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Life-stage, work and daily routines of the eighteenth-century Swedish elite: Johan Gabriel Oxenstierna's diaries

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This chapter engages with daily lives and daily routines of eighteenth-century Swedish nobility, arguing that daily routines and practices were shaped by personal interests and prospects, gender, and life-stage. The focus is specifically on work, which was, in a number of ways that this chapter explores, an essential feature structuring the daily routines of the nobility. Recent scholarship has nuanced our understanding of early-modern work significantly, bringing into focus the varying nature of work, parallel occupations, and invisible work categories such as care work, housework, kin work and work of leisure.[1] Noblemen were mostly engaged in estate management, governance and politics – locally, nationally and globally. They made careers in the army, diplomacy, administration and at court.[2] They themselves often described their activities as work, even though scholars have less often analysed the daily activities of European elites from the point of view of work and labour.[3] While noblewomen arguably bore the main responsibility of the household management and child-rearing, they were also engaged in social and cultural life, and politics. Some were also able make a career at court.[4]

Historians of work and labour concentrate in their analyses chiefly on the labouring classes and mostly reckon among labour and work tasks that were carried out in order to earn a living.[5] However, this definition neglects much intellectual and artistic work, which was arguably seminal for the lifestyle and self-understanding of the elites.[6] Furthermore, the social life that formed a key part of daily routines in aristocratic circles across Europe can be described as the work of leisure aimed at maintaining and consolidating the seemingly leisured and easy lifestyle of eighteenth-century elites. The impression of a polite and cultivated lifestyle was built on substantial effort, conscious training of body and mind, and self-cultivation from early childhood onwards.[7] Social life can be regarded as work for elites, work that aimed to increase a person's or a family's cultural, social and material capital.[8]

In this chapter, Viewing the daily lives and routines of the European elite through the twin lenses of work and life-stage is arguably essential for our understanding of their lifestyle and identity. The chapter aims to discuss both the uniformity and variety of daily life among the nobility in eighteenth-century Sweden. It explores how daily practices were formed by life-stage, gender and work-related activities. For young people, daily routines were shaped predominantly through their upbringing and education, dictated by gender, status and potential prospects in life. For adults, daily routines and work-related activities were characterised again by gender and personal interests, but also by marital status, social rank and setting, whether urban or rural. Daily routines were reshaped again when people grew old, were widowed, and possibly withdrew from active social and cultural life. Accordingly, the discussion is divided in three life-stages, adolescence, adulthood and old age.[9] Whilst these are obviously overlapping, they are applied in order to facilitate the analysis and to better enlighten change or, indeed, continuity in daily routines, especially those formed by work.

Microhistory perspective: Count Johan Gabriel Oxenstierna

This chapter takes a case study and micro-historical perspective, drawing upon the diaries written by Count Johan Gabriel Oxenstierna from 1766 to 1770, in 1780 and in 1805. The diaries from the eighteenth century are written mainly for Oxenstierna's own pleasure and self-cultivation, which he also reflects in his text.[10] The journal of 1805 is written in the form of a travel diary, addressed to Oxenstierna's wife, Lovisa Christina Wachschlager. It recounts a journey he took to visit his mother at the family seat Skenäs, Södermanland, *c.*160 kilometres south of Stockholm, with his twelve-year-old son, Gustaf Göran Gabriel, and his fifteen-year-old nephew, Erik Johan Gabriel, while she stayed in Stockholm because of her fragile health.[11] Oxenstierna was well aware of the conventions of diary writing and his own position in the literary genre, writing as contemplation of the self and documenting daily events either for himself or for his wife.

Johan Gabriel Oxenstierna was born in 1750 in Skenäs as the eldest of four brothers in an impecunious aristocratic family, which, from his father's side, belonged to one of the most powerful families of seventeenth-century Sweden. This kinship tie has been described by an early biographer of Oxenstierna as 'the tragedy of great ancestors'.[12] The burden of illustrious ancestors, financial distress and self-reflexion on his capacities and skills, hopes and fears are constantly present in Oxenstierna's diaries, especially when he writes about

his career prospects and his daily routines, both pleasurable and tedious. The connections that the family of Oxenstierna's mother, the Gyllenborg's, enjoyed with leading politicians and literate figures of the eighteenth century were formative, especially since Oxenstierna's uncle — the poet, courtier and civil servant, Count Gustaf Fredrik Gyllenborg — steered his nephew's education. Oxenstierna himself wished from a young age to write poetry and he published acclaimed works before his twentieth birthday. Consequently, in scholarship, he has been regarded as a poet and representative of eighteenth-century nature Romanticism instead of a courtier, diplomat and civil servant — despite his long engagement in royal and administrative service.[13]

In 1791, the forty-one-year-old Oxenstierna married Lovisa Christina Wachschlager, the twenty-four-year-old daughter of a wealthy and high-ranking courtier, Gustaf Wachtschlager, and his wife, Christina Holmcreutz.[14] One of the key reasons for the marriage was Oxenstierna's hopes for ameliorating his economic situation through a favourable match.[15] Oxenstierna was somewhat older than noblemen in eighteenth-century Sweden usually were when marrying for the first time. This suggests that he did not seek actively to marry earlier, because his connections and lineage would probably have weighed more than his financial situation in a society where marriages between noblemen and daughters of wealthy bourgeoisie were anything but extraordinary.[16]

The contradiction between his hopes and aspirations, and the reality of his life-course makes Oxenstierna an especially enlightening case study of the ways in which daily routines, spaces and relationships construct and reconstruct identities and practices through a person's life cycle.

Shaping routines and learning to work in adolescence

In his diary from 1766 to 1768, Oxenstierna recorded his daily life and daily routines in French, although later diaries were mainly in Swedish. The then 15-year-old Oxenstierna wrote that his aim was to keep an exact diary of his doings, including his faults, and reflections on events. 'I will draw a picture of my studies, my workings and my pleasures', he wrote on 1 January 1766.[17] The daily routines in the lives of adolescents in the families of nobility and aristocracy varied depending upon the rank and the place of residence of the family, as well as on gender. Surviving diaries and letters of adolescents give an impression of highly structured lives in which routines had a central role.[18] Oxenstierna's

diary records the relatively simple daily life of an aristocratic family living mainly in the countryside, with sons whose classical education was aimed at securing careers in state administration or the army. Oxenstierna's daily routines during his adolescence can be explored through four work-related themes: education and studies, kin work and correspondence, handiwork, and gardening.

