sowing of Dragon's Teeth), and it was published in the collection *Hexdansen* (The
Both titles are symbolic, of course, referring to Western narratives on evil in myth and folklore. “Draksådd” originally alludes to Greek myths on the disastrous consequences of sowing dragon’s teeth, namely the growth of an army of soldiers killing the sower and each other as soon as they rise to the surface. In everyday language the symbolic expression has shrunk into a simple formula meaning an evil action of fateful consequences.

In Sandel’s narrative part of both the symbolic and the literal meaning is left, since teeth of an evil origin is a main motif, causing the ruin of the protagonist. Sandel’s special interest as a proletarian writer is the combination of the material and moral conditions of the working classes. Bad material conditions generates bad morals, and thus all kinds of criminality are the centre of her attraction. This interest she shares with several of her contemporary proletarian colleagues, like Martin Koch (1882–1940) and Gustaf Hedenvind Eriksson (1880–1967), but Sandel is more daring: she depicts not only alcoholism, theft, and murder, but also such tabooed subjects as wife-beating, abortion, child murder, prostitution, paedophilia, and lesbianism. Further, she also chooses bizarre and grotesque subjects, and the story “Draksådd” is one example. And finally, she constructs her narrative by weaving together several disparate generic traditions: from devotional literature to popular Romance and crime fiction. Yet however critical, her narrative always keeps to the proletarian class perspective.

”Draksådd”: A story of teeth

The story is about a young working-class girl living with her happily widowed mother – her father was an unfaithful wife-batterer, as the opening of the narrative tells you:

Per Hagelin, som hittades i ett dike med knivstyng i bröst och Nacke, lämnade änka och tre barn efter sig i djupaste armod. Hans död var en befrielse för hustrun. De första dagarna av sin ensamhet mindes hon visserligen med en uppflammande ömhet det korta och tidiga skedet i deras samliv, innan hugg och slag och hans otrohet jagat kärleken ur hennes milda hjärta. [...] Men lyckan att vara fri skräcken för hans våldsamhet gjorde snart hennes lynne ljust, och hon såg förhoppningsfullt mot framtiden. Jag har mina barn, tänkte hon, de skola löna mig en gång, om jag gör mitt bästa för dem. (191)

The mother looks forward to living with her hopefully grateful and loving children, but she loses them all: one by adoption, another by syphilis, and the third by egotism. This third one is Olga, the girl that turns out to be the protagonist of the plot. Olga is a habile factory-worker with a relatively high salary, but at home she pays nothing. All her money is spent on clothes and amusement, while her mother is forced to ask for poor relief from the public service in or-
der to pay their food and the rent. Olga also demands a lot of attendance and service of her increasingly aged and worn out mother. Even the narrator is upset about Olga’s behavior: “Hon utvecklade ett kallt beräknande kynne med en elak fantasi, mot vilken modern var värnlös.” (193)

In spite of Olga’s exclusive clothes and habits no man takes interest in her. This is a painful fact since Olga is looking for an upper class man able to lift her above the proletarian conditions. Men’s lack of interest is also hard to understand for her, until one day one of these uninterested men informs her: her teeth. They are “anfrätta, sneda, och i övre tandraden fanns redan en glugg” (195), and the decline proceeds alarmingly fast. Bad teeth were a universal problem by then, since the blessings of a toothbrush were almost unknown, and even the upper classes lost their teeth early. But the loss of teeth in particular hit the working classes, because they could not afford false teeth, and living toothless was a great mental and physical stigma. Olga senses this toothless predicament approaching, at the same time as her need of a man gets more desperate. Therefore she tries to persuade her mother to undertake the scrubbing of stairs at a dentist’s house in order to provide the money for a set of false teeth for her daughter. The mother refuses: ”Jag orkar verkligen inte, snälla Olga, skona mig!” (197) But Olga commands her – ”Jag har avgjort saken. Mamma börjar hos tandläkarn om tisdag.” (197) – and the bullied mother obeys. Olga’s merciless attitude does not change even when her mother gets seriously ill and the doctor orders hospital care. Olga places her need of beautiful teeth above her mother’s health and life by denying her mother’s illness: ”Mamma är lat och pjollrig, det är hela saken.” (199) But the same day as Olga gets her false teeth her mother dies, while incessantly murmuring ”Teeth, teeth”…

The death of her mother makes life a little harder for Olga, since now she had to be her own maid, herself doing all the services that previously her mother had done. Also, she had to pay the rent herself as well as her own food, which was difficult for her, since she was not used to plan her economy. Soon enough she had to move out from their apartment and try to find some place for lodging with strangers. Neither were her new teeth a success: no man showed a serious interest in her, not even when she pays her own tickets or plays card with them.

