God's Little Acre:
STATUS AND POWER MANIFESTATION
ON AN 18TH-CENTURY SWEDISH VICARAGE

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Abstract

This thesis is an investigation into status and power manifestation among Swedish rural clergy in the eighteenth century. It is a case study focused on three consecutive vicars in the small parish of Teda and their efforts to demonstrate their status and power through consumer behavior and material culture. I have studied these vicars’ material belongings through examination of the probate inventories recorded after their deaths, and have applied and expanded a number of theories from existing research in the field of consumption history in order to establish that, like the higher social classes, lower clergy were profoundly concerned with manifesting the status and power of their station. My research demonstrates that not only were consumer behavior and material cultural important components of these manifestations, but also that individual clergymen made use of a variety of additional strategies to make visible statements about their elevated status and power in their communities.

Key words: consumption history; material culture; clergy; status and power manifestation; social elites, probate inventories; status consumption
Abbreviations

Currency

d.kmt. – daler kopparmynt
rdr – riksdaler (banco)
sk. – skilling

Archives

ULA – Landsarkivet in Uppsala
NMA – Nordiska museets arkiv

List of Tables and Images

Table 1: Status Consumption Categories and Items, p. 22
Table 2: Vicars’ Assets and Debts, in 1744 Values, p. 36
Table 3: Glossary, p. 81

Image 1: Floor plan of Teda Vicarage, p. 79
Image 2: Title page of Magnus Leverin’s Probate Inventory, p. 80
# Table of Contents

Introduction...................................................................................................................1

Research Objectives......................................................................................................2

   Consumption History and the State of the Art .........................................................5

Approaching the Objects of Study..................................................................................7

Theoretical Perspectives..................................................................................................7

   Respectability and Representation ..........................................................................7

   The Making of Respectability ..................................................................................9

   Cultural Capital, Embodied and Objectified ..........................................................15

   Representative Publicity and the Public Sphere ......................................................16

   The Professions and Professionalization ................................................................16

Research Methods..........................................................................................................19

Source Material...............................................................................................................22

Historical Background....................................................................................................25

   The Church in Sweden ............................................................................................25

   Clergy in 18th-century Sweden ..............................................................................26

   The Parish and the Vicar ..........................................................................................29

Three Vicars, Three Strategies .......................................................................................36

   The Networker – Nicolaus Fäner ..........................................................................37

   The Big Spender – Magnus Leverin ........................................................................45

   The Humble Servant – Christopher Thedenius ......................................................67

Tea-table Tactics and Representations of Refinement ...................................................73

Appendices......................................................................................................................79

List of References............................................................................................................82
"He who loves silver shall not be satisfied with silver; nor he that loves abundance with increase; this is also vanity. When goods increase, those who eat them are increased: and what good is there to their owner, saving the beholding of them with his eyes?"

Ecclesiastes 5:10-11

“And again I say unto you, It is easier for a camel to go through the eye of a needle, than for a rich man to enter into the kingdom of God.” Matthew 19:24

Introduction

In a time and place that saw his peers' estates routinely valued at no more than a couple of thousand daler kopparmynt, (d.kmt.) Magnus Leverin, vicar in small, poor Teda parish for some thirty years, died with assets totaling over 14,000 d.kmt. Among his worldly goods were a covered carriage worth the unheard sum of 300 d.kmt., wardrobes full of costly clothing, numerous mirrors, and at least a half-dozen tobacco pipes. Leaving aside for the moment the obvious questions about how he was able to acquire all of these things, we can't help but wonder what message he was trying to send–and to whom–with this extravagantly conspicuous consumption.

It is a fair characterization to paint Leverin as a man caught between warring norms and ideals. While much attention has been paid to the impact of the Protestant Reformation on religious and political life, significantly less has been dedicated to understanding its role in refashioning social life, particularly as concerns the clergy. This is a lack that must be rectified, for among the estates the clergy was first and probably also the most affected by the Reformation. As well as the work itself, the clergy's entire range of duties and the estate's function within society were transformed.

The vicar as family man is an aspect of post-Reformation Europe that is too often overlooked. Perhaps not surprisingly, there has been more interest shown in the illicit relationships and illegitimate children of pre-Reformation clergy than in the officially sanctioned family life undertaken by men of the cloth from the mid-sixteenth century onward. The staid country parson is simply a less compelling character than the lascivious medieval priest.

Indeed, this lascivious priest played an important part in Reformation rhetoric, and the clergy’s changing role in society owed something to his bad example. The Protestant married household

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1 The Jerusalem Bible.
2 The Holy Bible, King James Version.
3 Boupppteckning 54, Åsunda häradsrättsarkiv F:3, ULA.
4 Stadin, p. 169.
“could stand as a living rebuke to . . . the licentiousness of the luxury-loving monks”, and it is crucial that we not underestimate the significance of the clergy's role outside the church walls as well as within them.

The behavior of clergy and their families was important, of course, but appearance also mattered a great deal. Priests were expected to dress as befitted a man of God, and they were also to see that their wives and children looked their parts. Furthermore, while it was officially the priest’s duty to oversee his family’s presentation, it wasn’t unusual that his wife was given a share in the blame if he himself didn’t pass muster.

Clergy and their families sat on the horns of a dilemma when it came to marrying piety with distinction, an uncertainty that also prevailed among society at large. At issue was the social rank of the new Protestant clergy and their families, as well as the manner in which this rank was to be assumed symbolically. Should clergy and their families be allowed to stand out visually, or did their station call for a certain asceticism in manners of dress and other consumption? A priest in clerical garb had no chance of staying out of the public eye, nor of avoiding the inevitable criticism he met for any perceived lapse in his appearance, but where was the line distinguishing proper decorum from excess?

Though this struggle between style and substance can often be observed in the estate inventories and other surviving documents left behind by clergy and their families, it has seldom been examined in a consumer context. Rather, consumption history and religious history have largely been separated by what seems a nearly impassable chasm. I maintain, however, that the two fit hand in glove, and that an investigation of consumer practices among early modern clergy will provide valuable insights for both fields. In examining consumer practices through the analysis of individuals’ belongings as recorded in probate inventories, I will make important connections between the things the vicars in my study chose to spend their time and money on and, further, to illustrate the ways in which these choices indicate approaches to status and power manifestation.

Research Objectives

This thesis is a case study examining the consumer practices of three consecutive vicars—and, to a lesser degree unfortunately dictated by the sources, their wives—in the small countryside parish of

5 Roper 1989, p. 17.
6 Malmstedt 2002, p. 89.
7 Rublack 2010, p. 96.
8 Corfield 1995, p. 103.
Teda in the eighteenth century. This was a time of significant change and growth for the clergy, both professionally and socially. Through examination of probate inventories and other documents relating to the vicarage, I will establish that this change—and the resultant endeavors to manifest increased power and status—can be further documented by a study of material culture.

In particular, I have studied the possessions of these three eighteenth-century vicars, and through the modes of analysis outlined below will demonstrate how the things that they acquired can give us insight into the ways in which they chose to manifest their status and power as elites in their community. Teda parish was a third-class parish, meaning that its clergy were among those with the least prestige and the lowest pay within the Swedish church.9 This fact makes Teda an excellent subject for a case study of this nature, giving me the best opportunity to observe consumer practices among the clergy purely as clergy, rather than as men of wealth and/or noble standing who also happened to be clergymen. Furthermore, well-preserved, detailed records are available for the tenures of three consecutive vicars during the eighteenth century, which lends a valuable continuity to the comparisons I want to make.

As Gudrun Andersson has written, material belongings are a key to our understanding of the status manifestation of early modern elites, as said elites surrounded themselves with a rich material culture that used objects to express a multitude of values.10 Amanda Vickery has observed that “consumption is essentially social and relational”, and that a common material culture often plays a role in fostering social solidarity and cohesion.11 In scrutinizing the personal property of the Teda vicars, I will demonstrate that their consumer behavior was a significant factor in both their self-identification as social elites and in their larger manifestation of this status, and its associated power, in the wider community.

While a number of fruitful studies of this nature have been carried out for subjects ranging from the middling sorts up to the aristocracy, little attention has been paid to the clergy. Church and clergy have been researched extensively, of course, but seldom in a consumption context.12 My study will help to bridge the gap between religious and consumption history and to create a fuller picture of the lived lives of early modern clergy. Establishing a clearer outline of the conditions of the vicars on this rural parish will enable us to draw broader conclusions about the lives and work of early modern clergy in Sweden during a time when the vast majority of the

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12 See, for example, Penelope Corfield's *Power and the Professions* (1995) for a detailed discussion in the chapter "Clerics" on early modern British clergy and politics. Also, Ulinka Rublack looks at priestly vestments and “official” presentation in *Dressing Up: Cultural Identity in Renaissance Europe* (2010), but does not address personal consumption among the clergy.
population lived in the countryside under the watchful eye of a considerably influential local vicar. I will demonstrate that even in a small, insignificant parish in rural Sweden, the clergy were profoundly concerned with the manner in which they presented themselves and were, in turn, perceived by their contemporaries. These conclusions have important implications for the understanding of the larger part of society in eighteenth-century Sweden, and will add meaningful nuances to a consumption historiography that has thus far focused predominantly on the higher classes and all but exclusively on secular society.

The three vicars examined in my study together reveal a fascinating picture of different strategies that could be adopted by clergy to assert the status and power of their role in early modern Sweden. Though they were in lower ranks of their profession, these men were nonetheless social “elites” by virtue of their position as clergymen. Joakim Malmström and Patrik Winton have identified the following five points as characteristic of the social elite:

- Elite status is always held in relation to another group or group.
- The elite are an exclusive group.
- The elite must have a sense of themselves as elite and must manifest themselves as such.
- The elite are a group that possesses and uses power resources.
- The elite strive to reproduce their power and to create legitimacy.

Nicolaus Färner, vicar in Teda from 1731 to 1744, worked within a network of local elites to establish and further his social and economic influence, while at the same time exhibiting both humility and frugality as befitted a man of his station. He was not by any means a “conspicuous consumer”, but his probate inventory depicts a man who was well aware of his position in society and made certain that his contemporaries were aware of it as well.

Of particular interest from a consumption perspective is the second vicar in my group of three, Magnus Leverin (vicar from 1745 to 1773), who, despite having no obvious independent means was in a class by himself among early modern countryside clergy. Though he was a member of the clerical estate, and consequently a person of standing, Leverin’s office was that of the third-class, thus the lowest paid and least regarded among Sweden’s clergy. Unexpectedly, he was highly educated, having attained the highest academic degree available at the time, a rarity among his peers in the countryside. Further, it is clear, both from the length of his inventory—some fifty pages—and from its contents, that Leverin had ambitions that exceeded his

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13 Malmström & Winton 2003, pp. 11–12.
relatively humble station. Even from his less than lofty perch, he took great care to present himself as a fine gentleman, with the power to match this standing.

The third and final vicar of my investigation, Christopher Thedenius, held his office from 1774 to 1809. From a financial standpoint, he was the least well-off of the three and, in many ways, was the very picture of the humble, pious country preacher of the stereotypes. His approach to both his office and his status and power manifestation can be seen in a serious undertaking of his role as shepherd and father figure to his congregation. He was a diligent record-keeper and displayed a sober concern for the administration of his duties.

My work is in many ways a study in contrasts. When taken together, these vicars’ three very different approaches to carrying out their important and influential role add valuable dimension to our understanding of the lower clergy in the early modern period. Considered along with theories drawn from consumption history and the history of the professions, the strategies employed by these clergymen to manifest their power and status add layers of meaning to the lives of clergy that heretofore have been largely overlooked. This study is also highly relevant to early modern historiography in general, as it suggests a new approach to examining other social groups and has the potential to broaden our understanding of early modern society.

Consumption History and the State of the Art

Over the past several decades, the study of consumption and material culture has become a formidable presence in historical research. Frank Trentmann has described consumption as “a shorthand that refers to a whole bundle of goods that are obtained via different systems of provision and used for different purposes”.\(^\text{17}\) The examination of what people acquired and the manner in which they used these goods and services can provide us with important insights into lives as they played out both on the smaller stages of households and on the larger scenes of society.

In this study I often use the terms “consumption” and “material culture” interchangeably. Specifically, material culture is the term used to identify the actual, physical goods acquired and used, but as these goods can range from houses to serving platters to rusty nails, material culture is in many cases largely indistinguishable from the larger concept of consumption. Along the same lines, the terms “consumer behavior” and “consumer habits” encompass the entire range of acquisition and use of goods, as well as the goods themselves.

\(^\text{17}\) Trentmann 2012, p. 3.
Consumption history falls under the umbrella of social history, the study of the ways people lived their lives and how and why their behavior and experiences changed over time. As a general rule, social historians are primarily concerned with the big picture. Wherever possible, they employ large amounts of evidence in order to make broad conclusions. For many social historians, the representativity of an object of study is critically important.\textsuperscript{18}

Consumption history also has a place in cultural history, an approach related to, but also in many ways distinct from, social history. Cultural history has so far resisted a concise definition, but Peter Burke has described concern with the symbolic and its interpretation as the common ground of cultural historians.\textsuperscript{19} The cultural historian seeks to explore the lives of ordinary people, often by delving into areas of culture that were once marginalized due to their statistical insignificance.\textsuperscript{20} The smaller scale of such investigations has sometimes been criticized by those who doubt their worth, but historians such as Carlo Ginzburg, Peter Burke, Natalie Zemon Davis, Robert Darnton, and Amanda Vickery have demonstrated robustly that a narrower focus can be enormously valuable.

Significant research time has been dedicated to consumer habits of individuals, especially in Britain and America, but the clergy are conspicuously absent from these accounts. Generally speaking, consumption histories written about religious figures and institutions concern objects intended for use within the church.\textsuperscript{21} Where the clergy specifically are concerned, focus has primarily been on their official vestments rather than on their personal acquisitions.\textsuperscript{22} A good deal has been written regarding power manifestation among the clergy, but the focus here is most often on political matters, within both church hierarchies and society at large.\textsuperscript{23}

The amount of research conducted on clergy is nigh on to unquantifiable. The bulk of what has been done is within theological history, which is beyond the scope of this study. Other significant work has been carried out within political history and, to a lesser but growing degree, in gender studies. The research in these fields has illuminated a great deal of the world of the early modern clergy, particularly on a large scale. Unfortunately, this large scale too often lets us lose track of the individuals and the details of their lived lives, and it is here that an examination from a consumption history perspective can be of immense value.

\textsuperscript{18} Fass 2003, pp. 41–43.
\textsuperscript{19} Burke 2008, p. 3.
\textsuperscript{20} Fass 2003, pp. 39–43.
\textsuperscript{21} Goldthwaite 2006, pp. 172–185.
\textsuperscript{22} For example, Rublack 2010, pp. 81–123.
\textsuperscript{23} For example, Corfield 1995 and McClelland 1991.
Approaching the Objects of Study

Theoretical Perspectives

It is a commonplace, particularly in consumption history, that an object is never merely an object, but is rather itself plus something more. The familiarity of the tune, however, doesn't make it any less insightful. Indeed, the past several decades have seen a surge of recognition of this truth among historians. The importance of the study of material culture is well accepted on most fronts, and we have moved far beyond looking at people’s belongings as merely “the stuff they had”.

Lorna Weatherill writes that material goods are closely tied to culture and social expectations, and that these goods make “physical and visible statements about accepted values and expected behavior”. Beyond looking at just the items themselves, studies of material culture take as a starting point the assumption that the items can have a great deal to say about individuals’ decisions regarding how to spend their time and money. In the early modern period, as today, what people chose to buy and display was a powerful indicator of the way they perceived themselves and, crucially, the way they wished others to perceive them. In the words of Amanda Vickery, a “shared material culture united polite families”, and as Gudrun Andersson writes, material possessions are a key to understanding status manifestation among the early modern elite.

In this study of consumer behavior among rural clergymen in the eighteenth century, I will visit a number of theoretical concepts. First and foremost among these is “respectability” as elaborated by Woodruff Smith. Additionally, I will discuss the phenomenon of “professionalization” in the early modern period and its significance for power and status manifestation. Also relevant are Pierre Bourdieu’s concept of “cultural capital” and Jürgen Habermas’s ideas about “representative publicity”.

Respectability and Representation

In a letter to his daughter in the late eighteenth century, the Scottish physician and moralist, John Gregory, wrote denouncing vanity and excess, advising her that “elegant simplicity is an equal proof of taste and delicacy”. It is plainly apparent in this admonishment that merely having things paled in importance to having the right things and employing them in the proper manner.

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The overriding premise of Smith’s book, *Consumption and the Making of Respectability*, is that respectability—a term first applied in the late eighteenth century to a set of socio-cultural developments that will be described in the following pages—bestowed meaning upon consumption. This meaning—“moral and political as well as social and economic”—allowed a range of connections to be made between purchasing goods and “thinking and acting appropriately”.29 In the environment of “explosive growth of markets in time and space” of the eighteenth century, an ever wider cross-section of society was able to participate in consumption, leading to a “radical redefinition” of ideas regarding status and the employment of consumer goods to express status.30

What may or may not have been deemed “respectable” in early modern society was very much dependent upon the cultural context, which included “a set of customary practices or behaviors, particular modes of cognition and discourse, and material objects”.31 Materials such as fine woods, silk, silver, and porcelain, for example, heralded the economic status and good taste of their owners.32 In the cultural context of this study, good taste carried considerable weight, for the message conveyed by ownership of a particular item was at least as important as the mere fact of possessing it, and the message went far beyond monetary value.

In tracing the development of the phenomena collectively termed respectability, Smith points to Bourdieu’s suggestion that people seek to construct and reproduce “distinction” with intentions concerning self-identification, class definition, and solidarity within these classes.33 Rather than the competition that characterized Thorstein Veblen’s “theory of the leisure class”, then, we can see status consumption as the demonstration of an individual’s belonging in a group whose members understand and acknowledge the same cultural context.

Expounding upon the notion of taste, Bourdieu clearly demonstrates that it is an issue of coming together rather than setting apart:

Taste is a practical mastery of distributions which makes it possible to sense or intuit what is likely (or unlikely) to befall—and therefore to befit—an individual occupying a given position in social space. It functions as a sort of social orientation, a “sense of one’s place”, guiding the occupants of a given place in social space towards the social positions adjusted to their properties, and towards the practices or goods which befit the occupants of that position.34

It can be argued, in fact, that taste is at the very crux of the study of material culture. The concept emerged near the end of the seventeenth century, providing a valuable counterpoint to the

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29 Smith 2002, p. 3  
34 Bourdieu 1984, pp. 468–469.
excessive “luxury consumption” that was increasingly criticized by Protestant thinkers. In contrast to wanton consumption and its associated vulgarity, taste demanded good breeding and years of practice to develop. Smith presents taste as a set of limits “formulated in terms of an aesthetic of balance and order”. Influenced by leaders of opinion and fashion mechanisms, polite society agreed upon a set of rules, always understanding the imperative of aesthetic restraint. Extremes of fashion were to be avoided by people with good taste.35

Grant McCracken characterizes the new emphasis on taste as a “triumph of style over utility, of aesthetics over function”. More important, he continues, taste radically redefined ideas about status and the use of goods to express status.36 “Far from frivolous”, maintains Frank Trentmann, “goods and taste, from jewellery to fine art and J.S. Bach, wove together the fabric of society”.37

All of this is not to suggest, however, that there was a strict dichotomy between luxury and taste. Taste did not demand that luxury be abandoned, only that it be aesthetically tempered. Tasteful luxury consumption was entirely acceptable, with the understanding that rich quality and fine form should be valued over opulence for its own sake.38 Taste could, in fact, be even more exclusive than luxury. While anyone with sufficient means could purchase luxury items, the capacity to demonstrate good taste was more difficult to come by. Taste required a specialized knowledge and refinement that set it apart from mere economic advantages.39 No amount of money could buy good taste, as Alexander Gerard shows in his 1759 An Essay on Taste, writing that “[a] fine Taste is neither wholly the gift of nature, nor wholly the effect of art. It derives its origin from certain powers natural to the mind; but these powers cannot attain their full perfection, unless they are assisted by proper culture”.40

The Making of Respectability

In his examination of respectability, Smith identifies five particular cultural contexts that existed or emerged in western Europe in the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, and explores their role in shaping early modern consumer behavior. These contexts are:

- Gentility
- Luxury

36 McCracken 1990, pp. 18–19.
37 Trentmann, p. 9.
38 Smith 2002, p. 81.
• Virtue
• Masculinity
• Femininity

Smith contends that during the eighteenth century all of these contexts intersected or were “more or less deliberately attached to each other” to form the cultural context of respectability.41 His research focuses on the bourgeoisie,42 but I will expand on his theoretical perspectives to demonstrate that they can be applied equally well to early modern clergy.

**Gentility**

Gentility is described by Smith as a game and a playing field confronting the early modern gentleman (or those aspiring to the rank). The status category of “gentleman”, with its related designations “genteel” and “gentry”, was treated most often in social discourse as a class transcending many of the boundaries of the formal social hierarchy. The distinction came commonly to include all adult males who could claim prestige, elite status, and a share in political power, along with their female and minor dependents.43 This is in line with Amanda Vickery’s use of the terms “polite” and “genteel” to describe the “moderate social eminence” of a particular sort, as well as emphasizing outward behavior without presupposing an individual’s source of income.44 Lorna Weatherill concurs with this assessment, observing that the gentry were not a legally defined group, but rather that gentility depended on local or regional recognition as well as wealth and conduct.45

One of the primary characteristics of gentility is a pattern of behavior featuring conspicuous consumption, adherence to social norms, and observance of fashions. The context of gentility was both dynamic and ambiguous, containing inconsistencies and contradictions, and subject to manipulation. According to Smith, it was the desire to resolve inconsistencies, in part, that led to a merging of gentility with other contexts in the eighteenth century.46

**Luxury**

Luxury is something of a problematic concept, due in no small part to the inconsistent manner in which the word has been used for centuries. Contemporary phrases such as “little luxuries” and “everyday luxury” further obscure an already vague definition. Weatherill describes luxury as a catch-all for a number of social and economic ideas that does not provide any means of

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42 Andersson 2004, p. 293.
identifying whether particular goods are luxuries or necessities. She points out that understanding what individuals and a society felt was necessary can come only through observing their behavior, priorities, and choices about what to own. She advises, therefore, that care be taken when using these terms.\textsuperscript{47}

In the early modern period, luxury was a rapidly changing context, encompassing a wide variety of behaviors, discourses, and ideas related to the sensual. Of special significance was the sensual experience of commodities and the associated tension between luxury consumption and traditional views of morality and social order.\textsuperscript{48} Smith has defined luxury as a cultural context that included both a set of morally problematic behaviors and the framework within which people tried to deal with problems posed by those behaviors, without having to give up the behaviors altogether.\textsuperscript{49} The emergence of taste as a social marker, as well as the notions of comfort and convenience as modest and moral motivations for the enjoyment of sensual pleasures allowed those in polite society to continue to indulge themselves—up to a point—without engaging in the sin of decadent excess.\textsuperscript{50}

The clergy, of course, had a particularly tense relationship with the context of luxury. As social elites, they had a position to uphold and were expected to demonstrate this position in both their personal appearance and the appearance of their homes. At the same time, one of the primary complaints against pre-Reformation clergy had been regarding their often wanton indulgence in a variety of luxuries and the impiety their behavior was seen to indicate. As I will discuss in detail in the following chapter, Protestant clergy were exceptionally conscious of the demand that they exhibit both humility and piety, while at the same time manifesting their elevated social standing and the divine calling that had led them to the priesthood. For men and their families caught between conflicting expectations, the concept of taste, as well as those of comfort and convenience, made it possible to strike a balance that satisfied the opposing interests they were called to answer.

