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# Investment patterns in Scanian primary education before and after the Elementary School Act of 1842

by

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*Abstract:* This qualitative study utilizes the so far seldom used protocols of parish councils to study the processes of investments in early primary education in 11 Swedish parishes in the southern region of Scania. The aim of the thesis is to study the reasons for investments during the period 1830 to 1850. The hypothesis is that farmers that have stronger property rights over their farmland are more likely to invest in education due to economic incentives. These investments were categorised as school buildings and teacher wages. The results suggests that economic incentives were in play, but that these incentives may also affect the farmers in parishes dominated by an estate.

*Key words:* Sweden, Primary education, Elementary School Act of 1842, Folkskolereformen.

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# Introduction

## 1.1 Research Problem

The 19<sup>th</sup> century was an important century in forming modern society, especially in Europe. Many processes, both economic and political were taking place and changing society. Among these various processes was the expansion of primary education. Sweden enacted a major school reform in the 18 of July 1842, which required all parishes in the country to provide at least one school within 5 years. Education became more organised in most European societies during the 19<sup>th</sup> century. The southernmost region in Sweden, Scania, had many schools, even before the reform of 1842. This means that Scania provides an interesting opportunity to study a few hypotheses on the underlying mechanisms for investments in primary education.

Much of the previous literature on the expansion of 19<sup>th</sup> century primary education in Sweden have understood the emergence of the modern state and the importance of the state as an instigator of educational expansion is often emphasised (Boli 1989:34-61; Petterson 1992:309-314; Sandin 1986; Westberg 2014:1-29). However, the macro perspective on the massive movements in Sweden and the western world may also obscure some other underlying mechanisms. Previous studies on education focusing on physical investments have shown that the underlying mechanisms for investments in education are difficult to map, but that there are tendencies within the rural communities of 19<sup>th</sup> century Sweden that were suggesting that there were regional differences, which are better explained as a result of economic and institutional preconditions (Andersson & Berger 2016; Boli 1989: 222-226; Klose 2011:215; Westberg 2014).

Some researchers argue that the economic transformation that came with the agricultural revolution in the first half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century in Scania gave opportunities and incentives for farmers to invest in primary education (Agrell 1977; Nilsson et al. 1999; Svensson 2006). The ability for farmers to invest is determined on whether they owned land or were tenants (Gadd 2000:208-210; Gustavsson 1989; Möller 1989), however, which may also have had an impact on how investments in education were made. These hypotheses require more detailed research on a local level to further investigate the patterns of investments in education during the middle of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. This is done through a qualitative text analysis of parish protocols.

## 1.2 Aim, contribution and limitations

The aim of this thesis is to provide a first look into the hypothesis of a link between freeholding farmers' economic incentives and whether different forms of land ownership in parishes may have influenced early investments in education in some parishes in south-western Scania, in the

area around the city of Lund. The material allows for a study of a 20 year time period: 1830-1850, stretching the period before and after the Elementary School Act of 1842. This provides a micro-level perspective on the expansion of education that has previously been primarily the subject of macro-level, or regional level studies. The added aspect of land ownership as a contributing factor differentiates this study in comparison to previous studies on the expansion of Swedish education in the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Eleven parishes have been selected to illustrate potential differences in outcomes due to land ownership. 5 parishes representing freeholder ownership and 6 representing estate ownership.

The contributions of this thesis is the use and highlighting of the relatively overlooked data material of the parish councils. This thesis builds upon the literature of Westberg (2014), Klose (2011) and Anderson & Berger (2016) to study the process of investments in education during this early phase of primary education.

The area around Lund in Scania provides an interesting addition to previous studies, as they have been done either nationally (Andersson & Berger 2016) or in a economically and demographically different region (Westberg 2014:34-40, 306-309). The results from this study may be used as a reference point for further research on the same subject.

The limitations of this study is that the number of observations is too small to fully test the hypotheses of previous studies. However, the study is expanding on the use of parish council protocols, which may be used in further studies on the subject. Therefore, the research question for this thesis is:

- What were the reasons for investments in Scanian parishes between 1830 and 1850? Is there any evidence that parishes dominated by freeholder farmers had higher economic incentives to invest in education?

### 1.3 Outline of the Thesis

This thesis is organised in the following way: the background chapter presents the context in which the research is taking place, and setting the stage for a theoretical discussion. After a background, a theory section presents the general theoretical discussion in the literature. After the theory, previous studies, and their finds are presented. The data section discusses the primary data: parish protocols, and their strengths and weaknesses. The methodology section presents the method used in the analysis. The results are presented in the results and analysis chapter. The findings will be presented and analysed topically and separately. Finally, the thesis ends in a discussion of the implications in findings in the concluding chapter.

## 2 Background

This section will present the background and context of the research. First, some core concepts in both the literature and in the source material are defined and explained. Secondly, the Swedish case is put in the context of the larger European and American processes. Thirdly, the 19<sup>th</sup> Swedish economic and institutional context is presented.

### 2.1 Definitions and notes of some concepts

This thesis is concerned not only with education, but also the context of the parish councils and the organisation of land ownership. From both a contemporary and international perspective, definitions and translations of some of the concepts mentioned both in the literature and the primary sources are necessary.

#### 2.1.1 Agriculture and land ownership

Agricultural land was divided into three major categories: *Skattejord*, *Kronojord* *Fälsejord* and. *Skattejord* is the land owned by farmers on the condition that they paid a tax to the state, and ownership was passed onto children (Gadd 2000:71-75).

*Kronojord* is land owned by the state, in other words, the king. Farmers on this land had some rights of ownership in exchange for a set amount of tax, and the right of residence was passed on to children. Stability for this group was lower than among farmers on *Skattejord*, but after some reforms in 1789, many farmers on *Kronojord* bought their land, effectively strengthening their position (Gadd 2000:75-76, 198-102).

*Frälsejord* is the land owned by the nobility, and farmers used the land, but paid the noble estate through rent, both in the form of labour and agricultural produce. Scanian nobility could often own land covering entire parishes, often organised around an estate and labour was especially frequent as payment. Restructuring and reorganising of land usage, organisation, and housing was common in the 19<sup>th</sup> century. This made the farmers and workers in *Frälsejord* much less independent than other forms of agricultural organisation in Sweden, as there were no guarantees of passing on the right to use the land for the farmers working for the noble class (Gadd 2000:76-77, 214-218).

Farmers on *Skattejord* and *Kronojord* are for the purposes of this thesis denoted as “freeholder farmers”, as their position compared to those on the *Frälsejord* represents the largest

institutional difference. Farmers working the land of the nobility, *Frälsejord* are also farmers, and when needed in distinguishing, they are termed estate-farmers.

*Åboar* is the term used for individuals who enjoy the right to work a plot of land, and live there (Gadd 2000:71-78). These are often referred to in the protocols, and are in the rest of this thesis referred to as farmers, as that is the most appropriate distinction between them and workers. There are both freeholder and estate-farmers, the distinction is expanded above.

*Torpare/Arbetare/Backstugesittare* are landless workers, and will be referred to as workers in this thesis.

*Hemman/mantal* is the term for the productivity of a farm household, and forms the basis from which tax is collected (Gadd 2000:64-67). This term plays a greater role, as voting rights within the parish council was awarded due to the amount or ratio of a *hemman* or *mantal* (Andersson & Berger 2016; Gadd 2000:208).

### 2.1.2 Currencies

There were several currencies coexisting in Sweden for the first half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. The basic unit is the *Riksdaler*, however there were several variants. This thesis will convert all forms of currency into the *Riksdaler Banco*, or “rdr Bco” in short. This was the currency most prevalent in the documents, but there were also *Riksdaler riksgälds* (rdr rgs) featured in the protocols and only used for reference (Jörberg 1972:78-79). For reference to the value of a rdr Bco: the annual wage of an agricultural worker could be around 100 rdr Bco (Klose 2011:223).

### 2.1.3 Parishes

The parish, or the *Socken* was an administrative and clerical division of all land in Sweden, and the parish evolved into the modern municipalities. The parish corresponded roughly to a church with a congregation, and the land surrounding it. A vicar was in charge of one or two parishes. The parish was mandated to organise a *Sockenstämma*, or a parish council, in which all land owners, and farmers with permission from the landowner were eligible to vote (Gustavsson 1989:37-39). The parish provides this thesis with a geographical and political unit in which different forms of land ownership is recorded, and the protocols from the parish councils is used as the material for the research

## 2.2 The spread of primary education in the 19<sup>th</sup> century

There are a multitude of perspectives that have been used to describe the major changes in European education during the 19<sup>th</sup> century. This historical process can be understood in many ways, but this thesis will focus on the expansion of education in terms of institutions, such as schools and teachers.

One common aspect of the early primary education is the role of central institutions, such as the state and the church (Boli 1989:34-57). Whose role is often exemplified in the enactment of school reforms in western states during the 19<sup>th</sup> century (Westberg 2014:20-29). Prussia implemented the first national public school system in 1763; Denmark 1814, France 1833, Sweden 1842, the Northern US 1830-1860, and England as late as 1870 (Westberg 2014:20-21; Ramirez & Boli 1987). Although these dates do not fully reflect actual investments or implementations, they do reflect the national political support for public education (Ramirez & Boli 1987). By the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, most Western European nations had forms of primary schooling for the majority of its population (Lindert 2004: 88-89; Westberg 2014:20-21; Ramirez & Boli 1987).

The origins of primary education is disputed. Because of the varying timings of both industrialisation and other forms of processes in the countries which expanded education, other processes such as nation building, and the formation of modern polity in some narratives (Archer 1979:4-21; Boli 1989;). However, recent literature emphasises the importance of the local institutions in conjunction with the state (Andersson & Berger 2016; Lindert 2004:100-125; Westberg 2014: 25-29).

