RIDICULE AND POLITICS
Uppsala Student Carnivals in the 1840s[1]

Johan Sjöberg

From the late eighteenth century onwards, new conceptions on youth and its political role spread throughout Western Europe and during the nineteenth century university students began to take on the role of political opinion formers. In the student carnivals in Uppsala, however, politics was not isolated from the rest of the student's self-image, and the boundaries between the everyday, the ridiculous and the political were not always very sharply drawn.

On the 1st of May 1849, large crowds of townspeople and visitors gathered in Uppsala to witness the students' May Day celebrations, which involved a procession of students from the town centre to Polacksbacken and Eklundshof to the south. This was no ordinary procession, but a carnival parade, and spectators lined the whole of the route. At Eklundshof the merrymaking continued, with banquets and performances by the groups that had taken part in the parade.[2]

Students from the province of Östergötland, who were renowned for their comical carnival offerings, provided the onlookers with a mixed spectacle. One carriage, driven by the Devil, had the Pope as its passenger, and was surrounded by Turks, Jacobins and a miscellany of other figures. Another equipage consisted of a carriage drawn by a pair of decrepit-looking horses. On it was a large double-bass, with caricatures of representatives from the different estates in the Swedish Diet (*ståndsriksdagen*) above its strings. Above the G was a nobleman, and over the D a priest. The A string bore a caricature of a burgher, and the low E that of a peasant. A fool with a long nose stood beside the instrument, playing the bow. When he played several strings at once, the result was "discord itself, set to music!" The fool tried in vain to tune his instrument with the help of a large tuning fork which he placed on the heads of passers-by.[3]

The contribution of the Småland students also attracted attention. It consisted of 'emancipated women', or rather male students dressed as women, engaging in activities that were regarded as masculine. They lashed out with whips, smoked, drank and caused commotion. Johan Sundvallson, who recorded the carnival for posterity, pondered this reversal of the normal order and observed: "Here, the women were always men, and the men women, as sometimes happens in real life too."[4]

A number of Stockholm students also portrayed emancipated women, while others appeared as Olympian gods or various well-known Germans. Frederick William of Prussia, the "Deputation from Frankfurt", the Austrian Emperor, the Duke of Au-

gustenburg ("a repulsive and insufferable person"), Metternich and several others figured in the parade.[5]

Students from Värmland, for their part, presented what they called the "four-horse carriage of the Swedish state", with Death as the driver. In the carriage sat a representative of each of the four estates. The nobleman and the priest were trying in vain to slow it down by pulling on the "reins of reaction", but were also engrossed in the task of taking money from the other two. The burgher and the peasant were urging the horses on, but they too were mainly interested in their purses and apparently unconcerned as to the direction in which they were travelling. Another carriage bore the invented goddess Scandinavia, accompanied by Swedish, Danish and Norwegian symbols and flags. She was followed by the German navy, depicted as wooden clogs fitted out with cannons, and by Swedish soldiers armed with rakes. Behind them came a motley array of Bellman figures, civic guards and Jacobins.[6]

Many of the student nations (student societies organised per province) drew the themes for their carnival presentations from their home provinces. Members of the Uppland Nation depicted a Midsummer festival at one of the rural ironworks communities, typical of their region; Norrland students enacted a Jämtland wedding; and the Västmanland-Dala Nation staged the Västerås hiring fair.[7]

Politics and ideals of the student

From the late eighteenth century onwards, new conceptions on youth and its political role spread throughout Western Europe and during the nineteenth century university students began to take on the role of political opinion formers.[8] In the 1830s and, above all, with the emergence of Scandinavianism in the 1840s, the old and mostly covert political culture of university students in Uppsala changed.[9] They took part more frequently in the overt ideological battle in the public sphere.[10] The character of student radicalism was ambivalent, however, and, as Nils Runeby has pointed out, the student could be seen by those around him as an equivocal figure. Shakespeare-translator Carl August Hagberg claimed in 1841 that the student was by no means "liberal in the true sense of the word". Rather, student life was, "even in its wildest democratic manifestations, at root aristocracy, and aristocracy in its full medieval armour". Hagberg criticized students for their brutality and their exclusive behaviour *vis-à-vis* what he called "the productive classes".[11]

The phenomenon of students participating in politics also challenged the traditional patriarchal view of the social role appropriate for young people.[12] The new conception of youth and politics stood in sharp contrast to the earlier prevailing notion of the carefree student, not yet ready to become involved in political matters but enjoying his last years of freedom before taking up a responsible position in society.[13]

The student carnivals in Uppsala give us a unique opportunity to see how the different ideals of studenthood coexisted. In these high-spirited, youthful pageants, politics was not isolated from the rest of the student's self-image, which emerges in all its ambiguity. What is more – as we shall see – the boundaries between the everyday, the ridiculous and the political were not always very sharply drawn.

The festive pattern

In more southerly parts of Europe, the carnival season had for centuries provided an opportunity for people to openly express

their political views and ridicule the institutions of society. Carnival proper falls during the period immediately preceding Lent and, like May Day festivities, was celebrated in the framework of the Catholic Church year. Its characteristic features – the rites of reversal and profanations – appeared in a wide variety of spring and early summer festivals. Cold winters, combined with a dislike of Shrovetide revelries on the part of the authorities in post-Reformation Scandinavia, seem to have resulted, in this part of Europe, in such festivities being concentrated in the late spring and early summer, and in particular in the days around May Day. During the May Day celebrations, winter and spring could meet in human guise and fight a duel with a predetermined outcome. Spring, or the May Lord *(majgreven)*, won the day, and winter was given a ritual burial. According to ethnologist Gullan Gerward, the carnivalesque festivities associated with May Day filtered down through the social hierarchy, and in Scandinavia they had by the middle of the nineteenth century become largely the preserve of the peasantry.[14]

