The Digital Infrastructure of the Archives
Workshop in Umeå and Sandslän 15-19 May 2000

Editor Tuuli Forsgren
Coeditor Göran Larsson
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The Editor's Foreword

The Research Archives at Umeå University aims to work in close cooperation with ongoing research at the University. As a part of this cooperation, the Research Archives publishes two series URKUNDEN and SCRIPTUM.

In the publication series URKUNDEN, original documents from our collections, which are in use in current research and teaching at the University, are published.

In a similar way, research reports and studies based on historic source materials are published in our publication series SCRIPTUM.

The purposes of the report series SCRIPTUM are to:

- Publish scholarly commentaries to source materials published in URKUNDEN,
- Publish other research reports connected to the work of the Research Archives, which are considered important for the development of research methods and debate,
- Publish studies of general public interest, such as local histories, or of general interest to the work of the Research Archives.

The Research Archives invites all those interested to read our reports and through their own contributions to take part in the publication of SCRIPTUM to increase the exchange of knowledge both within and between the disciplines of our own and other seats of learning.

On behalf of the Research Archives in Umeå

Mats Danielsson
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Acknowledgements

ADI is an acronym for the Swedish Arkivens Digitala Infrastruktur, in English The Digital Infrastructure of the Archives, which has been an one-year-project with the aim of furthering co-operation between the National Archives of Hungary on the one hand and the National Archives of Sweden (primarily SVAR/Sandslån) and the Research Archives at Umeå University on the other. The financiers of the project have been the Bank of Sweden Tercentenary Foundation and the Västernorrland County Council. Dr. Hans Malker, Research Director of the Mid Sweden Research and Development Center, welcomed Dr. Tuuli Forsgren as a member of the Center during the year 2000 and he also took part in the October-workshop. Umeå University contributed with a grant to the social activities during the workshop in Umeå and the University Library in Umeå with an invitation to our foreign guests by Dr. Lars-Åke Idahl, Chief Librarian. We thank all our financiers for the possibility to carry out this project.

In this report from the project, the majority of the papers given at the workshop in Umeå/Sandslån 15-19 May 2002 are published. We thank all contributors for their articles and also the lecturers, Pat Shrimpton (English) and Anita Malmqvist (German), who kindly made the linguistic revision of the texts. The programme and the titles of all papers can be seen in the beginning of the report.

During the workshop in Budapest 26-30 October 2000 our hosts at the Hungarian National Archives, Director General, Dr. Lajos Gecsényi and Deputy Director General for IT and Reprography, Dr. Lajos Kőrmendy, showed us a great hospitality which we appreciated very much. Dr. László Szögi, General Director at the Central Library of Eötvös Loránd University in Budapest, kindly took his time to show us books from the old collections and Dr. László Jáki, Chief Counsellor at the National Educational Library and Museum in Budapest, took us to a collection of old educational books and material, which we never would have had the possibility to see without his help.

We also would like to express our gratitude to Mats Danielsson, Head of the Research Archives at Umeå University, who opened the series SCRIPTUM for this publication, to assistant Erkki Ellonen, who carefully saved the incoming texts and to assistant archivist Vicky Kvist, who was very helpful at the end.

Jan Sahlén               Tuuli Forsgren            Hanna Zipernovszky
Project Leader        Scholastic Adviser          Co-ordinator
SCHEDULE ADI WORKSHOP 15 - 19 MAY 2000

MONDAY 15 May [Umeå]:

Arrival
Visits to the Research Archives and the Demographic Data Base at Umeå University
Evening Dinner

TUESDAY 16 May [Umeå]:

09:00 Opening and Introduction
Chairman Tuuli Forsgren

09:30 Digitised Archival Material? Questions in a Scholar's Mind
Ph.D. Tuuli Forsgren, Associate Professor, Dept. of Modern Languages, Umeå University

10:00 Baptism and Swedishness in Colonial America
Ph.D. Daniel Lindmark, Associate Professor, Dept. of Historical Studies, Umeå University

10:30 Coffee break

11:00 Hungarian Students in Germany in the 19th Century
Dr. László Szögi, Associate Professor, University Library at the University Lóránd Eötvös in Budapest

12:00 Lunch

13:30 "Baptizing them, Teaching them..."
Ph.D. Egil Johansson, Professor Emeritus, Umeå University

14:30 Coffee break

15:00 Statistical Hungarian Databases in International Comparative Pedagogical Studies
Dr. László Jáki, Associate Professor, National Pedagogical Library and Museum of Hungary

15:30 The Parish Records as a Source of Comparative Pedagogical Research
Dr. Hanna Zipernovszky, Project Coordinator, Umeå University

WEDNESDAY 17 May [Umeå]:

09:30 Heredity, Criminality, and Historical Archives
Ph.D. Ulf Drugge, Associate Professor, Dept. of Sociological Studies, Umeå University

10:30 Coffee break

11:00 Baptism and Baptism Records in 18-19th Century
Th.D. Sölve Anderzén, Dept. of Religious Studies, Umeå University

12:00 Lunch

15:30 Transportation to Sandslån, Kramfors
THURSDAY 18 May [Sandslån]:

09:00  **Introduction**  
Chairman Jan Sahlén & Tuuli Forsgren

09:15  **The Information System of the Archives in an International Perspective**  
Börje Justrell, Director, Division of Information Technology, National Archives of Sweden

09:40  **From Analog to Digital - About the Study Digitisation of Archival Material**  
Jan Sahlén, Project Leader, SVAR, National Archives of Sweden  
José Fonseca, Deputy Project Leader, SVAR, National Archives of Sweden

10:10  **Coffee break**

10:30  **Some Questions Concerning Utilization of Digitised Material**  
M.A. Peder Andrén, Project Leader, SVAR, National Archives of Sweden

11:00  **Increasing Accessibility to Digitised Sources - the projects HISCO and IMAG**  
Ph.D. Sören Edvinsson, Associate Professor, Demographic Data Base, Umeå University

11:30  **Lunch**

13:00  **The Information System of the National Archives of Hungary - Archival side**  
Lajos Körmendy, Deputy Director-General, National Archives of Hungary

14:00  **The Information System of the National Archives of Hungary - IT side**  
Tibor Baracs, Supervisor, National Archives of Hungary

14:30  **Coffee break**

14:45  **The Information System of the National Archives of Sweden - Online-demonstration**  
Birger Stensköld, Archivist, Division of Information Technology, National Archives of Sweden

15:30  **Concluding Discussion**

16:00  **Conclusion**

19:00  **Closing Banquet**

FRIDAY 19 May [Sandslån]:

**Excursions**

*Alt 1. Excursions in the Sandslån area (Ytterlännäs Medieval Church, High Coast Bridge and Provincial archives in Härnösand).*

*Alt 2. Visit to the Reserch Center (SVAR) in Ramsele.*

Introduction

All participants in the ADI-workshop have the same goal: to make archive materials as accessible as possible to those who want to use them. Today computer science provides a new tool to this end. Researchers are offered digitised archival material. Computer programs are able to handle enormous amount of material, make calculations and draw graphs and charts at a speed we never dreamed about 20 or 40 years ago. Although archival material is being increasingly digitised it is unlikely that this will happen to the majority of it and much will remain in non-electronic form and thus unsearchable that way. This situation gives rise to a number of questions:

- Who decides what is to be digitised and what not?
- Who has control over the material, the programmer or the user/researcher?
- Can the researcher rely on digitised archive materials? Can it still be considered source material in the traditional sense of the word, when it has been edited by someone else in some way or another?
- Do the programmers understand the needs of the researchers and do the researchers understand the limitations and the potential of digitisation? Do they "speak the same language"?
- How compatible are the various systems on an international level?
- Will an increasing amount of digitised archive materials have a negative impact on the accessibility to non-digitised material? Digitising costs money but so does a skilled archivist.
- With reference to costs: who will pay for the digitisation?

These are only some of the questions that lie in the minds of scholars. Some of them will probably be answered, more or less automatically, in due time. They might be questions mainly for today’s generation for whom all this is new. But some of the questions raise the need for an ongoing dialogue between those who digitise and those who use the digitised material. There is a great need for dialogue and co-operation. I am sure there are dialogues going on, but how much of the information from these dialogues reaches both the researchers and the digitiser respectively?

Remarks

The purpose of the ADI-project was to further contacts between Hungary and Sweden within the field of humanistic studies parallely investigating and giving information about the digital infrastructure of the archives and the scholars’ points of view in that
process. The ADI-project has been an interdisciplinary forum, where scholars from different disciplines have met with archivists and computer experts. Each group tried to learn from the others. In their papers the scholars told how they have used the archives – sometimes digitised, sometimes not. The digitisers on their part described the infrastructure of the computer systems used in their archives and the possibilities they could offer.

The ADI-workshop in May 2000 was an open one with call for papers. In this workshop scholars from Sweden, Hungary and Estonia took part. One computer expert from the National Archives of Hungary also visited the National Archives of Sweden (both Stockholm and SVAR/Sandslån) for two weeks to study the computer systems and the equipment used by the Swedes. The ADI-project also arranged a workshop in Budapest 23-30 October 2000. This workshop was by invitation. Meetings and discussions between Hungarian and Swedish scholars, archivists, librarians and computer experts about potential co-operation in both the archive field and in research were held.

The questions listed in the Introduction above opened the ADI-workshop in Umeå and Sandslån (Kramfors), 15-19 May 2000. The Demographic Data Base (DDB) at Umeå University has successfully been providing the researchers digitised material for many years now and the Research Archives at the same university is a centre for all sorts of archival material. The majority of the material in the Research Archives is on microfiche (from SVAR/Ramsele), and can be transformed into digitised material for scholars, who use the material in their research. The DDB normally works very closely with the researcher that needs digitised material and it often delivers tailored material.

The questions above are all very familiar to everyone in the field. In November 1999 the Bank of Sweden Tercentenary Foundation, for example, arranged an international conference at the Royal Library in Stockholm which focused on questions similar to the ones asked above.¹

At the ADI-workshop in May 2000 the dialogue about the advantages and disadvantages of digitised material concentrated on direct and concrete questions that arose in connection with the papers. We had planned a summing-up discussion at the very end but due to travel problems some of the foreign guests unfortunately had to leave a few hours earlier than expected and the summing-up session lost some of its key participants. Below I will try to give a very short glimpse of some of the opinions that were expressed.

The question about who decides what is to be digitised and what not seemed to be an easy one to answer, at least for the digitisers. The digitisers said that they would help researchers create the data banks and/or computer programmes they needed for their research, but the researchers were the ones to decide what material to choose. This way research foundations and/or faculty research budgets will pay the expenses for

digitisation. When researchers apply for project money, they have to take the expenses for the digitisation into consideration. It sounds easy but is it? The researchers still have to get acquainted with what they can find in the archives, they still need to apply for the cost of archive visits and they still need skilled archivists to assist them. Will the world we live in be able to afford both computerised search systems in archives, libraries and museums as well as staff in those institutions, that know their collections when it comes to not already computerised documents? And what happens to the “archipelago” of isolated islands = tailored data banks out there? Due to legal regulations some of them will probably stay isolated for ever, but the rest of them? Who is responsible for overseeing them? Will digitised material financed by university money “belong” to the researcher or research group that first created and used it or is it a material that other researchers should also have access to? The purely technical questions of compatibility and durability also belong to this sphere of questions. Technical standards are continuously discussed. The users have seen some of the results in recent years, but it seems as if there is still a long way to go, above all on the international level.

Who has the control of the material, the programmer or the user? Can the researcher rely on digitised archival material? Is it still to be considered source material in the original sense of the word, when someone has edited it in some way or another? Researchers always make some sort of choice, either directly by setting up thoroughly described criteria for the material they choose to use in their research or indirectly by the methods they use. According to academic practice the researchers themselves are responsible for the validity of their sources. If you overlook something of value for the result of your research and that “something” can be found in the archives, but was missed by the computer programme that was created to find or sort out your material, who is responsible for that, the programmer or the user? Do researchers have to become computer specialists or do computer specialists have to be researchers and would that solve this problem? Partly it is a question of language; researchers and digitisers do not always understand each other. Researchers often have an exaggerated belief in how it is possible or impossible to handle digitised material and digitisers often lack the pedagogical qualities to explain the digital infrastructure of the archives in an understandable language. More discussions, more meetings, more education on both sides might help to solve this problem. Or will time do so? Partly – at least in my opinion – it is a question of when to use only digitised material, when to use a mixed material (both digitised material and material controlled the old-fashioned way) and when to leave the computer outside in the cold. Even if we are fascinated by the great potential of computer programmes, we must also realise that there still are analyses that can only be made by a human brain.

The development in the field of computers is very rapid. The majority of the articles in this report were delivered in the year 2001 and they were all sent for a linguistic revision before they were sent back to the authors for approval. A couple of those who had written papers containing technical issues commented their own articles when they got them back with the words “this is already history”. All history needs documentation and I am glad the ADI-project was able to seize a tiny bit of the rapidly developing computer history.
Baptism and Swedishness in Colonial America.
Ethnic and religious membership in the Swedish Lutheran congregations,
1713-1786

1. Unbaptized members in the Church of Sweden - an introduction

When a few decades ago the Church of Sweden started to pay attention to the rising number of non-baptized members, this was not a completely new phenomenon. From the middle of the 19th century, Baptists refused to baptize their children in the state church. Having instituted judicial proceedings against the objectors, the Swedish authorities finally accepted the idea of non-baptized members of the Church of Sweden.1 The legal opportunities to leave the state church that had already been opened in the 19th century were seldom used, and most Baptists remained members even after the principle of religious freedom was enacted in 1951. Even though many children of Baptists were never baptized as adults, the overwhelming majority of non-baptized members of the Church of Sweden were the result of secularization and religious indifference.2 Rapidly falling baptism and confirmation rates, especially in larger cities, created an increasing number of non-baptized members of the state church.3


2 However, religious factors have proved to be more significant than socio-economical factors, when it comes to explaining the break-down of religious customs related to the Church of Sweden. At least this is the case with the first phase of the process. Consequently, Free-Church revivalism seriously affected both service attendance and frequency of communion and baptism. Carl-Henrik Martling, Nattvardskrisen i Karlstads stift under 1800-talets senare hälft. Lund 1958. Carl-Henrik Martling, Kyrkosed och sekularisering. Stockholm 1965. Karl-Gunnar Grape, Kyrkliga förhållanden i Lappland efter sekelskiftet i belysning av dop- och nattvardsedens utveckling. Stockholm 1965. Karl-Gunnar Grape, Dopseden i Lappland under 1900-talets första hälft. (Bibliotheca Theologiae Practicae 36.) Uppsala 1980. Anders Bäckström, ”Nattvardsedens förändring underr 1800-talet som uttryck för den religiösa och sociala omvålvningen.” In: Kyrkohistorisk Årsskrift 1984, pp. 141-155. The geographical variation of religious customs has been used to differentiate between certain church regions. Irrespective of the method applied, the differences between regions to a great extent reflect variations in the character of revivalism. When revivalism remained in the state church, religious customs were strengthened. A short presentation of earlier research into Swedish church geography can be found in Jan Carlsson, Region och religion. En regionindelning utifrån den kyrkliga sedens styrka på 1970-talet. (Bibliotheca Historico-Ecclesiastica Lundensis 23.) Lund 1990, pp. 9-12.

Approaching the day when the bonds with the state would be cut, the Church of Sweden had to develop principles concerning baptism and membership. The outcome of this attempt to define the boundaries of the Church of Sweden as a free Lutheran church, was a clear statement on baptism as the foundation of membership.4

However, in the 18th century the Church of Sweden had already had to face the problem of unbaptized members. In the American Middle Colonies the descendants of the settlers of the New Sweden colony formed a Swedish Lutheran community of 1,500 souls distributed over three congregations. In this paper I will analyze the pattern of baptism in the Swedish Lutheran congregations in colonial America. First, the structure of baptismal customs will be elicited. Special attention will be paid to problems concerning late baptisms, emergency baptisms and sponsors. Second, the pattern of baptism will be discussed to present some tentative conclusions on the meaning of baptism in an early modern setting of religious freedom and diversity. What can baptismal patterns reveal about the function of the Swedish Lutheran congregations? Did the congregations work as ethnic or religious communities?

2. Swedish Church regulations in Colonial America

Before turning to the analysis of the pattern of baptism, I will demonstrate how the Swedish ministers tried to transplant the Swedish Church Law of 1686 to American soil. When the Swedish mission was re-opened in 1697, the ministers were instructed to maintain the Swedish Church Law. The church records bear strong witness to the ministers’ attempts to establish a stable church order. For instance, the catechetical instruction was organized in the same way as in Sweden with recurrent examinations in the homes and in church. Having returned to Sweden, Andreas Hesselius in 1725 reported on the conditions among the Swedes in America, stating that church discipline was executed in accordance with the Swedish Church Law, which was better known than English civil laws.5 The deputy-governor William Markham had already granted the Swedish congregations free disposition of church discipline in 1697.6 At a meeting of the Christina congregation in Wilmington, Delaware, on May 30, 1713, Pastor Eric

5 Andreas Hesselius, Kort Berettelse Om Then Svenska Kyrkios närvarande Tilstånd i America Samt oförgripelige tankar om thess widare förkofring. Norrköping 1725, p. 12.
6 The governor had granted the Swedish congregations free disposition of church discipline. Letter from Andreas Rudman to Jacob Arrhenius, dated on October 29, 1697. AJP, 58:5, p. 90.
Biörck and the newly arrived replacements, Andreas Hesselius and Abraham Lidenius, called for

a strict attention to the system of church discipline which his Royal Majesty’s Highness of Sweden promulgated, and which he presented to this church which was adopted by it and approved by them, but owing to the situation of the country and its circumstances as to government and secular affairs, should be applied only to religious and spiritual matters.7

Reading their clerical oaths to the congregation, the ministers maintained that they could "not deviate under any pretext from this good order and regulation," meaning that they would "hold the congregation itself and its members to a good and proper church discipline".8 At the meeting the congregation agreed to several articles referring to the church law. Regarding baptism, the ministers managed to persuade the church members to "present children at an early age for baptism".9 In order to maintain discipline in accordance with the agreed articles, a church council of twelve men was elected "to decide all matters connected with our Christian community".10

However, after Eric Biörck’s return to Sweden, ”a self-willed freedom and neglect of a common interest” motivated a new meeting on August 28, 1714, when the congregation was "warned and exhorted”. Aside from the Bible, there was no better means to use to achieve the needed improvement in the state of affairs than "the published Church Laws of His Swedish Majesty”.11 The parental duty of bringing the children to baptism was inculcated into the church members:

That parents should be careful to have their children brought early to baptism, and not as often happens, let their babes remain at home a whole or many months, yes, even a half year, notwithstanding they live so near the church or Priest’s house, that they have no excuse, and also in good time to give in the names of sponsors to the Priest that he may judge of their fitness.12

At a new parish meeting on July 9, 1715, the members of the church council were admonished to urge the still non-baptized adults to receive the holy sacrament. The pastor

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7 The Records of Holy Trinity (Old Swedes) Church, Wilmington, Del., from 1697 to 1773. Translated from the Original Swedish by Horace Burr. (Papers of the Historical Society of Delaware, IX.) Wilmington 1890, p. 177.
8 According to the oath in the Church Law of 1686, chapter 22, § 2, the ministers were obliged to "keep a good and proper church discipline in accordance with the published Church Law of His Royal Majesty". Kyrko-Lagen af 1686, p. 469.
9 The Records of Holy Trinity, p. 178. The church book refers to chapter 3, § 2 of the Church Law, where the requirement for baptism within 8 days is stated. Kyrko-Lagen af 1686, p. 104.
10 The Records of Holy Trinity, p. 179.
emphasized their Christian duty to “labor for the salvation of them whom they receive into their houses”.\textsuperscript{13} After this exhortation other matters than baptismal neglect attract the attention at the meetings of the Christina congregation. However, in 1742 Pastor Petrus Tranberg touched upon the subject at a parish meeting, where he “complained of the neglect of some members of the congregation to report the age of the children at the baptisms”.\textsuperscript{14} More than indicating a change of baptismal custom, the admonition reflects the commitment of the newly arrived pastor. Even Tranberg’s successor, Dean Israel Acrelius, found reason to reform Swedish-American church life, to make it comply with Swedish church regulations. Having accounted for his inaugural sermon in the church book, Acrelius gives a full report on the current stand of his congregation:

There are many persons thirty, forty or more years old, who have never been to the communion. Baptisms have been deferred till the children were six, seven and eight weeks old, especially when the mother was sick, as the custom has been largely introduced for the parents to stand as sponsors for their children. [---] Nobody seemed to care to announce their children for baptism, that their name, age and witnesses might be recorded.\textsuperscript{15}

In comparison with Hesselius’ judgement 35 years earlier, months of delay had been reduced to weeks in Acrelius’ assessment. However, the ministerial complaint was not intended just for the record. At a parish meeting on December 27, 1749, the church members “were admonished not to delay the baptism of their children over eight days”.\textsuperscript{16} In certain cases, though, exceptions from the rule were allowed. But neither cold winter weather, nor long distances to church should delay the baptism more than two weeks, “otherwise a great responsibility will lie on the parents if their children should die unbaptized”, the pastor warned his congregation.\textsuperscript{17}

Not only the baptismal customs, but also the parishioners’ communion frequency were a major ministerial concern at the beginning of the 18\textsuperscript{th} century. When the members of the Christina congregation were exhorted to present their infants at the font at an early age, they were also urged to go to communion more often. At the meeting of May 30, 1713, the congregation agreed to celebrate the Lord’s Supper frequently.\textsuperscript{18} And on August 28, 1714, the ministers stressed how important it was to “be faithful and constant in partaking of the Lord’s Supper, and not excuse themselves therefrom by insufficient reasons as is the custom of some, and even the great part of those who hold themselves to be prominent members of the church.”\textsuperscript{19}

\textsuperscript{13} The Records of Holy Trinity, p. 209.
\textsuperscript{14} The Records of Holy Trinity, p. 382.
\textsuperscript{15} The Records of Holy Trinity, pp. 422-423.
\textsuperscript{16} The Records of Holy Trinity, p. 423.
\textsuperscript{17} The Records of Holy Trinity, p. 423.
\textsuperscript{18} The Records of Holy Trinity, p. 178. The article contains a reference to the Church Law, Ch. 11, § 2, where reluctant celebration is admonished. Kyrko-Lagen af 1686, p. 146.
\textsuperscript{19} The Records of Holy Trinity, p 195.
When the information in the communion records is processed, it becomes evident that the ministerial efforts to increase the frequency were successful. From 1713 the number of individual communions rose rapidly to a very high level in the 1720s, after which a period of equally rapid decline started (Diagram 1).

Diagram 1. Communion frequency in the Christina Congregation, Holy Trinity (Old Swedes) Church, Wilmington, DE, 1713-1756


Of course, the number of communions was a result of ministerial zeal manifested not only in exhortations, but also in an increasing number of celebrations, i.e. masses in church. But there might also have been a rising interest among the parishioners in

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20 Daniel Lindmark, "Swedish Lutherans Encountering Religious Diversity in Colonial America: From Swedish Mission Studies to American Religious History." In: Daniel Lindmark (ed.), Swedishness Reconsidered: Three Centuries of Swedish-American Identities. (Kulturens frontlinjer 18.) Umeå 1999, p. 26, Diagram 2. In this essay on Swedes in a multi-religious setting, I discuss the decline of communion and celebration frequency as a result of the pastor’s intense engagement in the Anglican church. There is also reason to consider changing conceptions of communion as a factor. When discussing Holy Communion in the German Lutheran synodal meeting in 1760, the following was noted: “The Swedish members formerly had excessively legalistic ideas, and some shrank from it until their old age or upon their death beds; but now that they have been better informed, they come weeping and praying and ask for it.” Documentary History of the Evangelical Lutheran Ministerium of Pennsylvania and Adjacent States. Proceedings of the Annual Conventions from 1748 to 1821. Philadelphia 1898, p. 55. In a diary entry for October 28, 1761, Anders Borell comments on the first communion of an 18-year-old. According to Borell, communion at such a young age was a rare thing, as people usu-
participating in such church services as communion. From the perspective of popular demand for services provided by the Swedish Lutheran Church, the first decades of the 18th century could be characterized as a period of ethnic revival or ethnic mobilization. Under pressure from Quakers and with their land holdings persistently questioned by newly arrived Europeans, the American Swedes chose to reconnect to their fatherland requesting assistance in the form of Swedish ministers and books.\textsuperscript{21} If the establishment of a Swedish Lutheran church life expressed the colonists’ need to manifest their Swedishness in their defense of old rights, the rising frequency of communion could be interpreted as an act of confession, namely a confession of Swedishness. Irrespective of what perspective is applied – either ministerial zeal or ethnic revival – to explain the rising levels of church commitment, there is reason to assume that the baptismal pattern undergoes a similar change as communion did in the period after 1713.

3. Emergency baptisms

\textit{Emergency baptism in Swedish law and practice}

According to the Swedish Church Law of 1686, any baptized Christian could perform an emergency baptism. In order to make sure that lay baptisms were carried out properly, the Church Law stated that midwives should be instructed in how to perform emergency baptism.\textsuperscript{22} In an age when religion was universal and infant mortality high, emergency baptism became a common way of leaving the life of the newborn in the hands of the Almighty. The custom was not only resorted to in an emergency such as immediate mortal danger, but became the normal way of christening infants in areas distant from the church. In remote areas the emergency baptism was the only way to christen the newborn in a reasonable time. The Church Law required baptism within eight days,\textsuperscript{23} and in many parishes huge distances, poor communications, and a harsh climate made ordinary, ministerial baptism in church impossible. This was the case in most parishes in Northern Sweden and especially in Lapland, where emergency baptism constituted the prevailing pattern up to the 20th century.\textsuperscript{24} For instance in the Saami school, pupils were instructed how to administer emergency baptism, and itinerant teachers and lay readers at the village worship were especially engaged as officiants. Even though an emergency baptism was considered a full baptism, the Church Law required an act of confirmation by a clergyman to complete the christening.\textsuperscript{25}

\textsuperscript{21} Daniel Lindmark, “Mobilizing Swedes: External Pressure and the Formation of Swedishness in Colonial America, 1682-1764.” (Forthcoming.)


\textsuperscript{23} Chapter 3, § 2. Kyrko-Lagen af 1686, p. 104.


\textsuperscript{25} Chapter 4, § 3. Kyrko-Lagen af 1686, p. 115.
In the 19th century when the revivalist "reading movement" in Northern Sweden opposed the Church Agenda of 1811, where some of the old rites had been excluded from the order of baptism, the emergency baptism became an act of protest and restoration of old order.\(^{26}\) Finding the meaning of baptism having been changed from a covenant of grace to a covenant of law, the evangelical "readers" resorted to the custom of emergency baptism in accordance with the older service manual. In many cases these "readers" even objected to clerical confirmation of the act.

Considering the strong tradition of emergency baptisms committed by lay persons in Sweden, one would also expect to find the custom among American Swedes. There are many reasons for this assumption. Firstly, the Swedish Church Law should have been followed in the Swedish Lutheran congregations in America. Secondly, the American Swedes were scattered over huge areas, and most of them lived a considerable distance from the church. Thirdly, other adjustments were made to the special circumstances under which the American Swedes lived. Instead of stationary schooling, the Swedes had to resort to ambulatory schooling and household instruction; and on saints’ days the Swedes were allowed to perform household devotions instead of worshipping in church. Apart from frequent emergency baptism, the village religious service conducted by lay persons formed the most conspicuous pattern of Northern Sweden church life.

*Emergency baptisms in the Swedish congregations in colonial America*

As was demonstrated above, the clerical concern about baptism very clearly focused on the necessity of the infants’ early presentation at the font. However, the records do not provide more than incidental evidence of emergency baptisms. In 1714 the baptismal record of the Christina congregation has the following entry:

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Samuel Hals and Anna Elizabeth’s child George, born 2 weeks before Christmas, baptized April 17th after having been previously baptized from necessity by his mother. Sponsors, Carl Springer and his wife Maria, Miss Judith Van de Ver.
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The entry reveals that the emergency baptism was not approved of by the pastor. According to the Church Law, a lay baptism should not be repeated, unless it had been performed improperly.\(^{27}\) In 1716 another emergency baptism occurs in the register, this

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\(^{27}\) *Kyrko-Lagen af 1686*, Ch. 4, § 3.
time without any comments either of disapproval or confirmation. In 1719, “Olof Pålssson and wife Elizabeth’s child Peter, born June 30th, [was] baptized from necessity July 19th”. Next time an emergency baptism is recorded is in 1724, when a six-month-old is registered as having received a “necessary baptism”. Emergency baptisms are also rare occurrences in the records of Raccoon and Penns Neck. However, on February 2, 1718, “was baptised, or confirmed, Charles and Elsa Dahlbo’s Maria, baptised in emergency”. Even when there was an emergency situation, no lay baptism was performed, instead, the pastor was called for. Nils Collin reports on a case when he was urged to go quickly to the house of Robert Brown to baptize his son David. But even after this incident there were still four children who had not been baptized.

