

The Making of Regions in Sweden and Germany: Culture and Identity, Religion and Economy in a Comparative Perspective

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Introduction

Peter Aronsson

It is common to recommend a comparative approach today, also in historical research. The advantage of bringing out both the individuality and the universality in the process under study is often upheld. A lack of faith in or availability of theories could then be countered by this method for more open-minded or explorative theoretical approach.¹

But to start on a comparative adventure is more demanding than one first might think. The first issue ought to be to establish the contextual framework, not so much as a fixed model or theory, but a consciousness of the differing historical and historiographical traditions involved. This is the scope of the introductory articles by Peter Aronsson and Detlef Briesen. From these essays it will be obvious that there are interesting differences in both the dimension of history itself and historiography in the broad sense of academic writing making use of regional levels of analyses.²

The essential federalist constitution in Germany could be contrasted with the Swedish self-understanding of being an extremely homogenous nation-state. Sweden lacks the direct experience of Nazism and war and its cultural resonance in

¹ See Jürgen Kocka, "The Uses of Comparative History", *Societies made up of history. Essays in historiography, intellectual history, professionalisation, historical social theory & proto-industrialisation*, ed Ragnar Björk & Karl Molin (1996); Peter Aronsson, "Frågor och svar. Landsbygdens modernisering och lokalpolitisk historieskrivning", *Kommunerna och lokalpolitiken. Rapport från en konferens om modern lokalpolitisk historia*, red Lars Nilsson & Kjell Östberg, Studier i stads- och kommunhistoria 11, Stads- och kommunhistoriska institutet (1995).

² This collection of essays stems from a conference at Växjö University with participants from the Department of History, Växjö University, Gothenburg University and Institut für Europäische Regionalforschungen der Universität-Gesamthochschule-Siegen, 17-19 November 1995. Magnus Levin, Växjö University, has made a prompt effort to normalize the use of English in the text, especially the Swedish once. All authors are of course responsible for remaining inadequacies.

Kulturräumgeschichte. Of course this does not mean a void of racial mentality, theories or dispositions, but more the fact that Swedes seldom felt the urge to take up the conscious task of discussing and opposing these perspectives - they just were unanimously felt to be obsolete, or at least politically incorrect, after the Second World War and especially after the 1960s.

The revitalisation of local and regional history developed in both Sweden and Germany in the 70s where one dimension was developed into a criticism against the prerogative of both national interpretations and large scale theories of societal development in modernisation theories. However, this did not lead to any thorough theoretical considerations of the spatial concepts used.³ 'Local' being the totally dominant spatial metaphor besides 'state' in Sweden, while in Germany there was at least until quite recently an active tradition of regional history to look back on as a point of departure. The rift between the new and old regional history is more like a canyon in Sweden - there is only occasional generational overlapping.

Early on the spatial considerations in the Swedish Academy took the form of a disciplinary division of labour. Regional approaches similar to the Annales school were developed by cultural geographers in the inter-war period. Cultural diffusion and regions were constructed by ethnology - but not in history proper.

When a regional approach was used in Sweden it has not been so much as a critic of national or aggregated history as a way of refining and bringing together findings from social history and cultural history to a national history of variations, hopefully explained by some of the variables involved (differing social structure) or a more complex story of different pace in the modernization process between East and West Sweden. A parallel tradition of regional identity has long roots, but not in academic

3 Exceptions were few. Eva Österberg, "Rikshistoria och lokalhistoria. En fråga om centrum och periferi, centralt och perifert i historieforskningen?", *Periferi og sentrum i historien*. Foredrag ved Nordisk fagkonferanse for historisk metodlaere på Røros 16-20 juni 1974, *Studier i Historisk Metode X* (Oslo, 1975) in Sweden and Wolfgang Köllmann, "Die Bedeutung der Regionalgeschichte im Rahmen struktur- und sozialgeschichtlicher Konzeptionen", *Archiv für Sozialgeschichte* 11 (1975) in Germany.

history.⁴ This is something of a counterpart to the German effort to bring the discussion of the German Sonderweg to a more nuanced regional assertion.⁵

The most recent wave of interest in regional history has a closer connection to the establishment than the one of the 1970s which formed more of a liaison with a green or leftist counter culture and also was thought of more in terms of 'local'. The setting of the early 1990s is different and many of the interest groups are forming an agenda of action where a regional perspective is part of the argument and strategy in contemporary politics trying to deal with economic globalization and European integration. There is a tension between regional élites using the new concept as a market oriented counter force to state-power and more popular notion of regions as democratic, organized civil society.⁶

Why compare Siegenland with Småland, especially the western part encompassed roughly by the counties of Kronoberg and Jönköping?

Firstly it is important to note that one essential part of the scope is to transcend the administrative boundary as an unreflected comparative framework

Secondly you could compare any regions if the general question is how they are constructed and composed as regions and how the dynamics changes over time. There is very limited knowledge and too often the explanations and interpretations developed are confined to a primarily national pattern where they fit in as deviations or examples. We would like to transcend this national straight-jacket for regional study because it might give access to a wider range of interpretative frameworks.

⁴ See footnot 12, page 25; Håkan Nordmark, "Den Svenska Historien och historia i Småland. Petter Rudebeck och farbrodern i Uppsala", ...och fram träder landsbygdens människor... *Studier i nordisk och småländsk historia tillägnade Lars-Olof Larsson på 60-årsdagen den 15 november 1994* (Växjö, 1994) and e. g. Sten Rentzhog, *Jämtland* (AWE/Geber, 1984).

⁵ This perspective has also been developed in several projects led by Bo Stråth. See *Language and the Construction of Class identities. The Struggle for Discursive Power i Social Organisation: Scandinavia and Germany after 1800*, ed Bo Stråth (Gothenburg, 1990) and *The Cultural Construction of Communities in the Process of Modernization: Sweden and Germany in Comparison* (Berlin: Nordeuropa-institut, 1997).

⁶ Christopher Harris, *The Rise of Regional Europe* (Routledge, 1994).

Thirdly there are some structural similarities and differences that will be clear to the reader of this report. They have today roughly the same population, half a million inhabitants; both have an important part of their regional identity on the one hand in religious characteristics and on the other, but interrelated through ethics, in the undertakings and ethos within the economic sphere. The main differences are economic but also constitutional. The economy in Siegerland is more centred around the trades of iron-works and mining, whereas Småland is more diversified, with both iron-works and mining and small-scale manufacturing but within an agrarian culture which was dominant until just recently. Siegerland is also much more densely populated than Småland. Småland has since the Middle Ages taken part in the national history of the Swedish nation-state, although there are important regional dynamics in this process that are relatively well researched. In Siegerland the more complex dynastic relationship gives another context for hammering out a regional - national (Land) - Staat relationship.

Fourthly, this combination of similarities and differences is addressed by research milieus in Siegen and Växjö trying to use modern perspectives on how identities and economies interplay with mentalities and cultures in the drive to change or uphold hegemony. This gives us a dynamic possibility to utilize a comparative perspective while research is still in the process of being shaped - and not ex post facto.

Several of the articles touch upon historiography in a broad sense. They could be read in a regional thematic way - the German by themselves and the Swedish on the other hand, but we have chosen to group them in tentative thematic orders to suggest future lines of comparative reflection. Besides showing something of the diversity of regional historical research taking place in Växjö (Sweden) and Siegen (Germany), they can be organized around a couple of topos:

- I. *The desire for regions*, the production of regions, either in academic professions or in the more or less conscious self-understanding of actors within the regions themselves as communities.

Regions in action. The formation and dynamics of

- II. Religion and region
- III. Regional political culture
- IV. Changing economic regions.

In the Enlightenment tradition as well as in research religion and reason has often been contradictory themes. Is this necessarily so?

There is an intricate and complex development behind the development of a public sphere from the 18th century, giving it distinct traits not only in specific nations, but in specific regions. In his classical study Jürgen Habermas identifies this social form with the bourgeoisie and their creation of a way of interaction privately *and* publicly at the same time. The public sphere was not a traditional corporative one or one dominated by the state, but formed by the free will of the participants in the construction of several aspects of civil society. Individuals taking part in discussions and arguments in a sphere where no power but reason should ideally be allowed to rule.

The typical arenas where this development has been recognized by researchers in the enlightenment tradition have been the literary societies, the discussion clubs and early associations in the towns. They have all had certain traits in common - being secular, involving mostly polite society, if not the outright elite.

The striking similarities in the main development and shift in mentalities taking place from the later half of the 18th century, also among people who cannot by standard definitions of the Enlightenment be said to have taken part in literary society, have raised questions on the social origins of the movements as a whole. Perhaps there are more of a parallel development from below than the diffusionist approach of Gesunkenes Kulturgut usually suggests?⁷

⁷ Peter Aronsson, "The possibilities of conceptual history 'from above' and 'from below': Reflections on the concept of samhälle 'society' in Sweden, 1700 to 1990", *Historia a Debate*, tomo II, Retorno del Sujeto, Actas del Congreso Internacional "A historia a debate" celebrado el 7-11 de julio de 1993 en Santiago de Compostela, ed Carlos Barros (1995), pp 237-260. Peter Aronsson, *Another route to Enlightenment. A Swedish argument for a history from below*, Paper presented at the international congress on the Enlightenment, Münster, 22-29 July 1995.

The unshaken, and in the revival movements even revitalized, popular piety, “superstition”, has often been adduced in earlier research as evidence of the traditionalism of the common people. Another view, however, has begun to make itself known on this question; perhaps the popular revival from the end of the 18th century should be seen as an independent, mature response aimed in two directions, both against the orthodox doctrine of unity and against neologically “enlightened” superiors, appearing in parallel at the end of the 18th century and the start of the 19th century?⁸

Even before this the church had, perhaps involuntarily, made significant contributions to the Enlightenment, not just through popular participation in the establishment of the parish assembly, but also in the spread of literacy – a procedure which can be used for many purposes, from giving personal access to the source of sanctity, the Bible and other religious books, to an invitation to read, perhaps not Diderot in the first instance, but at least the advice and hints for farmers in the almanacs. The empty lines in the almanacs were also one of the first invitations to write diaries – self-reflection and observations committed to paper.

Progress has often been identified with the secularization that ultimately results from any individualization of religion. In another interpretation the emphasis is on the fact that the revivalists relied on their own legitimate ability to make decisions in the most basic cosmological and theological questions, to choose both their

⁸ Lennart Johansson, ”Den småländska gammalkyrkligheten - en religiös och samhällelig paradox”, *Väckelsen och vardagslivet. Västsvensk väckelse ur nordiskt perspektiv*, Red. Anders Jarlert, Västsvensk kultur och samhällsutveckling Rapport nr 4, Humanistiska fakulteten, Göteborgs universitet., (Göteborg, 1995), s. 81-95; Hanne Sanders, ”Om fanatiska svärmerare og sande kristne: Den offentlige debat om den religiøse vækkelse i Danmark og Sverige 1800–1850”, *Historisk Tidsskrift* 1992:2; Hanne Sanders, *Bondevækkelse og sekularisering. En protestantisk folkelig kultur i Danmark og Sverige 1820-1850*, Studier i stads- og kommunhistoria 12 (diss Stockholm, 1995); Tom Ericsson & Börje Harnesk, *Präster, predikare och profeter. Läseriet i övre Norrland 1800-1850* (Vildros, Gideå, 1994); Arne Jarrick, *Mot det moderna förnuftet* (Tiden 1992); Daniel Lindmark, ”Sann kristendom och medborgerlig dygd”. *Studier i den svenska katekesundervisningens historia*, Album Religionum Umense 2, lic avh Umeå (1993); Anders Nilsson & Lars Pettersson, ”Utbildning, ekonomisk omvandling och tillväxt”, *Äventyret Sverige. En ekonomisk och social historia* (1993); Peter Aronsson, *Ropande pigor och läsande bönder: Bidrag till tolkningen av de sociala och politiska dimensionerna av åkianismen och roparerörelsen – två väckelserörelser före 1850*, Växjö stiftshistoriska sällskap, meddelande 12 (Växjö, 1990).

scriptures and their priests, to organize themselves and stand for their own conclusions in public.

It is true, however, that any attempt to see the early revivals as part of the Enlightenment tradition contains its own paradoxes: it certainly requires a self-confidence of unusual strength to assert one's own authority in religious issues – on the other hand, people do not assert their religion individually, but in practice only the ability to decide *what* authority speaks or writes the true word of God. This is mostly not presented as a truth at which one has arrived by reasoning, and the many engaged statements do not have the structure of egalitarian exchange of opinion that characterizes the bourgeois public sphere. On one hand, independent choice, speech, and organization, on the other hand fundamentalism and unaccountability, since one is only a tool of God or the Holy Spirit.⁹

It seems clear that religious culture is one of the surrounding dimensions that has to be utilized in the understanding of how a regional political culture is developed.

Olle Larsson is setting out to sketch the structure of one of the traditional arenas for interaction within the realm of the church and try to discern what tensions between a more open and a more hierarchical way of interacting are already present there. In Lennart Johansson's overview the much later impact of the religious structure on the political culture is outlined. The flexibility of the institutions of the church and their adaptability to peasant norms seems to have given them a strong position, even being able to block the spread of associations in certain regions.

There are a striking similarities as regards some of the popular stereotypes of the Siegen and Småland people, characterized by their industrious ethos and religious character. In Småland, however, there are two distinct versions of the religious ethos: in the North, in the county of Jönköping there is a predominance of evangelic churches which especially in the western part, around Gnosjö, have been used to explain the industrious community with an extremely high degree of small or self-employed companies and

⁹ See in greater detail Peter Aronsson, "Landsbygd och politisk kultur. Några reflektioner kring skandinavisk historia". *Kultursamhangar i Midt-Norden. Tverfagleg symposium for doktorgradsstudentar og forskarar*, red. Steinar Supphellen, Det Kongelige Norske Videnskaberne Selskab, Skrifter (Trondheim: Tapir, 1997).

employers forming networks in their respective parishes. In the South, the county of Kronoberg, a much more restricted attitude towards Evangelic movements and an articulate and long-standing success for a desire to keep the 'peace and unity' of the parish is at hand. A desire that seems to have been a hinder to an industrialisation of the countryside, especially in the very south of the county.

Rüdiger Gans addresses the Weberian question of the Protestant work ethic. As he shows, even if the subsequent discussion showed that a straight-forward connection between Protestantism and capitalism cannot be established, the original thesis of a correspondence between a secularized work ethic with religious roots or equivalents can not be dismissed quit so readily. We would also like to add the question of trust and networking were religious congregations of what ever origin could provide 'lower costs of transactions' than an outright liberal and individualized society. Images of community and coherence thus become productive if they are regarded as images of reality - and not constructions.¹⁰

It is clear both from this contribution and Håkan Nordmark's that the role of a regional elite in forming ideas around regional identity, in an ambiguous relationship to nation-making, is of vital importance to understand how the 'We' is constructed and what territorial and normative extension it reaches.¹¹

In the broader context of western Sweden there has been a critical discussion on the importance of a Pietistic movement called *schartaunism* and its alleged capability of keeping workers happy, referring to the world hereafter and referring to a strong sense of vocation given to you from God to elaborate in everyday tasks and work.¹² The same type of assessment has been discussed in the case of Siegen by Heinrich Ulrich Seidel. As to the 'true story' of

¹⁰ Cf Robert D Putnam, *Making Democracy work. Civic Traditions in Modern Italy* (Princeton University Press, 1993).

¹¹ Nordmark 1994. See also Kerstin Arcadius, *Museum på svenska. Läns museerna och kulturhistorien* (Stockholm: Nordiska museet, 1997).

¹² Christer Winberg, *Fabriksfolket. Textilindustrin i mark och arbetarrörelsens genombrott*, Institutet för lokalhistorisk forskning, skriftserie nr 2 (Göteborg, 1989); Christer Ahlberger, *Vävarfolket. Hemindustrin i mark 1790-1850*, Institutet för lokalhistorisk forskning, skriftserie nr 1 (Göteborg, 1989).

religious movements in Siegenland it is of a complexity that renders Wolfgang Degenhardt to give the conclusion:

If one searches for the notorious "Geist des Kapitalismus" (spirit of Capitalism), it may much easier be found in the pluralistic competition of religions in these regions than in a Calvinistic-reformed heritage which can, if at all, be proved only in homeopathic doses.

The true story of religious diversity and unity in western Sweden, Småland and the county of Kronoberg has not even on a descriptive level been appreciated, let alone in a synthetic interpretation in a context of territorial identity. There is older research concerning the mainly priest-dominated Pietism in southern Sweden, and later research concerning the Evangelic churches of the latter part of the 19th Century.¹³ Only few attempts have been made to characterize what happened in between and how the mainstream of popular religiosity should be apprehended.

One of the issues that has been discussed, and is touched upon by Lennart Johansson, is the distinct difference between widespread evangelical Revivalism in the north part of Småland, the county of Jönköping, and the great difficulties these encountered trying to spread southwards. The image which applied to the southern part delivered by despairing evangelicalists was one of the Dark Africa. This image is however not to be accepted as an uncontested description. The persistence and perhaps even reinforcement of a more traditionalist and unitarian form of religiosity in the southern part has yet to be interpreted.

Heinrich Ulrich Seidel is addressing the parallel issue of social harmony in a traditional setting in Siegenland. Like most of his compatriots his perspective is rather that of attempting the deconstruction of a long cherished myth than to develop a regional image or identity more true to real historical action. The tentative argument is that on one hand the workers did organize to a higher degree than hitherto has been thought, and on the other that reformist behaviour was perhaps more widespread also in other areas.

¹³ See footnot 8, p 10 above and Lars-Olof Larsson, *Växjö stift under 800 år*, (Växjö, 1972); Göran Åberg, *Sankt Sigfrids stift i historia och nutid*, Växjö Stiftshistoriska Sällskapet (1996)

What can be concluded here is above all the need for more research from both deconstructive and reconstructive approaches. A comparative perspective seems indispensable to such attempts.

The culture developed around the foundries and glassworks in Småland never gave momentum to a hegemonical regional identity. They were confined to islands of industry within a well-defended rural culture that were partly regionally evaluated by early ethnology and historiography. This in marked contrast to Siegenland where the industry put its mark on the identity of the region as a whole to a much greater extent. The interpretation has its origin in religious terms as is shown in several of the German papers, e.g. Armin Flender.

Before industrialization there was proto-industrialization, according to a dominant research tradition starting with Mendels in the 1970s. The relationship between regional structure of economy is a classical and challenging one. Per Göran Johansson's paper is working in the classical tradition but trying to discuss the question of de-industrialization. Is it a question of the same economic rationality responding to new developments in the means of production? Or is the question of religious, normative values, mentalities relevant in the changing patterns of modernization?

A more institutional approach to the distributive sphere is taken in Börje Björkman's research. The interrelationship between bureaucracy, households, associations, local self-government in solving a crisis often relies on old patterns but changes them to reach the desired goal if necessary and thus, perhaps, sets the cultural context for new regional interaction between different spheres in society: the forced planning gave an enhanced experience and created new tools in a more professionalized and politicized welfare society - but could give rise to back-lashes in case of mismanagement. So far our knowledge is quite limited on how this dimension of 'regional economy' worked in practice.

The rural setting dominated by household economies, self-owning farmer of Kronoberg and indeed most of Scandinavia, is a necessary factor to mention. This gives an explanation why the developments in the towns have to be given a smaller role in the modernisation process in the Nordic countries than on the continent. Furthermore,

the cultural structure of a small city like Växjö, although being the seat of the provincial government and the bishop, is to a large extent determined by its hinterland, embedded as it seems to be in its rural cultural and demographical embrace.

However some of the inhabitants are well aware of the new winds blowing and feel the call to take an active part in the creation of the new world. As both the work of Mats Höglund and Per-Olof Andersson shows it is not without difficulties this is done. In the long run the traditional mentality seems to provide a close to insurmountable obstacle. Every challenge, of course, will notwithstanding change the outset for the next battle to take place in.¹⁴

There is an interesting difference between the German and Swedish contributions that has to be understood in the context of contemporary historiography. As will be clear from the contributions by Peter Aronsson and Detlef Briesen there is a much longer tradition of culturally important regional cultural history in Germany. Although not absent in Sweden, as Håkan Nordmark's paper shows, regional history has not entered the hegemonical academic sphere as an activity of urgent importance in the 20th Century. A more cautious attitude has been taken also in Germany after the Second World War, but the regional 'knowledge' is bringing academic and literary texts closer to produce stereotypes of regions and regional identities.

This means that academics in our respective regions face different challenges as regards the preceding research: in Germany it is important to start deconstructing regional stereotypes while in Sweden there seems to be a more urgent necessity to pay attention to their earlier hidden existence and assess their importance.

Hopefully this volume provides inspiration to reflect in a bit more unrestricted way on the topic of regional history and how the study of these can be organized. It does not have to be an inward-looking activity. In fact it is our argument that by looking at our European neighbours, or 'others', we will be able to understand the changing complexity of 'ourselves' in a more nuanced manner.

¹⁴ On the general dynamics of structural change as the reinterpretation necessitated by cultural action, see Marshall Sahlins, *Islands of history* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1985).

I. The desire for regions

Academic space. A not so innocent story of oblivion, culturalisation and instrumentalisation of regions by division of labour

Peter Aronsson

Introduction

From ‘the outside’ the Nordic countries, Scandinavia or the Baltic is perhaps the concepts first associated with when ‘Sweden’ and ‘region’ are mentioned. The development of these concepts and indeed cultural, and political movements connected to them have an interesting history that will not be dealt with here.

I will give a brief orientation on the way regions on a sub-national level have been used and recognized in some of the cultural sciences in Sweden. One purpose is to try to assert how their way of conceptualising the territorial dimension was not at all a neutral scientific devise but very much part of developing an understanding of Sweden as a nation state which enhanced and even implanted certain stereotypes of Sweden as particularly homogenous as regards ethnicity, culture and politics.

In short, to give a summary already here to bring the reader through the fragments of an as yet unfinished narrative, it is my suggestion that Historiography concealed regions, Ethnology naturalized and culturalized the regional differences (and thus kept them away from being politicized) and geography eventually

functionalized regions as instruments for the building of the unitarian, universalist welfare state.¹

I am not going to argue a great deal around the question of whether these conceptualisations were more or less correct according to any conception of 'real history'. Of course that would bring a more interesting conclusion to the argument but the comparative approach necessary in such an attempt would need to be carefully elaborated by itself. But even more so the argument is that the border between the knowledge or images of history and history itself is much less clear-cut and much more interesting than often has been recognized.²

The main theses, or rather presupposition, anyone dealing with Sweden has to use as a starting-point is that 'regions are of less importance in Sweden than in many other European countries'.

Usually this is part of and justified by a, 'whiggish', story of a successful nation building. In short it starts with Gustavus Vasa in the 16th century overcoming the regional diversity and disorder of the provincialism of the late Middle Ages. This is soon followed up by an extraordinary modern bureaucracy developed in the 17th century and obedient people adjusting to central regulation and institutions with an unusual loyalty. The evolution is crowned by

¹ The argument is mostly drawn from my book *Regionernas roll i Sveriges historia*, ERU rapport 91 (Fritzes, 1995) which is available in a brief summary in English in "The Desire for Regions. The Production of Space in Sweden's History and Historiography", Institut für Europäische Regionalforschungen, *Interregiones* 1995:4 and "The Nature of States and Regions: Reflections on Territory in Swedish Historiography" to be published by Odense University Press 1997. For complete references I refer to these texts.

² This field, breaking down the barrier of professional history and historical culture and social memory is one of the more vital in modern historiography. See for example David Lowenthal, *Possessed by the Past. The Heritage Crusade and the Spoils of History* (New York: The Free Press, 1996); Robert Gildea, *The Past in French History* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1994); James Fentress & Chris Wickham, *Social memory* (Cambridge, Mass: Blackwell, 1992); Samuels, Raphael, *Theatres of Memory. Vol I: Past and Present in Contemporary Culture* (Verso, 1994). Less so in Scandinavia, but it is the subject of several dissertations in the making. Claus Bryld, "Fra historieskrivningens historie til historiekulturens historie? Ideer til en udvidelse af det historiografiske begreb", *Historien og historikerne i Norden efter 1965*, Studier i historisk metode XXI (Aarhus universitetsforlag, 1991); Anssi Paasi, *Territories, boundaries and consciousness* (Chichester: Wiley, 1995) on regional and local memory in Finland.

the development of the most universalist and (until recently) successful attempt in the world to build a modern welfare State.

With this story as a starting point it was of course relevant to study the national institutions and normative frameworks, especially the political ones, as they coincided with 'reality' in the nation.

Let me just state that I think there is less difference between Sweden and other European countries in regard to regional questions than one might think. A few examples:

- the federal structure in the Medieval Ages is quite mainstream;
- the prevalence of local self-government on parish and hundred levels continuing and even reinforced during the process of modern nation building;
- the conquest of southern Scandinavia and Jämtland (with a strong "federal/national" tradition of itself within Norway/Denmark) in the 17th Century creating a potentially Spanish or British situation.³
- The Finnish question. Finland being an integral part of the Kingdom of Sweden, with a definite majority of Finnish speaking subjects, taken over by Russia as an arch duchy in 1809, leaving a large minority of Finnish speaking subjects in Sweden and an even larger minority of indigenous Swedish speaking subjects in Finland. A good ground for battle - which did break out - in Finland.
- The Union with a reluctant Norway in 1814, which was dissolved quite peacefully in 1905, mostly by political means and only with a little rattle with the arms - but not very resolutely, rather as they had to use them for something when they after all were at hands.

History: the concealment of regions

Of course this does not mean that space was not important in history. As in most countries the creation and constitution of the state/nation was one of the central topics of historiography to deal with. There is a forceful struggle over the right interpretation as regards source material to use and dating, but there are seldom

³ This part of the argument is developed in Peter Aronsson, *Nation, provinces and regions: a Scandinavian perspective* paper to a conference at UEA, Norwich, England, 24-26/10 1996 (forthcoming 1997)

reflections as regards the grounds for making a theoretical choice between them.

Two examples could show how the interpretations were determined by conceptions of the interpreter and his time in a rather striking and still probably unconscious way. The territorial conception or rather implication of the state, one of the most successful regional bodies in the history of Mankind, has changed dramatically only in the last hundred years or so:

- I. Sweden was in the classical, 19th Century interpretation, regarded as a Kingdom, meaning often hereditary, secure military rule over a territory. This would bring out a necessary uncertain dating around 1000 as rule fluctuated with the monarchs. Preferably it should be pushed as far back as possible to give glory to the country and hence the revisionists, the professionalized scientific historians equipped with source criticism, pushed it forward instead...
- II. Focus on a 'modern' administrative order in the kingdom could bring about various chronologies but usually there is an emphasis on the success story from Gustav Vasa to Social Democracy I mentioned before. Not surprisingly this understanding of the state as a political administrative system was developed during the 40s and 50s in the atmosphere of a parsonian, functionalist understanding of statehood.
- III. While 'state' in the 20th century to a decreasing degree (especially in Sweden) came to mean military power and to an increasing degree assessing a capability to extract taxes (and allocate privileges) and guarantee peace - i. e. monopoly of power. Around 1200 this Sweden is created and becomes more and more 'territorialized'. This interpretation could be anticipated well into either a critical Marxist or Liberal or an affirmative Social Democratic perspective. A contemporary perspective on what the Swedish state 'is' although not what it

ought to be would be the same: nationalising economic resources as the main characteristic.⁴

I. The more recent constructivist approach to nation building and nationalism has been anticipated slowly and with some reluctance but is now bringing about a new perception which take 'ideology' and 'culture' in nation making from the end of 18th century in a more serious way. In a way this interpretation of the state is congenial with the overall constructivist paradigm within the cultural sciences. In one sense it deterritorializes the state and nationhood becomes one of many competing identities of territorial and social character - the interpretative environment being both the obvious EU project but also the even more encompassing changes in the understanding of identity of a post or late modern consumer society.⁵

The reason that administrative boundaries have been so little problematized by historians, but rather being taken as starting points for studies of social processes of various kinds, is probably due to the long-prevailing view that the important historical processes and actors were and are to be found at the national level. The regional or local emanated from the centre and going national was to go to the root of the problem. This apprehension was in part a product of the nation building process itself and what was the century of history above all others, the 19th, with its Hegelian state idealism and nationalism which hold a grip on Swedish historians much firmer than in the other Nordic countries.

R

The second example is a bit more complicated to elaborate since it involves several disciplines, but more interesting in this context

⁴ For the development as it is presented to contemporary university students in Sweden see Thomas Lindkvist & Kurt Ågren, *Sveriges medeltid* (Scandinavian University Books, Stockholm 1985)

⁵ *Europa - historiens återkomst*, red Sven Tägil (Gidlunds, 1992); *Ethnicity and Nation Building in the Nordic World*, ed Sven Tägil (Southern Illinois University Press, 1995). Per Olof Sjöstrand, *Hur Finland vanns för Sverige. En historia för nationalstaten*. *Om svenska Historien* Uppsala 16 (Uppsala 1996)

because it relates directly to sub-national territorial units of Regional/local (self) government:⁶

All over Europe reform of local government in the 19th century was seen as an answer to both demands of the Enlightenment to develop an active citizenry and a Liberal urge to make clear limitations to the tasks for the state proper to deal with. Communal reform was introduced in Prussia and also pressed forward in Denmark and Norway. In Sweden/Finland it already existed but was in a way reinvented by the need for injection of more utopian power in the often depressing task of dealing with local poverty, immorality and education. The reintroduction in 1862 of a new arena for regional politics, the *landsting*, this time in the sense of a county Council, brought hopes, or fears, of a powerful regionalism. The name evoked association to the significant provincial assemblies of the Middle Ages, and to some extent the elements of political, communal negotiation and making of justice at hundred assemblies and county administrations in the succeeding centuries. The more exaggerated hopes vested in the new county councils were soon to crumble, however. The arenas that developed territorial political awareness in the time from the 16th and 17th centuries were mainly and increasingly the municipal and national ones.

So local and regional bodies were part of everyday life, in religious, judicial, political and administrative dimensions and became part of the hope for a brighter future - but not for History! Only insofar it affected national parliamentary reforms were they regarded worthy of scholarly attention.

This 'collective oblivion', to paraphrase the recently popular concept 'social memory'⁷, for a necessary corollary, had to be

⁶ Peter Aronsson, "Sammanhang och sanning. Berättelser om det lokala självstyret och Sveriges Historia", ...och fram träder landsbygdens människor... *Studier i nordisk och småländsk historia tillägnade Lars-Olof Larsson på 60-årsdagen den 15 november 1994* (Växjö, 1994).

⁷ Raphael Samuels, *Theatres of Memory. Vol I: Past and Present in Contemporary Culture* (Verso, 1994); Paul Connerton, *How societies remember* (CUP, 1989); James Fentress & Chris Wickham, *Social memory* (Cambridge, Mass: Blackwell, 1992). For an ambitious attempt to assess the role of historiography and the use of historical arguments in the process of creating a political culture of national history see Robert Gildea, *The Past in French History* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1994).

created by an active but meandering suppression. Experience and political reality could not be denied straight-forwardly but it could be transformed into less powerful discourses and be overwritten by national history in a complex manoeuvre. The complexity of the process was partly due to the fact that the peasant culture in national ideology had been made the essence of the Nordic/Germanic heritage that dwelled at the foundation of national self-understanding in all the Nordic countries. But it was in itself typically understood as *not political* - the opposite would have brought the vision too close to the reality of an economic and political viable Estate of farmers - what was needed was a cultural interpretation not a political one. Hence it was excluded from history proper, not without struggle, to Ethnology. Before presenting that realm of the social sciences I will briefly sketch the structure of this disciplinary forgetfulness.

Of course the 'fall into oblivion' was not complete. Around the century political science resurrected a constitutional interpretation focusing on the written privileges of the clergy or the different Laws, as the phrase was 'organising' or even creating the self-government: The active part was the legislative power - this said in the era of parliamentary and representation struggle and reform which tried to channel the social turmoil of late 19th century in constitutional forms.⁸

A second interpretation of the 1930s likewise took its departure from the actual situation of the development of a distressing totalitarian world order but also the actual formation of the People's Home (Folkhemmet), a central metaphor of the early welfare state

⁸ C O Montan, "Några blad ur de skandinaviska kommunalinstitutionernas utvecklings-historia", *Nationalekonomiska Föreningens förhandlingar* 1883; Gabriel Thulin, *Jemförelse mellan den borgerliga kommunen och den kyrkliga* (Lund, 1890); S J Boëthius, "Några anmärkningar om uppkomsten och karaktären af Frihetstidens författning", *HT* 1891; Erik Schalling, "Sockenmenighetens utveckling till juridisk person", *Stvt* 1927; dens, *Den lantkommunala författningsregleringens historia. En översikt med särskilt avseende å landsbygdens primärkommuner*, Kommunindelningsskommittén del I, SOU 1944:37; Nils Herlitz, "Ett och annat om självstyrelsens betydelse i svensk författningshistoria", *StvT* 1921:2-3. The focus on parliamentary debate is continued in modern research. Lundquist 1972, Norrliid 1983, Swensson 1939, Mellquist 1974; Lars I Andersson, *Kommunalskattefrågan under mellankrigstiden. Skatterättvisa i och mellan kommuner*, Bibliotheca Historica Lundensia 92 (Lund, 1995).

in Sweden, stressing - and stretching- the democratic tradition on the hundred and parish level even more than the sources really could warrant. This was done not so much by historians proper, but by church historians, clergymen themselves. A somewhat harsher, more patriarchal variant of this interpretation was present - as it was and came to be for a long time, in the management of the modern welfare state.⁹

In the 1970s the argument was completely reversed - without any substantial research really taking place meanwhile: the existence of a local self-government was seen as one more example of a power technique exerted by the state on to the people. A way to extract ever more levies by fooling people that they actually had a say - a false ideology implanted by the true power in Swedish history - the State.

However refreshing the Marxist influence was in Swedish historiography during the 1970s it very much conformed to a state centred view of historical dynamics, only spreading out the state from the central government to all institutions and practices that in effect did not overturn the ruling order.¹⁰

Only in the 1980s there has been a turn towards a perspective stressing the formation of the political sphere on local and regional levels per se or in interaction with the central government within the historical discipline - making this sort of retrospective critical review possible at all!¹¹

⁹ Ragnar Gullstrand, *Bidrag till den svenska sockensjälvstyrelsens historia under 1600-talet* (diss Stockholm, 1923); K-H Johansson, *Svensk sockensjälvstyrelse 1686-1862* (diss, Lund, 1937).

¹⁰ Jan Lindegren, *Varat, staten och diket: tre historieteoretiska uppsatser*, *Opuscula Historica Upsaliensia* 2 (Uppsala, 1988), s 42; dens *Utskrivning och utsugning. Produktion och reproduktion i Bygdeå 1620-1640*, *Studia Historica Upsaliensia*, 117 (diss Uppsala, 1980), s 257f. Jfr Bengt Sandin, *Hemmet, gatan, fabriken eller skolan. Folkundervisning och barnuppfostran i svenska städer 1600-1850* (diss, Lund, 1986), s 68f.

¹¹ Eva Österberg, "Svenska lokalsamhällen i förändring ca 1550-1850. Participation, representation och politisk kultur i den svenska självstyrelsen. Ett angeläget forskningsområde", *HT* 1987:3; Harald Gustafsson, *Sockenstugans politiska kultur. Lokal självstyrelse på 1800-talets landsbygd*, *Stadshistoriska Institutet, Studier i stads- och kommunalhistoria* 6 (Stockholm, 1989) respektive Torkel Jansson, *Agrarsamhällets förändring och landskommunal organisation. En konturteckning av 1800-talets Norden*, *Studia Historica Upsaliensia* 146 (Uppsala, 1987). Peter Aronsson, *Bönder gör politik. Det lokala självstyret som social arena i tre*

One of a few major attempts to historize region in academic history was the East-West division.

The division into eastern and western Sweden (sometimes with the addition of separate divisions for Norrland in the north and Skåne, Halland, and Blekinge in the south) was charged in the course of the 20th century with stimuli from various quarters: demographic observations of differences in nativity give rise to attempts to distinguish regions based on race and later to a debate among historians about differences in social control, family formation, political culture, level of civilization, churchgoing, club activities, urbanization, and so on. This has been one of the few recent fields where history has been inspired by the other cultural sciences in conceptualizing region, and even brought in some cultural dimensions and research problems of its own.¹²

A schedule over differences ascribed to Eastern and Western Sweden by historical research

	Western Sweden	Eastern Sweden
Demography	high fertility,	intramarital over all lower fertility low

Carin Bergström, *Lantprästen. Prästens funktion i det agrara samhället 1720-1800. Oland-Frösåkers kontrakt av ärkestiftet*, Nordiska museets handlingar 110 (diss Stockholm, 1991); Alberto Tiscornia, *Statens godsens eller böndernas socknar? Den sockenkommunala självstyrelsens utveckling i Västerfärnebo, Stora Malm och Jäder 1800 - 1880*, Studia Historica Upsaliensia 169 (diss Uppsala, 1992); Björn Furuhausen, *Berusade bönder och bråkiga båtsmän. Social kontroll vid sockenstämmor och ting under 1700-talet* (diss Stockholm, Symposium, 1996); Harry Lenhammar, *Kyrkan i sockenstämman. Uppvidinge härad/kontrakt ca 1820 till 1860*, Studia Historico-Ecclesiastica Upsaliensia 37 (Uppsala, 1994). Harald Gustafsson, *Kommunal frihet för nationell samling. Debatter om kommunalreformer i 1800-talets Norden*. Stadshistoriska Institutet, Studier i stads och kommunalhistoria 2 (Stockholm, 1989); Torkel Jansson, *Agrarsamhällets förändring och landskommunal organisation. En konturteckning av 1800-talets Norden*, Studia Historica Upsaliensia 146 (Uppsala, 1987)

¹² See above all Christer Winberg, "Öst och Väst i svensk samhällsutveckling", *Lokalt, Regionalt, Centralt - analysnivåer i historisk forskning*, red Ingrid Hammarström, Stadshistoriska Institutet, Studier i stads- och kommunhistoria 3 (Stockholm, 1988); Johan Söderberg, *Civilisering, marknad och våld i Sverige 1750 — 1870. En regional analys* (Almqvist & Wiksell International, 1992)

Economic structure	extramarital fertility household based, manor based economy, yeoman peasants; leading ec. region except unregistered or fewer 1750-1850 craftsmen
Social organization	small, relatively polarized social relations egalitarian, household of estate-proletarian type oriented structure
Town structure	small and relatively few more towns and more towns urban in terms of industry, Stockholm
Political Culture	egalitarian, conservative, hierarchical petit bourgeois
Culture	revival movements more polarized inside state church, high associations, earlier frequency of secularization communion, yeoman farmer ideal
Civilization	a more archaic, violent earlier decline for mentality, weaker ability external violence and to empathy increase for suicide

R

The development of a spatial concept in history focused heavily on the State. It first took place within the conception of Kingdom later administration or a tax State. When region was recognized it was mainly within a dichotomy of Central Power and Provinces that was feasible when dealing with Ancien Regime, preferably the Middle Ages.