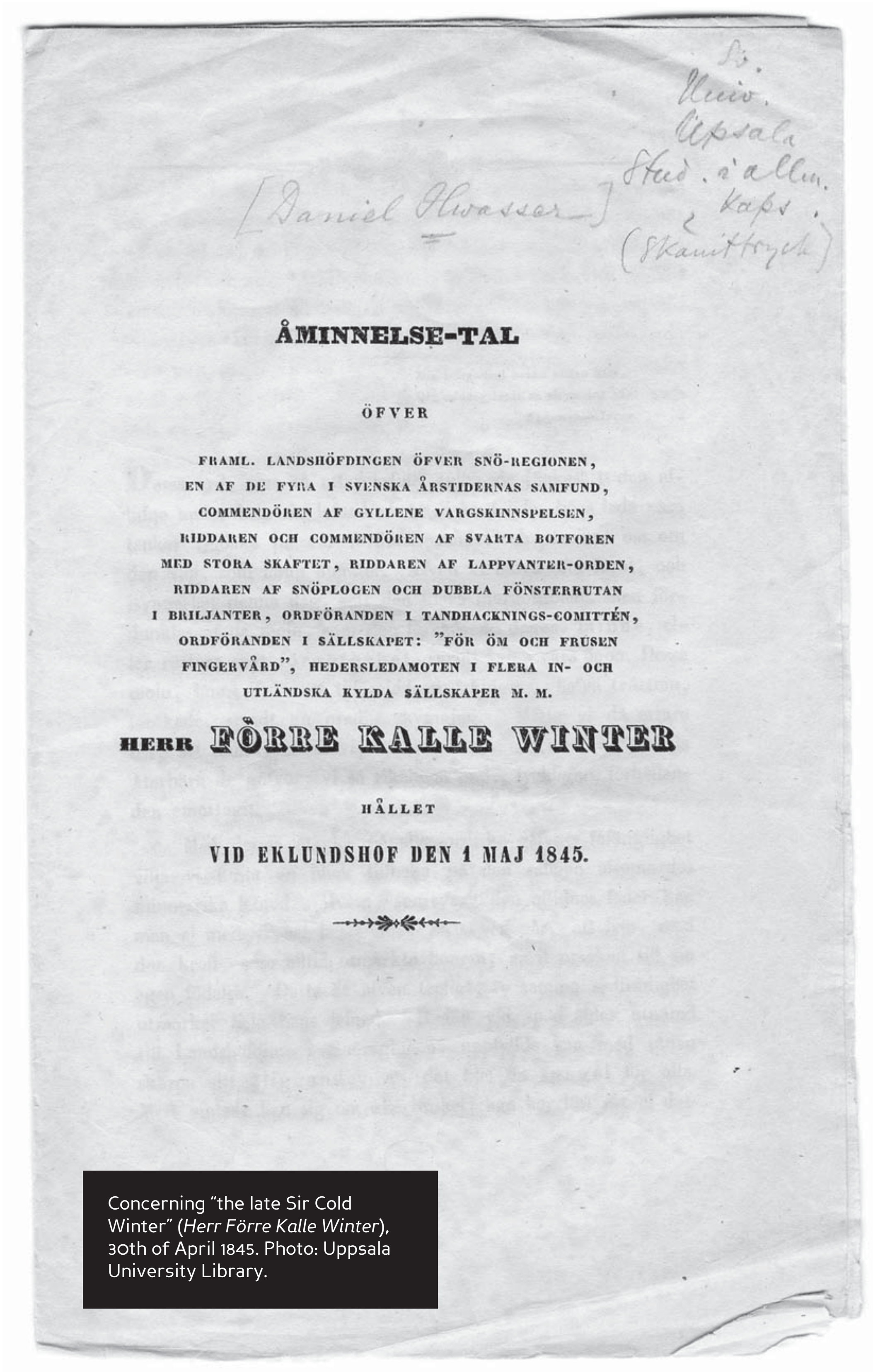
Although the student carnivals were an innovation, it should be borne in mind that the students saw themselves as building on, or having rediscovered, or perhaps simply making fun of, an old tradition. Among the students of Uppsala, a pattern of May Day celebrations began to emerge around 1840, becoming firmly established towards the middle of the decade. On the 30th of April, the student nations would meet in the town square. There, their choirs would sing and they would in addition devote themselves to various less orderly cultural manifestations, in the shape of ring dances and what was known as the "subversive howl".[15] Sometimes the nations also took the opportunity to prepare the town for the high jinks planned for the following day.

On the 30th of April 1845, members of the Uppland Nation, in an allusion to the May Day rituals of the past, announced the peaceful passing of "the late Sir Cold Winter". Before crowds of spectators, "of all estates and ages", students in costume rode around the town in a carriage, inviting all the student nations and a number of members of the town's elite to the funeral, which was to be held the next day at Eklundshof. There, Sir Winter was given a mock burial and endowed with a string of facetious titles: "[...] Knight of the Order of the Giant Snowflake, Knight First Class of the Snowplough and the Double-Glazed Window, Chairman of the Chattering Teeth Committee [...] honorary member of several Swedish and foreign refrigerated societies, etc."[16] The actual May Day celebrations proceeded in roughly the manner described in the introductory account of the 1849 carnival.