Oxenstierna's days were largely shaped around his studies, which he most often described in his diary as work (*travail*) or as studying (*etudier*). As a child, Oxenstierna had been sent to a boarding school in Stockholm to learn French, dancing, drawing and polite manners.[19] However, most of his education took places at home at Skenäs, where he was taught by tutors, supervised by his uncle Gustaf Fredrik Gyllenborg. He studied French and Latin, literature and poetry, classical mythology, philosophy, ethics, drawing, mathematics, history and geography. Most of his time was engaged to studies that prepared him for a career as a civil servant and courtier, even though he would have preferred quieter life at countryside.[20] Later he studied at Uppsala University, accompanied by his tutor — as was common among the elites. In 1767, he passed an examination that qualified him to work as a clerk in state administration.[21]

Oxenstierna wrote short entries in his diary almost daily, creating a routine not only of studies but also of diary-keeping to which he engaged himself mainly in the evenings. Even when he wrote he had done nothing during the day, he had often read for pleasure or taken a walk. Oxenstierna was almost painfully aware of the contradiction between his own hopes and the expectations of the family based on the family traditions and his position as first-born son. He enjoyed simple life in the country and had remote ambitions for a career in administration, diplomacy or politics. Even though his studies directed his daily routines, Oxenstierna's identity as a poet was already taking shape in his adolescence. His experiments in poetry were encouraged both by his tutor and by his uncle, both well-known poets of their era.[22]

For Oxenstierna, keeping a diary was an exercise in French language and style, as were the letters that he wrote copiously, since letter-writing was an essential form of expression during the eighteenth-century, regardless of the subject. He noted in 1789 that he never wrote less than 8–10 letters on post days.[23] However, in his adolescence, the number of letters was less pretentious, and he records in his diary mainly letters to his cousins and other relatives. Letter-writing shaped both daily and yearly routines because it was connected to the days when post arrived and was sent, and because certain forms of letter-

writing, such as greetings for a New Year, were connected to annual rhythms. Correspondence was a central routine that shaped the eighteenth-century world and elite children learned from the age of five or six to formulate and write letters. Their importance was emphasized since letters were viewed as the written form of discussion and were often written to be circulated amongst the family or another circles and to be read out loud.[24]

Networks were constructed and maintained through correspondence, which was particularly important within family and kin. As such, letter writing to family members, young and old, can be conceptualized as kin work — that is, the time-consuming maintenance of family ties and friendships, where every relation was a form of social capital that could be used and reused for a number of purposes. Scholarship has stressed both the importance of family ties and women's key role and responsibility in maintaining familial and kinship contacts through letter-writing, visiting and gifting.[25] Despite female dominance of kin work and the often public character of male correspondence, men's letter-writing can also be seen as playing a role in kin work.[26] In the early-modern world, almost every relationship was maintained through letters. Administration, diplomacy, sciences and humanities, as well as economic transactions, all required letter writing.

These different functions of letters permeate through Oxenstierna's diaries and his education. He wrote letters to family members and to his friends. He was interested in style and language, and sometimes showed his letters to his tutor or his uncle in order to get advice on epistolary style, although he was generally considered mature enough to write his own letters. In his diary, the adolescent Oxenstierna comments on the style of his letters, and whether he was pleased with those he wrote. Letter-writing was for Oxenstierna a rehearsal of style and taste, but also a meaningful way to keep up connections with his cousins, other relatives and friends. His also wrote a number of thank-you letters and letters commissioning different goods. The nature of Oxenstierna's correspondence is often kin work. In his diary, he defined letter-writing as work when he wrote out of duty. Mostly this meant letters in which he thanked various people who had written to him, done him a service or given a gift to him. The letter writing itself, epistolary style and conventions or the breaking of them, was not a heavy burden for Oxenstierna, who already at the age of fifteen, when he started his diary, had eloquent style and language. Correspondence became work and a tiresome routine when he did not value or enjoy it. This was especially true for letters with New Year's wishes, something that the young Oxenstierna considered as the most tiresome habit ever invented.[27]

Whereas studies and letter-writing that structured the major part of Oxenstierna's adolescent life honed him for his future career in administration, diplomacy and at court, two other work-related activities, manual crafts and gardening, were pleasant for him. In 1766, he received a lathe that his uncle Gustaf Fredrik Gyllenborg had acquired from Stockholm. Almost daily, Oxenstierna devoted dark evenings after his studies to wood-turning. In summer, Oxenstierna took long walks and hunted in light evenings and at night, but he clearly needed more activities for the long evenings in autumn and in winter, which is probably why Gyllenborg acquired the lathe, thus facilitating what was seen as an educational activity for his nephew. Oxenstierna became a passionate turner who produced small objects such as boxes, pipes, buttons and canes that he gave as presents to his relatives and friends. In 1767, he wrote in his diary: 'I finished the previous year by the lathe, I began this one in the same place. Never has a person been more diligent in this work than I [have been], moreover, I have hardly done anything else all this time. The day left me by the lathe, and found me there.'[28] For Oxenstierna, turning became a pleasurable pastime that strongly structured his days, mainly because he could not stop and could spend a whole day on turning if he was not obliged to study.[29]

Turning was popular pastime among aristocrats and royals of the Enlightenment, and a lathe was procured in many households, to be used mainly by male members of the family.[30] In his dairy, Oxenstierna refers to turning both as work and as art, which emphasises the double character of handiwork and manual crafts in the eighteenth century; they were both constructive occupations and a form of art that could be mastered through the alliance of the eye and hand, and through persevering practice. Oxenstierna got satisfaction from working and creating with his hands. He enjoyed collecting different kind of wood, planning the objects he would make and deciding to whom he would give them as presents. For him, manual work and the making of things was pleasurable, even though many of the objects he tried to make broke despite his persistent efforts.[31]

Gardening and growing flowers were also part of Oxenstierna's daily practices in his adolescence, while at home in the family estate Skenäs. In January 1766, he received the flower seeds he had ordered from Stockholm, and in March began to work in the garden. However, the winter continued and snow prevented him from launching into gardening. Later in the same spring, he planted new flowers to replace the ones that had frozen because of the winter weather. All through the summer of 1766, the then sixteen-year-old Oxenstierna nurtured his flowers and worked in the garden. In his diary, he describes

gardening and flower growing as 'work' (*travail*), although gardening clearly gave him great pleasure.[32] He constructed a shelter for the plants he was cultivating, enjoying the manual labour.[33] While studying at Uppsala University in 1767, he bought seeds from the gardener of Carl von Linné. Back in Skenäs, Oxenstierna potted the seed, probably the amaryllis he later mentions, laying out a small garden on the windowsill in his room, which, by January 1768, contained more than twenty flowerpots. He got instructions from the gardener at Skenäs and worked the winter months in his little indoor garden where flowering amaryllises and hyacinths were admired by guests at the house.[34] Through the display of flowering bulbs, Oxenstierna connected with eighteenth-century elites' interest in botany, horticulture and gardening into social practices.