The Local - which only in recent years quite suddenly changed into 'region' - has been the most common spatial metaphor often put opposite nation or state (which has been close to synonymous in Sweden). By social history locality was more of a method, a necessary constraint in dealing with massive influx of quantitative data. Local was interpreted as social, economic and eventually cultural to its character. Central power was on the other hand political, rational, powerful, normative and bureaucratic. In fact

Local in this interpretative framework becomes less of a place or a territory - it becomes at most an instance of the process under study.

The one and only real spatial body has been that of the State - and thus even this spatial concept became invisible in its internal territorial dimensions because it did not have to be specified against anything else, except its subjects or foreign powers.

Thus it is not only local or regional levels that are undeveloped in Swedish historical historiography, but also the spatial dimensions of the state as such. The last could also be illustrated in the often observed but less discussed difficulty in dealing with 'Sweden' from 1500-1905; it means dealing with major shifts in the territory. The most often used solution to this problem has been to use today's borders as the ones delivering the most revealed meaning and destiny of the Swedish nation.

The Nordic historians have been very polite in 'respecting' the borders of the nation state of their University. Danish historians keep their hands off Skåne and Norwegian historians let Jämtland alone. In turn, Swedish historians forget Finland's part in history to a large extent for fear of being seen as imperialists.¹³

So it is obvious that in talking about spatial thematization of Swedish past looking at history as a university discipline make sense more as a story of oblivion or repression. The two disciplines that have dwelled more upon space are of course geography but also ethnology or *Volkskunde*.

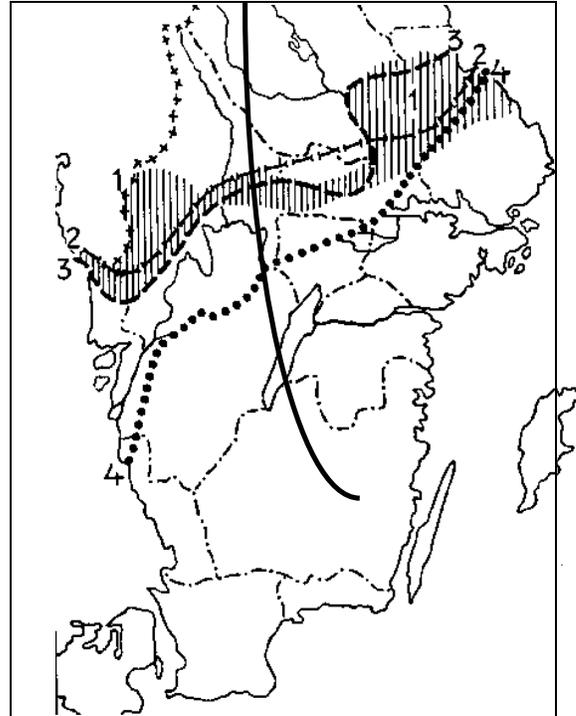
Historical culture in a broad sense and even as taught in the compulsory school is much more regionalized using landscape, provinces as cultural subdivisions. But this brings us from history 'proper' into cultural history or ethnology which, in Sweden as in Germany, was excluded from history as a university discipline in the major part of the 20th Century.

¹³ For refreshing attempts to break with this tradition see Sjöstrand 1996; Harald Gustafsson, "Statsbildning och territoriell integration. Linjer i nyare forskning, en nordisk ansats samt ett bidrag till 1500-talets svenska politiska geografi", *Scandia* 100:1-2

Ethnology - the culturalisation of space

Ethnology was born in the 19th century movement where, with Peter Burke, the People was discovered. The prevailing feeling of rapid modernization and the value of above all rural culture as essential to the soul of the people was a driving ethos. In Sweden the distance between History and Ethnology, as in Germany, became quite sharp after fierce struggles in the end of the 19th century.¹⁴

There were two main ways of dealing with culture and space in ethnology: the study of spatial patterns formed by diffusion of singular cultural elements (different forms of rakes or building traditions) and the sustained efforts to discern complex cultural regions, 'bygder' by identifying distinct 'forms of life' within an area.¹⁵ One attempt to create regions was the limes Norrlandicus others could deal with different building traditions.



Map showing the most important boundaries associated with the limes Norrlandicus on the background of the border of the provinces in southern Sweden:

1. the northern limit of oxen as draught animals; 2 . the southern limit of transhumance; 3. the northern limit of the double yoke; 4. the northern limit of the four-wheeled wagon.

Source: Erixon 1949, p. 158. I have added a line showing the approximate position of the much-discussed boundary between East and West Sweden.

Typically there grew two distinct regional perceptions out of the two traditions: The one studying diffusions stressed the importance of innovative centres and formed regions emanating from the

¹⁴ See Peter Burke, *Popular Culture in Early Modern Europe*, revised reprint (Scolar Press, 1994) for the more general context; Inga Floto, *Historie. Nyere og nyeste tid* (1985) for a general and German historiography. Nils-Arvid Bringéus, *Människan som kulturvarelse* (Lund, 1981); Håkan Nordmark, *Historien i Det nya riket. Centralt, regionalt och lokalt i attentatens och jubelfesternas tidevarv* (Högskolan i Växjö, 1994) for a Swedish context.

¹⁵ Typically enough 'bygder' is hard to translate into English, it connotes something like traditional district communities

dynamic spread of culture from the cities (read Stockholm and Malmö/Copenhagen) and the higher classes - an instance of territorialisation by Gesunkenes Kulturgut. The other looked for a link between the traditional agrarian culture and the natural conditions merging culture and nature, Blut und Boden, to an indissoluble unity. At least in theory.¹⁶

The problem with both these concepts, which led to their dissolution after WW2, was their lack of clarity as to the borders of the regions. The defining power should come from the traditional culture itself, but it became clearer for each study that they were more creations of the imaginative scholar and that any property could be mapped to form a region. The ever more intensified mapping tended to blur the regions by the sheer amount of borders implanted on it.

The concept faded away for a similar perception of society as in social history. Studying local communities in the suburbs or the fishing villages accounted for class, professional or urban identities, which were not clarified by using the concept of region or the technique of cartography.

Instead of culture as nature there was a transformation to culture as function. The latest 'turn' in this respect is to view culture within a constructivist paradigm. And within this thinking there is a return to the concept of space but now as subjective belonging or 'imagined community'.

The setting for this last changes are in many ways general: the move from nature over function and culture to constructivist or linguistic metaphors are overarching processes that I can just notice but not make any viable account for in this paper. There is, however, another level of analyses in between the descriptive historiographical one and the history of ideas or sciences I would like to suggest as an interesting alternative, as I tried to do dealing with history. That is to associate it with the broader perception of what has been called a Culture of History.¹⁷

¹⁶ On different approaches in Ethnology in the past see Bringéus 1981.

¹⁷ Perhaps the best English equivalent is social memory. See note 2, page 18 above.

Regionalist literature of an academic kind existed long before the 20th century. It particularly flourished in the 18th century, with Linneaus as the most famous writer. The predominant trend for local literature, however, was to deal with smaller areas, such as the parish.

The *Belles lettres* with a regional touch flourished around the turn of the century as in many European countries, (with Selma Lagerlöf's Värmland, Karl-Erik Forsslund's Dalarna, Högberg's Ångermanland, and today we have less famous writers such as Astrid Värning with her descriptions of the trials and tribulations of farmers in Västerbotten at the end of the 19th century.) At the same time, there was a zenith for landscape painting thematizing the nature of the province as a mirror of the soul, fully in line with the programme of national Romanticism. Regionally oriented literature was probably not the predominant form for historical identity creation, not even at the regionalist peak of national Romanticism, when there were countless tributes to Dalarna as the archetypal Swedish province, but it formed a distinct instance of nationalism which tended to be represented by regional examples understood as more genuine or original.¹⁸

The provinces were important frames of references to describe the diversity of Swedish culture, and thereby creating an understanding of this diversity in very much the same way as on the national level. The Volksgeist was also transformed to regional levels and communicated in the important reading books in primary schools. They were also the basis for the nations (colleges) at the university and for societies of rural bourgeoisie in Diaspora.

Nation-building tried to reorganize identities and real networks, to place the emphasis on the state and the citizen, blended together in the nation. Emigration, industrialization, proletarianization, railway construction – everything contributed to the questioning of old territorial identities in the village and the parish. Attempts to “find” or create new identities at a level above that of the old local communities, but below that of the nation, also drew nourishment

¹⁸ Allan Ellenius, *Landskapsbilden. Ur den europeiska naturkänslans historia* (Natur och kultur, 1992)

from the need to communicate the constant dilemma of modern society: individualization and societization, vulnerability and dependence. The cold, new, contract-based Gesellschaft that grew up fed and continues to feed the image of yesterday's Gemeinschaft: perhaps they could at best be combined in the identity of the historical province? (What could give more legitimacy to regional identity in this century of nationalism and historicism than to evoke ties with this ancient community in the form of a kingdom, under the rule of an archaic law?) The further shrinking of the realm in 1905 with the loss of Norway appears to have given a boost to the complex dynamics between national mobilization and regional identity construction.

It is difficult to assess how old this affiliation with landscape as an important identifier is. Of course the early bodies of law are named after the provinces, but I would suggest that there is a major reinterpretation and a boost in regionalism connected to the nation building process in a rather ambiguous way as both a counter movement and, eventually becoming one of its foremost expressions. For example in the exhibitions of the national outdoor museums in Stockholm the representation of Swedishness is made through provincial examples. All regions were not equal in this respect. It is well known how especially Dalarna was presented as a symbol of primeval Swedishness, (but other attempts to build a regional identity as a stage in nation-building reached their zenith at this time in Scandinavia and Europe.) Norrland at this time symbolized a large-scale industrial future which would create an America within the borders of Sweden.¹⁹

In the 20th century a wide range of books dealing with nature, industry, and folklife continued to keep the province alive as a region. Perhaps it was only now that provincial regionalism with no radical connotations emerged. In a similar way as nationalism, regionalism moved from a progressive role to a conservative one.

¹⁹ Kerstin Arcadius, "Fornminnesföreningarna som blev läns museer. Om läns museernas historia och utveckling", *Den regionala särarten*, red Barbro Blomberg & Sven-Olof Lindqvist (Studentlitteratur, 1994) - and several of the essays in this anthology; Sverker Sörlin, *Framtidslandet. Debatten om Norrland och naturresurserna under det industriella omväxlet* (diss Umeå, Carlsson, 1988).

But an even more overarching tendency is the movement from regional levels to local associations at parish level or even lower.²⁰

In the late 20th century things are changing once again. When people began to question the way the nation state was centralizing competence a new regionalism emerged, above all with economic and technological arguments, but also with a cultural awareness expressed in regional culture production, for example, the ambition to produce an encyclopaedia for Norrland and a wave of regional amateur theatres. More generally, the placing of (new) universities and colleges is perceived as being among the most significant strategic decisions. Their location does not only influence the advanced production of useful things. Research in cultural science tends to thematize what is perceived as the scholar's own region, thus contributing to the creation of regional knowledge and identity.²¹

↪

Geography: space as an instrument

The developing geographical sciences put much more emphasis on Science in a positivistic sense, trying to avoid the enthusiasm of cultural studies in ethnology - and thus in the end became much more powerful in forming politics, creating and moulding the spatial framework of at least the administratively accessible regions in Sweden.²²

²⁰ Such movements are not completely non-existent at regional level. There is, for example, the Hyltén-Cavallius Association founded in 1919, first as a local history society for Växjö and district, but later transformed into a county body for Kronoberg, publishing its own annual since 1920. This organization came unusually late when we remember that the foundation for the Småland Museum was laid in 1867 and the building was completed in 1885/90. It is striking, however, how rare it is for local history associations to be based on a county.

²¹ This is my impression which would need to be substantiated by detailed evidence. Sverker Sörlin, *De lärdsas republik. Om vetenskapens internationella tendenser* (Liber-Hermods, 1994).

²² Here the argument is developed around geography, but could very well have encompassed economic history as well as regards its interest in the spatial dimension. It has been important in questioning the national primate in history especially through

Geography is a sister science to history in a qualified sense: it too seeks its identity in its perspective, not in having its object of study objectively fixed. In the chorological perspective the question is: how are things, people, and processes ordered in space?

The subdiscipline that is called regional geography originally had its point of departure in postulated regions such as Africa, the Nordic countries, or Sweden, and studied what was characteristic of them, usually matters of physical geography, economy, and population. Relations between these, right up to the interwar years, were often constructed in the form of natural determinism, or at least with a given point of departure in the perception of physical geographical conditions. An example of the way this school reasoned was the belief that the climate of Western Europe favoured hard work, enterprise, and hence the industrial breakthrough.

Another example is the combination of geography, genetics and demography which could be looked upon with ridicule if we did not know history. Most often these theories were developed with a national agenda in the background. But there was also a transformation of this way of reasoning to regional levels. Qualitatively and perhaps with the greatest influence on popular mentality was the above-mentioned reading books for school with their stereotypes (still we know them all by heart) of the phlegmatic, fat and affluent Skåning and the poor, industrious but mean Smålänning.

But there were more scientific attempts to delineate the exact borders and demographic causes when the earlier technique of measuring the cranium was replaced by modern genetic theories. Measurements of blood groups and fertility patterns were elaborated in regional investigations and during the WW2 reached its most developed political utility or at least potentially so, by showing where the most Germanic Swedes were located. Socially the utility of this thinking was mainly, quietly used to sterilise retarded and other socially vulnerable people - without spatial considerations.

attitude to the regional concept itself. The historical and regional aspects of geography and economic history has above all been bridged by the disciplines at the university of Stockholm. See also Johan Söderberg, "Kulturgeograferna och det äldre svenska agrarsamhället", *SGÅ* 1992, s 105-114 and N-G Lundgren & J Söderberg, *Ekonomisk och geografisk koncentration 1850-1990* (Stockholm, 1995)

Fortunately this school of thought did not only become obsolete by political changes, but also by its own inner logic. The genetic patterns were extremely intertwined and no clear borders could in the end be mapped, when the task was taken on with industry and serious consistency. A fate many of the regional theories indeed has taken on to...

In the interwar years, it was man's economic functions that were the focus of interest in what was called the living space region.²³ This can be seen as a territorial and also an ideological "little brother" to the term introduced by Rudolf Kjellén, *geopolitics*. It sought to capture the unity and the dynamics between territory, state, and people.²⁴

The actual concepts of geopolitics and living space were like the old type of demography discredited by their use in political thought and action in Germany. The scientific perspective was redirected towards functionalism after World War II, with the concept of the functional region.

Although as late as in the 1970s the justification of the natural approach was recognized because of the real need for descriptions of the situation in existing regions, its status at this time was evidently felt to be problematic: non-systematic, ideographical, and with an *a priori* selection of studied phenomena. Others saw the perspective as a phase that had been passed, replaced in research after the 1960s by various instrumental concepts of region.²⁵

The scientific future lay in two other concepts of region: the *homogeneous* and above all the *functional* region. The point of departure was still that actual characteristics in space were the basis for regional divisions. The two concepts presuppose this. The subjective element was at this time introduced as instrumental in the

²³ Anssi Paasi, "The institutionalization of regions: a theoretical framework for understanding of the emergence of regions and the constitution of regional identity", *Fennia* 164:1 (1986), pp. 137 f; and *Territories, boundaries and consciousness* (Chichester: Wiley, 1995)

²⁴ *Geopolitik in Svensk uppslagsbok*.

²⁵ David Hannerberg, *Svenskt agrarsamhälle under 1200 år. Gård och åker. Skörd och boskap* (Stockholm, 1971), pp. 133f.; Staffan Helmfrid, "Bruk och missbruk av regionbegreppet. Något om regionindelningsproblem och -metoder", *Region och samhällsplanering* (1969)

process of the *selection* of criteria, not as a property of the region in itself.²⁶

Homogeneous regions are often described in ahistorical, natural terms, felt suitable for understanding conditions in a relatively statically perceived early agrarian society. It is no coincidence that most examples of functional regions, which are based on *relations* between objects or people, differ from the discussion of homogeneous regions in being taken from modern times: the functions that are usually studied are linked to various aspects of the modernization process: urbanization, differentiation, and the division of labour. (These can also be studied for a single element, such as commuting, or many elements, such as different types of overlapping market regions.)

A region is homogeneous to an increasing extent the more uniform it is in one or more specific object properties, the more often they occur, and the more aspects found together in the same space. An example is the division of Sweden into regions according to farm types. A more complex regional division arises when the researcher asks whether farm types can be combined with village types or even more co-varying characteristics, to arrive at different regions of settlement geography. In methodological terms this can be achieved by looking for bundles of isolines for individual features: maps are superimposed, and where several lines are seen to coincide they are taken as a regional boundary defining the features on which the lines are based. Another fundamentally more positivist approach is to try to correlate, for example, the appearance of farm settlement with explanatory factors of physical geography or climate. We can see the connection with early ethnology here.

A central model for the emergence of the functional view was Christaller's central place theory, in which a system of hierarchically ordered central places is distributed symmetrically in space. The biggest of these is biggest by virtue of its centrality, and the hinterland satisfies different functional needs in the interaction between periphery and centre. Tendencies to steadily increasing

²⁶ A somewhat different description of the difference between regional geography before and after World War II is given by Anssi Paasi, who stresses how the object-defined region is connected with chorological thinking which focuses on areal differentiation, while the functional, interactive perspective focusing on distance/nearness is characterized by spatial thinking. Paasi 1986, p. 115.

centrality in already large centres and an increasing number of regional centres developing are two features that have been observed in a long temporal perspective.

A variant of this centre-periphery theory which more emphasizes power relations is the development theories developed by scholars such as André Gunder Frank and the world-system approach of Immanuel Wallerstein. Relations between centre and periphery determine the development potential of any region. Peripheral regions are systematically disfavoured by the historical centre in the capitalist world system, although long-term shifts do occur, (for example the rise of first a semi-periphery in the Far East, which has since developed into an independent system.)²⁷ This approach has also been tested for the analysis of the relation between “disfavoured” or exploited regions, for example, in northern Scandinavia, and their respective central governments.

More often the skills of geographer have been used in social engineering, planning regional development and here the ‘power neutral’ and functional view of Christaller has been preferred while the sensitivity for power relations and injustice have been more utilized by spokesmen from the allegedly disfavoured peripheral regions.

The modern tendency to see the region as a result of the scientist’s more or less omnipotent choice of perspective can be seen as partly having arisen out of the internal shift in the definition of regions in early regional geography: the *landscape region* was perceived as a unit naturally given by topographical conditions. By the turn of the century, the natural region had already become more of a framework, for example, in the works of Vidal de la Blache, giving certain possibilities which actively deciding human beings could realize or not (so-called possibilism). In pace with the thematization of the cultivated landscape as another part of the landscape region, attention was first drawn to an organically and psychologically

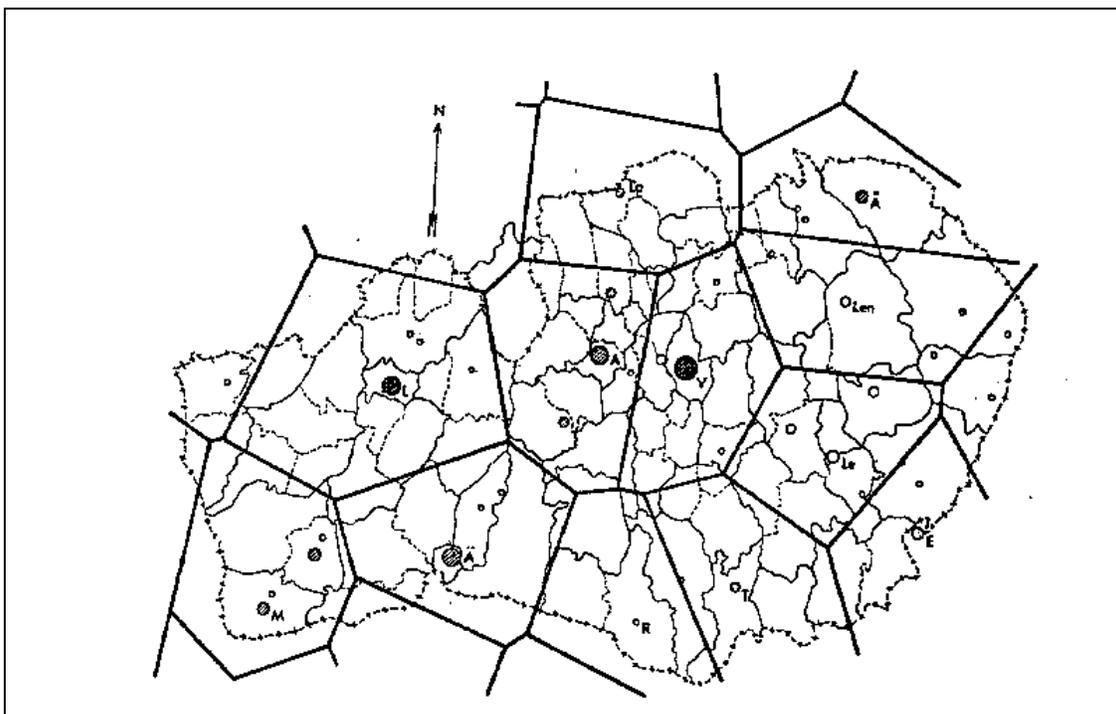
²⁷ André Gunder Frank, *On capitalist underdevelopment* (Oxford U.P. 1975); Immanuel Wallerstein, *The Modern World-system, I-III* (Academic Press, New York, 1974-1989); Fernand Braudel, *Vardagslivets strukturer. Det möjligas gänser. Civilisation och kapitalism 1400-1800*. Band 1 (Stockholm, 1981); Jayantanuja Bandyopadhyaya, *North over South. A non-Western Perspective of International Relations* (Brighton, 1992)

perceived relation between space and man. From this grew naturally the development towards a system and functional approach that came to dominate after WW2.

Later, with the influence of ethnology and its concept of the region as originally homogeneous, attention was also directed towards the subjective elements, *the perceived region*.

With this development, the next step was not hard to take. It is not just feelings and subjective identities that contain a created, subjective element. Both economic and mental processes in society are available for construction with deliberate purposes or unconscious desires as the driving forces. A return to the natural region but now from the perspective of the omnipotent subjectivity of the rational scientist in collaboration with the political system to create the Good society.

The definition of the concept of region has become politically interesting within the conception of regional planning – with a demand for regions that are available as objects for political measures. A concept that is too rigidly based on physical geography lacks this potential. From the 1960s, scientific expertise has been enlisted in connection with reforms of regional divisions, later for regional policy, and today in connection with European integration and economic restructuring. The maps where geographers actually calculated where to draw the borders for the new local districts in



the 1960s is the best example. Economic interaction and communication were among the fields that were incorporated. Historical consciousness and sense of community were not.

With the less confident commitment to this project today there is, finally, an increased attention to the constructivist elements in region-making in a more cultural linguistic sense: the interest in space as socially created in the tension between the perspective of everyday practice and the structuring theories of Allan Pred, Anthony Giddens, and others. Interest has shifted from material space to the space that is constructed in experience and charged with meaning; research is more influenced by the perspectives of cultural analysis and history, with a leaning towards the kind of knowledge in which the Humanities are interested.²⁸

The Finnish geographer Anssi Paasi represents this movement in Scandinavia and has proposed a development model for the dynamic study of the historical growth of regions, regarded as a social process. The concept of “community” once again becomes central for the study of regions: “a region is lived *through*, not in”.²⁹ Within the framework of a focus on regional identity, he distinguishes carefully between “regional consciousness” which refers directly to people’s experiences, and “the identity of the region”, which finds expression in the institutions (in a broad sense) that are formed by a historical process. It is the latter process that leads to regionality, while the former connotes ties to a place.³⁰

Conclusions. The present interest in regions

So why can we see this long desire to produce the nation as the only important territorial body in history? And why are things so rapidly changing? Is science at last casting off its dependence on contemporary thinking and reaching for objectivity. I don’t think so.

The explicit discussion of the importance of a regional dimension in politics or history is quite new in Sweden. ‘Regions’ as a prefix in the Swedish language becomes prominent first and foremost as a

²⁸ The state of research in the latter, presented from a more humanistic perspective in an emancipatory tradition, is described in Paasi 1986 and 1995.

²⁹ Quoted from Nigel Thrift, in Paasi 1986, p. 108.

³⁰ Paasi 1986, pp. 121 ff.

term för planning and a sphere of ‘problems’, of uneven development after the second world war; as a question of the most efficient way of creating a subdivision within an administratively perceived regional and local government it has been under constant but often rather technical scrutiny by the social engineers.

Questions about the character, size, societal significance, and future role of regions are accentuated in our days by an increased uncertainty on several topical issues around the fundamental question of Who are we? - the creation of identity:³¹

1. symbolic and economic value attached to the nation, is met by increased competition and critique. Market metaphors and market institutions are used more directly within the realm of politics and the state if not detached all together in privatisation.
2. the restructuring of the economy seems to give both a globalization of the market and a regionalisation of the production which have less use of the nation state than it used to have.
3. the remaining national political sphere is regarded by most actors not as the bold transformer of society but as a rather meek adapter, adjusting society to the dynamic forces of the market. Its legitimacy as exerciser of power is reduced when the cultural, ideological, and territorial dimensions of authority are toned down. We get a new territorialization of political demands, on a regional (and supra national) level.
4. Increased emphasis on other aspects of life as the major identifier: being female, black, rural, academic has always been part of a persons total stock of identity but the post-modern perception says that there is an increasing uncertainty - or if you like opportunity, to make other choices than being British or Swedish as a main denominator.
5. The national sentiment seems to be more and more ‘sportified’, when the military threat has gone away for a more vague feeling of apocalypse. The other viable option seems to be nationalism used by several different groups as a corpus loaded with

³¹ Cf Janerik Gidlund, & Sverker Sörlin, *Det europeiska kalejdoskopet* (SNS, 1993); *Europa - historiens återkomst*, ed Sven Tägil (Gidlunds, 1992); Harvie 1994; Gunnar Törnqvist, *Sverige i nätverkens Europa. Gränsöverskridandets former och villkor* (Libris, Halmstad, 1992).

aggressive meaning against what is perceived as an unwanted or uncertain future.

One might say that There are indeed signs to suggest that the development of strong nation states has now reached its zenith after 500 years of almost continuous growth. What the tendencies have in common is that the limits and functions of the old nation states are once again being problematized and debated. One can observe “a growing tension between old decision-making territories and new problem areas”.³²

This is not a smooth and clear-cut process. As the different tendencies meet it creates a field of uncertainty which produces different responses. The first modern debate and the first planned European regionalization both started with the former large wave of integration and state criticism in the European Community, at the end of the 1960s. On a regional level this wave was met by demands for regional autonomy from “radical” – and poor – regions such as Corsica, Ulster, and the Basque Provinces and in fact also with more of a balance of humour and politics in Jämtland (the creation of a mock IRA Army) and Skåne. The regional policy that was born in this phase tended in the end rather to strengthen the national centres of power. The economic crisis after 1973 put a stop to the burgeoning design.

In the Maastricht atmosphere of 1980s and early 90s the regional perspective once again became more topical than ever, but this time more as a quest for identity on the part of the successful, the rich, and the strong, what Christopher Harvie calls “bourgeois regions”.³³ And perhaps we are just now looking at another wave of backlashes from an integrational point of view.

The EU has tried to meet both the real economic regional problem and the discussion of the democratic deficit by catch on to and channelling the regional movement. In the EU the sudden flare of a debate about the subsidiarity principle nourished a hope in many

³² Törnqvist 1994, p. 23.

³³ Harvie 1994

regions about a division of power between the EU and the regions – at the expense of the nation states.³⁴

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There are (perhaps) less regionality involving stable identity between the local and the national in Sweden than in many European countries. But, there are certainly more of them than before have been stated by history as a discipline. The collective oblivion of regions in history but not in other discipline is in turn connected to the different uses different disciplines have had, and of course still has, in a societal context. It matters where the stories of regions are developed, if they are literature, ethnology, geography or history. The way experience is explicated opens different horizons for understanding and actions.

³⁴ Different countries have interpreted the Maastricht Treaty and later specifications of the subsidiarity principle in different ways: the Continent, not least Germany, advocates regionally elected Councils of the Regions, while the UK maintains its right to handle this through centrally appointed ministers and civil servants – and far-reaching privatization of traditionally local and regional policy areas. Harvie 1994, p. 51

Region, Regionalism, Regional History - An Attempt at an Assessment from the Perspective of Modern and Contemporary History Detlef Briesen

The metalog "Why do things become so confused?" by Gregory Bateson is a fictional dialog between a scientist and his daughter. At the beginning, she poses the apparently naive question why "things" always "somehow become confused on their own" and why people "spend a lot of time getting things back in order, but never seem to need any time to make a mess of them."¹ In a way appropriate to the structure and task of a metalog, Bateson devises an answer to this actually very complex question concerning the order of human reality in two stages. Even today his solution to the problem is impressive because of its clarity and simplicity.²

Firstly, the question "Why do things become so confused?" is reformulated more precisely to be: "Why do things take on a condition that Cathy [the fictitious daughter] calls not orderly?"³ Secondly, a solution to the main problem of the metalog is provided, albeit formulated as an answer to the daughter's question: "Simply because there are more possibilities you call disorderly

¹ Cf. *Bateson, Gregory*: Warum kommen Sachen durcheinander? in: *Ökologie des Geistes. Anthropologische, psychologische, biologische und epistemologische Perspektiven*, Frankfurt 1994, pp.32-38. p.32. This metalog is not included in the original English edition of *Steps to an Ecology of Mind*.

² The text was written as early as 1948.

³ Bateson, op. cit. p.32

than those which seem to you to be orderly."⁴ In other words, things become confused for the following reasons:

- First of all, because "order" (obviously the opposite of confusion) is always dependent on the perspective of an observer, that is, does not exist in and of itself but, rather, can be defined in various ways and is indeed only the result of (varied) notions of order.
- Secondly, because the observers defining "order" do not simply passively register the particular structures they postulate. Order is a question of putting things in order and as such is also always an active formation of and intervention in a world that is apparently "of its own accord" in order. However, it is equally evident that this is at least in most cases not only accompanied by the hope that the structures detected are elements of the real world.
- Finally, a third reason is that "disorder" is the rule and order the seldom exception requiring explanation. In fact, for Bateson this is "the actual, only and most important reason [...] and in science everything is dependent on this reason."⁵

Perhaps the following shift from a metalog to the importance of regional topics for modern history may seem somewhat bold, but, to put it casually, the concern here is exactly when and under which circumstances historians working on modern and contemporary history would designate conditions and events as being "regionally ordered" or "regionally caused". That is, we are concerned with the question of which notions historians have of regions - should these be considered as entities related to structure, awareness, or to an interconnection of discrete areas, to employ a common typology of social geography. That this issue (to make this point clear at the outset) is not easy to resolve has, however, not so much to do with the fact that "region" can have an abundance of meanings which seems to make it more advisable to abstain from all too rash attempts at a definition in the first place.⁶ Unless, of course, one is

⁴ Bateson, op. cit., p.34.

⁵ Bateson, op. cit., p.34.

⁶ For more information related to this issue see: *Briesen, Detlef: Regionalbewußtsein - einige Fragen an einen schwierigen Begriff*, in: *Heß, Ulrich/ Bramke, Werner (Ed.): Sachsen und Mitteldeutschland. Politische, wirtschaftliche und soziale Wandlungen in der ersten Hälfte des 20. Jahrhunderts*, Leipzig 1995.

willing to accept such circumscription as "region, district, territory in the sense of a certain and limited area"⁷- a designation which evidently can mean any spatial subdivisions not only of the earth's surface which "somehow" can be justified. Thus, this example is at the same time a clear indication of the dubious nature not only of hasty attempts at definition. For the real concern of the social sciences, too, is not the definition of concepts but, rather, explicit and implicit forms of theoretical construction and carrying out empirical studies. Therefore, instead of providing definitions of "actual" or "real" regional factors it seems more sensible to reflect on how scholars of modern and contemporary history have come to study regional issues and attitudes, and on the conceptions that are generally connected to the regional.

Thus the procedure chosen here will demonstrate that, of course, also in the scientific study of history there is no binding (and by the same token no necessary) definition of the regional. In our opinion a more serious problem lies in the fact that up to this point hardly more than the outline of a theoretically based regional history can be observed. In the following this thesis will be stated more precisely with reference to the discussion of how historians have come to be involved in regional inquiries and how the regional has been treated in scientific discourse during the last years.

I. Regional history from the research on regionalism to the postmodern caesura

At the outset the question presents itself why modern and contemporary history is at all concerned with regions and with the "regional", used roughly in the sense of "regional history". It is probably not exaggerated if one resorts to factors external to (historical) science to explain this. Furthermore, such factors have only begun to gain prominence again within the last 20 years. Thus even in the middle of the 1970s one would have sought the entry "regional history" in specialized reference works in vain.⁸

⁷ Fuchs, Konrad/ Raab, Herbert: dtv Wörterbuch zur Geschichte, München 1977, p.676.

⁸ A corresponding entry to "Regionalgeschichte" can be found in: Asendorf, Manfred et al.: Geschichte. Lexikon der wissenschaftlichen Grundbegriffe, Hamburg 1994, pp.533-34; one would, however, search for such an entry in vain in: Fuchs, Heribert/ Raab, Konrad: Wörterbuch zur Geschichte, 3. Aufl. München 1977; Bayer, Erich: Wörterbuch

The reception of that primarily West-European debate on the newly discovered or newly developed regionalism among German historians took place in the late Sixties and early Seventies. The "revolt of the regions" in Spain, Italy, France, and Great Britain frequently diagnosed at that time made it seem advisable to inquire whether or not such a course of events was also to be expected in the old Federal Republic.⁹ In light of the predominantly socially and systemically integrative meaning of "German" regional consciousness, the possible answer to this question today would most likely be 'No'.¹⁰ In any case, this reception and ensuing debate did lead to a new acceptance of federalism¹¹ or of older lines of research which frequently had already anticipated those research results that can only be briefly outlined here¹², and also led to an extensive refutation of the claim of the premodern persistence of regionalism.¹³ In the meantime, the West-European debate on regionalism has been perpetuated to a continuous discourse on a

Wallach, Joseph Friedrich: Hilfwörterbuch für Historiker: Mittelalter und Neuzeit, 8. Aufl. Tübingen 1995; not even such concepts as Land, Landschaft, Region or Regionalismus are included in: Brunner, Otto et al.: Geschichtliche Grundbegriffe. Historisches Lexikon zur politisch-sozialen Sprache in Deutschland, Stuttgart 1984.