Education before its standardisation during the late 19<sup>th</sup> century was characterised by great differences in the quality and content of the education among countries, and any meaningful comparison between would be difficult (Houston 1988:230-234). In general, though, there are a few common traits. The early primary education in Europe was closely associated with the Christian churches on an institutional level. These ecclesiastic institutions often had a strong influence on educational policy and institutions (Boli et al. 1985; Ramirez & Boli 1987). The organisation of schools were also often local. Most notably, Germany and the United states had a particularly decentralised characteristic (Lindert 2004: 100-125). However, depending on the different institutions of region and countries, expansion of education was most likely the result of bigger movements than simply an output of the state, and there are many interest groups that may have had a large role in the patterns of how investments in education was made (Archer 1979:262-270; Lindert 2004: 100-125; Andersson & Berger 2016).

## 2.3 The historical context of 19<sup>th</sup> century Sweden

The expansion of education is part of a larger transition in Swedish society. The agricultural revolution had a profound effect on rural Swedish and Scanian institutions, and this enabled investments in education. Economic conditions had already been improving during the late 18<sup>th</sup> century, and further developments sparked an agricultural revolution in the 19<sup>th</sup> century. The institutional situation in rural Sweden was in a transitional period, and education is an interesting example of this expanding institutional framework. This historical overview will first introduce the agricultural advances made at this time, and secondly the institutional differences between freeholder and tenants, and lastly an overview of education and its development.

### 2.3.1 Agricultural revolution and institutional change

Sweden was not an industrial society at the beginning of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, and the economic situation of Sweden was generally poor and relied on low-productivity agriculture. The situation changed quickly, however, and productivity in agriculture increased, and Sweden had industrialised at the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century (Svensson 2001: 235-239; Ljungberg & Nilsson 2008).

Much began to change in Swedish agriculture at the beginning of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. The land enclosures of 1803 (*Enskifte*) in Scania and the following land enclosures reformed the organisation of land, and together with other improvements in agriculture turned Sweden into a net exporter of agricultural goods in contrast to having been a net importer (Nilsson & Pettersson 1990). Scania in particular improved its agricultural production massively, the increase remains strong even when accounting for the population increase at the time (Olsson & Svensson 2010).

The role of the landed nobles and the estates in the process have in earlier literature been seen as very important, since investments and land enclosures are costly, and only large estates would have the capabilities for such measures. The important role of the landed elites in the transition from a feudal to a commercial and capitalistic system is especially emphasised in the literature of English agricultural revolution (Möller 1989:135-137). The Swedish estates were changing their organisation from mostly having tenant farmers to using the labour of farmers more intensively on the estate land. Many Scanian estates in particular took additional steps, and followed the English model of unifying all land into estate-run farms worked by landless workers (Gadd 2000:211-220). These changes brought predictability and risk management for the estate (Gadd 2000:219-220), and Scanian estates were introducing many new agricultural innovations during this time, and were drivers of agricultural development (Möller 1989:140-143).

However, the freeholder farmers are more and more highlighted as important drivers for agricultural development. Following the first land enclosures by landed nobles in Scania, enclosure movements spread rapidly in the fertile Scania region (Gadd 2000:283-291). Productivity increased in both tenant farmers and freeholder farmers, but among freeholders completely owning their land especially (Olsson & Svensson 2010). The increased production and productivity in agriculture empowered farmers, giving them access to external commercial networks in both physical and capital markets. It also allowed further opportunities for investments, in for example education (Svensson 2001:223-234). Freeholder farmers were also very active in forming local institutions. Not only in agricultural market formations, but also in education, poverty relief and financial institutions (Svensson 2006).

The enclosure acts had the added effect of breaking the previous village community in Scania, making way for the parish councils, which became important institutional entities for the farmers in the parishes. The parish councils were often the formal institutions through which decisions concerning control of granaries, basic credit institutions, and basic welfare and school finances were taken (Gadd 2000:208-210; Gustavsson 1989:95). The parish councils served as an intermediate between the state and the inhabitants in the parish. Political decisions were made by votes from landowning individuals. The role of the parish councils were often varied during the first half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century (Gustavsson 1989:94-103). They have been described as political social experiments resulting from the improved economic circumstances as a result of agricultural developments (Gustavsson 1989:14, 102-103). It was these councils that were transformed into municipalities 1862, where welfare concerns became an increasing concern (Gustavsson 1989:101-102).

In summation, the enclosure acts and the general improvements in agricultural productivity served to give farmers the ability to expand their political participation, and the ability to solve communal problems such as education. At the same time, estates were consolidating farmland and investing in new forms of organisation and technology.

### 2.3.2 Swedish primary education in the 19<sup>th</sup> century

The effects of the educational reforms in Sweden were great, and occurred during important time of institutional change and modernisation. The Elementary School Act of 1842 brought organisation and demands, where there had previously been little.

Public education before the reform of 1842 must be seen from its roots in the protestant reformation, where Lutheran belief stressed the ability of the individual to read religious documents, in particular Luther's catechism (Sandin 1986:50). The ability to read and repeat the catechism was demanded and enforced more directly in the 17<sup>th</sup> century (Sandin 1986:46-47). The ability to read was originally supposed to be taught within the family unit, but this was sometimes deemed insufficient, and churches started to teach the children of the village using the bell-ringer as a tutor (Sandin 1986:54-59). There is some debate as to the quality of the

education of the early 19<sup>th</sup> century in Sweden, but the quality and numbers of tutors and buildings were steadily increasing (Bergström 2000:155-166).

At this early time, much of the education that was organised was done by ambulatory teachers, visiting villages and teaching children irregularly, and getting paid in food and housing (Klose 2011:171-173, 215-219). In the diocese of Lund, including the region of Scania, the number of children receiving education by a full-time teacher increased from 2503 in 1812, to 19,482 in 1839, and the number of full-time employed teachers increased in favour of the ambulatory teachers (Klose 2011:215-219). Lund diocese also saw a major increase in the construction of schools after 1812, coinciding with educational surveys issued by church authorities (Klose 2011:220).

The Elementary School Act of 1842 demanded that the parishes of Sweden should form school districts within the parish, and provide at least one school per school district within 5 years, which led to the construction of schools and employment of teachers (Westberg 2014:20-23, 110-114). While there were already many schools in Scania, in other parts of the country, the Elementary School Act of 1842 was important in that it had put pressure on the parishes to invest, which in other regions, they had not done to a large extent before 1842 (Westberg 2014:301-303). There was a large increase in school buildings and teachers in the period after the Elementary School Act of 1842 (Boli 1989:227-231). To what extent the reform had a causal link to the expansion is unclear, but it is very likely that it had a great importance, at least in official records of school constructions (Westberg 2014:301-303). In the years and decades following the reform, there were many standardisations in that teachers were required to have an official education, and a given minimum wage. Curriculums were standardised, and many other practices (Boli 1989: 227-231). The introduction of professional teachers and new schools were associated with considerable costs, and schools and teachers were paid mostly by the inhabitants of the parishes, either through taxes, donations, or by loans from local agricultural creditors (Klose 2011:220-222; Westberg 2014:288-289). The state was also a factor in finance, as parishes that could not afford the minimum wage of teachers were allowed a subsidy from the state (Andersson & Berger 2016; Klose 2011:223).

In summation, the educational system became more organised during this period, notably in how education became stationary both by employing full time teachers and building schools. Following the reforms of 1842 and later, many parishes in Sweden were building their first schools, and others built more (Klose 2011:215-219; Westberg 2014: 34-37).

# 3 Theory

This chapter will discuss what previous literature has found about investments in education. The mechanisms and factors affecting investments are discussed and presented. Firstly, the hypothesis of a demand for education among farmers. Secondly, the role of the institutional organisation on investments in education is in the form of land ownership. Thirdly, previous research that has done similar studies are examined, and used as a base of reference.

## 3.1 Demand for education

The incentives for investing in education is tied to the economic benefits from it, sometimes called human capital. It is believed that farmers, and in particular freeholder farmers had incentives to invest in human capital, as their economic conditions improved during the agricultural revolution.

The theory that agricultural development being a driver of investments in primary education have gained importance recently, as researchers point out that investments in education has sometimes come earlier than industrialisation, which was the traditional interpretation (Westberg 2014:28). In fact, agrarian societies have tended to have a correlation with high levels of investments in education (Westberg 2014:28-29). The general pattern of how mass education was implemented is that in most European nations and North America, mass education came before industrialisation, and England was an exception to this trend (Lindert 2004:88-89).

Sweden had already experienced increasing productivity in agriculture by the time of the Elementary School Act of 1842. In Scania in particular, the agricultural reforms coincide quite well with the unusually high number of schools (Klose 2011:215-217; Nilsson et al. 1999). Agricultural production in Scania increased massively in the period after 1780, and more importantly, production increased faster than population increased, which was exceptional in a European perspective (Olsson & Svensson 2010). Economic growth was higher after the large enclosure movements in the early 19<sup>th</sup> century, which radically changed village structures and promoted property rights and incentives for commercialisation in the rural regions (Olsson & Svensson 2010). The power of farmers who owned land increased. The share of freeholders increased from 31.5 % in 1700, and was around 56% in 1825 in Sweden (Boli 1989:106).

It was during the time of agricultural transformation in Scania that schools were built in exceptionally large numbers compared to the rest of Sweden, and it was before the educational reform of 1842, which means that the peasants were financing the construction and maintenance

of schools themselves at that point, in both freeholder and estate parishes (Klose 1992:215). Agrell argues that the early expansion before 1842 in Scania was strongly influenced by the land consolidations, and in particular *Enskiftet* (Unitary consolidation) which simplifying land redistributions, thereby freeing up space to build a school on. (Agrell 1977:107-118; Boli 1989:151-154).

Like stated in the introduction, one hypothesis for the expansion of education is that an increase in human capital of farmers. When innovations and a developing market for agricultural goods became increasingly important, the farmer will have incentives to invest in skill, and pay the opportunity cost of labour. The skills needed to prosper were increasingly requiring formal circumstances (Nilsson et al. 1999). An investment in primary education during this period may have been a way for farmers to respond to what Goldin and Katz calls technology-skill complementarity. As commercial technology become more complex, a greater skill is needed (Goldin & Katz 2008:121-125).

