Baltic Towns and Their Inhabitants

Aspects on Early Modern Towns in the Baltic Area
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When early modern society of the Baltic area is studied, towns and urban life are often overlooked since only a minority of the population lived in towns. Although conditions varied widely between the sparsely populated areas in the northern part of Scandinavia and the more urbanised areas on the south and southeast borders of the Baltic sea, towns and their inhabitants were nevertheless of great importance in the Swedish empire and other states contiguous to the Baltic Sea. Thus, in researching the state-building processes taking place in early modern Europe, towns and activities relating to towns are important cornerstones.

The relation between the state and the towns during the 16th and 17th centuries is a lively and much-discussed question. As the state grew stronger the former independence of the towns was threatened. ”The oppressed town” is a concept introduced by Fernand Braudel to characterise the towns in the strong early modern state. The weakened political position of towns has been related to strong nation-states striving for control. But what happened when towns in conquered areas were to be integrated into an empire which included several nations and countries? Was their position also weakened, were they even more suppressed than towns in the core area or was it possible for the newly acquired towns to retain their independence?

In his study The State and the Integration of the Towns of the Provinces of the Swedish Baltic Empire, Robert Sandberg discusses how the towns in different parts of the Baltic region conquered by Sweden were treated, and how they related to the Swedish state. By using the concept ”conglomerate state”, Sandberg discusses different options for regulating the positions of the towns in different parts

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1 Braudel, Fernand: Civilisationer och kapitalism 1400–1800, Stockholm 1982-1986
2 For a presentation of the concept conglomerate state, see Böhme, Klaus-Richard: Building a Baltic Empire.
of the empire. Except for the old Swedish and Finnish towns, he finds four different ways to connect these towns.

The towns were made administrative centres of the central government; many institutions central in the state-building process were located to towns. Not only the governors’ residences were placed in the more important towns, but other representatives of the central government were situated in towns as well. In addition, within the Swedish realm, the combined town councils and courts were placed under stronger control from the central government. New towns were founded in rural parts of the realm in order to gain a stronger economic and administrative control over the area.

The towns were administrative centres from where the state could strengthen its control of old core areas as well as new provinces. The towns in the conquered areas on the south and southeast border of the Baltic Sea, however, maintained their traditional German laws. By placing appeal courts in Åbo and Dorpat, the ambition to co-ordinate the legislative system in the Livonian and Estonian provinces with that of Sweden-Finland was clearly demonstrated. Susanna Sjödin presents in her essay how the legislative system was re-organised in the first half of the 17th century, and how the court of appeal in Dorpat was especially meant to be an integrating instrument of the Swedish state.

The courts and other administrative institutions serving the strong centralised state created a strong demand for lawyers and other civil servants. In order to procure skilled civil servants who would be true to the Swedish crown, universities began to be established. In the 1620s the old university of Uppsala was reorganised; the priest-seminar was transformed to a university where men in the service of the state and the church could receive their education. In 1632 the university of Dorpat was established to supply priests and civil servants to the Livonian and Estonian areas, while the Finnish part of the realm received its own higher education capability when the university of Åbo was established in 1640. Later, the universities of Greifswald on German soil and Lund in the southern part of Scandinavia, conquered from Denmark, were given the same task of educating future civil servants.

In Lars Geschwind’s study Unruly Students, a very specific group of town inhabitants are in focus; the students in the university towns Uppsala, Åbo and

Dorpat. Here the young men were brought up to be truly civil servants and priests, but in the same time they were forming their own identity as students. In the article social control and identification and the relation between these two aspects on social integration is discussed.

The expanding international economy is another central aspect of the early modern integration process in Europe. Commerce and other economic activities were important in this process, particularly since it tended to tie regions together. In the Baltic region towns, all since the Middle Ages had been centres for trade and economic development. Trade between Danzig, Lübeck, Riga, Åbo, Stockholm and other ports linked the region around the Baltic Sea closer to each other. At the same time the political struggle for the areas southeast and south of the Baltic Sea was to a high extent a struggle for the domination of trade. From the beginning of the 17th century this became an important goal for the expansionist policy of the Swedish empire. Inside the Swedish and Finnish realm, town policy and trade were made topical questions. A range of regulations were established in order to develop trade and industry.

The Baltic Sea was central in the trade of northern Europe. Commerce cut straight through national boundaries, and personal relations built up the trade as well. The merchants often had business relations throughout north and north-west Europe. But who were the trading merchants and what was needed to succeed in this trade? In my own essay 17th century Baltic merchants, I discuss some preliminary results of a study concerning these matters. Some characteristic traits of the merchants trading the across Baltic sea from a Swedish-Finnish perspective are presented.

The creation of the bourgeoisie class has been a central topic in the studies of early modern European society. The role of women in this process is less studied, and if one looks carefully, it can be observed that very little has been done in this area. In the article Women as Wholesalers, Christine Bladh studies the women’s and, above all, the widows’ role in the wholesale trade in Stockholm in the second part of the eighteenth century. What happened to the business and the family fortune when it was taken over by a woman?

The early modern town was considered an unhealthy and risky place in which to live. The crowded milieu not only made way for the fast spread of diseases, but

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the water supply and sanitation often was insufficient, although improvements had been made after the Black Death. Altogether an urban life environment was threatening to public health. The expression ”the urban graveyard” has been used to highlight the high mortality rates in early modern towns. In his article *Urban death – Perceptions and Realities* Sven Lilja studies urban mortality in the Baltic region in the second half of the 18th century. By a study of a number of towns of different size Lilja can shade off the conventional picture that towns suffered from an endemic mortality surplus.

Towns have been described as turning points in human history. Growth in society is always, stated Fernand Braudel, expressed in a strong urbanisation.\(^4\) What happens to towns, and in towns, could be seen as indicators of radical changes in society. Early modern state formation is one of these changes that very well could be analysed by studies of towns, their institutions and inhabitants. In the project ”*State, towns and integration of society. The Swedish Baltic Empire and the Baltic area*”\(^5\) state formation is studied as an integration process in three interacting levels.\(^6\) The articles in this volume all focus on Baltic towns and how different aspects of the integration process affected these towns and their inhabitants. The towns were involved in the state-building process in many ways; in this volume we will discuss some of them.

\(^4\) Braudel 1982 p 432
\(^5\) Project at Södertörns högskola (University College)
References


The State and the Integration of the Towns of the Provinces of the Swedish Baltic Empire

The Purpose of the Paper

During the hundred years between 1561 and 1660, Sweden expanded along the coasts of the Baltic Sea and throughout Scandinavia. Sweden became the dominant power in the Baltics and northern Europe, a position it would maintain until the early eighteenth century. At the same time, Swedish society was experiencing a profound transformation. Sweden developed into a typical European early modern power-state with a bureaucracy, a powerful military organization, and a peasantry bending under taxes and conscription. The kingdom of Sweden also changed from a self-contained country to an important member of the European economy.

During this period the Swedish urban system developed as well. From being one of the least urbanized European countries with hardly more than 40 towns and an urbanization level of three to four per cent, Sweden doubled the number of towns and increased the urbanization level to almost ten per cent. The towns were also forced by the state into a staple-town system with differing roles in foreign and domestic trade, and the administrative and governing systems of the towns were reformed according to royal initiatives.

In the conquered provinces a number of other towns now came under Swedish rule. These towns were treated in different ways by the state, as were the provinces as a whole. While the former Danish and Norwegian towns were completely incorporated into the Swedish nation, the German and most of the east Baltic towns were not. The aim of this paper is to summarize the treatment and integration of the towns of the provinces compared to the situation of the Swedish towns.

1 This is a revised version of a paper given at the conference “Riga und der Ostseeraum in der Geschichte: Regionale Verbindungen und Multikulturalität” in Riga September 2001.
The Swedish Urban System

In the sixteenth century Sweden consisted of the area of present-day Sweden except the southern counties of Skåne, Halland and Blekinge and the island Gotland, which were parts of Denmark, and the counties Bohuslän, Jämtland and Härjedalen, which belonged to Norway. Finland, on the other hand, made up the eastern part of the kingdom.

The towns were mainly situated in the central parts of the realm around the lake Mälaren, in south-western Finland and in the counties of Östergötland and Västergötland. Northern Sweden had no towns at all, nor did the interior of Finland. The largest town by far was Stockholm, which in the early century had six or seven thousand inhabitants. Besides Stockholm, only a handful of the Swedish towns had more than a thousand people. Those small places looked more like villages but were towns nevertheless, with their own town charters and under the Swedish urban law.\(^2\)

In the course of the sixteenth century no great changes took place. A few new towns were founded but the level of urbanization showed minimal growth. During the next century, however, the Swedish urban system was totally transformed. In the old Swedish realm, something like 40 new towns were founded during the first half of the century. This means that in the middle of the seventeenth century there were about 85 towns in Sweden. Most of the new towns were situated in parts of the country that were not urbanized before, like the coast around the Bothnian Gulf, Bergslagen – that is the metal producing parts of central Sweden – and even the interior of Finland. Although almost all of the towns that were founded were very small, the urbanization level at the end of the seventeenth century had risen to nearly ten per cent.

The early modern Sweden that existed prior to the big conquests was a relatively homogeneous society. Although a vast country, the regional separatism, which in the Middle Ages had been quite significant, was not especially profound, and it became even less important during the early modern centuries. There were ethnic and linguistic differences; the Finnish part of the population spoke its own language although many people in Finland spoke Swedish, in the northern areas of both Sweden and Finland the Lapps had a culture and language of their own, and especially in some of the old medieval towns a considerable part of the popu-

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lation was still German. But religious differences were not particularly deep. From the early seventeenth century all Swedes were required to be Lutherans or face the penalty of death, although later in the seventeenth century some other confessio-
nalists among immigrants were tolerated because of the need for competent fo-
reign professionals.

Legally, the group which stood out most predominantly from other Swedes was of course the nobility. In the sixteenth century, there were few noblemen and they were not very wealthy, but in the next century they rose considerably in number and wealth. Among the privileges they received from Gustavus Adolphus upon his acquisition of the throne in 1612 was the sole right to all higher offices in the state, both civilian and military. At the same time as this provided the nobility with a large share of the power it also turned the group into a serving order. As Sweden was developing its administration and expanding its borders, the need for noblemen multiplied, and a lot of domestic as well as foreign competent men were ennobled. Especially the higher nobility got its share of the spoils of war and the conquered provinces; High chancellor Axel Oxenstierna, for instance, owned approximately two fifths of the cultivated land in the province Livonia. But even if the nobility stood out from other Swedes, all peasants were free men, many owned their farms, and all were ruled by the same law.

This homogeneity applied as well for the towns, or anyway for the burghers who constituted about half of the town inhabitants. The towns were ruled by a common Town law from the middle of the fourteenth century, and they belonged to a similar judicial system. They had their own individual town charters, but in most cases the charters were fairly similar. The differences between them were due primarily to locally determined conditions relating to trade and other sources of income.

All towns were governed in mainly the same dualistic way, except that the ad-
ministration could be more or less complicated according to the size of the town. On one hand, the Town law gave the towns the right to manage their own affairs. They were governed by burgomasters and council, which also served as the town court. On the other hand, the Town law also guaranteed the king’s influence and ability to intervene. According to the law, no decisions or judgements were to be made by burgomasters and council without the presence of the king’s sheriff or other officer. The sheriff had a supervisory role and could intervene if he wanted. The towns were in no way autonomous.

In the seventeenth century, the government tried to reorganize town admi-
nistrations. From the 1620’s and onward, the government appointed what has been called ‘royal burgomasters’ in Stockholm, literate and professional civil servants who did not belong to the burghership of the town. Thereafter this custom spread to some other towns. In the 1630’s moreover, the government of Stockholm was remodelled after the same lines as the reformed central administration and government, with different boards for different activities such as finances and trade. This trend also spread to some other towns, but most of them were too small to have the need for such administration. What we do see, though, is a growing royal influence over the towns as well as over the courts and local administration of the countryside, and that this goes hand-in-hand with the development of the central administration and governmental institutions. This tendency reached its climax with the absolutist monarchy in the 1680’s.

The Swedish Conglomerate State
The Swedish expansion started in 1561 when Reval and the German-Baltic nobility in the northern part of present-day Estonia placed themselves under the protection of the Swedish king. Thereafter, Sweden became engaged in wars with either Russia, Denmark or Poland more or less all the time up till 1629. In 1581, Sweden conquered the town of Narva in eastern Estonia. In the peace with Russia in 1617, Sweden gained Ingria and all the land between the Finnish Gulf and Lake Ladoga. In 1621 Sweden conquered Riga, and in the following years from Poland the rest of the province Livonia.

In 1630 Sweden entered the Thirty Years War in Germany, which in the end gave it the north German territories Vorpommern, a part of Hinterpommern, Wismar and the bishoprics Bremen and Verden. In the meanwhile, Sweden gained from Denmark the islands of Gotland and Ösel off the Estonian coast and the Norwegian counties of Bohuslän, Jämtland and Härjedalen. Finally at the end of the 1650’s, Sweden also conquered the counties of Skåne, Halland and Blekinge.

As a result of the expansion, Sweden gained a number of new towns around the Baltic Sea. The total number of conquered towns was at least 65, depending upon how you define ”town”. Of these, 16 were eastern Baltic, 27 German and 22 either Danish or Norwegian.

The new provinces were all treated differently by the Swedish government, constitutionally and administratively, and the treatment was also subject to change over time. The positions the provinces received and the ways they were treated depended on several factors. Among those were the circumstances under which
the province became Swedish, the social structure in the province itself and the charters the different groups of the province were able to gain from negotiations. Other factors included the economic and political importance of the province or town, its geographical and strategic position, Sweden’s relations to foreign powers, and not least the situation in Swedish domestic politics during different periods.

Therefore, one should not expect a uniform and consistent policy from the Swedish government in relation to the provinces. Moreover, even prior to the expansion Sweden was not a uniform country. I have described Sweden as a relatively homogeneous society, but that is a description which has to be seen in comparison to the rest of Europe, not as an absolute account. Although Sweden was one of the rising power states in early modern Europe, it was definitely not a uniform national state.

In the seventeenth century, Sweden was a composite state with three different peoples and three different languages: Swedish, Finnish and Lappish, although the Lapps were not treated as equal subjects. In coastal towns there was also a relatively important German population, although the Germans were few in absolute numbers. Finally, the different Swedish counties were not altogether integrated with each other. Gustav Vasa in the first half of the sixteenth century had done his best to force the peasants to accept the central government, but still there remained considerable divergences between different parts of the country. It may be true that Sweden was essentially uniform both judicially and socially compared to many other countries in Europe, but that has more to say about early modern Europe than about Sweden.

Recently, the Swedish historian Harald Gustafsson and others have used the term “conglomerate state” to describe the typical early modern European state. A conglomerate state is defined as a state consisting of different territories, each with its own privileges and laws, different social and political structure, varying relationships with the prince, and of course differences in language and culture. Gustafsson’s point is that the conglomerate state was not merely one kind of state coexisting with national or uniform states, but that almost all early modern European countries were actually conglomerate states.3

The occurrence is striking. Gustafsson uses the two sixteenth century Scandin-

avian countries as examples of conglomerate states, but as he himself admits, the Swedish great power of the seventeenth century is an even better example than the relatively uniform Sweden of the sixteenth century.\(^4\)

If we look at Sweden during the great power period as a conglomerate state, the Swedish policy towards the provinces will appear in a different light. There is really no reason to expect a clear and distinct policy regarding all the provinces. Instead of searching for a uniform and definitive policy position from the side of the government, we should consider it natural that each province was treated in its own way. It was not before the absolutist period at the end of the seventeenth century that the Swedish government began to regard the country as something we could call a uniform state.\(^5\)

**The Incorporation of the Danish and Norwegian Towns**

So with the conglomerate state in mind it is to be expected that the new provinces were treated in different ways by the Swedish government, and accordingly also their towns.

With the exception of Ösel, the former Norwegian and Danish provinces were within a few decades totally incorporated into the old Swedish and Finnish territory. Culturally and linguistically, these new counties resembled the rest of Sweden, and they all bordered to the old realm.

In the 1640’s and 1650’s Sweden fought three wars with Denmark, which were followed by different peace treaties. The first two – the Peace of Brömsebro in 1645 and the Peace of Roskilde in 1658 – were successful from Sweden’s point of view, while the third in Copenhagen just two years after Roskilde meant a slight drawback. This was caused by the great powers of western Europe, who had an interest in preventing Sweden from becoming too powerful.

In these peace treaties, Sweden gained a number of new provinces, which are still part of Swedish territory. Some of the provinces included a small number of towns. In the peace of 1645, Sweden received from Norway the provinces Jämtland and Härjedalen in the north, as well as a smaller part – Särna – of what is now the province Dalecarlia. None of these Norwegian provinces had any towns,

\(^4\) In a later work Gustafsson has developed the theme; *Gamla riken, nya stater. Statsbildning, politisk kultur och identiteter under Kalmarunionens upplösningsskede 1512–1541* (Stockholm, 2000).

\(^5\) This is an issue, which has been emphasised by Jonas Nordin in his recent dissertation thesis *Ett fattigt men fritt folk. Nationell och politisk självbild i Sverige från sen stormaktstid till slutet av frihetstiden* (Stockholm, 2000).
and, with the exception of the central part of Jämtland around the lake Storsjön, they were sparsely populated. In the second half of the eighteenth century, the town Östersund was founded in that area, and Östersund is still the only town in these former Norwegian territories.

From Denmark, Sweden in 1645 received the islands of Gotland and Ösel, as well as the province of Halland for 30 years; the last as a pledge for the exemption of duty in Öresund for all Swedish merchant ships which Sweden gained in the treaty. Apparently, the Swedish government had no thought of giving Halland back to Denmark, and it never did.

These former Danish provinces did contain some towns, even if they were few. On the island of Ösel off the Estonian coast, there was the town of Arensburg, on Gotland the once important Hanseatic town of Visby, and in Halland there were the five towns of Kungsbacka, Varberg, Falkenberg, Halmstad and Laholm. Of these seven towns, Arensburg, with the rest of Ösel, was brought under the Estonian Governor General and was never incorporated. Visby, with its approximately 1,700 inhabitants, was a relatively large town according to Scandinavian standards; in the town ranking order at the Diet of 1647 Visby was ranked as number eleven among the 73 towns listed. The towns in Halland were smaller. Halmstad was the most populated with about 700 people, perhaps a handful more than in Varberg. Laholm and Falkenberg had less than half this number, while Kungsbacka had around 200 inhabitants. Only the two largest towns had more than a hundred burghers.

In the third peace treaty with Denmark – signed in Copenhagen in 1660 – Sweden gained the provinces of Bohuslän from Norway and Skåne and Blekinge from Denmark, as well as permanent possession of Halland. In the second treaty in Roskilde in 1658 Sweden had also received the province of Trondhjem from Norway and the island of Bornholm from Denmark, but they were restored in the final treaty, Bornholm in exchange for the ownership of some land in Skåne.

There were 16 towns in these new provinces: eleven in Skåne, three in Bohuslän and only two in Blekinge. Malmö had the largest population with approxima-

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6 The Peace Treaty of Brömsebro is printed for instance in *Sverges traktater med främmande magter*, vol. 5:2 (Stockholm, 1909), pp. 595-626.
7 *Borgarståndets riksdagsprotokoll före frihetstiden* (Uppsala, 1933), pp. 327f.
tely 2,500 people, followed by Ystad and Lund with an estimated 1,500 and Ronneby and Helsingborg with about 1,000 inhabitants each. The remaining towns appear to have had between 200 and 900 inhabitants, which made them comparable with most of the old Swedish towns. Of all the former Danish or Norwegian provinces, only Skåne was slightly more urbanized than the rest of Sweden. On the other hand no town in the new provinces except Malmö made the top ten of the Swedish urban hierarchy.

The towns in these counties, with, as was mentioned before, the exception of Arensburg, were within a few years treated in the same way as the old Swedish towns. The Swedish Town law was introduced, and the people got the right to send representatives to the Swedish Diet. In fact, it proved to be easier to incorporate the towns than the other estates because the Swedish towns and its burghers were already accustomed to a slightly different status vis-à-vis each other and the Crown. The incorporation of the Danish and Norwegian towns did not change the structure of the Swedish urban system.

**The German Towns**

The German provinces and their towns, on the other hand, were not incorporated at all into the Swedish realm. In the Peace of Westphalia in 1648, they were received by the Swedish monarch as fiefs in the German empire, with the right to be represented at its institutions. They also had their own assemblies, which continued to exert a certain degree of influence, and Swedish laws were never introduced.

In the peace, Sweden gained 27 towns on German soil. The majority of these towns, 22 in all, were situated in Pomerania. Only three belonged to Bremen-Verden and one to Wildeshausen, while the last was the free town of Wismar.

The provinces which Sweden received in the treaty were in no way amongst the more urbanized parts of Germany. Vorpommern did have some important towns along the Baltic coast, but with one exception the former bishoprics of Bremen and Verden did not. The exception was the old Hanseatic town of Bremen by the river Weser, but Sweden was never able to gain control of this important trading city.

According to the Swedish Crown, the city of Bremen was a part of the archbishopric of Bremen and should therefore be included in the province, which Swe-
den received in the peace treaty. The magistrate and the burghers of the city, on the other hand, maintained that Bremen was a free imperial city and was subject to no one but the emperor. The wording in the treaty was vague. It stated that the city was to remain in its present state with all its freedoms, rights and privileges concerning religious and political matters intact. Only two years before the signing of the treaty, the emperor had issued a diploma granting the city the position of a free imperial town. This was not recognised by the Swedish Crown, which claimed that Bremen was a town within the duchy. Twice later on – in 1654 and 1666 – Sweden tried without success to conquer the city by force and was forced to accept that the town Bremen remained outside the province.¹¹

Without the city of Bremen, the duchy Bremen-Verden had only three minor towns: Stade, which was made the seat of the Swedish government in the duchy, Buxtehude and Verden. The level of urbanization was only a few percent, which was even less than in Sweden proper. Moreover, these three towns were economically dependent on the two dominant trading cities in this part of Germany: Bremen to the west and Hamburg by the river Elbe to the east. All the expectations the Swedish Crown had on commerce and accordingly on customs duties in the province Bremen-Verden proved to be in vain.¹²

The three towns of the duchy had been chartered since the Middle Ages. In spite of the fact that the duchy was conquered by force and the Swedish monarchs therefore were not required to confirm the existing charters, the monarchs were restricted by their position as member of the German empire. This meant that they had to respect the laws of the empire, including the estates’ social and economic privileges. These were confirmed after negotiations and the subsequent homage to the Swedish queen in 1651–52.¹³

Since the Swedish Crown was restricted by the peace treaty and by the fact that the duchy was part of the German empire, Swedish law was never introduced in the province. The towns kept their old laws as well as the right to issue their own statutes and to use their old courts. On the other hand, the Swedish queen had received in the peace treaty privilegium de non appellando or the supreme jurisdiction over her German provinces. This was given on the condition that the Crown followed the laws of the German empire as well as the local laws. A new supreme

¹² Fiedler, pp. 131f.
¹³ Fiedler, pp. 141f.
court for the duchy – the Board of Justice – was founded, and a tribunal was established in Wismar as the highest court of appeal for all the German provinces under Swedish possession.\textsuperscript{14}

The burghers of the towns constituted one of two estates participating at the diet of the province, but they were never summoned to the Swedish \textit{Riksdag}. Even at the local diet the towns were too weak to have any profound influence, and the estates anyway lost their participation in the government after the Swedish succession. They kept the right to negotiate in regard to certain questions but not to decide.\textsuperscript{15}

The estates – the nobility and the towns – had the privilege of being exempted from taxes. The Swedish policy though, was that each province should finance its own costs, which was seldom possible. In the case of Bremen-Verden the cost for the defence of the province was high. The duchy was strategically very important for Sweden, but at the same time it was extremely exposed to military threats.

Sweden had to keep a considerable number of soldiers in garrison and to ensure that the fortifications were maintained in readiness. Most of the time the duchy kept more than 2,000 enlisted soldiers and at times also cavalry troops. These soldiers were normally stationed in the towns, including some smaller, non-chartered market towns. They were quartered in the homes of the burghers, who were required to provide them with food as well as lodging. According to a decision by the Imperial Diet at Regensburg in 1654, the German princes – including the Swedish monarch – had the right to claim contributions from their subjects to cover military costs. Therefore the towns were forced to pay for the quartering of troops as well as for the maintenance of fortifications and the storing of supplies.\textsuperscript{16}

Even if the towns as well as the nobility were relieved from taxes, they were occasionally forced to make extraordinary contributions, which made their exemption from taxes an illusion. Moreover, another cost imposed upon the towns and their inhabitants was various kinds of custom and excise duties. In the 1690’s, excises were levied not only on beer, wine and tobacco, but also on salt and grain and some other commodities.\textsuperscript{17}

\textsuperscript{14} Fiedler, pp. 99f, 104, 116.
\textsuperscript{15} Fiedler, pp. 138-44.
\textsuperscript{16} Fiedler, pp. 124-29.
\textsuperscript{17} Fiedler, p. 128.
Swedish Pomerania

The towns in Swedish Pomerania were far more numerous than those in Bremen-Verden. There were no free Imperial cities, but there were some important trading ports which formerly belonged to the Hanseatic League. The largest of these, Stralsund, had been in Swedish hands since 1630, even if during the first few years it was more of an ally than a province.

