

## Summaries

Eva Österberg

### **Violence among peasants. Comparative perspectives on sixteenth and seventeenth century Sweden**

The issue of violence in pre-industrial Swedish society has received an increasing amount of attention from researchers in recent years. Researchers have occasionally adhered to Norbert Elias' voluminous work of 1939, which postulates a transition from an aggression-filled society to a time when individuals practiced self-control and an inhibition of aggressions — a transition which, according to Elias, was supposed to have taken place during the sixteenth, seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, parallel to the establishment by the nation-states of the State's monopoly on violence. This monopoly on violence, with its concentration of weapons and of armed men under a single authority, made it easier to organize and to predict the use of violence. On the other hand, in those contexts which society defined as peaceful, unarmed men were forced to suppress their own brutality by responsible thinking ahead; i.e., by self-control.

Elias' work may be characterized as a relatively abstract, cultural-historical synthesis. However, its mode of reasoning has received new attention in social historical analyses of quantifiable source materials of the administration of justice. English scholars in particular have discussed the occurrence of violence and of violent crimes during the pre-industrial period (e.g. Lawrence Stone, Alan Macfarlane).

Against a background of international research on this topic, the author presents an analysis of Swedish records of court decisions from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Those categories of crime focused upon are homicide, manslaughter, assault and battery, slander and abuse, and larceny. The numbers of such crimes recorded, are interpreted as being partially an expression of actual variations in the incidences of crime, and partially as an expression of varying systems of norms and systems of control.

Different geographical regions have been contrasted: an area in the forested regions of Småland near the then-existing border of Denmark, and two areas of Uppland centrally located in the Swedish realm.

Among other things, the results indicate that the area in Småland (Konga) had a very high number of homicide and manslaughter at the beginning of the seventeenth century. However, about a hundred years later, the area is considerably more pacified. In those areas of central Sweden which were examined, the incidence of serious, violent crimes was already rather low during the sixteenth century. Thereafter, an increase may be noted for the beginning of the seventeenth century, but it is far from the level which existed in Konga. Table 2 presents a comparative perspective, where the Swedish results are compared with figures obtained in some English studies, as well as Anton Blok's research on Sicily.

The incidences of homicide and manslaughter at the beginning of the seventeenth century, as well as the striking numbers of soldiers and cavalrymen associated with these serious crimes, prompts an hypothetical interpretation of the Swedish material: It is possible that under normal circumstances, local Swedish societies had for a long time been integrated by principles of peace, abidance by the law, and mutual understanding; principles that were all the easier for the peasants to absorb since they themselves participated in the judicial process, in a manner similar to that of England. But during periods that were especially trying for society, such a basic tradition may have run the risk of breaking down, unless it was supported by conscious counter-measures, both by the local collec-

tives and by the controlling authorities. The beginning of that era during which Sweden was a world power may have constituted just such a period. Much points to the fact that the mobilization coincided with an increasing social and economic polarization throughout the country, or at least in the middle and south of Sweden. At the same time, the recurrent military conscriptions placed a heavy burden upon the populace. Great numbers of its young men were transformed into armed and weapon-trained warriors, who, regardless of their new status, never became completely alienated from their agrarian background. Placed in such a context, this element of military personnel, in connection with serious violent crimes, becomes essential.

The Swedish conditions also modulate Elias' idea about the monopolizing of violence by society as a cause of an increasingly refined civilian milieu. According to this view, weapons and brutality were removed from everyday life, becoming isolated to certain situations and locations. In particular, Elias appears to have been thinking about professional armies which were stationed in cities and in provincial garrisons. But this monopoly of society on violence took on some partly special characteristics in Sweden at the end of the sixteenth and beginning of the seventeenth century. Perpetually new cadres of domestic populations were extracted from the countryside; recruits who only gradually, if ever, became transformed into professional soldiers. A question arises as to whether this resulted in certain unexpected and undesirable consequences: social strains among the populace and a greater readiness to take to weapons? Seen from this perspective, Gustavus Adolphus II's foreign policy exacted a toll in his homeland in more than one way — not only in terms of the costly lives of soldiers and in money squeezed from the populace, but also in terms of aggression, and in a predilection for violence among the remaining members of the peasant society.

Anders Andrén

**Towns and royal power — a study of the political geography in Denmark before 1230.**

The aim of this article is to initiate a discussion concerning the relationship between royal power and urbanization in Denmark during the 11th and 12th centuries. The first part of the study is an attempt to characterize the kingship during this period, with a starting point in the so-called "Cadastré of King Valdemar". The cadastré is a transcript from circa 1300, containing different surveys of the royal property, revenue, and rights in the first half of the 13th century. Central parts of the cadastré are from circa 1230.