Popular culture discovered

The commonest theme of the carnival displays was the traditional culture of the students' native provinces. The nations enacted events such as peasant weddings or Midsummer festivities, as they might appear in their respective provinces. They put considerable effort into making both costumes and music as authentic as possible. In 1845, the Västmanland-Dala Nation enlisted Dalecarlians to teach its members traditional dances, and ordered peasant costumes from back home.[17] Describing the provincial attire donned by the Östergötland students during the 1843 carnival, Carl Johan Bergman wrote that it was "executed with such deceptive authenticity that several students turned their fellows away, as they were completely unrecognizable in the costumes they had assumed".[18]

The student carnivals' presentations of folk costumes and customs had their counterparts in numerous contemporary artistic de-



[Daniel Hwasser]

ÅMINNELSE-TAL

ÖFVER

FRAML. LANDSHÖFDINGEN ÖFVER SNÖ-REGIONEN, EN AF DE FYRA I SVENSKA ÅRSTIDERNAS SAMFUND, COMMENDÖREN AF GYLLENE VARGSKINNSPELSEN, RIDDAREN OCH COMMENDÖREN AF SVARTA BOTFOREN MED STORA SKAFTET, RIDDAREN AF LAPPVANTER-ORDEN, RIDDAREN AF SNÖPLOGEN OCH DUBBLA FÖNSTERRUTAN I BRILJANTER, ORDFÖRANDEN I TANDHACKNINGS-COMITTÉN, ORDFÖRANDEN I SÄLLSKAPET: "FÖR ÖM OCH FRUSEN FINGERVÅRD", HEDERSLEDAMOTEN I FLERA IN- OCH UTLÄNDSKA KYLDA SÄLLSKAPER M. M.

HERR FÖRRE KALLE WINTER

HÅLLET

VID EKLUNDSHOF DEN 1 MAJ 1845.

Concerning "the late Sir Cold Winter" (*Herr Förre Kalle Winter*), 30th of April 1845. Photo: Uppsala University Library.

pictions of peasant life and in developments in the Swedish theatre during the 1840s.[19] The provincial elements in the parades can be viewed in the light of a European-wide phenomenon which the British historian Peter Burke has referred to as the "discovery of the people". According to Burke, the social elite had earlier shared the culture of the lower classes, but developments such as the Renaissance, the Reformation, the scientific revolution and the Enlightenment opened up a widening gap between the upper and lower strata of society.[20]

Around 1800, educated individuals began to rediscover the culture of the non-elite. Geijer in Sweden, Lönnrot in Finland and the Brothers Grimm in Germany collected and published folk songs, and it was during the nineteenth century that expressions such as *folk song*, *Volksbuch* (chapbook) and *folklore* were coined. Burke sees the discovery of popular culture as closely linked to the rise of nationalism. Different popular customs were regarded as parts of a unified whole, and considered to express "the spirit of a particular nation".[21] There is a clear tendency in the various carnival presentations to regard the liberating naturalness of ordinary folk as something specifically Swedish, Scandinavian or Nordic, sometimes in contrast to non-Nordic people.

The Midsummer festival at an Uppland ironworks community, recreated by students from that province, is described as "free and unforced, as always in the land of the Swedes, where joy cannot be fettered in clumsy German ceremonies and never puffs itself up into lifeless pomposity". The inhabitants of the ironworks community are regarded as a "free, flourishing and sturdy people, who only need to be natural in order to enjoy themselves" and do not need to look for happiness in "artificial forms". The hearts of the spectators, the writer assumes, beat "warmly for patriotic freedom and improvement".[22]

It seems obvious to regard the actual introduction of the annual May Day carnivals as a reflection of this new-found interest in popular culture. "The ancient spring festival of the North" was how Bergman referred to the May Day festivities in 1843, when he noted that Uppsala's students had increasingly begun to celebrate this day.[23] It was also around this time, that carnivals were revived in Germany and France, a trend which Burke links to the rediscovery of popular culture,[24] and while the students hardly had a real carnival tradition to bring back to life, they may have been inspired by general trends in European thinking.

The nationalism of the student carnivals was plainly apparent to those who witnessed them. Carl Johan Bergman called the May Day celebrations "a carnival joke, or to be more precise... a patriotic comedy",[25] and, referring to the newly graduated students who processed under Swedish flags rather than under the flags of their student nations on May Day 1842, observed with satisfaction that "for the moment, all distinction by way of nation [i.e. provincial origin] between them had ceased, and they were all Swedish lads".[26]

Organization of the student body

It was no coincidence that Bergman chose to contrast Swedishness with membership of the student nations. In fact, this was something of a recurrent theme in the student carnivals. In Sweden, as in the rest of Europe, society had long been structured around a hierarchical system of official and unofficial "corporations", such as estates and guilds.[27] As the estate-based society began to lose its hold, these corporations disappeared and were replaced to some extent by a system of free associations.[28] The displays making up the student carnivals often

alluded to this liberation of the individual from traditional collectivities, whether their subject matter were major political issues, such as a reform of the Diet of Estates, or everyday student life.

In the days of the student carnivals, the university was still organized as a corporation, and when students criticised the student nations in the 1790s, 1830s and, above all, in the 1840s, the nations were characterised as remnants of a medieval organisation that were out of keeping with the times. From the seventeenth century onwards, the nations organised students – as they still do – according to geographical origin. However, the exclusive character of the nations as well as the traditional organisation of society according to the four estates came to be seen as conflicting with the new student societies, which, in contrast, were seen to represent a new national identity. The students saw the university as a miniature world, and they drew their arguments from the transformation of the surrounding society. The student nations, despite actually ignoring the estates, were seen as symbols of a bygone age.[29]

The nations themselves were not unaffected by this development. Anders Florén has shown that changes in the rules and practices of the student nations in the middle of the nineteenth century can be linked to the spread of a spirit of association at the expense of the old corporations.[30] During the 1830s and 1840s however, some students felt that the nations should be replaced, or at least supplemented, by a single student association for all students. The Student Association was founded in 1846, and this caused a severe conflict which divided the student body into two parties. It involved the whole university and some students feared the informal repression used by the professors to suppress the association.[31]