\textbf{Virtue}

The context of virtue was a new cultural construct in the early modern period, composed in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and, according to Smith, was “the glue that made respectability coherent and gave it its distinctive moral character”. One of the fundamental concerns of the context of virtue was health, which was promoted by close attention to diet and

\textsuperscript{47} Weatherill 1996, pp. 16–17.
\textsuperscript{48} Smith 2002, p. 225.
\textsuperscript{49} Ibid., p. 67.
\textsuperscript{50} Ibid., p. 84.
exercise. Excessive indulgence in food and drink and lack of care for one’s health were taken to demonstrate a lack of virtue that, worryingly, might be demonstrated in one’s public life. After all, if a man cannot exercise self-control in his eating and drinking, how can he be expected to control himself when charged with acting for the public good?\(^{51}\)

From a consumption perspective, the emerging and growing use of sugar, coffee, and tea in early modern Europe are particularly interesting aspects of the context of virtue. Smith contends that the introduction of coffee and tea into Europe in the mid-seventeenth century can be explained in terms of fashion and status, and that a resurging demand for these hot drinks in the early eighteenth century is directly linked to the new consumption practice of drinking them sugared. Coffee, tea, and sugar were all subjects of much discussion relating to health and to the larger issues of moderation, self-control, and virtuous living.\(^{52}\)

Cleanliness, as it related to health and morality, was an aspect of virtue that had particular relevance for clergy. The association of cleanliness with spiritual purity was “ancient and deep-rooted”, and it was so forceful that people were often taken aback if the two did not accompany one another. Unlike any other household task, cleaning was widely considered a moral duty and, of course, it was a duty that fell almost exclusively to women. Further, the making of an attractive home had connections to the virtue of cleanliness, and a number of activities that were considered “cleaning” were in fact decorative efforts.\(^{53}\)

**Rational Masculinity**

In his examination of the making of respectability, Smith describes “rational masculinity”—a cultural construction linking “a wide variety of behaviors, assumed human capacities, and institutions to a particular notion of what it means to be male”—as an important constituent of respectability. A man should be reasonable and able to deal intelligently and impersonally with reality, as well as capable of associating with others for specific purposes. Further, a man should be aware of the negative aspects of masculinity, such as violence and selfishness, and be able to exercise appropriate restraint in order that the positive aspects not be negated.\(^{54}\) Studies of masculinity in eighteenth-century Britain are to a significant degree in line with Smith’s thinking here, and are quite striking in their emphasis upon the social sphere, civility, and politeness, with the so-called “polite gentleman” being one of the most prominent figures in the historiography of the period”.\(^{55}\)


\(^{53}\) Davidson 1986, pp. 117–118.


Smith pays a great deal of attention to the role of coffeehouses in the development and furthering of the context of rational masculinity. While the coffee itself was important, as seen above, the key aspect of the coffeehouse culture of the early modern period was the opportunity it gave for important social interaction. Drinking coffee and tea was taken to enhance intelligence, sobriety, and “nonboisterous sociability”, and to encourage conversation, a central feature of rational masculinity.\textsuperscript{56}

Tobacco smoking was also of great significance for the context of rational masculinity. Tobacco’s association with those who introduced it to Europe—soldiers, sailors, and adventurers—lent it a connection with “adventurous, dangerous, and \textit{manly} activities”. By the eighteenth century, these associations were integrated into the image of the rational, sober man and made to be consistent with respectability.\textsuperscript{57}

In the early years of its introduction into Europe, tobacco use faced a certain resistance from some church figures. Smoking, with its essential components of fire and smoke, was associated with the devil and hellfire. The dependence on or addiction to tobacco was also problematic for the Church, and it was described by some as a religious sin. Snuff was less religiously loaded, and its use soon became a common practice for clergy in Spain.\textsuperscript{58} In the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, there appeared a few Greek writings condemning tobacco use by clergymen, but in general, this disapproval of tobacco was not religiously motivated.\textsuperscript{59} By and large, clergy throughout Europe appear not to have been singled out for their tobacco use. While there was a good deal of public opinion disseminated both in favor of, and in opposition to, the use of tobacco,\textsuperscript{60} the practice of smoking or snuffing by clergy in particular would seem to have been largely a non-issue.

Tobacco use in Sweden had its breakthrough in the seventeenth century, and during the eighteenth century snuff use became a must among Swedish elites. A fine and proper gentleman was always in possession of a snuff box, which should be expensive and handled with carefully controlled elegance. These snuff boxes were small masterpieces, made of gold, silver, or other valuable materials, and they rapidly became popular gift items.\textsuperscript{61}

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{56} Smith 2002, pp.151–154.
\item \textsuperscript{57} \textit{Ibid.}, pp. 161–168.
\item \textsuperscript{58} Beck 2002.
\item \textsuperscript{59} Chrissidis 2011, pp. 41–42.
\item \textsuperscript{60} Smith 2002, pp. 162–163.
\end{itemize}
Despite its significance within the context of respectability as a whole, however, snuff-taking did not have a place in the gendered contexts of rational masculinity and domestic femininity. Prior to the nineteenth century, taking snuff was a legitimate activity for both men and women, and could speak to one’s gentility, sense of fashion, and perhaps even virtue. For all its other associations with masculinity, it was not until late in the eighteenth century that tobacco, in the form of smoking, took on a gendered significance and came increasingly to be identified in terms of rational masculinity and domestic femininity.  

Domestic Femininity

Domestic femininity is described by Smith as a product of the thinking of rational masculinity and was a doctrine employed as a means to shape women’s behavior to conform to roles consistent with rational masculinity. An important aspect of domestic femininity was the responsibility of women to keep a respectable household and, significantly, to engender and uphold civilization in its most fundamental sense, as a secular highest good.

Far from being sequestered at home in the “private sphere”, respectable women in the early modern period were visibly at work in the social sphere, both in their own homes and in the homes of others. They were active participants in these social exchanges that were an important arena for mingling between men and women. Indeed, the social sphere at home can be characterized as a feminine sphere, where women’s presence—and their refining influence—was required and the hostess could wield “considerable practical power.”

In this domestic social sphere, the ritual of taking tea became tremendously important. Women were the central actors in the taking of tea, presiding over the ritual and giving it meaning. Where social structure was concerned, tea-taking was a way of claiming a respectable social standing in a society that was not altogether defined in terms of classes and orders. The accoutrements of taking tea played a central role, serving as “indispensable props” for the hostess, who took great care to display her tableware so that it reflected and affirmed her refinement and good taste.

Writing about women in eighteenth-century England, Amanda Vickery maintains that “gentle women did not expect to live a life of groveling subordination”, but instead took active control over the management of their lives and responsibilities, while at the same time formally honoring masculine authority. These women were trained to respect the rights of a gentleman’s position, but they expected also to be met with respect and courtesy. Any interference with their

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63 Ibid., p. 160.
64 Ibid., p. 179.
management of younger children, servants, and housekeeping was likely to be met with stiff resistance.  

The term domestic femininity is somewhat unfortunate for the image it can bring to mind of a “domesticated” woman, or a “domestic servant”, that is, a person with little independent agency and little possibility of affecting her own situation. Clearly, this was not the case, and respectable women of the early modern period had a vital role in creating and maintaining both their own respectability and that of their families.

Within the context of domestic femininity, the demands on the clergy wife were especially wide-ranging. Not only was she responsible for her own and her family’s respectability, but her “household”, in many significant ways, included the entire community presided over by her husband. Inasmuch as the vicar was seen as the “father” of his congregation, so was the vicar’s wife their “mother”, with all the duties that role entailed. The vicarage she maintained served not only her immediate family, but also the congregation as a whole, and the largest part of the responsibility for its presentation as a model of respectability and dutiful piety fell upon her.  

**Cultural Capital, Embodied and Objectified**

In studies of status and power manifestation through consumption, Pierre Bourdieu’s theory of the forms of capital is enormously useful. For the purposes of this investigation I will examine the idea of “cultural capital” and two of its states, the “embodied state” and the “objectified state”.

Bourdieu defines the embodied state of cultural capital as “long-lasting dispositions of the mind and body” and maintains that accumulation of cultural capital in its embodied state—that is, in the form that can be referred to as “culture” or “cultivation”—costs time, which must be invested personally by the individual doing the accumulating. This capital cannot be gifted, purchased, or exchanged in the manner of money or property, but must be worked for over a considerable period of time. Because the workings of transmission and accumulation are not easily visible, Bourdieu argues, embodied cultural capital combines both the cachet of innate property and the worthiness of acquisition.

Cultural capital can also be objectified in material objects and media, such as books, paintings, clothing, furnishings, and the like. In these cases, many of the properties of cultural capital in the objectified state are defined only in the relation with cultural capital in the embodied state. That is, the greatest value in accumulating certain objects is often in the message it conveys—whether to him- or herself or to others—about the cultivation of the objects’ owner.

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69 Hermansson 2012, pp. 15–16.
Representative Publicity and the Public Sphere

Jürgen Habermas has presented the public sphere as, above all, “the sphere of private people come together as a public”.\(^{72}\) This is a simple definition for a very complex set of ideas, the public sphere, in all its forms, being not so much a place as a series of behaviors, the most important of which for this study is the idea of “representative publicity”.

Representative publicity was the form of public sphere that operated in medieval and early modern feudal states in Europe. This public sphere consisted of the manorial lord representing himself, and thus his status and power, before the people. According to Habermas, that which was without worth could not be represented, and words such as “highness”, “excellence”, “majesty”, “honor”, and “dignity” were attempts to characterize the “peculiarity of a being that is capable of representation”. Because representation amounted to little more than the lord presenting himself as the embodiment of eminence, representative publicity was not a public sphere in the sense of the later spheres in which individuals enjoyed independent agency, but in fact something akin to a “status attribute”.\(^{73}\) This concept is particularly relevant for an examination of status and power manifestation among rural vicars in the early modern period; given their position as the undisputed source of power in the parish\(^{74}\), they could act as quasi-lords over their parishioner subjects.

The Professions and Professionalization

. . . the Lord opened to me three things relating to those three great professions in the world, – law, physic, and divinity (so called). He showed me that the physicians were out of the wisdom of God, by which the creatures were made . . . . He showed me that the priests were out of the true faith, of which Christ is the author, – the faith which purifies, gives victory and brings people to have access to God, by which they please God; the mystery of which faith is held in a pure conscience. He showed me also that the lawyers were out of the equity, out of the true justice, and out of the law of God . . . . [T]hese three, – the physicians, the priests, and the lawyers, – ruled the world out of the wisdom, out of the faith, and out of the equity and law of God . . . .

--Autobiography of George Fox (1624–1691)\(^ {75}\)

George Fox was a seventeenth-century English clergyman and founder of the Society of Friends, commonly known as the Quakers. His autobiography was first published in 1694 and gives outstanding insights into the life of an early modern minister. His conviction that the “three great professions” were divine occupations, quoted in the above paragraph, goes a long way to explaining the role of these professions—not least the clergy—in early modern society.

\(^{72}\) Habermas 1989, p. 27.
\(^{73}\) Ibid, p. 7.
\(^{74}\) Bergström 1991, p. 17.
\(^{75}\) Jones 1903, p. 44.
Over the course of the eighteenth century, the notion of “professionalization” took hold in Europe and became increasingly important as a social marker. Where previously the term “profession” had been more or less synonymous with “occupation” (that is, the manner by which one earned a living), in the eighteenth century it acquired a more precise application. Professions came to refer to a sector of employment that required in-depth training, specialist knowledge, and dedication to the service of others, distinctions that were in sharp contrast to those characterizing trades, crafts, and unskilled services.76

Unlike the ideas about professionalization that dominated the nineteenth century and continue until today—the association with accreditations, qualifications, and organizations—professionalization in the late seventeenth and early-to-middle eighteenth centuries was concerned with more abstract notions. Clergyman, doctors, and lawyers were not only men who performed particular jobs, dealing with issues that affected individual people, but, crucially, they connected these issues “with the state and society in general: the fate of souls, the safe-guarding of rights and property, physical well-being and life itself”.77

It might be argued that in the eighteenth century, professionalization was chiefly about creating perceptions and fitting into them. During this time, professionalization was characterized by nothing else so much as its fluidity. Without effective means for social control, regulation and routine were a long time coming, and it was largely only in the nineteenth century that professionalization emerged as an institutional process with privileged associations and legal enforcement.78 A detailed study of the professions during the eighteenth century is as much as a study of social relations as of occupations.79

In a number of respects, the idea of a profession is familiar to our modern sensibilities, and while it is true that certain characteristics have remained constant over the centuries, there are aspects of early modern professionalism that mustn’t be overlooked. Although professionals depended upon financial compensation for their services, they were not in an occupation only for profit; rather, they were answering a higher calling.80 Rosemary O’Day has written that a profession was not simply a specialized occupation, but a “vocation”, in the very strictest sense of the word. In the early modern period, a profession was a status occupation to which the practitioner was called by God.81 In other words, beneficence—or at least the appearance of

80 McClelland 1991, p. 16.
same—was at least as important to the professions as was financial gain. It is illustrative of this point that in the language of the professions, practitioners do not receive “wages” or provide “goods”. To the contrary, they offer “public services” in exchange for “salaries” and/or “fees”. Physicians, lawyers, and clerics “counsel” their clients or “give”, rather than “sell”, advice.82

While it wasn’t unheard of in the early modern period for the terms “profession” and “occupation” to be used interchangeably, a profession was at the same time indication of a spiritual allegiance as well as a bodily one. To have a profession was a signal of a public affirmation, “as in a ‘profession’ or ‘confession’ of faith”.83 It was this affirmation that distinguished those in the professions from other occupations. All practitioners of the three learned professions “imbibed a Christianised social humanist philosophy that encouraged them to discern in their occupation a vocation or calling from God actively to serve the common weal...”.84

The supposed higher calling of all professionals notwithstanding, the clergy naturally had a more intense responsibility to the service of God and humanity than did their peers in medicine and law. Clergymen were on call every minute of the day, answering duties both “extensive and intensive”, and could never relax. It was crucial that they actively demonstrate at all times their faith in the religion they upheld, and parents were exhorted not to urge unwilling sons into clerical office merely for the sake of its prestige.85

This sense of a higher calling went hand-in-hand with what grew into a society-wide perception of a certain refinement among professionals. Writing about eighteenth-century Britain, Penelope Corfield goes into some detail about the declining numbers of official titles available to non-nobles and the corresponding rise in numbers claiming to be “gentlemen”. The position of gentleman was entirely informal, depending upon a subtle mixture of an individual’s assertion of his status and society’s acceptance of that assertion.86 The extent to which this mixture became of critical importance to the professions can be seen in the English term “liberal professions”, which carried the implication that the primary qualification for acceptance into them was “a liberal, or a classical education, ‘that is, the education of a gentleman, not of a trader or an artisan’”.87

84 O’Day 2000, p. 16.
85 Corfield 1995, p. 103.
86 Ibid., p. 12.
87 McClelland 1991, p. 15.
The significance of social distinction among professionals cannot be overstated. In fact, their elite status was based not so much upon the work they did as upon their “cultivation of the dignified bearing and elegance of an educated man”.

Far beyond the particulars of his occupation, the distinction enjoyed by a member of the professions was firmly grounded in his “exclusive possession of the common intellectual culture”, demonstrated by learnedness, a gentlemanly manner, and educational achievement.

The repeated emphasis upon social standing goes far to indicating the professional’s place in society. To be a gentleman carried social prestige, marking one as a person of “quality”. The gentleman was addressed as “Mister”, and his wife was considered a lady (though she was not formally a “Lady”). There is undoubtedly a connection between professionalization in the early modern period and the “sense of service, and self-importance, which [professionals] shared with the social elite—the aristocracy and gentry”. Indeed, as rising professional standards pervaded society, the lines between the nobility and gentlemen of quality frequently became blurred to the point that the two were nearly indistinguishable.

Research Methods

In order to establish the consumer behavior of Teda’s vicars as status and power manifestation, I will follow the lead of a number of researchers, including Lorna Weatherill, Mark Overton, Jane Whittle, Gudrun Andersson, and Jon Stobart, in examining probate inventories with an eye out for objects that would indicate intentions of status and power manifestation. The presence—or absence—of a number of specific objects helped me to draw conclusions regarding not only the three vicars’ positions in their communities, but also their ambitions and aspirations to manifest and increase their status in the eyes of their contemporaries.

Weatherill was something of a pioneer in using inventories in this manner, a test of ownership that can be applied to most inventories. Instead of focusing primarily on the numerical value of objects for her study, Consumer Behaviour and Material Culture in Britain 1660–1760, she studied inventories with the aim of spotlighting aspects of material life other than income and expenditure. This manner of using inventories to examine material culture is perhaps the surest method, as a more economic approach runs into the difficulty of distinguishing the value of goods from expenditure on consumption. A study of material culture, in addressing “the world of

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89 Turner 1980, p. 108.
90 Broman 1995, p. 841.
92 Brooks 2001, p. 3.
goods as it exists” and the meaning given this world by its inhabitants, is perhaps the best method to gather clues about the cultural meanings of material objects.95

In ascertaining the meanings of specific objects, it is important to be aware of prevailing norms and attitudes, and particularly of indicators of taste and respectability. It is not merely the presence of high-ticket items that announces status, but also—and at least equally—the presence of certain kinds of items, intended to be used in certain ways. As Stobart points out in his study of grocers and groceries in early modern England, it is significant that estate appraisers made special note of “tea tables”, even though the monetary value of these items wasn’t high. Clearly, in the cultural context, ownership of a tea table had something to say about its owner’s refinement and place in polite society that wasn’t determined by its price tag.96

In order to be classified as a “status object”, an item must in some way be set apart from items of everyday use. Andersson sets out the following criteria for determining an object’s value as a marker of status:

- The object is limited to those of elite status, whether by law or because of its price.
- The object is difficult to obtain (perhaps, but not necessarily, due to scarce supply).
- The object conveys a complex social message.
- Specialized knowledge is required in order to use the object “properly”.
- There is a close connection between consumption and corporeality, individual and individuality.97

An object might fulfill any or all of these criteria and, obviously, there is a good deal of overlap. A good number of items could easily meet all of these standards.

Using a similar method, Weatherill presents a listing of the items she selected as meaningful for her study. Among these are pewter, knives and forks, utensils for hot drinks, window curtains, mirrors, pictures and prints, books, clocks, and all silver. Weatherill determined the significance of these items based on a number of criteria. The items may have carried an obviously high monetary value, as in the case of silver, or been indicative of new behaviors and ways of thinking, as with clocks, mirrors, and items associated with hot drinks.98 Mark Overton, Jane Whittle, et al. give a similar accounting of their selections of status items. Their list is somewhat more inclusive, documenting furniture and furnishings, household linens, and a wide array of cooking implements, in addition to the categories of items selected by Weatherill.99

Where status and power manifestation are concerned, accumulations of household items in half-

95 Overton et al. 2004, pp.88–89.
96 Stobart 2012, p. 249.
97 Andersson 2009, pp. 147–148.
98 Weatherill 1996, pp. 204–207.
dozens or, ideally, dozens, are particularly significant, as they indicate both the means and the cultural understanding required to stocks one’s cupboards appropriately.\textsuperscript{100}

Weatherill explains that for the ease of cross-tabulation, she excluded a number of items that she considered meaningful but that were too infrequently listed in inventories for her purposes. These items include furniture, certain types of cookery, wooden eating implements, most domestic linens, musical instruments, and various ornaments.\textsuperscript{101} As my sample consists of only three inventories, drawn up for consecutive householders on the same property, I do not have the task of compiling of wide-ranging statistical data. As a result, I will be including the items excluded by Weatherill in my analysis, as they have a great deal to say about their owners’ status and refinement. This is especially true for many items she excluded because they were seldom seen in inventories. These items were often tremendously important with regard to the concept of cultural capital, such as musical instruments, and the fact that they are listed at all in an inventory is meaningful in itself.\textsuperscript{102} Other items excluded by Weatherill, such as furniture and domestic linens, are well recorded in Swedish inventories, and are a significant part of my analysis of status and power manifestation on the early modern rural vicarage.

A category of items not examined by the above researchers, despite its obvious significance, is clothing. This is almost certainly down to fact that clothing is seldom valued in a reliable way in British inventories, making it all but impossible to include in studies of this nature.\textsuperscript{103} Swedish inventories, on the other hand, are far more meticulous and often list clothing and other apparel in minute detail. Andersson writes that perhaps the foremost marker of status was the individual him- or herself,\textsuperscript{104} and with this in mind, I have looked closely at the lists of clothing presented in the inventories.

