'That she looks after my croft, for which I will give my faithful heart'

Military service, marriage and local community in early eighteenth-century Sweden
Abstract

This is a study of soldiers within the region of Uppland in Sweden during the years 1713 – 1721. The study investigates the creation of military households, their subsistence and their interaction with local society. It also investigates how the new situations for military households impacted on state legislation and state policy with respect to permanent armies.

The study is based on source material from military, judicial and ecclesiastical archives, and relies on both quantitative and qualitative analysis. It includes both foot soldiers and cavalry soldiers.

The study shows that marriage, military service, income-earning opportunities and local society/state were closely intertwined. A majority of the soldiers within the investigated cohort were married during some point of their military service. The results from this thesis indicates that the Swedish case differs from other European states in regards to marriage among its soldiers.

Key words: Soldiers, military allotment system, Sweden, marriage, work, local community, resources, Great Northern War.

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Chapter 1: Introduction

Throughout early modern Europe a process occurred which led to the creation of the fiscal-military state. The concept fiscal-military state describes a state that extracted resources, often in the form of taxes, with the aim to use these resources for warfare and military organisations.\(^1\) Sweden was one of the first states in which the state-formation process occurred. The topic of state-formation in Sweden, and the transfer of resources from the agrarian society to the military, has been the subject of several studies.\(^2\) As a part of the process, in which the fiscal-military states evolved, did the development of permanent armies take place. The change from armies based on enlisted, conscripted or mercenary soldiers to a permanent organisation of the army affected the economic conditions for the soldiers. However, it was not only the payment of the soldiers that was affected. There was a complex relation between marriage and war and in a general perspective did the early moderns states begin to interfere more with the soldiers' marital status in connection to permanent armies. In some countries, soldiers could only marry after permission from their superiors, and in other countries were married men prohibited from being recruited as soldiers.

Following in the footsteps of the development of the fiscal-military state were new types of demands that were created in the society, which in turn influenced state legislation and led to the creation of new institutions that could respond to these needs. Some of these demands were raised by war-widows and the wives and families of soldiers and sailors that were a part of the new European armies.\(^3\) The soldiers' families and their situations have been the object for some studies. This includes Russia and parts of early modern Europe, and both for the women who accompanied the soldiers on campaigns and those who remained at home.\(^4\) The lives of the families of sailors have also been the target of investigation.\(^5\)

During the first two decades of the eighteenth century, Sweden was involved in a long period of warfare, known as the Great Northern War (1700–1721). The long lasting Swedish involvement in this war had a great impact on the society and the resources, both manpower and materials, were strained. Estimations of manpower lost shows that around half a million Swedish men died as a result of war between the years 1620–1721, and most lives were lost during The Great Northern War. These numbers correspond to around 30 percent of all adult men.\(^6\)

Roughly one and a half century later, during the late nineteenth century, the profession as a soldier in the Swedish army was attractive to young men. In her study of soldiers in the northern parts of Sweden Agneta Guillemot concluded that one of the major reasons behind a young man

\(^{1}\)Glete 2002, pp. 214.
\(^{6}\)Lindegren 2000, pp. 138, 139, 140.
signing up as a soldier was that military service was connected with the ability to get married. The system, claimed by Guillemot to make the soldier profession so sought after, was introduced and developed during the last decades of the seventeenth century. In the time frame for this study, we have a situation with the same opportunities connected to the military profession, used by young men during the late nineteenth century in order to be able to marry, in combination with the great risks and high mortality connected to the Great Northern War. The late nineteenth century was a period of peace, but would the profession as a soldier still be attractive to young men in order to accumulate resources for a possible marriage, despite the great risks? And did Sweden follow the same pattern, with regulations and restrictions in regards to soldiers' marriages, which were found in other European states during the same time period?

The aim of this thesis is to investigate households formed by soldiers, some of the resources these households had access to and how they used these resources. It also investigates both how the Swedish state affected its soldiers' opportunities to form families and in return how the state was influenced by the soldiers' families.

The quotation in the title was found in a letter sent from a cavalry soldier to his fiancée. In this letter he expressed a wish that she should be allowed to live in the croft he was entitled to as a part of his payment for his military service. This case illustrates some of the subjects of this thesis, where one is to investigate how the soldiers could use their payment for military service as an opportunity to get married. The case also shows how the risks connected to the occupation as a soldier could have big consequences for the formation of a household. After 'having waited for seven years', and since 'she had not received information about Höök, whether he had become captured or dead' the woman married a peasant instead.

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7Guillemot 1986, pp. 183.
8Guillemot 1986, pp. 46.
9Throughout the thesis I use the term 'soldier' to describe those that were a part of the permanent army (in opposition to enlisted soldiers who were recruited for shorter time periods), unless clearly stating otherwise.
10ULA, Ulleråkers häradsrätt, Domböcker, vol. Al:2, 9 maj 1713.
11ULA, Ulleråkers häradsrätt, Domböcker, vol. Al:2, 9 maj 1713. My translation of the original 'wäntat på honom uti 7 åhr'
12ULA, Ulleråkers häradsrätt, Domböcker, vol. Al:2, 9 maj 1713. My translation of the original 'hon intet fått kunskap om Höök, anten han wore fången eller död bliften'. Höök is the name of the cavalry soldier.


**Outline of thesis**

The first part of the thesis consists of an introductory chapter, where I present research questions, method and delimitations, sources, definitions used and previous research.

The second part of the thesis is the analytical part and consists of three chapters. In chapter 2 I examine marriage rates and marriage patterns among soldiers belonging to two geographically limited areas, the parishes of Rasbo and Uppsala-Näs, in the region of Uppland. Included in this chapter is also an investigation of the soldiers' birth places and the time that passed between when the old soldier left his service and the new soldier was recruited. Chapter 2 is mainly based on quantitative investigations, but with some qualitative examples to illustrate both general patterns and cases that differs from the patterns.

Chapter 3 and 4 are both based on a more qualitative investigation of the sources. Chapter 3 is focused on military service as a form of resource and asks how the soldiers and members of their households could provide for the subsistence of the household. Chapter 4 focuses on the members of military households as actors within the local community.

The last part of the thesis is a concluding chapter with a discussion of the results.
Research questions

This thesis investigates different resources that the foot soldiers and the cavalry soldiers, together with their households, could have access to as a consequence of their military service. The research questions for this thesis are all connected to different types of resources; military service as a resource, marriage as a resource and the local community as a resource.

The main research questions are:

- How did military service affect the opportunity to get married?
- How did marriage affect the possibilities to provide for the military household?
- How did members of military households interact with the local community?

I aim to answer these questions by dividing them into smaller and more direct questions that can be applied to the source material. These kind of questions are in the form of: How many of the soldiers were married under their period of service? How many married after their recruitment as soldiers? What did the soldiers receive as payment for their military service? How did the soldiers and their families interact with local society? Whom did they interact with?
General remarks on the sources and methodological framework

This thesis is mainly based on source-material from three types of archives: Military archives, judicial archives and ecclesiastical archives. Resolutions, decrees and letters given from the Royal Majesty are also added to the source-material.

The time period investigated is the years 1713–1721. The extended period of warfare (the Great Northern War) had deep impacts on the society, and is interesting for the study at hand. When a country is engaged in warfare its soldiers are likely to be stationed away from their home regions, either in campaigns outside of the national borders or within them to defend it from attackers. If the soldiers were married, either previous to recruitment or married during military service, the soldier's absence for longer periods of time would have affected the household. And how did the situation of warfare, and the high possibility off being ordered to march on campaign, affect the unmarried soldiers' attraction as a marriage partner? The great risks connected with the military profession during warfare are another aspect that may have affected the formation of a family. The reason for the specific years investigated has to do with the source material available.

The geographical delimitation for the quantitative parts of thesis is the two parishes of Rasbo and Uppsala-Näs. For the qualitative part is the court district of Ulleräker, which Uppsala-Näs was a part of, also added to the geographical delimitation. Instead of also including the district court that Rasbo belonged to I decided to only work with one district court and instead being able to cover more years, which made it possible to investigate both years where the soldiers were stationed elsewhere and years when they were stationed at home. Similar to how the specific years were determined by available source material is also the specific geographical delimitation a result of the available source material. For this kind of source-pluralistic method it is vital to choose a geographical area based on the availability and quality of the material, rather than the other way around, and starting off with choosing a geographical area.

Chapter 2, which is about the soldiers and their marriages, is heavily quantitative. Examples that are either typical or un-typical for the data are added to further elaborate the analytical discussion and to highlight aspects of interest to my three research questions. The source materials mainly used in this chapter are wedding registers from each parish and military rolls (generalmönsterrullor). These rolls were created at inspection meetings, held with regular (at least in theory) intervals during which the status of the soldiers and their equipment was examined. Moreover, at these inspection meetings was new soldiers approved, existing soldiers could receive discharge and rearrangements among the soldiers could be performed. These inspection meetings were called Generalmönstringar, and the rolls (generalmönsterrullor, from here on shortened GMR) were created with notations about each single soldier and his equipment was noted. For this
thesis I have studied all the GMRs created during the years 1714–1721. During this time-period six inspection meetings were held in the years 1714, 1715, 1718, 1719, 1720 and 1721. When working with the wedding registers I have gone through all entries between the years 1713–1721.13

In order to find out which rote that belonged to which parish for the quantitative parts of this study I used Claes Lorentz Grills publication *Statistiskt sammandrag af Svenska indelningverket*, first published in 1855.14 Even though this publication was written more than a hundred years after the time period investigated here I deemed that it still was valid since the structure of the system remained mostly unchanged after it had been created. There are 38 roter included in the quantitative parts of this thesis. 30 of them were located in Rasbo parish, and the soldiers recruited for these roter belonged to 'Rasbo Kompani' (company of Rasbo). The remaining eight were located in Uppsala-Näs parish and the soldiers recruited for these belonged to 'Bälinge Kompani' (company of Bälinge). Both of these companies were a part of the regiment of Uppland.

All GMR investigated in this thesis contains information about time for recruitment or years in service, age, place of birth, annotations about the equipment and other matters that were handled during the inspection meeting. Starting with the GMR from 1714, and continuing forward with all GMRs included in this study, is information about each soldier's marital status found. This is also true for, at least the following three, GMRs after 1721. The three GMRs that are prior to 1714, and possibly more, does not include this kind of information. Why is there a shift in 1714 and how can this shift be explained? The consistency of writing down the information about the marital status of each individual soldier during these years indicates that the regiment office (or higher up in the military organization) had an interest in this information. But why is it of interest for the authorities to keep record on marital status among the soldiers?

During the years 1714–1721 there were 66 foot soldiers that passed through the system in Rasbo and Uppsala-Näs. Four individuals, out of these 66, are only briefly mentioned in the GMRs due to short periods of service. Two of them eloped within less than half a year after recruitment, and the other two died shortly after recruitment. Because of their short periods of service, the information about them in the GMRs was less detailed and only included name, period of service and the reason behind their short-lived occupation as a soldier. For this reason are these four soldiers not included in the investigation of marriage patterns. They are however included in some tables (Table 2.1: 'Birthplace of the foot soldiers in Rasbo and Uppsala-Näs' and Table 2.2: 'Distribution of time-periods between foot soldiers in Rasbo and Uppsala-Näs').

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13 The reason for starting at 1713 is because of the structure of the wedding register in one of the parishes.
14 The concept of 'rote' is explained in the chapter 'Terminolgy and definitions used'.
Chapters 3 and 4 are mainly based on three different types of source material: GMR, court records and publications from the Royal Majesty.\textsuperscript{15} Publications from the Royal Majesty, such as letters, resolutions and other types of texts are used to investigate decisions regarding the soldiers on a central level. The GMRs are used for information about skills and occupations prior to military service, information about complaints regarding wages and also information about soldiers who received discharge. To find qualitative examples related to my three research questions I have studied court records from the district court of Ulleråker. When working with the court material I have investigated both foot soldiers and cavalry soldiers. I have investigated cases from a time period of three years (1713–1715). The cases included are those that provides me with information about activities performed by members within the military household, information connected to housing or information about social standing and interaction.\textsuperscript{16} The cases includes dispute about non-received wages, accusations of slandering, disputes regarding inheritance or items borrowed, witness statements etc. The social situation can be connected to the provision of the household. To the extent that these households could form social networks within the local community they may have had better chances of finding work-opportunities compared to if they had been socially rejected.

There are two differences between the quantitative parts and the qualitative parts of this thesis. The first difference is that I have included cavalry soldiers in the qualitative parts. The second one is that in the quantitative parts are only soldiers from the 38 roter found within Rasbo and Uppsala-Näs included, but soldiers from other roter have been included in the qualitative examples.\textsuperscript{17}

When working with the sources I have included the corporals among the ranks. The difference in social status between a corporal and a man among the ranks seems to have been very small. Corporals led sub-units of the company. In the GMR's the corporals are noted among the ranks, unlike the other officers and non-commissioned officers who are presented separately from the ranks. In one court case was the term 'soldier' used to describe a corporal, a practice which I have not found any examples of this practice used when describing officers or non-commissioned officers of higher rank. This might be connected to differences in social background, where the nobility were the only ones with access to the higher offices within the army.

\textsuperscript{15}In the early phases of the thesis work was also parish records (husförhörslängder) intended to be included in the source material used in order to investigate the size of the military households. However, the structure of the parish records made such investigation impossible.

\textsuperscript{16}A total of seventeen court cases.

\textsuperscript{17}See the sub-chapter with terminology for explanation of roter.
When working with the court records I found many cases of adultery and sexual offenses where either the soldiers or the soldier women were involved. These cases fall outside of the scope for the thesis, and I have not included them unless they contain information in passing that may be linked to work and subsistence of the soldier households. However, a short discussion about these cases in relation to the households is included in the thesis.

**Terminology and definitions used**

Some of the concepts found in the sources, and used in the thesis, are problematic to translate into English without the risk of losing some of its meaning. I have therefore decided to use some Swedish terminology throughout the thesis, although I have strived to keep the amount to a minimum. The concepts and Swedish terms used in the thesis are explained here together with other definitions that are required to establish prior to the analytical chapters.

When discussing military households, I have defined a household as a social and economic unit within the society, consisting of individuals that contributed towards the subsistence of the unit in accordance to their abilities. In the definition of a military household I have included households where one of its members either served or had served among the ranks in the Swedish army. Included here are also households consisting of the widow after a soldier. There are two reasons for the inclusion of the widow households. Firstly, the period investigated was a period of war. If a large proportion of the soldiers that served during this period were married at some point, there must also have been a large proportion of widows as a result of casualties of war. A household consisting of the widow of a soldier must have been a household consisting of, at least, a soldier and his wife at some point in time.

Secondly, it is sometimes hard to distinguish a wife from a widow in the court records. The Swedish word *hustru* does not necessarily translate into 'currently married woman' (a wife). This can be illustrated with an example from the sources: A woman, named Brita Matsdotter, was involved in two different court cases. In the first case she was presented as 'hustru Brita Matsdotter the wife of cavalry soldier Jan Larsson Almberg'. In the second court case, held the same day as the first one, she was presented as 'the wife of a cavalry soldier, the widow hustru Brita Matsdotter'. From this example two things are made clear. The title of *hustru* cannot be regarded only as a marker of the woman's marital status. Also, that a woman was presented as the wife of a soldier does not necessarily mean the soldier was still alive. A similar example that

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18 ULA, Ulleråkers häradsrätt, Domböcker, Al:2, 26 oktober 1714. My translations of the original 'hustru Brita Matsdotter Ryttarens Jan Larsson Almbergs hustru' and 'Ryttarehustrun, änckian Brita Matsdotter'. That the two court cases involves the same woman is clear from the contents.

