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Åsa Karlsson Sjögren, Esbjörn Larsson & Stefan Rimm


To link to this article: https://doi.org/10.1080/0046760X.2018.1541482

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Published online: 23 Nov 2018.

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Agents and subjects: schooling and conceptions of citizenship in early nineteenth-century Sweden

Åsa Karlsson Sjögren, Esbjörn Larsson and Stefan Rimm

Department of Historical, Philosophical and Religious Studies, Umeå University, Umeå, Sweden; Department of Education, Uppsala University, Uppsala, Sweden; School of Culture and Education, Södertörn University, Huddinge, Sweden

ABSTRACT
This article aims to analyse how the emerging Swedish school system in the early nineteenth century can be understood within the context of a gradual break-up of the estate society and its replacement with a class society in which citizenship was an important foundation. This is done through the discussion of the conceptions of citizenship on two levels. The first is the national level, focusing the national debate on education, and the second is the local level, investigating the local schools and the school setting. The main result is that the conceptions of citizenship in the school context were formed along two major lines: an inclusive social and civil citizenship and an exclusive, active and political citizenship. Consequently, the emerging Swedish school system simultaneously fostered these two citizenship conceptions, which coexisted in an educational system that was able to cast pupils as either subjects (comprehensive citizenship) or agents (designated citizenship).

ARTICLE HISTORY
Received 8 December 2017
Accepted 20 October 2018

KEYWORDS
Citizenship; gender; class; school system

Citizenship has been put forward as a crucial concept for the understanding of schooling in Sweden during the first half of the nineteenth century. The often vastly different opinions on the purpose of education that were displayed in eighteenth-century debates and discourses on education highlight citizenship as a complex concept that needs further exploration.

In this article, we explore how conceptions of citizenship were formed in Swedish schools during the first part of the nineteenth century. We pose questions, first about what notions of citizenship were promoted in national debate and by local practices, and second about how these notions of citizenship related to aspects like social class and gender.

CONTACT
Esbjörn Larsson
Contact e-mail esbjorn.larsson@edu.uu.se; Department of Education, Uppsala University, Box 2136, Uppsala, Sweden


2 The period up to 1850 is of particular interest as it constitutes a formative phase for the Swedish education system; see Christina Florin and Ulla Johansson, “Där de härliga lagrarna gro…” Kultur, klass och kön i det svenska läroverket 1850–1914 (Stockholm: Tiden, 1993), 76, 87–8.
Conceptions of citizenship as Leitbegriﬀe

Citizenship, and the differing conceptions of it, can be regarded on a fundamental level as Koselleckian Leitbegriﬀe in historical debates on schooling, which can be ‘conceived and used in a way in which the change of the existing conditions is desirable, necessary, and therefore required’. Therefore, the competing conceptions of citizenship in nineteenth-century Sweden – for example as articulated on political and ideological grounds – are in this article regarded as intrinsically temporalized – just as Grundbegriﬀe is temporalized as ‘history’ – and as the differences between conceptions as determined by both differing stores of experiences and differing horizons of expectations.

In this article we consider competing conceptions to be the result of conflicting perceptions and interpretations of the past, as well as conflicting expectations and projections for the future. In a nation-state such as Sweden in the early nineteenth century, on the threshold between the early modern and modern eras, the formulation of citizenship could function as a connection between the past and the future, and schooling can be seen as a means of negotiating the end-goal of this connection.

As we discuss below, the prevalence of different conceptions of citizenship in educational debate and practice illustrates the conceptual coexistence of conflict and competition. Different conceptions of citizenship were promoted by different agents, in different arenas, using different arguments and addressing different audiences. Together they constituted a complex notion of citizenship, encompassing both a comprehensive conception based on a common past and a common future, and a conception based on exclusivity and designation. To a great extent this was decided by factors such as the gender and class of the pupils and citizens-to-be.

This interplay between a multitude of citizenship conceptions and an increasing mass of pupils in an increasingly diversified educational proto-system in early nineteenth-century Sweden has not been covered by earlier research, although a number of studies have explored relevant, but more or less isolated, aspects such as citizenship, class, gender, or schooling. To understand schooling and conceptions of citizenship in early nineteenth-century Sweden, while at the same time addressing the intersections of the above-mentioned aspects, the theoretical basis of this article is outlined below.

Class, gender and citizenship

Citizenship as a theoretical concept has proved useful in understanding and interpreting various social changes, not least from a gender perspective. Previous research has shown a clear connection between the development of nation-states, citizenship and schools. This relates to the middle-class groups who were pushing to reform and extend education and who, through such work, sought to define themselves as citizens, as well as to the larger groups of people whose possibilities to learn how to read and

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6 See references of previous research in footnote 11.
write depended on the outcomes of the school reforms and how they were implemented.7

T. H. Marshall identifies three forms of citizenship: the civil, which emerged in the eighteenth century; the political, which was connected to nineteenth-century franchise reforms; and the social, which emerged alongside post-war welfare states in the second half of the twentieth century.8 Each phase of citizenship was associated with the acquisition of corresponding civil, political and social sets of rights. Alongside Marshall’s classic distinction between civil, political and social citizenship, citizenship has been discussed on the basis of concepts such as identity, culture, economics and sexuality.9 Marshall’s unproblematised assumption of a masculine norm has not rendered his work useless for feminist scholars; on the contrary, gender researchers have developed Marshall’s observations that citizenship is under constant renegotiation. Sylvia Walby shows how a gender perspective opens ‘the way to discuss degrees of citizenship obtained by different groups at different times’.10 Other scholars have sought to extend the definition of citizenship beyond the temporal evolutions suggested by Marshall. Ruth Lister accepts Marshall’s idea of citizenship as a developing process, for example, but has argued that individual human agency is critical to this, suggesting a dual understanding that recognises citizenship as being both a process of acquiring status connected to a series of rights and a practice involving ‘both obligations and political participation, broadly defined’.11

Citizenship can be seen either as the equal status of those who are full members of a society or as a concept that implies exclusions of different groups of people, as well as a sliding scale of rights and status. These exclusions and sliding scales of rights and status were undergoing dynamic changes through political conflicts and through negotiations concerning how to define men and women of different social groups as citizens. It is within this complex development that citizenship and education is analysed in this article. Education as a qualification for an active political citizen was a fervent argument among the middle-class men who were seeking political influence. At the same time, however, the development of mass schooling appears not to have had the same intentions; rather, the education of the masses might be seen as an introduction of a passive, social and civil citizenship.