Even though the arguments I presented initially in favor of the probability of the custom of emergency baptisms being widespread in Swedish America might have appeared convincing, my assumptions proved wrong when the baptismal records were examined. Consequently, I have to explain why there were so few emergency baptisms among Swedes in colonial America. First, the clergymen recruited for service in America might not have been familiar with the prevailing custom in Northern Sweden and especially Lapland. They had grown up in other parts of the country and arrived in America with quite different experiences. Second, there is also a possibility that the ministers used the baptisms as a source of income. Being poorly provided for by their congregations, the Swedish ministers used to preach in the Anglican churches. In 1721 the Anglican mission society SPG decided to pay the Swedish ministers 10 pounds yearly, provided they preached 20 times a year in the Anglican churches. But the Swedish ministers also tried to get paid for performing special services. At a meeting of the Christina congregation on August 28, 1714, the ministers raised the question of some kind of payment for extraordinary services:

It was also said to the assembly that when on special occasions the services of the Priests were required, such as publishing bans, betrothals, marriages, burying the dead, and such like extraordinary service, they should not be so ungrateful as to burden them, without any return for their labour.

28 The Records of Holy Trinity, p. 233. In 1719, there is a baptism recorded which took place “immediately after birth”. However, it is unclear whether this was a lay baptism. The Records of Holy Trinity, p. 253. A similar case occurs in 1741. The Records of Holy Trinity, p. 377.
29 The Records of Holy Trinity, p. 252. As the next entry accounts for a baptism performed the same day, the date July 19th might refer to the day of clerical confirmation of an early emergency baptism.
30 The Records of Holy Trinity, p. 287.
33 Letter from The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts (SPG) to Dean Andreas Hesselius, dated in London, May 8, 1721. The Records of Holy Trinity, p. 264. Daniel Lindmark, ”Swedish Lutherans”. Probably the cooperation with the Anglicans made the Swedish ministers less inclined to encourage emergency baptisms, as lay baptism was not accepted in the Anglican Church. See below.
34 The Records of Holy Trinity, p. 198.
Even though baptisms are not mentioned in the list of extraordinary services, the call for the pastor to baptize a child in the home should have resulted in some kind of revenue. As long as baptisms were performed in church in connection with religious worship, they might not have been considered extraordinary services.

Third, the ministers were instructed to establish Swedish church order, which was obviously interpreted as securing the authority of the church and the ministry. By permitting church members to handle baptism, the clergy would have jeopardized their own authority. Linked to such considerations could have been a wish to uphold the distinction between a true Lutheran church and the many sects in colonial America. By reserving the sacraments as exclusively clerical services, the Swedish ministers marked their difference from the sects where no ministry existed. The almost total absence of lay baptisms might also indicate that people preferred to adjust to a common American pattern, where baptism was a ministerial prerogative. The sheer existence of a Swedish ministry contributed to the status of the Swedish community, which is why there is reason to believe that Swedish parents found it more prestigious to have their children baptized by the minister. According to Israel Acrelius, the main reason for the regrettable neglect of emergency baptisms in the Swedish congregations was that neither the Anglicans, nor the Presbyterians accepted lay baptisms. Any parent who baptized his child would run the risk of earning a bad reputation. Another explanation is deriving from the parents’ point of view. Having been influenced by the specific conditions in the colony of religious freedom, the parents might not have found baptism totally necessary. When Quakers and Baptists reckoned themselves as Christians without practicing infant baptism, the Lutheran custom might have declined. Such an interpretation would be supported if it was found that most children were baptized at a considerably later age than was required in the Church Law of 1686.

4. The institution of sponsorship

The Church Law of 1686 stated clearly that only adult and well instructed Lutherans could be sponsors. Vicious and licentious people were explicitly forbidden to act as sponsors. Implementing the ecclesiastical regulations concerning the sacraments in the Swedish-American congregations in 1713, the ministers also expressed their wish to have sponsorship regulated in accordance with the Swedish Church Law stating: "what ought to be the qualification of those who are asked to serve in that capacity, and that they should be previously made known to the pastors". In Raccoon congregation the sponsorship issue was discussed at a parish meeting in April 1719. The pastor then asked "[w]hether the congregation did not think it necessary that the age of the children who were baptized, and the names of their god-parents should be presented [to the pastor] on the morning of the christening, so that the pastor could then put down the

36 Kyrko-Lagen af 1686, Ch. 3, § 5.
37 The Records of Holy Trinity, p. 178.
children’s age, and disapprove of those god-parents who were not suitable for assum-
ing responsibility for the children’s baptism”.

The congregation agreed to present the age and names in due time, but refused to have their sponsors reviewed by the pastor, as "it was impossible for them to get such [godparents] as were found competent in all respects, because the congregation was small, and only the smallest part thereof was rightly concerned about what appertained to their salvation". In this case the clerical complaint was not aimed at parents neglecting to present their infants at the font in due time, but rather at the careless use of sponsors. Even though the quotation implies that the godparents might be disqualified by their inappropriate moral standard or religious zeal, there is reason to believe that the clerical interest in the sponsorship was also moti-
vated by confessional concern. In a multi-confessional context, the choice of sponsors could have been considered vital in keeping the Lutheran doctrine alive in the Swedish congregations.

In the extant baptismal records, the sponsors’ names are carefully noted. The vast ma-
ajority of the baptized individuals have four godparents, usually two of each gender, thereby adapting to a general Swedish custom. From the middle of the 1720s, it was an ever more frequent pattern to have two sponsors. The next stage in the decline of the institution of sponsorship was marked by the systematic use of parents as sponsors. Although occurring sporadically in entries of the baptismal records from 1718, parental sponsorship did not come to form a distinctive pattern until the 1740s. The Racoon baptismal record of 1741 ends with a listing of the baptisms that had been performed with no other witnesses than the parents. For 6 of the 14 baptisms the record says "Surities Parents themselves for want of others". In the incomplete re-
cords for the 1740s and 1750s godparents appear in some cases, while in other cases parents are noted as witnesses. From 1762 the predominant pattern is that the parents are the only witnesses to the baptism of their child. Only occasionally are other sponsors noted in the records.

How should the decline of the institution of sponsorship be interpreted? First, compli-
ance with the Church Law regulations in the period after 1713 should be emphasized. As long as membership was ethnically based and membership in the Swedish Lutheran congregations consequently signalled a wish to belong to the Swedish community,
sponsorship functioned as a tool for tightening the bonds between the members of the community.\textsuperscript{44}

Second, the decline of the institution of sponsorship indicates that the maintenance of Swedishness no longer had the same priority. Thus, the general trend towards under-communication of Swedishness from the middle of the century is evidenced in the decreasing frequency of sponsors. Of course, this development coincides not only with the shift from ethnic to religious membership, but also with the transition from collectivism to individualism in religious worship.\textsuperscript{45}

When Israel Acrelius in 1759 comments on the decline of sponsorship, he draws the conclusion that parents had adjusted to the Presbyterian custom. Common arguments for refusing sponsorship was that sponsors never kept what they promised, and that orphans never were taken care of by their sponsors, but were placed in families by the magistrates with no respect to the parents’ religion.\textsuperscript{46}

5. Baptisms in Christina congregation, 1713-1749

Having discussed church regulations, emergency baptisms and sponsorship using primarily qualitative methods and materials, the information in the baptismal registers of the Christina congregation will be processed quantitatively. Hence, Diagram 2 shows the number of baptisms in this congregation from 1713 to 1749. The number of baptisms increased from 1713 and reached its peak in the 1720s, the following years form a long period of steady decline. This pattern closely follows the evolution of communion frequency (Diagram 1). There is reason to believe that the same explanations apply to both sacraments. Therefore, one might assume that the major trends in Diagram 2 could be explained by changes in church commitment, as was the case with communion frequency: just as members chose not to take communion, they could avoid baptizing their children. However, baptismal frequency should be more closely connected to age distribution and nativity rates. The increase and decline in the number of children baptized might simply reflect changing birth rates. This factor, in turn, could be dependent on changes in congregational membership. Unfortunately, there are no records extant on which to base membership assessments. Consequently, the long period of declining numbers of baptisms gives the impression of an aging congregation, where church commitment is also declining.

There is, however, one structural explanation behind the rapid growth of the number of baptisms that should be taken into account here. The pastor of the Christina congregation used to serve some of the Anglican churches in the area, especially from 1721 on-

\textsuperscript{44} Lindmark, "Mobilizing Swedes". The argument is developed somewhat further in section 7 below.\textsuperscript{45} This shift is analyzed with regard to changing educational philosophies in Daniel Lindmark, "Swedish Schooling in Colonial America." In: Daniel Lindmark (ed.), \textit{Education and Colonialism. Swedish schooling projects in colonial areas, 1638-1878}. (Kulturens frontlinjer 29.) Umeå 2000.\textsuperscript{46} Acrelius, \textit{Beskrifning}, pp. 407-408.
wards, when the SPG offered 10 pounds a year to the Swedish ministers if they preached "in the several vacant churches in Pennsylvania, at least twenty times in one year".\textsuperscript{47} Some of the baptisms performed in the Anglican churches were recorded in the baptismal register of the Christina congregation. That is expressly the case for the years 1721-23, when the headings in the baptismal records indicate the inclusion of the Anglican churches of St. James and Apoquinimy. At least for those years, the baptismal registers serve more as records of the pastor’s ministerial service, than as congregational lists of new members accepted through baptism.

Diagram 2. Number of baptisms per year in the Christina congregation, 1713-1749

\begin{center}
\begin{tikzpicture}
\begin{axis}[
width=\textwidth,
height=0.5\textwidth,
axis x line=bottom,
axis y line=left,
axis line style=thick,
xtick={1713,1715,1717,1719,1721,1723,1725,1727,1729,1731,1733,1735,1737,1739,1741,1743,1745,1747,1749},
xticklabels={1713,1715,1717,1719,1721,1723,1725,1727,1729,1731,1733,1735,1737,1739,1741,1743,1745,1747,1749},
ytick={0,10,20,30,40,50,60},

\addplot[blue,mark=*,mark size=3pt,mark options=solid] table [x=Year, y=Number of baptisms, col sep=comma] {data.csv};
\end{axis}
\end{tikzpicture}
\end{center}

Source: Baptismal registers. \textit{The Records of Holy Trinity Church}.

In order to examine in more detail the meaning of baptism in the Christina congregation, I have calculated the age of the individuals presented at the font. To what extent was the Church Law regulation implemented in Swedish America? Diagram 3 clearly demonstrates that only about 40 percent of the entries in the baptismal records complied with the Church Law. That is to say that the majority of the individuals who were baptized by the pastors of the Christina congregation were older than 8 days. In fact, more than 30 percent were older than one month. There was even a substantial number aged one year or more.

Obviously, the Swedish ministers failed in their efforts to promote Swedish Lutheran church order. However, Diagram 3 tells more about the function of the Christina congregation. First, the period from 1713 to 1727 provides evidence of ministerial at-

\textsuperscript{47} \textit{The Records of Holy Trinity}, p. 264.
tempts to implement the Church Law. If infant baptism is defined as baptism within one month, the rise in infant baptism proceeded for ten more years. From 1713 to 1737, the percentage of baptisms within one month after birth increased from 57 to 80. Consequently, there is a longterm development in the direction taken by infant baptism, at least when viewed in a wider sense.

Parental neglect could explain the baptisms that appear in the timespan between 31 and 360 days after birth. In support of this assumption, I would like to quote an entry from the baptismal register of the Christina congregation for 1716: “Johannes de Foss and wife Hannah’s child Anne, baptized November 25th, 10 months old, and only through the neglect of parents and contempt of all advice without the least excuse has been kept from baptism unto this day.”48 Applied to Diagram 3, this interpretation means that parents became more concerned about their infants’ baptism in the 15-year period from 1713. After 1727, however, parental neglect formed a more usual pattern. This interpretation corresponds to the development of communion frequency in the same congregation. With regard to baptismal and communion patterns, church commitment was declining in Holy Trinity Church from the late 1720s onwards.

*Diagram 3. Baptismal age in the Christina congregation, 1713-1747.*

Source: Baptismal registers. *The Records of Holy Trinity Church.* Note: Only baptisms for children whose age is indicated are included in the diagram.

But how can the decreasing percentage of one-year-olds and older people in the baptismal registers be explained? To be sure, in some cases this development reflects a successful campaign against parental neglect, but in most cases the oldest cohort represents missionary efforts directed towards Native and African Americans as well as Quakers. From this perspective, the high rate of people older than one year of age

when they were baptized, emphasizes the character of Holy Trinity Church as an active and attractive congregation in the first 15 years of investigation.

6. Major reasons behind late baptisms

Aside from parental neglect, several other causes lie behind the late baptisms in the Swedish congregations of colonial America. In the following I will discuss successful mission and "responsible Protestantism" as factors behind the late baptisms. On many occasions these factors are indicated in the baptismal registers. In many other cases, it is difficult to distinguish these and other factors from pure parental neglect. For instance, in 1713 two daughters of John Pålsson, Rebecca and Maria, were baptized, the latter being 12 years old.\(^49\) There is no indication of conversion from Quakerism in the record, and the names alone provide sufficient evidence of Swedishness. But there is still no conclusive evidence of either conversion or parental neglect. In the latter case, evidence is seldom more than circumstantial.\(^50\) Only on exceptional occasions are there remarks in the registers revealing parental neglect.\(^51\)

Missionary efforts

In the Christina congregation some missionary efforts can be detected in the baptismal records. On June 16, 1717, a baptism took place of "The Quaker Oliver Matthews and wife Elizabeth’s son William, 20 years old."\(^52\) And on July 10, 1720, Dean Andreas Hesselius in the Anglican church at Stanton baptized the Quaker son Jonathan at the age of 21.\(^53\) In 1718 the first Quaker baptisms were recorded in the Swedish congregations of New Jersey. Thomas Chieu and his sister Elizabeth, both brought up as Quakers, were baptized in Raccoon on October 29.\(^54\) Two years later "a servant, James Price, about 27 years old" was baptized in Penns Neck, probably having had a Quaker upbringing.

Quaker converts are found in the Gloria Dei church records as well. In his extracts from the church book of the Wicaco congregation in Philadelphia, Pastor Pehr Kalm

\(^{49}\) The Records of [...] Raccoon and Penns Neck, p. 234.
\(^{50}\) Nils Collin relates a comic episode that took place in the beginning of his long ministerial service in America. When asked to baptize three children 3-4 years of age after a sermon in Raccoon, Collin saw the children run away when he was about to pour water on their heads. The screaming fugitives were captured in the field and brought back with some trouble. The accident is presented as an example of the state of religion in America. Nils Collin’s Diary. AUC FVIII: 9, 81.
\(^{51}\) "On February 10 was baptised Anders Hinderson’s child, Anders, without godparents, brought in by a little girl," and on June 2, the baptism of Pålvel Jansson’s daughter Christina was recorded without sponsors, but with the additional comment: "The parents do not go to Church." The Records of [...] Raccoon and Penns Neck, p. 247.
\(^{52}\) The Records of Holy Trinity, p. 241.
\(^{53}\) The Records of Holy Trinity, p. 260.
\(^{54}\) The Records of [...] Raccoon and Penns Neck, p. 241.
has noted the numbers of Swedish children in the baptismal records. There is no information concerning the age of the baptized, with three exceptions. On April 30, 1721, a Quaker girl called Gen. Warner was baptized having learned to read Swedish and mastered the catechism. By the time of her baptism she was 22 years old. A similar case occurred four years later, when Mrs. Elisabeth Star was baptized, 21 years of age. Up till then she had “clung to the harmful Quakerism”. Also in 1727 two former Quakers were baptized, their ages are not indicated in the extract.

Quaker conversions to the Lutheran faith took place throughout the period of the Swedish mission. During Carl Magnus Wrangel’s pastorate in Wicaco, several Quakers were baptized. On July 29, 1761, the leader of the German Lutherans, Henry Melchior Mühlenberg, accompanied Wrangel to the island of Tinnicum, where the first Swedish settlement had been established. They visited a former Quaker, John Tailor, who had been instructed and baptized by Wrangel. Later the same year, Mühlenberg was asked by a Swedish synodal meeting about his opinion on the language question. In his answer he referred to Wrangel’s successful use of the English language:

Old, faithful Swedes assured me that as a result of the tireless calling by the honorable provost in the homes of the people, and by his descending instruction in the Swedish and English languages, more than twenty adult persons had already been brought to holy baptism. They had been entirely ignorant and spiritually dead before.

At a joint Lutheran synodal meeting in June 1762, German and Swedish ministers reported on their congregations. Concerning the Swedish congregations, it was stated that 150 children and 10 adults had been baptized since the synod previous year. Among the adults were “four negroes and six white persons, one of whom had been a Quaker.” One more was reported to be under instruction, and in Malatte an Englishman had been instructed and baptized.

On April 29, 1781, Matthias Hultgren baptized three women after the service in Upper Merion Church, Catharine Enocks, born 1756, Rebecka Thomas, born 1761, and Hahna Potts, born 1762. “These had been appropriately instructed by me several times before, so that they could give reason for the hope they nourished,” Hultgren com-

56 Tappert & Dobberstein, The Journals Vol. I, 459-460. In a letter to Wrangel, dated in Providence, August 12, 1761, Mühlenberg gives the information that there were actually two Quakers on Tinnicum, married to two Swedish sisters, who had been baptized by Wrangel. Aland, Die Korrespondenz Vol. II, 475-476.
58 Documentary History Part I, 63.
59 Ibid. The situation was similar in the German-Lutheran congregations.
Hultgren provides another case from 1784, when the 18-year-old Quaker Mary Smallwood was baptized having been taught the main articles of the Lutheran faith. In 1785 Matthias Hultgren reports on a similar case, when Elizabeth Hultgren, the wife of a Swedish sailor, Swen Hultgren, was baptized in Gloria Dei Church after having been instructed by the pastor. "She was 22 years old and previously raised in the Quaker religion." An unsuccessful attempt at conversion from Quakerism to the Evangelical faith is recorded in Anders Borell’s diary for 1762.

Very few Native Americans were converted as a result of the Swedish mission. However, the following entry is found in the baptismal register of Holy Trinity Church for the year of 1718: "The Indians Meckanappit and Gertrude Toene’s child Philip, 8 years old last August 15th, Sponsors, Johan Hindricsson and his wife Brita, who had adopted the boy for their foster child." There are a few more examples of African American baptisms in the Swedish congregations. Having accounted for the baptism of Johan and Elizabeth Månsson’s son Johannes with the usual array of sponsors, the baptismal register of Penns Neck laconically adds: "On the same day was also baptized: William Wiggorie’s negro, Tobias". In 1714 "William de Ver’s old negro Christian" was baptized, and on February 3, 1723, "George Hugel’s negress Alki’s daughter Anna, a mulatto, 20 years old" was baptized in the Christina congregation. "The negress Peggy’s child Peter" was baptized in the parsonage, one day old, in 1725, and two years later Peggy’s five-day-old daughter Elizabeth was baptized. This Peggy was the property of the church, bought in 1724 for 45 pounds, the pastor contributing 5 pounds from his own purse. Even though Peggy’s "ecclesiastical" status could explain the baptism of her children, she was not a completely exceptional case. The baptismal register of 1749 for the Christina congregation has the following entry: "The child Phoebe, born 9th of January, baptized 18th of December, the parents negroes." There are a few more entries referring to African Americans, for instance two illegitimate mulatto children who were baptized in 1723, but they are rare occurrences. One of these is found in the list of members of the Raccoon congregation in 1786, where Nils Collin accounts for an African American family:

A family of negroes, whom I have baptized. The man Cudjo, still a slave. The wife Venus, now free. Children Cudjo 15, Robert 9, Zvamany 8, Martha 6, Jesse 5, James 2, John 1 year of age. Both are quite kind

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63 Anders Borerll’s Diary, AJP 60:5.
64 The Records of Holy Trinity, p. 244.
65 See the above mentioned baptisms of six African Americans reported on the 1762 synodal meeting.
66 The Records of Holy Trinity, p. 245.
67 The Records of Holy Trinity, pp. 222, 279.
68 The Records of Holy Trinity, pp. 293, 301.
69 The Records of Holy Trinity, p. 408.
70 The Records of Holy Trinity, p. 286.
and the man gave 2 dollars to the new church. Many of the blacks have good inclinations, and if they were taken care of properly, they could become good Christians.\textsuperscript{71}

Of course, this was an exceptional case, forming the last entry of the list. But also in Penns Neck, Collin accounted for a black member. The widow Rachel Boon’s “negroe man Robin comes to church, but his wife, who is also black, prefers the Presbyterians”.\textsuperscript{72} However, there is no information about baptism in this entry.

Dean Carl Magnus Wrangel reported in 1760 to have baptized more than 20 African Americans.\textsuperscript{73} According to Wrangel, they were “negroe slaves living in the congregation”. Obviously, they were not reckoned as full members of Wicaco congregation, as they do not appear in the church records. Wrangel’s efforts to convert African Americans are vividly depicted in a conversion narrative that was printed after his return to Sweden.\textsuperscript{74} After the successful conversion in 1764 of the slave Thomas, sentenced to death for murder, Wrangel claimed to have baptized another 28 slaves who had been awakened by the happy event.\textsuperscript{75}

\textit{Responsible Protestantism}

In some cases non-members were baptized by the Swedish ministers in America. This might have been the case with the African Americans that Carl Magnus Wrangel claimed to have baptized. In his revivalist approach, Wrangel did not restrict himself to the Swedish congregations, but extended his ministerial service to a wider field.

On specific occasions the baptisms of Anglicans are recorded in the Swedish church books. When Samuel Hesselius was serving the Anglican churches of St. James and Apoquinimy, he simply included the baptisms performed in these churches in the baptismal register of the Christina congregation. Even if Hesselius was accused of spending too much time in the Anglican churches,\textsuperscript{76} he was not able to visit each church every week. Consequently, there is reason to believe that the inclusion of Anglican baptisms raised the average age of baptism for the years in question. In 1722 especially, lots of late baptisms are recorded for the Anglican congregations. Visiting the church of Apoquinimy on March 4, Hesselius baptized five children, only one being

\textsuperscript{71} Collin, “Pastor Nils Collins dagbok”, p. 61/102.
\textsuperscript{72} Collin, “Pastor Nils Collins dagbok”, pp. 64/105f.
\textsuperscript{75} The information that Andreas Hesselius baptized 44 “gentiles” during his American pastorate (1713-1723) is interpreted by Nils Jacobsson as conversion of “negroe slaves”. Jacobsson, \textit{Bland svenskamerikaner och gustavianer}, pp. 62, 151. Neither the Wrangel slaves, nor the Hesselius converts can be identified in the church records.
\textsuperscript{76} Lindmark, “Swedish Lutherans”.  

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under one month of age. A similar case occurred in Bohemia, where Hesselius served
on April 28 the same year. Out of 14 people baptized, the youngest was almost six
months old. When Hesselius visited Apoquinimy on March 24, 1723, two children
were baptized, two and four years old, respectively. In comparison with most of the
baptisms performed in Apoquinimy during those years, they appear as infant baptisms,
even though they do not comply with Swedish standards. Visiting Apoquinimy on
August 4 the same year, Hesselius baptized the girl Sara, five and a half years old,
daughter of Benjamin and Rachel Allmond, and on September 1, he christened Wil-
liam and James Griffin, 18 and 15 years old, sons of Samuel and Margareta Griffin. No more examples are needed to prove the fact that the custom of baptism had de-
clined among the Anglicans during the long periods of vacancy. At the same time there
is sufficient evidence to state that the frequency of late baptisms would have been
lower if the Anglican baptisms had been excluded from the baptismal registers.

There were also other cases when non-members were more incidentally baptized by
Swedish Lutheran ministers. In 1714, a son of German Presbyterians was baptized in
Christina. The baptismal register of the Raccoon congregation for 1718 has the fol-
lowing entry: "On March 9, was baptised Anders Jones’ Maria, they do not belong to
our Church." In other sources there is much evidence of Swedish ministers serving a
broader Protestant congregation regardless of formal membership. However, most of
those baptisms have not been recorded in the baptismal registers of the Swedish Lu-
theran congregations, but there are a few examples.

In 1762 Dean Carl Magnus Wrangel traveled to Manathany, and during the journey he
kept a journal. On June 13, he conducted service in the church of Manathany, where he
baptized one 18-year-old of Swedish descent and 18 "English" children. When the
English mass was ended, the Germans entered the church, and during the German
service Wrangel baptized another 12 children. At the beginning of May 1763, the
New Jersey minister Johan Wicksell went to Rapapo, where he baptized four children
of English parents. These families had previously been living far up in the country
among the Native Americans, and had come down during the war. During his sermon,
in which he emphasized the necessity and usefulness of baptism, one of the mothers
was moved to confess her unbaptized status. After preparing her through instruction in
the main articles of the Lutheran faith, she was baptized publicly in the church.

77 The Records of Holy Trinity, p. 270.
78 The Records of Holy Trinity, p. 271.
79 The Records of Holy Trinity, p. 279.
80 The Records of Holy Trinity, p. 280.
81 The statistical analysis will be more elaborated in the next version of this paper. Diagram 3 does
not reflect the actual increase in infant baptisms in the Christina congregation, as most of the reduc-
tion in baptismal age is compensated for by the high frequency of late baptisms in the Anglican chur-
ches. Nor do the five-year cohorts do justice to the changes in the 1720s.
82 The Records of Holy Trinity, p. 225.
84 Carl Magnus Wrangel’s Diary. AJP 60:7.
85 Johan Wicksell’s Diary. AJP 60:8.
7. Unbaptized members

When Swedish Lutherans intermarried with Quakers, the Quaker spouses were reckoned as non-baptized members, as long as church membership was a family concern. But the children in such mixed marriages also ran the risk of remaining unbaptized. On Whit Sunday 1779, the pastor of Wicaco, Matthias Hultgren, baptized four children having conducted service in the Swedish church of Upper Merion. In his account of his ministerial services, Hultgren gives the following report:

Three of them were aged 6, 5 and 4 years. When the act of baptism was concluded, the father of these children asked me to christen the children’s mother, too. Asked about this peculiar request, the mother turned out to be born by Quakers. I then made clear to this woman that she first had to be instructed in our Evangelical-Lutheran doctrine, and offered her my service and advice in this respect. Then I went to their house for this reason, but finally she did not dare to take this step, fearing the repugnance of her relatives.86

In this case the Quaker mother continued to be an unbaptized member of the congregation. Without specific reference to Quakerism, Hultgren reports on a similar and more successful family baptism on December 28, 1783, when Hezechiel Rambo’s wife Elizabeth became a member of the Swedish congregation. Shortly afterwards the four children were also baptized.87 Probably for the same reason, the children of William and Margaret Wilson were not baptized until Christmas Day, 1781. Then Elizabeth, 17, Susanah, 10, David, 5, John, 3, and Deborah, six months old, were christened in Upper Merion Church, the two eldest having studied the catechism some time earlier.88

Ethno-religious intermarriage with Quakers was not the only reason unbaptized children occur in the church records. In 1783, Hultgren baptized the children of the churchwarden in Wicaco, Reynold Keen, the daughter Sarah being 6 years old and the son Lawrence almost one year. "Mr. Keen keeps to the English church with his family, but their children are christened by Swedish ministers," Hultgren commented.89 Apparently, Keens double membership did not guarantee his children’s early baptism.

Even if most of the reported cases resulted in baptism, they nevertheless reveal the existence of unbaptized members. But as long as the information is collected from baptismal records and reports on ministerial services conducted, the members who remained unbaptized are undetected. However, Nils Collin’s diary and membership lists from 1786 have more systematic notes on baptism. I will start by examining the membership list for the Raccoon and Penns Neck congregations covering the period between 1770 and 1786, but probably drawn up in 1786 when Collin left the congrega-

tions to become pastor of Wicacoa. Among the 161 families enumerated for Raccoon, the following unbaptized members of the congregation are found.

