

## Summaries



Sven A. Nilsson

### Political mobilization in the Swedish military state

The article is about the aspiration of the Swedish military state to establish support for its policy in the four Estates and other groups in society. This was for a long time an ingredient of the mobilization for war; it was a matter of convincing the subjects of the necessity of war and the attendant burdens. There was also mobilization of another kind, geared to the conflicts that later arose between government and opposition. In both cases there were similarities to the political mobilization that occurred in the sixteenth century as a result of conflicts in the royal dynasty. This was eminently the case during the conflict between King Sigismund and Duke Karl. The former was king of Poland as well, and his Catholic faith made the religion issue into yet another divisive factor. Karl finally gained the upper hand (1598) after intensive propaganda which was now also aimed at the provincial assemblies. However, he never succeeded in stabilizing his revolutionary regime; he was opposed by both the nobility and the clergy.

The conflicts were resolved at the accession of the new monarch, Gustav Adolf, in 1611. In the accession charter and the privileges which he issued he made large concessions to the demands of the council of the realm and the nobility for codetermination in government and for extended rights. The wishes of the clergy were also satisfied. The king then began close collaboration with the council and its leader, Axel Oxenstierna, who became chancellor, and with the church and its bishops, who now rallied to the support of the government. Despite all the original differences, the king and the chancellor were able to agree on the goal of policy: to build a state strong enough to pursue the policy of expansion which was the obvious course for them both.

The wars which were the consequence required new taxes and heavy conscription. Even the nobility was affected, in that they gradually had to renounce their most important privileges, those which applied to the farms closest to the manor. It is not least these worsened conditions for the nobility which show how hard the wars struck the country. That it was nevertheless possible for the nobility to be brought to support the war policy is indication enough that there was active political mobilization. This did indeed take place.

With the support of the chancellor, the king was generally able to get the political bodies to back decisions to wage war and to impose new taxes. This was facilitated by the new practice, begun in 1617, when the king started to meet the council and the Estates in person, whereas he had previously carried on written negotiations with them. The change allowed him to use his personal superiority to the full, making it more difficult to put up opposition. His speeches and proposals show the toil which he expended to justify the continuation of war. He dwelt on the gains. Above all, he emphasized the threat from Sigismund and the Emperor, and he tried to portray the war as a struggle against evil. Of Sigismund he said that not only was he himself evil, but also that he allowed himself to be ruled by the Jesuits, who were behind all the atrocities committed in other countries. This was now threatening Sweden.

There were also attempts to influence public opinion in the country. One reason for this was that, when Gustav Adolf succeeded to the throne, there was profound discontent among the peasants, who complained about the onerous taxes, and who in places took

violent action against the bailiffs. In this situation, the king and the council tried to talk to the peasants and to redress the grievances. The king himself intervened against the use of violence by the peasants, but he also made the bailiffs accountable for their excesses, obviously wanting to play the role of dispenser of justice. At the hearings held at the local courts, the peasants did indeed show their faith in the king.

Yet another influence — perhaps the most important — was exerted via the clergy. They were used at this time for many tasks associated with wars; among other things, they had to draw up the rolls which were used as a basis for conscription and new taxes. The king also took advantage of their ability to influence their congregations. Of particular importance were the intercession days, for which new bills were made every year, describing the dangers of the times in close keeping with the king's speeches, and warning of the evil plans of the "papists". A proclamation of this kind, repeated time and again from the pulpit, could not fail to have an effect on the listeners. The decision to intervene in the German war, taken by the council and the Estates in 1629, was thus unusually well prepared, as regards both public opinion thanks to all this propaganda, and politically thanks to the king's many deliberations with the council and the Estates.

At that time, however, changes had taken place. In the 1620s the demands for taxes and conscripts became increasingly harsh, leading to unrest in many places. This was repressed with severity; at the hearings it was no longer a question of balancing with concessions. Even the nobility began to hesitate in the face of the tough pressure to which they were subjected. So too did the clergy, who wished to avoid having to help with the hated conscription. Yet the king was steadfast. It now became more a matter of carrying through the royal will and less a matter of dialogue between the king and the Estates, on which the political mobilization had ultimately been based.

After the death of Gustav Adolf in 1632, there came a phase when two successive aristocratic regencies were in power. Their rule was based on the instrument of government drawn up by Axel Oxenstierna, and instructions for county governors appended to it. In this system there was no room for the personal government which distinguished Gustav Adolf's reign. It was the administration itself which took over, a central and regional administration with a fixed organization led by the five great officers of state, regents during the minority of Queen Kristina and each one head of a national board (collegium).