⁹ On the older meaning of "regionalism" in German historiography see: *Gerhard, Dietrich: Regionalismus und ständisches Wesen als ein Grundthema der europäischen Geschichte, in: Historische Zeitschrift, 174 (1952), pp.307-337; for general information on "regionalism" see above all: Allemann, Fritz René: Aufstand der Regionen, in: Hennis, Wilhelm et al. (Ed.): Regierbarkeit. Studien zu ihrer Problematisierung, Bd. 2, Stuttgart 1979, pp.279-309; Gerdes, Dirk: Regionalismus - Protestbewegung auf "Heimatsuche"? in: D.G.: Aufstand der Provinz. Regionalismus in Westeuropa, Frankfurt 1980, pp.9-48; Esterbauer, Fried: Regionalismus - ideologische Wurzel, Begriffsfeld, Funktionen, in: Informationen zur Raumentwicklung, 5 (1980), pp.255-262; Lübke, Hermann: Politischer Historismus - zur Philosophie des Regionalismus, in: Regionalismus in Europa, München 1981, pp.291-296; Elkar, Rainer S.: Europas unruhige Regionen. Geschichtsbewußtsein und europäischer Regionalismus, Stuttgart 1981; Kreckel, Reinhard u.a.: Regionalistische Bewegungen in Westeuropa. Zum Struktur- und Wertewandel in fortgeschrittenen Industriestaaten, Opladen 1986; Gerdes, Dirk: Regionen und Regionalismus in Westeuropa, Frankfurt 1987; D.G.: Regionalismus als soziale Bewegung in Westeuropa, Frankreich, Korsika. Vom Vergleich zur Kontextanalyse, Frankfurt 1986; D.G.: Regionalismus und Politikwissenschaft: Zur Wiederentdeckung von "Territorialität" als innenpolitischer Konfliktdimension, in: Geographische Rundschau 39 (1987), pp.526-531; Wehling, Hans-Georg (Ed.): Regionen und Regionalismus in Westeuropa, Stuttgart 1987; Briesen, Detlef/ Reulecke, Jürgen (Gastredaktion): Informationen zur Raumentwicklung, 11 (1993).*

¹⁰ *Briesen, Detlef: Historische Ausprägung und historischer Wandel von regionaler Identität in ausgewählten Montanregionen. Einleitung zu einem Abschlußbericht, in: D.B.: Regionalbewußtsein in Montanregionen im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert: Saarland - Siegerland - Ruhrgebiet, Bochum 1994, pp.7-47.*

¹¹ *Gerhard Hirscher (Ed.): Die Zukunft des kooperativen Föderalismus, München 1991; see also: Schulz, Matthias: Regionalismus und die Gestaltung Europas. Die konstitutionelle Bedeutung der Region im europäischen Drama zwischen Integration und Desintegration, Hamburg 1993.*

¹² See especially: *Gollwitzer, Heinz: Die politische Landschaft in der deutschen Geschichte des 19./20. Jahrhunderts. Eine Skizze zum deutschen Regionalismus, in: Land und Volk, Herrschaft und Staat in der Geschichte und Geschichtsforschung Bayerns. Karl Alexander Müller zum 80. Geburtstag, München 1964. (= Zeitschrift für bayerische Landesgeschichte, 27) pp.524-552; H.G.: Zum deutschen politischen Regionalismus des 19. und 20. Jahrhunderts, in: Wallthor, Alfred Hartlieb von/ Quirin, Heinz (Ed.): Landschaft als interdisziplinäres Forschungsproblem. Vorträge und Diskussionen des Kolloquiums am 7./8. November 1975 in Münster, Münster 1977, pp. 54-74; Möckl, Karl: Föderalismus und Regionalismus im Europa des 19. und 20. Jahrhunderts: Eine Skizze, in: Esterbauer, Fried (Ed.): Von der freien Gemeinde zum föderalistischen Europa: Festschrift für Adolf Gasser zum 80. Geburtstag, Berlin 1983, pp.529-550; Berding, Helmut: Staatliche Identität, nationale Integration und politischer Regionalismus, in: Blätter für deutsche Landeskunde 127 (1985), pp.371-393; Hartung, Werner: "Das Vaterland als Hort von Heimat". Grundmuster konservativer Identitätsstiftung und Kulturpolitik in Deutschland, in: Klüeting, Edeltraud (Ed.): Antimodernismus und Reform. Zur Geschichte der deutschen Heimatbewegung. Darmstadt 1991, pp.112-156.*

¹³ *Applegate, Celia: A Nation of Provincials: The German Idea of Homeland in the Rhenish Pfalz, 1870-1955, Stanford 1987; Götsch, Silke: Die Probstei - zur Konstituierung einer regionalen Identität im 19. Jahrhundert, in: Kieler Blätter zur Volkskunde 22 (1990), pp.41-64; Briesen, Detlef/Gans, Rüdiger: Regionale Identifikation als "Invention of Tradition". Wer hat und warum eigentlich im 19. Jahrhundert das Siegerland erfunden? in: Berichte zur deutschen Landeskunde 66, 1 (1992), pp.61-73; see also: Giddens*

possible or desirable "regional Europe" - a discourse to which historians, too, have made major contributions.¹⁴

Further important impulses emanated from changes in collective attitudes and awareness, in the socio-cultural climate, and, so, also in the scientific community since the middle of the Seventies. Here it is, of course, only possible to outline the "postmodern" caesura in an abbreviated manner: the end of the post-war boom, the oil crisis, limits of economic growth, 'Deutscher Herbst', the rise of new political parties and of a new social problematic, 'anything goes', as well as pre-eminent thinkers at this time: Paul Feyerabend, Nikolaj Kondratieff, Immanuel Wallerstein, Daniel Bell, Dennis and Donella Meadows.¹⁵ Evidently, all of this led to a reevaluation of proximity and of small areas and to a greater scepticism regarding large-scale political conceptions and theories of the social sciences which had such a great deal of influence on the optimism of the 50s and 60s regarding social planning and organization and the future. Now in the 70s the question presented itself whether or not the plans and prognoses based on the large-scale metatheories and modernization theories were not perhaps based on false or antiquated premises. Thus, to a much greater extent than beforehand variables such as environment, gender, generation, and, naturally, region were introduced into public and scientific discourse. That this resulted in corresponding new environmental, sexual, generational, and regional histories is just as obvious as the fact that mainstream German historical academia was at this time just beginning to engage in reception of the modernization concepts and theories¹⁶ that had decisively influenced the scientific and public climate of the foregoing "epoch". Then, in the early 80s, this "simultaneity of the non-simultaneous" led in any case to the controversy about history of everyday life and history of the "small people" in which the importance of regional factors in the sense of everyday human "praxis" was always also at least implicitly a

¹⁴ See *Harvie, Christopher*: The Rise of Regional Europe, London 1994; for a critical perspective: *Hard, Gerhard*: Das Regionalbewußtsein im Spiegel der regionalistischen Utopie, in: Informationen zur Raumentwicklung 7/8 (1987). pp.419-440; *Bausinger, Hermann*: Europa der Regionen: Kulturelle Perspektiven, in: Leviathan 4 (1993), pp.471-492.

¹⁵ Cf. *Kondratieff, Nikolaj Dimitrejewitsch*: Die langen Wellen der Konjunktur, in: Archiv für Sozialwissenschaft und Sozialpolitik 56 (1926); *Meadows, Dennis/Meadows, Donella*: Die Grenzen des Wachstums. Bericht des Club of Rome zur Lage der Menschheit, Stuttgart 1972; *Wallerstein, Immanuel*: The Modern World System: Capitalist Agriculture and the origins of the European World-Economy in the 16. Century, New York 1974; *Bell, Daniel*: Die nachindustrielle Gesellschaft, Frankfurt 1975; *Feyerabend, Paul*: Wider den Methodenzwang - Skizze einer anarchistischen Erkenntnistheorie. Frankfurt 1976.

subject of discussion.¹⁷ In the midst of this controversy both sides were certainly not free of hasty false conclusions: for example, the wholesale dismissal of new forms of inquiry into everyday practice as being socially romanticized¹⁸ or once again throwing the connection to the social sciences, which had finally, despite immense difficulties, just been achieved, overboard as a means of expressing a sort of "qualitative roll-back".¹⁹ At that time both sides were probably also not fully aware of the fact that with the debate on historical social science or on the everyday (and thus at least indirectly also on the regional) they could be considered to actually be debating within a context that had taken shape at the latest when Durkheim formulated his famous anomie problem: that is, which socio-cultural structural formations (or notions of order) might still at all be effective in the "modern" period or even outlast it.²⁰ In any case this controversy (which can only be outlined briefly here) between the "Bielefeld School" on the one hand and "everyday history" on the other essentially still determines the notions of the regional in the study of history, at least as far as modern and contemporary history are concerned. Therefore, a sketch of these two positions is to be provided in what follows, and thus the question as to how historians today are concerned with the regional may already be answered in this way.

II. Regionalization of approaches employing theories of modernization

The point of departure for the "Bielefeld School" was the attempt to enrich the traditional politics-oriented German national history by the analysis of socio-economic factors. In this way what had

¹⁷ The relationship between everyday history and regional history is explicated in: *Steinbach, Peter*: Neue Wege der regionalhistorisch orientierten Alltagsgeschichte, in: Hessisches Jahrbuch für Landesgeschichte 30 (1980), pp.312-336; with similar intentions related to the history of the labor movement: *Peukert, Detlev*: Zur Regionalgeschichtsschreibung der Arbeiterbewegung, in: *Das Argument* 110 (1978), pp.546-565.

¹⁸ *Wehler, Hans-Ulrich*: Der Bauernbandit als neuer Heros, in: *Die Zeit*, 19.8.1981; H.-U.W.: Geschichte - von unten gesehen, in: *Die Zeit*, 3.5.1985; *Kocka, Jürgen*: Klassen oder Kultur? Durchbrüche und Sackgassen in der Arbeitergeschichte, in: *Merkur* 36 (1982), pp.955-965; see also the response by *Broszat, Martin*: *ibid.*, pp.1244-1248; *Kocka, Jürgen*: Sozialgeschichte zwischen Struktur und Erfahrung. Die Herausforderung der Alltagsgeschichte in: J.K., *Geschichte und Aufklärung. Aufsätze*, Göttingen 1989, pp.29-44; the latest publication dealing with this controversy: *Schulze, Winfried (Ed.)*: *Sozialgeschichte, Alltagsgeschichte, Mikro-Historie: eine Diskussion*, Göttingen 1994.

¹⁹ A treatment of the everyday that was also theoretically inclined and, above all, based on Anglo-American cultural anthropology entered onto the scene only after some delay. Especially important here: *Geertz, Clifford*: *Dichte Beschreibung. Beiträge zum Verstehen kultureller Systeme*, Frankfurt 1983; on the importance of space see particularly: *Giddens, Anthony*: *Die Konstitution der Gesellschaft. Grundzüge einer Theorie der Strukturierung*, Frankfurt 1992, above all, pp.161-213.

²⁰ This interpretation from: *König, René*: Emile Durkheim, in: *Käsler, Dirk (Ed.)*: *Klassiker des soziologischen Denkens, Bd.1.: Von Comte bis Durkheim*, München 1976, pp.312-364; of the original: *Durkheim, Emile*: *Die elementaren Formen des religiösen Lebens*

become the common manner of explaining particularly the catastrophes of German history in the 20th century was to be replaced.²¹ Since that time instead of the contingency and fateful power of entanglements related to (foreign) policy the assumed (and for the most part - with reference to their importance - confirmed) social, economic, interest-related, and other causal factors of "German exceptionalism" (*Sonderweg*) connected to domestic policy have formed the main subject of studies conducted in history as social science.²² Doubtless, historical social science did and does remain at its core and with regard to its interest in knowledge political history; nonetheless, this new way of looking at things was combined with an intense reception of the widespread modernization theories of the 50s and 60s. More precisely: with intentions related to political history, a reception of theories about the specific elements of the German social and economic development and the development of German constitutional law took place, these theories were further elaborated upon, and the assumption was made that here the "actual" reason for "the German catastrophe" could be deduced.²³ However, difficulties soon arose with the devising of operations and parameters for empirical studies. In order to provide a remedy for these, it was in a certain sense unavoidable that a greater emphasis on local and, precisely, regional studies developed - a tendency that was further reinforced by the simultaneous discovery of the importance of regional developments for the process of industrialization and which has persisted up to the present time.²⁴

In the tradition of research momentarily under consideration (which even today still provides for notable studies), the regional and the local gained importance especially because, in addition to the operationalization of smaller areas, theories (which were

²¹ Cf. *Rürup, Reinhard (Ed.): Historische Sozialwissenschaft*, Göttingen 1979; *Kocka, Jürgen: Sozialgeschichte. Begriff - Entwicklung - Probleme*, Göttingen 2. Aufl. 1986; *Wehler, Hans-Ulrich: Sozialgeschichte und Gesellschaftsgeschichte*, in: *Schieder, Wolfgang/ Sellin, Volker (Ed.): Sozialgeschichte in Deutschland Bd. 1. Die Sozialgeschichte innerhalb der Geschichtswissenschaft*, Göttingen 1986, pp.33-52; *Ritter, Gerhard A.: Die neuere Sozialgeschichte in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland*, in: *Kocka, Jürgen (Ed.): Sozialgeschichte im internationalen Überblick. Ergebnisse und Tendenzen der Forschung*, Darmstadt 1989, pp.19-88.

²² Cf. *Kehr, Eckart: Der Primat der Innenpolitik: gesammelte Aufsätze zur preußisch-deutschen Sozialgeschichte im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert*, Frankfurt 1976.

²³ Cf. the standard publication: *Wehler, Hans-Ulrich: Modernisierungstheorie und Geschichte*, Göttingen 1975.

²⁴ See especially: *Fremdling, Rainer/ Tilly, Richard (Ed.): Industrialisierung und Raum: Studien zur regionalen Differenzierung im Deutschland des 19. Jahrhunderts*, Stuttgart 1979; *Pollard, Sidney (Ed.): Region and Industrialisation: Studies on the Role of the Region in the Economic History of the Last Two Centuries*, Göttingen 1980; also available in German as: S.P.: *Region und Industrialisierung. Studien zur Rolle der Region in der Wirtschaftsgeschichte der letzten zwei Jahrhunderte*, Göttingen 1980; *Pohl, Hans (Ed.): Gewerbe- und Industrielandschaften vom Spätmittelalter bis ins 20. Jahrhundert*, Stuttgart 1986; *Wischermann, Clemens: Preußischer Staat und westfälische Unternehmer. Zwischen Spätmerkantilismus und Liberalismus 1810-1897*, *Schulze, Rainer (Ed.): Industrieregionen im*

designed to account for the entire historical development mainly of the German Kaiserreich) became possible.²⁵ Thus, "the region" was used primarily as a means of making research in modern history practicable; and since historical studies - not only with respect to this historical epoch - are often structurally predetermined by administrative units and their sphere of influence, most especially by the records such institutions produce "procedurally", "region" mostly was and remains a synonym for administrative units: county, district, province, territory, and occasionally state.

In this way this "process of regionalization of modernization theories" led to an abundance of empirical studies, some of which are quite commendable, and which at the same time probably still form the mainstream treatment of the regional in German historical study. However, the disadvantage of this development was the circumstance that the high returns from regional procedures or from studies structured by however defined "regions" are in marked contrast to the hardly existent theoretical achievements regarding the regional. One important exception as early as the mid-70s was Wolfgang Köllmann, who understood this form of "return of the regional" above all as an important corrective to the large-scale, all too smooth metatheories and modernization theories and to general judgements on society, the state, etc.²⁶ His four main arguments, which shrewdly predicted the further regionalization of historical social science which then actually did take place, were as follows: "Only at a particular location can the preconditions, approaches, and the course of developments of processes effecting structural change be detected and influential factors be appreciated with regard to their importance and consequences." - "Only at a particular location can one recognize within general processes differentiations which allow one to draw conclusions about accelerating or delaying elements." - "Only at a particular location can one grasp the 'traditional elements' that have played a special role in the

²⁵ On the newly developed form of regional history which arose from this state of affairs see in particular: *Brakensiek, Stefan (Ed.): Kultur und Staat in der Provinz. Perspektiven und Erträge der Regionalgeschichte*, Bielefeld 1992; there, especially the essay by *Axel Flügel: Der Ort der Regionalgeschichte in der neuzeitlichen Geschichte*, pp.1-28.

²⁶ Cf.: *Köllmann, Wolfgang: Die Bedeutung der Regionalgeschichte im Rahmen struktur- und sozialgeschichtlicher Konzeptionen*, in: *Archiv für Sozialgeschichte* 11 (1975), pp.43-50; in addition, on the regional and the so-called "return" or "metaphor of return" from various perspectives, see: *Gustavsson, Lars (Ed.): Regionalismus (=Tintenfisch, Nr.10)*, Berlin 1976; *Petrella, Riccardo: La Renaissance des cultures régionales en Europe*, Paris 1978; *Stiens, Gerhard: Zur Wiederkunft des Regionalismus in den Wissenschaften*, in: *Informationen zur Raumentwicklung* 5 (1980), pp.315-333; *Pieper, Richard: Region und Regionalismus. Zur Wiederentdeckung einer räumlichen Kategorie in der soziologischen Theorie*, in: *Geographische Rundschau* 10 (1987), pp.534-539; *Weichhart, Peter: Raumbezogene Identität. Bausteine zu einer Theorie räumlich sozialer Kognition und Identifikation*, Stuttgart 1990; *Lindner, Ralf (Ed.):*

emergence and development of a specific group consciousness." - "Only regional research [...] is in a position to analyse which effective interrelations and influences have led to particular formations and modifications of a certain area that are unmistakable."

III. The new (old) regional history

Especially the last of Köllmann's four main arguments touched upon something that went beyond the then necessary (and later brought about) alterations in the large-scale theories and frameworks and both pointed to the future and attempted to establish links to traditions of research other than ones purely concerned with national history. The mid-70s were also the period in which, apart from its corrective function, the intrinsic value of the regional was rediscovered. But this form of "rediscovery" of the regional was not necessarily equivalent to the attempts to formulate more precisely from the top down approaches dealing with national history or with modernization theory. Nor was the issue involved the reverse procedure from the bottom up, but rather the relevance or indeterminacy of still possible approaches and points of departure for representing, writing, and analyzing "history". Thus the loss of legitimacy for dealing with large-scale systems, states, and theories permitted taking recourse (again) to other "historical units". Regional history as history of the everyday is today, then, much less characterized by particular theoretical achievements or empirical and methodological procedures than it is by its refusal to accept the claim to hegemony of what is in its view a national history that has been modified in the direction of social history. Instead of undertaking a renewed canonization of a particular approach, this type of regional history is primarily concerned with a plurality of methodical, empirical, and theoretical procedures and with their acceptance. "New" regional history shares this claim (in the case of everyday history often combined with what one could almost call set phrases conjuring up praxis, real life, etc.) with certain older traditions (as, e.g., *Landesgeschichte*). Up to the present, such a renewed and revived form of "regional history" thus constitutes a hardly describable confusing mixture of, on the one hand, long-established research traditions and on the other hand, a new beginning that (at its emergence) was more or less lacking tradition.

In the first instance, the discipline now called regional history is most certainly rooted in older research traditions from the 18th and 19th centuries dealing with territorial history or individual states which then further developed within the context of (Prussian) provincial history or *Landesgeschichte* or within the context of historical *Kulturraumforschung* or *Ostkunde*.²⁷ For the latter, Lamprecht, Petry, Köttschke, Aubin and Petri might be mentioned as the most important advocates of this position, Bonn, Münster, Cologne, and Leipzig as the most important "schools".²⁸ Whatever the "real intentions" of some of these scholars may have been in the 20s and 30s, historical *Kulturraumforschung* and the regional in general became hard-pressed with regard to their legitimacy in the 60s and 70s - as evident in the essay by Köllmann already cited.²⁹ This problem of marginalization, not to say relevance, was nurtured first of all by the (unjustified) equation of any spatial considerations with pure geodeterminism or even with the wholesale suspicion of being connected to "blood and soil" ideology.³⁰ Secondly, - and this was certainly a serious objection - the modernization theories which enjoyed widespread reception at the time predicted the disappearance of regional differentiation in the development of the "modern" period or they attempted to interpret remains of the regional as proof of deficient modernization. This second objection to the treatment of structures related to smaller areas rather than those on a national or global scale led to the consequence that territorial history or historical *Kulturraumforschung*, now sometimes using the new label regional, shifted the main emphasis of their research more unequivocally to the "premodern" period. This was often accompanied by the attempt to legitimate such a renewed regional history by taking recourse to the French structuralist geographical tradition since Vidal de la Blache³¹ - a course of action

²⁷ For presentations of a summary see: *Wallthor, Alfred Hartlieb von/ Qurin, Heinz (Ed.): op.cit.*; *Fried, Pankraz (Ed.): Probleme und Methoden der Landesgeschichte*, Darmstadt 1978; *Hauptmeyer, Carl-Hans (Ed.): Landesgeschichte heute*, Göttingen 1987; see also: *Zernack, Klaus: Osteuropa. Eine Einführung in seine Geschichte*, München 1977; there interesting information about the instrumentalization common to *Ostkunde* and historical *Kulturraumforschung* in the 20s and 30s, pp.12-19.

²⁸ Cf.: *Lamprecht, Karl: Moderne Geschichtswissenschaft: Fünf Vorträge*, Freiburg 1905; *Aubin, Hermann: Aufgaben und Wege der geschichtlichen Landeskunde*, in: *Fried, Pankraz (Ed.): op.cit.*, pp.38-52; *Köttschke, Rudolf: Nationalgeschichte und Landesgeschichte*, in: *ibid.*, pp.13-37; *Droege, Georg (Ed.): Landschaft und Geschichte. Festschrift für Franz Petri zu seinem 65. Geburtstag*, Bonn 1970.

²⁹ Cf. *Briesen, Detlef/ Gans, Rüdiger: Das Siegerland zwischen ländlicher Beschränkung und nationaler Entgrenzung: Enge und Weite als Elemente regionaler Identität*, in: *Lindner, Rolf (Ed.): op.cit.*, pp.64-90.

³⁰ Cf. the similar argumentation in: *Asendorf, Manfred et al.: Geschichte. Lexikon der wissenschaftlichen Grundbegriffe*, Hamburg 1994, pp.533-34.

³¹ Cf.: *Vidal de la Blache, Paul: Principes de géographie humaine*, Paris 1922; see especially: *Hinrichs, Ernst/ Norden, Wilhelm (Ed.): Regionalgeschichte. Probleme und Beispiele*, Hildesheim 1980; furthermore: *Hinrichs, Ernst: Regionalgeschichte*, in: *Hauptmeyer, Carl-Hans: Landesgeschichte heute*, Göttingen 1987, pp.16-34; continuing along the same lines: *Steinbach, Peter: Zur*

that was further intensified by the simultaneous reception of studies written by the first (Bloch, Febvre) and second generations (Braudel) of *Annales* scholars.³² Admittedly, here the issue is not to be resolved whether this recourse to French structuralism did indeed provide a new foundation for regional history or if in this instance simply via a "westernizing" detour precisely those notions were taken up which in any case already existed in the tradition of historical *Kulturraumforschung*.³³

However, the revitalization of regional history in the last 20 years also has other roots than those of traditional historical schools as transformed by the impetus of the changing *Zeitgeist*. The increasing recourse to the regional was also an immediate result of the change in the socio-cultural climate of the 70s already briefly outlined above. Issues such as those concerning "*Heimat*"³⁴ could now be raised again without being accused wholesale and from the start of escapist tendencies or affinity to "blood and soil" ideology.³⁵ There is an abundance of factors and motives which have since played a part difficult to describe precisely in this sphere of action which is located outside the traditional academic treatment of the regional and is itself almost beyond description. Above all, one important characteristic of this "historical scene" seems to be the widespread conviction that one is engaged in "experimenting" with new, unconventional and non-traditional approaches in the study of history. Thus, from the venerable tradition of territorial history and *Kulturraumforschung*, there is at least subjectively no necessarily direct path leading to regional history. On the contrary, one can discern a certain rift in continuity and reception.

Landesgeschichte 31 (1981), pp.185-210; Dann, Otto: Die Region als Gegenstand der Geschichtswissenschaft, in: Archiv für Sozialgeschichte 23 (1983), pp.652-661; Zorn, Wolfgang: Territorium und Region in der Sozialgeschichte, in: Schieder, Wolfgang/Sellin, Volker (Ed.): Sozialgeschichte in Deutschland, Bd. 2: Handlungsräume des Menschen in der Geschichte, Göttingen 1986, pp.137-161.

³² On this reception cf. the still informative: Erbe, Michael: Zur neueren französischen Sozialgeschichtsforschung, Darmstadt 1979; as well as: Braudel, Fernand: Sozialgeschichte des 15. bis 18. Jahrhunderts, 3 Bde., München 1986.

³³ The opposing position to Hinrichs/Norden above all in: Faber, Karl-Georg: Geschichtslandschaft - Région historique - Section in History. Ein Beitrag zur vergleichenden Wissenschaftsgeschichte, in: Saeculum 30 (1979), pp.4-21; Schorn-Schütte, Luise: Territorialgeschichte, Provinzialgeschichte - Landesgeschichte, Regionalgeschichte, in: Städteforschung, Reihe A: Darstellungen, Bd.21, Teil 1, Köln/Wien 1984, pp.390-416.

³⁴ Cf. simply the huge success of the television series by Edgar Reitz now called "*Erste Heimat*".

³⁵ An important impulse was contributed by the discussion of didactics in history. Cf. Beeck, Karl-Hermann: Die unterrichtlichen Mißverständnisse von Regionalgeschichte, in: K.-H.B. (Ed.): Landesgeschichte im Unterricht, Ratingen 1973, pp.1-13; Peukert, Detlev: Heimatgeschichte, in: Bergmann, Klaus (Ed.): Handbuch der Geschichtsdidaktik, Bd.1, Düsseldorf 1980, pp.235-239; Arbeitsgruppe des Forschungsprojekts "Regionale Sozialgeschichte" der Universität Konstanz: Neue Regionalgeschichte: Linke Heimattümelei oder kritische Gesellschaftsanalyse? Tendenzen einer neuen Regionalgeschichte, in: Das Argument 126 (1981), pp.239-252; dies.: Regionalgeschichte: Neue Chancen für Gesellschaftsanalyse, in: Das Argument 131 (1982), pp.55-67; Knoch, Peter/Leeb, Thomas (Ed.): Heimat oder Region? Grundzüge einer Didaktik der Regionalgeschichte, Frankfurt 1984; Leidinger, Paul: Landes- und Regionalgeschichte in Geschichtswissenschaft und Geschichtsunterricht - Begriff, Möglichkeiten und Grenzen, in: Geschichte, Politik und ihre Didaktik 12 (1984), pp.36-48; Kurozumi, Kazuhiko: Regionalgeschichte als Heimatgeschichte, in: Kuschhoff, Hans-Gregor (Ed.):

The socio-cultural and political change already mentioned here at several points thus led to the reception of that type of Anglo-American everyday history³⁶ - that "dig where you stand" - which always at least implicitly also takes the local or regional into consideration.³⁷ At least in the self-estimation of a new generation of researchers this meant that one was again more intensely concerned with "the actions of concrete people in their concrete environments" and not with the rather "soulless general socio-economic structures, formations, and processes."³⁸ Secondly, this "return of the regional" was associated either with traditional forms of pursuing interest in the homeland (*Heimatvereine* and history clubs)³⁹ with a new look or with new organizational forms such as, above all, history workshops. Since that time there has been a third impulse which also deserves to be mentioned, namely the efforts of cities and regions by means of a more intensive recourse to their history to establish new foundations for a sort of local or regional corporate identity - an attempt which, in my opinion, should not be wholesale disqualified as being apologetic or affirmative.⁴⁰

IV. Concluding theses

If one reviews the statements made here so far, then it is hardly likely that one could get the impression that there is a uniform approach to regional history or even a binding definition of the regional within the disciplines of modern and contemporary history today. The approaches and motives are much too varied, as are the following research paradigms: research on regionalism, the region as a corrective to approaches employing modernization theories, regional historical and economic research, territorial history and history of the homeland, historical *Kulturraumforschung*, everyday history, history of the city and regional history, etc. But it is

³⁶ Here, Lutz Niethammer established the standard with his reception of the Anglo-American oral history. Cf. *Niethammer, Lutz (Ed.): Lebenserfahrung und kollektives Gedächtnis: die Praxis der "oral history"*, Frankfurt 1980.

³⁷ For what is certainly the best publication on this topic see: *Zang, Gert: Die unaufhaltsame Annäherung an das Einzelne. Reflexionen über den theoretischen und praktischen Nutzen der Regional- und Alltagsgeschichte*, Konstanz 1985; on history of the everyday in general see: *Lüdke, Alf (Ed.): Alltagsgeschichte: Zur Rekonstruktion historischer Erfahrungen und Lebensweisen*, Frankfurt 1989.

³⁸ *Reulecke, Jürgen: Von der Landesgeschichte zur Regionalgeschichte: Neuere Ansätze und Fragestellungen*, in: *Geschichte im Westen* 6 (1991), pp.202-207.

³⁹ See: *Klueting, Harm: Rückwärtigkeit des Örtlichen. Individualisierung des Allgemeinen. Heimatgeschichtsschreibung (Historische Heimatkunde) als unprofessionelle Lokalgeschichtsschreibung neben der professionellen Geschichtswissenschaft*, in: *Klueting, Edeltraud (Ed.): Antimodernismus und Reform. Zur Geschichte der deutschen Heimatbewegung*, Darmstadt 1991, pp.50-89.

⁴⁰ For a perspective that is certainly with regard to the German *Bundesländer* justifiably critical, see: *Mohr, Arno: Politische Identität im jaden Preis? Zur Funktion der Landesgeschichtsschreibung in den Bundesländern*, in: *Neue Politische Literatur* 2 (1990), pp.222

certainly doubtful that hasty definitions or rigid theoretical and methodological regimentation are at all appropriate or even helpful here. It has already been mentioned that German historical science sometimes exhibits a tendency to engage in hasty canonization.⁴¹ It would therefore seem to be more advantageous not to create strict divisions - regional history on the one hand, but certainly not on the other - but rather to acknowledge (and, if necessary, to defend) the newly acquired plurality of the various historical approaches in comparison to the former overpowering approach of national history. It would seem more important than such polarizations - whether internal or external to regional history - that those who in some way or another are concerned with regional history should at least be conscious of the fact that in the light of their research the regional factor must be subject to testing by scientific investigation and theoretical conceptions. Thus in accordance with the statements made above, regional history is primarily concerned with the problematic of which social, cultural, economic, and political structural formations can actually be traced to regional factors and, so, with the question as to whether or not region proves itself to be - somewhat in the sense that Bateson meant - a meaningful notion of order. It is certainly not a matter of chance that there are parallels here to sexual, generational, and environmental history. That this implies that to a certain extent the necessity of establishing a definition must be adhered to is just as evident as the contrary, the danger of unreflected hypostatization with regard to the influence of the regional in general or of specific regions in particular. A single, unified regional history - which is certainly quite far removed from the present state of modern and contemporary history - can hardly be achieved by compulsory prescription of issues or institutional commitments, but rather only by means of a theoretically well-founded discourse on the regional.

In my opinion the real difficulties of regional history research today are to be found exactly at this point - both with respect to the further development of modernization theories and to that of the traditional territorial history or pluralized postmodern approaches. For, at present, such a theoretically founded discourse is not really

⁴¹ Essentially, this is also demonstrated in the repeated recourse to the probably most important pioneer of modern German regional history, Karl Lamprecht. Lamprecht was greatly influenced by Wilhelm Wundt; Lamprechts followers, however, did not engage in reception of Wundts critique of his first studies nor did they take his later development to a more empirically oriented psychology into consideration. See: *Wundt, Wilhelm: Völkerpsychologie: eine Untersuchung der Entwicklungsgesetze von Sprache, Mythos und Sitte*, 10

discernible. One reason for this may be the fact that "space" still seems to many historians to be a very dubious category for social science. Furthermore, the sort of intensive multidisciplinary exchange with other human sciences that has become much the standard in sexual, generational, and environmental history seems to be a long time in coming for regional history,⁴² even though particularly for this last field of study considerable traditions in this line are available. Here, numerous discoveries could be made especially in the realm of Anglo-American cultural and social geography⁴³; by the same token various parallels and overlapping themes may be determined by comparison to geography⁴⁴, sociology⁴⁵, cultural anthropology⁴⁶, etc. It remains, then, to be seen how (to refer to the thoughts expressed at the beginning of this essay) German regional history will allow itself to be led from the normal necessary confusion of scientific research to, at least, conscious reflection on this confused state.

(Translated from German by Thomas La Presti)

⁴² Cf. - here, only a brief selection - *Frevert, Ute*: Frauen-Geschichte zwischen bürgerlicher Verbesserung und neuer Weiblichkeit, Frankfurt 1986; *Brüggemeier, Franz-Josef/ Rommelspacher, Thomas*: Blauer Himmel über der Ruhr. Geschichte der Umwelt im Ruhrgebiet 1840-1990, Essen 1992; für die historische Generationen- und Biografieforschung vor allem: *BIOS. Zeitschrift für Biographieforschung und Oral History*.

⁴³ As a selection: *Downs, Roger M./Stea, David*: Kognitive Karten. Die Welt in unseren Köpfen, New York 1982; *Gregory, Derek*: Geographical Imaginations, Cambridge 1984; *Gregory, Derek/Urry, John (Ed.)*: Social Relations and Spatial Structures, London 1985; *Marshall, Michael*: Long Waves of Regional Development, Basingstoke 1987; *Damesick, P.J/Wood, P.A. (Ed.)*: Regional Problems, Problem Regions, and Public Policy in the United Kingdom, Oxford 1987; *Entrikin, J. Nicholas*: The Betweenness of Place. Towards a Geography of Modernity, London 1991; *Massey, Doreen*: Places and Their Pasts, in: *History Workshop Journal* 39 (1995), pp.182-192.

⁴⁴ For example: *Werlen, Benno*: Gesellschaft, Handlung und Raum. Grundlagen handlungstheoretischer Sozialgeographie, Stuttgart 1987; *Weichhart, Peter*: Raumbezogene Identität. Bausteine zu einer Theorie räumlich-sozialer Kognition und Identifikation, Stuttgart 1990; *Wood, Gerald*: Die Umstrukturierung Nordost-Englands. Wirtschaftlicher Wandel, Alltag und Politik in einer Altindustrieregion, Dortmund 1994.

⁴⁵ See, for instance,: *Ipsen, Detlev*: Raumbilder. Zum Verhältnis des ökonomischen und kulturellen Raumes, in: *Informationen zur Raumentwicklung* 11/12 (1986), pp.921-931; *Ipsen, Detlev/ Fuchs, Thomas*: Die Modernisierung des Raumes, in: 1999, Heft 1991,1, pp.13-33.

⁴⁶ See, e.g., the latest publication: *Schilling, Heinz/ Bloch, Beatrice*: Region. Heimaten der individualisierten Gesellschaft, Frankfurt

II. Religion and region

The Calvinistic Pietism of Siegerland. A Comfortable Cliché Revisited. Wolfgang Degenhardt

"Siegerland" is a mountainous region in the middle of Germany, about a hundred kilometres north of Frankfurt/Main, as well as east of Cologne and south of Dortmund. It is usually described by the borders of the former "Kreis Siegen". In 1975 the "Kreis Siegen" was united with the neighbouring "Kreis Wittgenstein" to the new "Kreis Siegen-Wittgenstein". About 45.000 (15%) of the ca. 300.000 inhabitants live in the "Wittgenstein"-part of the region, some more than 250.000 (85%) in the "Altkreis Siegen"¹. Out of these more than 110.000 are inhabitants of the main city of the region, Siegen. The District of Siegen-City covers about 20% of the total territory of the "Kreis Siegen-Wittgenstein". Around the turn of the 19th to the 20th Century the "Kreis Siegen" had about 100.000 inhabitants. Up to the middle of the twentieth century, ore mining and steel-production were the main economical sources for the region.

The rough landscape and the rather hard conditions of life and work are often said to have brought up a hard working breed, unremittingly industrious, but also hostile to culture and all kinds of sensual enjoyment. There seemed to be a second, also quite satisfactory explication for such habits: For several centuries the district is said to have been relatively isolated and strongly coined by the doctrines of Calvinism and Pietism².

¹ cf. Hartmut Eichenauer: Der Kreis Siegen Wittgenstein-eine Einführung; in: Hartmut Eichenauer, Alois Mayr und Klaus Temnitz (eds.): Städte und Gemeinden in Westfalen: Der Kreis Siegen Wittgenstein, p. 1-7

² Why and inhowfar this cliché turned out to be so comfortable, both for strangers and inhabitants of

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In spite of the still very poor state of research even a rough sketch of the confessional history of Siegerland can show that this cliché is based on inadequate fundamentals. Of course, only a few structures of this confessional history can be outlined here. It must be mentioned that the more thorough scientific publications in the sector of Siegerland-church-history are altogether rather old and moulded by apologetic interests³.

In the age of confessionalization the Calvinistic-reformed character of the region was not easily adopted by the people. Catholicism did not yield without resistance, and Calvinism never conquered the whole territory. In the reverse an enclave with a Catholic majority remained in the east of the region, and within the city of Siegen a significant catholic minority held out.

In 1530 Count "Wilhelm der Reiche" (William the Rich) introduced the Lutheran reformation in his territory, but after a first confessional war (Schmalkaldischer Krieg) had turned out unluckily for the evangelical side, he had to make substantial concessions to the Catholics, so that both confessions had to tolerate each other for the time being. His son Johann VI introduced Calvinism, with the "Heidelberger Katechismus" as a textbook for the young and as a visible sign of Reformed confession around the year 1580, slowly and hesitating at first, then more determined.

His successor, Johann VII, in 1621 decided to share his inheritance among three of his sons, after his firstborn son, Johann VIII, turned Catholic. According to his plan, each of the sons should inherit one third of the City of Siegen and one third of the county with one of the three market towns (Marktflecken). In his inherited portion of the county, Johann der Jüngere (VIII) re-established the old confession. As an ardent supporter of Counter-Reformation he

³ cf. here: Max Göbel: Geschichte des christlichen Lebens in der rheinisch-westfälischen evangelischen Kirche; 3 Bände, Koblenz 1852.

Karl Goebel: Übersicht der Geschichte der Reformation und Kirchenverfassung der Fürstentümer Nassau-Siegen, Wittgenstein, Solms und Wied im 16. Jahrh.; in: Monatsschrift für die evangelische Kirche der Rheinprovinz und Westfalens 2 (1844) 287-325.

Heinrich Schlosser und Wilhelm Neuser: Die evangelische Kirche in Nassau-Oranien 1530-1930; Festschrift, 2 Bände, Siegen 1. Band 1931, 2. Band 1933.

Wilhelm Ochse: Kirchliche Heimatkunde. Plaudereien mit Jung und Alt im Siegerland, Münster 1949.

Jakob Schmitt: Die Gnade bricht durch. Aus der Geschichte der Erweckungsbewegung im Siegerland, in Wittgenstein und in den angrenzenden Gebieten; Weidenau 1953, 3. durchgesehene Auflage Gießen/Basel 1958.

Of some interest for the history of the Gemeinschaftsbewegung in early 20.th Century is Karl Hoffmann: Die Siegerländer Gemeinschaftsbewegung neuerer Zeit. Ein Beitrag zur religiösen

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installed a Jesuit monastery in Siegen and he fought as a Field-Marshal on the Spanish side in the Netherlands' war of independence against his brothers, who were high-ranked and successful officers in the service of the States general.

For several times during the Thirty Years' War Johann VIII tried to make use of the absence of his brothers and take hold of the whole territory of Nassovia-Siegen. His brother Johann Moritz could thwart the execution of this plan, partly with the help of Swedish troops, but the tight connections of the Nassovian dynasty to the Netherlands (respectively of Johann VIII to Spain) led to the fact that the County of Siegen was always just regarded as a "secondary theatre of war". For many years the scales swayed between Reformed and Catholic predominance. In this process the part of Johann VIII, the so-called "Johannland", remained mostly Catholic, while the rest of the county was coined by Calvinism. Although treaties of tolerance were signed, the relations between the confessional groups stayed tense, if not openly hostile.