In the area of Rapapo, for a long time totally dominated by Swedes, the children of Jesper and Christina Lock were recorded as "not yet baptized".90 Closer to Raccoon church lived the old churchwarden John Rambo. His daughter Sara was married to an Anabaptist, "who did not allow me to baptize her 3 children", Collin commented in his diary.91 In the same area lived Jeffrey Clark, justice of the peace. "When the wife, who was a Quaker, is dead, the children, who are 3, will be baptized," Collin noted hopefully.92 In a district 10 kilometers south-east from the church, lived Miles Denny and his family. His wife was not registered as a church member, which could explain why the children were not yet baptized.93 Daniel Stanton with his Quaker wife and three unbaptized children lived 15 kilometers south-west from the church.94 In the same neighborhood lived also the "half Quaker" Wiljan Kej with his Swedish wife Elizabeth. The children were still unbaptized, but the parents had promised to present them at the font.95 In a certain area located at a distance of 5-7 kilometers to the north-west of Raccoon church, another family was found, whose religious life was characterized by intermarriage. Benjamin Rambo was a Swede by birth, and a member of the church council. Furthermore:

The whole family is among the best, they are frequent church attendants, and they have always given proof of great friendship. Yet, the wife and the children are still unbaptized, as she was born a Quaker, and the first time married to a Presbyterian, and does not want to be baptized until she is completely convinced of its necessity, in which case she will not stay in the way of the children either. Such a mixture is found among the best. Even his first wife was a Quaker.96

Even in the next generation a religious intermarriage took place. The stepdaughter of Benjamin Rambo, Sara, herself born of a Quaker mother, was married to the Swede Jonas Lock. But even if Sara was recorded as unbaptized, she allowed her daughter Christina to be baptized.97 Another case of ethno-religious intermarriage with a Quaker woman is recorded from the same neighborhood. Peter Adams, born to a mixed marriage between a Swedish man and a Quaker woman, was himself married to a Quaker, Agnes, whith whom he had one son and one daughter. The daughter, who was younger, was not baptized yet, "because a mother arrogates to herself more right over

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91 Collin, "Pastor Nils Collins dagbok", p. 41/82.
92 Collin, "Pastor Nils Collins dagbok", p. 41/82.
the daughters”, Collin comments. The case was obviously the opposite for the Quaker woman Hanna, who married the Swede Jacob Henricson. Three years after the birth of her son Jacob, she was baptized herself. The widow Ruth Adams in the same district had been married to a Quaker, which was why some of their five children, aged from 14 to 29, had not been baptized.

Turning to the closest circle around the church of Raccoon, Nils Collin lists the members living within a distance of 5 kilometers from the church. The Swede William Huling’s Quaker wife and their two children were unbaptized. Two sons of Jacob Stille’s wife Elizabeth from her first marriage with Samuel Linch were unbaptized, even though they were registered as 19 and 17 years old, respectively. Gideon and Mary Denny’s son David was also unbaptized, but he was still an infant. Gideon’s brother Samuel was married to the Quaker Mary, who was unbaptized just like her children, ranging from 4 to 10 years of age. The Swedish widower Abraham Matson had many children with his Quaker wife. Hanna and Mary were baptized, but Thomas, Abraham, Acy, John, Rachel, Jonas, Sara, and Debora were not.

There were also some unbaptized members of the Penns Neck congregation. However, they are not as numerous as in Raccoon, primarily due to the fact that the Penns Neck congregation was smaller. When Collin drew up the membership list, he did not account for more than 58 enumerated households in Penns Neck. The old Finn Andrew Sinnicson, the most wealthy and distinguished member of the congregation, had a daughter, Sara, who lived in the township of Salem and was “married to a medical doctor who not often attends a service, nor has had his children baptized”. Living between the churches of Raccoon and Penns Neck, the Hellms family was reckoned as one of the best. The widow Cathrine had a daughter who was married to a certain Ebenezer Pittman, ”who is not yet baptized, but has declared his wish to so become, as soon as he has reached complete conviction of the necessity thereof”. Closer to the river lived Peter Applin with his family. Peter was still unbaptized, but had not declared himself unwilling. A couple of late baptisms are recorded in the same district. Hanna Dahlbo, married to Wiljam, was baptized on her wedding day, and Collin had baptized Elizabeth Laurence in 1778, 18 years old. This was not the case with Wiljam Biddle’s wife Hanna, and Alexander van Neaman’s wife Rebecca, who were still unbaptized.

98 Collin, ”Pastor Nils Collins dagbok”, p. 51/92
99 Collin, ”Pastor Nils Collins dagbok”, p. 52/93.
100 Collin, ”Pastor Nils Collins dagbok”, p. 55/96.
101 Collin, ”Pastor Nils Collins dagbok”, p. 56/97.
102 Collin, ”Pastor Nils Collins dagbok”, p. 60/101.
103 Collin, ”Pastor Nils Collins dagbok”, p. 61/102.
104 Collin, ”Pastor Nils Collins dagbok”, p. 65/106.
106 Collin, ”Pastor Nils Collins dagbok”, pp. 68/109, 70/111.
107 Collin, ”Pastor Nils Collins dagbok”, pp. 69/110f.
The results presented from my examination of Nils Collin’s membership lists for the Swedish Lutheran congregations of New Jersey have clearly demonstrated that unbaptized members were a major problem, found especially in Quaker intermarriages, but spread even in wider circles.\textsuperscript{108}

8. Baptism and membership

From 1713 the Swedish ministers took great pains to implement the Swedish church law in America. Both communion and baptismal customs were made the target of reform efforts, and in the 1720s both communion frequency and infant baptism rates increased rapidly. The existence of properly functioning sponsorship supports the characterization of the first decades of the 18\textsuperscript{th} century as a period when a stable Swedish Lutheran church order was established. Behind this development lies an ethnic revival caused by the external pressure to which the American Swedes were exposed when new settlers arrived in huge number challenging the Swedes’ position as an old and privileged group. In order to defend their old rights, the American Swedes took measures to strengthen their ethnic identity and coherence. The distribution of Swedish literature, the founding of schools, the erection of churches, and the establishment of a Swedish Lutheran church order with well-educated Swedish ministers are obvious proofs of the interest in promoting Swedishness.\textsuperscript{109} In the light of this development, the maintenance of the institution of sponsorship appears another sign of the general striving towards increased ethnic coherence.\textsuperscript{110} From a similar perspective, the restrictive use of emergency baptism could be interpreted as reflecting the members’ wish to make use of the Swedish ministry in order to tighten the bonds of Swedishness and raise the status of the Swedish community.

It is obvious that the Swedish ministers had to face insuperable obstacles in their continued fight to preserve an ethnic membership in the latter part of the 18th century. Religious intermarriages of course constituted a specific problem, but the Church of Sweden could not even count on confessionally unquestioned members of the congregations. Nils Collin’s comment on the case of Felix Fisler reveals that neither Swedishness nor the Lutheran religion was expected from the Swedish Lutheran church in the 1780s. Felix Fisler and his Swedish wife Ruth were registered as members of the Raccoon congregation along with their four children,

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{108} A few examples are also found in the membership list of Wicaco, Kingsessing and Upper Merion congregation, 1784/86. Uppsala Consistory Archives, F VIII:8, 156-161. The State Regional Archives, Uppsala, Sweden.
\item \textsuperscript{109} The analysis is developed in more detail in Daniel Lindmark, "Literature for Swedish Lutherans in Colonial America, 1696-1730." In: Geoffrey Sherington & Craig Campbell (Eds.), \textit{Education and Ethnicity}. (Paedagogica Historica, Suppl. Series VII.) Gent 2001, pp. 35-54; and in Lindmark, "Mobilizing Swedes".
\item \textsuperscript{110} Without having undertaken any systematic examination of the sponsors, there is reason to state that sponsorship followed ethnic lines.
\end{itemize}
all of them unbaptized, even though the parents are not inclined to Quakerism, but some people are of the opinion, that the best thing to do is to let the children choose religion when they grow up, or they think that the responsibility of the parents at the covenant of baptism is too heavy.\footnote{Collin, "Pastor Nils Collins dagbok", p. 53/94}

Could the principle of religious freedom and individual conviction be expressed more clearly? The problem of unbaptized members becomes even more conspicuous, when the principle of selection is taken into consideration. Collin has omitted all former or potential members who could no longer be considered as members. These potential members should include even more children of mixed marriages, even more people of different religious conviction, and even more religiously indifferent people. Having accounted for the members living in a settlement 10 kilometers north of Raccoon church, Nils Collin draws the following conclusion: "Moreover, there are several other people in this neighborhood, and some whose children I have baptized but keeping to nothing certain. That is the case everywhere in an ecclesia plantanda [missionary church]".\footnote{Collin, "Pastor Nils Collins dagbok", p. 43/84.} A similar comment is made after the account of the members in another district, where many inhabitants could in some way be regarded as members. Collin had noticed an improvement in church commitment among those who had been indifferent. Young families especially returned to church and had their children baptized. As the settlement was situated 15 kilometers from Raccoon church, Collin had chosen to preach in one of the private houses in the district.\footnote{Collin, "Pastor Nils Collins dagbok", p. 47/88.} When Collin accounted for some of the members living in a district close to the church he also made a similar comment, meaning that there were several inhabitants who occasionally attended service, but who could not yet be considered as members. Concluding the membership list of Raccoon and Penns Neck in 1786, the year of the cessation of the Swedish mission, Collin expressed his confusion:

\begin{quote}
It is not easy to say, how many people could be called members of such mixed congregations as our Swedish-Lutheran and other congregations in this country, as neither Orthodoxy, nor the use of the sacraments, nor a frequent church attendance, nor discipline, are useful criteria, but everyone is free to believe at his own discretion.\footnote{Collin, "Pastor Nils Collins dagbok", p. 71/112.}
\end{quote}

Consequently, ethnicity was no longer a useful criterion of membership, as it was not even listed. But religious criteria were obviously not much easier to use, not even baptism could function as the foundation of membership. Having lost its primary basis of recruitment, i.e. the Swedish-speaking population, the Lutheran congregation did not find its Lutheranism attractive enough to secure a steady membership. In this situation Collin applied the idea of a "responsible Protestantism", meaning that he included as members all the Protestant people in the neighborhood who showed the slightest inter-
est in his services. At the same time, this was also a "pragmatic Protestantism" insofar as it secured the continued existence of the New Jersey churches.

9. From ethnic to religious membership – some tentative conclusions

The overarching purpose of this study has been to analyze the baptismal pattern of the Swedish Lutheran congregations in colonial America in order to define the character of the congregations as basically ethnic or religious communities. In this final section I will present some tentative conclusions on baptism and membership. Some of the conclusions are still so preliminary, that they might appear to be more like informed hypotheses than proven results. Further research is needed to lay a solid foundation for more definite conclusions. For instance, the examination of the age distribution at baptism should be extended to the congregations of Raccoon and Penns Neck.

A. Membership in the Swedish-American congregations was based upon two fundamental principles: ethnicity and religious conviction. All the Swedes in the Middle Colonies were reckoned as church members by birth, but people of different ethnic and religious descent could join the congregation after conversion. Baptism was a requirement for membership, but this was made obvious only in those cases when the applicants for membership had not been baptized previously, most frequently because they were born Quakers.

B. There is a general development from ethnic to religious membership in 18th-century America: individualism, secularization and religious indifference changed the conditions of church membership. The transition from collectivism to individualism can be traced in the decline of the institution of sponsorship. As to membership, the discrepancies between ethnic and religious membership made itself visible in the existence of unbaptized members. As long as the Swedish mission required the Swedish congregations to be ethnic communities, religious indifference created unbaptized members.

C. If congregational membership had been based exclusively upon individual religious commitment, all the members would have been baptized in accordance with the Lutheran doctrine. Only in a congregation where membership was hereditary or followed lines of kinship, would the problem of unbaptized members occur. Consequently, the children of religiously indifferent Swedes formed a majority of the unbaptized members. However, by the end of the period under examination, the discrepancy between hereditary membership and individual commitment involved more than people of Swedish descent. Practical and economic considerations also seem to have coincided with the national church tradition.

D. Religious intermarriage caused a delicate problem: neither the ethnic nor the religious definition of membership would apply. There are many examples of people of different ethnic and religious heritage being incorporated into the Swedish community, especially in the 17th and the early 18th centuries. For instance Anglicans and members
of the Dutch Reformed Church could easily fit in, but Quakers had to be baptized to gain membership. The problem of unbaptized children seems to appear most frequently in families based on religious intermarriage with Quakers. At the end of the period under examination, religious intermarriage no longer automatically resulted in incorporation. Church membership was no longer an issue for collective entities such as families, but a matter of individual conviction. This religious individualism could even lead the parents to leave the baptism for their children to decide.

E. What distinguished the Swedish-American congregations from their Swedish counterparts was the relatively high proportion of late baptisms. Most parents failed to fulfill the Church Law requirement of baptism within 8 days. Practical obstacles and parental neglect account for most of the late baptisms. However, a successful mission can be detected behind many of the non-infant and practically all of the adult baptisms. Not only Quakers, but also some Native and African Americans were accepted as members through baptism.

F. The Swedish Lutheran ministers did not restrict their baptismal service to children of congregation members and converts. Rather, the ministers acted as "responsible Protestants" administering baptism to everybody in need regardless of membership. Apart from the periods of heavy Swedish involvement in Anglican affairs, the registers account for many baptisms of children of Anglicans, Germans, and other non-members. The baptismal registers sometimes serve the function of ministerial journals rather than congregational records. However, in proper diaries and journals the ministers report a huge number of baptisms administered to people of various ethnic and religious backgrounds. On the other hand, "responsible Protestantism" did not appear in the form of lay baptisms, as was the case in distant areas in Sweden. It probably served the interests of both the clergy and the congregations to reserve baptism as an almost exclusively ministerial duty.

G. There are interesting similarities between the Swedish-American congregations in the 18th century and the Church of Sweden in the 20th century. Originally defined as ethnic or national communities, both branches of the Swedish Lutheran church had to face the problem of unbaptized members, when the fundamental principle of being born into the Swedish Lutheran church was no longer followed by baptism. When the link between membership by birth and membership by religious conviction could not be sustained, the basis for membership had to be reconsidered. This development from national church to denomination took place two centuries earlier in America than in Sweden. In this process not only the Swedish, but also the Lutheran character of the Swedish Lutheran congregations was relinquished. All the Swedish churches in colonial America became affiliated with the Anglican or Episcopalian Church.
Auswirkungen der deutsch-ungarischen Universitätsbeziehungen im 19. Jahrhundert


Das war nicht nur ein natürliches Bestreben der deutschsprachigen Bevölkerung in Ungarn (Sachsen, Schwaben usw.), auch die bedeutende protestantische, evangelische und reformierte Kirche in Ungarn ließ die kirchliche und weltliche Intelligenz an protestantischen Universitäten in der Schweiz, Deutschland und Holland ausbilden.


1 Für diese Untersuchung benützten wir eine große Anzahl von Archiven in Europa.
Wir untersuchten die ungarische Auslandstudium nach Deutschland in zwei großen und fünf kleineren Teilen. Die erste Periode dauert bis 1867, bis zum österreich-ungarischen Ausgleich, die zweite bis zum Ende des ersten Weltkrieges. Die zweite war die Periode der Doppelmonarchie, welche wie gesagt die sich am schnellsten entwickelnde Epoche des ungarischen Hochschulwesens war. Zu dieser Zeit kamen sehr viele nach Deutschland aus dem Gebiet des historischen Ungarns, deshalb nimmt die Sammlung der Daten lange Zeit in Anspruch.


Das neue Ziel wurde die sich rasch entwickelnde Berliner Universität, an die sich von 1832 immer mehr Studenten inskribieren ließen. Im Vergleich zur geographischen Verteilung der Studentenmigration der Habsburgermonarchie haben wir hier eine ganz andere Situation. Sowohl in Berlin als auch in Göttingen und Tübingen machten die Studenten aus Transsylvanien etwa die Hälfte der Studentenschaft aus.

Die Neuerscheinungen der ausländischen Studentenmigration zeigen sich im Fall der deutschen Universitäten in der behandelten Perioden kaum. An die landwirtschaftliche Hochschule von Hohenheim ließen sich früh die ersten heimischen Studenten inskribieren. Die sich für die technischen Wissenschaften interessierten ersten ungarischen Studenten ließen sich erst im Sommer 1848 an das Polytechnikum von Karlsruhe, ebenso wie die ersten ungarischen Studenten in Bonn.

Nach der Niederschlagung der Revolution und des Freiheitskriege in Ungarn (1848-49) erhöhte sich die ausländische Peregrination sehr stark, aber deren Ziel war damals Wien für die Ungarn. Nach Deutschland konnten immer weniger Studenten kommen. Während der folgenden 17 Jahren wissen wir von 1275 Personen, die sich an deutsche Universitäten inskribieren ließen. Hier zeigten sich die neuen Tendenzen der Peregrination also eindeutig.

Frühere wichtige Zentren verlieren ihre Anziehungskraft. Göttingen, Jena, Tübingen, Leipzig, Halle, Marburg wurden in den Hintergrund gedrängt. Das Interesse für Berlin naherte sich schon damals zum früher weit führenden Jena. Was die Fakultäten betrifft, können wir feststellen, daß sich das Interesse für die technischen Fakultäten und die Naturwissenschaften verstärkte, aber die Zahl der Insribierten aus Ungarn erhöhte sich sowohl an den juristischen Fakultäten als auch im Bereich der Kunst- und

2 Hochdeutsch = immatrikulieren
Ingenieurbildung. Zu dieser Zeit nimmt die Anzahl der neuen ungarischen Studenten in Heidelberg und in München zu. An den deutschen Universitäten erworben aber sehr wenig ungarische Studenten ihr Diplom. Die Studenten kamen im allgemeinen für ein oder zwei Semester zur graduellen Bildung, aber die Theologen verbringen oft je ein Studienjahr an drei bis vier deutschen Universitäten.


Also zu Beginn des 20. Jahrhunderts bildeten sich die modernen zwischen-universitätlchen Beziehungen und die neuen Studentenmigrationstendenzen aus, die zwischen dem sich rasch entwickelnden Deutschland und dem sich anschließenden Österreich als eine positive Erscheinung zu betrachten ist.
Baptism and the Pastoral Codes — a Key to the Classic European Population Records.

The pastoral codes on baptism, noted in the old Swedish church records since the 17th century, came to be used rather late in the famous official Swedish population statistics. A fragmentary beginning made in the 1880 census was finally completed in 1930. This poses two problems. Firstly, there is the difficulty of explaining the complete history of the materials. The hitherto common demographic, economic, fiscal, military and other external investigations are not sufficient to explain the deepest roots of the classic demographic sources — the church records. Such enquiries are always limited regarding historical perspectives. We need, sometimes, to return to the total cultural reality! — Secondly, and it is indeed, a serious current problem, as the Lutheran Church of Sweden has to define itself in terms of its new free relations with the State. Baptism then emerges both as a key to the Church’s own historical identity and also as the first and only definition of membership of the Church both today and tomorrow.

As the long term research program at Umeå University has made clear, the Swedish church archives are distinguished by their compact, well-preserved and informative series of sources, while keeping consistently within a worldwide ecumenical historical tradition. The origins and structure of these sources have been studied in continuing research projects at Umeå University, most recently in a large project supported by the Bank of Sweden Tercentenary Foundation entitled Crisis and renewing. Baptism, confirmation and church adherence in a profound Swedish and a comparative international perspective.

A look at the research program may serve to illuminate the research task (a–f below):

a. Comparisons with the immigrant churches, for example the Syrian Orthodox Church or the Coptic Church, bring a wider understanding of the transnational cultural foundation, which derives its origin from the Early Oriental Church. Today the Christian Council of Sweden offers to these multicultural traditions a network of contacts and gives even deeper ecumenical perspectives to the rich Swedish materials.

b. Abroad, close contacts have been established with the church archives in Rome and Budapest. In Rome concrete planning was initiated during visits to the Lateran
archives, the *Tabularum Vicariatus Urbis*. The Roman source materials immediately confirm the international perspective that the baptism and the sacraments constitute the pastoral codes and the most detailed demographic patterns of individuals and families. The kinship to the Swedish sources is obvious! (Fig 2-3) A good reference for example is A. Belletini: *Status animarum*. Rome (1971).

c. Furthermore, at the *Congregatio de Propaganda Fide* in Rome longterm studies concerning the baptismal, prayer and reading tradition are reaching back to the true origins of both parts of the concept: “baptising them, teaching them”. For worldwide mission this institution printed and distributed primers in many different languages from the early 17th century (as a continuation of earlier editions published in Europe, such as those from Amsterdam and Paris). These primers have the Pater Noster, Ave Maria and Creed as their first texts printed in the vernacular. In fact, they reveal the common cultural basis for baptism, oral and reading traditions, which also have been studied in an Umeå research program, *Alphabeta varia*.

d. In Budapest a symposium at *Collegium Budapest*, arranged in 1995 by The *Swedish Council for Planning and Coordination of Research*, led to continuing research into the Catholic, Protestant and Orthodox archives in the National Archives of Hungary. The comparisons are very promising, which has been shown by scholars working in both Budapest and Umeå, such as Dr. Hanna Zipernovsky and Prof. Istvan Thot. Currently there is very active planning for a joint project, called “Collegium Budapest”. These preparatory investigations concerning transnational church materials confirm the overall impression that baptism is the key to the traditions.

e. For many years the same cultural patterns have been tested all over the Nordic, Barents, Baltic and East Central European regions. One very topical, concrete task is a further special comparison with the Finnish source material and its connections with the Orthodox tradition. Recent projects also indicate such connections in a global perspective, for example, in the research into multicultural immigrant communities in Edmonton, Canada, initiated by the cultural researcher David Goa, who is cooperating on cultural projects together with Ph.Lic. Margareta Attius-Sohlman and continuing her work.

f. To sum up, it is clear that the rich Swedish materials really are the consequence of a deep common cultural tradition. The entire ongoing research process, for example, at the *Research Archives* and at the *Demographic Database* in Umeå and, of course, also at the *Swedish Archive Information* in Ramsele (SVAR), is given new and unexpected applications in a wider European perspective.
Thus Baptism, the Christian name in the baptismal register (“the book of life”), the prayer in the oral and reading traditions, focus on the aspects in the pastoral source material that transmit deep cultural elements. These elements constitute the basis for both the sources concerning the other sacraments (Confirmation, the Eucharist, Penance, Extreme Unction, Orders, Marriage) and for the pastoral Parish records. These Parish records have different names in different traditions, but they are organised in the same way in genealogical family patterns. Thus the Catholic Liber Status Animarum corresponds to the Protestant "Soul Registers", and to the famous Swedish/Finnish Parish examination records (Sw. husförhörslängder). These records contain the richest information of all these registers. In them you can follow a person or a family through all kinds of change in the family over time, also social and migration patterns — in the Umeå Demographic Database, DDB (Fig. 1).

To put it differently: the research program at Umeå University has tried to follow common church traditions with baptism as the key to the archive formation, because this holds both the deepest memories of the Church, expressed in pastoral codes, and gives the old demographic patterns.

**Fig. 1) Record linkage. Codes for a volume of Parish examination records**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Entering into the volume</th>
<th>IN</th>
<th>Removing out of the volume</th>
<th>OUT</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
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<td>1</td>
<td>Removed out to the next volume</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Was born within the volume</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Died during the volume’s time</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Moving around within the volume (in)</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Moving around within the volume (out)</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Migrated in from another parish</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>Migrated out to another parish</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Immigrated from another country</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>Emigrated to another country</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

One of the oldest pastoral records in Sweden comes from Bygdeå parish, just north of Umeå. It was a journal kept by the vicar, when he travelled around the parish yearly before Easter for local catechetical meetings (in farmers houses in about 16-17 places). He examined the families and specially prepared the young people for there first Holy Communion. At these meetings the vicar preached each year on the famous leadings of Luthers Catechism: preaching 1639 on "de Absolutione" (confession and forforgiveness), in 1640 "de Coena Domini" (the Lord’s Supper), in 1641 on the Ten Commandments, 1642 on the Creed, 1643 on "the Lord’s Prayer", 1644 on Baptism, 1645 on de Absolutione" (again!), in 1646 on "de Coena Domini" and so on year by year. For example 1640 (meetings 1-2):

**Anno 1640. Preaching de Coena Domini.**

1. **Ytterklinten, Öfferklinten and Åkullsjön** [three hamlets, small villages]
   Elsa, Nils Anderssons daughter, *first time*, knows the text itself ("kan sjelfva orden")
   Brita, Olof Persson daughter, reads badly, a little bit better, 641,42
   Read quite well and all examined.

2. **Korsssjön and Uttervatnet** [two hamlets]
   Efrem Persson, *first time*, knows the text itself, not more 641,642
   Jon Larsson i Korsssjön, reads badly, better 641
   Erik Larsson, vide supra 1639, to Easter, works at Sikeå
   Östen Larsson, brother, reads badly,
   Sigrid Persdotter, *first time*, reads the text itself, reads from book 641
   Lars Andersson, H K grandson, *first visit*, reads somewhat, better 641
   Karin Germundsdotter, *first time*, reads from the book, reads well 641
   Sitzella, Tore’s maid at Jomark, reads badly, a bit better 641
   Ingeborg i Hedmyrberget, *first time*, better 641
   Mostly quite well (Continuing meeting 3-16)

**Fig. 2b)** Bygdeå. A I:13a-b Parish examination record 1853-62. (Pag 279)

**Fig. 2c)** 1845-1860. First examination, "N", and first communion, "f. g.". (Register 1838-45 (pag.141), 1846-52 (pag.208), 1853-62(pag.279). Family of Daniel Hansson, Öndebyn, five children born 1837-45. (see fig. 2b)

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Year of birth</th>
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<th>53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60</th>
<th>first examination/ communion</th>
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<td>Sophia</td>
<td>1837</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>f.g</td>
<td>8 år 16 år</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pehr</td>
<td>1840</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>f.g</td>
<td>7 år 16 år</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ulla</td>
<td>1841</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>f.g</td>
<td>8 år 17 år</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clara</td>
<td>1843</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>f.g</td>
<td>7 år 16 år</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mathilda</td>
<td>1845</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>f.g</td>
<td>6 år 15 år</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Notice the age of the children at first examination: "N" at age 6-8, and at first communion: "f.g." at age 15-17!

Compare these "N" and "f.g." to "first time" etc in 1640! (Fig 2a above). - The school starts in 1847 with a threefold function: as a school for the poor, for wealthy families and for children living close to the school. The schoolchildren were about 25 % of all children of age 6-14, who were all noted for reading and comprehension in the church records. (Johansson, E. Diss. 1972)
Fig. 3a-c) The sacraments and the pastoral codes. Italy, Rome. Liber status animarum.

Fig. 3a) Liber status animarum. Rituale romanum, 1614:
"Familia quaeque distincte in libro notetur, intervallo relicito ab unaquaque ad alteram subseuentem, in quo singillatim scribantur nomen cognomen, aetas singulorum, qui ex familia sunt, vel tamquam advenae in ea vivunt. Qui vero ad sacram communionem admissi sunt hoc signum in margine et contra habeant: c. Qui sacramentum confirmationis sunt muniti, hoc signum habeant: chr. Qui ad alium locum habitandum accesserint, eorum nomina subducta linea notentur."

Fig. 3b) S. Tomas´ parish. Strada Maggiore, Italy. Liber status animarum 1698

A family of seven members. Notice Johannes Andreas, age 10, has a "c" for Communion that year, but the younger children, age 6 and 5, have no notes (compare to Bygdeå, Fig. 2a)

Fig. 3c) S. Lorenzo parish, Lucina, Rome. Liber status animarum 1931.
During a visit in 1996 to The Bishops’ and Diocesan archives in Rome, Tabularum Vicariatus Urbis, at the Lateran Palace, new comparisons with the Italian sources could be initiated. The series of the archives are identical! For example the archive series in the parish of S. Lorenzo in the centre of old Rome starts with:
Battesimi [Baptismal records] The sources kept from: 1558 -
Matrimoni [Marriage records] 1564 -
Stati d’Anime [Liber status animarum, Family/parish records] 1607 -

S. Lorenzo, Rome. Liber status animarum 1931.

Notice Luciano, age 10, who has notes for three sacraments: cresima, confessione and communione. Lydia, age 5, has no notes in these columns! Compare with Johannes, age 10 (above) who has a note "c", and with the other children in Bygdeå (Fig 2a-c).

The columns are:
Num. civico, piano, num. interno Street, floor etc (Five sacraments!)
Cognome, nome, paternità Second/first name, father (Christian name, Baptismal records)
Luogo di nascita Place of birth (Christian name, Baptismal records)
Stato (coniugato, moglie) Civil status, (husband/wife)
Anno e Parrocchia - Matrimonio Year and parish of marriage (Sacrament)
Eta’ Age (Sacrament)
Condizione, professione e scuola Occupation, education (Sacrament)
Cresima Confirmation (Chism) (Sacrament)
Confessione Communion (Sacrament)
Communione Further remarks (Sacrament)
Observazioni

Five of the seven sacraments establish the basic pattern. Baptism is marked for everybody in the Baptismal records. Chrism, Confession and Communion (at age 7-12) and also Matrimonio (Marriage) have their separate columns! (Order and Extreme Unction, see other sources).
Hungarian Pedagogical Statistics around the Period of the Census of 1930.