In my analysis of the probate inventories of the Teda vicars, I have taken special note of the categories and items in the following table. Of course, some items fit into multiple categories and are thus significant on more than one count, and some items do not fit readily into any of the categories although they are clearly status items. These cases I will address in my detailed analysis.

\begin{footnotesize}
\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{100} Andersson 2009, pp. 128–189 \textit{passim}.
\item \textsuperscript{101} Weatherill 1996, pp. 204–207.
\item \textsuperscript{102} Andersson 2009, p. 173.
\item \textsuperscript{103} Weatherill 1996, p. 3.
\item \textsuperscript{104} Andersson 2009, p. 190.
\end{itemize}
\end{footnotesize}
Table 1: Status Consumption Categories and Items

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Categories</th>
<th>Items</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Precious Metals and Gemstones</td>
<td>Gold</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Silver</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Jewelry</td>
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<tr>
<td>Goods for Eating and Drinking</td>
<td>Tableware</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Pewter</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Porcelain</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Glassware</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Items intended for coffee, tea, or sugar consumption</td>
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<tr>
<td>Household Goods</td>
<td>Household textiles</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Furniture</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Wallpaper</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clothing and Personal Effects</td>
<td>Clothing</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Accessories</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Wigs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Tobacco-related items</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“Fine Culture” Goods</td>
<td>Paintings and decorative wall-hangings</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Musical instruments</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Books</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Mirrors</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Clocks</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transportation Goods</td>
<td>Carriages</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Other transportation equipment</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source Material

The bulk of my empirical research is drawn from probate inventories, but I have also examined other public documents, including minutes from parish meetings, tax and census records, and miscellaneous church records. These other documents are used in a supplementary capacity to flesh out discussions of circumstances in Teda parish and the clergymen’s actions within their role as vicar.
Probate Inventories: Figurative and Literal Wealth

Sweden is unusually fertile ground for the study of probate inventories. The practice of making these records was established in the seventeenth century, though they were drawn up primarily in cities and for well-to-do families. They became more common in the early eighteenth century, and in 1734 it was made law in Sweden that an accounting of each person’s estate—for women as well as men, irrespective of marital status—be recorded upon his or her death. These accountings were to document all of the deceased’s assets and debts, including personal property, real estate, and outstanding credits and liabilities.105

Inventories have played a significant role in historical studies of consumer behavior in the early modern period, having been used in studies of trades, agriculture, towns, and living standards.106 Inventories are also particularly suited to studies of material culture for the way that they open up early modern homes and allow the researcher access to their contents, from cooking pots to gemstones and everything in between.107

Among the earliest historians to use probate inventories in studying individual wealth was Alice Hanson Jones for her 1970 publication Wealth Estimates for the American Middle Colonies 1774. Though her aim was not directly concerned with material culture, her results are important for having demonstrated how well probate inventories can depict living people. Furthermore, and equally valuably, she showed that great numbers of inventories are not required to yield useful empirical data.108

There is no such thing as a perfect source, of course, and inventories are no exception. A problem that is often mentioned with inventories as a source is the uncertainty regarding whether the estate in its entirety has been recorded or if items have been excluded. It is common, for instance, that clothing not belonging to the deceased is not listed, and objects of extremely low value may also have been omitted. While this is obviously a hurdle for the researcher looking to establish an accurate picture of an estate’s entire value, it is significantly less problematic for studies of material culture and status manifestation.109

What is of primary concern to this study is what might be called “status objects”, and these are far less likely to have been left out of inventories. Items that were large, unusual, or intrinsically valuable would have caught the eye of the appraisers and been therefore unlikely to

105 Andersson 2009, p. 133.
106 Weatherill 1996, p. 4.
be overlooked by accident.\textsuperscript{110} As to whether items of value might intentionally have been excluded, the evidence points to the contrary. Not only was it in the interest of the heirs that a complete and accurate accounting was given but there was also a significant legal incentive to present a truthful record. In early modern Sweden, stiff penalties were prescribed for anyone who concealed property or gave false statements in connection with the settlement of an estate.\textsuperscript{111}

It is naturally possible—indeed even probable—that households had more assets at their disposal than those listed in the probate inventories, given the propensity of neighbors to borrow and share, as well as the networks of community reciprocity in which the early modern household ideally operated. Researchers using inventories must accept at the outset that these documents are unable to wholly recreate a household’s experiences, but as there is no plausible scenario that would have provided incentive for a household to fraudulently pad an inventory by adding items, we can safely assume that inventories give us at the very least a minimum indication of the material world of the individuals and families for whom they were recorded.\textsuperscript{112}

When working with inventories, the most flexible results come from “relatively small, carefully contrived samples”,\textsuperscript{113} and it is under these conditions that inventories show their enormous worth in studying status consumption and manifestation by individuals. While it would admittedly be difficult, for instance, to produce random probability samples for large geographic areas using only probate inventories, for smaller-scale studies inventories are an outstanding source.

A short note about currency is in order, as not only do we have to adjust for inflation and the like, but Swedish currency was nothing if not changeable in the early modern period. The values from the first two inventories I examine are given in \textit{daler kopparmynt} (d.kmt.) and those from the third are given in \textit{riksdaler banco} (rdr) and \textit{skillingar} (sk.). There were 48 sk. to 1 rdr. According to the coin reform of 1776/1777, 1 rdr was worth 18 d.kmt., a condition that held until 1810.\textsuperscript{114} As Andersson notes, monetary values in these inventories must be used carefully, especially because the purchasing power of the currency changed considerably over the course of the eighteenth century, decreasing by nearly half from 1735 to 1797.\textsuperscript{115}

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{110} Weatherill 1996, p. 204.
\item \textsuperscript{111} Andersson 2009, p. 135.
\item \textsuperscript{112} McCants 2013, pp. 318–319.
\item \textsuperscript{113} Weatherill 1996, p. 201.
\item \textsuperscript{114} Lagerqvist 2011, pp. 67–68, 167, 176.
\item \textsuperscript{115} Andersson 2009, p. 139.
\end{itemize}
**Historical Background**

**The Church in Sweden**

A worthwhile examination of life on Teda vicarage calls for an understanding of the Protestant Reformation in Sweden, as well as of Swedish society in the eighteenth century. In contrast to the turbulence that characterized the Reformation in much of the rest of Europe, the break with Rome was a relatively undramatic, if rather drawn-out affair in Sweden. To a large degree, the Reformation in Sweden was driven by its monarchs’ political interests. Propelled by the need to legitimate his newly won claim to the Swedish throne and the necessity of securing material resources to fill coffers sorely depleted by war, Gustav Vasa brought the church—and its wealth—under state control in the 1520s, achieving what was for him the most important aim of the Reformation, to break the Catholic Church’s economic and political power in Sweden.

While the administrative aspects of the Reformation were accomplished fairly quickly, making a Protestant nation out of Sweden took considerably longer. In the words of the great reformer Olaus Petri, “[o]ne must travel slowly with the people in this country”. The better part of the sixteenth century was characterized by a palpable uncertainty at all levels of society regarding matters of faith and doctrine, and it wasn’t until the decisive Uppsala Meeting in the spring of 1593 that Sweden was definitively established as a Lutheran country.

The seventeenth century was marked by the pursuit of religious unity within Sweden. This pursuit was manifested in a close relationship between the church and secular power, and these combined interests together undertook a program of “social disciplining” with the aim of homogenizing the populace into a group of obedient subjects. A common aphorism of the time was “one religion, one state”, and practitioners of other faiths were not infrequently seen as a political danger. In this context, parish priests might be seen as the “long arm of the law” stretching into the lives of the common people.

Whether, and to what degree, this effort toward homogenization was successful in Sweden is a subject for a different study, but for the scope of this thesis it is important to understand that by the eighteenth century the hierarchy of the church was well established. The Archbishopric in Uppsala was the head of the church in matters both spiritual and worldly, overseeing the

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117 Andrén 1999, pp. 31–32.
119 Andrén 1999, pp. 212–228. The Uppsala Meeting was as much a political event as a religious one. From the planning stages onward, the parties were in agreement that religious unity was a condition for political stability.
120 Berntson *et al.* 2012, pp. 163–164.
dioceses. A Cathedral Chapter with a bishop led each diocese, and the dioceses were further organized into parishes. Within each diocese, one large or several small parishes were coordinated for administrative purposes into “contracts” presided over by a dean who was appointed by the bishop of the diocese. Every parish employed a vicar as well as one or more assisting priests with the title of curate or chaplain. With this extensive apparatus firmly in place, the church and the clergy were a powerful force in all aspects of Swedish society.

**Clergy in 18th-century Sweden**

All clergymen—and by extension, their wives and dependent children—were members of the clerical estate, and thus persons of standing in Swedish society, ranking under the nobility and above burghers and farmers. This standing meant that they were social elites, with responsibilities and privileges according to their station. Though their numbers were small, members of the clerical estate were highly visible in society, and the emergence of the clergy family as a social group changed the character of the estate considerably.

The post-Reformation vicar faced a pressure to be a “paragon of wedded and domestic harmony” that had not been an issue for his unmarried Catholic predecessors. If he did not meet these demands, he was subject to harsh public criticism as a hypocrite who took it upon himself to discipline the congregation in his charge while ignoring the “mote in his own eye”. It was incumbent upon him to strike a working balance between the increasing demands of his supervisors to produce results in the Christian learning and behavior of his flock and the needs of his congregation, a balance that was even trickier to find if he were ambitious for promotion.

The early years of the eighteenth century saw the clerical estate in Sweden gaining significant ground concerning strengthened rights and privileges. In conjunction with the estates’ increased parliamentary power, the clerical estate claimed the right to act as overseer for the church and therefore came to play a central role in church operations for the larger part of the century. In 1720, clerical privileges were further reinforced when government by-laws declared that estate privileges must be approved by the entire parliament, which meant that clerical privileges could not be altered without the approval of the clerical estate itself.

The power of the clerical estate extended all the way down through its ranks. In a countryside parish in the early modern period, the vicar was indisputably the most important authority figure.

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121 Giertz 2009, p. 60.
123 Karant-Nunn 2003, p. 98.
He was the official overseeing the parish, the lowest tier of public administration, and in a time when 90% of Sweden’s population was rural it is clear that he had considerable influence on a local level.\textsuperscript{125} It was his calling to shepherd the members of his congregation from the cradle to the grave, and through Sunday services, home visitations, catechetical examinations, and other proceedings—including the public reading of royal decrees and messages from secular authorities—he came into close contact with his parishioners on a daily basis.\textsuperscript{126}

From 1723, church law required the vicar to call parish members to a meeting twice every year, on 1 May and 29 September, with additional meetings as required.\textsuperscript{127} For the mass of Swedish people who lived in the countryside in the early modern period, the ecclesiastic and the secular were functionally a single unit, led by the vicar, and the parish meeting was akin to a modern-day city council, attended by the parish landowners.\textsuperscript{128} The most important task of the parish meeting was oversight of communal buildings, but it was also in this forum that an array of financial matters of concern to the parish were discussed and decided.\textsuperscript{129} While it didn’t have the jurisdictional power of the secular district courts, in the eighteenth century the council was an influential seat of power for local administration, and its sphere of responsibility grew markedly over the course of the century.\textsuperscript{130}

In his many roles as teacher, moral guardian, disciplinarian, tax surveyor, and public administrator, the vicar was charged with fostering a population obedient to God and King. His duties required that he live among his parishioners and share the conditions of their lives, though it was crucial that he not be “of the people” to such an extent that his authority was brought into question.\textsuperscript{131} Throughout the entire seventeenth century and continuing into the eighteenth, church officials sought to establish a cultural distance between the clergy and other groups in society. It was important that representatives of the clerical estate should be recognizable by their mode of dress as well as by their restraint and moderateness in all circumstances.\textsuperscript{132}

All Swedish parishes were subject to visitations carried out by the bishop of the diocese. In Uppsala Diocese, which was also the Archdiocese, it was the Archbishop who was responsible for the visitations, which were to include inspections of the priests’ management of their parishes, as well as the churches’ account books and inventories. In addition, the local education

\textsuperscript{125} Bergström 1991, p. 17.
\textsuperscript{126} Berg 2007, p. 15.
\textsuperscript{127} Bergström 1991, p. 88.
\textsuperscript{128} Berntson et al. 2012, p. 247.
\textsuperscript{130} Lindahl 2008, pp. 188–189.
\textsuperscript{131} Stadin 2004, pp. 188–189.
\textsuperscript{132} Malmstedt 2002, p. 123.
and poor relief systems were evaluated, and literacy and catechetical knowledge of the congregations were tested. Visitations also provided a forum for possible complaints against both clergy and parishioners.133

Within the atmosphere of professionalization, the clergy occupied something of a unique space. While the practice of law and medicine underwent a relatively gradual evolution, with practitioners often operating within ill-defined borders, the post-Reformation clergy saw their position all but transformed.134 Within new church organizations, the Protestant clergy faced the challenge of redefining itself, with an entirely new “socio-spiritual mission” and a heightened importance placed on academic qualifications.135 Lutheranism in particular placed considerable emphasis on the church office, especially on the cleric’s role as shepherd or sentinel over lay society. Furthermore, the theological framework of Lutheranism did not warrant the separation of the spiritual and secular estates that had reigned in medieval times, meaning that the clergy had every opportunity to be integrated into the educated bourgeoisie of early modern Europe.136

Practitioners of medicine and law saw their positions strengthened throughout the early modern period, while men of the church had instead to contend with a number of challenges to their status and power. In the case of British clergy, rivalry between Reformed denominations, as well as the appropriation by laypersons of duties that had previously been the bailiwick of the church (for instance, education, charity, and land stewardship), posed threats to their unity and authority.137 On the Continent, increasing factionalization among Christian groups, often strongly influenced by Pietist and Enlightenment thought, had a marked impact on the authority of the clergy.138

To a significant degree, the church in Sweden was untroubled by the above concerns. Having been able to maintain an admirable degree of religious unity, the eighteenth century was a time of only “modest transformations” in the Scandinavian state churches.139 The Pietist and Herrnhutist reform movements had made their way north to Sweden, but both movements worked within the established church rather than advocating splitting from it.140

In the eighteenth century, the numbers of Swedish clergy were declining, but their power and social status was anything but diminished. Regardless of his own social background, a priest nearly always married a woman whose standing was higher than his own, thus bolstering his status. It was nearly unheard of—and officially frowned upon—for a clergyman to choose a bride

133 Berg 2007, p. 16.
136 Dixon & Schorn-Schütte 2003, p. 5.
138 Bitzel 2009, pp. 57–94. Bitzel examines changing theological ideas and attitudes through the study of the dynamic nature of sermons. While his investigation is not specifically focused on the role of the clergy, it gives a good view of one way that the clergy were required to adapt their work to fit new beliefs and ideas.
139 Ihalainen 2009, p. 251.
from the peasant classes, and should such a marriage take place it could have negative consequences for a priest’s career advancement.\textsuperscript{141} Throughout the century, a number of official decrees and regulations strengthened the position of the clergy, in addition to making the requirements for ordination more rigorous.\textsuperscript{142} Along with these rising standards, the clergyman’s role as not only a man of the church, but also a representative of the crown’s power, was reinforced as the clergy were charged with an increasing number of secular responsibilities.\textsuperscript{143} As their authority and social standing expanded, it became ever more important for the clergy to assert their position in relation to other groups in society and, in particular, to distance themselves from farmers and align themselves more closely with the bourgeoisie.\textsuperscript{144}

The Parish and the Vicar

Organization and Economy

Sweden’s parishes were organized into three classes. The first-class parishes were those reserved for priests with an especially high degree of education and competence, and the clergymen serving them received the best financial compensation.\textsuperscript{145} These were commonly referred to as \textit{feta pastorat}, or “fat parishes”.\textsuperscript{146} Third-class parishes, such as Teda, were the lowest-ranking, served primarily by elderly clergymen without any particular educational merits. They were consequently also the poorest parishes, with their clergymen receiving the lowest level of pay.\textsuperscript{147} These were the so-called \textit{magra pastorat}, or “lean parishes”.\textsuperscript{148} Second-class parishes, as is to be expected, fell in the middle of the pack in all respects.\textsuperscript{149}

The vicarage was obviously of vital importance to the vicar. Not only was it home to him and his dependents, but it was also the source of the largest part of his income. The vicarage house itself and its accompanying land, as well as a number of outbuildings, were provided to the vicar by the congregation, and if he were a proficient farmer he could affect his economy quite favorably.\textsuperscript{150}

In addition to the financial benefits of living on the vicarage, the vicar had a number of practical responsibilities for its maintenance. While it was the congregation’s obligation to build

\textsuperscript{141} Carlsson 1973, pp. 203–204.
\textsuperscript{142} Bergström 1991, pp. 20–21.
\textsuperscript{143} Johansson 1995, p. 121.
\textsuperscript{144} Ulväng 2004, p. 184.
\textsuperscript{145} Berg 2007, p. 12.
\textsuperscript{146} Malmstedt 2002, p. 82.
\textsuperscript{147} Berg 2007, p. 12.
\textsuperscript{148} Malmstedt 2002, p. 82.
\textsuperscript{149} Berg 2007, p. 12.
\textsuperscript{150} \textit{Ibid.}, p. 15.
the vicarage house and roughly half of the outbuildings, it was the vicar who was liable for erecting the remainder of the outbuildings and for seeing to the upkeep of all of the property’s buildings.\footnote{Ulvsäng 2004, p. 165.} The classification system of parishes did not, in itself, affect the appearance of vicarages, but the vicar’s economic circumstance did, of course, determine the degree to which he was able to construct and maintain the vicarage buildings. Furthermore, the parish’s overall financial situation had a hand in determining the size and quality of the buildings the congregation was responsible to erect.\footnote{Ehn 1980, p. 86.}

The vicar serving each parish was compensated through a variety of channels. First, he received one-third of the \textit{tionde}, or the 10 \% tithe on the parish’s farm and livestock production that was collected by the government (the remaining two-thirds of the tithe was taken by the crown and the state church). This accounted for approximately half of his income. The income from the vicar’s own farming enterprises was the next largest source of financial support, providing generally 20–30 \% of his income, and the remainder came from donations given by parishioners in connection with holiday services, weddings, baptisms, funerals, and the like. It can be seen, then, that the economic situation of vicars could vary widely from parish to parish, and even from year to year, depending upon harvests.\footnote{Giertz 2009, pp.69–70.} On a poorer parish, clearly, the margins could be exceedingly slim, and economic uncertainty was often a fact of life, even for those who were officially considered social elites.

The office of vicar was to a large degree a stationary one, and most vicars held their positions for the duration of their lives, very seldom moving even to a different parish. For all practical purposes, vicars were unimpeachable. Given that they would live in close contact with their vicar for a substantial number of years, parishioners took enormous interest in the seating of a new vicar. It could happen that a vicar would be removed from his office as a last resort, after a long series of disciplinary measures had been taken against him, but these cases were extremely few.\footnote{Malmstedt 2002, pp. 85–86.} While a vicar might be disciplined for unbecoming behavior such as drunkenness while in service, the penalties imposed were usually short suspensions, and it was generally only in the case of serious crimes, such as murder, that a vicar was relieved permanently of his duties.\footnote{Giertz 2009, p. 62.}
The Vicarage

In the early modern period, the vicarage was at the heart of rural communities more or less ruled by their vicars. Carin Bergström has written that in the eighteenth century, the vicar was the absolute leader of the parish. At the local level the vicar not only mediated the word of God from the pulpit, but also wielded the chairman’s gavel in the parish meetings. As chairman of the parish meetings, the vicar had rather wide margins in which to operate, given a fairly loose degree of regulation, and a long-serving vicar had ample opportunity to leave his own mark on the political life of the parish.

Despite the fact that the vicar was to a large extent dependent upon the proceeds of his own agricultural work, the farming aspects of vicarage life were not considered part of his duties as a clergyman. Although he and his wife might spend considerable time and energy engaged in farm work, farming was in no way connected to their social identity. Here, as in other aspects of their lives, clergy families faced a certain conflict concerning expectations from church and community. Farm work was not to interfere with the vicar’s clerical duties and studies, but neither was it to be disdained or neglected. Indeed, one Swedish bishop in the early modern period expressed the opinion that a moderate degree of physical labor was good for clergyman as it exercised their bodies in a wholesome manner.

The Reformation produced a vicarage that, in both its literal and figurative senses, was part of a major, enduring shift in ideology. This shift might also be identified as the emergence of the prästgårdskultur, or “vicarage culture”. This term is often used in Swedish to denote the all-encompassing importance of the vicarage that endured in this country from the early Reformation years up to the beginning of the twentieth century. Not only was the vicarage home to the vicar and his household—which included his wife, children, and servants, but perhaps also extended-family members and not infrequently long-term guests—but it was also the center of parish life. Certainly most parishioners had occasion to call on the vicarage, whether it was to apply for marriage banns, to pay their tithes, to carry out administrative tasks such as acquiring permission to relocate, or to seek the vicar’s counsel regarding all manner of concerns.

It is important to keep in mind that in the eighteenth century, the notion of house had not yet become one of home. That is, the sense of privacy that we associate today with our homes would have been entirely foreign in early modern society. The house was quite simply a much more public arena in the early modern period than it is today. People commonly slept, ate, received

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159 Karant-Nunn 2003, p. 99.
161 Giertz 2009, p. 81.
guests, and even worked in the same rooms, due to both custom and lack of space. The activities of domestic life were subject to constant interruption by people passing through, and there was no end of chance encounters between family members and guests.\textsuperscript{163} In the vicarage, being as it was public property both in custom and in fact, these conditions were even more pronounced.

Even were the concept of privacy to arise, it had little chance of flourishing in the rural setting of the vicarage. Furthermore, privacy was the last thing that the occupants of the vicarage desired. Rather, the vicarage was intended to be an example of rectitude amid the “all too unregenerate, inpenitent societal mass”. Pastoral families were to live openly and transparently among their neighbors, sharing their worldly circumstances. The home of the vicar and his wife was to serve as a symbol of piety and spirituality that was second only to the church.\textsuperscript{164}

The vicarage’s many facets made it a complex amalgam of peasant and elite culture, and it provided an important link between the two.\textsuperscript{165} The vicar often acted as an intermediary between the two groups, and not infrequently as a sort of steward on behalf of the peasantry.\textsuperscript{166} The vicarage was also considered the seat of learning within the parish. The vicar was an educated man and his home a cultured atmosphere, often with a significant number of books attesting to his learnedness. Moreover, the vicarage served as a model for architecture and home decoration, housekeeping, gardening, nursing the sick, and agricultural innovation.\textsuperscript{167}

Parish life was far removed from the squabbles and political intrigues of Stockholm and the academic wrangling at the universities. Life in the countryside followed a slower rhythm, and the vicarage was in a very real sense the hub of the parish’s proverbial wheel. Not only was it the seat of local authority, but parishioners also saw it is a sort of social services office, where the vicar could help them address conflicts between neighbors or domestic quarrels. The vicar’s wife also provided a ready ear and parishioners often asked her advice, as well as her husband’s.\textsuperscript{168}

It was of great interest to parishioners that the vicar and his family work well within their community. Priests who were rumored to have contentious relationships with their neighbors were unpopular, as a vicar should be well integrated into the parish and demonstrate socially appropriate behavior. It was especially vexing if a priest were seen to be in frequent disagreement with his wife and children. Discord within the vicarage awoke strong and immediate negative reactions from the congregation.\textsuperscript{169}

\textsuperscript{163} Sarti 2002, p. 139.
\textsuperscript{164} Karant-Nunn 2003, p. 98.
\textsuperscript{165} Hermansson 2012, 29.
\textsuperscript{166} Giertz 2009, p. 63–64.
\textsuperscript{167} Hermansson 2012, p. 26.
\textsuperscript{168} Bergström 1991, pp. 21–22.
\textsuperscript{169} Malmstedt 2002, p. 126.
The Vicar’s Help-meet

An oft-overlooked player in this “vicarage culture” is the vicar’s wife. The Protestant reformers’ disavowal of clerical celibacy went much farther than merely allowing priests to marry. Rather, they were expected to marry, to be “the husband of one wife,” as Luther’s Small Catechism would have it.\(^{170}\) Lyndal Roper writes that marriage was the very heart of Reformation social order, within which the “natural, complementary hierarchy of masculinity and femininity” was inscribed.\(^{171}\)

It would be difficult to argue that any woman embodied the aspects of the context of domestic femininity to a larger degree than the early modern vicar’s wife. She was invaluable to the vicar, taking on enormous responsibility for the household, the farm, and the family economy.\(^{172}\) She was equally important to the congregation as both a role model and the leading homemaker in the community. Just as her husband was a symbolic father figure to the parishioners, so was she in many respects a mother to them.\(^{173}\) She helped arrange community celebrations, such as weddings, and it was even she who dressed the bride before the wedding ceremony. The vicar’s wife was also often a trusted confidante to the other women in the community, giving advice, succoring the sick, and feeding the hungry.\(^{174}\)

Along with the clerical profession’s perceived status as a divine calling, it was connected to a particular sort of masculinity and the associated lifestyle that applied not only to the vicar himself, but also extended to his entire family. A vicar’s wife and children were expected to behave with proper gravity and civility, as befitted the clerical estate.\(^{175}\) Clergy wives were required to accept and act according to the church’s view of women, as well as to their husbands’ role in society.\(^{176}\) A good deal of research regarding the vicarage culture has drawn attention to the subordination of the vicar’s wife to her husband’s calling, and a dutiful wife and help-meet is often characterized as the center of the early modern vicarage.\(^{177}\)

In order to successfully manage her duties on the vicarage, the vicar’s wife needed a strong social awareness and the ability to move skillfully in the social arena.\(^{178}\) A key function of the vicarage was to serve as a center of hospitality, with doors open in welcome to rich and poor alike, for an afternoon or for an extended stay. While it was the vicar who was the host, the hospitable hostess was a significant part of the feminine ideal represented by the clergy wife. It fell upon her to do all the household work associated with having guests, as well as to ensure that

\(^{171}\) Roper 1989, p. 164.
\(^{172}\) Giertz 2009, p. 76.
\(^{173}\) Hermansson 2012, p. 15.
\(^{174}\) Giertz 2009, p. 81.
\(^{175}\) Malmstedt 2002, p. 89.
\(^{176}\) Stadin 2004, p. 199.
\(^{177}\) Hermansson 2012, p. 29.
\(^{178}\) Malmstedt 2002, p. 87.
there was always socially appropriate food and drink for a variety of unexpected guests, from the humblest peasant to the highest nobility.  