From the 1845 minutes of the curators' committee (*kuratorskonventet*, a body made up of the nations' presiding officers), it emerges that an explicit aim of the university-wide May Day festivities was "to improve and more firmly unite all the nations studying here". The original proposal was modified several times in order to meet the demands of those who wished to celebrate May Day on a nation-by-nation basis.[32]

During the May Day celebrations held the same year, the chairman of the curators' committee, Arvid Sundberg, made a speech to his fellow students in which he emphasized the importance of their organizing across the boundaries of their nations. The nations had been divided for far too long, and if student solidarity was to be improved in the years to come, there needed to be a deeper and more solid foundation on which to build cooperation than May Day parades. The nations would, Sundberg believed, live on as moral institutions. In other respects, however, they impeded "the free development of a truly scholarly life and scholarly interest". Science, he pointed out, "knows of no Nations". A students' association, on the other hand, would bring together students from different nations. He urged his audience to work for "the unity of the student body", and proposed a toast to that objective. His fellow students joined in the toast with enthusiasm, Jakob Hagberg and Theodor Lundgren reported, noting with satisfaction that, for once, the students taking part in the celebrations did not care whether the new acquaintances they made that day were "from Lapland or Skåne".[33]

Four years later, according to Johan Sundvallson, the May Day revelries introduced "something of a republic into academic society". They permitted every participant to "feel more like a Swedish student and citizen than a Smålander, Dalecarlian or whatever, although, alas!, the latter sentiment is too deeply rooted in the majority". He observed that this social republic unfortunately tended to fade away once the

celebrations were over.[34] A student union (not to be confused with The Students' Association) had in fact been formed that year. However, it was financially dependent on – and largely a channel for cooperation between – the individual nations, which long retained the characteristics of corporate organizations.[35]

Students in costume and the question of political representation

As the corporate structure of society began to crumble, the Swedish Diet of Estates was perceived as increasingly obsolete. What is more, estate privileges, guilds and corporations did not accord well with the liberal ideas that had gradually been gaining ground. Particularly the composition of the Diet was a central theme of the last student carnival of the decade. The double-bass which the Östergötland students used to represent the country's parliament, struck up "jarring discords, accompanied by the most popular allegories and caricatures, which make the satirical meaning plain and comprehensible to everyone".[36]

If the Östergötland contribution to the carnival ridiculed the system of representation of the estates in general, the students of Värmland – as noted earlier – endowed the representatives of the different estates with personal attributes in their dramatization of the "four-horse carriage of the Swedish state". Not only the nobleman and the clergyman, but also the burgher and the peasant were portrayed as greedy and tight-fisted, and while the former attempted to rein in the horses, the two lower estates urged them on, apparently unconcerned about the direction in which the carriage was travelling. "They seem to place a great deal of trust in luck and in the talent of the driver" – i.e. Death – "presumably believing there to be no potholes or precipices along the paths of political freedom."[37]

The carnival themes discussed so far have a common denominator. Whether they turned the spotlight on the Diet of Estates, the question of a students' union, or nationalism, the different carnival presentations reflected a turning away from the old, privileged collectivities. The Swedish nation was to be built by free individuals without estate prerogatives and guilds, just as the student body was to consist of "Swedish students and citizens", rather than members of different student nations. Regional affiliations were, it is true, often emphasized in the displays put on by the different nations, but, dressed up as Dalecarlian peasants and Uppland blacksmiths, the students made merry together in a way that had previously been unusual, toasted the student body as a whole, and inveighed against the old estate-based society in every tone imaginable.

Scandinavianism in the carnivals

Sympathy for the Scandinavianist ideas of the period repeatedly found expression in the student carnivals,[38] although in those of 1845 and 1847 its manifestations were confined to vague hints by speakers and by the recorders of the parades.[39]

In the spring of 1849, the situation was different. The previous year, the Schleswig crisis had erupted and Europe had been shaken by revolution – the latter led to dramatic scenes in Uppsala on the night when the news reached the town.[40] Johan Sundvallson, who recorded the 1849 carnival, made no attempt to conceal his sympathies. In contrast to gentle cultural Scandinavianism that had been clearly in evidence in earlier carnivals, he appears to have advocated a decidedly political form of Scandinavianism, and he stressed the importance of translating words into deeds: "When

the hour for action arrives, the words 'Out of our way, Muscovites!' should be heard as forcefully, as cheerfully, as in these unforgettable moments of song." For Sundvallson, the May Day bonfires and student choirs called to mind watch fires and bands of fighting men. He discussed whether promises to the Danes had been broken, and seemed dismayed at the fact that the spring celebrations had not culminated in a concerted expression of sympathy for Denmark's cause: "Scandinavia is bleeding from the stabs of German daggers." But, as Sundvallson noted with ill-concealed disappointment, this was a May Day festival and the students wanted to celebrate it peacefully.[41]

The Värmland and Stockholm nations' contributions to the parade made it clear that Sundvallson was not alone in his views. The Värmland tableau of the invented goddess Scandinavia, followed by the German navy and Swedish soldiers armed with rakes, contained the mixture of high and low that was characteristic of these carnivals, and yet, in the form of a high-spirited satire, it registered a powerful political protest. The students could hardly have made clearer their dissatisfaction with Sweden's contribution to resolving the Danish-German conflict. We can also recall the Stockholm students' representation of various ugly and ludicrous German politicians, military figures and others. Ridicule of the Germans was very much in evidence in the carnival procession.[42]

A TOPSY-TURVY WORLD?