The oligarchic system of the instrument of government was to be of great importance for the time until the introduction of absolutism in 1680. During the relatively brief periods of rule by monarch who were of age (1644—1660), it is true that Kristina and Karl Gustav tried to break up the system and establish their own rule. During the minority regimes, on the other hand, the instrument of government was the basis for the ruling of the country, also becoming a means of keeping the opposition in check. This opposition was a new political force in Sweden. It appeared already at the first diets during the minority regencies, where the three commoner estates collaborated and consistently upheld the monarchy. They thereby anticipated the collaboration between king and commoners which was to be decisive for political life in Sweden. Yet another consequence was that the ideal of monarchy which continued to prevail was that from the early reign of Gustav Adolf, the picture of the king dispensing justice. Had the warrior king lived and been responsible for the continued burdens of war, this picture could scarcely have survived.

The changes form the starting-point for a new phase of political mobilization. It was now pursued by several principals, to begin with, the government and the opposition, with the addition during periods of royal government of the monarch, and in the later

minority regency and the ensuing time also the rival groups in the council. Only some main lines can be sketched here.

The pro-war propaganda continued after the death of Gustav Adolf, but it changed character. Now it was not easy to talk of the struggle for the right faith or of the Catholic threat; the enemies now included the main Protestant power in Germany, Saxony. The propositions instead spoke of security and redress, and they were successful in getting the council and the Estates to support a continuation of the war until these goals were achieved. This meant that the heavy taxes and conscriptions of the late reign of Gustav Adolf had to continue. Yet on this matter there was a remarkable change-over at the diets in the 1630s: the commoners made the nobility responsible for having exempted their own peasants and shifting the burden to the others. This was the start of the struggle of the Estates which escalated during the 1640s and in the diets of 1649 and 1650 led to a concerted attack on the nobility. By then, with the demobilization after the war, more and more of the crown's estates had been conveyed to the nobility. In 1650 the commoners tabled a joint petition, in which they demanded a resumption of the crown's estates from the nobility and action against all the abuses with which they charged the nobility in highly exaggerated accusations. This action was without result, but the programme remained and was used by the monarchs to exert pressure on the nobility. For a long time it would dictate the view of these matters.

It should be clear that the political mobilization, the main subject of this study, was for a long time a campaign on the national level, inspired by political causes. Discontent in the provinces, as before, chiefly concerned taxes and the tax collectors of the crown. Before the diet of 1649, on the other hand, one can observe a campaign in which local grievances were coordinated into a concentrated attack on the nobility and its abuses. The driving forces here were evidently the same as those which stood behind the opposition to the aristocratic minority regencies. In a situation like this, with the system of taxation and landownership as it was in Sweden, the conditions of the peasantry must be put in the foreground.



Robin Gullstrand

### Local self-government in Blekinge

The main aim of this study was to determine whether there were any differences in political culture between the parishes of Blekinge and parishes in the older parts of Sweden. The question has its point of departure in K. H. Johansson's now classic dissertation on the Swedish parish assembles. He reaches the conclusion that the assemblies were democratic institutions, in which all the members of the congregation participated in the decision-making. In a brief section he also tries to show that the parish assemblies in Skåne, where the tradition of parish assemblies was not long, were more a forum for the authorities, while the parishioners had little say.

By studying two parishes in Blekinge — Mörrum and Backaryd — I have attempted to show that Blekinge quickly developed a vigorous political culture. But there were also significant differences which show that some of the parishes in the province developed a form of their own self-government, which differed sharply from what was the practice in the older Swedish provinces. This applies, for example, to Mörrum, which, like the other parishes with a church council, lay in the fertile valley district. Backaryd, which was in the forest district, had a more traditional self-government resembling that in the older parts of Sweden. In this summary I shall give a brief account of the differences and the similarities. At the same time, I shall try to discuss the reasons why the two parishes developed such different traditions in local politics.

The study has shown that political culture in Mörrum differed in important respects from Backaryd and the old Swedish provinces:

— The freeholders in the parish allowed the majority of the local political matters to be handled by a representative assembly, the church council. These included cases of immorality and indiscipline, which were chastised by the elders; this meant that the church council had the right to impose penalties such as the stocks and fines. In the old Swedish provinces it was the parish assembly which dealt with these matters. The church council was also responsible for church matters, although it is important to point out that the parish assembly sometimes dealt with these.

— As representatives of the parish, the church council could make decisions on important economic matters. This could take the form of negotiations, the purchase of expensive effects, and loans. It is obvious that consensus agreements in the spirit of civil law were not as common in Mörrum parish as in the old parts of Sweden.

