Great Power, Death, Childhood, and Culture
The relationship between the state-building, children and cultural change in Sweden in the latter half of the seventeenth century

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Sweden's Age of Greatness: the term evokes the growth of military power and noble pomp; a powerful state apparatus, and new provinces (Skåne) subdued. It is easy to conjure up visions of cultural extravagance, Baroque festivities, costly and magnificent buildings whether mortuary chapels or stately homes and a plundered people. We also think of a well-organized bureaucracy, a societal uniformity which affected all spheres of life, from catechetical examinations to the soldier's blue coat - a people who said nothing, suffered, and obeyed the commands of their superiors. Just consider the copperplates illustrating the funeral of Karl X Gustav - extravagance and discipline. It is also natural to think of the two different cultures, one belonging to the people, one to their masters. For the ruling classes, everyday life was a matter of big concerns: war, peace, food supplies for the army; the small people in society were at a suitable distance, out of sight, out of smell, of no relevance whatever for the policies that were shaped by the men at the top. Sometimes the age of Gustav II Adolf and Kristina may appear more grand and glorious than the subsequent Caroline era, the time of Karl XI and Karl XII. The Caroline era tends to evoke a harsh Spartan reality, and with a regime that was more interested in the everyday conditions of the people. Perhaps we derive these associations from the old primary school readers with their picture of "Grey Cloak" (Karl XI) always in the close proximity of ordinary men and always ready to do right what his officials had done wrong.

Are notions like these completely misguided? It is the historian's task to subject seemingly self-evident things to critical scrutiny. The task also involves trying to interpret connections which are not immediately apparent from historical documents. This essay is about the relationship between the social classes and about the relation between popular culture and elite culture. A number of questions can be asked about problems like these. How close were the social classes the human beings to each other? What values and culture did they share with people from other classes? How significant were the everyday circumstances of ordinary people for the major policies?

The Church Act of 1686 was a cornerstone of Caroline government. It gives us a suitable point of departure. The absolute monarch created an instrument by which he could incorporate the church under the central power of the state. Tendencies to independence shown by the church leaders were quashed, and the juridical competence of the church was subordinated to the state. Not a word was said about parish self-government. This was a slap on the wrist for the clergy. The king asserted his power over the church and created a state church. Was this just a matter of politics on a high level, about a power struggle between noble officials, the crown, and the church? The Church Act is an appropriate basis for a discussion of the relation between the social classes, and how this changed in the Age of Greatness. It also reflects a changed attitude to children in society and to death for that matter. On the surface, however, the parts of the Church Act to which I am referring were about completely different matters.
"At funerals at which henceforth only a few of the immediate family, and no others, shall be used and summoned. When the body is buried, it shall be done quietly, without all procession and expense, and no more people may accompany it than those who are so entitled, and those others who necessarily have something to do with it."²

The 1686 Church Act, in other words, prohibited all funeral processions and limited the number of mourners. The contrast with earlier ceremonies is striking. The procession was part of an extensive ceremony which attended funerals according to older church custom. Funerals had been regulated in the 1571 Church Ordinance, according to which, "When the corpse is then carried out, it is permissible to ring bells, sing, and do other things which are not unchristian, according to custom."³

Funeral processions in the seventeenth century were a controversial issue. Their legitimacy was repeatedly questioned. As often when conflict arises about a cultural phenomenon, it is easier to understand the process of change; what was previously taken for granted becomes visible. It is true, of course, that by this stage the custom or the behavior has already changed, but it should still be possible to draw some conclusions. Let us therefore begin with the voices which were heard to criticize the processions.

The first critical views originated from conditions in the school system. In the government's instructions to the trivium school inspectors in 1652, three years after the new School Ordinance of Queen Kristina, we detect a negative attitude to funeral processions. The inspectors' duty was to "pay attention" to anything which prevented teaching from functioning properly, "whether this be funeral processions, rounds of singing descants, or anything else."⁴ In the 1650s the consistory and the parliament discussed the possibility of creating a school for children from prosperous families. Instruction would be financed through school fees. The time the pupils devoted to funeral processions and "service in the street" could be wholly eliminated in a school like this.⁵

A study of school registers and lists of school children in the consistory archives for the period 1684-1710 shows that the Stockholm schools mainly recruited children from the poorest occupational groups in the town. A closer analysis also shows that the majority of the children were fatherless, and that the mothers apparently sent the children to school as a way of supporting them. Poor children flocked to the schools. Payment for the schoolboys' singing in funeral processions and in church choirs was the primary incentive for sending them to school.⁶ We shall have reason to return to this later.