It was not only in the purely domestic arena that a vicar’s wife played a prominent part. As a consequence of her husband’s position, she was also a member of the clerical estate and a person of standing in the community. With this status came the expectation that she be—in both her home and her person—an example of virtue and purity. In addition, she should adorn both herself and the vicarage according to standards that demonstrated her elevated station in society. The clergy played an important role as “trend-setters” in their communities, influencing both traditions and interior decoration. Vicarage interiors became noticeably different during the eighteenth century, and the vicar’s wife certainly had a good deal to do with these changes. The women of the parish looked to the vicar’s wife not only as an example of a pious homemaker, but also as a role model in matters of taste and style. She was without question the “fashion icon of the countryside”.

A vicar’s household was built on shaky ground, economically speaking, because their home and primary source of income did not belong to the family, but to the parish. When a vicar died leaving behind a wife and minor children, it created a predicament for both the family and the congregation. Throughout the seventeenth and well into the eighteenth century, the Swedish Church commonly responded to a vicar’s death with a practice called “widow conservation”. To put it simply, if the surviving widow was relatively young—for these purposes, generally not older than mid-forties—it was arranged that she would marry her husband’s successor. If she were past what was considered marrying age, often she had a daughter who was satisfactory, and it would be this daughter who married the new vicar.

Upon her husband’s death, the vicar’s widow was entitled to live on the vicarage and collect her husband’s income for the remainder of his service year, up to and including 30 April, and also for the following year. This was known as a nådår, or “mercy year”. After that time had passed, the new vicar would marry either the widow or her daughter and move into the vicarage, assuming the responsibilities and compensations that were already in place for his predecessor without an undue measure of upheaval.

In addition to the financial practicalities, it could be of great benefit to the new vicar to join an already-established family in the vicarage, and the sense of continuity could be a comfort to the congregation as well as to the widow and children who were able to remain in their home. The

180 Stadin 2004, pp. 203–204.
181 Hermansson 2012, p. 17.
185 Stadin 2004, p. 198.
practice was so prevalent, in fact, that it wasn’t unheard of that a vicar’s wife might be married to as many as three vicars in succession, then see her daughter married to the fourth.\textsuperscript{187}

\textit{Teda Parish}

Present-day Teda is nothing more than a geographic designation, its public administration having been absorbed into a larger neighboring municipality in 1952, and its church affairs coming under the auspices of a larger congregation in 2006. The area itself, what is referred to as “Teda parish”, is a small area in the southwest corner of Enköping municipality, some fifty kilometers to the southwest of Uppsala.\textsuperscript{188}

Teda has historically been a rather sparsely populated area, with approximately four to five hundred inhabitants throughout the early modern period.\textsuperscript{189} Most people made their living off the land, in one respect or another. Farming was the most significant source of income, followed to a lesser degree by fishing.\textsuperscript{190} It is estimated that as many as one quarter of Teda’s population found work and/or sustenance at Strömsta Säteri, the parish’s largest estate.\textsuperscript{191}

Teda parish was first named in public records in 1301 and its church is older still, the earliest parts of the building dating approximately from the year 1200.\textsuperscript{192} From medieval times until 1921, Teda was the seat of a vicar’s office. The parish was “consistorial”,\textsuperscript{193} meaning that the parishioners had great influence over which priest would be named to the position.\textsuperscript{194} From 1739 the protocol was that the Cathedral Chapter of Uppsala Diocese would select three from the pool of priests applying to a vacant position, leaving the parishioners to elect one of those three the new vicar.\textsuperscript{195}

The vicar’s residence in Teda was, like most such buildings in Uppland during the eighteenth century, built according to a “six-part floor-plan”, which was the same type of floor-plan used for country estates (see Image 1 in Appendices). The vicarage houses in the area were all of the same approximate size, roughly 16.5 by 7 meters, and they comprised a foyer, a main room, a kitchen, and two or three chambers.\textsuperscript{196} As the following image shows, the Teda vicarage foyer (förstuga)

\begin{itemize}
\item Berntson \textit{et al}. 2012, p. 171.
\item Teda Hembygdsförening 2008, p. 11.
\item Folkmängdstabeller, Teda kyrkoarkiv G:1, ULA.
\item Zenker 2008, p. 75.
\item Klingberg 2008, p. 94.
\item Rosell 1974, pp. 3–4.
\item Berg 2007, p. 355.
\item Bergström 1991, pp. 27–29.
\item Bergström 1996, p. 94.
\item Ulväng 2004, pp. 174–175.
\end{itemize}
was in the front center of the house, with the kitchen (kök) to the left and the bedroom (sängkammare) to the right. The rear part of the house included, from left to right, the kitchen chamber (kökskammare), the large main room (sal), and the drawing room (järnvak).  

Three Vicars, Three Strategies

Though the combined forces of church and state were striving for religious unity, it would be a mistake to assume that clergymen were a homogenous group, as can be demonstrated amply by an examination into their personal lives. In the small parish of Teda, over the relatively short span of less than a century, the three vicars in my study differed considerably from one another. While they shared the need to manifest their status and power within the community, their individual means to this common end give a good illustration of the divergent strategies that could be adopted by clergy—and, indeed, by social elites in general—to establish and maintain their elevated standing.

In a study of consumer behavior and material culture, financial resources obviously play a key role, but it is not always as simple as more money translating to more things and vice versa. The following table, adjusted to reflect 1744 purchasing power, gives a break-down of the three vicars’ financial circumstances at the recording of their inventories. Interestingly, Färner and Leverin had nearly identical economic resources, but their use of these resources differed dramatically. From these figures alone we can deduce quite disparate strategies and behaviors concerning consumption and material culture. Thedenius was operating with much more limited means, but even so, the final value of his estate was on a par with Leverin’s, which is also telling.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Vicar</th>
<th>Assets</th>
<th>Debts</th>
<th>Balance</th>
<th>Debt percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Färner</td>
<td>6920</td>
<td>1072</td>
<td>5848</td>
<td>16%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Leverin</td>
<td>7001</td>
<td>5863</td>
<td>1137</td>
<td>84%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thedenius</td>
<td>2474</td>
<td>1428</td>
<td>1043</td>
<td>58%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

I have used the price conversion tool at [http://www.historia.se/Jamforelsepris.htm](http://www.historia.se/Jamforelsepris.htm) to adjust the values of Leverin’s and Thedenius’s estates to reflect their purchasing power in 1744, the year of Färner’s death. Due to rounding, some totals may not be absolutely mathematically accurate.

In the coming pages I will examine the lives and work of these men, giving particular attention to their contrasting approaches to status and power manifestation. Though country clergymen are

197 Kyrkoherdebostället, Uppland, Åsunda härad, Teda socken, NMA.
often perceived as a uniform group, acting under the same limited set of socio-economic conditions, I will demonstrate definitively that this was not the case. The options available to these men, even at the lower end of the social and financial hierarchy, could vary widely, and their employment of these options often varied just as significantly.

The Networker – Nicolaus Färner

Life and Work

Nicolaus Färner’s date of birth is not known, but from his admission as a student at Uppsala University in 1718, we can estimate that he was born in the early years of the 1700s. He was ordained in December 1722 and served as adjunct priest until early 1726, when he became private chaplain to General Carl Gustaf Creutz. After five years as private chaplain in three different noble houses, Färner was elected to the post of vicar in Teda parish in 1731.

In the first year of his service as vicar in Teda, Färner followed the prevailing pattern and married a priest’s daughter. He was widowed within two years, and shortly thereafter married Anna Elizabeth Höök, daughter of an accountant at the royal court. As the child of a highly placed civil servant, Färner’s wife would have grown up in an environment of refinement and gentility far above the conditions she married into. She undoubtedly brought a sense of this gentility to the vicarage, along with certain aspects of the cultural contexts that would come to be defined collectively as respectability.

The connections that Färner established during his years as a private chaplain and, presumably, through his marriage would prove to be meaningful for him in his role as vicar. It would appear that he recognized early on the value of an elite social network, and this network was to become a significant aspect of his status and power manifestation.

Throughout his career, Färner suffered from epilepsy and was often passed over for employment or promotions because of it. Despite his being able to present documentation from his doctor that his illness was neither serious nor would prevent him from being able to fulfill his duties, during his tenure as vicar Färner took a break from his work on at least two occasions due to his poor health.

He died in March 1744 when, at most, he was in his early forties.

While he was vicar, Färner appears to have acquitted himself well enough in his work. During his time in Teda, his name was put forth by various noblewomen as candidate for two vacant vicar positions, but for different reasons he was not selected for either office. He was nominated

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199 Handlingar efter pastorat, Uppsala Domkapitelsarkiv E V 127:1, ULA. He is listed variously as Nicolaus or Nils, and his last name is spelled both Färner and Ferner. I have used his name as it is listed in the probate inventory drawn up after his death.
200 Berg 2007, p. 373.
201 Ibid., p. 374.
202 Fant & Låstbom 1842, p. 134.
twice to present discussions at the diocese’s clergy meeting, though he had to decline because of ill health, and after his death he was described as an avid and commendable teacher.\footnote{Berg 2007, p. 374.}

Upon his untimely death, Färner left behind a wife and five minor children.\footnote{Bouppteckning 86, Åsunda häradsrättsarkiv F:1, ULA.} In May 1744, the widow applied for a double “mercy year” for herself and her children, and it was noted in her application that during his lifetime Färner had earned the overwhelming love of the members of his congregations, both distinguished and humble.\footnote{Domkapitets protokoll huvudserie, 30/5 1744 ¶ 2, Uppsala Domkapitelsarkiv A I:42, ULA.} Though initially expressing some reservations, the Cathedral Court supported her application, which was ultimately approved by the king.\footnote{Berg 2007, p. 373.} Somewhat curiously, although she was barely past forty and had a number of small children, the widow Färner does not appear ever to have been considered a candidate for marriage to her husband’s successor, despite the fact that the leading candidate, Magnus Leverin, was unmarried at the time of his election.

The probate inventory drawn up after Färner’s death shows assets valuing 6920 d.kmt., with a total worth, after all debts were taken into account, of 5848 d.kmt.\footnote{Bouppteckning 86, Åsunda häradsrättsarkiv F:1, ULA.} In spite of his years of ill health, Färner appears to have been a frugal man who took care to leave his family in a fairly comfortable position after his death. His estate may not have been worth a princely sum, but for a third-class vicar in a poor parish, it was quite respectable. To make the sum more accessible to modern readers, those 5848 d.kmt. had the purchasing power of more than 300,000 Swedish kronor or nearly 50,000 American dollars today.\footnote{Edvinsson & Söderberg 2011, pp. 270–292.} It becomes even more impressive when we consider that the vicar owned neither the land on which he lived nor the buildings erected on it.

It might be speculated that the relatively good financial position of Färner’s widow was part of the reason she remained unmarried after his death. At the time of her own death in 1760, she lived on and owned a property in Uppsala that included a house with eleven heated rooms, many of which she rented to tenants, thereby securing her own income.\footnote{Bouppteckning p.198, Uppsala rådhusrättsarkiv F IIa:19, ULA.} Absent any more complete financial details, it is fair to assume that at least a portion of the assets Färner left behind helped to enable his widow’s purchase of her new home.

**Materiality and Manifestation**

Much of the contents of Färner’s eleven-page inventory is what we would expect to find belonging to any average farmer of the time. At least half of the items making up the inventory are household goods and farm implements, and livestock are a significant portion of the estate’s

\footnote{Berg 2007, p. 374.} \footnote{Bouppteckning 86, Åsunda häradsrättsarkiv F:1, ULA.} \footnote{Domkapitets protokoll huvudserie, 30/5 1744 ¶ 2, Uppsala Domkapitelsarkiv A I:42, ULA.} \footnote{Berg 2007, p. 373.} \footnote{Bouppteckning 86, Åsunda häradsrättsarkiv F:1, ULA. Berg writes that Färner’s estate was worth 6,920 d.kmt., with debts totaling 5,848 d.kmt., but a careful reading of the source material shows that the latter sum was the remaining value of the assets after the relatively modest debts had been subtracted.} \footnote{Edvinsson & Söderberg 2011, pp. 270–292.} \footnote{Bouppteckning p.198, Uppsala rådhusrättsarkiv F IIa:19, ULA.}
value, with a total worth of 1005 d.kmt. Roughly half of the value of the estate was in outstanding receivables owed to the vicar.210

Details regarding Färner’s life before he was ordained are scarce, so we have no way of knowing how he acquired the capital from which to make these loans, but in any case it would appear that in some sense he acted as a private bank for certain individuals. Particularly notable are the substantial loans he made to three military officers, a total of 1000 d.kmt. loaned to a Lieutenant de la Chapell, 500 d.kmt. to a Lieutenant Lang, and 2000 d.kmt. to a Colonel Falkenberg. These loans were almost assuredly made in connection with the officers’ applications to move to a higher military rank, which required significant expenditure on their part.211

More important than the reasons for the loans themselves is what the possibility of making the loans would have meant for the vicar. The officers in question were of considerably higher social standing than the vicar himself, and his connection with them would have been a confirmation of Färner’s economic and social influence. Moreover, these connections are evidence of Färner’s establishing himself within a network of social elites, a good strategic move with regard to his own status and power manifestation. It is worth noting that the oldest of these loans was made in 1734 and had not been repaid at the time of Färner’s death ten years later. This suggests that the advantages to the vicar of having the officer in his debt carried far more weight than the concern of having the money repaid.

We can see, then, that only a small percentage of the vicar’s estate was dedicated to status items and luxury consumption. Of the approximately 2000 d.kmt. in goods that haven’t yet been accounted for, ordinary household goods make up the bulk. Many times, even items that are given a relatively high monetary value cannot necessarily be interpreted to have conveyed a message of status regarding the household. For instance, the inventory lists thirty bed sheets, with a total value of 88 d.kmt., but it is also noted that seven of the sheets were of “rounder quality,” and that sixteen of them were rougher still.212 Keeping in mind that beds were made with both top and bottom sheets, these numbers appear somewhat less surprising. It must further be taken into consideration this household must have numbered at least ten people including servants, meaning that ownership of thirty bed sheets would not have been particularly extravagant. Even so, it was only in the mid-nineteenth century that bed sheets became common in rural households, and most often only in small numbers.213 This being the case, the vicars sheets can be seen as an indication of a degree of refinement in the vicarage, and also as significant within the context of virtue, which put a high priority on cleanliness.

Where beds themselves are concerned, the vicarage contained five four-poster beds valued at a modest total sum of just over 7 d.kmt. The beds were outfitted with thick full-length bolsters,

210 Boupppteckning 86, Åsunda häradsrättsarkiv F:1, ULA.
211 Alm, Mikael. (personal communication 27 March 2014).
212 Boupppteckning 86, Åsunda häradsrättsarkiv F:1, ULA.
213 Ulväng, Marie. (personal communication 27 March 2014).
each with a cover and ranging in value from 15 d.kmt. to 21 d.kmt. The household further owned two pillows and three bolster pillows, all with cases, and thirteen blankets of various types. It was common in elite households to place beds in common rooms and to use them to create a display showing off collections of fine bedclothes and other textiles. In the case of the vicar Färner, however, the bedding listed is of a purely utilitarian quality and cannot be imagined to have served as part of a showpiece.

Were we to judge only from the parts of the inventory that have thus far been examined, it would be easy to conclude that Nicolaus Färner was every bit a “common man”, if perhaps a bit higher on the socio-economic scale. However, a closer looks at the relatively small remainder of his estate gives a different picture. In these items we discover a man who was keenly aware of his elevated position and was concerned that others not miss the significance of the status and power granted him by God and the church.

As is the norm, the first entries in Färner’s inventory are devoted to valuable items of gold and silver. The first item listed is a heavy gold chain with a lock, weighing eighteen ducats and with a value of 324 d.kmt. Apart from its obvious monetary value, this chain would have been especially noteworthy for the uncommonness of such items. Other gold items are five rings with a total weight of three ducats (54 d.kmt.), one ring with “a stone” and six small rose-cut diamonds (50 d.kmt.), and another ring with a small green emerald and two small table-cut stones (12 d.kmt.). In her investigation of the Arboga elite, Andersson writes that gold rings were the most common type of jewelry recorded in the inventories and that at least some of these may have been engagement or wedding rings.

Färner’s possession of gold and gemstones, while certainly indicative of his standing, is perhaps not surprising for a clergyman, even if he were in the lower ranks. More impressive, however, is the quantity of silver listed in the inventory. There are no fewer than five gilded silver serving pitchers with a total value of just over 450 d.kmt., as well as two gilded silver tumblers with a combined worth of nearly 50 d.kmt. Also listed is an “old” cylindrical drinking vessel in ungilded silver, with an accompanying tea spoon, valued at 24 d.kmt. In the early modern period, serving vessels were a valuable commodity, socially as well as materially. These could be carefully arranged on tables to create a display of one’s good taste and refinement.

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214 Bouppteckning 86, Åsunda häradsrättsarkiv F:1, ULA.
216 Bouppteckning 86, Åsunda häradsrättsarkiv F:1, ULA.
218 Bouppteckning 86, Åsunda häradsrättsarkiv F:1, ULA.
221 Bouppteckning 86, Åsunda häradsrättsarkiv F:1, ULA.
222 Albala 2003, p. 105.
serving vessels were of an expensive material, such as silver, so much the better. Silver items also carried an extra value in that they could be used as collateral should financial hardship arise.\textsuperscript{223}

Adding to the impressive presentation of the vicar’s table were a large ungilded sugar bowl with a listed value of 72 d.kmt., a heavy silver serving spoon (42 d.kmt.), and twenty-two silver spoons bearing a variety of maker’s marks (316 d.kmt.).\textsuperscript{224} Clearly this fine display would have relayed a powerful message of status and refinement to observers, and to the farmers of a poor, rural parish, a table laden with such a collection of silver—much of it gilded—must certainly have given the impression of considerable wealth.

For a man of his standing, Färner’s “going-out clothing” makes for a surprisingly short list. While Swedish probate inventories frequently list the clothing of the deceased in considerable detail, only six items of outerwear are included in Färner’s inventory, indicating that, for whatever reason, the assessor chose not to list the vicar’s clothing in its entirety. Those items that are recorded, however, do indicate an attention to quality. The “old black cloak” that heads the list is almost certainly a priestly vestment and, despite its being designated “old”, it was valued at a substantial 36 d.kmt.—half the value, for example, of the heavy silver sugar bowl described above.\textsuperscript{225} This cloak would have been an important garment for the vicar, making him immediately recognizable in public as a clergyman, and conforming to what had become the bourgeois Lutheran standard of “appropriate, whole, and monochrome cover” that would allow for honorable, unaffected decorousness beneath the cloak.\textsuperscript{226}

Also listed in Färner’s clothing are an “old hat” that he presumably wore with the cloak, as well as a lined cap of plush fabric (3 d.kmt.). Additionally, he owned a satin vest worth 18 d.kmt. and two overcoats—one made of wolf-skin—with a combined value of 70 d.kmt., any of which might have been worn under the cloak or without it.\textsuperscript{227} These items, while of undeniably fine quality, were not at all extravagant. Rather, they would have exhibited the proper seriousness of a vicar, while at the same time marking him as a man with a taste and appreciation for subtle elegance.

In addition to his clothing, Färner had some smaller personal effects that would have been clear indicators of his status as a man of refinement. Particularly noteworthy is his possession of a pocket watch with a silver case (90 d.kmt.).\textsuperscript{228} Writing about the Arboga elite in the eighteenth century—a group whose wealth vastly overshadowed Färner’s comparatively meager assets—Gudrun Andersson observes that pocket watches, important symbols of modernity and novelty, were relatively unusual among the subjects of her study. In her examination of thirty-five families,

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{223} Andersson 2009, p. 144.
\item \textsuperscript{224} Bouppteckning 86, Åsunda häradsrättsarkiv F:1, ULA.
\item \textsuperscript{225} Ibid.
\item \textsuperscript{226} Rublack 2010, pp. 120–121.
\item \textsuperscript{227} Bouppteckning 86, Åsunda häradsrättsarkiv F:1, ULA.
\item \textsuperscript{228} Ibid.
\end{itemize}
pocket watches were listed in the inventories of only eight families.\textsuperscript{229} It is significant, then, that a man in Färner’s much lower social position was able to adorn himself with such an exclusive item.

Also significant is Färner’s possession of two new silver snuff boxes, one wrought and valued at 39 d.kmt. and the other smooth and slightly smaller, worth 24 d.kmt.\textsuperscript{230} In the eighteenth century snuff boxes were enormously popular among gentlemen, who considered them a necessary complement to their elegant attire.\textsuperscript{231} In fact, snuff-taking was such a key component of a gentleman’s behavior that its proper use was approached with the same seriousness as learning to dance or to fence. In the mid-eighteenth century, a Swedish instruction guide to the correct manner of taking snuff listed a full fourteen points outlining the appropriate steps, in the appropriate order, that a gentleman must follow when using snuff. Not surprisingly, the snuff box plays a central role in this guide.\textsuperscript{232}

According to Smith, the use of snuff was consistent with a number of the contexts that ultimately came together under the rubric of respectability. During the eighteenth century, taking snuff was regarded as a more refined manner of tobacco use, which was in accord with the redefinition of luxury in terms of taste. Furthermore, snuff was supposed by many to be conducive to good health, as it avoided both the heat and harshness of smoked tobacco, meaning that its use could be connected to the context of virtue. Women were considered especially vulnerable to the ills of tobacco smoke, which made snuff ideal for social rituals attended by both sexes.\textsuperscript{233}

In Färner’s inventory there is a notable absence of items relating to coffee or tea, with the sole mention of either being a tea tray with a kettle.\textsuperscript{234} There is no listing for either porcelain or glass items, nor for coffee- or teapots of any sort. While it must always be kept in mind that inventories should not be used in a negative manner (that is, as definitive proof that an object is not present because it is not recorded),\textsuperscript{235} it is unlikely that these were the sorts of items to have been overlooked. Utensils for hot drinks were symbols of new trends and as such were obvious and eye-catching, meaning that they are consistently listed in some detail in inventories.\textsuperscript{236} Further, an array of objects used for cooking, serving, eating, and drinking are carefully itemized in Färner’s inventory, making it reasonable to assume that if porcelain, glass, or coffee and tea paraphernalia had been present, they would also have been included.