19 For a further discussion about the duality of the concept of 'hustru', see Pihl & Ågren 2014.
illustrates this is found in another court case. The woman Karin was referred to as both 'hustru Karin, the wife of the soldier Nils Gränman' and as the 'soldier widow hustru Karin'.

The military allotment establishment (militära indelningsverket) was a system for the recruiting and upkeep of the Swedish cavalry. The foot soldiers in the Swedish army were a part of 'the Tenure Establishment of the Infantry' (ståndiga knektbållet) and not, in a strict sense, the military allotment system. However, there were many similarities between these two systems in regards to wages and payment of the soldiers, and that the upkeep of the soldiers relied on a de-centralized organization. The fact that the cavalry soldiers and the foot soldiers belonged to two different systems within the Swedish army does not have an impact on this investigation.

Throughout the thesis I will use the terms rote and rusthållare. A highly simplified explanation of these concepts is that they were both responsible for a soldier. However, they belonged to different systems. The rote was a part of the ståndiga knektbållet. A rote consisted of a group of farms, where the numbers of farms varied depending on the size and economical condition of each farm. The rote was responsible for the recruitment, and payment, of a foot soldier. Usually one of the farms within the rote had the main responsibility and the foot soldier often lived in connection to that farm. The rusthållare on the other hand was a part of the military allotment system. The rusthållare was an individual who was responsible for the upkeep of a cavalry soldier, a horse and their equipment.

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20 ULA, Ulleräkers häradsrätt, Domböcker, AI:2, 20 oktober 1713. My translations of the original 'hustru Karin, Soldatens Nils Gränmans hustru' and 'soldatänkian Karin'.
21 Thisner 2014, pp. 20.
23 Thisner 2014, pp. 21, 22.
24 Guillemot 1986, pp. 48; Thisner 2014, pp. 21, 22.
25 Thisner 2014, pp. 21, 22.
States, military service and marriage in the early modern period

Previous research shows a connection between the rise of the early modern state, the formation of a permanent army and the collecting of resources needed for its upkeep. Early modern Sweden was a military state. In Sven A. Nilsson’s definition of a military state, he describes it as a state where the demands created by the military organisation influenced the resource allocation and shaped the structure of the state. The needs of the military society in Sweden had high priority during the first half of the seventeenth century, and changes in society were made as a result of these needs.

During the seventeenth century the conscription of men into the army greatly affected the demographic situation. The impact the conscription of foot soldiers could have on a community was one of the reasons behind the shift towards a permanent organisation around the recruitment of the infantry. In the beginning of the early eighteenth the construction of the military allotment system was mostly done. This system would then remain in use for roughly two centuries. However, the amount of men that were a part of the permanent army during peace time was not equal in numbers to the forces mustered during warfare. This can be shown by recruitment of extra regiments during the Great Northern War. These extra regiments were recruited by small groups of rotar or rusthåll that together recruited the extra soldier.

Women following the armies and living in camp seem to have been a common thing during the early modern period. These women were present as soldiers' wives or widows, sutlers and prostitutes. However, the role these women had within the army changed. Previous research states that as the military state evolved it started to take control over the supply services previously performed by civilians following the army camp. In this process the ability for women to work in the army camp became restricted, and in this way their access to army camp was also limited. This explanation has been questioned to certain extent where Peter H. Wilson states, in his study of women in connection to the early modern armies in some of the states within the Holy Roman Empire, that it was not about the replacement 'of women by male soldiers, but of civilian contractors by permanent military logistics units. In the states that formed the Holy Roman Empire, the view upon women and their interaction with the army varied over time. The way women were mentioned in martial laws, and

29 Lindegren, 1980, pp. 144.
30 Guillemot 1986, pp. 44.
31 Backlund 1993, pp. 33,42.
32 Thisner 2014, pp. 22.
by which frequency, gives a glimpse of the official standing towards female camp followers and
other women associated with the armies, and how it changed throughout time. Wilson connects
the attempt to regulate the interaction between women and soldiers with a general attempt to
control the moral behaviour of the soldiers. This can in turn can be put in the context of the
aftermath of the Reformation, where the state and the church tried to impose a moral control of
the society in general. During the seventeenth century women came to be regarded as civilians,
but still often included within the martial law, rather than as a natural part of the army. The
soldier's wives became a recognizable sub-group within the martial laws, and women in general
became less frequently mentioned. One term that became more distinct within the martial laws
was 'whore', which can be connected to the increased efforts to exclude women who were
described as such from the army camps.36

In the Swedish army, women were allowed in camp if they were there in the role as the wife to
a soldier.37 The enlisted soldiers were more prone to be accompanied by their wives in the army
camp, where as the wives of the allotted soldier remained at home.38 One of the reasons behind
this is the opportunities to provide for oneself that were connected with the military service. The
enlisted soldiers and their families were more dependent on war for their upkeep in comparison
to the allotted soldiers.39

It is possible that different legislations and customs in different European states could result
in different outcomes. The gradual disappearance of women who were present in army camps
starting from the mid-seventeenth century appears to be the result of both military and civil
changes in society. Moreover, the opportunities that these women had to provide for themselves
and their household outside of the army probably affected the disappearance as well.

In a general perspective were the military states in early eighteenth century Europe hostile
towards their soldiers marrying. Many of the European states created strict regulations regarding
marriage and the formation of a family, thus making the affair of getting married into something
less private. Soldiers that entered into married life without permission from their commanding
officers were punished.40 Soldiers who entered into an unauthorized marriage could, in many of
the states in the Holy Roman Empire, be sentenced to run the gauntlet. His wife was put in the
workhouse.41 During the early eighteenth century, authorities in the German-speaking states tried
to restrict the amount of married men within their field regiments. This was done either by the
transfer of married men to garrison duty or by discharging them. Units with many veterans had a

38Sjöberg 2007, pp. 204.
higher proportion of married men. The amount of married men was also limited by an increasingly used practice of only recruiting un-married men.\textsuperscript{42}

A similar recruiting policy can be found within the Swedish army. In the late sixteenth century, the Swedish authorities tried to only recruit single. The reason behind the restriction was to avoid possible problems caused by the situation of the soldiers' families.\textsuperscript{43} Maria Sjöberg concludes that this was only a temporary solution, since 'soldiers who were young and un-married at the time of departure became, if they were not the victims of disease and death, by time both older and married'.\textsuperscript{44}

Another example of how the state tried to restrict marriages among its soldiers is found in early eighteenth-century Russia, where the authorities prohibited married men from being recruited as soldiers.\textsuperscript{45} As the fiscal-military state developed so did also its ability to control their subjects on a more individual level. The ability to control, at least in theory, whether a soldier in their army married or not could perhaps be seen as an example of a growing centralized state.

But why did some of the early modern fiscal-states try to restrict marriage among their soldiers? Previous research suggests different reasons. Some are more prone to focus on the militarization process while others argue that shifts in civil society and moral standards influenced the authorities. One explanation offered by previous research is that having a family was believed to interfere with the soldier's ability to perform his military service.\textsuperscript{46} This explanation has been questioned by later research, arguing that the reasons for restrictions were more complex. Both shifts in military and civil society altered the authorities' interest in the marital status of their soldiers.\textsuperscript{47} Throughout Europe military organisations evolved into more permanent institutions during the latter half of the seventeenth century.\textsuperscript{48} This process led to a change in the payment the soldiers received for their service. While the permanent armies created a more stable basis for the soldier to establish a household upon, it also led to significantly lower wages due to the costs of keeping a permanent army. As a result of this, the restrictions regarding marriage were more about the authorities' fear of the soldiers not being able to provide for a family than the authorities considering a family to be a distraction. Trying to avoid the outcome where the marriage would lead to a household that could manage economically by itself, the authorities only allowed marriages where the intended bride was able to provide for herself.\textsuperscript{49}

This was not true in practice though. Most of these women became in need of financial support when her husband was absent and the economic situation of women left behind at home

\textsuperscript{42}Wilson 1996, pp. 138, 140–141.
\textsuperscript{43}Sjöberg 2008, pp. 380.
\textsuperscript{44}Citation: Sjöberg 2008, pp. 380. My translation of the original 'De soldater som vid avresan var unga och ogifta blev, om de inte föll offer för sjukdom och död, med tiden både äldre och gifta'.
\textsuperscript{45}Farnsworth 1990, pp. 62.
\textsuperscript{46}Hacker 1981, pp. 659.
\textsuperscript{47}Wilson 1996, pp. 135.
\textsuperscript{48}Glete 2002, pp. 12.
\textsuperscript{49}Wilson 1996, pp. 134, 135, 156.
compelled the authorities to create systems of support. At least in the German states, the authorities pictured women who chose to marry a soldier as irresponsible or poor. However, Wilson shows that this was not the actual situation. The soldiers married to women from the same social background as themselves.

A shift in the authorities' perception of women, and how interaction with them could influence the soldiers, occurred in the mid-eighteenth century. Rather than restricting marriage the state started to regard marriage as having a stabilizing impact on the soldiers. Marriage became seen as a useful tool in order to discourage desertion.

Marriage rates among soldiers were also affected by whether it was a period of peace or wartime, a study of German-speaking states showed that less soldiers were married during wartime. Marriage rates could also differ between the different military units within a state: units that were expected to participate in combat married less frequently in comparison to garrison units.

In Sweden, the previous recruitment practice of targeting single men seems to have been altered. In the mid-eighteenth century soldiers were allowed to marry despite being regarded as too young for marriage. This indicates the importance of having someone who could work at the croft when the soldier himself was absent. It is possible, however, that restrictions still were strived for with the enlisted soldiers, who as Sjöberg argued, were more dependent on the war for the upkeep of themselves and their families.

Now that the perspective of the state on women, army and the soldiers have been presented, it is time to think about the other side. That many states tried to regulate marriage among their soldier has been shown, and the reason behind this has been discussed. The need for restrictions regarding marriage indicates that many soldiers were interested in marriage. Why?

The household was a vital part in the rural and pre-industrial society; an institution that served as both a production- and a consumption unit. In order to be able to establish a household the individual had to accumulate enough resources. These resources could be both in the form of physical items and in the form of knowledge. In Western Europe a pattern, commonly known as the '(Western) European marriage pattern', where a relatively high age at first marriage among both sexes has been traced. The years between childhood and marriage was used for accumulating resources. As Hajnal states, it was 'a period of maximum productive capacity without responsibility for children; a period during which saving would be easy'. In early

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[57] Citation: Hajal 1965, pp. 132.
modern Sweden it was common for young and un-married adults to work as servants or farmhands for a period of time. In doing this, they both earned payment for their work and they got knowledge about the running of a household or a farm. Rather than to work as servants, is it possible that the men studied in this thesis signed up for military service as a way of accumulating enough resources to form a household?

Owning or holding land was vital in the agrarian society and the importance of access to land can be seen by looking at the age of marriage. Marriage age for those without access to land was higher in comparison to those who had access to land. The reason behind this was that they had to either accumulate enough resources and/or wait for an opportunity to get access to land, e.g. buy a croft or enter into marriage to someone with land access. In Sweden, after the introduction of the ständiga knektehållet and the military allotment system, one way of getting access to a small plot of farmland could be to sign up as a soldier. During the eighteenth century had most of the Swedish regiments (with some exceptions) the practice of including a croft and a plot of farmland in the soldier's wages.

Marriage in the early modern period has been the subject of many studies. It created the most beneficial social and economical position for a woman in early modern society. When two people decided to get married, they could combine their work force and other resources, and by doing so, get access to a wider range of income opportunities. The benefits that the marital status brought with it can also be seen from the high rates of remarriage in the early modern period.

In Sweden, the long period of war brought along marital problems, caused by the difficulties of keeping correspondence between spouses and the information about the soldier absent on campaign to those at home. One aspect of these difficulties can be seen in the cases of unintended bigamy created by people remarrying while their first spouse still was alive. These remarriages could be based upon the assumption that their first spouse was dead, or that their spouse had abandoned them on purpose, etcetera. When the war was over, and many of those who had been absent due to captivity returned home, many women and men found themselves to be married to more than one person. Both the Church Law and decrees from the Royal Majesty dictated how these cases should be treated in the consistory court, but previous research indicates that the consistory court could, and would, bypass these regulations in order to favour the existing household if that one was believed to be more functional within the local community than the household created by the first marriage. The reason behind this was that the household

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60 Guillemot 1986, pp. 83.
61 For example: Moring 2003, Lundh 2002
64 Jarlert 2000, pp. 70, 80, 81, 82.
was a vital part within the society, in the form of the smallest unit for production and consumption, and thus a strong household was more beneficial to the state. All these cases of unintended bigamy also shows the importance of marriage during this time period, it was more beneficial to be two.

During the Great Power Era (c. 1611–1718) of Sweden war was a part of daily life in some aspect. But did this influence the perception of the military profession as a way to make a living? We need to have the importance of access to resources, and perhaps mostly holding land, in mind when we think about the appeals of the occupation as a soldier. Even if the big mass of common people was subjugated to propaganda in the form of sermons and other official information about the war, people cannot have been unaware of the great risks connected with campaigns and battles. Letters from friends and relatives, information from other people who travelled through the neighbourhood, and the vacancies and need for new recruits to fill up the ranks were all indicators of the risks of the military profession. While there undoubtedly were men who were forced to sign up as soldiers by the authorities, threats or foul play, it is interesting to approach the question whether men signed up for military service because it indirectly offered them an opportunity of improving their economic situation.

The payment the soldier would receive for his military service can be divided into three different types. First, the soldier could receive an initial payment in exchange for him signing up as a soldier. In some cases the need for this kind of payment was questioned, since the soldier was to receive both lodging and wages, but it was found to be needed for the recruitment. Secondly, the soldier was entitled to a yearly wage, but it was only a small sum. The third part consisted of a croft or lodging, and/or farm products. The amount of money that was given in yearly wages or as recruitment money differed, based on local regulations and situations such as the amount of available men, where fewer men were available a higher amount of recruitment money was probably offered.

A sample study of probate inventories from Swedish military households from the first half of the nineteenth century showed that the soldiers and cavalry soldiers had a better economic situation than those who did not have access to any land, but not quite as good as peasants with their own land. Most of the military households owned some livestock, usually a cow and a few sheep. The economic situation with a regulated income and a croft, or lodging, combined with the education that they received in their military service also placed the soldiers above those who did not have any land or those who farmed on land owned by a peasant in social standing.

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65 Jarlert 2000, pp. 76, 86, 94, 95, 111.
66 Guillemot, 1986, pp. 80, 81, 82, 83.
68 Guillemot, 1986, pp. 55. The author has focused her research on the second half of the nineteenth century, but the same kind of reasoning is most likely valid for the eighteenth century as well.
If the marriage, and following that a household led by two adults, was the norm in early modern period, then how did these men and women handle belonging to a household where one of the members either was gone, or always at the risk of being called away with a high risk of never coming back? In a study of sailors' and soldiers' wives and their usage of a makeshift economy during eighteenth-century London Jennine Hurl-Eamon points out that the military life did not only mean long periods away from the household, but also that the occupational risks 'exacerbated the economic difficulties faced by their families'. If the sailor or soldier died their families could found themselves in a harsher economic situation.