The towns formed the second Kurie at the diet in Swedish Pomerania. The diet consisted of two Kurien, the first including the nobility and until 1670 also the clergy. The towns in the diet numbered 22 in the seventeenth century, but after 1720 only eight.\(^{18}\) Five of the 22 towns were located in Hinterpommern, while the other 17 belonged to Vorpommern. Apart from the towns which were members of the diet there were also a few towns that did not belong to the estate.\(^{19}\) Four of the towns at the diet were considered leaders (vorsitzende Städte) – Stralsund, Stettin, Greifswald and Anklam – while the others were less important (nachsitzende) and did not always send representatives.\(^{20}\)

In the Peace Treaty of Westphalia, Sweden received Vorpommern as an Imperial fief, but for eternity and with no obligation to give it back. The conditions were the same as with the other German provinces: Sweden was granted privilegium de non appellando but was required to respect German laws. There was, however, a difference in practice as Pomerania was not conquered in war as Bremen and Verden had been. Instead, it had been an ally and therefore could not be treated in the same off-handed manner. The four leading towns were autonomous in regard to the court system, but in the other towns the Crown retained the right to appoint judges. From the town courts cases could be appealed to a supreme court for Swedish Pomerania in Greifswald, and in the highest instance to the tribunal in Wismar.\(^{21}\)

The diet in Swedish Pomerania had a much stronger position than the diet in Bremen-Verden. It maintained the right to impose taxes, it could control a part of the finance administration and it was not merely a negotiating partner but participated in its own right in the decision-making process. The Crown had at its dis-


\(^{20}\) Buchholz, pp. 243, 245.

\(^{21}\) Buchholz, p. 253.
posal the revenues from the domain, the regal rights and the excise and other consumption taxes. Land taxes on the other hand could only be raised with the consent of the estates at the diet.\textsuperscript{22} The diet granted a contribution, which became annual in 1681. Half of the contribution fell on the towns, but in 1698 the towns were exempted from the contribution and instead paid a more general consumption tax. This meant a profound relief in the tax burden of the towns.\textsuperscript{23} In Stralsund and the other seaport towns of Barth, Stettin, Greifswald and Wolgast, of course a duty was levied on all foreign trade as well, both on exports and on imports. Also the trade with Sweden and Finland was subject to this duty, but only in one direction.\textsuperscript{24}

**The Eastern Baltic Provinces**

The question of the eastern Baltic provinces is the most complicated. There, the Swedes met a society which differed socially from their own. The German-Baltic land-owning nobility had not previously recognized a single state authority, and the native peasants were serfs. The nobility never admitted that the eastern Baltic provinces were incorporated into the Swedish realm, but instead saw their lands joined to Sweden in a union with the Swedish king as the sovereign and unifying element. They never acknowledged the Swedish diet as having any authority in the eastern Baltic provinces, and they did not – and were normally not allowed to – send representatives to its meetings. The German-Baltic nobility had their own assemblies, which they held to be the institutions with which the king should negotiate. Moreover in the case of Estonia, the fact that the territory had placed itself under the Swedish Crown by way of a treaty made it more difficult to incorporate without taking the opinion of the nobility into consideration.\textsuperscript{25}

All the eastern Baltic provinces were not treated in the same way, however. Ingria, where there was no German nobility forming an assembly, and the province of Kexholm north of Ingria and west of Lake Ladoga were treated more or less like

\textsuperscript{22} Back, p. 129.
\textsuperscript{23} Buchholz, p. 256.
\textsuperscript{24} Buchholz, p. 271.
the Danish provinces in Scandinavia, i.e., they were incorporated into the Swedish realm.

**The Eastern Baltic Towns**

The eastern Baltic provinces were hardly more urbanized than Sweden. There were two sizable towns by Baltic Sea standards: Reval and Riga. At least Riga was, when it became Swedish, larger than Stockholm, even if the Swedish capital in the course of the seventeenth century outgrew both towns. In addition to these two cities there were three more important towns: Narva, Pernau on the Estonian coast and the inland town of Dorpat or Tartu. The total number of towns in the Swedish provinces of Estonia, Livonia and Ingria was 16, including Arensburg but excluding Nyen, a town which was founded by the Swedish government.²⁶

Depending on the circumstances, the towns were treated in a manner consistent with the rest of the provinces. Their burghers did not send representatives to the Swedish diet, and with the exception of Ingria and some of the smaller Estonian towns Swedish law was not introduced in the towns.

The three most important towns may serve as examples. Reval had submitted itself to the Swedish king in 1561, and in return had its charters confirmed. The old Hanseatic town of Reval followed a German town law and power was held by the council. During the entire Swedish period, the council and the burghership stubbornly guarded Reval’s privileges and autonomy against all attempts to reform the administration or to alter its trading rights. The Swedish government tried to make Reval accept a more effective administration, but found that it really lacked the means of enforcement. Reval retained its own law and administration throughout the Swedish period.

Riga was the largest town in the northern Baltic Sea area when it was conquered by Sweden in 1621. As with Reval, Riga was governed by German town law, which it maintained during both Polish and Swedish supremacy. When Riga came under Poland in 1581 its old charters were confirmed by the Polish king, and when taken by the Swedes, Gustavus Adolphus did the same. Riga defended its autonomy during the Swedish rule with the same vigour as Reval. But since Riga, because of its successful trade, was more important for the Swedish state finances, the government never tried with the same vigilance to overcome the town’s opposition as it had in the case of Reval.

²⁶ The eastern Baltic towns are treated more thoroughly in the author's unpublished paper “Städerna och borgerskapet i de nya provinserna” (The towns and the burghers in the new provinces).
Ingria was treated similarly to the former Danish provinces. Ingria had no important town except Narva, which may be considered an Ingrian town because the Swedish government preferred to have Narva located in the province of Ingria rather than in Estonia. Narva is nowadays an Estonian border town between Estonia and Russia.

Between 1558 and the Swedish conquest in 1581 Narva had been in Russian hands and used as a staple for the Russian trade. The Swedish government hoped that Narva would continue to hold the same important position in Russian trade after becoming Swedish, but it never did. Russian trade went by the newly founded town of Archangelsk at the Arctic Sea in the north, or by Riga.

Contrary to Reval and Riga, Narva adopted the Swedish Town law, and the government attempted to reform the town administration in the same way as in Sweden; for example, a royal burgomaster was appointed in Narva as well. The same was the case with Nyen, which the Swedish government founded in the 1630’s at the mouth of the Neva in Ingria. Nyen was conquered by tsar Peter the Great in 1703. At once Peter ordered his new city St. Petersburg to be built at almost the same spot.

The Swedish government wanted to reform the administrations in the eastern Baltic towns along the same lines as in mainland Sweden. In most cases it was not successful, at least not before the introduction of the absolute monarchy in the 1680’s.

But what concerned the government more than the town administration was the organization of the trade. The objective was to force Russian trade to go through Swedish territory so that the authorities would to be able to tax the trade by levying customs duties in the sea ports. To achieve this, the government wanted to direct the foreign trade to certain staple towns and to form the other towns into market towns without the right to foreign trade. In Sweden and Finland, all the towns were forced into this staple-town system by a series of trade ordinances, which were enacted between 1613 and 1637.

In the eastern Baltic provinces this strict system was not enforced. The government gave some of the eastern Baltic towns staple rights while withdrawing them from others, causing endless quarrels, but the government never organized the entire eastern Baltic area as a common urban system. There was an attempt in the 1650’s to regulate the urban system in Estonia, but never in Livonia. Moreover, the government never tried to tie the towns of the eastern Baltic provinces to the Swedish-Finnish staple-town system. Ships from the eastern Baltic towns were nor-
mally treated as foreign ships in Swedish ports in regards to customs duties, and vice versa. This meant that even the important grain trade moving from the provinces to the motherland was often subject to the same customs duties as imports from foreign countries.

Conclusions
I will end this paper by giving a summary of the conditions for the towns throughout the Swedish realm during the great power period.

1. The old Swedish and Finnish towns, as well as the newly founded towns in Sweden and Finland, were quite homogeneous. They were all represented at the diet, they were subject to the same types of taxes which they themselves agreed upon at the diet, they were all under the same Town law and incorporated in the same judicial organization, and they were all integrated into the Swedish staple-town system. All of these towns had charters however, which together with the trade ordinances gave each town a unique legal position, even if the differences were normally small.

2. After the conquest in the middle of the seventeenth century, the towns in the old Danish and Norwegian counties were treated in the same way as the other Swedish towns. These former Danish and Norwegian towns were also incorporated into the old Swedish urban system.

3. Narva and one or two additional small towns of Ingria were also legally incorporated, even if in reality the incorporation never totally succeeded.

4. Most of the east Baltic towns were comparatively untouched by Swedish supremacy. They were never represented at the diet, they kept their own German laws although they were placed under the Swedish supreme court in Dorpat, and they contributed their own taxes. They also retained a considerable amount of autonomy and they were never incorporated into the Swedish urban system.

5. The German towns were even more untouched than Estonian and Livonian towns. The Swedish government never tried to make the German towns abandon their old legal system and administration. The towns – among which the
most important were the former Hanseatic towns of Stettin, Greifswald, Stralsund and Wismar – had their privileges guaranteed, and the taxes which they paid were self-imposed contributions. Neither the nobility nor the towns were represented at the Swedish Diet. A town such as Stralsund in Pomerania remained Swedish for 180 years, but without ever being integrated into the realm.
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The Foundation of Courts of Appeal in the Swedish Empire

During the 17th century the foundation was laid for the modern state. It was also the time when Sweden emerged as one of Europe’s great powers and an economic and political force to reckon with. Its administrative development was noticeably modern in certain respects while in other ways it was at least equal to that of other countries. Regional governments as well as the central government were re-organised, corporate bodies were established and provincial authorities were set up and filled with civil servants. Axel Oxenstierna, appointed Lord High Chancellor in 1611, was the driving force behind this new order, leading to the re-organisation of all levels of administration, including the meticulously structured chancellor’s collegium, which was carried out in 1626. Under the Lord High Chancellor there were two principal assistant secretaries recruited from the Council of the Realm. The right of decision, in cases where it was the duty of the chancellery to decide, was executed collectively by the two assistant secretaries and Oxenstierna.

The administrative and juridical reforms, which were instituted during this period were aimed at better governmental control over administration and the enforcement of the law. This in turn created an immediate demand for a new kind of administrative knowledge. In response, the Swedish educational system was forcefully enlarged and adapted to the needs of government administration. Prior to this time, the education system had been almost totally devoted to educating the clergy.

Sweden of the 17th century is also characterised as a military state, an aggressive force, which through its foreign policy and military activities came to affect people and nations far beyond the traditional Swedish borders. It was a state in which the needs of the military determined the division of resources and governed the formation of the state.¹
Dag Lindström and Örjan Simonsson have described how the will to gain increased control over the different parts of society went hand in hand with the endeavour to discipline the subjects of the realm. There was a will to maintain the old order and at the same time to reform and create a new one. Thus the old communities were demolished in order to re-arrange society into a larger system and to enable the state to demonstrate its power, forcing its subjects into submission.2

The principal goal for all these co-ordinated actions was to increase state control over all parts of society. Power was to be centralized so as to give the state an increased influence over production and administration, as well as on its subjects by determining their values, thoughts and religious beliefs. This was not only the case for Sweden but also for the provinces on the other side of the Baltic, which were to be re-organised in accordance with the Swedish pattern. The state apparatus in the Baltic provinces did not, however, operate under conditions similar to those found in Sweden/Finland. Swedish society was marked by a strong central administration, which sought to be directly related to its subjects. In Estonia, Livonia and Ingermanland it was the nobility that held those functions, which were exercised by the central power in Sweden.

My research aims to investigate how Sweden integrated its inhabitants in the Baltic provinces during the 17th century. The investigation is made from a juridical perspective in association with the emergence of the courts of appeal during the great power era. Although development of the juridical system is the focus of the research, it is necessary to present it against the background of the Svea court of appeal (founded in 1614) and the court of appeal in Dorpat (1630). Both courts were linked in part to the state, fulfilling important functions within the state’s ambition to integrate.

This research effort is linked to the project State, Towns and the integration of society: The Swedish Baltic dominions and the Baltic Sea region during early-modern times. This project is based on a model through which the process of integration during the formation of the state is to be studied on three interactive levels:

1. Expansion of the international economy and the interaction of states with regard to security policies.

1 Rudolf Thunander, Hovrätt i funktion, Göta hovrätt och brottmålen 1635–1699 (Lund 1993) p. 1, 3
2 Dag Lindström and Örjan Simonsson, Fru Justitia i statlig tjänst. From: Makt och vardag (Stockholm 1993) p. 112f
2. Co-ordination and standardisation of social organisation and the organisation of commercial and industrial life as well as exploitation of economic and social resources.

3. Social integration.

I will examine the co-ordination and standardisation of social organisation and administration on the basis of juridical material, which suggests that an investigation of the emergence of the courts of appeal is of vital importance for comprehension. However, the primary focus of my investigation will be the social integration, i.e. that the population was persuaded to support the order of society and the political system. Such support was needed to keep the large Baltic dominions together as well as to continue the process of state formation and the establishment of a strong central power over the whole territory.

In my investigation I have concentrated on the procedures of the different courts of appeal of this Baltic empire. This is done by transverse investigations of Svea and Dorpat appeal courts using their protocols and acts as source material. Questions used in the investigation include how certain categories of crime were judged and punished in the different regions? Are there differences and/or changes over time in different parts of the realm and if so, what was the reason for this? Did the same categories of cases appear in the different courts? Were there differences in punishment for perpetrators depending upon whether they were of Swedish, German or Baltic origin? To give a gender perspective to the research, a category of crime was chosen which could be perpetrated by both women and men.

Max Engman writes that historical research, until the breakthrough for social history, has often studied marginal groups as a way of understanding society as it is society, which defines who is considered a criminal, which in turn tells us something about society. This reflects the idea that you find out a lot about the norm-setters by looking at the norm-breakers: by studying the juridical system and practice, i.e. the courts’ behaviour in relation to crime, justice and punishment, it is possible to acquire interesting knowledge about society as a whole. By investigating the sentencing of the two courts of appeal during select periods of the 17th century, some information can be found to indicate endeavours of the Swedish state to adapt and standardise the provinces of the Baltic hegemony.

3 Max Engman, *Brott, rätt och straff: Historisk tidskrift*, Finland 1994 årg. 79
Reorganisation of the juridical system

At the very least, the administrative measures carried out during the period of the 17th century contributed towards what has been referred to as the juridical revolution gaining momentum in Sweden. This meant that there was a shift from the local administration of justice, the aim of which was to settle conflicts and to reintegrate criminals, to the administration of justice by the state, professionally administered and controlled, with punishments adapted according to the severity of the crime. By the year 1700, the grip of the state on the judicial system was tightened to the point where the country was progressively on its way towards a professionally administered and centralised state.4

After radical reformation the courts were arranged into a developing system of control. The establishment of the courts of appeal was a last significant step in the centralisation of the judicial system. Their emergence was of direct importance to the activities of the district courts and magistrate courts which were placed directly under the control of the courts of appeal. The courts of appeal took over decisions in matters relating to both the interpretation of the law and serious criminal cases. Gradually more and more of their members were educated in law and subsequently took control of the judges’ seats of the lower courts.5

With this procedure there eventually developed a greater degree of standardisation in legal matters between the district courts and the magistrate courts. These courts increasingly made decisions according to the law, thereby reducing opportunities for the lower courts to pardon criminals and to adjust punishment to what they determined to be reasonable. This applied primarily to the more serious crimes where the district courts and the magistrate courts were always compelled to impose the death penalty when the law so required. This punishment was not to be meted out before the case was reviewed by the court of appeal, which in many cases would mitigate the sentence. In this way, the court of appeal and the King reserved the right to show clemency and mercy. Previously this had been an important part of the activities of the lower courts.6

An attempt had already been made at the end of the 16th century to create a type of superior court but the logistics of gathering all the judges together at one time proved to be too difficult. Moreover, it would have been impossible, in a

4 ibid. p. 285
5 ibid. p. 4, 6 and 285. see also David Gaunt, Utbildning till statens tjänst, en kollektivbiografi av stormaktstidens hovrättsauskultanter (Uppsala 1975)
6 Fru Justitia i statlig tjänst. p. 108f
short period of time, to try all the cases from every province. In 1604 king Karl IX put forward to the council a proposal for rules of procedure and process, which applied to the conduct in court cases at the royal court. Only the King was to have the power to oppose a court of appeal sentence. But Karl IX met with complete opposition by the council and his plans for a superior court were laid on ice. The idea, however, had been formed and it was later completed when Gustaf II Adolf came to power.

The foundation of the Svea court of appeal

As early as 1850 Johan August Posse, in his *Bidrag till svenska lagstiftningens historia* (*Contribution to the history of Swedish legislation*), describes how Gustaf Adolf, upon his return from the Danish war, took measures to arrange legislation. At the Riksdag (Parliament) on 22 January 1614 the king put forward a proposal on articles of court proceedings. In the introduction it was stated that law and right had been practised in an unsuitable manner, which was caused by the district courts and magistrates not being especially well respected or well managed. Furthermore the peasantry were bringing complaints about sentencing to the royal court on a daily basis.

The suggested regulations meant that order was to be brought into the activities of the lower courts in an effort to re-establish their reputation. Involvement by the executive in the powers of the courts was prohibited and a new form of execution of the king’s court-rulings was laid down. Since the king could not himself be present at all the proceedings, there was to be a royal court of appeal in Stockholm. Whether the king was present or not, the court was to pass judgement in the king’s name.

The ordinance of Gustaf Adolf was published and confirmed as law. According to Posse the king himself had said that it was not his intention to change the foundations of the Swedish court establishment. Instead he wanted to restore the reputation of the courts and reform the Supreme Court to harmonize with the times. The court of appeal immediately took the most prominent position even though its first activities bore witness to the same protracted disorder as it dis-

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7 Johan August Posse. *Bidrag till svenska lagstiftningens historia* (Stockholm 1850) p. 12f
8 ibid. p. 13
9 ibid. p. 36f
10 ibid. p. 36f
11 ibid. p. 43 and 52f
played previously. It was a court with educated personnel that was always at hand so that no one had to feel himself as being without legal rights. The force of the law would now be restored and order in the legislation carried through.\textsuperscript{12}

The Svea court of appeal was established as a superior instance, which amongst other aims was to end the chaotic circumstances, which were said to have been the norm. This was to be accomplished by creating new forms for the execution of the highest court authorities. Prior to this a royal juridical system had been developed during the early middle ages, which had been superior to the popular courts, district courts and magistrates.\textsuperscript{13} According to Stig Jägerskiöld, it often occurred, at the end of the 16th century, that the ruling of the King was given to various, temporarily organised courts. These so called ”royal commissions”, were in use during the 17th century. The object was to develop a more solid, qualified jurisdiction and a control over the activities of the lower courts. In this manner a common European line of development was pursued.\textsuperscript{14}

The role of the king was not clearly defined in the first reform project. The much-debated powers of attorney for the Svea court of appeal were issued in 1614, stating that the court of appeal was to pass ”the king’s verdict”. Accordingly, the old right to appeal directly to the king disappeared and a prescribed order of instances was established. Now, a case would first have to be heard by a district court or a magistrate court before it could be brought to the king, or ”the revision”. According to the fundamental acts, the purpose behind the emergence of the court of appeal was to set in place a socially responsible piece of legislation and to safeguard the principle of equality before the law.\textsuperscript{15}

Many pictures of the function of the reformed Swedish juridical system of the 17th century have been presented and the question of whether the intentions of its creators were fulfilled has produced many positive answers. Jägerskiöld, for instance, reminds us how some have considered the establishment of the Svea court of appeal to be a ”lucky throw” in that it became an ”extremely valuable instrument for the dispensation of justice and the development of the juridical system”.\textsuperscript{16} Others have seen the establishment of the courts of appeal as the most

\begin{footnotes}
\item[12] ibi. p. 53. See also Gaunt in respect of the education of court of appeal auditor.
\item[14] ibid. p. 218
\item[15] Thunander p. 286
\item[16] jägerskiöld p. 217
\end{footnotes}
important development in the area of judicial institutions. The strengthened grip of the state on the juridical system contributed towards an increased control and marked unity of the realm and uniformity in the interpretation of law, which implied a greater legal safety for individual citizens.\textsuperscript{17}

\textit{Organisation and activities}

Thus the emergence of the Svea court of appeal was an important part of the reform of the judicial system, which the new government continued to develop. As the king’s court, it was charged with not only applying the law, but also to be an instrument for supervision and control of all lower courts. The organisation and activity of the court of appeal were governed by two basic documents: the legal proceedings ordinance of 1614, wherein it was designated the King’s court and highest judgement, and the 1615 legal proceedings process, which was founded on the ordinance and contained explicit regulations on the composition, the scope and the manner of its activities, the order when a case was brought before the court and finally the ultimate execution of the verdicts. Both documents contained specific information regarding how the lower courts should be supervised.\textsuperscript{18} The Chancellor was given a precise mission as the highest civil servant in the administration of justice. By his side, the Chancellor was later to have a number of judges of appeal, four of whom were to be councillors of the realm, five belong to the nobility outside the council and five from the commoner’s estate.

The court of appeal, however, was characterized not only by being created as a permanent institution with permanent office positions but also by being organised as a collegium, the first of its kind in Sweden.\textsuperscript{19}

Posse describes how the court of appeal was to revise all the books of verdicts of the realm to examine whether any of the lower courts’ judges had passed an unfair sentence and if so, that judge was to be prosecuted at the court of appeal. Matters relating to life and death were to have a thorough examination after which the court of appeal was to report its findings to the king. If the king was abroad, the court of appeal could immediately act upon its findings or use its prerogative of mercy. Otherwise the court of appeal could not pardon anyone; that was for the king only. In point 17 of the ordinance it was described how heinous

\textsuperscript{17} ibid. p. 4 and 285f and Sture Petrén, \textit{Kungl. Maj.ts och rikets Svea hovrätt, ur dess historia 1614–1654} (Stockholm 1964) p. 3 and \textit{Fru Justitia i statlig tjänst} p. 108f

\textsuperscript{18} Thunander p. 9f and p. 46 and Posse p. 44

\textsuperscript{19} Petrén p. 52
crimes, such as incest, sexual intercourse with an animal, rape, murder, infanticide, robbery and manslaughter, were not to be left for too long before carrying out the punishment. If there was a confession, the sentence could be enforced without the consent of the court of appeal. In these cases the court of appeal would make a revision afterwards. Posse also points out that the court of appeal was to be the court of first instance for nobility, as ”no Nobleman should be brought to justice before anyone lesser than his peers” and all matters dealing with the life, honour and goods of a nobleman should only be investigated and judged by ”our Royal Court of Appeal”.20

Under this system, King Gustaf Adolf kept his position, in regard to new trials, of the sentences of the court of appeal. It can be said that the court of appeal and the king jointly executed the highest power of the judicial system. The unity of the highest instance was not yet disarranged. These conditions did not last long and the Svea court of appeal very rapidly lost its character of being the highest court when a number of courts of appeal were created. The Svea court of appeal became equal to these as a superior instance for district courts and magistrates courts. The character of the court of appeal as an intermediate instance was now very clear. One contributing factor was the introduction of a new juridical remedy (beneficium revisionis in 1662), which provided that a dissatisfied party in a civil suit was able to carry his case from the court of appeal to the king.21

The lower courts and the courts of appeal constituted an administration, the task of which was to execute the decisions and apply the ordinances, which the King in Council had issued. As far as civil cases were concerned, the court of appeal was placed in a hierarchical order between the king, with his ultimate powers, and the lower courts. In criminal cases however, there was no juridical remedy that corresponded to beneficium revisionis for civil suits. A death sentence passed by the court of appeal could not be altered by the defendant’s appeal to the king; nothing like a modern appeal existed. On the other hand, the court of appeal could reverse a death penalty passed by a lower court and substitute another sentence in its place.22

Only at the end of the 17th century was the practice of revision enlarged to include criminal sentencing. But the king had retained the right to pardon even prior to this and some criminal cases were always to be revised by him.

20 Posse p. 38 and 49 and Thunander p. 220 and 274
21 Posse p. 50 and Thunander p. 10 and 183
22 Thunander p. 280
In 1630 the king gave the task of "revision authority" to the Council. After the death of Gustaf Adolf in 1632, the Council continued to manage the highest juridical position as regency. One difficulty for the Council was the workload from the increasing number of revision cases. For appearances, the king kept his task of being the highest caretaker of the law but in reality it was the Council that took on the character of being the highest court. In many ways this new order implied a shake-up of the juridical system and possibilities for an increased and more regulated control of the activities of the lower courts. A more systematic archive was created since the lower courts had to deliver yearly transcripts of their records to the court of appeal. The most important of this material is generally preserved as from the beginning of the 17th century.

As early as 1642, Axel Oxenstierna had proclaimed that if the number of revision cases continued to rise, neither the King nor the Council would have enough time for them. He suggested the introduction of a special court of revisions. There was tension between the desiderata to place the highest juridical authority in a court independent of King and Council and the wish of the monarch to act as the highest judge of the realm. In one corner were those who hoped for a supreme court dominated by jurists. In the other, represented by Axel Oxenstierna, those who insisted on the monarch keeping his influence over the juridical activities. Later Oxenstierna changed his mind and said he could accept the idea of a special collegium for revision with the Chancellor as president.