\textsuperscript{229} Andersson 2009, pp. 189.
\textsuperscript{230} Bouppteckning 86, Åsunda häradsrättsarkiv F:1, ULA.
\textsuperscript{231} Andersson 2009, p. 201.
\textsuperscript{234} Bouppteckning 86, Åsunda häradsrättsarkiv F:1, ULA.
\textsuperscript{235} Overton \textit{et al.} 2004, pp. 18–19.
\textsuperscript{236} Weatherill 1996, p. 206.
Though it might be deduced from the above that Färner and his wife did not center their social engagements around the popular and growing fashion of drinking coffee and tea, there is substantial evidence of their taking an active role in displaying the hospitality that was required by their station. The family had a large table with a Västgöta covering (6 d.kmt.) in the vicarage’s main room, as well as a large oval table in three parts (10 d.kmt.).\(^{237}\) Either or both of these would have been carefully set with the hosts’ impressive collection of silver tableware. Additionally, the tables might have been adorned with patterned tablecloths of woven linen or cotton, and napkins of the same material. The presence of both newer, higher-quality table linens as well as old, “rougher” ones indicates that on certain occasions the vicar and his wife dressed up their environs to a higher degree than they would have for everyday mealtimes.\(^{238}\)

Also listed in the inventory are two dozen masur-wood trays, twelve of good quality (15 d.kmt) and twelve poorer (6 d.kmt.), that were probably used in a serving capacity.\(^{239}\) Again, the numbers suggest that the better trays were saved for special engagements, while the others might have been used less carefully.

The tables and table settings would have been well accented by a masur-wood sideboard (15 d.kmt.) as well as by an additional, larger sideboard (18 d.kmt.). A framed portrait of King Carl XII graced one wall, in all probability taking pride of place in the main room.\(^{240}\) According to Andersson, investment in a royal portrait expressed an interest in fine culture, but was part of a larger narrative as well. Display of such portraits placed their owners in a larger national context with the royal family at the center and themselves as loyal subjects and servants of the state.\(^{241}\) In a time when church and state were to a significant degree one and the same, a vicar could make a commanding statement about his own status and power with the hanging of a royal portrait.

Along with the king’s portrait, the vicarage displayed ten older portraits of unidentified subjects as well as a painting with an unknown motive.\(^{242}\) Regardless of whom or what these depicted, the possession of this artwork is a further indication of the vicar’s self-perception of his and his family’s refinement and cultural interest, and his aim of presenting these qualities to all who entered the vicarage. Though the presence of one royal portrait bore a message, it wasn’t unusual for many families (though perhaps not in the lower ranks) to have such an item. To own a variety of artwork, however, expressed a genuine appreciation of the value of fine culture.\(^{243}\)

Further adding to the status of the Färners as people of quality, refinement, and taste were a wall clock with a case (24 d.kmt.) and a mirror with a black frame (9 d.kmt.).\(^{244}\) Clocks and

\(^{237}\) Bouppteckning 86, Åsunda häradståtsarkiv F:1, ULA.

\(^{238}\) Ibid.

\(^{239}\) Ibid.

\(^{240}\) Ibid.


\(^{242}\) Bouppteckning 86, Åsunda häradståtsarkiv F:1, ULA.

\(^{243}\) Andersson 2009, p. 184.

\(^{244}\) Bouppteckning 86, Åsunda häradståtsarkiv F:1, ULA.
mirrors are particularly meaningful items in early modern inventories; unlike goods that provided new ways of doing things, such as upholstered chairs for sitting on and new types of cooking utensils, clocks and mirrors are connected to completely new behavior. 245 Andersson identifies clock ownership as a trend object among the early modern elite, and writes that unlike in the case of artwork, ownership of even one clock carried a clear message about a household’s status.246 Two distinct functions are associated with mirrors in early modern households. First, they were used to enhance artificial lighting and second, to view oneself within the surroundings of the home.247 Weatherill writes that mirrors indicate a certain self-awareness and an interest in creating an atmosphere in a room, and she suggests that ownership of a mirror demonstrates a more refined level of aesthetic keenness.248

Alongside Färner’s appreciation of refined and fashionable goods, the vicar demonstrated his respect for the intellectual with some seventy-five books in Swedish, Latin, German, and French, with a total value of nearly 260 d.kmt. The largest part of the collection consisted of religious texts of one sort or another, evidence of the avid and serious interest Färner took in the work of his life’s calling. Among the books we also find a variety of volumes concerning subjects such as grammar, geography, philosophy, history, politics, and medicine.249 This collection, both in its considerable size and its breadth of subject matter, composed a very exclusive form of cultural capital. It would have served as a reminder of the vicar’s learning and expertise, and was a capable demonstration of his wide-ranging knowledge and interests.250

Conclusions

Nicolaus Färner was a man who made the most of opportunities that were presented to him, and it can be surmised that at times he created some of those opportunities himself. He was part of a network of social elites including military officers from the higher ranks as well as members of the nobility. In making himself valuable to these elites, he augmented his standing within the community and strengthened the power and status of his station as vicar.

Färner’s material possessions added further to his prestige. An impressive collection of valuable silver goods and tasteful home decorations signaled to vicarage visitors that the vicar and his wife were belonged to a class of respectable people, and certain other of the vicar’s belongings reinforced his position as a man of rationality, learning, and refinement. Färner’s consumer behavior and the material culture of his surroundings were an important supplement to the status and power he established and demonstrated through his connections to local elites. Though he had the financial means to acquire a good deal more than his inventory lists, what

245 Overton et al. 2004, p. 111.
246 Andersson 2009, p. 188.
247 Overton et al. 2004, p. 112.
249 Bouppteckning 86, Åsunda häradsrättsarkiv F:1, ULA.
might be seen as frivolous luxuries are noticeably absent from the record. Those status items that he did possess were often of extremely fine quality, marking him as man with discriminating taste who clearly eschewed the vulgarity of extravagance for its own sake.

The Big Spender – Magnus Leverin

Life and Work

If Magnus Leverin’s origins weren’t quite humble, neither were they lofty. He was born 27 July 1715, to the academic Magnus Leverin and his wife, Beata Melander. When the younger Magnus was scarcely two-and-a-half years old, his brother, Jonas, was born. The baby did not live out the day, and his mother succumbed to death some days later. At the time of his older son’s birth, the elder Leverin was vice-principal at Linköping grammar school and would later become principal at the same school. In following years he was a lecturer in logic and the Greek language until his death in 1723.

It is uncertain what became of young Magnus in the first years after he was orphaned at the age of eight, but we can assume that he was fostered by relatives or put in the care of the church. In any case, he reappears in official records as a student in Uppsala in the spring of 1728, shortly before his thirteenth birthday. Leverin spent a number of years studying in Uppsala, achieving in 1743 the degree of “magister”, at that time the highest academic degree an aspiring priest could attain.

Having completed his studies at an impressively high level, Leverin was ordained near the end of the year 1744. In October of the same year, in anticipation of Leverin’s ordination, Countess Hedvig Maria Piper wrote a letter to the Cathedral Chapter in Uppsala requesting that he be appointed to the position of private chaplain at her estate, Strömsta, in Teda parish. The countess was well connected among prominent and powerful noble families in early modern Sweden, having been born into the prestigious Piper line and marrying Sten Arvidsson Natt och Dag, who had been granted the right to take on the name Sture. The channels through which Leverin became acquainted with the countess are unaccounted for, though it has been speculated that he may have been a tutor to her children. Whatever the origins of the relationship, however, it was to prove an important and fruitful one for Leverin.

251 Handlingar ordnade efter pastorat, Uppsala Domkapitelsarkiv E V 127:1, ULA.
252 Westerlund & Setterdahl 1915, p. 323.
256 Handlingar ordnade efter pastorat, Uppsala Domkapitelsarkiv E V 127:1, ULA.
258 Klingberg, Rolf (personal communication 30 October 2013).
In a letter dated 8 May 1745, the countess Piper wrote once again to the Cathedral Chapter concerning Leverin, this time suggesting him as successor to the recently deceased vicar in Teda, Nicolaus Färner. The Cathedral Chapter approved Leverin’s nomination and, as was the protocol in consistorial parishes, nominated two additional priests, leaving the congregation to choose their new vicar from one of the three. In an election held 8 September 1745, Leverin won an overwhelming majority, receiving 18½ votes, with one of his opponents winning one-third of a vote and the other none at all.

It can safely be assumed that Hedvig Maria Piper’s influence had a good deal to do with Leverin’s election to the vicar’s office. Research has shown that in consistorial parishes the congregation was most likely to choose the priest with whom they were best acquainted from the three candidates presented by the Cathedral Chapter. Often this would be a son of the previous vicar, or perhaps a priest who had served the congregation in a junior role. Neither of these being the case for Magnus Leverin, it was almost certainly the interests of the countess Piper that stood him in such good stead with the parishioners. As the largest landowner in the parish, and as a member of the nobility, her word would have been law, practically speaking, in the selection of a new vicar.

In 1747, Leverin married Beata Maria Baillet in Uppsala’s Helga Trefaldighets Church. His bride was the gently-reared daughter of a cavalry officer, in his marriage, the young vicar followed the prevailing norm in marrying above his social station. Between 1749 and 1768 the couple had four children, all of whom died long before reaching majority. Along with the pain and grief of these losses, the vicar’s wife had to face the knowledge that she had failed in one of her most important duties. According to Luther, God had created woman to bear children and multiply. Further, the image of the “good mother” that was closely associated with the clergy wife made it especially important that she provide her husband—and the community—with many children.

In April 1769, after nearly twenty-five years as vicar in Teda, Leverin was appointed contract dean by the bishop of the Uppsala Diocese, adding to both his power and his prestige. In this role, Leverin was the head of the contract, as well as vicar in his parish. As dean, he ranked in the hierarchy under the bishop of the diocese. While the new title did not come with a pay

259 Handlingar ordnade efter pastorat, Uppsala Domkapitelsarkiv E V 127:1, ULA.
260 Ibid.
261 Bergström 1996, p. 94.
262 Lysnings- och vigselbok 1705–1839, Helga Trefaldighets kyrkoarkiv E I:1, ULA.
263 Berg 2007, p. 375.
266 Stadin 2004, pp. 204–205.
267 Domkapitlets protokoll huvudserie, 1769 12/4 ¶ 6, Uppsala Domkapitelsarkiv A I:61, ULA.
increase, there was a certain honor attached to it and, furthermore, in his new office Leverin was no longer subject to a dean’s ecclesiastical visitations.270

As dean of the contract, Leverin demonstrated an admirable avidity in carrying on an extensive correspondence with the Cathedral Chapter of Uppsala Diocese. His letters address a variety of issues concerning questions of both church law and general administration, and also take up diverse problems affecting the congregation. After twenty-eight years as vicar, Leverin died in Teda on 6 November 1773, at the age of fifty-eight.271

Following her husband’s death, Beata Maria Baillet’s childlessness would have practical consequences for her. Though she certainly lived a life of relative physical comfort during her husband’s years as vicar, as his widow she found herself in quite diminished circumstances. When Magnus Leverin died in late 1773, his wife was nearing the age of fifty. With no children, or the prospect of any, to make her hand more attractive, there was no chance of her marrying the next vicar and “conserving” her role. Having no son to succeed his father and no daughter to offer as bride to his successor, the widow Leverin was left quite unmoored in her community.

After she was widowed, Beata Maria Baillet applied for a double “mercy year” to allow her to remain at her home in Teda and collect her husband’s income for a period of two years.272 Further strengthening her position, the county governor sent a humble missive to the king in support of her application.273 In the spring of 1774, her request was approved, testament to both her dire economic straits and the goodwill she had earned among the community in her nearly thirty years as vicar’s wife.274

**Materiality and Manifestation**

That Magnus Leverin was a proud man who spent his life and career striving to reinforce others’ high opinion of him and his standing is immediately apparent in the first page of his probate inventory, a flamboyant title page heralding the “Inventory of the Deceased Dean and Vicar in Teda, Magnus Leverin”.275 To refer to this title page as “unusual” is to understate it in the extreme. Not only is it the only one of its kind in the entire volume containing Leverin’s

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272 Domkapitlets protokoll huvudserie, 1774 9/3, Uppsala Domkapitelsarkiv AI:66, ULA. Beata Maria Baillet writes that in addition to supporting herself, she has care of her 80-year-old mother, and that her circumstances are quite desperate.
273 Domkapitlets protokoll huvudserie, 1774 23/3, Uppsala Domkapitelsarkiv AI:66, ULA. After outlining the details of the deceased Leverin’s estate, the county governor writes, “se hälften till afledne prostens fjärmare anhöriga avgått, medan han inga brösträningar efter sig lämnat befinner för enkan en ganska liten och till livs upphållte alltäcklig del övrig.” In my translation: “As half of the deceased dean’s [estate] has gone to his extended family, and as he left no direct heirs, what remains for the widow is quite small and insufficient for her subsistence”.
274 Kungliga brev, 1774 13/4, Uppsala Domkapitelsarkiv EI:17, ULA. In his letter granting the widow’s request, Gustaf III makes particular reference to her “humble petition”.
275 Bouppteckning 54, Åsunda häradsrättsarkiv F:3, ULA. See Image 2 in Appendices.
inventory, but I have not come across a title page in any of the volumes I have examined for Uppsala County from the early eighteenth through the early nineteenth centuries, even for inventories of men of the same station as Leverin. On its own, of course, this title page might be merely a curiosity, but when combined with the fifty-odd pages of Leverin’s inventory, as well as information from other sources, it adds to a picture of a man with clear intentions to manifest his power and status.

Leverin’s inventory starts out modestly enough, listing under gold items only two rings, one smooth (18 d.kmt.) and one textured (15 d.kmt.). As in the case of the Färner inventory, these rings were presumably wedding or engagement rings. What he might have been lacking in gold, however, Leverin more than made up for in silver, both gilded and ungilded, with a collection of objects that was valued at a total of 3365 d.kmt.

**Setting the Tables**

The vicarage tables surely gleamed during Nicolaus Färner’s time there, but the displays arranged by the Leverins were perhaps even more impressive. The pair of heavy hammered-silver candlesticks (400 d.kmt.) would certainly have made an eye-catching centerpiece on any table. The effect would have been powerfully enhanced by two large gilded silver serving pitchers (252 d.kmt. and 240 d.kmt., respectively), as well as two smaller pitchers (90 d.kmt. and 87 d.kmt.) and two tumblers (18 d.kmt. total) of the same material.

The Leverin inventory lists some further items in gilded silver, all of which would have added to the splendor of a finely set table. The large gravy boat equal in weight to one of the smaller pitchers (90 d.kmt.) might have shared space with the pair of salt cellars (72 d.kmt) or the heavy mustard spoon (9 d.kmt.). Stana Nanadic has characterized the second half of the eighteenth century as the “age of the dining-table”, referring to the dining room as the site of the most dramatic developments in the eighteenth-century home. Already we have seen glimpses of this phenomenon in Leverin’s gilded-silver tableware, and further examination will serve only to make it all the more apparent.

In writing about table setting among the Arboga elite, Andersson points out that in the second half of the eighteenth century, only a few families possessed the goods that enabled them to present a well-set table with porcelain, glassware, and silverware. The Leverins, however—despite their much less considerable wealth—had accumulated more than enough for a quite impressive table setting. The porcelain listing in the inventory is extensive with forty-two plates (thirty white and twelve blue-and-white), twenty-four soup bowls (twelve white and twelve blue-

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276 Bouppteckning 54, Åsunda häradståtsarkiv F:3, ULA.
278 Bouppteckning 54, Åsunda häradståtsarkiv F:3, ULA.
279 Ibid.
280 Bouppteckning 54, Åsunda häradståtsarkiv F:3, ULA.
281 Nenadic 1994, p. 146.
and-white), eleven saucers, and eight pairs of teacups. These dishes were supplemented by a larger collection of pewter including fifty-four plates of different types, thirty-six soup bowls, and two tumblers.\footnote{Bouppteckning 54, Åsunda häradsrättsarkiv F:3, ULA.}

The glass listing is somewhat less elaborate, listing mostly various carafes, bottles, and flasks. More significant, however, are a set of ten ale glasses as well as a set of ten wine glasses.\footnote{Ibid.} Glassware being somewhat unusual among the Swedish elite, even in the latter half of the eighteenth century, complete sets of two different types of glasses is a clear sign of status manifestation.\footnote{Andersson 2009, p. 186.}

Rounding out their tableware, the Leverins had a large quantity of ungilded silver cutlery. The most elaborate of these were one dozen three-tined forks monogrammed with the letter “L” (235 d.kmt.), followed by six three-tined forks monogrammed with a “J” (115 d.kmt.), as well as four four-tined forks, also marked with a “J” (100 d.kmt.).\footnote{Bouppteckning 54, Åsunda häradsrättsarkiv F:3, ULA. According to the Linköpings stifts herdaminne, Leverin’s father’s family name was originally Jonsson, which would indicate that the J-monogrammed forks were heirlooms. If this is the case, at least one of Leverin’s relatives would appear to have been unusually forward-thinking in the acquisition of this type of cutlery.} Before the eighteenth century, forks were not commonly in use at the dining table, with most people eating with a knife and a spoon. In many circles, in fact, forks were considered “comically dainty and unmanly”, and perhaps even dangerous, prior to the eighteenth century,\footnote{Bryson 2010, pp. 201–202.} when they began to appear as a more elaborate spectrum of tableware adorning finer tables.\footnote{Overton et al. 2004, p. 106.} This observation is borne out by the fact that spoons are the only cutlery that appear in the Färner inventory, recorded only thirty years prior to Leverin’s.\footnote{Ibid.}

Additionally, the silver inventory lists ten knife handles (250 d.kmt.), fourteen table spoons (225 d.kmt.), one serving spoon (62 d.kmt.), a pair of serving knives (50 d.kmt.), a pair of sprinkling boxes (185 d.kmt.), one dozen dessert knives (12 d.kmt.), a knife case with silver inlay (12 d.kmt.), and a knife-and-fork set in textured silver.\footnote{Bouppteckning 86, Åsunda häradsrättsarkiv F:1, ULA.} With all of this at their disposal, then, the vicar and his wife could not only set a fine table, but they could have set a half-dozen fine tables, depending on the occasion. In a social environment that prized the ability to set a fully-stocked table, especially in half-dozens or, ideally, in full dozens of tableware, Leverin was clearly successful in this respect at manifesting his and his family’s status as elites.\footnote{Andersson 2009, p. 186.}

In close connection to the cultural contexts surrounding the dining table, the Leverins enthusiastically embraced the behaviors of serving coffee and tea that were of utmost importance in the eighteenth century, not only to the contexts of rational masculinity and domestic...
femininity, but also to the vicarage’s social and vocational obligation of showing hospitality toward all. Coffee and tea service at the vicarage were carried out in style, with a large silver coffee pot (270 d.kmt.) and a slightly smaller silver teapot (215 d.kmt.) taking center stage. The Leverin tables also boasted a silver sugar box (120 d.kmt.), a silver sugar bowl (55 d.kmt.), six new teaspoons (30 d.kmt.), six teaspoons of slightly lower worth (20 d.kmt.), and a sugar tong (12 d.kmt.). As complements to their silver service, the Leverin inventory lists a porcelain cream and sugar bowl set, as well as two porcelain teapots, a pewter teapot, and a copper tea kettle.292

Tea would appear to have played a bigger role in the Leverin vicarage than did coffee. This is perhaps not surprising, given not only the obligation of the vicar’s wife to serve as hostess and mother figure to the community, but also tea’s immense importance in the context of domestic femininity. Apart from the silver coffee pot, two inexpensive coffee-bean roasters are the only items specifically designated as intended for coffee use.293 Tea-related items, on the other hand, are plentiful. Vickery writes of a mid-eighteenth-century “rage for tea-boards”,294 and also identifies tea tables as a “hallmark of female gentility”.295 Following the dictates of both fashion and respectability, the Leverin vicarage had two of each, with two accompanying tablecloths, one patterned and one blue-and-white.296

As might be expected, given the elegance of their tableware, the Leverins did not skimp on table linens.297 Over the course of the eighteenth century, the numbers and varieties of household textiles proliferated, and the sophistication of these goods increased to match.298 For those individuals concerned with projecting an elite image, then, a refined collection of table linens was nothing less than de rigueur. In accordance with the prevailing trends, the Leverin inventory lists sixteen tablecloths in a variety of patterns, with values from 3 to 24 d.kmt. Also recorded are a full one-hundred napkins, listed according to sets ranging from six to eighteen napkins, in patterns corresponding to the tablecloths. Further, the inventory lists a napkin press (6 d.kmt.), another indication that careful attention was taken concerning these linens.299 Clearly, when it came to their table settings, this vicar and his wife took great care not to overlook any detail.

The Presentation of a Respectable Home

The extensive collection of serving ware for food and drink in the Leverin vicarage indicates a tremendous interest on the part of the vicar and his wife not only in displaying the hospitality that was such a key part of their roles, but also in ensuring that visitors to their home had no

292 Bouppteckning 54, Åsunda häradsrättsarkiv F:3, ULA.
293 Ibid.
296 Bouppteckning 54, Åsunda häradsrättsarkiv F:3, ULA.
297 Ibid.
299 Bouppteckning 54, Åsunda häradsrättsarkiv F:3, ULA.
chance of overlooking the couple’s good taste. This pattern extended throughout the vicarage, which was decorated in a manner truly befitting the social elite.

The Leverins furnished their house with an eye to refinement and exclusive materials. Furniture made of fine wood was a central indicator of status, with oak, walnut, and masur-wood conveying particular messages of exclusivity.\textsuperscript{300} In the Leverin inventory we find six chairs with oak inlay (18 d.kmt.), as well as a man’s bureau in oak (36 d.kmt.). Also listed, though the material is not identified, is a lady’s bureau (30 d.kmt.) as well as an alder-wood bureau (9 d.kmt.).\textsuperscript{301} Apart from the material—though the oak, of course, carried a significance of its own—the bureaus were in themselves status markers. As with tea tables, the ownership of bureaus was a meaningful demonstration of an interest in a genteel lifestyle.\textsuperscript{302} Having been introduced from France near the turn of the eighteenth century, bureaus became popular all across Europe, and were prized pieces of furniture throughout the century.\textsuperscript{303} In addition to the bureaus, the inventory lists a valuable walnut clothing cupboard worth an impressive 120 d.kmt., and a walnut night stand (9 d.kmt.).\textsuperscript{304} While the night stand was presumably in the Leverins’ bedroom, the walnut cupboard was almost certainly displayed where the largest number of visitors to the vicarage would be able to see and admire it, both as an item of beauty and as an indication of the vicar’s elite and refined status.