There were other groups in society that could experience situations similar to the soldiers in the sense of being away from home for longer periods. In a study of sailors working for the Dutch East India Company the authors Manon van der Heijden and Danielle van der Heuval conclude that, contrary to previous assumptions of these sailors as unmarried men, they did marry and form families despite being absent for long periods of time due to their voyages with the East India Company. Furthermore, van der Heijden and van der Heuvel shows that the wives of these sailors could complement the earnings of their husbands by combining different strategies of survival. The local society created institutions that these women, including widows and other female-headed households, could receive help from. Van der Heijden and van der Heuvel also found that the sums the sailors' wives could receive in support were higher in comparison with the sums given to soldiers' wives, although they do not specify which type of soldier.

The women who were married to a soldier or who were the widow after a soldier could use different strategies when they turned to the state for financial support. A study of petitions for financial support made by officers' war widows in seventeenth century Sweden showed that the actions of these women raised awareness within the state about their situation. As a result, the demands raised by these women influenced the state to create new institutions and legislations. These petitions also helped to form a system for how to distribute help among the individuals that needed it the most. Petitions made by women that were connected to sailors and soldiers in England under the late seventeenth and eighteenth century often involved the question of failed payments.

If defining work as an activity with the purpose of making a living then that term also includes criminal and semi-criminal activities such as fencing stolen goods, theft, blackmailing and prostitution. Pawning was frequently performed by members of the military society, and not all the items they pawned had been obtained in legal ways. In England, the wives of soldiers could

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69 Hurl-Eamon 2008, pp. 482, citation pp. 482
72 Ailes, 2006, pp. 18, 28.
73 Hunt 2013, pp. 250, 252.
act as agents for their husbands, and other soldiers, when pawning items. Being a civilian, she was
believed to receive a higher price than the soldier himself would. In those cases where the item
pawned may have been acquired through more questionable actions she could, either knowingly
or unknowingly, act as a fence for stolen goods. The connection between pawning legal goods
and receiving stolen goods was also found in Stockholm, the capital of Sweden, during the late
sixteenth century.

What could the wife of a soldier expect her situation to become? The role in society and the
prospects of a soldiers wife varied in different countries in the early modern period. In Russia,
the life conditions of the soldatka, the wife of a soldier, deteriorated greatly when her husband was
recruited. Her husband had to serve for twenty-five years, and she herself became an outsider in
the local community, having to live without her spouse and not being able to remarry as she
could have if she had been widowed. The community labelled her as drunkard with a
questionable morale.

Previous research on cases found in a military court in Stockholm during the late seventeenth
century showed that there were social tensions between military and civilians. Tensions were
also found within the military society, both among the officers and the ranks, which could cause
rapid shifts in the social relations among the soldiers. Arne Jarrick and Johan Söderberg explains
this as a consequence of the daily presence of violence, and the tolerance for insults or slandering
was low.

In a study of the cases treated in one of Stockholm’s district courts (kämnärsrätt) under 1681,
Jarrick and Söderberg shows that the women were more active participants in the legal arena than
what the prevailing law provided. In most of the cases these women represented themselves. In
comparison to other regions in Sweden during the same period, the women in Stockholm were
found to have better opportunities to actively participate in the court proceedings. The same
pattern was also valid for the women (soldiers’ wives) that were involved in cases at the military
court in Stockholm during the same year.

74Hurl-Eamon, pp. 484, 485, 490, 491.
75Jarrick & Söderberg 1998, pp. 73.
76Farnsworth 1990, pp. 58, 59, 60.
77Jarrick & Söderberg 1998, pp. 84
78Jarrick & Söderberg 1998, pp. 87, 89, 90, 91.
80Jarrick & Söderberg 1998, pp. 92,93.
Chapter 2: Marriage patterns among the soldiers

This chapter investigates marriage rates and marriage patterns among the soldiers in the two parishes of Rasbo and Uppsala-Näs. There are, however, two questions regarding the soldiers that need to be answered first: where did the soldiers come from, and how long did it take to replace a soldier with a new recruit? All the GMRs studied for this thesis contains information about each soldier's birthplace. Even though the birthplace is not necessarily the same as the last location they lived on prior to their recruitment, it still provides an indication of where the soldiers came from. This in turn can function as an indication of how hard it was to recruit a new soldier and if the majority of the soldiers turns out to have come from regions outside of Uppland this could point to an insufficient amount of men of eligible age to recruit within the region. It also indicates how the recruitment was organised. If many of the soldiers came from outside of the region of Uppland and areas in close connection to Uppland, it is likely that the peasants of the \textit{rote} let others perform the recruiting for them. The other aspect that could indicate how hard it was to recruit a new soldier is the time passed between the death or discharge of the old soldier and the recruitment of the new. The reason for starting this chapter with an investigation of these two aspects of the soldiers is that they could have affected the marriage rates and patterns. If the time between two soldiers was short, and the majority of newly recruited men married shortly after their recruitment, it would indicate that the military profession was used as an opportunity to accumulate enough resources in order to be able to marry and that the men took advantage of this opportunity. The birthplaces of the soldiers are also interesting to have in mind when investigating marriage rates and patterns. If soldiers, who were born outside of Uppland, married with local women that indicates that they interacted with the local community. Whether they had moved to these parishes previous to their military service or as a result of their recruitment is not possible to tell.

A lack of eligible men to recruit was not the only possible problem in connection with recruiting new soldiers. One decree about the recruitment of foot soldiers was issued by the Royal Majesty in the autumn of 1695. The peasants in Uppland had expressed a fear over a possible risk of economic difficulties in connection to the recruitment of new soldiers. This decree stated that all the \textit{roter} that belonged to the same sub-unit within the company (\textit{korporalskap}) should, during wartimes, share the cost of recruiting a new soldier if the responsible \textit{rote} was unable to.\textsuperscript{82} This way, the state could be more certain to have empty spots filled within a certain period of time. Another example that shows that recruiting a new soldier

\textsuperscript{81}A \textit{korporalskap} consisted of 24 \textit{roter}, according to the GMR from 1715. KrA, Generalmönsterrullor 1660–1887, vol. 14, 1715, Rasbo kompani.

could be troublesome is where a rusthållare appealed to court about compensation for the medical treatment his cavalry soldiers had been undergoing, and if the injury the cavalry soldier had sustained made him unable to continue to perform his military service, that the man who caused the injury should pay for the recruitment of a new soldier. That the recruiting of new soldiers sometimes was hard due to lack of eligible men can be shown by an example from the sources; in connection to a vacancy in a rote is the notation about that there was 'nothing more than old and weak peasants'.

Now that the troubles a rusthållare or the peasants within a rote could experience in connection to their responsibilities to recruit a soldier, it is time to investigate where the soldiers were born. Table 2.1 shows the distribution of the soldiers' birthplaces. The category 'other regions' consists of Östergötland, Skåne, Småland, Finland, Nyland and Kareelen. The last two from Swedish Finland. The two cases where information about birthplace was missing are both soldiers who only served a short period of time before they eloped. They had also been recruited in a period between two inspection meetings, which is likely to be the reason to why information about their birthplace is not registered.

Table 2.1: Birthplace of the foot soldiers in Rasbo and Uppsala-Näs parishes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Region</th>
<th>Rasbo</th>
<th>Uppsala-Näs</th>
<th>Total:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Södermanland</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uppland</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Västergötland</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Västmanland</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other regions</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Information about birthplace missing</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total:</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>66</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


84KrA, Generalmönsterrullor 1660–1887, vol. 14, 1715, Rasbo kompani, rote nr. 147. My translation of the original 'intet annat än gambla och oföra bönder'.
85I have included Stockholm, the capital city of Sweden, in this category. 3 soldiers are from Stockholm, and 2 out them are only noted as from Stockholm the first time they are recorded in the military rolls and the rest of the times as from Uppland.
From these results it is clear that the majority of the soldiers were born in the region of Uppland. The results also shows that almost one fourth of the soldiers were born outside of the region of Uppland. How men from other regions, especially those born in regions non-adjacent to Uppland, came to be soldiers in the region Uppland is interesting. It is possible that they had moved to the region of Uppland previous to their recruitment, since the information only is about their place of birth and not latest place of living. Another explanation could be that they were recruited outside of the region of Uppland. The peasants of a rote were responsible for the recruitment of a new soldier if the previous died or left military service in another way, but they could pay someone to do the recruiting for them. One example of this practice was a non-commissioned officer from the company of Bälinge, who received money from the peasants in a rote in exchange for him recruiting a new soldier on their behalf. However, the non-commissioned officer failed to perform this task, the reasons behind the failure is unknown, and he became degraded. He was placed to serve as a soldier for the vacant rote himself. A possible reason as to why the non-commissioned officer became degraded and had to fill the empty spot himself could be that he had neglected the task he was paid to perform, rather than not having been able to find a recruit.

The other question needed to answer in order to get an indication of how hard it was to recruit a new soldier is the time that passed between a recruit and the time when his predecessor left his service. Moreover, the answer also provides an indication of how attractive the military profession was. Based on the information about when a soldier was recruited and when he left service found in the GMR, I have summarized the distribution of the amount of time passed between each case of recruiting or transfer in table 2.2. In the majority of the cases the sources are no more specific than which month the new soldiers were recruited in or when they left service. It is important to note that some of the empty places were filled directly, for example in connection to the promotion of the previous soldier or rearrangements between rote or positions. As a consequence of this, the time between some soldiers became zero. During the time period studied in this thesis, 32 cases of recruiting or transferring occurred. In 16 (out of 38) rote was the soldier recruited previous to, or during, the year 1714 and continued to serve as a soldier to 1721 or longer. Another four soldiers also served for long periods of time, but they were either recruited later than 1714 or were transferred to positions outside of these parishes.

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86 KrA, Generalmönsterrullor 1660–1887, vol. 15, 1718, Bälinge kompani, rote nr. 133.
Table 2.2: Distribution of time-periods between foot soldiers in Rasbo and Uppsala-Näs parishes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Rasbo</th>
<th>Uppsala-Näs</th>
<th>Total:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>≤ 6 months</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7–12 months</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13–24 months</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&gt; 24 months</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Information missing</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total:</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


As shown in table 2.2 did the majority of the empty positions within these two parishes became filled less than a year after the previous soldier ended his service. Half of all the vacancies were filled within a period of six months. Based on these results, it appears that the empty places became filled relatively quickly. This indicates that it was relatively easy for the peasants in a *rote* to recruit a new soldier, despite the mortality of soldiers during the Great Northern War.

Even though there were many examples of the foot soldiers within the two parishes that served throughout the whole period of this study is does not mean that the soldier profession was not without risks. The fates of two soldiers, recruited for the same *rote* in Rasbo, can be used as an example of the risks that were connected with the occupation as a soldier. It also serves as an example of how the danger connected with the occupation could have an effect on (a possible) marriage. The first foot soldier, Johan Åhman, was recruited during the late 1709. He was also stationed at the fleet for parts of his service. A few years after his recruitment, in the spring of 1715, he became married. The marriage did not last long, because Åhman died at home in July the same year. His replacer, Johan Kiöhl, was recruited in December 1715. Two and a half years into his service Kiöhl became married. Similar to the marriage of his predecessor did marriage this not last long. Half a year after his marriage, in December 1718, he died during the campaign in Norway. A year after his death, in December 1719, his widow remarried. This time with a former soldier who had received discharge. Neither of these two men were married for a long period of time. Åhman died at home due to unknown causes while Kiöhl dies during the campaign in Norway.

That there were an understanding among the soldiers about these risks can be exemplified by the contents of a contract between a rusthållare and his cavalry soldier. In the contract it is stated that the soldier’s fiancée should be allowed to live in the croft the rusthållare provided, and that she would not have to pay rent for her housing if the soldier died during the military campaign which he was sent away on.90

To summarize the results of Table 2.1 and 2.2: the recruitment of new soldiers was relatively quick and that the soldiers were in most cases born in Uppland.

Before continuing to the study of marriage rates among the soldiers, a short presentation of the whereabouts of the soldiers during the time-frame of the thesis can be useful. The location of the soldiers is another factor that may have affected marriage rates and time for marriage. The regiment was stationed in the southern parts of Sweden during the years 1710–1714, and returned home to Uppland afterwards. Four years later, in 1718, the regiment participated in the march to Norway. After the death of King Karl XII, the regiment returned back home to Uppland in January 1719 but became stationed in Stockholm the same year to protect the capital city against a possible Russian attack.90 1714 many of the soldiers were stationed in the navy.91

90ULA, Ulleråkers häradsrätt, Domböcker, vol. AI: 2, 9 Maj 1713.
90Söderberg 1944 pp. 54. The locations where the GMR's are held are in agreement with the literature.
91KrA, Generalmönsterrullor 1660–1887, vol. 13, 1714, Rasbo kompani & Bälinge kompani
Marriage among the soldiers in Rasbo and Uppsala-Näs: how many were married?

Now that the soldiers' birthplaces and the distribution of time passed between the soldiers have been presented, it is time to look at the marriage rates among these soldiers. As the two cases of the short lived marriages of the soldiers Kiohl and Ahman indicated, at least some soldiers married despite the risks connected to their occupation. If marriage was generally regarded as the most beneficial social and economic situation within the pre-industrial rural society, was this also true for the soldiers? Was the soldier, with his croft, a good marriage partner or did his status as a potential spouse simply depend on a lack of men in an eligible age within the local community? There are two different sides of the question regarding the soldiers’ marriages that needs to be separated. First, were these soldiers interested in marriage? And second, were the soldiers attractive as possible marriage partners? The first question can be answered by a quantitative investigation. The second question will be discussed based on qualitative evidence later on in the thesis.

Before turning to the actual investigation of marriage rates and patterns, a few remarks on the method used when working with the sources for this chapter. The information about the soldiers’ marital status is based on the GMRs and the wedding registers from each parish. When studying the wedding registers I have only focused on men who married after they became soldiers. This is mainly done for two reasons, both connected to how to trace them in the material. Firstly, previous to their recruitment, the soldiers may have belonged to a different parish than the parish the rote was situated in. That this was the case for many of the soldiers is indicated in table 2.1 ‘Birthplace of the foot soldiers in Rasbo and Uppsala-Näs’. The consequence of this is that it would be very difficult to find them, since the muster rolls investigated are no more specific than region as the place of birth in most of the cases. If it would be possible to pinpoint down the right man, it would be extremely time consuming. Secondly, the naming traditions used in Sweden during the early modern period makes it very difficult to trace them down without specific information about where they lived. This problem can be illustrated with an example from the sources; among the soldiers in Rasbo there were three men who all shared the same first name and surname (Anders Andersson) and they are all in service during the last years of the investigated period. They are separated by their soldier names (Ohrman, Lillia and Tegelstrom) and that they are assigned to different roter.92 The soldier name was a certain name that they received when they were recruited. The example of the three men named Anders Andersson shows the utility of the soldier name.

The decision to only include the men who married after their recruitment when working with the wedding registers should not have any negative impacts on the validity of the results. If I had not made this decision, the reasons presented would have made this investigation near impossible.

to execute with the source-material available and used. In the marriage records from both parishes are the soldiers, with few exceptions, mentioned with their profession and their soldier-name, for example 'Soldaten Mattz Häger'.

The first question to investigate is how many of the soldiers who married after their recruitment. Table 2.3 is mainly based on the information about the marital status of each soldier in the GMRs. In cases where there were uncertainties, such as when the soldier were recruited and married previous to him being presented at the inspection meetings, have the marriage records been consulted.