So far, the May Day celebrations in Uppsala have shown the students from their most progressive side. We have seen how they sympathized with liberal ideas, poked fun at the establishment and argued the case for a new society. Sometimes, the messages which their carnival tableaux put across were so hard-hitting that they caused disquiet on the part of the authorities. In April 1845, Rector Magnificus Fahlcrantz sent for the committee of students that was preparing the carnival. According to the newspaper *Thorgny* he wanted to make sure that no political or academic subjects would be treated comically.[43]

However, if we turn our attention to the views of the celebrating students on questions of social equality, a different picture emerges.[44] During the 1840s, a modicum of progress had been made towards the emancipation of women, and the phenomenon had been discussed in literature. In the 1849 carnival, members of the Småland nation presented somewhat modified versions of the figures in August Blanche's comedy *1846 och 1946* ("1846 and 1946"), giving particular prominence to emancipated women. Both women officers and women students appeared, and Sundvallson expressed his horror at this reversal of the normal order:

> *The whole world has really been turned upside down this evening – in the Småland students' marquee, where an emancipated lady with a cigar in her mouth can compete with any modern man in the art of draining her glass and behaving courteously towards the fair sex: the men, who with feminine prudishness and coquettish affectation draw back and ask for – time to reflect.*[45]

One of the women portrayed even intended to acquire "a harem of men".[46] The carnival of 1849 was full of satire and caustic political commentary, and Sundvallson saw these elements of reversal in the same light:

> *The student [...] exhibits an eager concern to resolve the major issues of the day. [...] Consequently, every now and then a thorn emerges among the flowers, a deep earnestness behind the jokes, whether they are showing us reality*

in all its topsy-turviness or hazarding a rapid assault on supposed infallibility.[47]

In the old European carnivals, reversals were a central theme. The carnivalesque was permeated by a confrontation of opposites. Clear oppositions existed between the Catholic carnival and Lent, between spring festivities and winter, between revelry and everyday life. In the topsy-turvy world of the carnival, prevailing oppositions were brought into even sharper focus. Men dressed up as women, and women as men. Women carried arms and smoked. Men devoted themselves to needlework and the care of infants. Servants were shown giving orders to their masters, and sons beating their fathers.[48]

Such carryings-on may seem harmless enough, but when high and low changed places, a picture of an alternative social order emerged. By its very nature, such a ritual could serve as a vehicle of social criticism. It appears to have been used by the non-elite as an opportunity to vent their discontent with their place in society. According to Burke, this was permitted by the elite because they realized that the lower classes needed a safety valve, to prevent society *really* being turned upside down.[49] The French historian of mentalities Emmanuel Le Roy Ladurie has claimed, on the basis of his study of Romans in the 1580s, that such reversals were in addition used by the rich to ridicule a possible inversion of the existing social hierarchies.[50]

In the student carnival presentations, which embodied the idea of "the world upside down" – as opposed to the more clearly political tableaux discussed earlier –, what was being held up as ridiculous were not present conditions, but things to come. The characters from Blanche's comedy were used to portray society as it might be in a hundred years time, i.e. in the 1940s – a comical and ludicrous sight, according to Sundvallson. In the emancipated world, literary men wrote "sentimental and pretty short stories". The possible admission of women to the university, which formally at least was to be achieved less than 25 years after this carnival, was jeered at: "A modern student, wearing a dainty bonnet beneath the white student's cap, and with a rapier and tail-coat, skirt and leather belt, can give you some idea of the state of things at the university."[51] A few other carnival displays also reflected the reversal theme. In the 1847 parade, a simple peasant rode around in a cart with the squire as his passenger. He constantly scoffed at the squire, and finally sold him.[52]

In the light of all this, Carl August Hagberg's characterization of the politically active students of his day seems quite apposite. If a simplifying anachronism may be permitted, it can be argued that the carnival presentations conveyed a picture of the celebrating students as politically radical, but socially reactionary. Studies of the German student movements of the nineteenth century have concluded that these movements are to be interpreted against the backdrop of the emergence of the *Bildungsbürgertum*, and that they were guided largely by the special interests of this particular stratum of society.[53] I have elsewhere, in a prosopographical study, compared the biographies of the 478 members of the Students' Association with those of the rest of the student body and found that the same pattern was evident in the association in Uppsala.[54]

Ridiculous figures and students

When students re-enacted scenes from their native provinces, they commonly conceived them in such a way as to include different social figures as participants in the event portrayed, such as a bridal procession. This provided an opportunity to poke fun at dif-

ferent groups in society. One recurrent feature of the carnival parades was a tendency to cock a snook at the police. Police officers appear as ridiculous stereotypes in the May Day festivities throughout the 1840s.[55] The press, and especially the conservative press, were also hauled over the coals in the May Day festivities.[56] Not even the glorified peasantry escaped ridicule. Burke has drawn attention to the elite's somewhat ambivalent attitude to "the people" at the time of the discovery of their culture. Although the common people were exalted and admired, it is also possible to discern certain contempt for them, and this impression is not contradicted by the student carnivals. The picture of the peasant population conveyed by these parades was largely favourable, and their natural healthiness was evidently preferred to the decadent surliness of the nobility.[57] Even so, peasants were sometimes portrayed as simple-minded, drunken and generally ridiculous.[58]

But where were the students themselves in this hotchpotch of stereotypes and caricatures? They, of course, were always represented as the hope for the future, and set in sharp contrast to the figures around them. The students saw themselves as well informed about the major political issues of the day, and soon the world would be at their feet.[59]

Maximilian Axelson, recording the 1847 carnival, explains the students' May Day festivities almost in terms of an ideal type:

> *In spring's victory over winter [...] the thinker, poet or visionary finds [...] a powerful reference to the victory of truth, beauty and goodness over the transient; and thus, viewed in this light, the first day of the flower month becomes a day of celebration. And so it is regarded also by the youth who have here sworn allegiance to the banner of light.*[60]

Elsewhere in the same text, spring is compared to "the progressive *Young*" who will engage and defeat winter, "the hidebound *Old*".[61] These high-spirited celebrations emphasized the victory of light over darkness, of the new, young spring over the old winter, of a new society over the old, obsolete one with its entrenched privileges. Yet another symbol of the new, was the student himself.[62]

Conclusion

In the 1840s, Uppsala's students were seeking to organize themselves on a new basis, and their joint May Day celebrations can be seen as a reflection of this endeavour. In conjunction with the festivities, a desire to unite all the students in a students' association was expressed. Such a body would represent a move away from the traditional, provincially based student nations and counteract divisions between students from different parts of the country.