Introduction

During the visit of Professor Egil Johansson to Hungary in the fall 2000, the possibility emerged that the researchers of the National Library and the Museum of Pedagogy, both in Budapest, would join the planned research. Our library’s long past and its rich statistical archives make it possible for us to contribute to international comparative studies. We have grouped the available sources dating back to the 1930s as listed below.

1. Sociography, life circumstances
2. Progress in school
3. Choosing a profession/occupation
4. Leisure activities
5. Health matters
6. Teachers
7. Public education

Computer programmes make possible a thorough comparison of available data. The difficult and tedious part of the work will be deciding on the points to be compared.

The following pages will show examples based on some of our Hungarian data. A large part of the statistics are based on the Census of 1930. This allows international comparison as a census was taken in all European Countries belonging to the League of Nations in 1930.
1. The native language composition of nursery and elementary school pupils (1931).

Hungary is a multiethnic country, as is also shown by the 1931 data, although the statistics taken prior to 1919 reveal a completely different picture. Data from the thirties mostly concerns the ethnic Hungarian minorities in the neighbouring countries, however it would be interesting to look into how many of them have made it into the higher education system.
2. Distribution by sex, students at the Universities (1932).

Modernisation in Hungary has been a rather belated process, and the table above clearly shows the half-feudal set of values. While women were banned by law from studying at some universities, at others they were excluded by public opinion.

3. Percentage of illiteracy among 15–19-year-olds in developed and less developed regions respectively (1930).

The rate of literacy accurately reflects the level of development of public education in any country. Hungary was somewhat below the European average, but this table shows the differences that arose as a result of different economic development in the various regions.
4. Distribution by sex of first year undergraduates at the Medical Faculty.

The rising number of female students at the Medical Faculty shows that a slow change began after 1930.

5. Sociographic profile of university students (1930).

Examining the health issues and life circumstances of students, such as alcohol consumption, smoking, sports habits and the ratio of those who had never been abroad, promises interesting results. All these are documented in detail.

The choice of profession/occupation among pupils in a country is a great indicator of the mobility of society and the directions in which it is moving. Our table only indicates the intended professions.

7. The composition of elementary school pupils by religion (1931).

For historical reasons Hungary is primarily a Roman Catholic country, and the examination of religious affiliation supplies suitable data on which to base conclusions. Various teaching material and curricula not only provided a different store of knowledge, but also a different view of life.
8. Progress through the school system of the generation born in 1975.

This is the possible starting point for a study of those born in 1975 and reaching school age in 1981. The table demonstrates all the pitfalls and benefits of the school system.
Parish Records as a Source for Comparative Pedagogical Research.

This paper is based on my research into Hungarian church archives for information that will make it possible to compare the education of the people carried out in northern Sweden by the Swedish Lutheran Church and the education carried out by the Roman Catholic and Lutheran churches in Hungary.¹

In order to make it easier to determine what are genuine Swedish traditions within ecclesiastical education, it may be fruitful to study the Catholic cultural heritage within the same field. Hungary is a typical example of central European culture. A comparison between the role in education and teaching played by the Lutheran church in northern Sweden during a specific period of time, and the role of the Roman Catholic Church in Hungary within the same field during the same period, could clarify potential patterns and reveal similarities and differences. Such a comparison would have to be, however, limited to a period of time during the 18th century.

When I started my research, I became acquainted with and inspired by the work of Professor Egil Johansson (Umeå University) and the detailed Swedish church archives on which he based his scientific results. The research of Egil Johansson gives a detailed picture of the huge work carried out by the Swedish clergy in educating the people. According to the Swedish Church Law of 1686, every individual, children and adults, regardless of social class, had to learn to read and to understand the meaning of "the words of God" as it is said. In the parish examination records we can – in theory – follow the development of every individual regarding reading ability and in comprehension of the Lutheran belief.

My Hungarian sources for the comparison with northern Sweden are to be found in various Hungarian church archives and even outside the archives. I have used the results of Professor Egil Johansson's unique research on the Swedish parish catechetical examination records. So far I have found that there are interesting fields for comparison between Hungarian and Swedish church tradition primarily in the field of catechesis.

In the huge Hungarian church archives we can find documents from the Catholic Canonical visitations. These visitations were carried out as a form of inspection from

¹ I have not included the Lutheran church in Hungary in this presentation.
as early as in the Middle Ages and they represent the most ancient church administration in Hungary. The bishop controlled the supervision of the parishes belonging to his diocese and it was he who exercised authority over these visitations.

At the visitations the bishop or the archdeacon – to whom this duty was generally transferred in Hungary – checked the keeping of the church records. The keeping of church records was made an obligatory task by the Synod of Trent (1545-1564). The Ottoman occupation of Hungary had unfortunately already taken place when the decision to keep church records was taken, and the situation in the country made the task impossible for most of the parishes. In 1611 a Hungarian Synod took measures to be able at least to maintain baptism and marriage records.

Baptism records are the oldest Hungarian church records. As early as in 1515 the Hungarian Synod in Veszprém had ordered the keeping of baptismal records, because the Catholic church wanted to control spiritual relationships as well as kinship. The former could be as big an obstacle for getting a permission to marry as the latter.

From 1625, the year of the introduction of the *Rituale Romanum*, it became compulsory throughout Hungary not only to keep records of baptism and marriage but also of death and confirmation. In addition to these four records a *Liber Status Animarum* also was required. This was a list of the "status of the souls" in the parish. These lists consisted of family records, where each member of the household was recorded separately. The *Liber Status Animarum* included information about every member of the family: name, age, status within the family (in relation to the *pater familias*, the father), sacraments received, and in some cases "maturity" (for example capable or incapable of getting married). Servants of the household had their own entries, although we cannot be sure that every servant was recorded as many of them came and went seasonally.

Thus, from 1625 on, the parishes had to note five different pieces of information in the church records: baptism, marriage, death, confirmation and status of the souls.

It was not possible for a bishop or an archdeacon to make visitations to every parish each year, perhaps each parish was visited once in three years. When a visitation was due, a questionnaire was sent out in advance. This had to be answered in writing by the priest of the parish. The questionnaire was divided into different sections. A detailed description of the inhabitants of the village had to be given no matter whether they were Roman Catholics or belonged to another denomination. This custom lasted until the end of the 18th century.

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2 More than a third of Hungarian territory was occupied by the Ottoman Empire from 1526–1686 and Transylvania was more or less a vassal state during the same period (Hamák 1991, 56).

3 An example of a spiritual relationship is the relation between a godparent and a godchild. The names of godparents were recorded in the church books and a godfather was not allowed to marry a goddaughter.

4 An administrative reform enacted by the Pope Paulus V.

5 As a consequence of the political reforms of the church carried out by Emperor Joseph II (Hungarian Habsburg monarch 1780-90), the Catholic visitations no longer applied to Protestant inhabitants.
The Catholic priest also had to give information about the church building and the property of the church, about the religious orders working in his parish, about the languages spoken within the parish, about the quality of the education and of the schoolmaster and about religions other than Roman Catholicism practised in the parish. These Catholic Canonical visitations were intended to provide such detailed information as whether there was a Protestant vicar or schoolmaster working in the village and within which confession the villagers were confirmed.

For the purpose of my research I am interested in notes on the specific issues, listed below, to which answers might be found in different Hungarian church records.6

1. What kind of education and knowledge of foreign language did the priest have? The fact that you can find this information recorded demonstrates that educational status was considered very important.
2. Who was in charge of the education of the children? Was there a schoolmaster or a parish clerk in charge or was the priest himself the teacher?
3. What was taught (what was the curriculum)?
4. How often and for how long did the children attend lessons?

The mission and function of the Christian Church have remained the same throughout time and in all countries. Apart from preaching the Gospel and administering the sacraments, the Christian Church has also considered itself responsible for the education and way of life of the people. These facts generated my fifth question:

5. Is there anything in the Hungarian church records that provides evidence of the level of knowledge attained by individuals?

In the 18th century a summary of the "Status of the souls" could be attached to the Canonical visitation protocols if the bishop (or the regent in the case of the royal towns) decided to do so. The original records remain at the parish and give the opportunity to study them on site.

In both Hungary and Sweden, the priest/clERGYman noted the age at which the children received the sacraments.7 In the Catholic Church records we find anni discretiones, the age when the individual child was able to distinguish between good and evil and was thus ready to receive his/her first Holy Communion. How did the priest judge that maturity? The children were educated both at home and by the priest or schoolmaster,

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6 The Catalogue of the Visitation Records was published in Hungary 1994-1999. For this study the most important volume is number 2, compiled by Maria Kéringer-Patkó in 1997. It contains the visitation records of the diocese of Vác, where the village of Köka is located.
7 My study deals with the Roman Catholic sacraments baptism, eucharist and to some extent confession. Baptism and eucharist are sacraments in both the Roman Catholic and the Lutheran Church. Confirmation is important in both churches, but only the Roman Catholic Church counts confirmation as a sacrament. Confession is also a sacrament only in the Roman Catholic Church.
then they were tested in the basic articles of the faith in their first confession, which took place before the celebration of Holy Communion.8

*Diagram 1.* The age at which girls and boys received Holy Communion for the first time. This figure includes 200 households from the village of Kóka in 1761.

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8The Catholic tradition still focused on orality in the 18th century. The children had to have learnt at least the Pater Noster, Ave Maria and the prayer for absolution by heart and preferably also the Creed.
To illustrate my method, I present above a part of a family record prepared for a Catholic Canonical visitation in 1761. As a pilot study I worked through the first 200 households in the record from the village of Kóka, which belongs to the Vác diocese near the capital Budapest. 9

As shown in Diagram 1, the vast majority (92.3% of the boys and 96.9% of the girls) up to the age of nine years were not considered mature enough to receive Holy Communion. Those who received it earlier probably had a special reason (e.g. illness). Diagram 1 thus shows that anni discretiones was taken into consideration. Once the children had received Holy Communion they were no longer regarded as small children. Before receiving Holy Communion they had been tested as to their understanding of the meaning of their beliefs.

According to contemporary statistics 10-20 % of the children attended a village school, usually only for a short period of three years and only during the winter. They were supposed to learn reading at least and in some cases even writing.10 Under such circumstances the instruction that the church could give in teaching children to memorize, discuss spiritual and moral questions etc., was of great value.

In the 18th century the Lutheran Church of Sweden followed the same custom preceding Holy Communion. Each child was tested before Easter by the vicar, who visited the families belonging to the parish, and supervised their knowledge. These children were nine or ten years old, which means that they were in the age of anni (aetas) discretionis, the years of discernment, when the children were believed to first hear the voice of conscience and be able to tell the difference between good and evil, capax doli. From that on they needed pastoral care to confess their sins and receive absolution.11 The children should study the lessons in the catechism and improve their reading until they understood the meaning of "the words of God" and were allowed to go to the Lord’s table for the first time. From Diagram 2 below we can see that this Swedish custom resulted in almost the same figures for those taking Holy Communion as in Hungary.

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9 This record was found by Professor Klára Dóka, 1st Archivist at the National Archives of Hungary.
10 Tóth 1992, 75.
Diagram 2. The age of children receiving Holy Communion for the first time according to the parish record of the village of Bygdeå, north of Umeå.

The Swedish parish examination records noted when a person went to the Lord’s table for the first time. These notes correspond to the notes about Holy Communion in Catholic parish records all over the world.

Diagram 2 shows that Swedish children were at least fifteen years old when they received their first Holy Communion, preceded by their first teaching (see anni discretiones above). Instruction in the catechism followed the first Holy Communion and continued until the child was considered mature enough and to have sufficient knowledge of the catechism to get confirmed, whereupon they e.g. were allowed to marry.

In the Catholic Church confirmation is a sacrament, administered by the bishop. In the 18th century confirmation was the last step on the way to maturity. The occasion needed special preparation on the part of the parish priest.

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12 Statistics and diagram by Egil Johansson, Research Archives, Umeå University. The figure includes those of the population of Bygdeå born in 1763.
Diagram 3. The age at which girls and boys were confirmed in the village of Kóka.
In spite of the fact that confirmation was a common sacrament in the Catholic Church, one could live a full Christian life without being confirmed, which was probably the main reason a section of the adult population were never confirmed. As can be seen from Diagram 3, about half the population (50% of the women and 42% of the men) aged 50-59 years were not confirmed. With the exception of the older, we can see that more women than men were confirmed, mostly before the age of 19 (80.8% of the women and 62.5% of the men), and that this percentage increased amongst twenty-year-olds. The percentage of men was lower and they were on average older when they were confirmed.

The priest taught the candidates their catechism - sometimes several years - until the bishop came to question them. The bishop wanted to make sure that the candidates had enough knowledge before they were given the sacrament.

The Hungarian family records were not as detailed as the Swedish ones at individual level. These records were compiled for the Catholic Canonical visitations, which did not take place every year. For various reasons the visitations were often delayed, and this had the effect that facts about people, who had died some years previously, also had to be noted in the family record. That often led to confirmation not being noted in the case of deceased people, only the communion. The family members could clearly remember when the deceased had taken communion, because that was a regular practice but they could not remember, whether or not the deceased had been confirmed.

Thus, taking one single family record from one single year will not yield exact data but show only tendencies. These tendencies will provide a basis for investigating pedagogical issues, but they do not generate accurate statistics.

After checking the first 200 households in the family record for the whole village of Kóka, the following can be adduced:

- There was only one household in the village consisting of just two members (man and wife). All the other families in the record were large.
- The names in the family record are organized in relation to the pater familias, similar to the arrangement in the Swedish parish examination records.
- The text and the names are given in a Latin form.
- In many cases the maiden names of the women are noted, not only their Christian names. The mater familias and the daughters-in-law are listed by their maiden names, which indicate their position. The first two families in the Liber status animarum below (Figure 4) serve as an illustration. Here we can see that the son’s wife in the first family is registrated by her Christian name and her maiden name, as is the mater familias in the second family.
Figure 4. From a record from the village of Kóka in Hungary (see footnote 8)*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>FAM</th>
<th>NAME</th>
<th>SEX</th>
<th>AGE</th>
<th>C</th>
<th>CHR</th>
<th>+</th>
</tr>
</thead>
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<td>64</td>
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<td>M</td>
<td>15</td>
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<td>x</td>
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<td>F</td>
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<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Filia</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(*Filius=son, Uxor=wife, Horum fily=son’s son, Virgo=maid, Filia=daughter)

- Generally the ages are rounded up to the nearest ten. This is also the case in the early Swedish parish records. As regards the age of the children, the records clearly note the age at which the sacraments were received.
- There was only one family in the family-register of 200 people who, in exception to the norm, had not received the sacraments.

The results of this pilot study, as shown in Diagrams 1-4, can be said to provide a general picture of the pedagogical function and similarity of structure in church traditions in both countries.
References:


Swedish Archives and a Fatal Hereditary Disease

Background and introduction
A number of severe hereditary diseases occur throughout the world but generally few people are affected by each one, as they are primarily linked to certain families in specific areas. Some such diseases, however, are spread worldwide and affect many. Symptoms can be present at birth or become manifest later in life, and they may also vary considerably among people with the same diagnoses.

What concerns us here are the social, relational, and structural aspects related to such diseases and their social and cultural meanings in a nineteenth century Swedish context. It may be ethically problematic to study to its full extent an area so infused with anger and guilt as hereditary diseases using current data. However, certain socially problematic aspects of life can reasonably be illustrated with the help of historical distance. The Swedish historical archives permit us to systematically study aspects of the social life of families who lived more than a hundred years ago.

Analytical and empirical considerations
The empirical foundation consists of data about seventeen extended families with members who what is presumed to be suffered from Huntington’s Disease (henceforth abbreviated to HD) and who lived more than a hundred years ago with lives that covered most of the nineteenth century. These families lived in certain geographical regions situated in the northern part of Sweden.

This simplified model will help to clarify the main purpose of this investigation:

Model

\[ \text{HD} \xrightarrow{\text{behavior disorders}} \xrightarrow{\text{‘Intervening factors’}} \left(\text{social reactions, interpretations & understandings of HD}\right) \xleftarrow{\text{Social context}} \]

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1 The research project entitled Hereditary Causes and Social Consequences which resulted in the present article has been supported by funding from Humanistisk Samhällsvetenskapliga Forskningsrådet.

The focus here is on the social reaction dimension of the model above. What is highlighted is primarily that social reactions should not only be regarded as merely automatic responses to specific deviant behaviors caused by HD. Various social and contextual factors certainly contribute to the considerable variety of the observed reactions. In themselves, the extended families studied probably also represent different customs and traditions related to work and occupational standards, as well as to external social settings. Various defense strategies were developed to cope with problems present in their lives at the time.3

Those affected by HD, who leap out of the documents were for the most part ordinary people. They were often typical of normal, Northern Swedish, rural nineteenth century people and they often lived under conditions characteristic of the average population. However, sometime during their adulthood they were struck by a mortal, hereditary disease. This was certainly a personal disaster that, due to the familial nature of the disease, many of them lived in fear of for years before its onset.

It became evident through the documents utilized that the reactions expressed by specific actors were caused by negative family conditions, which in turn might have been to a greater or lesser extent associated with symptoms linked to HD. A few of the deviant behaviors causing these reactions also involved moral and legal issues related, for instance, to sexual crimes such as incest, or serious violent crimes such as murder. These certainly gave rise to continuous discussions among the local population.

Historical documents rarely speak for themselves; they need to be interpreted and carefully analyzed. If we are to improve our understanding of the various social aspects that emerge from them, the importance of utilizing analytical tools based on social theories seems obvious. There is at least one main thread that runs through the forthcoming analyses. In order to point to certain aspects significant for the interplay between HD-sufferers and their close relatives on the one hand, and all those potential actors who were in positions to react to behavior disorders caused by HD on the other, certain analytical tools initially introduced by the American sociologist Erwin Goffman will be shortly described here. His theories briefly concerning interaction rituals in everyday life have proven to be fruitful in numerous examples of social studies dealing, for example, with various forms of chronic illnesses.4 Goffman’s work on social identity maintenance processes is particularly interesting for understanding social reactions towards certain kinds of deviance. Particularly useful is Goffman’s concept of stigma5 which refers to “any condition, attribute, trait, or behavior that systematically marks the bearer of as culturally unacceptable or inferior, and has as its subjective referent the notion of shame or disgrace.”6 In a social sense a visible stigma means a spoiling of the normal identity, but the level of visibility is context-dependent and is therefore an aspect of vital importance.

3 See Goffman, 1968, p. 57.
4 See, for example, articles about living and coping with different sorts of diseases in Scott and Douglas, 1972, Fitzpatrick et al., 1984, and Anderson and Bury, 1988.
5 Goffman, op.cit.
6 Williams, 1987, pp. 135-6, after Goffman.
Huntington’s Disease

The inherited form of HD as we know it today was not recognized among physicians to any great extent until George Huntington, an American physician, described it in 1872. However, popular notions of HD were certainly known long before this. Since then it has been discovered in different parts of the world but in varying degrees.

HD has been described as an autosomal dominant hereditary disease. This means, genetically, that one single affected parent is enough to transfer the HD-gene to on average 50 percent of the children in the next generation. New research findings have somewhat modified this description. For example, an anticipation hypothesis has been presented, suggesting that, comparing later generations to those born earlier, it is possible that the HD gene might lead to more severe symptoms. Furthermore, HD is fatal and death occurs on average 16 years after onset. The symptoms of HD have been summarized in the following way by Davison and Neale:

Symptoms usually begin when the individual is in the thirties, and, thereafter, deterioration is progressive. The earlier behavioral signs are slovenliness, disregard for social convention, violent outbursts depression, irritability, poor memory, euphoria, poor judgment, delusions, suicidal ideas and attempts, and hallucinations. The term chorea was applied to the disorder because of the patient’s choreiform movements - involuntary, spasmodic twitching and jerking of the limbs, trunk, and head. These signs of neurological disturbance do not appear until well after behavior has already started to deteriorate. Facial grimaces, a smacking of the lips and tongue, and explosive, often obscene speech are other symptoms. The afflicted individual is likely to have severe problems in speaking, walking, and swallowing.

One of the crucial problems related to HD concerns the normally late onset ages between 30 and 50 years of age for most of those affected. Accordingly, most of those affected show symptoms in the middle or at the end of their fertility. For a few years now it has been possible to avoid giving birth to children with the HD gene. Modern DNA testing makes it possible to detect signs of the disease in the fetus. Potential carriers’ knowledge and use of these tests create new possibilities, but also ethical problems.

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7 Huntington, 1872. Whether Huntington was really the first man to make a proper description of the disease has later been questioned. See Örbeck, 1957, and Stevens, 1972, for comments on this issue. For instance, it was described in Norway as early as 1860 by the district physician Johan Christian Lund as Rykka (i.e. jerks or twitches) or Arvesygen (the inherited disease), and there are almost identical descriptions of the disease made by Huntington and Lund. Lund’s scientific term for the disease was Chorea St. Vitus. See Lund, 1863, and Örbeck, op.cit.
9 See Harper, 1992, for a fairly recent epidemiological review.
10 Folstein, op.cit., p. 125.
12 For a discussion on this topic, see Huggins et al., 1990.
The number of people suffering from HD is relatively high in certain North Swedish areas. This fact combined with the possibility to utilize highly informative, historical Swedish archive materials forms the empirical basis for systematic, historical and sociological analyses of social reaction aspects related to HD.

Research ethics considerations

As a certain hereditary disease with considerable stigmatizing effects can be linked to certain families, it is necessary to take certain ethical considerations into account in the research. As family names are often related to specific areas and villages, steps have been taken to maintain all conceivable ethical principles to avoid any possible identification of links to families alive today. The inclusion of both family names and names of certain key villages central to the presentation of the HD cases could lead to identification.

Another step must also be regarded as an absolute necessity if identification is to be avoided. A frequently stated criterion for scientific research is that analyses should be replicable by someone else. This of course requires that detailed information about sources is provided. In the case of this study, however, this would mean that the subjects discussed and analyzed would be exposed to the risk of identification. This kind of fulfillment of the principle of scientific openness has therefore been sacrificed in this instance in favor of the ethical goal of confidentiality.

Sources utilized - a short review

Swedish historical sources contain systematically collected data records of every registered Swedish citizen from the end of the seventeenth century up to the present. The extent of the Swedish parish records is unique and could serve as empirical grounds for extensive and systematic studies of people suffering from different kinds of disabilities.

The primary source within the system of historical records is the parish examination records, which came about mainly as an effect of the missionary ambitions of the Swedish Evangelical Lutheran Church in the seventeenth century. The aim of these ambitions was to prepare the population for study of the Bible directly, without mediation. They were supported by far-reaching examination activities carried out by the church. According to an act of church law of 1686, the official duty of the parish priests was to keep records, and the instructions for carrying out this duty became successively more detailed. Records thus became increasingly standardized. Pre-

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13 See Sjögren, 1935, who found two heavily HD-tainted, extended families in one North Swedish region in the 1930s, and Mattsson, 1974, who made the first systematic inventory of all Swedish HD families up to the beginning of the 1970s. However, HD was described the first time in Sweden in 1916 by Ottosson.

14 An English description of these records can be found in Nilsdotter Jeub, 1993.

15 Before the year 1686 some attempts had already been initiated to record parishioners on a large scale in the diocese of Västerås. Furthermore, minor attempts were also made in this direction in certain parishes in northern Sweden, not however in parishes in the studies presented in this book.
printed forms were distributed to parish clergy from around 1770 onwards. In these forms individual data about each parishioner’s birth, marriages, and death were recorded. In addition, proficiency and knowledge as well as examination results in church related matters were noted in the records. This makes it possible to compare various aspects of individual records, for instance with regard to an individuals’ abilities to meet the claims stipulated in the church law. In an indirect sense it is even possible to interpret the lack of certain abilities in terms of disease, especially when these were commented \textit{en clair} through notes in the records.

People’s reading and reading comprehension abilities regarding key Christian texts collected in the Hymn Book and in the Lutheran Small Catechism were carefully checked in annual examinations or catechetical meetings (\textit{husförhör}). The minister of the parish systematically visited every known household within his parish in order to collect census information and information about the above mentioned proficiencies for every adult. Thus, an increasing amount of individual data were then collected in a system of records in which one record completed, and sometimes also overlapped other records, making double checks possible.

As these records were kept both on the individual and household, they also covered civil status and aspects of the local structure regarding formal social position. Parallel records of birth and baptism, marriage, death and burial, and in- and out-migration were kept. Therefore, a number of aspects concerning the conditions of social life could later be systematically studied. Thus, if one of these records has been lost, or if some records lack data due to fire or other damage, efforts of reconstruction are possible, allowing us to rectify absences of such data, at least to a certain extent.

It is possible to link parish record data to other data found in old sources such as protocols from district court proceedings, inspection records by district medical officers, maps of villages, etc. Thus an extensive reconstruction can be developed of the population structures that existed centuries ago. Furthermore, tax records, which are related both to land and cattle ownership, provide systematic knowledge about living conditions in different households and open the way for more standardized comparisons of households and families in different regions. Protocols from estate inventory proceedings, though far from completely preserved, may supplement these data by giving a more detailed idea of the household standard.

As local administration was fairly well developed in the seventeenth century, and with clear routines established in the eighteenth century, protocols dealing with both district matters and those that concerned household, family, and individual problems are still

\footnotesize
\begin{itemize}
  \item[16] See Johansson, 1972 and 1987.
  \item[17] From 1749 on these data were collected centrally by a bureau of statistics, \textit{Tabellverket}, in order to compile population statistics on both the parish level as well as for larger area units. These efforts were made in the spirit of mercantilist ideas and covered all parishes in the country, which at that time also included what is now Finland.
  \item[18] Such efforts have also been successively realized for one of the parishes involved in the present study. By utilizing computers the Demographic Data Base at the University of Umeå has reconstructed damaged parish records from one of the regions in Northern Sweden. This effort is an excellent example of how to make use of modern computers to restore the content of old damaged archives.
\end{itemize}
largely preserved. Lists and protocols dealing with poor relief, damage to real estate, domestic family problems, and certificates of address changes were just a few matters that parishioners dealt with. Thus, sources, originally aimed at serving administrative purposes, were developed in accordance with various professional standards. It is therefore possible to study the same events from different perspectives. Public, legal, medical, and religious records are accessible and available for making comparisons.

Missing data are always a problem in research based on historical documents. Some archives studied are complete, while others are more problematic due to incomplete data. Fortunately, there are no examination records representing parishes of interest in the present study that are completely missing, although one parish has been partly reconstructed due to damaged records. Furthermore, almost all court records of importance are still intact. There are, however, records missing from parish meetings, church councils, and certain diaries. Even though these sources are not the most central, a complete collection of them would have contributed considerably to enriching certain case stories.

Family comparisons, discussion, and concluding remarks

A rough categorization of all seventeen extended HD families studied results in three separate family groups as follows:

**Group I** includes three extended HD families designated as the *no-sign HD families* with no signs of anything resembling HD in any of the nineteenth century records checked.

**Group II** represents a centre-category, characterized by either slight signs indicating HD for more than one family member, or with striking signs related to just one member. This group is represented by seven extended families, here designated as *typical HD families*.

**Group III** involves seven of the seventeen extended HD families. Each of these so-called *multi-problem families* includes a number of members from more than one generation with pronounced signs of mental disorder and social problems that have afterwards been interpreted as symptoms of HD.

Thus, after roughly grouping all seventeen extended families studied with regard to possible signs of HD, three categories emerge. Though the line between the centre-category and the *multi-problem families* may seem somewhat fluid, the important thing here has been to emphasize the various overall differences between the HD families. In fact, both age at death and patterns indicated by the nature of social reactions noted in records indicate distinct and significant differences between the two groups. Could this result be explained by differing recording routines? Did the overall social conditions in the various Northern Swedish areas differ enough to give rise to systematic variations with respect to what was noted in records? Firstly, the majority of families were descended from two main areas situated in Central Norrland not far from each other.
The character of these villages as genuinely rural, situated in the same diocese, and with identical administrative routines means that neither significant social context nor systematic administrative differences existed. Furthermore, differences with respect to indicators discussed above also exist between extended families from the same parish.