A collegium for revision never materialised. Instead, in 1647, it was decided that the revision cases were to be handled by a special secretary for revision within the chancellery. During the regency of Karl XI, the trend was towards the creation of an independent court for revision, for which a drafting committee would be developed as a lower judicial revision. However, the separation of the highest jurisdiction from the king and council did not happen. Instead, there was a partitioning of the council into two departments, one of which was the judicial revision which, at the end of the 17th century, finally provided the realm with a firm order of instances within the judicial system.

The Svea appeal court, however, continued to be of a higher dignity than other courts of appeal. For a long time after the creation of these other courts of appeal

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23 Jägerskiöld p. 220
24 Jägerskiöld p. 220f
25 ibid. p. 223
the parties involved wished for their cases to be decided by this Stockholm court of appeal.²⁶

**More courts of appeal**
The Svea court of appeal very quickly lost its character as supreme court. In the years 1623 to 1635 new courts of appeal were established in Turku, Dorpat and Jönköping. The Svea court of appeal became equal to these as a superior instance for district courts and magistrate courts. The character of the court of appeal as an intermediate court was by now very clear.

In the process of establishing further courts of appeal, Gustaf II Adolf recognised that only one court of appeal in Stockholm would not be able to replace the so-called ”Räfsteting” (joint courts) in every district. It was true that the supreme authority should be one for the whole of the realm but the object of re-establishing the faltering reputation of the lower courts had not yet been fulfilled. Had these courts been restored to their original order and their organisation improved, it would have been unnecessary to establish other courts of appeal. The lower courts could have been re-organised in accordance with older legislation but the need for additional courts of appeal became obvious as the Svea court of appeal was unable to handle the increased case load on its own. The original purpose of the court of appeal had been, amongst others things, to set a good example by its sentencing, something that had been toned down with the creation of the new courts of appeal.²⁷

**Turku and Jönköping**
The Turku court of appeal was created, according to its instructions of 15 June 1623, because it was cost prohibitive to pass on important matters of law to the court of appeal in Stockholm: the cost was often too high and the journey too long for the individuals involved. For this same reason, a court of appeal was created in Jönköping in 1634. The trial ordinance and the trial process were also the foundation of their activities. The courts of appeal were responsible not only for judicial matters but also as a supervising authority in relation to the lower courts within their jurisdiction. It was meant for these courts of appeal to have the same powers as the court in Stockholm, but since they could not have the same close

²⁶ Petrén p. 44
²⁷ Posse p. 51 and 62
co-operation as that which had been between the king and the Svea court of appeal, the original intentions for the court of appeal were lost. Instead the courts of appeal functioned as a type of superior court, while the jurisdiction of the king was handled by the king and council.  

Dorpat

It was clear at an early stage that opinion differed in regard to the relationship between the acquired provinces and the Swedish Crown. The alternative of incorporation, which presupposed uniformity with Swedish law, met with strong protests from the Swedish nobility. For egotistical reasons pertaining to their status, the nobility argued that the provinces should occupy a place of autonomy, i.e. to keep their own parliament, laws and privileges, which were very advantageous to them.

When Livonia was adopted as a Swedish province, the government had to rearrange the administration of the province to be more in conformity with the Swedish system of administration. Reforms were carried out primarily in relation to the judicial system with a court of appeal for the Baltic provinces being established in Dorpat in 1630. But it took some time before the Swedish central power gained full control. This was due in part to the local Baltic nobility strongly resisting Swedish legislation.

Alexander Loit writes that the decisive circumstance was the Baltic land-owning nobility being granted extensive privileges when the country became part of Sweden, notably in regard to the domestic government of Livonia. The estates, which had accrued to the Swedish Crown when Livonia was captured were quickly donated. This meant that administrations almost ceased to exist between 1630 and 1680, as there was a shortage in actual objects to administer. Central power was also weakened by the regencies, allowing local land-owning nobility to more easily move their positions forward.

The Dorpat court of appeal was the highest instance for all courts in Livonia except for the city of Riga, which was under the Svea court of appeal. Estonia also remained outside the jurisdiction of the Dorpat court of appeal. Ingermanland, however, was placed under the Dorpat court as was the island of Ösel in 1661.  

The period following the creation of the court of appeal was marked by a lack of

28 ibid. p. 50
30 ibid. p. 10
31 Anna Christina Meurling, *Svensk domstolsförvaltning i Livland 1634–1700* (Lund 1967) p. 44
distinctness and certainty in regard to how special cases should be tried. This
emerges from the correspondence with the king in council.32

After the 1655–1660 war, the activities of the Dorpat court of appeal resur-
rected. The king in council gave the Governor General Clas Tott detailed instruc-
tions about the supervision of the judicial system.33 The task of the Governor
General was to see that the administration of the court of appeal was carried out
and that its activities functioned properly. He was also given the responsibilities
of renovating and maintaining the houses of the court of appeal. The tasks of the
lower courts included ensuring that no serious crime was to be withheld from the
court of appeal. All crimes had to be punished, which required diligence in seeing
that no criminals were to escape justice. Case dockets were not allowed to lag
behind and all cases were required to be heard during the two eight-week annual
periods when the court of appeal was in session.

Svante Jakobsson emphasizes that the personality of the Governor General
was of the greatest importance and wholly decisive for the results of the adminis-
tration of his office. He needed to inspire trust in the Livonian people, as well as
the officials over whom he had supervision, in order to ensure that all levels of the
population be obedient, upright, obliging and devoted to himself as the repre-
sentative of the King of Sweden. Being able to handle the administration was also
a vital part of the duties of the Governor General. It was also of importance to see
to it that decayed and damaged buildings were properly repaired to remain in use.
As such, the primary duty of the Governor General was to make the educational
and judicial systems function better.34

Legislation
Thus the 17th century was a momentous period for Swedish legislation and Swe-
dish society. The foundations of our present judicial system were laid down in
close connection to the great reforms of central and local administration of the
realm. This also opened up an opportunity to modernise medieval justice. Schol-
ars have long debated how Swedish legislation developed during the 17th centu-

32 ibid. p. 50
33 Svante Jakobsson, Överhetens påbud och förbud, Skildringar av förhållandena i svenska provinsen Livland under 1600.talets fyra sista årtionden (Uppsala 1990) p. 20, points 9-11). Obviously, at the writing the instructions for Clas Tott some parts of earlier instructions have been included more or less without changes. (note p.30)
34 ibid. p. 29
ry, before the codification of the law of 1734. How did the judges act when written law did not provide guidance and how did they interpret the centuries old texts to be in line with the circumstances of their day?

At the beginning of the 17th century the available sources of legislation were primarily the 250 years old medieval laws: Kristoffer’s law of the realm, Magnus Eriksson’s town laws and, as an eventual addition, provincial laws. These laws were written in an archaic language, they were difficult to interpret and above all they were inadequate. They were meant for a society which was very different from that of the 17th century.

Changes in law-making and administration of justice during the last two decades of the 17th Century were marked by a desire for uniformity and by Lutheran orthodoxy. When the Commandments of Moses were introduced into law, the injunctions of the Bible came to provide legal justification for the harsh punishments meted out when domestic law was found wanting.

In spite of a desire in leading circles for more modernised legislation, medieval laws were still enforced. In the 17th century several fragmented attempts at law reforms were carried out. On the proposal of Karl XI, a new ecclesiastical law was introduced and a law commission was set up, which was to lead to the law of 1734. The purpose of this was to create legislation common to the realm. The desire for uniformity thus stretched to the conquered provinces, but on the other side of the Baltic, German law was still applied.

The new legislative features of the 17th century were primarily about penal and procedural law. The divine inspiration of the Scriptures, which provided the background for penal law, established the Old Testament as the norm for 17th Century society. This could already be seen in the appendix of Karl IX to Kristoffer’s law of the realm in the year of 1608. Punishment was made more severe for certain sexual offences. Incest, rape and sometimes double adultery (when both parties were married) should be atoned for by the death penalty. In practise the Mosaic punishments were often reduced by the courts of appeal, but under the reign of Karl XI it was tightened and only the king would, in the future, be able to reduce the sentence or grant a pardon.

The influence of civil servants and trained jurists in the legal process increased during the century. Already during the latter part of the 16th century and during

35 Stig Jägerskiöld, Rätt och rättskipning i 1600-talets Sverige i: Den svenska juridikens uppbloemstring i 1600-talets politiska, kulturella och religiösa stormaktssamhälle. Red. Göran Inger (Uppsala) p. 225
the 17th century the legal theory of evidence was introduced whereby the court was required to consider evidence in a trial. This led eventually to the abolition of the process of oath-taking in 1695.

In his nationalistic style, typical of the times, Posse writes of how common lineage, language, customs and laws were seen as the natural basis for the unity of the state. The people of the Swedish provinces did not, however, wish to be integrated at the cost of losing their own nationality. Axel Oxenstierna expressed the desire that they be spared this and that they should be bound to Sweden by giving them higher education and just and humane treatment. The conquered countries were not to be forced to keep Swedish law.\(^{36}\)

In spite of this, in the 1615 process of trial 6 § and in the instruction for the Dorpat court of appeal of 1630, it was determined that the standard for judgment was to be Swedish law and regulations, treatises and decisions of the Realm, as well as by good manners and customs. Even if the aim of Johan Skytte was to introduce Swedish law into Livonia he realised that this could not be done in a short period of time. This meant that Swedish law prevailed. There was no consideration given in Livonia for a poor knowledge of Swedish laws and few attempts were made to adapt them to the special conditions of the province.\(^{37}\) The instructions for the Dorpat court of appeal was a translation of the 1615 process of trial.\(^{38}\)

From the beginning of Swedish rule, it was made clear that Swedish statutes and law were to apply in Livonia. There are also later examples of Swedish statutes stating that Swedish law should be applied. The first paragraph of the King in Council declaration in 1668 to the Dorpat court of appeal stated that Swedish law was to be used. This meant primarily the ordinance on trials and the process of trial. It also applied to the other courts of appeal. On every occasion Swedish law had a prominent position in the instructions to the courts of appeal and to the district courts. Apart from these ordinances there is not much to suggest that Sweden tried to form legislation and court administration in a Swedish manner in the Baltic provinces in these times. These decrees had no effect and did not "Swedify" the judicial system during the period up to 1680. In other words, very

\(^{36}\) Posse p. 152
\(^{37}\) Meurling S, p. 45
\(^{38}\) ibid. p. 46
little implies that there was an interest in judicially rectifying Livonia with Sweden-Finland prior to 1680.\textsuperscript{39}

It can be established that the interest of the Crown in introducing Swedish law in Livonia increased during the 1680s and 1690s. A turning point arrived during the 1680s with the establishment of royal absolutism and the great estate reductions, which affected both Swedish and Livonian estate holdings. The central state powers grew within all sectors of public life, judicial system, administration, the organisation of the military, financial administration and the church. This occurred at the expense of local government. The direction of politics in relation to the provinces, which had been introduced by Karl IX in the beginning of the 1600s was now resumed. These politics were marked by an ambition to equalize the differences between the Swedish mother country and its Baltic provinces and to try to incorporate them into the core of the realm. Attempts were made to "Swedify" the local administration and the public life. The Swedish language was to replace German and German public servants who held positions in the Dorpat court of appeal were to be replaced by Swedes.\textsuperscript{40}

Administrative measures were taken to "Swedify" other parts of the Baltic provinces and to "Swedify" Livonia. Ingermanland was separated from the Dorpat court of appeal in 1684 and later placed under the Turku court of appeal. This provided better guarantees that cases from Ingermanland would be tried in accordance with Swedish law.\textsuperscript{41}

With the reduction of estates and the separation of Ingermanland, two reasons disappeared, which had earlier been put forward as the main motive for having Swedish assessors in the court of appeal: that the larger part of estates were held by Swedes and that Ingermanland, which had Swedish laws, was under the Dorpat court of appeal.\textsuperscript{42} In spite of this, half of the assessors had been replaced by Swedes by the middle of the 1690s. The foundation for implementing Swedish law was established.\textsuperscript{43} Requests from the Dorpat court of appeal often led to a Swedish ordinance being introduced and in this way, precedents were created for the use of Swedish laws. Many more ordinances were issued mutually for Sweden-Finland and its provinces during the 1690s. In the 1690s for example, it was often

\begin{itemize}
\item 39 Meurling p. 234f, 239
\item 40 Loit p. 10 and Meurling p. 211, 243
\item 41 Meurling p. 65
\item 42 ibid p. 210
\item 43 ibid. p. 232
\end{itemize}
argued that there was to be a commonality between Livonia and the Dorpat court of appeal and Sweden and Sweden’s other courts of appeal. It can be established from the documents of the court of appeal to the King-in Council that Swedish paragraphs were referred to for the execution of sentences in the years 1699 and 1700. The influence from Sweden can be seen as having increased markedly in these years, as compared to the most recently preceding years.44

There were never any clear directives to the Dorpat court of appeal to use Swedish law and it was permitted to use the old laws of the land during all of the Swedish period. Inquiries as to whether Swedish law was to be used, or previous laws, were made by the court of appeal as late as 1669, which suggests that the “Swedification” of the use of law had not yet been wholly carried out in the judicial system.45

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44 ibid. p. 240
45 ibid. p. 274
Unruly Students. Identity and Social Control in the Swedish Seventeenth Century Universities of Uppsala, Dorpat and Åbo

This chapter focuses upon the attempts made by university authorities to control students and their ‘unruly’ behaviour and how these endeavours reveal some vital aspects of seventeenth century Swedish society. The aim of my research has been to investigate two aspects of social integration, both at the state and local community levels, through a study of the universities. Eva Österberg’s definition of the concept of social integration will be used, including her division of this area into subgroups such as integration through violence and control from outside, functional integration, integration through identification and finally integration through communicative capacity. Österberg’s definition and division of integration have served the additional purpose of being a step towards operational procedure.

The focus of this investigation has been upon social control and identification. These two aspects of the process of social integration were socially binding and mutually dependent but could in some cases lead to conflict. The study has therefore concentrated upon the clashes of interest between control and identification at three seventeenth century universities in Sweden: Åbo (Turku in Finland), Uppsala (Sweden) and Dorpat in Livonia (present-day Tartu in Estonia). We look at, firstly, the level of social control the students were exposed to and secondly the amount of both internal and external identification that took place. Other aspects of this study are the concepts of corporation, state-formation and honour.

Seventeenth century society, both in Sweden and the rest of western Europe, was made up of corporations with a certain amount of judicial autonomy. The universities themselves were corporations and it is this corporate structure, which

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1 This chapter is based on my doctoral dissertation Stökiga studenter. Social kontroll och identifikation vid universiteten i Uppsala, Dorpat och Åbo under 1600-talet, Studia Historica Upsaliensia 199, Uppsala 2001.
is the special subject of this study. There are several compelling reasons for focusing upon the three universities of Uppsala, Åbo and Dorpat. First of all, these institutions were placed in three very different parts of Sweden’s Baltic empire: Uppsala, in present day Sweden, Åbo in Finland and Dorpat in the trans-Baltic province of Livonia (with an economic, social and judicial structure which was very different from that of Sweden and Finland). There are also the local conditions, which feature both similarities and some interesting contrasts between the three university towns. While the academic structures of the universities were to begin with almost identical local economies, the general population and number of students varied greatly in each of the cities. The final development was that with time, the structure and organization of the universities changed in the face of local conditions.

The various activities of the local university and its relationship with the people of the surrounding town, clearly show how integration at different social levels can lead to friction and controversy. Social integration at the various levels led to conflict, as well as collaboration between the actors involved. Both identification and social control led, in the case of the universities, to conflicts with outsiders such as the city and the state, as well as with members of the university itself.

**Conflict and Collaboration: The University and the Crown**

Unruly students were in the first instance the responsibility of university professors. It was the leaders of the university, the Rector and the professors, who were in charge of the social control of the students. The specific teaching responsibilities (as well as the general social schooling of future State bureaucrats) of the faculty were carefully spelled out in the university’s charter and constitution. Ultimate authority as to matters of university discipline was vested in the academic jurisdiction of the university court. Swedish universities had, since the Middle Ages, been empowered with the authority to sit in judgment and to punish both members of the faculty and students. As with other medieval and later Early Modern corporations, such as the city guilds, the university preferred to solve conflicts internally.

The judicial autonomy of the universities caused conflicts due mainly to differences of opinion as to the width, function and relevance of that judicial autonomy. Conflicts with both State and local authorities were not uncommon. The seventeenth century saw the strengthening of State power and an unprecedented
centralization of that power. This phenomenon has been studied before but the purpose of this study has been to develop the depth and knowledge of the university’s judicial powers. The expansion of the existing universities and the creation of new ones went hand-in-hand with the expansion of the State, which aimed not only to train students to become efficient and rational administrators but which also had the ultimate ambition of raising the general level of education and degree of civilization in Sweden. The Lutheran faith was also to be taught and imprinted upon the minds and morals of the students at the universities. One can, without exaggeration, claim that a general process of fundamental social discipline was conducted in order to transform the population’s fundamental values. The process of building a bureaucratic, centralized and autocratic State was assisted by the creation of courts of appeal (hovrätter), as well as local courts staffed by an increasing number of university trained lawyers. Some historians have claimed that these profound and rapid changes amounted to a virtual revolution both in relation to the judiciary and to higher education in Sweden. These changes have here been linked to the process and pace of social integration. Administrative expansion, large investments in secular university education and the growth of the judiciary were part of the Swedish state authorities’ aim to bind together the disparate and different parts of the empire into a single, unitary Swedish nation.

The increasing powers of the State also influenced the university judiciaries. The relationship between the State and the universities was strongly influenced by the establishment of the courts of appeal, which came to take over the powers of appeal (in matters outside the competence of the universities) hitherto vested in the university’s chancellor. From 1667 onwards, the universities were to appeal to the relevant courts instead of the Chancellor’s office. While the Chancellor was viewed as the protector of the university, the court was the long arm of the State, which led to inevitable conflict. This was especially the case at Åbo and Dorpat. The decision to place both court and university in the same city led to many unfortunate conflicts of interest. Although mutually dependent in many areas, the conflicts proved serious and often touched upon a shared sense of honour. In Åbo, especially, conflicts of rank and prerogatives led to an active defence through judicial channels from the university’s side once the professors and faculty’s reluctance to use the courts had been overcome.

The general pattern, however, in Sweden’s case, as with the rest of seventeenth century Europe, was that the universities, despite some setbacks, maintained most of their former autonomy. The charters of 1625 and 1626, renewed several times
by central State authorities, determined that the universities were to remain judicially independent from the city’s control. This did not mean that the State turned its back on the universities. On the contrary State intervention at the universities, to guard against the spread of immorality and ungodliness from the rest of Europe, was on the increase during the whole of the seventeenth century. A recurrent theme from the State’s side was that the professors were too weak and apathetic in the face of these student abuses. Yet actual instances of changes in the judicial powers of the State were infrequent. One exception was statutes to strengthen morality and good conduct at the universities during the 1690s.

One clear and unequivocal result of my research is the uncomfortable position of the university’s leadership being caught between the demands of the State on the one hand and the students’ defence of their autonomy on the other. Furthermore the university’s endeavour to integrate the students socially clashed with the need to control and discipline them. Too great an emphasis on social integration was made at the expense of social control which led, in the worst case to state intervention in order to restore control, as well as the balance between that aspect of university life and integration. The faculty was keen to avoid drawing attention to the university, often by placating and appeasing an unruly student body. But if they failed to control or discipline the students they would be accused by the State of weakness. State displeasure could, it was feared, lead to the loss of the university’s judicial independence.

Both faculty and students saw the Chancellor as a protector and intermediary in any conflict with the State or city’s authorities. Confidence in the Chancellor was usually high if somewhat misplaced, as shown in cases where this official failed to defend the interests of the university. The Chancellor was in an uncomfortable middle position, too. At the same time as he was charged to defend the university’s interest with respect to the city and State authorities, he was also in his supervisory capacity supposed to represent the interests of the Crown. The provincial governor (landshövdingen/ståthållaren) was in a similarly ambiguous position. Although he was seen in some instances as a protector and benefactor of the university with the powers to intervene on behalf of the university against the demands of the Crown, it was equally likely that he could, accompanied by loud protests from the university, do just the opposite.

An illustration of this is the administrative structure at Dorpat during the 1690s when the Governor-General of Livonia was also the university’s chancellor. During the unceasing conflicts between Dorpat’s students and the numerous
garrison, the university turned in search of support and succour to the Governor/Chancellor. But in Livonia, an exposed frontier province of vital strategic and economic importance, which required a heavy military presence, the needs and interests of the garrison were of greater importance than those of the university. This was especially true during the 1690s when relations with Poland and Russia, whose territory abutted upon Livonia, deteriorated sharply. Appeals to the Governor of Riga against what was seen as military indifference and callousness went unheeded. The university’s confidence in the Chancellor disappeared, which led to appeals being lodged directly with the Crown in Stockholm. Confidence in the Crown by contrast remained solid but Dorpat was always anxious lest their continuous complaints of a local and often trivial nature should lead to the alienation of Stockholm’s goodwill.

Another channel of communication and a further potential threat was the arrival of roving commissioners sent out from Stockholm to investigate the universities. The unannounced or even announced arrival of these commissioners was most unwelcome by the universities who feared that their judicial autonomy and legitimacy would be undermined by the commissioners. It was only in the most extreme cases of upheaval among the students (leading to riots) that the feared commissioners were called in to investigate.

‘Them and Us’: the University, its students and the local community
Another interesting issue is the relationship between the university and the cities or the familiar English university concept of ‘town and gown’. Part of the academic identity of the university was its clear distinction from the rest of the city’s population and the degree to which the university’s jurisdiction was valid in the surrounding city. One aspect of this was the violation of the university’s judicial powers and authority as exemplified by the forced military recruitment of students or disputes between the university’s craftsmen and those from the town.

The university was always keen to defend its authority and was unwilling to allow social control over the students to be usurped by others. The university, both faculty and students, demanded that their chancellery be contacted before a member of the institution was accused of any crime. To do otherwise was viewed as an insult to the entire university. It was very rare that a member of the university was accused and put in the city’s court for an alleged crime. Should a member of the university serve as a witness in another court then the permission of the university’s prefect had to be sought beforehand or strong protests from the
Chancellor would ensue. If a student was locked up in the city gaol, then he had to be handed over to the university prefect the following morning. If the city authorities failed to follow this procedure strong protests would be heard. This procedure was common to all three universities in question.

Another area of contention between the city and university authorities was that of police patrols organized by the former authority. Differences between the universities in this area were considerable. Law and order, especially at night, was maintained by the city’s watch patrols. The charters of the universities stated clearly that the university would have a separate watch headed by its own watch keeper in addition to the one organized by the city. At Uppsala, the university organized its own watch first and it was not until the 1640s that the city followed in setting up its own watch. In Åbo, by contrast, the university did not have a watch in the 1640s while the city did. It was not until the 1690s that the university watch was organized.

At the largest and most established university, Uppsala, the watch served to provoke the students as it was seen as a challenge and a dare to fight with the guards or just verbally ridicule and abuse them. The watch occupied an ambiguous position and its authority was weak. The watch was viewed by the professors as a vital tool of control but made the task of uniting the entire university, both faculty and students, into one single institution more difficult.

At Dorpat the local garrison also served as the university watch. What was meant to be a temporary measure became a permanent feature essentially because the Crown was unwilling to furnish the university with the necessary pecuniary assistance to set up a watch. Earlier research has not, it seems, pointed out the significance that the garrison was the university watch with all that this entailed, including the constant scuffles and trouble with the students. At Dorpat university, the question of the watch and its often brutal conduct towards the students was highly inflammatory. The Rector and the professors faced constant complaints from the students that they had been beaten and harassed by the watch as soon as they showed themselves in the streets of the city. The students also complained that they faced severe beatings and other insults in the city garrison gaol if they were arrested. In the military court they complained students were being treated with complete contempt and were the subject of the court’s arbitrary whims. Given these sentiments of the students, the existence of the garrison and the threat constituted by its soldiers served to cement a sense of social integration and institutional identity. Hence the faculty defended its students and vice versa against
a common ‘threat’. Yet the garrison was employed by the university to keep watch over the students; those very same students the faculty so often had to defend against army harassment.

Across the Gulf of Finland at Åbo university the situation was almost completely reversed. Here there were far too few arrests for violence and unruly conduct by the students. Even in the 1690s when the watch was established, very few students faced arrest and punishments. Instances of trouble between the watch and the students were even rarer. There were instances when the students did run rampant through Åbo that the citizens took the law into their own hands and handed the miscreants to the courts to be punished.

Thus the watch influenced the respective universities and the process of social integration and control. The comparative study of the watch shows what the consequences were of its different roles and how these led to forms of integration which varied from one university to another. On a higher level the results give some interesting new facts and knowledge about the social control in urban societies before the organization of a regular police force. At a time when the central State authority was weak and there was no regular police force organized in the country, the local population had a constant and justified fear of criminals, rioting students and rampaging soldiers. A riot could quickly spread into a general conflagration especially if the watch was not present to control unruly students. The watch was, however, a double-edged sword in that it may have controlled student unrest but it provoked new conflicts at the same time.