Why then did the Mörrum peasants develop a political culture which differed from that in Backaryd and the old parts of Sweden? I believe that there were several contributory factors:

— There is much to suggest that the economic situation in the parish was good. The church also had some business operations which may have generated some income. This may have meant that there were fewer demands on the peasants to take part in *samanskott*, the collecting of funds to pay for public expenses. For this reason there was no need for the parish assembly; instead, the church council was able to handle the matters. It was only when church repairs required large sums that a parish assembly was constituted.

— Practice. There are indications that the church council had existed longer than the

parish assembly. It would then have been an accepted part of the political culture of the parish. There is much to suggest that there were no social or class differences between the members of the church council and the parish assembly. On the contrary, churchwardens and lay assessors took part alongside peasants who did not otherwise have any commissions of trust.

There are also signs to show that the members of the church council represented the farms in the parish, which was divided into four quarters, and that some matters were handled by the quarter meeting. The members of the church council must therefore have been well integrated in the local community. Like all the other peasants, then they must have been obliged to take part in the assemblies. One may therefore assume with good reason that the church council and the parish assembly were in constant contact with each other in one way or another, although informally.

— Proximity to Karlshamn. A new local political culture, as in Mörrum, does not arise from a vacuum but looks around for models of self-government to copy. As we have seen, it developed in interaction with the central government and its representatives. But it was not wholly uninfluenced by the socio-economic conditions or the historical background which had shaped the surrounding areas. In the same way, the local community was in constant contact with the nearby towns, and this contact, according to some historians, must have increased the closer the local communities were to the towns. Consequently, it is probable that the inhabitants of Mörrum were inspired to some extent by the body responsible for church administration in Karlshamn, namely, the church council. With this urban church council as a model, they could then develop local self-government to suit the conditions of the parish. In this way, there emerged a representative assembly in Mörrum which developed out of the parish's increasing need for a forum through which to act.

Despite these findings, it is interesting to note that the parish assembly was established in conjunction with a large organizational and financial project which required the direct approval and implementation of the peasants. Towards the end of the period, the assembly also acquired increased powers to handle various matters. In this way, a local political blend developed in Mörrum, where both the parish assembly and the church council could make decisions in different matters.

In Backaryd there developed instead a strong tradition of parish assemblies. One reason for this can be that the parish had a worse economic position than Mörrum. The economic demands required the participation of the peasants, while they simultaneously became interested in taking care of parish business. Another reason that Backaryd acquired a form of self-government similar to the Swedish form can be that the parish borders on Småland.

An important difference with respect to Mörrum is that the parish assembly in Backaryd was torn by conflict. The peasants, for example, thought that poor relief was too costly. As a result, they made greater demands of the poor and their relatives to contribute to the costs of poor relief. In connection with this, the peasants tried to get the unpropertied servant folk and crofters to take part in day-labour and fund-raising. These demands provoked vehement protest, since the people without property refused to take part. The reason the unpropertied did not contribute to the dues of the local community was, in my opinion, that it was not the practice, and another factor was the principles of civil law which existed in the old agrarian society. Those who were affected by the fund-raising were supposed to participate in the decisions. They would also have the right to take part in the other work of the assembly. In Backaryd, however, the participation of the unpropertied did not bring such rights, which led to resistance on their part.



In Mörrum the unpropertied were not allowed to take part at all; the peasants acted as their representatives, in their capacity as heads of households. The unpropertied may have accepted this because it was practice and because the socio-economic differences between the different groups were felt to be greater.

Both parishes were similar as regards the auditing of church funds. This was not in the care of the parish, as was normal in the old Swedish provinces, but of the county governor and the church inspector. On the other hand, the congregations had the right to administer the money and to make their own decisions about how it was to be used, even though it sometimes happened that Mörrum parish first asked the county governor for advice.

Another important similarity is that the parishes had extremely good contacts with the county governor. He gave advice when there were conflicts between the Backaryd peasants or supported them when the crofters refused to take part in church-building work. In Mörrum it was the county governor who initiated the parish assembly.

Finally, it is important to emphasize the similarities between Mörrum and Backaryd and the old Swedish provinces. The most important similarity is the willingness of the common people to solve local political problems through various forums — forums which were accepted by all the involved parties, whether they took the form of a church council or a parish assembly. The matters handled in the two parishes were moreover of the same kind as in the old Swedish provinces. They could concern the care of the poor, communal buildings, or the parish economy.

To sum up, it can be observed that the local political culture shows both similarities and significant differences vis-vis the old Swedish provinces. Despite this, political activity in the two parishes was vigorous.