Oxenstierna continued his garden work at Skenäs during the summer of 1768, together with his tutor Olof Bergklint and Jon Dubb, the tutor of his cousin Jean Henning Gyllenborg. On some islands near Skenäs, they logged and cleared underbrush in order to create alleys, ramparts, grottoes and promenades, which Oxenstierna described as quite tiring work that amused him greatly.[35] Eighteenth-century garden ideals emphasised the naturalness of forms and elements of the garden, whereas the interplay between man, nature and culture was materialised in man-made grottoes, ruins, ramparts, pavilions and pagodas.[36] While walking in the garden formed a daily routine for many elites, especially in the countryside, we see here that creating a number of the elements in a fashionable park could also form an occupation for elites, at least for a male adolescent and middling groups such as tutors.

For Oxenstierna adolescence meant hard work, concentration on studies, reading and letter-writing, as well as manual work such as wood-turning and horticulture that counterbalanced the intellectual efforts required for the studies. His work and the pattern of daily activities varied much according to season and weather. In late spring and summer, Oxenstierna spent bright evenings outdoors hunting, working in the garden and on long promenades. In autumn and winter, Oxenstierna spent his time chiefly indoors studying, writing and reading or engaged in manual work and growing potted flowers.

Adulthood and forms of work

The daily practices that probably moulded adult noblemen most in eighteenth-century Sweden were estate management, a career in the army, civil administration or at court, and

engagement in politics.[37] Because of the Swedish political system, the power of the sovereign was weak from 1721 to 1772, a period called the Age of Liberty by contemporaries. The political Estates, nobility, priests, burghers and peasants, held political power and the nobility effectively led the country. Since every noble family could send a representative to the Diet, and majority of the high offices were exclusively reserved for nobles, politics characterized daily life in many aristocratic families.[38] However, in eighteenth-century Sweden, a nobleman could advance across career paths, rarely ending his career on the same branch where it started. This was particularly true of aristocrats who held high offices in the army, in administration and at court. Oxenstierna's career path followed the pattern of changing occupations, although he never became an officer, as his three brothers did.[39] Moreover, because the family lived on the estate of Oxenstierna's mother's family, which after the death of Oxenstierna's father in 1788 was inherited by Oxenstierna's cousin, Jan Henning Gyllenborg, estate management was not an activity for which Oxenstierna himself was responsible as an adult.

Johan Gabriel Oxenstierna started his adult life and took his first steps on a career path as a clerk – as did many of his peers. He completed a degree at Uppsala University in 1767, after which he took an exam (*kansliexam*) to enter to the Royal Chancellery (*Kungliga kansliet*) and commenced work in the Chancellery, thus embarking on a long career of diplomat, courtier and civil servant.[40] It was common that young noblemen studied at universities and academies, both in Sweden and abroad, but it was more unusual to gain a degree. Even though a thorough education and diligent studies were central for aristocrats, completing a university degree was regarded as being more suitable for sons of the lower nobility, bourgeoisie and clergy. However, a *kansliexam* guaranteed a post in administration, and was thus important for Oxenstierna, whose family was exalted but poor. The need to work for a living and to economize, as well as the monotony of copying documents in the Chancellery are recurrent themes in Oxenstierna's diaries. His daily routines from his early adulthood can be explored through three themes related to work: clerical duties, literary work, and work of leisure and sociability.

In October 1768, at the age of eighteen Oxenstierna moved from his childhood home Skenäs to Stockholm and began working in the Royal Chancellery. His daily routines changed from rural to urban, from the freedom of an adolescent to a daily structure of an adult (albeit very young) man, working more for his future career than for a living. Working as a clerk was a necessary springboard to more demanding and prestigious posts

that included both better opportunities for advancing one's career and a higher salary. In eighteenth-century Sweden, many educated young men entered local and national administration, but only those from the aristocracy advanced to the highest offices. When Oxenstierna left home, his mother. Sara Gyllenborg, helped him to pack up his clothing, much of which she had sewn herself. For Oxenstierna, his mother's needlework was a sign of her tender care, but it also allowed him to economize because of his well-stocked wardrobe, although he later completed his wardrobe with purchases from merchants in Stockholm. Soon Oxenstierna also bought a new garment in coarse cloth to be worn in the Chancellery, where the exceedingly dirty tables and fallen inkwells were dangerous for any better-quality garments.[41]

The Chancellery work mostly comprised copying administrative documents. Even though he described his occupation sneeringly, especially work that he did not particularly appreciate, he often spent the whole day in the Chancellery, copying and transcribing documents from morning to late in the evening.[42] Younger staff members were expected to be diligent and obedient, yet they were also viewed by their superiors as promising future officeholders. Oxenstierna, like many his peers, worked without a salary in the hope of rapid career advancement.[43]

In 1770, Oxenstierna was appointed as commission secretary (*commissions-sekreterare*) to the Swedish embassy in Vienna, where he worked closely with the Swedish ambassador, Count Nils Barck, and aspired to a diplomatic career. Despite the change of office and country, his daily duties remained mostly the same monotonous copying and letter writing he had experienced in Stockholm. The most significant difference was perhaps the need to learn German and to cipher, which together occupied a major part of Oxenstierna's daily programme. On 4 January 1771, he wrote in his diary that ciphering was his daily occupation, so ordinary that he probably would write about it no more.[44] Four days later, he wrote only the short entry: '240910761127341235276013O3,' stressing thus the quotidian nature of cipher; yet the meaning of the entry remains obscure.[45] More generally, he regarded copying and transcribing of documents as dull, unstimulating and, after hours sitting at the desk with a pile of documents to be copied, physically tiring.[46] As in any office, the youngest workers were assigned the most monotonous tasks, but noblemen advanced relatively rapidly to more demanding posts. Oxenstierna did so when he moved from the Chancellery to the Swedish embassy in Vienna, yet he reflected at the very

beginning of his career whether his advancement would have been faster had he chosen the army instead of royal administration.[47]

The clerical work at the Chancellery and at the Swedish embassy in Vienna shaped Oxenstierna's daily life and routines during his formative years of early adulthood. Working days were long and copying documents was repetitive – both of which Oxenstierna emphasized throughout his early diaries.[48] Later, he advanced quickly to high positions at court, although this reflected the wishes of King Gustav III rather than Oxenstierna's own aspirations.[49] Gustav III was historically aware and skilfully used the past to consolidate his power. For him, Oxenstierna embodied his ancestor, the statesman and builder of Sweden to a modern state, *rikskansler* Count Axel Oxenstierna, close to King Gustav II Adolf, military commander in the Thirty Year War and the sovereign that secured Sweden as a great power in the first half of the seventeenth century.[50] Johan Gabriel Oxenstierna advanced to high positions, such as *kanslipresident* in 1786, largely because the king chose for these posts noblemen who were either unskilled administrators or uninterested in the offices and, more importantly, not opposing Gustav III's move towards absolutism.[51] Oxenstierna was both, and was aware of that. Despite of his plans for an administrative or a diplomatic career in his youth, he would have preferred to devote himself for his literary work and to rural life, but was forced to earn his living at least partly because of his limited economic resources.