A closer study of the frequency of violent crime and disturbances against the peace among students also established what honour code and rites of passage into manhood existed among those very same students. In fact, rioting and acts of hooliganism were seen as legitimate tools in the process of integration and in defence of the university’s honour. This was a process of integration through identification and for the individual student, a striving to belong to a clearly defined group with shared norms. Only by volunteering to commit acts of daring or defiance could an individual student hope to win acceptance from his fellow students.

Many of the problems associated with students and their conduct towards the watch had to do with copious amounts of alcohol, which was rampant at the universities. In almost all the cases investigated, the overindulgence in alcohol was featured in one way or another. Much attention was given to the problem in the university charters and a curfew was imposed upon the students, making it forbidden to frequent pubs and drinking establishments after nine o’clock in the
evening. Naturally this restriction was completely ignored by the students who continued to drink as long as they liked and the watch was only called in when fighting broke out. The faculty and the professors turned a blind eye to their students’ drinking habits, as long as they did not cause a nuisance or jeopardised the university’s reputation through their unsuitable conduct. As in so many other walks of life, regulations were one thing and actual judicial practices were quite another.

City churches were also arenas for conflict between the city and university faculty. What was at stake in this case was the ranking of seating in the church during mass, which was strictly hierarchical. The conflicts and their resolution were similar in the three university cities. As we know, the seventeenth century was a society dominated by hierarchies and orders of preference. It was a hierarchy where the university, with the exception of students and faculty of noble birth, did not occupy a natural place. All faculty and students of non-noble birth had to be placed among the citizens of the town (lower down the pews from the nobility and members of the city’s bureaucratic State elite) but the question was where was this placement to be? If people were to seat themselves in the ‘wrong’ place, arguments and unseemly scuffles might follow. The result of these debates on rank and how disputes about the order of precedence were settled in practice gives valuable insights into the workings of urban life in seventeenth century Sweden.

The universities showed how they defended their spheres of power and influence against perceived outside interference from the State and city authorities. This is a consistent pattern in all three cities during the two decades of the 1640s and the 1690s, which have been studied in the greatest detail. The university sought at all times to give the impression to outsiders of monolithic unity and a united front among the members of the institution. Social integration at the universities was not only a way to differentiate the academic community from the rest of the city’s population but also a defence mechanism against State interference. It was a question of taking charge over the process of social integration and controls. These controls had to be kept within the realm of the university’s area of authority, which entailed a constant vigilance against State and municipal interference. It is quite apparent that all three universities strove to preserve their institutional independence. The only difference was that the opponents were different in Uppsala, Åbo and Dorpat. At Uppsala and Åbo the ‘enemy’ of that independence was the city’s magistrates and municipal authority. The difference at Åbo was
the additional worry of the presence of the local court of appeal while at Dorpat it was the existence of the military and their garrison, which posed the greatest threat to university autonomy.

My research has touched upon some of the key areas in the relationship between town and gown, especially those concerning law and order, as well as the limits of the university’s jurisdiction. There are two areas in particular, which are of major interest and which deserve future research. Firstly, in times of economic hardship the academic staff and the city’s population, facing insecure or falling incomes, had to rely upon the yield of their rural properties outside the confines of the city. This led to conflicts of ownership and demands upon tenants for rents between ‘town and gown’. Secondly, why did it take such a long time for the municipal and university watches to be established?

**The University Patriarchy and the Student Sense of Fraternity**

My investigations also include the universities’ internal organisation and the relationship between the faculty and the students. This relationship, as with most other parts of seventeenth century Swedish society, was patriarchal, or in other words, mutually dependent, unequal and strictly hierarchical. An analysis of the practical application of the universities’ judicial powers shows a distinctly different pattern between the periods and the cities. Whereas the 1640s saw many perfunctory investigations, which led to arbitrary justice, the latter decade (the 1690s) was characterised by the university judiciary’s wish to reconcile with the students. This led to complicated and laborious court cases, which most often led to an acquittal or ended with no result at all. There was also a significant difference between the universities in question. Most punishments were meted out at Uppsala while Åbo’s students, accused of various wrongdoings, were most often given light sentences or acquitted altogether. Both Dorpat and Åbo showed a strong tendency for outsiders to fail in their cases against accused students.

During the 1690s the pattern shared by all the universities was for the administration to persuade their students to accept an out of court settlement instead of going to court. The students’ sense of honour stood in the way of such settlements and were seldom pursued when their accuser, such as an apprentice or fellow student, was of a similar rank in society. A physical assault was met with either escalated and more serious violence or was taken up in court. Several endeavours to find an amicable solution to a dispute, which was often treated by the university judiciary as trifling, foundered upon the students’ code of honour. That
sense of honour found it contemptuous that a slight or injury to one’s honour could be bought. Thus the court’s definition of what was practical and the popular sense of honour were at odds. Court cases could, in instances where the court trivialised the matter, lead to a heightened sense of aggrieved personal honour.

The chancellery’s social control through the university’s judiciary seems to have been of a ‘softer’ variety and of a quasi-official sort. Certainly the university had a formal court structure but it had many informal sides to it. Students were most often sentenced to fines or a shorter visit in the university gaol. For more serious crimes or repeat offenders the delinquent student lost his stipend or grant for a term or two. Several offences were punishable with suspension or expulsion from the university but that punishment was rarely imposed. In most cases the sentence was reduced to fines and a few days in custody.

The university judiciary was caught between two fires. In general, as the century wore on, the university came under supervision from an increasingly vigilant Crown. Instances of disturbances among students reflected poorly upon the university’s reputation and could put its judicial independence in jeopardy. At the same time the university had to reintegrate the offending students to restore harmony and peace at the university. Well meaning lectures about good behaviour at the university ran up against the consistent refusal by some students to heed their professors’ admonitions. In some rare cases the students went even further by attacking their own professors. Perhaps the light sentences were not part of some elaborate plan to placate the students but a reflection of the real fear of violent student reprisals.

Instances of actual student attacks were, however, few and far between. In some cases the prefects and professors were targeted and attacked either physically or in written pamphlets. The ever more factious division between students and faculty was most evident at Uppsala during the 1660s when the new university charter attempted to interfere with the students’ rights of association. In other cases, the motivation of student displeasure is more difficult to establish. Contrary to expectations, the students did not heckle, cajole or insult their teachers as a common sport but did, in this mutually dependent hierarchical structure, make considerable demands upon their professors. It was commonly expected that the professors would find their students a post after their studies were completed. The duty to find their students work after university grew during the latter part of the century and was a common practice by the turn of the century.

Another shared notion, which all the students at these universities had, was
the duty of their professors and teachers to defend them against what was seen as unreasonable demands and intrusions from outsiders. This system of protection and personal patronage was strongest at Dorpat because of the perennial struggle with the garrison. Here, given the acute situation, students demanded and invariably received the support of the faculty in their ongoing struggle against the soldiers because of the diminutive number of students – a mere one hundred in total. The loss of one or more students was a serious matter and here the students could speak as one voice if aroused by faculty passivity in the face of outside provocation. Thus the faculty was forced to be lenient in their judicial enforcement and be active in supporting their students against outsiders. The mere threat of students leaving was serious enough to warrant the faculty to take action.

A serious threat to the university’s social cohesion was the existence of student groups and cliques that were mutually antagonistic. An even worse situation arose if internal student loyalties clashed with loyalty to the university. Thus the overall social cohesion of the university was in open and clear opposition to those bonds of loyalty between the students in their formal societies (nationer) and in their private, informal groups. As with other young all-male groups, these brotherhoods and fraternities had their own codes of conduct, rites of passage and a strict hierarchical structure. This leads me to the conclusion that these groups were neither egalitarian nor particularly fraternal. They were characterized in the relationship between the students by a high degree of forceful coercion, trials of strength and outright use of violence.

Another previously highlighted problem at these universities was the problem of penalties and punishments meted out on those members who did not follow the rules or those outsiders who aroused the ire of the cliques. New students were the most at risk from blackmail (involving the extortion of money) and violent beatings. Some were in fact so badly treated that they left the university before even starting their studies or ending their given courses. Despite these problems, students showed a remarkable unwillingness to act as stool pigeons. The professors discussed this problem but could find no practical solution and very few cases ended up in the university courts. The main cause for the lack of denunciation was probably the not unreasonable deterrent of yet further beatings if the faculty was called in to sort out the matter. Students were not ranked according to age but the numbers of years they had spent at the university. Should a student not respect this, then his more senior classmates would be on hand to give him a quick, violent correction. This form of social control, quite contrary to the rules
of formal university conduct, was not uncommon but could lead to a sharp reprimand from the prefect’s office.

The students were also divided into groups according to their geographical origins. These associations, which had been created spontaneously were initially forbidden, then accepted and finally became obligatory at the universities. They were organized along lines of provincial (landskap) origins such as Ostrogothia, Ostrobothnia, Sudermania, etc. Such territorial divisions led to sharp conflicts between the different provincial associations, which demonstrates how the social integration within the universities and within Sweden’s Baltic empire progressed during the seventeenth century. Instances of national conflicts, such as those incorrectly claimed between German and Swedish students at Dorpat, were few and far between.

The issue of ethnic conflict, in an age when the process of state formation was in a critical and expansive phase, is of great interest. It seems previous research on the topic of ethnic conflict at the universities has exaggerated its impact and frequency. A word of caution needs to made. This problem is mentioned in records but only rarely did it lead to the embarrassment of a court case. This topic is well deserving of further research in the future.

The comparative studies of the three universities have revealed a general pattern common to all the universities. But Åbo and Dorpat, founded in the early part of the century, are quite different from Uppsala in their structure and student population. The size of the university, in terms of the student population and the numbers of lecturers at the faculty, was decisive. At Dorpat, the smallest in size and the most vulnerable to outside threats, the level of unity between faculty and students was the highest. Dorpat and Åbo also had the least degree of social control over their students. By contrast, the students at Uppsala were more tightly controlled by a faculty that was more remote and differentiated from the students than the smaller universities. Furthermore, the Uppsala faculty viewed the student fraternities as a threat to the unity and strength of the university as a whole. The demands made upon the students in regard to their lifestyle and studying were the greatest. Those students who did not reach a certain standard or who misbehaved were thrown out of the university. Expulsions or sharp reprimands, such as those at Uppsala, were seldom heard of at Dorpat or Åbo where the faculties, given the limited student numbers, could ill afford to lose even a single student.

The most valuable result of my research, I would argue, is that it shows how
the university functioned as a part of society and in relation to its members functioned during the seventeenth century. A patriarchal structure permeated not only the institution as such but also its relations with the outside world and the higher State authorities. It also shows the practical consequences of the inequality that existed in society. This was a strictly hierarchical society where identification, social integration and personal relations were built upon the foundations of rank, status and the concept of honour; issues which were of utmost importance not only to the students and members of the faculty but the whole of society.
Seventeenth Century Baltic Merchants

The Baltic Sea is one of the most frequented waters in the world - if not the most frequented – and has been so for the last thousand years. Shipping and trade routes over the Baltic Sea have a long tradition. During the Middle Ages the Hanseatic League dominated trade in the Baltic region. When the German Hansa definitely lost its position in the sixteenth century, other actors started struggling for the control of the Baltic Sea and, above all, its port towns. Among those countries were, for example, Russia, Poland, Denmark and Sweden.

Since Finland was a part of the Swedish realm, ”the eastern half of the realm”, Sweden held positions on both the east and west coasts. From 1561, when the town of Reval and adjacent areas sought protection under the Swedish Crown, expansion began along the southeastern and southern coasts of the Baltic. By the end of the Thirty Years War in 1648, Sweden had gained control and was the dominating great power of the Baltic Sea region. When the Danish areas in the southern part of the Scandinavian Peninsula were taken in 1660, Sweden’s policies were fulfilled. Until the fall of Sweden’s Great Power status in 1718, the realm kept, if not the objective ”Dominium Maris Baltici” so at least ”Mare Clausum”.¹

The strong military and political position did not, however, correspond with an economic dominance. Michael Roberts has declared that Sweden’s control of the Baltic after 1681 was ultimately dependent on the good will of the maritime powers, whose interests Sweden could not afford to ignore.² In financing the wars, the Swedish government frequently used loans from Dutch and German merchants.³ Moreover, the strong expansion of the Swedish mining industries

¹ Rystad, Göran: Dominium Maris Baltici – dröm och verklighet /Mare nostrum. Om Westfaliska freden och Östersjön som ett svenskt maktcentrum, Stockholm 1999/
² Roberts, Michael: The Swedish Imperial Experience 1560-1718, Cambridge 1979 pp 133 ff
was dependant on foreign entrepreneurs. The Swedish burghers suffered from a lack of means to compete with the Dutch and the Germans. Sweden experienced imperial power in the Baltic area, but it was not an economic Great Power in the region. Sweden never controlled trade on the Baltic Sea.

Many merchants in Stockholm, Turku (Åbo) and other seaports were, in spite of that, successful in the Baltic trade, and Swedish and Finnish trade expanded during the seventeenth century.

In this essay some preliminary results of a study of Swedish and Finnish merchants will be presented. The aim is to discern some characteristic traits of the successful merchants engaged in the Baltic Sea trade. By examining four merchants, two in Finland and two in Sweden, we will look at some preconditions for their businesses and their strategies.

Four merchants in the Baltic trade

Peter Grönberg

Peter Grönberg was one of the merchants active in the Baltic region trade in the end of the sixteenth and the beginning of the seventeenth century. His establishment was set up very early and the business was purposefully developed and eventually crowned with success. Peter Grönberg was born into the business of trade; his father was a tradesman in Söderköping, a small port town on the Swedish east coast. After basic trade training by his father, he was sent by his parents to a business contact in Danzig, Wilhelm Braun. His mission was threefold; he was to improve his knowledge in commerce generally and the Danzig market especially; he was to learn the language of Baltic trade, German, but also basic knowledge of Polish; and thirdly he was to establish contacts within the Danzig business community. After three years of apprenticeship with Wilhelm Braun the young Peter Grönberg advanced to become trader and was given the responsibility for Braun’s trade with Sweden.

Soon after the turn of the century, 1600, the training period was over and Peter Grönberg established himself as an iron-exporting trader in Stockholm. Very soon thereafter he married his first wife, Margareta Mårtensdotter, from the

5 Sandström, Åke: Mellan Torneå och Amsterdam. En undersökning av Stockholms roll som förmedlare av varor i regional- och utrikeshandel 1600-1650, Stockholm 1990 p 331
6 The information about Grönberg is from Zebrasynthous, Jacob: Een Christelig Lijkpredikan hållen uthi Stockholms stadskyrka, Stockholm 1633
same city. In Stockholm he became a respected merchant and in the year 1616 he was elected city councillor of the Swedish capital. Success continued and at the beginning of the 1630s he was given King Gustav II Adolph’s order to be commissioner in Hamburg. He was also one of the great tradesmen who with ready money and his own business contacts contributed to financing the expansionist wars. During the period 1628–1631, he was enfeoffed with large lands and then ennobled in 1631 for his services to the crown.

Jochim Schultz

Jochim Schultz belonged to a German merchant family which was already established in the Baltic trade. His father Jochim Schultz the elder is described as a distinguished merchant and tradesman in Lübeck at the beginning of the seventeenth century. For a brief period around the turn of the century the father had visited Turku and then returned to Lübeck. Jochim Schultz the younger not only received his training from his parents, but he was also an apprentice with a relative in the same city, Eggert von Dyck. The Schultz family, which wanted to increase its trade with the Realm of Sweden, sent Jochim the younger to Turku in 1624 where he worked for an old business acquaintance of the family, the merchant Reggert von Münster.

Jochim was to become familiar with the Turku market and also to learn the Swedish and Finnish languages. Thus he had to work as a simple shop assistant for one year learning the languages before he was taken on as trader. In 1625 he had a position with one of the Turku mayors, Erik Andersson Knape, whose trade he managed for six years.

Besides the tasks for Knape, Jochim Schultz also set up in a small way his own trade. Sources are unclear as to whether he then kept contact or not with his relatives in Lübeck, but there is some evidence that suggests he did. What is known is that he started trade with Kurland, a trade that he maintained until 1634. This particular year he was established as a Turku burgher and merchant, and traded with several towns around the Baltic Sea, but also with burghers of Wasa and other domestic towns. He also carried on a cloth and silk shop in Turku.

In the 1630s yet another member of the Schultz family had arrived in Turku,

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7 Ericsson, Lars: Borgare och byråkrater. Omvandlingen av Stockholms stadsförvaltning 1599-1637, Stockholm 1988 s 44
8 The information about Schultz is, when nothing else is noted, from Alano, Georgio: Nådiga Bjuständ i högsta nödhen, Åbo 1662
namely a brother, Jost Schultz. The two brothers were both very successful businessmen. Despite the loss of several wrecked ships, Jochim Schultz was at his death in 1662 one of the most distinguished Baltic Sea merchants settled in Turku.9

Barthold Festing10
Barthold Festing was born in 1634, son of a burgher and artisan of German origin in a small Finnish town. After school and thanks to his mathematical talents he was sent to Turku to "learn trade" from the prominent merchant and tradesman Jochim Schultz. The first seven years were devoted to retail business. Festing was then an attendant in Schultz's silk and cloth warehouse. It was not until after these seven years that he received an insight into the wholesale business and training, and was from then on directed towards the Baltic trade.

At the age of 28, after more than 13 years of training and service, he set himself up as a merchant and devoted himself to international trade as well as trade with Stockholm and within Finland. He was established as burgher in the city in 1662, the year when his patron and employer, Jochim Schultz, died. When he was made a burgher he married Schultz's daughter Elin. It is worth mentioning that his wife was not the only child of Jochim Schultz; Schultz had several children from two marriages. In 1662 the sons Johan and Niklas, with the aid of their father, were already established as merchants in the city. "The Schultz” were then a well established merchant family in Turku. Festing, who lacked a name and reputation, could act as the successor of Schultz and thus not only take over business contacts and all goods of his employer, the co-operation with the young brothers-in-law, but also gain greater confidence amongst deliverers, trading partners and customers.

Barthold Festing, who had once started as a shop assistant, after his establishment and marriage made a fast and successful career, and already in 1665, at the age of 31, he was one of the most wealthy men in Turku.11

9 Ranta, Raimo: Åbo stads historia 1600–1721, Åbo 1977 s 160, 218, 253
10 Flachsenius, Jacob: En Kraftig Tröst i lijf och Dödh, Åbo 1692
11 Ranta 1977 s 176, 225, 268, 358, 507
Hindrich Barckhusen

Hindrich Barckhusen was born in Lübeck in 1607. He came to Sweden for the very first time in 1628 when he visited his older brother Hans. During the previous year the brother had become a burgher and merchant in Stockholm. Hindrich, who in 1628 still had a position as trader, visited his brother and established his first contacts with the Swedish iron export business.

The two brothers grew up in a merchant family in Lübeck with ramifications to Frankfurt am Main and other German towns. They did not go to the city-school but had a private tutor in their home. When the brothers still were in their youth, their father died and the responsibility for their further education and career was handed over to their mother, Elisabet Mossebeck. After having gone through basic trade-training in their home-town, the young boys were sent by their mother to merchants in different countries to complete their education as traders. Hindrich was fifteen years of age when he had his first training abroad. He held positions, for example, in Antwerp, Danzig and with the famous mayor in Malmö, Jost Leidebur.

Hindrich Barckhusen did not stay in Stockholm in 1628, but continued his travels and served in many places in Europe. His brother Hans enlarged his business as an iron trader in Stockholm, and by leasing ”stora tullen” (the port trade customs), he minimised the inconvenience of raised tolls. In parallel with his work for different employers Hindrich acted as contact for Hans in respect of the Lübeck and Dutch markets.

Hindrich visited Sweden several times and was introduced to the ironwork proprietors and other representatives of the Swedish iron trade. After ten years, in 1638, he set himself up in Stockholm and took the oath as burgher of trade in the Swedish capital. That same year he married Kristina Leffler, a daughter of the owner of the cloth factories in Östuna, Strömsholm, and Arboga and the tenant of Dylta sulphur works. When his father-in-law Hans Leffler died the following year, Hindrich Barckhusen took over the tenancy of the Dylta works and settled down in Arboga where he also leased ”Lilla tullen”, the domestic customs and excise. He was still a burgher of Stockholm and not of Arboga, and therefore had the right to continue direct export trade of bar iron from Bergslagen, and vitriol and sulphur from the Dylta works. If he had been a burgher of Arboga he would have

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12 The information about Schultz is, when nothing else is noted, from Wintrosius, Georg: *En christelig Lijkpredikan... Henrich Barckhusen*, Västerås 1673 and Lohmann, Benjamin: *Arboga kännning*, Stockholm 1737
had no right to export his wares himself, but would have had to sell his goods to a wholesaler in Stockholm.

Hindrich Barckhusen exported iron bars and other products to Danzig, Lübeck and Holland. He expanded his business in Arboga and in the 1650s he became a burgher of that town. Apart from his foundry business and the iron trade, he set up himself as a shipowner for one of the town’s privileged iron vessels, which brought iron from Arboga to Stockholm.13 His brother Hans in Stockholm then had the responsibility to export the goods, which Hindrich brought to the capital. Business could to a large extent be kept within the family, from production to buyers in German towns. By then Hindrich Barckhusen was well established and held a strong position in local society. His career peaked in 1664 when he was appointed mayor of Arboga. Six years later, being a wealthy and very mighty man, he passed away.

**Baltic Merchants – some characteristic features**

These four men were in business within Swedish Baltic trade in the period 1600 to 1670. They were selected from a sample of seventeen to represent merchants in the Swedish Baltic trade. They all became distinguished men, but their backgrounds and careers were different. What do these short descriptions tell us about the merchants engaged in this trade? The aim is to sketch from these four examples some features characterising the successful merchants trading in the seventeenth century.

**Background – merchant’s son and a good education**

When reading biographies on merchants within the Swedish Baltic trade, it is obvious that at least one of two criteria must be fulfilled for the boy who wished to be a trade apprentice: he should be a merchant’s son and/or he should have a predisposition for studies, especially mathematics.

Three out of four had fathers engaged within the Baltic trade. None of them did directly take over the established business of the father after his death, but their business could even be seen as a continuation or rather as a partition from the father’s business. Out of seventeen studied merchants, only one took over his father’s business directly.14 Even if they were born into the trade, most of them

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13 Stadin, Kekke: *Maktkamp på Arboga redd. Sjöfart inom skrå och aktiebolag*, Uppsala 1993
14 Bothniensis, Nicolaus: *En kort Lijkpredikan hvilken haffd är i Örebro stadz kyrkia*, Västerås 1623: Jacobi,
had to build their own trade. This was done within the framework of the family business though, within which they were given economic support as well as personal references and contacts. Jochim Schultz had sons who very well could have inherited his life’s achievement. This did not happen. Instead the Schults’s trading house in Turku was developed by the two sons setting up their own companies during their father’s lifetime, all in close co-operation with each other, with their father and the family in Lübeck. The direct heir was instead his faithful trader Barthold Festing, who married one of his daughters.

For Jochim Schultz and to an even greater extent Hindrich Barckhusen, the situation was complicated by their fathers’ passing away when they still were children. In both cases their mothers took over the whole responsibility for their education. These women used their trading contacts to obtain for their sons positions with respectable and distinguished merchants. Being fatherless did not have to be a catastrophe for a merchant’s son. In many merchant families the mothers were able to arrange the careers for their sons.

Barthold Festing had another background. His father, Matthaeus Festing, was an artisan. Like other merchants who had not been born into trade, his ability to write and his mathematical talent were obvious; he had “a particular inclination towards writing and counting.” ¹⁵ Elementary school was a necessary demand for all merchants-to-be. Before anyone was taken on as apprentice he must first have had a basic education. Most children went to elementary school in their home town, but some sent their sons away to neighbouring towns. For instance, a burgher’s son from Örebro went to school in his home town and thereafter in the more reputable school in Västerås before being a traders apprentice in Arboga and lastly joining up as a trader for a Stockholm merchant. ¹⁶ A burgher of the small town of Eksjö, where there were no schools, sent his son to Växjö School be-

¹⁵ Flachsenius 1992
¹⁶ Jacobi 1629
fore going to Gothenburg to learn the trade.\textsuperscript{17} If the parents were wealthy, such as the Barckhusens in Lübeck, a private tutor was arranged for the children.\textsuperscript{18} Parents who planned a future in commerce and trade for their sons were anxious to give them the best education they could afford. In order to further the education of young burghers, counting schools were established in a lot of towns around the country in the seventeenth century. If Swedish trade was to be promoted all children of the burghers had to be masters of the art of writing as well as counting, so stated the ”Charter for the towns’ administration in 1619”.

Training to be a merchant was performed within an apprentice system. For those born into a merchant family, training started at home, but everyone also continued their education with another tradesman. The parents themselves, however distinguished they were, were never considered to be sufficient tutors. After at least three years as an apprentice, they advanced to traders; this meant they could travel on their own and manage all tasks within the trade of their patron. A few served as traders for only three or four years, but most of them stayed on much longer in that position. Throughout the century the education tended to take longer. This is clearly illustrated by the difference between Peter Grönberg and Hindrich Backhusen. While the former, who set himself up around the turn of the century 1600 after having been a trader for three years, Hindrich Barckhusen had been a trader for eighteen years when he started his own business.