Literacy could have given a farmer an advantage in the form of lowered transaction costs (Nilsson et al. 1999). If they could read and understand these contracts and the more formal agricultural market, they would have an advantage over their competitors. It is important to note that literacy can mean different things. The ability to read Christian literature was probably very common, but literacy in writing and reading was probably not as common (Nilsson et al. 1999). A supporting claim to the incentives of education for farmers is that the ability to write and design various forms of contracts and financial documents was taught in the schools (Lindmark 1994:150-165). Lindmark interprets his findings as indications of a demand of “commercial literacy” (Lindmark 1994:164), which implies an increased ability to absorb new innovations available to the farmer through the agricultural transition. This suggests that there is a relationship between agricultural developments and the demand for education. The hypothesis is therefore that there are economic incentives associated with schooling and formal education, meaning that investments in schools and teachers would have high returns.

This theory is supported by the higher rate of male literacy in freeholder farms in comparison to manorial parishes in Scania. Particularly before the 1830's, but also during most of the time span of this research (Nilsson et al. 1999; Svensson 2006). This is believed to be a sign of freeholder farmers having higher incentives than that of farmers in manorial parishes to acquire human capital. If such incentives exist, they might be found in the patterns of investment in for example school buildings or good teacher wages.

## 3.2 Institutions and land ownership

The return of investments in education is not uniform, however. The institutional setting of rural early 19<sup>th</sup> century Sweden is a web of government interests, emerging freeholder farmers, religious interest groups and land owning elites, all affecting the way investments in education were made, even very locally. This section will discuss the way institutions affects the way investments in education are made. Firstly, by an overview of the various institutions. Secondly, the institutional influence on freeholders in particular. Thirdly, the estate and their institutional circumstances.

The traditional theories how institutions affected the expansion of primary education is that of sociological theories of social groups competing in a power struggle. The researchers espousing this theory argues that people in the early industrialising society were prone to social unrest as they became empowered, with the French revolution as an example of this. Instead, elites, such as those in the US, Germany, and Sweden used education to instil values of nationalism, obedience, and respect of authorities in the lower classes as mean of controlling and pre-empt social unrest (Boli 1989:14-16). Critics argue that education would rather empower the lower class, and give them opportunity to mingle with the higher classes, who also went to the same school, and would be subjects to instilment of the same values. Interaction among social classes would surely not be means of controlling the lower classes (Boli 1989:19-21). While the importance of class and inequality of income certainly was high in most places of Europe at this time, it may be that the importance of inequality for education is perhaps not so much an abstract phenomenon of general society as a reflections of the changing institutional framework (Brenner 1985; Westberg 2014:295-305).

The parish councils, or parish assemblies were at this time an important factor in the changing institutional framework of rural Sweden. The parish councils were tightly connected to the bureaucratisation existing in both agriculture and society at large (Gustavsson 1989: 102-103), and it was only through the parish councils that the freeholder farmers could realistically construct schools, and provide some standard in local education. The access to credit markets and non-monetized forms of payment is also claimed to have been an important part of the ability of parishes to organise the financial means for expensive projects such as school buildings and teacher wage (Gadd 2000:208-210; Westberg 2014:260-289, 304).

The parish councils were very connected to the Lutheran Church of Sweden. The vicar was the chairman of the meetings, at least mandatory until 1843 (Gustavsson 1989: 28-29). The most important factor of the vicar and the church was that of the role of chairman, which likely brought power over the discussion during the parish meetings (Gustavsson 1989: 26-27). The local bishopric of Lund had made some surveys to inspect how education was being done several times in the decades before 1842 and was interacting with the parishes and their investments in education. These inspections may have been influential in motivating the early wave of school construction in the diocese of Lund (Klose 2011:219-220).

However, the parish councils may not have been as important in estate parishes that were dominated by a single, or few, landowners. Since the power over the parish council was determined by the amount of *hemman*, or roughly land ownership, parishes that consisted of land owned by a single individual would make decisions without the need for cooperation and compromise (Gadd 2000:208-210; Gustavsson 1989:30-40). The implications of differences in how land ownership will be discussed separately below.

### 3.2.1 The institutions of freeholders

The reason for the existence of educational systems is that they serve a function or a purpose to the group in control of the education (Archer 1979: 2-5).

The question is which this group would be in the context of freeholder parishes. The freeholders were not a uniform group, and in some places, these individuals would own a large share of the land, and be very powerful in a parish (Andersson & Berger 2016). The landless workers did not have a vote in the parish councils, and it was the land owners who had political power (Gustavsson 1989:37-39). There are also examples of farmers having a semi-farmer status in Scania, with only a very small piece of arable land, but in reality heavily dependent on wages (Gadd 2000:207). However, there are important differences in the way that incentives would work for freeholders in comparison to the nobles.

Freeholders played an important role in the many new local institutions that were formed in Sweden during this period. This included both financial and social institutions (Svensson 2006). The parish councils served as a way for freeholders to organise and establish a political will (Gustavsson 1989: 94-99). The parish councils were controlled by land owners, and in freeholder parishes, that would mean cooperation between the various landowners within the parish (Gustavsson 1989: 96-97).

The period from 1830 to 1850 was a time of institutional transition. Following the enclosure movements and agricultural restructuring, the farmers were given new opportunities for interaction. Institutional economics highlights the importance of good institutions in the process of economic transitions (North 1990:3-10, 61-69). Institutions are developed as a solution to the problem of uncertainty and risk. Institutions increases predictability and give incentives to investments. More importantly, institutions are the creations of individuals and their incentives to lower transaction costs (North 1990: 24-45). The institutional framework of the farmers in the local parishes in this research can be looked upon as democratic institutions in its infancy. The consolidation of democratic change relies on the expression of de facto political power (Acemoglu & Robinson 2006:30-38). In the economic transformations taking place in the agrarian economy at this time, there would be signs of an empowered peasant class, for example in the creation and consolidation of civil society and formal institutions, (Acemoglu & Robinson 2006:30-38) in this case, education. Following this argument, the only major obstruction for investments in education for freeholder parishes would be economic, in other words, lack of funding, or a lack of incentives.

Investments in education made in decentralised systems are typically less a product of elitist control, as the local polity is dependent on the cooperation and mediation between local actors (Archer 1979: 680). Considering this, the increasingly improving economic situation of Scanian farmers during this period would likely affect the ability to form a local polity, which could make decisions regarding investments in education, and their decisions whether to invest or not would therefore reflect their demands or incentives. However, studies on mainly the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century finds that parishes which did not contain any elites in the form of a dominating landowner generally tended to be unwilling to invest in education (Andersson & Berger 2016). However, this trend is thought to be more applicable on the later period of increasingly organised education, and the patterns of freeholder investments in early primary education may still be true, Andersson and Berger argues (2016). Between 1800-1840, 62% of schools built were a product of the parish councils, even though a sizable part of the minority was schools donated by nobility, according to a study in 1866 cited by Boli (1989: 222-224). Investments in education during this time was at the very least made by both the nobility and the peasant class (Boli 1989: 220-231).

### 3.2.2 The institutions of the Estate

Nobles were influential in investments in education, but their incentives for investing in education has been the subject of much debate (Boli 1989: 225-226; Andersson & Berger 2016).

The institutional framework of Europe was in many places changing from the old feudal system of agriculture to a system more in line with the new economic circumstances. In England, enclosures and centralising among the landed classes led to large land owners becoming more influential (Brenner 1985). The transition from feudal to capitalistic forms of agriculture was a phenomenon that was common to the most of Europe, and was also present in Sweden, and the Scanian estates (Gadd 2000:214-220; Möller 1989: 20-21). The consequences of this transition was a substantial increase of the number of landless workers in the western part of Scania, and communal housing for workers became more prevalent in favour of the older tenant farm system (Gadd 2000:214-220 Möller 1989: 91).

The position of the tenant farmer in estate parishes was characterised by their lack of property rights. They did not have much influence over the land they worked, and there were no guarantees of inheritance of land usage (Gadd 2000: 75-79). Especially following the unitary land enclosures, tenant farmers were subject to major reorganisations and their previous role as farmers transitioned into workers on the reorganised estates (Möller 1989: 133-138; Olsson 2002: 208-348-353). This led to a lack of predictability and property rights, which is negative to long-term-investments (North 1991: 61-69) Investments in education would therefore not be in demand by a population that would not benefit from it. The institutional situation would according to this theory be affecting the choices made in the parishes concerning investments in education. For individuals facing high risk in their economic position, it would not be rational to invest in services such as education, and have an increase in human capital (North 1991: 61-69; Nilsson et al. 1999).

However, as stated previously, the nobles did build many schools, and financed education in the period before 1842, when it became required (Boli 1989:223; Klose 2011:219). This was also the case internationally, as the nobility in many places were seemingly leading in investments in education, as cited by Andersson and Berger (2016). The motives for this pattern are up for debate, but many argue that nobles in estates often provided education as means of control. It is argued that elites were supporting education as a mean to maintain social order, instilling traditional values and preventing criminal behaviour, which was associated with the increasing share of landless resulting from the reorganisation of estate lands (Lindert 2004:100-101; Petterson 1992:309-314). This perspective see education in this time period less as a way to learn skills for economic purposes, but rather that education in the parish served to teach children values discipline and meritocracy (Petterson 1992:309-314). The incentives for landed elites and nobles to invest in education would therefore not lie in their interest of economic benefits, but rather social and institutional benefits. A counterargument to this theory is that investments in education from nobles preceded much of the agricultural transformation (Boli 1989:222; Klose 2011:97-104) which had led to the dependency on landless workers, which occurred primarily during the 19<sup>th</sup> century (Olsson 2002:347-349). There may therefore have been many other additional reasons for constructing schools, such as a sense of patronage or pressures from the church, for example (Klose 2011:57-58).

For whatever reasons, the parishes dominated by noble estates did build schools, but increased study is necessary to see what the actual patterns of investing in education looked like in estate parishes.

### 3.2.3 Conclusion of theory section

In conclusion of this theory section, the reasons for investing in education may be very varied. It includes both the active involvement of elites and nobles (Andersson & Berger 2016), but much of the evidence in the literature tends to point towards the importance of freeholder farmers investing because of an economic incentive (Nilsson et al. 1999; Svensson 2006). This incentive, in combination with the institutional freedom to enable investments within parishes free from the dominance of a single land owner seems like a plausible hypothesis for how investments were made in Scanian parishes in the period of 1830 to 1850.