A shift is apparent in Oxenstierna's work and activities between his early adulthood and when he was appointed to a number of high offices by King Gustav III from 1774, when he was appointed to the chamberlain at the age of 24, to 1792, when he was appointed to *riksmarskalk* at the age of 42.[52] He had more responsibilities, not only in state administration, but also as an office-holding courtier and a representative of the Nobility on a number of Diets. A growing number of administrative tasks required thorough acquaintance with state affairs and the ability to act in new milieus, such as on Diets, at court and in the highest administration, in which Oxenstierna had no interest according to his contemporaries.[53] However, Oxenstierna continued his court career also after the death of the King Gustav III in 1792, the regency during the minority of the King Gustav IV Adolph until 1796 and after 1809 when Gustav IV Adolph abdicated for his uncle Duke Carl.

For Oxenstierna, writing poetry and reading were the occupations he enjoyed most and for which he had the greatest ambition throughout his life. It is also the work on which

Oxenstierna has been most esteemed by the posterity: the historiography of the Swedish eighteenth-century regards him as a key literary figure, a poet of the pre-Romantic movement who published his earliest works in the 1770s, when he was in his twenties.[54] In his diaries, Oxenstierna frequently discussed his writings and his aspirations in this field, even though letters formed a more important medium for literate discussion. Particularly important in this regard was the correspondence with his previous tutor, the poet Olof Bergklint, who encouraged Oxenstierna in writing poetry.[55] Oxenstierna sometimes wrote his diary in verse, both for his own amusement and to practice metrical and rhythmical composition.[56] The diaries do not, however, reveal how often Oxenstierna wrote poetry or how he arranged his literate work.

Another dimension of elite work was their social life, which formed a substantial part of daily routines in aristocratic circles across Europe. This 'work of leisure' – including social gatherings and parties, concerts, opera and theatre, and visits, promenades and pleasure gardens – was particularly important for aristocrats with political or social ambitions. Indeed, eighteenth-century 'social politics' underpinned the close connection of politics and social life, as well as women's role in political life.[57] In Oxenstierna's life, the entanglement of social and political life was palpable from his youth onwards. The significance of social politics and work of leisure is highlighted in his diaries in the shape of dinner parties, visits to politically powerful men and women, trips to the theatre and opera, and the literary societies of which Oxenstierna was a member. In the turn of the 1760s and 1770s, when the young Oxenstierna worked as a clerk at the royal chancellery, he usually attended no more than one or two social occasions a day. In a Sunday in February 1769, he went in the morning to the church at the royal palace, in the evening attended a ball there and afterwards ate supper at a high-ranking civil servant.[58] While in Vienna 1770–72 and working at the Swedish embassy as commission secretary Oxenstierna's social circles were limited to those the ambassador Barck chose to engage him to, such as concerts arranged at the embassy or occasional evenings at the theatre in winter. Summers Oxenstierna spent at the countryside with Barck and his wife, concentrating mainly in the ambassador's correspondence.[59] The intensity of late-eighteenth-century social politics and work of leisure is illustrated in an example from the 1780s, when he had served for several years as a chamberlain at court. On Saturday, 19 February 1780, Oxenstierna spent the afternoon planning with his peers a fete the Freemasonry lodge in which Oxenstierna belonged to, was about to organise later in Spring. After that, he had dinner with some friends at the Exchange. In the evening,

Oxenstierna had dinner at the king's table, attended a ball at the royal palace and played cards there until four a clock in the following morning.[60]

Even though it is not always meaningful to separate work and leisure when discussing the lifestyle and daily routines of aristocrats, analysing social life as work of leisure highlights the importance of social and cultural life for success in many occupations and endeavours, be it on the level of a person, family or state. Oxenstierna records in his diaries social events that clearly were carried out for pleasure, but also many occasions when they were more a duty and as part of his work either in the Chancellery in Stockholm in the late 1760s, in the Swedish embassy in Vienna in the early 1770s or at court in the 1780s. Playing cards, an indispensable part of eighteenth-century social life, was especially tedious for Oxenstierna.[61] Another social event he found wearisome was suppers organised by the ladies-in-waiting in their apartments in the royal palace of Stockholm. According to ever sharp-tongued Oxenstierna, the small apartments were cramped with courtiers who watched the king plays chess for hours, yawned for small hours, ate cold food, drank lukewarm drinks, and stood on swollen feet because there were no chairs.[62]

Elite women's participation was crucial to social life and the work of leisure: an importance that gives marriage significance beyond being a key stage of a person's life cycle and central to the dynastic interests of the aristocracy. A favourable match could forward a nobleman's career prospects or political ambitions through his wife's role in the work of leisure. Nevertheless, and despite frequently reflecting on his future, marriage does not figure in Oxenstierna's diaries before he wrote the travel diary for his wife in 1805. Furthermore, he rarely mentions any plans for marrying in his journals, even though he frequently writes about women with whom he fell in love or had a relationship.[63] Apparently, marriage was not an issue that occupied him when in his twenties, yet in 1780 he wrote in his diary that he wished it to happen because otherwise there was nothing to write. His wishes were that his debts would be paid, and that he would be rich and married. One of his friends had proposed the daughter of a wealthy merchant that could be won as Oxenstierna's wife despite his miserable economic conditions. Oxenstierna's potential marriage was a topic at court in 1780, where King Gustav III quite plainly expressed his negative view on the planned marriage.[64] Presumably, the king's disapproval was connected to his endeavour to orchestrate the marriages of his favourites. Nevertheless, the king did not choose a wife for Oxenstierna, as he did to some other courtiers.

Oxenstierna eventually married in 1791, choosing as a wife Lovisa Christina Wachtschlager. Their only child, Gustaf Göran Gabriel, called Gösta by his parents, was born in 1793.[65] Parenthood moulded daily life and shaped parental duties,[66] as did the poor health of Wachtschlager, who often was confined to her bed at the family's home in Stockholm.[67] Oxenstierna took responsibility for his son's French studies and writes from the country estate Skenäs to his wife, how their son learned needlework and had much more stamina for his music lessons than when in Stockholm.[68]

The routines, studies and work that had filled Oxenstierna's days when he was an adolescent were repeated in his son's childhood. In addition to schooling and handicrafts, there were the skills that were essential to aristocratic life and sociability: foreign languages, conversation, music and reading were all carefully practised and polished from an early age. By the turn of the century, Oxenstierna had reached the stage where he, instead of being the object of education, was himself responsibility of his son's education.