All of these factors mean that it is meaningful to make comparisons between extended HD families with regard to aspects that occurred in different decades and in various parishes. Thus, at least two possible conclusions can be drawn: Firstly, despite the stigmatizing character of the disease a number of presumed HD cases studied appear with few or no indications in the records of any signs related to HD. Secondly, striking and systematic differences in social expressivity appear when one compares the seventeen families studied. Apart from some systematic medical genetic factors which might have given rise to various symptom patterns, there are also reasons to assume that social relational and economic factors influenced this outcome.

The present study should not be regarded as a complete review of all HD cases in Northern Sweden throughout the nineteenth century. Severed ancestral lines due either to the early deaths of some possibly HD sufferers, or to childlessness, may in certain cases have prevented the HD gene from being carried from earlier to present-day generations.

The research strategy chosen may also give rise to another analytical problem concerned with the generality of the findings. In fact, the selection of cases and events in the present study is not based merely on representational considerations but springs from medical genetic and genealogical factors. That is, information about present-day HD families has been utilized in order to find potentially HD-affected individuals further back in time. Most of the social, familiar, and communal challenges that emanated as a result of the way people with HD behaved were also extraordinary in various respects. On the other hand, these kinds of arguments could be applied to a majority of historical circumstances and events that roused public attentions and led to written documents.

But if the intention of the present study goes beyond a mere documentation of the number of people affected by HD, are there also vital elements in this study that give rise to apparent analytical advantages? Social norms, not formalized through the law and normally hidden in ordinary commonplace situations in the community, may be difficult to identify. By studying extraordinary events, however, normally hidden forces and norms may be revealed by evoking the expression of old-fashioned standards that were publicly taken for granted.

To proceed, there are at least a couple of possible explanations behind the findings presented here worth discussing in more general terms. Some have genetic significance while others are of a social, economic, and/or mental character. We will now turn to a discussion about mainly non-genetic factors.
The concept of family trauma seems significant here as it indicates people’s involvement in fatal, problematic, socially curious, and sometimes also terrible events which must have caused serious domestic family problems for all involved. Furthermore, social and psychological processes related to individuals afflicted with a serious hereditary disease surely give rise to feelings of shame, guilt, blame, and responsibility in the villager. They evoke social relational processes that involved both social identity maintenance processes of the HD sufferer, and interaction adaptive strategies among actors confronting the sufferer, in line with what Goffman suggested. Thus, one could expect a serious hereditary disease like HD to often cause overt negative, destructive reactions from such authorities as the courts, public assistance committees, or the church actors. Conceptions regarding the influence of heredity and environment, as seen in social reactions, did not always follow the expected pattern.

Members of the extended families studied represented a range of different living conditions. While some were well-situated, landowning peasants, and a few also had public offices, less than a handful could be characterized as socially marginal, multi-problem families. Few of the HD families were associated with crime. One simple but fairly reasonable explanation is the social exposure experienced by the HD families compared with other families. This is further strengthened by the socially dense character of the communities in which they lived. Another factor has certainly linked with the way these families coped with the social pressure from society around them. Generations of domestic family problems led these families to develop strategies to manage information and tension in the way that Goffman indicated, that is, to manage stigmas and to avoid public attention.

Most of those affected by HD described here were in fact individuals who happened to fall ill in middle-age, and who broke unwritten but living social norms. These norms often made their appearance by testimony in court or other assemblies. It has been possible from such testimony to later derive those virtues with which ordinary rural people seemed anxious to live in accordance. Thus, virtues that were apparently praised among the masses in nineteenth century rural Swedish society could be sorted into three clusters in the light of all the life stories, conflicts, and social reactions presented:19

- One should behave in a peaceful, silent way, act piously and have a charitable disposition.
- One should be honest and frank, unblemished and irreproachable.
- One should conform to church regulations and both feel and convey godliness.

Examples of benefits resulting from living in accordance with these virtues are easily found in the Bible. Furthermore, striking examples of the way Christian patterns of thinking permeated the attitudes of the rural Swedish population regarding their existence can be seen in protocols from district court proceedings, for instance. However, we also need to consider that these virtues were mediated by individuals, in whose self-interest it was to let these religiously based patterns direct the way they

19 This has also been discussed in Drugge, 1997, pp. 151-154.
acted and thought. The virtues represented may give rise to reflections about how and to what extent they then actually permeated the existence of the entire population. One may state that attitudes and values noted were truly in accordance with what was expressed in church council minutes, as their contents were almost always confirmed afterwards by the parties involved. On the other hand, the innermost thoughts of these people may have been of a somewhat different nature, but here we can only speculate about that.

In this context, one aspect concerning the perceived role of the parent in the rural community is worth comment. The understanding and practical implications of this social role were apparently sufficiently complicated to cause tragedy and severe domestic problems. To instill godliness into children’s minds, to facilitate their learning of the abilities prescribed, and to chastise all their children, whom they were expected to love to the same extent, were apparently responsibilities that weighed heavily on those who wanted to follow the decrees of the church concerning discipline. It was quite simply expected of all true believers, that they would be strict parents. Lapses from these prescriptions led to deep feelings of guilt and/or to strong disapproval.

The professional standards of knowledge about the basis of mental, nervous, or physical health conditions were relatively limited even at the end of the nineteenth century. The scientific, cultural, and social readiness to cope with mental disorders was obviously also lacking. The kind of features listed in categories of mental disorder were in reality those that caused serious practical problems in day-to-day family routines. Signs of hereditary links between generations were regularly noted in Swedish mental hospital journals during the second half of the nineteenth century. However, HD was apparently too much of a diagnostic challenge for the Swedish medical practitioners of the day. Furthermore, the way practitioners made diagnoses at the time in question was based on crude, symptomatic expressions of mental disorders. Thus, symptom patterns related to what may be understood as HD, or dance disease in the term used in Sweden at the end of the nineteenth century, were not explicitly understood in hereditary terms. Instead, such symptoms were often interpreted as the inheritance of some common personality characteristics from an earlier generation.

It should not therefore be considered strange that the majority of all presumed HD cases during the nineteenth century were never admitted to a mental hospital. The admission of mentally deranged individuals to Swedish mental hospitals one hundred years ago was far from automatic. But as in fact only five out of more than one hundred presumed HD cases in Northern Sweden were ever admitted during the whole nineteenth century, social selection mechanisms certainly operated which were directed by other considerations than those associated with mere medical and mental health. Thus, in order to gain a more general idea of how HD cases were “treated” in Sweden during the nineteenth century, we must refer to sources other than hospital journals and official declarations. The mental care situation in Northern Sweden during most of that century should in practice be characterized as pre-hospital, in which most mentally disordered individuals were treated in their homes, and those HD
sufferers who were admitted to a Swedish mental hospital during this period were the exceptions.

In other respects the Swedish nineteenth century society was in a formal sense relatively well organized with a fairly well-developed legislation regulating work conditions and poverty problems. Even though authorities served somewhat separate interests and also represented somewhat varying ethical grounds, their manifest functions seem fairly evident. Efforts maintained by the Church through church councils, for example, were principally aimed at controlling the way people met religious demands and, specifically, preparing people mentally and morally for the Holy Sacrament. State interests, effectuated by local authorities such as district courts and parish meetings, tried and punished individuals who broke the law; they also served as the last resort for those in acute need of financial aid and medical attention when no other means were available. This situation became evident when the need for help arose as a result of problems related to aggravated, ordinary daily, domestic routines.

Various social restrictions introduced in Sweden throughout the first half of the nineteenth century must have been viewed as increasingly burdensome for those without property, and who from time to time experienced severe problems in supporting themselves and their families. Despite this, surprisingly few were actually subjected to harsh actions from local authorities. Instead, a kind of flexibility often characterized decisions made by local authorities. As striking as this is, however, there was also reluctance on the part of local authorities to intervene in cases where individuals were mistreated by HD sufferers. Nevertheless, the overall principle directing actions by authorities in the local community then seems to have been to keep the social order intact with the individual’s well-being only a secondary issue. Thus, maintaining social order could be regarded as the overall latent function of all the locally based authorities.

The various social and economic preconditions that characterized the separate HD families may have influenced the readiness of the state and the church authorities to give attention to these families. However, the abilities of actors representing these two main forces in society to handle problems related to HD affliction may also have differed. Not least to the church with its local bonds, must these problems have been demanding. How was it possible to explain and to make people understand why certain families were afflicted with something so annihilating as a serious and fatal familial disease, and for no obvious reasons? The link between sin and punishment was repeatedly sermonized by the church, and a number of key passages in the Small Lutheran Catechism, one of the most widely distributed publications among Swedish households at that time, emphasized these links.20 It is a short step then to also presuming, as was the popular notion, that these families were afflicted with sin.

20 See Luther’s commentary on the tenth commandment (in Luther, 1983/1529, pp. 49-50) and his words in the Table of Duties (Haustafel) to these subjects (ibid., p. 107).
Although Swedish clergymen were ordered to make notes about presumed hereditary diseases as early as 1824 according to a royal decree,\textsuperscript{21} they seem not to have done so consistently. The systematic differences that appear in documents, regarding the varying reactions to the HD families, may thus mean that the authorities turned a blind eye to certain events as long as they did not cause trouble in the sense that they became public affairs. The strategies the families developed for coping with traumatic situations and handling their relations with local authorities may also have caused these differences. These strategies varied to a great extent as the families initially possessed a variety of economic and social resources for managing these circumstances. These differences were also a matter of how various social distances affected relationships. Better living conditions are certainly related both to comparatively late ages of death and to the social ability to make it easier to conceal any stigmatizing symptoms of HD. Furthermore, genetic and socioeconomic factors may coincide. Slight or no symptoms, for instance, did not lead to stigmatizing effects, which also meant that no formal or informal social reactions could then be expected to occur. This means that it is not really possible to separate analytically genetic from socioeconomic causes, and to make estimations from historical documents exclusively about the importance of presumed genetic factors relative other factors, due to the complicated interdependencies presumed.

Finally, the results presented here lead us to pose some other questions of more current significance. One is connected with the way we comprehend the lives of those suffering from hereditary diseases in general. In fact, a majority of those afflicted with HD seem to have had fairly decent family lives for most of their adulthood. Should their lives be primarily a matter of medical, or genetic considerations? Skepticism towards radical, gene-technological strategies aimed at completely eradicating the HD gene must at least be explicitly stated. Another question has significance for modern geriatric healthcare. What does the high age at death among a number of the presumed HD cases in certain extended families really mean? One provocative assumption could be that certain aspects of the private healthcare arrangements at home more than one hundred years ago were, at least in more well-situated families with relatively decent living conditions, significantly different and qualitatively better than the institutionalized hospital care which has characterized the treatment of HD patients during most of the twentieth century. A majority of those suffering from HD a century ago were cared for in their homes. Socially stable settings surrounding progressively demented and disorientated individuals may have prolonged their lives. However, what their actual living conditions were like and what quality of life they and their relatives had are questions that are probably impossible to answer or even to study empirically from available historical data.

\textsuperscript{21} Handbok uti Svenska Lagfarenheten (Swedish Statute-Book), 1824, p. 88.
References

Printed sources


**Unprinted Historical Sources (categories of sources)**

*Church archives:*
  - Church council minutes
  - Parish meeting minutes
  - Parish records (Church Books) including:
    - parish examination records
    - migration registers
    - birth and baptisms records
- banns and marriages records
- death and burials records

*Local government archives*:
Social welfare office documents including:
- poor relief records
- child care records

*Hospital archives*:
Admission documents
Mental hospital records
Mental hospital journals
District medical officer’s annual reports

*Juridical archives*:
Judgement Books including:
- district court minutes
- estate inventory records
- court of appeal minutes
Sheriff’s letter diary
Deputy sheriff’s letter diary

The following archives have been consulted during the data collection:
The Swedish National Archives, Stockholm
The Regional Archives of Härnösand
The Regional Archives of Östersund
The Research Archives, University of Umeå, Umeå
The Demographic Data Base, University of Umeå, Umeå
Baptisms and Baptismal Records.
Some examples of the use of church registers and records as sources in historical research.

I happen to prefer to introduce myself by simply saying: I am a Church historian. Basically, I am a theologian and an ordained minister in the Evangelical Lutheran Church. But, I am also deeply interested in Church history and teaching traditions within the multi-cultural and circum-polar area of northern Scandinavia, especially during the period 1600-1850. When some ten years ago I worked on my thesis, it was under the supervision of the professor in the field of practical theology at my ‘old university’ of Uppsala. But the subject of my thesis – the early teaching traditions among the Saami people in Northern Sweden – and the methods I planned to use, almost forced me into adhere an academic environment where extremely good methods and ‘know how’ – in working with church records and registers – had been developed. I was so very fortunate, that Professor Dr Egil Johansson became my supervisor. That was the start of years of fruitful cooperation with other scholars at Umeå University and the facilities developed by the Research Archives in Umeå.

My plan is to make some remarks on the following:

1. The process of historical research;
2. Databases in historical research;
3. Centrality of databases to historical computing;
4. My own research – a short review or overview;
5. The study of the ‘Practice of Baptism’ as part of northern Church history;
6. Baptisms and Baptismal registers;
7. The Baptismal Journal of Cuolajerfwi 1747 – 1777;


The process of historical research
History may be thought of as either product or a process.
As a product, a piece of history consists of a “representation of a past reality”, based on the interpretation of a body of known facts. Such representations of past realities are always bounded: they treat a subject chosen by the historian which might be static (the situation at point x) or dynamic (how the situation changed between points x and y).

The historian’s picture of a subject, whether the subject be a sequence of events or a past state of things, thus appears as a web of imaginative construction stretched between certain fixed points provided by the statements of his authorities; and if these points are frequent enough and if the threads spun from each to the next are constructed with due care, always by the a priori imagination and never merely by arbitrary fancy, the whole picture is constantly verified by appeal to these data, and runs little risk of losing touch with the reality which it represents.


A sound piece of history, according to this view, is a logically consistent picture of a subject supported by all available data.

As a process, history may be conceived of as the dynamic and directed interplay of ideas and evidence. The word ‘dynamic’ emphasizes the fact that the process is circular rather than linear, and the word ‘directed’ emphasizes that there is an end to the process: a representation of a past reality as sharp and authentic as the historian is capable of producing.

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Fig. 1. A model of historical research

A more fully developed model of historical research is presented in *Fig. 1*. In this model, historical research is represented as a circular, continuous and incremental set of processes, which generate four related products. 1) The products are shown in boxes and 2) the processes are represented by the arrows linking the boxes. 3) The four
straight arrows describe the type of expertise the historian brings to bear on each process.

I would like to make four additional points with regard to the view of historical research embraced in Fig. 1.

First. Historians may begin a project for very different reasons. Some may be gripped by a particular issue or set of issues. Others may simply feel that a subject is worth investigation because we know little about it and consequently our representation of the past is inadequate. Equally, many projects are begun because a body of source material has been discovered which is thought to have the potential to reveal something new about the past. Likewise it may be thought that a database created for one purpose might profitably be employed in researching another subject. Yet whatever the starting point for a project, it is likely to involve, in varying degrees, imaginative and logical thought, the location and analysis of sources, the extraction and ordering of data, and systematic analysis of data of various types.

Second. A second point worth making is that the main processes of historical research are generic: they are not confined to any particular branch of history, nor are they dependent on any particular technology. A database, for instance, is simply a logically ordered collection of data which in the past may have been held on cards and lined paper but nowadays is more typically held in computer files.

Third. Thirdly, it is plain that historical research, while differing in kind from research in the natural sciences, is characterized by a similar interplay between ideas and evidence. Logic, theory, analytical methods and imagination are as vital to knowledge creation in history as in any other subject.

Fourth. Fourth and finally, it follows that historical research is intellectually as well as technically demanding. Many things are required if a project is to yield good results. One of them, in the modern world, is a knowledge of how database systems may be used to facilitate each of the main processes of historical research. Another, and in our case of special importance, is a well developed digital infrastructure of the archives and easy accessibility to digitised source materials.

Databases in historical research

Historical computing is the term – as far as I know – that has been used by computer-literate historians to describe the various ways in which they use computers in their research.

The subject matter of historical computing is summarized in Table 1, which illustrates how the main process of historical research – introduced in Fig. 1 – may be supported and generally made more efficient through the use of computers and computer-based research methods.
*Table 1.* A possible start for a historical research project

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>HISTORICAL PROCESS</th>
<th>COMPUTER SYSTEMS SUPPORT</th>
<th>DESIRED OUTCOME</th>
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<tr>
<td>Locating and analysing content of sources</td>
<td>Bibliographical and archival</td>
<td>Detailed knowledge of sources</td>
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<td></td>
<td>searching</td>
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<td>Gathering, organising and enriching data</td>
<td>Data capture, Database design,</td>
<td>Database capable of supporting analytical procedures</td>
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<td>Database management,</td>
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<td>Text enhancement</td>
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<td>Analysing data</td>
<td>Quantitative and qualitative</td>
<td>Closely identified issues of importance to the functioning and development of</td>
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<td>data analysis</td>
<td>individuals, families, communities and societies</td>
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<tr>
<td>Formation and verification of ideas about the past</td>
<td>Model building and testing</td>
<td>Logically coherent representation of the past consistent with the available data</td>
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*Table 1* considers a possible start for a historical research project.

- Bibliographic and archival databases are to be searched over computer networks (local, national and international) to locate and access the sources of quantitative and qualitative data. This process is made simpler and more certain through the use of the data entry and validation procedures of the computer software selected for the project.
- The databases created by the researchers must be sufficiently flexible to enable records relating to individual items to be linked together and to enable subsets of the database to be selected as required for analysis.
- The development and testing of various statistical models to enable the researcher to develop his/her (new) interpretation.
Centrality of databases to historical computing

*Fig. 2.* A database system for historical research.

As *Fig. 2* makes plain, flexibility is one of the most important advantages of the database system for historical research. The database system provides an efficient means for gathering, organising and enriching historical data.

Such systems enable the researcher to create databases that are capable of supporting a variety of analytical procedures. In many cases, the databases consist of highly structured records that may be analysed using various statistical software.
Increasingly, however, historians are also using databases to store unstructured texts, sounds and images (still and moving). These forms of data have their own associated set of analytical tools.

However, the fundamental point remains: database systems are central to historical computing. The knowledge of how to use and get the best out of them is essential to any historian who seeks to undertake serious computer-based research.

My own research — a short review or overview

In my research I have attempted to describe the meeting between the different church-traditions under the title ‘The ways of the Text-word’ where Christian schooling has been covered more in-depth from a wider point of view.1

Prior to the time of the written word and printed catechism, the knowledge of the catechism has been brought onward by oral tradition that includes basic schooling of belief, service of God and the tradition of Prayers. As the apostle John writes "That which we have seen and heard declare we unto you" (1 Jh 1:3).

Fig.3. The Barents Region

One important and interesting task is to try to discover in what way different traditions of Christian teaching – and different traditions for saying prayers – have influenced church life and individuals during the years from the sixteenth to the nineteenth centuries, and possibly also today. We know that, during the years before the period of the iron curtain, cultural contacts in the Barents Region, to a great extent, depended on intensive contacts in daily life – fishing, reindeer herding, trading etc. – in the directions ‘east to west and visa versa’. The cultural contacts were much less influenced by contacts with the central areas in the south. What also has to be investigated is the way and the extent to which the area itself – with all its special ‘northernness’, remoteness and ‘arcticness’ – implies a cultural context and background to which different church traditions adjust and/or possibly even transform their content and the ways they conduct divine services.

Such studies and research must be performed in intense inter-disciplinary cooperation with colleagues interested in investigating the influence of the unique environment – or its restrictions – on their different subjects. In connection with this – one example of possible and needed research is to find ways and means to interpret some similarities between two important religious groups, in many ways typical of the northern area, the ‘Old-believers’ in the Russian Orthodox Tradition and the Laestadians in the Scandinavian Evangelical Lutheran Tradition.2

It also has to be considered that when Christian missions reached the northern area and encountered the indigenous Saami religion – or a pre-Christian religion with different concepts of schamanism – this could be explained as a time of confrontation, when the new religion with its claims of superiority strove to push aside and replace other religions. From these confrontations some kind of mixed religion could possibly have evolved with elements both from the indigenous religion and the Christian religion, or that the religious rituals performed had a syncretistic and/or adhesive character.

My study *The Ways of the Text-word in Church Tradition: Christian Mission Schooling among the Saami in Torne and Kemi Laplands in the 1700s,*3 covers two examples of how dedicated functions of the laity were established within the pastoral care, or expressed differently, and how the missionary church has had the ability to adjust the ceremonial of the church to local conditions. The two examples – village prayer and private baptism – also indicate clearly how the ability to read was spread. It is reasonable to assume that it also reflects the extent to which the missionary activity was established in an environment where pre-Christian religion had formerly dominated.4

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2 This has been discussed during the years of co-operation in Religious Studies in the Barents Region and is also mentioned by my colleague Roald E. Kristiansen in his article "An Agenda for the Ecology of Spirit" in Anderzén, Sölve & Kristiansen, Roald (eds.) *Ecology of Spirit. Cultural Plurality and Religious Identity in the Barents Region.* (Umeå: Album Religionum Umense 6) 1998.

3 Published in *Acta Borealia Volume 13,* 2-1996.

These functions, which were very important for the church, having been direct handling and monitoring (supervised) by the ordained minister, were handed over to the parishioners. Unfortunately time does not permit further discussion on the subject here but it will be presented in a different context.

Within the Lutheran tradition the importance of the three media of grace, the word, baptism and Communion, is emphasised. In the above quoted article it is shown very clearly how the handling of two of these media of grace, so to speak, was handed over from the ordained minister to laity and from the church room or equivalent to private homes and to local village communities. At the same time it is also necessary to consider this realising that the Table of Duties (Haustafel), with the norms for relationships within the church, society and the individual household, has dominated. And it is possible that this can be viewed as if the house service was extended to a ‘bigger house’, where the neighbours were also included.

The present phase of my research emphasises the importance these services, certainly conducted by laymen, had in offering established local outward traditions, which were to be used partly in a different way during the period of revivalism in the 19th century in the Scandinavian areas of the Barents Region.

**The study of the ‘Practise of Baptism’ – as part of northern church history**

In my ongoing research I have focused my attention on the custom and ceremonial of baptism, especially on conditions for and the frequency of private baptism (baptism in the home, private baptism, baptism performed by laymen etc.). The time period reaches to approx. 1850. This deeper study also offers a better means for understanding the religious context in which the strong revival within the Scandinavian state churches takes place, with Laestadianism appearing during the 19th century.  

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5 In connection with this I would like to mention that my intention is to further investigate possible similarities with the so-called ‘priest-less group’ (*bespopóvtsy*) within in the ‘Old Believers’ - and especially the custom and use of baptism in these groups.

6 I have given one example of contacts and contradictions between revival movement and the established Church’ and School’ authorities in the article 'Faiths - more of a Hindrance than a Help in Christian Education. A Contradiction - but to some extent the probable Figure of the Contacts between Revival- movement, Church and Public Elementary School. Northern Sweden during late 1800s.' (The article, based on a Paper given at International Standing Conference for the History of Education - ISCHE XIX. National University of Ireland, Maynooth, Dublin, Ireland, Sept. 3rd-6th 1997, will be published as part of a Conference Report, in the series Acta Humaniora, Oulu. The article has also been translated into Russian and published in Sveča–99 Istoki: Sbornik naučnych i metodičeskich statej po religiovedeniju i kul'turologii. Vyp. 2/Otv.red. E.I.Arinin.– Archangel'sk: Izdvo Pomorskogo gosudarstvennogo universiteta, im. M.V.Lomonosova. 1999.)
Baptism and baptismal registers

The earliest registers contained only records of baptisms, but from the mid-18th century onwards births also began to be recorded. From then on the registers had to contain the following details concerning all births, both in and out of wedlock: name, date of birth, date of baptism, place of birth and parents’ place of residence.

The oldest baptismal registers usually contain only the date of baptism, which according to the law had to take place within a week after birth, but by the 18th century it had already become common practice to enter the date of birth as well.

Many older baptismal registers provide only the father’s name, as there would have been no time for the mothers ‘churching’ (post-natal purification), and she would therefore have been unable to attend the baptismal service. When a child was born out of wedlock, only the mother’s name was recorded. Such details as name of godparents (sponsors) and other witnesses to the baptism were also recorded. Later on the records also came to include the mother’s age at the birth, and still later the father’s age and a number of other details.

Previous research on the rite of baptism has taken more general approaches, and the issue of how the custom of baptism developed in the missionary situation that existed in Lapland, has only been dealt with briefly. My ongoing studies take the opposite approach.7

For the northern Swedish area the issue of baptism has been treated by among others Karl-Gunnar Grape8. An in-depth description of the rite of baptism in the Norwegian areas has been presented by Arne Bugge Amundsen9. The custom of baptism in the Finnish area has mainly been covered by two scholars, Aleksi Lehtonen10 and Pentti Lämpiäinen11.

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11 Lämpiäinen, Pentti, Kastekäytäntö Suomen Kirkossa 1500- ja 1600-luvulla. (Helsinki 1965: Suomen Kirkkohistorialisen Seuran Toimituksia 69.)
In the first phase of my research efforts have concentrated on establishing databases built on data available in parish records, mainly birth and baptismal registers. The Swedish-Finnish material covers geographically the Laplands from the parish of Jokkmokk in the southwest and further north, to the east and down to the south including the area of Kuolajärvi in Finland. The earliest registers contain only records of baptisms, but from the beginning of the 18th century date of birth is also recorded. When transcribed, each entry in the parish record forms a record in the database, and is broken down logically into a number of attributes or field types, such as:

Fig. 4. Major Saami provinces in the 18th century and present Saami distribution in northern Fennoskandia and the Kola peninsula.
- Child’s name, gender etc.
- date of birth
- date of baptism
- number of days from birth to day of baptism
- date of ‘private baptism’
- number of days from birth to ‘private baptism’
- date of ‘confirmation of private baptism’
- number of days from ‘private baptism’ to day of ‘confirmation of private baptism’
- name of ordained minister performing baptism
- name of ordained minister performing confirmation of private baptism
- name (and thus gender) of laity performing private baptism
- name of witnesses (godparents, sponsors)
- location for baptisms etc.

The Norwegian birth and baptismal registers have been transcribed by NHDC (The Norwegian Historical Data Centre) and are available. These databases are true transcriptions of the original sources, but the parish registers differ in the way information concerning the baptism and practise of baptism is marked. Therefore the subsequent stage included a procedure to standardize variables and get logically ordered information that answers my questions and makes statistical analysis possible.

The established databases allow quantification of the records of baptism etc. and the analysis produces much statistical information where it is easy to see that the practise of baptism has shifted from time to time and in different areas. In a second phase the research will concentrate on a theological discussion, which will have to find and describe the reasons why the practice of baptism has shifted and varied. That part of the forthcoming research will in the first place consider the possibility of using contextual methods.

In the following my intention is to give some examples of results already obtained. That is to present Diagrams 1 - 5 and Tables 2 and 3 and comment on each of them. The first example is taken from the Swedish Laplands, the parish of Jokkmokk where the Baptismal Register FDB C3 covers the years 1776-1814 and has 1425 entries.\(^{12}\) The total the population in 1749 was 1128 (563 male, 565 female), by 1800 it had risen to 1302. In 1750 the majority (90\%) of the population was nomadic Saami but a major shift took place during the period. The permanent settlers increased and constituted 25 \% of the total population in 1800. This was due to the fact that the reindeer herding, which formed the basis of nomadic Saami life, experienced serious difficulties during these years. During the ‘bad years’ some of the Saami moved westward to the Norwegian coastline and settled there and some settled as fishermen alongside rivers

\(^{12}\) In Anderzén 1997 (note 7 above) the results of the study of the practice of baptism in the parish of Jokkmokk are presented in more detail. In addition to Baptismal Register FDB C3 the following registers are also used: Baptismal Register FDB C1, years 1701-1735, with 1537 entries and Baptismal Register FDB C2, years 1736-1776, with 1537 entries.
and lakes within the boundaries of the Jokkmokk parish. From Diagram 1 we learn that private baptism was practised during the whole period, but to a varying extent. It is also possible to maintain that a more developed practice of baptisms was established during the first decade of the 19th century. We know that one of the prerequisites for private baptisms was that the person conducting the baptism was able to read and had learned the ‘correct way of baptising’. From other studies we know that the ability to read among the Saami population was common among those born in 1760 and later, but we also know that during the 18th century as a whole private baptisms were used and that there were people in almost every family who were able to read to the extent that they could perform private baptism. The main reason that it took so long to establish a functioning baptism at practice, is obviously to be seen more as a result of the fact that the christianization of the parish took time and that proper fulfilment of regulations regarding the use of the baptism also took time.