The citizen in early nineteenth-century schooling

There is a large body of international research on citizenship and education, especially regarding the period from the late 1800s onwards.12 The research literature regarding

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11 Lister, Citizenship: Feminist Perspectives, 41.
the 1800s is less extensive, but a number of previous studies deserve to be highlighted. One of these is Ingrid Lohmann and Christine Mayer’s investigation of education and citizenship in Prussia during the early 1800s. Their research showed that citizenship in early 1800s Prussia was primarily used as a tool for the creation of the new bourgeoisie, and citizenship was far from being as inclusive as it might seem at first glance. Groups excluded in this process were not only the lower social classes, but also women and non-Christian groups (especially Jews).\(^1\)

There are also a couple of studies concerning Latin America that address similar issues to this article. Eugenia Roldan Vera argues in her article on public examinations in Mexican elementary schools (1788–1848) that Mexico’s transition to an independent republic in 1821 brought on a gradual transition to a ‘logic of citizenship’ in the relationship between the state and society regarding education. This change is evident in the topics pupils were tested on and in the new language that was used when talking about the examinations.\(^2\) This can be compared with Cynthia Greive Veiga’s article on elementary school education in Brazil (1822–1889), which analyses how education was associated with the notion of citizenship as a result of the constitutional monarchy that was established in 1822. Veiga argues that there was a strong connection between the introduction of elementary school education and citizenship, which is evident in the fact that the public elementary schools that were introduced in 1824 were open to all Brazilian citizens, although not to the country’s slaves. An important aspect in this context is that the families of the society’s upper classes did not send their children to the public elementary schools. Instead, they sent their children to private schools or used private tutors.\(^3\)

A more comprehensive approach to the issue of citizenship and education is found in the book *Schooling and the Making of Citizens in the Long Nineteenth Century*. There the idea of citizenship through education is examined by comparing the development within education in republics and non-republics in the late eighteenth century, addressing themes such as visions about the citizen, secularisation, inclusion and exclusion, education as a way to reform society, and the importance of languages. These investigations show that schools were central for the creation of the citizen because the people had to be moulded into citizens. Furthermore, the need to educate citizens within the republics often went hand-in-hand with religious teaching, and civic education could sometimes borrow the forms of religious teaching in the use of patriotic catechisms. The creation of citizens also meant the exclusion of non-citizens. As is apparent from other studies, the excluded groups were usually women or those belonging to religious or ethnic minorities.\(^4\)

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In the Swedish context much of the early research on citizenship and schooling centred on the distinction between a conservative/clerical and a liberal/bourgeois view on mass education during the early 1800s, where the latter advocated a kind of extended citizen education. One of few international publications that deal with citizenship and education in Sweden during the first half of the nineteenth century is John Boli’s book about the institutional origins of mass schooling. Boli argues that ‘the institutional imperative of mass schooling derived from the modern conception of society as a project for creating progress through the combined efforts of capable, motivated individuals acting as effective political and economic/technical citizens’. Consequently, Boli sees the mass schooling that emerged in Sweden during the first half of the nineteenth century as a tool to enable all individuals to act within the framework of full citizenship. That this was the case is emphasised in Boli’s description of the schooling debate spanning the period 1809–1842, where he highlights the fact that the concept of citizenship was used repeatedly in the arguments for mass schooling.

However, later investigations of how the concept of citizenship was used in the public debate in the first decades of the nineteenth century have shown that in many of the contemporary newspapers the arguments promoting civic education in schools mainly focused on grammar schools. As for the education of the common people, many writers pleaded for the establishment of schools in rural areas so that the grammar schools would not drain the nation of its best farmers. The risk of making the farmers’ children into ‘half gentlemen’ (halvherrar) through too much education was also emphasised repeatedly in the debate. However, the education of citizens was also mentioned when talking about the introduction of the monitorial system of education, which was a method of education that mainly focused on educating the poor.

Comprehensive and designated citizenship: a proposition

As we show in this article, different conceptions of citizenship coexisted during the period – both in the public debate and in the growing number of schools in the expanding educational proto-system of early nineteenth-century Sweden. As we argue below, conceptions of citizenship were formed along two major lines: an inclusive social

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19 Boli, New Citizens for a New Society, 46.

20 Ibid., 214–19. However, Boli’s conclusions have been criticised in e.g. Lars Petterson, Frihet, jämlikhet, egendom och Bentham: utvecklingslinjer i svensk folkskundervisning mellan feudalism och kapitalism, 1809–1860 (Uppsala: Uppsala University, 1992), 56–8, 77, 168, 188.

and civil citizenship, and an exclusive, active and political citizenship. Consequently, the early nineteenth-century discourse around civic education simultaneously fostered these two citizenship conceptions, which coexisted in an educational system that was able to cast pupils as either subjects (comprehensive citizenship) or agents (designated citizenship).

This proposition is investigated through discussion of the discursive and ideological constitution of conceptions of citizenship on two levels. The first is the national level, focusing on the national debate on education in Sweden, and the second is the local level, investigating the local schools and the school-setting discourse on citizenship. The sources used for analysing the national debate were mainly texts written by prominent males in connection with the two large educational committees appointed by the King, in 1812 and 1825. The selection of texts was based primarily on previous investigations and their use of these texts. In these debates the relationship between citizenship and gender is not evident, as these texts do not mention the pupils’ gender. The local school context is explored mainly through reports and meeting minutes. In addition, the analysis of the concept of comprehensive citizenship and the establishment of schools for poor children includes a study of the political reforms of poor relief and education at the time. Fourteen different schools for poor children from three Swedish towns are included in the study. However, analysis focuses primarily on two schools for which a more comprehensive body of material exists: the school for poor children in Uppsala and the Storkyrkoförsamlingen’s school (literally translated, the Greater Church Parish school) in Stockholm. The section on designated citizenship in the public schools (grammar schools and gymnasiums) mainly makes use of reports from individual schools as part of the school audits of 1824, 1832 and 1843.