For more than a hundred years, Nassovia-Siegen had meanwhile become a principality, the wrangling between the Catholic and the Reformed line of the House of Nassovia-Siegen could not be decided or arbitrated, until in 1734 first the Reformed, then in 1743 the Catholic line of the dynasty became extinct. Only from this time on one can speak of a stabilisation of the confessional relations. The principality fell to the house of Nassovia-Diez and the religious "status quo" was settled.⁴

At this time the first bloom of Pietism had already come to an end. In Siegerland and Wittgenstein the first traces of this doctrine can be found around 1700. Heinrich Reitz, headmaster of the Latin-school in Siegen and Ernst Christoph Hochmann von Hochenau set the movement going. In 1704 Reitz founded the first Conventicles in Siegen, Hochmann von Hochenau won the Court of Wittgenstein-Berleburg for Pietism⁵. Kasimir von Wittgenstein-Berleburg initiated several reforms inspired by Pietism. Among other things he granted asylum to people who were persecuted for their belief. People of various denominations flocked together in Berleburg and were allowed to think and teach in widest liberty. These believers

⁴ For the history of confessionalization of Siegerland especially cf.: Schlosser/Neuser, op. cit., pp.1-53, Ochse op. cit., pp.67-137

Heinrich Ulrich Seidel: Social Pacification through religion congregated in the Berleburg-region within the so-called "Philadelphiagemeinde" (Philadelphia-Community). The renowned surgeon, scientist and author Johann Heinrich Jung-"Stilling", born 1740, was strongly influenced by this community⁶. This pietistic awakening, it seems, has mediated some theological contemplation and literature into neighbouring Siegerland. Such influence, however, is hardly provable from literary evidence, because, except of the works of Jung and Stahlschmidt⁷, hardly any written tradition of "early Siegerland Pietism" is handed down to us⁸. This is all the more surprising, as there is an outstandingly rich literary heritage of the other tendencies of 18th-century-Pietism in different regions (of that in Wittgenstein as well).

If Pietism ever had a great significance in Siegerland in the early 18th Century (just to avoid an "argumentum ex silentio") it has lost it at the latest around the middle of the century. It never seems to have vanished completely, but it withdrew into small, elitarian circles. Rationalism (or whatever was called so) seemed to win all over, as Pietistic observers, like Jung-Stilling, Christian Stahlschmidt or Gerhard Tersteegen in the Rhineland stated. In Siegen 1777 even the "Heidelberger Katechismus", the most important book of confession for the Reformed tradition in Siegerland, was abolished.

But this "poverty of the evidence" does not mean that following generations had no clear and luminant picture of the "original piety" of Siegerland. The gap of about 50 years was bridged by the tales and novels of Heinrich Jung-"Stilling", especially the "Jugendgeschichte"⁹, an autobiographic novel about his youth. Jung is kind of a "virtual" link between Early-18th-Century-Pietism and the revivalist movement, springing up in early 19th Century. Jung is not a "typical Pietist", he has not experienced a "conversion", because he was a Christian from his early youth on, he has not experienced the "agony of penitence", as it is known from the

⁶ cf. the autobiographical novel by Johann Heinrich Jung-Stilling: Johann Henrich Stillings Jugend, Jünglingsjahre, Wanderschaft und häusliches Leben. Stuttgart 1968, cf. also Max Geiger: Aufklärung und Erweckung. Beiträge zur Erforschung J.H. Jung- Stillings und der Erweckungstheologie; Zürich 1963

⁷ Stahlschmidts Pilgerreise zu Wasser und zu Lande mit dem Vorwort Jung Stillings; Siegen o. J.

⁸ Schmitt also knows no further pietistic literature than Jung und Stahlschmidt. Pietistic activities are concluded from some newspaper articles and consistorial messages speaking quite general of "Schwärmern, Separatisten, Quäkern" cf. Schmitt, Gnade. a.a.O. p. 157 ff.

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Pietism of Halle, but Jung holds on to the Pietism he grew up with. The church-historian Ritschl rightly calls Jung's relation to Pietism the one of a "dilettante" (Liebhaber)¹⁰. A much more direct influence than on the revival in Siegerland, Jung had on the development in Baden, which was supported by his removal to Karlsruhe in 1803. After Jung had left home to go to university, he never again set a foot on the soil of Siegerland, although he was a professor in Marburg nearby for many years. The second authority for early Pietism in Siegerland, Christian Stahlschmidt, also spent only a very small part of his life in the region. Far longer he worked in America, in the Rhineland and the "Bergisches Land".

The confessional situation in the whole of Germany, and in Siegerland in special, changed fundamentally after the Napoleonic Wars and the Vienna-Congress. Industrialisation of several landscapes, like the Wupper-Valley, for example, and later on in Siegerland, too, altered the structure of population in the affected regions totally. Large-scale migrations were sparked by the growing demand for workforce, and they brought with them a new blend of cultures. Relatively close contacts were suddenly established between regions some fifty or hundred kilometres away from each other. Changes like these also concerned the people of the lower classes, the mainstay of the newly forming "Gemeinschaftsbewegung".

The growing mobility of the population, boosted by the introduction of railways, was a basic condition for all the conferences and meetings which - ever increasing up to the turn of the century - made a close knit network that held the Revivalist movement together, at least inside the German "Reich". Similar effects had the Post- and Telegraph-network.

The radical changes in academic theology between 1800 and 1900 can only be mentioned here. Only a fraction of these new thoughts made their way up to the pulpits, far less of them reached underneath. The vast majority of the mentioned „common people“ either stayed with their "simple belief" or became more and more estranged to the churches. The greater the gap between official

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theology and that "simple belief" emerged, the more room opened for new confessional movements to expand¹¹.

The longing for religious edification had become stronger since the end of the Napoleonic wars, and it did not remain confined to church-worship and private revival-meetings. Meanwhile there was a great amount of devotional literature, cheap enough for almost everybody, mostly sold by Christian colportage-societies.¹²

A large part of these books contained old texts, dating back to the Reformation-era, medieval Mysticism, and early Pietism. Another part originated from the Revivalist "Gemeinschaftsbewegung" itself. A large portion came from outside Germany. The influence that e.g. the impressive piety of the English Baptist Charles Haddon Spurgeon had on the "Gemeinschaftsbewegung" must not be underestimated. From today's view it is surprising, how indiscriminately so many heterogeneous traditions were absorbed. And absorbed they were, not discussed or evaluated but simply added to all the traditions that were there before. All these accumulated theologies gained influence on the life and piety of the new communities (Gemeinschaften) that just came into being.

Around 1800, as stated above, there were virtually no more "pietistic" conventicles alive in Siegerland. After the region, following the Vienna Congress, had been incorporated into the Prussian state, it seems that a new or stronger interest in confessional questions emerged. Some "Gemeinschaften" were founded which, depending on the town where they originated, leaned on very different traditions of Pietism or of the Revival-Movement of early 19th Century. Close connections were established to the Wupper-Valley, where the movement sprang up

¹¹ cf. for the "Erweckungsbewegung" u.a.: Konrad Algermissen: *Erweckungsbewegung*; in: LThK, 2nd ed., 3.vols. 1064-1065
Erich Beyreuther: *Die Erweckungsbewegung*; hrsg. von K.D. Schmidt und E. Wolf in "Die Kirche in ihrer Geschichte Bd. 4, Lieferung R Göttingen 1963
Martin Greschat: *Die Erweckungsbewegung. Versuch einer Übersicht anhand neuerer Veröffentlichungen*; in: Robert Stupperich (Hg.) "Jahrbuch für westfälische Kirchengeschichte" Bd. 66 p. 97-148, Bethel 1973
Friedrich Wilhelm Kantzenbach: *die Erweckungsbewegung. Studien zur Geschichte ihrer Entstehung und ersten Ausbreitung in Deutschland*; Neuendettelsau 1957
Ludwig Rott: *Die englischen Beziehungen der Erweckungsbewegung und die Anfänge des Wesleyanischen Methodismus in Deutschland*; Beiträge zur Geschichte des Methodismus. Beiheft 1, Frankfurt/Main 1968
Ludwig Tiesmeyer: *Die Erweckungsbewegungen in Deutschland während des 19.Jahrhunderts*; Kassel 1901

Heinrich Ulrich Seidel: Social Pacification through religion around 1816. It is quite remarkable that this awakening also took hold of great parts of the young generation¹³.

The leading head of this movement was Gottfried Daniel Krummacher. He was a reformed pastor in Elberfeld in the Wupper-Valley. His doctrine was entirely orthodox Calvinistic and insofar completely different from Pietistic traditions. He can rather be called a „pious Calvinist“ than a „Calvinist-Pietist“. Deeply rooted in the tradition of the Reformation, Krummachers major theme is the justification of the sinner¹⁴. His theological concept is thoroughly coined by the reformed theology of God's majesty. The subjectivism of Pietistic theologians like Francke, Oetinger or Zinzendorf is totally unfamiliar to him. The "Paradoxon" of God's grace, seemingly contradictory to human reason, became the leitmotiv of his sermons. He did not deny the doctrine of predestination completely, but he always refused to make it essential for his theological system. Typical for his mode of expression, playing with the paradox, he says about Calvin, that he would have earned damnation for his unbiblical formula of predestination, had not God in his free grace shown mercy about this great man of God.¹⁵

It was a matter of course for Krummacher that the church was the room for the "Awakened" to congregate. Should they like to have additional private meetings besides the Sunday Service: well, why not?

News of the Wuppertal-Awakening reached Siegerland by wandering journeymen. Young craftsmen saw their chances in the early-industrialised Wupper-Valley, where at this time the „big money“ could be earned. Many of them worked there for a while to become familiar with new technologies, and some came in touch

¹³ cf. Friedrich Wilhelm Krummacher: *Die niederrheinische Erweckungsbewegung im Kampf um Lehre und Verfassung der Kirche*; Berlin 1935 and by the same author: *Gottfried Daniel Krummacher und die niederrheinische Erweckungsbewegung zu Anfang des neunzehnten Jahrhunderts*; Berlin und Leipzig 1935

¹⁴ 'Was in einem Betracht unwahr ist, kann in einem anderen sehr wahr sein, sodaß man von der nämlichen Person in einem Betracht sagen kann, sie sei ein Sünder, in einem anderen aber sie sei heilig ...' ... In dieser Perspektive wird es relativ belanglos, ob der Mensch die göttliche Güte auch fühlt, weil ja der Schwerpunkt in dem Handeln Gottes und nicht in der menschlichen Erfahrung liegt" Friedrich Wilhelm Krummacher, Gottfried Daniel Krummacher a.a.O. p. 92f

¹⁵ "daß er wegen seiner unbiblichen Prädestinationsformeln 'die Verdammniß verdient haben würde, wenn Gott nicht über diesen teuren Gottesmann seine freie Gnade hätte walten lassen' Friedrich

Heinrich Ulrich Seidel: Social Pacification through religion with the new Revival and brought their experiences (both technological and religious) home with them.¹⁶

Far more than in the Wupper-Valley, where most pastors supported the "Erweckung", the Revival in Siegerland became a lay-movement¹⁷. Here the parishes were mostly occupied by pastors who thought "rationalistic"¹⁸. They rejected the "Konventikelwesen" harshly and did not always restrain from using the police-force against it. It took decades, until all (or most) parishes had pastors who were accepted by the Awakened (and vice versa) and the tension between the "Gemeinschaften" and the church relaxed to some extent.

The stronghold of this variety of the movement in Siegerland was Freudenberg in the west of the region. Its main protagonist was the tanner Tillmann Siebel, who, like so many others, had spent a part of his journeyman's time in Wuppertal¹⁹. After his marriage in 1835 he first congregated some believers in his house for common edification. Although the local pastor was hostile to him, he never seems to have thought of leaving the church; in the reverse, he had himself elected into the presbytery - a typically "Reformed" reaction, so to say. Within the Reformed Church the presbytery can be quite a powerful instrument, if one knows how to handle it. After a few years Freudenberg had a pastor who was friendly to the new movement. Soon a network of friendship was knit all over Siegerland, Bergisches Land to the Rhineland. Contacts reached as far as to the Pietists in Swabia and to the county of Minden-Ravensberg (the Region around Bielefeld, where a similar Revival just had taken place). Several times young pastors were exchanged with the Lutheran communities there. When Siebel died in September 1875, it had not at least been his work that had made the Gemeinschaftsbewegung an essential part of religious life in Siegerland.

Besides this direction of the new movement in Freudenberg that might correctly be called "Calvinistic-Pietistic", there was, from the very beginnings, a second one, which was mainly based on the reception of "mystical" literature and theology in the tradition of

¹⁶ cf. Schmitt, Gnade, a.a.O. p. 224

¹⁷ cf. especially Schmitt, Gnade, a.a.O. p.221 ff.

¹⁸ which does not necessarily seem to signify more than that they didn't like the conventicles

¹⁹ cf. Walther Alfred Siebel: Tillmann Siebel, der Vater des christlichen Lebens im Siegerland;

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Gerhard Tersteegen. This direction was mainly located in the south of Siegerland, in the small town of Eisern, where the shoemaker Heinrich Weisgerber²⁰ was the leading figure of the revival. So-called "Privaterbauungsstunden" (private hours of religious edification) had been forbidden, so Weisgerber found himself in a certain dilemma. The decree showed two loopholes to circumvent it. Either you had to name the meetings "Missionshilfsstunden" (hours for the aid of the mission), which Siebel in Freudenberg did, or all the attendants had to live in one house. Weisgerber chose the latter way and founded the "Christlich-kommunistische Gemeinschaft zu Eisern" (Christian Communist Community of Eisern), which was a convent for unmarried people of both sexes. In later years some of the members married (what Weisgerber supported) and the convent dissolved. But by then the ban was already lifted and it was no longer necessary. Weisgerber taught in the tradition of mystical Pietism: Resignation from "the World", critical but not hostile relation to the church, active charity, support of the missions.

In the beginning, both directions of Siegerland-Revival-Movement were strictly limited to the local community. Due to the very different theological traditions they derived from, their regional meetings usually tended to become a theological "all-in-wrestling". In Freudenberg for some time two communities existed - rather hostile to each other-, although what they actually *did* in their meetings may not have been very easy to distinguish for an „outsider“. As in the course of this struggle, Siebel wrote to Krummacher for advice, the latter told him: "Do you teach Christ *for* us and then let brother Weisgerber teach Christ *in* us, so you will complement each other and stay together."²¹

That worked, somehow. For years the struggle continued, but when the lack of organisation became more and more urgent, they managed to put their difference of opinions aside - for a while at least. First the Gemeinschaften of Siegerland tried to become member of the "Evangelische Gesellschaft für Deutschland"²² (EGfD), founded 1849 in Wupper-Valley; but this organisation

20 cf. Schmitt, Gnade, a.a.O. p.231 ff. as well as Karl Becker: Die christlich kommunistische Gemeinschaft in Eisern; in: Siegerländer Heimatkalender (1960), 35. Jahrgang p.77-79

21 "Lehren Sie Christus für uns und dann lassen sie Bruder Weisgerber Christus in uns lehren. So werden Sie sich ergänzen und zusammen bleiben." Schmitt, Gnade, a.a.O. p.272

22 cf. Fritz Coerper: Fünfzig Jahre der Evangelischen Gesellschaft für Deutschland; Elberfeld o. J. (ca.

Heinrich Ulrich Seidel: Social Pacification through religion proved to be „too Lutheran“ for Siegerland. The association to "Evangelischer Brüderverein", which had separated from the EgfD, miscarried because of the Brüderverein's anti-church-tendencies. Finally, in 1852, the communities of Siegerland organised themselves in the "Verein für Reisepredigt"²³. On long marches the travelling preachers of this society carried the news of the Revival into the villages of Siegerland and of the neighbouring regions, mostly to the south and east. The movement hardly reached the preponderantly Catholic regions of the north and west at all.

In the middle of the 19th Century many revolutionary changes took place, which must not be underestimated in their importance for the religious movements in Siegerland. In the Prussian constitution of 1850 the right of assembly was granted, and this had the effect of a dam burst²⁴. Free churches of various kinds began their spread across Germany, and in the regions of the Revival-movement they often found a ploughed field. From the "Evangelischer Brüderverein"²⁵, as mentioned above separated from the EGfD, split the "Freie evangelische Gemeinde". Two years later the "Brüderverein" lost the bigger part of his members to the "Darbyistic"-circle of Carl Brockhaus, who had been the Brüderverein's manager.

From 1849 on the German Baptists organised themselves within the "Bund der vereinigten Gemeinden getaufter Christen", Methodists began their public activities the same year. Those free churches of broadest variety found a foothold in Siegerland, partly together with revivalist Gemeinschaften, partly splitting from them, and partly as their opponents.

The mentioned foundation of the "Verein für Reisepredigt" in 1852 was not least a reaction of the Revivalist movement to the advance of the free churches, causing them heavy losses in membership.

In England the phenomenon of free churches is older than in Germany and since 1840 the English free churches began to organise loosely. In 1845 a conference in Liverpool took place, where theological and practical questions were cleared. In August 1846 finally there was a world-wide conference for the foundation

²³ cf. Schmitt, Gnade, a.a.O. p. 293ff.

²⁴ cf. Scharpff, Evangelisation, a.a.O. p. 220 ff.

Heinrich Ulrich Seidel: Social Pacification through religion of the "Evangelical Alliance", in German "Evangelische Allianz"²⁶. The theological minimal-program that was adopted here made dogmas of the English (mostly free church-) evangelicals the basis of this new movement. In Germany, within the new free churches as well as within the *Gemeinschaften* the "Allianzbewegung" found its adherents too.

To which extend believers from the traditional churches can work together with members of free churches, depends on the state of confession of each. The Baptists had confessional reasons for separation, namely the doctrine of baptism. Methodists and "Freie Gemeinden" had more practical reasons, they found the churches did not act out their basically right confessions. Far more fundamental is the criticism of John Nelson Darby. He set up a rigorous theory of the churches' decay: As early as in the apostolic times the church had left the true way of confession. No regeneration is possible, so history has to have its way. The "true Congregation" must be totally separated as the "true bride" out of this *corpus permixtum*. Only separation from evil leads to real unity of the true believers. The congregation has to be kept clean from „evil“ by all means. Only in this way the original „standing“ of the church can be reached anew.²⁷

Around 1850 the first German Darbyists established themselves in the Wupper-Valley (where else?). They adopted the system of the travelling preachers of the "Brüderverein" which had it from the EGfD, like the "Verein für Reisepredigt". Together with Carl Brockhaus six of the eleven travelling preachers of Brüderverein converted to Darbyism. They followed the old travelling-routes of the Brüderverein, which itself (how else?) followed those of the EGfD²⁸. So all three spread out with a distance of about two years, along the Niederrhein, Bergisches Land, northern Westerwald, up the river Sieg and finally through Siegerland and neighbouring regions. Later on Silesia became a centre of this movement.

In Siegerland the Darbyistic 'Versammlungen' gained a lot of ground up to 1870, but the great number of Darbyistic groups did not

²⁶ cf. Erich Beyreuther: *Der Weg der evangelischen Allianz in Deutschland*; Wuppertal 1969

²⁷ For further information on Darby's doctrine cf. Geldbach, Erich: *Christliche Versammlung und Heilsgeschichte bei John Nelson Darby*; Wuppertal 1971. cf. auch Gustav Ischebeck: *John Nelson Darby, seine Zeit und sein Werk*; Witten 1929

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only originate from their success in mission, but also from their strong tendency to split up their communities permanently. Although the Darbyists' absolute separatism made theology and praxis of the "Christlichen Versammlungen" completely unacceptable for most members of the *Gemeinschaften*, some single views of Darby, especially concerning the church and eschatology, seemed to be more consequent to some than anything they had heard before. That is why during the second half of the 19th Century Darbyistic theology and piety gained a strong influence on the *Gemeinschaftsbewegung*, the free churches and the "Evangelische Allianz". Especially on the annual "Blankenburger-Allianzkonferenz", conducted by the dedicated Darbyist Kühn, Darby's ideas won more and more room²⁹. This Conference also was a theological "exchange market" of the "Gemeinschaftsbewegung". Later the annual "Allianzkonferenz" used to take place in Siegen.

Another new quality emerged during the last three decades of the 18th Century. The links of "Allianz" reached far over the German borders. From the magazines that were interchanged between different countries the people in Germany heard from "mass-evangelisations" like Spurgeon had them in London, or the first of the "travelling evangelists", Dwight Lyman Moody, who evangelised whole regions, and there were already many others, who followed their example. The "phenomenon of the masses" came into view. Industrialisation and urbanisation had changed social relations essentially. So the new methods of mission can be called an effect of modernisation, where the "conditions of evangelisation" were adapted to the "conditions of production"³⁰.

Anyhow, the "Gemeinschaftsbewegung" now performed an amazing energy in the field of mass-evangelisation. In the course of meetings in fields and tents the unconverted were called to conversion, but the Christians now were called to "holiness", which, in this new context, meant the complete surrender of the whole life to Jesus Christ. In Siegerland this movement found its adherents too. The questions of conversion and holiness-perfectionism became a leading idea in the praxis pietatis of the *Gemeinschaften*. For that reason a great number of German delegates attended the "union

²⁹ cf. Dieter Lange: *Eine Bewegung bricht sich Bahn*; Gießen/Dillenburg 1979 p. 151 ff.

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 meeting for the promotion of scriptural holiness" in Oxford from 29th of August until 9th of September 1875. "Higher Christian life" was preached here as the fulfilment of "scriptural holiness". The new doctrine demanded unconditional surrender of the believer's life to Jesus, leading to holiness, climbing up step by step by the power of faith, finally to be crowned by the "baptism in the spirit", which was taught as a distinctive experience of divine blessing. The impact of those "Segenstag von Oxford" (blessing days of Oxford)³¹ was so strong, that here in the view of many Authors the true beginning of the modern "Gemeinschaftsbewegung" are found.

It is decisive for the development in Siegerland in this context that, accepting the doctrines of conversion and sanctification (Holiness), the "Gemeinschaftsbewegung" lost its reformed coinage (insofar it had ever had one). Some essential fundamentals of reformed doctrine, like predestination and a theology of God's majesty, were replaced by Methodistic-synergistic models of conversion and augmented by Darbystic elite-ecclesiology.

A nice little example for this "overlay" of the reformed tradition by the new doctrine of Holiness, is the introduction of brass-bands ("Posaunenchor") in almost every Gemeinschaft. This had to be carried through against the obstinate resistance of the "elder brethren". Reformed tradition was never fond of too much music in worship, partly even despising organs, and now there should be a brass band in the prayer house, as the Salvation Army copied it from the American Civil War! Adolf Wunderlich tells the anecdote how an old brother from Freudenberg commented the adaptation of the brass: "They are blowing all the Holy Spirit out of our house!"³². Educated in St.Chrischona in the tradition of the Holiness-movement, Wunderlich cannot understand that the problem of the old brother was not music, but the offence against one of the last resorts of reformed tradition.

31 cf. Fabri, Friedrich: Zum neuen Jahre. Eine Betrachtung über Epheser 3, 14-19, nebst Bemerkungen über die Oxforder Bewegung; Barmen 1875,
 Paul Fleisch: Heiligungsbewegung; in RGG,2. Aufl.,Bd.2 Spalte 1151ff. Tübingen 1927ff.
 Paul Fleisch: Zur Geschichte der Heiligungsbewegung; erstes Heft, Leipzig 1910,
 Wilhelm Hadorn: Die Heiligung mit besonderer Berücksichtigung der Heiligungsbewegung und ihrer Geschichte bis in die Gegenwart; Neumünster 1902, 2. erw. Aufl. Neukirchen o.J.
 H. Brandenburg: Heiligungsbewegung; in RGG,3. Aufl.,Bd.II Spalte 182 , hg.Kurt Galling, Tübingen 1957ff.

32 "[Sie blasen] uns den ganzen Heiligen Geist aus unserem [Vereins-] Hause" Adolf Wunderlich: »Ich

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From 1878 on the former Africa-missionar Elias Schrenk dared the experiment of the first mass-evangelisations in several German Cities, Siegen among them, with overwhelming success³³. Large numbers of new converts without explicit Christian socialisation streamed into the *Gemeinschaften* from this time on.

The hodgepodge of theological set-pieces, as it had by then piled up in the circles of the *Gemeinschaften*, the "Allianz" and the free churches, caused by the steady "transfer of theology" between the various organisations, was accepted as "*the Pietistic tradition absolute*" by these newcomers.

In October 1897, on the invitation of Fürst von Pückler, some "Gemeinschaftsmänner" he had personally selected, met in Berlin to found the "Deutscher Verband für Gemeinschaftspflege und Evangelisation", better known by its popular name "Gnadauer Verband". The "Verein für Reisepredigt" joined this federation³⁴.

Most important for the development during the years 1870-1900 were the "Jünglings-" respectively "Jungfrauenvereine", sub-organisations of the "Gemeinschaftsverband" which were later transformed into the "CVJM" (YMCA). They derived from the "great revival" of those years, which, in an unprecedented way, especially and quite untypically took hold of the younger generations. All the existing religious groups and denominations as mentioned above had their share in this awakening. What proved to be an even greater success for the various communities, was how easily the new converts were integrated into the existing circles³⁵.

This Revival was the beginning of the full bloom of the *Gemeinschaftsbewegung* as well as of the free churches. It lasted until the First World War began, and no following awakening has ever since reached the same dimensions. For the following years one can speak of "stagnation at a high level". Neither the World Wars nor the economical crisis of Weimar or the Nazi-era have proved to be a caesura or even let the tradition break off.

A topic that must not be suppressed is the political aspect of the *Gemeinschaftsbewegung* in Siegerland at the end of the 19th

³³ cf. Paul Fleisch: Elias Schrenk; in RGG,2. Aufl.,Bd.V Spalte 263f, Tübingen 1927ff. See also: Herrman Klemm: Elias Schrenk, der Weg eines Evangelisten; Wuppertal 1961

³⁴ cf. Lange, Bewegung, a.a.O. p. 79 ff.

³⁵ cf. Karl Kupisch: Der deutsche CVJM. Aus der Geschichte der Christlichen Vereine junger Männer Deutschlands. Kassel o.J.

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Century. Very close connections existed between the Gemeinschaftsbewegung and Adolf Stöcker's ³⁶"Christlich Soziale Bewegung". Stöcker had a safe electoral district in Siegerland. The impact and the consequences of Stöcker's notorious anti-Semitism in Siegerland, have not been thoroughly examined until today, especially as far as the Gemeinschaften are concerned. Later, in the elections of 1933, Siegerland showed one of the highest scores for the Nazis, but we do not know if the members of the Gemeinschaftsbewegung were those, who voted for them.

Ernst Modersohn, who was a reformed pastor in Weidenau, today a part of the City of Siegen, was member of the Gemeinschaftsbewegung, and he never made a secret of his friendship with Stöcker, neither of his (later) admiration for Hitler. He wrote the Sunday-sermons for Stöcker's magazine "Das Volk"³⁷, and in his memoirs he says about his time in Weidenau: "I lived in the electoral district of Stöcker, got into closer personal relations with him, he lived in my house several times, I attended people's-meetings with him, in which he appeared."³⁸

Around 1905 Ernst Modersohn became the most important man in a totally new kind of revival in Mülheim an der Ruhr and gained a high rank in the "Allianz".

For "outsiders" it is not easy to get a panoramic view over the whole religious movement in Siegerland that entwined so diffusely after 1850. How can one tell a Darbyst from a Methodist, a Baptist, or from any members of whatever free church? Except from maybe a certain tendency to old-fashioned dresses and haircuts (but these are no monopoly of Darbysts) - judged by "appearance and habits": nothing.

The confusing similarity in the appearance of all the Revivalist-evangelical groups, in habits, morals, and so on, makes it difficult to analyse them all anatomically. This is the explication for the fact

³⁶ cf. Helmut Busch: Die Stoeckerbewegung im Siegerland. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der christlich - sozialen Partei; Diss. Marburg 1964

Walter Holsten: Adolf Stoecker als Symptom seiner Zeit. Antisemitismus in der evangelischen Kirche des 19. Jahrhunderts? ; in: Marsch, W.D., Thieme K. (Hg.): Christen und Juden; Mainz, Göttingen 1961

Karl Kupisch: Adolf Stoecker. Hofprediger und Volkstribun. Berlinische Remiszensen 29; 1. Aufl. Berlin 1970

³⁷ Paul Fleisch: Ernst Modersohn; in RGG, 2. Aufl., Bd. IV Spalte 128, Tübingen 1927ff.

³⁸ "Ich lebte im Wahlkreis Stöckers, trat mit ihm persönlich in nähere Beziehung, er wohnte mehrfach in meinem Hause; ich besuchte mit ihm Volksversammlungen, in denen er auftrat." Ernst Modersohn:

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that, again and again, this complicated conglomerate is all too simply labelled as the "Calvinistic-Pietism of Siegerland". Of course, there are theological and practical differences and incongruities between many of these groups, admittedly often in somewhat "remote" regions.

So remote that people who do not have a special routine in distinction can far easier use the obvious similarities for a quick and comfortable classification.

The statistical, quantitative, importance of the different movements and free churches is not easy to calculate. The part of the Gemeinschaftsbewegung that had stayed inside the church, covered the whole territory of Siegerland and Wittgenstein, insofar at least that around 1900 every village had a "Vereinshaus" (assembly-house)³⁹. In many towns there were assembly-rooms or -houses of free churches, too. Roughly estimated, in between 5% and 10% of the population of Siegerland may have been active parts of one of these movements. Several societies, groups and sects that also exist in remarkable numbers, have not even been mentioned here⁴⁰. Not to be forgotten is a number of small and diminutive free churches that cannot clearly be classified as belonging to one or the other mainstream. They often exist only in one village, some of them are directly linked to local factories, so-called "Unternehmerkirchen" (entrepreneur-churches), and finally there was and is always a number of so-called "Einspänner" (one-horse-carriages), which means that the whole "church" may consist of nothing more than one man or a family.

Therefore one can correctly speak of a specific religious-regional-culture in Siegerland. It is characterised by a peculiar mixture of extremely divergent traditions, but least of all by "Calvinistic Pietism". In this respect, Siegerland is very similar to the Wupper-Valley, from where it received so many of its theological inspirations. There are also some analogies with parts of the early-industrialised England, Wales, and the immigration-areas of

³⁹ cf. Christian Dietrich und Ferdinand Brockes: Die Privat-Erbauungsgemeinschaften innerhalb der evangelischen Kirchen Deutschlands, Stuttgart 1903 p. 100 ff.

⁴⁰ just for example and far from complete this little catalogue: "Blaues Kreuz", "Jugendbund für entschiedenes Christentum", "Selbständige ev. Luth. Kirche". Salvation Army, since about 1930 some groups of the Pentecostal Movement, Adventists and so on. To be added are the so-called "classical sects", "Jehovas witnesses", "Neuapostolische Kirche", "christian Science", "Rosenkreuzer", Mormons

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Pennsylvania. If one searches for the notorious "Geist des Kapitalismus" (spirit of Capitalism), it may much easier be found in the pluralistic competition of religions in these regions than in a Calvinistic-reformed heritage which can, if at all, be proved only in homeopathic doses.

The discourse of the "Pietistic-Calvinistic" Siegerland. Remarks on the genesis of a "regional text", Armin Flender, Siegen

1. Introduction

People coming from certain regions have often been marked with opinions which do not refer to their individuality but rather to supposed characteristics: for example, the business-minded Swabian, the duty-conscious German and so on.

Indeed, there are also stereotypes of the Siegerland which describe the region as strongly influenced by Pietism and Calvinism. Apart from other ascriptions, the inhabitants seem, in the light of this concept, to be especially puritanical and highly motivated to work. One can find these statements not only in everyday talk, but also in the press, in scientific publications, and in the "Heimat"-literature.

The characteristics which are ascribed in this way to designations in the collective singular are hardly based upon personal experience. On the contrary, pre-formed judgments or stereotypes are confirmed in advance. The following are characteristic features of the concept of stereotypes:

1. The opinions which are expressed in the form of judgments consist in attributing presumably essential and behavioural traits to a group.
2. Individual persons are perceived solely as representatives of the group, since the object of a stereotype is a collective whole.

¹ This is an abridged version of an essay which was published within the context of a cooperative project between the Universities of Siegen and Växjö. *Cf. Interregiones* 4 (1995), pp. 178-192. The author wishes to express his thanks to Thomas Le Præsté for his

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3. The contents of stereotypes are concerned with values; they are emotionally charged and resistant to disproving experiences. In this sense, criteria of truth or falsehood are not applicable to them.
4. Stereotypes are convictions which are evoked by certain symbols. The content of such convictions is related to objects as designated by the symbols.²

On closer inspection we see that

1. the discourse about the Calvinistic Siegerland already has a long history,
2. this history was cast in its valid form, at the latest, after the Second World War,
3. the discourse about the Siegerland shows a system of internal references. Considering the range of documents exhibiting this discourse, we can speak of principle texts which represent a canonical source of quotation and the framework for the description of the region.

Authoritative texts for the development of the discourse about the Siegerland date from a period of several centuries. A more in-depth historical analysis than can be offered here would, of course, have to consider various historical aspects such as questions concerning the origin, distribution, and reception of the texts as well as general historical contextualizations.

2. A short chronology of the discourse

The system of internal references was built up between the beginning of the 17th century and the 50s of the 20th century. In this period, the sources mainly creating and transforming the image of the Siegerland are early statistics and "empirical" descriptions of state and territories, religious literature and, in a wider sense of the term, "Heimat"-literature.³

² Cf. Gredig, Daniel: *Dekadent und Gefährlich*, Weinheim 1994, pp. 17f.

³ Fundamental here: Rassem, Mohammed/Justin Stangl (Hrsg.): *Statistik und Staatsbeschreibung in der Neuzeit: Vornehmlich 16.-18. Jahrhundert*, Paderborn u.a. 1980 und *Ausgewählte Quellentexte 1456-1813*, hrsg. von Mohammed Rassem und Justin Stangl, Berlin 1994, see especially the introduction; the relationship between regional history (Heimatgeschichte) and history as a scientific discipline is particularly emphasized by Klueting, Harm: *Rückwärtigkeit des Örtlichen - Individualisierung des Allgemeinen*, in: Klueting, Edeltraud (Hrsg.): *Antimodernismus und Reform. Beiträge zur Geschichte der deutschen Heimatbewegung*, Darmstadt 1991, pp. 50-89; "Heimat" has now been an object of research in various disciplines for a rather lengthy period; in fact, one can scarcely manage an

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In premodern territorial states it became increasingly important to organize an administration grounded on efficiency and information. Thus, it was not surprising that highly qualified government officials were instructed by the rulers to develop the economic resources of their territories. Almost all the authors of statistics and description of Siegerland, which originally belonged to "Nassau-Oranien", later to Prussia, worked as officials in the government. These officials used their own material as a basis for their political praxis.⁴

One aspect has also to be stressed here. It is significant for the biography of a large number of the authors that they experienced a similar education. Often they were trained at the denominational schools in Siegen, Dillenburg, or Herborn and then started to study at the "Hohe Schule" in Herborn. This university, founded in the late 16th century, was one of the most important places for Calvinistic theology in Europe, especially in the early period. Although the "Hohe Schule" had lost its international role with the course of time, the school maintained its regional importance.⁵

Besides these authors, who were later declared to be the authoritative sources concerning the religious character of the Siegerland and often quoted to prove the historical roots of the character, the actual founders of this tradition arrive at the scene in the course of the 20th century. Especially in the two genres of religious and "Heimat"-literature, one can find an effort to legitimate this particular regional status by constructing traditions and an effort to make the region distinct from others in order to establish its identity.⁶

The revivalist movements and particular religious developments which could be observed until the turn of the century were in need of justification in the succeeding period by means of historical legitimation.

is offered by Cremer, Will/Ansgar Klein (Hrsg.): *Heimat*, 2 Bde., Bonn 1990; particularly the essay by Ditt, Karl: *Die deutsche Heimatbewegung 1871-1945*, pp. 135-184.

⁴ In particular, the following should be mentioned in this context: Johannes Textor (1582-1626); Johann Philipp Becher (1752-1831); Karl Friedrich Schenck (1781-1849); Johannes von Arnoldi (1751-1827); Heinrich Karl von Achenbach (1829-1899).

⁵ Schmidt, Georg: *Die zweite Reformation in den Reichsgrafschaften. Konfessionswechsel aus Glaubensüberzeugung und politischem Kalkül?* in: *Territorialstaat und Calvinismus*, hrsg. von Meinrad Schaab, Stuttgart 1993, pp. 97-136, here: p. 123, concerning the Hohe Schule generally see the corresponding article in the *Evangelisches Kirchenlexikon*, Bd. 2, Spalten 114ff. The heyday of the Hohe Schule with regard to political science was at the time of its foundation as Johannes Althusius (1557-1638) taught there. During the Thirty Years' War it lost this dominant position and afterwards was of no further extraregional importance; cf. Stolleis, Michael: *Geschichte des öffentlichen Rechts in Deutschland*, Bd. 1: *Reichspublizistik und Polizeiwissenschaft 1600-1800*, München 1988, p. 143, pp. 106ff. and 239f.

⁶ Within this context, the following are of particular importance: Hans Kruse (1882-1941); Jakob Hoffmann (1884-1969); Jakob

3. Consequences of the religious disposition

There are passages in the early texts describing the inhabitants as "industrious", "godfearing" and "virtuous". In the discourse of premodern societies, the subject (Untertan) was always said to have these characteristics. But such reported attitudes and mentalities simply corresponded to the universal normative system of the premodern state. Nevertheless, during the 19th and 20th century the former general message was transformed step by step into an image which made the region Siegerland, among other things, identifiable by the religious character of its inhabitants.

It is the combination of Pietistic and Calvinistic mentality on the one hand and the work ethic on the other hand which became momentous for subsequent variations of the stereotype. To sum it up, it can be said that in the same way as the steel and mining industry was held responsible for the religious development towards Pietism and Calvinism, the religious convictions were considered to lead to a specific attitude characterized by striving for wealth, by austerity (Sparsamkeit), restraint (Mäßigung), or diligence (Fleiß).

The stereotype also became established in a process of a loss of differentiation, because an ethic perhaps valid for some religious communities was generalized as valid for the whole region. Especially the authors of religious and "Heimat"-literature do not distinguish between general and particular aspects.