Old age – structuring the everyday through routines

Aristocrats did not retreat from their duties in old age, although the majority of army officers belonging to the nobility retired from active service and sold their commissions,[69] changing perhaps to a civil career which they could maintain sometimes even for decades before moving aside. Noblemen withdrew from court service, while it was more common for female courtiers to continue in service until they died.[70] Estate management, social obligations, and in many cases literary, scholarly or scientific work did not depend on age. When defining work as socially constructed activity, allowing a flexibility that embraces wider perspective of work-related activities than those aimed more squarely at maintenance, it is evident that work and working did not cease at any age; it changed character. Furthermore, defining old age is not straightforward since it depended both on how a person experienced his or her age, and how others constructed an understanding of someone being old. These were often, but not exclusively, connected to the physical age. Elite persons often defined themselves as old from their fifties, while younger people tended to regard those in their forties as being old.[71] For Oxenstierna, an important change in daily routines and the nature of work coincided with his withdrawal from his administrative offices as he neared his fiftieth birthday.

In 1805, Oxenstierna had a daily routine of writing in his diary, addressed to his wife, what he and his relatives did in the countryside at Skenäs where Oxenstierna spent the summer with his son and mother. His wife eschewed travelling because of her frail health and stayed in Stockholm. Skenäs is where Oxenstierna had lived his childhood and adolescence, and it was to Skenäs that he attached his most emotional and poetic experiences. His diary writing was also more emotional than earlier in his life: Oxenstierna explicitly wished to share his daily life, routines and joys with his wife, but instead of writing letters, the daily diary was sent to her on a weekly base.[72] In this diary, written at an advanced age from a summer-long visit to his childhood home, where especially the countryside, woods and fields were important for Oxenstierna, he reflected on ageing, particularly visible in his 79-year old mother Sara Gyllenborg, and on memories that certain dates, places and events awakened in him. In the end of July 1805, after a day and two meals together with his mother and other family members, Oxenstierna made a solitary wandering along same footpaths and sat on the same rock he used to while adolescent and writing poems praising the beauty of nature. His reminiscent spirit woke the gods of his youth, he wrote to his wife, adding in his diary a long poem in which he addressed to the Muses of poetry and song.[73]

Writing memoirs, editing one's previous writings, and compiling and organizing family papers was a form of work typical for aristocrats in old age. It was about self-reflection as well as reflecting on the family history in the past and in the future. Indeed, for elite culture, it was important to record family history, illustrious careers, social connections and friendships, but also daily events and daily routines. Moreover, the actual deed of writing a diary was a record for posterity, even though Oxenstierna claimed to write only for his own pleasure or for entertaining both himself and his wife.

[Figure 3.1 about here]

Figure 3.1 Skenäs. Lithograph by F. Richard, early 1800s. From *Herrgårdar uti Södermanland* (1869). Photo: Uppsala University Library.

While at Skenäs, Oxenstierna planned to edit his poems in a second volume. He ensconced himself in the two rooms in the main building in which he had lived in his childhood and where he had studied and written most of his poetry. He organized all his papers and chose which poems he would work on first. The desk was a gift from Oxenstierna's younger

brother from a bygone era and he chose to work on a funeral poem written for a friend from his youth, Baron Samuel Olof Tilas. The table itself represented for Oxenstierna a coffin in the form of a desk that would awaken his thought to sorrowful images.[74] The rooms in which Oxenstierna had spent some of the happiest times of his life, absorbed in work (either on his studies or in writing poems) and certain objects (the paper on which he had written the poems he was about to work on and the desk that was a gift from a brother) linked emotions and identity to material objects, to the spatiality of home and to Oxenstierna's contemplation of his literary work when he felt himself aging.

In Oxenstierna's diary, work and routines of old age are enlightened through his relationship with three close relatives: his grandmother Margareta Eleonora von Beijer, who was old when he was writing his youthful diaries; his aging father, Göran Gabrielsson Oxenstierna, in the diary of 1780, and his mother, Sara Gyllenborg, in the diary of 1805. For the adolescent Oxenstierna, the relationship with his grandmother was warm and emotional, every separation a possibility for eternal loss through the potential death of the grandmother.[75] However, the daily routines of country house life and old age shaped Oxenstierna's days when in Skenäs in summer 1805. He wished to spend as much time with his mother as possible, since she had aged physically, even though not mentally.[76]

Skenäs was owned and inhabited by Oxenstierna's cousin, Jan Henning Gyllenborg and his wife Albertina von Axelson, and everyday life was largely structured by family. Oxenstierna divided his time mainly between his mother, the Gyllenborg family, his son Gösta, and his nephew Erik who accompanied Oxenstierna and his son to Skenäs. With the boys, Oxenstierna read in French, played in the garden, swam and made long promenades. He also spent time reading and writing, taking walks and making handicrafts with Albertina von Axelson and designing embroidery patterns to her. Gösta did some needlework too, and played clavier for hours, of which both he and his father were particularly proud.[77] Sara Gyllenborg seems to have given up ordinary meals if there were no guests in Skenäs, because Oxenstierna ate bread with her after midday, and drank coffee in the afternoon and tea in the evening; but he also ate both lunch and dinner with his cousin Jan Henning and his wife Albertina. Oxenstierna spent the evenings with the small boys, reading and making promenades, until they went to bed at eleven o'clock in the evening. After that, Oxenstierna often worked on his diary and writings until past midnight.

Oxenstierna had hoped for time to work on his poetry and his collected works during his stay at Skenäs, but the daily life of the family did not allow him any longer period of time to work in solitude. Moreover, because of many guests at the country house, Oxenstierna could not find peace to work in his rooms, and he complained to his wife a few days before leaving Skenäs in August 1805 that the only quiet place to write was an attic room in the main building. On the way back to Stockholm he and the boys stayed in Mariefred, where Oxenstierna had sojourned long periods during his court career at the Gripsholm Castle, a renaissance palace and one of the favourite royal palaces of Gustav III. Oxenstierna sat late in the evening alone in his room; he felt old and heavy, but satisfied for being a poet.[78]

Conclusions

Taking a microhistory approach to Oxenstierna's life and work gives a tangible illustration of the complexity of work-related activities and their meanings in the daily lives of eighteenth-century elites.[79] Looking closely to a person's life, its continuities and changes, routines and ruptures, display the complexity of work as an analytical concept, and the entanglement of work-related activities within a social group that has less often regarded by earlier scholarship as working. Aristocrats were socialised to work from an early stage: Oxenstierna's adolescence was characterised by studies and letter writing, both of which he described as work in his diary. Studies honed adolescent noblemen for their future careers whether in the army or administration. Letter writing was an indispensable part of elite lifestyle and parts of it, such as letters about family affairs and those carrying New Years' wishes, belong to kin work, performed both by men and by women. Extensive letter writing was also part of work in diplomacy, the army, state and court administration, and in literary and scientific work, as Oxenstierna's duties in copying and ciphering diplomatic correspondence in the Swedish embassy in Vienna 1770–71 clearly demonstrate.