As in the European carnivals of the past, political views were expressed in the students' parades. Nationalism was a recurrent theme. The students' nationalism was directed against the old privilege-based structure of society. Sweden was to be built by free individuals, without estate prerogatives and guilds, in the same way as the student body was to consist of "Swedish citizens and students", rather than members of different student nations.

Judging from their carnival tableaux, many students appear to have advocated some form of parliamentary reform, and the old Diet of Estates came in for much criticism. The calls for reform of the Diet can also be seen in the light of the individual's emancipation from the old privilege-based society: the individual was to represent himself, and not a collectivity to which he had belonged from birth.

The students' depictions of provincial customs and culture included an abundance

of comic elements – usually lampoons of different types of people and social figures, such as representatives of the forces of law and order. The students involved in the carnivals stood aside from the people they laughed at, and there were no jokes about students themselves in this context. Students, who often appeared among the types portrayed in enactments of peasant weddings, for example, were always presented in a favourable light, as representatives of enlightenment and education.

The theme of reversal, a characteristic of the old European carnivals, was sometimes used by the students, too. Women dressed up as men, and servants were insolent to their masters, and these elements seem to have been a way of scorning the idea that existing social hierarchies could easily be turned on their heads, or levelled. A levelling or reversal of roles between men and women and between high and low was portrayed as something ridiculous and comical. We can also call to mind the Västmanland-Dala Nation's efforts in 1845 to make its depictions of local customs as realistic as possible. According to a newspaper report, in the course of the merrymaking, a couple of the Dalecarlians drafted in for the purpose ended up at Polacksbacken in the Gothenburg students' marquee, where they were mistaken for students in disguise. They were plied with liquor and fraternal toasts were drunk, but when the mistake was discovered the new "brothers" were ejected from the marquee amid a torrent of invective.[63] Clearly, there was a certain difference between portraying peasants in a romantic light as part of a carnival, and actually socializing with them.

Johan Sjöberg (b. 1970), *fil. dr* (Ph.D.) in history at Uppsala University, Sweden. He currently works at the Vice-Chancellors Office at Uppsala University and as an archivist at the Uppsala University Archives. Since 2004 he is the secretary of *Universitets- och studenthistoriska sällskapet i Uppsala* (The Uppsala Society for University and Student History).

[1] This article is a revised version of a text previously published in Swedish (Sjöberg 1999). It was originally translated by Martin Naylor. Any linguistic faults are due to the author's revision in May 2008.

[2] Sundvallson 1849. Concerning the route taken by the carnival processions to Eklundshof, see Hjärne 1845, 155.

[3] Sundvallson 1849, 42–45. Quotation from p. 45.

[4] Sundvallson 1849, 53–58. Quotation from p. 54.

[5] Sundvallson 1849, 66–71. Quotation from p. 70.

[6] Sundvallson 1849, 59–66. Quotations from p. 61.

[7] Sundvallson 1849, 27–41 and 72–76.

[8] Gevers and Vos 2004. Nineteenth-century student politics in Finland has been particularly well described. Cf. Klinge 1969–1971, Klinge 1989, Dahlstedt 2001.

[9] Sjöberg 2002.

[10] See for instance Svenson 1950, Strömholm 1998.

[11] Runeby 1988, 80; Runeby 1989a, 14; Runeby 1989b, 110.

[12] Jackson 1995; Sjöberg 2002.

[13] Skoglund 1991, 36–39.

[14] Burke 1978, 191-194; Gerward 1996.

[15] Hagberg and Lundgren 1845, 13; Axelson 1847, 7; Stapelmohr 1948, 1927–1930.

[16] Hagberg and Lundgren 1845, 9–11 and 48–56. Concerning the crowds of spectators, see Hjärne 1845, 154. See also Hwasser 1845.

[17] Hjärne 1845, 156; Bringéus 1966, 45.

[18] Bergman 1843, 180.

[19] Stapelmohr 1948, 1932; Bringéus 1966, 45; Grandien 1987, 70.

[20] Burke1978, 270–281.

[21] Burke1978, 3–22. Quotation from p. 8.

[22] Sundvallson 1849, 73.

[23] Bergman 1843, 166.

[24] Burke 1978, 20.

[25] Bergman 1843, 170.

[26] Bergman 1843, 168.

[27] See for example Florén 1989, 19; Lindström 1991, 13; and the literature cited there.

[28] Jansson 1985; Stenius 1987.

[29] Sjöberg 2002, chapter 5.

[30] Florén 1989, 43–49.

[31] Sjöberg 2002, 137 and 146–157; Sjöberg 2006.

[32] Uppsala University Library, U 1755 b: 1: *Minutes taken at meetings of the curators*, 9–17 April 1845. Quotations from the 9th of April.

[33] Hagberg and Lundgren 1845, 73–76.

[34] Sundvallson 1849, 4 and 92. See also Stapelmohr 1948, 1932.