More specifically, the writers following Hans Kruse tend to ignore any distinction between general (the development in the church of the state) and particular aspects (phenomena of Pietism and revivalism). Within this context then, the persona of the scholar Heinrich Jung, called Stilling, born in the northern part of the Siegerland in the 18th century, becomes stylized to a representative for the interconnection between religion and way of life in earlier times and, moreover, is declared to be the "prototype" of the Siegerland Pietist in religious writings and in parts of the "Heimat"-literature.

One could say that the image of the Siegerland was brought to completion in the works of Lothar Irlé. After studying history, Nordic language and literature and Volkskunde, Irlé became a teacher for Volkskunde in Dortmund before the Second World War. Because of his commitment to National Socialism he was forced, in the midst of denazification to retire from his job. After the war he

Heinrich Ulrich Seidel: Social Pacification through religion attended exclusively to the history of his Heimat, the Siegerland. Consequently, using every possible medium he disseminated images and stereotypes upon the region.⁷ By combining the previous aspects of the different traditions with the ideology of racism and Volkstum, he composed the popular concept of the Siegerland which has remained valid to the present.

One of the main variations on this theme which are still to be found in this region was formulated by Irle: The some thousand years old economic system of ore mining and iron and steel industry leads to thriftiness, a sense of order, and thinking in terms of associations as maxims for daily life. Accordingly, the Calvinistic faith, characterized by a thorough sobriety, was able to be introduced into the Siegerland without any great difficulties, since it corresponded to the already existent local mentality. In later periods, this Reformed denomination, in comparison to other religious beliefs relatively antagonistic regarding the arts, was reinforced by revivalist movements in the 19th century. On the one hand, the result of this development was that no particular standards regarding clothing, the arts, and amusements were or are maintained in the Siegerland. On the other hand, this ascetic attitude is a central presupposition for the thesis that only work was appreciated in the Siegerland, that a business mentality was dominant, and that the ethical foundation of the populous was a way of thinking solely in terms of reward and punishment.⁸

4. Conclusion

In the statistics and descriptions of territories religious mentalities were standardized characteristics and topoi within an ideology of power. At the end of the 19th century and afterwards the two phenomena of identifying the Heimat and the observance of actual religious movements in the region were accompanied by attempts to explain and to legitimate the supposed status by history. Now the older statements were declared to be real evidence of the persistent religious profile of the region. After 1945 the stereotype of the

⁷ In addition to numerous essays, local chronicles, and genealogies of Siegerland families, the work "Unser Siegerland. Eine Heimatkunde" (first published in 1952, it appeared subsequently with several revised editions) is to be considered as a multiplying factor of stereotypes about the Siegerland. This is namely the case of a brochure which represented the image of the Siegerland for generations of pupils in the local schools. Moreover, especially the numerous collections of anecdotes and the genealogies of the Siegerland families contributed to the distribution of this image. A bibliography of works by Irle can be found in: *Siegerland* 47 (1970), pp. 48-57.

⁸ Irle, *Leben, Landschaft und Volkstum an der oberen Sieg*, in: *Im Kranz bayalderer Höhen, Siegen 1955*. This was a favorite

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Pietistic-Calvinistic Siegerland found its conclusion and powerful distribution in the activity of Lothar Irle.

Particularly in the last several years the stereotypes about presumed Siegerland mentalities have been articulated on an increasingly wide basis. In organized academic events at the University of Siegen, there was an attempt made in 1990/91 to determine the influence of religion on human behaviour, which, however, only led to quite questionable results.⁹ Attempting to prove the existence of mentalities by referring explicitly to statements made by Lothar Irle is a position that methodologically and by scientific standards simply cannot be maintained. Similarly, careful consideration is also imperative when academic professionals, operating with a trivialized form of Max Weber's famous thesis on protestant ethics, make assertions in the regional press to the effect that "economic activity in the Siegerland still proves to be a religiously motivated, individually ethical task"¹⁰. In my opinion, these are not instances of attempts to solve problems on a scientific basis, but, rather, strategically manipulated image campaigns.

The combination of religion, mentality, and efficiency seems to be well-suited for campaigns which offer solutions by making an appeal to everyone's conscience. In view of the massive economic and social crises in our times, one must, unfortunately, assume that the stereotype will have a future and will continue to be resistant to countervailing evidence.

⁹ Schmidt, Gernot (Hrsg.): *Region, Religion und Mentalität. Zur Frage des Einflusses protestantischer Ethik auf die Verhaltensweise der Menschen in ihrem sozialen Umfeld*, Siegen 1991.

¹⁰ Thus was the economist Bodo Gemper quoted in the "Siegener Zeitung" of Sept. 20, 1993.

Social Pacification through religion - was the Siegerland a special case? Heinrich Ulrich Seidel

A comprehensive social history of the "Siegerland" has not been written yet. Although some papers have been published, they only deal with special aspects of the Siegerland's social history as, for example, Helmut Busch did with his book "Die Stöckerbewegung im Siegerland"¹ or with a very brief period like some dissertations from the Twenties did.² This paper cannot, of course, provide a social history of the Siegerland, it can only deal with certain problems of previous interpretations and it can only outline some possible new interpretations of the history of this region.

We want to concentrate on two incidents in the history of the Siegerland, which at first sight seem to confirm what has traditionally been maintained, namely, that there was a pronounced specific Pietistic religious culture in the Siegerland and that it influenced social relationships, political culture and economic conflicts.

If such a specific religious culture ever existed in the Siegerland, it should have influenced the relationships between workers and employers - and that is exactly what the older research claims. Following this argument, it should be possible to find a specific regional way of dealing with the conflicts between labour and capital, based on "Pietism" as the specific religious identity of the Siegerland.

This seems to be a simple task at first glance, because the thesis that social conflicts in the Siegerland were not fought with the same

¹ Busch, Helmut: Die Stöckerbewegung im Siegerland. Hg. von der Stadt Siegen, Forschungsstelle Siegerland. Siegen 1968 (Diss. Marburg 1964)

² for example: Beringer, Karl: Der Christliche Metallarbeiterverband und sein Wirken im Siegerland, Diss. Freiburg i. Br., o. J. (1922); Böcher, Emil: Die Arbeitsbedingungen und die wirtschaftliche Bedeutung des Erzbergbaues und der Eisenindustrie des Siegerlandes, Diss. Würzburg 1925; Eisen, Matthias: Die Arbeitsverhältnisse in der Siegerländer Erz- und Eisenindustrie, insbesondere in den Beziehungen zwischen Arbeitgeber und Arbeitnehmern, Diss. Köln 1925; Meyer, Wilhelm: Die christlichen Bergarbeiterorganisationen im Siegerland, Diss. Gießen 1922; Oewel, Gustav: Die Hirsch-Dunkersche Gewerkschaft im Siegerland

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degree of violence as in other regions, for example in the Ruhrgebiet, is a received wisdom. Some of the authors welcome the claim that employers and workers had only a few and not very hard confrontations before World War I, as Matthias Eisen did in his dissertation from 1925.³ And because of the - in his opinion - peaceful situation between workers and employers Emil Böcher even described the Siegerland as a model for other regions.⁴

But also in the Twenties there were already some critical voices, for example a journalist of the newspaper "Hagener Volksstimme", who said in 1928, that the Siegerland was about 300 years behind in culture and spirit because of the suppression by the Protestant church and because of the many militant right-wing organisations (like Jungdeutscher Orden, Orgesch, Stahlhelm or Schutz- und Trutzbund), which had their headquarters in the Siegerland.⁵

One of the most prominent efforts to revise the sight of the harmonic and peaceful Siegerland was an exhibition called "(dis)harmonien" in 1980 in the local museum. In the catalogue of this exhibit, several essays deal with the social history of the Siegerland and especially with the genesis and development of a regional working-class-movement and trade unions.⁶ But although for example Gerhard Renker wrote that there were a lot of people who "fought against their oppression,"⁷ he also declares that about 70% or 80% of the workers were influenced by the "Gemeinschaftsbewegung" (the specific religious movement in the Siegerland), and that these workers refused to join even the - in his opinion - peaceable Christian trade unions.⁸

Another important effort to establish a different view was the book "bekämpft - verschwiegen - zerschlagen. Gewerkschaften und ihre Kämpfe im Siegerland" which was written by two local trade

³ Eisen, Matthias, Die Arbeitsverhältnisse in der Siegerländer Erz- und Eisenindustrie, insbesondere in den Beziehungen zwischen Arbeitgebern und Arbeitnehmern, Diss. Köln 1925

⁴ Böcher, Emil: Die Arbeitsbedingungen und die wirtschaftliche Bedeutung des Erzbergbaues und der Eisenindustrie des Siegerlandes, Diss. Würzburg 1925

⁵ Hagener Volksstimme, zitiert nach einem Faksimile in Wetzel, Detlef/Durt, Hartwig: bekämpft, verschwiegen, zerschlagen. Gewerkschaften bis 1933, Siegen 1989, p. 30/31. Der Text im Original (Auszüge): "Ich glaube nicht zuviel gesagt zu haben, wenn ich Siegen als die Hochburg des Muckertums und der Reaktion bezeichne. Diese Stadt, auf der u. a. auch hart und schwer die Hand der Kirche ruht, ist in Bezug auf Kultur und Geist mindestens noch dreihundert Jahre zurück. ... Die Politik in Siegen und ihre Gefahr für Deutschland! Lachen Sie nicht, meine Damen und Herren! In Siegen laufen die Fäden aller in Deutschland existierenden Geheimorganisationen zusammen. In Siegen sitzen die Dunkelmänner aller chauvinistischen Parteien und walten ihres Amtes. Orgesch, Jungdeutscher Orden, Schutz- und Trutzbund und Stahlhelm sind einige, die ich aus der Menge der in Siegen bestehenden Organisationen herausgreife. ..."

⁶ (dis)harmonien, Katalog zur Ausstellung, hg. von der Arbeitsgruppe Regionalgeschichte an der Gesamthochschule Siegen, printed as manuscript, Siegen 1980

⁷ Renker, Gerhard: Die Anfänge der Siegerländer Arbeiterbewegung (1869 1918) in: (dis)harmonien on cit. essav III n. 8

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unionists, Detlef Wetzel and Hartwig Durt. They say in this book, that there were so-called "Freie Gewerkschaften" (Social-Democratic trade unions), but these trade unions had only a few members before World War I, although there was a lot of oppression and many conflicts between workers and employers in the Siegerland as well as in other regions.⁹ And they also try to explain this contradiction with the specific religious situation in the Siegerland.¹⁰

Some statistics often mentioned in the literature seem to confirm these opinions. In 1913 only 1734 of 19362 (less than 10%!) of the smelting- and the metal-workers in the so-called "Siegerländer Eisenbezirk" (which included the former counties Siegen, Wittgenstein, Altenkirchen und Biedenkopf) were organized in trade unions, as Karl Beringer says in his dissertation from 1925.¹¹ Also, the earning statistics of the Siegerland and the Ruhrgebiet show that wages in the Siegerland were about 10% lower than in the Rheinland or in Westphalia (including the Ruhrgebiet).¹²

But these considerations ignore important facts. At first we have to look at the character of the important trade unions in the Siegerland. The first trade union was a Liberal one, a local group of the "Deutscher Maschinen- und Metallarbeitergewerkschaft" (which was founded by Max Hirsch) established in 1869, but it was liquidated during the war 1870/71. Only in Dahlbruch, a little village in the North of the Siegerland, was a local group able to exist longer. But it is important to state that these Liberal unions (Die Gelben) were not as peaceable as generally believed. In 1872, for example, a new group of Liberal trade unionists had a debate in the local newspaper and they agitated in favour of strikes in certain cases. Their opponent was Dr. H. (his complete name could not be found out), to whom all strikes seemed to be a crime against the organism of the people.¹³ But most of the workers were organized in Christian unions, and they also were not as accomodating to the employers as is presented in the literature. There are several cases of

⁹ Wetzel/Durt, op. cit., p. 13

¹⁰ for example: Wetzel/Durt, op. cit., p. 61 ff. or p 66ff.

¹¹ Beringer, Karl: Der Christliche Metallarbeiterverband und sein Wirken im Siegerland, Diss. Freiburg i. Br., o. J. (1922), p. 131

¹² Renker, Gerhard, Die Anfänge, p. 2

¹³ see the following numbers of the Siegener Zeitung: the first article by Dr. H. came on August 2nd 1872, the first reply by the tradeunionists on August 20th 1872, the answer by Dr. H. on August 23rd 1872, the new tradeunionists answer on October 8th 1872, Dr. H.'s new essay on October 15th 1872, the "last reply" by the tradeunionists on November 8th 1872, answer by Dr. H. on

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strikes in which the Christian trade unions played a leading part. So we must conclude, that the leading trade unions in the Siegerland were not as non-confrontational as has been presented in the literature till now.

The second point is the degree of union membership of the employees in the Siegerland. As we saw, less than 10% of them were members of unions in 1913. But we have to be careful about this figure too: The numbers mentioned above only concern the smelting- and metal-workers. There is nothing about the miners! And if miners are included, we get a completely different image of trade union activity in the Siegerland. Helmut Busch estimates for the year 1912 a membership level of about 41% in the district of the chamber of commerce in Siegen.¹⁴ Some numbers from the year 1919 show a membership level of about 88%, and Wilhelm Meyer says in his dissertation from 1923 that in the year 1921 an increase of the number of trade unions could not have occurred, because nearly all of the workers already were unionised.¹⁵ We can conclude, that in years before 1914 the degree of union membership among miners was higher than among other workers, but we also can conclude, that in the beginning twenties (after World War I) this distinction disappeared. A comparison with other industrial regions, the Ruhrgebiet or the Saarland, shows that these developments are not typical for the Siegerland but also occurred in these regions almost at the same time. For example, Klaus J. Mattheier says that in the Ruhrgebiet the miners were much more organized than other workers.¹⁶ A similar development with only a few organized workers before World War I and an enlargement of the trade unions at the beginning of the Twenties can also be found in the Catholic Saarland.¹⁷ And not only the trade unions in the Siegerland were influenced by Christian ideas, but also the so-called "Alte Verband" (led by Otto Hue), a Social-Democratic union of mine-workers which had its centre in the Ruhrgebiet, could not risk any confrontation with the Catholic Church, as the SPD did in these years (and as the Alte Verband did in other parts of Germany, for

¹⁴ Busch, Helmut, op. cit., p. 137

¹⁵ Meyer, op. cit., p. 80

¹⁶ Mattheier, Klaus J.: Werkvereine und wirtschaftsfriedlich-nationale (gelbe) Arbeiterbewegung im Ruhrgebiet, in: Reulecke, Jürgen (ed.): Arbeiterbewegung an Rhein und Ruhr, Wuppertal 1974, p. 176f.

¹⁷ for example: Mellmann, Klaus Michael/Staffens, Horst: Lohn der Mähen. Geschichte der Bergarbeiter an der Saar. München

Heinrich Ulrich Seidel: Social Pacification through religion example in Sachsen or in Thüringen), because they were afraid of losing their devout members.¹⁸

Another story, which is always cited as an example of the specific situation in the Siegerland regards the genesis of the "Arbeiter- und Soldatenrat" in 1918 after World War I.¹⁹ In spite of its name, this council was not really founded by workers or soldiers. Indeed there was a group of soldiers, coming from Köln, which established the first "Soldatenrat", but one day later it was superseded by another one. And the members of this second "Arbeiter- und Soldatenrat" were elected by the existing municipal council and they were not revolutionary but tried to organize food and lodging for the demobilizing German soldiers. There were several announcements of this council in Siegener Zeitung (and in the other newspaper which was important at that time "Das Volk") and they show, that the council just wanted "peace and order", not a revolution.²⁰ But the workers' and soldiers' councils in other German cities acted similarly. For example in Bergisch-Gladbach, a town near Köln with a Catholic majority, the "Arbeiter- und Soldatenrat" was also established by the existing municipal council and it too was far from being revolutionary.²¹

One conclusion could be, of course, that things are not the way they seem at first sight. But in the case of the Siegerland the simple problem is that up to this day almost no research has been done and because of that, the old judgements and prejudices still exist and can be found in modern scholarly literature as well as in the press. No doubt there are some specific Siegerland historical phenomena, such as the very high number of votes received by the so-called Stöcker-Bewegung (Christian-Social-Movement), but the reasons for its success is likely not the specific religious culture of the Siegerland but a mixture of different factors with religion being only one among many others.

¹⁸ Mommsen, Hans: Die Bergarbeiterbewegung an der Ruhr 1918 1933, in: Reulecke (ed.): Bergarbeiterbewegung, op. cit., p. 276

¹⁹ for example: Wetzel/Durt, op. cit., p. 120

²⁰ Erste Bekanntmachung des Arbeiter- und Soldatenrates Siegen, in: Siegener Zeitung, November 11th 1918, p. 4, vergl. auch in: Das Volk, November 11th 1918; Tätigkeitsbericht des ASR, in: Siegener Zeitung, December 10th 1918, p. 2

²¹ Paul, Johann: Vom Volksrat zum Volkssturm, Bergisch-Gladbach und Bensberg 1918 - 1945, Bergisch-Gladbach 1988, p. 15

What was the Church in early modern Sweden? - Episcopal visitations as an arena where different cultures met.

Olle Larsson

According to the Swedish ecclesiastical law of 1686, the bishop was supposed to undertake visitations in his diocese every year. These visitations were above all a way for the bishop to inform himself of the condition in the different parishes. At these occasions a wide variety of subjects were discussed, such as the economic situation of the local parish church, the parishioners' knowledge of the catechism, disparities among the local population and other matters that had to be dealt with at that time. The point of time of the arrival of the bishop should be announced a long time in advance to give the local clergy and the parishioners time to prepare themselves. No one was allowed to be absent at the episcopal visitations. If anyone failed to be present without any reason he or she was fined.¹ The visitations were occasions when the ecclesiastical authorities met their subjects.

What was the relationship between the authorities and the subjects in early modern Sweden? This is a problem that has been dealt with frequently in historical research. Did the authorities govern their subjects with a strong hand without paying any attention to their needs, wishes and complaints or would it be more appropriate to speak of a dialogue between authorities and subjects in which agreements were made in a spirit of understanding, compromise and consensus? Related to this problem is the question of the role and function of the church in early modern Sweden.

¹ Svenska kyrkans lag af år 1686: 1010.

What was the relationship between the ecclesiastical authorities and the local parishes in the different dioceses in Sweden? These are issues which I will try to discuss in my doctoral thesis in which I am mainly concerned with an analysis of the episcopal visitations in the diocese of Växjö. The period of time for my investigation is 1650-1760.² The purpose of this article is to give a short presentation of the historiography concerning the role and function of the church in early modern Sweden. I would also like to present the topic for my doctoral thesis, my hypothesis and also point out the importance of discussing the role and impact of religion and the *Haustafel* when it comes to explaining and understanding early modern people and society.

Perspectives on the Church in early modern Sweden

In the historical research you will find four different perspectives regarding the role of the church in the early modern Swedish state:

a) **The central power or the State used the Church for its own purposes i. e. for the control and discipline of the subjects.** In this perspective the church becomes an instrument in the hands of the state for controlling the subjects. The subjects are oppressed by the state through the church, which by force or of free will, agrees to undertake the function as a repressive institution in the service of the state. According to this perspective the interaction between authorities and subjects is almost non-existent and the communication is one-way, from above and down. The subjects are powerless victims of the control of the state and the church. They did not have any possibilities to affect their lives.³ According to this

² See Olle Larsson "Frågade högvärdige herr biskopen om det woro någre förargelser i församlingen". - En studie av den kyrkliga överhetens möte med lokalsamhället 1690-1740. Avhandlings-PM. (Unpublished) Lund 1994. See also Olle Larsson *Prästens Penningar och Berusade Bönder, Grälände Grannar och Tvivel i Tro. Biskopsvisitationernas kompetensområde i en föränderlig tid ca 1650-1770.* (Unpublished) Lund 1995

³ See for example Per- Johan Ödman. *Konformismens triumf. Utvecklingslinjer i svensk 1600-tals pedagogik.* Stockholm 1987. *Tid av frihet. Tid av Tvång. Utvecklingslinjer i svensk 1700-tals pedagogik.* Stockholm 1991. *Pedagogik in på kropp och själ. Folkuppfostran och disciplinering i 1500- och 1600-talens Sverige. Tänka tycka tro.*

perspective the episcopal visitations functioned as means for the control and the discipline of the subjects.

b) The church was an arena for the interaction between the central power and local society and between the authorities and the subjects. The concept interaction indicates that there is a dialogue between the authorities and the subjects. This does not mean that the two parts were equally strong. Interaction means that the dialogue can take place in terms of conflict, compromise or consensus. The supporters of this concept focus on the people in local society and regard them as actors with a will and possibility to influence their situation in the contacts with the authorities.⁴ According to this perspective the episcopal visitations functioned as an arena for the interaction between the authorities and the subjects.

c) The Church was a relatively autonomous institution in the state and worked almost without interference from the state. The authorities of the state did not interfere with the ecclesiastical activities and did not try to control and direct the control and education pursued by the Church. The Church existed almost independent of the state.⁵ According to this perspective the

Stockholm, 1995. One could also mention the historian Bengt Sandin and his dissertation *Hemmet, gatan, fabriken eller skolan. Folkundervisning och barnuppfostran i svenska städer 1600-1850*. Lund, 1986. However Sandin does not emphasise the perspective of control to the same extent as Per-Joham Ödman.

⁴ See above all Eva Österberg who introduced the concept in historical research. Eva Österberg, *Gränsbygd i krig. Ekonomiska, demografiska och administrativa förhållanden i sydvästra Sverige under och efter det nordiska sjuårskriget*. Lund 1971. Bönder och centralmakt i det tidigmoderna Sverige. Konflikt-kompromiss-politisk kultur. *Scandia* 1989:1. Folklig mentalitet och statlig makt. Perspektiv på 1500-och 1600-talens Sverige. *Scandia* 1992:1. Vardagens sträva samförstånd. Bondepolitik i den svenska modellen från vasatid till frihetstid. *Tänka, Tycka, Tro*, Stockholm 1993. *Folk förr. Kulturhistoriska essäer*. Stockholm 1995. See also Peter Aronsson *Bönder gör politik. Det lokala självstyret som social arena i tre smålandssocknar 1680-1850*. Lund 1992. Per Frohnert. *Kronans skatter och bondens bröd. Den lokala förvaltningen och bönderna i Sverige 1719-1775*. Lund 1993. Harald Gustavsson. *Sockenstugans politiska kultur. Lokal självstyrelse på 1800-talets landsbygd*. Stockholm 1989. *Political Interaction in the old Regime. Central power and local society in the eighteenth-century Nordic states*. Lund 1994.

⁵ This perspective was rather common in older historical research. You can also see it in more modern European research. See for instance R Gullstrand. *Bidrag till den*

Episcopal visitations functioned as an arena where the church carried out its own activities almost without any interference from the state.

d) The Church was an arena where different cultures met. This perspective might be described as a symbiosis between the perspectives that emphasises control, interaction and relative autonomy. It is built on the assumption that there exists more than one culture in every society and that these cultures are different from each other in certain ways. The cultures exist side by side and at the same time there is a struggle between them for cultural hegemony. In this perspective the church was an arena where an elite culture met a popular culture. The elite tried to control and educate the people who in turn tried to exist on their own conditions. The struggle was often fought in terms of good-bad, right-wrong and order-disorder.⁶ According to this perspective the episcopal visitations functioned as an arena where different cultures met and where the struggle for cultural hegemony took place.

The first three perspectives mentioned above deals more with the church as an administrative institution in the state. The fourth perspective is more concerned with the church as an mediator of culture and as a reformer of the popular culture.

Some hypotheses about the Episcopal visitations

In my doctoral thesis which is about the episcopal visitations in the diocese of Växjö during the time 1650-1760, I will try to look upon these visitations as an arena where an educated elite culture came to meet an uneducated popular culture. The elite culture was represented by the bishop and the members of the consistory and the other culture was represented by the local parishioners. The local clergy might be considered as standing with one foot in each culture. They had a certain degree of education but at the same time

Svensk sockensjälstyrelse 1686-1862. Lund 1937. H Roodenburg. *Onder censuur*. Amsterdam 1990.

⁶ For inspiration see above all Peter Burke *Folklig kultur i Europa 1500-1800*. Malmö 1983. He has also been the inspirator of some Swedish historians. See Peter Aronsson, Bengt Sandin och Eva Österberg

they shared the lives of their parishioners.⁷ I would like to point out, however, that I consider neither the elite culture nor the popular culture to be homogeneous. Most certain, there were differences in these cultures as those belonging to either of them were not members of homogeneous groups. But in spite of this I still consider it to be an interesting approach to deal with the episcopal visitations as an arena where different cultures met and where a struggle took place concerning, for example, what is right and what is wrong, what is good and what is bad and what is order and what is disorder.

One must also keep in mind that in some cases there might have been an understanding between the two cultures when it came to discipline and correct behaviours and disparities that both the elite culture and the popular culture regarded as disorderly and unwanted.

When it comes to the question of the function and role of the church in the early modern Swedish state and its role in the contact between the authorities and the subjects and between the central power and the local societies I think that the best approach to this problem is to be open towards the first three above-mentioned perspectives. My hypothesis is that the church was an instrument for control in the hands of the state and at the same time carried out its own activities without much interference from the state. It was also an arena for interaction where authorities and subjects met to negotiate. These negotiations could result in both consensus and compromise as well as in open conflict. The interaction probably looked different at different times during my period of investigation.

A very important question which has to be dealt with is whose purposes the church served. If you look at the episcopal visitations I think that it will be possible hear different voices with sometimes different and sometimes mutual interests. These voices are:

- The voice of the bishop and the ecclesiastical authorities.
- The voice of the state.
- The voice of the local clergy.
- The voices of individuals and groups within the heterogeneous parishes which consisted of the local aristocrats, different persons of rank, self-owning peasants, share-croppers, rural proletarians

⁷ Peter Burke discusses the role of the parish priest as intermediary links between the two cultures. See Burke 1983 and also Hilding Pleijel *Hustavlans värld*. Stockholm, 1970, pages 180-202.

and poor people. One must also keep in mind that the parishes consisted of both men and women as well as young and old people, all with different abilities to make themselves heard.

The question concerning whose purposes the church served cannot be distinctly answered. As I have mentioned above the church was an instrument which the state used to control, discipline and inform its subjects. But the church must also be seen partly as autonomous from the influence of the state. It had its own possibilities to carry out its own control, discipline and education of the population to make them good Christians through catechism controls and ecclesiastical jurisdiction. Through the visitations the bishop could reach the parishioners and the clergy in his diocese and they could meet the bishop to discuss matters of various kinds. At the visitation the subjects could turn to the bishop with demands on tax reduction and also with questions about divorces and other local matters.

I would like to summarize the hypotheses for my research like this:

- The episcopal visitations may be considered as an arena where an educated elite culture met an uneducated popular culture.⁸ On this arena a struggle between the different cultures occurred. The struggle was fought, for example, in terms of good and evil, order and disorder and right and wrong. Sometimes the cultures had mutual interests when it came to correcting disapproved behaviours and misconceptions.

- The church must be seen both as an instrument for control in the hands of the state and as an institution acting rather autonomous from the central power. It was also an arena for interaction between authorities and subjects. Important concepts in this dialogue are compromise, consensus and conflict.

⁸ By terminology educated culture I mean a culture inspired by studies at universities coming from reading books. Uneducated culture on the other hand does not come from schools or reading books but from tradition transmitted orally from one generation to another. I do not exclude the possibility that the two cultures could have affected each other and elements from the different cultures might well have mixed. A mutual exchange has probably occurred between the two cultures. An interesting question in this case is which elements the cultures have exchanged between each other.

The importance of bringing the religion in

It is impossible to understand and explain the early modern Swedish society if one does not consider the role and impact of religion. The early modern Swede believed in God and religion was the one and only factor that explained the world and his existence to him. The existence of God and life after death were facts to him, just as real as the sun, the moon and the ground he walked. It was possible to like and even dislike God but his existence was hardly questioned by anyone. God was everywhere, He was in the courts, in the churches, in the castles and palaces and even in the smallest cottages. God was stern, powerful and righteous. He demanded that his commandments should be obeyed and he punished those who violated his laws. He was the punishing God of the Old Testament. When we look at society in early modern Sweden, we are facing a society with a strong uniformity in religion.

In daily life pagan and Christian conceptions of life went hand in hand. Christian customs such as baptism and communion were considered magic. One of the most important biblical messages to really affect the mentality of the early modern Swedes was the idea of prohibitions and punishments. Famine, disease and failure of crops were interpreted as signs of divine wrath. One must keep in mind that the early modern people believed in the punishing God of the Old Testament and not in the forgiving God of the New Testament.⁹

Another important topic to discuss is the role and impact of the *Haustafel* or the doctrine of the three estates. This doctrine has been examined by a large number of scholars and their opinions about its influence and impact on the early modern Swedish society has differed.

According to the unifying ideology of the *Haustafel* the whole of mankind was divided by God into three different estates. These were the clerical, the worldly and the economic estate. All the inhabitants of the nation were grouped as superior or subordinate

⁹ See Rudolf Thunander *Förbjuden kärlek. Sexualbrott, kärleksmagi och kärleksbrev i 1600-talets Sverige*. Atlantis 1992. See also Göran Malmstedt *Helgdagsreduktionen. Övergången från ett medeltida till ett modernt år i Sverige*. Göteborg 1994. Hanne Sanders strongly emphasises the importance of religion to understand a pre-secularized society. Hanne Sanders *Bondevaekelse og sekularisering. En protestantisk folkelig kultur i Danmark og Sverige 1820-1850*. Stockholm 1995.

with mutual duties.¹⁰ The duty of the clerical estate was to spread the word of God and to handle the sacraments. The worldly or the political estate was supposed to protect the church, promote the power of God's word and supervise law and order. The duty of the economic estate was to support the society i. e all the three estates. Each estate was divided into superiors and inferiors. The head of the family in the different estates was the absolute authority and it was the duty of all the members of the household to obey him. The three estates were dependent of each other. The worldly estate was dependent on the clerical estate in matters of religion as the latter was dependent on the former when it came to secular matters. Both the clerical and worldly estate were dependant on the economic estate for their support. The economic estate was inferior to the other estates in the social hierarchy. The head of the family in all the estates was also the teacher of the household and in that sense he belonged to the clerical estate. But as soon as he went outside his family his duties were those of his original estate. The Haustafel is strongly hierarchical and emphasizes the importance of obeying those who are superior.¹¹

When it comes to the historical research that has dealt with the importance and the impact of the Haustafel in early modern Sweden, the opinions can be divided into three different groups:

- **The Haustafel as an all-embracing mentality.** The Haustafel played a very important role in Sweden during the period 1600-1830. The Haustafel was included in all catechisms and all hymn-books, which were very wide-spread in early modern Sweden. Literacy was also rather high and a lot of people were therefore able to read those books by themselves. Hilding Pleijel argues that the Haustafel was not an abstract theological construction but a view on society that was common to all people in Sweden at that time, no matter of their position in the social hierarchy. Pleijel calls the period 1600-1800 the age of the Haustafel.¹² Per-Johan Ödman

¹⁰ Daniel Lindmark *Uppfostran, undervisning, upplysning. Linjer i svensk folkundervisning före folkskolan*. Umeå 1995.

¹¹ For a description of the Haustafel see Hilding Pleijel *Hustavlans värld. Kyrkligt folkliv i äldre tiders Sverige*. Stockholm 1970. Page 30-53.

¹² See Hilding Pleijel *Hustavlans värld. Kyrkligt folkliv i äldre tiders Sverige*. Stockholm 1970 and also Pleijel in HT 87 in the debate about patriarchy.

shares a lot of Pleijels opinions about the Haustafel. He argues that the Haustafel filled the gap that the reformation had left after the break with the papacy. The Haustafel was considered as a restoration of the old order. According to Ödman the people were manipulated by the strong central power and the Haustafel is to be considered as a repressive ideology in the hands of the church and the state.¹³

The Haustafel was questioned and not at all an all-embracing mentality. Other scholars do not agree with the opinion that the Haustafel should have been a mentality, common to all people in early modern Sweden. Bengt Sandin argues that the description of the social order in the Haustafel was not a reflection of the existing reality and social hierarchy. The increasing interest from the authorities concerning the people's knowledge of the catechism cannot be interpreted as a correspondence between norms and reality but rather as a discrepancy between the ideal conditions and the existing reality.¹⁴ In his research, Peter Aronsson argues that it is important to study the Haustafel's role and impact on society through investigations of the local reality in the different parishes in Sweden. By examining records from local parish assemblies he concludes that the often repeated complaints about inadequate attendance at catechism control and services shows that the fundamental obedience and respect for the authorities that ought to be there according to the Haustafel is not to be found in the peasants' behaviour. He claims that the Haustafel was challenged and above all the hierarchical order between the estates was questioned. The peasants did not accept their role as subjects in terms of obedience and submission to the authorities as the Haustafel prescribes. Aronsson strongly criticises the picture of the

¹³ Per-Johan Ödman *Konformismens triumf.. Utvecklingslinjer i svensk 1600-tals pedagogik*. Stockholm 1987. Page 51-53. A similar opinion of the role and the impact of the Haustafel can be found in Carin Bergström's dissertation *Lantprästen. Prästens funktion i det agrara samhället 1720-1800. Oland-Frösåkers kontrakt av ärkestiftet*. Kristianstad 1991. Page 23-24.

¹⁴ Bengt Sandin *Hemmet, gatan, fabriken eller skolan. Folkundervisning och hantverksutövning i svenska städer 1600-1850*. Lund 1986. Page 52

Haustafel as an all-embracing social ideology and mentality of the people in early modern Sweden.¹⁵

The Haustafel had some impact on the early modern society. This perspective is represented by Eva Österberg. She argues that Pleijel tends to reduce the peasants' possibilities to influence the authorities to a minimum. On the other hand she says that in spite of the objections against his thesis it is still relevant to discuss it. Even if it is possible to notice objections against the policy of the church and the state, the high degree of literacy in early modern Sweden shows that the authorities' control and education of the population had to some extent been successful.¹⁶

I hope that the discussions above have showed the importance of bringing in the role and impact of religion and the ideology of the Haustafel in research dealing with early modern Sweden or early modern Europe. If one fails to consider these ideological components it will be impossible to understand Swedish society and the people's acts at the episcopal visitations in the diocese of Växjö in the early modern period.

¹⁵ Peter Aronsson *Hustavlans värld eller överhetens utopi?* Västsvensk fromhet. Jämförande studier i västsvensk religiositet under fyra sekler. Göteborg 1993. Page 5-12. The role and impact of the Haustafel is also questioned by Börje Harnesk and Daniel Lindmark. See Börje Harnesk *Den föränderliga patriarkalismen*. HT 1987:2 and Daniel Lindmark *Hustavlans i folkundervisningen*. Västsvensk fromhet. Jämförande studier av västsvensk religiositet under fyra sekler. Göteborg 1993. Page 43-73.

¹⁶ Eva Österberg *Folklig mentalitet och statlig makt. Perspektiv på 1500-och 1600-talens Sverige*. *Scandia* 1992:1. The same opinion is shared by Olle Larsson. See Olle Larsson "Frågade högwördige herr biskopen om det woro någre förargelser i församlingen." - *En studie av den kyrkliga överhetens möte med lokalsamhället 1600-1740*. Arkivhandlingar. DM. Lund 1994.

Religion, Culture and Identity in a Comparative Perspective – Piety as a Regional Value System

Lennart Johansson

In this article I will give a brief survey of my book "Liquor, Books of Sermons and Red Banners. On Popular Movements, Politics and Traditional Piety, [*gammalkyrklighet*], in Växjö at the Turn of the Century" (1992).

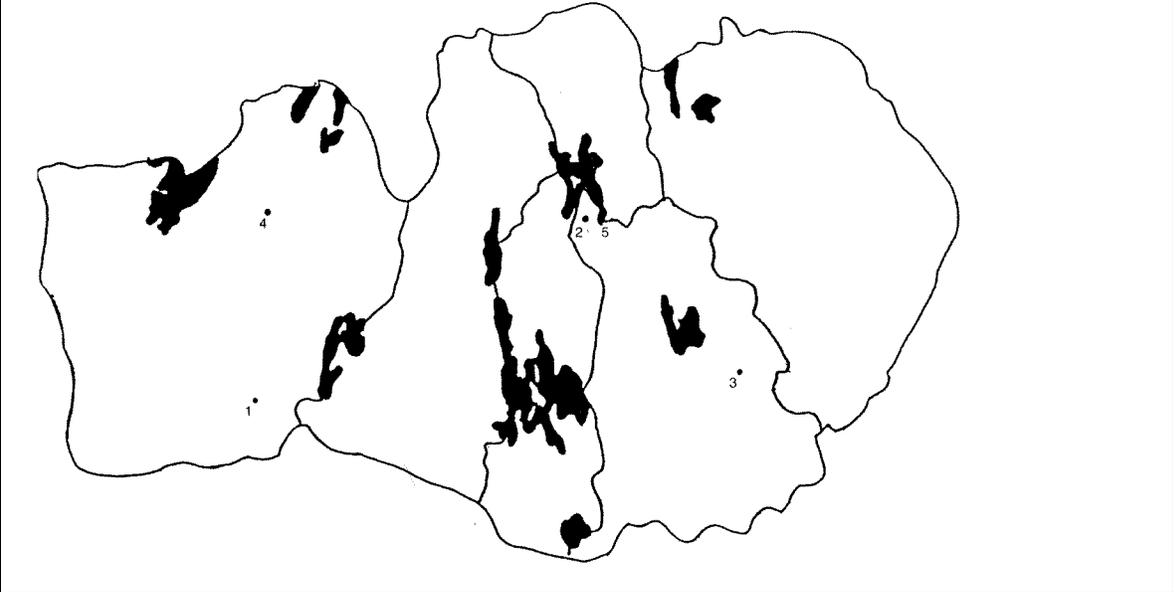
The purpose of this article – which also is one of the main theses in my book– is to explain why especially the Revivalist movement suffered from lack of support in the city of Växjö compared to other similar cities.