A number of additional cabinets are listed in the inventory and, though the material is not listed, the relatively high value attached to some of them indicates that they were either new, large, of good quality, or perhaps a combination of any or all of these. For instance, a “small” linen cabinet is listed at 12 d.kmt., a value higher than either the alder-wood bureau or the walnut night stand. A sideboard with four doors (24 d.kmt.) would have been an impressive piece in one of the vicarage’s main rooms, and a brown-painted clothing cabinet (9 d.kmt.), as well as two clothing shelves with textile hangings (3 d.kmt. each)\textsuperscript{305}, provided not only further storage space but could also have served a decorative purpose.

It has already been established that the Leverins took their hosting obligations seriously, and were also tremendously concerned that the vicarage appeared as a testament to their elevated status, facts that are given further weight by the numbers and types of tables and chairs listed in the inventory. In the eighteenth century, drop-leaf tables became popular among the Swedish elite as dining tables,\textsuperscript{306} and accordingly, the Leverin vicarage contained several of these. Listed are two round drop-leaf tables that were painted brown, one with a stone inset (12 d.kmt. and 4 d.kmt., respectively), an additional round drop-leaf table (3 d.kmt.), a rectangular drop-leaf table

\textsuperscript{300} Andersson 2009, pp. 154–155.
\textsuperscript{301} Bouppteckning 54, Åsunda häradsrättsarkiv F:3, ULA.
\textsuperscript{302} Krill 2010, p. 68.
\textsuperscript{303} Andersson 2009, p. 161.
\textsuperscript{304} Bouppteckning 54, Åsunda häradsrättsarkiv F:3, ULA.
\textsuperscript{305} Ibid.
(1 d.kmt.), and a fifth drop-leaf table lacking any notation about size or shape (6 d.kmt.). Though these tables may have been of relatively low value, that fact should not be seen as surprising; in the first place, drop-leaf tables were commonly painted in brown, blue, and yellow, and second, elites generally did not consider the painting and decoration of large tables to be especially important, as these were most often covered with elegant linens. In addition to these tables were the two tea tables already mentioned, as well as a table made of stone (1 d.kmt.), and a low cabinet with a table-top that was likely used as a side table.

The seating furniture in the Leverin home was quite elaborate, consisting of thirty-eight chairs in various styles and three sofas. Two of the sofas were green (6 d.kmt and 4 d.kmt., respectively), and the third is listed without details apart from that it was outfitted with a lid (4 d.kmt.). Unfortunately, no details regarding materials or possible fabrics or cushions are listed, but it is nonetheless somewhat telling that two of the sofas were of a matching color, an indication that they were intended to work together as a set, adding a touch of refinement to the room in which they were placed.

Some of the chairs were ordinary, low-value items such as three old stools (3 d.kmt.), four chairs with arm supports (valued together at roughly 2 d.kmt.), and two green wooden chairs (1 d.kmt.). Also listed are a green chair with no remarks about its material (1 d.kmt.) and an old wooden chair valued at less than 1 d.kmt. Alongside these these lower-quality items, the Leverins had a set of six chair with oak inserts (18 d.kmt.) and two similar chairs in the “English” style (4 d.kmt.).

Much more meaningful for an investigation into status and power manifestation through material goods are the more comfortable, more tasteful armchairs, known as länstolar in Swedish. Andersson writes that there was a “hierarchy” among chairs in the early modern household, and that these armchairs were associated with a power position. In the Leverin inventory we find eight such chairs; one of these is described as “worn out” (2 d.kmt.), but the remainder are of better quality. One is listed as a “leather armchair” (3 d.kmt.), while the other six have cloth coverings, four in green (12 d.kmt.) and two in a blue-striped fabric (18 d.kmt.). Andersson identifies Russian-leather chairs as following after the armchairs in the hierarchy of chairs, and Leverin again demonstrated his social position with ownership of a full dozen of these chairs (36 d.kmt.), half with leather in the chair backs. Writing further about chairs, Andersson points out

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307 Bouppteckning 54, Åsunda häradsrättsarkiv F:3, ULA.
308 Andersson 2009, pp. 163, 155.
309 Bouppteckning 54, Åsunda häradsrättsarkiv F:3, ULA.
310 Ibid.
312 Bouppteckning 54, Åsunda häradsrättsarkiv F:3, ULA.
314 Bouppteckning 54, Åsunda häradsrättsarkiv F:3, ULA.
316 Bouppteckning 54, Åsunda häradsrättsarkiv F:3, ULA.
that at least one set of a complete dozen chairs occupied a given place in elite furnishings,\textsuperscript{317} and here, again, the Leverin vicarage was established as the home of an elite family.

As important as the array of chairs undoubtedly was in terms of attesting to the status, and attendant wealth, taste, and refinement, of the elite household, it was another item of furniture that was still more significant: the richly ornamented four-poster bed. Along with the dining table, the bed has been identified as an “important domestic property” of the early modern period,\textsuperscript{318} and for the scope of this study, it was indubitably the textiles that made the bed into a status object.\textsuperscript{319} As a general rule, these beds were supposed to be reserved for especially important guests, but in reality they were seldom, if ever slept in. Unlike the ordinary beds that were placed in other, semi-private rooms, these highly-decorated beds were showpieces to be proudly displayed in a house’s most public spaces, where they could be seen by the largest number of people.\textsuperscript{320} Huge sums of money were routinely spent by elites on textiles for these beds, as they were embodiments of “economic power and fashionable taste”.\textsuperscript{321} The elaborate hangings of fine textiles over bedsteads, often in a variety of colors and fabrics on the same bed, delivered an enormous visual impact to observers.\textsuperscript{322}

The Leverins were subscribers even to this spectacular fashion, owning a bed with red damask and a fine “parade” coverlet, valued at 100 d.kmt. Red was in itself a color associated with power, and red damask, in particular, was associated with the French royal house and thus carried tremendous symbolic weight in rococo Paris, with its style emulated by elites throughout eighteenth-century Europe.\textsuperscript{323} In addition, the inventory lists a pale blue silk coverlet with a calico lining (42 d.kmt.), a red and blue silk coverlet, also with a calico lining (36 d.kmt.), and a green silk coverlet (6 d.kmt.).\textsuperscript{324} Presumably the silk coverlets were displayed on this fine bed, but unfortunately, only a handful of items in the entire inventory have their locations listed. The two more valuable coverlets are listed directly after the bed, which would indicate that they were together \textit{in situ}. In any case, they are the finest bedclothes recorded, and it is a near-certainty that the Leverins would have wanted them to be seen. As Vickery has observed, silk was one of the elite materials that “announced the wealth and taste of the privileged”.\textsuperscript{325}

Near the end of the eighteenth century and into the nineteenth, there was a trend among vicarage clergy families toward the vicar and his wife sharing a common bedroom, a trend they appear to have adopted from the higher social classes.\textsuperscript{326} It appears from the inventory that the

\textsuperscript{317} Andersson 2009, pp. 156–157.
\textsuperscript{318} Harris & Korda 2006, p. 21.
\textsuperscript{319} Andersson 2009, p. 157.
\textsuperscript{320} Bryson 2010, p. 346.
\textsuperscript{321} Roberts 2006, pp. 154–155.
\textsuperscript{322} Richardson 2006, p. 142.
\textsuperscript{323} Andersson 2009, p. 165.
\textsuperscript{324} Bouppteckning 54, Åsunda häradsrättsarkiv F:3, ULA.
\textsuperscript{326} Ulväng 2004, pp. 179–180.
Leverins followed this trend, as there is only one better-quality bed—as opposed to the simpler beds to be used by children or servants. While there are brief references in the inventory to both “the dean’s chamber” and “the lady’s chamber”, it seems likely that these referred to spaces designated as Leverin’s study and his wife’s sitting room, rather than to separate sleeping chambers.327

The bed that was almost certainly their shared sleeping space was a four-poster bed (3 d.kmt.), fitted with a down bolster covered in checkered linen cloth (18 d.kmt.) and adorned with a bed-curtain in green cassian fabric (18 d.kmt.). A gilded bed canopy (1 d.kmt.) and a bed-warmer (2 d.kmt.) are also listed in the inventory and would have made further adornments to this comfortable and attractive bed.328 In discussing the importance of comfort in eighteenth-century material culture, John Crowley identifies a “well-appointed bed” as being among the chief physical requirements for a man’s comfort,329 and Leverin was certainly well met on that count. The Leverin vicarage was well-outfitted throughout when it came to beds and bedding. The inventory lists six bolsters and a bolster pillow, as well as twenty-eight pillows of different varieties. The bolsters range in value from 20 d.kmt. for a “small” bolster to 40 d.kmt. for the best bolster, and the bolster pillow was valued at 10 d.kmt. Also listed are two cushions with surprisingly high values of 25 d.kmt. and 40 d.kmt.330 The more valuable cushion is designated as “old”, indicating that it was perhaps especially fine, and may well have been displayed on the show bed in the vicarage’s main room.

The Leverin inventory records twenty-two pairs of bed sheets, ranging from six finer pairs valued at 12 d.kmt. each, to twelve pairs of rougher quality worth a total of 56 d.kmt, with the remainder falling in the middle, both in quality and economic worth. The Leverins also had eight pairs of pillowcases, one pair listed as “fine, with lace”, and another specified as belonging in the vicar’s chamber (both pairs valued at 4 d.kmt. apiece), as well as a length of pillow-covering fabric.331 The finer items would have been reserved for the family and guests, while those of lesser quality would have been used by the servants.

The inventory also lists three lower-quality mattresses, as well as a number of furnishings, such as a wall-mounted bed, and various benches that would probably have been in the kitchen chamber and used for the servants’ sleeping spaces. A number of bed coverings make up the remainder of the bedclothes, from inexpensive animal hides and rough blankets to a calico blanket with a homespun lining (18 d.kmt.) and a pair of Västgöta coverings (9 d.kmt. and 6 d.kmt., respectively).332

327 Bouppteckning 54, Åsunda häradsrättsarkiv F:3, ULA.
328 Ibid.
329 Crowley 2003, p. 5.
330 Bouppteckning 54, Åsunda häradsrättsarkiv F:3, ULA.
331 Ibid.
332 Ibid.
Further attention to household linens—undoubtedly on the part of the vicar’s wife, but nonetheless significant for his own status manifestation—is seen in the number and quality of fine hand towels listed in the inventory. Along with five kitchen towels, one old (1 d.kmt.) and the remaining four of good quality (6 d.kmt.), the Leverins had twenty-three hand towels in a variety of patterns, including two specifically designated as “fine” (3 d.kmt.), and three half-dozens in different, matching patterns (6 d.kmt., 3 d.kmt, and 2 d.kmt.). These towels further demonstrate the consistent attention to detail and refinement that characterized the decoration of Teda vicarage during the Leverin years.

**The Finer Touch**

Together with all the fine goods that saw more or less regular use in their home, the Leverins owned a number of objects with the primary purpose—or sometimes even the sole purpose—of adding to their home’s decor and conveying a message of their taste and refinement to all who entered the vicarage. It might be tempting for modern observers to dismiss these decorative objects as merely meaningless knick-knacks or thoughtless adherence to popular fads, but the reality is quite the opposite. These objects were exceedingly significant for both those who displayed them and those who viewed them.

In the eighteenth century, when “luxury goods” were becoming widely accessible, it was crucial that those householders who acquired and displayed them do so appropriately. A person’s choices concerning home decor were expressions of his or her personality, but also of wealth, social status, and, critically, taste. The wider range of fashionable commodities brought with it a heightened awareness of the cultural meanings conveyed by material goods. Objects became “visual indicators”, their qualities revealing as much about their owners as about a house’s interior. As a result, people had to exercise great care to place the proper objects in the proper places, and to enhance them with the proper decorative accessories. 

Over the course of the eighteenth century, different types of small tables grew ever more popular, and were often dedicated to the display of decorative items. The Leverin inventory lists two painted gueridons (2 d.kmt.), a small pedestal table (1 d.kmt.), and a small rectangular table (1 d.kmt.), all of which were certainly used as staging areas for variety of carefully-chosen ornaments. During this time, objects of a purely decorative nature appeared with increasing frequency in the homes of Swedish elites. Andersson identifies potpourri pots as among the most common of these items and points, as well, to the particular exclusivity of items adorned with the exotic materials tortoise-shell and ivory. In the Leverin vicarage, a porcelain potpourri pot (3

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333 Bouppteckning 54, Åsunda häradsrättsarkiv F:3, ULA.
334 Lipsedge 2012, p. 50.
335 Andersson 2009, p. 155.
336 Bouppteckning 54, Åsunda häradsrättsarkiv F:3, ULA.
d.kmt.) attested to its owners’ good taste and fashion sense, and a small decorative box in tortoise-shell (4 d.kmt.) lent further credence to the Leverins’ self-identification as elites.

The couple had a number of these small boxes, most either made of shell or made to resemble shell. Two were relatively inexpensive (3 d.kmt. and 1 d.kmt.), but one was inlaid with silver (12 d.kmt.) and another was “somewhat newer” and boasted a hammered-silver lid (15 d.kmt.). An additional of these boxes was made of papier-maché and was valued at 3 d.kmt.

It is possible that these boxes were used to hold snuff, but may just as well have held hairpins, tea, spices, or all manner of trinkets.

The importance of these small decorative items notwithstanding, the Leverin vicarage contained a number of far more conspicuous announcements of the taste and refinement of the vicar and his wife. Unlike either his predecessor or his successor, Leverin lived and worked in a vicarage with curtains adorning the windows. A pair of curtains in a checkered pattern (12 d.kmt.) is listed as hanging in the vicarage’s large main room and a further eleven pairs in a variety of fabrics and patterns (21 d.kmt. total) are recorded in the inventory without reference to their placement in the house. While curtains served a decorative function, they were also important as a means of displaying one’s taste to passersby.

In addition, the inventory lists two larger and two smaller floor carpets (1 d.kmt.). These items were indications of a new type of interior decoration in which rooms became a single decorative unit in a way that they hadn’t been previously.

Andersson points out that, while these kinds of textiles were not particularly valuable from a monetary standpoint, they were quite significant in reinforcing the impression of the room as a carefully arranged ensemble.

Far more exclusive than the curtains and the carpets, and adding immeasurably to a room’s refined décor, was wallpaper. Vickery writes that wallpaper could “utterly transform” a room’s appearance, often for a reasonable cost. Despite the relative affordability of certain wallpapers, its use was long limited to a small number of families, even among the wealthy Swedish elite.

The Leverins manifested their own privileged status with no fewer than three rooms embellished with wallpaper. Not only was the large main room decorated with wallpaper (12 d.kmt.), but wallpaper adorned the walls of the lady’s chamber (9 d.kmt.) and the vicar’s chamber (15 d.kmt.) as well.

With regard to the Arboga elite, Andersson writes that, considering the position and the overall decorating taste of those families in her study who had wallpaper, there can hardly be any doubt that wallpaper was an explicit status symbol.

In the humble rural environment of...
Teda parish, then, the vicar’s wallpaper surely spoke volumes about his and his family’s elevated status.

The elegant atmosphere of the vicarage was heightened by a number of additional elements that transmitted messages of its residents’ sophistication. Like Färner before him, Leverin had embraced the use of mirrors, but where Färner’s inventory lists only one such item, the Leverin inventory lists six. Two small mirrors, one broken, carried very little value (16 öre and 12 öre, respectively), but the remaining four mirrors were of considerably finer quality. They were of varying sizes, and all four had gilded frames. Two are described as small (3 d.kmt. and 18 d.kmt.) but we can assume from the value of the second that it probably had some finer details that added to its worth. A third gilded mirror was valued at 9 d.kmt., and the last, and presumably largest, was valued at 30 d.kmt.348 In all likelihood, this last mirror was hanged in the main room, where it could be appreciated by the largest audience, and serve the additional function of enhancing the artificial lighting in the room.349

Over the course of the eighteenth century, mirrors became more readily available, price-wise, even to middling consumers, but those in “respectable” professions were much more likely to spend on decorative items. As mirrors ceased to be a rarity, ownership of them came to depend less on wealth and more on a connection to cosmopolitan ways. Although they no longer were quite the exclusive item they once had been, mirrors nonetheless continued to give their owners a “self-evident claim to gentility”.350 Furthermore, while cheap mirrors were to be had by less well-off consumers, expensive gilded mirrors were still a testament to a certain degree of wealth and an obvious marker of status.

Working in tandem with the mirrors to increase the power of candlelight were ten reflective wall sconces. Six of these had gilded arms (9 d.kmt.) and the other four were brass with silver plating (4 d.kmt.).351 These served an important decorative function, particularly as they were accented with precious metals, but they were also an excellent source of lighting. As such, they were likely placed in the main room or in another room where guests were frequently received.352 Artificial lighting played an important role in refined entertainment, and in the early modern period, candles paired with objects to reflect and diffuse their light were a must-have ensemble as dictated by the fashions of interior decoration.353

The Trappings of a Gentleman

Given the conspicuous elegance and fashion-consciousness of the vicarage’s decor, it should come as no surprise that Leverin himself was outfitted in an unmistakably refined manner. The listing of his “going-out clothing” takes up nearly three full pages of the inventory, and this does

348 Bouppteckning 54, Åsunda häradsrättsarkiv F:3, ULA.
349 Overton et al. 2004, p. 112.
350 Crowley 2003, p. 128.
351 Bouppteckning 54, Åsunda häradsrättsarkiv F:3, ULA.
352 Andersson 2009, p. 166.
353 Crowley 2003, pp. 121–122.
not include either his tailored shirts or the personal effects that he undoubtedly carried with him regularly. The sheer amount of clothing this vicar possessed is remarkable in itself, but the variety and exclusivity of the garments described in the inventory are nigh on to mind-boggling. In Leverin and his self-presentation we get a clear picture of Habermas’s concept of representative publicity and the ways this could be employed by a clergyman to manifest his status and power.

Leverin had eight black overcoats in different styles and materials. The finest of these was made of camel-hair satin and had a matching vest (60 d.kmt.). Also listed is a cloak of worsted fabric with a lining of wool velvet (50 d.kmt.), a garment that was likely a symbol of Leverin’s clerical office, and an overcoat made of carded wool fabric (36 d.kmt.). Additionally, Leverin had a satin overcoat and vest lined with a waxed-wool fabric (48 d.kmt.), a carded-wool overcoat with a plush collar (18 d.kmt.), and two worsted-fabric overcoats, one lined with black lambskin (36 d.kmt.) and one with horn buttons (30 d.kmt.). The last is a “worsted fur” with a black leather lining (36 d.kmt.), probably a worsted-fabric garment with fur accents.354

Leverin was equally well outfitted with regard to trousers, with the inventory listing six pairs in various fabrics. The finest pair was made of cotton velvet (15 d.kmt.) and had an accompanying vest in the same fabric (9 d.kmt.), and there is an additional pair in satin (12 d.kmt.), a pair in velvet-like wool (9 d.kmt.), and a pair in buckskin (9 d.kmt.). The remaining pairs are both described as “old”, one of carded wool (3 d.kmt.) and one of unlined buckskin (4 d.kmt.). The inventory also lists ten tailored shirts, four of finer quality (24 d.kmt.), four “used” (16 d.kmt.), and two “old” (2 d.kmt.), as well as nine pairs of sleeves, six pairs finer (12 d.kmt.), and three pairs old (3 d.kmt.).355

Andersson has pointed to fine “suits” of clothing that belong together as the most important items in the wardrobes of the early modern elite. For men, this suit consisted of matching overcoat, vest, and trousers, and no gentleman would be properly outfitted without at least one such ensemble.356 Leverin’s satin overcoat and vest, paired with the satin trousers, made up such a suit, and the velvet vest-and-trouser set might have been worn with another of the overcoats for variation. In the same manner, the camel-hair overcoat and vest would have worked well with any of the finer trousers. In the early modern period, the three-piece suit was adopted because of the “values of masculinity” it embodied, that is, the modesty and plain-ness associated with male gentility and the view that flamboyant clothing consumption was incompatible with masculinity.357

Leverin’s sense of his own refinement and sophistication extended even to those items of clothing that weren’t so publically visible. Among the many numbers of socks that are listed in the inventory are two pairs of black silk socks (3 d.kmt. and 2 d.kmt., respectively). Three pairs of

354 Bouppteckning 54, Åsunda häradståtsarkiv F:3, ULA.
355 Ibid.
slippers are also recorded. While two of the pairs are listed as old and of negligible value, the third pair, of green fabric, is listed at 6 d.kmt. We also find a nightcap (3 d.kmt.) and three dressing gowns, one of a white, loose-weave wool (9 d.kmt.), and two much finer. The first of these was made of a lilac-colored calico (24 d.kmt.) and the second of chintz (30 d.kmt.).

Leverin had a number of further items that added to his air of sophistication, including five wigs and two wig boxes (total value 6 d.kmt.). The fashion of wigs took hold in Europe in the late seventeenth century, but it was during the eighteenth century that the trend accelerated. A man might own many wigs and vary them in the same manner that he varied his morning and evening dress. To the eighteenth-century gentleman, wigs were a sort of “index of fashion”, speaking to the wealth and standing of a fashionable man. Indeed, the eighteenth century has been called “the golden age of male wig-wearing”, with a man’s wig acting as a herald to the public that he was a professional citizen. While the fashion for wigs was dying out toward the end of the eighteenth century, men of the “three learned professions” continued to wear wigs well into the nineteenth century, giving up the practice only gradually.

Further attesting to his sense of style, Leverin’s inventory includes nearly a dozen hats. A black skullcap of silk serge was undoubtedly a priestly garment, while the expensive cap of black weasel-skin (18 d.kmt.) would have been a good match for a three-piece-suit ensemble. The inventory also lists a hat with a silk covering and a velvet hat, as well as two caps in Västgöta weave and several caps of ordinary felted or knitted quality.

The vicar’s attire was further accented by a number of accompanying articles. An extra touch of refinement would have been added to Leverin’s presentation by a silk handkerchief (3 d.kmt.) peeking from his breast pocket. For variation’s sake, he also had a new, white handkerchief (3 d.kmt.), as well as three in a blue-striped fabric (6 d.kmt.). Three pairs of mittens are also listed in the inventory, including a pair made of suede and silk (6 d.kmt.) a pair made of dog-skin (2 d.kmt.), and a pair made of chamois (1 d.kmt.), as well as a velvet muff (3 d.kmt.).

Among Leverin’s footwear was a pair of new boots (18 d.kmt.), as well as a pair of used buckskin boots (4 d.kmt.) and an old pair of leather boots (6 d.kmt.). Further listed are three pairs of leather shoes, one in the fine shoe leather, cordovan (1 d.kmt.), another in buckskin (3 d.kmt.), and a third, new, pair in thick-soled leather (6 d.kmt.). Additionally, Leverin had a pair of black spats in carded wool (2 d.kmt.) that would have covered and protected his lower legs from the knee to the top of his shoes.