[35] Uggla 1924, 7 and 36–43; Florén 1989, 47; Skoglund 1991, 39.

[36] Sundvallson 1849, 99.

[37] Sundvallson 1849, 61.

[38] See Holmberg 1946 and Nilsson 2000 for an account of Swedish Scandinavianism and Becker-Christensen 1981 concerning its Danish counterpart.

[39] Hagberg and Lundgren 1845, 50, 74 and 79; Hjärne 1845, 160.

[40] Sjöberg 2002, 11 and 121.

[41] Sundvallson 1849, 10–12.

[42] Sundvallson 1849, 59, 66–71, 93 and 107.

[43] Inrikes. *Thorgny*, 25-04-1845. In 1849, when students in Lund were planning to lambaste the Germans in the same way as their fellows in Uppsala had done that year, the bishop and the rector of the university intervened to remove the offending items from the carnival. Sylwan 1914, 168.

[44] See also Nevéus 2004, 214.

[45] Sundvallson 1849, 58.

[46] Sundvallson 1849, 87.

[47] Sundvallson 1849, 99.

[48] Burke 1978, 188. See also Bakhtin 1991 (1965).

[49] Burke1978, 199–201.

[50] Le Roy Ladurie 1982 (1979), 275.

[51] Sundvallson 1849, 55; Lindroth 1976, 166.

[52] Axelson 1847, 39 and 65; Lundgren 1847, 44.

[53] See for instance Jarausch 1974, 553–555. Cf. also research on "Young Germany": Roseman 1995, 12–15; Elkar 1995. Concerning the growth of the *Bildungsbürgertum*, see Kocka 1993 (1988) and Strömberg 2002.

[54] Sjöberg 2002, 179–187. The Students´ Association in Uppsala was dominated by future civil servants, physicians and teachers.

[55] Axelson 1847, 71; Lundgren 1847, 44; Hagberg and Lundgren 1845, 66.

[56] Hagberg and Lundgren 1845, 42; Axelson 1847, 40; Sundvallson 1849, 62 and 92.

[57] See for instance Axelson 1847, 15–18 and 42.

[58] Hagberg and Lundgren 1845, 19, 31 and 46; Axelson 1847, 16, and Sundvallson 1849, 99.

[59] Hagberg and Lundgren 1845, 18; Sundvallson 1849, 13 and 99.

[60] Axelson 1847, 6.

[61] Axelson 1847, 77. In these comments we hear the echo of the new German humanism which influenced the emergence of a self-confident type of student in Sweden, with a concern for social issues. Runeby 1988; Runeby 1989b.

[62] This theme was further developed in the debate about The Students' Association. Sjöberg 2002, 80–83.

[63] Hjärne 1845, 157. A similar, more brutal incident was supposed to have occurred two years later. Stockholm Riksarkivet, Lovénska släktarkivet: E 6745: LOVÉN, L.: *Brev till Lars Johan Lovén*, 09-05-1847.

BIBLIOGRAPHY:

AXELSON, Maximilian: *Vårfesten i Upsala 1847. Skildrad af en i densamma deltagande student.* Uppsala 1847.

BACHTIN, Michail: *Rabelais och skrattets historia.* Gråbo 1991 (1965).

BECKER-CHRISTENSEN, Henrik: *Skandinaviske drømme og politiske realiteter. Den politiske skandinavisme i Danmark 1830-1850.* Århus 1981.

BERGMAN, Carl Johan: *Upsala och dess nejder. Sednare häftet; Nejderna.* Jönköping 1843.

BRINGÉUS, Nils-Arvid: *Gunnar Olof Hyltén-Cavallius som etnolog. En studie kring Värend och wirdarne.* Nordiska Museets handlingar 63. Stockholm 1966.

BURKE, Peter: *Popular Culture in Early Modern Europé.* London 1978.

DAHLSTEDT, Barbro Kvist: *Soumis sång. Kollektiva identiteter i den finska studentsången 1819–1917.* Studentsången i Norden. Del 4. Göteborg 2001.

ELKAR, Rainer: Young Germans and Young Germany: Some remarks on the history of German youth in the late eighteenth and in the first half of the nineteenth century. In: Mark Roseman (ed.): *Generations in conflict. Youth revolt and generation formation in Germany 1770–1968.* Cambridge 1995. 69-91.

FLORÉN, Anders: Västmanlands-Dala nation genom 350 år: 1639-1989. In: *Festskrift till nationens 350-årsjubileum.* Västmanlands-Dala nations skriftserie 15. Uppsala 1989. 19-60.

GERWARD, Gullan: *Majgrevefesten: En kulturhistorisk analys.* Stockholm 1996.

GEVERS, Lieve and VOS, Louis: Student movements. In: Walter Rüegg (ed.): *A history of the University in Europé. Vol. III: Universities in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries (1800-1945).* University Press. Cambridge 2004. 269-296.

GRANDIEN, Bo: Rönndruvans glöd. Nygöticistiskt i tanke, konst och miljö under 1800-talet. Nordiska Museets handlingar 107. Stockholm 1987.

HAGBERG, Jakob Theodor and LUNDGREN, Johan Erik: *Majfesten i Upsala 1845.* Uppsala 1845.

HJÄRNE, Rudolf: Ungdoms-festen i Upsala. Den 1 Maj 1845 (Correspondens-Artikel). *Stockholms Figaro. Ett artistiskt och belletristiskt söndagsblad* [1], 1844–1845. 154–160.

HOLMBERG, Åke: Skandinavismen i Sverige vid 1800-talets mitt. Göteborg 1946.