At the school level the discourse on citizenship in schools is studied from a corpus consisting mainly of speeches and orations held in schools. The investigation of the local rhetorical constitution of citizenship is based on a corpus of 17 preserved printed or handwritten Swedish-language speeches from the period 1816–1847.

Most of the sources analysed in this article do not distinguish between elementary and secondary education. Instead they distinguish between different kinds of schools for different social classes. Crucial to understanding the analysis of the different conceptions of citizenship is therefore a basic knowledge of the Swedish school system in the early 1800s. Before the Swedish national school act for elementary schooling was passed in 1842 the only forms of public schools that received funding from the state in Sweden were grammar schools (trivialskolor up until 1820 and läromässkolor and apologistskolor after 1820) and gymnasiums (gymnasier) in certain cities. Beside these there were also a growing number of schools that catered to the education needs of the working classes. These schools were often referred to as parish schools (sockenskolor) in rural areas or poor schools (fattigskolor) in the cities and they were either privately

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financed or funded by the municipality. As a result of the School Act of 1842 every parish had an obligation to organise elementary schools (folkskolor) that in time received limited funding from the state.

Comprehensive citizenship in the public debate

The idea of comprehensive citizenship was repeatedly used by those in the public debate who advocated that the state should take on a greater responsibility for the level of knowledge within the entire Swedish population. This is already noticeable in school principal and publicist Gustaf A. Silverstolpe’s famous speech to Parliament in 1809, which has been seen as a starting point for the reshaping of the Swedish educational system during the 1800s.

Given that Sweden had a new constitution that among other things included freedom of the press, Silverstolpe argued that Sweden also needed to reform its education system to foster capable citizens. Instead of just educating future clergymen and teachers, Silverstolpe wanted the state to take responsibility for the education of all social classes. That he included all social classes in this plea for education of all Swedish citizens is evident in how Silverstolpe did not just address the peasants’ need for knowledge to be able to act as subjects and citizens, but also spoke about the need for schooling of the poor in order to make them into ‘good and useful citizens’. A comprehensive view on citizenship is also noticeable in several of the publications that came about as a response to the report from the Great Educational Committee (Stora uppfostringskommittén) in 1828, and these publications have often been cited as an expression of a new way of looking at Swedish society’s need for education. The most famous of these writers was undoubtedly Carl Adolph Agardh, Professor of Botany, who is often highlighted as one of the sharpest critics of the Swedish educational system in the early 1800s. Agardh was highly critical of the division of teaching by having different schools for different social classes, and in his reservation in the report from the Great Educational Committee he insisted that the state should have the right to ‘claim humanity and citizen-like conduct of all its citizens’. In light of this, Agardh also pleaded that the elementary schools must teach the things that every Swede had to know to be able to be a citizen. Agardh believed that all citizens should be educated in Christianity, morality, knowledge of

30For Agardh’s role in the debate, see Albin Warne, Agardh och lärverksfrågan (Stockholm: Fören. för svensk undervisningshistoria, 1956).
the fatherland, arithmetic and writing, these were skills that that he believed all citizens must be given the opportunity to acquire.\(^{32}\)

Similar ideas were also presented in separate publications that were published in response to the report from the Great Educational Committee. For example, the vicar Carl Abraham Bergman emphasised in a publication from 1832 that all classes of society needed an ‘upbringing for true citizen-like conduct’.\(^{33}\) A similar thought was also expressed in the same year by Pehr Gustaf Cederschjöld, Professor of Medicine. He stressed that all knowledge that was considered necessary for a citizen of the state should be provided by the state for all of its citizens.\(^{34}\)

Interestingly enough, the idea of comprehensive citizenship was not only something that radical debaters embraced, it was also expressed by one of the highest representatives of the state when arguing for the need to reform the school system. This is evident by the anonymously published article ‘About elementary schools’ (‘Om folkskolor’) in the Swedish state-owned ‘Post and Domestic Times’ (Post och Inrikes Tidningar) on 15 February 1839. In this article, which was written by none other than Prince Oscar (later King Oscar I of Sweden), it was stressed that the goal of the Swedish elementary schools was to ensure all members of society a Christian upbringing, literacy, and basic knowledge of the history and geography of the fatherland, so that every Swede would have the opportunity ‘to fulfil their duties as a human being and citizen’.\(^{35}\)

**Designated citizenship in the public debate**

Although many of the publications regarding the Swedish educational system during the first half of the nineteenth century contain arguments that are based on the idea of comprehensive citizenship, it is also clear that this did not mean that the authors meant that all children should attend a common school for all. This becomes apparent through a detailed analysis of the arguments put forward, for example by Silverstolpe and Agardh. Although Silverstolpe talked about the educational needs of all citizens in his speech to Parliament in 1809, he was mainly concerned with the education of middle-class sons. The educational needs of peasants and the poor are mentioned almost in passing. A few years later, when he elaborated how the Swedish schools ought to be organised in a new publication, it is clear that he wanted different schools for different social classes, including special parish schools for the peasants in the countryside.\(^{36}\) It should be noted that the children of peasants were often referred to in gender-neutral terms.

A similar line of argument can also found be found in Agardh’s reservation in the report from the Great Educational Committee, although he argues extensively against sending schoolchildren to the various kinds of schools at an early age. In a similar way

\(^{32}\)Ibid., 115, 120.

\(^{33}\)Bergman, ‘Om Svenska scholväsendet eller Elementar-Scholan’, in Tidiga enhetsskoletankar: Agardh (see note 27), 149.