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The next example (Diagram 2) is taken from northern Norway, the parishes of Bardu and Målselv. During the second part of the 19th century the use of private baptism decreased radically, mainly as a result of a well-developed church life with better possibilities for the parents to have ministers perform the baptism. The third example (Diagram 3) is also taken from northern Norway, but from this we learn that there is an almost constant use of private baptism all through the 19th century. The parish Tysfjord however differs from those in example Diagram 3 in that it is a parish with more widespread settlements covering a huge area of land and water, where transportation was difficult and people were more isolated, which is also the case – but even more extreme if you compare with the results shown in Diagram 5 – with the very north of northern Norway.

**Diagram 2.** Northern Norway, parishes of Bardu and Målselv. 1851-1889. Percentage privately baptized. (Total 4149 entries.)
Diagram 3. Northern Norway, parish of Tysfjord, 1887-1919. Number of baptized children, number of privately baptized and number of children of Saami nation.

The example, given in *Diagram 4* differs from all the others in that the parish of Gellivare was established as late as during the 1740s. The minister and schoolmaster (who was also an ordained minister) both lived in the church village and the settlers lived in settlements, of which many were far distant – taking many days to reach the church village – so there was little possibility of taking the children to have them baptized by the ordained minister. The Saami (Kaitum and Sjokksjokk villages) were nomads and visited the church village at best once a year, combining their attendance at church with their journeys to the trade fairs, or the court session, or to pay their taxes in the church village. For many Saami there was probably a lapse of several years between their attendance at church and the church village. In this the example is similar to the next given in *Table 2*. When the regulations– that the children were to be baptized within 8 days – were bound by law and had to be strictly observed the church had to find new ways to perform baptisms. Though it was impossible for parents to bring children to the ministers ‘in the proper time’, and the ministers could not possibly travel to every single home to baptize new-born children – and how were they to know that there was children to be baptized – the solution was to ‘elect’ laymen to carry out the baptisms. Private baptisms as shown, in *Diagram 4* and *Table 2* became more or less the norm.
Table 2. Swedish Laplands. Parish of Jukkasjärvi. 1792 – 1810. Number of children baptized in private baptisms distributed over number of days from birth to baptism and distance from residence to church village.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Church village</th>
<th>residence within 1 day’s travel</th>
<th>residence within 2 days’ travel</th>
<th>residence at longer distance from church</th>
<th>Calasvuoma (nomadic)</th>
<th>Rautasvuoma (nomadic)</th>
<th>Talma (nomadic)</th>
<th>Saarivuoma (nomadic)</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Baptisms by ordained ministers or ‘not baptized’</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Private baptism within:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0 day</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 day</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>69</td>
<td>70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 days</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 days</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 days</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 days</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 days</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7 days</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8 days</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>more than 8 days</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>146</td>
<td>143</td>
<td>198</td>
<td>201</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The final example of the use of databases built on information given in baptismal records is given in Tables 2 and 3. It is obvious that the use of private baptism in this case is related to possibilities of having the children baptized by the minister. From Table 2 we learn that only one out of 43 children whose parents lived in the church village was privately baptized. All the others were baptized by the ministers, who were two at that time (both residing in the church village). But the use of private baptism increases dramatically among the settlers who lived far away from the church village. We also learn that most of the private baptisms were performed within 3 days after birth, except among the nomadic Saami where the picture is somewhat different. The nomadic families lived for long periods isolated from other families, and it seems that they commonly asked someone not in family to perform the baptism, though there were no restrictions on members of the family carrying out the baptism.\(^{14}\)

\(^{14}\) In the baptismal records from Norway there are notes which also indicate that the father and sometimes the mother baptized their newborn child.
Table 3. Swedish Laplands. Parish of Jukkasjärvi. 1792 – 1810. Number of children baptized privately, stillborn etc. and children baptized by ordained ministers distributed over number of days from birth to baptism and distance from residence to church village.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Church village</th>
<th>residence within 1 day’s travel</th>
<th>residence within 2 days’ travel</th>
<th>residence at longer distance from church</th>
<th>Calasvuoma (nomads)</th>
<th>Rautasuoma (nomads)</th>
<th>Talma (nomads)</th>
<th>Saarivuoma (nomads)</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Private Baptism</td>
<td>(2,3%)</td>
<td>(88,9%)</td>
<td>(93,5%)</td>
<td>(90,2%)</td>
<td>(86,3%)</td>
<td>(84,6%)</td>
<td>(92,6%)</td>
<td>710</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>120</td>
<td>159</td>
<td>176</td>
<td>710</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stillborn or dead without baptism</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Baptisms performed by ordained ministers within:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0 day</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 day</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 days</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 days</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 days</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 days</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 days</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7 days</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8 days</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>more than 8 days</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>146</td>
<td>143</td>
<td>198</td>
<td>201</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

From Table 3 it seems that there were exceptions to the ‘rule’ indicated above – that long distances hindered parents from bringing the child to be baptized by the minister. Many of the settlers living far away from the church village and many of the nomadic Saami had their children baptized by the ministers. There are at least two kinds of explanation for this. First, many of the Saami-families lived part of the winter close to the church village, an area that had been used for centuries for pasturing the reindeers. This meant that they were within easy reach of ministers either to bring the minister to baptize the child or to take the child to the ministers. Second, concerning the settled families we have to remember that during these years the ministers visited every
settlement or village at least once a year in order to conduct the so-called *husförhör* (catechetical examinations) and when the ministers were on the spot, they also baptized the children.

These brief comments given to the figures presented illustrate how databases built on baptismal registers present the possibility of achieving a more complete historical understanding of the process of christianisation in the Laplands. The continuation of the research will require further efforts and also increased co-operation between scholars on a wider basis, both geographically and scientifically. The improved opportunities for scientific contacts and co-operation within the Barents Region mean that there is a good chance of gaining a better understanding of the practice of baptism in the Russian Orthodox tradition. This may bring us to the point where we can lay out "The ways of the Text-word". Basic Christian teaching and the practice of prayers in one way or another also have to ‘operate’ as preparation for or part of baptism and/or as a consequence of baptism.

**The baptismal journal of Cuolajerfwi 1747 – 1777**

In connection with the general survey of baptismal customs and how they developed among the Saami in the northern Laplands of Sweden, Norway and Finland, I have gone, as systematically as possible, through all birth- and baptismal registers. This is a very large amount of archive material kept at archives in Härnösand (Sweden), Tromsø (Norway), Oulu and Turku /Åbo (Finland). Only the Swedish material is available completely on microfilm/microfiche.

*Fig. 5. Map: Kemi Lapland, parishes and villages, northern Finland.*
Fig. 6. Extract from Kemi Träsk Capelletz Kyrckio Book af åhr 1747. Förteckning öfver Lapparnas Barn i Cuolajerfwi, [Parish records, Kemi Träsk Church year 1747. The Saami children of Cuolajerfwi], page 201.
Among the documents kept as part of the Kemijärvi parish archive, in northern Finland, there are some older birth and baptismal registers, the oldest started as early as 1698. There are also some old journals on "Lapparnas barn i Cuolajerfwi" [The Saami children of Cuolajerfwi]. Kuolajärvi was the most eastern part of the Kemi Laplands (Fig. 5), and at that time on Sweden’s eastern border with Russia.

The journals from the Cuolajerfwi birth and baptisms register cover the years 1701-1710, 1747-1787. In one way they are of special interest as they also have some ‘extra’ notations, illustrated in Fig. 6. There is one mark that looks like a combination of the letter ‘O’ and a cross. You could describe it in various ways:

An O with a cross in it,
a cross with a circle round it
an encircled cross

The letter O is normally used in this kind of church register as an abbreviation for various words:

1) O = L. obiit = died, death
2) O = L. Origo = origin, village
3) O = L. Ortum trahens = place of home
4) O = Sw. Oäkta = born out of wedlock, illegitimate

Alternatives 2) and 3) can easily be excluded, neither of them make sense in this context. Alternative 1) was checked by cross-reference to the registers available on deaths and burials and no connections found, not even a single example. All the children marked with this sign lived for years after their baptism. Alternative 4) can also easily be excluded, as the baptismal journal has complete notations on the parents of the children. We are able to conclude that, on the closer examination of the journal, none of these four alternatives is plausible.

From that arises the question: What does the mark stand for? We have to look for other explanations.

• Firstly it was established that the mark is consistently placed in the column where month of birth is written.
• Secondly it is possible – in combination with a quick examination of the journal – to note a clear connection between those who were privately baptized and those who have the special encircled cross mark.

As Diagram 6 shows, the custom of private baptism was established from year 1751 and becomes increasingly common during the period. We can also notice that the use of the encircled cross mark is limited to the years 1751-1763. Thus we need answers to the following questions:
Who baptized or confirmed the private baptisms?  
Who filled in the register?


During those years three ministers served in the parish, and all three of them baptized and/or confirmed private baptism:

1) Rev. Nils Fellman, with a permanent appointment in Kemiträsk throughout the period baptized or confirmed baptism in 111 cases.
2) Rev. Joh. Kranck, with a permanent appointment in Kuusamo and superior to Rev. Nils Fellman, baptized or confirmed baptism in 11 cases.
3) Rev. Elias Lagus, with a temporary appointment for the years 1762-1763, as assist. to Rev. Joh. Kranck, baptized or confirmed baptism in 7 cases.

During the years 1751-1763 the journal seems to have been kept by just one person. The handwriting is obvious proof of this. And as the register was housed in the church in Kemiträsk, where Rev. Nils Fellman was the only resident minister, it seems correct to assume that he was the one who filled in the registers.

This brings us to the point where we know what was written in the register and who wrote it. But the question remains – why it was written. We are now at the point where
we always have to stop – and try to understand the ‘thinking’ of the person who filled in the register. This is by no means something special for this particular case. That kind of question must always be posed regardless of the kind of register to be analyzed. In one way or another you have to try to identify yourself with the person who filled in the register and try to use his ‘glasses’ and look and think in the way he did. Let us try to think the way in which Nils Fellman possibly thought.

The sources to be used are different and provide information to answer the following:

1) What was common praxis?
2) What was demanded by handbooks and other regulations?
3) What was discussed on the subject of baptism?
4) What was Rev. Nils Fellman’s own opinion about baptism, did he make any clear statements of his own?

Question 1) can be answered with the help of a rich source material and with help of the results from the investigations I have carried out on the subject in the other areas of the Laplands. And we know that the number of private baptisms increased all over the Laplands during this period. There was consensus to a large extent, that baptisms should be performed as early as possible and – because of national regulations – within 8 days of birth. In the remote areas where the parents had great difficulty in taking the new-born children to church and/or to the minister – or getting the minister to their homes – other solutions had to be considered. The custom of private baptisms was established and became over time more common than baptisms performed by the ministers. And we also know that private baptisms were confirmed – in the sense of accepted as valid by the church – in a ceremony conducted by the minister in connection with other services held at church or in other locations – this was known as the confirmation of baptism.

Question 2). Three vital questions were put to the parents when they went to church to have the private baptism confirmed:

- In whose name is the child baptized? (Answer: In the name of the Trinity; of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost);
- By what water (Answer: By clear and not ‘mixed water’);)
- Who were the witnesses? (Answer: Names of godparents and sponsors).

In addition the parents had to give all other necessary information, such as the name of the child, the name of parents etc. (more or less what was needed to fill in the birth and baptismal register properly).

From 1766 (Oct. 17th) the government instigated clear regulations (baptism was part of the law [KyrkoLagen 1686], and was therefore to be dealt with by the government and the King) regarding the performance of private baptism. In addition to the three vital parts mentioned above, it was prescribed that the Lord’s Prayer be said before the three applications of water and that the ceremony be closed by saying the blessings. At the confirmation of the baptism – the minister used the liturgical formula as given in the
liturgical handbook for the Service of Baptism apart from the three applications of the water (and other parts [verba institutionis, the Gospel Mk. 10s, the creed, the prayer for exorcism, the sign of the cross etc.] which could have already been said or performed at the private baptism).

Question 3). We know that there were several discussions among the clergy about what had to be said and performed at private baptisms. In the year 1738 the clergy of Kemi Parish and Laplands were gathered in Kemi to consider questions of common interest under the guidance and supervision of the Bishop of Turku (Åbo) and one of the professors of theology at Åbo Academy. Among the points presented for consideration was the following: "the predecessors of the clergy have firmly prescribed that ‘verba institutionis’ are to be read before baptism takes place, and that the clergy present were not of one mind about how to act”. In conclusion it was said: "as the consecration consists in that ‘verba institutionis’ are said and thereafter the Lord’s Prayer and the blessing are said, but even if these are not said at a private baptism there is no reason to baptize anew”.

We also know that according to revisions and renewals of the handbooks the formula of baptism was – and had been – under discussions, and also whether making the ‘sign of the cross’ was absolutely necessary. (In northern Norway there were explicit inquiries put to the Bishop asking ‘if making the sign of the cross is allowed at private baptisms’).

Question 4). There are just a few remarks available on Rev. Nils Fellman but that part of my investigation is not yet completed.

![Fig. 7. Three variant forms of crosses.](image)

In Fig. 7 three variant forms of crosses are shown. The cross to the left is the so-called Greek cross with all the beams of similar length. The cross in the centre is Greek in nature but has trefoils at the ends of the beams. The cross to the left is the most commonly used form of the cross, and in our Western tradition it is known as ‘the cross of consecration or dedication’. This gives us one possible explanation for the mark – the encircled cross – used by Rev. Nils Fellman. He has used ‘the cross of consecration’ as a symbol specifically to mark those whom he ‘signed with the cross’ as part of the formula used when private baptism was confirmed.
Conclusion

What reasons may Rev. Nils Fellman have for using the cross mark in the way he did. It looks as if he used a ‘cross of consecration’ or the appearance of the mark could be interpreted as: now the private baptism has been confirmed, and I (the pastor) have ‘made the sign of the cross’ on the child’s forehead and chest.

In addition it can be mentioned that there are many popular sayings that indicate that the use of ‘the sign of the cross’ was frequent, e.g. Fi. ”pessyt pois ristin ja kasteen” (‘washed away the cross and the baptism’; an old saying in writing from the 1830s) among Saami that indicates a conflict between traditions within their pre-Christian religion and Christianity, which resulted in a rebaptism or renaming of the child as Saami.

Another saying is Fi. ”se on kastettu mutta ei ristetty” (‘he/she is baptized but not signed with the cross’). The word ‘ristetty’ has been considered by some scholars to be a fragment with roots in the Swedish verb kristna, which is another way of saying baptize. The main question is how the root rist- is to be understood, is it part of Fi. risti ‘cross’ (Fi. risti-merkki ‘cross-sign’) or /kristi- ‘att kristna/Kristus’ (‘to christen/Christ’). My interpretation of the saying is clear – and simple – and also concludes my understanding of the information in the baptism journal: he/she was privately baptized (by a layman) and has not yet received the sign of the cross (by the minister).

Faiths – more of a hindrance than a help in Christian education?

The headline is a contradiction - but to some extent probably reflects the contacts between the revivalist movement, the Church and the public elementary school in Northern Sweden during the late 19th century.

This example discusses the influence of the revivalist movement – Laestadianism – on the school systems and school traditions in the north of Sweden ca. 1850 -1900, the interaction between the revivalist movement, the church and the school authorities and also the different uses of pedagogics.

Background and sources

The area under examination comprises two parishes, Jukkasjärvi and Karesuando, which together comprise the Torne Laplands. The written source material is comprehensive. The conditions within the state church, parish and school are well documented through written minutes and official reports of local, regional, and national character. The conditions within the revivalist movement, Laestadianism, are well depicted through letters and sermons (postils with Laestadius’ sermons), and L.L. Laestadius’ own written descriptions, for example in his periodical «The Voice of One Crying in the Wilderness» (1852-1854).
The real reason for this study is that I have reviewed a large number of very negative statements about teaching and knowledge among the common people in the area. Official reports, written every 6th year in the period of 1871-1894 state that:

the least amount of knowledge of Christianity is probably in Jukkasjärvi and Karesuando parishes, where knowledge decreases rather than increases. The cause for this regrettable situation, according to information, which The Visitor F.W. Lidström for example has given me, is to be found in the wrong direction which the movements [the Laestadianism] took.

The official picture is ambiguous and concluded partly that the reason ‘knowledge of Christianity’ decreased was that the revivalist movement – Laestadianism – had completely dominated within that area. As a church historian I have wondered if the pietistic movement in the area could have caused such consequences when Laestadianism, by its nature, actively recommended that schools be established in the area, and from 1848 onwards established so-called mission schools in a large number of places.

Several favourable conditions encourage closer study of the teaching situation in the area to. In the first place there are the so-called parish records preserved for the entire examination period for both parishes, Jukkasjärvi and Karesuando. These parish records contain complete records about all parishioners – age, name, etc., knowledge and information about if and when the individual had been admitted to Holy Communion etc. Three different grades show the individual’s knowledge. One grade shows ‘ability to read from a book’, another grade shows ‘ability to read by rote’ and a third grade shows ‘comprehension of the content’. Secondly computer access makes it easy to register the data. As a result of this a number of databases with all this information have been established for the following parish-records (in total more than 25000 records).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Jukkasjärvi</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
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<th>Karesuando</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
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<td>1828 - 1840</td>
<td>1897 records</td>
<td></td>
<td>AI:3</td>
<td>1837 - 1851</td>
<td>1471 records</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AI:4</td>
<td>1841 - 1850</td>
<td>1998 records</td>
<td></td>
<td>AI:4</td>
<td>1852 - 1865</td>
<td>1869 records</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>AI:5</td>
<td>1851 - 1860</td>
<td>2394 records</td>
<td></td>
<td>AI:5</td>
<td>1866 - 1875</td>
<td>2077 records</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AI:6</td>
<td>1861 - 1870</td>
<td>3197 records</td>
<td></td>
<td>AI:6</td>
<td>1876 - 1885</td>
<td>2043 records</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>AI:7</td>
<td>1871 - 1880</td>
<td>2585 records</td>
<td></td>
<td>AI:7</td>
<td>1886 - 1895</td>
<td>2092 records</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AI:8</td>
<td>1881 - 1890</td>
<td>3527 records</td>
<td></td>
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</tbody>
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**Discussion**

It has been stated that the official viewpoint concerning the levels of education and knowledge in Jukkasjärvi and Karesuando parishes was dominated by negative judgements. The examination of parish records, shown in the diagrams here (Diagrams 7 and 8) give on the contrary a more positive picture and show a distinct tendency towards increasing ‘ability to read from a book’ and ‘comprehension of the content’. It should be possible to read and understand the figures without any further explanation.
Diagram 7. Jukkasjärvi parish 1840 - 1890. Knowledge of Christianity distributed by home-village. Average mark for all inhabitants, aged 9 years or over, in various years.
Diagram 8. Karesuando parish 1840 - 1890. Knowledge of Christianity distributed by home-villages. Average mark for all inhabitants, aged 9 years or over, in various years.
In general one can say that in both parishes there were permanent residents as well as nomadic people. The permanent population were put into groups where the distances between the different home villages were short and where the socio-economic and cultural conditions were similar. The nomadic people – the Saami – were reported in the traditional communities included or based upon their livelihood. During the examination period the central places (where the church, pastor, etc. were) are Vittangi for Jukkasjärvi parish and Karesuando for Karesuando parish. The proportion of nomads is greatest in Karesuando parish.

The average grades are shown in the diagrams. Diagrams with grey backgrounds show the nomadic population.

The general impression is that knowledge was greater among the permanent population, which can be partly explained by the fact that their mother tongue was Finnish and that the learning/teaching language was Finnish. The nomads’ mother tongue was Saami.

This gives us two pictures of the conditions. A picture of crisis dramatized in the official records where one reason for the lack of knowledge is the negative impact of the Laestadian movement, and a more positive picture from the parish records. In the light of these two different views I want to concentrate the presentation mainly on discussing three questions:

1) First, why the public school system was established so late.
2) Second, the differences between the various groups regarding understanding of the teaching objectives (goal), content, and methodology.
3) Third, and given special attention, the relationship between Laestadianism and the established church (state church).

1) The answer to the first question is primarily to be found in the economic and geographical conditions in the villages. The number of school children was such that one schoolhouse in each parish would have been sufficient, but the distances between the scattered home villages required that several smaller schools be established, which again implied higher costs in building several schoolhouses and hiring several teachers etc. The local economy could not bear such an expense, and state funds had to be applied for. It is not possible to determine by using the empirical material whether or not school authorities wanted to present the local conditions as a crisis and thus influence the state to provide more economic help. In another situation, about 20 years ago, in a thesis, I gave as the main explanation that the parishioners for theological reasons preferred the so-called missions-schools and therefore did not see any need to establish public schools. This is certainly reasonable, but today I want to vary this explanation and also emphasise strongly the significance of the poor economic conditions in the region. There was no opposition to establishing schools amongst the Laestadians, but rather frequently repeated
encouragement to “offer some means to the school and the poor”, but there was opposition to the teaching methods used at “kron-skolan” (public school).

2) Secondly, there were differences between the various groups regarding the teaching objectives, content, and methods. But to what extent is it correct that Laestadianism is to be considered responsible for a reduction in the ability to read and in Christian knowledge, as was argued by the church authorities? In one way it is possible to say that the ‘living faith’ became more a hindrance than a help in Christian education. The members of the revivalist groups stressed that Christian knowledge is “the knowledge of the heart” and is a fruit of “living faith”. The school authorities’ view was that basic Christian knowledge consists in being able to read from a book and to read parts of the Catechisms and Christian books by rote. The church and the school authorities also accused the revivalists of reading too little and that the ability to read decreased due to the fact that Laestadianism stressed that ”faith cometh by hearing” and consequently people stopped reading Christian books. The information from the parish records however shows that the ability to read from a book increased during the period. But the questions arise - what were “Christian books” and were the Laestadians against the teaching of reading? From the writings of J. Raattamaa\(^\text{15}\) we know that the books needed - and approved - were the writings and books of Luther (ABC-book/the Primer, Luther’s Catechisms, Bible explanations and Postil) and Laestadius (sermons and letters). One of the most widely used texts at the mission-schools apart from the Primer and the Catechisms, was Luther’s explanation of the Story of the Passion. Strong criticism arose in the Laestadian groups of various books - among them several postils used and favoured by the church. In writings preserved from that time, we read statements by the Laestadian leaders on postils distributed by the church such as: “postil of self-righteousness”, “the false postil”, “a postil that serves as a dismissal to hell”. But a truer picture of the Laestadians is that individuals were exhorted to use the word of God - as can be seen from the sermons and letters written at that time. It was stressed that the individual Christian gains nourishment from the word of God, but ”not of the letter, but of the spirit: for the letter killeth, but the spirit giveth life”.

From 1820 onwards the so-called Bell-Lancaster method was widely used for teaching, but from 1864 this method was prohibited, as stated in a royal circular. Reactions were directed against reading by rote. It was said that it became a merely mechanical skill. In this case it is worth noticing that even the so-called Laestadian mission schools applied the Bell-Lancaster method, but the monitors only guided the very beginners. The schoolmaster himself supervised the more advanced pupils with special emphasis on ensuring that they developed a good comprehension of the contents. To sum up one can say that a teaching goal of the revivalist movement was that everyone should have a good ability to read from a book and good comprehension of the content. This is to be compared to the goal of the state church and the public school which was to provide the students with good skills, mostly "by

\(^{15}\) Raittila, Pekka  
rote", concerning the longer explanation to Luther’s Small Catechism and Bible history.

3) Thirdly: What kind of relationship did Laestadianism and the state church have? Did Laestadianism with its emphasis on order of grace and new birth come into conflict with the church and its ministers? Did the stress put on the necessity of living faith simultaneously threaten the established church and was it a judgement on its dead faith? Both questions can be answered in the affirmative. This reveals definite dogmatic differences. The conflict is, however, most significant when it comes to the theological content of the knowledge of Christendom which the Laestadians recommend and the knowledge of Christianity which is a more rational form for the traditional church. The negative judgement of the Laestadians on the part of the state church and the school authorities can also be explained by their frequent open conflict with the Laestadians about doctrine. Such conflicts took place quite often according to available sources.

In conclusion it is possible to state that the influence of the revivalist movement – Laestadianism – on the school system and school traditions was significant. The interaction between the revivalist movement and the church and school authorities is characterised by conflicts arising from different dogmatic opinions, different aims for the teaching and different teaching methods.

Excursus
Laestadianism and the mission schools
Laestadianism is a religious movement which had its beginning in the middle of the 19th century in Swedish Lapland. The cause of the revivalism was the forceful repentance sermons given by Vicar Lars Levi Laestadius (1800-1861), and the movement spread widely in his lifetime in the northern, and at that time mostly Finnish speaking, parts of Sweden and Norway and Finland. Laestadianism in Scandinavia did not separate from the state church, and received the sacraments (baptism and Holy Communion) in accordance with the ecclesiastical order. Today Laestadianism is still active and has a great influence on church life in Scandinavia (northern parts of Norway and Sweden and the whole of Finland). In North America Laestadianism is widespread in the areas where immigration from Scandinavia was extensive, and is organized in free churches with names like “The Old Apostolic Lutheran Church”.

During the early years when Laestadianism first spread in the northern parts of Sweden (1848 - 1862) it was mainly a result of the work of the so-called mission schools. These mission schools were led by lay missionary catechists, among them the most famous was Juhani Raattamaa, who also became the leader of the revivalist movement after the death of Laestadius in 1861.
These schools were part of an ambulatory school system, and were set up in different villages for some weeks at a time. The lay missionary catechists gathered the children and the young people of the village and gave them basic teaching – how to read and Luther’s Small Catechism. The school at that time can also be seen as well as part of a public elementary educational system, as the principal teaching was to prepare the young to attend the confirmation class. Confirmation – as part of the protestant tradition – was in one way a general admission to Holy Communion and in one way a sign that the individual had become adult and of age. According to both law and regulations, each individual member of the Swedish state church had to attend communion at least once a year. When of age as a church member one also had the right to enter into marriage. But the teachers – the lay catechists – did not only teach the basics, they also conveyed the message of repentance to private individuals – to the children and to their parents. As school was normally held in the daytime, in the evenings all villagers gathered in the home where the school was. In this way the revivalist movement spread widely. The catechists – as laymen – were not allowed by ecclesiastical order to preach, but on these occasions the catechists used to read sermons written by Laestadius.

The characteristics of Laestadianism from the beginning were rigorous repentance sermons, oral confession of sins and absolution, and the so-called “liikutukset” (emotional commissions). One theme of the repentance sermons was opposition to alcohol, and many sermons were also delivered in favour of rigor in clothing and in personal way of life. But the main characteristic was, and remains, “the order of grace” and the necessity of “new.birth”. That is, by preaching the righteous law of God to awaken the individual and let them realize – become aware of – that they are condemned by their sins and their lack of belief. Under pressure of the law and in deep sorrow the individual starts to ask “is there still grace and forgiveness for such a great sinner as me” and is then led to Gethsemane and Golgotha to see the suffering of the Saviour. Thus he/she has to be brought to the point where he starts to believe “Christ is suffering on my behalf, I am the one who is crucifying Him – my sins are upon Him”. That is the point at which the individual starts to believe that there is also forgiveness for him/her. This has to be comprehended by faith when absolution is preached in the power of the Holy Spirit. This is the point of rebirth and from that grows a new “living faith”.

Public elementary schooling

A new educational system was introduced in 1842 (separate regulations for the Laplands were given 1846) which replaced the former school system, with its accent on the idea that teaching children was the responsibility of the parents, that had developed within the realms of the Swedish Lutheran Church as part of pastoral care. From 1842 on, the responsibility for primary education was put on the secular local parish authorities. However, one of the ministers, normally the Vicar, was still to be chairman of the local education authorities in the parish. Apart from that the diocesan authorities were in charge of inspection of the only school system within
their diocese. The influence from the state church was still heavy on education, it is possible to say that during this period, the late 19th century, public schooling was of the Lutheran confession and the main aim was to teach Christianity.

In the northern areas of Sweden with its widely spread population, schooling was mostly maintained by a system of ambulatory catechists who visited the small villages or settlements where there were children to be taught. It is obvious that, during the first part of the period investigated, these catechists did not have any adequate or professional training as teachers. The jobs of catechists was paid a minimum and it was often difficult to recruit catechists, thus schooling - as a whole - was of a more temporary and sporadic nature.

It was commonly understood – on local, regional and national levels – that the way to achieve progress in the educational system depended on the possibility of having permanent schools built and opened at almost every single location where it was possible to gather the number of pupils needed. In addition it was considered of great importance to have skilled and trained teachers employed. But no schools were opened without the approval of the local parishioners, who had to decide on and provide the funds necessary to run the schools. The state offered funding on special occasions – especially when the local parish had difficulty raising the money needed to build schoolhouses and to employ teachers. But opening a permanent school in a parish meant expenditures which had to be paid for by local sacrifices when the allowances given by the state did not suffice.