There was a change over time, but the difference in education could also be connected to the fact that Grönberg was a native Swede, while Barckhusen was German. The Swedish merchants were generally considered unsatisfactorily educated. Their failure to correspond with the Dutch and German merchants has often been explained by their incompetence.\textsuperscript{19} ”They usually set up for Masters before they be half thought” the English diplomat John Robinson commented in the 1680s.\textsuperscript{20} Those merchants who, like Barckhusen, were born and educated in German towns, generally had a longer education than the native Swedes. From the 1660s merchants’ education was discussed in Sweden, and the native merchants were recommended to extend the education of their sons, apprentices and traders.

\textsuperscript{17} Mellin 1676
\textsuperscript{18} Bothniensis 1623. Jacobi 16629, Alano 1662, Mellin 1676, Melander 1690
\textsuperscript{19} Robinson, John: John Robinson’s account ot Sweden, 1688. The original 1688 manuscript, edited and collacted with the 1693 manuscript and the published editions from 1694, with an introduction by Hattendorff, John [Karolinska förbundets årsbok 1996], Stockholm 1998 p 56
\textsuperscript{20} Novaky 1993 p 222 f; Robinson 1998 pp 20 f
Barthold Festing had been an errand-boy for a whole seven years, before he was allowed to start with wholesale training. Perhaps his education in the lower levels was extraordinarily long just because he was not born into trade. When Schultz took him on, he had to learn the merchant’s profession from the very beginning.

What did the up-and-coming merchants learn during their time as apprentices and traders? They had to know not only the market, the products and bookkeeping, but also customs duties, taxes, ordinations and law of commerce in all the areas where they were trading, but also currency, measurements, communications, freight and several other aspects of trade. Concomitantly, they had to know the languages of their markets.

The language above all in the Baltic trade was German. The old hanseatic language kept its position in this area for a long time. In the ports of the new provinces of Livonia, Estonia and Latvia, the burghers were of German origin and all spoke German. In the most important Polish port, Danzig, it was the same. Thus, the merchants in Sweden and Finland trading in the Baltic Sea had to know this language. Peter Grönberg had already in the end of the sixteenth century expressed his intention to learn German during his formative years. Wealthier merchants in Sweden-Finland even engaged German tutors to make their young children acquainted with the language. There are also examples of Swedish merchants’ sons who were sent to Lübeck schools, before they became apprentices in order to thoroughly learn German, the language all merchants had to speak.

But it was not enough to master German; the successful merchants also tried to learn the languages spoken in the towns in which they were active. As the century was proceeding Dutch was spoken by a growing number of merchants. Some also tried to learn Polish or Finnish, i.e. languages that were not spoken at the distinguished merchant levels, but by large proportions of the inhabitants. The already well-educated Jochim Schultz took on work as a shop assistant in Turku because it forced him to learn the local languages, Swedish and Finnish. A tradesman must always be able to speak to his customers and deliverers.

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21 Novaky 1993 pp 220 f
22 Rosendallius 1682; Ranta 1977 s 212
23 Prytz 1642
Great mobility between the towns

A merchant involved in the Baltic Sea trade had to be mobile. The remarkable geographical mobility of merchants in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries has been connected to religious conflict, but also the dynamic economic opportunities in countries such as the Dutch Republic, England and Sweden. But other factors also contributed to the merchants’ great mobility.

During the training years the merchants-to-be were travelling all the time. More important than the journeys they performed in the trade is perhaps that they moved and were in the service of different patrons in different towns. Of the four men in this study, none stayed in his town of birth, one moved once and then stayed where he began his training, whereas the others moved several times. For the young traders this was an important part of their education. Once they were established as burghers in a town, they were more reluctant to move. Only one of the four, Hindrich Barckhusen, altered his burghership from one town to another.

From a Swedish and Finnish horizon the contacts with Lübeck and Danzig were the foundation of Baltic trade. These are the two towns appearing most frequently in the material about the four studied merchants. This is where they had their training and this is where they had frequent business contacts. As Åke Sandberg has shown, those towns are also the two most important trading partners for Stockholm, for export as well as for import, during the first part of the seventeenth century. By mid-century it was only trade with Holland that had a greater size and value. From the Lübeck and Danzig point of view the volume of commerce with Swedish ports was relatively small. Nevertheless, the interest in personal contacts between Swedish merchants and the merchants of Lübeck and Danzig was and remained strong and mutual.

On the part of the Swedish merchants it was important to learn how these main markets functioned and to establish business contacts. This was best done during training. Many Swedish merchants, both of Swedish and German origin,
tried to place at least a part of their training period in one of these towns. They were seen as trade metropolises where it was possible to learn all they needed to know about commerce. So, for instance, a young merchant’s son from the small coastal town of Hudiksvall went to Lübeck in 1616 for a year to learn double bookkeeping.\textsuperscript{27} Lübeck and to some extent Danzig were seen as the foremost learning institutions for those setting up a business in Baltic trade.

Some merchants of the Swedish realm also tried to set themselves up in the Baltic provinces. Efforts were made to create new business contacts. Jochim Schultz set up trade in Kurland during his trader years. In a similar manner the Gothenburg merchant Jürgen von Lengeren (Lengercke) had formed a contact in Reval during his years as a trader for his uncle and namesake in Lübeck.\textsuperscript{28} There was an advantage for those who could link to well established German trading firms with the contacts and good reputation they could offer.

For those who, like Barthold Festing, lacked contacts in the German trading towns, the best alternative was to go into service with a burgher in Sweden or Finland of German origin. For those employed in domestic business it was all right to be a trader with a domestic merchant, but everyone of those engaged in the Baltic trade had worked for a merchant in a German town or a German merchant in a Swedish or Finnish town.

Apart from training, mobility was also based on the merchant’s wish for better conditions for his activities. Every town of the Swedish realm had its own privileges laid down by the Crown. In regard of administration and other details, the privileges were all the same, but in respect of trading rights they could differ substantially.\textsuperscript{29} The Stockholm merchants had the most far-reaching privileges. On the east side of the Baltic, Turku held the prime position. This was clearly expressed when the new trade ordinances and sailing regulations were issued in the second decade of 1600. Many merchants from the small towns went to Stockholm – or Turku – in order to improve their conditions and to expand their business. For Peter Grönberg the move from Söderköping to Stockholm was an important aspect of his career. The merchants were one of the most mobile groups of society.

\textsuperscript{27} Westenius 1662
\textsuperscript{28} Brunnio 1665
\textsuperscript{29} See Robert Sandbergs article in this volyme.
**German domination**

Three out of four presented merchants were of German origin. This was hardly by chance; still in the seventeenth century the Germans held a strong position in Baltic trade. Among those trading in the Swedish realm many were of German or Dutch origin, but most were naturalised Swedish subjects. Maria Bogucka, who has studied the mutual trade between Stockholm and Danzig notes that Swedish merchants dominated this trade.\textsuperscript{30} Christina Dalhede on the other hand has stated that it was foreign-born merchants residing in Sweden.\textsuperscript{31} There is much to be said in favour of that interpretation. The large ports of Stockholm and Turku attracted many merchants of foreign origin.\textsuperscript{32}

In particular, German trading firms with the intention of setting themselves up within the new expanding great power sent one or two of their sons to Sweden. These became burghers in Swedish or Finnish towns and thus Swedish subjects, but they can only, after the first or second generation, be seen as part of a larger German trading firm with branches on several sides of the Baltic Sea. The two Lübeck merchant families Schultz and Barckhusen set up business in Sweden by sending two young family members to Stockholm and Turku respectively. Contacts with the family or rather the relatives in Lübeck and other German towns remained strong. Furthermore, they tried to enlarge their areas of interest in the new country as well as in other parts of the Baltic area. Swedes went to German towns to be educated and to learn the market; Germans went to Sweden and Finland to establish themselves as merchants and burghers and to enlarge the family business.

The German merchants setting up themselves within Sweden were primarily representatives of German trading families penetrating new markets. Two brothers or sometimes cousins were sent to the town in question as traders to get contacts and knowledge about the market. There are cases where young traders represented their family on their own, but the most common scenario seems to be that two brothers, with a few years in between, were sent to the same town. The Germans moving to Sweden and Finland were an expression of the German trad-

\textsuperscript{31} Dalhede, Christina: *Handelsfamiljer på stormaktstidens Europamarknad.*, Partille 2001 p. 450
\textsuperscript{32} Ranta 1977 s 213 ff
ing firms’ efforts to expand and establish themselves in new parts of the Baltic region. It was a strategy to maintain a strong German position in Baltic Sea trade.

**Networks**

Baltic trade was built around networks, especially German family networks. Early modern trade has been described as so risky that personal bonds were an essential precondition for any trade. Relations between merchants were very social, combining economic interest with kinship, friendship and other bonding. The merchants strove for stable personal and mutual relations. Through networks they could safeguard this and secure trust and a reputation. Credits, references, new markets and influences were all related to the network. The stronger network, the better position for the trader.

Trading was an adventure, as there was always a risk of losing money, ships, goods and life in trading. Operating in networks, and in the ocean-trade, the possibilities for trading companies to manage these risks were increased. Jochim Schultz lost at least three ships, including cargo, in the Baltic Sea. For many merchants that would have been their ruin, but with the help of his family network Schultz could manage to handle these losses. Before marine insurance was established, working in networks was one way to reduce the effects of the risky trade.

By working in networks the German trading firms could also circumvent many of the regulations and ordinances that were given by the Swedish state at the beginning of the seventeenth century in order to further domestic trade, particularly the trade of the Stockholm merchants. When a member of a German – or Dutch – trading firm set up as merchant and burgher in Stockholm or Turku, he became a Swedish citizen and thus took part of all privileges given to Swedish and Finnish merchants. At the same time the connection to the original part of the merchant family offered advantages on the European market. The Schultz and Barckhusen families in the examples here used this strategy.

Another manner in which family bonds could be used to avoid the inconveniences that Swedish trade and shipping legislation could apply is illustrated by the co-operation of Hans and Hindrich Barckhusen. By one of them being a burgher in Stockholm, and thus having the right to exportation, the prohibition for merchants in the Lake Mälaren towns to engage in foreign trade could be evaded.

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33 Müller 1998 p 35
Domestic merchants who set themselves up in the Baltic trade tried in different ways to connect to these German networks. Swedish merchants already established within the Baltic trade discovered strategies to improve their connections to the German trading firms. One way was to arrange for a young man from one of these German firms to take up a job as a trader for him. This was unusual, but some were happy to succeed. Thus Carsten Nilsson of Gothenburg, for example, managed to persuade his trading partner in Lübeck to let him have his trader and relative.34 By this arrangement the Swedish as well as the German merchant safeguarded good contacts at least for the eight years the trader was in service in Gothenburg.

More important and more frequent however, were the contacts built up during the training years. By apprenticeship or/and by employment within a German merchant family, the future Swedish merchants not only trained in the profession, but also got to know those who would be their trading partners. Peter Grönberg, as well as Jochim Schultz and Hindrich Barckhusen, devoted much time and hard work during their years as traders to link themselves to existing networks and to build new ones up on the eve of their own establishments as trading merchants.

Women played an important role in this network building; marriage was the most common but also the most secure way to connect to the networks, and to strengthen them. Barthold Festing was incorporated into the Schultz’ family network when he married a daughter of his patron, Jochim Schultz. Typically, Festing married the daughter of a member of a German merchant family living in Finland, in one of the outer branches of that family. Marriages to women belonging to the central branches of a trading firm in Lübeck or any other German town were more unusual. For this the Swedish or Finnish merchants were too insignificant.

For merchants of foreign origin it was the other way around: contacts with local merchants, native or immigrated, was more important. Jochim Schultz exemplifies those who set themselves up by marrying daughters of the local merchant elite. This was a well-tried strategy for anyone establishing himself in a new country.35 This was seen as the best way to be involved in the local mercantile and political elite. For the relatives of the young woman this was also seen as an op-

34 Brunnio 1656
124 f
portunity; it offered new connections, new influences and new possibilities for credits and loans. Native merchants moving from one town to another usually used the same strategy to promote their career. Peter Grönberg married a woman from Stockholm the same year as he established himself as a burgher in this town.

For merchants desiring closer contacts with or influence over production a suitable marriage was also the foremost strategy. By marrying Kristina Leffler, Hindrich Barckhusen created close connections to a network of producers in the Swedish mining districts. To be a successful merchant in the Baltic trade, a suitable marriage was imperative.

A growing interest in production

Finally I want to point out a new tendency among the merchants engaged in Baltic trade: a growing interest in the production of the wares in which they traded. For example, in Danzig a large crafts centre for the Baltic region was developed, where the export of artisan goods became important. In the exports from Danzig to Sweden, 32% was furniture, glass, instruments, books, children’s toys and other industrial goods produced in Danzig. A notable amount of this production was controlled by merchants.

In Sweden as well, merchants showed an increasing interest in the production of export goods. In western Sweden, in Västervik, and in Viborg in the east, there was great interest in tar, but most important was mining. Best known among merchants engaged in the iron trade were Louis de Geer other Dutchmen. They arrived in Sweden in the 1620s and went into production on a large scale. More common, however, was the extent to which Hindrich Barckhusen involved himself. He leased Dylta works, and by his own marriages and those of his children he had close connections to a large number of iron bar factories. In addition, he owned a vessel to carry the goods over Lake Mälaren to Stockholm, where it was re-shipped. Hindrich Barckhusen surrendered the advantages that came with burghership in Stockholm, and especially the right to export the goods, in order to set himself up in the inland town of Arboga. These disadvantages he could evade by using his brother in Stockholm as exporter. His gain was a greater control over production and over transportation. Through this the Barckhusen family had control over all activities, from production in the Swedish inland, trans-

36 Bogucka 1983 pp 162 f
portation to Stockholm, further transportation over the Baltic Sea, and sales in different German and Dutch towns.

Among those merchants who established themselves in Swedish iron ore exports and who had interests in production, there were not only Dutchmen. Many of them were representatives of the trading firms of the old Hanseatic towns, starting to set themselves up as this new type of merchant; the entrepreneur.

**Concluding remarks**
When Sweden in the first part of the 1600s became a Great Baltic power, the economy and especially trade were weak points. Sweden was dependant on resources from abroad in the form of capital, knowledge and contacts to the market. In the Baltic Sea trade, these resources mainly came from the old hanseatic towns with Danzig and Lübeck as leaders. Even for trade with the newly conquered areas east of the Baltic, connections with the German trading firms were important. In terms of trade, the Swedish striving for *Dominium Maris Baltici* was never realised. In the trade between the Baltic ports and the rest of the world, the Dutch held the strongest position; within the Baltic Sea, German trading families from the old hanseatic towns maintained a dominant position.

Among the merchants who settled in Swedish and Finnish towns active in the Baltic trade, many were of German origin and involved in German family networks. Native Swedes who wanted to succeed tried to connect to these networks in one way or the other. For them, German trade and German traders established the patterns of business they tried to imitate. Indeed, strategies for success in the Baltic trade had everything to do with establishing links with the industrious Germans.
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The aim of this investigation is to analyse the women who managed wholesale businesses in Stockholm during the period of 1750–1820. This period was not only selected for scientific reasons, but also in regard to the availability of source material. The material for periods prior to 1750 is, in the case of Stockholm, incomplete for an investigation on a personal level; for example, the oldest complete census for Stockholm dates to 1755. The final date has been chosen primarily due to the ideological currents concerning women and men that signify nineteenth century Western Europe, which had by then already gained a foothold in Sweden. Specifically, these currents refer to those ideas inspired by Rousseau, which placed women in the home and which viewed the role of wife and mother as their main function.¹

Wholesalers were part of the upper echelons of burghers, socially as well as economically. Legally only men were given permission to trade as wholesalers. The trade legislation was applicable to all types of trade that conferred burghership, though in the case of wholesale businesses the capital involved was greater than for most other types of trade. For all types of trade the widow of a deceased trader could manage the business as long as she did not re-marry. As such she became her deceased husband’s deputy in the business.

As there was often a large amount of capital involved in the wholesale business, there were also many people with a great interest in what was going to happen with the business after the death of a wholesaler. There was usually a network

¹ A revision of the debate regarding marriage and how true women should appear in Swedish newspapers during the period 1770–1830 shows that the woman’s role as wife and mother was considered as given by nature from 1810 onwards. See Bladh, Christine “Gendered by Nature, or ....? The debate on female and male qualities in the Stockholm newspapers 1770–1830”, in Only Human, ed. Arne Jarrick, Stockholm 2000, pp. 191–217.
of men who had been economically dependent on the deceased’s activities. Money had been borrowed and lent within this network. It was common to build this network through marriage within different families.

In all businesses it was, regardless of the legislation, relatively rare for widows to continue managing the businesses after the husband’s death. Considering that most widows of wholesalers would have belonged to the small group of widows who were economically independent and who had, during their marriage, been more used to a life in which they were expected to be representative rather than active ”businessmen”, it is surprising to find them as businessmen at all.

However, among the wholesalers as well as their widows there were those who were without capital, although poverty was nevertheless different for different social classes. A poor widow of a wholesaler was poor in relation to others in her social class, but this did not mean that she was poor in relation to the city’s proletarian groups. In 1815, in connection with the economic crisis of the nineteenth century’s first two decades, a foundation for the needy amongst the society of wholesalers’ members, their wives, widows and unsupported children was established. A ”feeble” man could receive 100 rdr banco a year, a widow or wife 75 rdr banco, a married couple 150 rdr banco and an unsupported child 75 rdr banco. If there were more than one child in the same family each one received 50 rdr banco. Boys received their maintenance until their seventeenth birthday and girls until their twentieth. Thus the sums given by this foundation were quite substantial.

Very few women continued to manage this type of business after their husbands’ death. What makes them interesting is the fact that they did exist as a separate group. The principal question this raises is: what reasons did these women have for their actions? Why did they take over their husbands’ businesses?

One reason which can be disregarded at this point is that there were taxation reasons which made people behind the widow prefer to see her formally in charge of the business. Widows had no tax deductions for the businesses they managed. There were therefore no economical advantages in registering a company with the widow while it was in reality managed by her sons or other male relations.

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2 Societies were the traders’ equivalent to the artisans’ guilds.
3 Kongl. Maj:ts nådiga resolution den 22 februari 1815 (His Majesty's merciful resolution of 22 February 1815).
Ida Bull has investigated the burghers of Trondheim from a gender perspective. She follows the men and wives of the great trading houses during the period 1780 to 1830. The source material consists of public sources as well as letters and other records from the trading houses themselves. Here she is able to follow how both private and business queries are discussed, for example, the preserved letters. The children's education and future marriages are dealt with; it also emerges that both sons and daughters receive education, though the education of the daughters is both different and shorter than that of the sons. The importance of the daughters marrying the right men is also apparent, though Bull argues that it was not a case of forced marriages, rather that the fathers ensured that the daughters married the right person. Her research clearly shows that a marriage was not solely an economical alliance between two families. A marriage should be built on both love and economic equality to be harmonic. Both parties were expected to participate actively in the trading business. The position of the women was not as advanced as that of the men; they should rather be their men's assistants in the trade. On the other hand it was the woman who had the main responsibility for the home. It appears as well that the husband found it natural for his wife to continue the business after his death.5

Hilde Sandvik’s and Daniel Rabuzzi’s investigation of Christiania (present day Oslo) and Stralsund respectively deals with the whole group of women burghers and women amongst traders respectively. Christiania and suburbs had a population of 11,000 in 1801, while the population of Stralsund was approximately 14,000. In 1791 in Christiania, from a total of 162 traders, twelve were women. Hilde Sandvik has not accounted for how many of these were wholesalers.6

In Daniel Rabuzzi’s investigation of trade in Stralsund, he finds 507 traders in the years between 1755 and 1815. Of these, 54 were women, 50 were widows and 4 were spinsters. Among wholesalers, 7% were women in 1778.7 The legislation in Stralsund was somewhat different from that in mainland Sweden. According to the law of Lübeck even widows needed to have a guardian appointed, and the magistrate was to subsequently approve him. Only widows of wholesalers had, since the time of the Hansa, dispensation from a number of restrictions that applied to

other widows, and it is unclear how legislation was applied in this case. They pro-
bably had dispensation from this rule as well. Interestingly, no guardians are men-
tioned in the documents that concern widows of wholesalers.\footnote{Rabuzzi, p. 450f.}


The diagram above shows how large the percentage of women amongst wholesa-
lers was during the period of investigation. The diagram also shows that women’s par-
ticipation in wholesale trading suffered a disruption around 1790. Even if the per-
centage of women varied greatly from year to year, there were always women amon-
gst wholesalers prior to 1790. Thereafter the women’s percentage decreased. Their
average percentage prior to 1790 was approximately four, subsequently it
decreased to approximately one. There was no new legislation that might have ex-
plained this change. The reason or reasons have therefore to be found in other
areas.

A criticism of sources should be made at this point. In order to be able to cla-
rify how many women managed wholesale businesses each year, the verifications
of the assessment commission for each year have to be studied. It can be easily ob-
served that on numerous occasions a person might be found as a wholesaler for
many years, only to disappear for a year and then return as wholesaler again. It is therefore probable that some people were overlooked some years. As far as is possible to know, there are no reasons to suspect that these inconsistencies in the source material should have affected women more often than men, which is why this problem has been disregarded in this study.

The women who took over their mens’ businesses can be divided into three categories. The first consists of the women who are only registered as active for less than a year. They managed the company until the distribution of the estate and had no real intentions to continue managing it themselves. The second category continued to manage the business together with sons, the husband’s previous partner or with a new business partner. The third category, finally, consisted of those who managed in business alone for a shorter or longer period.

The total of widows during the period of investigation was 66. Of these, 42 were active for more than a year. I have placed the 24 who ended business within a year in the first category above.

Sixteen or seventeen women managed their businesses alone or with business partners for five or more years. In the case of one woman it is unclear as to whether it really is the same person for the seven years in which she is mentioned. She is alternatively referred to as Christina Lindeman and son and Christina Liedman and son. It has not been possible to identify her. Due to this, she is eliminated from this investigation, which will concentrate on a selection of the sixteen which remain. The selected cases consist of half the group, eight persons; a separate study on the remaining women is planned to take place subsequently. The intention in this study is to include women who were: wholesalers for a long period; of various ages when they were widowed; and were active sometime within the selected period of investigation.

9 Bemedlingskommissionens arkiv (The assessment commission archives), verifications for the years 1750 to 1820, SSA.
The Sixteen Widows of Wholesalers

Table 1: The names of the women and number of active years.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Number of years</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>* Anna Maria Tottie m. Isac Toutin</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>* Anna Maria Burghardi and sons m. Johan Wretman</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Carolina Camitz m. Peter Hultman</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>* Anna Maria Schütz m. Elias Brandel</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Johanna Edenberg m. Magnus Qvast Pet:son</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brita Hedberg and son m. Joachim Sutshoff</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>* Christina Nordström m. Carl Magnus Fris</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>* Maria Juliana Törngren m. Joachim Grabien</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>* Sara Lampa and son m. Johan Habickt (m. 1 Anders Fahlborg)</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Margareta Biörckman in co. w. F. Lundin m. Anders Plomgren</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Margaretha Christina (surname unknown) m. Henriik Albrecht</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Johanna Robért m. Johan Weilandt</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>* Maria Liwijn m. Leornard Pinchardt (m. 1 D. Burghardi)</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anna Maria (surname unknown) m. Holm</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Margaretha Dorothea Murray m. David Müller</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>* Ulrica Christina Willman m. Johan Melchios Starbus</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Borgerskapets bemedlingskommission (The assessment commission), verifications, SSA, Svensk släktkalender och svenska ättartal, Stockholm 1890’s.

Note: Anna Maria Brandel finished with the wholesale business in 1772, after seventeen years in the business. In the time that followed she managed only the sugar refinery that constituted part of her inheritance from her deceased husband. She managed the sugar refinery with great success until her death in 1799. If one includes the 27 years that she managed only the sugar refinery, her time as a businesswoman was all of 44 years.

* Included in the investigation.

This study will concentrate on the background of the women, in particular from which families they hailed. Did these specific women come from families in which the fathers were successful wholesalers or in which the fathers managed other successful companies? Were their marriages alliances connecting successful companies or did previous family ties mean that their marriages did not endanger capital leaving the family? Here, I research their family background and at which age they entered marriage. Were they pawns in a game between men or is it possible to suppose that they managed their businesses out of interest and of free will?

The businesses’ financial viability is necessary for the analysis. A profitable bu-
business would have been more interesting for the men around them than a small business, of which a widow would have had financial benefit.

_Economy of the businesses_
The appropriation (= tax) that every burgher paid each year is listed in the assessment commission’s verifications. The appropriation was based on the turnover of the business.