\(^{35}\)[Prins Oscar], ‘Om folkskolor’, in Tidiga enhetsskoletankar: Oscar I (see note 34), 128.

to Silverstolpe, Agardh argued that society consisted of three classes of citizens: the working class, the middle class and the educated class—and these had different educational needs. Furthermore, he did not want all children to receive their initial education in the same schools. Instead, he argued for the establishment of two kinds of elementary schools. Agardh proposed what he called ‘complete schools’ in the cities, which would provide a coherent education from elementary school to grammar school and gymnasium. Alongside these schools, special elementary schools also needed to be established, which would teach the pupils only basic skills. An important difference between these types of schools would be that while the complete schools would require that the parents paid a tuition fee, the elementary schools would provide their education free of charge.37

Apart from the fact that many of those who agreed with the concept of comprehensive citizenship wanted different schools for different social classes, there were also a number of debaters who connected the different educational needs of different social classes to citizenship. In an article in the Magazine for Parents and Teachers (Magasin för föräldrar och lämare) in 1811, the publicist and principal, Carl Ulric Broocman, argued that there should be one kind of school for the working population and other schools for those whom he saw as future citizens. The goal of the latter schools should be ‘to give a general human and civic formation to the youth’s mental powers’.38

Furthermore, there are also examples of debaters who referred to all children as citizens when they actually only meant the sons of the middle classes. This is evident in a publication from 1823 by the teacher and historian Anders Fryxell. Although Fryxell begins by talking about the importance of not creating different schools for different social classes, the main content of the text is about the importance of not separating the middle-class sons into different schools on the grounds of their future plans. This is clearly demonstrated in the following quotation:

Now the author asks if it would not be more consistent to allow all children to begin with their civic formation, because all of them, both scientists and government officials, shall be citizens; then on the other hand stands in the wide field, whether a boy in a grammar school henceforth should become a government official or not? Only when this general education is acquired, ought the education for service as a government official begin?39

Fryxell begins by talking about all children, but he soon narrows it down to only future scientists and government officials and their educational needs. The fact that these two groups are united by their need for civic education also shows that Fryxell views this kind of education as something that mainly the sons of the middle class are in need of.

**Comprehensive citizenship and schools for poor children**

The ideas about comprehensive citizenship are also evident in the establishment of schools for the poor. Urban schools for the poor were first established in eighteenth-century Sweden, long before the introduction of elementary schools. The schools were

37Agardh, ‘Slut-Anförande’, 119, 127. See also Larsson, ‘Enhetsskoletanken som försvann’, 34.
38Carl Ulric Broocman, ‘Om det offentliga läroverket’, in *Tidiga enhetsskoletankar: Agardh* (see note 27), 27–8.
39Anders Fryxell, ‘Förslag till Enhet och Medborgerlighet i de allmänna Undervisnings-Verken’, in *Tidiga enhetsskoletankar: Agardh* (see note 27), 44.
part of the developing charity and poor relief that was managed by the emerging middle class in cooperation with the church and other institutions. Poor children were recognised as being particularly vulnerable, and in 1763 it was decided that children would primarily be taken care of at home, or if that was not possible, then by foster parents. The development of schools for poor children could thereby be seen as an appreciation of a social citizenship for poor children, i.e. that poor children, despite a lack of functioning homes, should have the same right to education as other children of the lower classes. The education should keep them off the streets and prevent begging, and it should give them maintenance and the necessary knowledge to be able to pass the Communion, as well as future possibilities to support themselves.

Schools for poor children differed from other schools in both the curriculum and by being open to both sexes. Poor girls were not the only girls who received education, but they were the only girls who attended school. The schools for poor children differed in many ways; some had a wider curriculum than others, and some gave the children payment, while others were free of fees.

The schools also changed over time, most discernibly regarding the curriculum and the segregation or integration of the sexes, two changes closely connected to the view of the children and their future roles as members of the community. An examination of the records from schools for poor children shows that the pupils were sometimes referred to as boys and girls, but they were mostly described in gender-neutral terms as ‘children’ or ‘pupils’. However, a closer analysis shows that when the pupils were described in gender-neutral terms, boys and their needs were the norm. This is evident, for example, in a school for poor children in Uppsala that was established in 1784. Demands were made quite early that the children should not only learn how to read and do handicrafts, but also learn how to write. This was primarily important for the boys, but eventually girls were also included in writing instruction. The concept of ‘citizen’ is used in the records of the school, but in this context it has the same meaning as ‘member’. The main purpose of the school was to ensure that poor children would become ‘useful members in society’ and ‘of poor and miserable children, make honest and useful citizens’. The way to become a useful member of society, however, differed between boys and girls. The expected future, as seen in the school board’s view of the boys in the school in Uppsala, was that destitute boys could, as a result of education and practice, achieve social advancement, either as apprentices or through further studies in the ‘Big School’ (Stora skolan) as Uppsala’s Cathedral School was called. For girls, consideration of their future was not as important; they would probably work as maids and later on marry boys of their own social class.

These ideas about social advancement for poor boys were not, however, the purpose of every school. For example, when the new Storkyrkoförsamlingen’s school

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41 Elisabeth Engberg, I fattiga omständigheter (Umeå: Umeå University, 2005), 57–61.
42 In the two schools for poor children focused on in this article, the pupils were paid.
43 Uppsala Stadsarkiv (Uppsala City Archives), Läse- och arbetsskolan, Direktionsprotokoll, 1784–1819 Al:1, May 10, 1786.
44 Ibid., February 16, 1786.
for poor children was established in the centre of Stockholm in 1794 the purpose of
the school was initially to keep the poorest children off the streets and to give them
as much knowledge as was required to pass the Communion. In the Royal
Resolution of the school it was clearly stipulated that the purpose of education in
the school should not be to 'pull' the children 'from their parents' occupations', but
only to give them the 'bare necessities of Christianity' and accordingly make them
'virtuous and useful to the working community'. In addition, for those children who
wanted it, they could also get some basic knowledge of writing and counting
*(quatuor species)*.46

Just a few years later, however, all pupils in the school were to be able to write and
count, and the voluntary subjects had been widened to cover broader knowledge of
society. There are notes about 'both' sexes in the sources. However, as the school grew
in numbers of pupils, in 1806 boys and girls were divided into two classes, one for boys
and one for girls, and soon there were four classes, two for boys and two for girls.47