The records of the consistory in Stockholm for the years 1650-1686 show clear evidence that funeral processions and the services performed "in the streets" by the children and the clergy frequently led to conflicts and disturbances. There were repeated complaints that the schools were trying to force each other out the relationship between the big school and the newly founded schools in Norrmalm was
not always the best. There were also complaints that "wandering priests" infiltrated the funeral processions. Moreover, there were quarrels when the money was to be paid out. Priests and schoolchildren were accused of performing their "service" badly if they were paid in advance, or for refusing to sing if the fee was insufficient. Sometimes they demanded more than had been agreed. Judging by the complaints, there were also uninvited "ribalds" and "itinerant schoolboys" participating in the cortèges, and the "wandering priests" expected remuneration for funeral poems which no one had ordered.

The magistrates responsible for the administration of Stockholm, discussing the problem with the consistory in the 1650s, proposed that the method of payment should be simplified. The money would no longer be paid over in the street or at the door; instead an annual payment should be made, or money sent home to those who were entitled to demand it. In other words, personal payment would be replaced by payment through an administrative intermediary. A desire was also expressed to be able to choose one's own school and preacher. The governor of Stockholm suggested at roughly the same time that funeral processions should be abolished completely.

In these discussions with the magistrates, the arguments put forward by the consistory, for example by Emporagrius, pastor primarius in the Cathedral of Stockholm, were mainly of an economic kind. The priests and the church in Stockholm would suffer destitution if funeral singing were prohibited. Nor could the schools be maintained. There was nevertheless a willingness for reform, with reference to the church ordinance proposed by Emporagrius. This would "temper" conditions.

The proposal meant, among other things, a ban on "alien, uninvited priests, students, or schoolboys" taking part in funeral cortèges. There are also hints about restrictions on the size of funeral processions. Not too many people would be allowed to "go mourning". If many relatives were present, this would be a sufficient number. Funeral payments, however, would still be paid at the door to priests, schoolteachers, and pupils before the procession began. The burgers of Stockholm were not content with this willingness for reform among the leading representatives of the Stockholm clergy. In an appendix to the governor's report for 1663, the current abuse of funerals was questioned. It was suggested that the number of priests, students, and schoolboys be limited, and it was argued that those who were invited should not expect any payment. The dead should be honored out of Christian charity and not out of a desire for gain. In addition, the large funeral processions brought problems in the schools because of the time they wasted. Apart from this, they demanded that schoolboys should at least come in time to the ceremonies, and that "funeral writings" which had not been commissioned should require no payment.

The priests' financial interests in the funeral procession are also criticized in the ordinances issued in 1664 concerning waste in conjunction with church ceremonies performed for the nobility and the bourgeoisie:
"Since it has happened for some time at funerals that priests assemble in a band to accompany the corpse, and thereby cause great trouble to the house of mourning, there shall be moderation in this, whether in the towns or in the country, so that whoever is not invited and registered for the purpose shall not receive any money, irrespective of whether he participates or not."\(^\text{12}\)

The ordinances issued about the funerals of the bourgeoisie and the nobility in 1664 and 1668 restrict the amount of the funeral money which could be claimed by the priests in relation to what the school received. The number of priests and schoolchildren was also limited. Those who sang were urged to perform properly both in the street and in the church, and to stay until the whole ceremony was over.\(^\text{13}\) In parliament in 1668, members of the bourgeoisie had complained that the priests tried to "force everyone to give as much as the priests wanted."\(^\text{14}\)

When the funeral processions were discussed in parliament in 1668, the supplication of the clergy on the matter shows that they were fighting tooth and nail to avoid a prohibition. They invoked old customs, Lutheran traditions, the Augsburg Confession, and so on, claiming that any abuses could be checked by legislation. Moreover, "whether schoolboy, student, or priest, the invited persons should be content with what is given to them by good and free will, that no one will be so thoughtless, coarse, and nasty as to dare to demand anything shameless for his trouble and work."\(^\text{15}\) The clergy's willingness to curb abuses can, like their negative attitude to a prohibition, be understood as a defence of their economic interests. The "wandering" and "irregular" priests who took part in the processions not only caused vexation to the bereaved family, but also harmed the vital economic interests of the regular (tenured) clergy.