At last Olga is discovered by Bryngel Nord, a somewhat shy but an ambitious and dutiful worker, who spends his evenings studying at the Technical Evening-school in order to become a draughtsman. He is attracted to Olga’s “säkerhet i uppträdandet” och “fladdrande och sorglösa väsen”, even though
his intuition tells him about “brister i hennes själv: andlig lättja, skamlös lust att nedsätta andra och flärdfullhet” (203f.). Yet he suspects nothing about her “obevekliga själviskhet” (204). Olga herself is not very impressed by the unsophisticated Bryngel to begin with, but getting to know his ambitions and how well he succeeds in them, she is flattered and sees a possibility to “blå kvitt arbetarblusen” and climb the class ladder.

The romance develops, and Olga is sure of the marriage to come, but it all comes to a sudden end when her false teeth play a trick on her: the seed of the dragon grows up. The lovers are planning a picnic and Olga prepares herself by washing her teeth. When all of a sudden Bryngel enters her room some minutes ahead, the startled Olga drops her teeth in the sink, and they break in two. When Bryngel tries to kiss her and feels her mouth empty he becomes surprised, since he had thought her teeth were her own. But then he kisses her again and assures her of his love: it is not dependent on teeth. Yet he wants to know how she had been able to afford such an expensive thing, and when she quite ingenuously tells him the truth about her mother’s forced contribution, he is horrified: both as regards the facts and her tone of description, “ett hårt lättsinne parat med elakhet tog sig däri uttryck” (210). So he cries “Eländiga modernmörderska!”, lifting his hand against her. But no slapping happens; on the contrary he is relieved to have discovered Olga’s real nature in time, and he does not want to touch such a monster:

Ty tillfredsställelsen över att han i tid kommit underfund med hennes verkliga karaktär, och därmed satts i tillfälle att rädda sig från en förbindelse, som otvivelaktigt skulle lett till olycka och förnedring, samt vissheten om att han kunde göra sig fri, att hans ädlare instinkter ej tvingades av blodets krav till neslig underkastelse — detta dämpade hans våldsamma harm på samma gång det underblåste föraktet för flickans lumpna själviskhet, så att han fann henne vidrig och ovärdig en hederlig människas beröring. (212)

And so he leaves her to harvest what she has sowed: the fateful consequences of a dragon’s seed.

— Now, what kind of narrative is this? What (if any) kind of the literary characterizes the narrative? This text, I will argue, does not seem to be compatible with any of the current concepts of literariness. But are there other alternatives? Is it possible to construct a concept of the literary that catches the literary functions of this text? My tentative answer is yes, and in the following I will develop a proposal of how it can be done.

**The question of literature**

In our postmodern culture the question of the specificity of literature is getting obsolete. Many literary scholars do not believe in literariness any more, although they still believe in literature, at least as their professional subject. But
then the question of the substance of literature may be asked. And even if you don’t believe in literariness, the question of the point of literature may well be asked: Why do we write and read these texts called literature?

Others do not even believe in literature as a specific art form, and this is mirrored at the Academy, in the replacement of the literary discipline by broad Media, Culture and Communication studies. In contemporary culture we do not have separate art forms, but an expanded field of art where all the old forms of art meet and blend. This is a great difference to High-Modernism, aiming at isolating and perfecting each art form in and by itself. It is also a great difference to Modernity, and the Kantian aesthetics of disinterestedness and autonomy. And, of course, it is a great difference to pre-modern Classicism, demanding the purity of not only each art form, but also of the subjects, strategies and devices within each art form, forbidding the mixture of high and low. This rule-governed Classicism, however, was one variant of the overarching pragmatic orientation of pre-modern writing. And here is a connection to the proletarian literature of the early 1900s. Because of the pragmatic orientation, the very concept of literature as referring to belles-lettres was unknown to pre-modern writing – as was, of course, the concept of autonomous belles-lettres itself. The pragmatic orientation was an effect of the classic rhetorical system that guided all writing and not least the kind of writing that was called poetry. But Poetry was then not seen as the lofty creations of modernity; it was seen as made, manufactured, and constructed, a handicraft based on inherited knowledge and professional experience. The task of poetry, like all pre-modern writing, was to teach, to move, and to please, that is to affect the reader’s attitudes. The task of the reader, in his turn, was to apply the poem to his own experience: poetry was for concrete use, not for abstract speculation. This aim of pragmatic use and personal application is an important aspect of proletarian literature.