### 3.3 Previous Research

While there is much literature focused on a macro perspective of education in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, the amount of studies using local data from parishes are less common. Noteworthy studies are: Klose, who studied local and regional data on a national scale on the time before 1842 (2011); Andersson and Berger (2016) studied trends in parish investments in relation to local political power around 1870; Finally, Westberg has made an in depth study on how some rural parishes in the middle of Sweden invested in education during the 19<sup>th</sup> century (2014). This section will review their findings, and what can be applied to this research.

Klose's study (2011) is indirectly using parish level data reported through the education surveys done by parishes and the state. These documents holds much information regarding the situation of education, primarily focused on teachers, but also school buildings. Although the reliability of the data in these surveys may be questioned (Klose 2011:42-44), they still reveal that investments in education within the diocese of Lund had exceptionally high levels (Klose 2011:215-223). This makes the diocese of Lund an especially interesting subject to study further in detail.

Andersson and Berger have studied the correlation between investments in education and concentration of land ownership in 1,151 parishes/municipalities (2016). Their results suggests that investments in education were higher where land ownership, and thereby political power, was highly concentrated (Andersson and Berger 2016). These finds are especially interesting, as it puts the hypothesis of freeholders having high incentives for investments in education (Nilsson et al. 1999) into question, at least in the later part of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. However, a weakness in their study is the lack of a detailed study on the processes surrounding investments within the available data in parish council protocols, which might obscure circumstances surrounding the investments. Their results is nonetheless important to include as an alternative to other previous literature.

Westberg has done a comprehensive and extensive study on a few parishes in the outskirts of the Swedish town of Sundsvall in the years 1840 to 1900 (Westberg 2014:34-35). His findings suggests that the link between farmers and the expansion of education is stronger than what many previous studies has suggested (Westberg 2014:295-300). Westberg does this by studying school buildings, and the circumstances surrounding their construction and organisation by looking at primary data, including parish council protocols (Westberg 2014:32-37, 40-42). The scope of the study is very wide, and encompass many details such as the prices of the materials of buildings, as well as the organisational and political processes surrounding the investments.

The findings of the study are just as the inquiry, very broad. Westberg is unwilling to come to any hard conclusions in regards to the larger debate on the origins of the expansion of education. He goes as far as to claim that the expansion of education did not have any goal nor any sense of overarching purpose (Westberg 2014:294). Instead, the reasons for investing that he finds are often simply population increase and poor conditions of the school building, for example (Westberg 2014:304-305) On a higher level, the answer is found in the plethora of various

processes and intertwining of modernisation, he argues, but he points out especially the importance of regional and local governance in this process (Westberg 2014:303-304). Westberg suggests that further studies should be done on other regions, internationally and in Sweden, and that the circumstances surrounding the local forces affecting decision-making in the spread of education (Westberg 2014:306-309). Studying the process of school buildings is a good way of surveying the extents of investments in education, as the costs of a building were considerable. The buildings become a more concrete point of reference in the academic discussion of education expansion, as many narratives rely more on intangible variables (Westberg 2014:29-30).

With these studies in mind, a study using parish protocols to find patterns in how the process of educational expansion looked like at a local level in the area around Lund in Scania might show different patterns than in the area around Sundsvall. The area and time of study also highlights the importance of agricultural development and the institutional circumstances that followed, and provides an opportunity to include an additional perspective to that of Westberg. Which has already been tested in Anderson and Berger (2016), and begun to being explored in Klose (2011).

# 4 Data

This data section is presenting the primary data in this study: Parish council meeting protocols. It also discusses the reliability and validity qualities of this material. Firstly, a presentation of the type of material. Secondly, a presentation of the specific parishes in question for the study in this thesis is made.

## 4.1 Parish council meeting protocols

The original purpose of the parish councils was that the local parish would decide and regulate the matters of the local church. For example reparations and financial responsibility. However, in 1817, the matters of the parish councils came to include more matters, such as poverty relief, health, insurances, and education (Gustavsson 1989:30-32).

1817 formalized the form, which was that the priests could summon councils twice a year, and the people of the parish were required to attend (Gustavsson 1989:28), however, the real frequency was often higher than that, around 8 or 9 per year, in previous studies of the area around Stockholm (Gustavsson 1989: 42). 1843 saw additional reforms, where the parish councils chose a chairman, a position no longer exclusive to the priest, and a parish board (Gustavsson 1989:29).

The extent of the right to vote is somewhat unclear. Freeholder farmers are clearly eligible to vote. Tenant farmers were also allowed to vote with the consent from the land owner in issues which did not require public expenditure. Non-land working people were allowed to vote if they paid a certain level of national taxes – corresponding to around 1.5 rdr Bco after reforms in 1843. However, this gave them a vote worth 1/16 *hemman/mantal* (Gustavsson 1989:37-38).

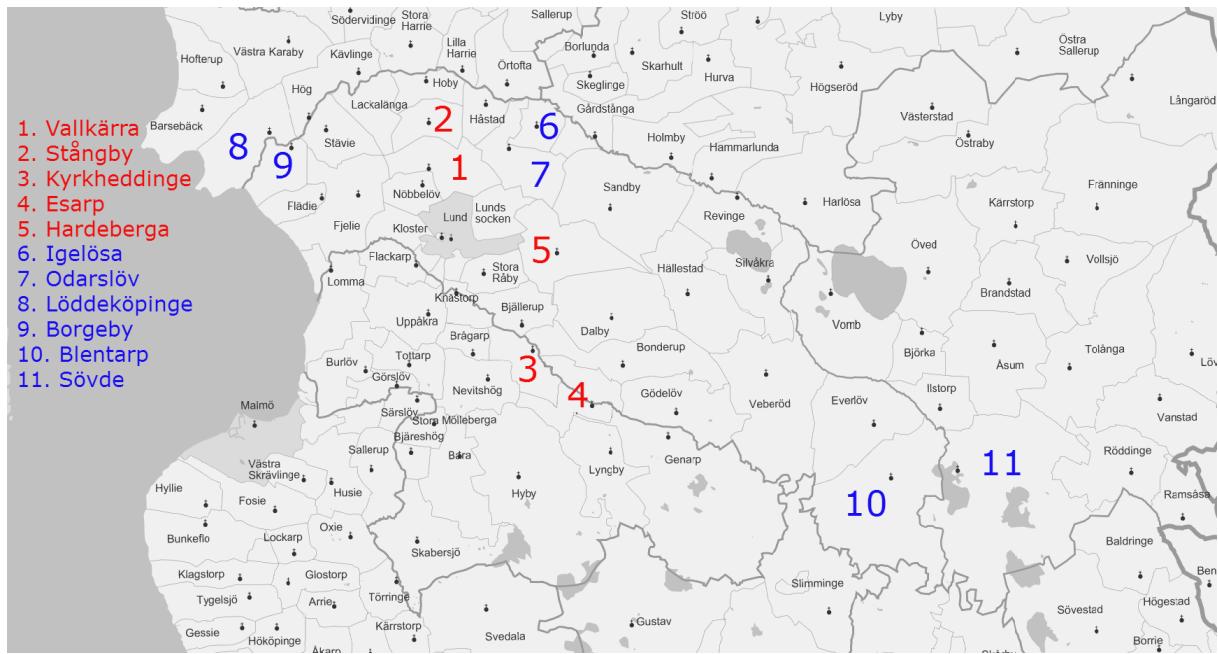
A potential bias in the material is that of the local vicar. Since they were responsible for the protocols, and the priest had incentives to show his initiative to his superiors, there is a risk that the priest could overemphasise his role in decisions (Gustavsson 1989:26-27).

The protocols of most parishes is only available in the original volumes or loose documents that were used in the parishes (Gustavsson 1989:18-19; Andersson & Berger 2016). The text material is difficult to read, and the language and handwriting in 19<sup>th</sup> century Swedish is time-consuming to interpret even for a native speaker in the 21<sup>st</sup> century. A visual example of a protocol from Esarp is included in the thesis as appendix A.

## 4.2 Parishes around Lund.

The 11 parishes analysed in this study are administrative territories organised around a church and a vicar. The parishes in the area around Lund were mostly organised by having two parishes share a vicar. Thus, the protocols of the two parishes are either parallel and ordered chronologically and sometimes combined for certain decisions, or they could also be recorded in the same volume, but one parish starting from the left side, and the other from the right, meeting in the middle. The parish Hardeberga was linked to Södra Sandby/Sandby, but there were no protocols available for that parish. The period chosen for this thesis is the period of 1830-1850. 21 years of observation in best cases. However, for some parishes, the protocols have gaps for some years during this time period, but this should not be of any major concern for the research, as the time period contains a lot of observations already for the 21 year period.

*Fig. 1 Map over the studied parishes. Red characters represents freeholder parishes, Blue characters represent estate parishes.*



*Image source: modification of (Edaen 2010).*

*Freeholder parishes:* Vallkärra and Stångby together. Kyrkheddinge and Esarp together. Hardeberga.

*Estate parishes:* Igelösa and Odarslöv together. Löddeköpinge and Borgeby together. Blentarp and Sövde together.

The parishes in this analysis are chosen primarily within the older administrative region, *härad*, of Torna. This was done to have the parishes similar in an institutional, administrative, and geographical sense. For the purposes of analysis of differences in patterns among freeholder-dominated and tenant dominated, the parishes have been selected after the share of *hemman* or

land belonging to nobles and freeholders respectively, according to records made by a bishop in 1765 (Gillberg 1980). There were more alternative parishes based on this source, but the lack of availability in parish meeting protocols limited that selection.

The share of noble land in these freeholder parishes were 0, or very close to it, except for Kyrkheddinge and Esarp, which was allowed to have a share less than 18 percent, because of the geographical coherency. The estate parishes had a share of noble land of 1, except for a few percent (Gillberg 1980). These figures should hold relatively well even for this period. Even though land ownership of tax-free noble land for commoners was allowed after 1809, and commoners purchasing tax-free land existed (Gadd 2000:202-203), most of tax-free land in the parishes in this thesis are belonging to larger noble estates, and even though large scale sale of manorial lands happened (Gadd 2000:93-108; Olsson 2005:148-150).