Ingela Schånberg

**Girls' schools in the 1927 school reform**  
**The view of women and the gender conflict in education policy**

Higher education for women has had reproductive and productive functions. This article looks at women's education and changes in girls' education from the perspectives of gender and the labour market. An underlying hypothesis is that the state, in times of economic crisis and harsher gender conflicts on the labour market, tries to strengthen girls' education in order to reduce competition on the labour market. The reproductive function of education for women is reinforced, that is to say, education for the role of mother and housewife. The accentuation of the woman's family role and the upholding of the family are elements of the state's attempt to preserve the stability of society, as well as being an attempt to preserve the traditional gender system.

Through the school reform of 1927, secondary-level higher education for women was deregulated, at the same time that girls' schools as a separate form of school were preserved and reinforced. The preservation of girls' schools and the design of this form of school were justified by the parties on the basis of their view of women, with its ideology of the distinctive character of women. Despite the broad consensus about this ideology, the parties represented differing views of the role of women in society. The bourgeois parties, chiefly the Conservatives and the Agrarian Party, represented the view that a woman's primary place is in the home. These parties emphasized the reproductive function of women's education, unlike the Social Democrats, who placed more emphasis on the productive function, training for working life.

Structural and cyclical changes in the economy led to high unemployment in the 1920s. This in turn resulted in tougher general competition on the labour market. Since the latter half of the nineteenth century, deregulation in the service sector had meant that women had a broader labour market, and a process of feminization had begun. At the start of the 1920s, when women received the same rights to be appointed to posts in the public service sector, this was a greater threat to this male-dominated labour market. Competition between men and women increased.

Until the school reform, state education for occupations in public employment was reserved for men. A deregulation of the high-school (gymnasium) level would involve increased competition between the genders in the educational system, as well as on the future labour market. By strengthening girls' education in girls' schools, the state tried to divert girls from theoretical studies to practical studies at secondary-school level, as well as from studies at high-school level to secondary-school level, in other words, from education for occupations on the higher labour market to training for jobs on the lower labour market.



Marcos Cantera Carlomagno  
**C.A.U.R — the fascist international**

Inter-war Europe was characterized by increasing political, social, and economic crises. At the same time, more countries, the leading one being Italy, demanded a revision of the clauses in the Treaty of Versailles. For fascist, revisionist Italy, however, Hitler's coming to power in 1933 was not seen as an unadulterated benefit. They welcomed the fact that a similar movement had assumed power in a large country like Germany, but at the same time this meant that Germany's traditional political and economic expansionist aspirations would now have completely new opportunities to be realized, partly as a result of an effectivization of the German efforts, partly as a direct consequence of the very core of the Nazi ideology.

To uphold their leadership within the revisionist bloc, to defend the leading role of fascism among the anti-democratic forces, and to make it clear to the world that the Italian movement differed in essential respects from the German counterpart, Il Duce sought to establish a more distinct profile for himself in the early 1930s. One element in this effort was the creation of a fascist international, the Committee of Action for the Universalism of Rome (C.A.U.R.).

Behind the formation of C.A.U.R. — whose express goal was to assemble all nationalist, anti-democratic forces in the world — there were also domestic political motives. There were increasingly many people who felt that fascism was universal and ought to be spread further. They formed new organizations for their agitation, and the movement threatened to end up outside the official structures. With the aid of C.A.U.R., Mussolini would be able to keep the activists under control.

C.A.U.R. was founded in 1932 and was in practice discontinued in 1936. Emissaries were sent all over the world to form national sections, and in December 1934 a constituting congress was held in Montreux. Several Nordic delegates took part in the event, one of whom was Swedish: Rütger Ess- n. This congress was later followed by two smaller gatherings, but C.A.U.R. had really died at the same time as it was born, in Montreux, largely because of insoluble internal conflicts.

A central idea behind the formation of C.A.U.R. was that the view of the Jews was a watershed between fascism and Nazism, and another was that the organization should be free from state interference, and a third was that every nation was sovereign. The aim of this was to keep out the Nazis and the powerful German state, and to combat the racist Weltanschauung. The anti-Semitism of the Nordic and Central European delegates and the widespread view that support for the fascists' nationality principle did not necessarily mean that the Nazis had to be isolated — with the weakening of the anti-democratic front to which this would lead — made the work of C.A.U.R. impossible.

The attractiveness of the increasingly strong Berlin for nationalists throughout Europe, and the rapprochement between Rome and Berlin, dealt the death-blow to C.A.U.R. More and more activists changed their black shirts for brown garments, and many national sections of the fascist international disappeared from history as anonymously as they had entered it. This was also the case with the Swedish C.A.U.R., formed in 1934 by several leading personalities.

Today the history of C.A.U.R. is a brief episode which had no great influence on devel-

opment. It nevertheless illustrates what happened during a period when it was not self-evident that German Nazism — and not Italian fascism — would dominate the anti-democratic forces in Europe.