Poetry in pre-modern times did not refer to fiction, however, but to “metrical composition or verse”. Fiction was a more problematic kind of writing: although praised by Aristotle for being more general and therefore more philosophic than history, fiction in the form of prose stories was considered both lowbrow and mendacious. The Realist breakthrough about 1850 changed these outlooks, but what is now considered as pre-modernist aesthetic experimentation with Realism and Naturalism in Flaubert and Huysman, for example, caused new scandals. In fact, the literary status of prose fiction was not secured until the breakthrough of High Modernism and formalist aesthetics even in prose fiction, which meant that mimetic Realism was abandoned.
As for formalist-modernist criteria of literariness there are many proposals, but they converge in substance,\(^\text{13}\) as for example Erik Bjerck Haugens list: estrangement and desautomatization; meta-poetic self-reflection; the autonomy of art; ambiguity and irony; strong distinction between high and low art forms; emphasizing the critical role of art, expressed through negation and dissolution of meaning; the negativity of art reflects the loss of meaning in modern society.\(^\text{14}\) This list draws a lot on Adorno, but the modernist commonplaces are legio, as can be recognized in Jørgen Dines Johansen’s shorter list: fictionality, poeticity, calling in question, poetic freedom, and reflection.\(^\text{15}\) These criteria are seen as incompatible with realist aesthetics.

Yet Realism is a manifold strategy, comprising not only the reliable depiction of the ideal everyday life of the young rising bourgeoisie, but a much broader field of social and existential life-worlds and experiences. As is pointed out in previous research, Realism is as much creation as representation, as much simulation as reflection.\(^\text{16}\) For the realistically represented world is a brand new verbal creation, and as a realistic representation this verbal creation especially addresses the senses and the sensuous aspects of the world.\(^\text{17}\) This way, realism creates a common world, open to everybody’s senses, accessible for each and everyone. And because of this sensual legibility the realistic representation is also especially suited to defamiliarizing devices: to make us see new things or already known things in new ways.

### Sandel and her times

Maria Sandel was no modernist or aesthetic experimentalist, and formalist criteria as a rule are not applicable on her narrative. Yet she has her own tricks, and defamiliarization is one of them, as we soon will see. She writes in a realist tradition, like all her author colleagues, both proletarian and bourgeois. At the time of her debut what was seen as a new kind of materialist realism had developed among the young bourgeois authors. They dealt with professional life, often business, office milieu, money, bankruptcy, and human greed (Elin Wägner, Sigfrid Siewertz), but also with capitalist utopias (Ludvig Nordström). Some of them also experimented with narrative point of view (Hj. Bergman) and built up a symbolic, expressionist mood (Pär Lagerkvist, Annalenah Elgström). The proletarian prose is part of this social literary trend, and yet there are great individual differences. As for Sandel I have already mentioned her special repertory of bizarre motifs, and her techniques of treating them. The narrative of these motifs is construed from several different generic traditions: religious literature – like the Bible and devotional literature; moral exempla;
traditional folklore; contemporary popular literature, like Romance, and crime
fiction; and gradually sometimes also transtextual relations to canonized works
that the labor movement had adopted. This kind of generic mixture is quite
common in the early proletarian literature, and of course it is built on the spe-
cial literary heritage of these writers. However, they succeed in making a virtue
out of this necessity, and the result is a literature of its own.

For a start I will propose that Sandel’s early proletarian narratives combine
certain aspects of pre-modern modes of writing with some aspects of modern
aesthetics and formalist principles. Proposing this implies nothing about the
author’s intentions; focus is on the structure of the text, the rhetoric, and the
context. The pre-modern aspects are related to the pragmatic orientation: the
personal address, the invitation to individual application, and the educational
utility character of the text. The aspects of modern aesthetics is visible in the
combination of representative and sensual realism. The formalist principle of
interest here, finally, is defamiliarization or even estrangement, with a view to
desautomatization of reading. I will illustrate these points in discussing San-
del’s "Draksådd", and there we will see that also the crossing of generic trad-
tions and the re-uses of the teeth-topos play an important part.