**Table 2:** Appropriation paid first and final year that each individual managed their business. Daler copper coins, also calculated in hl rye (last two columns)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Appropr. year 1, dcc</th>
<th>Appropriation final year dcc</th>
<th>Appropriation year 1 in rye</th>
<th>Appropriation final year in rye</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Toutin Anna Maria n. Tottie 1769–1798</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>108</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wretman Anna Maria n. Burghardi and sons 1764–1789</td>
<td>200</td>
<td>810</td>
<td>103</td>
<td>389</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hultman Carolina n. Camitz 1768–1789</td>
<td>250</td>
<td>216</td>
<td>203</td>
<td>104</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brandel Anna Maria n. Schütz 1755–1772</td>
<td>125</td>
<td>1620</td>
<td>147</td>
<td>783</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Qvast Pet:son Johanna n. Edenberg 1782–1796</td>
<td>90</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sutshoff Brita f. Hedberg and son 1756–1769</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fris Christina n. Nordström 1809–1835</td>
<td>1260</td>
<td>2532</td>
<td>229</td>
<td>372</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grabien Maria Juliana n. Törngren 1798–1806</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Habickt Sara n. Lampa (m. 1 Anders Fahlborg) And son 1765–1772</td>
<td>400</td>
<td>120</td>
<td>221</td>
<td>58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plomgren Margaretha n. Biörckman in co. w. F. Lundin 1772–1779</td>
<td>250</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>121</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Albrecht Margaretha Christina 1750–1756</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Weilandt Johanna n. Robért 1772–1784</td>
<td>540</td>
<td>360</td>
<td>261</td>
<td>221</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pinchardt Maria n. Liwijn (m. 1 D. Burghardi) 1775–1780</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>288</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>188</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Holm Anna Maria 1787–1791</td>
<td>108</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Müller Margaretha Dorothea n. Murray 1772–1776</td>
<td>240</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>116</td>
<td>67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Starbus Ulrica Christina n. Willman 1785–1789</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>90</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>43</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


_Note:_ The price of rye has been used in the table as a rough measurement of changes in the cost of living.
A new system of coinage was introduced in Sweden in 1776. Prior to this daler silver coins and daler copper coins had been in use. The new monetary standard was riksdaler banco. In the table above all sums have been calculated in daler copper coins. This is to enable a comparison of how the taxes changed in reality for the various individuals. That tax has been converted in relationship to the cost of rye is yet another attempt to enable the comparison of the individuals’ tax over a span of time. This calculation takes into consideration the inflation during the 70-year long period of investigation.

Six of the women in the investigation paid more tax in their final year as wholesalers than they had in their first year as wholesalers. The fact that so many paid less than they did at their start as wholesalers is not particularly amazing considering the advanced age they had reached.

Another means of comprehending the size of their businesses is to compare with other wholesalers of the same period. In 1755 the appropriation paid by wholesalers in the Old Town varied from 5 daler copper coins to 400. The wholesalers of Norrmalm paid between 10 and 125 daler in appropriation. The two widows included in this investigation who were active that year paid 125 daler (Anna Maria Brandel) and 10 daler (Margaretha Christina Albrecht) respectively.

Amongst wholesalers in 1780 can be found Carolina Hultman, who paid 10 rdr, Anna Maria Toutin with 8 rdr, Anna Maria Wretman 13 rdr, Maria Pinchardt 16 rdr and Johanna Weilandt 10 rdr. The male wholesalers paid between 200 and 3 rdr.

Only one of the women of the investigation can be found amongst those who paid appropriation in 1810. That was Christina Fris, who paid 83 rdr. The male wholesalers paid between 333 and 8 rdr.

The women in the investigation ran neither the smallest nor the largest wholesale businesses in the city. This applies regardless if they managed their businesses alone or in company with others. Many of the businesses were so small that the women’s financial survival might have depended on them.
Background of the selected women

Table 3: Personal data of the members of the cohort.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Father's Profession</th>
<th>Age at Marriage</th>
<th>Age Difference</th>
<th>Widow At age</th>
<th>Age at Death</th>
<th>Number of children</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A M Tottie</td>
<td>Tobacco manufacturer</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>84</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M. Liwijn</td>
<td>Court judge</td>
<td>24/31</td>
<td>&gt;/=1</td>
<td>30/46</td>
<td>86</td>
<td>3/1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A M Burghandi</td>
<td>Wholesaler</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>82</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A M Schütz</td>
<td>Wholesaler</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>74</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C. Nordström</td>
<td>Tobacco manufacturer</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>77</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M J Törngren</td>
<td>Customs officer</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S. Lampa</td>
<td>Brewer</td>
<td>19/32</td>
<td>&gt;/=3</td>
<td>30/46</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>9/0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>U C Willman</td>
<td>Dyer</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: See respective personal description
Note: Before / = first marriage. After / = second marriage.

Anna Maria Toutin’s father, Thomas Tottie, was a tobacco manufacturer and trader in Stockholm. Anna Maria was born in his marriage to Christina Schönman, his second marriage. Thomas Tottie was the father of 15 children, and Anna Maria was the youngest, born in 1715. After his death in 1724, his widow took charge of the tobacco factory until 1730, when his sons, Charles and William, took over. They closed down the tobacco factory and developed a very successful wholesale business. Many of Anna Maria’s sisters were married into successful trading houses in Stockholm. Anna Maria herself was 27 years old when she married the three year older Isac Tottie. He was not only a wholesaler but managed a silkstocking factory as well. Together they had one daughter, who died at the age of one. When Isac passed away in 1768, Anna Maria was 53 years old and childless. She never remarried and remained a widow until her death in 1799 at the age of 84. She is listed as wholesaler and manufacturer right up until her death. There was a joint will at the time of Isac’s death, and the balance of the estate less deductions for debts was 64,570 daler. Of this Anna Maria received 62,233 daler. There was not very much left for other heirs. According to the census of 1790, the household consisted of herself and 11 employees. When Anna Maria passed away, she still owned the property in the Old Town, the blocks Juno 91 and 92, which had been in the family’s possession since the time of Isac.10
Maria Pinchardt née Liwijn and Anna Maria Wretman née Burghardi were mother and daughter. Maria Pinchardt was the daughter of Leornard Botwid, a magistrate court judge in Stockholm. She was twice married, and entered into her first marriage in 1722, at age 24, with Daniel Burghardi, age unknown. Together they had daughter Anna Maria (b. 1724) as well as sons Johan Fredrik and Daniel. Maria’s husband Daniel passed away in 1727, and she remarried two years later to the wholesaler Leornard Pinchardt, her junior by one year. They had one child together, son Adam, who also became a wholesaler and passed away at the advanced age of 91, a bachelor.

At the time of Leornard Pinchardt’s death, the family lived at Stora Nygatan in the Old Town. Eight houses in total, to a value of 92,000 daler copper coins, are listed in the estate inventory. The most valuable one was estimated to be worth 50,000 daler; the total value of the estate was 693,914 daler. The widow received half of this as well as the so-called widow’s benefit of 34,478 daler. It was a large amount of money for a widow of 77 years, and despite her age she continued with the business until her death in 1784. Her property was valued at 197,334 daler copper coins (10963 rdr banco). This was divided between her three surviving children, Anna Maria, Johan Fredrik and Adam.11

The daughter, Anna Maria, from Maria Pinchardt’s first marriage, married at age twenty to the wholesaler Johan Wretman, who was 41 years old at the time. It was Wretman’s second marriage, and he had previously been married to Anna Christina Weylandt and had a son from that marriage. Anna Maria and Johan had three children together, two sons and a daughter. Johan’s son from his first marriage and his eldest son in the second both became wholesalers, while the youngest son became an iron mill owner. Johan Wretman died in 1763 at age 60. The widow took charge of the business, initially on her own and subsequently jointly with her stepson and her eldest son. The final year that Anna Maria was included as partner in the business was 1789. She did not pass away until 1806, aged 82. Incidentally, her son Fredrik also died in the same year and her daughter had predeceased her mother as well.

At the time that Johan Wretman passed away the family owned house number

62 in the block Typhon in the Old Town. It was then valued at 24,000 daler copper coins. When Anna Maria Burghardi died, she owned three quarters of the same property. The full value of the property was by then 5,500 rdr banco. The total value of the estate at the time of Johan Wretman’s death was 227,386 daler copper coins and at the time of Anna Maria’s death it was 1,520,073 daler copper coins (56,299 rdr banco). Bearing in mind that the distribution of Johan’s estate only allowed Anna Maria to keep slightly more than half, the value of her property had grown considerably, even taking into consideration the inflation of the period (the price of rye rose by 175%).

One of the widows who managed a very successful business was Anna Maria Brandel née Schütz. Her father was a wholesaler in Gothenburg and had, at the time of her marriage, a large amount of business connections with his daughter’s future spouse Elias Brandel. Anna Maria was only 16 years old when she married Elias, 18 years her senior. They had seven children together. When she was 27 years old, Elias passed away and Anna Maria remained a widow for the rest of her life. She managed the wholesale business until 1772, after which she continued with the sugar refinery also left to her by Elias. She managed it until her death in 1799. She was then 74 years old.

Carl Magnus Fris and Christina Nordström married in 1777; she was 20 years old at the time and he was 34. Carl Magnus Fris’ father had died in 1748, and two years later his mother remarried to Anders Dimander, owner of a tobacco factory. His widow succeeded to the business when he died, and in 1778 expanded it by taking over an older franchise for tobacco spinning. Carl Magnus was admitted as a partner in his mother’s business around 1790. After the death of Anna Dimander in 1792, the tobacco spinning mill of Carl Magnus’ younger brother, Petter Dimander, as well as the tobacco spinning mill of his father-in-law, Anders Nordström were incorporated. The brothers were both married to daughters of Anders Nordström.

In addition to several houses in Stockholm, the family also owned Töreåfors ironworks and sawmills in Norrbotten and part of Bjurfors brass works. Further-

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13 I have written an article that deals with Anna Maria Brandel and her daughter and granddaughter. ”En borgarfamilj som andra?” In Människan i historien och samtiden. Festskrift till Alf W Johansson, Stockholm 2000.
14 Svensk släktkalender och svenska ättartal part 9, p. 18f, Stockholm 1893, Svenskt biografiskt lexikon (Swedish biographical dictionary) part 11, p. 266f.
more they were, as can be seen above, partners in the Dimander tobacco factory. They resided in and owned house number 30 at Skeppsbron in the block Cadmus. Their most renowned property was Waldemarsudde with its, in their own name established, Frisens’ park, still preserved at Djurgården. When Carl Magnus passed away at age 65 in 1808, the estate’s balance was 70,084 rdr banco; the widow was allowed to keep 36,794 rdr banco. At the time of his death the couple had seven children together, five sons and two daughters. The youngest son still lived at home in 1810, and was enrolled in a private school. Christina had five members of staff in her household. Her estimated annual income was 2,500 rdr on which she paid 800 rdr in tax. At the time of Christina’s death, when she was 77 years old, only two children remained alive. They had 85,133 rdr banco to share. Produce from the sawmill and the tobacco manufacturing were sold in the wholesale business. At the time of Christina’s death the estate declared secure claims to a value of 20,133 rdr. Several institutions were included amongst those in debt to her company, and they were such diverse establishments as Katarina workhouse and Danvikens asylum on the one hand, and Tullgarn’s and Drottningholm’s palaces on the other.\footnote{BOU 1808-I-918, BOU 1835-II-398, Mantalslängd Staden Södra och Västra (Registers of population City South and West) 1810 p. 39, SSA.}

The date of marriage of Maria Juliana Törngren and Joachim Grabien is not known, but it would have been one or a few years prior to the birth of the eldest daughter, who was born in 1753. If this is correct, Maria Juliana was 19 or 20 years old and Joachim 29 or 30 at that time. Maria Juliana’s father was employed at the Customs, but within the Törngren family there were several wholesalers. Maria Juliana and Joachim had several children. The eldest son made his career as a trader and trading agent in Livorno, Italy. Joachim died in 1795 at the age of 73 and Maria Juliana in 1807 at the age of 75. At the time of Joachim’s death the family owned a house in the parish of Katarina valued at 2,500 rdr banco. They had invested in stocks both in “Ostindiska kompaniet” (the East India Company) and Västindiska kompaniet (the West India Company) and owned shares in ships. Due to large debts, the estate’s liabilities greatly exceeded its assets by 16,675 rdr banco.

Despite this, Maria Juliana appears as a wholesaler in the verifications of the assessment commission in 1798, three years after her husband’s death. She carried on the wholesale business until her death in 1807. At the time of her death the
debts as well as the assets were considerably smaller than at the time of Joachim’s death. The assets now were 626 rdr and the debts 875 rdr. This means that the estate’s liabilities were 249 rdr. Amongst other things the house in Katarina was sold and the family lived in a rented apartment in the Old Town. Despite her financial position, Christina herself and her two children, still living at home, each owned a gold watch and the family had a room with silk furniture.¹⁶

Sara Lampa married twice. She married the spice trader Anders Fahlborg first and subsequently the wholesaler Johan David Habicht. She was the daughter of the master of brewers Johan Claesson Lampa and Elisabeth Westerman. It was her father’s second marriage and she was child number 14 out of a total of 17 children. Sara herself had nine children in her first marriage while her second marriage was childless. She was 19 years old when she married for the first time; Anders Fahlborg’s age is unknown. Sara was 30 years old when Anders passed away. Since five of the children had died before their father, there were now only four children alive. Amongst other things the family owned the property number 148 at Österlånggatan and a sugar refinery at Nygatan. The residue of the estate was 148,520 daler copper coins when all liabilities had been deducted. Of this the widow received 74,259. The remainder was divided between the children. Sara entered her second marriage two years later to Johan David Habicht, who was 35 years old. Johan David had no direct heirs when he passed away at only 49 years of age in 1760. He did, however, have six siblings. One brother had died, and by the time the estate inventory proceedings were completed, his widow had passed away as well. Sara and Johan David had a joint will, and thanks to this the greater share of the estate went to Sara. The estate’s entire inventory less deductions for liabilities was valued at 678,010 daler copper coins. The children of the widow were considered to have a claim to 105,561 daler. The five remaining heirs received 12,119 daler copper coins each and the remainder went to the widow. The family owned three properties at the time of Johan David’s death, two in the Old Town and a mansion house. These houses also remained at the time of Sara’s decease, but now her children owned shares in them. It emerges from the estate inventory of Johan David that he had been an importer of wine and spirits and that he had also managed a textile factory. After her husband’s death the widow managed the company in partnership with her son from her first marriage to Johan Anders. In 1770

¹⁶ Census City South and West 1800 p. 444, BOU 1795-IV-945, BOU 1807-III-531, SSA, Svensk slätkalender och svenska ättartal part 10 p. 496, Stockholm 1894.
he, aged 32, as well as the 29 year old daughter, still lived at home with their mother. The household also contained a relation of the same age as Sara herself, as well as nine members of staff. What remained after her was 277,411 daler. She owned rather large shares of ships, which were valued at 89,000 daler copper coins. Nothing, however, indicates that she had kept the textile factory. Sara only reached the age of 60.17

In 1770 Ulrica Christina Willman was 29 years old. She married the same year to the 48-year-old Johan Melchior Starbus. Her parents were the dyer Henric Willman and his second wife Anna Helena Westerman. The father had 17 children in all, 14 of whom were born in his second marriage. Ulrica Christina was her mother’s eleventh child. She herself had five children. Of these, four were still alive when Johan Melchior passed away in 1781. The children were then between nine and two years old. Ulrica herself was 40 years old and Melchior had reached the age of 59. The family owned a house in the parish of Klara in which they lived. The house was valued at 3,333 rdr banco. In 1780 the widow and the children had moved to the Old Town to a house at Skeppsbron, which she owned. According to her estate inventory which was made six years later, the value of the house was 13,528 rdr banco. In 1780 two of the daughters, two maids and a manservant lived together with Ulrica Starbus. The family had to pay tax for one room with silk furniture as well as a gold watch. The third daughter lived with her family in the same property. She was married to the wholesaler Alexander Lundholm. In 1806 at the age of 65, Ulrica passed away. She had already discontinued the wholesale business in 1789. Three daughters were still alive, all married to wholesalers. The youngest daughter had married a brother of her eldest sister’s husband. The sisters inherited 11,786 rdr banco which to share.18

Personal data
Were there any personal data that could explain why these specific women continued to manage the businesses after their husbands’ death? Were there any common features amongst them? Or must everything be explained on the personal level?

17 BOU 1745-I-1122, BOU 1762-IV-178, BOU 1774-II-390, Mantalslängd Staden Inre och Östra (Registers of population City Inner and East) 1770 p. 376, SSA, Svensk släktkalender och svenska ättartal part 10, p. 332, Stockholm 1894.

The fathers of two of the women were public officials; the other fathers belonged to the upper levels of burghers. One public official was a magistrate’s court judge and the other father was employed by the Customs (his position is unknown). Thus all hailed from financially stable families. Many of the fathers were also politically active. Consequently all the women came from families with good social networks, where alliances of marriage were used as a part of the business activity. But this was of frequent occurrence in the social class to which the women of this investigation can be assigned. Anita Göransson has found the same phenomena amongst the burghers of Norrköping.\(^{19}\) This only confirms that these women had a background, which was normal for the women who married wholesalers at this period of time.

The age at which they entered marriage for the first time was between 16 and 29. The two who were the oldest when they married, Anna Maria Tottie 27 years old and Ulrica Willman 29 years old, were amongst the youngest in very large families. Sara Lampa was also born late in a large family. She still married early, at age 19. Despite this, it does not seem unreasonable for the families to have concentrated on getting their eldest daughters strategically married early. Sara Lampa’s first husband was a spice trader, and it was not until her second marriage that she married a wholesaler.

Most married considerably older men. As a consequence, many of them became widows at a relatively young age while they still had young children. With young children to inherit the family fortune it might have been tactical not to remarry, at least not to a man who himself also had children. The two who did remarry did so to men without children of their own.

Only Anna Maria Toutin/Tottie was childless. She was widowed at age 53 and managed the wholesale business and the factory until her death, something that she was probably forced to do unless she wanted to end up in a situation where she ran the risk of being a burden on her siblings’ families in her old age. The foundation established in 1815 to protect, amongst others, widows of wholesalers, did not exist during her lifetime.

It was only Christina Fris/Nordström who would have been able to turn to the foundation, which had been established in 1815 for widows of wholesalers and their children. Nevertheless, she preferred to continue managing the business. Neither does it seem likely that she would have been able to turn to the found-

ation. Her children, however, could of course have taken over the business sooner than they did. Perhaps she did not have confidence in her children’s abilities and wanted to manage and have insight into the affairs herself.

The only one of the widows who lacked capital was Maria Juliana Törngren/Grabien. At her husband’s as well as her own death, the estate’s liabilities exceeded its assets.

Trying to find a common denominator amongst these women is difficult and somewhat forced, but a likely reason for them to continue with the wholesale business after their husband’s deaths, despite stable finances, with one exception, appears to be to keep the estate intact, and not to divide it. These specific women might simply have considered themselves better equipped to manage the business than their sons in the instances where the sons were adult. When they had young children the aim seems to have been to keep a profitable business within the family. That many of them then continued with the business after their sons had grown up was probably due to the fact that they, after many years in the business, considered themselves most suited as business executives.

**Summary**

This investigation is based on a limited amount of source material consisting of documents concerning eight women in the case of personal data, and sixteen for more comprehensive information. The criteria for selecting these sixteen have been that they should have carried on their husbands’ wholesale businesses for five years or more during the period 1770–1820.

Is it possible to find a common reason for these specific women to continue with the wholesale business after their husbands had passed away? No private letters or other sources of a personal nature have been used in this investigation. On the basis of the source material, which has been used, only one common reason can be found, namely the financial, though what the financial reason was varied for each individual widow.

Anna Maria Tottie/Toutin was middle aged and childless when her spouse died. If she had retired to survive on the inheritance from Isac for the remainder of her life, which was almost 30 years, she would have had to live very frugally. The life with eleven members of staff, which she as a businesswoman had been able to live, would have been impossible for her to maintain unless she had continued with the wholesale business. In the case of Maria Juliana Törngren/Grabien the circumstances were similar. Contrary to Anna Maria Tottie/Toutin, she did have
children, but they were adults by the time she was widowed aged 63. She is the only individual in the investigation who inherited nothing from her husband. His liabilities greatly exceeded the estate’s assets. The business she managed was far from the large trading company managed by many of the other women. It decreased over time as well.

Sara Lampa/Fahlborg/Habicht’s and Maria Liwijn/Burghardi/Pinchardts’ reasons for managing their businesses were similar. Both had been married previously and both had children from their first marriage. To continue the trading business was a way of securing these children’s share in the property left by the husbands.

Anna Maria Burghardi was first sole owner and subsequently partner in a business which greatly increased in size during her time there. She retired some years prior to her death. Her assets enabled her to live her final years in comfort. Anna Maria Schütz/Brandel fits the same pattern. She was, contrary to the previous widow, sole owner of her successful business. Both were widowed while they still had children who were minors. Had they married, the children would have risked losing part of the family fortune. Had they liquidated the businesses, their sons, who might have wanted to continue as wholesalers as adults, would have had to set up anew. Christina Nordström/Fris and Ulrica Willman/Starbus were also widowed while they had children who were still minors. All four managed businesses in which the turnover increased with time. Ulrica Willman/Starbus’s wholesale business was not amongst the largest in the city, while the others were involved in large trading houses.

Many of the conclusions reached in this investigation correspond with those reached in Daniel Rabuzzi’s work on 18 widows of wholesalers in Stralsund. The majority of the women’s fathers belonged to the city’s upper levels, which is consistent with the fathers of this group. The average age of marriage in Stralsund was 22,7 years old and in Stockholm 21,9 years old. The women in Stralsund were widowed between the age of 22 and 65. In Stockholm they were between 27 and 63 years old. The widows in Stockholm were within the same age range as those in Stralsund. Any more comparisons with Rabuzzi’s outcome would be unsafe, as the information available is not comparable to his.

There has been much debate, recently, in gender history, on the status of the widow in pre-industrial society. Most of this debate has concerned rural women,

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20 Rabuzzi, p. 442f
and lower- and middle-class urban women; few have studied urban upper-class widows. Much of the research has been inspired by Thomas Laquer’s theory concerning the one-sex and two-sex model. In pre-modern times, Laquer argues, women and men were considered basically similar; the woman was, essentially, an incomplete man. The separation of the sexes into two separate species was introduced later, primarily by the philosophers of the Age of Enlightenment. According to historian Maria Sjöberg, who builds on this thesis, the separation of women and men in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century society was based on perceived differences of degree, rather than differences in species. This model helps explain the unique position, among women, held by the widow. As a widow she was considered, regardless of age, capable of performing tasks forbidden to single and married women. She could, among other things, manage and run a bourgeois business. She was seen as a capable intermediary link between the deceased husband and the society he had left behind. This may be the reason why we find women managing some of the more successful companies during the early-modern period.

But why do the women disappear from this financially profitable market? Various scholars have put different theories for this forward. Daniel Rabuzzi suggests that the reason for this can be found in the political arena. Women’s lack of political rights made it easy to push them away from the financially more attractive areas. Personally I am of the opinion that the reason is primarily to be found on an ideological level. There were no political obstacles to giving women equal political rights as men; however, there clearly were ideological obstacles, and one that were strengthened by the ideas of enlightenment which emphasized the ”natural” differences between the sexes. The woman’s natural place was in the home, where she should care for the husband and children, while the man’s place was in the public arena.

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Perceptions
“The urban graveyard”
Since the dawn of urban life the city has been feared and condemned as a sinful source of decadence and social decay. If it were not for the city’s allurements, temptations and magic, one would have expected this particular life form to have vanished from history. However, this did not happen; on the contrary, urban growth and urbanisation are long term macro trends in history. Cities have grown and decayed over thousands of years, and today we are running at high speed into a totally urbanised society. Thus the myth of the teeming and dynamic metropolis had the power to counterweight the sinful Great Harlot of Babylon. Why is that so? Why have people chosen to migrate to, and live in cities, in spite of the anti-urban propaganda, as well as all the disadvantages and risks? And there was appreciable risk involved! One’s identity as well as one’s roots in life could be lost; there was also the risk of being swallowed up and suffocated by the sheer freedom of urban life, and the vast amount of opportunities. Of course one could also simply die! This was especially so in pre-modern times, when the risk of dying was high, and ought to have been a calculated risk among urban immigrants. This was the case among the Swedish eighteenth century elite, who were clearly aware of the hazards of urban life.

Disease and climate – the unhealthy town of the Swedish enlightenment
Anti-urban sentiments and ideas seem to have been part of human thought since the dawn of urban life. According to stoic tradition of Western philosophy ‘the

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1 Concerning the much discussed definition of ‘urbanisation’ see for instance de Vries 1984, p.10ff, and Lilja 2000, pp. 29ff.
most dignified life (was) the quiet life in the countryside, far from modern urbanism and civilisation. The famous Swedish botanist Carl von Linné sought intellectual comfort and inspiration from this stoic tradition. He favoured an enlightened primitivism, a healthy and natural life with modesty in material as well as moral values.  

During his travels through Sweden he often commented on urban life, and he was never far from appreciating the “rural” values of the towns. He spoke to mayors about the virtues and problems of their gardens, and noticed the role of domestic plants and animals in the life of the small urban communities through which he passed.

Linné’s century, the enlightened eighteenth century, was intensely concerned, one could almost say obsessed, with population growth. According to the period’s contemporary mercantilist ideology, a large population was the basic foundation of economic and political power. Thus, a state with a large number of inhabitants was a potentially powerful state. Mortality was one of the demographic aspects that provoked research, debates and arguments. There was a rising interest in factors which threatened to diminish populations or hamper demographic growth, and a new branch of research emerged from this reorientation. Many local and regional studies took it as their objective to map out the ‘medical topography’ of their studied localities. In this branch of local studies diseases were drawn into focus. The effects of epidemics in the armies and in the countryside were discussed, and, of course, the towns could not be passed unnoticed. On the contrary!