## 5 Method

The method used for the research in this thesis is textual analysis. This method allows for a systematic approach to systematise information. This is a suitable method, as the data source that is only available in the primary source, which is hand written books, containing the protocols from the selected parishes.

Textual analysis is a system of finding important content in a text by classifying the content under certain categories (Esaiasson et al. 2007: 237-238). These categories are, for this research, the posts in the parish meeting protocols containing information on education. Within this category, posts are further separated by topics. These topics categories are: School-building-related posts and teacher-related posts. In addition to these topics, some meta-observations on the primary documents: the frequency of meetings and trends in discussions, are made to help understand the context of the topics. By following this method, a number of posts are selected within the total amount of posts, which is the subject for further analysis.

After the protocol posts concerning school-buildings have been identified, they are studied in detail to find information on the process of school buildings: the stated reasons for construction, the costs, how financing was organised, timing, and any useful surrounding information. The protocol posts concerning teachers are studied to find: wages, collection of wages, and the circumstances of employment.

The findings from this analysis are then collected and compared. The results from the freeholder parishes and the estate parishes are compared, in order to answer what the reasons for investments in Scanian parishes between 1830 and 1850 were, and if there is there any evidence that parishes dominated by freeholder farmers had higher economic incentives to invest in education?

# 6 Results and discussion

The structure of the results is the following: firstly, investments in school buildings will be discussed. Secondly, the investment in wages of teachers is discussed. Both categories of investments will be presented as a comparison between freeholder and estate parishes. Thirdly, the institutional aspects of the expansion of education in the studied parishes is discussed.

A note on the referencing of parish protocols. The volumes used are chronologically structured, and organised into one or more volumes. Therefore, references to specific events are noted by year of entry, and quotes are referenced directly. Other references to the material is not directly referenced, as its source material is implied.

## 6.1 School buildings

This section presents investments in school buildings. To better communicate the findings of the investigation, tables have been included to summarize the information regarding the construction projects. Each construction project is discussed and presented in detail in order to enable a discussion of patterns in the investments in school buildings during this time period, and whether different forms of land ownership influenced this.

As the previous studies also have noticed, Scania already had unusually many schools at the outset of the 1830's (Klose 2011: 219-220; Bergström 2000:161). That pattern is familiar in the parishes in this study. Out of the five freeholder parishes, only one did not have a permanent school house from the start. Out of the six tenant-parishes, only one lacked with certainty a proper school house. This means that there was a relatively high amount of schools in this selection of parishes compared to the situation in the rest of the country, where over half of all parishes lacked schools in 1839 (Westberg 2014:59). The protocols of Sövde did not reveal the starting or previous conditions, but Sövde did have a school according to a report from 1768 (Klose 2011:68). The condition of this school by the time of the 1830's is unknown, however. Having schools in freeholder parishes did not necessarily mean that they were in use. After an inspection, following the Elementary School Act of 1842, it was found out that parents in the freeholder parish of Hardeberga were forced to send their children to other parishes for schooling, as there were not enough room for the children in the parish school (Hardeberga Dec. 21 1842 KI: Hardeberga kyrkoarkiv KI: 2). These examples highlights the lack of common sets of requirements in the practices of education before the major school reforms. On the other hand, the original schools recorded in the freeholder parishes are described as in need of repairs, and were often small. The freeholder parish of Esarp did not have a proper school house

initially. However, there was still teaching and seasonal teachers, but they did so in people's homes (Esarp Oct 13 1832 Kyrkheddinge kyrkoarkiv KI: 3).

If and when the previous school conditions are mentioned, it is most commonly used to emphasise the poor quality of the previous conditions, and the need for new investments. Therefore, the information regarding the differences between previous schools and the newly constructed or renovated is often limited to the descriptions during the discussions for building new schools, which may overstate the negative aspects. On the other hand, the quality of school buildings in the Swedish countryside were generally of very poor quality (Westberg 2014:101).

### 6.1.1 School investments in freeholder parishes

**Vallkärra** (Stångby kyrkoarkiv: KI:3): March 31, 1833: Several farmers had asked the vicar to convene a meeting to propose a new school building, as the old one was in a bad condition. The member recognized this need, and it was decided that there would be investigations on how to procure a new house in the best way, in regards to effort and financing.

April 28, 1833: An offer to build the new school proposed by a local farmer, who offered to build the new school for 892 rdr rgs (594.7 rdr Bco) was accepted, and was to be built according to the plans of the teacher in Stångby. The money for the project would be collected according to *hemman*.

May 26, 1833: There were some conflicts on how the distribution of how the payments would be collected due to the calculation of *hemman* in one of the villages in the parish, but was solved without interference. The school was reported as finished on October 27, 1833.

May 21, 1848: The school was deemed too small for the amount of children by representatives in the school board, and it was decided that the building would be expanded by a few meters, and some reorganization of rooms. Two farmers were appointed to this task, and it was financed by all farmers in the parish according to *hemman*.

**Stångby** (Stångby kyrkoarkiv: KI:3): April 13, 1845: The school building should be expanded to include housing for the teacher, paid for by the farmers in the parish.

May 16 1847: Some minor reparations on the school building is decided after inspection: installation of windows, improvements on the quality of the woodwork.

**Kyrkheddinge** (Kyrkheddinge kyrkoarkiv KI: 3): April 11 + April 25, 1847: Suitable locations for a school building are considered.

May 16, 1847: The people wanted to borrow money from the church to be able to afford purchasing land and finance the construction of the school. The church officials and the farmers agree to a loan of 1000 rdr rgs (666.7 rdr Bco) with no interest, on the condition that the parish will finance necessary reparations of the church.

**Esarp** (Kyrkheddinge kyrkoarkiv KI: 3): May 20, 1833: The vicar proposed the construction of two schools, one in each part of the parish. This was motivated by that the population had increased to over 700, and Kyrkheddinge, with the same population, already had two schools. The vicar suggested a request to the government, that a loan from the church of 300 Rdr Bco for the construction of two schools would be allowed.

April 6, and August 10, 1834: The loan was permitted, and the vicar instructed the people to find either a suitable location to build schools, or suitable houses that could be renovated into a school, but that the choice would have to be approved by the vicar.

August 17, 1834: A suitable house for renovation was found, and after some discussion, the house was bought for 16.67 Rdr Bco. March 15, 1835: Another house was found, but dismissed by the vicar, as it was too expensive to buy and renovate. A new school building was to be built instead.

February 24, 1839: Some farmers wanted to separate themselves from the jurisdiction of one of the schools, and build a school of their own, due to the distance and poor conditions of the road to the current school. The rest of the school jurisdiction and the vicar would not allow it, since it would cause disorder in the maintenance of the teacher, and the matter of the school had already been settled.

August 9 and 16, 1840: The vicar has seen the benefits of the monitorial system of teaching elsewhere, and has become convinced that this method has so many benefits, that building a single, larger school would be on the whole better, even though it may be a far distance for some of the children. The vicar proposes that this new school should be built, but everyone is not convinced. After a vote, however, the proposal to build a new monitorial school wins, some voted yes on conditions of exemption of payment.

March 28, 1841: The conditions on which some voted yes to the new school building was a subject of misinterpretation, and the following discussion caused people to question the project again, and the project was canceled.

#### **Hardeberga** (Hardeberga kyrkoarkiv KI: 2):

December 21, 1842: It is established that only a few children are educated in the parish, and others are forced to seek education outside the parish, and the current school house is very remote, and not fit for use.

September 14, 1845: It was decided that a new school was to be built close to the church, with only one farmer opposing. A loan of 200 rdr Bco from the church is taken to finance the new school.

April 14, 1846: A farmer offers to build the school for 2200 rdr rgs (1466.67 rdr Bco), and the offer is accepted.

May 8, March 25 1846: The old school is sold, and more money (133.33 rdr Bco) is put into the construction, as the building will also act as a poor-house.

May 28, 1846: When the construction was about to begin, some farmers refused to work on the project, as there were disagreements on the measurements of the building. An offer by another person for 2180 rdr rgs (1453.33 rdr Bco) was accepted.

August 30, 1846: The construction project is in need of swift payment, and the parish takes a loan of 600 rdr Bco from a bank in Lund to resolve the issue.

June 15, 1850: Additions to the school valued at 137 rdr rgs (91.33 rdr Bco) was made.

**Table 1. Timing of construction and extension and costs in freeholder parishes.**

| Freeholder parishes: | Preexisting school building | Year of first school | Year of new school | Costs in RD Bco | Size of school | Other           |
|----------------------|-----------------------------|----------------------|--------------------|-----------------|----------------|-----------------|
| Valkärра             | Yes                         |                      | 1833               | 594.7           | small          | 1848: extension |
| Stångby              | Yes                         |                      |                    |                 |                | 1845: extension |
| Kyrkheddinge         | Yes                         |                      | 1847               | 666.7           | large          |                 |
| Esarp                | No                          | 1835 x 2             |                    | 300/2           | N/A            |                 |
| Hardeberga           | Yes                         |                      | 1846               | 1453.33         | large          |                 |

Table 1 describes some of the important data that were extracted from the freeholder parish council meetings protocols. Each project are described above.

### 6.1.2 Summation and patterns in freeholder parishes

This is a summation of school investments in freeholder parishes, and the trends in these parishes. The reasons given in the protocols for constructing new schools in freeholder parishes are not uniform. The reasons given in the protocols are: population increase in Esarp; bad condition of school house in Vallkärra. These parishes invested in new schools before the Elementary School Act of 1842. This is what Westberg also finds as the reasons given in the protocols for construction of schools, although these were built much later in the 19<sup>th</sup> century (2014:121-122).