**The strategies in "Draksådd"**

The narrative is based on the traditions of devout story and moral example, but
the example presented is not worthy of imitation; it is clearly deterrent. This is
not only because we are taught that the protagonist Olga is morally inferior, but
also because the main motif – teeth – is charged with ambivalent emotions and
latent fear. Teeth are a potent motif in a global cultural tradition, and within
this tradition they are also a strong motive, that is, a driving force for action.
They are associated with potency and beauty, sexual vigor and wisdom, but
also with pain — physical in the form of toothache, mentally in the form of
loss. "Because of their symbolic potency it is imperative to guard against the
loss of teeth," thematolog Theodore Ziolkowski maintains, and consequently,
breaking an enemy’s teeth is a dreadful revenge.18 Beautiful teeth is a most
valuable gift for men and women alike; yet the literary motif is rare, partly be-
dcause of a far-reaching tradition of gravity that was incompatible with showing
your teeth in a smile, and partly because of the almost tabooed status in trad-
tition. On the other hand when the motif is used – as in Aucassin et Nicolette – it
is singled out because of its rarity: "lovely teeth amount to a literary topos in-
asmuch as they belong to a conventional vision of the ideal that seldom finds a
counterpart in reality."19 In Poe’s story “Berenice” the hero becomes as spell-
bound by the heroines beautiful teeth, and when she dies he finally digs her up from her grave and robs her of them.\textsuperscript{20} In the end of the 1900s, however, this overloaded motif seemed to be exhausted, and it was inverted and parodied.\textsuperscript{21}

But in Sandel there is no parody. Or is there? The fact that Olga’s low morals are connected to the winning and losing of teeth, it seems to me, does add a special sinister atmosphere to the devout story and Olga’s own example. Yet there is also a strain of something comic-grotesque, for instance, in the trivializing fact that Olga loses her false teeth by cracking them in the sink. This way the moral story certainly keeps its deterrent moral – Olga’s forcing her mother to work herself to death is evil – but the narrative becomes ambivalent. Therefore also a defamiliarizing trait adds to the text based on the moral-didactic genretraditions that Sandel re-uses. So much evil in combination with so offensive a motif, treated so ambivalently – that certainly transcends the conventions of these genres and desautomatizes the reading of the text as participating in these genres.

And what is the point of that ambivalence? I propose, that Sandel’s proletarian perspective prevents her narrative from being onesidely condemning. All Olga’s ”evil” acts and attitudes derive from the proletarian class predicament: both the poor conditions and her various attempts to hide, escape, and rise above them – with all the means at her disposal. More often Sandels stories deal with the labour movement and the moral of class solidarity as such a possibility. But in Olga’s world there is no labour movement, and no ground for class solidarity. Yet Sandel herself, in her literary project, seems to keep to her own class solidarity even when she creates morally and politically inferior characters, that know nothing about class solidarity. Therefore her narratives, I propose, are just as ambivalent as they are moralistic and political. And this is a desautomatizing device. Thus, Sandels text of 1919 seems to connect to Viktor Sklovsky’s groundbreaking formalist essay of 1916 – but most certainly she knew nothing about that text.\textsuperscript{22} What she knew was the desautomatizing device, and for that she did not need to read Sklovsky.

This alleged modernist and formalist device cooperates beautifully with pre-modern pragmatic strategies. In fact, Sandels re-use of devout genres and moral exemples presupposes a pragmatic orientation towards the education of the reader. As could be seen in the text, the narrator herself is actively participating in the narrated events by explicitly commenting upon the heroine’s moral status. On the other hand, this narrator is not to identify with the implied author, since the implied author, as we have seen, is much more ambivalent, leaving the final judgement to the reader. Yet through the narrator’s successive evalua-
tions the reader indeed is addressed and urged to answer from the very beginning. Thus, the pragmatic explicitness and the modernist implicitness here seem to cooperate – but, as I proposed before, this implicitness may be an ambivalence resulting from proletarian solidarity rather than a modernist strategy that was no part of Sandel’s cultural repertoire.

Modernism was far away from Sweden in Sandel’s days. But Modernity was at its height, as already said above, with urbanization, industrialization, proletarization, secularization, democratization, massmedialization, and other central processes. As for massmedialization, Sandel was well familiar with current popular literature, and re-used patterns of both Romance and Crime fiction, often in combination. In ”Draksådd” the influence of Romance is evident: the romantic plot gives adequate expression to the moral problematic and the moralistic temper of the narrative. Yet the principles of this plot could be developed in any weekly magazine or cheap book edition of the day. But Sandel transfers and converts the genre conventions of the romance to a different sphere. The result is, again, a defamiliarization: in this transformation the pre-modern and the modern morals interpenetrate so as to question both.