Table 2.3: Number of soldiers in Rasbo and Uppsala-Näs and their marital status

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Number of soldiers 1714 - 1721</th>
<th>Minimum number of soldiers who married after recruitment</th>
<th>Other married soldiers</th>
<th>Unmarried throughout the period</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Rasbo</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uppsala-Näs</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Table 2.3 shows that the major part of the soldiers in this study, 89% of the soldiers in Rasbo and 87,5% of the soldiers in Uppsala-Näs, was married during some part of their military service. Roughly half of those who were married did marry after they became soldiers. The other half consists of men who may have married after their recruitment but since they were recruited before 1714 I have no information about their marital status at the time of their recruitment.

Not all of the soldiers who married after their recruitment to military service are found in the marriage records for the parishes of Rasbo and Uppsala-Näs. There are various reasons that can explain this. For example, the soldiers may have married a woman from another parish, or they may have married in camp. In the examined parish records there are some examples of soldiers from a different parish marrying with a woman from the investigated parishes.

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93 The example of Mattz Häger: ULA, Rasbo Kyrkoarkiv, vol. EI:1, Vigsellängd 1714. The spelling in documents from this time period can differ both between scribes and within documents written by the same person. Throughout the thesis I have chosen to use either the spelling of the soldiers names that is used in the first muster roll they are mentioned in, or the most frequently used spelling.

94 For example see Mätz Enquist from the parish of Lena: ULA, Rasbo kyrkoarkiv, vol EI:1, Vigsellängd 1719.
When did they marry?

As shown in table 2.3, the majority of the soldiers in the parishes of Rasbo and Uppsala-Näs were married during the period of the study. The next aspect of the marriage patterns among the soldiers to investigate is the questions of when they married. The time between recruitment and a possible marriage can indicate whether the occupation as a soldier enhanced the opportunity to get married. Marriage within a relatively short period of time after recruitment could be the result of an increased availability to the resources needed, in order to get married and form a household, and that these opportunities was presented in the military service. However, the situation with Sweden being involved in the Great Northern War must be considered as a factor that could have an impact on the marriage rates in society in general. That the marriage rates should remain unaffected seems less likely, due to the demographic consequences the war brought with it. The demographic impact of the war may have increased the rate of married men due to a disproportion between the amount of men and women eligible for marriage, and creating a situation of many more women available on the marriage market in comparison to men. It may also have been the other way around, lowering the marriage rates for both men and women. Table 2.4 shows the time between recruitment and marriage. Similar to table 2.3 is this table based on both information found in the GMRs and in the marriage records.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>&lt; 1 year</th>
<th>1 - 3 years</th>
<th>3 - 5 years</th>
<th>&gt; 5 years</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Rasbo</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uppsala-Näs</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 2.4: Time between recruitment and marriage among soldiers in Rasbo and Uppsala-Näs

As seen in Table 2.4, 10 soldiers from Rasbo married more than five years after their recruitment. Out of these ten, nine were recruited between the years 1709–1712, a period when the regiment was stationed in the southern parts of Sweden. That could be one of the reasons as why they did not marry closer to the time of their recruitment. The second reason that could be a possible explanation of why these individuals waited longer to marry was that they could have

95 The note regarding civil status on one of these soldiers is a bit messy (interpreted as unmarried by me) in GMR 1714, which means that he could have married earlier.
been engaged when they were recruited as soldiers with someone at home, and thus had to wait to return before they could get married. Evidence of this practice is found in a case from the district court of Ulleråker, where the soldier and his fiancée got engaged before he marched off to war.  

If the Swedish state's approval (or at least took a neutral position in the question) of its soldiers getting married was given to make sure that someone could take care of the cottage while the soldier himself was absent, then that could be a third possible reason as to explain why the soldiers who were stationed in the southern parts of Sweden did not marry closer in time to their recruitment. If the aspect with the running of the croft was the reason behind the state’s approval, then the wife would not be useful to the state if she was with the soldier in army camp. If similar to other parts of Europe where previous research has shown that the authorities tried to regulate the amount of women that were allowed in camp, could it be that the soldiers were restricted from marrying until they returned home.

A more general remark on the soldiers' marriage rates is that soldiers who were stationed in the navy might have had less opportunities to meet someone to marry.

Some of the soldiers received discharge from their service during the inspection meetings. In the majority of cases the reason behind the discharge was that the soldier was in a poor physical condition. It could either be due to battle injuries or to a general physical weakness. Nothing indicates that married soldiers were discharged due to them being married. This can be compared to the situation in some of the states within the Holy Roman Empire, where married soldiers could be discharged because of their marital status.

There is one example where a woman is partly the reason for the soldier not being able to perform his duties. In the GMR from 1718 the notation of one soldier being imprisoned due to adultery was found. Another example was where a non-commissioned officer got degraded back to serve as a soldier due to lewdness. However, the absence of notations about soldiers being involved with women within the military rolls does not mean that it did not happen.

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96 ULA, Ulleråkers häradsrätt, Domböcker, vol. AI.2, 9 Maj 1713.
Who did the soldiers marry?

After answering the questions if and when the soldiers married, a logical continuation is to investigate who they married. Information about these women is found in the marriage records from the parishes of Rasbo and Uppsala-Näs. These marriage records contain information about the name of the woman, where she came from and the size of the morning gift. In most of the cases she is mentioned by first name and a patronymic, and in little more than half of the cases the woman has a title before her name. The different titles and the frequency of them are presented in table 2.5.\(^{101}\)

Table 2.5: Who did the soldiers marry?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>No title</th>
<th>Maidservant</th>
<th>Hustru</th>
<th>Widow</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Rasbo</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uppsala-Näs</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total:</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


The usage of the title hustru can be a bit problematic since the title does not always translate into 'a currently married woman'. The way the title was used in the marriage records make this obvious; unless the assumption that some of the women were bigamists is made.\(^{102}\) The title of hustru can also be used to describe someone as a capable woman and/or as someone who runs a household.\(^{103}\) Roles can be performed at the same time but does not necessarily have to do so. As the previously presented example of the widow hustru Brita Matsdotter showed, the title of hustru could also be used to describe a woman who had been married (a widow). The context by which the title was used in the marriage records does not provide enough to draw conclusions on which meaning of the title that it might have been used for, other than the meaning of 'currently married woman'. The majority of the women in the marriage records are not described as connected to a man.

\(^{101}\) Table 2.3 shows that there was a minimum of 30 soldiers who married after recruitment (according to GMR). There are however only 24 soldiers in table 2.5. Table 2.5 is based on a different type of source-material (marriage registers) which is the reason as to why the amount of soldiers differs in the two tables. The six remaining soldiers was probably wed in another parish.

\(^{102}\) As shown in table 2.5 there were five women with the title of hustru who married a soldier in the marriage register from Rasbo.

\(^{103}\) Pihl & Ågren 2014, pp. 175.
Roughly half of the women who married with one of the soldiers within this study had a description of where they came from in the marriage records. This may have been done as a way of identifying them.\textsuperscript{104} One woman was described to come from the \textit{rote} of Hammarby.\textsuperscript{105} In which way she was connected to this \textit{rote} is not further explained. It might have been that she was from the main farm within the \textit{rote}, but perhaps even more likely did she come from the military household that belonged to the \textit{rote}. Little more than a year later there was another woman from Hammarby who married a soldier, but there was no notation about of \textit{rote}. She does have the same surname (a patronymic) as the first woman.\textsuperscript{106} However, the surname they shared was very common so that does not necessarily imply that the two women were related and/or from the same household.

Most of the soldiers within the parishes of Rasbo and Uppsala-Näs were born in the region of Uppland, as illustrated in table 1. Some of the soldiers who were born outside of the region of Uppland married with women from Rasbo after their recruitment. The questions of whether the soldiers were transferred to Rasbo when they were recruited, or if they had moved there previous to military service, is not possible to answer from the source material.\textsuperscript{107}

In the sources I have worked with for this thesis I have not found any cases of a new recruit marrying the widow of his predecessor. The previously mentioned soldiers Johan Åhman and his replacement Johan Kiöl, and their respective spouses, can be used as an example of where this could have been a possibility. When Johan Åhman died, his wife became a widow (provided that she outlived him) and Johan Kiöl was unmarried when he was recruited. A possible reason for a soldier marrying the widow after another soldier could be that this widow already had experienced living as a soldiers' wife and may have had experienced running the soldier's croft with an absent soldier husband.

In the marriage records I have only found one case where a soldier married a woman who was described as a widow. She was not described as a widow of a soldier, and she did not have the same name as the woman the soldier's predecessor had been married to. Furthermore, the predecessor received discharge so it is possible that both he and his wife was still alive.\textsuperscript{108} I have also found one case in the marriage records, which has been briefly described earlier in this thesis, of a woman who was described as 'Kiöles widow Anna

\textsuperscript{104} A similar discussion as the discussion of the problems with identifying the soldiers prior to their recruitment without information about where they lived can be applied here.

\textsuperscript{105} ULA, Rasbo kyrkoarkiv, vol. EI:1, Vigsellängd 1714.

\textsuperscript{106} ULA, Rasbo kyrkoarkiv, vol. EI:1, Vigsellängd 1715.


Olafsdotter\textsuperscript{109}, which provides information not only about her previous marriage, but also about the identifying of her late husband. That he was presented only with his soldier name indicates that it was used frequently enough to be the name he was identified with. The man she married with was described as a discharged soldier.\textsuperscript{110} However, as she married a civilian (a former soldier), she is not included in the results that are presented in table 2.3 ‘Number of soldiers in Rasbo and Uppsala-Näs and their marital status’.

In the winter of 1713 the soldier Matts Kileström married Anna Eriksdotter. As a morning gift she received a sum of money, a dress and 'his hemkall of hay straw and grain in his absence'.\textsuperscript{111} Hemkall was the payment the soldier could receive for his service, especially when the rote could not provide him with a croft, or a croft that did not have any land suitable for grazing and farming.\textsuperscript{112} The morning gift that Anna Eriksdotter received seems to be an exception. This practice of transferring the rights to the resources the soldier received as payment for his service is not found in any of the other marriages in the wedding registers from the investigated time period\textsuperscript{113}. When Anna, instead of her husband when he was absent, gained access to these resources she could, at least in theory, be assured of a certain level of income. Perhaps did the new forms of a more permanent occupation for a soldier, that emerged in the footsteps of the military revolution and the development of the fiscal-military state, provide a more stable basis for income. As previous research has shown, the economical basis for the soldier changed as a result of the emergence of permanent armies. If the allotted soldier could expect a certain level of resources as payment for his service, then these resources could be used to create a somewhat more robust basis for the creation of a household. Even if the society was heavily burdened by the war and the harsh economic situation these resources could be useful. If theory was put in practice and soldier actually did receive the resources he was entitled to during these years is not certain. In the GMR’s there are cases of the soldiers complaining over payments not received, which will be further discussed in connection to the investigation of the payment the soldiers received for their military service.

Developing the discussion further on why the morning-gift that Anna received is the only case found in the marriage registers that explicitly includes the payment that her husband received as soldier. If the hemkall was given to those soldiers who did not get access to a croft with any patches of land suitable for farming and grazing, is then one reason as to why she is the only

\textsuperscript{109}ULA, Rasbo kyrkoarkiv, vol. EI:1, vigsellängd 1719. My translation of the original 'Kiöles änka Anna Olafsdotter'.

\textsuperscript{110}ULA, Rasbo kyrkoarkiv, vol. EI:1, vigsellängd 1719.

\textsuperscript{111}ULA, Rasbo kyrkoarkiv, vol. EI:1, Vigsellängd 1713: My translation of the original 'sampt sitt hemkall i höö halm och säd i sin frånwaro'. The soldier Kileström belonged to a rote in a adjacent parish, but their marriage was noted in the marriage records from Rasbo.

\textsuperscript{112}SAOB (http://g3.spraakdata.gu.se/saob/): 'Hemkall' (as accessed 20-12-2014); Nordisk Familjeordbok, första utgåvan (http://runeberg.org/nf/): 'Indelta armén' (as accessed 20-12-2014). The soldier’s wages will be further examined in the following chapter.

\textsuperscript{113}There are examples of this practice outside of the marriage records.
woman to explicitly receive access to his wages that the major part of the soldiers in this group either had access to a croft or did not expect to be absent? The latter reason seems unlikely since Sweden was, and had been for a period of time, involved in warfare. If the majority of the soldiers had access to a croft in combination with a small patch of land to farm, then that could be used to provide for the household. By this, the soldier did not have to explicitly state that his spouse was entitled to use these resources since that working towards the running of the croft might have been what was expected of the wife, especially when the soldier was absent.

In most of the marriages registered during the investigated time period the majority of the morning gifts consisted of a varying amount of money or silver. In many of the marriages recorded in Rasbo was a finer dress (äreklädning) included in the morning gift. There are seven cases where a dress was included. The habit of including this dress within the morning gift seems to have been a common feature to be included in the morning gift in Rasbo parish. In the majority of all 'non-soldier' marriages between the years 1714–1716 this was included within the morning gift. In the marriage registers from Uppsala-Näs were there no cases that had the notation of this dress being included in the morning gift.\(^{114}\)

In a contract between a cavalry soldier and his rusthållare the fiancée of the soldier was included, since the soldier had given her the right to live in his soldier-croft. From the contents of the contract it is given that his fiancée had been previously married, possibly with another soldier since the settlement contains the option that if her first husband would be found to still be alive and to return, the engagement between the two of them would no longer be valid and the woman would have to pay rent for the years she had been living at the croft.\(^{115}\)

The examples presented here shows that the resources the soldiers received from their military service could be used to improve their opportunities to get married. They could include their bemkall in the morning gift, or they could grant their fiancées the right to live in their croft and thus start to form a household.

Even if the Royal Majesty did not regulate marriage among the soldiers, officers could have different ideas about their soldiers marrying. An officer forced his soldiers pay a sum of money when they wished to marry. The money was to be put in a fund, established by the regiment, used to pay those who captured deserted soldiers. This practice was based on the officers opinion that it would restrain the soldiers from entering into 'the hasty and rash marriages'\(^{116}\) that they then would try to avoid by eloping. The Royal Majesty demanded that this practice should not be continued with, since it only caused inconvenience for the soldiers.\(^{117}\) This is an example

\(^{114}\)ULA, Rasbo kyrkoarkiv, vol. EI:1, Vigsellängd 1713–1721.

\(^{115}\)ULA, Ulleråkers häradstått, Domböcker, vol. AI:2, 9 maj 1713.


\(^{117}\)Gahm Persson, 1814: 'Transsumt af kongl. Maj:ts nådigste Resolution uppå des Tromans och Öfwerstes för
of how local authorities tried to regulate their soldiers and their marriages. The arguments the officer used for legitimating his actions indicates that the practice of eloping rash marriage proposals was occurring among his soldiers. There are some similarities with the practice found in the states with the Holy Roman Empire, where Wilson found that the officers tried to regulate marriage by stipulating fees to be given permission to marry.\footnote{Wilson 1996, pp. 147.}
Chapter 2 – summary:

To sum up the main results from this chapter.