This development seems to have caused problems for the school, and some of the
poor girls might have crossed the line for underclass women by receiving 'too much'
knowledge. Perceptions of gender and class intersected, to the disadvantage of the poor
girls. Attached to the answers from the school to the survey conducted by the state
committee on education in 1812 is a document written by a teacher at the school, Per
A. Simberg, with the title 'The danger of citizen education [*Medborgarbildning*] for poor
girls'. This text is interesting because it is one of the few texts found in the source
material of the poor schools that explicitly deals with matters of gender, class and
education. First, Simberg stated that allowing a working class girl to read all day is
counter to the concept of her 'fulfilling her destiny'. Doing so, it was argued, would
reduce her willingness to work within the household, and also prevent the development
of her skills in those tasks. Why should a 'woman in the working [*närande*] community
know the names of ancient kings of the fatherland', he wrote, adding that she could in
any case never reach the 'enlightened researcher's view'. Both her ignorance and her
'longing to shine amongst equals' would ultimately cause 'delusions'. Even worse,
according to Simberg, would result when a girl moved from her inborn 'natural gifts
and happy appearance' towards a dislike of her social background, striving to reach
higher status. In that case, he argued, 'an obstinate temper and high pretensions' would
occur among those whose role is actually to serve others. Therefore, his opinion was
that the school should return to the Royal Regulation of 1798, and he cited section 2
(referred to earlier), which stated that the school should give the children only the
'bare necessities of Christianity' and, moreover, he placed their role in society in italics – to
become 'virtuous and useful *members of the working community*'. He therefore sug-
gested that the girls should be taught 'women's handicraft' for half of their time in
school, using the other part for reading. His conviction was that in this way the school
would serve 'society and humanity'.48

46 Stockholms Stadsarkiv (Stockholm City Archives), Storkyrkoförsamlingen, In- och utgående handlingar E1. Kungl. Maj:
ts resolution 1798, § 3 and 4.
47 Bror Rudolf Hall, *Acta till Stockholms folkundervisnings historia 1533–1847* (Stockholm: Föreningen för svensk under-
visningshistoria, 1940), 163–4.
The statement made by the teacher at the Storkyrkoförsamlingen’s school in 1812 reflected conservative ideas concerning the role of education in society in keeping the various social groups in their proper places. In addition, his ideas did in fact reflect a trend towards segregation of girls and boys in schools for poor children. However, just a few years before, poor girls had attended the ordinary schools in Stockholm.

In Stockholm in 1805, a Royal Committee was set up with the purpose of reforming poor relief. The fact that poor girls were not attending schools to any great extent was seen as a ‘disgrace to humanity’. Without education, these ‘immoral and uneducated girls could not become anything other than unskilful in their performance of the duties of servants and mothers’.\textsuperscript{49} If the girls did not receive an education, they would be ‘ignorant, uneducated and therefore immoral’ and they would become ‘deplorable wives, bad mistresses and incompetent mothers’. Therefore, education should be given to ‘both sexes’.\textsuperscript{50} These ideas certainly reflected Christian thinking about the importance of education for good conduct and morality, but another interesting aspect is how these ideas were expressed with respect to poor girls and their prospective future as mothers, and how poor girls were therefore seen not only as problematic, but also as the means by which to bring about a better future. Although not explicitly expressed, this discussion reflected a comprehensive idea about citizenship in society: whereas men could achieve an active, political citizenship including rights and duties, women were to perform indirect citizenship through motherhood. For women of the middle classes, motherhood eventually extended to a societal motherhood. Even though these women were deprived of political influence, they could still act as societal mothers within the areas of charity and philanthropy, such as education for poor children.\textsuperscript{51}

Just a few years later, specific girls’ schools were established in Stockholm as well as elsewhere in Sweden.\textsuperscript{52} In these schools, poor girls not only learned to read and write, but also learned various feminine skills and handicrafts, such as how to sew, knit and spin.\textsuperscript{53} Female teachers worked in these schools. For example, in Klara girls’ school in Stockholm, a female teacher was to be in charge of the school, and a number of married women were to supervise the school jointly with the pastor.\textsuperscript{54} These girls’ schools, or at least some of them, seem to have been more advanced in terms of the handicrafts being taught in comparison with previous industrial schools. It is obvious from one quotation about establishing specific girls’ schools, where the children should also learn textile handicraft, that it was necessary to make clear that this more advanced learning was not meant to make the girls ‘jungfrur och mamseller’ (unmarried women of higher ranks). Instead, the girls were seen as future ‘good maids’ and ‘wives’.\textsuperscript{55}

\textsuperscript{49}Ibid. Last quotation, see also Sandin, _Hemmet, gatan, fabriken eller skolan_, 182.
\textsuperscript{50}Ibid.
\textsuperscript{52}Kongl. Majts skrifvelse till Öfwerståthållaren, rörande fattigförsörjningens nya organisation, March 18, 1812.
\textsuperscript{53}Hall, _Acta till Stockholms_, 98; RA (the Swedish National Archives), Uppfostr. Komm 1812, Catharina, 1395, Klara 1389–93.
\textsuperscript{54}Ibid., Klara.
\textsuperscript{55}Ibid. See also Stockholms Stadsarkiv, Överståthållarämbetet för fattigvårdssärenden, Direktionens protokoll, AI:2 (1811–1829), September 21, 1812.
The establishment of separate girls’ schools was the result of a Royal Proclamation of 1812, although this proclamation was not consistently implemented in all schools. For example, in the St Mariae Magdalena congregation, a school for both sexes that had been established in 1811 continued to operate as usual. According to a report, it was stated that the school should prepare the ‘poorest of both sexes in this congregation, by their own abilities, to support themselves by trade, working in industries, or as servants for private persons.’ The development in the St Mariae Magdalena church school showed that it was not actually necessary to segregate boys and girls in the lowest layers of society into specific schools, and this was also true for other schools for poor children in other towns. At the same time, as specific schools designated for poor girls were established, the view persisted that boys and girls of the lowest social strata could be taught in the same schools. Mixed-sex schools actually became institutionalised in the elementary schools – a fact that might explain why schools for poor girls have not usually been included when writing the history of girls’ schools in Sweden.