The early builders, Vallkärra and Esarp, make good examples for two different actors driving investments. The question of building a new school was raised by the farmers in the parish. The construction of the school in Vallkärra may be the best example of farmers both initiating the project and also fully financing it by themselves. In a generous interpretation, this could be an example of the hypothesis that freeholder farmers were investing in education because of an economic incentive. In Esarp, it was the vicar who was very active in pushing for investments, both the schools in 1833, and in his failed attempt to convince the farmers to invest in a new monitorial school in 1840-41. The protocol including the vote in 1840 (Aug. 16 1840 Kyrkheddinge kyrkoarkiv KI: 3) is very long, and most of the text is a speech by the vicar to influence the parish members to agree to his proposal of building a new monitorial school, which he argues is better in every way. In a way, eventual failure to inspire the people in Esarp to build the new school may viewed as also being an example of farmers acting on incentives.

There were already two relatively new schools in the parish, and the incentives for investing in a replacing one could very easily be interpreted as an investment with little returns.

The later construction projects in Hardeberga and Kyrkheddinge were motivated by the inspections and reports made by the diocese to make sure that the parishes were in compliance with the new requirements. This is also something very prominent in Westberg's results, where it pressured the parishes to invest in schools, where there previously were none (2014:110-114). The later constructions of and the expansions of earlier schools were probably undertaken both because of the increasing population and distance, but the pressure from church officials and the formal demands from Elementary School Act of 1842 were likely more important for the timing and launch of these projects, just as they were important around Sundsvall (Westberg 2014:114-116).

The most striking difference between this study and Westberg's, however, is that there were already schools in these Scanian parishes, where there were none in around Sundsvall (2014:115). The pressure from the church and state in the form of the Elementary School Act of 1842 may have triggered a new wave of construction by its higher demands on school buildings, such as room for teachers became required (Westberg 2014:112-113). It may also be the case that the Elementary School Act of 1842 served as a reason to discuss investments in schools that were already wanted by some, but who had not raised the question earlier.

An important factor in the financing of freeholder schools in these parishes is the local church. The parishes of Kyrkheddinge, Esarp, and Hardeberga all borrowed money from their parish church in order to finance the construction of their schools. There is no mention of rent-payment. Instead, the only conditions given in Kyrkheddinge were promises of repairing some parts of the church for free. Apparently the church provided a source of liquidity, possibly very important for the process. However, regular banks were also a factor in Hardeberga, at least. The schools were generally built by a contractor, often a carpenter, and was paid in currency. Borrowing money from the church to build schools was not a new phenomenon in the region, albeit not a frequent one (Klose 2011:103). Several of the schools around Sundsvall were also financed by loans from the church and private banks (Westberg 2014:282).

### 6.1.3 School investments in estate parishes

#### **Igelösa** (Igelösa kyrkoarkiv: KI:2): N/A

**Odarslöv** (Igelösa kyrkoarkiv: KI:2): November 22, 1840: It was decided already in 1836 that price estimations for two new school buildings would be made. One in the western part, and one in the eastern part of the parish. The western school was built in 1837 for 266.67 rgr Bco, and the eastern in 1838 for 333.33 rgr Bco. The land used for the school was donated by the baron. However, now in 1840, the farmers had trouble paying back the loan which was used to finance the construction, which amounted to 600 rdr Bco in total. It was decided that the vicar

should ask permission from the baron to use the church money to make a loan to pay back the original loan. The baron permitted it.

**Löddeköpinge** (Borgeby kyrkoarkiv KI: 1, 2, 3): N/A

**Borgeby** (Borgeby kyrkoarkiv KI: 1, 2, 3): N/A

**Blentarp** (Sövde kyrkoarkiv KI: 1, 2, 3): October 18, 1846: The meeting is called to discuss how to organize the education in the parish to comply with the requirements after the Elementary School Act of 1842. There were two propositions: the vicar proposed to build a single monitorial school, or build two regular schools. Most of the freeholder farmers in the parish did not want the monitorial school, as it would be too far from them. Yet another group wanted to renovate the old school. The representatives of the count argued in favour of the monitorial school. The freeholder farmers also suggested that the monitorial school was to be built in the middle of the parish instead. It was decided that only one school would be built by the parish as a whole, and financed by all, near the church. Any other new schools was allowed also, but not financed by the entire parish.

January 31, 1847: The large school shall be built near the estate, more south of the church. Two additional schools will be built by freeholders in the northern parts.

April 13, 1847: All tenant-farmers and workers will pay for the monitorial school through labour. 3 day labours for farmers, 2 for workers with houses, and 1 for workers without houses.

May 14, 1848: The entrepreneur will build the school with the help from the farmers and workers, and if they do not show up at the designated time, a fine will be the substitute. The total cost is 797 rdr rgs (531.33 rdr Bco), and would be finished in 1849.

**Sövde** (Sövde kyrkoarkiv KI: 1, 2, 3): October 30, 1842: The new school building that the count had financed is now finished.

**Table 2. Timing of construction and extension and costs in estate parishes.**

| Estate parishes: | Preexisting school building | Year of first school | Year of new school | Costs in RD Bco | Size of school | Other |
|------------------|-----------------------------|----------------------|--------------------|-----------------|----------------|-------|
| Igelösa          | Yes                         |                      |                    |                 |                |       |
| Odarslöv         | No                          | 1837 + 1838          |                    | 600/2           | N/A            |       |
| Löddeköpinge     | Yes                         |                      |                    |                 |                |       |
| Borgeby          | Yes                         |                      |                    |                 |                |       |
| Blentarp         | Yes                         |                      | 1849               | 531.33          | N/A            |       |
| Sövde            | Yes                         |                      | 1842               | N/A             | N/A            |       |

Table 2 describes some of the important data that were extracted from the estate parish council meetings protocols. Each project are described above.

#### 6.1.4 Summation and patterns in estate parishes

Odarslöv, which was the parish without initial schools built schools in 1837 and 1838. Both the vicar and the farmers had, for many years wanted to have a proper school (Odarslöv Nov. 22 1840 Igelösa kyrkoarkiv: KI:2). The driving actors for this construction process seems to have been the farmers and the vicar. The baron had donated land for the construction, which is a pattern also found in the area around Sundsvall (Westberg 2014:284-288). The baron was also supporting the plans of borrowing from the church to cover the failing repayments, and can therefore be regarded as part of the process, but does not seem to have had a driving role.

The count in Sövde seems to have had a much more active part in the construction process. The protocols from Sövde does not describe any motives for the construction, but the timing of the construction suggests that the school was built as a response to the demands in the Elementary School Act of 1842 (Sövde Oct 30 1842, Sövde kyrkoarkiv KI: 2). That is because late October 1842 is around the time where most parishes had acknowledged the reform in some way. The fact that the count financed the entire project supports the claim made by Andersson and Berger (2016) that investments in education was high in parishes with absolute control of the parish.

Despite the very active role that the count in Sövde had, there seems to be a tendency toward can both be described as self-management or lack of noble interest in the other parishes. The baron in Odarslöv did not seem to have been very active in the process. The parishes of Löddeköpinge and Borgeby did not make any investments during this time period, which can either be interpreted as good initial conditions, or an unwillingness from the landowner to allow investments in schools. The lack of data only allows for speculation.

The findings from Blentarp were both supporting the lack of noble interest, but was a special case due to the active role that some freeholder farmers played. The farmers owning land opposed the vicar's proposal to build a single monitorial school in 1846, thereby fulfilling the demands in the Elementary School Act of 1842. They demanded the right to build their own new school, and thereby forced a compromise, allowing the freeholders to build their own school, closer to them. The payment for all schools in Blentarp was also paid by the farmers and workers themselves (Blentarp Oct. 18 1846, Jan. 31 1847, Sövde kyrkoarkiv KI: 2). This unexpected case of freeholders who probably had bought some of the noble land is interesting, as it may be seen as an example of freeholder initiative.

More interestingly, there seems to be two patterns emerging from the estate parishes. One is that of the noble patron, investing in education with his own resources, exemplified in this study in Sövde, but is familiar in both Andersson and Berger's (2016), Klose's (2011:219) and Westberg's previous studies (2014: 284-288). The other is the passive nobleman and self-managing farmer, freeholder or not. This second pattern does not really correspond to the hypothesis of freeholder incentives (Nilsson et al. 1999) exactly, but there are definitely signs of farmers having an active interest in the decision-making process. Westberg's narrative of school investments as part of the process of self-forming in local communities (2014:303-306).

**Table 3. School buildings Timing of construction and extension and costs in freeholder and estate parishes in comparison.**

| Freeholder parishes: | Preexisting school building | Year of first school | Year of new school | Costs in RD Bco | Size of school | Other           |
|----------------------|-----------------------------|----------------------|--------------------|-----------------|----------------|-----------------|
| Valkärра             | Yes                         |                      | 1833               | 594.7           | small          | 1848: extension |
| Stångby              | Yes                         |                      |                    |                 |                | 1845: extension |
| Kyrkheddinge         | Yes                         |                      | 1847               | 666.7           | large          |                 |
| Esarp                | No                          | 1835 x 2             |                    | 300/2           | N/A            |                 |
| Hardeberga           | Yes                         |                      | 1846               | 1453.33         | large          |                 |
| Estate parishes:     |                             |                      |                    |                 |                |                 |
| Igelösa              | Yes                         |                      |                    |                 |                |                 |
| Odarslöv             | No                          | 1837 + 1838          |                    | 600/2           | N/A            |                 |
| Löddeköpinge         | Yes                         |                      |                    |                 |                |                 |
| Borgeby              | Yes                         |                      |                    |                 |                |                 |
| Blentarp             | Yes                         |                      | 1849               | 531.33          | N/A            |                 |
| Sövde                | Yes                         |                      | 1842               | N/A             | N/A            |                 |

Table 3 describes some of the important data that were extracted from the parish council meetings protocols. Each project are described in corresponding sections.

### 6.1.5 Comparison of freeholder and estate parishes

There are many similarities in how the two categories of parishes invested in schools. When studying the cost of schools, shown above in table 3, there are not any dramatic differences between freeholder or estate parishes. Except for the school in Hardeberga, the costs of the schools built before the Elementary School Act of 1842 in Odarslöv, Esarp and Valkärра seems to have been either cheaper, as in the case of Esarp and Odarslöv, or smaller, compared to the later schools built after 1842. This is to be expected, as the later and larger schools sometimes included housing for the teachers, and also emergency facilities for poverty relief (Hardeberga, Sep. 14 1845 Hardeberga kyrkoarkiv KI: 2). The cost of the later schools ranged between 500 and 700 rdr Bco.