First of all it is necessary to give a more general picture of the extension of the Revivalist movement in the county of Kronoberg, and then take a closer look at the situation in Växjö.

The extension of the Baptist Church in the county of Kronoberg.



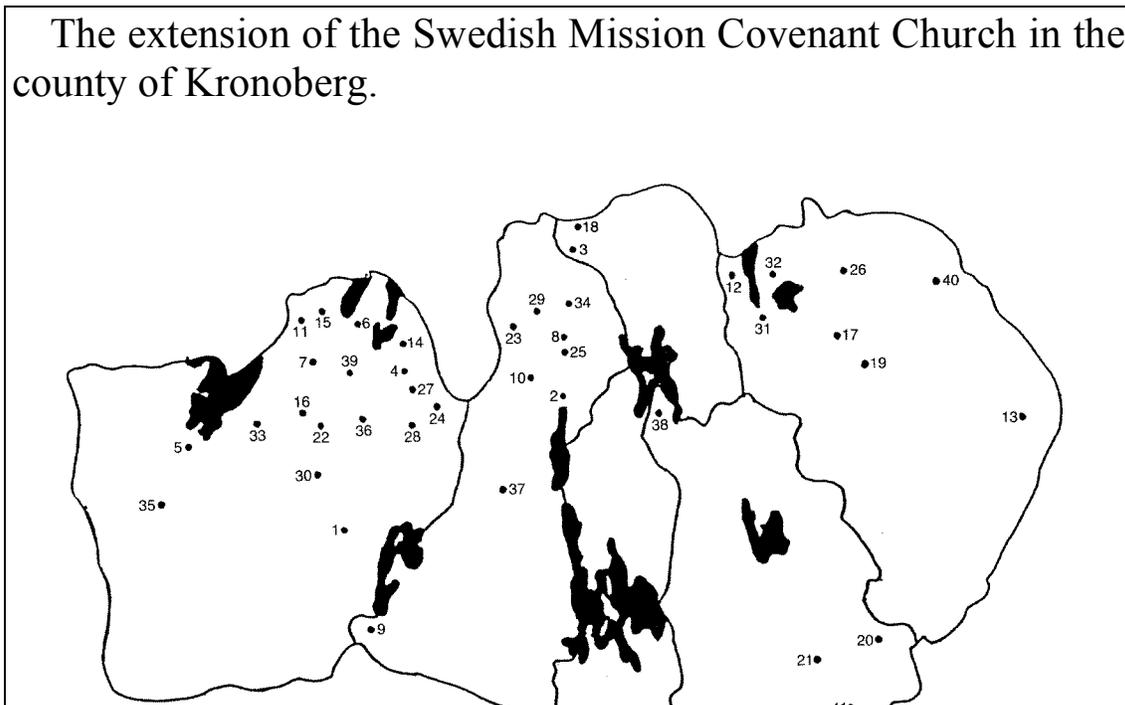
The extension of the Methodist Church and the Salvation Army in the county of Kronoberg.



As the maps show it is obvious that the Revivalist movement is concentrated to the northern parts of the county. Especially the Swedish Mission Covenant Church is concentrated to the northwest.

The weakness of the Revivalist movement is most appreciable in the central part of the county, south of Växjö, in the parishes

The extension of the Swedish Mission Covenant Church in the county of Kronoberg.



surrounding lake Åsnen. The question is of course why?

To make it possible to understand and to explain the weakness of the Revivalist movement I would like to refer to a part of the title of this article: Piety as a Regional Value System. From my point of view it is obvious that a feasible way to understand and to explain the structure of a regional value system, is to accomplish a comparison between Växjö and other similar cities, the county of Kronoberg and other regions. The method of comparison is superior to all other methods in search for explanations, and I think that it could easily replace many of the grand theories.¹

The main question you would have to reflect on is which cities to compare with Växjö. Should I compare Växjö to Stockholm, Göteborg and Malmö the three largest cities in Sweden, or should I compare Växjö to other similar cities?

It is clear to me that a comparison between Växjö and the three largest cities in Sweden would only lead to the conclusion that the reason for the weak position for the revivalist movement in Växjö is to be found in the socio-economic factors. While Växjö only had about 7.000 inhabitants at the turn of the century, and the extent of industrialization was very low, it can be argued that it was only natural that the Revivalist movement suffered from lack of support in Växjö compared to the larger cities. In other words, such a comparison would not be very explanatory. It would be too closely related to the socio-economic structure.

If I instead compare Växjö to cities that in similarity with Växjö are cathedral cities – dioceses – and capitals of a provincial government and have the same extent of industrialization and about the same number of inhabitants – it might be possible to get behind the socio-economic structure, which too long has been the predominant frame of interpretation in Swedish historical science.

Which cities will then become the most suitable for the comparison? As shown in the table below I have chosen six cities

¹ On the reception of arguments for comparative research in Swedish historiography see Magnus Mörner, "Komparation: att vidga historiska perspektiv", *Scandia* 1981:2; Ulf Jonsson, "Komparation: en strategi för att fånga breda samhällsliga förändringsmönster och processer", *Från vida fält. Festskrift till Rolf Adamsson 25.10.1987* (Stockholm, 1987); Peter Aronsson, "En spegelbild eller händelsernas centrum. Om lokalt och centralt i historisk forskning", *Kronos* 1991:2

that fit in to the model mentioned above. These cities are geographically spread all over Sweden.

Table 1. *Number of inhabitants*

	Växjö	Linköping	Kalmar	Härnösand	Visby	Karlstad	Västerås
1870	3.737	7.257	9.275	3.707	6.167	5.608	5.367
1880	4.935	8.752	10.963	5.370	6.922	7.772	6.201
1890	6.606	12.649	11.772	5.789	7.102	8.716	8.122
1900	7.365	14.552	12.715	7.890	8.376	11.869	11.999

Table 2. *Workers and craftsmen in absolut numbers an in per cent of the total population*

Town	1880		1890	
	Workers/ craftsmen	%	Workers/ craftsmen	%
Växjö	290/116=406	8	456/128=584	9
Linköping	143/242=385	4	328/452=780	6
Kalmar	593/393=986	9	556/314=870	7
Härnösand	90/181=271	5	166/139=305	5
Visby	171/129=300	4	300/127=427	6
Karlstad	346/139=485	6	355/155=510	6
Västerås	154/233=387	6	251/260=511	6

Table one above shows the development of the population from 1870–1900 in Växjö and the other six similar cities and table two shows workers and craftsmen in absolute numbers and in per cent of the total population in Växjö and the other six cities 1880 and 1890. The very low figures are in general not only due to the structure of

the cities themselves but to the structure of industrialization in Sweden that to a high degree took place in the countryside or in new built-up areas around iron mills etc.

The differences between the socio-economic structures of the cities are small. By comparing cities with manifest similarities, concerning number of inhabitants and degree of industrialization, it is possible to disregard the socio-economic structure as a relevant factor of interpretation of the differences concerning the origin of the revivalist movement.

If we then concentrate on the origin, or appearance, of the Revivalist movement in the six cities and Växjö, we will find pronounced differences between the cities. The first column shows the origin of the Swedish Mission Covenant Church. The second year is the most important because it shows the connection to the central organization in Stockholm. Many missionary societies, as in Växjö, started in the late 19th century, but did not co-operate with the nonconformist organization in Stockholm. The second column shows the origin of the Baptist Church, the third the origin of the Methodist Church and the fourth shows the establishment of the Salvation Army. All of them, except the Methodist Church, were latest established in Växjö.

Table 3 The origin of the revivalist movement

Town	Swedish Mission Covenant Church	Baptist Church	Methodist Church	Salvation Army
Växjö	1872 (1905)	1892	1887	1893
Linköping	1858 (1882)	1869	1874	1886
Kalmar	1875 (1880)	1881	1868	1891
Härnösand	1874 (1896)	1876	1913	1888
Visby	1885 (1888)	1858	1865	1885
Karlstad	1861 (1879)	1878	1883	1887
Västerås	1875 (1883)	1867	1894	1892

It is clear that Växjö is the city which shows the strongest resistance against the revivalist movement, clearly expressed by the movements late appearance in the city.

How could otherwise the differences be explained when the ordinary socio-economic factors turn out to be inadequate as an explanation of the differences?

To sum up: The revivalist movement in Växjö is, compared to other similar cities, established rather late. It is obvious that the differences between the cities socio-economic structures are too small to explain the conditions mentioned above.

It is also apparent that if ordinary socio-economic factors turn out to be inadequate as an explanation of the differences, the answer instead has to be sought in the special local and historical environment of Växjö.

The question is: What makes the local and historical context of Växjö so special, that it can explain the late origin of the revivalist movement in the city?

My argument is that we have to seek the answer in the religious structure of the city and the region. In the early 19th century a revival within the Swedish Lutheran church began in the central and eastern parts of Kronoberg. This revival was called *gammalkyrklighet*. A traditional piety which faithfully held on to the confession and Bible and encompassing elements from older Pietism. This revival within the church worked like a vaccine particularly against nonconformist currents but generally against secularized popular movements and associations.²

At first this revival of traditional piety was in opposition against the Swedish Lutheran church, but in the middle of the century, not only most of the priests in the central and eastern parts of Kronoberg, but also the bishop in Växjö were influenced by this piety.

As a conclusion I want to emphasize that it is of great importance to analyse the religious structure both in even greater detail and relate it to a wider societal context, if we want to explain and understand why particularly the revivalist movement but also the secularized popular movements in general in some regions and cities were weak and suffered from lack of support. It is not enough to look at the socio-economic structure. There is something beyond

² For a similar argument of movements working as vaccine for later movements see Sidsel Eriksen, "Vækkelse og afholdsbevægelse. Et bidrag til studiet af den svenske og den danske folkekultur" *Svenske 1890-2*

the socio-economic structures and class consciousness, which has been an important part of the conception of life among the people. A kind of regional and local religious and cultural identity – piety as a regional value system – characterized mostly by the predominant religious piety in the domain, which has been of great importance in the daily acting of human beings.

III. Regional political culture

'Siegerland' as a Bourgeois Projection. Social Harmony as Progress and the Aestheticizing Ascription of Diligence to the Character of the People *Rüdiger Gans*

Certain existing ideas and opinions about the Siegerland, which have become fixed as self-images and images of others, are generally connected in a causal manner to the specific denominational, i.e., Pietist influence in this area. One example of such opinions is the idea that the population of the Siegerland is characterized by a strong sense of community, a striving for social harmony, industriousness, diligence, as well as the rejection of luxury and extravagance.² At first glance, this image seems to lead one to consider a fundamental relationship between Protestantism, an ascetic lifestyle, and the development of capitalism - a consideration which has, since Max Weber's famous thesis, played a decisive role not only in debates concerning the sociology of religion.³ Shortly after their publication, Weber's theses about a 'Protestant ethic' were fiercely criticized by historians and their

¹ This is an abridged version of an essay published within the context of a joint project between the Universities of Siegen and Växjö. Cf. *Interregiones* 4/1995, 162-177. The author wishes to thank Thomas La Presti for his translation of this text from the original German.

² On the fixation of this image in regional historiography and ethnography cf. the essay by Armin Flender in this volume; see also Karl-Heinz Solbach, *Das bewährte Eigene und das bedrängende Fremde. Über den Umgang des Siegerlandes mit dem Fortschritt*, in: *Geschichte im Westen* 6 (1991), 135-150; Harald Witthöft, *Siegerland - Was ist das? Skizzen zu einer historischen Identität*, in: Ingo Broer et al. (Ed.), *Siegerland. Region im Wandel. Eine Bestandsaufnahme*, Siegen 1990, 5-22; Karl-Wilhelm Dahm, *Siegerland-Mentalität und Max-Weber-These*, in: Bodo B. Gemper (Ed.), *Religion und Verantwortung als Elemente gesellschaftlicher Ordnung*, Siegen 1982, 485-510.

³ On the following cf. Max Weber, *Die protestantische Ethik und der Geist des Kapitalismus*, in: *Archiv für Sozialwissenschaft und Sozialpolitik* 20 (1905), 1-54 and 21, 1-110; see also Hartmann Tyrell, *Worum geht es in der 'Protestantischen Ethik'? Ein Versuch zum besseren Verständnis Max Webers*, in: *Saeculum* 41 (1990), 130-177; Günter Kehr, *Einführung in die Religionssoziologie*, Darmstadt 1989, 42-51; Richard von Dülmen, *Religionsgeschichte in der Historischen Sozialforschung*, in: *Geschichte und Gesellschaft* 6 (1990),

empirical foundation was called into question. Weber attempted to defend his position with vehement replies and argued that he was not primarily concerned with capitalism, but rather with proving that the sort of economic thinking presumably behind it, as a modern psychological basic structure following rational principles, came from the life-world of individuals which had been shaped by Protestantism. Nonetheless, his thesis encouraged many to prematurely assume that he wished to establish a monocausal relationship between Protestantism and capitalism and led them to regard this as an assertion of empirical facts. Quite a bit of historical research was engaged in disproving this superficial interpretation by showing that the origins of capitalism are to be dated prior to the Reformation and that it, thus, was certainly compatible with Catholicism. On the other hand, those areas in which Weber's ideal type of Protestantism, Puritanism, was dominant were by no means the centers or starting points of modern capitalist development.⁴

But the matter becomes somewhat more complicated if one follows Weber's actual line of inquiry concerned with the formation of ideal types and examines to what extent Protestantism, particularly in its specific Calvinist, Puritan, and Pietist forms, is responsible for the triumph of a modern, rational culture. Although it may seem paradoxical at the outset, one might at least take a small step in the direction of that problem's solution by not considering religion in regard to its specific regional concrete nature related to the individual's life-world. For if one takes Weber's historical localization of the problem seriously, the consequence is that only in the 17th century was there a strong link between denominational praxis and a capitalist economic way of thinking whereas in the 18th century this attitude had already detached itself from its religious foundation and become independent. Nevertheless, this situation does allow a strange uneasiness to arise due to the circumstance that religion, which was previously considered to be determinant, now seems to be of no importance, particularly since the actual process of detachment remains quite indistinct. For this reason, the possibility should be considered that denominational influences in a semi-secular form and in other contexts may have had some effect at least on the normative justifications for 'inner-

⁴ Paul Münch, Welcher Zusammenhang besteht zwischen Konfession und ökonomischem Verhalten. Max Webers These im Lichte der historischen Forschung, in: Hans Georg Wehling (Ed.), Konfession, eine Nebensache? Politische, soziale und kulturelle

worldly asceticism'. This seems reasonable insofar as in this way the close intertwinement of Protestantism and modern nation-building would have to be introduced into the scope of the examination. This process and the new social group of intellectuals who supported it and also emerged from it signalled an advantage in modernization on the part of Protestant states, an advantage which Weber was not the first in a position to diagnose. For the contemporaries, the observable backwardness of Catholic regions in comparison to Protestant ones had already found its way into the historical self-perception of their epoch.⁵ This circumstance, for its part, led to the fateful creation of stereotypes, which finally in the 19th century were able to be instrumentalized for politically stigmatizing persons of the opposite denomination.

For the reasons stated above, the following is concerned with the possibility that religious elements which have been detached from the life-world, indirectly mediated by discourse and have become a sort of camouflage in the patriotic code remain, by means of such a way of thinking oriented to the state, influential on the economic attitude and work ethic. Thus, regardless of whether or not the stereotypes about the mentality of the Siegerland populace mentioned at the outset are maintained by empirical evidence, this essay aims to locate and explain the early articulation of such characterizations of the area and its inhabitants, which was, indeed, not fully removed from denominational influences, but also not predetermined by the denominational development of the region.

Especially after the middle of the 18th century, patriotism mapped out for Germany the intellectual region in which economic rationalism, on the one hand, and religious feeling on the other could converge in the interest of furthering public welfare to be provided for by the state.⁶ Apart from its roots in a rationalistically

⁵ Cf. *ibid.*, 59-62.

⁶ On patriotism see Rudolf Vierhaus, 'Patriotismus', in: R. V., *Deutschland im 18. Jahrhundert. Politische Verfassung, soziales Gefüge, geistige Bewegungen*, Göttingen 1987; R. V., *politisches Bewußtsein in Deutschland vor 1789*, in: *ibid.*, 183-201; Günter Birtsch (Ed.), *Patriotismus*, Hamburg 1991; Christoph Prignitz, *Vaterlandsliebe und Freiheit. Deutscher Patriotismus von 1750-1850*, Wiesbaden 1981; Otto Dann, *Nation und Nationalismus in Deutschland 1770-1990*, München 1993, 38-44; Reinhart Koselleck et al., Art. 'Volk', 'Nation', 'Nationalismus', 'Masse', in: Otto Brunner, Werner Conze and Reinhart Koselleck (Ed.), *Historisches Lexikon zur politisch-sozialen Sprache in Deutschland*. Bd.7, Stuttgart 1992, 309-314. See also the most influential contemporary positions: Friedrich Carl von Moser, *Von dem deutschen Nationalgeist*, o.O 1766 (Neudr. Selb 1978); F. C. v. M., *Patriotische Briefe*, o.O. 1767; F. C. v. M., *Beherrigungen*, Frankfurt a.M. 1763; Notger Hammerstein, *Das politische Denken Friedrich Carl von Mosers*, in: *Historische Zeitschrift* 221 (1971), 316-338; Thomas Abbt, *Vom Tode fürs Vaterland*, 1761, in: T. A., *Vermischte Werke*. Zweyter Theil. Berlin und Stattin 1781 (*Reprint Vermischte Werke Bd.1*, Hildesheim/ New York 1978); Hans Erik Rüdiger, *Thomas Abbt*

formed and practically oriented Enlightenment, patriotism also drew particularly on resources from the religious and denominational developments of the century. Their influence on secular thinking is to be reckoned with in order to account for patriotism's distinctive characteristics and to understand its various effects. In this regard, especially the underlying secular Pietist nurturing of 'Reichs'-patriotism proves itself to be a formative historical factor.⁷

Therefore, the following structural characteristics defining Pietism which merged into patriotic thinking are to be noted briefly. Aside from an intensively cultivated idea of community which had its institutional basis in the conventicles and there took on the character of a real community experience, Pietist writings were characterized, above all, by an increasingly intense emotionality, spirituality, and subjectivity as a moral and religious attitude. The main focus was the religious experience of being born again. Here, burning enthusiasm and the revival itself referred mutually to one another and attested to the truthfulness of the events. Whoever had been born again exhibited enthusiasm and whoever was enthusiastic provided proof of his own spiritual rebirth. This communicative presence in the absence of the intersubjective validity of an emotionality which was actually only in a position to authenticate itself by its sincere propagation within the community overcame the religious barriers and drifted into patriotic discourse where it found a new secular point of reference in the concept of 'Vaterland'.⁸ Thus, first of all, patriotism borrowed from Pietism the enthusiasm of its fundamental attitude.

Furthermore, elements of an ethical code based on Pietism were able to be implemented quite a bit more directly into patriotic activities. The high regard for asceticism in the life-world and the rejection of luxury and extravagance developed a strong anti-feudal impulse to much the same extent that the sense of community derived from the conventicles focused attention on the solution of

(Wolfenbütteler Studien zur Aufklärung Bd. VII), Heidelberg 1981, 221-253; Joseph von Sonnenfels, Über die Liebe des Vaterlandes, Wien 1771; Johann Georg Zimmermann, Vom Nationalstolze, 4th Edition Zürich 1768.

⁷ On the relationship between patriotism and Pietism see especially: Gerhard Kaiser, Pietismus und Patriotismus im literarischen Deutschland, Wiesbaden 1961; see also Bernard Giesen, Die Intellektuellen und die Nation. Eine deutsche Achsenzeit Frankfurt a. M. 1993, 102-129; B. G. and Kay Junge, Vom Patriotismus zum Nationalismus. Zur Evolution der "Deutschen Kulturturnation", in: B. G. (Ed.), Nationale und kulturelle Identität. Studien zur Entwicklung des kollektiven Bewußtseins in der Neuzeit, Frankfurt a. M. 1991, 273 ff. On 'Reichs'-patriotism see Michael Stolleis, Reichspublizistik und Reichspatriotismus vom 16. zum 18. Jahrhundert, in: Birtsch (Ed.), Patriotismus, 7-23; Karl Otmar Freiherr von Aretin, Reichspatriotismus, in: *ibid.*, 25-36.

⁸ Cf. Kaiser, Pietismus und Patriotismus im literarischen Deutschland; Giesen, Die Intellektuellen und die Nation, 127f.; Peter Euba, Vaterland, Patriotismus und Moral. Zur Semantik gesellschaftlicher Einheit, in: Zeitschrift für Soziologie 20 (1991), 89-103.

social problems.⁹ For all of these elements, a new sphere of activity became available in patriotism and it is understandable that the origin of these elements in religious contexts could not remain without influence on the shape of and love for the fatherland.

However, a further consequence of these secularized Pietist impulses was that Pietism itself was exposed to an inner antagonism that was hardly to be resolved. This became evident with the altering evaluation of the relationship between public welfare and self-interest.¹⁰ There was a general consensus that the patriot should consider tending to the commonweal to be his most important and foremost task. But the question of just how to further the public good was greatly dependent upon moral principles and ideas about society. It made quite a difference if the 'common good' meant the welfare of aggregated individuals or if it was the condition of an indivisible collective whole which the individuals were, above all, obligated to achieve and promote. If, therefore, in the Pietist tradition the individual was taken into consideration from the standpoint of the community, self-interest, especially in connection with sensuality, extravagance, and luxury represented something potentially harmful and contrary to the nature of a true patriot.

Accordingly, it can be maintained that the idea of self-interest as a constitutive dialectical counterpart for the promotion of the interests of all was, above all, in the debates on 'Reichs'-patriotism influenced by Pietism - and especially in the writings of Moser, more and more repressed by an emphatic concept of public welfare that was morally founded and thus rejected pragmatic functional elements such as the idea that luxury and sensuality - as aims of the welfare of the individual - could also promote the public good.

Nevertheless, the type of patriotism discussed above is only one particular variant - although an important and very influential one. It should be emphasized that, especially toward the end of the century, patriotism and patriot could have quite different meanings and in each instance could produce various communicative effects. The following remarks wish to call attention to such concrete, i.e.

⁹ Cf. Richard van Dülmen, *Kultur und Alltag in der Frühen Neuzeit*. Bd.III. Religion, Magie, Aufklärung 16.-18. Jahrhundert, München 1994, 211-267.

¹⁰ On the development of the evaluation of public good and self-interest in Germany in early modern times up to the middle of the 18th century, see Winfried Schulze, *Vom Gemeinnutz zum Eigennutz. Über den Normenwandel in der ständischen Gesellschaft der*

regional contexts in which patriotic discourse played an important role and led to certain consequences.

The main focus is centered on an academic dispute carried out between the assessor Johann Philipp Becher¹¹, who was born in Dillenburg in 1752 and had been active in a mining and iron industry committee there since 1779, and Jung-Stilling, who had been born and raised in the Siegerland area and had become well-known among the literary public due to the parts of his autobiography already published. At the time of the dispute, Jung-Stilling was a professor of economic and administrative sciences in Lautern. In an extremely polemical essay¹² published by Krieger in Gießen in 1780 Becher tried to prove that his opponent was rather misinformed and had made several mistakes in his analysis and appraisal of the mining and steel industry. As the line of inquiry to be followed here is oriented to regional history, attention will primarily be paid to the person of Becher. The debate makes evident - and this is what makes Becher's case so interesting - that Becher apparently felt justified to speak as a formally educated representative of the region holding the responsibility of public office and as someone still closely tied to territorial interests. Jung-Stilling on the other hand, although he was originally from the Siegerland area and had dealt with his regional background in his autobiography, had outgrown these ties and had to be considered a part of that small literary and intellectual avant-garde in Germany which thought of itself as the representative of a culturally integrated nation. For these reasons, the following remarks are not primarily concerned with any objective appropriateness of Becher's repudiation of Jung-Stilling. Instead, the main concern is discovering in Becher that basic mental structure mentioned above which appeared in the form of the expression of a general value system related to economy, patriotism, abstract thinking, and the view of one's own social position. At the same time, Becher's for the most part enthusiastic statements not only expressed the specific content but also the extent of his attachment to the region.

¹¹ On Becher's biography see: Christian Daniel Vogel (Ed.), *Archiv der Nassauischen Kirchen- und Gelehrten-geschichte*. Bd.1, Hadamar and Koblenz 1818, 174-183; Wilhelm Güthling, *Johann Philipp Becher (1752-1831)*, in: *Siegerland* 29 (1952), 65-68.

¹² Cf. [Johann Philipp Becher], *Schreiben eines Siegerländers an Professor Jung in Lautern zur Berichtigung seiner Geschichte des Nassau-Siegerländer Stahl- und Eisenerzwerkes*. Gießen 1780. Quotations are according to the new publication by Wilhelm Güthling in:

From Becher's vantage point, the economic practices suggested by Jung-Stilling endangered above all the centuries-old mining and iron industry in the Siegerland. Apart from its material value, this industry already possessed an exceptionally high symbolic importance based upon its historical dignity which seemed to predestine it for an everlasting duration and provided it with an obligatory nature regarding the future. Just as it had always insured material subsistence, it would continue to do so in the future as long as the industry was run in the traditional way. For this reason, gratitude and piety characterized the attitude one should take toward this industry. In this way, the actual condition of the economy was withdrawn from the debate and any criticism was required to retreat in the face of established history. Only those suggestions were to be admitted which did not brandish the tradition or at least not its foundations. Consequently, a patriot could only be someone who did not question this network and thus at the same time proved himself to be a champion of the public good.

In addition, the dispute allows the compulsion to dissociate oneself from other social groups on the part of a scholar who was, above all, closely tied to a particular region to become accessible to interpretation. Becher articulated a social affect in the guise of an objective argument in his attacks, e.g., on the 'sensitive soul' Jung-Stilling or on his 'genius-like style'.¹³ Up to the beginning of the 1790's Jung-Stilling must still have been regarded as an author whose writings on economics and administration for the most part were to be considered as belonging to a 'pious Enlightenment'¹⁴, an author who in any case with the first part of his autobiography acquired an outstanding literary aesthetic position within 'Empfindsamkeit' and 'Sturm und Drang' and felt responsibilities toward a culturally integrated national audience.¹⁵ In the last instance, Becher himself, on the other hand, remained - as a proponent of a practical Enlightenment, as a patriot saturated with experience - within the sphere of expediency and loyalty to a dynastic territorial state. He did not write for the nation, but, rather, for the state. His sublime as well as subtle reaction to Jung-Stilling was directed against the intellectual extremes of his time: against a

¹³ Cf. *ibid.*, 28, 29, 30.

¹⁴ Cf. especially Hahn, *Jung-Stilling zwischen Pietismus und Aufklärung* 109-130.

strained rationalism lacking in experience and against the 'Schöngeisterei' of the geniuses. Thus, underlying patriotic discourse was a subdiscourse containing elements critical of elites or geniuses, a subdiscourse which the scholarly provincial employed in his opposition to the literary figure well-known to the bourgeois public.

Nevertheless, enthusiastic elements and excesses can certainly also be noticed in Becher's treatment of the Siegerland industry, and these indicate that elements of a secularized Pietism did gain entrance to his patriotic way of thinking. But this more or less formal reception and the structural transformation of Pietist emotional excess to the practical interests of the fatherland cannot be explained by regional influences. It seems much more probable that Becher took part in the nationwide debate on patriotism at least receptively¹⁶ so that the structural Pietist elements mentioned above definitely did not result from the immediate regional and local life-world of the author.¹⁷

The charging of the region with symbolism based on the historical dignity of the Siegerland mining and iron industry was able to be further reinforced when Becher additionally paid particular attention to the inhabitants of the territory. He reflected on the region and its inhabitants with enthusiasm by excessively elevating in an aesthetic manner their commercial and private daily life with the ascription of diligence and bourgeois virtues. Interestingly enough, he established a relationship between the diligence of the Siegerland populace and one of the most progressive economic regions in Europe. "Wahr glücklich ist der Siegerländer bei seinem Fleiß. Er ist geschäftig und emsig wie der Holländer."¹⁸ The identical dynastic connections to the Netherlands¹⁹ suggested that the Siegerland populace also shared the character traits of the Dutch. In this way, the dynastic connection could operate as a hinge by means of which the province came into contact with the overseas-oriented, cosmopolitan Liberal

¹⁶ This is supported by the publication of an essay by Becher in Part 7, Vol. XLVII, 273ff. of Schlözer's "Briefwechsel meist historischen und politischen Inhalts", Göttingen 1781. Here, Becher repeats his attacks on Jung-Stilling. Jung-Stilling replied in a very personal tone in Part 10, Vol. 55/56, 56ff.

¹⁷ The following reasons can be brought forward against an interpretation of the rejection of a genius-like attitude as itself an effect of basic Pietist convictions: Becher's biography provides no indication that he was a member of Pietist circles. Such a membership would have been detrimental to his plans for a career in the civil service since both church and state were engaged in combatting the 'separatist' movement. In addition, one could also interpret the aversion against geniuses in reference to denominational, i.e., Reformed or Lutheran motives.

¹⁸ Johann Philipp Becher, *Mineralogische Beschreibung der Oranien-Nassauischen Lande nebst einer Geschichte des Siegenschen Hütten- und Hammerwesens*, Marburg 1789, 510-608, here: 607.

¹⁹ The ruler of Nassau-Oranien was at the same time a governor in the service of the Netherlands. His residence was situated in The

spirit. Thus, Becher provided an example for the way in which the character of the people was determined by linking it to general bourgeois virtues with positive connotations and so did not demand recognition on its own part, i.e., unquestionably. Apparently, Becher encountered these universal values not among the Germans, but among the Dutch so that to him this connection Siegerland/Holland was evident in a two-fold respect: dynastically and normatively.

As proof of this bourgeois industriousness, Becher invited his readers at the end of his remarks on mineralogy to 'take a walk' through the commercially oriented Siegerland countryside.²⁰ He requested that 'one should come and see' for oneself and then continued to lead his reader, along with the Siegerland worker, to the 'rocky ridge of the mountains' from where the aesthetically glorified panorama²¹ of diligence and bourgeois uprightness commenced with a view of the exemplary formation of the countryside. From the crest of the mountains one could observe how the people of the Siegerland area planted forests 'of which the diversified shades of green' were 'a delight to the eye'. In just such a place 'Philomela, driven off by the confusion Thales created' would sing 'her song'. From the mountains one could overlook 'the industriousness of the countryside' and see 'how everything [consisted of] diligence and work'. Then, Becher allowed the gaze of his observer to wander and graze all of the commercial branches of work that people in the valley were engaged in: "[...] den Köhler im Dampf, den Hüttenmann, wie er zu der Glut sich dränget, und nicht das Prasseln der Flamme scheuet, um dem erwarteten Feuer den Weg zu bahnen, [...]." Finally, one noticed "den Bergmann, wie er aus dem Schoose der Erde steigt, der er von ihrem Überfluß zum Wohl seiner Brüder Schätze entwandt, sich mit dankbarem Gefühle des Anblicks des Himmels freut, und zu Gattin und Kindern nach Hause eilet, die ihn mit frohem Herzen empfangen, und sich mit ihm zum fröhlichen Mahle setzen".²² Unmistakably, Klopstock as well as the idylls of Salomon Geßner and Johann Heinrich Voß served as models for Becher's aesthetic glorification of the

²⁰ On the following see Becher, *Mineralogische Beschreibung*, 607f.

²¹ On the elevated, panoramic, military view as a prerequisite of the discovery of beautiful countryside cf. Yves Lacoste, *Wozu dient die Landschaft? Was ist eine schöne Landschaft*, in: Y. L., *Geographie und politisches Handeln. Perspektiven einer neuen Geopolitik*, Berlin 1990. 63-91.

Siegerland working sphere.²³ In their exaltation of bourgeois virtue, domesticity, and diligence Becher had access to a popular reservoir of themes and motives under which he could subsume the ‘primordial’ peculiarities of the Siegerland commercial area.²⁴ But whereas Geßner’s and particularly Voß’ idylls were to be understood as alternative concepts or implicit alternative images of a social reality that had become problematic, Becher did not follow their example here, but, on the contrary, attempted to aesthetically glorify the actual regional conditions as being very special, even excellent, and worthy of being preserved as they were.

Evidently, in opposition to Jung-Stilling Becher attempted to present the Siegerland as a model economic region which had been functioning well for centuries and where the people were quite content. His interpretation was that a sense of community and public good had been harmoniously put into practice there for quite a long time, and so he considered a powerful legislative force to be necessary to put this sensitive system under careful protection. Thus, he rejected those positions on economic policy which within the tradition of an early rationalism connected to the state - a tradition that Jung-Stilling had to be considered as belonging to despite his participation in literary ‘Empfindsamkeit’ - understood the commonweal simply as an aggregated condition of all the circumstances of individual prosperity. To put it briefly: He did not think that public welfare could be attained simply as the sum of individual interests already materialized. Since Becher was able to provide the preservation of the Siegerland economic conditions with historical legitimacy and to prove their orientation to the public good, he thought of himself as someone fighting against the cool-headed utilitarian thinking of an absolutist ‘machine-state’ which normally did not take proven institutions or their preservation into

²³ On the idyll see Gerhard Kaiser, *Von Arkadien bis Elysium*, Göttingen 1978, G. K., *Wandrer und Idylle. Goethe und die Phänomenologie der Natur in der deutschen Dichtung von Geßner bis Keller*, Göttingen 1977; Renate Böschstein, *Idylle*, Stuttgart 1967; Wilfried Lipp, *Natur, Geschichte, Denkmal. Zur Entstehung des Denkmalsbewußtseins der bürgerlichen Gesellschaft*, Frankfurt a. M./ New York 1987, 58-72; Gerhard Hämmerling, *Die Idylle von Geßner bis Voß. Theorie, Kritik und allgemeine geschichtliche Bedeutung*, Frankfurt a. M. and Bern 1981; Anselm Maler, *Versepos*, in: Rolf Grimminger (Ed.), *Hansers Sozialgeschichte der deutschen Literatur Bd.3. Deutsche Aufklärung bis zur Französischen Revolution 1680*, zweiter Teilband, München et al. 2nd Edition 1984, 365-422. On Geßner see: Martin Bircher and Eckard Schinkel (Ed.), *Salomon Geßner 1730-1788. Maler und Dichter der Idylle*. Ausstellungskatalog, Wolfenbüttel 2nd Edition 1982; on Voß see: Christian Diederich Hahn, *Johann Heinrich Voß. Leben und Werk*, Husum 1977.

²⁴ Cf. Maler, *Versepos*, 419: "Im Kult der Häuslichkeit, in den nach Lebensaltern getrennten Sitten, im Arbeitsethos der Personen, im patriarchalischen Verhältnis zwischen Adel und Bürgertum einerseits, zwischen Bürgern und Diensthofen andererseits faßt Voß ein

consideration. Thus, if the preservation of the whole was at the center of his way of thinking, then the interests of the individual were obliged to be subordinate, and an inversion of this argument allows the conclusion that the value of selflessness and altruism was then emphatically increased.

So, if one attempts to explain the traditionally high respect for community spirit and social solidarity in the Siegerland area, the stereotypical and monocausal recourse to the Pietist influences on the region does seem natural, but is by no means necessary. Namely, Becher's remarks allow the conclusion that his idea of the region can be attributed to an Enlightenment correspondingly modified by 'Empfindsamkeit' as well as to a form of patriotism charged with psychological elements. Although no direct or explicit references are made to Moser's sort of 'Reichs'-patriotism, the structural parallels, the historical viewpoint, as well as the deep respect for proven and traditional non-centralist units are striking. In this regard, one can also observe in Becher's anti-rationalist impulse an opposition to absolutism.

Thus, it was the application of these general principles to the 'objective' conditions of the region which paradoxically resulted in the region's distinctive individuality as a comprehensive unity of bourgeois morality and concepts of the public good. Incidentally, this image of the region was by no means exclusively connected to Becher's personal views. On the contrary, once it had been implanted into the regional discourse, it was able to remain stable and to have a good deal of success over a long period of time. Apart from these formative structural elements aimed at a formation of the region regarding the content of its image, one can also find in Becher's writings literary, aesthetic formative elements which contributed to the aesthetic glorification of a presumably harmonious commercial region in which nature and its formation, the working world, and the bourgeois family fused into a unique symbiosis. Aestheticizing diligence and work emotionally charged the region and led to the development of a sort of patriotism emphatically loaded by value-related projections and by its connection to bourgeois virtues.

The result of this inquiry, then, is that toward the end of the 18th century the Siegerland area or the character of its inhabitants was devised as a bourgeois projection, and that thus the specific state of

commerce and the ‘objective’ conditions of the region (mountainous countryside, mining, iron and steel industry) became contaminated with the ubiquitous patriotic code of the German Enlightenment. In the light of this result, one could formulate the more far-reaching thesis that this newly acquired dimension of meaning also remained functional and able to be integrated within later contexts (e.g., denominational, national, ‘völkische’ ones, or within the society of reconstruction after 1945).

In this way, Pietist influences which demonstrably had an effect on patriotic discourse, in particular on the variant oriented to the ‘Reich’, were able - in a very indirect and modified manner - to produce effects or reverberations on the Siegerland area, so to speak, from the outside. Therefore, the concluding thesis is that if it is at all permissible to speak of formative Pietist influences at the end of the 18th century, then, one should differentiate between an external realm mediated by patriotic discourse and the internal life-world sphere existing within the widely dispersed conventicles of the region.²⁵ These two spheres had varying ranges of influence and possibilities to bring about effects. But one can hardly speak of a ‘spirit of capitalism’. On the contrary, it seems much more plausible that Pietist impulses mediated by patriotic discourse, together with a state-related interest in the public welfare and a commitment to bourgeois values, formed as a complex unity a sort of ‘agency’ for the ascription of diligence which was, indeed, aimed at inner-worldly asceticism, but not for the purpose of maximizing profit and reinvestment, which in the last instance would have exceeded the scope of the existing system, but, rather, remained oriented to ‘industrious man’²⁶, satisfied with his own livelihood.²⁷

²⁵ Cf. the essay by Wolfgang Degenhardt in this volume.