**Designated citizenship in schools**

In the case of civic education in the public schools (grammar schools and gymnasiums), it is mainly the so-called apologist schools that were created as a result of the School Act of 1820 that have been identified as a school form aimed at providing civic education. In the proposal that preceded the School Act, it was stated that it was an overarching goal that every young man who received education at the expense of the state should be educated ‘into a faithful subject and good citizen’. This meant an education that would lead ‘to order, legitimacy, reason and moral strength’.

However, a closer examination of the proposal and the School Act shows that it was primarily the apologist schools that would give a ‘general civic education’ while the grammar schools would also devote themselves to ‘a higher scientific cultivation’.

The fact that the general civic education was not something that was intended for all boys is noticeable in that the School Act demanded that all future pupils in apologist schools, grammar schools and secondary schools (gymnasium) must be able to pay their school fees and show that they had sufficient funds to be able to support themselves for as long as they were in school. As it turned out, these requirements became difficult to uphold in some places. This became particularly difficult in a number of Stockholm apologist schools located in poor and populous parishes. Already in connection with the school audit of 1824, it was reported from the lower apologist school in the Greater

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56 Hall, Acta till Stockholms, 185–96.
57 Some examples are the school for poor children in Uppsala discussed in this study, Djurgårdens school (Stockholms stadsarkiv, Djurgården’s folkskola, Kungliga Djurgårdsanmal, Handlingar rörande undervisningen, F1, 1–19), and the charity free school that was opened in Gävle in 1813 (Gefle weckoblad, 24/12 1813).
58 Gunhild Kyle, Svensk flickskola under 1800-talet (Göteborg: Kvinnohistoriskt arkiv, 1972), 41.
59 The apologist school was a type of school that existed in Sweden from 1820 to 1849. The teaching was similar to that in grammar schools, but instead of ancient languages pupils were taught German and French, and greater emphasis was put on arithmetic. Esbjörn Larsson, ‘Från lärda skola till läroverk: läroverksutbildningens utveckling i Sverige från rikets delning till 1878 års skollag’, Skolhistoriskt arkiv 32 (2009): 20–1.
60 Förslag till en förbättrad skol-ordning…: i underdånighet upprättad af den i nader tillförordnade uppfostrings-comité (Stockholm: Henrik And. Nordström, 1817), XVIII.
62 Hall, ed., 1820 års skoldnr, 14.
Church Parish (Storkyrkoförsamlingen) that the school had been overrun with poor young boys, who lacked both the resources and the skills required by the school statute, as result of the closing down of a poor school in the parish in 1823. The school had then decided to focus on teaching the boys to read, while excluding topics such as mathematics, algebra, natural history and general history.\(^{63}\)

The fact that the large influx of poor pupils was considered a problem for providing a civic education is explicitly emphasised in the report from the same school in connection with the school audit of 1832. This report also stated that the pupils’ lack of knowledge had led to a superficial teaching of natural history, algebra and practical geometry. As a solution for this problem the school considered the introduction of a preparatory class so that the pupils could acquire the knowledge they needed to be able to take part in all of the school subjects that the School Act required.\(^{64}\)

This problem was highlighted again by the Royal Board of Stockholm Schools in connection with the school audit of 1843, with a new solution on how to handle the large number of poor boys who entered the apologist schools without sufficient knowledge to be able to partake in all of the teaching that the School Act required. The solution had its background in the National School Act for Elementary Schooling that had been adopted the year before, and that required every parish to have a school for basic elementary teaching (known as *folkskolor*). This made it possible for those who lacked sufficient knowledge for an apologist school education to go to an elementary school instead.\(^{65}\)

The fact that this distinction between different schools for different kinds of pupils was based on the idea of different needs for civic education is apparent from the proposal from the Royal Board of Stockholm Schools. The board proposed that admission to the apologist school should be adapted to what the schoolchildren learned in the school for basic elementary teaching. In that way, the children who now left the apologist schools as a result of poverty, or because they had found employment in craft and industry, would have an opportunity for education without being ‘forced together with those that sought the teacher’s time for a more comprehensive education’. Accordingly, the proposer also believed that with these changes the apologist schools in Stockholm should be able meet the requirements of the School Act of 1820 and thus ‘become a reasonably complete educational institution for general civic education’.\(^{66}\)

This way of reasoning not only stands out as a result of the general belief that different pupils had different educational needs, but it also shows that a general civic education was considered somewhat exclusive for the upper strata of society.

### The local rhetorical constitution of comprehensive citizenship

The tension between different citizenship conceptions that is evident in the national debate, as well as in the local school organisation, is also visible in the rhetorical discourse produced locally. Even more so, the rhetorical discourse directed at pupils...

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\(^{63}\) RA, ÄK 854:5, Storkyrkoförsamlingens lägre apologistskola. See also 1832. RA, ÄK 856:3, Adolf Fredriks lägre apologistskola.

\(^{64}\) RA, ÄK 856:3, Storkyrkoförsamlingens lägre apologistskola.


\(^{66}\) RA, ÄK 857:4, Direktionen över Stockholms stads undervisningsverk.
defined and justified societal stratification as a basis for certain conceptions of citizenship – conceptions that were clearly differently articulated in the discourses in different types of schools.

The rhetorical constitution of citizenship is clearly detectable in orations from a large number of schools, including both elementary schools and grammar schools. At inaugurations, commencements and graduations, both boys and girls (depending on the school type) were in the audience when headmasters, teachers and bishops made speeches about the past, present and future of not only the school, but also those who frequented it.

Typically consisting of several parts, presenting pedagogical programmes, praising the virtues of diligent and pious pupils or pouring scorn on the idle or ungodly, often containing prayers, and sometimes poems or songs, the speeches or orations held in schools displayed traits of deliberative as well as demonstrative rhetoric. The composite nature of these orations reflects how the speakers were addressing multiple audiences, including clergy, teachers, local benefactors, parents and, lastly, pupils.