Many work-related activities continued from childhood to old age, even though they changed from being chores to be learned to activities performed out of personal and social interest or duty. Handiwork was an essentially feminine chore, learned by all daughters of the elites; yet Oxenstierna was typical of many noblemen in learning woodturning and textile crafts in his adolescence, and in maintaining these interests into old age, engaging into embroidery with female family members. Handicrafts were an occupation that could be carried on alone or in company, from childhood to old age. While handiwork could be an agonising duty or a refined feminine accomplishment, for Oxenstierna it offered mental

satisfaction and tangible routines through manual work. Another occupation that could be carried out alone or in company across one's life-cycle, was gardening, which again belonged to the category of everyday work that Oxenstierna enjoyed extensively in his youth.

Johan Gabriel Oxenstierna had a long career in state administration and at court that formed his most obvious form of work. However, the occupation that Oxenstierna most wished to do, and yet also described as work, was writing and reading. For him, work meant a number of activities, both dutiful and pleasurable: only some were linked to making a living, others being linked to self-cultivation and serving one's family and country. When extending the concept of work to include intellectual and artistic activities, and recognising that leisure could be both work and a duty, daily routines and the rationality of early-modern aristocracy's lifestyle can be better understood. Work continuously moulded the daily routines and identities of aristocrats. Certain forms of work, such as careers in the army or in administration were life-cycle or gender specific; others, such as estate management, literary work, handiwork, work of kin and work of leisure, continued into old age and shaped daily activities and identities of elites throughout their lives.

[1] Micaela di Leonardo, 'The Female World of Cards and Holidays: Women, Families, and the Work of Kinship', *Signs* 12 (1987), 440–453; Mimi Hellman, 'Furniture, Sociability, and the Work of Leisure in Eighteenth-Century France', *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 32 (1999), 415–445; Dave Sinardet & Dimitri Mortelmans, 'The Feminine Side to Santa Claus: Women's Work of Kinship in Contemporary Gift-Giving Relations', *The Social Science Journal* 46 (2009), 124–142; Maria Ågren, ed., *Making a Living, Making a Difference: Gender and Work in Early Modern European Society* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017); Johanna Ilmakunnas, 'Konsten att avbilda arbete: Kvinnors sysselsättningar och vardag på Pehr Hillestöms genremålningar från 1770-talet till 1810-talet', *Historisk Tidskrift för Finland* 103:1 (2018), 1–45; Jane Whittle, 'A Critique of Approaches to "Domestic Work": Women, Work and the Pre-Industrial Economy', *Past & Present* 243: 1 (2019), 35–70, https://doi.org/10.1093/pastj/gtz002.

[2] Anna-Maria Åström, 'Work and Working in the Savolax Manorial Society in the Early Nineteenth Century', *Ethnologia Fennica* 30 (2002–2003), 52–62; Henry French and Mark Rothery, *Man's Estate: landed gentry masculinities, c.1660–c.1900* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012); Johanna Ilmakunnas, *Ett ståndsmässigt liv: Släkten von Fersens livsstil på 1700-talet* (Helsingfors & Stockholm: Svenska litteratursällskapet i Finland & Atlantis, 2012), 87–128.

[3] For a discussion on early-modern nobility and the concept of work, see Johanna Ilmakunnas, 'Työn kulttuurihistoriaa esimodernin ajan Euroopassa', in *Menneisyyden rakentajat: Teoriat historiantutkimuksessa*, ed. Mirkka Danielsbacka, Matti Hannikainen & Tuomas Tepora (Helsinki: Gaudeamus Helsinki University Press, 2018), 168–182; see also Jonas Lindström, Rosemarie Fiebranz and Göran Rydén, 'The Diversity of Work', in *Making a Living, Making a Difference: Gender and Work in Early Modern European Society*, ed. Maria Ågren (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017), 41–52.

[4] See, for example, Marie Steinrud, *Den dolda offentligheten. Kvinnlighetens sfärer i 1800-talets svenska högreståndskultur* (Stockholm: Carlssons, 2008), 136–171; Britta Kägler, *Frauen am Münchener Hof (1661–1756)* (Kallmünz: Michael Laßleben, 2011); Nadine Akkerman and Birgit Houben ed., *The Politics of Female Households: Ladies-in-Waiting Across Early Modern Europe* (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2014); Johanna Ilmakunnas, 'From Mother to Daughter: Noblewomen in Service at Swedish Royal Court, c. 1740–1820', in *Early Professional Women in Northern Europe, c. 1650*–1850, ed. Johanna Ilmakunnas, Marjatta Rahikainen and Kirsi Vainio-Korhonen (London and New York: Routledge, 2017), 69–90;

[5] Of important recent scholarship on nuancing the concept of work, see, for example, Ågren, ed., *Making a Living, Making a Difference*; Whittle, 'Women, Work and the Pre-Industrial Economy'.

[6] For a brief discussion on aristocracy's engagement on literary, artistic and scientific work, see Ilmakunnas, 'Työn kulttuurihistoriaa', 176–77.

[7] Hellman, 'Work of Leisure'; see also Ilmakunnas, 'Työn kulttuurihistoriaa', 178–79.

[8] Ilmakunnas, 'Työn kulttuurihistoriaa', 178–9; Steinrud, *Den dolda offentligheten*: 137–38.

[9] For an in-depth discussion on recent scholarship on (women's) life cycle, see for example Katie Barclay, Rosalind Carr, Rosen Elliot & Annmarie Hugues, 'Introduction: Gender and Generations: women and life cycles', *Women's History Review* 20:2 (2011): 175–188, https://doi.org/10.1080/09612025.2011.556317; see also Jon Stobart, 'Status, gender and life cycle in the consumption practices of the English elite: The case of Mary Leigh, 1736–1806', *Social History* 40:1 (2015): 82–103, http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/03071022.2014.984963.

[10] Johan Gabriel Oxenstiernas journal 1766–1768. Tosterupsamlingen vol. 108. Swedish National Archives (Riksarkivet, hereafter RA), Stockholm; Johan Gabriel Oxenstierna, *Dagboks-anteckningar, åren 1769–1771*. Utg. genom Gustaf Stjernström (Uppsala: Svenska litteratursällskapet, 1881); Johan Gabriel Oxenstierna, *Journal för året 1780*. Utg. av Holger Frykenstedt (Lund: Kleerup, 1967).

[11] Johan Gabriel Oxenstierna, *Journal: Skenäs 1805* (Stockholm: Sällskapet Bokvännerna, 1964).

[12] Martin Lamm, *Johan Gabriel Oxenstierna: En gustaviansk natursvärmarens lif och dikt* (Stockholm: Hugo Geber, 1911), 85.