The organising of public elementary schools in the two parishes Jukkasjärvi and Karesuando was much delayed and did not start until around 1880. The reasons for this were partly the poor economic conditions in the area, partly the geographic conditions with extremely difficult transportation problems among a sparse and widely spread population. They were also due to a lack of educated teachers competent in their subjects and with a command of the Finnish and the Saami languages. The official Swedish language at that time was a minority language in the region and not spoken by the ordinary people and their children.

The catechetical training at Church

Within the Swedish Lutheran Church it was common to consider public elementary schooling as the most important preparation for the confirmation class. The catechetical teaching at confirmation school mainly comprised lessons on the Lutheran Small Catechisms. At the time discussed, before attending confirmation-class the individual had to know how to read from a book and parts of the catechisms by rote. The catechetical training before confirmation was to extend the knowledge of Christianity and that was done by reading and learning the Explanations given in the Lutheran Small Catechisms and being familiar with “Christian books”, i.e. postils and pamphlets. Much stress was placed on every individual being able to read by rote.
ADI – a Project within a Larger Project

Digitisation of Archival Material - from preliminary study to main study,
1997 - 2000

Introduction

The heading of this text ("ADI - a Project within a Larger Project") refers to the link
between the projects ADI, (The Digital Infrastructure of the Archives) and Digitisation
of Archival Material.
The project “Digitisation of Archival Material” was carried out as an EU project at
SVAR Sandslån during the years 1997 –2000 parallel with the project “Digital
Register “ which the Bank of Sweden Tercentenary Foundation co-financed. Both
projects have investigated questions regarding the digitisation of archive information,
image capture and searching (text databases).
The ADI project was a preparatory study prior to a more advanced research and
digitisation project where the experience gained from the digitisation project at
Sandslån was considered valuable.
At the ADI project’s workshop in the spring of 2000 the experience and results of
“Digitisation of Archival Material “ were presented. The authors of this text were
active in the project as Project Leader (Jan Sahlén) and Head of Technical Matters
(José Fonseca).

1. Background

The project Digitisation of Archival Material started as a preliminary study in 1997,
progressed to a main study and terminated in 2000. The Swedish Archive Information
Bureau SVAR was responsible for the project commissioned by Riksarkivet (The
National Archives of Sweden). The headquarters has been at SVAR’s unit at Sandslån,
in the municipality of Kramfors, where the bulk of the activities were carried out, with
the exception of the workstations which were set up in Ramsele (Riksscanning AB),
and Näsåker (SVAR).

The task was to investigate and suggest techniques and methods for the scanning of
archival material, especially the filmed material, at SVAR’s repository site in Ramsele.

A number of other digitisation projects with similar tasks are underway and have been
carried out within the archive authorities but the Digitisation of Archival Material was
specifically concerned with older microfilmed material of which the Swedish Church
archives constitute two thirds.
2. Prerequisites

2.1 SVAR’s needs

The prerequisites on which the proposal to initiate the project *Digitisation of Archival Material* was partly based included SVAR’s increasingly apparent need to change its techniques.
- The Swedish Archive Information Bureau, SVAR was set up in 1978 with the principal task of converting and copying microfilm for microfiche distribution.
- SVAR is a bureau within the National Archives
- SVAR’s task is to distribute archive information and to make archival material externally accessible
- SVAR can currently distribute copies of all the Swedish Parish Registers on microcard (approx. 2 million micro cards)
- Microfiches are of great importance for genealogical research, one of the most popular national movements in Sweden
- Increased accessibility through microfiches is also important for scientific research
- Distribution provides an important income for SVAR/ the National Archives

The simplest analysis of the surrounding world shows us that rapid technological development has speeded up the transition from an industrial to an information society, with the new demands and needs that this entails. For SVAR this means that requests in the future will be particularly for digital and not analog (paper or film) media. Accessibility also needs to be instant – on the spot.
Therefore SVAR must:
- develop its activities in order to meet future demands more efficiently
- digitise all the links in its information chain.

2.2 The Information Chain

SVAR’s distribution of archival information has to date been analogical. To be able to utilize information about and from the source material the client (user) needs an unbroken chain of information consisting of clearly identified links.

The links in the information chain can be divided into structural links and activity links – or hard and soft links. Source material, personnel, organisation, tools and communication technology are examples of the first whereas image capture (enhancement), storage, distribution, competence and marketing are examples of the latter.

The final quality depends on the quality of each individual link. To be able to distribute archive information by way of digital media it is not sufficient to simply digitise tools, image capture, storage and distribution links. Digital thinking (competence) must permeate the personnel and organisation in order to correctly process the source material etc.
2.3 The Project’s resources

Finances

*Digitisation of Archival Material*, both the preliminary study and the main study, has been carried out with support of EU structural funds. First through Objective 6 (the preliminary study during 1997) and subsequently via Objective 2 (the main study during 1998-2000). Apart from our own financing regional public and private sources have contributed as follows:

- 32% EU structural funds
- 33% RA/SVAR
- 26% Other public funding (county administration, municipalities, Labour Board)
- 9% Private funding (Kempe Foundation, income)
Costs for the preliminary study and main study eligible for support have altogether amounted to SEK 7.617 million.

Personnel
The project has been manned by four people from SVAR’s unit in Sandslån. Of these two had academic qualifications in archiving and information and technical engineering whilst the other two were self-taught and had taken additional courses in history, databases and system maintenance. None had an academic degree in history or experience of scientific research. All four, however, had long experience of working with archive information databases (Enskilda arkiv, Nationell Arkivdatabas - Private archives, National Archive database).

Concept
SVAR at Sandslån initiated and developed the project concept and handled the planning, application and organisation. It was the firm conviction of both personnel and unit that:

- there would be a strong development in digital that would bring with it new demands
- the personnel and the unit had the right prerequisites and background to acquire further knowledge and develop what they already possessed
- the future of the staff, the unit, SVAR and the National Archives lay in digital technology
- through the project the staff and unit could be developed into a resource for SVAR and the archive authorities.
2.4 The Project’s geographical location

The surrounding environment is very important for a development project. Infrastructure, education/research, networks as well as references and steering are significant factors for a project’s creativity. Traditionally, development projects are located in the vicinity of the project owner’s head office, especially when it comes to new technology. This project however did not follow tradition in that it was located 120 km from SVAR’s head office (Ramsele) and 500 km from the National Archives’ head office in Stockholm. In the local environment (the municipality of Kramfors) none of the factors mentioned above exist; apart from SVAR at Sandslån, they can however be found regionally or nationally at a distance of at least 60 km. At the beginning of the project the existing staff lacked established contacts within the area of scanning.

3. Implementation and results

3.1 Project organisation

In consideration of the project’s task and the special circumstances the work was organized according to a fixed model. The task was to study the application of digital technology in the area of archiving in general and the scanning of older microfilm in particular. Apart from a specified number of products the project was to suggest techniques and methods for the implementation phase for use within the archive authorities. The circumstances that were particularly taken into consideration when constructing the model were staff background and geographical location. The project work was organized into four parts to achieve optimal knowledge acquisition.

1. **Project staff** (project leader and project co-workers)
   For planning, processing and documentation of acquired knowledge.

2. **Workstations** (project co-workers as well as extra or external personnel)
   For practical (internal) acquisition of knowledge through trials and pilot production.

3. **External contacts** (national, international, conferences, companies)
   For theoretical (external) acquisition of knowledge through study visits, education and co-operation.

4. **Reference group** (archive, library, museum, research and user competence)
   For analysis of results achieved as well as guidance when new problems were encountered.
As a whole this model worked well. New questions and practical results could be tested in different limited areas which facilitated assessment of the trial results. Because of resource reasons different parts functioned unevenly which weakened the project. The fact that the work-stations were not localized to the project headquarters created delays and a lack of focus on current questions. The project staff’s central role in the project work cannot be over-emphasized. Nor can the utilization of the project co-workers’ competence for purposes other than the project’s which reduced the efficiency of the work done (planning, treatment and documentation).

3.2 Equipment

The technical equipment is of great importance in a digitisation project with an emphasis on scanning. The equipment is not only important as a tool for image capture but also for acquiring a deeper understanding of digital technology.

At the start of the project in 1997 only one microfilm scanner existed in Northern Sweden and the project’s budget did not allow for the purchase of one. The scanner, a SunRise machine was not configured for the scanning of greyscale and was owned by a newly set up company in the interior of Norrland. Much project time was spent negotiating with the company for the setting up of a workstation there and motivating an upgrading of the scanner to meet the needs of the project. The distance to the newly established workstation (120 km) meant that the project staff was split for long periods, with half the staff at Sandslån and the other half on duty at Ramsele. External financing enabled SVAR to purchase a SunRise machine for greyscale scanning in 1998. This was installed at SVAR in Näsåker where the project was able to set up a new workstation, somewhat nearer but still distant (100 km).

All microfilm scanning for the project’s products was done on the above-mentioned machine. At the beginning of 2000 the project was able to purchase a microfilm scanner (Wicks & Wilson) also thanks to external financing, which has been installed at its headquarters.

The supplier’s faulty description and configuration meant the machine could not be used until September 2000.
Workstations with a microfilm scanner
1997 - 1999 Distance Scanning (Ramsele, Näsåker) (SunRise)
2000 - Project’s first scanner (Sandslån) (Wicks & Wilson)

3.3 Knowledge acquisition

As described under the heading “Organization” the work was organized according to a fixed model to achieve maximum acquisition of knowledge. Theoretical knowledge was obtained via external contacts and a reference group whilst practical knowledge was acquired through internal trials and pilot production at the workstations. As soon as the project began it was stated that knowledge about the methods was more important than the products. Digitisation of archival material has therefore never been an order or production project but rather a development project with the emphasis on establishing contacts.

The common platform for acquiring knowledge has been:

- Learning by doing
- Gaining knowledge – in order to become a future resource within the archiving authorities
- Development project today – good customer tomorrow

With this platform as its guiding light the model has worked very well as regards acquiring knowledge. The continuity lacking in the project group’s work however has resulted in weaknesses in the processing and documentation of this knowledge. More resources would have been needed to work with and structure the information and knowledge that the project has today, but which perhaps remains unaccessible.

3.4 Contacts & Networks

The project Digitisation of archival material has been carried out in a municipality, which lacks cultural heritage institutions, further education and scientific research or companies possessing advanced knowledge with regard to digital technology. As a consequence of the active procurement of knowledge many more international than local contacts have been developed. Even national and regional contacts are relatively modest compared to the international contacts.
It was also at the international level that we found digitisation projects which made similar demands on quality and source fidelity, readability, good resolution as well as reliable image and file processing.

**Companies**  
RIKSSCANNING (RAMSELE), SUNRISE (ENGLAND), IBM SWEDEN

**Conferences & seminars**  
RLG IN WARWICK, EUROPEAN CULTURE HERITAGE IN Utrecht, DLM IN BRUSSELS, MARGARET HEDSTROM SEMINAR IN HÄRNÖSAND, COLLEGIUM BUDAPEST

**International**  
ICA/ CIT, ARCHIVO GENERAL DE INDIA (SEVILLE), NHDA LEIDEN, MAX-PLANCK INSTITUT (BERLIN), NIEDERSACHENS UNIVERSITETSBIBLIOTEK (GÖTTINGEN), PROVINCIAL ARCHIVES (VIBORG), ANNE KENNEY AND SANDY PAYETTE (CORNELL UNIVERSITY), NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF SCOTLAND, ARCHIVIO STORICO (ROME), VATICANMUSEUM (ROME), ACC- OCH IMAGO-PROJECTS (ITALIAN STATE ARCHIVES, ROME), NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF HUNGARY, NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF CANADA

**National**  
NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF SWEDEN, BÖRJE JUSTRELL

**Regional**  
UMEA UNIVERSITY, MIDSWEDEN UNIVERSITY, PROVINCIAL ARCHIVES (HÄRNÖSAND), SVENSK ARKIVINFORMATION (SVAR)

**Local**  
-

The co-operation with the ICA/ CIT committee was formalized at its third working meeting at Ramsele 10-12 June 1998. This co-operation was of great strategic importance for the project because of the committee’s credibility and the structural thinking that it added. During the project’s latter part a method of cooperating was developed which could prove useful in continued international work. The project sent
about 1000 image files to Chris Seifried at the National Archives of Canada in order to improve the image quality through various enhancement processes. The result of the Canadian work with the Swedish pictures was then made available via Internet at the international ADI workshop in May 2000.

Börje Justrell has been of most great importance to the project as a link with the ICA/CIT committee and as a member of the reference group.

Other contacts of strategic importance for the project were: Archivo General de Indias, NHDA (Leiden), Anne Kenney, Umeå University, Mid Sweden University, RLG Conference in Warwick and Margaret Hedstrom-seminar in Härnösand.

### 3.5 Products

The four products, which have been produced by the project *Digitisation of Archival Material*, have been published on CD ROMs. The scanning was done at the project’s work stations and the linking work and image enhancement at headquarters. All the work was completed within the project by permanent and temporary staff.

With these products the project would like to show readability as well as different search engines and ways of presenting the material. In order to evaluate possible search and retrieval methods for future use, the project linked all the digital images to different types of text databases: the Demographic Database, a scientific database at an individual level, SVAR’s parish catalogue at village or block level and examples of linking to registers which have been voluntarily set-up. The Swedish Parish Registers (of Tuna, Vadstena and Alingsås) are the common source in all four products.

### 3.6 Technical report

In the final report of the project *Digitisation of Archival Material - a preliminary study* the different tests and studies made on the scanning of older microfilmed archive materials from both microfilm and microfiche are set out in detail. In the main study the objective was to use the knowledge and experience gathered during the preliminary study and to apply it to circumstances resembling production and to present an evaluation of the various links in the digitisation chain.
Scanning

All images were scanned under the following conditions:
Scanner: Sunrise SRI 150
Source: 35mm positive film
Generation: 2nd
Resolution: 300 dpi
Filter: none
Reduction ratio: Not available. Estimated at 12x
Quality index: 8 very good in accordance with AIIM standards*
Number of bits (depth): 8
Number of grey shades 256
Type of scanning: greyscale
Compression: none
File format: raw TIFF 6.0

* This presupposes that the smallest character in the original document (books) is 1mm high.

It is important that the scanner be handled by an experienced person who is also knowledgeable when it comes to digital image processing. The operator should be able to judge whether the settings to be used to scan a certain collection of films should be adjusted for certain images or films e.g. the focus and darkness level are other parameters, which must be adjusted for each film, subject or image. Certain stages are involved during image capture which are more or less automatic, whilst others must be considered according to each subject to be scanned e.g. the quality of the film. The operator should be able to make these judgements himself/herself so that there is minimal involvement of others thus ensuring that production is not hampered.

Quality assurance

Quality control starts as soon as the quality of the images on the film is judged and continues throughout the digitisation chain. This means that different people judge the quality of the images from different perspectives. Therefore it is important to have a clear description and an example of how the images should appear. Demands must be set which the images have to meet at every point of control. However it is always a question of time and money and a commercial activity is often steered by these factors.

Another aspect to consider is the durability of the images. How will they be regarded in the future, after five or fifty years? Just a few years ago many claimed that 1-bit pictures (black and white) were the only realistic way of scanning and distributing digital images of archival material. Today the perception of quality is totally different and it is generally accepted that scanning in both forms (black & white or greyscale) depends on the raw material and what the pictures are to be used for.

When it is a case of production the first quality control station is the most important because it is there that the two most important characteristics of the digital image are
checked i.e. that everything which is on the frame has been captured and that it can be read. If the image does not meet these two criteria it is useless. At the same time the effectiveness of the process has to be considered and several things done in each station. Every file is opened to check the characteristics above and the page number of the image has to be checked so that the name of the file can then be changed to the page number it has. In this way it is possible to see what the files contain simply by checking the name of the file.

With distribution quality control takes on a different form as it is then aimed at what the images are to be used for. It is not always so important to be able to read every single symbol in the document. It could be that the images should be available in three different qualities (low, medium and good) or perhaps the image should be offered in the same quality as the original. Whatever the case we suggest that it is preferable for two people to be involved at every stage in the quality control.

**Storage**

The decision about which file format is to be used to store the master files has to be made in advance. We chose **TIFF** (Tagged Image File Format) 6.0 partly because it is a de facto standard for both colour and greyscale images and partly as different compression tools use this file format as a starting point for their compression algorithms. **TIFF** 6.0 is also the starting point when it is time to migrate to new file formats.

We used both magneto-optical (MO) discs and hard discs for media storage. MO discs have the advantage of being both reliable and technologically tried and tested. Every disc stores up to 2.6 GB, 1.3 GB on each side. A large number of images requires a large number of discs, which are expensive, and also continuous surveillance by the operator as during batch processing the discs have to be turned over or changed. The same demands apply when migrating the images to another file format.

On the other hand, hard discs are not meant for long term storage of information. However we used them along with MO discs to show the advantages and disadvantages of both. They are also the outcome of tried and tested technology but are not as trustworthy as MO discs for long term storage mainly because they contain both electronic and mechanical components. Their life expectancy is also shorter than MO discs. The advantage in using hard discs is when a large number of images are to be processed (for compressing, filtering, downscaling etc). An automatic process (batch) can be started and it will then run for hours without supervision.

**Digital image process**

In capturing images the idea is that they should be as close to the original as possible i.e. without any image enhancement. It is only when you make copies of the master for distribution that enhancement comes into question. In principle the possibilities of creating variations of the original are unlimited. In our products we used three different file formats; Pdf, Jpeg and Djvu. Of these only Jpeg is a de facto standard for
colour and greyscale compressed files. PDF uses Jpeg’s compression algorithms and can be seen as a variation of Jpeg. The Djvu (Deja vu) format is relatively new and has been specially developed for black and white scale, colour and greyscale images containing text. It is also intended for use on the Internet.

The Tuna pictures were compressed to medium quality Jpeg and scaled down to 30% of their original size to make them as small as possible to allow distribution on the Internet. An alternative solution was a hybrid product where you could search in the text database on line on the Internet and read the images directly from your computer.

The Vadstena 1834 images were compressed to medium quality Pdf and scaled down to 35%. This was less compression and downscaling than Tuna as the smallest characters had become illegible. The images were then stored according to volume.

The Vadstena 1700 pictures were compressed to Djvu with standard quality. Here it was not possible to batch compress them as the compression tool did not have this option. There is a version of the tool which has batch processing possibilities but it costs about $8000 for greyscale or colour.

The Alingsås images were compressed to high quality Jpeg and scaled down to 70%. The pictures are only to be used on CD and it is therefore possible to present larger images of high quality.

During the last few months of the project the Tuna images were sent to the ICA/CIT committee which resulted in Canada’s National Archives working on the images using various methods for improving their quality and after using a particular method they did a batch process for all the Tuna images and put them onto the Internet. We learned the method and used it when processing the Alingsås images.

**Searching**

Digital images can principally be used in two different ways. Either you skim through them until you find what you are interested in or you use a text database to search for the right image. We have tested both variants with the products.

Tuna is a unique case in that it has a database, which has been extremely carefully registered and with such a wealth of detail as can be found in only a few databases. It is possible to make a search by name and in the database is a wealth of information on each person. There we have linked the images to each individual. It is important to mention that the linkage work has been intensively time consuming.

For Vadstena 1834 we used two different text databases; the SVAR catalogue and the Parish Catalogue Register (SOKAT). SVAR’s database is registered according to volume level, which means that the search result shows far too many images, often hundreds of them. SOKAT is registered at block level, which markedly reduces the number of hits. After a search in both cases you have to look at the images one by one until you find the one you want. The third variant is to use a text database at personal
level which would mean finding the right person at once and the page or digital image where the person appears. Unfortunately this possibility does not exist in this product, which explains the empty frame in the search alternative. We have included images of the registration programme and the information which can be registered with it.

Vadstena 1700 contains only digital images and there is no possibility of searching for individual images. This product is equivalent to a digital copy of the original document i.e. the parish catechetical meetings register.

Alingsås shows a voluntarily compiled text database at an individual level with digital images. This product illustrates that it is possible to use such databases and as long as a reference to the source is registered, it is possible to link digital images to these. The digital images can also then be used for revising text databases. This also applies to the SVAR catalogue and SOKAT.

Distribution

The most common way of presenting and distributing text databases and digital images is by way of CDs and the Internet. The images created for distribution are always inferior in quality to the master. You can never avoid having to compromise between quality and file size. And the steering factor is always the method of distribution. Another factor to consider is the type of application used. Are you going to show one image at a time, as in Tuna and Alingsås, or do you need or want to skim through the images to find the right one as in Vadstena 1834 and 1700? If you show one image at a time without the skim option and the product is distributed on CD you can always include images of better quality. When distributing or publishing on the Internet the images have to be more compressed (Tuna).

The four products created during the project period have been published on CD. Tuna and Vadstena 1700 are also published on the Internet.

Tuna can be found at: [http://www.foark.umu.se/tuna_dig/](http://www.foark.umu.se/tuna_dig/)

Vadstena 1700 is at: [http://www.svar.ra.se](http://www.svar.ra.se)

Technical conclusions

One of the most important lessons learned from the project is that certain demands must be met before starting a digitalisation project:

- Clear goals as to what is to be achieved by the project
- Knowledge about the source material
- Information about the quality of the source material
- How the product is/products are to be presented and distributed
- Knowledge of and contact with the users/market
- Access to equipment
- Clear methods for image capture, quality control etc.
- Search/selection possibilities
• A plan for how the resources are to be used
• Financing model

You must think about the fact that you are in a constant process of decision making which means that each decision leads to a new “fork in the road” where new decisions have to be made. Preparatory information and knowledge about the different stages of digitisation are two important prerequisites for a successful project.

4. Effects

A collective opinion shows that the project has strengthened the SVAR unit at Sandslån and SVAR as a whole. It has also contributed to further strengthening the county’s image as an archive county and paved the way for interesting cooperation projects in the future. Through this project the world of archiving has got yet another able actor in the area of digitisation that can contribute to continued development work. Apart from the above-mentioned results the project has produced a number of effects.

4.1 New tasks for SVAR

The fact that Digitisation of archival material has been run as a project within SVAR during the last three years has gradually changed the image of SVAR both internally and externally. From having earlier only been thought of in terms of microfilm, SVAR is now considered to be just as much involved in archive information and digitisation/scanning. This has resulted in SVAR securing several larger undertakings involving the scanning of state archive materials.

4.2 Resource for the archive authorities

The aim of the project to develop the project participators and the unit at Sandslån into a resource for SVAR and the archive authorities has been achieved. Their collective competence is already being used today for various tasks within all the archive authorities. An extra spin-off is that we can also see how this competence is being sought externally in connection with research projects and international co-operation projects.

4.3 Knowledge of necessary measures

One significant lesson learned by the project is the importance of continually updating knowledge. The digitisation of archival material involves a variety of sciences and techniques and without continuous awareness of developments, established techniques and methods run the risk of becoming very quickly outdated. The archive authorities should also try to co-operate with established research in this area of development, across disciplines and in collaboration with other cultural heritage institutions. It is important that the archives’ more practical activities (registration, scanning, and systems building) are cross-fertilized by scientific questioning and active research. More on this in 4.4. below.
4.4 ADI, The Digital Infrastructure of the Archives

The Digital Infrastructure of the Archives (ADI) is a one-year development project involving the Swedish and Hungarian National Archives. The aim is to make an inventory during the year 2000 and discuss suitable subjects and source materials for a research and digitisation project stretching over several years concerning European cultural heritage.

The Research Archive at Umeå University is included in the project and wants to conduct comparative studies in Northern, Central and Southern Europe. Subjects, which are currently being discussed, are identity, baptism, and education/educational routes throughout Europe. Source material for the Swedish part comes from censuses and the parish registers. SVAR Sandslån is the Swedish National Archive’s representative in the project through Digitisation of archival material.

5. Lessons learned

What lessons are learned from the project – Digitisation of archival material – a development project in the periphery of the periphery i.e. far from head office and without local networks?

- Establish good contacts with centres

Good contacts with those who commissioned the project are vital for its steering of it and its activities. It is a good idea to formalise a contact in a steering group for regular exchange of information and reporting. The project Digitisation of archival material has not had such a steering group but on the other hand it did have good contact with individual representatives, from its principals amongst others, via the reference group.

- Establish good contacts with research

The project had a representative from the Department of Archive and Information Science at Mid Sweden University in the reference group but on the other hand did not manage to establish a common research project with that department. In this way we lost the meeting between theory and practice where scientific questions can be posed and practical technical solutions developed.

A common problem for projects is that the ordinary line of work wants to use the project’s resources, both soft and hard. The project therefore has seen its co-workers forced to carry out other tasks and focus their involvement on other problem areas. In the long run there is a risk that the project’s chance of achieving its goals might be undermined. To defend and nurture resources is therefore a way of guaranteeing a good result.

- Build networks

Nurture and cherish contacts made within the subject area. Build networks for information exchange. Knowledge is not something to compete over. On the other
hand the ability to transfer the right knowledge to new activities is something to compete over.

- **Work methodically - document more**
  When the project was initiated the work was carried out methodically with everything documented, planning, meetings, decisions, scanning activities etc. As time went by and the project resources were used for other tasks the methodical way of working deteriorated and the documentation from the latter half of the project is less comprehensive than from the first part.

- **Cultivate vision**
  An important prerequisite for long-term methodical work is a vision which is kept alive. This is especially important for projects far away from what are considered to be creative centres. A clear vision acts as a signpost which can point the direction to be taken at every single crossroad or decision point. The words “Archive” “Digital” and “Development” can be found in the project’s vision. The goal is also stated in terms of “resource for” which has guided the activities. Creative centres are perhaps not physical places but rather environments or states of mind. Projects taking place on the periphery can very well be in the centre of things. Or vice versa.

6. **Necessary measures**

**Archives’ digital R&D station**

The establishment of a station for research and development was one of the goals of the project. For resource reasons amongst other things this was impossible during the project period. However the project itself has acted as the embryo for such an R&D station. The station’s mission should be to collect, distribute and impart new knowledge and techniques within the area of digitalisation and the scanning of archival material. Therefore different sciences should be tied to the station such as archiving (cultural heritage), information and communication, technology, pedagogy. The technical performance should be of a high quality to enable the establishment of a laboratory environment. Transfer of knowledge will be realised through courses, workshops, seminars and training programmes. The R&D station should also be able to supply consultants.

The mainstay of the R&D station should be establishing a new arena for co-operation between the practioners’ field and the scientific, theoretical field. This would preferably be done through international exchanges where research projects and digitisation projects would utilise the creative environment of the R&D station. With the R&D station as part of the archive authorities a constant flow of new skills into the ordinary activities should be facilitated. Using examples from the project’s contact network and achieved effects co-operation at the R&D station could be organised as follows:
7. Conclusions

Old societies are replaced by new. At the present time we are in a state of transition from the industrial society to the information society. New skills are being developed to meet the needs of the future. In the same way that common sense was not enough in the industrial society many of our conceptions will be useless in the information society. We are adopting digital technology but do not seem to be able to fathom its force, analogical methods and analogical thinking is transformed to zeros and ones. We use the new technology to produce digital exhibitions and “peepshows” instead of using it to develop effective tools for its users. Tools which reflect events, happenings and processes and which make possible the development of new knowledge.

The archivists need to analyse how the development of digital infrastructure will influence the profession, questions and the use of source material. We need more knowledge about digital technology, the power of which we can only begin to understand. Perhaps it will only be when all the links in the information chain are digital that we will see and understand how to utilise this force. When the Archives’ Digital Infrastructure is a reality.
THE DIGITAL INFORMATION CHAIN
= THE DIGITAL INFRASTRUCTURE
OF THE ARCHIVES
ADI
A few Outlines of Studies in Palaeography

In Sweden palaeography is not a recognized academic discipline. It is however, an indispensable tool for linguistics and humanities scholars in their work with older records and historical documents.

There is also very little educational material available that addresses this subject in general terms. Thus palaeographic tutoring often is an ad hoc business, based on the experience the scholar/teacher has gathered through her/his own research, which may well have been carried out many years ago using very specialised documents/records.

The ad hoc nature or perhaps the lack of palaeographic studies, may be one reason why undergraduate students and even researchers shy away from tasks that involve extensive study of early archives. This in turn may lead the student, in history for example, to base all her/his papers on studies of literature alone, which in the long run will mean that historical research will tend to be rather a discussion of historiography and theory building in preference to extracting new knowledge from archive studies.

Of course, palaeographic skills are acquired through training to a greater extent than those of many other subjects. A parallel can be drawn with the skills required to solve crossword puzzles, which can be acquired by practice.