Although citizenship is not explicitly mentioned in every school oration studied, all orations deal with the expectations for the pupils concerning what their roles would be in society. The concept of society, however, like citizenship, was not unequivocal. As several speakers made numerous references to local persons – e.g. parents and benefactors – or to institutions as representatives of the society (samhället), it is obvious that the concept of society might refer to actual local communities as well as to more abstract national political and/or social entities. The pupils are constituted as citizens-to-be relative to this society/community, and the aspect of samhälle that yields the most plausible English translation (‘society’ or ‘community’) depends on the context and the audience, and more specifically on what part of the audience was being addressed.

This is illustrated, for example, in O.E.L. Dahm’s speech at the school celebration in Kalmar elementary school in June 1844. Turning to the pupils, Dahm reminds those who have been awarded grants for morality and diligence to show their gratitude towards the citizens whose generosity has permitted this delight. From earlier in the speech, it is obvious that by ‘the generous citizens’ Dahm means a large number of the town’s inhabitants. Here the context is clearly that of the local community. As Dahm, later in the speech, moves on to address the parents, he points out to them, ‘As you can see, the community has done a lot to shape your children into useful citizens.’ After a lengthy reminder that the school is not omnipotent and that a large responsibility therefore lies with the parents, he proceeds to express his gratitude towards the parents by stating: ‘The community is indebted to you, since you shape your children into diligent, honest and good citizens; for this is what the community needs.’

Both when Dahm addresses the pupils and the parents, he mentions citizenship in connection to samhälle, referring to the local community. It is this local community

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68 O. E. L. Dahm, Tal vid Skolfesten i Kalmar Folkskola den 21 Juni 1844 (Kalmar, 1844).
69 Ibid., 6.
70 Ibid., 5.
71 Ibid., 6.
72 Ibid., 7.
that consists of citizens (a category to which obviously both town-dwellers and teachers belong), that facilitates the formation of citizens, and that the pupils will eventually join as citizens.

This conception of citizenship is clearly inclusive; being a righteous and honest member of the (local) community certainly seems to qualify one for comprehensive citizenship. Although Dahm in his oration stops short of explicitly declaring every person a citizen (obviously one must be given a (moral) education first), his oration does not limit citizenship to certain social strata in the (local) community.

Neither is comprehensive citizenship defined in relation to a certain role in society. When Dahm in the opening of his speech addresses ‘the friends and benefactors of the elementary school’ (Folkskolans vänner och gynnare), he evidently envisions a comprehensive citizenship that is constituted in relation to samhälle as a larger, more abstract ‘society’. Here, Dahm posits education (bildning) – especially understood as moral education or character formation – as the mightiest power on Earth, as it derives its might from God, and every human being has an inherent right to this education. Education is an immense transformative power, God’s thunder that banishes darkness, savagery and violence. Furthermore, it pronounces peace in society because it ‘teaches every citizen not to extend their claims further than is allowed by law and equity, i.e. curbs forcefully the lust for power of the high and tempers the envy of the low’. Thus, Dahm presents a view of citizenship that, by means of a universal right to education, is extended to all people, and the ‘high’ as well as the ‘low’ are united in comprehensive citizenship.

**The local rhetorical constitution of designated citizenship**

Unlike the concept of comprehensive citizenship, which can be observed in the local rhetorical practices from all types of schools, the concept of designated citizenship is rhetorically almost exclusively constituted in orations and speeches held in grammar schools and gymnasiums. As with the elementary schools, these speeches typically consist of different segments, correspondingly addressing different segments of the audience – the teachers, the parents, the pupils, etc. The structures and characters of these speeches are thus basically identical regardless of the type of school in which they were given. Regarding contents and form, however, a significant difference can be observed between the speeches made in elementary schools and the speeches made in grammar schools. As argued below, this difference should be understood as an expression of the constitution of different conceptions of citizenship.

As shown above, the comprehensive citizenship advanced to pupils of all social standings, and to girls as well as boys, was rhetorically grounded, among other things, in belonging to local, national or religious communities. In addition to the promotion of this conception of citizenship, the speeches held in grammar schools and gymnasiums also presented their audiences with the prospect of a more exclusive citizenship.
based on civic agency and justified by heritage, tradition and specific elite competences.\textsuperscript{76}

In the speeches studied, all citizens-to-be are presented as equals in the eyes of God – at least in the sense that the line is not drawn between rich and poor or between boy and girl, but between virtuous and vicious. In society and in schooling, however, rather sharp lines divided pupils into different groups. Prominent in speeches from all types of schools is the idea of preordination, that every pupil – either by God, by society, or by nature – is determined for a certain societal niche and is expected to play a certain societal role. One important metaphor is that of society as a chain consisting of diverse links that together form a whole. This metaphor is utilised in official regulatory documents, for example, such as the instructional appendix to the School Act of 1820.\textsuperscript{77} It is also present in speeches such as the one given by Jacob Axel Lindblom at the inauguration of the new school building in Gävle a few years earlier, where Lindblom emphasises that in ‘the great chain … everyone should know their place, know what is sufficient for them, and appreciate it in peace’.\textsuperscript{78}

This simultaneously integrating and segregating function of schooling is important for understanding why orations from different schools all promote a general, comprehensive citizenship, while at the same time in some schools additional dimensions of citizenship are stressed.

Early modern state schools and gymnasiums in Sweden were oriented towards the education of future clergy, scholars and lower-rank officials, with a curriculum focused on classical languages and theology.\textsuperscript{79} An important aim was moral and civic education – raising schoolboys into virtuous, pious and eloquent men and into active citizens of the learned estate.\textsuperscript{80} This erudite legacy is visible in the speeches and public orations held in grammar schools and gymnasiums – the successors of their learned early modern counterparts – where such a legacy was invoked in the promotion of civic agency.