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358 Bouppteckning 54, Åsunda häradståckstarkiv F:3, ULA.
359 Ibid.
361 Way 2011.
363 Bouppteckning 54, Åsunda häradståckstarkiv F:3, ULA.
364 Ibid.
365 Ibid.
For going out, the Leverins had the choice of not only a handful of simple country wagons, but also the more sophisticated options of a covered carriage (300 d.kmt.), a one- or two-person buggy with a cushioned seat (60 d.kmt.), and two sleighs for winter travel (48 d.kmt. combined value). To keep the chill at bay, the Leverins had a number of furs and other coverings for use while traveling, including two bear-skins, one with a woven lining (21 d.kmt. total value), and two smaller red coverings, one with a fox-skin border (12 d.kmt.) and the other lined with black sheep-skin (9 d.kmt.).

Three items that are directly connected to Leverin’s self-identification and representation as a fine gentleman stand out in the inventory as especially striking: a watch, a walking stick, and a carriage. The first of these is a silver pocket watch (100 d.kmt.). E.P. Thompson observes that in the eighteenth century, watch ownership was largely restricted to the higher classes of society, and suggests that these elites’ preference for precious metals and intricate design was “in deliberate accentuation of their symbolism of status”. It follows, then, that though pocket watches were becoming more affordable in the latter half of the eighteenth century, Leverin’s ownership of one—in silver, no less—remained a significant marker of his status.

The second of these items is an ebony walking stick with an ivory handle and silver inlay (6 d.kmt.). Walking sticks were one of the most important status objects for an eighteenth-century gentleman, serving no purpose other than to signify the elevated social rank of their bearers. That Leverin’s walking stick was constructed from an exotic wood and adorned with the exclusive materials of silver and ivory makes it that much more substantial as a symbol of Leverin’s status and power manifestation.

The last of these particularly compelling items is the above-mentioned covered carriage with two harnesses (300 d.kmt.). Covered carriages were far from usual means of transportation for country vicars, as is borne out by Carl-Martin Bergstrand’s examination of the probate inventories of Västgöta clergymen from 1761 to 1800. While a few covered carriages were listed in these inventories, the vast majority of them were either old, of low value, or both, and the most common mode of transport was a simple country wagon. In the other volume of Bergstrand’s study, examining Västgöta prior to 1761, only two vicars owned covered carriages with values equal to or greater than Leverin’s, and, tellingly, one of them was vicar of a second-

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366 Bouppteckning 54, Åsunda häradstårsarkiv F:3, ULA.
368 Styles 2008, p. 46.
370 Bouppteckning 54, Åsunda häradstårsarkiv F:3, ULA.
class parish, and the other vicar of a first-class parish. Clearly, then, the sight of their vicar riding around the countryside in an expensive covered carriage must have been a remarkable and impressive sight for the parishioners of Teda.

In fact, it is an easy thing to imagine Leverin behaving as a sort of “lord” of his parish manor, in full accordance with Habermas’s theory of representative publicity. In this sense, the vicar scarcely needed to do anything at all; it was quite enough for him to present himself, in all his splendor, to the audience of his parishioners. Clad in his resplendent three-piece satin suit, wearing a wig or a fine hat—or both—and carrying his silver pocket-watch and his gleaming walking stick, Leverin certainly cut a magnificent figure stepping out of his covered carriage. He was the very embodiment of power and status, and there could be little doubt in any observer’s mind that he was a force to be reckoned with.

The Habit of a Rational Man

Leverin acted within the context of rational masculinity in his use of tobacco. Unlike most of the men of his time, he adopted the habit of pipe smoking in favor of the more usual practice of snuff-taking. An inexpensive snuff mill is the only snuff-related item specifically noted in Leverin’s inventory, in contrast to six tobacco pipes, a tobacco pouch, and a tobacco box. The pouch and tobacco box were also inexpensive, but all of the pipes had components that would have conveyed a message of exclusivity. The most valuable was a serpentine pipe with a listed worth of 8 d.kmt. A second serpentine pipe had a black shaft and silver inlay, and the remaining four pipes—one of porcelain and three of wood—were also adorned with silver inlays.

Leverin appears to have been somewhat ahead of the game with regard to tobacco smoking. In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, smoking was often associated with anti-religious attitudes and, in Dutch painting, for example, smoking was generally portrayed only symbolically as a sign of low virtue, prior to the eighteenth century. Snuff-taking, which had become eminently fashionable in eighteenth-century Europe, remained the primary means of tobacco consumption until nearly the end of the nineteenth century. Although smoking came to be associated with elegant and aristocratic habits in the eighteenth century, Swedes, in particular, remained faithful to snuff, with smoking not surpassing snuff-taking in popularity until well into the twentieth century.

In adopting the trend of pipe-smoking far in advance of its widespread breakthrough, Leverin demonstrated his standing within what Andersson has termed “trend culture”. Trend culture, she

375 Bouppteckning 54, Åsunda häradtsarkiv F:3, ULA.
376 Gruia 2013, p. 50.
378 Gruia 2013, p. 50.
writes, comprises a consciousness of and an ambition toward the embrace of new habits and attitudes. She further points to Katie Scott’s assertion that the display of suitably new goods or behaviors gave one a “certain advantage over others”.380

Additionally, Leverin’s smoking was significant within several of the contexts of respectability. According to Smith, there was an association between “puffing on a pipe” and a judicious, masculine gentility in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, and that for those who accepted the purported advantages of tobacco to physical and mental health, smoking displayed a concern for wellness within the context of virtue. Most important, however, smoking was meaningful in the context of rational masculinity for its association with “male rationality and men’s monopoly on the moral strength needed to exercise reason”.381 Indeed, smoking and intellectual work were intimately connected for a number of early modern writers, with students on at least one occasion being admonished “unconditionally to smoke profusely”.382

A further important aspect of smoking within the context of rational masculinity is that, within polite society, it was purely a man’s habit. While snuff-taking was not solely confined to men in the eighteenth century, smoking was not appropriate behavior for respectable women.383 Indeed, it was a given that “polite women . . . complained about tobacco smoke”.384

**The Possessions of a Polymath**

Magnus Leverin emerges as something of a “renaissance man” when we turn our attentions to some of his more unusual personal possessions. He decisively demonstrated his understanding of “fine culture”, defined by Andersson as encompassing intellectual culture and its attendant interests in literature, art, and music.385 Fine culture is also a critical component of Bourdieu’s concept of embodied cultural capital, in which the significant objects’ greatest value is the manner in which they demonstrate their owners’ mastery of an exclusive degree of cultivation.386 Andersson characterizes cultural capital as more exclusive than economic capital in that it presupposes specialized knowledge and clearly expressed interests.387

Leverin prominently demonstrated his commitment to learning early in his life with his attainment of advanced university degrees, and to judge from his material possessions, his keen interest in intellectual pursuits continued throughout his lifetime. His inventory lists what must have been a large collection of books, valued at 885 d.km.388 Unfortunately, neither titles nor contents are given, but when we consider that the vicar’s personal library was valued at nearly three times the worth of his covered carriage, or more than half again the combined worth of his

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384 Vickery 2009, p. 274.
386 Bourdieu 1986, p. 50.
388 Bouppteckning 54, Åsunda häradsrättsarkiv F:3, ULA.
two heavy, gilded-silver serving pitchers, it becomes clear that he had accumulated a substantial number of books. Weatherill observes that book ownership was a reflection of the higher literacy of the clergy and other professionals.\textsuperscript{389} As Andersson points out, even if books were part of a family’s manifestation, they were particularly meaningful in marking the male members of the family as the bearers of book learning, and were an extremely exclusive form of cultural capital.\textsuperscript{390}

Somewhat surprisingly, the Leverin inventory does not list a great deal of artwork. Apart from a collection of an unspecified number of small pictures in gilded frames with glass (5 d.kmt.), there is only an inexpensive picture with a religious motif (valued at less than 1 d.kmt) hanging in the herb garden. The modest amount of art on the vicarage walls should not be interpreted as a general lack of interest in art, however. The inventory lists an artist’s workspace for painting (6 d.kmt.) among diverse household belongings.\textsuperscript{391} Whether or not Leverin’s attentions were occupied with hanging artwork in the vicarage, clearly this workspace demonstrates more than a passing interest in painting and art.

A further, and more significant, demonstration of Leverin’s command of cultural capital is the presence of two musical instruments in his inventory. Weatherill has described musical instruments as objects “of considerable interest”, but was unable to include them in her study due to the infrequency with which they were recorded in the inventories she examined.\textsuperscript{392} Andersson notes as well that musical instruments make extremely rare appearances in the inventories of her study, and refers to the striking exclusivity of instruments as examples of fine culture.\textsuperscript{393} One of the instruments is an “old broken lyre” worth less than 1 d.kmt., but the other is a contrabass, an instrument of imposing size that would have caught the eye of everyone entering the room where it was kept.\textsuperscript{394}

Furthermore, the contrabass had an accompanying case and sheet music (9 d.kmt.),\textsuperscript{395} attesting to the fact that it was an instrument played by someone in the household, rather than merely a showpiece. While a certain amount of musical training might have gone into the education of either the vicar or his wife, it was exceedingly uncommon during this time that an individual’s interest in music led to the personal acquisition of an instrument.\textsuperscript{396} Both the ownership of the instruments and the ability to play them were tremendously significant manifestations of the Leverins’ possession of cultural capital.

Additional evidence of Leverin’s staking a claim to his place in the world of fine culture, as well as his interest in adopting new behaviors, can be seen in his ownership of two ivory pen-

\textsuperscript{389} Weatherill 1996, p. 180.
\textsuperscript{390} Andersson 2009, p. 177.
\textsuperscript{391} Bouppteckning 54, Åsunda häradsrättsarkiv F:3, ULA.
\textsuperscript{392} Weatherill 1996, p. 207.
\textsuperscript{393} Andersson 2009, pp. 184–185.
\textsuperscript{394} Bouppteckning 54, Åsunda häradsrättsarkiv F:3, ULA.
\textsuperscript{395} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{396} Andersson 2009, p. 185.
cases (with a combined value of slightly more than 1 d.kmt.) and a “writing machine” (3 d.kmt.). This machine was a complicated-sounding contraption with rings and straps that somehow was attached to one’s arm and held a pen, restricting arm movement in such a way as to result in an “even and beautiful handwriting”. In addition to demonstrating his interest in new technology, this object is further indication of Leverin’s interest in his self-presentation and the care he took to make sure that documents from his hand reflected well upon him and his elevated station.

Another intriguing listing in the Leverin inventory is a barometer (3 d.kmt.). Vickery identifies barometers as an obvious conversation piece in the early modern home, as both an indication of an interest in enlightened conversation and a luxury good that was a fitting ornament for a gentleman’s parlor or study. Moreover, a barometer was simultaneously a device and a decoration, “representing the fusion of applied science and applied art, bringing an air of philosophy to the inquisitive and their parlours”. In displaying this object, Leverin again made plain his standing as a gentleman whose mind was actively turned toward the scientific.

This same interest in new knowledge and technology is further demonstrated in the extensive collection of clock-making tools that takes up a full three pages of the inventory. As previously discussed, the mere fact of clock ownership was meaningful for Leverin’s status manifestation, but that he took the extra step of exploring the inner workings of clocks is more significant still. In the early modern world, clocks were far more than merely timepieces. Arguably, in fact, keeping time was of auxiliary importance in this setting. Taking center stage, rather, was the notion that a clock, “with its visible and multiple movements” revealed to people their position, at a given moment, “in the great flow of cosmic and worldly events”. Considered in the context of the Enlightenment thinking that played such a prominent role in the eighteenth century, Leverin’s interest in clocks speaks volumes concerning his enthusiasm for intellectual pursuits and the attainment of cultural capital.

The Virtue of Hard Work

While Leverin was undeniably a man who put great stock in his self-representation as a gentleman through both his personal appearance and his focus on fine culture, he also demonstrated an admirable industrious side during his time as vicar in Teda. The considerable amount of work he put into both the vicarage properties and Teda church is significant in terms of the context of virtue within the making of respectability, as well as for status and power manifestation, particularly in relation to professionalism and the pursuit of closer
identification with the higher social classes. In is in this aspect of Leverin’s career that we see the most tangible evidence of commitment to his work within the vicar’s office.

The Leverin inventory lists a full page of carpentry tools, as well as a large number of boards and other materials that attest to the vicar’s ongoing attentions to building projects. The protocol from a 1763 ecclesiastical visitation describes in detail an impressive number of improvements and additions made by Leverin to the vicarage, with particular notations of the markedly better condition, as well as increased agricultural production, of the vicarage properties during Leverin’s tenure. The parish meeting records kept by Leverin add further to the picture of his attention to building and improvement. Though these records are very short and lack detail, it emerges clearly that the primary subject of discussion was often the buying, selling, or improving by Leverin of various parish buildings.

In addition to his building and agricultural work, Leverin was active in further forms of physical labor. He owned the tools for a well-outfitted blacksmith’s workshop, with which to attend to his large assortment of livestock. His inventory also lists a large amount of fishing equipment, most notably a boat with a sail (200 d.kmt.) and heavy pair of oars (24 d.kmt.). Given his extensive professional duties, as well as the agricultural work required of him on the vicarage, it is impressive that Leverin found the time to devote to “extras” such as these, and furthermore, it speaks a great deal to his hard-working nature.

It was not only properties for his personal use that received Leverin’s attentions. It has been observed that, under an enterprising vicar’s direction, even a small parish church might undergo a degree of improvement in the eighteenth century, and Leverin was nothing if not enterprising. During his tenure as vicar, a number of changes were made to Teda church, with the last largescale redesign taking place in the 1750s in conjunction with the classicist influences of the time. In the pursuit of creating a light and cohesive church nave, new windows were created and the entry-door was moved from the side to the long end of the church. Additionally, the church’s interior walls were whitewashed, and the pew arrangement and decor were completed. With these changes, as well as the preservation of a great many older aspects, today’s Teda church is very much the same as it was when Leverin presided over services there.

Leverin’s work on improving the vicarage can be seen as part of the increased demands by eighteenth-century clergy for a higher standard of living. Modernization of the vicarage buildings, so that they were more in line with those found on country estates, was a significant part of the evolution of the eighteenth-century Swedish vicarage. These efforts were part of the professionalization of the clergy, in which they sought to associate themselves more closely with

403 Bouppteckning 54, Åsunda häradsrättsarkiv F:3, ULA.
404 Visitationsprotokoll 1763, Teda kyrkoarkiv J:2, ULA.
405 Sockenstämmans protokoll och handlingar 1746-1838, Teda kyrkoarkiv K1:1, ULA.
406 Bouppteckning 54, Åsunda häradsrättsarkiv F:3, ULA.
408 Rosell 1974, pp. 7–12.
the gentry, creating a palpable distance between themselves and the farming class. The necessity that their homes should match their station was an important part in the clergy’s aligning themselves, as professionals, with the social elite in the aristocracy and the gentry.

The physical labor itself performed by Leverin was also meaningful for his self-presentation as a gentleman. While it was certainly the case that men of lower ranks than he worked equally hard, Leverin would surely have been particularly aware of the place of physical work in the context of virtue. Concern for one’s health was of fundamental importance for its association with the context of virtue, and Leverin’s dedication to putting in a hard day’s work was a key demonstration that he took care to exercise his body as well as his mind. The previously mentioned Swedish bishop who opined that physical labor was good, wholesome exercise for clergymen would have found little fault with Leverin on this score.

**Conclusions**

As vicar in Teda, Magnus Leverin’s manifestation of his status and power was nothing short of aggressive. Despite having financial means no greater than his predecessor’s, he was able to accumulate an array of belongings that allowed him to appear near-aristocratic in comparison with Färner. Leverin’s probate inventory gives us the picture of man whose primary strategy with regard to status and power manifestation can be described in terms of Habermasian representative publicity. It is indicative of Leverin’s representation of his elevated status in the parish that he frequently referred to himself in official documents as “herr kyrkoherde Leverin”, a phrase equivalent to “the most reverend Vicar Leverin”, and his fashionable attire and fine modes of transport made statements about his position that observers would have been unable to overlook. Quite apart from his divine calling to act in the service of others and his duties as parish priest, Leverin made his most significant mark with his extravagant displays of luxury goods and his command of exclusive cultural capital. His consumer behavior, as well as the refined presentation of his home and the virtuous domestic femininity of his wife, demonstrated his mastery of all aspects of the context of respectability.

Leverin supplemented these displays of his elite status and considerable power with building and improvement projects on the vicarage and the church that stressed his connection to the higher social classes. In this respect, he embodied the concept of professionalization with its aim to set apart professionals as refined, learned gentlemen altogether removed from the masses of ordinary laborers. In his lifetime, Leverin was undeniably a man not to be taken lightly.

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Christopher Thedenius was born in Teda on 16 March 1734, son to a farming family. He was ordained in 1758 at the age of 24, and in 1768 he married Elisabeth Mari Sandmark, daughter of the vicar in Ekerö, where he had served as adjunct priest for a number of years. After serving in various clerical capacities in the Stockholm area for several years, he became vicar in Teda in 1774, first filling in as the substitute vicar during the remainder of the widow Leverin’s “mercy years”, then officially assuming the role in the spring of 1775. Thedenius and his wife had six sons, three of whom survived to adulthood, the eldest following his father into the priesthood and serving as adjunct priest in Teda from 1805, then as substitute vicar there for a year after his father’s death on 27 April 1809.

Upon his death Thedenius left behind an estate valued at 802 riksdaler (rdr), with debts totaling 463 rdr. In today’s currency, the 339 rdr that remained after the debts had been cleared would be equal to approximately 56,000 Swedish kronor, or somewhat less than 9,000 American dollars. Thedenius’s list of debts is diverse, showing sums owed to merchants, a pharmacist, Teda church, and various private persons, as well as outstanding wages owed to servants and, somewhat intriguingly, 44 rdr under the category “auction debts”.

By all accounts, Thedenius was faithful and steadfast in his duties. From his youth he demonstrated his calling to the ministry, publicly preaching for the first time at the tender age of nineteen at the encouragement of the vicar in Långtora (though he was later reprimanded by the Cathedral Chapter for doing so before he was “mature in his studies”). He continued to demonstrate admirable diligence as vicar in Teda. The parish meeting records that he kept were lengthy and rich in detail, in sharp contrast to Leverin’s brief, cursory notes. During a 1782 visitation, the dean noted with approbation that not only did Thedenius’s congregation refrain from lighting bonfires at Walpurgis, but that they also were free from false sects and other delusions.

In connection with the Archbishop’s 1790 ecclesiastical visitation, Thedenius praised his congregation for the fact that there were no taverns in the parish and for their general distaste for drunkenness. He described the laudable poor relief system of the parish and reported that the parish meetings were held on time and carefully recorded in the protocols. When the catechetical

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411 Födelse- och dopbok (1729–1746), Teda Kyrkoarkiv C:2, ULA.
412 Berg 2007, pp. 280–381.
413 Bouppteckning 177, Åsunda häradsrättsarkiv F:10, ULA.
415 Bouppteckning 177, Åsunda häradsrättsarkiv F:10, ULA.
416 Berg 2007, p. 381.
417 Sockenstämmans protokoll och handlingar 1746-1838, Teda kyrkoarkiv K11, ULA.
418 Berg 2007, p. 382.
examinations were held by the Archbishop and the Dean, the parish youth acquitted themselves impeccably and their commendable knowledge was noted by the officials. The Archbishop further noted his conviction that any visits made by parishioners to a notorious local spring that was held to have healing waters were motivated by mere curiosity, reporting that Teda’s population was too enlightened and right-thinking to be taken in by superstition.\footnote{Handlingar ordnade efter pastorat, Uppsala Domkapitelsarkiv E V 127:1, ULA.}

Thedenius’s success in fostering and shepherding a devout flock is all the more noteworthy when we consider that he was vicar during a time when orthodoxy and religious unity were losing ground in Sweden. Religious freedom and tolerance of other creeds were increasing, both officially and socially,\footnote{Lenhammar 2000, pp. 145–150.} and the church was facing growing challenges from various reform movements. Further, the clergy were targeted ever more frequently by satirical writings, which were often supported by powerful interests.\footnote{Berntson et al. 2012, pp. 219–222.} Additionally, Enlightenment thinking was making inroads in Sweden, and the developing threats posed to the church by ideas of individualism and free-thinking were unmistakable.\footnote{Lenhammar 2000, pp. 178–180.} In this atmosphere of uncertainty, Thedenius shone as an example of pious leadership.

\textit{Materiality and Manifestation}

Thedenius does not appear to have had the connections to the nobility and other social elites that characterized much of his two predecessors’ lives and work. This is likely due in part to his humble birth and upbringing as a farmer’s son in the parish where he was to spend the bulk of his professional life. Also, the practice of the nobility keeping private chaplains had fallen almost entirely out of favor by the late eighteenth century, for a variety of social, political, and religious reasons, meaning that Thedenius lacked this potential opportunity to curry favor with the local elites in the manner of many clergymen in earlier times.\footnote{Collmar 1948, pp. 126–127, 132.}

Furthermore, Thedenius’s wife was a vicar’s daughter, rather than the daughter of a highly placed civil servant or a military officer. Like Teda parish, the two parishes where Thedenius’s father-in-law served as vicar—Ekerö and Adelsö—were third-class parishes.\footnote{http://www.upplandia.se/Ekero_socken.htm, http://upplandia.se/Adelso_socken.htm} Thus, although Thedenius’s wife and her family were members of the clerical estate, their standing within it was of the lowest sort. While her upbringing undoubtedly served Teda vicarage well in a number of capacities, she would not have brought to her marriage either the experiences or the more refined sensibilities of the two previous vicars’ wives.

Thedenius’s inventory shows a decided lack of the relative wealth that characterized his predecessors’ estates. The gold items listed are two inexpensive gold rings without stones (3 rdr, 16 sk.) that are probably engagement or wedding rings, and a rattan walking stick with a gold
handle (4 rdr, 24 kr.). The listing for silver is somewhat broader, but still very modest. There is no sign of the elaborate serving displays owned by Färner and Leverin, with the bulk of the silver consisting of spoons. The inventory lists nine heavy table spoons (10 rdr, 32 sk.), two ragout spoons (5 rdr, 16 sk.), a sugar spoon (40 sk.), a serving spoon (2 rdr, 8 sk.), and seven tea spoons (2 rdr). Rounding out the silver tableware are one shot glass (1 rdr), one sugar tong (4 sk.), and two carafe stoppers (1 rdr, 16 sk.).

The single most valuable item listed among the silver is a silver pocket watch (7 rdr). Unlike Färner’s and Leverin’s pocket watches, Thedenius’s watch did not have an expensive case, and its value was considerably less than that of the watches carried by his predecessors. Two further personal items are listed, one pair of cufflinks and one pair of knee buckles, both inexpensive (4 sk. and 16 sk., respectively). It is no exaggeration to say that the only thing conspicuous in the gold and silver listings is the absence of fine goods.