- Vacant places were filled relatively quickly and most of the soldiers were born in Uppland.
- The major part of the soldiers in this study was married at some point during the studied period.
- As a minimum, almost half of those that were married during the investigated period married after their recruitment.
- Little more than a third of the soldiers married after more than five years of service. This might be explained by the major part of them being recruited during the time period 1709-1712, when the regiment was stationed in the southern parts of Sweden.
- The resources the soldier received from his military service could improve his opportunities to get married.
- The fact that the investigated soldiers were stationed in their home region for a coherent period of time may have affected the rates of marriage in a positive direction. It shows that they did marry when they were able to do so. But, as previous research has shown marriages also occurred in army camps.
- Even though the cohort studied in this thesis is very small, my results indicate that the Swedish case differed from other European states. I have not found any evidence of the state actively restricting the soldiers' ability to get married. The large proportion of soldiers who were married at some point of the investigated time period indicates that if the state did not encourage the soldiers to marry, at least it did not have the ability to prevent them from marrying. A further investigation with a larger population is needed to confirm this result.
- Both high-ranked officers and the Royal Majesty took interest in the soldiers' marriages.
- There are no results indicating that new soldiers married the widow of their predecessor. There was however one soldier's widow who married a former soldier and one soldier married a widow (but she had not been married to his predecessor).
Chapter 3: Income-earning activities and military service as a resource

The previous chapter showed that the majority of the foot soldiers in the two parishes were married at some point during the investigated period. This chapter examines the different practices and activities these households performed in order to make a living. How could the military service be used as a resource for the household, and what activities related to income could the family members perform? This chapter is mainly based on court-records in combination with letters and resolutions given by the Royal Majesty. The chapter begins with an investigation of the payment the soldiers received in connection to their military service. After that follows a broader investigation of the income-earning opportunities and other work-related activities the soldiers and the other members in these household could perform to expand their incomes. The chapter is ended with a short investigation of the soldiers that received discharge from military service.

The soldiers' wages and payments – the amounts and who were entitled to receive them?

When a soldier was recruited he was given an initial sum of money, or material resources, in addition to the wages he were to receive. One example of the amount of money received by a certain cavalry soldier was specified to be 100 daler in recruitment-money and a yearly wage of 40 daler for one certain cavalry soldier. This cavalry soldier was entitled to a croft, which was included as a part of the yearly wage. In the contract between the soldier and his rusthållare it is specified to be worth 10 daler each year. This means that the croft made up a fourth of his yearly wages, and that the recruitment-money corresponded to the amount of two and a half years wages. The payment a soldier received for signing up as a soldier did not have to be in cash. For instance one soldier was promised two hundred logs. There was one soldier who was stated to serve as a volunteer, and had because of this not been given any recruitment-money. This is the only example found in all the GMR's I have gone through for this thesis, which indicates that this practice is not a common one.

One aspect of the soldiers' wages became an issue in the event of warfare. When the regiment of Uppland was ordered to march out on military campaign, regulations stated that the soldiers were entitled to receive all that was left of their yearly wages for the current year. However, the peasants within a rote feared the problematic situation they could find themselves in if the regiment marched off at the beginning of the year. If they paid a full years wages in advance, and if 'the soldier soon thereafter by death or other reasons resigned', the peasants could find

119 ULA, Ulleråkers häradsrätt, Domböcker, vol. AI:2, 9 Maj 1713.
120 KrA, Generalmönterrullor 1660–1887, vol. 15, 1718, Rasbo kompani, rote nr. 36.
122 Gahm-Persson, 1814: 'Til Landshöfdingen Johan Hoghufen, huru förhållas skal med lönens utbetalade af
themselves in economic strain since they would have to pay wages to a replacement, and thus having ended up paying double wages. As a way of easing both the economic burden and the economic risk for these peasants, the Royal Majesty issued a decree which stated that if the soldier was due to march of in the beginning of a year, he would only receive half of his yearly wage upon marching. The other half should remain at the row until midsummer the same year. If the soldier still was alive at midsummer, he should then forward that information to the peasants of the row and would then in return receive the rest of his money. If the soldier had died previous to this the row could keep the money. However, if the soldier was due to march off around the time of midsummer or after, he should be given all of the remaining amount of his yearly wages to take with him.123

One example from the district court held in January 1715 can be used to illustrate how such a transaction chain for money could have been organized. The reason behind the dispute is a failure within this transaction chain. An officer's wife, or her daughter, were supposed to have acted as intermediaries in a transaction chain with the purpose of sending money from a row to its soldier on campaign. The peasant in charge of said row complained to the court that these women had received the money from him but failed to send them to the next link in the chain. At the time when the transaction should have taken place the soldier was stationed in the southern parts of Sweden. The purpose of the money is not expressed in the court record, but the sum is stated to be 27 daler kopparmyn. The whole transaction chain is described to have started with the peasant within the row. He gave the money to the officer's wife. She (or her daughter) should then, according to the statement given by the peasant, have agreed on forwarding this money to her brother, who was an officer. This brother should then in his turn deliver the money to the foot soldier in question. The woman accused by the peasant was not present at the court proceeding but her brother, the officer, was there and acted on her behalf. The court asked that Catharina should appear in front of them, so that she can defend herself from these accusations by giving an oath of whether or not she has received the money. This is since the peasant has explicitly stated that he has given her the money, which he declares himself willing to submit to under oath.124

This case contains different types of information. Firstly, it exemplifies how the transferring of money, from the peasant of the row to a soldier in army camp, could be organized. The case is about a failure in this process, but the process as such is never questioned or mentioned as something the involved actors regarded to be extra-ordinary. This could indicate that this structure of an economic transaction chain where peasants within a row approached members of

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124ULA, Ulleräkers häradsrätt, Domböcker, vol. AI:2, 26 januari 1715.
officers' households or other relatives present in the local area with the purpose of transferring money, or messages, to soldiers away on campaigns with said officers' households' members acting as intermediaries was not an uncommon practice. Secondly, it shows an complicated chain of transaction, that involved actors from different social stratas and of both genders. Thirdly, it shows that, at least a one-way, communication could take place between the peasant and the soldier within a *rote*.

The *hemkall*, was the compensation for the soldiers who had not received a croft with suitable farmland were entitled to. In one region of Uppland this was specified to be two barrels of grain, one load of hay and a certain amount of straw. This can be compared to the case where a woman was given the rights to the soldiers *hemkall* as a morning gift, as presented in the previous chapter. In the case from the marriage records is the amount not specified, but the components (grain, straw and hay) are the same.\(^{125}\) Besides the monetary compensation and housing the soldiers could receive clothing that they could wear when they were stationed at home and performed work for their *rote*.\(^{126}\)

The risk for tensions between the soldier and the peasants of a *rote* in regards to the soldier's payment can be shown in a resolution directed towards a region in Uppland. The question raised is about whether the soldiers should be given farm products or if they should be given a plot of farmland. The peasants had complained about the inconsistency in the soldiers demands. WThey farmer claimed that when the soldiers witnessed the peasant produce good crops, they wished to have a plot of farmland, but when the soldiers had 'ruined the farmland'\(^{127}\) they wished to receive farm products instead. The resolution stated that hose soldiers who did have access to a field or plot of farmland had to make do with that.\(^{128}\) The idea for the soldiers to be wanting to receive a predetermined amount of farm-products when the farming conditions were bad is not surprising. In doing that, they were ensured a certain minimum amount of farm products they could use to feed themselves and their livestock, instead of having to depend on poor farming conditions to receive the same amount of products. This kind of reasoning can also be used the other way round. If the conditions for farming were good, and assuming that they had enough resources (man-power and tools) to work the fields and that the field was big enough, they may have hoped for a harvest that exceeded the amount of farm products that the peasants of the *rote* otherwise had to provide them with. Disputes similar to this one was probably occurring in other parts of

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the Swedish kingdom as well, especially in the early years after this system had been implemented
where legislation about the soldiers’ payments still were new.

During the inspection meetings (Generalmönstringar) the soldiers could lodge complaints they
had regarding the payments for their service. These complaints were either about soldiers who
had not received their wages or soldiers who had not received the whole part of what was
promised to them as recruitment-money for singing up for military service.129

Complaints about failure in the payment of the soldiers could be taken to court instead of the
inspection meetings. It is not unlikely that family members and relatives of deceased soldiers
rather raised the issue of failed payments at court than at the inspection meetings. A foot
soldier’s widow accused two other widows responsible for the rote her husband had been
recruited by, for failing to deliver the remained amount of the hemkall she regarded herself to be
entitled to since her late husband had not received it previous to his death. Here the hemkall for
half a year was specified to be one barrel of grain, one load of hay and a certain amount of straw.130
Whether the specified amount was equal to half the amount of the hemkall this soldier
was entitled to receive per year is not stated in the text. The amount the hemkall was specified to
in this case can be compared with the regulated amount that was given in another court district.
The Royal Majesty stated in a letter to another court district within the region of Uppland that a
soldier without access to a croft with suitable farmland was entitled to receive two barrels of
grain, one load of hay and a certain amount of straw.131 It is possible that the amount of money
and resources the hemkall consisted of varied between different regions. Furthermore, it is more
likely that it was common for the distribution of the hemkall to be divided unevenly over the year
(if it was not paid once per year). That the soldiers received the whole amount of hay and straw
they were entitled to during the autumn appears to be a reasonable assumption. The reason
behind is that they would have needed the hay and straw for their livestock, if they had any,
during the winter. Moreover, the harvest from where these resources would have been gathered
was finished in the beginning of the autumn.

It was not only the soldiers themselves that could use the payment. Different decrees and
resolutions from the Royal Majesty shows that the state was aware of the soldiers’ wives and
children, and how these households were supported. If the soldier passed away, it could have
economic consequences for the rest of the household. One resolution is about that situation. In
case of the soldier passing away, his widow and children were entitled to receive the remaining
amount of the dead soldier’s yearly wage. This practice had been used previous to this resolution,

130ULA, Ulleråkers häradsrätt, Domböcker, vol. AI: 2, 20 oktober 1713.
but for how long before is not known. The content refers to verbal orders, and that they had been followed, that the captains should pay the widows. 132

Another example of how the situation of the soldiers' families and their support is handled by the state is in a resolution given by the Royal Majesty in the spring of 1704. At the time when this resolution was issued, the Swedish king Karl XII and parts of the Swedish army were stationed outside of the Swedish kingdom, in the city of Heilsberg. This might have affected the need for this resolution in the aspect that many of the soldiers in the Swedish army were stationed abroad. This resolution is a result from that some soldiers wished to send their wages home to their wives and children as the family needed it for their subsistence. The resolution stated that each soldier, if he wished, should be allowed to send his wages home to his wife and children. Those soldiers who did not wish to send home any money, or did not have wife and children, should have their wages delivered to them in the camp.133 The question to discuss around here is the reason as to why the Royal Majesty approved this request. The situation experienced by the soldier families, along with the major part of the Swedish society, during these wartimes was full of hardships. The need for this practice is shown both in that the soldiers petitioned for the ability to send their wages home and that it was approved. This is an example of how the needs of the ordinary people, created by the war, could influence the actions of the fiscal-military state. It could be argued that this practice required a higher administrative workload for the state. To perform this practice the state would have to keep records over the soldiers who wished their spouses to receive their wages, and which who wanted to receive their wages themselves. Moreover, the state would have to keep records of the wives who had received the money. On the other hand, not helping these households could result in greater difficulties for these households, which in turn then might lead to greater demands on the state. Whether or not the state had their own agenda, the fear of possible negative effects on their soldiers morale and behaviour if they would have declined, when it agreed on the soldiers request can be debated. It is possible that the state feared that the soldiers would be either more prone to desertion and weak fighting-morals or more prone to criminal actions, such as stealing, if they knew that their families could not provide for themselves.

A similar resolution about sending wages home to the family, but this time regarding the cavalry soldiers, is given a few months later. The resolution was a result of the same type of request: that those who wished so should be allowed to send their wages home to their families. Some of the cavalry soldiers are said to already have been using this practice, which are said to be documented by the regiment's scribe. This time is the outcome different. The king concludes that


it is better to have all the wages sent out to the army camp, which was still stationed outside of the Swedish borders.\textsuperscript{134} Evidence for this resolution being put in practice on an individual level is found in an account over the wages of a cavalry soldier.\textsuperscript{135} The time between the two resolutions is only a few months, so why is there a difference in the outcome to the request?

The reason as to why the Royal Majesty declines the request about the cavalry soldiers’ wages is not given within the resolution. There are, however, some possible reasons that could have influenced the decision. Firstly, it could be that the system with sending home wages for the foot soldiers had proven to be non-working. When put in practice on a larger scale, the control system for which soldier who wished to send his wages home to his family and which soldier who did not could have failed. A possible outcome of such a failure could be that some families received more than they should have while others received nothing. The distance between the army stationed in a foreign country and the families in Sweden might have complicated the administrative work if a larger group of soldiers wished to take advantage of this opportunity. Another reason might be connected to if the rusthåll that were supposed to equip the cavalry soldier had a better economic base than a rote, and should therefore be regarded to be able to help these families. Whatever the reason for this petition being declined, the practice of the soldiers and cavalry soldiers wishing for the right to send their wages back home to their families is the main feature of interest in regards to these resolutions. Given from the contents of this resolution is that this cavalry regiment had been acting in accordance with this practice, and been employing a similar control system as stated in the first resolution given from the Royal Majesty to the infantry regiment. This shows that at least two regiments have been using this practice. There is nothing that indicates that these two regiments should be the only ones; the situation of the soldiers and their families should have been similar among other regiments as well. Moreover, that these resolutions are presented also shows that there was a central understanding of the subsistence of the soldier and his family among the Royal Majesty.

The practice of transferring the wages was not used by married soldiers only, but also by those who were to become married. A cavalry soldier, Per Höök, granted his fiancée, Maria Andersdotter, the ability to receive his wages. He also gave his fiancée the rights to live in his croft and to use his small plot of land that he was entitled to in connection to the croft while he was absent on the military campaign in Poland. That he intended to remain in a relationship with her is shown from the contents in of the letters he sent, where he writes that he wishes to come home so they could live together.\textsuperscript{136} There is nothing in the court records that indicates that this was an unusual practice. It was not this practice itself that was the reason behind the court case.


\textsuperscript{135} ULA, Ulleråkers häradsrätt, Domböcker, vol. AI:2, 9 maj 1713.

\textsuperscript{136} ULA, Ulleråkers häradsrätt, Domböcker, vol. AI:2, 9 maj 1713.
(the dispute is because the woman eventually ended up marrying a peasant instead). The big difference between this case and previously presented cases of transferring the rights to the receive the payment (the soldier who granted his wife his hemkall as a morning gift or the resolution that gave a regiment of foot soldiers the ability to send wages home) is that the cavalry soldier and fiancée were not married yet. If they were, the wife and their (if they had any) children would live in the croft. To include the wife (or as in this case, the fiancée) in the contract between the cavalry soldier and the rusthållare neither seems strange.

The case also provides information about how the practice of transferring the payment could be used on an individual level. The cavalry soldier had written a letter in which he expressed the wish that his fiancée should live at the croft that he had received, and that the rusthållare he served for should act helpful towards his fiancée. There appears to have been some sort of trouble along the transaction line, because in a second letter the cavalry soldier states that he was sad to hear that she had not received his wages. The cavalry soldiers advises his fiancée to turn to the county governor (landsböding) whom he said could help her receive what was promised her. In this second letter the soldier explicitly gave his fiancée the authority to receive a whole years wages, specified to 40 daler kopparmynt. In July 1703, a little less than two years previous to the letters, a contract had been written between the cavalry soldier and his rusthållare. Within this contract was a settlement between the cavalry soldier and his fiancée included covering what would happen if the soldier died. It was stated that if he would not return from the war then his fiancée would not have to repay any of his wages. The contract was witnessed by the parish clerk (klockare).137

The soldiers were entitled to receive different types of money from their rote, and there seems to have been a clear distinction between these types. While the soldiers were allowed to send their wages home, they were not allowed to decide on how to use the money for their equipment. Some soldiers petitioned for a free disposal of their ‘rotepennningar’ that the rote was paying them so they could use them as themselves needed them the most, rather than having their officers use this money for their clothing for the soldiers. ‘Rote-pennningar’ was a sum of money that the rote should provide the soldier with for his equipment. The Royal Majesty expressed great discontent over this request from the soldiers and stated that anyone who was involved with this kind of action in the future would be punished with having to run the gauntlet.138 The purpose of these different types of money is made clear. The wages were something the soldiers were free to dispose by themselves, but the money that was designated for their equipment was disposed by the state. This request from some soldiers was made roughly two and a half years previous to the resolution where one regiment was allowed to send their wages home. What these soldiers

137ULA, Ulleråkers häradsrätt, Domböcker, vol. AI:2, 9 maj 1713.
wished to use their 'ratepenningar' for is not clear. The interesting feature is that the state strictly
declined the soldiers' petition for the free disposal of this kind of money, while they later on
would acknowledge the situation of the families at home by granting permission, at least for one
infantry regiment, to send their wages home.