[13] On Oxenstierna's life and works, see Lamm, *Oxenstierna*; Gösta Lundström, 'Johan Gabriel Oxenstierna', *Svenskt Biografiskt Lexikon* 28, accessed 14 Dec 2019, https://sok.riksarkivet.se/sbl/artikel/7919; see also Henrik Knif, *Leva och låta leva i gamla Europa: Saint-Évremond, Mestastasio, Fredenheim och Oxenstierna* (Stockholm: Atlantis, 2010), 171–233.

[14] 'Oxenstierna af Korsholm och Wasa nr 8, Johan Gabriel', Adelsvapen-Wiki, https://www.adelsvapen.com/genealogi/Oxenstierna_af_Korsholm_och_Wasa_nr_8 (accessed 19 Feb 2020).

[15] Cf. 11 Jan 1780. Oxenstierna, *Journal för året 1780*, 14–15.

[16] On the demography of the nobility in early-modern Sweden, see Ingvar Elmroth, *För kung och fosterland: Studier i den svenska adelns demografi och offentliga funktioner 1600–1900* (Lund: Kleerup, 1981); Kaarlo Wirilander, *Herrskapsfolk: Ståndspersoner i Finland 1721–1870* (Stockholm: Nordiska museet, 1982).

[17] 1 Jan 1766, Johan Gabriel Oxenstiernas journal 1766–1768. Tosterupsamlingen vol. 108, RA. 'Je tracerai le tableau de mes etudes, de mes traveaux et de mes plaisirs.'

[18] Johanna Ilmakunnas, 'Adelns arbete och vardag på 1700-talets svenska herrgårdar: Johan Gabriel Oxenstiernas och Jacobina Charlotta Munsterhjelms dagböcker', *Historisk Tidskrift för Finland* 98:2 (2013), 156–184.

[19] Lamm, *Oxenstierna,* 102–03.

[20] 12 June 1768, Johan Gabriel Oxenstiernas journal 1766–1768. Tosterupsamlingen vol. 108, RA.

[21] 21 Dec 1767, Johan Gabriel Oxenstiernas journal 1766–1768. Tosterupsamlingen vol. 108, RA.

[22] Ilmakunnas, 'Adelns arbete'; Lamm, *Oxenstierna*, 102–17.

[23] Lamm, *Oxenstierna*, v.

[24] See, for example, Stina Hansson, *Svensk brevskrivning: Teori och tillämpning* (Göteborg: Göteborgs universitet, 1988); Clare Brant, *Eighteenth-Century Letters and British Culture* (Basingstoke & New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006); Willemijn Ruberg, *Conventional Correspondence: Epistolary Culture of the Dutch elite 1770–1850* (Leiden: Brill, 2011).

[25] Leonardo, 'The Work of Kinship'; Sinardet & Mortelmans, 'Women's Work of Kinship'.

[26] Ilmakunnas, 'Adelns arbete', 180–82.

[27] See, for example 1 Jan 1768, 5 Jan 1768. Johan Gabriel Oxenstiernas journal 1766–1768. Tosterupsamlingen vol. 108, RA.

[28] See, for example 12 Sept 1766, 6 Nov 1766, 7 Nov 1766, 16 Nov 1766, 17 Jan 1768, 29 March 1768, 22 Aug 1768; citation from Journal de l'Annee 1767. 31 May 1767. Johan Gabriel Oxenstiernas journal 1766–1768. Tosterupsamlingen vol. 108, RA. 'Je finissois l'année passée dans le tour, je commencois celle ci au mem endroit. Jamais personne n'a été plus diligent a ce travail que moi, aussi je n'ai guere fait autre chose pendent tout le tems. Le jour me quittoit dans le touret, il m'y retrouva.'

[29] 20 Nov 1766, 27 Nov 1766, 7 Dec 1766. Johan Gabriel Oxenstiernas journal 1766–1768. Tosterupsamlingen vol. 108, RA.

[30] Johanna Ilmakunnas, 'Embroidering women & turning men: Handiwork, gender and emotions in Sweden and Finland, c. 1720–1820', *Scandinavian Journal of History* 41:3 (2016), 306–331. DOI:10.1080/03468755.2016.1179831.

[31] 6 Nov 1766, 16 Nov 1766. Johan Gabriel Oxenstiernas journal 1766–1768. Tosterupsamlingen vol. 108, RA.

[32] 13 March 1766, 17 March 1766, 22 March 1766, 20 April 1766, 13 May 1766, 24 May 1766, 6 June 1766, 14 June 1766. Johan Gabriel Oxenstiernas journal 1766–1768. Tosterupsamlingen vol. 108, RA.

[33] 5 July 1766. Johan Gabriel Oxenstiernas journal 1766–1768. Tosterupsamlingen vol. 108, RA.

[34] 31 Dec 1767, 9 Jan 1768, 24 Jan 1768, 28 Jan 1768, 21 Feb 1768, 26 Feb 1768, 28 Feb 1768, 8 March 1768, 13 March 1768. Johan Gabriel Oxenstiernas journal 1766–1768. Tosterupsamlingen vol. 108, RA.

[35] 17 May 1768, 18 May 1768, 20 May 1768, 24 May 1768, 24 May 1768, 13 July 1768, 14 July 1768, 16 July 1768. Johan Gabriel Oxenstiernas journal 1766–1768. Tosterupsamlingen vol. 108, RA.

[36] Rainer Knapas, 'Den nya trädgårdskonsten', in *Signums svenska kulturhistoria: Gustavianska tiden*, ed. Jacob Christensson (Stockholm: Signum, 2007), 363–387.

[37] Fredrik Thisner, *Militärstatens arvegods: Officerstjänstens socialreproduktiva funktion i Sverige och Danmark, ca 1720–1800* (Uppsala: Uppsala universitet, 2007); Fredrik Thisner, *Indelta inkomster: En studie av det militära löneindelningsverket 1721–1833* (Uppsala: Uppsala universitet, 2014).

[38] On the political system in eighteenth-century Sweden, see Charlotta Wolff, *Noble Conceptions of Politics in Eighteenth-Century Sweden (ca 1740–1790)* (Helsinki: Finnish Literature Society, 2008); Pasi Ihalainen, Michael Brengsbo, Karin Sennefelt & Patrik Winton, ed., *Scandinavia in the Age of Revolution: Nordic Political Cultures, 1740–1820* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2011).

[39] 'Oxenstierna af Korsholm och Wasa nr 8, Axel Fredrik, Göran Ludvig, Jakob Gustaf', Adelsvapen-Wiki, https://www.adelsvapen.com/genealogi/Oxenstierna_af_Korsholm_och_Wasa_nr_8 (accessed 19 Feb 2020).