The number of schools built in each category were also similar. The difference being that all parishes in the freeholder category invested in either construction or extensions of schools, whereas Löddeköpinge and Borgeby did no major investments. The timings, in relation to the reform of 1824, of schools built after 1842 is familiar to that of Sundsvall (Westberg 2014:301-303). It is difficult to reject the influence of the Elementary School Act of 1842 on these construction projects, as the protocols almost always mention the requirements as a reason for their projects.

While the importance of the Elementary School Act of 1842 may seem like a direct cause for the construction projects, it may also have had greater importance as an external trigger on the process. Both Esarp and Valkärра had both the ability to, but also the will to actually build new schools before 1842. This is also what Westberg concluded as the role of the Elementary School Act of 1842 (2014:302). The school built in Sövde 1842 is an example of how nobles were sometimes taking an active part in promoting investments in education, which is what the results from Andersson and Berger (2016) seems to suggest. However, the timing of this

construction is also much related to that of the Elementary School Act of 1842, making it difficult to suggest that the noble was not acting due to requirements.

However, regardless of how influential the church institutions or national legislation was on the construction of schools, the fact remains that the diocese of Lund did not have many schools before 1810, but their numbers increased rapidly after (Klose 2011:219-220), when the agricultural revolution was changing the economic and institutional situation in Scania thereby not excluding the importance of agricultural development on the ability to invest (Möller 1989:140-14; Svensson 2006; Svensson 2001: 235-239).

Even though it seems difficult to claim that any factor had precedence over another, this study has a first look at how a few parishes invested in schools before 1842. This is the major contribution of the results from the investigation of school investments in this thesis. These early schools were built without the requirements of the Elementary School Act of 1842, and their motivation seems to suggest that it was either motivated by freeholder farmers, such as in Vallkärra, or motivated by the vicar, such as in Esarp, or a combination, which Odarslöv is an example of.

## 6.2 Investments in teachers

Teachers were an investment for the parish. The wages of a teacher was a considerable amount to be payed annually, and for the individual farmer and worker, that cost would likely affect decisions regarding investments in education in general. The purpose of this section is to analyse the parish protocols, to search for patterns in how the parishes paid their teachers, and when and how their wage increased. The wage of teachers is paid by the farmers and workers of the parish, and may act as an indicator of how different parishes dealt with the investment in education that the wage of the teacher is. The Elementary School Act of 1842 required a minimum wage for teachers: 8 barrels of grain and 53 rdr and 16 s Bco. (Klose 2011:223). This sum was quite considerable to some of the parishes, and to illustrate the patterns, the analysis has been divided in wages before 1842, and after 1842.

### 6.2.1 Wages before and after 1842

Before the Elementary School Act of 1842, the average wage for teachers in the diocese of Lund (which includes Scania) was 78 rdr Bco, which was a relatively small wage in comparison to that of an agricultural worker, who could get 100 rdr Bco (Klose 2011:223). The amount paid by the individual farmer was around 27.5 litres of grain. The following is an account of the information about wages found in the parish protocols. To better understand and have an overview of the wages, the amount of grain will be translated into the value of said grain, using the average price of that grain in the region for the year that the wage was decided (Jörberg 1972:78-94, 133-165). The prices will be converted into rdr Bco, to be easily compared.

### *Freeholder parishes*

**Vallkärra** (Stångby kyrkoarkiv: KI: 3): In 1833, the new teacher was instructed to educate the children in the months of June and July, in addition to the normal education. His wage is unknown, but it was increased by three barrels of barley, corresponding to around 6.36 rdr Bco for his work in the summer months. The wage should be collected and paid proportionally according to *hemman*.

**Stångby** (Stångby kyrkoarkiv: KI: 3): A council in 1837 decided that the wage of the teacher was paid as 1 barrel of grain, half rye, half barley corresponding to around 4.6 rdr Bco annually per *hemman* by farmers. In addition to that, each child that the farmer has in school will cost barley corresponding 0,66 rdr Bco annually. Workers paid 0.67 rdr Bco annually in currency for every child in school, except the parents who are especially poor, whose children get free education.

**Kyrkheddinge** (Kyrkheddinge kyrkoarkiv KI: 3): N/A

**Esarp** (Kyrkheddinge kyrkoarkiv KI: 3): The payment for the teacher's wage in 1837 was 1.23 rdr Bco in barley and rye for every fourth part *hemman* for farmers, effectively 4.92 per *hemman*. Farmers had to pay an additional 0.49 rdr Bco in rye for each child. Workers had to pay 0.67 rdr Bco in currency for each fourth of a *hemman*. Poor parents did not have to pay.

**Hardeberga** (Hardeberga kyrkoarkiv KI: 2): N/A

### *Estate parishes:*

**Igelösa** (Igelösa kyrkoarkiv: KI:2): N/A

**Odarslöv** (Igelösa kyrkoarkiv: KI:2): N/A

**Löddeköpinge** (Borgeby kyrkoarkiv KI: 1, 2, 3): N/A

**Borgeby** (Borgeby kyrkoarkiv KI: 1, 2, 3): N/A

**Blentarp** (Sövde kyrkoarkiv KI: 1, 2, 3): N/A

**Sövde** (Sövde kyrkoarkiv KI: 1, 2, 3): N/A

Specific information on the wages before was only found in the freeholder parishes. The most important wage information from this period is from Stångby and Esarp, where farmers paid 4.6, and 4.92 rdr Bco per *hemman*. This cost is quite higher than the average wage in the diocese of Lund in 1839, which was a total of 2.28 rdr Bco (Klose 2011:178-181). Also noteworthy is the extended school year in Vallkärra in 1833. The official reason for this extension was so that the children would not forget what they had been taught during the summer (Vallkärra, Oct. 27, 1833, Stångby kyrkoarkiv: KI: 3). This ambition, in combination with the investment that is the additional wage shows that there was willingness to invest in additional education. There cannot

be any comparison between the categories of parishes in this period, since the estate parishes do not have any data from this period. However, the costs for teachers seems to have been comparatively high for farmers in these parishes during this period (Klose 2011: Klose 2011:178-181). The likely reason for this is the good soil and high productivity in this region, compared to the diocese as a whole (Gadd 2000:26-27).

### 6.2.2 Wages post-1842

After the Elementary School Act of 1842, wages for teachers were standardised to a value of 16 barrels of grain, half of which should be paid as grains, and half as money: 53.33 rdr Bco in the reform of 1842. Making the total wage valued at 106.7 rdr Bco (Klose 2011:223). Every taxpayer would pay at least 0.042 and at the most 0.125 rdr Bco. An amount decided by the parish should also be paid for each child who went to school. This minimum wage was not much, but it was an improvement to the previous 78 rdr Bco (Klose 2011:223).

*Freeholder parishes:*

**Vallkärra** (Stångby kyrkoarkiv: KI: 3): N/A

**Stångby** (Stångby kyrkoarkiv: KI: 3): 1847: new wages: 53 rdr 16 s Bco in currency, and 8 barrels of grain, half rye, half barley which is what the Elementary School Act of 1842 required, the value of the grain was corresponding to around 36.8 rdr Bco.

**Kyrkheddinge** (Kyrkheddinge kyrkoarkiv KI: 3): 1843: new wages for teacher being 7 barrels of grain, half rye half barley, a total value of around 33.9 rdr Bco.

1844, New wage requirement discussed: The vicar and the people argued that their parish was poor, and the farmland very divided, compared to the near 1000 people in the parish, making it difficult to pay for the full wage themselves, and that support of 53.3 rdr Bco was needed (likely state support). In 1845, the monthly wage for the teacher was decided at rye worth 2.02 rdr Bco.

**Esarp** (Kyrkheddinge kyrkoarkiv KI: 3): 1844 new wage requirements: The farmers working for the church thought themselves already too burdened by rents, and this parish would also be needing state support of 53.4 rdr Bco to pay for the wage of the teacher.

**Hardeberga** (Hardeberga kyrkoarkiv KI: 2): 1847: to ensure the wage of the teacher in every person paying tax would pay 0.125 rdr Bco annually. The wage was in 1850: 5 barrels of rye, and 5 barrels of barley, 37.87 rdr Bco.

*Estate parishes:*

**Igelösa** (Igelösa kyrkoarkiv: KI:2): N/A

### **Odarslöv** (Igelösa kyrkoarkiv: KI:2): N/A

**Löddeköpinge** (Borgeby kyrkoarkiv KI:3): 1844: The people in the parish thought that the new wages of 53.3 rdr Bco were too much for them to be able to currently pay. They decided that they would wait until the five years deadline had passed to prepare proper education and wage.

1847: The deadline has passed and the wage of 8 barrels of grain is introduced. Farmers would pay it in rye and barley for 1.15 rdr Bco for every half *hemman*. The amount of money paid was raised from 25 to 50 rdr Bco also.

**Borgeby** (Borgeby kyrkoarkiv KI:3):: 1843: The new wage requirement is thought too high for the capacity of the parish, since it would mean that each *hemman* would have to pay a barrel of rye, 4.5 rdr Bco, which is too much. It is decided that the parish would apply for financial support from the state.

1846: The new wage requirement is enacted: 53 rdr Bco, and 8 barrels of (unspecified) grain. It was decided in 1847 that workers would pay 0.67 rdr Bco each to the teacher wage, farmers would pay rye and barley for 0.28 rdr Bco.

### **Blentarp** (Sövde kyrkoarkiv KI: 2, 3): N/A

**Sövde** (Sövde kyrkoarkiv KI: 2, 3): 1842: The count decided that the wage would be paid as: 53 rdr Bco, 4 barrels of rye, 3 barrels of barley, and 1 barrel of malt. 1849: 50 rdr Bco, and every farmer will pay 0.95 rdr Bco, and workers 0.47.