As the decrees and resolutions presented in this chapter has shown, a soldier could receive his
wages even when he was on campaign. The soldiers petitioned for the right to transfer wages and
other parts of their payments to their families. Their wives or widows could, and did, petition for
the payments that they regarded themselves entitled to. Their situation was acknowledged by the
state, and it influenced resolutions given.
What skills did the soldiers have other than their military skills and what occupation had they had prior to military service?

The work done by ordinary people in the early modern period is not always easy to trace. Information about different types of work-related actions can be found in court records, either as the cause of a conflict or as a description given in accounts and testimonies. Descriptions of the actors involved can also provide information about activities that could be income-earning, similar to the placing of the actors in a households, such as servants being connected to the household they worked in or as identifying individuals. Information about skills the soldiers had is also found in the GMRs studied for this thesis.

The soldiers came from different backgrounds previous to their military service. The majority were farmhands before they were recruited as soldiers but also craftsmen of different trades were found among their ranks. In the GMRs are notations if each soldier possessed knowledge in certain kind of skills, such as in crafts or if they could write and/or read. Five of the GMRs analysed for this theses contains information about each soldiers' occupational background. A soldier's occupational background could in some cases be used as inspiration for his soldier-name. Among the soldiers that are found in the source material for this thesis is Erich Sax. The English translation of his soldier-name Sax is scissors and he is described as a tailor.\textsuperscript{139} Another example of a soldier with some knowledge in tailoring is found in a court case, where he is described to have been assigned the task by a fellow soldier to fix a damaged coat.\textsuperscript{140}

The following table (table 3.1) shows the distribution of the soldiers' occupational backgrounds. The category of 'information missing' probably consists of a majority of farmhands since the GMRs from 1714 and 1715 only have notations about those who had craftsman skills and if the soldier could read and write. I have however chosen to include these soldiers in the 'information missing' category rather than to put them in the farmhand category, since they could have had other backgrounds as well such as men who worked in a manufacturing community (bruk), which is a society that has evolved around an industrial production. There were many bruk in Uppland.

\textsuperscript{139} KrA, Generalmönsterrullor 1660–1887, vol. 15, 1718, Rasbo kompani, rote nr. 34. 
\textsuperscript{140} ULA, Ulleråkers häradsrätt, Domböcker, vol. AI:2, 12 juni 1714.
Table 3.1: Occupational background among the soldiers in Rasbo and Uppsala-Näs parishes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Farmhands/peasants</th>
<th>Craftsmen</th>
<th>Information missing</th>
<th>Other</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Rasbo</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uppsala-Näs</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


As seen in the table above (table 3.1), the majority of the soldiers were farmhands or peasants. In all the GMR's from Rasbo the notation of 'peasant' is used. In this context it is more likely used as a description of a farmhand or a peasant's younger son since a peasant probably would not have been assigned to military service as long as there were other possible recruits. The category of 'Other' includes a man that worked in a bruk and a student, who had been degraded from his position as a non-commissioned officer since he had failed to recruit a new soldier to the vacant rote which he had been paid by the peasants of said rote to do. The category of 'craftsmen' consists of tailors, shoemakers, a blacksmith, a hatter, a carpenter, a tanner and a goldsmith. The goldsmith stands out a bit compared to the other trades. The reason as to why he became a soldier is not known, but one possible explanation is the great demand for man-power to the army. This also goes for the rest of the craftsmen, either if they resorted to the military service themselves or if they were regarded as obsolete during this long period of war and thus enforced to become soldiers.

One of the soldiers seems to have learned the craft of shoemaking during his military service. If the soldiers could learn a craft when they were in military service it provided them with the opportunity to earn extra income. Both during their service and, given that they survived, after military service. From the perspective of the state it was probably beneficial if the soldiers could mend and fix their own equipment, together with that of fellow soldiers.

Another kind of skill that is found within the source material is which soldiers who were able to read or write. Based on the GMR for the company of Rasbo in 1715, nine out of the twenty-nine soldiers (one rote was vacant at the time) were able to both read and write, and another six knew how to read. Another two are noted as able to write but without mentioning of knowledge about how to read.

142 KrA, Generalmönsterrullor 1660–1887, vol. 14, 1715, Rasbo kompani. One of the soldiers who was able to
One kind of activity the soldiers could perform when they were stationed at home was farm work. In one court-case a woman, hustru Elisabeth Skruf, complained that a peasant had harvested the crops that the cavalry soldier, Ingell Wermo, had sown. The two parts came to an agreement and the peasant paid Elisabeth for the crops he had harvested. The reason as to why the woman was the plaintiff is not described, neither is the ownership of the land explicitly mentioned in the court-record. The most likely explanation is that she was responsible for the rusthåll the cavalry soldier served for and/or that she owned the farmland. The most reasonable explanations as to why the cavalry soldier had sown the crops was either that he had performed work for the woman or that the farmland he had sown was included in his payment for his military service. The foot soldiers could perform work for their rote while they were stationed at home, and it is not unlikely that the same thing was valid for the cavalry soldiers. If the farmland was connected to the croft and thus included in the soldiers wages, the reason for him not appearing in court could be that he was stationed elsewhere. As seen in other cases examined in this thesis, other cavalry soldiers were stationed in the southern parts of Sweden during the year 1713.

When the soldier was not stationed elsewhere or participated in military training, he could work at the rote. When performing this work the soldier could wear a 'släpeklädnings', which is an outfit suitable for work that the rote would provide him with. If the soldier was absent from his rote or croft, he would not receive anything for his croft, and if he did not perform any work for his rote he would not be given a 'släpeklädnings'.

The different work-tools a soldier had in his belongings (or had access to) provide clues to work-activities he may have performed. One cavalry soldier borrowed a moonshine pot (brännvinspanna), which he could have used in order to produce moonshine, and possibly, sell for profit. In a dispute about the inheritance after a corporal and his wife the belongings of the deceased couple are described to have been scattered among individuals without the legal right to these items. Among these items accounted for were a woodcutting-axe, a grindstone and an axe intended for peat extraction. The two different kinds of axes may have been used by the soldier if he could perform work for others.

Not all income-earning activities performed by the soldiers were legal, some turned to illegal actions in order to extend their incomes. In 1717, one of the soldiers from Rasbo was caught with counterfeiting money, which was considered to be a serious crime. For this he was both read and write received discharge during the inspection meeting. There are no notations about the ability to read and/or write in the GMR from 1715 for the company of Bälinge.

143 ULA, Ulleråkers häradssrätt, Domböcker, vol. AI:2, 20 oktober 1713.
145 ULA, Ulleråkers häradssrätt, Domböcker, vol. AI:2, 14 juni 1714.
146 ULA, Ulleråkers häradssrätt, Domböcker, vol. AI:2, 20 oktober 1713.
sentenced to serve a life-time at the fort of Marstrand. In the latter half of the 1710's, the Swedish economy was severely strained and a new kind of currency was introduced. Whether or not this soldier turned to counterfeiting money because of these years of hardship is impossible to tell, but it seems likely that the extreme economic situation in the society during these years made the possible profits with counterfeiting money to outweigh the severe consequences if being caught. As a result of a 'decree of pardon' from the Royal Majesty, the same soldier was assigned to serve for his old rute again in 1720. The decision to give pardon to certain criminals can indicate a demand from the state for man-power.

The majority of the soldiers were former farmhands, but also a smaller group of them were craftsmen. They could perform work while they were stationed at home, which may have helped them extend their income.

**Income-earning activities performed by members of military households**

During the early modern period people could combine varying income opportunities and work-related activities to provide for themselves, as the following examples will show. While the previous sub-chapter focused on skills, knowledge, tools and work performed by the soldiers, the following will be broader and include all members of the household. Cases where the soldier and his wife acts together are also presented here.

One soldier's widow worked in the household of a lower civil servant. The specific work she performed in this household is not stated but most likely she worked as a maid-servant, or maybe as a housekeeper. How was this connected to her marital status? When she became a widow her options to provide for herself (and children if she had any) changed. This shows a certain downward mobility on the social ladder. When she became a widow she moved back into the social position she had as an unmarried woman.

Another woman, described as a soldier's wife, was called as a witness in a court trial. A peasant accused a group, consisting of others peasants and a county sheriff (länsman), for being guilty to have caused fatal injury to the peasant's horse while it was on the loose. The woman failed to turn up in front of the court, but based on the peasant's account she had asked him to come get his horse before it made any damage in the small plot of farmland she had found the horse in. She should also have had to drive the horse out of this farmland by herself, before she went to get the peasant. The reason as to why she wanted to protect the farmland might be that she farmed on it. It is not stated in the court record who owned the farmland.

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149 ULA, Ulleråkers häradsrätt, Domböcker, vol. AI:2, 20 maj 1715. The title of the lower civil servant was 'kommissarie'.
150 ULA, Ulleråkers häradsrätt, Domböcker, vol. AI:2, 12 & 14 juni 1714.
The widow of a soldier was involved as a witness in a case of suspected child murder. The accused woman, a maid-servant, had been advised to travel to the city to find a cure for what the maid-servant had described as a sickness that affected her menstruation by the widow. The widow explained that she had travelled to the city of Uppsala, where she had been talking about the maid-servant with another maid-servant. The maid-servant from Uppsala had directed her towards the wife of a garden worker. This wife was said to be able to help the distressed maid. The reason as to why the maid-servant turned to the soldier's widow in the first place is not expressed in the court records. The maid-servant claims that she had not discussed her situation with anyone and only told her mistress that she was sick as an explanation as to why she had travelled to the city.\(^\text{151}\) There are different possible explanations as to why the maid chose to ask the soldier widow for advice. The soldier widow could have acted as an agent for the maid by acting as an intermediary. It could be that the pregnant maid did not have the ability and/or the knowledge to make these inquiries and therefore went to the widow for help. Whether or not the widow received any form of payment for helping the maid is not known.

Another reason could be that the soldier's widow had some knowledge about midwifery, and that was why the maid turned to her about her problems. The maid had told the widow that she had "lost her time"\(^\text{152}\), meaning that she did not have any menstruation, after which the widow had told the maid that it was possible to get it back.\(^\text{153}\) There could have been a family-connection between the two women. There are however no indications for such a connection within the court record.

The wife of a soldier was requested by a peasant's wife to shroud the body of the dead infant of the peasant and his wife. She performed the shrouding of the body together with another woman.\(^\text{154}\) If she was paid to perform the shrouding is not given from the court record. That the wife of the soldier is requested by the peasant's wife to shroud the baby can have different explanations. She could either known to perform shroudings, or she could be related or acquainted with the peasant's wife.

A cavalry soldier and his wife were called to court since they had borrowed a moonshine-pot (brännvinspanna) and then kept it for six years without returning it. The rightful owner of the pot had passed away and her relatives, a peasant and his brother-in-law, appealed to the district court in order to have the pot returned. The cavalryman explained that he was unable to return said item, since he no longer had it in his possession. He had pawned it to the widow of a district court judge in Uppsala for a sum of money. The peasant and his brother-in-law claimed that the original value of the moonshine-pot was a little bit more than three times the money that the

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\(^{151}\)ULA, Ulleråkers häradsrätt, Domböcker, vol. AI:2, 20 oktober 1713.

\(^{152}\)ULA, Ulleråkers häradsrätt, Domböcker, vol. AI:2, 20 oktober 1713. My translation of the original 'mist sin tijd'.

\(^{153}\)ULA, Ulleråkers häradsrätt, Domböcker, vol. AI:2, 20 oktober 1713.

\(^{154}\)ULA, Ulleråkers häradsrätt, Domböcker, vol. AI:2, 7 maj 1713.
A cavalryman had received when he pawned it. The cavalryman explained that he was unable to get the moonshine-pot back, since he had become 'impoverished and desolated'. The connection between the cavalryman and his wife and the woman they had borrowed the moonshine-pot from is not given from the court-record. Previous research on military households in England also shows that the practice of pawning both stolen and legitimate items by members of soldier-households, especially the wives, was frequently used in order to contribute to the household economy.

Having livestock is another resource the soldier households could benefit from. Traces on if, and in that case the amount, these households owned livestock is found within some of the source material. Based on a recount over the belongings of a deceased couple, a soldier and his wife, is the household described to have had three cows and two sheep. Another example where livestock is mentioned is when a group of people, consisting of a couple of peasants and a cavalry soldier's widow, are accused of having let their livestock graze on land they did not have the right to. The widow was also accused of having taken hay and straw without permission. Another indication about the soldiers having livestock is found in a letter to the county governor (landshövding) where the means by which the soldier should acquire fodder for his livestock.

The different belongings that the soldier households had in their possession can indicate their economic situation. Some of the items one household had were different clothing pieces, bedding, a chest, kitchen items and a silver ring.

I have not found any cases where children belonging to the military households are described to perform some sort of activities that can be connected to the subsistence of the household. If searching the source material for these children in a more general perspective they are not frequently occurring. They are however briefly mentioned in some of the court records. A cavalry soldier's widow explains that it was her child that made her aware of an ongoing assault. Another mentioning of children is found within a dispute regarding an inheritance, where the children are described to have died before their parents. Yet another example of where children are mentioned is in a case where a women had asserted that the children of a cavalry soldier would meet a tragic future as grownups. There are no examples of children described to be the

155 ULA, Ulleråkers häradsrätt, Domböcker, vol. AI:2, 14 juni 1714. My translation of the original 'boslijten ock ödelagd'.
156 ULA, Ulleråkers häradsrätt, Domböcker, vol. AI:2, 14 juni 1714.
158 ULA, Ulleråkers häradsrätt, Domböcker, vol. AI:2, 20 oktober 1713.
159 ULA, Ulleråkers häradsrätt, Domböcker, vol. AI:2, 26 oktober 1714. The Swedish title of the civil servant was 'fiskal'.
161 ULA, Ulleråkers häradsrätt, Domböcker, vol. AI:2, 20 oktober 1713.
162 ULA, Ulleråkers häradsrätt, Domböcker, vol. AI:2, 26 oktober 1714.
163 ULA, Ulleråkers häradsrätt, Domböcker, vol. AI:2, 24 oktober 1714.
164 ULA, Ulleråkers häradsrätt, Domböcker, vol. AI:2, 24 oktober 1714.
direct cause for a dispute within the studied source material. In the cases where children from military households are included, their numbers are no more specific than mentioned in singular or plural. From the contents it is possible to draw the conclusion that there were children within at least some of the military households, and they were present in the daily life.