HWASSER, Daniel: *Åminnelse-tal öfver framl. landshöfdingen öfver snöregionen, en af de fyra i svenska årstidernas samfund, commendören af gyllene vargskinnspelsen, riddaren och commendören af svarta botforen med stora skaftet, riddaren af lappvanter-orden, riddaren af snöplogen och dubbla fönsterrutan i briljanter, ordföranden i sällskapet: "För öm och frusen fingervård", hedersl7edamoten i flera in- och utländska kylda sällskaper m.m. herr Förre Kalle Winter, hållet vid Eklundshof den 1 maj 1845*. Uppsala 1845.

JACKSON, Leon: The Rights of Man and the Rites of Youth: Fraternity and Riot at Eighteenth Century Harvard. *History of Higher Education Annual*, 1995. 5-49.

JANSSON, Torkel: *Adertonhundratalets associationer. Forskning och problem kring ett sprängfullt tomrum eller sammanslutningsprinciper och föreningsformer mellan två samhällsformationer*. Uppsala 1985.

JARAUSCH, Konrad H.: The Sources of German Student Unrest 1815–1848. In: Lawrence Stone (ed.): *The University in Society*. Princeton 1974. 533-567.

KLINGE, Matti: *Studenter och idéer. Studentkåren vid Helsingfors universitet 1828–1960, I–II*. Helsingfors 1969–1971.

KLINGE, Matti: *Kejserliga Alexanders Universitet 1808–1917. Helsingfors universitetet 1640–1990, II*. Helsingfors 1989.

KOCKA, Jürgen: The European Pattern and the German Case. In: Jürgen Kocka and Allan Mitchell (eds.): *Bourgeois society in nineteenth-century Europe*. Oxford 1993 (1988). 3-39.

LE ROY LADURIE, Emmanuel: *Karnevalen i Romans. Från kyndelmäss till askonsdag 1579-1580*. Stockholm 1982 (1979).

LINDROTH, Sten: *Uppsala universitet 1477–1977*. Uppsala 1976.

LINDSTRÖM, Dag: *Skrå, stad och stat. Stockholm, Malmö och Bergen ca. 1350–1622*. Uppsala 1991.

LUNDGREN, Johan Erik: *Majfesten i Upsala 1847*. Uppsala 1847.

NILSSON, Fredrik: *I rörelse. Politisk handling under 1800-talets första hälft*. Lund 2000.

NEVÉUS, Torgny (ed.): *1840-talets verkliga uppsalastudent. Kring brevväxlingen inom en kamratkrets*. Stockholm 2004.

ROSEMAN, Mark: Introduction: generation conflict and German history. In: Mark Roseman (ed.): *Generations in conflict. Youth revolt and generation formation in Germany 1770–1968*. Cambridge 1995. 1-46.

RUNEBY, Nils: Student Ideologies and Cultural Radicalism. Some Swedish Evidence. In: Nils Runeby and Seung-bog Cho (eds.): *Traditional Thought and Ideological Change: Sweden and Japan in the Age of Industrialisation*. Stockholm 1988. 77-91.

RUNEBY, Nils: Vagabonden, specialisten och folkens banerförare. På väg mot ett vetenskapsuniversitet kring 1800-talets mitt. In: Thorsten Nybom (ed.): *Universitet och samhälle. Om forskningspolitik och vetenskapens samhälleliga roll*. Stockholm 1989a. 13-36.

RUNEBY, Nils. Ett otidigt och okärt främmande. Om den lärde, studenten, universitetet och vår utbildningstradition. *Lychnos. Lärdomshistoriska Samfundets Årsbok 1988* 1989b. 91-119.

SJÖBERG, Johan: En tagg bland blommor. 1840-talets studentkarnevaler i Uppsala. In: Henrik Ågren (ed.): *När studenten blev modern*. Uppsala 1999. 67-92.

SJÖBERG, Johan: *Makt och vanmakt i fadersväldet. Studentpolitik i Uppsala 1780–1850*. Uppsala 2002.

SJÖBERG, Johan: Konflikten om Studentföreningen. Ungdom och politik på 1840-talet. *Acta Gastricio-Helsingae* 4, 2004-2006. 28-36.

SKOGLUND, Crister: *Vita mössor under röda fanor. Vänsterstudenter, kulturradikalism och bildningsideal i Sverige 1880-1940*. Stockholm 1991.

STAPELMOHR, Sten von: Prins Karneval i Uppsala. In: *Det glada Sverige: Våra fester och högtider genom tiderna III*. Stockholm 1948. 1926-1957.

STENIUS, Henrik: *Frivilligt, jämlikt, samfällt: Föreningsväsendets utveckling i Finland fram till 1900-talets början, med speciell hänsyn till massorganisationsprincipens genombrott*. Helsinki 1987.

STRÖMBERG, John: Bildningsborgerskap eller bildad klass. Om användningen av två socialhistoriska begrepp. In: *Vänskrift till Pertti Vourinen 3.6.2002*. Helsinki 2002. 231-240.

STRÖMHOLM, Stig: När föddes studenten? *Lychnos. Lärdomshistoriska Samfundets Årsbok 1998* 1998. 187-199.

SUNDVALLSON, Johan: *Studenternas majkarnaval i Upsala 1849*. Uppsala 1849.

SVENSON, Sven G.: Studentens klang och jubeltid. Från Juntan till skandinavismen. In: Jonas L:son Samzelius et al. (eds.): *Upsalastudenten genom tiderna*. Uppsala 1950. 73-194.

SYLWAN, Otto: *Fyrtiotalets student*. Stockholm 1914.

UGGLA, Arvid Hj.: De första bladen ur Upsala studentkårs historia. In: *Minnesskrift vid Upsala studentkårs sjuttiofemårs jubileum*. Uppsala and Stockholm 1924.