The third class in the House of the Nobility, the gentry, wished to abolish the processions completely, besides which they motioned that a special committee should be set up. Its duty would be to respond to that is, to reject everything the clergy might have to say on the matter. The second class in the House of the Nobility agreed about the abolition of the funeral processions, whereas the first class, the aristocracy, wanted to retain a small procession. The continuing discussion showed that they wished to be free to pay what they wanted for the sermon. The school should be paid according to custom, but nothing should be paid for the singing: "that they should sing is proper and Christian, but out of Christian charity and not for gain or reward."\(^\text{16}\)

The nobility and the bourgeoisie returned to the question of prohibition at the start of the 1680s. The nobility and later the Mayor and Council of Stockholm applied to the government for permission to bury their dead without funeral processions, and this was granted in 1682, despite the protests and express discontent of the clergy. This time it was a matter of more than the costs of paying the school and the priests. It was also a question of who should be invited. This has already been hinted at above, but it can be further underlined. In the early 1680s, two commoners on the Stockholm Council applied for permission to hold a funeral without a procession, but they simultaneously declared that they were willing to pay "school, priests, parish clerks, the church, solely
so that they can thus avoid inviting so many people, which they would otherwise be
forced to do on account of their large number of relations by marriage." As in earlier
statements, we gain the impression that people were anxious to reduce the problems
entailed by a large retinue of relatives attending a funeral. The same attitude was
expressed in the nobility's committee deliberations about the processions. According to
the committee, the number of guests should be definitely limited to twelve men and the
same number of women, besides parents, brothers, and sisters.

When the nobility and the bourgeoisie had been freed by the Church Act of 1686
from the obligation to hold funeral processions, there were complaints from the
schools about their declining income. The rest of the population were still forced to
engage the school for their funerals, but they could not pay nearly as well as the
nobility and the bourgeoisie, who were no longer obliged to have processions. The
days of the procession were reckoned. In the proposals for a church law drawn up by
the clergy and a royal commission in the 1680s, the topic receives only limited
consideration. The clergy's proposal merely states that "the procession begins in such a
way that those related by blood and by marriage follow immediately after the body."
Nothing is said about priests and singing schoolboys. The proposal of the civil service
commission, (which consisted primarily of high nobles close to the king) however, was
more explicitly negative. It was pointed out that, in the countryside, "the body shall be
conveyed to the cemetery without singing or a funeral sermon." Shortly afterwards,
with the Church Act of 1686, the matter was decided.

It was not long before the nobility expressed a desire to limit the ceremonies still more.
In the appeal of 1693 the nobility requested permission to hold funerals immediately
after the death, "with no ado, confections, meals, or other expenses, so that no one
outside the immediate family will be invited and no one will accompany them back to
the house from the church." It was also pointed out that the intention was not to
deprive the clergy and the churches of their rights. The result was that the
government strictly defined in a resolution which relatives were included in the term
"the immediate family". The continuing discussions show that more and more upper-
class funerals in Stockholm were held in privacy, which led to sharp reactions from the
church.

It is now time to leave the descriptions behind and try to explain the attitude of
criticism. According to a French traveller's account of conditions in 1680, feasts in
conjunction with funerals were firmly rooted in Swedish popular custom. Jean-
François Regnard paints a lively description of the funeral ceremonies, the speeches
and the drinking. The author maintains that the extravagant feasting makes Swedish
society distinct from other nations. "If one says that the Turks ruin themselves at
weddings, the Jews at circumcisions, and the Christians at processions, one could add
that the Swedes ruin themselves with funerals." How then was it possible to question
the custom?
We must begin by sketching the original context. The processions should be seen in connection with the integration in a shared cultural and geographical setting which characterized the relation between the social classes in early Scandinavian and European society. The street and the church were the common ground where the social classes met and clashed. People took part in processions for funerals, betrothals, weddings, and secular celebrations. These could attract large crowds of people, and they were enacted in public places.23

Close cultural contact was also typical of the street celebrations which are known from elsewhere in Europe. At the same time, the social order could be mercilessly ridiculed. Carnivals gave people the chance to express truths which could hardly be spoken at any other time. A topsy-turvy world could be created, with the beggar gorging himself, dressed up as a wealthy lord and vice versa. All social classes met on the same stage, while social conflicts were made visible in a symbolic form. Scholars have tended to view these occasions on the continent as a means of letting off steam and diverting protests. But this was not always without risk. It sometimes happened that the street could be a dangerous place in the hands of the masses. The protests, instead of being diverted, could be channelled into political action. The masses could not be controlled.24

In addition, festivities of this kind, with participants from different social classes, had an economic content. This can be exemplified from Sweden and other European countries. It was taken for granted that the costs of large celebrations would be met by those who possessed the power. It was also expected that money would be handed out to the poor, and that the nobility would give presents to their tenants on occasions such as weddings and christenings. Sophie Brahe's accounts from the first half of the seventeenth century in Denmark show that considerable sums could be involved.25 The funerals of the nobility also involved great expenses for clothes and equipment for all the participants, down to the lowest stable-boy. There is also testimony that money was generously showered on the common people at royal funerals and coronations. According to the tradition should a money caster ride in the beginning of the processions and throw out money to the ordinary people. The chaos created during the outcasting of money was considerable but was definitely looked upon as a traditional right by the people. (More details??).26