Nevertheless, at a time when the accessibility to historic records is being increased through digital copying and distribution, it is important to provide the user with tools that will be useful in the process of interpretation and comprehension.

At the National Archives, the SVAR department (Swedish Archival Information Dept) has the responsibility of enhancing accessibility to the written cultural heritage. Naturally, we find that an ability to read historical documents is fundamental for accessibility. In order to meet our responsibilities and also to teach people how to read historical documents SVAR has produced and recently released a digital self-instructing training program that can be used in a classroom situation, as well as for private study.
The digital media allow us to publish extensive collections of documents sampled from the main archival sections, i.e. about 600 pages of documents. To produce a similar collection in printed form would have been far too expensive and it would have been beyond the means of many potential customers. As far as we know the program constitutes the most comprehensive educational material in palaeography ever produced in Sweden.

The program also contains a brief overview of the history of written language and a section on reading techniques, both of which are used as educational material at Mid-Sweden University and have been included with the kind permission of the authors.¹

One problem in the production process has been to demarcate interpretation of historical documents from discussion of their context. Of course, in research it is impossible to distinguish between a source and its origin, but in educational material like this it has to be done or otherwise we would end up with a tutoring program in administrative history as well. Not that such a program would be unnecessary, but it would be another project.

The program does however have to include some contextual information. This information has been added in a comment attached to each document where the origin, the type of writing and the specific details are mentioned. There is also, as a concession to context, an introduction to the administrative history of each archival section from which the documents were taken.

There is another problem of a more technical nature, which we have not entirely been able to solve at this stage. Until recently there have not been any programs available that could both produce a high quality screen image and an equally high quality printout. We have therefore been forced to produce additional CD-ROM:s where a limited number of documents are stored in pdf. format to be used for quality printouts. We find this function specially important in the classroom situation where the students work with a few pages each of the same document. This is why the program contains documents 20 to 40 pages long.

The first page of every document is included in a separate program that enables the user to study the writing more closely. This program is divided into three windows where the first displays the original document and the second shows an enlargement of the word/s/ designated. The third window show the user a transcription where a word/words marked in the first window will also be marked in the transcription. This module in the program makes it possible to show the writing style of the individual scribes and to give a matrix for transcription work.

For every document there is also an exercise with a key for self-testing.

The program presented is planned as the first step in a series of products that will serve as educational tools and facilitate accessibility to the written cultural heritage. We would like to see in the future a virtual laboratory for the humanities where it would be possible to perform experiments and investigations using a growing body of digitised images of documents, registers and databases. One way of realizing this vision could be modelled on three basic criteria, namely:

1. **Interpretation**
   Apart from producing tools for palaeography, the development of digital dictionaries and databases containing e.g. Latin expressions, measurements and money systems would meet an urgent need in the interpretation of historical documents.

2. **Context**
   Educational materials that can explain the origin of documents and archives and their ”zits im leben” can deepen our historic understanding. Presentations of aspects of the local history and central administration could serve as tools for contextual understanding. As an example a digital application that defines and visualizes administrative boundaries and their variations over time would prove very useful for educational purposes and would also serve as a demarcation tool to help researchers define areas of investigation.

3. **Method**
   A series of tools could be constructed that would help us to form hypotheses, extract and validate information, learn how to evaluate sources critically and thus provide tools of aid in the process of transforming information into knowledge.

   One major reason why we store ancient artifacts or documents is that we believe we can extract new information from them. It is not primarily the items themselves that attract us but their hidden mysteries. The keepers of those mysteries are the archives, the libraries and the museums where the information is structured, stored and retrieved. Today when information and communication technologies handle enormous quantities of contemporary information it is time to claim ground for our cultural heritage in this bright new digital world.

**About the palaeography program**

The CD contains information about reading techniques for archive documents from the 17th, 18th, and 19th centuries. The program is divided into four main sections:
Introduction and software structure, Reading technique, history of written language, plus a list of references.

**Introduction and software structure**

Presents an overview of how to navigate in the different sections of the software.

**Reading techniques**

Teaches a useful method for transcribing older written documents.

**History of written language**

Gives a brief outline of some typical grammatical rules characteristic of the time the document was written and information regarding the development of the written language.

**Handwriting specimen**

This consists of about 600 pages from 150 scanned original documents. This section is divided into five archive sectors, which are:

- **Ecclesiastical archives** (birth, baptism, marriage, death and burial, parish catechism records etc.).
- **Juridical archives** (estate inventories, statements etc.).
- **Archives of Civil Authorities** (population registers, matters of the Swedish enforcement service etc.).
- **Military archives** (military rolls, tenement registers etc.).
- **Private archives** (private correspondence, corporation documents etc.)

Each archive sector is divided into the three historical periods. The ecclesiastical material is also subdivided geographically.

For each document there is:

- a series of reference to sources, and in most cases comments
- a number of reading exercises
- a possibility to compare a fair copy (transcribed copy) with the original document using the enhancement feature.

**Recommended literature** is a list of appropriate literature for those who want to make a deeper study of the subject.

**Requirements** 200 Mhz IBM compatible pc with cd-rom and 32 mb ram 16 bit color 800*600 screensetting.
The Information System of the National Archives of Hungary

About the information system

Information systems are a particularly important, but rather neglected issue in the archival world. All archives have their own information system, even if they are unaware of it. The reception of searchers in the archival building, the traditional finding aids available, access to databases, communication facilities, etc. are all (or can be) elements of such a system. Missing the elements or malfunctions do not mean that the system does not exist, but that it does not work properly. Creating a well-designed information system needs a lot of thought and careful strategic planning. In this study I will describe the information system to be established in the National Archives of Hungary focusing on its major element, the automated database system. Firstly, let us look briefly at what this automated database system consists of, and how it works.

The core of the system is a relational central database which contains the basic data of the record units, such as title, year range, extent, location, etc. down to sub-fond level (see Illustration 3). Each record in the database has a flexible field which may incorporate information of up to 30 pages. The description of the fonds or sub-fonds as well as contextual information are entered here.

One or several attached databases may be linked to each record of the central database. They contain detailed data about the related (central) record. In contrast to the central database those attached may have different structures, the designer decides what kind of fields (name, type, length, archival attribute) best meet the data of the records to be processed. General searching, listing, browsing the whole database system are all

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1 Some parts of this study were published under the title The Concept of an Open and Flexible Archival Information System in Miscellanea in honorem Caroli Kecskeméti, Archives et bibliothèques de Belgique, Bruxelles 1998, pp. 273-287, other parts were presented in the 14th International Congress on Archives, Seville, September 2000.

2 The *fonds* is a very special archival term. It was imported from French (*fonds d'archives*), and the original spelling has been kept. The meaning is: the total body of records accumulated by an individual, an institution or an organisation in the exercise of its activities. It has preserved the French plural form but when archivists use it in a singular meaning, they also treat the form *fonds* as a formal singular.

3 The demo version of the software (called FOND-X) that manages the central database is accessible at www.geocities.com/SiliconValley/Lab/3707/index.html. The web version of the database system (software + database) is accessible at www.natarch.hu
possible, and the user may move over to the attached databases. Special software can also be written and used to manage the attached databases, and all of them will be under the umbrella of a shell.

Instead of describing the system step by step I would rather approach the issue from an unusual point of view: the philosophy of the system.

What does philosophy mean in this case? Not a complicated and abstract theory but a set of priorities, principles and strategic objectives that the archives respect and wish to achieve by applying/using the information system. Our philosophy can be recapitulated in a few sentences:

- Priority given to reference purposes
- Respect for archival principles
- Integration of traditional archival work
- Flexibility and openness
- Simplicity and longterm data security

**Priority given to reference purposes**

The management of the archives may choose among several targets when deciding on the basic orientation. A database system can be records management oriented when the data from the records kept by the agencies are entered first, and the data follow the fate of the records. Managing the archives can also be the main target when users, document requests, dummies, etc. are registered and carried out by computer. The database system of the National Archives of Hungary is reference oriented, i.e. the most important aim is to provide information for users. Professional traditions probably contributed to this decision because Hungarian archivists have always preferred works which are closely connected with the historic value of the records.

It is obvious that the basic aim of the database system determines the data to be included as well as their structure, so giving a system priority to reference activities will contain mostly information for the reference service: basic data (title, reference code, year range, etc.) and brief description of the fonds and sub-fonds. The relation to the reference work is also emphasised by the appearance of the data. For example the picture of the full record screen is very similar to a card used in the Hungarian archives (see Illustration 3), and the lists made by the programme managing the database look

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4 The complete software (called FOND-X2) managing both the central and the attached databases is not accessible on the internet.

5 Not exclusively because on the one hand non public fields can be hidden, so the users cannot see them, and on the other hand, as we shall see later, the system in question is flexible and separate databases containing administrative data can be incorporated.
like a traditional finding aid.

Giving priority to reference purposes also determines the nature of the access to the data. Actually, all fields except one (location of the records) can be read by the users. Later, when other databases, for example for the purpose of archive management exist, this situation will probably change.

**Respect for archival principles**

*Archival Information*

A structured archival information unit consists of three separate parts. The first one is the *identity element* (reference number, code, title) which makes possible precise identification of the archival material containing the information. The second one is the *content* as well as *structural information* about the unit (how the units are arranged, the position of the actual unit in the system, the kind of relation it has to other units). The third is the *context*, i.e. data and information relating to the record creator (competence, functions, organisational structure, etc.) as well as the legal, political, social, etc. environment in which the records were created.\(^6\)

*The microstructure of the archival material*

For more than one hundred years the principle of provenance has been the generally accepted archival theory which is based on the concept of fonds: "The total body of records/archives accumulated by a particular individual, institution or organisation in the exercise of its activities and functions."\(^7\) The principle of provenance rests on two pillars:

- **respect for the fonds** which means that the records of one fonds must not be mixed with the records of another
- **respect for the original order** which means that, when processing the records, the archivist should respect as far as possible the structure of the records established by the creator.\(^8\)

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\(^6\) There is another kind of context, too, but this is beyond the archivist's competence. For example when a searcher discovers that a record in a given fonds is related to another record of another fonds he/she finds a hidden but existing context between the two records. For this subject see: Lajos Körmenty, "Schriftgutbewertung. Anmerkungen zur aktuellen Diskussion aus ungarischer Sicht." *in Archivalische Zeitschrift* 79. *Band*, Böhlau Verlag 1996, p. 67.

\(^7\) *Dictionary of Archival Terminology*, 2nd revised edition, edited by Peter Walne, ICA Handbooks Series volume 7, K.G. Saur München 1988, p. 72. In several countries collections of documents (e.g. Arabic papers), created by archivists in the past, are also considered as fonds in the structure of the archival holdings although these documents have multiple origins (in Hungary we call them non-organic or artificial fonds).

\(^8\) How the internal structure of the records and the organisational system of the creating agency correspond each other varies from country to country. It depends principally on the filing tradition and the practice of the given country. For example in Hungary, which has a tradition close to the German "Registratur" system, the close correspondence is general, but Michel Duchein, in his studies ("Le respect des fonds en archivistique : principes théoriques et problems pratiques". *In La Gazette des archives*, 1977, pp. 90-91. "Le principe de provenance et
A fonds consists of a variety of information units which are interlinked. The above mentioned elementary information parts are structured into a document, constituting the smallest information unit. A group of documents constitutes a file, a group of files makes a sub-series, a group of sub-series forms a series, a group of series constitutes a sub-fonds, and sub-fonds make a fonds. So we can differentiate fonds level, sub-fonds level, series level, etc. The linking of units usually corresponds to the recordkeeping system of the fonds creator and reflects, more or less, the organisational system of the creator, if it is an agency.

If we look at the directions of the links we can distinguish two sorts: vertical and horizontal. The vertical links are much more important because the information units are built upon each other. Let us look at an example: the records in their entirety created by a company form a fonds, the records created by the board of this company form one of the sub-fonds (within the fonds) which divide into such series as minutes, legal matters, etc. The title "Minutes" says nothing in itself, this information must be completed with "[Minutes] of the Board" but to get adequate information we must also add "of Company X". The horizontal links are usually weaker ("the minutes there are records on legal matters"), apart from and incidental ("The documentation of the legal cases discussed by the board is kept in the series 'Legal Matters'").

In this paper the system of links below the fonds level is called microstructure of the archival material. Since the microstructures were usually established by the creators they (i.e. the fonds structures) differ widely from each other.

The macrostructure of the archival material

Public archives usually keep many fonds with their specific microstructures, which have to be integrated into one structure to allow the archival institution to establish its retrieval system. In this paper the structure above the fonds level is called the macrostructure.

The fonds can be grouped by historical period, branches, legal status, type of document (e.g. maps and plans), etc. The macrostructure is similar to the microstructure in that the separate groups (units) are arranged in levels, and there are both vertical and horizontal links between the groups. The levels can be as follows: group of fonds, management group of fonds, archival holdings. A group of fonds is not necessarily artificial, it can also be created in an organic way: for instance the fonds of separate companies belonging to the same holding form such a group. The sum total of the

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9 There can be more levels or some of them may be missing, and they can be given different names, of course.
records kept by an archival institution forms the archival holdings, in this system it is considered the highest unit, i.e. the pinnacle of the structure of the archival material.

The system of the archival material

The micro- and the macrostructure together form the system of the archival material. There are two characteristics which make this system very special that we cannot find in related systems for instance in the library world. The first feature is the existence of links which create the hierarchical character of the system, the second is the existence of the contexts. We can raise the question — and many archivists did — whether it is really necessary to order the material hierarchically and to use the contexts which make archival processing and retrieval very difficult. The answer is yes, and the reasons are in the microstructure or to be more precise in the fonds itself:

- a fonds usually contains complicated, often complex data and information concerning the creator as well as the domain of its activity, reflecting the relations between the people and the subjects involved;
- the records of a fonds are created in a process, i.e. in time; during the process the creator and the environment change, and the records reflect these changes.

Both complexity and process can only be mapped and represented by links and contexts. In other words they implicitly derive from the fonds ("...total body of records ... accumulated by an ... organisation in the exercise of its activities..."). The most that archivists can do is to respect and use the links and contexts when they arrange or describe the archival material below fonds level.

We saw above that links and contexts also exist in the macrostructure, and although their role is of minor importance compared to the microstructure, they cannot be neglected especially in case of organic grouping of fonds. The organic character is not typical in this upper system, moreover, the reason for the existence of the macrostructure originates in the system itself: to establish order in chaos the archivist creates groups, and puts the separate groups into sub-, super- and co-ordinated relation. Since most of the units (groups) are artificial, complexity and process can rarely be detected there.

The research methods used in archives are adapted to the system described above. The typical way to access archival information is through vertical links: we approach the record sought step by step from the general to the specific. Sometimes this kind of access is called hierarchical or indirect, in contrast to access in a library which is called direct. Here is a concrete example of hierarchical/indirect access made through vertical links: a user would like to read the deed of foundation of the Voluntary Fireman’s Association in Tata (a small town in Hungary) established around the end of the last century; the archivist knows that issuing such document was the right of the central government; the fonds of the central government agencies form a separate management group of fonds in the National Archives of Hungary (1st step); in that time the Ministry of the Interior dealt with such cases, so the document in question
must be in the archives (group of fonds) of the Ministry of the Interior (2nd step), namely in the fonds of the Ministry itself (3rd step); since there was a Fire Service Department, the next phase of the localisation is the sub-fonds of that department (4th step); finally the archivist chooses the series called "Voluntary Associations" (5th step) where he/she can find the document requested.\textsuperscript{10} Vertical links are important in the "opposite way", too. The title "Acta generalia" means nothing either to the archivist or the user, but "Acta generalia of the Hungarian Chancellery" gives adequate information.

There is also non-hierarchical access to the archival material. A list enumerating the items of a sub-series is a "flat" finding aid describing a kind of horizontal links.\textsuperscript{11} Indexes may appear in neither vertical nor horizontal link. They are independent of them, and permit random access to information (typical in libraries).

The hierarchical and the non-hierarchical access as well as finding aids reconstructing both kinds of links coexist in archival practice. At higher levels the hierarchical approach is of greater importance but as we descend to lower levels the probability that we will use a horizontal finding aid increases. Indexes can be used at any level but there is an interesting relation between the levels included and the range of data indexed. Indexes embracing many data levels are mostly restricted to personal/family names and place names. The use of subject items - unless they are very general - is much more complicated because it is hard to standardise the terms. The problem seems to be less difficult if the index is limited to the same data level, where standardisation of the terms is easier.

**Designing the database system**

When we designed the structure of the database it was obvious that the vertical links had to be handled by the software together with the horizontal ones, but the question was, how this was to be done. Information experts said they could easily solve the problem if the archives create an appropriate record reference code system which were to show the position of each record unit in the hierarchy. This suggestion was rejected primarily because the reference codes were already deeply embedded in the scientific knowledge (notes, references in books, etc.). This debate also had a philosophical aspect. For information experts the reference code seemed to be ideal for reconstructing the vertical links, i.e. they considered it a primary information carrier. But the main function of the code is only to provide for quick identification. If it conveys information about the position of the record unit, this can be useful, but it is not of much importance. The title of the record unit is the primary information carrier and, is also moreover very stable. Archivists working with old documents find many

\textsuperscript{10} The real structure of the fonds of the Hungarian Ministry of the Interior differs from the example.

\textsuperscript{11} There are other kinds of horizontal links for example when a document refers to another one which belongs to a quite different record unit. These links are mostly brought to light by the researchers. See also footnote 5.
records without valid reference codes, but hardly ever see titles which have been changed.

The solution to the problem of the vertical and horizontal links was the level system. In brief this means that each record in the database is given a level number which refers to its position in the holdings. For example the sub-fonds will have level number 7, the fonds number 6, the group of fonds number 5, etc. The number indicates the vertical (hierarchical) position, the place in the sequence of the records having the same level number shows the horizontal position. (See Illustration 1.)

Actually the level numbers range from 1 to 7 in the central database, and the lowest level (#7) represents the sub-fonds. But archival data processing cannot stop at sub-fonds, users need much more detailed information, for this reason we are working on extending the system. The records in the above mentioned attached databases will be assigned numbers from 8 to 11, so the system will be able to manage the holdings even at document level. The central database is strictly hierarchical. Year ranges and extents are automatically calculated at each level, and when searching or listing the software always lists the items found with higher linked records. (For example if the record found is a sub-fonds, the computer also indicates its fonds, group of fonds, etc. up to level 3.) The attached databases are less hierarchical: they contain only four levels and there is no calculation of year range and extent.

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12 This is similar to the International Standard for Archival Description (ISAD(G)), but the two systems were developed separately. The database level system was completed in 1988.

13 This distribution of levels is a result of the fact that the system first served the microfilm collection of the National Archives of Hungary. This collection contains many million microfilm pictures made of records kept in 35 countries, in several hundred archival institutions, so we needed high levels in order to group archives (e.g. by countries).

14 The user is free to distribute the levels differently. For example to records with level number 7 might be files, level 6 could represent sub-series, etc.
Illustration 1. Screen to browse in the database. The records with level 7 are sub-fonds and are parts of the record of level 6 (fonds), this in turn belongs to the record of level 4 (management group of fonds), etc.

The vertical and horizontal relations can also be demonstrated in a tree structure, which is very similar to the computer file structure. But the archival tree structure may have gaps, for example not every fonds is ranged into a group of fonds. (See Illustrations 2 and 3.) The database system followed this practice: only the consistent use of two levels is compulsory: the archival institution (#3) and the fonds (#6), the others can be omitted. This meets the archival rule: every record must belong to a fonds, and must be kept in the archives. The structure of the attached databases is not so strict: only the use of one level (#10) is obligatory.

This levels system proved to be surprisingly efficient. We entered the record units into the database in strict archival order, and the software was able to understand and manage all the vertical links simply according to the level numbers and the order of the records.
Integration of traditional archival work

When designing and developing the software we not only tried to keep it close to the archival work but also attempted to imitate traditional archival tools. For example the screen to be filled in when we add new records to the database (Appendix) looks like a traditional fonds registration card used in the National Archives of Hungary. (See Illustration 3.) The software offers several list formats that imitate the styles of printed finding aids. This similarity of form makes possible to integrate the traditional work into the database system. For instance if an archivist is going to compile an inventory, he/she can do so by filling in the appropriate fields in the database. Thus the data (e.g. description, list) entered become parts of the database. Publishing traditional finding aids is simple: one has to create (from the database) a text file with an appropriate format which needs word processing before printing.

Illustration 2. Tree structure of the holdings. The Archives of the Transylvanian Chancellery (level #4) are "open", and there is apparently no group of fonds (level #5) in this management group.
Integration is also possible in a retrospective way. The archivists of the National Archives of Hungary have published more than one hundred volumes of finding aids in the last fifty years. Since these are mostly works of high quality - we have used them every day - their integration into the database system is a high priority in the archives. This retrospective integration does not mean that every piece of data already published should be scanned and imported into the database within a few months. But the most important parts (e.g. description of fonds and sub-fonds as well as lists of series) can and must be imported.

Printed finding aids are to scan then converted by OCR (Optical Character Recognition) programme into text files. After correction and modification (if necessary) the texts are transferred into the flexible fields of the appropriate records of the database, so the captured information will be searchable by the system. We have also many non published finding aids which are very valuable but cannot be scanned and converted by OCR because of poor printing (typing) quality. The only solution to integrate these data if we scan the pages like pictures, and link them to the appropriate records of the database. Although they are not searchable by the computer the user can read them.

Integration of traditional work does not mean that archivists should not change their work at all. (They should do so because some standards must be accepted and applied, such as at using common terms otherwise items with different names will not be found in the database. This job of standardisation must also be done for retrospective integration.) But the policy of keeping as close as possible to the traditional form and way of working helps us to avoid the weakest point of automation: archival preparation of the data that generally makes it necessary to redraft them.
Everyone who creates or uses a database faces the problem of standardisation of the data of archival documents. In order to understand this problem we should go back to the characteristics of archival information.

World-wide archives are behind the libraries as regards automation. The main reason of this delay is that, in contrast to library information, the archives are hard to standardise. Archival material is created by agencies or individuals in an organic fashion. When the record creator establishes the filing and information retrieval system, in order to register and to find the data more easily, a kind of standardisation is carried out. Registers, indexes and different kinds of finding aids are standardisation tools because they demonstrate and create a homogeneous data structure. These

Illustration 3. Screen to add new items to the database

Flexibility and openness

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15 I am not going to discuss concrete standardisation (of names, terms, etc.), but about the structure of the archival data.
standards are limited by the scope of the record creator, of course. What is more, within one agency several "local" standards may coexist according to the nature of the records or to the decentralised filing system, e.g. made by different departments. The central administration of the agency will probably create its own retrieval system (standard), but this will be on a high level, e.g. of the departments. After the retention period the records, with many others originating from other agencies, will be transferred to the archives, which thus face many different standards, and this means that there is in fact no longer any standard.

Lack of standards is a serious handicap to finding information. To ameliorate retrieving capabilities archives must create their own information retrieval system with any new data structure. The best solution is for the new system to integrate the systems of the record creators. When the archives do this, they act in the same way as the above mentioned central administration of the agency: they create a new multilevel retrieval system over and above the existing ones. Archivists have several tools available for building this new system, the most efficient are: links and archival description.

Although links are also important in the system made by the record creator, they achieve their greatest value in the archives. The reason is simple: gathering many different kinds of records from many record creators means that the structure of the archival holdings and thus the information retrieval system becomes very complicated, and needs to be "reinforced" by links which link both the record units and the "local" retrieval systems.

Archival descriptions (finding aids) are decisive as regards information retrieval system and archival standards. Finding aids provide the most information and data about archival material, but this is possible only if they are structured and standardised at certain levels. The main question is that how deep can this standardisation go, because the deeper it goes the harder and more hazardous it becomes.

I think that we should not create a general description standard below sub-fonds level. The data embraced by archival materials and their structure are too varied — for the above mentioned reasons — for us to put into the Procrustean bed of standards. Let us compare for example the data of census records with information contained in minutes of the assembly general of a local government. Or the data of the collection of plans of an architectural design company with the case files of a tribunal, and so on. Before the computer age archivists made use of many kinds of finding aids. We should not think that they were less clever than we are, or that they did not understand the importance of standardisation. Many contemporary indexes, registers, lists, etc. prove that they were aware of its importance. The reason the finding aids were "multicoloured" is that they fulfilled different functions, and they followed the nature and the structure of the information described.

There is another important aspect that we should not neglect when talking about description standards: the huge quantity of data. The lower the level of the records we
want to describe the more the data are multiplied. Apart from some special record units it is useless to give a detailed description at item or file level, listing the characteristic and relevant information/data (or combination of those) is enough.

The reader may think that I am against any standard, especially ISAD(g), but this is not true. ISAD(g) is very important and useful principally because it provides pattern for archivists by which they can describe the records. But to tell the truth I find it hard to imagine that they will describe even a few fonds in the recommended manner at low levels.

Incidentally the traditional and the "database" description are not the same. Although they should be as close to each other as possible, examples show that the written one is narrative by nature, and the computer generated concentrates mostly on relevant data.

Nevertheless, some archives have attempted to implement total electronic standardisation. They generally build one big database processing the data at low level, and this database is meant to contain all information from the state of the seals to the names that occur in the documents. In order for the database to incorporate such different and so extensive data very many fields had to be defined, which remain mostly empty because the data of one specific record concerns only a few fields. On the other hand, since it is impossible to take into account all kinds of data when designing the database, some of them do not fit into the available structure.

The ideal solution would be if each fonds or sub-fonds had a separate database with its own data structure and special software. This specially designed software has a particular advantage in that it can combine the data in an efficient way. But such separate databases also have a disadvantage: they are isolated.

The question is whether it is possible to create a system which unites the flexibility of the separate databases with the integrating power of the homogeneous ones. In the National Archives of Hungary we are working on implementing such a hybrid system.

As mentioned above the core of this system is a central database which contains standardised data down to sub-fonds level. Its structure is similar to the data structure recommended by ISAD(g). Most of the fields are of fixed length except one which is flexible, and may incorporate up to 30 pages of information. Contextual information and content as well as information about recommended search methods will be entered in the flexible field. Separate databases may be joined to each record of the central one. They will contain detailed data about the related record, and may have different structures. The archivist is free to determine the name, the type, the length and the archival attribute of the fields according to the data of the records to be processed.

We also have to mention the disadvantages of such a general system. Since the

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designers of the software are unable to foresee the structures of the attached databases
searching can only be general, and lists cannot easily be formed. This is why the use
of the special software of the separate databases will be allowed in order to exploit the
available data as much as possible.

The whole database system is open because it will always have to be able to expand.
The National Archives of Hungary actually keep about 12000 fonds and sub-fonds of
original records. It is not hard to foresee that not all the items will ever have attached
databases, but each attachment will make the system more perfect.

Incidentally it is not only databases of reference service that can be attached to the
central database. Its structure was designed in such a way that each record will get a
unique and constant identification number which makes it possible to link it to any
other database in addition to the above mentioned attached ones. So the system is also
open to applications other than reference services.

Simplicity and longterm data security

The rapid change in standards, especially regarding software is a universal difficulty.
From time to time all archives face the problem of following the changes, and this
generates several related problems: financial, technical and data security problem, the
last being the most serious.

Converting data from one technical standard to another is a very hard and delicate
operation. If 5 per cent of the data of a database containing 5000 records disappears,
this is not a disaster. But the same percentage means a huge loss if we have 250 000
records. Probably we cannot avoid losing data when we move it but we can minimise
the loss if we give priority to the database over hardware and software. (Sometimes it
is hard to persuade the software people of this as they always want to introduce the
most sophisticated and newest programmes.) Priorities must be fixed at the very
beginning, when the format and the structure of the whole system is planned.

A simple database structure makes converting data easier. Databases containing fields
of fixed length are considered simple ones. To tell the truth flexible fields seem to be
more suitable for archival purposes because most of archival information is textual.
For this reason we tried to effect a compromise: the central database contains one
flexible field where textual information can be entered (e.g. fonds descriptions). The
use of flexible fields cannot be excluded from attached databases either. Nevertheless
we will make an effort to ensure that the attachments have as few flexible fields as
possible.

The software managing the database system works with Paradox files, but exporting
and importing files can be done in dBase and also various text file formats. This
twofold feature also serves the principle of data security.
Creating a comprehensive information system in archives is an act of great responsibility for several reasons. If it works well we will determine the archivists' work for a long time. If we introduce a system which gives the users (archivists) liberty this will generate new risks because we cannot foresee all possible kinds of applications. If it does not work well reconstruction cannot be avoided, and that costs both effort and money. We are convinced that insisting on basic archival principles can prevent us from disappointing the expectations that rest on us.
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