**Subsistence after military service: what opportunities did discharged soldiers have?**

Army vacancies were in many cases the result from the death of a soldier. The other reasons I have found were if the soldier had eloped or if he had received discharge. A soldier could receive discharge because of physical weakness or physical disabilities caused by injuries or traumas. The soldiers could also be discharged if they had committed a crime or if they presented a replacement. The soldiers that presented a replacement both had farmsteads, which was described to be the reason as to why they wished to be replaced.\(^{165}\) That they had farmsteads to run was probably a factor that made it easier for them to get their request to be replaced granted. It was more beneficial for the state to recruit its soldiers from groups that did not produce taxes. The fate of the soldiers that eloped is hard to trace within the scope of this thesis. But what happened to those soldiers that were discharged because of physical traumas that made them unfit to military service?

It was during the inspection meetings (*generalmönstringar*) that soldiers could receive discharge from the military service. The foot soldier Carl Sandberg was requesting discharge since he had been shot in the knee. The bullet was still left within the knee and made him unable to march. He received discharge from his service and was given the right to receive support.\(^{166}\) Sandberg is the only soldier found in the investigated GMRs that is explicitly stated to be entitled to receive support. There are other examples of soldiers receiving discharge either on the basis of injuries they had received during their military service or because of other types of physical conditions and disabilities. One soldier was given discharge because he was always weak and sickly ever since he had broken two ribs when he was stationed in the navy. This soldier had a wife and he had worked as a tailor previous to military service.\(^{167}\) This may have helped him to survive, since he may have been able to do some small work again despite his physical condition. Another example of how the economical effects a discharge could have is the case of one soldier, discharged due to physical disability, who was ordered to return the money he had received as recruitment-money.\(^{168}\)

\(^{165}\)For example of soldier being discharged because of criminal activities see KrA, *Generalmönsterrullor* 1660–1887, vol. 15, 1718, Rasbo kompani, rote nr 56. For example of soldiers being allowed discharge if they presented a replacement: KrA, *Generalmönsterrullor* 1660–1887, vol. 14, 1715, Rasbo kompani, rote nr 94&96.


The soldiers could also be degraded instead of discharged due to weak physical condition. I have not found any information about how such degradation affected their income, and ability to support a family, but it is likely that a degradation resulted in the lowering of payment.

When a soldier left his position it did not necessarily mean that he could not return. These movements can be traced within the GMRs. One soldier was promoted to corporal. Within a year after his promotion he became responsible for the armoury (rustmästare) of the company he served for. He did, however, not remain in his new position for long. A year later he was degraded down to soldier for his old rote, because of lewdness. Another example of a soldier returning to his service is more of an exception. This soldier was sentenced to a life-time in prison, but became acquitted as the result of a decree given from the Royal Majesty after the death of King Karl XII. He was returned to serve as a soldier in his old rote yet again.

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169 For example: KrA, Generalmönsterrullor 1660–1887, vol. 15, 1718, Rasbo kompani, rote nr. 61, where the soldier had to change place with the 'trossdräng' due to a weak physical condition.


Chapter 3 - summary

This chapter has focused on the military service as a form of resource. It has also included examples of activities performed by members of the military household. The main results within this chapter are as follows.

- The different resolutions given by the Royal Majesty indicated that the state was aware of the problematic situation the soldier households could find themselves in. The soldiers' own petitions to have their wages sent home to their families indicate that their earnings as a soldier could help them provide for their families.
- Widows could claim, and receive, what was remaining of their late husbands' payment.
- There were social networks that allowed money and information to be transferred from the soldier to the family and from family or rote/rusthål to the soldier.
- The majority of the foot soldiers in Rasbo and Uppsala-Näs parishes were former farmhands. There were also soldiers with knowledge in craftsman skills, and they could use these skills to perform tasks for others. One soldier learned a craftsman skill during his military service.
- When the foot soldiers were stationed at home they could perform work for their rote.
- The soldiers' wives could perform tasks for others. They could also function as a kind of agent that acted as an intermediary and formed contacts.
- At least some of the military households owned livestock.
- Soldiers could receive discharge for different reasons. At least in one case a soldier discharged due to physical trauma received support.
Chapter 4: Local community as a resource

As the two previous chapter have been about military service and marriages as a form of resources, the following chapter will examine how the local community could be used as a form of resource. Being a part of a community could open up for new income-earning opportunities, and conflicts between members of military households and other members of the local community can indicate the social standing of the military household. This chapter is an analysis of the social interactions and the social standing of these households in the local society. The local society could be used as a form of resource.

Housing and living situation

Some cases provide information about the housing of the soldier households. This is interesting, particularly as all allotted soldiers in the early eighteenth century did not have a croft. The discussion about hemkall illustrated this point. But the housing situation of the military household does not only tell us about their homes, it also gives us valuable information about the social relations within the local community.

A corporal and his wife are described to have built their croft and a small barn for their livestock by themselves and that they owned these buildings. That these two owned their lodging shows that they had a better economical situation than those that were renting or forced to live in another household.

One soldier was recounting for his whereabouts during one evening and explained that he had been in the village with one of the peasants of his rote. When they returned during the night the peasant had asked him to stay in his cottage during the night, instead of going home to his normal lodging within the house of another peasant within the rote. What they had been doing in the village together is not explained in the court-record. Apparently did this soldier not have a soldier’s croft since he had received lodging in the house of one of the peasants of the rote. He was also asked to stay the night at the house of the peasant he had been in the village together with. If the soldiers would have been in a significantly lower social strata in the society this invitation might not have been given to him.

Tensions between soldiers and the civil part of society could be, if not created by, then at least be aggravated by the living situation of the soldiers. At the early eighteenth century, not all soldiers had received a croft to live in. A foot soldier had received lodging in the house of one the peasants in his rote. This foot soldier was described to have returned to the house one evening, and acted impolitely towards the wife of peasant, having demanded her to serve him

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172 ULA, Ulleråkers häradsrätt, Domböcker, vol. AI:2, 20 oktober 1713.
173 ULA, Ulleråkers häradsrätt, Domböcker, vol. AI:2, 12 juni 1714.
with liqueur and called her a 'hag' repeatedly. A cavalry soldier, who also was the son-in-law to the peasant couple, entered the house in the company of a farmhand. The farmhand found the wife to be in tears, and found out that the foot soldier was the cause behind it. The cavalry soldier challenged the foot soldier in order to defend the honour of his mother-in-law. The challenge resulted in the two soldiers engaged with their rapiers, and the fight ended when the foot soldier drove his rapier right through hand of the cavalry soldier. Because of the turmoil the peasant couple took their bed and stayed the night at the house of their neighbours.¹⁷⁴

If the soldier passed away it could be even harder to provide for oneself. I have not found many examples of the housing situations off the widows, but two cases provides some information about their living situation. One soldier's widow lived in the poor house.¹⁷⁵ Another soldier's widow lived in close connection to a farm.¹⁷⁶

The previously presented case with the cavalry soldier's fiancée who was given the right to live in his croft during his absence was later turned in to a court case when she, after seven years and without knowledge about whether he was still alive, broke their engagement. The plaintiff, the soldier's father, demanded that she would pay rent for the croft and repay the wages she had received since she no longer was engaged with his son. In the court proceeding was one of the arguments, given by the peasant as to why she should not have to repay the debt, is that the engagement had not been witnessed by a priest, but had simply been sealed with a handshake - implicitly questioning the validity of the engagement between the cavalry soldier and his fiancée.¹⁷⁷ That would mean that regardless if the engagement between the soldier and his fiancée is said to only have been an agreement between the two of them, without the involvement of a parish priest, the settlement between them was deemed valid for giving his fiancée the right to live in the croft as his fiancée. Interesting here is that she was allowed to live at his croft for seven years, while he was absent and eventually missing in action.

¹⁷⁴ULÅ, Ulleråkers häradsrätt, Domböcker, vol. AI:2, 12 juni 1714.
¹⁷⁵ULÅ, Ulleråkers häradsrätt, Domböcker, vol. AI:2, 20 oktober 1713.
¹⁷⁶ULÅ, Ulleråkers häradsrätt, Domböcker, vol. AI:2, 26 oktober 1714.
¹⁷⁷ULÅ, Ulleråkers häradsrätt, Domböcker, vol. AI:2, 9 maj 1713.
Communication and social interaction

Communication and social interaction is one indication about the local community as a resource. In the cases of communication between someone at home and a soldier absent on campaign, the local community could be a part of the communication chain.

Even while a soldier was absent on campaign, he appears to have had some possibilities to communicate with family and kin at home. A cavalry soldier sent letters to his fiancée when he was stationed in Poland. One letter was dated to have been written the 9th of May, 1705, in Poland, and received in Sweden the 18th of May, 1705. Two months later, a new letter from the soldier had reached home and from the contents it appears as if the fiancée has sent him a letter previous to that. The dating of these letters indicates a relatively fast postal service. Whether it is the soldier and his fiancée who has written the letters themselves or if they have dictated the contents from someone who could write is not possible to tell. It is, however, in a general perspective likely that not all letters sent reached the intended receiver but instead was lost somewhere on the road.

The fiancée of a cavalry soldier claimed to have been waiting for seven years for him to return. This years were said to be between 1703 and 1710. She had been receiving letters from him in the year of 1705 and there are no indications that this was the only time she had some communication with him. However, at some point this communication stops and she does not know the fate of her fiancé, and in the end she marries with a peasant instead. This case illustrates the communication between the soldiers away on campaigns and the family and friends at home.

Communication between foot soldiers and the peasants of their mote is indicated to have happened based on a decree from the Royal Majesty, which regulated the payment. If the foot soldier marched off on military campaign with his regiment in the beginning of a year, he would only be paid half of his yearly wages in advance. To receive the other half, the foot soldier had to forward the information that he was alive to the peasants in his mote. Yet another example that indicates that the peasants within a mote could employ transaction chains, with intermediaries from officer households, to send money to the soldier.

The family belonging and connections between the soldiers and civilians can provide some indications of social background of the soldiers. In one civil case are the siblings to a cavalry soldier listed as a shoemaker, the wife of a skipper and the wife of a ferryman. It can also indicate the social situation of the soldiers and their families within the local community.

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178 ULA, Ulleråkers häradsrätt, Domböcker, vol. AI:2, 9 maj 1713.
179 ULA, Ulleråkers häradsrätt, Domböcker, vol. AI:2, 9 maj 1713.
181 ULA, Ulleråkers häradsrätt, Domböcker, vol. AI:2, 26 januari 1715.
182 ULA, Ulleråkers häradsrätt, Domböcker, vol. AI:2, 20 oktober 1713.
social situation can be seen in whom they married. However, it might be that some of the women married 'downwards' on the social ladder as a result of the demographic situation. One cavalry soldier was married to a daughter of a member of the district court committee (tolvman).\textsuperscript{183}

One case provides information about the different social interactions one cavalry soldier had during one day. He was travelling to visit his parents-in-law, but on the way there he stopped at another farm. He had been invited to stay the night before he continued, an offer that he had declined. When he left the farm, he was accompanied by the bailiff (gårdsfogde) who worked at the farm. The bailiff had asked for the cavalry soldier's permission to travel with him. After the cavalry soldier had arrived to his in-laws he went to see his brother-in-law, who lived in the same village, and they had been drinking together.\textsuperscript{184} The relations that the cavalry soldier is describing himself to have with the inhabitants and other members of the village shows that the social differences was not too big. He was married with the daughter of a member of the district court committee, and he travelled to visit both his parents-in-law and his brother-in-law, the later whom he drank together with.

The widow who became a witness of an assault on a peasant is another example that provides evidence for social standing and relations. Shortly after she had been made aware of the on-going assault had the victim's son come running for her and shouting about what happened to his father. The widow described to the court how she had ordered the boy to ride and tell his mother. The peasant's wife arrived in company of the wife of another peasant, and she asked the widow to remain in the farm since none of the other women had seen the assault by themselves.\textsuperscript{185} This case contains different types of information. First, it shows that she probably lived close to the farm. Second, she probably knew where the wife of the peasant was, since she told the son of the peasant to get on a horse and go get his mother. If looking at all the actors involved in this case, there is the peasant being assaulted by another man, the peasant's son then goes to a woman asking for help, and she in turn tells him to go get his mother, whom is accompanied by another woman. All the actors that are called as witnesses are women.

A group of women, and among them the wife of a soldier, were called to court as witnesses in a case of suspected child murder. They had all examined the dead child and the wife of the soldier had, together with another woman and on the request of the child's mother, shrouded the body. All of the women stated that they had not seen anything that would have led them to believe the child had been suffocated. However, they made the remark that none of them ever had seen a suffocated child, so they could not be certain.\textsuperscript{186} The interesting feature in this case is that the wife of the soldier seems to be regarded to have as much credibility as the other two women. If the soldier's wife would have been regarded as a socially rejected individual by the

\textsuperscript{183}ULA, Ulleråkers häradssrätt, Domböcker, vol. AI:2, 12 juni 1714.
\textsuperscript{184}ULA, Ulleråkers häradssrätt, Domböcker, vol. AI:2, 12 juni 1714.
\textsuperscript{185}ULA, Ulleråkers häradssrätt, Domböcker, vol. AI:2, 26 oktober 1714. The civil servant was a 'fiskal'.
\textsuperscript{186}ULA, Ulleråkers häradssrätt, Domböcker, vol. AI:2, 7 Maj 1713.
court and the the other two women, or as a unreliable woman, she would probably not have been given as much credibility as the other to. All of the three woman had the description as bustru in common, and two of these women also are described as married with the name of their husbands included in the description of them. As previously discussed, the title of bustru do not have to translate into 'currently married woman' but also can be used to describe a woman as capable, or previously married. For this case is it certain that two of them was or had been married.

One case that provides interesting information about how women could act outside of the legal arena is the case where a soldier woman were falsely, according to her self, accused of owing another woman money. When the soldier's wife was in front of the court and gave her statement, she claimed that she had went to see the peasant's wife a couple of days after the accusation about the debt was made. This she said, was to question the other woman regarding the subject. Moreover, she statesd that she did not go there alone, since she brought the wife of the county sheriff with her. The actions of these women involved shows how women could create their own legal arena within the society. Why did the soldier's wife turn to the wife of the county sheriff? It is possible that she did turn to the county sheriff himself first, and then got assisted by his wife instead, but there is no mentioning of such an approach. If that was the case, did that then mean that it was a common situation that his wife acted on his behalf since there are no mentions about such an approach which it might have been if that was an unusual action. Did the soldier's wife bring the wife of the county sheriff with her to gain some juridical legitimacy in her claim, or was it to bring someone who could act as a witness of what the woman, who had falsely accused her, was saying to her?

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187 ULA, Ulleråkers håradsrätt, Domböcker, vol. AI:2, 19 januari 1714.
Tensions within the local community: disputes, conflicts and slandering

Social relations and interactions between individuals in everyday life can be hard to trace in the source material. One way to get some indications about the social relations and interaction of these military households is to look at tensions and conflicts.

The court cases included in this thesis can be divided into disputes and criminal cases. The first category includes disputes over inheritances and slandering for example, while the second category includes cases such as suspected child murders and cases of assault.

The disputes can be said to be a dispute over either resources or on social grounds. The background behind the disputes within this thesis can be roughly divided into four categories: cases regarding slandering and social tensions, economic disputes regarding payments and failure in payments, disputes caused by the living situation and finally disputes regarding inheritances. Many of the cases are combinations of these categories.