²⁶ Michael König, *Der industriöse Mensch. Die Industripädagogik des 18. Jahrhunderts als ein Spiegel der Pädagogik der Gegenwart*, Frankfurt a. M. 1984; see also Hans Medick, *Entlegene Geschichte? Sozialgeschichte und Mikro-Historie im Blickfeld der Kulturanthropologie*, in: Joachim Matthes (Ed.), *Zwischen den Kulturen. Die Sozialwissenschaften vor dem Problem des Kulturvergleichs*, Göttingen 1992, 167-178, especially 172ff.

²⁷ Cf. Paul Münch (Ed.), *Ordnung, Fleiß und Sparsamkeit. Texte und Dokumente zur Entstehung der bürgerlichen Tugenden*, München 1984; P. M., *Lebensformen in der frühem Neuzeit*, Frankfurt a. M. and Berlin 1992, 191-232 and 355-413; P. M., *Parsimonia summum est vectigal - Sparen ist ein ryche gült. Sparsamkeit als Haus-, Frauen- und Bürgertugend*, in: Hans-Jürg Braun (Ed.), *Ethische Perspektiven: "Wandel der Tugenden"*, Zürich 1989, 169-187; Rudolf Schenda, *Fleissige Deutsche, fleissige Schweizer. Bemerkungen zur Produktion eines Tugendensyndroms seit der Aufklärung*, in: *ibid.*, 189-209; R. S., *Die Verfleißigung des Deutschen. Materialien zur Indoktrination eines Tugendbündels*, in: Uta Jäschke/Gottfried Korff/Martin Scharf/Bernd Jürgen Wernicke et al. (Ed.), *Volkskultur in*

The importance of a regional narrative. Historical writing and thinking in the Swedish province Småland during the 18:th – 20:th centuries

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A few years ago, in the late 1980s, Swedish historical science was evaluated in a large survey. The results, if we speak of local and regional history, were not a surprise to anyone. Regional and local history is used as means to show or explain something general on another (often called higher) level - namely the national. Swedish history is in many ways very national (but not necessarily nationalistic) and has been so at least since the turn of this century. The man who led the evaluation of this particular branch of Swedish history was a Norwegian and he wanted to see more of "real" local and regional history i. e. a historical writing where the aim of the studies is to describe and understand a local or regional society or community on its own conditions and premises. In Great Britain you can find the principal division into local history *per se* on one hand and national history localized on the other, and we can easily use this division for local history in Sweden as well. The evaluator found that Swedish historians were very much into national history localized and he wanted more of local history *per se*.¹

¹ The evaluation I am referring to is Hans Try, *Lokal og regional historie*, in *Historia i belysning. Sex perspektiv på svensk historisk forskning*. Utgiven av HSFR i samarbete med UHÄ (1988). Regarding the discussion of Local history *per se* and National history localized see Eva Österberg, *Kusinen från landet – universiteten och den lokala historien* in *...och fram träder landsbygdens människor... Studier i småländsk och nordisk historia tillägnade Lars-Olof Larsson på 60-årsdagen den 15 november 1994* (1994) and H. P. R. Finberg, *Local History in Approaches to history*, edited by Finberg (1962)

The picture is quite different if we glance at some of our Scandinavian neighbours. In Finland and Norway local/regional history *per se* is one of the more vivid branches of historical science - of course among a number of others. The same goes for Denmark; even though local and regional history *per se* is not as strong as in the two countries just mentioned, in comparison with Sweden Danish historical science has a quite vivid local and regional history writing. In Denmark we also find many local and regional archives open to the public and of course also available for researchers from an academic milieu. The explanations used to understand this difference between the Scandinavian countries is partly an idea that old, and self-secure, national states tend to get a weak local history, partly ideas of strong and vivid local and regional history in countries where this type of history writing has been used in the struggle of becoming a "free" national state. The idea is that Norway used the local and regional history writing to prove or show how Danes and Swedes oppressed the Norwegian spirit, and that this spirit yet survived, and the same goes for Finland although the oppressors here were the Swedes and the Russians.²

We have in Sweden an enormous interest in history in general but also in local and regional history. Quite many publications on local and regional history are published every year, but if we talk about History as a science, i. e. History as an academic subject for scholars doing their research at the universities, very little of local and regional history *per se* is produced. Of course there are studies but they have the character of national history localized. The large number of local history is to be found outside the academic discipline, in a non-professional milieu - in local or regional society itself. Here of course we find the *per se* history, but actually many examples of national history localized as well. This amateur history writing is mainly considered as inferior history and mostly regarded as very conservative or even reactionary, trying to protect, preserve or even recreate the "old", non-industrialized, society dominated by

² Presentations concerning Local and Regional History in Sweden and Scandinavia, apart from Try and Österberg, in Sören Klingnéus, *Lokalhistoria – historieskrivning på bredden in Clio i lokalsmhället. Högskolekursen som mötesplats för den lokalhistoriska forskningen. Örebro studies 6* (1988) and Carl Göran Andræ *Lokalhistoria i dagens kulturliv in Nordisk lokalhistoria, seminarierapport 4* (1988)

the peasantry. This picture of non-academic history is of course not the whole truth.

Hundreds of historical societies on both regional and local basis are to be found everywhere in Sweden, they differ a lot when it comes to the aim and goals they are working for and when it comes to the quality of the books produced (at least if we put the academic writing as the standard way to write). However, in the province Småland alone (with some seven hundred thousand inhabitants) we have today over one hundred such societies, very few of them are based in towns but are instead concentrated to the countryside and go under the name *hembygdsförening* (A *hembygdsförening* is a sort of local historical and cultural heritage society). Many of these societies have their own book series. The examples of this type of societies and their publications are many and I shall only mention some, chosen to show how widespread they are when it comes to the area they are dealing with and at the same time stress that not all of them are genuine *hembygdsföreningar* : *Skatelövskrönikan* – deals with one parish, *Värendsbygd* – deals with eight parishes, *Kronobergsboken* – deals with the county, *Skrifter utgivna av Historiska föreningen i Kronobergs län* – deals mainly with the county and partly with the province Småland, *Växjö stifts hembygdskalender* – deals with the diocese, but in this publication the present is also represented, not only the past.³ In general the perception of this type of books and publications is that they are nothing or little worth when it comes to the science of History – they are the amateur's playground.

To sum up: the main idea is that we have a very good and professional regional and local history writing in Finland and Norway, in Denmark we have good regional history writing but in Sweden it is mainly the amateurs who are writing and working with local and regional history. History regarding towns, however, is one

³ If I should dare try to translate the titles of the publications used in this example it would result in something like this: *Skatelövskrönikan* – Chronicle over the parish Skatelöv, *Värendsbygd* – A district of the Folkland Varend, *Kronobergsboken* – The museum of the county of Kronoberg year book, *Skrifter utgivna av Historiska föreningen i Kronobergs län* – Books from the historical society of the county of Kronoberg, *Växjö stifts hembygdskalender* - The year book of the diocese of Växjö

of Swedish academic historians' old favourite subject and we are considered to be the best in Scandinavia when it comes to this special form of local history (at least according to the already quoted survey of Swedish historical science made in the 1980s).

But if we want to widen the perspective at least for a while and look back a couple of hundred years, the picture becomes quite different. When dealing with a period from the 1710s to, let us say, the 1920s, there is no idea to divide the historical writing, and the writers, into amateurs and professionals, because from one point of view all historians were more or less amateurs until the academic discipline "History" and the historians representing it became professionalised. This is of course a process which is ongoing and perhaps accelerates with Niebuhr and Ranke. Talking about Sweden we sometimes date the end of this process to the first two decades of our century.

The survey and the ideas I am involved with when writing my doctoral thesis are historiographical - it concerns the history of history to put it in another way. I am trying to examine local history in Sweden in general and in the province Småland in particular. I am also trying to see how history was used. I, and of course not I alone, mean that all history produced is supposed to be used for something. As already mentioned the period which I examine starts approximately 1710 and ends 1920 or 1930 or something like that. Since I am a historiographer it is easy to get around the problem or the question whether I am dealing with and making local/regional history *per se* or national history localized. But since the particular form of history that we call historiography is glancing at the historical writing from above or von Oben (or at least we try to believe that), I myself think that I do both these things - by writing and examining the local history of Sweden I am in a way also creating it and giving it life.⁴

Now I would like to mention one idea or ideology that is most important to understand and have in mind when dealing with the historiography of Sweden - I am talking about the idea of the Goths

⁴ The ideas, perspectives and problems I am dealing with in this work are presented in an unpublished seminar paper at the Department of History at Lund University in May 1993: *Talade Clio rikssvenska? En historiografisk analys av Smålands lokalhistoria och dess föfattare*.

and the gothicism. The core of this ideology is that the Goths famous or infamous all over Europe - "the Ostrogothus" in Italy and "Los Visigodos" in Spain - are the same as the peoples *östgötar* and *västgötar* in Sweden i.e. people from the provinces Östergötland and Västergötland. The brave successful Goths (at least in some perceptions) who conquered all of Europe were really from Sweden! We know for a fact that these ideas were discussed and known in Sweden in the late Middle Ages, they are articulated heavily during the second part of the 15th century during the different periods when Karl Knutsson Bonde was king. Then in the 1550s we have the voluminous book on Swedish history written by Johannes Magnus, the last Catholic archbishop of Sweden, *Chronicle over the Swedish and Gothic Kings*. This book was of course published in Latin, but in 1620, under direct orders from the king Gustavus Adolphus, a Swedish translation was edited. The most extreme idea within Gothicism appeared during the 1690s when a man at Uppsala university claimed that Atlantis which Plato described did not sink into the sea or the ocean, it only disappeared slowly from the general collective memory of man, but was actually Sweden! This idea of the home of the Goths in Sweden and Sweden as a paradise lost died in 1718 when the king Karl XII was shot dead and Sweden as a Great Power died with him.⁵

You could easily argue that Sweden from the late Middle Ages and until the early 18th century was preoccupied with the search for or, if you like, the making of an old, not to say ancient, history. This was necessary and crucial for the new national state Sweden which arose in 1520 or so, and likewise necessary to the Great Power Sweden playing or acting on the European scene in the 1630s during the Thirty Years war.

This search of a history or an identity of course affected Swedish cultural life in general during these years, and the idea of the Goths as Swedes was almost everywhere accepted as the plain truth - in Sweden that is.

In 1666 we got a new law in Sweden concerning the protection of antiquities and ancient monuments. In the same year the Royal

⁵ Swedish gothicism is described and discussed in Gunnar Eriksson, *The Atlantic Vision. Olaus Rudbeck and Baroque science* (1994) and in Johan Nordström, *De Visiberna 3. Sjöstenhudsstudier (1924)*

Academy of Antiquities orders the bishops and the clergy in all of Sweden to investigate and search for antiquities, ancient monuments, documents, coins and so on. The Academy also stressed that the priests should ask the people or the peasantry for the history and the stories told in connection to the monuments found in the search. The priests were not supposed to do this on their own, the laymen of the parishes should also be involved in this investigation. The laymen involved in this were all farmers or peasants. This inventory of coins, antiquities and history was carried out during the following years.

The aim of this operation was perhaps not primarily hand to save and preserve antiquities but to gather as much of valuable metals as possible - gold, silver copper, bronze and so on. But the Academy of Antiquities was also interested in gathering material for the project of producing a new big illustrated "History of Sweden". This particular project was never carried out totally, it was only the illustrations that finally were published in the early 18th century under the name *Svecia Antiqua et Hodierna* –The old and the present Sweden. The project is a very good example of national history localized. The work and research carried out by the priests and the laymen in all parishes in Sweden among many other officials and voluntaries was meant to result in a big national description of Sweden.

This interest shown by the officials in Stockholm must have effected the clergy and the peasantry in the parishes in Sweden. Now - if not before - they were officially told that history that existed, and the histories told, in the provinces were something valuable and something worth bothering about. It was not only in the field of antiquities and history that the successful early modern state wanted to get a grip on itself, many new institutions were created during the 17th century. One example is *The Royal land-surveying office* (Lantmäteriverket) that, apart from literally mapping the whole kingdom also got instructions to mark antiquities on the maps they were producing. A new type of literature was born when the interest for history and antiquities met with the activities at the land-surveying office - The topographical-historical description. They come "en masse" from the 1690s and onward.

These topographical-historical descriptions were at first published and written in Latin but from the second half of the 18:th century most of them are published in Swedish. And thus, from the mid 18th century, we have a more regular publication activity concerning local or regional history. The type of areas or regions described in historical/topographical books is presented in Table 1. The table is based upon the 101 books on the history of Småland which were printed in Swedish during 1710 – 1930; the some 15 or 20 ones written i Latin are not included.

As shown in Table 1, local history books where a town (stad) is the aim of the study or description is common during the whole period. They hold approximately 1/3 of all published books. Studies dealing with one parish or two or three parishes together (socken/pastorat) is also very common. That towns and parishes should be at the top is maybe not a surprise, at least not to those dealing with the historiography of Swedish history. More interesting is that the numbers for the categories Hundred and "Folkland" are so relatively high. These two are medeival (or perhaps older) organizatorial forms. They were both a type of area part of the more federative medieval Sweden and connected at the same time to the judicial system and to the civil federalistic society dominated by the peasantry. The "Folkland" disappear as an important organization form during the late Middle Ages, at least from the crowns point of view, when the new national law of king Magnus Eriksson is presented and accepted in all of Sweden from the second half of the 14th century and onwards - probably even earlier. The hundreds got a new, somewhat different, role in the "new" Sweden, the national state emerging in the early 16th century, so perhaps it is not strange that they still are the aim for surveys and descriptions in the period 1710 – 1930.

Table 1. The publications on the province Småland 1710–1930 divided according to the area decribed and examined

Area examined	Publications 1710-1799	1800-1899	1900-1930	Total 1710-1930
Town	2	12	20	34
Parish/parishes	3	4	20	27
Hundred (Sw. Härad)	1	5	6	12
"Folkland"	1	4	3	8
Diocese	1	3	1	5
Densely inhabited area *	—	—	4	4
County	—	—	1	1
Other **	2	3	5	10
Total	10	31	60	101

* This category consists of areas, districts, market towns, larger villages and so on. In Swedish they all could be classified as "orter", which is a densely inhabited area in the countryside.

** This category contains publications hard to classify, since they are not dealing that much with distinct and clearly defined areas.

However, it is fascinating that the category folkland still is the natural (?) starting point for a historical description four and even five hundred years after they disappeared from the national scene. But perhaps the most interesting result of putting these 101 books together in a table like this is what is not written about or examined. Since there is only one example (and in our, the 20:th century) we can see that the county is not a natural framework for a historical description, and there is not a single example of a description which has the province Småland (landskapet Småland) as investigation area. One of the 101 books in Table 1 is actually called *Historisk beskrivning om Småland* (A historical description of Småland) but this book, published in mid the 18th century, is only dealing with parts of the province, namely the diocese of Växjö. This is also mentioned already in the subtitle of the book. Then of course we must bear in mind that the provinces (landskapen) are a rather new creation, it was not really until the reign of king Gustaf Vasa and his sons that the provinces became important in the concept Sweden

even though the idea of provinces existed already in the medieval Sweden. Even more recent are the counties, they are administrative areas created in the 1630s.⁶

To put it short: the counties and the provinces are neither considered as meaningful research objects nor (probably) considered as an essential community for the people living within the borders of the large province Småland. Perhaps it is so that provinces and counties are really imagined communities, imagined in Stockholm, the center of the nation state Sweden, and in Stockholm alone. The territories important to people living their lives in the provinces and in the counties are not the province and not the county but the old, smaller, areas or divisions. Perhaps they seem more natural or obvious to think as units or at least they are experienced that way.⁷

It is important to remember that the discussion and hypotheses above are only based on the area which the publications and their authors are dealing with. A more thorough examination of the contents, themes, subjects treated and the way the source material is handled by the historians will probably result in a more complex and complete picture.

Another question that affects history writing and the possibility to be able to print the work done, is of course the circumstances and conditions regarding censorship, the book market – in short how to publish and at the same time make some money (at least not losing too much). All these possibilities and laws controlling the book market is too complicated to explain in a few sentences. Instead I will use these words left to say something about the associations

⁶ The big inventory of the past and the history writing in the 17:th century is discussed in Håkan Nordmark, *101x Småland. De lokalhistoriska verken och deras författare: något om bok- och publiceringsfloden 1720-1940* (Unpublished seminar paper at the Department of History at Lund University in May 1995). Table 1. and the discussions regarding the publications on the local and regional history of Småland is also from this unpublished seminar paper.

⁷ There is of course a vast number of books dealing with the issue of history, identity, myth and so on, therefore I will only mention Benedict Andersons *Imagined Communities, Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (1991) and *The Invention of Tradition*. edited by Eric J Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger (1992)

and societies that made history writing a bit easier by publishing book series and keeping up the interest for history and the past in general by their work. In the 1860s we got the first associations examining and trying to collect and preserve the different dialects and regional/local accents used in the Swedish provinces. These so called *Dialekt- och ortnamnsföreningar* were typical associations i. e. the membership was voluntary, but the aim of the association was collective for the good of the nation and the people of the nation. We can see the very obvious connection between language, history and the nation known from the nationalistic movements of the 19th century. The odd thing here is maybe that we are not talking of one national language, the native tongue of the Swedes, but the native tongues (or rather accents and dialects) of the Swedes.

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The step from collecting words and language to collecting antiquities and ancient artefacts was not a long one, and of course it was taken. After twenty years, in the 1880s all "dialect associations" were either dead or transformed into museum associations whose first obligation was to create and then to keep and administrate a local or province museum. One of the first museums outside Stockholm was "Smålands museum" (The museum of Småland) in Växjö founded already in 1864. While these new local and regional museums became established there is a struggle or fight going on between the central and the local and regional interest. What serves the nation and the people of the nation best? A private local museum collecting, displaying and preserving artefacts, antiquities, ethnographics and folklore from the provinces and the counties or one enormous collection owned and supplied by the state (and of course placed in the capital). Worth to mention is that several of the local/regional museums were planned to function as research institutions for scientists, and that they were supposed to be open to

⁸ The perspective and ideas regarding this are directly inspired by Eric J Hobsbawms ideas as presented and discussed in *Nations and nationalsim since 1780. Programme, Myth and Reality* (1990) and, partly , by Benedict Andersen, *Imagined Communities, Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (1991)

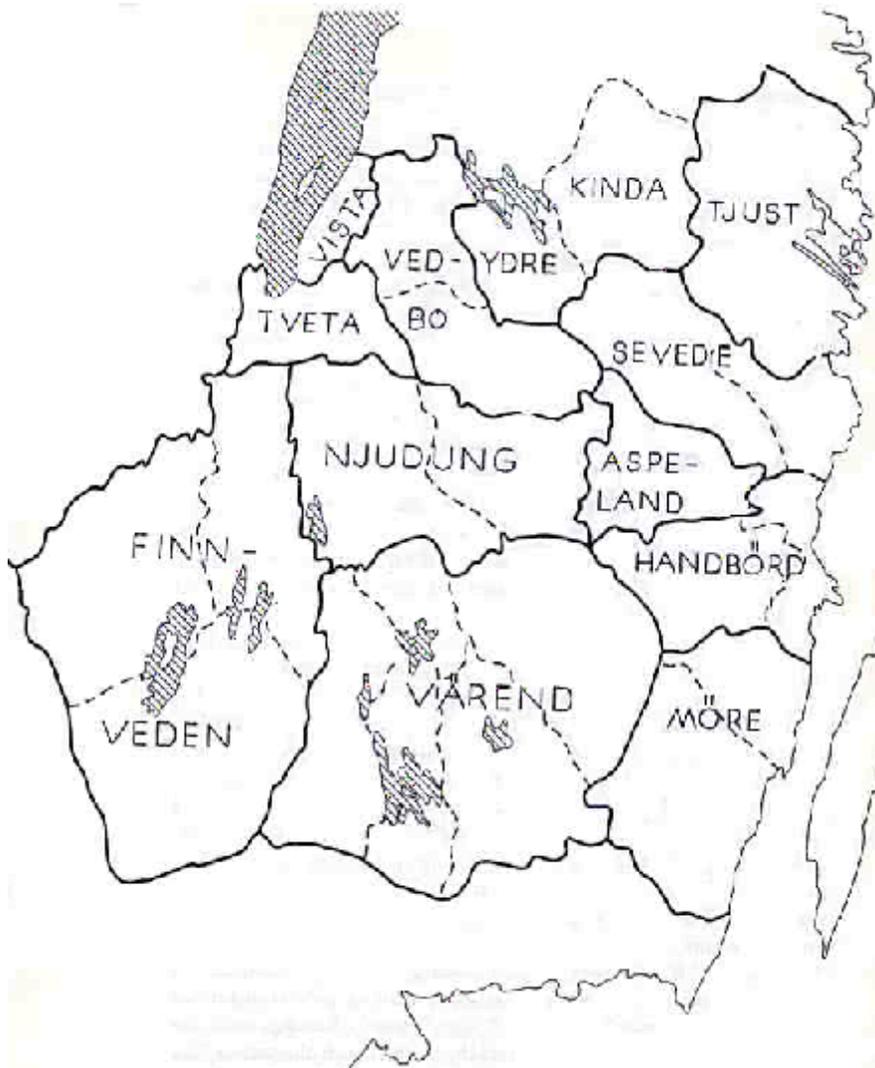
the public, the artefacts in the museum were considered as belonging to the public as a whole.⁹

To put it short: this struggle was won by the central side. When the professionalized academic discipline history is born history in Sweden is tantamount to Political history and local and regional history is more or less excluded. The same goes for cultural history in general. New disciplines at the Swedish universities during the first decades of our century are Ethnology and Folklore, Economic History and History of Ideas and Sciences and you could put it that way that these new disciplines take care of the professional interest in local and regional history in general, but within the broad field of Cultural History.

The non-academic interest in local and regional history is instead "administrated" by small local or regional societies called *Hembygdsföreningar* – Societies of local history and culture. The 1920s and the 1930s are the golden age of these societies and they are often connected to only one parish.

All of this lead us to contemporary Sweden that is a nation-state which is very national and very local at the same time, since the conception of Sweden or Swedish nationalism in a way is the result of a strong localism and regionalism vivid during a period of several hundreds of years but a weak one at the moment of the birth of the modern Sweden at the turn of this century.

⁹ The Swedish associations as a phenomenon are investigated and discussed in Torkel Jansson, *Adertonhundratalets associationer. Forskning och problem kring ett sprängfullt tomrum eller sammanslutningsprinciper och föreningsformer mellan två samhällsformationer 1800-1870 (1985)*



Map showing the borders of the medieval folkland in our days provinces Småland and Östergötland. The names *Värend*, *Njudung*, *Aspeland* and so on are the names of the Folkland and you can also see the smaller division Härad (jurisdictional district) within the folkland. The name of the province Småland is given by the neighbours living up north in the provinces Östergötland and Västergötland who talked of many "small lands" (Sw. Små land) in the south. The map after Larsson 1974.

*Small-town Enlightenment.
Bürgerliche Öffentlichkeit, Discipline
and Modernity in Växjö 1810-20.
An attempt to write macro-micro
history.
Mats Höglund*

The Enlightenment - A widened conception

Studies made on the Enlightenment have traditionally been focused on the great 18th century philosophers. Inspired by English and to some extent German ideas, men like Voltaire, d'Alembert and Diderot and their more or less common ideas captured within the work of "the Great Encyclopaedia" have been regarded as The Enlightenment. In debates and well formulated programs they stood up against what they saw as obdurate stupidity, religious misconceptions and intolerance; ingredients they found in society around them.

What was their more or less common ground of ideas? On the one hand they had a strong belief in science and scientific method to seek truth beyond myth and to be able to control the present and the future. At the same time a profound scepticism brought tolerance and humanity into the enlightened front line and demands for freedom of thought and speech (although within strict limits!) and freedom of religion was claimed by "les Philosophes". This made the enlightenment into a challenge not only to the court and the church, but to a whole social structure built upon the belief that position and tradition gave the legitimate power to speak. The ideal of rational discussion abandoned former ways of looking at speech and power, and contained the idea that the best argument should

King. A mixture between sceptical science and human rights developed.

In short; The Enlightenment was – according to *Peter Gay* who can be regarded as a good representative of the traditional perspective – a politically radical and well-defined group of people in the mid 18th century France who opposed the old regime and its values with great skill and some success. The same narrow definition of the Enlightenment is made by *Tore Frängsmyr*, who therefore easily can erase Sweden from the enlightened map.¹

But there has been parallel attempts to widen the conception and to see enlightenment as something that went very deep into society. It has been seen as a specific spirit in time which was rooted within broader groups in the 18th century – ”The Age of Reason”. It has also been considered as the start of modern thinking built upon rationality, science, humanism and tolerance.²

In recent years the interest of Popular Culture and the ideas within it have been put high up on the agenda of historical science. The interest in the social history from below, which was emerging during the 1960s, and the focus on mental and cultural history from the 1980s, has very much inflicted and inspired the debate on the so called “low enlightenment”. The questions have been: to what extent did enlightened thoughts reach ordinary people, and what happened to the ideas when they got there? How was the message of the Enlightenment – science, rationalism, relativism and tolerance - received within the masses, and what happened to these thoughts when they reached less educated groups in society?

Robert Darnton's studies around the book market in France during the years before the revolution is of great importance. He investigates how highly enlightened thought fits in to the harsh situation of the common people, and how poor libellers and writers,

1 Peter Gay. *The Enlightenment. An Interpretation.* vol. 1 ”Introduction”. London 1966-69. Tore Frängsmyr, *Sökandet efter Upplysningen. En essä om 1700-talets svenska kulturdebatt.* 13–32, 181–185. (1993)

2 See for example Norman Hampson, *Upplysningen. En analys av dess attityder och värden.* s. 13, 40, 1002 (orig.: *The Enlightenment.* 1968) Margaret Jacob

to earn a living, use it within a popular culture and its wide-spread hatred against king and nobility.³

In Sweden the economic historian *Arne Jarrick* seeks to find out how the enlightened ideas were received among the people of 18th-century Stockholm. He uses diaries written by a journeyman, Johan Hjärpe, who Jarrick thinks represents more than just himself. Jarrick's conclusion is that not much of the enlightened "programme" tallied with the ideas of Hjärpe: they were much more tied to tradition. However, he had to deal with these new thoughts which came to him through books and newspapers, and in his struggle to resist and fight them, he unwillingly became a part of the creation of Modernity — he had to put his own world view under reflection.⁴

Independent of how wide or narrow science chooses to define the Enlightenment, it has most commonly been connected with some kind of bourgeois life style in a city environment. Based on Kant's definition of enlightenment as "man's withdrawal from his self-assumed incapacity", *Peter Aronsson* has been able to incorporate the Swedish self-owning peasant within the Enlightenment. Far away from educated talk in literate saloons the peasants formed a political culture on a self assurance towards the social elite, which made them a strong power during the 19th century. But they did not incorporate a great deal of the enlightened content. Instead they were often very conservative towards changes and built their beliefs in tradition. It was their way of talking that made the self-owning peasant a part of enlightenment. A voice reminding of the ideal of "bürgerliche Öffentlichkeit", in which the arguments are the determining factor, and not by whom they are made.⁵

What position do I take in this discussion about the definition of the concept Enlightenment? Well, I think it depends on what you want to describe with the concept. Make the definition too narrow

³ Robert Darnton. *Boken i rännstenen. Bland författare, kolportörer och boktryckare i Upplysningstidens undre värld.* s. 7–10. 1984. (orig. *The literary Underground of the Old Regime.* 1982)

⁴ Arne Jarrick. *Mot det moderna förnuftet. Johna Hjärpe och andra småborgare i Upplysningstidens Stockholm.* s. 186–194. 1992.

⁵ Peter Aronsson. "Bönderna och Upplysningen. En historia med förhinder?" Article in *Upplysningens miljöer. Ett nordiskt perspektiv.* Uppsala, 1992.

and you do not use the strength of the conception. Make it too wide and there is a risk that it includes everything — and nothing at the same time. I think that you have to connect your way of using "enlightenment" with the specific object that you are studying, and also see how the historical subjects are using it in their time and space.

The Dialectics of Enlightenment

My own work aims to see how enlightened thought and "modernity" affected and at the same time were created in local society of Växjö and its surroundings in the beginning of the 19th century. With this task in front of me I of course have to see enlightenment as something wider than a radical movement in the mid-18th century. Both space and time make that necessary. Växjö was not Paris, and its inhabitants were not really like Voltaire, even if some of them wanted to.

On the other hand, the town was integrated in a movement towards a new society and away from an old. New ideas came to town, new institutions were established and old ones changed their content. These new and renovated arenas became a hotbed for a new way of talking, for a new modern discourse related to a "Bürgerliche Öffentlichkeit".

At the same time a new asylum was built a bit outside of town, where rational discourse had a whole lot different effect on its subjects than liberation. The history of discipline is parallel to the one of freedom, a duality often described in different stories but seldom brought together.⁶

My theoretical starting points are tied to this paradox in modern society and to the conviction that the history and development of modern society is the history of these two different but deeply related forces, both living within the same social context and both having an effect on society. "The dialectics of Enlightenment."

⁶ Marshall Berman discusses the duality of modernity in *All that is Solid Melts into Air. The Experience of Modernity*. 1982. See also the classical work of Max Horkheimer and Theodor W. Adorno; *Upplysningens dialektik*. 1981. (orig. *Dialektik der Aufklärung* 1944)

The "bright Enlightenment"

The history of Enlightenment has very much been the history of humanity, civilisation, improvement, reform and development of both man and society. From the ages of darkness and oppression man stepped into the light and created a better society built on individuality and humanity. Modern man is born.

A theoretically firm reflection, taking this bright look at Enlightenment, is made by Jürgen Habermas both in his work with the ideal of "Bürgerliche Öffentlichkeit" and his more recent work on the rationality of language. Historically he has defined the bourgeois' appearance during the 18th and 19th centuries and its ideal of rational discussions between equal participants making the best decisions, as somewhat of the high point of mankind. This ideal got its form and content in Liberal news papers, clubs and associations during the first half of the 19th century and were then, according to Habermas, slowly and brutally killed by mass society.⁷

The "dark Enlightenment"

A far more pessimistic picture of the consequences of modernity is given by Michel Foucault. Instead of seeing it as the starting point of rationalistic discussion leading to a brighter future, he focuses on the darker sides of modernism. He is not at all alone in this effort. Historically men have constantly been reacting to what they have seen as the backyard of modernity. We have got Rousseau, we have got Romance and we have got the green movement of today. Foucault himself can be seen as a part of a postmodern streak, very strongly criticising modernism and its self-righteousness and its conviction that by knowing history it can predict the future.

Foucault's modern history is the history of prisons, asylums, hospitals and the oppression of sexuality. It is the history of the power to decide the agenda of the discourse, which gives the power

⁷ Jürgen Habermas. Borgerlig offentlighet. kategorierna "privat" och "offentligt" i det moderna samhället. 1984. (orig. *Strukturwandel der Öffentlichkeit: Untersuchungen zu einer Kategorie der bürgerlichen Gesellschaft*. 1962.) Habermas. *Kommunikativt handlande. Texter om språk, rationalitet och samhälle*. 1990. (ed. Anders Melander)

to define truth and right. It is far away from the ideal rational and open discussion within *bürgerliche Öffentlichkeit*.⁸

These two aspects of modernity, these two sides of the same coin will be my theoretical basis during my research. To see enlightenment as both bright and dark powers which together create modern society. My idea is to keep the enlightened side on the one hand, and the disciplinary side on the other as rather stiff models in my investigation. My aim is then to see what expressions they take in a town and region, and how they conflict and co-operate in the making of a modern identity in a local society.⁹

Växjö and Modernity

Växjö — a suitable object in space and time

With the idea of the "two enlightenments" as theoretical tool I have begun to investigate enlightenment and modernity within the town of Växjö in the beginning of the 19th century. My aim is to reconstruct the world of a small town bourgeoisie by looking at its values, finding its influences, getting a grip over the local conflicts and above all, to investigate small town Public Sphere.

Växjö is suitable for this kind of research for several reasons.

- Firstly; the social and administrative structure of the town has generated a vast **empirical material**. Växjö was the centre of state power in the county of Kronoberg, with quite a large bureaucracy. It was also the centre of the church, with a closely linked school. The inhabitants of the town, dominated by the trades- and craftsmen had their own civic administration and court. There were also a hospital in town and an asylum in the close surroundings.
- Secondly; the **small size** makes it possible to keep a close control on the inhabitants, especially as my main interest will be concentrated to a small elite group of the society. As I want to

⁸ See for example Michel Foucault. *Sexualitetens historia, del 1. Viljan att veta*. 1980. [orig. *Histoire de la sexualité 1: La volonté de savoir*. 1976)

⁹ This theoretical approach is very much inspired by Peter Aronson

reconstruct the bourgeois life of the small town this close look is necessary.

- Thirdly; This structure not only generates a vast material, it also gives the chance to see the relations between **different social groups** within local society and to see how these groups are acting for or against the ideas of enlightenment and modernity. Again, the small size is necessary to be able to follow the conflicts and contrasts, and to see who is for the new and who is against it. I think that there often can be ambivalence towards the changes in society even within the same individual, and to find that ambivalence also demands a really concentrated study.
- Fourthly; Växjö is a **regional centre** with great influences on the surrounding country side. Getting a grip on the specific discourse of modernity of the small town bourgeoisie gives opportunity to study the confrontation between a spatial identity influenced by the specific characteristics of regions like the county of Kronoberg and the province Småland, and the all-embracing and general ambitions of the Enlightenment.
- Fifthly; studies made on **small town enlightenment** are rather unusual, at least in Sweden, and therefore this investigation can contribute to something new and fresh.
- Sixthly; the **time** can be very well motivated — 1810 to 1820. It is in some sense the beginning of a public sphere in town, which gives me a good chance to see what forms it had and how it was received and adopted into society and what conflicts it gave rise to. The early 19th century is also a time when bourgeois clubs and associations have not really got a strong hold of society.

In short; what I aim to do is to confront the metatheories of Habermas and Foucault and to see how they both function and produce meaning within the narrow social and spatial frame of Växjö in the beginning of the 19th century. A "macro-micro" historical study.

Wexiö Bladet — A good starting point

My first concrete empirical work has been to examine the first newspaper in town - *Wexiö Bladet*, founded in 1810, the same year as freedom of the press was prescribed by Swedish law.

This rather typical province paper which came out once a week to its 122 subscribers, gives a good starting point in my search for enlightenment. The paper itself is an expression of bürgerliche Öffentlichkeit and the creation of a public sphere, with no real analogy in previous society. It gives me a good start on solid ground within the scientific frames of Enlightenment.

The content

What then did the new paper contain? The informative function was of great importance. Commercial information about local markets, market prices and auctions were published and ads on amusements and vacant work occurred. But Wexiö Bladet was by no means just an advertisement paper, far from it.

The news were central. The readers were rather well-informed about the world around them. Reports from Napoleon's campaigns through Europe were mixed with more distant stories on Arabic and Indian ways of living which gave the reader the opportunity to reflect not only on the world around him, but also on his own culture and way of living. Reflection bearing a potency of change.

But the paper not only functioned as an information channel. It was also an arena for local debate. The passion for literature and especially poetry was given much space, and long debates took place on the moral content and stylistic form of poems. Also the poet himself often got a rough treatment.

Also the more practical problems of society got space in the paper. Discussions were held on agriculture and forestry, and on different communal matters and jurisdiction and economy. In these debates I have seen a strive for reaching the best solutions, a belief in the rationality of speech.

In the debates the readers often alluded to, and took support in the great thinkers of the time, showing both that they were well-educated and at pace with time. Also you see a very clear mixture between enlightenment with its focus on utility and rationality and a romantic side with a passion for nation and entirety.

The Readers

Who read the paper? My tentative guess that it was an elite group of society showed very much to be true. Civil servants, priests and teachers, craftsmen and artisans and a couple of officers are on the subscription list containing 122 names. Most of the subscribers are also living in town. The only real outsiders on the list are a peasant and an innkeeper.

The latter gives a chance to speculate a bit on the circulation of the paper. Maybe its presence in the town inn gave an audience of common people access to the paper. This assumption seems very plausible when you know that rather often there are advertisements in the paper searching for workers for simpler jobs. Here is a connection between a bourgeois public sphere and a plebeian one.

When you discuss the spreading of the paper you must not think the only the subscribers were the readers. That is not the situation today, and it was even less the situation in the beginning of the 19th century. Reading was very much a collective matter, and reading aloud was a central part of the culture. What we see is a society in-between a culture of speech and a culture of writing.

This is just a few aspects of what a study of the paper can give. Much more is waiting to be examined regarding to content, form, language and readers. A comparative study of some of the competing newspapers in Våxjö gives a good understanding of a small-town public sphere in action. It also gives a good insight in local and regional conflict areas outside the paper which guides me to future areas of research.¹⁰

Finally; I hope my intention to confront two among themselves conflicting theories with a close study on small town and regional practice at a time of change will deepen the understanding of what a modern identity is and, maybe even more important, how it is created.

¹⁰ The reseach results are based on Wexiö Bladet 1810–14.

The Provincial Press and Regional Political Culture

Per-Olof Andersson

It is well known that the publishing of newspapers is connected with a special dilemma. The root of the problem lies in the inherent conflict between the ambition to run the firm with economic success and at the same time fulfil the function of shaping and mediating opinions. These two factors are intimately connected and can hardly be isolated from each other.¹

From one point of view it is obvious that the publisher of a paper has to consider those special patterns of value that dominate the area in which the paper is published. But at the same time the press also constitutes a potential force to influence and change these patterns.

The primary object of my studies is to examine the relations between the provincial press and regional political culture. To what extent does the political culture set out the limits of what is possible to express in the newspapers? In the end this is very much a question of the autonomy of the press. The question is whether the papers are completely ruled by the frames set out by the political and cultural patterns of value that dominate the area, or if it is possible for them to expand the limits. To put it differently: do they only conserve the existing patterns or do they take part in shaping a regional identity?