The redistribution of money was thus deeply embedded in the cultural forms that characterized the mutual relations of the social classes. Relations were direct and personal, and probably deeply rooted in the conceptual system of the time. The economic dimension must have been of great importance for the poor and the other participants. Among these we must reckon schoolteachers, priests, and schoolboys. It was an ex officio duty of pupils and priests to sing as the corpse was transported from the home to the church and to sing at the funeral service in church. The priests and schoolboys walked far in front of the coffin at the head of the procession. They were paid for their services in proportion to how much they had done the number of hymns they sang and the size of the school. The income from funerals was an important
source of revenue for both priests and schoolboys, as well as for the church. Participation in these procession was a significant feature of the work of the schools. In the 1630s the trivium school in Stockholm took part in up to 300 funerals each year, besides which the children served as choirboys for payment. In addition, they ran a hire service with biers and black cloth for shrouding the coffin. Funeral processions were later to be important for the younger church schools and the new schools in Norrmalm.\textsuperscript{27}

Philippe Ariès, in his study of conceptions of death in western Europe (chiefly in Catholic areas), notes that it was long considered desirable that poor people should attend funerals. It was not considered sufficient to donate money to the almshouses:

The more respected, the richer, the more powerful the deceased was, the more priests, monks, and paupers followed the cortège: the number of poor people corresponded to the multiplication of the number of masses and prayers said for the deceased. Poverty was thus invited in its two guises to attend the last journey of a person favored by wealth and power. Poverty had to be present, not primarily as a recipient of aid and relief, but as a spectacle, as the visible expression of a necessary atonement.\textsuperscript{28}

It is likely that a similar situation prevailed in Sweden. However, the critical attitude which we have seen above indicates something new. The ban on funeral processions in Sweden can be interpreted as those in power seeking to dissociate themselves from the street and from the social and economic relations that were maintained there. In general terms, the development can be described using Peter Burke's contrast of the great and little traditions. The introductory phase can be discerned as early as the sixteenth century. The higher social classes noblemen and burghers, sharing in the great tradition of European culture slowly separated themselves from popular aberrations and traditions, festivals and carnivals. They distanced themselves from the local popular culture.\textsuperscript{29}

The development in Sweden was thus not unique. Ariès maintains that it was typical for the higher social classes to avoid funerals in seventeenth-century France. They rejected the increasingly professionalized mourning of priests, monks, paupers, orphans, and in some places even paid mourners. Families were obliged to spend a period in seclusion, which meant that they did not take part in the funeral. Unlike in Sweden, the processions were not prohibited; the place of the family on the street was taken by "common supernumeraries attracted by the alms".\textsuperscript{30} The Swedish ban on processions may therefore have been exceptional in a way. We shall return to this later.

The ban on funeral processions was in any case an example of this cultural separation. The funerals were, at least formally, no longer regarded as occasions for the general public. The nobility and the wealthy burghers no longer wished to participate in the unruly popular life of the streets. They evidently wanted to draw a
boundary between close and distant relatives, to limit their retinues, and to avoid excessively close contacts with itinerant priests and schoolboys.

This interpretation receives support both from the ordinances on waste mentioned above and from other regulations issued in conjunction with and just before the restriction on the participation of priests and schools in funeral processions. On 4 May 1664, a notice was issued "against the numerous and unwarranted excesses and doings practised in Stockholm and its suburbs, on many kinds of occasion, with yelling, calling, abuse, and other wrongs." The number of actions criminalized in this way is too long to be repeated here. (???to be developed) This document also includes a detailed description of the problems that arose in connection with processions of various kinds, which the authorities now wanted to curb. It should be noted that special attention was paid to the funeral processions. The previous year, 1663, a special ordinance on beggars had been issued for Stockholm, according to which beggars had to be removed from the streets and placed in special institutions. Through the 1664 ordinance on disorder in conjunction with the betrothals, feasts, christenings, and funerals of the nobility, other forms of begging whether open or concealed in traditional forms were restricted. This ordinance also included an early recommendation to limit the number of guests at betrothals and weddings to the immediate family and friends. On the subject of begging it was decreed that:

No one shall be so bold, unless he is asked to do so, as to write any epitaph. As regards wedding writings, New Year writings, all other begging writings, and the begging that is done with collecting-books, item as regards begging by all manner of people, such as drummers, pipers, singers, coachmen, cooks, and common people with manstänger, the same shall apply.

These regulations recur in the ordinance on disorder among the burghers, with other expressions adapted to this estate. In the House of the Nobility the processions were questioned in 1668 with reference to the great turmoil they caused in the streets, since when one considers that a large proportion, even the majority, of those who assemble in streets and alleys and houses do so more out of curiosity, to see and perceive what pomp and show is displayed there, in such numbers that people are occasionally killed, some by the press and some in the water, as recently happened and is still fresh in the memory; note also most carefully what improper remarks can fall, abusing and defaming someone or other.