The cadastré is difficult to use because no traditional source criticism is applicable, due to the very few contemporary sources which are preserved. In order to use the surveys it is instead necessary to look upon the source in a more structural way and try to discover structures in the cadastré that can be supported by tendencies in contemporary sources.

The analysis of the cadastré is mainly concerned with the royal properties, and through the investigation it is possible to discern how the royal power was organized in two different ways. In the western provinces, i.e. Jutland and Fyn, there were many manors belonging to the royal patrimony ("patrimonium" cf. fig. 4 and 5) and only few manors belonging to the Crown ("konunglef" cf. fig. 2 and 5). In general there was only one Crown manor in each shire ("syssel") or province ("land"). In the eastern parts of Denmark there were instead very few or maybe no patrimonies, but many Crown manors. These were organized at a lower level of the administrative division and there was in general one Crown manor in each hundred ("härad" cf. fig. 2). It is not possible to date the two systems of royal properties through the few contemporary written sources, but tendencies show that Crown manors were of political significance at least as early as the end of the 11th century.

But with numismatic sources it is possible to go a step further in the dating. Many Danish mints are known from the 1020's and afterwards from inscriptions on the locally produced coins. Almost all the mints are later known as "konunglef", which indicates the existence of Crown property at this early time (cf. fig. 9). The number of coins produced also seems to correspond geographically to the number of Crown manors, which points to a very close link between royal economy and minting (cf. fig. 10).

By comparing the Crown manors with probably older systems of royal administration (royal farms named "Husby" and the famous "Trelleborg"-fortresses), runestones, and changes in the minting, it is possible to give a tentative date of circa 1000 for the systems of "konunglef" (cf. fig. 11).

The two heterogeneous systems of royal power can probably be explained by differences in the political structures in Denmark when the medieval state was formed. The distribution of royal patrimonies in the western parts of the country may represent the main area of the actual royal power, deriving from Viking Age kingship. The many Crown manors in the eastern parts may on the other hand reflect a more formal part of the royal power, established in order to maintain the state itself. In fact some sort of structural differences are already known by the end of the 9th century, when we hear of a similar geographic division between "south danes" and "north danes".

With this sketch of the development of the royal power as a background, the second part of the article is concerned with the relationship between kingship and towns.

Almost all towns of the 11th century belonged to the Crown property and were also

mints, which means that the towns were an important part of the royal administration. The relationship between urbanization and royal power can be more closely investigated by comparing the size of the towns with the number of surrounding Crown manors probably connected with the towns. According to fig. 13 there is a correlation between the size of the towns and the number of Crown manors, which indicates a very close link between royal economy and urbanization. But the correlations seem to point out that the eastern towns were more dependent on the Crown manors than the western towns, probably due to the numerous patrimonies in the west.

The relationship can be further illuminated by archæological investigations in the separate towns. In the eastern provinces, extensive expansions of urban settlement can be traced in the towns of Roskilde and Lund during the 11th century, whereas only a few traces from the same century are known from the western towns such as for instance Ribe. In western Denmark the urban expansion seems to take place later, i.e. in the late 11th and in the 12th centuries. This archæologically based picture appears to indicate that the towns were primarily connected with the Crown manors or the regal economy and only secondarily were influenced by rents from royal patrimonies and perhaps expanding ecclesiastic properties.

The relationship between royal power and towns is accordingly very close, but rather complicated. Thus the largest towns at the time (Roskilde and Lund) developed in close connection with the royal administration, where this royal power was however more formal than actual. The same pattern of an early uneven urbanization, connected with the establishment of the state, can probably be traced both in Sweden (Sigtuna) and in Norway (Trondheim).