The advancement of the concept of designated citizenship can easily be observed in the speeches given by the influential bishop Esais Tegnér, for example, primarily in the grammar school in Jönköping and in the gymnasium in Växjö during the 1820s and 1830s.\textsuperscript{81} Especially in the speeches from the gymnasium, it is obvious that Tegnér is addressing an audience of older pupils, with some preparing for their departure to university. Less obvious at times is the line drawn between those parts of Tegnér’s speeches directed at the ecclesiastical segments of the audience, for example, and those parts explicitly directed at the pupils, especially because Tegnér in the latter parts provides the audience with significant references to what he has stated in the former

\textsuperscript{76}Rimm, ‘Speak of the Pupil’.


\textsuperscript{78}Jacob Axel Lindblom, ‘Tal Wid Kongl Gymnasii och Scholæ Husets Invigning I Geffle d: 15 October 1816’, The National Archives in Härnösand, Gävle Helga Trefaldighets kyrkoarkiv, K IV c:1, Skolrådshandlingar 1816.


\textsuperscript{80}Rimm, Vältalighet och mannafostran, 286–92.

\textsuperscript{81}Esaias Tegnér. Tal vid särskilda tillfällen. [1–II] (Stockholm: Norstedt & söner, [1831; 1841]).
parts. Tegnér therefore appears to address the pupils as young persons, on the threshold of adulthood, who will soon engage in the discourse community of adult citizens.

In several instances Tegnér references his advocacy of a classical (or neohumanist) education as the foundation for citizenship, as citizenship based on civic agency and participation. In his 1831 exam oration, he tells the pupils:

> In this time, there are several ways to happiness and promotion. We do not preclude you from walking which of them you may prefer, perhaps to the highest offices in the state, to stars and ribbons of manifold colours. But one thing I want to tell you in earnest. We praise different colours, and through this school none shall pass, that has not exerted himself for a purple patch of Cicero’s Toga prætextata or of Socrates’ cloak.82

Tegnér thus reassures the pupils that the school will do what it can to prevent from reaching the higher echelons of society anyone lacking not just a classical education, but also an education that hones the civic competences of old. In line with Tegnér’s general defence of a classics-based curriculum, education for what can clearly be labelled as designated citizenship had by necessity to provide insights into the political eloquence and philosophical wisdom needed for civic agency. For Tegnér, the pupils were not only destined to don the toga – the garment reserved for Roman citizens – but to prove themselves worthy of the toga prætexta that in Rome was worn by magistrates and priests. Passages like this reveal a concept of citizenship overtly based on education for exclusive societal functions.

In this sense, schooling in nineteenth-century grammar schools and gymnasiums appears as a continuation of the civic education historically provided by the learned schools. In this tradition also lies a continuation of the production of a common narrative of and for the learned estate, emphasising a classical heritage that had through history been used to qualify for citizenship and to justify a high social standing. With regard to citizenship, this narrative is a story within the story. The pupils were indeed – mainly by invoking religion and national subjecthood – presented as united in a common past and a common future together with other societal groups of citizens-to-be, but this primarily pertained to the civil aspects of comprehensive citizenship. However, the pupils of the grammar schools and gymnasiums were also part of another narrative, one based on a certain common past and a common future deriving from a tradition of designated citizenship that expected the pupils to become not only subjects, but agents.

**The two faces of citizenship in early nineteenth-century schooling**

This article has explored the development of conceptions of citizenship in the educational proto-system in Sweden during the first part of the nineteenth century. By investigating the national debates and local discourse on schooling, as well as the emergence of and changes in different kinds of schools, it has been able, first, to outline two leading conceptions of citizenship, sometimes complementary and, at other times, in conflict. The pupils should become citizens in their local community, as well as in their nation, but with different expectations. Citizenship was evoked and understood in

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82 Esaias Tegnér, ‘Wexiö Gymnasium (Juni 1831.)’, in Tal vid särskilda tillfällen [II].
different ways; it could be used in its inclusive meaning as well as in an exclusive way to separate groups from each other, to chisel out agents and subjects through the education system. Furthermore, notions of citizenship made it possible, through the education system and its discourse, to bring different individuals and groups together, both within the local community and in the nation.

Second, the article has shown how citizenship was thereby useful both in linking and in separating different classes and genders during the period when modern class society was developing. Poor boys were linked to boys of other classes as thoughts about social advancement became connected to education, while at the same time they could be excluded by assumptions concerning the importance of education for separation of the classes. Poor girls were linked to girls from other classes as future mothers, at the same time as motherhood became an important dividing line between men and women as active and passive citizens of the nation. Whereas speeches at both elementary and grammar schools contained elements of comprehensive citizenship, thereby linking together all social groups in society, designated citizenship was reserved for the local rhetorical constitution at grammar schools and gymnasiums.

These findings contribute to a more complex understanding of notions of citizenship than has been articulated by previous research on the links between schooling and citizenship. This article demonstrates the usefulness of studying how a concept such as citizenship, including its different uses and its changing meanings, was under constant political negotiation due to its competing grounds of inclusion and exclusion. Thus, this study has deepened our knowledge of the process of the expansion and diversification of schooling at the beginning of the modern period.

Acknowledgements

This article profited from the useful suggestions by the two anonymous referees.

Disclosure statement

No potential conflict of interest was reported by the author.

Funding

The article has been written as part of a project funded by the Swedish Research Council (grant number 721–2013–1228).

Notes on contributors

Åsa Karlsson Sjögren, PhD, is Professor of History at Umeå University. Her primary research interests lie in women and gender history from different perspectives: legal, political and social, 1650–1920.

Esbjörn Larsson, PhD, is Professor in History of Education at Uppsala University. His main research focus is the Swedish educational system during the nineteenth century.
*Stefan Rimm*, PhD, is Senior Lecturer in Rhetoric at Södertörn University. His main research interests are the history of rhetorical education and rhetorical practices in schooling.

**ORCID**

Åsa Karlsson Sjögren [http://orcid.org/0000-0001-8077-6578](http://orcid.org/0000-0001-8077-6578)

Esbjörn Larsson [http://orcid.org/0000-0001-6803-4010](http://orcid.org/0000-0001-6803-4010)

Stefan Rimm [http://orcid.org/0000-0002-0310-1929](http://orcid.org/0000-0002-0310-1929)