This kind of questions has seldom been focused in previous research of the press in Sweden. The interest has mostly been concentrated to the press in the three largest cities, and the research concerning provincial press has to a large degree consisted of studies of single newspapers, usually such papers that have been economically successful. In other words it is mostly the history of

1 For a further discussion of the dual functions of the press see Åke Abrahamsson: *Ljus och frihet till näringsfång. Om tidningsväsendet, arbetarrörelsen och det sociala medvetandets sociologi. exemplet Stockholm 1828-1860. (diss.) 1990.*

the "victorious part" that has been written. To be able to get a general picture of the functions of the press, I think it is necessary also to bring into the light the losing alternatives, the projects that never succeeded.

The studies of the press must furthermore, I believe, to a larger degree take their starting point at the local and regional level. The conditions for the press in the major cities are in many ways radically different from those concerning the provincial press. For this reason it is not possible to mechanically adapt the results from studies of the former group on to the latter. In other words the provincial press must be studied with consideration of its own conditions.²

To make it possible to perform this kind of studies I believe it is necessary to have a stable empirical ground to stand on. Such conditions do not exist at the time, and therefore have to be created. I see it as one of my prime tasks to contribute to this empirical ground.

The object for my studies is the local press in Västergötland and the county of Kronoberg during the period of approximately 1880-1910. This province is specially interesting because of the conservative character of the patterns of values that for a long time dominated here.

The period of time in question is in many ways revolutionary, characterized as it is by an accelerating degree of industrialization, the rise of popular movements and a beginning party politicisation. But the new movements of the time were not successful everywhere in the country. In large parts of this area for instance, the advocates of these new thoughts often were met with indifference or even hostility. In short - the specific political, cultural and religious patterns of this area, constituted a certain regional culture that made it hard for these movements to find ground to grow in.

² For a survey and critical examination of historical press research in Sweden, see Per-Olof Andersson: Svensk presshistorisk forskning. I går - idag - imorgon. En översikt och kritisk granskning. Scripta Minora. Uppsatser och rapporter från Institutionen för Humaniora, nr. 25, 1995.

However, it is not my prime task to investigate how this regional culture was expressed, or determining the relevant factors behind it.³ My major concern is the question of what part the local press played in this matter. Did they only adapt to the ruling conditions, or did they try to challenge it?

There are of course many ways in which the relation between the press and regional political culture might be expressed. But in this paper I would only like to put the focus upon one special aspect. It concerns the correlation between the opinions expressed in the papers and those enclosed by their readership.

As an introduction I think it will be appropriate to give a short background presentation of the local newspaper market at the time. At the beginning of the period of investigation two newspapers totally dominated in the area. These were Nya Wexiöbladet, established 1810, and Smålandsposten, established 1866. In the early phase of their existence, both papers advocated a modest form of Liberalism. Around 1880 it is possible to notice a change of this situation. A trend of slight polarisation in political views can now be noted between the two papers. However, this trend seems to be interrupted only after a few years. From this point onwards the two papers to an increasing degree express similar opinions on most issues.

I would like to illustrate this development with three examples of issues where the two papers took differing standpoints. At the same time I will also try to compare the way the papers acted in these issues with the attitudes expressed among their readership.

The first issue I would like to bring up is the attitudes towards the political labour movement. The attitudes expressed by the papers and among the readership is schematically described in fig. 1 below.

Fig.1. Attitudes towards the political labour movement

Nya Wexiöbladet	Smålandsposten	Attitudes among the readership	Year
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³ For a thorough account of this issue, see the contribution by Lennart Johansson, and also Lennart Johansson: Brännvin, postillor och röda fanor. Om folkrörelser, politik och samhälle i Växjö 1902.

Shows some degree of sympathy	Opposing harshness ridicule	with or	Indifference hostility	or	188 3
Strongly opposing	Opposing harshness ridicule	with or	Indifference		188 6
Opposing harshness	with Opposing harshness ridicule	with or	Beginning for organisation	strive	189 2
Ignoring it	Ignoring it		An organizational ground starts take form		190 0

Even though both papers were against the idea of Socialism, one of the papers initially at least showed some sympathy for the ambitions of the working classes. At the midst of the decade though, this sympathy towards the movement is gradually abandoned, and eventually the paper becomes an uncompromising opponent to it. The other paper in the area already from the beginning treated the issue with a special mix of opposing harshness and ridicule.

At the turn of the century both papers appear to have tried a new tactic. They now completely ignored the issue. For example the establishing of the local Social-Democratic organisation in Växjö 1902 was met with complete silence.

The reaction among the readership towards the political labour movement was initially in general one of indifference. Only a few trade unions were started, and the Socialist agitators were not seldom met with indifference or even hostility. As time went by the attitudes towards the political labour movement in the province seem to change to some degree. For instance, the trade union in the area gets a somewhat more organized form, and, as mentioned, eventually a local Social-Democratic organisation is established. But regardless of this the labour movement remains relatively weak both in numbers and (specially) regarding its political strength.

The next example concerns the general right to vote. As can be seen in the figure below the same paper that showed some sympathy for the political labour movement, also at an early stage was in favour of some kind of liberalisation of the voting rules. Eventually they came to recommend that the income level for the right to participate in the elections to the lower chamber of parliament should be lowered from 800 crowns to 500. Later on, however, they made certain deviations from this line, and eventually argued that this reform only could be introduced if it was accomplished with certain guarantees.

Smålandsposten on the other hand throughout the entire period of time consequently struggled against any attempt to change the ruling voting system. The suggestion of lowering the income level they believed to be, I quote: "a gateway to radicalism, leading to a total mob rule".

At the beginning of the period of study the idea of a general right to vote was as a rule met with indifference in the area. And even if a few local associations in favour of the issue eventually were started, they seem to have gained little support.

Fig 4 Attitudes towards the issue of universal franchise

Nya Wexiöbladet	Smålandsposten	Attitudes among the readership	Year
In favour of some kind of reform	Against any attempt to change the ruling conditions	Indifference	1887
In favour of lowering income demanded franchise	Against the attempt to level for conditions	Indifference	1890
In favour of broadening electorate - but unconditionally	Against any attempt to change the ruling conditions	In general: weak interest	1895

My final example concerns the strife around the tariff issue. In this issue Nya Wexiöbladet once again expressed a less conservative line compared to its competitor. The issue in question was whether tariffs on foodstuffs ought to be introduced or not. The other paper strongly argued in favour of the tariffs, and after these tariffs eventually had been introduced they were in favour of retaining them. It is true that Nya Wexiöbladet deviated from its competitor by opposing the pure pro-tariff line, but on the other hand it did not support the pure free trade line either. Instead it was in favour for a compromise, that meant that rye should be exempted from the tariffs. Although the difference between the alternatives does not seem very significant, the discussions between the two papers initially were often held in a very aggressive tone.

The opinions about the issue in the area seem to have been rather equally divided between followers of a pure pro-tariff line and those in favour of exempting rye from the tariffs. The pure free trade line seems to have had few supporters.

Fig. 3. Attitudes towards the issue of free trade or tariffs.

Nya Wexiöbladet	Smålandsposten	Attitudes among the readership	Year
Officially: free trade. In practice: a slightly reduced tariff line	Strongly in favour of introducing the tariffs	Divided between followers of the pro-tariff and anti-tariff on rye proposals	1887
In favour of abolishing the rye-tariff	In favour of retaining the system	Divided between followers of the pro-tariff and anti-tariff on rye proposals	1890

What conclusions can be drawn from these examples? My interpretation is that one of the papers tried to explore the limits of what was possible to express. When they noticed that they did not get any positive response from the readership, they took a step back, but they tried to do so without losing their face. They obviously realised that they had reached a point beyond which it was not possible to proceed without losing the confidence of their readers. Subsequently they made halt at a point where they could accentuate that they differed from the local competitor, but without provoking the audience.

The examples mentioned seem to indicate that the papers only tended to adapt to the ruling conditions. Another example might shed further light on the issue. In this case the local political arena will be focused on. By examining how the papers accounted for the local election campaigns, I hope to find out to what degree they reflected the opinions of the electorate.

First of all it must be noted that the majority of people were excluded from the right to participate in the elections. The reason for this was that the right to vote was earnings-related. To start with

participate in the city Council elections. This meant in practice a lower income level of 500 crowns a year, while no one with an income lower than that had to pay any taxes. Furthermore, the right to vote was graded, also in relation to the yearly income. In short - the higher the income the more votes you had at your disposal. However, this right was limited in two ways. Firstly it was not possible to receive more than 100 votes (which corresponded to an income of 10.000 crowns a year), and secondly no one was allowed to possess more than 2 % of the total votes in the city. In addition to these companies, associations, banks and others who were liable to pay taxes, also had the right to participate in the elections under the same conditions as private citizens.

It has often been emphasized by previous research how this regulations made it possible for a few people with access to many votes, to form an elite, that had the opportunities to completely set out the rules of local politics. It has been noted that they simply voted for each other, and thus making any real change of policy impossible.⁴ The question is what part the local press played in all this. Did they approve or disapprove of the system? Did they just put a good face on it, or did they try to challenge the system?

In an attempt to find the answers to these questions I have examined how the two papers acted in the elections to the city Council of Växjö during the time period of 1880-1895. The main issue at question is how local politics and politicians were represented in the papers.

The perhaps most interesting result of this examination, was that the papers seem to have given an official picture of the ideal local politician, but that underneath the surface there existed an implicit, hidden factor of maybe greater importance.

Officially both papers constantly argued that personal qualities of the candidates must be the deciding factor. Especially two qualities are emphasized - competence and independence. It is obvious that these two factors, however crucial, could not have been sufficient. Of course there must have been a lot of people in the city who lived up to these expectations, and subsequently some kind of selection among these had to be done. The guiding star in this selection seems to have been a thought of harmony. The general thought seems to

⁴ See for instance Karl Johan Krantz: *Garnisonstadens politik och ekonomi (1880-1895)*.

have been that the city Council should be representative for the social composition of the city. No single group should be allowed to dominate.

However, the emphasis on personal qualities and the harmonising thought, often appear to have been parts in the rhetoric game. Between the lines it is possible to see that there in many cases had been local political issues that in the end had been the deciding factor of the outcome of the elections.

What is interesting is that the papers did not give any accounts of what these objects of political strife concerned. Let me exemplify this by referring to one of the elections, held in November 1893. In connection with this election one of the papers stated that it was, as they put it, "on behalf of certain well-known conditions", one of the most interesting ever to have been held in the city. But not with a single word it is mentioned what these certain conditions consisted of. Furthermore the article speaks of two different parties: "the opposition" and their "opponents". But what stand-points the two sides were taking - and to what issue - the reader of the paper never gets to know. It seems like the papers were unwilling to openly account for the issues on the local political agenda. What could have been the reason for this reluctance?

A reasonable way of interpreting this is to see the conditions as a result of the undemocratic system. While the elite of influential and initiated persons already had all the insight required to form an opinion on the issue, it probably did not seem necessary to enlighten this group any further. On the other hand the groups of people with access to only a few votes, that is those who probably in general were much less informed in the issue, had small chances of influencing the outcome of the elections. For this reason maybe the papers did not find it necessary to try to influence these groups.

It is most possible that a consequence of the papers insufficient accounts of the local political issues, might have been that it contributed to a feeling of marginalisation of those groups in the society that only had a few or no votes at all. Those who were not informed about the local political agenda, had little help from the newspapers' cryptic insinuations. If one did not know which the so-called "well-known conditions" were, it was impossible to decide on the issue. Being in such a situation it must have seemed indifferent which party ended up with the victory.

The presentation so far has hardly been flattering for the papers. They appear to have acted opportunistically and been devoid of independence. It is easy to get the impression that they only followed the mainstream of opinion, and did not in any way try to challenge the ruling conditions. Maybe this is not an entirely fair picture, and with a final example I will try in some degree to moderate it.

The example I will refer to concerns the elections to the lower chamber of parliament in the spring of 1887. This election was not an ordinary election but especially called upon due to the urgency of the tariff issue. In at least two of the electoral districts the local papers seemed to have played an important role for the outcome of the elections.

One of those was the district which Växjö belonged to. The election here ended with a rather surprising victory for the anti-tariff side. One of the papers that had been strongly agitating in favour of the winning side, could afterwards in a triumphing manner describe how more than one thousand people marched to the editorial office to bring their homage to the publisher of the paper. Even if the paper's own lyric account of this event must be taken with a grain of salt, it is most probable that the aggressive way in which they launched the anti-tariff candidate contributed to the mobilization that made his election possible.

The election campaign in another election district will serve as a further example of the papers' possibilities of actively mobilising the voters. In this district the former member of parliament was supposed to win the elections easily. This impression was further fortified by one of the papers, that stated that his re-election could be considered "ascertained". This self-assured attitude though seems to have had paradoxical consequences. Lulled into a false sense of security many of the followers of the former member of parliament apparently seemed so certain of his re-election that they did not even consider it necessary to attend at the ballots. At the same time the opposing side, strongly animated by the other local newspaper, managed to create mobilisation powerful enough to make their candidate emerge victoriously out of the battle.⁵

⁵ This example has also been referred to in Lennart Johansson: Regionalpolitik i

It is obvious that the relations between the press and the local and regional political culture is very complicated. Further research is needed to make it possible to understand it.

As a conclusion I intend to present two contrasting images of Växjö and the county of Kronoberg. Behind the first of these stands the leading conservative newspaper in the area. It is a picture of a harmonic, idyllic society without any antagonism or strife. The society that this paper painted out was one of harmonic unity, where everybody was aware of their position and was also content with the situation. With strong dedication the paper struggled against everything it believed to be threatening this balance - trade unions, expanded rights to vote and so on.

The other image is represented by a group of cultural radicals in the capital city. In their eyes this region, with its marked cultural and political conservatism, represented a dark province. It became the symbol of the resistance to reforms on the religious, political and social areas.

Certainly it is not an unjustified thought that the newspapers played an important role in establishing and maybe even reinforcing this regional political culture.

IV. Changing economic regions

Proto-industrialism in Southern Sweden

Per-Göran Johansson

1654 came a young Dutch woman Maria van Crakou with her Swedish husband Magnus Durell to the estate of Wallen in the parish Våxtorp in southern Halland. The Danish province Halland now belonged to Sweden. Halland had been a Danish province until 1645. In the south of Halland you had a feudal structure and the majority of the farmers belonged to the estates. They were what was called *frälsebönder*, tenant farmers on a noble estate. Their day labour was unregulated. It was called *hoveriet* and was a Danish tradition which survived the Swedish conquest.

Tradition tells us that Maria and her accompanying servants taught the art of knitting to the farmers on the estate and after a time every family was knitting as part of their duty to day labour for the landowner on Wallen.¹ Here is the alleged origin to a widespread knitting proto-industry in a jurisdictional district (*härad*) of Hök in southern Halland during the 18th and 19th centuries.

¹ Barchaeus, A G , *Underrättelser angående landthushållningen i Halland 1773*. Lund 1773/1924, Osbeck, P, *Utkast till beskrifning öfver Laholms prosteri*.Lund 1796/1922 and the archives of Wallen estate.

The theory of proto-industrialization.

During the last two decades there have been lively international discussions about what can be called "proto-industrialization". This term was minted by the American historian Franklin Mendels in the beginning of the 1970s. Mendels developed a theory about the reasons for and the effects of the growth of a proto-industry in Europe during the period before the industrial revolution.²

The proto-industrialization hypothesis was more ambitious than dealing exclusively with early modern manufacturing. It also amounted to a grand two-stage, theory of western economic development: Proto-industrialisation leads to industrialization, and when it fails, sometimes to "de-industrialization". The prerequisite for the rural industry was that agricultural work was available.

It was Mendels' opinion that three criteria should be satisfied in order for production to qualify as "proto-industry".

1. The market for the products of the proto-industry should be situated outside the home region.
2. The labour force should consist of workers and farmers who alternate during the year between agricultural work and work in the proto-industry.
3. The proto-industry presupposes growth of commercial agriculture in certain regions.

The theory of proto-industrialization has been the subject of extensive debate and criticism. Empirical work using the hypothesis has elaborated a much more complex picture of the environments favourable to manufacturing³

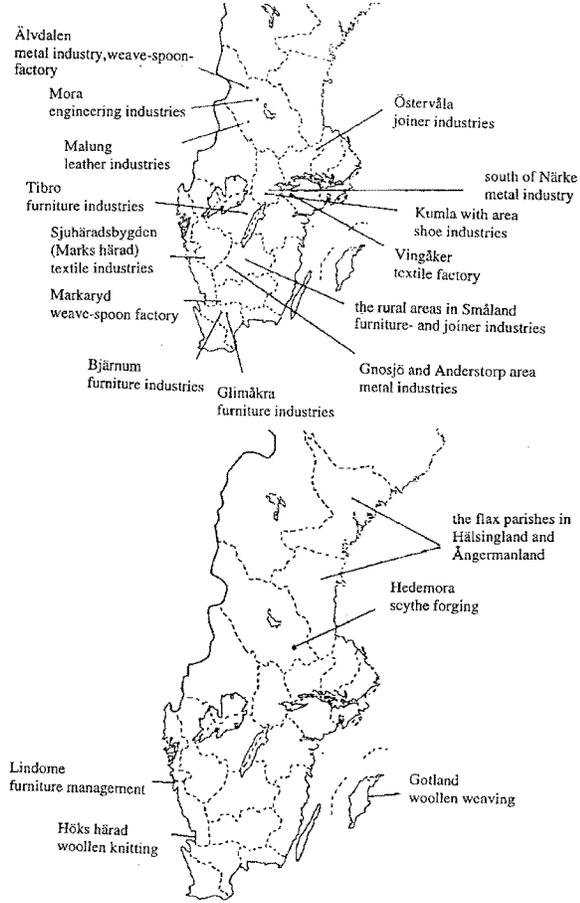
² F Mendels "Proto-industrialization: The First Phase of the Industrial Process", *Journal of Economic History*, 32 (1972). See even P Kriedte, H Medick and J Schlumbohm, *Industrialization Before Industrialization: Rural Industry in the Genesis of Capitalism*. Cambridge 1981.

³ For critiques of proto-industrial theory, see M Berg, P Hudson and M Sonescher, eds,

Part of the discussion has concerned the connection between proto-industry and the later "real" industrial revolution. The greatest weakness of his theories is the fact that it has not succeeded in explaining what is perhaps the most central point, that is to say, why certain regions were able to go on to become "real" industries whereas others, also those with a previously extensive proto-industry, returned to agricultural production.

The Swedish proto-industry.

Swedish industrialization has been regarded primarily as dependent upon Western European industrialization. Accordingly, the world market as transmitter of the new impulses to Sweden through Swedish exports and imports that was emphasized. Like other countries in Western Europe Sweden had in some regions proto-industries. Some of them developed to modern factory-industries, others became "de-industrialized." See map I and II.



Map 1: Example of proto-industries developed into factory-based industries.

Source: Johansson 1993.

Map II: Examples of proto-industries which did not develop into factory-based industries.

Höks circuit- a proto-industrial region.

Höks circuit (*härad*) is situated in the southern part of Halland on the Swedish west coast. During the 18th and 19th centuries proto-industry had gained a strong foothold in the region of Hök. The forest in the east of Hök was cut down and heather moors replaced them. A considerable amount of textile goods was produced in the region. There was a long tradition of handicraft in the area. The raw material could be found in the local rearing of sheep. Sheep breeding created the preconditions for the textile industry.⁴

Agriculture had not been modernized and could not provide work and maintenance for the ever growing population. People had to rely heavily on other sources for making a living. In the circuit of Hök homespun, socks, jerseys, hats, horse blankets etc were manufactured.

Once a market system had developed around the textile production the local raw material was not sufficient and therefore production had to depend a great deal on imported wool.

During the 18th century there were putting outs both on the estate of Wallen and in the nearest town Laholm. The distribution of the goods was made by the peddlers from the town Borås. The peddlers spread the goods over the whole country. Over and above, a lot of goods was sold to the military.

As mentioned, Höks härad was a part of the west Swedish proto-industrial region. In this region there are several proto-industrial areas and places. Some of them development to factory-industry, some not - for example the proto-industry in Höks *härad*. How come?

⁴ Johansson, P G, Rural industry without factories. Pre-industrial textile manufacturing in two southern parishes in the province of Halland 1800-1880. *Interregions 4/1995*. Institut für Europäische Regionalforschungen. Siegen and Johansson P G, Landsbygdsindustri utan fabriker. Textila saluslöjden i Höks härad i södra Halland 1750-1880-1906 (unpublished)

The agrarian revolution changed the economy of the large estates to more capitalistic forms. In Höks *härad* many of these developments happened after the 1850s. The western part of Hök became one of the most advanced agricultural regions of the country and traditional wool industry declined. The knitting industry was now only survived in the east of Hök. Here the feudal bonds had been progressively weakened from the beginning of the 19th century.

Fluidity of capital was an essential feature of proto-industry and it is not surprising to find it flowing into whatever channels its owners judged profitable: machine-based industry was just one of several possibilities.

If improvements in agricultural productivity took place in zones of proto-industry, why stimulate industrialisation any further? It could be rational with de-industrialisation or/ and re-agriculturisation in a region. It is not necessity to look upon every development in this direction as a 'failure'. The decay of rural industry in regions best suited to agriculture was an inevitable part of the process of economic development, and capitalism.

Swedes and Substitute coffee A Regional Study of Food Provisioning in Sweden during Times of Crisis

Börje Björkman

What happens in a society when its basic functions are threatened? Or maybe not working at all? When bad harvests, flooding, drought or maybe a war is knocking at the door? How does the authorities on different levels respond to the need? What do ‘people in common’, the voluntary associations and organisations and the private companies do? Which strategies are likely to be chosen? And which direct measures would be taken to solve an acute problem of this kind, or at least to prevent it from getting worse?

These questions constitutes the general frame-work for my doctoral thesis, which has the preliminary title *Swedes and Substitute coffee. A Regional Study of Food Provisioning in Sweden during Times of Crisis*. My intentions are to present a long-time perspective to the strategies of food provisioning, stretching my investigation out in time from (at least) the late 18th century to mid-20th century, thus covering both times of war and more ‘peaceful’ crop failure. The war years are therefore merely the starting point for my investigation, a period which I will try and compare both with the situation during W.W.II and earlier times of crisis (e.g. the 1770s and the 1860s).¹ The aim with this long time span is to find and analyze the *changes over time in the way crises are solved and emergency strategies developed*.

¹ Two essays have so far been presented at Prof. Österbergs seminar, History Dep, Lund University, *Knapphetens problematik. PM för en studie av den svenska livsmedelsproblematiken under Försrta världskriget* (1991); *Magasin, kommitté, kommission. Ett och annat om nödhjälp och krisberedskap från 1700-tal till 1900-tal* (1993) – both unpublished. A third (no title yet) is to be presented during 1996. This text is based on all of these three

A general hypothesis is that from some aspects both people and state authorities tend to look back on earlier experiences, 1) to find still functioning but older methods for the solution of crises; or 2) (if No 1 does not work) to change them into new methods. In itself, the crisis therefore may be either carrying the seed of change, which even may help to reform the structures of society; or to preserve the existing one. As for Sweden during W.W.I the crisis situation can be said to have worked both ways: both progressively and as a preserving factor. Among other things it helped to push through a constitutional reform and thus changing the prerequisites of Swedish political life.

Immediately after the out-break of war Sweden, like Norway and Denmark, declared neutrality. Government initiatives were taken to survey and keep the situation under control, concerning supplies, trading, unemployment, prices etc., in the best possible way . A number of nationwide official but temporary emergency bodies – on a national as well as a regional and a local level – were set up, with the one task of ‘coping with the harsh supply situation’. As soon as the war was over they were supposed to be abolished: no-one really believed in a long war. A crucial matter for the government was to keep up the trading connections. The rapidly growing industry was built on export and it was necessary to keep it going. Otherwise Sweden would be facing a huge unemployment situation with more and more families not being able to support themselves. But also import reasons were decisive: before the war Sweden imported ca 1/3 of the grain needed for direct consumption.²

This policy worked for some time, until the supplies were nearly emptied since Britain, the US and Canada no longer could be persuaded to sell any grain – unless Sweden stopped or at least cut down on trading with the Central Powers. After the dry summer of 1916 the supply situation grew even worse. Rationing of food stuffs had to be initiated and parts of emergency administration had to be

² For a general survey – in english – of Sweden during the World War, see (e.g.) Franklin D Scott, *Sweden. The Nations History* (1977), chapter XVII. The basic work on the supply and emergency situation in Sweden during W.W.I. is still Karl Hildebrand, *De svenska statsmakterna och krigstidens folkhushållning 1914–1920*, Vol 1–5 (1916–1921); and E. F. Heckscher (ed.), *Bidrag till Sveriges ekonomiska och sociala historia under och efter världskriget*, Vol. 1, 2 (1926).

reshaped into new types of emergency bodies, in order to get better control over the situation. Through the winter large numbers of the population suffered badly, a situation which – during the spring of 1917 – resulted in demonstrations and popular disturbances all over the country (mainly in the cities and the heavily industrialized districts). Demands rose against the authorities and their emergency activities, for more forceful measures. Dissatisfaction was spreading – not only among the workers and the poorer part of the population – both with the general emergency policy of the Government and with the bureaucracy within the distribution system. In some places local warehouses were emptied and shopkeepers were forced to sell out what they had to minimum prices. A political crisis developed, soon resulting in the fall of the government.

Still the supply situation deteriorated, leading to more rationing of food stuffs and an even more bureaucratic and multifaceted system of regulations and restrictions. In terms of food shortage and rationing 1918 showed to be the worst year of them all, even if the temporary emergency administration now seemed to have caught up with the problems and in spite of the improved trading relations with Britain and the US. By the time of the Armistice, in November/December 1918, everything seems to have been functioning quite smoothly, both the import and the emergency system. During 1919, finally, the rationing of food stuffs could cease and the abolishing of the emergency administration could be commenced. Only one of the national emergency commissions was kept after the war, the one dealing with unemployment and relief work. During the post-war years Sweden would be in great need of that one, since the industry again had to face the rivalry from other nations.

Although I am concentrating my study on specific attempts to solve concrete issues, it implicates rather general questions, concerning food provisioning during times of crisis. The research question could be rephrased as a study of ‘the *channels of communications between the people and the administration*’. I am seeking both the *present emergency thinking* – e.g. during W.W.I – and the *long-term strategies*. How did the authorities – the temporary emergency bodies, the Food Commissions on different levels, and the ‘normal’

administration – communicate with the needy?³ Between the ordinary authorities and the temporary ones? What possibilities were there? Which channels and which methods were actually used to cope with the problems reported? What impact did the crisis solutions have on the ‘normal’ administration and the more ‘normal’ methods of giving relief?

Methodologically my study is directed towards the *actions* and *reactions* from and between the people and the emergency bodies: what happens on which level? Why does this committee act but not that one? How come so much of the decision making is left to the local authorities? The actions and their *context* are my main tools for analysis.

Empirically I am dealing – mainly – with a southern Swedish inland region, consisting of the City of Växjö and parts of the surrounding county of Kronoberg – an area dominated by small farmers but also containing a substantial amount of small and medium sized rural industry. By this choice I will not only be able to study the urban and the rural situation respectively but also the combination and relations between the city and the countryside. This is one of my main points, since earlier Swedish research in this matter 1) has been concentrating on the cities (where the problems in general were most intense); and 2) that the research often has made a point of the differences and the existence of an antagonism between rural and urban areas. As for Sweden during the World War it has been claimed that people outside the cities did not really suffer from any shortage at all; the rural dissatisfaction came mainly from problems because of the bureaucratic regulations system, not having so very much to do with any scarcity of food.⁴

To some extent I can agree with this picture, but on the other hand I think I will be able to broaden the picture a bit, e.g. by showing the

³ Earlier researchers, among them Amartya Sen [e.g. in *Poverty and Famines. An Essay on Entitlement and Deprivation*; 1981] has stressed the point of who was ‘entitled’ to relief and who was not, as being one important factor in the development of crisis. Later on both Sen and others have more pointed to the role of different social activities as an essential part of crisis solutions [e.g. Jean Drèze and Amartya Sen, *Hunger and Public Action* (1990)]. I, apparently, would like to stress the analysis of the actions even further.

⁴ On this matter see Bäckman 1992

great variety of emergency initiatives – both on the countryside and in the cities.

Concerning the choice of investigation area it should be added that, one should *not* put this ‘Kronoberg and Västmanland region’ in the same category as the worst hit districts in the country, mainly because of its agricultural profile. But on the other hand there were problems here too, and the measures taken against the crisis show the same types and variety as in the rest of the country. And this is another point I would like to emphasize: From earlier research we know pretty much about the most problematic areas, both during the World War and during other times of crisis.⁵ It is from those districts that we have formed our general picture of the crisis situation. What we do not know very much about is the ‘*average crisis situation*’, what and how things happened in the main part of the country. What I hope to get out of this study is a clearer view of this rather complex picture.

Already it is clear that the result will include a *great variety of actions and reactions*, of measures and methods, and a *multitude of actors* – from the public emergency bodies, over unions and other more or less voluntary organisations, to private persons and companies in group or by themselves – working in different ways towards (more or less) the same goal: better living conditions and better control over the everyday situation.

Another name for my study could therefore be a ‘*regional study of political economy in practice*’, dealing with actors and structures under stress.⁶ It will not be a ‘pure’ study of Swedish politics, nor will it be a study of practical economics or economic policy. Studies of that kind, on politics and economics is what we have most of for this period of time, most of them concentrating on the national

⁵ Among them Yvonne Hirdman, *Magfrågan. Mat som mål och medel. Stockholm 1870–1920* (1983); Sigurd Kliockare, *Svenska revolutionen 1917–1918* (1967); Hans Nyström, *Hungerupproret 1917* (1994); and Kjell Östberg, ”Att institutionalisera en revolution. Kommunerna och den svenska revolutionen 1917” (in *Kommunerna och lokalpolitiken* (1995) by Lars Nilsson & Kjell Östberg (eds.).

⁶ The basic research material for my study stems from the local (the municipalities) and the regional (county level) institutions, but also from private archives (of various kinds) as well as from private and semi-public organisations, companies, unions, the temperance movements etc.

level, concerning (e.g.) the official economic policy, price fluctuations and the monetary policy, trading connections both before and during the war, the internal and foreign political relations respectively, the military situation etc.⁷ On top of that we have a number of local studies, mainly concentrating on a city or two, or some organisation (e.g. some trade union), and the political development.⁸ That side of the story has unquestionable already been written and I will not try to do it all over again.

However there is one topic, closely attached to the political side of Sweden during the World War, which I could not avoid even if I wanted to; the so-called ‘Swedish Revolution’. Traditionally this is said to have started with the many demonstrations and even riots during the spring of 1917, and ended with the constitutional reform of December 1918: What seems to have started out as a cry for bread and milk changed into a demand for equal suffrage for men and women. The emergency administration and the changing of the whole distribution system was very important for these events, and this at least proto-revolutionary development is one of the phenomena during the war that has been written most of, both by scholars and amateurs.⁹

Naturally the demonstrations and the food riots will have an important place in my work too. What I hope to do is to present them in a slightly wider perspective than has been done before. My argument is that various points will be overlooked otherwise – and it will be easy to misjudge the importance of the events in the democratization-process. No doubt the riots were very important,

⁷ For a survey of present research on Sweden (and the Baltic region) during WW1, see Kent Zetterberg, ”Sverige åren 1914–1918, en forskningsöversikt” (in *Between the Baer and the Eagle. Sweden and the Baltic Region during the First World War, 1914–1918*; 1994; pp. 61–72). See also *Svensk politisk historia. En kommenterad litteraturöversikt* (HSFR, 1993).

⁸ Furthermore I will not be dealing with the main political history either, foreign or internal. A number of works has been made in this area too, by Sven-Anders Söderpalm, Gunnar Gerdner, Wilhelm Carlgren and others, concerning the change of governments, the different cabinets, the foreign relations etc. [see further: Kent Zetterberg 1994, p. 70–71].

⁹ Among them see, e.g., Klockare 1967; S.A. Söderpalm, *Storföretagarna och det demokratiska genombrottet. Ett perspektiv på första världskrigets svenska historia* (1969); Nyström 1994; Östberg 1995; Steven Koblik, ”Between Reform and Revolution” (in *Scandinavia 1976: Båren Elmkrant. Hundraårsjubileum 1917 (1990)*).

but at the same time I would like to alter this picture a bit. In short, my point is that earlier research has concentrated too much on the dramatic weeks of April and May 1917, e.g. the actual changing of seats in the commissions (more workers representatives and women were introduced), the new regulations (better control over the distribution of food) and a overall improving attitude of the authorities to listen to the cry from the needing. My impression now is that these changes should not be seen merely as a result of the demonstrations and the disturbances. The demonstrations and the riots *were* important, but their main impact was to speed up the process: changes in this direction, also from the so heavily criticised government had been coming since (at least) early 1916.¹⁰

This argument also leads me into another more theoretical standpoint, that deep crisis can work in very different directions in the process of changing society, either in a *progressive* way – like in the just mentioned case; or in a *preserving* or even conservative manner. An example of this is that still after the problematic spring of 1917 a number of local communities – the local self-government bodies– turned down the relief or help offered from the Government, by arguing that ‘they could take care of their own problems on their own’, just like they always had, e.g. by collecting money to be able to buy food and then hand it out to the most needy. We can also see old methods, or even patterns, of giving relief being revitalized, e.g. the revival of old contacts and trading between city and countryside. Until now this had not been necessary since you were able to buy what you needed in the city shops. Now, when there was nothing to buy, both the local authorities and private persons had to go food-hunting in wider circles – thus making the local economic structure more regional than local.¹¹

In short: there are several regional aspects to this study of mine. Yet another one – which I however will not include in the thesis (because of the size of the investigation needed and the lack of time

¹⁰ In a coming essay I will to some extent be discussing this.

¹¹ Regulations on what was to be done came from ‘above’, from the Government’s representatives and the National Food Commission, leaving the problem of how to do it to the local authorities. Hence the great variety of initiatives and actions. We can also see a tendency towards more cooperation between different local units, also creating some kind of ‘regionality’.

to do it): I am thinking of a Scandinavian or maybe Nordic comparison.

As already mentioned not only Sweden declared neutrality when the war broke out. Norway and Denmark did exactly the same thing and during the war they all suffered from about the same type of provisional problems. Similar crisis administrations had to be built up in all three countries. The actions taken against the crisis does, however, show not only similarities but also differences, because of the different pre-war conditions and the different political situations during the war: However neutral, Norway became rather tightly related to Britain and Denmark, through its geographical location, stayed rather close to Germany. Sweden, as always you might say, stood somewhere in between, showing strong sympathies and tight pre-war connections to Germany at the beginning of the war, but – because of the problematic supply-situation and the growing public opinion – changed direction more and more in favour of the Entente.

A thorough comparison of the emergency administration, relief system in practice, the crisis regulation system and food distribution in Denmark, Norway and Sweden (and maybe even Finland) and pointing at both similarities and differences, would probably show to be a most interesting task.¹²

At present though I will stick to the Swedish situation and my long-time study of provisional strategies. My impression so far is that we still have a lot to learn from how ‘they did it before’, in past times. A study of this kind can never really be outdated since both individuals and societies, in times of crisis often have tended to look back on their own experiences. My own research has led me back to the early 18th century, and there I found many similarities with the early 20th century. The channels for distributing relief, the laws and other regulations taken, export/import restrictions, price policy etc.,

¹² The research situation seems to be of a similar kind aswell, with rather much efforts made concerning the national level (e.g. on the economic policy, the political situation etc.) plus some local studies. Relations between the levels of society seems to be lacking even there. For a general survey (in english) of crisis development and organisation – at a (minly) national level – during W.W.I see Heckscher, Bergendahl, Kielhau, Cohn, Thorsteinsson, *Sweden, Norway, Denmark, and Iceland in the World War 1914-1918*

during the last years (ca 1716–18) of the Great Northern War have a lot in common with the situation and the initiatives taken during the First World War. The same thing could be said after a quick glance at Sweden during the two World Wars, e.g. concerning the methods for controlling and administrating food rationing and handing out emergency relief: about same type of commissions on different levels (national, regional local) – and even (in some cases) the same administrators – reappeared, following about the same type of regulations.¹³

Not that there are no differences at all over these ca 200 years, of course there are. For one thing, the structure of society changed very much during this period of time, and the same thing could be said about *what was and what could be expected* from the government and the emergency bodies. Then we have the crisis situation in itself and the pre-conditions of the society before and at the time of the crisis. Just think of all the possibilities that opened up with the building of the railway-net during the late 19th century. Before that not very much could really be expected from the national authorities, in giving aid to some starving but peripheral part of the country, unless the people there had made some preparations on their own.¹⁴

Comparative studies of European crises have already clearly showed the importance of comparisons of this kind.¹⁵ Being prepared for future crises will – to some extent – always depend on earlier experiences. By studying how people and nations tried to survive in the past we might be able to prepare ourselves better for tomorrow's critical situations.

¹³ There are no long-time survey for Sweden – I, apparently, hope to accomplish that. But there are a number of regional and/or local studies from various crises. Among them Marie C. Nelson, *Bitter Bread. The Famine in Norrbotten 1867–1868* (diss. 1988) Per Frohnert, *Kronans skatter och bondens bröd. Den lokala förvaltningen och bönderna i Sverige 1719–1775* (diss. 1992); and Lennart Friberg, *Styre i kristid. Studier i kristidsförvaltningens organisation och struktur* [concerning Sweden during W.W.II] (diss. 1973) – to name a few dealing with the period of time mentioned.

¹⁴ Among other things the Finnish historian Antti Häkkinen is discussing this in his introduction to the various conference-papers in *Just a Sack of Potatoes? Crisis Experiences in European Societies, Past and Present* (Antti Häkkinen (ed.);1992).

¹⁵ In the above-mentioned anthology *Just a Sack of Potatoes?* the different papers span from the late Middle Ages to the 1990s.

At least we will know a bit more about the ‘solutions’ that did not work!