Disputes over inheritances provide information about the family background of the soldiers. One case indicates that there were not wast differences in social standing between a cavalry soldier and a peasant. The cavalry soldier, Johan Staberg, and his wife were calling a peasant and his wife to court. The reason behind the dispute is, according to the cavalry soldier, that the peasant and his wife would not give him the inheritance from his mother. The quite elaborate chain of marriage and remarriages that led up to this dispute is described as following. Anna Ersdotter’s late husband, Bengt Hansson, had been married before he married with Anna. This previous marriage had been with Ingeborg, who was the mother of the cavalry soldier. Ingeborg had remarried with Bengt after the death of her late husband, the father of Johan Staberg. To sum this up, the relation between the cavalry soldier and the peasant is that the peasant were married to the widow after the stepfather of the cavalry soldier. After the death of his father Johan Staberg had received his share of the fathers inheritance, and his mother remarried. However, when his mother Ingeborg passed away did Johan Staberg not receive his share of the inheritance after her. An inventory was performed after her death, but Bengt Hansson is said to have kept everything. When he remarries to Anna Ersdotter he brought the share that Johan was entitled to, specified to one barrel of grain and a sum of money (10 daler kopparmyn), with him into his new household. When Bengt then later passed away, his children are said to have taken two thirds of his estate as their inheritance after him, thus leaving Anna with the last third. The peasant, Johan Andersson, claims that since his wife received so little from her late husband the stated sum was too high. This matter had previously been presented at court by Johan Stabergs

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188 This case also illustrates that the importance of marriage in this period. The married state provided a more stable basis.
wife, on his behalf when he was stationed away from home, where it was decided that amount of money should be lowered.\textsuperscript{189}

In a dispute over the inheritance after a deceased soldier and his deceased wife are their belongings are said to be shattered among a few persons that are not the ones supposed to have claims to this inheritance. In the court proceeding are these items and other belongings described and accounted for, where the closest relatives are said to be the nephews and a niece of the dead soldier. The soldier is a corporal which probably meant that he received a somewhat higher wage. Their children, the number of them are not presented in the text, are also dead. \textsuperscript{190}

A soldier's widow was called to court as a witness. The man she testified against tried to question her suitability as a legal witness, and accused her of both to have taking hay and straw from a farm that he owned, as well as spreading gossip and rumours in the local society. The widow was approved as a witness by the members of the court. The accusations made against her was tested later during the same court day, and she was freed from the accusation about having taken hay and straw. In this case was the accusation of her spreading gossip not even mentioned.\textsuperscript{191} Since the accusations about her spreading rumours and gossips was not put forward in the case between the two of them later that day, it is possible that he was only accusing her of this when he was trying to convince the court that she was not suitable as a legal witness in the case against him. It is possible that the civil servant only was trying to discredit her as a witness by questioning her morale.

The question of who is accusing who in the district courts can indicate to which extent the soldiers social standing differed from other groups in the rural society. The soldiers and cavalrymen themselves and their households are appearing on both sides in the court cases, both as the plaintiff as well as the defendant. In some cases the members of the foot soldiers' or cavalry soldiers' households were accusing peasants and/or their wives. It also shows different tensions within the society, such as the cases regarding slandering or violence between soldiers and civil society.

Similarities in social standing did not mean that there weren't any tensions between the civil part of society and the military part of the society. The court cases that involves slandering or false accusations can illustrate tensions within the society. Some of these cases can also be connected to how people provided for themselves.

Two cases of slandering, both where a soldier's wife or widow, was the one claimed to have been slandered. The wife of a soldier complains to the court that a peasant's wife had been falsely accusing her of owing the peasant's wife a sum of money. The reason behind the false accusation was not presented. The soldier's wife had not appealed to court in due time, and thus was the

\textsuperscript{189}ULA, Ulleråkers häradsrätt, Domböcker, vol. AI:2, 14 juni 1714.
\textsuperscript{190}ULA, Ulleråkers häradsrätt, Domböcker, vol. AI:2, 20 oktober 1713.
\textsuperscript{191}ULA, Ulleråkers häradsrätt, Domböcker, vol. AI:2, 26 oktober 1714. The title of the civil servant was a 'fiskal'.
peasant's wife not forced to be there. Because of this the case was not solved.\footnote{ULA, Ulleråkers häradsrätt, Domböcker, vol. AI:2, 19 januari 1714.} The widow of a soldier complaints to the court that two other women, the widows of two of the peasants of the rote that her husband had been recruited for, had been slandering her and calling her an 'insignificant woman' which the widow claimed they had no reason to call her.\footnote{ULA, Ulleråkers häradsrätt, Domböcker, vol. AI:2, 20 oktober 1713, my translation of the original 'passlig qwinna'.} It is notable that all the major actors in this case are women, and they are all presented as widows.

One case differs a bit from the two cases of women slandering each other, since in this case was it not only the soldier's wife who had been slandered but also her household and relatives. The case involved the wife of a cavalry soldier against a woman (described as a hustru) from the tavern of Wallhov. The cavalry soldier was stationed in Skåne, southern Sweden. The woman from the tavern had been calling the soldier's wife for a 'lissmerska' (meaning that she was a woman who flattered others for favours) and accused her husband for being a thief. Moreover, she had scorned her for the fate of her husband's brother, who had been executed, and also been saying that her children would meet the same fate in the future. The soldier's wife had in turn been calling the woman from the tavern for a 'whore' and a 'shameful whore'. None of the women denied these accusations, and they both said that they had acted wrongfully. The woman from the tavern said that she had spoken too hastily, and did not wish to call the cavalry soldier a thief. For the scorning of the fate of the brother she had asked both the soldier's wife and the parish priest for forgiveness. The reason as to why the brother was executed is not written out in the court record.\footnote{ULA, Ulleråkers häradsrätt, Domböcker, vol. AI:2, 25 oktober 1714, my translation of the original 'utskiämande hora'.} Both of the actors in court are female, and they both admit to have slandered each other. One difference is that while the soldier's wife was said to only have slandered the woman from the tavern, while the woman from the tavern slandered both the soldier and his wife plus scorned her about her husband's late brother and her children. By taking these accusations made against members of her family and household to court instead of only seeking justice for the slandering directed towards her, she is the defending the honour of the household that she belongs to. None of the other household-members can defend themselves in court at that time; her husband being stationed away from home, her brother dead and her children to young.

Another case that was about defending honour was a case of a duel between a cavalry soldier and a foot soldier. The reason behind the duel was that the cavalry soldier wished to defend the honour of his mother-in-law. The foot soldier, who had received lodging within the house of the cavalry soldier's in-laws, had been acting rude towards her and calling her a 'hag'. Prior to when he sheathed his rapier, the cavalry soldier said that he disapproved of the foot soldier calling his mother-in-law a hag, and then continued with 'none has yet been capable of defeating me, and I
don't hold you a man enough for that'\textsuperscript{195}. The quotation suggests that this was not the first time he duelled with someone outside the battle field. In an investigation of court cases from the late seventeenth century Stockholm Jarrick and Söderberg stated that soldiers had low tolerance for attacks against their honour, but they also found that despite the low tolerance for slandering was there a lower frequency of cases about slandering in the military court compared to the civil court. One of their explanations for this is that the soldiers solved this cases outside of the legal arena.\textsuperscript{196} This could be one of the reasons for why the cavalry soldier challenged the foot soldier to a duel.

This duel-case engaged a couple of people. In the court proceeding that followed this duel was the cavalry soldier represented by his rusthållare who demanded compensation for expenses for medical care, and also for a new cavalry soldier if the injury made him unable to serve.\textsuperscript{197} An officer appeared in the court speaking in favour of the foot soldier, and claimed that the rusthållare had tried to reprimand the foot soldier by saying that he was acting on behalf of the captain, while the officer said he could prove that the captain had been unaware of this event.\textsuperscript{198} The conflict was extended to having the rusthållare and his cavalry soldier on one side, and the soldier and his officer on the other side.

All the cases presented here with the wives and widows acting in court provides information about their legal status. All these women are acting on their own or together with their spouse. When the married soldiers were stationed away from home, their wives acted on their behalf. One cavalry soldier had given his wife mandate to present his case in front of the district court while he was absent.\textsuperscript{199} Another woman turned to court in order to defend her husband and household against slandering.\textsuperscript{200} Nothing in the court records indicates that this was an unusual practice.

Many of the cases found in the district court records that involves the wives and widows of soldiers and cavalymen are cases of different levels of adultery\textsuperscript{201} and sexual activities outside of wedlock. These type of court cases are outside of the scope for my thesis, but they should be discussed briefly since they ties in to the formation of households and the situation that the soldier households were put in because of the long period of war. Previous research has shown that many soldiers returned home only to find that their wife had remarried, believing the soldier to be dead, or the other way around; many women found their spouses to have deserted them.

\textsuperscript{195}ULA, Ulleråkers häradsrätt, Domböcker, vol. AI:2, 12 juni 1714. My translation of the original 'ingen har ännu warit capabel att slå mig förr, ock intet håller jag dig heller Karl därtill'.

\textsuperscript{196}Jarrick & Söderberg\textsuperscript{1998}, pp. 89, 96, 97.

\textsuperscript{197}ULA, Ulleråkers häradsrätt, Domböcker, vol. AI:2, 12 juni 1714.

\textsuperscript{198}ULA, Ulleråkers häradsrätt, Domböcker, vol. AI:2, 12&14 juni 1714.

\textsuperscript{199}ULA, Ulleråkers häradsrätt, Domböcker, vol. AI:2, 14 juni 1714.

\textsuperscript{200}ULA, Ulleråkers häradsrätt, Domböcker, vol. AI:2, 24 oktober 1714.

\textsuperscript{201}The legislation around adultery separated those cases where only one of the involved persons was married from those cases where both persons were married.
and to have remarried while abroad.\textsuperscript{202} Moreover, the cases of unintended bigamy underlines the importance of being married. It was harder to make it on your own.

This can also be connected to the adultery crimes. If a woman believed herself to be a widow when she engaged in sexual activities, only to find out that her husband still was alive then the crime, and the following punishment, would have changed from sex outside of wedlock into a case of adultery. The soldiers and cavalrymen themselves were also accused of adultery and sexual offences.

A soldier's widow gave herself up in front of the court and stated that she had engaged in sexual activities outside of wedlock. She wanted the court to give her a suitable sentence for her crime, so that she could redeem herself in order to be allowed to participate in the religious life. She was sentenced to pay fines and to participate in a public display of her regret in church. Her employer vouched for her fines.\textsuperscript{203} Previous research on Stockholm in the late seventeenth century also found cases similar to this. Jarrick and Söderberg explained one of the reason as to why women who had gave birth to children outside of wedlock gave themselves up in front of a court, was so they could participate in a ritual (\textit{kyrktagning}) that women who had gave birth had to perform before they could appear in church again after they had served their sentence. Before having had this ritual performed they could not get remarried.\textsuperscript{204}

\textsuperscript{202}Jarlert 2000, passim.
\textsuperscript{203}ULA, Ulleråkers häradsrätt, Domböcker, vol. AI:2, 20 maj 1715.
\textsuperscript{204}Jarrick & Söderberg 1998, pp. 30.
Chapter 4 – summary

- The wives of the foot soldiers and cavalry soldiers could, and did, act on their husbands' behalf when they were absent. This happened either when the husband had given his wife an explicit mandate or when the wife felt obligated to defend her honour, her husbands' honour and the honour of the household.

- The married soldier women represented themselves in court.

- The foot soldiers and the cavalry soldiers, together with their families, lived in close connection to the local community, and they were a part of the rural society. They seem to have interacted on the same social arena as peasants and their families.

- The wives and widows of the soldiers seem to have interacted with other women on different arenas in the local community. They could either act in the judicial arena, in the role of witnesses, plaintiffs and defendants.

- The soldier women defended their honour when slandered by other women, and they even acted against what could have been their social superiors. They could use the company of other women with a higher social standing to strengthen their own claims.

- The soldiers acted in order to defend their honour, but the duelling case suggest that, similar to previous research, that they rather acted outside of the legal arena.

- I have not found anything that suggests that there was a difference in how the local community regarded and interacted with wives and widows of cavalry soldiers compared to wives and widows of the foot soldiers.
Chapter 5: Conclusion – Military service, marriage and local community as resources

My thesis has shown that the majority of the soldiers who were assigned to the rotar in the parishes of Rasbo and Uppsala-Näs, in the region of Uppland, Sweden probably married at some point of their military service. The soldiers that form the cohort studied within this thesis seem to have strove to get married. Based on the source material it is hard to draw general conclusions about how attractive a soldier was as a marriage partner compared to other professions within the same socio-economic group during the early eighteenth century in Sweden. The results do however show that, at least in the two parishes investigated in this thesis, the soldiers could accumulate enough resources through their work to attract a marriage partner and that many of them did take advantage of that.

My thesis has also shown that the soldiers and their families used a range of different resources and income-earning activities in order to make a living. The soldiers tried to support their families even while they were absent on military campaigns. When the soldiers were at home they could work for their rote or rusthåll or they could perform other tasks with the tools and skills they had. Some of them had a background as a craftsman, and they may have been able to expand their incomes by employing these skills, for example the soldier who mended his comrade’s coat. Their wives could work both at the croft, farming the land and taking care of their livestock, and with smaller tasks on request by other members in the local community.

There were tensions within the local community, which can be seen through the cases of slandering. The soldier women seem to have been active in defending their and their household’s honour. Compared to the situation described for the Russian soldatka these women seem however to have acted as an integrated part of the community. Even when their husbands were absent on campaigns or when they became widows they both could and did interact in the local society. They could be employed within households or they could perform smaller work tasks. Social networks within the local society were important, since they could open up for income-earning opportunities.

The new kind of soldier employment that came with the permanent armies did affect the opportunities off providing for a family. With a more stable (at least in theory) and regulated income and living situation men seems to have grasped these opportunities to form households.

Regulations and decrees given from the state mentioned these women. The actions of the women could, in turn, influence state policy. It is clear that the central state took an active interest in the soldiers and their families. This can be compared to previous research, which discussed the subject of how the authorities in some of the states in the Holy Roman Empire regulated the marriage of the soldiers out of a fear that the marriage would lead to a household that could not survive by its own. In the source material for this thesis, the only case I found that
could be connected to the authorities tried to regulate the kind of households that were created by marriage was the officer who had introduced the practice of making his soldiers pay a sum of money before they entered into marriage. A practice he believed would refrain the soldiers from getting into marriages they would regret and abandon, and thus risk the creation of a household (the abandoned wife) that may have been unable to provide for itself (for example if they had young children).

This thesis has shown that marriage, military service, income-earning opportunities and local community/state were closely intertwined. The military service provided the soldier with resources that he could use to help provide for his household. The state created legislation that enabled the soldiers to marry. The wife contributed towards the military service by working at the croft, thus making it possible for the man to perform his military duties. The local community provided the military households with income opportunities that could reduce (to some extent) the hardships with one spouse being absent for longer coherent periods.

In a comparison to the regulations created by different European states in regards to their soldiers’ marriage the Swedish case seems to have been different. It is possible that the Swedish systems (the military allotment system and the ständiga knektebållet) or recruiting and paying their soldiers allowed, or even to a certain extent depended, on the soldiers marrying.

This is a result that opens up for further research on the topic of state formation and formation of soldier households. One interesting approach would be to continue further with a more extended investigation of state legislation around the soldiers’ marriage and the subsistence of the allotted soldiers’ families that remained at home. To perform a more extended investigation, with a larger cohort of soldiers to study, on the marriage rates and patterns among the soldiers in regards to different regions and different forms of military units is another possible quest for further research.
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