In 1760 the provincial physician Anders M. Wåhlin wrote about the town of Jönköping, stating that it ‘is undeniable … that every place has its own endemic diseases, caused as well by the location of the site, as the way of life of its inhabitants.’ To Wåhlin the climate provided the principal explanation of the poor health conditions of eighteenth century Jönköping. The town was often hard hit by severe diseases, i.e. fevers of different kinds. It is to be noticed, however, that ‘climate’ in this context included air, water, and earth, as well as ‘weather’ in our more

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2 Frängsmyr 1980, p. 96. In Swedish ‘... den mest värdiga livsformen var ett stilla leverne på landet, avskilt från modern stadskultur och civilisation.’ Author’s transl.
5 Frängsmyr 2000, pp. 152ff.
6 Frängsmyr 2000, p. 156. In Swedish ‘Det är onekeligt … at hvar ort har sina egna Endemiska sjukdomar, hvar til så wäl ortens belägenhet, som Invånarens lefnads-sätt, det mästa bidraga.’ Author’s transl.
modern meaning of the word. The eighteenth century idea of climate thus comes close to the modern terms ‘physical life environment’ or ‘nature’.\textsuperscript{7}

One of the dominating theories of disease diffusion saw epidemics as transported by air. In this ‘miasma’ theory contaminated air was the cause of unhealthy conditions.\textsuperscript{8} Thus the personal physician of King Gustaf III, Nils Dalberg, pointed at polluted air as an important disease carrier in a speech for the Royal Academy of Sciences in 1784. In this ‘Speech On the Condition of Air in Large and Populous Towns’\textsuperscript{9} he argued that the urban climate contained great risk for disease diffusion. According to his opinion, the countryside was much healthier and ‘had unlimited advantages compared to the towns’.\textsuperscript{10} Thus urban air caused sickness and death!

\textbf{Realities}

\textbf{The ‘standard knowledge’ and the problem}

Is it not ‘standard knowledge’ today that pre-modern towns and cities suffered from an endemic mortality surplus? Over and over again we hear the simple phrase that towns needed major in-migration in order to keep growing, or even not to decline. Thus, for a long time this urban mortality surplus has been taken for granted among demographers and population historians, so much in fact, that it has also been disputed.\textsuperscript{11} But is this the truth? Can the ‘standard knowledge’ be qualified? Or can it even be disputed?

It seems, in fact, to be a good case to dispute this age old ‘knowledge’. Several factors affected mortality, and the rural-urban dimension was but one of them. The birth/death ratio could vary over time and space. There were variations between different types of towns. The complexity and structure of the urban population was important. In general, smaller towns had a more favourable situation than the larger cities. Military towns, export towns, and revenue towns had their particular demographic problems; expanding towns also had their own set of problems and stagnating towns theirs as well.

\textsuperscript{7} Frängsmyr 2000, pp. 17f. In Swedish ‘den fysiska livsmiljön’ och ‘natur’. Author’s transl.
\textsuperscript{8} Frängsmyr 2000, p. 157.
\textsuperscript{9} Frängsmyr 2000, quot, note 44, p. 229. In Swedish ‘Tal om Luftens beskaffenhet i stora och folkrika städer’ Author’s transl.
\textsuperscript{10} Frängsmyr 2000, pp 161ff, quot p. 162. In Swedish ‘äga oändeligen stora fördelar framför städerna’ Author’s transl.
\textsuperscript{11} See Galley 1998, pp. 11ff, for a qualified discussion. Compare also for instance Prange 1984, p. 12, who is only one of many proponents of the mortality surplus theory.
In the remainder of this chapter I will discuss the mortality surplus thesis applied to a region I would prefer to call the Scando-Baltic region, that is in short, the Baltic region including Norway \(^{12}\), and it will be a critical examination on my behalf. My aim is to falsify the ‘standard knowledge’, and instead to argue in favour of more qualified statements. I do not claim that urban surplus mortality was non-existent. It was, for sure, a major problem in many towns. I will simply argue that this situation was unique, and restricted to some towns or particular phases of individual urban growth. It can not be taken as representative of urban systems as a whole or as the normality of European early modern urban demography. Due to practical obstacles, I will not be able to present any covering statistics or conclusive evidence. Instead I will discuss some examples (15 Scando-Baltic towns in total), and from these tentatively draw some general conclusions. The basic question, of course, is whether these examples confirm or falsify the ‘surplus mortality’ thesis.

Another question within this thematic complex is the role of in-migration to the towns. Were the towns dependent on in-migrants for their growth, or was this factor of minor importance? It is my purpose to glance at this question as well, although without any attempt to give conclusive answers. But let me first of all broaden the geographic scope by starting outside the Scando-Baltic region.

**Six English cases**

According to Chris Galley, the mortality situation in English towns was much more complicated than is presumed by ‘standard knowledge’. In fact, it was quite common with mortality surplus, but the demographic situation was often reversed, with a more or less pronounced surplus of births.

In diagram 1 the so called baptism/burial ratio is illustrated for a number of English eighteenth century towns. This ratio is a kind of statistical index of urban demography, showing the balance between baptisms and burials, through the simple equation of baptisms divided by burials. In an all European context most of the towns of this English sample are rather large. Only one, Lichfield, could be called ‘small’, or even more accurately ‘medium sized’. Of these five English towns with populations between 5000–36,000, the smallest one, Lichfield (c. 4700 inh. \(^{12}\) Within my ongoing research project concerning population development and urbanisation in the Baltic area the terms Scando-Balticum and Scando-Baltic region is used to cover the Nordic countries, the northern parts of Germany and Poland, the Baltic states, and the western parts of Ukraine, Byelorussia and Russia. In this article the sample of towns are gathered from a smaller area. See the map at page 102.

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1801), normally had a baptism surplus. In the others the situation changed over time, but it was quite usual to have baptism surpluses. Norwich, the largest of the towns with its 36,000 inhabitants 1801, had a positive baptism/burial ratio in 5 out of 10 measured years of the eighteenth century (note that the last figure of the table is a decade average). Exeter and York, each with approximately 17,000 inhabitants, had 3 of 10 years of natural increase. The majority of the figures are close to baptism/burial balance. Thus, figures above 0.95 can be seen as fairly close to balance. In York this is the case in two instances and in Exeter as many as four. In total, 40 % of the measured years had positive baptism/burial ratios, and if we include the near balance situations of ratios above 0.95, the total rate will be 54 %. There was an unquestionable and predominant surplus mortality only in Chester.  

Of course these figures should be interpreted with some caution, since baptisms and burials can not be equal to births and deaths. It is possible that underregistration affected burials somewhat more than baptisms. Thus a small registered natural increase could actually be a small natural decrease. However, the general conclusion that urban death rates could vary over time and between towns even du-

13 Galley 1998, pp. 16.
ring the early modern period, seems firm enough, and it is reasonable to interpret
the figures of diagram 1 as a qualifier of the mortality surplus theory.

It is difficult to come to any conclusion about long term changes due to the
small number of towns. However, there is a weak indication of improvement du-
dring the eighteenth century. The baptism/burial ratio is generally higher (close to
1.0 or more, with one exception) during the later part of the century, and almost
all the averages of the 1790s show baptism surplus.

The time factor was, however, vital in London’s demographic development.
London had a long term growth from c. 50000 to c. 1 million during the early mo-
dern period. In the British capital three phases, or demographic ‘regimes’, are
detectable between 1540 and 1840. Up to the middle of the seventeenth century,
the demographic situation was characterised by comparatively even levels of
births and deaths. Relative demographic balance punctuated by heavy mortality
peaks is the dominant feature into the third quarter of the seventeenth century.
The city might even have had a natural surplus under normal circumstances, but
this situation frequently turned into a death surplus through enormous surplus
mortality due to the bubonic plague. The next demographic phase suffered from
a permanent mortality surplus. Between the middle of the seventeenth century
and the late eighteenth century, London’s demographic regime changed into con-
stant natural decrease, but the mortality peaks were gone. This is the period of the
‘man eating’ capital, or the ‘urban graveyard’. From the late eighteenth century the
natural decrease turned into its opposite. In the early 1780s, births started to over-
take deaths, and this gap widened during the first half of the nineteenth century.
Thus the capital city of early industrial England had permanent baptism surplu-
ses.

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The conclusion must be that surplus urban mortality, or the ‘standard knowledge’ is not to be taken for granted, not even in large cities such as London or Norwich. And England was not an exception to the rule. Continental towns show the same complexity of the early modern baptism/burial balance.

**Three continental cases**

In his monumental study of ‘capitalism and material life’ during the early modern period, Fernand Braudel has given us some examples of urban demographic development in the eighteenth century. With graphs he illustrates the ‘old regime’ demography of three French/Flemish towns from the 1660s to the 1790s. From these examples it is quite clear that mortality surplus is not to be taken for granted even outside of England. Here Braudel illustrates the pre-modern situation of high baptism and burial rates, and the change of the baptism/burial balance during the last part of the early modern period, and these illustrations clearly support the doubts concerning the thesis of a general urban mortality surplus.
Diagram 3a-c – Baptisms and burials of three French/Flemish towns c. 1665–1795

There was a mortality surplus often enough, but in the long run there was an equilibrium between births and deaths in the pre-industrial towns. The demographic ‘regime’ was similar to the situation in London during the capitals first phase,

with baptism surplus punctuated with more or less heavy, and more or less frequent, mortality peaks. In fact, demographic ‘normality’ in these three towns seems to make the ‘standard knowledge’ of urban demography false.

Braudel also had another purpose with these illustrations. He tried to document the gradual improvement of the demographic situation during the later part of the eighteenth century. In doing this he supported a widespread opinion about demographic change during this expansive century. Two of the examples turn from the typical demographic situation of the ‘old regime’ into a more modern pattern of permanent baptism surplus. ‘At earliest in the eighteenth century, life overtakes death, and thereafter regularly remains to exceed its antagonist.’\textsuperscript{17} In general terms this change might be interpreted as the first embryonic steps into the ‘demographic transition’ of nineteenth century Europe. Thus his data confirm the developments in England. However, as his third example shows, Braudel was also anxious to qualify this ‘improvement thesis’. The town of Beauvais actually changes from a permanent baptism surplus into an ‘old regime’ pattern.\textsuperscript{18}

Urban death seems to have varied with the sizes and functions of the towns, but also with the period of early modern demography. Furthermore, the pattern of change is far from clear and systematic. If some general conclusion is allowed at this point, it would be that larger cities might have had worse demographic situations than smaller towns, although the examples are ambiguous, as the town of Norwich, with its 30,000 inhabitants, illustrates. There are also some indications that the demographic situation improved towards the later part of the eighteenth century. But the question centers on how general, in geographic and urban system terms, this demographic change actually was.

\textbf{Mortality and urban size}

To cover some of the mentioned variations, and verify or falsify the vague general patterns discerned through these few European examples, I have selected fifteen towns for study from various parts of the Scando-Baltic region. In order to achieve comparative geographic indications, the towns are chosen from a wide area of the Scando-Baltic region, from southern Norway to Estonia, from eastern Denmark to central Sweden. However, in order to avoid the boredom of repetition and too much detail, I will explicitly comment only on a few of the examples. For

\textsuperscript{17} Braudel 1982, p. 60 In Swedish ‘Först med 1700-talet tar livet överhanden över döden och överträffar hädanefter regelbundet sin motståndare.’ Authors transl.

\textsuperscript{18} Braudel 1982, 59 illustration text and p. 60.
comparative purposes I have also included the five English towns mentioned above.

**Map – Studied Scando-Baltic towns**

Since size is supposed to be one of the main factors behind urban mortality, the towns selected represent various size categories, classified as small, medium or large towns. In the table I show the size classification of the chosen towns (including the English examples). Thus small towns are towns with a maximum of 6000 inhabitants, medium towns are towns with 6000 to 17000 inhabitants. These size-classes are in fact too high to be adapted to the urban systems of the Scando-Baltic region. As late as the 1800s, the majority of Swedish towns were ‘small’ according to this definition.¹⁹ The classification is adapted to the size structure of the chosen towns, and I use it mainly for practical purposes within the comparative aspects of this article.

¹⁹ Lilja 2000, p. 84.
Finally my aim is to try to cover the chronology and geography of urban demography, through data from the first half of the seventeenth century to the end of the early modern period. Unfortunately the data quality is less than perfect, especially for the older period. However I believe the cumulative evidence may provide a sound enough basis for tentative discussions and conclusions.

Mandal on the southern coast of Norway – a case of small town mortality

To start with the small town mortality, the little borough, ladested, of Mandal will provide the example. It is the smallest of the chosen towns. This town, on the southern tip of Norway, had some 575 inhabitants in the late 1740s, but it was an expansive township and grew to 1640 at the turn of the century 1800.

In Mandal, baptisms normally exceeded burials. Between 1749 and 1800, only

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The evidence has been gathered mainly from published studies, i.e. Ericsson 1979, (Falun), Eliassen 1995 (Mandal), Galley 1998 (5 English towns), Hedlund 1980 (Västerås), Helmerlid 1971 (Norrköping), Lindberg 1975 (Linköping), Lilja 1995 (Stockholm, Copenhagen), Palm 2000 (Stockholm, Göteborg, Karlskrona), Pullat 1997 (Estonian towns), Villadsen 1976 (Köge). Parts of the data are reconstructions (mainly the data from Palm and Pullat). I have not been able to counter-check the reliability of data, thus the discussions and conclusions of the article must be taken as provisional and tentative.

Eliassen 1999, p. 50.
ten of the years had a registered mortality surplus, and there were only two severe mortality peaks during these fifty years. At the beginning of the period, baptisms normally varied between 16 and 23, with an average of 20.2, but after the expansion they oscillated between 37 and 61, thus reaching an average of 50.5. Since
death levels changed from an average of 14.9 to 37.9, there was a safe natural surplus in Mandal during the late eighteenth century. During none of the decades of the late eighteenth century did Mandal have a population decrease due to excess mortality. The dominant pattern was a clear and almost permanent demographic surplus.

In total, the town grew by approximately 1065 inhabitants in about 50 years. However, since natural growth approximated 325 individuals, the net in-migration can roughly be estimated to c. 740 individuals. In relative terms, 70 % of Mandal’s growth can be attributed to a more or less continuous flow of in-migrants. Thus the little township must have been heavily dependent on this contribution to its urban demography. On the other hand this first case-study also clearly indicates that we cannot automatically assume a mortality surplus in Scando-Baltic towns. Of course all calculations of natural population increases will be affected by some data errors, but if we assume that the registered surplus population during this fifty years period can be estimated at more than 30 % due to a positive baptism/burial ratio, it means that Mandal grew very much on its own power. Although its inflow of new inhabitants was more important in quantitative terms, the natural growth of the township should not be underestimated.

This natural growth showed no tendency to decline when the township became bigger in the later part of the eighteenth century. It is somewhat difficult to extract different phases of development from the vital statistics of Mandal. The fluctuating baptism/burial ratio does not disclose any major and varying trends. However, the figures of Mandal might reflect a new pattern of positive demographic growth, since there seems to be a long term tendency towards fewer years of burial surpluses and higher average baptism surpluses. This is quite clear during the last two decades of the eighteenth century. In other words, we may have here a Scando-Baltic example of the new positive demographic trend, which was detectable in some of the continental cases mentioned above.

Contrasting examples, Narva and Karlshamn
When we turn to two other cases of Scando-Baltic small towns, the Estonian town of Narva and the Swedish town of Karlshamn, we find two diverging examples of town mortality. In the early eighteenth the Estonian town Narva was seriously affected by the excesses of the great Nordic War, but I will return to this problem later. I will mainly focus on the period after the town’s full recovery, roughly after the 1730s, although for comparative reasons I will also discuss some aspects of the
earlier period. In the early 1730s the population can be estimated to c. 2000; by 1800 it touched the 3000-level. However, looking at Narva’s population development over a more extended period of time, the town actually seems to have restored its population size to that of the pre-crisis period. Some estimates indicate that the town may have had c. 3000 inhabitants already in the late seventeenth century. Similar to recovered Narva, the population of Karlshamn, on the southern coast of Sweden, was well within the limits of a small town measured by the classification system of this article. The town grew from c. 2300 to 2900 inhabitants between 1749 and 1785, and thus it was roughly of the same size as Narva. But the demographic situations of these two towns were quite contrasting.

The development of births and deaths in eighteenth century Narva clearly reflects the population development of the city. From the low-point 1709–10, both baptisms and burials started to rise systematically through more than three decades. From the 1740s there was a tendency towards declining numbers of baptisms and burials until the 1770s, when the levels stabilised at a figure of around 50–60 baptisms/burials per year.

23 Karlshamn, statistiska tabeller.
In Narva the demographic situation appears to have been quite different from that in Karlshamn. In general the baptism/burial-ratio was negative in Narva. Only two out of seven decades after 1730 had a natural demographic increase, with the curves fluctuating wildly, but in the long run the situation improved somewhat. The very difficult decades of the early eighteenth century did not return, and during the middle of the century, particularly the 1750s, Narva in fact had a positive trend. There are, however, new indications of stagnation during the third quarter of the century, before another growth period started sometime in the 1770s.

The net result of Narva’s baptism/burial ratio actually confirms the mortality surplus thesis, since more people were buried than baptised in the town. The net result is calculated to c. –485 persons between 1704 and 1800. Even if we calculate from the better situation between 1730-1800 the sum is negative, c. -150. Thus Narva was totally dependent on net in-migration to grow and keep its population in the eighteenth century. In relative numbers the natural decrease for the whole century was – 22 %, and for the shorter period after 1730 – 15 %. These deficits had to be countered by net in-migration flows.

In Karlshamn the tendency towards a positive baptism/burial ratio is quite clear Out of 37 years between 1749 and 1786, the ratio was positive at 22. There

25 Karlshamn, statistiska tabeller.
are only few mortality peaks in late eighteenth century Karlshamn. Three minor peaks are visible in 1751 and 1773–74. In ten year averages, the 1770s had a slight birth deficit, while the other periods had significant positive baptism/burial ratios. The average trend of the baptism/burial ratio was constantly positive. Like in
the Norwegian town Mandal and the Estonian town of Narva there are signs in Karlshamn of a more positive demographic development during the latest part of the eighteenth century. If we look at the last 15–20 years of the three eighteenth century small towns, positive developments are discernible.

In contrast to Narva, Karlshamn was not dependent on net in-migration to keep growing by its own power. Between 1749 and 1785 the total growth is calculated at 665 persons, and of these c. 200 were due to natural increase and c. 465 to in-migration; like in Mandal, 30 % accounted for baptism surplus and 70 % for net in-migration. This proves to be yet another falsifier of the mortality surplus thesis, that still, however, was dependent on regular inflows of migrants! Thus, although quite similar in size, these two small towns had different, almost contradictory, demographic regimes, and different developments. The recovery and growth of Narva were obviously much more dependent on in-migration than the more modest growth of Karlshamn.

Small town mortality
To sum it up, these three examples of small town demography strongly support a need to qualify the mortality surplus thesis. The situation changed over time and between towns in a way that casts doubt on the ‘standard knowledge’ as far as small towns are concerned. If we look at an overview of all 9 small towns of the sample it becomes clear that no dominant pattern is to be found. Out of a total of 72 decade figures in the diagram, less than half (33) indicate a mortality surplus. In the remaining 39, baptisms overtake burials. The average figures are positive in 8 of 13 decades, and the trend line is either close to the balance level or above it.

There are strong variations over time. Although data is scanty and the towns are few we can observe a long term trend towards improved baptism/burial ratios from the low points of the three decades 1690 to 1720. However this positive tendency is not unambiguous. With its drop in the early nineteenth century the trend curves indicate more of long term stability than any tendency towards a modernisation of the demographic regime. Thus, what can be seen in some small towns is undetectable in others.

Medium towns – Reval, and Norrköping
The examples mentioned so far are all small towns, i.e. towns of less than 6000 inhabitants in the year 1800. If we focus on towns of the medium size category, the picture might be expected to change. But that is not the case! Both the Estonian
town of Reval and the Swedish town Norrköping normally had positive baptism/burial ratios. In Reval this was a dominating feature during the first half of the eighteenth century, although the ratio was steadily sinking from the high levels at the beginning of the eighteenth century. During the latter half of the century baptism/burial ratios evened out at the approximate balance level. This evidence from Reval also contradicts any hypotheses, derived from the case of Narva, that Estonia might have been different in urban demography than other parts of the Scando-Baltic area, and figures from Pernau further confirm this.

The demography of Reval changed from a very unstable situation, with high but steadily sinking baptism numbers and lower but fluctuating burial numbers. According to the baptism/burial ratio it is possible that the town had rapid natural population growth in the early eighteenth century, but the falling baptism numbers could just as well indicate a diminishing population. The mortality peak in 1711 was caused by the great plague, which hit not only Reval but many other towns in the Baltic area, and the plague was only one of several hardships endured.

26 Figures of Norrköping from Helmfrid 1971, pp.7ff, and figures of Reval from Pullat 1997, p. 65 ff, diagrams A, 3 A, and 4 A.
27 Pullat 1997, pp. 6f.
at this time. The period of the Great Nordic War was politically and militarily turbulent. The natural growth may have been, and most probably was, eliminated and turned into its opposite through out-migration of refugees.

According to the baptism curve the demographic situation of Reval stabilised
from the 1740s, when two decades of probable population recovery turned into almost half a century of stagnation. The steep rise of the baptisms at the end of the century might be a sign of population growth, although high and fluctuating mortality figures blur the picture. The demography of Reval from the 1740s could perhaps best be characterised as pre-modern, with near balance baptism/burial ratios and occasional outbursts of excessive surplus mortality.

The net result of eighteenth century population development in Reval was close to nothing if we compare the beginning with the end of the century. The estimated loss of population between 1700 and 1720 might have been as high as 3–4000 of a population of approximately 12000, and it took the rest of the century to regain its former population level. Summarising the century as a whole we must assume that the strong natural increase was countered by even stronger net out-migration. The population growth would have been as high as close to 3000 persons if the population development were only dependent on births and deaths. Instead the calculated estimates indicate an out-migration as strong as the natural decrease of the town. But this situation is a summary of two very different stages of demographic growth. If we calculate natural increase and net migration from the early 1720s, the result is quite different. Population growth can be estimated to almost 6000 and the natural increase to only c. 700 persons. This means that net in-migration in eighteenth century Reval was an important factor in the
growth of the town. It can be calculated to as much as c. 88% of the total population increase between 1720 and 1799.

Norrköping is one of the cases where we have access to seventeenth century data. In seventeenth century Norrköping the fluctuating baptism/burial ratios provide another example of positive urban demography, with baptisms frequently exceeding burials. However, this positive situation often turned into its opposite, indicating that neither positive nor negative baptism/burial ratios should be taken for granted. In total, 12 years out of 20 had positive ratio figures in this medium-sized town, which may have grown from c. 4000 to 8000 between the 1730s and the 1770s. A population study has calculated the number of people to 7900 for the year 1785.\footnote{Helmfrid 1971, pp. 7ff. Since I don't have continuous serial data of Norrköping I have refrained from calculating migration figures.}

Two second rank towns – Gothenburg and Karlskrona
The two Swedish medium towns of Gothenburg and Karlskrona advanced to the second and third position of Swedish eighteenth century towns. Both had populations exceeding 10000 at the middle of the century, and both had a strong population growth. The expansion of Karlskrona especially was spectacular after the
foundation of the town as the main Swedish naval base. The town was founded in 1680.

Gothenburg was refounded in 1619–21, as an inheritor to the earlier Swedish west coast town of Nya Lödöse. The town had a more or less continuous population growth during the seventeenth century, and by the turn of the century it had reached c. 7500 inhabitants, and might by that time have advanced to Sweden’s second or third largest town, excluding the Baltic and German possessions. The town’s growth was halted during the first decades of the eighteenth century, before it continued its growth more or less continuously during the rest of the century. The baptism/burial ratio of Gothenburg was positive during most of the seventeenth century, but from the 1720s there was a tendency towards a more balanced situation. We even have a small dominance of negative ratio figures after c. 1720. The population growth amounted to almost 8000 persons from 1630 to 1760. Of these 8000 persons c. 3250 (40%) came from natural increase and 4750 (60%) from net-migration. Thus this positive demographic regime of Gothenburg falls into a category of towns with positive natural growth, that still, however, were heavily dependent on in-migration for their population expansion.\(^{29}\)

If we follow the indications of baptism numbers, Karlskrona might have expanded from nothing to maybe as much as 7000 inhabitants during its first two decades of existence. However, this estimation could be a result of high fertility levels of a young, recently in-migrated population. But even considering that factor, we have to assume a very strong population growth of Karlskrona during its first phase. After this first expansion, growth became more moderate. Still in the 1740s, the population seems to have been at approximately the same size order as four decades earlier. In the middle of the eighteenth century, growth reappeared, and by the 1770s Karlskrona had more than 10,000 inhabitants.