A general pattern after 1842 was that the minimum wage set by the Elementary School Act of 1842 was difficult to bear financially for the parishes. The freeholder parishes Kyrkheddinge and Esarp required support from the state, which could support parishes that were too poor to finance the minimum wage (Klose 2011:223). The estate parish of Borgeby was also forced to apply for state support. This would suggest that the financial situation was fragile for sustained costs such as a teacher wage. However, the parishes of Löddeköpinge, Stångby, and Hardeberga also had difficulties paying the new wage, postponing the introduction of higher wages until 1847 and 1850. The parish that financed the higher wage without major difficulties was the estate parish of Sövde. It is difficult to see any major differences in how the two categories of parishes paid their teacher wage. It is likely that local circumstances such as population and geography were too different to draw any such conclusion from this sample.

#### 6.2.3 Patterns of investments in teachers

Some other factors that might have influenced wages was the status and availability of teachers. The level of teaching in the parishes was quite diverse, especially before 1842. The Elementary School Act of 1842 required that only graduated teachers were to be employed. Before 1842, there is no mentioning of graduated teachers, rather, the teachers are either any local without formal graduation, or simply people listed as teacher as an employment title. Previous studies

have shown similar patterns (Bergström 2000:155-164; Klose 2011:220-221). Graduated teachers were required in the reform, however, and the requirement led to shortages of graduated teachers applying for positions. This requirement could possibly have influenced parishes to pay higher wages. The proximity to the city of Lund, with its University and cathedral school, may also have influenced availability of teachers. Several teachers in the protocols were explicitly educated in Lund. However, the role as a teacher was not a specialised one during this time. The teacher was forced to work in other occupations than teacher, since the wage was too low, at least before 1842 (Bergström 2000:15-164), teaching was usually only active for 5 or 6 months in the diocese of Lund (Klose 2011:170). It may be that farmers were motivated to pay the cost of having a child in school (Klose 2011:214), but the actual wage of a teacher would likely not lead to any noticeable efficiencies in regards to the incentives of a farmer in the same way as building a new or larger school would enable your child to receive education, where education had previously been difficult to obtain.

In conclusion, the impact of teacher wage was certainly a factor that affected the population financially of both categories of parishes. The difficulties that the introduction of minimum teacher wage in 1842 caused in the parishes suggests that the economic capacity of farmers in both categories of parishes had a limited ability to invest in a continuous flow of resources. It could also be the case that the incentives for giving higher wages to the parish teacher is low, since the quality of education was not necessarily improving due to higher wages.

### 6.3 Institutional differences: the process of investments.

The physical investments into the education system did not yield firm evidence suggesting that freeholder parishes were investing more in education than estate parishes. This section aims to expand the analysis to include some factors surrounding the process in the parish meeting protocols themselves, rather than focusing on the actual physical in either schools or teachers.

First of all, one of the first differing trends in the protocols is the frequency of meetings. The topics of meetings in general can be very varied. The most numerous are not the full parish meetings, but rather the only ones with voting rights in the parish deciding the representatives for various tasks, such as disease prevention, church maintenance, and school board. Even though these meetings do not include the entirety of the parish, the meetings themselves are noteworthy, as the institution of the parish council is used. The freeholder parishes had on average a frequency of meetings equivalent to previous studies on parish councils, just over 8 meetings per year (Gustavsson 1989: 42). However, the frequency of meetings in estate parishes were significantly lower. On average, there were 3.55 meetings per year in the estate parishes, which would suggest the lower importance of the parish council within parishes where land ownership means power in the form of voting rights.

The implications of this difference is difficult to know, however. There were several situations where there was no consensus, and votes were taken in the freeholder parishes, regarding both

school constructions and appointment of teachers. However, that was also the case in estate parishes, but less frequent.

One implication of the much higher frequency in meetings in the freeholder parishes is the importance of the institution of the parish meeting themselves. The divided power structure probably required more meetings to be able to reach an agreement. The discussions in the estate parishes were mostly conducted by the farmers and workers in the parish. The nobles were encountered mostly as the financer for schools, or brought in to solve a conflict with a teacher which did not perform satisfactory (Löddeköpinge, Aug. 24 1845 Borgeby kyrkoarkiv KI: 3).

The political voice of the workers and farmers of the estate parishes is especially interesting, as any incentives that they would have for investing in education must depend on the landlord, as only they could decide, or give permission of voting rights. The parish meetings often took place without the count or a representative of him, with a few exceptions. The inhabitants were nevertheless using the parish meetings to voice their wishes in general, but also regarding education. This goes against previous studies on who were allowed power in parish meetings (Gustavsson 1989:28-40).

As described earlier in the section on estate school construction patterns, there were differences within the estate institutional system. Where sometimes the count had simply constructed schools without a prior discussion such as in Sövde 1842 (Sövde Oct 30 1842, Sövde kyrkoarkiv KI: 2), other times, the inhabitants were making demands for their right to finance their own schools and teachers. The people in Blentarp objected the single new school since their children would have to go all the way to the estate, where the new school was being built (Blentarp Oct. 18 1846, Jan. 31 1847, Sövde kyrkoarkiv KI: 2). A compromise was reached, and the people were allowed to build their own school and have a separate teacher, but they were still going to finance the new school. This is interesting, as it shows that there were interests within the estate parishes that wanted schools, this time it was the minority of freeholder farmers who enforced their demand through discussion or compromise solution. Andersson and Berger (2016) found that on a national level, parishes who were politically divided invested less in education. This is not really reflected in this small study. The regional differences and circumstances are probably very influential in the results that they produced, which they also acknowledge in their study (Andersson & Berger 2016).

## 7 Conclusion

The research goal of this study was to better understand the underlying mechanisms in the process of investing in primary education in the time before and after the Elementary School Act of 1842. The more specific research question was: What were the reasons for investments in Scanian parishes between 1830 and 1850? Is there any evidence that parishes dominated by freeholder farmers had higher economic incentives to invest in education?

This study has found that just as previous literature describes, the reasons for investing in schools and teachers were very varied during the early period of expansion of primary education in Sweden.

The contribution of this study is the results that there were some indications of economic incentives. Some of the patterns in school investments in particular seems to suggest that the incentives for investing in primary education was a factor. The freeholder parish of Vallkärra built a new school on the initiative of freeholder farmers, and without any requirements from Elementary School Act of 1842, for example (Vallkärra, Stångby Mar. 31, 1833 kyrkoarkiv: KI: 3). If there were economic incentives, however, they were not exclusive to the freeholder parishes. Instead, the analysis shows a more complex pattern of decision-making in the parish councils than expected from the literature on freeholders (Nilsson et al. 1999; Svensson 2006). Some of the parish meetings in estate parishes were in practice very influenced by both a minority of freeholder farmers, who demanded more local control over the education of their children (Blentarp Oct. 18 1846, Jan. 31 1847, Sövde kyrkoarkiv KI: 2). There are also an example of tenant farmers under the estate, who pushed for investment in new schools, with the land owner only playing a rather passive part (Odarslöv Nov. 22 1840 Igelösa kyrkoarkiv: KI:2). These examples suggests that farmers were willing to invest a substantial amount of money in new schools, and were willing to pay for the education of their children. However, this study cannot by any means prove that economic incentives were a major force due to the limited amount of parishes. There is, however, enough of signs to motivate using economic incentives as a hypothesis for further studies.

Other influential factors mentioned in previous literature on investments in education are primarily the role of the Elementary School Act of 1842 and the Church, as well as noble landowners.

The Elementary School Act of 1842 was unexpectedly influential for the Scanian parishes. Despite having many schools in the parishes at the beginning of the 1830's, many parishes expanded their older schools or built new ones after the requirements became stricter in the Elementary School Act of 1842. This highlights the similarities between the patterns around Sundsvall and around Lund: both regions experienced a wave of school construction following the Elementary School Act of 1842, despite the very large differences in initial conditions of

schools, and in geographical and economic conditions (Westberg 2014:290-309). The wage requirements meant that many parishes, both freeholder and estate parishes had to increase their wage levels to reach the minimum wage. They did so with great difficulty, and used state subsidies to be able to finance teachers, emphasising the role of national legislation and policy on local conditions. Church officials played a significant role both as a means of financing in primarily freeholder parishes, and as an instigator of school projects in both categories of parishes.

Andersson and Berger argue that the influence of elites on investments in education was more important than what the research of Klose and Westberg has previously found (Andersson and Berger 2016). The results of this detailed study on patterns in Scanian education investments does find examples that nobles did take part, and were drivers of investments (Sövde Oct 30 1842, Sövde kyrkoarkiv KI: 2). However, there are more examples that it may have been the active role of farmers within the estate parishes that influenced the investments in education for those parishes.

This small study has shown that more research on this topic is needed, and that even if the parish meeting protocols are difficult and time-consuming to use, they allow for a previously underappreciated source of information on the local processes of educational investments in around the time of the Elementary School Act of 1842.

# Primary data sources

From Lunds landsarkiv (The regional archives in Lund under the Swedish National Archives) in the church archives. The volume or volumes are listed, also included is an added note of the relevant parishes included in the source.

Borgeby kyrkoarkiv KI: 1 1805-1833; KI: 2; 1836-1856; KI: 3 1837-1854.

– Löddeköpinge and Borgeby.

Hardeberga kyrkoarkiv KI: 2 1836-1862.

– Hardeberga.

Igelösa kyrkoarkiv: KI:2: 1815-1858.

– Igelösa and Odarslöv.

Kyrkheddinge kyrkoarkiv KI: 3 1828-1849.

– Esarp and Kyrkheddinge.

Stångby kyrkoarkiv: KI:3 1830-1855.

– Stångby and Vallkärra.

Sövde kyrkoarkiv: KI:1 1784-1839; KI: 2 1839-1848; KI: 3 1849-1862.

– Blentarp and Sövde.

# Electronic sources

Edaen, 2010, modified version of "Socknarna i Skåne med härads- och länsgränser cirka 1870" edit of maps. Viewed 31 May, 2016,  
<https://sv.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sk%C3%A5ne#/media/File:Sk%C3%A5ne.svg>. Used under license CC BY-SA 3.0

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# Appendix A

Photo of an example post of a parish protocol. Esarp: February 24, 1839 (Kyrkheddinge kyrkoarkiv KI: 3)