On the same occasion in 1668, the members of the House of the Nobility discussed whether women should take part in the processions. The question arose when the third and second classes of the nobility were unable to carry through a ban on processions in the House of Nobles.
The question was then asked, whether women should not be spared from following the procession, and if it would not be better for avoiding some inconvenience or the other that they did not join the procession. Tertia classis cum prima et secunda decided that women shall ride or walk to the church at the head and no longer follow in the procession.31

The conclusion to be drawn is that women had no place in the streets or in processions. Perhaps the decision also had the support of the noble women. The English ambassador Bulstrode Whitelocke, observing a procession in 1653, noted that the white dresses of the women clearly showed the dirt of the streets.38 The regulation may thus have been welcomed by ladies who were concerned about their dignity and comfort and wished to avoid the noise and filth of the streets.

In this way we can obtain snapshots of a street life which was very different from that evoked by the imposing ceremonial paintings or etchings of processions which were commissioned to immortalize the events. These were clearly pieces designed to show of the might and glory of Sweden. (see also Ankarloo - footnote) We may note that about four hundred children were cleared from the streets for the coronation of Queen Kristina so that they would not spoil the festivities.39 For similar reasons, a large number of paupers were lodged in a special room during the funeral of Gustav II Adolf in Stockholm. Here they were provided with a few barrels of beer and paid 200 dalers.40 Measures of this kind could naturally be taken on royal occasions, but it is doubtful whether such discipline was typical of the town in everyday circumstances. There is much to suggest that the opposite was the case: for instance, all the complaints and ordinances about begging in the streets.41 In 1663, for example, the governor of Stockholm noted that he was powerless when it came to curbing the nuisance of illicit trading and stealing practised by women in the streets. There was an obvious risk of riot:

the unruly party soldiers' and sailors' wives those who must seek a living by illicit trading and theft, so that one cannot enforce the law so strictly as one ought to by rights, without daily brawls and fights and the risk of riot by the common people.42

The same somewhat resigned attitude to popular customs is seen in a conversation between the English ambassador Bulstrode Whitelocke and the Swedish archbishop. The latter pointed out, in answer to the ambassador's question, the difficulties of dealing with the lack of respect for holy days, the feasting and drinking, "for fear of tumults and insurrections by the rude people."43 In another context we hear complaints about all the noise and rowdiness caused by the "town boys" during the ceremonies in church. The Mayor and Council of Stockholm decided to post the town watch to prevent the boys from circulating and making their way into the chancel during the sermon.44
The ordinances on extravagance can be interpreted in different ways. Previous historians have mainly emphasized the protectionist motives for restricting luxury. They have also pointed out the connection between conflicts over rank and dignity within the nobility. Other causes are obvious. Those which have been mentioned are attempts to separate the wealthy from the lower classes, the masses, the streets, and popular culture. It is clear that there was a desire to turn these events with unlimited numbers of participants—musicians, drummers, rhymers, and beggars—into more dignified occasions with the immediate family in the centre. The rich were no longer pleased to have the lower classes in their vicinity at funerals and feasts. They were a threat to the existence of the well-off, a menace to social order, property, life, and most of all to their dignity. In the course of the seventeenth century it became important to mark the difference between the public and the private.

For people with these ambitions, schoolboys were not the most appropriate participants in funerals. It is not difficult to understand this attitude in view of the class from which the schoolboys were recruited. The majority of boys in the Stockholm schools were children of single women widows from the lowest strata of society. It was only as a last resort that children from the upper classes were sent to the public schools. This is clear from the fact that virtually all the schoolchildren from the lower classes were noted in the rolls as being children of single or poor parents. (this could be expanded).

It was probably these circumstances which laid the foundation for the decision taken in the Church Act of 1686. Schoolchildren were prohibited from taking part in funeral processions, as were priests, but this did not mean that they disappeared from the streets; nor did their relatives. Ironically, there are indications that the problems actually became greater. There was a faster turnover of children in the schools, and many children left. What reason did they have to attend school when they were no longer paid for their services? Karl XI had cause to complain that children were not looked after kept under control by their parents and masters. Children were threatened with corporal punishment by the royal guard. This also shows that a king by the grace of God can feel irritation over the small ones on the streets. Governor Gyllenstierna wrote:

As His Royal Majesty has frequently been angered by the fact that during sermons, quite contrary to His Royal Majesty's most gracious Church Ordinance, people in streets and alleys go running from one place to the other exactly as before, without any fear, and such abuses are especially and mostly committed by small boys, who pass their time with all kinds of games and much play, more so then than at other times, which is undoubtedly due mostly to the failure of the parents to care where their children spend their time, whether they are outside or elsewhere, and it seldom occurs that the parents consider whipping them for this in accordance with His Royal Majesty's Church Ordinance, so that they might abstain from such misbehavior for fear of this; I have therefore kindly petitioned E. Grace and Ven.
Consistorio that the notice in the Church Ordinance concerning perjury and breach of the Sabbath should be proclaimed and read aloud to the congregations from the pulpits as often as possible, both at high mass and matins, when servants are present more often than otherwise, so that no one will be able to plead that they knew nothing about a particular stipulated and determined punishment for breaches of this ordinance; and as regards boys' offences against this, besides the fine which it is stated in the Church Ordinance that parents and masters shall pay for them when they can be discovered, may the reverend clergy when reading the communication add that if the parents and masters let their delinquent children and servant boys atone for their offences with their bodies, as is commanded, they shall hereafter suffer the penalty of whipping by the corps of guards, since His Royal Majesty graciously requested this orally of me a short time ago, so that this godless noise and scorn for God's word in the young may not be allowed to gain the upper hand.47

In the difficult years of the 1690s, there were complaints about the increasing demoralization of the poor. They roved the streets begging, hitting upon roguery, and crowding outside churches and houses, "a nuisance to many with their abusive language". The decision in the Church Act thus had immediate consequences for the school's chances of attracting poor children. The schools received no compensation for the income they lost. Teachers had to see their salaries reduced. It became necessary to reorganize the financing of the schools, making begging part of the system again. Begging now had to be confined to certain times _ between 11 and 12 o'clock in the morning and 4 and 5 in the afternoon. The rest of the time had to be devoted to proper tuition. The undisciplined begging of children in the street was prohibited. It was hoped that the street urchins, thus deprived of their income, would come to school. In reality, there was a demand for compulsory school attendance for boys in Stockholm, so that they could be kept off the streets.

Finally, it would also prevent much disorder, nuisance, and theft caused by other boys, idlers, street urchins and rogues, lascivious boys and thieves, when they run from house to house, sometimes singing shameless and nasty songs, to the offence of many people.48

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What was it that happened? Why did people not want to hear shameless songs sung by poorly dressed schoolboys and street urchins?49 The reasons should perhaps be sought in a change of values. The view of the poor changed in the seventeenth century, as did the view of the causes of poverty and the way to relieve it. This change in values, however, cannot be seen in isolation. It must be understood as a consequence of the changed class structure on which the state power rested during the Age of Greatness. The noblemen who were recruited to the civil service and the army in the seventeenth
century had a relation to the local poor which could not have been formed by a long tradition. Many families had been ennobled only one or two generations earlier. Moreover, there was a considerable turnover of noble families. Salaries for civil service positions were important for these noblemen. The new officials and officers were closely tied to the state power to which they owed their elevation and from which they received their pay. It was no for nothing that Karl XI relied on these groups when he made himself an absolute monarch. The income of the state its ability to pay wages was ensured by the great confiscation (reduktion). We should therefore not be surprised that the efforts to ban funeral processions were not successful until the reign of Karl XI. As we have seen above, it was primarily a demand from the gentry which could not be carried through during the regency after the death of Karl X Gustav. Through the decision of 1680, later reinforced by the Church Act of 1686, the nobility was spared the great expense that their funerals had previously entailed. They could also in the long term dissociate themselves from the streets and from distant relatives. In other words, the grandiose splendor of the seventeenth-century Baroque was not without controversy even in its own times. Margareta Revera has also shown that the nobility found it increasingly difficult to maintain their standard of living in the course of the seventeenth century. At the same time, some groups of the burghers were becoming more prosperous as a result of a healthy demand for high-quality craft products. In both groups the development must have engendered, or at least reinforced, a will to distance themselves from other social classes. The course of development described here was not an isolated Swedish phenomenon. The British historian Lawrence Stone has observed comparable changes in the English aristocracy in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. His view is that the sumptuous and extravagant way of life in this period gave way to more family-oriented and individualistic behavior. One consequence of this was that people avoided big, expensive funerals and large suites of retainers.

There are also evident tendencies in Sweden towards a greater family orientation among the nobles and the burghers. Here, however, the common ground — the street — was not abandoned to professional mourners. Moreover, the withdrawal took place at the same time as attempts to enforce stricter discipline on the lower classes and the poor. Among other things, there were new ordinances about orphanages and poorhouses. Poor relief was to be administered impersonally and bureaucratically. The poor had to earn charity through labor. The higher social classes were no longer willing to share the same cultural space as the lower classes. The Caroline Age appears to have seen a break with earlier traditions. Led by the groups which had fairly recently been recruited from among the commoners, the more prosperous social classes distanced themselves from the local popular culture and from a personal relationship to the people in the streets.