Most important in these interpenetrating processes is the role of Sandel’s sensuous and perspicuous realism. She does not expand in details like Flaubert or Proust, but she conveys one or two central concrete observations of a phenomenon or a scene. In spite of the moral orientation these observations are of sensuous nature: they make the depicted world visible and hearable so as to render it potentially common, mutual, accessible, and shareable with everybody. This is how the mother’s conditions are described:

Själv var hon endast skinn och ben, men tösernas hull var blankt och fast, de voro alltid nätt klädda, medan hon hade just nog att skyla sin nakenhet, ledigheten från skolan upptogs av lek och förströelser, som kostade pengar, medan modern såg svart för ögonen av överansträngning. (192)

Here the shining of ”tösernas hull” also renders the unmentioned dry wrinkles of the mother visible, and below the description of unmade beds and overflowing garbage make you feel the unmentioned bad smells:

Hon arbetade på fabrik om dagarna och åtog sig gärna skurning in på nätterna. När hon kom hem från dagsarbetet, stodo sångarna obäddade, slask överflödade och diskarna voro otvätta. Ville hon ej veta döttrarna i lumpor under, fick hon själv laga och stoppa åt dem. (192)

Yet, as a verbal creation, this world is presented at a distance, as an object of study and discovery: this well-known world is to be known anew, not only as an individual world, but as a class world to hate and struggle against in common.
Familjen Vinge, novel (1910 serial in Social-Demokraten; 1913 published by Bonniers’ in a somewhat revised form; Virveln, novel (1913); Hexdansen, short stories (title story, however, lengthy as a novel) (1919); Droppar i folkhavet, novel (1924); Mannen som reste sig, novel (postumous, 1927)


The mythic stories of Jason and Kaedmon testifies to this.


In 1913–17 an investigation was set up by the government in order to improve dental service in the countryside, but the national dental health service, giving all children below 19 years free dental service, was not established until 1938.

See Rosalind Krauss, ”Sculpture in the expanded field”, October Vol. 8 (1979) 30–44.

See e.g. Clement Greenberg, ”Towards a New Laocoon,” Partisan Review, July-August 1940.

See Erik Bjertek Hagen’s criteria below.

Peter Widdowson, Literature, The Critical Idiom (London & New York: Routledge, 1999) kap. 2. Äv. Bo Bennich Björkman, Termen litteratur i svenskan, Avd. för litteraturteologi vid Litteraturhistoriska institutionen (Uppsala, 1970) shows that as late as in 1850 the concept literature mainly referred to printed scholarly literature as a contrast to oral or source litterature.

Widdowson 100, 103.

Widdowson, 33f.

Widdowson, 101.


Jørgen Dines Johansen, ”Om definition af litteratur”, Edda 2004:2, 90. David Lodge, The Modes of Modern Writing. Metaphor, Metonymy, and the Typology of Modern Literature (1977; London, New York, Sydney, Auckland, 1997) has a special list on modernist fiction: • experimental or innovatory in form, displaying marked deviations from preexisting modes of discourse, literary and non-literary; • concerned with consciousness, and also with the subconscious and unconscious workings of the human mind. • the structure of external ‘objective’ events essential to traditional narrative art is diminished in scope and scale, or presented very selectively and obliquely, or is almost completely dissolved; • introspection, analysis, reflection and reverie; • no real ‘beginning’, plunges us into a flowing stream of experience with which we gradually familiarize ourselves by a process of inference and association; • ending usually ‘open’ or ambiguous, leaving the reader in doubt as to the final destiny of the characters; • alternative methods of aesthetic ordering, such as allusion to or imitation of literary models or mythical archetypes, and the repetition-with-variation of motifs, images, symbols—a technique variously described as ‘rhythm’, ‘Leitmotiv and ‘spatial form’; • eschews the straight chronological ordering of its material, • and the use of a reliable, omniscient and intrusive narrator; • single, limited point of view, or a method of multiple points of view, all more or less limited and fallible; • tends towards a fluid or • complex handling of time, involving much cross-reference backwards and forwards across the chronological span of the action. (45f.)

17 Danius, 166.
19 Ibid., 13f.
20 Ziolkowski, 14.
21 Ziolkowski, 33.