The bulk of the rest of the inventory shows a simple lifestyle entirely in keeping with common perceptions of country clergymen in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. More than half of the items recorded are farm implements, ordinary household goods, and livestock. Most of the furniture is unremarkable, as are the household linens, and there is nothing to indicate that any of the beds would have been used to create eye-catching displays. Neither wall hangings nor curtains appear in the inventory, and only a small number of books, worth a total of 10 rdr, are listed, with no contents or titles given. Apart from three dozen porcelain plates (24 sk.), the vicarage’s dishes and eating utensils are not listed. These are most likely covered in the categories “diverse tin-plate items” and “diverse brass items”. Somewhat surprisingly, twelve pairs of table knives (24 sk.) are listed under the heading “Diverse”. Table knives were a fairly late arrival on early modern tables, not seen in Normandy, for instance, until the late eighteenth century, when they appeared in only ten percent of inventories there. For whatever reason, the Thedenius household had adopted this trend ahead of a number of others. Two wine glasses and two ale glasses (4 sk. total worth) appear in a short listing of glassware. This sort of item was not widely represented, even in inventories of the quite wealthy, until late in the eighteenth century, but as Andersson observes, a couple of wine or ale glasses are not sufficient to indicate a manifestation of status.

Despite the lack of ostentatious objects adorning the vicarage in Thedenius’s time there, we do find evidence of a certain refinement in the hosting of social gatherings by the vicar and his wife. Items for both coffee and tea consumption are present in the inventory, indicating that these “respectable” behaviors were regularly practiced at the vicarage. Thedenius owned both a

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425 Boupptekning 177, Åsunda häradsrättsarkiv F:10, ULA.
426 Ibid.
427 Boupptekning 177, Åsunda häradsrättsarkiv F:10, ULA.
429 Boupptekning 177, Åsunda häradsrättsarkiv F:10, ULA.
430 Andersson 2009, pp. 185–186.
coffee-bean roaster (4 sk.) and a coffee mill (8 sk.), each made of iron. There is no listing for any coffee-specific serving items, but we do find two porcelain teapots (16 sk. total worth), as well as two small porcelain pitchers for milk or cream (8 sk. total worth), a wooden sugar box with a cutter (12 sk.), and a pewter sugar bowl (32 sk.). Additionally listed are a small porcelain mug (2 sk.) and six pairs of teacups in imitation porcelain (12 sk.). The inventory also lists two oak cabinets (2 rdr, 36 sk. total worth) and a sideboard (1 rdr, 12 sk.), which may have been used to store and display some of these items.\textsuperscript{431}

It is clear that the ritual of taking tea was observed routinely in the Thedenius home, which is in accordance with the context of domestic femininity. Having been raised in a vicarage herself, Thedenius’s wife was certainly well acquainted with the expectations of her role as a hospitable mother figure to the parish, as well as the responsibility to establish and maintain the respectability of her home, her family, and her husband’s office. Though her circumstances did not afford her the opportunity to see to these duties in an extravagant fashion, we can nonetheless see evidence that she approached them seriously, in the best manner that her means allowed.

The unassuming table settings notwithstanding, the vicarage during Thedenius’s time was a pleasant and inviting environment. A number of tables are included in the inventory, the largest number of which are five dining tables (1 rdr, 4 sk. total worth) and a kitchen table (4 sk.), along with seven patterned tablecloths woven of cotton or linen and thirty napkins, of which twelve were of finer quality (1 rdr). Also present were two tea tables, one round (18 sk.) and one square (12 sk.), as well as a small oak table (2 sk.).\textsuperscript{432} It has previously been noted that, while the tea tables were not expensive items, they are significant in their reflection of the respectability associated with teatime. Throughout the course of the eighteenth century, tea tables continued to be a key furnishing in elite homes as a requirement for the family to be able to partake in the important social customs surrounding taking tea.\textsuperscript{433}

The house was tastefully furnished with comfortable seating sufficient for a small crowd. Along with the nine wooden chairs and two stools that were a standard in farmhouses, the inventory lists two armchairs with matching covers (24 sk.), ten chairs with arms and cushions (1 rdr, 32 sk.), five chairs with arms and coverings (4 sk.), and an uncovered sofa (16 sk.). Additionally, the vicarage boasted a sofa with cushions (2 rdr) and a chaise longue (6 sk.).\textsuperscript{434} Fitting out one’s home with a variety of seating furniture was closely associated with elite status manifestation. Cushions, padding, and matching covers served to increase the sense of refinement conveyed by these furnishings.\textsuperscript{435} The numbers of sofas, chairs, and tables increase

\begin{footnotesize}
\begin{itemize}
\item[431] Bouppteckning 177, Åsunda häradsrättsarkiv F:10, ULA
\item[432] Ibid.
\item[433] Andersson 2009, pp. 162–163.
\item[434] Bouppteckning 177, Åsunda häradsrättsarkiv F:10, ULA.
\end{itemize}
\end{footnotesize}
markedly in vicarage inventories over the course of the nineteenth century, but ownership of these was not widespread until the second half of the century. It is therefore noteworthy that the Thedenius vicarage, in spite of its poor economy, was ahead of the trend with this type of furniture. We can interpret this fact as further indication of a focus by the vicar and his wife on hospitality, especially within the contexts of rational masculinity and domestic femininity in which sociable conversation was highly prized.

Further enhancing the atmosphere of the vicarage were both a man’s and a lady’s bureau (2 rdr and 1 rdr, 24 sk., respectively), two wall clocks (4 rdr, 24 sk.) and two large mirrors (4 rdr, 24 sk.), as well as a hand mirror (4 sk.). The hand mirror being a more personal item than a mirror that might also be used to enhance candlelight, it is particularly indicative of self-awareness and an interest in one’s appearance. For individuals whose lifestyle demanded a careful attention to self-presentation, a hand mirror might well have seemed an indispensable item.

Indeed, where appearance is concerned, Thedenius took special care, particularly in his manner of dress. His collection of outer garments was extensive, given his strained financial situation. For going out he had a cassock (4 rdr) and a priestly gown (1 rdr), as well as a black coat with tails (6 rdr), a vest-and-trouser set (3 rdr, 24 sk.), a frock coat with a vest (3 rdr), two additional vests, a cape made of animal hide (2 rdr), two overcoats (2 rdr, 24 sk.), and a fabric-covered fur garment (1 rdr, 24 sk.). For accessories he had a hat (16 sk.) and a pair of gloves (8 sk.), as well as an umbrella and the previously mentioned gold-handled rattan walking stick. The fineness of this attire paints a picture of a man who took a strong interest in the way he presented himself to his community, and undoubtedly at least as strong an interest in the way this community perceived him and his standing. It would have been difficult for the farming families in Teda not to be convinced of the power and elite status of their vicar when he made such an impressive display of himself. Furthermore, he was in possession of a covered carriage which, although it was old and the value significantly depreciated (4 rdr), would have made his appearance all the more imposing when he traveled around the countryside.

Certainly Thedenius’s care for his appearance can be seen as an effort to present himself as a gentleman of refined sensibilities. The need to set himself apart from his congregation must have been particularly keen for this vicar, having been born and raised a farmer’s son in the very community where he served for most of his career. His parishioners would have been his peers, occupying identical social space, for a significant portion of his life, and it is likely that he thus strove to establish and make clear his elevated position in relation to them after he became their vicar.

436 Ulväng 2004, p. 179.
437 Bouppteckning 177, Åsunda häradsrättsarkiv F:10, ULA.
438 Ibid.
439 Ibid. The carriage is likely to be Leverin’s old carriage, as covered carriages were far from being a standard means of transportation.
Like his predecessors, Thedenius indulged in the eminently masculine behavior of tobacco consumption. He was in possession of the requisite snuff box (32 sk.), though it was not at all the equal of the expensive conversation pieces carried by Färner and Leverin. Thedenius also owned a tobacco case (12 sk.) and a meerschaum smoking pipe (1 rdr). Meerschaum pipes, also known as “sea-foam pipes”, were carved from mineral sepiolite recovered from natural deposits in the Ottoman areas and first appeared in western Europe in the mid-eighteenth century. These pipes were highly prized by tobacco connoisseurs, coming to be known as the “aristocrat of smoking pipes”. The use of this fashionable pipe, the likes of which did not become widespread in western Europe as a whole—let alone in rural Sweden—before the mid-nineteenth century, carried a message of gentlemanly refinement that would not have gone unnoticed in Thedenius’s surroundings. The vicar’s habit of smoking, already significant in the context of rational masculinity, would have been further enhanced by his smoking such an exclusive pipe.

**Conclusions**

The expectation that clergy present themselves as respectable gentlemen in both manner and appearance was certainly not lost on Christopher Thedenius. Though he was constrained by his financial means, he took care in his clothing and personal effects to relay a message of dignity and gentility in accordance with a number of the contexts of respectability. Furthermore, he and his wife kept a welcoming home marked by both refinement and comfort, in which efforts within the corresponding contexts of rational masculinity and domestic femininity were clearly visible.

All of this being the case, Thedenius’s status and power manifestation depended more upon his work within his role as vicar than upon consumption and material culture. This may have been due in part to his limited economy, but I would argue that his commitment to his vocation played a more significant role. His close attention to the details of the duties assigned him by God and church shows a profound dedication to his calling, and his notable success in cultivating an admirably faithful congregation is further proof of his sense of his obligations.

As the devoted and capable leader of Teda parish, Thedenius’s power within the community was clearly demonstrated. The status that came with this power, while not necessarily dependent upon material goods, was surely enhanced by his presentation as a finely dressed gentleman with a modest collection of status items.

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440 Bouppteckning 177, Åsunda häradsrättsarkiv F:10, ULA.
441 Gruia 2013, p. 25.
442 Goodman 2005, pp. 418–419.
Tea-table Tactics and Representations of Refinement

It has been established by considerable research that an investigation into the material culture—that is, the consumer behavior and material belongings—of the rich and powerful can provide critical insights into their intentions to mark their elite status and influence. Less attention has been devoted to similar investigations of elites at the lower end of the economic spectrum, such as rural clergy, but such a study can be enormously fruitful. In examining the consumption and material culture of three consecutive vicars in a small countryside parish in eighteenth-century Sweden, I have demonstrated that they had a conscious interest in manifesting their status and power as both social elites and practitioners of a learned profession.

The theoretical concepts used in my analysis have, to a large degree, been developed through study of the higher social classes and the bourgeoisie and have further been applied by researchers to these same social groups. These concepts have proven enormously valuable for consumption historians, and in expanding them to include the lower clergy I have demonstrated that widening the scope of study to encompass other, lower-ranking groups can be equally rewarding. Further, I have established a framework that allows strategies toward status and power manifestation to be deduced through the study of an individual’s material belongings. In this framework, while certain items are clearly to be defined as status objects, the absence of objects from inventories, or the presence of only small quantities, can be interpreted as evidence of other strategies perhaps not directly related to status consumption. In these cases, the relatively modest degree of conspicuous consumption might be either considered and intentional, or dictated by economic circumstances. In some cases, of course, it might be a combination of the two. For such results to be convincing often requires that supplementary source material be used alongside the inventories, and to that end I have added a number of miscellaneous church records to my references.

As has been discussed, western Europe in the eighteenth century was the scene of intense change for professionals in general, and clergy in particular. These changes saw an increase in status and power for these groups, as well as their growing efforts to associate themselves more closely with the bourgeoisie. A crucial aspect of this self- and public identification was that clergy and other professionals present themselves as gentlemen, with the trappings of respectability. My study has demonstrated that these efforts and ideals can be seen in individuals’ material belongings. The status objects recorded in the probate inventories of the vicars I have studied point to the keen awareness of their owners regarding the powerful messages of elite status and respectability carried by said objects.

In focusing my study on the clergy, I have connected consumption history and religious history in a way that heretofore has- been lacking. This connection gives us a more nuanced understanding of both consumer behavior in the early modern period, particularly as concerns
lower-level elites, and religious history, specifically for its examination of the personal lives of Protestant clergy as family men. Moreover, this study suggests additional research to be done, for instance, addressing the consumer behavior of clergy in different locales and financial circumstances, as well as for other social groups on the lower end of the economic scale. Additionally, the concept of status and power manifestation strategies could be adopted across the board for studies of all levels of society.

My analysis of the probate inventories of Nicolaus Färner, Magnus Leverin, and Christopher Thedenius asserts that they made use of distinctly different strategies to declare their status and power in the office of vicar. I maintain further that from the study of their material belongings we can garner important insights about the roles of consumer behavior and material culture in these strategies. As widely divergent as the three vicars’ approaches undoubtedly were, however, similarities existed as well in their consumer behavior, and it is in the consideration together of the differences and similarities that the most complex and useful picture of consumption among eighteenth-century clergy emerges. In a larger sense, these vicars’ three very different approaches to carrying out their important and influential role add valuable dimension to our understanding of the lower clergy in the early modern period.

The similarities that existed in the three vicars’ status- and power-manifestation strategies can be connected to a number of factors. Foremost, of course, is the role of vicar itself. The demands of the church that its clergy foster obedient and devout congregations, combined with congregations’ expectations that clergy be models of idealized standards of domestic and family life, created a substantial pressure on clergy families to be at once elite and accessible, authoritative and humble. Further, the role of the vicar and his wife as spiritual parent figures to the congregation, and the exceptionally open nature of the vicarage as a haven of hospitality, meant that both their home and their persons were under constant and intense scrutiny and it was of paramount importance that these convey the appropriate messages about their elevated status and command of power resources.

At the same time, all three vicars were affected by the eighteenth century’s increasing attention to professionalization, which carried an emphasis on professionals’ divine calling to serve the public, as well as a focus on the presentation of gentlemanly attributes. Within this context, a man’s public presentation was a testament to both his professional and social status, but also to his possession of a calling from God, an element that was of particular importance to the clergy. In this sense, it is not an exaggeration to say that the outward signs of these vicars’ status and power quite literally made the men.
The probate inventories of all three vicars of my study attest to the importance in their lives and work of outward appearance. Each of them owned a collection of going-out clothing that spoke to their refined taste and sober attention to their roles as clergymen. While Leverin’s wardrobe was by far the most extensive, both Färner and Thedenius had a number of fine garments with which to convey the gravity and significance of their position in the community. In addition to their attire, each of the three vicars owned small personal items, such as pocket watches, snuff boxes, and tobacco pipes, that served to further accentuate their sophistication and gentlemanly bearing.

In the same vein, all three probate inventories indicate the expected concern for presentation of the vicarage. While the details varied among the three, evidence of attention to hosting and sociability is to be found in all of the inventories. Table settings played a significant role for all of these clergy families, and table linens, in particular, are found in abundance in all of the listings. Additionally, a variety of furnishings lending themselves to a refined and comfortable atmosphere are present throughout the inventories. Further, all three vicarages displayed both wall clocks and mirrors, important status objects during the early modern period.

The similarities of these vicars’ attentions to self- and home-presentation through material culture are highly relevant in their demonstration of common values among the clergy. They also illustrate the significance of refined taste as an important means through which clergy could take part in luxury consumption without risk of creating a perception of immorality and impropriety. To a marked degree, taste was a way for clergy to ease the tension that had long existed between lavishness and piety. In the context of respectability, their ownership of fine goods was a demonstration and reinforcement of their elevated status, rather than a vulgar, sinful display. Moreover, the vicars’ concern for public appearance demonstrates common values shared with social elites in general, and are concrete evidence of country clergy’s increasing efforts through professionalization to distance themselves from the farming class and to be identified more closely with the bourgeoisie. Professionalization has seldom, if ever, been approached from a consumption history perspective, and the examination of these common values among social elites at all levels provides a valuable entry point to this under-researched area.

Equally significant for this study are the points where the inventories diverge. Where the similarities between the three vicars’ approaches to status and power manifestation are key indications of comparable starting points, the differences are illustrations of their employment of distinct strategies to further establish and maintain their social and professional positions. These strategies indicate conscious and considered decisions on the part of each vicar regarding his best
options to manifest his status and power. In a larger sense, the differences go a long way to dispelling the myth of homogeneity among early modern rural clergy.

I have identified the three vicars’ overriding strategies as follows: Nicolaus Färner established himself within a network of social elites and used those connections to solidify and demonstrate his own elite status and power in social and economic contexts; Magnus Leverin made use of his material and intellectual wealth to effect a sort of representative publicity through which his elevated status and power spoke for themselves; Christopher Thedenius, with financial means much less significant than those of his predecessors, elected to manifest his status and power through his dedication to his role as a clergyman and his humble service to God and the community.

One of the more fascinating—and telling—aspects of the different strategies of Färner and Leverin is that they were operating under nearly identical economic circumstances. Furthermore, both had connections to social elites, each having served nobility as private chaplain prior to assumption of the vicar’s office and each having married a woman who was his social better. It would not be unexpected, then, were their approaches to status and power manifestation to be similarly related. That their choices were in reality so different from one another firmly establishes their approaches as conscious decisions from an array of options.

The Färner vicarage contained a modest collection of status items, focused to a large degree on table presentation. With the accumulation of an impressive assortment of silver serving items and a wide variety of table linens, the vicar and his wife could adorn their many tables with a very visible statement of their wealth and social privilege. Färner’s assemblage of fine, sober clothing, as well as his large selection of books, were further demonstration of his status, and also of the power he held as vicar. The bulk of what we might call his “disposable income”, however, was devoted to his manifestation of his status and power through economic relationships with social elites. In forging a network of influential men who were literally indebted to him, Färner vigorously demonstrated his social and professional standing without excessive reliance on the display of his material belongings.

Though it would appear from the financial documents that Leverin had the economic means to follow in Färner’s footsteps with regard to status and power manifestation, he elected to take a different tack. In sharp contrast to Färner, Leverin’s manifestation of his elevated position was largely dependent upon his vast collection of material belongings. Throughout his lifetime, Leverin took care not only to accumulate all the “right things” for a man of elite, respectable standing, but also to invest his attentions in a number of exclusive pursuits, including an advanced musical interest demonstrated by the ownership of musical instruments and a
noteworthy enthusiasm for science and technology indicated by his collection of clock-making equipment. Where Färner had chosen to manifest his standing largely through his operation within a network of local elites, Leverin used extravagant self-presentation to transmit the message of his lofty status and substantial power.

In the absence of personal documents such as letters and diaries, it is impossible to do more than speculate about the motivation of each vicar to choose his particular approach to status and power manifestation. However, the unequivocally different strategies illustrated by the consumer behavior of Färner and Leverin, with their comparable economic situations, argues strongly for their self-awareness as strategists. In the case of Thedenius, whose financial means were significantly more limited, it can be assumed that his options regarding status and power manifestation were also limited, but that assumption should not be taken as evidence of a lack of strategic behavior on his part.

I would argue, in fact, that Thedenius’s own awareness of his monetary limitations played a role in his adopting the strategy of demonstrating his status and power though his modest service to God and congregation. Having been born and raised as a farmer’s son in Teda parish, he would also have been conscious of potential negative consequences were he perceived to be “getting above himself”. Instead, with a key collection of status objects displayed in his comfortable, respectable home and his gentlemanly, pious bearing, Thedenius used an unpretentious material culture to his advantage. In the tasteful decor of the vicarage and in the considered fine-ness of his clothing and accessories, he presented himself as a somber cleric who, despite his humble origins, occupied a place of power and prestige as parish vicar. What he might have lost with the inability to consume status goods on a large scale, he made up for in his dedicated, thorough service as vicar. His dedication was itself a testament to his status and power as a professional, a man of undeniably elevated status and power demonstrating clearly his possession of a higher calling to serve.

Consumer behavior was meaningful for all of these vicars, concerning both their self-identification as social elites and their manifestation of this status, and its accompanying power, for the wider audience of society in general. In the case of Leverin, the importance of consumption and material culture is more than amply demonstrated in the fifty-odd pages of his inventory. For Färner and Thedenius, the significance of consumer behavior might appear at first glance to be less obvious, but the presence in their inventories of a number of key objects speaks convincingly to the importance of material culture in their status- and power-manifestation strategies.
That Färner and Thedenius invested considerably less capital on consumer goods than Leverin had, whether by necessity or by design, gives special weight to those refined and respectable items that do appear in the inventories. Where Leverin appears to have acquired everything he could get his hands on, the circumstances and strategies of Färner and Thedenius led them to make more carefully considered choices regarding their accumulation of material goods. This being the case, the significance of their choosing items that sent the appropriate messages about their refined taste and status as respectable gentlemen speaks volumes. Even in a poor, insignificant parish such as Teda, its vicars demonstrated tremendous concern for the manner in which they presented themselves and, consequently, were perceived by their community.

Outside the upper echelons of governance, clergyman are not often considered “strategists” as we commonly think of them, and country vicars in the lower clergy are generally far removed from considerations of strategic status and power manifestation. In the early modern period, however, even lower-ranking clergy were enormously influential in their communities, and as members of the clerical estate were also social elites. Along with the privilege of elite status, all elites faced the obligation to manifest said status and its attendant power. This obligation was as clear and present for the Teda vicars as for their social betters throughout the early modern world and each, according to a distinct strategy, proved himself a master on his own playing field.
Appendices

Image 1: Floor plan of Teda Vicarage\textsuperscript{443}

\textsuperscript{443} Kyrkoherdebostället, Uppland, Åsunda härad, Teda socken, NMA.
Image 2: Title page of Magnus Leverin’s Probate Inventory

444 Bouppteckning 54, Åsunda häradsrättsarkiv F:3, ULA.
### Table 3: Glossary

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>ENGLISH</th>
<th>SWEDISH</th>
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<tr>
<td>Probate inventory</td>
<td>Bouppteckning</td>
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<tr>
<td>Vicar</td>
<td>Kyrkoherde</td>
</tr>
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<td>Vicarage</td>
<td>Prästgård</td>
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<tr>
<td>Vicarage culture</td>
<td>Prästgårdskultur</td>
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<td>Socken/pastorat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>Sockenstämma</td>
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<td>Sockenstämmoprotokoll</td>
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<td>Dean</td>
<td>Prost</td>
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<td>Cathedral Chapter</td>
<td>Domkapitel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ecclesiastical visitation</td>
<td>Biskopsvisitation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clergy meeting</td>
<td>Prästmöte</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Person of standing</td>
<td>Ståndsperson</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“Going-out clothing”</td>
<td>Gångkläder</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Biographical information of Sweden’s clergy, compiled and published for priests from medieval times.</td>
<td>Herdaminne</td>
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<tr>
<td>Widow conservation</td>
<td>Änkekonservering</td>
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<td>Literally “mercy year”; the year following a vicar’s death during which his widow was allowed to continue living at the vicarage and collecting his income, and the parish employed a priest to temporarily fill the vicar’s office until a new vicar was elected.</td>
<td>Nådår</td>
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   Visitationsprotokoll
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   Domkapitlets protokoll
   Handlingar efter pastorat
   Kungliga brev
Uppsala rådhusrättsarkiv
   Bouppteckningar
Åsunda häradsrättsarkiv
   Bouppteckningar

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