As a port town and a naval base, Karlskrona seems to have been exposed to infectious decease. The town had two major mortality peaks in 1711–12 and 1743–44, but in general the baptism/burial ratio was positive, although the declining long term trend of the ratio indicates a more balanced situation after the 1720s. Maybe this was a change towards a more “normal” demographic situation after four decades of excessive growth and excessive mortality due to the 1710–11 plague.\(^{30}\)

\(^{29}\) Palm 2001, pp. 151 ff.
\(^{30}\) Palm 2001, pp. 155 ff.
In total, Karlskrona’s population growth between 1699 and 1760 amounted to more than 3800 persons. Of these, c. 1500 came from natural growth and more than 2300 from an inflow of people. This means that 39% of total growth is explained by natural surplus, and 61% by net-in-migration to the town. Thus
Karlskrona, like Göteborg, falls into a more general pattern of self-growing and migration dependent towns.
Medium town mortality
These few examples of medium town demography confirm the impression from the examples of small town demography: often, urban baptisms exceeded urban burials. If we complement these four examples of medium town demography with three of the English cases mentioned above, the picture becomes somewhat different than the one we have of the small towns. Two of the English medium towns (Chester and Exeter) suffered from regular baptism deficits. The other towns either fluctuated around the baptism/burial balance line, or had regular baptism surpluses. All in all, out of 58 measured decades, 35 had negative baptism/burial ratios, and the trend curves fluctuate around balance level. This means that more than half of the data evidence shows baptism deficits, as compared to only one third of the small towns. Thus we have an indication of a slightly worse demographic situation in medium sized towns than in small towns. This could, of course, be interpreted as an outcome of the size factor, but it is important to note that it is mainly the English towns that worsen the picture. The Swedish medium towns had better demographic situations.

Metropolitan mortality – Copenhagen and Stockholm
Of course a few examples of demographic situations are proof of nothing but the demography of the examples themselves. The examples mentioned so far are all small or medium sized towns. The question is whether the demographic situation was different in large towns and national metropolises. Can the mortality surplus thesis gain support from the large towns?

Stockholm’s demographic development, as it is reconstructed in diagrams 14a and b, largely confirm the thesis. In general the Swedish capital city suffered from a negative baptism/burial ratio, and the situation seems to have worsened during the eighteenth century. Not until the later part of the nineteenth century did Stockholm reach a permanent baptism surplus. The city was then embarking on its development towards a modern industrial city. There were some similarities between pre-industrial Stockholm and London. Both cities had a long term population growth, which might provide an explanation of changes of their demographic structure. In Stockholm as well as in London, we can discern three

31 Palm 2001, pp. 145 ff. The figures from the seventeenth century are reconstructed data, with weaker reliability before the 1660s.
distinctive phases of demographic development, although somewhat delayed in Stockholm compared to London (compare diagram 2 above). The first phase, in London stretching from the 1540s to the 1650s, and in Stockholm from the 1640s to the 1720s, was characterised by a more or less balanced demographic situation punctuated by mortality peaks. The mortality peaks were heavier and more frequent in London than in Stockholm. In Stockholm a dramatic death surplus occurred during the plague 1710–11, but minor peaks are visible during the seventeenth as well as the eighteenth centuries. It is possible that these variations are due to the different size of the cities. London was in the order of ten times the size of Stockholm. London was a comparatively large city already from the early 16th century, with some 50,000 inhabitants. This level was reached by Stockholm in the late seventeenth century. By then London had grown to 575,000, a population Stockholm could not match until the 1930s.\textsuperscript{32} Stockholm actually transformed from a medieval, medium sized, merchant city in the early seventeenth century to a minor metropolis and capital city in the late seventeenth century.

The next phase in the demographic development of the two cities turned a relatively balanced baptism/burial ratio into a constantly negative ratio, with an almost permanent mortality surplus. Thus, the demographic situation of the two towns had worsened, and population growth consequently weakened. In fact Stockholm experienced a long period of slow growth. For almost 120 years, between c. 1700 and 1820, the city grew only moderately from c. 55,000 to 75,000 inhabitants. In London the period of slower population growth was shorter, and mainly concentrated to the first half of the eighteenth century, when the city grew from 575,000 to 675,000. Already during the later part of the century London started its modernisation process, and began to transform into a modern world metropolis. In Stockholm this transition was delayed until the dawn of the industrial society in Sweden. From the 1870s Stockholm’s negative baptism/burial ratio changed into a permanent positive one.

When we look at the two Scandinavian capital cities, Stockholm and Copenhagen together, the surplus mortality hypotheses is further confirmed. All evidence shows that Stockholm and Copenhagen suffered from more or less constant negative baptism/burial ratios. (Diagram 14a and b). Measured by decade averages 1630–1800, the baptism/burial ratio in Stockholm varied between over 1.25 and down to almost 0.50. In only two out of seventeen ten-year periods did the baptisms of Stockholm exceed burials. However, before the 1720s the birth deficits were often modest. Three of the decades have ratios only slightly under the balance level. According to the weak data from Copenhagen between 1730 and 1780, there was a constant birth deficit in this city as well, varying from c. 0.75 to almost demographic balance.

The figures from these two major Scando-Baltic cities suggest that size is a significant variable behind the causes of urban mortality. Both had populations surpassing 50,000 inhabitants in the late seventeenth century, and thus were outstanding in the Scando-Baltic context. However, very few cities, mainly the Russian city of St Petersburg, could match the size of these Nordic capital cities. Thus, as examples they are unrepresentative of the eighteenth century urban systems. Nevertheless, they confirm the hypothesis that large cities tended to suffer from more or less permanent birth deficits in their demographic developments. In order to grow both cities needed net in-migration, but not of the magnitude one might have reason to expect.

34 Bairoch/Batou/Chevre 1988, p. 33.
The demographic net loss of Stockholm is well established in Swedish research. In fact, the city had quite a reputation as a “man-eater”. Stockholm had a long term stagnation from the early seventeenth to the middle of the nineteenth century. The baptism/burial ratio was almost permanently negative, and there was no sign of improvement before the late 1850s. In fact, as have been discussed above, the demographic modernisation of Stockholm appears to have been delayed compared to other major cities of Europe.\textsuperscript{35}

Large town mortality
When we directly compare the three towns of this study which may safely be classified as large, namely Stockholm, Copenhagen and Norwich, we find a more complex pattern. Diagram 15 compares the three cities during the eighteenth century, individually and through an average trend in the same manner as the diagrams of small and medium towns above. From this comparison it is obvious that the demographic regime differed between the two Scandinavian capitals on the one hand and the English town on the other. Norwich had much more positive baptism/burial ratios than the Scandinavian towns.\textsuperscript{36} It seems to have been quite

\begin{figure}[h]
\centering
\includegraphics[width=\textwidth]{diagram15}
\caption{Diagram 15 - Baptism-burial ratios of 3 large towns c. 1700-1800}
\end{figure}

\textsuperscript{36} Galley 1998, p. 16.
as likely with positive ratios as negative in the British town. But the general trend is negative. The decade averages of the baptism/burial ratios converge towards the 0.9 level. However, the time changes of London and Stockholm, as well as the differences between the three cities of Stockholm, Copenhagen and Norwich, in my opinion support a general scepticism against the urban mortality surplus thesis. Large towns often had mortality surpluses, that is true, but not all of them and not all the time. I believe this qualification of the general thesis is motivated. Nevertheless, the conclusion must be that large towns tended to suffer from negative baptism/burial ratios, and thus were heavily dependent on in-migration to keep up their size or grow further.

**Mortality and urban size – a conclusion**

The causal relation between urban size and urban mortality is complicated and often superimposed by other factors which tend to blur the straightforward conclusion that large towns had worse demographic situations than smaller towns. Some of the indicators used above point in that direction, but not unambiguously! Several towns of the sample in this study provide contrary evidence against a too simple statement in this matter. If we directly compare the eighteenth century averages of the three size groups used in this study the result both confirms and rejects the hypothesis. When it comes to the medium and small towns, diagram 16 shows a reversal of the hypothesis before the 1740s. Only the three large towns had average baptism burial ratios almost constantly below the all town average.

A more general comparison between urban size and baptism-burial ratios is shown in diagram 17. This diagram gives the correlation between the two variables. Urban size is given in logarithmic representation along the x-axis and the ratio along the y-axis. Two trend lines illustrate the general correlation. The $R^2$ value, i.e. the statistical figure measuring the strength of the correlation, is given for each of the trend lines. To an unaccustomed reader of this kind of statistics I can say that the diagram shows a situation with virtually no correlation what so ever between the two variables urban size and baptism-burial ratio. A good correlation would have given straight leaning trend-lines, with variable values lined up close to the trend, and $R^2$ values close to 1.0. Since the trends are almost horizontal, and the $R^2$ values close to zero, the conclusion must be that size is, at best, a very weak causal factor behind urban mortality. The only evidence against this conclusion is the vague tendency among the largest towns toward generally lower baptism-burial ratios. Below the 15,000 size level there is no evidence at all.
Of course this conclusion has to be drawn with some caution. The sample of towns is small, and the time span as well as the geographic extension of the studied area is vast. Therefore I will turn to some smaller studies testing these two factors on the current sample of towns.

Chronology and geography of urban mortality
Although mortality levels were high in Scando-Baltic towns of the early modern period, we have no reasons to over-stress this factor of urban demographic change. In periods of normal social development, many towns appear to have had positive baptism-burial ratios. This was particularly the case for minor or medium sized towns, though with some notable exceptions. The major cities normally suffered from a baptism deficit that made them dependant on in-migration to maintain size or grow. But even these cities had some periods of approximate balance between baptisms and burials. Time seems, when we look at the individual towns, to be a factor of importance. London and Stockholm are good examples, but several towns have significant changes in their demographic situations. Some periods or decades were better off than others. Can we discern any general trend of change over time in baptism-burial ratios?

If we gather all 19 towns of this study and calculate averages, we get an indica-
tor of the importance of the time factor. This has been done in diagram 18, which covers all the towns of the study from the earliest data in the 1630s to the latest in the first decade of the nineteenth century.

A long term tendency is hard to establish from casual statistics like this, but the tendency of the diagram at least gives one foundation for a tentative discussion on the subject. Thus, if we study the diagram we will find that the ratio fluctuates in an almost non co-ordinate manner, thus implying a very differentiated growth pattern. The towns of the vast Scando-Baltic region, and the few British towns, to a large extent developed in an un-orchestrated way. The baptism-burial curves tended to eliminate each other giving a general average close to demographic balance. Thus nothing from this study allows us to assume that there was any significant change over time in the general urban demographic regime before 1800. It is not possible to confirm any demographic modernisation tendency in general, although some of the studied towns (for instance Mandal and Narva) had some signs of demographic improvement in the late eighteenth century.

What about the differences in space then? In diagram 19 I have classified 17 of the studied towns into four geographic regions based on data from the eighteenth
century. The conclusion which can be drawn from the data is rather straightforward. None of the town groups deviate in a systematic way from the general trend. Thus, from this small study, both chronology and geography appear to be unimportant as a general factor behind baptism-burial ratios.

Of course all conclusions have to be tentative. A much larger town sample is necessary to confirm the hypotheses put forward here. But so far I do not see chronology or geography as important variables behind early modern urban demography. The composition of the urban population, mainly its age and gender structure, seems to be more important than chronology and geography. In the final instance urban functions (economic, administrative etc.) might be the best explanatory factors, since they determine the employment structure and the social composition of the urban population.

Major mortality crises
Thus we have good reasons to assume a balanced baptism-burial situation or a positive demographic trend in many of the Scando-Baltic towns during the early modern period. This assumption, however, does not imply that the urban systems of northern Europe were free from major setbacks. There are several periods dis-
cussed in the literature as periods of major demographic crises, affecting urban as well as rural demography. Most of them are more or less correlated to extensive warfare, and the social distress caused by war. I will concentrate on two of these periods, a mid seventeenth century crisis and an early eighteenth century crisis. The first of the two was an outdrawn period of economic and social distress mainly affecting the southern part of Scando-Balticum, from Denmark to Polish Ukraine. This crisis is well co-ordinated with the commonly known phenomena “the crises of the seventeenth century”. The thirty years war and the Nordic wars of the 1650s and 60s provide the historic context of this social and demographic downturn. Linked to this general crisis of international relations was also the major Polish/Ukrainian Cossack revolt under the leadership of the famous Cossack hetman Bogdan Chmielnicki in the late 1640s and the 1650s.

The second of the two mentioned crises mainly affected the northern and eastern parts of the Scando-Baltic region, and it was an outcome primarily of bad harvests in the 1690s, and the Great Nordic War of 1700–1721, with the plague 1710–12.

*Köge and the crisis of the mid seventeenth century*

The extensive warfare in central Europe from 1618 to 1660 caused major damage to the economic and social systems of the war-struck areas. Large parts of Germany were ravaged by armies during the Thirty Years War, and Denmark suffered heavily from the Swedish-Danish wars in the 1640s and 1650s. In modern Danish research the crisis of the urban system is emphasised. Thus the seventeenth century expansion of Copenhagen came to a halt during the 1640s and 1650s, and the towns of Zealand suffered from serious growth problems during the same decades.

There are also indications that many of the former Danish towns of the Swedish provinces Bohuslän, Halland, Skåne and Blekinge had a weak development. The number of towns was reduced from 26 to 21, and their aggregate population number seems to have stagnated at c. 17,000 inhabitants in total.

The small Zealand town of Köge has been the object of a special study. The town lost c. 50 % of its population between 1637 and 1672, with the main drop during the 1650s. The population dropped from approximately 3350 inhabitants

37 Magocsi 1996, pp. 199ff, 212ff; Davies 1981, pp. 463ff
38 Petersen 1980 pp. 47, 80ff; Prange 1984, pp. 34ff.
to 1640 inhabitants between 1637 and 1672. Thus, the loss can be calculated to c. 1710 inhabitants. However, the baptism/burial ratio appears to confirm the hypothesis that urban size affected the demographic outcome. The town improved its baptism surplus when its population declined. The baptisms fell from significantly more than 100 per year in the later half of the 1640s to less than 70 in the 1660s. Since the drop in burials started later, Köge had an almost constant negative baptism/burial ratio between 1645 and 1659, with only two years of positive ratio. By contrast this birth deficit turned into its opposite in the 1660s, suggest that the major growth problems of the town had come to an end.\footnote{Villadsen 1976, p. 46.} Although Köge’s demography changed into more normal patterns in the 1660s, the town still had frequent birth deficits. In the early 1670s there were several years of negative baptism/burial ratios, and before and during the decades of crisis several serious mortality peaks struck the town. To sum up, burials exceeded baptisms in 16 out of 28 years between 1645 and 1672, and there was a steady baptism surplus only during the 1660s.
Køge’s population loss is almost equally explained by natural decrease and net out-migration. The town lost almost 830 persons through a negative baptism/burial ratio, i.e. 48%, and more than 880 persons (52%) through an out flow of migrants. This double loss suggests that the problems of Køge were economical as much as social and demographic. Because of changes in the international trade patterns, especially in grain and cattle trade, Køge had to adapt to a new and less favourable situation.\footnote{Villadsen 1976, pp. 59ff.}

\begin{center}
Diagram 20 a–b \footnote{Villadsen 1976, pp. 77-83.}
\end{center}

\textit{The crisis of the early eighteenth century}

The early eighteenth century crisis was a multi-causal crisis, emerging from bad harvests as well as plague, and social effects of war. In the 1690s bad weather conditions for several years caused a major famine in Finland and large parts of northern Sweden. The population loss of Finland, as a direct consequence of the famine years, have been calculated to as much as c. 140,000. Finland’s population fell drastically from 470,000 to 365,000. The sex balance of the Finnish population changed from 1.1 female per male in 1700 to 1.4 in 1720. In Sweden the evidence
is somewhat contradictory, but most indicators and the most recent research suggest a very slow growth of only 0.17% per year between 1699 and 1718. The population grew moderately from 1.36 to 1.41 millions.\textsuperscript{43}

The towns of both Sweden and Finland suffered from serious growth problems during these decades. Their average growth fell significantly, and half of the towns had an annual growth below 0.3 between the 1690s and the 1730s. Since urban growth had re-started in the 1720s, the situation during the first two decades of the eighteenth century must have been even worse.\textsuperscript{44}

The Estonian town of Narva lost the major part of its population due to deportations and the plague of 1710–11. Raimo Pullat has estimated the population loss through deportations in 1708 to at least 1,700 persons. Nine years later 700 of them had returned, and the town was recovering fast. At the low point in 1710–11 it might have had as few as 225–300 inhabitants, but by the late 1720s this number had grown to c. 2000 inhabitants.\textsuperscript{45}

\textit{The great plague 1710–12}

One of the last great European plagues swept through the Scando-Baltic region in the early eighteenth century. In only a short time period between 1710–1712, many thousands were killed by the plague. The countryside as well as the towns were hit, but the disease had a decisive effect on the population stock of the larger coastal cities because of their exposed locations and mobile populations. The two Scandinavian capitals are drastic examples of the ravaging of this epidemic. According to modern calculations Stockholm may have lost as much as 20–22,000 inhabitants from a total population of 50–55,000.\textsuperscript{46} In Copenhagen the loss is estimated to the same order of magnitude. The population of the Danish capital is estimated to c. 66,000 at the turn of the century 1700, and the plague losses amounted to at least the same number as in Stockholm.\textsuperscript{47}

Thanks to modern research we are able to follow the demographic crisis of Stockholm month by month. Thus the burial rate exploded in August and September of 1710 from 412 to 2411. In the next month the death rate peaked, and

\textsuperscript{43} Lindegren 1992/93, p. 45, 180; Palm 2000, p. 49.
\textsuperscript{44} Lilja 2000, p. 68f; Lilja 1996, database.
\textsuperscript{45} Pullat 1997 pp. 39 ff
\textsuperscript{46} Preinits 1985, p. 40, 44
\textsuperscript{47} Petersen 1980 pp. 85. Petersen estimates the population loss to 22,000, and the population size of Copenhagen to 76,000 in 1728. Compare Preinitz 1985, p. 45, who quotes a mortality figure of 23,000 during the plague in Copenhagen.
started to fall back to the normal level in January of 1711. During these four months (August–December 1710) Stockholm lost at minimum 11,000 inhabitants, but according to one calculation, it was probably at least twice as many.48

This major epidemic struck many towns and large rural areas all over the Scando-Baltic region. According to modern estimates the Swedish towns of Jönköping, Linköping, and Ystad suffered losses due to the plague in the order of 35-40% of their populations, and in five countryside parishes mortality rose to c. 10-30 times the normal mortality levels.49 Two more towns of the sample of this study show signs of this demographic disaster. In Estonia the coast town of Reval suffered from a heavy surplus mortality in 1710–11 (diagram 8a-b above), and the south Swedish naval base and medium town of Karlskrona experienced heavy losses by the plague (diagram 13a–b).50

48 Preinits 1985, p. 31.
49 Preinits 1985, pp. 45f.
50 Pullat 1997, pp. 27 ff, 67 diagram 3 A. See above diagram 8 a–b and 11 a–b.
Population flows and net-migrations – some tentative results

So far the urban mortality surplus thesis has been qualified from “standard knowledge” to a more vague statement which connects baptism/burial ratios to differences in the social set up of urban populations. In general, the demographic “normality” seems to have been positive or balanced baptism/burial ratios, although with strong individual variations. Another “standard knowledge”, closely connected to the mortality surplus thesis, is the assumption that pre-industrial towns were dependent on in-migration to sustain their population or grow. I have delivered some estimates on net in-migrations that actually confirm this thesis. Several of the studied towns must have had at least as much inflow by net in-migration as by demographic surplus.

Indirect calculations of net in-migrations from the sample used in this article are notoriously uncertain in detail, but as I believe fairly acceptable, if we settle with lower demands of accuracy. Thus, calculated net flows probably mirrors the main tendencies. Diagram 22 shows net migrations to or from 12 towns of the sample. For purpose of comparison the results are given in 40-year periods, and presented as percentages of the mean population of the period. For three towns I
have been able to calculate from seventeenth century data, but the main results are from the eighteenth century.

Measured in this way we find three levels of net migration dependency. At the lowest level, migration probably had only a minor influence on urban population change. This would be the case of Reval, Karlshamn and Narva with less than 10% in-migration. Falun and Ystad also fall into this category, with their small levels of net out-migration. The second level of migration dependency is to be found in Copenhagen, seventeenth and eighteenth century Gothenburg, Pernau, seventeenth century Linköping and eighteenth century Mandal. All these towns had in-migrations fluctuating at around the 30% level. And, finally, seventeenth and eighteenth century Stockholm, Karlskrona and eighteenth century Linköping were heavily dependent on in-migration. These towns varied around 80% in-migration of their average population size.

I have no answer to this levelling of migration rates. As the sample is very small it may well be an arbitrary result. However, the general picture of the diagram confirms the urban migration dependency thesis. Ten of the measured migration rates are high or very high. Only five calculations imply a low migration dependency. Thus this combination of urban population growth and demographic net results indicates that many and probably the majority of the early modern towns were more or less heavily dependent on in-migration. Since this question can be answered only tentatively and through indirect calculations, it will remain a hypothesis. Lack of empirical data on early modern migration patterns implies that this provisional research situation will continue for the future. Thus we have to adhere to a de facto restriction on our scientific possibilities, although I believe it to be a reasonably safe conclusion that migration was a very important factor behind urbanisation in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

If for a moment we contemplate this in terms of social integration, it comes to mind that these figures actually may imply a high level of social interaction in the agrarian societies of the early modern Scando-Baltic region. A net migration flow is only the tip of the iceberg phenomenon. Behind the net results of geographic mobility are hidden much larger streams of in- and out-migration. It is not unlikely that the actual migration flows were at least five times the net-migration results. If this is a reasonable argument it implies the moving of people to and from towns during 40-year intervals in the size order of maybe 200–250% of the urban population. If we furthermore assume that the degree of urbanisation approximates 5–10%, this means that 20–25 to 40–50% of the population had some con-
tact with urban environments and urban life styles. Even if we assume that many North European towns were very small, and consequently their daily life ‘urbanism’ rather weak, we still have an impressive share of the pre-modern population that received mental and intellectual influences from towns.

Of course this is only a numbers game, since we do not know the actual figures. But, is it not a fair assumption that urban migrants must have constituted a decisive component of the social and cultural integration of the Scando-Baltic area in early modern times? And then it has to be remembered that Scando-Balticum was only a weakly urbanised society. In other parts of Europe, mainly in the “core-regions” around the English Channel or northern Italy, urban values must have had good opportunities to diffuse through the constant flow of people between towns, from town to countryside, or country to country.

The mentality of fear and the realities of risk – a summary
Let me summarise and draw some general, but tentative, conclusions from the few examples of this study. Was there an urban mortality surplus in the early modern Scando-Baltic region? I.e. is the ‘standard knowledge’ on this subject valid? I find it doubtful! ‘Normality’ seems to have been the opposite – a birth surplus or at least demographic balance. There is no doubt that urban death could be a harsh reality confronting the early modern town dwellers. Death levels were high, and more or less frequent mortality peaks threatened to eliminate the urban demographic surplus for several years after, if there was a surplus at all.

However, modern research has cast a shadow of doubt on the older, commonly held opinion. It was quite common with a demographic surplus in Scando-Baltic towns, just as it was in English towns. Thus, the calculated baptism-burial ratios which are presented in this article suggest that many, probably the majority, of the Scando-Baltic towns had a birth surplus. They would not have been dependent on net in-migration for their own growth. Population growth could have been self-generated. However, the picture is ambiguous. Several towns and several periods of demographic change had birth deficits. There was a size factor involved in the birth/death relation of urban populations, but this factor was generally speaking rather weak. The larger cities of Stockholm and Copenhagen appear to have suffered from birth deficits, although not always and in all cases. Changes of sex ratios and age structures of urban populations, that were outcomes of extensive migration flows in and out of the towns, were other, probably more important, factors determining the demographic balance of individual towns.
Was there risk involved when people migrated into towns? Certainly there was, though it was not as dramatic as has been assumed. Were the towns dependent on in-migration for population growth? Yes, for the most part; though, once again, they were not as dependent as has been assumed. But the larger share of pre-modern urban growth was probably due to net in-migration. Why, then, did people choose to ‘go to town’ if they knew the risks? What were their arguments and rationalisations? Were they actually aware of the risks? These are important additional questions which were not able to be answered within the scope of this study. To answer them we would have to explore the mentalities of urban migrants. It is not enough to quote illuminating examples of condemnations and drastic anti-urban propaganda through history. We would have to document the thoughts and feelings of the ordinary migrants. However, if we did so, I believe we would find that the majority were not aware of the risk, and that their calculations were more positive than negative. Of course many might have been haunted by the anti-urban propaganda which was spread by for instance the eighteenth century enlightenment elite of Sweden. From them, people might have learned that towns were places of sin and rootlessness, or places of miasmic diseases, or even places of supposed over-kill. But did the common people hear these voices or listen to them? It does not at all appear to be the case. The poor calculated on better survival possibilities in the town than in the countryside, and they probably had good reasons to do so. The rich calculated on favourable conditions to enrich themselves further through industry, trade or financial operations. They probably also had good reasons for these hopes. Only the land-rooted people, the farmers and the land owning nobility, had reason to favour the arcadian life of the countryside. Thus whatever the image of the town, its pull was stronger than its push, and the eventual result was long term urbanisation.
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Baltic Towns and Their Inhabit

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