It is likely that processions were still a significant social event after the Church Act of 1686. But women, children, and poor people were no longer welcome in these cortèges. The procession was a display of power, for the masses to witness but not to
take part in. In a handbook and collection of examples about the topic published at the start of the eighteenth century, the utility of this type of procession was emphasized:

Experience teaches us that external ceremonies provoke admiration among the citizens, from which a conception of political power is born, and this then gives birth to reverence, the daughter of which is submission and the granddaughter obedience. This admiration makes a much more profound impression on people's senses in this time of decay than the sacred commandments of divine and natural laws and of the revelation. For sensual representations now deplorably have greater force among ordinary people than the language which appeals to intellect and reason.\(^5^4\)

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Parallel to the separation of the great and the little tradition, the state ironically took steps to bridge the cultural gap between the social classes. But this was now done on different terms than those of popular culture. They strove seriously to achieve a uniform Lutheran culture. It was considered important to instill a knowledge of the divine laws and especially to enforce the observance of these laws. One instrument for this was national education. In this respect, the Church Act of 1686 was the terminus of a long development in the individual dioceses. This had been characterized by a clear lack of confidence in the ability of families to bring up their own children properly, as well as a lack of interest, shown in many quarters, in subordination to the instruction and punishments of the church. The Church Act therefore emphasized the duty of the assistant vicars and parish clerks to teach children, and the need to make the compulsory nature of education clear to the parents. Everyone had to be made to share the same system of values through a hierarchically organized and a well functioning system of control and tuition.\(^5^5\)

At the same time as the classes in power distanced themselves from popular culture, from children, women, and the poor, it became possible for the state to ensure the constant moral and political subordination of the people.

Education also brought the children and young people under observation, despite the increased social distance. Or was it precisely the social distance, the perspective, which made them visible? In any case, children for the first time became visible in the searchlight of power. General education was also in itself a way to counteract popular errors and a way to break down the little tradition. The Church Act thus represents, in both the respects where school or national education are concerned, a new cultural system, a system in which the children became visible. Through religious instruction and other forms of control, the state also came closer to the people. The state switched to a bureaucratic, administrative exercise of power in the course of the seventeenth century. In this process, it became the task of the church to bridge the cultural and
social gap to recreate the unity between the absolute power of the state and a population sorely afflicted by wars, famine, and hardship.

Legislation seen in its wider context is thus about ordinary people and everyday relations. The cultural distance to the small members of society is marked with increasing clarity in the Caroline Age. The interest in people's everyday conditions was more a matter of extending the state's control over the lower classes than an expression of greater involvement. Consequently, the pompous grandeur of the seventeenth century cannot automatically be seen as an expression of cultural distance; ironically, the greater cultural distance was more closely associated with the increased control of the Caroline society that succeeded the Baroque era.