[40] 30 Oct 1768, 31 Nov 1768, 4 Nov 1768, 8 Nov 1768. Johan Gabriel Oxenstiernas journal 1766–1768. Tosterupsamlingen vol. 108, RA; Lamm, *Oxenstierna*, *passim*; Lundström, 'Oxenstierna'; Bo Bennich-Björkman, *Författaren i ämbetet: Studier i funktion och organisation av författarämbeten vid svenska hovet och kansliet 1550–1850* (Uppsala: Uppsala universitet 1970); Knif, *Leva och låta leva*, 171–233; Lamm, *Oxenstierna*, *passim*.

[41] 19 Oct 1768, 20 Oct 1768, 24 Oct 1768, 1 Nov 1768, 19 Nov 1768. Johan Gabriel Oxenstiernas journal 1766–1768. Tosterupsamlingen vol. 108, RA.

[42] See, for example, 6 Jan 1769, 7 Jan 1769, 1 Feb 1769, 23 June 1769, 1 Sept 1769. *Dagboks-anteckningar*, 2, 6, 33, 47.

[43] 21 June 1769, 20 Sept 1769. *Dagboks-anteckningar*, 32, 50.

[44] 4 Jan 1771. Oxenstierna, *Dagboks-anteckningar*, 142.

[45] 8 Jan 1771. Oxenstierna, *Dagboks-anteckningar*, 142.

[46] See, for example, 1 May 1770, Oxenstierna, *Dagboks-anteckningar*, 77–78.

[47] 2 Nov 1768. Johan Gabriel Oxenstiernas journal 1766–1768. Tosterupsamlingen vol. 108, RA.

[48] See, for example, 28 July 1769, 1 Sept 1769, 1 May 1770, 22 April 1771. Oxenstierna, *Dagboks-anteckningar*, 38, 47, 77, 165.

[49] 'Oxenstierna', Adelsvapen-Wiki; Lamm, *Oxenstierna*, 243–373.

[50] On Gustav III and his use of power, see Erik Lönnroth, *Den stora rollen: Kung Gustaf III spelad av honom själv* (Stockholm: Norstedts, 1986) and Henrika Tandefelt, *Konsten att härska: Gustaf III inför sina undersåtar* (Helsingfors: Svenska litteratursällskapet i Finland, 2008); see also Johan Gabriel Oxenstierna, 'Mitt minne', in *Svenska memoarer och bref* I, ed. Henrik Schück (Stockholm: Albert Bonniers förlag, 1900).

[51] Tandefelt, *Konsten att härska*, 94–95; see also Lamm, *Oxenstierna*, 299–303.

[52] On Oxenstierna's appointment in royal administration and at court, see 'Oxenstierna', Adelsvapen-Wiki.

[53] Lamm, *Oxenstierna*, 248–249, 271, 299–303.

[54] Cf. Lamm, *Oxenstierna*; see also Martin Lamm, *Upplysningstidens romantic: Den mystiskt sentimentala strömningen i svensk litteratur, förra delen* (Enskede: Hammarström & Åberg, 1918), 359–88, 412–33; for a list of Oxenstierna's works, see e.g. Lundström, 'Johan Gabriel Oxenstierna'.

[55] Lamm, *Oxenstierna*, *passim*.

[56] See, for example, diary entries for February 1771. Oxenstierna, *Dagboks-anteckningar*, 148–57.

[57] Elaine Chalus, *Elite Women in English Political Life, c. 1754–1790* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005).

[58] 21 Jan 1769. Oxenstierna, *Dagboks-anteckningar*, 9–10.

[59] See, for example, 18 Jan 1771, 24 Jan 1771, 26 Jan 1771. Oxenstierna, *Dagboks-anteckningar*, 144–6.

[60] 19 Feb 1780. Oxenstierna, *Journal för Året 1780*, 45.

[61] 21 Jan 1771, 22 Jan 1771, Oxenstierna, *Dagboks-anteckningar*, 144–5.

[62] 30 Jan 1780. Oxenstierna, *Journal för Året 1780*, 31; on the work and duties of ladies-in-waiting at Swedish court, see Ilmakunnas, 'From Mother to Daughter'.

[63] See, for example, 6 July 1766, 8 Aug 1766, 25 Sept 1766, 29 Sept 1766, 5 Oct 1766, 6 Oct 1766, 9 May 1768. Johan Gabriel Oxenstiernas journal 1766–1768. Tosterupsamlingen vol. 108, RA; 24 May 1771, 25 May 1771, 30 May 1771, 10 June 1771. Oxenstierna, *Dagboks-anteckningar*, 167–8, 170–2.

[64] 11 Jan 1780, 26 Jan 1780. Oxenstierna, *Journal för Året 1780*, 14–15, 26–27.

[65] 'Oxenstierna', Adelsvapen-Wiki.

[66] On attentive and emotional parenthood in the eighteenth century, see Joanne Bailey, *Parenting in England 1760–1830: Emotion, Identity, and Generation* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012).

[67] Lamm, *Oxenstierna*, 327–8.

[68] 15 July 1805, 17 July 1805, 19 July 1805, Oxenstierna, *Journal 1805*, 26, 28, 30–1.

[69] On selling officer's commissions, se Thisner, *Militärstatens arvegods* and Thisner, *Indelta inkomster*; see also Ilmakunnas, *Ett ståndsmässigt liv*, 89–110.

[70] On the continuum of women's court careers, see Ilmakunnas, 'From Mother to Daughter'.

[71] See, for example Carl Fredrik Mennander to his son 7 May 1767. *Brev från och till C. F. Mennander* I (Helsinki: Suomen Historiallinen Seura, 1939), 47–9.

[72] Oxenstierna, *Journal 1805*, 21.

[73] 31 July 1805. Oxenstierna, *Journal 1805*, 53–7.

[74] 16 July 1805. Oxenstierna, *Journal 1805*, 26–7.

[75] See, for example, 11 June 1769, 7 Sept 1769, 4 Aug 1771. Oxenstierna, *Dagboks-anteckningar*, 30–1, 47, 178.

[76] 12 July 1805. Oxenstierna, *Journal 1805*, 24–5.

[77] 15 July 1805, 17–21 July 1805, 23 July 1805, 24 July 1805, 2 Aug 1805, 5 Aug 1805, 9 Aug 1805, 10 Aug 1805, 17 Aug 1805. Oxenstierna, *Journal 1805*, 26, 28–9, 31–3, 35, 38–9, 41, 63, 75, 77, 92.

[78] 23 Aug 1805, 24 Aug 1805. Oxenstierna, *Journal 1805*, 102, 107–8.

[79] On complexity and microhistory cf. Giovanni Levi, 'Microhistory and the Recovery of Complexity', in *Historical Knowledge: In Quest of Theory, Method and Evidence*, ed. Susanna Fellman and Marjatta Rahikainen (Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2012) 125.