Hugo Yrwing

### Ein mittelalterliches Gotlandprivileg auf Abwegen

Im Jahre 1237 fertigte Heinrich III. in England ein Privileg für „alle Kaufleute aus Gotland“ aus, das diese für ihren Handel in England von Zöllen und Abgaben befreite. Die Hansaliteratur vertritt die Ansicht, die Urkunde sei für die deutsche Gotlandfahrergesellschaft in Visby ausgestellt worden. 1940 wandte ich mich in Gotland und äldre medeltid gegen diese Behauptung, stiess aber auf den Widerspruch von G. Löning. Diesem trat ich später in Gotlands medeltid entgegen (S. 119 ff.). Oben wollte ich insbesondere zeigen, wie und warum die Urkunde in das Lübecker Stadtarchiv gelangte. — In der Urkunde von 1226 über die Anerkennung Lübecks als freier Reichstadt wird erklärt, die Kölner Kaufleute hätten von den lübischen Kaufleuten für den Zutritt zu ihrer Gildenhalle in London Abgaben erhoben, welche die Kölner selbst festgesetzt hätten. In englischem Quellenmaterial begegnen lübische Kaufleute erst 1238, als ihnen sowie Kaufleuten aus anderen deutschen Städten dieselben Rechte zuerkannt werden wie den Kölnern. Dies geschah jedoch nahezu anderthalb Jahre nach der Ausfertigung des Gotlandprivilegs. Die Initiative war von Lübeck ausgegangen, möglicherweise als Folge dieses Privilegs. Die Konsequenzen erwiesen sich 1255, als unter einer Reihe von Kaufleuten, die Waren aus deutschen Städten an den englischen Hof geliefert hatten, nur ein Kaufmann aus Gotland auftaucht, während früher gotländische Kaufleute allem Anschein nach beinahe die alleinigen Lieferanten von Pelzwerk und Wachs an den englischen Hof gewesen waren. Im Jahre 1260 ist dann die Rede von der Gildenhalle der Deutschen anstatt der Kölner in London, und 1267 erhält Lübeck das Recht, in England eine Hansa von derselben Art wie die der Kölner zu bilden.

Im Zusammenhang mit einem Konflikt wurden die Kölner 1477 durch Eingreifen vor allem der wendischen Städte gezwungen, den Stalhof in London zu verlassen. Sie wurden beschuldigt, ein Privileg für eine Visbyhansa entwendet zu haben, das die gesamte Hansa betraf. Es handelte sich um das erwähnte Gotlandprivileg, von dem gesagt wurde, es sei älter als die eigenen Englandprivilegien der Kölner. Köln leugnete jegliche Kenntnis von dieser Urkunde. Sie kam jedoch noch vor Jahresende zutage, doch wird nicht angegeben, wie oder wo dies geschah. Bei dieser Gelegenheit muss sie unter die Hansaprivilegien des Lübecker Archivs geraten sein. Auf der Urkunde wurde, augenscheinlich in diesem Zusammenhang, eine Notiz von einer Hand des 15. Jahrhunderts gemacht, die beinhaltet, jene sei „für alle Kaufleute aus Gotland“ und deren „heredes“, d.h. deren Erben in der Bedeutung „Nachfolger“ ausgestellt worden. Mit dieser anachronistischen Notiz ist sie den Hanseprivilegien zu einer Zeit beigefügt worden, als die hanseatische Handelskonkurrenz mit den englischen Kaufleuten sich ernstlich verschärft hatte. Aber auf dieser anachronistischen Auffassung der Urkunde gründet auch deren Bedeutung für „die ganze Hansa“ nicht nur in den Konflikten mit Köln in den 1470er Jahren, sondern überhaupt während der verschärften Gegensätze zwischen hanseatischen und englischen Kaufleuten im 15. Jahrhundert.

Knud J V Jespersen

**Claude Louis, Comte de Saint-Germain: Professional Soldier, Danish Military Reformer and French War Minister (1707—1778)**

This biographical essay was originally presented at the international military history colloquium in Washington, D.C. in July, 1982. As part of the commemoration of the 250th anniversary of George Washington's birth, the colloquium's main theme was "Soldier-Statesman of the Age of the Enlightenment. The object was to cast new light on a not uncommon 18th century phenomenon: the politician who was also an important officer, or the officer who also became a prominent politician — in other words, "the soldier-statesman". Famous examples of this are Charles XII of Sweden, Frederick the Great of Prussia, the Duke of Marlborough and, of course, Georg Washington.

The French general, Claude Louis, comte de Saint-Germain, may be considered as another example of this type of individual — even if the designation statesman is perhaps somewhat dubious in his particular case. His career first as a professional soldier, then as Danish military reformer in the 1760s, and finally as France's Minister of War for a few years in the 1770s developed in both spheres. His crossing the boundary from the military to the political sphere took place, however, in connection with his military-political reform efforts in Denmark.

Presumably on the initiative of a circle of reform minded officers, Saint-Germain was called in by the Danish government in 1761 as a kind of foreign expert who was to give advice in an acute military crisis situation, the threatening conflict with Russia. As soon as this was over, Saint-Germain was given rather free hand by the shaken politicians to effect a thorough reform of the very outmoded Danish military. This took place in the years 1763—1767, with the active assistance of reform minded officers under the leadership of the influential general P.E. Gähler. The reforms were thus achieved through the close collaboration of Saint-Germain and Gähler.