1 Hilding Pleijel, Karolinsk kyrkofromhet, piетism och herrnhutism 1680_1772, Svenska kyrkans historia 5 (Stockholm, 1935); K. H. Johansson, Svenskt sockensjälvstyre 1686_1862 (Lund, 1937).
2 1686 års kyrkolag, ed. Samfundet Pro Fide et Christianismo (Stockholm, 1936), p. 58.
6 The school registers in the archive for each school in Stockholms Stadsarkiv (SSA), along with "Stockholms Domkapitel E III:44 nr. 209" (SSA) and Stockholms konsistorii acta och protokoll vols. I_VII (SKAoP), transcript by B. Hildebrand, Kungliga Biblioteket (KB), Stockholm; Sandin, op. cit., pp. 85_113.
7 Sjöstrand, op. cit., pp. 66ff. SKAoP I, pp. 338, 374f., 398f., 395, 424, 551; II, pp. 8, 57, 60; see also III and IV passim.
8 Sjöstrand, op. cit., pp. 69ff. SKAoP II, pp. 8f., 57f., 69ff.
9 SKAoP II, pp. 60f., 73; Sjöstrand, op. cit., pp. 69f.
10 "Biskop Erik Emporagrii kyrkoordningsförslag", Kyrkoordningar och förslag före 1686 (KOF), part II (Stockholm, 1881), pp. 172f.
11 "Borgmästare och Råadz påminnelser", NSH 31, p. 72.
13 Ibid., pp. 284, 730.
14 Borgerståndets protokoll före frihetstiden (Stockholm, 1933), p. 53.
17 SKAOp III, p. 611; IV, p. 12.
18 "Riddarskapets och adelns protokoll" 10, p. 338, 392f.
19 "Ridderskapets författade projekt till kyrkoordning anno 1684", KOF part 3, p. 297;
"Prästeståndets förslag till kyrkoordning 1682", ibid., p. 106; Sandin, op. cit., pp. 130ff.
20 "adelns besvär. Riddarskapets och adelns prot. 1693", p. 81.
21 "Kongl. Maj:ts nådiga resolution and förklaringar ... 18 nov. 1693", in And. Stiernman, Alla
riksdågers och mötens beslut (Stockholm, 1727_43), part 3, p. 2083; Sven Baelter, Historiska
annorlunda om kyrkoceremonier (Stockholm, 1783), pp. 611f., 628ff.
22 Jean-François Regnard, Resa i Lappland (Helsinki, 1946), p. 125.
23 Troels-Lund, Dagligt Liv i Norden i den 16de Aarhundrede (Copenhagen, 1904), part 14, pp.
25 Ibid.; Sophie Brohes regnskabsbog 1627_40, udg. af Jysk selskab for historie, sprog og litteratur,
1955.
26 Nils Ludvig Rasmusson, "Auswurfmünzen: Eine Skizze", Congresso internazionale di
med drottning Kristinas kröning 1650", Nordisk numismatisk årsbok 1947, pp. 116ff. I am currently
doing research into noble funerals as revealed in the archives of the De la Gardie family (Lund
University Library).
27 "Stockholms storskolas journal", Årsböcker i Svensk Undervisningshistoria 83_86, pp. 74ff.;
Sandin, op. cit., pp. 126ff.
28 Philippe Ariès, Döden: Föreställningar och seder i Västerlandet från medeltiden till våra dagar
29 Burke, op. cit., pp. 207ff.
30 Philippe Ariès, op. cit.
31 "Kongl. Maj:tz placat och förhold emot ... Stockholm den 4 maj 1664", in Stiernman, Samling
part 3, pp. 191ff.
32 Ibid.
33 "Förordning om tiggare ... 4 april 1663", in Stiernman, Samling, pp. 155ff.; "Kongl. Maj:ts
stadga ... 30 aug 1664" (on the nobility), Stiernman, ibid., pp. 233ff.; (on the burghers), pp. 276ff.;
Sandin op. cit., pp. 134ff.
36 "adelns och riddarståndets prot. 1668, bilaga 30", pp. 599ff.
37 Ibid., pp. 430ff.


41 See Sandin, op. cit., pp. 113ff.

42 "Överståthållaren's årsberättelse 1663", *NHSH* 31, pp. 35 f.

43 Whitelocke, op. cit., pp. 402f.

44 "Den 24 mars 1682", *SKAoP* IV, p. 171.

45 Sandin, op. cit., pp. 85ff.

46 Sandin, op. cit., pp. 118ff.

47 "Överståthållaren's brev 4/1 1690 till konsistoriet i Stockholm", *SKAoP* V, pp. 243f.

48 "Relation rörande Trivialskolan 1690", *SKAoP* V, p. 265; Sandin op. cit., p. 120.

49 On the dress of the children, see "Förordningen om skolpojkars klädsel", *Stiernman, Samling*, part 3, p. 1049.


55 Sandin, op. cit., pp. 41ff.
Legend to illustration

Part of the procession at the funeral of the Count Palatine Johan Casimir in Strängnäs in 1652. In the second row from the top come the schoolboys (indicated by number 6), preceded and followed by staff-bearers (5 and 7). In the fourth row from the top are the horses pulling the hearse, and in the bottom row come the countesses and Her Majesty's ladies-in-waiting. Royal Library, Stockholm.
The Department of Child Studies

Linköping University hosts an interdisciplinary Institute of Advanced Study known as the Institute of Tema Research. The Institute of Tema Research is divided into five separate departments, each of which administers its own graduate program, and each of which conducts interdisciplinary research on specific, though broadly defined, problem areas, or "themes" (tema in Swedish, hence the name of the Institute). The five departments which compose the Institute of Tema Research are: the Department of Child Studies (Tema B), the Department of Health and Society (Tema H), the Department of Communication Studies (Tema K), the Department of Technology and Social Change (Tema T), and the Department of Water and Environmental Studies (Tema V).

The Department of Child Studies was founded in 1988 to provide a research and learning environment geared toward the theoretical and empirical study of both children and the social and cultural discourses that define what children are and endow them with specific capacities, problems, and subjectivities. A specific target of research is the processes through which understandings of 'normal' children and a 'normal' childhood are constituted, and the roles that children and others play in reinforcing or contesting those understandings. The various research projects carried out at the department focus on understanding the ways in which children interpret their lives, how they communicate with others, and how they produce and/or understand literature, language, mass media and art. Research also documents and analyses the historical processes and patterns of socialization that structure the ways in which childhood and children can be conceived and enacted in various times, places and contexts.

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