The article provides a short sketch of the character of Saint-Germain's army reforms. It points out that the reforms chiefly consisted of two elements:

1) a complete reorganization of the army leadership, such that its dependence on the civil administration was ended, while the upper army administration, led by Saint-Germain himself, was brought under the direct control of the absolute king, 2) the abolition of the national militia and the creation of a unitary army based partly on recruitment and partly on conscription.

Particular emphasis is given to the fact that these organizational changes, which Saint-Germain effected on purely military grounds, nevertheless had important contagious effects on other parts of the society. Partly by weakening decisively feudal landed nobility's control of the military, partly by removing, through the abolition of the national militia, its only alibi for the maintenance of serfdom (the "*Stavnsbåndet*"). Saint-Germain's reforms thus became an important basis for the great land reforms of the 1780s. In addition, the new organization given the top army leadership showed itself to be a successful alternative to the rigid collegial administration. Moreover, this experience was very much used during the next reform wave, that of Struensee's between 1770 and 1772, and created the basis for the cabinet rule that afterwards succeeded the rigid landed nobility dominated council rule.

The enterprising and imaginative Saint-Germain thus began the sweeping process of reform which, in the late 18th century, not only radically changed Danish agriculture,

but also, in terms of political structure, transformed Denmark from a feudal, landed nobility dominated country to an enlightened absolute monarchy. To this development Saint-Germain acted as a catalyst, and this professional soldier's brief activity in Denmark may thus quite justifiably be considered as the deeds of a statesman — ironically enough, without any such effects being directly intended by the count himself, whose motives were first and foremost military-political in nature.



Lars Edgren

**Recent trends in German and British research on the handicrafts during the nineteenth century.**

This article presents some of the literature written during the last two decades in Germany and Britain that deals with different aspects of the development of the handicrafts during the 19th century.

In the first part of the article the lively German research on the economic history of the crafts is analysed. This body of research centers very much upon the debate concerning "the decline of the handicrafts", an early view which is almost universally criticised. Instead, the ability of the handicrafts to adjust to the rapid industrial development of this period is stressed; rather than declining, the crafts pass through a period of structural crisis. German research has been primarily economic and quantitative. The criticism is made that this body of research has not adequately integrated different aspects of the crafts, for example economic, social and ideological, into a whole, and that it has not sufficiently clarified the nature of the structural changes of the handicrafts.

The second part of the article deals with the British research. Here the situation is much different. The study of the crafts has not developed into a specialised field in Britain, and there is a lack of economic and quantitative studies. The literature reviewed here primarily deals with the skilled artisan workers. Applying different uses of the concept, the debate about the "labour aristocracy" is discussed in order to clarify the role played by workers in the traditional crafts. British writers have stressed the spread of the putting-out system and "sweating" in the crafts, the division of each craft into "honourable" and "dishonourable" trades working for different markets, and the threat posed to journeymen by the increased use of unskilled labour. Much of the British research also shows a marked effort to integrate different aspects of workers' experiences.

The article concludes with some comparisons between British and German research. Finally, an outline is drawn of some of the important conclusions to be made from the literature presented.

Per Frånberg

**“The True Woman and Politics”  
On the Debate on Separation of Votes in 1922**

Prior to the 1922 referendum on prohibition, the Swedish Parliament discussed the possibility of separating out men's and women's votes. The idea was to have the ballot envelopes distinguishable by sex.

The opponents of prohibition did not consider that women's votes on the prohibition question could have the same worth as men's. In the restriction system on individual alcohol rations then in force, the Bratt system, women had considerably lower rations than men, while married women did not have the right to hold a registration booklet and therefore could not themselves purchase liquor. It was considered unreasonable that women who were not alcohol consumers should be able to determine the results of the prohibition referendum. Inasmuch as the referendum was only consultative, one wanted to point out the fact, which was assumed, that it would be women who would decide the matter.

Women in the different parties in Parliament protested, and a proposal was put forth to build a separate women's party in the event that the ballots were counted separately. Women also had good grounds to suppose that many Members of Parliament would want to have separate counts in all future elections in order to discriminate women's votes.

The MPs who supported the women's demands came mostly from the ranks of the Social-Liberals (Free thinkers), Left-Socialists and Communists. However, if one analyses these groups' arguments in the Parliamentary debates, one finds that they were in no way precursors of a radical view on women. Their main argument was that women received the right to vote because their votes would be valuable on primarily moral questions, as women were considered to be more advanced on the moral plane. The left groups felt that by irritating women on the question of separate ballots, one would have them engage themselves more strongly on other political questions, which was not desirable. The political arena did, and ought to, belong to men.